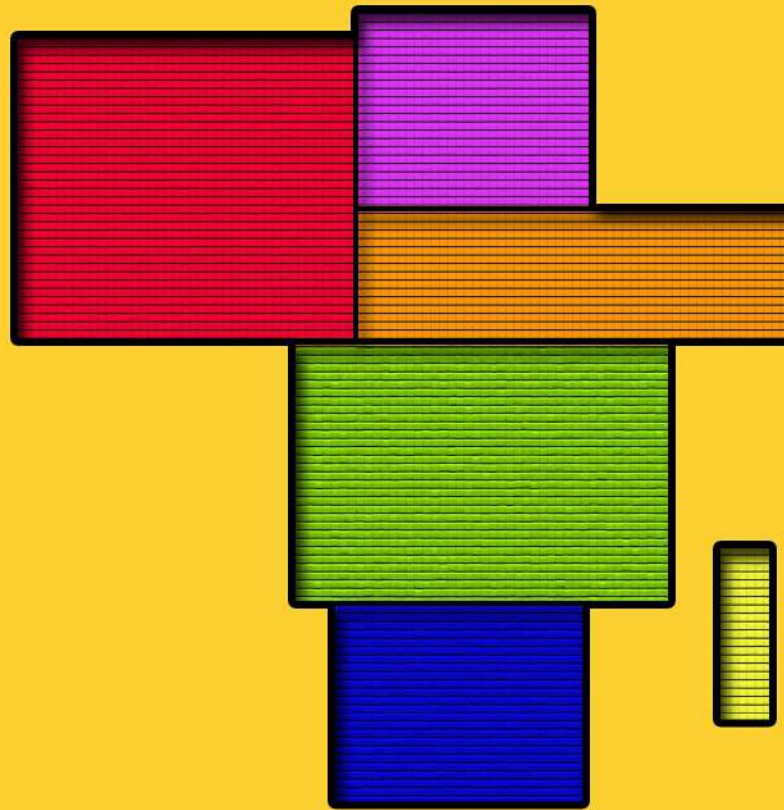


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Research article

An element-based analysis of nasal-glide assimilation in the Taqbaylit prepositional phrase

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we aim to describe and analyze the different phonetic realizations resulting from nasal-glide assimilations in some dialects of Taqbaylit Berber. Specifically, we aim to study the assimilation of the nasal-approximant /n-w/ which yield to different labial(ized) realizations [ww, pp, pp^w, bb^w, gg^w], and the nasal-yod /n-j/ that result in palatal segments [jj, kk, gg] depending on the dialect. While these facts are well documented, most works are limited to descriptive accounts and rarer are the attempts to theoretically explain their phonological derivation. Our analysis is couched in Element Theory (KAYE et al. 1985, 1990, HARRIS 1990, 1994, among others) and proposes to analyze the internal structure of the surface segments and their link to the underlying forms and explain their distribution in Taqbaylit dialects. Our analysis also contributes to the theoretical debates on the link between voicing and nasality and their element-representation.

KEY WORDS: phonology, nasal-glide assimilation, voicing-nasality, Element Theory, Taqbaylit/Kabyle Berber



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1. Introduction

In Taqbaylit Berber, the assimilation of the nasal-approximant /n-w/ and the nasal-yod /n-j/ yields different surface segments depending on the dialect. The first results in geminated labial(ized) consonants [ww, pp, pp^w, bb^w, gg^w], and the second in geminated palatals [jj, kk, gg]. In most cases, but not in all dialects, the surface form resulting from nasal-glide assimilation is the same as the surface form of the geminated glide. Therefore, this process of nasal-glide assimilation can be seen in terms of two different phenomena: fusion of two segments, or compensatory lengthening. Fusion refers to the phenomenon where two or more distinct segments combine to form a new surface segment, also known as 'reciprocal assimilation'. This process occurs precisely by combining the features/elements of the segments in question. Compensatory lengthening, on the other side, can be defined as the lengthening of a segment on the position of another adjacent segment by fully assimilating it (BELTZUNG 2008). In other words, in a sequence of segments /XY/, the segment X can lengthen/spread on the position of Y and surface [XX]. These two phonological processes will be discussed in our article. We will demonstrate that only an analysis in terms of segment-element fusion can satisfactorily account for the empirical data collected from Taqbaylit.

The phenomenon of nasal-glide assimilation which occurs on the left edge of the Taqbaylit noun phrase is well-documented in the literature (ALLAOUA 1994, BENDJABALLAH and HAIDEN 2005, 2013, CHAKER 2015, NAIT-ZERRAD 2001, among others). However, to the best of our knowledge, no phonological studies have analyzed this phenomenon from an element-based perspective. Our study aims to address this gap by providing an analysis within the framework of Element Theory (KAYE et al. 1985, 1990, HARRIS 1990, 1994, BACKLEY 2011, among others) that accounts for the surface forms of this assimilation. Specifically, we seek to examine the phonological patterns that govern the assimilation between the nasal /n/ and glides in Taqbaylit and explore the internal structure (element content) of these segments. By doing so, we hope to contribute to the understanding of the internal structure of segments in Taqbaylit and shed light on some aspects that contribute to phonological theories, in particular the link between nasality and voicing.

The assimilation cases we will analyze occur at the left edge of the noun. These nouns exhibit two morphological states traditionally named 'free state' and 'annexed/construct state' (BADER and KENSTOWICZ 1984, GUERSSEL 1987, OUHALLA 1988, GUERSSEL 1992, METTOUCHI 2008, KOSSMANN 1996, BENDJABALLAH and HAIDEN 2013, EL HANKARI 2014, among others). In general, a noun in singular begins with a vowel /a/, and in plural with a vowel /i/. These vowels alternate with the

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glides /w/ and /j/ between the ‘free state’ (FS) and the ‘construct state’ (CS), also called ‘absolutive/accusative case’ and ‘nominative case’, respectively. This is illustrated with the data in (1).

(1)	FS	CS	Gloss	Alternation
	a-xxam	wə-xxam	‘house’	a → w
	i-xxam-ən	jə-xxam-ən	‘house-pl’	i → j

The genitive preposition /n/, also considered as a case marker by GUERSEL (1987),¹ selects a noun inflected in the construct state, which can be marked by /w-/ or /j-/. The genitive marker assimilates with one of these glides, and the result of this assimilation can vary depending on the dialect. In (2), we provide the results in Taqbaylit of Chemini.

(2)	/θawwurθ	n	wə-xxam/	→	[θappurθ ppə-xxam]
	door	GEN	CS-house		
	‘Door of house.’				
	/θiwwura	n	jə-xxamən/	→	[θippura kkə-xxamən]
	door	GEN	CS-house		
	‘Doors of houses.’				

The assimilation of the genitive /n/ with the construct state marker occurs on the left periphery of the noun stem. BENDJABALLAH and HAIDEN (2005, 2013) argued that this left periphery contains two phonological sites represented by two CV units, spelling out the two syntactic projections K(ase) and D(eterminant) proposed in GUERSEL (1987, 1992). This is illustrated by the representations given in (3). In (3a), the vowel /a/ of the noun in free state (FS) occupies both CV units of K and D, because vowels are phonologically long in Taqbaylit (BENDJABALLAH 2004). In (3b), with the same noun in construct state (CS), the first CV unit of K(ase) is occupied by the genitive marker /n/, and the second one by the construct state marker /w/.² The cases of assimilation that we will study occur at both of these CV sites.

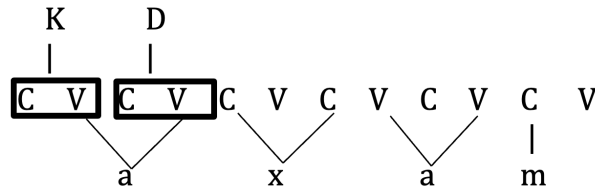
¹ See the author’s discussion on the morphosyntactic status of the genitive /n/ (and other prepositions): preposition *vs* case marker.

² In the literature, the status of /w/ lacks consensus, often viewed as a marker of masculine gender, a determiner marker, or a marker of the construct state. Our aim is not to definitively determine its status; rather, we refer to it as a marker of the construct state.

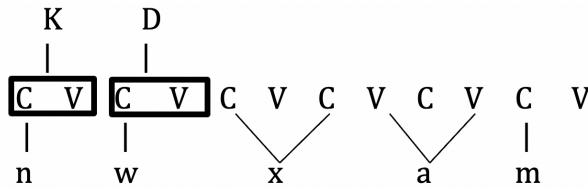
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(3) a. Free state (FS): **axxam** 'house'



b. Construct state (CS): **n wəxxam** 'of house'



Our analysis aims to explain the various surface realizations that result from the assimilation of the genitive /n/ and the marker of the construct state, occurring on the two CV units in the left periphery as in (3b). Specifically, we will try to answer these questions: why do nasal-approximant /nw/ give rise to labial(ized) segments [ww, pp, pp^w, bb^w, gg^w], and why do nasal-yod /nj/ lead to palatal segments [jj, kk, gg]? What are the processes and factors that explain these surface forms in the different dialects of Taqbaylit?

Our paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we will discuss in detail the phenomenon of nasal-glide assimilation and compare it to glide gemination in Taqbaylit dialects. We will present in section 3 the theoretical tools of Government Phonology, specifically the frameworks of *Strict CV* and *Element Theory*. An analysis of the phenomenon of nasal-glide assimilation will be developed in section 4. Finally, in section 5, we will conclude the paper with the results of our analysis.

2. Nasal-glide assimilation and glide gemination

To investigate the micro-variation observed among Taqbaylit dialects regarding the phonetic realizations resulting from the nasal-glide assimilation, we conducted data collection with native speakers in three provinces of Kabylia: Bejaia, Bouira, and Tizi-Ouzou. Within these provinces, we selected 18 distinct survey locations indicated in (4), and their corresponding numerical references are plotted on the map presented in Figure 1.

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(4) Province	Survey location
Bejaia	Chemini [1], Akfadou [2], Tazmalt [3], Ighil Ali [4], Bejaia city [5], Tichy [6], Mergha Aboudaou [7], Oued Ghir [8], Tamridjet [9]
Bouira	Selloum [10], Takerboust [11], M'cheddallah [12], Kadiria [13]
Tizi-Ouzou	Tizi Rached [14], Ouaguenoun [15], Aghriv Azefoune [16], Idjeur [17], Michelet (Ain El Hammam) [18]

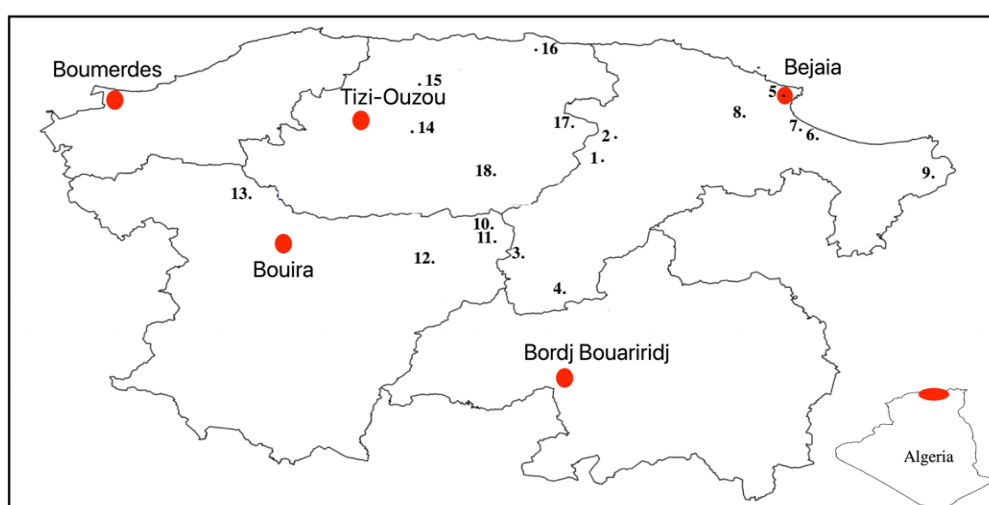


Figure 1 - Map of Taqbaylit provinces and the distribution of survey locations (The map is designed using MapInfo)

In these eighteen survey locations, we observed a variety in surface forms resulting from the nasal-glide assimilation as well as the glide gemination. We will begin by describing cases of nasal-glide assimilation in section 2.1, followed by cases of glide gemination in section 2.2. Finally, we summarize the facts and observations in section 2.3.

2.1 On the nasal-glide assimilation

2.1.1. Nasal-approximant assimilation

The nasal-approximant sequence /nw/ can have various surface forms depending on the dialect/location. First, it can surface as a geminated approximant [ww], what we consider as a case of compensatory lengthening. Second, it can be realized as a voiceless (labialized) bilabial occlusive [pp, pp^w]. Third, it results in a voiced bilabial occlusive [bb^w]. Finally, it can surface as a voiced labiovelar occlusive [gg^w]. The distribution of these various surface forms

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resulting from the sequence /nw/ is provided with an example in (5), along with the numerical references of the locations where they are attested.

- (5) /afus *n* wə-rgaz/
FS.hand GEN CS-man
'Hand of man.'
- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| [afus wwərgaz] | [5], [6], [7], [8] |
| [afus ppərgaz] | [1] |
| [afus pp"ərgaz] | [2], [14], [18] |
| [afus bb"ərgaz] | [9], [12], [13], [15], [16], [17] |
| [afus gg"ərgaz] | [3], [4], [10], [11] |

The crucial point to summarize is that in data in (5), assimilation of the sequence /nw/ can be realized in six different forms in Taqbaylit dialects: [ww, pp, pp^w, bb^w, gg^w]. These realizations can be characterized as labial(ized) segments.

It should be noted that this assimilation occurs due to the contact between the genitive /n/ and the construct state marker /w/. In most Taqbaylit dialects, this assimilation does not occur within the word.

2.1.2 Nasal-yod assimilation

The nasal-yod sequence /nj/ can surface into the following three geminated forms: i) a palatal approximant [jj], ii) a voiceless velar occlusive [kk], and iii) a voiced velar occlusive [gg]. This is illustrated with the data in (6), with the numerical references indicating the location where they are attested.

- (6) /axxam *n* ʃə-sli/
house GEN CS-groom
'Groom's house.'
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| [axxam jʃəsli] | [5], [6], [7], [8] |
| [axxam kkəsli] | [1] |
| [axxam ggəsli] | [2], [3], [4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18] |

The sequence of the genitive and the construct state marker /nj/ gives rise to three different geminated palatals in Taqbaylit dialects: [jj, kk, gg].

2.2 Gemination of glides

The two glides attested in Taqbaylit can be geminated in certain contexts and give rise to surface realizations that are relevant to compare with cases of nasal-glide assimilation. For example, the case of gemination of a median consonant that occurs on the formation of the imperfective stem/aspect from the aorist one.

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The gemination of glides is illustrated in (7.ii) for comparison with other segments in (7.i).

(7)	Aoriste	Imperfective	Gloss
i.	zgər	zəggər	‘to cross’
	frən	fərrən	‘to choose’
ii.	r wəl	rəggəl, rəgg^wəl	‘to escape’
	ʕju	ʕəjju, ʕəggju	‘to be tired’

We conducted a comparison of glide gemination phenomena using the same survey locations as those studied in the previous case. We will first describe the surface forms of the germination of the approximant /w/, then we will return to the case of the gemination of the yod /j/.

2.2.1 Approximant glide gemination

The gemination of the approximant glide /w/ results in five different surface forms depending on the dialect: i) a geminated approximant [ww], ii-iii) a voiceless bilabial occlusive and its labialized counterpart, [pp, pp^w], iv) the voiced counterpart of the latter [bb^w], and v) a voiced labiovelar occlusive [gg^w]. This is illustrated by the data in (8), which includes numerical references to the locations where they are observed.

(8)	/θa ^w wurθ/ ‘door’	Survey location
	[θa ^w wurθ]	[5], [6], [7], [8]
	[θa ^{pp} urθ]	[1]
	[θa ^{pp^w} urθ]	[2], [14], [16]
	[θa ^{bb^w} urθ]	[12], [13], [15], [17]
	[θa ^{gg^w} urθ]	[3], [4], [10], [11]

Thus, the gemination of the approximant glide /ww/ can surface in the same forms resulting from the assimilation of the nasal-approximant /nw/, albeit not symmetrically in each dialect. In addition, two different forms of this glide gemination can be attested in the same location. For example, in the survey locations [12] and [13], the gemination of this glide results in [bb^w] in example (8) but in the labialized velar [gg^w] in the example given in (9).

(9)	Aoriste	Imperfective	Gloss
	/r ^w u/	[rəgg ^w u]	‘to satiate’

It should be noted that there is no one-to-one correspondence in all dialects regarding the two phenomena, namely nasal-glide assimilation and gemination.

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In other words, there are dialects where the phonetic realization resulting from the assimilation of /nw/ is different from that resulting from the gemination of /w/, as in the case of the location [16].

2.2.2 Palatal glide gemination

The gemination of /j/ gives rise to two different surface forms: i) a geminated palatal [jj], and ii) a geminated voiced velar occlusive [gg]. This is illustrated by the data given in (10), with numerical references indicating the locations where they were attested.

(10) Aoriste	Imperfective	Gloss
/ɣju/	/ɣəjjju/	‘to be tired’
		Survey points
[ɣju]	[ɣəjjju]	[1], [5], [6], [7], [8], [9]
[ɣju]	[ɣəgggu]	[2], [3], [4], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18]

To summarize, the gemination of the glide /jj/ gives rise to two surface forms, [jj] and [gg], depending on the dialect. It should be mentioned that there is no dialect where the gemination of the yod yields the geminated voiceless palatal [kk] resulting from the assimilation of /nj/ in certain locations.

2.3 Summary

The possible realizations of nasal-glide assimilation and glide gemination in Taqbaylit dialects are summarized in (11). We observe that the nasal-approximant /nw/ assimilation and the gemination of the approximant glide /ww/ yield nearly identical surface segments, specifically: [ww], [pp], [pp^w], [gg^w], [bb^w]. On the other hand, the nasal-yod assimilation and the gemination of the palatal glide /jj/ also result in same surface forms, namely [jj] and [gg], in addition to which the form [kk] arises only as a result of the nasal-yod assimilation.

