

A tale of two distal demonstratives in Dagaare: Reflections on directionality principles in grammaticalisation

Isaac N. Mwinlaaru^{a, b} & Foong Ha Yap^{b, c}

^aUniversity of Cape Coast, Ghana

^bThe Hong Kong Polytechnic University

^cThe Chinese University of Hong Kong, Shenzhen

©Authors' accepted manuscript, 2017/ All rights reserved by Elsevier

Abstract

For the past half century, the versatile nature of demonstratives across languages has increasingly attracted attention in language typology. The present study contributes to this research agenda by examining the grammaticalisation pathways of two distal demonstratives in the Lobr dialect of Dagaare (Niger-Congo: Gur), namely, *nɛ*, an adnominal demonstrative, and *lɛ*, a pronominal demonstrative. The analysis reveals that the adnominal demonstrative *nɛ* first got reanalysed as an identifying copula verb and, subsequently fused with third person pronouns, *v* and *a*, to derive identifying pronouns, *nv* and *na* respectively. Further, the identifying pronouns *nv* and *na* fused with the attributive copula *ɪ* to derive the focus particle *ni*. The identifying pronoun *na* has also been reanalysed into an affirmative final particle. On the other hand, the pronominal demonstrative *lɛ* first developed into a scalar demonstrative determiner and then into an intensifier. Subsequently, the scalar demonstrative determiner evolved into a copula, which fused with third person pronouns *v*, *a* and *bɛ* to derive the emphatic counterparts of these pronouns, comprising *vlɛ*, *alɛ* and *bɛlɛ* respectively. These are further cliticised and have evolved into adnominal demonstratives and then postnominal focus particles. These grammaticalisation trajectories contribute to a finer-grained and richer account of the diachrony and typology of demonstratives, including the substantivizing role of morpho-phonemic fusion on the development of grammaticalisation chains.

Keywords: *Dagaare, copulas, demonstratives, focus markers, grammaticalisation, unidirectionality*

1 Introduction

Demonstratives, in their basic sense, are the linguistic correlates of gesture. Across languages, they indicate the distance of a referent in relation to a deictic centre, the speaker here-&-now (cf. Diessel, 1999; 2013a). This prototype use of demonstratives is illustrated in (1), where *this* and *that* point to entities in the material situation surrounding the clause. However, demonstratives are notably very versatile and their referential meaning is often extended to abstract contexts of pointing as illustrated by the dialogue in (2), where the demonstrative pronoun *that* is used anaphorically to refer to the preceding move in the exchange.

- (1) ***This*** book is red and ***that*** is blue.
(2) A: You have a call.
B: I know ***that***.

The recognition of the versatility of demonstratives and their relationship with other grammatical items across languages has attracted much research interest for the past half century, including areas such as morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, and grammaticalisation (e.g. Lakoff, 1974; Fillmore, 1982; Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1997, 1999, 2013b; Bhat, 2013; Rybarczyk, 2015: Ch. 2). The present study contributes to grammaticalisation research on demonstratives. Grammaticalisation is defined as the situation where lexical items develop into grammatical items or less grammatical items (or constructions) develop into more grammatical ones (cf. Heine & Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991; Hopper, 1996; Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Hopper & Traugott, 2003). Studies have shown that demonstratives develop into definite articles, third person pronouns, relative pronouns, copulas, sentence connectives, complementizers, number markers, and possessives (cf. Diessel 1999: Ch. 6). In a survey of 620 languages, Dryer (2013) shows that 69 of them use a demonstrative word as a definiteness marker. Bhat (2013) also shows that among 225 languages studied, 125 show some affinity between demonstratives and third person pronouns. For example, out of the 52 languages that Bhat (2013) closely examined, demonstratives in 33 languages can be used as third person pronouns and, in the remaining 19 languages, third person pronouns and demonstratives share the same derivational stem. In addition, Bhat (2013) notes that, in some languages, demonstrative pronouns are derived from third person pronouns by adding non-pronominal demonstratives as suffixes to the third person pronouns.

These typological studies have shed light on the use of demonstratives and their grammaticalisation trajectories across languages. However, the various grammaticalisation pathways of demonstratives are normally investigated in isolation due to the constraints of the typological scope and the wide range of data involved in these studies. Studies on single languages continue to shed light on the behaviour of demonstratives, in general, and their diachronic developments, in particular (e.g. Gildea, 1993; Amfo, 2007; Rybarczyk, 2015: Ch. 2). The present study complements typological generalisations on the grammaticalisation pathways of demonstratives by focusing on a single language from West Africa, namely, the Lobr dialect of Dagaare (Niger-Congo: Gur) (see also Gildea, 1993).¹ It shows how two distal demonstratives, *ne* and *le*, travel along partially similar grammaticalisation trajectories, contributing to a spectrum of identificational meanings in the language. It also sheds new light on the grammaticalisation pathways of demonstratives and draws pertinent implications for further research. The two grammaticalisation chains examined in this study are summarised below, corresponding to the demonstratives *ne* (1) and *le* (2):

- (1) Demonstrative determiner > Identifying copula > Identifying pronoun > Focus particle /Affirmative particle
- (2) a. Demonstrative pronoun > Demonstrative scalar determiner > Intensifier
b. Demonstrative pronoun > Demonstrative scalar determiner > Identifying copula > Emphatic pronoun > Demonstrative (pronoun & determiner) > Focus particle

¹Dagaare is the language of the Dagaaba people, located in the intersection of the West African countries of Burkina Faso (southwestern), Ghana (northwestern) and Code d'Ivoire (northeastern corner). The Lobr speakers call both the language and its speakers 'Dagara'. We use the label 'Dagaare' because it is the popular one in published work in English (see e.g. Bodomo, 1997, 2000; Dakubu, 2005). Other dialects are Central Dagaare (or 'Southern Dagaare'), Northern Birifor, Southern Birifor, Wiile (or Wule, Ule) and Waali (or Waala, Waale). These dialects form a continuum of intelligibility and most of them are entered in Ethnologue and Swadesh et al. (1966) as separate languages. But we collate an estimated total population between 1.5 to 2 million native speakers (cf. Bodomo, 2000; Lewis, Simons & Fennig, 2016).

In each of these chains, the deictic (or identification) meaning of the demonstrative is persistently extended from referent-identifying to speaker-stance-identifying functions. We will discuss these grammaticalisation trajectories in relation to typological generalisations on demonstratives and directionality principles in grammaticalisation, including metafunctional shifts.

The study is based on discourse data produced by speakers of Dagaare in Ghana and Burkina Faso. The data are mainly spoken texts, comprising casual conversations, recreational texts (an unscripted play and a movie), media discourse (radio interviews and panel discussions) and workshop reports. They also include written biblical short stories. In many parts of the discussion, however, constructed examples are used for clarity of illustration. The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 describes the techniques and principles used in analysing the grammaticalisation pathways. Section 3 examines the characteristics of the demonstratives *nɛ* and *lɛ*. Sections 4 and 5 discuss the grammaticalisation chains derived from *nɛ* and *lɛ*, respectively. Section 6 discusses these grammaticalisation trajectories in relation to some directionality principles. Section 7 concludes the study.

2 Grammaticalisation and internal reconstruction

Grammaticalisation has to do with “the genesis and development of grammatical forms” (Heine & Kuteva, 2002: 2). Since there is no available diachronic data in Dagaare, we adopt the technique of internal reconstruction on synchronic data, the technique of using ‘fossil’ linguistic phenomena to reconstruct earlier forms (cf. Heine & Kuteva, 2007: Ch. 1). This method is based on the notion that grammatical items are ever evolving, with new forms constantly emerging to co-exist and finally replace old ones, while old forms get further grammaticalised and gradually fall out of use (cf. Hopper, 1987, 1988, 1996). The fossilised traces of grammaticalisation in languages make it possible to reconstruct the genesis and development of grammatical forms from synchronic data. Heine and Kuteva (2007) characterise this method as follows:

When there is a development from category A to B, certain A-properties are likely to survive, while others will be replaced by B-properties. In specific cases, the presence of A-properties associated with a given B-category can be interpreted meaningfully only if there has been an earlier A. Such surviving A-properties can be used as evidence to reconstruct an earlier A (Heine & Kuteva, 2007: 45).

Our internal reconstruction therefore proceeded from the basis of the existence of idiosyncratic constructions in Dagaare that can be explained from a grammaticalisation point of view. These constructions are partly highlighted by Somé (2004) in his account on the development of the orthography of Dagaare:

The expression of ‘it is’ has many variant forms due to the effect of the vowel harmony: *n’v*, *n’u*, *n’a*, *n’i*, *n’i*, *n’ɛbɛ* ‘it is’.² We are bound to respect them and keep them in the orthography, even if we do not know for sure what these fossilized forms really mean and what they originate from (Somé, 2004: 47).

² In Dagaare and other West African languages, a phonological word requires all its vowels to have either the feature advanced tongue root (+ATR) or retracted tongue root (-ATR). The vowel harmony variants Somé (2004) refers to are *n’v* and *n’u* and *n’i* and *n’i*. Other variations are due to grammaticalisation, as he suggests in the last sentence. See Sections 4.2 & 4.3 for discussion on the grammaticalisation processes resulting in these forms.

The internal reconstruction is guided by typological studies on grammaticalisation, in general, and grammaticalisation of demonstratives, in particular (e.g. Heine & Reh, 1983; Harris & Campbell 1995; Diessel, 1999; Heine & Kuteva, 2002). We also compared our analysis of the Lobr dialect, which is under study, with other Dagaare dialects to shed light on our interpretations of the phenomena we are investigating. A detailed discussion on dialect comparison is, however, beyond the scope of the present study. We will only make footnote references to other dialects where necessary.

In addition, we use theoretical guidance, drawing on the mechanisms of grammaticalisation that have been identified in the extant literature (e.g. Givón, 1975; Lehmann, 1982; Heine & Reh, 1983; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994). Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2; 2007: 34) outline these mechanisms as follows:

1. extension, i.e. the rise of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation)
2. desemanticization (or “semantic bleaching”), i.e. loss (or generalization) in meaning content
3. decategorialization, i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms
4. erosion (“phonetic reduction”), i.e. loss in phonetic substance.

The four mechanisms outlined above can be illustrated with the development of the English definite article *the* from the demonstrative *that* during late Old English (cf. Traugott, 1982: 250; Hopper, 1996: 227; Halliday, 2014: 24). In its use as a demonstrative determiner, *that* extends from an exophoric pointing device to a psychological pointing device, where the referent is not present in the material situation of discourse but is presupposed (i.e. extension). This new context of use induced a new interpretation of the demonstrative. Due to frequency of use in this context, its deictic meaning is bleached and it is reanalysed as a definiteness marker (i.e. desemanticisation). Consequently, it is recategorised as a definite article (i.e. decategorialisation), and it finally loses its final consonant due to a reduction in stress (i.e. phonological reduction). As Heine and Kuteva (2002) note, the four mechanisms are interrelated. When the use of lexicogrammatical forms with relatively concrete meanings is extended to abstract contexts of meaning, they gradually lose specificity and attain or increase in generality of meaning.³ Such semantic generalisation naturally recategorises them into a closed class whose members tend to be more predictable in particular environments. Frequency of use may subsequently lead to a reduction in their phonological or phonetic substance, which may take the form of a change in tone, or the loss of stress or segments (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994).

