

Left-dislocation and complement sentences in Avatime (Kwa)

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Avatime is a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in Ghana. It has rigid SVO word order with an optional pre-core focus position. Preceding the clause is space for left dislocated elements; elements which are often set off from the rest of the utterance by an intonation break or pause, and are referred to in the remainder of the clause by a resumptive pronoun. Left-dislocation is a frequently used device in Avatime, to introduce or re-introduce referents or to mark a referent as the sentence or discourse topic.

- (1) *ʒ-dzε ye fɔto-à be-zè ba pɔ a'*
C₁S-woman C₁S.POS photo-DEF.P C₁P-receive C₁P finish Q
'The woman's photos, have they collected them all?'

Left dislocation also has the function of establishing a referent before integrating it in the syntax and pragmatics of the utterance. This often results in a left-dislocated referent with a contrastive (2) or focused (3) resumptive pronoun.

- (2) a) *e-gù-mu-á lálɔ=ε la kɔ xé gí be-sò pɔ*
C₃P-african-rice-DEF C₃P-DIST=CM C₃P CTR1 when REL C₁P-grow finish
'That African rice, as for that, if they finish growing (the other types)...'
b) *xé wɔ-sò tsyεε la kɔ í-ze-dzagbàgba gí í-ze-te-dò kóko*
if 2S-grow ADD C₃P CTR1 C₃P-HAB-try REL C₃P-HAB-?-move.out already
'if you grow it, as for that one, it tries and germinates by all means.'
- (3) *kò kɔ ò-ní lɔ-wlɔ=ε lɔ ɔ-médzε a-tá-ze-ŋa*
just so C₂S-soup C₂S-DIST=CM C₂S:FOC C₁S-pregnant.woman C₁S-INT-REC-eat
'So that soup, that's the one the pregnant woman will be eating.'

The pre-clausal nature of left dislocated elements is reflected in the fact that they can optionally be followed by the clitic =E (see examples (2) and (3)). This clitic also marks off certain kinds of subordinate and coordinate clauses.

Unlike English, Avatime allows left-dislocated elements inside subordinate structures. These are all complements linked by the complementizer *sɔ̀*.

¹ Abbreviations. 1 first person ; 2 second person ; ADD additive ; C_{number} noun class ; CM clause marker ; COMP complementizer ; CTR contrast ; DEF definite ; DIST distal demonstrative ; FOC focus ; HAB habitual ; INT intentive ; LOC locative ; P plural ; POS possessor ; PROH prohibitive ; Q question particle ; REC recurrent ; REL relativizer ; S singular ; SBJ subjunctive

(4) *sì ba sì ì-tsré lɔ̀ gí elòm á-kɔ̀ manì*
 tell C₁P COMP C₂P-okro DIST REL elòm C₁S-take bring
ke-pa mɛ̀ ... ba-da lɛ̀ kí wɔ̀
 C₆S-house inside ... C₁P.SBJ-sell C₂P give 2S
 'Tell them the okro that Elorm brought to the house, they should sell it to you.'

(5) *ma-pe sì lí-wé lé-lɔ̀ kɔ̀=ɛ̀ lí-kí-dò ní*
 1S-want COMP C₃S-day C₃S-that CTR1 =CM C₃S-PROH-move.out LOC
ónɛ̀nɛ̀ ku-susu mɛ̀
 nobody C₅S-mind inside
 'I want that date not to leave anybody's mind.'

These data suggest that structures larger than the clause can be subject to subordination. However, the question remains whether the complements that permit left-dislocation are truly subordinate, or whether they should be analyzed differently. Another theoretical issue that I will discuss is whether left-dislocation is a unified phenomenon, both within a language and crosslinguistically.