ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

Pronouns in Ginyanga*

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

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

Introduction

Study background

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

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

(1) Ginyanga classification [2]
Niger-Congo > Kwa > Tano > Guang > North Guang > Ginyanga

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

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

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

Language background

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

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

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

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

Table 3 shows Ginyanga noun classes with their agreement paradigms.

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

Table 1. **Ginyanga consonants**

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

Table 2. **Ginyanga vowels**

[+ATR]

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

[-ATR]

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

Table 3. **Ginyanga noun class agreement**

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

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

(1)

    a. gɔ-cɔ   ga-tɔl
        CL4-ax   CL4.FCT-fall
        "The ax has fallen."

    b. gɔ-cɔ   gɛ-tɔl
        CL4-axq   CL4.IPFV-fall
        "The ax is falling."

    c. ga-bwɪ   ga-kɪlɪ
        CL4-bird   CL4.FCT-be.big
        "The bird is big."

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

(2)

    a. *Ø-wul*   *e*   *ò-ji*   *Ø-kitiki,*   *ò-ji*
       CL1-chief   DEF   CL1.FCT-eat   CL1-manioc,   CL1.FCT-eat
       "The chief has eaten the manioc, he has eaten."

    b. *Ø-wul*   *e*   *Ø-ji*   *Ø-kitiki,*   *ó-ji*
       CL1-chief   DEF   CL1.IPFV-eat   CL1-manioc,   CL1.IPFV-eat
       "The chief eats the manioc, he eats."

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

Microtypological background

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

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

Person	Ginyanga			Gonja			Cheperon			Nchumbulu			Nawuri		
	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph	obj	poss	emph
1SG	mi	mi	mi	má	má	má	mʊ	mʊ	mʊ	m̀ mʊ	–	mʊ	mὲ	mɔ̀	mὲ
2SG	fu	fu	fu	fó	fó	fó	wó	wó	wó	fʊ	–	fʊ	fò	fò	fò
3SG anim	see Table 3			mò	m̀bá	mò	mò	mò	mò	m̀ mò	–	mò	mò	mò	mò
3SG inanim	see Table 3			kúmú	kúmú bá	kúmú							kàmó		–
1PL	aɲɪ	aɲɪ	aɲɪ	àɲé	àɲé bá	àɲé	ὲnʊ	ὲnʊ	ὲnʊ	ànɪ	–	ànɪ	ànέ	ànέ	ànέ
2PL	faɲɪ	faɲɪ	faɲɪ	bèɲé	bèɲé bá	bèɲé	ὲnʊ↓	ὲnʊ↓	ὲnʊ↓	munɪ	–	munɪ	fànέ	fànέ	fànέ
3PL anim	see Table 3			bòmò		bòmò	ὲmó	ὲmó	ὲmó	bam bamʊ	–	bamʊ	gbàmó	gbàmó	gbàmó
3PL inanim	see Table 3			ámú	ámú ba	ámú							émò		–

Basic personal pronouns

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

Table 5. **Ginyanga possessive pronouns**

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

(3)
a. aɲɪ   kitiki
   1PL   Ø-manioc
   "our manioc"
b. a-wul   ni,   mɔ   ni
   CL2-chief   COP,   CL2.EMPH   COP
   "These are the chiefs, that is them."

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

(4)
   ɔ-ɲɪm   a   ga-tɪn
   CL1-man   DEF   CL4-house
   "the man's house"

