

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**ASPECTS OF KAAKYE GRAMMAR**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and has not been presented either in whole or in part for another degree elsewhere. References to other sources of information used in this work have been duly acknowledged.

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**DEDICATION**

To my adorable children,

Nathanael Mawunge Teye,

Daniella Nyameye Teye,

Gabriel Mawukle Abunya Teye.

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines some aspects of Kaakye grammar within the functional-typological framework. These aspects primarily concern noun class system and animacy distinctions, relativization, complementation and serialization. Kaakye is one of the least studied Guan (Kwa, Niger Congo) languages, spoken in the northern part of the Volta Region of Ghana. The data collected for the study was mainly based on natural discourse from native speakers in the Kaakye speaking community. The corpus included spontaneous spoken text of various genres, elicitation and data from written sources.

Adopting a singular-plural pairing notion, Kaakye nouns were classified into six classes. The classification revealed a clearer semantic basis for at least three of the noun classes. It also showed that the language is sensitive to human/non human distinction on one hand and animate/inanimate distinction on the other hand. Nouns agree with numerals and a few adjectives with some restrictions within the noun phrase. The synchronic data analysed for the study showed that Kaakye has maintained the Proto-Guan noun classes (Snider 1988) in the development of its noun class system. Nonetheless, there are two emerging noun class pairings and the loss of singular and plural prefixes. Evidence is also provided to show that the noun class system is undergoing decay.

Regarding relative clauses (RCs), it was shown that Kaakye RCs are strictly post-nominal. Both the head noun and its referent within the RC are obligatorily expressed. Unlike some Kwa languages, the head nouns obligatorily take a definite determiner. Kaakye uses both the pronoun retention and the gap strategy to indicate the canonical positions the head noun occupies

in the RC. The study also demonstrates that all the NP positions are accessible to relativization in Kaakye. Kaakye, however, contradicts two constraints of the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Kaakye employs a relative marker *ké* to mark the beginning of the relative clause. Evidence is provided to suggest that the relative marker is diachronically derived from the manner demonstrative adverb *kénìj* ‘like this/that’ through a grammaticalization process.

On complementation, it was revealed that Kaakye employs five distinct complementizers and two complementation strategies: nominalized strategy and relativized strategy, all of which serve as the object complements of complement taking verbs (CTVs). The choice of these complementizers and complementation strategies is, to a large extent, determined by the semantics of the CTVs and to some extent by the tense, aspect, mood and negation effects of the CTVs reflected in the matrix clause. The study identifies four semantic types of CTVs in Kaakye: perception-cognitive-utterance (P-C-U) verbs, manipulation verbs, modality verbs and evaluation verbs. Examining the co-referential relation, tense, aspect, mood and negation between the CTVs and the complement clauses, it is observed that Kaakye generally conforms to Givón’s (2000) notion of event integration. A diachronic account of the source of the complementizers shows that unlike most Kwa languages of West Africa, none of its complementizers is derived from the verb ‘say’.

Finally, the discussion on Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) in Kaakye showed that Kaakye SVC can have the same syntactic subject which may be expressed once on the initial verbs or on every verb. The verbs in series may either share the same object or each may have their own objects. The verbs

may have different aspectual and transitivity values. The verbs in most cases share the same tense, aspect and mood which are marked once on the initial verb. Negation is marked only once on the initial verb. Kaakye, like its closely-related and non-related neighbouring Kwa languages, shows a pathway to grammaticalization through serial verb construction.



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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ACT	Action
ANM	Animate
APPL	Applicative
AG	Agent
+ATR	Advanced tongue root
-ATR	Un-Advanced tongue root
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
CD	Clause determiner
CL	Class
CM	Class marker
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive
CONJ	Conjunction
CONT	Continuative
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DCM	Dependent clause marker
DDD	Distal demonstrative determiner



DEF	Definite
DEG	Degree Marker
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DO	Direct object
FM	Focus marker
FOC	Focus marker
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperfect
INANM	Inanimate
INDEF	Indefinite
INTJ	Interjection
IO	Indirect object
LOC	Location
MDA	Manner demonstrative adverb
NAR	Narratives
NC	Noun Class
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
OPT	Optative
PART	Particle

PDD	Proximal demonstrative determiner
PERF	Perfect
PPD	Proximal predicative demonstrative
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PREF	Prefix
PROG	Progressive
PST	Past
QP	Question particle
REL	Relative marker
RP	Relative Pronoun
SG	Singular
SM	Subject marker
STAT	Stative
SUBJ	Subject

## CHAPTER 1

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background of the study

In the literature, it has been indicated that many of the world's languages, at least half of about 7,000 languages presently spoken worldwide, will not be in existence by the end of this century (Nettle and Romaine 2000, Austin and Sallabank 2011). It is in this light, that linguists are encouraged to pay attention to the description, documentation and the preservation of endangered languages (Anderson 2011). Through language documentation, efforts have been made to document some of the languages. However, some are yet to be studied and documented. Interestingly, majority of African languages, which cover about “one quarter of the world's languages (about 2000 languages)”, are either least-studied or under-studied (Diamond 1997: 377 cited in Childs 2003)

The description of African languages began around the modern linguistic era (Hyman 2003:1) <sup>1</sup>. In recent times, however, there has been an upsurge in African language research<sup>2</sup>. The upsurge, as pointed out by Bresnan (1990), Hyman (2003) and Henderson (2011), is perhaps attributed to the significant impact African linguistics has made on syntactic theories. It has been shown that certain phenomena such as serial verb constructions, focus construction, applicatives, logophoricity, which are found in African

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<sup>1</sup> According to Hyman (2003:1), “A Grammar of Chichewa”, written by Mark Hanna Watkins in 1937, was the first dissertation written on an African language in the United States. It is worth noting, however, that there are earlier works such as “A grammar of the Asante and Fante languages called Tshi” by Johann Christaller in 1875 and “Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache” by D. H Westermann in 1907.

