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REFLEXIVITY IN DAGAARE

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REFLEXIVITY IN DAGAARE

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, John-Bosco Puotege, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published work, which have been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my work and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE …………………………………….

DATE ……………………………………………….

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis/dissertation/project as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. SAMUEL ALHASSAN ISSAH

SIGNATURE: --

DATE: --

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated first of all to the Almighty God for taking me through successfully. I also dedicate it to my beloved late father, Amatus Puotege Konaa.
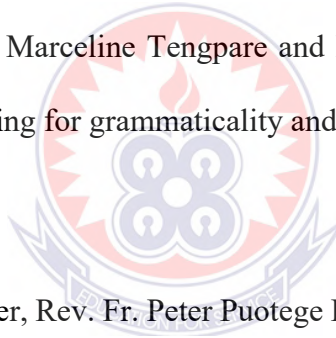
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

*	ungrammatical sentence
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
BS	Badɛre Sensellɛ
COMPL	completive
COMP	complement
COP	copula
CP	complementizer phrase
DEF	definite
DP	determiner phrase
DS2	Dagaare Sensellɛ 2
EMPH	emphatic
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GB	Government and Binding
GBT	Government and Binding Theory
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect
IMPF	imperfective
IMPFV	imperfective aspet

ING.FUT	ingressive future
INTENS	intensifier
IP	inflectional phrase
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric
Mt.	Mathew gospel
NEG	negative
NI	native intuition
NM	nominalization marker
NMLZ	nominalizer (grammatical)
NN	Naaŋmene Nɔpaalaa (New Testament)
NOM	nominalizer (lexical)
NP	noun phrase, nominal phrase
NT	New Testament
OBJ	object
PART./PRT	particle
PC	predicate constituent
PERT	perfect aspect
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural marker
P-n	nominal predicate
P-nP	nominal predicate phrase
Pn-S	predication sentence
POSS	possessive
PP	preposition/postposition

PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PST	past tense marker
PossP	Possessive phrase
PRED.PRT	predicative particle
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative marker
RFM	reflexive functional marker
S	singular
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
TB	Takɔdaa Bie (Novel)
TOP	topic
TP	tense phrase
Tz/tz	tuozaafi (kind of food)
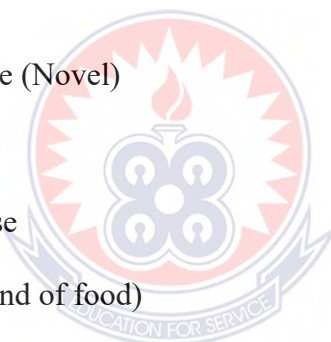
ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis has been to examine the morphology and syntax of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare, a Mabia language spoken in the Upper West Region of Ghana and some parts of Burkina Faso. Regarding the morphology of the reflexives, I showed the reflexives are complex items since they comprise of two different morphemes, which are the personal pronoun and a reflexive morpheme **-meŋɛ**. This observation made me to conclude that the reflexives are bimorphemic in Dagaare since it has two different morphemes in the morphological composition. In addition, I demonstrated that the reflexive morpheme does not mark for number in the language. On syntax, I showed that the reflexives are bound to a preceding noun, termed as antecedent in generative syntax. Thus, the number, and person features of a reflexive pronoun is dependent on that of the antecedent. I analyzed the syntactic features within the theoretical framework of the Government and Binding Theory proposed by (Chomsky 1981), and concluded that Dagaare reflexives are required to be in the same clause as in the theoretical assumptions of the Binding Principle A. Data for the study were drawn from four different sources including: natural text, elicitations, recording of speeches, as well as native speaker intuitions as a native speaker of Dagaare. I also attempt to discuss the distribution of pronouns and emphatic reflexives (intensifiers) and compare that with reflexive pronouns.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

1.0 Introduction

This thesis seeks to provide an in-depth reflexivity in Dagaare. Reflexivity is defined by Reinhart and Reuland (1993) as that a predicate is *reflexive* if two of its arguments are coindexed. Reflexivity is expressed in Dagaare by construction in which the pronoun, either weak or strong, is followed by a nominal **mɪŋɛ** (sing.) **mɪnnɪ** (plur.), 'self' (Dakubu, 2005: 53). He posits that the pronoun and nominal must agree in number. The present work is seeke to offer a detailed description of morphological structure and syntactic properties of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare. Another area discussed is the varieties of Dagaare and where these varieties are spoken. It also highlights the geographical location and genetic affiliation of the Dagaaba (background to the study). The study also presents the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, the objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, limitation and delimitation of the study and organization of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the study

This study will examine reflexivity in Dagaare. Dagaare is the language of the Dagaaba in the north-western part of Ghana and adjoining Burkina Faso (Bodomo, 1997:1). It is spoken mainly in the north-western part of Ghana and in some communities in the south of Burkina Faso and the north-eastern corner of Cote d'Ivoire respectively (Bodomo 1997) cited in Dansieh (2008:229).

Bodomo (2000) posits that the speech varieties can be classified into four broad dialects of the language, known as Northern Dagaare, Central Dagaare, Southern Dagaare, and Western Dagaare. Bekye (1991:94) also postulates that "the Dagaaba have a number of dialect groups. Two of the principal ones are the Lobri and the Dagaare dialect speakers". Bodomo (1997) describes Dagaare as a language that comprises a dialect continuum, which includes Dagaare, Waale and Birifor dialects. The people around Nandom are corresponding to Dagara, Lawra and Babile are corresponding to Birifor, Jirapa, Boo, Ullo, Karni, Sabuli, Daffiama are corresponding to Dagaare and Wa and the environs are corresponding to Waale (Dakubu, 2005).

The focus of this study was on the Central Dagaare dialect that comprises the varieties spoken in Jirapa, Karni, Han, Ullo, Daffiama, Nadowli and their immediate environs.

Bodomo (2000) is of the view that, this group is so-called because it occupies approximately the middle of the Upper West Region of Ghana and enjoys a considerable degree of intelligibility from speakers of other dialects. He adds that it is probably because of this that most of the linguists who worked on Dagaare in Ghana like Wilson (1962), Kennedy (1966) and Hall (1973) have based their analyses on it.

It is important however, to note that Dagaare has spread all the regions of Ghana and beyond because of the high degree of economic, educational, social and geographical mobility of its native speakers among other reasons. Dagaare has been genetically classified as a member of the Oti-Volta group of the Gur branch of Niger Congo language family (Swadesh1996, Bendor-Samuel 1971:144, Naden 1989) cited in Bodomo (1997).

Languages which are genetically related to Dagaare include Gurenɛ (Frafra), Kusaal and Mampruli in the Upper East Region of Ghana and Moore, Dagbani and Mampruli in the Northern Region. Bodomo (1989) also refers to these languages as the Mabia languages. Languages that are called the Mabia languages are therefore genetically related to Dagaare. This is due to the linguistic similarities that exist among them. It is interesting to note that Sisaala that closely shares borders with Dagaaba is not closely related to Dagaare. Dagaare is a strictly SVO language. Structurally, the agent precedes the verb and the patient follows the verb in a simple transitive clause. The subject of an intransitive clause also precedes the verb.

1.1.1 Dagaare and its speakers

The Dagaaba ethnic group is one of the major ethnic groups in Ghana. The Dagaaba are found mostly in the north-western part of Ghana known as the Upper West Region and their language is Dagaare. The region was created in 1983 by subdividing the then Upper Region into two (Upper East and Upper West) regions. With a total area of 18,476sq.km and a population of 702, 110, the region 6 is not only the youngest but also the least populated of the ten regions in Ghana, (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012: 9).

Major Dagaaba communities are found in Wa, Lawra, Jirapa, Daffiama, Nadowli, Kaleo and others. Dagaare is not confined to the traditional homeland (Dagao). It is spoken in other areas outside the Upper West Region. Dagaaba migrated and continue to migrate today for a complex set of reasons that are rooted in the internal socio-economic dynamics of their societies, which change over time, generation, and space.

As a result, today, there are Dagaare speaking communities in Kumasi, Accra, Ho and most of the major cities throughout Ghana.

Dagaare is also spoken in some communities in the south of Burkina Faso such as Dano, Diebougou, Dissin, Gaoua and the north-eastern corner of Côte d'Ivoire Ghana's immediate neighbouring countries to the north and west respectively. The Dagaare that is spoken in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire is called Dagara.

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2012: 9) the population of people who speak Dagaare as a native language in Upper West alone is 702,110. This means that the number of people who speak Dagaare in general can exceed this number since the language is also spoken in some other parts of the country and even outside Ghana as indicated above.
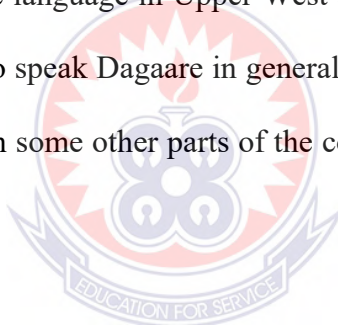
The singular for Dagaaba is *Dagao*. Apart from '*Dagao'* being used for an individual native speaker of the language, it is also used to indicate the entire geographical area occupied by the Dagaaba.

There have been divergent opinions by several scholars and writers on how the Dagaaba migrated to their present designation. Scholars such as Herbert (1976) and Tuurey (1987) are of the view that the ancestors of the Dagaaba are a splinter group from 7 either the Mossi or the Dagomba or both, who moved into the present area and got assimilated by earlier settlers and/ or new arrivals. However, Bodomo (1994) argues

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that the Dagaaba, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Frafra, Kusaasi, Mossi and some other groups languages descended from a common ethnolinguistic group. He suggested that they should be known as '*Mabia*' because these ethnic groups share the same ancestral root and it is a cover up term for these groups. Bodomo's suggestion is based on the genetic characteristics of the central Gur group of languages, where '**ma** and **bia'** are found mostly in the central Gur languages. '**Ma** and **bia***'* mean mother and child respectively. In Dagaare '**Mabia***'* literally means '**N ma bie'** my mother's child. It is used to designate a sibling relationship due to the fact that, there are similarities between words and expressions in the Gur group of languages.

Though Dagaare has a continuum of geographical/regional dialects, four major dialects are noticeable. These include Northern Dagaare, Central Dagaare, Southern Dagaare and Western Dagaare (Bodomo, 1997). According to Naden (1988), speakers of all these variety of dialects understand one another without much difficulty. Dialectal differences therefore, among these dialects are mainly at the phonological level. The analysis used in this study is based on the Central dialect of the Dagaaba language.

1.2 Statement of problem

Research in reflexives have had some descriptive and formal attention in languages of the world. Within Ghana, many works have been conducted in the same area as well. For instance, Saah (1989, 2014) and Osam (2002) examine the mopho-syntactic properties of reflexives in Akan while Agbedor (2002, 2014) also explores the morphology and syntax of Buli reflexives; Schaefer (2009) examines the pronominal and reflexive system of Safaliba. Bodomo (1997) also provides a brief discussion on

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reflexives and reciprocals in Dagaare. Issah (2011) also provides a discussion on Dagbani reflexives whereas Campbell (2017) studies the characteristics of Ga reflexives. Although reflexives have been of concern to both descriptive and formal linguist, this aspect has not received the needed attention in Dagaare. There is therefore, the need to investigate Dagaare reflexivity and see how the data can contribute to the growing debate in the area.

In addition, apart from the fact that there is no much work in the area in Dagaare, I also think we can study the reflexives using the theoretical claims of Government and Binding Theory, (GBT), an academic literature that is not available on Dagaare as of now. The current work thus fills this research gap in providing a theoretical analysis of the syntactic properties of Dagaare reflexives.

1.3 Research objectives

The research objectives are stated below:

1. To examine the morphological structure of Dagaare reflexives

2. To investigate the syntactic properties of Dagaare reflexive pronouns

3. To formalize the syntactic properties of Dagaare reflexives using the Government and Binding Theory.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions will guide the study toward effective achievement of the objectives

1. What is the morphological structure of Dagaare reflexives?
2. What are the syntactic properties of Dagaare reflexive pronouns?
3. How can the Government and Binding Theory be used to formalise the distribution of Dagaare reflexives?

1.5 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this work is to examine the morphological and syntactic characteristics of Dagaare reflexives. The syntactic aspect is accounted for using the Government and Binding Theory.
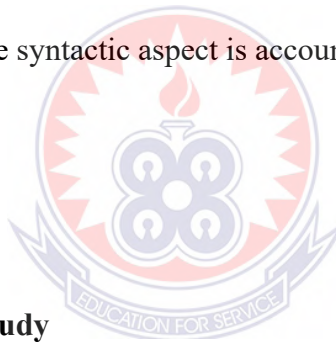
1.6 Significance of the study

The findings of this study is going to be significant in several ways. In the first place, the study provides a well-researched for both teachers and learners have to rely mostly on English literatures to understand issues in semantics to the extent of applying their knowledge gained in English to the Dagaare language. To solve this problem in a way, but not eliminating it in entirety, the outcome of this research would prove useful to teachers preparing pedagogical materials for teaching; it would also serve as a source of reference material for both teachers and learners. It will also provide insight into the morpho-syntax properties of reflexivity in Dagaare. This research will again contribute to the existing literature of the language. The study will serve as a reference material for others who will want to study into the area. The study is beneficial to the generative

linguists who are interested in Binding Theory and its relevance to Dagaare as a language. Again, the study will have its contribution to language description and prospective basis for further language documentation.

1.7 Limitation of the study

Dagaare like most languages in Ghana, have not had their grammatical phenomena scrutinized with theoretical lenses. Any researcher who undertakes studies in within a theoretical framework would have to collect much of the data from primary sources. This is to ensure that the empirical facts are appropriate before theoretical analysis is offered. This may create problems, since some informants may be uncooperative, which will require several visits to the study area, which will make the research demand so much time and capital resource. As a way of limiting this potential challenge, the researcher collaborated with research experts in collecting the data to avoid prolonging the time for the study. He also made use of consultants for reasons of checking all data used for this work.

1.8 Delimitation of the studies

Taking into consideration the vast area covered by the Dagaaba, the study was delimited to Jirapa and its environs in the Jirapa municipality of Upper West Region of Ghana. The scope of this study was delimited to the reflexivity in Dagaare (the morphological structure, the syntactic properties and the formalise the syntactic properties of Dagaare reflexives using the government and binding theory). The study included both young and old people as participants in the study areas. It was also prudent for one not to consider all Dagaaba in the Upper West Region because of its large size.

1.9 Organization of the study

This thesis consists of five chapters. In chapter 1, I outline the general introduction to the study, highlighting on thematic aspects such as the language and the people's background information, research problem, objectives, research questions, and the significance of the research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature relevant to this work as well as the theoretical framework underpinning this study. My literature review is focused on the general notions of pronouns, reflexive pronouns and the study of reflexives in Ghanaian languages focusing on the Kwa and Mabia (Gur) languages. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that was employed in the data collecting procedures. The distributional and morphological properties of Dagaare reflexives are the focus of chapter 4. This is done in context of the existing literature on the topic under investigation. It further shows how the Principle A of GBT could be applied to the discussion on the syntactic characteristics of Dagaare reflexives. The final chapter, chapter 5 gives a summary of all the chapters, outlines the findings and conclusions of the research. It further makes recommendations for future research on the language.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
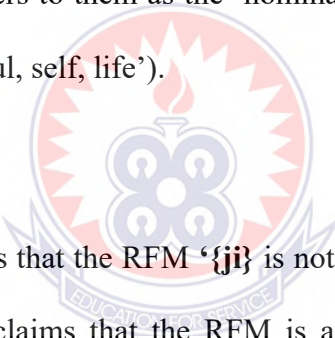
2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on providing a review of literature relevant to the topic I am investigating and providing a background to the theory within which the syntax of reflexives is discussed. The section shall be organized as follows. Section 2.1 discusses the definitions of reflexivization, reflexivity, and the notion of the reflexive pronouns, while the section 2.2 discusses the different categorization of reflexives. In section 2.3 give definitions of Anaphora, anaphor and antecedent. In section 2.4 provide a review of literature on the morphology and syntax of reflexives in Mabia languages focusing on Mabia languages like Dagbani, Kusaal, Likpakpaanl and Gurenɛ. After this review on Mabia languages, I go on to provide another review on the features of the reflexives in Kwa languages drawing data from languages like Kwa languages, Akan, Ewe, Ga and Dangme. In section 2.5 give a background to the theoretical framework of the study, the Government and Binding Theory and section 2.6 is an outline of the summary of the chapter.

2.1 Defining reflexivity, and the notion of the reflexive pronoun

According to Amidu (2011:92), previous studies of Kiswahili grammar, such as Ashton (1947) and Vitale (1981), have analysed the RFM ***-ji-*** as 'a special type of object marking referring to an object NP which is coreferential to another NP' in the structure.

Amidu (2011) asserts that Vitale's (1981) analysis of reflexive constructions in Kiswahili was presented within the specific framework of generative grammar, a general linguistic theory that was essentially developed by scholars investigating Indo-European languages. He argues that the assumption that general linguistic theories are necessarily applicable to languages belonging to other families, led to a complete disregard of the 'Kiswahili Bantu specific pattern of reflexivisation' (Amidu 2011:34). Based on that, Amidu (2011:1) claims that his works offer a unique description of reflexives and reciprocals in Kiswahili, one that does not adopt the assumptions and specifically generative linguistic theories. Amidu (2011:3, 39, 56) identified two reflexive elements in Kiswahili – besides the affix *-ji-* that have not been considered in any detail before. He refers to them as the 'nominal reflexive anaphors' ***nafsi*** ('self, life, spirit') and ***roho*** ('soul, self, life').

Amidu (2011:93) observes that the RFM '{ji} is not an object prefix or object marker in Kiswahili Bantu'; he claims that the RFM is always like the nominal reflexive anaphors ***nafsi*** and ***roho***, the only difference being that the RFM is 'an incorporated monosyllabic NP that cannot stand as an independent constituent in the postverbal position of a PC [predicate constituent structure - PM] by itself.' In Amidu (2011:914) he claims that the RFM '{ji} is a parasitic morpheme, mostly likely a noun in origin that occupies the slot of OMs in PCs. As far as we know, nouns do not function as agreement concord markers in Kiswahili Bantu."

In regarding the RFM's noun class features, Amidu (2011:102) argues that since the RFM behaves like the nominal reflexives ***nafsi*** and ***roho***, which belong to noun classes

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9 and 10 respectively, the RFM should also be analysed as belonging to these classes. He claims that the RFM has two phonetic forms, *ji*-1 and *ji*-2, which represent allomorphs of the abstract form **JI.** In this analysis the lexical meaning of **JI**/*ji* is regarded to be equivalent to the item -*self* of English (Amidu, 2011:106).

According to Amidu (2004:80-85), there are instances where nominal expressions (NPs, in his terms) are coreferential but fail to give a reflexive reading. For that matter, Amidu (2011:127) rejects the idea that coreferentiality is necessarily linked to reflexivity in Kiswahili. On his analysis, reflexive elements enter the derivation just like any other object complements, with no link between the reflexive and an antecedent. Ngwasi (2016) argues that structurally, that, there is no distinction between a reflexive and a nominal expression. He claims that they do not enter into any coreferential relationship. He claims that, Amidu (2004, 2011) fails to address how a coreferential relationship between the reflexive and some other expression – especially where such a relationship is obligatory.

Amidu (2004) as cited in Amidu (2011) points out that in Kiswahili Bantu more focus was placed on the nominal reflexive functional marker (RFM) {ji} than on the function of other nominal anaphors in reflexive constructions, such as noun anaphors, **nafsi** 'self, life, spirit', and **roho** 'soul, self, life'.

Ndimele (1999) cited in Okeke (2008, p. 187) defines reflexivization as a process of converting a noun, pronoun, noun phrase or nominal element into a reflexive pronoun. The process transforms a transitive verb into an intransitive verb or di-transitive into

mono-transitive verbs syntactically because it reduces the number of arguments of the verb structure (Matsinhe, 1994).

Reflexivity, on the other hand, can be understood by looking at the co-reference between two arguments, which are linked to each other (Lidz, 1996). This means that the reflexive marker forms an argument that refers back to the argument of the antecedent.

Languages differ in the way of expressing the notion of reflexivity. According to Lidz (1996), two mechanisms are used to express the notion of reflexivity across languages. The first mechanism is through *verbal affix* whereby the reflexive is marked by an affix in the verb structure. The second mechanism is through a *special anaphoric pronoun* whereby reflexivity is expressed by an independent pronoun. It is argued that some languages use the first mechanism; others use the second mechanism, while the majority of languages use both mechanisms.

According to Hartmann and Stork (1972), a pronoun refers to a word that functions like a noun and is used in place of a noun or a noun phrase. Hartmann and Stork (1972) and Loos et al. (2004), further define personal pronoun as a pronoun that expresses a difference of person *deixis.*

Hartmann and Stork (1972) and Loos et al. (2004) defines a reflexive pronoun as a pronoun that has coreference with the subject. Co-reference talks about the fact that

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such pronouns refer semantically to the same entity expresses by the subject. According to (Huddleston et al.: 2002: 1483), a salient characterisation of reflexive pronouns in English is simply their morphological make-up in the sense that they 'are inflectional forms of the personal pronouns, formed morphologically by the compounding of *self* with another form: ...'. König & Gast (2002:1), note that in Standard English, there are two forms of such *self*-forms including: (i) one based on the object (originally the dative) forms of the personal pronouns *(himself, herself, itself, and themselves)* and (ii) one based on the possessive (genitive) forms *(myself, yourself, ourselves, and yourselves)*. In addition, they further suggest that there is the plain, generic form, oneself. Based on this definition, which is morphologically based, the sentences in (1) contain reflexive pronouns.

(1) a. John was clearly protecting himself.

    b. Fred fancies himself.

    c. She poured herself another cup of tea.
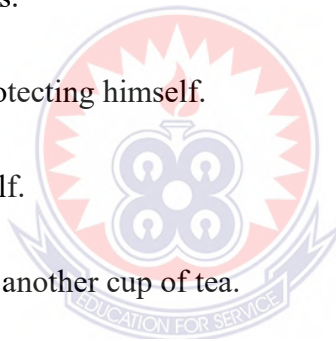
(König & Gast, 2002: 250).

