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Aspects of Akan grammar: A functional perspective

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University of Oregon, 1994

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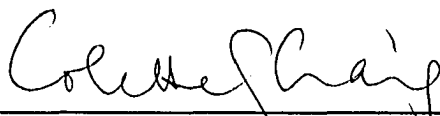
ASPECTS OF AKAN GRAMMAR -- A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

by

EMMANUEL KWEKU A. OSAM

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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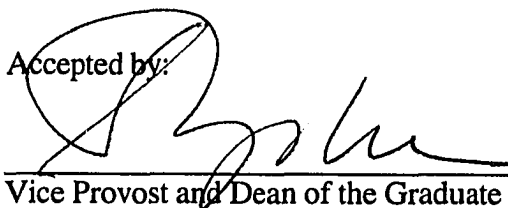and accepted by:

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Title: ASPECTS OF AKAN GRAMMAR: A FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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This study examines some aspects of Akan grammar using the descriptive concepts of grammaticalisation and the prototype framework of categorisation, notions that are associated with the functional-typological approach to the study of grammar. The areas of Akan grammar covered are the aspect-mood system, the defunct noun class system, grammatical relations, serialisation, and complementation. The study shows that Akan does not have a developed tense system. The grammatical category of the verb usually treated as tense-aspect should be considered, primarily, an aspectual system. The study further shows that the synchronic nominal prefixes in the language are the fossilised remains of an erstwhile noun class system. Regarding grammatical relations, it is shown that the notions of subject and direct object are relevant in the grammatical description of Akan. It is further observed that we need to recognise different types of di-transitive verbs in the language. Furthermore, due to the behaviour of the Theme NPs of some di-transitive constructions, it is necessary that the notion of direct object be treated as a scalar phenomenon. Serialisation, in this dissertation, is considered a syntactic realisation of semantic integration, and based on the empirical facts of the language, serialisation is recognised as a scalar concept. The study also shows that due to the process of grammaticalisation, one verb in the language, *wɔ*, has become a preposition. With reference to complementation, it is shown that Akan

provides evidence in support of the framework of Event Integration that has been developed in the cross-linguistic study of this syntactic phenomenon. It is also shown that the complementisers <u>sɛ</u> and <u>ma</u> come from the verbs 'say' and 'make' respectively.

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DEDICATION

To Susie, Ebo, and Esi

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CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

0. Introduction

The main goal of this dissertation is to examine some aspects of the grammar of Akan from a functional viewpoint. As it will be shown in chapter 2, compared to most African languages, Akan is a well studied language. Studies on Akan go back to the nineteenth century and cover many areas of the language. A considerable portion of the work done over the last thirty years has been carried out within the transformation-generative tradition. Some of these works will be reviewed in chapter 2. The work reported in this dissertation departs from that long standing theoretical tradition and adopts a functional approach in the study of Akan. Specifically, the brand of functionalism used here is what has been characterised as functional-typological syntax. Adopting this orientation allows one to see that there are certain facts about Akan which have not received enough attention in previous studies. Within the linguistic literature on Akan, there has been no study that has expressly adopted this approach in analysing pertinent aspects of the language.[1]

1.0 Framework

In this chapter, I will focus on the frameworks which are relevant to different aspects of this study. A discussion of these concepts is necessary because this study will adopt the terminologies and approaches advanced by these in the analysis of Akan data. First, I will give an overview of the general functional approaches to linguistic analyses.

Secondly, I will introduce and characterise the prototype framework of categorisation. The reason for the choice of the prototype approach is that it has been shown to be a superior way of catagorisation (Lakoff 1987) compared to the classical method of categorisation. For example, in the treatment of syntactic categories, adopting the prototype framework allows us to deal with items on the fuzzy boundaries. The notion of scalar features associated with the prototype framework will be relevant when I discuss direct objecthood in di-transitive constructions (chapter 5), degrees of semantic and event integration in chapters 6 and 7, and the category membership of serial verbs in chapter 6. Furthermore, I will discuss the framework of localist case grammar. My choice of the localist framework of semantic case roles is motivated by the fact that this approach, especially the version put forward by DeLancey (1991), provides a coherent basis for minimising the range of semantic roles that can be posited. It will be shown later on in this chapter (section 1.3) that Akan provides evidence in support of collapsing various semantic roles based on physical or metaphorical location. I will also briefly discuss the concept of grammaticalisation since this study, by implication, involves looking at some of the forms in the language which are the results of reanalysis. The concept of grammaticalisation is useful in understanding aspects of the morphology of the language.

1.1 Functional Approaches

Even though there is no single coherent functional theory of grammar, the various approaches to language studies describable as functional share a common outlook. This is that any study of language has to be done against the background that human language plays a role in human communication. This central tenet of functionalism is evident in the following quotations. Nichols (1984), in a paper in which she reviews various functional

approaches to the study of grammar, compares functionalist approaches to formal and

structural orientations and says that:

> Functional grammar ... analyses grammatical structure, as do formal and
> structural grammar; but it also analyses the entire communicative situation:
> the purpose of the speech event, its participants, its discourse context.
> Functionalists maintain that the communicative situation motivates,
> constrains, explains, or otherwise determines grammatical structure, and
> that a structural or formal approach is not merely limited to an artificially
> restricted data base, but is inadequate even as a structural account.
> Functional grammar, then, differs from formal and structural grammar in
> that it purports not to model but to explain; and the explanation is grounded
> in the communicative situation. (1984:97)

Foley and Van Valin (1984) also state that:

> The theme unifying the various functional approaches is the belief that
> language must be studied in relation to its role in human communication.
> Language is thus viewed as a system of human communication, rather than
> as an infinite set of structural descriptions of sentences. Inherent in this
> conception of language is a claim about its primary function, namely, that it
> is an instrument of verbal interaction among human beings. (1984:7)

Dik (1987) offers the following:

> In the Functional Paradigm ... the basic assumption is that linguistic
> expressions are not arbitrary formal objects, but that their properties are
> sensitive to, and co-determined by, the pragmatic determinants of human
> verbal interaction. The structure of the instrument is judged to be at least in
> part explainable in terms of the conditions in which, and the purposes for
> which it is put to use. (1987:82)

Halliday (1985), describing the approach adopted in that work, indicates that his work is

functional

> ... in the sense that it is designed to account for how the language is used.
> Every text -- that is, everything that is said or written -- unfolds in some
> context of use; furthermore, it is the uses of language that, over tens of
> thousands of generations, have shaped the system. Language has evolved to
> satisfy human needs -- it is not arbitrary. A functional grammar is
> essentially a 'natural' grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be
> explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used. (1985:xii)

Tomlin (1994) also states this:

> In general, functional grammars embrace what we might call the
> "communicative imperative," the idea that linguistic form generally serves to
> code linguistic function and that the shapes taken by linguistic form arise out
> of the demands of communicative interactions. (1994:144)

From the sample of statements on functionalism given above, we can deduce that linguistic functionalism views the study of language structure and language function as an integrated piece. In order to understand and fully account for the structures in language, therefore, it is imperative that we approach structure from the angle of the function which that structure serves.

Beyond this general view of functionalism, there are diverse opinions regarding methods of inquiry, system of description, focus of research, and terminologies within the functional approach. Ironically, one major difference is the precise sense associated with the label 'functional'. As Nichols (1984) points out, however, despite the differences in the interpretation of the label 'functional',

> All its senses signify the dependency of some given structural element on
> linguistic elements of another order or domain (structural or nonstructural);
> and they all have to do with the role played by a given structural element in
> the larger whole of language and communication. Hence all of them are
> used in statements of explanation; and functionalist explanation is the
> dominant, though not exclusive, mode of explanation in recent linguistics.
> (1984:98)

The following discussion of the different senses of the term 'functional' relies heavily on Nichols (1984). Nichols distinguishes five senses in which the term 'functional' is used. One sense of it is mathematical, involving the notion of covariation. This is the sense in which the choice of a certain grammatical form is determined by the interaction of certain variables. This interpretation is associated with the work of Silverstein (especially 1976, 1981). In Silverstein's view, for example, given a system of case marking where the

possibility of choice between ergative and accusative exists, whichever is chosen will be determined by the interaction of other variables, specifically, inherent lexical content, agent and patient relations, clause linkage, and reference tracking devices (Nichols 1984). This sense of function is characterised as 'interdependence'.

Function can also imply purpose. This is the use of language to achieve a certain purpose. It is under this that we can place the various speech acts. The third is the indexical function of language. That is "language as it reflects the context of the speech act." (Nichols 1984:100) The indexical function subsumes two subtypes: event and text. Function implying event means the way language reflects the relationship of the participants (in terms of parameters like their roles and status) in a speech situation. Function meaning text covers the area of discourse, encompassing issues like foreground/background, referential tracking, and textual cohesion. The fourth sense of the term function is when it is used to indicate relation, that is the hierarchical relationship that exist among the structural units of language. The fifth sense of the term is when function is equated with meaning. The view of meaning in this context may include "pragmatics of purpose and context and categorial semantics." As Nichols (1984) rightly points out, these do not necessarily exhaust the different senses in which the term is used.

Beside the varied way in which the term is used, there are also a variety of functional approaches to language analysis. One of these is the Prague School. Much of what is classifiable in current linguistics as functionalism owes much to the Prague School. As Danes (1987:4) points out, "functional aspect itself has been part of the fundamental theoretical and methodological equipment of the Prague approach from the very beginning." The Prague School is credited with focusing on the function of language as an instrument. The literature on the Prague School spans a period of more than half a century and obviously it is impractical to cite them here. Another branch of functionalism is Halliday's Systemic Grammar (1961, 1967, 1973, 1978, 1985). Halliday's functionalism

is a "systemic" approach to language structure and function. His approach is very much informed by sociolinguistic considerations. The Functional Grammar of Simon Dik (1978, 1980, 1983, 1987) constitutes another strand of functional approach. Dik's model seeks, through formal means, to link language structure to the various communicative functions of language. We can also consider Role and Reference Grammar as put forward by Foley and Van Valin (1984) and Van Valin (1993). Role and Reference Grammar is described by Van Valin (1993) as a "structural-functionalist theory of grammar." The focus of this approach is clause-level structural and functional phenomena. It also has a heavy component of discourse level tracking of participants.

Another major subtype of functionalist approach to language studies hardly associated with a single individual is what Tomlin (1994) calls "North American Functionalism." This is the functionalism associated with the works of a broad range of linguists in North America. This includes but is not limited to Givón (1979, 1984, 1989, 1990, 1993), Chafe (1970, 1976, 1980, 1987), Hopper and Thompson (1980, 1982, 1984), Li and Thompson (1976, 1981), Bolinger (1977), Bates and MacWhinney (1987). There are subdivisions in the "North American Functionalists" group. In relation to this dissertation, the subbranch that is of interest is what has been called the Functional-Typological Approach. This approach is associated with the works of T. Givón, Paul Hopper, and Sandra Thompson (Croft 1990), backgrounded in the works of Dwight Bolinger and Joseph Greenberg. Croft (1990) says the following about the "functional-typological approach to linguistic theory and explanation":

> The relationship between typology and functionalism, as it is seen by the practitioners of the functional-typological approach to language, can be summarized quite simply at the broadest level. Functionalism seeks to explain language structure in terms of language function. It assumes that a large class of fundamental linguistic phenomena are the result of the adaptation of grammatical structure to the function of language. In grammatical basics, the function of language is universal across cultures: roughly, language is the general-purpose communication device. As a

> consequence, functionalism ought to try to account for those facts about
> language that are universal across all languages. Typology is a primary
> source for those universals, particularly those universals which are not
> unrestricted. (1990:155)

The reason why functional-typological approach to language analysis is of relevance in terms of this dissertation is that it is the framework within which this study is carried out. The Linguistics programme at the University of Oregon is one of the central places where this approach to linguistics is championed. I will, therefore, characterise this approach, especially as it is practiced within what I prefer to call Oregon Functionalism. By definition, Oregon Functionalism is functional-typological. It must be borne in mind that the characteristics of Oregon Functionalism presented below are not necessarily exclusive to Oregon.

One of the features of Oregon Functionalism is the idea that language has to be situated in an evolutionary framework of species development. This means that language is part of the adaptive and coping strategies of the human organism. This view is evident in the following quotation from Givón (1984):

> ... biology ... views the human organism, its socio-cultural organisation
> and its cognitive-intellectual-communicative tools from a functional,
> evolutionary perspective. The functions may be described as various
> strategies or sub-strategies by which the organism attempts to cope with the
> perceived imperatives of environment and survival. At higher evolutionary
> levels, survival tasks are perceived as being increasingly complex, and
> coping strategies are devised at increasingly abstract levels. Cognition and
> communication in the human organism evolved in the context of a certain
> socio-cultural organisation and the need to cooperate for mutual survival.
> (1984:1)

From this evolutionary perspective, the structural complexity of language can only be understood with reference to the functional considerations which, over the period of human evolution, have shaped the form of this complex human communication system. Using the anatomist metaphor, Givón asserts that a biologist studies the skeletal structure

of an organism with a view to arriving at a typological classification as well as the relationship between the structure and the functions of the skeletal system of the living organism:

> A biologist .. [studies] the various types of skeletal systems... dividing them ...into major types... [and proceeding] toward a more detailed typology (or taxonomy) of these ... major types... But this work of typology or taxonomy is only a preliminary to a more profound endeavour whereby the biologist proceeds to note how the various structural types of skeletons perform their similar function(s). The biologist thus strives for a systematic understanding of the relation between structure and function in living organisms... In a broad way, the study of syntax is rather similar to the study of the anatomy-cum-physiology. By insisting on the joint study of function and the typology of structures which code it, one opens the door to a serious investigation of how -- and ultimately why -- particular structures perform their assigned functions. (1984:29-39)

Another important feature of Oregon Functionalism is what constitutes an explanation. Givón (1979) rejects the formalist practice of using formalism to explain natural data. Instead, he advocates the use of language external means, what he calls "natural explanatory parameters", for a proper understanding of the structure of human language. These parameters are propositional contents, discourse pragmatics, the processor, cognitive structure, world-view pragmatics, ontogenetic development, diachronic change, and phylogenetic evolution (Givón 1979:3-4).

The use of these parameters as means of explaining language structure is reflected in some of the research carried out by the practitioners of Oregon Functionalism. For example, some of the works motivated by the parameter of discourse pragmatics are Givón (1983a, 1983b), Tomlin (1983, 1985, 1986), Payne (1987, 1992a, 1992b), and Cooreman (1985). Another parameter that has been the driving force behind some of the research involving Oregon Functionalism is the cognitive basis of language structure. Such works come in the form of either controlled experiments (e.g. Tomlin 1991, Tomlin and Pu 1991, Hayashi 1991, Forrest 1992) or the use of information about grammatical structure to infer

things about human cognition (e.g. DeLancey 1990, Hargreaves 1991a, 1991b, Tomlin 1987). Closely related to this is the use of semantic information in the analysis of syntactic structure and this consideration is reflected in works like Givón (1980a, 1981c, 1982a, 1982b, 1986), DeLancey (1981a, 1981b, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986, 1987).

Another parameter that is crucial in the understanding of synchronic language structure is diachrony. The use of diachronic information as explanation for synchronic structure is considered to be "one of the most distinctive characteristics of functional-typological explanation." (Croft 1990) Evidence for this is seen in the following representative Oregon works: Givón (1980b, 1981b), DeLancey (1992), Craig (1991), Saxena (1990, 1991, 1992), Genetti (1986, 1990), Gildea (1992), Park (1994).

This brief characterisation of Oregon functionalism is meant to serve as the backdrop against which this dissertation is written, since the treatment of some aspects of Akan syntax offered here is motivated by the functionalist parameters of explanation mentioned above.

1.2 Prototype Framework

A dominant feature of linguistic categorisation which can be said to be true of Oregon Functionalism is the adoption of the prototype theory of classification. The adoption of this framework is one of those features that Oregon Functionalism has in common with cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1991a, 1991b, Lakoff 1987). This is the theory of categorisation associated with Eleanor Rosch and associates (Rosch 1973a, 1973b, 1975a, 1975b, 1977, 1978, 1983; Rosch and Mervis 1975, Rosch et al 1976) which runs counter to the classical or objectivist approach to classification. Even though

Rosch is credited with the popularisation of the prototype theory, its philosophical basis goes back to Wittgenstein.

The prototype theory contrasts with the classical theory of classification. The classical theory which goes back to Aristotle, classifies entities according to necessary and sufficient conditions. This means that a certain category, for example, is defined by specific features; and each of the features is considered necessary for the definition of that category . For an entity to be said to belong to that category it must have all of the defining features of that category, otherwise it cannot be put in that category. The sufficiency of the defining features lies in the fact that an entity can be considered to belong to the category if it possesses each defining feature of the category. Taylor (1989) offers the following as being the basic assumption of the classical theory. In addition to the notion of necessary and sufficient conditions, the classical approach is also binary, meaning that

> A feature is either involved in the definition of a category, or it is not; an entity either possesses this feature, or it does not. In any given instance a feature is either present or absent, and it can take on only one of two values, either [+] or [-]. (1989:23)

The classical approach also implies that a category has clear boundaries. According to Taylor (1989),

> A category, once established, divides the universe into two sets of entities -- those that are members of the category, and those that are not. There are no ambiguous cases, no entities which 'in a way' or 'to some extent' belong to the category, but which in another way do not. (1989:23)

Finally, the classical theory assumes that all the members of a certain category have the same status of membership. In other words each member is as good an example of that category as any other. In Taylor's view, this means that:

> Any entity which exhibits all the defining features of a category is a full member of that category; any entity which does not exhibit all the defining features is not a member. There are no degrees of membership in a category, i.e. there are no entities which are better members of the category than others. (1989:24)

In the prototype theory of classification, members of a category are united by family resemblances. This was put forward by Wittgenstein in his discussion of the category of 'game'. As Lakoff (1987) explains, family resemblances is

> The idea that members of a category may be related to one another without all members having any properties in common that define the category. (1987:12)

> Though there is no single collection of properties that all games share, the category of games is united by ... family resemblances. Members of a family resemble one another in various ways: they may share the same build or the same facial features, the same hair color, eye color, or temperament, and the like. But there need be no single collection of properties shared by everyone in a family... In short, games, like family members, are similar to one another in a wide variety of ways. That, and not a single, well-defined collection of common properties, is what makes a game a category. (1987:16)

Another important attribute of the prototype theory is what Rosch calls 'prototype effects'. This is the idea that within a category, certain members are more reflective of that category than others. In the famous example, robins are better representatives of the category bird than for example, turkeys. The best examples of a category are referred to as the prototypes. In Rosch's words,

> By prototypes of categories [is meant] the clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people's judgments of goodness of membership in the category... The more prototypical of a category a member is rated, the more attributes it has in common with other members of the category and the fewer attributes in common with members of the contrasting categories. (1978:36-37)

Another attribute of the prototype approach to categorisation is the idea that while

some categories have clear-cut boundaries, others have no clear boundaries resulting in

degrees of membership. Related to this lack of boundary precision is the idea that it is

possible for the boundaries of such categories to be extended to take care of new members.

It is important to note that the notion of prototype in categorisation is associated with

human cognition and experience. This is why the prototype theory has been one of the

cornerstones of Oregon Functionalism. Another reason is that the way the theory

approaches categorisition is similar to the notion of continuum/scalarity as put forward by

Givón (1979, 1984). The prototype theory of classification has been applied to various

linguistic structures. In Akan, one area where the adoption of the prototype framework

allows us to offer a more coherent analysis is serial verbs. As will be discussed in chapter

6, there is a general belief that some verbs commonly used in serialisation in Akan have

been reanalysed as prepositions. Take sentence (1) for example.

1a.   Kofi   de   sekan no   twa-a   nam   no
        Kofi   use   knife   DEF   cut-COMPL fish/meat   DEF
        Kofi cut the fish/meat with the knife/Kofi used the knife to cut the fish/meat.

b.   ɔ-de   ne   nsa   te-e   nam   no
        3SG SUBJ-use 3SG POSS hand tear-COMPL fish/meat DEF
        S/he tore the fish/meat with his/her hand/S/he used her hand to tear the fish/meat.

In considering the category status of the morpheme de 'take, use' in (1a) and (1b), the

general practice (Lord 1989, 1993) is to treat it as a former verb which has been reanalysed

as a case marker since, as the argument goes, it has lost its verbal features. In these

examples, therefore, it would be treated as marking the instrument role. However, when

we approach the category status of this morpheme from the prototype perspective, de

'take, use' would be considered a kind of verb since, even though it has lost most of its

verbal properties (for example tense-aspect morphology), it still exhibits certain

characteristics which only verbs possess. These features will only be listed here since a complete discussion is given in chapter 6. The verbal features of _de_ 'take, use' are that its preverbal and postverbal arguments are subject and direct object respectively. Secondly, it can be negated, though with a suppletive form. Finally, _de_ 'take, use', imposes vowel harmony restrictions on the vowel of the subject prefix. For these reasons we can categorise it as a verb instead of a case marker or preposition, even though it ranks low on a scale of verbhood. If we are to give examples of morphemes that can be classified as "good verbs" _de_ is probably the last we will mention. But that does not make it a non-verb. This type of analysis would be impossible in the classical framework of categorisation, since _de_ would have had to have all the properties of a verb for it to be considered as such.

By all measurement, the account of the prototype theory presented here does not go anywhere near presenting a detailed coverage of this theory. Nevertheless, the overview given here serves to situate aspects of the discussion and viewpoint expounded in this dissertation.

1.3 Localist Case Grammar

Another concept which has crucial implications for the discussion to be presented in this study is the localist theory of semantic case assignment. Proponents of varying versions of this model include Anderson (1971, 1973, 1977, 1987), Gruber (1976), Ikegami (1976, 1987), Jackendoff (1972, 1983, 1987, 1990), Diehl (1975), DeLancey (1991). A fundamental assumption of the localist theory is that spatial relations form the basis of semantic relations and are also at the core of most of human communicative interaction. This is borne out by the following statement from Laurie (1859) quoted in Anderson (1977):

> Language has its basis in external nature; and words, whether employed to denote an existence, an affection, or a relation, and however abstract may be their present use, originally denoted (it may be safely assumed) only external phenomena and external relations. We must consequently look for the primary ideas of the various cases in the relations subsisting between objects in space. On these original material or spatial relations, all the most abstract relations are built. (in Anderson 1977:117)

One may not necessarily subscribe to Laurie's assumption that all words "originally denoted ... only external phenomena and external relations." Nevertheless, it has been shown (see for example Clark 1973, Talmy 1983, Diehl 1975, Svorou 1993) that most of language tends to be egodeitically oriented. In the localist construal of case, semantic relations are defined in terms of concrete as well as abstract representation of local relations. In the words of Anderson,

> A localist theory holds that the members of the category of case are opposed to each other in terms of ... the directional notions 'source', 'goal' and 'resting-point'. So that not only are the 'concrete' uses of the case markers to be so interpreted but also the 'abstract'. (1977:111)

The extension of concrete relations to abstract ones is based on the notion of lexical metaphor (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The metaphorical use of concrete location in the localist framework relates localism to the prototype conceptualisation of semantics.

In what follows, I will briefly outline the Andersonian, and the Gruber/DeLancey versions of the localist case roles. Anderson treats case as the "grammatical relations contracted by nouns which express the nature of their 'participation' in the 'process' or 'state' represented in the sentence" (1971:10). A localist hypothesis, according to Anderson,

> ... claims that the representation of spatial relations forms the template for semantic relations in general: 'abstract' domains are structured in such terms. 'Abstract' relations involve 'literal metaphors'... or 'suppletive metaphors'... i.e. metaphors for which there is no corresponding 'literal'

expression: spatial concepts structure domains for which there is no non-spatial representation. Specifically in relation to CRs [Case Roles], such an assumption imposes a narrow restriction on the content of CRs. Only distinctions relevant to the description of spatial relationships are admissible; 'abstract' predications must utilise only such distinctions. (1987:115)

Anderson's model recognises four case roles: Absolutive (abs),[2] Locative (loc), Ergative (erg), and Ablative (abl). These are distinguished on the basis of the two "directional components", PLACE and SOURCE. Based on these directional components, Anderson defines the case roles as follows:

We can distinguish a CR [case role] which introduces a location or place... i.e. loc; and a CR which in the presence of loc is 'placed'... i.e. abs. The abs may be 'placed' with respect to a line, defined by a terminal place or goal..., loc, and an initial place or source, abl. (1987:117)

These distinctions are summarised in (2) (based on Anderson 1977:115)

2.

abs	loc	erg	abl
	place		place
		source	source

The Absolutive is parallel to Fillmore's (1968) Objective case and Chafe's (1970) Patient. In process verbs the Absolutive is the entity that undergoes the process indicated by the verb; in stative verbs it is the entity whose description is indicated by the verb. The Locative is the case that marks the location, either concrete or abstract, of the Absolutive.

The location is taken to include where an entity is located (when stative verbs are involved), or the goal towards which an entity moves (with dynamic verbs). The Ergative is the entity that initiates the process coded by the verb. It is equivalent to Agent in other frameworks. The Ablative is the source from which an entity proceeds. In the discussion of Gruber/DeLancey framework that follows, it will be seen that there are similarities between that and the Andersonian model.

The Gruber/DeLancey model will be presented with DeLancey's version as the discussion point though I will bring in input from Gruber (1976). The reason for this is that the version put forward by DeLancey (1991) derives most of its motivation indirectly from Gruber (1976). By using Akan illustrations, I intend to show that this framework is valid as an analytic semantic tool for the language. In DeLancey's model, a small set of core case roles are defined based on event schemas; because of this he describes his approach as minimalist. For this purpose, he defines an event as "a change in state or location". Three core roles are recognised. These are Agent (Ag), Theme (Th), and Locative (Loc). According to DeLancey,

> We can define [the] three fundamental case roles, Theme, Location, and Agent, in terms of this simple grammar of states and events:
> Theme AT Loc
> Theme GOTO Loc
> Agent CAUSE Theme GOTO Loc
> (1991:342)

The Agent is defined as the first cause. This is illustrated below in (3).

3a. Banyin no   twa-a   ahoma no
     man   DEF   cut-COMPL   rope   DEF
     The man cut the rope.

b.   Enyinam   ku-u   okuafo no
     lightening kill-COMPL   farmer DEF
     Lightening killed the farmer.

c. Asɛm no   haw   no
    case DEF bother 3SG OBJ
    The case bothers him/her.

By the simple definition of Agent given above, banyin no 'the man' (3a), enyinam 'lightening' (3b), and asɛm no 'the case' (3c), are all agents. This view runs counter to the generally held view that an agent has to be volitional. It is granted that in accordance with the prototype framework we will expect a good example of an agent to be volitional and human. But we also have to admit that since there can be "good examples" so can there be "bad examples" (Lakoff 1987). In the spirit of the prototype theory, therefore, we can consider the NPs in (3b) and (3c) as "not so good" instantiations of the category of agent. But that does not make them non-agents. The Theme role is defined as "the entity which is conceived as moving or undergoing transitions." (Gruber 1976:38) Gruber's characterisation is relevant when we consider verbs of motion as illustrated in (4).

4a. ɔbo no   munum-i
     rock DEF roll-COMPL
     The rock rolled.

 b. Banyin no   pia-a   adaka no
     man   DEF push-COMPL box   DEF
     The man pushed the box.

In (4a), ɔbo no 'the rock' is Theme. The same applies to adaka no 'the box' in (4b). These are examples of physical motion. The Theme role is also used to describe the entity that undergoes abstract motion. This is the idea behind (5a-c).

5a. Maame no   ma-a   abofra no   edziban
     woman DEF give-COMPL child   DEF food
     The woman gave the child food.

 b. Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra   no   ndwom
     Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF song
     Kofi taught the children a song.

c. Banyin no tɔn-n   dan   no
    man   DEF sell-COMPL house DEF
    The man sold the house.

In (5a), <u>edziban no</u> 'the food' is conceptually considered as having moved along a path to

the child. Similarly, <u>ndwom no</u> 'the song' (5b) is treated as having moved from one place

(the teacher's mental set up) to another (the children's). We can make the same observation

about <u>dan no</u> 'the house' in (5c). Example (5c) illustrates one of the views that all localists

share, and it is that in the 'buy/sell' schema the item which is bought or sold is the one

whose location changes and consequently is assigned the Theme role (Anderson 1971,

Gruber 1976). In (5a-c), therefore, the NPs <u>edziban no</u> 'the food', <u>ndwom no</u> 'the song',

and <u>dan no</u> 'the house' are Themes.

When a clause has a verb of location, "the Theme is defined as the entity whose

location is being asserted." (Jackendoff 1972:30) This is shown in example (6).

6a. Abofra no da-a   mpa no   do
     child   DEF lie-COMPL   bed DEF on
     The child laid on the bed.

b. Abaa no   twer   ban no   ho
    stick DEF lean/CONT   wall DEF self
    The stick is leaning against the wall.

c. Adow   no   gyina-a   adaka no   do
    monkey DEF stand-COMPL   box   DEF on
    The monkey stood on the box.

All the verbs in (6a-c) indicate location and the entities involved, <u>abofra no</u> 'the child',

<u>abaa no</u> 'the stick', and <u>adow no</u> 'the monkey', are themes.

The next case role is Location (Loc). In DeLancey's framework, what is considered

Loc comprises Gruber's Location and Goal. The Location is the phrase in the clause which

expresses the location of an event or state or that which indicates the goal towards which a

Theme moves ("Theme GOTO Loc" in DeLancey's definition). The Location role in Akan

is illustrated by (6). In sentences (6a-c), the Location role is marked by postpositional phrases: mpa no do 'on the bed' (6a), ban no ho 'on the wall' (6b), and adaka no do 'on the box' (6c). Location can also be marked with a noun phrase. This happens when we have a locative verb like wɔ 'be in/at', kɔ 'go', bra 'come' (7).

7a.   Kofi   wɔ   Kumasi
        Kofi   be in   Kumasi
        Kofi is in Kumasi.

   b.   Kofi   kɔ-ɔ   Kumasi
        Kofi   go-COMPL   Kumasi
        Kofi went to Kumasi.

   c.   Kofi   ba-a   fie
        Kofi   come-COMPL   home
        Kofi came home.

Gruber's list of case roles include a Source. As Cook (1989) comments, "Source occurs only with motional verbs and indicates the starting point of the motion." (1989:130) In Akan, there is only one verb which requires this role. It is the verb fi 'leave, be from'; this is shown in example (8). In this sentence, egua no do '(on) the chair' which is an argument of the verb fi is the Source role.

8.   Kofi   sɔre-e   fi-i   egua   no   do
       Kofi   arise-COMPL   leave-COMPL   chair   DEF   on
       Kofi got up from the chair.

     It is necessary to point out that the localist model of case roles has implications for possessive, and equative constructions. For example considering Theme as the entity AT LOC implies that the thing which is possessed is Theme. So in (9), sika 'money' is Theme. Of course, it also follows that the physical or metaphorical position of the Theme entity is Location. This means that banyin no 'the man' in (9) is the Location.

9.   Banyin   no   wɔ   sika
       man   DEF possess money
       The man has money.

Considering the possessor as Location (as in 9) is strongly validated by the facts of Akan. In Akan the locative verb wɔ 'be in/at' is the same verb which is used in marking possession. This is clearly shown in (7a) and (9). In (7a), wɔ 'be in/at' is used as a verb of location but in (9) it is used to indicate possession.

      Another fallout from the localist model is that we can do away with the traditional case roles of Recipient and Benefactive and replace them with Locative. This is consistent with Akan, where Recipient and Benefactive are marked the same way. Compare (10a) and (10b).

10a.   Esi de   abofra no   ma-a   aberwa   no
        Esi take child DEF give-COMPL old woman DEF
        Esi gave the child to the old woman.

   b.   Esi tur-r   abofra no   ma-a   maame no
        Esi carry-COMPL child DEF give-COMPL woman DEF
        Esi carried the child for the woman.

Normally, aberwa no 'the old woman' (10a) will be considered a Recipient, and maame no 'the woman' (10b) will be a Benefactive. However, as can be seen from (10), there is no difference in the way the two entities are marked. By adopting Locative as a case role, the Benefactive and the Recipient are taken care of. Aberwa no 'the old woman' and maame no 'the woman' bear the Locative case role because they constitute the places in which the acts carried out are located.

1.4 Grammaticalisation

One of the central concerns of Oregon Functionalism shared by other linguists

working in the functional-typological framework is the phenomenon of grammaticalisation

which has received considerable attention in the literature in recent years. The most classic

definition of grammaticalisation is that of Kurylowicz (1975 originally published in 1965):

> Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme
> advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a
> more grammatical status...(1975:52)

More recently, Heine and Reh (1984) have offered the following definition:

> With the term "grammaticalization" we refer essentially to an evolution
> whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic
> significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance, respectively.
> (1984:15)

In a yet more recent treatment, Hopper and Traugott (1993) say that the term

grammaticalisation can be assigned the following meanings:

> As a term referring to a framework within which to account for language
> phenomena, it refers to that part of the study of language that focuses on
> how grammatical forms and constructions arise, how they are used, and
> how they shape the language. The framework of grammaticalization is
> concerned with the question of whether boundaries between categories are
> discrete, and with the interdependence of structure and use, of the fixed and
> the less fixed in language. It therefore highlights the tension between
> relatively unconstrained lexical structure and more constrained syntactic,
> morphosyntactic, and morphological structure. It provides the conceptual
> context for a principled account of the relative indeterminacy in language
> and of the basic non-discreteness of categories. The term... also refers to
> the actual phenomena of language that the framework of grammaticalization
> seeks to address, most especially the process whereby items become more
> grammatical through time. (1993:1-2)

In simple terms, therefore, grammaticalisation is the development of grammatical forms

from lexical sources or the use of grammatical items in more grammatical contexts. What

follows is a discussion of the core principles that are associated with the process of grammaticalisation.

Heine and Reh (1984) point out that grammaticalisation involves phonetic, morphosyntactic, and functional processes. The phonetic is the process that changes "the phonetic substance of linguistic units." They divide the phonetic processes into the following: adaptation, erosion, fusion, and loss. (Heine and Reh 1984:17-27) Adaptation is the process in which phonetic materials adjust to their environment, where there is phonological assimilation. The process of erosion involves the reduction in the quantity of phonetic material of a morpheme. It is illustrated, for example, by the change of a morpheme from a disyllabic structure to a monosyllabic one. Fusion applies to cases where two morphemes merge at the boundaries resulting in a single morpheme rather than two. The process of erosion and fusion can be illustrated with a phenomenon going on in Akan currently. In normal Akan speech, especially in the Fante dialect, when a verb is followed by the 3SG object pronoun no, the tendency is to link the pronoun to the verb and delete the vowel of the pronoun, as shown in (11a). A similar process involves the fusion of the preposition wo and a following postposition mu 'in'. The latter process is cross-dialectal and is illustrated in (11b).

11a. Me-hyia-a-n
      1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL-3SG OBJ
      I met him/her.

  b. Awo Daampo yi-i   biribi   kakra wo-m   de
      Awo Daampo remove-COMPL   something   little from-in take

      ma-a   Anidaso   (Adi 1973:7)
      give-COMPL   Anidaso
      Awo Daampo took something from (inside) it and gave it to Anidaso.

In (11a) the word final suffix -n is the 3SG object pronoun no. In (11b), the suffix -m in wom is the reduced form of the postposition mu 'in'. It should be noted that the vowel in

wom has changed from a -ATR to +ATR. This is the evidence that the word final nasal is a reduced form of the postposition mu 'in'. What has happened is that the +ATR vowel of the postposition has assimilated the -ATR vowel of the preposition wɔ. Obviously, the +ATR assimilation preceded the deletion of the vowel of the postposition.

The final instantiation of the phonetic dimension of grammaticalisation is loss; that is when a morpheme is lost as a phonological item. This can be illustrated in Akan with the behaviour of the preposition wɔ 'in, at' as it is in the Asante dialect where it is possible to omit this preposition and still have a grammatical sentence, as shown in (12).

12a. Me-hyia-a   Kofi wɔ Kaneshie
      1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL Kofi in Kaneshie
      I met Kofi in Kaneshie.

  b. Me-hyia-a   Kofi Kaneshie
      1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL Kofi Kaneshie
      I met Kofi in Kaneshie.

Both (12a) and (12b) mean the same thing, though in (12b) the preposition is omitted. At this stage in the development of this structure, the two forms are used side by side, but it shows the direction of change; that is we know that the preposition wɔ is likely to be lost in the language.

The second main component of grammaticalisation consists of a cluster of morphosyntactic processes. These are permutation, compounding, cliticisation, affixation, and fossilisation. Permutation involves a revision in the order of constituents. For example, a language with post-head modifiers may change to pre-head ones. The second, compounding, has to do with the combination of two or more morphemes into one. Cliticisation is the process by which an independent full word becomes syntactically phonologically dependent on other words. Affixation is the addition of a function word to another word. The attachment of the 3SG object pronoun to the preceding verb discussed earlier exemplifies the process of cliticisation and affixation. The final morphosyntactic

process is fossilisation which converts an otherwise productive morpheme into a non-productive one.

The third component is the functional. These are the processes which affect the function or the meaning of a morpheme. They include desemanticisation, expansion, simplification, and merger. Desemanticisation is the process in which a lexical item takes on the functions of a grammatical item. Expansion is the addition of an extra grammatical function to a morpheme which is already used with grammatical functions. Simplification is when parts of the grammar of a language which previously were irregular become regularised. Merger is when two morphemes merge regarding their meanings.

Hopper (1991) also proposes the following as principles of grammaticalisation. The first he calls layering:

> The Principle of Layering refers to the prominent fact that very often more than one technique is available in a language to serve similar or even identical functions. This formal diversity comes about because when a form or set of forms emerges in a functional domain, it does not immediately... replace an already existing set of functionally equivalent forms, but rather the two sets of forms co-exist. They may be specialised for particular lexical items, particular classes of constructions, or sociolinguistic registers; they may have slightly different meanings, or simply be recognised as 'stylistic' alternatives. (1991:23)

The principle of layering can be illustrated with the plural marking system in Akan. As it will be shown in chapter 4, there are some human nouns which tend to be marked by two different plural morphemes, a prefix and a suffix. For example, the noun onua 'sibling' forms its plural with the vowel prefix, e-, and the suffix -nom. We therefore have the same functional domain, in this case plurality, realised by two separate coexisting forms.

The second principle is divergence. In the words of Hopper (1991), the principle of divergence

... refers to the fact that when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization, for example to an auxiliary, clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical items. The Principle of Divergence results in pairs or multiples of forms having a common etymology, but diverging functionally. The grammaticized form may be phonologically identical with the autonomous lexical form... or the two may be so distinct that the relationship is completely opaque...(1991:24)

A good example of divergence in Akan is the grammaticalisation of the locative verb wɔ 'be

in/at, have' as a locative preposition as illustrated in example (13).

13a. Kofi wɔ   Kaneshie
      Kofi be in Kaneshie
      Kofi is in Kaneshie

  b. Me-hyia-a   Kofi wɔ Kaneshie
      1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL Kofi in Kaneshie
      I met Kofi in Kaneshie.

In (13a), wɔ is the main verb of the sentence. But in (13b), it is used as a preposition

because in this position it does not show any verbal properties.

The third principle is specialisation. This is the "narrowing of choices" that is a

feature of the changing grammatical structure of a language. As Hopper (1991) puts it,

Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings. (1991:22)

The next principle is persistence:

When a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution. (1991:22)

The Principle of persistence relates the meaning and function of a grammatical form to its history as a lexical morpheme. This relationship is often completely opaque by the stage of morphologization, but during intermediate stages it may be expected that a form will be polysemous, and

that one or more of its meanings will reflect a dominant earlier meaning.
(1991:28)

The morpheme wɔ 'be at/in, have' cited in example (13) is a good illustration of this

principle. In its use as a preposition, this morpheme retains a good portion of its meaning

as a verb. The final principle put forward by Hopper (1991) is de-categorisation:

> Forms undergoing grammaticization tend to lose or neutralize the
> morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full
> categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of
> secondary categories such as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc.
> (1991:22)

The main thrust of de-categorisation is the shift from one word class to another. As the

quotation above shows, the tendency is for morphemes to shift from a major word class to

a minor one. One such example in Akan is the de-categorisation of nouns into

postpositions. There is synchronic evidence in Akan that the postpositions in the language

were originally nouns. This is illustrated in the example (14).

14a.   Kofi be-yi   ekutu no   e-fi   adaka no   mu
       Kofi FUT-remove orange DEF CON-leave box   DEF   in
       Kofi will remove/take the orange from the box.

  b.   Adaka no   mu   a-yɛ   fi
       box   DEF in   PERF-be dirty
       (The inside of) the box is dirty.

  c.   No   mu   a-yɛ   fi
       3SG POSS in   PERF-be dirty
       (Its inside) is dirty.

In (14a) the morpheme mu 'in' occurs as a postposition. In (14b) and (14c), however, it

occurs as noun because it is possessable, as (14c) makes clear. This feature applies to all

postposition in Akan.

The examples of grammaticalisation given in this section do not exhaust instances

of the process in Akan. In chapters 3, 4, 6, and 7, cases of grammaticalisation in Akan will

be referred to and discussed in more detail than has been done here.

2.0 Methodology

This dissertation is descriptive in nature. The data comes from varied sources. One

is the available published works on Akan. As will be shown in chapter 2, Akan is a widely

studied language. Since part of the objective of this study is to look at Akan grammar from

a new perspective, some of the data already available will be used. Secondly, in order to

illustrate certain phenomena better, I will resort to published and unpublished text. I will

also used personally collected data, especially in chapter 3 where I discussed the old noun

class system in Akan. Finally, as a native speaker (Fante dialect), I rely on my knowledge

of the language (confirmed in consultation with other speakers). As a result, some of the

sentences used are my own original formulations. Throughout the study wherever data

from other sources are used, they are duly cited.

3.0 Structure of Dissertation

Having given the conceptual background in this chapter, chapter 2 will be dedicated

to presenting an overview of Akan. This will include its sociolinguistics, history of

research, and some of its phonological features that are relevant for a proper understanding

of some of the issues to be discussed. Chapter 3 will be concerned with a discussion of the

aspect-mood system of the language. It will be argued that Akan does not have a tense

system separate and independent from the aspects. I will also provide diachronic

explanations for some of the verbal morphology. In chapter 4, I will discuss the defunct

noun class system of Akan and show the reanalysis that has taken place. This chapter will

show that the nominal prefixes which have long been recognised as existing in Akan are in fact the fossilised forms of the old noun class system that must have existed in Proto-Akan. The subject matter of this chapter is one of the new discoveries this dissertation makes to the study of Akan. Chapter 5 will consider the instantiation of grammatical relations in the language and will also consider how to deal with the notion of direct object in di-transitive construction in Akan. It will be shown in this chapter that even though various writers make use of labels like subject, direct object and indirect object, no study, to my knowledge, has offered a systematic description of how these notions are characterised in the language. It will also be shown that contrary to popular opinion, the notion of indirect object is a misnomer as far as the facts of Akan are concerned.

Serialisation, a concept for which Akan is regularly cited in the linguistic literature, will be considered in chapter 6. The point will be made that there is evidence in Akan for considering serialisation as a scalar phenomenon based on the notion of semantic integration. The issue of the category status of some of the verbs commonly used in serialisation will be discussed. Even though serialisation in Akan is a well-studied phenomenon, there are some views offered here which run counter to the trend in the literature on serialisation. In chapter 7, I will offer a functional view of complementation in Akan. Just like the previous chapters, there are original contributions made by the discussion in this chapter to the synchronic as well as the diachronic aspects of the language. One of these, for example, is the idea that clauses introduced by ma are also complement clauses. Chapter 9 is the conclusion of this study.

A sample narrative text is included in Appendix C. This text is an excerpt from Krampah's novel, Mbofra mfa adwen ('Let the children think'). Portions of this text have been modified. The modification has to do with the marking of the completive aspect. For those verbs which end in consonants, I have marked the completive with an extra consonant.

Notes

1. The various works by Carol Lord (1973, etc.) are classifiable as being functional but it should be noted that her works have always been cross-linguistic comparative studies and so far she has not concentrated on Akan.

2. In the 1971 model the Absolutive is referred to as the Nominative.

CHAPTER II

THE AKAN LANGUAGE

0. Introduction

In this chapter, a brief background is provided on the Akan language. This will include its genetic classification, the dialect information, sociolinguistics, history of linguistic research, and some of its phonological features relevant to this study.

1.0 Background of Akan

The label 'Akan' is used to describe both a group of people and the language spoken by these people. Ethnographically, it refers to the people who occupy most of the south, and south-western part of Ghana. In terms of the administrative boundaries of Ghana, the Akans are located in the Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Central and Western regions of Ghana (see Figure 1). What identifies this group as a homogenous one is the common culture they share in contradistinction to other ethnic groups in the country. As Warren (1976) points out, "The Akan peoples comprise a number of autonomous traditional political units which are culturally homogenous and which are characterised by a matrilineal social system" (1976:xiii).

Linguistically, the term 'Akan' refers to the language spoken by the people called Akans. Genetically, Akan is a member of the Niger-Congo language family. Irrespective of the classificatory system (see Williamson 1989), Akan is always made part of the Kwa sub-group of Niger-Congo. In Williamson (1989) and Stewart (1989), Akan is put in the New Kwa (Figure 2). Within the Kwa group, Akan is part of the Tano group (Stewart

1989). The Tano group was referred to as Volta-Comoe in Stewart (1966b, 1971), a nomenclature adopted by Dolphyne and Dakubu (1988). According to the 1960 national census, Akan speakers made up 44.1% of the national population. The break down of this is given in Table 1.
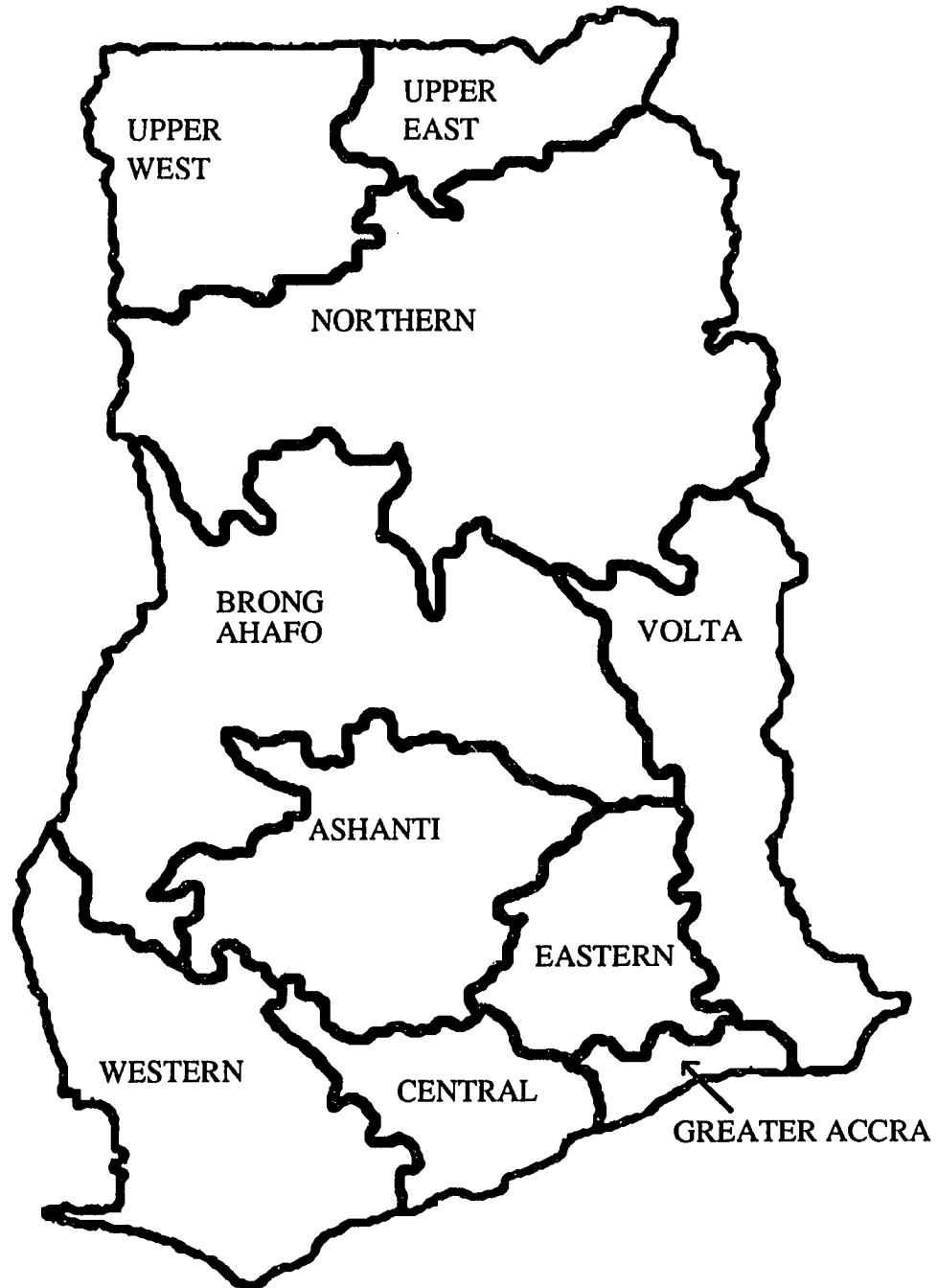
Figure 1. A map of Ghana showing the regions.
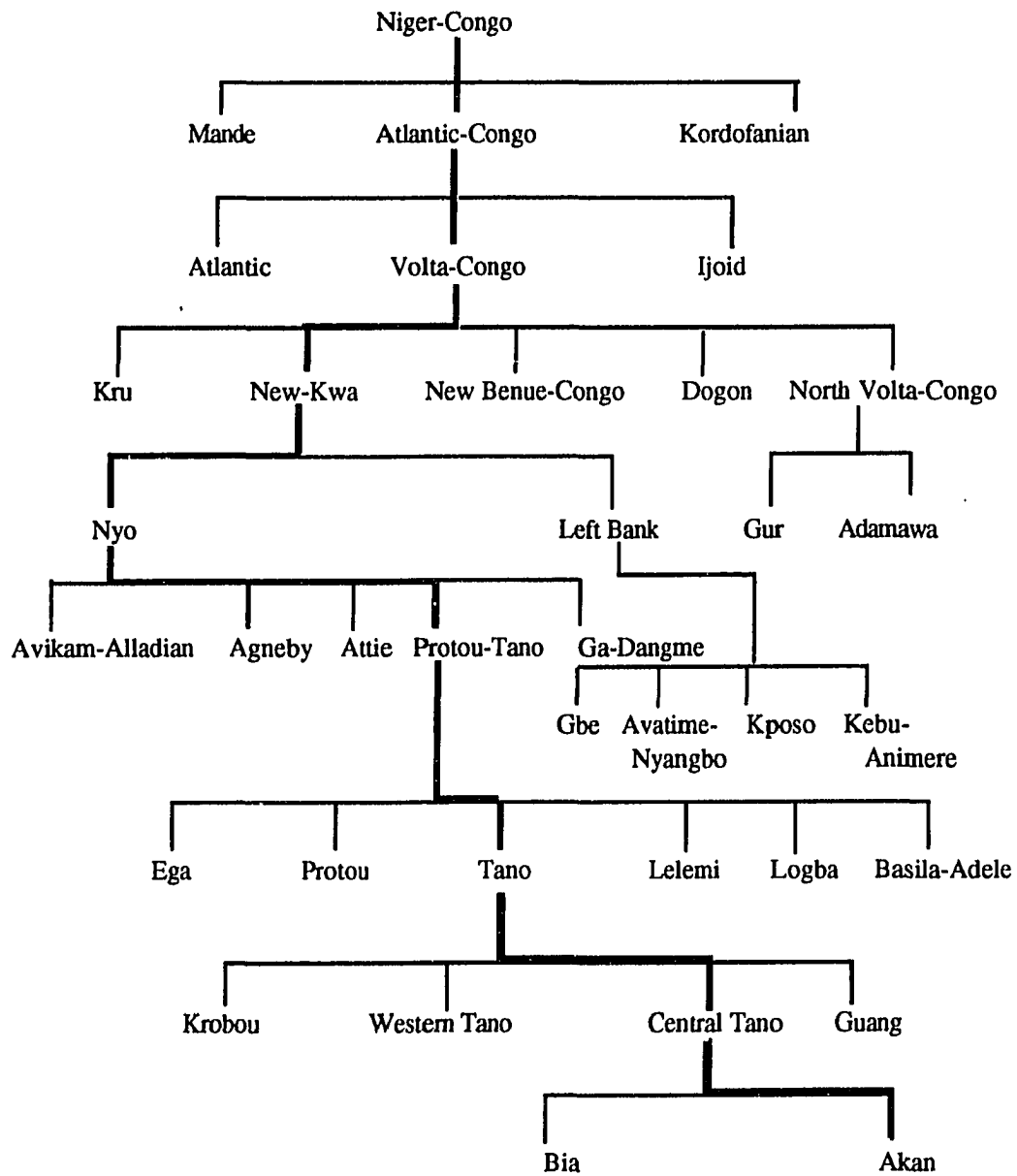
Figure 2. The Niger-Congo family (based on Williamson 1989, and Stewart 1998)

Table 1. Akan speakers (by dialects) based the 1960 Ghana census.

Asante	913,270	Akyem	203,820
Fante	708,470	Agona	49,080
Bron	320,240	Kwahu	131,970
Akuapem	144,790	Wasa	94,260

Apart from the 1960 national Census during which information on the language background of Ghanaians was collected, no other reliable figures regarding the linguistic composition of the country are available. All the figures normally cited in the literature use the 1960 figures as the reference point. When we consider the fact that currently, conservative estimates of Ghana's population is put at about 14 million compared to the 6.7 million of 1960, it is understandable why any projection from the 1960 language figures to the current time cannot be very reliable. Even with the 1960 figure quoted for Akan, it has been pointed out[1] that that figure includes speakers of the Nzema-Anyi-Baule cluster of languages. Nevertheless, considering current population estimates, the number of Akan speakers is about 6 million. It has to be borne in mind that this figure is based on the percentage from the 1960 census. It has to be noted that this figure assumes many things, including the idea that the growth in population of the various ethnic groups has remained constant.

In spite of the lack of reliable linguistic statistics, the fact remains, though, that Akan is the language with the highest number of speakers in Ghana. Akan has a number of dialects including Asante, Akuapem, Fante, Akyem, Bron, Kwahu, Agona, Wasa. In the literature on Akan, the term 'Twi' is used to refer to all dialects except the Fante related ones. It is therefore the practice to group the dialects of Akan into two, Twi and Fante. The Twi dialects include Asante, Akuapem, Akyem, and Kwahu. These and their related subdialects are spoken predominately in the Eastern, Asante, and parts of the Western and Volta regions of Ghana. The Fante dialect with its subdialects of Nkusukum (Anomabo/Mankesim), Abura, Gomua, and Agona are spoken in the Central region. The

Bron dialect is spoken both in Ghana and parts of Cote d'Ivoire. In Cote d'Ivoire Bron is

referred to as Abron (Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988). In Ghana, Bron is spoken in the Brong

Ahafo region. All the dialects of Akan are mutually intelligible, though the intelligibility

between Bron and Fante is very low. The main reason for this may be geographical

(Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988), since the two dialects are separated by distance (see Figure

3).
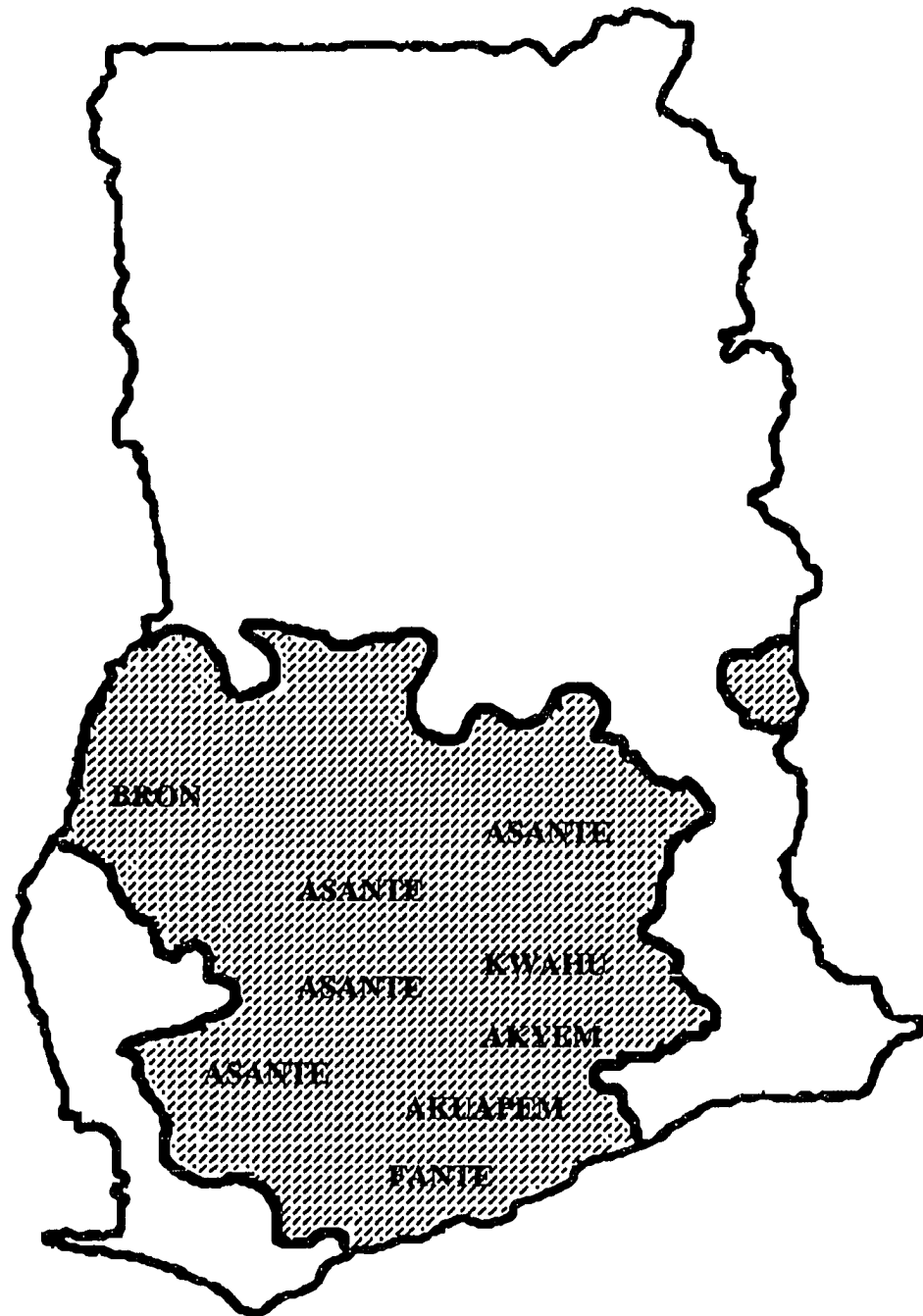
Figure 3. A map of Ghana showing the Akan dialects.