(11) /nw/	/ww/	/nj/	/jj/
[ww], [pp]	[ww], [pp]	[jj]	[jj]
[pp ^w], [bb ^w]	[pp ^w], [bb ^w]	[gg]	[gg]
[gg ^w]	[gg ^w]	[kk]	

It is important to note that there is no one-to-one correspondence in all dialects regarding the two phenomena, namely nasal-glide assimilation and glide gemination. Firstly, there are dialects in which the phonetic realization resulting from the assimilation of /nw/ differs from that resulting from the gemination of

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/w/, as observed in the location [16]. Secondly, there is no dialect where the gemination of the yod results in the geminated voiceless palatal [kk], as occurs from the assimilation of /nj/ in Taqbaylit of Chemini.

Now that we have established generalizations regarding the distribution of our data, let us proceed to discuss the theoretical frameworks. These will be used to analyze the surface forms and their link to underlying forms.

3. Theoretical background

Our study contributes to the theoretical debates on the internal structure of phonological segments, known in phonological literature as *Element Theory* (KAYE et al. 1985, 1990, HARRIS 1990, SCHEER 1996, BACKLEY 2011, among others). This framework focuses on the internal structure and/or the element content of phonetic/phonological segments. Its objective is to investigate the phonological primes of segments, also called ‘elements’, their organization, and their interpretation at the phonetic level. Within the framework of Element Theory, our discussion centers precisely on the interaction between nasality, voicing, and syllabic structure. In previous phonological frameworks, such as SPE (CHOMSKY and HALLE 1968), voicing and nasality are considered as two distinct features (e.g., [+voicing] and [+nasality]) This consideration was followed in the early versions of Element Theory, often representing nasality as |N| and voicing as |L| (KAYE et al. 1985, 1990, SCHEER 1996, among others). In later versions, these features, namely nasality and voicing, are often represented by the same element/prime, following the works of PLOCH (1999) and NASUKAWA (1997, 2000). To distinguish between them, some authors propose that voicing be represented by the head element |L| and nasality by the non-head element |L| (NASUKAWA 2000, BACKLEY 2011, 2012, among others), while others suggest the opposite regarding headedness (BREIT 2013, 2017). More recently, some authors propose that voicing should not be represented by an element/prime but it is considered to be a structural property (PÖCHTRAGER 2006) or a skeletal configuration (SÓSKUTHY 2008). Our aim is to take part in this debate and contribute some new elements by analyzing the nasal-glide assimilation in Taqbaylit.

3.1 Element Theory

Element Theory is a phonological framework that studies the internal structure of phonological segments based on primitives, also called ‘Elements’ or ‘primes’ (KAYE et al. 1985, 1990, HARRIS 1990, 1994, HARRIS and LINDSEY 1995, SCHEER 1996, PLOCH 1999, NASUKAWA 2000, BACKLEY 2011, among others). The main characteristics of this framework are as follows:

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- (i) Elements are directly perceptible and interpretable.
- (ii) Elements are monovalent.
- (iii) There is a direct relationship between a phonological process and the environment in which it occurs.

Several studies within the framework of Element Theory aim to represent phonological segments in natural languages, using different sets of elements according to various authors. In our analysis, we adopt the version of Element Theory proposed by BACKLEY (2011, 2012), as depicted in (12). This version employs a set of six elements/primes divided into two groups: i) place elements, which are vocalic primes |A|, |I|, and |U|; and ii) manner elements, which are consonantal primes |L|, |H|, and |ʔ|.

(12) Vowel Elements (Place Elements)

- |A| pharyngeals, coronals, liquids, non-high vowels
- |U| labials, velars, uvulars, rounded vowels
- |I| palatals, coronals, front vowels

Consonant Elements (Manner Elements)

- |L| fully voiced obstruents, low tone vowels
- |H| voiceless obstruents, high tone vowels
- |ʔ| oral/nasal/glottal stops, laryngealized vowels

(BACKLEY 2012: 16)

These elements are categorized into vocalic and consonantal groups, where the vocalic elements - |I|, |A|, and |U| - can be directly interpreted as the vowels [i], [a], and [u] (13a). They can combine with each other to form other vowels (13b), or with consonant elements to form consonants (13c).

- (13) a. b. c.
- | | | |
|----------|------------|--------------|
| A = [a] | A U = [o] | U ʔ = [p] |
| U = [u] | A I = [e] | U ʔ L = [b] |
| I = [i] | | |

We use this framework to analyze the internal structure of surface forms arising from nasal-glide assimilation and glide gemination, as well as the relationship between the surface forms and underlying forms, which is not arbitrary.

3.2 Strict CV

To analyze the link and interactions between melodic structure and syllabic structure, we utilize the phonological framework called *Strict CV*, also known as

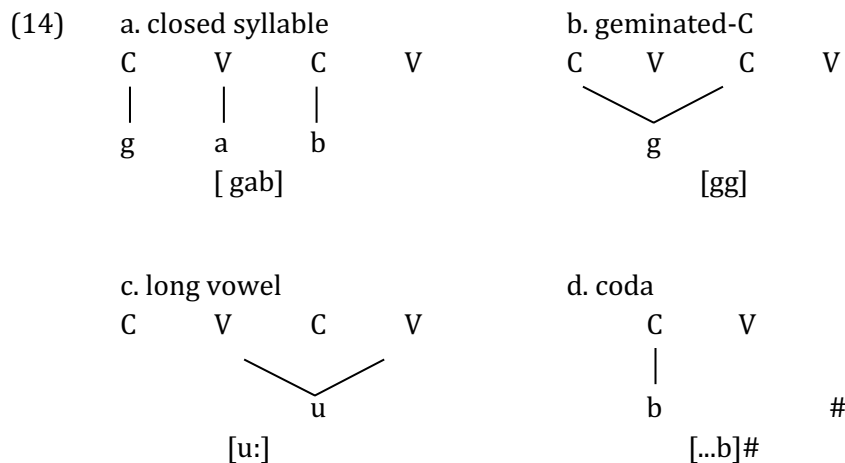
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‘CVCV phonology’ (LOWENSTAMM 1996, 1999, SCHEER 2004). To provide a concise summary of this framework, we can outline the following key points:

- The syllabic structure is reduced to a succession of CV units (CVCVCV...).
- A geminate consonant branches to two C positions separated by an empty V position, and a long vowel branches to two V positions separated by an empty C position.

A summary of the various types of syllabic structures within this framework is provided in (14) below.



We will use this phonological framework to analyze the surface form of geminated segments, as well as assimilated segments that appear as a single geminated segment in two consecutive consonant positions. This will allow us to establish a connection between the syllabic structure of segments and their melodic structure, which pertains to their internal makeup.

4. Analysis

In our analysis, we address two key issues arising from the nasal-glide assimilation in Taqbaylit. The first issue pertains to explaining the nature of voicing observed in surface forms resulting from this assimilation in specific dialects, in contrast to its absence in others, as succinctly summarized in (15a). The second issue entails a comprehensive examination of the phenomenon of secondary labialization, which manifests in instances of approximant gemination or its assimilation with the nasal /n/, but remains absent in cases of yod gemination and assimilation, as summarized in (15b).

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(15) a.	Voiced dialects		Voiceless dialects	
	/nw/	/nj/	/nw/	/nj/
	[bb ^w]	[gg]	[ww]	[jj]
	[gg ^w]		[pp]	[kk]
			[pp ^w]	
b.	Labialized forms		Non-labialized forms	
	/nw/	/ww/	/n j/	/jj/
	[pp ^w]	[pp ^w]	[jj]	[jj]
	[bb ^w]	[bb ^w]	[kk] *[kk ^w]	[gg] *[gg ^w]
	[gg ^w]	[gg ^w]	[gg] *[gg ^w]	

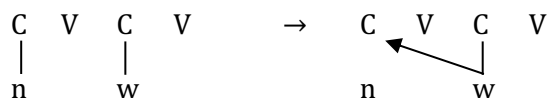
The first question that we address contributes to the debates on the status of voicing in Element Theory (NASUKAWA 1997, 2000, PLOCH 1999, BOTMA 2004, PÖCHTRAGER 2006, SÓSKUTHY 2008, BREIT 2013, 2017, among others). Our data poses a challenge to the representation of voicing with a phonological element [L]. We will attempt to explain whether voicing can be represented using the same primitive as nasality and also elucidate the differences between voiced and voiceless dialects. The second question we address pertains to the status of secondary labialization and its representation in terms of element within the internal structure of a segment. We will endeavor to explain why secondary labialization occurs only with the gemination and assimilation of the approximant /w/, but never with a yod gemination or assimilation.

4.1 Proposal

To explain the cases of assimilation observed in the context of the nasal /n/ in contact with a glide, we make the following proposals:

- (i) We propose that cases of regressive assimilation, namely /nw/ → [ww] and /nj/ → [jj], involve compensatory lengthening. From a representational perspective, the nasal /n/ dissociates from its skeletal position, and the glide spreads over this position and surfaces as a geminated consonant. This case is illustrated by the representations in (16a-b).

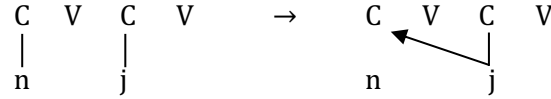
- (16) a. Compensatory lengthening: /nw/ → [ww]



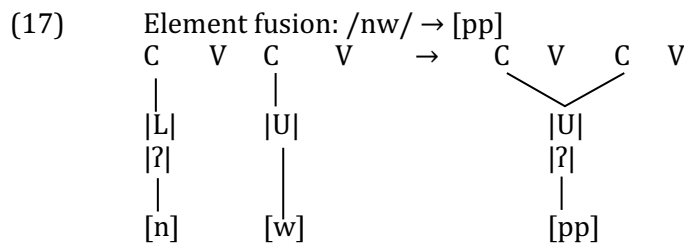
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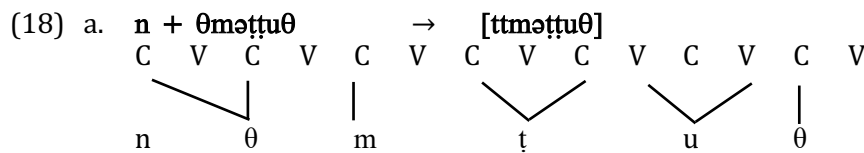
b. Compensatory lengthening: /nj/ → [jj]



(ii) We propose that nasal-glide reciprocal assimilation involves the fusion of elements. From a representational perspective, the elements of the nasal /n/ combine with those of the glide, forming a new segment composed of all or some elements from both. This case is illustrated by the sequence /nw/ surfacing as [pp] in Chemini dialect, where the element [L] is dropped in the derived form.



Our proposal is different from the analysis proposed by BENDJABALLAH and HAIDEN (2005), the only one addressing this assimilation phenomenon in Taqbaylit. These authors analyzed the assimilation between the nasal /n/ and the glide as a case of glide gemination. Thus, they proposed that “in Berber Chemini, θ geminates as [tt], w as [pp^w], and j as [kk]. The assimilations between the preposition n and the following noun must therefore be represented as gemination of the noun-initial consonant” (2005: 14). So, these three geminated forms are equivalent to these three assimilations, /nθ/ → [tt], /nw/ → [pp^w],³ and /nj/ → [kk], represented in (18).



³ In Chemini dialect, the assimilation between /n/ and /w/ results in two variants, [pp] and [pp^w], but the latter being less attested geographically.

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represented by the element |U| in a complement position. Thus, the difference between the labial [pp] and its labialized counterpart [pp^w] lies in the additional presence of an element |U| as a complement. This is represented in (19a-b). On the other hand, the voiced counterpart of this segment is characterized by the interpretation of the nasality element |L| of /n/ in the derived form. This element is interpreted as a voicing 'feature' in the voiced labial [bb^w], represented in (19c).

- (19) a. /nw/ → [pp]
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|---|------|---|---|---|
| C | V | C | V | → | C | V | C | V |
| | | | | | / | \ | | |
| L | | U | | | U | | | |
| ʔ | | ʔ | | | ʔ | | | |
| /n/ | | /w/ | | | [pp] | | | |
-
- b. /nw/ → [pp^w]
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|---|--------------------|---|---|---|
| C | V | C | V | → | C | V | C | V |
| | | | | | / | \ | | |
| L | | U | | | U | \ | U | |
| ʔ | | ʔ | | | ʔ | | | |
| /n/ | | /w/ | | | [pp ^w] | | | |
-
- c. /nw/ → [bb^w]
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|---|--------------------|---|---|---|
| C | V | C | V | → | C | V | C | V |
| | | | | | / | \ | | |
| L | | U | | | U | \ | U | |
| ʔ | | ʔ | | | ʔ | | L | |
| /n/ | | /w/ | | | [bb ^w] | | | |

The last point that remains to be explained in the assimilation between the nasal and the approximant /w/ is the case where they surface as a voiced velar stop [gg^w]. This phenomenon will be explained in the following section after a discussion of nasality and voicing element(s), as well as the content of velars.

4.3 Nasality-Voicing and velar content

From a representational standpoint, the difference between the voiceless segments and their voiced counterparts is the presence of the element |L| in the latter. Thus, the pairs /f/ vs /v/ and /p/ vs /b/ are represented in (20), following BACKLEY (2011).

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(20) Voiceless vs voiced segments

f	vs	v	p	vs	b
U		U	U		U
H		H	ʔ		ʔ
		L			L

If we consider voicing and nasality can be represented by the same element ([L] or [N]), as proposed by PLOCH (1999), NASUKAWA (1997, 2000), and BREIT (2013, 2017), we could explain the case of voicing resulting from nasal-glide assimilation because of the presence of the nasality element in /n/. The element of nasality in /n/ is interpreted as voicing in the velar stops [gg] and [gg^w]. This is illustrated by the nasal-yod assimilation in (21) and the nasal-approximant assimilation in (22).

(21) Nasal-yod assimilation: /nj/ → [gg]

C	V	C	V	→	C	V	C	V
L		I			I			
ʔ					ʔ			
					L			
/n/		/j/			[gg]			

(22) Nasal-approximant assimilation: /nw/ → [gg^w]

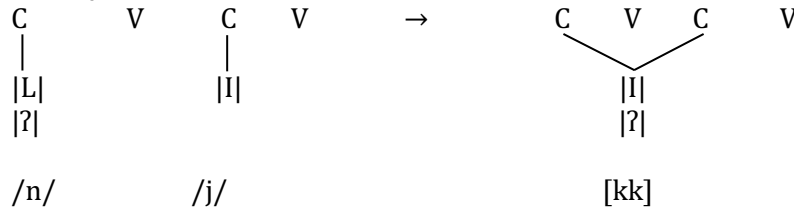
C	V	C	V	→	C	V	C	V
L		U			U			
ʔ					ʔ			
					L			
/n/		/w/			[gg ^w]			

The presence of the occlusion element [ʔ] in the representation of the geminated segments in (21) and (22) is justified by its presence in /n/, as posited by BEDAR and QUELLEC (2020). This is because in Taqbaylit, the nasal /n/ occlusivize fricative segments, for example /θ-aβərrɕan-θ/ → [θaβərrɕanʔ] 'black.F'. On the other hand, when the nasal-glide assimilation gives rise to voiceless segment, the element [L] of the nasal /n/ is not interpreted in the derived form, as illustrated in (23-24).

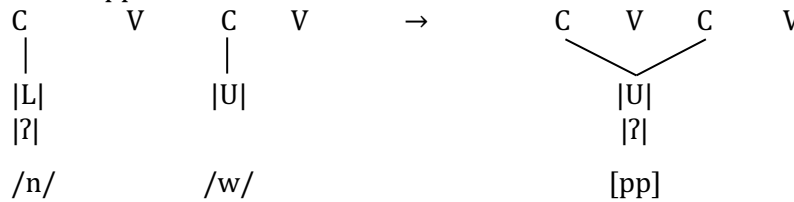
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(23) Nasal-yod assimilation

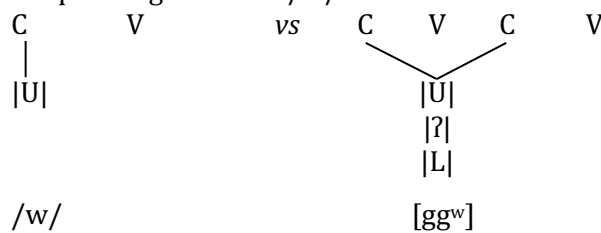


(24) Nasal-approximant assimilation



Considering that the element [L] represents both nasality and voicing provides a complete explanation for the data concerning nasal-glide assimilation, but it raises issues when applied to glide gemination. It is difficult, if not impossible, to justify the presence of the voicing element [L] in the underlying representation in (25) of voiced velar stop resulting from the glide gemination. However, the presence of the occlusion element [ʔ] in the geminated segments can be justified by its length. In other words, since the segments spans two consonantal positions, they acquire the occlusion element [ʔ] (see JENSEN (1994) for a discussion on the link between length and the occlusion element [ʔ]).

(25) Simplex vs geminated /w/

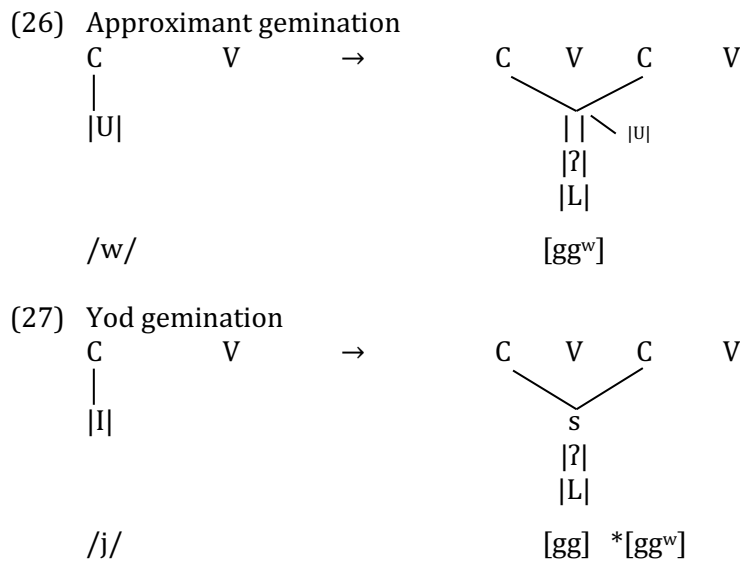


The question arises as to why the two glides /w/ and /j/ can be realized as a voiced velar stop [gg^w]. The fact that both glides can be realized as a voiced velar suggests either they lack a vocalic element (HARRIS and LINDSEY 1995), or that they may possess the two ([I] and [U]). Several versions of Element Theory assign element [I] to palatalization (BACKLEY 2011) and element [U] to velarity (SCHEER 1999, BACKLEY 2011). The set of dorsals is often represented by the two elements [UI] (BACKLEY 2011, TIFRIT and VOELTZEL 2016, BEDAR 2022). The plausible hypothesis is the one suggesting that velars are empty, for two reasons:

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i) when the approximant /w/ is geminated, the element |U| is interpreted as a complement marking labialization; ii) in all Taqbaylit dialects, when the yod is geminated or assimilated with the nasal, the resulting segment is never labialized and the element |I| can remain uninterpreted. Both cases are respectively illustrated in (26) and (27).



