A descriptive grammar of Efutu (southern Ghana) with a focus on serial verb constructions: a language documentation study

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Declaration

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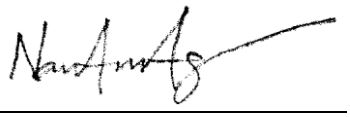
Signed:  Date: 24th January 2016

Abstract

This thesis presents a language-documentation-based description of aspects of the grammar of Efutu (Niger-Congo, Kwa, Southern-Guan), spoken in Winneba, a coastal town in the Central Region of Ghana, West Africa, by a group of fisher-folks. The thesis is in two parts. As the language is previously under-studied, the first part presents a general description of the basic phonology, morphology and syntax. Topics in the first part therefore include the sound system (vowels and consonants), tone, and some prominent phonological processes (vowel harmony, homorganic nasal assimilation); parts of speech; and tense, aspect, mood and negation. Part two focuses on serial verb constructions (SVCs), a prominent feature identified in the grammar of Efutu. SVCs from the documentation corpus are analysed using a set of criteria that help to classify them into groups. The methodology of such an analysis is considered to be data-driven. In addition to the data-driven methodology, a typological classification from Aikhenvald (2006) is adopted as a complementary approach to the analysis, especially, regarding the classification of SVCs. Various semantic types of SVCs, categorised as compositionally symmetrical or asymmetrical are identified and analysed. The means by which SVCs are used in expressing various meanings and functions in the grammar of the language are examined in some detail. Other properties of the SVCs, such as argument sharing and marking of grammatical categories, are also analysed. The documentation of the language mainly involves audio and video recordings of various speech and cultural events, as well as still photos and some texts, all generated through fieldwork totalling approximately fifteen months at three different stages. The recorded materials have been annotated (transcribed, translated, glossed, commented) in collaboration with native speakers in the field. The annotated corpus is then used as a basis for the description of the grammar of the language in this thesis.

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Overview of the thesis

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Abbreviations and notation conventions

1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
3SG.INAN	Third person singular inanimate
1PL	First person plural
2PL	Second person plural
3PL	Third person plural
3PL.INAN	Third person plural inanimate
ADV	Adverb/adverbial
ASP	Aspect marker
CF	Clause-final marker
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Complement
COND	Conditional marker
DEF	Definite article
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DITR	Ditransitive
EGRESS	Egressive motional prefix
EMP	Emphatic marker
EXPER	Experiential
FOC	Focus marker
FUT	Future tense
HAB	Habitual aspect
HABG	Habitual-generic aspect
HABPAST	Habitual-past
ID	Identification code
IMPERS	Impersonal pronoun
INGRESS	Ingressive motional prefix
INT	Intensifier
INTR	Intransitive
Lit.	Literal meaning / Literally

LOC	Locative
MOOD	Mood marker
NEG	Negative
NECESS	Necessity mood marker
NP	Noun phrase
OBJ	Object
PART	Particle
PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfect aspect
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
POSTP	Postposition
PROG	Progressive aspect
Q	Question particle (marker)
REDUP	Reduplication
REL	Relative pronoun
SBJ	Subject
SBJV	Subjunctive mood marker
TAM	Tense, aspect and mood
TAMP	Tense, aspect, mood, and polarity
TMA	Tenses, moods and aspects
TR	Transitive / mono-transitive
V1	Verb-1/first verb
V2	Verb-2/second verb
VP	Verb phrase
ʷ	Labialisation
ʲ	Palatalization
̃	Nasalisation
̀	Low tone
́	High tone

ˆ	Falling tone
!	Downstep tone
Ø	Null/deletion

‘!’ before a syllable indicates a Downstep-high-tone

‘?’ before a word/phrase/sentence/etc. indicates an unusual form

‘?’ with no form indicates an unknown form (e.g. in a Table)

‘*’ before a word/phrase/sentence/etc. indicates an ungrammatical form

A dash sign ‘-’ in the examples represents morpheme boundary

Loanwords are underlined in the examples

Glosses in italics means that they may not be fully accurate.

Elicitation data are referenced as (Elicitation) while other data (including prompted narratives, OLB, video discussion and folk stories and songs) are referenced in a format (speaker’s ID_discussion topic ID: sentence number), for example, (KM_Fjob:6).

Data from Obeng (2008) and Taylor’s materials are represented as per my analysis; readers are therefore encouraged to consult the original.

Other abbreviations

ELAR	The Endangered Languages Archive
ELDP	Endangered Languages Documentation Programme
HRELP	The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project
LDD	Language Documentation and Description (journal series)
OLB	Observable linguistic behaviour
OCE	Observable communicative event
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SVC	Serial verb construction
UEW	University of Education Winneba

Part 1: Aspects of Efutu grammar

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Object of study

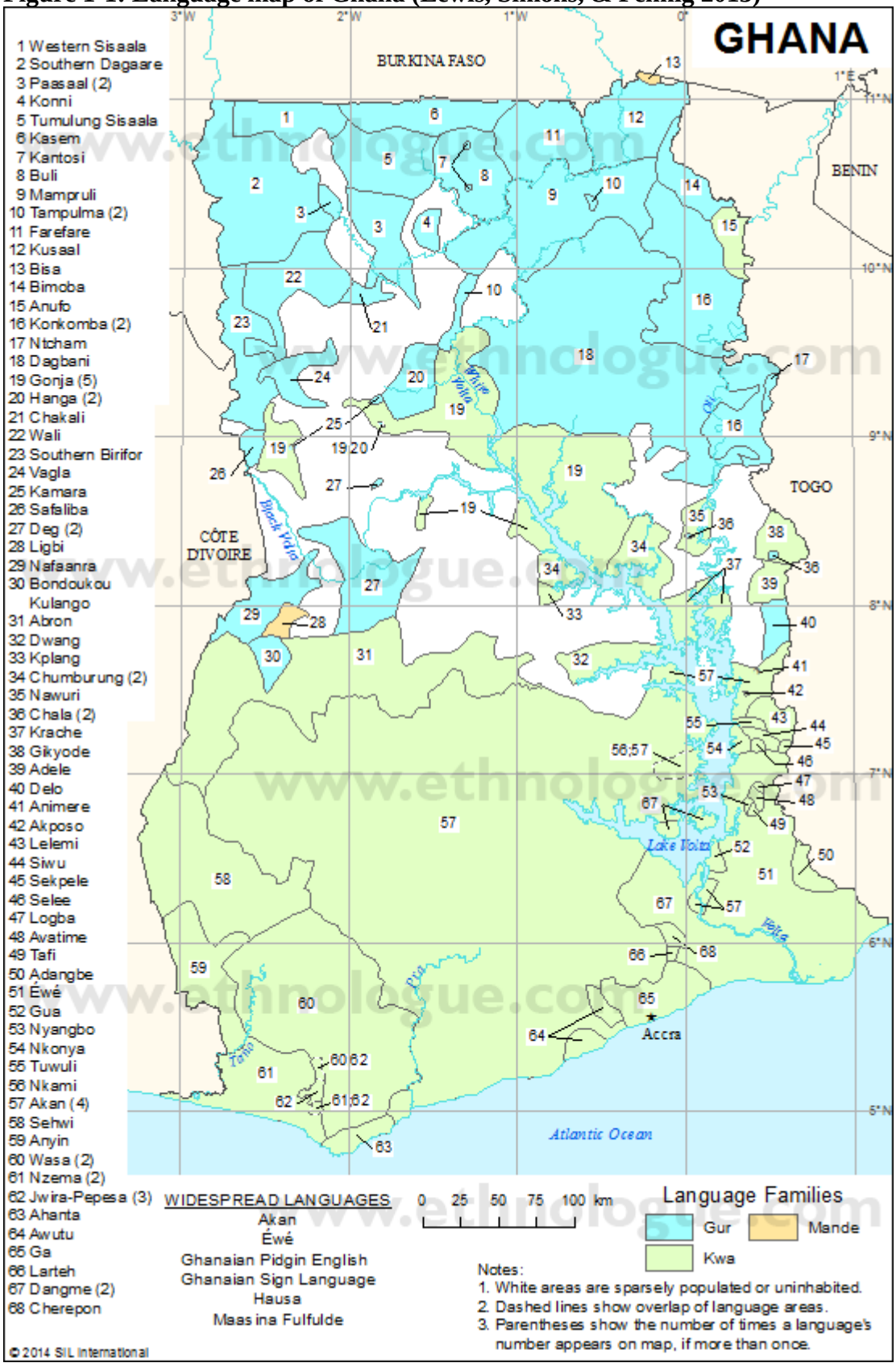
The main object of this study is the Efutu[1] language, also known as Simpa[2] spoken in Winneba, a coastal town in the Central Region of Ghana.[3] The study presents a language documentation-based description of Efutu. Three main types of data form a language documentation corpus,[4] including natural speech events, staged events and elicitation data are used to describe and analyse the language. Efutu is considered to be one of three dialects of Awutu, with Senya and Awutu being the other two dialects; Awutu is classified as South-Guan, Guan-Tano, Kwa, Niger-Congo (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013; Hall 1983).[5] This study focuses on the Efutu variety to document and describe it. Areas of the description include aspects of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. In addition, serial verb constructions (SVCs) are described in detail. The research focus for this study thus may be said to be both broad and specific, in that it seeks to present an overview analysis of the language highlighting its general typological features, as well as more in-depth analysis of various particular aspects of its grammar.

1.2. Scope of the description

As Efutu is previously under-described, this study attempts to describe a range of basic yet salient aspects of the grammar. The description thus includes some topics in phonology, morphology and syntax. Although the discussions of the various aspects are detailed, they are not necessarily exhaustive: under phonology, the description covers the phoneme inventory, syllable structure, tone, and vowel harmony. Under morphology, the description covers verbal morphology, particularly, the tense, aspect, mood and negation system, as well as the pronoun system. In the area of the syntax and morphology interface, the description covers parts-of-speech in the language. The more detailed description of the SVCs covers their structures, meanings and functions.[6]

[1] See linguistic map of Ghana in Figure 1-1, below.
[2] See below for discussion of the two terms 'Efutu' and 'Simpa'.
[3] See Figure 1-2, which contains a map of Ghana showing Winneba vis-à-vis other towns in the country.
[4] See §2.4. in Chapter 2 for detailed discussion of the various types of data.
[5] See a partial family tree in Figure 1-3, below.
[6] See §1.8. for the structural organisation of the thesis.

Figure 1-1: Language map of Ghana (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013)

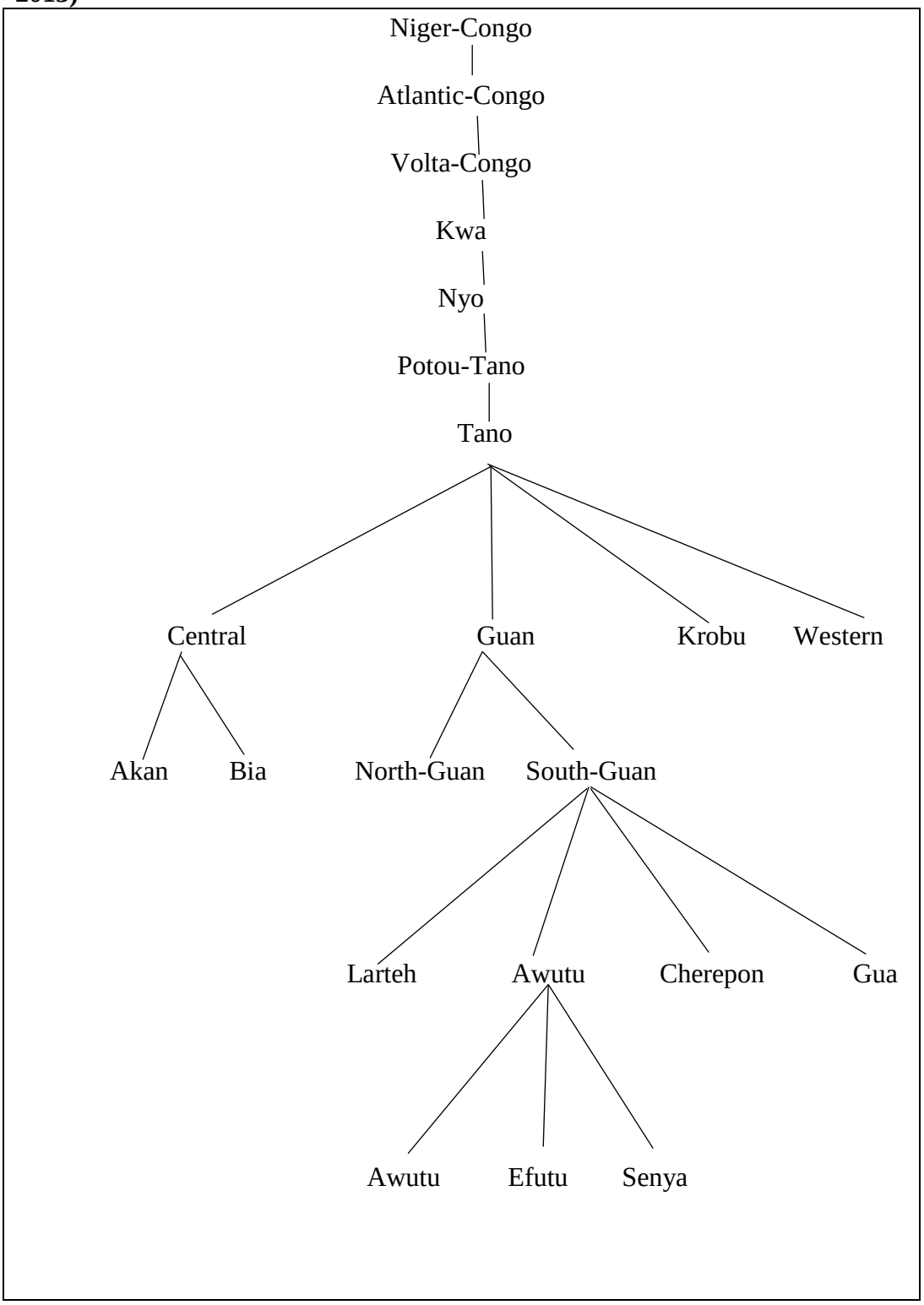


Awutu (which includes Awutu, Efutu and Senya) is 64 on the list of languages.

Figure 1-2: Google map of Ghana

A Google map of Ghana showing Winneba (vis-à-vis other towns in the country). Winneba is approximately 50km to the nation's capital, Accra.

Figure 1-3: A partial family tree of Efutu (based on Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013)



1.3. Limitations

This study was conducted within a limited time frame, and the thesis is subject to a strict word limit. Furthermore, it is based mainly on the available data and information; it is therefore not surprising that the study comes with some limitations. Moreover, given its concern with placing Efutu in a broader typological perspective, certain topics are not discussed in full detail. Readers of this dissertation may therefore find, there are a number of questions that have not been adequately addressed in this research, and have rather had to be left for future work. For instance, questions concerning what looks like noun/pronoun incorporation have been identified but are not yet fully resolved (see §4.1. and §4.3.). Another example of unresolved issues is the actual status of certain elements that have been suggested to be auxiliary verbs or motional prefixes (see §4.6.2.). A further matter is that although in most cases the discussion is located within a wider typological context, this does not occur for all topics addressed. In general, the sketch of the various aspects of the grammar in Part 1 is mainly an overview rather than a comprehensive description. Hence there are several issues that require further investigation. Thus, although this research is useful in many ways, it cannot claim to be complete and exhaustive. Rather, it opens avenues for further research into various aspects of the grammar of the language. Some of these (topics for future research) are discussed further in Chapter 10.

1.4. Relevance of the study

To the best of my knowledge, this study constitutes the first detailed, comprehensive and systematic linguistic research on Efutu. In comparison with previous linguistic studies (including Obeng 2008, Forson and Gingiss 1977, Boafo et al. 2002 and a number of unpublished manuscripts by Rev. K. Taylor), this study offers a relatively more detailed and comprehensive description of the language, considering the volume of work and the range of topics covered. This study also presents a transparent and systematic approach to the documentation and description of the language. Consequently, it contributes to our linguistic knowledge of the Efutu variety in particular, and of the Guan and Kwa family in general. To this end, the study aims to serve as a major reference for other linguistic research in Efutu in particular, and for linguistic research in general, especially that related to Guan, Kwa, and West-African languages. Moreover, its robust methodology described in

Chapter 2 serves as an important reference for similar research in similar contexts. The study also creates avenues for other research, especially those building on the work here aimed at, considering a number of issues and questions that have been raised in various parts of the discussion and analysis. Another relevant aspect of this study regards its significance to Efutu speakers. One important outcome of the study at all stages has been its positive impact on speakers whose language was being documented and described; some speakers even expressed doubts initially about the possibility of reducing their language to writing (see §2.2.1. in Chapter 2). However, as they observed the linguistic documentation activities in their community and even had an opportunity to participate in the processes, their perceptions about their own language began to change, giving way to a positive attitude towards their language.[7] This research and its outcomes undoubtedly have, to a noticeable extent, created in some speakers a sense of worth and positive image of their language. Overall, this study aims to be useful to the linguistic research community as well as the Efutu language speaker community (see Chapter 10 - Conclusion).

1.5. Previous linguistic study

Previous linguistic studies on Efutu include Forson & Gingiss (1977), Dolpyne & Kropp-Dakubu (1988), Boafo et al. (2002), Abaka (2006), Gbegble & Antwi-Danso (2006), Obeng (2008) and Taylor (n.d.).

Forson & Gingiss (1977) consists of a six-page document which provides:

(i) a wordlist of 44 items

(ii) 128 grammatical phrases and short sentences

(iii) a list of pronouns, and

(iv) numerals.

Dolphyne and Kropp-Dakubu (1988) briefly comment on verbal affixation in tense and aspect marking in Efutu vis-à-vis other Guan languages. Boafo et al. (2002) conducted a sociolinguistic survey on the Awutu-Efutu-Senya language group to assess the feasibility for a language development programme. Through specially designed interviews and comprehension tests, the survey assessed issues such as

[7] Comments from speakers that indicated positive attitude included the following: "*once our language gets written, it will gain importance"*; "*if our language becomes written, people will become interested in learning to read and write It, even me, … people will begin to realise that it is an important language"*; "*if our language becomes written, schools can even use it … the language will move forward".*

comprehension of Fante[8] (the local lingua franca) by the Awutu-Efutu-Senya speakers, vitality of the language vis-à-vis Fante, and the community's attitudes towards language development. Abaka (2006) presents a phonological analysis of the vowel sounds in the language. Gbegble and Antwi-Danso (2006) describe the syllable structure.

Perhaps, the most extensive work done on Efutu prior to this research is a book by Obeng (2008). Titled *Efutu grammar* it contains 14 chapters on various aspects of the grammatical structure of the language. Chapter one provides an introduction in the form of some historical and sociolinguistic background. Chapter two describes the sound inventory, that is the vowel and consonant sounds. This chapter also describes the vowel harmony system and nasal vowels. The chapter ends with a brief description of the tone system. Chapter three is devoted to the pronominal system. Here, the interplay of vowel harmony with pronouns and verb stems is investigated. Chapter four, titled 'determiners', looks at articles, deixis and quantifiers. Chapter five is titled 'verbal constructions in Efutu'. This chapter begins with a list of 109 verbs with their glosses in English. Next, the chapter demonstrates how tense/aspect is marked and illustrates each tense/aspect category with several verbs, using all the subject pronouns and also negation to illustrate each tense/aspect form. In all, six paradigms (Future, Habitual, Past, Perfect, Progressive, Stative) are illustrated. The imperative mood is also illustrated with several verbs in the negative and affirmative. Some of the details of this chapter by Obeng will be discussed in later chapters of this thesis. The next nine chapters of Obeng (2008) consider nouns and noun phrases; subordinate clauses and complementation; focusing; adjectives and adjectival phrases; ideophones; questions; relativisation; locatives and adverbs; and interjections, respectively.

Although Obeng's (2008) study has a lot of valuable information on the Efutu language, it has some shortcomings. For instance, the author does not explain how the data used in the study was acquired. Also, some of the data is questionable as it contains some irregularities, such as inconsistencies in tone markings and glosses, and excessive repetitions. Moreover, the author does not clarify for instance the criteria employed for determining various categories discussed in the description, such as parts of speech in the language. Thus, although Obeng's study

[8] Fante is classified as Akan, Kwa, Niger-Congo (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013; Hall 1983).

provides valuable information, some elements of it may not be fully reliable. For this reason, all examples from Obeng's (2008) material that were used in this study were cross-checked with speaker consultants to ascertain their accuracy before their inclusion in this study.

Rev. K. Taylor is a native speaker of Efutu from Winneba and his materials comprise a number of unpublished manuscripts, six of which he made copies of available to me, with the titles:

i. *Ewutu, the dialect of my people – Winnebarians*
ii. *Aya Penkye* 'the woman of Penkye'
iii. *Gyatɛ wɔ mane* 'Gyate goes to school'
iv. *Edwo nɛ notɔ nsobɔ* 'vowels and consonants'
v. *Wombi* 'pictures'
vi. *Na ane tu tɛntɛ (sɔnso) nda* 'let us sing sacred (heavenly) songs'

The paper *Ewutu, The Dialect of my People – Winnebarians* includes a brief history about the Ewutu (Efutu) tribe, pronouns in the language, greetings, numerals, idioms, poems, colour terms, words for human body parts, names of days of the week and months of the year and some common expressions. The information is presented in Efutu with Fante and English translation or equivalents. *Aya Penkye* 'the woman of Penkye' and *Gyatɛ wɔ mane* 'Gyate goes to school' are narratives with pictures illustrating the narration. *Edwo nɛ notɔ nsobɔ* 'vowels and consonants', as the title suggests, presents alphabetic symbols and words containing these, with picture illustrations of the words. *Wombi* 'pictures' is a kind of teaching material which contains pictures with incomplete (gapped) words under them to be completed (filled-out) to name the pictures. *Na ane tu tɛntɛ (sɔnso) nda* 'let us sing sacred (heavenly) songs' contains a translation of selected hymns from the Methodist hymn book. Apart from *Ewutu, The Dialect of my People – Winnebarians* which is in three languages, all the other materials are written only in Efutu throughout. In an interview, the author, Rev. Taylor explained that though he has had the materials for many years, he had not been able to publish them due to lack of funds. As a result, the existence of the material is known to him and a few close

family members and friends only. I did however see a copy of two of his titles in the Winneba public library. So far, the above described studies are the only linguistic research on Efutu that I have been able to locate.[9] However, other studies on the Efutu ethnic group, including history, politics and social studies are available (Akom 2005; Hagan 2000; La Verle 1994).

1.6. The terms 'Efutu' and 'Simpa'

The term 'Efutu' may be used to refer to a language or a dialect (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013; Obeng 2008; Boafo et al 2002; Hagan 2000; Dakubu 1998; Hall 1983). Efutu is spoken by a group of people in Winneba, Ghana (see §2.0. in Chapter 2), and is considered to be one of three dialects of Awutu (Boafo et all 2002; Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013). The absolute number of speakers is not known but the total number for the three dialects together (Awutu, Efutu and Senya) is estimated at one hundred and eighty thousand (180,000), based on Ghana's 2003 population census. It is classified as south Guan, Tano, Kwa, Niger-Congo (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013; Hall 1983).

The term Efutu may also be used to refer to a geographical or/and political area. This is an area in Ghana located along the west coast of the nation's capital, Accra. The area includes the physical location occupied by Efutu speakers as their homeland. According to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MoFA):

> Effutu Municipal covers a total land area of 95 square kilometers. It is sandwiched by Gomoa East District Assembly on its western, northern and eastern flanks. The southern flank is the Gulf of Guinea. It is located on latitudes 5°20"N and longitudes 0°32"E of the eastern part of Central Region. The two major rivers, Ayensu and Gyahadze drain the Municipality and enter the sea at Warabeba and Opram respectively (MoFA 2013).

Finally, the term Efutu may also be used to refer to a group of people or a tribe, as well as a person from that tribe (La Verle 1994; Hagan 2000, Ackom 2005). It may also be used to refer to a person or persons who speak Efutu and/or who come from the Efutu traditional area. In this case, the term may be used as a collective noun to

[9] Linguistic studies on the Awutu variety include Frajzyngier 1975, 1974a, 1974b, 1973, 1968, 1967, 1965; while studies on the Senya variety include Parry 1971a, 1971b.

refer to the entire group, or it may be used to refer to individuals belonging to the group.

The term Efutu however is said to originally mean 'mixture' or 'mixed up', as it is suggested that the language is perceived to be mixed up with words or expressions from other languages, including Akan.[10] This explanation was given by most speaker-consultants during my fieldwork in Winneba.

Notwithstanding this, throughout my fieldwork, I observed that speakers refer to themselves as Simpafo[11] and their language and neighbourhood as Simpa (see further details in §2.2.1.). In spite of this fact (that speakers use the term Simpa to identify themselves, their language and neighbourhood), the term Efutu is used in almost all formal and informal documentation that I have encountered. Such documentation includes government official and unofficial documents, various online information, and published and unpublished (academic and non-academic) materials. When asked about their opinion about the two terms (Simpa and Efutu), speakers often explained the meaning of the term Efutu, namely, 'mixed up', and maintained that they are 'Simpafo'. They never referred to themselves as Efutufo[12] (although outsiders refer to them as such).

For the reason that speakers maintain the term Simpa, I thought of using 'Simpa' rather than 'Efutu' in my thesis discussion. However, I also noticed the widely recognized term Efutu which is the main designation known by the outside community. In this study, I maintain the name Efutu and also use the Simpa alongside it. In addition to 'Simpa' and 'Efutu', Taylor introduces another term, namely, 'Ewutu' which he employs throughout his writing.

> 'Ewutu' might have tallied with 'Awutu' in alphabetting ... The change of alphabetting 'Awutu' as 'Ewutu' might have resulted from pronunciation, probably by the Akan immigrants … Ewutu was further reduced to Efutu for the name of the natives the Winnebarians, also probably by the very Akans, as they found the dialect of the Efutuans a mixture of alien vocabularies.

[10] Akan (Central-Tano, Kwa, Niger-Congo) is a dominant language and a lingua franca in Ghana; about 40 per cent of the total national population speak it as L1 while many of the remaining 60 per cent speak it as L2. It has about eight dialects, three of which are relatively well-studied (Dolphyne 1988: xi). One of its dialects, namely, Fante is spoken as a second language by the Efutu speakers and it is used in basic schools in the Efutu speaking area (see §1.7., below, and §2.0. in Chapter 2).
[11] 'Simpafo' basically means 'Simpa people'
[12] 'Efutufo' basically means 'Efutu people'.

> They described the dialect as *Efutuw*, meaning 'it has mixed-up' or *Ofutuw*, meaning 'it mixes-up'. Whilst the dialect was called 'Ewutu (Awutu)', the name of the people or natives remain 'Efutu' unto this day (Taylor, *The dialect*: 1).

At the same time, Taylor states that

> Legend also discloses that the word 'Efutu' was part of the name of a god of the settlement of the fathers, who turned into a man and married one of their women. The adoption of the name was to acknowledge the protective power of the man-god; the full name was Efutu Kyerebowa" (Taylor, *The dialect*: 1).

I asked some of my consultants about the legend of the man-god Efutu Kyerebowa but none of them seem to know about it. Regarding the name Simpa, Taylor states that 'the name Simpa was corrupted of Shiapa, the name of the paternal home of Awutu Shiapa – Winneba' (*The dialect*: 2). Taylor explains that Awutu (or Efutu) Shiapa is one of three paternal homes, with the divisional assignment domiciliary guards, also rare guards in a divisional quarters in the Guan kingdom of the Timbuktu nation[13] (*The dialect*: 1-2). Meanwhile, Ackom (2005: 7) maintains that Osimpa is corrupted from Tumpa. According to Ackon (2005: 7-9) Nana Tumpa was a great warrior and founder of the Efutu state, after whose name Tumpa (later corrupted to Osimpa) the state was named. I am however unable to confirm which of the claims concerning the terms Simpa, Osimpa, and Shiapa is accurate. Nevertheless, the terms Simpa (by speakers) and Efutu (by outsiders) are in contemporary use, hence my decision to maintain both terms in my thesis.

1.7. Endangerment

Language endangerment refers to a situation where a language becomes threatened with extinction as a result of a combination of factors, including social, political, economic and cultural pressures from another language, usually, a dominant one (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 1, 5-6; UNESCO 2003: 2). A language may be classified as threatened or endangered based on a set of criteria, such as the absolute

[13] The Guans trace their origin from Western Sudan (Ackom 2005:8; Hagan 2000)

number of speakers, acquisition by children, domains of use, availability of literacy materials and government and institutional support, among other criteria (UNESCO 2003: 7-15). The majority of the world's languages are found to be threatened and face extinction in the future (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 1; UNESCO 2003: 1). Meanwhile, linguistic diversity is considered resourceful and essential to human heritage as 'each and every language embodies the unique cultural wisdom of a people' which represents 'a unique expression of the human experience of the world' (UNESCO 2003: 1-2). It is further claimed that 'the knowledge of any single language may be the key to answering fundamental questions of the future' (UNESCO 2003: 2). Moreover, the use of these threatened languages in everyday life represents a meaningful contemporary role for such languages (UNESCO 2003: 2; Austin and Sallabank 2011: 6-9). There is therefore advocacy for supportive measures by stakeholders to intervene in languages that face endangerment (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 12-13; UNESCO 2003: 2-6). One possible response to endangered languages is language documentation, which basically involves the recording of instances of language use in various genres for multiple purposes, including description, archiving, maintenance, preservation and revitalisation (UNESCO 2003: 6; Himmelmann 2006: 1-7; Austin and Grenoble 2007; Austin and Sallabank 2011: 12-16).

In terms of language endangerment, Efutu may be said to be vulnerable, based on a number of factors. With reference to language vitality evaluation schemes such as the UNESCO Language Vitality Assessment (UNESCO 2003: 5-17), Efutu may be identified as showing some degree of endangerment. For instance, it suffers pressure from dominant languages, particularly the Fante dialect of Akan, which is a geographical neighbour, such that there seems to be language shift among some speakers: not only do speakers use Fante as a second language but actually, some speakers, especially the educated, have stopped speaking their language in favour of Fante[14] (Agyeman 2013; Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013; Abaka 2006; Welmers 1973). Thus, although multilingualism per se is not a threat, continual shift from mother tongue to a second language can lead to endangerment of the mother tongue. Another indicator of endangerment concerns the domains of its use which may be linked with another factor, viz., institutional attitudes and

[14] See also discussion in §2.0. in Chapter 2.

policies towards the language. In this regard, Efutu is found to be excluded in certain domains, such as in churches and in schools. So, for instance, children who go to school begin speaking Efutu, but gradually drop it, as it is excluded from the curriculum and is even prohibited in all schools. In interviews I conducted, some teachers reported that children normally speak only Efutu when they start school but experience language shift over time: they gradually speak less Efutu and more Fante, as a result of the policy and the institutional attitudes of schools and teachers (Agyeman 2013a; Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013). Fante and English are the curricular languages in schools in the Efutu speech community (Agyeman 2013a; Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013). Therefore, although there is intergenerational transfer, children who enrol into basic education and continue to stay in school eventually stop speaking their mother tongue (Agyeman 2013a; Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013). Another factor indicating vulnerability concerns the absolute number of speakers. Although the exact total number of speakers of the Efutu variety is not known, the figure for the three varieties together is estimated at 180,000 (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013) which suggests that the number for each individual variety may not be that substantial. Although there is no indicated threshold, a relatively large number of speakers is considered a healthier situation (UNESCO 2003: 8). Other factors that indicate vulnerability in Efutu include the small proportion of speakers within Ghana, and even within Winneba (the town in which it is spoken), as, for instance, it is easy for a small group to merge with a larger one. Moreover, a small group faces the tendency of being marginalised, as is the case of Efutu, where Fante is used as the language of education in its speech community. Lack of literacy materials may be cited as another factor that indicates vulnerability in Efutu. As there are no literacy materials in the language, it will be difficult or even impossible to include Efutu in the school curricula even if the policy is changed. Moreover, language development activities cannot be carried out in the absence of literacy materials. Finally, lack of (quality) linguistic documentation may constitute another sign of vulnerability, as the development of literacy materials and other resources may depend on quality linguistic documentation (Agyeman 2013a; Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013). From the above described factors, Efutu may be said to be vulnerable.

1.8. Structural organization of the thesis

This thesis is in two parts. Part 1 which follows this introductory chapter contains five chapters. Chapter 2 presents a detailed description of the methodology used in this research. Topics discussed in the chapter include description of the field site, language consultants and other participants, types of equipment and (linguistic) tools for data acquisition, data collection methods and data types, processing and management of the data, and matters of ethics, among other topics. Chapter 3 presents a phonology sketch by describing the sound system, syllable structure, tone, vowel harmony and other phonological processes in Efutu. Chapter 4 identifies and analyses the various parts of speech in the language. Chapter 5 analyses the tense, aspect, mood and negation system of the language.

The second part of the thesis focuses on serial verb constructions (SVCs). Chapter 6 provides a background to the discussion of Efutu SVCs; the Chapter includes two major topics: (i) a theoretical and typological overview of SVCs cross-linguistically, and (ii) the methodology for the analysis of the Efutu SVCs. Chapter 7 focuses on Efutu SVCs. Major topics in Chapter 7 include: (i) defining properties of Efutu SVCs, (ii) compositionality and semantic types of SVCs in Efutu, (iii) transitivity of SVC components in the language, (iv) patterns of argument sharing by components in the SVCs, and (v) marking of grammatical categories of person and tense, aspect, mood and negation. Chapter 8 summarises and concludes the thesis.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology adopted in this research especially, regarding its fieldwork and data collection and management. Topics discussed in the chapter include a description of the field site, consultants and other participants of the fieldwork, equipment and tools for data collection and data management, and field ethics, among other topics. The study adopts an ethnographic approach to language documentation (Harrison 2005; Hill 2006; Franchetto 2006); thus language is observed through the lens of culture in its natural context. A total of fifteen months of fieldwork at three different stages (July 2011 – June 2012; January – February 2013; January – February 2014) was carried out in Winneba, Ghana, where Efutu is spoken.

Although Efutu is the native language of Winneba, it is only a part of the current population that actually speaks the language (Abaka 2006; Welmers 1973: 11). This includes a group of fishermen who live along the coast with their families. This fish-working group are somehow separated from the population living inland geographically but also linguistically. Geographically, the fish-worker groups live in locations along the coastline and a little further beyond. This is where they carry out all their daily activities. They have their own market close by the beach where they sell and buy various merchandise, of which fresh fish is the main produce. Besides the market, there are several stalls where various items can be purchased. They also have a 'drug store' where they go to buy medicine when they fall ill. Figure 2-1 shows a picture of a Google satellite map of some parts of Winneba. The place demarcated with a thick line shows roughly the Efutu speaking area, with the main field site within it.[15]

[15] The demarcation on the map showing the Efutu speaking area is a rough estimation based on my observation from my visits to the area, thus, it is not based on any official document. However, it is common knowledge that these areas are the only places where Efutu (or Simpa) is spoken in Winneba, while the language of the other parts of Winneba is mostly Fante.

Figure 2-1: Google satellite map showing parts of Winneba

Linguistically, the fish-worker groups are separated from the inland settlers. In the inland, Akan, especially the Fante dialect, and other languages including Ewe and Ga[16] are spoken. It is rare to hear Efutu spoken in most parts of the inland areas. Thus one may wonder if Winneba is truly an Efutu land if one remains in the inland areas without visiting the fishing beach (Abaka 2006). However, the coastal line is inhabited by these fishermen and their families who communicate mainly in Efutu. Although almost all of the Efutu speakers are bilingual in Fante, from my interactions with them, I observed that there exist different degrees of Fante speaking and/or comprehension, ranging from those who understand and/or speak little or no Fante, to those who understand and/or speak some amount of Fante. This observation though, is 'informal' since it is not constructed on any structured investigation; it is based merely on my personal observation. From their own reports or narrations, especially from the educated Efutu speakers, the Fante spoken by these Efutu fisher-folks is viewed as incorrect or unacceptable or incompetent by

[16] Ewe is classified as Gbe, Left Bank, Kwa, Niger-Congo, while Ga is classified as Ga-Dangme, Kwa, Niger-Congo (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013).

native Fante speakers and they are always ridiculed when they speak Fante to native Fante speakers.

Since it is mainly the fisherfolk at the fishing coast who speak Efutu fluently with their families I worked mostly with fishermen, fish smokers and fish sellers, although I also worked with other individuals from non-fishing backgrounds.

2.1. The field site

Activities during the fieldwork were concentrated mainly at the Simpa[17] beach in Winneba, although other locations were included. The Simpa beach is divided into four parts: Eyipe, Penkye, Aboadze and Kese-wo-kan. Among these four areas, Aboadze and Penkye were mostly visited as a field site for this research (for no special reason, except probably because I found working space there and made more friends there). Each of the four beaches has a shed where outboard motors are repaired and serviced by mechanics. Figure 2-2 shows a Google satellite map of the main field site. I have included a demarcation to highlight the four beaches of Simpa as well as the fish market. Aboadze and Penkye, as well as the fish market, are within the demarcated area (to indicate that fieldwork was concentrated in these areas), with Eyipe at the top (close to the fish market) and Kese-wo-kan at the bottom, both outside the demarcated area.

[17] The term 'Simpa' is generally known as another (or traditional) name for Winneba. However, the fishermen or the coastal people always refer to their neighbourhood as Simpa. I noticed the phrase 'here in Simpa' in their reference to their neighbourhood. When asked whether they consider the other parts of Winneba as including Simpa or not, most people answered indirectly that their neighbourhood is Simpa proper, which gives an impression that they do not consider the other parts as Simpa, though they do not say so directly. The term 'Simpa' is also used as an alternative name for the language Efutu (see discussion in §1.6. in Chapter 1).

Figure 2-2: Google satellite map of the main field site

The fishermen go fishing every day except Tuesdays. Indeed it is a taboo to go to sea for fishing on Tuesdays, based on a traditional belief that a misfortune might befall anyone who does so. Some of the fishermen explained that the sea needs to rest on Tuesdays and that is the reason for the taboo. Others gave an alternative reason that they use Tuesday for mending their nets. Yet others gave no reason and insisted that it is just a taboo which must be adhered to. This belief, I presume, is situated within a wider context of traditional belief systems in Ghana (see for instance Ntiamoa-Baidu 2008; Baffoe 2005; Hill et al. 2003; Adongo et al. 1998; Dorm-Adzobu et al. 1991 on traditional beliefs regarding environmental, health and other social matters). However one is allowed to go to sea to catch crabs at the Simpa beach on Tuesdays. This exception, as well as the taboo, needs further

probing. Other rules or apparent taboos that need further query include the prohibition of women from going to sea for fishing, although they do all the rest of the fishing jobs, such as smoking, preservation and selling of fish, when the men bring the catch from the sea. It would be interesting to unravel the reason behind the latter instance, whether it is a mere case of division of labour or as part of some traditional belief system. One fisherman gave the justification that the fishing task is too tedious for women and that this underlies the apparent taboo. Nevertheless, others rejected such a reason, although they did not provide other explanations. The main activities on Tuesdays include mending of fishing nets, making of new nets (especially nets for catching crabs, the ones for catching fish are normally bought already-made), repairing of outboard motors and repairing of leakage and other faults in fishing boats, among other activities. The beach is busy on all days of the week. There are people working (on their nets, boat, etc.) or idling about at all times. Many children and men are seen swimming at the shore at all times in the day. Women are rarely seen swimming in the sea during the day; if they do at all, it is usually in the late evening or at night. The men normally sit in groups to work and chat.

When the fishermen go fishing, they leave early in the day, between midnight and 7.00am. That is, the earliest groups leave around midnight and the latest groups leave by 7.00am. By 7.30am the first groups will be returning, with the late groups returning around 4.00pm. When they return from the sea, they have different ways of dealing with the catch. One way is to share the catch among themselves so that each deals with his share as he desires. Another way is to sell the catch and share the proceeds among themselves. In sharing the catch, they have a standard system where a percentage goes to the owner(s) of the boat, the owner(s) of the net, the owner(s) of the outboard motor and each of the rest of the crew members.

At the beach area, houses are built so close to the sea that sometimes the waves enter some homes. Houses spread from the coastal line in a continuum into the inland. The beach areas are densely populated compared with the inland communities. Most of the men in the beach areas are fishermen though a few men are engaged in other trades such as carpentry, masonry and mechanics. Most of the women smoke and/or sell fish, with others engaged in other activities such as hair-braiding and petty trading. Almost every home at the beach area has at least one

earth oven, locally called *kyenkye*, used for the smoking of fish, with some houses having up to eight. These earth ovens are constructed by people from the community who have been trained and specialised in their construction.

A popular fish market is located close to the beach where the women sell fish, mostly fresh and directly from the sea. Other items like cassava, vegetables, clothes, and toiletries are also sold in the market. The fresh fish from the sea attracts people from inland Winneba and even beyond into this market. In fact, people travel several kilometres from other towns like Accra, Swedru, and Apam to buy fish from this market, either for resale or for personal consumption. At the beach and in the market, the locals speak Efutu among themselves vibrantly, but they switch to Fante when speaking with an outsider.

Most of the recordings for this research were done at the beach and in the market close to the beach, as well as in the homes of the fishermen, fish-smokers and fish sellers. Besides these places, some of the recordings, especially elicitation and staged events, were done in the test room of the Centre for Hearing and Speech Services in the University of Education, Winneba (UEW). A few other locations include the premises of the Radio Peace FM station for its serene and quiet environment compared with the beach area.

One observation concerning language ideology is that the fisher-folks never refer to their language as Efutu; they only use the term Simpa for their language.[18] Their response to the question 'what language do you speak?' is almost invariably 'I speak Simpa'. The only time they use the term Efutu for their language is when I have used it in my interactions with them, and even then, some still maintain the term Simpa.

2.2. Consultants

It will not be wrong to claim that language speaker consultants are the 'most important people' in language documentation (Dwyer 2006: 52). They are the sources or the suppliers, in fact, the producers of the data. In addition, they help with translation and even transcription to a large extent. In a situation where the researcher is completely new to the language, then he or she depends heavily on language speaker consultants. In short, language speaker consultants are

[18] See discussion in §1.6. in Chapter 1; see also footnote 4 above.

indispensable in language documentation. This section discusses issues concerning consultants in this research.

2.2.1. Finding and recruiting consultants

As already mentioned in earlier sections, I worked mostly with fishermen, fish sellers and fish smokers, although I also worked with a few other consultants from non-fishing backgrounds. All consultants, fish-workers and non-fish-workers alike, are native speakers.

In finding consultants, I had earlier established contact with some community members from the beach, the university, and the community radio station[19] from prior visits. These 'old' contacts helped me in finding new contacts by introducing me to other community members and potential consultants. Thus, the technique employed in finding consultants was somewhat random, as described below.

In recruiting consultants, my first step was to approach a person (a fisherman, fish seller, etc.) or a group, greet them, ask how they are doing, and then give them a brief introduction of myself (my name, where I come from, where I work and school, etc.).[20] I then proceed to tell them why I have come to visit them. Here, I talk about my project, and try to let them understand or at least have a fair idea about what my project entails, emphasizing the point that my goals are achievable only with their permission and their participation. If they have any questions,[21] I answer them to the best of my ability and explain any important details. If they show interest, I continue to talk with them until we come to an agreement. Such agreement normally consists of me going back to see them soon thereafter and move our talks to another level. In our talks, I always let them know some of the importance of the outcomes of the project and also the fact that they will be rewarded for their time and effort if they agree to participate in the project, though I do not tell them outright exactly how much or what they will receive as a reward or remuneration. This was to let them know that it would not be a waste of their time if they chose to participate in the project. I also explained to them the range of possible uses of the information and other materials they provide, such as

[19] Radio Peace FM.
[20] All this interaction takes place in Fante, the contact language.
[21] See a sample of such questions below.

publishing them on the internet, in my thesis, and even sometimes on television. I always made it clear to them that although the information and other material that they provide are kept confidential, there is always a possibility of other people accessing them and for that matter they had every right to indicate if they wish to withhold any material or information from any person(s) or group. The general response had always been that they had no reservations for any of the information or material that they provided. There were a few occasions though that permission was declined outright. In such circumstances I readily obliged without pursuing the matter further. Furthermore, I made them aware of the fact that they could withdraw their participation at any point, that they could even ask me to delete or withdraw any earlier material or information that they wished to exclude. I kept contact with potential informants until they were comfortable and ready to grant me permission. Sometimes the process took a long time but in most cases consultants granted me permission after the second or third visit.

The ages of the consultants that I worked with ranged from 18 to 85 years. I spoke with or interviewed younger speakers below this age bracket but they were shy and not very responsive so I decided to limit my range to the above age group. I worked mostly with men, primarily because they appeared to be relatively more available. It was possible to chat with them when they were working, mainly mending their nets, or simply chatting. It was possible for them to combine their activities with my interviews. With the women however, it was almost impossible to engage them when they were fighting for customers and serving them. Normally, a women would rush to you upon seeing you approaching but once you declare that you are not buying (but want to do something else) they simply shove you off and look for the next customer. Even if you succeed in getting their attention, they would ask you to come another time and if you do, you either find them still busy or they may not be present at all. For this reason, I simply recorded them while they worked, that is, I recorded their activities, if they gave me their consent and permission.

A sample of questions and comments from consultants include the following: what are you doing this for? Which television station are you from? Are you doing this for a TV program? Where do you come from? Do you speak/understand our language? Our language is not writable; how then do you intend to proceed? If you don’t understand our language, then how can you write it?

Why do you choose to work on our language? To their various questions, I tried to provide answers to the best of my ability. For instance, I explained that I do not work for a TV station and that this is an academic research project for my PhD. I also explained that although I do not speak their language I am ready to learn it if they agree to teach me and through their help we can work step-by-step to reduce the language into writing and analyse it and produce written materials in it.

One interesting observation in finding consultants was that often, some native speakers who live in the inland areas of Winneba or away from the fishing group would warn me against the use of consultants from the beach or the fishing group because they believe that their language is so very 'deep' and unclear and so it would be very difficult for me to capture the language from such a group. However a subset of this same group, (I suppose those who are less confident in their native language, probably because they no longer speak it very frequently) would normally recommend that I work with the fishermen because they speak 'pure' Efutu. These seemingly contradictory views and pieces of advice raise questions about language beliefs and ideologies (Austin and Sallabank 2014) which need further probing.

2.2.2. Rewarding/ paying consultants

Consultants who worked on annotation, that is, on transcription and translation, were paid cash on an hourly basis; they were informed of the rates and agreed before they began working. Alternatively, consultants who were recorded, filmed, photographed, or interviewed were offered their payment or reward only at the end of the session and if they were satisfied with the amount, they accepted it. If they were not, we negotiated and came to a fair and agreeable reward, though the need for negotiation did not happen often. In almost all cases consultants were satisfied with their reward. In fact, in the few instances where consultants had asked for more, it was always in a jovial or playful way and not in a serious mood, merely for the fact that they believed I could afford to give more.

Sometimes some consultants declined the offer but I always insisted because I share a co-culture with them and know that is a politeness strategy, even when they need the remuneration badly. As a sign of respect, people initially refuse to accept a gift or an offer until the giver has insisted. This is something that a complete 'outsider' who does not share much knowledge of the people's culture

may miss and take an initial refusal at face value and keep the reward, whereas the consultant does not really mean to refuse it. In such a situation, the consultant may feel dissatisfied and may not be willing to work with the researcher in the future. This cultural knowledge therefore could be considered advantageous to both parties: the researcher is able to appropriately interpret such a politeness strategy and go ahead to suitably reward the consultant, thereby maintaining a good working relationship between the two parties. Another benefit of my cultural knowledge concerning consultants' rewards had to do with its sufficiency and appropriateness. In most cases I had a fair idea of what constitutes a sufficient and appropriate reward for a given consultant. For instance, I could determine when to give money, how much to give, and when not to give money but other gifts. Throughout the fieldwork, I worked to ensure that I maintained trust and good interpersonal relationships with all consultants to facilitate the smooth progression of the project.

2.2.3. Communication barriers/ access in the field

As mentioned earlier, the Efutu speakers also speak Fante, a dialect of the Akan language, as a second language. Fante is mutually intelligible with another Akan dialect, Asante, which is my mother tongue. As a result, I was able to communicate with the Efutu speakers in their second language. In spite of this, I had a native speaker research assistant with me at most times to help translate or mediate between speakers and me when there were difficulties in communication or to ensure clarity in understanding. My experiences from the field concerning the use of a mediator are mixed: although they provided useful services most of the time, they sometimes gave speakers unnecessary or undesirable rules and restrictions to abide by. For instance, if a speaker included English or Akan loanword(s) in their responses, the mediator could tell the speaker to stop switching codes in their speech which sometimes resulted in unnatural speech. Furthermore, it was not easy to recognize when the mediator failed to convey the full meaning of the information in her translations.

The pleasure (whether right or wrong) of the privilege to share a common language with speakers cannot be denied. The possibility of communicating with speakers in a common language, though different from the target language, facilitated negotiations; I was able to explain myself to the speakers and receive their questions and feedback and respond to them. Notwithstanding this, the

seeming privilege could be disadvantageous in other regards. For instance, after explaining to a consultant in Akan that they should respond in the target language, vis., Efutu, they often forgot and continued speaking Fante (Akan) throughout until they were prompted or reminded of the target language. It was only after working with a consultant for at least a couple of sessions before they began to overcome this challenge. An alternative method where a speaker is trained in administering and eliciting questions and responses, for instance, could be a better option. Nevertheless, the diversity of the data types, including observable communicative events (OCE), prompted narratives, staged events, and elicitation ensured a balanced data set from the fieldwork, as discussed below.

2.2.4. Some experiences and challenges

My various experiences from the field, some of which were crucial and have implications for field methodology, are discussed in this section. There were some community members who insisted that I work for a television station even after I had explained my project to them. Some of these people, especially those who desire to appear on television, insisted that I should record them. Sometimes I obliged and deleted the recordings later, as it was almost impossible to convince them that I do not work for a TV station. There were also other groups of community members who insisted that I was a CID agent and warned others against participating in the project or associating with me. There was also another group of community members who were hostile to me for reasons that I do not know and they kept discouraging others from participating in the project. There was a typical case where a woman consented to be recorded on video while cleaning fish in the market. As soon as I started recording, other women rushed at us yelling that the woman being recorded was pregnant and for that reason I could not record her on video or photograph her (another popular belief is that pregnant women are forbidden from having their photograph taken). The woman categorically expressed her displeasure about their intrusion and asked me to continue with the recording. I obliged and tried to explain to the other women that I had on many occasions taken photographs and been recorded on video while I was pregnant with my children and nothing happened to either the babies or myself (knowing very well the basis for their protest, which is the belief that the process will cause harm or even may kill the unborn baby). But they continued to protest, so I just kept quiet and continued

recording for a little while before stopping. Shortly after, I noticed that an argument developed amongst the women, with one party arguing that that belief was merely a superstition, while the other party insisted on its validity.

Other experiences included my identities, regarding my gender, age, marital and other social status, and being a Ghanaian and an Akan speaker, among other identities, and how they affected the fieldwork. Firstly, my identity as a Ghanaian paved a way for me to enter Ghana without having to secure a visa or residence permit. Also, I am immune to the local bacteria and diseases and so I did not have to worry too much about some health and safety measures. I also found that I did not attract much of a crowd to myself as do 'conspicuous' outsiders. In addition, having an idea about the culture and some basic laws of the country helped with protocol and other practical matters. For instance, it was possible for me to know where I needed general permissions and where I did not have to worry about them. Also, as a Ghanaian and an Akan speaker,[22] I easily and readily integrated into the community, plus there was generally a flow of communication between myself and community members. This facilitated negotiation processes and saved much project time.

With regard to my identity as a middle-aged woman, married and a mother,[23] I am not sure what they made of those identities but I suppose I gained some kind of respect (or at least attention) due to my social status. The younger consultants acted somehow shyly and were respectful in working with me. The older persons were equally respectful and attentive. (One speaker consultant, a middle-aged man, used to joke that although I was married, at the beach he was my husband, which was endorsed by the others, but he was equally respectful.[24] Such a joke though, is not uncommon in Ghanaian culture and is considered healthy and tolerable by many.) Overall, there were congenial relations between the consultants and me.

[22] Recall speakers speak one of the Akan dialects as a second language.

[23] Obviously, people would want to know more about you, including your personal life, l endeavoured to answer most of their questions. Thus, those who asked about my family knew I was a mother (of three). It was obvious that I was married because I wore a band on my ring finger so they could infer.

[24] Unfortunately, this 'surrogate' husband of mine died before the end of my first fieldwork.

2.3. Equipment

In the language documentation literature, there have been a range of discussions on the importance of managing the recording processes to attain a desirable result or product (Nathan 2010b). This includes equipment choice and management, as well as proper management of participants and the physical environment, among other factors. This section focuses on equipment choice and management.

Factors I considered in selecting equipment included the physical environment, the settings, and the overall goals of the recording. Most of the recordings were made at the natural environment of the speakers, mainly at the beach where the fishermen work most part of the day.[25] Other natural environments for the recordings included homes where the women smoke fish, and in the market where the women sell fish. All these locations are just a few meters away from the sea, with their typical atmosphere of the sounds of the waves from the sea and of strong winds. Added to this uncontrollable background noise from the sea was loud chatter from the market and the streets, with hooting from moving vehicles. In sum, the background noise made it extremely difficult to capture any 'decent' signal from the recording environment at any time of the day. For this reason, recommended microphone types and special windshield systems were included in the equipment so that recordings could be carried through in the natural environment. Some of the recordings were done outside the natural environment, in other locations, including the test room of the Centre for Hearing and Speech Services at the South Campus of the University of Education Winneba (UEW). This room has its walls and ceiling panelled with cushion-like material which made it conducive to good sound recording.

Equipment (used for the data collection) worth mentioning included Zoom h4n (an audio recorder), Canon hg10 (a video camera), Canon Ixus 220 (a digital camera for still pictures), a set of three different microphone types, and a set of closed headphones, among other items. The microphones included a Rode NTG2 Shotgun, a cardioid microphone and a lavalier microphone. These varieties of

[25] The entire beach area is heavily sandy. As a result of this sandy nature of the environment, coupled with the salty nature of the sea water, extreme caution was exercised at all times to ensure that the various recording equipment were protected from dropping in the sand or the sea. It is advisable that one has a set of spare equipment as a backup in such circumstances.

microphone sets were chosen because different recording situations require different types of microphones. For instance, the cardioid microphone was very useful for picking sound from the target speaker rather than background noise, such that sound from other people around and also noise from the sea were minimised in the recordings. The lavalier microphone came handy in situations where it was impossible or inconvenient to mount a microphone stand or hold the microphone towards a consultant who was working (for instance, mending a net or undertaking other activities) while being recorded. Choice of some of the equipment was guided by reviews of equipment by ELAR staff on the HRELP website (see also Nathan 2010b).

Both the Zoom h4n[26] and the Canon hg10 were chosen because they have sockets for external microphones which allows for the possibility of exploring the use of more appropriate microphones for better sound quality rather than being restricted to the equipment's in-built microphone. Another desirable feature in both equipment models is the possibility of plugging in closed headphones for listening and monitoring purposes. Both features are essential for recordings in language documentation (Nathan 2010b: 262, 272, 280-282).

2.4. The data

Matters concerning data are widely discussed from different angles in the language documentation literature (Lüpke 2005, 2009; Himmelmann 2006; Austin 2006 and Munro 2005, among others). This section discusses various matters concerning data, including the means of data gathering, types of data collected, the workflow system of data processing, data management, as well as dissemination of materials. This study makes use of primary data collected from fieldwork in Winneba (see fieldwork periods in §2.0., above). I also made use of data that I collected earlier in September 2010 from the field in preparation towards the current research (This could be likened to a pilot project since it was a foundation for and in preparation towards the main project). The primary data consist mainly of four types of media materials, namely, audio, video, still pictures and field notes. Table 2-1 summarizes

[26] See a review of the Zoom h4n by Bernard Howard at www.hrelp.org/archive/review/zoom_h4n_review.html

the composition of audio data from my fieldwork. In addition to the audio materials, the fieldwork corpus included one hundred and five (105) video files and four hundred and twenty-seven (427) still photographs.[27] Detailed discussion of the various items on Table 2-1 as well as the other forms of data is presented below.

Table 2-1: Summary of audio data from fieldwork

Type of event		**Wav files**		**Transcriber files**	
		Number of files	**Total length in minutes**	**Number of files**	**Total length in minutes**
Elicitation:	Ibadan wordlist	5	218		
	TAMP	46	152		
	Pronouns	12	42		
	SVCs	36	302		
Prompted narratives		40	283	14	111
OLB (natural events)		16	152	2	13
Video discussion		11	133	2	12
Folk stories and songs		10	27	5	19
Radio programme		2	109	1	16

2.4.1. Data collection: tools and methods

In the literature, various methods for documenting communicative events and their associated tools have been explored by field linguists (Lüpke 2009; Himmelmann 2006a and Mosel 2006, among others). Lüpke (2009) particularly, offers an in-depth discussion on specific methods of data collection and their associated tools. Methods include elicitation where various kinds of stimuli are available (and possible since one can always design new stimuli) for different goals. Elicitation methods are usually influenced by the researcher since they are designed to yield specific or particular responses and outcomes for specific descriptive analysis. Data resulting from elicitation are said to be 'heavily influenced linguistically by and only created for the sake of the researcher, such as word lists, paradigms or acceptability judgements' (Lüpke 2009:60). Also discussed are observable communicative events (henceforth OCE), which corresponds to Himmelmann's (2006) observable linguistic behaviour (henceforth OLB). The OCE/OLB method is said to produce recordings which are normally described as 'natural events' such that the only influence of the researcher, if any at all, is his or her presence. Here, naturally occurring linguistic behaviours are captured as they occur, without any

[27] Most of the materials are deposited at the ELAR archive.

prompts or influences from the researcher. In-between the above described two methods is another, known as staged events, which appear to be a hybrid of elicitation and OLB in a sense. With staged events, responses or linguistic behaviours are elicited to some degree but not as heavily influenced as in elicitation. Staged events are 'prompted or staged for linguistic purposes, but often use non-linguistic prompts such as pictures and video clips; they owe their existence to the research project; their linguistic structure is less likely to be directly influenced by the researcher than in elicitation' (Lüpke 2009: 60). This study made use of all three *traditional* methods described above. Thus, the descriptive analysis of the various aspects of Efutu grammar presented in this study is based on the three data types, namely, elicitation, natural speech events (OLB) and staged events, as described below.

2.4.2. Elicitation

Himmelmann (2006a) discusses the role of data from elicitation in language documentation, particularly in the writing of descriptive grammars and dictionaries. The method is construed as elicitation of metalinguistic knowledge. Procedures specified in this method include the documentation of the elicitation processes itself, including the questions asked, the stimuli used, as well as the reactions of consultants (Himmelmann 2006a). The chapter includes discussions on practicalities of pencil and paper (field notes) format in some elicitation situations and recommends it, although it does not rule out the use of audio and video; field notes and video/audio complement each other in elicitation.

For this research, elicitation[28] included the use of Ibadan wordlist of 400 basic items.[29] This list was included because it contains items that are common or familiar to the local people based on their culture. Overall, there were only a few items for which speakers could not provide corresponding or equivalent terminology in Efutu. The elicitation was administered in two ways. In one way, a questionnaire containing the list was handed to consultants to complete (with pencil and paper). These are speakers who are educated and therefore can read and write in English and Akan and so used Akan orthography to write the Efutu translations. After they

[28] See Table 2-1 in §2.4. for the various data types, including elicitation.
[29] The Ibadan wordlist is an unpublished elicitation tool which contains item or words peculiar to the West African languages contexts.

had completed the list, we had an oral, recording session where they went over what they had written by mentioning them while they were recorded on audio. The other method of administration was used for speakers who were not educated. Here, we had an audio recording session where I called the items on the list one-by-one to the consultant and they provided the corresponding Efutu terms. Although the list was in English I gave the Akan equivalents in my reading. Basically, the outcomes of the two administering methods were not so different, except that in one the consultant provides his or her written version of the items. Items on this list include body parts, household items, food ingredients, farm tools, kinship terms, animals, cardinal numbers, verbs, and adjectives. Table 2-2 contains a sample of items from the elicitation of the Ibadan wordlist. If there were different terms or variations in pronunciation for an item,[30] all alternative terms or pronunciations were recorded, as in the cases of *ásîˊ / ásíbì* 'eye' and *élútɔ̀ / érútɔ̀ / édítɔ̀* 'food'. Plural forms of noun items on the Ibadan wordlist were also elicited.[31]

As mentioned above, the Ibadan wordlist contains items that are familiar to the Efutu speaker based on their culture. Nevertheless a few items could not be adequately elicited, for instance, two noun items, namely, 'millet' and 'buffalo' could not be adequately translated. Also, a few verbal items including 'abuse', 'refuse' and 'spin' were translated with a whole phrase or even a sentence; 'wring', for instance, was translated as 'squeeze-inside-water'.

Besides the Ibadan wordlist, other items of elicitation included pronouns paradigms.[32] In eliciting pronouns, consultants were given the task of substituting pronouns for nouns in sentences. For this elicitation, a self-designed questionnaire was used. The questionnaire basically listed a set of English sentences containing full nouns or noun phrases to be translated into Efutu. After translating each sentence into Efutu, the consultant then repeated the Efutu translation in which target nouns or noun phrases were replaced with a pronoun. A sample of the pronoun elicitation is presented in Table 2-3. In Table 2-3, the target nouns or noun

[30] Regarding variation in pronunciations, some consultants explained that speakers who live in the inland part of Winneba pronounce some words differently from those who live close to the sea. (See also comments in §2.2.1., above). Nevertheless, I observed variation in pronunciation of few items among those who live close to the sea. For instance, among those who live close to the sea, some used the pronunciation *nɑ́ɑ́pɑ̌* 'big' while others used *lɑ́ɑ́pɑ̌* 'big'. Consultants could not give adequate explanation for the variation in the pronunciations; some consultants suggested that variation in pronunciations may result from influence from the sister dialect Senya.

[31] See §4.1. in Chapter 4 for discussion on plural nouns.

[32] See Table 2-1. For detailed discussion on pronouns, see §4.3. in Chapter 4.

phrases are in bold face. In this elicitation, Akan was used as the intermediary language: Akan was used to explain the overall processes and procedures of the elicitation at the beginning. Also, the sentence to be translated was rendered in both English and Akan for the consultant to translate into Efutu, after which he or she repeated the translation with pronouns. The pronoun elicitation sections were recorded on audio alongside field notes in which responses were phonetically transcribed with tone marking.

Other items of elicitation were tense, aspect, mood and polarity (TAMP) in verbs.[33] For this elicitation, a total of thirty-one (31) verbs were selected from the Ibadan wordlist and the prompted narratives. The selection included a variety of ATR and Rounding feature in the verbs' vowels since the form of a particular marker may vary as a result of a vowel harmony system in the language (see discussion of vowel harmony in §3.1.2.). The design of the TAMP questionnaire adapted Dahl's (1985) framework. Based on a hypothesis that there is a set of cross-linguistic category types to which language-specific categories can be assigned, Dahl (1985) investigates and proposes prototypical contexts in which a given TAM category may occur cross-linguistically. Using Dahl's (1985) questionnaire as a guide, the TAMP questionnaire for this study was composed of English sentences to be translated into Efutu. For each sentence a context was specified, and the sentence was translated based on the context. Each verb was used in different contexts. Table 2-4 presents a sample of the TAMP elicitation questionnaire. In Table 2-4, the alphabetic characters in the sentence ID identify the context type, while the numerals identify the verb or predicate in the sentence to be translated. For each sentence translated, the negative equivalent was also produced. Each context was used with different verbs from different ATR and Rounding types as well as different pronouns. If a sentence contained any items in brackets, it was translated first without the bracketed items, then again with the bracketed items. This was to find out if there was any variation in tone in the verb and/or aspectual marker with the bracketed items. In some cases, consultants produced alternative translations for a given sentence. In such situations I asked for the most natural or common or usual among the alternatives. I recorded responses through note-taking with pencil and paper in addition to audio recording. I asked consultants to repeat the same response

[33] See Table 2-1. For detailed discussion of tense, aspect, mood and polarity (or negation), see Chapter 5.

many times until I was satisfied with what I had written, especially with the tone patterns. I paid particular attention to tone because it appeared that in some cases tone patterns were the only differences among sentences.[34]

Finally, elicitation of serial verb constructions (SVCs)[35] was also included. Here, SVCs from the staged events and natural events data were examined and confirmed through elicitation. In addition, some SVCs were elicited based on SVCs from related languages, including Akan (Osam 1994a, 1994b, 1997; Agyeman 2002), Ewe (Ameka 2006; Ameka & Essegbey 2013) and Larteh (Ofori 2010). In this elicitation, state-of-affairs expressed through SVCs in the related languages were used, whereby consultants were tasked to translate English sentences expressing the relevant state-of-affairs into Efutu. The SVCs from the elicitations as well as those from the prompted narratives and natural speech events were further used to elicit TAMP in SVCs through the use of different contexts, similar to the above-described TAMP elicitation contexts.

[34] See §3.3 in Chapter 3 and also Chapter 5 for discussion on grammatical functions of tone in Efutu.
[35] See Part 2 for discussion of SVCs.

Table 2-2: A sample of the Ibadan wordlist elicitation

English	Efutu	English	Efutu
head	*ìnùú*	machete	*àfînáa*
eye	*ásîì / ásíbì*	snake	*àsútɔ̀ àbúébí*
breast	*ɔ̀wúʊ̀*	goat	*àpɔ̀ǹtɕɪ́*
heart	*ɨɲá*	chicken	*ǹtɕìɾ́*
belly (external)	*wúbî*	elephant	*ɔ̀súń*
stomach (internal)	*wúbítɔ̀*	monkey	*àdú!ẃ*
hand	*àbá*	man	*òɲî*
food	*élútɔ̀ / érútɔ̀ / édítɔ̀*	male	*òɲî*
water	*ǹsú*	husband	*kúɾ̀ / kúrù*
wine	*ńtə̂*	woman	*òsê / òɕê*
meat	*ìnú*	brother	*nímǹbì*
fish	*ìnú*	one	*kómé*
egg	*àfàń*	two	*ɨɲɔ́*
plantain	*ámànàá*	three	*ìsə́*
tree	*jìbí*	black	*óbì*
firewood	*ǹdʑèbí*	white	*ófùɾ̀*
charcoal	*dùdú*	big	*nàápə́ / láápə́*
fire	*ódʑâ*	wet	*ńwúɾ̀*
room	*gó tɔ̀*	drink	*nùú*
house	*éwúsò*	sit down	*sìná ásì*
hoe	*àsɔ́*	walk	*nà*

Table 2-3: A sample of pronouns elicitation questionnaire

A: Sentence to be translated	**B: Efutu translation**	**C: Repeated translation with pronoun**
I (speaker insert his/her name here) ate cassava		
You (insert listener's name here) ate cassava		
Aba[36] ate cassava		
Ekow[37] ate cassava		
The cat ate cassava		
The cats ate cassava		
The table is short		
The tables are many		
I (speaker insert his/her name here) and Aba ate cassava		
You (insert listener's name here) and I (speaker insert his/her name here) ate cassava		
You (insert listener's name here), Aba and I (speaker insert his/her name here) ate cassava		
You (insert listeners' names here) ate cassava		
Esi[38] **and Aba** ate cassava		
Esi, Aba and Ekow ate cassava		
Aba saw Esi		
Aba saw **me (speaker insert his/her name here)**		
Aba saw **you (insert listeners' names here)**		
Aba saw **Esi**		
Aba saw **Ekow**		

[36] Aba is a name for a Thursday born girl. It is therefore common, that is, many girls and women are called Aba in the Simpa community.
[37] Ekow is a name for a Tuesday born boy.
[38] Esi is a name for a Sunday born girl in the simpa community.