König & Gast (2002) suggested that the distribution (syntax) of the *self*-forms in (1) indicate that they occur in object (argument) positions of transitive verbs. Regarding their semantic interpretation, it is the case that they pick their reference from a preceding DP within the clause, the antecedent. However, Reinhart &Reuland (1993) are of the view that reflexives should not be defined just in terms of their morphological make-up, but also on the basis of syntactic and semantic criteria. Within these criteria, Reinhart & Reuland (1993) have defined reflexives as *self*-forms that are used in order to indicate that a semantic argument of a predicate is co-referent with another argument of the same predicate (a co-argument), typically with the subject. This co-argument is

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called the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun. In this current paper, we define reflexives using their morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics.

Heine and Miyashita (2008:169) define a reflexive construction as 'a singular referent A acts on himself or herself.' Lichtenberk (1985:26) also indicates that the participants that perform the actions in a reflective construction may 'stand in some relation to himself/herself/itself rather than any other'. Therefore, in reflexive constructions, the referent undergoes the action by him/ herself.

Cross-linguistically, every language has a distinct way of marking reflexives. As observed by Faltz (1977), some languages employ free morphemes for reflexives while others use bound morphemes. Saha (1987:215) observes that the co-referential entities in a reflective construction may be realized as 'a word, particle or an affix'. Heine and Miyashita et al (2008:174) mention that cross-linguistically, a language may use personal pronouns, use a body-noun and possessive attribute, or use an adverbial 'alone' or 'only' as range of strategies for marking reflexives.

An element marking such coreferentiality is called a reflexive marker, and there are two main types of reflexive marker discussed in the literature: nominal reflexives and verbal reflexives. Nominal reflexives show properties of nouns or pronouns in the language. For instance, the English reflexive elements *himself, herself,* and *themselves* show gender and number variation, and they function as noun phrases.

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Wang (2012) defines reflexive pronouns focusing on their uses. He observes that, prototypically, reflexive pronouns are used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is in a co-referential relationship with the subject or the non-subject argument is bound to the subject. Furthermore, Wang (2012) questions the validity of the definition of reflexive pronouns given by Quirk et al (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) which defines reflexive pronouns on the ground of morphology. Huddleston and Pullum (2002) define reflexive pronouns in English as a combination of pronominal element agreeing with the noun phrase in the same clause, marked with a *self* suffix which is normally inflected for person, gender and number. They include, among others, *herself*, *himself, myself*, *yourselves*, *yourself*, and *themselves* as given in Radford (2004: 50). Wang (2012) concludes that, reflexive pronouns should be defined depending on the co-reference between subject and non-subject argument of the transitive predicate because not all *self-pronouns* are reflexive pronouns.

The definitions of reflexivization, reflexivity and reflexive pronouns are very important in this study because the reflexive marker or reflexive pronoun is always derived from an NP through reflexivization. In addition, the reflexive marker or reflexive pronoun is normally in co-referential relation with another NP (antecedent) in the same sentence.

2.2 Categorization of Reflexives

In this section, my intention is to look at the different categories of reflexive pronouns. In a literature on the crosslinguistcs study of reflexives in different languages of the world, it is the claim of languages (Haspelmath, 2019) that whatever is termed as a reflexive pronoun will generally have some form of special morpheme that will help in

showing that it is not possible to have any form disjoint-reference interpretation in the sentence that is said to be having a reflexive interpretation. The morphemes that are useful in showing the interpretation of the sentence as being a reflexive one is called reflexivizers. There are three different categories of reflexives that (Haspelmath, 2019) identify. They are reflexive nominals, reflexive voice markers, and reflexive argument markers. In addition, they claim that there are different categories of reflexive nominals, which he classifies as adpossessive person forms, noun-like forms without adpossessive indexes, self-intensified anaphoric pronouns and anaphoric pronouns with other reinforcements.

Amidu (2011) identified two types of reflexives constructions. They are prototypical and non-prototypical constructions. He explains prototypical reflexive constructions as that contain an anaphor that makes the predication – sentence (Pn-S) containing it obligatorily transitive. He claims that the study of reflexive and reciprocal constructions in a language is therefore, an important way in which claims about the transitivity of predicate verbs in a language can be confirmed or refuted in an explanatory relevant and verifiable manner. On the other hand, Amidu postulate that non-prototypical reflexive constructions often do not support the generalizations based on solely on the prototypical types of constructions.

Issah (2011) observed that reflexives are typologically group into two namely: those that are referred to as long distance anaphors, as with the Norwegian '*seg'* and the Dutch '*zich*'. He added that other reflexives are standard viewed as local such as the English 'himself'. Issah (2011) indicated that the 'Local' anaphors are anaphors that have

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strictly local antecedents, which means that they receive their reference from strictly local syntactic arguments while 'long distance' anaphors are anaphors that have non-local antecedents. He explained that they have non-local antecedents because they can take an antecedent outside the local domain. He made reference to Faltz (1977) who argued that when reflexives are complex expressions, then, they are universally assumed to be local, whereas the simplex reflexives as with the Norwegian '*seg*' are generally the long- distance type of reflexives. Whereas the former reflexives take antecedents outside their local domain (across clause boundary), in the latter, the reflexives have their antecedents within the same clause, (that is to say that the antecedents that c-command them are in the same local domain).

Furthermore, Issah showed that different languages employ different strategies to form reflexives pronouns. Citing English as a language, he pointed out that reflexives are a combination of possessive pronouns and the reflexivizer '*self*' as in *'myself'*, *'herself'* or *'ourselves'*, or a combination of the accusative pronoun and the reflexivizer as in '*himself'*.

Cole et al. (2002) assert that the occurrence of reflexive pronouns in many genetically unrelated and typologically dissimilar languages appear to conform to the same distributional restrictions. Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (1999), also argue that local reflexives or SELF-anaphors (complex anaphors) license reflexive interpretation of a predicate while long distance anaphors or the so-called Simple Expression SE-anaphors, as in the case of the Dutch **zich** and Icelandic s**ig**, do not by themselves license a reflexive interpretation of a predicate. They also argued that the two types of

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anaphors differ from each other regarding their syntactic, semantic characteristics. Reinhart & Reuland (1993:658) are of the point that what is called the SE-anaphors are is most cases very similar to personal pronouns. They are however, able to further show that there is also some difference since the SE-anaphors lack the inherent capacity for specifying the phi-features of gender, number and person. Pica (1987) identifies a number of characteristics, which he argues are shared by long distance reflexives across languages. These characteristics include: (i) long distance reflexives are mono-morphemic; (ii) they take subject antecedent (iii) their distribution. These properties, in many languages, can be restricted to environments in which the antecedent and reflexive are found in specific domains. Tang (1985, 1989) identifies another characteristic of long-distance reflexives, claiming that they are subject to a 'blocking effect.' He said there is syntactic restrictions on the local (bi-morphemic) and long distance (mono-morphemic) reflexives respectively.
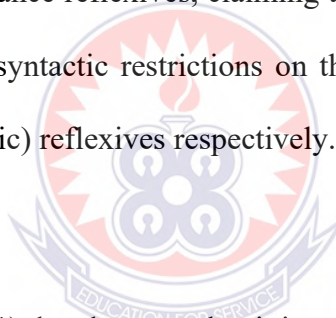
In the work of Issah (2011), he also says that it is not only Dagbani that has reflexives that are made up of two different morphemes as in *himself, myself*, which are composed of *him+ self* and *my+self* respectively, but he also shows that the same pattern is available in Dagbani. In addition, he shows that the reflexives will always have to be in the same syntactic domain Dagaare also make use of reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns in Dagaare are bimorphemic, that is, they are made of two morphemes. The two morphemes include; a pronoun or its emphatic form as the base and a reflexivization suffix **mɪŋa** 'self'. Tang (1985, 1989) claim that long distance reflexives are subject to a 'blocking effect'. Tang argues that in an instance where the subjects of the matrix and the embedded clauses share features for person, either NP is a possible antecedent. This restriction according to Cole et al. (2002) is hitherto unknown because

no similar restriction is noted in the literature on European languages, which also allow long distance reflexives.

2.3 Anaphora, anaphor and antecedent

From Harbert (1995) as cited in Gardelle (2012) the study of anaphora is restricted to nominal expressions in same sentence uses. Harbert further define the term "anaphor" as the one that only applies to some reflexives and to reciprocals; and an antecedent is a segment of text.

Haegeman (1991) and Harbert (1995) as cited in Gardelle (2012) have opinion that one need to establish the grammatical rules and constraints on languages, which leads it to distinguish between syntactic anaphora (that is, anaphora that is governed by strictly grammatical rules) and discourse anaphora (which is not governed by grammatical relations).

Reinhart (1983) and Zribi-Hertz (1996) as cited in Gardelle (2012) posit that syntactic anaphora lies within the framework of grammar. They gave example like:

(2) Bruce smiled to himself as he walked along Forth Street. From them, *Himself* is a case of syntactic anaphora because the form of the anaphor is determined by its grammatical relation to the antecedent *Bruce*: they again said that only a reflexive can indicate coreference with *Bruce*. The further argue that, *him or Bruce or the man*, for instance, would impose disjoint reference (*Bruce smiled to him / smiled to Bruce / smiled to the man*). This is an additional grammatical constraint on *himself* concerns the order in which the anaphor and its antecedent appear: *Bruce* must

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precede *himself*, so that **Himself smiled to Bruce* is unacceptable.

Gardelle (2012) have the view that seeking to establish the grammatical constraints on the form of anaphoric expressions in syntactic anaphora, Binding Theory shows that those constraints depend on the behaviour of anaphoric expressions relative to binding. On that basis, she identified three kinds of nominals are distinguished: anaphors (which can only be reflexives or reciprocals): they must be bound by their antecedent in their local domain: pronominals (which correspond more or less to the traditional class of personal pronouns, including what is traditionally called possessive determiners): they must be free in their local domain, although they might be bound outside the local domain.

Carnie (2002) as cited in Gardelle (2012) define also an anaphor as "an NP that obligatorily gets its meaning from another NP in the sentence"; bound reflexives and reciprocals are the only elements that require binding, and so which obligatorily get their meaning from another NP in the sentence.

Reinhart [1983] as cited in Gardelle (2012) on his part distinguishes between bound anaphora (for reflexives and reciprocals) and free anaphora (for pronominals and r-expressions). A bound anaphora lies within the scope of grammar while in the cases of a free anaphora the antecedent is not required to c-command the anaphoric expression.

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Carnie [2002] defines an antecedent as "an NP that gives its meaning to a pronoun or an anaphor". The constraints on antecedents are as follows [Büring 2005: 2]:

(3) Definition: Antecedent A is the antecedent of B iff

(i)   A precedes B, and (ii) A and B corefer.

Based on the above assession, the antecedent must be a subject of the same clause.

2.4 Review of literature on the morphology and syntax of reflexives in Mabia languages

This section aims at providing a literature review on the previous works that scholars have done on Mabia (Gur) languages. The selection of these languages is based on the availability of data.

2. 4.1. Literature review on Dagbani reflexives

One of the works I review here is Issah (2011) who also discusses reflexive pronouns in Dagbani. According to him, the reflexives pronouns in Dagbani are made up of personal pronouns and the morpheme **-maŋa** that he calls the reflexive morpheme in the language. Issah (2011) also goes on to argue that the personal pronoun is always the possessive form of the pronoun. When Issah observes that two morphemes come together in forming the reflexives, he says that the Dagbani reflexives are complex ones, made from a personal pronoun and a morpheme he calls the reflexive morpheme. In addition, he shows that the personal pronoun differs in number depending on whether the antecedent DP is singular or plural and that the morpheme **-maŋa** does not inflect

for number distinction. Table 1 presents the reflexive pronoun system of Dagbani based on Issah (2011).

Table 1: Reflexive Pronouns in Dagbani based on Issah (2011)

Possessive pronoun	suffix reflexiviser	reflexive pronoun
m ,n, ŋ -'my'	**-maŋa** 'self'	**m-maŋa** 'myself' ***ma-maŋa**
o- 'his/her'	**-maŋa** 'self'	**o-maŋa** 'himself/herself'
a- 'your' (singular)'	**-maŋa** 'self'	**a-maŋa** 'yourself' ***ba-maŋa***
ti- 'our'	**-maŋa** 'self'	**ti-maŋa** 'ourselves'
yi- 'your' (plural)	**-maŋa** 'self'	**yi-maŋa** 'yourselves' ***ya-maŋa**
bɛ- 'their'	**-maŋa** 'self'	**bɛ-maŋa** 'themselves'

On the distribution of these reflexive pronouns, Issah (2011) notes that they are anaphoric, i.e. their use will always signal co-reference within the clause. He further demonstrates that the antecedent of the reflexive pronouns (that is the DPs they depend on for their interpretation) is also required being within the same clause. Issah (2011) interprets this syntactic property to mean that Dagbani reflexive pronouns are in conformity with the classic clause mate condition interprets this syntactic property. He illustrates the distribution of Dagbani reflexives using the data in (4)

(4) a. **Abu   sa   ku   o-maŋa**
         Abu   PST   kill.PERF   3SG-self
         'Abu killed himself yesterday'

    b. *** M-maŋa   ku-ri   bi-hi   maa   pam.**

         1SG-self   kill-IMPERF   child-PL   DEF   INTEN

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c. ***Bɛ-maŋa_i**   **tu-ri**   **bɛ-maŋa_i**
    3PL-self   insult-IMPERF   3PL-self
    '*Themselves are insulting/insult themselves.'   (Issah 2011: 135)

d. ***Azima_i**   *yeli*   *mi*   *ni*   *o-maŋa_i nyela bundana. DGB*
    Azima   say.PFV   FOC   that   3SG-self COP rich person
    'Azima has said herself is a rich person.'
                                                                 (Issah et al., 2021)

Issah (2011) explains that the illicitness of sentences (2b) and (2c) is attributable to a violation of Principle A of the Binding Theory. Whereas in (2b), we have the reflexive pronoun **m-maŋa** 'myself' in subject position, in (2c) we have the reflexive pronoun in the object position **bɛ-maŋa** 'themselves' depends on a preceding antecedent reflexive pronoun **bɛ-maŋa** 'themselves' for its meaning, a fact that is banned in the distribution of reflexive pronouns.

2.4.2 Review of Kusaal Reflexive pronouns

This subsection provides an overview of the reflexive pronoun system of Kusaal. This is done based on the work of (Musah, 2018). According to Musah (2018), all reflexive pronouns in Kusaal are a combination of a personal pronoun and a reflexive morpheme **mɛŋ** 'self', which is attached to the personal pronoun. He observed that the resulting meaning of the conjoined items is to indicate a relationship between the reflexive particle and its immediate antecedent, i.e. the pronoun. He exhaustively listed reflexive pronouns in Kusaal as below:

(5) a.   **m mɛŋ** 'myself '

 b.   **fʋ mɛŋ** 'yourself '

 c.   **o mɛŋ** 'him/<u>herself </u>'

 d.   **di mɛŋ/li mɛŋ** 'itself '

e.   **ti mɛŋ** 'ourselves'

f.   **ya mɛŋ** 'yourselves'

g.   **ba mɛŋ** 'themselves'   Musah (2018:93)

Musah (2018) notes that emphatic forms of the above reflexive pronouns are used to place emphasis on the entity whom a discourse event talks about. These are listed below:

(6)   a.   **mam mɛŋ** 'I myself'

       b.   **fʋn mɛŋ** 'you yourself'

       c.   **on mɛŋ** 's/he himself'

       d.   **din mɛŋ** 'it itself'

       e.   **tinam mɛŋ** 'we ourselves'

       f.   **yanam mɛŋ** 'you yourselves'

       g.   **bam mɛŋ** 'they themselves'
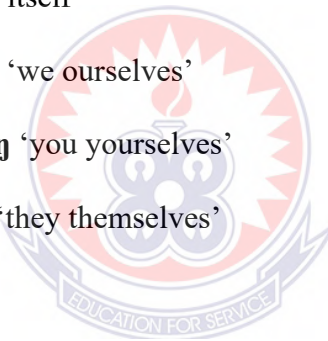
Thus, in terms of the morphology of the reflexive pronouns in Kusaal, they are made up of the personal pronoun systems together with the 'self' pronoun, which is **mɛŋ.** In addition to this, it is the case that the emphatic pronouns are also available in Kusaal as shown in the work of Musah (2018). In Abubakari (2018: 67), she also admits that 'the reflexive pronouns in Kusaal are composed of the words; **mɛŋ, mɛŋa, mɛŋaa, mɛŋi, mɛŋɛ** 'self' plus the genitive/nominative pronoun.' She also makes a distinction in the reflexive pronouns based on their functions and refer to these as 'emphatic' and 'non-emphatic.' She further argues that whereas the emphatic pronouns will also employ the strong pronoun in its usage, the weak reflexive pronoun always uses the weak form of the pronoun in its derivation. Regarding the distribution, she establishes that the

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'emphatic reflexive pronouns are mostly used in contexts where an exhaustive/exclusive interpretation is desired' (Abubakari, 2018: 67). The distinction in the two pronoun forms is shown below in (7).

Non emphatic reflexive pronoun			Emphatic reflexive pronoun
(7)	a.	m̀ mɛ̀ŋ 'myself'	maɪ́m mɛ́ŋ 'I, myself'
	b.	fʊ̀mɛ̀ŋ 'yourself'	fʊ́n mɛ̀ŋ 'you, yourself'
	c.	ɔ̀mɛ̀ŋ 'him/herself'	. n mɛ̀ŋ 's/he, him/herself'
	d.	tì mɛ̀ŋ 'ourselves'	tɪ́naɪ́m mɛ̀ŋ 'we, ourselves'
	e.	lì mɛ̀ŋ 'itself'	yánám mɛ̀ŋ 'you,yourselves'
	f.	yà mɛ̀ŋ 'yourselves'	yánám mɛ̀ŋ 'you, yourselves'
	g.	bà mɛ̀ŋ 'themselves'	bánám mɛ̀ŋ 'they, themselves'

(Abubakuri, 2018: 67).

From the above data, it is evident that Kusaal reflexives also have two morphemes that are the personal pronoun and the reflexive marker -mɛ̀ŋ, which translates as 'self.' In addition, the language also makes a distinction between strong and emphatic reflexive pronouns. The latter class is what other scholars refer to as the intensifiers.

On the part of Eddyshaw (2019) Mɛ̄ŋa/ 'self' always has a predependent. He observed that reflexive is used indifferently for sg/pl: m̀ mɛ̄ŋ 'myself', ya mɛ̄ŋ 'yourselves.'

(8) na'ab lā mɛ́ŋ

chief:SG ART self

'the chief himself'

(9) Ba ňyɛ́ɛ‿ ba mɛ̄ŋ.

3PL see 3PL self.

'They have seen for themselves.'

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He further demonstrates that '*Self*' forms must be used for complements referring to the clause subject as in:

(10)   **M̀ ňwɛ́'ɛ⎵m mɛ̄ŋ.**

1SG hit 1SG self.

'I hit myself.'

not ***M̀ ňwɛ̂'ɛ m* or *M̀ ňwɛ́' mān*.

He argued that Kusaal resembles English, as opposed to French, in using a pronoun possessor with body parts acted on by their owner, e.g.

(11)   **i. Ba pʋ piesidi ba nu'us wʋʋ lin nar si'em la ka ditta.**

ii. Ba   pʋ̄   pīəsídí⎵ ba   nu'us   wʋ̄ʋ   lín   nār   sī'əm   la   ka   dítā +ø.
3PL NEG.IND clean:IPFV 3PL hand:PL like 3IN:NZ be.proper INDF.ADV ART and eat:IPFV NEG.

'They don't wash their hands properly before they eat.' (Mt 15:1)

Eddyshaw (2019) posit that, where ordinary pronouns would be permissible, using **mɛ̄ŋ** implies contrast:

(12) *a.* **M̀ piə⎵ m̀ mɛ̄ŋ nu'us**. '

1SG wash 1SG self hand:PL.

'I washed my own hands.'

b. Fʋ̀ mɛ̄ŋ kʋ̄ʋ bi-liaa +ø?

2SG self or child-baby:SG CQ?

'Yourself or the baby?'

'Which of you needs the doctor?'

2.4. 3 Literature review on Gurenɛ reflexives

I review here reflexive pronouns in Gurenɛ. Issah et al. (2020) they discussed reflexive pronouns in Kusaal, Dagbani and Gurenɛ. My focus is on reflexive pronouns in Gurenɛ. They agreed that reflexive pronoun in Kusaal, Dagbani and Gurenɛ area a combination of a personal pronoun and a reflexive morpheme realized as **mɛŋ, -maŋa or miŋa** 'self' respectively which is attached to personal pronoun. They further explained that resulting meaning of the two conjoined items is to show a relationship between the reflexive particle and its immediate antecedent, i.e. the preceding NP. They noted that the reflexive marker remains although it is sensitive to number marking in Gurenɛ.

Table 2. Reflexive Pronouns in Gurenɛ based on the work of Issah et al. (2020)

Personal		Singular	Reflexive - miŋa	Reflexive pronoun	plural	Reflexive pronoun
1st		N	- miŋa	N miŋa	Tu	Tumisi
2nd		fu	- miŋa	Fumiŋa	Ya	Yamisi
3rd	Human	A	- miŋa	Amiŋa	Ba	Bamisi

Issah et al. (2020) regard the occurrence of these reflexives as generally occur within syntactic frames where they can be co-referenced on preceding nominal items in broader syntactic constructions. They argue that the antecedent is generally in subject position. The co-indexed NPs in the examples sentences below highlight their claim.

(13) **Amaa   man   daa   guri   n mɛŋa,**
      but   1SG   PST   hold.PST   1SG-self
      'But I restrained myself (lit: but I held myself).'

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(14)   **Ataŋa ,**   **pa'alɛ**   **amɛŋa,**

Ataŋa   show   3SG-self
'Ataŋa revealed himself '
(lit.: Ataŋa showed himself)'

(15)   **a. Ba,**   **ka**   **le**   **ŋmɛ**   **bamɛŋ**

3PL   NEG   again   beat   3PL-self
'They will not beat themselves again.'

b. *Azongoᵢ **yeti**   **mɛ**   **ti**   **a-miŋa de** **la**   **tata** **GUR**
Azongo   say. PFV   AFF   that   3SG-self COP FOC   rich person
'Azongo has said that himself is a rich person.'

