A STUDY OF DANGME ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS

BY

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(10340515)

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DECLARATION

I, Yvette Djabakie Asamoah, declare that except for references to works that have been duly cited, this thesis is the result of my original research under the supervision of Professor Kofi Korankye Saah and Dr. Mercy Bobuafor and that it has neither in whole nor in part been presented for another degree elsewhere.

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(SUPERVISOR)
DEDICATION

To my first love, God Almighty, who is always there for me, my family and friends; without whom none of my success would be possible.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God Almighty for his mercies and unfailing love that has got me this far. I am also grateful to the Lord for the gift of life and the opportunity to undertake this research. I must admit that this journey had not been easy, there were tough and daunting times and therefore there is the need to express my gratitude to all who helped me complete this thesis successfully.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the nature of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme (Kwa, Niger-Congo). It looked at the morphological, semantic and syntactic properties exhibited by Dangme adverbs. Data for the study were gathered from books and recordings of free oral utterances of native speakers. Using functional grammar and its prototypical means of categorization as the theoretical framework of this study, adverbs and adverbials were identified and analysed.

The finding showed that in Dangme, adverbial concepts are expressed not only by prototypical adverbs but also by derived elements, temporal nouns, adjectives and emphatic markers. The class ‘adverbs’ was also shown to be connected with other higher syntactic constituents termed ‘adverbials’. Dangme does not have affixes for the derivation of adverbs; however it does so through reduplication and compounding.

The study also revealed that an adverb/adverbial in Dangme falls into six major semantic classes, namely; manner, time, place, aspectual, epistemic and contingency. The study showed that syntactically, an adverb in Dangme may be either a Sentence adverb or VP-adverb and revealed that the distribution and sequencing of adverbs/adverbials are influenced by the meanings of the adverbs themselves and their scope capabilities.
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
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<td>DEF</td>
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<td>Demonstrative</td>
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<td>1PL</td>
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<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>Second person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>Third person plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Reduplicated Adverbs formed from Adjectives ...........................................71
Table 2: Adverbs formed from reduplicated Nouns ......................................................74
Table 3: Positional Possibilities of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials ......................168
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The language map of Ghana (Ethnologue 2017). ..................................... 8
Figure 2. The language map of the Dangme speaking area................................. 9
Figure 3. Prototypical representation of Dangme adverb category ...................... 62
Figure 4. Semantic Classification of the Dangme Adverb Class......................... 104
TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION ..............................................................................................................i
DEDICATION .............................................................................................................. ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ............................................................................................... iii
ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................. v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ....................................................................................... vi
LIST OF TABLES ....................................................................................................... ii
LIST OF FIGURES ..................................................................................................... iii
TABLE OF CONTENT ............................................................................................... iv
CHAPTER ONE .......................................................................................................... 1
  1.1 Introduction ........................................................................................................ 1
  1.2 Background of the Study .................................................................................. 1
  1.3 Genetic Classification and Dialectical Information ........................................ 5
  1.4 Structure of the Dangme Language ..................................................................10
  1.5 Problem Statement ..........................................................................................13
  1.6 Research Objectives .......................................................................................15
  1.7 Research Questions ........................................................................................15
  1.8 Significance of the study ................................................................................15
  1.9 Research Methodology ...................................................................................16
  1.10 Organization of the thesis .............................................................................17
  1.11 Chapter Summary ..........................................................................................17
CHAPTER TWO ......................................................................................................... 19
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .................. 19
  2.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................... 19
  2.2 Fundamental Issues on Adverbs ...................................................................... 19
    2.2.1 The Notional Definition of Adverbs ......................................................... 23
    2.2.2 Distinction between Adverbs and Adverbials ......................................... 27
    2.2.3 Defining Properties of Adverbs ............................................................... 28
      2.2.3.1 Morphological Properties of Adverbs ................................................. 29
3.5.5 Clauses used as adverbials in Dangme ........................................... 99
3.6 Chapter Summary ........................................................................... 100
CHAPTER FOUR ........................................................................................ 102
SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF DANGME ADVERBS AND
ADVERBIALS .......................................................................................... 102
4.1 Introduction ................................................................................... 102
4.2 Semantic Classes of Adverbs and Adverbials in Dangme ............ 103
  4.2.1 Manner Adverbs ........................................................................ 105
  4.2.1.1 Ideophones as Manner Adverbs ......................................... 107
  4.2.1.2 Instrumental Adverbials ...................................................... 110
  4.2.1.3 Pace Adverbs .................................................................... 114
  4.2.2 Time/ Temporal Adverbs .......................................................... 115
  4.2.2.1 Time-when Adverbs .......................................................... 115
  4.2.2.2 Durational Adverbs .......................................................... 117
  4.2.2.3 Frequency/Repetitive Adverbs .......................................... 118
  4.2.3 Place/Locative Adverbs ............................................................ 120
  4.2.4 Aspectual Adverbs .................................................................. 122
  4.2.5 Epistemic Adverbs .................................................................. 123
  4.2.6 Adverbials of Contingency ..................................................... 124
4.3 Chapter Summary .......................................................................... 133
CHAPTER FIVE .......................................................................................... 135
A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF DANGME ADVERBS AND
ADVERBIALS ........................................................................................... 135
  5.1 Introduction .................................................................................. 135
  5.2 Positional Distribution of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials ...... 136
  5.2.1 Syntactic Positions of Manner Adverbs .................................... 137
  5.2.2 Syntactic Positions of Time/Temporal Adverbs ....................... 143
  5.2.3 Syntactic Positions of Place Adverbs ....................................... 148
  5.2.4 Syntactic Positions of Aspectual Adverbs ............................... 152
  5.2.5 Syntactic Positions of Epistemic or Speaker-Oriented Adverbs... 154
5.2.6 Syntactic Positions of Adverbs of Contingency ...................... 155
5.3 The Relative Sequencing of Dangme adverbs and adverbials ..... 160
5.4 Chapter Summary ........................................................................ 166
CHAPTER SIX ..................................................................................................... 169
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION ... 169
6.1 Introduction.......................................................................................... 169
6.2 Summary of Chapters........................................................................ 169
6.3 A Summary of Findings.............................................................. 172
   6.3.1 Findings on the Morphological Structure of the Dangme Adverb
        Class ........................................................................................................ 172
   6.3.2 Findings on the Semantic Classes of Dangme Adverbs and
        Adverbials .......................................................................................... 174
   6.3.3 Findings on the Syntactic Distribution of Dangme Adverbs and
        Adverbials .......................................................................................... 175
6.4 Recommendations for Future Research ........................................ 176
References............................................................................................................. 178
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is devoted to the study of adverbs in Dangme, a language that belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family of languages. The study seeks to investigate the nature and structure of adverbs in Dangme, particularly examining what constitutes adverbs, their morphology, the various semantic classes present in the language and their syntactic distribution.

This current chapter presents the general introduction of this thesis. Section 1.2 sets forth some general issues that underlie the study of adverbs. In section 1.3, I look at the genetic classification and the sociolinguistic status of the language. Section 1.4 gives a brief information about the structure of Dangme language and in section 1.5, I present the problem statement for this study. Sections 1.6 and 1.7 explores the objectives and research questions that inform this thesis respectively. In section 1.8, the significance of the study is discussed. The research methodology and the organization of the thesis are captured in sections 1.9 and 1.10 respectively. Section 1.11 concludes the chapter.

1.2 Background of the Study

One key goal that can be seen in the works of linguists regardless of their viewpoints is discovering the underlying properties of human language and making clear generalizations about the nature and the entire system of the language. One scope of language structure that has constantly remained an
eminent area of discussion for linguists, cross-linguistically is word classes (Payne, 2006; Schachter & Shopen, 2007; Simone & Masini, 2014). Substantial studies have shown that the study of word classes has had a place in linguistics more than some millennia ago (cf. Schachter & Shopen, 2007; Simone & Masini, 2014). This is mainly because of the varied properties that come with these parts-of-speech systems; while most languages in the world make parts-of-speech distinctions due to some unique qualities that tend to be rather language specific, there are also a number of similarities that cut across languages (Simone & Masini, 2014).

Interestingly, one open-parts-of-speech class which seems to have gained little attention in the typological analyses of word classes of the world’s languages is the ‘class of adverbs’ (Lusekelo, 2010; McNally & Kennedy, 2008; Nurse & Philippson, 2003; Saah, 2004; Tabe, 2015). Adverbs as a word category is one other lexical class aside adjectives that plays a dominant role in the modification of structures of a language. According to many linguists, the study of adverbs as a word category is intriguing, yet a relatively unexplored area for most languages in the world (McNally & Kennedy, 2008; Saah 2004; Tabe 2015). Formerly, the traditional term ‘adverb’ was used to grammatically denote lexical items that were used to modify a verb, an adjective or another adverb (Curme, 1935) however, given the wide functional and notional range of adverbs, it has now come to be more widely seen as a word category capable of not only modifying verbs, adjectives and other adverbs but also an entire sentence.
One lexical class that adverbs is closely connected to both morphologically and syntactically is adjectives (Pittner et al., 2015). This is mainly due to the fact that a large number of adverbs are identified to be derived from adjectives and also because some languages express adverbs by the use of adjectives (Geuder, 2000; Pittner et al., 2015; Schachter & Shopen, 2007). In actual fact, cross-linguistic studies on word classes show that prototypical examples of adverbs are genuinely very adjective-like in nature and hence the rationale behind why many languages do not make a distinction between the two categories (Geuder, 2000; McNally & Kennedy, 2008).

However, the robust distinction that exists between these two modifying elements has been, by and large, identified as their complementary distribution; whereas adjectives tend to modify nouns, adverbs aim at other components other than the nouns. As a result, some researchers regard adverbs as adjective-like items in non-adjective-like positions (Geuder, 2000; McNally & Kennedy, 2008). This study also give us a fair insight about how closely-related adjectives and adverbs are as the most cases presented here also show that most Dangme adverbs are genuinely very adjective-like. The reason being because Dangme (like all other human languages) productively uses words belonging to different word categories to execute functions that are generally not associated with them in any way. For instance, most of the data presented in this study reveal that Dangme does not only use adjectives to express adverbial functions, but also other lexical elements such
as temporal nouns, locative constructions as well as emphatic markers even though they all have their individual functions they perform when they occur in sentences.

Languages have various ways of forming adverbs. In English, most adverbs are formed by attaching the suffix ‘-ly’ to adjectival base words (Geuder, 2000). For Ewe, Dzameshie (1998) and Saah & Agbedor (2004) discover that the suffix ‘-tɔe’ is used in the formation of Ewe adverbs. Also in French and Italian languages, the suffixes ‘-ment’ and ‘-mente’ are attached to adjectives to form adverbs respectively (Tabe, 2015). A preliminary investigation of the morphological structure of Dangme adverbs shows that Dangme has a few true adverbs which are non-derived but then, the Dangme adverb category also consist of many derived adverbs. These derived adverbs are not formed by attaching affixes like observed in some languages, but formed through some other derivational processes.

Apart from the derived adverbs, most languages use other syntactic constituents like phrases and clauses to perform adverbial function. In fact, most typological findings have shown that generally adverbs do not only come as single words, but also as other syntactic categories like PP, NP, Adv.P, Adj.P and even clauses; constituents that one normally cannot tell instinctively if they belong to the class of adverbs (Bobuafor, 2013; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Schachter & Shopen, 2007 Tabe, 2015). Therefore, in quest of examining which structures can be considered as adverbs in Dangme, the study also seeks to investigate other
syntactic constituents that may be used to express adverbial notions in the language.

It is these assumptions and inferring generalizations that inspire this study on Dangme adverbs to investigate the nature, morphology and syntactic behaviour that are displayed by the adverbs in the language.

1.3 Genetic Classification and Dialectical Information

Dangme is a language spoken in Ghana, West Africa by the Dangmeli (Dangme people). It belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo language family. According to Apronti (1971), Dangme, is spoken in two main regions; the Eastern Region in towns such as Dodowa, Somanya, Odumase, Asesewa and Agormanya and east of Greater Accra in the coastal areas such as Ningo, Ada and Prampram. However, in recent works (cf. Akortia, 2014; Caesar, 2016 & 2012; Ameka & Dakubu, 2008), the Volta region is identified as the third area where the language is spoken. For all these three regions identified, the Greater Accra is estimated as the area with majority of the speakers (Akortia, 2014).

Although, there have been some uncertainties lately regarding the number of dialects the language has, all the various dialects found fall under Dakubu's (1988) dialectal classification of the language. Dakubu (1988:94) recognizes two main dialects based on their geographical distribution, namely; the coastal dialects and the inland dialects. The coastal dialects include Ada, Gbugbla and Ningo. The inland dialects are K1o (Krobo), Sɛ and Shai. Apronti (1971) reports that the differences between the two dialects is as a result of some political divisions that
might have taken place in the past, precisely one that led them into agreeing to disperse at Lolovor to set up their own political territories at their present locations. While the two dialects may reflect marked differences in sound, grammar, or lexicon, Apronti (1971) further observed that the Dangme people are culturally and linguistically united mainly because they share a common heritage and language.

Geographically, the language shares borders with Ga to the west, Hill Guang (ɔkere and ɔte) and Akan to the north and west, and Ewe to the east with the Volta Lake serving as the boundary mark (Dakubu, 1987; Amfo, 2011). The connections that Dangme has with its neighbouring languages explain the great influence of these languages on Dangme lexicon. The coastal dialects are influenced by Ga and Ewe. The inland dialects are greatly influenced by the Akan language. Dangme is also said to share close resemblance with Ga, the language spoken by the Ga people who reside in and around the Greater Accra region, when it comes to some basic words, but reflect striking differences in phonology, syntax and semantics (Dakubu, 1988; Adi, 1997).

Dangme has an official orthography and is one of the Ghanaian languages which was written on very early (Amfo, 2011). The language is taught as a subject in the primary and secondary schools. It is also learnt as a subject at the University of Education, Winneba and the School of Languages, University of Ghana. A number of scholarly works have been done on the semantics, phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. Many written texts in Dangme have also
been published by the Bureau of Ghana Languages. The language also features on the radio, specifically, on Obono fm and Rite fm, two major radio stations which can be found in the Dangme speaking area. Figure 1 and 2 show the various areas where Dangme is widely spoken.
Figure 1. The language map of Ghana (Ethnologue 2017).
Figure 2. The Language Map of the Dangme Speaking Area

Source: Reginald Boye
1.4 Structure of the Dangme Language

Dangme is a register tone language with three basic level contrastive tones; high, low and mid which has lexical as well as grammatical functions (cf. Caesar, 2012; Dakubu, 1987). The language has 23 consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, kp, gb, f, v, s, z, \(tf, dg, m, n, j, w, h, l, p, \eta, nm/ and 12 vowels made up of 7 oral /i, e, a, \(a, o, u/ and 5 nasal vowels /i, \(e, \(a, \(o, \(u/ (Dakubu 1988). Dangme has three syllable types; CV, V and CCV but the most predominant syllable structure in Dangme is observed to be CV (Dakubu, 1988).

When it comes to Dangme verbal system, every verb phrase is normally made up of only one verb (Dakubu 1987:56; Adi 1997:42; Caesar, 2012). The language has no tense. According to Dakubu (1987:60), in Dangme “verb system, tense is of secondary importance” because the verbs are normally aorist in nature, hence able to refer to events that have taken place without regard to their extensions over time.

Dakubu (1987) also observes that the language’s little consideration for tense does not render it impractical of indicating the time frame of an event as the language has enough particles and adverbial expressions to depict whether an event took place in the past, is taking place in the present or is to happen in the future. The language employs aspectual markers such as ‘\(hii\ldots e/’, ‘\(ng\ldots e/’, ‘\(a/’ and ‘\(maa/ma/’ to distinguish grammatical properties such as habitual, progressing and future events. The aspectual markers ‘\(hii\ldots e/’ and ‘\(ng\ldots e/’ are used to depict continuous tense and ‘\(ng\ldots e/’ can also be used to indicate a habitual action.
(Caesar, 2012). The Dangme example below gives us a glimpse of the a-fore mentioned.

(1)  a. Dèdé  hìí nyú nù-é  b. Dèdé  nge  dò-é

   Dèdé  PROG water  drink-PROG  Dèdé  PROG  dò-PROG

   ‘Dede is drinking water.’  ‘Dede is dancing.’

The sentences in Example (1) show verbs in a progressive state. The progressive aspectual markers ‘hìí…é’ and ‘nge…é’ that come with the main verbs nù ‘drink’ and dò ‘dance’ in these sentences indicate that the action of the verb is ongoing. In Dangme, these two aspectual markers are also used to express an event that is habitual. In Example (1b), ‘nge…é’ indicates a progressive action of ‘dancing’ and it can also mean the subject, Dede, is into ‘dancing’ by expressing an everyday action. The language also has a bound morpheme ‘-ɔ’ which is used to distinguish habitual events when the aspectual markers mentioned earlier are absent in the sentence. It is attached to the main verb in the sentence and normally goes through some phonological changes (Caesar, 2012). This is illustrated in the example below.

(2)  a. Dèdé  bá-ɔ sukúú má  b. Dèdé  bu-ɔ  nɔ

   Dèdé  come-PROG  school  early  Dèdé  respect-PROG  people

   ‘Dede comes to school early.’  ‘Dede respects people.’

In the example above, the bound morpheme ‘-ɔ’ is attached to the verb bá ‘come’ and bu ‘respect’ to indicate habitual actions. It can also be observed that in
(2a), the bound morpheme totally assimilates to look like the preceding sound /a/. In (3), the future marker ‘maa’ comes before the verb ba ‘come’ and is used to show a future event.

(3) a. Dédé màá ba sukúú má
   Dédé FUT come school early
   ‘Dede will come to school early.’

Aside these aspectual markers, Dakubu (1987) mentions that adverbs can also be added to sentences to help code tense in Dangme as exemplified in (4).

(4) a. Dédé ba-a sukuu daa
   Dédé come-HAB school always
   ‘Dede comes to school always.’

b. Dédé ngɛ dɔ-ɛ pio
   Dédé PROG dɔ-PROG now
   ‘Dede is dancing now.’

c. Dédé bá sukuú má hie
   Dédé come.PST school early yesterday
   ‘Dede came to school early yesterday.’

d. Dédé maa bá sukuú má hwɔɔ
   Dédé FUT come school early tomorrow
   ‘Dede will come to school early tomorrow.’

In the sentences in (4), the underlined expressions are all examples of adverbs in Dangme. It can be observed from the each of the sentences that adverbs
like the aspectual markers we saw earlier helps the verbs to express whether an action occurs always as in (4a), occurring now like in (4b), has already occurred as in (4c) or will occur later in the future like illustrated in (4d). This preliminary observation of Dangme adverbs is one of the contributory factors behind this study because if adverbs hold, such as important role, then it is equally important to investigate their nature, their various semantic types and distribution.

1.5 Problem Statement

Although, it has become a truism that ‘adverbs’, as a word category, has not enjoyed much attention in the works of linguists, one cannot overlook the substantive findings of some scholars about the class of adverbs. A few works that have been done, especially on African languages reveal the intriguing nature and syntactic behaviour of adverbs (Lusekelo, 2010; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004; Tabe, 2015). The insightful findings of these works show that there are various means through which languages form and use adverbs. These include the use of simple adjectives, nouns, verbs, locative particles, ideophones and reduplicated structures.

Saah (2004) reports that adverbs in Akan modify not only verbs, but other constituents like verb phrases and clauses classifying Akan adverbs into VP adverbs and Sentence adverbs. He also explains the reason for the placement restrictions on Akan adverbs. Saah (2004:73) reveals that “most of the words used as adverbs are nouns or adjectives” as the language tends not to derive adverbs
from other word classes. And hence, a wrong placement of an adverb may depict another kind of word class. For instance the manner adverbs in Akan cannot precede the verb, else they may be construed as adjectives.

Like Saah (2004), Tabe (2015) who looked at adverbs in Kenyang also points out that the position of adverbs affects the semantics of the proposition. She also mentioned adjectives in Kenyang can be interpreted as “manner adverb in VP-final position or used attributively or predicatively with/without morphological change”.

However, nothing has been said of Dangme adverbs. The two works that feature some information on Dangme adverbs do not shed light on the nature of this open class part-of-speech. Dakubu’s (1987) work shows that indeed the language has adverbs which help verbs express aspect. The study by Abaka et al. (2010) also looked at reduplication in Akan, Dangme and Gurene and the formation of adverbs through the process of reduplication was discussed. Therefore, this study seeks to delve into the nature, syntactic distribution and semantic types of adverbs in Dangme.
1.6 Research Objectives

This study seeks to attain the following;

i. To discover the various classes of adverbs and adverbials used in Dangme.

ii. To examine the morphology of the Dangme adverbs.

iii. To find out the various semantic types of adverbs in Dangme.

iv. To investigate the syntactic distribution of adverbs in Dangme.

1.7 Research Questions

The study will answer the following questions:

(1) What constitutes the class ‘adverbs’ in Dangme?

(2) What morphological properties are exhibited by them?

(3) What kind of meaning do adverbs add to the constituents they modify?

(4) How are adverbs distributed in sentences?

1.8 Significance of the study

This study provides a detailed analysis of the nature of Dangme adverbs and adverbials to add on to the existing works done on the subject in the Kwa language phylum. It will also complement the literature on the language. Also, this study will provide information about adverbs for typological studies which aim to describe and compare the parts-of-speech systems of the world’s languages.
1.9 Research Methodology

The data for this study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were drawn from utterances made during interview sessions with 12 native speakers of the language; five native speakers of the coastal dialect and 7 native speakers of the inland dialect. Some of the data were also gathered from free speech of six traders at the Agormanya market. With permission from the participants, I recorded the conversations that took place between them and some farmers who had brought their farm produce to be bought by these traders. I also recorded bargains and informal conversations of these traders and their customers, who were all native speakers of the Dangme language.

A large number of the data for this study were also extracted from available grammars and other written texts such as the Dangme Bible, the Language Guide and an array of novels and primers published by the Bureau of Ghana Languages. Also, as a native speaker, I provided some of the data, however, these were further cross-checked by other native speakers for their authenticity.

From the data gathered, I identify the structures that are considered ‘adverbs’ or ‘adverbials’ in Dangme and also sub-categorized them into various semantic classes using the parameters of prototypical categorization. This is further explained in chapter two.
1.10 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is organized into six chapters. This current chapter presents the general introductory information about adverbs. It also covers information about the genetic classification and structure of the language, problem statement, objectives, research questions, significance and purpose of the study, methodology and the outline of the thesis.

Chapter two consists of the theoretical framework and literature review. In chapter three, I investigate the morphological properties that are reflected in Dangme adverbs and adverbials. Chapter four will primarily concentrate on the semantic classification of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme and chapter five will examine the syntactic distribution of Dangme adverbs. Chapter six presents the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

1.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the general introduction of the thesis. It began by addressing fundamental issues that surround the nature of adverbs. It looked at the genetic affiliation and structure of the Dangme language. It reveals that the differences seen in the two main dialects of Dangme were as a result of some misunderstanding which might have led to the linguistic divisions we see today.

The chapter also discussed the structure of the Dangme language. From this chapter, we observed that Dangme adverbs help verbs to express aspect. This observation is one of the teeming issues that saliently explain why there is the need to investigate the nature of Dangme adverbs. The chapter also threw light on the
problem statement of the study, the significance of the work and the research objectives that inform this study. And finally, the chapter discussed how the data were gathered and analyzed.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores some of the indispensable studies that have been done on adverbs as well as offers an overview of the theoretical framework that underlies this study. The chapter consists of two broad sections. The second section, 2.2, looks at the relevant informative surveys that linguists have done on the syntax, morphology and semantics of adverbs. In the third section, 2.3, I present the theoretical framework that underlies this study and the chapter summary is presented in section 2.4.

2.2 Fundamental Issues on Adverbs

Although it is an undeniable fact that the category ‘adverbs’ is one lexical class which is significantly less studied in almost all human languages, the insightful claims from the few works done on the subject have shown it to be one of the fundamental units in every sentence (cf. Curme, 1935; Dakubu, 1987; Jackendorf, 1972; Pittner et al, 2015; Saah, 2004; Schachter & Shopen, 2007). This is because among all the open-class lexical classes, the ‘class of adverbs’ happens to have a wider distribution in terms of the structures they modify, as they modify constituents other than nouns. Even with nouns, there have been some identified cases in English, for instance, where adverbs are seen modifying pronouns like mine, hers, anyone and other quantity words which could be thought of as a noun.
For example; ‘Nearly/Hardly anyone came to the party.’ or ‘It is undeniably hers.’ (cf. Biber et al, 1999; Eastwood, 1999).

According to linguists such as (Jackendorf, 1972; Pittner et al., 2015; Simone & Masini, 2014), adverbs form a lexical part of speech category that, aside adjectives, play a prevalent part in the modification of words of a language. However, it is interesting to know that while on one side, the class is said to be an integral part of a sentence responsible for the modification of almost all other lexical categories as well as the clause itself, it is also seen as the “most problematic major word class” (Haspelmath 2001:16543) and the “most maligned part of speech.” (Jackendoff, 1972:47). This is because of how varied the properties of adverbs are, an assumption which is in line with the generalization Quirk et al (1985) provided in the following statement:

Because of its great heterogeneity, the adverb class is the most nebulous and puzzling of the traditional word classes. Indeed, it is tempting to say simply that the adverb is an item that does not fit the definition for other word classes. As a consequence, some grammarians have removed certain types of items from the class entirely, and established several additional classes rather than retain these subsets within a single adverb class.

