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ADJECTIVES IN ESAHIE: A MORPHOSYNTACTIC STUDY

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Abstract:

Adjectives have been studied in many languages (Adjei 2012; Akrofi-Ansah 2013; Caesar 2019; Danti 2007; Dorvlo 2008; Naden 2007; Osam 2003; Pokua et al. 2007). This affirms Dixon's (2004,2010) assertion that all languages should have a distinguishable class of adjectives if they have a distinguishable class of nouns and verbs. This study describes the nature of adjectives in Esahie, a Kwa language spoken by the people of Sehwi in the Western North region of Ghana. Using data collected from 20 participants -- 10 males and 10 females between the ages of ten and sixtyfive, the paper shows that, like other Kwa languages, Esahie has a class of words called adjectives, which may be underived or derived. In the derived form, the words used as adjectives undergo morphological changes such as reduplication as they alter to function in the adjectival category. It further shows that syntactically, adjectives in Esahie function in a relative construction using a relative marker **b**3, while they predicatively occur with a copular verb **te** or $v\varepsilon$. The adjectives also display degrees of comparison using the exceed markers **tra** or **paa**. This study enhances the knowledge and understanding of adjectives in Esahie, and on the typology of adjectives in general, especially, in Kwa languages.

Keywords: Adjective, Morpho-syntax, Esahie, Predicative, Attributive

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1. Introduction

The discussion over the universality of the adjective category have established that every language has adjectives, although with varied types (Abubakari 2021; Ameka 2001; Atipoka & Nsoh 2018; Bisilki & Yakpo 2020; Dixon 2010; England et al. 2004). The study of adjectives as an independent class of words has further gone through a checkered process. Dixon (2010), for instance, made a change in an earlier stance (Dixon 1977) when he alters his previous conviction that adjectives did not form an independent lexical class. However, following successive works in favour of the recognition of the adjective class, he develops a comprehensive framework for the analysis of adjectives (Dixon 2010). Dixon (2004) opined that all languages in the world have a distinguishable class of words called adjectives. These vary in sizes, with some languages having an open class of adjectives, and others a closed or limited number of adjectives. Also, whereas some languages make a clear distinction between adjectives and other word classes such as nouns or verbs, other languages encode adjectival concepts using nouns or verbs (Liu 2016; Zhang 2020).

Studies reveal that the adjective class in many African languages has fewer members as compared to nouns and verbs. Dimmendaal (2000: 171) observes that "many African languages have only few adjectives which are formally distinct from nouns or verbs". In Ewe, for instance, Ameka (2001) observes that there are only five core adjectives used to describe nouns. Following Dixon's (1992; 2004, 2010) exposition on adjectives, the study of adjectives has received ample attention in some Kwa languages (Adjei 2005; Adjei 2012; Danti 2007; Dorvlo 2008; Naden 2007; Osam 2003, 2004, 2008; Pokua et al. 2007; Saah 2007). Nevertheless, there are some languages whose adjectives still remain unstudied. One of such languages is Esahie, a Kwa language spoken by the people of Sehwi in the Western North region of Ghana. Accordingly, this paper discusses the nature of adjectives and their syntactic functions in Esahie.

Cross-linguistically, there are variations in adjectives (Van den Berg et al. 2017). One area of cross-linguistic variation in adjectives relates to the grammatical properties that distinguish adjectives from nouns and verbal categories. In most cases, one must resort to semantic and morpho-syntactic analyses to describe these properties. According to Dixon (2010), the distributional potential and morphological possibilities of adjectives within the verb or noun phrase, the potential for adverbialisation, and use in comparative constructions are relevant issues to consider in distinguishing adjectives from verbs on the one hand, and from nouns on the other. Hyman and Olawsky (2004) also observe that

adjectives are uniquely distinct from nouns. In Logba and Sɛlɛɛ, both NA-Togo Ghana Togo Mountains (GTM) languages, Dorvlo (2008) and (Agbetsoamedo, 2014a; 2014b) observe that a basic distinction between nouns and adjectives is that nouns precede adjectives in phrase structure; also nouns have inherent class markers, while adjectives do not. Some languages of the Kwa group also recognize adjectives as distinct part of speech, but also employ other word classes such as nouns and verbs to express adjectival concepts (Adjei 2012; Akrofi-Ansah 2013; Caesar 2019; Danti 2007; Dorvlo 2008; Naden 2007; Osam 2003; Pokua et al. 2007). In Mandarin Chinese, Paul (2010) shows that adjectives are a distinct part of speech and there are as many as two morphologically different classes of adjectives; namely, simple and derived adjectives, each with its own set of predictable semantic and syntactic properties.

