On the Basic Focus Marker, and the Basic Focus Sentence, in Akan (Twi)

Seth Antwi OFORI
University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA

ABSTRACT

This paper provides alternative viewpoints on Boadi's (1974) analysis of the basic and the derived focus marker in Akan, his position on the focus marker's functions, and his proposal for two underlying focus-sentences in Akan. He defines *na* as the basic focus marker, with the senses "exclusive, emphatic, restricting" and *ne* as a variant derived via a morpho-phonological rule that fuses *na+yɛ* "be." Boadi argues that it is costly in terms of rules to establish a common underlying structure for his two underlying structures. We contradict his positions with facts supported by Akan linguistics. We establish *ne* as the basic focus verb/copula, and *na* as a variant derived from *ne* + *a* 'relativizer' fusion. The basic focus marker, we argue, is an equational copula/verb that joins a focused-unit and a presuppositional-constituent, the aim of which is to demand, assert, or achieve definiteness. This account allows for a common underlying focus-sentence.

1. INTRODUCTION

The main work on focus sentences in Akan, a Kwa language spoken mainly in Ghana, is Boadi (1974). This paper responds to certain positions taken by Boadi (1974) on Akan focus sentences. Specifically, we provide alternative viewpoints on these areas/positions in Boadi (1974): (a) his position on the basic and the derived focus marker; (b) his position on the types of focus sentences in Akan; and (c) his position on functions/senses of the focus marker in Akan. These positions are discussed in section one. Viewpoints pursued in the present study point to a unified/single underlying focus-sentence structure in Akan as opposed to two underlying focus-sentence structures proposed by Boadi (1974). The significance of this study lies in its adequacy to account for focus sentence alternations from a common sentence structure and with few principles supported by Akan linguistics contrary to Boadi's (1974) position that it is costly in terms of rules to do so. The paper also has relevance to the theory of grammaticalization (Schwarz and Fiedler 2007). This unified account of the focus sentence structure in Akan is pursued in section two where we also redefine the basic focus marker, its basic function, and establish the conditions/principles that derive the two main focus sentences in Akan. In

section three, we assert the adequacy of positions pursued in section two by testing them against varied focus-sentence data. Section four is the conclusion.[1]

2.   FOCUS SENTENCES IN AKAN (BOADI 1974): A NECESSARY BACKGROUND

Focus sentences (1b and 1c) are semantically different from non-focus sentences (1a) in containing "points of prominence within the message" (Halliday, 1967). Part of the information being conveyed is new (i.e. the focus/rheme), and at the same time the speaker takes it for granted that some of the content is known to the hearer, or, it is assumed that "an event involving an unspecified entity occurred" (i.e. background information/presupposition/given/theme) (Ellis and Boadi, 1969: 7).[2] Known information in (1b, c) is *ɔbaa ha* 'He/she came here;' the focus constituent is ***Kofi*** in (1b, c).

(1a)   Non-Focus   (1b)   (Simple-***na***) focus
       Kofi   ba-a   ha. $Kofi_i$ na $ɔ_i$-ba-a   ha.
       Kofi   come-PAST   here   Kofi   FOC   3SG-come-PAST   here
       'Kofi came here.'   'Kofi is the one who came here.

(1c)   (Non-extraposed pseudo-clefted) focus
       [Onipa   a   ɔ-ba-a   ha]$_{NP}$ ne   [Kofi]$_{NP}$
       person   REL   3SG-come-PAST   here   FOC   Kofi
       'The one who came here is Kofi.'

The basic and the derived focus marker (Boadi 1974). Boadi identifies two focus markers in Akan, ***na*** and ***ne***, and establishes ***na*** as basic, and ***ne*** as derived via a morphophonological rule. A focus sentence in Akan, he argues, is formed by placing ***na*** at the left periphery of a non-focus sentence (e.g. 1a) which then becomes [__ **na Kofi baa ha**]. A constituent of the sentence (e.g. ***Kofi***) is copied before the basic focus marker to derive [**Kofi₁ na Kofi₂ baa ha**]. An obligatory pronominalization rule converts ***Kofi₂*** to ***ɔ-*** to derive the focus sentence in (1b).

   Ne, the allomorphic variant or 'the telescoped surface realization of the focus marker ***na*** and the copula *yɛ*' (Boadi 1974), is derived through a morpho-phonological process that merges ***na*** and *yɛ* 'to be.' Sentence (1c) represents the focus sentence with ***ne***, Boadi's derived focus marker.

[2]   Aboh et al (2007: 1) following Jackendoff (1972) and Lambrecht (1994) define the terms 'focus' and 'background' as follows. "Focus refers to that part of the clause that provides the most relevant or most salient information in a given discourse situation. Background refers to that part of the clause that contains the presupposed and/or given information, where giveness implies having been mentioned in the preceding discourse."

Types of focus sentences (Boadi 1974). Sentence (1b) and (1c) represent the two underlying focus sentences proposed by Boadi (1974). Each underlying focus sentence has an alternation making four focus sentences in all. His four focus sentence-types are: (i) simple-*na* focus (1b), (ii) clefted focus (2a), (iii) (non-extraposed) pseudo-clefted focus (1c), and extraposed pseudo-clefted focus (2b).

(2a) Clefted focus

ɛyɛ   Kofi   na   ɔ-ba-a   ha.
It-is(Cleft)   Kofi   FOC   3SG-come-PAST   here
'It is Kofi who came here.'

(2b) Extraposed pseudo-clefted focus

[Kofi]$_{NP}$ ne   Onipa   a   ɔ-ba-a   ha]$_{NP}$
Kofi   FOC   person   REL   3SG-come-PAST   here
'Kofi is the person/one who came here.'

The frames and processes in (3) and (4) are Boadi's account of how the four focus sentences derive from his two underlying structures.