The diachronic extension of words from lexis to grammar has also been theorised as a metaphorical transfer of concrete meaning to express abstract meaning (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer, 1991). Thus, the meaning of grammatical forms more often derives from their lexical (or less grammatical) sources such that it is normally possible to trace the sources of their grammaticalisation from the characteristics they display. In the present study, it has been shown that the deictic meaning of demonstratives is persistently extended to express abstract (i.e. non-referential) identification in newly evolved grammatical items and constructions.

³ We use the term ‘lexicogrammar’ or ‘lexicogrammatical’ in this study to echo Michael Halliday’s conception that grammar and lexis form a single continuum (cf. Halliday, 2008: Ch. 2).

3 Demonstratives *nε* and *lε*

This section proceeds to discuss the demonstrative characteristics of Lobr Dagaare *nε* and *lε*.⁴ Both are distal demonstratives and each of them can be translated as English ‘that’. However, while *nε* is adnominal (i.e. a determiner), *lε* is pronominal. Syntactically, *nε* is a postnominal demonstrative, occurring after the noun it modifies. It contrasts with the proximal demonstrative *na* (or *ɲa*; ‘this’). (See Mwinlaaru & Yap (forthc.) on the grammaticalisation trajectory of *na*, ‘this’). An example is given in (3) below ((3a) is from a *St. Maria* play and (3b) is a modified version):

- (3) a. *Dakɔw nε zu bε zĩnε ι.*
 seat DEM LOC NEG.IND.NFUT sit.IPFV NAFFR
 ‘**That** seat is not sat on’ (= ‘It is not allowed for one to sit on **that** seat’).
- b. *Dakɔw na zu bε zĩnε ι.*
 seat DEM LOC NEG.IND.NFUT sit.IPFV NAFFR
 ‘**This** seat is not sat on’ (= ‘It is not allowed for one to sit on **this** seat’).

Here, *nε* and *na* each modifies the head noun *dakɔw* (‘seat’). They serve as semiotic devices for pointing to entities in the here-&-now of the speech situation. While *nε* shows that the referent is distant from the speaker, *na* construes it as near the speaker.

On the other hand, the pronominal demonstrative *lε* refers to intangible entities, roughly corresponding to Talmy’s (1988: 178-180) unbound demonstratives (see also Diessel, 1999: 49) (see Appendix I for details). It, for instance, refers to concepts (or ideas), actions (or behaviour) and locutions (or propositions). Some of these characteristics are illustrated in (4) - (6) below (all from *St. Maria* play):

- (4) *Dεb ι lε.*
 man COP.FOC DEM
 ‘**That** is a man’ (= ‘Such display of strength is what makes a man’).
- (5) *Yǎwnε a fɔ sir! Fɔ wõ a na?*
 respect.IPFV DEF 2SG husband. 2SG hear.PFV 3PL.NHM AFFR
 A *lε na ã bɔbr kε ã yel*
 DEF DEM IDENT.PL 1SG want.IPFV COMP 1SG say.PFV
kò fɔ.
 give.PFV 2SG
 ‘Respect your husband! You’ve heard it? **That** is what I want to tell you.’
- (6) A: *Pampanana bibiir bε bε yǎwnε nibe ι.*
 now children 3PL.HM NEG.IND.NFUT respect people NAFFR
 ‘Children of these days, they don’t respect people.’
- B: *Lε pǎa na.*
 DEM ADV IDENT.PL
 ‘**That** is it actually.’

⁴ An anonymous reviewer drew our attention to a typologically widespread use of tone contrasts to distinguish distances. It is worth noting that this is not the case in Dagaare (cf. Appendix I). In Dagaare, there is division of labour between tone and nasality in establishing semantic contrasts between words (lexical tone) and in marking grammatical meaning (grammatical tone). The orthography only marks tone and nasality where they encode these lexical or grammatical meaning (cf. Somé, 2004) and we follow this principle in the present study.

As these examples show, *lɛ* refers to abstract or intangible phenomena. Example (4) is a compliment to a young man who has won a wrestling match and *lɛ* points to the gentleman’s display of masculinity and strength. In (5) and (6), *lɛ* is anaphoric, pointing to the whole stretch of the preceding move in the exchange. It is also important to note that, as an independent or free-standing nominal item, *lɛ* can be modified by the definite article *a* (see example 5).

The demonstrative *lɛ* is also contrastive with *na* (or *ɲa*). Example (7) contrasts the use of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *na* with the use of the demonstrative pronoun *lɛ* in (4):

- (7) *Dɛb* *ɪ* *na*.
 man COP.FOC DEM
 ‘This is a man’.

However, while *na* can replace *lɛ* in its anaphoric use in (5), it cannot replace it in (6). This results from the deictic distance that naturally exists between Speaker B and the preceding discourse, a move by another interactant. This situation highlights the deictic contrast between *lɛ* and *na*. A summary of the characteristics of the demonstratives is given in Table 1 (see Appendix I for a complete list of Lobr Dagaare demonstratives and their characteristics).⁵

Table 1 Demonstrative characteristics of *nɛ* and *lɛ* in context

Deictic feature	Concreteness	Syntactic class		English gloss
		determiner	pronoun	
proximal	±concrete	<i>na ~ ɲa</i>	<i>na ~ ɲa</i>	‘this’
distal	±concrete	<i>nɛ</i>		‘that’
	-concrete		<i>lɛ</i>	

We will proceed to discuss the grammaticalisation pathways of the demonstratives *nɛ* (Section 4) and *lɛ* (Section 5).

4 The development of the demonstrative determiner *nɛ*

We start with the grammaticalisation chain derived from the demonstrative determiner *nɛ*, which we repeat for convenience as follows: demonstrative determiner > identifying copula > identifying pronoun > focus particle / affirmative particle.

4.1 From demonstrative to identifying copula

The demonstrative determiner *nɛ* first developed from a demonstrative into an identifying copula verb. Example (8) illustrates the use of *nɛ* as a copula verb:

⁵ As shown in Table 1, whereas Lobr Dagaare speakers deploy two morphologically different distal demonstratives, *nɛ* and *lɛ*, to serve as determiner demonstrative and pronominal demonstrative respectively, they use only one form of proximal demonstrative, *na ~ ɲa*, as determiner and pronominal demonstrative. The variant forms *na ~ ɲa* are used in free variation in all contexts and only tend to show idiolectal differences among speakers.

- (8) \tilde{l} *faw* $n\epsilon$ =*b*.⁶
 1SG strength COP=2SG.ACC
 ‘You **are** my strength.’

In (8), the copula $n\epsilon$ defines an entity represented by the pronoun clitic (=b, ‘you’), by assigning a specificational value to it (i.e. \tilde{l} *faw*, ‘my strength’). The copula set up an Identifier-Identified relationship between the subject and the complement respectively, as Figure 1 further illustrates (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 276-289; see also Mwinlaaru (2017: Ch. 6) on identifying clauses in Dagaare).

\tilde{l}	<i>faw</i>	$n\epsilon$	= <i>b</i>
1SG	strength	COP	2SG
Identifier		Process	Identified
nominal group		verbal group	nominal group

‘You **are** my strength.’

Figure 1. Illustration of the use of identifying copula $n\epsilon$ in Dagaare

The grammaticalisation of $n\epsilon$ into a copula verb starts with the extension of its use as an exophoric pointing device as in (9) to a psychological pointing device as in (10), where the referent is not present in the material situation of the discourse but is presupposed (example (10) is from an interview from *Von FM*, Nandom):

- (9) *A dakɔw nε zu bε zĩnε l.*
 DEF seat DEM LOC NEG.IND.NFUT sit.IPFV NAFFR
 ‘That seat is not sat on (= It is not allowed for one to sit on **that** seat).’
- (10) *Nyine na a polikilnik nε be a?*
 where IDENT.PL DEF poly-clinic DEM be:at.PFV PRT
 ‘Where is **that** poly-clinic?’

In its new context of a psychological pointing device (example 10), the deictic meaning of the demonstrative is bleached. From here, the path of its development into a copula verb is enabled by two structural characteristics of Dagaare: first, its typological characteristic as an SVO language and, second, the fact that it allows modifiers both before and after the head noun of the nominal group.⁷ The definite article *a* precedes the head noun in the nominal group while demonstrative determiners follow the head noun: DEF + N + DEM. It should also be noted that the definite article and demonstrative determiner can co-occur in the same nominal group as in (9) and (10) above. We therefore have a situation where the co-occurrence of both the demonstrative $n\epsilon$ and the definite article *a* (9, 10) creates redundancy. The affinity between demonstratives and definiteness

⁶ In Dagaare orthography, many clitic forms (such as the pronominal clitic =b) are written as separate orthographic words.

⁷ SVO constituent order is established based on canonical transitive clauses. Copula constructions and the ‘fossil’ constructions discussed in the present study may not yield to this constituent order analysis.

markers has been noted crosslinguistically. Diessel (1999: 7) notes that adnominal demonstratives evolve into definite articles, while Dryer (2013) reports of the use of demonstratives as definiteness markers in many languages. The redundancy in Dagaare coupled with frequency of use allows the demonstrative *nε* in the postnominal position to be reanalysed as a copula verb, a situation enabled by the typological characteristic of Dagaare as an SVO language.

For the grammaticalisation cycle to be complete, we must however assume a diachronic stage in the grammaticalisation process where copula clauses such as (12) were once non-copula clauses and where *nε* was used as a demonstrative (11) (see fn. 10 on Northern Birifor dialect, where the demonstrative *nε* has not developed into a copula):

- (11) *A kvɔbe nε be.*
 DEF farmer *DEM 3PL.HM
 ‘They (are) those farmers.’
- (12) *A kvɔbe nε be.*
 DEF farmer COP 3PL.HM
 ‘They are the farmers.’

There is therefore a compelling reason to reconstruct a diachronic relationship between examples (11) and (12), where the frequency of use of *nε* as a psychological pointing device (example 11) resulted in its reanalysis as a copula verb (example 12). This observation corroborates robust evidence in the extant literature on the diachronic reanalysis of demonstratives, in general, and the development of demonstrative determiners into copula verbs, in particular (see Li & Thompson, 1977; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Heine & Kuteva, 2002: 108-109; Diessel, 1999: Ch. 6 & references therein).

Although the copula *nε* is now fully grammaticalised, it can still be traced to its demonstrative source because it retains some of its deictic characteristics, namely its copula use is limited to identificational interpretation. Its copula use therefore relates directly to the deictic sense of the demonstrative *nε* with which it also shares the same form. The deictic meaning of the demonstrative is metaphorically extended to express an abstract identification in equative clauses.

4.2 Fusion of copula *nε* with third person pronouns into identifying pronouns

Next is the development of the resultant copula into the identifying pronouns *nv* (singular, neutral) and *na* (plural, non-human). Here, the copula *nε* fuses with two third person pronouns *v* (singular, neutral) and *a* (plural, non-human). The development underwent two stages, which we illustrate in (i) and (ii) below (corresponding to the pattern: COP + third person PRON = IDENT PRON):

$\begin{matrix} \cdot & \rightarrow & \rightarrow \\ \cdot & \rightarrow & \rightarrow \end{matrix}$

The processes highlighted in both (i) and (ii) show that the fusion occurred in an environment of the use of the copula verb as a proclitic (i.e. *n’v* and *n’a*) where the vowel in *nε* is elided (see the quote from Somé (2004) in Section 2). Frequency of use of these contracted forms results in a situation where *n’v* and *n’a* are reanalysed as mono-morphemic, with each of the component parts losing their independent status. The result of this fusion is a unique set of identifying clauses in which there is no overt verb, as in the examples below:

- (13) \tilde{l} *kòle nv*
 1SG bottle IDENT.SG

- (14) ‘It (is) my bottle.’
ĩ kòli na
 1SG bottles IDENT.PL
 ‘They (are) my bottles.’
- (15) *Mãa nv.*
 1SG.EMP IDENT.SG
 ‘I (am) the one. / It (is) me.’

