KASEM NOMINAL GENDERS AND NAMES

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Introduction

This paper aims at studying the collocational patterns involving Kasem personal names and gender determiners. Such collocations are not common in languages although they may not necessarily be ungrammatical. In fact, they constitute special usages which facilitate and enhance communication in some languages. Kasem exemplifies this. The use of the reduplicated form of the Akan determiner **no** in name utterances such as Akwesi **nono** (My dear Akwesi) may be cited in this regard. While scholarship on Indo-European languages has concerned itself with usages such as these it does not appear that Africanists have shared these interests; in any case not to the same degree. In this paper I will attempt an outline description of Kasena names in the context of Kasem gender syntax. These are issues that have received scanty attention, as far as I can recollect[1].

Kasem, like neighbouring Gur languages such as Buli (see Kruger 1992 and Naden 1988) and Gurunni (see Rapp 1965), is a language with nominal classes. In Kasem these are marked syntactically, principally by the simple determiners of CVM shapes (C stands for consonant, V for polar vowel[2] and M for bilabial nasal). There is a set of nine determiners from which most nominal items, particularly nouns, select appropriate determiners to match their grammatical number (singular and plural choices) and the class to which the nominal belongs. Grammatical concord is found between nominals and determiners and among nominals such as pronominals, deictics, and numerals exhibiting a syntagmatic relationship. However, it is not usual in Kasem for names, which can also be considered as nominals, to have determiners appended to them. When a name collocates with a determiner that name takes on board some of the characteristics of the gender to which the determiner usually belongs. This then becomes a subtle means for the expression of attitudes, a feature this paper seeks to explore.

Kasem Genders and Classes

The term 'gender' has several meanings; here it is employed together with 'class' as a linguistic category. Hockett (1958:231) long ago described genders as ".. classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words". Corbett (1991:1) remarks that "the classification [of genders] frequently corresponds to a real world distinction of sex, at least in part, but often too it does not.." In Kasem it does not refer to biological gender or sex distinctions such as masculine and feminine. For example, the individuals designated by the nouns **kaane** (woman) and **baaro** (man) are biologically feminine and masculine respectively but in Kasem grammar the nouns in question belong in the same class and gender and that gender is neither feminine nor

masculine. Similarly, the persons designated by the nouns **bakeira**(boy) and **busankana** (girl) differ in biological gender but in Kasem grammar they belong in a common class and gender which happens to be different from the gender to which **baaro** and **kaane** belong.

Gender and class are co-referential terms in this usage. Although some writers usually prefer the term 'class' in discussions of similar subjects in languages I find it necessary here to retain both terms. Nouns or nominals belong in classes and these in turn belong in genders. See Callow (1966) for the morphological analysis of Kasem noun classes.

A class (in Awedoba 1979) is a grouping of nouns or nominals on syntactic grounds which exhibit common morphological and syntactic patterns such as suffix and prefix selections as well as choice of determiners. Some pronominal anaphorics will also be chosen on the basis of class. Most nominals, including determiners and pronominal anaphorics, make number distinctions often by means of affixes. A class may be singular or plural and their syntactic, morphological, and semantic features distinguish classes.

Kasem has nine nominal classes four of which are singular and the rest plural. Certain singular classes form regular pairings with certain plural classes and it is these pairings that have been designated "genders" in this study. See also Sterk (1978) for a definition of Hohumono noun classes and genders along similar lines. In most cases a nominal will have its singular form in one class and its plural class in another class and these two classes would usually be the pairing that constitutes the gender to which that nominal usually belongs. There are five regular pairings or "genders". Each class has its determiner and each gender is illustrated, as in the table below, by citing its pair of determiners. A noun does not have to collocate with a determiner, but when it does take a determiner it becomes definite. The litmus test for the gender or class membership of a noun lies in the determiners that the item in question regularly collocates with. Thus we know that a name is being assigned to a certain gender when in usage a particular determiner is attached to it. This is inspite of the fact that this collocation is not a common occurrence.