(3) Deriving simple-*na* and clefted focus sentences.
  (i)   Non-focus: [***Kofi baa ha***]$_{sentence}$
  (ii)   Introduction of ***na*** at clause left-periphery: ***na*** (Foc) + [***Kofi baa ha***]
  (iii) Constituent copying for focus: ***Kofi$_1$ na*** [***Kofi$_2$ baa ha***].
  (iv)   Pronominalization (***ɔ-*** replaces ***Kofi$_2$***): [***Kofi$_1$ na ɔ-baa ha***]
  (v)   Deriving clefted focus (***ɛyɛ***/cleft-addition): ***ɛyɛ Kofi na ɔbaa ha.*** (2a)
  (vi)   Deriving simple-***na*** focus (***ɛyɛ***-deletion): ***Kofi na ɔbaa ha.*** (1b)

(4) Deriving non-extraposed pseudoclefted focus, and extraposed pseudo-clefted focus
  (i)   [***ɔ-baa ha***] $_{Sentence}$ ***yɛ*** [***Kofi***]$_{NP}$
  (ii)   Introduction on ***na***/focus: ***na*** + [***ɔ-baa ha***] ***yɛ*** [***Kofi***]$_{NP}$
  (iii) Morphophonological fusion of ***na-yɛ*** to ***ne***: [***ɔ-baa ha***] ***ne*** [***Kofi***]$_{NP}$
  (iv)   Relativization (NP + relativizer): ***Onipa a*** [***ɔbaa ha***] ***ne*** [Kofi] $_{NP}$
  (v)   Deriving non-extraposed pseudoclefted focus: ***Onipa a ɔbaa ha ne Kofi*** (1c)
  (vi)   Deriving extraposed pseudoclefted focus (Swapping of non-extraposed pseudoclefted NPs in 4e): ***Kofi ne onipa a ɔbaa ha*** (see 2b)

On clefted focus and simple-***na*** focus sentence relation, Boadi argues that "the syntactic similarity between clefted focus sentence [(3e)] and simple ***na***-focus sentence [(3f)] is obvious, and that the difference between them is explained by saying that [simple-***na*** focus] sentences have undergone a rule which erases the

introductory clause *ɛyɛ* 'it is' [and that] this is another way of saying that …
[clefted focus] sentences … are synonymous with … [simple-***na*** focus
sentences]. [He continues that] … in most … languages of the Kwa sub-group,
the introductory clause *ɛyɛ* has no semantic content" (Boadi 1974: 14). The
extraposed pseudo-clefted focus sentence is derived by simply
swapping/extraposing NPs of the non-extraposed pseudo-clefted focus sentence
in (4e) to (4f). Henceforth, the term ***na-focus*** when used describes clefted focus
and simple-***na*** focus sentences together; the term ***ne-focus*** desribes non-
extraposed pseudoclefted and extraposed pseudoclefted focus sentences
together – the decision was made based on the observation that the former
sentences always appear with the ***na*** focus marker while the latter sentences are
expressed with the ***ne*** focus marker.

   Reasons against a common underlying focus structure (Boadi 1974). Boadi
argues that "on semantic grounds ***na***-focus sentences [(simple-***na*** and clefted
focus sentences)] are relatable to underlying representations of [***ne***-focus
sentences (i.e. extraposed and non-extraposed pseudo-clefted focus sentences)]
containing relative clauses." He also oberves that "[t]here are good semantic
grounds for positing an underlying defining relative sentence for the
presupposition part of the ***na***-focus sentences [Boadi 1974: 20] just [like] in
pseudo-clefted focus sentences. These shared semantic features between the two
underlying focus sentences point to a common underlying sentence, however,
proposing [such] a common underlying representation [(for the ***na***- and ***ne***-
focus sentences)] is prohibitively costly in terms of rules" (Boadi 1974: 34). He,
again, goes on to say that proposing a common underlying representation for the
na- and ***ne***- focus sentences is less convincing for the reason that sentences in
which manner adverbials (***anigye so*** 'in happiness' in 5) or adjectives (***fɛ***
'beautiful' in 6a) are ***na***-focused do not have the ***ne***-focus (i.e. the pseudo-
clefted focus) sentence alternation. His observation that focused manner adverbs
and focused adjective come in the ***na***-focus structure, and that they are never
expressed in the ***ne***-focus structure is illustrated in (5b) and (6b) – asterisk
denotes the ungrammaticality of the ***ne***-focus alternation.

(5)   Focused Adverb
(5a)   Na-focus:
         <u>Anigye   so</u> na   ɔ-ba-a   ha.
         Happiness   on FOC   3SG-come-PAST   here
         'She/he came here in a happy mood/happily.'

(5b)   Ne-focus:
         *[ɔkwan   a   ɔ-ba-a ha] ne [<u>anigye so</u>]

(6)   Focused Adjective
(6a)   Na-focus:

<u>fɛ</u>   na   ɛyɛ   fɛ.
beautiful FOC   it-be   beautiful
'It is BEAUTIFUL.'

(6b)   Ne-focus: *[nea ɛyɛ] ne <u>fɛ</u>.

The semantics of the focus marker (Boadi 1974). Boadi defines the focus marker variously as 'an exclusive focus marker, an individuating deictic, (a formative) emphasis' which attaches itself to an NP to present that NP as new information, and then narrows down its (the NP's) referential range, thereby placing it in an exclusive class by itself. The viewpoints above are also supported in Ellis and Boadi (1969: 7–8), who add that the unit modified this way then "becomes the focus of the message being transmitted." We will show that the focus marker rather helps to express a complete assertion and does not simply qualify the focused unit in the terms described above. The above definitions do not accurately capture the true, basic meaning and, therefore, the basic function of the focus marker in Akan.

Way forward. Central to Boadi's analysis is his establishment of the basic focus marker as **na**, with **ne** as its allomorphic variant from **na-yɛ** fusion. Missing from his account is the morphophonological process that accounts for the **na + yɛɛ** fusion to **ne [nɪ]**. Also, missing from his account is the morphophonological motivation and the language-internal support for the said fusion. His **na-yɛ** fusion is morphophonologically indefensible in Akan linguistics. Again, under his account, though the relative clause is present in **na-**focus sentences, we are unable to account for the relative marker. There is never an instance in Akan syntax whereby a clause can have the relative reading without the relativizer. Contrary to Boadi (1974), the present paper posits **ne /nɪ/** as rather the basic focus verb/unit in Akan, and **na** as its allomorphic variant. This option of **ne** being basic, and **na** derived, was never explored by Boadi (1974). By positing **ne /nɪ/** as the basic focus verb/marker in Akan we are able to address the numerous concerns raised by Boadi, and, also, every problem we have raised as shortcomings of his account. We are also able to securely establish that senses ascribed to the focus marker such as described above do not capture the primary function(s) of the word as used in the focus sentence. An added advantage to the current approach is that we are able to establish a common underlying focus sentence for Akan, with the syntactic and semantic properties of this underlying focus sentence well-defined, and are able to account for the different focus sentences identified by Boadi (1974) and even focus sentences he did not identify all from our common underlying focus representation.

3. FEATURES OF THE COMMON UNDERLYING FOCUS SENTENCE

The following viewpoints and background information are important in establishing a common underlying focus representation with ***ne /nɪ/*** as its basic focus marker. The subdivisions are: (2.1) the semantics of ***ne /nɪ/***, the new and basic focus marker; (2.2) relativization in Akan, and (2.3) establishing a common focus sentence structure (based on positions in (2.1) and (2.2)).