Although the morphological forms of identifying pronouns are now different from the copula verb and the pronouns they originate from, they still retain the characteristics of the two sources. These characteristics are both semantic and syntactic. Semantically, both *nv* (singular, neutral) and *na* (plural, non-human) retain the third person meaning of the pronouns. In other words, their referent is always construed as third person (e.g. ‘it is’) and even when *nv* occurs with the first person as in (15), it is conceived of as psychologically distant from the speaker. In this sense, the speaker identifies him/herself from the perspective of the listener (‘I am the one.’). In addition, the identifying pronouns retain the number and animacy contrasts of the personal pronouns *v* (singular, neutral) and *a* (plural, non-human). Thus, *nv* is singular and can be used for both human and non-human referents, and *na* is plural and can only be used for non-human referents (see Table 2).⁸ These semantic characteristics of the identifying pronouns and the similarity of the final vowels with the third person pronouns reflect the diachronic relationship between them.

Table 2. Semantic features of personal and identifying pronouns

Number	Animacy	Pronouns	
		personal	identifying
singular	±human	<i>v</i>	<i>nv</i>
plural	-human	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>

The syntactic characteristics of the identifying pronouns, on the other hand, show their affinity to the copula verb *ne*.⁹ Like the copula verb, the identifying pronouns identify one entity in terms of another (that is, a Token = Value relationship; where the Token is the identifying pronoun and the Value is the specification assigned to it) (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: 279–285) for details on Token and Value). They also retain the verbal properties of the copula. They predicate the clause and make it a finite proposition. Thus, they carry verbal group particles such as those marking tense, modality and polarity:

- (16) *Kvɔra tɪ nv.*
 farmer PST.REM IDENT.SG
 ‘S/he was a farmer.’
- (17) *ĩ kòli bɛ na l.*
 1SG bottles NEG.IND.NFUT IDENT.PL NAFFR

⁸ The plural forms *a* and *na* are both also used for non-count nouns. We maintain the term ‘plural’ as a general gloss for these pronouns.

⁹ We are aware that some typological studies label similar grammatical forms as pronominal copulas (e.g. Stassen, 1997) or non-verbal copulas (e.g. Pustet, 2003). We prefer to use the term ‘copula’ for only verbs. Also, the grammaticalisation path from COPULA > IDENT. PRONOUNS in Dagaare calls for a need to keep copulas and identifying pronouns as distinct classes.

‘**They (are) not** my bottles.’

The ability of *nv* and *na* to take the past tense (16) and the negative polarity (17) markers in the examples is inherited from the copula *nε*, with which they also share a common initial consonant.

Further, we find the copula verb *nε* used in identifying clauses where pronouns other than *v* (third singular, neutral) and *a* (third plural, non-human) are used as complements. Let’s compare the following constructed dialogues:

- (18) A: *Āa* *nv?*
 who.SG IDENT.SG?
 ‘Who (is) it?’
 B: *Zā-batii* *nv.*
 John the Baptist IDENT.SG
 ‘It (is) John the Baptist. / John the Baptist (is) the one.’
- (19) A: *Āa* *nε* *mē?*
 who.SG COP 1SG.ACC?
 ‘Who am I?’
 B: *Zā-batii* *nε =b.*
 John the Baptist COP=2SG.ACC
 ‘You are John the Baptist.’
- (20) A: *Āmine* *nε* *bε?*
 who.PL COP 3PL.HM
 ‘Who are they?’
 B: *Bibiir* *nε* *bε.*
 children COP 3PL.HM
 ‘They are children.’

These examples are all identifying clauses. It can be observed that while the exchange in (18) consists of non-copula clauses, those in (19) and (20) consists of copula clauses. A possible fusion of the copula *nε* with the pronouns *mē* (first singular, accusative), the clitic *=b* (second singular, accusative) and *bε* (third plural, human) has been prevented by the fact that they possess an initial consonant (19, 20). In (18), on the other hand, since the pronouns *v* and *a* are realised by single vowels, in rapid speech, the vowel *ε* preceding the copula is naturally elided.¹⁰

Grammatical categories similar to the Dagaare identifying pronouns have been widely discussed in the literature under different names (cf. Diessel, 1999). Since they occur in equative clauses, they are often labelled as copulas (e.g. Heine & Reh, 1983; Abdel-Hafiz, 2015). Other labels such as predicative pronouns (Marconnès, 1931), predicative demonstratives (Denny, 1982;

¹⁰ In addition to the internal evidence discussed here, further reconstructed evidence comes from dialect comparison. Northern Birifor retains identifying clauses in which the personal pronoun *v* is used where the Lobr dialect would use the identifying pronouns *nv* or *na*. E.g. see the N. Birifor examples below (compare with examples (13) - (15)):

- (1) *Māa* *v.* (2) *Pur* *anuu-n'-ayi* *v.*
 1SG.EMP 3SG baskets five-and-two 3SG
 ‘I (am) the one. / It (is) me.’ ‘Seven baskets it (is)’ (= ‘They (are) seven baskets’).

In N. Birifor also, the demonstrative *nε* has not developed into a copula verb (cf. §4.2) and the [-human] third person pronoun *a* is not attested; instead *ba* (corresponding to the [+human] *bε* in Lobr) is used for both human and non-human referents.

Heath, 1984; Diessel, 1997), copulative demonstratives (Ziervogel, 1952), pronominal copulas (Stassen, 1997) and non-verbal copulas (Pustet, 2003) reflect their function as the predication of the clause in which they occur while acknowledging that they are not verbs. Further, some scholars have also used labels that emphasise their deictic meaning: existential demonstratives (Benton, 1971), pointing demonstratives (Rehg, 1981), deictic identifier pronouns (Carlson, 1994) and demonstrative identifiers (Diessel, 1999). Many of these labels suggest that, across languages, these grammatical forms tend to originate from demonstratives. In addition, they occur in similar environments and come to perform similar functions across languages. In this study, a shorter version of Carlson’s (1994) term is adopted to highlight that they are unique and different from both demonstratives and copulas.

4.3 Fusion of the identifying pronouns with an attributive copula into a focus particle¹¹

This section proceeds to examine the emergence of the Dagaare information focus particle *ni* (i.e. unmarked focus) through a fusion of the identifying pronouns *nv* and *na*, on the one hand, and the attributive copula verb *i*, on the other hand. The use of the Dagaare focus particle is illustrated in Figure 2. Here, it places prominence on the final element of the clause *a pelé* as newsworthy. The clause illustrated here would be an appropriate answer to the question: “What did s/he do?”

<i>U</i>	<i>nyɔw</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pelé</i>
3SG	catch.PFV	FOC	DEF	lamb
Given		New		

‘S/he caught the lamb.’

Figure 2. Illustration of the use of focus particle *ni* in Dagaare

The focus particle *ni* evolved from cleft-constructions involving *nv* and *na*. The diachronic development of focus and topic markers from cleft-constructions has been discussed quite extensively (e.g. Givón, 1979; Heine & Reh, 1983; Harris & Campbell, 1995). Heine and Reh (1983) identify a grammaticalisation process in African languages in which the copula of a cleft clause in a hypotactic clause complex is reanalysed as a focus marker. Harris and Campbell (1995) extend Heine and Reh’s (1983) account into a broader typological model for the grammaticalisation of cleft-constructions into highlighters (which, in our case is the focus particle). They characterise the transition from the cleft-construction to the focus construction as a process of ‘clause fusion’, progressing from a biclausal structure to a monoclausal structure and involving three key stages as follows:

Stage I: The structure has all of the superficial characteristics of a biclausal structure and none of the characteristics of a monoclausal one.

Stage II: The structure gradually acquires some characteristics of a monoclausal structure and retains some characteristics of a biclausal one.

Stage III: The structure has all of the characteristics of a monoclausal structure and no characteristics of a biclausal one (Harris & Campbell, 1995: 166).

¹¹ The attributive copula *i* derives from an activity verb with the sense of ‘happen’ or ‘do’ through the mechanism of semantic bleaching. See Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) for a cross-linguistic account of this grammaticalisation pathway.

The grammaticalisation process of the Dagaare focus particle follows these three stages. It begins with the recruitment of non-copula clauses involving the identifying pronouns *nv* and *na* to mark contrastive focus in cleft-constructions. The result is the biclausal constructions illustrated in (21) and (22) below:

- (21) *A kòle nv v ti ìr.*
 DEF bottle IDENT.SG 3SG PST.REM remove.PFV
 ‘The bottle (was) the one s/he took (and not the cup).’
- (22) *Ìru na v ti ìr.*
 remove.NMLZ IDENT.PL 3SG PST.REM remove.PFV
 ‘It (is) taking that s/he took (it)’ (= ‘What s/he did was take it’).

As the examples show, any element in the Dagaare clause can be brought into contrastive focus by fronting the focal element in a cleft-construction. In (21), the focus element is the affected participant in the clause, *kòle* (‘the bottle’). When the verbal element of the clause is in contrastive focus as in (22), a nominalised copy of it is thematised in the cleft-construction while the verb is still retained *in situ*. In this context, the sense of identification construed by the identifying clause is recruited to point to an aspect of the clause as newsworthy.

From here, the development of the focus particle follows the stages outlined above in environments where the cleft-construction is immediately followed by the attributive copula *ι* (cf. Heine & Reh, 1983: 34; Harris & Campbell, 1995: 166). Stages I to III are illustrated by (23) to (25) in their respective order. (The question mark indicates a diachronic reconstruction that is synchronically plausible; we use asterisks to indicate reconstructed examples that are synchronically ungrammatical):

- (23) *Sãa nv ι kpẽẽ.*
 father IDENT.SG COP.PFV supreme
 ‘Father (is) the one who is supreme.’
- (24) *?Sãa n=ι kpẽẽ.*
 father IDENT.SG=COP.PFV supreme
 ‘Father is the one who is supreme.’
- (25) *Sãa ni kpẽẽ.*
 father FOC.COP supreme
 ‘Father is the one who is supreme.’

Example (23) corresponds to Stage I and it highlights the original biclausal construction in which the verb of the dependent clause is the attributive copula *ι* and is immediately preceded by the identifying pronoun *nv*. This syntactic environment creates an enabling environment for a fusion between the two elements. The reconstructed example (i.e. 24) illustrates Stage II. It consists of a clause structure intermediate between Stage I and II in which the vowel of the identifying pronoun is already elided, making the residue consonant a proclitic of the attributive copula (i.e. *n’ι*). As Harris and Campbell (1995) note, Stage II typically involves a series of changes, which include changing the form of the highlighter (in our case, the focus particle *ni*) to look less like its original source (in our case, both the identifying pronoun *nv* or *na* and the attributive copula *ι*). Example (25) gives an instance of the actualisation stage, Stage III, where the clause fusion is complete. This grammaticalisation process results in the presence of non-copula identificational clauses in the Dagaare linguistic system (different from the non-copula clauses discussed in Section 4.2).

Strictly speaking, however, the resultant focus particle in the non-copula clauses exemplified by (25) is still a hybrid one, as the glossing indicates. It combines the focus meaning of the erstwhile cleft-construction and the syntactic characteristics of the copula verb *ɪ*. The verbal input from the attributive copula allows it to carry tense, modality and polarity particles, as in (26), where it takes the tense-and-mood-bearing negative marker *bɛ*. What is even more interesting is that instances such as (26) are the only contexts where the focus particle can co-occur with a negative particle.¹² In verbal clauses, the focus particle cannot occur with negative particles (see example 28) (cf. Bodomo (2000: 46-47) on Central Dagaare; see also Heine & Reh (1983) for a discussion on other African languages):

- (26) *Sãa bɛ ni kpẽɛ.*
 father NEG.IND.NFUT FOC.COP supreme
 ‘Father is not the one who is supreme.’