<sup>2</sup> This is evident in the considerable number of handbooks and books published such as Meinhof (1915), Heine and Nurse (2000, 2008), Childs (2003), Good (2012), Agwuele and Bodomo (2018); and journals (Journal of African Languages and Linguistics, Journal of West African languages, as well as numerous workshops and conferences organized each year dedicated solely to issues of African languages and linguistics such as the Annual Conference on African Languages (ACAL), West Africa Language Congress (WALC), among others.

linguistics, for instance, have posed challenges to certain syntactic theories or generalisations (Henderson 2011). It, therefore, stands to reason that certain linguistic phenomena are exclusively found in African languages and it will only take more and extensive research on African languages, especially the under-described and least studied ones, to discover some of its exclusive phenomena.

Descriptive studies on languages in general, provide deeper insights into the nature of languages and also shed light on how we make linguistic generalizations. Again, it contributes to language documentation and serves as information for cross-linguistic and typological studies of languages.

In Ghanaian linguistics, some Kwa languages (Akan, Ewe and Ga) have received considerable attention in linguistic research, being extensively studied and documented while others are least-studied or understudied. They include Ghana Togo Mountain (GTM) languages and Guan languages. Agyekum (2012: 23) for instance, indicates that Akan leads many Ghanaian languages in terms of usage and documentation.

Kaakye, a North Guan Kwa language, spoken in the northern part of the Volta region of Ghana, has received some attention in linguistics research (Dakubu 1988; Snider 1989a and b, 1990a and b; Dundaa 2000, 2005, 2007; Adonae 2005; Agbedor and Adonae 2005; Saah and Dundaa 2012; Kandybowicz and Torrence 2012, 2015, 2016, 2017; and Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015). The studies on the language have mostly centred on the phonetics and phonology of the language. The study of its syntax, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has been given little attention in existing linguistic research. Some scholars (for example, Korboe 2001 and Dundaa 2012), over

the years, have lamented over the lack of detailed syntactic work on the language. Korboe (2001:2), for instance, observes that “data on the morphology, phonology, and syntax of Kaakye are very scanty”. Dundaa (2012: 1) also points out that “[s]yntax remains one key aspect of the Kaakye language which is yet to be researched”.

This study, therefore, aims at bridging the gap in the study of Kaakye grammar by investigating some aspects such as noun class system and animacy distinction, relativization, complementation and serial verb construction; which have either not been studied or require a different analytical approach. Apart from the first topic which concerns morphology of nouns, the last three topics relates to clause combining constructions. These are topics worth investigating since they provide basis for investigating other aspects of Kaakye grammar.

This introductory chapter, therefore, outlines the research questions and objectives. It also provides the background information on the language and its speakers, the geographical location, the sociolinguistics situation and the genetic affiliation of Kaakye. Previous linguistic works on the language are reviewed and a sketch grammar on some salient features of Kaakye grammar that are necessary in providing a better understanding of the topics examined in the thesis, are also discussed.

### **1.1 The aim and objectives of the study**

The general aim of this study is to give a satisfactory description of some aspects of Kaakye syntax. The specific objectives of the study are:

- (i) To explore the Kaakye noun class system and examine whether there are any semantic bases for its classification and whether the language is sensitive

to the notion of animacy distinction.

(ii) To describe the nature and the syntactic means of expressing relativization in Kaakye.

(iii) To examine the morpho-syntactic and semantic features of complement clause construction in Kaakye.

(iv) To describe the features that characterise serial verb constructions in Kaakye.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

The research seeks to address the following questions:

(i) Does Kaakye noun class system have any semantic bases for its classification and is the language sensitive to animacy distinction?

(ii) What are the nature and the syntactic means of expressing relativization in Kaakye?

(iii) What features characterise complement clause construction in Kaakye?

(iv) What are the properties of serial verb construction in Kaakye?