(5)

a. ɔ-sʊbʊ   ga-tɪm-a,   ma   ga-tɪm-a
   CL-relative   CL4-house,   CL1.BSC   CL4-house
   "relative's house, his house"

b. a-gwini   ɔ-kɪla,   mɔ   ɔ-kɪla
   CL2-lion   CL1-bigness,   CL2.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "lions' bigness, their bigness"

c. ɪ-kabwɪ   ɔ-kɪla,   mɔ   ɔ-kɪla
   CL3-chicken   CL1-bigness,   CL3.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "chickens' bigness, their bigness"

d. ga-bwuɪ   ɔ-kila,   gɔ   ɔ-kɪla
   CL4-bird   CL1-bigness,   CL4.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "bird's bigness, its bigness"

e. gɪ-ba   ɔ-kɪla,   gɔ   ɔ-kɪla
   CL5-arm   CL1-bigness,   CL4.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "arm's bigness, its bigness"

f. m-bwuɪ   ɔ-kɪla,   ɲma   ɔ-kɪla
   CL6-bird   CL1-bigness,   CL6.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "birds' bigness, their bigness"

g. a-mu   ɔ-kɪla,   awa   ɔ-kɪla
   CL7-head   CL1-bigness,   CL7.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "heads' bigness, their bigness"

h. i-kitiki   ɔ-kɪla,   ɪya   ɔ-kɪla
   CL8-manioc   CL1-bigness,   CL8.BSC   CL1-bigness
   "maniocs' bigness, their bigness"

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

(6)

a. ɪ-safɔ   wa   ga-tɪm   a,   ma   ga-tɪm   a
   CL1-foreigner DEF   CL4-house   DEF,   CL1.BSC   CL4-house   DEF
   "foreigner's house, his house"

b. ɪ-safɔ   wa   ma   bi,   ma   bi
   CL1-foreigner   DEF   CL1.BSC   child,   CL1.BSC   child
   "foreigner's child, his child"

c. ɪ-safɔ   wa   ma   ka,   ma   ka
   CL1-foreigner DEF   CL1.BSC   wife,   CL1.BSC   wife
   "foreigner's wife, his wife"

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

(7)

a. a-safɔ   wa   ga-tɪm   a,   mɔ   ga-tɪm   a
   CL2-foreigner   DEF   CL4-house DEF,   CL2.BSC   CL4-house   DEF
   "foreigners' house, their house"

b.

a-safɔ	wa	gi-bi	e,	mɔ	gi-bi	e
CL2-foreigner	DEF	CL5-child	DEF,	CL2.BSC	CL5-child	DEF

"foreigners' child, their child"

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

(8)

ma	wa	la-kebi	mi	gɪ-sɔ	wa
3SG	DEF	FUT-cut	CL1.BSC	CL4-ear	DEF

"He will cut off his ear."

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

(9)

ɔ-cɪ	a	ni,	ma	ni
1CL-woman	DEF	COP,	CL1.EMPH	COP

"this is the woman, this is her"

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

(10)

ma	de	kojo
CL1.BSC	with	Kojo

"Kojo and him"

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

(11)

mi	de	wa
1SG. BSC	with	CL1.OBJ

"he and me"

(12)

*mi	de	ma
1SG. BSC	with	CL1.BSC

Exp. "he and me"

Object personal pronouns

Overview of object pronouns

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

Table 6. **Ginyanga object pronouns**

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

(13)

    a. n-wu   ɔ-cɪ,   n-wu   e
        1SG.IPFV-see CL1-woman,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL1.OBJ
        "I see a woman, I see her."

    b. n-wu   ɔ-ŋɪŋ,   n-wu   mɔ
        1SG.IPFV-see CL2-man,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL2.OBJ
        "I see men, I see them."

    c. n-wu   ɪ-kabwɪ,   n-wu   mɔ
        1SG.IPFV-see   CL3-chicken,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL3.OBJ
        "I see chickens, I see them."

    d. n-wu   gɔ-cɔ, n-wu   gɔ
        1SG.IPFV-see CL4-ax, 1SG.IPFV-see   CL4.OBJ
        "I see an ax, I see it."

    e. n-wu   gɪ-yɛ,   nwu   gɔ
        1SG.IPFV-see   CL5-mouse,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL5.OBJ
        "I see a mouse, I see it."

    f. n-wu   n-cɔ, n-wu   nma
        1SG.IPFV-see CL6-ax, 1SG.IPFV-see   CL6.OBJ
        "I see axes, I see them."

    g. n-wu   a-kwodu,   n-wu   awa
        1SG.IPFV-see CL7-banana,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL7.OBJ
        "I see bananas, I see them."

    h. n-wu   ɪ-jaŋ,   n-wu   ɪya
        1SG.IPFV-see   CL8-foot,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL8.OBJ
        "I see feet, I see them."