The written form of Akan is based on three of the dialects, Asante, Akuapem, and Fante. Since these written forms reflect the peculiarities of each dialect, it is difficult for a speaker of one dialect who does not speak another dialect to read or write the second dialect (Dolphyne 1988). Since the 1950's, attempts have been made to introduce a uniform writing system, but the implementation of this system has been slow in coming for various reasons.

Apart from the fact that Akan is the single largest language (in terms of the number of L_1 speakers), it is also the most widely spoken as an L_2. It is very difficult to estimate the exact number of people who speak Akan as a second language due to the absence of research in the area of language use in the country as a whole. It is safe, nevertheless, to say that there are considerable non-native speakers of Akan in virtually all the non-Akan native speaking regions of the country. This is partly due to the size of the native speaking population and their spheres of operation. In all the Akan speaking areas, it is used as the medium of instruction during the first three years of public primary education.[2] This is also the case in some areas of the country where the L_1 is not Akan. For example, in those parts of the country where they speak Anyi, Sehwi, and Ahanta, Akan is used as a medium of instruction. The same situation prevails in those areas where Guang languages are spoken as L_1. Like other Ghanaian languages, Akan is studied as a subject throughout the school system in Ghana. At the university level, Akan has been taught as a major for over twenty five years, from the undergraduate level to the graduate level.

Akan is also used as a church language in other places apart from the Akan speaking areas. These include the Guang areas. In the capital, Accra, where the main language is Ga, Akan is used in quite a number of churches, though these are churches mostly attended by Akan speakers. Even in parts of the northern region, specifically Tamale and a few other places, there are some churches which use Akan as the medium of preaching. Akan is also the most dominant language of trade. Even in areas where other

languages are used as L₁, trading can be carried out in Akan. For example, in the Ga

speaking area, it is very common to have an Akan speaker carry out trading transactions

with a Ga speaker using Akan as the medium.

2.0 History of Linguistic Research

Within the Niger-Congo language family, and definitely in the sub-branch of Kwa,

Akan has a respectable position in terms of the history and the expansiveness of research

conducted about the language and materials written in it. This assertion is borne out by the

bibliographic work on Akan conducted by Warren (1976). Recorded information about

Akan goes back to the fifteenth century. The initial work done on the language, if it can be

so described, involved the compilation of word lists and phrases undertaken by European

travelers who came to the then Gold Coast to do business or to do missionary work. The

very first list of vocabulary items compiled is associated with de la Fosse who is on record

as having done this between 1479 and 1490. From the seventeenth century onwards, there

was a proliferation of Akan word lists in various historical writings. These, as cited in

Warren (1976), include Muller (1673), Labarthe (1803), Robertson (1819), Bowdich

(1819), Hutton (1821), Beecham (1841), Chapman (1844-45), Clarke (1848), Wilson

(1849). It should also be pointed out, though, that Protten (1764) published a grammar of

the Fante dialect during the time of intense collection of words and phrases of the language.

The change in the dimension of these initial work on Akan came with Koelle

(1854). This work went beyond the collection of words to some attempt at proper linguistic

analysis. The acceleration in scholarly work on Akan came with the work of the Basel

Mission, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. While the former concentrated

on the Akuapem dialect in the interior, the latter limited their work among the Fante

speaking population of the coast. The work of the missionary organisations led to the

establishment of literacy programmes and literacy materials as early as the 1840's. The production of literacy materials went alongside serious linguistic work. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the first result of scholarly grammatical description of the language started coming out. Notable among these were Riis (1853), Carr and Brown (1868). In 1875, Christaller came out with the first most comprehensive grammar of Akan (based on the Akuapem dialect) which is currently the only such work available about the language. The first dictionary of the language was also published by Christaller (1881).

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a considerable amount of linguistic publications on Akan have been put out. For example, there is the grammar of Fante by Balmer and Grant (1929) and a similar one by Welmers (1946). Akrofi (1937), a grammatical description of the Akuapem dialect, is written in Akan. A remarkable feature of the work done from the second half of the twentieth century onward was the involvement of native speakers. Two of these native speakers whose works have been very influential in the research on Akan are Boadi (1965, 1966, 1968, 1971a, 1971b, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1990a, 1990b) and Dolphyne (1965, 1967, 1971, 1976, 1979, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988). Whereas Boadi is noted mostly for his work on Akan syntax, Dolphyne has been instrumental in bringing to light various issues involved in the phonology of the dialects of Akan. In addition to the work of native speakers, non-native speaker linguists have also played invaluable role in the study of Akan. Notable among these are Stewart (1962, 1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1967, 1967, 1976, 1983, 1983), Schachter (1961, 1969, 1974), and Schachter and Fromkin (1968). In the course of this study other works on Akan will be referred. Beside the works that may be described as highly technical, there are a number of pedagogical grammars written on Akan. Examples of these are Bartels and Annobil (1946), Methodist Book Depot (1950, 1955). Akan also has a considerable amount of published literary works (see for example Warren 1976).

The establishment of the Linguistics Department at the University of Ghana has contributed immensely to the study of the language. This is shown by the number of graduate who have taken courses on Akan and the number of undergraduate thesis written on the language.

3.0 Some Phonetic/Phonological Features

The linguistics features chosen for discussion in this section are those dealing with the phonetics/phonology of the language that are crucial to the discussion undertaken in this study. Following the established conventions, the three dialects, Asante, Akuapem, and Fante, will be indicated by the abbreviations (As), (Ak), and (Fa) respectively. Throughout the dissertation, there are times when the label 'Twi' will be used in place of Asante and Akuapem and related dialects.

3.1 Vowels and Consonants

In this section I will present the phonetic sounds in the language and give an overview of some of the relevant phonological features of the language. The information in this section is based on Dolphyne (1988).

3.1.1 Vowels

Akan has nine oral and five nasalised vowels. In addition to these, the Twi dialects have an extra vowel (represented here as /æ/[3]) that does not exist in the Fante dialect. This vowel is replaced in the Fante dialect by the mid-high, front advanced vowel, /e/. The Akan vowels are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Oral and nasalised vowels of Akan.

Oral	i	High, Front, Advanced
	ι	High, Front, Unadvanced
	e	Mid-High, Front, Advanced
	ε	Mid-Low, Front, Unadvanced
	a	Low, Central, Unadvanced
	[æ]	Low, Central, Advanced
	ɔ	Mid-Low, Back, Unadvanced
	o	Mid-High, Back, Advanced
	ʋ	High, Back, Unadvanced
	u	High, Back, Advanced
Nasalised	ĩ ι̃ ã ũ̈ ũ		

The oral vowels are illustrated in (1) and the nasalised vowels in (2). In the orthography of

Asante, Akuapem, and Fante, the letters 'e' and 'o' are used to represent two sounds each.

The letter 'e' represents the mid-high, front, advanced vowel /e/, and the high, front,

unadvanced vowel /ι/. The letter 'o' is used to represent the mid-high, back, advanced

vowel /o/ and the mid-low, back, advanced vowel /ɔ/. In Asante and Akuapem, but not

Fante, the letter 'a' represents the sounds /a/ and /æ/. It is also a practice in Akan

orthography not to indicate nasality. So even though in the examples below nasality has

been marked, for the rest of the dissertation wherever examples involving nasalised vowels

are involved, nasality will not be marked.

1.   i   <u>si</u> 'build'

      ɩ   <u>fe /fɩ/</u> 'vomit'

      e   <u>eyi</u> 'funeral' (Fa)

      ɛ   <u>dɛ</u> 'sweet'

      a   <u>fa</u> 'take'

      æ   <u>patu /pætu/</u> 'pretend'

      ɔ   <u>ɔdɔ</u> 'love'

      o   <u>owura</u> 'owner, master'

      ʊ   <u>bo /bʊ/</u> 'be drunk'

      u   <u>tu</u> 'uproot'

2.   ĩ   <u>fi /fĩ/</u> 'dirt'

      ῖ   <u>se /sῖ/</u> 'teeth'

      ã   <u>ka /kã/</u> 'say'

      õ   <u>to /tõ/</u> 'bake'

      ũ   <u>ku /kũ/</u> 'kill'

3.1.2 Vowel Harmony

The most important phonological feature of Akan crucial to our study is vowel harmony. The behaviour of Akan vowels is such that we can group them into two classes on the basis of the feature of Advanced Tongue Root (ATR).[4] These groups are given below in Table 3.

Table 3. Akan vowels grouped according to the Advanced Tongue Root feature.

Set I:	i	e	æ	o	u	(+ATR)
Set II:	ɩ	ɛ	a	ɔ	ʊ	(-ATR)

In a word of more than one syllable, the vowels occurring would all be from the same group, even though, as the literature on Akan vowel harmony indicates, there are exceptions to this rule. This harmonising principle also applies to verbal affixes. The form of the vowel of a verbal affix is determined by the vowels of the verb root. For example, the 3SG subject prefix has two forms, o/ɔ , based on the nature of the vowels of the verb root. This explains the variations in the forms of the subject prefix in (3).

3a.   O-ku   mbowa
        3SG SUBJ-kill/HAB animals
        S/he kills animals.

b.   ɔ-kan   mbowa
        3SG SUBJ-count/HAB animals
        S/he counts animals.

As mentioned earlier, vowel harmony applies to the tense-aspect markers too. For example, in (4), the FUT marker has two representations.

4a.   O-be-ku   mbowa no   (As/Ak)
        3SG SUBJ-FUT-kill animals DEF
        S/he will kill the animals.

b.   ɔ-bɛ-kan   mbowa no
        3SG SUBJ-FUT-count animals DEF
        S/he will count the animals.

In addition to the advanced/unadvanced distinction, Akan also displays a second type of harmony in which only rounded vowels or unrounded vowels occur in certain verbal

prefixes as determined by the vowels of the verb root. This rounding harmony applies only

in Fante and it is illustrated in (5) and (6) below:

5a. Mu-ru-ko-bu   (Fa)
  1SG SUBJ-PROG-go-break
  I am going to break (it).

 b. Mo-ro-kɔ-to   (Fa)
  1SG SUBJ-PROG-go-bake
  I am going to bake (it).

6a. Mi-ri-ke-tsi   (Fa)
  1SG SUBJ-PROG-go-pinch
  I am going to pinch (it).

 b. Me-re-kɛ-gye   (Fa)
  1SG SUBJ-PROG-go-receive
  I am going to receive (it).

In (5a), all the vowels are rounded and advanced, but in (5b) the vowels are rounded and

unadvanced; in (6a), they are unrounded and advanced, whereas in (6b) they are

unrounded and unadvanced. The account of vowel harmony given here may be sketchy but

it will serve the purpose of explaining the variations in vowels that we will come across as

we discuss various aspects of the Akan verb word.

3.1.3 Consonants

At the phonemic level, we can identify eighteen consonants for the whole of Akan.

In the summary discussion of the consonants of Akan that follows, I will provide the

phonetic description for each consonant and give examples of words in which each occurs.

Since in Akan orthography most of the consonants are represented by same symbol as used

in the phonetic representation, I will only give the phonetic representation of those

consonants that have different orthographic and phonetic symbols.

3.1.3.1 Stops

p   Voiceless Bilabial Stop   [papa 'good']

b   Voiced Bilabial Stop   [bɔne 'evil, bad']

In the Twi dialects, when /b/ is preceded by a nasal the stop is assimilated into a nasal. So in Fante, the word for 'animals' is mbowa, but in Asante and Akuapem it is mmowa. However, throughout this study the mm cluster in the Twi dialects will be represented as mb.

t   Voiceless Alveolar Stop   [tu 'uproot']

In Fante, /t/ alternates with the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ when /t/ is followed by a front vowel: ti 'pinch' (As/Ak) but tsi (Fa).

d   Voiced Alveolar Stop   [dɛ 'sweet']

In Fante, /d/ is replaced by the voiced alveolar affricate /dz/when followed by front vowels, except in the word dɛ 'sweet': de 'take, use' (As/Ak) but dze (Fa). In Asante and Akuapem, the nasal assimilation that applies to the voiced bilabial stop also applies in the case of the voiced alveolar stop: ndua 'trees' (Fa), but nnua (As/Ak). The nn cluster of (As/Ak) will be represented as nd.

k   Voiceless Velar Stop   [kɔ 'go']

In some words in all Akan dialects, /k/ becomes ky /tɕ/ in the environment of following front vowels. For example kye 'catch', kyɛ 'share'. But in words like ketewa 'small' and kɛse 'big' this rule does not apply so we can consider /k/ and /tɕ/ as partial allophones.

g   Voiced Velar Stop   [oguan 'goat']

In Asante and Fante /g/ occurs before three of the four back vowels in Akan. The vowels are /o, u, ʊ/. But in Akuapem /g/ only occurs with the high back advanced

vowel /u/. In all dialects, /g/ alternates with gy /ʤ/ when it is followed by front

vowels as in gye 'take, receive', gyina 'stand'.

3.1.3.2 Affricates

In addition to those affricates which alternate with stops discussed earlier, there are

two other affricates that should be mentioned.

tw /tɕɥ/   Labialised Voiceless Pre-palatal Affricate   [twe 'pull']

dw /dʑɥ/   Labialised Voiced Prepalatal Affricate   [dwene 'think]

3.1.3.3 Fricatives

The following are the fricatives identified for Akan.

f   Voiceless Labio-dental Fricative   [fie 'house']

The voiced equivalent of this fricative, /v/, does not exist in the Akan phonetic

inventory.

s   Voiceless Alveolar Fricative   [sa 'dance']

Just like /f/, the voiced counterpart of /s/, /z/, does not exist in the Akan phonetic

system.

hy /ɕ/   Voiceless Prepalatal Fricative   [hyɛ 'wear']

In its distribution /ɕ/ alternates with voiceless glottal fricative /h/. Whereas /ɕ/ occurs

before oral front vowels only, /h/ occurs before the back vowels, the central vowel,

and all nasalised vowels: hye 'burn', but hem 'to blow your nose'. By their

distribution, /ɕ/ and /h/ are allophones.

hw /ɕɥ/   Labialised Pre-palatal Fricative   [hwɛ 'look']

This fricative occurs before oral as well as nasalised front vowels. It does not

occur before back vowels.

3.1.3.4 Nasals

The following are the nasal consonants distinguished in Akan. A default feature of Akan nasals is that they are all voiced.

m   Bilabial Nasal   [manso 'litigation']

This consonant occurs in word final position in all the dialects, as in nam 'fish/meat'.

n   Alveolar Nasal   [nane 'melt']

In most Fante words, /n/ is replaced by palatal nasal ny /ɲ/ in the environment of following front vowels: nim 'know'(As/Ak), but nyim. Exceptions to this rule include ne '3SG POSS pronoun. Fante is also the only dialect in which the alveolar nasal occurs in word final position: nkwan 'soup' (Fa), but ɛnkwae (As), nkwaŋ (Ak).

ny /ɲ/   Palatal Nasal   [nyena 'firewood']

This nasal occurs before front vowels and the central vowel /a/. It is never followed by back vowels.

nw /ɲɥ/   Labialised Palatal Nasal   [nwin 'leak']

This nasal only occurs before front vowels in Akuapem and Fante. But in Asante it can occur with front and back vowels.

ŋ [n]   Velar Nasal   [Ak. nkwan /ŋkwaŋ/ 'soup']

In Akan orthography the velar nasal is represented by the letter 'n'.

nw /ŋw/   Labialised Velar Nasal   [nwansema 'housefly]

The labialised velar nasal is in complimentary distribution with the labialised palatal nasal, /ɲɥ/. The former occurs before the central vowel /a/ and the latter occurs before other vowels.

3.1.3.5 Lateral

The lateral sound in Akan, /l/, occurs mainly in borrowed words, mostly words from English as in bɔɔl 'ball', lɔɔre 'lorry'. I should also point out that in the speech of some Fante and Asante speakers, /l/ alternates with /d/. For example, for some Fante speakers, the verb word ɔdɛ 's/he says' may be rendered as ɔlɛ. In Asante, the word akɔlaa 'child' may be rendered as akɔdaa or akɔraa.

3.1.3.6 Trill

r   Voiced Alveolar Trill   [ɔreda 's/he is sleeping']

The /r/ sound as it occurs in Akuapem is appropriately describable as a trill, but in Asante and Fante, it is better described as a frictionless continuant (Dolphyne 1988). In all dialects of Akan this consonant does not occur in initial position in the root of any word.

3.1.3.7 Consonantal Glides

The are two phonemically distinct consonantal glides in Akan.

w   Labial-velar Semivowel   [aware 'marriage']

This consonant occurs before the back vowels and the central vowel /a/. In Akuapem and Fante it occurs in word final position, though one can also identify about three or so words in which /w/ occurs in word final position. Before front vowels, /w/ is replaced by /ɥ/ [w], the labial-palatal semivowel as illustrated in the following words: we 'chew', wia 'steal'.

y   Voiced Palatal Glide   [yɛ 'do']

This consonant occurs mostly before front vowels.

3.2 Tones

Akan is a tone language and distinguishes between two tones, High and Low. Tones in Akan have lexical functions in the sense that there are minimal pairs that can be established on the basis of tonal differences. For example, the words p̀àp̀á 'father' and p̀áp̀á 'good' are differentiated on the basis of tones. However, as it has been noted by Dolphyne (1988), there are very few minimal pairs in the language that can be established on the basis of tonal differences. Tones in Akan also have grammatical functions. For example, the difference between the continuative and habitual aspects (of stative verbs) lies in differences in the tonal pattern. Since aspects are discussed fully in chapter 3, I will reserve the illustration of this till then.

Notes

1. In a footnote Warren (1976) quotes John Stewart (in a personal communication) that if the Nzema-Anyi-Baule speakers are taken out the actual speakers of Akan is 39.9% of the 1960 Ghana's population of 6.7 million people.

2. The policy of using the L_1 of an area as the medium of instruction during the first three years of primary education applies to the whole country.

3. It should be noted that phonetic symbol /æ/ used to represent the +ATR version of /a/ is not a standard practice. In fact it is because there is no agreed way of phonetically representing this vowel that I choose /æ/. The choice of this symbol does not imply that it is the same vowel found in the English word 'cat'/kæt/.

4. The following works treat vowel harmony in Akan in more detail: Berry (1957), Boadi (1963), Clements (1984, 1985), Dolphyne (1988), Schachter and Fromkin (1968), Stewart (1967, 1983).

CHAPTER III

TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD SYSTEM

0. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the tense-aspect-mood system of Akan. As the literature on Akan shows (for example Christaller 1875, Balmer and Grant 1929, Welmers 1946, Stewart 1962, 1965, Boadi 1966, 1974, Schachter and Fromkin 1968, Ellis and Boadi 1969, Dolphyne 1971, 1987, 1988, Essilfie 1977, 1986), this is an area of the grammar of the language which has received considerable attention. Nevertheless, anybody familiar with the tense-aspect system of the language as well as with the literature on the subject knows that there are complexities in the system which no single analysis has been able to adequately deal with. It is with this knowledge that I consider it worthwhile to discuss the tense-aspect system in Akan in this dissertation. Even though in most respects the discussion offered here is in agreement with the existing work on the subject, there are some areas in which the views presented in this dissertation depart from those expressed in previous works. Previous studies have always assumed that Akan has tenses as well as aspects. In this study, however, it is argued that the case presented by Akan illustrates the development of aspectual forms into tenses. What we observe in the language currently is the transition stage of that development. Taking cognisance of this fact I propose to refer to these categories of the Akan verb as aspects.[1] A second major important contribution is that two verbal prefixes in Akan, kɔ 'go' and ba 'come' which have long been treated as part of the

aspectual system of Akan (ingressive is the term used), are now analysed as motional morphemes.

In the first section of this chapter, I discuss the various aspects identifiable under the system proposed in this study and justify the view that Akan does not have a fully developed tense system; in section 2, I will examine the mood system, and in section 3 I will discuss negation. Section 4 will be devoted to a discussion of the two verbal prefixes mentioned above which hitherto have been treated as aspects but which, in my view, are markers of motion.

1.0 Aspect

The view of aspect adopted in this study follows Comrie (1976, 1985) where aspect is defined as the different ways of viewing the "internal temporal constituency of a situation". With this as the background, the following aspectual distinctions are recognised for Akan: Completive (COMPL), Perfect (PERF), Progressive (PROG), Continuative (CONT), Habitual (HAB), and Future (FUT). In addition to these, there is the Consecutive (CON) which is not an independent aspect but is found in medial verbs in any kind of chaining construction in which the initial verb is marked for either the progressive or future. In the rest of this section, I will describe the form of each aspect. In some cases I will give excerpts from text to illustrate the aspects. However, unlike in Osam (1986) where the discourse functions of the tense-aspects of Akan are discussed, I do not intend to get into the details of how each aspect functions in discourse.

1.1 Completive

The completive aspect is what in other analyses of Akan tense-aspects is referred to as the past tense (see, for example, the citations given at the beginning of the chapter). In this study, however, it is treated as an aspect. The justification of this view will have to wait till section 1.8. I use the term 'completive' in the sense in which Comrie (1976) uses the label 'perfective'. It should, therefore, be understood that in this study 'completive' and 'perfective' are alternate labels. When a verb is marked as completive, it means that the event it codes "is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one." In other words, we do not have the opportunity to view the event from within and separate it into the various phases that make it up. The event is presented as a single whole, with the various stages condensed into an integral unit.

In affirmative constructions in Akan, the completive has two realisations depending on whether the verb is followed by another item, either an object or an adverbial. When the verb is followed by a direct object or an adverbial, the completive aspect is realised as the lengthening of the final vowel of the verb root. This vowel has a low tone. In Akuapem and Fante, the tone of the vowel preceding the completive morpheme is high if the verb root is monosyllabic (1). In Asante, on the other hand, the vowel of the verb root has a low tone (2).[2]

1a.	Kofi	hú-ù	abofra	no	(Ak/Fa)
	Kofi	see-COMPL	child	DEF	
	Kofi saw the child.				

b.	Kofi	tɔ́-ɔ̀	akokɔ		(Ak/Fa)
	Kofi	buy-COMPL	chicken		
	Kofi bought a chicken				

2a.	Kofi	hù-ù	abofra	no	(As)
	Kofi	see-COMPL	child	DEF	
	Kofi saw the child				

b.   Kofi tɔ̀-ɔ̀   akokɔ   (As)
       Kofi buy-COMPL chicken
       Kofi bought a chicken.

In most disyllabic roots in all the dialects, the verb root-final vowel has a high tone, compared to the completive suffix which has a low tone.

3a.   Kofi b̀isá-à   maame no   (As/Ak/Fa)
       Kofi ask-COMPL woman DEF
       Kofi asked the woman.

b.   Kofi gỳiná-à   hɔ   (As/Ak)
       Kofi stand-COMPL there
       Kofi stood there.

If the verb ends in a consonant and it is followed by a direct object or an adverbial, the completive aspect is marked by the presence of the low tone on the verb final consonant (4 and 5). I should point out that in Akan, word final consonants are tone bearing units because they are syllabic. For ease of representation, when the verb ends in a consonant, the completive aspect will be given a segmental representation by doubling the final consonant.[3] This system will be used throughout the dissertation.

4a.   Kofi tɔ̀ǹ-ǹ   sekan no   (Ak/Fa)
       Kofi sell-COMPL knife DEF
       Kofi sold the knife.

b.   Kofi nóm̀-m̀   nsu no   (Ak/Fa)
       Kofi drink-COMPL water DEF
       Kofi drunk the water.

If the verb occurs in clause final position, the completive aspect is marked by the low tone suffix -ì or -ɪ̀. The choice of vowel is determined by vowel harmony based on the vowel of the verb root. If the verb root has an advanced vowel, the suffix is -ì. On the other hand, if the verb root vowel is unadvanced, the suffix is -ɪ̀. In Akan orthography, this suffix is represented by the letter 'e'.

5a. Kofi hyέ-è   (Ak/Fa)
     Kofi wear-COMPL
     Kofi wore (it).

b.   Kofi tú-ì   (Ak/Fa)
     Kofi uproot-COMPL
     Kofi uprooted (it).

In the Asante dialect, the suffix -i/-ɩ can be replaced by the suffix -yɛ. But whether the completive aspect is realised as -i/-ɩ or -yɛ, the suffix is preceded by a vowel which is the same as the vowel of the verb root, that is if the verb ends in a vowel. Sentence (5a) will therefore be rendered in Asante as in (6).

6a. Kofi hyὲὲ-ὲ   (As)
     Kofi wear-COMPL
     Kofi wore (it).

b.   Kofi hyὲὲ-yὲ   (As)
     Kofi wear-COMPL
     Kofi wore (it).

If a verb in Asante ends in the bilabial nasal and the COMPL is realised as the suffix -yɛ, the suffix will be preceded by a lengthened high rounded vowel (7a). But if the verb ends in the alveolar nasal, and the COMPL is realised as -yɛ, the suffix will be preceded by a high vowel that agrees with the verb root vowel in lip rounding (Dolphyne 1988a) as shown in (7b) and (7c). In (7b), the verb has an unrounded vowel and the vowels which precede the COMPL suffix, -yɛ, are unrounded. But in (7c), the verb root vowel is rounded and consequently the vowels preceding the COMPL suffix are rounded.

7a. Kofi nòm-òò-yɛ   (As)
     Kofi drink-COMPL
     Kofi drunk (it).

b.   Kofi kàn-èe-yɛ   (As)
     Kofi read-COMPL
     Kofi read (it).

c.   Kofi tɔn-ɔɔ̀-yɛ̀   (As)
      Kofi buy-COMPL
      Kofi sold (it).

In Asante and related dialects, if a verb ends in the mid-high front advanced vowel /e/, or the mid-high back advanced vowel, /o/, this final vowel is substituted for by its unadvanced counterpart before the addition of the COMPL suffix (either the -i/-ɪ or -yɛ). For example, in (8a) the verb root is wie 'finish' and in (8b) it is suro 'be scared'. So /e/ is replaced by /ɛ/, and /o/ is replaced by /ɔ/.

8a.   Kofi   wìɛ̀-ɛ̀/wìɛ̀-yɛ̀   (As)
      Kofi   finish-COMPL
      Kofi finished.

b.   Kofi   sùrɔ̀ɔ-ɛ̀/sùrɔ̀ɔ-yɛ̀   (As)
      Kofi   fear-COMPL
      Kofi was scared.

In Akuapem and Fante, if the verb ends in a consonant with no item following it, the COMPL occurs in the form of lengthened /i/ or /ɪ/ following the consonant. The choice of the vowel is determined by vowel harmony.

9a.   Kofi   hwîm-ìì   (Ak/Fa)
      Kofi   snatch-COMPL
      Kofi snatched (it)

b.   Kofi   tɔ́n-ɛ̀ɛ̀   (Ak/Fa)
      Kofi   sell-COMPL
      Kofi sold (it).

Having described the form of the completive using simple sentences I now will give an example of text in which this aspect is used. This and the subsequent textual examples are taken from Akan written narratives. Before I do that, though, I should point out that in certain places the spellings used in the original text are slightly modified to conform to the system I have adopted in this study. This modification

applies mainly in cases where we have a word final consonant. Those verbs marked

with the completive have been underlined.

10. 1.Wo-dur-r   Yaakwa fie;   nna ɔ-a-yɛ
     3PLU SUBJ-reach-COMPL Yaakwa house; then 3SG SUBJ-PERF-make

     krado dada   ro-tweɔn   Onnyibi. 2. Yaakwa ne   nyɛnko
     ready already PROG-wait Onnyibi.   Yaakwa 3SG POSS friend

     berɛbo Kofi Enntsie a   ɔno-ara   so   wɔ-frɛ
     liver   Kofi Enntsie REL 3SG-EMPH also 3PLU SUBJ-call/HAB

     no   Ammfɛr no   ka   no   ho. 3. Onnyibi
     3SG OBJ Ammfɛr REL be-among 3SG POSS self. Onnyibi

     toto-o   nyimpa beenu yi   nsamu   kyiakyia-a   hɔn
     put-COMPL people two   these hands in greet-COMPL 3PLU OBJ

     na Taaber bɔ-ɔ   no   mu adze ma-a
     and Taaber bend-COMPL 3SG POSS in low give-COMPL

     hɔn   adwe. 4. Wɔ-kyerɛ-ɛ   hɔn   ngua
     3PLU OBJ calm   3PLU SUBJ-show-COMPL 3PLU OBJ chairs

     ma   wɔ-tsena-a   ase, na ɔpanyin Enntsie
     so that 3PLU SUBJ-sit-COMPL down and Elder   Enntsie

     bisa-a   hɔn   amandzɛɛ.   (Krampah 1970:13)
     ask-COMPL 3PLU OBJ news.

     1. They reached Yaakwa's house; by then he had been ready waiting for
     Onnyibi. 2. Yaakwa's friend Kofi Enntsie, who is also known as
     Ammfɛr, was with him. 3. Onnyibi shook the hands of these two
     people and greeted them and Taaber bent down and greeted them [gave
     them evening]. 4. They showed them chairs and they sat down and
     Elder Enntsie asked them what news they had.

In isolation from the whole system, it is tempting to categorise what I have

called the completive aspect as purely a past tense. Indeed, the use of the completive

suffix locates the event under consideration in a time frame prior to the time of

speaking. In other words, the implication of the use of that suffix is partly that the said

event occurred anterior to the time of speech. The link between the

completive/perfective aspect and past time is generally held to be a cross-linguistic fact

(Hopper 1979, Givón 1982a). Dahl (1985) attests to this:

> There is a strong tendency for PFV [perfective] categories to be
> restricted to past time reference. I interpret this restriction as a secondary
> feature of PFV... In other words, for all languages it holds that 'past
> time reference' characterizes prototypical uses of PFV -- single,
> completed events will in the 'typical cases' be located in the past.
> (1985:79)

However, the use of the completive morpheme in Akan implies more than time. It also

indicates the event so described as being an integrated whole; one that is completed.

When this suffix is used, the event is always a completed one. The suffix is never

used to code past imperfective event. For example, it is never used if the event is

coded as being in progress in the past. In other words, it is only completed or

perfective events that are marked this way. We can therefore describe the primary

feature of this morpheme as being aspectual, with time being only a secondary

characteristic.

1.2 Perfect

In Comrie's framework, the perfect aspect "indicates the continuing present

relevance of a past situation." (Comrie 1976:52) Unlike other aspects that deal with the

nature of an event, the perfect links a past event to a present situation by showing that

an event that took place in the past is of relevance to the present. This means that the

perfect uses an event to link two temporal frames. As Comrie (1976) points out,

whether the perfect is tense or aspect is a continuing debate in linguistics. In fact,

some treatments of the Akan tense-aspect system, (for example, Essilfie 1977, 1986)

adopt the view that the perfect is a tense and so argue for a perfect tense in Akan. In

this dissertation, I take the position that the perfect is an aspect.

The perfect aspect in Akan is marked by the prefix a-. In all Akan dialects, this prefix agrees with the vowel of the verb root in tongue root position harmony. In affirmative sentences in Asante, the prefix occurs with a low tone (11a and 11b), except when the subject is second person (11c).

11a. M-à-tɔ́   bi[4]   (As)
      1SG SUBJ-PERF-buy some
      I have bought some.

  b. Yɛ̀-à-tɔ́   bi   (As)
      1PLU SUBJ-PERF-buy some
      We have bought some.

  c. W-á-tɔ̀   bi   (As)
      2SG SUBJ-PERF-buy some
      You have bought some.

Even though in the English translations the sentences are presented as being in the present perfect, it should be understood that the perfect in Akan is atemporal by implication. It will be shown later (section 1.8) that the form of the perfect is the same irrespective of the time of the event. The language has other means of indicating the time associated with an event marked as perfect. In affirmative sentences in Akuapem, the perfect prefix is a high tone in monosyllabic roots. It is a low tone in disyllabic roots, except where the subject is second person singular or plural (12c and 12d).

12a. Mà-á-tɔ̀   bi   (Ak)
      1SG SUBJ-PERF-buy some
      I have bought some.

  b. Mà-à-bísá   no   (Ak)
      1SG SUBJ-PERF-ask 3SG OBJ
      I have asked him/her.

  c. W-á-bísá   no   (Ak)
      2SG SUBJ-PERF-ask 3SG OBJ
      You have asked him/her.

d.　Mó-á-bísá　　　　　no　　　　(Ak)
　　2PLU SUBJ-PERF-ask　3SG OBJ
　　You have asked him/her

In Fante, the perfect aspect prefix always has a high tone. Furthermore, as Dolphyne

(1988) points out, this is the only verbal prefix in Fante that does not harmonise in

terms of lip rounding. This is why in (13a) the prefix is /a/ and not /ɔ/.

13a.　Mà-á-tɔ̀　　　　　bi　　　　(Fa)
　　　1SG SUBJ-PERF-buy　some
　　　I have bought some.

b.　Mè-é-bísà　　　　　no[5]　　(Fa)
　　1SG SUBJ-PERF-ask　3SG OBJ
　　I have asked him/her.

In examples (11-13), the use of the perfect means that those events took place prior to

the time of speaking but they are of relevance to the present. For example in (13a) the

event of my having bought some took place prior to the time of speech, however the

result of that action persists in the present situation. The way in which the present

relevance of that past action is demonstrated is that since I already bought some it is

not crucial for me to buy more now. Example (14) is meant to illustrate the textual use

of the perfect aspect. The underlined verbs in this example are marked for the perfect.

Even though this text is a narrative which is set in the past, the form of the perfect is

the same, with no morphological indication that the events marked with the perfect

morpheme are set in the past.

14.　1. Ndeda　　ara　　na　me　　　　bɔfoe　　bi　　　to-o
　　　yesterday　only　that　1SG POSS　messenger　INDEF　send-COMPL

　　me　　　nkra　　de　　ɔ-a-tse　　　　　asaase　bi　　　nka
　　1SG OBJ　message　COMP　3SG SUBJ-PERF-hear　land　INDEF　scent

　　wɔ　Makado. 2. Ewimbir　no　ara　　　　mo-bɔ-ɔ
　　in　Makado.　　evening　DEF　immediately　1SG SUBJ-move-COMPL

hwii	kɔr-r	hɔ	na	ɔ-kyerɛ-ɛ			dɛ	asaase	no
fast	go-COMPL	there	and	3SG SUBJ-show-COMPL			COMP	land	DEF

no	wuranom	yɛ	fibobowbi	a	wɔ-e-nya
3SG POSS	owners	be	family	REL	3PLU SUBJ-PERF-get

amandze.	3.	Hɔn		panyin	a-kɛ-ka	kurow	no	mu	ɔhen
trouble		3PLU	POSS	elder	PERF-go-say	town	DEF	in	chief

ne	ntam	a-tɔ	ma	ɔhen	no	a-fa
3SG POSS	oath	PERF-fall	so that	chief	DEF	PERF-take

no	dadua.	(Krampah 1970:18)
3SG OBJ	prison	

1. It was yesterday that a messenger of mine sent me a message indicating that he _had heard_ of a plot of land in Makado. 2. That very evening I went there immediately and he told me that the owners of that land were a family in trouble [that _had been in trouble_]. 3. Their family elder _had gone_ to invoke the chief's oath carelessly and as a result the chief _had taken_ him prisoner.

1.3 Progressive

Akan also has an aspectual form that is rightly analysed as the progressive.

When an event is marked with the progressive, the understanding is that the event is in

process or going on. In other words, such an event is treated as 'not done yet'.

Another implication that can be read off the Akan progressive is that it stretches over a

period of time, though how much time is involved is not crucial. The important point

is that since such an act is indicated as ongoing, it is only logical that it is spread over a

period rather than a point in time. In another sense we can see the progressive as

marking an event that is not yet completed. In that sense, we can treat the progressive

in Akan as an incompletive aspect, contrasting with the completive.

The progressive aspect in Akan is marked by the prefix _re-_, but it has different

realisations in the various dialects. In the Fante dialect, it has four allomorphs because

the vowel of the prefix agrees with the vowel of the verb root in tongue root position

(leading to the prefix vowel being +ATR or -ATR) as well as in lip rounding (resulting

in the vowel being rounded or unrounded), as shown in (15). In (15a), the vowel of

the root is advanced and unrounded; in (15b) it is unadvanced and unrounded; in (15c)

it is advanced and rounded; in (15d) it is unadvanced and rounded. These variations in

the verb root vowels are appropriately reflected in the vowel of the progressive marker

in (15a-c). It is worth noting that even though the examples below illustrating the

progressive are all translated into English with the present tense, the progressive in

Akan does not imply the present tense. In other words, like the perfect, the Akan

progressive is atemporal. The time of the event so marked can be deduced from the

context. So in order to reflect the atemporalness of the progressive, the best translation

of (15a), for example, should be 'Kofi be eating (it)'. The progressive in the (15b-

15d) can be given the same translation.

15a. Kofi rí-dzí   (Fa)
      Kofi PROG-eat
      Kofi is eating (it).

  b. Kofi ré-kyέ[6]   (Fa)
      Kofi PROG-share
      Kofi is sharing (it)

  c. Kofi rú-sú   (Fa)
      Kofi PROG-cry
      Kofi is crying.

  d. Kofi ró-kɔ   (Fa)
      Kofi PROG-go
      Kofi is going.

The text cited in (16), taken from a longer narrative, illustrates the fact that the time of

a progressive event can be deduced from the context. In this example the context

indicates that the verbs marked by the progressive aspect code events that took place in the past.

16.
1. Sasabonsam fowe-e dur-r kan kakra no,
devil climb-COMPL reach-COMPL forward little DEF

Kweku Tsen yi-i biew kor tow-e kyen-n daadze.
Kweku Tsen take-COMPL bone one throw-COMPL put-COMP earth

2. Nna ɔkɔm dze sasabonsam, ntsi o-hun-n biew
then hunger hold devil so 3SG SUBJ-see-COMPL bone

no ara nna ɔ-kɔr-r daadze ke-yi-i
DEF EMPH then 3SG SUBJ-go-COMPL ground go-take-COMP

we-e. 3. Kweku Tsen yɛ-ɛ dɛm-ara ma
chew-COMPL Kweku Tsen do-COMPL that-EMPH so that

mbiew no sa-e. 4. Aber a ɔ-sa-e
bones DEF finish-COMPL time REL 3SG SUBJ-finish-COMPL

no, nna nkorɔfo no e-du sor. 5. Afei Kweku Tsen so
DEF, then people DEF PERF-reach up now Kweku Tsen also

fow-w ahoma no ntsɛmtsɛm. 6. Aber a
climb-COMPL rope DEF quickly time REL

ɔ-ro-fow kɔ no nna sasabonsam so ro-fow
3SG SUBJ-PROG-climb go DEF then devil also PROG-climb

bɛn no. 7. O-hun-n dɛ a-ka kakra
near 3SG OBJ 3SG SUBJ-see-COMPL COMP PERF-remain small

ma ɔ-a-to ' no no ɔ-bɔ-ɔ
so that 3SG SUBJ-PERF-reach 3SG OBJ DEF 3SG SUBJ-hit-COMPL

sasabonsam ne sanku no.
devil 3SG POSS accordion DEF
(Methodist Book Depot 1946:24)

1. When Devil climbed up a bit, Kweku Tsen took one of the bones and threw it down. 2. Since Devil was hungry, the moment he saw the bone he went down, took it and ate it. 3. Kweku Tsen kept doing that till he ran out of bones. 4. By that time the people [who were climbing the rope] had reached up [the heavens]. 5. Now Kweku Tsen quickly climbed the rope. 6. While he was climbing, Devil was also climbing the rope. 7. When [Kweku Tsen] saw that Devil had almost caught up with him, he played Devil's accordion.

In Akuapem, the vowel of the progressive morpheme has an invariant form irrespective of the ATR nature of the vowel of the verb root. It is always pronounced with the high front unadvanced vowel /ɪ/ and spelled with 'e'. Secondly, in monosyllabic verb stems the progressive has a high tone, but in disyllabic verb stems the tone is low.

17a.   Kofi ré-dì   (Ak)
         Kofi PROG-eat
         Kofi is eating (it).

  b.   Kofi ré-kɔ   (Ak)
         Kofi PROG-go
         Kofi is going.

  c.   Kofi rè-bìsá   no   (Ak)
         Kofi PROG-ask 3SG
         Kofi is asking him/her.

In Asante, even though by orthographic conventions the progressive is written as re, in speech, the progressive occurs as a vowel and the vowel is the same as the vowel of the preceding syllable. In (18), for example, the first vowel in the pre-verb root position is that of the subject pronoun and the second vowel marks the progressive aspect.

18a.   Yɛ-ɛ-dìdí   (As)
         1PLU SUBJ-PROG-eat
         We are eating.

  b.   Yɛ-ɛ-kɔ   (As)
         1PLU SUBJ-PROG-go
         We are going.

It is important to point out that in Akan, the progressive occurs with active verbs only. The examples in (19) and (20) illustrate cases of those verbs which are dynamic when transitive but non-dynamic when intransitive. So in (19a) and (20a), the presence of the agent means that the events are dynamic, making it possible for the

verbs to be marked with the progressive. But in (19b) and (20b) since the verbs

describe states, it is ungrammatical to have the progressive. As shown in (19c) and

(20c), stative verbs take the continuative aspect instead of the progressive. This will be

discussed in section 1.4. It should be noted that in (19a) and (20a), the sentences

cannot have agents without the verb de 'take'. Since serialisation is covered in chapter

6 I will say nothing about it at this time.

19a.   Kofi de kraataa no rέ-fàɱ̀ hɔ   (Fa)
       Kofi take paper DEF PROG-paste there
       Kofi is pasting the paper there.

  b.   *Kraataa no re-fam hɔ   (Fa)
       paper DEF PROG-paste there
       The paper is pasting there.

  c.   Kraataa no fam hɔ   (Fa)
       paper DEF paste/CONT there
       The paper is there (pasted on some surface).

20a.   Kofi de atar no re-sɛn hɔ   (Fa)
       Kofi take dress DEF PROG-hang there
       Kofi is hanging the dress.

  b.   *Atar no re-sɛn hɔ   (Fa)
       dress DEF PROG-hang there
       The dress is (in the process) of hanging there.

  c.   Atar no sɛn hɔ   (Fa)
       dress DEF hang/CONT there
       The dress is hanging there.

There is evidence to show that the progressive marker in Akan is a

grammaticalised verb. This evidence stems from the behaviour of the prefix in

Akuapem. In Akan, the domain of vowel harmony is the whole word (see chapter 2

for a discussion of Akan vowel harmony). As mentioned earlier, in the Akuapem

dialect, the vowel of the progressive marker is always the high front unadvanced

vowel, /ɪ/. It means that this vowel does not harmonise with other vowels of the verb

stem that follow it. However, the vowel of the progressive morpheme influences the

vowel of the subject prefix it follows. So in Akuapem, the presence of the progressive

marker means that the vowel of the subject prefix is always an unadvanced vowel, as

shown in (21). In these examples, the verb root has an advanced vowel. Under

normal circumstances we expect the vowels preceding the verb root to harmonise with

the vowels of the verb root. In other words the vowel of the progressive prefix should

be pronounced as /i/ and the vowel of the subject prefix in (21a and 21c) be

pronounced as /o/; that in (21b) as /e/. But this is not the case. Instead, the vowel of

the progressive marker is pronounced /ɪ/, and the vowels of the subject prefixes are

pronounced as unadvanced vowels (as indicated by the orthographic symbols).

21a.   ɔ̀-rè-dìdì   (Ak)
       3SG SUBJ-PROG-eat
       S/he is eating.

   b.   Yɛ̀-rè-dìdì   (Ak)
       1PLU SUBJ-PROG-eat
       We are eating

   c.   Wɔ̀-rè-dìdì   (Ak)
       3PLU SUBJ-PROG-eat
       They are eating.

Since the vowel of the progressive exercises a harmonising influence over the vowel

of the preceding prefix, it exhibits the features that verb root vowels have in relation to

any vowels that may precede them. This is the evidence on which we can view the

progressive marker as having developed from a previous verb. In the synchronic state

of the grammar, however, it is impossible to determine which existing verb in the

language is the source of the progressive marker. This is more so since in Akan there

is no word that begins with /r/. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the original verb

source of the PROG must have had /d/ as the initial consonant. This is based on the

fact that in Akan /d/ and /r/ are allophones. We can also postulate that the vowel of the

erstwhile verb must have been the high front unadvanced vowel /ɪ/. We can therefore

reconstruct this verb as *dɪ. In synchronic Akan, this looks like the verb de 'take, hold, use' used in some serial constructions. It is however difficult to see a semantic connection between the verb de and the PROG.

1.4 Continuative

The continuative aspect indicates a persistent state coded by a stative verb. It means that it is applicable in the case of stative verbs and not dynamic ones. This means that the continuative and the progressive are in complementary distribution since, as has been mentioned already, the progressive occurs only with active verbs.

In Akan, the continuative[7] has no segmental manifestation. It is realised as tonal changes in the verb stem. The tonal change manifests itself as low tone on all the tone bearing units of the verb word. The basic tone of the verb hyɛ 'wear' in (22a) is high as shown by (22c), and gyina 'stand' in (22b) has two low tones. It should be noted that in (22b), unlike (22a), the tones of the verb root do not change. More will be said about this when I describe the habitual aspect in the next section.

22a.　Mè-hyè　　　　　　　mpɛtsea　　　　　　　　(Fa)
　　　1SG SUBJ-wear/CONT　ring
　　　I am wearing a ring (and have been wearing it for a while).

　b.　Mè-gyìnà　　　　　　ha　　　　　　　　　　(Fa)
　　　1SG SUBJ-stand/CONT　here
　　　I am standing here (and have been standing there for a while).

　c.　Hyɛ́!
　　　wear/IMP
　　　Wear (it).

In (23), the verbs hyɛ 'wear' (23a) and gyina 'stand' (23b) are used statively. In this usage, they cannot take the progressive and maintain the stative implication. Grammatically, they can take the progressive marker but with a different meaning. In

(23a), the progressive prefix on the verb means that the subject is in the process of

putting on the ring, whereas in (22a) where the verb has a continuative reading, the

inception of the ring wearing process is over and now the subject has the ring on. The

same contrast applies to (22b) and (23b).

23a. Mè-ré-hyɛ   mpɛtsea   (Fa)
1SG SUBJ-PROG-wear ring
*I have on a ring.
I'm (in the process of) wearing (putting on) the ring.

b. Mè-rɛ̀-gyïná   ha   (Fa)
1SG SUBJ-PROG-stand here
*I'm standing here (and have been doing that for a while).
I'm (in the process of) standing here.

1.5 Habitual

According to Comrie (1976), habituals

> ...describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so
> extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental
> property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole
> period. (1976:27-28)

The habitual in Akan can be so described. Events marked by the habitual have the

feature of being a habit or customary. In terms of time, the Akan habitual describes

events that hold over a span of time that stretches from the past to the present, and to a

large extent could be expected to continue into the future. In other words when an

event is marked with the habitual the implication is that it occurs all the time. The use

of the phrase "all the time" in the preceding sentence should be understood in a very

broad sense, especially since conceptually it is not easy to define how long an event

has to occur to qualify as habitual.

In Akan, the habitual, like the continuative, is marked by tone. Illustrations of the contrast between the habitual and the continuative, especially as they relate to dialectal differences, will be given shortly. (25) is meant to illustrate just the habitual. The verbs used in (25) have two low tones each as their basic tones. The basic tones are realised when the verbs are used in the imperative (24).

24a. Bisà   no   (As/Ak/Fa)
     ask/IMP 3SG OBJ
     Ask him/her.

  b. Gyinà   ha   (As/Ak/Fa)
     stand/IMP here
     Stand here.

25a. Kofi bisà   no   (Ak/Fa)
     Kofi ask/HAB 3SG OBJ
     Kofi asks him/her.

  b. Kofi gyiná   ha   (Ak/Fa)
     Kofi stand/HAB   here
     Kofi stands here.

  c. Kofi bisá   no   (As)
     Kofi ask/HAB 3SG OBJ
     Kofi asks him/her.

These sentences have the reading that the event coded by the verbs occur all the time. I should caution that the English translations of (25) should not be taken to mean that the habitual in Akan necessarily implies present time since the form of the habitual is the same irrespective of the time of the event. This is illustrated by the excerpt in (26). For example, in (26) all the verbs glossed with the habitual code events that took place in the past. But there is no difference in the tones of those verbs to indicate in anyway that the events are past.

26.   1. Wɔ-ka   dɛ   ɔhen bi   dɔw-w   haban
          3PLU SUBJ-say/HAB COMP chief INDEF weed-COMPL farm

kakrakanara dze yɛ-ɛ   ture.   2. ɔhen no   wie-e
big   take make-COMPL garden   chief DEF finish-COMPL

ture   no   yɛ   no   ɔ-dze   abanyimbasiaba bi
garden DEF make DEF 3SG SUBJ-take young boy   INDEF

kɛ-tsena-a   mu. 3. Abanyimbasiaba no sɔ́ɛ́f   anapa   a
go-stay-COMPL in   young boy   DEF wake/HAB morning COND

agor ara   nna o-dzi.   4. ɔ-yɛ   a
play EMPH then 3SG SUBJ-eat/HAB   3SG SUBJ-be/HAB COND

ɔ-tsetsew   nhyiren no   bi   dze dzi   agor.
3SG SUBJ-pluck flowers DEF   some take eat/HAB play

5. ɔ-yɛ   na o-hu   mfafranta a
   3SG SUBJ-be/HAB and 3SG SUBJ-see/HAB butterflies REL

hɔn   ho yɛ fɛw   a   nna ɔ-dze   enguan
3PLU POSS self be beautiful COND then 3SG SUBJ-take run

taa   hɔn   do nye   hɔn
follow/HAB 3PLU POSS on accompany/HAB 3PLU OBJ

ri-si   empire.   6. Sɛ   kɔm   dze no   a ,
PROG-contest competition   when hunger hold 3SG COND

ɔ-tsetsew   nduadzewa no   bi   dzi,   na
3SG SUBJ-pluck/HAB plants   DEF some eat/HAB and

ɔ-mee   a   ɔ-kɛ -da   ndua no
3SG SUBJ-satisfy/HAB COND 3SG SUBJ-go-lie/HAB trees DEF

ase   gye   ne   ahom tsie   nnoma no
under take/HAB 3SG POSS rest listen/HAB birds DEF

hɔn   ndwom dɛɛdɛw a   wɔ-ro-tow   no.
3PLU songs sweet   REL 3PLU SUBJ-PROG-sing REL
(Methodist Book Depot 1946:40)

1. It is said that a certain chief cleared a large tract of land and made it into a garden. 2. When the chief finished with the garden, he put a young boy in charge. 3. When the boy would wake up every morning he would only play. 4. Sometimes he would pluck some of the flowers and play with them. 5. Sometimes he would see some beautiful butterflies and would run after them, and would compete with them in a race. 6. If he got hungry, he would pluck some of the fruits and would eat them and when

he got satisfied would go and sleep under the trees and would listen to the birds sing their beautiful songs.

In monosyllabic roots of stative verbs where the subject is a full noun and not a pronoun, the tonal pattern of the habitual in Akuapem and Fante is the same as for the continuative. In (27a), therefore, the sentence could mean either "Kofi (usually) wears shoes" or that "he is (currently) wearing shoes." But if the subject is a pronoun, the tonal difference between the habitual and the continuative aspect in monosyllabic verbs is carried by the subject prefix (27b and 27c).

27a. Kofi hyɛ   mpaboa   (Ak/Fa)
     Kofi wear/HAB/CONT shoes
     Kofi wears/is wearing shoes.

  b. ɔ́-hyɛ   mpaboa   (Ak/Fa)
     3SG SUBJ-wear/HAB shoes
     S/he wears shoes.

  c. ɔ̀-hyɛ   mpaboa   (Ak/Fa)
     3SG SUBJ-wear/CONT shoes
     S/he is wearing shoes.

This rule, however, does not apply if the subject is a second person (singular or plural), in which case the tonal difference between the habitual and the continuative aspects is neutralised (28). In the Akuapem dialect the second person plural subject pronoun is mo.

28. Hóḿ   hyɛ   mpaboa (Ak/Fa)
     2PLU SUBJ wear/HAB/CONT shoes
     You wear/are wearing shoes.

In Asante, on the other hand, monosyllabic verbs have different tonal pattern for the habitual and the continuative. In the habitual, the verb has a high tone (29a) which is the basic tone of such verbs, but in the continuative it has a low tone (29b).

29a. Kofi hyέ   empaboa   (As)
     Kofi wear/HAB shoes
     Kofi wears shoes.

  b. Kofi hyὲ   empaboa   (As)
     Kofi wear/CONT shoes
     Kofi is wearing shoes.

1.6 Future

Previous analyses of Akan tense-aspects have always posited a future tense for the language. This is marked by the prefix bε-. Unlike the aspects discussed in the preceding sections, the future is almost at the point of becoming a full tense. Even though its primary semantics is temporal, structurally, it is part of the aspectual system since there is only one slot in the structure of the verb word for marking aspect. In Akan, the prefix bε-is used to indicate a number of things. One of these is prediction (30a). In this usage, it indicates an event which is yet to take place. Part of its semantics is also that it codes intention (30b). This coding of intention is irrespective of whether the action will occur or not. So unlike a language like English where intended acts that lack certainty of occurrence do not get coded with the morpheme 'will', in Akan, this is not the case. Related to the intention meaning is the fact that the same prefix is used in sentences that mark possibility or probability (30c). The prefix bε- is sometimes also used together with the verb tum 'be able' to indicate ability (30d). For example, the sentence 'We can do it' is rendered in Akan (30d).

30a. Mboa bε-ba   (Fa)
     help FUT-come
     Help will come

  b. Yε-bɔ-kɔ   Kumasi   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go Kumasi
     We will go to Kumasi.

  c. Biana ɔ-bε-ba   (Fa)
     may be 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
     May be he might come

d. Ye-bo-tum   a-yɛ   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-able CON-do
     We can do it.

In addition to these uses, the prefix bɛ- also indicates future time reference. This is reflected in the use of the prefix in (30a), (30b), and (30c). The fact that the Akan future marker also has other functions beside future time is not unusual. Dahl (1985) and Bybee (1985) both show that in various languages "futures often cover meanings that are not strictly temporal ..." (Bybee 1985:157).

The future prefix, bɛ-, has different allomorphs as a result of the operation of the vowel harmony rule. In Asante and Akuapem, only the ATR harmony is applicable, meaning that they have two variations of the future prefix (31).