Table 2-3 (continued): A sample of pronouns elicitation

A: Sentence to be translated	**B: Efutu translation**	**C: Repeated translation with pronoun**
Aba saw **you (insert listener's names here) and me (speaker insert his/her name here)**		
Aba saw **the cat**		
Aba saw **the cats**		
Aba saw **the table**		
Aba saw **the tables**		
Aba saw **the tree**		
I (speaker insert his/her name here) saw **you (insert listener's names here)**		
You (insert listener's names here) saw **me (speaker insert his/her name here)**		
Aba saw **Esi**		

Table 2-4: A sample of TAMP elicitation questionnaire

Sentence ID	**Context**	**Sentence to be translated**	
		Affirmative	**Negative**
A3	What the speaker is engaged in right now	I EAT cassava (right now)	I not EAT cassava (right now)
	What the listener is engaged in right now	You EAT cassava (right now)	You not EAT (cassava right now)
	What the other person (Kofi) is engaged in right now	He EAT cassava (right now)	He not EAT cassava (right now)
	What the speaker and the others are engaged in right now	We EAT cassava (right now)	We not EAT cassava (right now)
	What the listeners are engaged in right now	You (PL) EAT cassava (right now)	You (PL) not EAT cassava (right now)
B4	What the speaker usually DO on Sundays	I WASH cloths	I not WASH cloths
	What Kofi and Ama usually DO on Sundays	They WASH cloths	They not WASH cloths
C1	What activities the speaker engaged in previously	I GO to school (yesterday)	I not GO to school (yesterday)
	Talking of what activities the listener engaged in previously	You GO to school (yesterday)	You not GO to school (yesterday)
	Talking of what activities Kofi engaged in previously	He GO to school (yesterday)	he not GO to school (yesterday)

Table 2-4 (continued): A sample of TAMP elicitation questionnaire

Sentence ID	**Context**	**Sentence to be translated**	
		Affirmative	**Negative**
D1	What the speaker plans to do	I GO to the beach (tomorrow)	I not GO to the beach (tomorrow)
E9	Talking about food that the speaker is eating right now	The food BE HOT	The food not BE HOT
F9	Talking about food that the speaker ate earlier	The food BE HOT	The food not BE HOT
	Talking about the speaker's size/weight	I BE BIG	I not BE BIG
G7	A: You MEET the priestess before? B:	(Yes) I KNOW her	(No) I not KNOW her
H8	A: You LIKE bananas? B:	(Yes) I LIKE bananas	(No) I not LIKE bananas
J3	A: EAT the food now! B:	I EAT it (already)	I not EAT it (already)
K3	A: You EAT already? B:	(Yes) I EAT (already)	(NO) I not EAT (already)
M3	A: When I SEE you yesterday, you EAT already? B:	(Yes) I EAT (already)	(No) Inot EAT (already)

2.4.3. Observable linguistic behaviour (natural events)

In a description of a basic format for language documentation, Himmelmann (2006) stresses the important role of primary data in a form of OLB. Data from OLB is described as

> examples of how the people actually communicate with each other, [including] all kinds of communicative activities in a speech community, from everyday small talk to elaborate rituals, from parents baby-talking to their new-born infants to political dispute between village elders (Himmelmann 2006: 7).

In this study, OLB data include conversations among individuals speaking in their natural environments. This includes conversations among fishermen at the beach, conversations and interactions in homes, and performances from a festival (including singing, drumming and dancing, as well as pouring of libation), among other activities. The OLB data include both audio and video recordings. This conforms to the recommended standard practice of video in OLB (Himmelmann 2006). There are also snapshots of some of these activities as they occur (although these still pictures do not have much linguistic data in themselves). Although some of the OLB recordings are difficult to transcribe,[39] they are nonetheless useful because they serve as evidence or examples of natural communicative activities.

Some of the recordings from the OLB method, especially video recordings, contain very few linguistic or speech components. These video recordings contain rather many more activities, such as fish cleaning, fish smoking, boat launching and docking, net folding and arranging, and dance performances. Some of these recordings were selected later and used in the staged events (especially, the video discussion) method, as will be explained below.

2.4.4. Staged events

Staged events method was also employed in the data collection process. Stimuli for the staged events included the well-known 'Frog, where are you?' picture book (Mayer 1969). In this exercise, the consultant is allowed to preview the picture

[39] OLB by nature should not contain any influence whatsoever of the researcher and for that matter one should not attempt to moderate or regulate the exchanges in any way (Himmelmann 2006: 7; Lüpke 2009: 60). People should be able to speak and behave in the most natural way they do. Factors such as their normal speed of talking, that is, whether they are fast speakers or slow speakers, whether they stammer or lisp, whether they speak in low or high voice/pitch, etc., as well as overlap speech by different speakers, all these have implications for transcription.

book, after which he or she then narrates or 'composes' a story along the lines of the pictures in the book. This was recorded both on video and audio. Other narratives included in the staged events are Ananse stories which are common traditional folk stories. Also included are some traditional folk songs. The Ananse stories and the songs were recorded on audio.

Another method used in the data collection which may be characterised as staged event was 'asking general questions' which yielded some narratives which I refer to as 'prompted narratives'. This is one of the methods devised in the field when I found the audio version of the OLB data to be challenging for transcription. In this method, consultants were asked questions about different topics. For instance, a consultant could be asked to describe the different methods of fishing or one particular method of fishing or to talk about the various tasks they carry out at sea or how tasks are shared among crew members at sea, etc. Consultants could also choose to talk about a topic of their own, for instance a consultant when asked about her fishing business rather talked about her childhood, her marriage and her family, focusing on the hardships (especially financial difficulties) she faced in an attempt to raise her children. Topics discussed in the contexts of this method included but were not limited to the following:

- Net mending
- Net making
- Machine repair
- Tasks/activities on sea
- Division of labour among a group/team on sea
- Fish preservation
- Fish cleaning
- Fish selling
- Boat painting
- Boat naming
- Boat mending
- Fishing equipment/tools
- Petu festival[40]

[40] A local festival celebrated biennially to appease one of their fetish deities, Petu.

In this method, each session began with a general question, followed by further probing questions. If a consultant produced short answers, I asked more probing questions in order to receive more responses. On the other hand, if they gave longer answers, they got fewer probing questions (since they were already producing longer responses). Thus, each session could have about 5-10 questions all together. Depending on the speaker's level or nature of loquaciousness, some of the responses were lengthy, containing several sentences, say, 5-10 sentences or even more. Other responses were short, that is a few sentences. And depending on the topic of discussion, coupled with the speaker's loquaciousness level, the length of the various sessions differed, that is, while some sessions were lengthy (about 18 minutes) others were quite short (about 4 minutes).

As already mentioned above, data from this method has some features of staged events in that 'they are prompted or staged for linguistic purposes' and 'they owe their existence to the research project' (Lüpke 2009; 60). It also has some features of OLB in that the responses were not predictable; speakers described or narrated from their own perspective and different consultants provided completely different responses - not only in terms of their length but also in their content - to the same question. For instance, one would provide very elaborate responses, while another would provide very brief responses. These sessions were recorded on both audio and video.

When I started using this method, I did not control the number of speaker participants. I simply asked the question without directing it to any particular individual. And then I quickly noticed that I was defeating the very purpose for which this method was devised, so I modified the method by directing questions to an individual in a group. But I still found people answering questions directed to others. So I modified the method once again by engaging one person at a time. This eventually resolved the problem of interference and the multiple-speakers challenge.

Another method I used is the above mentioned 'video discussion' method. Some video clips from the OLB were selected based on their content. The criterion for selection was the type of activity involved in the video. Video clips with lots of (complex) activities are selected. For instance a video with a woman cleaning fish, washing them, arranging them on a mesh, carrying the mesh to an earth oven and covering it with old sacks would be chosen against one with people sitting down and conversing without carrying out any other activity. This was in anticipation that the

recording from the discussion may contain more verbs and complex constructions (since the focus of my thesis is on serial verb constructions), although the overall corpus would be expected to contain some of these structures. Consultants were asked to watch the clips and describe or comment on them. Two or three consultants watched a clip together and commented freely. Although there were some instances of overlapping speech among viewers/commentators, they were not as much as in the OLB conversations. These video watching with commenting and descriptions were captured on video and audio for transcription and further annotation.

2.4.5. Recorded radio programme

The primary data includes recordings of an Efutu programme from Radio Peace (88.9) FM in Winneba (see Table 2-1). Data from the radio programme in Efutu consist of samples of recordings from the programme which have been transcribed and translated. Components of a programme include: (i) an initial introduction and explanation of the day's topic by the host (approx. two minutes duration), (ii) an introduction of the panel members (approx. three minutes), (iii) panel discussion of the topic (approx. twenty-five minutes), and (iv) contributions/questions from listeners through phone calls (approx. twenty minutes). Each programme lasted for about fifty minutes.

2.4.6. Secondary data

Secondary data consist of text materials from Obeng (2008) and Taylor (n.d.).[41] Such secondary data were cross-checked with data from my fieldwork corpus and also with speaker-consultants to ensure accuracy before they were used in this study.

2.4.7. Data processing: tools and methods

> Raw data are often hard for anyone other than the collector to use. … Raw data can be frustrating and opaque, and if a language should die out, raw data may no longer be interpretable even for future linguists. ... Descriptive and explanatory material [should] be incorporated into the proposed database of documentation in the form of annotation … (Berge 2010: 55).

[41] See a description of Obeng (2008) and Taylor (n. d.) materials in §1.5. of Chapter 1.

There is therefore the need to 'process' raw data to render it more useful. Studies that discuss processing of field materials include Austin (2006) and Schultze-Berndt (2006). These studies suggest forms of linguistic annotation by providing different levels and what each level should contain, with detailed examples.

In the workflow of this study, recordings from video, audio and still pictures are uploaded to a computer shortly after their recording and are labelled or named for easy recovery. Annotation for the Efutu materials included transcription of audio files, free translation, as well as word-for-word and morphemic glossing, among other comments. The main software used for transcription was Transcriber.[42] In Transcriber, I firstly segment an audio file from beginning to end. Then, a consultant is asked to listen to the segments to help correct inaccurate breakpoints. Next, using Transcriber, I create turns for speech participants. Then, a trained consultant transcribes the entire file in Transcriber by using Akan spelling system. Next, the consultant freely translates the entire file into English, on paper with a pencil (that is in a notebook). Then, I do a second level transcription, viz., phonemic transcription, including tone marking, on paper. Finally, with the help of the various elicitations and through analysis of the data, I do word-for-word and morphemic glossing under my phonemic transcriptions. This workflow procedure was used for the staged events and natural speech events (including prompted narratives, video discussion, folk stories and songs, and the radio programme). Elicitation data however were transcribed directly on paper alongside audio recording for playback and verification.

Phonology Assistant was used as a guide for the analysis of the speech sounds (consonant and vowel sounds) in the language. In this process, speech sounds in Efutu were compared with the sounds from the IPA in Phonology Assistant to ascertain their articulatory description.[43] Items from the Ibadan wordlist were typed into a database in the Toolbox software tool using phonemic transcription, including tone marking.

In the analysis in the chapters of this thesis (mainly in Chapters 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8), examples and illustration data make use of my phonemic transcriptions and my

[42] Transcriber has functions like time alignment, easy play-back and an option to select portions of a file for repeated play-back. Its main disadvantages though are that it does not support video, nor does it have multi-tier function. Thus other annotations were done on paper.
[43] See description of vowels and consonants in §3.1. of Chapter 3.

word-for-word and morphemic glossing, and the consultant's free translation, though some of the free translations include my modification.[44]

2.4.8. Metadata

Data management is one of the essentials that have been emphasized in language documentation. Himmelmann (2006: 11) argues that:

> A large corpus of primary data is of little use unless it is presented in a format which ensures accessibility for parties other than the ones participating in its compilation … primary data needs to be accompanied by information of various kinds.

The above assertion points to the indispensability of what has been called 'apparatus' (Himmelmann 2006) in general and 'metadata' in particular in the collection and compilation of any data, including linguistic data. Himmelmann (2006) proposes two levels of metadata in language documentation: metadata for the entire project on one level, and metadata for each (recording) session on another level. In this project, metadata was recorded at different levels. For audio and video recording sessions metadata includes date, time, venue, participants and their roles, equipment used, type of communicative event and any other relevant information, such as decisions about accessibility. On another level, each SD card containing data is labelled with a short identification which is entered in an Excel spreadsheet along with associated information including the various files on the SD card and a brief description of their contents. On another level, recorded items are transferred onto a computer and the files are named.[45] The file names are then entered in an Excel spreadsheet, and information associated with each file (including date and time of recording, participants and their roles, venue, equipment used, accessibility information, as well as related materials, such as Transcriber files and field-notes) is entered alongside. Another level of metadata is an Excel spreadsheet containing the names of consultants (or participants), their age, where they come from, their occupation and the language(s) they speak, the name of the boat they work in,[46] etc.

[44] Such a modification may consist of an inclusion of a functional word or a more appropriate synonym, correct spelling, and non-literal meaning. In most cases, the TAM from my analysis confirmed that of the consultant's free translation.

[45] Recommended file naming conventions can be found on the ELAR website.

[46] Every boat at the beach has a name which is written on it. If you are looking for people at the beach, it is easier to find them by mentioning the boat they work in if their name alone makes it difficult to identify them.

Transcriber files contained the same file names as their related WAV files. Still photos or images transferred from a digital camera onto the computer were sorted and grouped under appropriate labels, with main groups and sub-groups in folders. Finally, items on paper (or in notebooks), including phonemic transcriptions and glosses, and free translations, were titled with the same name as those of their associated WAV and Transcriber files.

2.5. Ethics

Matters of ethics continue to be a major concern in most research, with most research bodies having specific codes of conduct which are strictly adhered to in the practice of their affairs (see for instance SOAS research ethics policies and procedures: http://www.soas.ac.uk/researchoffice/ethics/). This normative approach to ethics works perfectly for some kinds of research. The nature of documentary linguistic research, and for that matter linguistic fieldwork more generally, is such that it cannot be conducted with absolute normative codes of ethics (Dwyer 2006: 33-34). However, until recently, there was no generic code for the discipline (Dwyer 2006: 34). Nonetheless, it was recognised and acknowledged by field linguists that the enterprise cannot thrive without any ethical guidelines at all (Dwyer 2006; Rice 2010). Thus, Dwyer (2006) suggests ways of incorporating ethics into linguistic fieldwork: the study recommends the adaptation of existing normative codes such as the American Anthropological Association's Code of ethics (AAA 1998), among other codes, and using it as guideline for creating one, as well as taking into account the field conditions and situation. Dwyer (2006) further outlines five fundamental ethical principles to be adhered to by field linguists. Other issues on ethics discussed by Dwyer (2006) include intellectual property rights (IPR) and right of access and use of recorded materials.

Recent generic codes include the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) Ethics Statement (2009), which, though not exhaustive, serves 'to provide linguists working in all sub-disciplines with a very general framework for making ethical choices' (LSA Ethics Statement 2009: 2). Other discussions on ethics from different dimensions include Rice (2010) and Thieberger and Musgrave (2007). Rice (2010) identifies two levels of ethical responsibilities of the field linguist, namely, responsibilities towards the language, and those towards the linguistic community.

To the linguistic community, the paper further identifies and illustrates three models of research, namely, ethical research, advocacy research, and empowering research.

The research presented here adhered to ethical principles at all levels. Before the commencement of fieldwork, I had established contact with some personalities in Winneba. These include the founder of Radio Peace FM station, a few fishermen, some school teachers, and some members of staff in the UEW. At the commencement of the fieldwork, these old contacts were the first point of call to announce my return to the community and to inform them about the fieldwork. Through these initial contacts, other contacts were also made. Initially, general permission was sought from two key persons in the community, namely, the chief of Winneba (Oman Odefe[47] Neenyi Ghartey VII)[48] and the chief (or leader) of the fishermen (Neenyi Bondzie) for the use of Winneba in general and the fishing beach in particular as my field site.

At the very initial stage of the fieldwork, no recordings or data collection were attempted, equipment were not even carried along, though it was mentioned to contacts that these activities would be taking place at some point in time. Thus the initial contacts were used for familiarisation and building friendship and trust among community members. During this time, I took the opportunity to explain to community members, especially potential consultants, the details of the project, including information such as what the project was about, what the project was for, how long the fieldwork would last, what the expected outcomes were, the possible uses of the outcomes, who could participate in the project, the fact that participants would be rewarded, the fact that participation was voluntary and for that matter participants could withdraw or request their information or materials provided to be withdrawn at any stage of the project, and so on.[49]

Over time, I developed healthy interpersonal relationships with some community members, which paved the way for me to seek informed consent and

[47] '*Oman Odefe*' is a title: oman */ɔ́mɑ̌/* could be glossed as 'state' or 'nation' while odefe */ódéfɛ̀/* could be glossed as 'chief' or 'king'; *oman odefe* could roughly be translated as 'paramount chief'.

[48] There has been a long-standing chieftaincy dispute in Winneba (see Hagan 2000) and some informants told me that currently the town has two chiefs as a result of the dispute. Apparently, Neenyi Ghartey VII is said to be the one recognized by the national house of chiefs. Although some of the project participants mentioned to me that they oppose Neenyi Ghartey VII, I was careful to stay away from the chieftaincy discussion, as I considered my involvement may have an adverse effect on my project. (For an illustration of difficulties in a linguistic fieldwork situation as a result of socio-political complexities, see Grinevald 2005.)

[49] See similar discussion in §2.2.1., above.

request permission to record specific events. At this stage, I started bringing equipment to the field to show to the people what they were and what they were used for and how they operated. And to demonstrate how the equipment operated, I recorded short pieces of our interactions and played them back for them to view and listen to. They always found it amusing to listen and view the playback and fought for their turns to listen through headphones. They then instructed me to record people (out of amusement). But then I would explain to them that I could not record anyone unless I sought their permission by explaining to them what the recording was for. By this stage, there was always a relaxed, informal, non-intimidating atmosphere, and it was much easier to approach people to seek their consent for their participation. Sometimes, people even volunteered to participate without my initial request. In all cases, I explained to participants/consultants the possible uses of the recorded material and their right to participate or withdraw at any time. I answered their questions if they had any. At the end of each recording session, I asked participants if they had any reservations or desires as to who can or who cannot access the recording or the material they had provided.

Participants were rewarded or paid right at the end of a session. In offering the reward, I made sure that they were acceptable or that consultants were satisfied with their reward.[50] In some cases the remuneration was negotiated even before consultants started working; an example of such cases is when people worked on transcription and translation.

In this project, consent did not involve a signed agreement on paper, but was verbal. The reasons for doing this rather than written consent include the fact that in this community people hardly or never use written consent. In the community, and indeed in most communities in Ghana, people hardly use written consent in most agreements, with the exception of official documents from places like the bank, schools, court of law and tenancy agreements (in fact most tenancy agreements do not involve signing of paper, yet they work perfectly). (Another example of this culture is the fact that people do not demand nor issue receipts in most transactions, which is a major difference between a place like Ghana and say, the UK.) There persists a culture of trust and reliance on word of mouth, which is what people accept as agreement or consent. However, there must almost always be other

[50] See further discussion on remuneration in §2.2.2., above.

person(s) present to serve as witness to the agreement, especially in a tenancy agreement for instance. For this reason, people become suspicious and alert when they are required to sign a paper, for such an act is normally associated with lack of trust and serious cases (like a police case for instance). Thus, people are comfortable with verbal agreement in non-serious cases. Verbal consents were sometimes recorded on audio.

Another issue of ethics is the expectation that something should be given back to the community (Dwyer 2006: 57). In line with this concept, I had in my project plan to produce some materials for the community. Initially, I thought of pedagogical materials, however, I decided to go over this with community members to find out what they desired most and to agree with them on something which they prefer. This reconsideration was meant to ensure that I did not impose anything that the community might not need or might not be interested in, on them.

One advantage that this research had and will continue to enjoy is absence of 'cold calls', that is, when a researcher calls the field for only few and brief visits during the project (Dwyer 2006). Actually the researcher is a resident and a citizen of the country (Ghana) and will have the privilege of continuing working with the community, even after the official end of the PhD project.

2.6. Dissemination

One of the ultimate goals of most research, including linguistic research, is to disseminate its findings and outcomes. Indeed, 'any researcher who accepts funding from public source, such as universities and private foundations like HRELP that have public application procedures, has an obligation to produce a public good' (Johnson 2004: 140). Johnson (2004) discusses the obligation to archive as one of the standard means of disseminating language documentation materials. Thus archiving is viewed as one of the outcomes of language documentation. Johnson (2004) presents an elaborate discussion on archiving, including what, why and when to archive and information on how the archived materials should be prepared or formatted.

For this research, one of the requirements of the funding was that materials or outcomes are appropriately disseminated. Thus, in addition to depositing

materials/outcomes of the research in ELAR[51] and presenting some of the findings of the descriptive analysis in the form of this PhD thesis, other ways of disseminating the outcomes included: (i) designing and producing a reading/picture booklet from the data for the community as a form of 'giving back something' to them, (ii) presenting some findings in conferences and seminars both locally and internationally, and also, (iii) archiving of the materials locally in the speech community (UEW, Winneba) and elsewhere.

2.7. Summary and conclusion

Furbee (2010: 10) notes that:

> One approach to inquiry that takes language documentation to be conducted primarily as an *activity* or a *practice* leaves open to negotiation the nature of language, or of a language. It takes language documentation to be directed by this activity rather than by a set of goals regarding accomplishment with respect to an objectified language, and it offers a method of co-construction. The collaborators are free to construct an *intermediate model – a metamodel* – open to frequent revision.

The statement above echoes the fact that methodology in research, including this research, takes as its foundation a set of recommended approaches. Nonetheless, it is apparent that each research project, and for that matter, each field situation is unique and at the same time diverse (Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2009). Language itself (and its associated culture) is not an exception to this position in terms of uniqueness and diversity. This uniqueness and diversity work together, to shape a project alongside existing guidelines. This is what has happened in this research with its methodology and practice. The discussions above have elaborated how this research has adopted some existing (theoretical) frameworks and methods in the conduct of its language documentation activities, and yet allowing for the peculiarities of the language and field context to shape up the projects.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the methodology used in this research, mainly in its fieldwork methods, especially in data acquisition and processing. It has shown how the researcher has adapted prevailing and standard methods for this current research. The chapter has also identified and described

[51] See Nathan (2008, 2009, 2010a) and Ashmore (2008) for discussion of issues concerning formatting and preparation of materials for the (ELAR) archive.

some challenges from the methodology and shown how some of these challenges were handled. In addition, the chapter has raised some questions which pave the way for new inquiries.

Chapter 3: Sound system, syllable structure, tone, vowel harmony and other phonological processes

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses some topics in the phonology of Efutu.[52] The goal of the chapter is to give a basic account of the structure of the phonology of the language as well as to facilitate access to some of the discussions in subsequent chapters. The phonology analysis presented in this chapter draws mainly on primary data from my fieldwork,[53] but also on some data from secondary sources. Grounded mainly on current knowledge of the language, the type of phonology presented here is essentially descriptive in nature and limited in terms of absolute comprehensiveness and accuracy (Mosel 2006). In several cases, further investigation is required for a full-scale description of various observations. The chapter begins with a description of the sound system of Efutu in §3.1. by discussing vowels in §3.1.1., vowel harmony in §3.1.2. and consonants in §3.1.3. The chapter continues with discussion of syllable structure in §3.2., tone in §3.3. and other phonological processes in §3.4. The chapter closes with a summary in §3.5.

3.1. The sound system

The analysis of the sound system, specifically, the vowel and consonant system of Efutu presented in this study is based predominantly on primary data from my fieldwork. The discussion makes reference to other studies, including Obeng (2008), Taylor (n.d.), Balmer and Grant (1942) and Dolphyne (1988).

3.1.1. Vowels in Efutu

From the transcriptions of data from my fieldwork corpus, nine oral vowel sounds were identified in Efutu, as follows:[54]

[i] [ɪ] [e] [ɛ] [a] [ɔ] [o] [ʊ] [u]

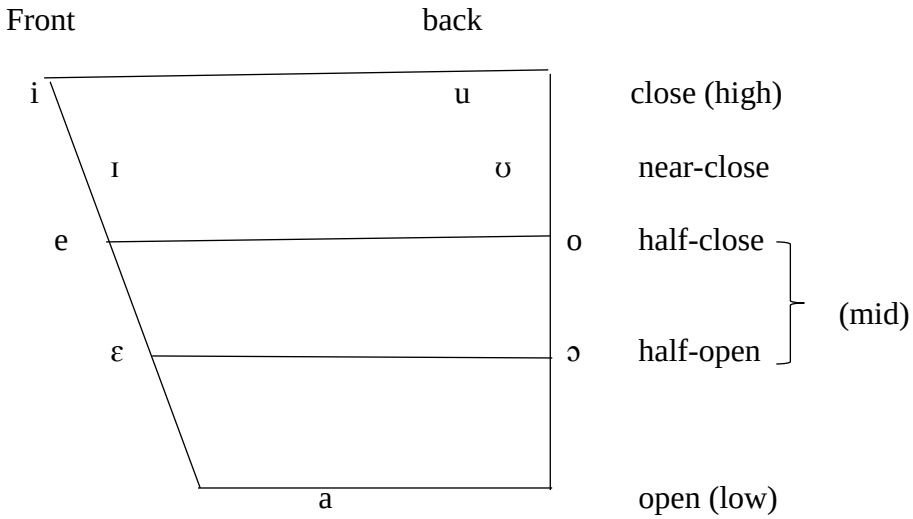
[52] The format of the phonology sketch produced in this chapter makes use of online information from Mark Donohue, Monash University <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/pdf/donohue_grammar_sketches.pdf>

[53] The primary data includes natural speech events, staged communicative events and elicitation; see detailed discussion of the data in §2.4. in Chapter 2.

[54] Obeng's (2008) inventory of Efutu vowel sounds includes [æ] which was not found in my data. Rather, in the environment where Obeng postulates [æ], I found [e] to occur. For instance, Obeng (2008: 5) gives examples like [kǽí] 'remember, [bæ̀tsíf] 'shoulder'. But my speaker consultants pronounced them as [kɛ̌í] 'remember' and [bètíf] 'shoulder'.

Using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) vowel chart as a guide, the Efutu oral vowels are presented in the chart in Figure 3-1.[55]

Figure 3-1: Efutu vowel chart (oral vowels)



From the chart, it can be observed that all back vowels in the language are rounded while all front vowels and the central vowel are unrounded. In addition to the oral vowels, eight nasal vowels were identified from the transcriptions, as follows:[56]

[ĩ] [ɪ̃][57] [ẽ] [ɛ̃] [ã] [ɔ̃] [ʊ̃] [ũ]

The list of nasal vowels above suggests that all except one of the oral vowels, namely, [o],[58] have nasal counterparts.[59] Nasal vowels occur in words like those in (3-1).

[55] On the chart, the close (high) vowels and the half-close vowels ([i], [e], [o] and [u] form a different ATR harmony set from the near-close, half-open and open (low) vowels, namely, [ɪ], [ɛ], [a], [ɔ] and [ʊ]; further, the front vowels and the mid vowels form a different set from the back vowels in terms of Rounding feature, as discussed in §3.1.3., below.

[56] Obeng (2008) discusses nasalised (rather than nasal) vowels in Efutu; the study does not list all the nasal(ised) vowels in the language.

[57] In an attempt to represent the two front vowels [i] (+ATR) and [ɪ] (-ATR) more clearly in the data, I tried with different font types. Font types that clearly differentiate between the two fonts have shortcomings with tone marks and/or nasalisation marks. Overall, Doulos SIL seemed better than the others when we consider the diacritics as well.

(3-1)	a.	*ĩ*	*sìsɪ́*	‘back’
	b.	*ɪ̃*	*ɔ̀ɪ̀; ǹtɛ́ɪ̀; ɔ̀tɕɪ́*	‘red’; ‘there’; ‘tomorrow’
	c.	*ɛ̃*	*ɕwɛ́bí*	‘nose’
	d.	*ɛ̃*	*ìsɛ̀*	‘six’
	e.	*ã*	*láápá; ɔ́sà*	‘big’; ‘a person’
	f.	*ɔ̃*	*ɔ́ɪ̀*	‘red’
	g.	*ʊ̃*	*ásʊ̀*	‘ear’
	h.	*ũ*	*fʊ́ʊ́*	‘all’

(Elicitation)

Apparently, there are some environments where vowel nasality is rather uncertain, especially when they occur adjacent to a nasal consonant. For instance, it is not so clear whether the second [a] in *àfãń* ‘egg’ in Efutu is underlyingly nasal or whether it is phonetically nasalised as a result of influence from the following nasal consonant, an instance of assimilation. Indeed, cross-linguistic research has shown that any vowel that occurs adjacent to a nasal consonant may assume nasality (Medeiros 2011; Laeufer 2010; Dolphyne 1988). Medeiros (2011) for instance distinguishes between nasal vowels and nasalized vowels in Brazilian Portuguese by means of comparing acoustic features, mainly nasal gesture and vocalic gesture in vowel nasality. The gestural investigation led to the characterisation of nasal vowels in Brazilian Portuguese as ‘complex gestures rather than underlying oral vowels that become nasalised in a phonetic level’. That is, there is gestural overlap in the formation of nasality, rather than the simple sequence of an oral vowel plus a nasal consonant (Medeiros 2011: 34). In Brazilian Portuguese, nasal vowels occur in words like:

[58] I am not sure whether [ɔ] truly does not have a nasal counterpart, or whether this is just a gap in the data. This needs further probing.

[59] In Awutu, a co-dialect of Efutu, (see Figure 3 in §1.1. in Chapter 1), Frajzyngier (1975) identifies seven oral vowels, each of which has a nasal counterpart. The Awutu vowel inventory excludes [ɪ] and [ʊ].

(3-2a) i. *canto* [kɜ$^{-n}$tʊ][60] ‘singing/I sing’

ii. *lã* [lɜ$^{-n}$] ‘wool’

(Medeiros 2011: 36)

Nasalized vowels on the other hand occur before full nasal consonants in words like:

(3-2b) i. *cano* [kɜnʊ] ‘pipe’

ii. *caneta* [kanetɐ] ‘pen’

(Medeiros 2011: 36)

The Efutu vowels under consideration in (3-1) occur outside the context of nasal consonants; they are therefore nasal vowels rather than nasalised vowels in terms of the principles established in Medeiros’ (2011) analysis.

Table 3-1 illustrates the oral and nasal vowels in Efutu discussed so far.

Table 3-1: The vowel inventory of Efutu

	Front		Central		Back	
	Oral	Nasal	Oral	Nasal	Oral	Nasal
High	i, ɪ,	ĩ ɪ̃			ʊ, u	ʊ̃, ũ
Mid	e, ɛ,	ẽ ɛ̃			ɔ, o	ɔ̃
Low			a	ã		

The Efutu data revealed that vowel nasality is phonemic in the language.[61] This is illustrated with minimal and near-minimal pairs in (3-3).

[60] The superscript ‘-n’ in the example represents nasality in the preceding sound

[61] Obeng 2008 briefly discusses the phonemic status of nasal vowels.

(3-3)

a.	*sá*	'to dance'	*sã́*	'three'
b.	*hú*	'to blow air'	*hṹ*	'to see'
c.	*tɕìbí*	'knife'	*ìǹsĩ́*	'back'
d	*fɛ́*	'sell'	*ìsɛ̃̂*	'six'
e.	*kà*	'but'	*kã̂*	'wife'
f.	*i. kɛ̀ɪ́*	'remember'	*ɛ́bɛ̀ɪ́*	'herring'
	ii. kɔ̀tɕɪ́	'penis'	*ɔ̀tɕɪ́*	'tomorrow'
g.	*fìrɛ̀bí*	'rope/thread'	*ɕwɛ̃́bí*	'nose'
h.	*àsʊ́tɔ̀*	'earth'	*ásʊ̃̂*	'ear'

(Elicitation)

The pairs in (3-3) provide evidence of the phonemic status of nasal vowels in Efutu.

Regarding vowel length, what appear to be long vowels in the language are analysed as sequences of adjacent identical short vowels, with each vowel bearing a separate tone,[62] as illustrated in (3-4).

(3-4)

a.	*pìì*	'many'	
b.	*frɔ̀ìɪ́*	'stew'	
c.	*pɛ́ɛ́bí*	'road'	
d.	*ápɛ́ɛ̀kɔ̀*	money'	
e.	*lɑ́ɑ́pã́*	'big'	
f.	*wɔ́ɔ̀wòrà*	'arrange'	
g	*ǹtóó*	'or'	
h.	*ìnʊ̀ʊ́*	'head'	

(Elicitation)

[62] See discussion of tone in §3.3., below.

Regarding the distribution of the vowels, a review revealed that apart from [u] and [ʊ], all the vowels can occur in word-initial position.

Although the Efutu data in this study is presented in phonemic transcription, it is worth commenting on orthography. For this research, I have come across only two specimens of written Efutu (apart from transcriptions by my consultants) by Obeng (2008) and Rev S. K. Taylor (n.d.). Taylor's work comprises a number of unpublished manuscripts, one of which is devoted to vowels and consonants of the language. For vowel sounds, the manuscripts make use of the following seven symbols: <i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u>. These vowel symbols are used throughout all the manuscripts. The use of these vowels in the writing system is a convention which is in conformity with the standard Akan orthography (Akan Language Committee 1995). In the standard Akan orthography, each of the symbols <e>, <o> and <a> represent two vowel phonemes as follows:

<e> represents the phonemes [e] and [ɪ]

<o> represents the phonemes [o] and [ʊ]

<a> represents the phonemes [a] and [æ]

The convention of using the same orthographic symbol for two different sounds does not create confusion in the writing system due to vowel harmony.[63] From the vowel harmony rule, it is possible to determine the sound that the (otherwise ambiguous) symbol represents. Obeng's (2008) study on the other hand uses phonetic transcription throughout and therefore includes all the phonetic vowels he identifies in the language.

In my fieldwork, consultants who provided written material (in the form of transcriptions, i.e., transcribed audio recordings, or completed the wordlists, or written popular stories or songs[64]) made use of the vowels of the Akan orthography. This does not come as a surprise though since the Fante dialect of Akan is one of the examinable subjects in schools at all levels in the Efutu speaking area. Moreover, in churches, Fante Bibles and hymn books are used. Thus, written texts that are familiar to Efutu speakers contain these symbols.

[63] A section on vowel harmony appears below.
[64] See §2.4. in Chapter 2 for discussion on data.

3.1.2. Vowel harmony in Efutu

Vowel harmony is a constraint which restricts the co-occurrence of vowels, such that, in a given word, only vowels belonging to the same *class* can occur (Vago 1980: XI; Burquest 1993: 212; Hulst & Smith 1986: 233). Burquest (1993: 212) characterises it as 'an assimilative process in which, in the classical case, all the vowels in a given phonological word belong to the same vowel class'. Burquest (1993) identifies different types of vowel harmony based on features such as: (a) advanced/non-advanced tongue root (ATR), (b) low/high, (c) back/front, and (d) rounded/unrounded. The Efutu data exhibits (a) ATR harmony and (b) rounding harmony. Based on ATR harmony, vowels in the language can be classified into two sets as follows:

Set I - advanced tongue root vowels (+ATR): [i], [e], [o], [u]
Set II – non-advanced (or retracted) tongue root vowels (–ATR): [ɪ], [ɛ], [a], [ɔ], [ʊ]

In advanced tongue root harmony, a co-occurrence restriction rule requires that only vowels from the same ATR set can co-occur in, for instance, a given word (we are interested in mono-morphemic disyllabic and multisyllabic words). (3-5a) and (3-5b) illustrate [+ATR] and [–ATR] harmony in words, respectively.

(3-5) a. *kùbé* 'coconut'
éwúsò 'home'
èm̀pí 'stone'

b. *ɔ̀tɕé* 'tomorrow'
àpéɛ̀kɔ̀ 'money'
ɔ̀pù 'salt' (Elicitation)

ATR harmony is also evident in verbal affixation[65] where the vowels in an affix harmonize with those in the verb stem. As a result, verbal affixes can have different forms, as illustrated in (3-6).[66]

(3-6) a. *mù-ú-nù* 'I drink'
mì-í-dèí 'I sleep'

b. *mɔ̀-ɔ́-sɔ̀* 'I buy'
mì-í-fɛ́ 'I sell'

(Elicitation)

In (3-6a), the vowels in the verbal prefixes *mù-ú-* and *mì-í-* are [+ATR] as a result of the verb stems *nù* 'drink' and *dèí* 'sleep' having [+ATR] vowels. Likewise, in (3-6b), the vowels in the verbal prefixes *mɔ̀-ɔ́-* and *mì-í-* are [-ATR] as a result of the [-ATR] vowels in the verb stems *sɔ̀* 'buy' and *fɛ́* 'sell'.

Another domain where ATR harmony features is in possessive constructions. Here, the form of the nominal prefix is determined by the vowel(s) in the noun. This is exemplified in (3-7a) – (3-7b).

(3-7) a. *mú-kúr̀* 'my husband'
mí-sê 'my father'

b. *má-ánô* 'my lips'
mí-ɲàmá 'my boat'

(Elicitation)

[65] See some more discussion and examples of vowel harmony in verbal affixation with reference to agreement markers in §4.3.2. of Chapter 4 and also with reference to tense, aspect, mood and negation in Chapter 5.
[66] The habitual aspect form of the verb is used in the illustration in (3-6); for further discussion of habitual marking, see §5.2.2. in Chapter 5.

Another domain where ART harmony occurs is in the definite article.[67] In this domain, the vowel of the article may assimilate the ATR quality of the vowels in the following item, as illustrated in (3-7c) – (3-7d). In (3-7c), the form *nɔ̀* 'DEF' of the definite article is conditioned by the [-ATR] vowel [ɔ] in the following locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside'.[68] The variant *nù* 'DEF' of the definite article in (3-7d) is as a result of the [+ATR] vowel [ò] in the following locative noun *sò* 'top'.

(3-7) c. *mɔ̀-sɔ̀ jìbí nɔ̀ tɔ̀*
3SG-hold tree DEF inside
's/he held the tree' (Elicitation)

d. *mù-síná ìpùró nù sò*
3SG-sit table DEF top
's/he is sitting on the table' (Elicitation)

There is however an exception to the above described vowel harmony system in Efutu. Although [a] is a [–ATR] vowel, it is able to occur with [+ATR] vowels, as in (3-8):

(3-8) a. *ɲímpá* 'elder'
b. *kìtá* 'hold'
c. *bìsá* 'ask'
(Elicitation)

In (3-8), each of the examples involve a [+ATR] vowel [i] followed by the [-ATR] vowel [a], which is an exception to the vowel harmony system. The above illustrated exception to ATR harmony in Efutu is confined to the low vowel [a], as reported in

[67] See discussion of the definite article in §4.5.1. in Chapter 4.
[68] See discussion of locative nouns in §4.2. in Chapter 4.

some other languages (Casali 2002). Casali (2002:19) discusses the neutral status of the low vowel [a] in various languages, including Nawuri (Kwa, North-Guan; Ghana), such that [a] which is a [-ATR] vowel can also occur with [+ATR] vowels. The study further discusses how [a] behaves either transparently (by allowing [+ATR] spread) or opaquely (by blocking [+ATR] spread) in instances of affixation, and points out an apparent superficiality in the supposed transparency (Casali 2002: 19-23). Dolphyne (1988) and Burquest (1993) also discuss how Akan neutral vowels behave in a sililar way in the context of affixation. For Efutu, we have not investigated the behaviour of [a] in affixation.

Rounding harmony in Efutu classifies vowels in the language into two harmonic sets as follows:

Set I: +Round – [ɔ], [o], [ʊ], [u]

Set II: -Round – [i], [ɪ], [e], [ɛ], [a]

Exemplification can be seen of [+Round] and [-Round] in (3-9) and (3-10), respectively:

(3-9) a. *ófùr̀* ‘white’

b. *ɔ́wútɔ̂* ‘farm’

c. *fùntúń* ‘throw’

(3-10) a. *ábɛ́ńtâ̂* ‘palm wine’

b. *fìtɕí́* ‘sweep’

c. *tɕɛ́ntɕè* ‘mountain’ (Elicitation)

Rounding harmony (like ATR harmony) occurs in verbal affixation[69] (3-11) and possessive constructions (3-12).

[69] The habitual aspect of the verb is used in the illustration in (3-11), as also in (3-6), above. For further discussion of habitual marking, see §5.2.2. in Chapter 5.

(3-11) a. *mù-ú-nù* ‘I drink’

b. *mɔ̀-ú-sɔ̀* ‘I buy’

c. *mì-í-dèí* ‘I sleep’

d *mì-í-fɛ́* ‘I sell’

(Elicitation)

(3-12) a. *mú-kúr̀* ‘my husband’

b. *mú-ŋ̀kɔ́!tɔ́ẃ* ‘my crabs’

c. *mí-sê* ‘my father’

d. *mí-ɲàmá* ‘my boat’

(Elicitation)

In (3-11), the vowels in the verbal affixes are found to assimilate to the Rounding value of the vowels in the verb-stem they attach to. Similarly, in (3-12), the vowels in the nominal prefixes are found to assimilate to the Rounding value of the vowels in the following noun.

At a glance, the above described rounding harmony in Efutu may be construed as Back/Front harmony. The presence of the central vowel [a] in the [-Round] set of vowels however challenges an argument for a Back/Front harmony. Thus, the analysis of the above described harmony system as involving Rounding rather than Back/Front harmony.

Furthermore, an analysis of the Efutu data suggests that certain pronoun forms, including the second singular (2SG), the third singular animate (3SG) and the third plural animate (3PL), resist [-Round] harmony while the third singular and plural inanimate (3SG.INAN / 3PL.INAN) resist [+Round] harmony.

3.1.3. Consonants in Efutu

From the transcriptions of the fieldwork data, twenty-six consonant sounds were identified in Efutu, as presented in Table 3-2. In each column in Table 3-2, voiceless and voiced sounds are on the left and right, respectively.

Table 3-2: Consonant chart of Efutu (based on the IPA)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Pre-palatal	Palatal	Labial-palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glotal
Plosive	p b		t d					k g kw		
Affricate					tɕ dʑ tɕw dʑw					
Nasal	m		n			ɲ ɲw		ŋ		
Lateral			l							
Fricative		f	s	ɕ	ɕw					h
Approximant			r			j	ɥ		w	

Certain phonetic variations need mentioning. The consonants [ɕ] and [s] appear to be free variants in certain environments. For instance, in words like (3-13), speakers use [ɕ] and [s] alternatively, though in other environments [s] is used exclusively, as in (3-14).

(3-13)	a.	*ɕ/sìmpúbá*	'three pence'	(Taylor *Aya Penkye*: 19)
	b.	*ɕ/sídàkómé*	'one shilling'	(Taylor *Aya Penkye*: 19)
	c.	*òɕ/sé*	'female/woman'	(Taylor;[70] Elicitation)
	d.	*ɕ/sɛ̂*	'six'	(Elicitation)

(3-14)	a.	*sɔ̀*	'buy'	(Elicitation)
	b.	*éwúsò*	'home/house'	(Elicitation)
	c.	*sùtɕí*	'fly'	(Elicitation)
	d.	*ɔ́sã̀*	'person'	(Elicitation)

From the examples in (3-13) and (3-14) [ɕ] occurs before front vowels while [s] occurs before both front and back vowels.

The consonants [d] and [l] appear to be free variants in certain contexts as either can occur in the same environment, as illustrated in (3-15). This too needs further examination.

(3-15)	a.	*édítɔ̀ / élítɔ̀*	'food'	
	b.	*ódéfɛ̀ / óléfɛ̀*	'chief/king'	
				(Elicitation)

The consonants [p], [b] and [f] become palatalised in certain environments, especially, when they occur before front vowels, as in (3-16):[71]

[70] Including *Aya Penkye*: 5; *Gyate*: 7-8; *The dialect*: 10, 39, 43, 46, etc.
[71] In (3-16), the superscript 'j' is used to indicate palatalization.

(3-16) a. *àpʲéɛ̀kɔ̀* 'money'[72]

b. *ɔ̀pʲé* 'fetish'

c. *bʲɛ́* 'break'

d. *fʲɛ́* 'sell'

Each of the consonants [kw], [tɕw], [dʑw], [ɲw], and [ɕw] is produced with a labialised-like quality. Table 3-3 illustrates occurrence of the consonants in words.

[72] Another work for 'money' in Efutu is *ɕìká* or *sìká*.

Table 3-3: Examples of the Efutu consonants in words

Phoneme	Example 1 – word initial	Example 2 - Medial
p	*pá* 'catch (with net)'	*ɔ̀pò* 'sea'
b	*bàm̀bá* 'cloth'	*wúbî* 'belly'
t	*táànò* 'buttocks'	àtòbí 'child'
d	*dèí* 'sleep'	*àdá* 'song'
k	*kɔ́ǹ* 'neck'	*ńkɔ́bá* 'hook'
g	*gúrá* 'cry/weep'	*ìgó* 'wall'
kw	*kwáàfà* 'every'	
tɕ	*tɕìbí* 'knife'	*ɔ̀tɕɛ̃́* 'tomorrow'
dʑ	*dʑà* 'early'	*ǹdʑèbí* 'firewood'
tɕw	*tɕwérì* 'lean on'	*ìtɕwê* 'eight'
dʑw	*dʑwèté* 'pull'	*ídʑwô* 'yam'
m	*m̀fɔ̃* 'oil/fat'	*ɔ́mã̂* 'town'
n	*ǹtín* 'root'	*énî* 'tooth'
ɲ	*ɲãmã́* 'boat'	*ɔ̀ɲĩ̂* 'male/man'
ɲw	*ɲwɔ̀* 'beat/hit'	-
ŋ	*ńkɔ́bá* 'hook'	*náńkà* 'cook'
l	*láápã́* 'big'	*ɔ̀lɔ̀fã́* 'hundred'
f	*fúú* 'all'	*ɔ̀lɔ̀fã́* 'hundred'
s	*sɔ̀* 'buy'	*ìsɛ̃̂* 'six'
ɕ	*ɕìná* 'sit'	*mù ɕé* 'laugh'
ɕw	*ɕwɛ̃́bí* 'nose'	-
h	*hũ̀* 'see'	-
r	-	*wórá* 'wear/put on'
j	*jìbí* 'tree'	*ájá* 'woman'
ɥ	*ɥírì* 'steal'	*íɥíǹ* 'corps'
w	*wɔ́* 'go'	*ɔ̀wû* 'breast'

3.2. Syllable structure in Efutu

From the analysis of the data, Efutu may be said to have three syllable types: (i) V - a vowel, (ii) CV - a consonant and a vowel, and (iii) C - a syllabic consonant.[73] Syllabic consonants in the language include [m], [n], [ŋ], [r] and [w]. In Efutu, the syllable is a tone-bearing[74] unit. Like the CV and V syllables, the syllabic consonants bear tone in the contexts where they occur. The three syllable types in the language are exemplified in (3-17).[75]

(3-17) a. V: ***à*** *in* ***à****.bá* 'hand'

b. CV: ***bá*** *in* *à.****bá*** 'hand'

c. C: i. ***m*** in ***m̀****.pí* 'stone'

ii. ***n*** in *à.fà.****ń*** 'egg'

iii. ***ŋ*** in ***ŋ́****.kɔ́.bá* 'a hook'

iv. ***r*** in *ǹ.tɕì.****ŕ*** 'chicken'

v. ***w*** in *à.dʊ́.!****ẃ*** 'monkey'

(Elicitation)

One indication of the syllabic status of the examples in (3-17) is that each bears a separate tone. From the above described syllable structure Efutu may be said to have no closed syllables. What appears to be a closed syllable in the language is analysed as a CV syllable followed by a C syllable, as in examples (ii, iv and v in 3-17c).

In words like *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' *ńkɔ́!tɔ́ẃ* 'crabs' and *tɕìrɔ́ẃ* 'write', the final sound is analysed as a syllabic consonant [w] rather than a vowel [ʊ]. This analysis is based on the fact that their production involves relatively more closure and protruding of the lips, as compared to the production of the vowel [ʊ]. For instance, in the pronunciation of *mʊ̀-ʊ́ wɔ́* 'I go', the two vowels in *mʊ̀-ʊ́* are pronounced in

[73] Obeng (2008) also discusses syllable structure in Efutu with similar findings. Many of the features found in the Efutu syllable structure in this study are similar to those observed in Akan by Dolphyne (1988).

[74] See discussion of tone in 3.3., below.

[75] The period (.) is used in the examples to indicate syllable boundary.

the same way. In contrast, in the pronunciation of a word like *àdú!ẃ* 'monkey', the lips close further as they protrude outwards with the production of the final [w], with a lip position similar to the production of the initial sound [*w*] in *wɔ́* 'go'. For this reason, such a final sound is better analysed as a syllabic consonant rather than a vowel.

In sequences of vowels, each vowel is analysed as constituting a separate syllable, irrespective of their tone pattern and phonetic shape, i.e., whether they have different or similar tone, and whether they are of the same quality or not.[76] The examples in (3-18) illustrate vowels in a sequence constituting separate syllables.

(3-18) a. *à.bó.é.bí* 'animal'

b. *lá.á.pā́* 'big'

c. *á.mà.nà.á* 'plantain'

d. *dwà.à.dé* 'cassava'

e. *à.pɛ́.ɛ̀.kɔ̀* 'money'

(Elicitation)

The above described syllable structure again suggests the absence of a CCV structure in the language. A seeming CCV syllable structure is analysed as a CV.CV structure in which the vowel of the first CV is not pronounced, especially in rapid speech. This phonetic deletion is noticeable, as the remaining consonant is pronounced with the tone of the deleted vowel. Examples of such superficial CCV structures include *ìpró* 'table' (pronounced with a Low tone on the consonant [p]), and *brá*[77] 'not' (pronounced with a High tone on the initial consonant [b]). In a slow speech they are pronounced *ìpùró* 'table' and *bírá* 'not'. Such deleted vowels are observed to occur in contexts where the initial consonant of the following syllable is [r], as in these examples.

[76] See also comments on vowel length in §3.1.1.

[77] The item *bírá* 'not' which normally occurs at the beginning of an utterance is used to negate a noun or a noun phrase. It sometimes carries a pragmatic undertone which marks the speaker's attitude.

3.3. Tone in Efutu

Burquest (1993: 186) defines a tone[78] language as one which 'makes use of differences in pitch to differentiate lexical items'. Efutu uses tone to distinguish lexical items, as in the minimal pairs in (3-19).

(3-19) a. *ádá* 'name'
àdá 'song'

b. *àtàŕ* 'dress'
àtáŕ 'language'

c. *bàm̀bá* 'cloth'
báḿbá 'wall'

d. *fìrèbí* 'thread'
fĭ́rébí 'be well'

e. *ǹsìré* 'race'
ńsírè 'game'

f. *àní* '1PL'
ání '2PL'

(Elicitation)

Four tone patterns were identified in the data from my fieldwork. They may be characterised as: (i) High tone (◌́), (ii) Low tone (◌̀), (iii) Falling tone (◌̂) and (iv) Downstep-high tone (!).[79] High tone and Low tone are illustrated in (3-20) while Downstep-high and Falling tone are illustrated in (3-21) and (3-22), respectively.

[78] Kropp-Dakubu (1999) points out that in spite of the highly significant role tone (and nasality) play in Ghanaian languages, their orthographies do not represent this feature. The Akan orthography for instance completely excludes tone marking (Akan language committee, 1995).

[79] Obeng (2008) includes a discussion of tone in Efutu which does not mention Falling tone. A tone pattern similar to that of Efutu is reported in Gonja (Painter 1970: 7) and Lete (Akrofi Ansah 2009), both Guan languages, and Ewe (Westermann 1930; Berry 1951; Ansre 1961; Duthie 1996) and Akan (Dolphyne 1988), both Kwa languages.

High tone and Low tone may be said to be basic in Efutu as they may occur independently in words. Unlike High and Low tone, Downstep-high and Falling appear to be secondary; they usually do not occur independently. Falling tone, particularly, is usually conditioned by other factors, as exemplified below (see examples (3-24) – (3-25) and discussion below). Downstep-high tone usually occurs after High tone, whereas Falling tone may occur after High or Low tone. From the data, Downstep-high and Falling tone seem to occur in word-final position while High and Low tone tend to have wider distributions.

(3-20) a. *wɔ́* 'go'
b. *ná* 'walk'
c. *nì* 'know'
d. *hṹ* 'see'

(Elicitation)

(3-21) a. *àsàá!bá* 'cotton'
b. *ǹkɛ́!tí* 'groundnut'
c. *àdó!ẃ* 'monkey'
d. *ŋ̀kɔ́!tɔ́ẃ* 'crabs'

(Elicitation)

(3-22) a. *wúbî* 'belly/stomach'
b. *ńtâ* 'wine/liquor'
c. *ɔ̀wû* 'breast'
d. *èdùnû* 'fifty'

(Elicitation)

Tone has both lexical and grammatical functions in Efutu. Lexically, meaning of words is distinguished based on tone differentiation, as in (3-19). Grammatically, tone plays a prominent role in the tense/aspect and negation system in Efutu. In some cases tone is the only distinguishing feature in verb tense and aspect (3-23a)

and negation (3-23b). In other cases, the verb's tone may also change in response to tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Further discussion on tone in relation to tense, aspect, mood and negation appears in Chapter 5.

(3-23) a. *m-áà-wɔ́* (Future) 'I will go'

m-àá-wɔ́ (Progressive) 'I am going'

b. *m-áà-wɔ́* (Future affirmative) 'I will go'

m-áá-wɔ́ (Future negative) 'I will not go'

(Elicitation)

Another grammatical function of tone is illustrated in (3-24) – (3-25). The tone of the locative noun 'inside' is Low in (3-24) but Falling in (3-25). Sentence (3-24) occurs with an overtly expressed object whereas sentence (3-25) occurs with no such object. The omission of an object in (3-25) appears to condition the tone change in the locative noun (see other examples in §4.6.1. in Chapter 4).

(3-24) *mù-tɕî* *bàm̀bá* *nù* *tɔ̂*

3SG-twist cloth DEF inside

's/he wrung the cloth' (Elicitation)

(3-25) *mù-tɕî* *tɔ̂*

3SG-twist inside

's/he wrung it' (Elicitation)

3.4. Some other phonological processes in Efutu

Other phonological processes, including segment deletion, segment insertion and homorganic nasal assimilation have been observed in the Efutu data. These processes occur mainly in verbal affixation, especially, in the area of person marking, and also in tense, aspect, mood and negation marking. These processes are discussed in turn.

3.4.1. Segment deletion in Efutu

Segment deletion may involve vowel deletion or consonant deletion. In Efutu, vowel deletion occurs in verbal affixation, mainly, in the marking of future aspect and progressive aspect.[80] Forms that are affected by vowel deletion in the marking of these categories include the agreement markers of: (i) the first person singular subject *mì* '1SG', (ii) the first person plural subject *àní* '1PL', and (iii) the second person plural subject *ání* '2PL'.[81] In the process of marking future and progressive aspects, the agreement markers of the above-listed persons delete their final vowel segments when preceding the future *áà* 'FUT'[82] or the progressive marker *àá* 'PROG'[83]. Thus, in the process of marking future or progressive, the first singular *mì* '1SG' deletes its vowel /ì/ whereas the first and second plural *àní* '1PL' and *ání* '2PL', respectively, each delete their final vowel /í/ in order to prefix to the progressive or future marker. Also, the first singular subject agreement marker *mì* '1SG' becomes affected with vowel deletion in the marking of negation in three aspectual categories, namely, habitual, future and progressive. These three aspectual categories have a common negative form[84] *áá* with the first person singular subject agreement marker *mì* '1SG'. In the process of marking negation in these three categories, the agreement marker *mì* '1SG' deletes its vowel segment /ì/ in order to accommodate the negative marker *áá*.[85] Such a deletion of the agreement marker's final vowel is suggested to be a means of avoiding the occurrence of a sequence of three successive vowels in the construction. Vowel deletion in the agreement marker is illustrated in examples (3-26) – (3-29).

[80] See discussion of future and progressive marking in §5.2.3. and §5.2.4., both in Chapter 5.
[81] Each of the agreement markers may have variant forms due to vowel harmony (see diacussion of vowel harmony in §3.1.2, above, and discussion of agreement markers in §4.3.2. in Chapter 4)
[82] The future marker *áà* 'FUT' has a [+ATR] variant *éè* 'FUT' (see discussion in §5.2.3. in Chapter 5).
[83] The progressive marker *àá* 'PROG' has a [+ATR] variant *èé* 'PROG' (see discussion in §5.2.4. in Chapter 5).
[84] See discussion of negation in the habitual, future and progressive aspects in §5.3.4., §5.3.5. and §5.3.6., respectively, all in Chapter 5.
[85] The negative marker *áá* 'NEG' has a [+ATR] variant *éé* 'NEG' (see discussion in §5.3.4. in Chapter 5).

In (3-26a), (3-26b) and (3-26c), the agreement markers *m* '1SG', *àn* '1PL', and *án* '2PL', respectively, each occur with a deleted final vowel as they prefix to the future marker *áà* 'FUT'. Likewise, in (3-27a), (3-27b) and (3-27c), the agreement markers *m* '1SG', *àn* '1PL', and *án* '2PL', respectively, each occur with a deleted final vowel as they prefix to the progressive marker *àá* 'PROG'. Also, in (3-28), the agreement marker *m* '1SG' occurs with a deleted vowel as it prefixes to the negative marker *áá* 'NEG'.

(3-26) a. *m-áà-wɔ́*

1SG-FUT-go

'I will go ' (Elicitation)

b. *àn-áà-wɔ́*

1PL-FUT-go

'we will go' (Elicitation)

c. *án-áà-wɔ́*

2PL-FUT-go

'you will go' (Elicitation)

(3-27) a. *m-àá-wɔ́*

1SG-PROG-go

'I am going' (Elicitation)

b. *àn-àá-wɔ́*

2PL-PROG-go

'you are going' (Elicitation)

c. *án-àá-wɔ́*

2PL-PROG-go

'you are going' (Elicitation)

(3-28) *m-áá-wɔ́*

1SG-NEG-go

'I do not go/ I am not going/ I will not go'[86] (Elicitation)

The above-described vowel deletion affects the agreement marker in the process of affixation. In some cases, however, the deletion affects the aspectual marker instead, when it is prefixed with the agreement marker. Thus, the future marker *áà* 'FUT' and progressive *àá* 'PROG' are found to be the affected forms, whereby they delete their initial segments when they occur with the third singular animate *mò* '3SG' and third plural animate *àmò* '3PL'.[87] Also, the habitual negative, the future negative and the progressive negative, which have a common form *áá* 'NEG' are found to delete the initial vowel when it is prefixed with the third singular animate *mò* '3SG' or the third plural animate *àmò* '3PL. The above-described vowel deletion in the future marker is illustrated in (3-29a) – (3-29b) while vowel deletion in the progressive marker is illustrated in (3-30a) – (3-30b); vowel deletion in the negative marker is illustrated in (3-31a) – (3-31b).

In (3-29a) and (3-29b), the form *!á* 'FUT' of the future marker has its initial vowel deleted as a result of the occurrence of the prefix *mɔ́* '3SG' in (3-29a) and *àmɔ́* '3PL' in (3-29b). In (3-29a) and (3-29b), the High tone of the agreement marker's final vowel, as well as the Downstep-high tone *!á* 'FUT' of the future marker, is suggested to be conditioned by the tone of the deleted vowel (see further discussion in §5.2.3. in Chapter 5). In (3-30a) and (3-30b), the form *á* 'PROG' of the

[86] The alternative free translations in (3-28) represent all three aspectual categories which use the common negative.

[87] See discussion of future and progressive marking with the third singular and plural animate in §5.2.3. and §5.2.4., both in Chapter 5.

progressive marker has its initial vowel deleted as a result of the prefix *mɔ̀* '3SG' in (3-30a) and *àmɔ̀* '3PL' in (3-30b). Also, in (3-31a) – (3-31b), the form of the negative marker *á* 'NEG' has its initial vowel deleted as a result of the prefix *mɔ́* '3SG' in (3-31a) and *àmɔ́* '3PL' in (3-31b). Table 3-4 summarizes the above-described vowel deletion in Efutu.

(3-29) a. *mɔ́-!á- wɔ́*

3SG-FUT-go

's/he will go' (Elicitation)

b. *àmɔ́-!á- wɔ́*

3PL-FUT-go

'they will go' (Elicitation)

(3-30) a. *mɔ̀-á-wɔ́*

3SG-PROG-go

's/he is going' (Elicitation)

b. *àmɔ̀-á-wɔ́*

3PL-PROG-go

'they are going' (Elicitation)

(3-31) a. *mɔ́*[88]*-á-wɔ́*

3SG-NEG-go

's/he will not go' (Elicitation)

[88] The High tone of the agreement marker's final vowel in (3-31a) and (3-31b) is not unusual; generally, in negation marking, the agreement marker's final vowel acquires a High tone; the second singular and third singular inanimate seem to be the only exception (see §5.3. in Chapter 5 for further discussion of negation marking of the various tense and aspect forms with different agreement markers).

b. *àmú-á-wɔ́*

3SG-NEG-go

's/he will not go' (Elicitation)

Table 3-4: Vowel deletion in aspect marking in Efutu

Per-son	Future aspect	Progressive aspect	Negative (Hab., Fut. and Prog.)
1SG	*mì+ áà → mØ-áà → m-áà*	*mì+ àá → mØ-àá → m-àá*	*mì+ áá → mØ-áá → m-áá*
1PL	*àní+ áà → ànØ-áà → àn-áà*	*àní+ àá → ànØ-àá → àn-àá*	
2PL	*ání+ áà → ánØ-áà → án-áà*	*ání+ àá → ánØ-àá → án-àá*	
3SG	*mù + áà → mú-Ø!á → mú-!á*	*mù + àá → mù-Øá → mù-á*	*mù + áá → mú-Øá → mú-á*
3PL	*àmù + áà → àmú-Ø!á → àmú-!á*	*àmù + àá → àmù-Øá → àmù-á*	*àmù + áá → àmú-á → àmú-á*

Consonant deletion may occur in Efutu, mainly in borrowed words. When a borrowed word occurs with a final consonant which is lateral, such a lateral consonant usually gets deleted in Efutu, presumably because the language does not have lateral final consonants in the indigenous words. Examples of such deletion of lateral consonants in word-final position in borrowed word are illustrated in (3-32). In (3-32a) the final lateral consonant in 'school' gets deleted when it is borrowed into Efutu.[89] Likewise, in (3-32b), the final lateral consonant in 'ball' is not pronounced when it is borrowed into Efutu.

[89] The pronunciation of the borrowed word 'school' also involves vowel insertion, as discussed in §3.4.2..

(3-32) a. *sùkúùØ → /sùkúù/* ‘school’

b. *bɔ́ɔ̀Ø → /bɔ́ɔ̀/*[90] ‘ball’

3.4.2. Segment insertion in Efutu

In Efutu, segment insertion normally occurs in borrowed words. This usually happens when a borrowed word does not conform to the syllable structure of the language.[91] Instances of segment insertion include when a borrowed word contains a consonant cluster or when a borrowed word ends with a consonant sound, such as a stop, an affricate, or a fricative. When a borrowed word includes a consonant cluster, a vowel is inserted within the cluster in conformity with the Efutu syllable structure. Such insertion of a vowel within a cluster is illustrated in (3-33) where the inserted vowels occur in boldface. In (3-33a) and (3-33b), the vowel [**ù**] is inserted within the cluster [sk] in (3-33a) and the cluster [sp] in (3-33b). In (3-33c), the vowel [**ò**] is inserted within the cluster [st]. In each of the examples in (3-33), the inserted vowel has the same [ATR] value as the other vowels in the word.[92]

(3-33) a. *sù.kú.ù*[93] ‘school’

b. *sù.pí.ì.dì* ‘speed’

c. *sò.tɔ́.ɔ̀* ‘store’

In the case where a borrowed word ends with a consonant that is a stop, an affricate or a fricative, a vowel is inserted after such a consonant in order to prevent an arresting consonant or a closed syllable in resulting borrowed word. Such insertion of vowel after a consonant in borrowed words is illustrated in (3-34) where the inserted vowel occurs in boldface. In (3-34a) the vowel [**ì**] is inserted after the stop [d]; in (3-34b), the vowel [**ù**] is inserted after the stop [k]; in (3-34c), the vowel [**ì**] is inserted after the stop [g]; in (3-34d), the vowel [**ì**] is inserted after the affricate [tɕ];

[90] Some speakers rather use the pronunciation /*bɔ́ɔ̀lò*/ for ‘ball’, meaning they insert a vowel after the lateral consonant rather than deleting it.
[91] See discussion of syllable structure in §3.2., above.
[92] See discussion of vowel harmony in §3.1.2., above.
[93] The final consonant [l] in school is deleted.

in (3-34e), the vowel [ɪ] is inserted after the fricative [s]. In each of the examples in (3-34), the inserted vowel has the same [ATR] value as the other vowels in the word.

(3-34) a. *sù.pí.ì.dɪ̀* 'speed'

b. *bú.ù.kʊ̀* 'book'

c. *bá.à.gɪ̀* 'bag'

d. *wɔ́.ɔ̀.tɕɪ̀* 'watch'

e. *bá.à.sɪ̀* 'bus'

Another phenomenon that appears to be segment insertion occurs in verbal affixation. In the marking of future and progressive aspects, the form of the aspectual marker that occurs with the second singular subject agreement marker *ɔ́* '2SG' and the third singular and plural inanimate subject agreement marker *í* '3SG/PL.INAN'[94] results in insertion of a consonant. In marking of future aspect, other pronouns use the form *áà* 'FUT' or its reduced form *!á* 'FUT'[95] whereas the second singular and the third singular/ plural inanimate use the form *báà* 'FUT' which is analysed as an insertion of the consonant [b] in morpheme-initial position. Likewise, in marking of progressive aspect, other pronouns use the form *àá* 'PROG' or its reduced form *á* 'PROG'[96] whereas the second singular and the third singular and plural inanimate use the form *nàá* 'PROG' which is analysed as an insertion of the consonant [n] in morpheme-initial position. Such an insertion of [b] in the future marker and [n] in the progressive marker is suggested to be a way of preventing the occurrence of a sequence of three successive vowels. The above described insertion of [b] and [n] are illustrated in (3-35) and (3-36), respectively.

[94] The third singular and plural inanimate uses the same agreement marker *í*.
[95] See discussion of vowel deletion in §3.4.1., above; also, see discussion of future marking in §5.2.3. in Chapter 5.
[96] See discussion of vowel deletion in §3.4.1., above, and also discussion of progressive marking in §5.2.4. in Chapter 5.

(3-35) a. *ɔ́-**b**áà-wɔ́*

2SG-FUT-go

'you will go' (Elicitation)

b. *í-**b**áà-wɔ́*

3SG.INAN-FUT-go

'it will go' (Elicitation)

(3-36) a. *ɔ̀-**n**àá-wɔ́*

2SG-PROG-go

'you are going' (Elicitation)

b. *ì-**n**àá-wɔ́*

3SG.INAN-PROG-go

'it is going' (Elicitation)

Concerning [b]-insertion in the future marker, it is worth mentioning that the first and second plural subject agreement markers may also use the form ***b**áà* 'FUT', as an alternative to the deletion of the agreement marker's final vowel discussed in §3.4.1., above.[97] This is illustrated with the first plural in (3-37), where the first plural *àní* '1PL' occurs with the future marker ***b**áà* 'FUT'.[98]

(3-37) *àní-**b**áà-wɔ́*

1PL-FUT-go

'we will go' (Elicitation)

Another seeming insertion occurs in the marking of the habitual negative, future negative and progressive negative, all of which use a common negative form.[99] The

[97] See examples (3-26b) – (3-26c) in section §3.4.1., above.
[98] See also discussion of future marking in §5.2.3. in Chapter 5.
[99] See discussion of habitual negative, future negative and progressive negative in §5.3..4., §5.3.5. and §5.3.6. in Chapter 5.

apparent insertion in this common negative form occurs with the second singular *ɔ́* '2SG', the third singular and plural *ì* '3SG/PL', the first plural *àní* '1PL' and the second plural *ání* '2PL'. With other pronouns, the form *áá* 'NEG' of the common negative or its reduced variant *á* 'NEG' is used, but, with the above listed subject pronouns, the form ***m***áá 'NEG' is used. The form ***m***áá 'NEG' is suggested to involve an insertion of the consonant [m] in morpheme-initial position, as a means of preventing the occurrence of three successive vowels. The use of the form ***m***áá 'NEG' is illustrated with the first plural in (3-38) where the agreement marker *àní* '1PL' occurs with the negative marker ***m***áá 'NEG'. The above-described insertion of consonants in verbal affixation is summarised in Table 3-5.