(Quirk et al., 1985:438)
The literature on adverbs has attributed the problematic nature of the class to several reasons; (cf. Jackendoff, 1972; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Tabe, 2015; Tenny, 2000). One of the first assumptions raised as evidence for why adverbs are very problematic among other word classes is because of the varied membership status it comes with. According to Jackendoff (1972:47), the predominant reason why the category ‘adverbs’ is presumed as being problematic is because it has traditionally been a ‘catch-all’ term” in many languages. A substantial number of researchers have also followed this line of thought by describing the class as a ‘mixed bag’ (Borjas & Burridge, 2001:66), a ‘rag bag or dustbin’ (Palmer 1971:47) and most times regarded as ‘the least satisfactory of the traditional parts of speech’ (Quirk et al 1972:267). Pittner et al. (2015:1) also mentions that “the class of adverbs has often been treated as a kind of waste paper basket for all words that do not fit clearly into any of the major categories like nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, and conjunctions.”

From the assertions above, it can be deduced that the category of adverbs could constitute words that are true adverbs as well as those that are members of other syntactic categories. For example, English has true adverbs such as *early*, *now*, *here* and *completely* as well as words belonging to different word classes which are used as adverbs like *January* (noun), *fast* (adjective), *above* (preposition) any many others (Biber et al., 1999). Similarly, this observation is also evident in most African languages (cf. Dzameshie, 1998; Lusekelo, 2010; Tabe, 2015; Saah, 2004).
Another reason is tied to the heterogeneous nature of the class as it makes it notoriously difficult to identify the structures that constitute adverbs as well as define the precise features that come with them (Jackendorf, 1972; Pittner et al., 2015). This is because whereas some features may hold for most word items recognized as adverbs of the language, others may tend to show entirely different properties different from the basic properties of the class. For instance, Jackendoff (1972:47) mentioned that due to the heterogeneous nature that come with the class, “adverbs have been maltreated beyond the call of duty” to the extent that “most studies in generative grammar do not even concede to them the right to be part of speech.” Pittner et al. (2015:2) also assert that the heterogeneous nature of adverbs has raised questions about their identification and the kind of relations they have with other lexical categories specifically, adjectives.

For Pittner et al. (2015), another interesting reason for the problematic nature of adverbs is because in many languages adverbs are not morphologically marked and if they do, it is uncertain whether it belongs to the class. Hence, the category was looked at syntactically with their nature treated in the context of their syntactic function. However, because their nature and diverse properties project interactions between the various aspects of language, their internal structure, morphology and lexical meaning have recently come to receive more attention. These issues and many others that come with the class are largely responsible for the increased interest of linguists recently.
2.2.1 The Notional Definition of Adverbs

Almost all languages have adverbs or various ways of expressing adverbial function. However, defining and naming their descriptive properties is one area that has remained a debate in the study of adverbs (Curme, 1935; Jackendoff, 1972; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Tallerman, 1998; Tenny, 2000). The difficulty incurred in defining adverbs and assigning precise character traits to this class is not something new. Pittner et al. (2015) have observed that it can be traced to as early as the nineteenth century. According to Pittner et al. (2015:1), Schwarz’s (1982), generalization of adverbs clearly points out the difficulties in defining adverbs:

Almost every study of the (so-called) adverb begins with a critique of the unclear status of this category. [...] What, then, is an adverb? We cannot answer this question because we suspect that it is a matter of largely indefinable word class.

(Schwarz, 1982:61& 64)

Saah (2004) and Schachter & Shopen (2007) also acknowledge the elusiveness in defining the class. Saah (2004: 47) emphasizes that “the term ‘adverb’ has been used to cover quite a wide range of lexical items that perform a variety of functions.” Schachter & Shopen (2007) also concur that the term is usually used to refer to numerous words in a given language and at most times these words do not necessarily share any notional or grammatical similarities with the lexical class.
The earliest meaning of the term ‘adverb’ referred to any word that modified the verb of the sentence (cf. Curme, 1935; Rauh, 2010). This meaning was regarded as the actual sense of the word inferred from its literal meaning ‘that which is added to a verb.’ Curme (1935:71-72), confirms that an adverb was first seen as “an appositive to a verb, i.e. is placed before or after a verb to explain its meaning.” However, the traditional definition was seen as problematic mainly because it was realized that most of the words of this group did not only modify verbs but other constituents as well. Hence, defining the class solely based on its formal definition excluded many members that belonged to the category.

Therefore, radical updates were made by a number of researchers extending the term to capture the many properties and functions performed by the class. The numerous definitions that came up all aimed to define adverbs based on the different forms adverbs came in, their distribution and function.¹ Tallerman (1998) asserts that these areas are targeted because in the domain of defining word classes, linguists usually take into consideration the morphological structure and syntactic distribution. Therefore, like every word class, adverbs could not also be labeled and defined without using the morphological and syntactic criteria. Hence, all definitions of adverbs that abound in the literature go in that direction.

¹ Tallerman (1998) provides an account of how word classes are defined. He mentions that all definitions and terminologies of any concept in language study employ the morphological and syntactic criteria as their yardstick. The morphological criteria deal with the various recurring patterns of a word, specifically targeted at the distinctive affixes that accompany the different parts of speech. The syntactic criteria on the other hand show the unique patterns of a word’s distribution.
Many have defined the class in terms of their morphology (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Quirk et al, 1985; Tallerman, 1998). Huddleston (1988:31) observes that “although it is function that provides the primary defining characteristic of adverbs, the easiest route to an initial grasp of the class is probably through lexical morphology.” Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002:384) hold that from the morphological perspective, the category in many languages “constitute an eclectic class with a few monosyllabic adverbs” as well as “…morphologically-complex adverbs, reduplicated forms, unanalysable bisyllabic forms, and frozen phrases, all of which can be used adverbially.”

There are a number of researchers who also hold that adverbs should rather be defined and classified on the basis of their syntactic behaviour and distribution of the class (Cinque, 1999, 2004; Ernst, 2002; Jackendoff, 1972; Scot 1968). According to Scot (1968: 32), “the word class adverb is often defined by position rather than by form.” Again, Geuder (2000) confirms that though many languages identify and describe adverbs based on the different kinds of properties they come with; however, their syntactic distribution should be recognized as the only criterion for the identification and description of the class. Therefore, using their syntax as the yardstick, Potsdam (2017:4) defines adverbs as adjoining elements of the verb which are “realized in adjunction positions with a conservative clause structure that has a unitary IP dominating one or more VPs.”

Some have also defined adverbs in terms of their function. One of such influential explanations about the class ‘adverbs’ was presented by Curme
(1935:71), who looked at the lexico-semantic definition of the class.\footnote{Here, (Curme, 1935:52) states that “the lexico-semantic definition of adverbs sheds light on the nature of their relation to the constituent over which they scope.”} Curme (1935:71) defined an adverb as “a word that modifies a verb, an adjective, or another adverb.” He further added in Curme (1935:72) that “an adverb, however, modifies not only a single word, but often also a prepositional phrase, a subordinate clause, or an independent statement as a whole.” The term adverb is also explained by Trask (1993:9) to be “a lexical category, or a member of this category, whose members are usually grammatical adjuncts of a verb and most typically express such semantic notions as time, manner, place, instrument or circumstance.” Tallerman (1998: 63) also follows this line of thought, but further postulates that not all grammatical adjuncts are adverbs using the following sentences outlined in Example 5.

(1)  
   a. We’re leaving \textbf{next week/today/tomorrow} (NP)  
   b. We’re leaving \textbf{in a week} (PP)  
   c. We’re leaving \textbf{rather hurriedly} (Adv. P)  

   (Tallerman, 1998:63, ex.80)  

As seen in the examples above, the elements in bold are performing adverbial function. They can also be said to be adjuncts as they are extra optional information added to the verb. Tallerman (1998:63) however, argues that though these “optional modifying phrases” representing different parts of speech are performing adverbial functions, they are all not adverbs, bringing us to the
realization that many other constituents named ‘adverbials’ are closely tied to this class of ‘adverbs’. These constructions are also evident in Dangme sentences. The data gathered for this study reveals that the Dangme adverb system contains single lexical items which are regarded as true adverbs in the language as well as other single words belonging to other word classes. The class also constitutes different kinds of phrases and clauses which are used to indicate adverbial concepts in the language. Therefore, in the next sub-section, I look at what the distinctions that linguists have made between these two terms.

2.2.2 Distinction between Adverbs and Adverbials

Pittner et al. (2015: 4) mention that adverbs are closely linked with another group of syntactic constituents known as adverbials. They posit that even though adverbs and adverbials refer to two different linguistic categories yet are said to be closely related because they both indicate an adverbial function and often behave syntactically alike. The two categories ‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’ are explained differently by various researchers, however the principal idea that cuts through all is similar to Greenbaum’s (2000: 173) definitions of the two concepts:

The terms adverb and adverbial are distinct. Adverb is the name of a word class (or part of speech), so adverbs can be contrasted with adjectives. An adverb phrase is a phrase headed by an adverb […]

Adverbial is the name of a constituent of a sentence or clause, so adverbials can be contrasted with complements of the verb such as subject predicatives and direct objects. An adverb phrase may
function as an adverbial […] But so can other linguistic units, such as a prepositional phrase or clause. (Greenbaum, 2000:173)

2.2.3 Defining Properties of Adverbs

There are a variety of properties that come with the class of ‘adverbs’. Though adverbs in some languages may contain slightly differing properties that are bound to be language specific, generally adverbs all share certain features. These features first of all distinguish them from the other word classes and then also put them into the various sub-classes we see in our languages. For instance, Huddleston (1988) outlines the defining features of adverbs in English:

… The adverb is definable as a grammatically distinct word class with the following properties:

(a) Its central members characteristically modify (or head phrases which modify) verbs, adjectives and other adverbs.

(b) Central members commonly express manner or degree; other frequent meanings (often associated with grammatically less central members) include time and place.

(c) It is commonly the case that many members, especially those belonging to the manner subclass, are morphologically derived from adjectives. (Huddleston, 1988: 120)
The statement above clearly show that adverbs in every language may come with some defining features which are associated with their morphology, their syntactic distribution and semantic features which have also been identified by many linguists over the years (Biber et al., 1999; Jackendoff, 1972; Lusekelo, 2010, Saah, 2004; Tabe, 2015). Therefore, in the next sub-sections, I discuss the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of adverbs.

2.2.3.1 Morphological Properties of Adverbs

Many detailed analyses made on adverbs reveal that adverbs come in a variety of forms (Biber et al., 1999; Geuder, 2000; Tabe, 2015). Generally, the category is morphologically classified into lexical and derived adverbs. The lexical adverbs are normally single words which are non-derived. These include words recognized as the true adverbs in the language as well as adjectives, nouns, verbs and prepositions which can be used to perform adverbial function. For derived adverbs, many languages rest on derivational processes to produce such structures. Compounding, affixation and all forms of reduplication are regarded as some of the morphological means through which adverbs are formed in many languages (Abakah et al, 2010; Dzameshie, 1999; Geuder, 2000; Lusekelo, 2010).

Berk (1999) asserts that English adverbs do not have any distinctive morphology in that the derivational suffix ‘–ly’ recognized as the primary means of forming adverbs is not applicable to all, adding that there are also some adjectives that are formed using the same suffix. However, Huddleston (1988)
disagrees with Berk (1999). Huddleston (1988) posits that even though many will be quick to regard the English adverbial system as one that lacks much morphology, the language has four major affixes sufficient for forming all adverbs needed in the language. He found the common suffixes ‘-ly’ (loudly), ‘-wise’ (health wise), ‘-ward’ attached to adverbs or prepositions (backwards), and the prefix ‘a-’ (ashore) as the affixes used for forming adverbs. He also added that some adverbs are formed through compounding and also by the attaching of the expressions ‘where’ or ‘there’ to prepositions (wherein). Aside these derivational means of forming adverbs, the language also employs the use of other structures to perform adverbial functions.

Dzameshie (1998) and Saah & Agbedor (2004) observe that in Ewe, the category ‘adverbs’ is made up of single word items, phrases and even clauses. Also, adverbs in the language can be derived from nouns by the addition of the suffix ‘-tse’ as illustrated in Example 2.

(2) a. Kofi fo nu dzikutse

Kofi beat mouth angrily

‘Kofi spoke angrily.’

b. Njutsua ku nukutse

man die surprisingly

‘The man died mysteriously.’ (Dzameshie, 1998: ex. 3)
From the examples above, the bolded portions are derived adverbs formed by attaching the suffix ‘-te’ to the nouns *dziku* ‘anger’ and *nuku* ‘mouth die’. Here, Dzameshie (1998) and Saah & Agbedor (2004) reveal that when adverbial meanings are expressed by other parts of speech in Ewe, there is normally a change in the form of the word which often includes the adding of the suffix ‘te’. Nevertheless, further in this section, we will find out that there are some languages in which these other parts of speech retain their form when used as adverbs (Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al, 2015; Tabe, 2015). Dzameshie (1998) also states that the suffixes ‘-e or -i’ are attached to nominalized phrasal verbs to form adverbs. This, he illustrates in the construction below.

(3) a. Kpovito la dzo *numakemakee*

    policeman the leave no open mouth

    ‘The policeman left without saying a word.’ (Dzameshie, 1998: ex.4)

Apart from adding suffixes to nominals to form adverbs, Dzameshie shows with the example above that adverbs can also be formed from verbs. Here, the word *numakemakee* meaning *without saying a word* is a derived adverb formed by adding the suffix ‘-e’ to *numakemake*. This finding is confirmed by Saah & Agbedor (2004) who also observe that the suffix ‘-e’ can also be used in forming adverbs from adjectives showing this expression *nyui* ‘good’ becoming *nyuie* ‘well’ as one of the many examples.

Saah (2004) presents a different case in Akan. According to him, Akan does not have any morphological means of deriving adverbs from other parts of
speech like seen in other languages. But then, he mentions that aside the simple
lexical adverbs such as bokɔ ‘softly’, basaa ‘haphazardly’ which is present in the
language, Akan also uses ideophones, postpositional phrases and clauses for
adverbial use. He shows this in the following Akan sentences.

(4) a. Kwame kasa-a nyansa mu/*nyansa.

Kwame speak-PST wisdom in /wisdom

‘Kwame speaks with wisdom/wisely.’ (Saah, 2004:52)

b. Abofra no didi fukafuka

Child DEF. eat.PRES greedily

‘The child eats greedily.’ (Saah, 2004:55)

c. Kofi be-ware Amma Kwasida

Kofi FUT.marry Amma Sunday

a ε- re-ba yi

REL 3SG.INANIM. PROG-come DEF

‘Kofi will marry Amma this coming Sunday.’ (Saah, 2004:59)

Example (4a) presents the case where the meaning equivalent of the adverb
‘wisely’ is expressed by the postpositional phrase nyansa mu ‘in wisdom’. In
example (4b), we have an ideophone fukafuka meaning ‘greedily’ stand as the
adverb describing the way in which the action of eating was done. Example (4c)
also shows that in Akan, there are instances where a clause is used as an adverb in
sentences. According to Lusekelo (2010), this morphological feature associated
with Akan adverbs can also be seen in Kinyakyusa. He reports that attaching
nouns with prepositions or locative particles is one of the means through which adverbs are formed in Kinyakyusa.

As seen in Akan (Saah, 2004), Tabe (2015) also reveals that in Kenyang, the principal language spoken in southwestern Cameroon, prepositional phrases introduced by the preposition *ne* ‘with/ in’ are used as adverbials to describe the manner in which an action was executed.

(5) a. Eta à den m-mwɛre à-wi neɓeɓe n-ū

Eta SG.PFV beat 1-friend 1-POSS.3SG with pains 3-heart

‘Eta beat his friend angrily.’ (Tabe, 2015:119)

b. Ashu ǎ ki be-tɛk ſtah yà ne mɑŋɑk

Ashu 1SG.1PFV do 7-work for me with happiness

‘Ashu works for me happily.’ (Tabe, 2015:119)

The expressions underlined in (5a) and (5b) are prepositional phrases which are used as adverbials in Kenyang. A closer look at this data reveals a striking difference from what we discovered in the Akan examples. Although Tabe (2015) does not come clear about the type of structure the above expressions have, it can be observed that it is the usual case of using prepositional phrases to perform adverbial functions. Also, in Tafi, a language spoken in some settlements in the Hohoe District of the Volta region, Bobuafor (2013:235) identifies that there is “limited number of basic adverbs”. Therefore, to express adverbial meaning, the language often employs the use of ideophones, nouns, deictic expressions and prepositional phrases. The language uses these clausal elements to denote the
manner, degree, time, place and modality of the verb. In other words, both prepositional and postpositional phrases can be used to indicate adverbial concepts. Similarly, Dangme also uses both postpositional phrases and prepositional phrases as adverbials.

2.2.3.2 Differentiating Adverbs from Adjectives

That there is a high overlapping between adjectives and adverbs is one generalization accepted in virtually all theories of grammar (Pittner et al., 2015). Identifying the differences that exist between adverbs and adjectives is somehow very difficult. The first reason is because both categories normally specify time, direction, location and modality (cf. Pittner et al., 2015; Geuder, 2000; Huddleston, 1988). Secondly, in many languages, these two classes tend to have similar morphological features since both are likely to be derived from the other (Geuder, 2000; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Pittner et al, 2015). For instance, Pittner et al. (2015:160), on their typological studies on word classes identify that adjectives in many languages are used adverbially without any morphological marking. According to them, “the class of adjectives simply does double duty, modifying verbs as well as nouns”.

Several other cross-linguistic observations done, especially on the grammar of African languages, list adjectives as one of the major clausal elements used as adverbs in many African languages. Saah (2004) reports that in Akan there are some words that are used as adjectives and again as adverbs without any change in
the form. Tabe (2015) also confirms the same for Kenyang. She mentions that adjectives in Kenyang can also be used to depict adverbial meaning without any morphological marking. Therefore, to understand these two word classes, many emphasize that we must acknowledge that lexical categories normally have the tendency of containing numerous overlapping features with each other (Pittner et al., 2015; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Rauh, 2010). However, though adjectives and adverbs are widely noted to be closely related, the central difference that exists between adjectives and adverbs is their complementary distribution; whereas adjectives tend to modify nouns, adverbs aim at other elements other than nouns.

2.2.3.3 Syntactic Properties of Adverbs

In this sub-section, I look at the core syntactic properties that come with the class of adverbs. Adverbs are associated with two major properties; first, their ‘modifying’ qualities and secondly, how they are distributed in sentences. ‘Modifier’ is perhaps the oldest assertion associated with the adverbs. And depending on how modification is done in the language, adverbs may be observed to either precede or follow the constituents it modifies. However, Jackendoff (1972) mentions that the semantic interpretation that adverbs express and the nature of the syntactic constituents that license the adverb are what determine an adverbs’ distribution. This interaction is what makes the study of adverbs inextricably bound to both syntax and semantics (Cinque, 1999; Tabe, 2015; Tenny, 2000).
In other words, the differences adverbs show in their positions and relations with other elements of the sentence is not mere coincidence but come up as a result of the constituents adverbs modify and the kind of meaning they add to what they specify (Cinque, 1999; Jackendoff, 1972; Saah, 2004). This classifies or partitions adverbs syntactically into two major types; Verb Phrase adverbs and Sentence adverbs. VP-adverbs also known as Verb-modifying adverbs are adverbs that modify the verb phrase or predicate. They usually appear before or after the verb phrase depending on the modification rule of the language. Potsdam (2017:405) gives the syntactic distributional structure of VP adverb as ‘left or right adjunction to main verb V’.

Sentence adverbs, on the other hand, are adverbial elements that modify the clause and normally express the opinions of the speaker on the statement uttered (Cinque, 1999; Jackendoff, 1972). According to Potsdam (2017:406) sentence adverbs occur ‘left adjunction to IP’, ‘left adjunction to I’ and ‘left adjunction to the topmost VP’. In (6), I exemplify the two syntactic classes of adverbs.

(6)  
   a. Joyce prayed **quietly**.
   b. Joyce **quietly** prayed.
   c. Joyce **probably** prayed quietly.
   d. **Probably**, Joyce prayed quietly.
   e. Joyce had **probably** prayed quietly.

Example (6) illustrates the positional distribution of VP adverbs and sentence adverbs. In sentences (6a) and (6b), is a VP-adverb **quietly** which can be found attached to the verb phrase. This adverb **quietly** modifies the verb phrase
prayed and can either occur before or after the verb phrase. Sentences (6c) and (6d) present probably as a sentence adverb which modifies the entire clause. The sentences in (6c), (6d) and (6e) show the sentence adverb probably appearing in the clause-initial position, the slot immediately following the subject of the sentence and the immediate right position after the modal or auxiliary verb.

Saah (2004:73) reports that Akan has both verb-modifying adverbs and sentence adverbs. He observed that these two groups are distributed differently based on what they have scope over. For instance, manner, pace and aspectual adverbs which fall under VP-adverbs can only occur after the verb which it scope over and therefore, placing them elsewhere could yield ungrammatical sentences or construed as other syntactic categories. Tabe (2015) also mentions that in Kenyang, VP-adverbs normally appear after the verb and can only occur at the clause-initial position when they are fronted. Here, the adverbs are seen as being accompanied by focus particles. A preliminary observation of Dangme adverbs also reveal that there are adverbs that modify the verb or verb phrase and there are some that modify the entire sentence; however, their distribution is one area that this study seeks to investigate.
2.2.3.4 Semantic Properties of Adverbs

The most important distinction in the semantic types of adverbs rests on the different information they tell about the verb or sentence. Therefore, for Saah (2004:48), “adverbs are classified semantically according to the kind of meaning they add to the verb or sentence.” For instance, an adverb may give extra information about how an action occurred, when it occurred, where it occurred and even the reason behind its occurrence. In light of this, many semantic types of adverbs have been proposed by various linguists cross-linguistically (Biber et al, 1999; Cinque, 1999; Ernst, 2002; Jackendoff, 1972).

One of the earliest generalizations about the semantic classes of adverbs is Jackendoff (1972) who proposed that the nature of the syntactic constituent that licenses the adverb determines its semantic interpretation. With this analogy, Jackendoff (1972) semantically grouped adverbs into four groups. These include **Speaker-oriented adverbs**, **Subject-oriented adverbs**, **Event-related adverbs** and **Focus adverbs**. Speaker-oriented adverbs such as *surprisingly, briefly* and *unfortunately* are adverbs that express the attitude of the speaker. They often denote the evaluative opinions of the speaker. Subject-oriented adverbs, for example *rudely, attentively, foolishly* among others, are adverbs that are subject-sensitive. Thus, they usually talk about the subject by assigning it with specific properties based on the action depicted by the verb. For adverbs which are event-related (*gently, frequently*...) they specify the manner in which an event takes place, the time and the location of the action. Therefore, event-related adverbs are
usually made up of manner adverbs, temporal adverbs and locative adverbs. The last group, focus adverbs such as \textit{exclusively}, \textit{solely}, \textit{only} and \textit{exactly} are used to draw attention to a particular part of the sentence.

Travis (1988) also provides a simplified form of Jackendoff’s (1972) classification. Though Travis (1988) concedes with Jackendoff’s semantic classification of adverbs, he points out that there are many instances where the subject-oriented adverbs and event-oriented adverbs coincide. Thus, when event-related adverbs such as \textit{gently}, \textit{carefully}, \textit{quickly} and many others of the group can also relate to the subject. Hence, Travis (1988) proposed that there should be a distinction between adverbs that are related to the event and manner adverbs. Here, Travis subdivided event-related adverbs into event-related adverbs that are agent-sensitive and the true manner adverbs.

Cinque (1999) also looks at the different semantic zones and functional projections of adverbs. Regardless that this work is being done purely on syntactic grounds, it is widely seen as having a semantic strand as well. This is because it provides a description of the various semantic zones instantiated by adverbs within a sentence. Cinque (1999:106) shows adverbs to universally encode the following semantic zones:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}} & \rightarrow \text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}} \rightarrow \text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}} \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}} \rightarrow T(\text{Past}) \\
& \rightarrow T(\text{future}) \rightarrow \text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}} \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}} \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{possibility}} \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{volition}} \\
& \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{obligation}} \rightarrow \text{Mod}_{\text{ability/permission}} \rightarrow \text{Asp}_{\text{habitual}} \rightarrow T(\text{Anterior}) \rightarrow \\
& \text{Asp}_{\text{repetitive}} \rightarrow \text{Asp}_{\text{perfect}} \rightarrow \text{Asp}_{\text{retrospective}} \rightarrow \text{Asp}_{\text{frequentative}} \rightarrow \text{Asp}_{\text{CELERATIVE}}
\end{align*}
\]
Here, the universal hierarchy is grouped into various semantic zones. Each adverb is a representative of a larger class of adverbs. The class is labeled with a corresponding functional head and every square bracket depicts a separate functional projection. Cinque (1999) sees adverbs as specifiers which have designated specifier positions within a sentence. Hence, they do not just appear anywhere but adhere to some constraints which see to their ordering within a clause.

However, Cinque’s (1999) proposal has been criticized by a number of researchers, specifically Ernst (2004), who argues that the different distributional patterns adverbs display is semantically motivated, therefore, their distribution cannot be described purely on a syntactic account. Ernst (2004) asserts that the classification of adverbs is determined by the semantic and syntactic properties of the class which happens to be inextricably bound. Ernst (2004), like many other linguists, believes that most times, the semantic composition of the adverb is better understood by the syntactic behaviour it shows.

