Asian and African Languages and Linguistics, No.10, 2016

Event Integration in Akan

KOGA, Kyoko
Kochi University

This study observes how Akan, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana, expresses complex events in the five domains of macro-events (i.e., motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating), and examines the language patterns exhibited. Although Akan, a typical serial-verb language, shows the equipollently-framed pattern in all macro-event domains, the mixed pattern is also observed. Firstly, in the future tense and the progressive aspect, all the serial verb constructions take a consecutive construction. Secondly, the satellite-framed pattern is also observed in motion, temporal contouring, and action correlating events, which deviations come from the grammaticalization of one of the verbs in the series.

Not all sentences exhibiting the equipollently-framed pattern express complex events in a clearly integrated way, and temporal contouring events tend to be expressed in a more integrated way than other domains. Because the degree of integration is higher in this domain, it is possible that more grammaticalization has taken place, and thus more satellite-framed patterns can be observed than in the other domains.

Keywords: Akan, event integration, serial verb construction, equipollently-framed language, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

This study observes how Akan, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana, expresses complex events in the five domains of macro-events (i.e., motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating), and examines the patterns that Akan exhibits.

KOGA, Kyoko. 2016. "Event integration in Akan". *Asian and African Languages and Linguistics* 10: 179–195. [Permanent URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10108/85069]

According to Talmy (1991, 2000), languages are either satellite- or verb-framed; this categorization is determined according to the characteristic pattern in which the conceptual structure of the macro-event, which is made up of the framing event (the main event of a macro-event) and the co-event (subordinate event within a macro-event), is mapped onto a syntactic structure. The typology consists of whether the core-schematic component of a framing event is expressed by the main verb or by the satellite. Satellite is the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. The identification of a main verb is problematic, and in this paper, I follow Croft et al. (2010) and define a morphosyntactic element as a main verb if it can occur as a predicate on its own with the same meaning. Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the main verb are verb-framed languages, and languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite are satellite-framed languages.

The aforementioned two-category typology has been influential and widely accepted as a means of classifying the world's languages, but the limitations of a binary typology are evident. Since many languages do not quite fit into this classification, it has required modifications, and new types have been suggested. Ameka and Essegbey (2013) drew on data from three serial-verb languages, including Akan, to demonstrate that in terms of discourse properties, serial-verb languages behave like verb-framed languages with respect to some properties, and like satellite-framed languages in terms of others; therefore, they do not properly belong to either language type. Based on an analysis of motion events in Thai, another serial-verb language, Zlatev and Yangklang (2003) likewise concluded that it could not be properly categorized as either a verb- or satellite-framed language. Accordingly, by crosslinguistically analyzing discourse structures, Slobin (2004) proposed that serial-verb languages were a third equipollently-framed language type, wherein both the framing event and the co-event are expressed by "equipollent" elements (i.e., elements that are equal in grammatical forms). Serial-verb languages, he argues, characteristically encode both framing event and co-event in verbs that are morphosyntactically equal.

The existence or extent of equipollently-framed languages is controversial. Since it is not always evident which verb in a series is the main verb, one can claim that equipollence exists in serial-verb languages. However, among serial verb constructions, there are some cases where a verb in a series is specialized in morphosyntactic distribution and/or meaning, and thus can be regarded as a satellite (Matsumoto 2004, Talmy 2009, Croft et al. 2010). For example, in Mandarin, although the path and deictic morphemes that appear in serial verb constructions continue to be used as verbs, other serial "verbs" no longer function as independent predicates (Croft et al. 2010: 21). Furthermore, it is important to recognize, as Croft et al. (2010) note, that recent studies

indicate that Talmy's typological classification applies to individual complex event types within a language, not to languages as a whole.

By examining the patterns exhibited by Akan in expressing complex events, this study demonstrates that while this serial-verb language typically shows the equipollently-framed pattern in all the domains of motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating events when expressing complex events, the mixed pattern is also observed. Firstly, in the future tense and the progressive aspect, all the serial verb constructions take a consecutive construction. Secondly, the satellite-framed pattern is observed in motion, temporal contouring, and action correlating events, which deviations from the equipollently-framed pattern come from the grammaticalization of one of the verbs in the serial verb constructions. Not all sentences exhibiting the equipollently-framed pattern express complex events in a clearly integrated way, and temporal contouring events tend to be expressed in a more integrated way than other domains.