## **1.3 The Kaakye people**

### *1.3.1 Geographical location<sup>3</sup>*

The Kaakye people live in the northern part of the Volta Region of Ghana. A large population of Kaakye speakers are found in Krachi West and a small number in the Krachi East District of the Volta Region. The Krachi West District is located in the north-western corner of the Volta Region of Ghana. The District shares boundaries with Krachi East District to the East, Krachi

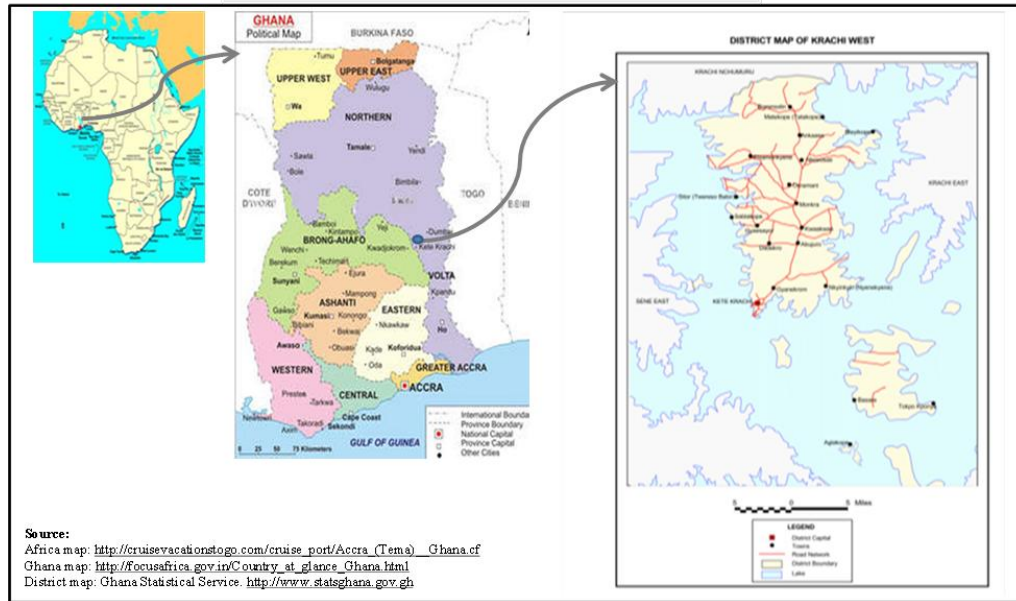
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<sup>3</sup> The geographical information follows Ghana Population Census (2010): Krachi West District Analytical Report.

Nchumuru District to the North and the Volta Lake, to the South and West. It also shares a boundary with Sene West District to the West beyond the Volta Lake. The Krachi East District is located in the north western corner of the Volta Region of Ghana. It is bounded to the south west by Krachi West District, Jasikan District to the south east, Kadjebi District to the east and Nkwanta District to the north.

The Kaakye people can be found in twenty-eight communities, namely; Ehamankyene, Brewaniase, Kwajokrom, Ntewusae, Gyengyen, Kajaji, Old Osramanae, New Osramanae, Adankpa, Ayiremo, Tantu, Chamba Akura, Monkra, Kadenkpen, Choreso, Boraе, Okuma Kura, Gyaesayor, Nana Sawe, Domabin, Kantakofori, Kwakwae, Kete, Kpachu, Dadekoro, Yaborae and Abujurae located in the Krachi West and Kparekpare, Tokoroano, Ayoromo, Kwame Akura, Anyabour 1 and 2 located in Krachi East Districts of the Volta Region (See Map 1.1 below). There is also a significant immigrant population consisting of Akans, Kokombas, Adangmes, Battors, and Ewes.

Map 1: Location of Kaakye Speakers in Ghana





### 1.3.2 *The language and population*

The Kaakye<sup>4</sup> people refer to themselves as ‘*Kaakye awia*’ meaning the ‘Kaakye people’/Kaakyes and refer to their language as Kaakye. According to history, the Kaakyes originally referred to themselves as *Ekyi agyi* meaning ‘sons of Ekyi’ (as discussed in section 1.3.3). The name Kaakye, according to oral tradition, was derived from the Akan statement ‘*eka-akye-won*’ literally ‘debt has caught them’ meaning ‘they have become in-debted’. This statement was made by their Akyem Abuakwa overlords to refer to the Kaakyes who were indebted to the Akyems. It was a corruption of this statement that gave them the name Kaakye. Despite the derogative sense of the term ‘Kaakye’, it is interesting to know that the Kaakyes (their ancestors) didn’t consider this term offensive since it was accepted and adopted by the people without raising any strong objections against it. Even this present generation does not consider it offensive.

It is quite difficult to estimate the number of speakers of Kaakye. In the latest Ghana population census done in 2010, details of language population were not taken into account; hence there are no current details on the number of speakers. The Ghana Population and Housing Census of 2010, records a total of 49,417 population in the Krachi West District. Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig 2018), however, estimates the number of Kaakye speakers to be approximately 58,000 in 2004. Note that these figures might have included natives who did not speak Kaakye. A sociolinguistics survey conducted by Dundaa et al (1999) of the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible translation (GILLBT) in the Brong Ahafo and North Western Volta Region, on

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<sup>4</sup> This term interestingly, has many alternatives such as Krachi, Kraachi, Kaakye, Krache and Krakye; but in this study, the term Kaakye is used in the restrictive sense to mean the native speakers of the language and the language itself.

the status of nine least studied languages, reports an estimate of 42,640 Kaakye speakers in 1996. (see Table 1.1 for the population totals of the survey area).