For Ernst (2004), adverbs also often specify an event, a proposition, or a fact and their distribution and sequencing are guided by rules. Therefore, he proposes that adverbs should rather be divided into adverbs that are predicational
and the ones that serve other functions. He classifies adverbs into three different categories. These comprise predicational adverbs, participant adverbs and functional adverbs. According to Maienborn & Schafer (2011:1393), “predicational adverbials can typically be characterized as supplying a gradable property on the verbal or sentential base”. Ernst (2004) observes that in English, predicational adverbs are usually the ones formed by adding the suffix ‘-ly’ to an adjective. Participant adverbs are adverbs that normally introduce a new participant in the sentence. This new participant also helps in the action denoted by the verb of the sentence. These kinds of adverbs are often realized in many languages as prepositional phrases. The last category ‘functional adverbs’ of Ernst’s (2004) taxonomy is often regarded as the heterogeneous class because it made up of all other adverbs that do not belong to either of the two mentioned earlier.

Tenny (2000), also following the line of discussion, however, holds that the verb plays an important role in the categorization and distribution of adverbs. Therefore, Tenny (2000: 329) proposes that “the syntactic and semantic properties of adverbs are organized through an event structure constituted of semantic zones hooked up with a small inventory of functional projections”. Tenny (2000) observes that every VP within a sentence projects an event structure with various theta roles and therefore argues that the designation of arguments as adjuncts, agents, objects, instruments, location and many others depends on the semantics of the verb. Thus, it is the meaning that the verb carries which determines not only
the kind of arguments that it comes with, but also the class of adverbs that are likely to appear with it in the sentence. He also shows that the diverse distributions we see are due to the fact that adverbs “interact with event structure in different ways”.

Aside the various proposals seen, there have been other different taxonomic studies of adverbs in various languages which brings us to the assertion that languages do not all have the same number of semantic classes; some may have almost all the semantic classes identified cross-linguistically, however, others may have a limited number (Biber et al., 1999; Dzameshie, 1998; Givón, 1993; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004).

The analyses made about the adverb and adverbial systems of the various languages are of great importance to this study because the preliminary observation made on Dangme adverbs has also shown some resemblance with their counterparts in most of the languages, in terms of their morphological structure, semantic typology and how they are syntactically distributed in sentences. In sum, we encountered that languages use single word adverbs, derived adverbs, phrases and clauses of different kinds to express adverbial concepts. Similar patterns can also be found in Dangme and the Chapter Three of this study is devoted to investigating the morphological structure of Dangme adverbs. Again, these insightful studies have given the researcher a preliminary picture of what is likely to be seen in the ‘class of adverbs’ in Dangme when it comes to their semantic categorization. Also, it is worth mentioning that through these
observations, we have gained prior knowledge about the various positions adverbs occupy and this alerts us on the possible syntactic slots we are likely to find Dangme adverbs having seen how adverbs in some languages (especially Kwa) are distributed.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The study and analysis of a language and its structure is not something new. One issue which immediately arises is which theory will better explain the nature and behaviour of the structures we see in our languages. There are quite a number of approaches used in analyzing the numerous sentences structures we encounter every day. However, one of the major approaches used is the functional approach, also known as functional grammar.

2.3.1 Functional Grammar

Functional Grammar is an approach employed by functionalists to explain the patterns of cross-linguistic variation as well as analyze the individual structures of everyday discourse of languages. Unlike other theories, functional grammar seeks to examine language in terms of its function. According to advocates of functional grammar, this is so because every structure has at least a semantic function and therefore, its structure cannot be analyzed, neither can rules be formulated without taking into consideration the function of the lexical element. This is not to say that grammatical structures are not important. According to Delancey (2001), the theory does not discount linguistic structures in its analysis, however, these
structures can only be understood and explained based on their discourse and function.

Nichols (1984) in her paper ‘Functional theories of Grammar’ provides an overview of the approach:

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, and 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. (Nichols, 1984:97)

From the statement above, we realize that the functional approach does not reject language structure and its importance to the study of language. These structures serve as a starting point for broader details that tend to explain not only the utterance, but also, other possible utterances in the language through the use of motivations, communication situation, participants and even the relationships that exist among these speakers. This helps linguists get a better cross-linguistic analysis, not only of the language being studied, but also other languages. This is because there may be variations in the forms, but not the function which is universal.
2.3.2 Core Tenets of Functional Grammar

For the gathering and analysis of the data presented in this study, I employ Givón’s (2001) functional grammar. This comes with some tenets held by functionalists which will help to not only identify the structures that constitute adverbs, but also help us to adequately account for the morphological, semantic and syntactic properties that are reflected in Dangme adverbs and adverbials. According to Givón (2001:9), functional grammar comes with a set of principles that guides functionalists in their course to analyze simple as well as complex structures made within well-defined contexts:

- language is a social-cultural activity
- structure serves cognitive or communicative function
- structure is non-arbitrary, motivated, iconic
- change and variation are ever-present
- meaning is context-dependent and non-atomic
- categories are less-than-discrete
- structure is malleable, not rigid
- grammars are emergent
- rules of grammar allow some leakage

(Givón, 2001: 9)

Considering how heterogeneous the category ‘adverbs’ is and the wide range of functions that are associated with it, this set of principles outlined above
can be said to provide a flexible means through which members of the category can be described, characterized or even identified.

From the statement above, it can be deduced that one of the defining core tenets of functional grammar is the assertion that language is a tool or an instrument of verbal communication among human beings. And this perception is embraced by functionalists who believe that language and function are intertwined (Osam, 1994; Dik, 1987). Osam (1994) points out that the theory of functional grammar is centered on the notion that language structures and the functions they code are interwoven. This assertion of utterances having a function or purpose confirms the observations that have been made by various researches about adverbs and adverbials consisting of various semantic classes based on the kind of meaning they add to the constituents they modify.

Another central tenet of functional grammar is targeted at the explanation of structures. In many other approaches, explanations of grammatical structures are generated only out of grammatical form or structure (Delancey 2001). However, because structure is non-arbitrary, functionalists hold that there should be some form of flexibility in its analysis in order to attain a practical explanation for its context-based meanings. This premise stands as one of the fundamental principles guiding this study because even though lexical classes may often come with clear distinctions, they may also sometimes have partial overlapping with other word classes. Therefore, there needs to be some form of flexibility in the strategies employed for the analyses of the structures presented in this study. This
brings us to another crucial tenet of functional grammar which is the belief in prototypical categorization.

Prototype categorization is the way of graded categorization where some members of the category are more central than others. This approach was established to address the shortcomings of the classical model of categorization which strictly categorize elements in terms of the set of necessary and sufficient features that were associated with the category. Under the classical theory, features were considered very essential and also binary, in that if an entity did not possess the full set of features, then it failed to be a member of the category. This raised a lot of problems in the concept of categorization as most members of a category tend not to possess all the defining features of the category.

For prototype categorization, it is not a matter of ascertaining whether the entity possesses the attributes or not, but how closely related the entity is to other prototypical members. For instance, verbs cannot be categorized mainly on the basis of them being action words. This is because there are many verbs that do not depict any form of action in many languages. Therefore, prototypical means of categorization is identified by functionalists as the efficient means for identifying and grouping lexical classes as they cannot be defined by means of a single set of criteria (Givón, 2001). This is because they tend to show a family resemblance structure and generally on a radial distribution rather than having all members possessing the defining features of the class. Therefore, using the prototype theory, we then understand that members of lexical categories such as nouns, verbs and
adverbs may exhibit degrees of category membership where some members can possess all the qualities while other have a few. This does not mean that the members with few features are not perfect exemplars of the group as they are equally representative for a category. This way of categorizing elements helps us to understand that it is possible that here in this study, some entities may possess all the features of an adverb while others show various degrees of membership.

Functional Grammar will be of great importance to this study because its prototypical means of categorization will help in the identification and classification of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme. Also, a careful look at the observations made about adverbs in the languages covered in the review showed the underpinning principles of prototypical categorization, even though silent. This is because, in almost all the languages, we encountered words deemed as true adverbs in the languages as well as others which traditionally belonged to other word classes but somehow used as adverbs. And this could not have been attained without using the parameters of prototypical categorization.

The flexibility that the theory comes with, in terms of how structures are described and explained, will allow typological work. And this is important for this study as it does not only seek to explain the nature of Dangme adverbs but also compare the nature of Dangme adverbs and adverbials to other languages, specifically those that share geographical boundaries with the Dangme language.

Also, ‘function’ being the central idea of this theory will contribute to the gathering and analyzing of the data presented in this study. Under this theory, the
utterances are normally required to reflect the functional use of language hence; the analyses of this study are bound to be findings that reflect the everyday use of adverbs by Dangme natives.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at some pertinent studies linguists have made on ‘adverbs and adverbials’, their classification, morphology, syntax and semantics. Many of the literature reviewed here revealed the class of ‘adverbs’ to be the most heterogeneous category amidst the other word classes. The discussions showed that the heterogeneous nature of the class was partly because it is a ‘catch all’ term and also because it is closely linked with the syntactic function named ‘adverbial’.

The chapter also surveyed the various ways languages express adverbial concepts such as time, place, manner, frequency and many others. The distinction identified in most of the languages was between lexical adverbs (true adverbs) and other linguistic forms from other word classes or ones formed by suffixation, compounding, and reduplication.

In terms of its features, the class is recognized with some unique morphological, syntactic and semantic features that first of all separate it as a class as well as sub-group them into the various divisions we see in the languages that express adverbial meanings. The two latter features (semantic and syntactic features) were shown to play pioneering roles in how adverbs are distributed within a sentence and also contribute to the kind of semantic meaning adverbs add
to sentences. They are said to be inextricably bound and together account for the category’s nature, its varied distribution preferences and scope capabilities.

For the theoretical concepts, section 2 of this chapter gives in-depth information about Givón’s (2001) functional Grammar, the core tenets that the framework is centered on and tangible reasons why it is a good theory for this study.
CHAPTER THREE

THE MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS IN DANGME

3.1 Introduction

The principal purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of the morphological properties of Dangme adverbs and adverbials. In discussing this, three questions will be considered. We have seen in Chapter two that many languages use adjectives, verbs, nouns and sometimes locative particles as adverbs (cf. Bobuafor, 2013; Dzameshie, 1998; Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004; Tabe, 2015). Therefore, the first goal of this chapter will be to find out the forms used to express adverbial notions in the language. If there are, are there any words in Dangme that can be regarded as the prototypical members of the class? Secondly, does Dangme show any distinction between adverbs and adjectives as several studies on these two classes have shown that languages often tend to show limited distinction between the two? Finally, what processes, if any, are responsible for turning words into adverbs in Dangme?

The chapter is organized as follows; section 3.2 looks at the various forms that make up the Dangme adverb and adverbial category and their classification as prototypical or peripheral members of the class, using the parameters of prototypical categorization. The morphological classification of Dangme adverbs is discussed in section 3.3. The classification here centers on adverbs which are non-derived and those that are derived. The section also investigates the processes
involved in deriving adverbs from other syntactic categories in Dangme. In section 3.4, I look at other lexical constituents that are used as adverbs in the language. Section 3.5 is devoted to investigating the varied constituents that fall into the label ‘adverbials’ in Dangme and a brief summary is given in section 3.6.

3.2 Structures that Constitutes Adverbs and Adverbials in Dangme

Dangme, like many languages, has adverbs as well as other structures which are used to express adverbial function. According to Dakubu’s (1987) introductory survey of the Dangme language, adverbs do exist in the language, and form one of the integral components of a clause structure that do not only add some information to what is expressed by the verb or an adjective, but also help Dangme verbs to better express aspect. The Dangme ‘adverb system’ exhibits a heterogeneous class, rich with prototypical adverbs as well as other forms, ranging from nouns, adjectives, locative particles, emphatic markers, ideophones, phrases and clauses of different types. They include forms like pám ‘suddenly’, ma ‘early’ Hɔgbɔ Sunday and mɔbmɔbɔ ‘sorrowfully’. The sentences in (1) illustrate some of these varied lexical forms that are used to denote adverbial notions in the language.
1. a. Wà-yà-á sòlèm Hágbà
   1PL.SUBJ-go-HAB church Sunday
   ‘We go to church on Sunday.’

   b. Dèdé tè sī pám
   Dèdé wake.PST GROUND3 suddenly
   ‘Dede woke up suddenly.’

   c. Àblá fò yā4 möbömòbà
   Àblá cry.PST sorrowfully
   ‘Abla cried sorrowfully.’

   d. Yò nò péé-ɔ hējɔ sàmìnyá
   Woman DEM do-HAB laziness very/really
   ‘This woman is very lazy.’

3 The expression ‘ground’ used here does not denote its literal meaning but used as a basic conceptual term to refer to a static localization. The general conceptualization of most entities is that they are expressed with reference to a particular site, path or orientation known as ‘ground’. Talmy (2000:184) mentions that the ‘ground’ is the located site, path, or orientation associated with a locating entity which is often movable. The expression ‘ground’ often co-occur with verbs of movement which normally have a ‘located site or position’ and a ‘locating entity’. So in (1b) for instance, the word sī is a ‘ground’ which represents an abstract locative site or orientation from the natural state of rest where you are unconscious to the state where you are awake and conscious and aware of what surrounds you.

4 The verbal construction in (1c) fo ya ‘cry’ is an inherent complement verb. Nwachukwu (1987:1562) defines an inherent complement verb as “a morphological subset of verbs which in its citation form consist of a consonant-vowel (CV) root followed by a free noun (or in very few cases a prepositional phrase). Normally, the two forms that make up the verb must come together to make meaning. This inherent complement verb fo ya ‘cry’ also presents us with another interesting phenomenon where both forms; fo and ya mean ‘cry’. Here, the first is a verb and the second, a noun. This feature is seen in many of the inherent complement verbs in Dangme.
e. À kë húhúí sè wë-ò mi
3PL.SUBJ with noise enter.PST house-DEF POST

‘With noise, they entered the house.’

f. Wà hà blò Pèplègbì makë nè bè-ò
1PL.SUBJ move.PST path Tuesday dawn that pass.PST-DEF

‘We travelled last Tuesday dawn.’

g. Pàpà Tètè bà sù wè mi nyòm kpétí
Pàpà Tètè come.PST reach home POST night middle

‘Pàpà Tètè arrived at midnight.’

h. Yòmóyó-ò gbó piànì nò
old.woman-DEF die.PST afternoon DEM
lókò è-bí-nyùmù-ò bà
before 3SG.POSS-child-man-DEF come.PST

‘The old woman died this afternoon before her son came.’

i. Mànyàdàl-ò kë kè jé bè nà mì
President-DEF say.PRES from time DEM POST
kë yà-á wà màá nà tsákémí
CONJ go-PROG 1PL.SUBJ FUT see change

‘The president says henceforth, we will see changes.’

j. Àmànlé hò mi sè-ò wà kpàlè
news narrate POST back-DEF 1PL return.PST
wà sè bā wë mi
1PL.POSS back come.PST home POST

‘After delivering the news, we returned home.’
The sentences in (1) exemplify the numerous structures that are used in Dangme to express adverbial meanings. Sentence (1a) presents us with the case where a proper noun *Họgbà* ‘Sunday’ is used as a temporal adverb to tell when an action was executed. In (1b), we see an example of a true adverb *pám* ‘suddenly’ which contains an inherent adverbial meaning and in (1c) is *m̀b̄m̀b̄̀* ‘sorrowfully’, a derived adverb formulated by reduplicating the adjective ‘*m̀b̄̀*’. In the subsequent sentences, we see the emphatic marker *sànìnyà* ‘very/really’ as in (1d), noun phrases in (1f and 1g), prepositional phrases as in (1i), postpositional phrases in (1j), and a clause as in (1h), all performing an adverbial function of telling the time, manner, place and degree in which an action was performed.

From the examples above, we realize that Dangme has a number of single words used as adverbs. But then again, the data also present instances where the language employs phrases and clauses to express adverbial meanings similar to what we have seen in some languages (cf. Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al., 2015; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004; Tabe, 2015). On this evidence, a question may thus be raised as to what then is regarded an adverb in Dangme? Which lexical item can be said to be a prototypical adverb? And which structures are regarded as adverbials in Dangme? These questions are answered in the sections that follow.
3.2.1 Prototypical and Peripheral Constituents of the Dangme Adverb category

Several typological studies reveal that while, cross-linguistically, word classes of languages share some similar features, there are also many cases where these parts-of-speech inventories make striking distinctions (cf. Geuder, 2000; Pittner et al., 2015; Schachter & Shopen, 2007; Simone & Masini, 2014). This is often due to some unique qualities that tend to be language specific. Therefore, many linguists suggest that though a researcher must have knowledge about the generalizations which have been made about these syntactic categories, it is also very important to describe these terminologies as used in the language (Dixon, 2009; Shachter & Shopen, 2007). For this reason, it is necessary to establish what the terms, ‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’ mean in Dangme. Consider the following examples.

(2) a. Yó-́ lá mòbòmòbò
   woman-DEF sing.PST sorrowfully
   ‘The woman sang sorrowfully.’

b. Jókúé yòyó nò hē ngē féú sàmínyá
   child female DEM self be.at beautiful really/very
   ‘This girl is really/very beautiful.’

c. Wà títsè-é bá-á má nítsè
   1PL.POSS teacher-DEF come-HAB early very
   ‘Our teacher comes very early.’
d. È-péé-ɔ̀ wē mì nō fēē nō pēpēpē
3SG.SUBJ-do-HAB house POST everything thoroughly
‘He/She does all his/her house chores thoroughly.’

Example (2) presents us with four grammatical sentences. In (2a), the lexical element mōbōmōbō ‘sorrowfully’ modifies the verb as it gives us information about how the action denoted by the verb lá ‘sing’ was performed. The bolded word sāmínjá ‘really/very’ in (2b) on the other hand, modifies the adjective by showing the level or degree of the adjective fěù ‘beautiful’ associated with the noun jōkúɛ́ yọyọ ‘girl’. In (2c), the lexical element nūsē ‘very’ modifies the adverb má ‘early’ by giving us some information about the degree at which the action was executed. And in (2d), we realize that the bolded expression pēpēpē ‘thoroughly’ modifies the entire clause because it depicts the speaker’s judgement about an event denoted by the clause. When we compare the morphological structure of the bolded expressions in (2) to that of (3) which comes here after, we find that though the constituents modified in the two examples are the same, the modifiers are different with respect to their form. This is because whereas the modifiers in (2) are single lexical elements, the modifiers in (3) come as a phrase as in (3a) and (3c) or clauses as in (3b) and (3d).

(3) a. Yō-ɔ̀ lá kē jé mətù ngmłè
woman-DEF sing.PST from morning hour

nyongmá kē káké kē bà sù
ten CONJ one CONJ come.PST reach
‘The woman sang from eleven in the morning till this afternoon.’

b. Jókúé yòyó nò hē pè fěǔ

child female DEM self do beautiful

ně è-wò è-blóónyà átádè-è

when 3SG.SUBJ-wear.PST 3SG.POSS-Christmas dress-DEF

‘This girl looked beautiful when she wore her Christmas dress.’

c. Wà títsě-è bá-á má

1PL.POSS teacher-DEF come-HAB early

daà Hjgbí

every Monday

‘Our teacher comes early every Monday.’

d. È- péé-ɔ̀ wē mì nò fěè nò

3SG.SUBJ-do-HAB house POST everything

lókó è-yà-á súkúú

before 3SG.SUBJ-go-HAB school

‘He/She does all his/her house chores before he/she goes to school.’

The functions the underlined expressions in (2) and (3) perform in their various sentences is in line with the functions adverbs and adverbials are noted to perform in sentences (cf. Greenbaum, 2000; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004; Schachter & Shopen, 2007). Just like adverbs or adverbials, the
underlined expressions in the data above modify a verb, an adjective, another adverb or an entire clause. Therefore, following Saah’s (2004:47) and Greenbaum’s (2000:173) definitions of the concepts, I define an ‘adverb’ in Dangme as any “single lexical item” that traditionally functions as a modifier of a verb, an adjective, another adverb or a clause. An ‘adverbial’ in Dangme on the other hand, can be defined as any group of words or clause that can replace an adverb in a canonical sentence and can characterize a verbal action, an adjectival expression, an adverbial expression or a whole clause.

It can also be observed from (2) and (3) that the two forms (‘single lexical elements’ and ‘phrase/clauses’) are both used to express adverbial meanings. This shows that in Dangme also, the two forms (‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’) are used to perform the same function even though they are different in terms of their forms. This is consistent with the widely known assertion about adverbs not only being single lexical words, but also consisting of a group of words or clauses. Therefore, we can say that in Dangme, like any language that expresses adverbial concepts, these two groups together make up the adverb category of the language. However, because of the central idea that the category represents a heterogeneous class and most times consists of numerous misleading structures we may have to establish which structures are considered as ‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’ in Dangme and where the boundaries of these two groups end.

Though the terms ‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’ have been explained, it is also very important to establish the kind of structures likely to be seen among these two
groups. To do this, I employ the prototypical means of categorizing items because the group is noted to be made up of several varied members. Interestingly, though many updates have been made to cover the many functions that an adverb performs and the behavioural traits they come with, the basic function (α) associated with the class is being *any word that modifies a verb, an adjective, another adverb or an entire clause*. The second central feature (β) that may test the prototypicality of the members rest on whether the element has ‘*an inherent adverbial meaning*’ or not. Inherent adverbial meaning here means that these words do not perform any other function like nominal, verbal or adjectival except an adverbial function. This set of possible core features is what ties together the members of the adverb category in Dangme. Therefore, an adverb which bears all the features outlined in (α) and (β) is said to be central or prototypical and the members which often may not possess all the features are known as less central or peripheral.

Adverbs in Dangme come in various forms and so does the adverbial system. But since this classification is done based on the prototype theory, we find adverbs that are prototypical and others that are peripheral. Adverbs which are central or prototypical are normally identified as true adverbs in the language. They do not belong to other word classes and often depict adverbial meanings

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5The Prototype theory obviously will not only offer the easiest means of differentiating adverbs from other syntactic categories but will also help in the sub-categorization of Dangme adverbs into the various semantic sub-classes. For instance, the theory helps in distinguishing which Dangme adverbs fall into let’s say the ‘manner’ category, ‘temporal’ category, ‘epistemic’ category and many others (cf. Ramat & Ricca, 1994).
even when in isolation. Thus, whenever a word considered as a prototypical adverb occurs in a sentence, it is likely to perform only an adverbial function. Peripheral adverbs, on other hand, were found to be other lexical categories like adjectives, nouns and locative particles that are used as adverbs. These kind of adverbs cannot be said to be true because they perform other functions when they are not used as adverb in sentences.

When it comes to their morphological make up, true adverbs normally appear as single non-derived lexical elements. However, on the theoretical basis of prototypical categorization, I categorize true adverbs and every single lexical element that can function as an adverb into the group ‘adverbs’ and other syntactic constituents such as phrases and clauses that are used adverbially, I group as ‘adverbials’. This, I illustrate in the diagram below.
Figure 3. Prototypical Representation of Dangme Adverb Category

- a. true or pure adverbs
- b. derived adverbs
- c. nominals
- d. adjectives
- e. emphatic markers
- f. phrases
- g. clauses
The diagram above is the prototypical representation of the Dangme adverb class. The diagram shows that the Dangme adverb category has an uncertain membership because of the set of lexical categories that make up the class. As already explained, the most central members (a) are the true Dangme adverbs. They are often descriptive and typically used to give extra information about the lexical verbs, adjectives and other adverbs they are added to. Aside adverbial function, they do not perform any other function when used in a sentence. The next items in (b) are derived Dangme adverbs which are also single lexical adverbs, but, formed through reduplication and compounding. The group labeled (c) refers to the nominals which can be used as adverbs in Dangme without any change in the form of the word. In (d) and (e), we have adjectives and emphatic markers respectively. For this study, the five groups mentioned make up the category ‘adverbs’ in Dangme.

Also, there are other constituents commonly known as adverbials which together with basic adverbs, are used to indicate adverbial concepts in the language. These structures are represented by the labels (f) and (g). The label (f) is made up of adverb phrases, nouns phrases, prepositional phrases, and postpositional phrases. Label (g) represents clauses which are also used adverbially in Dangme utterances. I discuss these different types of adverbs and adverbials in subsequent chapters and sections.
3.3 Morphological Classification of Dangme Adverbs

In this sub-section, I look at the morphological classification of Dangme adverbs. ‘Adverbs’ in Dangme can be morphologically classified into two, namely true and derived adverbs. The distinction here is between single word items which are non-derived and the ones that are derived from other syntactic categories which, sometimes may appear with slight morphophonological changes. This classification is apparently one of the commonest distinctions seen across languages and is also adopted for this study (cf. Bobuafor, 2013; Dzameshie, 1998; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al., 2015; Schachter & Shopen, 2007; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004; Tabe, 2015).