2. Morphosyntax of Akan: Some preliminary remarks relevant to the study

Akan belongs to the Kwa sub-family of Niger-Congo, and is spoken in Ghana by over eight million people. Akan has about ten dialects, with the main ones being Asante, Akuapem, and Fante. These three dialects are recognized as the standard dialects, and each has its own orthography. The dialect analyzed in this paper is Asante unless otherwise mentioned[1]. Although Akan is a tone language, tone is not marked in the examples since it is not relevant to the present study.

The word order of Akan is typically SVO: subject NPs or subject clitics precede verbs, and object NPs or object clitics follow verbs. Verbs are marked with tense/aspect/mood affixes; tense/aspect/mood affixes are all prefixes (including habitual zero prefixes) except for past suffixes. Subject and object are morphologically unmarked, and grammatical relations are determined predominantly by constituent order.

As is the case of many West African languages, Akan typically uses serial verb constructions (SVCs). SVCs have been divided into two broad types: clause chaining (CC) and integrated serial verb construction (ISVC), or SVC proper[2] (Osam 1994, Appah 2009). Recent studies have shown that the difference between the two types of SVCs arises from differences in the representation of events (Givón 1991, Osam 1994, Appah 2009). In CC, where semantic integration is lower, multi-verbs represent multi-events, such as in sentence (1); on the other hand, in ISVC, where semantic integration is very

[1] The informant is a male, native speaker in his 40s. He was born in Fomena in the Ashanti Region of Ghana, and spent most of his life in Kumasi (the capital of the Ashanti Region) and its vicinities until coming to Japan in 1998. What is pointed out in this paper on the Asante dialect may not be applicable to other dialects.

[2] In Bamgbose (1974), CC and ISVC correspond to "linking" and "modifying" types respectively.

high, multi-verbs represent single events, as seen in (2). (Example sentences (1–4) are from the Fante dialect of Akan in Appah 2009: 95–96.)

(1) Ama kyer-r Kofi kyekyer-r = no bor-r = no.
Ama catch-PAST Kofi tie-PAST=3SG.OBJ beat-PAST=3SG.OBJ
'Ama caught Kofi, tied him up, [and] beat him.'

(2) Kofi bɔ-ɔ mpae ma-a Ama.
Kofi say-PAST prayer give-PAST Ama
'Kofi prayed for Ama.'

The syntactic difference between CC and ISVC is that while it is possible to put conjunctions into CCs without affecting the meaning, as in sentence (3), it is not possible in ISVC, as seen in (4).

(3) Ama kyer-r Kofi na ɔ = kyekyer-r = no
Ama catch-PAST Kofi CONJ 3SG.SUB=tie-PAST=3SG.OBJ
na ɔ = bor-r = no.
CONJ 3SG.SUB=beat-PAST=3SG.OBJ
'Ama caught Kofi, tied him up, and beat him.'

(4) * Kofi bɔ-ɔ mpae na ɔ = ma-a Ama.
Kofi say-PAST prayer CONJ 3SG.SUB-give-PAST Ama

There are three features common to verbs in both CC and ISVC. All verbs have the same subject, and if the subject is a clitic, it occurs only on the first verb (Osam 1994)[3]. Verbs are marked for the same tense/aspect except for the future tense and the progressive aspect. In the future tense and the progressive aspect, both CCs and ISVCs take a consecutive construction: only the initial verb takes the future or progressive marker, whereas non-initial verbs are marked with the consecutive prefix *a-*[4] as shown in (5). This feature applies to all the SVCs.

(5) a. o = be-dwane a-fri fie hɔ.
3SG.SUB=FUT-run CONS-come.out house there
'He will run out of the house.'
(*lit.* 'He will run to come out of the house.')

[3] According to Osam (1994: 19), there are instances, especially in Akuapem and Fante, where it is possible to have the subject clitic on non-initial verbs as well, but such instances are not found in my data.
[4] This prefix looks identical to that which marks the perfect, but they are tonally different (Osam 1994: 20). Forson (1990) calls this a "serializing prefix," Osam (1994) a "serial marker," and Dolphyne (1987) a "consecutive" prefix.

b. o = o-dwane a-fri fie hɔ.
3SG.SUB=PROG-run CONS-come.out house there
'He is running out of the house.'
(*lit.* 'He is running to come out of the house.')