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

(14)

    a. n-ɲi   ɔ-cɪ,   n-ɲi   we
       1SG.IPFV-know   CL1-woman,   1SG.IPFV-know   CL1.OBJ
       "I know a woman, I know her."

    b. n-tasɪ   ɔ-cɪ,   n-tasɪ   wa
       1SG.IPFV-ask   CL1-woman,   1SG.IPFV-ask   CL1.OBJ
       "I ask a woman, I ask her."

    c. n-gal   ɔ-cɪ,   n-gal   a
       1SG.IPFV-hide   CL1-woman,   1SG.IPFV-hide   CL1.OBJ
       "I hide the woman, I hide her."

Evidence of variation in noun class

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

(15)

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

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

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

(16)

    a. n-wu   n-cɔ,   n-wu   ɪya
       1SG.IPFV-see   CL6-ax,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL8.OBJ
       "I see axes, I see them."

    b. *n-wu   n-cɔ,   n-wu   nma
       1SG.IPFV-see   CL6-ax,   1SG.IPFV-see   CL6.OBJ
       Exp. "I see axes, I see them."

(17)

a. n-wu   a-mu,   n-wu   ɪya

n-wu	a-mu,	n-wu	ɪya
1SG.IPFV-see	CL7-head,	1SG.IPFV-see	CL8.OBJ

"I see heads, I see them."

b.

*nwu	a-mu,	n-wu	awa
1SG.IPFV-see	CL7-head,	1SG.IPFV-see	CL7.OBJ

Exp. "I see heads, I see them."

Furthermore, example (18) demonstrates that these consultants relied on semantic, rather than formal criteria when choosing the object pronoun. Different meanings of the CL8 word ɪ-yɛl "bodies" (living bodies vs. corpses) required different pronouns: CL2/CL3 pronoun mɔ for the "living bodies" in (18a) and CL8 pronoun ɪya for the "corpses" in (18b).

(18)

a.

n-wu	ɪ-yɛl,	n-wu	mɔ
1SG.IPFV-see	CL8-body,	1SG.IPFV-see	CL2/CL3.OBJ

"I see bodies (alive), I see them."

b.

n-wu	ɪ-yɛl,	n-wu	ɪya
1SG.IPFV-see	CL8-body,	1SG.IPFV-see	CL8.OBJ

"I see corpses, I see them."

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

(19)

a.

i-bu	o-wi	sini	ga-tɪm	a
CL8.IPFV-have	CL1-tree	PREP	CL4-house	DEF

"There is a tree in front of the house."

b.

i-bu	ɔ-cabʊ	ɔ-sʊwɔl	a	rɔ
CL8.IPFV-have	CL1-healer	CL1-village	DEF	LOC

"There is a healer in the village."

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

(20)

a.

ya-mi-bu	ɔ-cabʊ	ɔ-sʊwɔl	a	rɔ
CL8.FCT-NEG-have	CL1-healer	CL1-village	DEF	LOC

"There is a healer in the village."

b.

ya-mi-ji	mi	na-yuli	a-temi	a-balɪ
CL8.FCT-NEG-be	1SG.BSC	1SG.FCT-steal	CL7-money	CL7-DEM1

"It is not me who has stolen that money."