31a. Yɛ-bɛ́-kɔ́   (As/Ak)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go
     We will go.

  b. Yɛ-bɛ́-dá   (As/Ak)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-sleep
     We will sleep.

  c. Yɛ-bɛ́-bú   no   (As/Ak)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-break 3SG OBJ
     We will break it.

  d. Yɛ-bɛ́-di   (As/Ak)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-eat
     We will eat (it).

In Fante, the future prefix has four realisations because the vowel has to harmonise with the verb root vowel(s) in tongue root position as well as in lip rounding, as shown in (32).

32a. Yɛ-bɛ́-bá   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-come
     We will come.

b. Yɛ̀-bɔ́-kɔ́   (Fa)
    1PLU SUBJ-FUT-come
    We will go.

c. Yɛ̀-bɛ́-dzí   (Fa)
    1PLU SUBJ-FUT-eat
    We will eat (it).

d. Yɛ̀-bɔ́-tú   (Fa)
    1PLU SUBJ-FUT-uproot
    We will uproot (it).

In all dialects, when the subject is the 1SG pronoun, there are phonological changes which take place. The result of these changes is that the full form of the future prefix is not pronounced. Instead, the combination of the subject and the future prefixes are replaced by the vowel of the future prefix and the consonant of the subject prefix. Examples (33) and (34), based on Fante, illustrate this phenomenon. In (33a) and (34a), the verb word has the full form of the future marker. This is how it is normally represented in the orthography. However, in (33b) and (34b), the future is represented by its vowel and the subject prefix is represented by its consonant only. The forms in (33b) and (34b) are what occur in normal speech.

33a. Mɔ̀-bɔ́-kɔ́   (Fa)
      1SG SUBJ-FUT-go
      I will go.

  b. M-ɔ́-kɔ́   (Fa)
      1SG SUBJ-FUT-go
      I will go.

34a. Mɛ̀-bɛ́-dá   (Fa)
      1SG SUBJ-FUT-sleep
      I will sleep.

  b. M-ɛ́-dá   (Fa)
      1SG SUBJ-FUT-sleep
      I will sleep.

In terms of the diachronic source of the future prefix, it has been mentioned (Welmers 1973) that it comes from the lexical verb <u>ba</u> 'come'. In our understanding of the future, an agent or entity metaphorically 'moves' toward a goal, in this case towards the deitic center. Viewing the verb 'come' as the source for the future fits into the cross-linguistic evidence available (see for example Givón 1973, 1979, Traugott 1975, 1978, Heine and Reh 1984, Fleischman 1982a, 1982b, Bybee 1985, Bybee and Dahl 1989, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1991, Heine 1993). Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (1991) indicate one type of future that a language may have:

> Verbs or constructions that signal movement towards a goal may
> develop into future grams, with some differences discernible between
> those using 'come' and those using 'go'. (1991:19)

They further state that:

> ... movement constructions that are sources for future grams actually
> signal that the subject is in the process of moving towards a goal. That
> is, along with movement as a component of meaning, the source of such
> futures includes an imperfective ... component and an allative
> component. (1991:30)

Apart from the form and the supporting cross-linguistic evidence, another reason we can argue that the future prefix derives from the verb <u>ba</u> 'come' is that this prefix does not co-occur with the proximal motional prefix which also derives from the verb 'come'. I will say more about this in section 4.

1.7 Consecutive

The consecutive aspect does not have independent existence. Its existence depends on the presence of the future or the progressive. In a construction where there are multiple verbs, as in the case of serial construction or clause chaining, if the initial

verb is marked for the future or the progressive, the subsequent verbs are not marked

by the forms of the future or the progressive; rather, there is a low tone vowel prefix,

à-, which occurs on the non-initial verbs. Dolphyne (1987) calls this the consecutive

tense. Even though the vowel of the consecutive aspect is the same as the vowel of the

perfect, it should be noted that the two vowels differ in tone. The perfect prefix has a

high tone but the consecutive is a low tone /à/.

35a. Kofi re-yi sika no à-ma maame no (Fa)
Kofi PROG-take money DEF CON-give woman DEF
Kofi is (in the process of) taking the money and giving it to the woman.

b. Kofi be-yi sika no à-ma maame no (Fa)
Kofi FUT-take money DEF CON-give woman DEF
Kofi will take the money and give it to the woman.

Even though the consecutive is commonly used in serial verb constructions

(Stewart 1962, Dolphyne 1987), it is possible to have it in non-serial constructions. In

(36a), I give an example to show its use in non-serial verb construction. Sentence

(36a) consists of three separate clauses, each with its own subject and direct object.

Definitely what we have here is not a serial construction. However, it is clear that the

future aspect is marked on only the verb of the first clause, just like in the case of the

serial structure in (35). The rule that even in cases of non-serial constructions it is

possible to have the consecutive marker on the verbs of the non-initial clauses does not

apply if the aspect is the progressive. In other words, if the first verb in the first clause

of (36a) were marked for the progressive, the subsequent verbs would not be marked

by the consecutive (36b); instead, all the verbs will have the progressive marker (36c).

36a. Kofi bέ-pra   dan   no   mu,   na   Esi   à-hor
      Kofi FUT-sweep room DEF in   and Esi   CON-wash

      ndzɛmba no,   na   Araba so   à-yɛ   edziban no   (Fa)
      things   DEF and Araba also CON-make food   DEF
      Kofi will sweep the room, Esi will wash the things (clothes), and Araba will
      cook (the food).

b.   *Kofi re-pra   dan   no   mu,   na   Esi   à-hor
      Kofi PROG-sweep room DEF in   and Esi   CON-wash

      ndzɛmba no,   na   Araba so   à-yɛ   edziban no   (Fa)
      things   DEF and Araba also PROG-make food   DEF
      Kofi is sweeping the room, Esi is washing the things (clothes), and Araba is
      cooking (the food).

c.   Kofi re-pra   dan   no   mu,   na   Esi   ro-hor
      Kofi PROG-sweep room DEF in   and Esi   PROG-wash

      ndzɛmba no,   na   Araba so   re-yɛ   edziban no   (Fa)
      things   DEF and Araba also PROG-make food   DEF
      Kofi is sweeping the room, Esi is washing the things (clothes), and Araba is
      cooking (the food).

A possible explanation for why (36b) does not permit the consecutive marker

may lie in the fact that the consecutive marks intention. Since events marked by the

future are yet to happen, in the context of event chaining, the medial events are

assumed to be intended events predicated on the initial event. In other words, the

assumption is that the medial events are intended to happen based on the initial event

taking place. With the progressive, on the other hand, the medial events may be more

than intended; they may be more sequentially or even simultaneous related to the initial

one such that we may find all the chained events going on. This is more so in the

situation described in (36c) where the events are taking place simultaneously. If

intentionality is a feature of the consecutive, it raises the question as to why it can

occur with chain medial verbs in which the initial verb is marked by the progressive

(35a). A more satisfying answer to this question will have to involve text count of the

use of the consecutive in the context of a clause-chain initial progressive. For now,

however, I would argue that in those cases in clause chaining where the initial verb is progressive and the medial verbs consecutive, we can argue that the medial events are intended events rather than events in progress. In (35a), therefore, Kofi is taking the money with the intention of passing it on to his mother. The intended act, therefore, follows the taking act. When the medial event is not just an intention but a real event currently going on, the medial verb is unmarked, as shown in (37). It is possible that other factors may be involved here which a text based analysis will help resolve. For example, in (37a), the initial verb is reduplicated implying that more than one act of 'taking' is involved. The picture here is a situation where Kofi may be picking individual currency notes (or coins) for his mother. However, as (37b) shows, the unmarked medial verb does not necessarily occur with a reduplicated initial verb. By the explanation offered here, the difference between (37b) and (37c) is one of intention. As I stated earlier, there could be other factors at play in constructions like (37a) and (37b). This is an area that an exhaustive text based analysis of Akan should help unravel.

37a.   Kofi re-yiyi   sika   no   ma ne   maame   (Fa)
        Kofi PROG-take money DEF give 3SG POSS mother
        Kofi is removing the money and (at the same time) giving it to his mother.

  b.   Kofi re-nantsew kɔ fie   (Fa)
        Kofi PROG-walk go home
        Kofi be (is) walking go home
        Kofi is walking home.

  c.   Kofi re-nantsew a-kɔ fie   (Fa)
        Kofi PROG-walk CON-go home
        Kofi be walking (intending to) go home.
        Kofi is walking home.

As a conclusion to this section I tabulate below (Table 4) the aspects I propose to be relevant in Akan and how they relate to previous analyses.

Table 4. A summary of the proposed Akan aspects.

PROPOSED	PREVIOUS
Completive	Past Tense
Perfect	Perfect
Progressive	Progressive
Continuative	Continuative
Habitual	Habitual (Present Tense)
Future	Future Tense
Consecutive	Consecutive

I should point out that in some older treatments (for example Christaller 1875, Balmer and Grant 1929), the habitual aspect is analysed as the present tense.

1.8 Justifying the Analysis

The Akan aspectual system proposed in this study recognises that the language does not have a fully developed tense system. What we see is the rise of tense markers from existing aspect markers. The assumption that Akan demonstrates the emergence of tense forms from aspectual morphemes is based on cross-linguistic evidence which shows that generally, the aspect system in a language precedes the tense system and that it is the aspectual forms that develop into tense markers (Anderson 1973, Comrie 1976, Givon 1979, Harris 1982, Marchese 1986, Dik 1987, Bybee and Dahl 1989, Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1991, Heine 1993).

As already mentioned (section 1), the theory of tense and aspect adopted in this study follows, to a large extent, Comrie (1976, 1985). In Comrie's framework, aspect is defined as the "ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1976:3), whereas tense is "the grammaticalisation of location in time" (1985:1) or the "grammatical device for expressing location in time" (1985:4). The idea that tense is grammaticalised time is very crucial to a proper appreciation of the view of the system in Akan adopted in this study.

I will first discuss the case of the so-called past tense. In previous analyses, the suffix on the verb in (38) would be called the past tense. When we view this suffix as marking past tense, the implication is that the suffix is there primarily to indicate the time of the events, in this case past time.

38.   Yὲ-dú-ù   hɔ   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-reach-PAST   there
      We reached there.

If what we have in (38) is a tense in the sense defined above, that is if the morpheme involved here is primarily indicating the time of the event in relation to the time of speaking, we should expect it to co-occur with the aspects in the language. In other words, tenses and aspects constitute two separate systems with the possibility that they can be combined. So when a language is said to distinguish between tense and aspect it is assumed that these can be combined. For example, in English the various tenses can combine with different aspectual forms. This is why it is possible, for example, to talk about the present progressive as in The boy is eating, where the present tense, that is the time of the event, is carried by the is and the progressive aspect by the combination of the auxiliary be and -ing. Similarly, we can talk of the past progressive as in The boy was eating, where the past tense is marked by the was form of the auxiliary and the progressive aspect by the presence of the auxiliary 'be' and the -ing suffix on the verb. So English is a good example of a system which combines and co-marks tense and aspect.

If Akan had a fully developed past tense, that is if the language had a morpheme whose primary function was to indicate that a particular event occurred prior to the time of speaking, we should have this morpheme occurring on all verbs that code past events. This should be the case irrespective of the aspectual status of the verb in question. But this is not possible. This is because the suffix which previous

analyses have identified as the past tense is found only on completed or perfective events. This suffix never occurs on a verb in which the aspect is imperfective, for example, the progressive. It means that this suffix cannot be used if the event coded by the verb is a past but an imperfective one. Functionally, the suffix on the verb in (38) indicates the status of the internal structure of the event and not so much the time of the event. It is for this reason I consider the suffix as being aspectual. Unlike the completive, the future prefix is functionally tense-like, though as will be shown in the next paragraph, there is a structural limitation on its being treated as a full fledged tense.

There is also a structural reason why Akan does not have an independent tense system. If the language had tense and aspect systems, we would expect that the tenses would be able to structurally co-occur with the aspects since the two constitute separate systems. For example, it should be possible to have the past tense co-occurring on the same verb with the progressive aspect, or with the perfect, giving us past progressive and past perfect respectively. But this is not possible. In (39a) the verb is marked for the progressive aspect, and in (39b) it is marked for the so-called past tense (what I have called the completive aspect). In order to indicate an event which was in progress in the past, we should, in theory, be able to put the so-called past tense suffix on the verb while maintaining the progressive aspect prefix; or to show that an event in progress will occur in the future relative to the moment of speech, we should be able to have the progressive and the future tense prefixes both occurring on the verb. But as can be seen from (39c), combining the past with the progressive or as in (40c), combining the future tense with the progressive results in ungrammatical sentences.

39a. Kofi ȓi-dżidzí   (Fa)
     Kofi PROG-eat
     Kofi is eating.

b. Kofi dżidzí-ȉ   (Fa)
     Kofi eat-PAST
     Kofi ate.

c. *Kofi ȓi-dżidzí-ȉ   (Fa)
     Kofi PROG-eat-PAST
     Kofi was eating.

40a. Kofi bé-dżidzí   (Fa)
     Kofi FUTENSE-eat
     Kofi will eat

b. *Kofi bé-ȓi-dżidzí[8]   (Fa)
     Kofi FUTENSE-PROG-eat
     Kofi will be eating.

So the so-called past and future tenses cannot co-occur, on the same verb, with the progressive, neither can they co-occur with any of the other aspects. (41b) attempts to combine the past tense and the perfect aspect to derive the past perfect. As the sentence shows, this is not possible.

41a. Kofi e-dzidzi   (Fa)
     Kofi PERF-eat
     Kofi has eaten

b. *Kofi e-dzidzi-i   (Fa)
     Kofi PERF-eat-PAST
     Kofi had eaten.

This structural limitation suggests that there is only one functional slot in the structure of the verb word for aspect which can be filled by a class of items that are mutually exclusive. This means that aspect in Akan is a system with a finite number of terms which are mutually exclusive. Since the so-called tenses and the aspects are

mutually exclusive, it is more appropriate to treat all of them (that is the so-called tenses, and the aspects) as being terms in the same system.

Having demonstrated that it is not possible to have a tense and an aspect occurring on the same verb, let me now show the strategy the language uses to locate events marked as progressive or perfect in time anterior or posterior to the time of speaking. The strategy involves using a complex clause in which one clause provides the temporal setting of the event and the other clause shows the internal temporal constituency of the event. In order, for example, for (39c) to be coded in a grammatically acceptable way, the temporal background of past time will be provided in a dependent clause. This means that a completive event will be used as the temporal background of the event of Kofi's eating. The same strategy will be adopted in representing the event in (40b). The proper way to represent (39c) and (40b) is shown in (42a) and (42b) respectively. Another crucial element in such constructions is the morpheme ɛ́nà which is normally translated as 'then'. In Asante and Akuapem, it occurs as ná. This morpheme connects the time of the event as set in the first clause (the dependent clause) to the event itself as conveyed in the second clause (the main clause). I should point out, though, that the exact function of this morpheme is far from settled in Akan studies. In (42), the independent clauses are underlined.

42a. Esi dú-ù   hɔ   no,   ɛ́nà   Kofi   ɛ́-dzìdzí   (Fa)
      Esi reach-COMPL   there DEF REL then Kofi   PROG-eat
      (At the time) Esi got there, Kofi be (was) eating.

  b. Esi bó-dú   hɔ   no,   ɛ́nà   Kofi   ɛ́-dzìdzí   (Fa)
      Esi FUT-reach   there DEF REL then Kofi   PROG-eat
      When Esi will get there, Kofi (will) be eating.

In (42), the event of Kofi's eating is set against the temporal background of the event of Esi's arrival. (42a) shows that Esi's arrival took place prior to the time of speech and it is only by knowing that that we know that the event of Kofi's eating took place

before the moment of speech. Similarly, (42b) indicates that the event of Kofi's eating is placed in the future in relation to the time of speaking. If we compare the main clauses in (42a) and (42b), we find that there is no difference in the tonal patterns. So this clause has no inherent time location; rather, it takes its time from the context. It is also possible to use lexical means to mark the temporal setting of a progressive event as shown in (43).

43. Ndeda   rínà   ò-rì-dzìdzí   (Fa)
     yesterday then   3SG SUBJ-PROG-eat
     Yesterday s/he was eating.

In older analyses (for example Christaller 1875, Balmer and Grant 1929), the habitual is considered a present tense. But the habitual is an aspect and not tense in the sense that the term has been defined in this study.[9] The habitual does not carry with it the implication of present time. Below, I illustrate that like the progressive, if we need to indicate a past habitual we cannot do it by having the so-called past tense marker on a verb which is tonally marked as habitual. This is why (44c) is ungrammatical. In order for us to be able to indicate a habitual action that took place prior to the time of speech, we need to introduce an event marked by the completive aspect. Since the completive aspect necessarily implies a past time, using an event so marked as the temporal background for introducing a habitual event with a time reference anterior to now is the most natural strategy available in the language.

44a. Kofi sómà-à   Araba   (Fa)
      Kofi send-COMPL   Araba
      Kofi sent Araba.

 b.   Kofi sòmá   Araba   (Fa)
      Kofi send/HAB   Araba
      Kofi sends Araba.

c. *Kofi sɔmá-à   Araba   (Fa)
    Kofi send/HAB-PAST Araba
    Kofi used to send Araba.

d   Maame no kɔ-ɔ   Kumasi no   nna Kofi
    woman DEF go-COMPL Kumasi DEF REL then Kofi

    sɔmá   Araba   (Fa)
    send/HAB Araba
    Kofi used to send Araba when the woman went to Kumasi.

I should mention that in (42a), (42b), (43), and (44d) the clause starting with nna

'then' in which the verb is marked for the progressive or the habitual can be uttered all

by itself. But this is possible only in a context of a larger discourse.

2.0 Mood

Akan makes mood distinctions between indicative and imperative forms. The

indicative mood is unmarked and since the discussions thus far have dealt with the

indicative, I will discuss the imperative only in this section. The imperative in Akan

can be divided into two: the imperative proper (or just imperative) and the optative.

The imperative proper is what is used in commands to second person singular entities.

The optative is command addressed to non-second person singular entities.

2.1 Imperative

The imperative in Akan has no segmental representation (45).

45a. Dá
      Sleep!

  b. Gyàè
      Stop (it)!

2.2 Optative

The optative (OPT) occurs with a subject marker and a high tone homorganic nasal prefix on the verb.

46a. Hom   ń-dá   (Fa)
     2PLU SUBJ OPT-sleep
     (You should) sleep.

  b. Hom   ń-kɔ   (Fa)
     2PLU SUBJ OPT-go
     (You should) go.

47a. Mó-ń-ná   (As/Ak)
     2PLU SUBJ-OPT-sleep
     (You should) sleep!

  b. Yé-ń-nyáé   (As/Ak)
     1PLU SUBJ-OPT-stop
     Let's stop (it).

  c. Wɔ-ḿ-prá   (As/Ak)
     3PLU SUBJ-OPT-sweep
     They should sweep.

When an order addressed to a second person is meant to let the second person cause a third party to do something, the imperative may be introduced with the verb ma 'let'.

48a. Ma ó-ń-tú   (As/Ak)
     let 3SG SUBJ-OPT-uproot
     Let him/her uproot (it).

  b. Ma wɔ-ń-kɔ   (As/Ak)
     let 3PLU SUBJ-OPT-go
     Let them go.

<u>3.0 Negation</u>

Negation in Akan is marked by a homorganic nasal which, except in a few cases, is said on a low tone. As has been pointed out in the literature (see for example Stewart 1962, Schachter and Fromkin 1968, Dolphyne 1988), Akan is a language which distinguishes more aspectual forms in the affirmative paradigm than in the negative. This phenomenon is cross-linguistically attested to, as pointed out by Givón (1979):

> It is widely observed that the number of tense-aspects in the affirmative paradigm is almost always larger but never smaller than in the negative. Languages thus tend to innovate tense-aspect elaboration in the affirmative, then slowly spread them on to the negative. (1979:122)

The fact of the existence of fewer negative forms as against the positive aspectual forms in the language creates a situation where the aspectual forms are collapsed in the negation. As it will be shown below, this creates a complexity in the grammar of Akan that does not yield itself to a simple analysis.

3.1 Negative Completive

The negation of the completive involves a low tone a- prefix followed by the negative prefix. The form of the vowel prefix is determined by vowel harmony. I should point out that in the affirmative the COMPL is suffixal, but in the negative it is prefixal.

49a.   Kofi   tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
           Kofi   buy-COMPL some
           Kofi bought some.

b.   Kofi   à-ǹ-tɔ́   bi   (Fa)
      Kofi   COMPL-NEG-buy   some
      Kofi did not buy some.

50a.   Kofi   sú-ì   (Fa)
      Kofi   cry-COMPL
      Kofi cried.

b.   Kofi   è-ǹ-sú   (Fa)
      Kofi   COMPL-NEG-cry
      Kofi did not cry.

3.2 Negative Perfect

The negative perfect involves the negative prefix and a vowel suffix. The form

of the vowel suffix is similar to the kinds of suffixes involved in the affirmative

completive aspects as discussed in section 1.1. This means that in the negative perfect,

the perfect morpheme is a suffix, whereas in the affirmative it is prefixal. In the perfect

negative, the negative prefix is consistently said on a high tone in Fante, but in the

other dialects the tone of the prefix differs based on the verb and whether the subject is

a pronoun or a full noun phrase.

51a.   Kofi   á-tɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      Kofi   PERF-buy   some
      Kofi has bought some.

b.   Kofi   ń-tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      Kofi   NEG-buy-PERF   some
      Kofi has not bought some.

52a.   Kofi   á-nòm̀   (Fa)
      Kofi   PERF-drink
      Kofi has drunk (it).

b.   Kofi   ń-nóm-èè   (Fa)
      Kofi   NEG-drink-PERF
      Kofi has not drunk it.

The fact mentioned above, that the negative completive makes use of a prefix which is similar (except in tone) to the prefix of the perfect affirmative and the negative perfect also makes use of a suffix similar to the suffix of the affirmative completive, has long been observed in the studies on Akan (for example Balmer and Grant 1929, Stewart 1962, Schachter and Fromkin 1969, Essilfie 1977, 1986). This seeming correspondence is summarised in Table 5. It should be remembered that in the affirmative completive and the negative perfect the verbal suffix is either a vowel (same as the final verb final vowel) or a consonant if the verb ends in a consonant (see sections 1.1 and 3.2)

Table 5. The affirmative and negative forms of the completive and the perfect aspects.

	Affirmative	Negative
Completive	Verb-suffix	à-NEG-Verb
Perfect	á-Verb	NEG-Verb-suffix

As was discussed in section 1.1, the affirmative completive is marked by a suffix. It is the same kind of suffix that will be used in the negation of the perfect.

Even though virtually all studies on Akan aspectual system recognise this fact, the only attempt at explaining why this situation exists is offered by Essilfie (1986). His explanation, however, cannot be considered successful. The main problem with it is that he assumes that the morphological form of the completive (which is a vowel suffix) is the same form that is used in the negative perfect, and the form of the affirmative perfect prefix (the a- prefix) is the same form that is used (with vowel harmony variations) in the negation of the completive (past tense). This problem runs through his discussion and can be seen in the example quoted below:

o-e-n-wie
he-perf-not-finish -- He did not finish (Essilfie 1986:73)

In this example, he glosses the vowel preceding the negative prefix as 'perfect' but in the free translation he translates the sentence with a past tense. This reveals an obvious inconsistency, a pitfall that has bedeviled those who have attempted to pair up the affirmative/negative aspects in Akan on the basis of form and not meaning (for example Christaller 1875, Welmers 1946).

The other problem with his analysis is semantic. He adopts Comrie's semantic interpretation of tenses and aspects but does not do justice to that interpretation. For example, regarding the negative past tense he says that

> ... the presupposition is that the non-performance of a previous activity has no relevance to the time of speaking. And because there is no commitment to any present consequences of the previous non-performance, the present situation may actually be allowed to change because of a possible future performance of the activity. (1986:72)

While I agree with the idea behind the first sentence in this quotation, I take issue with the second sentence and think that the understanding he expresses in this sentence is part of the reason why his analysis falters. This sentence does not correctly reflect the semantic implication of the completive/perfective aspect (his past tense). When the completive aspect (past tense) is used, it excludes the present time or any other time beyond the past time in which the event took place. When the completive (past tense) is defined as having "no relevance to the time of speaking" the implication is that there is no connection between that event and the time of speaking. In relation to the negative, therefore, we can say that the "non-performance" of a certain action (in the past) is of no relevance to the time of speech because the past time is severed from the time of speaking and so there is no connection whatsoever to any time beyond that anterior time. This means that an action or event that does not happen in the past (that

is a negative completive aspect) has no chance of happening now because that past

time is gone. So when speakers of Akan use (53b) as the negation of (53a) the idea is

that Kofi did not have his bath during a period prior to the time of speaking and that

fact does not flow into the present time of speaking. This means that Kofi's condition

is not subject to change.

53a.   Kofi guar-e   (Fa)
        Kofi wash-COMPL
        Kofi washed (had a bath).

b.   Kofi e-n-guar   (Fa)
        Kofi COMPL-NEG-bathe
        Kofi did not wash (Kofi did not have a bath).

With respect to the negative perfect he offers the following explanation:

> The Perfect negative expresses the non-performance of a previous
> activity which has observable consequence at the time of speaking.
> Again the present consequence of the previous non-performance is so
> important a factor in the meaning of this form that it precludes the
> possible present (or future performance which may change the present
> observable effect of that activity. (1986:73)

Again, I have no quarrel with the initial sentence of this quotation, but to go on to

imply, as he does in the following sentence, that the use of the negative perfect

precludes the current situation from changing does not fit into the semantic definition

of the perfect provided by Comrie and which Essilfie subscribes to. In the perfect

affirmative an event that takes place prior to the time of speech is indicated to be

relevant to the present. In other words the effect of a past event stretches into the

present. When we think of this in relation to the negative we can say that since the

effect of the "non-performance" of a previous event stretches into the present the

possibility exists (in the present) for a change in that situation to occur. This

interpretation of the perfect negative is clearly what is implied when speakers use a

sentence like (54b) to negate (54a).

54a.   Kofi   e-dzidzi   (Fa)
        Kofi   PERF-eat
        Kofi   has eaten.

  b.   Kofi   n-dzidzi-i   (Fa)
        Kofi   NEG-eat-PERF
        Kofi   has not eaten.

Obviously, it is because in his interpretation Essilfie switches the meaning of the

completive (his past tense) and the perfect that he is forced to arrange the language data

to suit his interpretation. This is why he can gloss a morpheme as perfect but translate

it as completive (past tense) and vice versa.

The weakness in Essilfie's argument is also revealed by his own examples.

For example in his paper, he indicates that the sentence *onguari ndida 'he has not

washed yesterday' (1986:72) is impossible. What he fails to realise, however, is that

the reason why adding the "limiting adverb" leads to an ungrammatical sentence is

because the sentence onguari is the perfect negative. Comrie (1976) points out

(something which Essilfie concurs since he cites the same feature of the perfect in his

paper) that one diagnostic feature of the perfect (this was said in relation to the English

perfect, but it is applicable to the Akan perfect also) is that generally the perfect "may

not be used together with specification of the time of the past situation". This explains

why *onguari ndeda 'he has not washed yesterday' is wrong.

Even though Essilfie takes on the responsibility of trying to explain why in

Akan there seems to be a switch between the perfect and the completive in that the

form of the perfect negative looks like the completive affirmative and the form of the

negative perfect looks like the negative completive, his analysis is flawed mainly by

the fact that the presuppositions he claims are at the heart of the negative completive

(his past tense) and negative perfect aspects steer off the definitions he adopts from Comrie. Once he pushes himself into that tight conceptual corner he is forced to rearrange the language data to fit his explanation.

Having shown the weaknesses in Essilfie's approach, the question still remains as to why in Akan the form of the negative completive looks like the affirmative perfect marker and the form of the negative perfect looks like the affirmative completive one. I do not think that any amount of synchronic explanation can take care of this phenomenon for the simple reason that what we are dealing with here is morphology and as has been shown cross-linguistically, morphological phenomena hardly yield to synchronic explanations. This is because the morphology in any language is traceable to lexical and syntactic sources. This point has been made in numerous places in the literature on grammaticalization (see for example Givón 1973, 1975, 1976, 1979, Heine and Reh 1984, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine 1993). The answer to the problem of the apparent criss-crossing of the forms of the completive and the perfect in the negative, therefore, lies in the diachronic development and the grammaticalisation processes that have taken place in the language. Unfortunately, due to lack of historical records on Akan, it is impossible to be absolutely definite about the diachronic solution I am going to present below.

This solution is predicated on two assumptions; the first being that cross-linguistically, as Heine (1993:67) states, "A perfect tends to develop into a perfective or past tense marker." (cf: Anderson 1973, Harris 1982, 1982a, Bybee and Dahl 1989) The second is that negative structures tend to be more conservative in terms of diachronic change. This is borne out by the following statement from Givón (1979):

> It is therefore reasonable to expect that negative clauses which are more presuppositional and carry less new information in discourse, will turn out to be more conservative with respect to elaborative diachronic change. (1979:121)

This means that while affirmative forms have a tendency to change more rapidly, negative forms do not change as fast to keep pace with the innovations in the affirmative forms. Granted the validity of these assumptions, I would like to suggest that the completive in Akan developed out of a previous perfect aspect. This would mean that the current form of the affirmative completive must have been the older perfect marker. This means that the older perfect was a suffix.

Old Perfect (Suffix) ---> Completive (Suffix)

With the development of that old perfect suffix into the completive aspect came an innovation in the form of the perfect aspect. The suffix was replaced by the á- prefix which is the current form of the perfect.

Old Perfect (Suffix)

New Perfect (Prefix a-)
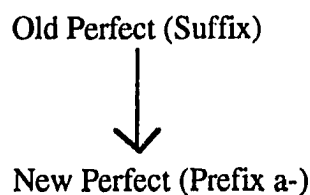
This change was restricted to the affirmative. Since negative forms are more conservative and do not change as fast as the affirmative forms, there must have been a time in this historical scenario that the perfect and completive shared the same negative forms. For some reason currently unclear to me, the completive developed a new negative form while the perfect maintained the older negative form.

The solution proposed above, in the absence of historical data on Akan, relies on cross-linguistic comparative evidence. Knowing what went on in some languages helps us make informed judgments regarding the possible historical changes that must have gone on in other languages where historical data is not available.

3.3 Negative Progressive

In the negation of the progressive, the negative prefix follows the progressive marker. It should be remembered that as was mentioned in section 1.3, in spoken Asante the progressive is realised as a vowel.

55a. Ò-rì-yìyí   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-PROG-remove
      S/he is removing (them).

  b. Ò-rì-ǹ-yìyí   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-PROG-NEG-remove
      S/he is not removing (them).

56a. Ò-ò-yìyí   (As)
      3SG SUBJ-PROG-remove
      S/he is removing (them).

  b. Ó-ò-ǹ-yìyí   (As)
      3SG SUBJ-PROG-NEG-remove
      S/he is not removing (them).

3.4 Negative Continuative

The continuative is negated by the presence of the negative morpheme and changes in the tone of the verb stem. As a reminder, it should be noted that the continuative is distinguished on the basis of tones, and in (57) the continuative (57a) is contrasted with the habitual (57b). (57c) is the negation of (57a).

57a. Ò-gyìnà   ha   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-stand/CONT   here
      S/he is standing here.

  b. Ò-gyìná   ha   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-stand/HAB   here
      S/he stands here.

c.   Ò-ǹ-gyínà   ha   (Fa)
3SG SUBJ-NEG-stand/CONT here
S/he is not standing here.

58a   ɔ-hyὲ   mpɛtsea   (Fa)
3SG SUBJ-wear/CONT ring
S/he is wearing a ring.

b.   ɔ-ǹ-hyέ   mpɛtsea   (Fa)
3SG SUBJ-NEG-wear/CONT ring
S/he is not wearing a ring.

3.5 Negative Habitual

The negation of the habitual involves the negative prefix and changes in the

tone of the verb stem. It must be noted that the consonantal changes in (59b) and (60c)

is a regular phonological rule in Asante and Akuapem but not Fante. In Asante and

Akuapem when an oral voiced stop or affricate is preceded by a nasal (in the same

word), the stop or affricate undergoes a nasal assimilation to become a nasal.

59a.   Kofi bìsá   no   (As)
       Kofi ask/HAB 3SG OBJ
       Kofi asks him/her.

b.   Kofi m̀-m̀isá   no   (As)
       Kofi NEG-ask/HAB 3SG OBJ
       Kofi does not ask him/her.

60a.   Kofi gyìná   ha   (As)
       Kofi stand/HAB here
       Kofi stands here.

b.   Kofi ǹ-nyìná   ha   (As)
       Kofi NEG-stand/HAB here
       Kofi does not stand here.

3.6 Negative Future

In all the dialects of Akan, when a verb marked with the future is negated the

form of the negation is the same as the form of the negative progressive. So when

(61c) which exemplifies negative future is compared with (62b) which illustrates

negative progressive, we find that they have the same form.

61a.   Yɛ-bɛ-dá   (As/Ak/Fa)
        1PLU SUBJ-FUT-sleep
        We will sleep.

   b.   Yɛ́-ɛ̀-ǹ-dá   (As)
        1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-sleep
        We will not sleep/We are not sleeping.

   c.   Yɛ-rɛ́-ǹ-dá   (Ak/Fa)
        1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-sleep
        We will not sleep.

62a.   Yɛ-rɛ́-dá   (Fa)
        1PLU SUBJ-PROG-sleep
        We are sleeping.

   b.   Yɛ-rɛ́-ǹ-dá   (Fa)
        1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-sleep
        We are not sleeping.

There are two routes to understanding the shared negative between the

progressive and the future. The first is semantic and the second is diachronic.

Semantically, the progressive and the future both have the characteristic of being

imperfective, though differing in the degree of imperfectivity. It is therefore likely that

the sharing of the same form in the negative may have something to do with this

feature they have in common. Let me also add that the feature of imperfectivity may be

what makes the progressive and future share the consecutive. As discussed in section

1.7 the consecutive is used on medial verbs if the initial verb in a clause chain is either

progressive or future.

The second, the diachronic route, is based on similar assumptions state earlier when I discussed the completive and perfect negatives. Using this route we can assume that in the course of the development of the aspectual forms of the language, there must have been a time when the form of what I have called future was similar to the current form of the progressive. During this stage the progressive and the future shared the same negative form. This is similar to what I postulated for the historical development of the perfect and the completive. The next stage must have been the innovation in the form of the future marker which resulted in the language adopting the verb 'come' (see the discussion in section 1.6) as the future marker. Since negatives do not change as fast as the affirmative forms (Givón 1979), the language is still using the older negative future which, in actual fact, is the negative progressive. So even though the future has a new form, the language has not as yet developed a negative form for the innovated future marker.

I pointed out in section 1.6 that the future prefix in Akan derives from the verb 'come'. This is the case for all the dialects of the language. There is evidence, however, that the alternative verb, 'go', is also used in future marking. This evidence comes from some subdialects of Fante. In those subdialects, like all other dialects, the affirmative future marking involves the verb 'come'. However, in these subdialects of Fante, the negation of the future involves the prefix kɔ 'go'. The use of the verb 'go' in the context of the negation of the future marker is not surprising since it has been established (Givón 1979, Fleischman 1982a, Heine and Reh 1984, Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins 1991) that one source of the future marker is the verb 'go'. However, it is of cross-linguistic interest that in the same language 'go' and 'come' are used, variously, to code the future.

It must be remembered that the vowel of kɔ 'go' will harmonise with the vowel of the verb root. In (63b), (64b), and (65b), it is appropriate to say that the

negation consists of the negative prefix and the ka 'go' prefix. For this reason I have

glossed the ka 'go' prefix as future.

63a. Ò-bé-dzí   (Fa)
     3SG SUBJ-FUT-eat
     S/he will eat (it).

 b. Ò-ñ-ké-dzí   (Fa)
     3SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-eat
     S/he will not eat (it).

64a. Yè-bɔ́-kɔ́   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go
     We will go.

 b. Yè-ñ-kɔ́-kɔ́   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-NEG-FUT-go
     We will not go.

65a. Yè-bɛ́-bá   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-FUT-come
     We will come.

 b. Yè-ñ-kɛ́-bá   (Fa)
     1PLU SUBJ-NEG-FUT-come
     We will not come.

3.7 Negative Consecutive

When a verb with the consecutive marker is negated, the consecutive prefix is

dropped, and the negative marker is attached to the verb. It should be remembered that

the consecutive is present only if the initial verb in a chain of verbs is marked with

either the progressive or the future prefix. I should also point out that, as was

mentioned in section 3.6, the future and the progressive are negated in the same way.

So (66c) and (67c) can serve as either the negation of the progressive or of the future.

66a. Kofi bɔ́-tɔ́   bi   à-mà   ne   maame   (Fa)
     Kofi FUT-buy some   CON-give 3SG POSS mother
     Kofi will buy some for his mother.

b. Kofi ró-tɔ̀   bi   à-mà   ne   maame   (Fa)
    Kofi PROG-buy some CON-give 3SG POSS mother
    Kofi is buying some for his mother.

c. Kofi ró-ñ-tɔ́   bi   m̀-má   ne   maame   (Fa)
    Kofi PROG-NEG-buy some NEG-give 3SG POSS mother
    Kofi is not buying/will not buy some for his mother.

67a. Kofi bé-ỳi   sika   no   à-mà   maame no   (Fa)
     Kofi FUT-take money DEF CON-give woman DEF
     Kofi will take the money for the woman.

b. Kofi ré-ỳi   sika   no   à-mà   maame no
    (Fa)
    Kofi PROG-take money DEF CON-give woman DEF
    Kofi is (in the process of) taking the money and giving it to the woman.

c. Kofi ré-ñ-yí   sika   no   m̀-má   maame no (Fa)
    Kofi PROG-NEG-take money DEF NEG-give woman DEF
    Kofi is not (in the process of) taking the money and giving it to the woman.
    Kofi will not take the money and give it to the woman.

3.8 Negative Imperative

Verbs in the imperative mood can also be negated. In the Fante dialect, the negative imperative is always introduced by the morpheme _ma_ 'let'. This applies to the second person singular imperative as well as the other variety used for the other persons in the person paradigm, that is the optative (see section 2). In the second person singular imperative, the vowel of the morpheme _ma_ agrees with the vowel of the verb in vowel harmony.

68a. Dá
     Sleep!

b. Má ñ-dá
    let NEG-sleep
    Don't sleep!

69a. Dzí
     Eat (it)!

b. Mé-ǹ-dzí
    let-NEG-eat
    Don't eat (it)!

70a. Kɔ́
      Go!

b. Mɔ́-ǹ-kɔ́
    let-NEG-go
    Don't go!

The change in the form of the vowel from /a/ to /e/ in (69b) and from /a/ to /ɔ/ in (70b)
is the result of vowel harmony and goes to show that in the imperative, the morpheme
ma is part of the verb word. We can take this to mean that ma, in the negative
imperative, is in the process of being grammaticalised.

Examples of the negative optative are given in (71) and (72). In these cases,
we can see that the fact that the vowel of the morpheme does not undergo changes due
to vowel harmony shows that the ma is not part of the verb word.

71a. Hóḿ ń-dá   (Fa)
      2PLU SUBJ OPT-sleep
      Sleep!

b. Má hóḿ   ǹ-ǹ-dá   (Fa)
    let 2PLU SUBJ OPT-NEG-sleep
    Don't sleep.

72a. Hóḿ   ń-kɔ́   (Fa)
      2PLU SUBJ OPT-go
      Go!

b. Má hóḿ   ǹ-ǹ-kɔ́   (Fa)
    let 2PLU SUBJ OPT-NEG-go
    Don't go.

In Asante and Akuapem, the negative imperative does not involve the morpheme ma
'let', unlike in Fante. It is simply done with the negative morpheme. Examples (73b)
and (74b) illustrate negative imperative addressed to second person singular; (75b) and
(76b) exemplify negative imperative addressed to non-second person singular.

73a. Dá
    Sleep!

    b. Ǹ-dá   (As/Ak)
        NEG-sleep
        Don't sleep.

74a. Kɔ
    Go!

    b. Ǹ-kɔ   (As/Ak)
        NEG-go
        Don't go.

75a. Mó   ń-dá   (As/Ak)
    2PLU SUBJ OPT-sleep
    Sleep!

    b. Mó   ń-ǹ-dá   (As/Ak)
        2PLU SUBJ OPT-NEG-sleep
        Don't sleep.

76a. Mó   ń-kɔ   (As/Ak)
    2PLU SUBJ IMP-go
    Go!

    b. Mó   ń-ǹ-kɔ   (As/Ak)
        2PLU SUBJ OPT-NEG-go

3.9 Patterns of Negation

As mentioned at the beginning of section 3, there are different patterns of

negation in Akan. When we compare the negation of the habitual, consecutive,

imperative, and optative moods, we find that the form of the verb stem (in this case the

NEG+VerbRoot) is the same for all these categories. I should point out that though in

written Akan the negative optative has both the optative and negative markers, in

speech, the two morphemes are not distinct mainly because both morphemes are

nasals and each has a low tone. So in the spoken form the negative optative sounds the

same way as the negative habitual, continuative, consecutive, and imperative. This is

why the optative has been put together with these. So the negation of these aspects and

moods constitute one pattern of negation in Akan. Another pattern consists of the

progressive and the future where, as shown in section 3.6, the two aspectual forms

use the same negation form. The other pattern involves the criss-crossing of the forms

of the completive and the perfect in negation. Table 6 is a summary of the affirmative

and negative forms of the aspects and the moods in Akan according to the patterns

they display.

Table 6. Affirmative and negative forms of the aspects and moods in Akan.

	ASPECT/MOOD	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
Pattern 1	Habitual	Verb+Tone	NEG-Verb+Tone
	Continuative	Verb+Tone	
	Consecutive	a-Verb	
	Imperative	Verb	
	Optative	n-Verb	
Pattern 2	Progressive	re-Verb	re-NEG-Verb
	Future	bɛ-Verb	
Pattern 3	Completive	Verb-Suffix	a-NEG-Verb
	Perfect	a-Verb	NEG-Verb-Suffix

Cross-linguistic comparisons and the notion of grammaticalisation have been useful in

the establishment of the patterns of negation for the aspects and mood of Akan. They

have also been utilised in explaining the morphology of the negative completive and

perfect aspects as well as negative form of the future.

4.0 Motional Prefixes

There are two verbal prefixes in Akan which are included in virtually every

discussion of the categories of the verb. These prefixes are kɔ 'go' (distal) and bɛ

'come' (proximal) and are illustrated in (77a-c). Sentence (77c) is an example of the

use of the distal prefix in the excerpt cited earlier in example (14)

77a. Kofi kɔ-fá-à   sika   no   (As/Ak)
        Kofi go-take-COMPL money DEF
        Kofi went and took the money.

    b. Kofi bɛ-fá-à   sika   no   (As/Ak)
        Kofi come-take-COMPL money DEF
        Kofi came and took the money.

    c. Hɔn   panyin a-kɛ-ka   kurow no   mu   ɔhen
        3PLU POSS elder   PERF-go-say town DEF in   chief

        ne   ntam a-to   ma   ɔhen no a-fa   no
        3SG POSS oath PERF-fall so that chief DEF PERF-take 3SG OBJ

        no   dadua   (Krampah 1970:18)
        3SG OBJ prison
        Their family elder had gone to invoke the chief's oath carelessly and as a
        result the chief had taken him prisoner.

In this section I will discuss the categorial status of these prefixes and make a proposal

regarding their historical origins.

4.1 Categorial Status of Kɔ and Bɛ

In the study of Akan, the practice has always been to classify the kɔ 'go' and bɛ 'come' (with all their phonological variations due to vowel harmony) as part of the aspectual system of Akan. Starting with Christaller (1875), a tradition has developed in which these prefixes are referred to as the ingressive, and in fact Dolphyne (1971) specifically calls them aspect:

> Some of the verbal paradigms have the Ingressive Aspect in addition to the various Aspects... The exponents of the Ingressive Aspect are certain prefixes which occur in the verbal form to indicate previous coming or a previous going required for the action indicated by the verb stem. There are two Ingressive Aspects:
> 1) The "going" Ingressive, indicated by the prefix 'kɔ'
> e.g. ɔkɔdá   (he goes and sleeps).
> 2) The "coming" Ingressive, indicated by the prefix 'bɛ'
> e.g. ɔbɛdá   (he comes and sleeps) (1971:193-194)

The same view is expressed in Dolphyne (1988):

> There are two prefixes, bɛ kɔ, derived from the verbs ba 'come', kɔ 'go', which occur in some Tense/Aspect forms of the verb to indicate a movement towards or away from the speaker, that is required before the action indicated by the verb. (1988:95)

In this study, I intend to show that these prefixes, for reasons to be presented below, are not aspects in the sense in which the term has been used here. I therefore propose to call them motional prefixes. This characterisation stems from the meaning associated with these prefixes. When they are used they indicate a physical movement engaged in in order for the event coded by the verb to take place. When kɔ 'go' is used the implication is that the agent moves to a location away from a deitic center which the speaker assumes. The deitic center may be the current location of the speaker. It may also be a place located in the world of a narrative. In narratives, especially, this location does not coincide with the current physical positioning of the

speaker. When b_ε 'come' is used, the idea is that the agent moves towards the deitic center assumed by the speaker. The basic interpretation of the use of these prefixes is borne out by the following statement from Boadi (1974b):

> ... the choice of k_ɔ and b_ε depends upon the speaker's temporal or background orientation in relation to the place or time of the event described by the verb. The prefix k_ɔ is used when the location or time referred to in the discourse is viewed by the speakers as being relatively distant from him, while b_ε refers to places and times relatively close to him. (1974b:3)

Against the background of the definition of aspect adopted in this study, where aspect is considered to be the ways of looking at the internal temporal structure of an event, these prefixes cannot be treated as having aspectual meaning. This is because their use does not tell us anything about the internal structure of the event itself. Instead, they function to make us aware of the physical movement required of the agent in order for the event to be accomplished. The crucial point here is the physical movement. Whenever the prefixes are used the implication is that there is physical motion involved. This is one reason why these prefixes are better treated as markers of motion rather than aspect.

The second reason not to consider k_ɔ and b_ε as aspects is structural. It is that the two prefixes can co-occur with different aspectual forms in Akan (78a-e). The only exception is that they cannot co-occur with the FUT^{10} as (78f) indicates. A possible reason why they cannot co-occur with the FUT may be because the FUT marker comes from the same motion verb 'come' as the proximal prefix, b_ε (see section 1.6).

78a. Yὲ-kɔ-tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-go-buy-COMPL some
      We went and bought some.

  b. Yὲ-á-kɔ́-tɔ́   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-PERF-go-buy
      We have gone and bought (it).

c. Yὲ-rὲ-kɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-go-buy
We are going to buy (it).

d. Yὲ-kɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-go-buy/HAB
We go and buy (it).

e. Yὲ-rɔ̀-kɔ́-tɔ́ à-kɛ́-mà no (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-go-buy CON-go-give 3SG OBJ
We are going to buy and go give it to him/her.

f. *Yὲ-bɔ́-kɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go-buy
We will go and buy it.

If the kɔ and bε were aspectual they would not be able to co-occur with any aspect since the aspects in the language, being terms in the same system, are mutually exclusive. It should be recalled that in section 1.8 I argued that the reason why Akan cannot be said to have tenses is that what people have normally referred to as the past and future tenses do not co-occur with any of the aspects in the language. Since the feature of co-occurrence has been used to determine the tense status of the past and the future, we can, on the basis of the same feature, argue that since kɔ and bε can co-occur with the aspects in the language they cannot possibly be aspect themselves.

A third reason for not considering kɔ and bε as aspect stems from their position vis á vis the negative marker. As has been shown in section 3, in Akan when an aspect which has a segmental representation is negated, the negative marker follows the aspect. So in a negative verb word, the order of the categories is as follows: ASPECT-NEGATION-VERB. It should be noted, however, that in the negative perfect, the aspectual marker is a suffix: NEGATION-VERB-ASPECT. When a verb which has either kɔ or bε is negated, the negative morpheme precedes the prefix (NEGATION-go/come-VERB), as shown in (79). This means that these prefixes behave differently from the aspects with respect to negation.

79a. Yὲ-rὲ-kɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-go-buy
We are going to buy (it).

b. Yὲ-rɛ́-ñ-kɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-go-buy
We are not going to buy (it).

c. Yὲ-rὲ-bɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-come-buy
We are coming to buy (it).

d. Yὲ-rɛ́-ñ-bɔ́-tɔ́ (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-come-buy
We are not coming to buy (it).

Having shown that these prefixes are not aspects, let me now give some other

characteristics they possess. One of these is that they are used in serial constructions in

which the first verb of the serialisation is the motion verb 'go' or 'come' (80). The

first verb in (80a) kɔ 'go', and that in (80b) ba 'come' are full lexical verbs. But the

kɔ and bɛ found on the second verbs in (80a) and (80b) respectively are verbal

prefixes. This means that there is redundancy regarding the marking of motion in the

sentences in (80). This is because the lexical verbs 'go' and 'come' indicate motion

just like the distal and proximal prefixes on the verbs. This means that (80a) and (80a)

have the same meaning.

80a. Yὲ-kɔ́-ὲ kɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀ bi (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-go-COMPL go-buy-COMPL some
We went and bought some.

b. Yὲ-bá-ὲ bὲ-dzí-ì bi (Fa)
1PLU SUBJ-come-COMPL come-eat-COMPL some
We came and ate some.

When constructions like (80a) and (80b) are negated, both verbs carry the negative

marker, as shown in (81a) and (81b) which are the negation of (80a) and (80b)

respectively.

81a.   Yɛ-a-n-kɔ   a-n-kɔ-tɔ   bi   (Fa)
       1PLU SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-go COMPL-NEG-go-buy   some
       We did not go and buy some.

  b.   Yɛ-a-m-ba   e-m-be-dzi   bi   (Fa)
       1PLU SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-come COMPL-NEG-come-eat some
       We did not come to eat some.

The implication here is that the whole event is negated. For example, (81a) implies that

there was no going and so there was no buying. Here 'the going' and 'the going to

buy' are treated as a unitary event. I should point out that it is possible to negate the

second verb and not the first verb (82). But as shown in (82a) and (82b) negating the

second verb without negating the first verb leads to a totally different construction. So

the sentences in (82) differ from those in (81). (82a) and (82b) are coordinated

structures but (81a) and (81b) are serial constructions. Secondly, (82a) and (82b) do

not have the motion prefix on the second verbs.

82a.   Yɛ-kɔ-e   naaso   yɛ-a-n-tɔ
       1PLU SUBJ-go-COMPL   but   1PLU SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-buy

       bi   (Fa)
       some
       We went but did not buy some.

  b.   Yɛ-ba-e   naaso   yɛ-a-n-tɔ
       1PLU SUBJ-come-COMPL but   1PLU SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-buy

       bi   (Fa)
       some
       We came but did not buy some.

An important observation regarding serial constructions in which the initial

verb is 'go' or 'come' is that the noninitial verb has to have a corresponding motional

prefix, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. Compare (83a) with (83c). On the

other hand a sentence can do away with the lexical verbs 'go' and 'come' as the initial

verb while maintaining the motional prefixes and the result will be grammatical as in

(83b). The use of the lexical verbs 'go' and 'come' vis-a-vis the motional prefixes,

illustrates the process of grammaticalisation currently going on in the language. This

will be discussed in the next section.

83a. Yὲ-kɔ́-έ   kɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-go-COMPL go-buy-COMPL some
      We went and bought some.

  b. Yὲ-kɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-go-buy-COMPL   some
      We went and bought some.

  c. *Yɛ-kɔ-e   tɔ-ɔ   bi   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-go-COMPL   buy-COMPL some
      We went and bought some.

4.2 Historical Origins

An explanation of why (83c) is ungrammatical will have to take into account

the historical source of the motional verbal prefixes. These prefixes have their origins

in serialisation in which the initial verb is a lexical 'go' or 'come'. This means that

sentence (83c), for example, must have been the original structure, and developed into

(83a) which has also developed into (83b). Synchronically, (83a) and (83b) co-exist

in the language. This means that the source and the resulting structure are existing side

by side. This is a commonly attested feature of grammaticalisation (see for example

Heine and Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi, and Hunnemeyer 1991a, Lord 1989, 1993).

Having the two structures existing concurrently in the language means that the older

structure is virtually stripped of its functions since those have been taken over by the

new structure. This is the reason why the lexical verb in (83a) is functionally

redundant. This situation illustrates the process of the reanalysis of syntax into

morphology. In other words, we see here a case of morphology arising out of syntax.

We could predict that in time, structures like (83a) will cease to exist, being replaced

by structures like (83b). Based on the notion of grammaticalisation chains (Craig 1991, Heine, Claudi, Hunnemeyer 1991a, 1991b, Heine 1992, 1993) it is possible that the current motional prefixes may cease to code physical movement, thereby developing into other aspectual forms. The lexical verbs 'go' and 'come' are involved in two chains of grammaticalisation. On one hand they have developed into aspectual markers -- with 'come' marking future in the affirmative in the whole language, and 'go' marking future in the negative in some Fante subdialects. The pattern of grammaticalisation of the lexical verbs 'go' and 'come' via serialisation into verbal prefixes of motion and their development into aspectuals can be sketched as in Figure 4.

SOURCE   Lexical Verb

                                     |
                                     ↓
PATHWAYS
      Serialisation   Motional Lexical Verb + Medial Verb

                                     |
                                     ↓
                             Motional Lexical Verb + Motional Prefix-Verb

                                     |
                                     ↓
      Simple Clause   Motional Prefix-Verb

                                     |
                                     ↓
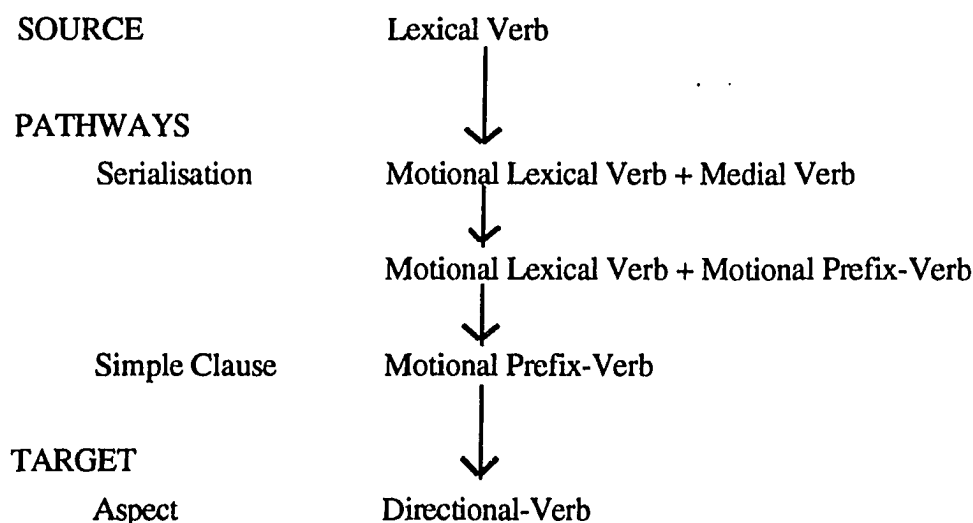TARGET
      Aspect   Directional-Verb

Figure 4. The path of development of the motional prefixes.

Evidence from the Fante dialect suggests that the motional prefix kɔ 'go' is involved in another kind of grammaticalisation. In section 3.6 I mentioned that in some subdialects of Fante the motional prefix kɔ 'go' is used as an aspect in the negative construction of the future. This, as mentioned in the immediately preceding

paragraph above, is part of the grammaticalisation of the motion verb into an aspectual marker. This is illustrated in (84b), (85b) and (86b).

84a. Yὲ-bέ-fá   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-FUT-take
      We will take (it).

  b. Yὲ-ñ-kέ-fá   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-NEG-FUT-take
      We will not take (it).

85a. O-be-dzi   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-FUT-eat
      S/he will eat (it).

  b. O-n-ke-dzi   (Fa)
      3SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-eat
      S/he will not eat (it).

86a. Yε-bɔ-kɔ   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go
      We will go.

  b. Yε-n-kɔ-kɔ   (Fa)
      1PLU SUBJ-NEG-FUT-go
      We will not go.

In (84b) the prefix kε (which is a variant of kɔ determined by vowel harmony) does not indicate physical movement. In fact, in this context, it is appropriate to say that the negation consists of the negative prefix and an aspectual kε prefix. This is why, in this usage, it is appropriate to gloss kε and its phonological variants as future. The use of the motional prefix in the negation of the future is not very surprising since motion verbs are known to be the source of future markers (Givón 1973, 1979, Traugott 1975, 1978, Heine and Reh 1984, Fleischman 1982a, 1982b, Bybee 1985, Bybee and Dahl 1989, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1991, Heine 1993), and indeed, as mentioned in section 1.6, the current Akan marker of the future is derived from the verb 'come'. This is a clear instance of the development of a grammatical morpheme from a lexical source.