This shows that velars can lack the vocalic element, which explains the case of labialization in segments resulting from the gemination of /w/ or its assimilation. The representations in (26-27) raise some issues that deserve to be explained in further studies, namely: i) the reason why |I| is not interpreted during gemination in (27), and ii) the origin of the voicing element |L| in (26) and (27). Nevertheless, the presence of the occlusion element |?| in the representations is justified by the fact that in Taqbaylit, geminated segments always get an occlusive interpretation (BEDAR 2022, BEDAR and QUELLEC 2022, among others). Thus, our analysis has accounted for some instances of nasal-glide assimilation and cases of labialization. However, there remains some unexplained aspects that will be discussed in the following subsection.

4.4 Some issues and further research

Our analysis contributed to theoretical debates on several points, namely the preference for an approach based on element fusion rather than glide gemination, and the confirmation of the validity of the hypothesis proposing the representation of nasality and voicing with the same element. However, it also

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highlighted some theoretical issues that need to be further explored in subsequent studies. Here, we outline some of these issues.

One of the issues lies in cases where nasal-glide assimilation results in labialized labials consonants in some dialects: /nw/ → [pp^w, bb^w]. If we consider that labial segments are composed of the element |U|, p{U?} and b{UL?}, how is the labialization derived/represented in [pp^w] and [bb^w]? Can we consider that |U| is interpreted twice: once as a labial segment element and another time as a complement to mark labialization? One of the reviewers wondered whether we could consider labialized segments as truly contour segments, similar to classical representations of affricates: an unfused-segments representation sharing a single timing slot/skeleton position. The reviewer also wondered whether the assumption that dependent |U| makes labials, and headed |U| makes labialization may not just work better without the need for the separate dependent/unheaded |U|, as represented in (19b-c)?

Another issue concerns the case of gemination of the approximant glide resulting in voiced palatals in certain dialects: /ww/ → [gg, gg^w]. If we consider that palatals lack place elements (HARRIS and LINDSEY 1995, BEDAR et al. 2022), we can suggest that |U| is interpreted as an element of secondary labialization in some dialects and not interpreted in others. However, if we consider that the voiced palatal contains |U| and/or |I| in its internal structure, as suggested by BEDAR (2022), it remains to explain how this element is interpreted within the segment as a marker of secondary articulation, namely labialization. Another element that is difficult to justify is the presence of the voicing element |L| in these voiced palatals. In other words, where does the voicing element |L| come from, given that we know nothing appears out of thin air? This question also arises in the case where the gemination of /w/ results in a voiced labial segment: /ww/ → [bb^w].

The third issue stems from the second and concerns the interpretation or non-interpretation of the voicing element. Below, in (28), we reproduce the data given in (15b) which show a dichotomy between dialects where the result of the nasal-glide assimilation is a voiced segment and dialects where the result of this assimilation is a voiceless segment.

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(28) Voiced dialects		Voiceless dialects	
/nw/	/nj/	/nw/	/nj/
[bb ^w]	[gg]	[ww]	[jj]
[gg ^w]		[pp]	[kk]
		[pp ^w]	

As pointed out by one of the reviewers, this can be explained by a dichotomy in the interpretation or non-interpretation of the voicing element [L] depending on the dialects, but this generalization deserves an explanation within theoretical mechanisms and operations.

5. Conclusion

We intend to conclude our article with a concise summary of its main findings. Firstly, based on new empirical data from eighteen variants of Taqbaylit, we presented a description and classification of nasal-glide assimilation phenomena, comparing it to glide gemination to verify if a unified analysis is possible. Then, we have demonstrated that the only previous analysis accounting for nasal-glide assimilation as a case of glide gemination fails to account for some issues, in particular the difference in surface forms resulting from the two phenomena in some dialects. We proposed a new analysis that accounts for the nasal-glide assimilation in terms of element fusion. Finally, we discussed the underlying representation of nasalization as well as the link between nasality and voicing, which can be represented by the same element. Thus, our analysis not only contributes to the theoretical debates on the representation of nasalization and voicing-nasality representation, but also raises several issues and theoretical questions that deserve consideration in further research.

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Research article

The pragmatic marker 'áda in Kambaata (Cushitic)

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the morphological makeup, syntactic features and pragmatic functions of 'áda, a pragmatic marker (PM) in Kambaata (Cushitic). The data were drawn from a corpus of two hours of recorded, transcribed and annotated spontaneous speech. The pragmatic marker is a freestanding word. As a particle, it does not take any affixes except another pragmatically determined suffix **-be**, which is used for negating one's own or an interlocutor's intention. The PM appears before or after a simple sentence and a complement clause. It may also come after the matrix clause, which follows the complement clause. An interrogative sentence preceded by the PM changes into a rhetorical one. With a cleft sentence, the PM occurs either preceding or following the first focused (copula) clause. In all cases, it is separated with a pause from the rest of the words and phrases in the syntactic structure. Thus, it is an unintegrated extra-sentential unit. The historical origin and the potential source from which the particle was grammaticalized could not be determined. Its functions include signaling repair, surprise, apology, noticing and turn yielding. In some contexts, more than one of the preceding functions can overlap.

KEY WORDS: apology, cleft, Kambaata, noticing, repair, surprise, turn yielding



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1. Introduction

Kambaata, a Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia, has several particles that are used for organizing what one says or writes. TREIS (2008a: 220-229; 2023: 202) identifies several pragmatic markers that are yet to be explored. The markers come in two forms: as freestanding particles and pragmatically determined suffixes. Among the freestanding particles are 'áda 'I just realized', 'áchche 'I feel sad and...' and 'éman 'Congratulations for...' The pragmatically determined suffixes are -n 'it is up to...', -'nnu 'I confirm' and -be 'I disagree'. Formally, they are hosted by syntactic elements, but functionally, they are extra-sentential. Each of the freestanding and pragmatically determined suffixal markers has several meanings, depending on context.

Freestanding pragmatic particles cannot be subsumed under any word class of the language. Firstly, they are non-inflecting (unlike, for instance, (pro)nouns, verbs and adjectives) and, secondly, they do not share any characteristics of such morphologically invariant elements like ideophones and interjections.

Pragmatically determined suffixes are different from derivational affixes and syntactically relevant inflectional affixes. Adding or omitting them does not distort the grammatical acceptability of a sentence.

Of the freestanding particles, which serve as pragmatic markers, this article focuses on 'áda 'I just realized'. It describes the morphological characteristics, possible occurrence positions, and functions of the particle. Syntactically and pragmatically, the particle resembles what are known as "parentheticals" in cross-linguistic studies. Although they add information to some extent, parentheticals are disjunct elements and, as such, syntactically, semantically and prosodically separated from the environment of the clause they are in (GRENOBLE 2004: 1954; KALTENBÖCK et al. 2011: 851). The term pragmatic marker is utilized here in reference to linguistic elements that signal a change in cognitive state, perform discourse management tasks, and express speaker feelings.

Apart from the introduction, the article comprises six sections. Sections two and three outline the methodology employed in the article and a review of previous studies about the pragmatic marker, 'áda, respectively. Section four describes the morphological characteristics of the PM and those related to it. Section five deals with the occurrence of the PM in utterances. The functions of the PM are discussed in section six. Finally, section seven draws conclusions.

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1. Methodology

Investigation of the PM 'áda is based on a corpus of two hours of recorded spontaneous speech. The corpus consists of 22 Kambaata interactions among family members, friends, and relatives. It also comprises sociolinguistic interviews focusing on work experience, traditional food preparation and ethnographic information collected between 2018 and 2020. Altogether, examples were extracted from dialogues involving 52 individuals. The texts were transcribed, morphologically segmented and glossed. The attested tokens of 'áda were examined in a check-test by omitting the particle. The method was employed to validate whether or not the word in question is of the kind that has a syntactic role. The examples in the analyses (sections 5 and 6) are provided with contexts that help to derive pragmatically proper senses.

The data presented in this article are written in the official Kambaata orthography¹ with modification, insertion of pitch-accent and the glottal stop. The orthographic convention of the language, that is, representation of the glottal stop with a geminated nasal ('mm; 'nn) or liquid ('ll; 'rr), as a cluster of three consonants (e.g. 'mm), has been retained.

3. Previous studies on 'áda

The particle 'áda was first identified by TREIS (2008a: 87). Later on, ALEMU (2016), a trilingual dictionary, came up with 'áda itself and two additional related words: 'adáa'nná and 'adaa'nnichcháare. Further investigation in relation to the present study has resulted in three more which are related to the first three. They are: 'adaa'nníchcho, 'adaa'nnáare and 'adaa'nnichchóore. Hence, the six items listed below are results of the previous and the present studies.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| a. 'áda | d. 'adaa'nnáare |
| b. 'adáa'nná | e. 'adaa'nnichchóore |
| c. 'adaa'nníchcho | f. 'adaa'nnichcháare |

ALEMU (2016), which identified 'áda, 'adáa'nná, and 'adaa'nnichcháare, provides inconsistent definitions in three languages: Kambaata, Amharic, and English. On the other hand, TREIS (2008a) categorizes 'áda as an interjection of agreement and translates it as 'I see.' ALEMU (2016) identifies his three entries as *ml* [*mahí*

¹ Correspondences between the Kambaata orthography and IPA: /b/, <c> /tʃ/, <d> /d/, <f> /f/, <g> /g/, <h> /h/, <j> /dʒ/, <k> /k/, <l> /l/, <m> /m/, <n> /n/, <p> /p/, <q> /kʰ/, <r> /r/, <s> /s/, <t> /t/, <v> /v/, <w> /w/, <x> /tʰ/, <y> /j/, <z> /z/, <sh> /ʃ/, <ch> /tʃ/, <ph> /pʰ/, <zh> /ʒ/, <'> /ʔ/. Vowels are represented both orthographically and in IPA as: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/.

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The pragmatic marker *'áda* in Kambaata (Cushitic)

laagáta], which means 'interjection' (lit. interjection word) and attempts to give each one of them a definition in the three languages as in (1) below.

We quoted the entry words from ALEMU (2016) with some modification by adding the glottal stop <'> and the pitch-accent mark wherever necessary. We also provided the English equivalents of the Kambaata and Amharic words and descriptions.

- (1) a. **'áda**
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Kambaata | (ml) maalalú caakkissáa laagáta
[a word expressing surprise] |
| Amharic | ለካ [<i>lækka</i>]
[I just realized] |
| English | so, that (particle indicating surprise, remorse, sorrow, discovery, etc.) |
- b. **'adáa'nná**
- | | |
|----------|---|
| Kambaata | (ml) maccoocceemmá xawíi mashkúta dagíi yeennó yanná
[a question uttered to find out a cause for a particular result] |
| Amharic | ለካስ (ምክንያትን ለመረዳት) [<i>lakkas miknijatīn ləmārrədāt</i>]
[I just realized (to understand the reason)] |
| English | so, that (particle indicating a reason) |
- c. **'adaa'nnichcháare**
- | | |
|----------|--|
| Kambaata | (ml) wóna habeemmá xawá qaagú kulisanó yanná
[an expression that indicates recalling something forgotten] |
| Amharic | ለካስ (ማስተወስን ለመግለፅ) [<i>lakkas mastəwəsin ləməgīləs'</i>]
[I just have realized (to express remembering something)] |
| English | so, that (particle indicating a remembrance) |

(adopted from ALEMU (2016))

Each of the three Kambaata definitions, the English translation of which we have given in square brackets, is distinct. While the definitions of **'áda** and **'adaa'nnichcháare** seem generally acceptable, that of **'adáa'nná**, which is translated as [a question uttered to find out the cause for a particular result] does not seem to be plausible. As regards the Amharic translations, they seem to be generally acceptable; but they need to be refined. In the case of the English translations, they are more problematic. In all three cases, 'so', which may have various senses depending on context, is supportable. On the other hand, the sense in which 'that' is provided is not clear. While the additional meanings,

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'surprise' for 'áda and 'indicating a remembrance' for 'adaa'nnichcháare are admissible, associating 'sorrow, discovery, etc.' with 'áda is not permissible.

Concerning translatability, BRINTON (2017: 5) states that words with low propositional meaning, particularly pragmatic markers, are hard to translate into other languages. Even in the same language, a pragmatic marker may have opposite meanings. VIVIEN (2006: 157) provides a good example from Singapore colloquial English where the particle *lah* is described, in one case, as implying friendliness, and, in another case, as having a sense of hostility. Vivien suggests that the disparity arises from "partial picture" of what the particle is. Since occurrences, meanings and functions of pragmatic markers are highly context-dependent, one needs to carefully distinguish which meaning of an utterance is due to the context and which one is inseparably linked to the language elements of the text. Thus, the analysis of pragmatic meaning (contextual meaning) has to be based on data obtained from spontaneous conversations and should not rely on data from elicitation or introspection. The problems associated with the meanings of 'áda in ALEMU (2016) are possibly rooted in the assumptions of the compiler. While the dictionary gives a glimpse of the meanings and functions of 'áda, its morphological characteristics, possible utterance positions, meanings, and functions need to be re-examined.

4. The pragmatic markers related to 'áda

In 'áda and its sisters, pitch accent is realized on the penultimate syllable. For instance, in 'áda, as seen here, the pitch accent falls on the first syllable, 'á-, that is, the syllable which precedes the last one; hence penultimate. Similarly, in 'adaa'nnichchóore, it falls on -chóo-. The same holds for the other related ones. Morphologically, it is apparent that the other five forms are built on 'áda as a stem. In the case of those which embed -chch-, 'adaa'nníchcho, adaa'nnichcháare and 'adaa'nnichchóore, the element -chch- could be historically related to the Kambaata singulative marker. The singulative is marked with -ch/chch, which suffixes on the stems of nouns and words with nominal function (TREIS 2014: 112). Therefore, one could hypothesize that 'áda and the related forms had a nominal origin in the past. However, supporting the hypothesis by providing diachronic evidence does not seem easy, as documenting the language began only recently.

As regards occurrence in the two-hour corpus, 'áda was encountered 10 times while 'adaa'nníchcho appeared once. With respect to the other related ones, data were obtained through semi-structured interviews and introspection. In the corpus, freestanding pragmatic markers, 'áchche 'I feel sad and...' and 'éman

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'Congratulations for...' were found to be more frequent. While 'áda has a frequency of 10, 'áchche and 'éman have 42 and 12 occurrences, respectively.

To our understanding, the only dependent morpheme that can combine with 'áda and the related ones is **-be**. A speaker uses the suffix to negate what oneself or an interlocutor previously uttered. The morpheme can be suffixed to any of those words related to 'áda, with its final vowel lengthened, as seen below.

- (2) a. 'ada-bée
PM-BE
- b. 'adaa'na-bée
PM-BE
- c. 'adaa'nnichcho-bée
PM-BE
- d. 'adaa'naare-bée
PM-BE
- e. adaa'nnichchaare-bée
PM-BE
- f. adaa'nnichchoore-bée
PM-BE
'What I have just realized is ...'
(Note: translation is the same for all the variants)

5. Occurrence of 'áda in an utterance

The PM 'áda appears with simple sentences, complex sentences with complement clauses, cleft constructions and interrogative sentences. It may also appear with other pragmatic markers. In some contexts, a speaker may replace 'áda by 'án dangimbá'a 'I did not know', or na'óot dangimbá'a 'we did not know'. The subsections below describe and illustrate the occurrence patterns of 'áda. What is described about 'áda is more or less applicable to the other related pragmatic markers.

5.1 'Áda and a simple sentence

With a simple sentence, 'áda appears preceding or following the sentence. It is extra-sentential and not integrated into the syntax of the sentence. It is independent and is thus separated with a pause in speech and with a comma in writing. In (3a) below, the PM precedes the sentence, while in (3b) it follows.

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- (3) a. 'Áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í
PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG
'I just realized, he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell)?'
- b. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u, 'áda
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG PM
'I just realized, he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell)?'

5.2 'Áda and a finite complement clause

In a complex sentence, in which a complement clause is embedded, the PM appears optionally in various slots. Below, in (4a), it is before the complement clause, in (4b), after the complement clause and in (4c), after the matrix clause; that is, after the whole utterance. In the case of (4d), the complement clause, which is preceded by the PM, is further preceded by another PM.

- (4) a. 'Áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í
PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo-g-a,
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3m.prog.rel-sim-m.acc
'án dag-im-bá'a
1SG.nom know-1SG.PFV-NEG
'I just realized, I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'
- b. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC
waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u,
come-3M.IPFVB.CVB ring-3M.PROG
'áda, 'án dag-im-bá'a
PM 1SG.NOM know-1SG.PFV-NEG
'I just realized; I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'

(lit. 'That he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell), I just realized, I did not know.')

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- c. 'Ánkar-í 'ankar-í waal-án dawwol-áyyoo'u, 'án
night-M.ACC night-M.LOC come-3M.IPFV.CVB ring-3M.PROG 1SG.NOM
dag-im-bá'a, 'áda
know-1SG.PFV-NEG PM
'I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell); I just realized.'
- d. Hítt 'ík-k, 'áda, 'ankar-í 'ankar-í
SIM_P_DEM become-3M.PFV.CVB PM night-M.ACC night-M.LOC
waal-án **dawwol-áyyoo'u,** **dag-im-bá'a,** 'áda
come-3M.IPFV.CVB ring-3M.PROG know-1SG.PFV-NEG PM
'án **dag-im-bá'a,**
1SG.NOM know-1SG.PFV-NEG
'Then, I realized, I did not know that he was coming every evening and ringing (the bell).'

In (4a), while 'áda is a pragmatic marker, the part 'ankarí 'ankarí waalán dawwoláyyooga 'that he was coming every evening and ringing' is a complement clause and 'án dagimbá'a 'I did not know' is a matrix clause. The PM, 'áda, can be moved to the middle of the utterance and appear between the complement clause and the matrix clause. That is what is observed in (4b). The movement of the PM does not affect the meaning of the utterance. In the case of (4c), the PM follows the matrix clause; that is, it appears at the end of the whole utterance. The structure in (4d) differs slightly from the rest. It is a case where the utterance in (4a), which is preceded by 'áda, is further preceded by another PM. In Kambaata, as stated in TREIS (2008b: 163), a subordinate clause either precedes or nests in a matrix clause.