(3-38) *àní-**m**áá-wɔ́*

1PL-NEG-go

'we will not go' (Elicitation)

Table 3-5: Consonant insertion in aspect marking in Efutu

Person	Future	Progressive	Negative (Hab. Fut. Prog.)
2SG	*ɔ́ + áà → ɔ́-áà →* *ɔ́-**b**áà*	*ɔ̀ + àá → ɔ̀-àá →* *ɔ̀-**n**àá*	*ɔ̀ + áá → ɔ̀-áá →* *ɔ̀-**m**áá*
3SG/PL.INAN	*ɪ́ + áà → ɪ́-áà → ɪ́-**b**áà*	*ì + àá → ì-àá →* *ì-**n**àá*	*ì + áá → ì-áá →* *ì-**m**áá*
1PL	*àní + áà → àní-áà →* *àní-**b**áà*		*àní + áá → àní-áá →* *àní-**m**áá*
2PL	*ání + áà → ání-áà →* *ání-**b**áà*		*ání + áá →ání-áá →* *ání-**m**áá*

3.4.3. Homorganic nasal assimilation in Efutu

In Efutu, homorganic nasal assimilation occurs in two instances of verbal affixation, namely, in marking: (i) perfect aspect, and (ii) past negative.[100] In each of these instances, the aspectual or negative marker involves a nasal consonant 'N' which assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the verb stem. Such a homorganic nasal assimilation is illustrated with perfect marking in (3-39). In each of the examples, the affected consonant is in boldface.

(3-39) a. *mù-**ḿ**-bétè*

3SG-PERF-take

's/he has taken (it)' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-**ń**-dó*

3SG-PERF-climb

's/he has climbed (it)' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-**ɲ́**-ɲɔ́*

3SG-PERF-hit

's/he has beaten it' (Elicitation)

d. *mù-**ŋ́**-gúrà*

3SG-PERF-cry

's/he has cried' (Elicitation)

In (3-39a), the perfect marker is realised as [ḿ] as a result of the following bilabial consonant [b]. In (3-39b), the perfect marker is realised as [ń] as a result of the following alveolar consonant [d]. In (3-39c), the perfect marker is realised as [ɲ́] as a result of the following palatal consonant [ɲ]. In (3-39d), the perfect marker is realised as [ŋ́] as a result of the following velar consonant [g]. The above described

[100] See discussion of perfect aspect in §5.2.1. and past negative in §5.3.2 in Chapter 5.

homorganic nasal assimilation is summarised in Figure 3-2.

Figure 3-2: Homorganic nasal assimilation in Efutu

[N]→[m] __ [+ Bilabial]

[N]→[n] __ [+ Alveolar]

[N]→[ɲ] __ [+ Palatal]

[N]→[ŋ] __ [+ Velar]

3.5. Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of Efutu phonology. An inventory of the oral and nasal vowels in the language has been presented; the phonemic status of nasal vowels has been illustrated. ATR and Rounding vowel harmony systems in the language have also been described. An inventory of consonants has also been presented. The syllable types found in the language have been described. The use of tone, especially, regarding its phonemic status, as well as its lexical and grammatical functions has been described. Other phonological processes, including segment deletion, segment insertion and homorganic nasal assimilation have been described and illustrated.

Chapter 4: Parts of speech in Efutu

4.0. Introduction

The terms ‘parts of speech’ and ‘word classes’ are traditionally used to refer to the ‘classes of words that are grammatically distinguished in a language’ (Schachter 1985:3). Classification of words into distinct parts of speech or word classes is based on a bundle of linguistic properties, depending on a language’s internal grammatical criteria (Dixon 2004: 2; Payne 1997; Schachter 1985). Usually, class membership may be determined by a combination of properties rather than a single property. For instance, a word may be categorised into a class based on its distributional properties as well as its structural properties (Payne 1997: 33). While parts of speech or grammatical categories tend to be untidy at their boundaries, core notions or prototypes can usually be identified (Payne 1997: 32). Payne (1997: 32) notes that category membership of a given form (or word) may vary according to how that form is used in a discourse. As a result, the category membership of a given form in some cases may only be determined from the discourse context, rather than by employing morphosyntatic tests (Payne 1997: 32).

All languages distinguish word classes, however, languages differ in the varieties of word classes they contain. Hence, parts of speech systems may differ in languages in terms of number and types (Schachter 1985). Furthermore, the determining properties of a class may be similar in different languages, but need not coincide exactly. For instance, the class of nouns is defined in English partly by their ability to co-occur with articles, whereas in Latin, they are defined partly by their ability to inflect for case (Dixon 1982: 1). Word classes (such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and determiners) may be sub-classified. For instance, verbs may be sub-classified into transitive, intransitive and so forth. Some word classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are considered to be open classes, such that they can admit new vocabulary and so the class membership keeps changing (expanding or reducing) (Schachter 1985). Other classes (including conjunctions and pronouns) are considered closed classes in that they contain fixed membership.

This chapter presents an overview of the various parts of speech or word classes and subclasses in Efutu. The classification of Efutu words in this chapter is based on some interrelated grammatical properties of the word, including its range

of distribution, its range of syntactic functions and its morphological properties, as well as its semantic properties (Schachter 1985:3). Word classes to be discussed in this chapter for Efutu include nouns, postpositions, pronouns, adjectives, determiners, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions. The class of nouns is discussed first in §4.1., followed by discussion on other relatives of nouns, including locative nouns in §4.2. and pronouns in §4.3. Other items that may occur in a noun phrase are adjectives in §4.4. and determiners in §4.5. Verbs are then discussed in §4.6., followed by a discussion of adverbs in §4.7. Finally, conjunctions are discussed in §4.8. Section §4.9. summarizes the chapter.

4.1. Nouns

'The class of nouns in any language includes words that express the most time-stable concepts' (Payne 1997: 33). Defining a noun may involve but not be limited to notional correlations such as naming of things, people, places, ideas and concepts (Loos et al 2004; Schachter 1985). Such a notional definition however is said to be inadequate (Schachter 1985). A more adequate means of defining a noun may include its distributional properties such as its position in a clause or sentence and the items it may occur with (Schachter 1985). In this regard, nouns may be defined in terms of their ability to occur in subject or object function in clauses, oblique and external functions in sentences, as well as the ability to occur in phrases with determiners, possessive pronouns and adjectives (Schachter 1985; Andrews 1985). Structural or morphological properties may also be used to determine a word's class. Morphological specification for nouns in languages may include number, case, class, gender and definiteness (Schachter 1985).

Certain items in Efutu are analysed as nouns based on a number of criteria, including the following distributional and structural properties:

- occurring as head of noun phrases
- function as complement of locative nouns
- occurring in possessive constructions
- core functions of subject and object in clauses
- inflecting for number and definiteness

The function of a noun as a head of a noun phrase in Efutu is illustrated in (4-1). The NP in (4-1) includes a possessive pronoun[101] *mú* '1SG.POSS', the head-noun *búùkùú* 'book', an adjective *ànápā́*[102] 'big', the numeral *èsā́*[103] 'three', the article[104] *ǹ* 'DEF' and the quantifier *fúú*[105] 'all'. In Efutu, the head-noun is preceded by the possessive pronoun (or possessive noun) while the adjective, numeral, article, determiner,[106] and quantifier, all follow the head-noun in that order, as in (4-1).

(4-1) *mú-búùkùú* *ànápā́* *èsā́* *ǹ* *fúú* *ì-ń-tɕī́tɕì̀*

1SG.POSS-books[107] big three DEF all 3SG.INAN-PERF-REDUP.tear

'all my three big books are torn' (Elicitation)

Although the NP in Efutu may contain a number of items, the head-noun determines the phrase type as it is the only item that is obligatory and can substitute for the phrase, as illustrated in (4-2a). For instance, the possessive pronoun *mú* '1SG.POSS' or the article *ǹ* 'DEF' may not function as head to substitute for the phrase, as illustrated in (4-2b) and (4-2c), respectively. Likewise, the occurrence of the adjective *ànápā́* 'big', the numeral *èsā́* 'three' and the quantifier *fúú* 'all' after the noun *búùkùú* 'book' in the phrase renders them all as modifiers/specifiers of the head-noun *búùkùú* 'books'.

[101] Discussion on possessive pronouns appears in §4.3.1.
[102] See discussion on adjectives in §4.4.
[103] Discussion of numerals and quantifiers appears in §4.5.3.
[104] Discussion on articles appear in §4.5.1.
[105] In (4-1a), 'all' functions as a determiner, although it can also function as a pronoun in certain constructions in Efutu.
[106] Certain forms of determiners, including the demonstratives *àdé* and *àdé-máámó* precede the head-noun (see discussion in §4.5.2.).
[107] The neutral noun form *búùkùú* is glossed as 'books' due to the form of the adjective 'big' which is plural. See further discussion on plural nouns and also on plural adjectives below.

(4-2) a. *búùkùú* *ǹ* *ì-ń-tɕɪ́*[108]

1SG.POSS-book DEF 3SG.INAN-PERF-tear

'the book is torn' (Elicitation)

b. **mù* *ì-ń-tɕɪ́*

1SG.POSS 3SG.INAN-PERF-tear

(Elicitation)

c. **ǹ* *ì-ń-tɕɪ́*

DEF 3SG.INAN-PERF-tear

(Elicitation)

In Efutu, nouns may occur before locative nouns[109] to function as their complements. This is exemplified in (4-3) where the noun *ǹsù* 'water' functions as the complement of the following locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside'. *Ǹsù* thus may be characterised as a noun by this function.

(4-3) *ɔ́sà* *tɔ́* *ǹsù* *tɔ́* *áá …*

person fall/drop water inside COND

'if a person falls in water' (KM_RoughSea: 12a)

Another criterion for identifying a noun is the ability to occur in possessive constructions. In Efutu, nouns may occur in possessive constructions, as in (4-4). In (4-4), the noun *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' occurs in a possessive construction with the possessive pronoun *mɔ̀* '3SG.POSS'. In (4-4), the noun *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' heads the possessive construction.

[108] The common noun *búùkùú* 'book' sounds awkward without the article *ǹ* 'DEF'. Proper nouns for instance do not require such an article.

[109] Discussion on locative nouns appears below.

(4-4) *mù-bétè* *mù-àsɔ́ẃ*

3SG-take 3SG.POSS-hoe

's/he took his/her hoe' (Hans_AnanseStory: 11)

Object grammatical function[110] is one of the distributional properties of nouns in Efutu. In (4-5) for instance, *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' may be assigned the core function of (direct) object by the verb *bétè* 'take'.

(4-5) *mù-bétè* *àsɔ́ẃ*

3SG-take hoe

's/he took a hoe' (Elicitation)

Regarding the grammatical function of nouns as subjects,[111] Efutu appears to have constraints. In subject function, certain nouns and noun phrases occur with a subject-agreement marker[112] while others do not. Nouns or noun phrases that do not require a subject-agreement marker are illustrated in (4-3) and (4-6). In (4-3), the common indefinite noun *ɔ́sà* 'person' functions as the subject of a clause where it does not occur with a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem. In (4-6a)-(4-6b) the bare noun *ǹkùkwáání* 'people' functions as a subject without a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem. In (4-6c), the indefinite noun phrase *ǹɛ̀à pìì* 'many persons' also functions as a subject without a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem. In (4-6d), the possessive construction *mɔ́ wùbí* 'my stomach' functions as a subject with no subject-agreement marker occurring on the verb-stem.

[110] In Efutu, object function is performed by patient or patient-like argument of a transitive verb.
[111] In Efutu, subject function is performed by (i) agent or agent-like argument of a transitive verb or (ii) the (single) argument of an intransitive verb. Usually, this is the argument whose agreement-marker occurs on the verb-stem.
[112] See further discussion on subject-agreement markers in §4.3.2.

(4-6) a. *ǹkùkwáání́* *bà* *àà …*

people come COND

'when people come …. (Hans_BoatNm: 33)

b. *ǹkùkwáání́* *bɔ́* *m̀pɑ̂̀* *ǹkùkwáání́* *bɔ́* *ǹɕɨ́*

people be.at front people be.at back

'some people are in front, some people are at the back' (Ankw_DvOL: 8)

c. *ǹɕà* *pìì* *ń-tɕírɔ́ẃ* *ńtɕí* *ḿ-bɔ́* *kɔ́mɔ̀ǹ*

persons many PERF-write so PERF-write common

'many persons/people have written (it) so it has become common'

(Hans_BoatNm: 46)

d. *mù-wùbí* *bò*

1SG-stomach be.there/exist

'my stomach is there' (Abraham_story: 65)

The various NPs in (4-3)-(4-7) that may occupy the subject function in clauses without a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem include: (i) indefinite common nouns or noun phrases, as in (4-3), (4-6a), (4-6b) and (4-6c), and (ii) possessive constructions, as in (4-6d).

Unlike those in (4-3) and (4-6), there are certain nouns and noun phrases that require a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem. Such nouns and noun phrases include: (i) names of people and (ii) nouns that are marked with the definite article *ǹ*. The examples in (4-7) illustrate nouns and noun phrases that require a subject-agreement marker on the verb-stem.

(4-7) a. *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mù-ú-tɔ́ẁ* *kwèèkú ánàǹsé*

Okondor 3SG-HAB-look.for Kweku Ananse

'Okondor looks for Kweku Ananse' (Hans_AnanseStory: 29)

b. **ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ tɔ́ẁ kwèèkú ánàǹsé*

Okondor look.for Kweku Ananse

(Elicitation)

c. *kòfĩ̀ mù-á-ná*

Kofi 3SG-PROG-walk

'Kofi is walking (lit. Kofi, he is walking)' (Elicitation)

d. *àtòbí ǹ mù-é-gúrà*

child DEF 3SG-PROG-cry

'the child is crying' (Elicitation)

e. *ɔ̀pó ǹ mù-ḿ-pítɕà mùwó sʊ̀*

sea DEF 3SG-PERF-lift.up itself up/top

'the sea has lifted itself up (high tides)' (KM_RoughSea: 7)

In (4-7a) where a proper noun *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* occurs in sentence-initial position, the form *mù* '3SG' which has been analysed as a subject-agreement marker is prefixed to the verb-stem. The prefix *mù* '3SG' is obligatory: its absence renders the construction ungrammatical, as demonstrated in (4-7b). Similarly, in (4-7c) the proper noun *Kòfĩ̀* in sentence-initial position appears with the subject-agreement marker *mù* '3SG' prefixed to the verb-stem. In the same way, the definite noun phrases *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' and *ɔ̀pó ǹ* 'the sea' in (4-7d) and (4-7e), respectively, each appears with the subject-agreement marker on the verb following their sentence-initial position. In each of the constructions in (4-7), the subject-agreement marker prefixed to the verb-stem is obligatory, as illustrated with (4-7a) in (4-7b), while the proper noun or the definite noun phrase is optional. The occurrence of such optional noun phrase in sentence-initial position[113] appears to involve a pragmatic function of TOPIC or

[113] In Efutu, sentence-initial position is for pragmatic purposes of topic, focus and emphasis. Focus is usually marked with the form *nà* 'FOC' (see for instance (4-36b), below).

emphasis. Thus, when subject is also a topic it can occur at sentence-initial position, otherwise only the subject-agreement marker occurs as a prefix on the verb-stem. When such a subject noun phrase does not occur in the sentence, it means that its reference is recoverable from the context while its form is indicated by the subject-agreement marker prefixed to the verb-stem.

Oblique functions of NPs in Efutu are expressed through serial verb constructions (SVCs) which are discussed in Part two of this thesis. In addition to syntactic functions, nouns receive thematic (or semantic) roles from predicates. In (4-5) for instance, the word *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' may be associated with the semantic role of THEME assigned by the verb *bétè* 'take'; this is another feature to qualify *àsɔ́ẃ* 'hoe' as a noun.

Morphological specification for nouns in Efutu includes number and definiteness, as discussed below. Class marking seems to be present in Efutu, however further research is required for a full-scale analysis, as suggested below. Regarding number marking, Efutu may be said to distinguish plural and singular nouns. Number marking in nouns is illustrated in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Examples of singular and plural nouns in Efutu

Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
àtòbí	child	*ǹtòbí*	children
àwìrébí	finger-nail	*ǹwìrébí*	finger-nails
àdā́	song	*ǹdā́*	songs
àtàŕ	dress	*ǹtàŕ*	dresses
ɔ̀nî	man	*ènî*	men
ɔ̀nímpá	elder	*ènímpá*	elders
ɔ̀sê	woman	*àsê*	women
ɔ́sā̀	person	*ǹsā̀*	persons

In Table 4-1, each noun has a distinct plural form from the singular. Essentially, the singular and plural forms differ in their initial sounds. The difference in the initial

sound of the singular and plural forms does not appear to be arbitrary. Rather, there seems to be a systematic pattern. For instance, the first four items on the table have the same vowel [*à*] beginning their singular forms and the same consonant [*m̀*] beginning their plural forms. Likewise, the fifth and sixth items on the Table begin with [*ò*] for the singular forms and [*è*] for the plural forms. This pattern in the singular and plural noun paradigm in Table 4-1 seems to suggest the presence or a reminiscence of a noun-class system.[114] This observation requires further probing in order to establish the exact nature of the system.

There are however some nouns that are neutral, such that they do not have separate forms for singular and plural. For instance, nouns that refer to some body parts generally do not vary for number in Efutu.[115] For such nouns the same form is used for both plural and singular. Examples of such forms are shown in Table 4-2. With reference to Akan, Balmer and Grant (1942) describe such nouns as having irregular plural noun forms.

[114] For discussion on noun class systems see Dixon (1982; 1986), Craig (1986), Corbett (1991) Creissels (2001), Grinevald and Seifart (2004).
[115] Obeng (2008:64) also makes a similar observation.

Table 4-2: Examples of neutral noun forms in Efutu

Noun	**Gloss**
àbá	hand(s)
àná	leg(s)
ásê	eye(s)
àsóbí	ear(s)
énî	tooth/teeth
(ì)nùú	head(s)
dàndó	tongue(s)
ɲ^{w}ẽ̃bí	nose(s)
tɕìbí	knife/knives
ḿpùẃá	banana(s)
ɲàmá	boat(s)

Although the nouns in Table 4-2 do not inflect for number, their number status may sometimes be determined through other devices in some constructions. For instance, another word in the construction such as an adjective which modifies such a noun may reveal its number value. This may be illustrated with (4-8a) where the form of the adjective *à-nápã́* 'PL-big' reveals that the noun *ɲàmá* is understood as plural rather than singular. Example (4-8a) may be compared with (4-8b) which has a singular form of the adjective *náápã́* 'big' which indicates that the noun *ɲàmá* is understood as singular in number. The apparent 'neutral' or 'irregular' noun forms (such as *ɲàmá* 'boat(s)' in (4-8a)-(4-8b)) may be said to indicate number through agreement rather than nominal prefix morphology. All these point to future research into a possible noun-class system in Efutu.

(4-8) a. *àní-bɔ̀* *ɲàmá* *à-nápɑ́*

1PL-have boats PL-big

'we have big boats' (KM_onSea: 41)

b. *àní-bɔ̀* *ɲàmá* *nɑ́ápɑ́*[116]

1PL-have boat big

'we have a big boat' (Elicitation based on KM_onSea: 41)

Definiteness marking may distinguish a word as a noun. Definiteness marking is illustrated in (4-7d) above, where the noun *àtòbí* 'child' is marked as definite with the article *ǹ*. When the item *ǹ* occurs with a noun, it indicates definite reference in the noun, that is, it points to a particular reference rather than general reference. Hence, a construction like *àtòbí* 'child' may refer to any child at all. But a construction occurring with the article *ǹ*, such as *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' in (4-7d) refers to a particular child, such that such a child is identifiable to both the speaker and the hearer. Hence, in Efutu, a word occurring with the determiner *ǹ* may be said to belong to the class of nouns.

4.1.1. Sub-classification of nouns

Nouns in Efutu may be categorised into sub-classes by various criteria, including the following:

- singular /plural / neutral
- common / proper
- count / non-count (mass)
- animate/inanimate

Plural and singular nouns have been discussed in §4.1., where Tables 4-1 and 4-2 illustrate examples of number marking in nouns. A (syntactic-semantic) criterion

[116] The singular form of the adjective 'big' is pronounced differently as [*nɑ́ápɑ́*] or [*lɑ́ápɑ́*] by different speakers (see also comment on different pronunciation in words in §2.4.2. in Chapter 2). Such an alternative pronunciation was not found with the plural form [*ànápɑ́*].

that distinguishes plural nouns from singular nouns in Efutu is that they select different forms of determiners in some cases. This is exemplified with (4-9a)-(4-9b).

(4-9) a. *àtòbí* *ǹ / *náání*
child DEF
'the child' (Elicitation)

b. *ǹtòbí* *náání / *ǹ*
children DEF
'the children' (Elicitation)

In (4-9a), the singular noun *àtòbí* 'child' selects the form *ǹ* as a definite marker while in (4-9b) the plural noun *ǹtòbí* 'children' selects the form *náání*.[117] In both cases, the selection of the alternative form renders the construction ungrammatical, as shown in (4-9a)-(4-9b). Plural nouns and singular nouns are thus distinguished by this means (see also discussion on determiners in §4.5., below). Another criterion for distinguishing singular and plural nouns in some cases is through the use of adjectives, as discussed above (see example (4-8a), above; see also §4.4. below).

Common and proper nouns may be distinguished in Efutu. Payne (1997: 39) uses the term 'proper name' for the subclass of nouns 'that are used to address and identify particular persons or culturally significant personages or places'. Payne (1997: 39) explains that proper names (or proper nouns) are easily identifiable by both speakers and hearers and as a result such nouns usually do not appear with articles, possessors and other devices that render a noun more identifiable. In Efutu, proper nouns are easily identifiable by both speakers and hearers and therefore they normally do not occur with items such as articles and quantifiers and other devices that render nouns, such as common nouns, easily identifiable. Thus, it is possible to have the constructions in (4-10a)-(4-10b) but not those in (4-10c)-(4-10d).

[117] An identical form *náání* functions as object pronoun (see §4.3.1.) and demonstrative determiner (see §4.5.2.).

(4-10) a. *ɛ́dā́ ǹ …*

net DEF

'the net …' (KM_Net: 1)

b. *… ǹtɕī́ ǹsā́ …*

days three

'… three days …' (Hans_ AnanseStory: 31)

c. *ʔɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ ǹ*

Okondor DEF

'?the Okondor'

(Elicitation)

d. ** kòfĩ̄ ǹsā́*

Kofi three

'*three Kofis' (Elicitation)

In (4-10a), the common noun *ɛ́dā́* 'net' may occur with the definite marker *ǹ*. But in (4-10c), it is awkward or even ungrammatical to mark definiteness in the proper noun *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*. Likewise, in (4-10b), the common noun *ǹtɕī́* 'days' occurs with the quantifier *ǹsā́* 'three', but the proper noun *kòfĩ̄* cannot occur with a quantifier, as illustrated in (4-10d).

Efutu may be said to distinguish count and non-count or mass nouns. For instance, count nouns may occur with quantifiers but mass nouns may not. In (4-11a), the count noun *ǹtɕī́* 'days' may occur with the quantifier *ǹsā́* 'three'. Example (4-11b) on the other hand contains mass noun *ɕìká* 'money' which cannot occur with a quantifier, as illustrated in (4-11c). Example (4-11c) is ungrammatical because of the quantifier *kómé* 'one' that occurs with the mass noun *ɕìká* 'money'.

(4-11) a. *báà-bɔ́ ǹtɕɨ́ ǹsɑ́ ǹtɑ̂̀tɔ̀ …*

FUT-be days three in.between

'within about three days' (Hans_AnanseStory: 31)

b. *ɔ́pʊ̀ɲì kwáàfɑ̂ nà ɔ̀-bɔ̀ ɕìká bò àà …*

fisherman any and 2SG-have money be.there COND

'any fisherman, if you have money' (KM_RoughSea: 23)

c. **ɔ́pʊ̀ɲì kwáàfɑ̂ nà ɔ̀-bɔ̀ ɕìká kómé bò àà…*

fisherman any and 2SG-have money one be.there COND

'*any fisherman, if you have one money' (Elicitation)

The mass nouns discussed here may be distinguished from the so-called neutral or irregular plural nouns discussed above in one respect. As shown in (4-11c), mass nouns cannot occur with a quantifier. Irregular plural nouns on the other hand may occur with quantifiers, as in (4-12). In (4-12) the irregular plural noun *ɲàmá* 'boat(s)' occurs with the quantifier *ɲɔ́* 'two'. This property distinguishes the irregular plural noun *ɲàmá* 'boat(s)' from the mass noun *ɕìká* 'money in (4-11c).

(4-12) *àní-bɔ̀ ɲàmá à-nápɑ́ ɲɔ́*

1PL-have boats PL-big two

'we have two big boats' (Elicitation)

In Efutu, a distinction is made between animate and inanimate nouns in some respects. This apparent distinction occurs in object function only and also only when the nouns are pronominalized. When an object-NP's referent is animate, its pronoun is treated differently from an inanimate referent, such that animate object-pronouns are realized overtly but inanimate object-pronouns are not. In other words, only animate objects can be pronominalized in object function, while inanimate objects can remain unexpressed. The phenomenon where a pronominalized inanimate object-NP gets unexpressed has been referred to as 'null object pronoun' (see for

instance Saah 1992, 1994). The phenomenon is illustrated in (4-13a)-(4-15). Example (4-13a) contains a clause whose object function is filled by an NP headed by the inanimate noun *àdá ǹ* 'the song'. When the inanimate noun is pronominalized in (4-13b) it is expressed by a null pronoun, indicated by the symbol 'ø'. In other words, it remains unexpressed.

(4-13) a. *mì-dɔ́* *àdá* *ǹ*
1SG-like song DEF
'I like the song' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-dɔ́* *ø*
1SG-like
'I like it' (Elicitation)

c. *àní-dɔ́* *àtòbí* *ǹ*
1PL-like child DEF
'we like the child' (Elicitation)

d. *àní-dɔ́* *m̀*
1PL-like 3SG
'we like him/her' (Elicitation)

Example (4-13c) on the other hand contains an NP headed by an animate noun *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' in its object function. When the animate object *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' is pronominalized in (4-13d), it becomes overtly expressed as *m̀*. The extracts from narratives in (4-14)-(4-15) further illustrate the animate/inanimate pronoun distinction.

(4-14) *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mù-ú-tɔ́ẁ* *kwèèkú ánànsé* *áá*

Okondor 3SG-HAB-look.for Kweku Ananse COND

mú-é-hù *né*[118]

3SG-NEG-see 3SG

'Okondor, looks for Kweku Ananse, but she doesn't find him'

(Hans_AnanseStory: 29)

In (4-14), a complex sentence contains a pronoun *né* '3SG' in object function of the second clause of the sentence. The overt object-pronoun form *né* '3SG' occurs in object function because its referent is animate (*né* '3SG' has the same referent as the animate noun *kwèkú ánànsé* which also occurs in the sentence).

(4-15) *sîîfĩ̀* *ǹ,* *àní-mí-hṹ* *nú* *áá* *àní-mèé-tṹ* *ø,*

sieve DET 1PL-NEG-see fish COND 1PL-NEG-throw ø

ǹtɕì *àní-hṹ* *nú* *ǹ* *áá,* *nà* *àní-ń-tṹ* *ø*

so 1PL-see fish DET COND and 1PL-TAM-throw ø

'the sieve/mesh net, if we don't see fish we don't throw it, so we see the fish and (then) we throw it' (Ankw_DvOL: 4)

In (4-15) however, another complex construction contains two null-object-pronouns, each represented by the symbol 'ø'. The symbol 'ø' occurs in object position in separate clauses in (4-15). The empty pronominal elements occur because their referents are inanimate (both null-object pronouns have the same referent as the inanimate NP *sîîfĩ̀ ǹ* 'the sieve/mesh' which also occurs earlier in the sentence). In other words, we may say that inanimate pronouns cannot occur overtly in object function but animate pronouns can.

[118] The form *né* '3SG' is an alternative form of the third person singular object pronoun used with third person subjects (see discussion on object pronouns in §4.3.1.).

4.2. Locative nouns

There is a class of words in Efutu that I have labelled as 'locative nouns'. The locative noun in Efutu normally occurs after a noun or a noun phrase to form a constituent with it. The locative noun functions as the head of the locative noun phrase to indicate location in the other noun. Examples of locative nouns are listed in Table 4-3. From the glosses in Table 4-3, it is notable that some of the locative nouns could be analysed as body-part nouns.

Table 4-3: Locative nouns in Efutu

Locative noun	**Gloss**
ànù	mouth/brink/edge
sò	top/upper part
àɕé	down/lower part
àjíɲɕè	underneath/under
tɔ́[119]	interior/inside
wó	exterior/side/body

Examples of sentences containing locative nouns are in (4-16). The words *tɔ́* 'inside' in (4-16a), *àjíɲɕè* 'underneath' in (4-16b) and *sò* 'top' in (4-16c) may be analysed as locative nouns.

(4-16) a. *ɔ́sà* *tɔ́* *ɲsù* *tɔ́* *áá …*
person fall water inside COND
'if a person falls in water' (KM_RoughSea: 12)

[119] The tone of the locative noun *tɔ́* is observed to vary in some contexts; a Low tone is more common in my fieldwork data corpus. In (4-16a), the High tone appears to be influenced by the conditional marker *áá* 'COND' in clause-final position.

b. *àmù-bɔ̀* *èkùrá* *àjíǹɕè*

3PL-be.at village underneath

'they are in/at a village' (Elicitation based on Hans_AnanseStory: 3)

c. *mì-ɪ́-sɔ̀* *wú* *sò*

1SG-HAB-receive 2SG top

'I respond to you (lit: I receive your top)' (field notes)

In (4-16a), the locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside' occurs after the noun *ǹsù* 'water' to form a constituent with it. The locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside' and the noun *ǹsù* 'water form a constituent, namely, a locative noun phrase, headed by the locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside'. In (4-16a), the locative noun phrase *ǹsù tɔ́* functions as a complement of the verb *tɔ́* 'fall' in the clause. Similar analyses could be made of the words *àjíǹɕè* 'underneath' and *sò* 'top' in (4-16b) and (4-16c), respectively. In (4-16b) the locative noun *àjíǹɕè* 'underneath' forms a locative noun phrase with the noun *èkùrá* 'village' to function as a complement of the verb *bɔ̀* 'be.at' in the construction. Example (4-16c) constitutes an idiomatic expression. In (4-16c), the locative noun phrase *wú sò,* headed by the locative noun *sò* 'top' functions as a complement of the verb *sɔ̀* 'receive'. In each of the examples in (4-16a)-(4-16c), the locative noun is found to convey semantic information about the accompanying noun: the locative nouns indicate various locative configurations in relation to the accompanying noun. In each of the examples the locative noun heads the locative NP since it is the element that is obligatory in the phrase. This may be illustrated with (4-16a) for instance, in (4-17a) – (4-17b). In (4-17a), the locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside' may occur alone to substitute for the entire phrase, whereas the noun *ǹsù* 'water' cannot, as illustrated in (4-17b). The locative noun may thus be considered as the head of the locative noun phrase as it is the obligatory element in the phrase, as shown in (4-17a) – (4-17b). The structure of the locative NP is similar to that of the possessive construction in

the sense that the head of the construction is preceded by the complement.[120]

(4-17) a. *ɔ́sà* *tɔ́* *tɔ́* *áá …*
person fall inside COND
'if a person falls inside' (Elicitation)

b. **ɔ́sà* *tɔ́* *ǹsù* *áá …*
person fall water COND
'*if a person falls water' (Elicitation)

The behaviour of the locative nouns in Efutu is comparable to the behaviour of postpositions, as described in other languages. A postposition may be defined as 'a member of a closed set of items that occur after a complement composed of an NP or a clause that functions as an NP, and forms a single structure with the complement to express a grammatical and semantic relation to another unit within a clause' (Loos et al. 2004). This definition suggests a distributional property of a postposition as (a head) occurring after a complement composed of an NP. Again, the definition suggests a syntactic function of postpositions, namely, they form a postpositional phrase with their complements and head such phrases to express a grammatical and semantic relation to another unit within a clause. In many respects, the class of the above-described locative nouns from Efutu exhibits most of the characterisation of postpositions as expressed in Loos et al. (2004). For instance, the Efutu locative noun behaves like a postposition, in that, it normally occurs after its complement, as in (4-18),[121] where the locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside' occurs after its complement *ǹsù* 'water'. Furthermore, the assertion that the complement of a postposition is a noun is true of the complement of the locative noun in Efutu: in (4-18), the complement *ǹsù* 'water' is a noun. Further similarities between postpositions and the Efutu locative nouns include the formation of a single structure by the postposition and its complement and the expression of grammatical and semantic relation by the postpositional phrase to another unit in a clause. In

[120] See discussion of possessive constructions in §4.1., above.
[121] Sentence (4-16a) is repeated here as (4-18), for ease of reference.

Efutu, the locative noun forms a single structure or a phrase with its complement noun to express locative relation to another unit in a clause, as in (4-18), where the locative noun *tɔ́* 'inside' forms a phrase with its complement *ǹsù* 'water' to express locative relation to the verb *tɔ́* 'fall'. The Efutu locative noun thus seems to fulfil the function of postpositions in other languages, as described above.

(4-18) *ɔ́sà* *tɔ́* *ǹsù* *tɔ́* *áá …*
person fall water inside COND
'if a person falls in water' (KM_RoughSea: 12)

Another description of postpositions from other languages by Schachter (1985) includes elements that are found in the Efutu locative noun constructions. Schachter (1985: 35) categorizes postpositions as role markers (among other role markers). The role markers are all grouped under the umbrella class label *noun adjuncts*. Schachter (1985) provides a general typological analysis on the noun adjuncts class as well as the sub-classes. According to Schachter (1985: 35), the words in these noun-adjunct classes and sub-classes 'typically form phrasal constituents with nouns' and they 'have clear semantic import, conveying some information about the referent of the phrasal constituent that is not expressed by the noun itself'. However, these noun adjuncts (or some of them) are at the same time claimed to appear 'semantically empty and merely to be required under certain circumstances by the syntax of a language' (Schachter 1985: 35). Under the discussion of role markers, Schachter (1985) distinguishes a particular sub-class of adpositions that may be considered as *not* marking case or discourse (as do other subclasses). The words in this subclass of adpositions may indicate 'various locative relations' in some languages (Schachter 1985: 36).

Some aspects of Schachter's (1985) description of adpositions in other languages are true of the Efutu locative nouns. For instance, the Efutu locative nouns, like adpositions in other languages: (i) form phrasal constituent with nouns and noun phrases, (ii) convey semantic information, (iii) indicate various locative relations, and, (iv) in certain circumstances, are merely required by the syntax of the language. The features in (i) – (iii) have already been illustrated above with example

(4-18). Example (4-19) illustrates feature (iv). In (4-19), the locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside' occurs with the complement noun phrase *tɕìbí nɔ̀* 'the knife' to form a phrase with it. The occurrence of the locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside' in (4-19) however may be said to be merely required by the syntax of Efutu. This is so because in (4-19), 'inside' does not actually indicate location in the complement noun phrase *tɕìbí nɔ̀* 'the knife', at least, not so much as *tɔ́* 'inside' in (4-18) indicates location in its complement noun 'water'. In (4-19), the locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside' seems to be semantically empty and merely required by the syntax of a language. In this regard, the Efutu locative noun behaves like adpositions in other languages.

(4-19) *mɔ̀-sɔ̀ tɕìbí nɔ̀ tɔ̀*
3SG-hold knife DEF inside
's/he held the knife' (Elicitation)

Based on evidence from the descriptions above, the Efutu locative noun may be said to also perform the function of postpositions in some constructions. Apparently, equivalent forms of the Efutu locative nouns have been analysed as postpositions in the sister dialect Awutu by Frajzyngier (1974a). In Awutu, the forms are analysed as postpositions derived from locative case in the language (Frajzyngier 1974a: 66).

4.3. Pronouns

This section attempts to identify a class of pronouns in Efutu. Pronouns may be considered as a closed set of items which can be used to substitute for a noun or a noun phrase in a language (Crystal 2011: 392). In defining pronouns, Payne (1997: 45) insists on the feature of morphological independence in the forms that may be considered as pronouns in a language, such that a distinction is drawn between pronouns (that is, forms that are morphologically free) and anaphoric clitics (that is, forms that are not), with pronouns normally exhibiting all the distributional properties of nouns. Schachter (1985: 25) on the other hand records that personal pronouns may be clitics in some languages, with conceivably distinct distributional properties from non-clitic nominals. In Efutu, certain forms may be analysed as

pronouns, as they fill the position of nouns or noun phrases in clauses and normally have some functional and distributional properties of nouns in the language. Functional and structural properties of pronouns in Efutu include:

- heading NPs
- performing the grammatical functions of subject and object in clauses
- occurring in possessive constructions
- inflecting for person and number[122]
- occurring with agreement markers
- displaying null inanimate object pronoun

Head function and subject function of a pronoun may be illustrated in (4-20a) where the pronoun *ɔ́wú* '2SG' occurs as the subject of the verb *dì* 'eat'; *ɔ́wú* '2SG' sole constituent and head of the subject NP.[123] Object function of a pronoun may be illustrated in (4-20b) where the pronoun *àní* '1PL' functions as the object of the verb *nì* 'know'; in (4-20b), *àní* '1PL' functions as head of the object NP. Inflection for person and number in pronouns may be illustrated in (4-20a) – (4-20b). In terms of person, the form of the pronoun *ɔ́wú* '2SG' as well as the form of the subject agreement marker *ò* '2SG' in (4-20a) indicates second person; in (4-20b), the form of the pronoun *mɔ̀* '3SG' indicates third person while that of the pronoun *àní* '1PL' indicates first person. In terms of number, the forms *ɔ́wú* '2SG' in (4-20a) and *mɔ̀* '3SG' in (4-20b) are singular in number while the form *àní* '1PL' in (4-20b) is plural in number. Example (4-20a) further illustrates an occurrence of an agreement marker with a pronoun: the subject pronoun *ɔ́wú* '2SG' occurs with the subject agreement marker *ò* '2SG' in (4-20a).

(4-20) a. *ɔ́wú* *ò-nèé-dì* *átɔ̂*
2SG 2SG-PROG-eat thing
'you are eating' (Elicitation)

[122] Efutu pronouns are gender neutral.
[123] The subject agreement marker *ò* '2SG' on the verb-stem represents the subject pronoun *ɔ́wú* '2SG' in (4-20).

b. *mù* *nì* *ànɨ́*

3SG know 1PL

's/he knows us' (Elicitation)

Occurrence in possessive constructions by pronouns is discussed and illustrated below (see the examples and discussion in (4-34)). The phenomenon of null inanimate object pronoun is discussed in §4.1.1., above (see examples (4-13a) – (4-15) and accompanying discussion; see also comments below).

4.3.1. Sub-classes of pronouns

A subclass of pronouns in Efutu consists of personal pronouns which include subject and object pronouns. In subject function, the behaviour of a pronoun is similar to that of a noun, as described in §4.1., namely, the presence of the pronoun is normally for pragmatic purposes, such as topic or focus or emphasis, otherwise it is omitted and only an appropriate subject-agreement marker is prefixed to the verb.[124] The form of the subject pronoun does not change, however, its corresponding agreement marker may have different forms due to phonological processes (including vowel harmony and in some cases vowel deletion) conditioned by the verb-stem to which it is prefixed. The first person singular subject uses the pronoun *émí* '1SG' as illustrated in (4-21). The occurrence of *émí* '1SG' is interpreted as having a function such as topic or emphasis in (4-21)

(4-21) *émí* *mì-dé* *ósɔ́wʋ̀*

1SG 1SG-be priest

'I am a priest' (KBtwy_Osow: 2)

The second person singular subject uses the pronoun *ɔ́wʋ́*[125] '3SG', for topic or emphasis, as illustrated in (4-22).

[124] Again, see discussion on agreement markers below.

[125] The form's agreement marker is found to resist [-Round] harmony from the verb-stem, as mentioned in 3.1.2. in Chapter 3. See also discussion and Table 4-5 in §4.3.2.

(4-22) *ɔ́wú* *ɔ̀-làá-wɔ́*

2SG 2SG-PROG-go

'you are going' (Elicitation)

The third person singular subject uses the pronoun *ɔ́mú* '3SG', as in (4-23a)-(4-23b). Although *ɔ́mú* '3SG' is used for both animate and inanimate subjects, their agreement markers differ,[126] as illustrated in (4-23a) and (4-23b). Other third person singular subject forms used for animate subjects are *mʊ̀ʊ́* '3SG' and *màámú* '3SG'in (4-23c) and (4-23d), respectively.

(4-23) a. *ɔ́mú* *mʊ̀-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3SG 3SG-go home

's/he went home' (Elicitation)

b. *ɔ́mú* *ì-bɔ̀* *fɛ́ẃ*

3SG 3SG.INAN-be beautiful

'it is beautiful' (Elicitation)

c. *mʊ̀ʊ́* *mʊ̀-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3SG 3SG-go home

's/he went home' (Elicitation)

d. *màámú* *mʊ̀-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3SG 3SG-go home

's/he went home' (Elicitation)

[126] Similar to that of the second singular, the agreement marker for the third singular animate pronoun resists [-Round] harmony while the inanimate counterpart resists [+Round] harmony.

The first person plural subject uses the pronoun *àní* '1PL', as in (4-24).

(4-24) *àní* *àní-náńkà* *nú*
1PL 1PL-cook fish
'we cooked fish' (Elicitation)

The second person plural subject uses the pronoun *ání* '2PL', as in (4-25).

(4-25) *ání* *ání-náńkà* *nú*
2PL 2PL-cook fish
'you cooked fish' (Elicitation)

The third person plural subject uses the pronoun *ɔ́mʊ́ání* '3PL' for animate subjects,[127] as in (4-26a). For inanimate subject, the form *ɔ́mʊ́* '3PL' which is identical to the singular form is used, illustrated in (4-26b). In (4-26b), both the pronoun *ɔ́mʊ́* '3PL' and the agreement marker *ì* '3PL' are identical to the singular form in example (4-23b). However, a device such as the form of the adjective (where available) can indicate the number status of the agreement marker, as in (4-26b); the reduplicated, plural form of the adjective *ànápā́-ànápā́* 'big' indicates that the pronoun refers to a plural subject.

(4-26) a. *ɔ́mʊ́ání* *àmɔ̀-wɔ́* *éwʊ́sɔ̀*
3PL 3PL-go home
'they went home' (Elicitation)

[127] Like its singular counterpart, the agreement marker for the third plural animate pronoun resists [-Round] harmony.

b. *ɔ́mú* *ì-bɔ́* *fɛ̀ɛ́-fɛ́ɛ́-fɛ́ẃ* *ànápɑ̋-ànápɑ̋*

3PL 3PL(INAN)-grow beautiful-REDUPL (PL)big-big

'they grew very beautifully and very big' (of maize) (Elicitation)

Besides the use of the subject pronouns described above, another mode of expressing emphasis in Efutu involves the use of the special form which may be labelled an empathic pronoun. The emphatic pronoun is illustrated with the first person singular form *máàfà* '1SG.EMPH' in (4-27). The various emphatic pronoun forms are listed in Table 4-4.

(4-27) *ńtɕí* *kòfĩ̀ bòtɕwé* *máàfà* *m-ìí-dà* *m̀páì*

so Kofi Botwey 1SG.EMPH 1SG-HAB-*say* prayers

'therefore, I Kofi Botwey, am the one who says prayers'

(KBtwy_Osow: 6)

In addition to personal pronouns, Efutu has an impersonal pronoun. The impersonal pronoun occurs in pre-verbal subject function only, and it appears to be neutral in terms of person and number. It occurs in examples like (4-28) where its form is indicated by the agreement marker *á* 'IMPERS' prefixed to the verb-stem.

(4-28) a. *á-tɕírɛ̀* *ḿ* *àdʑìmàǹ*

IMPERS-call 1SG Agyeman

'I am called Agyeman (Field notes)

b. *á-kótɕɛ̀* *ḿ* *bɔ̀* *pʊ̀àɕé* *ǹtɛ̃̂ì̃ …*

IMPERS-bring.forth 1SG be.at beach there

'I was born at the beach there' (Ocran_Net: 7)

When the impersonal pronoun is used in examples like (4-28), the construction can be translated into English as a passive-like voice. In other words, the use of the impersonal form appears to signify a way of avoiding the mentioning or identifying

of agent or actor. Constructions involving the impersonal form *á* may be comparable to Andrews' (1997) impersonal passives in certain languages. According to Andrews (1997: 206) 'the function of impersonal passives is essentially the same as that of basic passives: they downplay the centrality of an Agent'. In (4-28) for instance, the use of the impersonal form in subject function is a way of 'downplaying the centrality of the AGENT'.

Object pronouns occur after the verb in the clause in Efutu. Unlike subject pronouns, object pronouns do not occur with verb agreement markers. The first person singular object has the form *ḿ* as illustrated in (4-29a). Alternatively, the form *émí* '1SG', which is identical to the subject form, could be used for contrastive or emphasis purposes, as in (4-29b).

(4-29) a. *mù-nì* *ḿ*

3SG-know 1SG

's/he knows me' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-nì* *émí*

3SG-know 1SG

's/he knows me' (Elicitation)

The second person singular object uses the form *ẃ* '2SG' (4-30a). The form *ɔ́wú* (4-30b) which is identical to the subject counterpart could also be used for emphasis.

(4-30) a. *mí-bíɛ́* *ẃ*

1SG-greet 2SG

'I greet you (good morning/good afternoon)' (Field notes)

b. *mì-nì* *ɔ́wú*

1SG-know 2SG

'I knows you' (Elicitation)

The third person singular object *m̀* '3SG' in (4-31a) is similar to the first person singular object in (4-29a) except for its tone. The form *m̀* '3SG' in (4-31a) occurs with all subject pronouns except the third person singular, in which case the form *né* '3SG' is used, as illustrated in (4-31b). In effect *m̀* '3SG' and *né* '3SG' are in complementary distribution, where *né* '3SG' occurs with third person singular subject pronouns and *m̀* '3SG' occurs elsewhere.

(4-31) a. *mì-nì* *m̀*
1SG-know 3SG
'I know him/her' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-nì* *né*
3SG-know 3SG
's/he know him/her' (Elicitation)

The first person plural object *àní* '1PL' and the second person plural object *ání* '2PL' occur in (4-32a) and (4-32b), respectively. The two are noted to be identical to their subject forms (see Table 4-4).

(4-32) a. *mù-nì* *àní*
3SG-know 1PL
's/he knows us' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-nì* *ání*
3SG-know 2PL
's/he knows you' (Elicitation)

The third person plural object form *àmò* '3PL' in (4-33a) occurs with all subject pronouns except the third person plural subject, while its alternative form *nááni*[128] '3PL' in (4-33b) occurs with the third person subject plural subject only. The two are thus in complementary distribution. In this regard, the third singular object *né* '3SG' (4-31b) and the third plural object *nááni* '3PL' (4-33b) behave in a similar way. The forms *né* '3SG' and *nááni* '3PL' are found to be very different from the other pronoun forms, however, their origin is not known, except that the form *nááni* '3PL' appears to have a relation with the determiner *nááni* 'DEF'[129] and the demonstrative *nááni* 'DEM'[130] due to their identical forms.

(4-33) a. *àní-nì* *àmò*
1PL-know 3PL
'we know them' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-nì* *nááni*
3SG-know 3PL
's/he knows them' (Elicitation)

A remarkable property found with object pronouns in Efutu is the null feature: a situation where the object pronoun gets unexpressed when it refers to an inanimate object, but expressed when it refers to an animate object, as explained and illustrated in §4.1.1. (see examples (4-13a)-(4-15)). The various object pronoun forms in Efutu are listed in Table 4-4.

Another subclass of pronouns in Efutu is the possessive form. The possessive pronoun occurs as a specifier in a noun phrase where it marks possession

[128] An identical form *nááni* functions as a definite article with plural nouns (see discussion and examples (4-45) in §4.5.1.). The behaviour of *nááni*, namely, its function as object pronoun and definite article, may be explained in terms of semantic overlapping. Such a semantic overlapping between personal pronouns and definite articles has been reported in other languages (Amfo 2006; Harris 1980; Postal 1966; Sommerstein 1972).
[129] See example (4-45) and discussion in §4.5.1.
[130] See example (4-49) and discussion in §4.5.2.

in the possessed (or possessee), referent of the head-noun. The possessive pronoun occurs before the possessee in Efutu. Similar to subject pronouns, the possessive pronoun occurs with an agreement marker[131] prefixed to the possessed noun. Again, similar to subject pronouns, it is usually the possessive-agreement marker that occurs in the possessive construction, such that the occurrence of the pronoun is interpreted to function as topic or focus or emphasis. The form of the possessive pronoun is identical to the subject pronoun. The possessive pronoun is illustrated with the first and second person singular in (4-34a) and (4-34b), respectively, and the first person plural in (4-34c). Other forms of the possessive pronoun are listed on Table 4-5.

(4-34) a. *émí* *má-áɕé* *sɔ̀* *wó*[132]

1SG 1SG.POSS-eye receive exterior

'I am interested in it' (Elicitation)

b. *ɔ́wú* *wú-ɕwɛ̃́bí* *dɑ̃̀*

2SG 2SG.POSS-nose be-big

'your nose is big' (Elicitation)

c. *àní* *àní-gótɔ̀*[133] *bɔ̀* *ǹtɛ̃́ɛ̃̀*

1PL 1PL.POSS-room be there

'our room is over there' (Elicittation)

Another subclass of pronouns in Efutu consists of reflexive forms. The reflexive pronoun is derived by prefixing a possessive pronoun to the reflexive marker *wó* 'exterior/body/self'.[134] For instance, in (4-35a), the possessive form *mú* '1SG' is prefixed to the reflexive marker *wó* 'self/body' to derive the reflexive pronoun *mú-wó* 'myself'. Likewise in (4-35b) the possessive form *àmù* '3PL' is prefixed to the

[131] See discussion and the forms of the possessive-agreement markers in §4.3.2.
[132] Example (4-34a) is an idiomatic expression.
[133] The form *gótɔ̀* 'room' is composed of *ìgó* 'wall' and *tɔ̀* 'inside'. The possessive-agreement marker *àní* '1PL' agrees in harmony with the ATR value of the initial vowel of *gótɔ̀* 'room'.
[134] Same form as the locative noun *wó* 'exterior/body/self' (see §4.2.).

reflexive marker *wó* ‘self/body’ to derive the reflexive pronoun *àmù-wó* ‘themselves’. It has not been investigated whether the constructions in (4-35) could also have reciprocal interpretation. Neither has the expression of reciprocals been investigated in this study.

(4-35) a. *mù-dɔ́* *mú-wó*

1SG-like/love 1SG-self/body

‘I like/love myself’ (Elicitation)

b. *àmù-dɔ́* *àmù-wó*

3PL-like/love 3PL-self/body

‘they like/love themselves’ (Elicitation)

The various pronoun forms discussed in this section are presented in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4: Pronouns in Efutu

	Personal pronouns		Possessive	Reflexive	Emphatic
	Subject	**Object**			
1SG	*émí*	*ḿ/émí*	*émí*	*múwó*	*máàfà*
2SG	*ɔ́wú*	*ẃ/ɔ́wú*	*ɔ́wú*	*wúwó*	*wáàfà*
3SG animate	*ɔ́mú/mʊ̀ʊ́/màámú*	*m̀/né*	*ɔ́mú/mʊ̀ʊ́/màámú*	*mùwó*	*múàfà*
3SG inanimate	*ɔ́mú*	*Ø*	*ɔ́mú*	*?*	*?*
1PL	*àní*	*àní*	*àní*	*àníwó*	*ànáàfà*
2PL	*ání*	*ání*	*ání*	*?*	*ánáàfà*
3PL animate	*ɔ́múání*	*àmʊ̀/ náání*	*ɔ́múání*	*àmʊ̀wó*	*àmúàfà*
3PL inanimate	*ɔ́mú*	*Ø*	*?*	*?*	*?*
Impersonal	-	-	-	-	-

4.3.2. Agreement markers

There are certain forms in Efutu that have been analysed as pronouns in the language in previous studies, including by Obeng (2008) and Taylor (n.d.). These forms are found to occur frequently in: (i) a position before the verb-stem in clauses, and (ii) a position before the possessed noun in possessive constructions. The forms are however analysed as agreement markers or pronominal prefixes in this study, as explained below. The forms are exemplified in (4-36) before a verb-stem and in (4-37) before a possessed noun. In the examples (4-36)-(4-37), the forms are in boldface.

(4-36) a. *àtòbí ǹ* ***mù****-tù* *àbá* *tɕírè* *ɔ̀bɔ̀dáḿ* *nà* *àtɕwéŕ*

child DEF 3SG-throw hand call dog and frog

'the child invited dog and frog' (Frog-Story: 3)

b. *sɛ̀* *émí* *nà* ***m*-ɑ̀ɑ́-bɔ́** *ẃ* *áà …*

if 1SG FOC 1SG-PROG-do 2SG COND

'if I am the one bewitching you …' (Jojo2: 2)

c. ***àmù*-*ú*-*tɛ́írè*** *ḿ* *àmàǹfʏ̌*

3PL-HAB-call 1SG Amanfo

'they call me Amanfo' (KBtwy_Osow: 9)

(4-37) a. *kòfĭ* ***mù*-*nùú*** *bò* *ní*

Kofi 3SG-head be hard

'Kofi is unkind' (Elicitation)

b. *ǹsú-àjíǹɕé*[135] *ná* *émí* ***má*-*áɕé*** *sɔ̀* *wó*

water-under FOC 1SG 1SG-eye receive exterior

'it is water-under net that I am interested in' (KsiMens_MtdOF1: 2)

c. *… nà* *mɔ̀-sɔ́* ***mí*-*ɕìká***

…and 1SG-receive 1SG-money

'… and I receive my money' (Hans_BoatNm: 54)

In previous studies, including Obeng (2008) and Taylor (n.d.), such forms have been analysed as pronouns in the language. At a glance, the pronoun analysis may sound plausible; for instance, considering their position in the clause, viz., the occurrence before verbs without any other item preceding them, as in (4-36c). Moreover, the free translation 'they' in (4-36c) may give an impression that the form is a pronoun. Likewise, in (4-37a)-(4-37c), the forms in boldface may be construed as possessive pronouns, especially when they occur without a preceding noun or noun phrase or pronoun, as in (4-37c). Another reason for a pronoun analysis may be the resemblance in their forms: in some cases the form of the pronoun and that of its

[135] The term *ǹsú-àjíǹɛ́é* is used to refer to a type of fishing net.

corresponding agreement marker are identical.[136] A careful examination however challenges the pronoun analysis.

Essentially, a pronoun is used as a substitute for a noun or a noun phrase (Crystal 2011; Loos et al 2004; Payne 1997; Schachter 1985) and therefore both may not occur in the same position. In this regard the form under consideration co-occurs with pronouns and nouns and therefore may not function as a pronoun but as an agreement marker. In the case of subject function, the agreement marker occurs after the subject as a prefix on the verb-stem to indicate the person and number status of the subject. The subject may be present in the sentence, as in (4-36a), or absent, as in (4-36c). An analysis of the Efutu data suggests that the presence of the subject in a sentence is usually for pragmatic a function, as explained above. For instance, in (4-36a), the presence of the subject NP *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' is understood as having the pragmatic function of a topic in the sentence. Similarly, in (4-36b), the pronoun *émí* '1SG' occurs in the sentence for focus purpose. The absence of the subject in the sentence, as in (4-36c), is understood that it is recoverable from the context, with its form (i.e., person and number status) indicated by the agreement marker which attaches to the verb-stem. Unlike the subjects whose presence in the sentence depends on pragmatic functions such as topic and focus, the presence of the agreement marker is obligatory as illustrated in (4-38a)-(4-38b). In (4-38a) the presence of the subject-agreement marker *mù* '3SG' without a pronoun is acceptable whereas the absence of a subject-agreement marker in (4-38b) renders the sentence ungrammatical.[137]

(4-38) a. *mù-tù* *àbá* *tɕírè* *ɔbɔ̀dáḿ* *nà* *àtɕwɛ́ɾ́*
3SG-throw hand call dog and frog
's/he invited dog and frog' (Frog-Story: 3)

[136] Compare for instance, the first and second person plural pronouns and their corresponding agreement markers on Table 4-4 and Table 4-5, respectively.
[137] There are however a certain category of items that may occur at subject function without agreement markers in the language, as discussed in §4.1.

b. *àtòbí ǹ tù àbá tɕírè ɔ̀bɔ̀dáḿ nà àtɕwéŕ*

child DEF throw hand call dog and frog

'the child invited dog and frog' (Frog-Story: 3)

In possessive constructions, the agreement marker occurs after the possessor as a prefix on the possessed noun, as in (4-37a)-(4-37c). The possessive-agreement[138] marker displays similar behaviour to the subject-agreement marker in many respects. For instance, the presence of the possessive-agreement marker is obligatory, whereas the presence of the possessor noun or noun phrase is conditioned by its pragmatic function as a topic or focus or emphasis. Thus, the possessive noun *kòfĩ́* in (4-37a) and the possessive pronoun *émí* '1SG' in (4-37b) may have a pragmatic function in their respective constructions, while the absence of a possessive noun or pronoun in (4-37c) is understood as being recoverable from the context through the presence of the possessive-agreement marker *mí* '1SG' prefixed to the possessed noun *ɕìká* 'money'.

The phonetic shape of the agreement marker varies due to vowel harmony, and in some cases, vowel deletion[139] (see Table 4-5). Nevertheless, the variant in boldface in Table 4-5 may be considered the underlying form since it contains the same ATR and in some cases the same Rounding value of the vowel(s) of the pronoun it represents. Thus, for instance, for the first person singular, *mì* may be considered to be the underlying form due to the form of the pronoun *émí*, while the other variants are considered as derived forms. As mentioned in §3.1.2. in Chapter 3, certain forms of agreement markers, including the second singular *ɔ̀/ò* '2SG', third singular animate *mù/mù* '3SG' and third plural animate *àmù/àmù* '3PL' resist [-Round] harmony in their vowels while the third singular and plural inanimate *ì/î* '3SG.INAN' resist [+Round] harmony.[140] In (4-39a) for instance, where the vowels of

[138] Term 'possessive-agreement marker' is used to refer to the form that is prefixed to the possessed noun in possessive constructions.

[139] See discussion of vowel harmony in §3.1.2. in Chapter 3; see also discussion on vowel harmony in verbal affixation in Chapter 5. See discussion on vowel deletion in verbal affixation in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3 and also in §5.2.3. and §5.2.4., both in Chapter 5.

[140] See illustration of such resistance in verbal affixation in Chapter 5.

the verb-stem *bétè* 'take' have the feature [+ATR, -Round], the agreement marker *mù* '3SG' assimilates the feature [+ATR] but not the feature [-Round] (see also example (4-36c). In (4-39b) on the other hand, the agreement marker *ì* '3SG. INAN' assimilates the [-ATR] but not the [+Round] of the vowel in the verb-stem *bɔ̀* 'be'.

(4-39) a. *mù-bétè* *tɕìbí* *ǹ*
3SG-take knife DEF
's/he took the knife' (Elicitation)

b. *ì-bɔ̀* *fã́*
3SG. INAN-be sweet
'it is sweet' (Elicitation)

As mentioned above, there is a similarity between the morphological shape of the agreement marker and that of the corresponding pronoun. Such a similarity may not be accidental, for, cross-linguistically, agreement markers have been shown to evolve from anaphoric pronouns (Siewierska 1999). The various agreement markers in Efutu are presented in Table 4-5.

Table 4-5: Agreement markers in Efutu

	Subject-agreement markers	**Possessive-agreement markers**
1SG	**mì**-/mì-/mù-/mù-/m-	**mí**-/mí-/má-/mé-/mú-/mú-
2SG	**ɔ̀**-/ò-	**wó**-/wú-
3SG animate	**mù**-/mù-	**mù**-/mù-
3SG inanimate	**ì**-/ì-	**mù**-/mù-
1PL	**àní**-/àní-/ànú-/ànú-/àn-	**àní**-/àní-/ànú-/ànú-/àná-/àné-
2PL	**ání**-/ání-/ánú-/ánú-/án-	**ání**-/ání-/ánú-/ánú-/áná-/áné-
3PL animate	**àmù**-/àmù-	**àmù**-/àmù-
3PL inanimate	**ì**-/ ì-	**àmù**-/àmù-
Impersonal	**á-**	-

4.4. Adjectives

The adjective class is often portrayed to be a peculiar category in languages for various reasons. Part of the peculiarity lies with the provision of a satisfactory definition for class membership. Unlike nouns and verbs that may be clearly defined in languages, adjectives are found to have no such satisfactory definition cross-linguistically (Schachter 1985: 13). This is partly because, in some languages, adjectives overlap with nouns or verbs or both (or, certain features in adjectives overlap with either some features of nouns or verbs or both in languages) (Dixon 2004:1; Payne 1997: 63). Another apparent peculiarity with the adjective class has to do with class size and *nature*: some languages have a relatively large class of adjectives compared with other languages (Dixon 2004:10). Furthermore, adjectives constitute an open class in some languages but a closed class in others. Actually, some linguists suggest that some languages lack adjectives completely and such languages employ other means (including the use of verbs and nouns) to express adjectival meanings (Schachter 1985: 13, 14). Other linguists, such as Dixon (2004: 1-2, 9, 12), maintain that all languages have an adjective class, except that the class

size may vary, as already indicated. Further, (in comparison with nouns and verbs) adjectives are recognised to exhibit complex and varied functional possibilities in languages (Dixon 2004: 10). All these peculiarities make it difficult to provide a universal or cross-linguistic characterisation of adjectives.

In spite of the difficulty in distinguishing an adjective class (from noun and verb classes) in languages, certain properties are identified as prototypical of adjectives. These include their functional, semantic and morphological (or categorical) properties. Functionally, adjectives are noted to have two primary options: on one hand, they may take predicative function, where they occur as intransitive predicates or copular complements in a clause to express certain properties about a referent (Dixon 2004: 10, 14; Schachter 1985: 13). Alternatively, adjectives may assume an attributive function where they occur as an attributive modifier within a noun phrase to provide some modification of the referent of the head-noun (Dixon 2004: 10; Schachter 1985: 13). Semantically, a wide range of concepts are associated with adjectives in languages. These may include core semantic concepts such as 'dimension', 'age', 'value' and 'colour', as well as several peripheral semantic types, such as 'physical property', 'human propensity', 'speed', 'quantification' and 'qualification', among other semantic types (Dixon 2004: 3). Furthermore adjectives may be specified for the category of degree, where they may distinguish various degrees, such as the traditional 'positive', 'comparative' and 'superlative' gradations (Schachter 1985: 14).

An adjective class may be identified in Efutu based on a set of criteria, including modification of nouns in NPs, agreement in number with head-nouns, attributive and predicative functions in clauses, and expression of semantic concepts of dimension, value, colour, and physical property. Some semantic types of adjectives in Efutu include 'dimension', 'value', 'colour' and 'physical property', as exemplified in Table 4-6.

Table 4-6: Some semantic types of adjectives in Efutu

Dimension	Value	Colour	Physical property
láápɑ̋/ náápɑ̋/ ànápɑ̋ 'big'[141]	*pápá* 'good'	*ófùr̀* 'white'	*fɑ̋* 'sweet/delicious'
tɕítɕìbí 'small/little'	*péémí* 'bad'	*ɔ̋ɔ̀* 'red'	*fɪ̋ɛ́ẃ* 'beautiful'
tɕéńtɕéń 'long/tall'		*óbìr̀* 'black'	*ní* 'hard/difficult'
kúkùbí 'short'			*wíń* 'cold/cool'
			ɕíẃ 'hot'
			ɔ́dɛ́ 'well'

The adjective semantic types identified in Efutu seem to be consistent with Dixon's (2004: 4) assertion that languages with a relatively smaller adjective class size are likely to include members from the core types of DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE and COLOUR and the periphery type of PHYSICAL PROPERTY. It is only languages with a relatively large class size that tend to include members from the other semantic types (Dixon 2004: 4). With the exception of AGE, all the semantic types alleged to be found in a smaller or medium-size class are found in Efutu, as illustrated in Table 4-6.

Syntactically, the Efutu adjectives display two functional possibilities: they may either function as attributive modifiers in noun phrases, or as copular complements in copular clauses (see discussion on copular verbs in §4.6.3.). Attributive function of adjectives is exemplified in (4-40). In (4-40a), the attributive adjective *ànápɑ̋* 'PL.big' occurs in a noun phrase where it modifies the head-noun *ɲàmá* 'boat(s)'. In (4-40b), the attributive adjective *pápá* 'good' occurs in an NP to modify the head-noun *ɔ̀sé* 'woman'. In (4-40c), two adjectives, viz., *pápá* 'good' and *tɕéńtɕéń* 'tall' occur successively in an NP to modify the head-noun *ɔ̀ɲíǹbì* 'boy'. In (4-40d), the adjective *láápɑ̋* 'big' modifies the head-noun *búùkùú* 'book' in the NP in which it occurs.

[141] See comment on variation in pronunciation of the adjective 'big' in §4.1.

The adjective *ànápə̋* 'PL.big' in (4-40a) and its singular form *láápə̋* 'big' in (4-40d), as well as the adjective *tɕéńtɕéń* 'tall' in (4-40c), each semantically expresses DIMENSION in the referent of the head-noun in their respective noun phrases. Likewise, the adjective *pápá* 'good' in (4-40b)-(4-40c) semantically expresses VALUE in the referent of the head-noun in their respective noun phrases. Although the ordering of successive adjectives has not been investigated in this study, in (4-40c) where two adjectives occur successively, VALUE precedes DIMENSION. The position of the adjective in the NP is consistently found to be immediately after the head-noun, such that any other element in the NP, such as a determiner (DEF), occurs after the adjective, as in (4-40c)-(4-40d).

(4-40) a. *àní-bɔ́* *ɲàmá* *ànápə̋*
1PL-have boat PL.big
'we have big boats' (KM_onSea: 41)

b. *ɔ̀sé* *pápá,* *mù-wó* *wírì* *ná* *!né*
woman good 3SG-self/body be.cool give 3SG
'good woman, she is humble to him' (Hans_BoatNm: 9)

c. *ɔ̀ɲíǹbì* *pápá* *tɕéńtɕéń* *ǹ*
boy good tall DEF
'the good, tall, boy' (Obeng 2008: 84)

d. *búùkùú* *láápə̋* *ǹ*
book big DEF
'the big book' (Obeng 2008: 20)

Dixon (2004: 11) asserts that in some languages, modifying adjectives in NPs may take some or all of the morphological properties/markings of nouns, such as NUMBER, CASE, etc. The Efutu data shows that adjectives in the language may be

specified for the category of number. For instance, in (4-40a), the form *à-nápā́* 'PL-big' is plural while the form *láápā́* 'big' in (4-40d) is singular. For plural, some adjectives are found to use reduplication. Although the respective head-nouns they modify may not inflect for number, the adjectives do, and through that the number status of the noun can be determined (see also discussion on 'neutral'/ 'irregular' plural nouns in §4.1.).

As mentioned above, adjectives may assume predicative function where they occur as copular complements in copular clause. This function occurs in Efutu adjectives, as illustrated in (4-41a)-(4-41f). In (4-41a) the adjective *ɕìẁ* 'hot' occurs as a copular complement of the copular verb *bɔ́* 'become' in a copular clause. In (4-41b) the adjective *wín* 'cool/cold' occurs as a copular complement in another copular clause. The adjectives *fā́* 'sweet' in (4-41c), *ní* 'hard' in (4-41d)-(4-41e) and *fíéẃ* 'beautiful' in (4-41f), each occurs as copular complement in their respective copular clauses.