**Table 1.1: Population totals of the survey area**

Language	1960 census	1984 (est.)	1996 (est.)
Kaakyi	14,140	28,280	42,640
Bekye	500	1,000	1,500
Kenyen	1,000	2,000	3,000
Wiase	1,000	2,000	3,000
Prang	500	1,000	1,500
Yeji	1,000	2,000	3,000
Nkuraeng	8,250	16,500	24,750
Bono	320,240	640,480	960,720
Ligbi	3,250	6,500	9,750

### *1.3.3 Migration history<sup>5</sup>*

In their quest for a peaceful land devoid of war, the Kaakyes engaged in a series of migratory movements. The oral history which I collected suggests that the Kaakyes settled at seven places before their present settlement. The date of the migration is, however, difficult to estimate, but it is likely to have occurred sometime between 1850 and 1966.

According to oral tradition, the ancestors of the Kaakyes were originally known as the *Ekyi Agyi*<sup>6</sup> meaning ‘sons of Ekyi’ who lived

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Moses Danso and Jackson Bewiah Donkor for the information on Kaakye migration history.

<sup>6</sup> Even though some oral tradition easily traces their origin from Larteh, there is a reason to believe that the ancestors of Kaakye were originally from Ekyi. I was reliably informed by

somewhere near Awutu in the Central Region (Ampene 2010, M. Danso p.c. 12<sup>th</sup> April, 2016). Under the leadership of Nana Gyafegya, the Kaakyes moved from Ekyi to Akyease near Akim Kotoku in the Eastern Region, because of war. At Akyease, the Akims were becoming too many so the then Kaakye chief, Nana Yasoni, led them to migrate to Lete Kubiase, in the Eastern Region. Thus, some oral traditions trace the ancestral home of the Kaakyes from Lete Akuapem (Ampene 2010). At Lete Kubiase, they added up to the number of Guan speaking people such as the Nkonyas, Wurupongs, Nchumurus, and Yejis who had already established small communities there.

During their stay at Lete Kubiase, there were countless wars between the Akwamus and the inhabitants of Accra. On one such occasion, the Akwamus, before going to war sought protection from the god of the Guans ‘Amanwurate’ meaning ‘the nation’s king that lives’, who pronounced victory for the Akwamus. In view of this, most of the Guans joined forces with the Akwamus to fight the Ga people and the Akwamus became victorious just as the fetish Amanwurate, also called Denteh, had pronounced.

In another war between the Akwamus and the Ga people, the fetish priest of Amanwurante warned the Akwamus not to go to war otherwise they would be defeated. The Akwamus did not pay heed and they were totally defeated. Their defeat brought untold hardships on the Guans. The Akyem Abuakwas, who helped the Ga people to defeat the Akwamus, demanded the payment of tributes from all the Guans on the Lete land. Since most of the Guans were in debt and had no money to pay the tributes, they had to escape. The Kaakyes who were also tributary to the Akyem Abuakwa were heavily

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Jackson Donkor (personal communication, 10th March, 2016) that one of their chief appellations during festive occasion is ‘Ekyi Patapra’. They also observe the ‘Ekyi dekpa’ oath which means ‘Ekyi fire’ which signifies their bravery.

indebted. Due to this, their overlords were always terrorising them. The Kaakyes, under the leadership of their chief, Nana Adom, decided to leave Lete since they were fed up and no longer ready to pay allegiance the Akyem overlords. When it was due for the Kaakyes to pay their loyalty, their overlords did not find the Kaakyes so they started hunting for them. Whoever they met, they asked in Akan *woahu nkɔfo na eka akye won no?* meaning ‘have you met the people who are indebted?’ Thus, anytime the Akyem overlords met the Kaakyes they said ‘*eka akye won*<sup>7</sup>’ meaning ‘they are in debt’. From that time, the Kaakyes were condemned as debtors by the Akyem overlords. It was out of this statement that they had the name Kaakye. By bearing or adopting the corrupted term of this statement, this aspect of their history is hard to forget since it has become part of their very own existence.

The Kaakyes did not move alone but with other Guan groups such as the Nkonyas and Yejis.

The migration from Lete took them along the Volta River and they settled at Krongya near Obosom River. At Krongya, the Kaakyes were ruled by several chiefs. During the reign of Nana Krongya, their fetish, Amanwurante, told Nana Krongya to leave the land due to an impending outbreak of a disease. Nana Krongya delayed the movement and the whole land was infested with small pox. The disease killed many of them including Nana Krongya. Nana Adom Kwafo succeeded Nana Krongya and they moved and settled near Agogo, near Ashanti Akim.

At Agogo, one powerful chief, Nana Atara Firam, was always fighting with three Twi-speaking people: the Agogos, the Kwamangs and the Nsutas.

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<sup>7</sup> By bearing or adopting the corrupted term of this statement, this aspect of their history is hard to forget since it has become part of their very own existence.

The Kwamangs sought help from the Kaakye god, Amanwurante, to fight Nana Firam. Nana Atara Firam was defeated at the Sene River battle. After Firam's defeat, the Kaakyes and the Kwamangs captured two stools from Firam and shared the stools. The one the Kaakyes took was called *obon sene kegya* 'River Sene stool'. After Firam's defeat, the Kaakyes migrated and settled at *Ketakpanda*<sup>8</sup> meaning 'old settlement'.