5.3 'Áda and a cleft construction

A cleft sentence is a complex sentence which contains two clauses, a main clause and a dependent clause. The sense of a cleft sentence is that of a simple sentence. However, structurally, in a cleft sentence, the main (copula) clause is focused. In English, a cleft sentence is structured as: it + be + NP/PP/A/AdvP + subordinate clause. Unlike in English, in Kambaata, the cleft structure is: NP/PP/A/Adv + be + subordinate clause. The 'be' is suffixed to the NP, PP, A or AdvP. As observed by TREIS (2008b: 189), a copula clause precedes a headless relative clause which is background information. The cleft pronoun 'it' is phonetically non-existent in Kambaata.

In a Kambaata cleft construction, 'áda comes either before or after the first (copula) clause. In (5a) below, 'áda precedes the focused copula clause. In other

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words, it precedes the whole cleft sentence while in (5b), it appears after the copula clause.

- (5) a. 'Áda, cíil-a-a waal-lóo
PM child-PRED-COP2 come-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM
'I just noticed; it is the child who came.'
- b. Cíil-a-a, 'áda, waal-lóo
child-PRED-COP2 PM come-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM
'I just noticed; it is the child who came.' (lit. 'It is the child, I just noticed, who came.')

Unlike in the typical syntactic sequence in the language (i.e. dependent-independent), the clauses in a cleft sentence switch their positions and occur in the order independent-dependent. The matrix clause 'án dag-im-bá'a 'I did not know', which we have seen in (4), is covert in (5a) and (5b).

5.4 'Áda and interrogative construction

In Kambaata, an interrogative yes/no sentence is normally structured by suffixing the question marker **-ndo** to the main verb at the end of a declarative sentence. The next example illustrates this.

- (6) Magán-o 'esaa-háa qixxans-íteent-into
God-M.VOC 1SG.DAT-ADD arrange-2SG.PRF-Q
'God, have you arranged it also for me?'

If the question marker **-ndo** is dropped, the structure would be that of a declarative sentence with the sense 'God, you have arranged it for me.'

If an interrogative sentence is preceded by 'áda, which is, in turn, preceded by background information, and the final verb of the sentence is suffixed with **-o**, that sentence would have a rhetorical interpretation. The following example demonstrates this.

- (7) Hittigoon-áta xah-aakk-áta, 'áda, Magán-o
SIM_DEM-f.ACC issue-PLV-F.ACC PM God-M.VOC
'esaa-háa qixxans-íteent-into-o?
1SG.DAT-ADD arrange-2SG.PRF-Q-EPISTEMIC
'God, I just realized, have you arranged such good opportunities for me, too.'

If the background information, 'áda and **-o** are withdrawn, what remains is an ordinary interrogative sentence.

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5.5 Co-occurrence of 'áda and other pragmatic markers

In a conversation, 'áda can collocate with two other pragmatic markers; that is, with the freestanding 'éman 'Congratulations for,,, and/or the suffixal -be 'I disagree'. In their occurrence, 'éman follows 'áda and takes the additive suffix -fi, and the PM-be, as seen below.

- (8) 'Áda, 'eman-fi-be mar-im-ba'fi
PM1 PM2-ADD-PM3 go-1SG.PFV.REL-NEG.NMLZ.NOM
'I realize, I was right for not having gone.'

An utterance which involves 'áda suffixed with -be signals a speaker's request for a 'go ahead' after having negated his/her previous utterance. Accordingly, the listener responds with the interjection 'Ā! or 'Ū! implying 'Go ahead'.

For instance, a teacher in a school repeatedly punished a student who was always late. The student's parents blamed the teacher. But, after discovering that the child indeed arrives late to school, the father regretted having misunderstood the teacher. In the assumed conversation below, which concerns the behaviour of their child, the father [F] requests approval from the mother [M] uttering 'Ada-bée. And the mother responds saying 'Ā! Accordingly, the father continues.

- (9) F: 'Ada-bée
PM1-PM2
'I just realized the truth.'
M: 'Ā!
INTJ
'Go ahead!'
F: Nfi-b-aan-eet háww-u yoo'-fi
1PL.GEN=PLC-M.LOC-COP3 problem-M.NOM present-3M.PFV.REL.NMLZ.NOM
'The problem is with us.'

In the example, by uttering 'Ada-bée the father signals that the problem with the child has become clear to him. Then, the mother reacts with the 'go ahead' signal, 'Ā! Accordingly, the father tells the mother about the uncovered truth concerning the child.

In the above subsections of section five, we have examined the occurrence of the PM 'áda in relation to a simple sentence, a complement clause, a cleft sentence, an interrogative sentence and with other pragmatic markers. In relation to a simple sentence and a complement clause, 'áda occurs before or after each one of them. In a cleft sentence, it comes before or after the copula (focused) clause. In an

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interrogative sentence, it appears before that sentence making it rhetorical. We have not encountered the PM with sentences in the imperative and jussive mood.

6. Functions of 'áda

In the section above, we discussed structural issues concerning the occurrence of 'áda in utterances. In this section, we will deal with its functions. Among the functions of pragmatic markers encountered in the literature are signaling repair (ENFIELD 2017), apology (LAKOFF 2015), turn-yielding (PANEY 1997), and surprise (GUPTA 1992). In relation to Kambaata, we came across the following signaling functions.

- a) Repair
- b) Surprise
- c) Apology
- d) Noticing
- e) Turn yielding

Repair is a common process of identifying and correcting an error in a conversation. It can be initiated by a speaker or a conversation partner. ENFIELD (2017: 89) states that the process is divided into two phases; the first is initiation and the second is the repair itself, which is resolving the problem.

In a conversation, it is normal that one may come across something surprising and may express one's feeling through a PM of some sort. On the other hand, when an interlocutor feels that he or she has failed to have performed what is proper, he or she may acknowledge that by using a PM with a sense of apology. Similarly, PMs could be employed to mark noticing and turn yielding in a conversation.

Pragmatic markers are context dependent and, depending on the environment, they can be multifunctional (CUENCA and DEGAND 2022: 1). In other words, they can perform more than one function at a time (CRIBLE and CUENCA 2017: 159). Accordingly, in Kambaata, 'áda is multifunctional and it can perform more than one function simultaneously. We shall see this in the subsections below.

6.1 Repair and apology

Depending on context, the occurrence of 'áda in an utterance may impart two different senses, repair and apology, at the same time. Let us look at the following illustration extracted from the corpus which was a source of data for the present study.

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A teacher named Baqqalachch has a child. She tells the addressee (Temesgen, co-author of this article), what is in (10a). When she went to the house of a bereaved family to comfort them, she told someone to look after her baby. She identifies the caretaker as her maid. Suddenly, she realizes that using the word “maid” was wrong and corrects the error as in (10b) below

- (10) a. **Mát-e** **'ilan-ch-í** **sarraatanynyi-chch-óon**
one-F.ACC relative-SGV-M.GEN maid-SGV-F.ICP

'agún-n **'oroo-nóomm**
leave-1PL.PFV.CVB go_away-1PL.PFV
'We went away leaving (the baby) with a maid who is (our) relative.'
- b. **Fanqán-n** **waan-nán**
return-1PL.PFV.CVB come-1PL.IPFV.CVB

qax-ée **'ā'ā** **'ilan-ch-í**
extent-F.DAT INTJ relative-SGV-M.GEN

sarraatanynyi-chch-óon-ba'a **'áda** **Sabíl-a-at**
servant-SGV-F.ICP-NEG 'ÁDA PN-PRED-F.COP3
'Until we would come back, oh no, it was not with the maid who is (our) relative; but it was (with) Sabila.'

In (10a), **máte 'ilanchí sarratanynyichcóon** 'with a maid who is (our) relative', is the information that was later corrected. In (10b), the speaker realizes that she has made a communication error and instantly interrupts herself with the cognitive interjection **'ā'ā**. The latter indicates a thought that a miscommunication has occurred which should be corrected. She then negates the word for 'maid'. After a brief pause, she inserts the PM **'áda** as a self-repair and an apology marker. After another brief pause, she utters **Sabílaat** 'it was Sabila'. This is a case where a speaker is involved in the processes of initiation and repair (ENFIELD 2017: 89).

When **'áda**, is brought in to effect repair, it implies noticing and turn yielding simultaneously. To illustrate this, let us consider a situation extracted from the corpus.

A girl named Baayyush tells her friend that an old man recently bought a mobile phone and he was unfamiliar with it. When the phone rang, he pressed a button and responded saying “Hello!”. He continued saying “Hello”. The man’s action confused those nearby. Someone asked him what button he pressed and found out that he pressed the “Cancel” button. What is seen below in (11) is Baayyush’s description of the situation.

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- (11) a. **Xiib-eem má-b-a** **xuudis-eenno-nné-da,**
press-3HON.PFV.REL-PLC-M.ACC show-3HON.PFV.REL-2OBJ-COND
'When he showed us the button he had pressed...'
- b. **'áda,** **'íssa** **ká** **Ok** **y-eennó** **ma'nn-íta**
ÁDA 3HON.NOM A_MEM1.M.ACC Ok say-3PL.IPFV.REL place-F.ACC
gag-ánka-se **luus-éen,**
self-M.ACC.N-3F.DEN miss-3HON.PFV.CVB
'We noticed; it was not the "Answer" button ...'
- c. **qayy-íin** **xuf-éen** **kam-éen-eet,**
red-M.INS shut-3HON.PFV.CVB cancel-3HON.PFV.CVB-COP3
'It was after turning off, by pressing the "Cancel" button...'
- d. **sá'mm** **y-éen** **Helo** **y-eenayyoommáa**
silent say-3HON.PFV.CVB INTJ say-3HON.PROG.REL.NMLZ.NOM
'...he was saying, 'Hello!''

In (11a), Baayyush talks about the button the man showed to the person who approached him to help. In (11b), she inserts **'áda** (with a pause before and after it) and talks about the man's error. In (11c-d), she points to the error. The PM played two more roles besides repair; that is, suggesting noticing and turn yielding.

6.2 Noticing and surprise

Depending on context, **'áda**, could imply noticing and surprise, simultaneously. The example below is about an instance related to two farmers called Heellámo and Bóqe (data obtained from the corpus). One day, Bóqe took Heellámo's ox without permission and he was ploughing. Heellámo was wondering as to what happened to his ox. After a few moments, he discovered that the ox was ploughing in the field. He was overjoyed and, at the same time, surprised by what Bóqe did—ploughing with his ox without permission. Immediately, he went to the field. Upon arrival, he said the following to Bóqe.

- (12) **'Áda,** **'át** **'oróos-s-ian-eet** **has-áyyoommii**
PM 1SG.NOM take_away-2SG.PFV.CVB-DS-COP3 search-1SG.PROG.REL.NMLZ.NOM
'I just noticed you are the one who took (the ox) and made me search (caused me so much trouble).'

In the example, **'áda** could be replaced by those alternants – **'adáa'nná**, **'adaa'nníchcho**, **'adaa'nnáare**, **'adaa'nnichcháare**, or **'adaa'nnichchóore**. Consequently, the sense of the utterance would be more emphatic. As to the specific senses of the alternants, further investigation is required, as pointed out earlier.

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7. Conclusions

The character of the Kambaata PM 'áda is in congruence with the assumption in the literature that pragmatic markers are procedural in function and possess low conceptual or referential meaning. The PM is not classifiable to any of the usual word classes and does not take inflectional or derivational affixes except the PM-**be**. As pointed out earlier, the suffixation of the latter signals that the speaker negates what has been said by self or the interlocutor.

Usually, 'áda is used to signal the need for repairing miscommunication. However, it is also used to signal surprise, apology, noticing and turn yielding. At times, it may give more than one of the preceding interpretations, simultaneously.

The PMS which are related to 'áda both in form and meaning, namely 'adáa'na, 'adaa'nnáare, 'adaa'nníchcho, 'adaa'nnichcháare, and 'adaa'n-nichchóore, need to be further investigated, as indicated earlier. In an utterance, whereas 'áda can replace the rest, the opposite is not possible. There is a subtle difference in meaning between them.

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Abbreviations

1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, A adjectival, A_DEM adjectival demonstrative, ACC accusative, BE pragmatic marker **-be**, COND conditional, COP copula, CVB converb, DAT dative, DEF definiteness, DEM demonstrative, F feminine, FCC finite complement clause, GEN genitive, HON honorific, IMP imperative, INS instrumental, INTJ interjection, IPFV imperfective, LD left-dislocation, LOC locative, M masculine, NEG negation, NMLZ nominalizer, NOM nominative, OBJ object, P pronoun, P_DEM pronoun demonstrative (demonstrative pronoun), PFV perfective, PL plural, PLV plurative, PM pragmatic marker, PRED predicative, PROG progressive, PN proper noun, REL relative, SG singular, SGV singulative, SIM similative

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Research article

Literary aesthetics of *Klama* lyrics: An exploration of allusion

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ABSTRACT

Folk songs have been a major part of ceremonies in most African societies of which the Krobo in Ghana are no exception. One striking type of folk music of the Krobo is *Klama*. *Klama* songs serve as a platform to instruct, entertain, educate as well as chastise wrong doers. In the belly of these songs are buried aesthetic devices which need to be unearthed. This study, therefore, sets out to investigate the use of allusion as an aesthetic device in *Klama* songs. It also aims at establishing and identifying the types of allusion in the songs. The study seeks to examine the effective use of *Klama* lyrics in communicating the history and beliefs of the Krobo. The study is anchored on the Infracultural framework of folklore analysis as the conceptual framework. The framework acknowledges that oral texts are deeply rooted in the culture and tradition of the performer and that the interpretation of an oral text must be situated within the cultural context. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation and information gathered from ethnographic records. The study reveals that biblical and historical allusions are important literary devices in *Klama* songs. It argues that allusion is heavily dwelt upon by *Klama* cantors to communicate the history and the beliefs of the Krobo ethnolinguistic group. This study documents *Klama* songs and contributes to the teaching of poetry and oral literature. It also brings *Klama* songs to the lime light for scholarly attention.

KEY WORDS: allusion, folk song, ethnolinguistic, *Klama*, Krobo



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1. Introduction

Song is one of the powerful genres of oral literature. CHILUWU (2009) avers that song is regarded as a poetic literary form. According to CHENENJE (2017: 1) folk songs “are composed and sung within a particular community which has a common belief or culture”. Folk songs address societal issues and concerns. The fundamental characteristic of song as a poetic form is its richness in profuse emotive linguistic expressions, rhythm, special diction for the achievement of intended effect and style. Significantly, the performer as well as the occasion has always been the focus during the performance of songs. It is in the light of this assertion that BUTAKE (1978:140) cited in NDI MOFOR (2011:3) documents that “the African manifests his feelings through an outburst of songs when he loves, hates, works or plays, when he is at peace or war, when a child is born or death takes its toll.” Song serves as the life line of the Krobo who recognize that the art of poetry is indispensable to the members of the society for expressing emotive human predicaments. NNAMANI (2014: 1) opines that traditional “song plays an important part in the lives of the people and one of the major characteristics of folk song is that it has function. The various stages of the life-cycle of an individual and the life-cycles of the society are all marked with the performance of songs.”

OKAFOR (2005) postulates that among the Igbo of Nigeria, every person is expected to make music or perform at a dance at certain points in life. All life rites or rituals have musical implication and involvement so that at any point in time, somewhere, somebody is making music or dancing in Igbo land. Initiation rites are occasions to display the rich culture of a people of which the Krobo are no exception. Adolescent rites of passage exist in and are valued by cultures and countries around the world, including most ethnic groups in Africa (KANGWA 2011, PEMBA 2012, ADINKU 2016). Adolescent rites are designed to mark transition to adulthood through a ceremony, ritual or other experiences (MALULEKE 2001, VAN ROOYEN and HARTELL 2010, EKINE et al. 2013). According to SALM and FALOLA (2002), adolescent rites are necessary for ensuring the propagation of a lineage and providing status. Initiation rites to usher young girls into adulthood are occasions for singing among the Krobo ethnic groups in the Eastern Region of Ghana. Whenever a group of Krobo people gather to celebrate any cultural event which matters a lot to them, such as marriage, coronation of a chief, the birth and naming of a child, or some religious festival, they sing and dance to *Klama*.

Klama remains the most active and exciting means of transmitting the cultural heritage of the Dangme, particularly the Krobo ethnolinguistic group in Ghana. *Klama* performances showcase the interplay between language, culture and

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thought of the Krobo. The traditions, values and norms of the Krobo society are preserved through *Klama* songs and performances. The artistic use of language as well as the aesthetics of cultural practices are revealed through *Klama* performances. This is in tandem with OKPEWHO's (1992) assertion of oral genres. Among the Krobo, *Klama* serves as the reservoir of the history of the people, the lubricant that propels the engine of the Krobo society and the vibrant binding force that brings various segments of the society together. The oral performances of the Krobo society are manifested in several genres such as libation texts, chants, proverbs, riddles, puzzles, myths, legends, folktales and folk songs. HARGOE (2017: 61) posits that *Klama* songs involve, "expressions of social and religious values, jokes, institutionalized abuse, biographical sketches, instruction for proper performance of customary rites, aesthetic theory and values, proverbial wisdom, herbal medicine, Dangme cosmology and commentary on social behaviour". *Klama* songs consist of the worldview of the Krobo. One major occasion on which *Klama* is performed is the *Dipo* puberty rites of the Krobo observed annually between March and May. *Dipo* is an indigenous cultural practice laden with moral values, business orientation and many other lessons that impact positively on the Krobo girl.

Apart from the fact that *Klama* songs are sung to accompany the various rituals the girls are taken through they are also intended to teach or admonish not only the initiates but society in general. The songs address major themes like good motherhood, obedience, fidelity in marriage and cleanliness directed to the initiates whereas vices such as irresponsible parenting, indolence, extravagance and hypocrisy are communicated to the larger society. Thus, to FINNEGAN (2012: 40) initiation songs serve the purpose of "integration and maintenance of society". Though the composers of *Klama* are mostly unschooled, it is amazing to find out that these songs are loaded with aesthetic devices which allusions are no exception. FORCHU (2012: 214) opines that since the psychology, concept, values and attitude of a culture are reflected in song texts, the fabric of the society is, therefore, upheld in music, through which behavioural patterns come to life. Routine traditional and cultural activities of the Krobo are greeted with categories of folk music. Each category of Krobo folk music has a unique characteristic, structure and performance style. However, *Klama* song lyrics has been chosen for this study as a result of its literary richness.