(4-41) a. *kà ɔ̀pú ǹ, kà mù-bɔ́*[142] *ɕìẁ àà, …*
but sea DEF but 3SG-be hot COND
'but the sea, when it is hot, …' (KM_onSea: 106)

b. *ɔ̀pú ǹ, mù-bɔ̀ wín*
sea DEF 3SG-be cool
'the sea, it is cool/cold' (KM_onSea: 103)

c. *kùbé ǹ ì-bɔ̀ fā́*
coconut DEF 3SG-be sweet
'the coconut is sweet' (Obeng 2008: 85)

[142] The change in the verb's tone, viz., the High tone *bɔ́* in (4-41a), in comparison with the Low tone *bɔ́* in the various examples (4-41a)-(4-41f), may be conditioned by the conditional marker *àà* 'COND' in clause-final position.

d. *mù-nùú* *bò*[143] *ní*

3SG.POSS-head be hard

's/he is unkind/cruel' (Elicitation)

e. *kà ńdé ǹtòbí !náání àmù-àsó bò ní*

but today children DET 3PL.POSS-ears be hard

'but nowadays the children are naughty' (Hans_Art: 108)

f. *mù-wó* *máá-bɔ́*[144] *!fĩ́ɛ́w*

3SG.POSS-body NEG-be beautiful

's/he is not beautiful' (Obeng 2008: 84)

It has been mentioned above that one of the peculiarities noted for adjectives as a class is the complexity and diversity of their functional possibilities in languages (Dixon 2004:10). One such functional possibility of adjectives in Efutu is the ability to undergo nominalisation to assume a function of a noun, such as occurring as an argument in a clause, as illustrated in (4-42a)-(4-42b). In (4-42a), the adjective *ànápā́* 'PL.big' occurs in subject function as an argument of the verb *bɔ̀* 'be'. In (4-42b), *ànápā́* 'PL.big' occurs in object function as an argument of the verb *bɔ̀* 'have'. In both examples (4-42a) – (4-42b), the nominalisation of the adjective occurs with zero-derivation: the nominalised form *ànápā́* 'PL.big' in (4-42a) – (4-42b) is identical to the adjectival form *ànápā́* 'PL.big' in (4-40a).

[143] The absence of a subject-agreement marker on the verb in (4- 41d) is as a result of the indefinite status of the possessive construction which functions as a subject (see discussion in §4.1).
[144] The High tone *bɔ́* 'be' in (4-41f) may be due to the negation in the verb.

(4-42) a *ànápā́ bɔ̀ tɔ̂*

PL.big be inside

'big ones are among (them)' (KM_HookMthd1: 23)

b. *àní-bɔ̀*[145] *ànápā́*

1PL-have PL.big

'we have big (ones)' (Elicitation)

4.4.1. Verbal adjectives

Although certain semantic types are associated with particular word classes generally, it is possible to see variation in such correspondences. For instance, it is observed that the concept of DIMENSION is normally associated with the class adjective (Dixon 2004: 3), however, DIMENSION may be expressed with verbs in Efutu as illustrated in (4-43a)-(4-43c). The verbs *dɜ̀̃* 'be.big' in (4-43a)-(4-43b) denotes size or dimension while the verb *pà* 'be.tall' in (4-43c) also denotes length or dimension.

(4-43) a. *ì-dɜ̀̃*

3SG-be.big

'it is big' (Obeng 2008: 88)

b. *mɔ̀-dɜ̀̃*

3SG-be.big

'he is big/fat/great' (Taylor *The dialect*: 11)

c. *ɔ̀ɲí ǹ mɔ̀-pà*

man DEF 3SG-be.tall

'the man is tall' (Obeng 2008: 86)

[145] Although the form of *bɔ̀* 'have'in (4-42b) is identical to that of *bɔ̀* 'be' in (4-42a), they express different meanings. It is not clear whether the two are related.

Balmer and Grant (1942: 84) mention that 'another way of expressing adjectival meaning in languages may be through the use of a descriptive verb which states the characteristic of the subject'. With reference to verbs like those in (4-43a)-(4-43c), Obeng (2008: 88) comments that 'although such words translate as adjectives, they are verbs in Efutu as they describe the state of being of the noun they are modifying'. Such verbs are analysed as stative verbs in this study (see §5.1.1. in Chapter 5).

4.5. Determiners

The term 'determiner' is often used to cover several formatives, including articles, demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals (Payne 1997: 102; Loos et al. 2004). Payne (1997: 102) however cautions about the broadness of the category 'determiner', particularly, with regard to inconsistency in syntactic behaviour, as, for instance, languages may not place them all in the same position in the noun phrase. The forms that are labelled determiners 'often directly express something about the identifiability and/or referentiality of a noun phrase' (Payne 1997: 102). Some words in Efutu may be categorized as determiners: they occur in noun phrases to directly express something about the identifiability and/or referentiality of the noun phrase. The relevant forms are discussed in turn.

4.5.1. Articles

The form *ǹ* 'DEF' in (4-44a)-(4-44b) exhibits some features that are identified in determiners, particularly, definite articles.[146] The element *ǹ* 'DEF' normally occurs with common nouns and its position is after the noun, as in (4-44a)-(4-44b). For instance, *ǹ* 'DEF' occurs after the common noun *àtòbí* 'child' in (4-44a) and after the common noun *ǹsú* 'water' in (4-44b). When the item *ǹ* occurs with a noun, it performs the syntactic function of a specifier: it indicates definite reference in the noun. Pragmatically, *ǹ* indicates that the reference of the noun is presumed to be identifiable (Loos et al. 2004). For instance, in (4-44a), the occurrence of *ǹ* 'DEF'

[146] See earlier mention of the definite article *ǹ* in relation to the discussion on NPs that occur with agreement markers in §4.1.1.

with *àtòbí* indicates that the speaker is talking about a particular child and not any other child, such that the speaker (and possibly the addressee) can identify or recognize that particular child (from previous mention or shared knowledge). Without the form *ǹ* 'DEF' in such a construction, the same (pragmatic) inference of identifiability cannot be made of the noun *àtòbí,* hence the characterisation of *ǹ* as a definite article.

(4-44) a. *mì-nì* *àtòbí* *ǹ*
1SG-know child DEF
'I know the child' (Elicitation)

b. *ǹsú* *ǹ,* *ì-bɔ̀* *wíń*
water DEF 3SG.INAN-be cold/cool
'the water is cold/cool' (Elicitation)

When a plural form of the noun is used, the form *nǎání* occurs with it, as in (4-45a) (see earlier discussion of this in §4.1.1.). *Ǹ* has other phonetic variants, including the form *nù* 'DET' in (4-45b). It appears that *ǹ* is a contracted form while the other variants,[147] including *nù* are full forms. This study has however not investigated the conditions for using a given form.

(4-45) a. *mì-nì* *ǹtòbí* *nǎání*[148]
1SG-know children DEF
'I know the children' (Elicitation)

[147] Other variants are conditioned by vowel harmony from vowels in the following item (see discussion of vowel harmony in §3.1.2. in Chapter 3).
[148] An identical form *nǎání* is shown to be used as third person plural object pronoun which occurs with third person subject forms (see discussion in §4.1.1.). Also, the form *nǎání* is found to function as a demonstrative (see §4.5.2.).

b. *mù-síná* *ódẓá* *nù* *wó*

3SG-sit fire DEF side

's/he is sitting by the fire' (Elicitation)

Another determiner, viz., the form *kó*[149] in (4-46a)-(4-46b) may be characterised as a specific indefinite article in Efutu. It is usually used with common nouns and it introduces a 'new' referent or a referent that has not been previously mentioned in the discorse. When *kó* occurs with a noun, it identifies its referent as a particular one of the kinds of a prototype. In addition, the use of *kó* indicates that the referent of a noun is not presumed to be identifiable (Loos et al. 2004). For instance, in (4-46a) the determiner *kó* identifies the noun *títɕàɲí́* 'teacher' as a particular one of many teachers, and yet that teacher is not presumed to be identifiable from the lot, hence the free translation 'a certain'. Similarly, in (4-46b), *kó* identifies the noun *èkùrá* 'village' as a particular one, yet, not one presumed to be identifiable by the addressee. The various articles in the data are presented in Table 4-7.

(4-46) a. *àní-ɲé* *títɕàɲí́* *kó …*

1PL-get teacher DET

'we got a certain teacher …' (Hans_Art: 28)

b. *àmù-tá* *èkùrá* *kó* *àjíɲɕè*

3PL-sit village one/a certain under

'they live in a certain village' (Hans_AnanseStory: 3)

Table 4-7: Articles in Efutu

Singular form	**Plural form**	**Description**
nù/ nù/ ǹ	*náání*	definite article
kó	*kó*	specific-indefinite article

[149] The article *kó* appears to be related to the numeral *ìkómé* 'one'.

4.5.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are described as deictic/anaphoric expressions in languages; they function with nouns or noun phrases, but they can also occur on their own (Payne 1997: 102; Diessel 1999: 2; Dixon 2003: 63). Their syntactic function(s) include specifying/modifying noun phrases (Payne 1997: 102; Diessel 1999: 2). Pragmatically, demonstratives may perform the specific function of pointing to the referent of a noun or setting it in focus in speech/discourse (Payne 1997: 103; Diessel 1999: 2). Languages are said to usually distinguish two deictically contrastive forms of demonstrative: a proximal form which indicates nearness/closeness to the deictic centre and a distal form which indicates distance away from the deictic centre (Payne 1997: 103; Diessel 1999: 2; Dixon 2003: 86).

Certain items in Efutu may be characterised as demonstrative determiners. These items often function with nouns or noun phrases to specify nouns to set them in focus in discourse. They include the form *àdé-máámú* in (4-47). In (4-47), the gloss 'DEM-3SG' for the form *àdé-máámú* may not be adequate. Actually, *máámú* in *àdé-máámú* seems to be identical to the form *máámú* which has been analysed as the third person singular subject pronoun in §4.3 (see Table 4-4 in §4.3.1.). The behaviour of *àdé-máámú* in the grammar of Efutu matches that of 'demonstrative determiner' (Dixon 2003: 63) or 'demonstrative adjective' (Payne 1997: 102). In (4-47) the form *àdé-máámú* which occurs before the noun *tɔ̀ɔ́!búú* 'trouble' performs a syntactic function as a modifier or specifier of the noun. Pragmatically, *àdé-máámú* brings the noun *tɔ̀ɔ́!búú* 'trouble' into focus.

(4-47) *… àmú-wàà-bɔ́* *àdé-máámú* *tɔ̀ɔ́!búú* *ǹ*

3PL-EGRESS-make DEM-3SG trouble DEF

'they have (gone to) cause that trouble' (KM_Fjob: 38)

It appears that in (4-47), *àdé-máámú* combines with the definite article *ǹ* which occurs after the noun in its functions as a demonstrative determiner. *Àdé-máámú* (or *àdé-máámú … ǹ*) may be further characterised as a distal demonstrative: it is

consistently glossed with the English equivalent ‘that’ by native speaker-consultants, suggesting that it indicates not-nearness or distance from the deictic centre.

Obeng (2008) identifies other forms of demonstrative determiners worth considering in this study. They include the singular proximal demonstrative determiner *ḿ* in (4-48a)-(4-48b) and its alternative *àdé … ḿ* in (4-48c). The form *àdé … ḿ* is also said to be used as a plural proximal demonstrative, as in (4-48d).

(4-48) a. *m̀pí ḿ*
stone DEM
‘this stone’ (Obeng 2008: 27)

b. *tîî ḿ ì-bɔ̀ ɕíẃ*
tea DEM 3SG-be hot
‘this tea is hot’ (Obeng 2008: 26)

c. *àdé m̀pí ḿ*
DEM stone DEM
‘this stone’ (Obeng 2008: 26)

d. *àdé m̀pí ḿ*
DEM stones DEM
‘these stones’ (Obeng 2008: 24)

The form *àdé … ǹ* in (4-49a) is shown to be used as a singular distal demonstrative determiner, meaning that it alternates with the form *àdé-máámʉ́ … ǹ* in (4-47). However, the conditions for the use of either form have not been investigated. The form *àdé … náání* in (4-49b) is shown to be used as a plural distal demonstrative determiner. In most of the examples (4-48c)-(4-49b), the demonstrative determiners are seen to be made of two particles and the noun being specified occurs between them.

(4-49) a. *àdé* *m̀pí* *ǹ*

DEM stone DEM

'that stone' (Obeng 2008: 21)

b. *àdé* *ɛ̀ɲí* *náání*

DEM men DEM

'those men' (Obeng 2008: 27)

The various demonstrative determiners discussed above are presented in Table 4-8.

Table 4-8: Demonstratives in Efutu

Singular form	**Plural form**	**Description**
ḿ	?	proximal demonstrative determiner
àdé … ḿ	*àdé … ḿ*	proximal demonstrative determiner
àdé-máámú	?	distal demonstrative determiner
àdé … ǹ	*àdé … náání*	distal demonstrative determiner

4.5.3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers may occur with nouns or noun phrases as modifiers (Payne 1997: 65) and they are sometimes classified under determiners in that function (Payne 1997: 102). Hence, a quantifier may be defined as 'a determiner that expresses a referent's definite or indefinite number or amount' (Loos et al. 2004). Quantifiers may be numeral or non-numeral (Payne 1997: 65). Certain items in Efutu may be analysed as quantifiers: they occur with nouns or noun phrases to function as modifiers. Efutu may distinguish numeral and non-numeral quantifiers. Numeral quantifiers and non-numeral quantifiers are illustrated in (4-50a)-(4-50b) and (4-50c), respectively.

(4-50) a. *… báà-bɔ́ ǹtɕɪ́́ ǹsɑ́́ ǹtá-tɔ̀*

FUT-be days three between-in(side)

'...'within about three days' (Hans_AnanseStory: 31)

b. *kà ìtɕí kómé ná àtòbí ǹ …*

but day one and child DEF

'but one day (and) the child …' (Hans_FrogStory: 3a)

c. *ǹɕà pìì ń-tɕírɔ́ẃ ńtɕí í-ḿ-bɔ́ kɔ́mɔ̀ǹ*

persons many PERF-write so 3SG.INAN-PERF-be common

'many people have written it so it has become common'

(Hans_BoatNm: 46)

In (4-50a), the numeral quantifier *ǹsɑ́́* 'three' occurs with the noun *ǹtɕɪ́́* 'days' as a modifier. Another numeral quantifier *kómé* 'one' occurs with the noun *ìtɕí* 'day' as a modifier in (4-50b). In (4-50c) a non-numeral quantifier, viz., *pìì* 'many' occurs with the noun *ǹɕà* 'people' as a modifier. In all the examples (4-50a)-(4-50c) the position of the quantifier is after the noun that it modifies.[150] Table 4-9 presents numerals while Table 4-10 presents non-numeral quantifiers in Efutu.

[150] See example (4-1) and discussion in §4.1. on positions of the items in the noun phrase.

Table 4-9: Example of numerals in Efutu

Numeral	Gloss	Numeral	Gloss
ìkómé	one	*ìdʊ̀ŋɔ́*	twenty
ìŋɔ́ / ɲ̀ŋɔ́	two	*ìdʊ̀ŋɔ́-nà-kó*	twenty-one
ìsɑ̃́	three	*ìdʊ̀ŋɔ́-nà-ɲɔ́*	twenty-two
ǹnâ	four	*ìdʊ̀sɑ̃́*	thirty
ènúḿ	five	*ìdʊ̀nâ*	forty
ìsɛ̃̂	six	*ìdʊ̀nû*	fifty
ìsɔ́ń	seven	*ìdʊ̀sɛ̃̂*	sixty
ìtɕwê	eight	*ìdʊ̀sínáẃ/ìdʊ̀sɔ́ń*	seventy
ìpáń	nine	*ìdʊ̀tɕwê*	eighty
ídû	ten	*ìdʊ̀páń*	ninety
ídú-nà-kómé	eleven	*ìdʊ̀páń-nà-páń*	ninety-nine
ídú-nà-ɲɔ́	twelve	*ɔ̀làfɑ̃́ / ɔ̀dàfɑ̃́*	hundred
ídú-nà-sɑ̃́	thirteen	*ɔ̀làfɑ̃́-nà-ìdʊ̀tɕwê*	one-hundred-and-eighty
ídú-nà-nâ	fourteen	*àlàfɑ̃́-ɲ̀ŋɔ́*	two-hundred
ídú-nà-núḿ	fifteen	*àlàfɑ̃́-ǹná*	four-hundred
ídú-nà-sɛ̃̂	sixteen	*ápî*	thousand
ídú-nà-sɔ́ń	seventeen	*ápí-ìŋɔ́*	two-thousand
ídú-nà-tɕwê	eighteen	*ɔ̀pí!pí-kómé*	one-million
ídú-nà-páń	nineteen	*ɔ̀pí!pí-ɲ̀ŋɔ́*	two-million

Table 4-10: Non-numeral quantifiers in Efutu

Non-numeral quantifier	Gloss
fúú	all
pìì	many
kó	some
kwáàfə̀	every/any
m̀pùrɔ̀kú	few

4.6. Verbs

Verbs may be distinguished by their morpho-syntactic (distributional and structural) properties as well as their semantic properties (Payne 1997; Schachter 1985). Distributional properties of verbs in languages may include the ability to head verb-phrases and also function as predicates in clauses (Payne 1997: 9; Schachter 1985: 47). Their structural properties may include the ability to occur with grammatical categories of tense, aspect, modality and negation, and also subject agreement (Payne 1997: 10; Schachter 1985: 47). Semantic properties of verbs in languages may include coding (various types of) events or states, and determining the arguments (or participants) for each event or state type, as well as assigning thematic roles to the arguments. A class of words in Efutu may be characterised as verbs based on their distributional, structural and semantic properties. Such properties include:

- coding of events
- heading verb phrases
- predicate function in clauses
- determining of arguments in clauses
- occurrence with tense, aspect, mood and negation
- occurrence with subject-agreement markers

In Efutu, verbs code events or states-of-affairs. For instance, in (4-51a) and (4-51b), the verbs ‘grow’ and ‘cook’, each identifies a state-of-affairs in their respective clauses.

The distributional property of Efutu verbs as heads of verb-phrases is illustrated in (4-51a)-(4-51b). In (4-51a) the verb-phrase (VP) *bɔ́ fɛ̀ɛ́fɛ́ɛ́fɛ́ẃ* is headed by the verb *bɔ́* 'grew' as it determines the phrase type of the construction. Also, it is the head-verb *bɔ́* that warrants the occurrence of the other items in the phrase: the other items simply modify the head-verb. Likewise in (4-51b), the verb *náńkà* 'cooked' functions as the head of the VP *náńkà nú*, it determines the phrase type of the construction.

(4-51) a. *… ì-bɔ́*[151] *fɛ̀ɛ́fɛ́ɛ́fɛ́ẃ*

3PL.INAN-grow beautifully(REDUP)

'… they grew very beautifully' (Hans_AnanseStory: 21)

b. *àní-náńkà* *nú*

1PL-cook fish

'we cooked fish' (Elicitation)

The syntactic function of verbs as predicates in clauses may be illustrated with (4-51a)-(4-51b). Both verbs, that is, *bɔ́* 'grew' in (4-51a) and *náńkà* 'cooked' in (4-51b), function as the predicates in their respective clauses. In each case it is the verb that determines the arguments that may occur in the clause. Semantically, the verbs assign thematic roles to their arguments. Thus, in (4-51a), the verb *bɔ́* 'grow' assigns the role Experiencer to its single argument *ì* '3PL.INAN'. Likewise, in (4-51b), the verb *náńkà* 'cook' assigns the subject *àní* '1PL' an Agent role and the direct-object *nú* 'fish' a Patient role.

Structural properties for distinguishing a class of verbs in Efutu include grammatical categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation. The tense, aspect, mood and negation system in Efutu is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The detailed discussion and illustration of the elaborate tense, aspect mood and negation system

[151] The verb *bɔ́* 'grow' in (4-51a) does not seem to be related to the verb *bɔ̀* 'be' in (4-42a) or *bɔ̀* 'have' in (4-42b), both in §4.4.

in Chapter 5 provides distinctive features for assigning items to the class of verbs in the language. Furthermore, as a structural property, verbs occur with subject-agreement markers in Efutu, as discussed §4.3.2. In (4-51a)-(4-51b) for instance, the subject-agreement markers *ì* '3PL.INAN' and *àní* '1PL' occur with the verbs *bɔ́* 'grow' and *náńkà* 'cook', respectively.

Voice is another feature that may be associated with verbs in various languages. Although Efutu does not have a passive voice, the language has a mechanism through the use of an impersonal pronoun for expressing a passive-like voice, as discussed earlier (see examples in (4-29) and discussion in §4.3.1.) Indeed, the use of similar impersonal pronouns in constructions to express passive meanings in 'passiveless' languages is attested cross-linguistically (see for instance, Keenan 1985; Kawasha 2007; Kula & Marten 2010). Keenan (1985), for instance, discusses the use of active sentences with an 'impersonal' third-person plural subject by various languages that do not have 'basic passive' constructions to express passive meanings. The Efutu data exemplify such a case of the use of an active sentence with an impersonal pronoun to express a passive meaning.

4.6.1. Sub-classes of verbs

One of the criteria for grouping verbs into sub-classes is the number of arguments they may occur with. By that criterion, verbs may be sub-classified in intransitive, (mono-)transitive and ditransitive. An intransitive verb takes one argument only, that is, a syntactic subject-NP. In other words, an intransitive verb does not take a syntactic object. A mono-transitive verb takes two arguments, a subject-NP and a direct-object-NP. A ditransitive verb takes three arguments, a subject-NP, a direct-object-NP and an indirect-object-NP. Example (4-52a) illustrates an intransitive verb in Efutu. In (4-52a), an intransitive verb *ná* 'walk' takes one argument only, viz., subject, which is represented by the agreement marker *mù* '3SG' prefixed to the verb stem. Example (4-52b) illustrates a sentence with a mono-transitive verb. In (4-52b), the mono-transitive verb *kɛ̀̃* 'hear' occurs with two arguments, a subject *mì* '1SG' and a direct object *àjìntέ* 'Fante'. Finally, a sentence containing a ditransitive verb is illustrated in (4-52c), where the ditransitive verb *ná* 'give' occurs with three

arguments, viz., a subject *mì* '1SG', a direct object *édítɔ̀* 'food' and an indirect object *m̀* '3SG'. In (4-52c), the indirect object occurs before the direct object.

(4-52) a. *mɔ̀-á-ná*

3SG-PROG-walk

's/he is walking' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-í-kã̀* *àjìntέ*

1SG-HAB-hear[152] Fante

'I hear (understand) Fante' (Hans_Art: 12)

c. *mì-ná* *m̀* *édítɔ̀*

1SG-give 3SG food

'I gave him/her food' (Elicitation)

In addition to their arguments, verbs can take optional elements such as adverbs (see §4.7.). Adjuncts are not found in Efutu, at least not in the sense that they are manifested in some other languages (like English). However, Efutu, like many of its relatives, uses a different mechanism to express what other languages use adjuncts for. Efutu uses special constructions, namely, serial verb constructions (SVCs) for expressing oblique arguments, among their other purposes (SVCs are discussed in the second part of this thesis). From the entire fieldwork corpus, verbs are observed to have consonants only at word-initial position. In other words, it appears that vowels do not occur in word-initial position in verbs.

In Efutu, some verbs take an obligatory noun or noun phrase in order to express a complete verbal meaning, such that, the meaning of such a verb is unclear or ambiguous or incomplete without the noun. Verbs with similar properties from other languages are characterized as inherent complement verbs in other studies (Essegbey 1999, 2002, 2010; Nwachukwu 1985). Four distinct groups of such verbs are identified in Efutu. The first group involves verbs whose meaning is

[152] *Kã̀* 'hear/understand' could also mean 'speak'.

undeterminable without their complementary noun, such that the verb gets full meaning from the complementary noun. Typical examples of verbs in this group include *dì* in (4-53a) – (4-54d), *dá* in examples (4-55a) – (4-55e), *tù* in (4-56a) – (4-56f), *bɔ́* in (4-57a) – (4-57d) and *sútɛ̀ì* in (4-58a) – (4-58d).

In (4-53a), the verb *dì* gets the meaning 'eat' due to its collocation with the noun *átɔ̂* 'thing'. In (4-53a), the actual object of 'eat' could be specified, such as *ḿpùwá* 'banana' in (4-53b). Sentence (4-53c) is ambiguous due to the absence of an object.

(4-53) a. *mì-dì* *átɔ̂*
1SG-VERB[153] thing
'I ate' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-dì* *ḿpùwá*
1SG-VERB banana
'I ate banana' (Elicitation)

c. ?*mì-dì*
1SG-VERB
(Elicitation)

In a similar manner, *dì* gets the meaning 'play' in (4-54a), as a result of its collocation with the noun *ńsírè* 'game'. In (4-54b), *dì* gets the meaning 'follow' in collocation with the noun *ǹɛ́í* 'back'. In (4-54c), *dì* gets the meaning 'celebrate' in collocation with the noun 'Aboakyer'. In (4-54d), *dì* gets the meaning 'converse' due to its collocation with the noun *ǹkɔ̀mɔ́* 'conversation'. Table 4-11 summarises the meanings of *dì* in collocation with different nouns.

[153] In the examples, the verb is gloss 'VERB' to avoid variant glossing.

(4-54) a. *mì-dì* *ńɕírè*

1SG-VERB game

'I played' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-dì* *mù-ǹɕí*

1SG-VERB 3SG.POSS-back

'I followed him/her' (Elicitation)

c. *mì-dì* *àbʊ́átɕíɾ́*

1SG-VERB aboakyer

'I celebrated Aboakyer'[154] (Elicitation)

d. *ànì-í-dì* *ǹkɔ̀mɔ́*

1PL-VERB conversation

'we are conversing' (Elicitation)

Table 4-11: Various meanings of the verb *dì* based on its complementary noun

Verb	**Complementary noun**		**Meaning**
dì +	*átɔ̂* 'thing/banana'	→	'eat'
	ńsírè 'game'	→	'play'
	ǹɕí 'back'	→	'follow'
	àbʊ́átɕíɾ́ 'aboakyer'	→	'celebrate'
	ǹkɔ̀mɔ́ 'conversation'	→	'converse'

Another verb in the first category (viz., verbs whose meaning is more fully determined by the noun they occur with) is *dá*. In (4-55a), *dá* gets the meaning 'pray' as a result of its collocation with the noun *mpáì* 'prayer'. In (4-55b), *dá* gets

[154] Aboakyer is a local festival observed by the people of Winneba in Ghana.

the meaning ‘clap’ as a result of the noun *àsáɨ̀* ‘palms’. In (4-55c), *dá* gets the meaning ‘play’ as a result of the noun ‘drum’. In (4-55d), *dá* in association with the noun *ḿbɔ́dí* ‘effort’ gets the meaning ‘persevere’. Out of context, *dá* in sentence (4-55e) is meaningless due to the absence of its complementary noun. Table 4-12 summarises the various meanings of *dá* in its occurrence with different nouns.

(4-55) a. *mì-dá* *m̀páì*
1SG-VERB prayer
‘I prayed’ (Elicitation)

b. *mì-dá* *má-àsáɨ̀*
1SG-VERB 1SG.POSS-palms
‘I clapped’ (Elicitation)

c. *mì-dá* *òdòǹdòẃ*
1SG-VERB drum
‘I played a drum’ (Elicitation)

d. *mì-dá* *ḿbɔ́dí*
1SG-VERB effort
‘I persevered ’ (Elicitation)

e. **mì-dá*
1SG-VERB
(Elicitation)

Table 4-12: Various meanings of the verb *dà* based on its complementary noun

Verb	**Complementary noun**		**Meaning**
dá +	*m̀páì* 'prayer'	→	'pray'
	àsáɨ̀ 'palms'	→	'clap'
	òdòǹdòẃ 'drum'	→	'play drum'
	ḿbɔ́dí 'effort'	→	'persevere'

Another verb that gets its meaning from its complementary noun or object is *tù.* In (4-56a), *tù* gets the meaning 'sing' as a result of its collocation with the noun *àdá* 'song'. In (4-56b), *tù* gets the meaning 'cast' as a result of the noun *édɛ̂* 'net'. In (4-56c), *tù* gets the meaning 'name' or 'give name' as a result of the noun *ádá* 'name'. In (4-56d), *tù* gets the meaning 'iron' with the noun *àtàɾ́* 'dress'. In (4-56e), *tù* gets the meaning 'throw' with the noun *m̀pí* 'stone'. The verb *tù* without a complementary noun does not mean much, as shown in (4-56f). Table 4-13 presents a summary of the various meanings of *tù* with different complementary nouns.

(4-56) a. *mù-tù* *àdá*
1SG-VERB song
'I sang' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-tù* *édɛ̂* *ǹ*
1SG-VERB net DEF
'I cast the net' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-tù* *àtòbí* *ǹ* *mù-ádá*
1SG-VERB child DEF 1SG-name
'I named the child' (Elicitation)

d. *mù-tù* *àtàŕ* *ǹ*

1SG-VERB dress DEF

'I ironed the dress' (Elicitation)

e. *mù-tù* *m̀pí* *ǹ*

1SG-VERB stone DEF

'I threw the stone' (Elicitation)

f. *ʔmù-tù*

1SG-VERB

(Elicitation)

Table 4-13: Various meanings of the verb *tù* based on its complementary noun

Verb	**Complementary noun**		**Meaning**
tù +	*àdá* 'song'	→	'sing'
	édâ̂ 'net'	→	'cast net'
	ádá 'name'	→	'name'
	àtàŕ 'dress'	→	'iron'
	m̀pí 'stone'	→	'throw'

Another verb that gets its meaning from its complementary noun is *bɔ́*. In the context of *élútɔ̀* 'food' and *èsúmí* 'work', *bɔ́* may be glossed as 'do' (4-57a) – (4-57b); in association with the noun *élútɔ̀* 'food' *bɔ́* gets the specific meaning 'cook' (4-57a). In collocation with the noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' in (4-57c), *bɔ́* gets a general meaning, such as 'do something'. Without a complementary noun, *bɔ́* does not have a clear meaning, as shown in (4-57d). Table 4-14 summarises the various meanings that ensue from the combination of *bɔ́* and its complementary nouns.

(5-57) a. *mù-bɔ́* *élútɔ̀*

1SG-do food

'I cooked'[155] (Elicitation)

b. *mù-bɔ́* *èsúmí*

1SG-do work

'I worked' (Elicitation)

c. *m-àá-bɔ́* *átɔ̂*

1SG-PROG-do 'thing'

'I am doing something' (Elicitation)

d. **mù-bɔ́*

1SG-do

(Elicitation)

Table 4-14: Various meanings of the verb *bɔ̀* based on its complementary noun

Verb	**Complementary noun**		**Meaning**
bɔ́ +	*élútɔ̀* 'food'	→	'cook'
	èsúmí 'work'	→	'do wok'
	átɔ̂ 'thing'	→	'do something'

Another verb that may get its meaning from its complementary noun is *sútɕì*. Unlike *dì, dá, tù,* and *bɔ́, sútɕì* may be assigned the meaning 'fly' without an overt complementary noun or object, as in (4-58a). However it gets the meaning 'run' when it occurs with the complementary noun *ǹsìré* 'race', as in (4-58b). With the

[155] *Bɔ́* cannot be used with a specific food item, such as 'egg'/ 'rice'/ 'fish'. In that case, another verb *náńkà* 'cook' is used, as in *mì-náńkà ìnú* 'I cooked fish'.

complementary noun *ɔ́bʊ̂* 'hole', *sútɕì* gets the meaning 'dig', as in (4-58c). The meaning 'uproot' ensues when *sútɕì* occurs with the noun *dwʑààdé* 'cassava' (4-58d). Table 4-15 summarises the meanings of *sútɕì* in the various contexts.

(4-58) a. *mù-sútɕì*
1SG-VERB
'it flew' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-sútɕì* *ǹsìré*
1SG-VERB race
'I ran' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-sútɕì* *ɔ́bʊ̂*
1SG-VERB hole
'I dug a hole' (Elicitation)

d. *mù-sútɕì* *dwʑààdé* *ǹ*
1SG-VERB cassava DEF
'I uprooted the cassava' (Elicitation)

Table 4-15: Various meanings of the verb *sútɕì* based on its complement

Verb	**Complementary noun**		**Meaning**
sútɕì +	–	→	'fly'
	ǹsìré 'race'	→	'run'
	ɔ́bʊ̂ 'hole'	→	'dig'
	dwʑààdé 'cassava'	→	'uproot'

The second group of verbs that take obligatory complement nouns involves those whose meaning is clear such that they do not derive their meaning from their complement nouns. Nonetheless, these verbs must have an overtly expressed object; otherwise a substitute object or a default object *átɔ̂* 'thing' is used. The absence of an object, default or actual, renders the sentence incomplete or ungrammatical.[156] When the default object is used, then the verb has an intransitive-like meaning; the default object is thus analysed as the verb's complement noun.

In (4-59a) the verb *pàm̀* 'sew' occurs with the object *bàm̀bá* 'cloth'. The meaning 'sew' is not derived from the object *bàm̀bá* but from the verb itself. Nevertheless the sentence is awkward without the object, especially when it is used out of context, as shown in (4-59b). In the absence of an object, the complement noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' occurs as a default object, as in (4-59c). The occurrence of the complement noun *átɔ̂* in (4-59c) however gives the verb an intransitive-like meaning.

(4-59) a. *mɔ̀-pàm̀* *bàm̀bá* *ǹ*
3SG-sew cloth DEF
's/he sewed the cloth' (Elicitation)

b. *?mɔ̀-pàm̀*
3SG-sew
(Elicitation)

c. *mɔ̀-ɔ́-pàm̀* *átɔ̂*
3SG.HAB-sew thing
's/he sews' (Elicitation)

Other verbs in this category include *sʊ̋ʊ̀* 'learn' (4-60a) – (4-60c), *kʊ̀* 'teach' (4-61a) – (4-61c) and *ɕírɛ̀* 'be afraid' (4-62a) – (4-62c). In (4-60a), the verb *sʊ̋ʊ̀* 'learns' occurs with the object *ɕìm̀pà àtáŕ* 'Simpa language'. When *sʊ̋ʊ̀* occurs without an

[156] Except in a context of null object pronoun (see §4.1.1).

object (4-60b), the sentence sounds awkward.[157] In such a situation, the default object or complement noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' is used with *sűã̀*, as in (4-60c). In (4-61a) the verb *kã̀* 'teach' occurs with the object *bòrɔ̀wû* 'English'. Non-occurrence of such an object creates a condition for the use of a default object or complement noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' (4-61b), since the omission of such an object or complement noun renders the sentence awkward, as in (4-61c). In (4-62a), the verb *ɕírè* 'be afraid' occurs with the object *ɔ̀bɔ̀dámɨ́* 'dog'. The occurrence of *ɕírè* without such an object makes the sentence awkward (4-62b), which requires the use of the complement noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' (4-62c). In all the instances where *átɔ̂* 'occurs' as the verb's complement noun, the meaning of the verb becomes intransitive-like. Table 4-16 lists examples of verbs with the complement noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' as a default object.

(4-60) a. *m-èé-sűã̀* *ɕìmpà* *àtárɨ́*
1SG-PROG-learn Simpa language
'I am learning Simpa language' (Elicitation)

b. *ʔm-èé-sűã̀*
1SG-PROG-learn
(Elicitation)

c. *m-èé-sűã̀* *átɔ̂*
1SG-PROG-learn thing
'I am leaning' (Elicitation)

(4-61) a. *mù-ú-kã̀* *bòrɔ̀wû*
3SG-HAB-teach English
's/he teaches English' (Elicitation)

[157] Except in an appropriate context.

b. *mù-ú-kɑ̀̃* *átɔ̂*

3SG-HAB-teach thing

's/he teaches' (Elicitation)

c. *?mù-ú-kɑ̀̃*

3SG.HAB-teach

(Elicitation)

(4-62) a. *mù-ú-ɕírɛ̀* *ɔ̀bɔ̀dámɲ̀* *ǹ*

3SG.HAB-be.afraid dog DEF

's/he am afraid of the dog' (Elicitation)

b. *?mù-ú-ɕírɛ̀*

3SG.HAB-be.affraid

(Elicitation)

c. *mù-ú-ɕírɛ̀* *átɔ̂*

3SG-be.afraid thing

's/he is coward' (Elicitation)

Table 4-16: Examples of verbs with the noun *átɔ̂* 'thing' as a substitute object

Verb	**Complement noun**
pàmɲ̀ 'sew'	*átɔ̂* 'thing'
sʊ̃́ɑ̃̀ 'learn'	
kɑ̀̃ 'teach'	
ɕírɛ̀ 'be afraid'	

The third group of verbs involves those that take obligatory locative such that without an actual locative, a default locative, such as *àɕè* 'down', is used.[158] The actual or default locative is considered as the verb's complement noun. Verbs of posture, including *síńsέ́ń* 'hang' (4-63a) – (4-63c), *dʑíré* 'stand' (4-64a) – (4-64c), *síná* 'sit' (4-65a) – (4-65c), *twɕíí́* 'lean' (4-66a) – (4-66c), and *kótów* 'kneel' (4-67a) – (4-67c), are typical examples of verbs in this class.

In (4-63a), the verb *síńsέ́ń* 'hang' occurs with the locative noun phrase *jìbí nù sò* 'on the stick (lit. the stick top)'. Such a verb of posture cannot occur without a locative expression, as shown in (4-63b). Thus, in the absence of the actual location, a complement locative noun *àɕè* 'down' is used, as in (4-63c).

(4-63) a. *ì-síńsέ́ń*[159] *jìbí* *nù* *sò*
3SG.INAN-hang stick DEF top
'it is hanging on the stick' (Elicitation)

b. **ì-síńsέ́ń*
3SG.INAN-hang
(Elicitation)

c. *ì-síńsέ́ń* *àɕè*
3SG.INAN-hang down
'it is hanging' (Elicitation)

In (4-64a), the posture verb *dʑíré* 'stand' occurs with the locative expression *ìpùró nù sò* 'on the table'. In (4-64b), lack of a locative expression with the posture verb renders the sentence ungrammatical, which necessitates the use of the locative expression *àɕè* 'down' with the verb in (4-64c). In (4-65a), the posture verb *síná*

[158] See also discussion of locative nouns in §4.2., above.
[159] The form *síńsέ́ń* is a reduplicated form of the verb; speakers explained that it is used for both singular and plural subjects.

'sit' occurs with the locative expression *íbíé nù sò* 'on the chair'. In (4-65b), where *síná* 'sit' occurs without a locative expression, the sentence is ungrammatical. In (4-65c), *àɕè* 'down' occurs as a complement locative noun with the posture verb. Examples (4-66) – (4-67) further illustrate the use of the complement locative noun *àɕè* 'down' with the posture verbs *twɕíí* 'lean' and *kótóẃ* 'squat'.

(4-64) a. *mù-dʑíré ìpùró nù sò*
3SG-stand table DEF top
's/he is standing on the table' (Elicitation)

b. **mù-dʑíré*
3SG-stand
(Elicitation)

c. *mù-dʑíré àɕè*
3SG-stand down
's/he is standing down' (Elicitation)

(4-65) a. *mù-síná íbíé nù sò*
3SG-sit chair DEF top
's/he is sitting on the chair' (Elicitation)

b. **mù-síná*
3SG-sit
(Elicitation)

c. *mù-síná àɕè*
3SG-sit down
's/he is sitting down' (Elicitation)

(4-66) a. *ì-twɕíŕ* *ìgó* *ǹ* *wó*

3SG.INAN-lean wall DEF exterior

'it is leaning on the wall' (Elicitation)

b. **ì-twɕíŕ*

3SG.INAN-lean

(Elicitation)

c. *ì-twɕíŕ* *àɕè*

3SG.INAN-lean down

's/he is leaning' (Elicitation)

(4-67) a. *mù-kótóẃ* *gótɔ̀*

3SG-squat room

's/he is squatting in the room' (Elicitation)

b. **mù-kótóẃ*

3SG-squat

(Elicitation)

c. *mù-kótóẃ* *àɕè*

3SG-squat down

's/he is squatting' (Elicitation)

The fourth group, like the third group, also involves verbs that take an obligatory locative noun. Verbs in this group however differ from those in the previous group in the sense that the verbs in this group are transitive and have a direct object which can be expressed overtly or be left unexpressed. The locative noun however must be overtly expressed; the locative nouns somewhat function as the verb's complement. When the object is expressed, it occurs between the verb and its complement locative noun. Examples of verbs in this class include *dʑá … ànò* 'reply/answer' (4-

68a) – (4-68d), *tɕɛ̀ … tɔ̂* 'divide' (4-69a) – (4-69d), *sɔ̀ … tɔ̂* 'hold' (4-70a) – (4-70d) and *tɕɪ̀ … tɔ̂* 'wring' (4-71a) – (4-71d).

In (4-68a) the verb *dʑá* 'remove' occurs with a complement locative noun *ànɔ̀* 'mouth'. As a transitive verb, *dʑá* 'remove' occurs with the object *ásó ǹ* 'the question', which occurs between the verb and its complement locative noun. The object however could be unexpressed, as illustrated in (4-68b). The complement locative now *ànɔ̀* 'mouth' on the other hand cannot be omitted in the sentence, whether with the object expressed (4-68c) or unexpressed (4-68d). In other words, unlike the verb's object, the complement locative noun must be overtly expressed. To some extent, *dʑá* in (4-68a) behaves like the verbs in the first category: its meaning is derived with reference to the complement locative noun. Also, the meaning of sentence (4-68a) is somehow idiomatic: the meaning 'answer /respond' is not readily accessible from the combination of *dʑá* 'remove' and *ànɔ̀* 'mouth'.

(4-68) a. *mɔ̀-dʑá ásó ǹ ànɔ̀*[160]
3SG-remove statement DEF mouth
's/he answered the question' (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-dʑá ànɔ̀*
3SG-remove mouth
's/he answered (it)' (Elicitation)

c. **mɔ̀-dʑá ásó ǹ*
3SG-remove statement DEF
(Elicitation)

[160] *Ànɔ̀*, although glossed as 'mouth' performs a locative function in (4-68a); several locative nouns in Efutu have body part semantics (see discussion of locative noun in §4.2.). Alternative glosses for *ànɔ̀* includes 'edge' and 'brink'.

d. **mù-dʑá*

3SG-remove

(Elicitation)

In (4-69a), the locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside' occurs as a complement of the verb *tɕɛ̀* 'share'. The object *bàmbá nù* 'the cloth' occurs between the verb and its complement locative noun in (4-69a). Example (4-69b) illustrates grammaticality of the sentence with an unexpressed object whereas examples (4-69c) (with an overtly expressed object) and (4-69d) (with an unexpressed object) illustrate ungrammaticality in the sentence without an overtly expressed complement locative noun.

(4-69) a. *mù-tɕɛ̀ bàmbá nù tɔ̀*

3SG-share cloth DEF inside

's/he divided the cloth' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-tɕɛ̀ tɔ̂*[161]

3SG-share inside

's/he divided it' (Elicitation)

c. **mù-tɕɛ̀ bàmbá nù*

3SG-share cloth DEF

(Elicitation)

d. **mù-tɕɛ̀*

3SG-share

(Elicitation)

[161] The difference in tone (*tɔ̀/tɔ̂*) in the locative noun is grammatical: without the verb's object, the tone of the locative noun changes from Low to Falling.

In (4-70a) – (4-70b), the transitive verb *sɔ̀* combines with the locative noun *tɔ̀* 'inside' to express the (complete) verbal meaning 'hold'. The object *tɕìbí nù* 'the knife' occurs overtly in (4-70a) whereas sentence (4-70b) occurs with an unexpressed object. Example (4-70c), with an overtly expressed object, and (4-70d) with an unexpressed object, each illustrates an ensuing ungrammaticality as a result of the absence of a complement locative noun with the transitive verb *sɔ̀* 'hold'.

(4-70) a. *mù-sɔ̀*[162] *tɕìbí* *nù* *tɔ̀*
3SG-hold knife DEF inside
's/he held the knife' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-sɔ̀* *tɔ̂*
3SG-hold inside
's/he held it' (Elicitation)

c. *ʔmù-sɔ̀* *tɕìbí* *nù*
3SG-hold knife DEF
(Elicitation)

d. *ʔmù-sɔ̀*
3SG-hold
(Elicitation)

In (4-71a) – (4-71b), the transitive verb *tɕɛ̀ɛ̀* 'squeeze' occurs with the complement locative noun *tɔ̂* 'inside'. In (4-71a), the object of the verb is overtly expressed as *bàmbá nù* 'the cloth' whereas (4-71b) occurs with an unexpressed object. Non-occurrence of the complement locative noun renders the sentence ungrammatical, whether with the object (4-71c) or without the object (4-71d).

[162] Another verb *sɔ̀* 'buy' in the language has an identical form.

(4-71) a. *mù- tɕì̀* *bàm̀bá* *nù* *tɔ̀*

3SG-squeeze cloth DEF inside

's/he wrung the cloth' (Elicitation)

b. *mù- tɕì̀* *tɔ̀*

3SG-squeeze inside

's/he wrung it' (Elicitation)

c. **mù- tɕì̀* *bàm̀bá* *nù*

3SG-squeeze cloth DEF

(Elicitation)

d. **mù- tɕì̀*

3SG-squeeze

(Elicitation)

4.6.2. Copular verbs

Copulas are described as morphemes or words used to join subjects and predicate nominals or adjectives in languages (Schachter 1985: 55; Payne 1997: 114; Loos et al. 2004). The role of a copula may be played by a subclass of verbs in some languages, as is the case for Efutu, or by other word-classes such as nouns, in other languages. In languages that make use of copular verbs, the copular items are regarded as a sub-class of verbs mainly because they exhibit verbal properties, such as inflecting for tense and agreement, as well as occupying a verbal position (Payne 1997: 115). Such copular verbs are however described as 'semantically empty', except for their ability to convert noun phrases or adjectives into predicates (Payne 1997:115). A certain class of verbs in Efutu may be described as copular verbs. Such verbs perform the function of linking subjects to predicate nominals or adjectives in the language. Examples of such verbs include *dí* in (4-72a)-(4-72d), *ní* in (4-73) and *bɔ̀* in (4-74a)-(4-74d).

(4-72) a. *má-ádɑ̃́* *dí* *kòfɪ̃́*

1SG.POSS-name be Kofi

'my name is Kofi' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-dí* *àtòbí*

1SG-be child

'I am a child' (Elicitation)

c. *ì-dí* *èsúmí* *pápá*

3SG-be work/job good

'it is a good job' (KM_Fjob: 2)

d. *ì-dí* *ófùɹ̀*

1SG-be white

'it is white' (Elicitation)

In (4-72a), the copular verb *dí* 'be' links the subject *má-ádɑ̃́* 'my name' with the nominal predicate *kòfɪ̃́*. In (4-72b), *dí* 'be' links a subject with the nominal predicate *àtòbí* 'child'. In (4-72c), *dí* 'be' links a subject to the nominal predicate *èsúmí pápá* 'good job'. In (4-72d), *dí* 'be' links a subject with the predicative adjective *ófùɹ̀* 'white'.

In (4-73), the copular verb *ní* 'be' links the subject *ɔ̀fâɾí!ɲí àtòbí* 'fisherman's child' to the nominal predicate *ḿ* '1SG'.

(4-73) *émí* *ɔ̀fâɾí!ɲí*[163] *àtòbí* *ní* *ḿ*

1SG fisherman child be 1SG

'I am a fisherman's child' (Ocrn_Net: 5)

[163] The word *ɔ̀fâɾí!ɲí* 'fisherman' is composed of the nominal prefix *ɔ́*, the verb *fâɾí* 'sail', and the morpheme *ɲí* which is normally added to words to indicate an occupation or a profession.

The copular verb *bɔ̀* 'be' links a subject *ɔ̀pú ǹ* 'the sea' to the predicative adjective *wíń* 'cool/cold' in (4-74a). In (4-74b), *bɔ̀* 'be' links the subject *kùbé ǹ* 'the coconut' to the predicative adjective *fɑ̃́* 'sweet'.

(4-74) a. *ɔ̀pú ǹ mɔ̀-bɔ̀ wíń*
sea DET 3SG-be cool
'the sea, it is cool/cold' (KM_onSea: 103)

b. *kùbé ǹ ì-bɔ̀ fɑ̃́*
coconut DET 3SG-be sweet
'the coconut is sweet' (Obeng 2008: 85)

c. *mɔ̀-wó máá-bɔ́ !fɛ́ẃ*
3SG-body NEG-be beautiful
's/he is not beautiful' (Obeng 2008: 84)

d. *àmɔ̀-á-bɔ̀ èkùrá àjíǹɛ̀*
3PL-PROG-be village under
'they are in/at a village' (Elicitation)

In (4-74c), a subject *mɔ̀-wó* '3SG-body' and the predicative adjective *fɛ́ẃ* 'beautiful' are linked by the negated form of the copular verb *bɔ́*. In (4-74d), the copular verb *bɔ́* 'be' links a subject NP with the locative NP *èkùrá àjíǹɛ̀* 'village' (literally: village under)'.

The data seems to suggest that the copular verb *dí* 'be' is used to indicate equation in the items linked, as in (4-72a)-(4-72d). From the data, *dí* 'be' links subjects to names of persons, as in (4-72a), a common NP, as in (4-72b)-(4-72c), and also to adjectives that express value or dimension or colour (4-108d). The copular verb *ní* 'be' also indicates equation, as in (4-73). It has been explained that

in some cases it is possible to replace *dí* 'be' with *ní* 'be' when the order of the constituents in the clause is reversed, as illustrated in (4-75).

(4-75) a. *émí* *mì-dí* *ósɔ́wɔ̀*
1SG 1SG-be priest
'I am a priest' (KBtwy_Osow: 2)

b. *émí* *ósɔ́wɔ̀* *ní* *ḿ,*
1SG priest be 1SG
'I am a priest' (KBtwy_Osow: 3)

The copular verb *bɔ́* 'be' is suggested to link subjects with adjectives that express a physical property to indicate equation or a similar notion, as in (4-74a)-(4-74c). *Bɔ́* 'be' also links subjects to locative expressions to indicate location, as in (4-74d).

Examples (4-72a)-(4-74d) demonstrate that the copular items in these sentences may be considered as verbs. Their verbal properties include their distribution: they each occur in verbal positions. Secondly they may inflect for tense/aspect (4-72a)-(4-74c) and polarity (4-74d), which are structural properties of verbs. Furthermore, they occur with subject-agreement markers, as do verbs in the language. These items may thus be qualified as copular verbs in Efutu. The copular verbs are presented in Table 4-17.

Table 4-17: Copular verbs in Efutu

Copular verb	Gloss	Sematic notion
dí	'be'	equation
ní	'be'	equation
bɔ̀	'be'	equation; location

4.6.3. Directional morphemes

Certain verb-like items in Efutu are analysed as directional morphemes in this study. These items occur as prefixes on verb stems to indicate direction in relation to the

state-of-affairs expressed by the verb. They include the items glossed as 'INGRESS' and 'EGRESS' in (4-112) and (4-113), respectively, each of which occurs in preverbal position. In (4-112), although the form of the preverbal morpheme *báà* is similar to a future morpheme, my consultant glossed it as 'come'.[164] The other morpheme is *wèè* in (4-112) whose phonetic variant is realised as *wàà*[165] in (4-113). In some related languages that have similar preverbal morphemes, their status has been debated. Such languages include Ewe (Ameka 2008), Akan (Boadi 2008), Ga (Dakubu 2008) and Tuwuli (Harley 2008). While some linguists analyse them as auxiliary verbs, others discount them from having such a status. Boadi (2008: 61) for instance argues against the status of auxiliary verb in Akan and treats the relevant forms as deictic markers with the function of marking 'movement towards or away from the location of speaker's body'. Boadi (2008) labels the Akan equivalent of the Efutu morpheme *báà* as an ingressive motional prefix while the equivalent of *wèè*/*wàà* is labelled as an egressive motional prefix. The ingressive motional prefix marks movement towards the location of the speaker's body while the egressive motional prefix marks movement away from the location of the speaker's body. An alternative analysis by Dakubu (2008) with reference to the Ga equivalents of the morphemes bears resemblance to Boadi's (2008) analysis, except that it recognizes the two items as auxiliary verbs in Ga language. In Ga, the two morphemes are said to 'give the verb word spatial and also temporal deixis': they specify event movement away from or towards the deictic centre, 'which is associated with the spatial and temporal location of the speaking situation' (Dakubu 2008: 118). Dakubu (2008: 18) points out that the movement involved may not necessarily be physical. Ameka (2008) discusses the equivalent morphemes in Ewe under 'preverbal markers' and refers to them as directional markers. Ameka (2008) and Dakubu (2008) use the terms *itive* and *ventive*[166] for the two morphemes: itive corresponds to Boadi's egressive marker while ventive corresponds to the ingressive marker. Harley (2008) discusses the directional elements under auxiliary verbs in

[164] There is cross-linguistic evidence of the verb indicating movement towards a goal grammaticalising into a future marker (Bybee 2003: 149).
[165] Tone variation (suggested to be conditioned by TAMP) may occur in the forms in some contexts.
[166] Heine & Kuteva (2002: 70-71) outline the grammaticalisation of the verb meaning 'come' into a venitive (or ventive) marker in languages.

Tuwuli and points to the fact that they are dependent on independent lexical verbs in constructions.

From the various discussions, all authors seem to agree that the morphemes in question mark direction of movement toward or away from the location of the speaking situation. Again, it is generally agreed by all authors that the two directional morphemes developed historically from the lexical verbs meaning 'go' and 'come' in the languages they occur in (Aikhenvald 2006: 31). Although each of the various analyses identifies the morphemes to have developed from lexical verbs, none of them suggests the possibility of them forming serial verbs with the principal verb. However, they may occur with one of the verbs in a serial verb construction. In the languages where they occur, the directional morpheme is shown to co-occur with other verbal affixes such as tense, aspect, mood and negation markers.

In Efutu, *báà* in (4-76a) could be suggested to have developed from the lexical verb *bà* 'come' and *wèè*/*wàà* in (4-76a)-(4-76b) from the lexical verb *wɔ́* 'go'. The directional morphemes occur as verbal prefixes to mark direction towards or away from the speaker in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the verb. Example (4-76a) contains a complex structure made of two clauses, each of which is *not* independent. In the first clause, the directional morpheme *báà* 'INGRESS' prefixed to a main verb *bétè* 'take' could be said to mark direction towards the deictic centre; it marks direction towards the location of the speaking situation. In the second clause in (4-76b), another directional morpheme *wèè* 'EGRESS' prefixed to the principal verb *yí* 'paint' is suggested to mark direction away from the location of the speaking situation. A phonetic variant of *wèè*, realised as *wàà*, occurs in (4-76b) where it is prefixed to the principal verb *dɔ́ẃ* 'weed/cultivate': it marks direction away from the location of the speech situation.

(4-76) a. *tɕè ɔ̀sɔ̀kú báà-bétè ḿ yè mú-wèè-yí*
if someone INGRESS-take 1SG that 1SG-EGRESS-paint
mú ɲàmá wó áá, …
3SG boat exterior COND
'if someone comes to take me to go and paint his boat …' (Hans_BoatNm: 2)

b. *… ákú ḿ-bà sò, ǹtɕì àmù-dà ḿbɔ́dí*
hunger PERF-come top therefore 3PL-*use* effort
nà àmù -wàà-dɔ́ẃ èbùró ɔ́wû
and 3PL-EGRESS-weed maize farm
'famine has come too much, so they should try to go and cultivate maize farm' (Hans_AnanseStory: 5-6)

The above-described directional morphemes are further discussed under tense, aspect and mood in §5.4.6. in Chapter 5, and also in relation to serial verb constructions in §7.1.2. in Chapter 7.

4.7. Adverbs

The adverb class is characterised as a 'catch-all' category mainly because of the diversity of its membership in languages that identify the class (Payne 1997: 69). Semantically, adverbs are said to cover an extremely wide range of concepts (Payne 1997: 69; Schachter 1985: 20). For this reason, they cannot be identified in terms of time stability or any other well-defined semantic parameters (Payne 1997: 69). Functionally, adverbs are modifiers: they modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs (or any constituents other than nouns) (Schachter: 1985:20; Loos et al. 2004). However, their semantic effect may have scope over an entire clause or discourse (Payne 1997: 20). In their modification, adverbs may express diverse features, including manner, time, degree, location (place), and direction (Payne 1997: 69-70; Schachter 1985: 20-21). In terms of their position in the clause, adverbs are said to have a wide range of distribution (Payne 1997: 69; Schachter 1985: 20). Certain words in Efutu exhibit some of the characteristics associated with adverbs in other

languages. These words are found to modify verbs and adjectives in clauses. They mostly occur clause-finally though some can occur at clause-initial position. Semantic notions expressed by adverbs in Efutu include time, manner, and degree. Their semantic effect may have scope over an entire clause or an entire predicate or just the verb or adjective they modify. Examples of such words are listed in Table 4-18 while examples of sentences containing them are illustrated in (4-77a)-(4-77e). All the examples (4-77a)-(4-77e) illustrate adverbs in clause-final position, with (4-77e) having an additional adverb in clause-initial position.

Table 4-18: Some adverbs in Efutu

Adverbs	**Gloss**
ɔ̀tɕɪ́	tomorrow
édí	yesterday
séèsèmáàfə̂	now
ǹtɕífṹṹ	always
ìdʑà	early
ɔ̀kúwɔ̀	again
m̀pùrɔ̀kú[167]	little
pápá	properly/ very

In (4-77a), the adverb *ǹtɕífṹṹ* 'always' occurs as a modifier at clause-final position. It may be said to modify the entire clause rather than just the verb *nù* 'drink' which occurs a distance away. That is, the adverb's meaning has scope over the entire clause. Semantically, the adverb *ǹtɕífṹṹ* 'always' may be said to express time. Likewise, in (4-77b), the adverb *m̀pùrɔ̀kú* 'little' occurs in clause-final position but before a conditional marker *áá*. In (4-77b) the adverb *m̀pùrɔ̀kú* modifies the verb *wɔ́* 'go' and it expresses 'degree' (of movement) as a semantic property. In (4-77c),

[167] An identical form has been analysed as a quantifier in §4.5.3. based on its function as a determiner in an NP.

another adverb *ìdʑà* 'early' occurs at clause-final, before a conditional marker, and it modifies the entire clause. Semantically it expresses time. In (4-77d), the adverb *papá* 'very' which expresses degree, modifies the adjective 'sweet'. It occurs clause-finally and it is preceded by the adjective it modifies. Example (4-77e) contains two adverbs: one occurs clause-initially, the other clause-finally. Both may be said to modify the entire clause. The clause-initial adverb *ɔ̀tɕɪ́* 'tomorrow' expresses time while the clause-final adverb *ɔ̀kʊ́wɔ̀* 'again' marks repetition.

(4-77) a. *àní-nù* *ǹtà* *ǹtɕífʊ̃ʊ̃́*
1PL.drink wine always
'we drink wine always' (Taylor *The dialect*: 10)

b. *àní-wɔ́* *m̀pʊ̀rɔ̀kʊ́* *áá …*
1PL-go little COND
'if we go a little (further) …' (KM_onSea: 99)

c. *ɔ̀-pá* *nú* *ìdʑà* *àà …*
2SG-catch fish early COND
'if you catch fish early, … (Ankw_DoL: 23)

d. *kʊ̀bé* *ǹ* *ì-bɔ̀* *fã́* *pápá*
coconut DEF 3SG-be sweet very
'the coconut is very sweet' (Obeng 2008: 88)

e. *ɔ̀tɕɪ́* *àní-bà* *mʊ̀* *sò* *ɔ̀kʊ́wɔ̀*
tomorrow 1PL-come 3SG top again
'tomorrow we will come to it again' (Ankw_DoL: 41b)

From the above discussion, the forms described in (4-77a)-(4-77e) may be said to be adverbs in the language based on their range of distribution and function in constructions.

4.8. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that syntactically link words, phrases or larger constituents (Loos et al. 2004; Schachter 1985: 46). Conjunctions are generally subcategorised into coordinating and subordinating conjunctions (Loos et al. 2004; Schachter 1985: 46; Payne 1997: 336). Coordinating conjunctions (also called coordinators) link constituents without syntactically subordinating one to the other (Loos et al. 2004), that is, they 'assign equal rank to the conjoined elements' (Schachter 1985: 46; Payne 1997: 336). Subordinating conjunctions (or subordinators) on the other hand assign unequal rank to the elements they conjoin, that is, one of the conjoined elements is marked as subordinate to the other by depending on it (Schachter 1985: 46; Payne 1997: 336). Certain items in Efutu are analysed as conjunctions. They occur in sentences to connect or join items in the sentence to signal some form of correlation, including notions such as alternative, addition, contrast and condition. In some cases, they may render one part of the sentence dependent on another. In other cases, all parts of the sentence may have equal status. Thus, Efutu distinguishes subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions are exemplified in (4-78)-(4-79). Example (4-78) contains two clauses which are conjoined by a coordinating conjunction, *ná,* glossed as 'and'. The form *ná* links clauses of equal rank and it is non-contrastive. Thus, in (4-78), each of the two clauses is independent. The coordinator *ná* occurs between the two clauses in (4-78). It appears *ná* is used for linking clauses only. A different form viz., *nà,* also glossed as 'and', which occurs in the first clause in (4-78) is used for linking words and phrases. In (4-78), the low tone *nà* 'and' is used to join the NP *mù àsɔ́ẃ* 'her hoe' with the NP *mù àfʊ̀ná* 'her cutlass' in the first clause while the high tone *ná* 'and' is used to join the two clauses. Another high tone *ná* occurs at the initial position in (4-78), meaning that there is a truncated independent clause before it.

(4-78) *… ná mù-bétè mù-àsɔ́ẃ nà mù-àfʊ̀ná ná*

and 3SG-take 3SG.POSS-hoe and 3SG.POSS-cutlass and

mù-wáà-dɔ̀ẁ èbùró ɔ́wû

3SG-EGRESS-weed/cultivate maize farm

'and s/he took his/her hoe and his/her cutlass and s/he went to cultivate maize farm' (Hans_AnanseStory: 11-13)

Another example of a coordinating conjunction in Efutu is the contrastive form *kà* in (4-79a), glossed as 'but'. In (4-79a), the coordinator *kà* occurs between two independent clauses to join them by contrasting the proposition expressed in the first clause with that in the second clause. In some constructions, *kà* combines with the particle *ḿbòḿ*, as in (4-79b). In (4-79b), the two items *kà ḿbòḿ*, together glossed as 'but' combine to link the two clauses that occur on both sides. In my fieldwork data, both forms, that is *kà* and *kà ḿbòḿ*, are each glossed as 'but'. When asked for the difference between the two forms, speakers explained that they have the same meaning and one could be used in place of the other.

(4-79) a. *ǹkìràǹ*[168] *àtáŕ wɔ̀ mì-í-kɑ̃̀ ǹkómé-!ńkómé*

Accra language too 1SG-HAB-understand one-one

kà ìné bírá má-àtáŕ

but that (one) not 1SG.POSS-language

'Ga language too I understand one-one (a little) but that one is not my language' (KM_MtdOF0: 23-24)

[168] The term *ǹkìràǹ* is used to refer to the Ga language, the Ga tribe or people, as well as the Ga or Accra township, by some non-speakers of the Ga language in Ghana. Ga is one of the languages spoken in Southern Ghana (see Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013; Dolphyne and Kropp-Dakubu 1988; Hall 1983)

b. *mìí-kɑ̀̃* *ɕìmpà* *kà ḿbòḿ* *mì-ɑ́ɑ́-kɑ́̃* *àjìnté*

1SG-HAB-speak Simpa but 1SG-MOOD-speak Fante

'I speak Simpa but I can speakFante' (KM_MtdOF0: 20b-21)

Another form of coordinating conjunction occurs in (4-80). In (4-80), the form *ńtɕí* glossed as 'therefore' links the sentences on both sides. *Ńtɕí* occurs at the beginning of the second sentence which may be said to present a reason (or explanation or consequence) for the first sentence.

(4-80) *émí* *ósɔ́ẁ* *ní* *ḿ,* *ńtɕí* *kòfĩ̀ bòtɕwé*

1SG priest be 1SG therefore Kofi Botwey

máàfɑ̀̃ *mì-í-dà* *m̀páè*

1SG.EMPH 1SG-HAB-*say* prayer

'I am the priest, therefore, I, Kofi Botwey, (am the one who) says prayer'

(KBtwy_Osow: 3-5)

Subordinating conjunctions may be illustrated with (4-81a)-(4-81b). In (4-81a), the form *áá* glossed as 'COND' may be characterised as a subordinating conjunction for the following reasons. Firstly, its occurrence at the end of the first clause links it to the second one. Secondly, in linking the two clauses, *áá* renders the first clause dependent on the second one: the occurrence of *áá* at the end of the clause makes it sound incomplete without the following clause. The form *nà* glossed as 'and' which occurs at the initial position of the second clause in (4-81a) seems to function together with *áá* in conjoining the two clauses. However, *áá* may occur without another element, as in (4-81b). In (4-81b), the occurrence of *áá* at the end of the first clause marks it as dependent and conjoins it to the (independent) second clause. It is further explained that the *áá* construction has a conditional reading: it signals that the state-of-affairs in the first clause has to be fulfilled in order for the state-of-affairs in the following clause to happen.

(4-81) a. *mì-ɲá* *m̀pùrɔ̀kú* *áá* *nà* *mí-ní* *ná* *sùkúú* *fîîsì*

1SG-get little COND *and* 1SG-take give school fees

'if I get a little, I use it to pay school fees' (Efua_FSmk: 101)

b. *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mù-ú-tɔ́ẁ* *kwèkú ánàǹsé* *áá,*

Okondor 3SG-HAB-search.for Kwaku Anase COND

mú-é-hù *né*

3SG-FUT.NEG-see him

'when Okondor looks for her husband Kwaku Ananse, she does not find him'

(Hans_AnanseStory: 29)

Another type of conjunction is illustrated in (4-82). In (4-82), the particle *ô* occurs twice, and in each occurrence it functions as a conjunction. Its first occurrence at the end of the first clause in (4-82) *ô* links the clause to a following noun phrase. Then in its second occurrence at the end of the conjoined structure, *ô* links the conjoined structure to the structure that follows. In other words, *ô* joins a clause (or sentence) to a noun phrase, then the conjoined (sentence and noun phrase) is in turn joined to another sentence. The result in (4-82) is one complex sentence.

(4-82) *ò-ɲá* *!nú* *tìréì* *ìkómé* *ô,* *tìréì* *ì̩ɲɔ́* *ô,*

2SG-get fish tray one PART tray two PART

wáàfâ *ná*[169] *ɔ́-nì* *wàà-ná* *wó* *kà*

2SG.EMP FOC 2SG-take EGRESS-give your wife

'if you catch one container of fish, or two containers of fish, you are going to give to your wife' (KM_onSea: 46-47)

The form *ô* in (4-82) may be characterised as a correlative conjunction as it occurs

[169] The form of the focus marker *ná* 'FOC' is identical to that of the clausal conjunct *ná* 'and' in (4-82).

more than once in constructions, as illustrated in (4-82). The occurrence of *ô* at the end of the respective structures in (4-82) renders them dependent or incomplete. The above-discussed conjunctions are presented in Table 4-19.

Table 4-19: Some conjunctions in Efutu

Conjunction	**Gloss**	**type**
nà	and	Coordination (for words and phrases)
ná	and	Coordination (for clauses)
kà (ḿbòḿ)	but	Coordination
ńtɛ́ɛ́	so	Coordination
áá	COND	Subordination
ô	PART	Subordination

4.9. Summary

This chapter has discussed eight distinct word classes in Efutu. The discussion has relied on their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties to assign lexical items in the language into various word classes. In each word class identified, items in the class are analysed by their morphological structure, distributional and functional properties, as well as their semantic properties. The various parts-of-speech and their associated morpho-syntactic and semantic properties are summarised in Table 4-20, below.

