

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**COLLEGE OF LANGUAGES EDUCATION, AJUMAKO**

**THE SYNTAX OF THE GONJA NOUN PHRASE**



**JACOB SHAIBU KOTOCHI**

May, 2017

**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA**

**COLLEGE OF LANGUAGES EDUCATION, AJUMAKO**

THE SYNTAX OF THE GONJA NOUN PHRASE



A thesis in the Department of GUR-GONJA LANGUAGES EDUCATION, COLLEGE OF LANGUAGES EDUCATION, submitted to the school of Graduate Studies, UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Master of Philosophy in Ghanaian Language Studies (GONJA) degree.

### **DECLARATION**

I, Jacob Shaibu Kotochi, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works and students creative writings which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

### **SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION**

I, Dr. Samuel Awinkene Atintono, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Samuel Awinkene Atintono of the Department of Gur-Gonja Languages Education, College of Languages Education for being my guardian, mentor, lecturer and supervisor throughout my university Education and the writing of this research work.

I wish to also express my appreciation to Kechetopowura H. Afari-Twako of the Department of Gur-Gonja Languages Education, College of Languages Education for his encouragement, support, and help and for supervising this thesis.

I express my sincere gratitude also to Mr. Alhassan Dramani of the Ghana Maritime Authority for sponsoring my graduate studies.

I wish to express my indebtedness to all the Lecturers of the College of Languages Education for their constructive comments, criticisms, and inspiring ideas which made me muster the courage necessary to produce this research work. They made available the necessary materials that helped me to complete this thesis.

I record my gratitude to my mother Theresa Awodima, my brothers, my wife Fatima Nnaa Adams for their love, care and support during this study. Many thanks to Richard Kojo Turkson who typed this thesis.

Finally, I express my sincere gratitude to all those who contributed in one way or the other to make the writing of this thesis possible.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family who have contributed in diverse ways to bring me this far.

### **My Mother**

THERESA AWODIMA

### **My Uncle**

ALHASSAN DRAMANI

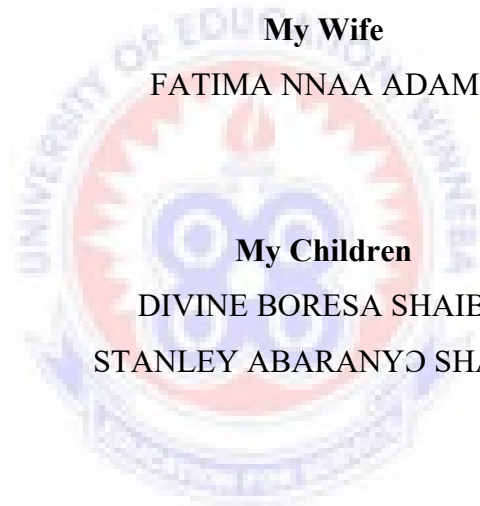
### **My Wife**

FATIMA NNAA ADAMS

### **My Children**

DIVINE BORESA SHAIBU

STANLEY ABARANYO SHAIBU



## TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION .....	i
SUPERVISOR’S DECLARATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
DEDICATION.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENT .....	vi
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
ABBREVIATIONS .....	x
ABSTRACT .....	xiii

### CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Background of the study .....	2
1.1.1 The Speakers and Linguistics Affiliation of Gonja.....	7
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	11
1.4 Research Questions .....	11
1.5 Purpose of the Study.....	11
1.6 Delimitation of the Study.....	12
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	12
1.8 Organization of the Study.....	12
1.9 Summary.....	13

### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction .....	13
2.1 General review of Works on Noun Phrases.....	14
2.2. Modifiers .....	20
2.2.1. Pre-modifiers .....	21
2.2.2 Post Modifiers .....	22
2.2.3 The Noun Head.....	24
2.2.4 Definite and Indefinite Markers .....	25
2.3 Review of Works on Gonja Linguistics .....	25

2.5	Summary .....	29
CHAPTER 3.....		30
METHODOLOGY.....		30
3.0	Introduction.....	30
3.1	Research Design.....	30
3.2	Population and Sample .....	32
3.3	Sources of Data .....	34
3.4	Summary.....	35
CHAPTER FOUR.....		36
DATA ANALYSIS OF THE NOUN PHRASE IN GONJA.....		36
4.0.	Introduction.....	36
4.1.	The Simple Noun Phrase (SNP).....	36
4.1.1.	The Determiner.....	39
4.1.2	Functions of Definite and Indefinite Articles .....	43
4.1.3.	Demonstratives .....	44
4.1.4.	Quantifiers.....	50
4.1.5	Non-numerical Quantifiers.....	57
4.1.6	Adjectives.....	60
4.1.7	Nouns used as Modifiers.....	66
4.2	The Complex Noun Phrase .....	68
4.2.1	Genitive or Possessive Constructions .....	68
4.2.2	Genitive Constructions with Nominal Possessors .....	72
4.2.3	Pronominal Possessors.....	73
4.2.4	Multiple Genitive Constructions.....	78
4.2.5	Alienable and Inalienable Nouns of Possession .....	79
4.2.6	Non-referential Genitives.....	83
4.2.7	Relative Clauses .....	85
4.2.8	Stacked Relative Clauses. ....	91
4.2.9	Conjoined Noun Phrases .....	93
4.3	Noun Phrase without Nouns .....	96
4.3.1	Nominalization of Modifiers .....	97
4.3.2	Noun phrases with only Modifying Words .....	99
4.3.3	Headless Relative Clauses.....	102

4.3.4	Noun Clauses.....	104
4.3.5	Modification by Several Modifiers.....	106
4.4	Summary .....	111
CHAPTER 5.....		112
SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....		112
5.0	Introduction.....	112
5.1	Summary of the Thesis .....	113
5.2	Findings .....	118
5.3	Recommendations .....	119
REFERENCES .....		120





## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Some Basic Cardinals and Ordinals in Gonja.....	52
Table 2:	Some Non-numerical Quantifiers in Gonja.....	58
Table 3:	Adjectives in Gonja.....	63
Table 4:	Personal Pronouns.....	74
Table 5:	Possessive Pronouns.....	75



## ABBREVIATIONS

1st	first person pronoun
2nd	second person pronoun
3rd	third person pronoun
ADP	adpositional
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CNP	complex noun phrase
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DEF	definite marker
DEG	degree
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIST	distal
DISM	discourse marker
FM	frequency modulation
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
INDEF	indefinite marker
INF	infinitive

IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
NEG	negation/negative
NCL	noun class
NMIZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NOM	nominative
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POSTP	postposition phrase
PRED	predicative
PREPP	preposition phrase
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PTCP	participle
QUANT	quantifier
REFEL	reflexive
RELCL	relative clause
S	sentence

SUBJ	subject
SPEC	specifier
SG	singular
SNP	simple noun phrase
SVO	subject verb object
V	verb
VP	verb phrase



## ABSTRACT

This study presents an analysis of the noun phrase in Gonja. It discussed the noun phrase structure and all the elements that occur before and after it. Three kinds of noun phrases were identified and discussed which include simple noun phrase, complex noun phrase, and other noun phrases which do not have overt nouns in them. The findings in this study show that the noun phrase structure of Gonja is made up of the compulsory noun head and other optional elements that occur before and after it. Gonja exhibits a clear case whereby the noun head of an NP is post modified by a series of adjectives appearing in their full forms and these adjectives give additional information about the noun they modify. Also, the genitive marker *be* is used to express possession however other elements like determiner, and demonstrative may occur before it. In addition, it is noted that the adjective and the verb can be nominalized leading to derivation from the classes of adjectives and verbs to noun class. The nominalized elements in Gonja have singular and plural markers as their initial segments. In relation to pronominal possession, there seem to be friction between the separation of the possessive from the pronoun as putting the pronoun and the possessive together is deceptive. This study concludes that modifiers of the NP in Gonja occur in a certain syntactic sequence which is relatively fixed. The data of this thesis was analyzed using the descriptive analysis approach.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the introduction and background of the study. The statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, objectives, delimitations, and significance of the study and organization of the study are discussed. This study is about some of the structures users of human language employ to put meaningful units together to form words and how these words are put together to form phrases and how these phrases come together to form larger units. The emphasis of the study is on the construction of units larger than words, particularly phrases, clauses and sentences. This has often been viewed primarily as the domain of syntax.

The term syntax is a verbal noun which literally means ‘arrangement’ or ‘setting’ out together (O’Grady et al, 1996:161). Traditional grammarians refer to syntax as the branch of grammar dealing with the ways in which words, with or without appropriate inflections, are arranged to show connections of meaning within the sentences (Matthew, 1992). The expressions of a language involve a relationship between a sequence of sounds and a meaning, and this relationship is mediated by grammar, a core component of which is syntax. In English and many other languages, for example Gonja the arrangement of words is necessary in determining the meanings of an utterance. Syntax is concerned with the ways in which words can be organized into sentence and the ways in which sentences are understood (Bauer, 2007)

In the syntax of Gonja, phrases play an important role in a sentence and in speech generally. Phrases are into categories. That is, Noun Phrase (NP), Verb Phrase (VP), Adjective Phrase (ADJP), Postposition Phrase (POSTP), and adverb phrase (ADV P)

(Afari-Twako, 2001, 2015). The Noun Phrase (NP) as one category comprises the Simple Noun Phrase (SNP) and the Complex Noun Phrase (CNP). In this study, I intend to consider the NP that is, the SNP and the CNP. This is because in Gonja and in many other languages, the order of words is relevant to the determination of the meaning of a sentence. Also, the inflectional form of a phrase is necessary in determining the interpretation of the sentence. In this research I will lay out a comprehensive descriptive analysis of an NP in the language. Generally, the goal of applying linguistic theory is to help give valid description of linguistic phenomena, explanation of linguistic phenomena, and understanding the basis of language (Chomsky, 1965)

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Gonja, known by the natives as *Ngbanyato* is a North Guang language which belongs to a minor language family within the Niger Congo phylum. Gonja is the northernmost of the Guang languages spoken in Ghana (Deborah et al, 2016). Gonja occupies a large area that lies along the upper reaches of the Volta Lake and the White and Black rivers that pour into the Lake. Gonja is widely spoken by speakers of some other Gur languages. This special status is of course due to the expansion of the Gonja Empire in the eighteenth century. As a result, in much of Western Gonja the ruling clan in a town may speak Gonja as a first language, but many commoners speak Vagla, Hanga, Choruba Safalba, Dagbani etc as their first language and Gonja as a second language (Dakubu, 1988). This language is spoken mainly in Northern region and also in the upper basin of Volta lake area. In Brong – Ahafo region, Gonja is spoken in Kintampo North District of Ghana (Ethnologue, 2016).

According to Afari-Twako (2005), Gonja has three dialects; East Gonja, West Gonja and Ndompo and is used in all domains and by people of all ages. Gonja is taught in

basic, secondary schools and in some tertiary institutions in Ghana. Gonja is spoken in a linguistically heterogeneous and highly multilingual context.

According to Dakubu (1988:76) Gonja is the second largest Guang language in terms of speakers. The population and housing census 2010 gave the population of these people as about four hundred and sixty nine thousand, four hundred and ninety (469,490) and is spoken over a large area stretching further north than Tamale, the capital of Ghana's Northern region. Its east-west extent is also considerable, reaching from east of Salaga in the east to Bole in the west.

Considering the linguistic features, the language exhibits both voiced and voiceless consonants at each place of articulation. Gonja has been analyzed recently as having a nine vowel system though seven are used in its writing. Gonja predominantly exhibits CV, V, CVN and CVV syllable structures (Deborah et al, 2016). The language is strictly subject-verb-object (SVO). Talking about the SVO pattern of Gonja, noun phrases are the common elements that occupy the subject and the object positions. Consider the examples below;

(1). *Koji mɔ-ø kaboe.*  
 koji kill.PST goat  
 'Koji killed a goat'

(2). *E`inipo na sibl-ø kawol*  
 teacher DEF write.PERF book  
 'The teacher has written a book' (Kotochi, 2013)

In (1) and (2) above, the nouns *Koji* and *E`inipo* 'teacher' function as the subject in the structures and they occur preceding the verbs *mɔ* 'killed' and '*sibɛ*' written. Also, the object positions are occupied by *kaboe* 'goat' and *kawol* 'book'. Gonja has both major and minor parts of speech which include nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, determiners, postpositions, conjunctions etc.



Schachter (1985:3) states that, parts of speech are the traditional term for major classes of words that are grammatically distinguished in a language. He further says that “while all languages make parts of speech distinctions, there are rather striking differences between languages with regard to both the kind and the number of such distinction that they take”.

Halliday (2004:50) defines a class as “a set of terms that are in some respect alike”. The most familiar in our traditional grammar are classes of words: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, pronouns, postpositions, conjunction (and sometimes also interjection) in the usual list.

**Nouns:** Are labels which are assigned to the class of words involving names of persons, places and things. The notional correlation when a noun is mentioned is basically about assigning a name.

- |                |   |   |
|----------------|---|---|
| Name of place  | - | Debir, Bole, Ajuamko etc.   |
| Name of thing  | - | <i>La</i> ‘house’, <i>kawol</i> ‘book’, <i>kabl</i> ‘Chair’, etc. |
| Name of person | - | Koji, Mankir, Bamutu etc.   |

Traditionally, pronouns have been regarded as one of the parts of speech items though they perform variety of functions. The following are some pronouns identified in the language. They are, *ma* ‘me’, *fo* ‘you’, *mo* ‘him/her’ *bumo* ‘them’ *kumo* ‘it’ *e* she/he *anye* ‘we’.

**Adjective:** The traditional notional definition of adjectives identifies them as attributes of nouns (Schachter ibd). The word adjective in the Gonja language can be defined as a word which modifies a noun. Consider the examples *below*;

(3) *Kache lembir na*

woman black DEF  
 'The black woman'

(4) *Kaboe shimbi ko*  
 goat short INDEF  
 'A short goat'

In (3) and (4) above, *lambir* 'black' and *shimbi* 'short' therefore, modify the nouns *kache* 'woman' and *kaboe* 'goat' respectively.

**Verb:** the term verb is given to the part of speech class in which most of the words that occur express action, process and the like (Schachter, 1986:9). Verbs, therefore, denote actions. Examples of these action words in Gonja include *ji* 'eat', *cha* 'dance', *kra* 'read', *ba* 'come', *y4* 'go', etc.

Aarts (2001:44) observes that, adverbs modify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. An adverb qualifies a verb or changes the meaning of a verb, adjective, other adverb, clause, sentence or any word or phrase. In this language, adverbs post-modify verbs or nouns. In Gonja, we can have adverb of manner, time, degree, reason, place and frequency similar to other languages like English. See the examples below;

(5) *Mantenso ji-ø b4i`*  
 Mantenso eat.PST slowly  
 'Mantenso ate slowly' (Kotochi, 2013)

(6) *Adur ji-ø ndre*  
 Adur eat.PST yesterday  
 'Adur ate yesterday' (Sulemana, 2001)

(7) *Ele`i bee ji ga*  
 Ele`i PROG eat DEG

‘Ele`i eats a lot’ (Sulemana 1980).

In data (5) *b4i`* ‘slowly’ tells how the eating was done by *Mantenso*. It therefore post-modifies the verb *ji* ‘eat’ in this context as a verbal modifier. Also, the adverb *ndre* ‘yesterday’ in (6) is an adverb of time. Example (7) demonstrates an adverb of degree at which *Ele`i* eats.

Another class of words in Gonja is the determiner. Lyons (1968:542) states that determiners constitute a closed class. Their semantic function is to restrict and make precise the reference of the noun which they determine. Below is a demonstration of some data containing determiner in Gonja.

(8) *Koshi na ji-∅ ayu na.*  
 Fowl DEF eat.PERF millet DEF  
 ‘The fowl has eaten the millet’. (Afari-Twako, 2001)

In (8), the determiner *na* ‘the’ makes it clear what exactly did the eating and the item that has been eaten.

Another word class to be touched on briefly is the conjunction in Gonja. They belong to the closed class of words that have a linking function in language. The following are some conjunctions in Gonja *n1* ‘and’, *ama* ‘but’, *nkpal* ‘because’ *amo* ‘unless’. Consider their function in the examples below.

(9) *Abu n1 Shaibu ba*  
 Abu CONJ Shaibu come.PERF  
 ‘Abu and Shaibu have come’.

(10) *Alidu y4-∅ ama e ba-∅.*  
 Alidu go.PERF CONJ 3SG come.PST  
 ‘Alidu went but he is back’

(11) *E y4-ø nkpal ako` so*

3SG go.PERF CONJ hunger POSTP  
'He/She left because of hunger'

In examples (9), (10) and (11), the syntactic function of the conjunction is to connect words or a group of words together. In other words, conjunctions are used to join single words or group of words together.

In summary, this section discussed Gonja and the land area it covers. The dialects of Gonja are also mentioned. The syllable structure and the sentential components of Gonja are highlighted. Also, the parts of speech system of Gonja is discussed in this section.

### **1.1.1 The Speakers and Linguistic Affiliation of Gonja**

The North Guang language family comprises Chumburung, Foodo, Gichode, Krachi, Nawuri, Choruba, Gonja and Nkonya (Dakubu, 1988:76, Deborah et al, 2016:2 and Snider, 1990a). The Sehema (1) below indicates the position of Gonja and the North Guang group to which it belongs.

1) Niger – Congo > Volta Congo > Kwa > Tano > Guang > North Guang > Gonja

According to Deborah et.al (2016:1), Gonja, the North Guang language has by far the largest population of speakers. The native speakers of Gonja currently number about 230,000. There is a considerable amount of mutual intelligibility among Yeji Chumburung, Prang Chumburung, and Krachi Ckumburung but considerably less intelligibility between these forms and Gonja (Dakubu 1988). All the major ethnic groups in Ghana claim to have come to meet the Guangs already settled. The Guangs in

Ghana can be classified into five major groups spread throughout the country. The major groups include the Northern Guangs; Chumburung, Nawuri, Gichode, Choruba, Dwang Gonja, the Volta Guangs; Nkonya, Anum-Boso, the Eastern Guangs; Cherepong, Akropong, Larteh, the Brong Ahafo Guangs and the Central Guangs; Awutu. The Gonja people occupy six local government districts in the Northern region of Ghana, namely: Sawla-Tuna-Kalba, Bole, West Gonja, East Gonja, Central Gonja and North Gonja, the most recent.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Noun phrase structure is a relatively well researched area in languages all over the world: Boadi (2010) posits that, the modifiers of a noun phrase occur in the following linear order in Akan, a Kwa language. That is, the identity predeterminer *saa*, the associative phrase, the participle, the adjective, the demonstrative, the relative clause and the quantifier. These constituents serve three important functions to modulate the meaning of the noun. The three functions are: localizing, quantifying and qualifying.

Givón (2001) postulates that, the most common type of noun modifiers are the classifiers, number, case-markers, determiners/articles demonstratives, adjectives, compounding nouns, numerals, quantifiers, prepositional phrase, noun complements and relative clauses in English. Tallerman (1998) posits that, cross-linguistically, nouns are frequently paired with members of a closed class of words known as determiners. Noun phrases most often function as arguments or participants of verbal predicates. Word classes are distinguished by their morphology, their functions and by their pattern of distribution; this covers both the slots which words can appear in, and the modifying words that co-occur with them. Wiredu (1998) posits that grammar involves breaking down a language into pieces to see how individual components of the language combine

to produce well-formed structures. What this means is that words in a language are not just joined together anyhow. Rather, we join the words in a specific order based on specific rules of the language. These scholars and many more have discussed noun phrase structures in their respective languages of study.

Afari-Twako (2001, 2015), Painter (1970), Jindayu (2013), Deborah et al (2016) worked on aspects of Gonja. Even though these earlier discussions have paid attention to the morpho-syntactic properties and their functions in an NP of some North Guang languages, there have been little attempt with regard to the structural items of the Gonja NP and the co-occurrence permissibility between the compulsory noun head and the other modifying elements. It is structurally possible for adjectives to occur in full form when we have a series of adjectives modifying the same noun head in the syntax of the Gonja NP. This observation is contrary to the literature on some languages where only the last adjective occur in full, the rest of the adjectives occur in their root form (Issah, 2013, Tangwam, 2014, Danti, 2005). Bendor-Samuel (1971) as cited in (Issah, 2013:205) propose that in Gur languages a noun is followed by a string of adjectives. That is, it is grammatical to have several modifying adjectives occurring in full, modifying the same head noun. The Gonja noun phrase is in line with the literature of these languages in that, it allows adjectives to occur in series grammatically modifying the same head noun in which case the adjectives occur in their full form. This thus suggests that, Gonja shares the same structural features with these languages regarding the stacking of adjectives. Furthermore, it is a language in which a string of adjectives is grammatically acceptable in the syntax. Ironically, however, this phenomenon has not been given the necessary attention it deserves. Also, the elements that compose the noun phrase in Gonja have not been thoroughly looked at. In addition, the syntactic units that occur as modifiers of the noun phrase have not been investigated. It is this knowledge

gap that has necessitated this study. The current study seeks to address this phenomenon by providing reasonably adequate descriptive analysis of the function of these syntactic units in the various slots that they occur in relation to the noun in the noun phrase. Generally, NPs are made up of the obligatory head noun and several optional elements (Afari-Twako, 2001, 2015:89, Boadi, 2010, Issah, 2013:203, and Wiredu, 1998:67). The Gonja noun phrase is of interest to this study because it has modifiers which occur in a certain syntactic sequence and the sequence is largely fixed, although some variation is possible. Consider the examples below;

(12). *Kanyen tente` lembir pulso na*  
 man tall black fat DEF  
 ‘The tall black fat man’

(13). *Kache tente` peper dra bônâ kebita na*  
 Woman tall fair old ugly beauty DEF  
 ‘The tall fair old ugly woman’

(14). *Mbia kpoãso wulso benyô ko*  
 PL.child naughty thin two INDEF  
 ‘Some two thin naughty children’

Following from example (12), we observed that the noun head *kanyen* ‘man’ is post modified by three adjectives *tenteã* ‘tall’ *lembir* ‘black’ *pulso* ‘fat’ embedded in the NP. In example (13) we observe that *tenteã* ‘tall’ *peper* ‘fair’, *dra* ‘old’, *bônâ* ‘ugly’ are all adjectives that modify the noun head *kache* ‘woman’. Again, in (14) the adjectives ‘naughty’ and ‘thin’ which are preceded by the modified noun in the noun phrase occurred in their full form. We see in the data that all these adjectives appear in full forms and the resulting structures are grammatical in Gonja. This study seeks to

examine the grammaticality of an NP in the language regarding the several modifying properties. The study takes a deeper look at these modifiers in Gonja and notes that morphosyntactic structures are not radically arbitrary but rather are relatively motivated semantically and this is necessarily required in the grammar of the language.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Discuss the elements that compose the noun phrase in Gonja.
2. Investigate the linguistic units that occur as pre – and -post modifiers of the noun head (NH) in Gonja.
3. Identify the co-occurrence restrictions of modifiers of noun heads in Gonja.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What is the elements that compose the noun phrase in Gonja?
2. Which linguistic units occur as pre – and – post modifiers of the head noun (NH)?
3. What is the ordering restriction regarding of modifiers?