5.0 Conclusion

This chapter was concerned with the analysis of the aspect-mood system of the Akan. In the discussion, I have taken a different position from previous analyses by arguing that we can not say that Akan has an independent and fully developed tense system. What Akan has is an aspectual system where terms in the system are mutually exclusive regarding their occurrence on the verb. So there is only one functional siot in the verb word that can be filled by only one of the aspects.

Another area in which this chapter makes some original contributions to the study of Akan grammar is in the domain of the study of grammaticalisation. As I mentioned in chapter one, grammaticalisation is one of the core areas in the functional-typological approach to language study. Since languages go through stages of development, at any stage in the development of any language, there will be certain phenomena that can only be adequately explained by recourse to the diachronic dimensions of the language. This is especially so when we consider the morphology of any language. Since this chapter, in essence, deals with the verbal morphology of Akan, I have put forward diachronic explanations for certain otherwise perplexing processes in the synchronic aspect of the language. This solution has relied on cross-linguistic evidence of patterns of development of grammatical items from lexical items. In the cross-linguistic typological approach to language study, this approach has proven valid and useful in determining sources of forms in languages without written historical records. This is the case when I explained the criss-crossing of forms in the negative completive and the negative perfect. The explanation for why the progressive and the future share the same negative form was similarly made. Following this procedure, I have also shown that the current future prefix derives from the verb ba 'come'.

Another area covered by this chapter which constitutes a departure from previous analyses is the treatment of the verbal prefixes kɔ 'go' and bɛ 'come'. In previous analyses these have been treated as aspectual forms, being labeled the ingressive aspect. However, the semantics of these prefixes is such that they have nothing to do with the internal temporal structure of the events. Instead their focus is on the movement of the agent in relation to the event. I have shown that these mark physical motion and so should be treated as motional prefixes. In time, however, it is possible that they may develop into some other aspectual forms like directionals.

Notes

1. There is some evidence that the view I have taken in this dissertation that Akan essentially has aspects and no tenses has been the subject of an earlier work. The evidence for this comes from a footnote in Essilfie (1986) in which he refers to the work of Whittaker (1968). This is what Essilfie (1986), in commenting on the view taken by Whittaker (1966) on Akan aspects says: "Whittaker is quite aware of the implications of the uses of the Perfect tenses in Akan but his description is bedeviled by serious terminological preferences. He refers to all the verb forms as 'aspects' -- Preterite Aspect, Perfective Aspect, Future Aspect etc.." (1986:73) Unfortunately it has not been possible to have access to Whittaker's dissertation to know the exact position he takes regarding the tense-aspects in Akan and the arguments he offers for his view.

2. Even though tones are relevant in the definition of some of the tense-aspect described here, since it is not the practice among Akan linguists to mark tone in regular data and tones are not marked in Akan orthography, I follow that practice here. Another reason why normally tones will not be marked in this dissertation is that one of the areas where the dialects differ most is in tone assignment. Since this work aims at a cross-dialectal analysis, tones are left out especially if the issue involved has nothing to do with the tonal structure of an utterance. This makes it possible for most of the examples cited here to be read with any tonal pattern based on the dialect. However, throughout the dissertation tones will be marked if that is needed to make a point clearer.

3. Dolphyne (1988) points out that this is the method of representation suggested for the unified Akan orthography.

4. In both (11a) and (11b), the full form of the subject pronouns are me '1SG' and wo '2SG' respectively. However, in the environment of a following vowel, the vowel of the subject is deleted. This is why in (11a) and (11b) the subject pronouns show up as m and w respectively. This applies to Asante. In Akuapem and Fante, the vowel of the subject pronoun is assimilated by the vowel of the perfect; in those dialects, therefore, the subject pronouns have 'a' as illustrated in (12) and (13).

5. In Fante, the advanced tongue root harmony which affects the pre-verb root prefixes are reflected in the orthography. But in Asante and Akuapem this is not the case. This is why in (13b) the pre-verbal vowel is 'e' but in the Akuapem example in (12b) it is 'a'.

6. It should be noted that even though the vowel of the progressive marker in (14b) is spelled with 'e', the sound is actually the high front unadvanced vowel /ι/. Similarly the 'o' of the progressive marker in (14d) is the high back round unadvanced vowel /ʊ/.

7. The continuative has been referred to by some writers as stative (Schachter and Fromkin 1968, Boadi 1966). Since the term 'stative' describes a category of verbs, it is more appropriate to use the term 'continuative' to describe the aspectual distinction associated with stative verbs.

8. Another way of ordering the two prefixes is to put the progressive prefix first leading to:

Kofi re-be-dzidzi

However, it should be borne in mind that the prefix be- in this version is not the future prefix. It is what I have called the proximal directional, what in other analysis is referred to as the 'coming ingressive'. So this sentence does not mean 'Kofi will be eating', rather it means 'Kofi is coming to eat'.

9. Comrie (1985:39) argues that "In many languages, the present tense is also used with habitual aspectual meaning, as in English John goes to work at eight o'clock (every day)... Sentences with habitual aspectual meaning refer not to a sequence of situations recurring at intervals, but rather to a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times". In Comrie's opinion such habitual habits do hold at all times including the present making it appropriate to describe such situations using the present tense. The problem with this, though, is that it could well be argued that since habitual actions hold at all times including past times, we might as well describe such habits using the past tense. Even though the main framework adopted here is Comrie's, I do not share this view; or at the least, it is not appropriate for describing the situation in Akan

10. It has been pointed out to me (Dolphyne p.c.) that in the Kwahu dialect, it is possible to have the distal prefix kɔ co-occur with the FUT. This means that in Kwahu the sentence (79f) can be rendered as:

Yɛ-be-kɔ-tɔ   bi   (Kwahu)
1PLU-FUT-go-buy   some
We will go and buy some.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEFUNCT NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

0. Introduction

Akan has a nominal prefix system which has been recognised by various linguists who have worked on the language. However, except for Welmers (1971, 1973), none of the others who recognise this prefixal system has considered it the remains of a noun class system (see Christaller 1875, Akrofi 1935, Dolphyne 1988, Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988, Balmer and Grant 1929, Essilfie 1977). The purpose of this chapter is to show that the existing nominal prefixes in Akan are a left-over of the noun class system which must have existed in Proto-Akan. Evidence will also be presented to support a proposal that there is a reorganisation of the noun classification system built around the plural marking system. An earlier version of the material in this chapter was published as Osam (1993).

Within its immediate family, Central-Tano, (which consists of Akan and the Bia languages -- Anyi, Baule, Chakosi, Nzema, and Ahanta), Akan is the only language which has substantial remains of the old noun prefixal system, especially in the singular, (Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988) which must have existed in Proto-Tano.

Throughout Niger-Congo, the Bantu languages offer some of the most comprehensive examples of a noun class system. One of the features of the noun class system of the Bantu languages is that it is, in most cases, a prefixal system. Within the broader Niger-Congo, however, not all noun classification systems are prefixal (Welmers 1971, 1973, Greenberg 1977). Functionally, the noun classification system in Bantu usually marks singular and plural distinctions. Nouns which have a particular prefix in the

singular form their plural through the use of a different prefix. As pointed out by Stucky (1978), however, the Bantu system does not exclusively function to mark singular-plural distinctions since there are some nouns (for example those in the liquid and abstract classes) which are not marked for singular and plural. In addition, the noun class system in Bantu is also concordial. This means that there is subject-verb agreement as well as agreement between nominals and their modifiers.

Finally, the semantic basis of the noun class system is not very transparent. However, as argued by various writers including Givon (1971), Creider (1975), Denny (1976), Stucky (1978), and Denny and Creider (1986), the Bantu noun class system definitely must have had a semantic basis for its classification, though, synchronically, it is not very transparent.

The preceding overview of the nature of the noun class system in Bantu has been provided so that it can serve as a backdrop to the discussion of the situation in Akan. The chapter is organised into three main sections. In section 1, I examine the evidence that Proto-Akan had an effective noun class system. In section 2, I show that synchronically, the system is a decayed one. Section 3 discusses the possibility of the emergence of a new system from the ruins of the old one. I need to point out that like the rest of the dissertation, the subject matter of this chapter is based on cross-dialectal (Asante, Akuapem, and Fante) data. It means that some of the examples to be cited may be peculiar to only some dialects or even to a subdialect of Akan. Where necessary, I will indicate the dialect source of an example.

1.0 Evidence of a Previous System

There are aspects of synchronic Akan which show that the language once had a functioning noun class system.

1.1 Genetic Evidence

One reason we can expect Akan to have a noun class system has to do with its genetic affiliation (see Figure 1 in chapter 2 for the place of Akan within the Niger-Congo family). Niger-Congo is a language family noted for its noun class systems. This fact has been noted for such a long time that it would be redundant to cite all the references. However, the following quote from Williamson (1989) confirms this fact about the Niger-Congo family:

> The best-known grammatical feature of the Niger-Congo languages is undoubtedly their system of noun classification which, in a well-preserved, reduced or purely vestigial form, can be traced in every branch of the family, and hence must be reconstructed for proto-Niger-Congo.(1989:31)

Even though in the past the Kwa subbranch (to which Akan belongs) was said to be different from the Benue-Congo group (where the Bantu languages are located), on the basis of the existence of noun classes in the latter but their absence in the former (see for example Westermann and Bryan 1952), in recent times, it has been shown that there are languages classified as members of Kwa which have functioning noun class systems (Williamson 1989). This is especially true of the Togo Remnant languages as exemplified by Avatime (Ford 1971, Dakubu and Ford 1988). Based on its genetic affiliation, therefore, it is a fair assumption to make that Akan had a functioning noun class system in the past.

1.2 Morphological Evidence

Secondly, there is morphological evidence in synchronic Akan of a previous noun class system. The evidence is that singular and plural nouns have prefixes. The prefix is either a homorganic nasal or a vowel. The form of the vowel is determined by vowel harmony. Only the following vowels occur as noun prefixes: e, ɛ, a, o and ɔ. In some

subdialects of Fante, i/ι occur as noun prefixes. All these vowels occur as singular prefixes, but only a and ε are used as plural prefixes. The singular and plural prefixes are illustrated below:

1.
SINGULAR		PLURAL	
ɔ-bɔfo	'angel'	a-bɔfo	'angels'
o-birempon	'great man'	e-birempon	'great men'
a-bofra	'child'	m-bofra	'children'
i-dua	'tree'	n-dua	'trees'
ε-dan	'building'	a-dan	'buildings'

We can identify the Akan nominal prefixes (with vowel harmony) as follows:

2.
	SINGULAR			PLURAL	
Class 1	o-/ɔ-		Class 5	n-	
Class 2	a-/e-		Class 6	a-/e-	
Class 3	i-/ι-				
Class 4	ε-				

Example 3 provides samples of nouns in each group. More examples are given in Appendix B.

3.
Class 1	o-nua	'sibling'
	o-nipa	'person/human being'
	o-birempon	'a great person'
	ɔ-baa	'woman'
	ɔ-bɔdɔm	'dog'
	ɔ-pɔnkɔ	'horse'
Class 2	a-bofra	'child'
	a-noma	'bird'
	a-berewa	'old woman'
	e-wi	'thief'
Class 3	i-dua	'tree'
	i-kur	'sore'
	ι-dan	'building'
Class 4	ε-boɔ	'stone'
	ε-dan	'building'
	ε-woɔ	'honey'
Class 5	n-dua	'trees'
	n-kura	'mice'
	n-twεr	'frogs'
	n-dowa	'bees'
	m-bofra	'children'

	m-bowa	'animals'
	m-fe	'years'
Class 6	a-ka	'debts'
	a-dan	'buildings'
	a-hɔho	'visitors'
	e-kunyin	'great men'
	e-din	'names'
	e-kuw	'clubs/associations'

An explanation of the class labeling system used here is appropriate at this stage. The prefixes for Classes 3 and 4 differ dialectally. The Class 3 prefix is used only in Fante and the Class 4 in Asante. I decided to create two separate classes for these prefixes because in the Fante dialect the [i-] prefix contrasts with the [ɪ-] on the basis of vowel harmony. All the nouns with the [i-] and [ɪ-] prefixes are in one group and the nouns in Asante which have the [ɛ-] prefix are in another group. Another factor which influenced the numbering system I use is the lack of correspondence between singular nouns and their plurals. Apart from Class 2 nouns which form their plurals by using the Class 5 prefix, there is hardly any systematic correspondence between the singular and the plural prefixes. Classes 1, 3, and 4 nouns form their plurals with Classes 5 and 6 prefixes. This is why the method of numbering the classes is different from the general pattern followed in categorising nominal prefixes in Niger-Congo languages. In the Bantu languages, for example, Classes 1 and 2 are normally paired because nouns with the Class 1 prefix form their plural with the Class 2 prefix. This cannot be done for Akan since all the nouns form their plural from the same set of plural prefixes, that is Classes 5 and 6. This is why I have put the prefixes in different groups without showing their relationship.

1.3 Morphosyntactic Evidence

As mentioned in the introduction, noun class systems are concordial. This means, for example, that there is subject-verb agreement. In Avatime (Ford 1971), a Togo Remnant language, there are markers on verbs to show that they agree with their subject nouns as well as their subject pronouns. Avatime further makes a distinction between subject and object pronouns based on the class of the noun which is represented by the pronoun. The concordial system arising out of a noun class system is also reflected in the agreement between a noun and its modifiers. In Swahili when a noun is modified by an adjective, the noun as well as the adjective will have the same class prefix. This is illustrated in (4).

4.
	Singular		Plural	
	m-toto m-zuri	'good child'	wa-toto wa-zuri	'good children'
	m-lango m-zuri	'good door'	mi-lango mi-zuri	'good doors'
	ki-tu ki-zuri	'a good thing'	vi-tu vi-zuri	'good things'

1.3.1 Plural Adjective Agreement

The concordial system associated with noun class languages must have existed in Akan with regard to plural nouns and the adjectives which modify them. Akan has adjectives that are marked for plural. Example (5) illustrates the agreement that exists between nouns and adjectives. Structurally, adjectives follow the nouns they modify.

5.
Class 5		
Noun	Adjective	
n-nua	n-ketewa	'small trees'
m-bofra	n-kakramba	'small children'
m-pɔnkɔ	n-tsiatsia	'short horses'

Class 6		
a-sekan	a-tsentsen	'long knives'
a-kwan	a-tetɛr	'broad roads'
a-dan	a-kɛse	'big buildings'

1.3.2 Singular Adjective Agreement

Akan also has adjectives with a singular class marker. These adjectives are taken to be relics of the diachronic past where singular nouns agreed with their adjectives. The adjectives are nominalised, with the resulting noun used in the same way proper nouns are used. This process is limited to only a few adjectives and only Class 1 prefixes can be used in this way.

6. o-tuntum   'black (person)'
    ɔ-kɛsee   'fat (person)'
    ɔ-gramo   'tall (person)'

These adjectival nouns can be used in sentences like (7):

7a. Me-hyia-a   ɔ-kɛsee   wɔ Kumasi
     1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL   CL 1-fat   in Kumasi
     I met (the) fat one in Kumasi

  b. O-tuntum   bɛ-ba   ɔkyena
     CL 1-black   FUT-come   tomorrow
     (The) black one will come tomorrow.

8a. Me-hyia-a   Akwasi wɔ Kumasi
     1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL   Akwasi   in Kumasi
     I met Akwasi in Kumasi.

  b. Kofi   bɛ-ba   ɔkyena
     Kofi   FUT-come   tomorrow
     Kofi will come tomorrow.

Sentences (7a) and (7b) are comparable to (8a) and (8b) where instead of ɔ-kɛsee and o-tuntum we have the proper names Akwasi and Kofi. Since the latter are proper names, they do not take the definite article. Therefore, ɔ-kɛsee and o-tuntum are similar to proper names. The fact that this type of nominalisation exists in Akan suggests that in Proto-Akan, singular nouns agreed with their adjectives. An explanation for the diachronic source of o-tuntum and ɔ-kɛsee is that o-tuntum , for example, must originally have been

9.   o-nipa   o-tuntum
       CL 1-person CL 1-black
       black person

where there was agreement between the noun and the adjective involving Class 1 prefix.

The next stage in the development was the deletion of the head noun o-nipa resulting in:

10.   o-tuntum
       CL 1-black
       black (one)

1.3.3 Verb Agreement

The third morphosyntactic evidence that Akan had a previous noun class system is based on the left over verb agreement prefixes found in the Fante and Bron dialects but not in Asante, or Akuapem and related dialects. Generally in the Twi dialects, when a subject is a full NP there is no marker on the verb as shown in (11a).

11a.   O-wura   no   nim   ade   (As/Ak)
       3SG SUBJ/CL 1-man DEF know thing
       The man is intelligent

b.   O-nim   ade   (As/Ak)
       3SG SUBJ/CL1-know thing
       He is intelligent.

c.   (?)O-wura   no   o-nim   ade   (As/Ak)
       3SG SUBJ/CL 1-man DEF 3SG SUBJ/CL1-know thing
       The man is intelligent.

Even though (11c) is grammatical, speakers of Asante and Akuapem and related dialects would use (11a) instead. As Dolphyne and Dakubu (1988) point out, the use of both the full NP and the subject marker at the same time has been lost in most Akan dialects. In Fante and Bron, unlike in Asante and Akuapem, it is possible to have a full NP as subject and at the same time have a marker on the verb indicating subject agreement as illustrated

by the Fante example in (12). This appears to apply more to the third person than to the other entities in the person paradigm.

12a.   ɔ-hen   no   ɔ-yɛ   edwuma papa   (Fa)
       CL 1-chief DEF   3SG SUBJ-do/HAB work   good
       The chief works very hard.

b.   ɔ-kyeame   no   ɔ-nom   nsa   (Fa)
      CL 1-orator DEF 3SG SUBJ-drink wine
      The (chief's) orator drinks.

It must be pointed out that the use of the subject prefix together with a full NP subject is optional so it is possible in the speech of many Fante speakers to omit the agreement marker. Nevertheless, it could be concluded that in the diachronic development of the language there was a time when what is currently used in Fante as a subject prefix used to be a subject agreement marker. This fits in with the cross-linguistic evidence that noun class markers may be reanalysed as agreement markers (Givon 1976).

1.4 Semantic Argument

In addition to the genetic, morphological, and the morphosyntactic evidence, there is also a semantic reason for arguing that the nominal prefixes in synchronic Akan reflect a previous noun class system. There is cross-linguistic evidence that any type of noun classification system is motivated by semantic considerations. This fact has been clearly demonstrated in single language studies as well as cross-linguistic studies (see for example, Adams and Conklin 1973, Adams 1986, Creider 1975, Givon 1971, Denny 1976, 1986, Denny and Creider 1986, Payne 1986, Craig 1986, Dixon 1982, 1986, Lakoff 1987). In spite of the overwhelming evidence that noun classification systems are semantically motivated, for a lot of languages, the synchronic state of the noun classification system does not make the semantic basis very obvious. Such a state causes lack of consensus and

results in competing explanations as to what the original semantic basis for the noun classification could have been. In Bantu, for example, in an attempt to explicate the semantic rationale behind the noun classification, writers like Leakey (1959), Givon (1971), and Denny and Creider (1986) have come to different conclusions. The situation in Akan is no different. In fact, the original semantic basis for the noun classification in Akan is even more obscure than the situation in Bantu. In what follows, therefore, I offer only a possible scenario of what might have been the original semantic rationale behind the noun classification system. Let me also point out that the possibility of an underlying semantic motivation for the system in Akan became clear after the nouns had been grouped into classes on the basis of their prefixes.

1.4.1 Semantic Basis of Noun Classes

By and large, the noun classification system of any language is rooted in the culture of the people (Dixon 1982, Lakoff 1987), which includes the philosophical ideas of that culture. It is in this light that I wish to submit that the Proto-Akan noun classification system must have been based on Akan ontology. In the discussion of some aspect of Akan philosophy that follows, I have relied on Gyekye (1987) as well as on my own knowledge of the culture.

The Akan doctrine of being is hierarchical. At the top of this hierarchy is Onyame 'God', the Supreme Being. Next are the deities ɔ-bosom/a-bosom 'god/gods'. The deities (also referred to as 'lesser gods) are followed by the ancestors, ɔ-saman/nsamanfo 'ghost' ('ancestral spirits'). Next in line are humans followed by 'the physical world of natural objects and phenomenon'. This hierarchy is schematically represented in Figure 5.
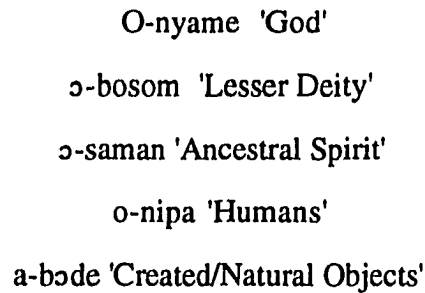
O-nyame 'God'

ɔ-bosom 'Lesser Deity'

ɔ-saman 'Ancestral Spirit'

o-nipa 'Humans'

a-bɔde 'Created/Natural Objects'

Figure 5. The structure of Akan ontology.

Gyekye (1987) makes the following comments about the characterisation of the Akan doctrine of being:

> The Supreme Being, the deities, and the ancestors are spiritual entities. They are considered invisible and unperceivable to the naked eye: This is in fact the definition of the word 'spiritual', for the Akans use the word sunsum ('spirit') generally to refer to the mystical, the unempirical, the nonphysical. Given the belief of most Akans that at least part of nature or the physical world is animated, and that man too is partly spiritual, we have to conclude that Akan ontology is essentially or primarily spiritual; the Akan universe is a spiritual universe, one in which supernatural beings play significant roles in the thought and action of the people. What is primarily real is spiritual. It must be noted, however, that the world of natural phenomenon is also real, even though in ultimate terms the nonperceivable, purely spiritual world is more real, for upon it the perceivable, phenomenal world depends for sustenance. (1987:69)

A characteristic feature of the hierarchical ordering of the Akan structure of being is that it reflects a decreasing order of power where an entity above is of higher power than the one below. As the following statement from Gyekye (1987) shows, the issue of power is central to the Akan ontological structure.

> In the web of interaction between the various entities in this hierarchy, an entity can destroy or affect any other below it. Thus Onyame can destroy the deities ... as well as other spiritual beings, humans, and the whole world; thus, a witch can kill a human being, for although the witch is also a human being he or she is believed to have power which is extraordinary and greater than that possessed by the 'ordinary' person. (1987:75)

The concept of hierarchical ordering and its instantiation of power which exists within the Akan doctrine of being is also reflected in the social organization of the society. In the Akan society, age is a very important issue. Generally, people of higher age have more prominence (and subsequently more power) in the society than those of comparatively lower age. A comment by Asimeng (1981) shows the extent of the power of higher age:

> Almost invariably, whenever children quarreled with elders, children are adjudged guilty, not so much because of the substantive nature of the case, but because it is held to be impudence and uncustomary behaviour for children to dare challenge their elders in public. (1981:74)

The concept of hierarchy with its associated power assignment might have been the semantic basis for the classification of nouns in Proto-Akan. This line of reasoning finds support in the cross-linguistic information available on noun classification. For example, Denny (1976) points out that

> ... the semantic function of noun classifiers is to place objects within a set of classes different from and addition to those given by the nouns. These classes are concerned with objects as they enter into human interaction. (1976:122)

Based on this, Denny (1976) goes on to offer the kinds of human interactions that are conveyed by noun classification markers:

> Three main kinds of human interactions seem to be conveyed by noun classifiers, physical interaction such as handling, functional interaction such as using an object as a vehicle, and social interaction such as interacting appropriately with a human compared to an animal, or a high status person compared to a low status one. (1976:125)

It is possible that the Proto-Akan noun classification system might have involved the hierarchy of social interaction, broadly conceived to go beyond human social interaction to relating to entities in the wider cosmos, from the physical to the spiritual. Bearing in mind

the underlying spiritual motivation of the Akan world view, this is not an unreasonable extrapolation to make. Even though, like many languages, the synchronic data in Akan obscures much of this, it is, nevertheless, possible to find traces of the power hierarchy in the noun classification system.

When we examine the Class 1 nouns, we find that they tend to be mostly humans and animals. We could call this the animate class due to the preponderance of humans in this class. Coupled with the fact that the prefixes used for this class are also used to mark some new human nouns borrowed into the language, it is legitimate for it to be considered the human class. The human nouns in this class are generally entities that are powerful. The category of power covers spiritual, social, political, and economic. Entities which are spiritually powerful include O-nyame 'God', ɔ-bonsam 'devil', ɔ-bosom 'god', ɔ-sɔfo 'priest (christian)', ɔ-kyerɛma 'master drummer', ɔ-bayifo 'witch', ɔ-tamfo 'enemy', ɔ-kɔmfo 'priest (traditional)', ɔ-saman 'ghost', o-diyifo/o-diifo 'prophet', o-wufo 'the dead'. All these entities possess spiritual power of different degrees and operate in different domains of the Akan scheme of spirituality. While the spiritual power of some, like 'God' and 'priest', is obvious, that of others may not be so obvious to someone who is not familiar with Akan culture. For example, ɔ-kyerɛma 'master drummer' has spiritual power because of his ability to play to the extent of invoking the spirits. The master drummer also plays an active role in various ceremonies which have spiritual dimensions. Similarly ɔ-bayifo 'witch' has the spiritual power to destroy other human beings by attacking them in the spiritual realm leading to dire consequences in the physical domain for the victim. Most Akans believe that diseases brought on people by witches cannot be adequately treated with conventional western medicine. In the Akan frame of thinking, a ghost is also has considerable spiritual power. A ghost is capable of acting in the spiritual domain to create either positive or negative effect in the physical world. It is not uncommon for people who have lost relatives to appeal to the ghosts of

those relatives to send them help from the spirit world. This is more so when someone dies as result of a murderous action or that an individual's death is explained to have come about through the malevolent manipulations of the spiritual world by another individual. In such cases the dead person's ghost can be called upon to avenge his/her death.

There are also entities which have social power. Some of these also have spiritual power. For example, socially, ɔ-sɔfo 'priest (Christian)' and ɔ-kɔmfo 'priest (traditional)' occupy a certain position in the society. Their social elevation is the result of their spiritual authority and functions. Other entities that are socially powerful as a result of their social status include ɔ-panin 'elder', ɔ-barima 'man', ɔ-hɔho 'visitor', ɔ-hen 'chief', o-dimafo 'advocate', o-nua 'sibling', ɔ-baatan 'mother', ɔ-dehye 'royal', o-kunyin 'great man'. Those with political power include ɔ-hen 'chief', ɔ-sahen 'commander', ɔ-brafo 'executioner'. In the economically powerful group we have professions like o-kuafo 'farmer', ɔ-tomfo 'blacksmith', ɔ-wemfo 'weaver', ɔ-bɔfo 'hunter', ɔ-farnyi 'fisherman'. The basis of their economic power lies in the fact that they are the creators of wealth and the people on which the society depends for its survival. In spite of the power interpretation given to this class, there are human entities here who, from the synchronic point of view, cannot be said to be powerful in the Akan scheme of things. Examples of this include ɔ-torfo 'liar', 'patient', o-sigyani 'bachelor/spinster', o-kotoo 'wimp', and o-nihani 'lazy person'. It should, however, be borne in mind that over the period of the development of any society, some of the rationale for the classification of entities may be lost, leading to aberrant cases in the classification system. As Dixon (1982) and Lakoff (1987) point out, part of the motivation for the classification system of a language may be determined by the myths and belief system of the culture. For example, in the nominal classification system of Dyirbal described by Dixon, animals and male humans are in a separate class. However, birds (with some exceptions) are in the same class with human females because the Dyirbal culture considers birds to be the spirits of dead human females. Over a period of time when

such myths are lost in a culture the rationale for the co-occurence of certain entities in the same group would cease to be transparent. It is reasonable, therefore, to suggest this as a possible reason for the odd cases in the Akan system.

Even though I have called Class 1 the human class, there are a number of animals in this group. Of course animals like 'elephant', 'sheep', 'owl', and 'eagle' can be said to be powerful. For example, the 'elephant' is considered the most powerful animal for its physical strength. The 'owl' is powerful in the spiritual sense since there is a general belief in the Akan society that the owl has evil powers and can also be used as a vessel through which evil spirits work. The spiritual significance of 'sheep' lies in its frequent use for ceremonial rites of various kinds. The power of the 'eagle' arises from its being the 'king of the air'.

Semantically, Class 2 contains humans, animals and instruments and other miscellaneous items. An outstanding feature of the human nouns is their lack of power. Most of them lack either social power or physical strength. For example, 'slave', 'servant', 'girl', and 'orphan' have no socially assigned authority. Physically, we have entities like 'child', the 'old man' and 'old woman'. Of course there are the aberrant cases like 'young man' who does not lack physical strength, and the 'brother-in-law' who has social authority. With respect to the animals in this class, the same assignment of power applies. These are less dangerous animals, except that we have snake in this group. But even that can be explained in terms of dialectal differences. The form, abowatsena 'snake' is used only in Fante, but ɔwɔ 'snake' is used cross-dialectally (and that is in Class 1).

Noun Classes 3 and 4 contain mainly nonanimate entities. The Class 5 prefix is the nasal prefix which is the plural marker for most of the other singular classes. In that respect, it may be difficult to postulate a semantic coherence for this class. However, the nasal prefix is also used to mark liquids and some mass nouns:

13.
n-su	'water'	n-sa	'drink'
m-bogya	'blood'	n-go	'palm oil'
n-tofi	'spittle'	n-kwan	'soup'
n-kyen	'salt'	(a)n-gwa	'cooking oil'
m-fifir	'sweat'		

The use of the nasal as the prefix for liquids is similar to the situation in Bantu where the prefix ma- is used for liquid masses. The nasal prefix is also found in certain words which do not have any plural distinction. Examples include n-trɔba 'egg plant', m-faso 'profit', n-tam 'oath'. This makes it all the more difficult to postulate a single underlying semantic basis for the nouns which take this prefix.

1.4.2 Semantics of Verb Agreement

In section 1.4.1, the Class 1 prefix ɔ/o was classified as the human prefix. This classification is buttressed by the following evidence. In the Twi dialects, a distinction is made regarding the 3SG subject prefix. In those dialects, the 3SG subject prefix for humans (and other animate nouns) is ɔ-/o- ; the choice depends on vowel harmony. But when the noun is nonanimate the subject prefix is ɛ-/e- (for both singular and plural) as shown in (14) and (15):

	Human (Animate)		Inanimate
14a.	ɔ-bɛ-yera	b.	ɛ-bɛ-yera
	3SG SUBJ-FUT-be lost		3SG SUBJ-FUT-be lost
	S/he will get lost.		It will get lost.
15a.	O-be-wu	b.	E-be-wu
	3SG SUBJ-FUT-die		3SG SUBJ-FUT-die
	S/he will die.		It will die.

1.4.3 Evidence from Personal Names

Further evidence, though not a very strong one, that Class 1 prefix ɔ-/o- is the human prefix stems from the use of these vowels as prefixes in Akan personal names as shown in example (16).

16.   o-wusu   ɔ-hemeng
        o-buobi   ɔ-kyere
        o-poku   ɔ-sei
        o-duro   ɔ-pong

1.4.4 Evidence from Adjectives

In section 1.3.2 I discussed the nominalisation of adjectives by the use of Class 1 prefixes. Since this process applies only to humans (in the sense that the resulting nominals from the adjectives are used as proper names and not as common nouns) it further strengthens the view that Class 1 is the human class.

So far, it has been shown that there is evidence in synchronic Akan to indicate that the language must have had a functioning noun class system. This is clear from the nominal prefixes which exist in the language at the moment. The fact that the language permits the agreement of plural adjectives with the nouns they modify and the optional verb agreement in the Fante dialect provide further evidence of a previous noun class system. There is also a semantic reason, albeit not too obvious, for positing a noun class system. As was argued in section 1.4.1, the classification of the nouns in Akan must have followed the Akan doctrine of being which has been shown to be very hierarchical.

2.0 A Decayed Noun Class System

From what has been said above, it would appear as if Akan still has a productive noun class system. However, synchronically, Akan exhibits only the fossil remains of a once dynamic noun class system. This is why Welmers (1973) refers to the system as 'vestigial'. There is enough grounds to show that the system is at the moment a decayed one, and in this section evidence will be provided to support this view.

2.1 Morphological Decay

One area in which the decay in the Akan noun class system is evident is nominal morphology.

2.1.1 Loss of Singular Noun Prefixes

One aspect of this decayed system is the loss of noun prefixes in some singular nouns. There are nouns which currently have zero marking in the singular (17).

17.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
tɛtea	n-tɛtea	'ant'
prako	m-prako	'pig'
pataku	m-pataku	'hyena'
bokiti	m-mokiti	'bucket'
dadewa	n-nadewa	'nail'
siw	e-siw	'hill'
dzin	e-dzin	'name'
sekan	a-sekan	'knife'
kyen	a-kyen	'drum'

One observation to be made about the nouns which fall in this category is that they are either nonhuman animate or inanimate nouns. Human nouns hardly lose their prefixes.

2.1.2 Frozen Plural Nouns

There are some nouns which have the same form in the singular as well as in the plural (18). We can postulate that the prefixes on these nouns are the plural prefixes. Almost all body parts are found in this category and so a good reason for the view that the prefixes are the plural ones stems from the fact that these body parts (e.g. 'ears', 'eyes') are naturally paired and it is reasonable to see the current forms as being the frozen plurals. All agricultural produce fall in this group. A possible explanation could be that such items tend to come in large numbers, it is therefore not out of the way to argue that the current prefixes are the plural ones.

18.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
e-kutu	e-kutu	'orange'
e-duwa	e-duwa	'beans'
e-nyiwa	e-nyiwa	'eye'
a-sowa	a-sowa	'ear'
a-fon	a-fon	'cheek'
n-sa	n-sa	'hand'
n-katse	n-katse	'peanuts'
n-kunuma	n-kunuma	'okra'

Even when such nouns are modified by numerals, the form is the same in both singular and plural (19).

19a. ekutu   kor   (Fa)
     orange   one
     one orange

  b. ekutu   anan   (Fa)
     orange   four
     four oranges

2.1.3 Complete Loss of Nominal Prefixes

The extent of the decay of the noun class system is further demonstrated by those nouns which have no prefixes either in the singular or plural (20). Due to the existence of such nouns in the language, Welmers (1971, 1973) argues that we can establish another noun class which is marked by zero prefix. However, my view is that it is more consistent with the historical facts to treat such nouns as having lost their prefixes since that illustrates further the vestigial nature of the noun class system.

20. SINGULAR   PLURAL
     koraa   koraa   'calabash'
     kyɛw   kyɛw   'hat'
     sundzi   sundzi   'pillow'
     dwomba   dwomba   'pestle'
     wodur   wodur   'mortar'
     kuntu   kuntu   'blanket'
     bɛr   bɛr   'mattress'
     se   se   'tooth'

As in the case of those nouns with loss of singular prefix discussed in 2.1.1, human nouns are not among those which have lost their prefixes, showing the extent to which they are resistant to decay. The loss of both singular and plural prefixes indicates a more advanced stage of decay.

2.2 Morphosyntactic Decay

That the system in Akan is a decayed one is supported by the morphosyntactic behaviour of nouns and the adjectives which modify them.

2.2.1 Frozen Form of Adjectival Prefixes

Another piece of evidence that the noun class system in Akan is decayed lies in the form of adjectives when they modify nouns. In section 1.3.1, it was mentioned that some adjectives agree in number with the nouns they modify. In synchronic Akan, however, one cannot argue for noun-adjective agreement. In other words, when both noun and adjective are marked for plural, the form of the plural adjective is not dependent on the plural form of the noun, as shown in (21).

21a.   a-tar   tuntum   (SINGULAR)
           CL 2-dress black
           black dress

           n-tar   e-tuntum   (PLURAL)
           CL 5-dress CL 6-black
           black dresses

  b.   kyen   kakraba   (SINGULAR)
           drum   small
           small drum

           a-kyen   n-kakramba (PLURAL)
           CL 6-drum CL 5-small
           small drums

From (21) we can see that a plural noun can be modified by an adjective that has a different plural prefix. In (21a), for example, the plural noun has the Class 5 prefix, but the adjective's prefix is a Class 6 one. In (21b), the noun has a Class 6 prefix but the modifying adjective has a Class 5 prefix. Even though in 1.3.1 I illustrated that plural adjectives can have the same prefix as the nouns they modify, this is not a universal for Akan.

2.2.2 Loss of Plural Adjective Prefixes

Apart from the inconsistent concordial relation between the noun and adjective

plural prefixes, not all adjectives take the plural marker (22). If the noun class system were

functioning, one would expect all or at least most adjectives to be inflected for number.

22. **SINGULAR**   **PLURAL**
    atar hahar 'light dress'   ntar (*a-)hahar 'light dresses'
    dua dudur 'heavy log'   ndua (*e-)dudur 'heavy logs'
    krataa takataka 'jelly-like paper'   nkrataa (*a-)takataka 'jelly-like paper'

2.2.3 Loss of Singular Adjective Prefixes

The extent of the decay of the noun class system in Akan is also reflected in

singular adjectives. All adjectives have lost their prefixes in the singular and so there is no

agreement between a singular noun and the adjective that modifies it as shown in (23).

23. **Noun**   **Adjective**
    o-panyin   (*o-)tsentsen   'tall elderly man'
    ɔ-dan   (*ɔ-)kɛse   'big building'
    o-dwan   (*o-)ketewa   'small goat'
    a-bofra   (*a-)kakraba   'small child'

The adjectival nouns discussed in section 1.3.2 are the only remains of singular adjective

agreement.

2.3 Loss of Verbal Concord

Finally, the current Akan noun class system is a nonconcordial one. In other Niger-

Congo languages with functioning noun class systems, the choice of a noun controls the

choice of the agreement marker on the verb. This does not happen in Akan. In 1.3.3, I

discussed the loss of verbal agreement in Asante and most other dialects of Akan. Even

though there are traces of frozen verb agreement in Fante and Bron, the fact that most

dialects have lost the agreement system leaves Akan with hardly any verbal concord. Even in Fante, the choice of a noun does not control the choice of the agreement marker on the verb (24). In (24), the subject has a Class 2 prefix and therefore we expect a Class 2 agreement on the verb. But as can be seen in (24a), the agreement on the verb is the Class 1 prefix. Changing this to the Class 2 prefix leads to an ungrammatical sentence (24b).

24a.   A-bowa   no   o-bo-wu   (Fa)
        CL 2-animal DEF CL 1-FUT-die
        The animal will die.

  b.   *A-bowa   no   a-bo-wu   (Fa)
        CL 2-animal DEF CL 2-FUT-die
        The animal will die.

Besides the lack of verbal agreement, there also exists no concord between nouns and other items that modify them. For example, there is no agreement between nouns and their determiners as illustrated in (25).

25a.   ɔ-bɔdɔm   *ɔ-no
        CL 1-dog   CL1-DEF
        the dog

  b.   m-bɔdɔm   *m-no
        CL 5-dog   CL 5-DEF
        the dogs

The correct form of (25a) and (25b) should be (26a) and 26b) respectively, where the determiners have no prefixes.

26a   ɔ-bɔdɔm   no
        CL 1-dog   DEF
        the dog

  b.   m-bɔdɔm   no
        CL 5-dog   DEF
        the dogs

To conclude this section, it can be said that synchronic Akan does not have a functioning noun class system. All in all there seems to be more decay in respect of agreement forms with reference to adjectives and verbs. Furthermore, the plural forms seem to survive better than the singular. I have also shown the extent to which the human nouns appear to successfully resist all the decay going on in the system.

3.0 An Emerging New System

Even though no psychological tests have been conducted, my intuition as a native speaker is that synchronically, Akan speakers are not very conscious of the singular prefixes. This is because the singular prefixes are treated has having co-lexicalised with the noun stem. On the other hand, speakers are conscious of the plural marking. The noun class system of Proto-Akan, therefore, appears to be giving way to a new system. In the previous system, the classification was based mainly on the prefixes on nouns. Synchronically, the language appears to be developing a new classification of the nouns along the lines of the plural marking system. As far as plural marking is concerned, I have shown in the preceding discussion that apart from those nouns which do not have plural marking, all other nouns capable of being marked for plural are so marked. In fact, the system as it is right now shows that there are more nouns with plural markings than there are with singular marking. This is one evidence that the system is becoming plural oriented.

Furthermore, and with specific reference to the human nouns, there is a trend towards double plural marking. Some human nouns are marked for plural by the use of the old prefixes as well as by certain suffixes (27).

27a. SINGULAR   PLURAL
   bata-nyi   a-bata-fo   'traders'
   gyedzi-nyi   e-gyedzi-fo 'believers'

b.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
ɔ-bayi-fo	a-bayi-fo	'witches'
o-kuna-fo	e-kuna-fo	'widows'
o-tum-fo	e-tum-fo	'mighty men'

c.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
a-bɔnsam	m-bɔnsam-(fo)	'devils/evil ones'
ɔ-saman	n-saman-(fo)	'ghosts'
ɔ-banyin	m-banyin-(fo)	'men'

In (27a), the suffix -nyi/ni[1] 'one who', must have started out as a derivational morpheme, deriving a noun from the verbs. However, its use now goes beyond derivational limits. Synchronically, it has the function of marking singular nouns. The same is true of the plural equivalent -fo. The fact of the reanalysis of -fo as a plural marker is further seen in its occurrence on singular nouns as well as plural nouns (27b), even though these nouns also have the old singular and plural prefixes. When (27c) is examined, we find another reason to believe the reanalysis of -fo as a plural marker. In (27c) the words are marked with -fo as well as the plural prefixes. But what is of interest in (27c) is that unlike (27a) and (27b), the -fo is optional. Its optional character indicates, possibly, that for these words, the presence of -fo as a plural marker is a new phenomenon.

Double plural marking is also found in words covering kinship and social relations. In addition to the presence of the regular plural prefixes, such nouns take the suffix -nom (28). This suffix implies collectiveness.

28.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
asew	n-sew-nom	in-laws
e-gya	e-gya-nom	fathers
o-nua	e-nua-nom	siblings
wɔfa	wɔfa-nom	uncles

It is clear from the examples given that so far, only human nouns have been affected by the new process of plural formation going on in the language. Whereas human nouns have developed double plural marking, nonhuman nouns still use only the old marking system.

4.0 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to show that the synchronic nominal prefixes in Akan are a reflection of a once functioning noun class system which existed in the proto language. From its family connections, it is not out of place to assume that Akan could have had a noun class system, since Niger-Congo languages are noted for their noun class systems. Indeed, any casual observer who looks at the nouns in Akan is very likely, as a first reaction, to conclude that the language has a noun class system. However, as I have shown in the discussion, much of what exist in the language at the moment are the left over features from the old noun class system. The language currently does not have a concordial system and there are some nouns which do not have any prefixes at all. In place of the old system, a new one seems to be developing around the plural formation system. At the moment there seems to be a transitional stage where there has been a movement from prefixal plural formation to both prefixal and suffixal plural formation. One can also see a systematic semantic basis underlying this new process in the sense that only human nouns have been affected so far. I should point out that though I have talked about a new system developing, there is no way of knowing how long ago this process started. The main reason being that there are no written historical data from the language for us to be able to reasonably put all this in a temporal perspective. To a large extent, then, the analysis offered here is speculative, though I think the speculation engaged in here is an informed one. It is also not easy to predict where the system goes from here. However, it is difficult to imagine a situation where there could be a reorganisation of the proto-system into a new system with similar features as the old functioning one.

This chapter has also helped show the diachronic origins of the 3SG subject prefixes used in Akan. In section 1.4.2, I showed that there are differences in the subject prefixes used in the 3SG. The coding difference is based on animacy. When a subject is

animate and the subject marking is pronominal, in the 3SG the prefix is ɔ-/o-. However, if

it is an inanimate entity, the pronominal prefix is ɛ-/e-. The prefix ε-/e- is used for both

singular and plural inanimate subject entities. I have shown in the discussion in this chapter

that the prefix ɔ-/o- marks the human class (Class 1) in the old noun class system. On the

other hand, the ɛ- in the ɛ-/e- prefix marks inanimate nouns only (Class 4). The

conclusion is that the synchronic subject prefix in the 3SG for animate nouns and

3SG/PLU for inanimate nouns are noun class prefixes of the old Class 1 and Class 4

respectively, which have developed to become subject markers.

Notes

1. The suffixes -nyi and -ni 'one who' are dialectal variants. Secondly, the sameness in form between this suffix and what we find at the end of words like o-kunyin 'great man' and o-banyin 'man' is purely accidental. The form in the words o-kunyin and o-banyin means 'male'. So o-kunyin and
o-banyin are actually made up of three morphemes with separate meanings:

a.   o-ku-nyin
      CL1-kill-male
      great man (literally: he who kills men)

b.   o-ba-nyin
      CL1-child-male
      male child (man)

CHAPTER V

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

0. Introduction

Studies on Akan have always appealed to notions like subject, direct object, and indirect object, but no study, to my knowledge, has offered a systematic description of these relations. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to describe the grammatical relations that exist in Akan. The approach adopted in this paper (following Keenan 1975, 1976, S. Anderson 1976, Comrie 1982, Borg and Comrie 1984, Hyman and Duranti 1982) involves using language internal evidence to show the existence of subjects and direct objects in the language. I will also show that even though the relevant literature on Akan always assumes that Akan has indirect object, this is not so.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 1 presents an overview of some of the cross-linguistic properties of subjects and objects; section 2 is devoted to a discussion of the properties that are relevant to Akan. Section 3 focuses on the problem of double objects in di-transitive constructions and also deals with the issue of whether the notion of indirect object is relevant to the description of Akan, and section 4 deals with the issue of direct object relation in serial constructions.

1.0 Grammatical Properties of Subjects and Objects

The grammatical properties that characterise subjects and objects can be grouped

into two: overt coding properties and behavioural properties . The overt coding properties

are word order, verb agreement or pronominal agreement, and nominal case marking

(Keenan 1975). The behavioural properties (Keenan 1976) can be subclassified into:

    (a) constraints on coreferential deletion, such as

        i. relativisation

        ii. equi-deletion in complementation

        iii. participial adverbials

        iv. zero anaphora in clause chaining,

    (b) constraints on case changing rules, such as

        i. passive

        ii. inverse

        iii. antipassive

        iv. dative shifting

        v. raising

Subjects and objects in Akan do not possess all of these properties. With reference

to the overt coding properties, it will be shown that only word order and pronominalisation

are relevant, because Akan is a very rigid word order language which has very little

morphology. As regards the behavioural properties, only the following are relevant: zero

anaphora in clause chaining, equi deletion, and raising.[1]

2.0 Criteria for Subjecthood and Objecthood

In this section I will use two main criteria to argue for the view that it makes sense to talk of subject and direct object relations in Akan. In other words, there are NPs in an Akan clause that can be assigned the relation subject and direct object because cross-linguistically they behave like NPs in other languages which are assigned similar relations.

2.1 Overt Coding Criteria

The two overt coding criteria for establishing grammatical relations in Akan are word order and pronominalisation.

2.1.1 Word Order

Word order is the most crucial parameter for encoding the grammatical relations available in the language. This is a nominative language in which the preverbal position is not restricted to agents only, as illustrated in (1) and (2). It should be remembered that, as was mentioned in chapter 1, I will be using the localist label of semantic roles. In (1a) and (1b) the preverbal NPs, banyin no 'the man' and abofra no 'the child' are Agents. On the other hand the postverbal NPs, that is okunafo no 'the widow' and okura no 'the mouse' are Themes. But in the intransitive constructions in (2a) and (2b) the preverbal NPs are Themes. It is also possible to have NPs in the preverbal position in intransitive clauses being Agents (3).

1a	Banyin	no	bɛ-daadaa	okunafo	no	(Fa)
	man	DEF	FUT-deceive	widow	DEF	

The man will deceive the widow.

b	Abofra	no	ku-u	okura	no	(Fa)
	child	DEF	kill-COMPL	mouse	DEF	

The child killed the mouse.

2a.   Abofra no   bɛ-yar   (Fa)
        child   DEF   FUT-sick
        The child will be sick.

b.   Kofi bo-suro   (Fa)
        Kofi FUT-scared
        Kofi will be scared.

3a.   Maame no   re-serew   (Fa)
        woman DEF PROG-laugh
        The woman is laughing.

b.   Banyin no   re-kasa   (Fa)
        man   DEF PROG-speak
        The man is speaking.

I should point out that it is not possible, in a transitive constructions, to have the Theme in preverbal position and the Agent in postverbal position. This is why when we reverse the positions of the NPs in (1), the meanings of the sentences change, as indicated in (4). In (1a) the widow is the Theme and the man the Agent; but in (4a) they have reversed roles. The same is true of (1b) and (4b). This means that in transitive constructions, Agents are always in preverbal position and Themes in postverbal position.

4a.   Okunafo no   bɛ-daadaa   banyin no   (Fa)
        widow   DEF FUT-deceive man   DEF
        The widow will deceive the man.

b.   Okura no   ku-u   abofra no   (Fa)
        mouse DEF kill-COMPL child   DEF
        The mouse killed the child.

Based on the cross-linguistic evidence that, in a transitive clause, NPs that are Agents are assigned the grammatical relation of subject and those that are Themes are assigned the direct object relation, we can conclude that in an Akan transitive clause, preverbal NPs are subjects and postverbal NPs are direct objects. Similarly, since in intransitive constructions the single argument occurs in preverbal position irrespective of the semantic role, we conclude that the preverbal position in an intransitive construction is the subject position.

<u>2.1.2 Pronouns</u>

The presence of subject and object relations in Akan is further supported by the pronominal forms associated with these relations. It must be borne in mind that since these pronouns are determined on the basis of word order, they do not in themselves offer an independent validation of the subject and object relations. In the rest of this section, I will offer an overview of the pronominal system of Akan as a way of showing the difference between subject and object.

The language distinguishes between nominative and accusative pronominal forms as listed in Table 7. Those on the left side of the slash are Fante and those on the right are Twi. Where the dialects do not make any distinction there is only one form given. It should be noted that the forms marked 'inanimate' exist only in the Twi dialects. The reason the accusative pronoun of the inanimate, <u>no</u>, has been enclosed in brackets is that, generally in Akan, when the postverbal NP is an inanimate entity, the pronoun is not overtly coded. Nevertheless, there are some cases where there is overt coding. The brackets are meant to convey this process.

Table 7. Nominative and accusative pronouns in Akan.

		NOM	ACC
SG:	1	me	me
	2	i/wo	wo
	3	ɔ-	no
	(inanimate)	ɛ-	(no)
PLU:	1	yɛ	hɛn/yɛn
	2	hom/mo	hom/mo
	3	wɔ	hɔn/wɔn
	(inanimate)	ɛ-	(no)

Before commenting on the pronominal system as a whole, I will use examples with the 3SG pronoun to show that the difference between subjects and objects based on word order is reinforced by the pronominal system. In a transitive clause when the NPs are

replaced by pronouns, there are two separate pronominal forms that occur as illustrated in

(5). A preverbal 3SG pronoun prefix correlates with the subject relation whereas a

postverbal independent pronoun correlates with the object relation.

5a.　Abofra　no　bo-ku　　ewi　no
　　　child　　DEF　FUT-kill　thief　DEF
　　　The child will kill the thief.

　b.　O-bo-ku　　　　　no
　　　3SG SUBJ-FUT-kill　3SG OBJ
　　　S/he will kill him/her.

The preverbal pronominal prefix used in a transitive clause (5b) is the same as that used in

the subject of the intransitive clause (6b), in a clearly nominative pattern.

6a.　Abofra　no　bo-wu
　　　child　　DEF　FUT-die
　　　The child will die.

　b.　O-bo-wu
　　　3SG SUBJ-FUT-die
　　　S/he will die.

It is clear from both Table 7 and examples (5) and (6) that the subject and object

pronominal forms are different, confirming the nominative/accusative pattern.

There are a number of observations to be made about the pronominal system. One

is that, generally, the subject pronominal forms occur as part of the verb word, and as a

result they are better treated as prefixes. This is because the vowels in these pronominal

forms are subject to the phonological process of vowel harmony as determined by the

vowels of the verb root. In all the dialects, the form of the vowel of the subject prefix will

harmonise with the Advanced Tongue Root feature of the vowels of the verb root. In

addition, in Fante, the subject prefix vowels will also harmonise with the vowels of the

verb root in lip rounding. In all the dialects, it is only the second person plural subject

pronoun that does not form part of the verb word. A conclusion we can draw about the

subject pronominal forms, therefore, is that they are not independent pronouns, and as stated above, we should consider them prefixes.

The accusative pronominal forms, unlike the nominative, have a lot more independence, even though, here too, there are signs that some of them are becoming suffixes, especially in the Fante dialect. In normal speech, in Fante, the singular object pronouns are regularly spoken as reduced (without the vowels) and bound forms on the verbs. So even though in the written tradition, sentences (7a), (8a), and (9a) are used, in speech, however, what is said are (7b), (8b), and (9b).

7a.   Wo-be-hyia   me   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet   1SG OBJ
        They will meet me.

b.   Wo-be-hyia-m   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet-1SG OBJ
        They will meet me.

8a.   Wo-be-hyia   wo   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet   2SG OBJ
        They will meet you.

b.   Wo-be-hyia-w   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet-2SG OBJ
        They will meet you.

9a.   Wo-be-hyia   no   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet   3SG OBJ
        They will meet him/her.

b.   Wo-be-hyia-n   (Fa)
        3PLU SUBJ-FUT-meet-3SG OBJ
        They will meet him/her.

This suffixation has not yet occurred in the plural object pronouns so we can treat them as full pronouns. This means that in the accusative, there are more pronouns with independent existence than there are in the nominative.

A second observation we can make regarding the pronominal system as it relates to the differences between subjects and objects is the possibility of cooccurrence of full NP

and prefixed pronominal forms on verbs. With the subject it is possible to have a full NP

and at the same time a subject prefix on the verb. This process is limited to the Fante dialect

and to the speech of only some speakers. So whereas some speakers would use (10a) and

(11a), others would use (10b) and (11b).

10a.   Nkrɔfo no wɔ-re-ba   (Fa)
       people DEF 3PLU SUBJ-PROG-come
       The people (they) are coming.

  b.   Nkrɔfo no re-ba   (Fa)
       people DEF PROG-come
       The people are coming.

11a.   Esi ɔ-re-da   (Fa)
       Esi 3SG SUBJ-PROG-sleep
       Esi (she) is sleeping.

  b.   Esi re-da   ·(Fa)
       Esi PROG-sleep
       Esi is sleeping.

In such usage, we can consider the subject prefixes as being agreement forms, lending

credence to the view expressed in chapter 4 that the current subject prefixes must have been

agreement forms at some stage in the diachronic development of the language. This process

does not exist in the object. In other words, when a sentence has a full NP as object it is

not possible to have the object pronominal suffix on the verb. This is why (12b) and (13b)

are ungrammatical.

12a.   Banyin no be-hyia   abofra no   (Fa)
       man   DEF FUT-meet child DEF
       The man will meet the child.

  b.   *Banyin no be-hyia-n   abofra no   (Fa)
       man   DEF FUT-meet-3SG OBJ child DEF
       The man will meet (him/her) the child.

13a.   Maame no bɔ-soma Kofi   (Fa)
       woman DEF FUT-send Kofi
       The woman will send Kofi.

b.   *Maame no   bɔ-soma-n   Kofi   (Fa)
     woman DEF FUT-send-3SG OBJ   Kofi
     The woman will send (him) Kofi.

Another difference between pronominal subjects and objects is that while subject

marking is always overt, object marking is often not so. This difference pertains to the third

person object pronoun only which is sensitive to the animacy of the NP. The discussion

that follows may appear to be a digression but it is necessary so that a comprehensive

coverage of this issue can be made. It has long been noted (Christaller 1875, Stewart 1963,

Boadi 1976, Lord 1982, Saah 1988, 1992) that in Akan, when the antecedent of the 3SG

object pronoun is an inanimate noun the pronoun is not overtly realised . This situation

applies to singular and plural inanimate objects since the pronominal system does not

distinguish between singular and plural inanimate nouns. Examples (14, 15) illustrate this

phenomenon. In (14a) the object is an inanimate NP, but in (15a) it is animate. In (14b)

where the inanimate noun is replaced by a pronoun cannot have an interpretation that the

antecedent of the object pronoun is an inanimate entity. In (14b) the presence of the

pronoun implies that the Theme is an animate entity. The only way to make (14b) imply

that the Theme is inanimate is to omit the pronoun as in (14c). Sentence (15c) is

unacceptable because it implies that the patient of (14a) is an inanimate noun.