Usually, linguists use the presence or absence of copulas in predications to determine the existence of an adjective class (Bisilki & Yakpo 2020; Dixon 2010; Pustet 2003). Pustet (2003), for instance, draws on the four semantic parameters: dynamicity, transience, transitivity, and dependency to identify the universal principles that govern the distribution of copulas in nominal, adjectival, and verbal predications through the inherent meaning of the lexical items with which they can combine. Copulas would foremost distinguish nouns from verbs, and the adjectives could then perhaps line up with either side.

Another area languages differ in relation to adjectives relates to the size of their adjective classes. While some languages have large and open adjective classes, other languages have closed adjective classes with very few members. In his theory, Dixon (2010) explains that a language with a large adjective class will usually have hundreds of members, as is the case in many European languages. On the contrary, a language with a small adjective class may have below five members, as in the case of Yimas (Lower Sepik family, New Guinea cf. (Foley 1991) and Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal (Watters 2009). Segerer (2008) observes that most African languages with closed adjective classes have numbers ranging from 2 to more than 100, as in Dagbani (Gur Language), which has 101 adjectives and Kele (Niger-Congo, Bantu, DR Congo) which has just 2 adjectives.

Typologically, linguists identify two main categories of adjectives — derived and underived (Adams & Tracey 2004; Agbetsoamedo 2014; Bisilki & Yakpo 2020; Caesar & Ollennu 2018; Dakubu 1987; Dorvlo 2008; Manu-Barfo 2020; Mpofu 2009; Nsoh et al. 2007; Segerer 2008). The underived adjectives are also called primary, deep or prototypical

adjectives (Dixon, 2004), whereas the derived adjectives are usually gleaned from other lexical classes such as nouns or verbs through diverse morphological processes such as reduplication or affixation. A language with derived adjectives is described as having an open adjective class system (Lin & Peck, 2016). Closed adjectives predominate in African languages (Bisilki & Yakpo 2020; Dorvlo 2008; Segerer 2008). Ga and Dangme, for instance, have both deep and derived adjectives. Deep level adjectives are monomorphemic, and cannot be partitioned into meaningful morphemes (Caesar 2019; Caesar & Ollennu 2018). Examples of deep adjectives are found in (1).

According to Blench and Dendo (2006), and Dixon (2004), adjectives are grouped into categories based on size and form - derived and underived. Dixon (2004: 146), for instance, groups adjectives into ten universal semantic categories. This categorisation is based on the morphosyntactic properties of the members of each type (Dixon, 2004). The semantic categorisation includes (in no order) dimension, colour, age, human propensity, physical propensity, speed, difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification, position, value, and cardinal numbers.

Conceptually, this study adopts Dixon's (2004) description of adjectives, which identifies a set of semantic categorisations which are encoded by the adjective class in languages that have them. These types are:

 dimension, e.g., big, small, long, deep, etc. • physical property, e.g., hard, strong, sweet, cheap, etc. • speed, e.g., fast, quick, rapid, etc. e.g., new, old young, modern, etc. • age, e.g., black, white, golden, etc. • colour, • value, e.g., good, bad, lovely, pretty, etc. difficulty, e.g., easy, tough, hard, simple, etc. volition. e.g., accidental, purposeful, deliberate, etc. qualification, e.g., true, obvious, normal, right, etc.

• **similarity**, e.g., different, equal (to) analogous (to), etc.

e.g., angry, jealous, clever, sad, etc.

Dixon further subcategorizes these adjectives into two: type A and type B. The type A focuses on dimension, age, value, and colour concepts, and Type B, on physical property, human propensity, and speed adjectives. Type A adjectives are usually core adjectives (Segerer, 2008; Dixon, 2010).