### **1.5 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to conduct a comprehensive descriptive analysis of syntax and Noun Phrase (NP) particularly in Gonja. The study is my attempt to contribute to the general knowledge of the noun phase, using data from Gonja.



## **1.6 Delimitation of the Study**

The study is only limited to the structure and function of the Gonja NP and the linguistic units that occur as pre-and post-modifiers of NPs. The co-occurrence restriction involving several modifiers is also investigated. Also, this study is limited to the Western corridor of Gonjaland communities comprising the West, Central, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba and Bole Districts. The data collected relates to the West Gonja dialect.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

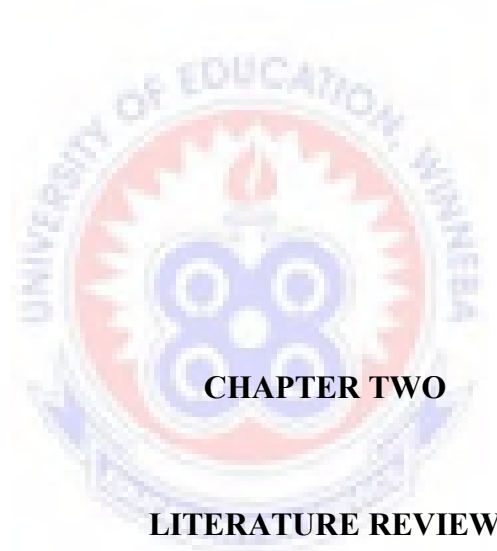
This my study in the Gonja noun phrase when completed, will serve as a source of useful information on the structure and function of the Gonja noun phrase. The findings of the study will help in further studies on the syntactic structure of the Gonja NP. It will also serve as a document and reference material for the development of Gonja. The outcome of this study will throw more light on the subject matter and direct scholars for further development of the language. In addition, syllabus designers and writers of the language will find this material useful as they will have an insight into the syntax of the language which will help them design meaningful curriculum to guide and control the teaching and learning of Gonja in schools in their quest to improving the standard of the language.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is general introduction while Chapter two discusses the literature review. In Chapter three, the type of research design used and the data collection procedure are discussed. Chapter four of this thesis discusses the analysis of the noun phrase in Gonja. The final chapter of this study discusses the summary, findings and recommendations.

## **1.9 Summary**

The chapter discussed the general introduction of the study, background of the study, the speakers and linguistic affiliation of Gonja. It also discussed the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and delimitation. It further discussed the purpose of the study, significance of the study and the organization of the work.



## **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter looks at some related literature relevant to this current study of the structure of the noun phrase in Gonja. The review relates to the general cross-linguistic properties that have been found to characterize the noun and its associated phrasal elements. The aim of this chapter is to briefly review some of the descriptive phrase structure frameworks by scholars of syntax that are true and relevant to the study so long as the rules of combining words into phrases such as the noun phrase is concerned. The first part of this chapter discusses review of works on syntax in general postulated

by some researchers. The second part focuses on review of works directly on Gonja literature.

## 2.1 General Review of works on Noun Phrases

Traditional grammarians generally provide concepts for describing sentences not just as sequences of words, but as sequences of groups of words. Among the concepts occasionally used are noun phrases, verb phrases, and prepositional phrases (Robert et al, 1997). They observe that a sentence may consist of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. A verb phrase may consist of a verb alone, or a verb and a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase. A prepositional phrase may consist of a preposition and a noun alone, or an adjective and a noun, or a determiner and a noun, or a determiner and an adjective. Statements like these can be formalized in what is known as phrase structure grammar. This grammar consists of a set of rules with each rule having a single symbol on the left connected by an arrow to one or more symbols on the right. Consider schema (2) of structures based on this framework below;

(2)

- a. S  $\longrightarrow$  NP VP
- b. VP  $\longrightarrow$  V NP
- c. VP  $\longrightarrow$  V NP
- d. VP  $\longrightarrow$  V PREP
- e. VP  $\longrightarrow$  V NP PREPP
- f. PREPP  $\longrightarrow$  PREP NP
- g. NP  $\longrightarrow$  N
- h. NP  $\longrightarrow$  ADJ N
- i. NP  $\longrightarrow$  DET N

j. NP  $\longrightarrow$  DET ADJ N (Robert et al, 1997)

The arrow in each rule is interpreted as its meaning may consist of, and if the symbol S is interpreted as standing for sentence, NP for noun phrase, VP for verb phrase, PREPP for prepositional phrase, V for verb, VP for verb phrase, N for noun, NP for noun phrase, ADJ for adjective. These set of rules indicate the structural components of a noun phrase so far as the phrase structure rule is concerned. Rule according to Robert et al, (ibid) accounts for the NP as the subject of the verb, which is the only syntactic context where NP is obligatory. Rule on the other hand accounts for NP as the object of the verb, when the verb is transitive or as object of the verb, with the verb, following NP.

Dryer (2007:267) sees a noun phrase to be ‘a word or group of words functioning in a sentence exactly like a noun with a noun or pronoun as head’. He further states that a noun phrase can be a noun or pronoun alone, but it is frequently a noun with pre and post modifiers. The noun phrase is one of the principal categories, and one which appears to be perhaps universally present in all languages (Trask, 1993:189). He noted that, functionally, a noun phrase may be defined as any category which can bear some grammatical relation within a sentence, such as subject, object, indirect object or oblique object. Berk (1999:55) defines the noun phrase as a proper noun, a pronoun, a noun or noun plus its modifiers. He further states that noun phrases function as subject, object, indirect object, complements and objects of preposition.

According to Tangwam (2014:22) phrases are built around a ‘skeleton’ which consists of a phrase level and the word level. Each level of the phrase structure can be thought of as a ‘hook’ to which words of different word classes can be attached. This ‘hook’ can be a representation of a noun phrase. Nsoh and Ababila (2009:194) see the simple noun phrase as any group of words constituted by only a noun head, or is preceded or

followed by at least one modifier, or a noun followed and proceeded by functional modifiers.

Issah (2013) observes that the simple noun phrase in Dagbani is made up of the head noun (HN) which could be a noun, a pronoun or a proper noun and several other elements within the syntactic construction of simple noun phrase which serve as modifiers. The modifying words of the simple noun phrase are identified as the adjective, quantifier, demonstrative, determiner, numeral and the article. These structural elements give certain grammatical or semantic properties of the HN. These modifying structural elements of the SNP basically are post head modifiers since they invariably follow the head noun

In relation to the headedness of the noun phrase, Bakken (2006) observes that the head of a noun phrase is a noun or a pronoun. If the head is a noun, it may combine with determiners, pre-modifiers and post-modifiers. On the contrary, if the head is a pronoun, determiners will normally not occur, and even if any modifier occurs there are usually post-modifiers.

According to Wiredu (1998:87) the main element of sentence, the noun phrase may function as subject, and prepositional complement. All of those mentioned above are nominal function. In addition, noun phrases can function as adverbials, as vocations, and as apposition. Furthermore, noun phrase can be used as an adjective to modify the head of the NP. A noun in the genitive may function as determiner in the NP. Since noun phrases have different functions they are abundant in most texts. Therefore, when we take away the noun phrases from the text the elements left will be very few.

In talking about the structural composition of noun phrases, they are different in structure. Some of them are made up of single words while some of them are made of

long complex structures. Normally, single words such as nouns and pronouns are used to clarify what is being referred to. Wiredu (ibid) further state that if we want to express new information we normally need to use more complex noun phrases. If the head is a noun, it may combine with pre- and post-modifiers to form a noun phrase. When the entity being referred to is clear to the hearer, the head noun can syntactically be replaced by a pronoun.

In relation to the types of noun phrases, Hasselgard et al (1998) posit that there are two types of noun phrases; one is noun-headed phrase and the other one is pronoun-headed phrase. A pronoun-headed phrase plays similar functions as the noun-headed phrases do. In addition, pronoun-headed phrases play the same role just like the noun-headed phrases in the text. Pronouns can substitute full noun phrases when the referent is very clear in the situation or the surrounding text. Also, pronouns simplify the use of language since they make it necessary to specify or identify who the speaker is, who the hearer is, and which other entities are being referred to in the phrase. This English phenomenon is relevant to this current study.

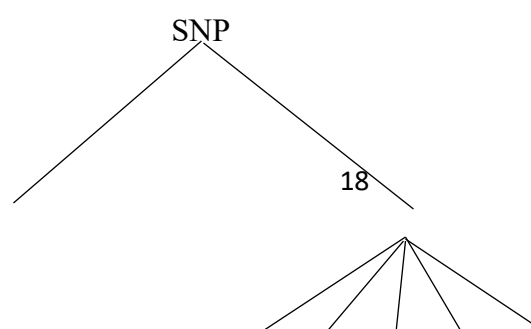
In talking about the relationship between the noun phrase and the other structural elements, Tallerman (1998:37) states that ‘within the noun phrase, nouns often occur with a closed class of words known as determiners’. The author further explains that determiners are paired with nouns and do not co-occur with other word classes. Tallerman cites these examples to buttress her point; **the** paper, **the** problem, **those** feelings, **which** car. The bolded words are the determiners. This claim in English noun phrases above is relevant to this current study.

Agbedor (2007) see a phrase to be a word or a group of words that functions as a single unit. He further states that in a phrase, we distinguish between the word that is the

overall head of the phrase and the other words which are dependent on the head. According to him, the head bears the most important semantic information in the phrase. Agbedor's (ibid) observation about a phrase matches with that of the Gonja NP to be discussed in detail in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Wiredu (1999: 67) postulates that a phrase is a group of words which together can be replaced by a single word in a sentence and that word must be a pronoun or another noun. That is, all the words in the group, when combined, can be represented by just one word, and the sentence will still be meaningful. He cites this English sentence to buttress his point: *my three tall brothers have slept*. We can substitute a single word *people* or *they* for the words 'my three tall brothers' and the result, then will be 'people have slept or they have slept'. Following from the above, we can say that the following group of words is a phrase; 'my three tall brothers'. Thus, since we can replace a group by a single word, that group of words will be referred to as a phrase. Wiredu (ibid) further states that since a group of words can be replaced by single words, there is one word which must be present at all costs. For, if you delete that word, the phrase becomes ungrammatical. Typologically, it is not uncommon for pronouns to occur in noun phrases without modifiers. Cross linguistically, research into the structure of NPs has led to the categorization of NPs into three different classes (Issah, 2013:205). The first are simple noun phrases (SNP) which comprise only a pronoun or contain a noun plus simple modifiers such as articles, adjectives, demonstratives or numerals. The second is the complex noun phrase which contains complex modifiers and relative clauses. The final class are those noun phrases which lack a head noun. Gonja simple noun phrase is made up of the elements in the diagram below.

(15).



HN

Post modifiers

Adjective numeral article quantifier demonstrative  
determiner

In relation to the linear representation of the structural components of the noun phrase, Abakah (2004) cited in Issah (2013) suggests the SNP to be made up of the elements in (16) to (18) below;

(16). SNP-----HN (Post modifiers). This linear representation could further be broken down into (17) and (18) below;

(17). SNP-----N (HN only)

(18). SNP-----HN + Post modifiers.

These structural elements as shown in the representation in (15) above give some grammatical information about the head noun as in the case of the demonstrative, quantifiers and article or semantic information as in the case of the adjectives and numerals. As cross linguistically assumed, the head noun of the NP is the only obligatory element of the NP, while the other modifying categories are optional elements (Issah, 2013:210). All these modifiers can however co-occur with a noun.

Brown and Miller (1996:260) suggest that a sequence of words typically does not qualify as a noun phrase unless it contains a noun, and the noun can be seen as controlling the other constituents in the noun phrase. The noun phrase has three major components which occur in a fixed order in most human languages which Gonja is not an exception. These are:



- Pre-modifiers: All elements which come before the head noun or to the left.
- The head noun: The main focus of the phrase. The head is the only obligatory element of the noun phrase.
- Post-modifiers: All elements which come after the head or to the right of the head noun.

This observation is fairly relevant to this current study because the structure of the Gonja NP consists of the HN and post-modifiers. O'Grady et al (2010), observe that sentences are not formed by simply stringing words together like beads on a necklace. Rather, they have a hierarchical design in which words are grouped together into longer structural units called phrases. They cite the following example to explain the statement above: 'The doctor arrived quickly'. O'Grady et al (ibid) further says that, the words 'the' and 'doctor' formed a noun phrase and 'arrived' and 'quickly' make up a verb phrase. Their observation is very relevant to this current study. The determiner pre modified the HN in the English structure.

## **2.2 Modifiers**

Nsoh & Ababila (2009) discussed the structure of the noun phrase in Farefari. According to them, a modifier means any lexical or functional element that can function in the NP to restrict or specify the meaning of the noun. They further say it can broadly be defined as all the elements in the NP other than the noun head. A word especially an adjective or noun used attributively, that restricts or adds to the sense of a noun head e.g. good and family becomes 'good family'. The noun head here is 'family' while the adjective 'good' is a modifier. Modifiers can either be pre- or post-modifiers in relation to the noun head. The Gonja data collected so far agrees with the Farefari argument in that a modifier restricts or adds sense to the noun head.

According to Wiredu (1999:73), modifiers are those words which appear before the headword. In English structure, the headword may be preceded by either a simple word or by a number of words. Issah (2013:205) observes that modifiers are the structural elements which give certain grammatical or semantic properties of the head noun. These are those optional structural elements that come before or after the obligatory noun head. In the structure of English, and some Ghanaian languages e.g. Gonja, there is no limit to the number of items which modify a headword or noun head. However, two things are distinctive about the modifiers. First, in spite of the fact that there is apparently no limit to the number of modifiers which can modify a noun head, there are only a few types of words which can occur as modifiers (Wiredu, 1999: 73). The data for this study suggest that it is not every word which can occur as a modifier. Only a limited number of words in the language can do this.

### **2.2.1. Pre-modifiers**

Pre-modifiers are to the left of the noun head. That is to say that they precede the headword. The noun head can be pre-modified by series of items. For example, determiners, such as quantifiers, demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, articles, numerals and adjectives such as lexical adjectives, non-finite forms of verbs, lexical nouns, and genitives can function as pre-modifiers of the noun head in English (Radford 1981:172). Wiredu (1999:74) postulates that the pre modifier position can be occupied by a determiner, numeral, adjective, participle and nominal. He further states that no matter how many words occur before a head noun, they will be one of these types, for example, 'my three principal activities'. In this example, the head noun *activities* has been preceded by the pronoun *my* which is a possessive pronoun which in turn precedes the numeral and the adjective. Hence they become pre modifiers to the noun *activities*.

### **2.2.2 Post Modifiers**

Post modifiers are the items that come after the noun head. They occur at the right side of the noun head (Wiredu 1999:81). The post-modifier position may be occupied by adjectives, definite and indefinite markers, discourse modifiers, the cardinal, numerical and quantifier elements. On the issue of the post modifiers, Issah (2013) states that the post modifying words of the SNP are identified as the adjective, quantifier, demonstrative, determiner, numeral, and the article. The author further states that these structural elements give certain grammatical or semantic properties of the head noun they modify. These modifying structural elements of the SNP basically are post head modifiers since they invariably follow the head noun in Dagbani. According to Wiredu (1999:87) post-modifiers could also be preposition phrases, non-finite clauses, adverbs, adjectives, relative clauses, independent clauses and appositive nouns. The following are some items that post-modify the head noun.

### **2.2.3 Postposition as Post-modifier**

A postpositional phrase consists of a postposition which is preceded by the HN of a noun phrase. These postpositional phrases function to indicate position, direction, time and reason. In the postpositional phrase, the interpretation given to the construction will usually depend on the meaning the postpositions in the phrase have. Postpositions indicate the position of the object being referred to. The postposition in the postpositional phrase occurs after the noun head and the determiner when present in the structure.

### **2.2.4 Adjectives as Post-modifier**

The traditional notional definition of adjectives identifies them as the class of words denoting qualities or attributes (Schachter, 1985:13). An adjective is a describing word. Its main syntactic role is to qualify a noun or noun phrase at the post modifying position. Adjectives give more information about the objects they modified. An adjective therefore identifies, describes, modifies or qualifies the head noun in the structure of a noun phrase. Furthermore, adjectives give semantic information about the head noun they post modify. Syntactically, noun phrases can be constructed without adjectives however, they function in the noun phrase to restrict or specify the meaning of the noun or referent. Notwithstanding their function as post modifiers, adjectives can also occur as headwords of the noun phrase as it is revealed in the study.

#### **2.2.5 Relative Clause as Post-modifier**

Harris (1946, 1951) proposed that the relation between categories such as V and VP, and N and NP, is a systematic one that could be captured by breaking the monadic parts of speech labels into two components, namely a category type and a phrasal level. Wiredu (1999:47) postulates that these monadic syntactic features called relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronouns who, which, whose and whom. In sentences, it is noted that the relative clause provide additional information about the noun heads they are attached to. Consider the examples below, ‘The girl who bought this pen has gone home’ and ‘The book that I wrote sells very fast’. In these structures, we note that the relative clause ‘who bought this pen’ is telling us more about the girl. Similarly, the relative feature ‘that I wrote’ is particularly decoding the noun head. Radford (1981) posits that ‘the relative clause defines specifically who or what the actor is. To him, the choice of a relative pronoun is determined by the type of noun the clause is modifying.

The rule is that when the noun it modifies is a human noun, then, *who* and *whom* will be selected. And since the girl in the first sentence is human we select *who* but in the second sentence where the relative clause modifies a non-human noun *that* is selected.

### 2.2.6 The Noun Head

Brinton (2000) observes in English that the head word or noun head of a noun phrase is the endocentric element in that it is the only element (noun) that is meaningful. Generally, nouns are the most common words to serve as the head word or noun head in a noun phrase. Wiredu (1999:79) posits that there are three types of words which can function as head word in a typical noun phrase. These, according to him, are nouns, pronouns and adjectives. The noun phrase has an obligatory element, noun head and it is the meaningful element in noun phrases. For example, The teacher is handsome. In the sentence 'The teacher is handsome', 'teacher' is the endocentric element because it is the only element (noun) that is meaningful as compared to the other items. We can take the head word or noun head out of the phrase and join the modifiers, 'the is handsome' which is meaningless as compared to 'teacher' in the sentence. Again, in the sentence 'The intelligent handsome man in the queue' the endocentric element is 'man'. This is because it is the meaningful element that can replace the modifying elements without the meaning being distorted. The construction will be meaningless if the noun head 'man' is taken out of the noun phrase. It is worth mentioning that the noun head is the meaning component and is generally the most common element to serve as the head word in a noun phrase. This explains why the phrase itself is called the NP (Wiredu, 1999:79).

### **2.2.7 Definite and Indefinite Markers**

There are two types of articles in most languages. They are: definite and indefinite articles. Dryer (2007:152) argues that most languages may have either a definite article or an indefinite article but not both. In few languages which Gonja is not an exception, however both occur. For instance, '*the*' (definite) and '*an/a*' (indefinite) in English. According to Crystal (1985:86) the concept of definiteness refers to references that focus on specific, identifiable individual entities or class of entities. Givón (2001:459) also argues that speakers code a noun referent as definite when they assume that it is identifiable or accessible to the hearer. Indefiniteness, on the other hand is used to characterize reference to an entity or class of entities which are not identified since it is not known to the hearer.

### **2.3 Review of works on Gonja Linguistics**

Modest strides have been made in the past by linguists and language teachers in the research of Gonja. Significant work has been done in the study and use of Gonja, though published articles and books in the language are very few. Having said that, there is hope in going forward. The language is recognized by the Ministry of Education for use in basic and secondary schools. It is also taught at some colleges of education in the Northern Region and studied as a programme in the College of Languages Education, Ajumako. In view of this, agencies like the Bureau of Ghana Languages (BGL), Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) and Cyber systems, Tamale publish articles in Gonja. This section, therefore, is to briefly discuss the relevant and readily available materials related to this current study.

Afari-Twako (2001, 2005 and 2015) provide a preliminary descriptive study of the grammar and use of Gonja. The aim of the author is to present a comprehensive

introductory study of phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax in Gonja. The first two chapters provide a study of speech sounds, their form, substances and perception as well as the application of this study to better understanding and improvement of Gonja expression. He further states that two classes of phonemes may be distinguished in the study of Gonja. These are the segmental sounds which refer to the consonants and vowels. Articulators, according to him, are the parts that take part in the obstruction of the airstream during the production of speech sounds which are combined to form certain idiosyncratic phonological processes in Gonja. The last three chapters of his publication discusses the structure and function of the language with the view of making scholars understand the concepts and be abreast with their functional and syntactic usage in sentence structures in the language. The chief advantage of the study lies in the fact that it brings researchers to the point where they can readily analyze grammatical structures in Gonja. He further posits that postpositions in Gonja occur after the head noun they modify and are therefore labeled as post positive markers. Contrasting with the other languages in which instance, they function as prepositions. In the literature of the language, the head noun and its post modifiers in the NP, the nominal and the gender and genitive systems play a significant role in describing the noun phrase of Gonja.

Painter (1970) cited in Dakubu (1988:83) claims that there is grammatical concord found between nominals and determiners and among nominals such as pronominal, deities and numerals exhibiting a syntactic relationship in Gonja. This claim has a direct bearing on the present study since grammatical concord and the nominal are concerned. Dakubu (ibid) posits that, in Gonja, singular and plural of nouns are indicated by prefixes. New evidence found in Amidu (2007) indicates that, plural prefixes in Gonja include but not limited to a-, b-, e-, n- , m- and â-.