14a. Kofi bɔ-wosow   dua   no
      Kofi FUT-shake   tree DEF
      Kofi will shake the tree.
 b.   Kofi bɔ-wosow   no
      Kofi FUT-shake   3SG OBJ
      *Kofi will shake it (the tree)

 c.   Kofi bɔ-wosow   Ø
      Kofi FUT-shake 3SG OBJ
      Kofi will shake it.

15a. Kofi bɔ-wosow   abofra   no
      Kofi FUT-shake   child   DEF
      Kofi will shake the child.

b. Kofi bɔ-wosow no
    Kofi FUT-shake 3SG OBJ
    Kofi will shake him/her.

c. Kofi bɔ-wosow Ø
    Kofi FUT-shake 3SG OBJ
    *Kofi will shake him/her.

This syntactic process in Akan can be given a functional explanation. My view is that the reason the object pronoun is overt when its antecedent is an animate noun is that it is a strategy the language uses in order to maintain the animacy hierarchy in the language. It has to be remembered that the form of the 3SG object pronoun is the same for animate as well as inanimate nouns. So this syntactic process is there to help hearers not to confuse an inanimate noun with an animate one. It helps to differentiate between animate and inanimate nouns.

There are two conditions under which the situation described above does not hold. In other words, it is possible, under those two conditions, to have a third person object pronoun whose antecedent is an inanimate entity to be overtly coded. One of the conditions is when the direct object in the clause is followed by an adverbial element. In (16c) the presence of the adverbial ɔkyena 'tomorrow' requires that the object pronoun be overtly coded. The fact that the object pronoun is overt is due to the presence of the adverbial element because when we front the adverbial item, as in a focus construction (16d), making the direct object utterance final, the pronoun is not overt, as expected. When the pronoun is overt in the context of the focusing of the adverbial element (16e), the meaning of the sentence changes. The understanding of (16e), therefore, is that the antecedent of the object pronoun is an animate entity.

16a. Kofi bɔ-tɔn dua no ɔkyena
     Kofi FUT-sell tree DEF tomorrow
     Kofi will sell the tree tomorrow.

b.　Kofi　bɔ-tɔn　　no　　　ɔkyena
　　Kofi　FUT-sell　3SG OBJ　tomorrow
　　Kofi will sell it tomorrow.

c.　*Kofi　bɔ-tɔn　　Ø　　　ɔkyena
　　Kofi　FUT-sell　3SG OBJ　tomorrow
　　Kofi will sell (it) tomorrow.

d.　ɔkyena　　na　　Kofi　bɔ-tɔn　　Ø
　　tomorrow　FOC　Kofi　FUT-sell　3SG OBJ
　　It is tomorrow that Kofi will sell (it).

e.　ɔkyena　　na　　Kofi　bɔ-tɔn　　no
　　tomorrow　FOC　Kofi　FUT-sell　3SG OBJ
　　*It is tomorrow that Kofi will sell it (it = inanimate entity).
　　It is tomorrow that Kofi will sell it (it = animate entity).

We can offer a functional explanation for the existence of this exception also. This explanation has to do with the pragmatic notion of topicality. It has been established that at the clausal level, the NP that codes the subject relation is more topical than any other entity in the clause. The next topical entity is the NP that codes the direct object relation (Givón 1984). In the Givón's framework, the subject is the "primary clausal topic", while the direct object is the "secondary clausal topic". The topicality hierarchy involving grammatical relations can be represented as follows:

Subject > Direct Object > Adverbial

As has been shown in section 2.1.1, in Akan, the immediate postverbal position is a crucial defining characteristic of direct objects. The reason the presence of an adverbial element in the post object position, as in (16a), triggers the presence of the inanimate object pronoun is that since the direct object is more topical than an adverbial item, and since the immediate postverbal position defines direct objecthood in Akan, if the pronoun is not overtly present it would create the impression that the adverbial element is more topical than the direct object NP. It is as if the inanimate object pronoun finds it topicality status threatened and so it has to make a physical appearance in order to assert its status. With this explanation, it is

understandable why when there is no adverbial in sentence final position the pronoun is

covert. Under that condition, there is no threat to its topical status.

The second condition is that there are some verbs which require that the third

person object pronoun be overt even if the antecedent of the pronoun is an inanimate noun.

This is illustrated in (17). In (17c), the meaning of the sentence changes if the direct object

pronoun is not overt. I should point out that (17b) is ambiguous without the limiting

context, because the antecedent of the pronoun could be animate or inanimate.

17a. Kofi bɛ-hyew   edziban no
      Kofi FUT-burn   food   DEF
      Kofi will burn the food.

  b. Kofi bɛ-hyew   no
      Kofi FUT-burn   3SG OBJ
      Kofi will burn it.

  c. Kofi bɛ-hyew   Ø
      Kofi FUT-burn   3SG
      *Kofi will burn (it).

  d. Kofi bɛ-hyew
      Kofi FUT-burn
      Kofi will get burnt.

Other verbs in this class are: see 'destroy', bu 'break', hyew 'burn', kyea 'bend', tsen

'straighten', tsew 'tear', moa 'crumple', yew 'lose', koa 'bend', monkyem 'crumple',

butuw 'overturn', bɔ 'break'. One feature of these verbs is that they belong to the class of

middle verbs, that is those verbs which normally take Theme direct object in transitive

clauses, but also permit Theme subject in intransitive constructions. Why these verbs

condition the overt coding of the inanimate object pronoun is not very clear to me at this

stage. However, a possible reason may be because they allow Theme subject in intransitive

constructions. In such constructions, the subject entity is the one which undergoes the

change of state indicated by the verb. Now, if the clause is supposed to have an object

entity but this entity is not overtly coded, the only interpretation we can assign to such a

clause is that it is the subject, the Theme, which undergoes the change in state. So in (17c), without the overt pronoun, the sentence cannot be interpreted as 'Kofi will burn it'. With no pronoun following the verb <u>hyew</u> 'burn', we have to interpret it as being used intransitively (17d). Another possible reason is that these are change of state verbs which have drastic effect on the state of the entities which undergo the change of state. Since the change is drastic a way has to be found out to show the entity that has been so affected. In terms of notion of transitivity, the extent of the affectedness of the Theme NPs of these verbs make clauses that involve these verbs very high in transitivity. This is because the extent of the affectedness of a Theme entity is one of the indicators of high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980).

To summarise what has been said so far, it is clear that in Akan, word order is a very strong measure of grammatical relations. A preverbal NP is subject and a postverbal NP is object. This order is reflected in the pronominal system. The assignment of grammatical relations to the NPs in an Akan clause is very rigid. So syntactically, Akan is a very strict SVO language.

2.2 Behavioural Properties or Rule Governing Criteria

Following the framework of Keenan (1976) and Anderson (1976), I will discuss the behavioural properties of the grammatical relations in Akan. It will be shown that these properties are essential in distinguishing between subjects and objects.

2.2.1 Coreference and Zero Anaphora in Clause Chaining

2.2.1.1 Zero Anaphora of Subject in Clause Chaining

In Akan, only NPs that bear the subject relation control the deletion, under coreferentiality, of a second and subsequent NPs in clause chaining. The construction being referred to as clause chaining here will be referred to as a serial construction in chapter 6. An NP (in the sense of a full noun phrase or pronominal prefix) which is subject in a clause chaining construction will occur on the first verb only. This feature is not characteristic of objects. This process is illustrated in (18) and (19). In (18a) and (19a) the null symbol, Ø, indicates the nonovert medial subject prefix. When the direct objects are replaced with the pronominal suffix, the result is ungrammatical, as shown in (18b) and (19b). This means that the object relation does not control deletion under identity of a coreferential object NP. In clause chaining, therefore, the antecedent object pronouns have to be overtly coded.

18a.   Araba   kyer-r   abofra   no   Ø-kyekyer-r   no
         Araba   catch-COMPL   child   DEF   3SG SUBJ-tie-COMPL   3SG OBJ

         Ø-bor-r   no   (Fa)
         3SG SUBJ-beat-COMPL   3SG OBJ
         Araba caught the child, tied him/her up, and beat him/her up.

b.   *Araba   kyer-r   abofra   no   Ø-kyekyer-r   Ø
       Araba   catch-COMPL   child   DEF   3SG SUBJ-tie-COMPL   3SG OBJ

         Ø-bor-r   Ø   (Fa)
         3SG SUBJ-beat-COMPL   3SG OBJ
         Araba caught the child, tied him/her up, and beat him/her up.

19a.   Araba   tɔ-ɔ   guan   Ø-nyɛn-n   no
         Araba   buy-COMPL   sheep   3SG SUBJ-rear-COMPL   3SG OBJ

         Ø-tɔn   no   (Fa)
         sell-COMPL   3SG
         Araba bought a sheep, reared it, and sold it.

b.   *Araba   tɔ-ɔ   guan   Ø-nyɛn-n   Ø
      Araba   buy-COMPL   sheep   3SG SUBJ-rear-COMPL   3SG OBJ

      Ø-tɔn   Ø   (Fa)
      sell-COMPL   3SG OBJ
      Araba bought a sheep, reared (it), and sold (it).

Similar to the behaviour of subjects in clause chaining is the fact that only subject NPs can undergo equi deletion in Akan. This property shows a difference between subjects and objects. In (20a) and (20b) the verbs <u>guar</u> 'bathe' and <u>twa</u> 'cut' do not have the subject prefix, a case of equi deletion.

20a.   Esi   hyɛ-ɛ ase   Ø-guar-r   abofra   no
      Esi   start-COMPL   3SG SUBJ-bathe-COMPL   child   DEF
      Esi started bathing the child.

  b.   Esi   bɔ-ɔ   mbɔdzen   Ø-twa-a   dua   no
      Esi   hit-COMPL   effort   3SG SUBJ-cut-COMPL   tree   the
      Esi tried (and) cut the tree.

More will be said about such constructions in chapter 8 when I discuss complementation in Akan. From what has been said, we can conclude that in Akan clause chaining constructions, zero anaphoric pronominalisation is a behavioural property of subjects only. Furthermore, the process of equi-deletion in complement clauses applies to subjects only.

2.2.1.2 Overt Conjunction and Marked Subject Pronoun

Clauses in Akan can be linked through the use of the conjunction <u>na</u> 'and'. Another property of subjects (but not of objects) which is a consequence of this is that the subject pronominal prefix appears on each verb (21a). In the context of conjoined clauses, the sentence is ungrammatical without the subject prefix (21b).

21a. Araba kyer-r   abofra no na ɔ-kyekyer-r   no
     Araba catch-COMPL child DEF and 3SG SUBJ-tied 3SG OBJ

   na ɔ-bor-r   no   (Fa)
   and 3SG SUBJ-beat-COMPL 3SG OBJ
   Araba caught the child, and she tied him/her up, and she beat him/her up.

b. *Araba kyer-r   abofra no na Ø-kyekyer-r   no
   Araba catch-COMPL child DEF and 3SG SUBJ-tie-COMPL 3SG OBJ

   na Ø-bor-r   no
   and 3SG SUBJ-beat-COMPL 3SG OBJ
   Araba caught the child, and tied him/her up, and beat him/her up.

2.2.2 Raising

Another behavioural property characteristic of subjects but not of objects is raising.

In Akan raising is possible with verbs like hu 'see', boa 'help', tsei 'allow'. In a

construction with an embedded complement clause (see chapter 7 for a fuller discussion of

complementation) where the main clause involves any of these verbs, the subject of the

lower clause can be raised to become the object of the matrix clause (22). As shown in

(22c), raising the object NP of the complement clause leads to an ungrammatical sentence.

22a. Kofi hu-u   sɛ   Esi re-twe   abofra no
     Kofi see-COMPL COMP Esi PROG-pull child DEF
     Kofi saw that Esi was pulling the child.

b. Kofi hu-u   Esi sɛ   ɔ-re-twe   abofra no
   Kofi see-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-pull child DEF
   Kofi saw Esi pulling the child.

c. *Kofi hu-u   abofra no dɛ   Esi   re-twe   no
   Kofi see-COMPL child DEF COMP Esi PROG-pull 3SG SUBJ
   Kofi saw the child that Esi was pulling.

3.0 Di-transitive Verbs and Direct Objecthood

This section is devoted to a discussion of di-transitive verbs in Akan in relation to the notion of direct object. There are two crucial issues we need to consider regarding this discussion. The first is that not all di-transitive verbs in Akan have the same behavioural pattern regarding their postverbal NPs. It is, therefore, necessary that we establish a typology of di-transitive verbs. Secondly, in the context of di-transitive verbs, Akan provides evidence to justify the claim of this study that direct object can be treated as a scalar notion. In other words, we need a concept of direct objecthood where there can be degrees of direct object. In section 3.1, I will present the different types of di-transitive verbs in the language, and in 3.2, I will deal with the issue of direct object in di-transitive constructions.

3.1 Typology of Di-transitive Verbs

I have used four parameters to categorise the di-transitive verbs in Akan. These are Loc NP, Optional Theme, Definite Theme, and the de Serialisation (see Table 8 below). The label Loc is a localist notion which in other case grammars is referred to as the Recipient. All the di-transitive verbs obligatorily take a postverbal Loc NP. Since this parameter does not divide the di-transitive verbs into sub-groups, it will not be discussed separately. The other three parameters form a basis for sub-grouping these verbs and in the following sections each of these sub-groups will be discussed.

3.1.1 Optional vs. Obligatory Theme

Even though all the di-transitive verbs in Akan do take Theme NPs, there are some verbs for which this is an optional feature. In other words, there is a class of di-transitive verbs in the language which can allow only two NPs instead of the normal three. This includes verbs like srɛ 'request/beg', kyerɛw 'write', kra 'send for', gye 'save (from danger)', mona/mane 'send', tua 'douche', sa 'give enema', son 'give nasal drop', kyerɛ 'teach', bisa 'ask', kyerɛ 'show'. In (23a) and (24a), there are two postverbal NPs. But in (23b) and (24b), there is only one postverbal NP. In both cases, the postverbal NP is the Loc (Recipient). The Theme NPs in (23) and (24) are therefore optional.

23a.	Akosua	mane-e	no	sika	(As)
	Akosua	send-COMPL	3SG OBJ	money	
	Akosua sent him/her money.				

b.	Akosua	mane-e	no		(As)
	Akosua	send-COMPL	3SG OBJ		
	Akosua sent him/her (something).				

24a.	Araba	kyerɛw-w	hɛn	krataa	(Fa)
	Araba	write-COMPL	1PLU OBJ	paper	
	Araba wrote us a letter.				

b.	Araba	kyerɛw-w	hɛn		(Fa)
	Araba	write-COMPL	1PLU OBJ		
	Araba wrote (to) us.				

Unlike the verbs listed earlier and illustrated in (23) and (24), there are other verbs in Akan for which the Theme NP is obligatory. These verbs cannot be used without three nominal arguments. Examples of such verbs are ma 'give', brɛ 'bring', kyɛ 'give (a gift)', hyɛ 'put on', fir 'lend'. In (25b) and (26b), without the Theme NPs the sentences are ungrammatical.

25a.	Kofi	ma-a	Esi	ekutu	(Fa)
	Kofi	give-COMPL	Esi	orange	
	Kofi gave Esi (an) orange.				

b.   *Kofi ma-a   Esi   (Fa)
     Kofi give-COMPL Esi
     Kofi gave Esi (an) orange.

26a. Maame no brɛ-ɛ   papa no nsu   (Fa)
      woman DEF bring-COMPL man DEF water
      The woman brought the man water.

3.1.2 Indefinite vs. Definite Theme

Another feature that is crucial in the categorisation of di-transitive verbs in Akan is

the definiteness status of the Theme NP. Most di-transitive verbs do not permit a definite

Theme NP. Any NP that functions as the Theme argument of most di-transitive verbs has

to be indefinite. This is a feature of Akan that has been noted by previous studies (for

example Christaller 1875, Stewart 1963, Lord 1982). I should mention, however, that all

the di-transitive verbs in the language allow indefinite Theme NPs. The verbs which do not

allow definite Theme NPs include ma 'give', brɛ 'bring', kyɛ 'give (a gift)', hyɛ 'put on',

fir 'lend', gye 'charge', srɛ 'request/beg', kyerɛw 'write', kra 'send for', gye 'save',

mona/mane 'send', tua 'douch', sa 'give enema', son 'give nasal drop'. As can be seen in

(27) and (28), the verbs ma 'give' and brɛ 'bring' allow only indefinite Theme NPs.

27a. Kofi ma-a   abofra no akokɔ   (Fa)
      Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF chicken
      Kofi gave the child (a) chicken.

b.   *Kofi ma-a   abofra no akokɔ no   (Fa)
     Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF chicken DEF
     Kofi gave the child the chicken.

28a. Kofi brɛ-ɛ   maame no sika   (Fa)
      Kofi bring-COMPL woman DEF money
      Kofi brought the woman money.

b.   *Kofi brɛ-ɛ   maame no sika   no   (Fa)
     Kofi bring-COMPL woman DEF money DEF
     Kofi brought the woman the money.

There are only a small number of di-transitive verbs in the language that permit

definite Theme NPs. Right now these are the only ones I know: kyerɛ 'teach', bisa 'ask',

fɛm 'lend', kyerɛ 'show'. In (29) and (30), we see that both definite and indefinite Theme

NPs are possible.

29a. Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra   no   ndwom   (Fa)
     Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF song
     Kofi taught the children a song.

  b. Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra   no   ndwom no   (Fa)
     Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF song   DEF
     Kofi taught the children the song.

30a. Kofi fɛm-m   maame no   sika   (Fa)
     Kofi lend-COMP woman DEF money
     Kofi lent the woman money.

  b. Kofi fɛm-m   maame no   sika   no   (Fa)
     Kofi lend-COMP woman DEF money DEF
     Kofi lent the woman the money.

3.1.3 De Serialisation

Another sub-group of di-transitive verbs is determined by whether they can be used

in the serial construction in which the verb de 'take, use' is used as the initial verb. This

specific serial construction is also what is used by certain verbs to code definite Theme

NPs. In the Fante dialect, the verb is realised as dze. However, throughout this dissertation

the Twi form de will be used. In chapter 6 I will have the opportunity to say more about

this verb. Verbs like 'give' and 'bring' can take definite Theme NPs only in the context of

de serial construction as in (31b) and (32b).

31a. *Kofi ma-a   abofra no   akokɔ no
     Kofi give-COMPL child DEF chicken DEF
     Kofi gave the child the chicken.

b. Kofi de akɔkɔ no ma-a abofra no
Kofi take chicken DEF give-COMPL child DEF
Kofi gave the chicken to the child.

32a. *Kofi brɛ-ɛ abofra no sika no
Kofi bring-COMPL child DEF money DEF
Kofi brought the child the money.

b. Kofi de sika no brɛ-ɛ abofra no
Kofi take money the bring-COMPL child DEF
Kofi brought the money to the child.

It should be noted that there are some verbs which, in di-transitive clauses, do permit

definite Theme NPs but which can also be used in the de serialisation. In my collection, I

have only two of such verbs: fɛm 'lend', kyerɛ 'show'. These are exemplified in (33) and

(34).

33a. Kofi fɛm-m maame no sika no (Fa)
Kofi lend-COMP woman DEF money DEF
Kofi lent the woman the money.

b. Kofi de sika no fɛm-m maame no (Fa)
Kofi take money DEF lend-COMP woman DEF
Kofi lent the money to the woman.

34a. Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ abofra no buukuu no (Fa)
Kofi teach-COMPL child DEF book DEF
Kofi showed the child the book.

b. Kofi de buukuu no kyerɛ-ɛ abofra no (Fa)
Kofi take book DEF teach-COMPL child DEF
Kofi showed the book to the child.

I should point out that the meaning of (34a) is not exactly the same as (34b). In (34a) Kofi

may have just pointed the book out to the child. But in (34b), the understanding is that Kofi

took the book and showed it to the child. This introduces a constraint on the use of the verb

'show' in the de serialisation. The constraint is that the entity that is shown, the Theme NP,

has to be something that can be 'taking' or 'held' in either literal or metaphorical sense.

This means that if the Theme NP is a piece of land, for example, speakers will use only the

di-transitive construction involving 'show' and not the <u>de</u> serial variation, since a piece of

land cannot be held with the hands.

One would have expected that all the di-transitive verbs that do not allow definite

Theme NPs would use the <u>de</u> serial construction strategy in coding definite Themes. This,

however, is not the case. The verbs which behave this way include <u>gye</u> 'charge', <u>sre</u>

'request/beg', <u>kyerew</u> 'write', <u>kra</u> 'send for', <u>gye</u> 'save'. As shown in (35a) and (36a), the

verbs <u>sre</u> 'request/beg' and <u>gye</u> 'charge' do not allow their Theme NPs to be definite;

neither can they be used in the <u>de</u> serialisation (35b and 36b). Even when the Theme NP is

indefinite, the <u>de</u> serial construction is still not an option (35c, 36c). In di-transitive

constructions, the Theme NPs for these verbs can only be indefinite (35d, 36d).

35a.   *Kofi sre-ε   maame no   edziban no
       Kofi request-COMPL woman DEF food   DEF
       Kofi requested the food from the woman.

   b.   *Kofi de edziban no   sre-ε   maame no
       Kofi take food   DEF request-COMPL woman DEF
       Kofi requested the food from the woman.

   c.   *Kofi de edziban sre-ε   maame no
       Kofi take food   request-COMPL woman DEF
       Kofi requested food from the woman.

   d.   Kofi sre-ε   maame no   edziban
       Kofi request-COMPL woman DEF food
       Kofi requested food from the woman.

36a.   *Kofi gye-e   banyin no   sika   no
       Kofi charge-COMPL man   DEF money DEF
       Kofi charged the man the money.

   b.   *Kofi de sika   no   gye-e   banyin no
       Kofi take money DEF charge-COMPL man   DEF
       Kofi charged the man with the money.

   c.   *Kofi de sika   gye-e   banyin no
       Kofi take money charge-COMPL man   DEF
       Kofi charged the man money.

d. Kofi gye-e   banyin no   sika
    Kofi charge-COMPL man   DEF money
    Kofi charged the man money.

The reason behind the inability of verbs like gye 'charge' and srɛ 'request/beg' to allow

serialisation may be due to a combination of semantic factors. One of these stems from the

semantics of some of the verbs. Generally, in the context of di-transitivity, we expect an

Agent to transfer an object, the Theme, to another entity, the semantic Loc. In sentence

(37), for example, the Agent, Kofi, transfers the Theme, akɔkɔ 'chicken', to the Loc,

abofra no 'the child'.

37.   Kofi ma-a   abofra no   akɔkɔ
      Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF chicken
      Kofi gave the child (a) chicken.

In the case of some of the verbs which do not permit the de serialisation, specifically, gye

'charge', srɛ 'request/beg', and kra 'send for', however, the nature of their semantics is

such that the transfer of the Theme is from the grammatical direct object (the direct

objecthood of the Loc NP will be discussed soon) to the grammatical subject. In sentence

(35d), for example, it is the subject, Kofi, who is potentially getting something from the

direct object, maame no 'the woman'. As a result of this, these verbs cannot be used in the

de serialisation because the use of the verb de implies that there is a process of taking,

either physically or metaphorically, by the agent before the transfer takes place. Since the

semantics of these verbs is such that it is the subject who, in reality, is getting something

from the direct object, it is semantically incongruous for the entity at the receiving end to

take that object (the Theme) with the view to giving it away to another entity.

There are other verbs whose inability to take the de serialisation, even though they

do not permit definite Themes, may be due to a different reason. Examples of these are

kyerɛw 'write', and gye 'save'. I will illustrate these with kyerɛw 'write'. As a di-

transitive verb, it always takes <u>krataa</u> 'letter' as its Theme. This Theme is always an

indefinite one (compare 38a and 38d). When the NP <u>krataa</u> is used with the meaning

'letter', we cannot have it in a <u>de</u> serialisation. So even though (38b) is grammatically

correct, here the word <u>krataa</u> has to be translated as 'paper'. The reason <u>kyerɛw</u> 'write', as

a di-transitive verb, cannot be used in the <u>de</u> serialisation is because it is a verb whose

product, <u>krataa</u> 'letter', results from the event of writing. It is therefore not possible to take

it (as implied by the meaning of the verb <u>de</u>) before it is written. This is a case where the

product has to follow the event of writing.

38a.   *Kofi kyerɛw-w   Ama krataa no   (Fa)
       Kofi write-COMPL Ama letter   DEF
       Kofi wrote Ama the letter.

b.   Kofi de krataa no   kyerɛw-w   Ama   (Fa)
       Kofi take letter   DEF write-COMPL Ama
       *Kofi wrote the letter to Ama.
       Kofi wrote to Ama with the paper.

c.   Kofi de krataa kyerɛw-w   Ama   (Fa)
       Kofi take letter   write-COMPL Ama
       *Kofi wrote the letter to Ama.
       Kofi wrote to Ama with (a) paper.

d.   Kofi kyerɛw-w   Ama krataa   (Fa)
       Kofi write-COMPL Ama letter
       Kofi wrote Ama a letter.

There are other verbs which are in the same category as <u>gye</u> 'charge' and <u>srɛ</u> 'request/beg'

(these verbs require an obligatory Theme NP, allow only indefinite Theme, and cannot be

used in the <u>de</u> serialisation). Since such verbs are regularly used with specific Themes, they

have developed into discontinuous verbs. These include <u>ka yaw</u> 'tease', <u>hyɛ ebufuw</u> 'make

someone angry', <u>bɔ bosa</u> 'give a loan', <u>yi ayɛ</u> 'praise', <u>bɔ nsawa</u> 'give donation', <u>bɔ dua</u>

'curse', <u>tua kaw</u> 'pay'.

From Table 8, we find that except two, all the verbs which permit definite Themes as di-transitive verbs also allow the _de_ serialisation. The two exceptions are _kyerɛ_ 'teach' and _bisa_ 'ask'. The reason for this is similar to that given above for _kyerɛw_ 'write' and _gye_ 'save'.

Table 8 is a summary of a list of di-transitive verbs in Akan classified on the basis of the four features discussed above: Loc (Recipient) NP, (plus/minus) Optional Theme, (plus/minus) Definite Theme, and _de_ serialisation.

Table 8. A typology of di-transitive verbs

Verbs		LOC	Optional Theme	DEF Theme	de Serial
ma	'give'	+	-	-	+
brɛ	'bring'	+	-	-	+
kyɛ	'give (gift)'	+	-	-	+
hyɛ	'put on'	+	-	-	+
fir	'lend'	+	-	-	+
gye	'charge'	+	-	-	-
srɛ	'request/beg'	+	-	-	-
kyerɛw	'write'	+	+	-	-
kra	'send for'	+	+	-	-
gye	'save'	+	+	-	-
mona	'send'	+	+	-	+
tua	'douche'	+	+	-	+
sa	'give enema'	+	+	-	+
son	'give nasal drop'	+	+	-	+
kyerɛ	'teach'	+	+	+	-
bisa	'ask'	+	+	+	-
fɛm	'lend'	+	-	+	+
kyerɛ	'show'	+	+	+	+

We can see from Table 8 that the three parameters discussed above divide the group of di-transitive verbs into no less than seven sub-groups.

3.2 Direct Objecthood in Di-transitive Constructions

In this section, I will discuss the issue of direct objecthood in di-transitive

constructions. I will show that in order to deal meaningfully with this issue we need a

scalar notion of the concept of direct object. This is due to the fact that even though in Akan

di-transitive constructions we can establish that only the Loc (Recipient) NP is direct

object, there are verbs whose Theme NPs have syntactic properties that are not true of the

Theme NPs of some other verbs.

3.2.1 Loc and Theme NPs

Though relevant studies (for example Christaller 1875, Stewart 1963, Saah 1990)

on Akan have always assumed that the notion of indirect object is relevant to the language,

as has been mentioned in Faltz (1978) and Dryer (1986), this assumption has no syntactic

basis in Akan. For example, in (39), the postverbal NPs, Esi (39a) and papa no 'the man'

(39b), would be categorised as indirect objects.

39a.   Kofi ma-a   Esi ekutu   (Fa)
       Kofi give-COMPL Esi orange
       Kofi gave Esi (an) orange.

  b.   Maame no   brɛ-ɛ   papa no   nsu   (Fa)
       woman DEF bring-COMPL man   DEF water
       The woman brought the man water.

The analysis of these postverbal NPs as indirect objects does not have any syntactic basis,

except that it follows the traditional treatment of such NPs by some English grammarians as

indirect object, an analysis which is strictly based on not differentiating grammatical

relations from semantic roles.

In order to establish the direct object status of the Loc NP in di-transitive

constructions, I will use various tests. Two of these tests are very crucial. In section 2, I

showed that an NP that is direct object occurs immediately after the verb (the position test)

and is replaceable by a certain pronominal form (pronominal test). In addition to these two,

I will also use relativisation (see note 1), and focus marking[2] as tests. These two tests do

not necessarily distinguish direct objects from other relations in a sentence but they are

helpful in establishing a scale of direct objecthood.

Since except in a few cases the pronominalisation of inanimate postverbal NPs is

not possible, I will use only animate NPs in the subsequent di-transitive constructions for

the purposes of showing the direct object status of the Loc NP.

40a. Kofi ma-a   abofra no   akɔkɔ   (Fa)
     Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF chicken
     Kofi gave the child (a) chicken.

b.   Ato fɛm-m   maame no   akɔkɔ   (Fa)
     Ato lend-COMPL   woman DEF chicken
     Ato lent the woman (a) chicken.

When we consider the postverbal NPs in (40a) and (40b) in the light of the position test, it

is obvious that the Loc NPs, <u>abofra no</u> 'the child' (40a) and <u>maame no</u> 'the woman' (40b)

are closer to their respective verbs than the Theme (patient) NPs. We can conclude on the

basis of the position test that in Akan di-transitive constructions, Loc (Recipient) NPs are

direct objects and not Theme (patient) NPs.

It should be noted that in Akan di-transitive constructions, the order of occurrence

of Loc (Recipient) and Theme (patient) NPs is that the former always precede the later. So

it is never possible to switch the order in which the Loc and Theme NPs occur as shown in

(41).

41a. *Kofi ma-a   akɔkɔ   abofra no   (Fa)
      Kofi give-COMPL chicken child   DEF
      Kofi gave (a) chicken (to) the boy.

b.   *Ato fɛm-m   akɔkɔ   maame no   (Fa)
      Ato lend-COMPL   chicken woman DEF
      Ato lent (a) chicken (to) the woman.

The second test, pronominalisation, is illustrated in (42) and (43). In (42a), the Loc NP of

(40a) is pronominalised and in (42b) the Theme NP is pronominalised. In (43a) and (43b),

the Loc and Theme NPs, respectively, of (40b) are pronominalised. As the results show,

only the Loc NPs can be pronominalised. It is tempting to think that in (42b) the Theme NP

cannot be pronominalised because the verb ma 'give' does not allow definite NPs. It

should be remembered, however, that even though the verb fɛm 'lend' in (43) allows

definite Themes (see Table 8), it is not possible to pronominalise the Theme NP. Even if

the Theme NP is definite, we still cannot pronominalise it.

42a.   Kofi ma-a   no   akokɔ   (Fa)
        Kofi give-COMPL 3SG OBJ chicken
        Kofi gave him/her (a) chicken.

b.   *Kofi ma-a   abofra no   no   (Fa)
        Kofi give-COMPL   child   DEF 3SG OBJ
        Kofi gave the child it.

43a.   Ato fɛm-m   no   akokɔ   (Fa)
        Ato lend-COMPL 3SG OBJ chicken
        Ato lent her (a) chicken.

b.   *Ato fɛm-m   maame no   no   (Fa)
        Ato lend-COMPL   woman DEF 3SG OBJ
        Ato lent the woman it.

It should be remembered that relativisation and focus marking are not exclusive features of

direct objects. As shown in notes 1 and 2, in Akan, virtually all the elements in a clause,

including direct objects, can be relativised and focused. So we expect that any NP that is a

direct object should be able to be relativised and focus marked. The two tests should,

therefore, be seen as supplementary to the position and pronominalisation tests. When we

apply the relativisation test to the two postverbal NPs in (40a) we get (44). As can be seen

from (44a), compared with (44b), it is only the immediate postverbal NP that can be

relativised.

44a.   Abofra no a   Kofi ma-a   no   akɔkɔ   no
       child   DEF REL Kofi give-COMPL 3SG OBJ chicken DEF REL

       a-ba   (Fa)
       PERF-come
       The child who Kofi gave (a) chicken to has come.

b.   *Akɔkɔ a   Kofi ma-a   abofra no   e-wu   (Fa)
       chicken REL Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF REL PERF-die
       (The) chicken which Kofi gave to the child is dead

The final test to be applied is the focus test. As shown in note 2, all elements in an Akan clause are subject to focus marking. So we expect both post verbal NPs in (40a), for example, to be focus marked. The application of the focus test to (40a) leads to (45a) and (45b). Again, we find that while the Loc (Recipient) NP can be focused, the Theme NP cannot.

45a.   Abofra no na Kofi ma-a   no   akɔkɔ   (Fa)
       child   DEF FOC Kofi give-COMPL 3SG OBJ chicken
       It was the child that Kofi gave (a) chicken to.

b.   *Akɔkɔ na Kofi ma-a   abofra no   (Fa)
       chicken FOC Kofi give-COMPL child   DEF
       It was (a) chicken that Kofi gave to the child.

From the application of the position and pronominalisation tests, supported by the supplementary tests of relativisation and focus marking, we can conclude that in di-transitive clauses in Akan, the prototypical direct objects are the immediate postverbal NPs.

Having come to this conclusion, I should point out that there are a limited number of di-transitive verbs in Akan whose behaviour is slightly different. This class consists of kyerɛ 'teach', bisa 'ask', and kyerɛ 'show'. Like the rest of the di-transitive verbs, these verbs also indicate that the Loc NPs are the prototypical direct objects. However, unlike the other verbs, the Theme NPs of 'teach', 'ask', and 'show', in addition to the Loc NPs, can be relativised and focus marked, as illustrated in (45) and (46).

45a. Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra no   ndwom   (Fa)
     Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF song
     Kofi taught the children a song.

b.   Ndwom a   Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra no   yɛ dɛ   (Fa)
     song   REL Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF be sweet
     (The) song which Kofi taught the children is nice (sweet).

c.   Ndwom na   Kofi kyerɛ-ɛ   mbofra no   (Fa)
     song   FOC Kofi teach-COMPL children DEF
     It was a song Kofi taught the kids.

46a. Kofi bisa-a   maame no   asɛm   (Fa)
     Kofi ask-COMPL woman   DEF question
     Kofi asked the woman a question.

b.   Asɛm   a   Kofi bisa-a   maame no   yɛ ebufuw (Fa)
     question REL Kofi ask-COMPL woman   DEF be annoying
     The question Kofi asked the woman is annoying.

c.   Asɛm   na   Kofi bisa-a   maame no   (Fa)
     question FOC Kofi ask-COMPL woman   DEF
     It was a question Kofi asked the woman.   . .

What the behaviour of the Theme NPs of 'teach', 'ask', and 'show' brings up is that there

are degrees of accessibility to direct objecthood. Clearly, in all di-transitive clauses, the Loc

NPs are the prototypical direct objects. However, since the Theme NPs of most of these

verbs cannot be relativised or focus marked, on a scale of direct objecthood, we rank them

lower than those of 'teach', 'ask', and 'show', because the Theme NPs of these latter

verbs can be relativised and focus marked.

There is one verb which is characterised as allowing instrumental-locative objects.

This is the discontinuous verb hyɛ... ma 'fill'. This verb consists of the verb hyɛ 'fill' and

the adjective ma 'full'. The literal meaning of the discontinuous verb, therefore, should be

'fill full'.

47. Esi hyɛ-ɛ   ankora no   nsu   ma
     Esi fill-COMPL barrel   DEF water full
     Esi filled the barrel with water.

Going by the position test we can argue that even though the verb hyε...ma 'fill' is a

discontinuous verb, since ankora no 'the barrel' precedes nsu 'water' in (47), we can

assign the prototypical direct object status to ankora no. This is supported by the fact that

the ordering of the two NPs cannot be reversed (48).

48.　　*Esi hyε-ε　　　nsu　ankora no　ma
　　　　Esi fill-COMPL　water barrel　DEF full
　　　　Esi filled the barrel with water.

The next test is pronominalisation. The pronominalisation of the postverbal NPs in

(47) leads to (49a) and (49b) respectively. The Loc NP here, ankora no 'barrel', is overtly

coded in pronominalisation, but the instrument NP, nsu 'water', is not overt. As the

sentences show, there is no problem with these NPs being pronominalised. It should be

noted that even though ankora no 'the barrel' is inanimate, it has an overt pronoun. This

may be due to the fact that some verbs in the language permit the overt pronoun even if the

referent is an inanimate entity. Since the Loc and instrument NPs pronominalise differently,

we can assign direct objecthood, on the basis of the coding material, to the Loc NP.

49a.　Esi hyε-ε　　　no　　　　nsu　ma
　　　Esi fill-COMPL 3SG OBJ　water　full
　　　Esi filled it (barrel) with water.

b.　　Esi hyε-ε　　　ankora no　Ø　　　　ma
　　　Esi fill-COMPL　barrel　the 3SG OBJ full
　　　Esi filled the barrel with it (water).

The relativisation test applied to the instrument and locative NPs in (47) gives (50a) and

(50b). As shown in (50b), the instrument NP in such verbs cannot be relativised.

50a.　Ankora no　a　Esi hyε-ε　　　no　　　　nsu　ma
　　　barrel　DEF REL Esi fill-COMPL 3SG OBJ　water full

　　　no　　　a-yew　　　　(Fa)
　　　DEF REL　PERF-lose
　　　The barrel Esi filled with water is lost.

b.   *Nsu   a   Esi   hyɛ-ɛ   ankora no   ma   no
      water REL Esi fill-COMPL barrel   DEF full DEF REL

a-sa   (Fa)
PERF-finish
Water which Esi filled the barrel with is finished.

The application of the final test, the focus test, leads to the same result as the relativisation

test. In (51a) we see that the locative NP, <u>ankora no</u> 'the barrel' can be focus marked. But

in (51b), the instrument NP, <u>nsu</u> 'water', cannot be focus marked.

51a.   Ankora no   na   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   no   nsu   ma   (Fa)
       barrel   DEF FOC Esi fill-COMPL 3SG OBJ   water full
       It was the barrel that Esi filled with water.

    b.   *Nsu   na   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   ankora no   ma   (Fa)
        water FOC Esi fill-COMPL barrel   DEF full
       It was water that Esi filled the barrel with.

We conclude from the results of all the tests that the Loc NP of the verb <u>hyɛ...ma</u> 'fill' is a

prototypical direct object.

    The conclusion that in Akan di-transitive constructions only Loc NPs have full

direct object properties places Akan in the category of what is known as asymmetrical

object languages (Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Alsina and Mchombo 1993). An asymmetrical

object type language is one in which "only one of the postverbal NPs exhibits 'primary

object' syntactic properties." (Bresnan and Moshi 1990:147) This is similar to the Primary

Object/Secondary Object language type proposed in Dryer (1986) and modified in Blake

(1990:56). Based on these proposals, I would refer to the Loc NPs in all Akan di-

transitives as the Primary Direct Object. Such objects would be in the same category as the

direct object of a regular two argument clause; the Theme (patient) NPs of 'teach', 'ask',

and 'show' as Secondary Direct Object, since they share some features that the Primary

Direct Objects have. I would use the term Asymmetrical Object to refer to the Theme NPs

of all other di-transitive constructions. These Theme NPs are described as such because

they do not share in any of the properties associated with direct objecthood. The notions

Primary Direct Object, Secondary Direct Object, and Asymmetrical Object constitute the

hierarchy of direct objecthood.

3.3 Direct Objects in Serialisation

This section is devoted to a discussion of the syntactic status of the non-subject

NPs in serial constructions. I will show that certain semantic roles which in some

languages are coded as oblique NPs are, in Akan, coded as direct objects through the

strategy of serialisation.

3.3.1 Theme NPs

In section 3.1 the point was made that most di-transitive constructions do not allow

definite Theme NPs. Instead the language uses the strategy of serialisation involving the

verb de 'take, use' to code definite Theme NPs. The point of this section is to show that

once such NPs become the arguments of the verb de, they can be assigned direct object

status. Sentence (52) illustrates the use of the de serial construction to code definite Theme

NPs.

52a.   Kofi de   akɔkɔ   no   ma-a   abofra no
      Kofi take chicken DEF give-COMPL child   DEF
      Kofi gave the chicken to the child.

  b.   Kofi de   sika   no   brɛ-ɛ   abofra no
      Kofi take money DEF bring-COMPL child   DEF
      Kofi brought the money to the child.

When we consider the postverbal NPs of the verb de in (52) in terms of the positional test,

it is obvious that they occur immediately after the verb. The application of the

pronominalisation test to the Theme NPs in (52), leads to the sentences in (53). It should

be noted that in (53b) it is not possible, due to the rules of the grammar, to overtly code the object pronoun since the postverbal NP is an inanimate entity.

53a. Kofi de no   ma-a   abofra no
     Kofi take 3SG OBJ give-COMPL child DEF
     Kofi gave it (the chicken) to the man.

b.   Kofi de Ø   brɛ-ɛ   abofra no
     Kofi take 3SG OBJ bring-COMPL child DEF
     Kofi brought it (the money) to the child.

Since we saw earlier (section 3.2) that relativisation and focus marking help to determine direct object status, we will apply those test to the Theme (patient) NPs in the serial constructions. When we apply the relativisation test to the Theme NPs of (52a) and (52b), we get (54a) and (54b) respectively. As these sentences show, such NPs are relativisable, meaning that as postverbal NPs they are direct objects.

54a. Akokɔ no a   Kofi de no   ma-a   abofra
     chicken DEF REL Kofi take 3SG OBJ give-COMPL child

     no   e-wu
     DEF PER-die
     The chicken Kofi gave to the child is dead.

b.   Sika no a   Kofi de   Ø   brɛ-ɛ   abofra
     money DEF REL Kofi take 3SG OBJ bring-COMPL child

     no   a-yew
     DEF PERF-lose
     The money Kofi gave to the child is lost.

Applying the focus marking test to the Theme NPs in (52) results in (55). Just like the relativisation test, being in the immediate postverbal position, these Theme NPs can be focus marked.

55a. Akokɔ no na Kofi de no   ma-a   abofra no
     chicken DEF FOC Kofi take 3SG OBJ give-COMPL child   DEF
     It was the chicken Kofi gave to the child.

b. Sika   no   na   Kofi de   brɛ-ɛ   abofra no
money DEF FOC Kofi take bring-COMPL child   DEF
It was the money Kofi brought to the child.

Since the Theme NPs of the verb de pass all the test of direct objecthood, we consider them

as such. This goes to show that the morpheme de, even though defective as a verb, still

exhibits verbal properties. More will be said about the verbal status of this morpheme in

chapter 6.

3.3.2 Loc

As mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.3), based on coding similarities I do not see

any justification for distinguishing between a Recipient and a Benefactive in Akan. I am

therefore using the localist label, Loc, to indicate these two roles. Loc NPs in Akan can be

definite (56a and 56b) or indefinite (56c). A Loc (Benefactive) NP is introduced through

serialisation. In the serialisation, the first verb will indicate whatever action was carried out

and the second verb will introduce the Benefactive entity. The verbs used to introduce the

Loc entities come from the class of give-type verbs. The sentences in (56) illustrate this.

56a. Esi   tur-r   abofra no   ma-a   maame no
Esi   carry-COMPL   child   DEF give-COMPL   woman DEF
Esi carried the child for the woman.

b. Esi   tɔ-ɔ   akokɔ   kyɛ-ɛ   banyin no
Esi   buy-COMPL chicken gift-COMPL   man   DEF
Esi bought (a) chicken for the man.

c. ɔsɔfo no   yɛ-ɛ   asɔr   ma-a   ehiafo
priest DEF do-COMPL prayer give-COMPL poor
The priest prayed for (the) poor.

The Loc NPs in the above sentences, maame no 'the woman' (56a), banyin no 'the man' (56b), and ehiafo 'the poor', occur immediately after their verbs. So in terms of the proximity to the verb test, they qualify to be considered direct objects.

Sentence (57) illustrates the pronominalisation test as applied to the Loc NPs. I have already shown in section 3.3.1 that Theme NPs in serial constructions are direct objects, so I will not test for the direct object status of those NPs here.

57a. Esi tur-r abofra no ma-a no
    Esi carry-COMPL child DEF give-COMPL 3SG OBJ
    Esi carried the child for her.

b. Esi tɔ-ɔ akokɔ kyɛ-ɛ no
    Esi buy-COMPL chicken gift-COMPL 3SG OBJ
    Esi bought (a) chicken for him.

As (57a) and (57b) show, the Loc NPs can be pronominalised, meaning that they are direct objects. The application of the relativisation and focus marking tests to the Loc NPs in (56) produces (58) and (59), respectively.

58a. Maame no a Esi tur-r abofra no ma-a
    woman DEF REL Esi carry-COMPL child DEF give-COMPL

    no no e-wu (Fa)
    3SG OBJ DEF REL PERF-die
    The woman who Esi carried the child for is dead.

b. Banyin no a Esi tɔ-ɔ akokɔ kyɛ-ɛ
    man DEF REL Esi buy-COMPL chicken gift-COMPL

    no no e-wu (Fa)
    3SG OBJ DEF REL PERF-die
    The man Esi bought the chicken for is dead.

59a. Maame no na Esi tur-r abofra no ma-a
    woman DEF FOC Esi carry-COMPL child DEF give-COMPL

    no (Fa)
    3SG OBJ
    It was the woman Esi carried the child for.

b. Banyin no na Esi tɔ-ɔ akokɔ kyɛ-ɛ
man DEF FOC Esi buy-COMPL chicken gift-COMPL

no (Fa)
3SG OBJ
It was the man Esi bought (a) chicken for.

Examples (58) and (59) show that the Loc NPs can be relativised and focus marked. Since

they pass all the tests of direct object, it is clear that they are direct objects.

3.3.3 Associatives

Associative participants are introduced by the serial verb _nye_ 'accompany'. In the

Twi dialect this verb is _ne_. This is one of those verbs in the language which have lost some

of their verbal properties. More will be said about such verbs in chapter 6. Sentence (60)

illustrates the associative semantic role.

60a. Kofi nye mberwa no dzi-i edziban no (Fa)
Kofi accompany old women DEF eat-COMPL food DEF
Kofi ate the food with the old women.

b. Kofi nye banyin no twitwa-a ndua no (Fa)
Kofi accompany man DEF cut-COMPL trees DEF
Kofi cut the trees with his child.

In terms of position, the associative NPs in (60a), _mberwa no_ 'the old women' and (60b),

banyin no 'the man', all qualify to be considered direct objects since they both occur in

immediate postverbal position. The application of the pronominalisation test to (60) gives

(61). In (61a) the associative NP in (60a), _mberwa no_ 'the old women' has been replaced

by the object pronoun _hɔn_; and in (61b) the object pronoun, _no_, has replaced the

associative NP in (60b), _banyin no_ 'the man'.

61a. Kofi nye hɔn dzi-i edziban no (Fa)
Kofi accompany 3PLU OBJ eat-COMPL food DEF
Kofi ate the food together with them.

b.　Kofi　nye　　　　no　　　twitwa-a　　ndua　no　　　　　(Fa)
　　Kofi　accompany　3SG OBJ　cut-COMPL　trees　DEF
　　Kofi cut the trees together with him/her.

Based on the result of the tests, we conclude that associative NPs in Akan are direct

objects. This conclusion is supported by the results of the application of the relativisation

and focus marking tests. In (62), the associative NPs in (60) have been relativised, and in

(63) they have been focus marked.

62a.　Mberwa　　no　a　Kofi　nye　　　　hɔn　　　　dzi-i
　　　old women　DEF　REL　Kofi　accompany　3PLU OBJ　eat-COMPL

　　　edziban　no　a-ba　　　ha　　(Fa)
　　　food　　DEF　PERF-come　here
　　　The old women who Kofi ate the food together with have come here.

b.　Banyin　no　a　Kofi　nye　　　　no　　　twitwa-a　　ndua
　　man　　DEF　REL　Kofi　accompany　3SG OBJ　cut-COMPL　trees

　　no　a-ba　　　ha　　　　　(Fa)
　　DEF　PERF-come　here
　　The man who Kofi cut the trees together with has come here.

63a.　Mberwa　　no　na　Kofi　nye　　　　hɔn　　　　dzi-i
　　　old women　DEF　FOC　Kofi　accompany　3PLU OBJ　eat-COMPL

　　　edziban　no　　　　　　　(Fa)
　　　food　　DEF
　　　It was the old women Kofi ate the food together with.

b.　Banyin　no　na　Kofi　nye　　　　no　　　twitwa-a　　ndua no　(Fa)
　　man　　DEF　REL　Kofi　accompany　3SG OBJ　cut-COMPL　trees DEF
　　It was the man Kofi cut the trees together with.

3.3.4 Instruments

NPs that bear the instrument role are introduced into a sentence through verb

serialisation. This involves the use of the defective verb de 'take, use' (64).

64a.   Kofi de   sekan   twa-a   ahoma no
          Kofi take knife   cut-COMPL rope   DEF
          Kofi cut the rope with (a) knife.

b.   Kofi de   akuma no   bu-u   dua no
          Kofi take axe   DEF fell-COMPL tree DEF
          Kofi felled the tree with the axe.

c.   Kofi de   abaa no   hwe-e   abofra no
          Kofi take stick DEF whip-COMPL child   DEF
          Kofi whipped the child with the stick.

By their position, all the instrument NPs in (64), sekan 'knife', akuma no 'the axe' and abaa no 'the stick' qualify to be direct object since they occur in immediate postverbal position. I should point out that these NPs would occur in the position they are in (64) irrespective of their definiteness.

When the instrument NPs are pronominalised they are not overtly realised since those are inanimate entities. So when the pronominal test is applied to the instruments in (64) we get (65).

65a.   Kofi de   Ø   twa-a   ahoma no
          Kofi take 3SG OBJ cut-COMPL rope   DEF
          Kofi cut the rope with (it).

b.   Kofi de   Ø   bu-u   dua no
          Kofi take 3SG OBJ fell-COMPL tree DEF
          Kofi felled the tree with (it).

c.   Kofi de   Ø   hwe-e   abofra no
          Kofi take 3SG OBJ whip-COMPL child   DEF
          Kofi whipped the child with (it).

In order to apply the relativisation and focus marking tests to the instrument NPs, I will use those NPs in examples (64a) and (64b). In (66a) and (66b), the NPs sekan 'knife' (64a) and akuma no 'the axe' (64b) have been relativised and true to expectation, they pass this test.

66a.   Sekan a   Kofi de twa-a   ahoma no   a-yew   (Fa)
        knife REL Kofi take cut-COMPL rope   DEF PERF-lose
        (The) knife which Kofi cut the rope with is lost.

b.   Akuma no   a   Kofi de bu-u   dua no   a-yew   (Fa)
        axe   DEF REL Kofi take fell-COMPL tree DEF PERF-lose
        The axe which Kofi felled the tree with is lost.

Similarly when we apply the focus marking test (67), the result confirms that these instrument NPs are direct objects.

67a.   Sekan na   Kofi de twa-a   ahoma no
        knife FOC Kofi take cut-COMPL rope   DEF
        It was (a) knife Kofi cut the rope with.

b.   Akuma no   na   Kofi de bu-u   dua no
        axe   DEF FOC Kofi take fell-COMPL tree DEF
        It was the axe Kofi felled the tree with.

Based on the results of all the tests, we conclude that in Akan, instrument NPs are direct objects. I have also provided ample evidence to show that NPs that are introduced by de 'take, use' are full direct objects.

4.0 Conclusion

From the discussion in this chapter, it is clear that Akan grammar makes provision for the grammatical relations of subject and direct object. I have presented evidence to show that there are certain properties which define subjecthood and direct objecthood in Akan. In terms of coding properties, Akan uses word order to differentiate subjects from direct objects. Subject NPs occur in preverbal position while object NPs occur in postverbal position. In the course of the discussion, I made it clear that in this language, word order is very crucial in isolating these grammatical relations. This fact is further buttressed by the differences in the pronominal forms associated with these positions. So even though the pronominal system does not independently define these relations, it is necessary in further

differentiating between them. In addition to these coding properties, I have also shown that there are certain behavioural properties which set subjects apart from objects. Subject NPs have zero pronoun in clause chaining and have overt subject pronoun in conjoined clauses.

The chapter also dealt with di-transitive verbs, showing that it is crucial for different categories of di-transitive verbs to be established. One of the parameters for establishing these categories is whether a verb can take a definite Theme NP. I showed that some of those verbs that do not permit definite Theme NPs use the strategy of serialisation to code such NPs.

Regarding the direct object relation in di-transitive constructions, the point has been made that the Loc NP is the prototypical direct object. It was also indicated that the notion of indirect object is not relevant for Akan.

Even though the Theme NPs of most di-transitive verbs do not have any direct object properties, it has been shown that there are some whose Theme NPs can be focus marked and relativised. I have, therefore, proposed that in order to properly account for such cases, we need a scalar notion of direct objecthood. At the top of the scale will be the Loc NPs of di-transitives for which the label Primary Direct Object should be reserved. Next will be the Theme NPs of verbs like bisa 'ask', kyerɛ 'teach' and kyerɛ 'show' which would be described by the label, Secondary Direct Object. At the bottom of the scale are the Theme NPs of all other di-transitive verbs and they would be known as Asymmetrical Objects.

This study has also shown that there is a strong connection between topicality and grammatical relations. This comes out strongly through the interaction between definite patients in di-transitive constructions, direct object status, and serialisation. Definiteness is a high topicality indicator. It has been demonstrated that Theme NPs in most di-transitive constructions do not have direct object properties and so are less topical. Since it is contradictory for a definite NP not to be in a topical position, the language makes provision

for maintaining the topicality status of the definite NPs by using the serial construction, since serialisation permits the definite patient NP to be in a direct object position.

This chapter has also shown that in Akan serial constructions the postverbal NPs of the two verbs in a serial construction are both direct objects. This is irrespective of how low a particular verb may rank on the scale of verbhood.

Notes

1. One other feature which was initially considered as distinguishing between subject and direct object is relativisation. However, on a closer examination, we cannot say that relativisation distinguishes subjects from direct objects. In Akan, both subjects and direct objects can be relativised. Relative clauses in Akan are formed by placing the relative clause marker, a, at the start of the relative clause, with the nominal so modified immediately preceding it. The end of the relative clause is marked by the definite morpheme, no. Strictly speaking, we can consider both the a and the no as marking the relative clause. I will therefore gloss no in the context of a relative clause as DEF REL (Definite Relativiser) In examples (b) and (c) below, the subject and direct object, respectively, of example (a) have been relativised. The relative clauses have been underlined.

a.   Banyin no   hyia-a   abofra no
        man   DEF meet-COMPL child   DEF
        The man met the child.

b.   Banyin no   a   o-hyia-a   abofra no   e-wu
        man   DEF REL 3SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL child   DEF PERF-die
        The man who met the child is dead.

c.   Abofra no   a   banyin no   hyia-a   no   no   e-wu
        child   DEF REL man   DEF meet-COMPL 3SG OBJ DEF REL PERF-die
        The child who the man met is dead.

When we compare (b) and (c) it may appear at first sight that there are structural differences between subject and direct object relativisation. For example, in (b) where the subject is relativised we find that the verb of the relative clause has the subject prefix, whereas in (c) where the direct object is relativised there is no such prefix on the verb. Another issue is that when the direct object is relativised the definite relativiser occurs at the end of the relative clause; but this is absent in subject relativisation. On a closer examination, however, these two structural facts have nothing to do with subject and object relativisation per se. Rather they are part of the surface structure constraints that operate in the language.

   One structural difference between (b) and (c) is the presence of the definite relativiser at the end of relative clauses involving the object relation. When the direct object is relativised, it also, like the subject, leaves a resumptive pronoun in its place. This means that whenever a direct object is relativised we expect such a resumptive pronoun, though in the case of inanimate nouns this pronoun would not be overt. In direct object relativisation, it is not possible to have the resumptive pronoun as well as the full NP. This means that once we have the pronoun we cannot have the definite article. In the case of subject relativisation where the direct object is marked by the definite article, we cannot have the definite relativiser. This may be due to the fact that the definite marker and the definite relativiser come from the same source and are semantically related.

   When the subject is relativised, the subject prefix appears on the verb because the full subject NP has been deleted and replaced by a resumptive pronoun as a result of it being coreferential with the head of the relative clause. The reason we do not have the subject prefix on the verb when we relativise the object (c) is that in that context we do have the full subject NP, banyin no 'the man' in the subject position and so it is redundant to have the prefix.