In spite of the several sterling artistic elements embedded in *Klama* lyrics and the accompanying aesthetic cultural performance, *Klama* songs have not received the needed scholarly attention to unearth the literary devices engrained in them. This article, therefore, seeks to examine the use and types of allusion in *Klama* songs as well as its effects as a means of educating and entertaining

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specifically the Krobo and the Dangme society in general. The present study would augment the existing body of literature on African traditional songs and document selected *Klama* songs. The teaching of poetry would be enhanced with the help of this study. The section below discusses the background of the Krobo ethnolinguistic group.

1.2 Ethnographic background of the Krobo

The Krobo or *Klo li* (as the natives call themselves) are the largest ethnic group of the Dangme ethnolinguistic group of Ghana who live along the Western side of the Volta River. The Krobo consists of Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo respectively. The two Krobo groups are a major part of the sub-ethnic groups among the eight mutually intelligible dialects of the Dangme ethnolinguistic group comprising Ada, Gbugbla, Kpone, Ningbo, Shai and Osudoku (WILSON 1992, HUBER 1993). According to OMENYO (2001), the Krobo migrated from North Eastern Nigeria, a place called Sameh. Due to continuous hostilities suffered from the neighbouring ethnic groups, they travelled and settled for a time at the hills or the Tagologo plains within the Accra plains later referred to as Lorlorvor, *Lɔlɔvɔ* in Ewe, meaning 'love has ended'. The name *Lɔlɔvɔ* came as a result of the squabbles that ensued between the Krobo and their neighbours. The Krobo then moved onto a mountain called the 'Krobo Mountain', *Klo yo mi* where they stayed until their ejection in 1892 by the British colonial government. HUBER (1993) opines that the Krobo were under the leadership of Aklo-Muase or Akro-Natebi to *Kloyom* (Krobo mountain). It is believed that Aklo-Muase was a great hunter who discovered the mountain and saw it to be a suitable settlement and, therefore, led his people onto it to take refuge from the attacks of their enemies.

The major occupations of the Krobo are farming and bead-making. In view of the interest of the Krobo in agrarian activities, they are found in the forest zones of Ghana. The Krobo are endowed with communal activities such as farming, hunting, funerals, marriage and puberty rites celebrations which are accompanied and embellished with folk songs to coordinate group communal activities, inspire, motivate, educate as well as mark the various stages of life. Songs are an aspect of oral poetry and a major component of oral literature performed by African societies on innumerable occasions and activities. Melody and rhythm are the basic features of folk songs (see FINNEGAN 1977, ONU and UGWUOKE 2019).

Initiation ceremonies are occasions for singing. Among the Krobo, *Klama* is the music performed during the *Dipo* ceremony to usher young girls into womanhood. It is the song that brings out the performance and tells the audience about the occasion. There are four types of *Klama* that are performed by the

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Krobo. These include *ha*, *hangme*, *vlo* and *tegbɛ*. *Ha* and *hangme* are the *Klama* songs used for most joyous ceremonies of the Krobo namely marriage ceremonies, puberty rites and naming ceremonies. HUBER (1993) documents that *vlo* song is a warlike cry. *Vlo* songs are sung when the *Dipo* girls are successfully returning from *tegbɛ*, the sacred stone amidst gun firing. *Tegbɛ* is the type of *Klama* that is performed during royal funeral celebrations and the celebration of state deities. BOTCHWAY (2006) describes *Klama* as the *tsui kɛ kla*, meaning 'the heart and soul' of the Dangme. From a morphological point of view, *Klama* consists of two morphemes, *kla*, which means 'soul' and *ma*, meaning 'corn dough' (see HARGOE 2017). *Ma*, 'corn dough' constitutes one of the major staple foods of the Krobo people. This, therefore, suggests that *Klama* is the food of the soul of the Krobo. The joy of parents is mostly expressed in the *Klama* lyrics. Its origin appears to have been a religious play of the Dangme of Ghana with various subcategories. *Klama* is performed at the funerals of chiefs, *matsemɛ*, priests, *wɔnɔhi* and priestesses, *wɔyi* to bid them a befitting farewell since they are the custodians of the culture and tradition of the people. Some *Klama* songs are inspired by deities especially during the celebration of *Nadu* and *Kotoklo*, the state deities of the Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo people respectively. *Klama* addresses different socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic issues in the society. *Klama* songs provide solutions to challenges that confront the Krobo society. Therefore, *Klama* songs per their structure and content regulate every facet of the life of the Krobo. Dance forms an integral part of *Klama* performances. The dance overtly showcases the rich culture of the Krobo to the outside world. Apart from the cultural significance of *Klama*, it also constitutes a source of wellness and entertainment for the people.

Klama has no specific author. *Klama* is composed mainly on the spur of the moment. However, after its composition, it becomes part of the society's oral repertoire which can be used at subsequent performances by others. The skill of composing *Klama* is acquired through observation and imitation but it must, however, conform to the form and rhythm of the already existing lyrics. The composer must be informed about the history and events in the community as and when they happen. Thus, the singers have the license to manipulate the lyrics of the song to suit the prevailing circumstances. This explains why the language of *Klama* is highly proverbial, allusive and poetic. Since a good singer wins an emotional appeal and should be able to move the audience, these features put in by the singers help them to achieve that purpose.

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2. Literature Review

KUMETAY (2009) explored the perception of the Krobo on *Dipo* in contemporary Ghana with focus on the underage *Dipo* girl to find out if the practice still promotes its aims of preparing Krobo girls and ushering them into womanhood. The study notes that *Dipo* trains Krobo girls to become good housekeepers, good housewives, mothers and to make them real Krobo women who are chaste and competent for marriage. However, the study found that *Dipo* no longer achieves its objectives of preserving the virginity of the Krobo girl before marriage in contemporary Ghana. The author further observes that the *Dipo* puberty rite does not facilitate the chances of the Krobo girl into marriage in contemporary times and that non-*Dipo* initiates equally enter into marriage with Krobo men unlike the olden days.

Adopting a combined framework of aesthetic, performance and semiotics, HARGOE (2017) investigated the performance aesthetic of *Klama* dance of the Gbugbla people of Ghana. The study proved that *Klama* performance is an integral part of the social process of the Gbugbla people especially the celebration of their *Kple* festival. The performance reveals the aesthetic and semiotic sensibilities of the people and serves the utilitarian needs of aiding worship, entertainment and preserving their culture. The study indicates that *Klama* performance is symbolic of the unity and social cohesion of the people as it brings together key functionaries of traditional music making, community members, priests, priestesses to affirm the collaboration of stakeholders in community development. It concludes that *Klama* dancers make artistic statements with their gestures, facial expression, body movement and costume that calls for appreciation and value for symbolism.

NDIMOFOR (2011) carries out a study on the folksongs of the Akum people of the North-West region of Cameroon with the focus on promoting cultural heritage and ignite the society's interest in folk music. The study argues that folk songs constitute a vital genre of the oral literature of the Akum society. The critical analysis of the study reveals that the knowledge of the composition, characteristics and performance help the audience to interpret the meaning of the songs and understand the culture of the people. According to NDIMOFOR (2011), historical facts of a people can be accredited to oral literature particularly folk songs. The study observes that folk songs are platforms for educating and amusing people as well as expressing a society's diverse knowledge and experiences. It adds that folk songs boost communal solidarity. NDIMOFOR (2011) suggests that the life experiences of a society that constitute their history, wisdom, norms and values are communicated through folk songs. Songs are interactions between the composer and the audience.

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TETTEH (2016) conducts a study on the style and literary devices in *Klama* songs focusing on the origin, style, devices, meaning and moral lessons. He notes that *Klama* is performed with a lead cantor. It is observed that *Klama* like any other oral genre provides escape for daily routine and tedious work as well as providing release from emotional stress. The study suggests that *Klama* cantors employ a wide range of literary resources available to them for the purposes of defining, identifying the people and affirming the communal membership among community members. The study notes that the meaning of *Klama* songs is brought to light through the knowledge of historical antecedents, context and other paralinguistic features added to the performance. It reveals that repetition is predominantly identifiable in the songs.

In a related study, SANORTEY (2012) analyzes the aesthetics of the festival songs of the Birifor, a dialect of Dagaare in the Upper West region of Ghana within the framework of the utilitarian theory. It emerges from the study that the Birifor festival, *Kɔntɔmbɔɔr*, folk songs are rich in poetic features. These songs are useful socialization and reminiscence tools. The cantors of the *Kɔntɔmbɔɔr*, festival songs combine both verbal and non-verbal components of communication such as dancing and jumping in addition to traditional musical instruments like bells, gourds drums in a harmonic rhythm. These demonstrate the beauty and usefulness of the songs for teaching cultural values and encouragement for the celebrants. The study also admits that repetition is a prevalent device in Birifor folk songs. The study concludes that the performance of Birifor festival, *Kɔntɔmbɔɔr*, folk songs show the rich culture of the people, promote we-feeling and belongingness among members of the society and bring to life through the evocation of the cantors the emotions and sentiments expressed several years ago. The reviewed studies above have intriguingly engaged the cultural dynamics of songs concentrating on traditional song performance. However, as we have pointed out earlier, there is no known study that examines allusion in *Klama* lyrics of the Krobo. Importantly, the previous studies provide immense assistance to our work on allusions in *Klama*.

2.1 Theoretical framework

A literary theory aims at unearthing the meaning, function, and significance of literary art. A literary analysis involves examining the historical and cultural contexts in which a text was produced. It explores the formal elements and structures of a genre, studying the relationships between the author, the text, and the reader, and analyzing the social, political, and ideological implications of a text. In view of this, this study adopts the Infracultural framework propounded by ALEMBI (2002). The Infracultural framework is an offshoot of HYMES (1994)

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ethnopoetics theory. The ethnopoetics borders on the composition of verbal text in the course of performance. It also emphasizes the interaction between the culture of the people performing a particular oral genre and the performance. The infracultural framework argues that interpretation of words and actions should be positioned within the perceptions of a particular community of practice. This framework aims at fostering collaboration between the researcher and the speech community in a reflective process to gather information on an oral genre and interpret it together in accordance with the worldview of the people. Similar to HYMES (1994) ethnopoetics that focuses on oral literature, the infracultural framework takes into recognition performance, the oral text, and the written text. ALEMBI (2002) outlines some significant elements of the Infracultural framework including the need for cultural insider perspective analysis and interpretation of an oral genre within the cultural context of the community of practice. The framework also extends its scope beyond the examination of the stylistics features of oral texts to explicating the theme of the study. The infracultural framework equally underscores the need for a profound engagement of the researcher in a dialogue and interaction with respondents for better appreciation of the structure and the meaning of a phenomenon and the cultural practices of the community. The meaning of a particular oral genre is based on the cultural background of the performer, audience and participants observing the performances of a given oral genre. The study opted for the infracultural framework of folklore analysis as fit for purpose analytical framework for unravelling the meaning of *Klama* songs. The framework suggests that the interpretation of an oral genre is dependent on the culture and traditions of the performer and audience who are stakeholders of the speech community.

3. Methodology

The research was carried out specifically in the Manya and Yilo Krobo traditional areas located in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The inhabitants are scattered in both *yona*, 'village' and *Dɔm*; 'Somanya and Odumase' settlements found in the villages and those in the towns. *Dipo* is only performed at *Dɔm* and for that reason, during the *Dipo* season, the Krobo have to travel to *Dɔm* to perform the rites. It is worth mentioning, that the ceremony is not performed in every home but at designated shrines located in the towns. The reason is that these shrines must be devotees of *Kloweki*, 'the goddess'. Twenty participants were involved in the study. The participants were purposively sampled. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where selection is based on characteristics of a population and objectives of the study (PALYS 2008). The reason for opting

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for the purposive sampling technique was that those who needed to be interviewed ought to be Krobo natives and *Klama* singers. These participants willingly assisted in giving out the required information because the researchers showed interest in the performance and also joined in some of the performances. Some face-to-face interviews were conducted in the *Kono*'s, 'chief's' palace, the traditional council and among two song leaders of two *Klama* groups. Since *Klama* is based on oral performances, data was collected through interviews, observation and audio recordings of performances. It was followed by transcribing and interpretation of the songs collected.

4. Allusion

Allusion is one of the literary devices that has an aesthetic impression on texts. ABRAMS (2009: 11) defines allusion as "a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage." He adds: "to make allusions very effective, there must be a common body of knowledge between the writer and reader or the performer and the audience". BALDICK (2001: 7) also describes allusion as "an indirect or passing reference to some event, person, place, or artistic work, the nature and relevance of which is not explained by the writer but relies on the reader's familiarity with what is thus mentioned". From the definitions above, one thing is clear: allusion is a technique of calling to mind what already exists without mentioning it explicitly. When using allusions, a writer tends to assume an established literary tradition, a body of common knowledge with an audience. This shared knowledge makes the audience part of the performance (CUDDON 1991).

4.1 Classification of allusion

There are different approaches to the classification of allusions. DUPRIEZ (1991) identifies the following types of allusion: historical allusion, where a reference is made to a historical figure or happening; biblical allusion is where the Bible serves as the point of reference, literary allusion where reference is made to any literary figure or idea and personal allusion where one refers to other content in which one appears to explain a current situation.

The Krobo perform several types of folk songs which include *Klama*, *Oglojo*, *Kpatsa* and *Gbeko* among others. In all these songs, specific allusions are made to the Bible, heroes and heroines and historical events. Reference is made to the bible in Krobo folk songs to express the belief of the people in God. Reference is also made to historical events and figures to remind the people of the heroes and

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heroines and to teach the history of the Krobo people. The Krobo refer to allusion as *adetohe*. They also refer to the bible as *ngmami klɔuklɔ* and historical events as *blema munyuhɪ*. Therefore, biblical allusion in Dangme is referred to as *ngmami klɔuklɔ adetohe* and historical allusion as *blema munyu adetohe*. Historical allusion could make reference to a historical event or a historical figure as illustrated in the data. Based on the data, allusion in *Klama* can be classified into biblical and historical. This article discusses the two main types of allusion found in *Klama* songs.

4.2 Importance of allusion in texts

Allusion plays significant roles in texts and there are several reasons why writers may choose to allude rather than make a direct reference. Allusions can actually communicate things that straightforward statements cannot. Alluding, therefore, saves space. BALDICK (2001) holds the view that the technique of allusion is an economical means of calling upon the history or the literary tradition that authors and readers are assumed to share. VAN ALSTYNE (1993: 14) suggests that allusion adds a dimension of familiarity and intimacy to a text or, in contrast, serve to encode meanings to be deciphered only by those who are aware of its particular system of communication. This is why IRWIN (2002: 530) postulates that allusions in a text need not be explained because the “audience should be allowed to feel the pleasure and power of discovery and creativity in order to produce an optimal feeling of intimacy and community”. CHANG (2004) avers that when allusions are used in a text, one of their functions is to indicate that text producers and receivers belong to a community with shared linguistic and cultural values as well as providing interest and novelty to the text, which further increases solidarity. When audiences or readers are able to decipher the meaning of an allusion in a text, it brings them to the level of the writer or performer. Sometimes, writers willfully condense a text using several allusions. This is done mostly to avoid verbosity and to add some level of terseness to the text. Thus, in the words of (VAN ALSTYNE 1993: 16), “the medium of expression such as song, the narrative quality of the text is necessarily condensed in favour of direct allusion to extratextual phenomena that are collectively known in greater or lesser degrees by those present and taking part in its performance”. Allusion could also be a means of expanding a text.

5. Allusion as an aesthetic device in *Klama* songs

Song like poetry reflects the composer’s skillful use of language to evoke some emotional feeling among the audience. In the process of performing *Klama*, the

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challenges of the society such as poverty, oppressions, corruption, abuses and discrimination as well as strengths are alluded to and offered as lessons to members of the society. *Klama* songs are highly allusive. They contain the cosmology, philosophy, ideology, norms, values and beliefs of the people. *Klama* is the storehouse of the language, culture, history and the spirit of the Krobo. This analysis focuses on biblical and historical allusions due to their preponderance in the data. The following elucidate biblical allusions in *Klama* songs.

5.2 Biblical allusions in *Klama* songs

Biblical allusion is simply a reference to an event, character or passage in the Bible. Though the composers of *Klama* songs are mostly unschooled, one is surprised by their knowledge of the Bible and how perfectly they draw inferences from the Bible. *Klama* performances often begin with calling the attention of the audience. After calling the attention of the audience, there is a prayer text in the form of a song to evoke the spirit of God. In the performance of *Klama*, a prayer is not necessarily said but performed through song texts. An example of such prayer song is the song in (1) below. It is sung at the commencement of any cultural celebration of the Krobo. The Dangme like many African societies have the idea of the Supreme Being before the inception of Christian religion. The knowledge of the Supreme Being is manifested in their names, folk songs, lullaby, work songs and libation text performance. God is seen as a Gracious Father and Bountiful Giver hence his appellation, *Laosiada*. This idea is expressed in this song:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Aj̃ lee,</i> | Blessing |
| | <i>ba j̃o o ma.</i> | come and bless your people. |

The song above appears short but it is repetitive. Repetition is a major characteristic of *Klama*. This song expresses the people's belief that God is the giver and sustainer of life. He is the only one who has the power to grant success in man's endeavours. The Krobo, therefore, begin every traditional activity calling on God through libation text. Thus, though God has no priests, priestesses, prophets, prophetesses, He is honoured and officially evoked during public worship, prayers and other oral performances. He is also seen as the provider and protector. The cantor resorts to the use of *Aj̃o*, an honorific attribute of God in the song as a means of verbal salute to his maker and creating an imagery of the society's source of blessing. AGYEKUM (2010: 375) documents that several honorifics are used to address God during worship, prayer and libation text performance. Honorifics, address terms for God, portray his "omnipotence, his

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wonderful deeds, his amazing grace, his immortality". AGYEKUM (2010: 371) argues that speakers who have "large repertoires of the lexical register" use honorifics. Honorifics are conversational and communicative strategies purported to persuade, show deference and politeness. The use of honorifics is employed as a demonstration of the *Klama* cantor's communicative competence. The cantor through the medium of *Klama* performance deploys the communicative strategies of formality, persuasiveness and politeness for request as she submits the entire Krobo speech community in general, her audience and the occasion in particular to the Supreme Being for blessing. In the song, we found out that the *Klama* cantor deploys the illocutionary act of inviting. The illocutionary act of inviting is a form of the directive speech act that the speaker impresses upon the hearer to act in a way to satisfy the content of the utterance (UBONG 2012). The cantor modestly invites *Ajɔ*, 'God', to fulfill a request made to him to bless the Krobo society.