There is a set of over nine plural prefixes from which nominals, particularly nouns, select appropriate markers to match their grammatical number and the class to which the nominal belongs. Chapters (9-11) of Afari-Twako (2001, 2015), present the grammar of Gonja; how words in Gonja combine to form correct sentences. The major concern of studying the grammatical structures is to describe how words in Gonja combine with others, and what we do with these combinations. It is this view of grammar that this current study is closely related to and derives inspirations from because it serves as a foundation for further study on the syntax of Gonja.

According to Afari-Twako (2015:102) *keterefolshiã 'noun phrase' la mmalgaba ka bâ abarso n yili fanâ kamalgafol be kaba nâ amo to be kamalga nâ ku la amobe kumu la ketere nko bee shuã fanâ ketere kamalgafol nko kefâlto* to 'is made up of the obligatory head noun and several optional elements. These optional elements generally follow the head noun of the simple noun phrase and so are labeled as post-head modifiers. These modifiers give certain grammatical or semantic information about the noun they modify. The following are examples for consideration:

(19). *Ekpa lubi na bee bra kumu lubi*  
 Road bad DEF HAB cause head bad  
 'The bad road causes accident'

(20). *Ewura na nâ mobe beche ma.a sha baasa*  
 Chief DEF CONJ 3SG.POSS wife.PL PROG.NEG like people  
 'The chief and his wives do not like people'

(21). *N shâr-ø kache walâ kebita ko to jimaa na to.*  
 1SG meet.PST woman good beauty INDEF POSTP crowd DEF  
 POSTP



‘I met a certain beautiful woman in the crowd’

The modifiers in (19), (20) and (21), above give some grammatical information about the noun head. This is relevant to this current study so long as the pre-and post-modifiers of the NP in Gonja are concerned.

Zakaria (1989) looks at storytelling and children’s entertainment in Gonja where he compiled some short stories in the study area. Amidu (2007, 2009) worked on the oral and written literature of Gonja and Gonja grammar for beginners respectively. The most significant previous treatment of Gonja phonology, by far, is Colin Painter’s landmark study on Gonja: A Phonological and Grammatical Study (Painter 1970). His work on Gonja phonology and grammar presents a very extensive description of the Damongo variety of Gonja, covering both phonological and syntactic structures and patterns. His study discusses the structures in an NP of Gonja and the syntactic functions which they play in the language. However, the order of the pre-and post-modifiers of the Gonja noun phrase was not accounted for. This could partially be attributed to the absence of native speaker intuition. Sulemana (1986 published in 2001), provides a comprehensive readable prose titled *Ndefoso* in the written literature of Gonja which treats the compositional elements in Gonja literature. His work yielded a reasonable number of literature materials relevant for the teaching and learning of Gonja. Jindayu (2013) considers the morph-syntax of Gonja personal names. Attention was given to the structural composition of personal names in the language. He further states that the Gonja sentence structure requires at least an SVO that is, subject + verb + object structure. The data collected indicates that some Gonja names are complete sentences. Thus they are made up of the headword usually a noun and other specifics. These names were analyzed into two main categories: by sentence function and by function as declaratives, commands while others were interrogatives. Structurally, reduced names in

Gonja according to him can best be considered as unanalyzable sequences since they cannot be reduced to conventional grammatical or lexical units. Although his study concerns itself with sentential structures in names, it failed to present the order of the nominal and its modifiers or the structural elements that can be said to be arbitrary identifiers of the people that bear them. These numerous publications in Gonja are based on the introductory linguistics, cultural, oral and written literature of Gonja. As a result, this study seeks to treat into detail a comprehensive descriptive structural analysis of the Gonja noun phrase. Also, the syntactic function and order of these components of the noun phrase structure of Gonja shall be treated into detail.

## **2.5 Summary**

This chapter discussed the relevant related literature of the noun phrase. It considered the general literature of NPs postulated by previous researchers of syntax. The Noun head and other elements that occur before and after it have all been discussed in this chapter. The chapter also reviewed literature focusing closely on Gonja structures in general and Noun phrases in particular.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the type of research design used, the various sources of data, the population, sample and sampling techniques and the rationale behind their selection. It also deals with the instrument used for data collection and the data presentation and analysis method adopted.

#### 3.1 Research Design

This study is qualitative in nature. It was selected because of its descriptive nature which enhances I understanding of meanings and symbols underlying every human activity. To understand the constituent structures of the Noun Phrase in Gonja, the study employed qualitative method which entails detailed verbal descriptions of characteristics, cases and settings through the use of interviews and observations. Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2), observe that qualitative research design involves the use of a myriad of tools such as case study, personal experience, interviews, observations, visual texts to gather empirical data about a specific phenomenon.

According to Kankam and Weiler (2010:65) qualitative research approach tries to uncover complexities that help understand meanings. This study adopted the descriptive

approach as its main study design because the nature of the topic requires a detailed description of the constituent elements of the noun phrase as well as the connectedness between the modifiers of the Gonja NP. This is to give a description of these structures and their functions as they prevail in the language. Also, I adopted qualitative research design because the data was gathered in words rather than in numbers. This method is preferred for its interpretive strength through observing, asking and analyzing which enables a comprehensive conclusion to be drawn by reflecting on practices that prevail, beliefs or attitudes that are held, processes that are going on and issues that are developing

Also, qualitative research seeks to understand people's interpretation of a phenomenon which is dynamic because reality changes with changes in people's perception. I chose qualitative approach because it produces 'more in-depth' and comprehensive information. It also uses subjective information and participant observation to describe the context or natural setting of the variables under consideration as well as interactions of the different variables in the context. The purpose of descriptive research is to describe, and document phenomenon as it naturally occurs.

Newman (2012) asserts that descriptive research helps to provide information accurately about a group or a phenomenon; provides new information about issues and also documents information that either counteracts or supports prior knowledge about a particular issue. The descriptive research design also has the advantage of giving me the opportunity to describe semantic systems, relations or social events, background information about the issue in question as well as stimulating explanations (Sarantakos, 2000). Descriptive research attempts not only to describe a particular language or a set of languages, but to explain why they should be the way they are. They often have a

theoretical structure, a model of grammar, which they are testing against particular data from a given language (Bauer, 2007)

### **3.2 Population and Sample**

The aim of this section is to discuss how and why I selected the participants used for this study. It discusses the sample and the background of the sampled population used in the course of collecting data for this study. The target population for the study was all fluent speakers of Gonja. However, the fact that the population area was wide, it limited the researcher. To this end, I used purposive sampling technique in selecting the subjects for the study. Purposive sampling was useful in this study because it provided this researcher with a wider range of non-probability sampling techniques which I relied on for data used in this study. In doing qualitative study like this, it is important to determine which type of data would help answer the research questions. With this in mind, participants were selected based on the adequate understanding that they have about noun phrases and that they can confidently discuss the structure of Gonja.

The available sampled size that I selected and interacted with in the course of conducting this study was twenty four participants. They were made up of fifteen third year undergraduate students, and one postgraduate student of Gonja of the College of Languages Education, Ajumako, and two tutors of Gonja Unit of the Bagabaga College of Education and three Gonja Lecturers of the Gur-Gonja Department of the College of Languages Education. Two panel members of a Gonja speaking program on Nkilgi FM, Bole and one Gonja literacy consultant were also contacted. These participants were between the ages of twenty five and seventy and have studied Gonja at various levels of education.

In relation to how these participants were selected, I picked the score sheet of the students and selected all the candidates who scored more than fifteen out of twenty items in a morphology and syntax class. These included seven and eight females and males respectively. They were put into two focus groups and they interacted with the data prepared by this researcher. This was consciously done to ascertain the validity and reliability of the data used in the data analysis section of this study. The postgraduate student was selected because he was the only student offering that program aside this researcher. The tutors were also selected because they were the only two who teach Gonja in that institution.

In talking about the lecturers, three of them were chosen because they teach the morpho-syntax of Gonja and it was imperative that I engaged high caliber Gonja professionals with the requisite skills and competencies that assisted me to understand the structure of Gonja. They were met at appropriate places which were agreed upon. During the course of the conversations, diligent attention was given to elements in the Gonja structure that occur before and after the noun head which function as modifiers of it. Lastly, the two panel members and the literacy consultant were also selected because they speak fluent Gonja and they have adequate knowledge of Gonja which was required in answering the research questions. These participants were interviewed informally and their voices were recorded and later studied, transcribed and glossed in English as spontaneous data for the study. Also, the participants were made to conduct an assessment of the data I constructed and the outcome was used as data for the study.

Cornips and Polletto (2005:942) postulate that ‘one cannot use spontaneous speech alone to study the distribution of linguistic phenomenon’. They further indicate that acceptability judgment tasks cannot rely entirely on explicit knowledge since native speakers are able to make value judgment about structures with no explicit knowledge

about them which has not been explicitly taught to them. With this in mind, this researcher also selected four creative writing books of Gonja written by past students of Gonja in the Gur-Gonja department of the College of Languages Education of the University of Education, Winneba. These books were sampled because they are considered as standard books and are used in the teaching and learning of Gonja. Some of the major factors that influenced the selection of this reasonable sample size and the selected books for the study were manageability, time and financial constraints.

### **3.3 Sources of Data**

The sources for data collection of this study were elicitation and unstructured interview. This researcher used unstructured interview questions to solicit data from the participants for the study. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. In talking about the primary source of data, I used data constructed based on his own native speaker's intuition which were cross-checked with other native speakers to ensure validity and reliability. Also, voices of participants were recorded, transcribed and glossed in English as data for the study. I had to listen keenly to the voice recordings and identified spontaneous texts that contained noun phrases in the conversations with the participants. These noun phrases were then transcribed into Gonja and glossed in English. Spontaneous data were also collected at natural contexts for this study. For example, during town hall meetings, durbar grounds, funeral grounds and family meetings, I wrote down noun phrases which were used by native speakers as data for the study.

In relation to the secondary source of data, a total of four creative writing books written by scholars of Gonja were selected from the Ghanaian language library of the University of Education, Winneba and identified some noun phrase structures from

them which aided this study. They include two prose books: *Ndefoso* Sulemana, (2001), *Buwufonâashia* Kotochi, (2013 unpublished) and two unpublished drama books; *Awodima* Sulemana, (1986) and *Kesheâeba* Sulemana, (1984). In the course of consulting the books, this researcher focused on structures that contained in them noun heads and other elements that occurred as modifiers of the noun. Furthermore, this researcher read through some text books in Gonja and selected some structures that have proven to be accurate and reliable as data for the study. I also consulted the New Testament in Gonja and picked some data from it which were relevant for the study. The data adopted from any of the creative writing books, text books and the Bible has been indicated.

### **3.4 Summary**

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology of the study. The qualitative data collection method was discussed for selecting this particular research approach. The strategies implemented to ascertain validity, reliability and accuracy were outlined. The instrument used to collect data was discussed in this section. The data analysis technique was pointed out. The following chapter gives a comprehensive description of the data analysis, findings and realizations from the intuitive data, spontaneous texts as well as texts from the selected books.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANALYSIS OF THE NOUN PHRASE

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the main features of the noun phrase in Gonja. Section 4.1 presents a detailed discussion of the simple noun phrase in Gonja. It considers the articles of the simple noun phrase, the determiner in the simple noun phrase and the functions of the definite articles. Again, the chapter discusses the demonstratives in a simple noun phrase, the numerals in a simple noun phrase, the qualifier and the adjectives that modify a simple noun phrase. It also explores nouns used as modifiers, emphatic pronouns and the locative adverbs of the simple noun phrase. The analyses in Section 4.2 revolve around the elements of the complex noun phrase in Gonja. The chapter considers genitive constructions, pronominal possessors, multiple genitive constructions, alienable and inalienable possession, non-referential genitives, relative clauses, stacked relative clauses and conjoined noun phrases. Section 4.3 focuses on noun phrases without nouns in Gonja. It considers noun phrases with only modifying words, nominalization of modifiers, headless relative clauses and noun clauses. This chapter concludes with modification by several modifiers and ordering restriction by several modifiers in Gonja.

#### 4.1. The Simple Noun Phrase (SNP)

According to Dryer (2007:151, Givón , 2001, and Nsoh & Ababila, 2009), there are three sorts of noun phrases that can be distinguished in the case of English (i) Simple Noun Phrase (SNP), which contain only nouns or pronouns plus modifiers like articles, adjectives, demonstratives or numeral; (ii) Complex Noun Phrases (CNP), which

contain more complex modifiers, like genitive or possessive modifiers and relative clauses; and (iii) various sorts of noun phrases which lack a head noun. In view of the above categorization outlined by scholars of syntax, this study attempts a thorough discussion of the simple noun phrase in Gonja and its modifying elements. The following is an analysis of the simple noun phrase and its constituents.

A phrase is a group of words with the same grammatical function. It can also be said to be a group of words that comes together to perform one grammatical function. Wiredu (1998:67) sees a phrase to be a group of words which together can be replaced by a single word in a sentence. That is, all the words in the group, when combined, can be represented by just one word, and the sentence will still be meaningful. He further states that there are different types of phrases in which case there are two ways by which each phrase can be identified. The first process is to consider the type of word which can represent the whole phrase in the same position in the sentence. Secondly, we can consider the type of word which is obligatory in the group of words.

Brinton (2000) observes in English that the head word or noun head of a noun phrase is the endocentric element in that it is the only element (noun) that is meaningful. Generally, nouns are the most common words to serve as the head word or noun head in a noun phrase. Wiredu (1999:79) posits that there are three types of words which can function as head word in a typical noun phrase. These, according to him, are nouns, pronouns and adjectives. The noun phrase has an obligatory element, noun head and it is the meaningful element in noun phrases. For example, The teacher is handsome. In the sentence '*The teacher is handsome*', 'teacher' is the endocentric element because it is the only element (noun) that is meaningful as compared to the other items. We can take the head word or noun head out of the phrase and join the modifiers, 'the is handsome' which is meaningless as compared to 'teacher' in the sentence.

Afari-Twako (2015:102) defined a noun phrase as a group of words headed by a noun or pronoun. It is relatively common in Gonja to have a single word which is either a noun or pronoun to be a noun phrase. The nouns selectively take modifiers whereas the pronouns generally occur alone in noun phrases without modifiers. In other words, pronouns usually do not take modifiers in the structure of NPs in Gonja. That is, where the pronoun is the headword, it may occur alone as the subject of the verb. For instance;

(22) *Bu yô-ø*  
 3PL leave-PST  
 ‘They left’

(23) *Menye yô-ø ndoã*  
 2PL go.PST there  
 ‘You went there’

(24) *Anye ji-ø ajibi*  
 1PL eat.PST food  
 ‘We ate food’

(25) *N ji-ø ajibi*  
 1SG eat.PERF food  
 ‘I have eaten food’

In (22), (23), (24) and (25) above, the pronouns *bu* ‘they’, *anye* ‘we’, *menye* ‘you’ and *N* ‘I’, syntactically function as heads of the noun phrases. Therefore, they did not take modifiers in the constructions. The above data support the fact that pronouns do not allow determiners to occur at the left side of the verbal phrase in most human languages. However, in cases where we have *mbia ere* ‘these children’ *nwol ere* ‘these books’, *befô ere* ‘these strangers’. *Ere* in these contexts functions as demonstrative pronoun which occur as pre-modifier in the above phrases modifying the head noun in Gonja.

Therefore, it can be said that, in Gonja, emphatic demonstratives which behave like pronouns take modifier position as in the above cases illustrated. Eventhough, traditional grammarians held the belief that, pronouns are words that replace nouns; a more accurate characterization of most pronouns in Gonja is that they take the place of nouns in noun phrase. In addition, pronouns occur in Gonja as modifiers preceding the head noun.

#### **4.1.1 The Determiner**

According to Lyons (1968:542), “determiners constitute a closed class. Their semantic function is to restrict and make more precise the reference of the noun which they determine”. They are generally used in languages to encode specificity or definiteness of the NPs they modify (Issah, 2013:206). Generally, there are two types of determiner the article and the post-head demonstrative.

#### **4.1.2 The Articles**

There are two types of articles in most languages. They are: definite and indefinite articles. Dryer (2007:152) argues that most languages may have either a definite article or an indefinite article but not both. In some languages of which Gonja is one, both occur. For instance ‘*the*’ and ‘*an/a*’ as in English, and *na* (definite) and *ko* (indefinite) which are their counterparts in Gonja. According to Crystal (1985:86) the concept of definiteness refers to references that focus on specific, identifiable individual entities or class of entities. Givón (2001:459) also argues that speakers code a noun referent as definite when they assume that it is identifiable or accessible to the hearer. Indefiniteness, on the other hand is used to characterize reference to an entity or class of entities which are not identified since it is not known to the hearer. Gonja marks both

definite and indefinite entities in an NP structure. Afari-Twako (2001:87) defines a definite marker as the part of the NP or sentence which refers directly to the subject of the sentence. To him, they are the elements in the NP that indicate the idea being referred to by both the speaker and the hearer. The Gonja definite markers include *na* the and *ere* this. This in another context can be a demonstrative or deitic element in the language. The following examples illustrate these definite markers of the Gonja NP.

(26). *Bewura na ba-ø kabre*  
 ChiefPL DEF Come.PST today  
 ‘The chiefs came today’

(27). *Ekpampo na*  
 Hunter DEF  
 ‘The hunter’

(28). *Ajô ere bâ*  
 yam.PL DEF rot  
 ‘These yams are rotten’

(29). *Ebu ere bee dul.*  
 room DEF HAB leak  
 ‘This room leaks’

In (26) and (27), the definite marker is *na* ‘the’ which refers specifically to *bewura* ‘chiefs’ and *ekpampo* ‘hunter’ respectively in the NPs above. Also, in (28) and (29), the definite marker is *ere* ‘this’ referring to the rotten yams and the particular room which leaks. Below are more examples on the definite markers in Gonja.

(30) *Kache na wu-ø*

woman. DEF die.PST  
 ‘The woman is dead’

(31) *Mbia mō-ø kaboe na*  
 child.PL kill.PERF goat DEF  
 ‘Children have killed the goat’

(32) *Kache na yɔ-ø kade*  
 woman DEF go.PERF town  
 ‘The woman has travelled’

(33) *Achankanto pā-ø eyu na*  
 police catch.PERF thief DEF  
 ‘Police have caught the thief’

(34) *Kelembi na walô*  
 pen DEF nice  
 ‘The pen is nice’

In (30), (32) and (34), we see that the subject of the sentences *kache* ‘woman and *kelembi* ‘pen’ occur with the *na* article while in (31) and (33) above, the objects of the phrases *kaboe* ‘goat’ and *eyu* ‘thief’, also occur with the same definite article *na*. It is noted, therefore, that the definite article *na* occurred with the subject and object respectively in the structure of NPs in Gonja.

Another article I discuss is the indefinite article *ko* used to characterize reference to an entity which is not identified since it is not known to the hearer therefore is labeled as indefinite marker in Gonja. For instance;

(35) *Kebia ko tō-ø kawol ko*

child INDEF buy.PST book INDEF  
 ‘A child bought a book’

(36) *Eyu ko yuri-ø koshi ko*  
 thief INDEF steal.PST fowl INDEF  
 ‘A thief stole a fowl’

(37) *Kanyen ko wu-ø kabre*  
 man INDEF die.PST today  
 ‘A man died today’

(38) *Akuluåku enðbulô ko nâ e sa-ø ma*  
 groundnut handful INDEF CONJ 3SG give.PST 1SG  
 ‘He/she gave me a handful of groundnuts’

In (35), (36), (37) and (38) above, we observe that the subjects *kebia* ‘child’, *eyu* ‘thief’, *kanyen* ‘man’ and *akuluåku* ‘groundnuts’ occurred with the indefinite article *ko*. Also, the objects *kawol* ‘book’, *koshi* ‘fowl’ in examples (35) and (36) are modified by the indefinite article *ko* in the constructions. Following from the on-going discussion, we see that Gonja encodes both definite and indefiniteness via the use of *na* and *ko* respectively. These modifiers occur after the noun head. Issah (2013:207) argues with example (39) below that Dagbani encodes definiteness via the use of *maa* or *la* which are post noun modifiers while its indefinite counterpart is coded by a bare noun or is unmarked.

(39) *Bia da-ø buku*  
 child buy.PERF book  
 ‘A child has bought a book’ (Issah, 2013:207)

Tangwam (2014:38) also observes in Kasem that the indefinite article 'a' is not always physically present in an NP structure.

#### **4.1.3 Functions of Definite and Indefinite Articles**

Dryer (2007:153) posits that there are at least three common functions associated with definite articles: (i) an anaphoric use where the noun phrase refers to something mentioned in the preceding discourse; (ii) a non-anaphoric use, where the noun phrase denotes something known to both speaker and hearer but not mentioned in the preceding discourse, such as references to the sun or the moon, and (iii) an intermediate use, where the referent is not itself referred to in the preceding discourse, but is nevertheless linked to or inferable from something in the preceding discourse (e.g. the door and the doorbell in 'when I arrived, I walked up to the door and rang the doorbell'). In some languages, definite articles are restricted to a subset of these functions. In Gonja, they are restricted to non-anaphoric function as it is used when the noun phrase it follows or post modifies is known to both speaker and hearer, although it is not mentioned in the preceding discourse. Indefinite article, on the other hand, is used to characterize reference to an entity or class of entities which is not identified since it is not identifiably known to the hearer. Indefinite articles identify nouns which have not yet been introduced into the discourse. Anytime an article is used to modify a noun, the hearer has in mind the referent it occurs with or the entity is mentioned earlier in the discourse. Similarly, Börjars & Burridge (2001:171) argue that definite noun phrases are used when you expect the hearer to know what it is you are referring to. They further say that, if a definite noun phrase is used, like 'the man' as in 'the man wrote a book about the Apolo moon landings' and we have not mentioned the man before, or is it obvious from our shared knowledge of the world who we mean, then you are entitled



to ask something like ‘who are you on about?’ The following examples demonstrate instances of usage of definite articles with such restrictions.