It is possible, in subject relativisation, have the definite relativiser. When the direct object of the subject relative clause is a pronoun, for example, the 3SG, we can have the pronoun followed by the definite relativiser, as shown in (d).

d.　Banyin no　a　　o-hyia-a　　　　　　　no　　　no　　e-wu
　　man　DEF REL 3SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL 3SG OBJ DEF REL PERF-die
　　The man who met him/her is dead/The man s/he met is dead.

When the direct object is the 3SG pronoun, the sentence can be given various readings because of problems of reference. So in (d) the subject prefix o- could refer to banyin no 'the man' or it could refer to someone else. If it refers to someone else, it means that the object pronoun, no, has to refer to the man. This interpretation implies that we are dealing with a direct object relative clause. However, if the subject prefix refers to banyin no 'the man' then we are dealing with a subject relative clause. This problem of ambiguity does not arise if the object pronoun is something other than the 3SG, as shown in (e).

e.　Banyin no　a　　o-hyia-a　　　　　　　hen　　　no　　e-wu
　　man　DEF REL 3SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL 3PLU OBJ DEF REL PERF-die
　　The man who met us is dead.

The point of this footnote has been to show that there is really no difference in the way subjects and direct objects are relativised. We therefore cannot use relativisation as a distinguishing parameter between subjects and direct objects. However, relativisation can help us determine the direct object status of post verbal NPs in di-transitive constructions as I will do in section 3.1.1.

2. In Akan, an element that is focus marked is fronted, followed by the morpheme na, the focus marker (FOC). In (b-d) different elements of sentence (a) are focus marked: subject (50b), object (50c), verb (50d), adverbial (50e). The focused part of each sentence has been underlined.

a.　Esi dzi-i　　　　edziban no　ndeda
　　Esi eat-COMPL food　　DEF yesterday
　　Esi ate the food yesterday.

b.　Esi　na　o-dzi-i　　　　　　　edziban no　ndeda
　　Esi　FOC 3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL food　　DEF yesterday
　　It was Esi who ate the food yesterday.

c.　Edziban no　na　Esi dzi-i　　　　no　　　ndeda
　　food　　DEF FOC Esi eat-COMPL 3SG OBJ yesterday
　　It was the food that Esi ate yesterday.

d.　Dzi na　Esi dzi-i　　　　(edziban no　ndeda)
　　eat FOC Esi eat-COMPL food　　DEF yesterday
　　Esi only ate (the food yesterday) (she didn't sell it!)

e.　Ndeda　　na　Esi dzi-i　　　　edziban no
　　yesterday FOC Esi eat-COMPL food　　DEF
　　It was yesterday that Esi ate the food.

In (c) even though the focused direct object is an inanimate entity, the presence of a resumptive pronoun is required because of the adverbial element following. If there is no other item after the direct object, there would be no pronoun as in (g). This has to do with the issue of pronominal coding of inanimate direct object discussed in section 2.1.2.

f.   Esi   dzi-i   edziban   no
      Esi   eat-COMPL   food   DEF
      Esi ate the food yesterday.

g.   Edziban no   na   Esi   dzi-i
      food   DEF   FOC   Esi   eat-COMPL
      It was the food Esi ate.

If the object which is focus marked is an animate entity, there would always be a resumptive pronoun in the object position whether or not there is an adverbial item following.

h.   Banyin no   hyia-a   abofra   no
      man   DEF   meet-COMPL   child   DEF
      The man met the child.

i.   Abofra no   na   banyin no   hyia-a   no
      child   DEF   FOC   man   DEF   meet-COMPL   3SG OBJ

3. The verb de is realised in the Fante dialect as dze. I will, however, use the form de even if the examples used are from the Fante dialect.

CHAPTER VI

SERIALISATION

0. Introduction

The phenomenon of serialisation has long been noted to be a feature of

Akan. Christaller (1875) was the first to have commented on it, long before the label

"serial verbs" came to be used by Balmer and Grant (1929) and later by Stewart

(1963). The linguistic literature is replete with references to serialisation in Akan and in

the languages of West Africa generally (for example, Ansre 1966, Stewart 1963,

Welmers 1946, 1973, Hyman 1975, Givon 1975, 1991, Bamgbose 1973, 1974, 1982,

1986, Boadi 1968, Awobuluyi 1973, Lord 1973, 1974, 1976, 1982, 1989, 1993,

Stahlke 1970, 1974, Schachter 1974a, 1974b, Williams 1971, Essilfie 1977, 1984,

Dolphyne 1987, Sebba 1987, Byrne 1987, 1992, Seuren 1990, Foley and Olson 1985,

Schiller 1990, Heine and Reh 1984).

One of the problems associated with the study of serialisation

cross-linguistically is that hardly any two writers agree on exactly what the

phenomenon of serialisation is. This is borne out by the variability in the definitions of

serialisation offered by various writers. The following definitions are meant to be

samples only. Schachter (1974a) states that:

> A sentence that contains a serial verb construction consists, on the
> surface at least, of a subject noun phrase followed by a series of two or
> more verb phrases, each containing a finite verb plus, possibly, the
> complement(s) of that verb. (1974a:254)

Boadi (1968) gives the following description:

> A common feature of these languages [West African] is the frequent
> occurrences of strings of two or more verb phrases which form a single
> internally coherent structure. The constituent verb phrases are governed
> by one noun phrase subject and are separated neither by pauses nor co-
> ordinators. (1968:84)

Foley and Olson (1985) say that:

> Serial verb constructions... are constructions in which verbs sharing a
> common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening
> conjunctions... Serial verbs constructions always contain two or more
> predicates. Furthermore... while they may require the same actor for
> both predicates, each verb in the series may have arguments not shared
> by other verbs. (1985:18)

Durie (1988) defines serialisation as follows:

> In simple descriptive terms, serialization is what happens when two or
> more verbs are juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a single
> predicate, taking a unitary complex of direct arguments. The verbs are
> bound together syntactically and/or morphologically on the basis of
> sharing one or more core arguments, and neither verb is subordinate to
> the other. Typically in a serial construction there is no marker of
> subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or
> morphological mark of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have a
> separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force, and
> negation. (1988:3)

Another problem with the study of serialisation arises from the fact that too many

people are too eager to make statements which they consider to be cross-linguistically

valid. In most cases such statements are based on observations made regarding some

serialising languages. When some of such statements are examined closely with

reference to specific serialising languages, they are found to be incorrect. This problem

is precisely what the following statement from Lord (1993) addresses:

Generalizations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language do not necessarily apply to superficially similar constructions in another language. Within a single language, one group of serial verb constructions may show a certain property, while another group may not. This situation has encouraged a blossoming of claims and counterclaims about serial verb constructions. (1993:1)

In this chapter I will be concerned with serialisation in Akan. Informed by the language data as well as by the functional perspective taken in this dissertation, I approach this study from the viewpoint that serialisation is a scalar phenomenon where the degree of serialisation is determined by the extent of the semantic integration of the events coded by the serial construction. This means that we need to recognise degrees of serialisation in Akan. Even though various aspects of Akan serialisation have been talked about extensively in the literature, there are some issues which have not received detailed attention. Some of the observations to be made in this chapter make original contributions to the study of Akan serialisation.

The chapter falls into three sections. In section 1 I will discuss the features based on which we can classify serial constructions in Akan. The crucial factor of semantic integration will be discussed in this section. In section 2 I will discuss the issues of subject, aspect, and negation marking in serial constructions as well as the semantic interpretation of negation in serialisation. In section 3 I will take up the issue of the category status of certain verbs frequently used in serialisation.

1.0 Classifying Serial Constructions

There are a combination of structural and semantic parameters according to which we can classify the serial constructions in Akan. These are the degree of semantic integration of the verbal combination, whether the verbs are transitive or

intransitive, and argument sharing. As the discussions in various parts of this section will show, there are interconnections among these parameters.

1.1 Chaining Type vs. Integrated Type

The point has been made in the cross-linguistic literature on serialisation that such constructions are characterised by two or more verbs used to describe a single event. This structural phenomenon has a semantic basis. The semantic foundation of serialisation has to do with the integration of the subatomic events that are conceived as representing a single event. In other words, the reason why multiple verbs in a construction are treated as conceptually coding a single event is that even though those verbs originally code separate events, these events, through the process of cognitivisation, come to be integrated as a single event. As mentioned earlier, the degree of semantic integration is reflected in the syntax of such construction and it enables us to identify different levels of integration. The more tightly the original subatomic parts are integrated into a unitary whole, the more cohesive are the syntactic coding mechanisms. More will be said about the notion of semantic integration in section 1.4. The notion of semantic integration presented here is closely related to the notion of event integration put forward by Givón (1984, 1990, 1993) in the analysis of complementation, as will be discussed in chapter 7.

On the basis of the degree of semantic integration of the verb combinations in a serial construction, we can recognise two broad types of serialisation. I refer to these as the Chaining Type and the Integrated Type. These correspond, in some measure, to the Linking Serial Construction and the Modifying Serial Construction, respectively, of Bamgbose (1974, 1982, 1986) and to the Coordinate and Subordinate types

respectively in Sebba's (1987) characterisation. The Chaining and Integrated serial

constructions are illustrated in (1a) and (1b) respectively.

1a. Araba tɔ-ɔ   nam   kyew-ee   Ø
     Araba buy-COMPL fish   fry-COMPL 3SG OBJ

     tɔn-ee   Ø
     sell-COMPL   3SG OBJ
     Araba bought fish, fried it and sold it.

b.   Akosua yɛ-ɛ   asɔr   ma-a   Yaw
     Akosua do-COMPL   prayer   give-COMPL Yaw
     Akosua prayed for Yaw.

Christaller (1875) calls the Chaining type "Accidental Combinations" and the Integrated

type "Essential Combinations". This is how he explains the two types:

> Accidental combinations. Two or more predicates (verbs with or without,
> complements or adjuncts), expressing different successive actions, or a state
> simultaneous with another state or action, but having the same subject, are
> merely joined together without conjunction and without repeating the subject. In
> this case two (or more) sentences are thrown or contracted into one, and the
> verbs are co-ordinate in sense as well as form. (1875:144)

> Essential combinations. One verb is the principal, and another is an auxiliary
> verb supplying, as it were, an adverb of time or manner... or forming or
> introducing a complement... or adjunct... or the second verb is supplemental,
> forming part of a verbal phrase... The actions expressed by both verbs are
> simultaneous and in an internal or inseparable relation or connection. In this
> case, the auxiliary or supplemental verb is co-ordinate only in form, but sub-
> ordinate in sense, whether it be preceding or succeeding the principal verb.
> (1875:144)

The basic difference between the Chaining and Integrated types has to do with the

degree to which the verbs in the construction are semantically integrated. When a

combination of verbs is semantically highly integrated, it means that even though they

are separate verbs, they are used, in the context of serialisation, to code a conceptually

unitary event. In the Integrated Serial Construction in which the verbs are highly

integrated, multi-verbs are used to code a single coherent event. On the other hand, in

the Chaining Serial Construction where the level of semantic integration is lower, multi-verbs are used to code related multi-events. So whereas in the Integrated serialisation the verbs are tightly knit into a single event, in the Chaining serialisation the verbs are loosely connected. I will return to the issue of serialisation as a reflection of semantic integration in section 1.4.1.

The difference in the degree of semantic integration between the Integrated and Chaining serialisations is reflected in the syntax of such constructions. A resulting structural difference between the two types is that in the Chaining serialisation, we can introduce conjunctions into the sentence and end up with separate clauses, as shown in (2a). But this is not possible in the case of the Integrated type (2b). This difference reflects the degree of tightness in the semantic integration of the verbs involved.

2a.   Araba tɔ-ɔ   nam na   ɔ-kyew-ee   Ø
      Araba buy-COMPL fish CONJ 3SG SUBJ-fry-COMPL 3SG OBJ

      na   ɔ-tɔn-ee   Ø
      CONJ 3SG SUBJ-sell-COMPL 3SG OBJ
      Araba bought fish and fried it and sold it.

b.   *Akosua yɛ-ɛ   asɔr   na   ɔ-ma-a   Yaw
      Akosua do-COMPL prayer CONJ 3SG SUBJ-give-COMPL Yaw
      Akosua prayed and gave Yaw.

In the context of the notion of serialisation as a scalar phenomenon, (1a) should be considered a kind of serial construction. This is because there are properties that (1a) type sentences share with (1b) type, as we will see in section 2. It is for this reason that recognising serialisation as a scalar phenomenon is helpful. By that route we are able to accommodate (1a) type sentences by considering them to be at the lower end of the scale of serialisation, while (1b) will be at the top of the scale.

1.2 Verb Types

Serial constructions can also be categorised according to the transitivity of verbs that occur in the construction. The following are all possible combinations in Akan: Transitive-Transitive, Intransitive-Transitive, Transitive-Intransitive, Intransitive-Transitive. These combinations are illustrated below.

Transitive-Transitive:

3a. Kofi tow-w   ɔson   no   ku-u   no
     Kofi shoot-COMPL   elephant   DEF kill-COMPL   3SG OBJ
     Kofi shot and killed the elephant.

b.   Kofi bɔ-ɔ   abofra no   pira-a   no
     Kofi hit-COMPL   child   DEF hurt-COMPL   3SG OBJ
     Kofi hit and hurt the child.

Intransitive-Intransitive:

4a. Ama sɔr-ee   gyina-a   hɔ
     Ama get up-COMPL   stand-COMPL   there
     Ama stood up.

b.   Ama guan-ee   ba-e
     Ama run-COMPL   come-COMPL
     Ama ran and came.

Transitive-Intransitive:

5a. Akosua yi-i   ahoma no   sɛn-n   hɔ
     Akosua take-COMPL   rope   DEF hang-COMPL   there
     Akosua took the rope and hung it there.

b.   Kofi pia-a   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
     Kofi push-COMPL   Esi fall-COMPL   ground
     Kofi pushed Esi down (to the ground).

Intransitive-Transitive

6a.   Kofi   gyina-a   hɔ fre-ɛ   Esi
         Kofi   stand-COMPL there call-COMPL Esi
         Kofi stood there and called Esi.

b.   Kofi   sɔr-ee   kyia-a   Esi
        Kofi   stand-COMPL greet-COMPL Esi
        Kofi stood (up) and greeted Esi.

This classification will become relevant when we come to consider the argument

sharing properties serial constructions.

1.3 Argument Sharing

Another parameter based on which serial verbs are subcategorised is

"the nature of the relationship that hold between the nominal arguments associated with

each of the verbs in question." (Crowley 1987:38, and also Foley and Olson 1985).

According to the way arguments are shared, the following types of serial constructions

are recognised in Akan. The nomenclature of the types is borrowed from Foley and

Van Valin (1984), Foley and Olson (1985), and Crowley (1987). It should be noted

that the description offered in this section is essentially structural.

1.3.1 Same-Subject Serialisation

Same-subject serialisation is that in which all the verbs in the series share

the same subject. This is the most common type of argument sharing in Akan

serialisation. It is a feature which has been used to define serialisation in the language

(Schachter 1974a), even though, as will be shown below, there is an exception to this.

The following sentences illustrate same-subject serialisation. In all three sentences, the

subject of the first verb, Kofi, is also the subject of the second verb.

7a.   Kofi tɔ-ɔ   edziban ma-a   abofra no
      Kofi buy-COMPL food   give-COMPL child   DEF
      Kofi bought food for the child.

b.   Kofi yi-i   sekan no brɛ-ɛ   Araba
      Kofi take-COMPL knife DEF bring-COMPL Araba
      Kofi took the knife and brought it to Araba.

c.   Kofi de   sika   no   mona-a   ne   maame
      Kofi take money DEF send-COMPL 3SG POSS mother
      Kofi sent the money to his mother.

1.3.2 Switch-Subject Serialisation

The second type of serial construction based on argument sharing is what is

known as switch-subject serialisation (Crowley 1987:39). Foley and Olson (1985:25)

refer to this type as causative serial verb constructions. In this type of serialisation, the

object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb are coreferential. There are

highly limited number of verb combinations which give rise to switch-subject

serialisation. One verb which when used in initial position results in a switch-subject

serialisation is the causative verb ma 'make'. In (8a) and (8b), the direct object of ma

'make' is the subject of dzi 'eat' (8a), and bɔ 'fall' (8b). These sentences illustrate the

situation where a serial construction has two subjects.

8a.   Esi ma-a   Kofi dzi-i   edziban no
      Esi make-COMPL Kofi eat-COMPL food   DEF
      Esi made Kofi eat the food.

b.   Kofi ma-a   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
      Kofi make-COMPL Esi fall-COMPL ground
      Kofi made Esi fall down.

We know Kofi in (8a) and Esi in (8b) are subjects of the following verbs because we

when these NPs have to be replaced by pronouns it is the subject pronominal prefix that

is used, as shown in (9).

9a.   Esi ma-a   o-dzi-i   edziban no
       Esi make-COMPL 3SG SUBJeat-COMPL food   DEF
       Esi made him eat the food.

b.   Kofi ma-a   ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
       Kofi make-COMPL 3SG SUBJfall-COMPL ground
       Kofi made her fall down.

In the literature, the tendency has been to consider the following sentences as instances where the direct object of the first verb is the "logical subject" (Lord 1993:85) or the "semantic subject" (Sebba 1987:181) of the second verb. By this analysis, the NPs bobaa 'stone' (10a), adaka no 'the box' (10b), Araba (10c), aburow no 'the corn' (10d) are "logical subject" or "semantic subject".

10a.   Kofi tow-w   bobaa bɔ-ɔ   Esi
       Kofi throw-COMPL stone hit-COMPL Esi
       Kofi threw a stone at (to hit) Esi.

b.   Kofi de   adaka no si-i   pono no   so
       Kofi take box   DEF stand-COMPL table DEF on
       Kofi put the box on the table.

c.   Kofi pia-a   Araba bɔ-ɔ   famu
       Kofi push-COMPL Araba fall-COMPL ground
       Kofi pushed Araba down (to the ground).

d.   Kofi de   aburow no   gu-u   nsu   mu
       Kofi take corn   DEF put-COMPL water in
       Kofi put the corn into (the) water.

The first problem with this analysis is that it is never specified what the labels "logical subject"/"semantic subjects" are. Secondly, treating the direct objects of the first verbs in (10) as some kind of subjects of the following verbs overlooks a very crucial semantic and conceptual feature of the verb combinations in these serial constructions. Such verb combinations are typical illustrations of what it means to have two or more verbs representing what is conceptually a unitary event, the type I have classified as Integrated Serial Construction. The point here is that the two verbs in these

combinations are the lexical representation of semantically integrated event. As a result,

they do not code separate events. For example, in (10a), the combination <u>tow...bɔ</u>

'throw...hit' does not represent two separate events. The verbs indicate a single event

that took place. Speakers of the language in using this combination intend to represent

the event as being a single unit. This comes out when we try to question various parts

of the sentence in (10a). For example, we can question what Kofi did to Esi, as in

(11a), and have the response in (11b). In (11b) the subject of the first verb is

understood to be the subject of the second verb because the two verbs code a single

event.

11a   Kofi yɛ-ɛ   Esi dɛn?
        Kofi do-COMPL Esi what
        What did Kofi do to Esi?

b.   ɔ-<u>tow-w</u>   bobaa <u>bɔ-ɔ</u>   no
       3SG SUBJ-throw-COMPL stone hit-COMPL 3SG OBJ
       He threw a stone at (to hit) her.

Part of the reason speakers conceive these two verbs as coding a single event is that the

event of stone throwing by Kofi is purposive. The stone was thrown in order that it

would hit Esi. If it was a case that the stone accidentally hit Esi, speakers are more

likely to use a complement clause (12) than a serial construction.

12.   Kofi tow-w   bobaa ma   ɔ-kɔ-bɔ-ɔ   Esi
       Kofi throw-COMPL stone COMP 3SG-go-hit-COMPL Esi
       Kofi threw a stone and it hit Esi.

Such verb combinations constitute, to varying degrees, instances of verb

lexicalisation/compounding resulting from serialisation. More will be said about this in

section (1.4.1).

      Going back to the issue of argument sharing, I conclude that in such

constructions as (10a-d), the two verbs share the same grammatical subject. In terms of

the direct objects there are slight differences. In (10a), each verb has its own direct

object -- <u>bobaa</u> 'stone' is the direct object of the first verb, <u>tow</u> 'throw' and Esi is the

direct object of <u>bɔ</u> 'hit'. Semantically, in (10a) Kofi is the Agent, <u>bobaa</u> 'stone' is the

Theme of the whole sentence since it is the entity that changes location; <u>Esi</u> is the Loc

since that is the "place" the Theme moves to. In (10b), <u>Kofi</u> is the subject and

semantically the Agent of the whole sentence; <u>adaka no</u> 'the box' is the direct object of

<u>de</u> 'take' and semantically the Theme. I showed in chapter 5 that the postverbal NPs of

the verb <u>de</u> are direct objects. In this sentence, the verb <u>si</u> 'put' does not have a direct

object. The adpositional phrase <u>pono no so</u> 'on the table' is better treated, syntactically,

as an adverbial but semantically a Loc. The grammatical and semantic analyses

provided for (10b) apply to (10c) and (10d).

1.3.3 Combined-Subject Serialisation

A third kind of serialisation arising out of the parameter of argument sharing

is the type in which the subject and direct object of the first verb are both subject of the

second verb. I refer to this as combined-subject serialisation. This type occurs

whenever the initial verb in the serial construction is the verb <u>nye</u> 'accompany' (in

Fante). In the Twi dialects it is realised as <u>ne</u>. It is one of those verbs which have lost

some of their verbal properties. For example, it cannot be inflected for the completive

aspect. Even though it is translated as 'with' in the free translation, it is not a

preposition. In (13a) and (13b), the subject of the verb <u>nye</u> 'accompany' is Kofi. In

(13a) the direct object is Ama and in (13b) it is <u>banyin no</u> 'the man'. In (13a), Kofi and

Ama constitute the subject of the second verb <u>ba</u> 'come'. Similarly, in (13b) Kofi and

<u>banyin no</u> 'the man' make up the subject of the second verb <u>twitwa</u> 'cut'.

13a.   Kofi nye   Ama ba-a   fie
        Kofi accompany Ama come-COMPL home
        Ama accompanied Kofi home/ Kofi came home with Ama.

b.   Kofi nye   banyin no   twitwa-a   ndua   no
    Kofi accompany man   DEF cut-COMPL trees DEF
    Kofi cut the trees together with the man.

1.3.4 Multiple Object Serialisation

A third type of serialisation stemming from the parameter of argument sharing which is relevant for Akan is what has been called the multiple object serialisation (Durie 1982, Crowley 1987). In this type there would be same-subject but each verb in the construction would have its own direct object. Obviously, it is only a serial construction involving Transitive-Transitive verbs that permits the multiple object serialisation. Example (10a) given above is an instance of multiple object serialisation. I should point out that what has been called multiple object serialisation is different from sentences like (3a) and (3b) where the direct objects of the two verbs are coreferential and not separate entities. (14) gives examples of multiple object serialisation. In (14a) sekan no 'the knife' is the direct object of de 'use', but the direct object of twa 'cut' is ahoma no 'the rope'. In (14b), the direct object of kyer 'catch' is anoma no 'the bird' and that of ma 'give' is abofra no 'the child'. It should be remembered that as was shown in chapter 5, in Akan di-transitive verbs, it is the Loc (Recipient) NP which is direct object.

14a.   Kofi de sekan no   twa-a   ahoma no
        Kofi use knife DEF cut-COMPL rope   DEF
        Kofi cut the rope with the knife.

b.   Kofi kyer-r   anoma no ma-a   abofra no
    Kofi catch-COMPL bird   DEF give-COMPL child DEF
    Kofi caught the bird for the child.

1.4 Lexicalisation and Productivity

As pointed out by Durie (to appear), it is important in the study of serial constructions in any language to establish to what extent the verb combinations in the language are lexicalised and how much of it is productive. Lexicalised and productive serial verbs could be considered another type of serialisation. I will discuss these in this section. The discussion in this section will buttress the view presented in section 1 that we need to recognise a hierarchy of serialisation based on the degree of semantic integration of the verbs in the serial construction. Serial verbs which code greater semantic integration are highly lexicalised. This is the view expressed in section 1.1. This conclusion supports the view expressed in Bamgbose (1986:37) that serial constructions "form a hierarchy ranging from the most closely-knit to the least closely-knit." Further justification that viewing serialisation as a hierarchical notion is legimate will be presented when I discuss negation of serial constructions in section 2.3.

1.4.1 Lexicalised Verb Combinations

As has been pointed out in the literature on serialisation, there are many languages in which certain verb combinations have become lexicalised as verb compounds. This is the case in Akan as has long been pointed out by Christaller (1875) and Balmer and Grant (1929). Some of these verb combinations are used to convey events which, in other languages, are indicated by single verbs. They are therefore normally translated into other languages with single verbs. There are some of them which are translated into other languages, for example English, with a verb and a preposition. Another feature of some of these combinations is that in some cases the meaning of the verb combinations cannot be derived from the meaning of the parts.

Such combinations must have come from productive serialisation but are now used as single lexical items. Some of these fixed combinations are illustrated in example (15).

15a.　Judas yi-i　　　　Jesus ma-e
　　　Judas take-COMPL Jesus give-COMPL
　　　Judas betrayed Jesus.

b.　Ebusuafo no　　bɔ-ɔ　　　nsusui　no　gu-i
　　family　　DEF hit-COMPL proposal DEF fall-COMPL
　　The family defeated the proposal.

As implied in the preceding paragraph, it is important that we recognise degrees of serial verbs lexicalisation. There are some verb combinations like yi...ma 'betray', gye...di 'believe', fa...kyɛ 'forgive', ka...gu 'rout', gye...to mu 'agree', ko...gu 'lose a battle', su...frɛ 'cry unto' which can be said to be at the top of the scale of the lexicalisation of verb combinations. I will refer to this type as the Full Lexicalisation type. These are the verb combinations which involve two distinct lexical entities but which express a unitary concept. For example, the concept of believing something cannot really be broken into parts, even though it is possible to argue that such combinations must have started as distinct verbs expressing distinct events which, over the course of the development of the language, have come to express purely abstract unitary concepts. So even though metaphorically a concept like 'believe' in the Akan context can be broken into parts, now speakers do not perceive such concepts as involving distinct events. On this issue, the view expressed by Balmer and Grant (1929) provides an insight into what must have been the original motivation behind such verb combinations as gye...di 'believe'. To Balmer and Grant (1929) the use of such verb combinations

> ...is due partly (a) to the tendency of the language to use vivid figurative
> expressions and partly (b) to the habit of analysing an action into its
> component parts. An example of the former is in the verb.. gye...dzi,
> which, literally, means to accept and eat. It embodies the thought that,

when a thing is accepted and eaten, trust and confidence is implied.
(1929:115)

Another reason why combinations such as these are prototypical serial verbs combinations is that synchronically, we cannot derive the meaning of the compound from the meanings of the component parts, though even here, there are degrees. For example gye...di 'believe' comes from the combination 'take' and 'eat', but means 'believe'. Of course it has to be noted that gye...di can be used with its literal meaning, 'take eat'. The extent of gye...di as a combination that is used to express abstract notion is further seen in the fact that the two words can also be used as a nominal. So in Akan the noun gyedi means 'belief'. Similarly, fa...kye 'forgive' can be used as a noun to mean 'forgiveness', ko...gu 'lose a battle' can be nominalised into nkogu 'defeat', su...fre 'call' nominalised becomes sufre 'cries'. The following is a list of examples of the lexicalisation of certain verb combinations. Some of these come from Christaller (1875:72), and Balmer and Grant (1929:118):

bɔ...gu 'defeat'	fa...kye 'forgive'
fa...fir 'forgive'	gye...to mu 'agree'
ka...gu 'defeat'	ka...gu 'rout'
ka...hwe 'taste'	ka...kyere 'tell'
sɔ...hwe 'test'	su...fre 'call on'
su...ma 'sympathise'	ye...tia 'do against'
ka...bɔ mu 'join'	tow...kyen 'throw away'
yi...ma 'betray, donate'	

A second level of serial verbs lexicalisation consists of those cases where speakers productively put certain verbs together which express unitary concepts. I will call this the Partial Lexicalisation type. Examples of such combinations are tow...bɔ

'throw (hit) at', <u>tow...wɔ</u> 'throw (pierce) at', <u>fa...gu</u> 'put in', <u>fa...hyɛ</u> 'put in',

<u>huei...gu</u> 'pour away', <u>pia...bɔ</u> 'push down'. Since these are examples of the

productive serial verbs combinations in the language, it is impossible to list all the likely

combinations the language allows. The difference between this and the first type

discussed in the last paragraph is that there is a lesser degree of semantic integration in

this type. Even though the two verbs code a unitary event, the integration of the parts of

the event is not as tight as when dealing with verb combinations like <u>gye...di</u> 'believe'.

Being less integrated implies that the verb combination is not highly lexicalised. In a

way, in these verb combinations, we can almost see the separate parts of the event. For

example, if we take <u>tow...bɔ</u> 'throw at' we can see the act of 'throwing' and that of

'hitting'.

In section 1.3.2, I mentioned that some writers have said that in combinations

such as <u>tow...bɔ</u> 'throw (hit) at' and <u>pia...bɔ</u> 'push (fall) down', the object of the first

verb is the "semantic" or "logical" subject of the second verb. The reason such an

argument is made is that there is the temptation to see the two verbs in such

combinations as expressing separate though related events. I argued, however, that

viewing such verb combinations as coding distinct though related events does not

recognise the extent to which the two verbs have become lexicalised, though not to the

same degree as <u>gye...di</u> 'believe'.

It should be noted that the Full Lexicalisation and the Partial Lexicalisation are

all examples of the Integrated Serial Construction discussed in section 1.1.

At the bottom of the hierarchy of lexicalisation are those verb combinations

found in Chaining Serial Constructions. As discussed in section 1.1, such

combinations are clear cases of the concatenation of verbs to code multi-events. The

hierarchy of serialisation reflecting the degree of lexicalisation of the verb combinations

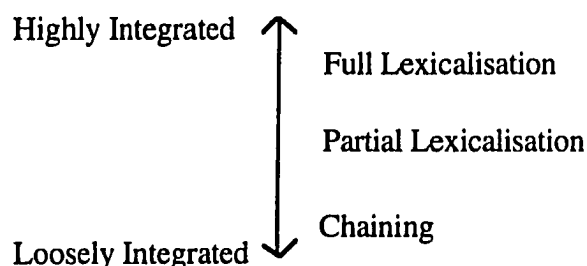can be represented as in Figure 6 below.

Highly Integrated ↑

                        Full Lexicalisation

                        Partial Lexicalisation

                        Chaining

Loosely Integrated ↓

Figure 6 A scale of serial verbs integration.

1.4.2 Productivity of Verb Combinations

      As stated in the preceding section, most of the serial constructions in Akan are the results of the productive combinations of verbs. Even though verb serialisation is a productive process in Akan there are certain constraints that apply to possible combinations. One of these is that some verbs occur in fixed places in the serial construction. For example, one of the most popular verbs used in serial constructions is the verb <u>de</u> 'take, use'. This is a defective verb (more will be said about its verbal status in section 3.3) which does not inflect for any aspect, and cannot be used in a simple clause. <u>De</u> is used mainly in affirmative sentences. In negative sentences, the suppletive form <u>fa</u> is used; <u>fa</u> is also used in all cases of the imperative. In any serial construction where <u>de/fa</u> is used, it occurs in the initial position only. The same thing applies to the verb <u>nye</u> 'accompany'. On the other hand, a verb like <u>gu</u> 'put, be in' always occurs in medial position. To demonstrate the productivity of the process of verb serialisation in Akan, I list below some of the possible combinations involving the verb <u>de/fa</u> 'take, use':

<u>fa...boa</u> 'help with'   <u>fa...bra</u> 'come with'

<u>fa...da</u> 'sleep with'   <u>fa...di</u> 'eat with'

<u>fa...dom</u> 'give to'   <u>fa...fora</u> 'mix with'

fa...hyɛ 'put on (another person)'   fa...hyia 'meet with'

fa...kɔ 'take away'   fa...ko 'fight with'

fa...kyɛ 'give away/forgive'   fa...ma 'give to'

fa...mona 'send to/through'   fa...nante 'walk with'

fa...nyin 'grow with'   fa...puei 'take out'

fa...sɛn 'hang'   fa...sie 'hide, keep'

fa...sua 'study with'   fa...suma 'hide (something)'

fa...to 'put'   fa...yɛ 'make with'

2.0 Subject, Aspect, and Negation Markings

There are certain surface markings that characterise serial constructions in Akan. In this section, I will look at how subject, aspect, and negation are marked in serial constructions. Some of the issues to be discussed will be relevant in the discussion of verbhood in section 3.

2.1 Subject Marking

The point has been made that in serial verb languages, subject marking normally occurs on the first verb only. This is the case in Akan as illustrated in the following sentences.

16a. Wɔ-de   abofra no ma-a   maame no
      3PLU SUBJ-take child DEF give-COMPL woman DEF
      They gave the child to the woman.

b.   *Wɔ-de   abofra no wɔ-ma-a   maame no
      3PLU-take child DEF 3PLU SUBJ-give-COMPL woman DEF
      They gave the child to the woman.

17a. O-huru-i   tɔ-ɔ   nsu no   mu
     3SG SUBJ-jump-COMPL fall-COMPL river DEF in
     S/he jumped into the river.

   b. *O-huru-i   ɔ-tɔ-ɔ   nsu no   mu
     3SG SUBJ-jump-COMPL 3SG SUBJ fall-COMPL river DEF in
     S/he jumped into the river.

In spite of the fact that the pattern shown in (16a) and (17a) where the subject prefix occurs only on the first verb is the regular one, the point has long been made that when the subject is the first person singular, the subject prefix can occur on the medial verbs (Christaller 1875:144, Balmer and Grant 1929:116, Schachter 1974:258, Forson 1990). This fact is illustrated by the following examples. In (18a) the two verbs in the serial construction all have the subject prefix. The same applies to (18b).

18a. <u>Me-gye</u>   Nyankopɔn Egya Tumfo,   sor   nye asaase
     1SG SUBJ-take God   Father Almighty, heaven and earth

     bɔfo   no <u>mi-dzi</u>   (The Apostles Creed)
     creator DEF 1SG SUBJ-eat
     I believe in God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth.

   b. <u>Me-sɔr-ee</u>   ntɛm   <u>me-kɔ-ɔ</u>
     1SG SUBJ-rise-COMPL quickly 1SG SUBJ-go-COMPL

     fie   (Christaller 1875:144)
     home
     I got up quickly and I went home.

Even though the observation that when the subject is 1SG the subject prefix can appear on all the verbs in the serial construction is a valid one, this is not restricted to 1SG subject only. In the Fante dialect, at least, it applies to other persons in the person paradigm. For example the following are all possible in Fante:

19a. <u>Wo</u>-e-dzidzi   <u>wo</u>-e-wie
     3PLU SUBJ-PERF-eat 3PLU SUBJ-PERF-finish
     They have finished eating.

b. Yɛ-a-kɔ   yɛ-a-ba
    1PLU SUBJ-PERF-go 1PLU SUBJ-PERF-come
    We have gone and come.

2.2 Aspect Marking

It is nothing new to say that in Akan serial constructions, all the verbs in

the series are marked by the same aspectual form as that of the initial verb. This point

has been made over and over again in the literature on Akan serialisation. The sentences

in (20) illustrate this. It should be noted that in (20c), the aspect on the second verb is

the consecutive because, as was mentioned in chapter 3, in Akan serial constructions if

the initial verbs are marked by either the progressive or FUT aspect, the subsequent

verbs are marked by the consecutive.

20a. Kofi pia-a   Araba bɔ-ɔ   famu
      Kofi push-COMPL Araba fall-COMPL ground
      Kofi pushed Araba down (to the ground).

  b. Kofi e-pia   Araba a-bɔ   famu
      Kofi PERF-push   Araba PERF-fall ground
      Kofi has pushed Araba down (to the ground).

  c. Kofi re-pia   Araba a-bɔ   famu
      Kofi PROG-push Araba CON-fall ground
      Kofi is pushing Araba down (to the ground).

The generalisation that in Akan serialisation all verbs are marked by the

same aspect has been so strongly made that it has tended to overshadow the fact that

there are also cases of mixed aspects. This point has been discussed by Dolphyne

(1987) and is illustrated in (21). In these sentences, we see that the first verb is always

marked by the perfect, and the second by the progressive. If there is a third verb, as in

(21c), it will be marked by the consecutive. Unlike Dolphyne (1987), I do not consider

the combination of the progressive and the consecutive as a case of mixed aspects. This

is because the consecutive never occurs independently; it is found whenever, in a serial

construction, the initial verb is marked by the progressive or the FUT (see chapter 3).

21a.   O-e-yi   bi   re-dzi
       3SG SUBJ-PERF-take some PROG-eat
       S/he has taken some and eating (it).

b.   ɔ-a-ba   re-bɛ-sra   hɛn
       3SG SUBJ-PERF-come PROG-come-visit 1PLU OBJ
       S/he has come to visit us.

c.   ɔ-a-hyehyɛ   nneɛma re-kɔ   gua   mu
       3SG SUBJ-PERF-pack things   PROG-go market in

       a-kɔ-tɔn   (Dolphyne 1987:76, 14a)
       CON-go-sell
       She has packed things and is going to the market to sell (them).

It is also possible to have mixed aspects involving the continuative and the

progressive, in that order, as shown in (22).

22a.   ɔ-hyɛ   dan   mu re-su   (Dolphyne 1987, 11a)
       3SG SUBJ-be in/CONT room in PROG-cry
       S/he is in the room crying.

b.   O-gyina   hɔ   re-hwɛ   hɛn
       3SG SUBJ-stand/CONT there PROG-look 1PLU OBJ
       S/he is standing there looking at us.

The aspectual combination in (22) occurs if the initial verb is a stative verb. I indicated

in chapter 3 that the continuative and the progressive are contrastive in the sense that the

latter occurs with dynamic verbs while the former is found with stative verbs.

2.3 Negation

Another surface feature of Akan serialisation is that when the sentence is

negated every verb in the construction will have the negative marker, as shown in (23b)

and (24b).

23a. Kofi pia-a   Araba bɔ-ɔ   famu
      Kofi push-COMPL Araba fall-COMPL ground
      Kofi pushed Araba down (to the ground).

  b. Kofi e-m̱-pia   Araba a-m̱-bɔ   famu
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-push Araba COMPL-NEG-fall ground
      Kofi did not push Araba down (to the ground).

24a. O-huru-i   tɔ-ɔ   nsu no‿ mu
      3SG SUBJ-jump-COMPL fall-COMPL river DEF in
      S/he jumped into the river.

  b. O-e-ṉ-huru   a-ṉ-tɔ
      3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-jump COMPL-NEG-fall

      nsu   no   mu
      river DEF in
      S/he did not jump into the river.

Even though the fact of negation marking as illustrated by (23b) and (24b) is the

norm in Akan serialisation, there is evidence to show that it is possible to have negation

marked on only the first verb. This phenomenon appears to be limited to the Fante

dialect and it is restricted to the negation of the FUT aspect. In chapter 3 (section 3.6) I

discussed the case in which in negation in some subdialects of Fante, the FUT

morpheme is replaced by the prefix kɔ, and because of this, in that context, I gloss the

morpheme as FUT. This process is transferable into serial constructions. Take, for

example, the serial construction in (25a). There are two ways we can negate this

construction, as shown in (25b) and (25c). It should be remembered that as I discussed

in chapter 3 (section 3.6), the normal negation of the FUT is the same as for the

progressive. In (25b), the negation of the initial verb follows the regular pattern. Since

in a serial construction in which the first verb is marked for the FUT (or progressive)

the medial verbs are marked for the consecutive, the negation of the medial verbs is

different from the negation of the initial verb. When the consecutive is negated the verb

is unmarked. The point to note about (25b) is that the negative morpheme appears on all

the verbs. In (25c), on the other hand, the negation involves the use of the prefix ko

and the interesting thing is that the negative marker appears on only the first verb and

the medial verbs are marked by only the consecutive aspect.

25a. Yɛ-bɔ-tɔ   bi   a-ma   hom
       1PLU SUBJ-FUT-buy some CON-give 2PLU OBJ
       We will buy some for you.

    b. Yɛ-ro-n-tɔ   bi   m-ma   hom
       1PLU SUBJ-PROG-NEG-buy some NEG-give 2PLU OBJ
       We will not buy some for you.

    c. Yɛ-n-kɔ-tɔ   bi   a-ma   hom
       1PLU SUBJ-NEG-FUT-buy some CON-give 2PLU OBJ
       We will not buy some for you.

In (25c), only the first verb is marked for negation, but semantically, the scope

of negation is over the whole clause. This means that (25b) and (25c) have the same

meaning. The conclusion we can draw from this discussion is that in Akan serial

constructions, the scope of negation covers the whole clause. This semantic

phenomenon has a structural correlate in the sense that, generally, when the serial

construction is negated the negative morpheme has to occur on each verb in the

construction, though the exception in Fante cited in (25c) should be noted. The fact that

semantically the scope of negation covers the whole clause is further evidence of the

notion of semantic integration. Since the multiple verbs in the serial construction code a

unitary event, it is only natural that negation should affect all the verbs.

There are sentences which seem to indicate that it is possible for the scope of

negation to be limited to only parts of the sentence resulting in the negative morpheme

occurring on only some of the verbs. This is illustrated in (26) and (27). In (26b) the events in (26a) are negated, and the scope is over the whole clause. The implication is that there was no climbing, neither was there plucking of oranges. In fact, Kofi was probably nowhere near the tree. In (26c) and (26d), on the other hand, the scope of negation is limited to only parts of the construction. In (26c), the fact of Kofi having climbed the tree is not denied; what is denied is the fact that he plucked some of the oranges. In (26d) the reverse is the case. Here the event of Kofi climbing the tree is what is denied, not his plucking of the oranges. The implication is that Kofi must have used some other means to reach the oranges on the tree. Similar observations can be made about (27). In (27b) each verb in the serial construction is negated. The scope of negation is, therefore, over the whole clause. This sentence denies the assertion in (27a) that Kofi pushed Esi down. With the scope of negation being over the whole clause, the integrity of the event as a unitary one is maintained. However, in (27c) and (27d), we find that it is possible to negate one verb but not the other.

26a.　Kofi fow-w　　　　dua no　tsew-w　　　　ekutu　no　bi
　　　Kofi climb-COMPL tree DEF pluck-COMPL orange DEF some
　　　Kofi climbed the tree and plucked some of the oranges.

　b.　Kofi a-m̲-fow　　　　　dua　no　a-n̲-tsew　　　　　ekutu
　　　Kofi COMPL-NEG-climb tree DEF COMPL-NEG-pluck orange

　　　no　bi
　　　DEF some
　　　Kofi did not climb the tree and (did not) pluck some of the oranges.

　c.　Kofi fow-w　　　　dua no　nanso ɔ-a-n̲-tsew
　　　Kofi climb-COMPL tree DEF but　3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-pluck

　　　ekutu　no　bi
　　　orange DEF some
　　　Kofi climbed the tree but he did not pluck some of the oranges.

d.   Kofi a-m̱-fow   dua no   nanso ɔ-tsew-w
       Kofi COMPL-NEG-climb tree DEF but   3SG SUBJ-pluck-COMPL

       ekutu no bi
       orange DEF some
       Kofi did not climb the tree but he plucked some of the oranges.

27a. Kofi pia-a   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
       Kofi push-COMPL Esi fall-COMPL ground
       Kofi pushed Esi down (to the ground).

   b.   Kofi e-m̱-pia   Esi a-m̱-bɔ   famu
       Kofi COMPL-NEG-push Esi COMPL-NEG-fall ground
       Kofi did not push Esi down (to the ground).

   c.   Kofi pia-a   Esi nanso ɔ-a-m̱-bɔ   famu
       Kofi push-COMPL Esi but   3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-fall ground
       Kofi pushed Esi but she did not fall down (to the ground).

   d.   Kofi e-m̱-pia   Esi nanso ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
       Kofi COMPL-NEG-push Esi but   3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground
       Kofi did not push Esi but she fell down (to the ground).

On the surface, it is tempting to consider (26c, 26d) and (27c, 27d) as possible negations of (26a) and (27a), respectively. But this is not the case. Unlike the affirmative serial constructions in (26a) and (27a), the sentences in (26c, 26d) and (27c, 27d) occur with a conjunction, nanso 'but'. This means that these are bi-clausal sentences, and not serial constructions. For that reason we cannot consider (26c, 26d) and (27c, 27d) as the negative forms of (26a) and (27a), respectively. The only way (26a) and (27a) can be negated while maintaining the integrity of the serial construction is as has been done in (26b) and (27b).

In trying to negate only parts of a serial construction, we are assuming that an event coded by such a construction is not tightly integrated. But as the examples cited have shown, we cannot successfully negate one part of a serial construction without having to resort to the strategy of a complex sentence. So the syntactic process of negation helps to strengthen the perspective taken in this study, that a serial

construction is the syntactic manifestation of events that are semantically integrated into a unitary event.

3.0 Verbal Status of Serial Verbs

One of the issues which keeps coming up in the study of serial constructions in different languages is the extent to which the process of grammaticalisation has affected such verbs. This issue has been dealt with in various studies on Akan including Riis (1854), Christaller (1875), Balmer and Grant (1929), Ansre (1966), Boadi (1968), Lord (1973, 1982, 1989, 1993), Osam (1994). In the works of Riis, Christaller, and Lord, referred to in the preceding sentence, the tendency has always been to consider certain verbs commonly used in serial constructions as having been reanalysed as prepositions. The purpose of this section is to show that a careful examination of the data does not support this view. In my opinion there is only one verb in Akan that can be said to have developed in such a way as to have become a preposition. An earlier version of the material in this section was published as Osam (1994).

In order to appreciate the fact that those verbs in serial constructions which others have the tendency to refer to as prepositions are not really so, we need an appropriate framework of categorisation. In this respect, the prototype framework of categorisation proves very relevant. I agree with DeLancey (1987) that

> ... in a prototype framework... the category is defined by a bundle of differentially-weighted features, no single one of which is criterial. The more of the relevant features that occur in particular instances, the better an instance it is of the category, but an instance can lack many of the defining features and still count as an exemplar of the category. (1987:58)

With reference to Akan verbs, the relevant criteria for establishing verbhood include the ability to take aspect and negation. We also expect a morpheme that is a verb to have preverbal and postverbal arguments that we can refer to as subject and direct object,

respectively. In the spirit of the prototype framework, a morpheme can have either all of these properties or only some of them. The more of the properties the morpheme has, the higher would be its position on the scale of verbhood. We would refer to such morphemes as good examples of the verb category. On the other hand, a morpheme that has only some (even one) of these features would be treated as a 'bad example' of the category, verb.

This view of category structure implies that words, due to the process of grammaticalisation, do shift from one category to another. The reason why in the synchronic state of Akan some morphemes are borderline verbs is because the shift from one category to another is not sudden but gradual. This point is recognised by Lord (1989) as shown in the statement below.

> The distinction between notional [lexical] and relational [grammatical] uses of the same verb is not a tidy one; some examples seem to fall somewhere between the two endpoint classification of verb and verbal preposition. But this is the synchronic situation we would expect to find as individual lexical items are subjected to the gradual historical process of change. (1989:24-25)

In spite of this recognition, one finds in the works of Lord the dilemma of where in the continuum of verb-preposition certain items are located.

I will first discuss some of the verbs which Lord (1989, 1993) analyses as having become locative prepositions. This will be followed by a discussion in section 3.2 of the verbs which are considered as having become case markers, marking the Benefactive and Recipient case roles. In section 3.3 I will discuss the verbal status of the morpheme de 'take, use'. In each of these sections I will first give the arguments and the supporting data that Lord uses in arguing for the "prepositional functions" of certain verbs used in serial constructions. Finally, in section 3.4, I will look at the only verb in Akan which, in the context of serialisation, can be said to have become a preposition.

3.1 Verbs or Locative Prepositions?

In Lord (1989, 1993), following a tradition that goes back to Riis (1854),

Christaller (1875), and Lord (1973), the following verbs, when used in serial

constructions are treated as having become "locative preposition" (Lord 1993:9): fi 'be

from, leave', kɔ 'go', ba 'come', tɔ 'fall', gu 'put, lie', twa 'cross'. I will take some of

these verbs and provide the arguments which have been made regarding their

"prepositional functions." After that I will show that in serial constructions these verbs

have verbal properties, and so as a result it is inappropriate to consider them as

prepositions.

The first verb to be considered is fi which in Lord (1989) is glossed as 'be

from'. Citing (28a) and (28b) from Riis (1854), Lord (1989:58) says that in (28a) fi

occurs as a verb but in (28b) it is a preposition. In the data to be cited from Lord,

originally from Riis (1854) and Christaller (1875), I will change some of the spellings

in order to make the sentences readable to modern Akan readers. In commenting on the

sentence in (28b), Lord (1989:59) asserts that "...the meaning of fi has faded from 'be

from' to 'from' and with another verb preceding it in this serial-like configuration, it

does not inflect."

(Lord 1989:20, 1993:9, originally Riis 1854:91)
28a. ɔhene no   fi   Akwam
      chief the be-from   Akwam
      The chief is from Akwam

(Lord 1989:20. 1993:9, originally Riis 1854:93)
  b. Oyi   hɔn   fi   dompem   na   odi
      he-take-off marrow from   bone-in and he-eat
      He took the marrow out of the bone and ate it.

The first problem with this view lies in the meaning assigned to the verb fi. In my

understanding, the basic meaning of this verb is 'leave'. Speakers use it regularly to

indicate departure or movement. Using it to mark place of origin as (28a) is definitely

not its most basic meaning. Secondly, even though Riis (1854) did an excellent work in

being one of the first people to have provided a detailed description of Akan, not

everything he recorded was accurate. It should be noted that in (28a), even though the

sentence is in the completive aspect, the verb fi does not occur with the completive

suffix. In fact, none of the other verbs in this sentence (yi 'take' and di 'eat') occurs

with aspect marking. This, definitely, is not how the language is spoken. One could

argue that at the time Riis wrote his grammar these verbs, in such a context, did not

occur with the completive aspect. This is a curious position to take. This is because in

the standard rendition of (28b) speakers will morphologically mark all the verbs with

the completive aspect, as shown in (29).

29. O-yi-i   hɔn   (no) fi-i   dompe-m na
     3SG SUBJ-take-COMPL marrow DEF leave-COMPL bone-in   CONJ

     o-di-i
     3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL
     He took the marrow out of the bone and ate it.

There are two ways we can explain what is going on here. One way is to argue

that around the period Riis did his work, verbs in such constructions occurred without

aspectual marking due to the loss of the morphology accompanying the process of

grammaticalisation. Modern speakers, however, halted the process of morphological

extinction and succeeded in restoring the morphology on the verbs. Obviously, this

explanation is counter to what is known about grammaticalisation. We would rather

expect these verbs to lose their morphology and not regain it, especially not within a

period of less than one hundred and fifty years.

The second explanation of the disparity in the aspectual marking between then

and now is that it is the result of incorrect recording. Because the completive aspect is a

suffix that is of the same form as the final vowel (or consonant in some cases) of the verb and given the fact that sometimes the two vowels are said with the same tone, it is understandable why it is possible for a non-native speaker (as Riis was) to miss extra vowels at the end of verbs used to report completed events. The issue of incorrect recording is a problem that affects the kinds of conclusions Lord makes, and this will be referred to regularly in the course of this discussion.

Contrary to Lord's assertion that when another verb precedes fi in a serial construction it does not inflect, speakers do inflect this verb when it occurs as a medial verb in a serial construction, as shown in (30). In (30) the verb fi is used in a simple sentence (30a) as well as in serialisation (30b-e). In the serial constructions it has been inflected for the completive and perfect aspects and for negation. I should point out that (30e) is taken from a text, and the relevant portion of the sentence has been underlined.

In (30a) the verb fi is used as the main verb of the sentence where it takes the subject prefix as well as an aspect marker. As the sentences clearly demonstrate, the morpheme fi 'leave, be from' exhibits the morphology of verbs. Semantically, the meaning of fi as used in (30a) is the same as in (30b-e). In (30a) fi has the meaning 'leave' which involves a trajectory. So the subject of (30a) moved from one spot to another. Similarly, in (30b), for example, the use of fi implies that there was a physical movement involved in the act of relocating the patient.

fi   'leave, be from'

30a.   O-fi-i   Mankesim   ndeda
         3SG SUBJ-leave-COMPL   Mankesim   yesterday
         S/he left Mankesim yesterday.

   b.   Me-yi-i   sika   no   fi-i   famu
         1SG SUBJ-take-COMPL   money   DEF   leave-COMPL   ground
         I took the money from the ground.

c.   Me-e-yi   sika   no e-fi   famu
1SG SUBJ-PERF-take money DEF PERF-leave ground
I have taken the money from the ground.

d.   Me-e-n-yi   sika   no e-m-fi   famu
1SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-take money DEF COMPL-NEG-leave ground
I did not take the money from the ground.

e.   Damfo a   ɔ-bɛ-ka-a   wɔn   ho   no
friend REL 3SG SUBJ-come-add-COMPL 3PLU POSS self DEF REL

nso de   nkɔmmɔmim bi   gye-e   Anidaso ne   Yaw Addo
also use conversation   INDEF take-COMPL Anidaso CONJ Yaw Addo

de twe-e   wɔn   adwene fi-i   damfo yi
use 3SG-pull-COMPL 3PLU POSS mind   leave-COMPL friend this

so koraa   (Adi 1973:27)
on completely
The person who came and joined them engaged Anidaso and Yaw Addo in a
conversation to detract their attention from the other person.

The next verb is kɔ 'go'. Lord (1989) cites the following data (31) from Riis

(1854). It should be remembered that the spelling has been modified. Her comments on

these sentences (Lord 1989:28) are that in (31a) kɔ means 'go' as a verb but in (31b) it

means 'towards' as a preposition. She refers to the sentence cited here as (31c) as a

serial construction but does not make the same judgment regarding (31b). This is how

she looks at the sentences in (31b) and (31c). Note that the example numbers in this

quotation refer to what I have cited above as example (31):

> Included in the meaning of [31c] are 'they ran a race' and 'they went to
> Adami'. But the racing and the going to Adami are not merely
> successive events; they are coherent actions, in which the going to
> Adami is intended by the racing...For [31b] a successive-clause
> paraphrase is less readily available; assigning a 'go' translation to kɔ is
> difficult here; semantically, the 'behind his back' phrase qualifies the act
> of their tying of his hands. (1989:29)

(Lord 1989:21, originally Riis 1854:91)
31a. ɔ-a-kɔ   krum
      he-PERF-go   town-in
      He has gone into town.

(Lord 1989:21, originally Riis 1854:92)
  b. Wɔkyekyere   n'ensa   kɔ   n'ekyi
      they-tie-together his-hands towards his back
      They tied his hands behind his back (they tied his hands go his back).

(Lord 1989:29, originally Riis 1854:92)
  c. Wo-si   kanne   tutu mirika kɔ Adami-m
      they-stand competition run   race   go Adami-in
      They ran a race to Adami.

This is how I react to the data cited by Lord and the comments she makes on the data.

First, if current speakers were asked to produce the sentences in (31b) and (31c), all the

verbs in each sentence would have the completive aspectual marker, as shown in (32a)

and (32b).

32a. Wɔ-kyekyere-e ne   nsa   kɔ-ɔ   n'ekyi
      3PLU SUBJ-tie 3SG POSS hand go-COMPL 3SG POSS-back
      They tied his hands behind his back.

  b. Wo-si-i   kanne   tutu-u   mirika
      3PLU SUBJ-stand-COMPL competition run-COMPL race

      kɔ-ɔ Adami
      go-COMPL Adami
      They ran a race to Adami.

I should also point out that when <u>kɔ</u> is used as a medial verb in a serial construction, it

can be marked for other aspects and negation (33).

33a. Kofi   nantsew-ee   kɔ-ɔ   Mankesim
      Kofi   walk-COMPL   go-COMPL   Mankesim
      Kofi walked to Mankesim.

  b. Kofi   a-nantsew   a-kɔ   Mankesim
      Kofi   PERF-walk PERF-go   Mankesim
      Kofi has walked to Mankesim

.. c.   Kofi   a-n-nantsew   a-n-kɔ   Mankesim
      Kofi   COMPL-NEG-walk COMPL-NEG-go Mankesim
      Kofi did not walk to Mankesim.