3.1 THE SEMANTICS OF ***NE /NI/***, THE NEW, BASIC FOCUS MARKER

Significant to analysis here is Lambrecht's (1994) description of "focus" as "the balance remaining when one subtracts the presupposed component [old/shared information] from a given assertion [new information]" (Lambrecht 1994: 217). But more significant is his argument that "[w]hat creates the assertion [the new information] is not the focus denotatum [the unit in the focus domain] by itself but the establishment of a relation between the focus denotatum and the presupposition" (Lambrecht 1994: 217). These positions, especially the latter position, hold very true of focus sentences in Akan. The focus domain in (7) is [***Yaw ne***], with ***ne*** as the focus marker, and [***Yaw***] as the focus denotatum.

(7)   Yaw$_i$ ne   onipa a   mehuu   noi   ɛnnora.
      Yaw   FOC   person REL   I-saw   him   yesterday
      Yaw is the person I saw yesterday.

Sentence (7) consists of a (pragmatic) presupposition and an assertion. A presupposition is information (a proposition) that a speaker/questioner either ASSUMES, or KNOWS that his/her addressee knows (i.e. have access to), or information a speaker EXPECTS his addressee to know. The presupposition in (7) is the proposition, 'I saw X yesterday' – with X symbolizing a presuppositional constituent, henceforth $X_{presup-const}$ for short. The assertion is the new information in the focus sentence. The assertion in sentence (7) is [**Yaw = $X_{presup-const}$**], and not [***Yaw***] by itself. The sign "=" represents ***ne /nɪ/***, our basic focus marker. ***Ne*** is an equational/ascriptive copula/verb in the focus sentence. The basic semantic function of ***ne /nɪ/*** is to equate a focused-unit and a presuppositional constituent (i.e. $X_{presup-const}$), the aim of which is…

> (8a) to affirm or reinforce meaning; this is when the focused unit is simply a copy of its presuppositional counterpart as in the sentence: ***fɛ$_i$ na ɛyɛ fɛ$_i$*** "Beautiful is what it is." Here, the focused (or the first) ***fɛ*** and the presuppositional (i.e. the second) ***fɛ*** are equated, or are ascribed to each

other, the aim of which is to reinforce or affirm the meaning "beautiful" and by so doing to achieve definiteness. Or

(8b) to present the two entities as one and the same and by so doing to achieve definiteness, as in the sentence: ***Yaw ne onipa a mehuu no*** "Yaw is the person that I saw." This sentence implies that "I saw X(somebody)", and "that somebody is Yaw." That is, I present Yaw and the person that I saw as one and the same – this is achieved by equating or ascribing "Yaw" and "the person I saw"," to each other via ***ne***, the aim of which is to achieve definiteness. Or

(8c) to present the presuppositional constituent as indefinite, and to demand definiteness; for example, the question: ***Hwae ne Yaw?*** 'Who is Yaw?' suggests that (i) the questioner has only heard about him, but (ii) cannot identify him. The equation of ***hwae*** and ***Yaw*** presents ***Yaw*** as unknown and demands the identity of ***Yaw.***

From the positions above, the primary role of ***ne*** /nɪ/ is not to exclude, restrict, emphasize or individuate the focused-constituent as argued by Boadi (1974). Senses such as 'exclusion, individuation, emphasis, etc.' are rather properties that occur on or within a focus-NP and which a focus-NP ought to have to ensure that it is restrictive enough to be able to either demand or provide definiteness upon its (the focus-NP's) equation via ***ne*** /nɪ/ to the presuppositional constituent.

3.2 RELATIVIZATION IN AKAN

One of the more common constituents of focus sentences is the relative clause (henceforth, RC) (Saah 2010). The relative clause in Akan consists of a relativizer, ***a***, and a sentence. The relative clause may modify mostly a generic noun in the structure, NP + RC; the noun modified this way (i.e. a relativized-NP) may be either definite or indefinite. Where the noun is definite, a definite article, ***no*** (henceforth definite-***no***) may follow the RC – this means that the RC always interrupts the NP vs. definite-***no*** sequence. The complete relativized NP in Akan is, NP + ***a*** + Sentence + (**no**) as in <u>***Onipa***</u> <u>***a***</u> <u>***mehuu no***</u> <u>***(no)***</u> 'The person that I saw'). Every relative clause or relativized NP must carry **a** 'the relativizer,' and while the relativizer may sometimes change to [ɛ] for reasons beyond this paper, it is never deleted in a phrase. A relativized NP ends with the definite-***no*** only when the content of the relativized NP is definite to the parties involved in the conversation, the speaker and the addressee.[3]

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3   A relativized NP has a resumptive pronoun in its canonical position in the relative clause. For example, in the relativized NP above, i.e. ***Onipa$_i$ a mehuu no$_i$ no***, the word ***no$_i$*** is the resumptive pronoun of the noun head ***Onipa$_i$*** hence their coindexation. As rightly pointed out

Interestingly, verbs and adjectives can equally be relativized in Akan as in (9) and (10) respectively. The verb is **pɛ** 'like;' the adjective is **fɛ** 'beautiful.'

(9)   Kwame   nnim   pɛ_____   a   mepɛ ataadeɛ   no.
        Kwame   NEG:know   want/like REL   I-like dress   the
        Kwame doesn't know how much I LIKE the dress.

(10)   Kwame   nnim   fɛ_____   a   ataadeɛ   no yɛ me.
        Kwame NEG:know   beautiful REL   dress   the be me
        Kwame doesn't know how BEAUTIFUL the dress is to me.

Also, Saah (1990) observes that '[it] is possible for a constituent (usually a verb or locative phrase) to interrupt the [NP + RC] sequence in Akan.' Sentence (11a) illustrates the NP(**ɔbarima bi**) and the RC (**a   ne   din   de   Nyamekyɛ**) contiguity.

(11a)   NP + Relative Clause (RC) Contiguity
        [ɔbarima   bi]ₙₚ [a   ne din   de   Nyamekyɛ]ᵣ𝒸 [tenaa ase]ᵥₚ
                                                                        (Saah 1990)

        Man   a   REL   his name   was   Nyamekyɛ   lived
        'There was a certain man whose name was Nyamekyɛ.'

(11b)   NP + RC Contiguity interspaced by VP (**tenaa ase**)
        [ɔbarima   bi]ₙₚ [tenaa ase]ᵥₚ [a   ne din   de   Nyamekyɛ]ᵣ𝒸
                                                                        (Saah 1990)

        Man   a   lived   REL   his name   was   Nyamekyɛ
        'There was a certain man whose name was Nyamekyɛ.'