**Noun (N) + Determiner (Article)**

(40) *Jebote na wu-ø*

elephant DEF die.PST

‘The elephant is dead’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/2016)

(41) *Ekpampo na m̄-ø jebote na*

hunter DEF kill.PERF elephant DEF

‘The hunter has killed the elephant’ (Kotochi, 2013)

(42) *Lakasa na dii-ø kedibi na*

monkey DEF climb.PST tree DEF

‘The monkey climbed the tree’

(43) *Kebia na bee for n̄n̄.*

child DEF PROG wash nice

‘The child is washing nicely’

From (40), (41), (42) and (43), it means that the definite article *na* has been used non-anaphorically. The hearer and the speaker are both aware of the nouns referred to. The hearer is aware of the noun which the speaker is making reference to that particular noun and not any other one. It is also observed that the definite article *na* restricted the hearer to a particular class of noun and not the other. Articles bring about clarity and make more precise the referent of the noun which they determine.

**4.1.4 Demonstratives**

Demonstratives are determiners that refer to something that is known and specific. They also indicate whether something is close to the speaker (this *kede* and these *ade*) or

farther away (that *ere* and those *ere*). The use of a demonstrative may be accompanied by some extra linguistic activity, like pointing (Börjars & Burridge, 2001:173). Dixon (2003:61-62) observes that, a demonstrative is any item, other than 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun which can have pointing or (deitic) reference. Dixon (2003) suggests that, all languages may have at least one demonstrative but they may vary in types, forms and functions from language to language. Amfo (2007) cites Diessel, (1999) who posits that demonstratives are deitic expressions which serve specific syntactic functions. He further provides a more extensive characterization of demonstratives based on three features as syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. Issah (2013:218 cites Amfo, 2007) who posits pragmatically that, demonstratives are used to focus on interlocutor's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation. They are used to organize the information flow in an on-going discourse by specifically keeping track of prior discourse participants and activating shared information.

Dryer (2007:162) posits that demonstratives basically have two functions in languages: they can be used to draw the hearer's attention to something in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer, possibly with a gesture indicating approximate location of the referent and they involve a two-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker; as in English *that*. He further argues that while articles are found in only some languages; all human languages appear to have words that we can call 'demonstratives'. He pointed out two types of demonstratives namely: demonstrative pronouns, which occur by themselves as noun phrases as in (44), (45) and (46) and demonstrative modifiers of nouns which are traditionally called demonstrative adjectives as in (47), (48) and (49) in Gonja below;

(44) *Kede beeã daga ma*

DEM IMPERF fit 1SG

'This will fit me' (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)

(45) *Kede walâ*

DEM good

'This is good' (Kotochi, 2013)

(46) *Kede bônâ ga*

DEM ugly QUAN

'This is too ugly'

(47) *Kedibi ere niã*

tree DEM straight

'This tree is straight' (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)

(48) *Ekpa ere gbâto*

Road DEM bend

'That road is bent'

(49) *Efõ ere wuli*

Stranger DEM fool

'This stranger is foolish' (Recorded and transcribed 26/09/16)

From (44), (45), (46), (47), (48) and (49), it is noted that Gonja has demonstrative pronouns and the following are some demonstrative identified in the language.

*Kede* – this, that which refer to human

*bede* – those which refers to human

*Loã* – that, these which refer to both human and non-human

*Ade* – these which refers to non-human

*bumo* – them which refers to human

*ere* – this, that which refer to human and non-human

*kede ere* – this, that, which refer to non-human

*kumo* – it which refers to non-human

*ade ere* – these, those which refers to non-human

From the above examples of demonstratives identified in Gonja, it is evident that the functions of demonstratives is to point out items. In the structure of the Gonja NP, demonstratives qualify nouns, adjectives and numerals which function as heads of NPs. They can occur in pre-head position or post-head position depending on the discourse. The following are more examples to illustrate how demonstratives occur in the NP of Gonja:

(50) *Kebia ere ba-ø mfa*  
 child DEM come.PST here  
 ‘This child came here’

(51) *Loã be kebianyensobi yô-ø ndôto*  
 DEM POSS boy go-PERF farm  
 ‘That boy has gone to farm’

In (50), the demonstrative *ere* ‘this’ post-modified the head noun *kebia* ‘child’ in the construction above. And in (51), the demonstrative *loã* ‘that’ pre-modified the head noun *kebianyensobi* ‘boy’ in the above example. It is not uncommon to see this demonstrative *loŋ* occurring with a possessive marker in an NP structure in Gonja. It must be mentioned here that, the functions of determiners and demonstratives are to

track down referents and bring them into conversational space. There is also an adverbial demonstrative in (50) as *mfa* ‘here’ implies. An adverbial demonstrative according to the Dixonian framework indicates a place and it occurs as a local adverb in a clause (Amfo, 2007:135). The examples in (50) and (51) indicate that demonstratives are identifier articles as Boadi (2005:138) observes with *saa* as an example in Akan. He illustrated with the Akan example (52) below;

- (52) *Saa barima no ba-a ha*  
 ART noun DEF come.PST here  
 ‘That man came here’ (Boadi, 2005:138)

In (52) above, the function of the article *saa* is to track the hearer’s attention to that very man who came there and not any other man. A critical observation indicates that most of the world as human languages use demonstratives. Consider the examples below for further understanding of how these identified demonstratives function in Gonja.

- (53) *Kede maã walâ baasa to*  
 DEM NEG good PLperson POSTP  
 ‘This is not good in public’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)

- (54) *Bede e bra-ø kumu lubi na*  
 DEM 3PL cause.PST head bad DEF  
 ‘These people caused the accident’ (Recorded on 26/09/16)

- (55) *Mbia ere shi Gbenfu nna*  
 child.PL DEM come Gbenfu DISM  
 ‘These children come from Gbenfu’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)

(56) *Kaboe ere be kiya bu-ø*

goat DEM POSS leg break.PST

‘This goat’s leg is broken’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)

(57) *Ade maã shi*

DEM.PL NEG many

‘These are not many’

(58) *Loã be kujô na bâ-ø nna*

DEM POSS yam DEF rot.PST DISM

‘That yam is rotten’ (Kotochi, 2013)

It must be mentioned that demonstratives in Gonja occur with the noun with respect to the singular and plural of the noun they modify. Thus, singular demonstratives occur modifying singular head nouns just like the case of plural demonstratives where they modify plural noun heads. Considering the above examples, the demonstratives *kede* (53), *bede* (54), *ere* (55) and *ere* (56) occurred with plural nouns whereas *ere* (57) and *lo`* (58) occur with singular nouns. However, it is interesting to note that the demonstrative *ere* as in (55) and (56) occurred with plural and singular nouns respectively without change in form. It is noted that the demonstratives in Gonja can occur with or without noun heads provided the noun was mentioned earlier in the discourse. For instance;

(59) *Ajɔ ade bâ-ø*

yam.PL DEM.PL rot.PST

‘These yams are rotten’ (Kotochi, 2013)

- (60) *Ade* *bâ-ø*  
 DEM.PL rot.PERF  
 ‘These ones are rotten’

In (59), the head noun *ajɔ* ‘yams’ in the subject position can be ignored remaining the demonstrative pronoun as head of the NP as in example (60) above. As a result, a conclusion can be drawn considering examples (55), (56), (57), (58) (59) and (60) that there are two types of demonstratives in Gonja. These are: demonstrative pronouns which occur by themselves as noun phrases and demonstrative modifiers of nouns which are called demonstrative adjectives (Issah, 2013).

Dryer (2007:162) states that, there are two features that characterize demonstratives in most languages, they can be used to draw the hearer’s attention to something in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer possibly with a gesture indicating the approximate location of the referent. The second is that they involve at least a two-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker, as in English ‘this’ and ‘that’. My study reveals that Gonja exhibits the two features. The data shows the existence of both especially. Thus, there doesn’t seem to be any statistics to prove which one is dominant in use.

#### 4.1.5 Quantifiers

According to Crystal (1994:287), quantifiers are a class of items expressing contrast in quantity occurring with the restricted distribution in the noun phrase. Givón (2001:100) also states that quantifiers code notions of quantity, extent, number and serial order. Wiredu (1998:87) posits that quantifiers are determiners that are used to modify nouns to indicate the number, quantity, amount or measurement of these nouns. Afari-Twako (2001, 2015:102) postulates that quantifiers indicate quantity or number of the head noun they modify in the noun phrase structure in Gonja. Therefore, any word or item

that indicates the number of entities is referred to as quantifiers. They function in the grammar of an NP. It is worth mentioning that, in the Gonja NP, quantifiers occur after the head noun which they modify but before the determiner. That is to say that, quantifiers occur after nouns and adjectives, if present and before the determiner. When an adjective modifies the noun, the quantifier occurs between the adjective and the determiner in the grammar of an NP in Gonja.

Dryer (2007:163) states that there are two sorts of numeral words that occur as modifiers of nouns. One of these is cardinal numerals: words that indicate how many referents the noun phrase denotes, as in English, 'three books'. This contrasts with ordinal numerals, which identify a referent as in English the third book. Ordinal numerals are most commonly derived from cardinal numerals, as illustrated by the English suffix-th (six vs sixth). The lower ordinal numerals are occasionally superlatively related to their corresponding cardinal numerals, as with English first and second (Dryer, *ibid*). He further provides an inventory of the basic cardinals and their corresponding ordinals in English language. The table below indicates an inventory of the basic cardinals and ordinals identified in Gonja NP.



**Table (1) Some Basic Cardinals and Ordinals in Gonja**

<b>Cardinals</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Ordinals</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>kukoãwule/eko</i>	one	<i>sososo</i>	first
<i>anyô</i>	Two	<i>anyôsepo</i>	second
<i>asa</i>	three	<i>asasepo</i>	third
<i>ana</i>	four	<i>anasepo</i>	fourth
<i>anu</i>	five	<i>anusepo</i>	fifth
<i>ashe</i>	six	<i>ashesepo</i>	sixth
<i>ashunu</i>	seven	<i>ashunusepo</i>	seventh
<i>aburwa</i>	eight	<i>aburwasepo</i>	eight
<i>akpanu</i>	nine	<i>akpanusepo</i>	ninth
<i>kudu</i>	ten	<i>kudusepo</i>	tenth
<i>adenyô</i>	twenty	<i>adenyôsepo</i>	twentieth
<i>adesa</i>	thirty	<i>adesasepo</i>	thirtieth
<i>adena</i>	forty	<i>adenasepo</i>	fortieth
<i>adenu</i>	fifty	<i>adenusepo</i>	fiftieth
<i>kalfa</i>	hundred	<i>kalfasepo</i>	hundredth
<i>alfanyô</i>	two hundred	<i>alfanyôsepo</i>	two hundredth
<i>alfasa</i>	three hundred	<i>alfasasepo</i>	three hundredth
<i>alfaanu</i>	five hundred	<i>alfanusepo</i>	five hundredth
<i>kagbon</i>	thousand	<i>kagbonsepo</i>	thousandth

It looks like apart from *sososo* ‘first’, the rest involve the use of the suffix *sepo*. It is noted in the data that, both the cardinal and the ordinal occur after the noun they modify. For instance, in Gonja, we can have the following structures.

- (61) *Esa koãwule yô-ø*  
 person one go.PST  
 ‘One person went’
- (62) *Anaa anyô wu-ø*  
 cow.PL two die.PERF  
 ‘Two cows have died’
- (63) *Befô benu ba-ø ndre*  
 stranger.PL five come.PST yesterday  
 ‘Five strangers came yesterday’ (Kotochi, 2013)
- (64) *Bamutu tô-ø ekuloã anyô*  
 Bamutu buy.PST car two  
 ‘Bamutu bought two cars’ (Kotochi, 2013)

In (61), (62) and (63), the nouns *esa*, *anaa*, *befô* at the subject positions precede the cardinals *koãwule*, *anyô* and *anu* respectively in the data while in (64), *ekuloã* ‘car’ is followed by the cardinal *anyô* ‘two’ at the object position. It is noted then that, in Gonja, the noun head occur grammatically with regard to singular and plural of the numeral occurring after the noun. A plural noun head selectively occur with plural numerals. Also, a determiner can occur immediately after the head noun and before the numeral without any distortion in terms of the meaning and structure of the Gonja NP. When the determiner occurs between the noun and the cardinal, it means that the noun was previously mentioned in the discourse or there is a shared knowledge between the hearer and the speaker about the referent. For instance,

- (65) *Esa na nawule yô - ø*  
 person DEF only go.PST  
 ‘The person went alone’
- (66) *Anaa na be anyô wu-ø*  
 cow.PL DEF POSS two die.PST  
 ‘Two of the cows are dead’
- (67) *Befô na be benyô ba-ø ndre*  
 stranger.PL DEF POSS two come.PST yesterday  
 ‘Two of the strangers came yesterday’

It is realized that, in Gonja, the determiner can also occur preceding the cardinal. The examples above can also be reconstructed as,

- (68) *Esa koãwule na yô-ø*  
 person one DEF go.PST  
 ‘The one person went’
- (69) *Anaa anyô na wu-ø*  
 cow.PL two DEF die.PST  
 ‘The two cows are dead’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/16)
- (70) *Befô benyô na ba-ø*  
 stranger.PL two DEF come.PERF  
 ‘The two strangers have come’

Semantically, in (66), it is clear that the cows are many but just two out of the number are dead. As a result, the possessive morpheme *be* is introduced to connect the head noun and the quantifier that is modified by the determiner. This implies that, the

determiner can occur modifying the quantifier and can also occur, grammatically modifying the noun head of the NP. Similarly, in (69), the determiner functions as a modifier of the head noun. Thus, the determiner can modify the head noun and can also occur modifying the quantifier. It is observed that the language distinguishes non-human heads from human through the cardinal *anyô* ‘two’ modifying non-human heads and *benyô* ‘two’ also modifying human head nouns as in (66 and 69) and (67 and 70). This is dictated by the noun class system in Gonja. A conclusion can be drawn considering examples (65), (66), and (67) that a determiner can occur modifying the head noun. In other words, the determiner can occur modifying nouns and can also occur modifying the cardinal or they can occur after the quantifier as in (68), (69) and (70) respectively. That is, the determiner can function as a post modifier to the noun when it occurs between the noun and the cardinal and can also function as a post modifier to the cardinal that immediately occur before it. When a determiner occurs between the noun head and the cardinal, it means that the referent has been mentioned earlier but when it occurs after the cardinal it means then, that the determiner restricts the hearer to the modifying cardinal in the context where the referents may be many.

The ordinals in Gonja have their root or stem to be the cardinals and in each cardinal, the suffix *-sepo* literally indicating position, is added to inflect cardinals to ordinals. For example,

- (71) *Kelembi nyôsepo na bu-ø*  
 pen two DEF break.PERF  
 ‘The second pen has broken’

(72) *Kawol nusepo na kpia-ø*  
 book five DEF tear.PST  
 ‘The fifth book is torn’

(73) *N wupa pur-ø mobe laå burwasepo*  
 1SG uncle build.PERF 3SG.POSS house eight  
 ‘My uncle has built his eighth house’

(74) *Mosi e la mobe baasa be kebia sasepo*  
 Mosi 3SG EPH 3SG.POSS people POSS child three  
 ‘Mosi is the third child of his parents’ (kotochi, 2013)

Examples (71), (72), (73) and (74) above demonstrate how ordinals are used in Gonja. They can modify nouns at the subject position as in the cases of (71) and (72) and can also modify nouns at the object position as in (73) and (74) respectively. It is noted that, phonologically, the vowel segment at initial position of the cardinal is deleted for the ordinal suffix *-sepo* to be attached. That is, to inflect cardinal to ordinals in Gonja, a segment of the cardinal is omitted to make way for the ordinal suffix *-sepo* to be attached. However, Gonja has *sososo* and *lalaluwe* to indicate ‘first’ and ‘last’ respectively. Therefore it is not uncommon to hear *sososo* and *lalaluwe* being used when listing referents in a particular order. The examples below demonstrate this phenomenon in Gonja.

(75) *Amidu e luri-ø ebu na to sososo*

Amidu 3SG enter.PST room DEF POSTP first

‘Amidu entered into the room first’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

- (76) *Mo ela sososo be esa*  
3SG EPH first POSS person  
'He/she is the first person' (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)
- (77) *Mabe lalaluwe be kebôaya nde*  
1SG.POSS last POSS statement DEM  
'This is my last statement' (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)
- (78) *Lalaluwe be mbishi na du kpakpa*  
Last POSS question DEF is hard  
'The last question is difficult' (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)

Examples (75), (76), (77) and (78) above demonstrate how 'first' and 'last' are used in the language.

#### 4.1.6 Non-numerical Quantifiers

Issah (2013) indicates in the case of the simple noun phrase in Dagbani that quantifiers are words that follow nouns and have a modifying function on the head noun. Quantifiers tell us how many or how much in relation to the noun head they modify. The major difference between the numerical and non-numerical quantifiers is that while the numerical quantifiers give a specific number in terms of quantity of the noun head they modify (for example two, three), the non-numerical quantifiers do not give numeration value for example some, many and few. Unlike the numeral, non-numeral quantifiers usually do not give numbers or specifics about the nouns they modify. It is realized in this current study that Gonja has some non-numerical quantifiers which collocate with plural and singular nouns. They occur unspecifically after the nouns they modify. The table below gives a list of some non-numerical quantifiers in Gonja.

**Table (2) Some Non-numerical Quantifier in Gonja**

Quantifier	Gloss	Use to Modify
<i>ako/beko</i>	some	plural proper and common nouns
<i>damta</i>	plenty	plural count nouns
<i>enôbulɔ</i>	hand full	plural group nouns
<i>fimbi</i>	little/small	singular and plural nouns
<i>ga/gale</i>	many	plural count nouns
<i>galaga</i>	most	plural proper and common nouns
<i>gbere</i>	small	singular and plural nouns
<i>gberebi</i>	too small/few	singular and plural count nouns
<i>kekama</i>	any	verbs
<i>kike</i>	all	plural nouns
<i>shi</i>	bigness/size	singular and plural count and non-count nouns

The examples below demonstrate how they are used in the language.

(79) *Feya gberâ wô kaba to*

2SG.POSS small LOC bowl POSTP

‘Yours is small in a bowl’ (Kotochi, 2013)

(80) *Asô fasô damta wô kebâ na to*

thing.PL sale plenty are market DEF POSTP

‘Plenty things are selling in the market’ (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)

- (81) *Befô na be beko yô -ø ndre*  
 stranger.PL DEF POSS some leave.PST yesterday  
 ‘Some of the strangers left yesterday’
- (82) *Akuluåku enôbulô ko nâ e sa-ø ma*  
 groundnut handful INDEF CONJ 3SG give.PST 1SG  
 ‘He/she gave me a handful of groundnuts’ (Afarî Twako 2015)
- (83) *E sa-ø ma amanshârbi na kikâ*  
 3SG give.PST 1SG money DEF all  
 ‘He/she gave me all the money’
- (84) *Sa ma jimanâ gberâbi ko*  
 give 1SG time little INDEF  
 ‘Give me a little time’ (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)
- (85) *Baasa damta ba-ø nshâr na to*  
 people many come.PST meeting DEF POSTP  
 ‘Many people came for the meeting’ (Kotochi, 2013)
- (86) *Ajô na be ako nde*  
 yam.PL DEF POSS some here  
 ‘Here are some of the yams’ (Kotochi, 2013)

Examples (79), (80), (81), (82), (83), (84), (85) and (86) are evident of possible instances where non-numerical quantifiers are used to modify nouns. They function syntactically as post head modifiers in the language. It is noted in the data that, *beko* in (81) and *ako* in (86) are used to modify plural proper count and plural common items in



Gonja respectively. The noun class system determines this phenomenon in Gonja. Therefore, it is ungrammatical for *beko* and *ako* to be used interchangeably. The examples below explain this phenomenon in Gonja.

(87) \**Ajô na be beko nde*

yam.PL DEF POSS some here

‘Here are some of the yams’

(88) \**Befô na be ako yô-ø ndre*

stranger.PL DEF POSS some leave.PST yesterday

‘Some of the strangers left yesterday’

(89) \**Sa ma ajô fimbi*

give 1SG yam.PL little

‘Give me little yams’

From (87) and (88), the issue of ungrammaticality sets in since *ako* and *beko* are used interchangeably. *Beko* quantifies plural human nouns while *ako* on the other hand is used to quantify plural non-human nouns in Gonja. Similarly, in (89), *fimbi* does not occur with plural count nouns in the structure of an NP in Gonja. For this reasons, the constructions are ungrammatical in the data.

#### 4.1.7 Adjectives

Adjectives are descriptive words. They give additional information which helps to describe the nouns they modify. It is possible to identify a word as an adjective if it refers to some qualities that a noun possesses. That is, a word will be an adjective in Gonja if it tells us something more about a noun. Dryer (2007:168) postulates that, there are two senses in which linguists use the term adjectives. First, semantically it denotes a

set of words on the basis of their meaning, regardless of the grammatical properties in particular language. Secondly, it is defined by grammatical characteristics which distinguish it from other words in that language. On the first of these, it is used semantically to denote the properties of entities. These properties include size, shape and color, though in practice adjectives are used for words with meaning corresponding to words like ‘big’, ‘red’, ‘good’, ‘long’, and ‘fast’ Dryer (ibid). Dryer uses the expression ‘Semantic’ adjectives to denote words that are adjectives in the first of the two senses described above. It must be mentioned that, adjective as a term is used sometimes more generally to include any modifier of nouns, including demonstratives and numerals.

Afari-Twako (2001, 2015:84) posits that, *kamalgaba be katuã ko wõtô adulwi nko a lara ketere be da nã kapôr efuli ashi kamalga to. Loã be kamalgaba ela ketere be kedulwiso* ‘adjectives tell us something more about a noun they modify. Some other words which perform similar functions are called adjectives’. He further states that the head noun of the Gonja NP can be post modified by an adjective. The focus of this section is on the modifying function of adjectives in the NP of Gonja.