On the distribution of these reflexive pronoun is controlled by the syntactic phenomena of binding theory (Chomsky 1981:190), anaphor is a cover/generic term used to refer to reflexives and reciprocals which are syntactically dependent elements given that they pick up their interpretations form previous DPs in the clause structure, called antecedents. For example (12), **Ataŋa** is the binder and the antecedents while the reflexive pronoun **amɛŋa** 'themselves' is the 'bindee'. The binding relationship between the two constituent is indicated by the co-indexation. The sentence in (13a) is acceptable because the reflexive pronoun is not too far from the NP that it has it meaning from which is called the antecedent, while in (13b), the sentence is ungrammatical because *Azongo* and *a-miŋa* are in different clauses. In my Dagaare analysis, I will show later that the same problem is available for our reflexive *pronouns because their reflexives and the NPs which are the antecedents must be in the same clause.*

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2. 4. 4. Literature review Likpakpaanl reflexives

Likpakpaanl is another Mabia language I reviewed. According Acheampong et al. (2019), Likpakpaanl reflexives are composed of personal pronouns and the reflexiviser. They observed that personal pronouns play an essential role in the formation of reflexives. Their goal is to offer a discussion on the personal pronoun system and how they function in the derivation of reflexives. They agreed with scholars such as Shiraki, (2004), Reinhart & Reuland, (1993) as well as Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999) that there is a tight relationship between the pronominal system and the reflexive system of languages that make use of bi-morphemic reflexives. They indicate that Likpakpaanl reflexive pronouns comprise a combination of personal pronouns and the reflexiviser morpheme -**bà.** They observed that in the language, the personal pronoun in reflexives is lexically pre-specified as possessive and this accounts for the reason why it is not possible to generate reflexives in Likpakpaanl using the object forms of the pronouns. Table 3 presents the reflexive pronoun system of Likpakpaanl based on Acheampong et al. (2019).

Table 3: Likpakpaanl reflexive pronouns

Personal Pronouns	reflexiviser	Reflexive Pronoun
m 'my'	**-bà** 'self'	**m-bà** 'myself'
áá 'your'	**-bà** 'self'	**áá-bà** 'yourself'
ù 'his/her, it'	**-bà** 'self'	**ù-bà** 'himself/herself, itself'
tí 'our'	**-bà** 'self'	**tí-bà** 'ourselves'
bì 'them'	**-bà** 'self'	**bì-bà** 'themselves
nì 'your'	**-bà** 'self'	**ni-bà** 'yourselves'

Acheampong et al. (2019: 131) draws their analysis on the works of earlier researchers on reflexive pronouns such as those of Reinhart & Reuland (1993), Shiraki (2004) and Issah (2011) on the absence of subject personal pronouns in reflexive pronouns and conclude that Likpakpaanl subject pronoun in not present in the reflexive forms and so they say that it is the possessive persona pronoun that is used in forming reflexives in the language. They therefore, argue that the reflexive pronoun in the language is pre-specified as possessive. They posit from Table 3 that, Likpakpaanl reflexive pronouns are a combination of possessive pronouns and the -**bà** morpheme. They finally concluded that, Likpakpaanl reflexives are morphologically bi-morphemic and for that matter complex morphologically because they comprise the pronominal form and the reflexiviser. This complex morphological structure of Likpakpaanl reflexives has some typological implications regarding complex reflexives that need further exploration (Acheampong et al., 2019: 131).

On the distributional properties of Likpakpaanl reflexives, Acheampong et al. (2019) claimed two major distributional properties. These include; (i) Likpakpaanl reflexive pronouns exhibit a syntactic characterization that is in line with the prediction of principles A of the GB theory which stipulates that 'an anaphor must be bound in its governing category (Chomsky 1981: 190); and (ii) that the typological conclusion in the literature that bi-morphemic reflexives is strictly clause-bound and generally cannot be long-distance bound is applicable to Likpakpaanl. This second account is the same as the conclusions drawn by Faltz (1977), Pica (1985, 1987) as well as Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999) that, typologically, when reflexives are complex (bi-morphemic) they are universally expected to be local; that is, they must be locally

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bound, with the reflexive and its antecedent occurring in the same clause (Neeleman & van de Koot 2002).

Acheampong et al. (2019) further examine the distribution of Likpakpaanl reflexives in complex or bi-clausal sentences to investigate whether they are affected by the locality constraint (Carnie, 2013; Faltz, 1977) which requires that complex reflexives be locally bound in their binding domains.

(16)   **a. Ù$_i$**   **lén**   **ké**   **Tagan$_j$**   **kù**   **ù-bà$_i$. (NI)**

   3SG   say   that   Tagan   hurt   3SG-self

'He/She$_i$ said that Tagan$_j$ hurt himself.'

b. *Ù$_i$ **lén**   **ké**   **Tagan$_j$**   **kù**   **ù-bà$_i$.**

   3SG   say   that   Tagan   hurt   3SG-self

*'He/She said that Tagan$_j$ hurt himself.'

(17)   **a.**   **Tìi**   **dàk**   **ké**   **mbìm$_j$**   **gbăăn**   **sìì**   **bì-bà$_j$.**   **KNJ 1999/14**

   1PL   think   that   children   DEF   insult   3PL-self

'We think that the children insult themselves.'

b.   ***Nìi**   **dàk**   **ké**   **m-bìm$_j$**   **gbăăn**   **sìì**   **tí-bài.**

   2PL   think   that   PL-child   DEF   insult   2PL-self.

'*We think that the children insult ourselves.'   (Acheampong et al., 2019: 134)

They observe from the data that (16b) and (17b) are ungrammatical and this is because of the violation of the locality constraint imposed on complex reflexives. The violation emanates from the failure of the antecedent and its referent to be in the same clause. Thus, the reflexive which is located in the embedded clause in (16b) is bound to the

antecedent of the matrix clause **ù** 's/he' which is within a different clausal domain because of the intervening complementizer phrase (CP). This in (16b), attempting to co-index the upper subject **ù** 's/he' with the object of 'hurt' results in illicit sentence. According to them, the reflexive **ù-bà** 'himself' cannot have the subject of the matrix clause **ù** 's/he' as its antecedent. They hold facts that the illicitness of sentence (17b), where **nì** 'we' and **tì-bà** 'ourselves' cannot be co-referential because they are in different clauses.

They concluded from the data presented that Likpakpaanl reflexives are morphologically bi-morphemic (complex), comprising the genitive case of the pronoun and a 'self' reflexiviser **-bà;** and that typologically, Likpakpaanl reflexives obey the locality constraint that requires an anaphor to be bound in its binding domain (cf: Carnie 2013:157).
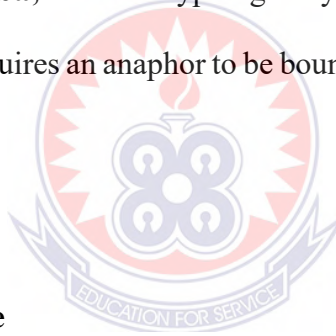
2.4.5 Review on Dagaare

Dorzie (2012) is of the view that reflexive pronouns are formed by suffixing the –*meŋa* or *menne* morpheme to the nominative/genitive forms of the pronouns as in the clauses in (18)

(18). a. N   do-e   a   teɛ n-meŋa

    1SG climb-PFV DEF tree 1sg-self

   'I climbed the tree myself'

  b. *N   do-e   a   teɛ ma-meŋa

    1SG climb-PFV DEF tree 1sg-self

     'I climbed the tree myself'

                                     (Dorzie 2012: 51)

He observes from the above data that (18b) is ungrammaticality as a result of the fact that the reflexive suffix – *meŋa* is added to the first-person accusative pronoun form which violates the syntactic requirements.

Table 4 he presents singular reflexive pronouns in Dagaare and Table 5 he presents plural reflexive pronouns in Dagaare based on Dorzie (2012).

Table 4: Singular reflexive pronouns in Dagaare (Dorzie, 2012)

Weak Pos/Gen Pronoun	Strong Pos/Gen	Suffix Reflexivizer	Reflexive Pronoun
m/N/ŋ " my"	Maa	-Meŋa (tɔre)	n/maa/meŋa (tɔre)
Fo "your"	Fo	-Meŋa (tɔre)	Fo/foomeŋa (tɔre)
O "him/her"	onɔ	-Meŋa (tɔre)	o/ona meŋa/(tɔre)

Table 5: Plural reflexive pronouns in Dagaare (Dorzie, 2012)

Weak Pos/Gen	Strong Pos/Gen	Suffix Reflexivizer	Reflexive Pronoun
te "we"	tenee	-menne	te/tenee-menne "ourselves"
yɛ "you"	yɛnee	-menne	yɛ/yɛnee-menne "ourselves"
ba "them"	bana	-menne	ba/bana-menne "themselves" (+human)
a "them"	ana	-menne	a/ana menne "themselves" (-human)

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He observed that from table 4 and 5 that both the pronoun and the reflexivizer [suffix] participate in the formation of reflexive pronouns by changing their singular forms to their plural forms as he illustrated in the clauses in

19. a. **O   to-ɛ   o- meŋa**

   3SG   insult-PFV 3SG-REFL

   'She/he insulted herself/himself.'

   b. **Ba   to-ɛ   ba –menne**

   3PL insult-PFV 3PL-RFL

   'They insulted themselves.'

   c. ***o   to-ɛ   o menne**

    3SG   insult-Perf. 3SG selves

   's/he insulted herself/ himself'

   d. **Ba   to-ɛ   ba- meŋa**

   3PL insult-perf. 3PL-self

   'They insulted themself'   (Dorzie 2012: 53)

He concluded that, clauses in (19a &19b) are grammatically accepted in Dagaare because of the agreement between the anaphor and the antecedent in number; that is, we have singular pronouns taking singular suffixes. However, he observed that clause (19c) is ungrammatical because of the disagreement of the reflexive and its antecedent in number.

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He again notices that, in clause (19d) do not meet the linguistic requirement of an anaphor being bound to its antecedent, yet the clause is accepted. This is as a result of the fact that reflexives in Dagaare also have a pragmatic meaning where sometimes a singular reflexivizer agrees with a plural antecedent that functions as one entity. He emphasis that the object in the clause plays a role in such an instance. He said when there is a singular object in a clause that has plural antecedent, the reflexive takes the singular reflexivizer to match as in clause (20b). Here are examples to illustrate that;

(20). **a. Ba ko-ɛ**   **a**   **boo-re**   **ba –menne**

      3PL kill-PFV DEF   goat-PL   3PL-REFL

    'They killed the goats themselves'

b.   **Ba ko-ɛ**   **a**   **boɔ ba- meŋa**

      3PL kill-PFV DEF   goat 3PL-REFL

    *'They killed the goat themself'

c.   ***ba ko-ɛ**   **a**   **boɔ ba-menne**

      3PL kill-PFV DEF   goat 3PL- REFL

    'They killed the goat themselves'

d.   **Ba ko-ɛ**   **a**   **boore ba-menne**

      3PL kill-PFV DEF   goat 3PL-REFL

    *'They killed the goats themself'   (Dorzie 2012: 54)

Clause (20c) is semantically not accepted because of the singular object 'goat' and the plural form of the reflexivizer. It is observed that though the plural reflexive agrees with

its plural antecedent, the antecedent is acting as a singular entity hence agrees with a singular reflexive.

2.5. Literature review on reflexives in Kwa languages

Having provided a background to the study of the reflexive pronoun system in the Mabia languages of Ghana, this section will focus on providing a literature review on the previous works that scholars have done on some Kwa languages. The selection of these languages is based on the availability of data. There are three Kwa Languages, which are represented in this section and they include, Ga, in section 2.4.1, Akan in section 2.4.2, Ewe in section 2.4.3 and finally Dangme in section 2.4.4.

2.5.1. Literature review on Ga reflexives

Here, I shall provide a review of a work on Ga reflexives based on the work of Campbell (2017). Gã has bound pronouns, which are obligatory, as well as free or independent pronouns. Subject pronouns are bound, while object pronouns are free. The tone on a personal pronoun is dependent on surrounding tones.

Gã has no morphological middles but has a periphrastic form that is used for reflexives and reciprocals. A reflexive construction is a type of middle construction in which the object of a sentence refers back to the subject. Kemmer (1994:207) writes that the use of a reflexive marker signals the unusual situation where the initiator and endpoint of an activity are the same entity. Kemmer's views on the reflexive differ from Shibatani's in that she does not consider the reflexive to be a middle category. Rather, the reflexive is related to the middle in so far as one and only one entity carries out and is affected

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by the action. The semantic phenomenon that separates middles from reflexives is termed by Kemmer (1993:66) as 'relative distinguishability of participants.' Reflexives have a higher relative distinguishability of participants than middles do. By this, Kemmer means that although in reflexive events, the initiator and endpoint are coreferential, there is still some maintenance of a distinction between them. That is, in a reflexive event, the initiator and the endpoint are construed as separate entities, even though they are marked as coreferential. This contrasts with middle situations, where the initiator and endpoint are viewed as one, indistinguishable and holistic entity. The reflexive form in Gã is a possessive NP in which the possessor is a pronoun referring to the subject of the clause and the possessum is the noun, **hè** 'body, self'. This 489 possessive NP as a unit function as a reflexive pronoun and hence a middle marker. Schladt (2000:112) notes that the word for 'body' is a very common source for reflexive marking in African languages. In neighbouring Akan, it is also the word for 'body' that has grammaticalized as a reflexive marker. Examples (21)-(23) illustrate the use of reflexive pronouns to index that an action affects its agent.

(21) **òkó   shã́   è=hè   m̀fònírí**

Oko   snatch 3SG=body   photo

'Oko took a picture of himself.'

(22) **sɔlé-mɔ̃́   ó=hã́   ó=!hé**

pray-IMP 2SG.SBJ=give   2SG=body

'Pray for yourself.' [CH:132]   Campbell (2017: 489)

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The antecedent of the reflexive NP cannot occur outside of the grammatical unit containing the reflexive. In (23), the reflexive cannot refer to Oko because it is outside of the event nominalization containing the reflexive. It can only refer to Ama.

(23) **òkó$_i$** **lè** **nĩ́** **ã́ !mã́$_j$** **ŋ-jɛ̀** **è́*$_i$/$_j$=hè**

Oko know NMLZ Ama PROG-insult 3SG=body

'Oko thought that Ama was insulting herself.'

*'Oko thought that Ama was insulting him.' Campbell (2017: 489)

The PRON+**hè** reflexive form is quite pervasive in the lexicon and discourse of the language. It occurs as a complement in several ICVs, where it signals the middle semantics of those verbs. These are considered special uses of the reflexive pronoun, different from those exemplified above because the noun, **hè** 'body' is part of the lexical entry for that word. When it is deployed in discourse it must necessarily have a pronominal possessor. These middles usually express emotion and non-translational motion

2.5.2. Literature review on Akan reflexives

In Akan, reflexive pronouns are derived by employing 'body part' and a possessive pronoun. Osam (2002) who also demonstrates that in Akan, the possessive pronoun and the morpheme **ho** '*self*' are used to express the notion of direct reflexivity further corroborates this claim on the derivation of Akan reflexive pronouns. Based on the empirical facts on Akan, Osam (2002) concludes that this observation is not typologically rare as most African languages use this strategy in the derivation of reflexive pronouns. Osam (2002) opines that the possessive together with the **'ho'** construction is employed to show the relations between two DPs in cases that two

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participants within a discourse have the same referent. This assertion is interpreted to be a reinforcement of the vital role that the notion of co-reference plays in the interpretation of reflexive constructions in the languages of the world. Osam (2002) further asserts that in terms of distribution, the Akan reflexive form invariably occupies the direct object position whereas the antecedent is located in the subject position. We will later show that this distributional characteristic valid for Nzema reflexive pronouns and their antecedent as well.

In his analysis of the syntax of reflexive constructions, Saah (1989) contends that in Akan, there is a requirement that the reflexive marker and its antecedent DP must occur within the same clausal domain. The examples in (24) illustrate the structure of reflexive constructions in Akan with data taken from Osam (2002).

(24)   a.   **Kofi   siesie-e   ne   ho**

                  Kofi   dress-COMPL   3SG-POSS   self

                  'Kofi dressed himself.'

       b.   **Araba   pepa-a   ne   ho**

                  Araba   wipe-COMPL   3SG-POSS   self

                  'Araba wiped herself (after showering).'

       c.   **Ama   sera-a   ne   ho**

                  Ama   smear-COMPL   3SG-POSS   self

                  'Ama smeared oil on her body.'

                                                   (Osam, 2002: 144)

In furtherance to the claims on the distribution of reflexives in Akan, Saah (2014) is also of the bi-clausal sentences interpretation of reflexives has the tendency of yielding

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ambiguity where the structure is interpreted as either a true reflexive reading or a reading whereby an entity merely acts on another. According to Saah (2014), this is attributed to the fact that in certain complex sentences, the Akan *pronoun* + **hó** can either have the subject or the matric clause or subject of embedded clause as it referential element. This is illustrated in (25).

(25)   a.   **Kofi**   **pɛ̀**   **sɛ̀**   **Ama**   **pépa**   **né**   **hó**

           Kofi   want-PRES   that   Ama   dry-PRES   3SG-POSS   self

           'Kofi wants Ama to dry his body/Kofi wants Ama to dry herself'.

       b.   ***Kofi** **pɛ̀**   **sɛ̀**   **Ama**   **pépa**   **no**

           Kofi   want-PRES   that   Ama   dry-PRES   3SG-POSS

                                          (Saah 2014:44)

According to Saah (2014), the data in (25a) is an illustration of the ambiguity in the interpretation between a reflexive and a non-reflexive interpretation in Akan. This, he points out, is however, only available in embedded clauses. Saah (2014) further argues that to disambiguate such a sentence, the Binding Principle A (which stipulates that 'an anaphor must be bound in its governing domain*'* (Chomsky 1981: 190) becomes important. This Principle captures the relationship between two co-referential DPs within clauses. This is evident in the data in (26) taken from Saah (2014).

(26)   a.   **[TP [NP Kofi$_i$]**   **[VP bɛ̀- pirá**   **né$_i$**   **hó]]**

             Kofi   FUT-hurt   3SG-POSS   self

            'Kofi will hurt himself.'

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b. *[TP [NP Kofi_i]*   *[VP*   *bɛ̀- pirá*   *no_j]]*

         Kofi   FUT-hurt   3SG-POSS

         'Kofi will hurt him/her.'   (Saah 2014: 46)

Saah (2014) explains that while in (26a) ***Kofi*** and **né hó** have the same indices [***i***] and therefore satisfy the Binding Principle A, in (26b), the nominal item in the subject position **Kofi,** and the noun in the pronominal **no** are not co-indexed. This is because they are not co-referential DPs, the reason for which they do not share the same indices. Thus, for a reflexive interpretation to **né** given between two NPs, it means that the two NPs must be co-indexed. In addition to the co-indexation requirement is the fact that the antecedent must c-command the reflexive. This syntactic claim of the structural claim between the antecedent and the reflexive as a licensing tool for reflexive interpretation is further supported by the work of Carnie (2 013:154) who argues before an NP can receive a reflexive interpretation, such NP must occur within the same clause. This is to ensure that there is no violation of the clause mate condition (locality constraint on reflexive), which is vital syntactic requirement for licensing reflexive constructions.

2. 5.3 Literature review on Ewe reflexives

Finally, there are also some studies on reflexives in Ewe, which we review. Based on morphology, Agbedor (2014:52) contends that the reflexives in Ewe compose of two different morphemes. He demonstrates that the reflexives pronouns in Ewe are composed of the reflexive morpheme **ɖókuí** and a personal pronoun. He further contends that etymologically, the reflexive marker is derived from the social term **ɖóku,** 'name sake' together the diminutive marker **[i].** We will notice that this differs from

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Akan whose reflexive marker is grammaticised from a body word **hó.** In table 6, we show the reflexive pronoun paradigm of Ewe based on Agbedor (2014:52)

Table 6: The Ewe reflexive pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	**ɖókuí-nye** 'myself'	**mia-ɖókuí-wo** 'ourselves'
2nd	**ɖókuí-wo** 'yourself'	**mia-ɖókuíwo** 'yourselves'
3rd	**e-ɖókuí** 'himself/herself'	**wo-ɖókuí-wo** 'themselves'

(Agbedor, 2014:52)

Agbedor (2014) also examines the distribution of Ewe reflexive pronouns are concludes they are also always required to be within the same clausal domain with their antecedents. Based on this, he contends that Ewe reflexives are governed by the locality constraint in their distribution as exemplified by the data in (27).

(27)   a.   *Kofi$_i$ kpɔ   e-ɖókuí$_i$ le   ahuhɔe   me*

Kofi   see   3SG-self   in   mirror   LOG

'Kofi saw himself in the mirror.'

   b.   *Ðevi- a- wó$_i$ dzra   wó-ɖókuí-wó$_i$ dó*

child-DEF-PL   prepare   3PL-self-PL   VCOMP

'The children tidied up themselves.'

   c. [*Ama$_i$ nyá   [bé   Kofi$_j$ kpɔ-ná   é-ɖókuí$_j$]]*

Ama   knows   COMP   Kofi   see-HAB   3SG -self

'Ama knows that Kofi prides himself/Ama knows that Kofi is proud.'

(Agbedor, 2014: 53)

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In accounting for the grammaticality of the sentences in (27), Agbedor (2014) opines that whereas the reflexive pronoun *e-ɖókuí* 'himself' is bound to **Kofi,** in (27a), in (27b), **wó-ɖókuí-wó** *'themselves'* is bound to the antecedent plural DP *ɖevi- a- wó* 'the children'. The difference in number of the reflexive pronouns in (27a) and (27b) suggests that the antecedent and its reflexive (anaphor) must share number features. Agbedor (2014) further notes that even within embedded clauses, the antecedent and it reflexive must occur within the same clause. This explains why in (27c), the reflexive **é-ɖókuí** 'himself' has the subject of the embedded clause, **Kofi** as its antecedent ad not **Ama,** which is the subject of the matrix clause.

Summarizing, from the review provided above, it is evident that several have already been devoted to the study of reflexive constructions in Ghanaian languages. However, none concerning is known to have been focused on the expression of reflexivity in Nzema. In the section that follows, we explore the types of reflexivisers and reflexive nominals in languages of the world.