The disparity between the data Lord relies on and the versions I have provided goes back to the problem of incorrect recording mentioned earlier. Her problem is that she relies on data that was not perfectly recorded to make her conclusions. The second reaction has to do with the semantics of the verb kɔ 'go'. From the quotation given above, Lord tries to draw a semantic distinction between kɔ as used in (31b) and in (31c). My understanding of what she is saying is that in (31c) the verb is used to mean that the participants in the race went to Adami as "intended by the racing." So here there is actual going. On the other hand, in (31b), the phrase kɔ n'ekyi 'behind his back' only "qualifies" the process of tying his hands with kɔ indicating "direction towards a place." (Lord 1989:19) In short, for Lord, whereas in (31c) kɔ is a verb meaning 'go', in (31b) it is a preposition marking direction.

In my view, there is no semantic difference between kɔ as used in (31b) and that used in (31c). The semantics of this verb involves a trajectory, a movement from one location to another. This movement can be physical or metaphorical as when we use the verb 'go' to describe the rise in prices in English. There are no distance restrictions on the movement of an entity described by the verb kɔ. In other words, we do not restrict the movement indicated by the verb kɔ to have to meet certain measurement requirements, like moving from one town to another over a stretch of distance. So long as we can identify an original location (source) and a new location (endpoint) with a path between the two locations, we can describe that event with kɔ, irrespective of the length of the path. In my understanding, then, in (31b) just as in (31c), the hands were moved from one location (the normal position being by the sides of the body) to another location -- the back of the body. In both (31b) and (31c) we can

identify a source, a path, and an endpoint. Semantically, therefore, there is no difference between k<u>ɔ</u> in (31c) and k<u>ɔ</u> in (31b).

When we examine Lord's view closely, we find the reason behind the forced semantic distinction she draws between the two uses of k<u>ɔ</u>. In the quotation cited from her she says, with reference to the use of k<u>ɔ</u> in (31b), that "assigning a 'go' *translation* to k<u>ɔ</u> is difficult here." The emphasis on 'translation' is mine. This is the crux of her confusion. Instead of analysing the language as it is, she bases her analysis on the language used to do the analysis -- in this case English. So her conclusions are based on how these serial verbs are translated into English. The thinking here is that if these forms in Akan are translated into English with prepositions, they must be prepositions in Akan. Such a conclusion does not take into consideration the verb morphology of these verbs and their semantic content.

The comments made about f<u>ɪ</u> 'leave, be from' and k<u>ɔ</u> 'go' equally apply to b<u>a</u> 'come'. In commenting on (34) which Lord (1989) cites from Riis (1854), she refers to b<u>a</u> 'come' in (34a) as a verb of motion, but describes its use in (34b) as a "verbal preposition" expressing direction (1989:23).

(Lord 1989:21, originally Riis 1854:91, 92)
34a. ɔbarima bi   a-ba   ha
      man   a   PERF-come here
      A man has come here

   b. ɔ-dan   nehu   ba   hai
      he-turns his-body towards here
      He turns this way.

Just like k<u>ɔ</u> 'go' discussed above, b<u>a</u> 'come' in Lord's analysis, suffers from the same morphological and semantic problems discussed above for k<u>ɔ</u> 'go'. The original sentence in (34b) is in the present tense as we can tell from the English translation. But in sentence (35a) I have given the form of the sentence in (34b) as would be said by

native speakers, where the verbs are marked for the completive aspect. In (35b-d) I

have shown the morphological possibilities of ba as a medial verb in serialisation. The

semantics of ba is similar to that of kɔ discussed earlier, the main difference being point

of view. The point here is that ba as used in (34b) and in (35a-d) has the same meaning

as used in simple sentences. For these morphological and semantic reasons the

characterisation of ba in the context of serialisation as a "verbal preposition" is

inappropriate.

35a. ɔ-dan-n   ne-ho   ba-a   ha
       3SG SUBJ-turn-COMPL 3SG POSS-self come-COMPL here
       He turned this way.

    b.   Wo-yi-i   Kofi   ba-a   fie
         3PLU SUBJ-take-COMPL Kofi   come-COMPL home
         Kofi was removed/transferred home.

    c.   Wo-e-yi   Kofi a-ba   fie
         3PLU SUBJ-PERF-take Kofi PERF-come home
         Kofi has been removed/transferred home.

    d.   Wo-e-n-yi   Kofi a-m-ba   fie
         3PLU SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-take Kofi COMPL-NEG-come home
         They did not remove/transfer Kofi home.

The verbs tɔ 'fall' (36) and gu 'put, be in' (37) are subject to the same analysis as I

have done for the previous verbs.

tɔ   'fall'

36a. Kofi tɔ-ɔ   nsu   no   mu
       Kofi fall-COMPL water DEF in
       Kofi fell into the water

    b.   Kofi huruw-ii   tɔ-ɔ   nsu   no   mu
         Kofi jump-COMPL fall-COMPL water DEF   in
         Kofi jumped into the water

    c.   Kofi e-huruw   a-tɔ   nsu   no   mu
         Kofi PERF-jump PERF-fall water DEF in
         Kofi has jumped into the water.

d. Kofi e-n-huruw a-n-tɔ nsu no mu
Kofi COMPL-NEG-jump COMPL-NEG-fall water DEF in
Kofi did not jump into the water.

37a. Ekutu no gu-u adaka no mu ma adze kyee
orange DEF be in-COMPL box the in till day broke
The oranges were in the box till morning.

b. Kofi yiyi-i ekutu no gu-u adaka no mu
Kofi take-COMPL oranges DEF put-COMPL box DEF in
Kofi put the oranges in the box.

c. Kofi e-yiyi ekutu no e-gu adaka no mu
Kofi PERF-take oranges DEF PERF-put box DEF in
Kofi has put the oranges in the box.

d. Kofi e-n-yiyi ekutu no e-n-gu adaka
Kofi COMPL-NEG-take oranges DEF COMPL-NEG-put box

no mu
DEF in
Kofi did not put the oranges in the box.

3.2 Verb or Benefactive/Recipient Case Marker?

In the literature on serialisation, most people (following the work of Lord) have developed the tendency of treating the verb ma 'give' when used in serial constructions as a "case marker". I will outline below the argument made in support of this view. What I will say below is based on the work of Lord (1989, 1993).

In Lord (1989, 1993), data is again brought from Riis (1854) to show that the verb ma 'give', "has different semantic properties" when used in simple clauses and in serial constructions. Her analysis is based on sentences like (38).

(Lord 1989:89, originally Riis 1854:86)
38a. ɔ-ma me sekan
he-give me knife
He gave me a knife.

(Lord 1989:23, originally Riis 1854:63)
   b.   M-u-n-su   ma-m
       you-POT-NEG-weep for-me
       Do not weep for me.

This is how she views the use of the verb ma in (38a) as against (38b). It must be

remembered that the example numbers in the quotation refer to sentences in (38) above:

> ...in [38b] it is a preposition and as such it takes no prefixes. Ma 'give'
> in [38a] has different semantic properties from ma 'for' in [38b]. But
> we can find the historical pathway from 'give' to 'for' in a series of
> similar sentences in which ma occurs with senses establishing
> something of a continuum between 'give' and 'for'. (1989:27)

She illustrates what she considers "a continuum between 'give' and 'for'" by citing the

following examples.

(Lord 1989:27-28, originally Riis 1854:87)
39a.   Ogugu   aburow   ma   nkokɔ
         he-pour corn   give fowls
         He pours corn out for the fowls.

   b.   ɔ-yε adwuma ma   no
       he-do work   give him
       He works for him.

   c.   O-su   ma ne nua
       he-weep for his brother
       He weeps for his brother.

   d.   O-yi   me bɔdwese ma-m
       he-remove my beard   for-me
       He shaves my beard for me.

This is Lord's (1989) discussion of these examples; again the example references in the

quotation refer to the examples cited above:

> In [39a] ma can be translated as meaning literally 'give', as in 'He pours
> corn out and gives it to the fowls.' Corn is concrete and quite give-able.
> In [39b] the understood object 'work', is abstract, but we can stretch the
> literal meaning of 'give' to provide a rough paraphrase like 'He does

work and gives it to him.' In [39a] and [39b] the first verbs have noun
objects ('corn' and 'work') but in [39c] the first verb su 'weep' has no
noun object, and a literal interpretation of ma as 'give' is more difficult,
we can interpret [39c] as meaning that the act of his weeping is
somehow "given" to his brother, but this strains the sense of [39c].
Finally, in [39d], a literal 'give' interpretation of ma is clearly incorrect:
the sentence does not mean 'He shaves my beard and gives it to me.'
The function of ma here is to mark the pronoun 'me' in a Benefactive
case relationship to the preceding action. (1989:28)

This quotation reveals that for Lord, when the entity that is "given" or transferred from

one source to another is concrete, ma "can be translated as meaning literally 'give'". In

some context (as in the case of example 39b), however, even if the entity transferred is

abstract (as in the case of 'work' in 39b), "we can stretch the literal meaning of 'give'"

to imply that something was given, even though what was given is abstract. The

question that readily comes to mind is this; how come that in (39b) it is possible to

"stretch the literal meaning" of ma to accommodate 'work' but in (39c) this "stretching"

is not possible? In both cases are we not dealing with entities with similar properties?

How different is "doing work" from "shaving my beard"? And so if in (39c) ma marks

me as a Benefactive, does it not similarly mark no in (39b)?

The issue Lord grapples with here has to do with the semantic expansion in the

meaning of ma, specifically the metaphorical use of the verb. This is a different issue

from the categorial status of ma in serial constructions. I agree with her that ma can be

used where the entity transferred is either concrete or abstract. What this process

demonstrates is the expansion in the semantics of the verb ma. But it does not imply

that the verb ma has developed the functions of "abstract case-marking" or that "it is a

preposition."

I should point out that when Lord says that ma "conveys the abstract case-

marking meaning" she does not mean it in the sense that the notion of case assignment

is treated in the Government and Binding Theory. In the GB framework, all verbs

assign case to their arguments. It means that every verb determines the case role status of its arguments. This is different from saying that a morpheme functions to mark a certain case. Lord's use of the term case marking has to do more with, for example, saying that in an ergative-absolutive language there are affixes used to mark the case of the NPs in the sentence.

The weakness in Lord's argument that ma is a "preposition introducing Recipient and/or Benefactive noun phrases" (Lord 1989:89) comes out in a statement she makes regarding the verbal morphology of ma. She says that

> Even when it conveys the abstract case-marking meaning, however, ma remains fully verbal in form; it takes the full range of tense-aspect markers...(1989:90, 1993:32)

I find it difficult to reconcile the idea that ma is a "preposition" or a "case marker" with the fact that it is also at the same time "fully verbal in form." Even though like Lord, I subscribe to the view that we need to have a continuum when dealing with the shift of words from one category to another as a result of grammaticalisation, I disagree with her as to where in the continuum we place words like ma. Morphologically, there is no question that ma retains verbal properties, as illustrated in (40). Lord, based on her exposition, seems to place ma on the borderline between verb and preposition. This comes out in what she says about this morpheme -- that it is a morpheme which is "fully verbal in form" but functions as a "preposition introducing Recipient and/or Benefactive noun phrases." But ma is a verb because it has full verbal properties. Its internal argument may be Benefactive or Recipient (just like English 'give') but that does not imply that it functions as a preposition. Ma is, therefore, higher up on the scale of verbhood than Lord considers it to be.

40a.   Araba   yɛ-ɛ   asɔr   ma-a   Kofi
             Araba   make-COMPL   prayer   give-COMPL Kofi
             Araba prayed for Kofi.

   b.   Arab   a-yɛ   asɔr   a-ma   Kofi
             Araba   PERF-make   prayer   PERF-give   Kofi
             Araba has prayed for Kofi.

   c.   Araba a-n-yɛ   asɔr   a-m-ma   Kofi
             Araba   COMPL-NEG-make prayer   COMPL-NEG-give   Kofi
             Araba did not prayed for Kofi.

3.3 The Case of De

Of all the verbs that are regularly used in Akan serial constructions, the one

which has been talked about more in the literature is the morpheme de 'take, use'. As I

pointed out in chapter 5 (section 3.1.3), in the Fante dialect this morpheme is realised

as dze. But I will use the form de in all the discussions. In chapter 5 I discussed the use

of serial constructions involving de, what I called de serialisation, to code definite

Theme NPs in the case of those di-transitive verbs which do not permit such NPs in the

regular di-transitive constructions. In section 1.4.2 of this chapter, I gave a

characterisation of this verb. In this section, I will provide a full description of this

morpheme with a view to establishing its verbal status.

As has been mentioned in numerous places in the literature on Akan

serialisation, de 'take, use' can occur only in serial constructions, never in a simple

sentence as the only verb, as shown in (41) and (42).

41a.   Kofi   de   ankaa   no   ba-e
          Kofi   take   orange   DEF   come-COMPL
          Kofi brought the orange.

   b.   *Kofi   de   ankaa   no
          Kofi   take   orange   DEF
          Kofi took the orange.

42a.   Kofi de   sekan   no   twa-a   dua no
        Kofi use knife   DEF cut-COMPL tree DEF
        Kofi cut the tree with the knife/Kofi used the knife to cut the tree.

   b.   *Kofi de   sekan   no
        Kofi use knife   DEF
        Kofi used the knife.

Secondly, it is found in affirmative sentences only, as shown in (43a) and (43b) which

negate (41a) and (42a) respectively. There is evidence, however, to show that it does

occur in negative sentences as illustrated in (43c). This is part of sentence (28) in

Appendix C. It should be noted that when de is negated, the medial verb does not take

the negative marker. The marking of negation on de is definitely not a very widespread

process in the language. It is a process which is more likely to be found in the speech

of older speakers.

43a.   *Kofi a-n-de   ankaa no a-m-ba
   .   Kofi COMPL-NEG-take orange DEF COMPL-NEG-come
      Kofi did not bring the orange.

  b.   *Kofi a-n-de   sekan no twa-a   dua no
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-use knife   DEF cut-COMPL tree DEF
      Kofi did not use the knife to cut the tree.

  c.   Nokwar, ekuadwuma wɔ-n-dze   nsa kor yɛ
      truly   farm work 3PLU-NEG-use hand one do
      Honestly, farmwork cannot be done single handedly

An important characteristic of de is that it does not take any aspectual marking, as

shown (44).

44a.   *Kofi de-e   ankaa no ba-e
      Kofi take-COMPL orange DEF come-COMPL
      Kofi brought the orange.

  b.   *Kofi bɛ-de   ankaa no a-ba
      Kofi FUT-take orange DEF CON-come
      Kofi will bring the orange.

c. *Kofi a-de   ankaa   no   a-ba
    Kofi PERF-take orange DEF CON-come
    Kofi has brought the orange.

d. *Kofi re-de   ankaa   no   a-ba
    Kofi PROG-take orange DEF CON-come
    Kofi is bringing the orange.

However, we can tell the aspect of de from the aspect marking on the medial verb as in

(45), for example.

45a. Kofi de   sekan no   twa-a   dua   no
      Kofi take knife   DEF cut-COMPL tree DEF
      Kofi cut the tree with the knife.

b. Kofi de   sekan no   be-twa   dua   no
    Kofi take knife   DEF FUT-cut tree DEF
    Kofi will cut the tree with the knife.

c. Kofi de   sekan no   e-twa   dua   no
    Kofi take knife   DEF PERF-cut tree DEF
    Kofi has cut the tree with the knife.

The morpheme de cannot be used in the imperative either (46).

46a. *De   ankaa   no   bra
      take/IMP orange DEF come/IMP
      Bring the orange.

b. *De   sekan no   twa   dua   no
    use/IMP knife   DEF cut/IMP tree DEF
    Cut the tree with the knife/Use the knife to cut the tree.

In negative and imperative constructions, de is replaced by the verb fa 'take, use'. So

the correct way to present the negative of (41a) and (42a) is as shown in (47a) and

(47b) respectively. Similarly, the correct way to present (46) is (48).

47a. Kofi a-m-fa   ankaa   no   a-m-ba
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-take orange DEF COMPL-NEG-come
      Kofi did not bring the orange.

b.   Kofi a-m-fa   sekan no e-n-twa   dua no
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-use knife   DEF COMPL-NEG-cut tree DEF
      Kofi did not cut the tree with the knife/Kofi did not used the knife to
      cut the tree.

48a. Fa   ankaa no bra
      take/IMP orange DEF come/IMP
      Bring the orange.

b.   Fa   sekan no twa   dua no
      use/IMP knife DEF cut/IMP tree DEF
      Cut the tree with the knife/Use the knife to cut the tree.

Regarding the grammatical relations of the post-verbal NPs of _de_, it was shown in chapter 5 (section 3.3) that such NPs are direct objects. In terms of semantic roles, however, the post-verbal NPs of _de_ have different roles. For example, in (49a) the internal argument of _de_ is Theme, in (49b) it is an Instrument; in (49c) it is Manner.

49a. Kofi de   ankaa no   to-o   pon no so
      Kofi take orange DEF put-COMPL table DEF on
      Kofi put the orange on the table

b.   Kofi de   sekan no   twa-a   dua   no
      Kofi take knife   DEF cut-COMPL tree   DEF
      Kofi cut the tree with the knife.

c.   Kofi de   abotare yɛ-ɛ   edwuma no
      Kofi take patience do-COMPL work   DEF
      Kofi did the work patiently

Throughout the literature on Akan serialisation, the problem of the category status of _de_ has featured prominently (Riis 1854, Christaller 1875, Balmer and Grant 1929, Stewart 1963, Boadi 1968, Lord 1989, 1993). The views about the categorial status of _de_ includes it being a verb, an auxiliary, a prepositional case marker, a carrier of direct object. I take the view that _de_ is a defective verb which, having lost most of its verb morphology, is currently very low on the scale of verbhood, even though it is not certain whether it has completely shifted from the category of verb into that of preposition.

As shown above, _de_ does not possess most of the features we expect of verbs. It does not inflect for aspect, is generally not negated, and cannot be used in imperatives. Nevertheless there are signs that _de_ has not completely given up all its verbal features. First, _de_ imposes the same restrictions on its pre- and post-verbal NPs as any other verb. From the discussion in chapter 5, it has been established that in Akan, an NP that immediately precedes the verb is the subject. We know it is the subject because we can replace it with the subject prefix. Compare (50) and (51). In (50a) we know the subject is Kofi. So in (50b) we can replaced that NP with the subject prefix. Similarly in (51a) where the _de_ is used we know that the subject is Kofi and so in (51b) we can replace the subject NP with the subject prefix, just like we did for (50b). So in terms of its interaction with subject NPs, _de_ displays a feature we associate with verbs.

50a.   Kofi   frɛ-ɛ   abofra no
        Kofi   call-COMPL child DEF
        Kofi called the child.

  b.   ɔ-frɛ-ɛ   abofra no
        3SG SUBJ-call-COMPL child DEF
        He called the child.

51a.   Kofi de   abofra no   ma-a   maame no
        Kofi take child   DEF give-COMPL woman DEF
        Kofi gave the child to the woman.

  b.   ɔ-de   abofra no   ma-a   maame no
        3SG SUBJ-take child   DEF give-COMPL woman DEF
        He gave the child to the woman.

There is another feature _de_ shares with verbs. As has been shown in chapter 2, the phonological process of vowel harmony comes into play to determine the form of the vowel of subject prefixes. For all the dialects of Akan, the form of the vowel of the subject prefix will be determined by the nature of the vowel of the verb stem. If the

vowel of the verb stem is positively defined for the Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) feature, the vowel of the subject prefix will also be +ATR. If the vowel of the verb is -ATR, the vowel of the subject prefix will also be -ATR. This means that, in the 3SG subject prefix, for example, we have a choice between o̱- (+ATR) and ɔ̱- (-ATR). De̱ has a -ATR vowel. This is why in all instances (see 51b for example) where de̱ is preceded by a subject prefix the vowel of the prefix is always -ATR.

De̱ also imposes the same restrictions on its postverbal NPs like verbs do. I have already shown in chapter 5 that the postverbal NPs of de̱ are direct objects and so I will not repeat those arguments here.

Another reason why de̱ can be said to have some verbal features has to do with how it interacts with negation. Generally, de̱ cannot take the negative morpheme, though in the speech of some people, especially older speakers, that is possible. The general negation pattern for de̱ is by using a suppletive form, fa̱ (47b). Being able to be negated, even if we have to use a different word, demonstrates that it shares something with the items in the verb category. It is for these reasons that de̱ should be considered a defective verb which has not yet made a category shift.

3.4 The Lone Preposition

There is only one morpheme in Akan that can be said to have moved completely from the category of verb into that of preposition. This is the morpheme wɔ̱ which can be translated as 'in'. This morpheme is clearly a preposition when it occurs in medial position. In simple sentences it is used as an existential verb with a locative meaning -- 'be at/in', or with a possessive meaning -- 'have'. It is used in affirmative sentences only. In negation it is replaced by the suppletive form nni̱ (or nnyi̱ in Fante) as (52b)

and (53b) show. In simple sentences <u>wɔ</u> be in/at' does not inflect for any aspect.

though in the speech of some speakers it can be marked for FUT (54a and 54b).

52a. ɔ-wɔ   K̊umasi
      3SG SUBJ-be in   Kumasi
      S/he is in Kumasi.

  b. O-n-ni   Kumasi
      3SG SUBJ-NEG-be in   Kumasi
      S/he is not in Kumasi.

53a. Yɛ-wɔ   sika
      1PLU SUBJ-have   money
      We have money.

  b. Ye-n-ni   sika
      1PLU-NEG-have   money
      We don't have money.

Even though <u>wɔ</u> when used in a simple sentence does not inflect for aspect,

there have been instances where some speakers have used it with the FUT aspect.

Sentences (54a) and (54b) were uttered by two different speakers. (54a) was said by a

speaker I was talking with about a certain product being available in a grocery shop. I

was concerned that if we did not buy some early the shop may run out of stock. In

response, she uttered (54a). Sentence (54b) was said by a friend in a telephone

conversation. She was planning to visit and wanted to know if we would be home in

the evening.

54a. ɔ-yɛ   fofor ntsi bi   <u>bɔ-wɔ</u>   hɔ
      3SG SUBJ-be   new   so   some FUT-be   there
      It is a new batch so they would have some (some will be there).

  b. Hom   <u>bɔ-wɔ</u> hɔ   ewimbir yi?
      2PLU SUBJ FUT-be   there evening this
      Will you be home this evening?

The status of w̲ɔ̲ as a preposition becomes evident in a serial construction, as in

(55), where it is preceded by another verb. In this context it cannot inflect for aspect.

More interestingly, it cannot be negated, not even by using the suppletive form used in

negating it when it occurs as verb in a simple sentence. In order to negate (55a), the

negative morpheme will occur on only the initial verb. When we negate the first verb

and try to negate w̲ɔ̲ it leads to an ungrammatical sentence as indicated in (55c).

55a.   Me-hyia-a   no   wɔ Kumasi
         1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL 3SG OBJ in   Kumasi
         I met him/her in Kumasi.

b.   Me-e-n-hyia   no   wɔ Kumasi
      1SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-meet 3SG OBJ in   Kumasi
      I did not meet him/her in Kumasi.

c.   *Me-e-n-hyia   no   n-ni   Kumasi
      1SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-meet 3SG OBJ NEG-in Kumasi
      I did not meet him/her in Kumasi.

Another fact to note about w̲ɔ̲ is that when used as a preposition it can even be deleted

in some sentences. So (55a) can be rendered as (56) without any change in meaning.

56.   Me-hyia-a   no   Kumasi
     1SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL 3SG OBJ Kumasi
     I met him/her in Kumasi

The conclusion has been made that when w̲ɔ̲ occurs in a clause which already has a

main verb it is a locative preposition, but if it occurs in a clause by itself, that is without

any other verb preceding it, it functions as a verb. It is obvious that it has developed

into a preposition in the context of serialisation. This confirms the cross-linguistic

observation which has been made to the effect that serial verbs are possible sources for

the development of prepositions in languages.

There are definitely morphemes in Akan that have gone through the process of

morphological depletion to the point where we cannot call them verbs. At the same

time, we find that it is not very clear whether such morphemes, for example ḏe, have undergone total category shift to become prepositions. The case of wɔ provides us with the evidence that in time, in the context of serialisation, verbs can develop to become preposition, although currently, there are not as many of such cases in Akan as is sometimes claimed.

4.0 Conclusion

In the course of this chapter, I have shown that it is necessary that we recognise serialisation as a scalar phenomenon. Central to the process of serialisation is the semantic property of event integration. Since serialisation involves two or more verbs, the assumption is that those verbs start off as distinct lexical entities but are brought together to code an event that is considered unitary. The greater the semantic integration the less the syntactic material needed to coded the event. Ranking high on the scale of integration are those verbal combinations that have become fully lexicalised into verb compounds and which are used as lexicalised idioms. Next on the scale are what I have called partial lexicalisation. This involves verbs which are productively used in other contexts but which code tight integration when used in serial constructions . Then there are those verbal combinations which are used to express multi-events. These are what I referred to as chaining serialisation. The notion of semantic integration applied here is closely related to the notion of event integration developed by Givón in the description of complementation which is the subject of the next chapter.

This chapter also looked at some structural characteristics of serial constructions in Akan. I have shown that even though subject marking generally occurs on only the initial verb, there is evidence that, in some cases, we can have subject marking on medial verbs too. As expected for Akan serialisation, all the verbs in the serial

construction receive aspect marking. This applies to negation marking too. However,

as I pointed out, in the Fante dialect, it is possible to mark negation on initial verbs

only.

Regarding the problem of the category status of certain verbs commonly used in

serialisation, I have shown that while some of these are gradually shedding their verbal

properties, there are not many of them which have made a total category shift. The only

morpheme which has definitely moved from the class of verb into preposition is _wɔ_.

We can, therefore, identify this as the only true preposition in the language. It should

be noted, however, that the morpheme _wɔ_ is also used in simple sentences as an

existential verb. The case of _wɔ_ illustrates what Hopper (1991) calls divergence, that

is, the process where a lexical item undergoes grammaticalisation and shifts in category

but the original source remains as a member of the original category and used for

different purposes. Those analyses which tend to argue that a larger class of serial

verbs have become prepositions are basically flawed in that too much emphasis is

placed on how such verbs translate into English as well as what the cross-linguistic

situation is considered to be. In order to argue for category change of morphemes, our

first source of evidence should be what the language provides. Cross-linguistic

evidence should be made secondary to language internal facts. Without that, the

dangers of falling into the trap of thinking that all serial verbs in all languages behave

the same are rather too strong.

CHAPTER VII

COMPLEMENTATION

0. Introduction

In this chapter I will examine complementation as one of the complex sentence formation strategies in Akan. Two works which have dealt with this phenomenon in Akan are Boadi (1972) and Lord (1993). The former approaches complementation in Akan from the transformational-generative perspective, while the latter only deals with the diachronic sources of one of the complementisers in the language. In this study, my concern is to examine Akan complementation from a functional-typological perspective. One of the contributions of this study is the recognition that in addition to sɛ, clauses introduced by ma are also complement clauses. The complementiser sɛ occurs in the Fante dialect as dɛ , but I will be using the Twi form sɛ throughout the discussion. The main feature of Akan complementation to be explored in this chapter is the interaction between the complementisers and the complement taking verbs.

The study makes use of the framework of Event Integration (Binding Hierarchy) developed by Givón (1980a, 1990, 1993) in the study of the semantics and syntax of complementation. It will be shown that the two complementisers in the language correlate with four semantically distinguishable types of complement construction in the language.

The chapter is organised as follows. In section 1 I will give a brief overview of the semantics of complementation. In section 2 I will present the structural features of complementation in Akan. Section 3 will be devoted to a discussion of the semantics and historical origins of the two complementisers. In section 4 I will discuss the semantic and

syntactic differences between complementation and serialisation. Section 5 is the conclusion.

1.0 Semantics of Complementation

1.1 Event Integration

The most essential component of the semantic aspect of complementation as offered in the Givón's framework is

> ...the strength of bond -- or degree of integration -- between the two propositions coded in the main and complement clauses. (1990:516)

The extent to which the event of the main clause and that of the complement clause are integrated to form a single complex event is determined largely by the semantics of the main clause verb. The variability in the ability of verbs to code higher or lower semantic integration makes it possible to classify complement-taking verbs into:

a) Manipulation (e.g. hyɛ, 'force', boa 'help', hwɛ 'supervise', yɛ 'make, do')

b) Perception-Cognition-Utterance (P-C-U) (e.g. bisa 'ask', bua 'reply', dwen 'think', hu 'see')

c) Modality (e.g. hyɛ ase 'start', gyae 'stop', sɔw do 'continue', pɛ 'like, want)

Givón (1990, 1993) offers the following characterisations of these categories of verbs. Manipulation verbs are characterised as (Givón 1990:518, 1993:3):

a) The verb of the main clause indicates a manipulative event, where one entity influences another to do something.

b) The subject entity of the main clause is the manipulative Agent; the object of the main clause is the manipulee.

c) The complement clause conveys the target event carried out or expected to be carried out by the manipulee.

P-C-U verbs are characterised as (Givón 1990:518, 1993:4):

a) The main clause verb indicates a mental or verbal activity; this verb (or adjective) may be one of perception, cognition, mental attitude, or verbal utterance.

b) The complement clause codes a state or event which is the object of the mental or verbal activity indicated by the verb in the main clause.

c) The arguments of the main clause and those of the complement clause do not come under any coreferential restrictions.

Modality verbs are described as having the following characteristics (Givón 1990:533, 1993:29):

a) The verb in the main clause indicates the beginning, the end, the continuation, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation or ability as it relates to the state or event of the complement clause.

b) There is a coreferential relationship between the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause, except in the case of preference verbs.

In addition to these three, I recognise a fourth type for Akan which I refer to it as Evaluation verbs.[1] These verbs are used to express the opinion of the speaker. This opinion may or may not be objective and universal. Examples of verbs in this group are hia 'be necessary', hye 'be painful', sε 'be fitting', ye 'be good' , wɔ 'be necessary', sono 'be different', dɔ 'be painful', fi 'be the reason'. Semantically, they are close to the P-C-U verbs except that they require that the subject of the main clause be impersonal.

An important semantic feature of event integration is implicativity. Verbs which are successful in their manipulation are implicational. For implicational verbs, if the main clause is true, it means the complement clause is also true. The feature of implicativity makes it possible for us to set up a scalar relationship between those verbs which code

successful manipulation and those in which manipulation is not successful. Implicative verbs also indicate that the event of the main clause and that of the complement clause are temporally dependent in the sense that they may be co-temporal or temporally contiguous. Furthermore, because the Agent of an implicative manipulation verb is a successful manipulator, it implies that the Agent of the complement clause event has less control and independence of choice. On the other hand, since a non-implicative manipulation verb does not guarantee the success of the manipulation, the manipulator Agent has less control over the manipulee Agent of the complement clause event. The subject Agent of the complement clause, therefore, retains more power and freedom of choice than the counterpart in an implicative manipulation construction.

Event integration may also be indicated by the extent to which the main and complement clause share same participants. If the referents in the main clause event are also those involved in the complement clause event, then the two events are closely related.

Another semantic component of event integration is tense agreement. According to Givón, tense agreement creates an integrated perspective (1993:20). When a main clause imposes tense-aspect restrictions on the complement clause, it is a way of showing that the two clauses are linked in terms of point of view.

An important feature of Akan complementation worth mentioning is that, irrespective of the type of verb in the main clause, there is very little variability in the syntax of the different types complement constructions that exist in the language. The complement construction types may differ semantically due to the differences in the semantics of the main verbs. However, this semantic difference is not reflected in the syntax of the complement constructions.

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2.0 Structural Features of Complementation

There are structural features that characterise complement constructions in Akan. These will be described in this section.

2.1 Complementisers

Every complement construction in Akan has a complementiser which serves as a linkage between the main clause and the complement clause. The complementiser sɛ normally goes with P-C-U, modality, and evaluation verbs. However, there are some manipulation verbs which can occur with sɛ. The complementiser ma occurs with manipulation verbs, but there are a limited number of modality and P-C-U verbs that can occur with it. The semantic implication of the choice of complementisers and complement-taking verbs will be discussed in section 3. The sentences in example (1) illustrate complement constructions in Akan. The obligatory presence of complementisers creates structures which can clearly be identified as bi-clausal.

1a. Kofi hyɛ-ɛ   Yaw   ma   o-di-i   aduan   no
     Kofi force-COMPL Yaw COMP 3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL food   DEF
     Kofi forced Yaw to eat the food.

b.   Ye-hu-u   sɛ   dua no a-kyea
     1PLU SUBJ-see-COMPL COMP tree DEF PERF-bend
     We saw that the tree had bent.

c.   Esi fi-i   ase   sɛ   ɔ-re-yɛ   adwuma no
     Esi move-COMPL under COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-do work   DEF
     Esi started doing the work.

d.   ɛ-sɛ   sɛ   ɔ-ba   fie
     3SG SUBJ-be necessary COMP 3SG SUBJ-come home
     It is necessary that s/he comes home.

When the complementiser is _sɛ_ is used, there are two places the complement clause can occur. One place is immediately after the main verb. The second is after the object NP of the main verb. Based on these locations, we can divide the verbs which take the _sɛ_-clause into three groups. The first group are those which require the complement clause to occur immediately after the main verb. This group include all modality verbs (for example, _wie_ 'finish', _fi ase_ 'start', _gyae_ 'stop', _pɛ_ 'like'), and some P-C-U verbs, for example, _dwen_ 'think', _gye to mu_ 'agree', _nim_ 'know', _gye di_ 'believe', _kae_ 'remember', _suro_ 'be afraid', _te_ 'hear', _te_ 'smell', and the evaluation verbs (_hia_ 'be necessary', _sɛ_ 'be fitting, necessary', _sono_ 'be different', _hye_ 'be painful', _ye_ 'be good'). As shown in (2b), (3b), and (4b), for such verbs when the complementiser is preceded by the object of the main clause the sentence is ungrammatical. The reason is that for these verbs, the complement clause is the direct object of the main clause verb. In the discussion on grammatical relations in chapter 5, the point was made that in Akan the immediate postverbal position is the position for direct objects. This means that if a sentence has a direct object nothing should come between it and the verb.

2a. Yaa pɛ-ɛ   sɛ   Kofi tɔ   bi
     Yaa want-COMPL COMP Kofi buy some
     Yaa wanted Kofi to buy some.

 b. *Yaa pɛ-ɛ   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-tɔ   bi
     Yaa want-COMPL Kofi   COMP 3SG SUBJ-buy some
     Yaa wanted Kofi to buy some.

3a. Mi-nim   sɛ   Kofi bɛ-ba
     1SG SUBJ-know COMP Kofi FUT-come
     I know that Kofi will come.

 b. *Mi-nim   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba
     1SG SUBJ-know Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
     I know that he will come.

The second type are those verbs which require the complement clause to occur after the main clause object. This type includes some P-C-U verbs like _ka kyerɛ_ 'tell', _frɛ_ 'call',

kae 'remind', and some of the manipulative verbs which take the se complementiser

(including gya 'allow', hye 'force'). The reason why such verbs do not allow the

complement clause to occur immediately after the main verb is that such verbs require

nominal NPs as direct object, and the NPs have to occur in the immediate postverbal

position.

4a.   Me-ka-a   kyere-e   Kofi se   o-n-ko
      1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL show-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-go
      I told Kofi that he should go.

 b.   *Me-ka-a   kyere-e   se   Kofi n-ko
      1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL show-COMPL COMP Kofi OPT-go
      I told Kofi that he should go.

5a.   Esi hye-e   Kofi se   o-n-di   aduane no
      Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-eat food   DEF
      Esi tried to force Kofi to eat the food.

 b.   *Esi hye-e   se   Kofi n-di   aduane no
      Esi force-COMPL COMP Kofi OPT-eat food   DEF
      Esi tried to force Kofi to eat the food.

The third type are those complement-taking verbs which allow the complement

clause to occur either before the direct object of the main clause or after it. The verbs in this

group are very limited and so far the only cases I know are both P-C-U verbs: hu 'see' and

bisa 'ask'. In fact, strictly speaking, we cannot consider bisa 'ask' to be a member of this

group. This is because unlike hu 'see' (6), the meaning of the sentence which has bisa

'ask' as the main verb changes depending on whether the complement clause occurs

immediately after the main clause verb or after the direct object of the main clause. In (6a)

and (6b) the varied position of the complement clause does not affect the meaning of the

sentence.

6a.   Ama hu-u   se   Kofi re-ko
      Ama see-COMPL COMP Kofi PROG-go
      Ama saw that Kofi was going.

b.   Ama hu-u   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-re-kɔ
      Ama see-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-go
      Ama saw Kofi going.

This is not the case in (7). In (7a) the complement clause, being the direct object of the main clause, occurs immediately after the main verb. In this sentence it was not Kofi who was asked the original question. The question was put to a third party. In (7b), on the other hand, Kofi is the direct object of the main clause, meaning that the reported question was put to him.

7a.   Ama bisa-a   sɛ   Kofi bɛ-ba
      Ama ask-COMPL COMP Kofi FUT-come
      Ama asked whether Kofi would come.

b.   Ama bisa-a   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba
      Ama ask-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
      Ama asked Kofi whether he would come.

Regarding the position of the complementiser ma, there appears to be no variation in its location in relation to the main clause without change in the meaning of the sentence. There is subtype of manipulation verbs in which the meaning of the sentence will depend on whether the complementiser occurs after the object of the main clause or directly after the main verb. Such verbs include pia 'push', sun 'push', kyea 'tilt, turn', twe 'pull', boa 'help', yɛ 'make, do'. In both (8a) and (9a), the direct object of the main verb is Esi. Our understanding of (8a) and (9a) is that Kofi did something directly to Esi causing her to experience the event coded by the complement verb. This meaning is not maintained when the complementiser comes immediately after the main verb as shown by the starring of the English translations in (8b) and (9b). With the complementiser coming directly after the main clause verb, the meaning of the sentence is that Kofi acted on something inanimate which caused Esi to undergo the event coded by the complement verb. For example, Kofi could have pushed a chair (on which Esi was standing) causing her to fall down. It should

be remembered that in Akan, in most cases, where the direct object is inanimate, the object

pronoun is realised as zero (see discussion in chapter 5 section 2.1.2).

8a.   Kofi pia-a   Esi ma   ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi push-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground
    Kofi pushed Esi so that she fell down.

b.   Kofi pia-a   ma   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi push-COMPL COMP Esi fall-COMPL ground
    *Kofi pushed Esi so that she fell down.
    Kofi pushed (it) and made Esi fall down.

c.   Kofi pia-a   Ø   ma   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi push-COMPL 3SG OBJ COMP Esi fall-COMPL ground
    Kofi pushed it and caused Esi to fall down.

9a.   Kofi twe-e   Esi ma   ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi pull-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground
    Kofi pulled Esi so that she fell down.

b.   Kofi twe-e   ma   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi pull-COMPL COMP Esi fall-COMPL ground
    *Kofi pulled Esi so that she fell down.
    Kofi pulled (it) and made Esi fall down.

c.   Kofi twe-e   Ø   ma   Esi bɔ-ɔ   famu
    Kofi pull-COMPL 3SG OBJ COMP Esi fall-COMPL ground
    Kofi pulled Esi so that she fell down.

2.2 Reference

Another structural feature of complement constructions is that a complement clause

always has an overtly coded subject. If the complement clause subject is not present it

results in an ungrammatical sentence, as shown by the sentences (10b), (11b), and (12b).

10a.   Kofi hyɛ-ɛ   Yaw ma   o-di-i   aduan   no
    Kofi force-COMPL Yaw COMP 3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL food   DEF
    Kofi forced Yaw to eat the food.

b.   *Kofi hyɛ-ɛ   Yaw ma   di-i   aduan   no
    Kofi force-COMPL Yaw COMP eat-COMPL food   DEF
    Kofi forced Yaw to eat the food.

11a.   Me-ka-a   sɛ   o-hu-u   maame   no
      1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-see-COMPL woman DEF
      I said that s/he saw the woman.

    b.   *Me-ka-a   sɛ   hu-u   maame   no
      1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL COMP see-COMPL woman DEF
      I said that s/he saw the woman.

12a.   Esi   fi-i   ase   sɛ   ɔ-re-yɛ   adwuma   no
      Esi   move-COMPL under COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-do work   DEF
      Esi started doing the work.

    b.   *Esi   fi-i   ase   sɛ   re-yɛ   adwuma   no
      Esi   move-COMPL under COMP PROG-do work   DEF
      Esi started doing the work.

In terms of coreferential relations, manipulation verbs as main clause verbs require that the direct object of the main clause be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. Modality verbs as main clause verbs also require that the subject of the main clause be coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. Givón (1990, 1993) refers to such coreferential requirements as "referential cohesion", a component of event integration. He states that:

> The relation between referential cohesion, the semantic integration of events and the syntactic integration of clauses may be given as the following probabilistic inference: The more the two events in the main and complement clauses share their referents, the more likely they are to be semantically integrated as a single event; and the more likely is the complement clause to be syntactically integrated with the main clause. (1993:16)

Unlike manipulation and modality verbs, P-C-U verbs have no coreferential requirement.

This means that PCU complementation is low on the event integration scale.

2.3 Aspect

In Givón's model of event integration, tense/aspect agreement between the main and the complement clauses is a reflection of event integration. In Akan complementation, there are varied ways in which main clause verbs impose aspectual restrictions on complement clause verbs. One way, as mentioned by Noonan (1985), is that "tense [and aspect] categories may be copied onto the complement from the complement taking predicate" (1985:88). This process of aspectual spreading is the case with manipulation verbs. Since the main clause and the complement clause verbs are marked by the same aspect, it demonstrates a high level of event integration.

13a   Kofi boa-a   Esi ma   ɔ-yɛ-ɛ   edwuma no
       Kofi help-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-do-COMPL work   DEF
       Kofi helped Esi to do the work.

  b.   Kofi a-boa   Esi ma   ɔ-a-yɛ   edwuma no
       Kofi PERF-help Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-PERF-do   work   DEF
       Kofi has helped Esi to do the work.

With modality verbs, one legitimate generalisation is that certain main clause verbs impose specific aspectual restrictions on the complement verb. For example, verbs like bɔ mbɔdzen 'try', and si bo 'determine' always impose the FUT aspect on the complement verb irrespective of the aspect of the main verb. In (14a) and (15a) the main verbs are in the completive and perfect aspects, respectively. However, in both sentences, the complement clause verbs are all marked by the FUT aspect. It is ungrammatical, as far as such verbs are concerned, to have main clause and complement clause verbs marked by the same aspect, as illustrated by the sentences in (14b) and (15b).

14a.   Kofi bɔ-ɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-yɛ   edwuma   no
       Kofi hit-COMPL effort   COMP 3SG-FUT-do work   DEF
       Kofi tried to do the work.

b.   *Kofi bɔ-ɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   ɔ-yɛ-ɛ   edwuma no
         Kofi hit-COMPL effort   COMP 3SG SUBJ-do-COMPL work   DEF
         Kofi tried to do the work.

15a.   Kofi a-bɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-yɛ   edwuma no
         Kofi PERF-hit effort   COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-do work   DEF
         Kofi has tried to do the work.

b.   *Kofi a-bɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   ɔ-a-yɛ   edwuma no
         Kofi PERF-hit effort   COMP 3SG SUBJ-PERF-do work   DEF
         Kofi has tried to do the work.

There are some modality verbs which always impose the progressive aspect on the complement verb. These include fi ase 'start', si mu 'set out', sɔw do 'continue'.

16a.   Kofi be-fi   ase   sɛ   o-ri-yiyi
         Kofi FUT-move under COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-pick
         Kofi will start picking (it).

b.   Kofi fi-i   ase   sɛ   o-ri-yiyi .
         Kofi move-COMPL under COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-pick
         Kofi started picking (it).

When the verb gyae 'stop' is used in the main clause, the complement verb is not marked for any aspect irrespective of the aspect of the main verb (17).

17a.   Esi be-gyae sɛ   ɔ-soa   ndzɛmba
         Esi FUT-stop COMP 3SG SUBJ-carry things
         Esi will stop carrying things.

b.   Esi gyae-e   sɛ   ɔ-soa   ndzɛmba
         Esi stop-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-carry things
         Esi stopped carrying things.

P-C-U verbs vary in the aspect they impose on their complement verbs. However, there is a limited set of verbs which always require that the complement clause verb be marked for the FUT aspect. This set includes bɔ anohoba 'promise', hyɛ bɔ 'promise', hwɛ anim 'expect', hyɛ nkɔm 'prophesy'.

18a. Maame no hyɛ-ɛ bɔ sɛ ɔ-bɛ-kɔ
   woman DEF promise-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-go
   The woman promised to go.

b. *Maame no hyɛ-ɛ bɔ sɛ ɔ-kɔ-e
  woman DEF promise-COMPL COMP 3SG-go-COMPL
  The woman promised that she went

The reason these verbs behave this way is obvious from their semantics. Verbs of promise are futuristic in the sense that "the thing promised necessarily follows the act of promising in time." (Noonan 1985:89)

2.4 Mood

Some of the mood restrictions on main and complement verbs have been discussed in Boadi (1972) from which some of the observations to be made in this section are taken. However, it will be shown that his treatment of this topic runs into problems due too much overgeneralisations. There are various factors which influence the choice of mood in the complement clause. One is the semantics of the main verb. Certain main verbs, by their semantics, impose specific mood selection on the complement clause verb. Secondly, the selection of mood for the complement verb may be determined by the form of the complementiser. The following discussion will illuminate these issues further.

According to Boadi's analysis, complement taking verbs in Akan can be grouped into two main classes: those that can impose either declarative or imperative mood on the complement verb, and those that can impose only interrogative mood on the complement verb (Boadi 1972:142). In spite of the neatness of this classification, it does not do justice to the range of mood selection that can be imposed by the complement taking verbs.

There are certain complement taking verbs which impose only the interrogative mood on the complement verbs (Boadi 1972:145). These include bisa 'ask', hwɛ 'ascertain', tie 'listen', hwɛ anim 'expect'. These are illustrated in (19).

19a. ɔ-hwɛ-ɛ sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba   anaa   (Boadi 1972:145)
      he-look- that he-FUT-come or not
      He ascertained whether he would come.

b.   O-bisa-a   no sɛ   ! Ama n-kɔ
      3SG-ask-COMPL 3SG COMP Ama OPT-go
      S/he asked whether Ama should go.

Both sentences in (19) are questions. In (19a), the question is indicated by the morpheme

anaa 'or'. This morpheme marks alternate questions and it can be shortened to just the

vowel /a/ with a High-Low tone. In (19b), the question is marked by a rising intonation

(indicated here by ! before the complement verb phrase) on the complement clause.

Considering that in (19b) the verb bisa 'ask' imposes the optative mood (related to

the imperative mood) on the complement clause, his assertion that "..verbs which select the

Interrogative mood... never select the Declarative or Imperative mood at all" (Boadi

1972:142) is an overstatement. Furthermore, when bisa is used with the ma-

complementiser, it can impose the declarative mood on the complement clause (20).

20.   Kofi bisa-a   no   ma   ɔ-ma-a   no   bi
      Kofi ask-COMPL 3SG OBJ COMP 3SG SUBJ-give-COMPL 3SG OBJ some
      Kofi asked him/her and s/he gave him some.

Regarding the imperative mood, Boadi (1972) states that

> Verbs of complementation which require that the sentential noun phrase
> complement be imperative include frɛ 'call', twe 'drag', daadaa 'deceive',
> ka 'say', teɛ mu 'shout'. (1972:143-144).

This list can be expanded to include ka kyerɛ 'tell', pa kyɛw 'plead', sɛ 'say', serɛ

'request, implore', to nsa frɛ 'invite'. Based on the observed behaviour of these verbs,

however, Boadi's position is not wholly accurate. In addition to the imperative mood, these

verbs can also impose the declarative mood on the complement clause. In (21a) and (22a)

the mood of the complement clause is imperative, but in (21b) and (22b) it is declarative.

21a. ɔtee-ɛ mu sɛ obi nkoyi no   (Boadi 1972:144)
(he shouted that someone should go rescue him, i.e. he shouted for someone to go and rescue him)

b. ɔ-tee-ɛ   mu sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba
3SG SUBJ-shout   in   COMP   3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
S/he shouted that s/he would come.

22a. Me-ka-a   sɛ   bra
1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL   COMP   come/IMP
I said you that you should come.

b. Me-ka-a   sɛ   wo-ba-e
1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL   COMP   2SG SUBJ-COMPL
I said that you came.

One observation to be made regarding the imperative mood is that when the main clause has a manipulation verb which is marked for imperative, the complement clause verb is correspondingly marked for the optative mood. When this does not happen, as in (23b) and (24b), it leads to ungrammatical sentences.

23a. Boa   Kofi   ma   ɔ-n-yɛ   edwuma no
IMP/help   Kofi   COMP   3SG SUBJ-OPT-do   work   DEF
Help Kofi to do the work.

b. *Boa   Kofi   ma   ɔ-yɛ   edwuma no
IMP-help   Kofi   COMP   3SG SUBJ-do   work   DEF
Help Kofi to do the work.

24a. Gyaa   Kofi   ma   ɔ-n-yɛ   edwuma   no
IMP/allow   Kofi   COMP   3SG-OPT-do   work   DEF
Allow Kofi to do the work.

b. *Gyaa   Kofi   ma   ɔ-yɛ   edwuma   no
IMP/allow   Kofi   COMP   3SG-do   work   DEF
Allow Kofi to do the work.

When a regular manipulation verb is used with the s̲ɛ̲ complementiser, the verb of the complement clause is always in the optative mood. The presence of the optative mood on the complement clause verb indicates the control the main clause subject Agent has over the complement subject.

25a. Kofi ma-a   Esi kwan sɛ   ɔ-n-kɔ
     Kofi give-COMPL Esi way   COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-go
     Kofi allowed Esi to go.

b.   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi sɛ   o-n-di   aduane no
     Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-eat food   DEF
     Esi tried to force Kofi to eat the food.

P-C-U verbs have a greater variety of mood choice. For example, it is possible to

have the main verb in the imperative mood but the complement verb in the declarative. This

pattern applies to modality verbs too.

26a. Gye di   sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba
     take eat/IMP COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
     Believe that s/he will come.

b.   Kae   me   sɛ   yɛ-bɛ-tɔ   bi
     remind/IMP 1SG OBJ COMP 1PLU SUBJ-FUT-buy some
     Remind me that we will buy some.

There are a number P-C-U and modality verbs which cannot impose the imperative mood

on any complement verb. Examples of these are nim 'know', werɛ fir 'forget', hu 'see',

kae 'remember', te 'hear', pɛ 'like', hwehwɛ 'want'.

27a. *Me-pɛ   sɛ   ɔ-m-bra
     1SG SUBJ-like COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-come
     I want him/her to come.

b.   *Me-te-e   sɛ   ɔ-m-ba-e
     1SG SUBJ-hear-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-come-COMPL
     I heard that s/he should come

In (28a) the main verb is in the imperative mood but the complement clause is not; in (28b)

when complement clause verb is put in the imperative, the sentence is ungrammatical.

28a. Bɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   e-bɛ-ba
     try/IMP effort   COMP 2SG SUBJ-FUT-come
     Try to come

b. *Bɔ   mbɔdzen sɛ   bra
    try/IMP effort   COMP come/IMP
    Try to come

2.5 Negation

The marking of negation in complement constructions comes in two main forms.

One type is where the negative morpheme appears on both the main clause verb and the

complement clause verb. The second type is when only one verb can be negated. These

two types do, in some respects, coincide with Ransom's (1986) Broad Scope Negation and

Narrow Scope Negation respectively.

When main clause implicative manipulation verbs are negated, the negative marker

appears on all the verbs in the construction. In other words, it is not possible, in their

implicative use, to negate the main clause verb and not the complement verb, or to negate

the complement verb and not the main verb.

29a. Kofi a-m-boa   Esi ma   ɔ-a-n-yɛ
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-help Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-do

      edwuma no
      work   DEF
      Kofi did not help Esi to do the work.

b. *Kofi a-m-boa   Esi ma   ɔ-yɛ-ɛ
    Kofi COMPL-NEG-help Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-do-COMPL

    edwuma no
    work   DEF
    Kofi did not help Esi to do the work.

c. *Kofi boa-a   Esi ma   ɔ-a-n-yɛ
    Kofi help-COMPL   Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-do

    edwuma no
    work   DEF
    Kofi helped Esi not to do the work.

When it comes to negating modality verbs there is more variability. Some modality verbs

do not allow the negation of the complement verb. These include pɛ 'like', bɔ mbɔdzen

'try', tɔ nsa frɛ 'invite'.

30a. Kofi a-m-pɛ   sɛ   ɔ-kɔ   fie
      Kofi COMPL-NEG-want COMP 3SG SUBJ-go home
      Kofi didn't want to go home.

  b. *Kofi a-m-pɛ   sɛ   ɔ-n-kɔ   fie
      Kofi   COMPL-NEG-want COMP 3SG SUBJ-NEG-go home
      Kofi didn't want to go home.

  c. *Kofi pɛ-ɛ   sɛ   ɔ-n-kɔ   fie
      Kofi want-COMPL COMP 3SG-NEG-go home
      Kofi didn't want to go home.

Regarding P-C-U verbs, most of them permit the two types of negation scope. So it is

possible to negate both main and complement verbs or negate only one of them.

31a. ɔ-ka-a   sɛ   ɔ-re-m-ba
      3SG SUBJ-say-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-NEG-come
      S/he said s/he will not come.

  b. ɔ-a-n-ka   sɛ   ɔ-re-m-ba
      3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-say COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-NEG-come
      S/he didn't say s/he will not come.

  c. ɔ-a-n-ka   sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ba
      3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-say COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come
      S/he didn't say s/he will come.

As the glosses show, all the three sentences in (31) have different meanings due to the

different placement of the negative morpheme. The interaction between complement

constructions and negation validates the fact that in Akan complement constructions are bi-

clausal, implying that the events coded by the main clause and the complement clause are

less integrated. This fact will become more prominent when we compare complement and serial constructions.

3.0 The Complementisers

In this section I will consider the semantics of the complementisers , and deal with their historical sources.

3.1 Semantics

3.1.1 Se

A complement clause introduced by sɛ reports, in a broad sense, an event or state. This semantic characteristic has its source in the origin of the complementiser. In section 3.2.1 I will show that the complementiser originates from the verb 'say'. As mentioned in section 2.1, sɛ occurs mostly with P-C-U, modality, and evaluative verbs. The examples cited so far in this chapter have illustrated this.

32a. Me-ka-a   sɛ   o-hu-u   maame   no
     1SG SUBJ-say-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-see woman DEF
     I said that s/he saw the woman.

  b. Esi fi-i   ase   sɛ   ɔ-re-yɛ   adwuma   no
     Esi move-COMPL under COMP 3SG SUBJ-PROG-do work   DEF
     Esi started doing the work.

  c. ɛ-sɛ   sɛ   ɔ-ba   fie
     3SG SUBJ-be necessary COMP 3SG SUBJ-come   home
     It is necessary that s/he comes home.

There are some manipulative verbs which can occur with the sɛ complementiser.

Such verbs include gya 'allow', hyɛ 'force', ma kwan 'permit, pene so 'agree'.

33a.   Kofi ma-a   Esi kwan sɛ   ɔ-n-kɔ
       Kofi give-COMPL Esi way   COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-go
       Kofi allowed Esi to go.

b.   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi sɛ   o-n-di   aduane no
       Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-eat food   DEF
       Esi forced Kofi to eat the food.

There are other verbs like <u>suo mu</u> 'help', <u>hwɛ</u> 'supervise', <u>pia</u> 'push', <u>sun</u> 'push', <u>twu</u> 'pull', which do not permit <u>sɛ</u> complementation.

34a.   *Kofi boa-a   Esi sɛ   ɔ-n-yɛ   adwuma no
       Kofi help-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-do work   DEF
       Kofi helped Esi to do the work.

b.   *Kofi hwɛ-ɛ   Esi sɛ   ɔ-n-ye   adwuma no
       Kofi supervise-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-do work   DEF
       Kofi supervise Esi to do the work.

A semantic explanation can be given for why the manipulation verbs - <u>boa</u> 'help' and <u>suo mu</u> 'help' do not permit <u>sɛ</u> complementation. Part of the semantic features of these verbs is that the Agent subject of the main clause participates in the event coded by the complement clause. In <u>sɛ</u> complementation when the main clause has a manipulation verb the complement verb is marked for the optative. This means that the Agent of the complement clause is commanded to carry out the activity coded by the clause. For these manipulation verbs the subject Agent of the main clause is a cooperative partner of the subject Agent of the complement clause. The cooperative status of the main clause subject Agent makes it inappropriate for him to, at the same time, be the target of a command. This is why (34a) and (34b) are ungrammatical. Similar explanation can be given for the verb <u>hwɛ</u> 'supervise'. The main clause Agent of this verb is also a cooperative Agent though not to the same degree as the Agent of <u>boa</u>. Nevertheless, when somebody supervises another person to carry out a task, the supervisor can provide some input that positively assists in

the achievement of the task objectives. This sense of hwɛ is what makes it behave like boa with respect to sɛ complementation.