The noun-adjective concord in Gonja is such that it allows plural form of nouns to occur with adjective in an NP. Also, in Gonja, it is grammatically possible for a noun to be post modified by a string of adjectives appearing in full form. Thus, it is possible to have in Gonja a series of adjectives modifying the same HN provided the referent noun is clear and precise. In contrast, the phenomenon whereby the root form of a noun is used when the noun co-occurs with an adjective is a feature of some Gur-languages. Issah (ibid) posits in Dagbani, a language geographically related to Gonja, that when a string of adjectives modify the same noun only the last adjective occur in full the rest of the adjectives occur in their root forms. The author further states that when all the

adjectives occur in full form the resulting structure will be ungrammatical Issah (2013) cites Bendor-Samuel (1971) that in Gur-languages a noun is never followed by a string of adjective. Danti (2010:110) posits that the Kasem noun-adjective relationship is so close that when a noun has more than one syllable the noun is truncated by shedding off its suffix vowel so that the adjective can be fixed to it to form a compound. However, Gonja exhibits a clear case whereby the HN of an NP is post modified by a series of adjectives appearing in full forms which give additional information about the noun they modify. In this language, one of the features associated with adjectives is the fact that more than one can be used at a time to modify one noun. The data available indicate that, it is practically possible to have a sequence of two, three or more adjectives all modifying a single HN. The examples below demonstrate this pattern

- (90) *Kedibi wulso fiful tenteå na tur-ø*  
 tree dry white tall DEF fall.PST  
 ‘The tall dry white tree has fallen’
- (91) *Kurwõtô tenteå paper bâso ko wô kaba na to*  
 fish tall red rotten INDEF is bowl DEF POSTP  
 ‘A long red rotten fish is in the bowl’
- (92) *Laå gboŋ tenteå fiful na la meya na*  
 house big tall white DEF is 1SG.POSS DEF  
 ‘The big tall white house is mine’

Examples (90), (91) and (92) above indicate that the HN of an NP can be post modified by a series of adjectives provided there is no semantic opposition in the adjective-noun construction in Gonja. Table three below displays some of the adjectives that are identifiable in Gonja.

**Table (3) Adjectives in Gonja**

Types	Colour	Size/shape	Objective	Subjective
Examples	<i>peper</i> ‘red’, <i>fuful</i>	<i>danso</i> ‘fat’,	<i>wufô</i> ‘far’,	<i>lâla</i> ‘good’,
	‘white’ <i>lembir</i>	<i>wulso</i> ‘thin’	<i>tagataga</i>	<i>walɛ</i> ‘nice’,
	‘black’ <i>lim</i> ‘dark’	<i>tenteå</i> ‘tall’,	‘near’, <i>wushiso</i>	<i>bɔnɛ</i> ‘ugly’
	<i>nsô</i> ‘ash’ <i>wiato</i>	<i>shimbi</i> ‘short’,	‘cool’, <i>tushiso</i>	<i>tulpo</i> ‘lazy’
	‘multi-color’	<i>fimbi</i> ‘small’,	‘hot’, <i>nyanto</i>	<i>kebita</i> ‘beauty’
	<i>kôlkôl</i>	<i>pulso</i> ‘tough’	‘narrow’ <i>dra</i>	<i>kebɔnɛ</i>
	<i>kachunônyfu</i>	<i>nyengreå</i> ‘slim’	‘old’ <i>pupɔr</i>	‘unattractive’,
	‘yellow’	<i>gboå/gbongboå</i>	‘new’	<i>lubi</i> ‘bad’ <i>fuupo</i>
	<i>kefitiri bumbuå</i>	‘big’	<i>kpalgaso</i>	‘timid’ <i>jaga</i>
	‘green’		‘wide’, <i>nchin</i>	‘useless’,
			‘deep’,	<i>kagbenefuli</i>
			<i>kpakpaso</i>	‘happy’, <i>tirpo</i>
			‘hard’ <i>beso</i>	‘poor’, <i>wuli</i>
		‘rotten’ etc.	‘fool’	

The following illustrate how these adjectives are used in the structure of an NP in the language.

(93) *Kache dra shimbi wulso tirpo na wu-ø*

Woman old short thin poor DEF die.PERF

‘The old, short thin poor woman has died’

(94) *Ekpampo tenteå danto dra lembir na mô-ø lôåå*

hunter tall fat old black DEF kill.PERF rabbit

‘The fat tall old black hunter has killed a rabbit’

- (95) *Kasukurubia bônâ kponso fuupo tirpo na bee kraã*  
 Student ugly naughty timid poor DEF PROG read  
 ‘The poor ugly naughty timid student is reading’

Following from the above examples, the HNs of the NPs are post modified by four adjectives in the structures. If the head noun can take four adjectives it presupposes that it can take one and two and can also take one, two and three adjectives. Normally, the way a speaker arranges the objectives will depend strongly on what information he wants to convey. The following is another set of examples containing two adjectives post modifying the HN of the noun phrases.

- (96) *Kebiachesobi tulpo tirpo na bee daãã*  
 girl lazy poor DEF PROG cook  
 ‘The poor lazy girl is cooking’

- (97) *Kanyen shimbi danto na ba-ø ndre*  
 man short fat DEF come. PST yesterday  
 ‘The short fat man came yesterday’

In (96) and (97) the HNs of the noun phrases are post modified by two adjectives which give more information about these items they modified. Below are further examples of single adjectives occurring with the HN of the NP in Gonja.

- (98) *Ewura shimbi na kô mfera.*  
 chief short DEF have wisdom  
 ‘The short chief is wise’

(99) *N t̂-∅ ĵn̂ lembir ko kib̂ na to*  
 1SG buy.PST dog black INDEF market DEF POSTP  
 ‘I bought a black dog in the market’

(100) *E t̂-∅ kena peper ko*  
 3SG buy.PST cow red INDEF  
 ‘He/she bought a red cow’

It is worth mentioning that different kinds of information are conveyed by the various adjectives which post modify the NP in Gonja. These distinctions are made based on the type of information an adjective provides about a noun. It is also noted that, adjectives in Gonja do not occur with pronouns in the structure of an NP. It is grammatically acceptable for adjectives to modify proper names in this language.

Wiredu (1998:59) suggests that adjectives in English follow the order of shape or size, objective, subjective, color, present participle and past participle. However, the speaker determines what arrangement of adjectives he prefers because of what he has in mind to say. For example;

(101) *Kache dra shimbi wulso tirpo na wu-∅*  
 woman old short thin poor DEF die.PERF  
 ‘The old short thin poor woman has died’

(102) *Kache tirpo wulso shimbi dra na wu-∅*  
 woman poor thin short old DEF die.PERF  
 ‘The old short thin poor woman has died’

It is observed that not all these types of adjectives mentioned above function in Gonja and those that are identified have no rule about how they can be arranged. This means that there is no ordering rule specifically when a chain of adjectives co-occur in a structure. Considering the examples above, they are all grammatical and acceptable in the language. Syntactically adjectives occur after the HN they modify and before the determiner in the structure. That is, adjectives may appear in a position where they are modifying the noun. They will usually appear between a noun and a determiner. They can also appear before a determiner and a linking verb. This means that it is possible for some adjectives to follow verbs particularly in an NP in English construction. Finally, adjectives can occur modifying a verb, an adverb or another adjective after the HN in the language.

#### 4.1.8 Nouns used as Modifiers

Dryer (2007:174) posits that the most common way in which nouns occur as modifiers of nouns is in genitive phrase rather than just a noun that is modifying the head noun. However, Gonja does not allow nouns to modify nouns without possessive meaning. It is practically possible for a noun to modify another noun as a possessor, in which case it is marked in the genitive case. When a noun occurs in the genitive construction modifying another noun it means that the first noun possesses the second noun. In which case, the possessive marker *be* syntactically occur between the modifying noun and the HN in an NP. The examples below demonstrate the above phenomenon in Gonja.

(103) *Dramani be kawol...*

Dramani POSS book

‘Dramani’s book’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

(104) *Amati be kebôaya na du kpakpa*

Amati POSS message DEF is hard

‘Amati’s message is hard’ (Recorded and transcribed on 12/12/16)

(105) *Nkunfo be kebia Moro*

Nkunfo POSS child Moro

‘Nkunfo’s son Moro’ (Kotochi 2013)

(106) *Ndefoso mo nio Awusa*

Ndefoso 3SG mother Awusa

‘Ndefoso’s mother Awusa’ (Sulemana, 2001)

(107) *Shaibu mo nio na yô-ø kade*

Shaibu 3SG mother DEF go.PERF town

‘Shaibu’s mother has travelled’

Following the above discussions, examples (103), (104), (105), (106) and (107) illustrate nouns used as modifiers which modify the HN in the Gonja genitive construction. It is noted then that, the noun at the left possesses the one at the right hand side of the phrases. Thus, the nouns at the right are the head nouns which are pre-modified by those at the left. This means that the second noun is possessed by the preceding noun in Gonja. This is made clear with the use of the possessive marker *be* in the Gonja construction.

In summary, this section discussed the simple noun phrase (SNP) in Gonja. The section highlighted on determiners, articles and their function, demonstratives, numerical and



non-numerical quantifiers of NPs in Gonja. The section concluded on noun or noun phrases which are used as modifiers of NPs in Gonja.

## **4.2 The Complex Noun Phrase**

This section discusses the elements of the complex noun phrase in Gonja. It considers genitive or possessive construction, pronominal possessors, multiple genitive constructions, alienable and inalienable possessions, non-referential genitives, relative clauses and conjoined noun phrases. The complex noun phrase in Gonja is a type of phrase that contains more complex modifiers such as genitive or possessive modifiers, nominal possessives, pronominal possessives and relative clauses which modifies noun heads. That is, complex noun phrase in Gonja is made up of these structural elements mentioned above. The following sections treat these constructions into detail with examples for clarity and precision.

### **4.2.1 Genitive or Possessive Constructions**

According to Dryer (2007), complex noun phrases cross linguistically contain a chain of elements whose sole function is to serve as linkers of predicates to their subjects. Possessive is the most unmarked adnominal construction expressing a relation, this is reflected by the remarkable frequency of possessives, their wide distribution, and uncommon formal simplicity (as compared to other constructions of this kind) and most importantly, semantic unmarkedness. Possessive relations are usually induced from the context and the lexical semantics of the corresponding nominal. Randolph and Sidney (2006), posit that, as distinct from possessive pronouns, English nouns have a two-case system; the unmarked common case and the marked genitive case. The -s genitive of regular nouns is realized in speech only in the singular, where it takes one of the forms /iz/, /z/ and /s/. In writing, the inflection or regular noun is realized in the singular by the

suffix *-s* and in the plural by putting apostrophe after the plural suffix *s*. In some genitive expressions the modifier noun attributes a quality of the noun head or describes the manner in which the action or event or process denoted by the head is carried out.

Gonja marks genitive constructions morphologically with the morpheme *be* in an NP structure. Possessive relation in this language is induced from the occurrence of the suffix morphologically with the morpheme *be* in an NP structure. Possessive relation in this language is induced from an NP only when the construction contained in it this post modified suffix morpheme *be* in which case it is marked in the genitive or possessive case. Contrasting with this are other languages like Kasem etc which do not mark physically the possessor or the possessed noun but is induced when two different nouns co-occur in a structure, the first noun possesses the second noun. For example, Tangwam (2014:66) states that, Kasem does not mark physically the possessor or the possessed noun but when two different nouns co-occur in a structure the first bare noun possesses the second one. Unlike this and many similar languages, genitive construction in Gonja is usually marked by the presence of *be* which in this case occurs post modifying the noun head of an NP.

The possessive marker *be* syntactically occurs in three separate contexts. First, *be* can occur in a context where the first noun it modifies is post modified by an article. Thus, *be* occurs after an article if present, which modifies the first noun in the structure. For example:

(108). *Mbia na be ajibi*  
 child.PL DEF POSS food  
 ‘The children’s food’

(109). *Nsukurubia na be nsulwe*

Student.PL DEF POSS examination

‘The student’s examination’

(110). *Eāinipo na be kawol*

teacher DEF POSS book

‘The teacher’s book’

In the examples (108), (109) and (110) above, the genitive marker is preceded by the definite article *na* which modified the genitive nouns or the possessors. It occurs before the second noun or the possessed. From example (108), *mbia na* ‘the children’ own the *ajibi* ‘food’. Here, the second noun *ajibi* occurred after the possessive marker. In the case of (109), the possessive marker similarly is preceded by *na* in the NP which in turn precedes the possessed noun in the construction. Also, in (110), the first noun teacher possesses the second noun book.

Another instant where the possessive marker *be* can be realized is when it post modifies the HN directly in which case *be* is preceded by the noun head which occur at the subject position. In such context, the genitive marker occurs between the possessor and the possessed. Observe the following examples,

(111). *Abani be ekpaana*

government POSS road.PL

‘Government’s roads’ (recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

(112). *Koji be mbishi*

Koji POSS question

‘Koji’s question’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

(113). *Kapidi be ajibi*

afternoon POSS food

‘Afternoon’s food/launch’

(114). *Abani be asukuru*

government POSS school.PL

‘Government’s school’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

The third, to the best my knowledge, instant where the possessive or genitive marker *be* is realized is in the environment with those possessive demonstratives which have number contrast and can function both as determiners and pronouns. The possessive marker occurs after demonstratives in Gonja. The general meaning of the two sets can be stated as near and distant. These possessive demonstratives are *mfa*, *ndoã*, *ade*, *bude* and *loŋ*. Consider their use in the language via the examples below.

(115). *loã be kesheã du kpakpa*

DEM POSS task is hard

‘That’s a difficult task’

(116). *ndoã be kesawule kor kede...*

DEM POSS land differ DEM

‘Land there is different from this’

(117). *Mfa be kakil maã walâ*

DEM POSS marriage NEG good

‘Marriage here is not good’

(118). *Bude be da walâ*

DEM.PL POSS character good

‘These have good character’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/9/16)

Following from the examples above, the genitive marker *be* is preceded by the demonstratives in the constructions. That is, the possessive marker occurred at the post modifier position modifying the demonstratives which function as subjects of the structures in (115), (116), (117) and (118) above. It is noted then that, these demonstratives usually occur at the initial position of such constructions functioning syntactically as the subject of the structure.

#### 4.2.2 Genitive Constructions with Nominal Possessors

The content of this section has been touched on briefly in the preceding section and it shall be treated fully in this section. The term genitive and possessive are both used to refer to constructions in which a noun occurs with another noun phrase denoting a possessor, as in English Landon’s mayor or the mayor of London (Dryer 2007:177). As discussed earlier, Gonja indicates possession by the morpheme *be* to mean ownership. This morpheme *be* may occur between an article and the HN and may also occur preceded by the head noun in an NP of the language. It is noteworthy that, genitive constructions are indicated by the presence of the genitive morpheme *be* which occurs in the three identified instances discussed above. Randolph and Sidney (2006:106) posit that there is a functional similarity between a noun in the genitive case and the same noun as head of a prepositional phrase with *of*. They refer to the –s genitive for the

inflection and to the *of*-genitive for the prepositional form in English. They further state that there are compelling reasons for preferring one or other construction in a given case and numerous environments in which only one construction is grammatically acceptable, the degree of similarity and overlap has led grammarians to regard the two constructions as variant forms of the genitive in English. However, in Gonja, the only way in which genitives are constructed is through the occurrence of the possessive morpheme which is realized in the instances discussed in an NP structure in Gonja above. From the above illustrations, the data revealed that when the genitive morpheme occurs at the post modifying position that post modified HN becomes the possessor or owner of the possessed noun(s).

#### 4.2.3 Pronominal Possessors

Pronouns are words which are used to replace a noun, especially where we do not want to repeat that noun. They are words used to avoid repeating nouns which have been mentioned earlier in the statement. In Gonja, pronouns constitute a heterogeneous class of items with numerous subclasses. Despite their variety, there are several syntactic features that characterized the major subclasses which distinguish them from nouns. It is noted in this study that pronouns do not admit determiners in an NP structure. They often have an objective case and often have person distinction. Also, pronouns have overt gender contrast in the syntax of the language. Finally, singular and plural forms of pronouns are morphologically not related. The tables below show some of the major subclasses of pronouns identified in Gonja.

**Table (4) Personal Pronouns**

Persons	Number	Gender	Subject	Object
---------	--------	--------	---------	--------

1 <sup>st</sup> Person	Singular		<i>N, M, 'I'</i>	<i>Ma 'me'</i>
	Plural		<i>Anye 'we'</i>	<i>Anye 'us'</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	Singular		<i>Fo 'you'</i>	<i>Fo 'you'</i>
	Plural		<i>Benye/menye 'you'</i>	<i>Benye/menye 'you'</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person	Singular	<i>Kenyen 'masculine'</i>	<i>E 'he'</i>	<i>Mo 'him'</i>
		<i>Keche 'feminine'</i>	<i>E 'she'</i>	<i>Mo 'her'</i>
		Non-person	<i>Ku 'it'</i>	<i>Kumo 'it'</i>
	Plural	<i>Kenyen 'masculine'</i>	<i>Bumo 'they'</i>	<i>Bumo 'them'</i>
		<i>Keche 'feminine'</i>	<i>Bumo 'they'</i>	<i>Bumo 'them'</i>
		Non-Person	<i>Amo 'they'</i>	<i>Amo 'them'</i>



**Table (5) Possessive pronouns**

<b>Persons</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Subject</b>	<b>Object</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	Singular		<i>Mabe 'my'</i>	<i>Meya 'mine'</i>
	Plural		<i>Anyebe 'our'</i>	<i>Anyeya 'our'</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	Singular		<i>Fobe 'your'</i>	<i>Feya 'yours'</i>
	Plural		<i>Menyebe/benyebe 'your'</i>	<i>Menyeya/benyeya 'yours'</i>

3 <sup>rd</sup> Person	Singular	<i>Kenyen</i> (masculine)	<i>Mobe</i> 'his'	<i>Moya</i> 'his'
		<i>Keche</i> (feminine)	<i>Mobe</i> 'her'	<i>Moya</i> 'hers'
		Non-person	<i>Kumobe</i> 'its'	<i>Kumoya</i> 'its'
	Plural	<i>Kenyen</i> (masculine)	<i>Bumobe</i> 'their'	<i>Bumoya</i> 'theirs'
		<i>Keche</i> (feminine)	<i>Bumobe</i> 'their'	<i>Bumoya</i> 'theirs'
		Non-Person	<i>Amobe</i> 'its'	<i>Amoya</i> 'it's'

In Gonja, constructions used for pronominal possessors are slightly different from those used for the nominal possessors. In contrast, there is a morphological distinction between possessive pronouns and the other remaining subclasses of pronouns in which case the possessive marker *be* occurs closely attached to the pronoun as seen in the table above. That is, the only environment where the possessive marker occurs as part of the pronoun in the genitive construction. Below are some examples of this phenomenon for consideration.

(119). *Mo tuto be ketumbi*

3SG father POSS smock

'His/her father's smock' (Kotochi, 2013)

(120). *Bumo nio be asabata*

3PL mother POSS sandal.PL

'Their mother's sandals'

The above structures with pronominal constructions can also be represented by nominal constructions such as below.

(121). *Shaibu mo tuto be ketumbi*



Shaibu 3SG father POSS smock

‘Shaibu’s father’s smock’

(122). *Mbia bumo nio be asabata*

Child.PL 3PL mother POSS sandal.PL

‘Children’s mother’s sandals’

In (121) and (122), both the nominal and the pronominal occurred together in the constructions. It will be semantically ambiguous, and syntactically ungrammatical for the nominal to replace the pronominal possessor in Gonja. For example:

(123). \**Shaibu tuto be ketumbi*

Shaibu father POSS ketumbi

‘Shaibu’s father’s smock’

In (123), the presence of the nominal *Shaibu* occurring without the pronominal made the structure inappropriate in the language. Also, it is ungrammatical in genitive construction for two nouns to occur without an intervening possessive maker in Gonja. In the structure of the possessive pronominal construction, the pronoun and the possessive marker occur together as one unit or word. I must say at this point that the orthography is confusing because it dictates that the pronoun and the possessive morpheme should be written together. The morpheme *be* occurred closely as a suffix to the pronoun. Consider the examples below:

(124). *Mabe laã nde*

1SG.POSS house this

‘This is my house’

(125). *Bumobe mbia bee shu*

3PL.POSS child.PL PROG cry

‘Their children are crying’

(126). *Kumobe edare*

3PL.POSS dream

‘It’s dream’

(127). *Kumobe ebu ela kupoto*

3SG.POSS room is forest

‘It’s room is forest’

(128). *Kumobe efã maã wu bel*

3SG.POSS scent NEG EPH taste

‘It’s scent is bad’

(129). *Anyebe kakraã luwe*

3PL.POSS lesson finish

‘Our lesson is over’

The above data in (124), (125), (126), (127), (128) and (129) indicate that, the syntax of the nominal construction is treated differently from that of the pronominal construction. That is, in the case of nominal genitives, the noun and the genitive morpheme are considered separate words and/or units. Contrary, to the pronominal construction, where the pronoun and the morpheme *be* occur closely together as one word. In this case the possessive morpheme *be* suffixed the pronoun to indicate pronominal possessiveness in the structure of the language. Therefore, the syntax of the nominal construction and the

pronominal construction are distinctive. As a result, Gonja is therefore one of the languages in which nominal and pronominal possessors are treated distinctively however, they are both identified by *be* in an NP structure.

#### 4.2.4 Multiple Genitive Constructions

Randolph and Sidney (2006) posit that in many instances there is a functional similarity (indeed, semantic identity) between a noun in the genitive case and the same noun as head of prepositional phrase with *of*. They further refer to the *-s* genitive for the inflection and to the *--of* genitive for the prepositional form. Dryer (2007) refers to multiple genitive constructions as that structure that has more than one noun co-occurring in a single construction. Genitive is basically about an adnominal case and its core function is to mark a nominal whose relation to the individual expressed by the phrase within which the genitive phrase is embedded. Genitive construction is a kind of possessive construction where more than one noun is in a single noun phrase indicating possession. The main factor influencing the choice of multiple genitive construction is information focus, the *-s* genitive enabling us to give end-focus to one noun, the *of*-genitive to another. For example, what is the ship's name? And what is the name of the ship? Randolph and Sidney (2006:106)

Similarly, Gonja multiple genitive constructions occur in two forms. First the possessive marker can occur as a distinctive unit with nominal and can also occur suffixed to a pronominal in an NP of the language. Consider the following examples below.

- (130). *Mabe kebia be eche*  
 1SG.POSS child POSS woman  
 'My son's wife'

(131). *Anyebe ewura be kawuro*

1PL.POSS chief POSS hat

‘Our chief’s hat’

(132). *Benyebe ewura be kabe*

2PL chief POSS stool

‘Your chief’s stool’

(133). *Shaibu be ekuloå be kapôr*

Shaibu POSS car POSS structure

‘Shaibu’s car’s model’

From the data in (130), (131), (132) and (133), it is evident that in some post modified noun phrases it is possible to use the *-be* genitive by suffixing a pronominal and that same *be* can also occur as a lexical unit of the post modification. Following the ongoing discussion and the available literature, it is clear that the most common instance of multiple genitive constructions involve kinship relation, conventional and part-whole relations, where the relationship is essentially an inherent or permanent one (Boadi, 2010:32, Dryer, 2007:185, Randolph and Sidney, 2006:107).