Crucial to the present study is the tendency for an NP to be followed directly by its RC as in (11a), or the tendency for the head NP and the RC to be separated from each other by the verb phrase (e.g. **tenaa ase**) – i.e. to be non-contiguous – as in (11b), in Akan. The term 'extraposed relative clause' has been used to

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by Saah (2010), the resumptive pronoun strategy is employed in the formation of relative clauses, content questions, topicalized and focused sentences. As argued by Saah (2010: 99) who is the main authority on the subject in Akan, and supported in the current paper, the presence of these resumptive pronouns argues for a non-movement analysis of the noun head from the relative clause below it. That is, given that the resumptive pronoun occupies the head noun's base-position, we must conclude that the head NP must be base-generated in [Spec, CP], i.e. it does not move to that position. This viewpoint receives support in Haegeman (1994: 409-410). In focus sentences, the focus unit always has its correlate – e.g. a resumptive pronoun, a verb, an adjective, etc. depending on the unit in focus – in the relative clause. For the above reason and in line with Saah (2010), Haegeman (1994), I analyze the focus unit in Akan as base-generated. The focus unit could not have been moved from the base-position for the fact that the base-position is filled.

describe the latter relative clause in the literature (Givon 1993, 2001; McCawley 1998; Kayne 1994; Saah 2010).

3.3 THE ARGUMENT FOR A COMMON UNDERLYING FOCUS SENTENCE

Sentences (12a) and (12b-ii) are alternations of the same sentence. The sentence in (12a) and the one in (12b) are different in the following ways. In (12a), a generic-NP (*onipa$_i$*) (henceforth, NP$_{[+Generic]}$) and its RC (*a ɔ$_i$-ba-a ha*) are contiguous – i.e. the relative clause is headed, whereas, in (12b), the relative clause (*a ɔ$_i$-ba-a ha*) is headless – i.e. without the generic (i.e. indefinite)-NP – the headless relative clause, though describes the focus NP (*Kofi*), is separated from it (i.e. the focus NP) by *ne*, a copula verb. That is, in (12a), *Kofi$_i$* governs its canonical correlate *ɔ$_i$-* (the resumptive pronoun) directly via the generic NP (*onipa$_i$*), while, in (12b) where the relative clause is headless, *Kofi$_i$* governs *ɔ$_i$-*, remotely, i.e. not via the generic NP. Important in (12) below is the fact that *ne* selects either a relativized-NP (i.e. a headed relative clause, or a noun), or a relative clause (i.e. a headless relative clause).

(12a) [Kofi$_i$]$_{NP}$ [ne] [onipa$_i$ a ɔ$_i$-ba-a ha.]$_{NP}$
       Kofi FOC person REL 3SG-come-PAST here
       'Kofi is the person who came here.'

(12b) (i) [Kofi$_i$]$_{NP}$ [ne]$_{VP}$ [a ɔ$_i$-ba-a ha.]$_{RC}$ → (ii) Kofi na ɔbaa ha.
       Kofi FOC REL 3SG-come-PAST here
       'Kofi is the one who came here.'

Sentence (12a), with the structure: [NP*(Kofi)* Verb*(ne)* NP*(onipa)* + RC*(a ɔbaa ha)*], can be considered basic, and (12b-ii), with the structure: [NP*(Kofi)* Verb*(ne)* RC*(a ɔbaa ha)*], as derived from (12a) via NP-deletion. That is, *onipa* 'person,' the generic-NP is deleted from (12b). The deletion of the generic noun puts sentence (12b), [NP*(Kofi)* Verb*(ne)* RC*(a ɔbaa ha)*], and all *na*-focus sentences, in the same constituent-structure category as sentence (11b), [NP*(ɔbarima bi)* Verb*(tenaa ase)* RC*(a ne din de Nyamekyɛ)*]. The question is what motivates the occurrence or non-occurrence of the generic NP after *ne*? In other words, when does *ne* select the relativized-NP (i.e. the headed relative clause, or an NP) and when can it not select the (relativized)-NP and so selects the headless relative clause?

The occurrence or non-occurrence of NP$_{[+Generic]}$ after *ne* – i.e. the selection or non-selection of the headless relative clause by *ne* – is motivated by the following factors. The relationship between the focused unit and NP$_{[+Generic]}$ is always one of hyponym vs. hypernym respectively. What this means is that salient semantic features of NP$_{[+Generic]}$, the hypernym, are always included in the focused unit, the hyponym. For example, semantic properties such as

[±Animacy], [±Plural], [Location] are properties the focused-NP and the generic-noun (NP[+Generic]) must both share. Agreement in these features is a requirement for coreference, but also it tends to render, insignificant or redundant, the generic-noun. That is, the optionality of NP[+Generic] and, consequently, its omission is caused by the above factors. Also, the NP[+Generic] is allowed after **ne** (by which the headed relative clause, or the relativized-NP is derived) because NP[+Generic] does not block coindexation/coreference – for example, in (12b), **Onipa** shares semantic features with **Kofi** and **ɔ-**, and, by so doing, becomes the antecedent of **ɔ-**, with **Kofi** as the antecedent of **onipa** and **ɔ-**. That is, the introduction of **onipa** to head the relative clause does not block **Kofi** (the focus NP) from being the antecedent of **ɔ-** in (12b). So in a nutshell the non-occurrence of the NP[+Generic] (for reasons stated and others yet to be established) triggers the **na**-focus sentence-type as in (12b), while the occurrence of the NP[+Generic] yields the **ne**-focus sentence-type as in (12a).

It also needs to be noted that not all focused categories have generic nouns and so can have their RCs headed directly by the generic noun. Due to lack of generic nouns, such focused units opt for the RC which ends up making **ne** and **a** contiguous. A consequence of this lack is that such focused categories strictly exhibit the **na**-focus structure, and never have the **ne**-focus sentence alternation. Examples of focused categories without generic noun phrases and so strictly exhibit the **na**-focus structure are focused-verbs (**frɛ** 'call' in (13a)), focused-adjectives (**tan** 'ugly' in (13b)), and focused-adverbs – excluding time and place adverbs (**anigye so** 'with happiness' in (13c)).

(13a) (i) **ne**-focus

$\qquad$ *Frɛ$_1$$\qquad$ne$\qquad$frɛ$_2$$\qquad$a$\qquad$ɔ[frɛ$_3$]-e.
$\qquad$ Calling$\qquad$FOC$\qquad$call$\qquad$REL$\qquad$3SG-call-PAST

$\quad$(ii) **na**-focus

$\qquad$ Frɛ$_i$$\qquad$na$\qquad\qquad$ɔ[frɛ$_i$]-e.
$\qquad$ Calling$\qquad$FOC:REL$\qquad$3SG-call-PAST
$\qquad$ 'Calling is what he did (do).'