The unique co-occurrence of *ni* with the negative particle in environments such as (26) is a trace of the attributive copula *ɪ*, which partly contributed to its grammaticalisation.

Once the grammaticalisation is complete, however, the focus particle is now used in clauses other than identifying clauses and can even co-occur with the attributive copula from which it partly evolved (27). As indicated earlier, outside the fossilised non-copula clauses (26), it cannot co-occur with negative particles (28):

- (27) *Sãa ɪ ni kpẽɛ.*
 DEF COP.PFV FOC supreme
 ‘Father is supreme.’
- (28) *Sãa (*bɛ) ɪ ni kpẽɛ.*
 father NEG.IND.NFUT COP.PFV FOC supreme
 ‘Father is (not) supreme.’

Also, as is characteristic of advanced grammaticalisation, the focus particle can occur in clitic forms (cf. Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 7; Heine & Kuteva, 2007: 42-44) as illustrated below (from *Sɛb-Sow Yɛr-bie*, ‘Words of the Holy Scripture’):

- (29) *A Abel wa ɪ =n pi-cunɛ.*
 DEF Abel EVT COP.PFV=FOC shepherd
 ‘Abel became a shepherd.’
- (30) *U ti ɪr =ɪ a ci*
 3SG PST remove.PFV=FOC DEF guinea.corn
 ‘S/he took some of the guinea corn.’

In rapid speech, it is often realised as =*n* when it is preceded by a word ending with an open syllable (29) and as =*ɪ* when the preceding word ends with a closed syllable (30).¹³

¹² At least in Central Dagaare, the negative particle does not co-occur with the focus particle (i.e. *la* in this dialect) even in instances such as (26).

¹³ The focus particle *ni* shares the same form and syntactic position with another particle which functions as comitative, instrument or causative particle, depending on its context; both can co-occur (see example 39) (cf. Mwinlaaru, 2017: Ch. 6). It also has the same form as NP-AND (e.g. *Der ni Ayɔɔ*, ‘Der and Ayour’) – cf. Heine & Kuteva (2002: 80-82, 84-86, 88). While we are tempted to claim a diachronic relationship between the focus particle and these other

4.4 From identifying pronoun *na* to affirmative particle *na*

Finally, we examine the development of the identifying pronoun *na* into an affirmative marker, a mood particle that occurs in clause final position to enact assertiveness. As indicated earlier, *na* is plural and is the form used with non-count nouns and nominal clauses (see fn. 3). The grammaticalisation from identifying pronoun to an affirmative particle took place in its co-occurrence with subject nominalised clauses as in Speaker B’s turn in (31):

- (31) A: *Dabor =a fv nyẽ v?*
 when=IDENT.PL 2SG see.PFV 3SG
 ‘When did you see him?’
 B: *ĩ na cen a na.*
 1SG NMLZ go.PFV JUNC IDENT.PL
 ‘**It (was)** when I left.’
 Lit. ‘When I left be it.’

The subject in (31) is the nominal clause *ĩ na cen a* (‘when I left’) and it is predicated by the identifying pronoun *na*, in clause final position. This extension of the use of the identifying pronoun *na* as a referential pointing device to predicate a clausal subject (i.e. context-induced reinterpretation) led to further bleaching of its deictic meaning. More specifically, we see clause-final *na* extended from a referent-identifying function (i.e. identifying pronoun) to a speaker-stance-marking function (assertive/affirmative particle). Both functions draw attention to the clause (in this case, *ĩ na cen a* ‘when I left’); however, whereas the referent-identifying function of *na* focuses on the spatio-temporal information, the speaker-stance-marking function shifts the focus to the speaker’s assertive commitment to the veracity of this information.¹⁴ In other words, we see an extension from the propositional (or ideational) domain to the epistemic and attitudinal (or speaker stance) domain.

There are, however, two simultaneous grammaticalisation processes here. The reanalysis of *na* into a clause final particle is concurrent with the denominalisation of the clausal subject. The result is that the clause nominalising particle *na* is also reanalysed as a positive (future) marker.¹⁵ The resulting clause is illustrated below, corresponding to (31):

- (32) *ĩ na cen na.*
 1SG POS.IND.FUT go.PFV AFFR
 ‘I will go.’

One reason that makes it possible to trace the co-evolution of the clause final particle *na* and the positive (future) marker is that the final particle can only be used to mark assertiveness in positive clauses and cannot co-occur with negative markers (see example 33). It is this characteristic that

meanings of *ni*, we find the non-focus uses in other Dagaare dialects and other Western Oti-Volta languages (e.g. Moore) where *ni* is not used as a focus particle and where there are no traces of the grammaticalisation chain discussed here. These other uses of *ni* might have developed from some other sources in Proto-Oti-Volta: Western.

¹⁴ Our dialect comparison shows that, in the Central Dagaare dialect, the identifying pronoun and the affirmative particle also have the same form, i.e. *la*. E.g. the equivalent of turn B in (31) is: *Ñ nãŋ gáè la*; and (32) is *Ñ nà gàa la*. This indicates a similar grammaticalisation source for the affirmative particle in both dialects.

¹⁵ The nominalizer *na* originally derives from the proximal demonstrative *na* in the environment of its determiner function (see Mwinlaaru & Yap, *forthc.*) for details on the development of *na*). See also Diessel (1999: Ch. 6) for a typological account on similar processes.

specifically identifies it as an affirmative particle. Its affirmative meaning was acquired in harmony with the simultaneous reanalysis of the nominaliser as a positive polarity marker.

- (33) **ĩ* *kũ* *cen* *na*.
 1SG NEG.IND.FUT go.PFV AFFR
 ‘I’ll not go.’

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 293-294) identify harmony as a grammaticalisation mechanism in which a grammatical item has already lost most of its semantic content and acquires its meaning from the construction in which it evolves. In the case of identifying pronoun *na*, its reanalysis to an affirmative mood marker is facilitated by the following two factors: its semantically-bleached deictic content and its clause-final position. In utterance-final position, *na* comes to host the prosodic cues that reflect the speaker’s mood.

In sum, we have seen the evolution of demonstrative *ne* through several stages of grammaticalisation. Initially, *ne* extended its use from demonstrative determiner within the nominal domain to an identifying copula that links an entity (e.g. =*b* ‘you’) to its specificational value (e.g. *ĩfaw* ‘my strength’) via an Identifier-Identified relationship (as in *ĩfaw ne =b* ‘You **are** my strength’). Then it combines with personal pronouns (singular *v* and plural *a*), becomes re-substantivized within the nominal domain as identifying pronouns *nv* (derived from *ne + v*) and *na* (derived from *ne + a*). Given their hybridized composition, identifying pronouns *nv* and *na* retain both nominal and verbal properties. For example, they encode person-number distinctions (e.g. ‘third person singular’ for *nv* and ‘third person plural’ for *na*), and they can also carry tense and polarity marking (e.g. *Kvɔra ti nv* ‘S/he was a farmer’, where we see the remote past tense marker *ti* preceding identifying pronoun *nv*). In focus constructions, the identifying pronouns fused with the copula to form the focus particle *ni*. The fusion process is relatively straightforward and involves phonological reduction as follows: identifying pronoun *nv/na + copula i > focus particle ni*. This was illustrated earlier by the example *Sãa {nv i / n=i / ni} kpẽẽ* (‘Father is the one who is supreme’) (see examples (23) to (25) in Section 4.3). Finally, in utterance-final position, a semantically-bleached *na* comes to host a clause juncture prosody and is reinterpretable as an affirmative stance marker that reflects the speaker’s epistemic and attitudinal mood. We have thus seen how far the versatile distal demonstrative determiner *ne* has extended, all the way from its primary referentiality-indexing function to its extended use as a speaker stance marker. Its grammaticalisation (and pragmaticisation) trajectories are highlighted in Figure 3 below.

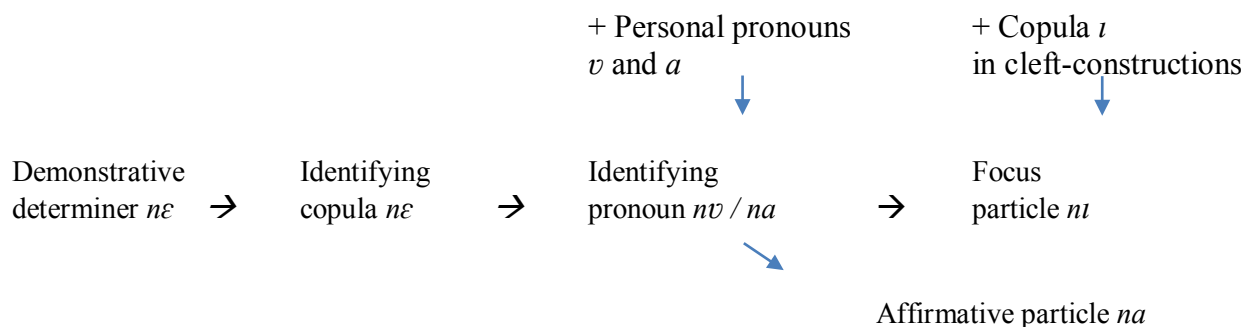


Figure 3. Grammaticalisation pathways of demonstrative determiner *ne* in Dagaare**5 The development of *le***

This section continues to examine the grammaticalisation chains derived from the demonstrative pronoun *le*. As indicated in Section 1, these chains can be summarised as: (i) demonstrative pronoun > demonstrative scalar determiner > intensifier, and (ii) demonstrative determiner > demonstrative scalar determiner > identifying copula > emphatic pronoun > demonstrative (pronoun & determiner) > focus particle

5.1 From demonstrative pronoun to demonstrative scalar determiner and intensifier

The first development of *le* in the grammaticalisation chain is its change from a pronominal demonstrative to a demonstrative scalar determiner. Examples (34) and (35) illustrate the use of *le* as a demonstrative scalar determiner:¹⁶

- (34) *Bibile le nv.*
 child SD IDENT.SG
 ‘S/he is just a child (= S/he is just this tall)’
- (35) *Kvɔ bvla le na.*
 water small SD IDENT.PL
 ‘It is just a little bit of water (=The water is that little).’

In these examples, *le* defines the degree of smallness of the referent of the nominal group. The use of *le* in instances such as these can be interpreted as an immediate extension of its demonstrative use (i.e. context-induced reinterpretation). As noted in Section 3, the demonstrative *le* is a demonstrative for intangible entities (i.e. events and propositions), a characteristic that makes it highly versatile. In (34) and (35) it is an independent item placed adjacent to a noun to enable the speaker to demonstrate a quantificational value of its referent, thereby serving as a semiotic measuring scale, as it were. Thus, in face-to-face interactions, it is not uncommon for instances such as these examples to be accompanied by a hand gesture to indicate the smallness of the referent. With an accompanying hand gesture, the speaker may invite the listener to interpret (34) as ‘The child is just as tall as the position of my hand’ and (35) as ‘The water is as little (in amount) as my finger tip.’ In this gesture-rich environment, the deictic meaning of the demonstrative gets bleached. In other words, it loses the deictic contrast that distinguishes it from a proximal demonstrative, but it still retains some deictic meaning which is exploited as a scalar or degree indexical (e.g. ‘this much tall (in height)’, ‘this little amount (in volume)’, etc.).