2. 5.4 Literature review on Dangme reflexives

Another Kwa language that I look at in my literature review is Dangme. The reflexives in Dangme are investigated by Caesar, (2019) who demonstrate that the reflexive pronoun in Dangme is marked morphologically with a pronoun together morpheme the morpheme *he* which is translated loosely as body or skin. What this means is that the pattern in this language is close to what we have shown in other Kwa languages such as Akan, Ewe and Ga. This claim on the makeup of the reflexives and their distribution are exemplified in the data below, taken from Caesar (2019).

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(28) a.   **Ata**_i **kɛ**   **hyonyu**   **ɔ**   **kpa**   **e**   **he**_i

　　　　　Ata   take   soup   DEF   pour/smear.PERF   3SG   body

　　　　　'Ata poured the soup on herself.'

　　　b.   **I**_i   **kɛ**   **hyonyu**   **ɔ**   **kpa**   **ye**   **he**_i

　　　　　I   take   soup   DEF   pour/smear.PERF   3SG   body

　　　　　'I poured the soup on herself.'

　　　c.   *E_i   kɛ   tɛ_j   fia   lɛ_k

　　　　　3SG   take   stone throw   3SG.OBJ

　　　　　'He/she has thrown a stone at her.'

　　　d.   ***Ata**_i **fia**   **nyɛ**_k   **he**   **tɛ**

　　　　　Ata throw   2SGPOSS   body   stone

　　　　　'Ata threw a stone at yourself'   (Caesar, 2019: 40).

In the account of Caesar (2019), in the examples in (28a) all through (28d), the personal pronoun together with the morpheme **he** meaning 'body' is what results in the interpretation of the construction as a reflexive one. This explains why in (28a) **e he** 'herself' picks its reference from Ata, and the same explanations holds for the sentences where the reflexive takes its meaning from the NP that precedes it in the sentence structure.

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Caesar (2019) further shows that Dangme also makes use of emphatic reflexives. She argued that 'Emphatic reflexives are constructions containing a full noun phrase and a co-referential pronoun in the same case (Caesar, 2019: 41). This is illustrated by the data below;

(29)   a.   **Imi$_i$**   **nitsɛ** **nɛ** **i$_i$** **ba**   **hiɛ**   **ɔ**

            1SG.EMPH   self   FOC   1SG   come.PST   here

            'I came here myself'

   b.   **Mo$_i$**   **nitsɛ** **nɛ** **o$_i$**   **ba**

            2SG.EMPH   self   FOC   2SG.OBJ   come.PST

            'You came yourself'

   c.   **Mɛ$_i$**   **nitsɛ-mɛ**   **nɛ** **a$_i$**   **ke**   **wɔ**

            3PL.EMPH   self-PL   FOC   3PL.OBJ   give   us

            'It was they themselves who have given it to us as a gift.'

                                        (Caesar, 2019. 41)

In the data above taken from (Caesar, 2019. 41), she illustrates the distribution of the emphatic reflexives in Dangme. In the example that is in (29a) for instance, the first, and second person singular emphatic pronouns; *Imi* 'I' and *mo* 'you' have co-referential attributes with the subject pronouns, **i** 'I', *o* 'you.' She further argues that the referents of the emphatic pronouns are always preceded by **nitsɛ** 'self' and the focus marker **nɛ**. For the plural subject emphatic pronouns; **wɔ** 'we' as in (29c), it also agrees in number with the referent **a** 'they.'
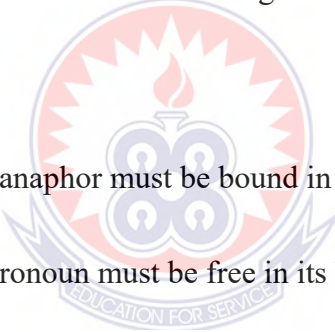
2. 6. The characteristics of reflexives in Mabia and Kwa based on my literature review

This section provides a summary into the literature review that I have done in this thesis. I, therefore, summarize some of the observations on the literature review, mainly by showing the differences and similarities between the issues on reflexives in the Mabia and Kwa languages of Ghana. I start by looking at reflexives and pronouns in general, narrowing to how they are formed in the languages reviewed and then finally, to the differences and similarities that they have in the Kwa and Mabia languages. In the first place, all the review on the Mabia languages showed that they have reflexives that are made up of pronouns and reflexiving morphemes. Dixon (2010:189) defines pronouns as 'a small closed class of grammatical words which vary for person.' Because of their morphology (having a pronoun and a morpheme that is a reflexiver), the literature says they are bimorphemic (made up of two morphemes). They are also local since they always are in the same clause with their antecedent NPs. This is why when the reflexive pronoun in Mabia is in the different clause with the NP that it bases its meaning on, the sentence is wrong.

The Kwa reflexives on the other hand are also made up of body parts plus a pronoun element. This is saying that both classes of reflexives are complex in their morphology, and the only different is the things that come together to make them. When the reflexive pronoun of the Mabia languages will have a pronoun and a self-morpheme, Kwa will have the pronoun and the morpheme he meaning body. In the syntax, there is no difference based on my literature since they are also in the same clause with their NP antecedents. Now, I will move to my theoretical framework in my section 2.6.

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2.7 Theoretical framework of the study

In this section, I focus on providing some DEFails of the theory that would be used to analysis my data on the syntax of reflexivity in Dagaare. The data is analysed using the Government and Binding Theory of (Chomsky, 1981; Carnie, 2013). This theory is deemed relevant because it concerns the distribution of pronouns in languages. According to the beliefs of the GB theory of (Chomsky, 1981; Carnie, 2013), nominal expressions are grouped into three different types including (a)Anaphors (reflexives) (b) Pronominals and (c) R-expressions. There are three principles that are key to the Government and Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981). According to Carnie (2013: 157, there are three principles that govern the interpretation of the established nominal expressions and these are referred to as Binding Theory. These are;

(30)   a. Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its binding domain.

    b. Principle B: A pronoun must be free in its binding domain.

    c. Principle C: An R-expression must be free. (Carnie, 2013: 157)

These principles govern the distribution of reflexive pronouns and pronominals in most languages in the world. The notion of binding is also relevant when discussing the Government and Binding Theory and requires a c-command relationship between an anaphor its antecedent (coindexed elements). Haegeman (1994:212) has noted that a node X is said to c-command Y iff;

(31)   a.   The first branching node dominating X also dominates Y

    b.   X does not dominate Y and Y does not dominate X

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It is also said by Poole (2011:126) that an anaphor must be c-commanded by an antecedent which is in the same minimal Inflectional Phrase (IP). This is why in the literature, there is a structural relationship between an anaphor and its antecedent, a syntactic rule that is usually accounted for using the notion of C-command.

Anaphors generally are known to have no reference on their own as they depend on preceding nouns in the clause for their meanings. According to Chomsky (1981), anaphors as referentially defective noun phrases. Poole (2011:120) differentiates between two kinds of anaphors, reflexives (*himself, themselves*) and reciprocals (*each other*) and argues that anaphors require an antecedent (since they lack independence reference) which must occur in the same clause. Poole (2011) also proposes that the antecedent must share the same phi-features of number, gender and person with the anaphor for the sentence to be grammatical. Anaphors are therefore, expected to always depend on some other expression within a sentence for their interpretation. The syntactic account of Haegeman (1994) suggests that an anaphor have a local antecedent since the two cannot be in different clauses. Within the framework of Binding Theory, the abstract features of reflexives and pronominals yield four different NP types. These three NP types are anaphors, pronouns, and R-expressions, according to Chomsky (1981) and Haegeman (1994).

(32)   Lexical reflexives [+reflexives, -pronominal]: they compose of reflexives and reciprocals as win *herself, each other, ourselves, itself.*

(33)   Pronouns [-anaphor, + pronominal]: these are pronouns. Examples include *he, she, her, we*

(34) Name (full NP) [-anaphor, -pronominal]: personal names as in John-Bosco, Gervase, Naab, Aasoyir. These are also called R-expressions.

These three NP proposed in the literature are accounted for using Binding Principles. *Principle A* of the principles deals with reflexives and reciprocals. *Principle B* relates to pronominals while *Principle C* concerns itself with proper names or what have been called full NPs. Following the Binding Principles as outlined by (Chomsky, 1981, Haegeman, 1994, Poole, 2011), I examine how these Principles match the syntactic features of Dagaare reflexives. This would be given detailed attention in chapter four of the work.

2. 6 Chapter summary

In conclusion, I have so far outlined the defining reflexivization, reflexivity, and the notion of the reflexive pronoun, the categorisation of reflexives. The chapter also provided a literature review on the previous works that scholars have done on some Ghana languages both the Mabia languages (Dagbani, Kusaal, Gurenɛ, Dagaare and Likpakpaanl) and the Kwa languages (Akan, Ewe, Dangme and Ga). The chapter again discussed the categorisation of the reflexives based on their distributional properties and the basic theoretical tenets of the Binding Theory, the theoretical tradition within which the analysis of the empirical data presented. From the reviews that I made on all these languages, I can say confidently that the reflexive pronouns in the languages have some similarities in and differences. In terms of their similarities, (i) they both have reflexives that are made of two morphemes, (ii) in both cases, pronouns are used with another element to form the reflexive pronoun (iii) they are local since they cannot have occur in different clause with their antecedents. The main difference that I see is that when the Mabia languages use personal pronouns with the morpheme meaning self, the

Kwa languages use the personal pronouns plus the morpheme meaning body. In my next chapter, I will discuss my methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approaches and techniques used in collecting data for this research. Section 1 of this chapter examines the fieldwork setting which discusses the field site and the nature of data that was gathered; the various sources of data that are used in the research is also discussed in section 2 while information about the role of the language consultants is provided in section 3. Section 4 provides an insight into the analysis of the data and section 5 sums up the discussions and issues in the chapter.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used the qualitative method of approach for this study. Patton (2002) defines qualitative research as an approach that uses a naturalistic approach, which seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as real world settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomena of interest. It is any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification, but instead the kind of research that produces findings derived from real-world settings where the phenomena of interest unfold naturally.

3.2 Fieldwork Setting

In linguistic research, the collection of primary data through extensive fieldwork is important in the documentation of data and an understanding of the linguistic behaviour

of speakers in their natural contexts. Austin (2006:87). The data collected for this study is based on a three weeks field visit to Jirapa Municipality which spanned from 21st May, 2021 to 22nd June, 2021. The researcher chose Jirapa Municipality because it is the place where central Dagaare dialect speakers are predominantly found. Secondly, there is minimal linguistic interference from other languages. The researcher chose the central Dagaare dialect because it is the dialect, as stated earlier in this thesis, which has been used extensively in writing since the 1929's.

The fieldwork was undertaken in Jirapa Municipality. Jirapa Municipality is one of the 11 districts in the Upper west region of Ghana which shares boundaries with Lawra to the West, Nadowli/Kaleo to the South, Nandom and Lambussie/Karni to the North and Daffiama and Gwollu to the South-East. However, the accessible population was the youth and elders in the community. The total population of Dagaaba in the Jirapa Municipality is estimated to be about 88,402 people, called the Dagaaba in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2010). In the area of education, the district currently has 80 kindergartens, 62 primary schools, 41 Junior High Schools, 4 Senior High School. *(Ghana Statistical Service, June, 2018).*

Most of the data (spontaneous speech, radio discussions in Dagaare, daily conversations and songs) that were collected were recorded on a Sony HF digital voice recorder and later transcribed. The researcher also used elicitation to collect data on reflexive expressions and their syntactic configurations in Dagaare. The elicitation approach, which was adopted, from Bowern (2008:77) included changing the reflexive order to see how that changes the semantic understanding, translation of sentences into the target language and asking questions about sentences collected from texts.

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3.3 Data Sources

The various kinds of data that is used in this study is categorised into four main types; natural data, textual data, elicited data and Self-Generated data. The sub-sections that follow describe each type of data and how it contributes to the study.

3.3.1 Natural Data

During the field visit, natural data, which comprised communicative acts, folktales, songs, radio discussions in Dagaare, and daily conversations, were collected. The spontaneous speech data was collected through observed communicative events such as daily interactions, and recorded conversations. Apart from the recordings of daily conversations of people, the other forms of natural data came from recordings of Dagaare programmes on one Local radio station in the research area. The local radio station in Jirapa Municipality is Radio **Gaŋgaa** '*Radio Drum'*. I purposively selected **Sensellɛ** and **Sekpɔga** *Hour (*a story telling and proverbs programme) and **Te yipɔge yɛlɛ** (Our Cultural Heritage) from Radio **Gaŋgaa**. These programmes are aired thirty (30) minutes, once a week on the radio station. I used a Sony HF digital voice recorder to obtain higher quality recordings. I recorded each of the programmes for three consecutive times, once a week, totalling 90 minutes of recorded data per a programme. In all one hundred and eighty (180) minutes of recordings was done in the studios of the radio station, which are fitted with sound proof gadgets. This was to ensure that the recordings were done in an environment that was free of noise and other obstructions. After the recording was done, I transcribed the recorded data and carefully picked out structures that dealt with the phenomenon under investigation (reflexives). Since the texts were on tape recorder, the researcher had to play, pause, play again the utterances, and transcribe the sentences phonetically. I then crosschecked the transcriptions with

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four (4) language consultants, whom I purposively selected, based on their adept knowledge and proficiency in Dagaare. The use of the language consultants is necessary because they help to validate elicited data by checking for grammaticality and infelicity. This fact is ascertained by Grimes (1975:34) who argues that "speakers of languages display editorial reactions just as regularly as editors who work with paper and pencil". Grimes (1975) also posits that in discourses people can still recognise that certain parts of what they say can still be improved by the substitution of expressions that are less consistent with the discourse as a whole by other expressions that fit the structure and the context better.

3.3.2 Elicited Data

In using this approach to collect data for the study, I adopted the schedule-controlled elicitation technique. Chelliah and de Reuse (2011) argue that in schedule-controlled elicitation, the fieldworker prepares a schedule of material to be elicited and asks questions to the consultants in order of the prepared schedule. This technique is used to focus on specific language areas and therefore provides very useful data about a language. Using the schedule-controlled elicitation, the researcher gathered data on reflexive expressions in Dagaare and therefore prepared an elicitation schedule to guide in the data elicitation process.

The researcher also used the corrective elicitation method, which entails the deliberate production of ungrammatical sentences or an incorrect from of an expression to test some theoretical assumptions. (Chelliah & de Reuse, 2011). These two elicitation approaches, scheduled-controlled and corrective elicitation, were used to examine and test sentences and expressions using binding principle A of the GB Theory as the

guiding framework. In line with elicitation approaches to data collection as posited by Grenoble (2010), the researcher asked consultants to do a target language translation and explain the semantic implications and grammaticality of the sentences as far as Dagaare is concerned.

3.3.3 Textual Data

Another source of the data that is used in this study is drawn from existing works of Dagaare. The researcher studied the selected texts and expressions that contained reflexives were isolated for purpose of addressing this phenomenon in the study. Some of the selected texts were historically true narratives, while others were fictional. The text corpus data are drawn from Dagaare texts such as: ***Takɔdaa Bie** by B. B. Zakpaa, **senloŋ** 1, 2, 3* (let us tell stories,1, 2, 3), ***Naaŋmene Nɔpaalaa Gane*** (The New Testament Dagaare Bible). These data taken from written texts are very instrumental as they help to augment the natural and elicited data that have been collected for the study.

3.3.4 Self-Generated Data

The researcher who is himself a native speaker of Dagaare also constructed some of the data for the study. The constructed data consisted of the formation of both simple and complex sentences that contained reflexives. In all, the researcher constructed about eighty (80) sentences, which reflected the different aspects of reflexives that the research seeks to investigate. To ensure that the constructed data were not influenced by any research agenda, all the constructed data was given to the four (4) language consultants separately for each one to do grammaticality checks and identify if there were sentences, which were infelicitous. Ross (1979:136) emphasises the need for

engaging language consultants in doing grammaticality judgements as part of enhancing linguistic evidence by pointing out that speakers of a language typically share very clear intuitions about some sentences. Native speakers of a language may accept -"core" sentences as being grammatical without hesitation see them as "fringe" sentences and reject them outright as ungrammatical.

3.4 Language Consultants

Four (4) native speaker consultants comprising two males and two female (see list of consultants in Table 3) examined and described the grammaticality and semantic implications of the sentences presented during the elicitation sessions. The consultants are all native speakers of Dagaare. The elicitation sessions were held with each consultant separately and later the entire group met to discuss the same sentences. The group discussions helped a lot since it sometimes provided an opportunity to get variations to sentences and explanations supporting them and this enriched the study. While the sessions were going on, I wrote down notes and recorded them, with their consent, to capture their explanations for later transcription.

Two of the consultants are people who have master of philosophy in Ghanaian Languages (Dagaare) for at least two years. The other two are people who taught Dagaare at least fifteen years. They therefore, have good level of grammatical competence of the language as native speakers who have been working for the development of the language. The three consultants were made up of two males aged fifty-seven (57) and forty (40) and two females also aged sixty-three (63) and fifty-three (53). The choice of both female and male consultants was to capture possible difference(s) in the phenomenon that may arise because of difference in language

caused by gender. Considering the fact that bilingualism can affect one's language, I ensured that my language consultants consisted of both monolinguals and bilinguals. For instance, one each of both the male and female language assistants was a bilingual while the other one each were monolinguals. This was also to check for possible effects that bilingualism might have on the phenomenon that is under investigation (reflexives).

Table 7: List of Consultants

I.D	Name	Sex	Age (years) in 2021	Town /Village	Dialect	Contribution
EB	Epireh, Blaise	Male	57	Kuncheni	Central Dagaare	Elicitation/ grammaticality check
BG	Bayor, Gorden	Male	40	Daffiama	Central Dagaare	Elicitation/ grammaticality check
MAD	Mary Asunta Dakoraa	Female	63	Jirapa	Central Dagaare	Elicitation/ grammaticality check
MT	Marceline Tengpare	Female	53	Ullo	Central Dagaare	Elicitation/ grammaticality check

3.5 Data Analysis

The elicited data, transcribed and textual data were coded for easy analysis. The following codes were assigned to the data;

- Elicited Data (ED)

- Recorded Data (RD)

- Textual Data (TD)

- Self-Generated Data (SGD)

Sentences used in the analysis are drawn from these sources and are indicated against each sentence that is used in the analysis. The collected and generated data are analysed using the Theoretical Framework of Government and Binding Theory for the syntax.

3.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the research design that is the researcher used the qualitative method of approach. This chapter provided the field setting, Jirapa Municipality that constituted the research area for the study, the various kinds of data (natural, elicited, textual and the self-generated data) that was collected for the research as well as the approaches that were used in obtaining the data for the study. The chapter also discussed the role of the four language consultants that were used in the study and their contribution to the success of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF DAGAARE REFLEXIVES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, provide an account of the morphological structure of the Dagaare reflexives. The chapter will also discuss the syntax of the reflexives. Under the morphology, I have three objectives, which are (a) to find out how the reflexives are formed based on their morphological structure, (b) to see how they differ morphologically from other languages in Ghana and (c) to establish whether Dagaare has simple or complex reflexive pronouns based on (a). My chapter is structured as follows. In section 4.1, I discuss the morphology of the Dagaare reflexive pronoun system, looking at the way they are formed in the language. This is followed by a discussion on the syntactic properties of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare in section 4.2. In section 4.3. I discuss the syntax of Dagaare reflexive pronouns and using the Government and Binding Theory, which is my theoretical framework. This is followed by discussion on 4.4. properties shared with intensifiers **i**n section 4.4. I also study the predication condition of reflexives in section 4.5. Finally, section 4.6 concludes the chapter.

4.1. The morphology of the Dagaare reflexive pronoun system

In this part of my thesis, I will focus on the morphology of reflexive pronouns. By morphology, I mean the study of the internal structure of words as proposed in the work of Katamba and Stonham (2006). I have two objectives here (i) to find out the morphemes that are involved in forming the reflexive pronouns in Dagaare (ii) to show if they are complex or simplex in terms of their morphology. My understanding their

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morphology will later help me to appreciate their syntax as most literature say the morphology of a reflexive pronouns is in part, determining factor of its syntax. Table 8 present the pronouns system in Dagaare.

Table 8: The pronoun system in Dagaare

	Subject forms		Object forms		Possessive forms		Emphatic (Subject)	
Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	n	te	ma	te	maa	tenee	maa(tɔre)	tenee(tɔre)
2nd	fo	yɛ	fo	yɛ	foo	yɛnee	foo(tɔre)	yɛnee(tɔre)
3rd (H)	o	ba	o	ba	ona	bana	ona(tɔre)	bana(tɔre)
3rd (NH)	o	ana	o	ana	ona	ana	ona(tɔre)	ana(tɔre)

From Table 8, I claim that there is morphological change in the subject and object forms of the pronouns as in **n** and **ma**. The morphological generalization that can be made is that the forms in the paradigms are morphologically simplex. Also, there is morphological sameness in the possessive form and the emphatic (subject) of the pronouns, although *tɔre* is sometimes added to the emphatic pronoun.

Based on this proposal, the distribution of the forms *n* for the subject forms, and *ma* for the object forms (1st person singular pronoun) is interpreted to mean that the various pronoun forms are motivated by their phonological status. Examples (1) illustrate the subject forms used in sentences.

(1)   **a. N   nɔŋ   la   mui.**

      1SG love-IMFV FACT rice

      'I love rice'

   b. *Bayuo nɔŋ   n la.

      Bayuo love 1SG FACT

      *'Bayuo love I'

From the above data presented in (1b), it clear that in Dagaare, when the first person singular subject pronoun occupies the position of the object pronoun the sentence is ungrammatical.