Some verbs in the series do not display any tense/aspect markers regardless of the tense/aspect of the sentence. Such verbs are analyzed as prepositions in some studies (e.g., Christaller 1875, Lord 1973, and Osam 1994). These prepositions may take tense/aspect markers, but are desemanticized, and therefore do not convey their full content meaning as they do when they occur as the only verb in a sentence (Osam 1994); this "grammaticalization" is considered to be a gradual process (Lord 1973, Osam 1994). In sentence (2), for example, the semantic content of *ma* is not 'to give', but is used as a marker of a beneficiary entity, although *ma* remains fully verbal in form (i.e., it takes tense/aspect markers). On the other hand, *dze*, originally the verb for 'to hold', is not only desemanticized, but never inflects, and occurs only in affirmative sentences as shown in (6). (Example (6) is from the Fante dialect of Akan in Osam 1994: 18.) Therefore, *dze* is considered to be at a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than *ma*. It should be noted that in (2), it is the second verb (V2) which is grammaticalized, and in (6), it is the initial verb (V1).

(6) Kofi dze enyinge yɛ-ɛ adwuma = no.
Kofi hold joy do-PAST work=the
'Kofi did the work with joy.'

3. Patterns of expressing events in the five event domains in Akan

This section observes in which domains out of the five domains of macro-events (i.e., motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating) Akan uses the equipollently-framed pattern, whether Akan deviates from that pattern, and if it does, in which domains and how.

3.1. Motion

The motion event consists of four components: a figural entity (a physical object whose path requires characterization), a ground entity (another physical object functioning as a reference point with respect to which the figure's path is characterized), motion (transition by the figure with respect to the ground), and path (the path followed by the figure object with respect to the ground). The co-event consists of manner (a subsidiary

action or state that a figure manifests concurrently with its main action or state) and cause (Talmy 2000).

In verb-framed languages path is characteristically expressed by the main verb and manner or cause by the satellite, whereas in satellite-framed languages path is characteristically expressed by the satellite and manner or cause by the main verb. In equipollently-framed languages, both path and manner are expected to be expressed by verbs in equivalent grammatical forms.

To express motion events, Akan typically uses SVCs which are considered to show the equipollently-framed pattern because it is difficult to determine which verb in the series is the main verb for these verbs are morphosyntactically equal. However, since it is possible to link verbs in the series with a conjunction without affecting the meaning, such as in sentences (7–9), these constructions are CCs rather than ISVCs. Therefore, in each sentence, the verbs may represent multi-events rather than a single integrated event.

(7) a. ɔ = fra-a kente kɔ-ɔ ayiforo = no ase.
3SG.SUB=wear-PAST kente go-PAST party=the bottom
'He wore kente to the party.'
(*lit.* 'He wore kente [and] went to the party.')

b. ɔ = fra-a kente na ɔ = kɔ-ɔ ayiforo = no
3SG.SUB=wear-PAST kente CONJ 3SG.SUB=go-PAST party=the
ase.
bottom
'He wore kente and went to the party.'

(8) a. o = bie-e pono = no wura-a mu.
3SG.SUB=open-PAST door=the enter-PAST inside
'He entered, opening the door.'
(*lit.* 'He opened the door [and] entered.')

b. o = bie-e pono = no na o = wura-a mu.
3SG.SUB=open-PAST door=the CONJ 3SG.SUB=enter-PAST inside
'He opened the door and entered.'

(9) a. o = fi-i dua so hwe-e fɔm.
3SG.SUB=come.from-PAST tree top fall-PAST ground
'He fell from a tree.'
(*lit.* 'He came from a tree [and] fell to the ground.')

b. o = fi-i dua so na ɔ = hwe-e
3SG.SUB=come.from-PAST tree top CONJ 3SG.SUB=fall-PAST

fɔm.
ground
'He came from a tree and fell to the ground.'

The position of the verbs is fixed, and simply determined according to the order of the events' occurrence. For example, sentence (9c) is not understandable because the act of coming from the top of a tree occurs before the act of falling, and not vice versa.

(9)	c.ʔɔ=hwe-e	fɔm	fi-i dua so.	
	3SG.SUB=fall-PAST	ground	come.from-PAST tree top	

As mentioned in Section 2, in the future tense and the progressive aspect, SVCs take a consecutive construction as shown in (10).