Unfortunately, at Ketakpanda, the land was not completely vacant. It was already occupied by the Basares, the Konkombas and the Nanumbas. Nana Adom Kwafo befriended the then Nanumba chief, Nana Gyarega Kruga, and they joined forces together and fought the Basares and the Konkombas. They defeated the Basares and the Konkombas and drove them out of the land up to the Mo River. The Kaakyes and the Nanumbas, therefore, became joint owners of the land. The Nanumbas later moved to Yendi to join their brothers, the Dagombas. The Kaakyes, however, stayed at Ketakpanda for some time and later moved and settled at a place known to the Kaakyes as Ope. Ope became their traditional capital. It was also known as Krachikrom, by the Akan inhabitants. Ope is where all the chiefs live to ensure their safety. According to one account, the Kaakyes moved to Ope because their god sent all their stools to Ope. So, they had to move since they were led by the spirit of their god. Another account suggests that the Kaakyes were forced to leave Ketakpanda and relocate to Ope somewhere in 1966, at a time when there was the need to build the Volta Lake. So, the Kaakyes crossed to the left bank of the Volta to their present settlement. Kaakye is now surrounded on three sides by water and it is served by one accessible road.

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<sup>8</sup>I have been told that the actual name of the place in the language is '*Ketakpandida*' but it is frequently called *Ketakpanda* (J. Donkor, p.c. 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2015)

### *1.3.4 Some religious and traditional cultural practices*

#### *1.3.4.1 Religion and culture*

The 2010 census reports that Christianity is the major religion in the District with Christians constituting about 71.6% of the population. The churches are Pentecostals, Charismatic, Evangelical and Orthodox churches.

While a substantial number of Kaakyees have converted to Christianity and Islamic religion, the traditional religion of the Kaakyees, Kaakye Dente, is still practiced by a considerable portion of the population. The Kaakye Dente oracle is located in a cave in the forest. The Kaakyees speak of their supreme deity as *Okesepu* meaning ‘Great Okese’. People still practise the traditional system of consulting the Dente god who fulfils the function of ruling over the chief and the people, predicting the future, promoting peace, blessing and offering healings.

The Kaakyees also participate in certain cultural practices and customary rites such as birth, death, marriage, and puberty rites. The adoption of other religions has, however, influenced their traditional religious system such that most of their cultural practices are becoming quite rare. Puberty rites are referred to as *Bètà wú* “they have taken her’ which is usually performed by a paternal aunt to initiate young girls into womanhood. This practice is now rarely done. They also have a ritual which is performed by the priest on a special day on their traditional calendar which ensures the safety of twins.

The Kaaakyees observe eight special /taboo days on their traditional calender. These days are Mumunida Dapaa, Akwasidae, Kebirabi, Fɔgyov, Beneda Dapaa, Kudaapa kv, Fofie and Kikpaye Kwabena. Twins are smeared with clay on Kebirabi days and rituals are done for them on a Fofie days.

The Kaakyees are mainly peasant farmers and the main agriculture crops grown are yam, cassava, maize, rice, and groundnut. In addition, they also engage in intensive fishing. This is not surprising since Kaakye is surrounded by water from the Volta Lake.

#### 1.3.4.2 Chieftaincy

The traditional organization of the Kaakyees is based on nine traditional stools (See Table 1.2). The Kaakyees have nine clans with each representing their principal traditional stools. The clan heads lead each clan. Each of these clans has its own chief title. Table 1.2 shows the clans, the communities that fall under each clan, the stool name of the clan and the chief title of the clan.

**Table 1.2: The Kaakye clans**

STOOL	CLAN	CHIEF	COMMUNITY
Kpɔnɔ	Nkyunyaɛ	Amankrado	Kpakyu, old Ntewusae, Mpusatɔ, Tantu, Yaborae, Odamankuma
Nana Ware	Konon	Konon Wura (Adontehene)	Kyantaɛ, Lentemaso, Woretɔ, Kofisae, Kuntunkuraɛ, Ntewusae
Akpewae	Keanae	Nana Akpewae	Agyenae, Yaaben,
Pawia	Sanwakyi	Nana Pawia	Kyamakipu, Okrakwagyoae, Odeyefowo
Le Okesepu	Gyamboae	Nana Le-Okesepu	Nana Sawe
Boruwae	Okuraɛ	Nana Borae	Okuraɛ
Gyokuri	Tworboae	Nana Kaakye Owura	Kantankofori, Odeyefuwo, Borae, Gyengyen 1,2, Abugyoraɛ, Kwaakue, Monkrae
Kaakye Lenteh	Lentewiaɛ	Lente Okisipu	Ofonase 1,2, Kadenkpen, Gyasae, Kyoreso, Kepetesu
Kekyipa	Kekyipa	Nana Kekyipa	Old- Osrமானae

Adonae (2005) reports that there are four main clans with their subclans but my consultants and the elders I consulted suggests there are simply 9 clans and each of these clans represents their 9 traditional stools. Ampene (2010:2) notes that Kaakye is comprised of ten main clans of Guan origin — six originated from Lete and four from Prang. However, according to my informant, one of the stools was given to the Kejaji people due to misunderstanding between their then leader and the Kaakyewura and now Kaakye has nine stools representing nine clans (J. Donkor, pc. 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2015).