¹⁶ In Dagaare, qualities that are realised as adjectives in other languages are realised as either nouns (i.e. adjectival nouns) or verbs (i.e. adjectival verbs). In (35) *kvɔ* (‘water’) and *bvla* (‘small’) form a nominal compound. As an adjectival noun, *bvla* (‘small’, singular) shows number contrast with *bile* (‘small’, plural). See Mwinlaaru (2017: Ch. 3) for details.

As this scalar determiner use further extends to more abstract contexts such as (36), its referential meaning is completely lost and it is further reanalysed as an adverbial intensifier (from *The Story of Jesus*):

- (36) *Bibiir* *i*, *ni* *wa* *yi* *yow*
 children VOC 2PL come.PFV go:out.PFV outside
fɔŋ *le!*
 fast INTENS
 ‘Children, move out of here super quickly!’

It can be observed that while *le* is used in (34) and (35) to modify nominal items, in (36), it modifies an adverb, a non-referential item.¹⁷ The consequence is that its meaning here is more abstract than where it co-occurs with a nominal item (34, 35) and there is no possibility of it being accompanied by a hand gesture. Thus, we encounter a demonstrative which gradually moves from its referential meaning as pronoun through gradients of abstraction into a full-fledged adverbial particle. It is however important to note that even in its most abstract use (as in example 36), the intensifier still retains some of the meaning of its demonstrative source, namely the degree of intensification. It becomes an expressive or subjective highlighter, indicating the speaker’s assessment of propositional content by strongly asserting it, placing a figure on it, as it were.

Although demonstrative pronouns have not been noted in previous studies as developing into demonstrative scalar determiners and intensifiers, the process described here is similar to the reanalysis of pronominal demonstratives as determinatives across languages (Diessel 1999: 7). In both cases, the demonstrative is used to highlight another structure, leading to semantic bleaching and dependence on the adjoining construction for its meaning (cf. Diessel, 1999: 108-109; 135-137). This also implies that demonstrative pronouns may lose their pronominal status and become dependent on other more stable lexicogrammatical items.

5.2 From demonstrative scalar determiner to identifying copula

This section will proceed to examine how the development of the pronominal demonstrative *le* into a demonstrative scalar determiner also provides a context for it to develop into a copula verb. Let’s first consider the use of *le* in the following constructed dialogue:

- (37) A: *Āmine* *le* *bε?*
 who.PL COP 3PL.HM
 ‘Who are they?’
 B: *Bibili* *le* *le* *bε.*
 children SD COP 3PL.HM
 ‘They are just very small children. (So let’s ignore their noise).’

The point illustrated by the dialogue is that the demonstrative scalar determiner *le* and the copula verb *le* are related diachronically in the sense that the copula evolved from a reanalysis of the demonstrative scalar determiner. The grammaticalisation pathway of a demonstrative and indeed any lexicogrammatical item largely depends on its position in the clause. Having developed into an adnominal, the placement of *le* between two adjacent nominal items serves as a catalyst for it to be reanalysed as a copula verb, given the typological characteristic of Dagaare as an SVO

¹⁷ The intensifier can also be used with verbs other than those of motion. E.g. *Yieli fɔŋ le!* (‘Sing super quickly!’)

language (cf. Section 4.1). Its new grammatical status as a scalar demonstrative also means that it is semantically lighter than the erstwhile pronominal demonstrative and can be recruited as a copula in clauses where there is none.

This grammaticalisation process most likely took place after the fusion of the copula *nε* and third person pronouns *v* (singular, neutral) and *a* (plural, non-human) into the identifying pronouns *nv* (singular, neutral) and *na* (non-human) (cf. Section 4.2). This is because the non-copula clauses that resulted from this fusion would then have facilitated the development of *lε* as a new copula. The stages involved in the process can be summarised as follows:

Stage I: The demonstrative determiner *nε* is reanalysed as an identifying copula verb;

Stage II: The copula verb *nε* fuses with third person pronouns *v* (singular, neutral) and *a* (plural, non-human) into identifying pronouns *nv* (singular, neutral) and *na* (plural, non-human), resulting in non-copula clauses;

Stage III: The demonstrative pronoun *lε* is reanalysed as: (a) a demonstrative scalar determiner and (b) subsequently as an identifying copula verb in hitherto non-copula clauses of Stage II.

As a completely grammaticalised copula verb, *lε* is now synonymous with copula *nε* and can replace it in all contexts, although the choice of any of them is normally subject to idiolectal and sub-dialectal variations. Thus, in example (37), the copula verb *lε* can perfectly be replaced with *nε* (i.e. *Bibili lε {lε/nε} bε* ‘They are just very small children’). The syntactic contrast between their demonstrative use as determiner and pronominal demonstrative (i.e. ±concrete *nε*, -concrete *lε*; see Section 3 and Appendix I) is completely lost. The copula *lε* is also bleached of much of the deictic meaning of its original pronominal demonstrative source. Nevertheless, as in the case of *nε*, the copula *lε* still retains traces of its demonstrative source; this can be inferred from the fact that it is used only in identifying copula clauses and it shares the same form with the demonstrative. For example, in both clauses in (37), the copula *lε* functions to identify an entity represented by the pronominal complement (i.e. *bε*, ‘they’). Specifically, in (37), the ‘wh’-interrogative word *Āmine* in Speaker A’s utterance queries the specificational value of the pronoun *bε* while, in Speaker B’s utterance, *bibili lε* assigns a specificational value to it.

5.3 Fusion of copula *lε* with third person pronouns into emphatic pronouns

The identifying copula verb *lε* further fuses with third person pronouns into emphatic pronouns, which inherently indicate contrastive focus. This fusion is illustrated in (i) to (iii) below (see also Table 3). Each grammaticalisation pathway corresponds to the pattern: third person PRON + IDENT COP = EMP PRON:

- (i) $v + lε = vlε$ (ii) $a + lε = alε$ (iii) $bε + lε = bεlε$

The development of demonstrative pronouns into third person pronouns has been reported by cross-linguistic studies (e.g. Givón, 1984; Diessel, 1999; Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Bhat, 2013) and studies on genetically divergent languages such as Cora (Casad, 1984), Lezgian (Haspelmath, 1993), and Egyptian (Gardiner, 1957). The difference in Dagaare is the special status of these pronouns as emphatic, a meaning which directly derives from the identification sense of the copula from which they partly originated. This sense of highlighting can also be traced to the corollary

influence of *le* as an intensifier (see Section 5.1) and even in its original pronominal demonstrative usage. Demonstratives are gesturing words and speakers use them to bring a referent to the forecourt of the listener’s consciousness. As has been demonstrated by the various grammaticalisation pathways discussed so far, this highlighting function is one consistent semantic drive in the grammaticalisation trajectories construed by Dagaare demonstratives. In the case of the emphatic pronouns, they highlight the referent as the newsworthy information in the clause the listener needs to attend to. In other words, they are pragmatic devices by which the speaker links the listener with the text. In (38) to (40), the (a) clauses show the use of Dagaare non-emphatic third person pronouns while the (b) clauses illustrate the use of their emphatic counterparts:

- (38) a. *U bin ni a gan.*
 3SG put.PFV FOC DEF book
 ‘S/he put the book (there).’
 b. ***Ule bin a gan.***
 3SG.EMP put.PFV DEF book
 ‘S/HE put the book (there).’
- (39) a. *A di =n a saab.*
 3PL.NHM eat.PFV=FOC DEF food
 ‘They ate the food.’
 b. ***Ale di a saab.***
 3PL.NHM.EMP eat.PFV DEF food
 ‘THEY ate the food.’
- (40) a. *Be wa ni ni a dāa.*
 3PL.HM come.PFV CAUS FOC DEF drink
 ‘They brought the drink.’
 b. ***Bele wa ni a dāa.***
 3PL.HM.EMP come.PFV CAUS DEF drink
 ‘THEY brought the drink.’

In the (a) clauses, focus of new information is placed on the element in final clause position, indicated by the focus particle *ni* (cf. Section 4.3). The corresponding (b) clauses show contrastive focus on the emphatic pronominal subjects. It is significant that the information focus particle *ni* does not occur in these clauses.¹⁸ The inherent focus function of the emphatic pronouns is derived from the deictic or signalling sense of the original demonstrative *le* and its subsequent use as an identifying copula.

This diachronic development went through two stages. The first stage is where *le* is still used as a copula, illustrated by reconstructed clauses in (41a, 42a, 43a). In the second stage, the copula fuses with the pronominal subject, giving rise to the emphatic pronouns (examples (41b), (42b) & (43b)):

- (41) a. *?U le nv.*
 3SG COP IDENT.SG

¹⁸ When the emphatic pronouns occur in clause final position, they take the focus particle although they still maintain their contrastive meaning (see Mwinlaaru (2017: Ch. 5) for details):

Beyuo de ni a vle ne.
 Beyuo take.PFV FOC DEF 3SG.EMP DEM
 ‘Beyuo has taken that one.’

- ‘S/he is the one.’
- b. *Ule* *nv.*
3SG.EMP IDENT.SG
‘S/HE is the one.’
- (42) a. **A* *le* *na.*
3PL.NHM COP IDENT.PL
‘They are the ones. / It is the one.’
- b. *Ale* *na.*
3PL.NHM.EMP IDENT.PL
‘They are the ones. / It is the one.’
- (43) a. **Bε* *le* *bε.*
3PL.HM COP 3PL.HM
‘They are the ones.’
- b. *Bεle* *le* *bε.*
3PL.HM.EMP COP 3PL.HM
‘THEY are the ones.’

The examples above show that, in the synchronic grammar of Dagaare, a copula does not occur in identifying clauses where the subject is the emphatic singular *vle* (41b) or the non-human emphatic plural *ale* (42b). On the other hand, a copula is required where the subject is the emphatic human plural *bεle* (43b). In instances such as (41b) and (42b), the copula fuses with the subject pronouns, resulting in non-copula clauses. In (43b), however, the fusion results in a functional split where the copula verb *le* is still used *in situ*. Due to this diachronic process, clauses such as (44) are ambiguous between the interpretation in (44a) and (44b) (from a *St. Maria* play):

- (44) a. ?*U* *le* *ni* *a* *Ayɔɔ.*¹⁹
3SG COP FOC DEF Ayour
‘She is AYOUR.’
- b. *Ule* *ni* *a* *Ayɔɔ.*
3SG FOC.COP DEF Ayour
‘SHE is Ayour. / Ayour is the one’

The ambiguity, however, disappears when one substitutes *le* with *nε* or when preverbal particles such as those marking polarity are added to the clause. As mentioned earlier, the copulas *le* and *nε* are always interchangeable. In (44a), however, *le* cannot be replaced by *nε*, which rules out its interpretation as a copula. In addition, preverbal particles such as the remote past tense marker *ti* will precede the particle *ni* rather than *le* (e.g. *Ule ti ni a Ayɔɔ*, ‘SHE was Ayour’), which again rules out *le* as a copula verb in a synchronic analysis of the clause. The superficial ambiguity that the clause causes is however evidence that *le* develops from a copula to an emphatic marker in the third person pronouns and that (44b) diachronically evolved from (44a). The characteristics of the clause that makes (44b) a more plausible interpretation shows that the fusion process is already complete and the structure has adjusted to the synchronic rules of Dagaare (44b).