A close look at the distribution of Dagaare reflexives suggests that the assumption on number agreement between an antecedent and its reflexive is valid for Dagaare, as in (2)

(2) a. *Dɛre toorɔ   la   bamenne

      Dɛre insult. IMPFV FACT 3PL-REFL

      *'Dɛre is insulting themselves'

   b. *Fo   zo   la   yɛmenne

      2SG run. PFV FACT 2PL-REFL

      *'You ran yourselves'

   c.   Yɛ   zo   la   yɛmenne

      2PL run. PFV FACT 2PL-REFL

      'You ran yourselves'

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d. **Dakoraa ŋmɛ   omeŋɛ**

Dakoraa beat.PFV 3SG-REFL

'Dakoraa beats himself'

From the above data, (2a) is a mismatch between the subject NP **Dɛre** and the reflexive pronoun **bamenne** "themselves" in terms of number therefore make the sentence ungrammaticality. The reflexive pronoun **bamenne** cannot have **Dɛre** as its antecedent since the two do not agree in number**. Dɛre** is a singular noun functioning as a subject of that sentence whilst **bamenne** is a plural 'themselves'. In example (2b) too, we see that the second person singular pronoun **fo**, "you" does not agree in number with **yɛmenne** "yourselves" which is plural. The lack of number agreement between these two accounts for the ungrammaticality of example (2b). Example (2c) however is grammatical since the subject of the sentence, the second person plural pronominal **yɛ** "you" agrees in number with the reflexive pronoun **yɛmenne** 'yourselves'. In (2d) too, we observe that **Dakoraa** is the antecedent whilst **omeŋɛ** is the reflexive pronoun. These two agree in terms of number since the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun **Dakoraa** is singular and the reflexive pronoun **omeŋɛ** 'himself' is singular. The agreement in number between the antecedent and the reflexive pronoun results in the grammaticality of the sentence.

In the work of Bodomo (2020), he shows that Dagaare makes use of pronouns that come in different forms.

Table 9. **Dagaare pronoun system according to the work of Bodomo (2020)**

Nominative	Accusative
N	Ma
Fo	Fo
O	O
Te	Te
yɛ	yɛ
Ba	Ba

Now that we see the two forms, we will examine them in the reflexive form and this can help us to know which form of the pronoun we use to attach the reflexive marker so form Dagaare reflexives.

The third person plural pronominal and the second person singular and plural pronominal, however, do make a morphological distinction between the nominative and accusative plural forms. As already mentioned, there is a tight relationship between the pronominal Dagbani are complex (bimorphemic) expressions which are formed via meaning 'self' to the possessive or genitive form of the pronominal as shown in table 9. I also observe in morpheme to the accusative form of the pronominal yields an ungrammatical form.

Table 10: The Dagaare pronoun system according to (Bodomo, 1997:71)

	Subject	Nominative	Object
	Weak form	**Strong form**	**Accusative**
1st person singular	*n* (I)	*Maa*	*ma* (me)
2nd person singular	*fo* (you)	*Foo*	*fo* (you)
3rd person singular	*o* (he/she)	*onɔ*	*o* (him,her)
1st person plural	*te* (we)	*Tenee*	*te* (us)
2nd person plural	*yɛ* (you)	*yɛnee*	*yɛ* (you)
3rd person plural(human)	*ba* (they)	*Bana*	*ba* (them)
3rd person plural(non-human)	*a* (they)	*Ana*	*a* (them)

Just as English and other languages achieve reflexives by the combination of a possessive pronouns and the reflexivizer "*self*" as in "*myself*" "*herself*" or "*ourselves*", or a combination of the accusative pronoun and the reflexivizer as in "himself" (Issah, 2011). Dagaare reflexives are formed by combining the possessive pronouns with *meŋɛ* 'self' as in the table below:

Table 11: Dagaare reflexive pronouns based on Bodomo (1997:71)

Weak reflexive pronoun	Gloss	strong reflexive pronoun	Gloss
nmengɛ (tɔr)	Myself	*maamengɛ*	me myself
fomengɛ (tɔr)	Yourself	*foomengɛ*	you yourself
omengɛ (tɔr)	him/her/itself	*onɔmengɛ*	he/she herself
temenne (tɔr)	Ourselves	*teneemengɛ*	we ourselves
yɛmenne (tɔr)	Yourselves	*yɛneemengɛ*	you yourselves

bamenne (tɔr)	themselves (human)	*banamengɛ*	they themselves
amenne (tɔr)	themselves (non-human)	*anamengɛ*	they themselves

Table 12. Singular reflexive pronouns in Dagaare

Weak Pronoun	Strong Pronoun	Suffix Reflexivizer	Reflexive Pronoun
M/m/N/n/ŋ "I, my" Ma "me"	Maa "I"	-Meŋa/meŋɛ (tɔre) "-self"	n/m/maa meŋɛ/meŋa "myself, I myself"
Fo "you"	Foo "you"	-Meŋa/meŋɛ (tɔre) "-self"	Fo/foo meŋɛ (tɔre) "Yourself"
O "him/her/she/he/it"	Ona/onɔ "him/her/it"	-Meŋa/meŋɛ (tɔre) "-self"	o/ona meŋa/meŋɛ (tɔre) "-her/him/itself"

Table 13: Plural reflexive pronouns in Dagaare

WEAK PRONOUN	STRONG PRONOUN	SUFFIX REFLEXIVIZER	REFLEXIVE PRONOUN
te "we/us"	tenee "we"	-menne "-selves"	Te/tenee menne "ourselves"
yɛ "you"	yɛnee "you"	-menne "-selves"	Yɛ/yɛnee menne "ourselves"
ba "they/them"	bana "they"	-menne "-selves"	Ba/bana menne "themselves" (+human)
a "they/them"	Ana "they"	-menne "-selves"	a/anamenne "themselves" (-human)

Some generalizations that can made on the morphology of the Dagaare reflexive pronouns are as follows. These are based on the findings on this section of the thesis.

Saah (1989) offers a discussion in Akan reflexivization and contends that in reflexive pronouns are derived by employing 'body part' and a possessive pronoun. Osam (2002) who also demonstrates that in Akan, the possessive pronoun and the morpheme ***ho*** '*self*' are used to express the notion of direct reflexivity further corroborates this claim on the derivation of Akan reflexive pronouns. Based on the empirical facts on Akan, Osam (2002) concludes that this observation is not typologically rare as most African languages use this strategy in the derivation of reflexive pronouns. According to

Evseeva & Salaberri (2018), Haspelmath (2019) among others, reflexive nominal are the reflexive pronouns that are employed to achieve a reflexive construction. He illustrates the reflexive pronoun *themselves* in English and **buru-a** in Basque, these kind of pronoun signals this coreference. These forms normally behave like full nominals in many languages, in that they can occur in the regular object position.

Based on the constituents that participate in the derivation of reflexives in these languages, we assume that the reflexives are categorized as what Haspelmath (2019) terms as reflexive nominals, which include nouns with adpossessive person forms. The internal structure of the Mabia reflexives is proposed to be as in (3)

(3)

Reflexive pronoun

Personal Pronominal   reflexive morpheme
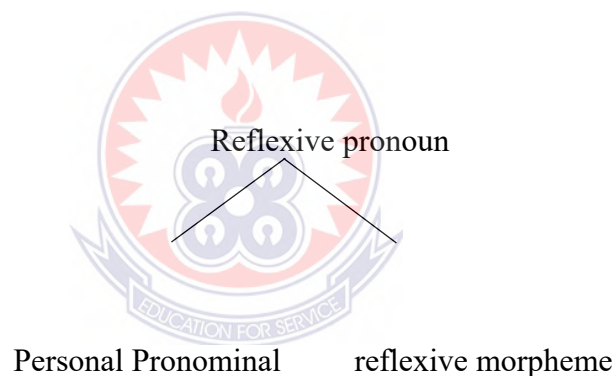
Morphologically, with the exception of Gurenɛ, which marks the reflexiviser morpheme for number, distinguishing between singular and plural, the other languages do not mark number on this morpheme. Thus, the singular-plural dichotomy

4.2 The syntactic properties of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare

This sub-section focuses on the syntactic distributional properties of Dagaare reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are used to show the relationship between the *subject*

and the *object* of the sentences. In English, they are; myself, yourself, himself. herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, and themselves.

https://langeek.co/en/grammar/course/9/reflexive-pronouns 24/03/2022.

In the Dagaare, they are **mmeŋɛ (tɔre)** 'myself', **fomeŋɛ (tɔre)** 'yourself', **omeŋɛ (tɔre)** 'him/her/itself' **temenne (tɔre)** ourselves', **yɛmenne (tɔre)** yourselves', **bamenne (tɔre)** 'themselves (human)' **ane anamenne, (tɔre)** 'themselves (non-human). I used each of the reflexive pronoun in Dagaare in sentences. I demonstrate the functions of each of the reflexive pronoun in Dagaare.

4.2.1.0 Omeŋɛ 'Himself/herself' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Omeŋɛ (*Himself /Herself*) as a reflexive pronouns is used when the subject and the object both refer to the third-person masculine/feminine subject. **Omeŋɛ** can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of a postposition. Omeŋɛ is also a subject complement. In Dagaare, one-word **omeŋɛ** is used to refer to both himself and herself as in Table 7 of this thesis. Here are its uses and some examples:

4.2.1.1 'Himself/herself' as a Direct Object

Omeŋɛ as a reflexive pronoun is used to receive the action of the sentence. For example:

(4) **Dakoraa   wullo   la   omeŋɛ**

Dakoraa   teach.IMPFV   FACT   3SG-REFL

'Dakoraa is teaching himself'

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(5)   **Ayuo   wullo   la   omeŋɛ**

        Ayuo teach.IMPFV FACT 3SG-REFL

        'Ayuo is teaching herself'

(6)   **O   nɔŋ   la   omeŋɛ**

        3SG love.PFV FACT 3SG-REFL

        'He/she loves himself/herself'

(7)   ***O   nɔŋ   la   mmeŋɛ**

        3SG love.PFV FACT 1SG-REFL

        *He/she loves myself

Omeŋɛ as a direct object is placed after the verb. In Dagaare **mmeŋɛ** 'myself' cannot be used syntactically as reflexive pronoun to refer to **O** as the antecedent in (7).

4.2.1.2 Omeŋɛ 'Himself/herself' as an Indirect Object

Omeŋɛ *'Himself/herself'* as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object, so a direct object is needed in a sentence with an indirect object. For example:

(8)   **Ayuo   maala   omeŋɛ   dɔgoo bebiri boroboro**

        Ayuo bake.IMPFV 3SG-REFL birth day   bread

        'Ayuo is baking himself a birthday bread'.

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(9)   **Bayuo   maala   omeŋɛ   dɔgoo bebiri boroboro**

Bayuo bake.IMPFV 3SG-REFL birth day   bread

'Ayuo is baking himself a birthday bread'.

'boroboro' is the direct object and **'omeŋɛ'** is the indirect object and shows **'Ayuo/Bayuo'** are the recipients of **'boroboro.'**

4.2.1.3 *Omeŋɛ* **'Himself/herself' as the Object of a Postposition**

Omeŋɛ *'Himself /herself'* is an object introduced by a postposition, the reason why it is called the object of a postposition. For example:

(10)   O   maala   la   boroboro   na   ko omeŋɛ

3SG bake.IMPFV   FACT bread   FUT   for 3SG-REFL

'He is making a cake for himself'.

(11)   O   biŋ   la   azaa   ko omeŋɛ

3SG keep-PFV   FACT everything   PP 3SG-REFL

'He keeps everything to himself'

Omeŋɛ as an object of a postposition is used after the postposition.

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4.2.1.4 'Himself' as a Subject Complement

Omeŋɛ can be a subject complement and used after the linking verbs to complete the meaning of the subject. For example:

(12)   **O   ba   so   omeŋɛ   a yi   o   ane   o   ma   naŋ   pɔge**

3SG NEG.AUX 3SG-REFL since 3SG and 3SG mother AUX meet-PST

   taa.

together

'He hasn't been himself since he met his mother'

'**omeŋɛ**' is the subject complement.

Omeŋɛ as a subject complement comes after linking verbs. For example:

(13)   **O   mɔɔrɔ ka   o so   omeŋɛ**

3SG try.IMPFV AUX 3SG AUX 3SG-REFL

'He tries to be himself'.

4.2.1.5 ' *Omeŋɛ/* onameŋɛ ' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Onameŋɛ can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. Emphatic pronouns emphasize the doer of the action and once erased from a sentence, the meaning is not affected. For example:

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(14) **O   da   koŋ   tɔɔ   e   ana zaa onameŋɛ**

3SG   PST   NEG. able   done DEF all 3SG-REFL.EMPH

'He couldn't have done all of that himself'

(15) **O   taa   la entuo.   O   na baŋ baare la   a   toma   mɔlɔ**

3SG AUX FACT lazy. 3SG AUX finish FACT DEF work easily

onameŋɛ

3SG-REFL.EMPH

'He/she is lazy. He/she can easily finish the work himself/herself'

Onameŋɛ as an emphatic pronoun comes either at the end of the sentence or after the subject.
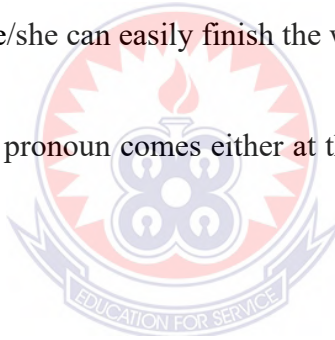
4.2.2.0. Mmeŋɛ 'myself' as a Reflexive Pronoun

I uses *m***meŋɛ** as the object of the sentence. *M***meŋɛ** as a reflexive pronoun can be the direct object, the indirect object. *M***meŋɛ** can also be a subject complement.

4.2.2.1 'Mmeŋɛ' as a Direct Object

*M***meŋɛ** as a reflexive pronoun receives the action of the sentence. For example:

(16)   N   wullo   la   mmeŋɛ Dagaare

        1SG teach.IMPFV FACT 1SG-REFL Dagaare

        'I am teaching myself Dagaare.'

mmeŋɛ receives the action of **'wullo.'**

(17)   N   nɔŋ   la   mmeŋɛ.

        1SG love-PFV FACT 1SG-REFL

        'I love myself.'

*M***meŋɛ** as a direct object comes right **after** the verb. For example:

(18)   N   wullo   la   mmeŋɛ   Dagaare

        1SG teach.IMPFV   FACT 1SG-REFL Dagaare

        'I am teaching myself Dagaare.'

*M***meŋɛ** is placed directly after the verb.

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4.2.2.2 ' *M***meŋɛ ' as an Indirect Object**

*M***meŋɛ** as an indirect object is used to show what or who is the recipient of the direct object, so a direct object is needed in a sentence that has an indirect object. For example:

(19)   N   maala   la   mmeŋɛ   naa.

        1SG make.IMPFV   FACT 1SG-REFL   chief

        'I am making myself chief'

'**Naa**' is the direct object and **mmeŋɛ** is the indirect object and shows '**N**' is the recipient of '**naa**.'

(20)   N   ko   la   mmeŋɛ   gane n dɔgoo bebiri daare.

        1SG give   FACT 1SG-REFL book 1SG birth day   day

        'I give myself a book on my birthday'

The indirect object usually comes before a direct object. For example:

(21)   **N maala la mmeŋɛ naa.**

        'I am making myself chief'

 mmeŋɛ comes before 'naa.'

4.2.2.3 Maameŋɛ 'Myself' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Maameŋɛ can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. Emphatic pronouns emphasize the doer of the action and once erased from a sentence, the meaning is not affected. For example:

(22)   **Maameŋɛ**   **woŋee**   **la**   **ka o ŋmaziiri!**

         1SG-REFL.EMPH   hear-PST   FACT PP 3SG lie-PFV

         'I heard him lie myself!'

(23)   **Maa meŋɛ**   **la**   **boɔle o.**

         1SG REFL.EMPH   FACT call-PST 3SG

         'I myself called her.'
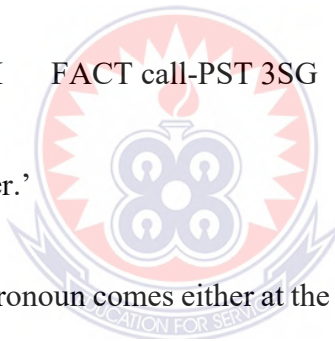
Mmeŋɛ as an emphatic pronoun comes either at the end of the sentence, before or after the main verb

(24)   **N**   **ŋmaa la**   **maameŋɛtɔre**

       1SG cut-PFV FACT 1SG-REFL.EMPH

       'I cut myself'

maameŋɛtɔre after the main verb.

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4.2.3.0. Fomeŋɛ 'Yourself' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Fomeŋɛ as a reflexive pronoun is used to show that the addressee is both the subject and the object of a sentence. **Fomeŋɛ** can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of a postposition. **Fomeŋɛ** can also be the subject complement. Here are its uses and some examples:

4.2.3.1. 'Fomeŋɛ' as a Direct Object

Fomeŋɛ as a reflexive pronoun is used to receive the action of the verb. For example:

(25)   **A seŋ ka   fo   nɔŋ   fomeŋɛ**

AUX   2SG love-PFV 2SG-REFL

'You should love yourself.'

'Fomeŋɛ' refers to **'fo**.'
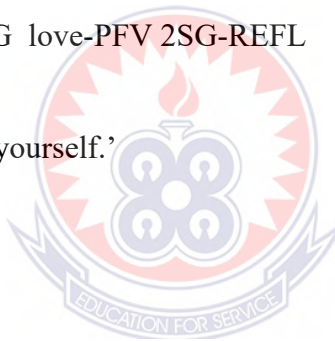
Fomeŋɛ as a direct object is placed after the verb. For example:

Fomeŋɛ is placed directly after the verb.

4.2.3.2. Fomeŋɛ 'Yourself' as an Indirect Object

Fomeŋɛ as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object, so a direct object is needed in a sentence when an indirect object is presented. For example:

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(26) Fo   na baŋ maŋ maale la   fomeŋɛ   boroboro tegitegi lɛ

2SG FUT HAB   bake-PFV FACT 3SG-REFL   bread   HAB

'You can always make yourself bread.'

'**Boroboro**' is the direct object and '**fomeŋɛ**' is the indirect object and shows '**fo**' is the

recipient of '**boroboro**.'

The indirect object is usually used before a direct object.

4.2.3.3 Fomeŋɛ 'Yourself' as the Object of a Postposition

Fomeŋɛ as an object of the postposition is an object introduced by a postposition. For

example:

(27) **A seŋ ka fo taa yelmeŋɛ ne fomeŋɛ**

AUX that 2SG have true with 2SG-REFL

'You need to be true to yourself.'

Fomeŋɛ as an object of the postposition comes after a posposition. For example:

4.2.3.4. Yourself' as a Subject Complement

Fomeŋɛ can be a subject complement after the linking verbs. The subject complement

is used to complete the subject. For example:

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(28)　N　　baŋ　ka　　fo ba booɔrɔ　　　lɛ　　fomeŋɛ.

　　　　1SG understand that 2SG NEG feel-PFV　　like 2SG-REFL

　　　　'I understand that you don't feel yourself.'

' **Fomeŋɛ'** is the subject complement

Fomeŋɛ as a subject complement is used after linking verbs. For example:

4.2.3.5.　Foomeŋɛ 'yourself' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Foomeŋɛ can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. Here the emphatic pronouns in Dagaare is functioning as the doer of the action in the sentence. For example:

(29)　**Foomeŋɛ**　　　　**la**　**mɛ**　**o?**

　　　　2SG-REFL.EMPH　　FACT build-PFV 3SG

　　　　Did you build it yourself?

(30)　**Foomeŋɛ**　　　　**la**　**tere**　　**a**　　**lɛtɛ.**

　　　　2SG-REFL.EMPH　　FACT deliver-PST　　DEF letter

　　　　'You delivered the letter yourself.'

Foomeŋɛ as an emphatic pronoun begins the sentence, or after the subject. In this case, the subject pronoun '**foo**' is needed. For example:

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(31) Foomeŋɛ   boɔle   o.

2SG-REFL.EMPH call-PFV 1SG

'You yourself called her.'

4.2.4.0. Omeŋɛ 'Itself' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Omeŋɛ as a reflexive pronoun is used when the subject and the object both refer to the third-person neutral subject **'o.'** **Omeŋɛ** can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of a postposition. **Omeŋɛ** as a reflexive pronoun can also be a subject complement.

Here are its functions and some examples:

4.2.4.1 Omeŋɛ 'Itself' as a Direct Object

Omeŋɛ as a reflexive pronoun is used to receive the action of the verb, so it acts as a direct object. For example:

(32) O diebie   lɛnne   la   omeŋɛ.

3SG cat   lick.PST   FACT 3SG-REFL

'His cat licked itself.'

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(33)   **Vaa   maŋ   leɛmaale la   omeŋɛ?**

Leave HAB reproduce FACT 3SG-REFL

'Does a leave reproduce itself?'

'omeŋɛ' is the direct object of the sentence.

Omeŋɛ as a direct object is placed after the verb.

4.2.4.2 'Omeŋɛ' Itself' as an Indirect Object

Omeŋɛ as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object. For example:

(34)   **A   teɛ maŋ   ko   la   omeŋɛ   bondirii mine**

DEF   tree HAB give-PFV FACT   3SG-REFL   food some

'The tree gives itself some nutrient.'

(35)   **A   soɔŋaa maale la   omeŋɛ   ɔge.**

DEF rabbit make-PFV FACT 3SG-REFL   nest

'The rabbit makes itself a nest.'

'ɔge' is the direct object and '**omeŋɛ**' is the indirect object and shows that **'a soɔŋaa'** is the recipient of **'ɔge.'**

The indirect object is usually used before a direct object

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4.2.4.3 Omeŋɛ 'Itself' as the Object of a Postposition

Omeŋɛ as the object of a postposition is introduced by a postposition. For example:

(36)   A   diebie   za   la   bɔl   ko omeŋɛ

        DEF   cat   throw-PFV   FACT   ball   give 3SG-REFL

        'The cat throws a ball to itself.'

Omeŋɛ as the object of a postposition comes **after** a postposition.

4.2.4.4 'Omeŋɛ' as a Subject Complement

Omeŋɛ can be a subject complement if it is used after the linking verbs. The subject complement completes the subject and the meaning of the sentence. For example:

(37)   A   baa na   so   la   omeŋɛ ka   o zuŋ   kaa   velaa.

        DEF dog FUT   have FACT 3SG-REFL if 3SG in head treat-PST well

        'The dog becomes itself again if it is treated well'.

Omeŋɛ as a subject complement is used after the linking verbs. For example:

4.2.4.5 'Omeŋɛ' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Omeŋɛ can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. Emphatic pronouns emphasize the doer of the action. Since its function is to emphasize the subject, it can be left out. For example:

(38)   A   baa omeŋɛ   la   yuo   a dendɔre

DEF dog 3SG-REFL FACT open-PST DEF door

'The dog itself opened the door.'