(10)	a.	o=be-bie	pono=no	a-wura	mu.
		3SG.SUB=FUT-open	door=the	CONS-enter	inside
		'He will enter, opening the door.'			
		(*lit.* 'He will open the door to enter.')			
	b.	o=o-bie	pono=no	a-wura	mu.
		3SG.SUB=PROG-open	door=the	CONS-enter	inside
		'He is entering, opening the door.'			
		(*lit.* 'He is opening the door to enter.')			

The V2s in these sentences are like coverbs but they cannot be taken as satellites. This construction is considered to express complex events in a more integrated way than CCs and ISVCs but in a less integrated way than satellite-framed constructions.

In some sentences, motion events are clearly expressed in an integrated way because of grammaticalization. As mentioned in Section 1 and 2, some verbs are considered to have grammaticalized into prepositions because they are specialized in morphosyntactic distribution and/or meaning. In the following examples of motion events expressing manner as co-events (11–13), the path verbs that appear as V2s are considered to have turned into prepositions, since they are not marked with tense/aspect markers. According to my informant, there is little difference in meaning or telicity between the two sentences from (11) to (13) and they can be used interchangeably. In these examples, *kɔ* 'to go' and *ba* 'to come' have grammaticalized into deictic prepositions, and the path is expressed by the postposition *mu* 'inside'. The postposition *mu* is usually a locative marker, but it seems that when it co-occurs with these directional elements, it expresses a goal.

(11) a. bɔɔl = no o-munimuni kɔ fie = no mu.
ball=the PROG-roll to (thither) house=the inside
'The ball is rolling into the house.'
b. bɔɔl = no o-munimuni a-kɔ fie = no mu.
ball=the PROG-roll CONS-go house=the inside
'The ball is rolling into the house.'
(*lit.* 'The ball is rolling to go inside of the house.')

(12) a. bɔɔl = no a-munimuni kɔ fie = no mu.
ball=the PERF-roll to (thither) house=the inside
'The ball has rolled into the house.'
b. bɔɔl = no a-munimuni a-kɔ fie = no mu.
ball=the PERF-roll PERF-go house=the inside
'The ball has rolled into the house.'
(*lit.* 'The ball has rolled [and] gone inside of the house.')

(13) a. bɔɔl = no o-munimuni ba fie = yi mu.
ball=the PROG-roll to (hither) house=this inside
'The ball is rolling into this house.'
b. bɔɔl = no o-munimuni a-ba fie = yi mu.
ball=the PROG-roll CONS-come house=this inside
'The ball is rolling into this house.'
(*lit.* 'The ball is rolling to come inside of this house.')

However, *kɔ* 'to go' and *ba* 'to come' do not always undergo such grammaticalization, and determining whether grammaticalization occurs seems to depend on tense/aspect and deixis. *kɔ* 'to (thither)' from the verb 'to go' is acceptable both in the progressive and perfect aspect, as seen in (11) and (12). Nevertheless, although *ba* 'to (hither)' from the verb 'to come' is acceptable in the progressive aspect (13), it is not in the perfect aspect (14).

(14) a.*bɔɔl = no a-munimuni ba fie = yi mu.
ball=the PERF-roll to (hither) house=this inside
b. bɔɔl = no a-munimuni a-ba fie = yi mu.
ball=the PERF-roll PERF-come house=this inside
'The ball has rolled into this house.'
(*lit.* 'The ball has rolled [and] come inside of this house.')

Whether grammaticalization occurs also depends on the semantic category of the manner verb. As seen in (11), *kɔ* 'to (thither)' is acceptable when the manner verb is *munimuni* 'to roll', but not when the manner verb is *tɛ* 'to float', as in example (15).

(15) a. *toa = no o-tɛ nsuo = no ani kɔ amena = no
bottle=the PROG-float water=the surface to (thither) cave=the
mu.
inside

b. toa = no o-tɛ nsuo = no ani a-kɔ amena = no
bottle=the PROG-float water=the surface CONS-go cave=the
mu.
inside
'The bottle is floating into the cave.'
(*lit.* 'The bottle is floating to go inside of the cave.')