The priest of the Kaakye Dente shrine plays a significant role in the political as well the cultural issues that concern the people. He is the mediator between the gods and the people. He gives messages to their paramount chief, Kaakyewura, who executes the messages with the other chiefs.

#### *1.3.4.3 Festivals*

The Kaakyes annually celebrate a yam festival. They also celebrate the Nanaba or Denteh Akwambo. During the annual celebration of the Denteh Akwambo, a special day is set aside where the people clear the path that leads to the Denteh shrine in order to celebrate the coming of Denteh; hence, ‘Denteh Akwambo’ means clearing the way for Denteh. The celebration of the Nanaba festival has not been fixed on a specific date or time. It is based on consultations with the Denteh god; and who gives the time or date for the commencement of the festival.



## **1.4 The Kaakye language**

### *1.4.1 Genetic classification*

The Kaakye language is a North Guan Tano<sup>9</sup> language classified as a member of the Kwa sub-group, of the Niger -Congo family (Williamson and Blench 2000, Simons and Fennig (2018). Figures 1.1 illustrate the genetic relationship that exists between Kaakye and other languages that belong to the Niger-Congo family.

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<sup>9</sup>It is also referred to as Volta-Comoe (Stewart 1966, 1972; Dakubu, 1988).

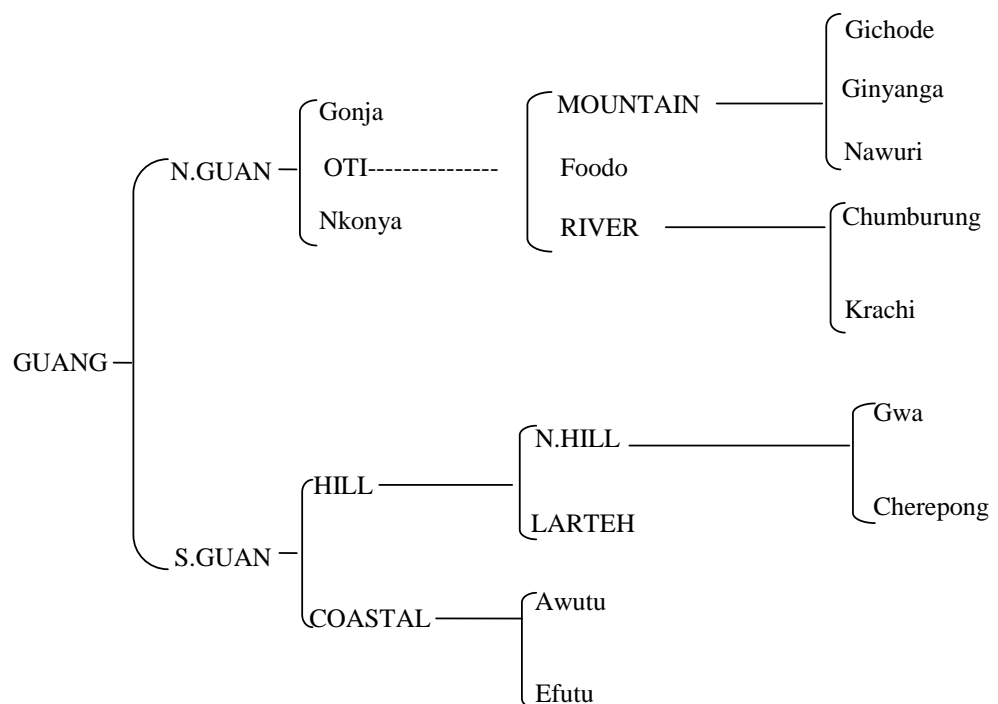
**Figure 1.1: Genetic affiliation of Kaakye**Niger-CongoAtlantic-CongoVolta-CongoKwaNyoPotou-TanoTano

## Guan

. North Guan (14)Chumburung [ncu] (A language of Ghana)Dompò [doy] (A language of Ghana)Dwang [nnu] (A language of Ghana)Foodo [fod] (A language of Benin)Gikyode [acd] (A language of Ghana)Ginyanga [ayg] (A language of Togo)Gonja [gin] (A language of Ghana)Kplang [kph] (A language of Ghana)**Krache [kye] (A language of Ghana)**Nawuri [naw] (A language of Ghana)Nchumbulu [nlu] (A language of Ghana)Nkami<sup>10</sup> [nkq] (A language of Ghana)Nkonya [nko] (A language of Ghana)Tchumbuli [bqa] (A language of Benin). South Guan (4)Awutu [afu] (A language of Ghana)Cherepon [cpn] (A language of Ghana)Gua [gwx] (A language of Ghana)Lete [lar] (A language of Ghana)Simons and Fennig (2018): <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

<sup>10</sup>Asante (2016:10-13) classifies Nkami as a South-Guan language based on the linguistics features and geographical location of the language.