(13b) (i) **ne**-focus

$\qquad$ *Tan$_1$ ne$\qquad$tan$_2$$\qquad$a$\qquad$ɛyɛ$\qquad$me$\qquad$tan$_3$.
$\qquad$ Ugly$\quad$FOC$\qquad$ugly$\quad$REL$\quad$it-is$\quad$1SG$\quad$ugly

$\quad$(ii) **na**-focus

$\qquad$ Tan$_i$$\qquad$na$\qquad\qquad$ɛ-yɛ$\qquad$me$\qquad$tan$_i$.
$\qquad$ Ugly$\quad$FOC.REL$\quad$it-is$\quad$1SG$\qquad$ugly
$\qquad$ 'Ugly is what it is to me.'

(13c) (i) ***ne*-focus**

    *[Anigye so]*ᵢ* ne   [anigye so*₂*   a   ɔbaa   ha.

    with joy   FOC   with joy   REL   3SG-came   here

    (ii) ***na*-focus**

    Anigye so*ᵢ*   na   ɔbaa   ha   _____*ᵢ*.

    With joy   FOC   3SG:came   here   with joy

    With joy he came here.

Ne-focus sentences in (13a-i), (13b-i) and (13c-i) are ungrammatical because ***frɛ*₂** and ***tan*₂** and **[*anigye so*]₂** are not generic-nouns to head the RC and to derive the ***ne*-focus** alternation – the categories in focus lack generic nouns. Adverbs of time and place in (14a) and (14b) have the ***ne*-** and ***na*-** focus sentence alternation because they have generic NPs (e.g. ***da*** 'day', ***baabi*** 'place') that head the RC and do so optionally, hence the alternation (i) and (ii) for each grouping with same meaning.

(14a) Time

    (i) Nnɛra   ne   da   a   Kofi   anhu   Amma.

    Yesterday FOC   day   REL   Kofi   didn't-see   Amma

    'Yesterday was the day that Kofi did not see Amma.'

    (ii) Nnɛra na Kofi anhu Amma.

(14b) Place

    (i) ɛhɔ   ne   baabi   a   meyɛ   adwuma.

    there   FOC   place   REL   1SG-do   work

    'It is at the upstairs there that I work.'

    (ii) ɛhɔ na [me-yɛ adwuma].

Our position so far has been that the ***ne*-**focus sentence is basic, and the ***na*-**focus sentence types derived. The goal here is to complete the discussion of the ***na*-**focus derivation. Our argument has been that the fact that RC is not directly headed – either because a focused unit/category lacks a generic noun, or because the generic noun has optionally been deleted just to avert redundancy – is what conditions the ***na*-**focus sentence structure. In other words, the fact that the head of RC is not phonetically realized creates ***ne* /nɪ/** (the basic focus) and **a** (the relativizer) contiguity as in (12b-i). A corollary of their contiguity is the deletion of /ɪ/ by the morphophonological rule, **/ɪ/ ➔ Ø /n_ +a/** ([*a*] being the relativizer), and the fusion of [*n*] and [*a*] to derive ***na***, and the ***na*-**focus sentence alternation (e.g. 12b-ii).[4] ***Na*** is therefore a 'portmanteau morpheme' (Hockett 1947;

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4   The rule: /ɪ/ ➔ O /n_ +a states that the high front vowel deletes between [n] and [a] 'the relativizer.'

Newman 2000) consisting of ***ne (nɪ)*** – new basic focus marker/copula – and ***a*** 'the relativizer.'

The morphophonological rule above that applies to derive ***na*** from the [***nɪ*** + ***a***] contiguity is well-supported in Akan morphophonology – the support comes from reduction of possessive constructions in Akan. In data (15) below, the singular possessive pronouns, {***mɪ***} 'I', {***wʊ***} 'you', {***nɪ***} 'his/her' lose their vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ (high vowels) before /a/, the low vowel.

(15)

Phonemic	Surface/Phonetic	English gloss
{mɪ akʊma}	[makʊma]	'my heart'
{wʊ akʊma}	[wakʊma]	'your heart'
{nɪ akʊma}	[nakʊma]	'his/her heart'

The rule that deletes a high vowel before /a/ also applies in verbal constructions where ***me [mɪ]*** 'I' and ***wo [wʊ]*** 'you' reduce to [m] and [w] before [a] 'perfect affirmative' as in (16).
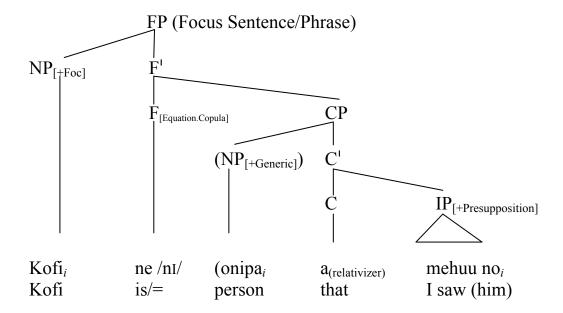
(16a) mɪ + a + ba   → [m-a-ba] 'I have come'
       I   have   come

(16b) wʊ + a + ba   → [w-á-ba] 'You.sg have come'
       you(singular) have   come

Given the above background and arguments, our common underlying focus sentence structure for the four focus sentences – namely, the simple ***na***-focus, the clefted focus, the non-extraposed pseudo-clefted focus, and the extraposed pseudo-clefted focus – is as given in (17), with a tree diagram representation of it in (17a). Henceforth, the term 'basic focus sentence' when used describes the frames in (17) and (17a), our single underlying focus-sentence structure. The head/generic-noun of RC (called NP[+Generic] in (17) and (17a)) appears in bracket in indication of its optionality or non-existence for certain focused categories.

(17) $NP_{[+Foc]} + nI_{[equation-be]} + [(NP_{[+Generic]}) + a_{(relativizer/complementizer)} + Clause]_{NP}$

(17a)   A tree diagram representation of (17)

FP (Focus Sentence/Phrase)

$NP_{[+Foc]}$ F'

    $F_{[Equation.Copula]}$ CP

        $(NP_{[+Generic]})$ C'

            C $IP_{[+Presupposition]}$

$Kofi_i$	ne /nI/	$(onipa_i$	$a_{(relativizer)}$	mehuu no_i
Kofi	is/=	person	that	I saw (him)

(17b) $NP_{[+Foc]}$ nI $NP_{[+Generic]}$ + $a_{[+Rel]}$ + Clause]$_{NP}$ *(remains so)*
   (i) [$_{NP}$ **Kofi$_i$** $_{NP}$] **ne** [$_{NP}$ **onipa$_i$** [$_{CP}$ **a** [$_{IP}$ **mehuu no$_i$** $_{IP}$] $_{CP}$]   → *(becomes)*
   (ii) Kofi ne onipa a mehuu no.