3.3.1 Morphological Structure of True Adverbs in Dangme

“True adverbs” (Lusekelo, 2010:64) or “pure adverbs” (Tabe, 2015:116) are linguistic terms for prototypical adverbs that are non-derived. According to Le Roux (2007:66), they are lexical items of the class ‘adverbs’ which “are not derived from other word categories and have an inherent adverbial meaning.” Although it is very common to see languages use words belonging to other syntactic categories as adverbs, several studies on this phenomenon show that languages tend to have some words that are true adverbs (cf. Bobuafor, 2013; Dzameshie, 1998; Geuder, 2000; Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al., 2015; Schachter & Shopen, 2007; Saah, 2004).
One of such inferring typological studies is Bobuafor’s (2013) grammatical study of Tafi, a language spoken in some settlements in the Hohoe District in Ghana. Bobuafor’s (2013:235) analysis of the Tafi adverbs shows that although the adverb class is made up of several categories, the language has a number of basic adverbs such as mɔ̌ ‘well’, zua ‘fast’, tsɔ̌ ‘to do early’ and grɔ̌dzyu ‘reluctantly’ which often reveal the time and the manner in which an action was enacted.

Lusekelo’s (2010:64) study of Kinyakyusa adverbs shows that the language has true adverbs. He mentions that words like ulu ‘now’ mbibi ‘quickly’ and bwila ‘always’ are lexical elements which belong to the adverb class and are non-derived. This supports his claim that aside the numerous linguistic structures that are used to depict adverbial meanings in the language, there are some which are regarded as the “true/ core” adverbs.

Tabe’s (2015:117) discussion of Kenyang adverbs gives us another fair insight into the morphological structure of true adverbs. She indicates that the Kenyang language has few of what are termed ‘pure adverbs’ because “Kenyang does not have an open class of adverbs like its English counterpart. The category of adverb in some cases is interpreted from the phonological modification of the citation form of the verb or from the syntactic position of the adjective in Kenyang clauses.”

In Dangme, the data indicate a close resemblance of what have been considered so far in Tafi, Kinyakyusa and Kenyang. Dangme has a few true
adverbs which are not usually linked with other functions aside from their adverbial functions. Examples of such adverbs include má ‘early’, pám ‘suddenly’, bleu ‘slowly’, pí ‘now’, and hluu ‘a long time’. Let’s consider the following Dangme sentences outlined in Example (4), where the bold expressions are examples of true adverbs in Dangme.

(4) a. Pu-ɔ̀ jè kpò má
   sun-DEF leave.PST out early
   ‘The sun rose early.’

b. Jòkû-ɛ́ té sì pám
   child-DEF rise.PST GROUND suddenly
   nɛ è-yà tsômí-ɛ̀
   CONJ 3SG.SUBJ-go.PST errand-DEF
   ‘The child stood up suddenly and went for the errand.’

c. Hiòtsè hi si bleuü ngè sé n5
   patient sit.PST GROUND slowly be.at chair POST
   ‘The patient sat down slowly on the chair.’

d. È-maa yè n5 pí
   3SG.SUBJ-FUT eat.PST something now
   ‘He/She will eat now.’

e. Bímònyó-ɔ́ fò yā hluu
   baby-DEF cry.PST a very long time
   ‘The baby cried for several hours.’
The words in bold above are all true adverbs in Dangme. The only function they perform is the adverbial function. They cannot be associated with the nominal, verbal or adjectival function when they occur in sentences. As these examples indicate, Dangme has true adverbs which can be made up of one syllable as in má ‘early’ and pám ‘suddenly’ and two syllable words like blèùù ‘slowly’, píô ‘now’ and hluu ‘a long time’ in Example (4c), (4d) and (4e) respectively.

3.3.2 Derived Adverbs

The category ‘adverbs’ in Dangme is also made up of members which are derived from other word classes. These forms are known as derived adverbs. One generalization raised in light of the various observations done on this phenomenon is that derived adverbs are very common despite the fact that most languages may have several structures which they use to express adverbial concepts (Biber et al., 1999; Geuder, 2000; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Saah & Agbedor, 2004). Derived adverbs are adverbs formed from other syntactic categories through derivational processes such affixation, reduplication and compounding. Thus, a word may be turned into an adverb by either adding a prefix or suffix to a base or by the repetition of a whole or part of lexical items or even by the joining of two independent roots

The phenomenon through which languages form adverbs from other parts of speech is termed adverbialisation. According to Huddleston (1988: 122), it is “a concept analogous to nominalization and adjectivalisation.” He identifies two
types of adverbialisation; morphological and syntactic adverbialisation. He explains morphological adverbialisation as a concept which involves the derivational processes of yielding words for the adverb class from other lexical categories; examples being some of the processes mentioned earlier like reduplication and compounding. Syntactic adverbialisation on the other hand, involves the use of words originally belonging to other lexical categories as adverbs without a change in the form of the word.

3.3.3 Deriving Adverbs in Dangme

When it comes to the derivation of Dangme adverbs, there are no affixes involved like observed in some languages (cf. Lusekelo, 2010; Geuder, 2000; Saah & Agbedor, 2004). Nevertheless, there are two main processes involved in the formation of adverbs in Dangme namely; reduplication and compounding. For instance, the time adverb *jehajeha* ‘yearly’ is formed from the repetition of the noun *jeha* ‘year’ and *yoku nɔ* ‘mountain top’, a place adverb is derived from the combination of two bases *yoku* ‘mountain’ and the postposition *nɔ* ‘top’

3.3.3.1. Adverbs formed through Reduplication

Reduplication is one of the major derivational process used in forming adverbs in Dangme. According to Roca (1994:12), reduplication is the “common word-formation strategy, whereby a word has part of itself (or, in some cases, its entire melody) affixed to create another related word.” Thus, in reduplication, there is some form of repetition of the base or part of it to form another word. Many
scholars assert that reduplication is one derivational process used by most languages that express adverbial notions for the formation of adverbs and intensification of adjectives and adverbs (Abakah, 2010; Hevi, 2011; Mattes, 2006; Dolphyne, 1988). And this generalization holds for Dangme also, most adverbs are formed through the reduplication of adjectives and nouns. But before we look at these adverbs formed from reduplication, a brief premise must be laid out here about some true adverbs in Dangme which have multiple syllables. These adverbs normally appear as reduplicated forms but are not, hence revealing that not all adverbs with a morphological structure as reduplicated words have undergone this derivational process. Some notable examples are *patapata* ‘restlessly’, *tsiltsil* ‘in bits’, *kúmákúmá* ‘eagerly’, *liliili* ‘grumpily’ in (5).

(5)  

a. Kungwɔ-ɔ hua *patapata*  
chicken-DEF struggle.PST restlessly  
‘The chicken struggled restlessly.’

b. Hiôtsɛ-ɛ ngɛ zâm zii-ɛ *tsiltsil*  
patient-DEF be.at urine urinate-PROG in bits/bit by bit  
‘The patient is urinating in bits.’

c. Wà há lè nyù nè  
1PL.SUBJ give.PST 3SG.OBJ water CONJ  
ène *kúmákúmá*  
3SG.SUBJ-drink eagerly  
‘We offered him water and he drank it eagerly.’
d. Ò-túò-hé mì \textit{\textup{lilili}}
   \text{2SG.SUBJ-frown.PERF 2SG.POSS-face inside grumpily}
   'You have frowned your face grumpily.'

The underlined expressions in the data are also examples of adverbs in Dangme. Though the structure of these adverbs appears as though they are reduplicated forms, their semantics does not show that they have undergone any form of reduplication. In other words, the meanings of these adverbs are not derived as a result of reduplication. For instance, in (5b), the adverb \textit{tsi/ltsi} has its base \textit{tsi/l} repeated, reflecting a reduplicated structure, however, \textit{tsi/l} is not a word in Dangme. Therefore, we cannot conclude that \textit{tsi/ltsi} is formed from the base \textit{tsi/l} through the process of reduplication. These forms are ideophones and are further discussed in chapter four.

Now, consider the examples that come in (6) and (7). In (6), the adjectives \textit{bd\textunderscore d\textunderscore d} ‘soft’ in (6a) and \textit{dle\textunderscore ee} ‘lazy/dull’ in (6c) are reduplicated to form the adverbs \textit{bd\textunderscore d\textunderscore d\textunderscore d} ‘softly’ and \textit{dle\textunderscore d\textunderscore d\textunderscore d} ‘lazily’ in (6b) and (6d) respectively.

\begin{itemize}
\item (6) a. Dârléy màmí há mî ôtítm bìdò bì kô
   Darley mother give.PST 1SG.OBJ kenkey soft INDEF
   ‘Darley’s mother gave me a soft kenkey.’

\item b. Dârléy tsí má kú-\textsuperscript{6} bìdò-bìdò
darley make.PST ma ku-DEF soft
   ‘Darley made the ma ku soft.’
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Ma ku} is the Dangme name for \textit{banku}, a Ghanaian dish prepared from fermented corn and cassava dough.
c. Mení nè ò-péé dòléé mwèmèè

why that 2SG.SUBJ-do dull today

‘Why are you dull today?’

d. Dèdé kànè blèfò tā-ôme dòlé-dòlé
dede count.PST pineapple-DEF-PL lazily

‘Dede lazily counted the pineapples.’

Several other examples of adverbs formed by reduplicating adjectives are outlined in the Table below.

Table 1: Reduplicated Adverbs formed from Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form (Adj)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplicated form (Adv)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mɔbɔ</td>
<td>‘sad’</td>
<td>mɔbɔmɔbɔ</td>
<td>‘sorrowfully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esɔ</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td>esɔesɔ</td>
<td>‘quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunyaa</td>
<td>‘extreme’</td>
<td>kunyakunyaa</td>
<td>‘extremely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fútáá</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>fútáfútáá</td>
<td>‘very white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔkɔdɔ</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>dɔkɔdɔɔkɔ</td>
<td>‘very sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falii</td>
<td>‘neat’</td>
<td>falifali</td>
<td>‘neatly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpitio</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>kpitikpiti</td>
<td>‘rarely’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyɔŋɔɔɔ</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>nyɔŋɔnyɔŋɔ</td>
<td>‘in small pieces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àgbɔ</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>àgbɔ àgbɔ</td>
<td>‘in big pieces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsetse</td>
<td>‘smart’</td>
<td>tsetsetse</td>
<td>‘smartly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔkɔdɔ</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
<td>bɔkɔbɔkɔ</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bàsàà</td>
<td>‘haphazard’</td>
<td>básàbásà</td>
<td>‘haphazardly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kekle</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
<td>kéklééklé</td>
<td>‘firstly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 1 above, we can observe that the adjectives in the base are repeated twice to form adverbs. Apart from \textit{fútáfútáá} ‘very white’ and \textit{dškóškó} ‘very sweet’ which have the same grammatical categories as the base all the others have a change of class feature. Even so, these two reduplicated forms, are used as adverbs in Dangme without them being affected by their adjectival function. This is because whereas the derived forms \textit{fútáfútáá} ‘very white’ and \textit{dškóškó} ‘very sweet’ can be used to express an adverbial function, the single bases \textit{fútáá} ‘white’ and \textit{dškó} ‘sweet’ cannot be used as an adverbs. On the other hand, the adjective bases, \textit{bášá} ‘haphazard’ and \textit{esé} ‘quick’ freely form the adverbs \textit{bášášášá} ‘haphazardly’ and \textit{eséšé} ‘quickly’ when reduplicated. This shows that in Dangme, adverbs derived by reduplicating adjectives may be class changing or class maintaining. Similarly, in the constructions (7), some adverbs are formed from the reduplication of nouns.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(7) a.} Ligbi kpaago pee-\textit{ɔtsi} kake
\begin{flushright}Day seven do-HAB week one
\end{flushright}
\begin{flushright}‘Seven days make one week.’
\end{flushright}
\item \textbf{(7) b.} I-mami ya-a jua \textit{ɔtsi-ɔtsi}
\begin{flushright}1SG.POSS go-HAB market POST weekly
\end{flushright}
\begin{flushright}‘My mother goes to the market weekly.’
\end{flushright}
\end{itemize}
c. A-je-ɔ jeha ehe sisi ngɛ.

3SG.SUBJ-begin-HAB year new under be.at

Jone kekle ligbi-ɔ nɔ

January first day-DET POST

‘A new year begins on the 1st of January.’

d. Klo-li ye-ɔ Ngmayemi7 jeha-jeha

Klo-PL eat-HAB Ngmayemi yearly/annually

‘Krobos celebrate Ngmayemi yearly/annually.’

In the above example, the adverbs otsi-otsi ‘weekly’ in (7b) and jeha-jeha ‘yearly’ in (7d) are formed by reduplicating the nouns otsi ‘week’ and jeha ‘year’ in (7a and 7c) respectively. More examples of reduplicated adverbs formed from nouns are listed below in Table 2.

---

7 Ngmayemi festival is a harvest festival celebrated by the people of Manya Krobo.
Table 2: Adverbs formed from reduplicated Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form (Noun)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reduplicated form (Adv)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>otsi</td>
<td>‘week’</td>
<td>otsi otsi</td>
<td>‘weekly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeha</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
<td>jeha jeha</td>
<td>‘yearly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbɔkue</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
<td>gbɔkue gbɔkue</td>
<td>‘every evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piani</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
<td>piani piani</td>
<td>‘every afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
<td>bebeebe</td>
<td>‘already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daka</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
<td>daka daka</td>
<td>‘in boxes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kake</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>kakaaka</td>
<td>‘one each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enyɔ</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>enyɔnyɔ</td>
<td>‘two each’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyũ</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td>nyũnyũ</td>
<td>‘watery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>tɛtɛ</td>
<td>stony/lumpy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngɔ</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>ngɔngɔ</td>
<td>salty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated in Table 2, another category of Dangme words that can undergo reduplication to form adverbs is the nominal class. As shown in Table 2, the single nominal bases piani ‘afternoon’, be ‘time’ and daka ‘box’ are repeated to derive the adverbs piani piani ‘every afternoon’, bebeebe ‘already’ and dakadaka ‘in boxes’ respectively. However, the last three resultant reduplicated forms nyũnyũ ‘watery’, tɛtɛ ‘stony/lumpy’ ngɔngɔ ‘salty’ become adjectives when they are reduplicated. But these resultant reduplicated nouns which have adjectival function can be used as adverbs with the only change being the
constituents they modify in sentences. Example of such phenomenon can be seen in Example (26a and b) on page 92.

Also from the table, we observe that numerals in Dangme such as *kake* ‘one’ and *enyọ* ‘two’ can also be reduplicated to derive the adverbs *kakaaka* ‘one each’ and *enyọnyọ* ‘two each’. Reduplicated numerals in the language are normally used to signal distributive meaning. A distributive numeral in Dangme is a numeral which expresses a group of the number specified. This does not show any variation from what exists in Akan. Thus, in Akan, forms such *baako baako* ‘one-one’, *mienumienu* ‘two-two’ *miënsà miënsà* ‘three-three’ and many others are reduplicative numerals that signal distributiveness. This is illustrated in the example below.

(8)  Pàpá nó ma-a mmofra no ankaa *mienu mienu*

Man DEF give-PST children DEF orange two each

‘The man gave the children two oranges each’

In Dangme also, distributive meaning is encoded by the operation of reduplication, similar to what persists in Akan. In Table 2 above we can observe that the cardinal numeral bases are subjected to the operation of reduplication to encode distributive meaning. This is illustrated in example (9), with the reduplicated numeral *enyọnyọ* ‘two each’.

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3.3.3.1.1 *Semantic Functions of Reduplicated Adverbs in Dangme*

In addition to the formation of new words, many languages reduplicate words to perform other functions (Dolphyne, 1988; Novotna 2000). This is one of the dominant assumptions about reduplication, that it is a reliant means through which languages not only widen their word classes, but also depict some grammatical developments that take place among utterances (Abakah et al 2010; Mattes, 2006; Roca, 1994). Likewise, reduplication in Dangme is not limited to the formation of new words only, but also normally used to show some other grammatical descriptions. These meanings can be attained from the initial reduplicated form or when the resultant reduplicated adverb is further repeated. Reduplicated adverbs in Dangme can be said to denote five major meanings:

a. **Intensification of the base meaning:**

This function of reduplication is associated with adverbs which are further reduplicated. In such instances, no new word is derived, however, there is an indication of more emphasis or intensification. This is illustrated in the sentences in (10) and (11).

(9) Matsɛ-ɛ ha mɛ lɔle enyɛnyɛ
man-DEF give.PST 3PL.OBJ lorry two each
‘The chief gave them two lorries each.’
(10) a. K̓oletə ye b̓ləfo tā-\(a\) ma
K̓oletə eat.PST pineapple-DEF fast
‘K̓oletə ate the pineapple fast.’

b. K̓oletə ye b̓ləfo tā-\(a\) mamaama
K̓oletə eat.PST pineapple-DEF very fast
‘K̓oletə ate the pineapple very fast.’

(11) a. Yo-\(o\) sa goga-a he fali-fali
woman-DEF scrub.PST bucket-DEF body neatly
‘The woman scrubbed the bucket neatly.’

b. Yo-\(o\) sa goga-a he fali-fali-fali-fali
woman-DEF scrub.PST bucket-DEF body very neatly
‘The woman scrubbed the bucket very neatly.’

The sentences in (10 & 11) show the intensity function of adverbs. As can be seen, the bases that undergo reduplication are already adverbs and therefore when reduplicated, they do not form any new word but intensify the meanings denoted by the single bases. However, when we look at the bolded expressions in the sentences (12) that comes here after, we realize that here, a new word is formed when the base is repeated. This is because unlike the bolded constructions in the previous examples, this base is a noun.

(12) a. Ligbi kpaago pee-\(o\) otsi kake
Day seven do-HAB week one
‘Seven days make one week.’
b. I-mami ya-a jua nɔ ọtsi-ọtsi

1SG.POSS go-HAB market POST weekly

‘My mother goes to the market weekly.’

b. Distributive meaning:

Some reduplicated adverbs express distributive meaning. This meaning is often conveyed by adverbs formed when cardinal numerals are reduplicated. Considering the reduplicated compound ẹnyɛnyɛ ‘two each’ [lit. two two] in the example below, one may observe that the extra semantic meaning (distributive) of the reduplicated form does not originate from the single base, but attained when the base undergoes reduplication. Thus, the distributive semantic information available in the reduplicated form has to be understood as semantic feature that comes only with the resultant reduplicated form.

(13) a. Matsɛɛ-ɛ  he  lɔle  enyo
    Chief-DEF  he  lɔle  enyo
    Chief-DEF buy.PST lorry two
    ‘The chief bought two lorries.’

b. Matsɛɛ-ɛ  ha  mɛ  lɔle  enyo
    chief-DEF  give.PST  3PL.OBJ cloth two each
    ‘The chief gave them two lorries each.’
c. Repeated action:

Some reduplicated adverbs in Dangme depict repeated action. This function normally comes with temporal adverbs derived from reduplicating nouns. As was illustrated in Table 2, reduplication of temporal nouns in Dangme mostly yields time adverbs. For instance, the temporal nouns jèhà ‘year’, mòtù ‘morning’, gbɔkue ‘evening’ and ótsì ‘week’ become temporal adverbs jèhà jèhà ‘yearly/every year’ mòtù mòtù ‘every morning’, gbɔkue gbɔkue ‘every evening’ and ótsì ótsì ‘weekly/every week’ when reduplicated. Though these reduplicated adverbs denote time, they actually show time at which an action or event replicates. In (14) that comes here after, it can be observed that the extra semantic information of ‘repeated action’ associated with the reduplicated forms is not traceable to the single bases and therefore must be considered as the semantic property of the resultant reduplicated constructions.

(14) a. Gbɔkue maa ba piɔ sɔ nɔ

    evening FUT come right now

‘Evening will come right now.’

b. Dede ba-a hiɔ gbɔkue gbɔkue

    1SG.POSS come-HAB here every evening

‘Dede comes here every evening.’
d. Continuous action:

Dangme reduplicated adverbs may also denote continuous action. The continuous meaning denoted by adverbs in Dangme is peculiar to ideophonic adverbs. These are words that usually mimic the sounds of activities such as the falling of an object, hitting or striking of two objects or other qualities associated with an action (Saah, 2004). Examples of ideophonic adverbs that evoke the sense of continuous action are *timtim* ‘pounding of fufu or something’ *tsiltsil* describes ‘the sound of liquid flowing in bits’ and *kumákumá* depicts ‘the eagerness of continuous drinking of water especially when very thirsty’. A crucial property associated with these type of adverbs is the idea of a continuous action, often without any interruption.

e. Collective meaning:

There are some reduplicated adverbs in Dangme that evoke a sense of collectiveness. The reduplicated adverbs used to perform this function are usually derived by reduplicating adjectives. For instance, the adverbs *agbo agbo* ‘big pieces’ and *nyöngö nyöngö* ‘small pieces’ are derived from reduplicating the adjectives *agbo* ‘big’ and *nyöngö* ‘small’ respectively. When such adverbs are used in sentences, they tend to show an action of grouping items of the same quality and size. For example, the adverbs *agbo agbo* ‘big pieces’ in (15) and *nyöngö nyöngö* ‘small pieces’ in (16) to some level show that the objects were cut in a collective manner.
(15) a. Dede ha mi lo agbo
Dede give.PST 1SG.OBJ fish big
‘Dede gave me a big fish.’

   b. Dede po lo-ɔ me mi agbo agbo
Dede cut.PST fish-DEF PL inside in big pieces
‘Dede cut the meat into big pieces.’

(16) a. Dede ha mi lo nyɔŋɡɔ ko
Dede give.PST 1SG.OBJ fish small INDEF
‘Dede gave me a small fish.’

   b. Dede po lo-ɔ me mi nyɔŋɡɔ nyɔŋɡɔ
Dede cut.PST fish-DEF PL inside in smaller pieces
‘Dede cut the meat into smaller pieces.’

3.3.3.2 Adverbs formed through Compounding

A number of adverbs in Dangme are also formulated by joining together two or more already existing independent structures to form a single words. The most common compound words used as adverbs are the ones that have some spatio-temporal and locational relations. These category of compounds mainly fall into Noun+Postposition (N+P) compounds. It involves the putting together a noun and
a postposition. The underlined expressions in Example (17) indicate the use of N+P compounds as adverbs.

(17) a. Plaafo-hi fuu la-a a-he

Executioner-PL many hide-HAB 3PL.POSS-body

ngɛ yoku nɔ

be.at mountain-top

‘Many executioners hide themselves on mountain tops.’

b. Yɔ nokɔtɔma du we ngɛ kpo nɔ

woman adult bathe NEG be.at outside-top

‘Elderly women do not bathe on the compound.’

c. Pɔnyalɔ-hi nɛ mā ngɛ pa hem

Fisherman-PL see.NEG herring be.at river-face

‘Fishermen do not find herrings on the surface of the river.’

d.* Yɔ nokɔtɔma du we ngɛ kpo

woman adult bathe NEG be.at outside

The example above demonstrates cases where Noun-Postposition compounds are used to perform an adverbial function. As indicated above, the compounds yoku nɔ ‘mountain top’, kpo nɔ ‘compound’ and pa hem ‘river surface’ are derived by combining the nouns yoku ‘mountain’, kpo ‘outside’ and pa ‘river’ and the postposition nɔ ‘top’ and hem ‘face.’ From the data, we realize
that this group of derived adverbs are used to express the location or physical space in which the action was executed.

One interesting observation about this group of derived adverbs is that their structure seems to bear some resemblance to that of postpositional phrases. Like Noun-Postposition compounds, postpositional phrases are also made up of nouns and postpositions. However, the striking difference between the two lies in the fact that one is lexicalized and the other is not. Noun +Postposition (N+P) compounds are lexicalized, thus they refer to a specific meaning. Normally, the two forms that form the compounds must always be put together before they can denote the particular meaning desired. If separated, the said meaning is lost because individually, they cannot refer to the entity. For instance, the form kpo of the word kpo nɔ cannot refer to compound unless joined to the postposition nɔ neither can nɔ also denote compound without being attached with kpo as shown in (17d). But this is not the case of postpositional phrases. When we examine the postpositional phrases underlined in (18), it can be observed that unlike Noun-Postposition compounds which needs its two forms to co-occur before generating meaning, the elements of a postpositional phrase do not have to. Often, the noun or noun phrase of the postpositional phrase can single handedly refer to the entity. This is demonstrated in the example below. Here, yoku and pa still refer to ‘mountain’ and ‘river’ respectively in the language even without the postpositions.
3.4 Other Lexical Categories that Function as Adverbs in Dangme

Aside true adverbs which are rather few, there are several other lexical items belonging to other word classes which are used as adverbs. Huddleston (1988:122) calls this phenomenon syntactic adverbialisation. He mentions that it is the use of other lexical items as adverbs. In such instances, no derivation takes place, only the slots the lexical elements occupy change. For instance, when a noun is used as an adverb, it may occur after the verb or verb phrase. This is an established fact which cuts across languages (that the category ‘adverbs’ consists of numerous members which most times may belong to different lexical classes) and the class ‘adverbs’ in Dangme does not present anything different

For Akan, I deduced from Saah’s (2004:70) study of Akan adverbs that “lexical” adverbs go beyond the prototypical members as it also encapsulates other
syntactic categories that can be used as adverbs without any drastic change in the form of the word. He mentions that aside words such as *ntem* ‘quick’, *bəkəkə* ‘slowly’ which are regarded as true adverbs in the language, the group also largely comprises of single lexical items which may traditionally belong to other word categories but stand as adverbs in a sentence. We see this feature in Akan because according to Saah (2004:70), “there is no such morphological process for deriving adverbs from other word classes” and so the same forms are used. However, Akan speakers are able to identify when it is an adverb or not due to the syntactic position it may take within the sentence structure and the semantic notion it adds to the sentence. Consider the following illustrative sentences.