The fusion of demonstrative-derived copula verbs into emphatic third person pronouns has

¹⁹ As indicated earlier, the use of the question mark in example (44a) shows that it is synchronically plausible rather than being ungrammatical.

implications for research on the affinity between pronominal demonstratives and third person pronouns. Findings from some previous studies show that pronominal demonstratives are often reanalysed as third person pronouns (cf. Diessel 1999: 7). Bhat (2013) has also shown that in some languages demonstratives serve as suffixes for forming third person pronouns. On the other hand, the role of demonstratives in developing emphatic pronouns has not been extensively discussed in the grammaticalisation literature. A relevant typological question is: could some of the demonstratives in the languages noted by Bhat (2013) have followed a similar grammaticalisation pattern as in Dagaare, and if so do they have emphatic meaning? It will also be useful to verify across languages whether these demonstrative ‘suffixes’ are separate morphemes or they are completely fused with their ‘stems’ as single morphemes as in the case of Dagaare emphatic pronouns.

Table 3. Semantic characteristics of Dagaare third person pronouns

Number	Animacy	Pronouns		
		non-emphatic pronouns	emphatic pronouns	
			full	reduced
singular	±human	<i>v</i>	<i>vɛ</i>	<i>vl</i>
plural	-human	<i>a</i>	<i>aɛ</i>	<i>al</i>
	+human	<i>bɛ</i>	<i>bɛɛ</i>	<i>bɛl</i>

5.4 From emphatic pronouns to demonstratives and postnominal focus markers

In this section, we proceed to examine the development of the emphatic pronouns into demonstratives and subsequently postnominal focus markers. This grammaticalisation process begins with the phonological reduction of the emphatic pronouns (Table 3), especially their occurrence in object position of the clause. Example (45) shows the use of the phonologically reduced form of the pronoun *alɛ*:

- (45) \tilde{I} *wa* *ni* *ni* *al*.
- 1SG come.PFV CAUS FOC 3PL.NHM.EMP
 ‘I have brought THOSE’ (= ‘I have brought the ones you are talking about’).

Studies have shown that at the advanced stages of grammaticalisation, grammatical forms are phonologically reduced normally due to frequency of use and reduction in stress or tone (Heine & Claudi & Hünnemeyer. 1991; Bybee, et al. 1994). Phonological reduction, however, often leads to further grammaticalisation since the eroded forms get lighter and become candidates for realising more abstract or less concrete meanings. In the case of the Dagaare emphatic pronouns, the reduced forms (hereafter *l*-forms) are subsequently used as both pronominal and adnominal demonstratives:

- (46) a. *Kv* *a* *vl*
 give DEF DEM.DIST

- ‘Give (it) to that one (= Give it to that boy and not this one)!’
- b. *Kv̄ a na!*
 give DEF DEM.PROX
- ‘Give (it) to this one (= Give it to this boy and not that one)!’
- (47) a. *Kv̄ a bibiir bɛl!*
 give DEF children DEM.DIST
- ‘Give (it) to those children (standing there)!’
- b. *Kv̄ a bibiir bɛna!*²⁰
 give DEF children DEM.PROX
- ‘Give (it) to these children (standing here)!’

In (46a), the *l*-form *vl* is a pronominal demonstrative and it shows deictic contrast with the proximal demonstrative *na* in example (46b). In (47a), on the other hand, *bɛl* is used as an adnominal demonstrative and it also shows deictic contrast with the proximal demonstrative *bɛna*. What is demonstrated here therefore is the reversal of the grammaticalisation pathway of *lɛ* from a demonstrative through intervening pathways back to a demonstrative. There are however differences between the original demonstrative *lɛ* and the *l*-forms. First, *lɛ* is used only pronominally while the *l*-forms are used both pronominally and adnominally. Second, while *lɛ* points to abstract phenomena (see Section 3), the referents of the *l*-forms are concrete entities. In this sense, they are more like the demonstrative determiner *nɛ* rather than *lɛ*. The concrete meaning of these new demonstratives is a contribution from the third person pronouns that *lɛ* fuses with (Section 5.3).

It is also important to highlight the similarity and differences between the adnominal use of the *l*-forms and the older demonstrative determiner *nɛ*. While *nɛ* can be used for both human and non-human referents, the *l*-forms must agree with the head noun in animacy (i.e. ±human) (see Appendix I). In addition, although *nɛ* is typically associated with singular nouns, it occasionally occurs with plural nouns (see example (48) from a concert advertisement). As examples (46a) and (47a) show, however, the *l*-forms show number contrast. These properties of the *l*-forms are traces of their pronominal sources.

- (48) ... *ɛ nvɔ kpɛ nibe nɛ za [[na na wa*
 and joy enter people DEM all REL POS.IND.FUT come.PFV
a be wa nyɛ a bom nɛ ti [[na
 DEF there PROX see.PFV DEF thing DEM 1PL REL
irɛ a]]]].
 do.IPFV JUNC

‘... and for there to be joy for all **those** people [[who will come there to see **that** thing [[which we are doing]]].’

²⁰ The proximal demonstrative pronoun, *bɛna* (plural, human), evolves from a fusion of the third person pronoun, *bɛ* (plural, human), and the proximal demonstrative *na* (see Table 1). See Mwinlaaru & Yap (forthc.) for further a discussion of this diachronic process.

The increased frequency of the adnominal use of the *l*-forms further leads to another grammaticalisation pathway, the development of adnominal focus markers. As their use is extended to abstract contexts to show psychological distance as opposed to physical deictic reference, they are reinterpreted as focus markers in the nominal group (i.e. context induced re-interpretation). This phenomenon is highlighted in (49) (from *Seb-Sow Yer-bie*) and (50) (from *St. Maria* play):

- (49) *A* *Ziem* *gbεε* *ni* *a* *kpākpāme* *ti* *ι = n*
 DEF twin:younger legs and DEF arms PST.REM COP.PFV=FOC
kōblv *tewr* ... *A* *Naab* *vl* *ti* *ter = ι* *yā-gan*
 hair only DEF twin:elder FOC PST.REM possess.PFV=FOC body
saala.
 smooth
 ‘The legs and arms of the younger twin were full of hair ... As for the elder twin, (he) had smooth skin.’

- (50) A: *Fv* *bε* *nyē* *pɔw* *vla?*
 2SG NEG.IND.NFUT see.PFV woman good
 ‘Haven’t you seen a good woman? (= ‘See who is calling herself a good woman’)
 B: *Fvv* *vl* *dεb* *vla* *lε = b* *ι?*
 2SG.EMP FOC man good COP=2SG.ACC INT
 ‘(And) YOU are a good man?’ (= ‘And do you call yourself a good man?’)

As the extracts show, *vl* is used here to mark contrastive focus. In (49) It highlights ‘the elder twin’ as the focus of the proposition in contradistinction with ‘the younger twin’ and, in (50), it focuses the pronoun *fvv*, which is set off in initial position as the theme of the clause. Thus, rather than deictically pointing to a referent, either physically or psychologically, *vl* in these examples draws the listener’s attention to a part of the discourse as newsworthy. In contexts such as these, the *l*-forms are semantically bleached and their deictic contrast is only implied in the contrastive focus function. As the co-occurrence of *vl* with the second person pronoun *fvv* in (50) also shows, the *l*-forms tend to lose their person distinctions in their focus function (cf. Mwinlaaru 2017: Ch. 5)

The grammaticalisation trajectories derived from demonstrative pronoun *lε* are highlighted in Figure 4.

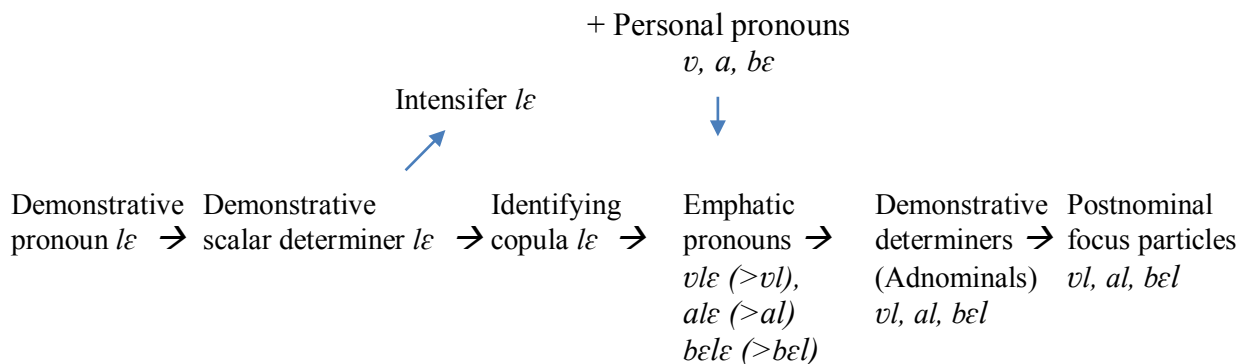


Figure 4. Grammaticalisation pathways of pronominal demonstrative *le* in Dagaare

6 Reflections on the grammaticalisation chains and directionality principles

In this section, we will examine the grammaticalisation trajectories and mechanisms discussed above in relation to pertinent typological generalisations and theoretical postulates in the extant literature. We will start by reviewing generalisations on the grammaticalisation pathways of demonstratives and then discuss the relationship between gradualness in grammaticalisation and grammaticalisation chains and, finally, discuss shifts in functional modes of meaning (i.e. metafunctions).

As Diessel (1999) notes, the grammaticalisation pathway of demonstratives, like other lexicogrammatical items, is crucially determined by the syntactic context in which they occur (see also Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer, 1991; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994). As has been shown in the preceding sections, the syntactic environments in which demonstratives find themselves can induce new interpretations and affect their grammaticalisation pathway. With respect to demonstratives, Diessel (1997; 1999: Ch. 6) observes that pronominal demonstratives develop into grammatical items that are still pronominal or at least have some properties of a pronominal item. The typical pathway of pronominal demonstratives he identifies is third person pronoun > pronominal clitic > verb agreement marker. On the other hand, adnominal demonstratives are noted as deriving grammatical items that are operators of nominal constituents, such as number markers, definite articles and noun class markers. Further, identificational demonstratives develop into grammatical markers that function in nominal groups, while adverbial demonstratives grammaticalise into verbal items such as directionality markers or verbs (Diessel, 1999: 115). In this paper, we focused on the development of two Dagaare demonstratives, both adnominal (*ne*) and pronominal (*le*), into other identificational items/constructions, such as identifying copulas, emphatic pronouns, focus particles and particles that express the speaker's (inter)subjective stance.

The underlying principle that the syntactic position of demonstratives crucially influences their grammaticalisation history is supported by the present study. On the details, however, the situation can be more complex. The study shows that Dagaare adnominal demonstrative *ne* and the pronominal demonstrative *le* take a number of different grammaticalisation pathways from Diessel's (1997; 1999) typological generalisations. It reveals that several factors such as the versatile nature of demonstratives and fusion influence the grammaticalisation trajectories of demonstratives and this can make it difficult to map the original syntactic positions of demonstratives and the grammatical items they will further develop into. In particular, for the pronominal demonstrative *le*, its abstract meaning allowed it to be juxtaposed with nominal constituents as a scalar demonstrative, leading to its reanalysis as a determiner and subsequently as an intensifier along one grammaticalisation trajectory, and as a copula verb along another more extended grammaticalisation trajectories. Thus, although *le* is originally a pronominal demonstrative, its initial grammaticalisation into a scalar determiner results in the further development of grammatical items similar to those derived from the adnominal demonstrative *ne*. It should also be noted that the fusion of *ne*, as a copula, with the third person pronouns *v* and *a* into identifying pronouns (*nv* and *na*), on the one hand, and *le* with the pronouns *v*, *a* and *be* into emphatic pronouns (*vle* *ale* *v*, *bele*) means that both demonstrative sources finally evolved into pronominal items.