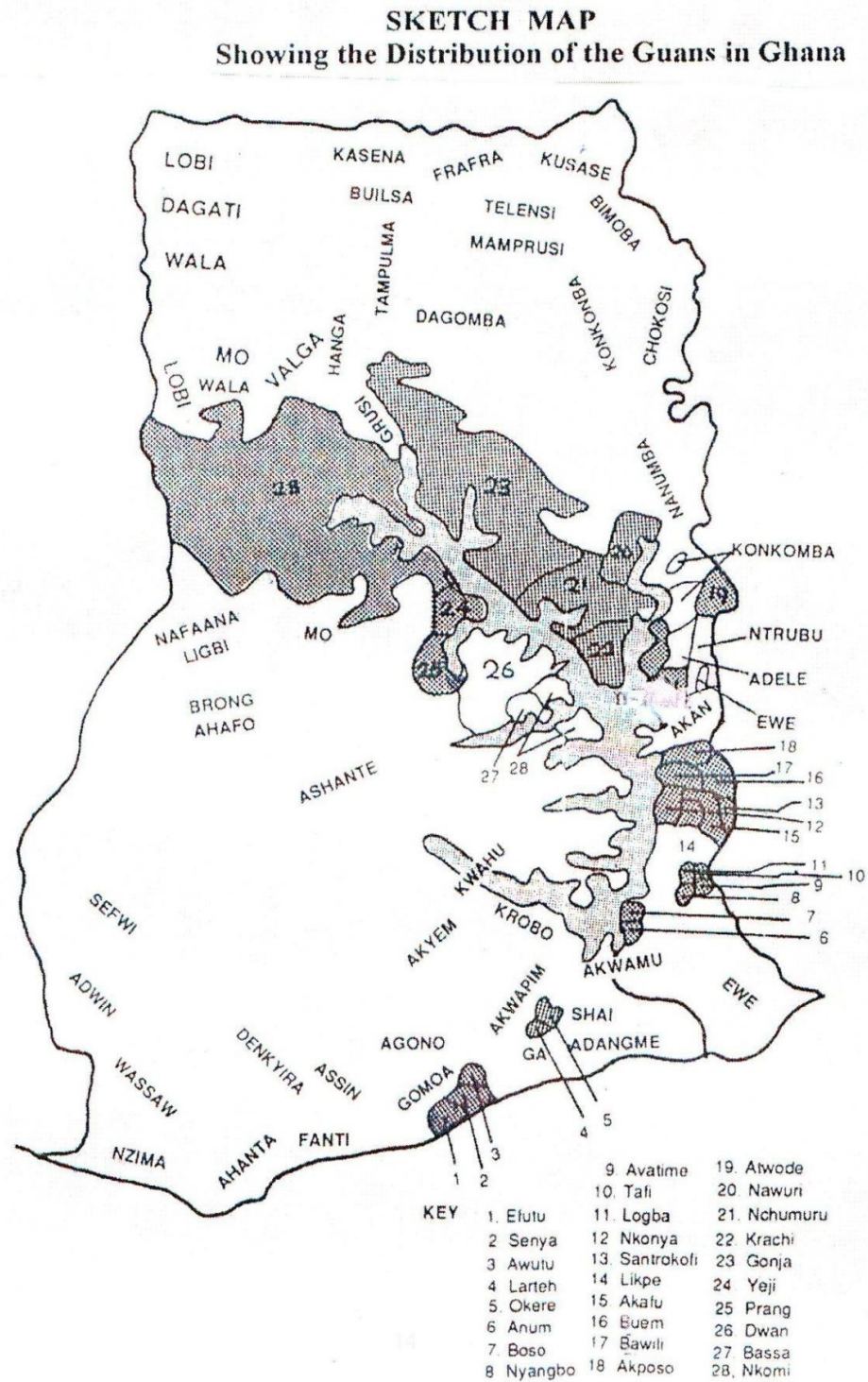
Opinions vary on the sub-classification of the Guan languages (cf. Williamson and Blench 2000; Simons and Fennig 2018). Simons and Fennig (2018) sub-classify Guan into two language clusters, North Guan and South Guan. Within their classification Kaakye belongs to the North Guan group with other members such as Chumburung, Dampo, Dwang, Gichode, Gonja, Kplang, Nawuri, Nchumbulu, Nkonya, Foodo and Ginyanga. Snider (1989b) cited in Snider (1990b:457) and Dundaa and Nyaaba (2007) further sub-classifies South Guan into two: Hill Guan and Coastal Guan. He also sub-classifies North Guan into three: Gonja, Oti, and Nkonya. Snider's (1989b) classification assigns Kaakye together with Chumurung to the River Guan under the Oti sub-branch. See Figure 1.2.



**Figure 1.2: Snider (1989b) sub-classification of Guan languages.**

Snider's (1989b) classification enables one to ascertain Kaakye's closest language relatives. As pointed out by Snider (1990b:457) "Krachi is most closely related to Chumburung, Gichode, and Nawuri, and taken together these languages form a genetic unity (Oti Guan) within the North Guan branch of Guan languages". According to Dakubu (1988:77) "Krachi shares a considerable amount of mutual intelligibility with other Guan languages like Nchumburu, Yeji-Prang and Dwang, but less intelligibility with Gonja and Gichode" (See Map 1.2).