#### **4.2.5 Alienable and Inalienable Nouns of Possession**

Alienable and/or inalienable possession of nouns is a common phenomenon in most human languages. This distinction is found in many languages and Gonja is no exception. Its construction differs moderately from language to language. Boadi (2010:220) provides twoway interpretations of the alienable–inalienable contrast in Akan, a *Kwa* language typologically related to Gonja. First is that inalienability is an

inherent semantic feature on nouns. A (+Body) noun, on this interpretation, would be entered in the lexicon as having the feature specification [+ inalienable] if the noun is unsuffixed but [- inalienable] if the body part is suffixed. Second is to treat the semantic difference between members of a pair not as belonging to lexical items in the dictionary but as readings derived from syntactic constructions. Inalienable nouns can be said to be body part nouns as well as kinship nouns while alienable nouns are personal belongings like tools, weapons, farmlands, cattle, houses, cars, clothes, etc. The contrast between the two constructions can be morpho-syntactic in nature.

Dryer (2007:185) observes in English that the most common instance of multiple genitive construction involves kinship relations and part-whole relations, where the relationship is essentially an inherent or permanent one. In contrast, alienable possession in Gonja is where the relationship is a conventional one. Also, inalienable noun possession is inseparable part of the referent of the possessive construction while in the case of alienable noun possession in Gonja is disembodied and not an integral and/or permanent part of the referent of the possessor specify noun to which it would normally be expected to be attached. The following examples illustrate alienable and/or inalienable possessive constructions in Gonja:

#### Alienable genitive construction

(134). *Dramani be laã*

Dramani POSS house

‘Dramani’s house’

(135). *Amati be kejigiwol walâ*

Amati POSS certificate good

‘Amati’s certificate is good’

(136). *Kotochi be ekuloå*

Kotochi POSS car

‘Kotochi’s car’

(137). *Kejanjaåfara be jånõ*

kejanjaåfara POSS dog

‘Kejanjaåfara’s dog’ (Kotochi, 2013)

Examples (134), (135), (136) and (137) above indicate alienable possession since the relationship is disembodied and conventional in nature but not permanent. Consider the following examples illustrating inalienable possessive constructions:

(138). *Kotobri be kumu*

Kotobri POSS head

‘Kotobri’s head’

(139). *Dukulubi be enõ*

Dukulubi POSS hand

‘Dukulubi’s hand’

(140). *Kunuto be kebia*

Kunuto POSS childSG

‘Kunuto’s child’

(141). *Lonsina be eche*

Lonsina POSS woman

‘Lonsina’s wife’

It is observed in examples (138), (139), (140) and (141) above that Gonja exhibits inalienable possessive construction in that the relationship is either about kinship as in (140) and (141) respectively or part of a whole as in (138) and (139) above. It is worth mentioning that Gonja is one of the languages that head-mark alienable and/or inalienable possession with the morpheme *be* on the head noun. When the possessive *be* occurs between two nominals, it means that the first noun possesses the second noun. Hence, the possessor becomes the HN of the possessive construction. In this language, as it is noted that, alienable and inalienable possession are treated differently with regard to nominals and pronominals possessors. Syntactically, in nominal possessive construction, both the nominal and the possessive morpheme occur considerably as two separable distinctive lexical units. In contrast, in the pronominal possessive construction the possessive morpheme suffixed the pronominal hence, they are considered as one unit. For example:

(142). *Mobe kawol*

3SG.POSS book

‘His/her book’

(143). *Mobe kumu shi*

3SG.POSS head big

‘His/her head is big’

Example (142) is alienable pronominal construction while (143) is inalienable pronominal possessive constructions respectively exhibiting contrastively in the syntax of Gonja.

#### 4.2.6 Non-referential Genitives

Gonja distinguishes a genitive construction with a referential genitive from one without referential genitive. Regarding the referential genitive construction, there is always a specific thing that the structure makes reference to. On the other hand, the non-referential genitive construction does not make any reference to a particular thing or noun. When a reference is used in such a way that it could refer to two things or more, this is an instance of referential ambiguity (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002:228). The data for this section contain full sentences. This will enhance understanding of the concept under discussion. Consider the following examples below indicating instances of non-referential and referential genitive constructions in Gonja respectively.

(144). *Buwufonlashia bee sha eblaã*

Buwufonlashia HAB like meat

‘Buwufonlashia likes meat’ (Kotochi, 2013)

(145). *Nkiedoã bee sha kôrwtô*

Nkiedoã HAB like fish



‘Nkiedoå likes fish’

The constructions in (144) and (145) above are clear instances of non-referential genitives in Gonja. In (144), there is no specific kind of meat: beef, chevron, pork, mutton, etc. has been referred to in the structure. Similarly in example (145), no specific type or kind of fish: mud fish, tilapia, electric fish, salmon, etc. has also been referred to in the structures. Non-referential genitive constructions do not specifically refer to a particular thing. In contrast, the following examples indicate instances of referential genitive construction in Gonja.

(146). *BuwufonIashia bee sha koshi be eblaå*

Buwufonåashia HAB like fowl POSS meat

‘Buwufonåashia likes chicken’ (Kotochi, 2013)

(147). *Nkiedoå bee sha kpanchol be eblaå*

Nkiedoå HAB like mudfish POSS meat

‘Nkiedoå likes mudfish’

In the constructions above, the referential nouns are specific and precise to the listener or hearer. In (146) and (147), the speaker specifically referred to the particular kind of meat and fishes that BuwufonIashia and Nkiedoå will usually want to eat. Therefore, the referential nouns are clear and specific to the listener in Gonja. These constructions will however become ungrammatical when an attempt is made to change the order of the words as in (148) and (149) below;

(148). *\*Bee sha koshi be eblaŋ Buwufoneashia*

HAB like fowl POSS meat Buwufoneashia

‘Likes chicken Buwufoneashia’

(149). \**Kpanchol bee sha Nkiedon*

Mudfish HAB like Nkiedon

‘Mudfish likes Nkiedon’

#### 4.2.7 Relative Clauses

The relative clause (REL.C) is conceded generally as a linguistic phenomenon and its occurrence is widely evident in almost every human language in the world. Wiredu (1999:47) posits that the relative clause in English is introduced by the relation pronouns *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which* and *that*. He further says relative clauses provide additional information about the nouns they are attached to. Boadi (2005:142) observes that a relative clause activates the listener’s consciousness of new referents by giving information which the listener did not have. He further says the speaker aims at presenting referents in such a way that they will be relevant to the hearer or listener at the point where they are introduced. Saah (2010:91) indicates that relative clauses are embedded or subordinate clause that are typically noun modifiers within an NP structure. Givon (2001:175) defines relative clauses as Clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase.

Tangwam (2014:72) also observes that relative clauses are usually introduced in Kasem by *wolo*, *balo*, *selo*, *kolo*, *kalo*, *delo*, *telo*, etc.

The relative clause is one of the essential elements in Gonja sentence construction. They are introduced in an NP structure by *monâ*, *nâ*, *loã*, etc *loãso* in the language.

According to Afari-Twako (2015:99), there are two types of relative clauses in Gonja. These are the restrictive relative clause and non-restrictive relative clause. Restrictive relative clause, according to Wiredu (1999:52) provides information which is needed to make the antecedent noun meaningful. It is used because the noun it modifies can be identified only through the information supplied by the relative clause. Comrie (1981:132) gives an example of restricted relative clause to be ‘the man that I saw yesterday left this morning’. He further explains that the relative clause ‘that I saw yesterday’ within the sentence serves to delimit potential referents of the man in the discourse. This to him, means that the speaker assumes that the sentence ‘the man left this morning’ does not provide the listener with sufficient information to identify the man in question (the listener would probably have to ask which man?) so the additional information ‘that I saw yesterday’ is added to indicate specifically which man is being talked about. On non-restricted relative clause, Comrie cites ‘The man’, who had arrived yesterday, left this morning’. Fred, who had arrived yesterday, left this morning’. It is assumed by the speaker in these sentences that the listener can identify which man is being talked about, and that it is one particular, identifiable Fred that is being talked about, and the relative clause serves merely to give the listener an added piece of information about an already identified entity but not to identify that entity. He further observes that it is necessary for the restricted clause to be a set of intonation from the main clause indicated orthographically by the absence of commas. Despite the similar syntactic constructions for restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, they are radically different in semantic or pragmatic terms, in particular in that the restrictive relative clause uses pre-supposed information to identify the referent of a noun phrase while the non-restrictive relative clause is a way of presenting new information on the basis of the assumption that the referent has already been identified (Comrie, 1981). In

typological terms, however, this distinction seems to be almost completely irrelevant. Formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives is found intermittently across languages, but probably most languages have either no formal distinction or only an intonation distinction where the relative follows the head noun. The relative clause is one of the essential elements in Gonja sentence construction. The following examples indicate this phenomenon in Gonja:

(150). *Mbia [monɛ fo ta-ø nwol na n sa-ø] na ba-ø*  
 child.PL who 2SG take.PST book.PL DEF 1SG give.PST DEF come.PERF  
 ‘The children that you gave the books to have come’

(151). *Kebiachesobi [monâ e tô-ø kelembi ere] na yô-ø epe*  
 girl who 3SG buy.PST pen DEM DEF go.PERF home  
 ‘The girl who bought this pen has gone home’

In the examples above, the semantic distinction applies to pronominal adjectives as in *monâ fo ta nwol na n sa* and *monâ e tô kelembi ere* in (150) and (151) respectively. The pronominal adjective in the clause *monâ fo ta nwol na n sa* ‘who you gave the books to’ in (150) specified the children that are involved in this particular discourse. This is a relative clause in that it has a head and with a range of potential referents. Also, in (151) *monâ e tô kelembi ere* ‘who bought this pen’ is the pronominal adjective that makes reference to that girl who bought this pen and is known to those involved in the discourse and not any other girl. Here, the restrictive relative clause is a type of relative clause which gives information that is needed to make the antecedent constituents more meaningful. These clauses are used to minimize the number of possibilities of the noun in an NP that is being talked about in the sentence, therefore making it definite. They

are also used to bring into relevance what is being referred to in a discourse. For example,

(152). *Baaã biri kebia [monã e bure-ø kaba] na*

3PL.FUT beat child who 3SG break.PST bowl DEF

‘They will beat the child who broke the bowl’

Following from example (152) above, the noun *kebia* ‘child’ is more clearly specified by the relative clause *monã e bure kaba* ‘who broke the bowl’ which occurred after the noun. This relative clause answers the question *kebia mo?* ‘Which child?’ Wiredu (1999:47) posits that the relative clause is introduced by the relative pronouns. He further observes that, it is for this reason that the relative clause answers the questions which? Who? What? Etc. It is this reason that compelled some authors to refer to them as adjectival clauses (Wiredu, 1999). This, to him is because relative clauses behave like adjectives. Relative clauses are introduced in Gonja by relative pronouns to make a referent clearer to the listener. They specify a particular referent in a conversation in Gonja. In contrast, a non-restricted relative clause is the type of clause that does not supply any necessary, meaningful or important information about the noun it post modifies. It does not specify the noun because it is usually placed after a noun which is already definite. As a result, it can be omitted without distorting the meaning of the sentence as a whole. The following examples illustrate non-restrictive relative clause in Gonja.

(153). *Baasa monã bu wø ndoã [ere a ji kapal] na la n nawuraana nna.*

people who 3PL LOC DEM DEM PROG eat fufu DEF are 1SG parent.PL  
DISM

‘The people over there, who are eating fufu, are my parents’

(154). *Mbia monâ bu wô epunto [ndoã a cha] na la mabe mbia nna*

child.PL who 3PL LOC inside DEM PROG dance DEF are 1SG.POSS child.PL  
DISM

‘The children who are inside there dancing are my children’

It is evident from the sentence in (153) and (154) above that the relative clauses *ere a ji kapal* and *ndoã a cha* ‘who are eating fufu’ and ‘there dancing’ respectively are non-restrictive relative clauses therefore, they can safely be omitted without any distortion in the semantics of the sentences. These statements can confidently be reconstructed as follow:

(155). *Baasa [monâ bu wô ndon] na la n nawuraana nna*

people who 3PL LOC DEM DEF are 1SG parent.PL DISM

‘The people over there are my parents’ (Kotochi, 2013)

(156). *Mbia [monâ bu wô epunto] na la mabe mbia nna*

child.PL who 3PL LOC inside DEF are 1SG.POSS child.PL DISM

‘The children who are inside there are my children’

In (155), the relative clause *ere a ji kapal* ‘there eating fufu’ has been omitted and the meaning of the statement did not alter because its antecedent noun does not need it for identification. Also in (156), the relative clause *ndoã a cha* ‘there dancing’ has also been omitted and still the sentence is meaningful. Grammatically, (155) and (156) can further be reduced as follows:

(157). *Baasa na la n nawuraana nna*

people DEF are 1SG parent.PL DISM

‘The people are my parents’

(158). *Mbia na la mabe mbia nna.*

Child.PL DEF is 1SG.POSS child.PL DISM

‘The children are mine’

Similarly, in (157) and (158) above, the relative clauses *monâ bu wô ndoâ* and *monâ bu wô epunto* ‘who are over there’ and ‘who are inside’ respectively have been omitted and yet the meaning of the sentences are clear and definite to the listener. Relative clause describes the preceding noun in such a way as to distinguish it from other nouns of the same class. They make the referent noun stand distinctive without any ambiguity. The following examples provide more explanation to the statements above.

(159). *Achankaâto pâ-ø kanyen [monâ e yuri amanshârbi] na*

Police arrest.PERF man REL. C DEF

‘Police have arrested the man who stole the money’

(160). *Bu mð-ø kuwô [monô ku duŋ kache] na*

3PL kill.PST snake REL.C DEF

‘They killed the snake that bit the woman’

(161). *Kabâwura ju-ø achankaâto [monâ bu maâ kô kejigiwol] na*

President sack.PERF police REL. C DEF

‘The president has sacked the police who do not have certificates’

It is noted that, the relative clause in Gonja takes the same form, at its post modified position, as the main clause with a possible addition of some relative words such as the relative demonstrative pronoun marking the clause. Some of these identified pronouns are *monâ*, *nâ*, *loâ* and *loâ be*. The choice of any of these relative pronouns depends on the noun that it post modifies. It is also noted in the literature of Gonja that the root form of the relative pronoun *monâ*, thus *nâs* which also function as a coordinating conjunction in some other contexts, is frequently used in rapid speech in the structure of an NP. The relative pronouns are used in definite noun phrases containing relative clauses. It can be concluded then that the relative clauses are post-modifiers within the Gonja NP.

#### 4.2.8 Stacked Relative Clauses

Stacked relative clauses in the confines of this current study refer to the kind of relative clauses which have more than one relative pronoun making reference to the same HN in a sentence. In constructing stacked relative clauses in Gonja, the second relative pronoun in the structure occurs in its root form. That is, the common pronoun *mone* would usually occur as *nâ* making reference to something. Structurally, *ne* in another context functions as a coordinator. The structure will be phonologically and syntactically unpleasant when the same pronoun is repeated in a single utterance. Consider the illustration below;

(162). *N kraâ-ø kawol monâ Sulemana sibε-ø kafende nâ Adiatu tō-ø*  
*ndre na*

1SG read.PST book DEM Sulemana write.PST last year DEM Adiatu buy.PST  
 yesterday DEF



‘I read the book that Sulemana wrote last year that Adiatu bought yesterday’

(163). *Bu pã-ø kanyen monâ e pur-ø kebiachesobi nâ baa fin mo na*  
 3PL chatch.PERF man DEM 3SG rape.PST girl DEM 3PL.PROG search 3SG  
 DEF

‘They have caught the man that raped the girl that they were searching for’

(164). *Besungruã monâ bu wô epunto ndoã nâ baa cha na la mabe  
 beche nna*

Ladies DEM 3PL LOC inside DEM DEM 3PL.PROG dance DEF is 1SG.POSS  
 wife.PL DISM

‘The ladies who are inside there who are dancing are my wives’

From the above sentence in (162), (163) and (164), the syntax of the structure of an NP in the language is grammatically represented since the second relative pronoun *mone* occurred in its root form. The demonstrative pronoun *ne* replaced the second *mone* ‘that’ and connects the main clause and the subordinate clause together.

As has already been pointed out, the function of *ne* in these environments are to indicate relative clauses and also to link the various clauses together in the sentence. The root form of *mone*, that is, *ne* can be differentiated from the coordinating conjunction *ne* in that the former occurs with a high tone accent while the latter occurs with low tone accent in speech and without a tone marker in writing.

#### 4.2.9 Conjoined Noun Phrases

It is not uncommon to form a noun phrase by conjoining or coordinating two or more noun phrases in Gonja. The conjunction stands as an independent linker bringing the two nouns together forming one structure.

According to Afari-Twako (2015:89) *kechesobi* that is, ‘conjunction’ *la kamalgaba nna nâ ku bee ta mmalgafol jewulebi anyô nko adamta a chuwô abarso. Amo e naa shinâ anyee tiâ a nyâ mmalgafol birabarso nko milto*. ‘Conjunctions are words which are used to connect words or group of words to another. They are used to join single words or groups of words together’. Wiredu (1998:109) posits that there are two types of conjunctions. These are coordinators (or coordinating conjunctions) and subordinators (or subordinating conjunctions). He further states that the coordinating conjunctions are used to join words or groups of words which have the same grammatical status. That is, the words or groups the coordinators join together must have the same rank in grammar. Thus, the parts to be joined must all be nouns, or adjectives or clauses, etc.

Coordinating conjunctions in Gonja are *nâ* ‘and’ *n* ‘and’, *ama* ‘but’ and *nko* ‘or’. On the other hand, subordinating conjunctions are used to introduce subordinate (or dependent) clause. This means that any time a subordinator is used, the clause it is attached to is subordinate. Unlike coordinators, subordinators do not link items of equal rank. Some of these subordinating conjunctions identified in this current study in Gonja are *nkpal* ‘because’ *nkpalmanlso* ‘because’, *amô* ‘until’ and *pôâ* ‘before’. The following examples illustrate conjoined noun phrases in Gonja.

(165). *Kebianyensobi ne kebiachesobi*

SGboy      CONJ      SGgirl

‘A boy and a girl’

(166). *Adur nâ Ndefoso yɔ-ø kade*

Adur CONJ Ndefoso go.PERF town

‘Adur and Ndefoso have traveled’ (Sulemana, 2001)

(167). *Awusa danɛ-ø n ji-ø*

Awusa cook.PST CONJ eat.PST

‘Awusa cooked and ate’ (Sulemana, 2001)

From (165) above, *kebianyensobi* ‘boy’ is a noun phrase which has been linked with another noun phrase *kebiachesobi* ‘girl’ with the conjunction *nâ* ‘and’ making the structure a conjoined noun phrase. Similarly, in (166) above, *Adur* and *Ndefoso* are both noun phrases which have been connected together by the coordinating conjunction *ne* indicating a conjoined NP and same is applied to the data in example (167). Consider the following structures in which the coordinator *ne* connects two clauses together in the same sentence.

(168). *Bu baã ji baaã chãto ne Ghana e yô anishi to*

3PL FUT eat 3PL.FUT help CONJ Ghana 3SG go eyes POSTP

‘When they win they will help and Ghana will develop’

(169). *Kabãwura na ne mobe eche wɔ nsher to*

President DEF CONJ 3SG.POSS woman LOC meeting POSTP

‘The president and his wife are attending to a meeting’

Conjoining is seen in (168) as the linker *nâ* ‘and’ is found between the noun phrases *bu baã ji baaã chãto* ‘when they win they will help’ and *Ghana e yô anishito* ‘Ghana will develop’. Also, in (169), *kabewura na* ‘the president’ is a noun phrase and ‘his wife’ is also a noun phrase which are connected together at the subject position by *ne* ‘and’ to the object *nshâr to* in the sentence. Below are more examples for emphasis.

(170). *Awusa daŋe-ø n ji-ø ama e maã mue*

Awusa cook.PST CONJ eat.PST CONJ 3SG NEG satisfy

‘Awusa cooked and ate but she is not satisfied’

(171). *E beeã yɔ nkpal mobe mbia so*

3SG FUT go CONJ 3SG.POSS child.PL POSTP

‘He/she will go because of his/her children’

(172). *Anye maaã sa Moru nkpalmanãso e maã shuã*

1PL FUT.NEG give Moru CONJ 3SG NEG work

‘We will not give Moru because he did not work’

The examples (170), (171) and (172) above further exemplify conjoined noun phrases in Gonja. It is noted that when an adjective modifies a noun the conjunction occur after the adjective but before the next NP. Below is an illustration of this statement.

(173). *Kanyen tenteã na ne kache peper ko ba-ø mfa*

man tall DEF CONJ woman fair INDEF come.PST DEM

‘The tall man and a fair woman came here’

From example (173), the noun *kanyen* ‘man’ has been post modified by two modifiers. That is, the adjective and the definite marker which precede the conjunction. Thus, the conjunction occurred after the adjective tall and the definite marker *na* but it preceded the next NP *kache peper ko* ‘a fair woman’ connected to the verb element *ba mfa* ‘came here’. It is also noted in the language so far that, a conjunction can occur after the determiner of the first NP but precedes the second NP in the structure of an NP. It is noteworthy that, in Gonja, a conjunction can co-occur between two nouns or between a noun with its modifiers and another noun or noun with or without modifiers as seen in the examples above. This therefore, confirmed the fact that the linker or conjunction occurs after all modifiers of the first noun phrase in conjoined NPs in Gonja.

This section considered the complex noun phrase in Gonja. Complex noun phrase (CNP) in Gonja include the genitive and/or possessive construction, genitive construction with nominal possessors, pronominal possessors, multiple genitive construction thus, alienable and inalienable possessive NPs and conjoined noun phrases in Gonja. This section also dealt with referential and non-referential genitive, relative clause, stacked relative clause and conjoined noun phrases in Gonja.

### **4.3 Noun Phrase without Nouns**

This section discusses noun phrases which do not have overt nouns in them in their structure in Gonja. The section considers nominalization of modifiers, noun phrases with only modifying words, headless relative clauses and noun clause constructions in the study.