TABLE OF NOMINAL GENDERS AND CLASSES

GENDER	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Nominal Class	Determiner	Nominal Class	Determiner
1	I	wom [wʊm]	II	bam [bam]
2	III	dem [dɩm]	IV	yam [yam]
3	V	kam [kʌm]	VI	sem [sʊm]
4	VII	kom [kʊm]	VIII	tem [tɩm]
5	VII	kom [kʊm]	IX	dem [dɩm]

Genders and Dimensions

Kasem genders are not a haphazard collection of nouns; yet the semantic bases of the genders are not always easily demonstrated and this is due to the miscellany of items found in any gender; see Prost (1970: 984-995) for a listing of the nouns that regularly belong in the genders. The rules that govern or influence the allocation of nouns to genders have not been established completely for Kasem, to my knowledge. To appreciate the significance of the collocations that personal names enter into with gender determiners there is the need to understand the kinds of semantic associations that are attached to the genders.

The most semantically determinate of the genders is Gender 1 which we may describe as the personal or human gender; human nouns predominate in it. Over 90% of human nouns belong in this gender. Even then, non-human items such as **dwooru** 'axe', **gweeru** 'leopard', **duuru** 'vulture', and **sana** 'millet beer' occur in the gender. Other genders are even more heterogeneous in their membership. Gender 2 contains nouns for fruits, body parts, abstract and deverbative nouns and many more that cannot easily be classified on the above dimensions. The same can be said for Gender 3 which, like Gender 2, has diminutive associations. It includes in its membership groups of items such as young plants, small mammals and insects, some body parts as well as nouns for human beings associated with diminutive stature or some negative or pejorative attribute or feature. In comparison with Gender 3, Gender 4 has augmentative associations. It includes many trees, animals, illnesses, as well as nouns that refer to people with some potentially negative attribute. Gender 5 has a smaller membership which includes domestic livestock. Its membership is less than 20 items. In fact the Kayoro dialect of Kasem has re-assigned the membership of this class to Gender [4.]

If we may talk of attributes, the most salient semantic attributes of Kasem genders would include humanness, diminutiveness and augmentativeness. There appears to be an emic awareness of this in individual idiolects and it explains idiosyncratic derivations of diminutive or augmentative forms. This accounts for the neologism **swora** 'particularly tasty and mucilagenous stew' (Gender 3 noun) which was derived from **sworo**, (Gender 4), the more generic term for mucilagenous or okro-like stew.

Adjectives which on the whole have the potential to occur in more than one gender illustrate fairly well the semantic character of the genders. When an adjective is assigned to a gender it usually acquires a new connotation that is associated with that gender. Certain noun stems that can enter more than one gender tend to change connotations with gender change. These changes are obviously not random. The point is illustrated by the nominal stem: **kasen-**; it occurs in Gender 1 to mean 'Kasena person'. When it occurs in Gender 2 it means Kasem language or culture, and as a Gender 3 noun it refers to a diminutive or debased Kasena person or attribute. Finally as a Gender 4 noun it refers to 'Kasenaland'.

While the semantic bases of the genders cannot be denied, phonology does also play a role in the allocation of nouns to classes and genders. This is so in the case of borrowed nouns (Awedoba 1980). The final syllable of a noun, particularly the weight of the final vowel, plays a critical

role in the allocation of nouns to their genders[3]. Even complete homophones like buga [bugə], Gender 3 'river' and buga [bugə], Gender 2 'tiredness' are assigned to different classes and genders on account of their suffixes which happen to bear a phonetic resemblance. In their underlying representations these vowel suffixes differ in weight hence the allocation of these two words to different noun classes and genders.

On the Personal Name

A name, according to Fortes(1955:349), is 'a document epitomizing personal experiences, historical happenings, attitudes to life, and cultural ideas and values'. Fortes was defining primarily Tallensi names (a nearby Voltaic people similar in many ways to the Kasena), nevertheless his definition aptly summarizes the nature and character of personal names among the Kasena and perhaps among other Upper-Easterners as well.