(17c) $NP_{[+Foc]}$ nI *NPzero + $a_{[+Rel]}$ + Clause]$_{NP}$ → $NP_{[+Foc]}$ + na + Clause
   (i) [$_{NP}$ **Kofi$_i$** $_{NP}$] **nII** [$_{NP}$ NPzero [$_{CP}$ **a** [$_{IP}$ **mehuu no$_i$** $_{IP}$]$_{CP}$]
      → (ii) Kofi na mehuu no.

The basic focus sentence structure in (17a) translates into (17b), with a generic noun phrase, and, into (17c), without the generic noun phrase, to derive the ***ne*-**focus and the ***na*-**focus sentences respectively.

   The potency of the present account over Boadi (1974) lies in the fact that we provide language-internal support for every position advanced in a way that renders the present account more credible. For the first time we are able to posit a single basic focus sentence for Akan and also are able to explain the ***ne*** and ***na*** focus sentence difference in a way that is consistent with the phonotactic and morphotactic principles of Akan.[5]

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[5]   The ***na* + *yɛ*** morphophonological rule (Boadi 1974) cannot be supported in Akan linguistics, instead Akan has a morphophonological rule that deletes /I/, the high front unadvanced vowel before the low vowel.

4. THE BASIC FOCUS SENTENCE AND FOCUS SENTENCE ALTERNATIONS

Here we test our single underlying focus structure in (17/17a) against more focus sentence data to assert its potency and adequacy. We focus on explaining focus sentence alternations by answering questions with regard to why certain focus sentences or principles are allowed or are not allowed with certain focused categories. The subdivisions are: (3.1) selecting the focused unit: clefting, prominence and more; (3.2) negating the focused constituent – the obligatoriness of the cleft; (3.3) wh-word focusing: basic structure, semantics, some formal constraints; (3.4) definite-**no** in non-question focus sentences; and (3.5) swapping/extrapositioning of focus sentence: triggers and blockers.

4.1 SELECTING THE FOCUSED UNIT: COPULA CLEFTING, PROMINENCE AND MORE

Under Boadi's account the simple *na*-focus is derived from the clefted focus by dropping the cleft, *ɛyɛ* 'it is.' His argument is that *ɛyɛ* has no semantic relevance hence its deletion to derive the simple-**na** focus. The question is if it has no semantic relevance why do we employ it only to delete it. We beg to differ on this. In the present account copula clefting is achieved via *ɛyɛ*-adjunction on the basic focus sentence and is one of the available mechanisms for selecting/restricting the focused-NP for equation. In (18) *ɛyɛ* functions to pick/restrict **Kofi** for equation with an indefinite presuppositional constituent (*ɔ*- 'she/he'). There is division of labor with *ɛyɛ* doing the identification selection, and ***ne* /*nɪ*/**, the equation.

(18) ɛyɛ   Kofi$_i$ na   ɔ$_i$-ba-a   ha.
      it-is   Kofi   FOC:REL   3SG-come-PAST   here
      'Kofi is the one who came here.'

Other mechanisms that may replace the cleft to equally restrict the focused unit are prominence, and the introduction of restricting words/phrases. That is, restricting words or phrases such as ***nko ara*** 'only,' ***ara*** 'by oneself' may be introduced after the focused noun as in: ***Kofi nko ara na ɔbaa ha*** "Kofi is the only person who came here." There is prominence (loudness) that picks the focused unit whenever these overt restricting mechanisms (especially, the cleft) are not being used.

(19a)   Clefting: ɛyɛ Kofi ne onipa a ɔbaa ha.
(19b)   CP moves to cleft subject: <u>Onipa a ɔbaa ha</u> yɛ KOFI (*ne __)[6]

One phenomenon we found quite interesting to report on is the tendency of headed-RC/CP to move from its position after **ne** **/nɪ/** to the cleft's subject-slot as in (19b). **Ne** is deleted (hence the asterisk before it in 19b) with the headed-RC fronted. The focused-NP now clause final is said loudly.[7] The deletion of **ne** but the retention of the focused-NP is evidence that the focused-NP is in the cleft's object-slot. So in sentence (19) the identification/restriction of the focused-NP and the equation of the focused-NP to a presuppositional constituent are all achieved within the cleft-structure which is underlyingly [_yɛ_].

4.2 NEGATING THE FOCUSED CONSTITUENT – THE OBLIGATORINESS OF THE CLEFT

The question why clefting is obligatory in the negative focus but optional in the affirmative focus is attempted. The negative focus sentence in (20b) is based on the affirmative focus sentence in (20a) where the cleft, **ɛyɛ**, is optional.

(20a)   (ɛyɛ) Kofi na ɔbaa ha no.
         'Kofi is the person one who came here.'

(20b)   ɛ-n-yɛ   Kofi   na   ɔ-baa   ha   no.
         it-NEG-is Kofi   FOC.REL   3SG-come-PAST   here   DEF(INITE)
         'Kofi is not the person who came here.'

Sentence (20a) consists of a presuppotion, [X came here], and the assertion, [$Kofi_{[+Foc]} = X_{[presup-const]}$]. The presuppositional part of the affirmative focus sentence holds the same in the negative focus sentence. Negation only has effect on the assertion part and changes its from being [$Kofi_{[+Foc]} = X_{[presup-const]}$] in (20a) to being [$Kofi_{[+Foc]} \neq X_{[presup-const]}$] in (20b). While the existing works (Boadi, 1974, 2005; Saah, 1988) give the impression that this is constituent/focused-NP negation, our argument is that the negative does not simply negate the focused-unit. Negation (i.e. **ɛnyɛ**-prefixation) is for the entire assertion as defined above, and is augmented to cancel the equation assertion

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6   Alternatively, [**a**] 'an affirmative marker' may be tagged after the focused-NP to emphasize and select it as in: ***Onipa a ɔbaa ha yɛ Kofi a.***
7   The following are fossilized focus sentences. (a) ***Mɪ nɪ oji*** (I FOC this) reduces to ***Mi nie*** 'I am this.one/This is me.' (Orth: ***Me ne wei*** or ***Me nie***); (b) ***ɛnʊ Y nɪ eji*** (It FOC this) reduces to ***ɛnʊ nie ~ enie*** 'This is it (Here is it)' (Orth: ***ɛno ne eyi. Enie, ɛno nie***); In praise poetry ***ne*** **/nɪ/** is dropped: (c) (i) ***ɔnʊ nɪ ɔnʊ*** (He FOC He) reduces to either (ii) ***ɔɔnʊnʊ*** or ***ɔɔnʊʊ*** 'He is the/that ONE; there is him; He is the one)' (Orth: ***ɔno ne ɔno, ɔno no***)

engendered by *ne* /**nɪ**/ between a focused unit and a presupositional unit. The cleft is obligatory in the negative focus sentence because it is the only mechanism for augmenting the bound negative morpheme as well as the only mechanism to have the assertion triggered by *ne* in the focus sentence nullified.