The reason *ba* 'to (hither)' and *kɔ* 'to (thither)' are unacceptable in (14) and (15) respectively, while in (11) to (13) they are acceptable, may have to do with the telicity or certainty in the eyes of the speaker that the figure will reach the goal. Reaching the goal is apparent when the ball has come down (14), while when the ball has gone down it is not the case (12), because in the latter case, the speaker may not be able to see if it has reached the goal. When the bottle is floating on the water, it is impossible for the figure to swerve, and its reaching the goal is obvious (15), while on the other hand, rolling on land, the ball may come into obstacles such as bumps or stones and may not reach the goal (11). In such cases, prepositions seem to be unacceptable.

3.2. State change

Like motion events, Akan typically uses SVCs to express state change events which exhibit the equipollently-framed pattern; both framing event (entry into a state) and co-event (manner and cause) are expressed by verbs in equivalent grammatical forms. As is also the case with motion events, such constructions are CCs rather than ISVCs, since it is alternatively possible that the verbs in the series are linked with conjunctions without affecting the meaning, as seen in (16) and (17); therefore, the verbs in each sentence may represent multi-events rather than a single integrated event. The position of the verbs is again fixed, iconic with the events' occurrence.

(16) a. mframa bɔ-ɔ kanea = no dum = no.
wind blow-PAST candle=the extinguish.PAST=INAN.OBJ
'The wind blew out the candle.'

(*lit.* 'The wind blew [and] extinguished the candle.')

b. mframa bɔ-ɔ kanea = no na
wind blow-PAST candle=the CONJ
e = dum = no.
INAN.SUB=extinguish.PAST=INAN.OBJ
'The wind blew and extinguished the candle.'

(17) a. mi = hu-u kanea = no dum = no.
1SG.SUB=blow-PAST candle=the extinguish.PAST=INAN.OBJ
'I blew out the candle.'
(*lit.* 'I blew [and] extinguished the candle.')

b. mi = hu-u kanea = no na
1SG.SUB=blow-PAST candle=the CONJ
mi = dum = no.
1SG.SUB=extinguish.PAST=INAN.OBJ
'I blew and extinguished the candle.'

In the future tense and the progressive aspect, SVCs take a consecutive construction as shown in (18).

(18) a. mi = be-hu kanea = no a-dum = no.
1SG.SUB=FUT-blow candle=the CONS-extinguish=INAN.OBJ
'I will blow out the candle.'
(*lit.* 'I will blow to extinguish the candle.')

b. mi = i-hu kanea = no a-dum = no.
1SG.SUB=PROG-blow candle=the CONS-extinguish=INAN.OBJ
'I am blowing out the candle.'
(*lit.* 'I am blowing to extinguish the candle.')

A satellite-framed pattern, in which the framing event is expressed with an adverb, is also observed in (19).

(19) me = ka-a dan = no hõ fitaa.
1SG.SUB=add-PAST wall=the surface white
'I painted the wall white.'

3.3. Realization

Like motion and state change events, Akan typically uses SVCs to express realization events that exhibit the equipollently-framed pattern; both framing event (the fulfillment of the agent's goal) and co-event (cause) are expressed by verbs in equivalent grammatical forms. As with motion and state change events, such constructions are CCs rather than ISVCs, since it is alternatively possible to link the verbs in the series with conjunctions without affecting the meaning, as seen in (20); therefore, the verbs in each sentence may represent multi-events rather than a single integrated event. The position of the verbs is again fixed, iconic with the events' occurrence.

(20) a. me = wɔ-ɔ = no sekan kum = no.
1SG.SUB=stab-PAST=3SG.OBJ knife kill.PAST=3SG.OBJ
'I stabbed him to death.'
(*lit.* 'I stabbed him [and] killed him.')

b. me = wɔ-ɔ = no sekan na mi = kum = no.
1SG.SUB=stab-PAST=3SG.OBJ knife CONJ 1SG.SUB=kill.PAST=3SG.OBJ
'I stabbed him and killed him.'

In the future tense and the progressive aspect, SVCs take a consecutive construction as shown in (21).

(21) a. me = bɛ-wɔ = no sekan a-kum = no.
1SG.SUB=FUT-stab=3SG.OBJ knife CONS-kill=3SG.OBJ
'I will stab him to death.'
(*lit.* 'I will stab him to kill him.')

b. me = e-wɔ = no sekan a-kum = no.
1SG.SUB=PROG-stab=3SG.OBJ knife CONS-kill=3SG.OBJ
'I am stabbing him to death.'
(*lit.* 'I am stabbing him to kill him.')