In addition, some studies have reported the development of pronominal demonstratives

into verbal items. Notable are Li and Thompson’s (1977) influential account of the Chinese copula verb *shi* and Gildea’s (1993) study of the development of Panare pronominal demonstratives into both copulas and auxiliary verbs. In these studies, it is observed that the original demonstratives were required in juncture positions between dislocated constructions and main clauses and this resulted in their reanalysis as verbs. Although Dagaare *le* is also used as a pronominal resumptive of left dislocated constructions, its abstract nature restricts this phenomenon to clausal dislocated constructions such as (51). There is also no evidence of copula clauses with clausal subjects in Dagaare (from *St. Maria* play).

(51)	<i>A</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yel</i>	<i>a,</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>bε</i>
	DEF	DEM	1SG	NMLZ	say.PFV	JUNC	DEM	NEG.IND.NFUT
	<i>na</i>		<i>i?</i>					
	IDENT.PL		NAFFR					

‘That which I said, is that not it? (=Is that not what I said?)’

In other words, our data provide evidence for the development of copula verbs from demonstrative pronouns in a different context, namely its initial use as a demonstrative scalar determiner (Section 5.1) Further research is needed to investigate the spread of this phenomenon across languages and the complexity involved in the development of pronominal demonstratives into copula verbs in general.

Demonstratives have also been widely claimed to be linguistic primitives in the sense that they are very stable across the diachronic development of languages and it is believed that there is no clear evidence that they originated from any other lexical category (cf. Traugott, 1982: 245; Hopper, 1991:31; Diessel, 1999: 150ff. & references therein). Bhat (2013), however, shows that, in some languages, third person pronouns are used for deriving demonstrative pronouns, while, in others, demonstrative pronouns are used for deriving third person pronouns (see also Heine & Kuteva (2002: 172-173, 294) on grammaticalisation sources of demonstratives). Although third person pronouns have also been suggested as linguistic primitives, there is some evidence of demonstratives developing from lexical items such as nouns developing into third person pronouns (Heine & Kuteva, 2007: 68-70, 87-88; Heine & Song, 2010, 2011). Instances of this in Mongolia has been discussed quite extensively in the literature (e.g. Georg, 2003: 298; Salter, 2003: 85-86; Nugteren, 2011: 236). The present study shows that the pronominal demonstrative *le* gave rise to emphatic third person pronouns through fusion with already existing third person pronouns, and that these emphatic third person pronouns in turn evolved into new demonstrative pronouns. The question is: allowing for the hypothesis that demonstratives are relatively diachronically stable, is it not plausible that across languages third person pronouns that give rise to demonstratives such as the Dagaare *l*-forms already have some affinity with erstwhile demonstratives whose deictic meaning is waiting for new contexts to be revived, and refitted for new discourse functions? In Dagaare, as the emphatic pronouns (*vle, ale, bele*) got eroded (>*vl, al, bel*) and began to be used for referents within the material situation of discourse, they came to be associated with deictic distance and showed contrast with proximal demonstratives (Section 5.4). Further research is needed in other languages to identify the diachronic sources of pronouns as well as the facilitative morphosyntactic elements that give rise to demonstratives.

Our analysis also highlights the relationship between the *gradualness* of grammaticalisation and the phenomenon of *grammaticalisation chains*. Following previous research (e.g. Heine, 2002; Traugott & Trousdale, 2010), we have shown that the transition from

a less grammatical meaning such as demonstrative to a more grammatical meaning such as a copula verb normally involves discrete intermediate stages. Heine (2002: 86) models this gradualness in grammaticalisation as four stages of ‘context-induced reinterpretation’, namely initial stage, bridging context, switch context and conventionalisation (see Table 4 for explanation). Each of the two grammaticalisation chains considered in the present study indicates the cyclical nature of this gradual process. Table 4 illustrates this cycle using the grammaticalisation trajectory of the demonstrative *nε* (cf. Heine, 2002: 86; Heine & Kuteva, 2007: 36-37).

Table 4. The interaction between gradualness in grammaticalisation and grammaticalisation chains

Stage	Context	Resulting meaning	Grammaticalisation process		
			A > B	B + X > C	C + X > D
I Initial stage	Unconstrained	Source meaning	Demonstrative determiner <i>nε</i>	Identifying copula <i>nε</i>	Identifying pronouns <i>nv</i> and <i>na</i>
II Bridging context	There is a new context triggering a new meaning	Target meaning foregrounded	Demonstrative <i>nε</i> is used in non-copula clauses as a determiner in the subject nominal group (cf. Section 4.1)	*Identifying copula <i>nε</i> co-occurs with 3rd person pronouns <i>v/a</i> in complement position	Identifying pronouns <i>nv/na</i> co-occur with copula <i>ι</i> in the environment of cleft-constructions
III Switch context	There is a new context which is incompatible with the source meaning	Source meaning backgrounded	Demonstrative determiner <i>nε</i> is reanalysed as an identifying copula	*Identifying copula <i>nε</i> fuses with 3 rd person pronouns <i>v/a</i> to produce contracted forms <i>n'v / n'a</i>	Identifying pronouns <i>nv/na</i> fuse with copula <i>ι</i> to produce a contracted form <i>n'ι</i>
IV Convention-alisation	The target meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context that gave rise to it; it may be used in new contexts	Target meaning only	Identifying copula <i>nε</i> can occur without a preceding noun – i.e. it can follow a pronominal subject (e.g. <i>Time nε bε</i> , ‘WE are the ones’)	The forms <i>nv</i> and <i>na</i> fully become new grammatical items (i.e. identifying pronouns) and cannot be analysed into discrete components; they can be	The form <i>nι</i> fully becomes a new grammatical item (i.e. focus particle) and cannot be analysed into discrete components;

				used in cleft- constructions (cf. Section 4.2)	it can occur in clauses other than identifying clauses (cf. Section 4.3).
--	--	--	--	---	--

Note: The asterisk (*) indicates stages that are diachronically reconstructed. ‘B + X’ and ‘C + X’ indicate fusion, where ‘X’ is the independent variable.

What we want to emphasise here is the tendency of fusion to recycle grammaticalisation processes. If grammaticalisation is described as a change from (1) $A > B$, fusion can recycle the grammaticalisation process as (2) $B + X > C$ (cf. Table 4). As shown by the grammaticalisation of both *ne* and *le* from copula to pronominal items, fusion can increase the semantic weight of an already grammaticalised item. In the grammaticalisation of *ne* from copula to derive identifying pronouns, for instance, its fusion with the third person pronouns *v* (singular) and *a* (plural, non-human) resulted in new grammatical forms (namely, the identificational pronouns *nv* and *na*) that are referential and of more semantic content than the copula verb *ne*, which partly gave rise to these identificational pronouns ($B + X > C$). It is this increase in referentiality that subsequently enabled the new grammaticalisation process from identifying pronouns to focus particle, that is, from a relatively concrete identification to an abstract kind of identification in discourse ($C + X > D$). Likewise, with the grammaticalisation of *le* from copula to derive emphatic pronouns (another $B + X > C$ type of development), the third person pronouns (*v*, *a*, *be*) that *le* attached to led it to regain at least some of its meaning as a pointing device, and subsequently initiating the grammaticalisation from emphatic pronouns (*vle*, *ale*, *bele*) to the new demonstrative determiners $> vl$, al , bel (cf. Section 5.4).²¹ Fusion thus extends the grammaticalisation process, and, in the case of demonstratives, this may mean permeating the language system with a wider spectrum of highlighting or identification constructions, as is the case for Dagaare.

The final point to be considered in this section is the metafunctional shifts in the grammaticalisation paths of the demonstratives. Traugott (1982) hypothesised that, provided there is a shift in the meaning of a grammaticalised item from one functional mode to another, this shift will proceed from ideational through textual to interpersonal meaning, where the broad notion of interpersonal meaning embraces both the subjective (speaker-oriented) and intersubjective (addressee-oriented) stance among interactants (cf. Halliday, 1970; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). Based on new data, Heine et al. (1991: 190-191) modify this diachronic progression as ideational through interpersonal to textual function. It must be noted however that the grammatical items identified in Traugott’s (1982) analysis as indicating interpersonal meanings, typically discourse connectors and conjunctions, are essentially textual resources that acquire their interpersonal meaning in context. Heine et al. (1991), on the other hand, identify items of interactive significance such as interrogative words that clearly progressed from their interpersonal uses to clause linkers and subordinators. Although the grammaticalisation chains discussed in the present study do not show a linear progression through the three modes of

²¹ As one anonymous reviewer points out, the increase in referentiality through fusion does not run counter to the unidirectionality principle since a recycled process is a *new* process, not a more grammaticalized output of the earlier process. Unidirectionality applies to both (1) the earlier process ($A > B$) and (2) the recycled process ($B + X > C$) separately.

meaning, they do show cycles of a gradual loss of the referential meaning and increasing enrichment in interpersonal and textual meanings (cf. Hopper & Traugott (2003: 94ff.) on “pragmatic enrichment versus bleaching”). Examples are the recruitment of non-copula clauses involving the identifying pronouns *nv* and *na* as cleft-constructions that mark contrastive focus and their subsequent development into an unmarked (or non-contrastive) focus particle. Their grammaticalisation process is thus a shift from identifying phenomena in the world around us to establishing a relation between the listener and the text. In addition, the identifying pronoun *na* develops from its propositional use as the finite predication of a subject clause to an assertive final particle, thereby acquiring the interactional value of negotiating propositions. There is also a similar movement of *lɛ* from its deictic use to an intensifier, indicating the speaker’s assessment of quantificational values. Further, via its use as a copula verb, it became an empathic focus marker in third person pronouns and finally resulting in the *l*-forms used as postnominal focus markers. In addition to their focus meanings, these contrastive focus resources carry interpersonal meaning as they show what the speaker wants the listener to attend to in the discourse. As mentioned earlier, the underlying principle in all these shifts from ideational to interpersonal and textual modes of meaning is that the new meaning always has a trace of its demonstrative source, the sense of highlighting either a part of the discourse or the speaker’s stance towards the proposition.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study examined the grammaticalisation of two demonstratives in the Lobr dialect of Dagaare mainly into different kinds of identification constructions. The diachronic development investigated in the study can be summarised into the following three sets of stages, the first set for the demonstrative determiner *nɛ*, and the second and third sets for the pronominal demonstrative *lɛ*:

Stage 1-A	The demonstrative determiner <i>nɛ</i> is reanalysed as an identifying copula verb.
Stage 2-A	The copula verb <i>nɛ</i> fused with the third person pronouns <i>v</i> (singular, neutral) and <i>a</i> (plural, non-human) into identifying pronouns <i>nv</i> (singular, neutral) and <i>na</i> (plural, non-human), resulting in non-copula clauses.
Stage 3-A	(a) The identifying pronouns <i>nv</i> and <i>na</i> , in their use in cleft-constructions, fused with the attributive copula <i>ɪ</i> to derive the focus particle <i>nɪ</i> , resulting in another kind of non-copula clauses.
	(b) The identifying pronoun <i>na</i> , in clause-final position, is reinterpreted as an assertive/affirmative clause final mood particle.

Stage 1-B1	The demonstrative pronoun <i>lɛ</i> is reanalysed as a demonstrative scalar determiner <i>lɛ</i> .
Stage 2-B1	Scalar determiner <i>lɛ</i> then developed into a postpositive intensifier <i>lɛ</i> .