Table 4-20: Morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of parts-of-speech in Efutu

Part-of-speech	**Nouns**	**Locative nouns**	**Pronouns**	**Adjectives**	**Determiners**	**Verbs**	**Adverbs**	**Conjunctions**
Function	Subject; object; head of NPs; complement of locative nouns	Head of locative NPs	Subject; object; head of NPs;	Noun modifier	Noun specifier	Predicate; head of VPs	Verb modifier; adjective modifier	Connector
Position	Before predicates; after transitive verbs	After complement nouns	Before predicates; after transitive verbs	After head-nouns	After head-nouns	After subjects; before objects	Clause-final; clause initial	Between words, phrases, clauses
Structural feature	Inflect for number; occur with determiners, adjectives, locative nouns, possessive nouns/pronouns	Occur with complement nouns	Inflect for number and person	Inflect for number; occur with nouns	Inflect for number; occur with nouns	Occur with tense, aspect, mood, and negation; occur with subject-agreement; occur with adverbs	Occur with verbs	
Semantics	Refer to entities	Refer to location	Refer to entities	Express quality (e.g. physical property and value) in nouns	Express identifiability and referentiality in nouns	Denote state-of-affairs	Express notions such as time, degree, manner	Express notions, such as contrast, alternative and condition

Chapter 5: Tense, aspect, mood and negation in Efutu

5.0. Introduction

In Chapter 4, a class of verbs was identified in Efutu in §4.6., where their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties were analysed. This chapter presents some findings in the tense, aspect, modality and negation system of the language, based on elicitation (see discussion on TAMP elicitation in §2.4.2. in Chapter 2) as well as natural data from my fieldwork corpus. Tense is concerned with the 'time of the event' with respect to moment of speaking, while aspect is concerned with the 'nature of the event, particularly, in terms of its internal temporal constituency' (Comrie 1976: 3; Palmer 2001: 1). Modality on the other hand is concerned with the 'status of the proposition that describes the event' (Palmer 2001:1). Grammatical categories of tense, aspect and mood, display language-specific manifestations through unique devices such as affixation, reduplication, auxiliaries, particles and stem change, among other devices (Bybee 1994; Deo 2012).

> Natural language sentences employ a variety of devices to encode information about the temporal properties of the situations they describe. These include grammaticalised markers of location in time (tense) or temporal structure (aspect), temporal adverbial of location (e.g., last year, now) or frequency (e.g., always, rarely), lexicalised descriptions of events and their temporal structure (aktionsart or lexical aspect) and discourse principles, which relate the ordering of discourse to the temporal order of events (Deo 2012: 155)

Efutu exhibits a complex tense, aspect and mood (TAM) system through the interplay of tone and affixation (mainly prefixes), in addition to several phonological processes including vowel harmony (see discussion of vowel harmony in verbal affixation in §3.1.2. in Chapter 3), segment deletion, segment insertion and homorganic assimilation.[170] Phonetic variations in grammatical forms occur with

[170] See §3.4.1., §3.4.2. and §3.4.3., all in Chapter 3 for discussion of segment deletion, segment insertion and homorganic nasal assimilation, respectively.

different subject pronouns. Following Dahl's (1985) framework,[171] the sections that follow discuss two perfective (past and perfect) and four imperfective (stative, habitual, future and progressive) tense/aspect paradigms in Efutu. Perfective aspect indicates that a situation is viewed as bounded, while imperfective indicates the opposite, that is, a situation is viewed as non-bounded (Desclés and Guentchéva 2012: 128). Dahl (1985: 78) also defines a perfective verb as follows:

> A PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded.

5.1. Unmarked forms

In Efutu, the unmarked verb is interpreted as past for dynamic verbs and present for stative (non-dynamic) verbs. With reference to other languages with similar systems, Welmers (1973: 348) suggests that the term 'factative' be used for such an unmarked form, as it conveys the notion that the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb actually happened. In this analysis however, the terms 'past' and 'stative' will be used; the use of one term (such as 'factative') for the two different situations is confusing and may require further clarification at each mention. Furthermore, the two situations viz., the dynamic and non-dynamic (stative) constitute distinct categories which warrant distinct labels. Thus, for clarity, convenience and economy sake, the terms 'past' and 'stative' will be used in this study.

5.1.1. The stative

Stative situations primarily are distinguished from non-stative or dynamic situations, semantically, based on *change of state* or *movement*, which is found in dynamic verbs but not in stative verbs (Dahl 1985: 28). The stative/dynamic distinction is thus 'used to indicate that a category is restricted to one type of context' (Dahl 1985:

[171] The elicitation of the Efutu tense, aspect and negation in this research is based on Dahl (1985), as detailed in §2.4.2. in Chapter 2. Thus, the various tense, aspect and negative categories discussed in this section resulted from the elicitation. In addition to the elicitation data, natural speech events (OLB/OCE) data and staged events data are also used in the illustrations and analysis (see discussion of natural speech events and staged events in §2.4.3 and §2.4.4., respectively, in Chapter 2).

29). Stative situations basically do not involve change or movement (Dahl 1985: 28). With reference to Akan, Boadi (2008: 35) characterises the stative as expressing 'a state of affairs with unlimited duration', such that the stative depicts that the subject has been in the described state from an unspecified point in time in the past up to and including the point of speaking, and is likely to be in that state till an unspecified point in time in the future.

As mentioned above, in Efutu, the stative is unmarked. In (5-1a) and (5-1b) for instance, the unmarked verbs *pà* 'be.tall' and *dɜ̀̃* 'be.big', each denotes a state rather than an activity. Further, *pà* 'be tall' in (5-1a) for instance receives an interpretation that the speaker has been in the described state from an unspecified point in time in the past up to and including the point of speaking, and is likely to be in that state till an unspecified point in time in the future. A typical context of (5-1a) is a situation where the speaker is describing his size or weight (see discussion of TAMP elicitation in §2.4.2.). In such a situation, a verb form such as the progressive is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (51-c). The stative may also be situated in past a context when it occurs with the particle *ńnà* 'PART' in clause-initial position, as illustrated in (5-1d).

(5-1) a. *mì-pà*

1SG-be-tall

'I am tall' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-dɜ̀̃*

3SG-be-big

's/he is big' (Elicitation)

c. **m-ɜ̀ɜ́-pà*

1SG-PROG-be-tall

(Elicitation)

d. *ńnà* *mì-pà*

PART 1SG-be-tall

'I used to be tall' (Elicitation)

An implication for the stative/dynamic distinction in relation to TAM categories is captured as follows:

> What is most notable from the point of view of TMA[172] systems is that most languages divide up their predicate phrases in at least two types of constructions, which from the semantic point of view often correspond fairly well to a 'dynamic-stative' classification of predicates. The 'dynamic' construction type typically has a full verb as its head, whereas the 'stative' construction tends to involve nouns or adjectives in predicative function, with or without a copular functioning as the dummy head of the predicate phrase. In the grammars of some languages, this distinction shows up as one between 'verbal' and 'nominal' predicates, in others, as one between 'non-stative' and 'stative' verbs (Dahl 1985:28)

Thus, in (5-2), the (unmarked) stative construction involves the adjective /*ɕíẃ*/ in predicative function, with the copular /*bɔ̀*/ functioning as a head of the predicative phrase *bɔ̀ ɕíẃ* 'be hot'.

(5-2) *édít!ɔ́* *ǹ* *ì-bɔ̀* *ɕíẃ*

food DEF 3SG.INAN-be hot

'the food is hot' (Elicitation)

5.1.2. The past

In Efutu, for dynamic verbs, the unmarked form is analysed as past.[173] When this verb form is used, it is interpreted as: (i) the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb actually occurred, (ii) it occurred at a time prior to the time of utterance, and (iii) it

[172] Dahl (1985) uses the acronym TMA (tense, mood and aspect).

[173] See Ameka and Essegbey (2013: 24) for a similar description of past interpretation for the unmarked dynamic verb in Ewe, a related Kwa language.

has ceased at the time of utterance. It is the main verb form used for narrating past events in Efutu; in this regard it corresponds to Dahl's (1985) 'narrativity' in other languages. In Efutu, the past verb forms like (5-3a)-(5-3d) are used to supply (new) information that a situation occurred at a time before the speech event time.[174] For instance, the unmarked form of the verb *náńkà* 'cook' in (5-3a) means that the cooking activity actually took place and was completed at a time prior to the time of utterance. A typical context of (5-3a) is in response to the question: *what are some of the activities you engaged in this morning/yesterday?*[175] An inappropriate context for (5-3a) is a question such as: *what activity do you plan to engage in tomorrow?* With the past verb form, an appropriate time adverbial, such as *édí* 'yesterday' in (5-3b), is possible, whereas an inappropriate adverbial such as *ɔ̀tɕɪ́* 'tomorrow' in (5-3c) renders the sentence ungrammatical. The past form of the verb described above cannot occur with the particle *ńnà* 'PART' which is found to occur clause-initially in some constructions to locate them in a past context, as illustrated in (5-3d). The particle *ńnà* 'PART' normally occurs with other tense/aspect forms where it locates the 'primary' tense/aspect in a past context (see for instance (5-1d), above). Since the unmarked form *wɔ́* 'go' in (5-3d) already implies past time reference, it is unable to co-occur with the particle *ńnà* 'PART'.

(5-3) a. *mì-náńkà* *dwààdé*
1SG-cook cassava
'I cooked cassava' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-wɔ́* *sùkúù* *édí*
1SG-go school yesterday
'I went to school yesterday' (Elicitation)

[174] With reference to other languages, Bybee et al. (1994: 8) and Desclés & Guentchéva (2012: 128) make similar comments.
[175] Again see discussion of TAMP elicitation in §2.4.2. in Chapter 2.

c. **mɔ̀-wɔ́ sùkúù ɔ̀tɕɨ́*

1SG-go school tomorrow

(Elicitation)

d. **ńnà mɔ̀-wɔ́ sùkúù*

'PART' 1SG-go school

(Elicitation)

5.2. The marked forms

The perfect (5-4a), habitual (5-4b), future (5-4c) and progressive (5-4d) are marked, as discussed below.

(5-4) a. *mɔ̀-ɲ́-wɔ́ sùkúù*

1SG- PERF-go school

'I've gone to school' (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-ɔ́-wɔ́ sùkúù*

1SG-HAB-go school

'I go to school' (Elicitation)

c. *m-áà-wɔ́ sùkúù*

1SG-FUT-go school

'I'll go to school' (Elicitation)

d. *m-àá-wɔ́ sùkúù*

1SG-PROG-go school

'I'm going to school' (Elicitation)

5.2.1. The perfect

In Efutu, the perfect is marked morphologically with a High-tone homorganic nasal consonant (which assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of

the verb stem)[176] which is prefixed to the verb stem, and occurs after the agreement marker. It is realised by the form /m̀/ before a bilabial (5-5a), /ǹ/ before an alveolar (5-5b), /ɲ̀/ before a palatal (5-5c) and /ŋ̀/ before a velar.

(5-5) a. *mì-m̀-bétè* *èkùtú* *ǹ* *(dàdàẁ)*
1SG-PERF-take orange DEF (already)
'I have taken the orange (already)' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-ǹ-dó* *jìbí* *ǹ*
3SG-PERF-climb tree DEF
's/he has climbed the tree' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-ɲ̀-ɲɔ́* *m̀*
3SG-PERF-hit 1SG
's/he has hit me' (Elicitation)

d. **mì-m̀-bétè* *èkùtú* *ǹ* *édí*
1SG-PERF-take orange DEF yesterday
'I have taken the orange yesterday' (Elicitation)

e. *ńnà* *mì-m̀-bétè* *èkùtú* *ǹ* *(dàdàẁ)*
'PART' 1SG-PERF-take orange DEF (already)
'I had taken the orange (already)' (Elicitation)

The semantics of the form that has been analysed as perfect in Efutu resonates with the semantics of one of the various uses of the perfect, namely, experiential or existential perfect (McCawley 1971; Comrie 1976: 56; Dahl 1985), the basic use of which is 'in sentences in which it is asserted (questioned, denied) that an event of a certain type took place at least once during a certain period up to a certain point in time (Dahl 1985: 141). Another description that corresponds to the semantics of the

[176] See discussion of homorganic nasal assimilation in §3.4.3. in Chapter 3.

Efutu perfect is that it is 'used to indicate past actions which are relevant to the current situation' (Bybee et al. 1994: 18). When the perfect is used in Efutu, it is interpreted that the state-of-affairs occurred at a time in the past and that its occurrence is of some relevance to a current situation. For instance, the verb form *ḿ-bétè* 'PERF-take' in (5-5a) is interpreted as that the TAKE activity occurred at some point of time in the past and has become relevant to the present circumstance. A typical context of (5-5a) is in response to a command such as: 'you TAKE the orange now'! In such a context, the perfect form such as (5-5a) suggests that the TAKE activity performed by the speaker earlier is of relevance to the current situation. It is possible to modify the perfect construction with a non-specific time adverbial like /*dàdàẁ*/ 'already', as in (5-5a), but not a specific one, such as *édí* 'yesterday', as illustrated in (5-5d). Although the Efutu perfect implies past time reference, it may be located in a past context as in (5-5e): the occurrence of the clause-initial particle *ńnà* 'PART' locates the perfect in a past context.

Although the perfect implies past time reference as is the case of the past discussed in §5.1.2., the two are different in many respects. For instance, the past is unmarked while the perfect is marked morphologically. Moreover, the past can occur with specific time adverbials like 'yesterday' but the perfect cannot. Furthermore, the past but not the perfect is used in narrative contexts. Finally, the perfect but not the past may occur with the clause-initial particle *ńnà* 'PART' which locates the situation in a past context.

5.2.2. The habitual

Efutu marks the habitual morphologically, as illustrated in (5-6). The Efutu habitual is marked with a High tone vowel, which, together with the agreement marker's vowel, adopts the ATR and in some cases the rounding value of the stem's vowel, giving rise to different phonetic variants (see Table 5-1). Obeng (2008: 35) characterises the Efutu habitual marker as 'a floating mora/vowel with a high-tone' without segmental representation, but (phonetically) receives one 'through the lengthening of an immediately adjacent vowel of the subject pronoun'. Thus, the form *ɪ́* 'HAB' of the habitual marker, for instance, may be conditioned by [+ATR] vowel(s) from the verb-stem to occur with all pronouns except the second singular,

the third singular animate and the third plural animate (5-6a)-(5-6b)). The form *ɪ́* 'HAB' (5-6c)-(5-6e) is conditioned by [-ATR] vowel(s) from a verb stem and may occur with all pronouns except the second singular, the third singular animate and the third plural animate. The form *ʊ́* 'HAB' (5-6f)-(5-6g) is conditioned by [+ATR] vowel(s) from the verb-stem and may occur with all pronouns except the second singular, the third singular inanimate and the third plural inanimate. The form *ʊ́* 'HAB' (5-6h)-(5-6j) is conditioned by [-ATR] vowel(s) from the verb-stem and may occur with all pronouns except the second singular, the third singular inanimate and the third plural inanimate. The forms *ɔ́* 'HAB' (5-6k) and *ɔ́* 'HAB' (5-6m) are conditioned by [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowel(s), respectively, and may occur with the second singular pronoun only. Table 5-1 presents the various forms of the habitual marker, the vowel(s) that condition them, as well as the pronouns that may occur with them.

(5-6) a. *mì-ɪ́-dì* *dʑwààdé*

1SG-HAB-eat cassava

'I eat cassava' (Elicitation)

b. *tɕìbí ǹ* *ì-ɪ́-kù* *fìrèbí* *nʊ̀* *tɔ̀* *íbíé fʊ̃ʊ̃́*

knife DEF 3SG.INAN-HAB-cut rope DEF inside time all

'the knife cuts the rope always' (Elicitation)

c. *kòfɪ̃́ bòtɕwé* *máàfâ* *mì-ɪ́- dà* *m̀páè*

Kofi Botwey 1SG.EMPH 1SG-HAB-say prayer

'I Kofi Botwey am the one who prays' (KBtwy_Osow: 6)

d. *ǹsú ǹ* *íbíé kwáàfâ* *ì-ɪ́-bà*

water DEF time every 3SG.INAN-HAB-come

'the water runs every time' (Elicitation)

e. *ání-í-náńkɑ̃̀* *dwààdé* *bínádá*

2PL-HAB-cook cassava Tuesday

'you cook cassava on Tuesdays' (Elicitation)

f. *àmù-ú-hù* *ɔ̀pú ǹ*

3PL-HAB-see sea DEF

'they see the sea' (Elicitation)

g. *ńnà* *mù-ú-dì* *dʑwààdé* *ɕɪ̃́ kwáàfà* *kà* *mʊ̀-ń-ɕà*

PART 3SG-HAB-eat cassava day every but 3SG-PERF-stop

's/he used to eat cassava everyday but s/he has stopped' (Elicitation)

h. *mʊ̀-ʊ́-fʊ́* *bàm̀bá*

1SG-HAB-wash cloths

'I wash cloths' (Elicitation)

i. *àmʊ̀-ʊ́-tɕírè* *ḿ* *àmàǹfʊ́*

3PL-HAB-call 1SG Amanfo

'they call me Amanfo' (KBtwy_Osow: 9)

j. *kwèkú dàǹtɕèfʊ́* *mààmʊ́* *mʊ̀-ʊ́-sʊ́rà* *ɔ̀pé* *ǹ*

Kweku Dankyefo 3SG.EMPH 3SG-HAB-carry (fetish) god DEF

'K. D. is the one who carries/transports the god' (KBtwy_Osow: 5)

k. *ɔ̀-ó-dì* *dʑwààdé*

2SG-HAB-eat cassava

'you eat cassava' (Elicitation)

m. *ɔ̀-ɔ́-kā́* *àyìǹté*
2SG-HAB-speak Fante
's/he speaks Fante' (Elicitation)

n. *ǹdú!ẃ* *àmù-ú-dí* *ḿpùwá*
monkeys 3PL-HAB-eat bananas
'monkeys eat bananas' (Elicitation)

Dahl (1985) identifies three closely related categories, namely, habitual (HAB), habitual-generic or simply generic (HABG) and habitual-past (HABPAST). The three are related in that they each 'express actions that take place habitually or repeatedly' (Dahl 1985: 95). However they also differ in that each possesses other unique properties that are not found in the others. For instance, the generic category is found to involve a ''normic' or 'law-like' character': 'they describe the typical or characteristic properties of a species, a kind, or an individual' (Dahl 1985: 99). The habitual-past on the other hand is basically a 'combination of HAB and past time reference' (Dahl 1985: 101). The *regular* habitual (HAB) which does not involve the above described unique properties identified in the other two, is illustrated to be typically used, in English for instance, in cases where the adverb 'usually' is possible, involving 'quantification over a set of occasions which is given explicitly or by context' (Dahl 1985: 97).

The form that has been analysed as habitual in Efutu is used to express recurrent states-of-affairs: it is interpreted that the state-of-affairs has occurred repeatedly in the past and continues to occur repeatedly in the present and is likely to occur repeatedly in the future. For instance, in (5-6a), the habitual form of the verb is interpreted to express that the speaker has been eating cassava at certain times in the past and continues to eat it at certain times presently and is likely to eat it at certain times in the future. A typical context for (5-6a) is as a response to a question such as: 'what you usually EAT for dinner on Thursdays'. Each of the Efutu habitual constructions above involves 'quantification over a set of occasions which is given explicitly or by context'. Thus, time adverbials such as 'always' *íbíé fūū́* (5-6b) constitute explicit 'quantification over a set of occasions'. Nevertheless,

inappropriate time adverbials such as *édí* 'yesterday' (5-7a), *ɔ̀tɕɨ́* 'tomorrow (5-7b) or *ńdɛ́* 'today' (5-7c) cannot occur with the habitual in Efutu. Past time in the habitual is marked periphrastically in Efutu: example (5-6g) illustrates habitual past where the occurrence of the sentence-initial particle *ńnà* 'PART' sets the habitual in a past context. Example (5-6n) on the other hand seems to involve habitual generic as its meaning involves normic or law-like depiction; it expresses natural or normal occurrence.

(5-7) a. **mì-í-dì* *dʑwààdé* *édí*

1SG-HAB-eat cassava yesterday

'I eat cassava yesterday' (Elicitation)

b. **mì-í-dì* *dʑwààdé* *ɔ̀tɕɨ́*

1SG-HAB-eat cassava tomorrow

'I eat cassava tomorrow' (Elicitation)

c. **mì-í-dì* *dʑwààdé* *ńdɛ́*

1SG-HAB-eat cassava today

'I eat cassava today' (Elicitation)

Table 5-1: Forms of the habitual marker in Efutu

Verb stem vowels	Habitual marker	Conceivable pronouns
[+ATR]	*ɪ́*	1SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
[-ATR]	*ɪ́*	1SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
[+ATR]	*ʊ́*	1SG; 3SG; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL
[-ATR]	*ʊ́*[177]	1SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL; 3PL
[+ATR]	*ó*	2SG
[-ATR]	*ɔ́*	2SG

5.2.3. The future

Dahl (1985: 105)) discusses cross-linguistic categories of the future (FUT) where the most typical uses 'involve actions that are planned by the agent of the sentence'. 'Normally, when we talk about the future, we are either talking about someone's plans, intentions or obligations, or we are making a prediction or extrapolation from the present state of the world' (Dahl 1985: 103). Dahl (1985: 106-108) suggests that the semantics of FUT can be best described in terms of a prototype involving at least the three features 'intention', 'prediction', and 'future time reference', with 'future time reference' being a relatively more constant and dominant element than the modal features (intention and prediction), which in most cases may or may not be present. Other cross-linguistic and language specific discussions of future semantics which mention 'future time reference' and modal elements such as 'prediction', state that the future 'asserts that the event described by the verb will occur later than utterance time' (Boadi 2008: 22), that is, 'the speaker predicts that a situation will occur after the speech event' (Desclés and Guentchéva 2012: 128). Expression of probability or likelihood, which seems to be linked to or fall under 'prediction', has been mentioned (Bybee et al. 1994). Bybee et al. (1994) talk about non-randomly distributed, multiple uses of grams, across languages, including the future gram, which confirms the other authors' mention of 'intention', 'prediction', and 'future time reference'.

[177] See example (5-

The form that has been analysed as future in Efutu is interpreted as that the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb will happen at a time after the speech event. Thus, the Efutu future paradigms in my fieldwork data attest to the constancy and dominance of 'future time reference' and the optionality of the other features, such that each of the Efutu future constructions in (5-9)-(5-12) involves future time reference but not necessarily the other features. It appears all the sentences in (5-9)-(5-12) involve prediction in addition. In (5-9a) for instance, the construction is interpreted to predict that *ì* '3SG.INAN' (with reference to a plant) will bear fruit at a time later than the time of utterance. Sentences (5-10) and (5-11b)-(5-11c) involve an additional element, intention. Thus, in our examples, all the constructions that involve intention seem also to involve prediction but not vice versa. For example, sentence (5-9a) predicts a situation but does not involve intention. We find that each of the examples in (5-9)-(5-12) involves at least one or two of the tense/aspect and modal features discussed in the previous paragraph, with future time reference being constant. Another feature, namely, commitment, (which is somehow related to intention and prediction) seems to be present in (5-10) and (5-11c), both of which involve the first person subject. The future may occur with an appropriate time adverbial such as *ɔ̀tɛ́ɛ́* 'tomorrow' but not an inappropriate one like *édí* 'yesterday'.

(5-9) a. *ì-báà-sɔ̀*

3SG.INAN-FUT-bear.fruit

'it will bear fruit' (Obeng 2008: 34)

b. *wú* *ɛ̀ɲímpá* *àmú-à-bà …* *ǹtà* *ò-béè-dì*[178]

2SG.POSS elders 3PL.FUT-come before 2SG-FUT-eat

ɲàmá *nì* *tɔ̀*

boat DEF inside

'your elders will come … before you will join the boat crew'

(KM_Fjob: 8-10)

[178] The verb *dì* 'eat' collocates with a set of lexical items to form idiomatic expressions such as 'join' or 'be part of' in (5-9b).

As seen in the examples, in Efutu the future is marked morphologically, just as future marking is found to be widespread cross-linguistically (Dahl 1985:105). The future marker has various surface forms with different subject pronouns. When it occurs with the first person singular subject, the future is marked with the form /áà/ (5-10) which has a variant /éè/ as a +ATR alternative. The pronoun's vowel gets deleted in the process, presumably to prevent a sequence of three successive vowels.[179]

(5-10) a. *ɔ̀tɕɪ́́* *m-áà-wɔ́* *pʊ̀àɕé*
tomorrow 1SG-FUT-go beach
'tomorrow I will go to the beach' (Elicitation)

b. **édí* *m-áà-wɔ́* *pʊ̀àɕé*
yesterday 1SG-FUT-go beach
'yesterday I will go to the beach' (Elicitation)

With the second singular, the third singular inanimate and the first and second plural subjects, the form /báà/ and (+ATR variant) /béè/ are used, as in (5-11a)-(5-11b). In rapid speech, speakers sometimes use the form /áà/ (see (5-11c)) or /éè/ (the forms used with the first singular subject) with the first and second plural subjects. In that case, the pronoun's vowel gets deleted, (as with the first singular). This alternation however is not found with the second singular and the third singular inanimate subjects. A plausible reason is that the plural subject pronouns (like the first singular subject) can delete some elements (such as the final vowel in the pronoun and the initial consonant in the future marker /báà/), and still sustain the future marker with the 'reduced' form (after the deletion processes). This option is not possible for the second singular and the third singular inanimate since these pronouns are single-segment morphemes - a vowel - which if deleted, will leave nothing to sustain the future marker. It is also observed that the first singular subject never occurs with the form /báà/, at least on the surface. The form /báà/ is suggested to involve an

[179] See discussion of such a vowel deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.

insertion of the consonant [b] as a means of avoiding the occurrence of three successive vowels.[180]

(5-11) a. *ɔ́-báà-wɔ́*

2SG-FUT-go

'you will go' (Elicitation)

b. *àní-báà-wɔ́*

1PL-FUT-go

'we will go' (Elicitation)

c. *àn-áà-wɔ́*

1PL-FUT-go

'we will go' (Elicitation)

With third singular animate and third plural (animate and inanimate) subjects, the future marking is more complicated; it seems to become 'fused' with the pronoun. After careful study, the following analysis is proposed. The future tense has the underlying form /áà/ (or /éè/) which undergoes several processes with the third singular animate and the third plural subjects. First, the initial segment of the future marker /áà/ is deleted[181] but leaves its tone effect on both the pronoun's vowel and its remaining segment. Second, the pronoun drops its original tone (which is Low) and adopts the High tone of the deleted segment, thus /mù/ becomes /mú/. Finally, the remaining future marker segment /à/ adopts the tone of its deleted segment without discarding its own tone, consequently, the downstep-high /!á/ (or /!é/) - a compromise between the deleted segment's high-tone and the surviving segment's low tone. The future with the third singular subject is illustrated in (5-12).

[180] See discussion of consonant insertion in §3.4.2. in Chapter 3.
[181] See discussion of such a vowel deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.

(5-12) *mʊ́-!á-wɔ́*

3SG-FUT-go

's/he will go' (Elicitation)

The above analysis could be explained in terms of an underlying form of the pronoun's vowel which is [+Round] and always maintains its roundness in all circumstances.[182] As a result, the pronoun does not delete its Round vowel; it only compromises its tone. In effect the future marker/morpheme is forced to delete part of its segment in order to avoid a sequence of three successive vowels.

5.2.4. The progressive

The prototypical uses of the progressive, cross-linguistically, 'involve what could be labelled as an 'on-going activity'' (Dahl 1985: 91). In other words, the most frequent use of the progressive (also called continuous (Bybee 1994)) is in reference to 'events and processes which are in progress' (Boadi 2008: 38). The progressive is said to have an 'implied temporal relation' (Boadi 2008: 39); it 'naturally occurs with punctual temporal reference' (Dahl 1985: 91). The form that has been analysed as progressive in Efutu is interpreted to mean that the state-of-affairs denoted by the verb is an on-going or in progress at the time of reference. Each of the progressive constructions in (5-13)-(5-16) involves on-going activity with implied punctual temporal reference. For instance, in (5-13a), the construction is interpreted that the speaker is engaged in the activity denoted by the verb while he or she speaks.

Cross-linguistically, 'there is quite a strong tendency for the progressive to be marked periphrastically, most often by auxiliary constructions' (Dahl 1985: 91). However, in Efutu, the progressive is marked morphologically, as illustrated below. It is marked with the forms /àá/ (-ATR) and /èé/ (+ATR) with the first singular and the first and second plural subject pronouns (5-13a)-(5-13b). The pronoun deletes its vowel in order to avoid a sequence of three vowels.[183]

[182] See discussions in §3.1.2. in Chapter 3 and §4.3.2. in Chapter 4.
[183] See discussion of vowel deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.

(5-13) a. *m-àá-wɔ́*

1SG-PROG-go

'I am going' (Elicitation)

b. *án-àá-wɔ́*

2PL-PROG-go

'you are going' (Elicitation)

The second singular and the third singular inanimate use the forms /nàá/ and /nèé/, as in (5-14a)-(5-14b). The form *nàá/nèé* is suggested to involve an insertion of [n] in morpheme-initial position, as discussed in §3.4.2. in Chapter 3.

(5-14) a. *ɔ̀-nèé-dì átɔ̀*

2SG-PROG-eat thing

'you are eating' (Elicitation)

b. *ì-nàá-bà*

3SG-PROG-come

'it is coming' (Elicitation)

The third singular and plural animate pronouns (5-15a)-(5-15b) have different surface realisations from the other pronouns: they use /àá/ (or /èé/) which deletes its initial segment to avoid a sequence of three vowels.[184] The deleted segment has the same tone as the pronoun's vowel, hence no change in tone. Once again we witness the third person subjects maintaining their (rounded) vowels and forcing the progressive marker to delete its segment, just like in the future tense (see §5.2.3.). From the above analysis, we are able to generalize that the progressive marker has the forms /àá/ or /èé/, /nàá/ or /nèé/ and /á/ or /é/.

[184] See discussion of such a deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.

(5-15) a. *àmɔ̀-á-wɔ́*

3PL-PROG-go

'they are going' (Elicitation)

b. *àmɔ̀-é-dì* *tùàwó*[185] *fídá*

3PL-PROG-eat Tuawo Friday

'they are celebrating 'Tuawo Fida' festival' (KM_RoughSea: 37)

The progressive is found to be used with past time reference (PROG-PAST) in some languages (Dahl 1985: 95). In Efutu, past time reference in the progressive is marked periphrastically with the form *ńnà* 'PART' at the beginning of the clause, as illustrated in (5-16). When the progressive past is used, as in (5-16), it places the on-going activity expressed by the verb in a past context.[186]

(5-16) *ńnà* *àmɔ̀-á-wɔ́*

'PART' 3PL-PROG-go

'they were going' (Elicitation)

5.3. Negation

In the sections above, we have illustrated six distinct tense/aspect paradigms in their affirmative forms in Efutu. This section discusses their negation. Unlike the affirmative construction, the negative has fewer paradigms, as will be shown below. The habitual, future and progressive, as well as the stative in certain cases, have a common negative form. In other words, the habitual negative, the future negative and the progressive negative (and in some circumstances the stative negative), all overlap, such that without appropriate context or other distinctive elements, such as an adverb, it is not clear which tense/aspectual sense is meant when the 'common' negative form is used. The stative negative in some cases has a common form with the perfect negative. The past negative has a distinct form. Generally, in marking negation, the first singular, the third singular animate and the third plural animate,

[185]'Tuawo' is the name of a military or warrior wing of the Efutu or Simpa tribe (Ackom 2005: 41; Hagan 2000).

[186] See Boadi (2008: 38) for similar description in Akan

all follow one pattern, whereas the second singular, the third singular inanimate, the first plural, the second plural and the third plural inanimate all follow another pattern: basically, negation in the first set involves tonal change in the agreement marker which is absent in the second set. Furthermore, the second set has an extended negation marker in comparison with the first set. The various negative paradigms are described and illustrated below.

5.3.1. Stative negative

Two different negation marking patterns were found in the stative category. One way of marking negation in some stative verbs (whose affirmative is unmarked) is by tone variation in the agreement marker, which occurs with the first singular, the third singular animate and the third plural animate, as illustrated with the first and third singular in (5-17a) and (5-18a), respectively. In both examples, the agreement marker changes tone from Low to High. In (17a) the verb stem also acquires a High tone (compare the adjacent affirmative equivalent) while the verb stem in (5-18a) maintains its High-tone pattern.

(5-17) a. *mí-ní* *m̀*
1SG.STATIVE.NEG-know 3SG
'I do not know him/her'

b. *mì-nì* *m̀*
1SG-know 3SG
'I know him/her'
(Elicitation)

(5-18) a. *mú-dʑíré* *àsè*
3SG.STATIVE.NEG-stand PART
's/he is not standing up'

b. *mù-dʑíré* *àsè*
3SG-stand PART
's/he is standing up'
(Elicitation)

(5-19) a. *ání-mí-ní* *àmù*
2PL-STATIVE.NEG-know 3PL
'you do not know them'

b. *ání-nì* *àmù*
2PL-know 3PL
'you know them'
(Elicitation)

(5-20) a. *m-áá-dɔ́* *ḿpùwá*
1SG-STATIVE.NEG-like bananas
'I don't like bananas'

b. *mù-dɔ́* *ḿpùwá*
1SG-like bananas
'I like bananas'
(Elicitation)

(5-21) a. *ì-máá-bɔ́* *ɕìẁ*
3SG-STATIVE.NEG-be hot
'it is not hot'

b. *ì-bɔ̀* *ɕíẁ*
3SG-be hot
'it is hot'
(Elicitation)

With the second singular, the third singular inanimate, the first plural, the second plural and the third plural inanimate, the form /mí/ or /mú/ is used, as illustrated with /mí/ in (5-19a). The other mode of marking stative negative uses the form /áá/ or /éé/ for first singular, /!á/ or /!é/ for third singular and plural animate and /máá/ or /méé/ for second singular, first and second plural, third singular and plural inanimate. This is illustrated with /áá/ and /máá/ in (5-20a) and (5-21a), respectively. The first marking mode illustrated in (5-17a) – (5-19a) is common with the perfect negative (see §5.3.3.) while the second marking mode illustrated in (5-20a) – (5-21a) is common with the habitual negative, future negative and progressive negative (see §5.3.4., §5.3.5. and §5.3.6., respectively).

5.3.2. Past negative

The past negative (with unmarked affirmative) is marked with a downstep-High-tone homorganic nasal[187] which is prefixed to the verb-stem, plus a change in the agreement marker's tone, when it occurs with the first singular, the third singular animate and the third plural animate, as illustrated with the first singular in (5-22a[188]). (This past negative form is similar to the affirmative perfect form (see (5-7a)-(5-7c)) except for its tone pattern).

[187] Again, see discussion of homorganic nasal assimilation in §3.4.3. in Chapter 3.
[188] Affirmative forms of the example sentences are included for ease of reference.

(5-22) a. *mú-!ŋ́-wɔ́* *sùkúù*
1SG-PAST.NEG-go school
'I did not go to school'

b. *mù-wɔ́* *sùkúù*
1SG-go school
'I went to school'
(Elicitation)

(5-23) a. *ànú-mú!ŋ́-wɔ́* *sùkúù*
1PL-PAST.NEG-go school
'we did not go to school'

b. *ànú-wɔ́* *sùkúù*
1PL-go school
'we went to school'
(Elicitation)

With the second singular, the third singular inanimate, the first plural, the second plural and the third plural inanimate, the past negative marker has an 'extended' form realised as /mú!ŋ́ /, as illustrated with the first plural in (5-23a). There is no change in the subject pronoun's tone. The past negative marker as well as the pronoun's vowel is subject to ATR (and rounding) vowel harmony, giving rise to sixteen conceivable variants (see Table 5-3).

5.3.3. Perfect negative

The perfect negative is marked by tone change in the agreement marker (from Low to High) in the first singular, the third singular animate and the third plural animate, as illustrated with the first singular in (5-24a) and (5-25a).

(5-24) a. *mú-wɔ́*
1SG-PERF.NEG-go
'I have not gone'

b. *mù-ń-wɔ́*
1SG-PERF-go
'I have gone'
(Elicitation)

(5-25) a. *mú-dó* *jìbí* *ǹ*
1SG-PERF.NEG-climb tree DEF
'I have not climbed the tree'

b. *mù-ń-dó* *jìbí* *ǹ*
1SG-PERF-climb tree DEF
'I have climbed the tree'
(Elicitation)

The second singular, the third singular inanimate, the first plural, the second plural and the third plural inanimate, display a negation marker *mí/mí/mú/mú* in the perfect, as in (5-26a) and (5-26c), The agreement marker's tone does not change.

(5-26) a. *àní-mú-hű̃* *àtòbí ǹ*

1PL-PERF.NEG-see child DEF

'we have not seen the child'

b. *àní-ń-hű̀* *àtòbí ǹ*

1PL-PERF-see child DEF

'we have seen the child'

(Elicitation)

c. *àní-mí-dá* *m̀pá!ḿ*

1PL-PERF.NEG-say prayer

'we have not prayed'

d. *àní-ń-dá* *m̀pá!ḿ*

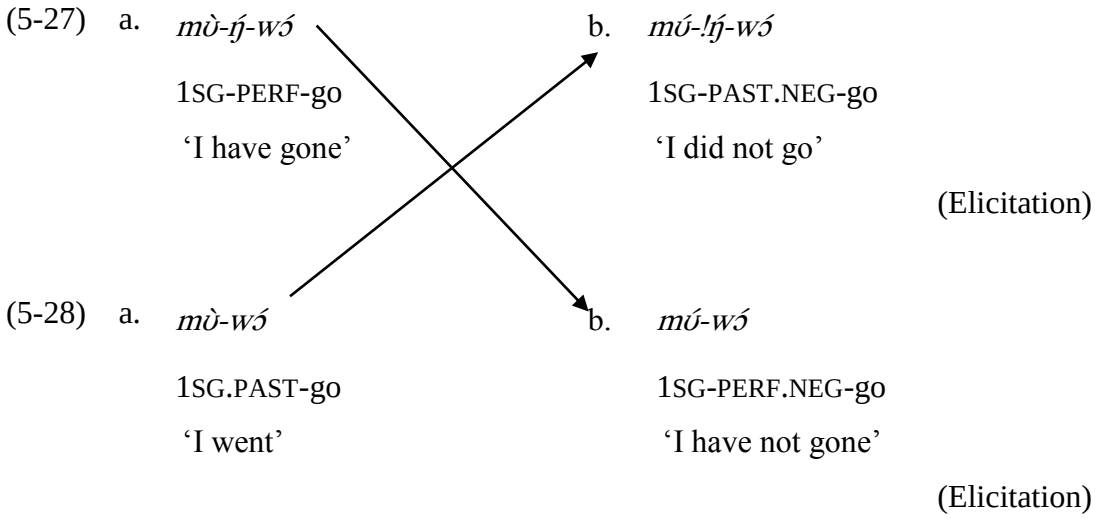
1PL-PERF-say prayer

'we have prayed'

(Elicitation)

With reference to Akan, Boadi (2008:24-25) describes a number of similarities between the past and the perfect, including what he refers to as 'the paradox' in them: the perfect affirmative and the past negative appear to be counterparts, superficially, such that the perfect affirmative marker and the past negative marker are similar in form, making the two markers appear to be counterparts. Likewise, the past affirmative and the perfect negative also have similar forms, making the two appear to be counterparts superficially. This paradox, he notes, exists among all the Volta-Comoe languages that he has analysed. The study has observed the paradox in Efutu as well. In Efutu, the perfect affirmative and the past negative appear to be counterparts, superficially, such that the perfect affirmative marker (viz., a High-tone homorganic nasal consonant) and the past negative marker (which is a Low-tone homorganic nasal consonant) are similar in form, making the two markers appear to be counterparts. Likewise, the past affirmative and the perfect negative also have similar forms, in instances where both are realised with no morphological markings, making the two appear to be counterparts superficially. The Efutu example pairs in (5-27a)-(5-27b) and (5-28a)-(5-28b) exemplify the above described apparent mismatch between the past and the perfect and their negations. Superficially, (5-27b) appears to be the negative exponent of (5-27a) but that is not

the case. Rather, it is the construction in (5-28b) which is actually the negation of the perfect affirmative in (5-27a), while the past affirmative construction in (5-28b) takes (5-27b) as its negative exponent, somehow surprisingly.



The above described form-function mismatch between the past and the perfect and their negative exponents could be characterised as a form of deponency. The term 'deponency', although originally applied only to a set of verbs in Latin, could also be used in other similar situations with metaphorical extension of its salient feature (Baermen 2007: 1). Deponency is a mismatch between form and function, such that, given that there is a formal morphological opposition between, say, two paradigms, deponents are a lexically-specified set of instances whose form is one paradigm but function as the other paradigm.[189] 'A mismatch occurs where the word form is used in some function incompatible with its normal function' hence, 'the normal function is no longer available' (Baerman 2007: 1). In the Efutu examples, the form *ŋ́* marks perfect in (5-27a), however, when this apparent perfect marker occurs in a negative construction, as in (5-27b) it is interpreted as past and not perfect. Conversely, the zero-marking in the affirmative (5-28a) is interpreted as past but as perfect in the negative construction (5-28b). What we have just demonstrated is what (Baerman 2007:2) explains as paradigmatic and syntagmatic identification of mismatch: 'paradigmatically, a mismatch can be identified by comparing the inflected forms of a lexeme' (Baerman 2007: 2-3). Thus, in terms of paradigm, there is an opposition

[189] This definition has been adapted from (Baerman 2007: 1-2) for the Efutu examples in (27)-(28).

between past and perfect in the negative-affirmative forms in the deponent paradigm. On the other hand, 'syntagmatically, a mismatch can be identified by comparing the morphosyntactic values needed to describe a word form with the syntactic value needed to describe its role in the text' (Baerman 2007: 2). Thus, in (5-27)-(5-28) the form /ŋ́/, for instance, functions as perfect in the affirmative but past in the negative. Table 5-2 summarises the deponency described in this section.

Table 5-2: Summary of deponent (mismatch) paradigm in past and perfect in Efutu

	ŋ́	Ø
Affirmative	Perfect	Past
Negative	Past	Perfect

5.3.4. Habitual negative

When the habitual negative occurs with the first singular subject, it is marked with the form /áá/ or /éé/, with deletion of the pronoun's vowel,[190] as in (5-29a) and (5-30a). With the third singular and plural animate subjects, the surface realisation /á/ in (5-31a) and (5-32a) is a reduced form of /áá/ as a result of the presence of the pronoun's vowel which inherits the deleted segment's tone. The form /máá/ or /méé/[191] is used with the second singular, the third singular and plural inanimate, and the first and second plural subjects, as illustrated with the first plural in (5-33a).

(5-29) a. *m-áá-wɔ́*
1SG-HAB.NEG-go
'I do not go'

b. *mù-ú-wɔ́*
1SG-HAB-go
'I go'

(Elicitation)

[190] See discussion of such deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.
[191] See discussion of segment insertion in §3.4.2. in Chapter 3 where it is suggested that the form *máá/méé* involves consonant insertion.

(5-30) a. *m-áá-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
1SG-HAB.NEG-wash cloth
'I do not wash cloth'

b. *mù-ú-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
1SG-HAB-wash cloth
'I wash cloth'
(Elicitation)

(5-31) a. *mú-á-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
3SG-HAB.NEG-wash cloth
's/he does not wash cloth'

b. *mù-ú-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
3SG-HAB-wash cloth
's/he washes cloth'
(Elicitation)

(5-32) a. *àmú-á-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
3PL-HAB.NEG-wash cloth
'they do not wash cloth'

b. *àmù-ú-fǔ* *bàm̀bá*
3PL-HAB-wash cloth
'they wash cloth'
(Elicitation)

(5-33) a. *àní-máá-náńkɛ̀* *dwààdé*
1PL-HAB.NEG-cook cassava
'we do not cook cassava'

b. *àní-í-náńkɛ̀* *dwààdé*
1PL-HAB-cook cassave
'we cook cassava'
(Elicitation)

5.3.5. Future negative

The future negative, as already mentioned above (in §5.3.), is identical to the habitual negative: both constructions have similar forms. This is exemplified with the first and third singular subjects in (5-34a) and (5-35a) (compare with (5-27a) and (5-31a)). The future negative in (5-34a) and (5-35a) could be (mis)understood as habitual negative without appropriate context. The ambiguity could however be resolved by the use of an adverb (which can occur either at the beginning or at the end of the clause), as exemplified in (5-36) (with the adverb in sentence-initial position).

(5-34) a. *m-áá-wɔ́*
1SG-FUT.NEG-go
'I will not go'

b. *m-áà-wɔ́*
1SG-FUT-go
'I will go'

(Elicitation)

(5-35) a. *mú-á-wɔ́*
3SG-FUT.NEG-go
's/he will not go'

b. *mú-ǃá- wɔ́*
3SG-FUT-go
'she will go'

(Elicitation)

(5-36) *ɔ̀tɕī́* *m-áá-wɔ́*
tomorrow 1SG-FUT.NEG-go
'tomorrow I will not go'

(Elicitation)

5.3.6. Progressive negative

The progressive negative is identical to the habitual negative and the future negative, as mentioned in §5.3. The progressive negative is illustrated with (5-37a). Compare (5-37a) with the habitual negative in (5-29a) and the future negative in (5-34a).

(5-37) a. *m-áá-wɔ́*
1SG-PROG.NEG-go
'I am not going'

b. *m-àá-wɔ́*
1SG-PROG-go
'I am going'

(Elicitation)

5.3.7. A remark on the stative negative

In §5.3.1., we indicated that the stative negative has 'dual' alignment: in some cases, it follows the common pattern of the habitual negative, the future negative and the progressive negative. For example, in (5-22a) repeated here as (5-38a), the stative negative has the same form as the habitual negative in (5-33a) repeated here as (5-39a): both are marked with the form /máá/.

(5-38) a. *àní-máá-dɔ́* *ḿpùwá*
1PL.STATIVE.NEG-like bananas
'we do not like bananas'

b. *àní-dɔ́* *ḿpùwá*
1PL-like bananas
'we like bananas'
(Elicitation)

(5-39) a. *àní-máá-náńkɛ̀̃* *dwààdé*
1PL-HAB.NEG-cook cassava
'we do not cooked cassava'

b. *àní-í-náńkɛ̀̃* *dwààdé*
1PL-HAB-cook cassave
'we cook cassava'
(Elicitation)

Alternatively, the stative negative can have a dissimilar pattern from the habitual, the future and the progressive negative. (Examples (5-19a), (5-29a), (5-20a) and (5-31a) have been repeated below as (5-40a), (5-41a), (5-42a) and (5-43a), respectively, for ease of reference.) For instance, the stative negative in (5-40a) and the habitual negative in (5-41a) have different modes of negation. The stative negative (5-40a) is marked with a tone change in both the pronoun and the verb stem from Low to High, while the habitual negative in (5-41a) is marked with the form /áá/ which forces the pronoun to delete its vowel. The two negation modes are thus very different from each other.

(5-40) a. *mí-ní* *mɔ̀*
1SG.STATIVE.NEG-know 3SG
'I do not know him/her'

b. *mì-nì* *m̀*
1SG-know 3SG
'I know him/her'
(Elicitation)

(5-41) a. *m-áá-wɔ́*
1SG-HAB.NEG-go
'I do not go'

b. *mɔ̀-ɔ́-wɔ́*
1SG-HAB-go
'I go'
(Elicitation)

A second example of dissimilarity in the marking of negative stative from the other three negative forms (the habitual, the future and the progressive negative) is illustrated by (5-42a) and (5-43a). In the stative negative (5-42a), the marker consists of a tone change in the pronoun from Low to High, with the verb stem maintaining its High tone pattern. The habitual negative marker in (5-43a) on the other hand consists of an underlying form /áá/ which deletes its initial segment in order to make way for the pronoun's vowel, which then discards its original tone and adopts the deleted segment's tone. The two modes of marking are thus different.

(5-42) a. *mú-dʑíré* *àsè*
3SG.STATIVE.NEG-stand PART
's/he is not standing/not in upright position'

b. *mù-dʑíré* *àsè*
3SG.STATIVE-stand PART
's/he is standing up'

(Elicitation)

(5-43) a. *mú-á-fʉ́* *bàm̀bá*
3SG-HAB.NEG-wash cloth
's/he does not wash cloth'

b. *mù-ú-fʉ́* *bàm̀bá*
3SG-HAB-wash cloth
's/he washes cloth'

(Elicitation)

The stative negative form in (5-42a) is rather similar to the perfect negative in (5-24a), repeated below as (5-44a): both forms have a High tone in the subject pronoun, with no segmental marker.

(5-44) a. *mú-wɔ́*
1SG-PERF.NEG-go
'I have not gone'

b. *mù-ń-wɔ́*
1SG-PERF-go
'I have gone'

(Elicitation)

5.3.8. Summary of the negative constructions

So far, we have seen examples of negation in the various tense/aspect constructions with all subject pronouns. From the discussions on the negative constructions, the following generalizations can be made:

- The past, (stative) and perfect, each have a distinct form of negation (compare (5-17a), (5-19a) and (5-24a))
- The habitual, future and progressive share a common negative form (compare (5-29a), (5-34a) and (5-37a))
- With plural subjects, the stative negative in some instances shares a common form with the habitual, future and progressive negative (compare the stative negative (5-22a) and the habitual negative (5-33a), bearing in mind that (5-33a) may also be interpreted as future negative or progressive negative)
- With first singular, as well as third singular and plural animate subjects, the stative negative shares a common form with the perfect negative (compare (5-19a) and (5-24a), then (5-20a) and (5-25a))
- Deletion of the subject pronoun's vowel occurs in the first singular subject with the habitual, future and progressive negative (see (5-29a), (5-34a) and (5-37a))
- All plural subjects maintain their segmental units and in most cases their tone patterns in all negative paradigms (see (5-18a), (5-21a), (5-22a), (5-25a), (5-33a), etc.). It is only the third plural subject that changes tone in some environments due to extra phonological processes, as explained in §5.3.4. (see (5-32a)
- In the stative and the perfect negative, there is no overt segmental marker with the first singular and third singular animate subjects (see the stative negative with the first singular subject in (5-19a) and with the third singular animate subject in (5-20a), then the perfect negative with the first singular subject in (5-24a).

Table 5-3 summarises the above-described affirmative and the corresponding negative markers of the various tense and aspect paradigms and the pronouns they may occur with. Other forms of tense and aspect markers may ensue as a result of influences from mood and possibly other grammatical categories.[192]

[192] See for instance the form of the future marker in examples (5-47a) and (5-47c) in §5.4.3., which is influenced by the necessity marker.

Table 5-3: A summary of the affirmative and negative forms of tense and aspect markers in Efutu

Tense/aspect	**Affirmative**		**Negative**	
	Form	**Pronouns**	**Form**	**Pronouns**
Stative	*Ø*	All pronouns	*Ø*	1SG; 3SG; 3PL
			mí/mí/mú/mú	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
			áá/éé	1SG
			á/é	3SG; 3PL
			máá/méé	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
Past	*Ø*	All pronouns	*!ḿ/!ń/!ɲ́/!ŋ́*	1SG; 3SG; 3PL
			mú!ń /mú!ń/mí!ń/míń/mú!ŋ́/mú!ŋ́/mí!ŋ́/mí!ŋ́/ mú!ɲ́/mú!ɲ́/mí!ɲ́/mí!ɲ́/mú!ḿ/mú!ḿ/mí!ḿ/mí!ḿ	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
Perfect	*ḿ/ń/ɲ́/ŋ́*	All pronouns	*Ø*	1SG; 3SG; 3PL
			mí/mí/mú/mú	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
Habitual	*í/í*	1SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN	*áá/éé*	1SG
	ú/ʊ́	1SG; 3SG; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL		
	ó/ɔ́	2SG		
Future	*áà/éè*	1SG; 1PL; 2PL;	*máá/méé*	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN
	báà/béè	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN		
	!á/!é	3SG; 3PL		
Progressive	*àá/èé*	1SG; 1PL; 2PL;	*á/é*	3SG; 3PL
	nàá/nèé	2SG; 3SG.INAN; 1PL; 2PL; 3PL.INAN		
	á/é	3SG; 3PL		

5.4. Mood

Most Kwa languages are said to have 'a distinct subjunctive form which expresses obligation, hopes and desires' and 'a clear relationship between subjunctive mood and imperative illocutionary force, with the two categories being in complementary distribution' (Harley 2008: 314). The six tense/aspect paradigms described above (in §5.1. and §5.2.) are mainly in the indicative (realis) mood (Palmer 2001). Other mood forms in Efutu include ability or possibility, conditional, necessity, imperative and interrogative. The ability and the conditional are morphologically marked. The necessity mood involves complex marking which combines periphrastic and morphological elements, as illustrated below. The imperative has no overt morphological segment, however its negation involves a rather complex morphological form, as illustrated below. The hortative and interrogative are marked periphrastically, as illustrated below.

5.4.1. Ability/ possibility

The form /*dèǹ*/ and its variant /*dàǹ*/ are suggested to be mood markers in Efutu. The form usually occurs with verbs in constructions to indicate possibility or ability[193] in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb. In (5-45a), the form /*dèǹ*/ glossed as 'MOOD' which is prefixed to the verb stem, occurring after the pronominal prefix and the habitual marker, may be analysed as a kind of mood marker which indicates or suggests the speaker's attitude, such as ability or possibility in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb *súà* 'learn'. Likewise, the form /*dàǹ*/ 'MOOD' in (5-45b) may be characterised as a mood form which indicates ability in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the serial verb construction[194] in (5-45b).

(5-45) a. *ɔ̀sʊ̀kwáàfɑ̂* *mù-ú-dèǹ-súà*
anybody 3SG-HAB-MOOD-learn
'anybody can/may learn (it)' (KM_Fjob: 1)

[193] For discussion of such a mood type, see Palmer 2001: 8-10; Bhat 1999: 75-79; Loos et al 2004.
[194] See discussion of serial verb constructions in Chapter 7.

b. *m-áà-dàǹ-bétè* *kéèǹ* *wìǹ* *ébíè*

1SG-FUT-MOOD-take cane weave chair

'I can use cane to weave a chair' (Hans_Art: 18)

5.4.2. Conditional

In Efutu, a condition is marked with the particle *àà* which occurs at the end of the clause, as in (5-46). When the marker *àà* 'COND' occurs at the end of a clause, it indicates a kind of relation between the *àà* 'COND' clause and the following clause, such that, in (5-46) for instance, the occurrence of the state-of-affairs expressed by the *àà* 'COND' clause is required for the occurrence of the state-of-affairs expressed by the following clause (which is represented by truncation).[195]

(5-46) *ɔ̀-náà-wɔ́* *pɔ̀* *àà ...*

2SG-FUT-go sea COND

'if you will to go to sea …'

(KM_Fjob: 4)

5.4.3. Necessity

The constructions in (5-47) involve necessity, which is marked by the constituent *bòtɕè* in the initial position of the clause, which seems to be its canonical position. That is, in all its occurrences in the fieldwork data, *bòtɕè*, is found at clause-initial position. When *bòtɕè* occurs in a construction, it is understood that the occurrence of the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb is essential or required or desirable; in other words, the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb is necessary. In (5-47a), *bòtɕè* 'NECESS' occurs in sentence-initial position. With the occurrence of *bòtɕè* 'NECESS' in (5-47a), it is interpreted that the state-of-affairs expressed in the sentence is

[195] See other examples of the conditional marker *àà* 'COND' in constructions in the illustrative text in the appendix.

necessary. Likewise, in (5-47b) – (5-47c), *bòtɕè* 'NECESS' occurs in clause-initial position to mark necessity in each of the constructions.

(5-47) a. *bòtɕè* *w-éé*[196]*-hǜ̀* *òɲímpá* *mú-á-dé* *ɲàmá* *ǹ*
NECESS 2SG-FUT-see elder 3SG-FUT-lie.down boat DEF
'it is necessary that you see the leader in charge of the boat'[197]
(KM_Fjob: 5)

b. *bòtɕè* *ǹɕà* *á-!bá*
NECESS people FUT-come
'people have to come' (Hans_AnanseStory: 53)

c. *bòtɕè* *m-áá-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
NECESS 1SG-FUT-see home
'I have to go home' (Elicitation)

In the first verbal complex *w-éé-hù* in (5-47a), the second singular pronoun changes form. In subject function, the form of the second person singular pronoun is usually vocalic, (+ATR /*ò*/ on this example) (see §5.3. in Chapter 5, and also Table 1 in Chapter 5). However, the necessity construction in (5-47) uses the form /w/. A suggested analysis for the situation in (5-47) is that a vocalic segment /*ò*/ cannot sustain the aspectual marker /*éé*/, therefore it becomes syllabified into /w/ to enable it to accommodate the aspectual marker. This however needs further examination.

5.4.4. Imperative

The imperative mood is typically used to signal commands in a range of languages (Loos et al 2004). In Efutu, the imperative mood is used to express directives and

[196] The form *éé* of the future marker in (5-47a), as well as the form *áá* in (5-47c) is suggested to be influenced by the mood marker *bòtɕè* (compare with the form in Table 5-3).
[197] In a prompted narrative, the sentence in (5-47) is the continuation of (5-46). Sentence (5-45) occurs earlier in the same narrative.

commands. In Efutu, the imperative mood uses the bare form of the verb, that is, the verb does not occur with any morphological marking. When the imperative construction does not contain an overt subject, the understood or implied subject is second person singular (5-48a)-(5-48c). The plural imperative however must occur with an overt subject (5-49). Negative imperative constructions also occur with an overt subject (5-50a)-(5-50b). The negative imperative in (5-50) may be said to express prohibition; it denotes that the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb is not permitted (Harley 2008: 317).

(5-48) a. *bìsá*

ask

'ask!' (Ankw_DoL: 2)

b. *ɲɔ̀ m̀ kó!*

hit 3SG one/some

'hit him/her back!' (Efua_FSmk: 2)

c. *wɔ̀*

go

'go!' (Elicitation)

(5-49) *ání-wɔ̀*

2PL-go

'you all go!' (Elicitation)

(5-50) a. *ḿmá-ɔ́-wɔ́*

NEG-2SG-go

'don't go!' (Elicitation)

b. *ḿmá-ání-wɔ́*

NEG-2PL-go

'don't you all go!' (Elicitation)

Another directive mood, namely, hortative, is illustrated in (5-51), where the construction uses the verb *nà* 'give' to mark an instruction to undertake an action. Here, *nà* 'give' is used 'extendedly' as a 'minimal verb' (Sætherø 1997) in a serial-like construction[198] with a (distinct) function of marking hortative. Note that *nà* in its default context involves transfer of an object. However, its use in (5-51) does not involve such a transfer. Rather the construction employs the extended use of the verb to mark hortative. This extended use of the verb meaning 'give' to mark imperative/hortative/permission is also recognised in Akan (Boadi 2008: 15; Sætherø 1997: 18-28).

(5-51) *ná* *mù-dèí*

give 3SG-sleep

'let him/her sleep' (Obeng 2008: 43)

5.4.5. Interrogative

Interrogative mood is marked with the periphrastic expression *ǹtóó*[199] (lit. 'or') which occurs at the end of the clause to mark interrogation in polar (yes/no) questions. The interrogative particle *ǹtóó* is found to occur only with polar questions but never with wh-questions. In Efutu, a polar question uses the declarative form without any transformation or movement of constituents. It is possible to omit the particle *ǹtóó* in a polar question though, in which case 'the phonetic feature of fast tempo is used conjointly with a rising and falling pitch pattern on the last syllable to mark question' (Obeng 2008: 98). The interrogative particle can occur with all the six tense/aspect forms discussed in §5.1. and §5.2. This is illustrated with the past

[198] See also discussion of the causative *ná* 'give' SVCs in §9.2.3. in Chapter 9.

[199] In addition to marking interrogative, *ǹtóó* also functions as disjunction marker, i.e., a contrastive discourse particle (Obeng 2008: 100).

in (5-53) and the perfect in (5-54). Example (5-55) involves a dummy pronoun *ì* 'it' in subject position.

(5-53) *mɔ̀-wɔ́ sùkúù ǹtóó*
1SG-go school PART
'did she go to school?' (Elicitation)

(5-54) *mɔ̀-ń-dì átɔ̀ ǹtóó*
3SG-PERF-eat thing PART
'has s/he eaten?' (Elicitation)

(5-55) *ì-dí mɔ̀ ǹtóó*
3SG.INAN-be 3SG PART
'is it him/her?' (Elicitation)

5.4.6. Directional morphemes/ motional prefixes[200]

Two morphemes which are classified under verbal markers but which do not exactly belong to the tense, aspect or mood category have been analysed as directional morphemes or motional prefixes in the language (see detailed analysis in §4.6.3. in Chapter 4; see also discussion in relation to SVCs in §7.9. in Chapter 7). The morphemes are the egressive marker *wàà* and the ingressive marker *bàà* and their allomorphic variants *wèè* and *bèè*.[201] The egressive marker occurs with verbs in constructions to function as a directional morpheme to indicate direction or movement away from the speaker's body in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb, as illustrated in (5-56a) where *wàà* 'EGRESS' occurs with the verbs *sɔ́* 'buy' to mark movement away from the speaker's body regarding the state-of-affairs *sɔ́* 'buy'. The ingressive marker on the other hand occurs with verbs in constructions to indicate direction or movement towards the speaker's body in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb, as illustrated in (5-56b) where

[200] A brief discussion of the directional morphemes is included here as a result of its status as a verbal marker.
[201] The tone of the morpheme may vary due to influence from TAMP.

béè 'INGRESS' occurs with the verbs *dʑírè* 'stand' to mark movement towards the speaker's body in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the verb *dʑírè* 'stand'. In (5-56a), the verb occurs with a future marker *báà* 'FUT' which precedes the egressive marker *wàà* 'EGRESS'.

(5-56) a. *àní-báà-wàà-sɔ́* *fìrèbí* *ǹ*
1PL-FUT-EGRESS-buy thread DEF
'we will go to buy the thread' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-béè-dʑírè* *ìpùró* *nù* *sò*
3SG-INGRESS-stand table DEF top
's/he came to stand on the table' (Elicitation)

5.5. Summary

This chapter has endeavoured to develop a description of the tense, aspect, modality and negation system of Efutu, based mainly on primary data from my fieldwork, and also some data from secondary sources. Focusing on their semantics and morphology, six different tense/aspect paradigms and their negations have been discussed, in relation to some cross-linguistic observations. In addition, five mood categories, and the category of motional/directional markers have been discussed. The importance of tone and vowel harmony in verbal affixation and the overall tense, aspect, mood and negation system has been highlighted. Some remarkable observations in the discussion include sharing of a common negative form by three imperfectives, namely the habitual, the future and the progressive. Also remarkable is the morphological opposition of deponency observed in two perfectives, viz., the past and the perfect. Furthermore, six irrealis mood paradigms have been described, with illustrations of interactions between mood (interrogation), aspect and negation in some of them. Overall, we find that tense, aspect and negation are generally marked morphologically with affixes; mood combines affixal and periphrastic marking.

Part 2: Serial Verb Constructions

Chapter 6: Serial verb constructions: defining and analysing

6.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the discussion of Efutu serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs).[202] Two major sections are included in this chapter: §6.1. provides some general discussion of the typological features of SVCs from a cross-linguistic perspective while §6.2. explains the methodology and approach to the analysis of the Efutu SVCs adopted in this thesis.

6.1. Definition and typology of SVCs

This section presents a characterisation of SVCs from a cross-linguistic perspective. The discussion draws mainly from Aikhenvald (2006) which provides a unified framework for the analysis and interpretation of serialisation in its full diversity by presenting an overview of SVCs covering cross-linguistically attested parameters of variation to formulate generalisations about SVC types and their behaviour. Other studies referred to in this section include Crowley (2002), Dixon (2006) and Enfield (2009), among several other studies. Following Aikhenvald (2006), we explore the definition of the phenomenon as well as some common characteristics associated with it cross-linguistically without making reference to any particular languages. The aim here is to outline the various properties of SVCs as reported in a cross-section of serialising languages around the world, and then to use such a report as a background for the discussion of Efutu SVCs where relevant (reported) features are related to the Efutu SVCs in the subsequent chapter. The sections that follow (§6.1.1. - §6.1.15.) define and analyse the phenomenon of verb serialisation from a cross-linguistic perspective.

6.1.1. Defining SVCs

SVCs have been discussed from various perspectives (Li & Thompson 1973; Lord 1973, 1993; Foley & Olson 1985; Baker 1989; Lefebvre 1991; Collins 1993; Van Valin 1993; Collins 1997; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Crowley 2002; Aikhenvald 2006). An SVC may be defined as 'a sequence of verbs[203] which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or

[202] Main discussion of Efutu SVCs appear in Chapter 8.

[203] An SVC may consist of two or more component verbs, however, two component SVCs seem to be more common.

syntactic dependency of any other sort' (Aikhenvald 2006: 1). Usually, each of the verbs in an SVC may occur separately (as a sole verb) in a clause (Dixon 2006: 339). Verb serialisation is estimated to exist in about a third of the world's languages, from diverse origins, including some languages from West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, New Guinea, as well as various Creole languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 1; Dixon 2006: 338; Baker 1989: 1-2). The phenomenon is not restricted to languages of a particular typological profile; SVCs are mostly common in languages of an analytic character, nevertheless, they are also found in languages of highly synthetic or even polysynthetic nature (Dixon 2006: 340). In some serialising languages, SVCs are highly frequent (compared with non-serial verb constructions in such languages) whereas SVCs may be infrequent in other serialising languages (Dixon 2006: 338). Authors who have studied the phenomenon have ascribed to it various characterisations based on how it is manifested in the languages that they study. Aikhenvald (2006) and Baker (1989) identify some common cross-linguistic features of SVCs as follows:

- an SVC is analysed as a single predicate
- SVCs describe what is conceptualized as a 'single event'
- SVCs are mono-clausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a mono-verbal clause, although they show semantic and functional similarities to multi-clausal constructions in non-serializing languages
- SVCs have just one tense, aspect, mood (TAM) and polarity value
- often, at least one core argument is shared by the component verbs
- SVCs are a grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions

The above listed features may not be exhaustive, as languages may exhibit other specific features that are unique to them. Besides, a given serializing language may not exhibit all the above-listed features since languages tend to have different types of SVCs. The above-listed features are briefly explained below in turn.

6.1.2. Single predication

SVCs are analysed as a single predicate: the component verbs of an SVC act together as a single syntactic whole; an SVC occupies one functional slot in a

clause, as SVCs function on a par with mono-verbal clauses in discourse (Aikhenvald 2006: 4). There are several (language-specific) tests that may be employed to confirm the mono-predicative status of an SVC. One such test is in relation to the marking of syntactic dependency: usually, verbs which form an SVC cannot take separate markers of syntactic dependency. For instance, if an SVC is the predicate of a relative clause, it takes one relativizer, that is, the relative clause marker occurs only once per SVC (Aikhenvald 2006: 4-5). Similarly a nominalizing marker occurs once in a nominalised SVC and has the whole construction in its scope (Aikhenvald 2006: 4-5). Furthermore, in most serializing languages, only a complete SVC but not just a component verb can be questioned. In the same way, a response to such a question (i.e., one containing an SVC) can only employ a complete SVC but not just a component verb (Aikhenvald 2006: 6; Dixon 2006: 340). These are some of the reasons for analysing SVCs as unitary predicates.

6.1.3. Single event-hood

The conceptualization of SVCs as denoting a single event has been explained in different dimensions. For instance, an SVC may be interpreted as a single event composed of an action and a result (Lord 1977). In an SVC, the sub-events 'are inherently linked to each other in the sense that they are sub-components of a single overall happening' (Crowley 2002: 13). Citing several studies (including Schultze-Berndt 2000; Pawley and Lane 1998; Durie 1997; Jarkey 1991; Bruce 1988; Noonan 1985, 1992 and Lord 1974), Aikhenvald (2006: 10) attempts to explain this conceptualization. In one sense, the verbs that form an SVC:

> refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single, overall event, that is, the sub-events are conceived as (combining to form) a single unitary event. In some cases, 'the action or state denoted by the second verb phrase is, in terms of the real world, an outgrowth of the action denoted by the action of the first verb phrase; the second verb phrase represents a further development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the first verb' (Aikhenvald 2006: 10).