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

(21)

a. o-wi wa ta Ø-nɛnɪm a bʋ ɪya su ga-dɛ ga-kɛ
   CL1-sun DEF leave CL1-rain DEF have CL8.BSC on CL4-day CL4.PF-more
   "The night came, the rain continued, the day came."

b. ɪya   wa ma ɔ-jɪbal   nɪ ji Ø-kɪnsal
   CL8.BSC DEF 3SG CL1-lover   COP be CL1-catfish
   "so, her lover, the catfish"

c. ɪya   wa ɪya   gbe ɪya ba wa Ø-kɔlɔbʋ ɔ-kʋ
         wa o-wu
   CL8.BSC   DEF CL8.BSC go CL8.BSC come TM CL1-wife CL1-one
         DEF CL1.FCT-die
   "After some time, one of the wives has died."

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

Non-personal pronouns

Reflexive pronouns

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

(22)

a. mi ɲi   o-wu   ma   yɛl   ga-dɪl
   1SG.BSC mother   3SG. FCT-see CL1.BSC   INT   CL4-mirror
   a   rɔ
   DEF LOC
   "My mother has seen herself in the mirror."

b. a-safɔ   wa   me-wu   mɔ   yɛl   ga-dɪl
   CL2-foreigner DEF CL2.IPFV-see CL2.BSC   INT   CL4-mirror
   a   rɔ
   DEF LOC
   "the foreigners are looking at themselves in the mirror"

c. ga-nam   a   ge-wu   gɔ   yɛl   ga-dɪl
   CL4-scorpion DEF CL4.IPFV-see CL4.BSC   INT   CL4-mirror
   a   rɔ
   DEF LOC
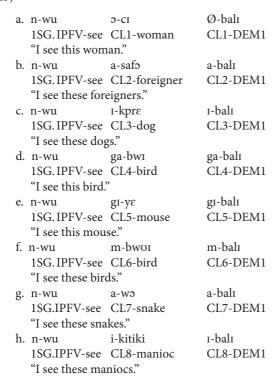   "The scorpions are looking at themselves in the mirror."

Demonstratives

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

Table 7. **Noun class agreement of Ginyanga demonstratives**

Noun class	*-bʋn ʋprefix*	*-balɪ prefix*
CL1	ɔ-	Ø-
CL2	a-	a-
CL3	ɪ-	ɪ-
CL4	ga-	ga-
CL5	gɪ	gɪ-
CL6	n-	n-
CL7	a-	a-
CL8	ɪ-	ɪ-

(23)

    a. n-wu   ɔ-cɪ   Ø-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL1-woman   CL1-DEM1
       "I see this woman."

    b. n-wu   a-safɔ   a-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL2-foreigner   CL2-DEM1
       "I see these foreigners."

    c. n-wu   ɪ-kprɛ   ɪ-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL3-dog   CL3-DEM1
       "I see these dogs."

    d. n-wu   ga-bwɪ   ga-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL4-bird   CL4-DEM1
       "I see this bird."

    e. n-wu   gɪ-yɛ   gɪ-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL5-mouse   CL5-DEM1
       "I see this mouse."

    f. n-wu   m-bwʊɪ   m-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL6-bird   CL6-DEM1
       "I see these birds."

    g. n-wu   a-wɔ   a-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL7-snake   CL7-DEM1
       "I see these snakes."

    h. n-wu   i-kitiki   ɪ-balɪ
       1SG.IPFV-see CL8-manioc   CL8-DEM1
       "I see these maniocs."

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

(24)

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

b. n-wu   Ø-wul   e   ma-ka   sa-sɛ

1SG.IPFV-see   CL1-chief   DEF   CL1.POSS-wife   three-ADJ

daŋan-sɛ   Ø-balɪ   wa

good-ADJ   CL1-DEM1   DEF

c. *n-wu   Ø-wul   e   ma-ka   sa-sɛ   daŋan-sɛ

1SG.IPFV-see   CL1-chief   DEF   CL1.POSS-wife   three-ADJ   good-ADJ

wa   Ø-balɪ

DEF   CL1-DEM1

(a, b, *c) "I see this third beautiful wife of the chief."