(39)   A   baa yuo   la   a   dendɔre onameŋɛ

DEF   dog open-PST FACT DEF   door 3SG-REFL

'The dog opened the door itself.'

Omeŋɛ/onameŋɛ as an emphatic pronoun comes either at the end of the sentence or after the subject.

4.2.5.0. Temenne 'Ourselves' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Temenne as a reflexive pronoun is used when the subject and the object both refer to the first-person plural subject **'te.'** *Temenne* can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of a postposition. **Temenne** is also a subject complement. Here are its uses and some examples:

4.2.5.1 'Temenne' as a Direct Object

Temenne as a direct object is used to receive the action of the verb. For example:

(40)   **A seŋ ka   te   siri faa   temenne**

        AUX   that   1PL ready defend   1PL-REFL

        'We need to get ready to defend ourselves.'

'Temenne' is used to show **te** *'te'* receives the action of **'faa.'**

(41)   **A seŋ ka te pɛnne temenne.**

        AUX that 1PL rest 1PL-REFL

        'It is enough to rest ourselves.'

Temenne as a direct object is placed after the verb.

'temenne' is after **'faa**.'
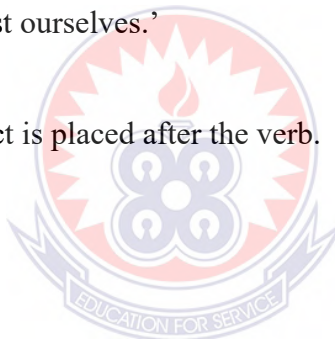
4.2.5.2 Temenne'Ourselves' as an Indirect Object

Temenne *(Ourselves)* as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object. For example:

(42)   **Te   wuli   la   temenne Dagaare**

        1PL teach-PST FACT 1PL-REFL Dagaare

        'We taught ourselves Dagaare.'

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'**Dagaare**' is a direct object and '**temenne**' as an indirect object shows '**te**' is the recipient of '**Dagaare**.'

(43) **Maa** **ne** **n** **ma** **sɛge** **la** **temenne lɛtɛ.**

1SG and 1SG mother write-PST FACT 1PL-REFL letter

'My mother and I wrote ourselves letters.'

The indirect object is usually used before a direct object. For example:

(44) **A veɛleŋ ka te da temenne kyɔɔtaare mine.**

'**temenne** ' is the indirect object and comes before the direct object '*kyɔɔtaare mine*.'

4.2.5.3. 'Teneemenne' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Teneemenne as an emphatic pronoun emphasizes the doer of the action. For example:

(45) **Tenee menne** **na baŋ toŋ** **a** **toma ŋa.**

1PL-REFL.EMPH AUX do-PFV DEF work this

'We ourselves can do this work.'

'**Tenee menne**' emphasizes

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(46)   O kpaale   la   ka a seŋ ka te bebe tenee menne.

3SG insist   FACT that AUX 1PL there 1PL-REFL.EMPH

'He insisted that we need to be there ourselves.'

Temenne (Ourselves) as an emphatic pronoun comes either at the end of the sentence or after the subject.

4.2.6.0. 'Bamenne (Themselves)' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Bamenne as a reflexive pronoun is used when the subject and the object both refer to the third-person plural subject '**ba**.' *Bamenne* can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of a postposition. *Bamenne* can also be a subject complement. Here are its uses and some examples:
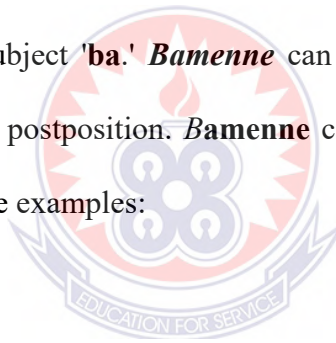
4.2.6.1 'Bamenne' as a Direct Object

Bamenne as a direct object receives the action of the verb. For example:

(47)   Ba bɔɔle   la   bamenne   a bikaareba.

3PL call-PFV FACT 3PL-REFL   DEF guardians

'They call themselves the guardians.'

'**bamenne**' is the direct object.

(48)   Ayuo ane   Ayɔɔ nɔŋ   la   bamenne

Ayuo and   Ayɔɔ love.PFV FACT 3PL-REFL

'Ayuo and Ayɔɔ loved themselves.'

Bamenne as a direct object is positioned after the verb. For example:

(49)   Ba   nɔŋ   la   bamenne.
3PL love-PFV FACT 3PL-REFL
'They love themselves.'
'**bamenne**' is after '**nɔŋ**.'

4.2.6.2 'Bamenne' as an Indirect Object

Bamenne as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object. For example:

(50)   Ba ko la bamenne pɛnnoo belaa.

3PL give-PST FACT 3PL-REFL rest some

'They gave themselves some rest.'

'**pɛnnoo belaa.**' is the direct object and '**bamenne**' is the indirect object.

Bamenne as the indirect object is usually used **before** a direct object. For example:

'**bamenne**' is used before the direct object '**pɛnnoo belaa**.'

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4.2.6.3 Bamenne 'Themselves' as the Object of a Postposition

Bamenne as an object of the postposition is introduced by a postposition. For example:

(51)   Ba   de   la   yiritoma mine ko bamenne

3PL give.PST FACT homework some PP 3PL-REFL

'They gave some homework to themselves.'

4.2.6.4 'Themselves' as a Subject Complement

Bamenne can be a subject complement if it is used after the linking verbs. For example:

(52)   Ba   ba so   bamenne

3PL NEG feel 3PL-REFL

'They don't feel like themselves.'

'**So'** is a linking verb.

Bamenne 'Themselves' as a subject complement is used after the linking verbs.

4.2.6.5 Bamenne 'Themselves' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Banamenne as an emphatic pronoun emphasizes the doer of the action and can be omitted without any changes to the meaning of the sentence. For example:

(53) **A yeere menne la maale a mapo.**

DEF twins REFL FACT DEF map

'The twins themselves made the map'.

Bamenne as an emphatic pronoun is positioned either at the end of the sentence or after the subject

4.2.7.0. *Yɛmenne* 'Yourselves' as a Reflexive Pronoun

Yɛmenne as a reflexive pronoun is used when the subject and the object both refer to the second-person plural subject '**yɛ**.' *Yɛmenne* can be the direct object, the indirect object, or the object of preposition. *Yɛmenne* is also a subject complement. Here are its uses and some examples:
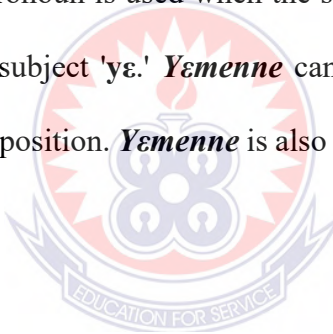
4.2.7.1 '*Yɛmenne* ' as a Direct Object

Yɛmenne as a reflexive pronoun is used to receive the action of the verb. For example:

(54) **Yɛ   mage la   yɛmenne.**

2PL paint-PST FACT 2PL-REFL

'You painted yourselves.'

Yɛmenne as a direct object shows who receives the action of **'magoo.'**

Yɛmenne as a direct object comes after the verb.

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4.2.7.2 *Yɛmenne* **'Yourselves' as an Indirect Object**

Yɛmenne as an indirect object is used to show who receives the direct object, so an indirect object always comes with a direct object. For example:

(55) **Yɛ   na   maala   la   yɛmenne boroboro ayi**

3SG FUT   bake.IMPFV   FACT 3SG-REFL bread two

'You should make yourselves two bread.'

(56) **A   veɛlɛ la   yɛ da yɛmenne   kyɔɔtaare mine**

PART good FACT   2PL buy 2PL-REFL   gifts   some

'It is good to buy yourselves some gifts.'

'kyɔɔtaare mine' is the direct object and '**yɛmenne'** an indirect object.

'boroboro ayi ' is the direct object and '**yɛmenne**' is the indirect object and shows 'yɛ' is the recipient of **'boroboro ayi'**

4.2.7.3. Yɛneemenne 'Yourselves' as an Emphatic Pronoun

Yɛneemenne '*Yourselves'* as an emphatic pronoun emphasizes the subject and if it is omitted, the meaning of the sentence is still complete. For example:

(57) **Yɛ   koŋ toɔ   a   toma zaa toŋ yɛneemenne.**

2PL NEG AUX   DEF work all do-PFV 2PL-REFL

'You can't do all the work yourselves.'

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(58)   Yɛneemenne na baŋ e bonzaa

2PL-REFL AUX achieve anything

'You yourselves can achieve anything.'

4.3. The syntax of Dagaare pronouns, reflexive pronouns and Binding principles

In this sub-section of the thesis, I look at the syntax (distribution) of the reflexive pronouns in Dagaare and how their syntax can be described using the Binding principles. Thus, I focus on how the binding principles A and B are able to account for the distribution of the Dagaare reflexives and minimally the pronouns. In my chapter two, which was on the literature review, I showed that whilst the principle A of the Binding Theory outlines the distribution of reflexive pronouns, the Principle B deals with the distribution of pronouns. I illustrate the distribution of Dagaare reflexive pronouns in the data in (59) below.

(59)   a.   **Dery$_i$ to   la   o   meŋɛ$_i$**

Dery   insult-PFV   FACT 3SG   self

Dery has insulted himself.

b.   **Martina$_i$ saã   la   o   meŋɛ$_i$**

Martina   destroy-PFV FACT   3SG   self

Martina has destroyed herself

c.   **A   pɔge-ba$_i$ nyɛ   la   ba   menne$_i$**

DEF pɔge-PL   see-PFV FACT   3PL   selves

The women saw themselves yesterday

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In the sentences in (59a) through (59c), all the sentences are grammatical because the reflexive pronouns in those sentences, which are **o meŋεᵢ** and **ba menneᵢ** have their antecedents, which meet the basic requirements for the distribution of reflexive pronouns. These two basic requirements are (i) they have antecedents (preceding nouns) within the same clause (which, as observed above, is the subject of the clause) and (ii) the antecedents and the reflexives have the same grammatical features. For instance, whereas in (59a-59b) the antecedent is singular, the reflexive pronouns are also singular since the vice versa will lead to ungrammatical sentences.

Unlike the reflexive pronouns, pronouns do not need to have their antecedents in a sentence since they can either refer to a noun that is already in the sentence or refer to something else that is outside the sentence in Dagaare. Consider the example I have given in (60) here.

(60) a. **[Konaaᵢ baŋ   [ka Bayuoⱼ to/   toorɔ   oᵢ/ₖ   la]]**
          Konaa   knows that Bayuo insult-PFV/insult-IMPFV 3SG FACT
          Konaa knows that Bayuo insults/is insulting him/her.

      b. **[Bodomoᵢ   yeli   [ka Deryⱼ to   oᵢ/ₖ   la]]**
          Bodomo   say-PFV that Dery   insult-PFV   3SG   FACT
          Bodomo said that Dery has insulted him/her.

I say that the data in (59) show that the syntax of the reflexive pronouns in the Dagaare language is in line with principles A and B of the Government and Binding theory. This explains why the sentences in (60), the pronouns in the complex sentences can be for

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the subject in the complex sentence or something outside the sentence. In sentence (60), it is clear that the pronoun, **o** is free in its clause structure. Accordingly, it is observed from the co-indexization that it is possible for the pronominal to refer to the subject of the independent clause, which is either **Konaa** (60a) or to an item labeled $_k$ which is an item not mentioned within the clausal structure or domain. I have a similar explanation for the sentence in (60b), where the pronominal **o**, meaning *him*, could refer to the subject of the independent clause, Bodomo, or to any item that is outside the clausal structure. These sentences are nevertheless grammatical, as they do not defy the binding principle B, which asserts that a pronominal and its potential antecedent may be found within the same clausal structure and that it is possible for the pronoun to refer to an entity outside the sentence.

In study of reflexive pronouns, Bodomo (1997) also says that there are rules on the syntax of reflexive since they are to be in the same clause/sentence with their antecedents. This is what the syntacticians call the governing domain. This is why Bodomo (1997) explains that the acceptance of the sentence in (61a) as a correct one is because the antecedent **Ayɔɔ** and the reflexive pronoun *omenga$_i$* 'himself' are in the same clause in (61a*)*. However, the ungrammaticality of (61b, 61c) illustrates the locality requirement in the distribution of reflexive pronouns.

(61)   a.   **Ayɔɔ$_i$ nyɛ   la   o   menga$_i$**

            Ayɔ   *see*. PFV   FACT   her   self

            'Ayor has seen herself.'

b.   ***Ayɔɔ$_i$ tɛɛ-rɛ**   **ka**   **o**   **menga$_i$**   **veɛla**   **la**

      Ayɔɔ   think-IMP   that   her   self   be.beautiful FACT

      'Ayor thinks that herself is beautiful.'

c.   ***o menga$_i$**   **nyɛ**   **la**   **Ayɔɔ$_i$**

      her self   *see*.PFV   FACT   Ayor

      'Herself has seen Ayor.'   (Bodomo 1997: 137-138).

In accounting for the grammaticality of (61a), Bodomo (1997) contends that it is because *Ayor* (the antecedent) and its reflexive *o menga* 'himself' are within the clause thereby fulfilling the syntax of reflexives in Dagaare. However, it is also argued by Bodomo (1997) that the ungrammaticality of (61b) is because the antecedent **(Ayor)** and its reflexive pronoun *o menga* 'herself' are not found within the same clause and for that matter the clause mate condition on reflexive pronouns is not fulfilled. Such a distributional fact consequently leads to a violation of Principle A of the binding theory, which stipulates that the reflexive pronoun must be bound in its binding domain. Moreover, the sentence in (61c) is not grammatical because the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive. This is evident as a support for the point that the occurrence of the antecedent and reflexive pronoun within the same clause is enough for fulfilling the principle A of Binding Principles, as the structural relationship that is shown of the two is important in the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of the sentence. This is because it is what ensures that there is no violation of Principle A.

In the typology of reflexives, research has shown that reflexive pronouns require their reference from a local subject, which is the antecedent. This is why (Haegeman, 1994:

192) argues that "the NP on which a reflexive is dependent for its interpretation is the antecedent of the reflexive." Haegeman (1994: 207) goes on to argue that we use the co-indexation diacritic to indicate that a reflexive and its antecedent have the same NP they refer to and that the reflexive pronouns and their antecedents must always have the same grammatical features including person, number and gender. In our discussions, we would have only the two features since Dagaare does not mark gender in the noun system.

Another issue that is worthy of mention is the claim in the literature (Cole and Hermon, 1998; Yang, 1983; Vikner, 1985), and many more researchers on the cross linguistic study of reflexive pronouns is that when a reflexive is made up of only one morpheme (monomorphemic), they are subject-oriented and can be long-distance bound. On the other hand, when it is also the case that a reflexive pronoun is made up of two morphemes (bimorphemic), as in what we have in Dagaare where the reflexive pronouns consist of a personal pronoun and a reflexive morpheme, they are supposed to be 'clause bound' as they cannot be in a different clause with the noun phase from which they have their reference. This my analysis is in line with the claims of the Binding Theory of (Carnie, 2013; Chomsky 1981) among others.

(62)   a.   John$_i$ knows that Tom$_j$ hates him$_{i/*j}$.

         b.   *John$_i$* knows that *Tom$_j$* hates himself*$_{i/j}$.   (Wang 2011: 89)

Unlike English where long-distance binding is disallowed, and of course in languages like Dagbani and Gurenɛ as we shall soon demonstrate, in Mandarin Chinese long-distance binding is allowed as in (63). This phenomenon of long-distance binding refers to those reflexive pronouns that 'have their antecedents outside their governing categories' Huang (2001). In line with this, it is possible for a reflexive to have its

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antecedent within the local domain or in the higher clause, i.e. the local subject. This syntactic property of the Mandarin Chinese reflexives according to Wang (2011), often results in ambiguity since it is mostly unclear the exact NP antecedent the reflexive pronoun actually picks its reference from.

(63) a.   *John$_i$*   *zhī-dao*   *Tom$_j$*   *tǎo-yan*   *zijǐ$_{i/j}$.*

NAME   know   NAME   hate   REFL

'John knows that Tom hates him/himself.'

b.   *John$_i$*   *zhī-dao*   *Tom$_j$*   *tǎo-yan*   *tā-zijǐ*$_{i/j}$.*

NAME   know   NAME   hate   REFL

'John knows that Tom hates himself.'   (Wang 2011: 89)

As shown by Wang (2011), when the reflexive pronoun is compounded as in the form (*X-zijǐ*), its distribution is similar to what pertains in English as in (63b) and (63b). In the discussions that follow, we investigate their linguistic characterisations in Dagbani and Gurenɛ.

Note that in talking of binding domain, it means an anaphor should be within the same clause (specific syntactic domain). The principles labelled as Principle A, B and C are outlined in (64).

(64)   a. Principle A: An anaphor must be bound in its binding domain.

b. Principle B: A pronoun must be free in its binding domain.

c. Principle C: An R-expression must be free.

(Carnie 2013:157).

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(65). **Te$_i$ koɛ   a noore   te-menne$_i$**

1P1 kill-PFV DEF fowls   1PL-REFL

'We killed the fowl ourselves'

(66)   **Te$_i$ koɛ   a   noɔ   te-meŋɛ$_i$**

1PL   kill-PFV DEF fowl   1PL-REFL

'We killed the fowl ourself'

(67)   **Te$_i$ koɛ   a   noɔ te-menne$_i$**

1PL   kill-PFV DEF   fowl 1PL-REFL

'We killed the fowl ourselves'

(68)   **Te$_i$ koɛ   a   noore   te-meŋɛ$_i$**

1PL   kill-PFV DEF fowls   1PL-REFL

'We kill the fowls oureself'

(69)   **Dɛre$_i$ di la a saabo omeŋɛ$_i$**

Dɛre eat-PFV FACT DEF tz 3SG-REFL

'Dɛre ate the tz himself'

(70)   **A baala$_i$ so la a ko- omeŋɛ$_i$**

DEF patient bath FACT DEF water 3SG-REFL

'The patient bath the water himself'.

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(71)   **A   baaleba**_i   **so**   **la**   **a   ko-   ba menne**_i

DEF patient-PL bath-PFV FACT DEF water 3PL-REFL

'The patients bath the water themselves.'

(72)   ***A   baaleba   so   la   a ko-   ba meŋɛ**

DEF patient-PL bath-PFV FACT DEF water 3PL-REFL

*'The patients bath themselves'

(73)   **A   bileɛ   nyu   la   ko-   omeŋɛ**

DEF baby drink-PFV FACT water 3SG-REFL

'The baby drunk water itself'
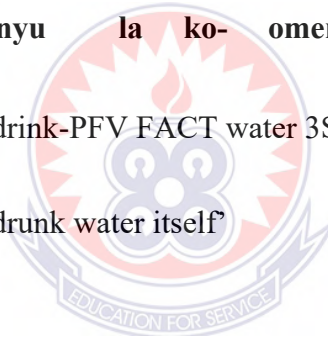
(74)   **A   baala**_i **di   la   a   diibu   omeŋɛ**_i

DEF patient eat-PFV FACT DEF food 3SG-REFL

'The patient ate the food himself'

In (66) singular object in the clause that has plural antecedents, takes singular reflexivizer. In addition, in clause (67) is semantically not accepted because of the singular object 'fowl' and the plural form of the reflexivizer. In this, a plural reflexive

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agrees with its plural antecedents but the antecedent is acting as a singular entity hence, agrees with a singular reflexive.

According to Faltz (1977), reflexive pronouns do not occur as semantic subjects of clauses. In English and other Ghanaian languages, reflexives pronouns do not occur as semantic subjects of clauses. For instance, in Dagbani Issah (2011) argues that clauses of that kind are ungrammatical as in (75) and (76) below;

(75)   **m-maŋa ku-ri**   **bi-hi maa pam**

         1SG-self kill-imperf child-pl DEF inten

(76)   **Bɛ-maŋa tu-ri**   **bɛ-maŋa**

         3pl-self insult-imperf 3pl-self

                      (Issah 2011 p.135)

Dagaare in the hand differ from this phenomenon. The data below illustrate this.

(77)   **N-meŋɛ**   **la**   **ko**   **a**   **boɔ.**

         1SG-REFL   FACT   kill-PFV   DEF   goat

         'I kill the goat myself'

(78)   **Ba-menne**   **la**   **di**   **a**   **saabo**

         3PL-REFL   FACT   eat-PFV   DEF   TZ (Tuozaafi)

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(79)   **F99-meŋɛ**   **la**   **ŋmɛ**   **a**   **bɛŋ?**

    2SP-REFL   FACT   trash   DEF. beans

    'You trash the beans yourself?'

(80)   **O-meŋɛ**   **la**   **di**   **a**   **saabo**

    3SG-REFL   FACT eat-PFV   DEF   TZ

    'He/she ate the TZ him/herself'

(81)   **Omeŋɛ**   **la**   **da**   **iri**   **gaa Yelfaare zambɛreŋ (BS1-13)**

    3SG-REFL FACT PST get up go Yefaare blacksmith

    'He went to Yelfaare blacksmith himself'.

(82)   **Fõõ meŋatɔre zaa baŋ ka a Naa kpeɛrɛ la a gaŋne na (DS2-17)**

    2SG-REFL all know that DEF chief stay-PROG.

    'You know yourself that the chief stayed over there'.

It is clear in the above data that Dagaare reflexives pronouns can be contrary to the syntactic expectations.

4.3.1 Mono-clausal sentences/simple sentences

Here, the anaphor is bind by its coindex antecedent in a simple sentence.

The following data illustrate mono-clausal sentences/simple sentences.

(83). Dakoraa$_i$ `meɛrɛ   la   o-meŋɛ$_i$

Dakoraa   beat-IMPFV, FACT 3SG-REFL

'Dakoraa is beating himself'

(84). Badɛrei da dɔlle la o-meŋɛi-(BS1-9)

Spider PST stretch-PFV FACT   3SG-REFL

"Spider had stretched itself."

(85). . *O-meŋɛi `meɛrɛ la Dakoraai

3SG-REFL beat-IMPFV, FACT Dakoraa

'*Himself is beating Dakoraa'

(86). *O-meŋɛi dɔlle la Badɛrei

3SG-REFL PST da   stretch-PFV FACT s

"*Itself had stretched Bad1re."

(87). *A biirii koɛ omeŋɛi zenɛ.