### 4.3.1 Nominalization of Modifiers

Comrie & Thompson (1995:349) indicate that ‘nominalization’ means in essence ‘turning something into a noun’. They further state that most languages in the world make use of one or more devices for creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from static verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence of that verbs or adjective. Nominalization refers to the process via which a finite verbal clause either a complete clause or a subjectless verb phrase is converted into a noun phrase (Givón, 2001:24). The author further postulates that a verbal clause is nominalized most commonly when it occupies a prototypical nominal position and function such as subject, direct object, indirect or nominal predicate within another clause in English. Structurally, it is a requirement that a noun phrase must contain in it a HN or pronoun optionally occurring with other lexical items post modifying the HN or pronoun. Within the nominalized NP structure in Gonja, the adjective and verb assume the syntactic role of head noun while other clausal constituents that is, subject, object, verbal complement or adverbs assume the role of modifiers. This is clear in the examples below.

(174) *Mbil na so e maã naa lar kowu*  
 NMLZ DEF FOC 3SG NEG HAB go outside  
 ‘The age has kept him/her in the room’

(175) *Keji na e baa la demu na*  
 NMLZ DEF 3SG HAB EPH problem DEF  
 ‘The expenditure is always the problem’ (Recorded and transcribed on 26/09/2016)

(176) *Mpol na shinâ- ø e maâ naa tiŋ eshile*  
 NMLZ DEF make.PST 3SG NEG HAB able run  
 ‘The fatness made him/her not able to run’

(177) *Nteâ na maâ bônɛ loâ*  
 NMLZ DEF NEG bad DEM  
 ‘The height is not that bad’

From examples (174), (175), (176) and (177), *mbil na* ‘the age’, *keji na* ‘the expenditure’, *mpol na* ‘the fatness’ and *nteâ na* ‘the height’ are modifying words as their genetic words are the adjectives *bil* ‘aged’ *pul* ‘fat’, *tenteâ* ‘tall’ and the verb *ji* respectively occurring in the data of an NP structure. The adjectives *bil*, *pul*, and *tenteâ* and the verb *ji* have been nominalized as nouns. Therefore, they play the role of noun phrases in the above construction due to their close association with noun phrases in the case of the display above. The following are further illustrations of the phenomenon.

(178) *Ntul beeâ laââ fo kaman*  
 NMLZ FUT retard 2SG back  
 ‘Laziness will retard your successes’

(179) *Nteâ be ga maâ walâ*  
 NMLZ POSS DEG NEG good  
 ‘To be too tall is not good’

(180) *Ntul monâ fo kô na beeâ mô fo*  
 NMLZ DEM 2SG have DEF FUT kill 2SG  
 ‘That laziness in you will kill you’

Similarly, in (178), (179) and (180) the original adjectives which have been nominalized are *ntul* ‘lazy’ and *tenteã* ‘tall’ occurring in the construction with some grammatical similarities to typical instances of noun phrases. It is observed in the above data that normalization is a product of the adjustment from the prototype finite verbal or adjectival clause to the noun phrase. It is noted in the constructions where adjectives and verbs becoming heads, subject or object in the structures acquiring genitive case marking as in (179). It is worth mentioning that, in Gonja, within the nominalized NP structure the nominalized word occurs with nominalizing prefix on the adjective or verb. The data revealed that nominalized NPs have in them some structural association with NPs. It is established from the data that the nominalized NP usually occurs at the subject position in Gonja. Also, it occurs preceding articles in the construction of phrases of this kind in Gonja. In addition, nominalized NPs have plural and singular markers as their initial segments of the adjusted adjective or verb.

#### 4.3.2 Noun phrases with only modifying words

The structure of an NP in Gonja allows noun phrases that are made up of words that normally would be adjectives, verbs or adverbs among others rather than to be nouns. That is, it is structurally possible to construct NPs which are made up of only modifying items in the language. Consider the following examples:

(181) *Efimbi so na shile-ø nchoã*

NMLZ FOC DEF run.PST away

‘The small one ran away’

(182) *Beteãteã na e kô eleã*

NMLZ DEF 3SG have energy

‘The tall ones are strong’



(183) *Beshishimbi na e walâ*  
 NMLZ DEF 3SG nice  
 ‘The short ones are nice’

(184) *Bewurbi na nâ baa sha*  
 NMLZ DEF CONJ 3PL.PROG like  
 ‘They want the small ones’

Examples (181), (182), (183) and (184) are NPs that are constructed with only modifying words with nominalized adjectives which assumed the function of head nouns in the NPs. Syntactically, the constructions are made up of structures that modified the nominalized adjectives *efimbi* ‘small one’, *betenteâ* ‘tall ones’, *beshishimbi* ‘short ones’, and *bewurbi* ‘small ones’. From the above data the nominalized elements are derived from adjectives in Gonja. In the examples, it is observed that the adjectives play the role of nouns in subject position. Considering the data in (184), the nominalized item can also occur at the object position in an NP. For example:

(185) *Ba-a sha bewurbi na nna*  
 3PL.PROG like NMLZ DEF DISM  
 ‘It is the small ones they want’

From (185), it is observed that the nominalized adjective occurred at the object position. This conforms to the fact that nominalized structures can occur at both the subject and object positions as illustrated by the data. These nominalized words have [e-], [be-], [n], [m-] etc. as their nominalizing prefixes which converted the adjective phrases into NPs. It is however syntactically and semantically ungrammatical to place the determiner *na* before the nominalized word in an NP structure. For example:

(186) \* *na betenteå e kô eleå* DEF NMLZ 3SG have energy  
 ‘The tall ones are strong’

(187) \* *na beshishimbi e walâ*  
 DEF NMLZ 3SG good  
 ‘The short ones are good’

From examples (186) and (187) above, the issue of ungrammaticality sets in. This is because when the determiner precedes the head noun it is a syntactic violation of Gonja. Determiners are always post-head modifiers in Gonja. Similarly, apart from the determiners, an adjective playing the role of HN in Gonja, the language structurally exhibits verb-adjective functioning as NPs. The examples below illustrate this phenomenon.

(188) *Kadô la kushuå pa nna*  
 NMLZ EPH work fine DISM  
 ‘Farming is a lucrative activity’

(189) *Kakraå na e bra-ø mo*  
 NMLZ DEF 3SG bring.PST 3SG  
 ‘He/she came because of the learning’

(190) *Edi so nâ e tô- ø klaå na*  
 NMLZ FOC CONJ 3SG buy.PST mat DEF  
 ‘He/she bought the mat because of sleep’

In (188), *dô* ‘plough’ is a verb which is nominalized into the form *kadô* ‘farming’ which has been post modified by the emphatic particle *la* preceding *kushuå*. The phrase *kadô la*, therefore plays the role of NP and functioning as a subject of the sentence which means farming is a good endeavor. Also, in (189) *kraå* ‘read’ is a verb with its

nominalized form as *kakraã* ‘learning’ which is post modified by the definite article *na*. As a result the phrase *kakraŋ na* ‘the learning’ functions as the subject of the construction. In addition, *di* ‘sleep’ is also a verb and has also been nominalized as *edi* ‘sleep’ which plays the role of an NP functioning as the head of the phrase. It also serves as the subject of the construction. These are all modifying words which are acting as noun phrases because of the way they are used in the sentences making them similar to NPs.

#### 4.2.9 Headless Relative Clauses

Headless relative clauses in this study are those relative clauses that do not have nominal modifiers and HNs. They constitute referring expressions in their own right, and accordingly they directly fill a core argument position in an NP (Givón, 200:27). In terms of their structure, Robert et al (1997) posit that they are clauses which form an NP without a layered structure. Dryer (2007:197) observes that headless relative clauses are specific instances of noun phrases without nouns, but they warrant discussion because they are common and have various distinctive features. He further argues that relative clauses that do not modify nouns or pronouns are referred to as headless relative clauses. A relative clause activates the hearer’s consciousness of new referents by giving information which he (hearer) did not have. The speaker aims at presenting referents in such a way that they will be relevant for the hearer at the point where they are introduced (Boadi, 2005:142). He further explained that a headed relative clause is one in which an overt noun functioning as head in an endocentric construction is modified by a subordinate clause. In this section, the focus is on the structure of the headless clauses in Gonja. This phenomenon exists in the language and the following are some examples of headless relative clauses:

(191) *M maa sha [kumo nâ ku tur- ø kesawule na]*  
 1SG PROG.NEG like [DEM DEM 3SG fall.PST ground DEF]  
 ‘I do not like the one that fell on the ground’

(192) *Amati e wô [amo nê a maŋ kpia na]*  
 Amati 3SG own [DEM DEM EPH NEG tear DEF]  
 ‘It is Amati who own those that are not torn’

From example (191), the relative clause occurred preceding the first verb *sha* ‘like’ in the construction. That is, to say the entirety of *kumo nâ ku tur- ø kesawule na* ‘the one that fell on the ground’ is the headless relative clause in the structure because it neither modifies a noun nor a pronoun. The headless relative clause is preceded by a verb and not a noun or pronoun. Also, in (192), *Amati e wô* ‘it is Amati who owns’ is the relative clause which precedes the headless relative clause *amo nê a maŋ kpia na* ‘those that are not torn’ in the structure. Here, the headless relative clause follows the verb *wô* ‘own’ which occur contrastively without a noun or pronoun. Below are more examples of headless relative clauses.

(193) *Kabâwura na beeâ ju [bumo nâ bu maâ kô nwol]*  
 President DEF FUT sack [DEM DEM 3PL NEG have  
 certificate.PL]

‘The President will sack those who do not have certificates’

(194) *M maa sha [bumo nâ bu kishi ma]*  
 1SG PROG.NEG like [DEM DEM 3PL hate 1SG]  
 ‘I do not like those who hate me’

(195) *[Emo nâ e bee sha ma na] nâ n tu- ø*

[one DEM 3SG PROG like 1SG DEF] DEM 1SG meet.PST

‘The one who likes me that I met’

Similarly, in (193) *kabâwura na beeâ ju* ‘the president will sack’ is the relative clause because it contained in it an overt noun which serves as the head noun which occur preceding the headless relative clause *bumo nâ bu maâ kô nwol* ‘those who do not have certificates’. This is because it neither modifies a noun or pronoun but occur post modifying the verb *ju* ‘sack’ rendering it headless. In addition, in example (194) *bumo nâ bu kishi ma* ‘those who hate me’ is the headless relative clause occurring after the clause *M maa sha* ‘I do not like’ which function as the subject of the sentence. Also, in (195) the headless relative clause which is the NP is *emo nâ e bee sha ma na* ‘the one who likes me’. It is the subject of the construction and functions as a noun phrase even though there is no overt noun in it. It means then that the listener is aware of someone who likes the speaker else, this would have made the sentence meaningless to the listener. It is noted in the illustrations that when an article occur in the headless relative clause, it is preceded by all the post modifying words in the structure as seen examples (193), (194) and (195). Definite articles can also occur preceding the next clause which immediately follows the headless relative clause. However it will be ungrammatical for the article to occur preceding the relative pronoun in the structure of an NP in Gonja.

#### 4.3.4 Noun Clauses

According to Wiredu (1999:54), noun clauses are referred to as clauses which behave as if they are NPs. That is, they mostly occupy positions which NPs occupy. Thus, they can occur as the subject or object of a verb, or in a prepositional group in English. Dryer (2007) postulate that the term noun clause is often applied to subordinate clauses which appear in positions otherwise associated with noun phrases as illustrated by the clause in

the subject positions in [what he might return] *never occurred to me*. The noun in the object position as occurred to me. The noun is the object position as in *I know* [that it will rain] indicates clauses that are alike. Dryer further point out that while noun clauses that are functioning as or like noun phrase, they differ in that noun phrases which are headless relatives are always co-referential to some expression or pronominal argument inside the relative clause, while this is not the case with noun clauses.

Afari-Twako (2015:101) posit that *ketere be afâlto* ‘noun clauses’ *bee shuâ nna fanâ ketere nko ewôrôpo nko esôpo ashi kamalgafol to. Saâako malâ ketere be afâlto beeâ tiâ n shuâ fanâ keterefolshiâ* ‘noun clauses function just as noun phrases in sentences. Sometimes too they are seen to be noun phrases’. Consider the following examples below:

(196) *Mankir kaââ-ø ma [fanâ e beeâ boâ]*  
 Mankir tell.PST 1SG that 3SG FUT sing  
 ‘Mankir told me that he would sing’

(197) *Kache na shuli-ø [fanâ e beeâ fa ajɔ na]*  
 Woman DEF agree.PST that 3SG FUT sell yam.PL DEF  
 ‘The woman agreed that she would sell the yams’

(198) *Ku shinshiâ-ø ma [nkpal kebia na ka maâ shu]*  
 3SG surprise.PST 1SG because child DEF FOC NEG cry  
 ‘It surprised me because the child did not cry’

The data in (196), (197) and (198) above, clearly illustrate noun clauses in Gonja as we see in (196) *fanâ e beeâ boâ* ‘that he would sing’ occurring in an object position of the sentence. It is a noun clause in the sense that only NPs usually occur as objects. Also, in

(197) *fanâ e beeâ fa ajô na* ‘that she would sell the yams’ is occupying the object position as well. Similarly, in example (198) the noun clause which is occupying the object position in the above sentence is *nkpal kebia na ka maâ shu* ‘because the child did not cry’ in the structure. The noun in the clause is *kebia* ‘child’ with a definite article *na* which has further been post modified by the negation marker *mañ*. Below are more examples Gonja that illustrate this phenomenon:

(199) *E wôrc-ø n jajâ [e ka biri-ø fo]*

3SG do.PST CONJ spoil 3SG FOC beat.PERF 2SG

‘He/She is sorry that he/she has beaten you’

(200) *E sa- ø kônô [fanâ e beeâ ba]*

3SG give.PST mouth that 3SG FUT come

‘He/She promised that he/she would come’

It is observed from the data that the linkers’ *fanâ*, *nkpal*, *monâ*, *nâ* etc can be used to introduce the relative clause as exhibited in the data above. In addition, it is noted that, the main characteristic associated with nominal clauses is the fact that they behave just as NPs. That is, noun clauses can occur as subject or object of a verb in Gonja.

#### 4.3.5 Modification by Several Modifiers

In the preceding sections, several modifiers of an NP in the language are discussed. There are several words within the syntactic construction of the Gonja noun phrase which serve as modifiers discussed in this study. These modifying words identified in this study include: the determiner, adjective, quantifier, numeral, possessive determiner, demonstrative determiner and the relative clause. These modifying words in the syntax of the Gonja NP give particular grammatical or semantic properties of the head noun in

the language. This section discusses the co-occurrence of several modifications of the Gonja NP.

The modifying words of the Gonja NPs discussed in the preceding sections have been illustrated to be commonly post head modifiers in structure, with the exception of the demonstrative determiner and the possessive determiner. Similar observation was made in Dagbani where most modifiers are post head, as articulated in Issah (2013:210). Tangwam (2014:88) posits that the order of the pre and post modifiers is strictly ordered syntactically in Kasem.

We have seen from the discussion so far that Gonja NP has basically post modifiers. It has also been illustrated that these several post head modifiers in Gonja agree with the head noun they modify in terms of number, grammar, semantics, gender and animacy. These modifiers however, are not in complementary distribution since several of them could modify a noun sequentially. In this study, the order of pre-modifiers is strictly patterned grammatically. The possessive noun is always closer to the HN followed by the demonstrative determiner. The examples below demonstrate this argument in Gonja.

(201) *Loã be kaboe be kiya e bu- ø na*  
 DEM POSS goat POSS leg 3SG break.PST DEF  
 ‘It is that goat’s leg which is broken’

(202) *Loã be eãinipo maã nyi shãã*  
 DEM POSS teacher NEG know nothing  
 ‘That teacher doesn’t know anything’



(203) *Dramundu be kejiwol maã wale*

Dramundu POSS certificate NEG good

‘Dramundu’s certificate is not good’

(204) \* *Loã be kiya be kaboe e bu- ø na*

DEM POSS leg POSS goat 3SG break.PST DEF

‘It is that goat’s leg which is broken’

(205) \* *Kiya be kaboe be loã e bu- ø na*

Leg POSS goat POSS DEM 3SG break.PST DEF

‘It is that goat’s leg which is broken’

In (201), the co-occurrence of the pre modifiers in a particular syntactic slot is exemplified. The structure of NPs in this language is such that when the demonstrative and the possessive co-occur as pre modifiers of an NP, the demonstrative precedes the possessor which in this case is closer to the HN. These pre-head modifiers can also occur individually in separate contexts with the HN as seen in (202) and (203). However, the construction will be ungrammatical when their positions are changed as seen in (204) and (205) respectively. Therefore the linear order of the pre-modifiers is proposed to be as in (206) below:

(206) Demonstrative (DEM) > Possessor (POSS) > Head Noun (HN)

However, notwithstanding the arguments in (201), (202), (203) (204) and (205) above, most modifiers occur post modifying the HN in the structure of Gonja. Also, regarding post modification in Gonja I propose that the linear order of an NP which is optionally modified by several items is demonstrated in (207) and (208) below;

(207) Head Noun (HN) > Adjective (ADJ) > Numeral (NUM) < Article (ART) >  
Quantifier (QUANT)

(208) Head Noun (HN) > Adjective (ADJ) > Numeral (NUM) > Demonstrative determiner (DEM) > Quantifier (QUANT)

The following, exemplify the claim in (207) and (208) above that the structural occurrence of several post modifiers is strictly ordered in Gonja.

(209) *Beche tenteâ benyô na kikâ yô-ø kade*  
 woman.PL tall two DEF QUAN go.PERF town  
 ‘All the two tall women have travelled’

(210) *Alaâ pupôr asa na kikâ*  
 house.PL new three DEF QUAN  
 ‘All the three new houses’

(211) *Mboe lembir anyô na nawule*  
 goat.PL black two DEF QUAN  
 ‘Only the two black goats’

(212) \* *Beche benyô tenteâ na kikâ*  
 woman.PL two tall DEF QUAN  
 ‘All the two tall woman’

(213) \* *Alaâ asa pupôr na kikâ*  
 house.PL three new DEF QUAN  
 ‘All the three new houses’

(214) *Mbia wulso benyô ere kikâ*  
 child.PL thin two DEM QUAN  
 ‘All these who thin children’

(215) *Benyen shimbi bena ere wule*  
 man.PL short four DEM QUAN

‘Only those four short men’

- (216) *Bewura nyiashempo bena ere kikâ*  
 chief.PL wise four DEM QUAN  
 ‘All those four wise chiefs’

- (217) \* *Mbia benyô wolso ere kikâ*  
 child.PL two thin DEM QUAN  
 ‘All those two thin children’

- (218) \* *Wolso benyô mbia ere kikâ*  
 thin two child.PL DEM QUAN  
 ‘All those two thin children’

In (209), (210) and (211), we observe that the sequence of the post-head modifiers is strictly patterned in the order outlined in (207). Also, in (214) (215) and (216), the manifestation of the sequence of the post modifiers has been patterned as in the linear representation of the order of post modifiers in (208). The ungrammaticality of the constructions (212), (213), (217) and (218) further support claims that when several post modifiers occur with a noun head the order is not haphazardly done in Gonja. Considering the syntactic prescription of several post modifiers, the ungrammaticality of (212), (213), (217) and (218) are self-explanatory in the sense that, in (212) and (217) the numeral *benyô* ‘two’ precedes the adjectives *tenteâ* ‘tall’ and *wolso* ‘thin’ respectively in their structural relation with the HN. Similarly, in (213) and (218) the adjective *wolso* ‘thin’ occurred in the structural position of the HN *mbia* ‘children’ rendering them unacceptable in the grammar of Gonja.

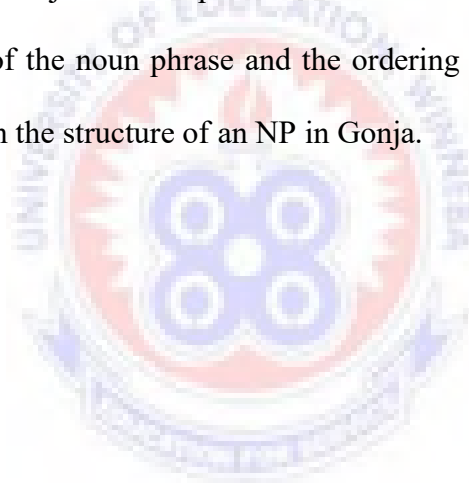
Issah (2013:210) observe that, when several modifiers co-occur with a HN, there is the syntactic requirement that the adjective should be placed immediately after the HN. He further argues that this syntactic requirement is in line with the noun-adjective adjacency principle as articulated in Greenberg (1966) and Rijkoff (2004:266). This principle requires that the adjective be placed adjacent to the noun with which it occurs or modifies. It is therefore in line with this requirement that ungrammaticality sets in in (212), (213) and (217) in the data above. In relation to (218), the ungrammaticality occurred from the fact that it violates the linear order of modification by several modifiers of a noun phrase in Gonja as contained in (208) above.

In summary, this section discussed noun phrases which do not have nouns in their structure in Gonja. It treated nominalization of modifiers, noun phrases with only modifying words, and headless relative clause construction in Gonja. The section concluded on modification by several modifiers in Gonja.

#### **4.4 Summary**

This chapter of the study discussed the analysis of the noun phrase in Gonja. The chapter considered the structural items that make up the simple noun phrase, complex noun phrase and noun phrases without nouns in Gonja. It has been realized that the Gonja noun phrase can take a determiner which occurs at the post modifying position of the HN. It has also been revealed that demonstratives modify nouns or pronouns and adjectives which function as heads of NPs in Gonja. These elements can occur at the pre-head position and can also occur at the post-head position depending on the information the speaker has in mind to say. The study established that there are two types of demonstratives in Gonja; the demonstrative pronoun and demonstrative modifiers of nouns. When an adjective modifies a noun, it is placed adjacent to the noun

with which it occurs. It came to light in this study that stacking of adjectives is allowed to post modify a noun unlike in the case of English where they pre-modify the noun. It is noted that the adjective and the verb can be nominalized leading to derivation from the classes of adjectives and verbs to noun class. Also, another observation made in this study is that the Gonja ordinals have their roots to be the cardinals and in each case, this ordinal forming morpheme-*sepo* is added to inflect cardinals to ordinals. It was indicated in this chapter that Gonja uses *sososo* and *lalaluwe* to demonstrate first and last respectively. In addition, I demonstrated the elements that can function as noun phrases without the overt noun, noun phrases with only modifying words and headless relative clauses in Gonja. The chapter concluded on noun clauses and modification by several modifiers of the noun phrase and the ordering restriction regarding the case of several modifiers in the structure of an NP in Gonja.