2. Methodology

human propensity,

Data for the study came from primary sources. The data were collected from native Wiawso speakers of Esahie with the help of a native speaker mediator. 20 participants --10 males and 10 females between the ages of ten and sixty-five were consulted during the data collection. Two separate focus group discussions were organized for the respondents each with mixed gender and age. The rationale behind the age and gender variation was to know if terminologies would vary with gender and generations. Using these focus group discussions, the participants were made to speak about pictures and describe objects. The objects and pictures used for data collection varied in shapes, sizes, height and colours. The discussions were recorded and later transcribed with the aid of a native speaker consultant and triangulated for native speaker acceptability. According to Berg (2007), researchers owe professional and ethical obligations to the human subject and the real world they collect data from in order to honour and ensure confidentiality made to them. Accordingly, the study adheres to situational ethics embedded in the qualitative research tradition. Thus, we sought the consent of respondents to participate in the study and future related work.

This paper is organised into five sections. This section has introduced the paper by providing some information on the typology of adjectives, and establishing the focus of the study well as the sources of data used in the study. Section two focuses on describing adjectives in Esahie. In this section we show the classification of adjectives in Esahie. We exemplify primary and derived adjectives. The syntactic functions of the adjectives are discussed in section three and four, where we demonstrate how adjectives in Esahie behave predicatively, attributively, and in comparison, respectively. Section five concludes the discussion.

3. Classification of Adjectives in Esahie

Esahie has adjectives of different classification based on the varied semantic types proposed by Dixon (2004). Following Dixon (2004), we identify these semantic types of adjectives in the language:

(2)

Dimension: pírí 'big;

kààmbá 'small/young/little'

tìndín 'tall/long'; tìká/ síín 'short'

Age: dáá 'old'

fófórε 'new'

Value: páá 'good'

tε/tεε 'bad/ugly'

Colour: bré 'black'

fùfúé 'white' kὸkórέ 'red'

Peripheral semantic types include:

sé 'hard/ difficult/ mean /strong / tough'

mèrε 'soft' 'heavy' nó té 'clean' wèzráwèzrá 'rough' hyè 'hot' frələə 'cold' kèká 'sour' 'tired' fε

Speed: ndèndε 'fast /quick'

nyàà 'slow'

Position:	dédé	'far'
	pìngyé	'near/close'
	àsé	'low'
	anwóró	'high'
	fàmáá	'right'
	ben	'left'

The examples illustrate the various semantic classification of adjectives in Esahie. We notice that the adjectives are based on eight semantic categories. These include dimension, age, value, colour, speed, and position. While some of the categories have a relatively high number of adjectives, others are relatively few. For instance, the membership of age and speed are very limited in number. The adjectives listed above are all not prototypical or primary adjectives. Some of them are derived while others are underived. The derived ones are from other word groups, and may express adjectival concepts. In the next section, we throw more light on the derived and underived adjectives in Esahie.

3.1 Underived Adjectives in Esahie

The underived adjectives are prototypical or basic adjectives, which implies they do not come from any word class (Osam 2003). They are what Dixon (2004) calls 'deep level adjectives'. These prototypical adjectives describe the nouns they occur with. The underived adjectives in Esahie include: pírí 'big; kààmbá 'small/young/little'; tìndín 'tall/long'; tìká/síín 'short; fófóre' 'new'; bré 'black'; fūfúé 'white'; kɔkórɛ 'red'; dédé 'far'; pìngyé 'near'; àsé 'low'; ènwóró 'high'; fàmáá 'right'; bɛn 'left. Some of them are used in the following sentences.

(3) a. mboma tè tìká ne рĩ window short **EMPHT** DEF COP 'The window is short.' b. edwein fofore ne tè

COP

new

song DEF 'The song is new.'

We observe the use of some core or basic adjectives in example (3) where they modify nouns. For instance, in example (3a), *tika* 'short is used to modify the noun *mboma* 'window', while in (3b) *fofore* 'new' modifies *edwein* 'song'. These underived adjectives can also be reduplicated in sentences as shown in (4).

(4)

- a. **Epoen ne tè tikatika pi**door DEF COP short.RED EMPHT
 'The door is very short'
- b. edwein ne tè foforefofore
 song DEF COP new.RED
 'the song is very new'

The examples in (4) show some examples of basic adjectives used in a reduplicated form. Unlike example (3) where the adjectives are merely used as modifiers, in example (4), the reduplicated adjectives go beyond mere descriptive elements to also show the intensity of the objects modified in relation to their description.