Stage 1-B2	The demonstrative scalar determiner <i>lɛ</i> is also reanalysed as an identifying copula verb <i>lɛ</i> in hitherto non-copula clauses of Stage 2A.
Stage 2-B2	The identifying copula <i>lɛ</i> fused with third person pronominal subjects <i>v</i> , <i>a</i> and <i>bɛ</i> into emphatic pronouns <i>vlɛ</i> , <i>alɛ</i> and <i>bɛlɛ</i> respectively.
Stage 3-B2	(a) The emphatic pronouns <i>vlɛ</i> and <i>alɛ</i> and <i>bɛlɛ</i> are often phonologically reduced to <i>vl</i> , <i>al</i> and <i>bɛl</i> .
	(b) The phonologically reduced forms <i>vl</i> , <i>al</i> and <i>bɛl</i> further developed into demonstratives <i>vl</i> , <i>al</i> and <i>bɛl</i> , used both pronominally and adnominally.
Stage 4-B2	The adnominal demonstratives <i>vl</i> , <i>al</i> and <i>bɛl</i> are reanalysed as postnominal focus markers.

These developments have been discussed in relation to different directionality principles in grammaticalisation research. Notably, it has been shown that the relationship between the syntactic position of a demonstrative and its grammaticalisation trajectory is not straightforward. The study also suggests that non-copula clauses across the languages of the world may be explained effectively through grammaticalisation. The labelling and description of these constructions in many studies (cf. Diessel, 1999; Abdel-Hafiz, 2015) suggest that they are hybrid grammatical forms, typically embodying both the finiteness of verbs and the referential characteristics of nominal items such as demonstratives and pronouns. Using data from Dagaare, this study has shown how two types of non-copula clauses have systematically evolved from the grammaticalisation chain derived from demonstratives. We therefore propose that non-copula clauses in many languages may result from the grammaticalisation of demonstratives either through reanalysis or through a fusion with other nominal items. Further research on the diachrony of demonstratives (as well as third person pronouns, copulas and focus particles) across various languages is likely to shed light on the possible origin and syncretic relationships of many amorphous grammatical forms in languages.

Key to Abbreviations

ACC – accusative; ADV – adverbial particle; AFFR – affirmative; CAUS – causative; COMP – complementiser; COP – copula; DEF – definite; DEM – demonstrative; DET – determiner; DIST – distal; EMP – emphatic; EVT – eventuality; FOC – focus; FUT – future; HM – human; IDENT – identifying pronoun; IND – indicative; INT – interrogative; INTENS – intensifier; IPFV – imperfective; JUNC – juncture; LOC – locative; N – non; NEG – negative; NMLZ – nominaliser; PFV – perfective; PL – plural; POS – positive; PRO – pronoun; PST – past; PROX – proximal; PRT – particle; REM – remote; SD – scalar determiner; SG – singular; VOC – vocative; 1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person

Acknowledgements

This work on demonstratives as versatile indexicals was supported by Research Grant HKPU 1-ZVER from the Department of English at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the 42nd International Systemic Functional Congress [ISFC] in Aachen, Germany. We thank participants and two anonymous reviewers of *Language Sciences* for their comments. We also thank Phoebe Lin and Benjamin Brosig for insightful comments and discussion on earlier versions of the paper, as well as staff of Von FM, Radio FREED (both in Nandom, Ghana) and Serge Dabire of ESCOM DISTRIBUTIONS (Burkina Faso) for sharing their recordings with us.

References

- Abdel-Hafiz, A-S. 2015. Focus constructions in Kunuz Nubian. *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies*, 2(5): 109 – 132.
- Amfo, N. A. A. 2007. Selected proceedings of the 37th *Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, D. L. Payne & J. Peña (eds.). (pp. 134-148). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Anderson, S. R. and Keenan, E. L. 1985. Deixis. In T. Shopen (ed.). *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 3. (pp. 259–308). Cambridge: CUP.
- Bhat, D.N.S. 2013. Third Person Pronouns and Demonstratives. In: M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/43>, Accessed on 2017-01-17.)
- Benton, R. A. 1971. *Pangasinan reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Bodomo, A. 1997. *The structure of Dagaare*. Stanford: Stanford University, CSLI Publications.
- Bodomo, A. 2000. *Dagaare*. Munchen, Germany: Lincom Europa.
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R. & Pagliuca, W. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Casad, E. 1984. Cora. In Langacker, R. W. (ed.). *Southern Uto-Aztecan grammatical sketches* (pp. 152 – 459). Arlington, TX: The University of Texas & The Institute of Linguistics.
- Carlson, R. 1994. *A grammar of Supyire*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dakubu, M. E. K. 2005. *Collected language notes on Dagaare grammar*. Accra: Institute of African Studies.
- Denny, J. P. 1982. Semantics of the Inuktitut (Eskimo) Spatial Deictics. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 48: 359–384.
- Diessel, H. 1997. The diachronic reanalysis of demonstratives in crosslinguistic perspective. *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 33: 83–98.
- Diessel, H. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalization*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Diessel, H. 2013a. Distance contrasts in demonstratives. In: M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (eds.) (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/41>, Accessed on 2017-01-17.)
- Diessel, H. 2013. Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. In: M. S. Dryer & M. Haspelmath (eds.) (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/42>, Accessed on 2017-01-17.)
- Dryer, M. S. 2013. Definite articles. In: M. S. Dryer, & M. Haspelmath (eds.) (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/37>, Accessed on 2017-01-17.)
- Dryer, M. S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.) 2013. *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info>, Accessed on 2017-01-17.)

- Fillmore, C. J. 1982. Towards a descriptive framework for spatial deixis. In R. J. Jarvella, & W. Klein (eds.), *Speech, Place, and Action*. (pp. 31–59). Chichester: John Wiley.
- Gardiner, A. 1957. *Egyptian grammar: Being an introduction to the study of Hieroglyphs* (3rd ed.). Oxford: OUP.
- Georg, S. 2003. Mongghul. In Juha Janhunen (ed.), *The Mongolic languages*. London: Routledge: 286-306.
- Gildea, S. 1993. The development of tense markers from demonstrative pronouns in Panare (Cariban). *Studies in Language*, 17(1): 53-73.
- Givón, T. 1975. Serial verbs and syntactic change: Niger-Congo. In Charles Li (ed.), *Word order and word order change* (pp. 47-112). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Givón, T. 1979. Language typology in Africa: A critical review. *JALL*, 1: 199-224.
- Givón, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional typological introduction* (vol. 1). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. Functional diversity in language as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English. *Foundations of Language*, 6(3): 322-361.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 2008. *Complementarities in language*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 2014. On explanation in systemic functional theory. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 10 (1):13–27. Doi: 10.1558/lhs.v10i1.27274.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Routledge.
- Halliday, M. A. K. & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. 2014. *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Harris, A. & Campbell, L. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. 1993. *A grammar of Lezgian*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heath, J. 1984. *Functional grammar of Nunggubuyu*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Heine, B. 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In Ilse Wischer & Gabriele Diewald, *New reflections on grammaticalisation* (pp. 83-102). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Heine, B., Claudi, U. & Hünnemeyer, F. 1991. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Melbourne, Madrid & Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2007. *The genesis of grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
- Heine, B. & Reh, M. 1983. Diachronic observations on completive focus marking in some African Languages. *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika*, 5: 7 – 44.
- Heine, B., & Song, K. A. 2010. On the genesis of personal pronouns: Some conceptual sources. *Language & Cognition*, 2(1): 117-147.
- Heine, B., & Song, K. A. 2011. On the grammaticalization of personal pronouns. *Journal of Linguistics*, 47(03): 587-630.
- Hopper, P. J. 1987. Emergent grammar. *Berkleley Linguistics Society*, 13: 139 –157.
- Hopper, P. J. 1988. Emergent grammar and a priori grammar postulate. In D. Tannen (ed.) *Linguistics in context* (pp. 117–134). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hopper, P. J. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In Traugott, E. C. & B. Heine

- (eds.). *Approaches to grammaticalization (vol. 1): Focus on theoretical and methodological issues* (pp. 17 – 35). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hopper, P. J. 1996. Some recent trends in grammaticalization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25: 217-236.
- Hopper, P. J. & Traugott, E. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, P. J. & Traugott, E. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (2nd edn.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lehmann, C. 1982. *Thoughts on grammaticalization: A programmatic sketch*, vol. 1. Cologne: Universität zu Köln
- Lakoff, R. 1974. Remarks on *this* and *that*. *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 10: 345–356.
- Lewis, M. P., Simons, G. F. & Fennig C. D. (eds.). 2016. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (19th edn.). Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Li, C.N. & Thompson, S. A. 1977. A mechanism for the development of copula morphemes. In C. N. Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*. (pp. 419–444). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Marconnès, F. S. J. 1931. *A grammar of Central Karanga: The language of Old Monomotapa as at present spoken in Central Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia* [Supplement to *Bantu Studies*, 5]. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mwinlaaru, I. N. 2017. A systemic functional description of the grammar of Dagaare. PhD thesis, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.
- Mwinlaaru, I. N. & Yap, F. H. forthc. From spatial deixis to interpersonal deixis: Grammaticalization of Dagaare proximal demonstrative *na*. Ms. 55 pp.
- Nugteren, H. 2011. *Mongolic phonology and the Qinghai-Gansu languages*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Pustet, R. 2003. *Copulas - Universals in the categorization of the lexicon*. Oxford: OUP.
- Rehg, K. L. 1981. *Ponapean reference grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Rybarczyk, M. 2015. Demonstratives and possessives with attitude: An intersubjectively-oriented empirical study. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Slater, K. 2003. *A grammar of Mangghuer*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Somé, J. D. 2004. Dagara orthography. *Journal of Dagaare Studies* 4: 15-51.
- Swadesh, M., Arana, E., Bendor-Samuel, J. T. & Wilson, W. A. A. 1966. A preliminary glottochronology of Gur languages. *Journal of West African Languages* 3(2): 27 – 66.
- Talmy, L. 1988. The relation of grammar and cognition. In B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), *Topics in cognitive linguistics* (pp.165–205). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Traugott, E. C. 1982. From propositional to textual and expressive meanings: Some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In Lehmann, W. P. & Malkiel, Y. (eds.), *Perspectives on historical linguistics* (pp. 245–271). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Traugott, E. C. & Trousdale, G. 2010. Gradience, gradualness and grammaticalization: How do they intersect? In E. C. Traugott & G. Trousdale (eds.), *Gradience, gradualness and grammaticalization* (pp. 19-44). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ziervogel, D. 1952. *A grammar of Swazi*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Texts used for illustration

1. An advertisement by Beyouone Somda on a concert held Saturday, March 5, 2016 at the *Théâtre de l' Amitié* [Theatre of Friendship] in Bobo, Burkina Faso. Produced by ESCOM DISTRIBUTIONS, February 6, 2016. [Author's transcription].
2. *Seb-Sow Yer-bie* [Words of the Holy Scripture] – L'Oeuvre Catholique Internationale (Ed.). (1996). *Naanmin yêre ni a v bibiir zie: Seb-Sow Yer-bie* [God is speaking to his children: Words of the Holy Scripture]. Editorial *Verbo Divino*: Madrid.
3. St. Maria play – An unscripted play by students of St. Maria Junior High School, Nandom, Ghana, August 5, 2013. [Author's transcription].
4. Von FM interview – An interview on political opinions recorded by staff of Von FM, Nandom, Upper West Region, Ghana. [Author's transcription].