It is further pointed out that 'SVCs contain just one assertion (in contrast to coordinate and subordinate clauses)' (Aikhenvald 2006: 10). It is however

acknowledged that the notion of 'single event' is not a straightforward one 'since the exact boundary between a single event and a macro-event consisting of several sub-events is fuzzy' (Aikhenvald 2006: 10). Nonetheless, it is somehow possible to conceive a single event as 'conceptual representation, as linguistically encoded, which can be assigned boundaries, and/or a ''location'', in time' (Aikhenvald 2006: 10). Arguably, it is noted that:

> combining verbs into an SVC may turn out to be unacceptable if they do not match a *recognizable event-type*. … Event typicality is a cultural phenomenon, and it impacts directly upon the productive assembly of SVCs … as well as the interpretation of the semantics of verb serialisation. … Serial verb constructions must relate only events which are somehow conceived as notably more commonly associated together in experience or those events which form a culturally important concatenation of events. … Semantic and pragmatic constraints on verb combinations may result in semantic non-compositionality of SVCs. … A function of verb serialization is then to represent complex events, which are - at least partly - a cultural construct (Aikhenvald 2006: 10-11).

In other cases, the sequence of conventionalized sub-events becomes lexicalised (Aikhenvald 2006: 11). An analogy can be drawn between lexicalised SVCs and, for instance, certain English nominal-verbal lexical compounds, such as *mountain-climbing* or *berry-picking*. Activities such as these ('climbing of mountains' and 'picking of berries') are culturally recognizable and name-worthy, hence, the coining of such lexical compounds (Aikhenvald 2006: 11-12). In a somehow similar way, certain SVCs, just like compounds, may have a lexical status.

Moreover, the sharing of arguments by component verbs in SVCs creates a cohesive and tightly-knit unit presentable as 'one event' (Aikhenvald 2006: 3). In brief, semantically, SVCs may encode one event (as in the case of lexicalised SVCs), or they may encode several, closely-linked sub-events conceived of as a unitary event.

All the same, a need has been expressed for psycholinguistic research on SVCs, particularly, to assess the widely attested intuitive but so far untested claims

that SVCs are conceptualised as single events (Matthews 2006: 84; Enfield 2009: 450).

6.1.4. Mono-clausality

One of the reasons for characterising an SVC as mono-clausal is that they do not allow markers of coordination and subordination on their components, a property which distinguishes SVCs from multi-clausal structures (Aikhenvald 2006: 6; Foley and Olson 1985: 18). Indeed, it is observed that paraphrasing an SVC with two clauses may result in an ungrammatical or a semantically bizarre sentence, and, even when it is possible, the resulting paraphrased two clauses always have some semantic difference (Aikhenvald 2006: 6-7; Foley and Olson 1985: 19-20). Besides, the fact that the components of an SVC are not allowed to have different values in terms of tense, aspect, mood and polarity[204] (a condition which is not required in multi-clausal structures; see below) supports the claim that they are mono-clausal (Foley and Olson 1985: 22-24).

Another reason for characterising an SVC as mono-clausal is based on a prosodic property: SVCs have the intonational properties of mono-verbal clauses. It is observed that intonation breaks such as pauses that are indicative of clause boundaries in languages never occur between components of an SVC (Aikhenvald 2006: 7). Nevertheless, this claim about the intonational properties of SVCs has been challenged, and it has been pointed out that more careful research on intonation and prosody is required in order to authenticate such claims (Enfield 2009: 450; Himmelmann 2013).

In a theoretical study, Foley and Olson (1985) demonstrate that an SVC is actually a single clause with different layers of juncture at which serialisation may take place. Foley and Olson (1985: 37-57) appeal to Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) (Van Valin 1993; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) to identify and illustrate three different structural layers of the clause at which serialisation can take place, namely nuclear layer juncture, core layer juncture and peripheral layer juncture, with each layer of juncture having a distinct set of operators (Foley and Olson 1985: 37-57; Crowley 2002: 42). The type of layer of juncture of an SVC determines the degree of syntactic bond and/or semantic integration between the component verbs in the

[204] See discussion on tense, aspect, mood and polarity in SVCs below.

SVC (Van Valin 1993: 109-110). (The distinctions of different levels of juncture at which serialisation takes place is shown to be a useful criterion, as it has been demonstrated for instance that within a single language it is possible to allow, say, both nuclear layer and core layer serialisation of the same set of serial verbs, with an accompanying change in meaning (Foley and Olson 1985: 38; Crowley 2002: 42-43)). SVCs are thus maintained to be mono-clausal rather than multi-clausal.

6.1.5. Shared tense, aspect, mood and polarity (TAMP)

Cross-linguistically, there are restrictions on the distribution of certain grammatical categories in SVCs, such that the components of an SVC normally share the same value in grammatical categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation, among other categories. In other words, the individual components of an SVC are normally not allowed to have different values for these grammatical categories (Aikhenvald 2006: 8; Foley and Olson 1985: 23-24). The manner of marking these grammatical categories in SVCs however may differ among languages. For instance, a category may be marked just once per SVC and have scope over the various component verbs or the entire SVC ('single marking'), or, alternatively, a category may be marked separately on each component verb ('concordant marking') (Aikhenvald 2006: 3, 8). There is however evidence of cases where certain grammatical categories are not shared by components of an SVC.[205]

6.1.6. Argument sharing

According to Aikhenvald (2006: 12), prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one argument between the component verbs (although SVCs with no shared argument may be rarely encountered). Arguably, the sharing of arguments creates a cohesive and tightly-knit representation of 'one event' in SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 3). Several different argument sharing patterns are registered in SVCs across languages (see for instance Crowley 2002: 40-42). For example, an SVC may have one overall argument structure where all the arguments belong to the whole construction (i.e., when none of the arguments is *reserved* for or exclusive to an individual component) (Aikhenvald 2006: 12; Foley and Olson 1985: 37). 'Alternatively, individual components of SVCs can have their own arguments

[205] In Ewe for instance, components may be marked for different aspect categories; also negation may have scope over just one component of the SVC (Ameka 2006: 137-139).

(direct or indirect objects), at least at one level of analysis' (Aikhenvald 2006: 13). Another assertion is that 'the arguments of an SVC are not a simple sum of arguments of its components; moreover, a verb which is transitive when used on its own may become less transitive in an SVC' (Aikhenvald 2006: 13). In other words, 'an SVC will generally have its own transitivity value' (Aikhenvald 2006: 340). Further, an SVC is said to have an overall argument structure which is not more complex than that of one of its components (Aikhenvald 2006: 13). Various argument sharing patterns are discussed in Aikhenvald (2006: 12-20) and Crowley (2002: 40-42)

Subject sharing (or same-subject) is suggested to be by far the most common argument sharing pattern in SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 14; Crowley 2002: 40); all serializing languages appear to have at least one type of SVC whose components have the same subjects (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). It is however noted that sometimes different underlying subjects are coded into the surface structure as the same subjects (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). SVCs with shared subjects constitute the major type in any language: if a language has SVCs, it is to be expected that in most types the subjects of the components will be the same (Aikhenvald 2006: 14) Subject sharing can thus be considered a feature of prototypical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 14).

Aikhenvald (2006) labels and discusses several types of SVC with non-identical subjects (see also Crowley 2002: 40-41). The labels include *switch-function SVCs*, *cumulative subject SVCs*, *event-argument SVCs* and *resultative SVCs* (Aikhenvald 2006: 14-19). Each of the labelled types may have further sub-types: for instance, the 'switch-function SVC' alone has five sub-types, including *cause-effect SVCs*, *causative SVCs*, *simultaneous experiencer SVCs*, *switch-function consecutive SVCs* and *complement clause SVCs* (Aikhenvald 2006: 14-17). The various argument sharing patterns are briefly explained below.

In *switch-function SVCs*, the subject of one component of the construction can be identical to a non-subject constituent of the other component, such as in SVCs where the object of V1 is the same as the subject of V2 (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). This argument sharing pattern corresponds to Crowley's (2002: 40-41) *switch-subject* serial verbs. *Cumulative subject SVCs* involve a rather more complex argument structure and sharing pattern. In the cumulative subject SVCs the subject

referents of the component verbs are not necessarily identical although they may overlap; in some cases the subject referent of the V2 covers the subject and the object of the V1 (Aikhenvald 2006: 18). This argument sharing pattern seems to correspond to what Crowley (2002: 41) calls *inclusory* serialisation.

Another argument sharing pattern is *multiple-object* serialisation which may involve same-subject or switch-subject, with each component verb being transitive and having its own object (Crowley 2002: 41).

Although it has been noted that prototypical SVCs share at least one argument, *event-argument SVCs* are said to have no shared arguments, and yet they are arguably considered SVCs since they have all the other definitional properties of SVCs (including mono-clausality, single-eventness, shared TAM, etc). In this type of SVC, 'the event or state denoted by one component is predicated on the entire situation referred to by an SVC' (Aikhenvald 2006: 18). It is explained that event-argument SVCs provide the manner, temporal order, or locational specification for the other component, where the 'modifying' component carries a subject referent (no matter whether there is a subject referent constituent elsewhere in the SVC or not). This characterisation of *event-argument SVCs* seems to correspond to what has been referred to as *ambient* serial construction (Crowley 2002: 41-42). In certain languages, event-argument constructions also express 'similarity' and 'accompaniment' (Aikhenvald 2006: 18). Event-argument SVCs are said to be semantically similar to constructions with manner adverbs, and, they often undergo historical changes; for instance, a modifying component in such SVCs may develop into an adverb. This instability is suggested to be as a result of their unusual status with respect to bona fide SVCs which share arguments. Alternatively, adverbial SVCs may develop into same-subject SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 18-19).

Resultative SVCs (like *event-argument SVCs*) have no shared arguments. In this type of SVC, the V2 denotes the effect of the V1 upon a participant. Both verbs are intransitive. Semantically, *resultative SVCs* are said to be reminiscent of cause-effect SVCs. *Resultative SVCs* are said to be rare (Aikhenvald 2006: 19).

It must be pointed out that the use of syntactic roles or functions in the discussion of NPs, especially arguments in SVCs, creates some confusion which is more evident when a given NP or argument involves more than one syntactic role. For instance, in the above described switch-function SVCs, the identification of

roles such as subject or object becomes problematic since a single NP may combine these two functions, as explained in the discussion (see also Aikhenvald 2006: 14-19). In view of this problem, it is suggested that semantic roles (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: Chapter 4) rather should be used in the discussion of such NPs or arguments in SVCs. Such an approach, viz., the use of semantic roles, is adopted in the discussion of the Efutu SVCs in this study.

6.1.7. SVCs as grammatical technique for encoding a wide variety of meaning and function

In serialising languages, SVCs are a grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions (Aikhenvald 2006: 2). The discussion of the meanings and functions of SVCs is linked to their composition. SVCs can be grouped into two broad classes in terms of their composition. These are: (i) symmetrical SVCs and (ii) asymmetrical SVCs.

6.1.8. Symmetrical SVCs

Symmetrical SVCs are those in which all the components come from *unrestricted* classes. In other words, symmetrical SVCs are composed of verbs of equal status, with none of them being the determiner of the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole (Aikhenvald 2006: 22). Usually (but not always), in symmetrical SVCs, the order of components tends to be iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of sub-events (Aikhenvald 2006: 22, 28). One notable characteristic in symmetrical SVCs is that they tend to become lexicalized and develop idiomatic meanings (Aikhenvald 2006: 30). The semantic types of symmetrical SVCs include *sequential or concomitant actions SVCs, cause-effect SVCs, manner SVCs* and *synonymous SVCs* (Aikhenvald 2006: 28-30). The semantics of the various SVCs are described by Aikhenvald (2006: 28-30) as follows.

Sequential/concomitant SVCs basically, involve a description of related sub-events by component verbs where the construction usually acquires a purpose reading (Aikhenvald 2006: 28). A *sequential/concomitant* SVC may acquire 'sequential' interpretation or 'simultaneous' interpretation depending on whether the V1 involves a stative verb or not: with a stative V1, the sub-events are interpreted as simultaneous while a non-stative V1 usually generates a sequential interpretation

(Aikhenvald 2006: 28). The *sequential/concomitant* SVC may also be employed to express alternating actions that form a complex event (Aikhenvald 2006: 28). *Sequential/concomitant* SVCs usually share at least one argument in common.

In an iconic constituent order, the verb of causation precedes the verb of effect or result in a *cause-effect SVC*. A cause-effect SVC may have the same subject or a switch-function type in which the object of the first verb is identical to the subject of the second verb. Cause-effect SVCs may have various additional semantic overtones; for instance, if the V2 has directional meaning, then the construction can acquire a directional interpretation. In *manner SVCs*, one verb describes the way (or manner) in which the action of the other verb is performed. Unlike other symmetrical SVCs, the order of components in manner SVCs is not iconic; instead, the order is determined by language-specific grammatical rules rather than any temporal or logical order of sub-events. It is worth noting that there is evidence of cases in which manner SVCs are analysed as asymmetrical since the modifying 'manner' verb comes from a restricted class (they can only be stative intransitive verbs). As the name indicates, *synonymous SVCs* contain verbs which are synonymous or nearly synonymous. The construction expressed repetition of the same action, hence the verb is repeated as many times as is the action. Synonymous SVCs are said to be uncommon.

6.1.9. Asymmetrical SVCs

Asymmetrical SVCs (or unbalanced SVC, as the type was referred to by Durie 1995, 1997) on the other hand are composed of verbs from *unequal* classes (or unequal status) such that one verb comes from a relatively large, open or otherwise unrestricted class while the other verb comes from a semantically or grammatically restricted class (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). Asymmetrical SVCs denote a single event described by the verb from a non-restricted class, with the verb from a closed class providing a modificational specification (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). The verb from the closed class is often a motional or posture verb expressing direction, or imparting a tense-aspect meaning to the whole construction (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). The transitivity value of an asymmetrical SVC is said to be usually the same as that of the verb from an unrestricted class (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). Durie (1997) terms the verb from an open class as the 'major verb' and the one from a closed class as the 'minor verb' (Aikhenvald 2006: 21). *Minor* verbs in asymmetrical SVCs tend to get

grammaticalised; such grammaticalised minor verbs however can still retain full lexical status in other constructions (Aikhenvald 2006: 22). There are several different semantic subtypes of asymmetrical SVC across languages. These semantic subtypes are classified under distinct labels such as *direction and orientation SVCs*, *aspect, extent and change of state SVCs*, *complement-clause-taking SVCs*, *increasing valency and specifying argument SVCs*, *reducing valency SVCs*, *comparative and superlative SVCs*, *event-argument SVCs* and *secondary concept SVCs*. The semantics of these subtypes, as explained by Aikhenvald (2006: 22-28) are outlined below.

Direction and orientation SVCs (also referred to as 'deictic' by Givon 1991), like any other asymmetric SVCs, are composed of a 'minor' verb and a 'major' verb. The minor verb typically tends to be a verb of motion or movement with orientational semantics. Alternatively, the minor verb may indicate Location or Path of the event expressed by the major verb. (Aikhenvald 2006: 22). Direction and orientation SVCs are said to be extremely common in most productively serializing languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 22).

Aspect, extent and change of state SVCs (also known as *aspectual SVCs*), express aspectual meanings. The minor verbs in these contractions, often made up of motion or posture verbs, may convey Progressive, Continuative or Habitual semantics; a verb meaning 'become' often marks 'change-of-state'; similarly, verbs of completion, such as a verb meaning 'finish', usually marks Completive aspect (Aikhenvald 2006: 23). Aspectual meanings expressed with SVCs may correlate with tense, however there is no evidence of a case where an SVC is just used for the expression of tense (Aikhenvald 2006: 23).

Verb serialization may be used as a complementation strategy in certain languages. This is what the term *complement-clause-taking SVCs* refers to, that is, the use of verb serialisation as a complementation strategy. An example of this type of SVC may involve a verb from a restricted class, say, verbs-of-speech, introducing a direct speech complement. Since the '*introducing*' verb comes from a restricted class, the constructions are considered asymmetrical (Aikhenvald 2006: 24-25).

Increasing valency and specifying argument SVCs, as the name implies, involve valency-increasing mechanisms. In these SVCs, a minor verb is used to mark roles such as Causative, Benefactive, Instrumental, and Comitative or

Associative. These SVCs may also employ minor verbs for introducing various arguments, including direct objects and obliques. In these SVCs, a verb meaning ‘give’ frequently occurs as the minor verb; other (common) verbs from the minor class include those with the meanings ‘make’, ‘say’, ‘let’, ‘order’, ‘put’, ‘attend to’, ‘take’ and ‘hold’ (Aikhenvald 2006: 25-26).

Reducing valency SVCs include those with passive-like meaning as well as those expressing reciprocal and reflexive meanings. In these constructions, a class of minor verbs occur with major verbs where the minor verbs function as a valency reducing mechanism to express passive-like meanings, reciprocal meaning or reflexive meaning (Aikhenvald 2006: 26-27).

The label *comparative and superlative SVCs* covers SVCs with comparative and superlative meanings, as well as SVCs which express comparison of equality and similarity. SVCs expressing comparative and superlative meanings often involve minor verbs meaning ‘exceed’. There is evidence of cases in which the forms marking comparative and superlative are grammaticalised from previously minor verbs in SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 27).

In *event-argument SVCs*, the minor verb provides manner modification to the event expressed by the major verb. In some languages stative verbs and predicative adjectives occur in the minor verb slot. It is possible for both verbs to come from semantically or grammatically unrestricted classes in some event-argument SVCs, hence, they are sometimes considered as symmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 27-28). It is noted that there is substantial semantic overlap between *event-argument SVCs* and *manner SVCs* (discussed above under symmetric SVCs).

In *secondary concept SVCs*, a minor verb provides ‘semantic modification’ for the major verb. Secondary concept SVCs are divided into two sub-types: (i) secondary-A concepts, and (ii) secondary-B concepts. Semantic modification provided by secondary-A concepts SVCs includes ‘obligation’, ‘probability’, ‘ability/inability’, ‘pretence’, ‘beginning/continuing/finish’, ‘trying/attempt’, ‘checking’ and ‘negation’. Semantic modification provided by secondary-B concepts includes ‘want’ and ‘intend’. One difference between the two subtypes is that in secondary-A concepts the minor slot follows the major slot whereas the minor slot precedes the major slot in secondary-B concepts. A remarkable feature in

the minor verbs in secondary concept SVCs is their semantic dependency: they cannot occur on their own without an additional verb for which they provide semantic modification. It is worth noting that there are other strategies, besides SVCs, to realise secondary concepts in languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 23).

The classification of SVCs into two broad categories of symmetrical and asymmetrical types has been criticised; in particular, the 'restricted/unrestricted' classes in SVCs are found to be questionable (Enfield 2009: 449-450). In the first place, the notion of 'class' intended in the discussion is generally taken to refer to lexical categories, say verbs (or nouns), and, if the set of words (say verbs) is unrestricted (i.e. large, and perhaps may be freely added to), we say it is an open class (Enfield 2009: 449). Moreover, relative openness is less a property of items than it is a property of constructional slots (Enfield 2009: 449). It is noted that although the distinction open versus closed is ostensibly discrete, there is much range in what is taken by different authors to fall into one or the other type due to an apparent subjectivity regarding the nature of the notion of 'restrictedness' for this analytic decision: different authors provide a variety of judgments as to whether their SVCs are asymmetrical or symmetrical, as Enfield (2009: 449) points out:

> While some authors allow that symmetrical SVCs may have slots that are restricted, often in semantic terms, other authors take the same type of restriction to be grounds for identifying a slot as 'closed', thus evidence of an asymmetrical SVC. … All this suggests that a degree of subjectivity in analysts' judgments as to the 'restrictedness' of the two verb slots will lead to different decisions as to which of just two distinct types an SVC falls into. … In the domain of SVCs, it seems clear that there are no truly unrestricted slots, at least relative to more broadly accessible 'sole-verb-in-main-clause' environments.

6.1.10. Formal properties of SVCs

On one level, formal properties of SVCs may be considered in terms of 'contiguity' and 'wordhood' (Aikhenvald 2006: 37). Contiguity involves the (non-)occurrence of other constituents between the components of an SVC. Two forms of SVCs are distinguished in this regard: contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs. Contiguous SVCs are those that do not allow any constituents to occur between the component

verbs. Non-contiguous SVCs on the other hand may allow other constituents to occur between the component verbs. It is noted that a component verb may be complex in a sense that it may consist of a verb followed by an incorporated noun (Aikhenvald 2006: 37). Wordhood on the other hand is concerned with whether the component verbs constitute independent grammatical words or not. Two frames are distinguished in this respect: 'one-word' and 'multi-word'. The *one-word* type, also known as *compounding* or *root serialisation*, has the component verbs forming one grammatical word (Aikhenvald 2006: 37). The multi-word type has the component verbs consisting of independent grammatical words (such that each component could function as a well-formed predicate on its own) (Aikhenvald 2006: 37). It is recognized that the wordhood criterion is a complex one, especially because cross-linguistically the notions of grammatical word and phonological word do not always coincide (Aikhenvald 2006:38). 'An SVC can constitute one grammatical word and several phonological words. Alternatively, an SVC can consist of one phonological word which is made up of several grammatical words' (Aikhenvald 2006:38).

Although the correlation between wordhood and SVC types has not been fully investigated, there seems to be a correlation. For instance, cases are attested where an asymmetrical SVC with a conative meaning ('trying') forms one phonological word which is one grammatical word, whereas a habitual SVC forms one phonological word and two grammatical words (Aikhenvald 2006: 38). Interaction of wordhood and contiguity produces different patterns of SVCs, such as 'non-contiguous multi-word SVCs', 'contiguous single-word SVCs', etc.

As a formal property, SVCs are typically marked for various verbal categories. Such categories may include person (of the subject and object(s)); tense, aspect, modality and mood; negation; illocutionary force; and discourse categories such as focus, among other grammatical categories (Aikhenvald 2006: 40). TAM and negation marking have been briefly commented on in §6.1.3., where two modes of marking, viz., *single marking* and *concordant marking* were mentioned. Besides being used for marking TAM and negation, single-marking and concordant-marking occur in other verbal categories. For instance, Person (subject) may be marked either on each component verb (concordant), or, only once (single-marking) (Aikhenvald 2006: 40). A third marking-mode option, viz., *truncated* marking is used in some languages. Truncated marking is described as a mode in which one of

the components is marked with a shortened version of a marker (Aikhenvald 2006: 41). In some cases, a concordant marking is said to be optional, that is, when there is a flexibility such that a category may be marked either on each and every component or on only one component (Aikhenvald 2006: 41). Concordant object marking has not been attested in any language (Aikhenvald 2006: 42).

Certain conditions may be necessary in determining the marking-mode for a given verbal category. For instance, the type of SVC (and its wordhood or contiguity value) may influence the mode of marking of a grammatical category (Aikhenvald 2006: 43). Further, the marking mode of one category may differ from that of another category in a given SVC. For instance, a category, say, negation, may be marked *singly*, while another category, say, tense or aspect, is marked *concordantly*, in the same construction (Aikhenvald 2006: 43). The following generalizations about the surface marking of verbal categories in SVCs are made by Aikhenvald (2006: 44):

- if a language has concordant marking for at least one of TAM, it must also have concordant subject person marking. (The concordant subject marking may be optional, truncated or obligatory)
- truncated, or shortened, marking is not found for categories other than person of the subject.
- if a serializing language has concordant marking for at least one subordinating and/or word-class changing category, it is also likely to have concordant marking for person marking and for at least one of tense, aspect, evidentiality, mood, or modality categories.
- negation is likely to be marked once per SVC, even if other categories receive concordant marking.

6.1.11. Productivity of serialisation

In terms of productivity, SVCs may be divided into two types: (i) productive SVCs, and (ii) limited SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006:45). Languages with productive serialization tend to have both symmetrical and asymmetrical constructions, with few if any 'non-serializable' verbs. Languages with limited serialisation on the other hand tend to have asymmetrical constructions only (Aikhenvald 2006: 45).

6.1.12. Choosing an SVC over a mono-verbal predicate

Functional motivation for verb serialisation lies in discourse organization and information packaging: both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs can be a powerful means for providing coherent information packaging, and elaborate breakdown of a complex event with a wealth of details; SVCs may help highlight various aspects of a state-of-affairs, elaborating on its various facets (Aikhenvald 2006: 46-47). Indeed, in some languages, certain functions may be expressed only through SVCs. For instance, it is observed in certain West African languages that the only way to express a definite direct object in a ditransitive clause is through the use of an SVC (Aikhenvald 2006: 47). The following list includes some functions performed by SVCs in languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 46-47) (some functions of SVCs occur in §5.1.6.).

- introducing oblique arguments in clauses
- expressing DEFINITE direct object in ditransitive clause
- providing supplementary techniques for valency changing
- asymmetrical SVCs may express grammatical categories
- discourse-marking: marking of a new event in a discourse

6.1.13. A hierarchy of SVCs and the types of verbs occurring in them

As already witnessed in §5.1.6.2., it is sometimes possible to predict the type of verbs that are likely to occur in a given SVC type. Along these lines, it is observed that certain types of verbs occur in SVCs more frequently than others; for instance, cross-linguistically, asymmetrical SVCs tend to use the basic verbs of motion, direction, posture and location in the minor verb slot (Aikhenvald 2006: 47). Aikhenvald (2006: 48) ranks the various asymmetrical types of SVC according to the frequency of their occurrence and how widespread they are cross-linguistically. The order ranges from the most frequent and the most widespread to the least frequent and the least widespread, as well as their historical development. For each SVC type ranked, Aikhenvald (2006) hypothesises the types of verbs that are likely to occur in the minor verb slot. The ranking is as follows:

*1a. Direction and orientation SVCs***:** verbs of motion are the most likely types to occur as minor verbs in these constructions.

1b. Aspect, extent, and change of state SVCs: the types of verbs include motion, posture, and stance verbs, and also 'continue', 'complete/finish', 'start', and possibly others, such as, 'hold/grasp', 'pile up/generously indulged in', 'take', 'throw' 'go/become'.

2. Modal SVCs: the type of verbs for the minor verb slot include wanting, being able to, and other modal meanings, including purpose.

3. Valency-increasing and argument-adding SVCs: minor verbs in these SVCs consist of transitive verbs with fairly generic semantics, such as 'give' (for valency-increasing causative and benefactive), 'take' (for instrumental and/or for general argument adding), and also 'do/make' and 'put' for causative.

4. Comparative and superlative SVCs: the minor verbs used in these SVCs include 'go', 'pass' and 'exceed'.

5. Complementation strategy SVCs: typical verbs include verbs of speech.

6. Valency-decreasing SVCs: 'touch', 'strike', 'receive'. Reciprocal SVCs employ the verbs 'be together' or 'do to each other'.

Aikhenvald (2006: 49) records that languages with productive SVCs can have additional asymmetrical SVC types not covered in the above ranking. The SVC types in 1a and 1b (i.e., *direction and orientation SVCs* and *aspect, extent, and change of state SVCs*) are said to occur in every serializing language (Aikhenvald 2006:48). Generally, there are no preferences as to the semantic group of verbs which can occur in the major verb slot in asymmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006:49). Verbs which tend not to occur in SVCs of any sort, or to show restrictions, include copulas and existential verbs (and also stative verbs) (Aikhenvald 2006:49).

As already mentioned, asymmetrical SVCs tend to grammaticalize; as such, SVCs of types 1a, 1b, 3, and 4 (viz., *direction and orientation SVCs, aspect, extent, and change of state SVCs, valency-increasing and argument-adding SVCs* and *comparative and superlative SVCs*) may lose their status, whereby their corresponding minor verbs become directional, or aspect markers, or valency-increasing adpositions, or comparative markers (Aikhenvald 2006:49).

6.1.14. Further comments on SVCs

In a given language, several different kinds of SVCs with different sets of properties may be distinguished (Aikhenvald 2006: 50). In some productively serializing languages, verbs form a *not-so-large* but closed class, with a number of verbs having very general semantics, where these 'generic' verbs combine with more specific verbs to provide a precise description of an event; the wealth of SVCs in such languages 'compensates' for having a smallish closed verb class and verbs with highly generic semantics (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Constituent order as a parameter for typological characterization of languages is said to have limited applicability, and in many languages the order is discourse dependent; there is no simple correspondence between constituent order and SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Nevertheless, it has been frequently mentioned in the literature that serializing languages tend to be either verb-final or verb-medial; there are, however, a few verb-initial serializing languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Other word-order-related characteristics may be of relevance: for instance, whether a language is predominantly right-branching or left-branching affects the order of components in asymmetrical SVCs (their order is not governed by principles of iconicity) (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Varying functions and semantic types of SVCs may correlate with other properties of a language: languages with scarcely any dependent marking may develop markers of grammatical relations out of SVCs, but, in languages with pre-existing dependent marking, SVCs are not used for marking arguments (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Likewise, languages with productive morphological causatives do not have causative SVCs, whereas languages with restricted or no morphological causatives tend to have causative SVCs; some employ cause-effect SVCs in this function (Aikhenvald 2006: 54). Some languages do not have three-place predicates; SVCs appear to 'fill' this gap (however, this correlation is not universal) (Aikhenvald 2006: 54).

One of the difficulties noted about SVCs concerns the meaning of a verb in an SVC as against its meaning when it occurs in a non-SVC, that is, as a sole verb in a clause. As a standard criterion, a component verb in an SVC must be able to occur as the sole verb in a simple clause or a non-SVC, as expressed in various discussions (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006). Meanwhile, it is noted that the meaning of a verb in the two contexts, that is, in a non-SVC and in an SVC, is often not exactly the same (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006). It is therefore not clear how a verb should be

analysed in the different contexts, whether it is to be analysed as exactly the same verb (or not) in the different contexts. For most discussions, the verb is analysed to be the same in the different contexts, yet, some variation in meaning is often testified (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006). Enfield (2009: 447-448) draws attention to this inconsistency (viz., the assumption that the verb in serialisation is the same as in a simple clause, in spite of some form of variation in meaning in the different contexts) and calls for its elucidation. Enfield (2009: 448) suggests two plausible approaches towards the enterprise (of dealing with the apparent inconsistency): (i) an ambiguity account positing 'two distinct lexical entries, each with a different meaning, and they happen to be used in different grammatical contexts', and (ii) a monosemy account whereby 'a single entry has one and the same meaning in the two grammatical constructions, and it is the constructions themselves that contribute different semantic content, resulting in different overall interpretations'. Each of the approaches requires a careful treatment as each may have a downside. For instance, with the ambiguity account, 'opinions may differ as to whether two lexical entries with different but related meanings should be considered the same verbs at all, *disconcerting* the status of an SVC' (Enfield 2009: 448, 450). A monosemy account on the other hand will for instance require an explicit validation of a unified semantics of the lexical entry in question, as well as the distinct semantics of the two constructions, 'such that the resultant meaning differences are properly generated by the proposed lexical-constructional combinations, consistent with a statable unitary meaning for the verb element that is common to the two constructions' (Enfield 2009: 448).

6.1.15. Summary

This section has discussed various aspects of SVCs from a cross-linguistic perspective. The discussion has used information from Aikhenvald (2006), among other studies, which harmonises various discussions on SVCs from a cross-section of serialising languages of diverse genetic affiliation. A unified definition and characterisation, as well as several salient properties of the phenomenon have been considered in §6.1.1. to §6.1.9., where a variety of structural and semantic types of SVCs are introduced. Other topics covered include formal properties of SVCs in terms of *contiguity* and *wordhood* and their associated applications (§6.1.10.), productivity in SVCs (§6.1.11.), some usefulness and functions of SVCs (§7.1.12.)

and a hierarchy of SVC types with their potential verb types (§6.1.13.), among other topics. As stated in §6.0., this section sets a background for the discussion of Efutu SVCs that follows.

6.2. Method and approach to the analysis of the Efutu SVCs

This section describes the methodology adopted in the description and analysis of the Efutu SVCs. The methodology used is two-dimensional: on one level, it is data-driven, on the other level, it adopts a typological approach. The two approaches provide complementary means of approaching the analysis of the syntax and semantics of serial verbs. In this framework, we consider all the instances of SVCs in the fieldwork corpus[206] to study their features and behaviour in the context of the above-discussed typological criteria in §6.1. The methodology is therefore primarily data-driven in the sense that it presents a description of the Efutu data through the criteria from the typological study (Aikhenvald 2006), rather than testing of existing theories or systems against the data, although such a course may be inferred indirectly. In this approach, the criteria used in the description of the Efutu SVCs examine properties such as:

(i) class or nature of verb of each component
(ii) function and/or role of each component
(iii) sequence/order of the components
(iv) meaning of each component
(v) meaning of the overall construction
(vi) argument sharing pattern
(vii) position and behaviour of arguments and
(viii) behaviour of tense, aspect, mood and negation (operators).

The above listed parameters are used in analysing the data in order to summarise their behaviour and seek generalisations from which conclusions may be drawn about the set of Efutu SVCs. The above listed criteria are explained in turn.

[206] The SVCs are from three main data sources, namely (i) natural speech events (OLB), (ii) staged events (including prompted narratives and video discussions), and (iii) elicitations; see 2.4. of Chapter 2 for detailed description of the fieldwork corpus.

(i) Class or nature of verb: By this criterion, we examine whether there are any constraints on the semantic nature of the verbs that appear in a construction, that is, whether any verb at all, or only members of a given class or type of verbs may occur in a particular construction. For instance, we examine whether other verbs or class of verbs may replace a verb in a construction. In some cases, it is observed that there are restrictions on the type of verb(s) that can occur in a construction, while other constructions seem to impose no such constraints. This criterion also examines transitivity of each component which may determine the type and number of arguments that the construction may allow.

(ii) Function and/or role of each component: In an SVC it may be possible to identify a distinct function performed by each component. For instance, one component may function as providing some kind of modification for another. This criterion thus seeks to investigate the function(s) of the individual components, where possible, in order to discover the exact role played by each component in the construction.

(iii) Sequence/order of the components: This criterion examines the order in which the components occur. In some cases the order of the components in an SVC may have certain implication(s), such as iconicity. Accordingly, this criterion examines the order and its associated effect(s) or implication(s) on the construction, if any.

(iv) Meaning of each component: This criterion may be relevant, as for instance there may be cases where the meanings of components seem to differ from the meaning they contribute to the overall construction. In other words, a verb may express a different meaning when it occurs in an SVC context, as compared to when it occurs in a non-SVC context. This criterion thus investigates the meaning of individual components in a construction to find how such meaning is reflected in the meaning of the construction as a whole.

(v) Meaning of the overall construction: This criterion examines the meaning expressed by the construction as a whole rather than the meaning of the individual components. In certain cases, the meaning of the overall SVC may not necessarily correspond directly with the meanings of the individual components. In certain cases, the meaning expressed by the overall construction is what determines the semantic type of the SVC.

(vi) Argument sharing pattern: This criterion investigates how arguments in the SVCs are distributed over the component verbs. Different argument sharing patterns may ensue in different SVCs. In addition, although component verbs often share argument(s), there are instances of no shared argument in some SVCs. Studying the patterns in the various SVCs may help in drawing conclusions or generalisations about patterns in different SVC types in the language.

(vii) Position/behaviour of arguments: Related to the criterion of argument sharing in *(vi)* is the criterion of the position and behaviour of the arguments. This criterion primarily concerns shared arguments. The criterion investigates whether a shared argument occurs only once (singly) or more than once (concordantly). In a case of single occurrence, which component does the argument occur with? Such issues are investigated by this criterion.

(viii) Behaviour of operators: This criterion examines how grammatical categories, including tense, aspect, mood and negation, operate in the SVCs. For instance, the criterion investigates whether these categories are marked concordantly on each component or singly on only one component. The criterion also investigates whether the various operators behave in a particular way in all cases or whether they behave differently in different circumstances.

The typological aspect of this analysis includes several important notions, such as compositionality, contiguity, word-hood and transitivity, among other notions (see detailed in §7.1., above). Two of the typological notions, namely, the concepts of compositionality and semantic types, as included in this analysis, are briefly explained below.

(x) Compositionality: In Aikhenvald's (2006) framework, the concept of composition basically concerns the status of the individual verbs that form components in an SVC. In terms of a verb's status, two categories of verbs are identified, viz., the class of 'minor' verbs and that of 'major' verbs. The main characteristic feature of 'minor' verbs is explained to be that they exhibit certain semantic and/or grammatical restrictions in SVCs. A class of minor verbs is considered to be a 'closed' class in the sense that such a class usually contains a comparatively smaller membership; only certain specific type(s) of verb(s), say a motional verb or a directional verb or an aspectual verb, can occur in their slot in an SVC. As their main general function in SVCs, minor verbs typically provide

modificational specification for other component verbs (see further discussion on minor verbs in Aikhenvald 2006: 21-22, and also §7.1.9., above). 'Major' verbs on the other hand are component verbs that have no semantic and/or grammatical restrictions in SVCs. When they occur with minor verbs in an SVC, the meaning expressed by the construction is the meaning denoted by the major verb. Major verbs are said to constitute an 'open' class due to its large and extensible membership.

In the typological framework, two broad types of SVCs are identified, depending on the composition of the construction as to whether it contains a minor verb or not. These types are: (a) symmetrical and (b) asymmetrical SVCs. Asymmetrical SVCs are those that include at least one minor verb as a component. Symmetrical SVCs on the other hand include no minor verb. The composition of an SVC, namely, whether it includes a minor verb or not, therefore determines whether the construction is symmetrical or asymmetrical.

(xi) Semantic types: In her typological study, Aikenvald (2006) recognises semantic types (see detailed discussion of the semantic types in Aikhenvald (2006: 22-30), and also §7.1.6.). The semantic types are classified according to the function and meaning of the construction. Examples of such semantic types of SVCs include *cause-effect SVCs*, *sequential/ concomitant actions SVCs*, *synonymous SVCs*, *direction and orientation SVCs*, *secondary concept SVCs*, *increasing valency and specifying argument SVCs*, among several other semantic types (see Aikhenvald 2006: 22-30). Each semantic type covers SVCs of a particular meaning and function, as the labels reflect. Again, each semantic type falls under one of either symmetrical or asymmetrical composition, such that no single semantic type may contain SVCs from both compositional types. For instance, every SVC of the semantic type *increasing valency and specifying argument* is asymmetrical in composition; likewise, every *cause-effect* SVC is symmetrical in composition.

Certain observations concerning the labelling of the various semantic types in the typological analysis are worth remarking on in this section. One observation is the use of the function performed by minor verbs in naming various asymmetrical SVCs. In other words, each of the labels or names of the various semantic types of asymmetrical composition is derived from the function of the minor verb in the constructions. For instance, in the *increasing valency and specifying argument* SVC

type, the minor verb functions as increasing the valency of the construction by specifying an additional argument. Likewise, in *aspectual* SVCs, the minor verb functions as providing an aspectual meaning or an aspectual modification in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the major verb. Concerning symmetrical SVCs, the observation is that the labelling or naming may derive from the constructional meaning. For instance, in *cause-effect* SVCs, the construction denotes a 'cause' as well as an 'effect' of the cause. Likewise, a *synonymous* SVC for instance expresses repetition of the same action to emphasize duration or intensity.

In summary, the adoption of the two approaches is considered to be suitable for this analysis. The data-driven approach is useful in the sense that it provides a concrete and systematic structure of analysis to be followed in the discussion. The typological notions on the other hand are perceived to be both appropriate and convenient for the descriptive analysis of the Efutu SVC data: they provide a well-defined and neat characterisation for the SVCs. The analysis here therefore attempts to harmonise the two approaches to use them jointly and concurrently as a complementary means of approaching the analysis of the syntax and semantics of the Efutu serial verbs constructions.

Chapter 7: Serial verb constructions in Efutu

7.0. Introduction

This chapter focuses on serial verb constructions in Efutu. In Chapter 6, the defining properties of serial verb constructions were discussed from a cross-linguistic perspective. In this chapter, SVCs in Efutu are described and analysed with reference to the typological features from the discussion in Chapter 6. SVCs are very essential in Efutu since they are the main mechanism for expressing certain meanings and functions in the grammar of the language. For example, some meanings that are expressed by the use of prepositions in languages like English are expressed in Efutu through SVCs. Major items of discussion in this chapter include defining properties of Efutu SVCs that distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions in the language, compositionality, semantic types and their functions, argument sharing, marking of grammatical categories of person, tense, aspect, mood and polarity, and transitivity of components, in the Efutu SVCs.

7.1. Source of the Efutu SVC data[207]

The SVC data, like all other data in this study, are mainly from: (i) natural speech events, (ii) staged events (including prompted narratives, folk stories and video discussion), and (iii) elicitation. A few of the data are from secondary sources.

7.2. Defining properties of Efutu SVCs

The following properties may be attributed to Efutu SVCs:

- An SVC functions as a single clause in Efutu
- An SVC functions as a single predicate in Efutu
- An SVC represents a single event in Efutu
- Components usually share arguments; different argument sharing patterns exist in the Efutu SVCs
- Usually, tense, aspect and mood (TAM) are marked once on one of the components and have scope over the entire SVC, however, there are instances where TAM is marked on individual components; negation is marked once on one of the components and has scope over the entire SVC
- Generally, SVCs are productive in Efutu, with both symmetrical and

[207] See details of data corpus in §2.4. in Chapter 2.

asymmetrical types; different transitivity in components is allowed

- Different types and subtypes of SVCs with different structural, functional and semantic possibilities exist in Efutu
- Efutu SVCs are non-contiguous; components constitute distinct words

In Efutu, it is possible to have an SVC with more than two components in some semantic types, as in (7-1), where a sequential SVC occurs with five components, including the V1 *wɔ́* 'go', the V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy', the V3 *sím̀sìǹ* 'REDUP.peel', the V4 *náńkà* 'cook, and the V5 *dì* 'eat'.[208] Nevertheless, this analysis makes use of two component SVCs for ease of discussion, and also for the fact that properties in the two-component SVCs are also true for multi-component SVCs.[209]

(7-1) *mù-wɔ́ ídʒwáásó wáà-sɔ̀ ídʒó sím̀sìǹ náńkà dì*
3SG-go market EGRESS-buy yam REDUP.peel cook eat
's/he went to the market to buy yam and peeled it, cooked it and ate it'
(Elicitation)

7.2.1. Efutu SVCs as mono-clausal

Efutu SVCs are analysed as mono-clausal, as they do not allow markers of conjunction, a property that distinguishes them from other multi-verb constructions such as coordination and subordination in the language (see discussion on conjunctions in §4.8. in Chapter 4). The SVC in (7-2), for instance, which is composed of the V1 *nù*, 'take' and the V2 *tù* 'put' contain no markers of coordination or subordination.

[208]In (7-1), all five components share the same subject *mù* '3SG' which is marked singly on the initial component. The initial component *wɔ́* 'go' is an intransitive verb and it occurs with a GOAL, viz., the noun *ídzwáásó* 'market'. The V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy', V3 *sím̀sìǹ* 'peel', V4 *náńkà* 'cook' and V5 *dì* 'eat', each involves a transitive verb. The four transitive verbs share the same object *ídzó* 'yam' which occurs once after the V2.

[209] Such properties include mono-clausality, single predication, single event-hood, argument sharing, and marking of grammatical categories, among other properties.

(7-2) *ó-nù* *tù* *àɕé*

2SG-take put down

'you put it down' (KsiMens_HkMthd1: 16)

Subordination and coordination on the other hand are often overtly marked morphologically with conjuncts, as in (7-3a)-(7-3b). In (7-3a), two independent clauses are joined with the conjunct *ná* glossed as 'and', while in (7-3b) a dependent clause, marked with the conditional marker *àà* 'COND' in clause final position, is adjoined to a main clause.

(7-3) a. *àní-tɕìrè* *ná* *àní-bɔ́*

1PL-be.many and 1PL-do

'we are many and we do (it)' (KM_OnSea: 3)

b. *àn-áà-wɔ́* *àà* *àní-ɕìà* *tɔ́*

1PL-FUT-go COND 1PL-meet in(side)

'if we will go, we meet-up' (KM_OnSea: 12)

In a non-SVC, even when there is no overt conjunct, one can be introduced, as illustrated in examples (7-4a)-(7-4b).

(7-4) a. *kà* [*mí-bî* *màámú* *mú-á-wɔ́* *ɔ̀pʊ̀*] [*màámú* *mù-wɔ́* *sùkúù*]

but 1SG-child 3SG.EMPH 3SG-HAB.NEG-go sea 3SG.EMPH 3SG-go school

'but my child does not go to sea (i.e., he doesn't do fishing), he went to school' (KM_OnSea: 207)

b. *kà mí-bî màámú mú-á-wɔ́ ɔ̀pù, kà/ḿm̀òḿ*

but 1SG-child 3SG.EMPH 3SG-HAB.NEG-go sea but/rather

màámú mù-wɔ́ sùkúù

3SG.EMPH 3SG-go school

'but my child does not go to sea, but/rather he went to school'

(Elicitation)

The construction in (7-4a) consists of two adjacent, related clauses, with no marker of conjunction. However, it is possible to introduce a conjunct like *ḿm̀òḿ* 'rather' or *kà* 'but' or both (*kà ḿm̀òḿ*) between the two clauses and still have a meaningful, grammatical construction, as illustrated in (7-4b). Such introduction of a conjunction is not possible in an SVC like (7-2) as illustrated in (7-4c)-(7-4d).

(7-4) c. **ó-nù ná ó-tù àɕé*

2SG-take CONJ 2SG-put down

(Elicitation)

d. **ó-nù àà ó-tù àɕé*

2SG-take COND 2SG-put down

(Elicitation)

Furthermore, SVCs may be distinguished from other multi-verb constructions in the marking of certain grammatical categories such as tense, aspect and polarity.[210] For instance, in (7-4a)-(7-4b) the various clauses have different polarity: the first clause involves negation while the second does not. Such bi-polarity is not possible in an SVC: the component verbs in an SVC cannot have different polarity values. In an SVC, negation is marked on one of the components and has scope over the entire SVC, as illustrated in (7-5). In (7-5), a negation marker occurs with the V2 *máá-dɑ̃́*

[210] Discussion of tense, aspect, mood and polarity in SVCs appears below in §7.4.. Marking of person, particularly, subject has also been discussed and it has been observed that there seems to be a possibility of repeating the subject on the second verb, but this is not fully confirmed in this study, as explained in §7.4.1.

'NEG-attach' and has scope over the V1 *nà* 'take'. In other words, a single negation marker has scope over the entire SVC.

(7-5) *á-nà* *nú* *máá-dɑ̃́* *ánɔ̀*
IMP-take fish NEG-attach mouth
'*we* don't attach fish to the end' (KM_HkMthd1: 3c)

Furthermore, in Efutu, SVCs are observed to be uttered with the intonation of mono-verbal clauses. Although intonation and prosody have not been thoroughly investigated in this study, the observed difference is obvious and remarkable. In uttering an SVC, such as (7-5), the intonation pattern is similar to that of a single-verb clause, but other multi-verb constructions, such as those in (7-3), are uttered with substantial pauses that mark the respective clauses. This aspect of intonation however requires a more detailed investigation to clearly define the prosodic differences. The SVC in (7-2) and the non-SVC in (7-3a) are represented in Schema 7-1 and 7-2, respectively:

Schema 7-1: [NP1 V1 NP2 V2][211]
Schema 7-2: [[$NP1_i$ V1] CONJ [$NP2_i$ V2]]

Schema 7-1 represents a single-clause whereas Schema 7-2 represents a bi-clause linked by a conjunct. In Schema 7-2, the NP1 in the first clause and the NP2 in the second clause have identical reference, hence, the co-index 'i'.

7.2.2. Efutu SVCs as mono-predicate

Mono-predication is another attested property of SVCs cross-linguistically (see §6.1.2. in Chapter 6). In Efutu, SVCs are analysed as mono-predicates. The mono-predicate status of Efutu SVCs could be proven in syntactic dependency. When an SVC functions as a predicate of a relative clause, it takes one relativizer, as in (7-6a) where the SVC *àmɔ̀-ní !ń-wɔ́ ɔ̀pú* 'they take go sea (lit.)' occurs as a relative clause, and is marked with one relativizer *ɛ̀* 'REL' which occurs before the SVC. Likewise,

[211] The NP2 in Schema 1 is unexpressed in (8-6).

when an SVC functions as a predicate of a complement clause, it takes one complementizer, as in (7-6b), where an SVC *mù-ń-fĭ pùàsí bà* 's/he is from beach come (lit.)' occurs as a predicate of a complement clause, with the complementizer *tɕè* 'COMP' occurring once before the SVC.

(7-6) a. *ɲàmá* [*ɕè* *àmù-ní* *!ń*[212]*-wɔ́* *ɔ̀pʊ́*] *ǹ* *ɪ́-ɲáńtà*
boat REL 3PL-take MOOD-go sea DEF 3SG.INAN-spoil
'the boat which they take to sea is spoilt' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-kə̀* [*tɕè* *mù-ń-fĭ* *pùàsí* *bà*]
1SG-hear COMP 3SG-PERF-be.from beach come
'I heard that s/he has come from the beach' (Elicitation)

7.2.3. Efutu SVCs as single event

Single event-hood is another property that has been ascribed to SVCs cross-linguistically (see §6.2.3. in Chapter 6). In Efutu, an SVC is analysed as expressing a single, whole event which may consist of sub-events. An SVC may denote an overall single event with a lexicalised meaning, which does not necessarily correspond directly to the meanings of the sub-components, as in (7-7) where the meanings of the sub-components *sɔ̀* 'receive' and *dì* 'eat' denote a single overall event (viz.,'believe').

(7-7) *mù-sɔ̀* *ásʊ́* *ǹ* *dì*
1SG-receive story DET eat
'I believed the story' (Elicitation)

Alternatively, the sub-components may represent sub-events which signify a kind of inter-relation, such as purposive, consequential, sequential, concomitance or other relations, within an overall single event. In (7-8a) for instance, the use of serial verb

[212] Although the form of the verbal marker *!ń* 'MOOD' is identical to a past negative marker, such a negative semantics does not occur in (7-6a). The form is suggested to be a kind of mood marker in the language.

wɔ́ 'go' and *dʑíré* 'stand' is construed as signifying a sequential relation between the sub-events within an overall single event. Likewise, in (7-8b), the sub-components *tɔ́ẁ* 'search for' and *sɔ̀* 'buy' are construed as sub-events of a single event with a purpose relation between the sub-events. Similarly, in (7-8c), the overall single event is composed of the sub-events *sʊ̃̂* 'push' and *wɪ̃́ àɕè* 'fall down' with a resultative relation. In (7-7) – (7-8c), the use of SVCs has constraints for the distribution of arguments and grammatical categories. Such constraints include same-subject sharing in (7-7) – (7-8b) and switch-function or switch-subject in (7-8c).[213] The occurrence of such constraints is linked to the single event-hood of SVCs. When the sub-events are construed as a single whole, an SVC is used intuitively to express it, as in (7-7)-(7-8c),

(7-8) a.

àtòbí	*tɕítɕí*	*kó*	*wɔ́*	*dʑíré*	*ǹtɛ̃́ɪ̃̀*
child	small	DET	go	stand	there

'a small child went and stood there' (VdDscn_Efua: 28)

b.

m-àá-tɔ́ẁ	*ḿpùwá*	*sɔ̀*
1SG-PROG-search.for	banana	buy

'I am looking for banana to buy' (Elicitation)

c.

mù-sʊ̃̂	*àtòbí*	*ǹ*	*wɪ̃́*	*àɕè*
3SG-push	child	DET	fall	down

's/he pushed the child (and the child) fell down' (Elicitation)

7.2.4. Contiguity and word-hood in Efutu SVCs

Contiguity concerns whether an SVC allows another constituent to occur between its components whereas word-hood concerns whether the components of an SVC form independent grammatical words (Aikhenvald 2006: 37; see also §6.1.10. in Chapter 6). In terms of contiguity, Efutu SVCs are mainly non-contiguous: components allow other constituents to occur between them. When the initial

[213] Discussion of argument sharing and grammatical categories appear below.

component of an SVC involves a transitive verb, the object of such a transitive V1 occurs between the V1 and the V2 to result in a non-contiguous SVC, as illustrated in (7-9). In (7-9), the SVC is non-contiguous as it allows the object *ḿpùwá* 'banana' to occur between its components.

(7-9) *m-àá-tɔ́ẁ* *ḿpùwá* *sɔ̀*
1SG-PROG-search.for banana buy
'I am looking for banana to buy' (Elicitation)

Alternatively, when the initial component is intransitive, such an intransitive verb may occur with an optional adverb. Such an optional adverb occurs between the V1 and the V2 to produce a non-contiguous SVC, as illustrated in (7-10), where the adverb *ǹdʑáń!dʑá* 'hurriedly' occurs between the components to result in a non-contiguous SVC.

(7-10) *mì-ná* *ǹdʑáń!dʑá* *wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG-walk hurriedly go home
'I walked home hurriedly' (Elicitation)

The criterion of word-hood distinguishes between one-word SVCs on one hand and multi-word SVCs on the other hand. An SVC is considered to be multi-word if each component consists of an independent grammatical word, that is, if each component can function as a well-formed predicate on its own (Aikhenvald 2006: 37; see also §6.1.10. in Chapter 6). In this regard, Efutu SVCs could be said to be multi-word as each component in an SVC is capable of functioning as a well-formed predicate on its own. For instance, each of the components *tɔ́ẁ* 'search for' and *sɔ̀* 'buy' in (7-9), above, may function as a well-formed predicate on its own, as illustrated in (7-11a) – (7-11b). In (7-11a), *tɔ́ẁ* 'search for' constitutes a well-formed predicate on its own. Likewise, in (7-11b), 'buy' constitutes a well-formed predicate on its own.

(7-11) a. *m-àá-tɔ́ẁ* *ḿpùwá*

1SG-PROG-search.for banana

'I am searching for bananas' (Elicitation)

b. *m-àá-sɔ̀* *ḿpùwá*

1SG-PROG-buy banana

'I am buying bananas' (Elicitation)

In a similar manner, each of the components in (7-10) above is capable of constituting a well-formed predicate on its own, as illustrated in (7-12a) – (7-12b). In (7-12a), *ná* 'walk' constitutes a well-formed predicate on its own; in (7-12b), *wɔ́* 'go' constitutes a well-formed predicate on its own.

(7-12) a. *mì-ná* *ǹdʑáń!dʑá*

1SG-walk hurriedly

'I walked hurriedly' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

1SG-go home

'I went home' (Elicitation)

Thus, in terms of contiguity and word-hood, Efutu SVCs are of the type non-contiguous, multi-word.[214]

7.3. Argument sharing in Efutu SVCs

Sharing of arguments is a formal property in SVCs, with various sharing patterns recorded across languages (see §6.1.6. in Chapter 6). In Efutu, all SVCs share at least one argument; the sharing pattern however is tied to the semantic type[215] of the construction. This section presents an overview of the argument sharing patterns in the Efutu SVCs (further description and illustration appear in the discussion of the

[214] A related Kwa language, which is also reported to have non-contiguous, multi-word SVCs is Ewe (see Ameka 2006; see also Aikhenvald 2006:39).

[215] Discussion of the semantic types appear below.

semantic types). Argument sharing patterns in Efutu include same-subject sharing (§7.3.1.), switch-subject or switch-function sharing (§7.3.2.), cumulative subject (§7.3.3.), object sharing (§7.3.4.) and multiple objects (§7.3.5.).

7.3.1. Same-subject sharing in Efutu SVCs

These are SVCs in which all the components share the same subject. In Efutu, same-subject sharing occurs in most of the semantic types, including sequential/concomitant SVCs (7-13a), lexicalised SVCs (7-13b), aspectual SVCs (7-13c), comparative SVCs (7-13d) and benefactive SVCs (7-13e). In the sequential[216] SVC in (7-13a), components share the same subject: the V1 *tɔ́ẁ* 'search for' and the V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy' share a common subject represented by the agreement marker *m* '1SG' which occurs with the V1. In the lexicalised SVC[217] in (7-13b), the V1 *sɔ́* 'receive' and the V2 *yɛ̂* 'look' share a common subject represented by the agreement marker *mɔ̀* '3SG' which occurs with the V1. In the aspectual SVC in (7-13c), the subject agreement marker *àní* '1PL' which occurs on the V1 is shared by both components. In the comparative SVC in (7-13d), the components *nì* 'know' and *fɑ̃́* 'surpass' share the subject agreement marker *mɔ̀* '3SG'. In the benefactive SVC in (7-13e), components share the subject agreement marker *mɔ̀* '3SG'.

(7-13) a. *m-àá-tɔ́ẁ* *ḿpùwá* *sɔ̀*
1SG-PROG-search.for banana buy
'I am looking for banana to buy' (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-sɔ́* *ǹtòbí* *nɑ́ɑ́ní* *yɛ̂*
3SG-receive children DEF look
's/he tempted the children' (Elicitation)

[216] The semantic type sequential/concomitant is discussed in (§7.7.1.).
[217] See §8.7.3. for discussion of the semantic type *lexicalised*.

c. *àní-dì* *átɔ́* *nɔ́kʊ̀rà*
1PL-eat thing finish
'we finished eating' (Elicitation)

d. *mʊ̀-nì* *átɔ́* *fã́* *ám!á*
3SG-know thing surpass Ama
's/he is more clever than Ama' (Elicitation)

e. *mʊ̀-fʊ̀* *bàmbá* *ǹ* *ná* *ḿ*
3SG-wash cloth DET give 1sg
's/he washed the cloth for me' (Elicitation)

In Efutu, same subject is usually marked singly on the initial component, as in the examples (7-13a) – (7-13e). Some other related languages also exhibit single marking in same subject argument sharing (see, for instance, Osam 1994, Agyeman 2002, Ameka 2006, Ofori 2010). As a formal property, argument sharing, especially, same subject sharing by components, is said to be the most common type of SVC cross-linguistically, and also a feature of prototypical SVCs cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2006: 14; see also §6.1.6. in Chapter 6).

7.3.2. Switch-function sharing in Efutu SVCs

Another argument sharing pattern found in Efutu SVCs involves switch-function. Switch-function SVCs constitute a subset of SVCs with non-identical subject (see §6.1.6. in Chapter 6). In switch-function SVCs, the subject of one component is identical to a non-subject of the other component (Aikhenvald 2006: 14). In Efutu, switch-function occurs in the semantic type cause-effect (7-14a), causative (7-14b) and locative (7-14c). In Efutu, switch function may also occur in the sequential SVC when the initial component involves a ditransitive verb, as in (7-14d). In the cause-effect SVC in (7-14a), the subject *mʊ̀* '3SG' of the V1 is not shared by the V2. Rather, it is the object of the V1, viz., the NP *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' which functions as subject of the V2 *wɪ́ àɕɛ̀* 'fall down'. Likewise, in the causative SVC in (7-14b), the

subject *mʊ̀* '3SG' of the V1 is not shared by the V2. Rather, it is the object of the V1, viz., the referent of the agreement marker *mì* '1SG' which functions as the subject of the V2. In the locative SVC in (7-14c), the agreement marker *àní* '1PL' functions as the subject of the V1 only; The NP *firèbí ǹ* 'the thread' which functions as the object of the V1 may be said to also function as the subject of the V2. Finally, in the sequential in (7-14d) the proper noun 'Kofi' which functions as indirect object of the V1 also functions as subject of the V2. Thus, in each of the switch-function SVCs in (7-14a) – (7-14d), subject of the V2 is identical to non-subject of the V1.

(7-14) a. *mù-sũ̂ àtòbí ǹ wɪ̃́ àçè*
3SG-push child DET (fall) down
's/he pushed the child (and the child) fell down' (Elicitation)

b. *mʊ̀-ná mì-dì átɔ̂*
3SG-give 1SG-eat thing
's/he allowed me to eat' (Elicitation)

c. *àní-sɔ̀ firèbí ǹ bɔ̀ ǹkìràǹ*
1PL-buy tread DEF be.at Accra
'we bought the thread in Accra' (Elicitation)

d. *mʊ̀-ná kòfí élútɔ̀ dì*
3SG-give kofi food eat
's/he gave Kofi food to eat' (Elicitation)

7.3.3. Cumulative subject sharing

Another argument sharing pattern in Efutu is cumulative subject. Cumulative subject SVCs involve a rather complex argument sharing pattern in which the subject referent of the V2 covers the subject and the object of the V1 (see §6.1.6. in Chapter 6). With reference to Ewe, a related Kwa language, Ameka (2006: 130) uses the term 'concomitant subject' for such an argument sharing pattern. Another

term, namely, 'inclusory serialisation', is used for a similar argument sharing pattern in an unrelated language (Crowley 2002: 41). In Efutu, cumulative subject occurs in the semantic types cause-effect and 'take', as illustrated in (7-15a) – (7-15b).[218] In the cause-effect SVC in (7-15a), the subject referent of the V2 *pá* 'catch' covers the referent of the subject agreement marker *mù* '3SG' and the object *èfìrí* 'machine' of the V1 *sűã̀* 'set'. Likewise, in the 'take' SVC in (7-15b), the subject referent of the V2 *pítɕì* 'catch' covers the subject of the V1, viz., the subject agreement marker *mù* '3SG', as well as the object of the V1, viz. the noun *ńkɔ́bá* 'hook'.

(7-15) a. *mù-sűã̀* *èfìrí* *pá* *òkúɕì*
3SG-set machine catch rat
's/he set a trap to catch a rat' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-nì* *ńkɔ́bá* *pítɕì* *nú*
3SG-take hook catch fish
's/he used hook to catch fish' (Elicitation)

7.3.4. Object sharing in Efutu SVCs

Object sharing may occur in some SVCs in Efutu, including the semantic types lexicalised (7-16a) and sequential (7-16b). In the lexicalised SVC in (7-16a) for instance, the object *ǹtòbí náání* 'the children' is shared by both components and it occurs after the V1 but before the V2; thus the shared object occurs once, and it occurs between the components. Likewise, in the sequential SVC in (7-16b), the object *ḿpùwá* 'banana' is shared by the V1 *tɔ́ẁ* 'search' and the V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy'. In each of the examples, the shared object occurs between the components.

[218] Although the two SVCs are of different composition as well as different semantic types, they both involve INSTRUMENT argument realised as *èfìrí* machine in (7-15a) and *ńkɔ́bá* 'hook' in (7-15b).

(7-16) a. *mù-sɔ́* *ǹtòbí* *náání* *yɛ̂*

3SG-*receive* children DEF look

's/he tempted the children' (Elicitation)

b. *m-àá-tɔ́ẁ* *ḿpùwá* *sɔ̀*

1SG-PROG-search.for banana buy

'I am looking for banana to buy' (Elicitation)

7.3.5. Multiple objects

In Efutu, multiple objects may occur in the semantic type sequential. In the sequential SVC in (7-17), there is no object sharing. Rather, each component has a distinct object in (7-17): the V1 *fɛ́* 'sell' has the object *èkùtú* 'oranges' which occurs after it, whereas the V2 *ɲá* 'get' has the object *ɕìká* 'money' occurring after it.

(7-17) *mù-fɛ́* *èkùtú* *ɲá* *ɕìká*

3SG-sell oranges get money

's/he sold oranges to get money' (Elicitation)

Multiple objects SVCs are found to occur in other related Kwa languages (Ameka 2006). In Ewe, for instance, a case of multiple object could involve distinct objects with different referents, or, they may share the same referent (Ameka 2006: 132).

7.4. Marking of grammatical categories in Efutu SVCs

This section focuses on the marking of grammatical categories in Efutu. Such grammatical categories include person of subject and object, tense, aspect, mood and negation. In the category of person, single marking is the main marking mode, except in a couple of examples where concordant marking occurs, as described in §7.4.1. In the category of tense, aspect and mood, single marking is predominant although concordant marking occurs in some cases, as discussed §7.4.2. In the category of negation, the only found marking mode is single marking, as described in §7.4.3. A summary of the discussion is presented in §7.4.4.

7.4.1. Marking of person in Efutu SVCs[219]

Single marking of same subject is the usual marking mode in Efutu, where subject is marked on the initial component, as in (7-18a) – (7-18b). In the symmetrical SVC in (7-18a), subject is marked by the agreement marker *mì* '1SG' on the V1 and it is shared by both components. Likewise, the asymmetrical SVC in (7-18b), subject is marked by the agreement marker *mò* '3SG' on the V1 and it is shared by both components.[220]

(7-18) a. *mì-ɲá* *ɕìká* *fɛ́* *èkùtú*
1SG-get money sell oranges
'I got money to sell oranges' (Elicitation)

b. *mò-pà* *fã́* *ám!á*
3SG-be.tall surpass Ama
's/he is taller than Ama' (Elicitation)

In all the SVC elicitation data, single marking of same subject was recorded. Also, in the transcribed natural speech event data corpus, single marking of same subject was recorded, except for a couple of examples (7-19a) – 7-19b), which occurred with concordant marking of same subject. In (7-19a), same-subject, represented by the agreement marker *àní* '1PL', is marked concordantly on each component: it occurs with the initial component *fĩ́* 'be from' and also with the second component *wɔ́* 'go'. Likewise, in (7-19b), the subject agreement marker *àmò* '3PL' is marked on the V1 *sútɕì* 'fly' and also on the V2 *tá* 'chase'. In an attempt to confirm such a concordant marking through elicitation, consultants produced single marking SVCs as in (7-19c) – (7-19d). Such concordant marking could not be confirmed through elicitation. Consultants explained that (7-19a) – (7-19b) does not sound well without a conjunction marker.

[219] See discussion of personal pronouns and agreement markers in §4.3 of Chapter 4.
[220] See also the examples in §7.3.1.

Apparently, the phenomenon of concordance marking of same subject on individual component verbs is reported in Akan, a related Kwa language (Schachter 1974: 258; Baker 1989: 523-524; Balmer and Grant 1942: 115; Aikhenvald 2006: 40). Some other unrelated languages, including Baule (N'Guessan 2000: 78; Aikhenvald 2006: 41), Goemai (Hellwig 2006: 97), Lakota (Aikhenvald 2006: 41) and Taba (Bowden 2001:300-303; Aikhenvald 2006: 14), are also reported to feature concordant marking of same subject in SVCs. Such concordant marking of same subject has been used as evidence in support of a proposal that component verbs co-head the VP in an SVC (Baker 1989: 523-524). In the case of Efutu, it could not be confirmed whether (7-19a) – (7-19b) are actually SVCs with concordant marking or not. A more robust and focused method may be employed in a future study to reveal whether Efutu partakes such a concordant marking or not.

(7-19) a. *àní-fĩ́ jè àní-wɔ́*
1PL-be.from here 1PL-go
'we left (from) here and went' (KM_onSea: 176)

b. *àmù-ń-sútɕì àmù-tá ɔ̀bɔ̀dámɨ́ nù sò*
3PL-PERF-fly 3PL-*chase* dog DEF top
'they have flown to chase the dog' (Hans_FrogStory: 64)

c. *àní-fĩ́ !jé wɔ́*
1PL-be.from here 1PL-go
'we left (from) here and went' (Elicitation)

d. *àmù-ń-sútɕì tá ɔ̀bɔ̀dámɨ́ nù sò*
3PL-PERF-fly chase dog DEF top
'they have flown to chase the dog' (Elicitation)

In the case of object encoding, single marking is the only marking mode observed in Efutu, as illustrated in (7-20a) and (7-20b). In the lexicalised SVC in (7-20a), the shared object *ású* 'story' is marked singly between the conponents. Likewise, in the

sequential SVC in (7-20b), the shared object *àfàń* 'egg' is singly marked between the components.[221] Such a single marking of shared objects conforms to the widely attested mode of object marking in SVCs cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2006: 42).

(7-20) a. *mù-sɔ̀* *ású* *ǹ* *dì*
1SG-receive story DET eat
'I believed the story' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-kúrò* *àfàń* *dì*
3SG-fry egg eat
's/he fried an egg and ate it' (Elicitation)

7.4.2. Marking of tense, aspect and mood in Efutu SVCs[222]

In terms of encoding tense, aspect and mood, in Efutu, single marking is predominant; nevertheless, concordant marking occurs in certain cases. In the symmetrical SVCs where all components are of equal status, single marking of tense, aspect and mood occurs on the initial component, as illustrated with the habitual and the perfect in (7-21a) and (7-21b), respectively, and with the ability mood in (7-21c). In the symmetrical SVC in (7-21a), the habitual marker *ú* 'HAB' is singly marked on the V1 *kúrò* 'fry' and has scope over the entire SVC. Likewise, the perfect marker *ŋ́* 'PERF' is singly marked on the V1 *kúrò* 'fry' and has scope over the entire SVC in (7-21b). In (7-21c), the ability mood marker *dàǹ* 'MOOD' occurs singly with the V1 *bétè* 'take' and has scope over the entire SVC.