3.2 Derived Adjectives

According to Dixon (2004) some languages make a clear distinction between adjectives and other word classes such as nouns or verbs, while other languages encode adjectival concepts using nouns or verbs. Adjectival concepts are lexical items, especially verbs and nouns, in a language that play adjectival role (Ollennu 2016). The derived adjectives are what Bhat (1994) terms as lexical categories which have been decategorised because they function in a word class other than their canonical category. The notion of derived adjectives is not new to Kwa languages of which Esahie belongs. Writing on Akan adjectives, Osam (2003) identified some adjectives derived from either nouns or verbs as shown in (5).

(5)

Nouns
Adjectives
a) abo 'rocks' — aboabo 'rocky

b) apow 'knot' — apowapow 'knotty'
c) nkyen 'salt' — nkenkyen 'salty' (Osam 2003: 193)

Aside from Akan, Ameka (2001) also identifies some adjectives derived from nouns and verbs in Ewe. Dorvlo (2008) and Ollennu (2016) refer to these as property concepts. Our Esahie data show evidence for nouns that express adjectival concepts. In what follows, we discuss adjectives derived from nouns.

3.2.1 Adjectives derived from nouns

In Esahie, adjectives are derived from nouns via the process of reduplication as shown in (6).

(6)	Noun			Adjective	
	a. bòwué	'thorns'	\rightarrow	mmòwuémmòwué (àseé)	'thorny land'
	b. nyàbóé è	'rock'	\rightarrow	nyòbóéènyòbòóéè (àseé)	'rocky land'
	c. nzue	'water'	\rightarrow	nzuenzue (àlíé)	'watery food'

We notice from the data that the nouns are pluralized in their reduplicated form. This is different from what is observed in Akan (Osam 2003) where nouns can be reduplicated in their singular form. The nouns in their basic forms do not encode adjectival concepts. For this, their reduplicated form is required, as shown in the examples. In (6a), the reduplicated form of <u>bòwué</u> 'thorns', becomes an adjective, <u>mmòwuémmòwué</u> and the reduplicated form modifies àseé 'land'. In much the same way, the noun <u>nyɔbóé</u>è 'rock' in (6b) becomes the adjective <u>nyɔbóé</u>ènyɔbɔoé</u>è 'rocky'. Reduplicating them in their singular form as in * <u>bòwuébòwué</u> àséé, is unacceptable to informants. Further, when adjectives are derived through total reduplication in Esahie, the reduplicant copies the stem both segmentally and suprasegmentally. We further observed some phonological changes in the initial consonants, where the bilabial stops change to become a nasal. The issue is the plural marker in Esahie is a homorganic /N/, which assimilates the place of articulation of the initial consonant. So, in (6a,) the noun bòwué 'thorn' with the initial consonant /b/ mutates to the bilabial nasal /m/ to become mmòwuémmòwué after prefixation of the plural marker /n/.

3.2.2 Reduplicated adjectives

While nouns can be reduplicated to perform adjectival functions, Owusu Ansah (2021) observes that primary or prototypical adjectives can also be reduplicated in Esahie, either fully or partially. When an adjective is reduplicated, it usually shows intensity as illustrated in example (7).

(7)				
	a. bṛ ę́	black	brébré	very black
	b. kằằbá	small	kầằbákằằbá	very small
	c. dínn	quiet	dínndínn	very quiet
	d. tìká	short	tìkátìká	very short
	e. pírí	big	pípírí	very big

The adjectives in the data are non-derived, and they exemplify adjectives that can be fully reduplicated as in example (7a-d), and one that can be partially reduplicated in (7e). In the full reduplicated form, there is a numerical limit as the form can only be reduplicated once. The reduplicated adjectives are morphologically used to denote degree or intensity of the object they modify (Owusu Ansah forthcoming) as illustrated in example (8).