4.3 WH-WORD FOCUSING: BASIC STRUCTURE, SEMANTICS, SOME FORMAL CONSTRAINTS

Akan has two types of wh-questions, in-situ, and ex-situ wh-questions (Saah 1988, Boadi 2005, Marfo and Bodomo 2005). These works agree that ex-situ questions are derived from in-situ question via fronting to a site outside the canonical clause. We do not debate this position; ours is simply to affirm the equational function of *ne* even in wh-questions and to explain why wh-questions largely exhibit the *na*-focus structure. The basic function of *ne* whenever it is preceded by the question word of the question sentence is to ascribe indefiniteness (i.e. equate the indefinite question word) to a presuppositional constituent. The presuppositional constituent, by virtue of its equation via *ne* to the prepositioned-WH, becomes indefinite and in question.

From the above, we define the ex-situ wh-question structure as: [QW ne RC/CP], and as consisting of a presupposition, e.g. [Kofi saw X] as in (21), and a question assertion which is [WH = $X_{[presup\text{-}const]}$] for every question sentence. This question assertion translates to [Who = $X_{[presup\text{-}const]}$] in (21).

(21)   Hwae*i* na   Kofi   huu   no*i*?
       who   FOC:REL Kofi   saw   him/her
       Who did Kofi see?

Wh-questions are largely expressed in the *na*-focus structure. In the following we attempt an explanation why this is so and when the *ne*-focus structure may be used. The wh-question in (22) consists of *hwae* (the question word), *ne* (the equational/focus verb), and [*onipa a Kofi huu no*] (CP, a directly-headed-RC). The over ten native speakers (mostly linguists) I said this question to said that one can say it but most people will actually say (21), its *na*-focus alternation.

(22)   Hwae ne   onipa a   Kofi   huu   no?
       who   FOC person REL Kofi   saw   him/her
       Who did Kofi see?

What this means is that (22) is not ungrammatical, it is, for some reason, simply the alternative most speakers will usually not use, and this is our position why it is so, 'avoidance of redundancy.' Wh-words are inherently indefinite, for example, *hwae* 'who' can be used to learn about every human being. Also, wh-phrases in Akan are inherently (or overtly) specified for animacy and number. It

is therefore redundant having to fill the head of the RC/CP with a noun phrase whose salient features (Number and ± Animate, Location, etc.) are already present in the focused unit. So the same reasons and principles why generic nouns are dropped and the ***na***-focus sentence is derived for non-question sentences are equally applicable here. The tendency to block redundant CP/RC-heads creates the ***nɪ-a*** (i.e. focus:copula-relativizer) contiguity that derives ***na***, and the ***na***-focus question structure.

Wh-questions in Akan emerge with the ***ne***-focus structure: (i) when the NP immediately after ***ne /nɪ/*** is inherently [+Definite] – examples of which are pronouns, names/title, a person etc. as in (23) ***wo***, and (24) ***Yaw*** 'name', or (ii) when the NP (e.g. ***onipa*** in 25) after ***ne /nɪ/*** has a collective meaning/reference, not individual reference/meaning.

(23)   Hwae ne   <u>wo</u>?
         who   FOC   2SG
         'Who are you?'

(24)   Hwae ne   <u>Yaw</u>?
         who   FOC   Yaw
         'Who is Yaw?'

(25)   Hwae ne   <u>onipa</u> a   w'ani kunu ne ho?
         who   FOC   MAN   REL   you-care-so-much-about
         Who is man that you care so much about?

That is, ***onipa*** in (25) is not redundant in the sense that it refers to 'MAN' – i.e. human beings in general – unlike in (22) where ***onipa***, the generic/indefinite NP, stands for a single person. In other words, ***onipa***, as used in (25), is not redundant by virtue of the fact that its antecedent, ***hwae*** 'who' is not [+Collective], but is [+Singular/Individual]. The only way ***onipa*** can be dropped from (25) is when its individual meaning is meant – which is when it harmonizes with the WH-word in number. A new meaning results without the word ***onipa*** in (25) – the new sentence, ***Hwae na w'ani kunu ne ho?*** 'Who do you care so much about?' has individual reference as opposed to collective reference in (25).

In the following we address the question, when will one utter question (21) (the ex-situ/focus question) as opposed to (26), the in-situ question.

(26)   Kofi huu hwae?   (21: Hwae*ᵢ* na Kofi huu no*ᵢ*?)
        Kofi saw who
        'Kofi saw who?'

Both (21) and (26) have the same basic interpretation: [Kofi saw X] and [Who = X$_{presup-const}$]. Structurally, their main difference is that in (26) the WH and X are conflated in the canonical slot whereas in (21) WH is in focus (ex-situ) with X

in the canonical slot. The split and the conflation are all symbolic and speak to certain assumptions the questioner has about his addressee with regard to what is being asked. In (26), the in-situ question, the questioner expects the addressee to know the answer – the question is simply the speaker's invitation to the addressee to provide information the addressee is known to have. This is often the form used in echo-questions. Question (21), the focus question, is used when speaker thinks or assumes that the addressee may not know the answer and/or when the speaker needs the answer very badly. So conflation (in-situ) is the case when speaker thinks that addressee-fact relation is [+Proximate], split (ex-situ) is when speaker thinks that addressee-fact relation is [+Distal].

We now focus our attention on the use of the definite-*no* in ex-situ question sentences as in (27) below:

(27)   Hwae*i* na   Kofi   huu   no*i*   no?
      who   FOC:REL   Kofi   saw   him   DEF
      Who did Kofi see?

Sentence (27) is underlyingly: ***Hwae ne onipa a Kofi huu no no?*** The head noun is ***onipa***, followed by the RC ([***a Kofi huu no***]) and ended definite-***no***. Pragmatically, definite-***no*** is used in this context when speaker expects the addressee to know the answer.