[221] See also the examples in §7.3.4., above.
[222] See detailed discussion of tense, aspect and mood in verbs in Efutu in Chapter 5; also, see §6.1.5 in Chapter 6 for discussion of marking of grammatical categories in SVCs from a cross-linguistic perspective.

(7-21) a. *mù-ú-kúrò* *àfàń* *dì*

3SG-HAB-fry egg eat

's/he fries an egg and eats it' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-ŋ́-kúrò* *àfàń* *dì*

3SG-PERF-fry egg eat

's/he has fried an egg and eaten it' (Elicitation)

c. *m-áà-dàǹ-bétè* *kéèǹ* *wìǹ* *ébíè*

1SG-FUT-MOOD-take cane weave chair

'I can use cane to weave a chair' (Hans_Art: 18)

In the asymmetrical SVCs where components include a minor verb, single marking of tense, aspect and mood occurs on the major verb, as illustrated in (7-22a) and (7-22b). In (7-22a), the perfect *ń* 'PERF' is singly marked on the major component *dì* 'eat' in V1, whereas in (7-22b) the perfect *m̀* 'PERF' is singly marked on the major component *pítɕì* 'catch' in V2. In each of the examples (7-22a) – (7-22b), the perfect marker has scope over the entire SVC.

(7-22) a. *àní-ń-dì* *átɔ́* *nɔ́kʊ̀rà*

1PL-PERF-eat thing finish

'we have finished eating' (Elicitation)

b. *mʊ̀-nì* *ŋ̀kɔ́bá* *m̀-pítɕì* *nú*

3SG-take hook PERF-catch fish

's/he has used a hook to catch fish' (Elicitation)

In Efutu, concordant marking of the habitual and the perfect is found to occur in the causative semantic type. In causative constructions, the habitual marker occurs concordantly on each component, as in (7-23a). Concordant marking of the habitual in the causative SVC appears to be obligatory. When the V1 occurs with the

habitual marker, the V2 must also occur with the habitual marker, as in (7-23a). When the V1 occurs with the habitual, the V2 cannot occur with a different marker, such as the progressive (7-23b), neither can the V2 be left unmarked, as in (7-23c). This suggests that concordant marking of the habitual aspect on each component is obligatory in the causative SVC.

(7-23) a. *àmù-ú-ná* *mù-ú-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
3PL-HAB-give 1SG-HAB-go home
'they allow me to go home' (Elicitation)

b. **àmù-ú-ná* *m-àá-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
3PL-HAB-give 1SG-PROG-go home
(Elicitation)

c. **àmù-ú-ná* *mù-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
3PL-HAB-give 1SG-go home
(Elicitation)

Secondly, concordant marking of the perfect aspect is found in the semantic type causative. In the causative SVC, when the V1 occurs with the perfect, the V2 must also occur with either the perfect, as in (7-24a), or the progressive, as in (7-24b).

(7-24) a. *àmù-ń-ná* *mù-ŋ́-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
3PL-PERF-give 1SG-PERF-go home
'they have allowed me to go home (Elicitation)

b. *àmù-ń-ná* *m-àá-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
3PL-PERF-give 1SG-PROG-go home
'they have allowed me and I'm going home' (Elicitation)

Example (7-24b) illustrates a case of formal marking of different aspectual categories (perfect with progressive) in the Efutu causative SVC. This counters the

widely proclaimed observation that individual components cannot be marked for different aspect categories in an SVC (see for instance Aikhenvald 2006: 1, 8; Durie 1988: 3). Indeed Efutu is not the only language with such counter evidence: Ameka (2006: 128, 130 137-138) also reports and illustrates the possibility of marking individual components for different aspectual categories in Ewe SVCs.[223]

In summary, concordant marking of aspect occurs only in the habitual and the perfect in the causative SVCs. The habitual marker must be marked concordantly on each component. The perfect marker can either be marked concordantly on each component; or it can co-occur with the progressive, a case of different aspectual categories in an SVC.

7.4.3. Marking of negation in Efutu SVCs[224]

In Efutu, component in an SVC cannot be marked for different polarities, such that, nagation is marked for the entire SVC. Single marking is the only option in the category of negation. In the symmetrical SVCs single marking of negation occurs on the initial component, as illustrated in (7-25), where the negation *!ŋ́* 'PAST.NEG' occurs on the initial component *kúrò* 'fry'

(7-25) *mú-!ŋ́-kúrò* *àfàń* *dì*
3SG-PAST.NEG-fry egg eat
's/he did not fry an egg to eat' (Elicitation)

In the asymmetrical SVC, single marking of negation occurs on the major component. In (7-26a), single marking of negation *míǹ* 'PAST.NEG' occurs on the major component *dì* 'eat' in V1 and has scope over the entire SVC. In (7-26b), single marking of negation *méé* 'FUT.NEG' occurs on the major component *pítɛ̀ì* 'catch' in V2 and has scope over the entire SVC.

[223] See also discussion in §6.1.5. in Chapter 6.
[224] See detailed discussion of negation in verbs in Efutu in §5.3. of Chapter 5.

(7-26) a. *àní-míǹ-dì* *átɔ́* *nɔ́kʊ̀rà*

1PL-PAST.NEG-eat thing finish

'we did not finish eating' (Elicitation)

b. *á-!ní* *méé-pítɕì* *ɔ̀pʊ̀sìrɛ́ɛ́*

IMP-take FUT.NEG-catch octopus

'it will not be used to catch octopus' (Elicitation)

Even in the case where concordant marking occurs in the habitual and perfect in the causative SVC, their negation allows only single marking, as illustrated in (7-27a) and (7-27b). In (7-27a), habitual negative *á* 'HAB.NEG' is singly marked on the initial component and has scope over the entire SVC. Likewise, in (7-27a), perfect negative is singly marked on the initial component and has scope over the entire SVC. Such negation cannot be marked concordantly, as shown in (7-27c) and (7-27d), regardless of the above-described concordant marking in their affirmative counterparts in (7-23a) and (7-24a).

(7-27) a. *àmʊ́-á-nà* *mʊ̀-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3PL-HAB.NEG-give 1SG-go home

'they do not allow me to go home' (Elicitation)

b. *àmʊ́-ǹ-nà* *mʊ̀-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3PL-PERF.NEG-give 1SG-go home

'they have not allowed me to go home' (Elicitation)

c. **àmʊ́-á-nà* *mʊ́-á-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3PL-HAB.NEG-give 1SG-HAB.NEG-go home

(Elicitation)

d. **àmú-ǹ-nà* *mú-ǹ-wɔ́* *éwúsò*

3PL-PERF.NEG-give 1SG-PERF.NEG-go home

(Elicitation)

The fact that components cannot be marked for different polarities in Efutu SVCs confirms what has been attested cross-linguistically.

7.4.4. Summary of the marking of grammatical categories in the Efutu SVCs: single marking and concordant marking

- In the categories of tense, aspect and mood, single marking is the main mode; however, concordant marking of same or different aspectual values may occur in the semantic type causative
- For person, single marking of same subject is the norm; however, a couple of examples occur with concordant marking, although elicitation could not confirm such a concordant marking of subject
- In the category of person, single marking of same object was found

7.5. Transitivity of components

In Efutu, components of an SVC may have the same or different valency/ transitivity. This however may depend on the composition as well as the semantic type of an SVC, due to constraints on minor verbs and other such factors. Thus, in the asymmetrical SVC of the semantic type 'give' for instance, where the minor verb is intransitive, its position cannot be occupied by a transitive verb. Likewise, in the semantic type 'take' for instance, the only possible choice is a transitive V1, whereas the V2 can involve any transitivity.[225] Examples (7-28) – (7-31b) illustrate some possible combinations in terms of the verbs' valency. An SVC may be composed of two intransitive verbs as in (7-28), where an intransitive V1 *ná* 'walk' occurs with another intransitive verb *wɔ́* 'go' in V2 in a concomitant SVC. In (7-28), the V1 occurs with a GOAL, viz., the noun *sùkúù* 'school'.

[225] See examples of different transitivity of V2 in 'take/ use' SVCs in §7.8.3., below.

(7-28) *mì-ná* *wɔ́* *sùkúù*

1SG-walk go school

'I walked to school' (Elicitation)

Secondly, an intransitive verb could be followed by a mono-transitive verb, as in (7-29a), where the intransitive V1 *pà* 'be tall' is followed by a mono-transitive V2 *fã́* 'surpass' in a comparative SVC. In (7-29a), the intransitive V1 has no object but the transitive V2 occurs with the object *ám!á* Ama'. Thirdly, an intransitive verb could be followed by a ditransitive verb, as in (7-29b), where the intransitive V1 *wú* 'die' is followed by a ditransitive V2 *ɕí* 'bequeath' in a sequential SVC. In (7-29b), the intransitive V1 has no object; the ditransitive V2 has a direct object *átɔ̂* 'things' and an indirect object *á!bá* 'Aba'.

(7-29) a. *mù-pà* *fã́* *ám!á*

3SG-be.tall surpass Ama

's/he is taller than Ama' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-wú* *ɕí* *á!bá* *átɔ̂*

3SG-die bequeath Aba things

's/he died and bequeathed things (property) to Aba' (Elicitation)

Furthermore, a mono-transitive verb may be followed by an intransitive verb, as in (7-30a), where the mono-transitive *nú* 'drink' is followed by an intransitive V2 *déì* 'sleep' in a sequential SVC. In (7-30a), the mono-transitive V1 occurs with the object *ǹsú* 'water'; the intransitive V2 has no object. Alternatively, a mono-transitive verb could be followed by another mono-transitive verb, as in example (7-30b), where a mono-transitive V1 *fɛ́* 'sell' is followed by another mono verb *ɲá* 'get' in V2, in a sequential SVC. In (7-30b), each transitive verb occurs with a distinct object, thus, the V1 occurs with the object *èkùtú* 'oranges' while the V2

occurs with the object *ɕìká* 'money'. Alternatively, a mono-transitive verb could be followed by a ditransitive verb, as illustrated in (7-30c), where the mono-transitive V1 *sɔ̀* 'buy' is followed by a ditransitive V2 *tɕɛ̄̀* 'gift' in a sequential SVC. In (7-30c), the mono-transitive V1 and the ditransitive V2 share (direct) object *bàǹbá* 'cloth'; the ditransitive V2 occurs with the indirect object *á!bá* 'Aba'.

(7-30) a. *mù-nú* *ǹsú* *déì*
3SG-drink water sleep
's/he drank water and slept' (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-fɛ́* *èkùtú* *ɲá* *ɕìká*
3SG-sell oranges get money
's/he sold oranges to get money' (Elicitation)

c. *mɔ̀-sɔ̀* *bàǹbá* *tɕɛ̄̀* *á!bá*
3SG-buy cloth gift[226] Aba
's/he bought a piece of cloth and gifted/ donated it to Aba' (Elicitation)

Furthermore, a ditransitive verb could occur as initial component to be followed by an intransitive verb, as in (7-31a), or a mono-transitive verb, as in (7-31b). In (7-31a), the ditransitive V1 *ná* 'give' is followed by the intransitive V2 *wɔ́* 'go' in a sequential SVC. In (7-31a), the ditransitive V1 occurs with a direct object *àfʊ̀ná* 'machete', and an indirect object *á!bá* 'Aba'. The intransitive V2 *wɔ́* 'go' occurs with a GOAL *ɔ́wútɔ̂* 'farm'. In (7-31b), the ditransitive V1 *ná* 'give' is followed by a mono-transitive V2 *wúrà* 'put on' in a sequential SVC. In (7-31b), the ditransitive V1 occurs with the direct object *ǹpɔ̀pɔ́ẃ* 'shoes' and the indirect object 'Kofi'. The mono-transitive V2 shares the object *ǹpɔ̀pɔ́ẃ* 'shoes' in (7-31b). The various

[226] The verb *tɕɛ̄̀* expresses the meaning such as 'to give as a gift' or to donate. Sentence (7-30c) could thus also be translated as 's/he bought a piece of cloth and gave it to Aba as a gift'.

transitivity possibilities discussed above are summarised in Table C.

(7-31) a. *mù-ná á!bá àfùná wɔ́ ɔ́wútɔ̂*

3SG-give Aba machete go farm

's/he gave Aba a machete to go to farm (Elicitation)

b. *mù-ná kòfĩ̀ m̀pɔ̀pɔ́ẃ wúrà*

3SG-give kofi shoes put.on

's/he gave Kofi shoes to wear' (Elicitation)

Table 7-1: Transitivity in Efutu SVCs

	V1	V2
	Intransitive	Intransitive
	Intransitive	Mono-transitive
	Intransitive	Ditransitive
	Mono-transitive	Intransitive
	Mono-transitive	Mono-transitive
	Mono-transitive	Ditransitive
	Ditransitive	Intransitive
	Ditransitive	Mono-transitive

7.6. Compositionality in Efutu SVCs

In terms of composition, Efutu has both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs (see discussion of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs in §6.1.8. and §6.1.9., respectively, in Chapter 6). These compositional types are discussed below.

7.7. Symmetrical SVCs in Efutu

Certain SVCs in Efutu display properties associated with symmetrical SVCs. Such properties include:

- inclusion of verbs from unrestricted classes: a wide variety of verbs are allowed in these SVCs; no restrictions on the type of verbs that may occur in a given position in the construction
- equal status of components: all components are of equal status, such that no

individual component may claim to contribute most to the meaning of the construction, or, to be the (main) determiner of the semantic or syntactic type of the SVC as a whole

- iconicity: in some instances, the order of the component verbs reflects the temporal sequence of the sub-events.
- lexicalisation: in some cases, component verbs tend to become lexicalised and develop idiomatic meanings

The symmetrical SVCs found in Efutu include the semantic types: (i) sequential/concomitant (§7.7.1.), (ii) cause-effect (§7.7.2), and (iii) lexicalised SVCs (§7.7.3). The various semantic types of symmetrical SVCs in Efutu are discussed below.

7.7.1. Sequential/ concomitant SVCs

A subtype of symmetrical SVCs in Efutu involve *sequential/concomitant* SVCs. Cross-linguistically, sequential/concomitant SVCs basically describe related sub-events that may acquire a purpose reading (Aikhenvald 2006: 28; see also §6.1.8. in Chapter 6). Examples of sequential SVCs in Efutu include (7-32a) – (7-32f). In Efutu, these SVCs basically describe related sub-events that may acquire a purpose reading. The sub-events may be interpreted as sequential, as in (7-32a), (7-32d) and (7-32e) – (7-32f) or concomitant, as in (7-32b) – (7-32c).[227] These SVCs are symmetrical in the sense that all the components come from an unrestricted class. Thus, for instance, components in the examples include V1 *wɔ́* 'go' and V2 *dẓíré* 'stand' in (7-32a), both of which belong to an unrestricted class; and also V1 *ná* 'walk' and V2 *wɔ́* 'go' in (7-32c), both of which belong to an unrestricted class; and also V1 *tɔ́ẁ* 'search for' and V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy' in (7-32e), both of which are from unrestricted class. Thus, the class of verbs in the Efutu sequential/ concomitant SVCs is rather open and allows a wide range of verb types, including verbs of motion, posture verbs and verbs of transaction, among other types, and hence the composition of the SVCs are symmetrical. As symmetrical SVCs, the meaning of the construction is derived from both components equally, such that no single

[227] With reference to Akan and Ewe, Ameka and Essegbey (2013: 29-30) analyses SVCs such as (7-32b2) – (7-32c) as a single, complex, translational motion event composed of manner of motion in V1 and path of motion in V2.

component may claim to contribute more to the meaning than the other. Thus, in (7-32a) for instance, the meaning 'went and stood' is contributed equally by the components *wɔ́* 'go' and *dzɨ́ré* 'stand'. The constructions normally involve iconic ordering of components, especially when the sub-events are interpreted as sequential, as in (7-32d) – (7-32f). Thus, in (7-32d) for instance, the 'buy' event precedes the 'go' event. Such iconicity is a feature associated with sequential SVCs cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2006: 28; §6.1.8. in Chapter 6). The sequential/ concomitant SVCs in (7-32a)-(7-32e) involves same-subject argument sharing,[228] while that in (7-32f) involves switch function.[229] In (7-32a)-(7-32e), the shared same-subject occurs once on the V1. Thus, in (7-32a), for instance, the shared subject NP *àtòbí tɕítɕí kó* occurs once with the initial component. Likewise, in (7-32b), a common or same subject, represented by the agreement marker *mù* '1SG', occurs with the initial component.

In (7-32a), both components are intransitive. The locative expression *ntɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀* 'there' which occurs at clause-final position in (7-32a) indicates location with respect to the V2. In (7-32b), the V1 *sútɕì* 'run' is a complement-taking verb[230] which takes the following noun *ǹsìré* 'race' as its complement; the noun *sùkúù* 'school' in clause-final position marks GOAL in relation to the V2. In (7-32c), the noun *éwúsò* 'home' occurring after the V2 marks GOAL in the V2. In (7-32d), a transitive V1 occurs with a direct object *ìnú* 'fish'; the intransitive V2 *wɔ́* 'go' occurs with a GOAL *éwúsò* 'home'. In (7-32e), both components are transitive and share a direct object *kó* 'one'. Verbal markers occur on the V1, as in (7-32e) where the progressive marker *àá* 'PROG' occur on the V1 *tɔ́ɔ̀* 'search for'. In (7-32e), the V1 *ná* 'give' is ditransitive and occurs with a direct object *élútɔ̀* 'food' and indirect object 'Kofi'. The direct object *élútɔ̀* 'food' is shared by the mono-transitive V2 *dì* 'eat' in (7-32e). In (7-32e), the proper noun 'Kofi' is also shared by both

[228] See discussion of same-subject argument sharing in (§7.3.1.)
[229] See discussion of switch-function argument sharing in (§7..3.2.)
[230] Such verbs are referred to as inherent complement verbs (Essegbey 1999, 2002, 2010; Nwachukwu 1985; see also discussion in §4.6.1. in Chapter 4).

components but in a switch-function manner, such that it functions as an indirect object of the V1 but subject of the V2, a case of switch-function argument sharing.

(7-32) a. *àtòbí tɕítɕí kó wɔ́ dʑíré ntɛ̃̀ĩ̀*

child small DET go stand there

'a small child went and stood there' (VdDscn_Efua: 28)

b. *mù-sútɕì ɲsìré wɔ́ sùkúù*

1SG-run race go school

'I ran to school' (Elicitation)

c. *mì-ná wɔ́ éwúsò*

1SG-walk go home

'I walked home (walk go home)' (Elicitation)

d. *mù-sɔ̀ ìnú ɲ̀ wɔ́ éwúsò*

1SG-buy fish DEF go home

'I bought the fish and went home' (Elicitation)

e. *m-àá-tɔ́ẁ kó sɔ̀*

1SG-PROG-search.for one buy

'I am looking for one to buy' (Taylor_*The dialect*: 35)

f. *mù-ná kòfĩ́ élútɔ̀ dì*

3SG-give kofi food eat

's/he gave Kofi food to eat' (Elicitation)

Each of the SVCs in (7-32a)-(7-32f) may be represented schematically as follows:

Schema 7-3: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ $V2_{TR}$ NP_{LOC}] (7-32a)

Schema 7-4: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL} $V2_{INTR}$ (NP_{GOAL})[231]] (7-32b)

Schema 7-5: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ $V2_{INTR}$ (NP_{GOAL})] (7-32c)

Schema 7-6: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{INTR}$ (NP_{GOAL})] (7-32d)

Schema 7-7: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{TR}$] (7-32e)

Schema 7-8: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{DITR}$ $NP_{RECIPIENT/ACTOR}$ $NP_{PATIENT}$ $V2_{TR}$] (7-32f)

7.7.2. Cause-effect SVCs

Another symmetrical SVC type that occurs in Efutu is *cause-effect* SVC. As the name indicates, a *cause-effect* SVC basically involves a construction in which components denote a cause and its effect in iconic order, such that the verb of causation precedes the verb that denotes the effect (Aikhenvald 2006: 29; see also §6.1.8. in Chapter 6). Examples (7-33a) – (7-33d) illustrate cause-effect SVCs in Efutu. In (7-33a), the components constitute cause-effect: the initial component *sűã̀* 'set' denotes a cause while the second component *pá* 'catch' denotes an effect, in that iconic order. In (7-33a), each component comes from unrestricted class. Furthermore, each component contributes equally to the meaning of the construction; hence the components are of equal status, a property associated with symmetrical SVCs. The cause-effect SVC in (7-33a) involves two transitive verbs with cumulative subject argument sharing: the subject referent of the V2 *pá* 'catch' covers the subject *mù* '3SG' and the object *èfìrí* 'machine' of the V1 *sűã̀* 'set' (see discussion of cumulative subject argument sharing in §7.3.3., above).

In another cause-effect SVC in (7-33b), the V1 *sű̂* 'push' denotes a cause while the V2 *wɪ́ àɕè* 'fall down' denotes an effect. As a symmetrical SVC, both components come from an unrestricted class and contribute equally to the meaning of the construction. Also, the SVC is iconic as the order of the component verbs replicates the temporal sequence of the sub-events: the 'push' event, viz., the cause, preceded the 'fall' event, which represents the effect. Example (7-33b) involves a transitive V1 and an intransitive V2 with a switch-function argument sharing, i.e. the object of the V1 viz., the definite noun *àtòbí ǹ* 'the child' is identical to the

[231] Items in brackets are optional.

subject of V2. In (7-33b), the locative noun *àɕè* 'down' in clause-final position functions as a complement of the intransitive V2 *wɨ́* 'fall'. In the Efutu cause-effect SVCs, verbal markers occur on the V1. For instance, the perfect marker *ń* 'PERF' occurs on the V1 *sʊ̂* 'push' in (7-33c). Likewise, the negation marker *ǹ* 'PAST.NEG' occurs on the V1 *sʊ̂* 'push' in (7-33d).

(7-33) a. *mù-sʊ́ɛ̀* *èfìrí* *pá* *òkúɕì*
3SG-set machine catch rat
's/he set a trap to catch a rat' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-sʊ̂* *àtòbí* *ǹ* *wɨ́* *àɕè*
3SG-push child DET fall down
's/he pushed the child (and the child) fell down' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-ń-sʊ̂* *àtòbí* *ǹ* *wɨ́* *àɕè*
3SG-PERF-push child DET fall down
's/he has pushed the child (and the child) has fallen down' (Elicitation)

d. *mú-ǹ-sʊ̂* *àtòbí* *ǹ* *wɨ́* *àɕè*
3SG-PAST.NEG-push child DET fall down
's/he did not push the child (and the child) did not fall down' (Elicitation)

In terms of argument sharing, cause-effect SVCs are reported to involve either same-subject sharing or switch-function sharing, across languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 29). The Efutu example of a cause-effect SVC with a cumulative subject sharing in (7-33a) therefore diverges from the cross-linguistic observation. The cause-effect SVCs in (7-33) may be represented schematically as follows:

Schema 7-9: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ $NP_{INSTRUMENT}$ $V2_{TR}$ $NP_{PATIENT}$] (7-33a)
Schema 7-10: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ $NP_{PATIENT}$ $V2_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL}] (7-33b)

7.7.3. Lexicalised SVCs

Another symmetrical type of SVC in Efutu involves a type in which components combine in a way that may be characterised as a lexicalised combination. In these SVCs, the components combine to express a meaning which is not predictable from the meanings expressed by the contributing verbs in their basic use context. Rather, they express a meaning which is somewhat idiomatic. For these reasons, neither of the component verbs may be claimed to contribute most or least to the meaning of the construction; thus the SVC is symmetrical. Also, as symmetrical SVCs, verbs in the lexicalised SVCs are from an unrestricted class. Such lexicalised combinations include:

sɔ̀ 'receive' and *dì* 'eat' = 'believe' (7-34)-(7-35a)

sɔ́ '*receive*' and *jɛ̂* 'look' = 'tempt' (7-35b)

dʐá 'remove' and *ná* 'give' = 'betray' (7-35c)

(7-34) *[mù-sɔ̀ dì] tɕè pàpɯ́ ń-dà mù*
1SG-receive eat COMP malaria PERF-attack 3SG
'I believe she is attacked by malaria'[232] (Taylor_*The dialect*: 13)

In (7-34), two verbs, namely, *sɔ̀*, glossed as 'receive'[233] and occurring as V1, and *dì* 'eat', occurring as V2, both combine in a lexicalised manner to express the idiomatic meaning 'believe', as indicated in the free translation. In (7-34), the lexicalised SVC occurs as a main clause for the following complement clause *tɕè*

[232] The free-translation is as in the source, i.e., it is unedited. A version such as 'I believe that malaria has attacked her' is also possible.
[233] Apparently, it is not obvious whether the gloss 'receive' of the V1 *sɔ̀* is accurate, as it may be glossed alternatively as 'buy', since the verb meaning 'buy' has an identical form *sɔ̀*, a case of homonymy. Such a difficulty in tracing the meaning of the verbs arises as a result of the idiomatic nature of the meaning expressed by the lexicalised combination. In translation of the texts, consultants produced the idiomatic rather than literal meaning of the lexicalised combination. In consultation with speakers, alternative glosses were suggested, although 'receive' was chosen as a more natural translation/ gloss.

pàpű ń-dà mò clause 'that malaria has attacked her'. In (7-34), components share a common or same subject represented by the agreement marker *mò* '1SG' occurring with the initial component. In (7-34), the components of the lexicalised SVC occur without an overt object, however, an object may be overtly expressed in such a lexicalised SVC, as in (7-35a), where the definite noun *ású ǹ* 'the story' occurs overtly as object between the components. The object *ású ǹ* 'the story' is shared by the components in (7-35a). In example (7-35b), the V1*sɔ́*, glossed as 'receive',[234] and the V2 *jɛ̂* 'look' combine in a lexicalised manner to express the idiomatic meaning 'tempt'. In (7-35b), the definite noun *ǹtòbí náání* 'the children occurs as object between the components to be shared by them. In (7-35b), components share same subject represented by the agreement marker *mò* '3SG' which occurs with the initial component. Example (7-35c) illustrates another lexicalised combination of the V1 *dʑá* 'remove' and the V2 *ná* 'give' with the idiomatic meaning 'betray'. In (7-35c), components share a common object in the form of a possessive noun phrase *ǹtòbí náání* 'the children'. In (7-35c), components share same subject represented by the agreement marker *mò* '3SG'occurring on the V1. Thus, in terms of argument sharing, each of the lexicalised SVCs in (7-34) – (7-35c) involves same-subject sharing as well as object sharing. In the Efutu lexicalised SVCs, verbal markers occur on the V1, as in (7-35c), where the perfect marker *ń* 'PERF' occurs on the V1. Schema 7-11 represents the lexicalised SVCs in (7-35a)-(7-35c).

(7-35) a. *mù-sɔ̀ ású ǹ dì*
1SG-receive story DET eat
'I believed the story' (Elicitation)

[234] The form of the High-tone *sɔ́* in V1 in (7-35b), is similar to the Low-tone *sɔ̀* in V1 in (7-34) – (7-35a). It is however not clear whether the two verbs are related. Moreover, the gloss 'receive' in (7-35b) may not be adequate.

b. *mù-sɔ́* *ǹtòbí* *nɛ́ɛ́ní* *jɛ̂*

3SG-receive children DEF look

's/he tempted/ tested the children' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-ń-dʑá* *mù* *kúr̀* *ná*

3SG-PERF-remove 3SG husband give

'she has betrayed her husband' (Elicitation)

Schema 7-11: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{TR}$]

Cross-linguistically, lexicalisation of SVCs, as well as expression of idiomatic meaning by the lexicalised combination is recognised as a property in symmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006: 34). In some related Kwa languages, including Larteh (Ofori 2010), Akan (Osam, 1994a; Agyeman 2002), and Ewe (Ameka 2006), similar lexicalised combinations are reported; particularly, the verb meaning 'believe' is composed of a lexicalised combination in each of these languages. In Efutu, these lexicalised SVCs with somewhat idiomatic meanings are very essential since they are the main strategies, and probably the only way, of articulating the verbal meanings they express in the language.

7.7.4. Summary of the Efutu symmetrical SVCs

This section (§7.7.) has discussed three semantic subtypes of symmetrical SVCs in Efutu. The discussion has explained the semantics of each of the subtypes as well as some syntactic properties of the constructions. The discussion has demonstrated that each of the three semantic types of the symmetrical SVCs allows verbs from an unrestricted class, such that in each semantic type, a wide variety of verbs may participate in the constructions. Another defining property that has been illustrated in the discussion is the equal status of components in the symmetrical SVCs. Thus, in each of the three semantic types, the meaning of a construction depends equally on the contributing verbs, such that no single verb can claim to contribute more or less to the overall meaning of the SVC. Furthermore, some of the symmetrical constructions have been demonstrated to be iconic; the semantic types sequential (§7.7.1.) and cause-effect (§7.7.2.) have been shown to involve iconic order of

components in the SVC which reflects the temporal sequence of the sub-events. The concomitant constructions (§7.7.1.) involve a rather simultaneous or concurrent order of sub-events. The discussion has also demonstrated a type of lexicalisation of components into idiomatic meaning in some of the symmetrical SVCs, viz., the lexicalised type discussed in §7.7.3. In terms of argument sharing, different patterns are recorded in the various semantic types of the symmetrical SVCs. In the lexicalised type (§7.7.3.), all examples involve a sharing of same-subject. In the cause-effect type (§7.7.2.), some of the examples involve cumulative subject argument sharing while others involve switch-function argument sharing. In the sequential/ concomitant semantic type (§7.7.1.), some examples involve same-subject sharing while others involve switch-function sharing. In marking of grammatical categories, all the examples from the various semantic types of the symmetrical SVCs are found to follow a regular pattern: verbal markers, including subject agreement, tense, aspect, mood and negation have been found to occur with initial component.

7.8. Asymmetrical SVCs in Efutu

Some SVCs in Efutu are asymmetrical in composition. The main defining feature of an asymmetrical SVC is that its composition includes at least one 'minor' verb, (see Aikhenvald 2006: 21-22; see also §6.1.9. in Chapter 6). The asymmetrical SVCs in Efutu are so characterised because they contain components that exhibit some of the features associated with 'minor' verbs. In the Efutu constructions, such features of the asymmetrical SVCs include:

- inclusion of a verb from a closed class: only specific verb or type of verb is allowed in certain positions, say V1 or V2, of the SVC
- exhibiting certain semantic and grammatical limitations: the verb from a closed class may acquire certain semantic and grammatical constraints within the context of the SVC
- providing modificational specification: in some cases, the verb from a closed class provides a kind of modificational specification, such as imparting aspectual meaning for the construction
- unequal status: in comparison to the major verb, the verb from a closed class has a lower status in the SVC because the meaning of the SVC is denoted by the major component, while the verb from a closed class provides

modificational specification for the major component.

Different semantic types and sub-types of asymmetrical SVCs are identified in Efutu. They include: (i) aspectual SVCs (§7.8.1.), (ii) comparative SVCs (7.8.2), and (iii) various subtypes of increasing valency and specifying argument, which I have labelled as (a) 'take/use' SVCs (7.8.3), (b) benefactive *ná* 'give' SVCs (7.8.6.), (c) causative *ná* 'give' SVCs (7.8.7), and (d) locative *bɔ̀* SVCs (7.8.8). The various asymmetrical SVC sub-types are discussed in turn.

7.8.1. Aspectual SVCs

A sub-type of asymmetrical SVCs identified in Efutu may be characterised as aspectual SVC. As the label suggests, aspectual SVCs are those in which the minor verb expresses aspectual meanings, such as continuative aspect, habitual aspect or progressive aspect, among other aspects (Aikhenvald 2006: 23; see also §6.1.9. in Chapter 6). The aspectual SVC identified in Efutu involves the use of the verb *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' as an aspectual minor verb to mark completive aspect in relation to the state-of-affairs, expressed by the major component. Such a use of the verb meaning 'finish' as an aspectual minor verb to mark completive aspect in SVCs is attested in other languages (Aikhenvald 2006: 23; see also §6.1.9. and §6.1.13. in Chapter 6). In the Efutu aspectual SVCs, the aspectual verb, viz., the verb of completion *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' is preceded by the major component. In the aspectual SVCs, *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' is characterised as a minor verb because it constitutes a closed class: it is the only member of its class, as will be seen in the examples. Furthermore, *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' may be said to have a lower status in the SVCs since it merely provides modificational specification in the form of completive aspect in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the major component which expresses the predicational meaning of the construction. Furthermore, *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' exhibits some form of restriction: it is restricted to the V2 position in the aspectual SVCs. Another restriction is that *nɔ́kùrà* 'finish' does not occur with verbal markers and affixes, including agreement markers, tense, aspect and negation markers. As a result of the closed nature of its class, as well as the semantic and grammatical

restrictions it exhibits in the SVCs, the aspectual verb *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' qualifies as a minor verb. And therefore, the aspectual SVCs are asymmetrical in composition as they include a minor verb. Examples (7-36a)-(7-36c) illustrate the aspectual SVCs.

In (7-36a), the verb of completion *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' occurs in V2 to perform the role of 'aspectual minor verb' by expressing completive aspect in relation to the major component *ɕí … pɔ́* 'tie a knot' in V1. Thus, in (7-36a), *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' provides modificational specification for the V1, and therefore *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' has an unequal status in the SVC. The inclusion of the minor verb *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' in (7-36a) makes the SVC asymmetrical in terms of compositing. In (7-36a), the V1 *ɕí* 'tie' viz., the major verb, is a complement-taking verb and occurs with a complement *pɔ́* 'knot' which occurs after the object *mʊ̀* '3SG'. In (7-36a), the agreement marker *ò* '2SG' which represents the subject occurs with the major component in V1 and it is shared by both components, a case of same subject sharing. In (7-36a), the major component *ɕí … pɔ́* 'tie a knot' is a transitive verb and occurs with the object *mʊ̀* '3SG' which occurs between the verb and its complement. In (7-36a), an emphatic marker *áfà* 'EMPH' occurs after the V2 and has scope over the entire SVC. The aspectual SVC in (7-36a) occurs as a conditional clause in a rather complex sentence indicated by the truncation '…' at clause-final position; the conditional marker *áá* 'COND' occurs clause finally and has scope over the entire SVC.

(7-36) a. *ò-ɕí* *mʊ̀* *pɔ́* *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* *áfà* *áá …*
2SG-tie 3SG knot finish EMP COND
'just after you finish tying it …' (Ankw_Net: 41)

b. *mʊ́-ǃń-sɔ́tɕì* *né* *nɔ́kʊ́rá* *áfà* *áá …*
3SG-PAST.NEG-snatch 3SG finish EMPH COND
'hardly had he finished snatching her …' (VdDscn_Efua: 27)

c. *àní-ń-dì* *átɔ́* *nɔ́kʊ̀rà*

1PL-PERF-eat thing finish

'we have finished eating' (Elicitation)

Another aspectual SVC occurs in (7-36b), where the minor component *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' occurs in V2 to express completive aspect in relation to the major component *sɔ́tɕì* 'snatch' in V1. In (7-36b), the major component, viz., the V1 *sɔ́tɕì* 'snatch' is transitive and occurs with the object *né* '3SG' which occurs immediately after the V1. In (7-36b), the components share same subject represented by the agreement marker *mú* '3SG' which occurs with the major component in V1. In (7-36b), the major component occurs with the negation marker *!ń* 'PAST.NEG' in V1 and has scope over the entire SVC. Similar to the aspectual SVC in (7-36a), the aspectual SVC in (7-36b) occurs as a conditional clause, as indicated by the conditional marker *áá* 'COND' in clause-final position.

Another aspectual SVC is illustrated in (7-36c) where the minor verb *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' occurs in V2 to express completive aspect in relation to the major component *dì átɔ́* 'eat'. In (7-36c), the minor verb *dì* 'eat' occurs with a complement *átɔ́* 'thing' to express the verbal meaning 'eat'; such a complement gives the verb an intransitive-like interpretation.[235] In (7-36c), components share same subject represented by the agreement marker *àní* '1PL' which occurs with the major component in V1. Also, the perfect marker *ń* 'PERF' occurs with the major component in V1 and has scope over the entire SVC.

From the illustrations in (7-36a) – (7-36c), the component verb *nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish' may be described as an aspectual 'minor' verb which marks completive aspect in the 'major' verb with which it occurs in an SVC. Schemata 7-12, 7-13 and 7-14 represent the aspectual SVCs in (7-36a), (7-36b) and (7-36c), respectively.

[235] See discussion of such inherent complement verbs in §4.6.1. in Chapter 4.

Schema 7-12: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} NP_{COMPL} $V2_{ASPECTUAL}$]

Schema 7-13: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{ASPECTUAL}$]

Schema 7-14: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL} $V2_{ASPECTUAL}$]

7.8.2. Comparative SVC

Another asymmetrical SVC type found in Efutu may be analysed as a comparative SVC. Comparative SVCs cross-linguistically involve constructions in which a verb usually with the meaning 'exceed' or 'surpass' is used as a minor verb to mark comparison (Aikhenvald 2006: 27; see also §6.1.9. in Chapter 6). For instance, Ofori (2010: 86) reports of the use of the verb *nya*[236] 'exceed' to indicate comparison in SVCs in Larteh, a related South-Guan language; Ameka (2006: 136) also reports of the use of the verb *wú* 'exceed/surpass' to indicate comparison in SVCs in Ewe, a related Kwa language. In the comparative SVCs identified in Efutu, the verb *fã́* 'surpass' is used as a minor verb to mark comparison in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the major component. In the Efutu comparative SVCs, the verb of comparison *fã́* 'surpass' is preceded by the major verb. In the Efutu comparative SVCs, the verb of comparison may be characterised as a minor verb because it constitutes a closed class: other verbs may not occur in its position in the comparative SVCs; in other words, *fã́* 'surpass' is the only member of its class. Another feature that identifies *fã́* 'surpass' as a minor verb is its unequal status in the SVC: the meaning of the SVC is denoted by the state-of-affairs expressed in the major component, with *fã́* 'surpass' providing a kind of modificational specification, namely, comparison, in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the major component. Furthermore, *fã́* 'surpass' occurs with some grammatical restrictions: it fails to occur with verbal markers, including agreement markers, tense, aspect, mood and negation markers; such markers occur on the major verb in the comparative SVCs. The above described limitations in the verb of comparison identify it as a minor verb. The comparative SVCs are thus asymmetrical as their composition includes a minor verb. The constructions in (7-37a) – (7-37d) illustrate the above-described features of the Efutu comparative SVCs.

[236] The form of the verb is same as in the source, with no tone marking.

The construction in (7-37a) involves a comparative SVC in which *fā́* 'surpass' occurs in V2 to mark comparison in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed by the V1 *dà* 'be big'. The V2 *fā́* 'surpass' thus provides modificational specification for the V1 *dà* 'be big'. in (9-61a). Consequently, *fā́* 'surpass' has an unequal status in the SVC in (7-37a), as the core meaning of the construction is denoted by the state-of-affairs expressed in the V1 *dà* 'be big', while the V2 *fā́* 'surpass' merely provides a modificational specification in the SVC. In (7-37a) the agreement marker *ì* '3SG', which represents the subject, occurs with the V1, viz., the major component *dà* 'be big', and it is shared by the V2 *fā́* 'surpass'. The entities of comparison in (7-37a) include the referent of the subject, represented by the agreement marker *ì* '3SG', and that of the object *àmò* '3PL'.

(7-37) a. *ì-dà* *fā́* *àmò* *kúráá*
3SG.INAN-be.big surpass 3PL even
'it is even/far bigger than them' (KM_onSea: 157)

b. *mù-pà* *fā́* *ám!á*
3SG-be.tall surpass Ama
's/he is taller than Ama' (Elicitation)

c. *mú-à-pà* *fā́* *ám!á*
3SG-FUT-be.tall surpass Ama
's/he will be taller than Ama' (Elicitation)

d. *mú-á-pà* *fā́* *ám!á*
3SG- FUT .NEG-be.tall surpass Ama
's/he is not taller than Ama' (Elicitation)

Another comparative SVC is illustrated in (7-37b) in which *fā́* 'surpass' occurs as a

minor verb in V2 to mark comparison in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed in the V1 *pà* 'be tall'. Thus *fā́* 'surpass' provides modificational specification for the V1 *pà* 'be tall' in (7-37b). In (7-37b), the agreement marker *mù* '3SG', which represents the subject, occurs with the major component *pà* 'be tall' in V1; the subject is shared by the V2. Examples (7-37c) – (7-37d) illustrate verbal marking in the comparative SVCs. In (7-37c), the future marker *à* 'FUT' occurs with the V1, viz., the major component in the comparative SVC. Likewise, the negation marker *á* 'FUT.NEG' occurs with the major component *pà* 'be tall' at V1 in (7-37d).

The discussion above has demonstrated the role of *fā́* 'surpass' as a minor verb of comparison in the Efutu SVCs. *Fā́* 'surpass' has been shown to provide modificational specification for the major component with which it occurs in an SVC. The Efutu comparative SVCs have been shown to involve same-subject argument sharing. Verbal markers have been shown to occur on the major component. Schema 7-15 represents the comparative SVCs in (7-37a) – (7-37d).

Schema 7-15: [NP_{THEME} $V1_{INTR}$ $V2_{COMPARATIVE}$ $NP_{COMPARED}$[237]]

7.8.3. 'Take' SVCs[238]

Another type of asymmetrical SVCs in Efutu involves a minor verb that can be approximately glossed in English as 'take' or 'use'. The verb assumes various phonetic shapes,[239] including *ná* (7-38a), *nì* (7-38c) and *nù* (7-40b).[240] The 'take' verb normally occurs as an initial component and it exhibits features of a minor verb. Such features include the closed nature of its class: it appears to be the only member of its class. Besides, the verb displays certain semantic and grammatical restrictiveness. In terms of semantics, the 'take' verb exhibits a degree of vagueness in meaning and assumes a range of functions in constructions in the sense that a

[237] The role 'compared' has been adopted to describe the NP that refers to the compared entity.
[238] For discussion of 'take' SVCs in some related languages, see Ofori (2010), Ameka (2006), Agyeman (2002), Saethero (1997) and Osam (1994). Studies that discuss similar 'take' verbs from unrelated languages include Matthews (2006), Hellwig (2006), Solnit (2006) and Kilian-Hatz (2006).
[239] See discussion on variation in the verb's vowel and tone below.
[240] The form of the serial verb 'take' bears a resemblance to the copular verb *ní* 'be' discussed in §4.6.3. in Chapter 4. However, it has not been investigated whether the two have any actual relationship.

given function could be tied to a particular meaning or interpretation. Such multiplicity of function includes marking of COMITATIVE, INSTRUMENT, MATERIAL, PATIENT, and DIRECT OBJECT. Nevertheless, the 'take' SVCs are very significant in the Efutu as they are the only means of expressing the above-listed functions in some constructions in the grammar of the language.

COMITATIVE function of the 'take' minor verb occurs when the major component involves an intransitive verb which is also a motion verb, such as, *bà* 'come' in (7-38a) – (7-38c), and *wɔ́* 'go' in (7-38d). In these SVCs, the 'take' verb semantically marks COMITATIVE in the argument it specifies: it denotes 'accompaniment'. The argument specified may however not be overtly expressed in the SVC, as in (7-38a), (7-38b) and (7-38d), or it may be overtly expressed in the SVC, such as *èfìrí kó* 'a certain machine' in (7-38c). The V2 may occur with an optional GOAL, such as *jé* 'here' in (9-1) and *ɔ̀pʊ̀* 'sea' in (7-38d). Each of the examples in (7-38a) – (7-38c) involves cumulative subject sharing: the subject referent of the V2 covers the subject and the object of the V1.[241] Thus, in (7-38c) for instance, the subject referent of the V2 *bà* 'come' covers the subject of the V1, represented by the agreement marker *á* 'IMP', and the object of the V1, namely, the NP *èfìrí kó* 'some machine'. The 'take' SVCs in (7-38a) – (7-38c) is represented in Schema 7-16.

Schema 7-16: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{'take'}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{INTR}$ (NP_{GOAL})]

(7-38) a. *àmʊ̀-ná* *bà* *jé*
3PL-take come here
'they bring (it) here' (Ankw_Net: 27)

b. *àmʊ̀-ní* *ḿ-bà*
3PL-take PERF-come
'they have brought it' (Ankw_Net: 21)

[241] See discussion of cumulative subject sharing in §8.3.3., above.

c. *á-nì* *èfìrí* *kó* *náá-bà*

IMP-take machine some PROG-come

'a certain machine is being brought' (KM_RoughSea: 16)

d. *ɔ́-sɔ̀* *áá* [*ɔ́-nì* *báà-wɔ́* *ɔ̀pù* *ãã̂ũ̂*]

2SG-buy COND 2SG-take FUT-go sea PART

'when you buy it, you will take it to sea *for so long*' (Ankw_Net: 109)

The 'take' verb marks INSTRUMENT[242] or instrument-like function in examples (7-39a) – (7-39f). In the examples, the V1 'take' marks instrument in the specified NP in relation to the V2 *pàm̀* 'sew' in (7-39a) – (7-39b) and *pítɕì* 'catch' in (7-39c) – (7-39d). An instrument-like role, such as MATERIAL, is marked with the V2 *wíǹ* 'weave' in (7-39e) – (7-39f). The INSTRUMENT/ MATERIAL is unexpressed in the SVC in (7-39a), (7-39c), and (7-39e). Nevertheless, such an INSTRUMENT/ MATERIAL may be overtly expressed in the SVC, as illustrated in the elicitation data in (7-39b), (7-39d) and (7-39f): the INSTRUMENT/ MATERIAL is overtly expressed in the SVC as *bûyàá* 'needle' in (7-39b), as *ńkɔ́bá* 'hook' in (7-39d) and as *kéèǹ* 'cane' in (7-39f). In each case, the INSTRUMENT/ MATERIAL occurs immediately after the V1 'take'. The Patient is unexpressed in the SVC in (7-39a) but overtly expressed as *édã́ ǹ* 'the net' in the elicitation data in (7-39b). Each of the examples in (7-39a) – (7-39f) involve cumulative subject sharing. The 'take' SVCs in (7-39a) – (7-39f) is represented in Schema 7-17.

Schema 7-17: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{'take'}$ $NP_{INSTRUMENT}$ $V2_{TR}$ $NP_{PATIENT}$]

[242] Instrument role may be assigned to a participant that the Agent uses to act on the Patient (Andrews 1985: 8)

(7-39) a. *bûyàá*[243] *ná* [*á-!ní* *báà-pàm̀*]

needle FOC IMP-take FUT-sew

'it is *needle* that will be used to sew it' (Ankw_Net: 32)

b. *á-nì* *bûyàá* *báà-pàm̀* *ɛ́dɑ̃́* *ǹ*

IMP-take *needle* FUT-sew net DEF

'*needle* will be used to sew the net' (Elicitation)

c. *á-!ní* *pítɕì* *ɔ̀pùsìrɛ̃́ĩ́*

IMP-take catch octopus

'it is used for catching octopus' (KM_HkMthd1: 3a)

d. *á-nì* *ńkɔ́bá* *pítɕì* *ɔ̀pùsìrɛ̃́ĩ́*

IMP-take hook catch octopus

'a hook is used for catching octopus' (Elicitation)

e. *kéèǹ* [*mí-nì* *wíǹ* *ébíɛ̀*]

cane 1SG-take weave chair

'cane, I use it to weave a chair' (Hans_Art: 19)

f. *mí-nì* *kéèǹ* *wíǹ* *ébíɛ̀*

1SG-take cane weave chair

'I use cane to weave a chair' (Elicitation)

Apparently, similar to the above-described use of the 'take' verb to mark Instrument in the Efutu SVCs, such a use of the verb meaning 'take' as a minor verb to mark Instrument in SVCs in serialising languages is predictable and indeed widely attested (see discussion in §6.1.13. in Chapter 6).

The 'take' verb marks PATIENT[244] in examples (7-40a) – (7-40d), where the

[243] *bûyàá* is a local instrument used for mending or sewing fishing nets.

[244] The Patient role may be assigned to a participant which the verb describes as having something happen to it (Andrews 1985: 6).

V2 involves a postural verb, such as 'hang' in (7-40a), 'put' in (7-40b) – (7-40c) and 'attach' in (7-40d). In each of the examples, the postural verb occurs with an obligatory complement in the form of a locative noun, such as *àɕé* 'down' in (7-40a) – (7-40b), *tɔ́* 'inside' in (7-40c) and *ánò* 'forepart'. The PATIENT, however, may be unexpressed in the SVC, as in (7-40a) – (7-40c), or it may be overtly expressed, such as *nú* 'fish' in (7-40d). Each of the examples in (7-40a) – (7-40d) involve cumulative subject sharing. Schema 7-18 represents the 'take' SVCs in (7-40a) – (7-40d).

Schema 7-18: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{'take'}$ $NP_{PATIENT}$ $V2_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL}]

(7-40) a. *ɔ́-!ní* *síńsèǹ* *àɕé*
2SG-take REDUP.hang down
'you hang it down' (KM_HkMthd1: 42)

b. *mù-pítɕì* *kómé* *áá* *ná* [*ó-nù* *tù* *àɕé*]
3SG-catch one COND and 2SG-take put down
'if s/he catches one, then you put it down' (KM_HkMthd1: 16)

c. *ɔ́-nì* *tù* *tɔ́* *áá …*
2SG-take put inside COND
'if you put it inside … (KM_HkMthd1: 3b)

d. *á-nà* *nú* *máá-dɑ̃́* *ánò*[245]
IMP-take fish NEG-attach forepart
'*we* don't attach fish on the it' (KM_HkMthd1: 3c)

The 'take' verb is used to mark DIRECT OBJECT when the V2 is ditransitive, as in (7-41a) – (7-41e). In a non-SVC context, the ditransitive *ná* 'give' can only have its arguments in a restricted order where the indirect object (i.e., the Recipient

[245] *Ánò* could be glossed alternatively as 'mouth'.

argument) precedes the direct object (i.e., the Theme argument), as illustrated in (7-41b) and (7-41c). In the sole-verb construction in (7-41b), the indirect object *mɔ̀* '1SG' precedes the direct object *dìzɑ́ɪ̀* 'design'. When the order of the two arguments is reversed in (7-41c) the construction becomes ungrammatical, such that the only means to reverse the order and have the direct object precede the indirect object is through the use of an SVC with the minor-verb *nì* 'take', as in (7-41a). The direct object specified by the V1'take' is unexpressed in (7-41a) and (7-41d) but overtly expressed as 'the name' in (7-41e). Dissimilar to the other 'take' SVCs discussed above, each of the examples in (7-41) – (7-41e) involves same subject sharing. Thus, in (7-41a), for instance, the V1 *nì* 'take' and the V2 *ná* 'give' share the same subject represented by the agreement marker *ɔ́* '2SG' which occurs with the V1. In (7-41a) – (7-41e), components share object as well: the unexpressed object in (7-41a) is shared by both components; the overtly expressed object *ádɑ́ ǹ* 'the name' occurring between the *nà* V1 'take' and the V2 *ná* 'give' in (7-41e) is shared by both components. Schema 7-19 represents the 'take' SVCs in (7-41a) – (7-41e).

Schema 7-19: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{'take'}$ $NP_{DIRECT\ OBJECT}$ $V2_{DITR}$ $NP_{INDIRECT\ OBJECT}$]

(7-41) a. *dìzɑ́ɪ̀* *kwáàfà* [*ɔ́-nì* *báà-ná* *mɔ̀* *ǹ*] …
design any 2SG-take FUT-give 1SG CF
'any design (that) you'll give me …' (Han_Art: 46)

b. *ɔ́-báà-ná* *mɔ̀* *dìzɑ́ɪ̀*
2SG-FUT-give 1SG design
'you will give me a design' (Elicitation)

c. **ɔ́-báà-ná* *dìzɑ́ɪ̀* *mɔ̀*
2SG-FUT-give design 1SG
(Elicitation)

d. *émí* *wò,* *ǹc̣ìrá* [*ǹùmpò* *mù-ní* *ná* *ḿ*] …
1SG(EMP) too blessing God 3SG-take give 1SG
'me too, a blessing (which) God gave to me …' (Hans_Art: 35)

e. *bŕá* *àmù* *fűű́* *ná* [*àmù-nà* *ádā́* *ǹ* *ná* *ḿ*]
not 3PL all FOC 3PL-take name DEF give 1SG
'not all of them give me the name' (Hans_BoatNm: 32)

Grammatically, the 'take' verb exhibits a type of restrictiveness: even as an initial component, it is unable to occur with verbal affixes, except the subject agreement marker. Thus, for instance, the V1 'take' occurs with the agreement marker *àmù* '3PL' in (7-38a) – (7-38b), *á* 'IMP' in (7-38c) and *ó* '2SG' in (7-38d). Other verbal markers, including tense, aspect, mood and negation occur rather on the major component, i.e., the V2: thus, the perfect marker *ḿ* 'PERF' occurs on the V2 *bà* 'come' in (7-38b); the future marker *báà* 'FUT' occurs on the V2 *wó* 'go' in (7-38d), the V2 *pàm̀* 'sew' in(7-39a) – (7-39b), and the V2 *ná* 'give' in (7-41a); the progressive marker *náá* 'PROG' occurs with the V2 *bà* 'come' in (7-38c); and the negation marker *máá* 'NEG' occurs with the V2 *dā́* 'attach' in (7-40d). The 'take' verb could thus be said to be somewhat defective, since it cannot occur with verbal affixes, even in V1 or as initial verb. As such, the constructions in which the 'take' verb participates may be characterised as asymmetrical in terms of their composition. In terms of semantic type, the 'take' SVCs belong to the type *increasing valency and specifying argument*: in specifying an argument, the 'take' verb acts to increase the valency of the construction, such that, even intransitive verbs, like those in (7-38a) – (7-38d), get to participate in a transitive SVC through the help of the minor-verb 'take'.

The above-described features of the 'take' verb, such as its function of marking comitative, instrument, patient and direct object, are not unique to Efutu. Similar 'take' verbs are recorded in other serialising languages where their reported behaviour resembles the description of the Efutu equivalent (Mathews 2006;

Hellwig 2006; Solnit 2006; Kilian-Hatz 2006; Saethero 1997, Lord 1993, Lefebvre 1991). Some analyses consider the argument specified by such 'take' verbs as an oblique since the equivalent of such arguments are expressed by obliques in other languages.

A peculiarity with the Efutu minor verb *nì/nà* 'take' is that it does not occur on its own; that is to say, it only occurs in SVCs. In a non-SVC context, the verbal or predicative meaning 'take' is expressed by another verb, viz., *bétè* , as illustrated in (7-42a).

(7-42) a. *mù-bétè* *èfìrí* *ǹ*
3SG-take machine DEF
's/he took the machine' (Elicitation)

b. *mì-bétè* *ɔ̀dàtɕí* *bɔ́* *ɔ́sə̀̃*
1SG-take clay make person
'I use clay to make a person (sculpture)' (Hans_Art: 20)

c. *m-áà-dàǹ-bétè* *kéèǹ* *wìǹ* *ébíè*
1SG-FUT-MOOD-take cane weave chair
'I can use cane to weave a chair' (Hans_Art: 18)

Like the minor verb *nì/nà* 'take', *bétè* 'take' can also occur in SVCs, as in (7-42b) – (7-42c). Unlike the minor verb *nì/nà* 'take' however, *bétè* 'take' maintains its verbal properties such as the ability to occur with verbal markers, even in SVCs, as illustrated in (7-42c), where *bétè* 'take' occurs with the future marker *áà* 'FUT', as well as the subjunctive-mood marker[246] *dàǹ* 'MOOD'. The relationship between the two verbs, i.e., *bétè* and the minor verb *nì* 'take' however has not been more deeply investigated in this study.

As commented above, and found in the examples, the minor verb 'take'

[246] See discussion on subjunctive mood in §5.4.1. in Chapter 5.

assumes different phonetic shapes and different tone patterns. Generally, tone variation in verbs in Efutu may be attributed to tense, aspect, mood and polarity, as discussed in Chapter 5. Change in the verb's vowel segment (such as the various forms *ná* (7-38a), *nì* (7-38c) and *nù* (7-40b)), however, is unusual in the language. What has been observed in the language is that verbs usually maintain their vowel quality; it is rather verbal affixes, especially grammatical morphemes that may change form or vowel quality to harmonise with the verb's vowels. Such a variation in the minor 'take' verb's vowel appears to signal some grammaticalisation processes;[247] this necessitates further investigation in future research.

7.8.4. Ná 'give' SVCs

Another type of asymmetrical SVCs in Efutu involves the use of the minor verb *ná* 'give'. Two subtypes of *ná* 'give' SVCs are identified. One of them may be labelled as Benefactive *ná* 'give' constructions, where *ná* occurs as a second verb (or V2) to specify a Benefactive participant. The other subtype, labelled as Causative *ná* 'give' SVCs, involves *ná* as V1 where it specifies a participant which shall be referred to as a Causer. The use of the verb meaning 'give' to express benefactive and causative in languages is widely attested (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 149-152; see also §6.1.13. in Chapter 6). For instance, *nɛ̀* 'give' is used in V2 to specify a benefactive participant in benefactive SVCs in Larteh, a related South-Guan language (Ofori 2010: 86); in Akan, a related Kwa language, *má* 'give' is used in V2 for benefactive function and in V1 for causative function (Sætherø 1997; Osam 1994a). In Efutu, in both the benefactive and the causative SVCs, *ná* is suggested to function as a 'minor' verb, as explained below. In the benefactive SVCs, the use of *ná* as a minor verb is shown to have a link with the verb in its basic use context where it functions as a main verb or a 'major' verb.

7.8.5. Ná as a 'give' verb

In its basic use, *ná* 'give' is a ditransitive verb denoting a transfer of an item or an

[247] See discussion of grammaticalisation in such minor verbs in §6.1.9. and §6.1.13. in Chapter 6.

entity from one person to another. Such a 'giving' situation may involve a hand-to-hand transfer where a concrete object which can be handled and manipulated is transferred, as in (7-43a) – (7-43c). (The transferred item is not overtly expressed in (7-43a)-(7-43b), but (7-43c) contains an overtly expressed object, viz., *édítɔ̀* 'food'). The transferred entity however need not necessarily be a concrete object; it may be an abstract entity or concept, as in example (7-43d), where the NP *ǹcìrá* 'blessings' refers to an abstract concept. We shall refer to this use of the verb *ná* 'give' as the 'basic giving' context.

(7-43) a. *á-!ní* *ná* *ḿ* *áá* *mù-ú-sɔ̀*
IMPERS-take give 1SG COND 1SG-HAB-collect
'if it is given to me, I collect/receive it' (Efua_FSmk: 110)

b. *wáàfâ* *ná* *ɔ́-nì* *wàà-ná* *wú-kâ*
yourself FOC 2SG-take EGRESS-give 2SG.POSS-wife
'you yourself are going to give i) to your wife' (KM_onSea: 47)

c. *mì-ná* *m̀* *édítɔ̀*
1SG-give 3SG food
'I gave him/her food' (Elicitation)

d. *émí* *wò,* *ǹcìrá* [*ɲùm̀pò* *mù-ní* *ná* *ḿ*] …
1SG(EMP) too blessing God 3SG-take give 1SG
'me too, a blessing (which) God gave to me …' (Hans_Art: 35)

As illustrated above, the basic use of *ná* 'give' involves transfer of a concrete or an abstract object from one participant to another. Such a transfer of objects is usually perceived to be 'to the benefit of' the recipient. The above described basic context of 'giving' events as transfer of an entity usually involves benefaction. This aspect of 'benefaction' associated with the situation of the 'basic giving' context is noted to

be essential to seemingly extended uses of the 'give' verb in other contexts,[248] as will be shown in the contexts of the benefactive SVCs.

It is worth noting that examples (7-43a), (7-43b) and (7-43d) involve SVCs in which *ná* occurs as V2 to express the meaning 'give'. The use of *ná* in (7-43a), (7-43b) and (7-43d) is quite different from its use in the Benefactive SVCs. In (7-43a), (7-43b) and (7-43d), *ná* 'give' functions as a major verb but it functions as a minor verb in the Benefactive SVCs. Examples (7-43a), (7-43b) and (7-43d) involve ditransitive constructions in which the minor verb 'take' is employed to have the direct-object precede the indirect-object. Such 'take' SVCs are discussed in §7.8.3., above.

7.8.6. The Benefactive ná 'give'

The benefactive SVCs in Efutu may be analysed as involving an extended use of the verb *ná* 'give'. In the benefactive SVCs, *ná* occurs as a non-initial component to specify an argument whose role is similar to the Recipient in the basic 'giving' situation described above (see §7.8.5). However, the NP specified by *ná* in the benefactive SVC context may be more accurately described as taking a BENEFACTIVE role, for the action expressed by the initial component is viewed as being performed purposely for the benefit of or to the advantage of the referent of the NP introduced by *ná*. In other words, the Agent or Actor performs an action which is intended for the benefit of the referent of the NP specified by *ná*. In other studies on other serialisation languages, the term 'deputative beneficiary' is used for such a Benefactive role and explained that the participant benefits from the action without performing the action (Sudmuk 2005: 57, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). Another definition describes a Benefactive role as being assigned to 'the person for whom something is done' and explains that such a Benefactive role is circumstantial rather than participatory because it is 'borne by entities that do not really participate, but instead form part of the setting of the event' (Andrews 1985: 8). Such a circumstantial role of Benefactive is distinguished from a participatory role of Recipient which is assigned to 'a participant who *gets* something', with emphasis on

[248] Saethero (1997: 19) earlier pointed this out in a description of a similar 'give' serial verb in Akan.

'get' (Andrews 1985: 8). In the Efutu benefactive SVCs, the NP specified by *ná* 'give' is perceived as a participant 'for whom something is done', which means, he or she 'benefits from the action without performing the action'. The Efutu benefactive SVCs are illustrated in (7-44) – (7-46e).

The construction in (7-44) involves a benefactive SVC in which the V2 *ná* 'give' specifies the noun *ɲùmɲpò* 'God' for whom the state-of-affairs described by the initial component *tù àdá* 'sing' is performed. In other words, the Actor performs the act denoted by the initial component *tù àdá* 'sing' for the benefit of the referent of the noun *ɲùmɲpò* 'God', who does not perform the act himself. In (7-44), the initial component involves a complement taking verb *tù* which occurs with the complement *àdá* 'song' in order to express the verbal meaning 'sing'; the use of such a complement gives the verb an intransitive interpretation.[249]

(7-44)) *àn-èé-tù* *àdá* *ná* *ɲùmɲpò*
1PL-PROG-sing song give God
'we are singing for God' (KAppiah-et.al_Song)

The benefactive SVCs may further be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation is that the Actor performs the act expressed by the V1 on behalf of the Beneficiary because the beneficiary is busy, or ill or lazy or incompetent or something, and whether on the beneficiary's request or not. The other interpretation is that the Actor performs the act expressed by the V1 not necessarily on behalf of the beneficiary, i.e., the Actor simply chooses to perform the act for the beneficiary just as a gift or an honour or similar, but not necessarily because the beneficiary had to do it. In both cases however, the fact that the act is performed purposely for the benefit (or enjoyment) of the Benefactive is always present. Notwithstanding, in Efutu, when the benefactive SVC occurs, it is not obvious which of the two interpretations is meant, such that extra linguistic information may be needed for the intended interpretation. Thus, in the benefactive SVC in (7-44) for instance, it is not obvious

[249] See discussion of such complement taking verbs in §4.6.1. in Chapter 4.

whether the 'singing' is performed on behalf of the benefactive because he is unable to perform it on his own behalf, or, whether the singing is performed not necessarily on behalf of the benefactive but simply as a gift or something of that sort.

An observation in the benefactive SVCs is that when a construction occurs in the negative, the non-performance of an act may be understood to be to the disadvantage of the participant specified by *ná* 'give', viz., the benefactive. In other words, such a negative construction, may not necessarily involve benefaction as the participant specified by *ná* may not necessarily benefit from the 'non-performance'. Thus, in (7-45a) for instance, the negative form *méé-tù àdá* 'not sing' of the initial component implies that the state-of-affairs it denotes may be to the detriment or disadvantage, rather than benefit, of the benefactive. It seems therefore inappropriate to assign the noun specified by *ná* 'give', viz., *ɲùmɲò* 'God', the role benefactive in such a negative construction in (7-45a). Likewise, in (7-45b), the negative form *máá-bɔ́ fébí*[250] 'is not good' of the initial component makes it inappropriate to assign a benefactive role to the referent of the pronoun *ḿ* '1SG' specified by the minor verb *ná* 'give', since the state-of-affairs denoted by the initial component may not necessarily be to the benefit of such a referent. Nevertheless, we shall refer to such NPs as benefactive and the constructions as benefactive SVCs, for consistency.

(7-45) a. *àní-méé-tù àdá ná ɲùmɲò*
1PL-NEG-sing song give God
'we are not singing for God' (Elicitation)

[250] The initial component of the SVC in (7-45b) is composed of the copula verb *bɔ́* 'be' and the predicative adjective *fébí* 'well' which yields an intransitive meaning.

b. *méésìǹ èsúmí* *máá-bɔ́* *fɛ́bí* *ná* *ḿ*

mason work PROG.NEG-be well give 1SG

'mason job is not good for me' (KM_onSea: 1b)

In the benefactive SVCs, *ná* 'give' may be characterised as a 'minor' verb in the sense that it constitutes a closed class: it is the only member of its class. Moreover, *ná* 'give', as it occurs in the SVCs, is somewhat grammatically restricted. Such grammatical restrictions include its inability to occur with verbal affixes, including agreement markers, tense, aspect, mood and negation markers. Such verbal markers occur with the 'major' component in V1 in the SVCs. For instance, in (7-44), the agreement marker *àn*[251] '1PL' occurs with the major component *tù àdá* 'sing' in V1. Furthermore, the progressive marker *èé* 'PROG' occurs on the major component *tù àdá* 'sing' in V1 in (7-44). Also, the negation markers *méé* 'PROG.NEG' and *máá* 'PROG.NEG' occur on the major components in *tù àdá* 'sing' in (7-45a) and *bɔ́ fɛ́bí* in (7-45b), respectively. Also, the future marker *áà* 'FUT' occurs on the major component *tɕúrɔ́ẃ* 'write' in (7-46d). As a result of these grammatical restrictions, *ná* in V2 position in the benefactive SVCs may be described as a 'minor' verb. And, by virtue of *ná* being a 'minor' verb, the constructions in which it occurs may be characterised as asymmetrical SVCs.

In the benefactive SVCs, the V1 or major component may involve an intransitive verb, as in (7-44),[252] (7-46a) and (7-46b), a mono-transitive verb, as in (7-46c) – (7-46d) or a ditransitive verb, as in (7-46e). In (7-44), the V1 is composed of the verb *tu* and its complement *àdá* 'song' to express the verbal meaning 'sing'. In (7-45b), the V1 is composed of the copular verb *bɔ́* 'be' and the adjective *fɛ́bí* 'well. In (7-46d), the transitive V1 *tɕúrɔ́ẃ* 'write' occurs with an unexpressed Theme or object. The unexpressed object in (7-46d) and the overtly expressed object

[251] The form of the agreement marker *àn*'1PL' is as a result of a deletion of its final vowel (see discussion of such vowel deletion in §3.4.1. in Chapter 3.

[252] In (7-44), the form *tù àdá* of the verb 'sing' appears to be transitive but its meaning is intransitive, as explained above.

ɳtá 'wine' in (7-46c), each is shared by both components in their respective SVCs. in (7-46e), the direct object *ɕìká* 'money' is shared by both components while the indirect object *Ámá* is for the V1 only. Each of the examples of the benefactive SVCs in (7-44) – (7-46e) involve same subject sharing which is singly marked on the initial component. Thus, in (7-44) for instance, components share the same subject represented by the agreement marker *àn*'1PL' which occurs with the initial component *tu àdá*.

(7-46) a. *mù-wú* *ná* *ḿ*
3SG-die give 1SG
's/he died for me' (Elicitation)

b. *mù-wó* *wírì* *ná* *!né*
3SG-body be.cool give 3SG
's/he is humble to him/her'[253] (Hans_BoatNm; 9b)

c. *mù-sɔ̀* *ɳtá* *ná* *ḿ*
3SG-buy wine give 1SG
's/he bought me wine' (Elicitation)

d. *m-áà-tɕúrɔ́ẃ* *ná* *m̀*
1SG-FUT-write give 3SG
'I will write (it) for him' (Hans_BoatNm: 53)

e. *mù-ná* *!ámá* *ɕìká* *ná* *ḿ*
3SG-give Ama money give 1SG
's/he gave Ama money on my behalf' (Elicitation)

[253] The meaning of the SVC in (7-45b) is somewhat idiomatic.