The satellite-framed pattern, where the framing event is expressed with an adverb, is also employed in (22).

(22) mi = si-i ataadeɛ = no kamakama.
1SG.SUB=wash-PAST clothes=the clean
'I washed the clothes clean.'

3.4. Temporal contouring

To express temporal contouring events, which framing event is aspect and co-event constitutiveness, Akan typically uses tense/aspect affixes or adverbials, such as *bio* 'again' (repetition), *nkakrankakra* 'little by little' (gradualness), and *ɛtɔdaa* 'sometimes' (frequency).

The equipollently-framed pattern may be employed in cases containing the framing events of initiation (23), continuation (24–25), completion/termination (26), or repetition (27). The framing events are expressed by *hyɛ asɛɛ* 'to start to do (*lit*. to lay a foundation)', as the V1 in (23); by *kɔ so* 'to go on doing', as the V1 in (24); by *kyɛ* 'to stay long', as the V2 in (25); by *wie* 'to finish', as the V2 in (26); and by *san* 'to repeat', as a V1 often accompanied by the adverb *bio* 'again' in (27). Although the position of the verbs is fixed, unlike in the case of motion, state change, and realization events, it appears to be unrelated to the order of the events' occurrence.

A conjunction can be inserted in (23) and (24) without affecting the meaning, but a conjunction is not readily acceptable in (25), and is not accepted at all in (26) and (27); hence, this indicates that the degree of integration is higher in (25–27) than in (23) and (24).

(23) a. akoraa = no hyɛ-ɛ aseɛ sũ-i.
baby=the lay-PAST foundation cry-PAST
'The baby started to cry.'
(*lit*. 'The baby started [and] cried.')

b. akoraa = no hyɛ-ɛ aseɛ na o = sũ-i.
baby=the lay-PAST foundation CONJ 3SG.SUB=cry-PAST
'The baby started and cried.'

(24) a. ɔ = kɔ-ɔ so kasa-e.
3SG.SUB=go-PAST on talk-PAST
'He talked on.'
(*lit*. 'He went on [and] talked.')

b. ɔ = kɔ-ɔ so na ɔ = kasa-e.
3SG.SUB=go-PAST on CONJ 3SG.SUB=talk-PAST
'He went on and talked.'

(25) a. egya = no a-hye a-kyɛ.
fire=the PERF-burn PERF-take.long
'The fire lasted for a long time.'

b.?egya = no a-hye na ɛ = a-kyɛ.
fire=the PERF-burn CONJ INAN.SUB=PERF-take.long

(26) a. me = a-nom apetehyi = no a-wie.
1SG.SUB=PERF-drink gin=the PERF-finish
'I finished drinking the gin.'
b.*me = a-nom apetehyi = no na me = a-wie.
1SG.SUB=PERF-drink gin=the CONJ 1SG.SUB=PERF-finish

(27) a. ɔ = a-san a-ka ɛno-ara bio.
3SG.SUB=PERF-repeat PERF-speak that-all again
'He said the same thing again.'
b.*ɔ = a-san na ɔ = a-ka ɛno-ara bio.
3SG.SUB=PERF-repeat CONJ 3SG.SUB=PERF-speak that-all again

In the future tense and the progressive aspect, SVCs take a consecutive construction as shown in (28).

(28) a. akoraa = no bɛ-hyɛ aseɛ a-sũ.
baby=the FUT-lay foundation CONS-cry
'The baby will start to cry.'
b. akoraa = no o-hyɛ aseɛ a-sũ.
baby=the PROG-lay foundation CONS-cry
'The baby is starting to cry.'

The satellite-framed pattern is also observed where one of the verbs in the SVCs is grammaticalized. In example (29), frequency is expressed by the verb *taa* 'to do often', which always precedes another verb and never inflects, and is thus seen as a satellite. In (30), gradualness is expressed with *ba*, from the verb for 'to come' and when it is the only verb in a sentence, it is used as such. However, *ba* does not inflect and functions as an adverbial, and thus is considered to be a satellite. In example (31), *nya* expresses the co-event coming to completion 'at last'; *nya* is derived from the verb for 'to obtain', and when it is the only verb in a sentence, it is used as such. Although *nya* inflects like other verbs, it is always accompanied by another verb and functions as an auxiliary denoting completion, and thus is considered to be a satellite. The extent of grammaticalization is lower in (31) than (29) and (30). It is the V1 in examples (29) and (31), and the V2 in (30) that have been grammaticalized, and express the framing event.