Kasena personal names (yere singular and yera in plural) exhibit a varied structure and are amenable to several kinds of classifications which cannot be discussed exhaustively within the scope of this paper. There are formal or official names (what have sometimes been referred to as birth names), nicknames, as well as elliptical and reduced names. We may describe as official names those that have been allocated formally to the individual at birth or soon after (yeretete in Kasem). It is such names that refer to and are used to address a person in any formal context. Every Kasena person will have one such name and some individuals have additional names. Reduced names in Kasem (no lexeme exists in Kasem for this category of name) are derived from the formal names and are comparatively shorter; reduced names result from incorrect or affected pronunciation of the names of senior kin and those of the parental status by junior kin, especially infants. The mispronunciation may be deliberate but it often originates with toddlers in their attempts to call relatives. Such lisped or mispronounced names are not usually corrected; on the contrary children are encouraged to continue in their usage. Adults accent by repeating the mispronounced names when they talk to children about the individuals whose names the children tend to mispronounce. It is noteworthy that some of the initial education that Kasena children receive is about politeness in addressing their elders, especially persons of the parental generation, whose names should not be mentioned fully without justification. This is reminiscent of the Second Commandment in the Bible. Thus a name that initially was a mispronunciation becomes concretised in a reduced name through continued usage. However where a reduced name already exists it is the older name that is likely to be retained by children and younger kin as the family encourage children to switch over to using such a name.

A person, it would seem, becomes eligible for a reduced name when he or she becomes a parent; in this respect it becomes willy-nilly a status symbol. First-borns are often the originators of reduced names although I have known younger siblings to coin and perpetuate such names. The application of a reduced name symbolises respect and deference. Its coinage and continued use is reinforced by norms such as the prohibition enjoined on the junior generation to mention the names of senior generation persons without reasonable cause. The breach of

this norm could be interpreted as a sign of disrespect and likely to invite some form of penal sanction.

The use of the reduced name is also a sign of close kinship. The alternative to this usage, for non-kin of lower status, is the application of addressive relationship terms. One consequence of the application of these norms is the ignorance of the real names of parents on the part of young children. It also explains the reluctance of some children to disclose the names of their parents to outsiders[4]. See Kropp Dakubu (unpublished typescript) for similar attitudes and conventions among the Dagomba.

If formal names originate with the senior generations and reduced names with the junior generation, nicknames[5] (baseim or yerebaseim) differ again in that, they originate with the peer group and tend to circulate among a group of individuals who joke with one another. People tend to acquire their nicknames later in life. Friends and colleagues may coin them but individuals have been known to select a name for themselves in response to peer group influence[6].

Whatever the type, most Kasena nicknames resemble the Penang 'friendship names' discussed in Needham (1971). Penang of Borneo, selected "friendship names" and used them to affirm and signify friendly relations in a way reminiscent of Kasena practices. Some Kasena nicknames have been known to eventually replace birth names; they certainly have the potential to become more popular than some birth names.

The Morphology of Some Personal Names

Kasena themselves generally hold that names are meaningful (yere jege kuri) and a name would not be a name if it did not have a meaning that can be interpreted. For some names the meaning is transparent, yet for others they are opaque with a double entendre. Name exegesis is a pertinent exercise among Kasena for whom this involves a paraphrase of the name utterance. When a name is apt and very suitable, it is said to be "sweet". Their attitude to names is comparable to their love for proverbs.