The ex-situ/focus question without the definite-***no*** is used when speaker only thinks or assumes that the addressee know the answer. Ex-situ generally codes the wh-question as that for which an answer is badly needed.

4.4 DEFINITE-NO IN NON-QUESTION FOCUS SENTENCES

We comment briefly on the pragmatic function of definite-***no*** in non-question focus. The speaker uses definite-***no*** to suggest that he/she shares with the addressee the clausal information (i.e. proposition) before definite-***no***. In sentence (28) speaker makes its seem settled that he/she and the addressee both share the information that someone came here, and speaker achieves this by ending the sentence with the definite-***no***.

(28)   Kofi   ne   abofra a   ɔbaa   ha   no.
      Kofi   FOC   child   REL   3SG:came here   DEF
      Kofi is the child who came here.

The focused NP (***Kofi***) is a specific name and gives the impression that the speaker and addressee together have encountered the name (not the person) before. The focus sentence therefore is about linking (or equating) the name ***Kofi*** ([+definite]) to 'the person (i.e. child) who came here' ([+definite]). The missing information here is *the name of the person who came here*, and, also,

the person who goes by the name Kofi. The equation of the two parts via *ne* settles this uncertainty. In other words *ne* ascribes the name *Kofi* to [*the person/child who came here*], and the [*person/child who came here*] to the name *Kofi*, simultaneously, to dispel the above uncertainties.

Without definite-*no* in (28), the understanding is that *Kofi* is not just a name; *Kofi* is a person and this person is known to both speaker and addressee. The addressee is not a witness to the proposition that someone came here, however, there should be something the addressee does to trigger this statement, possibly in a form of a statement that suggests that, or in a form of a question that asks if, somebody came here. The assertion, [Kofi = X], does not only equate [Kofi] to [$X_{[presup-const]}$], but also it asserts the veracity of the proposition/presupposion/ assumption, [X came here], and dispels other equations to [$X_{[presup-const]}$] in the context of [X came here].

The content of CP may simply be a single word, specifically a descriptive noun, example: *ɔkyerɛkyerɛfoɔ* 'teacher' in (29). Here, definite-*no* has a disambuating role. The person that bears the said title is intended when definite-*no* is in use as in (29b), but the title (qualification) is meant when definite-*no* is not in use as in (29a).

(29a) Me   ne   ɔkyerɛkyerɛfoɔ.
      1SG   FOC   teacher
      I am a TEACHER.

(29b) Me   ne   ɔkyerɛkyerɛfoɔ   no.
      1SG   FOC   teacher   DEF
      I am THE TEACHER.

The search for someone who is a teacher and the talk/mention of someone who is a teacher, all of which are presuppositional, are what trigger (29a) and (29b) respectively

4.5 SWAPPING/EXTRAPOSITIONING OF FOCUS SENTENCE: TRIGGER(S) AND BLOCKER(S)

The question, why constituents of *ne*-focus sentences can be extraposed but constituents of *na*-focus sentences cannot be extraposed is addressed here. Direct headedness is a requirement for extrapositioning. Extrapositioning (30a) and (32a) to (30b) and (32b) respectively, is possible because *ne* is followed directly by a noun as in (32b), or CP/RC is directly headed as in (30b). (A sentence in (a) is basic; an arrow points to its extraposed version).

(30a) [Kofi]$_{NP}$ ne [onipa a ɔbaa ha]$_{CP}$ → (b) [Onipa a ɔbaa ha]$_{CP}$ ne [Kofi]$_{NP}$.
      'Kofi is the one who came here.'   'The one who came here is Kofi.'

(31a) [Kofi]_{NP} na ɔbaa ha.   → (b) *[O_{NP} a ɔbaa ha] ne [Kofi]_{NP1}
       'Kofi is the one who came here.'

(32a) Me ne ɔsɔfoɔ.   → (b) ɔsɔfoɔ ne me.
       'I am a pastor/priest.'   'The one who is a pastor/priest is me.'

Sentence (31b) is ungrammatical because the CP/RC lacks an NP-head. It must be remembered that within the relative clause in (31a) is the resumptive pronoun whose antecendent is Kofi (the focused unit). Fronting the headless relative violates proper governance in the sense that the governed will rather preceed its governor – the proper thing is for the governor to always precede the governed. The equational meaning of **ne** is justified by the fact that constituents surrounding **ne** can be extraposed without meaning change.

5. CONCLUSION

The paper set off to advance what Boadi's (1974) thought was costly in terms of rules to do, which is the postulation of a common underlying focus sentence structure. In this paper, we have identified what the problem was when he made this claim, have resolved it, and have successfully established and tested a common underlying focus sentence structure for Akan. That is, Boadi (1974) defined **na** as the basic focus marker, and **ne** as a variant of **na** derived via a morphophonological rule that merges **na** +**yɛ**. This was one of the main shortcomings of his paper and the main reason why his thought of a single underlying focus could not materialize. Significantly, his **na+yɛ** fusion account cannot be supported in Akan linguistics. Our approach in the current work has been to define **ne** as rather the basic focus verb/marker/copula, and **na** as rather derived by a morphophonological rule that merges **ne** /**nɪ**/, our basic focus marker, and **a** 'the relative marker.' The conditions and the rules responsible for the derivation of **na** from **ne** /**nɪ**/ and **a** 'relativizer' are all supported by principles of Akan linguistics as well as general linguistics. We have argued for two types of relativization in Akan, a headless relative clause and a headed relative clause, which are also implied in Saah (1990). The former of the two, we have argued, is exploited or selected by the focused categories that lack generic nouns to directly head their RCs; also, the focused categories with the generic NPs tend to drop them to avert redundancy. The result of this is **ne** /**nɪ**/ and **a** 'relativizer' becoming contiguous and a morphophonological rule applying to derive **na**, and the **na**-focus alternation. We have defined **ne** /**nɪ**/ as an equational copula which equates a focused constituent and a presuppositional constituent to demand, assert or achieve definiteness. Much has also been said about the pragmatics of ex-situ wh-questions.

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About the author: Dr. *Seth Antwi Ofori* holds a Ph.D. in General Linguistics and African Languages and Linguistics. He is currently an Assistant Professor of African Languages and Linguistics in the Department of African Languages and Literature, UW-Madison. Dr. Ofori is the author of *Ma Yɛnka Akan (Twi): A Multidimensional Approach to the Teaching and Learning of Akan (Twi) as a Foreign Language*. Madison: NALRC Press, 2006b. He has written extensively on Akan linguistics.