The song below alludes to Psalm 121: 4 (NIV) which says "indeed, he who watches over Israel will neither slumber nor sleep".

- (2) *Nyɔŋmɔ wɔko lee* God does not sleep
 Mawu hwɔ we nɛ wa he. God does not sleep because of us.

The expression *Nyɔŋmɔ wɔko*, meaning 'God does not slumber' is loaned from Ga, a Kwa language spoken by the Ga ethnolinguistic group in Ghana. The *Klama* cantor used the communicative style of code-switching between Ga and the Krobo dialect for the purposes of drawing the attention of the audience to God's unfading vigilant role over his people. The cantor uses the Ga expression, *Nyɔŋmɔ wɔko* meaning 'God does not slumber' and the Dangme equivalent *Mawu hwɔ we* in the song. The cantor uses the code-switching style for emphasis and to create excitement among the audience. The code-switching communicative style also exhibits the *Klama* cantor's proficiency and competence in the two languages. The repetitive style of the singer is employed for emphasis and a memory device for the audience as noted by (SANORTEY 2012). The effect of the literary style of allusion echoes the name of the Supreme Being and the trust the Krobo has in his watchful powers. Respondents indicated that this song is performed at marriage ceremonies, naming, festival celebrations and during the *Dipo* puberty rite performance to acknowledge God. The major themes in the song are protection and vigilance. The song is communicating and inculcating into the present generation the value of vigilance in protecting the vulnerable in the society.

Another instance of the use of biblical allusion is seen in the song number 3.

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- (3) *Yuda lee* It's you, Judah
 Mo le o tsɔɔ i se blo. Who betrayed me.

Yuda as used in this song alludes to the Biblical Judas, one of Jesus' disciples who betrayed Him for thirty pieces of silver. Since then, Judas has been a symbol of betrayal and a traitor. Today, Christian religion particularly Pentecostalism has relegated and disregarded the performance of some cultural practices of the Krobo especially the *Dipo* puberty rites where *Klama* is the sole traditional music. The double standard character is seen among some Christian Krobo who openly criticize the performance of *Klama* but secretly initiate their daughters into *Dipo*. When discovered, people betray them to the church for the possible sanctions. These people are referred to as 'Yuda'; people who betray. The song mocks the traitors and calls on them to change from their wicked ways. It also conveys the message that the society frowns on traitors and gossips. They are seen as family, society and nation wreckers by virtue of their activities. This song is performed during the *Dipo* puberty rites among the Krobo. In the past, parents enrolled their teenage girls into the *Dipo* puberty rites ceremony where they are camped in the mountain home (Kloyomi) under the tutelage of the priestesses for three years. Presently, the entire ceremony lasts for 5 days: from Thursday to Monday. The girls are confined for the entire period. On Monday, the final day, the girls are taken outside and a durbar is held in their honour to display their beauty to the entire Krobo community and especially prospective suitors. The release of the *Dipo* girls after the confinement attracts a lot of audiences, especially the women folk to the grounds. The cantor ceases the opportunity to address the audience by performing this song to criticize perceived betrayers among the audience.

In the worldview of the Krobo, the world is not ours, we sojourn awhile and leave it. Many people have devoted their lives to amassing wealth that they forget life is very short. The *Klama* singer can be considered as a social commentator and has it as a duty to comment on the vices in society. Through the medium of a song text, the performers are able to publicly say what they could not say privately. The songs are also used to express sentiments. This accounts for the huge crowds that watch the performances. The rhythm, tone, tune and the creativity of the artist contribute to the enjoyment of the song. The singer of song (4) alludes to the fact that we only sojourn on earth for a while.

- (4) *Je ɔ pi wa nɔ* The world is no abiding place
 Wa ma je juami. We sojourn awhile and leave it.

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The enjoyment of this song is dependent on the performer's use of voice, tone, gestures and other non-verbal features. The vibrato effect of the voice of the singer, the graceful swaying of the hands, moving forward and backwards, facial expressions and the ecstatic playing of the rattle help to manipulate the audience. In some cases, the audiences have influence over the performance and always join in the song during the chorus. This makes direct references to the behaviour of the audience where possible. The audience on hearing this may break into the performance with additions and criticisms. In this way, the audience participation in the presentation of the song improves the performance as it adds to the mockery which is what the singer sets out to do. This song is not only performed during the *Dipo* puberty rite performance but is also performed during marriage and naming ceremonies among the Krobo. The song serves as advice to community members who engage in corrupt activities to amass wealth.

Christians believe that heaven is the reward of the righteous. The Bible teaches that unless a man is considered righteous, he cannot spend eternity with the Almighty God. The word 'pastor' in the song does not really refer to any particular person, but rather to Krobo Christians who either refuse to perform *Dipo*, or those who speak ill of the custom on the grounds of it being heathen. The songsters see them as self-acclaimed righteous people. The singers believe that the only person who can judge between the sinner and the righteous is God, hence the allusion to Matthew 25: 31-46 ("When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne. Before Him will be gathered all the nations, and He will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. And He will place the sheep on his right, but the goats on the left. Then the King will say to those on His right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you'). This is what is alluded to in the song (5).

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|-----|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>Osɔfo</i> | Pastor |
| | <i>kɛ o ke o da a</i> | if you claim to be righteous |
| | <i>poo mi nge hiɔwe</i> | let us meet in heaven |

This *Klama* song mocks the hypocrisy of Christians represented by *Osɔfo*, 'Pastor/Reverend' who preach against *Dipo*, but who secretly perform it for their daughters. These Christians also refuse to marry those who have not undergone the *Dipo* rite. *Dipo* is the puberty rite performed by the Krobo for their adolescent girls to usher them into womanhood. KUMETAY (2009: 20) argues that "the main aim of *Dipo* is to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls until they are married and also prepare them adequately for marriage". According to the Krobo culture, young girls who are not initiated into adulthood are regarded unclean

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and unworthy to be married. Respondents disclosed that this song is performed at a durbar of the *Dipo* girl where a lot of folks come to appreciate the elegance, the glamour and the beauty of the *Dipo* girls. The cantor uses the opportunity to ridicule hypocrites in the Krobo society. The effect of this cannot, however, be felt in this write-up, but in the performance. The gestures, body language, tone, facial expression, the wit and humour accompanying these songs are designed to be observed. The lead singer adopts a high trembling voice, the effect of which is to provide the right pace and level of excitement for the words which are sung. The use of the high pitch and the tonal variations, sometimes, are to create humour. This is meant to soothe the effects of a direct attack on the satirized. Both the verbal and non-verbal communication features aid the interpretation and understanding of the songs. The cantor through the song is communicating to the society to avoid stereotyping people and being pre-judgmental. NWANKPA (2013: 43) affirms that 'music is used for social reconstruction and character formation.' The cantor employed the medium of the song to perform the commissive illocutionary act of daring the pastor to meet him in heaven. This is seen in the use of the imperative statement, *poo mi* 'meet me'. This indicates that the *Klama* cantor is confident, bold and fearless.

The allusion that God lives in heaven but watches and controls activities on earth is illustrated in the *Klama* song in 6 below.

- (6) *Kɛ pi boku he ɔ* Had it not been the sky,
I ko na Mawu nge hiɔwe. I would have seen God in the heavens.

This song buttresses the point that the Krobo believe that God resides in the heavens. It explains that God is invisible but omnipresent. The song expresses the feeling and the religiosity of the Krobo. It is sung for the spiritual upliftment of the people. Aside from the allusive form of the song, it is also proverbial. It is used as an indirection to blame others for being the reason for one's unfulfilled plans in life. *Boku*, 'sky' as used in the song symbolizes impediments. The *Klama* singer, as a social commentator, uses this song to explain to people her inability to achieve an objective in life. The singer also uses this song as a medium to tell the gathering that impediments are bound to happen as one strives to achieve success. From a culture-insider perspective, the song is performed at a durbar organized in honour of the *Dipo* girls after their confinement as well as during marriage ceremonies.

The Krobo believe that God does not only bless but can sometimes punish wrong doers. This is seen in the case of Job in the Bible. This belief is alluded to in song (7).

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- (7) *Mawu lɛɛ m ko ko pia lɛ oo* Nobody should blame God
Mawu lɛɛ m ko ko pia lɛ oo Nobody should blame God
lɛ kɛ e pɛɔ m m He punishes
nɛ lɛ kɛ e wɔ m bua And he comforts
Mawu lɛ m ko ko pia lɛ oo Nobody should blame God
Bua wo b. Comforter.

The just nature of God is highlighted in the song. The cantor enjoins the society to eschew the habit of dabbling in a blame game when situations are bad. She affirms the belief that God is the giver and taker of life. It suggests that God comforts and soothes people on the one hand and punishes where necessary on the other hand. This song demonstrates the unbiased but fair nature of God to all manner of persons. The attitude of God portrayed in the song is an indirect communication directed to people in authority within the Krobo society. Indirection is one of the major functions of folk songs in the Dangme society. Some respondents revealed that this song is performed at the naming ceremony of a child who has survived several infant mortalities to console the parents. Parents of reincarnated children are advised with this song that God blesses couple with a child and takes it back to eternity at his own time. So, parents in particular and the Krobo society in general must learn to accept both birth and death since the two rites of passage are orchestrated by God. This song could also be performed during the *Dipo* ceremony to advise parents not to blame God and others for their misfortune. In summary, biblical allusions have been shown to be a major part of *Klama* folk songs. Biblical allusion is employed not only for demonstrating the Krobo's knowledge of God and the belief in Him but also used as a means to teach some important moral lessons to members of the society. The other type of allusion which forms part of the focus of this study is discussed in the ensuing section.

5.2 Historical allusion

The function of *Klama* is to maintain the stability of the Krobo culture and ensure its continuity. *Klama* encapsulates the philosophy, the language and the culture of the Krobo. It is performed in most gatherings to ensure the stability and the continuity of the Krobo culture. *Klama* is orally handed on from one generation to another. The Krobo as a people have had a significant history which they cannot forget easily. These experiences are passed on to the initiates and the listening public through the medium of *Klama*. They are to tell it to their generations. This is not only for the ears of the initiates, but for the audience as well, both participants and non-participants alike. Allusion is one medium through which this is done. Let us consider the following songs.

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| (8) <i>Muase su la ha Maja</i>
<i>nɛ e kɛ hyɛ yo ɔ</i>
<i>nɛ Maja kɛ e yo</i>
<i>se Muase ji yotɛ.</i> | Muase lit the torch for Maja
Maja discovered the mountain
Maja claims that the mountain is his
but Muase is the owner. |
|---|---|

Muase and Maja were two leading hunters sent by the priests to ascertain the suitability of the mountain, referred to as *Klo yo*, 'Krobo mountain' for human habitation as they migrated from Sameh in Western Nigeria. The mountain became their ancestral home until one fateful Saturday in 1892 when they were compelled to descend the mountain to their present residence. The day remains taboo and a day of bad omen in the annals of Krobo history. The memory of these hunters continues to live in this *Klama* song. Respondents indicated that Muase first discovered the Krobo mountain through his hunting expedition and later led Maja to the site. Maja having been the first to have reported back to his people said that he was the one who discovered the Mountain. The Krobo mountain to date remains an important site to the people. The Krobo people pay homage to the mountain annually during their annual *Ngmayemi* and *Kloyosikplemi* festivals celebrated every October and November by the Manya Krobo and Yilo Krobo respectively. *Klama* cantors use this song to teach the history of the people and other relevant lessons. The song is communicating the notion of traditional government as a continuum and the need for unity and continuity. The cantor inculcates in the people, particularly, the audience the spirit of acknowledging and recognizing the contribution of others in one's life. During the interviews, respondents disclosed that this song is performed at the commencement of the *Dipo* puberty rite performance and during festivals to teach the Krobo society their history.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (9) <i>Nako ngɛ we mi</i>
<i>nɛ Klowɛki ye nye.</i> | Nako is at home
And Klowɛki became victorious. |
|--|---|

Klowɛki was the priestess who originated the *Dipo* puberty rite. According to respondents, the *Dipo* girls were sent to *Klowɛki's* grove for training in personal hygiene, environmental cleanliness, childcare, housekeeping, cookery, spinning of cotton, herbal medicine and pottery (see KUMETAY 2009). She also offered training in domestic management and courtesy and etiquette for the girls. *Klowɛki* also served as the counsellor to the womenfolk and the priests. Song (9) above alludes to the important achievement of the ancestor. Respondents disclosed that *Klowɛki* did not die. However, she metamorphosed into a reptile known as *Nako*, 'the royal python'. *Nako* has since become a totem of some Krobo clans. This python is neither killed nor eaten by the Krobo society

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particularly those clans that has it as their clan deity and totem. This song is sung at the end of the *Dipo* puberty rite performance to communicate the success of the girls for undergoing the *Dipo* puberty rites.

The stay of the Krobo on the mountain was characterised by frequent wars until their forceful ejection by the British governor in 1892. Memories of this warring period are recalled through this song:

- (10) *He ne Siako da a* Where Siako stands
 Dome ta. Dome people fight.

Siako is the name of an ancient warrior who led his people to fight their enemies. Thus, memories of old battles are recalled through this song text. The names *Siako* and *Dome* are names bestowed by the *Suisi* clan. Siako and Dome are bestowed on first male children in remembrance of their progenitors as well as to continue the family lineage. These names symbolise bravery. According to respondents, this song is performed during festivals to preserve these iconic names and encourage the present generation to be brave and courageous as their ancestors did to protect their heritage.

Before the inception of the formal court, the people had good leaders who arbitrated in cases and petty squabbles among members. This is illustrated in song (11).

- (11) *Anikika, wa ka ne waa hye* Anikika let's try and see
 ne suɔ nya ma. that the elephant may shut up.

Anikika is a court where the priests and elders meet to settle disputes, deliberate on the case of any eminent calamity, and how to face the daily dangers and challenges that confront the people. *Anikika* served as an important space in ancient Krobo. It is a converging point of the people to deliberate on developmental issues and settle disputes. *Suɔ*, 'elephant' in the song symbolises an accuser. In the song above, the cantor is urging her colleague to pursue a case at the *Anikika* court in order to silence the accuser. The song in the view of respondents is performed at the climax of the *Dipo* puberty rite to ridicule those who think that the girl child will not be able to undergo the *Dipo* rite due to teenage pregnancy.

The Krobo are a hardworking and industrious people. Their occupations include farming, hunting, palmwine tapping and pottery. They however, learnt the act of fishing from the neighbouring Ewe, Ga and Ada ethnic groups. These neighbouring ethnic groups are noted for fishing. The name of the first man to

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introduce fish from the sea was *Tete Okum*. He is alluded to in the following *Klama* song:

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|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (12) <i>Tete Okum ya Ayigbe</i> | Tete Okum travelled to Ewe land |
| <i>ne wo lo ba.</i> | And brought sea fish home. |

Respondents revealed that this hero, *Tete Okum*, travelled to neighbouring Ewe, referred to by the Krobo as *Ayigbe* to purposely learn the fishing occupation in addition to his farming. This ambitious adventure made him a hero in the society hence his recognition in *Klama*, the reservoir of historic events. This song according to respondents is sung at either the commencement or the climax of the *Dipo* puberty rite performance to teach the initiates the history of the people.

Klama tells the origin and the essence of *Dipo*. As already mentioned in this work, *Dipo* was started by *Kloweki* as a means to appease jealousy expressed by the womenfolk. *Dipo*, according to OMENYO (2001) originated out of jealousy and bitterness. This was recorded from a Krobo historical account which alleged that once, a nobleman lived and married two women. While the elder wife gave birth to male children, the younger wife had female children. Due to the practice of a patrilineal system, an elaborate ceremony was organized for the male child on the 8th day after birth as part of the naming ceremony. Gifts of valuable items were presented to the child to welcome him into the family and the community as a whole. This ceremony honoured the elder wife who enjoyed it with pride to the annoyance and bitterness of the younger wife. Out of the bitterness and jealousy, the second wife reported to the Priestess, *Kloweki* to have same ceremony for her girls to honour them. The Priestess, *Kloweki* then established the *Dipo* rite where Krobo girls between the ages of 12 and 15 were sent to her grove for training as mentioned in song number 9 (KUMETAY 2009: 21). This is confirmed by this song:

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|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (13) <i>Kloweki je Ohue</i> | Kloweki came from Ewe land |
| <i>ke ba Dipo he.</i> | because of dipo. |

Apart from the Krobo, *Dipo* is also performed annually by the *Se* and *Osudoku* ethnic groups to usher teenage girls into womanhood. The girls are equipped with both domestic and vocational skills desirable for wifehood among the Krobo. It is important to note that *Klama* and *Dipo* are intrinsically interrelated, although, *Klama* is used for other traditional celebrations. This song is performed as a means of passing on the history, tradition and culture of the Krobo to the younger generation. It is mostly performed at the commencement of the *Dipo* puberty rite performance to inform the initiates of the originator of

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Dipo. *Ohue* as used in the song above symbolise a faraway land. During the period of performing *Dipo*, Krobo parents living abroad travel with their daughters to Kroboland to have their girls undergo the puberty rites.

Oral tradition has it that during the periods of war with their enemies in the olden days on the *Klo yo*, 'Krobo Mountain' the enemies hid in the bush and kidnapped the *Dipo* girls on their way to and from the *Okwe* river where the *Dipo* girls had their ritual bath and the sacred stone referred to as *totloku* on which they sit for three times to prove their virginity. Djangma is said to have been a hunter and hero of old who hid in the bush and killed the enemies who tried to kidnap the *Dipo* girls. The song below alludes to his great show of bravery, patriotism and commitment to protect the womenfolk and the adolescent girls.

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|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (14) <i>Djangma kɛ wa ya</i> | Djangma called on us to go |
| <i>Wa ya wa ba</i> | we have gone and come |
| <i>nɔ̃ ko be blɔ̃ ɔ̃ nɔ̃.</i> | there was no impediment. |

The women sing this song after successfully returning from the *Okwe* river and *totloku*, the sacred stone to register their joy and excitement. It is also sung in remembrance of the hero and to tell the story of old. In addition, the youth are, by this song, told to be brave, protect and defend their women and children who are considered weak and vulnerable in the society. In effect, through reporting this significant historic event, the Krobo are advised to be brave and patriotic.