The function of the V2 *ná* and the specified NP in the benefactive SVCs is parallel to the function of an adjunct in other languages, such that the range of meanings expressed by the benefactive SVCs is expressed through the use of prepositions in other languages, such as English. This could be noticed from the free translation of the example sentences where *ná*, although glossed as 'give', is free-translated into English prepositions such as 'for'. The benefactive SVC is characterised as asymmetrical as it includes a minor verb. Again, the benefactive SVCs are of the type *increasing valency and specifying argument*, such that *ná* 'give' specifies an argument and thereby increases the valency of the construction. The benefactive SVCs in (7-44) and (7-45b) are represented in Schema 7-20 and 7-21, respectively. Schema 7-22 represents (7-46a) – (7-46b). Schema 7-23 represents (7-46c) – (7-46d) while Schema 7-24 represents (7-46e).

Schema 7-20: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL} $V2_{'give'}$ $NP_{BENEFACTIVE}$]
Schema 7-21: [NP_{THEME} $V1_{COPULAR}$ ADJ $V2_{'give'}$ $NP_{BENEFACTIVE}$]
Schema 7-22: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ $V2_{'give'}$ $NP_{BENEFACTIVE}$]
Schema 7-23: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{'give'}$ $NP_{BENEFACTIVE}$]
Schema 7-24: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{DITR}$ $NP_{RECIPIENT}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{'give'}$ $NP_{BENEFACTIVE}$]

7.8.7. The Causative ná 'give'

Another asymmetrical SVC in Efutu which involves an extended use of *ná* 'give' is labelled as Causative SVC. In the Causative SVC, *ná* occurs as V1 to semantically assign a Causer role to the NP that precedes it. The V2 denotes the state-of-affairs described in the construction. Usually, the basic interpretation of the causative construction is that the state-of-affairs expressed in the V2 is caused by or conditioned by the causer, which means that the causer does not perform any act, but rather the causer creates the condition(s) necessary for another participant to perform an act, or for the state-of-affairs expressed by the V2 to prevail. The participant may therefore be assigned a Causer role while the Causee assumes a role, such as Agent, Patient, or Theme, among other roles. Examples (7-47a) – (7-47e) illustrate the causative SVCs. In each of the examples, the minor verb *ná* 'give'

occurs as an initial component to mark causation in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the major component. Thus, in (7-47a) for instance, the V1 *ná* 'give' semantically assigns a Causer role to the preceding NP represented by the agreement marker *mɔ̀* '3SG'. The Causer *mɔ̀* '3SG' causes or permits the Actor *mì* '1SG' to perform the activity *dì átɔ̂* 'eat' denoted by the V2 in (7-47a).

One of the reasons for characterising *ná* 'give' as a minor verb is the closed nature of its class: it is the only member of its class. Another reason for the case of a minor verb is the function of *ná* 'give' in the SVCs: it simply carries the preceding NP to assign it a Causer role, while the state-of-affairs expressed by the construction is denoted by the V2 which functions as major verb. So, for instance, in (7-47a) the V1 *ná* 'give' carries the referent of the agreement marker *mɔ̀* '3SG' and assigns it a Causer role while the major component *dì átɔ̂* 'eat' denotes the state-of-affairs expressed in the SVC. That the meaning expressed by the construction is denoted by the major component *dì átɔ̂* 'eat' suggests that *ná* 'give' has an unequal status in the SVC in (7-47a). The causative verb *ná* 'give' in (7-47a) may therefore be considered as a minor verb in the SVC. Consequently, the causative SVC in (7-47a) is asymmetrical, as its composition includes a minor verb.

(7-47) a. *mɔ̀-ná* *mì-dì* *átɔ̂*
3SG-give 1SG-eat thing
's/he let me eat' (Elicitation)

b. *á-!ná* *ání-bá* *éwúsɔ̀*
IMPERS-give 1PL-come home
'*it* let us come home / we are allowed to come home' (Ankw_DvOL: 41)

c. *ìné* [*ná* *mí-nà* *m̀pòrɔ̀kʊ́*]
PART give 1SG-walk little
'then let me walk a little' (Abraham_Story: 48)

d. *mʊ̀-ná* *àprósì-wó* *àmʊ̀* *àsóbí* *kà*
3SG-give police-people 3PL ears hear
's/he let the police hear (of it)' (Radio_Peace1: 97)

e. *mí-ná* *ɔ́-ná* *mí* *ɕìká* *m̀pòrɔ̀kʊ́*
1SG-give 2SG-give 1SG money little
'I let you give me a little money' (KwbAt_MtdOF: 81)

Each of the causative SVCs involves switch-function: the object of the V1 is identical to the subject of the V2. Thus, in (7-47a) for instance, the Causee *mì* '1SG' which is the object of the V1 *ná* 'give' is also the subject of the V2 *dì átɔ̂* 'eat'.

In the causative SVCs, the V2 may be intransitive, mono-transitive, or ditransitive. In (7-47a), the V2 involves an intransitive use of the verb *dì* which occurs with an obligatory complement *átɔ̂* 'thing' to express the verbal meaning 'eat'. In (7-47b), the V2 involves an intransitive verb *bá* 'come' which occurs with an optional GOAL *éwúsɔ̀* 'home'. Example (7-47c) involves an intransitive V2 'walk' with an optional adverb *m̀prɔ̀kʊ́* 'little'. The causative verb occurs without an overt Causer in (7-47c); the construction is interpreted as having a sort of semantic undertone, such as contemplation or pondering. In (7-47d), the V2 involves a transitive verb *kà* 'hear' with an unexpressed object; the Causee argument is composed of the possessive NP *àprósì-wó àmʊ̀ àsóbí* (lit.) 'the policemen's ears'. In (7-47e), the V2 involves a ditransitive verb *ná* 'give' which occurs with a direct object *ɕìká* 'money' and an indirect object *ɔ́* '2SG'.

In the causative SVCs, verbal markers may occur on both components in some cases whereas in other cases they occur on the V1 only. This is illustrated in

(7-48a)-(7-48k). Examples in which verbal markers occur on both components include (7-48a)-(7-48c) and (7-48h): the habitual marker occurs on both components in (7-48a); the perfect marker occurs on both components in (7-48b) and (7-48h); in (7-48c), the perfect marker occurs on the V1 while the progressive marker occurs on the V2. This exemplifies concordant marking of the categories in these SVCs (see discussion of single and concordant marking of tense, aspect and mood in SVCs in §7.4.2.). Example (7-48c) further illustrates formal marking of different aspectual categories in an SVC.[254] Examples in which verbal markers occur on V1 only include (7-48d) – (7-48f) and (7-48h) – (7-48k). The future marker occurs on the V1 in (7-48d) and (7-48f); the negation marker occurs on the V1 in (7-48e), (7-48f), (7-48g) and (7-48k). Figure 7-1 summarises the above-described aspectual combinations and their order of occurrence in the concordant marking in the causative SVCs.

(7-48) a. *mɔ̀-ʊ́-ná* *mì-í-dì* *átɔ̂*
3SG-HAB-give 1SG-HAB-eat thing
's/he allows me to eat' (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-ń-ná* *mì-ń-dì* *átɔ̂*
3SG-PERF-give 1SG-PERF-eat thing
's/he has allowed me to eat' (Elicitation)

c. *mɔ̀-ń-ná* *m-ɛ̀ɛ́-dì* *átɔ̂*
3SG-PERF-give 1SG-PROG-eat thing
's/he has allowed me and I am eating' (Elicitation)

d. *mʊ́-!á-ná* *mì-dí* *átɔ̂*
3SG-FUT-give 1SG-eat thing
's/he will allow me to eat' (Elicitation)

[254] See discussion on marking of grammatical categories in SVCs in §7.4.2, above; the discussion makes reference to earlier conception that such marking of components for different aspectual categories is not possible.

e. *mú-!ń-ná* *mì-dí* *átɔ̂*

3SG-PAST.NEG-give 1SG-eat thing

's/he did not allow me to eat' (Elicitation)

f. *mú-á-nà* *mì-dí* *átɔ̂*

3SG-HAB.NEG-give 1SG-eat thing

's/he does not allow me to eat' (Elicitation)

g. *mù-ń-ná* *àprósì-wó* *àmù* *àsóbí* *ń-kà*

3SG-PERF-give police-people 3PL ears PERF-hear

's/he has informed the police (Elicitation)

h. *mú-à-nà* *àprósì-wó* *àmù* *àsóbí* *kà*

3SG-FUT-give police-people 3PL ears hear

'she will inform the police' (Elicitation)

j. *mú-á-nà* *àprósì-wó* *àmù* *àsóbí* *kà*

3SG-HAB.NEG-give police-people 3PL ears hear

's/he does not inform the police' (Elicitation)

k. *mú-!ń-ná* *àprósì-wó* *àmù* *àsóbí* *kà*

3SG-PAST.NEG-give police-people 3PL ears hear

's/he did not inform the police (Elicitation)

Figure 7-1: Concordant marking of aspect in Efutu causative SVCs

	V1	V2
(i)	Habitual	Habitual
(ii)	Perfect	Perfect
(iii)	Perfect	Progressive

An observation in the causative SVCs regards tone variation in the causative verb: a

Low tone *nà* 'give' occurs in (7-48f), (7-48j) and (7-48h) whereas a High tone *ná* 'give occurs in the rest of the examples. The cause of such variation in tone has not been investigated in this study. The causative SVCs are of the semantic type *increasing valency and specifying argument*: the valency of the construction is increased through the use of the minor verb *ná* 'give'. The causative SVCs in (7-47a), (7-47b), (7-47c), (7-47d) and (7-47e) are represented in Schemata 7-25, 7-26, 7-27, 7-28 and 7-29, respectively.

Schema 7-25: [NP_{CAUSER} $V1_{'give'}$ $NP_{CAUSEE/ACTOR}$ $V2_{INTR}$ NP_{COMPL}]
Schema 7-26: [NP_{CAUSER} $V1_{'give'}$ $NP_{CAUSEE/ACTOR}$ $V2_{INTR}$ (GOAL)]
Schema 7-27: [__ $V1_{'give'}$ $NP_{CAUSEE/ACTOR}$ $V2_{INTR}$ (ADV)]
Schema 7-28: [NP_{CAUSER} $V1_{'give'}$ $NP_{CAUSEE/EXPERIENCER}$ $V2_{TR}$ NP_{THEME}]
Schema 7-29: [NP_{CAUSER} $V1_{'give'}$ $NP_{CAUSEE/ACTOR}$ $V2_{DITR}$ $NP_{RECIPIENT}$ NP_{THEME}]

It is worth noting that the Efutu causative SVC discussed above is somehow similar to the Efutu cause-effect SVCs discussed in §7.7.2. The two SVC types are similar in the sense that each of them involves a 'cause' and 'effect' semantics: in each of the types, the intial component denotes a cause while the other denotes an effect, as explained and illustrated in §7.7.2., and in this section. Moreover, they both involve iconic order of components which reflects the sequence of the sub-events in the construction, as explained in §7.7.2., and in this section. Indeed, there is an observation that, cross-linguistically, cause-effect SVCs and causative SVCs tend to have similarities (Aikhenvald 2006: 29). Nevertheless, in Efutu, these two SVC types differ from each other in some respects. For instance, in the causative SVC, the V1 which represents the verb of causation cannot be any other verb apart from the minor verb *ná* 'give', as discussed above. Consequently the Efutu causative SVCs are considered asymmetrical. The Efutu cause-effect SVC on the other hand has no such restrictions on the verb of causation,[255] thus, none of the components is considered as a 'minor' verb, and hence the construction is symmetrical in composition.

[255] See examples (7-33a) and (7-33b) of the cause-effect SVCs in §7.7.2., where verbs of causation from unrestricted class include 'set trap' and 'push'.

7.8.8. Locative bɔ̀ SVCs

Another asymmetrical SVC in Efutu involves the minor verb *bɔ̀* glossed as 'be.at'.[256] In these constructions, *bɔ̀* occurs as a minor component in V2 to specify an NP to which it assigns the semantic role Locative in relation to the state-of-affairs expressed in the major component in V1. The Locative *bɔ̀* in these SVCs is suggested to be related to the copula *bɔ̀* analysed in §4.6.2 in Chapter 4 as a linker of subjects to predicative adjectives and predicative nominals. In the copula constructions in §4.6.2., *bɔ̀* was shown to link subjects to locative expressions to indicate location[257] – a natural extension of this is expressing a locative relation in these SVCs. Thus, in the locative SVCs, *bɔ̀* is employed as a minor verb to introduce an NP and semantically assign Locative role to it in relation to the major component.

The characterisation of *bɔ̀* as a 'minor' verb in the locative SVCs stems from the fact that it exhibits certain restrictions. As a non-initial component, *bɔ̀* fails to occur with verbal markers, including tense, aspect, mood and negation markers, as well as agreement markers, as illustrated in the examples below. Furthermore, *bɔ̀* has unequal status in the SVCs: the state-of-affairs expressed by the construction is denoted by the V1, the major component, while *bɔ̀* only indicates location in relation to that state-of-affairs. Moreover, *bɔ̀* constitutes a closed class: it is the only member of its class. Therefore, *bɔ̀* may be characterised as a minor verb. Consequently, each of the locative *bɔ̀* SVCs is asymmetrical in composition, as a result of their inclusion of a minor verb.

The NP specified by *bɔ̀* in the Efutu locative SVCs may but need not be inherently locative. When the specified NP is NOT inherently locative, it occurs

[256] In the context of the SVCs, the gloss 'be.at' of *bɔ̀* is used as a result of its locative semantics (compare the gloss 'be' of the related copular verb *bɔ̀* in §4.6.3 in Chapter 4). Moreover such a unified gloss helps to ensure invariant glossing, as there is the tendency for variant glossing due to somewhat different semantics that ensue from the type of verb the V2 (or the major verb) involves. Such differences in semantics is reflected in the different free translations of *bɔ̀*, including 'in' (7-49a) and (7-49d), 'on' (7-49b) – (7-49c), and 'from' (7-49e) – (7-49f).

[257] See for instance example (4-110d) in §4.6.3 in Chapter 4.

with a locative noun.[258] In such situations, the locative noun occurs after the specified NP. The specified NP can be omitted or left implicit but the locative noun cannot. The locative noun is therefore considered to be obligatory in such situations. Meanwhile, when the NP specified by *bɔ̀* is inherently locative, no such obligatory locative noun is required. These observations will be pointed out in the discussion of the examples. The locative SVCs are illustrated in (7-49a) – (7-49g).

In each of the locative SVCs in (7-49a) – (7-49g), *bɔ̀* is employed as a minor verb to introduce an NP and semantically assign a locative role to it in relation to the major component. Thus, in (7-49a) for instance, *bɔ̀* 'be at' is employed as a minor verb to introduce the noun *ŋ̀kìràǹ* 'Accra' and semantically assign a locative role to it in relation to the major component *sɔ̀* 'buy'. *Bɔ̀* 'be at' is considered as a minor verb: in (7-49a) for instance, the state-of-affairs described in the SVC is denoted by the V2 or major component *sɔ̀* 'buy' while *bɔ̀* 'be at' only indicates location in relation to that state-of-affairs, thus *bɔ̀* has an unequal status in the SVC. Moreover, *bɔ̀* exhibits certain grammatical restrictions: as a minor verb, *bɔ̀* 'be at' fails to occur with verbal markers. Rather, verbal markers occur on the major component. For instance, the future marker *béè* 'FUT' and the progressive marker *á* 'PROG' occur on the major component in (7-49b) and (7-49c), respectively. Also, agreement markers *àní* '1PL' and *ó* '2SG' occur on the major component in initial position in (7-49a) and (7-49b), respectively.

(7-49) a. *àní-sɔ̀ bɔ̀ ŋ̀kìràǹ*[259]
1PL-buy be.at Accra
'we bought it in Accra' (Elicitation)

[258] See discussion of locative nouns in § 4.2. in Chapter 4.
[259] *Ǹkìràǹ* is another term used by some ethnic groups in Ghana to refer to Ghana's capital, Accra.

b. *ó-béè-kù* *bɔ̀* *pípà* *sò*

2SG-FUT-cut be.at paper top

'you'll cut (it) on paper' (Hans_Art: 31)

c. *mù-á-jéjà* *nú* *bɔ̀* *dààdí* *nù* *sò*

3SG-PROG-arrange fish be.at metal DEF top

'she is arranging fish on the metal' (VdDscn_Efua: 32)

d. *mù-bɔ̀* *dɛ́édí* *bɔ̀* *tɔ̂*

1SG-have faith be.at inside

'I have faith in it' (Hans_Art: 47)

e. *átɔ́* *ɛ̀* *í-ɲáńtá* *ǹ* *nà* [àní-*dɛ́á*

thing that 3SG-be.damaged CF CONJ 1PL-remove

bɔ̀ *tɔ̂*]

be.at inside

'what is damaged, we remove from inside (we take out whatever is damaged)' (Ankw_Net: 121)

f. *mù-sótɛ̀ì* *né* *bɔ̀* *Àmèhú* *mù-àsáɾ̀*

3SG-snatch 3SG be.at Ahemu 3SG-palm(s)

'he snatched her from Amehu's hands' (VdDscn_Efua: 24)

g. *ɔ̀bɔ̀dáḿ* *ǹ* *mù-wú* *bɔ̀* *éwúsô*

dog DEF 3SG-die be.at home

'the dog died at home' (Hans_Art: 36)

As mentioned above, the NP specified by *bɔ̀* may constitute a noun which is inherently locative, such as *ŋ̀kìràǹ* 'Accra' in (7-49a). In (7-49a), *ŋ̀kìràǹ* 'Accra' does not occur with a locative noun since it is inherently locative, i.e., the noun

ŋ̀kìràǹ 'Accra' has the feature [+Location]. Alternatively the specified NP may constitute a noun which is inherently non-locative, such as in (7-49b) where the noun *pípà* 'paper' is inherently non-locative, i.e., the noun *pípà* 'paper' has the feature [-Location] and therefore occurs with the obligatory locative noun *sò* 'top'. As an obligatory constituent, the locative noun cannot be omitted in the construction, as illustrated in (7-50a) – (7-50b). In (7-50a), the omission of the locative noun *sò* 'top' makes the construction ungrammatical since the noun *pípà* 'paper' has the feature [-Location], whereas in (7-50b), the occurrence of the locative noun 'top' alone without the noun *pípà* 'paper' is grammatical.[260] And, in (7-49d), for instance, the locative noun *tɔ̂* 'inside' occurs alone without another noun.

(7-50) a. **ó-béè-kù bɔ̀ pípà*
2SG-FUT-cut be.at paper
(Elicitation)

b. *ó-béè-kù bɔ̀ sò*
2SG-FUT-cut be.at top
'you'll cut (it) on (it)' (Elicitation)

Transitive, as well as intransitive verbs may occur as a major component in the locative SVC. For instance, the transitive verbs *sɔ̀* 'buy' and *kù* 'cut' occur in (7-49a) and (7-49b), respectively, each with an unexpressed object; an overtly expressed object *nú* 'fish' occurs with the transitive verb *jéjà* 'arrange' in (7-49c). An intransitive verb *wú* 'die' occurs as a major component in (7-49g).

[260] In another study, Frajzyngier (1974a) provides a similar analysis for the equivalent form of the locative NP in Awutu, a sister dialect of Efutu. Frajzyngier (1974a) describes the Awutu locative NP as 'spatial qualifier' of the verb and the locative noun as a 'locative case marker'. With reference to Awutu, Frajzyngier (1974a: 62) explains that when an NP has the feature [+ Space], it occurs alone without the locative case marker to function as locative NP; alternatively, when an NP has the feature [-Space], then it requires a locative case marker in order to function as a locative NP. Thus, the Awutu locative NP behaves in a similar way as the Efutu equivalent.

The function of the *bɔ̀*, viz., the specifying of location for an NP in the SVCs, is comparable to the function of prepositions in other languages, including English. As a result, the constructions are freely translated into English with prepositional equivalents, such as 'in' in (7-49a) and (7-49d), 'on' in (7-49b) – (7-49c), and 'from' in (7-49e) – (7-49f). Furthermore, the role of the *bɔ̀* component (including the specified NP) in the SVCs may be comparable to the role of adjuncts. That *bɔ̀* performs a function similar to the function of prepositions in other languages may suggest a reanalysis of the serial verb *bɔ̀* as a preposition in Efutu. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether such reanalysis has occurred, as this would make it the only preposition in the language.

The tone of *bɔ̀* is consistently found to be Low. The locative SVCs are of the semantic type *increasing valency and specifying argument*. Schema 7-30 represents a locative SVC with a transitive V1, such as (7-49a), while Schema 7-31 represents one with an intransitive V1, such as (7-49g).

Schema 7-30: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{TR}$ NP_{THEME} $V2_{bɔ}$ NP_{LOC}]

Schema 7-31: [NP_{ACTOR} $V1_{INTR}$ $V2_{bɔ}$ NP_{LOC}]

7.8.9. Summary of the Efutu asymmetrical SVCs

Three main semantic types of asymmetrical SVCs identified in Efutu include:

(i) aspectual SVCs (§7.8.1.)

(ii) comparative SVCs (§7.8.2.)

(iii) increasing valency and specifying argument (IVSA) SVCs

The semantic type IVSA further involves four subtypes:

a. 'take' SVCs (§7.8.3)

b. benefactive *ná* SVCs (§7.8.6)

c. causative *ná* SVCs (§7.8.7)

d. locative *bɔ̀* SVCs (§7.8.8.)

The following generalisations could be made of the Efutu asymmetrical SVCs:

- In each of the asymmetrical SVC types and subtypes, the minor verb

constitutes a closed class with only one member. For instance, in the semantic type aspectual, the only member of the minor verb class is the verb *nɔ́kɔ̀rà* 'finish' (see examples in §7.8.1., above). Likewise, in the semantic subtype causative, the only verb that features as a minor verb is *ná* 'give' (see examples in §7.8.7., above).

- In the semantic types 'take' (§7.8.3.) and causative (§7.8.7.), the minor verb occurs in V1. In all other semantic types of the asymmetrical SVCs, including the aspectual SVCs (§7.8.1.), the comparative (§7.8.2.), the benefactive SVCs (§7.8.6.) and the locative SVCs (§7.8.8.), the minor verb occurs in V2.
- Same-subject sharing occurs in the semantic types aspectual (§7.8.1.), comparative (§7.8.2.) and benefactive (§7.8.6.); cumulative subject sharing occurs in the semantic type 'take' (§7.8.3.); switch-function argument sharing occurs in the semantic types causative (§7.8.7.) and locative (§7.8.8.).
- Single marking of subject occurs in all cases of same-subject sharing (see § 7.3.1., and also §8.4.1., and §7.4.4.).
- Single marking of tense, aspect and mood occurs in all the semantic types of the asymmetrical SVCs; concordant marking of some aspectual categories occurs in the semantic type causative (see §7.4.2.).
- Single marking of negation is recorded in all semantic types of the asymmetrical SVCs (7.4.3.).

Table 7-2 summarizes some basic features of the various asymmetrical SVC types and subtypes.

Table 7-2: Basic features of the Efutu asymmetrical SVCs

Semantic type		Minor verb	Position of minor verb	Argument sharing
Main type	**Subtype**			
Aspectual		*nɔ́kʊ̀rà* 'finish'	V2 (non-initial)	Same subject
Comparative		*fã́* 'surpass'	V2 (non-initial)	Same subject
IVSA	'Take'	*ná/nɪ́*[261] 'take'	V1 (initial)	Cumulative subject
	Benefactive	*ná* 'give'	V2 (non-initial)	Same subject
	Causative	*ná* 'give'	V1 (initial)	Switch function
	Locative	*bɔ̀* 'be at'	V2 (non-initial)	Switch function

7.9. Wàà/ bàà: directional morphemes or serial verb?

In §4.6.3. of Chapter 4, the forms *wàà* and *bàà*[262] (and their allomorphic variants *wèè* and *bèè*, respectively) are discussed, where their apparently equivalent forms in other languages are said to have been analysed variously as auxiliary verbs or motional prefixes (egressive/ingressive markers) by different authors. In §4.6.3., it was mentioned that although all authors agree on the point that the forms developed from lexical verbs meaning 'go' and 'come', none of the authors suggested an SVC analysis. In this chapter, the forms are revisited to further analyse their properties that suggest that they do not constitute components in an SVC.

As explained in §4.6.3. of Chapter 4, when the forms occur in sentences, they indicate direction towards or away from the speaker in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the verb they occur with. Such a function of the forms implies motion and direction semantics. In (7-51a) for instance, the form *wàà* 'EGRESS' indicates direction away from the speaker in relation to the state-of-affairs denoted by the verb *dó* 'climb'. Although the meaning of the form *wàà* includes direction or motion semantics, the form cannot occur independently to convey such a motion or direction meaning, as illustrated in (7-51b). In such a context, a typical motion verb such as *wɔ́* 'go' is used, as in (7-51c). The forms *wàà/bàà* thus occur as directional markers on verbs to convey directional or motion semantics in relation to the verb,

[261] Other phonetic variants include *nì/nà/nù*.
[262] The forms sometimes assume different tone suggested to be conditioned by TAMP

as illustrated with *wàà* 'EGRESS' in (7-51a).

(7-51) a. *àní-wàà-dó* *bóòtú* *ǹ*
1PL-EGRESS-climb boat DEF
'we go to climb the boat' (KsiMens_OnSea: 176)

b. **mù-wàà* *éwúsò*
1SG-EGRESS home
(Elicitation)

c. *mù-wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG-go home
'I went home' (Elicitation)

In their occurrence, *wàà/bàà* do not form serial verb construction with the verb they occur with, i.e., they do not constitute a component of an SVC. They simply provide directional modification for the verb they occur with, as explained above. In an SVC, they may occur with one or more components to provide directional modification, as in (7-52a) where *wàà* 'EGRESS' occurs with the V1 *sɔ̀* 'buy'. It is even possible for *wàà/bàà* to occur immediately after a motion verb, as in (7-52b) where *wàà* 'EGRESS' occurs with the V2 *sɔ̀* 'buy', following the V1 *wɔ́* 'go', and in (7-52c) where *béè* 'INRESS' occurs with the V2 *dẓíré* 'stand', following the V1 *bà* 'come', further evidence that *wàà/bàà* does not form a component in an SVC.

(7-52) a. *mù-wàà-sɔ̀* *ìnú* *wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG.EGRESS-buy fish go home
'I went to buy fish and went home' (Elicitation)

b *mù-wɔ́* *wàà-sɔ̀* *ìnú* *wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG-go EGRESS-buy fish go home
'I went and bought fish and went home' (Elicitation)

c. *mù-bà* *béè-dẓíré* *ásútɔ̀*
1SG-come INRESS-stand ground
'I came to stand on the ground' (Elicitation)

Furthermore, *wàà/bàà* cannot take SOURCE/GOAL or an adverb, as do motion verbs. In (7-53a), the V1 *wɔ́* 'go', which is a motion verb, occurs with the GOAL *pùàsí* 'beach'; such a GOAL cannot occur with *wàà*, as illustrated in (7-53b), further evidence that *wàà* does not form a component of an SVC.

(7-53) a. *mù-wɔ́* *pùàsí* *wàà-sɔ̀* *ìnú* *wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG-go beach EGRESS-buy fish go home
'I went to the beach to buy fish and went home' (Elicitation)

b. **mù-wàà* *pùàsí* *sɔ̀* *ìnú* *wɔ́* *éwúsò*
1SG-EGRESS beach buy fish go home
(Elicitation)

Wàà/bàà may occur with one or several other verbal markers. In (7-54), markers on the verb *kúrò* 'borrow' include the subject agreement marker *ɔ̀* '2SG', the future marker *báà* 'FUT', the subjunctive mood marker *dáǹ* 'MOOD' and the directional morpheme *wáá* 'EGRESS'

(7-54) *ɔ̀-máà* *kó* *áá,* *ɔ̀-báà-dáǹ-wáá-kúrò* *kó*

2SG-NEG.have one COND 2SG-FUT-MOOD-EGRESS-borrow one

bɔ̀ *páàkò*

be.at somewhere

'if you don't have one, you can go and borrow one from somewhere'

(KM_onSea: 184)

In summary, *wàà* and *bàà* occur on verbs as directional morphemes rather than constituting a component of an SVC. In SVCs, *wàà/bàà* may occur on one or more components to function as directional morpheme. In conclusion, the forms *wàà* and *bàà* may have grammaticalised from previously component verbs in SVCs into their current status as directional morphemes (for examples of such grammaticalisation in other languages, see Heine and Kuteva 2002; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994).

7.10. Summary and discussion

This chapter has focused its discussion on Efutu SVCs. Defining features that distinguish SVCs from other multi-verb constructions in the language have been described (§7.2.). Properties of the Efutu SVCs, including argument sharing (§7.3.), marking of grammatical categories (§7.4.) and transitivity (§7.5.) have been detailed and analysed. Compositionality in the SVCs has been outlined in (7.6.). From the two main composition types, viz., symmetrical and asymmetrical, various semantic types have been detailed and analysed in (§7.7.) and (§7.8.). Functional properties of the Efutu SVCs have been discussed in line with the various semantic types in (§7.7.) and (§7.8.). Other language specific properties of the individual semantic types have been described in their respective sections. Finally, non-verbal status of two directional morphemes in the language have been demonstrated and explained in (§7.9). The description and analysis of the Efutu SVCs have been done in the context of cross-linguistic discussion of the phenomenon; similarities as well as divergences between the Efutu SVCs and those from some other languages have been highlighted. The analysis of the SVCs has revealed that Efutu has different SVC types not only in terms of semantics but also in terms of their formal properties

such as argument sharing, transitivity, and marking of grammatical categories. Different argument sharing patterns in the Efutu SVCs include same-subject sharing, cumulative subject sharing and switch-function argument sharing. A given sharing type may cut across different semantic types:

- same-subject sharing occurs in the semantic types sequential/ concomitant, lexicalised, aspectual, comparative and benefactive (see §7.3.1)
- switch function occurs in the semantic types sequential cause-effect, causative and locative (see §7.3.2)
- cumulative subject sharing occurs in the semantic types 'take' and cause-effect (see §7.3.3)

The analysis has also revealed that within a given semantic type different argument sharing patterns may ensue:

- a sequential SVC may involve either same-subject sharing or switch function sharing, depending on the transitivity of the components[263] (see §7.7.1)
- a cause-effect SVC may involve either switch function or cumulative subject sharing, depending on the thematic roles of the arguments[264] (see §7.7.2)

Furthermore the analysis has revealed that in the SVCs, grammatical categories are formally marked on initial components, except when an initial component is a minor verb (as is the case of the semantic type 'take', for instance). There is also an exceptional case of concordant marking of certain grammatical categories in the semantic type causative (see §7.4. and also §7.8.7.). The analysis has also revealed different transitivity options in some of the semantic types. In the semantic type sequential, for instance, where all components are from unrestricted class, options of transitivity are diverse (see §7.7.1). In the asymmetrical SVCs, there seem to be no restrictions on the transitivity of the major component.

[263] For instance, when the V1 involves a ditransitive verb in a sequential SVC, it results in switch-function argument sharing (see example (7-32f) in §7.7.1).
[264] For instance, when the second argument in a cause-effect SVC involves INSTRUMENT role, it results in cumulative subject sharing.

Chapter 8: Summary and conclusion

8.1. Summary of thesis

This study has presented a descriptive analysis of some aspects of the grammar of Efutu based on a documentation of the language. In total, eight chapters have been presented on various topics of the grammar. The first five chapters constitute Part-1 of the thesis while the last three chapters form Part 2.

In chapter one, a general introduction to the thesis was presented. Sub-topics in Chapter 1 included identification of the main object of study, scope of the description presented in this study, some limitations, and some usefulness of the study. In Chapter 2, a thorough description of my fieldwork and its methodology were presented. Topics of discussion included a description of the field site, local participants in the fieldwork, data gathering methods and tools, data processing methods and tools, types of data collected, and field ethics that were practised. Also outlined in Chapter 2 were some challenges encountered and how they were resolved or managed. Chapter 3 began the description of the grammar with a presentation of some topics in phonology. The chapter starts with a description of the phoneme inventory of Efutu, where consonants and vowels, including nasal vowels are presented. Other topics in the chapter include ATR and Rounding harmony in vowels, syllable structure, the tone system, and other phonological processes. Some details of the discussion include explanation and illustration of the phonemic status of nasal vowels and tone, as well as some functions of tone. Also mentioned are some exceptions to vowel harmony. Chapter 4 discussed parts-of-speech. Morpho-syntactic and semantic criteria are employed to identify various parts-of-speech in Efutu, including nouns, locative nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions. For each part-of-speech identified, universal (or cross-linguistic) characteristics as well as language-specific properties of that part-of-speech are analysed. Some details covered in the chapter include a discussion of the use of an impersonal pronoun as a mechanism for passive-like constructions, the phenomenon of null pronouns for inanimate objects, and the occurrence of subject agreement markers with certain classes of subjects. In Chapter 5, tense, aspect, mood and negation systems were described. Six different paradigms of tense and aspect, including Past, Stative, Perfect, Habitual Future, and Progressive were described. Past and Stative were shown to be unmarked, while the other paradigms

are marked morphologically. Negation in each of the six paradigms was also described. Tone variation, vowel harmony, segment deletion, segment insertion and homorganic nasal assimilation were shown to be prominent processes in tense, aspect and negation marking. Some mood types and forms, including subjunctive, conditional, necessity, imperative, and interrogative were described. Mood marking was shown to involve both peripheral and morphological marking.

Chapter 6 begins Part two of the thesis with a review of literature on serial verb constructions, especially from typological and cross-linguistic perspectives. Details in the chapter include a definition and characterisation of SVCs, a description of some morpho-syntactic and semantic properties, types and subtypes, and functions, among other properties. In addition, the chapter outlined the framework regarding the method and approach for the description and analysis of the Efutu SVCs. It explained how some typological notions were adopted in a predominantly data-driven approach towards the description and analysis of the Efutu SVCs. The chapter served to provide a background to the discussion of the Efutu SVCs in the following chapter.

Chapter 7 discussed Efutu SVCs. The chapter began with a description and illustration of some defining properties of the Efutu SVCs that distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions in the language. The chapter continued with discussions on formal properties of the Efutu SVCs in terms of argument sharing, marking of grammatical categories, transitivity and compositionality.

Further details in Chapter 7 include the analysis of the various semantic types of Efutu SVCs and their functions. Finally, the non-serial verb status of two motional or directional morphemes was clarified in Chapter 7.

This chapter, viz., Chapter 8 concludes the thesis with a summary of all the other chapters (as described above), a discussion of the contribution made by this thesis, and an outline of directions for future research.

8.2. Contributions to linguistics: Efutu, Kwa and general linguistic knowledge

The study of individual languages leads to the recognition of cross-linguistic as well as language-specific properties which help in the formulation of linguistic theories and hypotheses against which languages can be tested to confirm the validity or otherwise of such theories and hypotheses. The study of any individual language

thus contributes to this end. This research thus has implications for the Efutu language, the Kwa group (to which Efutu belongs), and to general linguistic discussion.

This study can claim to be the first ever systematic, detailed, and comprehensive linguistic research on Efutu. Prior to this research, the only available linguistic studies of the language included a few mentioned in §1.5. in Chapter 1, some of which are unpublished and therefore inaccessible. One of these pioneering studies, namely, Obeng (2008), discusses aspects of the grammar. However, the material comes with some shortcomings, as described in §1.5. This study therefore fills some of the gaps in Obeng's work, and aims to correct some of its weaknesses. For instance, this thesis includes a detailed description of its clearly defined methods of obtaining its data and justification for the methods and well as the types of data collected (see Chapter 2). Furthermore, the parts of speech in the language (see Chapter 4), and also the various tense, aspect, mood and negation forms (see Chapter 5) are determined and analysed through well-defined criteria with reference to relevant literature. In this regard, this study is an improvement upon Obeng's work in these areas. In sum, this thesis provides a more accurate description of various aspects of the grammar of Efutu which contributes to our knowledge and understanding of the language and its systems, and also serves as a reference for further studies of the language.

Furthermore, this study contributes to our knowledge of the Kwa group (within the Niger-Congo family), some of whose larger languages (such as Akan and Ewe) have been described, while most of the smaller ones remain understudied. To have a holistic impression of the typology of the Kwa languages, it is important that the smaller languages in the group also get investigated. The language documentation study of Efutu conducted in this research and presented in this thesis in the form of a descriptive analysis contributes to this end. One significant contribution is in the area of tense, aspect, mood and negation in Kwa: the thorough description of these categories in Efutu presented in Chapter 5 makes it possible for a comparison with systems in other related languages to find common as well as uncommon features. For instance, the use of tone and affixation in the expression of these categories which had been reported to occur in some related languages (see for instance Ameka and Dakubu 2008) is found to occur in Efutu. However, a cross-

linguistic attestation of morphological marking of past tense among the Kwa group (Dahl 1985), for instance, is not found in Efutu. This thesis has also recognised a common negation form for three imperfective aspects (progressive, future and habitual), and also a form-function mismatch (deponency) between the past and the perfect and their negative exponents in Efutu.

Some members of the Kwa group have been noted to display vowel harmony, a phenomenon which also exists in unrelated language groups. As a contribution to the discussion, this study has recognised the presence of vowel harmony and illustrated the phenomenon in Efutu, especially in affixation (see §3.4. in Chapter 3), similar to its manifestation in some other Kwa languages (see for instance Dolphyne 1988). Tone is another feature recognized in Kwa languages (Dolphyne 1988; Menscer 1981). The discussion of tone in Chapter 3 has demonstrated how tone operates in Efutu: lexical and grammatical functions of tone have been illustrated. Other contributions from this thesis to Kwa linguistics include the discussion of null-pronouns for inanimate objects (see §4.1.1. in Chapter 4) and the occurrence of agreement markers on verb stems and possessive constructions (see §4.1. and §4.3. in Chapter 3), all of which contribute to our knowledge and understanding of these phenomena across the language group.

Another significant contribution is in the area of serial verb constructions, a phenomenon associated with the Kwa group, and also found in some unrelated languages. As a contentious topic in linguistics (Sperlich 1993: 1-2), the description of more languages will help give a better view and increasing knowledge and understanding about serial verb constructions. As a contribution towards the discussion of SVCs, this study has illustrated how the phenomenon is manifested in Efutu; the various types and subtypes of SVCs, their structures, meanings and functions have been elucidated in Chapter 7. Different patterns of argument sharing in the various SVC types and subtypes in Efutu have been demonstrated. Most of the findings in Efutu are similar to earlier findings from previous studies in other languages. For instance the use of the verbs meaning ‘give’ and ‘take’ as minor verbs in benefactive and instrument(-like) SVCs, respectively, and switch-function argument sharing in causative SVCs have been observed in other serialising languages (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006).

Another significant contribution is the fieldwork methodology described in Chapter 2. As language documentation is a newer development (compared with other sub-disciplines in linguistics), there is a need for more discussion of topics in the discipline. This study does some justice to that quest: Chapter 2 presents a detailed description of the language documentation field methodology from this study, where the methods employed include not only previously recognized ones but also some adjustments and innovations that were adopted to suit the particular context of this research (see for instance the prompted narratives method and the video discussion method in §2.4.4. in Chapter 2). Another area of contribution is the archived language documentation materials which may be accessed by the research community for various uses, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see the ELAR archive in SOAS).

8.3. Contributions to the speech community

In addition to the contributions to linguistics outlined above, this study also represents a contribution that has social significance. Among the almost 80 indigenous Ghanaian languages (see language map on page 18 in Chapter 1) only a fraction, mainly the socio-economically dominant ones, have been subject to documentation and description. Most of the smaller languages which form a majority (in terms of number of languages) are under-studied. It is therefore a notable achievement that a smaller, minority language like Efutu receives a documentation and a description in the form of the research reported in this dissertation. This has several implications for the Efutu language and its speakers, as discussed below.

To the speakers, it is valuable to have their language receive intellectual attention which has resulted in its documentation and description; this can serve as a form of publicity and recognition for the language with its associated prestige. A possible effect of this is a change of attitude of some speakers towards their language, observed over the course of the research carried out. As reported in various studies (Akrofi-Ansah and Agyeman 2013; Agyeman 2013a), some speakers, especially those who have received higher education (i.e. secondary level and beyond) express a negative attitude towards their language. A new status for the language, viz., as a studied one, may lead to a change in such a negative attitude. Another possibility is new domains of use. As reported (Akrofi-Ansah and

Agyeman 2013; Agyeman 2013a), Efutu has limited domains of use in its speech community. Again, a new status as a described language may ultimately lead to increased domains of use, including in parents-teachers association (PTA) meetings, church services, durbars, media programmes and court proceedings. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 2, some community members who were involved in the fieldwork activities learned new skills, including transcription and translation, which may be useful in other activities, such as in the area of language development.

Furthermore, as Ghana seeks to embark on an implementation of a mother-tongue language policy in primary education (Agyeman 2013b), the production of teaching and learning materials in the indigenous languages becomes imperative. However, only nine or eleven indigenous languages have achieved literacy status and are in use in schools in the various regions of the country (again, see Agyeman 2013b). As a result, many children are not benefiting from the mother-tongue education policy as their languages are not (yet) included in school curricula due to several reasons, one of which is the lack of documentation and description. If such a policy is to attain full implementation (or at least expand to include more local languages), Efutu will have a comparative advantage in the sense that the documentation and especially the descriptive grammar presented in this thesis will provide a reference for literacy materials.

8.4. Future research

In the course of the discussion in the various chapters, a number of issues have been raised that did not receive satisfactory explanations or detailed discussion. Some of those issues may be recalled here. To begin with, matters concerning the language name and its speakers, especially regarding the terms ‘Simpa’ and ‘Efutu’ (see further details in §1.6. in Chapter 1) and any other terms may require a more detailed study. Further, turn-taking in conversation is briefly described in §2.4.3. in Chapter 2, however, a full scale study of turn-taking in the language could be profitably undertaken. Another unsettled difficulty concerns the prosodic nature of serial verb constructions: the Efutu SVCs and indeed SVCs in other languages are characterised impressionistically as having an intonation pattern similar to that of a single-verb clause rather than those of other multi-verb constructions (see §6.1.4. in Chapter 6 and also §7.2.1. in Chapter 7), however, in order to strengthen such an

assertion, a prosodic study which makes use of a systematic acoustic analysis, for instance, may be required of the various constructions. Furthermore, the different phonetic shapes of the serial verb 'take' (see §7.8.3. in Chapter 7) need further examination to determine the actual factor(s) responsible for such variations in the verb's form. In addition to the discrepancies and proposals mentioned in the discussions in the various chapters, as outlined above, there are several other topics that may be considered for future studies, especially, as Efutu has not received much research to date.

In the course of the analysis, my attention was drawn to certain structures which I initially considered as cases of modification. However, a closer look suggested an alternative analysis such as compounding or another process, as I noticed that the ordering of the components was not consistent with a modification analysis, as exemplified in (8-1)-(8-2) below.

(8-1) a. *ámànàá jìbí*

plantain tree

'plantain tree' (a type of tree) (Elicitation)

b. *ǹsú àjíǹɕé dɑ̂*

water under net

'under-sea net' (a type of net) (KM_onSea: 1)

(10-2) a. *ɔ̀pùsrɛ̋ɛ́̋ kómé*

octopus one

'one octopus' (KM_HookMthd: 13)

b. *jìbí kúkùbí*

tree short

'a short tree' (Elicitation)

The structure in (8-1a) was initially considered as a case of modification in which *ámànàá* 'plantain' performs the function of modifying *jìbí* 'tree'. Likewise, in (8-1b), *ǹsú* 'water' and *àjíǹ¢é* 'under' were considered to form a constituent to modify the following noun *dâ* 'net'. The above described analysis in (8-1a)-(8-1b) suggests that the modifier precedes the modified. However, such an analysis is inconsistent with the structures in (8-2a)-(8-2b), where the modifiers *kómé* 'one' and *kúkùbí* 'short' follow the modified *ɔ̀pùsrɛ̃́ĩ́* 'octopus' and *jìbí* 'tree', respectively (see also discussion of the structure of the noun phrase in §4.1. in Chapter 4). The analysis of structures like those in (8-1)-(8-2) could be examined in a future study.

Another topic that may be investigated is reduplication. From the Efutu data, reduplication is observed in verbs and adjectives, as exemplified in (8-3).

(8-3)	Simple form	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	*sɛ́ǹ*	*síǹ-sɛ̀ǹ*	'hang'
c.	*ànápɑ̃́*	*ànápɑ̃́-ànápɑ̃́*	'big'
d.	*fɛ́ẃ*	*fɛ̃̀ɛ́-fɛ́ɛ́-fɛ́ẃ*	'beautiful

In (8-3a), the initial segment of the reduplicated form contains a different vowel but same tone as the simple form, while the second part has the same form but different tone as the simple form. In (8-3b), each segment of the reduplicated form is identical to the simple form. Example (8-3c) involves triplication: the first and second segments are similar but with a difference in tone; also, the form of the first and second segments are different from the simple form, while the third segment is identical to the simple form. Each of the reduplication forms seems to involve plurality and also possibly intensity and/or repetitiveness. The illustration in (8-3) demonstrates complex processes and operations of reduplication in Efutu. It will be worthwhile to investigate this phenomenon to examine, for instance, the types and subtypes of reduplication, such as partial and total/full reduplication, functions, and other word-classes that may reduplicate.

Another possible topic for future study is nominalisation. As suggested in §4.4. in Chapter 4, some adjectives may undergo nominalisation to perform the

function of a noun in clauses; a more detailed examination of such a nominalisation process is necessary. Also other forms of nominalisation, such as nominalisation of verbs, and also of serial verbs in Efutu may be explored in future research.

In Chapter 3 (see §3.3.), lexical and grammatical functions of Low and High tone were explained and illustrated, and it was mentioned that in addition to High and Low tone, Falling and Downstep-High (or Mid) tone also occur in Efutu. However, the conditions under which Falling and Downstep-High tone occur and their functions have not been fully investigated. The illustration in (8-5)-(8-6) seems to suggest a kind of grammatical (or pragmatic) or another function of the Falling tone, for instance.

(8-5) a. *mʊ̀-bɔ̀ dʑédí bɔ̀* ***tɔ̂***

1SG-have belief be.at inside

'I have faith in it' (Han_Art: 49)

b. *ɪ̀-kɑ̃́ tɕɛ́ǹsɪ̃́ nʊ̀* ***tɔ̀***

3SG.INAN-lie bowl DEF inside

'it lies (placed) in the bowl' (Elicitation)

(8-6) a. *ánàǹsì nà mʊ̀-**kâ** ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ ná àmʊ̀-tá*

Ananse and 3SG.POSS-wife Okondor and 3PL-live

èkùrá kó àjíǹɕè

village some under

'Ananse and his wife Okondor, and they lived in a certain village'

(Hans_AnanseStory: 3)

b. *mʊ̀-sú!tɕí ná mʊ̀* ***ká*** *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ tɕè …*

3SG-remove give 3SG.POSS wife Okondor that

'he *said* to his wife Okondor that[265] …' (Hans_AnanseStory: 7)

[265] The expression in (8-6b) involves an idiomatic meaning 'replied angrily'.

In (8-5a)-(8-5b), the locative noun ‘inside’ in clause-final position in both examples has a Falling tone /*tɔ̂*/ in (10-5a) but a Low tone /*tɔ̀*/ in (8-5b). Likewise, in (8-6a)-(8-6b) the NP ‘wife’ has a Falling tone /*kâ*/ in (8-6a) but a High tone /*ká*/ in (8-6b). The illustrations in (8-5)-(8-6) seem to suggest that the function of the Falling tone is not lexical but otherwise; it will be worthwhile to investigate the circumstances of the occurrence of Falling and Downstep-high and their actual function(s) in constructions or utterances. In general, a more focused investigation on tone in Efutu may be undertaken.

Another topic worth investigating is argument structure, especially, as some structures need a finer analysis. For instance, in this study, structures like those in (8-7)-(8-8) have been analysed as involving inherent complement verbs composed of a verb plus an obligatory element such as a noun (8-7a)-(8-7c) or a locative noun (8-8a)-(8-8c), whose function appears to complement the verb but also looks like an argument of the verb in some sense.[266]

(8-7) a. *àn-èé-tù* ***àdá***

1PL-PROG-*sing* song

‘we are singing’ (Elicitation)

b. *mɔ̀-dá* *mɔ̀* ***àsáɪ̀***

3SG-*clap* 3SG.POSS palms

‘s/he clapped (his/her hands). (Elicitation)

c. *mù-dì* ***átɔ̂***

1SG-eat thing

‘s/he ate’ (Elicitation)

[266] See a more detailed description in §4.6.1. in Chapter 4.

(8-8) a. *àtòbí ǹ mù-ń-wɪ́ **àɕè***

child DEF 3SG-PERF-fall down

'the child has fallen down' (Elicitation)

b. *ò-tá **àɕé***

2SG-be.seated down

'you are seated/sitting down' (Elicitation)

c. *ò-tɕá fìrèbí nù **sò***

2SG-step rope DEF top

'you stepped on the rope' (Elicitation)

What is interesting about the verbs in (8-7)-(8-8) is that they express their full meaning through the help of the apparent inherent complement, such that without the complement the verb's meaning cannot be determined since occurrence with different complements produces different verbal meanings. This is especially so with noun complements like those in (8-7a)-(8-7c). So, for instance, the verb *dá* in (8-7b) with a different complement such as 'prayer' will result in a verbal meaning 'pray', as illustrated in (8-9).

(8-9) *mì-ɾ́- dà*[267] *m̀páì*

1SG-HAB-say prayer

'I say prayers/ I pray' (KBtwy_Osow: 6)

Example (8-8c) illustrates the possibility of an occurrence of an argument between the verb and its apparent inherent complement. It will be worthwhile to investigate argument structure in general more, including structures like (8-7)-(8-9).

Another area that may be explored is language contact and its related topics. Code-mixing (and/ or code-switching), for instance, is a common phenomenon in the Efutu corpus, as illustrated in (8-10a)-(8-10e).

[267] The difference in the verb's tone is grammatical rather than lexical.

(8-10) a. *ɔ́-nà* ***wʊ̀rɔ́bá*** *ǹ* *bàá-wʊ́rà* *mʊ̀* *ǹsíẃ*

2SG-use rubber DEF FUT-apply 3SG mark

'you will use the rubber to identify it' (Ocran_Net: 23)

b. ***kéèǹ*** *mí-nì* *wíǹ* *ébíè*

cane 1SG-take weave chair

'cane, I use it to weave a chair' (Hans_Art: 19)

c. ***méésìǹ*** *èsúmí*

mason work

'mason work/mason job' (KM_onSea: 1b)

d. ***tʊ̀rɔ́bʊ̀ʊ̀*** *kwáàfâ*

trouble any

'any trouble' (KM_Fjob: 19)

e. *mì-**tɕ́áádzì*** *wʊ́*

1SG-charge 2SG

'I charge you (Hans_Art: 43)

Each of the examples in (8-10a)-(8-10e) involves the use of an item which originates from English (in boldface). Aside from the illustration with English material, utterances in Efutu involve much borrowing or the use of expressions from neighbouring languages.[268] This study however does not investigate the topic of borrowing[269] or code-switching/ code-mixing; it is therefore a possible future direction for research.

It has been mentioned that in Winneba, the Efutu or Simpa speakers live in the areas close to the sea while the main language of the inland areas is

[268] This has been explained as the reason for the use of the term 'Efutu' which means 'mixed up' by outsiders (see details in §1.6. in Chapter 1)

[269] Except a brief mention of borrowing in relation to the discussion of segment deletion and segment insertion in §3.4. in Chapter 3.

predominantly Akan. Nevertheless, some Efutu speakers do live in the inland areas (see §2.2. in Chapter 2). Any sociolinguistic variation, especially between the forms spoken by the speakers who live in the beach area and those living in other parts of Winneba is a topic that would be both interesting and useful to study. Also, it has been reported that Efutu is prohibited in schools in its speech community (Agyeman 2013). To extend this report, it will be worthwhile to investigate the effects of such a prohibition on performance among children in school. In addition, acquisition of Efutu, especially by children would be another fruitful area for research. Within syntax, topics such as complement clauses, relative clauses and questions may also be considered for more detailed study and analysis. For information structure, mechanisms for expressing focus and topic, are in need of work.

Another area for future research is theoretical analysis of the SVCs. One possibility is a Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) analysis (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 1993). Such a framework may be used, for instance, to analyse the types of junctures involved in the Efutu SVCs. From a cursory observation, it appears that Efutu has only core juncture serialisation. However, a detailed analysis would reveal the actual juncture types of the various SVC types and subtypes.

All the above suggested topics for future research are with reference to Efutu. However, it should not escape our attention that the other dialects of Awutu, viz., Awutu and Senya are equally in need of linguistic research, as not much has been done in this direction. It is therefore crucial that these dialects too are studied. Research in each of the various dialects will set a platform for comparative studies and analyses among the varieties, which will afford a better understanding of how the three dialects are related, and also in what areas they differ.

As noted, this thesis is the first attempt to provide a documentation-based description of the major structures of the Efutu language. Much more work, however, remains to be done across a broad range of topics, but our work reported here provides a foundation for that future research.

Appendix: An illustrative text in Efutu: Kweku Ananse and Okondor

Narrator:	Kofi Hanson (born in 1970)
Date of recording:	26th March 2012
Location of recording:	Radio Peace FM station premises, Winneba, Ghana
Recorded by:	Nana Ama Agyeman (born in 1971)
Transcribed by:	Abraham Amoanoo (born in 1992)
Date of transcription:	May 2012
Translated by:	Abraham Amoanoo
Date of translation:	May 2012
Genre:	Folk tale

kwèkú ánàǹsì	*nà*	*mù-kâ*	*ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*	*ná*	*àmù-tá*	*èkùrá*	*kó*	
kweku ananse	and	3SG.POSS-wife	okondor	and	3PL-live	village	some	

ə̀jíǹɕè.	*kà*	*ìtɕí*	*kómé*	*ná*	*ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*	*mù-kíkê*	*mù-kúrù*
under	but	day	one	and	okondor	3SG-tell	3SG.POSS-husband

kwèkú ánàǹsì	*yìè*	*ákɔ̋*	*ḿ-bà*	*sò,*	*ńtɕí*	*àmù-dà*	*ḿbɔ́dí*	
Kweku ananse	COMP	hunger	PERF-come	top	so	3PL-make	effort	

nà	*àmù-wàà-dɔ́ẁ*	*èbùró*	*ɔ́wû.*	*ná*	*kwèkú ánàǹsì*	*mù-sú!tɕí*	
and	3PL-EGRESS-weed	maize	farm.	and	Kweku ananse	3SG-remove	

ná	*mù-ká*	*ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*	*tɕè*	*mù-má*	*èbùró*	*ɔ́wú*	*kwáàfà*	
give	3SG.POSS-wife	okondor	COMP	3SG-NEG.has	maize	farm	any	

mú-nàà[270]*-dɔ́ẁ.*	*ńtɕí*	*ǹtɛ̃̂ĩ̀*	*ǹ,*	*ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*	*mú-ǹ-ká*	*ɕwìì,*	
3SG-MOOD-weed.	so	there	DEF	okondor	3SG-PAST.NEG-say	nothing	

ná	*mù-bétè*	*mù-àsɔ́ẃ*	*nà*	*mù-àfʊ̀ná*	*ná*	
and	3SG-take	3SG.POSS-hoe	and	3SG.POSS-machete	and	

[270] The form *nàà* 'MOOD' is suggested to be a kind of mood marker although its actuall meaning has not been determined. The form is similar to the form of the progressive marker which occurs with some pronoun forms, excluding the third person singular (see discussion of progressive marking in §5.2.4. in Chapter 5; also, see Table 5-3 in Chapter 5).

mù-wáà-dɔ̀ẁ *èbùró* *ɔ́wû.* *ńtɕí* *ì-mí!ń-tɕɛ́* *kwáàfâ* *ná*
3SG-EGRESS-weed maize farm. so 3SG.INAN-PAST.NEG-delay any and

ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ *mù-kɑ̂* *tɕè* *à-yè* *mù-ní* *ń-ɕà*
okondor 3SG-hear COMP IMP-say 3SG.POSS-mother PERF-be.trapped

páàkó. *mù-ní* *ɕè* *mú-ń-ɕà* *páàkó* *ǹ,*
somewhere 3SG.POSS-mother REL 3SG- PERF -be.trapped somewhere CF

mù *nà* *mù-kúrù* *kwèkú ánàǹsì* *ná* *àmù-wɔ́.* *ńtɕí* *àmú-wɔ̀*
3SG and 3SG.POSS-husband kweku ananse FOC 3PL-go so 3PL-go

édí *ǹ,* *nà* *mí-náá-ká* *ḿ* *nà* *àtáŕ* *nà* *mù-*
funeral DEF and 1SG-MOOD-say DEM and speech and 3SG.POSS-

àwìrèfíŕ, *nà* *èbùró* *ɕè* *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mú-wàà-dúdɔ̀ẁ*
forgetfulness and maize REL okondor 3SG-EGRESS-REDUP.weed

wó *ǹ* *ì-mí!ń-tɕɛ́* *ná* *ì-bɔ́* *fɛ̃ɛ́-fɛ̃ɛ́-fɛ́ẃ*
exterior CF 3SG.INAN-PAST.NEG-delay and 3PL.INAN-grow REDUP.beautiful

á!nápá-ànápá-ànápá. *ńtɕí* *kwèkú ánàǹsì* *mù* *ná* *mù* *ká* *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*
REDUP.big so kweku ananse 3SG and his wife okondor

àmù-bɔ̀ *édí* *àɕè,* *ńtɕí* *ná* *kwèkú ánàǹsì* *mù-ɕírè*
3PL-be.at funeral under so FOC Kweku ananse 3SG-run.away

bɔ̀ *édí* *ǹ* *mù-àjíǹɕè.* *mú-!ń-ɕírè* *bɔ̀*
be.at funeral DEF 3SG.POSS-under 3SG-PERF-run.away be.at

édí *ǹ* *mù-àjíǹɕè* *ǹ,* *ná* *mù-bà* *èkùrá* *ɕè*
funeral DEF 3SG.POSS-under CF and 3SG-come village REL

àmù-á-bɔ̀ *àjíǹɕè* *ǹ,* *ná* *mù-wɔ́* *ɔ́wú* *nù* *tɔ̀,* *tɕè*
3PL-PROG-be.at under CF and 3SG-go farm DEF inside COMP

mú-è-wíʃ̀ *èbùró* *nù* *kó* *nà* *mù-wáà-fɛ̃* *nà* *mù-nì*
3SG-FUT-steal maize DEF some and 3SG-EGRESS-sell and 3SG-take

ɕìká *nù* *kó* *ɕì* *mù-wó.* *ńtɕí* *ì-bɔ̀*
money DEF some keep 3SG.POSS-exterior so 3SG.INAN-be.at

tɔ́ *àà* *húá,* *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mù-ú-tɔ́ẁ* *kwèkú ánàǹsì*
inside PART PART okondor 3SG-HAB-search-for kweku ananse

áá, *mú-é-hù* *né.* *mú-é-hù* *né* *áá,* *báàbɔ́*
COND 3SG-NEG-see 3SG 3SG-NEG-see 3SG COND about

ǹtɕɨ́ *ǹsɑ̃́* *ǹtá* *tɔ̂,* *bòtɕè* *mú-á-bà* *èkùrá* *!ń*
days three between inside NECESS 3SG-FUT-come village DEF

ájíǹɕè, *ná* *mú-á-bàà-tɔ́ẁ* *mù-kúrù.*
under and 3SG-FUT-INGRESS-serach.for 3SG.POSS-husband

mù-ú-wàà-bá *áá* *mù-kúrù* *mù-máá* *éwúsô.*
3SG-HAB-EGRESS-come COND 3SG.POSS-husband 3SG-NEG.be.at home

bòtɕè *mú-á-wɔ́* *èbùró* *ɔ́wú* *nù* *tɔ̀.* *mù-ú-wàà-wɔ́*
NECESS 3SG-FUT-go maize farm DEF inside 3SG-HAB-EGRESS-go

áá, *àtáŕ* *nà* *mù- àwìrèfíŕ,* *èɛ̀,* *ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ* *mù-bɔ́*
COND speech and 3SG.POSS-forgetfulness PART okondor 3SG-do

ámú, *èɛ̀,* *bìrèmèǹkùtù.* *bìrèmèúkùtú* *ǹ* *mù-bɔ́* *dʑírè* *ɔ́wú*
DEM PART sculpture sculpture DEF 3SG-do stand farm

nù *tɔ̀,* *mù-àjíǹɕé* *kà* *tɕè,* *ń-bó* *tɕè* *státùù.* *ńtɕí*
DEF inside 3SG.POSS-under show COMP PERF-be like statue So

mú-!ḿ-bɔ́ *ádé* *átɔ́* *ǹ* *dʑírè* *ɔ́wú* *ǹ* *tɔ́* *ǹ,*
3SG-PERF-do that thing DEF stand farm DEF inside CF

kwèkú ánàǹsì	*mù-ú-wèè-hú*	*áá,*	*bìrèmèǹkùtú*	*ǹ,*	*mù-*
kweku ananse	3SG-EGRESS-see	COND	sculpture	DEF	3SG.POSS-

àtɔ̀bɔ́	*nà*	*mù-sùèǹsùàǹsú*	*fű̋ű̋*	*tɕè*	*mù-ká*
behaviour	and	3SG.POSS-appearance	all	like	3SG.POSS-wife

ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ	*mù-àtɔ̀bɔ́*	*pépɛ́ɛ́pɛ́.*	*ná*	*mù-bɔ́*	*tɕè*
okondor	3SG.POSS-behaviour	exactly	and	3SG-do	like

mù-é-ɲwá	*bìrèm̀kùtú*	*ǹ,*	*mù-é-ɲwá*	*né.*[271]	*mú-ǹ-kù*	*né*
3SG-PROG-beat	sculpture	DEF	3SG-PROG-beat	3sg	3SG-PERF-cut	3SG

mù-àsóbí	*tɔ̀*	*àfá*	*ná*	*mù-àbá*	*ḿ-fàm̀*	*wó.*
3SG.POSS-ear	inside	EMP	and	3SG.POSS-hand	PERF be.stuck	exterior

mù-sɔ̀	*náàdé*[272]	*áá*	*nà*	*mù-àbá*	*ḿ-fàm̀*
3SG-touch	DEM	COND	and	3SG.POSS-hand	PERF-be.stuck

wó,	*mù-bà*	*náàdé*	*áá*	*nà*	*mù-àbá*	*ḿ-fàm̀*
exterior	3SG-come	DEM	COND	and	3SG.POSS-hand	PERF-be.stuck

wó.	*â*	*ìné*	*bòtɕè*	*ɔ̀kɔ́ńdɔ́ŕ*	*kà*	*mù-wéè-hú*
exterior	PART	this.one	NECESS	okondor	but	3SG-EGRESS-see

kwèkú ánàǹsì	*bɔ̀*	*ɔ́wú*	*mú-!tɔ́*	*áá*	*iné*	*bòtɕè*
kweku ananse	be.at	farm	3SG.POSS-inside	COND	this.one	NECESS

mú-é-yíyì	*tɔ̂.*	*ìné*	*dɔ̀ǹɕwíŕ*	*mù-dé*	*yìyìtɔ́*
3SG-FUT- REDUP.shout	inside	this.one	moment	3SG-be	shouting

[271] An animate pronoun is used to refer to the noun *bìrèm̀kùtú* 'sculpture'.

[272] The gloss 'DEM' is tentative: the form *náàdé* was transcribed as a single item and translated variably as 'here' and 'everywhere' by consultants; an analysis of the data however suggests that *náàdé* may be composed of two items, viz., *ná*, suggested to be a form of a possessive pronoun, and the demonstrative *àdé* (see discussion of demonstratives in §4.5.2. in Chapter 4); another possibility is that the form *náàdé* has lexicalised from the suggested components. The exact meaning and composition of form needs further examination.

àà- bòtɕè ǹɕà á-!bá. ǹɕà wáà-bá áá, hʊ̃́ã́ã́[273]*,*
PART NECESS people FUT-come people EGRESS-come COND

kwèkú ánàǹsì ná mʊ̀-fáḿ ámʊ́ bìrèm̀kùtú mʊ́-wó.
kweku ananse FOC 3SG-be.stuck DEM sculpture 3SG.POSS-exterior

ìné bòtɕè ɔ̀sʊ̀kwáàfã mʊ̀-hʊ̃̀ kwèkú ánàǹsì áá mʊ́-é-wʊ́rè
this.one NECESS everybody 3SG-see kweku ananse COND 3SG-FUT-howl

né 'òhóòòò'! ná mʊ́-á-tɕírè né 'kwèkú ánàǹsì èwí-óòó!
3SG ohooooo! and 3SG-FUT-call 3SG kweku ananse thief-PART

èwí-óòó! ánàǹsì èwí-óòó! èwí-óòó! kwèkú ánàǹsì èwí-óòó!
thief-PART ananse thief-PART thief-PART kweku ananse thief-PART

èwí-óòó! ńtɕí má-ánàǹsì-sɛ́ḿ ǹ ìyé ná mʊ́-!ní
thief-PART so 1SG.POSS-ananse-story DEF here and 3SG-take

báà-pá
FUT-stop

Free translation

(Once upon a time,) Kweku Ananse and his wife Okondor lived in a certain village. But one day, Okondor told her husband Kweku Ananse that hunger/famine (food shortage) has come too much, so, they should try and cultivate a maize plantation. Then, Kweku Ananse replied angrily to his wife Okondor that he doesn't have any maize plantation to cultivate (i.e., he cannot cultivate any plantation). So then, Okondor did not say anything. Then she took her hoe and her machete and she cultivated a maize farm. So, it did not take long and Okondor heard that, they say her mother is dead. As her mother is dead, she and her husband Kweku Ananse went. So, when they went to the funeral, - speaking and its forgetfulness (I forgot to mention) - the maize that Okondor planted, it didn't take long before they grew very beautifully and very, very big, so, Kweku Ananse and his wife Okondor were at the

[273] The speech particle *àà-hʊ̃́ã́ã́* 'PART' is explained to indicate duration or prolongation.

funeral, that is why Kweku Ananse run away from the funeral. He run away from the funeral and came to the village where they live, and he went to the farm, that he will steal some of the maize to go and sell and keep some of the money for himself. So, after a while, when Okondor looks for Kweku Ananse, she could not find him. As she could not find him, after about three days, she had to come to the village to look for her husband. When she came, her husband was not at home. She had to go to the maize farm. When she went, – speaking and its forgetfulness (I forgot to mention) – Okondor made *biremkutu* (sculpture). The *biremkutu*, (sculpture) she made it to stand in the farm; it means, like 'statue'. So, when she had made that thing in the farm, when Kweku Ananse saw it, – the sculpture – all its behaviour and appearance, are exactly like his wife Okondor's behaviour. And he did like, he is beating the sculpture. He is beating her.[274] When he slapped her, his hand has got stuck on her. When he holds here, then his hand has gets stuck on her; when he comes here, his hand has got stuck on her. Aah! as for this this, if Okondor has gone to see Kweku Ananse in the farm, if so, she must shout. Then, for a moment, she kept shouting, that people must come. When people came, it was Kweku Ananse who was stuck to this thing - to the sculpture. As for this, if anybody sees Kweku Ananse, they must howl at him 'ohoooo'!, And they should call him 'Kweku Ananse the thief! Thief! Ananse the thief! Thief! Kweku Ananse the thief! Thief! So, this is where I will end my Ananse-story.

(Hans_AnanseStory)

[274] As noted above, the narrator uses an animate pronoun *né* '3SG' (see discussion of pronouns in §4.3. in Chapter 4) to refer to the noun *bìrèmkùtú* 'sculpture', hence the free translation 'her'; the choice of the feminine pronoun 'her' is based on the fact that the sculpture looks like the wife Okondor, who is female.

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