DEF child-PL kill-PFV. 3SG-REFL ADJUN

* 'The children killed him/herself today'

In sentences, (83) and (84) show clearly that they are grammatically as the reflexives have their antecedents within the same clauses. *Omeŋɛ* in both sentences are reflexives whose antecedents are *Dakoraa* and **Badɛre** respectively. Also, the reflexives pronoun in each case is bound by the subject of the sentence. The reflexives are bound by **Dakoraa** and *Bad1re* 'Spider' respectively. The reflexives in both are bound to their

antecedents as indicated by the co-index '*i*'. Both clauses obey the Binding Principle A. It is also seen from the co-indexation in (87) that if **omeŋɛ** meaning 'him/herself', should have *a biiri* meaning 'the children', as its antecedent, the resulting structure will be ungrammatical. Also, sentences (85) and (86) are ungrammatical because the violate principle A. **omeŋɛ** cannot coreferent to Dakoraa and Badɛre respectively. It is clearly that Dakoraa and Badɛre (antecedents) and **omeŋɛ** (reflexives) are within the same governing domain, the antecedents do not c-command the reflexives.

4.3.2 Complex-clausal sentences/simple sentences

Again, the following data illustrate the distribution of reflexives in Dagaare complex clauses/sentences.

(88). O$_i$ yeli ka Ayuo$_j$ ko-ɛ omeŋɛ$_j$.

3SG say that Ayuo kill-PFV 3SG-REFL

'She says that Ayuo killed herself'

(89). *O$_i$ yeli ka Ayuo$_j$ koɛ omeŋɛ$_i$.

3SG say that Ayuo kill-PFV 3SG-REFL

'She says that Ayuo killed herself'

(90). Te$_i$ baŋ ka a biiri$_j$ koɛ ba-menne$_j$

1Pl know that DEF. Child-Pl kill-PFV 1PL-REFL

'We know that the children killed themselves'

(91). *Te$_i$ baŋ ka a biiri$_j$ ko1 te-menne$_i$

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1PL know that DEF child-Pl   kill-PFV 1Pl-REFL

'*We know that the children killed ourselves'

I observe from the above data that (89) and (91) are ungrammatical because both sentences violated the locality constraint imposed on complex reflexives. The violation emanates from the failure of the antecedent and its anaphor to be in the same clause. The reflexive is located in the embedded clause in (89) is bound to the antecedent of the matrix clause **o** 's/he' which is within a different clausal domain because of the intervening complementizer phrase (CP). In (89), it attempting to co-index the upper subject **o** 's/he' with the object of 'killed' results in illicit sentence. Also, the reflexive **omeŋɛ** 'himself' cannot have the subject of the matrix clause **o** 's/he' as its antecedent. The illicitness of sentence (91) is similar to (89), where **Te** 'we' and **temenne** 'ourselves' cannot be co-referential because they are in different clauses.
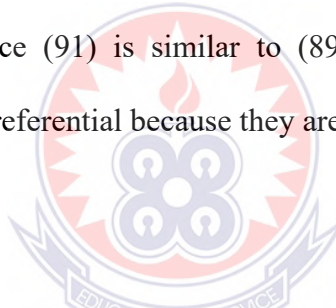
4.3.3 A singular reflexive agrees with plural antecedents

In Dagaare, reflexives have a pragmatic meaning where sometimes a singular reflexive agrees with plural antecedents that function as an entity. Furthermore, the object also plays an important role in the clause. In a case where there is a singular object in the clause that has a plural antecedent, the reflexives take the singular reflexivizer to match it. The following data illustrate it.

(92). **Te$_i$ koɛ   a   noore   te-menne$_i$**

        1P1 kill-PFV DEF   fowls   1PL-REFL

'We killed the fowl ourselves'

(93). **Te$_i$ koɛ   a   noɔ   te-meŋɛ$_i$**

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      1PL   kill-PFV DEF fowl   1PL-REFL

      'We killed the fowl ourself'

In (92) singular object in the clause that has plural antecedents, takes singular reflexivizer. Also, in clause (93) is semantically not accepted because of the singular object **nɔɔ** 'fowl' and the plural form of the reflexivizer. In this, a plural reflexive agrees with its plural antecedents but the antecedent is acting as a singular entity hence, agrees with a singular reflexive.

Again, the following data supported the above.

(94). Dakoraa ane Bayuo_i nɔŋ-ɛɛ   ba-menne_i

  Dakoraa CONJ Bayuo   love-PFV 3PL-REFL

 'Dakoraa and Bayuo loved themselves'

(95). *Dakoraa ane Bayuo_i   nɔŋ-ɛɛ   m-meŋɛ_i

  Dakoraa CONJ Bayuo   love-PFV 3SG-REFL

 'Dakoraa and Bayuo loved myself'

Dakoraa and **Bayuo** is plural antecedent. This makes sentence (94) grammatical. On the other hand, sentence (95) is ungrammatical. The fact that the reflexive pronoun ***m-meŋɛ*** that is singular should takes the plural antecedent.

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4.3.4 The subject and object arguments of reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns also show that subject and object arguments have the same referent. Wang (2011) argued that since they occur in argument positions, they cannot be ignored. The following show how reflexive agrees with object of the same domain.

(96). Azaakandire_i   yeli   te_j   la   temenne_j   yεlε

    Azaakandire   tell.PFV   PL   FACT 3PL-REFL   matter

  'Azaakandire told us about ourselves.'

(97). *Temenne   yeli   te   la   Azaakandire yεlε

    3PL-REFL   tell.PFV   3PL   FACT Azaakandire   matter

    '*Ourselves told us about Azaakandire'.

In the above data, I observe that (96) is grammatical. It also followed the principle A that the reflexive must bound in the same clause. It is argument of the reflexive with the object of the sentence. Sentence (97) is ungrammatical because it does not obey principle A. the reflexive does not agreed or bond with either the object or the antecedent of the sentence.

4.3.5 Reflexive argument with indirect object and direct object

A direct object is a word that follows a transitive verb and receives the action of the verb in a sentence while an indirect object is a noun phrase referring to the person or thing taking the transitive verb's action but is not the subject of the sentence. The following show how reflexive argument with indirect object and direct object the same domain.

(98). Ayuo ko   la   a   bibiri bamenne

    Ayuo   give-PFV FACT DEF child-PL 3PL-REFL

'Ayuo gave the children themselves'

(99). *Bamenne   ko   la   a   bibiri Ayuo

   3PL-REFL give-PFV FACT DEF child-PL Ayuo

'*Themselves gave the children Ayuo'

In sentence (98) is grammatical. It also followed the principle A. It is argument of the reflexive is the indirect object c-commanded with the object of the sentence. Sentence (99) is ungrammatical because it does not obey principle A. the reflexive does not agreed or bond with either the object or the antecedent of the sentence.
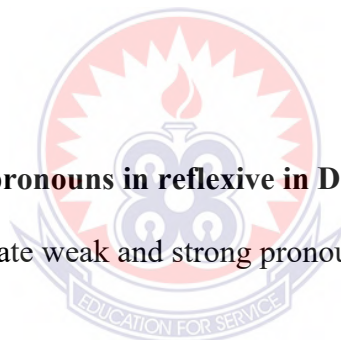
4.3.5 Weak and strong pronouns in reflexive in Dagaare

The following data illustrate weak and strong pronouns in reflexive in Dagaare.

(100) Ba$_i$ teɛrɛ ka   banamenne$_i$ veɛlɛ   la

   3PL   think   that   3PL-REFL.EMPH   good   FACT

   'They think that they themselves are good'

(101). *Ba$_i$ teɛrɛ   ka   ba-menne$_i$ veɛlɛ la

      3PL   think.IMPFV   that   3PL-REFL good FACT

      '*They think that themselves are good'

In sentence (100) is grammatical because it contains a strong pronoun **'bana'**. Semantically, it seems to intensified the antecedent than the weak pronoun '***ba'*** in sentence (101).

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4.4. Properties shared with intensifiers

Intensifiers and reflexives share formal morphological similarity (have similar forms) in many of the world's languages. Consequently, the assumption in the literature has been that knowledge of intensifiers is crucial in understanding the linguistic characteristics of reflexivity, suggesting that these two anaphoric expressions are better understood if studied in tandem. The focus of this section is to outline the definitions of intensifiers and reflexives, to outline the three principles of binding theory, and to include the definition and illustration of c-command since these concepts are relevant to understanding later discussion in this work.

Moravcsik (1972) first introduced the word intensifier (cf. also Siemund 2000; Konig 1991; Edmondson & Plank 1978) and defined it based on certain linguistic properties including their prosodic, syntactic and semantic characterization (http://wals.info/feature/47) and based on cross-linguistic considerations. Intensifiers, which are analysed as 'stressed anaphorically dependent element' in the light of Constantinou (2013), have been demonstrated in the literature to have three different interpretations including: adnominal, exclusive and inclusive (Constantinou 2013; Gast 2006; Eckardt 2001; Siemund 2000 among others.) The data below exemplify the three different interpretations of intensifiers for the adnominal in (102a), inclusive (102b) and the exclusive (102c).

(102) a. It wasn't the director's secretary who went to the meeting.) The director *herself* went.

  b. Apart from Bill,) John has *himself* built a house, even though he wasn't happy about it.

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c.   John did not build this house with Bill's help). John built it *himself*.)

(Constantinou 2013: 91).

Working with the assumption that the distributional variation of intensifiers/emphatic reflexives determine their interpretation, Constantinou (2013) accounts for the semantics of these three different intensifiers as shown in (102). Constantinou (2013) proposed that when the intensifier is adjoined to its antecedent as in (102a), it is interpreted as 'in person.' He further opines that when an intensifier immediately follows the auxiliary as in (102b), it has an interpretation similar to additive focus particles (e.g., also) and finally that when the intensifier occurs in the post-verbal domain as in (102c), it is interpreted to mean that the action that is denoted by the predicate was 'carried out without help.' (Constantinou 2013: 91).

Reflexives are anaphoric elements in the sense that they depend on DP antecedents for their meaning. According to Wang (2011), the most common use of the reflexive pronoun is to show that subject and object arguments have the same referent. Wang (2011) further proposed that because they occur in argument positions, they cannot be omitted.

Notwithstanding the fact that they are characterised to be prominent in argument positions, Wang (2011) also admits that on rare occasions, reflexives do occur in non-argument positions. Adopting a definition of reflexive pronouns based on the World Atlas, Wang (2011:10) contends that: "Reflexive pronouns (for 'reflexive anaphors') are expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is co-referential with (or bound by) the subject, i.e. expressions

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like German **sich,** Russian **sebja,** Turkish **kendi,** Mandarin **zijǐ,** English *X-self."* He

illustrates this with the English example in (103).

(103)   **They**i wore immaculate clothes, regarded **themselves**i as an elite and behaved

   like gods. [BNC, ARP 38]   (Wang 2011:10)

Wang (2011) explains that in the English example in (103) the subject argument *they*

and the direct object *themselves* are co-referential, in the sense that the referents of the

subject and self-form are the same and target of the predicate 'regard.' Regarding the

distribution, the reflexive anaphor and its antecedent are invariably clause bound and

that the reflexive is obligatory.

It is noted that untriggered reflexives typically occur in contexts in which contrast or

emphasis is meant to be expressed (Baker: 1995). Here, a property that they share with

intensifiers evoke alternatives to the value of the noun phrase they interact with. The

untriggered self-forms fill a gap in the distribution properties of the intensifiers. In the

subject positions, the intensifiers are combined with personal pronouns. The data below

illustrate in Dagaare:

   (104)   **Ona meŋɛ la   toŋ   a   toma**

      3SG REFL FACT do-PST DEF work

      'He himself did the work.'

   (105)   ***Ona omeŋɛ   la   toŋ   a   toma**

      3SG 3SG-REFL FACT do-PST DEF work

      'He himself did the work.'

   (106)   **Ona meŋɛ la   ko   a   waabo**

3SG REFL FACT ko-PFV DEF   snake

'She herself killed the snake.'

(107)   ***Ona omeŋɛ**   **la**   **ko**   **a**   **waabo**

3SG 3SG-REFL FACT ko-PFV DEF   snake

'She herself killed the snake.'

(108)   **Bana menne la**   **nyɛ**   **a**   **nenseɛ**

3PL REFL FACT nyɛ-PFV DEF ghost

'They themselves saw the ghost.'

(109)   ***Bana bamenne**   **la**   **nyɛ**   **a**   **nenseɛ**

3PL   3SG-REFL FACT nyɛ-PFV DEF ghost

'They themselves saw the ghost.'

What is surprising is that, the untriggered reflexives are in fact fused in the combinations of personal pronouns and intensifiers, i.e. the personal pronoun has been incorporated into (or omitted before) the intensifier as it were, since the latter contains a pronoun as part of its morphological make-up anyway (him + self, her + her, them + selves). As (104), (106) and (108) are accepted in Dagaare, (105), (107) and (109) are syntactically not accepted in Dagaare.

4.4.1The distribution of reflexives/self-intensifiers

Here, my focus on the distribution of strong/emphatic reflexives/self-intensifiers in Dagaare. In Dagaare, self-intensifier morpheme **-meŋɛ/meŋa** is syntactically dependent element. Unlike reflexives, the intensifier markers are sensitive to locality

effects, since they are c-commanded by the reflexive pronouns/nominal items from which they take their reference. The following data in (110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115), the intensifiers must be c-commanded by a nominal element which serves as an antecedent, that is in (110, 112 and 114). In (111, 113 and 115), the reflexive pronoun and the intensifier are not in a c-commanding relationship, therefore the required locality requirement is violated, and the resulting structure becomes ungrammatical.

(110)   Maa   meŋɛ la   nyɛ   a   bɔɔ.

         1SG-INT   Self   FACT see-PFV DEF goat

         'I myself have seen the goat'

(111)   *Maa   la   nyɛ   a   bɔɔ meŋɛ.

         1SG-INT   FACT see-PFV DEF goat Self

         'I myself have seen the goat'

(112)   Bana menne la bɔ a yɛlɛ

         3PL-INT selves FACT cause-PFV DEF problem

         'They themselves caused the problem'

(113)   *Bana   la   bɔ   a   yɛlɛ menne

         3PL-INT FACT cause-PFV DEF problem selves

         'They themselves caused the problem'

(114)   Fo9   meŋɛ   la   bɔ   a   yɛlɛ?

         2SG-INT self   FACT cause-PFV DEF problem

         'You yourself caused the problem'

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(115)   *Fo9   la   bɔ   a   yɛlɛ meŋɛ?

2SG-INT   FACT cause-PFV   DEF problem self

'You yourself caused the problem'

In (110, 112 and 114) there is a requirement for a pronoun to dominate the self-intensifiers immediately. The ungrammaticality of (111, 113 and 115) because the intensifiers are not adjoined to the DPs they intensify. The intensifiers required to be c-commanded by the NPs that they take their reference from, for which they are syntactically dependent elements.

Another thing that is critical about the intensifiers in Dagaare is that, there is vowel lengthening in the first and second person singular and plural.

To conclude, the self-intensifiers are sensitive to locality constraints because they required to be in a c-commanding relationship with the nominals that they emphasise.
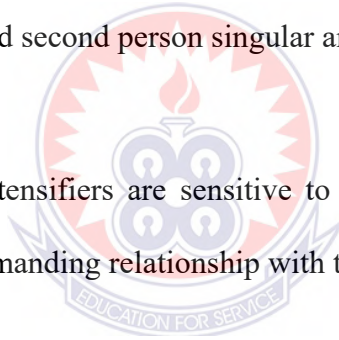
4.5 The predication condition

Meŋɛ/menne *'Self/selves'* and its antecedent must be semantic or syntactic co-arguments. The data below illustrate complementary distribution of it.

(118)   Ayuo$_i$ teɛre   la   omeŋɛ$_i$ yɛlɛ

Ayuo think FACT 3SG-REFL matter

'She thinks about herself.'

(119)   O teɛre   la   o endaa yɛlɛ

3SG think FACT 3SG body matter

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'She thinks about her skin/body'

(120) **Dakoraa_i yelee** **omeŋɛ_i** **yɛlɛ**

Dakoraa talk-IMPFV 3SG-REFL matter

'Dakoraa talked about himself'

(121) **Te yeli** **ne** **la** **Dakoraa omeŋɛ** **yɛlɛ**

3PL talk-IMPFV CONJ FACT Dakoraa 3PL-REFL matter

'We talked with Dakoraa about himself'

The difference between the four cases is that the antecedents are subject in (118), (119), (120) but not in (121).
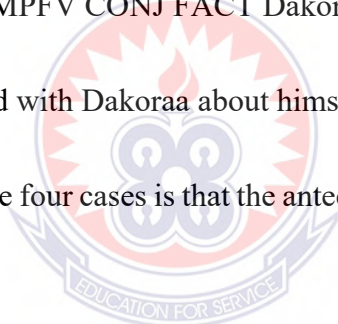
This explains why reflexive pronouns and their antecedents mandatorily occur in the same governing domain. The grammaticality of (122a) and ungrammaticality of (122b, 122c) illustrates the locality requirement in the distribution of reflexive pronouns.

(122) a. **Ayɔɔ_i nyɛ** **la** **o** **menga_i**

Ayɔɔ *see*. PFV FACT her self

'Ayor has seen herself.'

b. ***Ayɔɔ_i tɛɛ-rɛ** **ka** **o** **menga_i veɛla** **la**

Ayɔɔ think-IMP that her self be.beautiful FACT

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'Ayor thinks that herself is beautiful.'

c.	****o menga_i***	***nyɛ***	***la***	**Ayɔɔ_i**
	her self	*see*.PFV	FACT	Ayor

'Herself has seen Ayor.'   (Bodomo 1997: 137-138).

In accounting for the grammaticality of (122a), Bodomo (1997) contends that it is because ***Ayor*** (the antecedent) and its reflexive ***o menga*** 'himself' are in the same clause. On the other hand, he opines that the illicitness of (122b) is attributable to the fact that the antecedent **(Ayor)** and its reflexive pronoun ***o menga*** 'herself' do not occur in the same clause. Such a distributional fact consequently leads to a violation of Principle A of the binding theory, which stipulates that the reflexive pronoun must be bound in its binding domain. In addition, the ungrammaticality of (122c) is because the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive. This buttresses the claim the occurrence of the antecedent and reflexive pronoun within the same clause is enough for fulfilling the principle A of Binding Principles as the structural relationship between the two matters in ensuring that there is no violation of Principle A.

4.6 Summary

The chapter discussed the morphological structure of the Dagaare reflexive pronouns. In the reflexive pronouns in Dagaare, a reflexive morpheme realized as **meŋa/ meŋɛ** 'self'(SG.) and **menne** 'selves'(PL) respectively is attached to the personal pronoun. The chapter delt with the syntax of Dagaare reflexive pronouns using the Government and Binding Theory, which is the theoretical framework of study. The chapter also

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discussed the difference between weak and strong reflexives in Dagaare. Again, the chapter compares the Dagaare reflexives with some of Mabia (Gur) languages.

In summary, Dagaare reflexive pronouns occur as semantic subjects of clauses, the reflexives refer to an antecedent to be grammatical, the reflexive and its antecedent must share the same number properties and the syntax of Dagaare reflexives tally with Binding Principle A.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This final chapter focuses on an overview of the various chapters of this thesis. Thus, I set out to present the several of the different chapter, particularly providing a summary of the issues discussed our findings and then providing some recommendations for future or further studies. As earlier pointed out, the main objective of the thesis was to explore the morphology and syntax of Dagaare reflexives by using the theoretical guidelines of the Government and Binding Theory as proposed by Chomsky and later scholars. Thus, my research was focused on the structural characteristics, morphological properties and then the syntactic interpretation of the reflexive pronouns. In addition, I minimally compared the distribution of the reflexive pronouns with those of the personal pronouns and intensifiers in Dagaare. This chapter is organized follows Section 5.1 outlines a summary of the various chapters that have been discussed in the thesis while section 5.2 offers a summary of findings of the study. In section 5.3, the general conclusions of this research are provided and recommendations for further studies on reflexives are proposed in 5.4.

5.1 Summary of the chapters

This thesis is made up of six chapters. The first chapter is dedication to the general introduction of the study focusing on the motivation of the whole research. Also discussed under the first chapter are a brief introduction of the language under study and its speaker. The background on studies of reflexive pronouns as a category of pronouns in languages of the world was also presented in the introductory chapter. Other themes discussed in the chapter are the statement of the problem based on which the research work was found to be necessary, the objectives of the study, the research questions that are meant to be answered by the researcher by the end of the study, the significance of the research and the scope of the thesis.

In the second chapter, I presented a thorough review of the earlier works that have been done on reflexive pronouns and briefly comment on the issues of reflexive intensifiers, which have same distribution as the reflexive pronouns. In this chapter, the notion of reflexives, pronouns and some definitions of this class of word by some scholars are given a systematic review. In addition, the various ways by which reflexive pronouns have been shown to be derived in some languages of the world are also outlined. This was to help me see which of the strategies is used in forming reflexive pronouns in my data analysis in chapter 4. The forms and distribution of reflexives some African (Ghanaian) languages such as Akan, Dangme, Ewe and Ga, representing the Kwa sub-group of languages was also l reviewed in chapter two. Within the Mabia, formerly called Gur languages, I reviewed the works on Kusaal, Dagbani, Gurene and Dagaare and later showed in my analysis that the properties of reflexives in these languages are close to what happens in the Dagaare language.

The chapter three of my thesis was devoted the methodological issues that formed the basis for the data collection processes in the writing of the thesis. Thus, in this chapter, I discussed the various ways through which the data I used in this study/thesis was obtained. In line with this, I examined and explored issues like my research setting, the population and target population including for the study, the techniques employed in selecting the target population for the study and how data was presented and analyzed for finding answers to the research questions.