Kasena names, most of all reduced names, differ from other nominals of the language. Structurally reduced names in Kasem can best be considered as unanalysable sequences since they cannot be reduced to conventional grammatical or lexical units. Other name types can be so analysed and therefore subject to folk interpretation. Names like Agoo, Anao, Kadoa, Kachana etc are typical Kasena names which we can assign to the word unit[7]. Morphemically they contain a prefix and a noun root. We can find analogous structures in the language. For example, the nouns kaduga (farm), kamogo (clay artifact), kazaga (head pad), kazogo (mortar) are comparable since they too comprise a prefix and a root or stem. The two sets of words differ however. The prefix ka= attached to the nouns is a formative affix which has function in the derivation of the noun from a verb root. In this case the verbs are as follows: du/duga (to sow crops), mo/moga (to draw or fashion out), zeпe (to carry) and zo (to pound). Ka= plays a similar role in other nominalisation processes in Kasem, for example, ka ta kachaare [ka say

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nonsense] (to say nonsense)* In names on the other hand, the prefixes A- and Ka- are sex indicators which are attached to nouns, not verbs, in name derivation. In names like Agao, Anao, Kadoa and Kachana a noun is the base of the derivation. Secondly, it will be realised that nouns are morphologically more complex than names even when the personal name happens to be derived from the noun. Kasena nouns have suffixes not to mention prefixes but personal names do not. For example, kaduga [kedug=A] and kazogo [kazog=U] have suffixes which mark their genders but the same cannot be said for the names above. If "Kaduga" were a personal name comparable to the English "Field", it could only be said to have a pseudo-suffix (when we consider that it is derived from the noun kaduga which has a legitimate suffix). What were prior to the derivation gender suffixes lose their status in the course of name derivation. Kasem nouns are analysable into stem and a suffix plus an optional prefix.

Note that a suffix is more or less the same for each group of nouns belonging to the same gender. Names have no gender affixes. Names are different from not only nouns but also other nominals in this respect. Kasem nominals do exhibit gender affixes. While nouns may collocate with determiners names do not usually do so. Names moreover do not usually make number distinctions in the way that most nouns in Kasem do. Where names are pluralized the process is irregular and carries special significance, as is illustrated below at the conclusion of the paper.

Names however resemble nouns in one respect: pronouns may be substituted for them. Pronominal choices are restricted to the singular personal pronoun "o" as far as the name is concerned. In conclusion, we can say that Kasena personal names are genderless utterances, unlike most other nominals that can be assigned on morphological and syntactic grounds to one or more genders.

Another feature of Kasena names is that most of them, except for the reduced names, exhibit forms that are derived from potential sentences. They may be regular statements, questions, commands or exclamations. Statements include the following:

1. **Kodaadeyerane: ko dae a de yerane (It does not apply to me alone)**
2. **Azeiiiba: A zelli ba (I have chased them off).**

Examples of Questions:

3. **Woonteiba: wo mo tei ba (who owns them)**
4. **Atadewo: ame wo ta de wo (who should I complain to)**

Examples of Commands:

5. **Yekempa: ye ke-a pa (don't give to others)**

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6.   **Yepakonong: ye pa ko nwoŋi** (don't let it out)

Examples of Exclamations:

Haya: (O dear)

If grammatical analysis were applied to each of these utterances, constituent elements of clause structure such as subject, predicator, complement and so on' could be obtained. This is illustrated below.

   7)   **ko /dae /a de yerane**
        it is not I conj. alone [Subj / Pred / Compl]

   8)   **a / zelli/ ba**
        I chased   them [Subj / Pred / Compl]

If the above are simple one-clause sentences, note also that more complex name structures are found in the language as exhibited by **Nakwebabaennabannte**, ('An elder should not bear tales and if you did, you would die'). This name is abbreviated sometimes as **Nakwebabae** ('An elder does not bear tales') sometimes as **Nnabaente**, ('if you bear tales you die') each of which is a potential sentence. This name constitutes a complex serial construction with a dependent serial clause and independent clause, as is illustrated below.

   9)   **nakwe / ba / bae   // n / na bae   // n / te**
        elders don't bear(tales)   you if bear tales   you will die

Since all names may be regarded as at least uni-lexemic, grounds would appear to exist for considering the more structurally complex names as rankshifted sentences or clauses, as the case may be. The concept of rankshifting in systemic analysis accounts for the embedding of higher units, such as sentences clauses and phrases, in the structure of lower units or units of the same level. See Halliday (1961) for a discussion of the grammatical rankscale and the concept of rankshifting.