(19) a. Ànápá bë bá sééséí áraá
    morning will come right now
    ‘Morning will soon come.’

b. Mè-bà-á ànápá
    1SG-come-PST morning
    ‘I came in the morning.’ (Saah, 2004:60)

c. Àmmá tòò àtádé kámàkámà bí
    Amma buy.PST dress very nice/beautiful INDEF
    ‘Amma bought a very nice/beautiful dress.’ (Saah, 2004:70)

d. Kwámè à-prá dàñ nó mú kámã/ kámàkámã
    Kwame PERF-sweep room DEF inside nicely/very nicely
    ‘Kwame has swept the room nicely/very nicely.’ (Saah, 2004:70)
Here, we see nouns and adjectives used as adverbs without any change in the form of the word. In the example above, the Akan noun ànɔ́pá ‘morning’ is used to perform two different functions. In (19a), ànɔ́pá ‘morning’ is used as a noun and in (19b), the same lexical element is used as an adverb. Note the noun ànɔ́pá ‘morning’ in (19a) and (19b), there is no change at all. They only differ with respect to their syntactic position and the meaning they add to the sentences. In (19a), ànɔ́pá can be found in the subject position coming before the main verb of the sentence and (19b) demonstrates a contrastive distribution of the same form, this time coming after the verb which it modifies. Consider again Sentences (19c) and (19d) which illustrate something similar but this time with an adjective being used as adverb. Though the two sentences clearly show one lexical element kámàkámà ‘nicely’, nevertheless, they are seen to have scope over two different word classes. In the same way, Dangme ‘adverb class’ also consists of nouns such as Hêgbâ ‘Sunday’, adjectives like nyunyu ‘watery’ and emphatic markers such as saminya ‘really/very’ which are used to indicate adverbial meanings in utterances in Dangme.

3.4.1 Nominals used as Adverbs in Dangme

Many cross-linguistic studies on adverbs reveal that aside the true adverbs, temporal nouns are one of the lexical elements that can be used as adverbs (cf. Bobuafor, 2013; Lusekelo, 2010; Pittner et al, 2015; Saah, 2004 Tabe, 2015). In Dangme, temporal nouns such as Pêplègbì ‘Tuesday’, Maja ‘December’, piànì ‘afternoon’, gbôkùè/nyîm ‘evening’, gbôkùè nyàsĩ ‘dusk’ and nyîm kpìtì
‘midnight’ and *Bloonya* ‘Christmas’ are used as temporal adverbs. This is illustrated in the example below.

(20) a. **Họgba** ji ligbi kpaago nge osti mi

    Sunday be.PRES day seven be.at week POST

    ‘Sunday is the seventh day of the week.’

b. Sùkúú-bī-hī ye sùkúú **Họgba**

    school-child-PL go.NEG school Sunday

    ‘School children do not go to school on Sunday.’

(21) a. **Gbókue** maa ba pio so nọ

    evening FUT come right now

    ‘Evening will come right now.’

b. Dede ba-a hiọ **Gbókue**

    1SG.POSS come-HAB here evening

    ‘Dede comes here every evening.’

(22) a. Wa-ye-ọ **blòònyà** daa jeha

    3PL-eat-HAB Christmas every year

    ‘We celebrate Christmas every year.’

b. À-màá gbè tsū nọ nyà **Blòònyà**

    3SG.SUBJ-FUT finish building DEM end Christmas

    ‘They will complete the building in Christmas.’
As illustrated in (20, 21 & 22), nominals are used as temporal adverbs to express the time an action occurred. It can be observed that even though here they take up an adverbial function, their forms remain the same. We can also deduce from the data above that although these nouns are used to perform adverbial function, the class of the words do not change. In other words, when a word takes up an adverbial function, it does not necessarily mean that there will be a change of lexical class of the word. And this answers why the adverb category constitute of numerous heterogeneous lexical forms.

3.4.2 Adjectives as Adverbs

The literature reviewed showed many cases where languages employed adjectives to denote adverbial notions. Some linguists including Geuder (2000) points out that this productive strategy is not limited to a few languages, but can be seen in many languages of the world, specifically ones that have these two modifying elements. This is because adverbs are said to be closely related to adjectives both morphologically and syntactically (Pittner et al. 2015).

According to Saah (2004:70), a large number of Akan adjectives can be used adverbially, often without any precise morphological change. They only tend to differ in their syntax, that is, in the kind of structures they modify. Some natural examples are shown in the example below.
(23)  a. Adwoa hyɛ  ataade  fɛɛɛɛf  no  
Adwoa wear.PST dress beautiful DEF  
‘Adwoa worn the beautiful dress.’

b. Adwoa a-pam  ataade  no  fɛɛɛɛf  
Adwoa PERF-sew dress DEF beautifully  
‘Adwoa has sewn the dress beautifully.’

c. Amma tɔɔ  ataade  kamakama  bi  
Amma buy.PST dress very nice/beautiful INDEF  
‘Amma bought a very nice/beautiful dress.’ (Saah, 2004:70)

d. Kwame a-pra dan  no  mu  kama/kamakama  
Kwame PERF-sweep room DEF inside nicely/very nicely  
‘Kwame has swept the room nicely/very nicely.’ (Saah, 2004:70)

The data above show that in Akan, adjectives, as in (23a) and (23c) can be used as adverbs without any morphological change in the word. This simply reveals that Akan does not morphologically indicate any strict distinction between adjectives and adverbs but rely on the constituents they scope over to bring out the difference. As the examples display, the only striking difference between these two lies on the structures they modify. The adjectives in (23a) and (23c) modify the nouns ataade ‘dress’ while the adverbs in (23b) and (23d) describe how the actions denoted by the verbs pam ‘sew’ and pra ‘sweep’ were executed.

Similar patterns are found in Kenyang (Tabe, 2015). The adjectives sãirí ‘beautiful/nice’ and måndù ‘small’ are used as adverbs without any modification in
the morphological structure of the word. The following constructions outlined in example (24) demonstrate the phenomenon.

(24) a. ̀M-mò  ǎ  kò  sáírí
    1-child  3SG.IPFV  walk  beautiful/nice/well
    ‘The child walks beautifully/nicely/well.’ (Tabe, 2015:117)

   b.  Ė- sáírí  m̀-mò
    7-beautiful/nice  1-child
    ‘A nice child.’ (Tabe, 2015:117)

   c.  Màndù  m̀-mò
    small  1-child
    ‘A small child’ (Tabe, 2015:117)

   d.  Ako  ǎ  rêm  kÉ-pù  m̀ndù
    Ako  3SG.IPFV  talk  14-talk  briefly
    ‘Ako talks briefly.’ (Tabe, 2015:117)

From Tabe’s (2015) data, we deduce that somehow adjectives in Kenyang, like those in Akan, have double functions of modifying nouns as well as verbs. The bolded expressions are words that, according to Tabe (2015:117) belong to the class of ‘adjectives’, however, they are used as adverbs in (24b) and (24d) without any change in their morphological structure. This holds for Ga also. The Ga adjectives m̀nỳm̀nỳ ‘smooth’ and f̀fèfè ‘beautiful’ are used as adjectives in (25a and 25c) and also as adverbs in (25b and 25d) without any change in the form of the words.
In the Ga example above, the adjectives *mɔnyɔmɔnyɔ* ‘smooth’ and *fɛfɛo* ‘beautiful’ are used as adverbs. And as was observed in Akan and Kenyang, the distinction between adjectives and adverbs is based on the kind of constituents that these two lexical categories modify. In (25a and c), *mɔnyɔmɔnyɔ* ‘smooth’ and *fɛfɛo* ‘beautiful’ modify the nouns *gari* and *ataade* ‘dress’ hence, an adjective. In (25b and d) on the other hand, the same lexical elements *mɔnyɔmɔnyɔ* ‘smooth’ and *fɛfɛo* ‘beautiful’ are modifying the verbs *gbεlε* ‘mill’ and *nyie* ‘walk’ rendering them adverbs here.
This phenomenon is common in Dangme as well. The language has many instances where the same form can be used as adjectives and also as adverbs. In such cases, the only difference between the two lexical categories rests on the constituents they modify. Let’s consider the following valid exemplars.

(26) a. Korkor ha mi amo fɔ nyunyu ko
   Korkor give.PST 1SG.OBJ tomato stew watery INDEF
   ‘Korkor gave me some watery tomato stew.’

b. Korkor tsi ma ku-ɔ nyunyu
   Korkor make.PST maku-DEF watery
   ‘Korkor made the banku watery.’

c. E-la la mbɔmbɔ ko
   3SG.SUBJ-sing.PST song sorrowful INDEF
   ‘He/she sang a sorrowful song.’

d. E-la la-a mbɔmbɔ
   3SG.SUBJ-sing.PST song-DEF sorrowfully
   ‘He/She sang the song sorrowfully.’

e. Nyumu-ɔ fo ya mbɔmbɔ
   man-DET cry.PST sorrowfully
   ‘The man cried sorrowfully.’

From the Dangme sentences above, we have the adjectives *nyunyu* and *mbɔmbɔ* used as adverbs supporting the assertion that many languages use adjectives to express adverbial concepts. In Example (26a and 26c), *nyunyu* and
function as modifiers of the nouns amo fɔʟɔ ‘tomato stew’ and la ‘song’ respectively and so seen coming after the constituents they modify. However, when we closely examine the examples (26b, 26d and 26e) where the expressions nyunyu and mɔbɔmɔbɔ are modifiers of the verb phrases, we still see the same forms nyunyu and mɔbɔmɔbɔ. Therefore, it can be said that Dangme, like Akan and Ga (Kwa languages) does not show any strict morphological distinction between adjectives and adverbs. Therefore, to differentiate them, one has to consider the meanings that they add to the sentences as well as the kind of structures they tend to modify.

3.4.3 Emphatic Markers used as Adverbs in Dangme

In addition to Dangme adverbs, one other forms used to express adverbial function is emphatic markers. Emphatic markers are lexical items used to lay more emphasis on something (Lau 2004). In Dangme, emphatic markers such as sàmìnyá ‘very/really’ and nîtsɛ ‘really’ are used to perform adverbial functions. These lexical elements often modify verb phrases and adjectival phrases as they show the degree of comparison of action and quality associated to a particular noun. In the sentences below, sàmìnyá ‘very/really’ and nîtsɛ ‘really’ are used to modify the verbal expressions.

(27) a. Yò nɔ̀ɔ̀ péɛ-ɔ hɛjɔ sàmìnyá
woman DEM do-HAB laziness very/really

‘This woman is very lazy.’
b. Jokue-ŋ le nɔ sàminyá
   child-DEF know something very/really
   ‘The child is very/really intelligent.’

c. Bo-ŋ hi nitsɛ
   cloth-DEF good really
   ‘The cloth is really good.’

3.5 Adverbials in Dangme

The discussion so far has shown that phrases and clauses form another group known as ‘adverbials’ which are used to expressed adverbial concepts. In Dangme, adverbial functions are expressible by means of nouns phrases, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, postpositional phrases and clauses. These structures are examined in the sections that follow.

3.5.1 Adverbial Phrases in Dangme

One of the prevailing structures used in expressing adverbial meanings in Dangme are adverb phrases. Like true adverbs, adverbial phrases have a principal intended function of modifying verbs, adjectives and other adverbs other than any of the other structures. Within the group ‘adverbials’, we can say adverbial phrases are the most central because they tend to carry a conceptual meaning of telling when,

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8 As mentioned earlier in this thesis, it is truism that phrases can be made up of single word items, however, adverbials that will be discussed here will normally constitute group of words.
how, why and where an action was enacted. Thus, they only perform adverbial function when they occur in sentences and often cannot be linked with nominal, verbal or adjectival functions. In the sentences outlined in Example (28), the expressions in bold are all various examples of adverbial phrases which are used to give extra information about the actions depicted in the sentences.

(28) a. Nako maa ba we mi hwɔɔ se Bloonya
    Nako FUT come home POST tomorrow back Christmas
    ‘Nako will come home next Christmas.’

b. Jokue-ɔ ba he klaladuku piɔ so nɔ
    child-DEF come.PERF buy handkerchief right now
    ‘The child has come to buy handkerchief right now.’

c. Wà maa ya hiɛ sini mwɔnɔ gbɔkue
    1PL.SUBJ FUT go watch movie today night
    ngmle kpaanyɔ
    hour eight
    ‘We will be going to watch movies at 8 o’clock tonight.’

3.5.2 Noun Phrases Functioning as Adverbials

Noun phrases constitute another rich source of adverbials in Dangme. However, not all noun phrases are used, only the ones with temporal relations. Some examples are given below to shed light on this phenomenon. When we examine
the constructions in (29), we find that all the bolded expressions have temporal senses, hence able to tell the time an action was executed.

(29) a. Yömọyọ-ọ gbọ Pẹ̀plẹ̀gbì makẹ-ẹ

old.woman-DEF die.PST Tuesday dawn

‘The old woman died on Tuesday dawn.’

b. È-ba hiọ lingmi Họgbì-ẹ

3SG.SUBJ-come.PST here last Monday-DEF

‘He/she came here last Monday.’

c. Zugbatsẹ-ẹ maa ba hiọ Osabu nyagbe

land owner-DEF FUT come here June end

‘The land owner will come here at the end of June.’

3.5.3 Prepositional Phrases functioning as Adverbials in Dangme

In Dangme, adverbial concepts are expressed by both prepositional and postpositional phrases. Prepositional phrases are other means through which adverbial meanings are expressed. Here, the adverbial function is depicted by a phrase which has a preposition as its head. In Dangme, prepositional phrases are used as time-durational adverbials to show the time length between when an activity started to when it ended. These types of prepositional phrases are often introduced by the preposition ke je ‘from’ as illustrated in the sentences in Example (30).
3.5.4 Postpositional phrases functioning as adverbials in Dangme

Postpositional phrases can also be used as adverbs in Dangme. This is illustrated in the example below. In the sentences below, the postpositional phrases *Asēswa jùà nɔ* ‘at the Asēswa market’, *tsù mì* ‘in the room’, *posifisie se* ‘behind the post office’ and *Maja mi* ‘in December’ are used to indicate where the action denoted by the verb took place. The sentences in (31) also shows that postpositional phrases functioning as place adverbials are usually preceded by the located verb *nge* ‘be at’. 
(31) a. Kòdù jùář-hī bà-a a-kpe-ɔ ngē
dbanana seller-PL come-HAB 3PL.POSS-meeting-DEF be.at

Asɛsɛwá jùà nɔ
Asɛsɛwá market POST

‘The banana sellers have their meeting at the Asɛsɛwá market.’

b. È-nyɛ na kungwɔ bi-ɔ ngɛ
3SG.POSS-mother see.PST chicken-DET be.at

tsu-ɔ mì
room-DET POST

‘His/Her mother saw the chicken in the room.’

c. Godotsɛ ko huɔ-ɔ si
mad person INDEF sleep-PROG GROUND

ngɛ posɔfisĩ-ɛ se
be.at post office back

‘A mad person is sleeping behind the post office.’

d. Tsō kômɛ kplɔ-ɔ à-bà ngē Màjà mì
mtree some shed-HAB 3SG.POSS-leaf-PL be.at December POST

‘Some trees shed their leaves in December.’
3.5.5 *Clauses used as adverbials in Dangme*

Clauses, especially dependent clauses are usually one of the mechanisms languages use to perform adverbial function. Though they most times contain a subject and a verb, they normally cannot stand on their own as a main clause but have to be joined to independent clauses in order to bring out a complete thought. These clauses are often introduced by various subordinators based on the kind of semantic roles they play in a sentence. Dangme clauses are used to depict various adverbial notions but in (32), these clauses in bold are used as time/temporal adverbials to indicate the time when an action occurred.

(32) a. À-du  a-he  loko
    3PL.SUBJ-bathe.PST  3PL.POSS-body  before
    a-ye  gbɔkuɛ  ni
    3PL.SUBJ-eat.PST  evening  something

   ‘They bathed themselves before they ate their supper.’

b. Nyumu-ɔ  nu  juɔ-ɔ  be neɛ  e-ngɛ
    man-DEF  catch.PST  thief-DEF  when  3SG.SUBJ-be
    àplɛtsi-ɔ  pinɛ-ɛ
    goat-DEF  untie.PROG

   ‘The man caught the thief when he was untying the goat.’
Teye marry. PST 3SG.Poss-woman DEF year that pass-TOP

be. at July first day DEF POST

‘Teye married his wife on the 1st of July of last year.’

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter was devoted to investigating the morphological structures that make up Dangme adverbs and adverbials. Thus, it focused on first of all, examining the basic forms adverbs come in, then finding out which among them are central or peripheral. The chapter also discussed the various derivational processes involved in turning words into adverbs.

In this chapter, it was found that the Dangme adverb category is made up of different linguistic structures which fall into two major groups namely ‘adverbs’ and ‘adverbials’. These two groups have different forms but perform the same adverbial functions as shown in the neighbouring Akan and Ewe languages (cf. Dzameshie, 1998; Saah, 2004; Saah & Agbedor, 2004). Using the principles of prototypical categorization, Dangme has both derived and non-derived adverbs. It was observed that Dangme has a rather few true adverbs made up of simple words such as ma ‘early’, pam ‘suddenly’ and bleuu ‘slowly’ and ideophones like tsiltsil ‘in bits/bit by bit’ and patapata ‘restlessly’. Aside these true adverbs, Dangme also has many derived adverbs such as dledle ‘lazily’ and motumotu
‘every morning’ and *panya* ‘river bank’ formed from reduplication and compounding. This chapter also showed that there are some lexical elements that are used as adverbs without any drastic change in the morphological structure of the word. These include temporal nouns like *makɛ* ‘dawn’, adjectives such as *nyunyu* ‘watery’ and emphatic markers like *nìsɛ* ‘very/really’

The group ‘Dangme adverbials’ is also equally made up of varied lexical structures including adverb phrases, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, postpositional phrases and adverbial clauses. These syntactic constituents are used to perform the same function as adverbs. For noun phrases, it was observed that only noun phrases with temporal or time senses could be used as adverbials. It was shown that prepositional phrases used as adverbials are very limited in Dangme. It is only prepositional phrases introduced by the preposition *keje* ‘from’ that can be used. Postpositional phrases and clauses were also identified as one of the structures used to indicate adverbial functions.
CHAPTER FOUR

SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF DANGME ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to look into the various semantic classes of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme. It has been found that semantically, adverbs are classified not only based on the meanings they add to the constituents they modify but also, mostly influenced by the variety of constituents they scope over (Bonami et al, 2003; Cinque, 2004; Jackendorf, 1972; Maienborn, 2011; Saah, 2004; Tenny, 2000). This is because most of the semantic distinctions that come with the class are syntactic correlates and vice versa. In light of this, many linguists hold that to interpret the semantic functions adverbs perform in a sentence structure, it is also very important to look at the variety of constituents they specify. Therefore, this chapter concerns two issues linked with the adverb class. First, I look at the various distinct semantic notions that Dangme adverbs and adverbials\(^9\) add to the constituents they modify. And secondly, I discuss the classification of Dangme adverbs and adverbials with respect to their semantic scope.

\(^9\) In this chapter, the term ‘adverb’ or ‘adverb category’ is used to cover both adverbs and adverbials even though they are two distinct forms. This is to help draw generalization about the entire category however, a precise analysis is given about a particular label when there is the need to do so.
The outline of the remaining sections proceeds as follows. The next section, 4.2 presents the various semantic classes associated with Dangme adverbs and adverbials as well as discuss their sub-categorization in terms of the constituents they scope over. Section 4.3 concludes the chapter.

### 4.2 Semantic Classes of Adverbs and Adverbials in Dangme

As widely noted in the literature, the lexical items that make up the ‘adverb category’ fall into various semantic classes. There are many typological studies, including (Geuder, 2000; Pittner et al. 2015; Schachter & Shopen, 2007) which postulate that though there are some basic semantic classes of adverbs that cut across languages, there are also some which tend to be language specific. In other words, there are many uncommon semantic classes associated with some languages which may not be present in other languages. However, these languages may also have other means of depicting these adverbial meanings. Dangme adverbs are sub-categorized into various semantic categories and I illustrate them in the diagram that comes here after.
Figure 4. Semantic Classification of the Dangme Adverb Class
4.2.1 Manner Adverbs

Traditionally, manner adverbs are identified as adverbs that tell how an action was acted out. For many researchers, lexical elements labelled as ‘manner adverbs’ often characterize a verbal expression specifically, describing the way in which an action was executed (cf. Givón, 2001; Saah, 2004; Tallerman, 1998). Manner adverbs are verb-modifying adverbs that scope over the verb phrase or the predicate in a sentence. They usually occur either before or after the verb phrase. In Dangme, manner adverbs stand as one of the most frequently used lexical elements for modifying the verb phrase of every sentence. Examples of manner adverbs in Dangme include mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀ ‘sorrowfully’, tsetse tsetse ‘smartly’, blëùù ‘slowly’, má ‘fast’ and tsiltsil ‘in bits/bit by bit’. Example (1) illustrates some examples of manner adverbs in Dangme.

(1) a. Bímɔ̀nyó-ɔ̀ fó yā mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀
   baby-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully
   ‘The baby cried sorrowfully.’

b. Jokue-ɔ̀ po gbɛjegebɛ-ɛ mi tsetse tsetse
   child-DEF cut.PST strret-DEF POST smartly
   ‘The child crossed the street smartly.’
In the above examples, the bolded constructions are some adverbs which fall into the manner class. As required of all manner adverbs, these expressions all give some form of information about how a particular activity was done. Considering which structures can be manner adverbs in Dangme, it was observed that Dangme manner adverbs consist mainly of adverbs derived from reduplicating adjectives such as mɔ́bɔ́mɔ́bɔ́ ‘sorrowfully’ and tsɛɛtseɛ ‘smartly’ in (1a and 1b), and a few prototypical manner adverbs like pam ‘suddenly’ and blɛ̀ùù ‘slowly’ in (1c) and (1d) respectively. In Dangme, manner can also be expressed by
adverbials of comparison as illustrated by (1e). Here, we have the use of an adverbial of comparison *kaa e-mami* ‘like her mother’ used to show how the subject *Dédé* dances. The sentence in (1f) also presents us with the case where manner is expressed by an ideophone *tsilsilɔ* ‘in bit/bit by bit.’ This phenomenon happens to be one of the commonest structures used to show how actions are done in languages hence, cannot be overlooked. Therefore, in the next sub-section, I look at idephonic adverbs as a group subsumed under manner adverbs in Dangme.

### 4.2.1.1 Ideophones as Manner Adverbs

Some manner adverbs are ideophonic in nature. The lexical element ‘ideophone’ is quite a prevalent term in African linguistics (cf. Bodomo, 2006; Saah, 2004; Dzameshie, 1998). According to Trask (1993: 131-132), it is “a grammatically distinct class of words, occurring in certain languages, which typically express either distinctive sounds or visually distinctive types of action.” Saah (2004:54) on the same subject, explains these expressions to be “often onomatopoeic, and which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, smell, action, state or intensity.”

On observation of Akan ideophonic manner adverbs, Saah (2004:55) states that these ideophonic expressions are used to indicate how an action is performed by imitating the sound, movement and/or other qualities associated with the action. This is also evident among manner adverbs in Dangme. Consider the following illustrative examples.
The above underlined expressions are all ideophonic expressions used to depict manner in Dangme. As can be observed in the sentences above, these expressions are usually used to describe the movement, nature or concept associated with the action denoted by the verb in each of the sentences. Concerning their morphology, it was discussed in the previous chapter that these expressions cannot be said to have undergone reduplication. This is because whereas the resultant reduplicated forms often come with some unique semantic meanings that are not expressed by the single bases they are derived from, the same cannot be said for the bolded expressions above. For instance, though the words *kúmákúmá* ‘eagerly’, *līlīlī* ‘grumpily’ and *shweshešwe* ‘safely’ seem like reduplicated forms derived from the initial bases *kúmá*, *lī* and *shwe*, we
cannot say that for a fact, especially when the single bases are not words in the language.

In addition, there are other sub-classes that can be subsumed under manner adverbs. Generally, defining the term ‘manner adverbs’ has not been reported to be problematic as the thoughts of many linguists about this sub-class has remained the same; however, the semantic subtypes of this class of adverbs has been an issue of contention (Eckardt, 2003; Pittner et al., 2015; Quirk et al., 1985; Saah, 2004; Tabe, 2015). According to Quirk et al. (1985:482), manner, means, instrument and agentive adverbs form a semantic class known as ‘process’ adverbs, adding that this kind of adverbs come with the verb process. However, there are many like Eckardt (2003) who argue that all these other adverbs afore mentioned can rather be sub-grouped under manner class since they all tend to inform us about the manner in which an activity was done. Eckardt (2003:263) supplies the descriptive properties associated with the class to further substantiate his claim that all the distinct notions that these sub-classes express can be found with the manner class:

I will use the term ‘manner adverbs’ to cover the class of adverbial modifiers that specify the manner in which a certain event was performed. This manner may come about due to a certain mood of the agent (wütend ‘angrily’), due to his/her intentions (vorsichtig ‘cautiously’, absichtlich ‘intentionally’), be a mere matter of speed (schnell ‘quickly’, langsam ‘slowly’), be a mixture of these (hastig
‘hastily’, ruhig ‘calmly’) or an indication of his/her dispositions and qualities (fachmännisch ‘expertly’). (Eckardt, 2003:263)

From the above generalizations, we can infer that the sub-classes ‘means’, ‘pace’, ‘instrumental and even ‘agentive’ are all one way or the other connected with ‘manner’ adverbs. Even though this study is in no way seeking to refute or confirm the premises established by any of these researchers, the semantic sub-classes ‘instrument’ and ‘pace’ mentioned by both researchers are identified to be present in Dangme also. Therefore, in the sub sections that follow, we look at these sub-categories of the manner class.