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

(25)

a. ɪ-sa   ɔ-bʊnʊ   ma-sa   a-temi   we

CL1-person   CL1-DEM2   CL1.FCT-give   CL7-money   DEF

ɔ-ŋa

CL1.FCT-disappear

b. ɔ-bʊnʊ   ma-sa   a-temi   we   ɔ-ŋa

CL1-DEM2   CL1.FCT-give   CL7-money   DEF   CL1.FCT-disappear

c. *ɔ-balɪ   ma-sa   a-temi   we   ɔ-ŋa

CL1-DEM1   CL1.FCT-give   CL7-money   DEF   CL1.FCT-disappear

(a, b, *c) "The person who has given the money disappeared."

d. ga-bʊnʊ   ga-ji   Ø-kitiki   we   ga-ɲa

CL4-DEM2   CL4.FCT-eat   CL1-manioc   DEF   CL4.FCT-disappear

"(The bird) that has eaten the manioc has disappeared."

Quantifiers

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

Table 8. **Ginyanga quantifiers**

quantifier	translation
ɔkʊ	"some/any"
kɪrɪ	"no"
kpɛkpɛ	"every"
bɪnɪ	"all"
kinkin	"all"
gɪdɛ	"many"
gipi	"many"
guco	"many"
dodan	"many", "enough"
mara, marapi	"few"
pi	"few"

(26)

    a. na-so   i-jo   dodan
       1SG.FCT-buy   CL8-igname   enough
       "I bought enough igname."

    b. na-so   Ø-kitiki   guco
       1SG.FCT-buy   CL1-manioc   much
       "I bought a lot of manioc."

    c. ɔ-ji   gɪ-pal   a   kinkin
       CL1.FCT-eat   CL5-porridge   DEF   all
       "He has eaten all of the foufou."

    d. a-cɪ   a   bini   me-ba   gɪ-ja
       CL2-woman   DEF   all   3PL.IPFV-go   CL5-market
       "All of the women go to the market."

Further we will discuss two quantifiers that demonstrate class agreement, namely *-kʊ* "one" and *kpɛkpɛ* "each".

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

(27)

    a. ma-kra   i-yu   ɪ-kʊ
       3PL.FCT-catch   CL1-thief   CL1-one
       "Some thief was caught."

    b. na-me-ji   Ø-muti   ɔ-kʊ
       1SG.FCT-NEG-eat   CL1-orange   CL1-one
       "I haven't eaten any oranges."

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

(28)

    a. ga-bwɪ   kpɛkpɛ ga-bu   galɛ,   ga-kpɛkpɛ
       CL4-bird   each   CL4.FCT-have   here,   CL4-each
       ga-bu   galɛ
       CL4.FCT-have here
       "All the birds are here, all are here."

    b. ɪ-safɔ   kpɛkpɛ Ø-bu   galɛ,   ɔ-kpɛkpɛ
       CL1-foreigner each   CL1.IPFV-have   here,   CL1-each
       Ø-bu   galɛ
       CL1.IPFV-have   here
       "All the foreigners are here, all are here."

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

(29)

a. *a-safɔ   kpɛkpɛ   ma-bu   galɛ,   a-kpɛkpɛ
   CL2-foreigner   each   CL2.FCT-have   here,   CL2-each
   a-bu   galɛ
   CL2.FCT-have   here
   Exp. "All the foreigners are here, all are here."

b. ɪ-la   daŋan-sɛ   kpɛkpɛ   ɪ-bu   galɛ, ɪ-kpɛkpɛ
   CL8-thing   be.good-ADJ   each   CL8.IPFV-have   here, CL8-each
   i-bu   galɛ
   CL8.IPFV-have   here
   "All the necessary things are here."

Conclusion

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

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

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

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Местоимения в языке гиньанга*

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

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

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

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