Names and Determiners

The collocation of noun and determiner indicates not only the class and gender of a noun but also assigns definiteness to that noun. From another point of view, a noun differs from a name in that it refers to a class of individual items whereas a name refers to an individual and is ipso facto definite. Names do not therefore require that a determiner be appended to them to mark definiteness. When a determiner collocates with a name, rather than definiteness it is emotive meanings that are conveyed. These include personal attitudes and dispositions of the utterer towards the referred person. The emotive meanings involved which can be assigned to two categories are labelled below as Categories A and B.

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Category A attitudes suggest either equality characterised by open and free relationship that is unrestrained by formality or inferiority of the person referred to.

Category B attitudes signify mutual respect or even reverence for the other party named in the discourse.

Whereas for Category A joviality is not out of place, for Category B restraint cannot be ruled out. These differences in attitude and formality find an echo in the application of pronouns of power differential and solidarity in some European languages, cf. the use of tu/vous in French, (Brown and Gilman,1970 and (Robinson,1972).

In Kasem two determiners out of the lot may be used with personal names: the NCL I wom and NCL V kam determiners. Both of these are singular syntactic markers and denote genders 1 and 3 respectively, (see table above). These are the genders which, as noted above, have person/human and diminutive/negative associations respectively. The application of wom and kam enables the expression of Category B and A attitudes respectively.

These are usages that are commonly found in Kasena greeting rituals (particularly the elaborate greetings), though the usage is not restricted to this genre. Kasem may be compared to some other languages in this respect. We find similar communicative functions executed through greetings in other cultures and languages though the devices may differ. As Goody (1972;50) has pointed out, greetings in some West African societies involve communication and exchanges of important information about the state of relationships and attitudes concerning not only kin, affines or friends but also the political structure. Courtesy rituals in Gonja society incorporate title references in their greetings and this is in consonance with their hierarchical social structure. Among the matrilineal Ashanti where there is a concern for ntoro or patrilineal group identification clan appellations feature in greetings (cf. Busia,1954:199 and Fortes,1950:267). Kasena greetings do not utilize titles as this society lacks them nor are clan references necessary since clans are rarely important reference points for social action; lineages which serve this function are smaller and localized. Nevertheless there are certain interpersonal relations that require to be signalled for what they are worth and the use of determiner collocations in Kasem enables this to be done.

Person to person attitudes are complex and may be expressed in a variety of ways, not all of which have to be by verbal devices. Name references are however important indicators of these attitudes. The use of reduced names as we have seen suggest not only that the individual being addressed or mentioned is older chronologically but also that he or she is kin or qualifies for the quasi-kin category and is of an older generation than the speaker. Although a person of the senior generation may address a person of the junior generation by name, this is not reciprocal. Formality and restraint characterize inter-generation relations among Kasena. The same is incidentally true for most other Upper-Eastern Ghanaian people. Where the child-parent tie is concerned there is even a degree of avoidance which is epitomized by the case of the first born son and the father, as Fortes(1959) has demonstrated cogently. Name avoidance can be

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seen as an aspect of this. It must be pointed out that Upper-Easterners do not quite approximate Southern African peoples like the Sotho on this question. For the latter it is not enough that the forbidden name is not mentioned, its homophones and semantically related words should be avoided or replaced by "hlonepha" and teknonyms,(cf. Laydevant,1948, Kunene,1958 and Kahler-Meyer,1971). Here too, as in the case of the Kasena, we see social norms conditioning linguistic deviation.

Individuals of the same generation may refer to each other by birth name or nickname if they are of the same peer group. Wives may, because they enjoy a joking relation with the husband's junior agnates and his peer group, use the nicknames circulating among members of these groups. Between the unrelated wives of agnates this kind of freedom does not exist and it is common to hear teknonyms used or the application of formulae such as 'mother of so and so'. The use of determiners with personal names thus becomes a resource for the conveyance of additional attitudes.