4.2.1.2 Instrumental Adverbials

In Dangme, postpositional phrases formed from abstract nouns such as mifu/mimifu mi ‘anger’, de ngme ‘misery’, bua jomi ‘joy/happiness/gladness’, mimisa mi ‘sympathy’ hewa mi ‘strength’ and the postpositions kɛ ‘with’ and nge ‘in’ are used as manner adverbials or instrumental adverbials (a sub-class subsumed under the larger class ‘manner’). Like the manner class (which they fall under), these adverbs are normally attached either before or after the verb phrase they specify. These kind of adverbials often indicate the tool/instrument, mood, disposition or quality that the agent uses to get the action done (Eckardt, 2003; Givón, 2001:90). Here, the action is not executed with a physical tool but by some abstract means. This is exemplified in the sentences below.
(3) a. Yò-ˈɔ kɛ̀ mimifú mì gbá े-bi-ˈɔ
túɛ  mì mā
ear inside blow
‘The woman, with anger/angrily, slapped her child.’

b. Ḟọsọfọ-ˈɔ kɛ̀ buà jɔ̀ mì jò́ gbà-ˈa ẹ̀
pastor-DEF with gladness bless.PST marriage-DEF POST
‘The pastor with joy/gladdness blessed the marriage.’

c. Kpabíté kɛ̀ héwà mì hue dáka-ˈa ẹ̀
Kpabite with strength pick.PST box-DEF POST
‘Kpabitey with strength picked the box.’

d. *Kɛ̀ bua jɔ̀ mì  Osofo-ˈɔ jɔ̀
with gladness pastor-DEF bless.PST
gba-ˈa ẹ̀
marriage-DEF POST
‘With joy/gladdness, the pastor blessed the marriage.’

(4) a. Yò-ˈɔ gbá े-bi-ˈɔ túɛ  mì mā
woman-DEF strike.PST 3SG.POSS-child-DEF ear inside blow
ngɛ̀ mimifú mì  mì
in anger POST
‘The woman slapped her child in anger.’
b. Osofo-  jɔɔ  gba-a  nɔ
  pastor-DEF  bless.PST  marriage-DEF  POST
  \textit{ng}_\text{ɛ}  \text{bua  j}_\text{ɔ}-\text{mi}  \text{mi}
  be.at  gladness  POST
  ‘The pastor blessed the marriage in joy/gladness.’

Example (3) and (4) present us with cases of postpositional phrases introduced by the postpositions \textit{ke} ‘with’ and \textit{ng}ɛ ‘in’ which are used to express adverbial function. As illustrated by the examples above, we realize that these expressions have specific syntactic positions. Whereas postpositional phrases introduced by the \textit{ke} ‘with’ can freely occur before the verb or verb phrase in a

\footnote{Topic marker is a grammatical particle used to mark the topic of the sentence. In Dangme, the determiner ‘-ɔ’ is homophonous as the same form can be used as a determiner and also as a topic marker.}
sentence, postpositional phrases with ngɛ́ ‘in’ cannot; they are rarely found in this position. Nevertheless, they also have a wider distribution. From the data, we observe that postpositional phrases beginning with nge ‘in’ can either occur at the clause final position or begin the clause.

Also, a further point that must be made at this stage is that when we compare the constructions in (3) and (4) to that of (5) which comes here after, we observe that a single or bare noun such as mimifú mí ‘anger’, bùà j̣̾̄̃mì ‘gladness’ and héwà mí ‘strength’ cannot be used as a manner adverbial. It must always be preceded by the postpositions kẽ ‘with’ and ngɛ́ ‘in’ in order to avoid being construed with a nominal function.

(5)  

a.* Yò-̀ ̃ mimifú mí gbá è-bí-̀̃ 
woman-DEF anger strike 3SG.POSS-child-DEF

túé mi mā
ear inside blow

‘The woman, with anger/angrily, slapped her child.’

b. * Òsòfò-̀ bùà j̣̾̄̃mì j̣̀́̃ gbà-̀̃ n̾̃
pastor-DEF gladness bless.PST marriage-DEF POST

‘The pastor with gladness blessed the marriage.’

c. * Kpàbité héwà mí wè dáká-̀̃ n̾̃
Kpabite strength pick.PST box-DEF POST
4.2.1.3  Pace Adverbs

Pace adverbs form another sub-class of manner adverbs that reveal the speed at which an event is carried out over a period of time. According to Jacobson (1978:74), they are adverbs that designate “rapidness or slowness” of an action. Saah (2004: 55), also asserts that ‘pace’ adverbs “may be subsumed under manner adverbs. They describe the manner in which a particular action took place in terms of the pace/speed of movement.” Like other manner adverbs, pace adverbs scope over events coded by the verbs in a clause. Dangme adverbs in this group include *es³es³* ‘quickly’, *mamaama* ‘very fast’, *patapata* ‘restlessly’. In the sentences in (6), the underlined words expressed the pace in which the action denoted by the verb was done.

(6)  a. Yo-ɔ  bɛ  tsu-ɔ  c  **mamaama**

   woman-DEF sweep.PST  room-DEF  POST  very fast

   ‘The woman swept the room very fast.’

b. Nyumu-ɔ  nyɛ̀ɛ̀  **es³es³**  kɛ  sɛ  tsu-ɔ  mi

   man-DEF  walk.PST  quickly  CONJ  enter.PST  room-DEF  POST

   ‘The patient walked quickly into the room.’
4.2.2 *Time/ Temporal Adverbs*

Adverbs that give information about the time the action denoted by the verb happened are termed ‘time or temporal’ adverbs. As mentioned earlier, time adverbs in Dangme are usually represented by single temporal nouns such as *Họgba* ‘Sunday’, *mọtu* ‘morning’, *piɔ* ‘now’, noun phrases like *jeha ɲɔ* ‘this year’ and adverbial clauses, especially ones introduced by the subordinators *bene* ‘when’ and *loko* ‘before’. These modifying elements modify the entire clause. Saah (2004:56) posits that “these adverbs have scope over the entire proposition because they situate the proposition within a particular time frame.” Dangme time adverbials can be distinguished into three different sub-classes, namely; time-when adverbs, durational adverbs and frequency adverbs (Leech & Svartvik, 1975:179).

### 4.2.2.1 *Time-when Adverbs*

This kind of time adverbs denotes a specific point or period of time (Leech & Svartvik, 1975:179; Saah, 2004:60). In Dangme, there are some time adverbs that express a fixed or exact time in which an action occurred. Here are some examples in Dangme.

(7) a. A-hue 
    matsɛ 
    ehe 
    hie

> 3PL.SUBJ-pick.PST chief new yesterday

‘They enstooled a new chief yesterday.’
From the examples above, it is clear that time-when adverbs denote a specific period of time of an action. As shown in the examples, *hie* ‘yesterday’, *pič* ‘now’, *hwọ se jeha* ‘next year’ all express the exact time an action occurs, even with differences in the aspects of the action. This quality associated with this group of time adverbs makes it different from the others even though they all fall under one class. It can also be observed that with this group, both adverbs and adverbials are used, unlike instrumental adverbials which is limited to only adverbials.
4.2.2.2 Durational Adverbs

Durational adverbs are temporal adverbs that offer information about how long an action occurred. Thus, this group of adverbs is able to tell the length of time and the duration from some preceding point of time by implying the point from which the time is measured. The examples in (8) provide an illustration of the above adverbial role.

(8) a. Korkor blɔ mo ke je pianĩ
    Korkor wait.PST 2SG.OBJ from afternoon
    ngmle kake ke ya si gbɔkuε ngmle kpaago
    hour one up to/till evening hour seven

    ‘Korkor waited for you from 1pm in the afternoon to seven in the evening.’

b. Hiɔmi ne ke je mɔtu ngmle nyɔngma
    rain fall.PST from morning hour ten
    ke kake ke ya si gbɔkuε ngmle ekpa
    CONJ one up to/till evening hour six

    ‘It rained from eleven in the morning to six in the evening.’

c. Mányàdàlɔ-ɔ ke kɛjɛ bè nɔ mì
    President-DEF say from time DEM POST
    kɛ yà-á wà màá nà tsákɛmì
    CONJ go-PROG 1PL.SUBJ FUT see change

    ‘The president says henceforth, we will see changes.’
In each of the Dangme sentences in (8), we have durational adverbials that indicate how long an activity lasted. Intuitively, when we compare the time-when adverbs in (7) and the durational adverbs shown in (8), we find that the time meanings that the former denotes differs from the later. The temporal adverbs of this sub-class measure the time that elapses between the time an activity starts out and the time it ends. It can also be observed that adverbs of this semantic class have the ability to show the spatial direction that is conceptualized with respect to the time expressed by the adverb. For instance, when we observe (8a) and (8b), for example, we realize that the duration starts from a point of time in which the speaker and hearer are oriented to a future time, however, sentence (8c) presents us with an instance where we have an action starting now but with an unexpected end in the future.

4.2.2.3 Frequency/Repetitive Adverbs

There are also adverbs in Dangme that show ‘how often’ a particular action expressed by the verb is performed. Cinque (1999:104) calls them ‘repetitive’ or ‘frequentative’ adverbs. The semantic scope of frequency adverbs is the entire clause (Givon, 1993:73; Saah, 2004:62). In Dangme sentences, they are usually the expressions elicited by the question ‘how often?’ They include single expressions such as daa ‘every time/always, si eny› ‘twice’, kpamisa ‘often’, hie ‘once/before’, hluu ‘a long time’, reduplicated forms like gbɔkuegbɔkue ‘every
evening’ *motumtu* ‘every morning’ and noun phrases like *daa jeha* ‘every year’,

*daa ligbi* ‘every day’ as shown in the sentences in Example (9)

(9) a. Bimɔnyo-ɔ fo ya  hluu
    baby-DEF cry.PST a long time
    ‘The baby cried for several hours.’

b. Tɛ tɛ-ɔ fo  daa _mɔtu_
    Tɛ tɛ run-HAB every morning
    ‘Tɛ tɛ jogs every morning.’

c. A-bli-ɔ hɔspiti-ɔ  daa _ligbi_
    3PL.SUBJ-open-HAB hospital-DEF every day
    ‘The hospital opens every day.’

d. Akupe ngɛ alsaa nu-ɛ  kpamisa
    Akupe be.at fever catch-HAB often
    ‘Akupe is often feverish.’

The adverbs in the above Dangme sentences all offer information about the number of times an action took place; however, there is yet another group associated with frequency adverbs known as ‘iterative’ adverbs which tend to contain a ‘repetition’ ideology. Dzameshie (1998:12) asserts that like ‘time-when’ and ‘durative adverbials’, iterative adverbials are temporal in their cognitive function. What is unique about the adverbials in this category, however, is that they express an iterative interpretation. That is, they suggest that an activity was
performed repetitively over a period of time. In Dangme sentences, these kinds are often with the word *tsuo* ‘whole’. Consider these examples.

(10) a. È-do mwaŋɛ tσuo
3SG.SUBJ-dance.PST today whole

‘He/She coughed the whole of today.’

b. Bímɔnyó-ɔ fɔ yã nyɔm-ɔ tσuo
baby-DEF cry.PST night-DEF all

‘The baby cried throughout the night.’

### 4.2.3 Place/Locative Adverbs

Place adverbs are modifiers that indicate the location or physical space in which an activity took place. Place adverbs modify the verb phrase or the predicate of a sentence. The semantic functions expressed by place adverbs can be sub-grouped into two major sub-divisions. One group denotes a position with regard to a spatial location or the ‘ordinary sense of place’ and the other shows a direction of movement or ‘a directional path with or without any locational specification’ (Quirk et al., 1985:479). The first group is termed ‘locational’ adverbs and the other ‘directional’ adverbs. These two groups are exemplified in the sentences in (11) and (12) respectively.

(11) a. A-kè gbógbó-è màá bà hi
3PL.SUBJ-CONJ corpse-DEF FUT come here

‘They will bring the corpse here.’
b. È-huɔ  ɓɛjɔ́ ɔ́
3SG.SUBJ-sleep there-DEF
‘He/She slept there.

c. È-nyɛ na kungwɔ bi-ɛ ngɛ
3SG.POSS-mother see.PST chicken-DEF be.at tsu-ɔ mi
room-DEF POST
‘His/Her mother saw the chicken in the room.’

d. Godotse ko huɔ-ɛ si
mad person INDEF sleep-PROG back
 nga ṭosoʃisɛ-ɛ se
be.at post office-DEF back
‘A mad person is sleeping behind the post office.’

(12) a. Nate kuɔ  ke ho yiti-ɛ
Nate climb.PST CONJ go top-DEF
‘Nate climbed to the top.’

b. Awo nyɛ-ɛ ke kple 11 yoku-ɔ
Awo walk.PST CONJ descend hill-DEF
‘Awo walks down the hill.’ (lit. Awo walks to descend the hill)

11 Kple ‘descend’ is an example of a conflating verb. In (12b), the verb kple connotes movement as well as the direction of the movement. The directional meaning here is what is construed as directional adverb.
In sentences (11) and (12) outlined above, we readily identify examples of the two different sub-classes generalized from empirical observations made by researchers such as (Quirk et al, 1985; Leech & Svartvik, 1975). The sentences in (11) all indicate a physical space which happens to be a fixed location. The expressions in (12) on the other hand show the directionality associated with the space expressed by the verb.

4.2.4 Aspectual Adverbs

Aspectual adverbs, according to Saah (2004:68), are used to “supply information about the temporal aspects of event or activity depicted by the predicate in the sense that they indicate whether the event/activity is recurring, continuing or has been completed.” Thus, members of this group mainly scope over the verb phrase and often depict some form of ‘time meaning’ to the constituents they modify as they create a temporal coherence between the beginning and end of the event, state or action mentioned in the sentence. In Dangme, they comprise expressions such as momo ‘already’, ekohu ‘again’, lolo ‘yet’ kpamisa ‘often’ and loloolo ‘still’.

(13) a. Wa kpe ekohu
    1PL.SUBJ meet.PERF again
‘We have met again.’
b. E-ye nɔ momo
    3SG.SUBJ-eat.PERF something already
‘He/She have eaten already.’
c.  Dɔ́kita-a ye lolo
doctor-DEF go.NEG yet
‘The doctor has not gone yet.’

d.  Dɔ́kita-a ngɛ lejɛ-ɔ loloolo
doctor-DEF be.at there-DEF still
‘The doctor is still there.’

The adverbs listed in the Dangme sentences above are all examples of aspectual adverbs which express the various temporal aspects of the events coded by the verbs in the sentences. Dangme verbs are aorist in nature and therefore these aspectual adverbs are what helps Dangme verbs to better express tense (Apronti, 1972; Caesar, 2012; Dakubu, 1987). A further observation of these data sets is targeted at the underlined constructions in (13c) and (13d). These two words reflect reduplication which was discussed in the previous chapter as one of the morphological means used in forming Dangme adverbs. In (13c), the base form lolo means ‘yet’ and the reduplicated form loloolo means ‘still’.

4.2.5 *Epistemic Adverbs*

The group ‘epistemic adverbs’ presents the speaker’s evaluation or judgement about the truth value of the proposition expressed in the sentence. Saah (2004:66) reports Givon’s (1993:74) claim that members of this category often tend to “convey the speaker’s attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of the
epistemic adverbs in Dangme include *ekome* ‘perhaps’ *ben* ‘maybe’, *kpakpa* ‘true/truly’ and *anókwa* ‘truly’. Consider the following examples.

(14) a. *Ben* e-ye nɔ momo

‘May be he/she has eaten already.’

b. *Ekome* wa nibɔ-ɔ nɛ we mi bɔ

‘Perhaps, our visitor cannot find his way home.’

### 4.2.6 Adverbials of Contingency

There are some adverbials in Dangme that convey the sense ‘in regard to’. Here, the truth or falsity of a particular action in a sentence is usually dependent on a relevant point of reference denoted by this group of adverbials. Quirk et al (1985:483-484) call such modifiers ‘adverbials of contingency’. They include adverbials of cause, reason, purpose, result, condition and concession. They are mainly sentence-oriented as they usually scope over the entire clause. According to Quirk et al (1985:484), there is a close relation among the semantic notions depicted by these adverbials as they all serve “to identify a relevant point of reference in respect of which the clause concerned derives its truth value.”
While it is assumed as a semantic class here by Quirk et al. (1985), others postulate that the class should be classified syntactically because of its scope capabilities. This is because, unlike the other semantic classes that consist of both adverbs and adverbials, this group is made up of only adverbials, specifically subordinate clauses which tend to modify their superordinate clauses (Biber et al., 1999; Bobuafor, 2013; Dzameshie, 1998; Maienborn, 2011; Tenny, 2000;). This unique distinction that is associated with the group can be said to be one of the main factors that gives rise to its categorization under adverbial clauses.

Bobuafor (2013) discusses some of these adverbials identified by Quirk et al. (1985), but list them under the types of adverbial clauses present in Tafi. Dzameshie (1998:7) also reports on some of these adverbials but treats them as clausal or sentential modifiers of main or dependent clauses that give “an indication of the motivations, conditions, causes and attitudes” responsible for the events denoted in the sentence they modify. Thus, it must be acknowledged that even though the semantic class ‘contingency’ does not surface in many of the typological studies done on adverbials, many languages have these adverbials and Dangme is no exception. There are adverbials that express the cause, reason, purpose, result, condition, concession, comparison and contrast for the event stated in the sentence. These are exemplified in the examples below.
The adverbials underlined in the sentences in (15) above indicate the cause for which an action occurred. As shown by example (15), such Dangme adverbials are often introduced by the expressions *ejakaa* ‘because’ and *lɔɔ heɛ* ‘because of this’. It can also be observed that adverbials of cause usually occur after the main clause. They cannot come before the clause they modify, when they do, the sentence become ungrammatical as illustrated in (15c). Apart from cause, there are some
Dangme adverbials that usually express the reason for an act mentioned in the sentence. This is illustrated in the set of examples below.

(18) a. I-be sukuu ya-e mɔnɛɛ ejakaa
     1SG.SUBJ-NEG school go-PROG today because
     pɔ tɔ i-he
     tired 1SG.POSS-body

     ‘I will not go to school today because I am tired.’

b. Lako bu-ɔ nɔ lɔɔ he
     Lako respect.HAB people because of this
     i-suɔ e-sane
     1SG.SUBJ-like 3SG.POSS-case/matter

     ‘Lako is respectful so I like her.’

c. A-sane a-wo lɛ heɛ
     3PL.SUBJ-have to 3PL.SUBJ-pay 2SG.OBJ due
     ejakaa e-tsu nitsumi-ɛ wawɛɛ
     because 3SG.SUBJ-work.PST task-DEF very/really

     ‘He/She has to be paid because he really worked hard.’

When we compare the constructions in (15) and (16) we find that though adverbials of ‘cause’ and ‘reason’ are usually introduced by similar subordinating conjunctions (ejakaa ‘because’ and lɔɔ heɛ ‘because of this’), they depict strikingly different semantic notions. According to Quirk et al (1985:484), whereas adverbials of cause is “concerned with causation and motivation seen as
established with some objectivity”, adverbials of reason on the other hand involves a relatively personal and subjective assessment.

There is yet another group of adverbials which show the purpose for which a particular action was executed as indicated in the cases below.

(17) a. Papa Teye si we-m make

Papa Teye leave house-POST dawn

kon\i\  e-ma  ya  su  Akosombo  ma
so that  3SG.SUBJ-FUT  go  reach  Akosombo  early

‘Papa Teye left home at dawn to get to Akosombo early.’

b. Wa ng\\i\ ni kase-i

1PL.SUBJ be.at something learn-PROG

ne  wa-maa  pee  nm\\i\  nga-i  hw\\i\  se
so that  1PL.SUBJ-FUT  become  people  prominent-PL tomorrow  back

‘We are learning so that we can become prominent people in future.’

c. Kon\i\  e-ma  na  hewa mi-

so that  3SG.SUBJ-FUT  see  strength-TOP

e-nu  tsopa-a

3SG.SUBJ-drink.PST medicine-DEF

‘In order to get well, he/she drank the medicine.’

As indicated in (17), adverbials of purpose in Dangme are introduced by the subordinators koni/ne ‘so that’. The sentences in (17) show that this group of adverbials can either occur before or after the main clause. However, when they
occur before it, they tend to be marked by the topic marker ‘- سنوات’ as shown in (17b and c). Whereas the adverbials in (17) show the purpose behind an activity performed in a sentence, Dangme has another group of adverbials which denote the result or outcome of an action stated in the main clause. For instance, in (18), the dependent clauses in each of the sentences indicate the result or consequences of an event expressed in the main clause they are attached to.

(18) a. E-be hewa mi kulaa لحط hط he
3SG.SUBJ-NEG strength at all so
a-tsi e-nya ngehospital
3PL.SUBJ-block.PST 3SG.POSS-mouth be.at hospital
‘He/She is not well at all so he/she has been admitted at the hospital.’

b. Akuyo be tikiti لحط e-ye
Akuyo NEG ticket so 3SG.SUBJ-go.NEG
‘Akuyo did not have a ticket so she did not go.’

In the example above, it can be observed that adverbials of result can only succeed the main clause. Again, a comparison of (15 & 16) with (18) illustrates that in Dangme, the same subordinator لحط is used but realized differently based on the meaning the entire subordinating clause adds to the constituent it modifies. Therefore, when it is used as a subordinator for adverbials of cause and reason, it is realized as ‘because of this’ but for result adverbials, it means ‘so’ as indicated in (18).
Some adverbials in Dangme also provide information about the circumstances under which the actions stated in the main clauses would be achieved. These adverbials are termed ‘conditional’ adverbials. They are introduced by the form *ke* ‘if’ and can precede or come after the main clause of the sentence. Here are some few examples.

(19) a. Ke o-gbe nva ma lôle-ɛ be
    If 2SG.SUBJ-finish end fast lorry-DEF NEG
    mo si-ɛ
    2SG.OBJ leave-NEG
    ‘If you finish early, the lorry will not leave you.’

b. Ke hiɔmi-ɛ ne-ɛ alamua maa wa
    if rain-DEF fall-PRES water yam FUT grow
    ‘If it rains, the water yam will grow.’

c. Wa be sukuu ya-ɛ ke hiɔmi-ɛ ne
    1PL.SUBJ NEG school go-NEG if rain-DEF fall
    ‘We will not go to school if it rains.’

Some Dangme adverbials express the idea that suggests the opposite of the action expressed in the main clause of the sentence. This group of adverbials are known as adverbials of concession. For Quirk et al (1985:484), adverbials of concession can be seen as “an inverted condition–indicating circumstances in which a result would ensue irrespective of the content of the concessive clause.” Dzameshie (1998:14) reports that, like seen English, adverbials of concession in
Ewe are introduced by *togbɔ be* ‘although/even though’. However, in Dangme adverbials of concession are normally preceded by the coordinating conjunction *se* ‘but’. The expressions in bold in (20) are examples of Dangme adverbials with this kind of semantic role.

(20) a. *Adzo ye nɔ se e-tɔ-ɛ*

Adzo eat.PST something but 3SG.SUBJ-satisfy.PST-NEG

‘Adzo ate but she is not satisfied.’

b. *Nako be tikiti se e-sɛ mi*

Nako NEG ticket but 3SG.SUBJ-enter.PST POST

‘Nako did not have a ticket but she entered.’

The sentences in (20) reveal that Dangme adverbials of concession only come after the constituent they modify. From the above examples, it can be observed that each sentence is made up of two clauses which present two contrastive statements; one of which is the opposite of the other. There are also some Dangme adverbials that can be used to compare an action or state with another in the main clause. In such occurrences, they are used to demonstrate the comparison or the relative extent, either greater or less than usual, of an action to that in the other portion of the sentence. Consider the example is given below.
(21) a. E-wa pe bene wa
   3SG.SUBJ-grow EMPH more than 1PL.SUBJ

   na-a le ha
   see-HAB 2SG.OBJ how

   ‘He/She is older than how we perceive him/her to be.’

b. Dèdé do-o kaa e-mami
   Dèdé dance-HAB like 3SG.POSS-mother

   ‘Dede dances like her mother.’

The underlined constructions above are all examples of adverbials of comparison. From the examples, it can be observed that aside the subordinators bene ‘more than’, adverbials of comparison can also be introduced by the stative verb kaa ‘like’ as exemplified in (21b).

Lastly, some Dangme adverbials are attached to the main clauses of sentences to give a contrast of an event, action or state with the one expressed in the other. The subordinator ne ‘while’ is used to introduce adverbials of contrast in Dangme. In (22), the constructions underlined are used in that respect.

(22) a. Ne ni komɛ nge kpɛte jua-e ni
   While people some be at orange sell-PROG people

   komɛ nge madaa jua-e
   some be plantain sell-PROG

   ‘While some people are selling oranges, some are selling plantain.’
b. Ne Nako nge la-e Dèdè nge do-o

while Nako be.at sing-PROG Dede be.at dance-PROG

‘While Nako is singing, Dede is dancing.’

4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed six major semantic classes of Dangme adverbs/adverbials. This include manner, time, place, aspectual, epistemic, degree and contingency. It was shown that Dangme adverbs are classified mainly based on the semantic notions they add to the constituents they scope over. Also, in the course of our discussion, it was observed that there is a correlation between the semantic features and the syntactic behaviours of Dangme adverbs as seen in most of the languages in the literature reviewed for this study.