While adjectives in Esahie are reduplicated in their base form, for some other Kwa languages such as Ga and Dangme, Caesar and Ollennu (2018) report that reduplicated adjectives are pluralised in both their base and the reduplicant parts as exemplified in (9):

Ga:			
wulu	'big'	wuji~wuji	'big'
kpitioo	'short'	kpitibii~kpitibii	'short'

<i>bibioo</i> <i>wamaa</i> (Caesar &	ʻsmall' ʻlarge' Ollennu 2018:164)	bibii~bibii wamaa~wamaa	'small' 'large'
Dangme:			
agbo	'big'	$agbo \sim agbo$	'big'
nyafi	'small'	nyafi~nyafi	'small'
yumu	'black'	yumu~yumu	'blackened'
tsutsu	'red'	tsutsu~utsu	'reddish'
(Caesar &	Ollennu 2018: 164)		

Indeed, regardless of their form, i.e., derived or non-derived, adjectives perform some syntactic functions either attributively, or predicatively and these syntactic functions are the focus of the next section.

4. Syntactic functions of Esahie adjectives

Aikhenvald (2018) shows that adjectives perform two major syntactic functions — to modify the head noun in a noun phrase predicatively or attributively. Distributionally, adjective modifiers can occur postnominal or prenominal. They occur post-nominal when the adjective is after the head noun in noun phrases, and prenominal when the adjective is place before the noun or noun phrase. Hurford (1994) also speaks of some English adjectives that are a type of adnominal and occur in the post-head position. They explain that when adjectives occur in the pre-nominal position as modifiers, they are understood as characteristic, timeless or defining property of the noun, while they signal a temporary quality or property in the post-nominal position. They further observe that adjectival modifiers that occur after the noun are essentially predicative and are considered reduced relative clauses. Non-predicative adjectives cannot occur in the post-nominal position and this supports the idea that adjectival modifiers that occur in the post-nominal position are essentially predicative. The non-predicative adjectives cannot be used predicatively, but can only occur in the attributive position (Hurford, 1994)

Adjectives can be used predicatively. In their predicative use, adjectives occur after a copular verb (to be) as can be seen in the examples below:

(10)

a. The cat is big.b. The boy is small.c. The boy is handsome.d. The door is black.

In Esahie, adjectives modify nouns just as they do in other languages. They occur either attributively or predicatively. Aboh (2010) notes that attributive adjectives in Kwa languages are a few and most often denote shape, size or colour. The adjectives occur after the noun and before the determiner or the demonstrative as exemplified in these Akan examples below:

(11)

a. papa tuntum no	b. maame	keseɛ	no
man dark DET	maame	fat	DET
'the dark man'	'the fat woman	n'	(Aboh 2010: 12)

Syntactically, adjectives can be categorized using their grammatical properties. This categorisation distinguishes between adjectives that can fill an intransitive predicate slot and those that can fill the copula complement slot. The former type is "verb-like adjective" and the latter "non-verb-like adjectives". A further distinction is made between 'noun-like adjectives' which copy some or all morphological processes that apply to nouns and 'non-noun-like adjectives', which do not undergo noun-like morphological processes (Dixon 2004: 14, 16). Esahie adjectives can function attributively (noun-like adjectives) and predicatively (verb-like adjectives). The next section discusses these functional uses.

4.1 Adjectives in Attributive use

In Esahie, adjectives may occur immediately after the noun, or after the noun in a relative construction. Where it occurs in a relative construction, it uses the relative marker 'bo'. Predominantly, attributive adjectives in Esahie occur after nouns a relative construction marked by the relative marker as in the following examples¹.

biãã nyemenenyemene

man nice. RED

'a nice/handsome man'

However, such attributive use is not predominant as in a relative construction.

¹ Adjectives in Esahie can also occur attributively without a relative construction as in:

(12) a. biãã bo awo nyemene

man REL self nice

lit; 'a man who is nice/ handsome '

'a nice/handsome man'

b. nyoboe bo ye se-o

stone REL be hard - final clause determiner

lit: 'a stone that is hard'

'a hard stone'

c. ataadie bo w'aloa-o

dress REL wet - clause final determiner

lit: 'a dress that is wet'

'a wet dress'

In these examples, the relative marker appears immediately after the noun being modified, i.e. it appears in-between the noun and the adjective. In the examples in (12a) and (12b), for instance, the adjectives, *nyemene* and *se*, occur after the relative marker immediately after the noun.