The following utterances illustrate the effects of determiner collocations:

10a) **Adoa kam jege yezura na** ? (How is Adoa?)
　　　Adoa - det III - has - health - quest.

10b) **Adoa wom jege yezura na** ? (How is Adoa?)
　　　Adoa - det I - has - health - quest.

10c) **Adoa jege yezura na** ? (How is Adoa?)
　　　Adoa - 　　　has - health - quest.

To most native speakers of Kasem these three sentences are unlikely to be synonymous. Example 10c is unmarked; it poses a question without necessarily dropping a clue about the speaker's feelings towards the individual referred to. In 10b), the speaker, by the inclusion of the Gender 1 determiner, signals his concern for the third person for whom the speaker may have profound respect, although he or she need not be of the senior generation. Example 10a also makes manifest the attitudes towards the referent. In the latter case, these however are attitudes of ease and they suggest a degree of freedom that would allow for joking and even horse play. 10a could also be an attempt to display sympathy for the person mentioned: Adoa. The sentence can in fact be paraphrased as "How is Adoa's health, poor thing".

Discussion and Conclusion

We may wonder why out of nine determiners only **wom** and **kam** should be selected for this usage. The explanation lies in the semantic values of the genders to which these two determiners are syntactic markers in the singular. The attachment of a determiner to a name becomes a means of incorporating it into the gender to which the determiner normally belongs. This has the effect of loading the name with some of the peculiar attributes of the gender in question. It

thus becomes a device for displaying the speaker's assessment of the named and the interpersonal relationship between them. The value of that relationship need not be a reciprocal or a symmetrical one.

Genders 1 and 3 are being put to this use because these, together with Gender 4, are the most explicit semantically and their associations happen to be appropriate. If genders were to be paired contrastively, then Genders 1 and 3 could more naturally constitute one such pair by reason of the fact that they contain the majority of human nouns between them. A pairing of Genders 3 and 4 enables the augmentative/diminutive contrast to be highlighted. When a noun belonging in one of these genders is introduced into the other, the resulting noun becomes the diminutive or augmentative of the original noun as the case may be. The language exploits this with some consistency. For example, chichiru (dwarf-like bush spirit), a Gender 3 noun, and chichiru (ogre or grotesque spirit), a Gender 4 noun, have a common stem but by appending the Classes V and VII suffixes respectively the different gender nouns have been derived with appropriate meanings.

Gender 1 as the specifically human gender is most suitable for polite attitudes, being the most positively valued gender in the language. Gender 3 too is suitable for the signalling of jocular relations because it suggests the attribute "lack of significance or weight" i.e. diminutiveness. Kasem is perhaps not unusual in this respect. As Wolfowitz (1991:64) has pointed out, the use of diminutives in interlocution may represent a general case of what she calls 'downward-directed deference or respect'.

In conclusion, the application of the Gender 1 determiner to a personal name indicates honorable assignment of that name and its referent to the most prestigious gender; this suggests a perception of definitely positive human, as opposed to non-human, qualities in the individual. It symbolises that the person referred to deserves respect. Idiomatic expressions lend weight to this assertion. In Kasem, to say of a person that o ye noono (X is a person), would amount to saying that s/he is a good person. To describe a person as o dae noono (X is not a person) is to indicate that the individual concerned is a bad lot or is deficient in desirable human qualities. All this implies that humanness is a quality that can be allocated socially or withheld and therefore becomes an alienable quality to the human being.

Just as the incorporation of a name into the human gender affirms personness, assigning an individual to Gender 3 detracts from the named individual's personness. This need not strike us as paradoxical; Fortes(1987) indicates that person status is not ascribed but must be earned or achieved. He goes on to specify Tallensi criteria for the postmortem achievement of person status. A Gender 3 classification amounts to a mild insult that does not necessarily give offence, after all this is a gender that also has some positive associations, especially when it is contrasted with Gender 4. In any case not all insults are resented, as we all know. Our interpretation of the offence in an insult depends on where it is coming from, and the presence of malicious intent.