Also, at various points throughout this discussion, we observed that semantic classes normally consist of various sub-classes. It was found that manner adverbs, for instance, can further be grouped into pace and instrumental adverbs because of the kind of meaning that they add to the sentences. Temporal adverbs also have four other classes which are subsumed under time namely; time-when, durational, frequency and iterative adverbs. Place adverbs also have the sub-classes ‘locational’ and ‘directional’. It was observed that these sub-classes normally behave like the members of the semantic class which they fall under with the exception of just a few. Another interesting finding showed here concerns
adverbials of contingency. It was revealed that whereas all the other semantic classes have the majority of their forms to be single lexical items with a few being phrases, adverbs of contingency are largely expressed by adverbials.
CHAPTER FIVE

A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF DANGME ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the syntactic distribution of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme. The discussion is in two parts. First, I examine the various positional possibilities that come with the adverbs and adverbials identified in Dangme. This also involves finding out whether the various semantic classes of adverbs show any difference in their syntactic distribution. This is because the discussions on this area, so far, indicate that there is a close correlation between the semantic distinctions associated with the class and the syntactic properties they come with (Cinque, 2004; Jackendorf, 1972; Saah, 2004; Maienborn & Schafer, 2011). For instance, it can be observed that the classes ‘manner’ and ‘time/temporal’, (although they all belong to one main category ‘adverbs’) scope over different constituents and are also distributed differently in sentences mainly because of the different meanings they add to the sentences they occur in.

Secondly, this chapter investigates the relative order of Dangme adverbs and adverbials when different semantic types co-occur in the same sentence. This is because although adverbs are widely regarded as optional clausal elements, when they appear in sentences, they are observed to follow a certain order. This has been an interesting area of study for linguists over the years (cf. Cinque, 1999;
Ernst, 2004; Jackendoff, 1972; Saah, 2004; Tenny, 2000). In Saah’s (2004:72), analytical view of the adverb category of Akan (a Kwa language Dangme shares borders with), he shows that when it comes to how an Akan adverb is distributed, it is largely grounded on “the nature of the adverb and its scope capabilities.” Therefore, the second section of this chapter seeks to find out the ordering of Dangme adverbs as a chain of modifiers of constituents or clauses.

In this chapter, section 5.2 looks at the various distributional patterns of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme and 5.3 explores the relative order Dangme adverbs and adverbials follow when co-occurring with other adverbs. Section 5.4 presents the chapter summary.

5.2 Positional Distribution of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials

We have previously seen in the former chapter that each adverb in Dangme has its own constituents that it modifies and this is often determined by the type of semantic class it belongs to. Here, in this section, we look at the distribution of Dangme adverbs and adverbials, specifying where they can occur in a clause. The section also seeks to show whether the positions of Dangme adverbs are dependent on their semantics, as prevailed in other studies (cf. Cinque, 1999; Ernst, 2004; Maienborn, 2011; Saah, 2004).
5.2.1 Syntactic Positions of Manner Adverbs

It has been a well-known assertion that adverbs are the most mobile elements of a clause; however, manner adverbs in Dangme exhibit a rather restricted distribution. This is consistent with what has been observed by Saah (2004:49) about Akan manner adverbs. According to him, manner adverbs in Akan “are restricted with respect to their position(s) in sentences” as they cannot appear at sentence-initial position like other Akan adverbs but can only occur at sentence-final position or after the verb. Nabaarese (2017:88) posits that although Kasem manner adverbs cannot occur at the preverbal and post verbal positions, they can occur at sentence-final position as well as sentence-initial position. However, the Kasem manner adverbs can only be placed in the sentence-initial position with the help of the focus marker *mo*. Manner adverbs in Dangme demonstrate a slightly different distributional pattern from what pertains to Akan and Kasem. The positional possibilities of Dangme adverbs of the class ‘manner’ are observed to be largely influenced by the kind of subtype they belong to. Consider the following sentences.

(1) a. jokue yoyo-ɔ sa kuadaa tsetsetse
child female-DEF grind.PST pepper smartly

‘The girl grinded the pepper smartly.’

b. *tsetsetse jokue yoyo-ɔ sa kuadaa
smartly child female-DEF grind.PST pepper

‘Smartly, the girl grinded the pepper.’
c. * Jokuɛ yoyo-ɔ  tsetsetse sa kuadaa
   child female-DEF smartly grind.PST pepper
   ‘The girl smartly grinded the pepper.

d. Tsetsetse ne jokuɛ yoyo-ɔ sa kuadaa
   smartly FM child female-DEF grind.PST pepper
   ‘It was with speed that the girl grinded the pepper.’

(2) a. Nyumu-ɔ gbá ju-ɔ kɔni mā
   man-DEF strike.PST thief-DEF shoulder blow
   kē mimifú mí
   with anger
   ‘The man hit the thief’s shoulder with anger/angrily.’

b. *Kē mimifú mí nyumu-ɔ gbá ju-ɔ
   with anger man-DEF strike.PST thief-DEF
   kɔni mā
   shoulder blow
   ‘With anger/angrily, the man hit the thief’s shoulder.’

c. Nyumu-ɔ kē mimifú mí gbá ju-ɔ
   man-DEF with anger strike.PST thief-DEF
   kɔni mā
   shoulder blow
   ‘The man, with anger/angrily, hit the thief’s shoulder.’
d. * Ke mimifú mi ne nyumu-̀ gba
   with anger FM man-DEF strike.PST
   ju-́ kɔni mā
   thief-DEF shoulder blow

e. Ngɛ mimifú mi mi-̀ nyumu-̀ gba
   in anger inside-TOP man-DEF strike.PST
   ju-́ kɔni mā
   thief-DEF shoulder blow
   ‘It was in anger that the man hit the thief’s shoulder.’

(3) a. E-ngatsɛ-ɛ ngɔ bo-ɔ
   3SG.POSS-father-in law-DEF take.PST cloth-DEF
   nge ba jɔ mi mi
   in gladness POST
   ‘His father-in law took the cloth with joy/gladness.’

b. Ngɛ bua jɔ mi mi-̀ e-ngatsɛ-ɛ
   in gladness POST-TOP 3SG.POSS-father-in law
   ngɔ bo-ɔ
   take.PST cloth-DEF
   ‘With joy/gladness, his father-in law took the cloth.’
c. E-ngatsuε-e  
\[ \text{ngɛ́ bua jɔ́ mí mi-ɛ́} \]
3SG.POSS-father-in law-DEF in gladness POST-TOP

\[
\text{ngɔ́ bo-ɔ́} \\
\text{take.PST cloth-DEF}
\]

‘His father-in law, with joy/gladness, took the cloth.’

d. \[ \text{Ngɛ́ bua jɔ́ mí mí né e-ngatsuε-e} \]

\[
\text{in gladness POST FM 3SG.POSS-father-in law-DEF}
\]

\[
\text{ngɔ́ bo-ɔ́} \\
\text{take.PST cloth-DEF}
\]

‘It was with joy/gladness, that his father-in law took the cloth.’

(4) a. Gbe bi-ɛ́ ngɛ́ fo tu-e mamaama

dog child-DEF be.at run-PROG very fast

‘The puppy is running very fast.’

b. * Mamaama gbe bi-ɛ́ ngɛ́ fo tu-e

very fast dog child-DEF be.at run-PROG
c. * Gbe bi-ɛ́ mamaama ngɛ́ fo tu-e

dog child-DEF very fast be.at run-PROG
d. * Mamaama ne gbe bi-ɛ́ ngɛ́ fo tu-e

very fast FM dog child-DEF be.at run-PROG
The examples in (1) – (4) show that adverbs belonging to the class ‘manner’ have varied distribution and this is mainly due to their membership to a particular semantic sub-class subsumed under the manner category. In the previous chapter, we found out that some manner adverbs may shed some meaning on the instrument/tool, mood, disposition or quality used in getting an action done (cf. Givon, 1993:73; Saah, 2004:53). Also, we observed that manner adverbs could be further sub-grouped into pace adverbs. So, in describing the syntactic distribution of manner adverbs, the positional patterns of these sub-classes cannot be left out.

When we look more closely at the above examples, we realize that these adverbs are distributed in relation to their semantic distinctions. Each semantic class has its own distinctive way of being distributed in a sentence. In Example (1), we find the manner adverb *tsetse*etse ‘smartly’ occurring in the sentence-final position and also in the sentence-initial position. Nevertheless, the sentence-initial position is not permissible unless the Dangme manner adverbs are followed by the focus marker *ne* as shown in (1d).

The sentences in (2) and (3), on the other hand, illustrate the possible positions of instrumental adverbs, a sub-class of manner adverbs. This sub-group exhibits the greatest diversity from the basic positions associated with the Dangme manner adverbs. From the data, we realize that aside occurring in the clause-final position, they are also likely to appear at the pre-verbal position (i.e. after the subject) as can be seen in (2c) and (3c). However, unlike manner adverbs which
can be fronted with the focus marker *ne*, the ill-formed sentence in (2d) shows that instrumental adverbs beginning with the postposition *ke ‘with’* cannot.

In addition to the discussion of the positional patterns of Dangme instrumental adverbs, we find that instrumental adverbs are usually expressed by postpositional phrases. And the two postpositions *ke ‘with’* and *nge ‘in’* that introduce the phrases are observed to exhibit different syntactic distributions as exemplified above in (2) and (3). When we compare the constructions in (2b and d) and that of (3b and d), we realize that, whereas postpositional phrases beginning with *nge ‘in’* can occur at the clause-initial position and can also be focused, postpositional phrases with *ke ‘with’* cannot. Also, the sentences in (1b, 2b, 3b & 4b) show that among manner adverbs, it is only instrumental adverbials (manner) beginning with the postposition *nge ‘in’* that can be fronted and focused. However, when fronted, they must be followed by the topic maker ‘-’ as illustrated in the Example (2e &3b).

Pace adverbs is another group of manner adverbs which also exhibit different placement possibilities from other manner adverbs. As can be seen in (4), pace adverbs in Dangme are only positioned after the verb. They cannot be placed in the pre-clause position, neither can they occur in the pre-verbal position.

Therefore, it can be observed that among the Dangme manner adverb class, it is only instrumental adverbials preceded by *nge ‘in’* that can occur in the clause-initial position, clause-final position and preverbal positon (after the subject). All others (both adverbs and adverbials) are restricted in terms of where to occur in the
sentence; they normally surface in the slot after the verb or verb phrase with a few occurring after the subject (preverbal position) as illustrated in the Examples (1) – (4).

5.2.2 Syntactic Positions of Time/Temporal Adverbs

This sub-section deals with the various positions in which time/temporal adverbs such as *hiɛ* ‘yesterday’, *mɔtu* ‘morning’, *pɪɛ* ‘now’, *hwɔɔ* ‘tomorrow’ and adverbials like *pɪɛ sɔ nɔ* ‘right now’ and *daa mɔtu* ‘every morning’ surface in Dangme sentences. Time adverbs and adverbials have a wider distribution compared to manner adverbs. This is because they can occur at both the sentence-initial and sentence-final positions and can as well be fronted for focus. One syntactic distributional property of this Dangme adverb class is that syntactically, the distributional tendencies associated with this adverb category hold for all the sub-groups that constitute the class. Thus, unlike the other identified semantic types, the sub-classes (‘time-when’, ‘durational’ and ‘frequency/repetitive’) that fall under the ‘time adverbs’ do not exhibit any vast difference in the positions they take in a sentence. As mentioned earlier, all the sub-groups normally can occupy the clause-final position as well as the sentence-initial position, however, they generate an ill-formed sentence when placed in the pre-verbal position. Some examples are given below.
(5) a. A-ba su we mi hi
   3PL.SUBJ-come.PST reach house POST yesterday
   ‘They arrived home yesterday.’

b. Hi a-ba su we mi
   yesterday 3PL.SUBJ-come.PST reach house POST
   ‘Yesterday, they arrived home.’

c. A- hi ba su we mi
   3PL.SUBJ- yesterday come.PST reach house POST

d. Hi ne a-ba su we mi
   yesterday FM 3PL.SUBJ- come.PST reach house POST
   ‘It was yesterday that they arrived home.’

e. Hi lɛ12 a-ba su we mi
   yesterday FM 3PL.SUBJ- come.PST reach house POST
   ‘As for yesterday, they arrived home.’

The expression hi ‘yesterday’ in (5) is an example of time-when adverbs, a sub-class subsumed under time adverbs. From the example above, hi ‘yesterday’ can occur at both the left and right edges of the sentence (i.e. sentence-initial and sentence-final positions), but cannot occur in the slot between the subject and the verb phrase of the sentence (i.e. pre-verbal position). This distributional pattern also goes for durational, frequency and iterative adverbs.

12 lɛ is an exclusive marker also used in marking focus in Dangme. As far as focusing of adverbs is concerned, ne is often used however some temporal adverbs are also marked with lɛ when there is the need to show an event out of many.
However, the data sets in (6) and (7) show that in Dangme, single frequency adverbs cannot occur in the pre-clause position like their other semantic counterparts.

(6)  

a. Bimwonyo-ɔ fo ya **hluu**  
Baby-DEF cry.PST a long time  
‘The baby cried for several hours.’

b. *Hluu*  
bimwonyo-ɔ fo ya  
a long time baby-DEF cry.PST

c. *Bimwonyo-ɔ **hluu**  
fo ya  
Baby-DEF a long time cry.PST

d. *Hluu ne bimwonyo-ɔ fo ya  
a long time FM baby-DEF cry.PST

(7)  

a. Tɛtɛ **nge bɔlu-u fia-ɛ** **kpamisa**  
Tɛtɛ be.at ball-DEF hit-HAB often  
‘Tɛtɛ is often playing football.’

b. *Kpamisa*  
Tɛtɛ **nge bɔlu-u fia-ɛ**  
often Tɛtɛ be.at ball-DEF hit-HAB

c. *Tɛtɛ kpamisa  
**nge bɔlu-u fia-ɛ**  
Tɛtɛ often be.at ball-DEF hit-HAB
d. **Kpamisa** ne Tɛɛ nɛɛ bɔlu-u fia-ɛ
   
   often FM Tɛɛ be.at ball-DEF hit-HAB

   From the cases above, whenever single frequency adverbs like *hluu* ‘a long time’ in (6) and *kpamisa* ‘often’ in (7) are fronted, they yield ungrammatical sentences. But when we compare them with their adverbial counterpart like *kpamisa nɛ* ‘all the time’ in (8) that comes here after, it can be observed that frequency adverbials fit perfectly into the sentence-initial slots.

   (8) a. Godotsɛ nɔ nɛɛ la-e **kpamisa nɛ**
      mad person DEM be.at sing-PROG all the time
      ‘This mad person is always singing.’

   b. **Kpamisa nɛ** godotsɛ nɔ nɛɛ la-e
      all the time mad person DEM be.at sing-PROG
      ‘Always, this mad person is singing.’

   c. Godotsɛ nɔ **kpamisa nɛ** e-ngɛ la-e
      mad person DEM all the time 3SG.SUBJ-be.at sing-HAB
      ‘This mad person, always he/she is singing.’

   d. **Kpamisa nɛ** ne godotsɛ nɔ nɛɛ la-e
      all the time FM mad person DEM be.at sing-HAB

   Contrary to the sentences in (6) and (7), it can be observed in the sentences above that frequency adverbials can occupy other positions apart from the sentence-final position. These adverbials can come before the subject as shown in (8b) as well as the immediate position after the subject like in (8c). However,
when they occur in that position, an anaphoric pronoun follows the adverbial. As can be seen in (8c), the anaphoric element e- ‘he/she’ follows the adverbial *kpamisa nɔ* ‘all the time’.

Another interesting finding about time/temporal adverbs or adverbials in Dangme is that they often agree with the verb with respect to tense/aspect. Here are some examples.

(9) a. Yomoyo-ɔ  gbo  *hie*
old.woman  die.PST  yesterday

‘The old woman died yesterday.’

b. E-ba  su  *hie*
3SG.SUBJ-come.PST  reach  yesterday

‘He/she arrived yesterday.’

c. Kpabite  jua  e-λle-ɛ  *hie*
Kpabite  sell.PST  3SG.POSS-lorry-DEF  yesterday

‘Kpabite sold his car yesterday.’

When we examine the sentences above, it can be observed that the temporal adverb *hie* ‘yesterday’ which refers to a past time tend to appear with verbs in the past tense like *gbo* ‘died’, *ba su* ‘arrived’ and *jua* ‘sold’ as shown in the examples above. Also in the sentences in (10), it can be seen that the time adverbs *piɔ* ‘now’ and *daa* ‘every time/always’ often go with verbs that indicate progressive tense and a habitual action respectively. When they occur with the
verbs that indicate similar time frames, they tend to present a form of definiteness about the aspectual interpretations denoted by the sentences.

(10)  a. Tete ngɛ balu-u fia-ɛ piɛ

Tete be.at ball-DEF hit-HAB now

‘Tete is playing football now.’

b. Tete ya-a sukuu daa

Tete go-HAB school every time/always

‘Tete goes to school always.’

5.2.3 Syntactic Positions of Place Adverbs

As far as distribution is concerned, place adverbs in Dangme generally occur in two major environments; the sentence-final and sentence-initial positions, except for directional adverbs which are often distributed after the verb or VP (i.e., sentence-finally). The possible distributions are illustrated in examples (11 and 12)

(11) a. A-kɛ̃ safi-ɛ fɔ si ngɛ hiɛ

3PL.SUBJ-with key-DEF put.PST GROUND be.at here

‘They placed the key here.’

b. Hiɛ a-kɛ̃ safi-ɛ fɔ si ngɛ

here 3PL.SUBJ-with key-DEF put.PST GROUND be.at

‘It was here that they placed the key.’

c.* A- hiɛ kɛ safi-ɛ fɔ si ngɛ

3PL.SUBJ- here with key-DEF put.PST GROUND be.at
d. **Hi** ne a-kê safi-ê fô si nge

here FM 3PL.SUBJ-with key-DEF put.PST GROUND be.at

‘It was here that they placed the key.’

As the examples in (11) indicate, place adverbs can either occur at the sentence-final or sentence-initial position but, not likely to surface in the pre-verbal position as shown in (11c). From the examples, we can also find that some place adverbs such as **hi** ‘here’ in (11b) can freely be fronted for focus with or without a marked focus. A closer look at (11b) shows that even though the adverb is topicalized, it is not morphologically marked with any form of focus marker like in (11d). According to Saah (2004:58), constituents are focused this way by the use of what he calls ‘Zero FM’ or ‘Unmarked Focus’. The distributional pattern also remains the same for place adverbials with the only unique feature being the topic marker that they come with anytime they surface in the sentence-initial position. Let’s consider the sentences below.

(12) a. Nako na klala duku-ô **nge**

Nako see.PST handkerchief-DEF be.at

**okplô-ô** sisi

table-DEF POST

‘Nako found the handkerchief under the table.’
b. Nge okplo-ɔ sisi-ɛ Nako na
   be.at table-DEF POST-TOP Nako see.PST
   klala duku-ɔ
   handkerchief-DEF
   ‘It was under the table that Nako found the handkerchief.’

c. Nge okplo-ɔ sisi-ɛ ne Nako na
   be.at table-DEF POST-TOP FM Nako see.PST
   klala duku-ɔ
   handkerchief-DEF
   ‘It was under the table that Nako found the handkerchief.’

d.* Nako nge okplo-ɔ sisi e-na
   Nako be.at table-DEF POST 3SG.SUBJ-see.PST
   klala duku-ɔ
   handkerchief-DEF

The underlined structures outlined in (12) are examples of place adverbials. As already hinted above, these adverbials behave just like their single lexical counterparts in terms of how they are distributed in a sentence. The only difference regards their morphological structure when they are placed in the sentence-initial position; they are modified by the topic marker ‘-ɔ’ which is realized as differently because of its preceding sound.

But the same cannot be said for directional adverbials (another sub-category of place adverbs) which are not permitted either on the left fringe of a sentence or
in between the subject NP and the verb. They are only likely to surface in the slot that come after the verb or VP. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(13) a. Joku-ә hwa kә se tsu-ә mi
    child-DEF crawl.PST CONJ enter room-DEF POST
    ‘The child crawled into the room.’

b. *Kә sә tsu-ә mi joku-ә hwa
   CONJ enter.PST room-DEF POST child-DEF crawl.PST

c. *Joku-ә kә sә tsu-ә mi hwa
   child-DEF CONJ enter.PST room-DEF POST crawl.PST

d. *Kә sә tsu-ә ne joku-ә hwa
   CONJ enter.PST room-DEF FM child-DEF crawl.PST

As can be seen in the sentences in (13), directional adverbials can only occur in the sentence-final position, any other distributional pattern generates ungrammatical sentences as shown in (13b) and (13d). Another interesting feature of this group of place adverbials is that unlike the locational adverbials which are mainly postpositional phrases, directional adverbials are usually expressed by a conflating verb plus a postpositional phrase as exemplified in (13).
5.2.4 *Syntactic Positions of Aspectual Adverbs*

When it comes to Dangme aspectual adverbs such as *momo* ‘already’, *ekohu* ‘again’, *lolo* ‘yet’ and *loloolo* ‘still’, we see a kind of restrictive distribution. Compared to the semantic classes of adverbs discussed so far, Dangme aspectual adverbs are by far, the least mobile of all. They are only permitted in the clause final position except for the adverb *loloolo* ‘still’ which can sometimes surface in the sentence-initial position. This is demonstrated in the examples (14) and (15) which follows.

(14) a. Matsɛɛ nɛkɔtsɔma-a kɛɛ matsɛɛ wayo-ɔ

    chief elder-DEF CONJ chief small-DEF

    maa kpe **ekohu**

    FUT meet again

    ‘The paramount chief and the sub-chief will meet again.’

b.* **Ekohu** matsɛɛ nɛkɔtsɔma-a kɛɛ matsɛɛ wayo-ɔ

    again chief elder-DEF CONJ chief small-DEF

    maa kpe

    FUT meet

    ‘Again, the paramount chief and the sub-chief will meet.’

c.* **Ekohu** ne matsɛɛ nɛkɔtsɔma-a kɛɛ matsɛɛ wayo-ɔ

    again FM chief elder-DEF CONJ chief small-DEF

    maa kpe

    FUT meet
Matsɛ wayo-ɛ

chief small-DEF

‘The paramount chief, again, will meet the sub-chief.’

As mentioned earlier, the data in (14) show the permissible slot an aspectual adverb in Dangme can occupy. According to the data in (14a-d), aspectual adverbs only appear at the sentence-final position; they cannot occur in the sentence-initial position, neither are they permitted in the pre-verbal position. From the examples, we also find that this group of adverbs cannot be fronted or focused; however, the succeeding examples in (15) present us with a contrastive instance where the aspectual adverb loloolo ‘still’ occurs in the sentence-final position as well as pre-clause position.

(15) a. E-tsɛŋgua-a ngɛ lejɛ-ɔ loloolo
    3SG.POSS-uncle.paternal-DEF be.at there-DEF still
    ‘His/her paternal uncle is still there.’

b. Loloolo-ɔ e-tsɛŋgua-a ngɛ lejɛ-ɔ
    still-TOP 3SG.POSS-uncle.paternal-DEF be.at there-DEF
    ‘Still, his/her paternal uncle is there.’

c. Loloolo-ɔ ne e-tsɛŋgua-a ngɛ lejɛ-ɔ
    still-TOP FM 3SG.POSS-uncle.paternal-DEF be.at there-DEF
    ‘Still, his/her paternal uncle is there.’
Example (15) illustrates the syntactic distribution of the aspeclual adverb loloolo ‘still’. Here, we can see loloolo in the right periphery of the sentence as well as in the left periphery. When it occurs in the sentence-initial position, it is modified by the topic marker ‘-ŋ’ like place adverbials.

5.2.5 Syntactic Positions of Epistemic or Speaker-Oriented Adverbs

Epistemic adverbs in Dangme have restricted distribution. Except for occurring in the initial position on the left periphery of a sentence, it cannot appear elsewhere. The discussion made by linguists on various grounds about this subject suggests that this could be so because this group of adverbs tends to have scope over the entire clause. And these cross-linguistic empirical observations about the group throws light on why Dangme epistemic adverbs tend to occupy the left periphery position of Dangme sentences. In Dangme, epistemic adverbs such as benoon/benoo mi ‘maybe’ can only occur on the left-fringe of the sentence and cannot be focused like other semantic classes. This is exemplified in the sentences in (16) below.

(16) a. **Bennoo/Benoo mi** wa-bi-ɛ du

maybe 1PL.POSS-child-DEF bathe.PERF

e-he momo

3SG.POSS-body already

‘Maybe our son has bathed already.’
5.2.6 Syntactic Positions of Adverbs of Contingency

Adverbials of contingency form another major category of Dangme adverbials often made up of dependent clauses that are attached to other main clauses to form complete Dangme sentences. The basic place of occurrence for these kinds of adverbials is the clause-final position (right-periphery) with just a few occurring elsewhere. To investigate the distribution of this group of adverbials, let’s consider some illustrative sentences that show their distribution.
(17) a. Kpabite tɔ ngɛ mla-a nɔ
Kpabite make mistake.PST be.at law-DEF POST

la heɛ a-sanɛ a-gbla e-tue
because of this 3PL.SUBJ-have to 3PL.SUBJ-pull 3SG.POSS-ear

‘Kpabite has committed a crime so he has to be punished.’

b. Bimɔnyo-ɔ ngɛ ya fo-e ejakaa hɔ
baby-DEF be.at cry-PROG because hunger

ngɛ le ye-i
be 2SG.OBJ eat-PROG

‘The baby is crying because she is hungry.’

c. Akuyo be tikiti la e-ve
Akuyo NEG ticket so 3SG.SUBJ-go.NEG

‘Akuyo did not have a ticket so she did not go.’

d. Adzo ye nɔ se e-tɔ-ɛ
Adzo eat.PST thing but 3SG.SUBJ-satisfy.PST-NEG

‘Adzo ate but she is not satisfied.’

e. E-wa pe bene wa
3SG.SUBJ-to be old EMPH more than 1PL.SUBJ

na-a le ha
perceive-PROG 2SG.OBJ how

‘He/She is older than how we perceive him/her to be.’