(29) ɔ = taa ka akyi.
3SG.SUB=do.often remain.HAB back
'He is often late.'

(30) ɔ = ɔ-bo ba.
3SG.SUB=PROG-get.drunk come
'He is gradually getting drunk.'

(31) me = a-nya a-nom apetehyi = no.
1SG.SUB=PERF-obtain PERF-drink gin=the
'I finished drinking the gin at last.'

In addition to these aforementioned patterns, the repetition framing event may be expressed by reduplication of the verb, as observed in (32).

(32) wɔn = kasa-kasa-e.
3PL.SUB=talk-talk-PAST
'They talked on and on.'

3.5. Action correlating

Some sentences that express action correlating events, which framing event is correlation of one action with respect to another and co-event constitutiveness, show the equipollently-framed pattern with the imitation as a framing event, as in (33) and (34). The framing event is expressed as the V1 in both (33) and (34), with *sua* 'to learn' and *di akyi* 'to follow' respectively. However, a conjunction can be inserted in both examples without affecting the meaning, indicating that the verbs in each sentence represent multi-events rather than a single integrated event. The position of the verbs is fixed, iconic with the events' occurrence.

(33) a. mi = sua-a = no to-o nnwom.
1SG.SUB=learn-PAST=3SG.OBJ sing-PAST songs
'I sang songs in imitation of him.'
(*lit.* 'I imitated him [and] sang songs.')

b. mi = sua-a = no na me = to-o nnwom.
1SG.SUB=learn-PAST=3SGOBJ CONJ 1SG.SUB=sing-PAST songs
'I imitated him and sang songs.'

(34) a. mi = di-i wɔn = akyi to-o nnwom.
1SG.SUB=follow-PAST 3PL.POSS=back sing-PAST songs
'I sang songs following them.'
(*lit.* 'I followed them [and] sang songs.')
b. mi = di-i wɔn = akyi na me = to-o
1SG.SUB=follow-PAST 3PL.POSS=back CONJ 1SG.SUB=sing-PAST
nnwom.
songs
'I followed them and sang songs.'

In the future tense and the progressive aspect, SVCs take a consecutive construction as shown in (35).

(35) a. mi = be-sua = no a-to nnwom.
1SG.SUB=FUT-learn=3SG.OBJ CONS-sing songs
'I will sing songs in imitation of him.'
(*lit.* 'I will imitate him to sing songs.')
b. mi = i-sua = no a-to nnwom.
1SG.SUB=PROG-learn=3SG.OBJ CONS-sing songs
'I am singing songs in imitation of him.'
(*lit.* 'I am imitating him to sing songs.')

Example (36) illustrates a satellite-framed pattern in which the framing event, surpassment, is expressed with *kyɛn*. *kyɛn* comes from the verb for 'to surpass', and although it inflects like other verbs, it usually occurs after another verb and functions like a preposition. A conjunction cannot be inserted in this case.

(36) a. ɔ = dware kyɛn = no.
3SG.SUB=swim.HAB surpass.HAB=3SG.OBJ
'He swims faster than him.'
b.*ɔ = dware na ɔ = kyɛn = no.
3SG.SUB=swim.HAB CONJ 3SG.SUB=surpass.HAB=3SG.OBJ

4. Discussion

While Akan, a typical serial-verb language, uses the equipollently-framed pattern in all the domains of motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating events when expressing complex events, mixed pattern is also observed.

Firstly, tense/aspect affects the event integration pattern. In the future tense and the progressive aspect, only V1 takes the future or progressive marker with V2 marked with consecutive prefix. For this construction, it is considered that the degree of integration is higher than CCs and ISVCs, but lower than satellite-framed constructions.

Secondly, regardless of the tense/aspect, the satellite-framed pattern along with equipollently-framed pattern is observed in motion, temporal contouring, and action correlating events. These deviations from the equipollently-framed pattern come from the grammaticalization of one of the verbs in the SVCs. The degree of grammaticalization varies, and those elements which are not only desemanticized but never inflects are considered to be at a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than those which are desemanticized but still inflects.