In chapter four, I tried to answers the main research questions that guided the study. I was therefore, focused on investigating the morphological and syntactic properties of the Dagaare reflexive pronouns and comparing them with the findings that are also known in some of the languages closely linked to Dagaare. Chapter five concluded the thesis by providing an overview of the main findings and outlining the potential areas for further study.
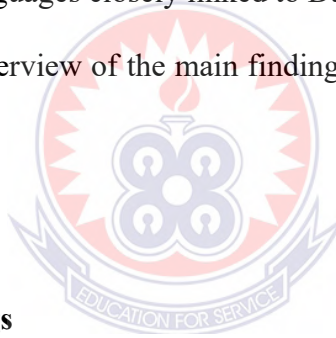
5.2 Summary of Findings

From the study of this topic in Dagaare, the following findings were established about the nature of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare. In the first place, I showed that the reflexive pronouns are not single morphemes. This is because in Dagaare language, we have two morphemes coming together to form the reflexives. These morphemes are the personal pronouns, which is combined with a self-morpheme. My using the term self-morpheme for that morpheme is because it is translated as self just like what is in the English language. This means that the Dagaare reflexive pronouns can also be called bi-morphemic (meaning made up of two different morphemes). My conclusion was that this is what happens in the Ghanaian languages both within the Kwa and Mabia languages. For instance, I saw that for Gurene, Kusaal, Likpakpaanl and Dagbani in all

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the literature I reviewed. It was also the same two morphemes I saw in the Kwa language groups when I reviewed literature on Akan, Ga, Ewe and Dangme.

Apart from the number of morphemes in the reflexives, I also saw that it was possible for the reflexives to distinguish between weak and strong reflexives. This difference is in the morphology (what make them) and their syntax (where they can occur in a sentence) in the Dagaare language. I showed that the thesis and said that the weak ones cannot appear in the subject position whereas the strong ones appear with focus marker **la.** The work of Bodomo (1997) says this same thing about the Dagaare reflexive pronoun system. This distinction produces a corresponding difference in the syntax of the reflexives. Distributionally, reflexives are clause-bound since they occur in the same clause as their antecedents. The Mabia reflexives share morphological and syntactic characteristics as areal languages. I also cast my empirical findings within the theoretical tenets of the Government and Binding Theory and concluded that the reflexives are not allowed in the subject position because their occurrence in that position will violate the Principle B of the governing and binding principles.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, it is worth concluding that the reflexive pronouns of Dagaare are complex morphological items in that that they are composed of a pronoun element together with the morpheme –self, which is a bound element. Thus, unlike the Kwa languages as shown in the literature review where its reflexives are derived using certain items meaning body, in Dagaare like what we have for most Mabia languages, the forming of the reflexives involves personal pronouns and the self-morphemes. We went to examine the distribution (syntactic) properties of the reflexives

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and demonstrated that in Dagaare, the reflexives never appear in the subject position since they always require an antecedent from which they derive their meanings. This is why in any sentence in which the reflexive pronouns occur as a subject, the resulting structure is ungrammatical. This syntactic property of the reflexive pronouns was also seen to be in line with the claims in the literature that bi-morphemic reflexives are local in the sense that they are required to occur in the same clause with their antecedents.

In conclusion, it is certain and worth noting that as part of the aims of this thesis, the outcome of this study has contributed greatly to the study of adverbs in the literature of grammar in Africa, more especially the Mabia (Gur) languages as this is the second attempt among the Mabia (Gur) language group in Ghana. It has also contributed to the documentation, preservation and promotion of Dagaare as a language, since this will now serve as a reference material to all levels of education to aid teaching and learning.
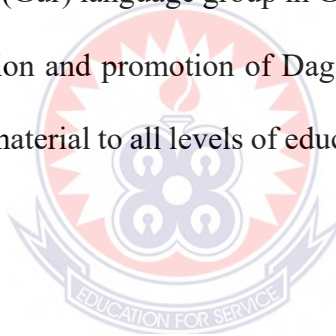
5.4 Recommendation

Though, it can be show from the discussion in chapter four that the setout objectives of the thesis have been achieved, there are still some aspects of reflexive pronouns that did not receive much work in my thesis. I hereby outline some possible areas that might need further research on the study of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare. One of such is the relationship between the behavior (properties) of reflexive pronouns in Dagaare and another class of words, which are called the reflexive intensifiers. As these two classes are close in their linguistic properties, it will be important for further research to show where they are the same and where they are different in the grammar of Dagaare language. Thus, it would be interesting for any future studies on Dagaare reflexives to carefully show the how the morphological and distributional properties of reflexive

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pronouns and reflexive intensifiers are either same or different in the language. This would be important work since such a work is not available in the language yet.

Secondly, the thesis was much concerned with the morphological and syntactic behavior of reflexives in Dagaare without any discussion on their phonological and semantic features. I therefore suggest that future works on the characteristics of reflexives could be extended to the phonological and semantic properties of this class of words so that we get a complete picture of this word class in the language. Thus, it will be interesting to investigate the semantics and phonology of these words as well.

Lastly, I did not pay much attention to the semantics of reflexive pronouns and it would be important for subsequent research works to pay attention to this aspect of the language. Closely linked to this is the fact that it would also be important to provide a systematic investigation of the phenomenon of reflexivity in embedded clauses and see how the distribution may differ or relate especially in the context of Binding Theory.

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http://wals.info/feature/47

APPENDICES

1. N na   wɛle la mmeŋɛ
   I will separate myself.

2. Fo na bɛre la fomeŋɛ
   You will depart yourself.

3. Te na wɛle la temenne
   We will separate ourselves

4. *Te na wɛle la te meŋɛ
   We will separate oureself

5. Dɛre di la a saabo omeŋɛ
   Dɛre ate the Tz himself

6. A baala so la a ko- omeŋɛ
   The patient baths himself.

7. A baaleba so la a ko- bamenne
    The patients bath themselves.

8. A baaleba so la a ko- ba meŋɛ
   The patients bath themself

9. A bileɛ nyu la ko- omeŋɛ
   The baby drank water itself

10. A baala di la a diibu omeŋɛ
    The patient ate the food himself

11. A pɔge zɔ- la a kurwiri omeŋɛ
    The woman rode the bicycle herself

12. Dɛre ane Bayuo ŋmɛ la a naŋnyige bamenne.
    Dɛre and Bayuo beat the thief themselves.

13. Dakoraa da la gane ko omeŋɛ
    Dakoraa bought book for himself.

14. Ba da la seŋkãã ko ba meŋne
    They bought groundnut for themselves.
15. Fo da la a gane ko fomeŋɛ?

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You bought the book for yourself.

16. Fo maale la a diibu ko fomeŋɛ
    You cooked the food for yourself.

17. Dakoraa maale la a diibu ko omeŋɛ
    Dakoraa cooked the food for himself.

18. Dɛre koɔrɔ la a weɛ na ko omeŋɛ
    Dɛre is farming the farm for himself

19. Dakoraa kono la omeŋɛ yɛlɛ
    Dakoraa is crying about himself.

20. Bayɔɔ ko la boɔ ko omeŋɛ a yiri poɔ.
    Bayɔɔ killed goat for himself in the house.

21. Ayuo la bɔ go- ko omeŋɛ
    Ayuo looked for sleep for herself.

22. Ayuo ferɛ la omeŋɛ ka o da gane
    Ayuo forcing herself to buy book.

23. Azaasoma sonna la omeŋɛ
    Azaasoma is helping himself.

24. Asoma pɔge la omeŋɛ
    Asoma closed himself.

25. Asoma pɔge la a dendɔre omeŋɛ
    Asoma closed the door herself.

26. Asoma la yuo a dendɔre omeŋɛ
    Asoma opened the door herself.

27. Puotege la de omeŋɛ tere ka ba ŋmɛ
    Puotege gave himself up for beaten.

28. A dendɔre la fere yuo la omeŋɛ.
    The door forces itself open.

29. Bayuo laara la omeŋɛ
    Bayuo is laughing at himself.

30. Bayɔɔ pɛgrɛ la omeŋɛ
    Bayɔɔ is washing himself

31. Dakoraa la leɛrɛ omeŋɛ
    Dakoraa is turning himself.

32. Zanzaŋaa bini nyɛ waare omeŋɛ
    Bat shit on itself.

33. Kuŋkuni la biŋ omeŋ naa
    Tortoise enskinned itself as chief.

34. Ayuo nyɛ la o meŋɛ kyaana pɔɔ.
    Ayuo saw herself in mirror.

35. A bibiiri leŋ la bamenne
    The children tied themselves.

36. Dakoraa baŋ ka Ayuo eɛ pɔloo omeŋɛ
    Dakoraa knows that Ayuo is proud herself

37. A dɔɔ teɛrɛ la omeŋɛ yɛlɛ.
    The man is thinking about herself

38. Bayuo baŋ ka a bie teɛrɛ la omeŋɛ yɛlɛ
    Bayuo knows that the child is thinking about him/herself

39. Dakoraa zɛ la kãã omeŋɛ.
    Dakoraa applied pomade by himself

40. A dɔba zɛ la k77 bamenne
    The men applied pomade by themselves

41. Dakoraa ane Bayuo ŋmaa la bamenne ne sɔɔ.
    Dakoraa and Bayuo cut themselves with knife

42. N ŋmaa la mmeŋɛ ne sɔɔ
    I cut myself with knife

43. O ŋmaa la omeŋɛ ne sɔɔ
    He/she cut him/herself with knife

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44. Fo ŋmaa la fomeŋɛ ne sɔɔ
    You cut yourself with knife

45. **Dakoraa wullo la omeŋɛ**
    'Dakoraa is teaching himself'

46. **Ayuo wullo la omeŋɛ**
    'Ayuo is teaching herself'

47. **nɔŋ la omeŋɛ**
48. ***O nɔŋ la mmeŋɛ**
    He/she loves myself

49. **Ayuo maala omeŋɛ dɔgoo bebiri boroboro**
    'Ayuo is baking himself a birthday bread'.

50. **Bayuo maala omeŋɛ dɔgoo bebiri boroboro**
    'Ayuo is baking himself a birthday bread'.

51. **O maala la boroboro na ko omeŋɛ**
    'He is making a cake <u>for</u> himself'.

52. **O biŋ la azaa ko omeŋɛ**
    'He keeps everything <u>to</u> himself'.

53. **O ba so omeŋɛ a yi o ane o ma naŋ pɔge taa.**
    'He hasn't been himself since he met his mother.'

54. **O moɔrɔ ka o so omeŋɛ**
    'He tries to <u>be</u> himself'.

55. **N wullo la mmeŋɛ Dagaare**
    'I am teaching myself Dagaare.'

56. **N nɔŋ la mmeŋɛ.**
    'I love myself.'

57. **N wullo la mmeŋɛ Dagaare**
    'I am teaching myself Dagaare.'

58. **N maala la mmeŋɛ naa.**
    I am making myself chief.

59. **N ko la mmeŋɛ gane n dɔgoo bebiri daare.**
    'I give myself a book on my birthday.'

60. **N maala la mmeŋɛ naa.**
    I am making myself chief.

61. **Mmeŋɛ woŋee la ka o ŋmaziiri!**

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'I heard him lie myself!'

62. Maa mmeŋɛ la bɔɔle o.
'I myself called her.'

63. N ŋmaa la maameŋɛtɔre
I cut myself.

64. A seŋ ka fo nɔŋ fomeŋɛ
'You should love yourself.'

65. Fo na baŋ maŋ maale la fomeŋɛ boroboro tegitegi lɛ
'You can always make yourself bread.'
Fomeŋɛ la wa a naa niŋesoga.

66. A seŋ ka fo taa yelmeŋɛ ne fomeŋɛ
'You need to be true to yourself.'

67. N baŋ ka fo ba bɔɔrɔ lɛ fomeŋɛ.
'I understand that you don't feel yourself.'

68. Foomeŋɛ la mɛ o?
Did you build it yourself?

69. Foomeŋɛ la tere a lɛtɛ.
'You delivered the letter yourself.'

70. Foomeŋɛ bɔɔle o.
'You yourself called her.'

71. O diebie lɛnne la omeŋɛ.
'His cat licked itself.'

72. Vaa maŋ leɛmaale la omeŋɛ?
Does a leave reproduce itself?

73. A teɛ maŋ ko la omeŋɛ bondirii mine
'The tree gives itself some nutrient.'

74. A sɔɔŋaa maale la omeŋɛ ɔge.
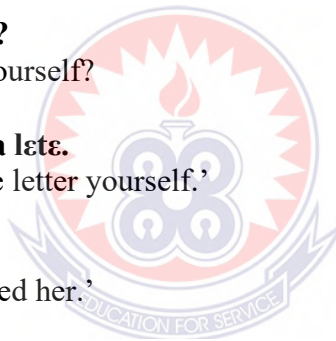'The rabbit makes itself a nest.'

75. A diebie za la bɔl ko omeŋɛ
'The cat throws a ball to itself.'

76. A baa na la so la omeŋɛ ka o zuŋ kaa velaa.
'The dog becomes itself again if it is treated well'.

77. A baa omeŋɛ la you a dendɔre

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'The dog itself opened the door.'

78. A baa yuo la a dendɔre onameŋɛ
'The dog opened the door itself.'

79. A seŋ ka te siri faa temenne
'We need to get ready to defend ourselves.'

80. A seŋ ka te pɛnne temenne.
'It is enough to rest ourselves.'

81. Te wuli la temenne Dagaare
'We taught ourselves Dagaare.'

82. Maa ne n ma sɛge la temenne lɛtɛ.
'My mother and I wrote ourselves letters.'

83. A veɛleŋ ka te da temenne kyɔɔtaare mine.
84. Tenee menne na baŋ toŋ a toma.
'We ourselves can do this work.'

85. O kpaalɛɛ ka a seŋ ka te bebe tenee menne.
'He insisted that we need to be there ourselves.'

86. Ba boɔle la bamenne a bikaareba.
'They call themselves the guardians.'

87. Ayuo ane Ayɔɔ nɔŋ la bamenne
Ayuo and Ayɔɔ loved themselves.

88. Ba nɔŋ la bamenne.
'They love themselves.'

89. Ba ko la bamenne pɛnnoo belaa.
'They gave themselves some rest.'

90. Ba de la yiritoma mine ko bamenne
'They gave some homework to themselves.'

91. Ba ba so bamenne
They don't feel like themselves.

92. A yeere menne la maale a mapo.
'The twins themselves made the map'.

93. Yɛ koŋ toɔ a toma zaa toŋ yɛneemenne.
'You can't do all the work yourselves.'

94. Yɛneemenne na baŋ e bonzaa

'You yourselves can achieve anything.'

ELICITATION DATA

1. **Dery to la omeŋɛ**
   Dery has insulted himself.

2. **Martina saã la omeŋɛ**
   Martina has destroyed herself

3. **A pɔgeba nyɛ la bamenne zaameŋ**
   The women saw themselves yesterday

4. **Konaa baŋ ka Bayuo to/toorɔ o la**
   Konaa knows that Bayuo insults/is insulting him/her

5. **Tang yeli ka o ba boɔrɔ Fati**
   Tang has said that s/he does not want Fati

6. **Bodomo yeli ka Dery to o la**
   Bodomo said that Dery has insulted him/her.

7. **[Ba teɛre [ka Konaa nɔŋ la bamenne.]**
   They think [that Konaa likes themselves.]

8. **O yeli ka Abu ko la omeŋɛ**
   S/he has said that Abu has killed himself

9. **[o teɛre [ka a dɔɔbilii ko la omeŋɛ]**
   [He thinks [that the boys have killed himself]

10. **O yeli ka a bibiiri to la bamenne**
    S/he has said that the children have insulted themselves

11. Dery to la bamenne
    Dery has insulted themselves

12. Yɛ zu la yɛmene
    You have stolen yourselves'

13. Yelkabong kyɛ la omeŋɛ
    Yelkabong knocked himself

14. Ba to la fomeŋɛ

They have insulted yourself

NAAꝊMENE NƆPAALAA (NEWS TESTAMENT)

1. Lk 9: 23 "…. A ferɛɛ la ka o soba gyɛ omeŋɛ bare….." (let him deny himself) 130p

2. Lk 12: 17 "Ka o pãã da soore omeŋɛ" (And he thought within himself)

3. Jn 21:1 ŋaa la ka o wuli omeŋɛ (And he manifested himself in this way)

4. A yɛlɛ ama puoriŋ, a Yeezu da la wuli la omeŋɛ a o potuuribo Tibɛreya mane noɔreŋ. (After this, Jesus manifested himself again to the disciples at the sea Tiberias. 211 page.

5. I Cor 14:4 A banaŋ naŋ yele kɔkɔyobo nyɛrɛ la bamenne yoŋ maaloo.(whoever Speaks in tongues edifies himself)

6. 2Cor 5: 12: Te yãã pugro la temenne korɔ yɛ bee? Are we praising ourselves to you?

7. 2Cor 5: 13: ka tenee bare te meŋɛ aŋa yaŋyaa, Naaŋmene eŋɛŋ la. (If we leave ourself like mad person, is God sake.)

8. 2Cor 6:17 "Yɛ yi ba poɔ, a wɛlle yɛmenne ba poɔ."(Therefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them)

9. 2Cor 11:7 "Bee N eɛ yelbieri ne n naŋ sigri n-meŋɛ, ka ka n duori yɛ bee?(Or did I commit a sin by humbling myself so that you would be exalty)

10. Gal 1:12B Yeezu kirista naŋ wuli ma omeŋɛ zie la ka n de a.(After Jesus Christ revealed himself to me that I believed)

11. Gal 5: 4B Yɛ ŋmaa la yɛmeŋɛ yi a kirista poɔ.(you have separated yourselves from Christ)

12. Gal 5: 12B N da berɛ ŋa a banaŋ naŋ dɔɔnɔ yɛ, da vare la bamenne. (I wish those who unsettle you would emasculate themselves)

13. Gal5: 13 Ba boɔle yɛ la ka yɛ so yɛ menne. (They called to have freedom)

14. Gal 6: 3 ka neɛŋ wa teɛre ka o waa la boŋkaŋ kyɛ ba waa bonzaa, o bɛllɛ la omeŋɛ. (For if anyone thinks himself to be something being nothing, he deceives himself)

15. Gal 6: 7 Yɛ ta bɛlle yɛmenne. (Do not deceive yourselves)

BS 2 (Badɛre sensellɛ 2)

1. Ka Galeŋgaa yeli o ka ka onaŋ wa nyɛ a weɛsoba k'o maa omeŋɛ ……………
   (BS2-14) (And Crow said to him that if he/she sees the useless person that
   he/she should take calm down himself)

BS 1 (Badɛre sensellɛ 1)

1. Ka o soore omeŋɛ. (BS1-4)
   And he asked him/herself.

2. O da dɔlle la omeŋɛ (BS1-9)
   He stretched him/herself.

3. O piili wullo la omeŋɛ (BS1-13)
   He/she started showing of him/herself.

4. Omeŋɛ la da iri gaa Yelfaare zambɛreŋ (BS1-13)
   He/she went to Yelfaare the blacksmith himself/herself.

5. O da ba la toɔnɔ omeŋɛ (BS1-23)
   He/she was not of him/herself.
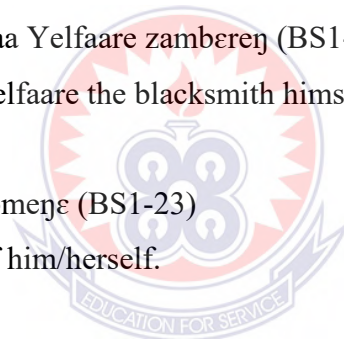
DS 2 (Dagaare Senselɛ)

1. O da kyiiri la o dɔgra yelbieri ne ona meŋatɔre yelbieri-erre. (DS2-1)
   He confesses his relative sin and the sins of himself.

2. Malemmeŋa da maŋ yɔ erɛ bee tona la ton zaa o naŋ boɔra, omeŋa sɛb. (DS2-7)
   Malemmeŋa was going about doing whatever he wishes by himself.

3. N naŋ deɛ bɛlle mmeŋa. (DS2-10)
   I am just deceived myself.

4. N boɔra la libie a na kaara ne mmeŋa ane n diedeme (DS2-8)
   I need money to take care of myself and my family.

5. Fõõ meŋatɔre zaa baŋ ka a Naa kpeɛrɛ la a gaŋne na" (DS2-17)

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You know yourself that the chief stayed over there.

6. Dibaarnyɛrɛ meŋ boɔra la sori o naŋ na tu a zo faa omeŋa (DS2-18)
   Dibaamyɛrɛ finds way to save himself.

7. Sibiri la yeli a lɛ ko omeŋa (DS2-30)
   Sibiri said that to himself.

8. Fõõ eŋ la faa fomeŋa nyɔvore (DS2-32)
   You save your life yourself.

Yoɔraa Tigri Kparoo ane senselɛ mine meŋ

1. Fo narɛɛ fomeŋa go a tigri gaabo. (2)
   You prepared yourself to go to the festival.

2. A e, o meŋatɔre niŋeŋ (31)
   It happens in front himself.

3. Aneakambaaraaŋ, fomeŋa la ka fo maŋ eŋ baaloŋ bee dɔgroŋ gaŋ neɛlaneɛzaa.
   (32)
   Aneakambaaraaŋ, you put yourself in trouble than any other person.

4. Kambaŋkalɛ meŋatɔre zaa da kpɛ poɔ la a senseloŋ poɔ (YTKS-35)
   Kambaŋkalɛ joined the story himself.

5. A senseloŋ da eɛɛ la ka o de o teɛroŋ ne o meŋatɔre zaa te be ne a kuuntulo poɔ
   (YTKS-37) The story made him throw himself over board.

6. Maa meŋatɔre la boɔle fo a gbɛɛ koŋ-baŋ -sɔre (46)
   I called you myself uncountable times

TAKƆDAA BIE

1. A bieŋ tuo omeŋɛ yolmo (215)

   The child carries trap basket himself/herself.

2. Bombeyiri koŋ to- sigi o meŋɛ (212)

   Bombeyiri cannot come down himself.

3. Bombeyiri maŋ nyɔge omeŋɛ fãã kyɛ kono (207)

   Bombeyiri couldn't control his tears

4. Bombeyiri da wa to- nyɔge la omeŋa 197

   Bombeyiri was able to control himself.

5. Wolo ka baa na leɛ di omeŋɛ tiiri 203

   How can a dog eat its own vommit.

6. Ka o leɛ yeli sage omeŋa 203

   He answered himself.

7. Bombeyiri sɔrɔ yɛlɛ korɔ o meŋa (199)

   Bombeyiri talking to himself.

8. N koŋ to- n-meŋa taa. 199

   I cann't control myself.

9. O leɛ zɛle bogiti ne a ko- a kyiri waare omeŋa.

   He picks a bucket of water and pour it on himself.

10. O ba la meele omeŋa meŋ

    He couldn't also wipe himself