6. Conclusion

Klama songs are not sung just to entertain, but are used as a platform to pass on the rich history and belief of the people from generation to generation. The culture, history and the language of the people will face a possible demise if these songs are allowed to become extinct. This is not to say that the study of the culture of a people is solely dependent on songs. However, *Klama* song is regarded as a treasure capable of providing insight into the language, history and culture of the Krobo. *Klama* embodies the social environment, the belief, tradition, values, norms, religion, language, culture and the world view of the Krobo. *Klama* remains the means of preserving the history of the Krobo speech community from pre-literate times. *Klama* constitutes the major folk song that serves as a lubricant that smoothly propels the wheel of every facet of the Krobo life. The knowledge of the Almighty God before the coming of the missionaries is communicated through *Klama* lyrics. The joy, sadness, entertainment, education, transition from one stage of life to another is mainly occasioned by *Klama* performances. *Klama* cantors employ diverse poetic and musical styles such as

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repetition, gestures, facial expressions, and tone to make the songs appealing to audience. The *Klama* cantor provides sufficient and suitable foundation and material for both traditional and Christian song artists to dwell on. This is the main reason why there is the need to make an in-depth study of *Klama* songs. *Klama* is simple, it is congregational, communicative and performed in a call and response style. The use of both biblical and historical allusions in the songs proves the cantors' intellectual prowess of the Krobo culture, religion and history.

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Fieldwork material

The one replaced by a crow **An Amazigh tale from Eastern Kabylia** **(Tasahlit/English)**

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1. Metadata

This tale was recorded in December 2022 in Melbou (Aït Segoual confederation, Aït Bouhafan fraction, Eastern Kabylia, Algeria) by Youdas N' Saâdi Lbuhfani from his mother Tabaâmrant. It's told in Tasahlit, a northern Amazigh language, precisely in the Aït Segoual variety, called Tasegwalit, which is one of the Tasahlit dialects studied in my doctoral thesis (GARAOUN 2024).

It is a marvelous tale composed of several episodes, many of which are already known in the North African oral literature, although I have not come across a published version that closely resembles it. The recorded oral version lasts 12,35 minutes. The English translation of the story is literal. I have only taken liberties with the punctuation in certain places (placing a few commas where the storyteller has not paused) so that certain sentences remain understandable to non-Amazigh speakers.

Tasahlit is spoken in the Babor Mountains by around 200,000 people. The Tasegwalit variety is spoken along the massif's coastline, in a region of coasts, peninsulas and hills. Tasahlit is a little-described Amazigh language, belonging to the Afroasiatic phylum. Tales transcribed in Tasahlit and translated in French are available in studies by GENEVOIX (1955) for the Aït Smaïl variety, and BERKAÏ (2014) for the Aït Mhend, Aït Bouaïsi and Aït Waret Ou Ali varieties.

In the future, I hope to provide a narrative and linguistic study of this tale and a few others, to be published in the *Journal of African Languages and Literatures*.



MASSINISSA GARAOUN

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2. *Amdebbel ugerfiw* (original version)

Yiğğen n urgaz isae tlaṭa n lxalat, inna-yasent: “d ak°ent-bruy.” Yiğğet inna-yas: “di zṭey aḥram n sebae ayelmi.” Yiğğet: “d ak-xemmey aqettun n iḳeccaṭen n sebae yyam.” Tanniṭen tenna-yas: “d ak-dd-aruy axennic, ssyaha d ddheb ssya d lfeṭṭa.” Luxen mi dd-tenna ayen tebya i tserg-add-u, ɣarent, tiyaṭ. Ruḥent ɣur settut. Tenna-yasent: “asmi da byu a ru, hedṛemt.” Luxen ma s-hedṛent, twi-dd agerfiw. D agerfiw, immut. Tcelḥ-a g lḥiṭ, txemm-as lemleḥ: txemm°l-a. Luxen mi tru, mi dd-wint-add-iṭ, lqeb-la-yis bac as-teqṭee tamatt. Twi-dd agerfiw ddaw ecṭaṭ. Bekri mi da byu a tru tmeṭṭuṭ ttasent-ed, tlaṭa, rebae n lxalat. Hedḍ a ḥter, iḥetṭer haḳa. Luxen mi dd-innerna ieuq. Nettaṭ tser-s-a, agerfiw-enn zzat-es, ddaw-es. Tenna-yas: “seeddimt, seeddimt, seeddimt i tmeṭṭuṭ i dd-irun agerfiw!” Aṭufan twi-yadd-u teff°r-a ddaw ecṭaṭ-is. Luxen, mi dd-isa urgaz-is, d lḥiran s lferḥ bac a yut lbaṛuḍ. Inna-yas: “tebbehdelt-i, miyef tehḍert-id ayen di dd-taruṭ-id axennic mi dd-truṭ-id agerfiw.” Luxen iseqsa lxalat n ittuy ḍanna. Inna-yasent: “ameḳ dd-tru d agerfiw, mala teslamt i uṭufan-enn ieuq niy mala?” Nnant-as: “ya wliḍi, nesla aṭufan ieuq, mala mi dd-nezra nfa d agerfiw.” Luxen tiyaṭ ili ccan-nsent, nuḥenti sseyḥint ccan-is. Ttett ḍa diḍ yiṭan, ttett seg ɣuyad. Tṭewwi iyelman, tṭewwi lmal. Tanna settut-enn, tettef°f-a aṭufan-enn, twi-ya txelf tamurt.

Axennic n akayen ḍan n akayen ḍan n akayen ḍan, ɣur settut, n akayen ḍan ɣur flan, n akayen ḍanna... Luxen slan wini arrac n lḥiran: ma da leeben tteayyar°n-a. Qqaren-as: “a wan i dd-ittwabedden s ugerfiw.” Iwhem d acu wanna: “a i dd-ittwabedden s ugerfiw.” Fikul nnhar. Haḳen haḳen alammi d yiğğ ubrid, inna-yas: “a nanna di dd-twerriṭ-id, ani i dd-nnernaṭ?” “Xaṭ xaṭi.” Terra-yas-ed haḳen dayen. “As-xemmey leefsa, bac i dd-texb°r-id i wac i tteayyaren warrac haḳa.” Isseemel d amaṭun, iṭtes. Tenna-yas: “a mmi, ruḥ i serget lmal.” Netta tṭewwi ulli. inna-s: “ass-a ḥa zemrey a nanna ḥa zemrey maṭi.” Inna-yas: “kra ul byay a ccey, dayen aeessid i d-issan g ul-iw.” Mi tsewway aeessid, iḳḳar-as taberriṭ i teyyint ani id-itewwa ueessid-enn, inna-yas: “a nanna, d acu i gellan ḍan g teyyint d aberkan.” Inna-yas: “ḥa d aḳcey, alma tekkest-add-u.” Tenna-yas: “di dd-kks°y-add-u di dd-kks°y-add-u.” Luxent tegra afus-is ḍanna g teyyint, igra i ufus-is iṭṭ°f-add-i, inna-yas: “ḥa d im-bruy alma tennaṭ-id i wacu i y-iṭṭan ambeddel ugerfiw.” Tenna-yas: “nekk ak-idd-iwi seg tmurt leflani,” tenna-yas: “baba-k isea tlaṭa n lxalat luxen ibya i sent-ibru. Luxen mazal u nt-ibru. Nnant-as leayel n baba-k, tenna-yas d ak-xemmey aḥram, tayet xlaf tenna-yas d ak-xemmey aqettun s sebe yyam i da tṭef. U imma-k teqqim teqqim tenna-yas d ak-dd-aruy axennic ssya d ddheb ssya d lfeṭṭa.” Inna-yas: “yax d sṣeḥ tberriṭet.” Inna-yas: “d sṣeḥ ittisiq uqerriy-iw.” Inna-yas: “imi da xemmey ma wesley i ɣur imawlen-iw?” Inna-yas: “d ak-dd-xedmey lḥaja amek di weslet.” Inna-yas: “ameḳ?” Tenna-yas: “awi-d uccen di dd-tawit ayḍa, awi-d tullat, teqqent-an. Tullat, tamezwart, uccen ha, uccen s deffir n tullat, ayḍa deffir wuccen. In-as tteddunt tteddunt. Ma da k-anin ah

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‘sisisisi,’ tullat tamezwart, uccen s deffir, ayda s deffir wuccen. In-as: ‘sisisisi mala d kunwi leabad s ugerfiw.’ Tenna-yas: “ddu haken, ddu haken, ddu haken, alammi ma da wešet d ak-anin ayen nnekn, ayen d win.”

Luxen dda itedda s tejmaet i tejmaet, yaxi s tejmaet i tejmaet, tewwin kerrzen. Alammi gwešel, ifa tajmaet yur tama uxxam imawlen-is. Inna-s: “sisisisi.” Tullat tamezwart, uccen s deffir, ayda s deffir wuccen. Inna-yas: “sisisisi. Menhu i d imawlen n wan i dd-ittwabedden s ugerfiw?” Ikker dan baba-s inna-s: “nekn d win a mmi, i gettwabedden s ugerfiw.” Luxen leamek d as-ixemm, ittxemmim. Leamenhu i d settut. Inna-yas: “i kunwi.” Inna-yas: “nekn.” Inna-yas: “amek?” Inna-yas: “mala dd-tezram mala dayen i d tanayit-iw.” Inna-yas: “beddel tamurt lexber anis i dd-tekka.” Inna-s: “wiss, d tin i qeēent tamaṭt uṭufan, mala ḥetrent.” Inna-yas: “llant.” Inna-yas: “settut truḥ lexber-is anis i dd-tekka?” “Mala d tin i ghetren qqarent-as.” “Ḥaḥiq, nesla-yas aṭufan itteuq mala mi nruḥ nfa d agerfiw.” Issusem. Ifa imma-s. Inna-s: “di feṭ tamettut teččur d iyuyad tusex d tin i tewwin d tgerfa, ttewwi ileymen.” Inna-yas: “d at-taṭeṭ g emkan n leflani.” Inna-yas: “rran-at d iyuyad, ttewwi ileymen, ttett d iyitan.” Inna-s: “ma d at-taṭeṭ, d ak-dd-tehder.” Tenna-yas, d tin i d issi-s. Itedda itedda ifa-yat ttewwi ileymen, d imma-s beddat-ha. Ha eellmen-at, beṣṣeḥ tehder-as, hedren-as imma-k ttewwi ileymen. Ikka dan, ittuy-at tettru. Inna-s: “sisisisi.” Tullat tamezwart, uccen deffir n tullat, ayda deffir wuccen. Inna-s: “sisisisi, mala tellat d tamettut i dd-irun agerfiw yak?” Tenna-yas: “nnekk a mmi.” Inna-yas: “d cemm?” Tenna-yas: “nnekk.” Inna-s: “ḥaḥiq truṭ-ed agerfiw?” Tenna-s: “ayes...” Tenna-yas: “aṭufan ieuq ma iḥbes nfa d agerfiw.” Inna-s: “ayen-hi tura tanna im-iqeblen?” Tenna-s: “lexber-is anis i dd-tekka.” Luxen, inna-yas: “xemm-as tacacit i ta.” Txemm-as ḥaka tacacit. Tenna-yas: “d ak-dd-hedrey, nnay-as d az-dd-aruy yiğgen s lfeṭta d ddheb.” Inna-yas: “ha aqerṛuy-iw.” Txedm-as tacacit ḥaka. Tegra izr-es. Luxen ḥkan-as kullec. Inna-yas: “awi-yi i uxxam-im, da ruḥey did-em.” Inna-s: “ahu da hedret, ahu da hedret, d mmi-m ay llay.” Inna-s: “yur-sent wiyaṭ tilufa merṛa amek.” Inna-s: “ma da m-anij ul ttett kra tiyaṭ did yitan ahu da ččet. Ma da m-anij ruḥ did iyuyad, ruḥ a ttešet.” Inna-s: “aqlin da ul ttaggad.”

Luxen twella-yed twi-dd ileymen. Tenna-yas: “ah a mm ileymen, mm iyuyad twella-yed i menhu i twiṭ-ed did-ney?” Tenna-s: “yiğgen d amsafer in-as senset-i.” Tehder amek as-ihder. Inna-s: “mreḥban did-es, leaslama, anis i truḥet?” Inna-yas: “ruḥey seg tmurt ibeēden.” Inna-s: “ittēf-i ubrid fay tah, ttewwi ileymen, klay did-es.” Tinni xemm-n-as iyuyad. Tenna-s: “xaṭ xaṭi.” Tegguma a ruḥ. Inna-s: “nnay-am, nnan-am ruḥ, qqel i yiuyad a tan i dd-irun agerfiw.” Mi tteccan dayen inna-s: “d ṣṣeḥ tru-d agerfiw nay?” “Ay amexluq, d tamettut-a i dd-tru agerfiw.” Inna-s: “ya wliḍi a mmi, d ṣṣeḥ, recley tlaṭa n lxalat, byay asent-bruy tanha tēteq s lhaja, tanha tēteq s lhaja, tanniṭen tēteq s uxennic.” Inna-yas: “nekk da ruy axennic azgen d lfeṭta azgen d

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ddheb.” Inna-s: “asmi dd-tru menh at-iqeblen?” Inna-s: “tqebel-at settut.” Inna-yas: “ayen-hi tura?” Inna-yas: “ulac.” Inna-s: “kunemti d šṣeḥ tru-dd agerfiw?” Ahnant as-innan: “ih tru-dd agerfiw.” Tinni lxalat-enn. Inna-s: “ḥaḥiq tru-dd agerfiw?” Nnant-as: “yyeh ih.” Ixemm-as i baba-s ḥaḥa. Inna-s: “a mmi waqila cekk!” Igra iḥer-s luxen. Tinniṭen mmutent s lxelea, aqerṛuy aken icemmten. Inna-s: “cekk ay d mmi!” Inna-s: “nekk ay d mmi-k.” “Amekḥ alammi yi-twellat?” Inna-s: “d ṛebbi i dd-ixebr^en-id.” Luxen, inna-yas i yimma-s, inna-yas i baba-s: “amekḥ da cerṭeṭ a nxemm i tinhi? amekḥ d asent-nxemm?” “A nt-neyy, a nt-netṭef, a nt-neḡḡ i ccer, tura cekk da cerṭen cekk d imma.” Nettata tenna-yas: “xemm-asent amekḥ ant-ittuy xeddment-i: a twint a tṭsent g yuyad a ččent d iyitan, amekḥ ttueeqbey di ttueeqbent.”

Taha i d taḥkayt n ambeddel ugerfiw.

3. *The one replaced by a crow* (English translation)

A man had three wives, and he said to them: “I’m going to repudiate you.” One said: “I will weave a blanket from seven sheep.” One said: “I will make a bundle of wood for seven days.” The other said: “I’m going to give you a boy, made of gold from here and silver from there.” When she said she was going to give birth, the others became jealous. So, they went to the vixen. She told them: “When she gives birth, speak up.” When she told her, she brought a crow. It was a dead crow. She had dried it on the wall, salted it and wrapped it up. When she gave birth, the other women brought in a mid-wife to cut the cord. She brought the crow under her pan. In the old days, when a woman gave birth, three or four women would come. They came to assist like this. When the child was born, he cried. The vixen put the crow in front of her, underneath her. She said: “Parade-see, parade-see, parade-see the woman who gave birth to a crow!” She grabbed the infant and hid it under her pan. Then, when the man came with his neighbours for the party to shoot the bark, he said to her: “You have disgraced me, why did you talk like that, that you’d give birth to a boy when you gave me a crow!” He questioned the women who had been present. He said to them: “How did she give birth to a crow!? Did you hear the baby crying or bawling?”

The boy was there, he was there, he was there, at the vixen’s, who was there at someone, he was over there... Then they heard them, the neighbours’ children: when they played, they laughed at him. They’d say to him, “O the one who has been replaced by a crow.” He was astonished: “Oh, O the one who has been replaced by a crow.” Every day. And so, and so, until one day, he said: “O grandmother, will you show me where I was born?” “No, no.” She answered him only like this. “I’m going to find a trick, so she can tell me why children laugh like that.” He pretended to be ill, asleep. She said: “O son, go and bring out some animals.” He used to take the

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sheep out to graze, and he said to her: "Today I can't do it, Grandma, I can't do it at all." He said: "I don't want to eat anything; my heart only wants Asida."¹ When she was preparing Asida, he filled the pot with goat droppings and said: "O grandmother, what's in the pot, it's black," he said, "I won't eat until you take it out." She said: "I'll take it out, I'll take it out." Then she plunged her hand into the pot, he put his hand in and grabbed her and said: "I won't let you go until you tell me why they call me 'the one replaced by a crow'." He said: "I brought you from the land of so-and-so," and she said: "Your father had three wives, and then he wanted to repudiate them. But he hadn't repudiated them yet. It is said that your father's wife told him: 'I'm going to make you a blanket', another said to him: 'I'm going to make you a bundle of wood that will last seven days'. And your mother stayed, stayed, and told him: 'I'm going to give birth to a boy for you, made from here of gold, from there of silver'." She said to him: "It's true that you shine." He said: "It's true, my head is glittering!" He said: "How am I going to get to my parents? She said: "I'll find out how you can reach them." She said: "Bring a wolf, you will then bring a dog, bring a sheep, tie them up. The sheep first, the wolf here, the wolf behind the sheep, the dog behind the wolf. Tell them to come forward, come forward. When they say 'Sisisisi',² the sheep first, the wolf behind, the dog behind the wolf, say to them: 'Sisisisi, are you the people with the crow?'" She says to him: "Go like this, go like this, go from there, until they tell you it's us, then it's them."

Then he set off, walking from group to group, yes group to group, they were grazing and plowing. Until he arrived, he found a group next to his parents' house. He said: "Sisisisi," the sheep first, the wolf behind, the dog behind the wolf. He said: "Sisisisi. Who are the parents of the one who has been replaced by a crow?" Then his father stood up and said: "It's us, O my son, who have been replaced by a crow." Then, who knows how he was going to do it. He thought and thought. Who could the vixen be? He said: "And you?" He said: "It's us." He said: "How?" He said: "Have you seen, is this my only fight." He said to him: "Change country, how did the information get through?" He says to her: "I don't know, is she the one who cuts the infant's cord?" "If they were the ones who attended, tell them." "Really, when we heard the infant crying, then we went and found it was a crow." He was silent. He found his mother. He said to her: "You'll find a woman full of ashes, dirty, she's the one who grazes a crow, who grazes camels." He said to him: "You will find her in such and such a place." He said to him: "We throw ashes at her, she makes the camels graze, she eats with the dogs." He said: "When you find her, she'll talk to

¹ Boiled semolina dish.