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Assigning a named person to Gender 3 is of the order of scathing reference. This does not provoke hostility because it assimilates to a category of behaviours resembling mock verbal duelling but whose aim is the assertion and maintenance of certain friendly relations between individuals and groups. The inappropriate application of this syntactic device can well raise eye brows.

Institutionalized joking relations may be recalled to mind, more especially as they are a common feature of Kasena life. Clans within a chiefdom are inter-linked by such ties but they also exist between the Kasena group and other ethnic groups in Ghana such as the Sisala, Gonja, and immigrant Zaberma, a Niger people. They are referred to in Kasem as *kwelia* (lit. siblingship). The character of the relationship illuminates our argument. Those who are linked by *kwelia* are entitled to joke with each other and exchange mild insults. In the case of the intermedia Kasena the altercations often mildly relate to relations of precedence and dominance, such as to chiefs/minors and subjects/master or to degrading and dehumanizing treatment such as the buying and selling of the joking counterparts. Clearly, these references derive from the pre-colonial predatory relations that obtained between the Zamberma slavers and their allied, some Fra-Kasem, other slave dealers (this includes Gonja) and their victims such as the Kasena, Sisala etc. See Holden(1965) for a discussion of the Zamberma intervention in what is today the Upper Regions of Ghana[1].

Analogy can be drawn between the use of nick names, teknonyms, reduced names, joking relationships, appellations, titles and the application of determiners to personal names. All of these are amenable to a dual classification along the WOM/KAM dimension as set out in the table below. Jokes are often a mechanism that people who have suddenly been thrown together adopt in the management of their social or occupational relationships as we find among the groups of multi-ethnic Ghanaian University students. Among these students nicknames are current, and whether they are the names that individuals have selected for themselves, or those that have been allocated to the individual, or a reciprocal name shared by a pair or by a group or even the name conferred on a lecturer, all are of a type.

Table 2: Classification of Name Usages and Implications

WOM IMPLICATIONS	KAM IMPLICATIONS
1. Names with wom appended	1. Names with kam appended
2. Reduced Names/Teknonyms	2. Nicknames
[+ Addressive/Reference Kin Terms]	[- Addressive/Reference Kin Terms]
[- Joking Behaviour]	[+ Joking Behaviour]
[+ Formality]	[- Formality]
[+ Hierarchy]	[+ Hierarchy]
[+ Avoidance]	[- Avoidance]

Among those whose names may be mentioned with a Gender 3 determiner are some peer group members, kwo bia or members of paired joking groups, opposite sex affines of the spouse's generation, and persons of the grandchild generation but rarely names of the grandparents[12]. Gender 1 determiner may go with the names of kin of the senior generation and affines of the tembaaro and teakaane grade i.e.'wife-givers', and those others who are entitled to respect and deference from the speaker. We may compare this usage to the incorporation of titles and honorifics in name utterances in European languages. As Robinson (1972:123) has shown, asymmetric usage of title and last name suggests unfamiliarity and inequality while mutual use of first name indicates the opposite; see also Brown and Gilman(1970).

Cases can be found of personal names collocating with other determiners, particularly with bam, the Gender 1 plural determiner, or other plural determiners. These usages have different implications as in the following utterances:

11b) **Adwe sem daga**
Adoa det many (There are many people called Adoa)

11a) **Adoa bam daga.**
Adoa det many (Any Tom, Dick, or Harry may be called Adoa)

In 11a, the personal name Adoa has not been pluralized although the accompanying determiner is plural. Number concord has been violated yet the sentence is grammatical; and if a singular determiner had been involved the sequence would have been ungrammatical. The application of a determiner in this case does not suggest any particular attitudes or meanings. This is an unmarked expression. Example 11b exhibits both number and gender concord although a name is involved here too. In the last example the name Adoa is being treated like an ordinary Kasena noun and assigned to the gender in which the word doa (rain), from which the name is derived, belongs. This amounts to an exhibition of a characteristically depersonalized attitude to a name as a linguistic item as opposed to the name bearer.