## CHAPTER 5

### SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have demonstrated, to the best of my understanding, the structure of the Gonja noun phrase from a descriptive point of view. Enough data have

been used to analyze the structural composition of noun phrases in Gonja. This final chapter of the study presents the summary, findings and recommendation for future researchers of Gonja to consider. Section 5.1 discusses a summary of the thesis, 5.2 provides an outline of the major findings that are outlined in this study and 5.3 concludes the chapter with some further relevant recommendations for future consideration in the syntax of Gonja.

### **5.1 Summary of the thesis**

The thesis provides a detailed descriptive analysis of the noun phrase in Gonja. It sets out to examine the structure of the language and also to describe, with accurate data, the structure of the Gonja noun phrase in the context of recent cross-linguistic studies. The study focused on the guiding research questions which among other things include: (i) what is the structure of the noun phrase in Gonja? (ii) Which linguistic elements occur as pre and post modifiers of the head noun HN? (iii) What is the ordering restriction regarding the case of several modifiers of the noun phrase in Gonja? These questions have been fully exhausted in the discussions in the preceding chapters. In the following sections are the summaries of the main discussions in relation to these guiding questions mentioned above.

Chapter one discusses the general introduction, background of the study, the speakers and linguistic affiliation of Gonja, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, research questions and the purpose of the study. It also discussed delimitation of the study, significance of the study and organization of the study. The background section considered an overview of parts of speech system in Gonja. The dialects of Gonja were mentioned to be East Gonja, West Gonja and Ndompo. This researcher decided on the West Gonja dialect for this thesis.

In chapter two, I reviewed some relevant related literature postulated by earlier researchers on the topic. That is, the structure of the noun phrase in Gonja. Some of these literature include (Afari-Twako, 2001, 2005, 2015; Amidu, 2009; Boadi, 2010; Bakken, 2006; Börjars & Burridge, 2010; Brown & Miller, 1996; Dakubu, 1988; Deborah et al 2016; Dryer, 2007; Givón, 2001; Issah, 2013; Hasselgard et al, 1998; Nsoh & Abibala, 2009; O’Grady et al, 2010; Osam, 2004; Painter, 1970; Radford, 1981; Randolph & Sidney, 2006; Robert et al, 1997 and Wiredu, 1998, 1999) among others. The noun phrase in Gonja may comprise of only a noun which is the obligatory item in the NP. It may also be made up of the noun head and several other optional pre and post modifiers of the NH. The noun head of an NP may be a pronoun or a noun. When the HN of an NP is a noun, it may take a determiner. In contrast, when a pronoun functions as head of an NP it usually does not take determiners. The noun phrase of Gonja can be (i) simple noun phrase; which contains only pronouns or nouns plus modifiers such as articles, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers (ii) complex noun phrase which contains more complex structures occurring as modifiers like genitive or possessive modifiers as well as relative clauses and (iii) various kinds of noun phrases which do not have noun heads in their structure in Gonja.

Chapter three focused on the methodology used in the data collection for the study. The chapter presented the research design, the population, sample, sampling technique, sample size, and sources of data for the study, and the summary of the chapter.

Chapter four discussed the main elements of the noun phrase in Gonja. In this chapter, I discussed the elements of the noun phrase that occur as pre and post modifiers of it. Section 4.1 discussed the simple noun phrase; Section 4.1.1 looked at the determiner in Gonja. That is, the definite and the indefinite articles while Section 4.1.2 talked about the functions of definite and indefinite articles in Gonja. Also, Section 4.1.3 discussed

the demonstrative in a simple noun phrase, and Section 4.1.4 treated the quantifiers in Gonja. Again Section 4.1.5 focused on the non-numerical quantifiers in Gonja, Section 4.1.6 explored the adjectives in Gonja, and Section 4.1.7 investigated nouns used as modifiers in the structure of Gonja.

Noun phrase in Gonja which take determiners, like other languages can select a determiner based on the noun class, number and gender of the noun head. However, the determiner occurs at the post modifying position of the noun head in Gonja. Demonstratives in Gonja can occur at the pre-head position and at the post-head position of the noun head depending on the discourse. Nevertheless, it is demonstrated that there are two types of demonstratives in Gonja. These are the demonstrative pronouns which can occur by themselves as heads of noun phrases and demonstrative modifiers of nouns which can also occur as modifiers of the NP.

The structure of Gonja allows a series of adjectives to occur at the post positive position of the noun head functioning as post modifiers of a noun unlike English where the adjective pre modifies the noun. The adjectives in English follow the order of shape or size, objective, subjective, color, present participle and past participle. However, adjectives in Gonja do not follow any order when a number of them co-occur in a sentence. Also, adjectives in Gonja can be nominalized leading to derivation from the class of adjectives to noun class. Verbs can also be nominalized into nouns in Gonja as discussed in the data.

Another essential observation made in this study was that, ordinals in Gonja have their root or stem to be the cardinal and in each cardinal, the ordinal forming morpheme-*sepo* is added to inflect cardinals to ordinals. However, it is noted in the study that *sososo* and *lalaluwe* are used to demonstrate first and last in Gonja. Therefore, it is relatively



common to hear fluent native speakers of Gonja using *sososo* and *lalaluwe* when counting in a particular order.

In Section 4.2, I discussed the elements of the complex noun phrase in Gonja focusing on earlier studies on the noun phrase structure in language, typology and syntactic description. Section 4.2.1 focused on genitive or possessive construction, 4.2.2 considered genitive constructions with nominal possessors, and 4.2.3 looked at pronominal possessors, while 4.2.4 dealt with multiple genitive constructions in Goja. Section 4.2.5 treated alienable and inalienable possessions, Section 4.2.6 dealt with non-referential genitives while 4.2.7 discussed the relative clause in Gonja. Section 4.2.8 also treated stacked relative clauses and in Section 4.2.9, conjoined noun phrases are discussed.

The structure of Gonja marks possession as it is in English with the morpheme 's' as in our's, their's among others. Gonja indicates possession with the morpheme *be* to mean ownership. The morpheme or possessive marker *be* can occur between an article and the noun head and can also occur preceded by the noun head of the noun phrase of Gonja. Genitive constructions are indicated by the presence of the genitive or possessive marker *be* which occurs in the identified syntactically related instances discussed above in the data. Thus, the possessive marker occurs before the possessed noun. It is noted that other elements like determiner, article, demonstrative et cetera et cetera may however occur before it. Two types of possession were identified. These were the alienable and inalienable possession in Gonja. With respect to pronominal and nominal possession in Gonja, notwithstanding the fact that they are both identified by *be*, they differ in the sense that, in the structure of the pronominal possessive construction the pronoun and the possessive marker occur together as a single word. Contrasting with

this was the nominal possession where the noun and the possessive marker occurred distinctively.

In the case of the relative clause in the Gonja noun phrase, two types were identified in the study. These include the restrictive relative clause and the non-restrictive relative clause. The relative clauses in Gonja are usually introduced by *monɛ*, *nɛ*, *loŋ*, *mo*, *ere*, among others in the syntax of the language. It is realized in the study that headless relative clause can occur with an article either at the subject position or at the object position. Noun phrases which are formed by conjoining or coordinating two noun phrases together as one structure are common in Gonja. The conjunction functions as an independent linker bringing the two noun phrases together to form one structure. Gonja has a number of coordinators and subordinators and are applicable to the noun phrase structure in Gonja. Some of them are *nɛ*, *ama*, *amɔ*, *nkpɔl*, *nkpalamanso*, *pɔɛ*, *n*, *loŋso*, *nko*, etc.

Section 4.3 also discussed noun phrases without overt nouns in Gonja. Section 4.3.1 treated nominalization of modifiers in Gonja; 4.3.2 talked about noun phrases with only modifying words while 4.3.3 looked at headless relative clauses. Section 4.3.4 discussed noun clauses while 4.3.5 looked at modification by several modifiers and the co-occurrence restriction of these modifiers of the noun phrase of Gonja. Section 4.4 concluded the chapter with a summary of the major issues discussed in the study. It was noted that there are some constituents in Gonja that are neither noun headed nor pronoun headed structures however, due to their syntactic similarities to typical instances of noun phrases in Gonja, they are referred to as noun phrases. These phrases can occur at the subject position and also at the object position in the structure of Gonja. In addition, it came to light in the study that the relative pronoun can be followed immediately by a personal pronoun from a different sub class co-occurring in the same

structure. The data revealed that determiners can occur after all the items of the relative clause in Gonja. Also, it was observed that stacking of relative clauses as in *Baasa mone bu wɔ ndoŋ ere a ji kapal na la nnawuraana nna* is structurally allowed in the syntax of Gonja.

## 5.2 Findings

This study has investigated the structure of the noun phrase in Gonja. It has come to light that Gonja has three exemplifiable kinds of noun phrases which include the simple noun phrase, complex noun phrase and various sorts of noun phrases which do not have in them head nouns. In Gonja, as contained in this study, the head of the NP is a noun. I demonstrated with enough data that verbs and adjectives can be nominalized to function as heads of NPs. Items which function syntactically as pre-head modifiers in the language have been identified as possessive determiner, demonstrative determiner and nouns. On the other hand, the post-head modifiers identified include the adjective, numeral, article, quantifier and relative clause. Unlike some languages such as Gureɛ, Dagbani, Kasem et cetera et cetera where the root form of nouns are used grammatically when they are modified by attributive adjectives, the structure of Gonja allows the adjective to occur in full form syntactically post modifying the head noun. The language further allows a series of adjectives to post modify a noun. It was realized that when a series of adjectives co-occur as post modifiers of a NH, the order is haphazardly done and the noun does not lose any segment.

The noun phrase of Gonja marks possession morphologically with the morpheme *be* which occurs suffixed to pronominals and occur as a distinctive segment in the environment with nominals. In an NP structure of Gonja, *be* is preceded by the possessor. This contrasts with languages which do not mark possession

morphologically. I further discussed the relative clause in Gonja sentence structure which revealed that they are essential items in complex sentence structures in the language. It is usually an embedded clause. Relative clauses are usually introduced in Gonja by *monɛ*, *nɛ*, *mo*, *ere*, etc. It was also noted that Gonja permits stacking of relative clauses in complex constructions. The study also looked at modification by several modifiers in the language. Demonstrative determiner and possessive nouns were identified as pre-head modifiers of the NP. The structural order of the pre-modifiers observed is that the possessive noun is usually closer to the noun head followed by demonstrative determiner when they co-occur with the noun head in the same structure. However, the adjective, numeral, quantifier, determiner, possessive determiner, demonstrative determiner and relative clause were identified as post modifiers of the Gonja noun phrase. The possible order of these series of modifiers realized is head noun > adjective > numeral > article > quantifier. It may also be head noun > adjective > numeral > demonstrative > quantifier.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The linguistic and literature development of every language rest on the number of scholars who venture into its study and documentation. In the course of conducting this study, several other interesting syntactic issues occurred in the language; however, they were not within the scope of this present study to consider them in detail. There are a lot of unresolved structural uncertainties which need further investigation. This section presents these uncertainties for consideration for further studies in the syntax of Gonja. There are so many syntactic problems unsolved in Gonja. Some of these include the syntactic analysis of the verb phrase, and the adjective phrase in Gonja, interrogatives,

complementation and relativisation in the structure of Gonja. Future researchers and /or scholars should investigate into the pronominal system; their syntactic properties and distribution in Gonja. In relation to the pronominal system in Gonja, the orthography is confusing as putting the pronoun and the possessive together is deceptive. Thus, the orthography dictates that the pronoun and the genitive marker are considered one word. But considering the syntactic and semantic function of these items they may be written as separate words. This thus suggests that further studies should be conducted on the pronouns in Gonja. Also, the noun class system and genders should be investigated into regarding current trends in cross-linguistic studies. The present study did not consider the semantic aspects of the Gonja NP. This thus suggests that further studies should be conducted on the semantics of the Gonja noun phrase. Apart from the noun phrase, other types of phrases were not considered. It is therefore recommendable that a detailed study should be conducted by future researchers and/or scholars on the semantics of the other types of phrases in Gonja. Also, future researchers should look into the pronoun system thoroughly in Gonja.

## REFERENCES

- Aarts, B. (2001). *English Syntax and Argumentation*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd.
- Abakah, E. N. (2005b). Tone in Akan Nominals. In M. E. Kropp Dakubu et al. (Eds). *Studies in the languages of the Volta Basin*. Vol. 3.
- Afari - Twako, H. (2001). *Alôntorwor Nâ Ngbarbembra*. Tamale: Cyber systems.
- Afari-Twako, H. (2015). *Alôntorwor Nâ Ngbarbembra*. Tamale: Cyber systems.

- Agbedor, P.K. (2007). *Introduction to linguistics*. Legon: Institute of Adult Education.
- Agbedor, P.K. (2009). *Languages in Ghana*. Legon: Institute of Adult Education.
- Amfo, N.A.A. (2007). Akan Demonstratives. In: Payne D. L., Jaime P. (Eds.) *Selected proceedings of the 37<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville: M.A.
- Amidu, H. (2007). *Introduction to the Grammar of Gonja*. Unpublished lecture notes. Tamale: Bagabaga College of Education.
- Amidu, H. (2009). *Written and Oral Literature of Gonja*. Unpublished lecture notes. Tamale: Bagabaga College of Education.
- Atintono, S. A. (2012). Sequencing of Verbal Modifiers in Gurenɛ. In: Azasu, K. (Ed.) GUMAGA: *International Journal of Language and Literature*. No.3:67-81
- Bakken, B. (2006). *English grammar: An introduction for student of English as a foreign language*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. (1971). Niger- Congo Gur. In: Sebeok T. (Ed.) *Current trends in linguistics* Vol. 7. The Hague Mouton pp 141-178.
- Berk, L. M. (1999). *English Syntax: From word to Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boadi, L. A. (2005). *Three Major Syntactic Structures in Akan: Interrogatives, Complementation and Relativisation*. Accra: Black Mask Ltd.
- Boadi, L. A. (2010). *The Akan Noun Phrase: its structure and meaning*. Accra: Black Mask Ltd.
- Bodomo, A. (1997). *The Structure of Dagaare*. Stanford: CSU Publications.

- Borjars, K., & Burridge, K. (2001). *Introducing English Grammar*. (2th ed.) London: Hodder Education.
- Brown, E., & Miller, F.T. (1996). *Syntax: A Linguistic Introduction to Sentence Structure*. London: Harper Collins Academic.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1970). *Syntactic Structures*. Hague - Paris: Mouton and Co. Ltd.
- Comrie, B. & Thompson, A. S. (1995). Lexical Nominalization. In: Shopen, T. (Ed.) *Language Typology and syntactic description*. Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1981). *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Morphology and Syntax*. England: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd.
- Cornips, L. & Polletto, C. (2005). On Standardizing Syntactic Elicitation Techniques. Part 1. *Lingua* 115 (7): 939-957.
- Creswell, J.W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions*. London: Sage Publications.
- Crystal, D. (1994). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dakubu, M. E. K. (1988). *The languages of Ghana*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Danti, L. A. (2007). The Kasem Adjective Phrase Structure. In: Dakubu, M. E. K., Akanligpare G., Osam, E. K. & Saah, K. K. (Eds.) *Studies in the Languages of the Volta Basin 4 Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon*

*Trondheim Linguistics projects. 18-20 January, 2005. Part 1: Nominal Constructions: 116-126.*

Danti, L.A. (2010). Morphology of the Kasem Nominal. In: Nsoh, E. A., Atintono, S. A., Danti, A. L. & Adjei, F. A. (Eds.) *Journal of African Cultures and Languages*. Vol. 1 (1):102 -112.

Deborah, Nelson, Rederic. F. Casali, Tina Ensz, Jill Francis, Donald Chomiak & Jonathan Janzen. *A preliminary overview of Gonja phonology*. MS: Trinity Western University.

Denzin, N & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Introduction: entering the field of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds), *Handbook of qualitative research* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.) (pp. 695-727). Thousand Oaths, CA: Sage Publications.

Diessel, H. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, Function and Grammaticalisation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dixon, R.B.W. (2003). Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology. *Studies in Language* 27(1): 61-112.

Dryer, S.M. (2007). Noun phrase Structure. In Shopen, T. (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic description*. Vol. II: complex constructions (2nd ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, M.S. (1992). The Greenbergian word order correlation. *Language* 68:81-138.

Faenkel, J.R. & Norman, E. W. (2003). *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education*. (5th ed.) Boston: McGraw -Hill Higher Education Ltd.

Faenkel, J. R., & Wallen, N.E. (2009). *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw Hill.



- Gay, L. R. (1996). *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Application*. (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) New Jersey: Prentice - Hall Incorporated.
- Gay, L.K. & Airsian, P. (2000). *Educational Research: Competence for analyzing and application*. Chicago: Irwin Press.
- Givón, T. (1990). *Syntax: A Functional Typological Introduction*. Vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Givón, T. (2001). *Syntax: An Introduction*. Vol. I & II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Greenberg, J. H. (1966). Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the order of Meaningful Elements. In: Greenberg J.H. (Ed.) *Universals of Language* (2nd Ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, E. (2010). *Ghanaian Languages*. Accra: Asempa Publishers.
- Halliday, M.A.K. & Mattiessen, M. I. M. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Great Britain: Arnold Publishers.
- Hasselgård, H., Johansson, S. & Lysvåg, P. (1998). *English Grammar: Theory and use*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Issah, S.A. (2013). The Structure of the Dagbani Simple Noun Phrase. *South African Journal of African Languages* (SAJAL). Volume 33(2): 203-212.
- Jindayu, D.M. (2013). *The Morpho-Syntax of Gonja Personal Names*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis submitted to the Department of Gur-Gonja Education. University of Education, Winneba.

- Kankam, G. & Weiler, J. (2010). *A Guide to Action research for Colleges of Education and Universities*. Accra: ReadWide Publisher.
- Kershi, Börjars & Kate Burridge (2001). *Introducing English Grammar*: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kotochi, J.S. (2013). *Buwufoneashia*. Unpublished creative writing project submitted to the Department of Gur-Gonja Education, University of Education, Winneba.
- Laurie, Bauer (2007). *The Linguistic Students Handbook*. Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press.
- Lyons, J. (1968). *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Newman, W.L. (2012). *Basics of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice hall.
- Nsoh, E.A. (2011). *A lexical-Functional syntax of the Adjective in the Farefari Language*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Department of Linguistics. Legon: University of Ghana.
- Nsoh, E. A. & Ababila, A. J. (2009). The structure of the Simple Noun Phrase (SNP) in Farefari. In: Adika G.S.K., Fábùnmi, F.A. & Sáláwù (Eds). *Current Perspectives in Phono-Syntax and Dialectology*. Accra: Black Mask Ltd.
- O'Grady, W. Dobrovolsky, M. & Aronoff, M. (1989). *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. Canada: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd.
- O'Grady, W. Archibald, J. Aronoff, M. & Rees-Miller, J. (2010). *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. (6th ed). Boston: Bedford/St. Martins.

- Owu-Ewie, C. (2012). *Introduction to Traditional and Action Research*. Accra; Vision Xpress Sec. Service.
- Painter, C. (1970). *Gonja: A phonological and grammatical study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Radford, A. (1981). *Transformational Syntax: A Student's guide to Chomsky's Extended Standard Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Randolph, Q. & Sidney, G. (2006). *A University Grammar of English*. Darling: Kindersley (India) Pvt Ltd.
- Rijkhoff, J. (2004). *The Noun Phrase*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robert, D. Van Valin, Jr. & Randy, J. Lapolla (1997). *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and function*. *Cambridge textbooks in linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saah, K.K. (2007). *Introduction to Linguistics*: Legon. Centre for Distance Education, Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana.
- Saah, K.K. (2010). Relative clauses in Akan. In: Enoch, O.A. & Essegbey, J. (Eds.) *Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. Vol. 78:91-107.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research*. (3rd ed.) Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sekyi-Baidoo, Y. (2002). *Semantics: An Introduction*. Kumasi: Wilas Press Ltd.
- Schachter, P. (1985). Parts-of-Speech Systems. In: Shopen, T. (Ed.) *Language Typology and syntactic description: Clause Structure*. Britain: Bath Press Ltd.
- Schachter, P. (1985). Parts-of-Speech Systems. In: Shopen, T. (Ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic description: Clause Structure*. Vol. 1. Britain: Bath Press Ltd.

- Snider, K. L. (1990a). *Studies in Guang phonology*. PhD dissertation. University of Leiden. <http://casali.canil.ca/Guang/Snider1990.pdf>.
- Sulemana, I.D. (1980). *Kesheɲeba*. Unpublished Drama textbook in Gonja. Ajumako: Specialist School of Ghana Languages.
- Sulemana, I.D. (1986). *Awodima*. Unpublished Drama textbook in Gonja. Ajumako: Specialist School of Ghana Languages.
- Sulemana, I.D. (2001). *Ndefoso*. Tamale: Cyber Systems.
- Sulemana, S. (2005). *Introduction to Gonja Orthography*. Unpublished. University of Education, Winneba.
- Tallerman, M. (1998). *Understanding Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tangwam, J.K. (2014). *The structure of the Kasem Noun Phrase*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis submitted to the Department of Gur-Gonja Education, University of Education, Winneba.
- Thompson, B. A. A. (1977). *Noun Phrases in Kasem*. Unpublished M.A. thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics. University of Ghana.
- Trask, R. L. (1993). *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Wiredu, J. F. (1999). *Organized English Structure*. (2nd ed.) Accra: Academic Publications Ltd.
- Wiredu, J. F. (1998). *Organized English Grammar: A Self-study and Practice book for students of Secondary schools, Training Colleges, the Polytechnics and the Universities*. Accra: Academic Publications (Ghana) Ltd.

Yule, G. (1996). *The Study of Language: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zakaria, S. (1989). *Kanyeshe`turbi*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages.

<http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/Census2010> Summary report of final results.pdf. Retrieved on May, 2016.

Online: <http://www.ethnologue.com>. Retrieved on May, 2016.