Determining which verb in a series is the main verb is a key question concerning sentences that exhibit the equipollently-framed pattern. Since the V2 is grammaticalized in sentences expressing motion and action correlating events, the V1 appears to be the main verb. However, in sentences that express temporal contouring events, there are cases in which the V1 is grammaticalized, and other instances wherein the V2 is grammaticalized. Therefore, as previous studies have noted, there is no indication that either the V1 or V2 is the main verb.

Not all of the sentences that show the equipollently-framed pattern express complex events in a clearly integrated way. For sentences in which conjunctions can be inserted without affecting the meaning, the degree of integration is considered to be very low, whereas for sentences in which conjunctions are not acceptable or not readily accepted, the degree of integration is comparatively high. In this respect, temporal contouring events tend to be expressed in a more integrated way than motion, state change, realization, and action correlating events. In temporal contouring events, unlike motion, state change, realization, and action correlating events, the order of events' occurrence cannot be determined. This may explain why the degree of integration is higher in temporal contouring events than in the other domains. Since the degree of integration is higher, it is possible that more grammaticalization has occurred; accordingly, more satellite-framed patterns are observed in this domain than in others.

5. Conclusion

As shown in this paper, while Akan typically exhibits the equipollently-framed pattern, the satellite-framed pattern produced through the grammaticalization of one of the verbs in the SVCs was also observed, therefore indicating that Akan could potentially be moving toward a satellite-framed language.

In many sentences that exhibited the equipollently-framed pattern, complex events were not expressed in a clearly integrated way. This raises the question of whether or not Akan expresses complex events in an integrated fashion, as typical verb-framed or satellite-framed languages do, thereby warranting further investigation into other serial-verb languages.

Abbreviations

CONJ: conjunction, CONS: consecutive, FUT: future, HAB: habitual, INAN: inanimate, OBJ: object clitic, PERF: perfect, PL: plural, POSS: possessive clitic, PROG: progressive, SG: singular, SUB: subject clitic.

References

Ameka, F. and Essegbey, J. 2013. “Serializing languages: Satellite-framed, verb-framed or neither”. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*, 2, 1. pp.19–38.

Appah, C. K. I. 2009. “The representation of ISVC in C and F structures of LFG: A proposal”. *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* [online], 6, 1. pp.92–117.

Bamgbose, A. 1974. “On serial verbs and verbal status”. *Journal of West African Languages*, IX, I. pp.17–48.

Christaller, J. G. 1881. *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Twi)*. Basel: Basel Evangelical Society.

Croft, W., J. Barðdal, W. Hollmann, V. Sotirova and C. Taoka. 2010. “Revising Talmy's typological classification of complex events”. In Boas, H. (ed.). *Contrastive construction grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp.201–35.

Givón, T. 1991. “Serial verbs and the mental reality of ‘event’: Grammatical vs. cognitive packaging”. In Traugott, E. C. and B. Heine (eds.). *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. 1. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins. pp.81–127.

Forson, B. 1990. “On the morphology of Akan serial constructions”. In Hutchison, J.P. and V. Manfredi (eds.). *Current Approaches to African Linguistics*, vol. 7. Dordrecht: Foris Publications. pp.63–66.

Kawachi, K. This issue. “Introduction: An overview of event integration patterns in African languages”.

Matsumoto, Y. 2003. “Typologies of lexicalization patterns and event integration: clarifications and reformulations”. In Chiba, S., et al. (eds.). *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language: A Festschrift for Masaru Kajita*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha. pp.403–418.

Osam, E. K. 1994. “From serial verbs to prepositions and the road between”. *Sprachtypologie und Universalien forshung*, 47, 1. pp.16–36.

Slobin, D. I. 2004. “The many ways to search for a frog”. In Strömqvist, S. and L. Verhoeven (eds.). *Relating Events in Narrative: Typological and Contextual Perspectives.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp.219–257.

Talmy, L. 1991. “Path to realization: A typology of event conflation”. *Proceedings of the 17th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society. pp.480–519.

———. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. MA: MIT Press.

———. 2009. “Main verb properties and equipollent framing”. In Guo, J., et. al. (eds.). *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*. New York: Psychology Press. pp.389–402.

Zlatev, J. and P. Yangklang. 2003. “A third way to travel”. In Strömqvist, S. and L. Verhoeven (eds.). *Relating Events in Narrative: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp.159–190.