Some Kasena names like Adoa (Mr. Rain), as has been suggested above, have been derived from nouns but example 11b now illustrates how names may themselves be made into nouns and subjected to the ordinary rules of noun syntax. Kasem is perhaps not unusual in this respect and similar examples can easily be cited from English usage as is exemplified by utterances such as "She did a Ben Johnson" where "Ben Johnson" becomes an ordinary noun.

NOTES

1. Callow (1966) was perhaps the first attempt at a systematic and detailed study of the morphology of Kasem noun classes. This writer owes a debt of gratitude to Callow for his initial instruction on the Kasem language. Callow (op cit) generated much interest and accounted for a flurry of publications on the phonology of the Kasem nouns as illustrative of the character of phonological rules. See Chomsky and Halle (1968:358-364), Halle (1978), Phelps (1975), and Awedoba (1984).

2. The feature 'polar' enables high vowels: [u, ʋ, i, ɩ] and the low vowels: [a] and [ə] to be grouped and distinguished from other vowels in Kasem. This is useful in view of the distributional characteristics of these two sets of vowels in Kasem words. See Awedoba (1993) for the feature description of the vowels and the justification for the introduction of the polar feature.

3. The final vowel which in this case may be light or heavy plays a role in the allocation of nouns to genders. The final vowel in [bugə], Gender 2, is light but the one in [bugə], Gender 3 is a heavy vowel which has undergone lightening. See Awedoba (1993) for a further explanation of the weight feature in Kasem.

4. We find this ignorance to be fairly prevalent in Ghanaian societies. It occasionally comes to public attention when a lost child is unable to name its parents and it there fore becomes a matter for the police to deal with. We see advertisements concerning such unfortunate cases in the Ghanaian Dailies quite often.

5. Nicknames, as the etymology of the term basena or yerebasena suggests, are ex pected to 'qualify' seina, or reflect certain attributes found in the name bearer or those that he or she lays claim to or wishes to emulate. In this respect nicknames may be positive or negative. The former could be names derived from some famous persons in the society. The latter could be based on an undesirable physical attribute or some peculiarity. Names like Ayuu (Mr. Head), Mianwe (Mr. Nose), Ani (Mr. Mouth), Ayi (Mr. Eye) etc. which refer to a part of the human anatomy are an example. Each of these is alluding to something unusual about that part of the body referred to in the nickname utterance. Negative nicknames may also be drawn from the names of indi viduals known to have some negative feature or characteristic and conferred on those who are deemed to share or exhibit the attribute in question. These names are there fore insults which are gracefully accepted when used by those entitled to use them.

6. This practice is illustrated in one folktale where Rabbit suggests to Hyena the impor tance of finding themselves nicknames so as to avoid needless competition between them at their in-law's compound.

7.   In Kasem systemic grammar, the word is ranked on the hierarchy of grammatical units between the phrase and the morpheme. Its structure is analysable in terms of morphemes but itself functions in the structure of the phrase.

8.   See Callow (1969) for a description of derivational processes in Kasem.

9.   The symbol / marks phrase boundary and // marks clause boundary. "pred" means predicator, "subj" means subject and "compl" stands complement; these are some of the elements of clause structure.

10.   The customary joking relation is referred to in the metaphor of siblingship and this is instructive. It confirms the point that those who enter into jocular types of relations see themselves as peers, or are trying to redefine a relationship and assert camaraderie.

11.   The connection between 'joking relations' and previous inter-ethnic hostilities has been suggested for other African peoples such as the Gogo of Tanzania, (cf. Rigby 1968). Writing about the West African city Banton (1965:139) remarks that "Thus neighbouring peoples who are rivals and enemies in the rural districts become friends in the city for they compare well with the incomprehensible people from other regions'.

12.   Though alternate generations maintain a joking relationship and grandparent and grand child often joke with each other a grandchild does not refer to the grandparent by his or her full name.

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