Example (17) illustrates the distribution of most adverbials of contingency in Dangme. Generally, all the adverbials in (17) seem to surface at the clause final
position no matter their semantic distinctions. Example (17) comprises adverbials of different semantic sub-classes. In (17a) and (17b), are examples of adverbials of cause. The sentence in (17c) presents an adverbial of result and (17d) and (17e) are adverbials of concession and comparison respectively. In all, we find the same pattern and therefore, it can be said that the marked position for Dangme adverbials of contingency is the sentence-final position. However, in addition, there are some Dangme adverbials of contingency that are not also restricted to appear at sentence-initial position. Thus, it is acceptable to have them in both the pre-clause and clause-final positions. This is illustrated in the Examples (18), (19) and (20).

(18) a. Adzo  ya  jua  ywie  \textit{koni}

\begin{verbatim}
Adzo  go  sell  palm nut  so that
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
e-ma  na  sika-a
\end{verbatim}

3SG.SUBJ-FUT  see  money-DEF

‘Adzo went to sell palm nut so that/in order to get the money.’

b. \textit{Koni}  \textit{Adzo}  ma  na  sika-a

\begin{verbatim}
so that  Adzo  FUT  see  money-DEF
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
e-ya  jua  ywie
\end{verbatim}

3SG.SUBJ-go  sell  palm nut

‘In order to get the money, Adzo went to sell palm nut.’
(19) a. Wa ngɛ du-ɛ esɛsɔ
   1PL.SUBJ be.at bathe-PROG early
   nɛ a-ko je wa-he
   so that 3PL.SUBJ-should leave 1PL.POSS-body
   ‘We are bathing quickly so that they don’t leave us.’

   b. * Nɛ a-ko je wa-he-ɔ
      so that 3PL.SUBJ-should leave 1PL.POSS-body
      wa ngɛ du-ɛ esɛsɔ
      1PL.SUBJ be.at bathe-PROG early
      ‘So that/ in order for them not to leave us, we are bathing quickly.’

(20) a. Wa ngɛ du-ɛ esɛsɔ
      1PL.SUBJ be.at bathe-PROG early
      bene pe ne a-ko je wa-he
      so that 3PL.SUBJ-should leave 1PL.POSS-body
      ‘We are bathing quickly so that they don’t leave us.’

   b. Bene pe ne a-ko je wa-he-ɔ
      so that 3PL.SUBJ-should leave 1PL.POSS-body
      wa ngɛ du-ɛ esɛsɔ
      1PL.SUBJ be.at bathe-PROG early
      ‘So that/ in order for them not to leave us, we are bathing quickly.’

Adverbials of purpose outlined in (18), (19) and (20) are prime examples of Dangme adverbials that are able to end a sentence as well as begin one. In (18a), (19a) and (20a), the adverbials occur in the sentence-final position and in (18b),
(19b) and (20b), they appear at the pre-clause position. Notice, however, that it is not possible for adverbials preceded by the subordinator *ne* to fill the sentence-initial slot. This is because it generates an ill-formed sentence when in the sentence-initial position as shown in (19b). Therefore, speakers of the language tend to use the constructions with the subordinator *bene pe ne* ‘so that/in order to’ instead which also has the same reading as *ne* as illustrated in (20a and b).

The structures in (21) that comes here after are also examples of Dangme adverbials of contingency that can appear in both sentence-initial and sentence-final positions. The adverbials in (21) are adverbials of condition which function as connectives for the joining of two clause structures. As the examples indicate, the adverbials of condition show the relation between the antecedent and the consequence or result. Here, the consequent event does not hold unless the condition stated in the antecedent holds. The examples show that in Dangme the antecedent which happens to be the adverbial of condition does not have a specified location; they can occur on the left fringe of the sentence or on the right fringe.

(21) a. Ke o-ve nɔ mamaama ma ha

If 2SG.SUBJ-eat thing fast FUT give

mo ahleu-ɔ

2SG.OBJ sugarcane-DEF

‘If you eat the food fast, I will give you the sugarcane.’
b. Ma ha mo ahleu-\(\tau\)

FUT give 2SG.OBJ sugarcane-DEF

ke o-\(\epsilon\)e no mamaama

if 2SG.SUBJ-eat thing fast

‘I will give you the sugarcane if you eat the food fast.’

The structures in bold in the sentences in (22) below are examples of adverbials of contrast which also surface in sentence-initial position just like adverbials of purpose and condition.

(22) a. Ne Darley ng\(\epsilon\) fie-\(\epsilon\) Amorkor ng\(\epsilon\)

while Darley be.at play-PROG Amorkor be.at

tsu-\(\epsilon\) mi be-e

room-DEF POST sweep-PROG

‘While Darley is playing, Amorkor is sweeping the room.’

b. Amorkor ng\(\epsilon\) tsu-\(\epsilon\) mi be-e

Amorkor be.at room-DEF POST sweep-PROG

ne Darley ng\(\epsilon\) fie-\(\epsilon\)

while Darley be.at play-PROG

5.3 The Relative Sequencing of Dangme adverbs and adverbials

This sub-section deals with the sequencing of Dangme adverbs and adverbials in a sentence. Normally, sentences tend to have two or more adverbs/adverbials. And from the vast amount of literature on the subject, we have come to understand that
these adverbs do not just appear anywhere but follow some form of sequencing constraints (Cinque, 1999 & 2004; Ernst, 2004; Jackendoff, 1972; Maienborn & Schafer, 2011; Saah, 2004). One premise generalized in the discussions made by these linguists is that the relative ordering of adverbs within a sentence is highly determined by what they scope over. For instance, Saah (2004:72) postulates that for Akan “the reason for this ordering has to with the scope capabilities of the different types of adverbs.” In Dangme, it is possible for more than one adverb to occur in the same sentence/clause. When this happens, they occur in a special order. Consider the following examples.

(23) a. Bímɔ̀nyó-ɔ́ fò yā [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀] [mɔ̀tu-ɔ]
baby-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully morning-DEF

‘The baby cried sorrowfully in the morning.’

b.* Bímɔ̀nyó-ɔ́ fò yā [mɔ̀tu-ɔ] [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀]
baby-DEF cry.PST morning-DEF sorrowfully

c. [Mɔ̀tu-ɔ] Bímɔ̀nyó-ɔ́ fò yā [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀]

morning-DEF baby-DE cry.PST sorrowfully

‘The morning, the baby cried sorrowfully.’

In the above example, we have manner adverbs and time/temporal adverbs co-occurring in the sentence. When this happens, the manner adverbs precede the temporal adverbs as illustrated by (23a). The ungrammatical sentence in (23b) shows that the reverse ordering is not acceptable in Dangme. This is because time adverbs scope over the entire clause and manner adverbs scope over the verb or
verb phrase. Therefore, the manner adverb *mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀* ‘sorrowfully’ must be immediately adjoined to the verb and followed by the time adverb *mɔtu-ɔ* ‘in the morning’ which then scopes over the entire sentence.

(24) a. Nyumu-ɔ  fɔ yā  [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀]  [ngɛ  va-a  sisi]
man-DEF  cry.PST  sorrowfully  be.at  funeral-DEF  under
‘The man cried sorrowfully at the funeral.’

b. Nyumu-ɔ  fɔ yā  [ngɛ  va-a  sisi]  [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀]
man-DEF  cry.PST  be.at  funeral-DEF  under  sorrowfully
‘The man cried at the funeral sorrowfully.’

c. [ngɛ  va-a  sisi]  nyumu-ɔ  fɔ yā  [mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀]
be.at  funeral-DEF  under  man-DEF  cry.PST  sorrowfully
‘At the funeral, the man cried sorrowfully.’

In (24a), we realize that when place adverbs and manner adverb are to be sequenced in a sentence, they both can be placed after the main verb of the sentence as they all scope over the verb. Thus, having the manner adverb *mɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀bɔ̀* at the immediate position after the verb and succeeded by the place adverbial *ngɛ yaa sisi* ‘at the funeral’ is acceptable and the reverse is true as shown above. We can also have *ngɛ yaa sisi* ‘at the funeral’ on the left periphery of the sentence like in (24c) and this is not because it has any scope capability of modifying the entire clause but because adverbials preceded by the particle *ngɛ* are noted to be able to surface freely in the sentence-initial position in Dangme sentences.
The same generalization holds for the linear ordering of the adverbs co-
occurring in the sentences in (25). Manner and place adverbs are adjoined to the
verb while the time adverb is adjoined to the entire clause. This explains why it is
distributed at the far end of the sentence after the verb-modifying elements. Its
occurrence at the sentence-initial position too is acceptable.

(25) a. Nyumu-’ fó yā [mòbòmòbò] [ŋẹ́ ya-a sisi] [hiɛ]
man-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully be.at funeral-DEF under yesterday
‘The man cried sorrowfully at the funeral yesterday.’

b. [Hiɛ] nyumu-’ fó yā [mòbòmòbò] [ŋẹ́ ya-a sisi]
yesterday man-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully be.at funeral-DEF under
‘Yesterday, the man cried sorrowfully at the funeral.’

c. [Hiɛ] [ŋẹ́ ya-a sisi] nyumu-’ fó yā [mòbòmòbò]
yesterday be.at funeral-DEF under man-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully
‘Yesterday, at the funeral, the man cried.’

d. [ŋẹ́ ya-a sisi] [hiɛ] nyumu-’ fó yā [mòbòmòbò]
be.at funeral-DEF under yesterday man-DEF cry.PST sorrowfully
‘At the funeral yesterday, the man cried sorrowfully.’

When place and temporal adverbs co-occur in the same sentence, the place
adverbs precede the temporal adverbs as illustrated in (26a). The reverse ordering
is not permitted as shown in (26b).
(26) a. Amorkor màá bà [hiɔ] [hwɔɔ]
Amorkor FUT come here tomorrow
‘Amorkor will come here tomorrow.’
b. * Amorkor màá bà [hwɔɔ] [hiɔ]
Amorkor FUT come tomorrow here
c. [Hwɔɔ] Amorkor maa ba [hiɔ]
tomorrow Amorkor FUT come here
‘Tomorrow, Amorkor will come here.’

(27) a. Jokuɛ nɔ bɛ tsu-ɔ mi tsetsetse
Child DEM sweep.PST room-DEF POST smartly
‘This child swept the room smartly.’
b. Jokuɛ nɔ bɛ tsu-ɔ mi [tsetsetse] [ekohu]
child DEM sweep.PST room-DEF POST lazily again
‘This child swept the room smartly again.’
c. * Jokuɛ nɔ bɛ tsu-ɔ mi [ekohu] [tsetsetse]
child DEM sweep.PST room-DEF POST again smartly
‘This child swept the room again smartly.’

Whenever manner and aspectual adverbs occur in the same sentence, the aspectual adverbs comes after the manner adverbs even though they both scope over the verb phrase as in (27b). This is because aside the scope capabilities of the
adverbs, the linear ordering of adverbs sometimes also lies on the nature of the adverbs (cf. Saah, 2004).

The examples in (28) and (29) show how greatly the scope capabilities of an adverb influence the syntactic distribution of Dangme adverbs. The sentences in both examples contains the two partitions; verb-phrase adverbs and sentence-adverbs and the manner in which they adhere to the placement constraints is very interesting. In the data sets, we have *momo* ‘already’ and *lejɔ* ‘there’ are VP-adverbs, hence seen to immediately follow the verb phrase which they modify. The sentence adverbs *make* ‘dawn’ *benɔ/ benɔ mi* ‘may be’, *ekomɛ* ‘perhaps’ and the adverbial *koni ema ya su Akɔsomo* ma ‘so that he can get to Akosombo early’ are seen to be adjoined to the entire clause as observed in many languages.

(28)  

a.  

\[
\text{[Benɔɔ]} \text{ e-ye} \quad \text{\(nɔ\)} \quad \text{[momo]}
\]

Maybe 3SG.SUBJ.eat.PERF something already

‘Maybe he/she has eaten already.’

b.  

\[
\text{*[Momo]} \text{ e-ye} \quad \text{\(nɔ\)} \quad \text{[benɔɔ]}
\]

Already 3SG.SUBJ.eat.PERF something maybe

c.  

\[
\text{E-ye} \quad \text{\(nɔ\)} \quad \text{[momo] \ [benɔɔ/benɔ mi]}
\]

3SG.SUBJ.eat.PERF something already maybe
(29) a. [Ekome] Papa Teye je lejɔ̃ makɛ
perhaps Papa Teye leave.PST there dawn

[koni e-ma ya su Akɔsɔmɔ ma]
so that 3SG.SUBJ-FUT go reach Akosombo early

‘Perhaps, Papa Teye left there at dawn to get to here early.’

When we look at the distributional possibilities of the VP-adverbs and that of Sentence adverbs in (28) and (29), it can be observed that in Dangme, adverbs/adverbials, to a large extent, are sequenced on the meaning they add to the sentences as well as their scope capabilities.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to examine Dangme adverbs and adverbials against two major claims. First, that the positional possibilities of the adverb category were tied to the type of semantic class the adverbs belonged to and the constituents that they modify. It was shown in this chapter that, like in Akan, Kasem and English, the distribution of Dangme adverbs is influenced by the semantics of the adverb. In Dangme, it even goes beyond that, as some sub-types subsumed under a major class often have their own distributional patterns. One example is instrumental adverbs which were observed to occur in a different location from the slots generally associated with the manner class which it falls under. Instrumental adverbs in Dangme are identified as the only group able to occur in between the subject NP and the verb in a sentence.
It was also observed that most adverbials in Dangme cannot be fronted or focused; they mostly occur in the sentence-final position except for manner adverbials beginning with the particle *nge*. Aside pace, degree and aspectual adverbs which were observed to be restricted to the sentence-final position, most single lexical adverbs in Dangme were seen to freely occur in the sentence-initial position with or without the focus marker *ne*. Also, among Dangme adverbs, time/temporal adverbs were identified as the group with the widest distribution.

Secondly, the chapter looked at the relative ordering of adverbs when they co-occur in a sentence. The cases examined revealed once again that the Dangme adverbs are sequenced with respect to their scope capabilities. They also showed that verb-modifying adverbs assumed their specified slot of being immediately adjoined to the verb or verb phrase of the sentence. The sentence-adverbs, on the other hand, often occurred on the left fringe of the sentences. Again, it was identified that place adverbials preceded by the locative particle *nge* showed a strikingly different positional properties. It was observed that in Dangme, whenever place adverbs co-occurred with time adverbs, the latter always succeeded the former in a sequence. However, place adverbials beginning with *nge* presented something different where it either precedes or follows the time adverbs and the sentences are still grammatical.

The observation made in this chapter about the syntactic distribution of Dangme adverbs and adverbials is summarized in Table 3 that comes here after.
### Table 3: Positional Possibilities of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb Type</th>
<th>S-initial Position (Before the Subject)</th>
<th>Focused Position (After the subject)</th>
<th>Pre-verbal Position (After the subject)</th>
<th>S-final Position (After the verb/verb phrase)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pace</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time-when</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durational</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(only adverbials)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locational</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
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<td>Directional</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(only lolooolo)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbials of Contingency</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(only adverbials of purpose, condition and contrast)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Introduction
The main purpose of this study was to identify the structures that constitute adverbs and adverbials in Dangme, examine the morphological properties that are reflected in the structures, the semantic classes they fall into and how they are distributed in sentences. In this current chapter, I present the general overview of the study in the form of summaries of the inferring observations raised about the morphology, semantics and syntactic distribution of Dangme adverbs and adverbials. Section 6.2 briefly presents a summary of the preceding chapters. A summary of the findings of this study and the recommendations for future studies are captured in 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

6.2 Summary of Chapters
The study consists of six chapters and the summary of the principal issues raised in each chapter are presented here.

In the first chapter, I presented the general introduction of this thesis. Here, I introduced the subject matter of this study and set forth a series of generalizations made cross-linguistically about the intriguing nature of adverbs and adverbials among other word classes by way of orientation. The chapter revealed that though the category ‘adverbs’ or ‘adverbials’ is a relatively unexplored area in linguistics,
there are some substantive studies (Luseklo, 2010; Pittner et al., 2015; Saah, 2004; Saah & Abgedor, 2004; Tabe, 2015) that have been done on the subject in some African languages, hence, the need to carry out this study, especially since Dakubu (1987) mentions that adverbs help verbs to better express aspect.

The second chapter was devoted to the literature review and theoretical framework that underlie this study. The chapter began by explaining some of the reasons identified as evidence for the problematic but intriguing nature of adverbs. The first reason is tied to the class being a ‘catch all’ term consisting of true members as well as other lexical elements that belong to other word categories. The second reason is that because of the heterogeneous nature of the category, it is often difficult to get precise properties for the category. And lastly, because many languages fail to morphologically mark adverbs and also tend to frequently use other structures as adverbs. Also, the chapter looked at the various definitions given by researchers and showed the distinction that exists between an adverb and an adverbial; whereas an adverb is a single lexical element, an adverbial could be a phrase or a clause that can function as an adverb.

Regarding the properties of adverbs, it became clear from the literature that the category has morphological, semantic and syntactic properties that identify adverbs from other syntactic categories. Morphologically, the adverb class may be made up of single lexical items like nouns, adjectives, ideophones, derived structures like compounds and reduplicated forms and other higher-level constituents like phrases and clauses. Semantically, adverbs are categorized into
classes based on the meaning that they add to the constituents they modify. Concerning the syntactic features that are reflected in adverbs, it was shown that adverbs are the most mobile elements among the word classes of a language. It was pointed out that how adverbs and adverbials are distributed in sentences is greatly influenced by the constituents they modify and the kind of meaning that they add to the constituents they modify.

The chapter also introduced Givón’s (2001) functional grammar as the theoretical framework that underlie the study and presented reasons as to why the theory was adequate for the study. It was argued here that functional grammar was of great importance to this study because of its flexibility and mode of categorization. This is because most lexical categories specifically, adverbs could not be identified and characterized strictly based on a set of defined features because of its heterogeneous nature. Therefore, the prototypical means of grouping items would help to first of all, adequately separate Dangme adverbs from other word classes and then also group them into their various semantic classes.

Chapter three discussed the morphology of Dangme adverbs and adverbials. The chapter sought to examine Dangme adverb category against two major claims. First, their membership status as either prototypical or peripheral adverbs. Secondly, their morphological structure; thus whether they are simple non-derived forms or derived elements.

In Chapter four, I discussed the semantic classification of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme. Six major semantic classes with their various sub-classes
were discussed, namely manner, time, place, aspectual, epistemic and adverbials of contingency. It was revealed here that the semantic class an adverb belongs to greatly have an influence on the kind of constituents, it modifies and this is why many hold that the semantics and syntax of adverbs/adverbials are inextricably bound to each other.

Chapter five looked at the various syntactic positions Dangme adverbs and adverbials occupy in sentences. The data presented showed that adverbs and adverbials in Dangme also tend to adhere to certain constraints that surrounds how these modifying elements are distributed and sequenced.

6.3 A Summary of Findings

In this section, I present the major findings of this study. The findings are presented as follows; section 6.3.1 presents the findings about the morphological structure of the Dangme adverb category, section 6.3.2 presents the findings on the semantic classes of adverbs and adverbials and section 6.3.3 presents the observations made about the syntactic distribution of adverbs and adverbials in Dangme.

6.3.1 Findings on the Morphological Structure of the Dangme Adverb Class

This thesis revealed that morphologically, Dangme adverbs are made up of simple and derived forms. The simple adverbs consist of true adverbs and single lexical
elements of other lexical categories such as temporal nouns, adjectives and emphatic markers which are used as adverbs. True adverbs in Dangme were found to comprise monosyllabic words such as *pam* ‘suddenly’ and *ma* ‘early’, disyllabic elements like *bleuu* ‘slowly’ and *hluu* ‘a long time’ as well as words made up of multiple syllables such as *patapata* ‘restlessly’, *tsilsils* ‘in bits/bit by bit’ and *liliili* ‘grumpily’. It was argued that though some of these multiple-syllabic true adverbs look like reduplicated structures, they are ideophones. This is because we cannot conclude that these structures are derived from the single bases of these words as they are not words in the language.

The data presented in this study showed that like Akan, Dangme does not have affixes which are used in deriving adverbs. However, adverbs are derived from adjectives and nouns through reduplication. For instance, derived adverb like *tsetsetse* ‘smartly’ and *jehajeha* ‘yearly/annually’ are formed from *tsetsee* ‘smart’, an adjective and *jeha* ‘year’, a noun respectively. It was also found that aside the formation of new words, reduplication is used to trigger certain functions. Adverbs in Dangme are reduplicated to depict the intensity of the action expressed by the single base. This particular function was observed to be limited to single bases that already function as adverbs. Thus, a word like *falifali* ‘neatly’ could be reduplicated, *falifalifali* ‘very neatly’ to express intensity, but then a word like *motu* ‘morning’ will not depict intensity when reduplicated *motumotu* ‘every morning’. The other functions, namely; distributive, continuous action, repeated
action and collective meaning were observed to be connected with derived adverbs formed through reduplication.

Aside reduplication, another derivational process found to be responsible for the derivation of adverbs is compounding. Some adverbs were found to be compounds formed by combining nouns and postpositions. For example, place adverbs such as *panya* ‘river bank’ and *yoku nɔ* ‘mountain top’ are formed by attaching the nouns *pa* ‘river’ and *yoku* ‘mountain’ to the postpositions or relator nouns *nya* ‘mouth’ and *nɔ* ‘top’. The study showed that even though these compounds are almost similar to postpositional phrases, they are different. This is because whereas N-P compounds are lexicalized, postpositional phrases are not. Thus, Noun Postposition compounds, the noun and postposition must always be put together before they can generate meaning but then, the noun or noun phrases in the postposition can single handedly denote meaning.

For adverbials, it was realized that only nominal phrases, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, postpositional phrases and clauses are used in the language to express adverbial concepts.

### 6.3.2 Findings on the Semantic Classes of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials

Dangme adverbs and adverbials are sub-categorized into various semantic categories and this study discussed six of them. This include manner, time, place, aspectual, epistemic and contingency. It was observed that most of these semantic classes had sub-classes which are subsumed under them. In Dangme, manner is
expressed by single word items like bleuu ‘slowly’, ideophones such as kumakuma ‘eagerly’ and postpositional phrases like ke mimifumi ‘with anger/angrily’. It was also observed that some manner adverbs can also indicate the pace/speed in which the action took place like essess ‘quickly. Time adverbs are often expressed by temporal nouns such as pi ‘now’, noun phrases like jeha ‘this year’ and clauses beginning with the subordinators bene ‘when’ and loko ‘before’.

Like Dangme manner adverbs, time adverbs can also be further grouped into time-when adverbs which tell the exact time an action occurred, durational, frequency and iterative adverbs. For place adverbs, it was found that there are some that show the spatial location of the action like hi ‘here’ and ones that show the direction of movement. The latter is usually expressed by conflating verbs. Aspectual and epistemic adverbs are also present in the language. It was found that these two classes are usually expressed by single lexical elements; rarely would one find these semantic notions expressed by adverbials. The last semantic class discussed in this study is ‘contingency’ which is made up of adverbials that indicate the cause, reason, purpose, result, and condition under which the action occurred.

6.3.3 Findings on the Syntactic Distribution of Dangme Adverbs and Adverbials

The study shows that Dangme adverbs, like in many other languages, do not show up anywhere but follow some form of constraint that influences how they are
distributed and sequenced in sentences. It was observed that in Dangme also, the syntactic positions that adverbs occupy and how they are sequenced are based on the constituents they modify, partitioning Dangme adverbs into verb-phrase adverbs and sentence adverbs. With the exception of epistemic adverbs, all other Dangme adverbs can occupy the sentence-final position. Among all the adverbs, manner adverbs have the least distribution; they can only occur in sentence-final position. Time/temporal and aspectual adverbs have a wider distribution. They can occur before the subject as well as after the verb. However, whereas time adverbs can also be fronted and focused, aspectual adverbs cannot. Also, the marked position for adverbials of contingency is sentence-final position; however, adverbials of purpose, condition and contrast, most times, occupy the sentence-initial position.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

This study has investigated the nature of Dangme adverb category, specifically examining the structures that constitute adverbs, their morphological structure, semantic classification and syntactic distribution. However, there are a few issues that could not be investigated. First and foremost, due to time, this work could not investigate the morphophonological processes that take place when Dangme adverbs are derived and this gives opportunity for future research.
Secondly, the analyses made about the syntactic distribution of adverbs are purely descriptive and therefore, I recommend that a further investigation could be done using adverbial placement theories.

Finally, there is the need to explore other semantic classes of adverbs since this study discussed only six semantic classes.
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