The manipulation verbs like pia 'push', sun 'push', twe 'pull', do not permit sɛ complementation because they are result-oriented verbs. This means that once those actions are initiated they are expected to lead to results. The ma complementiser with its causative semantics allows a more natural integration of the initiated action with the generated results. On the other hand, since sɛ is semantically reportative, it does not convey the consequences of the action embarked upon by the Agent of the main clause.

3.1.2 Ma

The ma complement refers to an event or state which is the result of the influence of a higher controlling Agent on a lower Agent. This complementiser is generally limited to manipulation verbs or verbs which indicate lexical causation. The sentences in (35) illustrate the use of the ma complementiser.

35a. Kofi hyɛ-ɛ   Esi ma   ɔ-nom-m   edur   no
     Kofi force-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-drink-COMPL medicine DEF
     Kofi forced Esi to eat the food.

b.   Kofi boa-a   Esi ma   ɔ-yɛ-ɛ   edwuma no
     Kofi help-COMPL 3SG COMP 3SG SUBJ-do-COMPL work   DEF
     Kofi helped Esi do the work.

c.   Kofi yɛ-ɛ   Esi ma   o-gyae-e   edwuma
     Kofi do-COMPL Esi   COMP stop-COMPL work
     Kofi caused Esi to stop work.

In most cases when ma is used there is no coreferential relationship between the subject of the main verb and that of the complement clause, even though it is possible. The reason for this lies in the semantics of the manipulation verbs which are used as main verbs when the complementiser is ma. The manipulation verbs involve a manipulator who acts on

a manipulee to bring about a certain state. By the nature of things, people normally do not act on themselves. The tendency is for us to exercise control over others, even though there are instances when we exercise control over ourselves. There are definitely very limited number of verbs in the language which will allow the coreferentiality of the subject of the main verb and the subject of the ma-complement clause. Example (36) illustrates the possibility of a manipulator also being the manipulee.

36a. Kofi yɛ-ɛ   ma   o-pira-a   no-ho
      Kofi do-COMPL COMP 3SG SUBJ-injure-COMPL 3SG POSS-self
      Kofi caused himself to be hurt.

Even though the complementiser ma occurs primarily with manipulation verbs, there are some P-C-U verbs that can occur with ma. These include kae 'remind', bisa 'ask', frɛ 'call' , ka mu 'shout'. When this happens, those verbs assume a manipulative sense. This fact is illustrated in (37). In (37a) and (37b), the subjects of the main clauses exercise control, as conveyed by the verbs, to get the subjects of the complement clauses to perform the actions indicated by the complement clause verbs.

37a. Kofi bisa-a   Esi ma   ɔ-ma-a   no   bi
      Kofi ask-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-give-COMPL 3SG OBJ some
      Kofi asked Esi and she gave him some.

   b. Kofi frɛ-ɛ   Esi ma   ɔ-ba-e
      Kofi call-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-come-COMPL
      Kofi called Esi and he came.

There is an essential semantic difference associated with the choice between the complementisers. Any main verb which takes the ma complementiser is implicational. This means that all manipulation verbs can be considered successful in their manipulation efforts since all of them can occur with ma. On the other hand, any manipulation verb that takes sɛ complementation is not a successful implication. In (38a), the use of ma implies that Kofi did the work, but in (38b) the use of sɛ does not imply that Kofi did the work.

38a. Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi ma   ɔ-yɛ   edwuma no
     Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-do work   DEF
     Esi forced Kofi to do the work.

b.   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-n-yɛ   edwuma no
     Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-do work   DEF
     Esi tried to force Kofi to do the work.

In (38a) the main subject Agent is successful in her manipulation but in (38b) she is not.

The lack of success in (38b) is proven by the fact that we can add the sentence 'but he

didn't do it' to it; this is not possible with (38a). This is illustrated by the sentences in (39).

39a. *Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi ma   ɔ-yɛ   edwuma no   nanso
      Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-do work   DEF but

     ɔ-a-n-yɛ
     3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-do
     Esi forced Kofi to do the work, but he didn't do it.

b.   Esi hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi sɛ   ɔ-n-yɛ   edwuma no   nanso
     Esi force-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-IMP-do work   DEF but

     ɔ-a-n-yɛ
     3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-do
     Esi tried to force Kofi to do the work, but he didn't do it.

Judged against the feature of agentivity and control, the subject of the sɛ complement

retains more power of resistance than its counterpart in the ma complement. Similarly, the

Agent of the main clause in the ma construction has more power than the one in the sɛ

construction. The semantic difference arising from the choice between ma and sɛ applies

equally to those P-C-U verbs which are capable of taking either complement types.

3.2 Historical Origins

This section will deal with the historical origins of the complementisers, sɛ and ma. In Lord (1973, 1976, 1989, 1993) an attempt is made at examining the historical origins of the complementiser sɛ in Akan. My study of the origins of Akan complementisers differs from Lord's in the sense that I will examine the origins of both sɛ and ma. Secondly, I differ with her on the exact origin of the complementiser sɛ. Akan exemplifies a language in which complementisers have developed from verbs. Noonan (1985:47) asserts that "Complementizers typically derive historically from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers, and, rarely, verbs", but it has been shown that the development of complementisers from verbs is not uncommon (Lord 1973, 1976, 1989, 1993; Saxena 1988). Lord's work lays out the verb origins of complementisers in a number of languages of West Africa. I will start by first looking at the historical source of ma.

3.2.1 Ma

The origin of the complementiser ma is very transparent. It derives from the causative verb ma 'make, let'. The extent of reanalysis this verb has undergone is seen in the fact that it never occurs in a sentence by itself, as illustrated in (38) and (39).

40a.   Kofi ma-a   abofra no   bɔ-ɔ   famu
       Kofi make-COMPL child   DEF fall-COMPL ground
       Kofi made the child fall on the ground.

   b.   Edur no   ma-a   me-fe-e
       drug DEF make-COMPL 1SG SUBJ-vomit-COMPL
       The drug made me vomit.

The causative feature of this verb is reflected in the complementiser ma, since it is used basically with manipulation verbs. In manipulation complementation, the Agent of the

complement clause is manipulated or caused by the Agent of the main clause to carry out the event of the complement clause. This is obvious, not only from the causative main clause verbs, but also from the complementiser ma and that is because the complementiser originates from the causative verb ma.

The causative verb ma must have developed from a verb to a complementiser via a process of syntactic reanalysis. The first stage in this process is the serialisation stage. This is the stage where the verb ma is used as a causative verb, as the examples in (40) illustrate. At this stage we could hypothesise that it was used in two-verb serialisation only. The next development is a variation of the serialisation stage where it occurred in a three verb serialisation as shown in (41).

41a. Kofi hyɛ-ɛ   Yaw ma-a   o-di-i   aduan no
      Kofi force-COMPL Yaw make-COMPL 3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL food   DEF
      Kofi forced Yaw to eat the food.

b.   Kofi yɛ-ɛ   ma-a   Esi gyae-e   edwuma
      Kofi do-COMPL   make-COMPL Esi stop-COMPL   work
      Kofi caused Esi to stop work.

Even though currently, the three-verb serialisation with ma as the second verb is not a construction speakers would use, there is ample evidence in the language that such a construction must have existed in the language. The evidence comes from the use of the morpheme ama which is normally translated into English as 'so that'. The morpheme is used to indicate reason or intended result as in (42). (42b) is sentence (30) of the text in Appendix C.

42a. Ye-suo-o   no   mu   ama
      1PLU SUBJ-hold-COMPL 3SG POSS in   so that

      ɔ-a-m-bɔ   famu
      3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-fall   ground
      We held him/her so s/he wouldn't fall down.

b. Iyi tsitsir ntsi na ɔ-ma-a
   this mainly so CONJ 3SG SUBJ-make-COMPL

ɔ-kɔ-bɔ-ɔ   sua wɔ ne   haban mu hɔ   no
3SG SUBJ-go-build-COMPL hut in 3SG POSS farm in there DEF

ama   wo-nya   tsena dɛ   kun   na   yer a
so that 3PLU SUBJ-get stay COMPAR husband CONJ wife COND

wɔ-a-kɛ-da   hɔ   dakor   dakor   bi   a-yɛ
3PLU SUBJ-CON-go-sleep there day-one day-one INDEF CON-do

hɔn   edwuma.   (Krampah 1970:21)
3PLU POSS work

Because of that, he had a hut built for him on his farm so that when they
start living together as man and wife they could go and stay there from time
to time in order to work.

My suspicion is that the word ama 'so that' is a lexicalised form of the consecutive

aspect marked by the vowel a and the verb ma. This combination must have come

from the three-verb serialisation stage where the initial verb was marked for the

progressive or the future and the subsequent verbs marked by the consecutive. By

this analysis the sentences in (41) said with the future, for example, would appear

as (43).

43a. Kofi bɛ-hyɛ   Yaw a-ma   o-e-di   aduan no
      Kofi FUT-force Yaw CON-make 3SG SUBJ-CON-eat food DEF
      Kofi will force Yaw to eat the food.

b.   Kofi bɛ-yɛ   a-ma   Esi e-gyae   edwuma
      Kofi do-COMPL CON-make Esi FUT-stop work
      Kofi will cause Esi to stop work.

The next stage in the syntactic reanalysis is the development of ma as the second

verb in the three-verb serialisation into the complementiser ma. This means that

syntactic structures like (43) developed a step further to become (44) where the verb

in the middle, ma 'make' , now functions as a complementiser.

44a. Kofi pia-a   Esi ma   ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
      Kofi push-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground
      Kofi pushed Esi and she fell down.

b.   Kofi sun-n   Esi ma   o-pira-e
      Kofi push-COMPL Esi COMP 3SG SUBJ-hurt-COMPL
      Kofi pushed Esi and she got hurt.

The evidence above is meant to show that the complementiser ma comes from the

causative verb ma 'make'.

3.2.2 Sɛ

Unlike ma, tracing the source of sɛ is not so easy. Any discussion of its origins

needs to contend with a host of problems. One of these is that Akan has similar morphemes

which are used in various contexts with different meanings. For example, the equivalent of

the verb 'resemble' in Akan is sɛ, as shown in (45).

45a. Ebo sɛ   ne   maame
      Ebo resemble 3SG POSS mother
      Ebo resembles his mother.

b.   Ebo na   Esi sɛ   (hɔn ho)
      Ebo and Esi resemble (themselves)
      Ebo and Esi resemble each other.

Sɛ can also be used to mean 'deserve', 'befit', 'be necessary', 'be equal to'. There is also a

morpheme of the same form which is used to introduce purpose clauses (46a), and

conditional clauses (46b).

46a. Kwame ma-a   no   bi   sɛ   ɔ-m-fa
      Kwame give-COMPL 3SG some COMP 3SG SUBJ-OPT-take

      m-ma   me
      OPT-give me
      Kwame gave him/her some in order for it to be given to me.

b.　Sɛ　o-du　　　　　　a　　ɔ-bɛ-kyerɛw　　　　me
　　　if　3SG SUBJ-reach　COND　3SG SUBJ-FUT-write　me
　　　When s/he arrives s/he will write to me.

Another problem one faces is the dialectal variation in the form of the sɛ. The

complementiser sɛ occurs in the Fante dialect as dɛ. This is the background against which

any discussion of the historical origins of the complementiser sɛ has to be made.

Lord (1993) offers an extensive discussion of the historical source of sɛ.

Essentially, her position is that the complementiser must have derived from the verb

translated as 'be like, resemble'. Her argument is that the verb sɛ , through the process of

grammaticalisation, came to be used as a comparative marker, as illustrated in (47a)

(originally from Christaller 1875:167). The morpheme then became more grammaticalised

and functioned as a complementiser, as shown in (47b).

47a.　Owusihyɛn nnam　　ntɛm　se　anoma　tu　　　　　(Lord 1993:156)
　　　steamer　　NEG-run　fast　as　bird　fly
　　　A steamer does not run so swiftly as a bird flies.

b.　Na　　Ama　nim　sɛ　Kofi　yɛɛ　adwuma　no　　　(Lord 1993:159)
　　　COMPL Ama　know　that　Kofi　did　work　　the
　　　Ama knew that Kofi had done the work.

Due to the similarities in the forms of the verb sɛ 'be like, resemble' and the

complementiser sɛ, it is easy to come to the conclusion Lord comes to. Of course I must

point out that she considers the possibility that the complementiser could have come from

the verb sɛ 'to say'; though she treats this alternative as less likely.

The problem with her analysis is that she does not offer a semantic explanation as

to why it is legitimate to consider a verb translatable as 'be like, resemble' to develop to

become a grammatical item that introduces the clausal argument of cognitive, utterance, and

modality verbs. This aside, if the complementiser originated from the verb 'be like,

resemble', the implication is that the two parts in a complement construction, that is the

main clause and the complement clause, are being compared, even if metaphorically, by the presence of the complementiser.

In my opinion, it is more legitimate to analyse the complementiser s̲e̲ as having developed from the verb 'to say'. It is not only that this analysis is language-internally consistent, it is also typologically sound, as Lord herself points out (1993:180). In the Akan dialects there is a verb s̲e̲ 'speak, say, tell'. This verb occurs in Asante and Fante with the high front unadvanced (-ATR) vowel which I represent phonetically as [ɪ]. In Akuapem, however, it occurs with the mid-high front advanced (+ATR) vowel [e]. There are also some sub-dialects of Fante (e.g. Gomua and Ekumfi) in which, in certain contexts, this verb occurs as d̲e̲. The following are examples from different dialects showing how the sentence 'S/he says you should go' is rendered in those dialects.

48a   ɔ-se   kɔ   (Asante)
      3SG SUBJ-say   go
      S/he says you should go.

   b.   O-se   kɔ   (Akuapem)
      3SG SUBJ-say   go
      S/he says you should go.

   c.   ɔ-se   kɔ   (Fante)
      3SG SUBJ-say   go
      S/he says you should go.

   d.   ɔ-dɛ   kɔ   (Gomua)
      3SG SUBJ-say   go
      S/he says you should go.

Because the vowel in the verb s̲e̲ 'speak, say, tell' in Akuapem has the feature +ATR, the subject pronominal prefix is also +ATR, compared to the other dialects where the vowel of the verb is -ATR so the subject prefix is also -ATR. This verb can also be used as a transitive verb as in (49a). This use of the verb s̲e̲ appears to be limited largely to the

speech of older people. It has been replaced by the verb _frɛ_ 'call' in the speech of most

people. So (49a) is often presented as (49b).

49a. Kɛ-se   no   bra
      go-say/IMP 3SG OBJ   come
      Go and call him/her to come (lit. go say him/her come).

  b. Kɛ-frɛ   no   bra
      go-call/IMP 3SG   come
      Go and call him/her to come.

In Akuapem, both _se_ and _sɛ_ are used to introduce direct and indirect speech as shown in

the following examples. Examples (50) and (51) are taken from a novel written in

Akuapem.

50a. Damfo no   bisa-a   Anidaso _se_: "Wu-se   wɔ-frɛ
      friend DEF ask-COMPL   Anidaso say: "2SG SUBJ-say 3PLU SUBJ-call

      no   dɛn? ɔ-yɛ   dɛn   adwuma?"   (Adi 1973:13)
      3SG OBJ   what 3SG SUBJ-do   what   work
      The (his) friend asked Anidaso : "What did you say is his name? What work
      does he do?"

  b. O-bisa-a   Anidaso _sɛ_: "Enti wu-se
      3SG SUBJ-ask-COMPL   Anidaso say: so   2SG SUBJ-say

      wo-re-kɔ   Nkran?"   (Adi, 1973:8)
      2SG SUBJ-PROG-go   Accra
      He asked Anidaso: "So you mean you are going to Accra?"

51a. ɛhɔ   ara   na   ɔ-ka   kyerɛ-ɛ   n-adamfo
      there immediately then 3SG SUBJ-tell show-COMPL   3SG POSS-friend

      no   _se_ ɔ-m-ma   wɔ-n-tɔ   osu   no
      DEF   say 3SG SUBJ-OPT-make   3PLU SUBJ-OPT-fall   rain DEF

      mu   n-kɔ   (Adi, 1973:20)
      in   OPT-go
      Immediately, he told his friend that they should pass through the rain and go.

b. ɔ-ka   kyerɛ-ɛ   n-adamfo   no   <u>sɛ</u>
    3SG SUBJ-tell show-COMPL   3SG POSS-friend   DEF   say

    ɔ-m-ma   wo-n-tu   mmrika   m-fi
    3SG SUBJ-OPT-make   3PLU-OPT-run   race   OPT-leave

    hɔ   n-kɔ   (Adi, 1973:20)
    there   OPT-go
    He told his friend that they should run away from that place.

It can be seen from (50b) and (51b) that verbs of speaking can take <u>sɛ</u> as a complementiser, contrary to what Lord says (1993:180).

In Asante, both direct and indirect quote can be introduced by <u>sɛ</u> and <u>se</u>, as shown in (52) and (53). However, whereas the <u>sɛ</u> is used as a complementiser in such cases, <u>se</u> is used as a verb. This marks a difference between Asante and Akuapem.

52a. ɛnna   ɔbaako   no   nso   se: "Me   nso   me-re-kɔ-we
      then   one   DEF   also say: 1SG   also 1SG SUBJ-PROG-go-chew

      baako   no   bi"   (Beveridge and Beveridge 1951:5)
      one   DEF   some
      Then the other one also said "I am also going to chew some of the other one"

   b. ɔkyeame   sɔre   gyina-a   hɔ   ka-a   sɛ:
       orator   get up stand-COMPL   there say-COMPL   say:

       "ɔmanfoɔ,   mo-n-yɛ   komm"   (Benefo 1980:10)
       people   2PLU SUBJ-OPT-be   quiet
       The orator stood up and said "Everybody be quiet."

53a. Kofi   nso   se   ɔ-bɛ-kɔ
      Kofi   also say   3SG SUBJ-FUT-go
      Kofi also says he will go.

   b. Kofi   nso   ka-a   sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-kɔ
       Kofi   also say-COMPL   say   3SG-FUT-go
       Kofi said he will go.

In Fante <u>sɛ</u> is used as the verb of speaking, just like Asante, though some subdialects of Fante will, in certain contexts, use <u>dɛ</u> as the verb of speaking instead of <u>sɛ</u> . The form of the complementiser, however, is <u>dɛ</u> for all varieties of Fante.

The reason for showing the behaviour of the verb se as it pertains in the various dialects is to demonstrate that the complementiser sɛ developed from the verb se 'say'. Semantically, this complementiser reports the information in the complement clause. It is therefore logical that a morpheme that is semantically reportative must have developed from an utterance verb. Its use with verbs of speaking like bisa 'ask', bua 'reply', ka kyerɛ 'tell', yi ano 'answer', must have been extended, by analogical means, to non-utterance verbs.

Another piece of evidence that the complementiser sɛ developed from the verb 'say' is provided by the form and behaviour of this verb in Fante and its related dialects. As has been pointed out, the complementiser sɛ is realised in Fante as dɛ. It should also be noted, as I pointed out, that in some subdialects of Fante the verb se ' say' is realised as dɛ (compare 54a and 54b). We can therefore argue that in Fante the complementiser dɛ must have developed from the verb dɛ 'say', though other Fante speakers retained the variant se.

54a.   ɔ-dɛ   bisa   Kofi   (Gomua)
       3SG SUBJ-say ask/IMP Kofi
       S/he says you should ask Kofi.

   b.   ɔ-se   bisa   Kofi   (Other Fante sub-dialects)
       3SG SUBJ-say ask/IMP Kofi
       S/he says you should ask Kofi.

To summarise, we see from looking at the situation in Fante that the verb of speaking, dɛ 'say', sometimes used in subdialects like Gomua is the same as the complementiser dɛ used throughout all the subdialects of Fante. It means that the utterance verb in all of the Fante dialects could have originally been dɛ 'say'. Other subdialects of Fante use se (with unadvanced vowel) as the verb of speaking. In Asante the verb of speaking is se (with an unadvanced vowel) and the complementiser is sɛ. In Akuapem the verb of speaking is se (with an advanced vowel) which is also used as a complementiser in verbs of speaking.

Akuapem also uses <u>se</u> as a complementiser with verbs of speaking as well as non-speech

verbs. Table 9 summarises this situation.

Table 9. A summary of dialectal variation of the complementiser <u>se</u> and the
utterance verb <u>se</u> 'say'.

	Verb of Speaking	Speech COMP	General COMP
Akuapem	se	se/sɛ	sɛ
Asante	sʊ	sɛ	sɛ
Fante	sʊ	dɛ	dɛ
Gomua	dɛ/sʊ	dɛ	dɛ

One problem with this explanation is the need to come to terms with the change

from the vowel [ʊ] of <u>se</u> to /ɛ/ in <u>se</u>. My position on this is that without adequate historical

information it is difficult to be definite as to when the vowel change occurred and what the

motivation was. Since any attempt at explaining this without reliable evidence is pure

conjecture I do not consider it appropriate to attempt that explanation.

Regarding the consonantal variation between <u>se</u> in Asante and Akuapem, and <u>de</u> in

Fante, we can put it down to part of the sound differentiations between the Twi dialects and

Fante. One of the dialectal differences between the Twi dialects and Fante is that there are

some words in Akan where the Twi dialects have /s/ but Fante has /d/, for example <u>so/do</u>

'on'.

By looking at the language as a whole it is easy to see that the complementiser <u>se</u>

comes from the verb of speaking <u>se</u> /sʊ/ and not from the verb <u>se</u> 'resemble, be like'. This

conclusion, apart from being consistent with language-internal evidence is also in line with

the cross-linguistic fact that in various languages, including those that are genetically very

close to Akan, the complementiser which can be translated into English as 'that' developed

from a verb meaning 'say'.

4.0 Complementation and Serialisation

In chapter 6 I argued that serial verbs can be hierarchically organised on a scale of semantic integration. This notion of semantic integration is related to the notion of event integration as put forward by Givón with respect complementation (1984, 1990, 1993) and used in this chapter. This means that both complementation and serialisation illustrate the notion of event integration. However, they differ regarding the degree of integration. This semantic variation is reflected in the syntactic differences between complementation and serialisation. These issues will be explored in this section

Semantically, whereas in a serial construction multiple verbs are used to code a unitary event, in complementation, multiple verbs are used to code different events. In (55a) we have a complement construction and the two verbs bɔ mbɔden 'try' and yɛ 'do' code separate events, but the same verbs in (55b) code a tightly integrated event.

55a. Esi bɔ-ɔ   mbɔden sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-yɛ   aduan no
     Esi hit-COMPL effort   COMP   3SG SUBJ-FUT-do   food   DEF
     Esi tried to cook the food.

 b. Esi bɔ-ɔ   mbɔden yɛ-ɛ   aduan no
     Esi hit-COMPL effort   do-COMPL   food   DEF
     Esi managed to (tried and succeeded) cook the food.

This semantic difference is reflected in the syntax of the two constructions. The first is that whereas (55a) is bi-clausal, (55b) is uniclausal even though the two constructions both have two verbs. The lower level of event integration in (55a), like all complement constructions, is also shown in the presence of the complementiser. As discussed by Givón (1990, 1993), another relevant grammatical device for coding event integration is the presence or absence of the complementiser. This is part of what Givon calls "physical separation", because the complementiser "functions as a physical gap between the main and complement clause" (Givón 1993:28).

The complement sentence and the serial construction are further differentiated in the area of argument sharing. In (56a), Kofi is the object of the main clause verb pia 'push', but subject of the complement clause verb bɔ 'fall'. In (56b), however, Kofi is the object of the complex verb pia bɔ 'push fall/push down'. So whereas Kofi is a shared argument in (56a), in (56b) it is not a shared argument because semantically we are dealing with a unitary event coded by a single but complex verb.

56a. Esi pia-a   Kofi ma   ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   famu
     Esi push-COMPL Kofi COMP 3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground
     Esi pushed Kofi so that he fell down.

   b. Esi pia-a   Kofi bɔ-ɔ   famu
      Esi push-COMPL Kofi fall-COMPL ground
      Esi pushed Kofi down.

In chapter 6 section 2 when I discussed aspect and negation marking in serial constructions, I showed that the verbs in a serial construction are marked by the same aspect and in negation all of them have to be negated. However, this is not the case with complement constructions as described in the section above. In complement constructions, it is possible to have different aspectual markings on the main clause and the complement clause verbs. It is also possible to negate only one of the verbs.

5.0 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to look the syntactic process of complementation in Akan from the functional-typological perspective. One of the observations made in this chapter is that the four types of complement taking verbs identified for Akan differ semantically but not syntactically. The complement constructions as a whole contrast rather with serial constructions. Complement and serial constructions are related semantically since both can be described as processes of event integration. However, they differ in

terms of the degree of integration. Serial constructions are more tightly integrated than complement constructions. This difference is reflected in the differences in their syntax.

Using Givon's model has made it possible to recognise that beside the sɛ-clauses, we can also recognise the ma-clauses as complement clauses. It has also been shown that a feature of Akan complementation is that a complementiser is always required. Furthermore, all complement clauses have to have a subject NP.

Regarding the historical source of the complementisers, I have shown that the complementiser ma comes from the causative verb ma 'make'. The historical origins of the sɛ complementiser has been treated in Lord (1993), where she concludes that the complementiser must have come from the Akan verb sɛ meaning 'resemble'. However, I have shown with enough cross-dialectal textual evidence that the source of the sɛ complementiser, for all the dialects of Akan, is the verb se 'say' or dɛ in Fante.

Notes

1. Another construction type that can be classified as Evaluation, involves the copula yɛ and either a noun or an adjective, as illustrated in (a-d). Such constructions also convey the speakers subjective opinion or evaluation of a situation , a person, or an action. The subject in this case is again the impersonal subject pronominal clitic.

a.   ɛ-yɛ   ehi   sɛ   ɔ-bɛ-ka   saa
       it-be annoying COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-say that
       It is annoying that s/he should say that.

b.   ɔ-yɛ   fɛw   sɛ   hom   ba-e
       it-be beautiful COMP 2PLU SUBJ come-COMPL
       It is nice that you came.

c.   ɛ-yɛ   nhyira   sɛ   mo-bɛ-boa   ahiafo
       it-be blessing COMP 2PLU SUBJ-FUT-help poor people
       It is a blessing for you to help the poor.

d.   ɔ-yɛ   nokwar sɛ   ɔ-ba-e
       it-be true   COMP 3SG SUBJ-come-COMPL
       It is true that s/he came.

The following adjectives and nouns are commonly used in the yɛ-evaluation constructions.

e.

ADJECTIVES		NOUNS	
atsetsee	'disturbing'	asodzi	'responsibility'
ahomka	'satisfying'	nhyira	'blessing'
enyito/aniwu	'disgraceful'	ekyiwadze	'abomination'
aningye	'joyful'	awerɛkyekyer	'comforting'
ebufuw	'annoying'	enyimguase	'shameful'
abofon	'nauseating'		
dzen	'difficult'		
yaw	'painful'		

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

As mentioned in chapter 2, in the context of African languages, Akan is well placed as one of the well studied languages. However, a number of those studies have been done either from the traditional grammar perspective (this is the case with the studies done before the 1960's) or from the viewpoint of Transformational-Generative school. In the last twenty five or so years, there have been other developments in the field of syntax outside the main Chomskyian tradition, specifically what has come to be known as the functional-typological syntax, which have not influenced the study of Akan very much. A notable exception to this, though, has been the works of Lord (1973, 1974, 1976, 1982, 1989, 1993). I started this study with the goal of examining some aspects of Akan syntax from the functional-typological perspective. In order to do that I made use of some of the concepts that have become relevant in language studies due in part to the functional approach to language. The approach adopted has made it possible for some new observations to be made about the language. It has also provided the means to explain some aspects of the language that hitherto have not been well accounted for.

One of the areas covered in this study is the aspectual forms in Akan. There is a long standing tradition in the study of Akan which has always assumed that Akan has tenses and aspects. However, I have shown in this study that Akan does not a have a fully developed independent tense system. In other words, there is no verb morphology in the language that is used solely for the purposes of indicating the time of event. What we have is primarily an aspectual system, even though two of the terms in this system have temporal implications. One of these is what I have called the completive aspect. In previous studies,

this has been classified as the past tense. However, as I have shown in chapter 3, this is primarily an aspect which indicates an event that is completed. Nevertheless, the use of this morpheme implies, logically, that the event took place prior to the time of speaking. Similarly, what in other analyses has been treated as the future tense has, in this study, been analysed as an aspectual form with varied functions, including prediction, intention, ability, and future time. Of these two, the future is closer to becoming a tense form than the completive.

The resort to diachrony and cross-linguistic evidence has been instrumental in explaining some of the intractable problems in Akan verbal morphology. This was the case when I offered an explanation for the apparent relationship in form between the affirmative and negative forms of the perfect and the completive aspects. The solution proposed in this study made use of two cross-linguistic assumptions, the first being that cross-linguistically, past tense/perfective aspect develop from perfect aspect. The second is that negative forms are more conservative than the corresponding affirmative forms, as a result affirmative forms can change while their negative forms remain the same. This is the situation we find with the criss-crossing of the perfect and completive forms in Akan.

In the discussion of the aspectual forms in the language I also showed that the verbal prefixes in the language which have previously been described as marking the ingressive aspect are actually motional prefixes. This is because whenever these prefixes are used, they mark the physical motion of the subject of the sentence and has nothing to do with the internal structure of the event itself.

Another conclusion that was made in the discussion of the aspectual forms in Akan is the fact that the progressive morpheme has its origins in a verb. This is because the progressive prefix imposes vowel harmony constraints on the subject prefix that precedes it. This evidence comes from the Akuapem dialect.

In chapter 4 I provided an explanation for the synchronic nominal prefixes in the language. I showed that these prefixes are the left over forms of an erstwhile noun class system. Since Akan belongs to a language family that is replete with noun class systems, it is not out of place to expect that Proto-Akan must have had a noun class system. Beside the genetic argument, I also gave morphological, morpho-syntactic, and semantic reasons to demonstrate that the language once had a functioning noun class system. This system, in the synchronic state of the language, is not productive. The nominal prefixes are, therefore, the fossilised forms of a once productive noun class system. I proposed, based on the double plural marking of some human nouns, that we consider the system as developing into a plural system.

A fall out from the discussion in chapter 4 is that it enabled us to ascertain the historical sources of the 3SG animate and inanimate pronouns in Akan. As shown throughout the study, the 3SG subject prefix comes in two forms, one for coding animate entities and the other for inanimate entities. The animate 3SG subject prefix can be traced to the noun class marker associated with human nouns, what I have called Noun Class 1. On the other hand, the subject marker for singular and plural inanimate entities derives from the Noun Class 4 marker. This is the class in which only inanimate nouns occur. As brought out in the discussion, the evidence for the distinction between animate and inanimate nouns as reflected in the subject prefixes exists only in Asante and Akuapem and related dialects, that is the Twi dialects.

In chapter 5 I examined the issue of grammatical relations in Akan and concluded that subject and object are relevant notions for the description of Akan grammar, since there are differentiating properties that define them. The basic difference between subjects and objects lies in word order. Any NP occurring in the immediate preverbal position is a subject. On the other hand, an NP that occurs immediately after the verb is a direct object.

A feature of Akan syntax that has long been pointed out is the fact that when the direct object is an inanimate NP and it is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun is not overt. I have provided possible functional explanation for this rule and the exceptions that go with it.

I also discussed grammatical relations, specifically the direct object relation, in di-transitive construction. I introduced the discussion by showing that the language has different types of di-transitive verbs classified according to whether they are capable of taking a definite Theme NP, and whether they can be used in the de serial construction. I pointed out that those di-transitive verbs which do not permit a definite Theme NP use the strategy of the de serial construction to introduce such NPs.

Regarding the direct object NP in Akan di-transitive sentences, I have given evidence to show that it is the Loc NP (Recipient) which is direct object. It is therefore not accurate for this NP to be called the indirect object. The discussion of the direct object status in di-transitive construction brought out the importance of having a scale of direct objecthood. This is because there are some verbs whose Theme NPs can be focus marked and relativised, whereas other Theme NPs do not undergo these processes. I therefore introduced the label Primary Direct Object to describe the Loc NPs of all di-transitive verbs; the label Secondary Direct Object is used to describe the Theme NPs of 'ask', 'teach', and 'show'. At the bottom of the scale are the Theme NPs of all other di-transitive verbs for which I used the term Asymmetrical Object.

In the discussion of the processes of serialisation (chapter 6) and complementation (chapter 7), it has been shown that the semantic notion of event integration as developed within the functional tradition by Givón is very crucial in understanding the semantics and syntax of these processes. On a scale of event integration serial construction are a step higher than complement constructions. This greater semantic integration is seen in the syntax of serial constructions.

I also used the notion of semantic integration to show that in Akan we can talk about two main kinds of serialisation. One is what I called Integrated Serial Construction; the other is Chaining Serial Construction. These two types are differentiated on the basis of the tightness of the events involved. In Integrated Serial Construction the verb combination code a unitary event, whereas in the Chaining Serial Construction the sequence of verbs code distinct events. Even within the Integrated Serial Constructions there are gradations. At the top are those verb combinations which have become fully lexicalised (or verb compounds). A step below the fully lexicalised combinations are the partially lexicalised ones. These are productive combinations of verbs which are used to express unitary events.

The discussion of serial constructions in Akan also dealt with the issue of the verbal status of certain verbs which are commonly used in serial constructions. The received tradition is that such verbs have developed to become prepositions. However, I provided grounds to show that even though some of these morphemes have lost some verbal properties, they have not yet made the category shift for us to call them prepositions. In this study, I recognise only one such verbs which has become a preposition. This is the morpheme wɔ. When this morpheme occurs in a non-serial construction it functions as a verb, but when it occurs in a serial-like construction where it follows another verb it functions as a preposition, because in that position it has absolutely no verbal properties.

The study of complementation in Akan showed that Akan validates the Givón's framework of event integration. Four types of complement-taking verbs -- manipulation, perception-cognitive-utterance (P-C-U), modality evaluation -- have been shown to be relevant in Akan. I also discussed the historical sources of the two complementisers (sɛ and ma) in the language. Contrary to the views of Lord (1989, 1993), I have shown that the sɛ complementiser comes from the verb 'say'. The complementiser ma derives from the causative verb ma meaning 'make'.

Beside the descriptive facts about Akan provided in this dissertation, a recurrent theme that runs through this study is the notion of scalarity and grammaticalisation as means of understanding current issues in the language. In the discussion of direct object relations in di-transitive constructions, serialisation, and complementation it has become clear that having a framework like the prototype theory of categorisation is a helpful analytical tool. Also due to the unavailability of historical data in the language, it has been difficult to pinpoint the exact historical basis of certain processes or forms in the language. With the cross-linguistic insights provided by the functional-typological approach to language, tools have been developed to assist in the study of various languages. My hope is that the study reported in this dissertation will lead to a further study of Akan in the tradition of the functional-typological framework, providing comprehensive description of all aspects of the language.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

abl	Ablative
abs	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
Ak	Akuapem
As	Asante
ATR	Advanced Tongue Root
COMPAR	Comparative
COMP	Complementiser
COMPL	Completive
CON	Consecutive
COND	Conditional
CONT	Continuative
DEF	Definite
DEF REL	Definite Relativiser
EMPH	Emphatic
erg	Ergative
Fa	Fante
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
INDEF	Indefinite
INTERJ	Interjection
loc/Loc	Locative
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object
OPT	Optative
PERF	Perfect
PLU	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
REL	Relativiser
SG	Singular
SPEC	Specifier
SUBJ	Subject

APPENDIX B

NOUN CLASSES

Noun Class 1

ɔba	child	ɔbaatan	mother
ɔbaa	·woman	ɔbotan	rock
ɔbaapanyin	elderly woman	ɔbosom	god
ɔbabunu	virgin	ɔdan	house
ɔbarima	man	ɔdehye	royal
opanyin	elder	ɔhemmaa	queen mother
ɔhɔho	visitor	ɔbrani	executioner
ɔkɔdeɛ	eagle	ɔdasenyi	witness ·
ɔkɔtɔ	crab	ɔfarnyi	fisherman
ɔkwan	road	ɔkannyi	Akan
ɔkyerɛma	master drummer	ɔkyerɛkyerɛnyi	teacher
ɔman	country	ɔtseneneenyi	righteous
ɔsahen	commander	ɔbɔfo	messenger/angel
ɔbayifoɔ	witch	ɔbɔfo	hunter
ɔbrafo	executioner	ɔdeyɛfoɔ	hardworking person
ɔkɔmfo	fetish priest	ɔkwadwofoɔ	lazy person
ɔtamfo	enemy	ɔtomfo	blacksmith
ɔtorfo	liar	ɔwemfo	weaver
ɔyarefoɔ	patient	ɔbanyin	man
ɔsaman	ghost	ɔpanyin	elder
ɔsɔfopanyin	chief priest	ɔhen	chief
obirempon	great man	okunyin	great man
obibinyi	African	oboronyi	white man
obusuanyi	extended family	odwumayɛnyi	worker
oguadzinyi	trader	okotobonyi	whimp
okuani	farmer	osigyani	bachelor/spinster
odimafoɔ	intercessor/advocate	odiyifoɔ	prophet
okuafo	farmer	okunafo	widow
otumfo	mighty man	owifo	thief
owufo	the dead	obi	someone
onua	sibling	owura	master/owner
ɔbonsam	devil	ɔbɔdɔm	dog
ɔkra	cat	ɔketsew	lizard
ɔkwakuo	monkey	ɔpatu	owl
ɔpɛtɛ	vulture	ɔpɔnkɔ	horse
okura	mouse	oguan	sheep
okusie	rat	opuro	squirrel
ɔson	elephant		

Noun Class 2

abaawa	servant (girl)	abaayewa	girl
ababaawa	girl	abarimaa	boy
abasiaba	girl	abasiriwa	youth
aberantee	young man	aberewa	old woman
abofra	child	agyanka	orphan
akataasia	girl	akɔdaa	child
akonta	brother-in-law	akowaa	slave
akwadaa	child	akwakora	old man
akyerebaa	sister	ahenkwaa	servant
ata	twin	awuraa	lady
adzepamnyi	seamstress	adzetɔnyi	sellers
adanfo	friend	asew	in-law
abɛbɛ	grasshopper	abirekyie	goat
abowa	animal	abowatsena	snake
adowa	antelope(?)	adwene	mud fish
afafantɔ	butterfly	akekaboa	wild animal
aketekyire	cricket	ako	parrot
akokɔ	chicken	akɔmfɛm	guinea fowl
akura	mouse	akyekyedee	tortoise
anomaa	bird	anwansena	fly
apataprɛ	sparrow	apɔnkye	goat
adaka	box	afe	year
afidie	machine/trap	ahoma	rope/thread
ahwehwɛ	mirror	akonnua	chair
asanka	pot	asɔ	hoe
atere	spoon	ayowa	pot
abaa	stick	abow	door
aduane	food	afuo	farm
ahaban	leave	akuraa	village
asaase	land	asɛm	matters
asɛntɔw	sentence	asomaade	earring
asɔre	church	atar	dress

Noun Class 3

idua	tree
ikur	sore
itsiw	deaf
ifi	dirt
ιdan	building

Noun Class 4

ɛ-bɔɔ	stone
ɛ-dan	building
ɛ-wɔɔ	honey

Noun Class 5

nkataasia	girls	mba	children
nkowa	slaves	mbowa	animals
ndowa	bees	nkura	mice
mpɔnkye	goats	ngyinambowa	cats
nguan	sheep	nkusie	rats
nketsew	lizards	mpatu	owls
ndaka	boxes	mfe	years
nda	days	ndadewa	nails
nkanea	lights	nkrataa	papers
nsaafee	keys	mbiew	bones

Class 6

abosoom	months	edzin	names
adan	houses	aka	debts
ahɛmba	boats	etur	guns
ekuw	clubs	akyen	drums
abaatan	parents	abosom	gods
abotan	rocks	adehye	royals
ahemmaa	queenmothers	ahɔho	visitors
akɔdeɛ	eagles	akɔtɔ	crabs

APPENDIX C

A SAMPLE TEXT

1. Ye-e-dzi   kan e-hu   dɛ   Taaber dze n'-enyi
    1PLU SUBJ-PERF-eat first PERF-see COMP Taaber take 3SG POSS-eye

a-bɔ   akataasia bi   kam dɛ   ndaamba ɔ-nye   no
PERF-hit girl   INDEF   mark COMP future   3SG SUBJ-accompany 3SG OBJ

bɛ-tsena. 2. Mbrɛ ɔ-yɛ-e   ba-e   nye dɛ   ber bi
FUT-sit   how   3SG SUBJ-do-COMPL come-COMPL be   COMP time INDEF

nna Taaber a-kɔ   haban mu a-kɛ-yɛ   ne   na-kuma
then Taaber PERF-go farm   in   PERF-go-do 3SG POSS mother-younger

edwuma wɔ Wɔmmfannkɔ. 3. Ber a   ɔ-pon-ee   a
work   in Wɔmmfannkɔ.   time REL 3SG SUBJ-close-COMPL REL

ɔ-nam   kwan mu re-ba   no
3SG SUBJ-walk/CONT path   in   PROG-come DEF REL

ɔ-bɔ-to-o   dɛm akataasia yi   a   wɔ-frɛ
3SG SUBJ-meet-COMPL SPEC   girl   this REL 3PLU SUBJ-call/HAB

no   Yaa Kwamba yi   dɛ   ɔ-so   nyena
3SG OBJ Yaa Kwamba this COMP 3SG SUBJ-carry/CONT   firewood

dzi   ne   kan re-ba   fie. 4. Dɛm ber no   yɛ
eat/CONT 3SG POSS first PROG-come home.   SPEC time DEF be

esusow-ber ntsi nna kwan no   mu a-yɛ   atɛkyɛ pii. 5. Ber a
rain-time   so   then path DEF in   PERF-be mud   plenty   time REL

wɔ-nam   re-ba   no   akataasia yi fintsiw-ii
3PLU SUBJ-walk/CONT PROG-come DEF REL girl   this stumble-COMPL

na   ɔnam   dɛ   nna kwan no   mu a-yɛ   tor   ntsi
CONJ because COMP then path DEF in   PERF-be slippery so

ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   daadze ma   ne   nan mu ka-e.
3SG SUBJ-fall-COMPL ground COMP 3SG POSS leg   in   twist-COMPL

6. Akataasia no   hyɛ-ɛ   ase   su-i   osiandɛ nna
   girl   DEF start-COMPL under cry-COMPL because   then

o-n-hun-n   dɛ   obi   dzi   n'ekyir.
3SG SUBJ-NEG-see-PERF   COMP   someone   follow/CONT   3SG POSS-back

7. Taaber   ka-a   mu "Ao,   due!" na   ɔ-dze   enguan
   Taaber   shout-COMPL   in   INTERJ   sorry   CONJ   3SG SUBJ-take   race

kɔr-r   Yaa nkyɛn ko-suo-o   no   mu ma-a   no
go-COMPL Yaa side   go-hold-COMPL   3SG POSS   in   lift-COMPL   3SG OBJ

do. 8. O-hun-n   dɛ   ne   nan mu a-ka   no
up   3SG SUBJ-see-COMPL   COMP   3SG POSS   leg   in   PERF-twist   DEF

ɔ-yɛ-ɛ   no   ntsɛm   tsetsew-w   dua bi   a
3SG SUBJ-make-COMPL   3SG OBJ   quickly   pluck-COMPL   tree   INDEF   REL

o-nyim   dɛ   wɔ-dze   yɛ   dɛm   pira   no   edur
3SG SUBJ-know   COMP   3PLU SUBJ-use   make/HAB   SPEC   injury   DEF   medicine

no   n'ahaban   twuw-w   nan no. 9. Afei o-pia-a
DEF REL   3SG POSS-leave   rob-COMPL   leg   DEF   then   3SG SUBJ-push-COMPL

nyena   adzesoa a   ɔ-a-bɔ   daadze no   fi-i
firewood   load   REL   3SG SUBJ-PERF-fall   ground   DEF REL   leave-COMPL

akwantsen na   o-suo-o   pirafo no   ne   nsa-mu
road   CONJ   3SG SUBJ-hold-COMPL   injured   DEF   3SG POSS   hand-in

nkakrankakra dɛ   ɔ-dze   no   re-ba   fie.   10. Ber a
gradually   COMP   3SG SUBJ-take   3SG OBJ   PROG-come   home   time REL

ɔ-hwɛ-e   na   akataasia yi   n-tum   n-nantsew   no
3SG SUBJ-look-COMPL   CONJ   girl   this   NEG-able   NEG-walk   DEF REL

ɔ-dze   no   hyɛ-ɛ   n'ekyir;   sɛ ɔ-fona   a   nna
3SG SUBJ-take   3SG OBJ   put-COMP   3SG POSS   if   3SG SUBJ-tired   COND   then

nna o-e-sian   no   a-gye   n'hom.
then 3SG SUBJ-PERF-let down   3SG OBJ   PERF-take   3SG POSS-breath

11. ɔ-dze   no   dɛm araa   ko-dur-r   dɛ
   3SG SUBJ-take   3SG OBJ   that   continuously   go-reach-COMPL   COMP

ɔ-dze   no   dur-r   fie.   12. Ber a   akataasia
3SG SUBJ-take   3SG OBJ   reach-COMPL   home   time REL   girl

yi   gu   eduyɛ   do no   Taaber kɛ-sera-a
this be/CONT   treatment   on   DEF REL   Taaber go-visit-COMPL

no   mpɛn pii,   dɛ   mbrɛ n'dwuma   bɛ-ma
3SG OBJ times many COMPA how   3SG POSS-work   FUT-give

no   kwan. 13. Eso ansaana iyi   re-be-si   no   nna
3SG OBJ way.   but   before   this PROG-FUT-happen DEF REL then

Taaber n-kasa-a   n'ano   mpo pɛn.   14. Mbom nna
Taaber NEG-speak-PERF 3SG POSS-mouth even never   but   then

o-nyim   no,   nyim ne   dzin dɛ   ɔ-yɛ
3SG SUBJ-know 3SG OBJ know 3SG POSS name COMP 3SG SUBJ-be

Papa   Kwodwo Apo na   Maame Efuwa Esuon hɔn   ba.
father Kwodwo Apo CONJ mother Efuwa Esuon 3PLU POSS child

15. Nyame n'dom   ara   Yaa Kwamba tse-e   apɔw   a
    God   3SG POSS-grace just Yaa Kwamba feel-COMPL strength and that

o-e-n-dzi   dzɛm   biara.   16. Ber a
3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-eat disability whatever   time REL

ɔ-bɔ-ɔ   esu   no   ɔno   na   ne
3SG SUBJ-hit-COMPL water DEF REL 3SG EMPH CONJ 3SG POSS

na   nye   hɔn   ayɛnkofo ke-kyia-kyia-a
mother accompany 3PLU POSS friends   go-greet-great-COMPL

ɔman no   mu   faara da-a   hɔn   ase.   17. Wɔ-kɔr-r
town DEF in   most   sleep-COMPL 3SG OBJ under   3PLU SUBJ-go-COMPL

Taaber so   hɔ   kɛ-da-a   no   ase.   18. Da   kor anafua
Taaber also there go-sleep-COMPL 3SG OBJ under   day one night

bi   Taaber ko-tu-u   mpasar wɔ kurow no   no
INDEF Taaber go-move-COMPL walk   in   town   DEF 3SG POSS

brɔn pɔn   no   do. 19. Ber a   ɔ-ro-kɔ   no
area   central DEF on   time REL 3SG SUBJ-PROG-go DEF REL

o-hun-n   dɛ   obi   gyina   sum   no   mu.
3SG SUBJ-see-COMPL COMP someone stand/CONT darkness DEF in

20. Dɛm   nyimpa no   hun-n   no   pefee   dɛ   Taaber na
    that   person DEF see-COMPL 3SG OBJ clearly COMP Taaber FOC

ɔ-re-sen   yi,   na   mbom Taaber e-n-hu
3SG SUBJ-PROG-pass this CONJ but   Taaber COMPL-NEG-see

dɛ   dɛm   ɔbentsen yi   na   o-gyina   hɔ
COMP SPEC person   this FOC 3SG SUBJ-stand/CONT there

yi. 21. Ber a o-dur-r ne nkyɛn no
this time REL 3SG SUBJ-reach-COMPL 3SG POSS side DEF REL

Taaber kyia-a no "Me-ma wo adwe o".
Taaber greet-COMPL 3SG OBJ 1SG SUBJ-give 2SG OBJ cool

22. Ngyedo a ɔ-ba-e nye " Yaa obi-adze a
response REL 3SG SUBJ-come-COMPL be Yes someone-thing REL

mo-dɔ wo na mu-suro wo mpona."
1SG SUBJ-love 2SG OBJ CONJ 1SG SUBJ-fear 2SG POSS lover

23. Taaber no ho bow-w no, na
Taaber 3SG POSS self amaze-COMPL 3SG OBJ CONJ

ɔ-twe-e bɛn-ee na
3SG SUBJ-draw-COMPL near-COMPL CONJ

o-bisa-a dɛ, "A, na ɔwo
3SG SUBJ-ask-COMPL COMP INTERJ CONJ 2SG EMPH

woana nye wo?" 24. Nyimpa no bua-a dɛ, "Emi m-ara
who be you person DEF reply-COMPL COMP 1SG EMPH 1SG-self

saman a!" 25. Taaber bisa-a bio, "Na ɔwo saman a
ghost just Taaber ask-COMPL again CONJ 2SG EMPH ghost REL

wɔ-frɛ wo dɛn a?" 26. ɔ-bɔ-ɔ
3PLU SUBJ-call 2SG OBJ what just 3SG SUBJ-hit-COMPL

mbɔdzen yi-i nsa a nna nyimpa no dze a-kata
effort take-COMPL hand REL then person DEF use PERF-cover

n'enyim no na hwɛ, n-yɛ saman bi
3SG POSS-face DEF REL CONJ look NEG-be ghost INDEF

a, na Yaa Kwamba a! 27. Afe a Taaber dɔw-w
just CONJ Yaa Kwamba just year REL Taaber weed-COMPL

ne haban a ɔ-tɔ do ebiasa no nna
3SG POSS farm REL 3SG SUBJ-be on three DEF REL then

wo-pue-e Yaa ne bra. 28. Nokwar,
3PLU SUBJ-celebrate-COMPL Yaa 3SG POSS puberty truely

ekuadwuma wɔ-n-dze nsa kor yɛ ntsi Taaber
farm work 3PLU-NEG-use hand one do so Taaber

ma-a n'akoma mu asɛm da-a n'egya
make-COMPL 3SG POSS-heart in matter lie-COMPL 3SG POSS-father

Onnyibi n'enyim,   na   Yaa no   ho   nsɛnkeka
Onnyibi 3SG POSS-face CONJ Yaa 3SG POSS self matter-talk

nyina wo-wie-i.   29. Nna Taaber nyim dɛ
all   3PLU SUBJ-finish-COMPL   then Taaber know COMP

ɔ-n-kɛ-kyer   biara Yaa Kwamba bɛ-ba   ne
3SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-delay at all Yaa Kwamba FUT-come 3SG POSS

nsamu. 30. Iyi tsitsir ntsi na   ɔ-ma-a
hand-in   this mainly that FOC 3SG SUBJ-make-COMPL

ɔ-kɔ-bɔ-ɔ   sua wɔ ne   haban mu
3SG SUBJ-go-build-COMPL hut in 3SG POSS farm in

hɔ   no,   ama   wo-nya   tsena dɛ
there DEF so that 3PLU SUBJ-get stay COMPAR

kun   na   yer   a   wɔ-a-kɛ-da   hɔ
husband CONJ wife COND 3PLU SUBJ-CON-go-sleep there

dakor   dakor   bi   a-yɛ   hɔn   edwuma.
day-one day-one INDEF CON-do 3PLU POSS work

31. Ber a   wɔ-yɛ-ɛ   ayefor   no   obiara   pen-n
    time REL 3PLU-do-COMPL wedding DEF REL everyone agree-COMPL

Taaber na   n'egya   Onnyibi dɛ   wo-e-siesie
Taaber CONJ 3SG POSS-father Onnyibi COMP 3PLU-PERF-dress

Yaa ho ma   ɔ-a-yɛ   ahomka dodow. 32. Ayeforhyia
Yaa self so that 3SG SUBJ-PERF-be nice   much   wedding-meet

no   ase   no   mbrɔ-nsa   na   edziban bu-i,   na
DEF under DEF white-drink CONJ food   exceed-COMPL CONJ

adankum a   wɔ-ba-e   no   nyina enyi gye-e
musicians REL 3PLU SUBJ-come-COMPL REL DEF all   eye   get-COMPL

dodow. 33. Ber a   ayefor   nda-awɔtwe no   twa-a   mu no,
much   time REL wedding day-eight   DEF pass-COMPL in DEF REL

Yaa bɛ-tsena-a   Taaber ne   fie   na   wɔ-dze   pɛ
Yaa come-stay-COMPL Taaber 3SG POSS house CONJ 3PLU SUBJ-take like

kor na   nsi   kor suo-o   ekuadwuma no   mu. 34. Ber a
one CONJ determination one hold-COMPL farmwork DEF in   time REL

hɔn   ekuraase dan   no   yɛ-ɛ   krado no   ɔ-yɛ
3PLU POSS village   building DEF be-COMPL ready DEF REL 3SG SUBJ-be

a	nna	wɔ-a-kɛ-da		hɔ	bɛyɛ	da-du	na
COND	then	3PLU	SUBJ-PERF-go-sleep	there	about	day-ten	CONJ

wɔ-a-san		a-ba	fie	wɔ	Duase.
3PLU	SUBJ-PERF-return	PERF-come	home	in	Duase

1. We have already seen that Taaber has his eyes on a girl he would want to marry in future. 2. The way it happened is that one day, Taaber had gone to work in his younger mother's (his uncle's wife) farm at Wɔmmfannkɔ. 3. When he closed and was on his way home, he saw this girl called Yaa Kwamba carrying a load of firewood walking ahead of him going home. 4. It was the rainy season at that time, so the path was very muddy. 5. While they were coming, the girl stumbled and because the ground was slippery she fell and sprained her leg. 6. The girl started crying because she had not seen that someone was following her. 7. Taaber shouted "Oh mine!, I'm sorry for you" and he ran to Yaa, held her and lifted her up. 8. When he saw that she had sprained her leg, he quickly went to get the leaves of a certain tree which he knew was used to treat such conditions. 9. Then he pushed the load of firewood which had fallen down aside and held the injured person and tried gradually to bring her home. 10. When he realised the girl could not walk, he carried her on his back; when he got tired he would put her down to rest. 11. He continued with this till they got home. 12. While the girl was receiving treatment, Taaber visited her as often as his work schedule would allow. 13. However, before this incident Taaber had never even spoken to her. 14. But he knew her and knew that she was the daughter of Elder Kwodwo Apo and Mother (Aunt) Efuwa Esuon. 15. By God's grace, Yaa Kwamba recovered without any permanent damage. 16 During the ceremony marking her recovery, she and her mother went round greeting and thanking most people in the town. 17. They also went to Taaber to thank him.

18. One night, Taaber went for a walk in the central part of the town. 19. When he was going, he saw someone standing in the dark. 20. Whoever was standing there saw clearly that it was Taaber passing by, but he did not see who it was standing there. 21. When Taaber got to where the person was, he greeted them saying "Good evening." 22. The reply which came was "Yes, someone's-sweetheart-I'm-in-love-with-but-am-afraid-of-your-girlfriend." 23. Taaber was surprised by this response, so he drew closer and asked "And who may you be?" 24. The person replied, "It's me, a ghost!" 25. Taaber asked again, "And what is this ghost called?" 26. He managed to remove the hands the person had covered their face with, and behold it wasn't a ghost, it was Yaa Kwamba.

27. It was the year in which Taaber made his third farm that puberty rites were held for Yaa. 28. Honestly, farming cannot be done single handedly so Taaber made his heart's desire to get married to Yaa) known to Onnyibi, his father, and all negotiation were completed for Yaa to become his wife. 29. Taaber knew that soon Yaa Kwamba would come to live with him. 30. Because of that, he had a hut built for him on his farm so that when they start living together as man and wife they could go and stay there from time to time in order to work. 31. When the wedding (marriage ceremony) was held, everyone agreed that Taaber and his father, Onnyibi, had done a good job of making sure Yaa was well dressed (for the ceremony). 32. There were lots of food and imported drinks at the ceremony, and the performers who came were all very happy. 33. Eight days after the ceremony, Yaa moved to Taaber's house and with a common commitment pursued their work as farmers. 34. When the hut in the village (on the farm) was ready, they would go and spend about ten days at a time there and then would come back home to Duase.

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