² Little formula with no literal meaning sung by the storyteller.

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you. She said: "These are his daughters." He walked and walked and found her grazing camels, exactly like his mother. They hadn't told him, but she spoke to him, they had told him that his mother was grazing camels. He passed by and she was crying. He said to her: "Sisisisi, are you the woman who brought a crow into the world?" She said: "It's me, O son." He said: "Is it you?" She said: "It's me." He said to her: "Is it true that you gave birth to a crow?" She said: "I don't know...", she said, "Where do you know that from?" Then he said: "Put a chechia³ on that one." So, she put on the chechia. She said to him: "I'll tell you what, I told him I was going to give birth to a child of silver and gold." He said: "This is my head." He put the chechia on her like this. She rushed at him. Then they told each other everything. He said: "Take me to your house, I'll go with you," he told her, "Don't talk, don't say I'm your son!" he said, "The others are full of tricks," he said, "When I tell you, don't eat with the dogs, don't eat. When I tell you to leave with the ashes, go to sleep," he said, "I'm here, don't be afraid."

Then, she went back on herding camels. She said to him: "Hey, the one with the camels, the one with the ashes is back, who did you bring to our house?" She replied: "A traveller, he asked me to sleep at my place." She told him as he had told her to say. She said to him: "Welcome to him, greetings, where are you from?" He said to her: "I come from a far-away country," he said to her, "I was taken by the length of the road. I met her who was grazing camels and spent the day with her." The others put ashes on her. She said: "No, no." She refused to leave. He said to her: "I told you they told you to go back to the ashes, O she, the one who gave birth to a crow." When they had dinner, he said: "Is it true that she gave birth to a crow?" "O creature of God, this woman has given birth to a crow." He said: "O my son, my son, it is true, I married three women, when I wished to repudiate them, one told me this, one told me that, and the other told me that she would make a boy, she said to me, 'I will give birth to a boy, half silver and half gold'." He said to him: "When she gave birth, who was it who assisted her?" He replied: "It was the vixen who gave birth to her." He said: "Where is she now?" he said, "She's not here," he said, "You, is it true that she gave birth to a crow?" Together they said: "Yes, she gave birth to a crow," them, the women. He said: "Is it true that she gave birth to a crow?" They said to him: "Yes, that's right." He did to his father like that.⁴ He said: "O my son, I believe it's you!" Then he rushed at him. The others were terrified, their faces became ugly. He said: "It's you, my son!" He replied: "I am your son." "How did you come back to me." He replied: "God told me." Then he says to his mother, he says to his father: "How am I going to make them pay? How are we

³ Type of headgear.

⁴ The storyteller made a gesture as if she was taking off the headgear.

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going to do with this one, what are we going to do to them?" "We're going to kill them, we're going to catch them, we're going to let them starve. Now I'm going to ask the price they cost to my mother." She told him: "Do to them what she did to me. They'll graze in the ashes, they'll eat with the dogs. As I was punished, they'll be punished."

This is the story of the one replaced by a crow.

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Notes and discussions

A note on the early Kushi rulers

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1. Introduction

The reconstruction of the events that led to the establishment of the group that today identifies itself with the term Goji and occupies the area of the 'Kushi village' on the north-eastern fringes of the Muri Mountains (Shongom LGA, Chonge District, Gombe State, Nigeria, 9°35'33.9 'N 11°11'16.9 'E) relies almost exclusively on oral tradition. The stories of the origins reveal a migratory mechanics whereby the Kushi group of today merged from a series of migrations of groups from neighbouring areas. Kushi identity is thus the result of the separation of segments of society from existing political centres and of their union, in stages and over time, into a new political centre.

The account *Tarshi pire Goji wannan* 'History of the origin of the Kushi' (lit. 'History of the place from which the Kushi came') provided by Malam Samson Waziri (BATIC 2017) is consistent with the model of frontier described by Igor KOPYTOFF (1987): it is indeed possible to identify a multifaceted process based on the reproduction of pre-existing social models, a kin-group model of integration, a legitimization of authority based on the exclusive rights of the firstcomers, and the negotiation of the legitimacy of the new polity within the areal context (KOPYTOFF 1987: 16-17).

2. The first rulers

Oral tradition allows us to reconstruct the succession of sovereigns ruling since pre-colonial times. The list of sovereigns with their clan affiliation is shown in Table 1.



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	RULER	CLAN
1.	Jamtula	Tagonro
2.	Madi	Shonghlo (Gubno)
3.	Baleh	Tagonro
4.	Bandanka	Shonghlo (Gubno)
5.	Tumbang	Pewrang
6.	Landieh	Shonghlo (Gubno)
7.	Nughen	Shonghlo (Gubno)
8.	Garyagh	Dongo
9.	Abubakar	Shonghlo (Gubno)
10.	Ishaku Yarima	Shonghlo (Gubno)

Table 1 – Early Kushi rulers

The reign of each of these traditional rulers is embedded in the Kushi collective imagery through a series of characteristics or events. The late Malam Samson Waziri¹ describes the first ten Kushi traditional rulers as follows:²

(Hausa)

Jamtula

A lokacin zaman sarautan shi mai suna Jambula lallai ne shi kuwa ya yi abubuwan da mutanen gari suka so. Ya biyadda hankulan mutanen shi daidai; har kuwa ya tsufa a cikin zaman sarauta. A nan ne har mutuwar sha na baring ado ba na yin Allah ba, ko shi dai yawan magagganu ne. Wanda masu neman jiran gado suke yi a kan shi. Masu neman shayin hawan gado ne suka mashi mulkin denniya da kuma goda ƙarfi da hayewa. Masu neman hawan gado suna faɗa masha akan za zai mutu ba, har yausha za su hau nasu wuri kafin mutuwar shi an bijina shi. A nan kuwa shi Jamtula ya nuna wa masu neman hawan gadon, cewa su je, su sake tone inda ya yi rami na binne farin guna nasa kafin su zo su tafi da shi. hakan kuwa wadannan suka aika kamar yadda ya faɗa shi. daga haka har sun je sun kamo shi da igiyoyin da yake amfani da shi ta wajen kamun naman daji. A nan kuwa suka karyo farin kaya, suka barbasha mashi idonanu

¹ Malam Samson Waziri worked as Rudolf Leger's main collaborator on Kushi language and culture in the framework of the "Kulturentwicklung und Sprachgeschichte im Naturraum Westafrikanische Savanne" (Sonderforschungsbereichs 268, J.W. Goethe University Frankfurt and University of Maiduguri, hence SFB) project carried out in the 1990s. Rudolf Leger (J.W. Goethe University Frankfurt) was in charge of the description and documentation of the southern languages of the Bole-Tangale group.

² The original text is in Hausa. The Hausa spelling is strongly influenced by Kushi phonology. I thank Rudolf Leger for making Malam Samson Waziri's manuscript available to me.

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duka biyu kanan suka sa shi a rami rai-da-rai. Suka bijina shi, shi ne kuwa dalilin mutuwar sha har da barin gado.

Madi

A zamanin zaman sarautan shi Madi zamar nashi dai, bai yi da dadewa ba, dun da hawan gado, idon shi Madi ya lalace har zuwa ga mutuwar sha. A nan ne ba a gane ko mai kyau ko mummuna nashi yake ba.

Baleh

Baleh ya hau mazaman shi Madi a baya rasuwar sha, a nan kuwa shi wannan Baleh jarimi ne kwarar a cikin ayuyallan da ya yi shi bisha jama'ar Gari, ko sh idai ba a shan yawan shekarun yawan cikin shi ba har ya mutu.

Bandanka

Wannan sarki kuwa shi ma mutum ne mai kwajo a cikin aiki ko sai dai bai yi shawon shekara ba idon shi ya lallace har kuwa mutane suke yi ta cewa, ai dalilin bata idonanun shi sarki na fari mai suna Jamtula, shi ya sha har wadannan abubuwan yana faruwa, A jin haka kuwa sai har ya nemi hanyar baring ado a dun lalacen idon shi. Akwai wanda a ke kiran shi mai suna Tumbang shi kuwa wannan mataimakan shi ne. Daidai lokacin nan kuma da ba da gado shi ne da lokacin zuwan turawa a wurin nan Kushi.

Tumbang

A lokacin nan kuwa shi mai taimakon shi yah au girma. Tumbang kuwa na nazari da iyawan aiki ne kuma dai abin da ya bata shi dai mai yawan fushi ne, har ma dun fushin shi ne ya sha shi baring ado wa mutanen da suka nema. Shi kansu ne ya bari a kan cewa, dama wannan aiki ba nashu na gidan dangi ba har bisha rashin ransa, har ya kawo ga fada wa yawan shi, cewa duk lokacin da duk mutanen Kushi suke maganar sarauta, kada shu Peurang su tanka bakin su da cewa suna sa don lallai wannan masheyin ba nasu ba ne.

Landhi

Bayan haka mai hawan gadon shi wannan mai barin kujera sai mai suna Landhi. Kafin shi wannan yah au gado ya kasanshi cewa ba wanda suka so sa yin sha, har Turawa suka nemi yaka ma mutanen Kushi. Dun mutane su ga lallai Turawa za su yake su har a gama to su, saish Landhi ya fito ya nuna kansa cewa shi yanzi ya amunshe da zama sarki. Shi ne dalilin da Turawa ba su yaki mutanen ba har mutanen Kushi sun aminshe da zaman shi Landhi.

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Nughen

Daga nan fa sai mai sunan nan ya hau kujera. To abinsha wannan fa shi Nughen mai son kansha ne a zaman sarauta. nan a nan a zamar sarauta sha sai ga batun ciwon agana ya bullo a gari. Ko da cike shi mahaifansha mai suna Kwalink yakan dan taimaka da wannan jinya. A nan fa kafin mutanen gari bata rainshu, dun bisha abubuwan da shi mai kujera da gaske mutane ba su ammunsha da zamar sarauta shi ba. Sai ya kawo ga dalilin barin gade har ma tare da prison.

A wannan gu dai, an yi karan sha zuwa Kaltungo, inda dalilin karan sha ya bayana, cewa akwai wadanda suka sa wata yarinya rai da rai a cikin ramin dushe da kasanshewan fama da ciwon Agana amma shi bai ya wani abu a kan wannan mutani ba. Ko da cike chi mahaifan shi ya gada taimakon ciwon. A nan wuri fa mutanen sun duba da cewa in a bar shi a zaman sarauta lallai za su kare duk a gari. Sa'an nan fa hukuma suka kama shi da shi mahaifa Kwalink an kai su prison har da fadin cewa bayan prison din, kada a sake dawowa da shi garin Kushi ko sai dai mahaifan shi ya dawo gida bayan prison. Shi ne fa dalilin da ya sha aka tufe shi.

Garyang

A lokacin zaman sarauta wannan mutum. An dai tabbatar da shi, shi kam mai mulkin denniya kama karya, shin-hanshi, goda karfi da hayewa. A kan zamar shi har ma ya kawo ga dalilin yawan magagganu sakanin shi da mutanen shi. Yaka ma mutanen shi denniya ta abubuwan kamar haka, dabobi, kudade, dawa, matayen mutane, da sauran abubuwa da yawa wanda ba fadin shi. Karya kuwa yana wa babban Sarki na Kaltungo.

Daga nan fa mutanen da suka ga abi da yake yi ba daidai ba, sai abin ya kai ga karan shi abisha tarin kudi mai yawa da ya tara a hannun talakawan sha da cewar Sarkin Kaltungo ne ya aiko masha ya tara gare su. Da haka karan ya faru sai ya kasanshe mai girma Sarkin Kaltungo ya ce bai sa kome a kan wannan kudaden da yake tarawa ba. Daga nan ne aka tufe fular girmar sha. A nan kuma an mina masha dama zaman Sarautan nan ba na juriyar su ba, ko sai dai an ba shi da dalilin abokin da zaman kawu.

Abubakar

Wannan sarki Abubakar dai sarki ne mai kwajo da yawan aiki, shi fa mutum ne wanda a ba munin abu ya hadashi da mutanen gari ba. Shi fay a yi zaman sarautan Kushi na kimanin shekaru talatin da shida a yawan lokacin aikin shi. Shi fa mutuwar shi na ciwon ajali ne, ba ta mutum ko kuma ta mota ba.

A nan fa kafin malam Abubakar ya bar mu fa mutanen sha kwari sun yi bakin cikin bisha rasuwar shi, don lallai mutanen sha amminshe da shi kwari.

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Ishaku Yarima

Wannan sarki dai, sarki na zamani ne wanda shi ma ya daya daga cikin wanda suke kwajo da aikin gari. Lallai kam mutanen gari suna kuka da shi, a kan mulkin shi denniya da koda da hayewa. Yana nan a zaman sarauta har yanzu ne kimanin shekaru goma sha uku. A nan dai ko da cike ya yaro ne amma tun da yana nan a zaman sarauta za a zo a gane yadda zamar yake da mutanen sha.

(English)

Jamtula

During his ruling, Jamtula ruled according to his people's need and decisions, bringing them together. He became old while ruling. He was killed mystically – not by the wish of God but by the wish of his predecessors. He died because of the bad things said about him by those who were awaiting his death and wishing to become the next rulers. Those awaiting his departure overruled his life mystically: they always used to ask why he wasn't dying and eventually took things in their own hands. Jamtula was taken and buried alive. Jamtula had told them where he had buried the white melon which carried his soul, so they went to the place and dug it out. Then they went back to Jamtula and, with a rope used for hunting, tied him up. They put white thorns in his eyes and hands and buried him alive.

Madi

The rule of Madi did not last long: he had eye-related problems which eventually led him to death. Therefore, it is not possible to tell whether his reign was good or not.

Baleh

Baleh came next after the death of Madi. He was a hero and a great warrior. Much has not been said about him, not even how long he ruled.

Bandanka

This ruler was a courageous one: he did whatever he wanted. The people believed that he was the one who charmed the first ruler, Jamtula, and that he is the cause of all those problems. This is why some people started charming him, so that he lost his sight. His assistants called Tumbang asking him to become the next ruler. This was just when the Europeans arrived in Kushi.

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Tumbang

When Tumbang became the ruler, he had good plans and intended to do good for the people. His only weak point was his bad temper. It was because of his temper that he resigned from the throne. He resigned voluntarily, arguing that he did not inherit the throne from his ancestors. He told his people that he would never again show any interest in power and that neither they nor their children should contribute to reigning, as this task is not the responsibility of the Pewrang.

Landhi

The next ruler after the one who resigned is Langhi. The reason for which he became the next ruler is because no one was more suitable than him. When the people of Kushi saw the intentions of the white men to fight them, they give up. Langhi came, declaring himself and agreeing to become the next ruler. Langhi was accepted and this is why the white men did not fight the people of Kushi. At that period he continued ruling because the white men liked and trusted him. He never did anything bad to the people. He resigned because he had leprosy: he informed the people and chose one of his sons, Nughen. The people accepted his offer.

Nughen

Then Nughen became the next ruler. It happened that Nughen was a selfish person. During his reign meningitis broke out, although his father Kwalink helped him with advises as well as assisting the sick ones. People then became very angry with the ruler because of his carelessness over the issue of the meningitis that was pestering the town. They insisted for him to resign, up to a point that he was dethroned and put in prison. He was called for at Kaltungo because a girl with meningitis was put in a cave alive and he did not do anything to the one who did such a thing, even if his father was helping the people with the medicine (herbs). The people thought that if they allowed him to continue ruling, they will all end up dead. Therefore, they were all arrested; Nughen and his father were taken to prison, and the law told Nughen that even after his period in prison he will not be allowed to return to Kushi – Only his father could have returned to Kushi. This is the reason why Nughen was dethroned.

Garyang

During his ruling, it was found that Garyang was corrupt, a cheater and a wicked ruler. His reign resulted in hatred and many bad words were said due to his evil character. He used to cheat his people by seizing their animals, money and crops as well as their women and many other things. He was always telling lies to the paramount chief of Kaltungo. Finally, the people decided that this was too much to

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bear with. He collected a lot of money from the people saying that the Chief of Kaltungo had asked him to do so, but when they reported this to the Chief they discovered that it was a lie. He was dethroned. It was told him that he had the chieftainship not by inheritance but because of the good relationship with the men of his clan.

Abubakar

Abubakar was a courageous and hard-working ruler. There was never a misunderstanding between him and his people. He ruled Kushi for about thirty-six years. He worked very hard and died naturally – not because of men or a car accident. His people were not happy about his death, because they loved and trusted him.

Ishaku Yarima

This sarki is a modern ruler. He is hard-working and courageous, yet people consider him a great deceiver and a corrupt ruler. He is the incumbent ruler and has been on the throne for about 13 years. He is still young and therefore people will get to know him.

3. A hypothesis on the historical timeline

This account can guide us in determining the foundation period of the Kushi group. Malam Samson Waziri's text is not dated, but belongs to a collection of texts produced in the very early years of the SFB project (1991-1992). From the information in our possession, we know that: a) when Malam Samson Waziri wrote the account of the history of the Kushi rulers, Ishaku Yarima had been on the throne for 13 years; b) Abubakar, Ishaku's predecessor, reigned for about 36 years; c) Nughen was the incumbent ruler when the meningitis epidemic broke out (presumably the severe epidemic that devastated northern Nigeria in 1921, cf. KWAMBANA-ADAMS et al. 2018); d) Landhi was accepted as ruler by the British (British forces visited Kushi four times between 1909 and 1913, see ADELBERGER 2009); e) Tumbang became ruler when Europeans arrived in Kushi. Knowing also that the fourth ruler, Bandanka, had to abdicate the throne for health reasons and that Madi's reign was particularly short, and also considering life expectancy at birth (not counting any extraordinary cases), it is plausible to place the foundation of the Kushi group in a period no earlier than 1860.

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	Ruler	Approx. duration (until 1991/92)	
1.	Jamtula	– (long reign)	} 1860?- 1909
2.	Madi	– (brief reign)	
3.	Baleh	–	
4.	Bandanka	– (presumably brief reign)	
5.	Tumbang	1909-	
6.	Landieh	1910/13-	
7.	Nughen	-1921-	
8.	Garyagh	–	
9.	Abubakar	1942/43-1978/79	
10.	Ishaku Yarima	1978/79-1991/1992	

Table 1 – Early Kushi rulers: a timeline

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