4.2 Adjectives in Predicative use

Dixon (2004: 106) asserts that adjectives can function predicatively as copula complement to modify the subject of the sentence. Predicative adjectives occur in the 'complement slot' in clauses, where they occur after copular verbs (Dixon 2004). Predicative adjectives in Esahie are preceded by the copula verbs $t\hat{e}$ and $y\hat{e}$ in a construction². Like the attributive adjectives, the predicative adjectives do not undergo morphological changes. Examples are given below in (13):

(13)

a. bakaa ne tè piri tree DEF COP big 'the tree is big'

² The use of $t\acute{e}$ and $y\acute{e}$ is not context-specific. They can be used interchangeably.

b. **brenzua ne** $y\dot{\varepsilon}$ **bre** man DEF COP black 'the man is dark (complexion)'

c. **Ewoo ne tè kããmba** snake DEF COP small 'the snake is small'

In these examples, the adjectives *piri*, *bre*, *kããmba* are preceded by the copular verbs *te/yɛ*. These copular verbs link the subject to the predicative adjectives. Since words that follow copular verbs are complements, and not objects, the adjectives therefore serve to complement the copular verbs they occur with. In example (13a), for instance, the adjective *piri* occurring after the copula verb *te* is not an object to the verb, rather it predicatively functions as a complement.

5. Comparison of adjectives

Objects described by adjectives may vary in degree and sizes. These levels of degree and size are expressed in a comparative sense. In English, for example, the degrees are expressed with a suffix -er and -est attached to adjectives to express comparative and superlative degrees, respectively. Saah and Osam (2003) observed that languages in the Volta Basin also have ways of indicating comparison and degree of intensity in adjectives. They mostly do so by using the 'exceed / surpass marker' (Amfo et al. 2010). Dorvlo (2009), for instance, identifies the use of fie as an exceed marker in Logba, whiles Amfo et al. (2010) report that Ewe uses the exceed marker to to indicate comparison as shown in example (14):

(14) **zikpui sue- tɔ**stool small -tɔ 'the smaller/smallest stool' (Amfo et.al. 2010)

Esahie also compares objects described by adjectives and these comparisons are expressed periphrastically using the exceed marker *tra* for comparative, and *paa* for intensity as exemplified in (15).

(15)

- a. biã ne tè tika tra ehe ne
 man DEF COP short COMPR this one
 lit: the man is very very short than this one
 'the man is shorter than the this one'
- b. bakaa ne tè kããba tra ehe ne tree DEF COP small COMPR this one 'the tree is smaller than the this one'

In these examples, *tra* is used to compare the objects involved. Also, *paa 'very'* as an exceed marker is used with an adjective to express intensity.

- (16) a. **kyia ne tè piri paa**dog DEF COP big INTENS
 'the dog is very very big'
 - b. **bokaa ne tè enworo paa** mountain DEF COP high INTENS 'the mountain is very high'
 - c. Kofi té tika pi tra Kwame Kofi COP short INTENS COMPR Kwame 'Kofi is shorter than Kwame'

6. Conclusion

This paper has offered some insight into the morpho-syntactic behaviour of adjectives in Esahie. The discussion has established that Esahie has a class of words called adjectives which may be underived or derived from nouns. In the derived form, the study has shown that the nouns undergo morphological changes like reduplication as they move to perform their adjectival roles. We have also shown that syntactically, the adjectives can function attributively as an apposition or in a relative construction using a relative marker b > b, while predicatively, they occur with a copular verb b > b or b > b. The adjectives also show degrees of comparison and intensity using the exceed marker b > b or b > b and b > b or b > b. The study has

increased our understanding of how adjectives behave in Esahie, and has thus added to the typological understanding of Adjectives in general. While some discoveries have been made in this study, there remain other issues not discussed in this paper. Some of these issues include pluralization of adjectives, modification of adjectives and the order of occurrence for multiple adjectives. These will be given attention to in future study.

Abbreviations

EMPH	Emphatic
DEF	Definite Article
DET	Determiner
COP	Copular
INTENS	Intensifier
COMPR	Comparative
REL	Relative
PST	Past
3SG	Third Person Singular
RED	Reduplicated
PERF	Perfective

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