**Map 1.2: A map showing the present location of Kaaky/Krachi in relation to other Guan Languages**



Adapted from Ampene (2003: xii)

#### *1.4.2 Previous studies on the language*

Some scholars, over the years, have lamented the lack of detailed syntactic work on the language. As Dundaa (2012: 1) pointed out, “[s]yntax remains one key aspect of the Kaakye language which is yet to be researched”. Korboe (2001:2) also noted that, “data on the morphology, phonology, and syntax of Kaakye is very scanty”. These remarks about the language are not so surprising since much has not been researched on the language.

Early works on Kaakye are seen in a few comparative studies such as Stewart (1966) which is a comparative wordlist of some Guan dialects with glosses in English and Twi. Dialects identified included are Awutu, Lete, Nkonya and Krachi. Snider (1989a) is a comparative wordlist of about 850 words from five closely-related North Guan languages: Chumburung, Krachi, Nawuri, Gichode and Gonja.

Interestingly, the few studies on the language have largely concentrated their attention on the phonology of Kaakye (Dakubu 1988; Snider 1989a and b, 1990a and b; Dundaa 2000, 2005; Adonae 2005).

Dakubu (1988:84), in her description and classification of the languages in Ghana, reported on the general linguistic characteristics of all the Guan languages of which Kaakye forms a part. Most studies (Adonae 2005; Agbedor and Adonae 2005; Abunya 2010) have given credence to her assertions. For instance, in her discussion of negation in Kaakye, Abunya (2010:29) supported Dakubu’s (1988:84) claim that “in all Guan languages, features of the verb are expressed by means of prefixes or pre-verb particles. Negation is expressed by means of prefixes almost invariably consisting of *m* plus a vowel that usually precedes the tense/aspect marker.” Also, Snider (1990a:91) studies the

reconstruction of the tonal system of Proto-Guan nouns which included some Kaakye nouns. Again, Dundaa (2000) studied vowel harmony in Kaakye. Adonae (2005) also investigated the phonology and tonology of Kaakye. He focused his attention on the phonemic inventory of Kaakye, the syllable structure, the morphological function of tone in Kaakye, and some phonological processes and rules operational in the language. GILLBT in its quest to document the language has unpublished papers Dundaa and Nyaaba (2007) on the phonology of Kaakye, Transitional Primer (Dundaa 2007) and a draft of Kaakye New Testament.

Beside these studies on phonology, there have also been some studies on morphology (Korboe 2001; Dundaa 2005; Abunya 2010). For instance, Korboe (2001) examined plural formation in Kaakye. His study focused on affixation as a process for expressing number in Kaakye. Korboe (2001:46) proposed that Kaakye has a noun class system which revolves around the number prefixes (both singular and plural). On this basis, he classified Kaakye nouns into eleven (11) classes. In a paper presented at a GILLBT seminar, Dundaa (2005) looked at noun morphology in Kaakye. He discussed the sub-categories of nouns, plural formation, derivation and compounding. A recent study by Abunya (2010) analysed the morphological patterns of the Kaakye verb within the functionalist approach to grammar. She examined the inflectional systems that often cluster around the verb stem in simple clauses with regard to tense, aspect, mood and negation. She again discusses derivation, compounding, and reduplication of some Kaakye verbs.

Regarding syntax, perhaps Korboe (2002) will be the starting point. Korboe (2002) building on Korboe's (2001) studies the nominal phrase in

Kaakye. He examines the elements that constitute the NP in Kaakye and their sequencing. His study also covers some other aspects of Kaakye syntax such as interrogative pronoun and reflexive pronouns. Another study is Agbedor and Adonae (2005). This explores the distribution and binding relations of personal and reflexive pronouns in Kaakye and compares them with Ewe, a member of the Kwa sub-group of Niger Congo.

In their seminar presentation, Saah and Dundaa (2012) did a comparative study of Akan and Kaakye interrogative sentences within the generative grammar model. They examined the various types of question particles used in the two languages and the positions they occupy in the sentence.

Most published linguistic work on Kaakye in recent times has undoubtedly been carried out by Harold Torrence and Jason Kandybowicz. Their works have focused mainly on prosody, Wh-questions, Wh-in-situ and Focus in some Tano languages. For example, Kandybowicz and Torrence (2011) and Torrence and Kandybowicz (2015) investigate the properties of question formation strategy, focusing on the distribution of *wh*- items and the constraints imposed upon interrogatives across each strategy. Comparing the properties of Kaakye with those of Akan, they basically argue that although there are some similarities, the majority of the features defining Krachi *wh*-question formation are absent in Akan. Their discussion of embedded clause wh-in-situ and the verb selection for embedded questions are very relevant to this study since it reveals some relativization and complementation strategies in the language. Other linguistic studies by them includes Kandybowicz and Torrence (2012, 2013, 2014, 2016a, and 2017) and Torrence and Kandybowicz



(2013). These works discuss the distribution and the prosodic variation of wh-in-situ in Kaakye and some Central Tano languages.

In another work, Abunya and Amfo (2013) discuss the linguistic phenomenon of grammaticalization in relation to the future tense marker in Kaakye. The paper reveals that Kaakye, unlike other Kwa languages, derives its future marker from a temporal adverb.

This study, as it will be shown, builds on some of these works, most notably Korboe (2002), Kandybowicz and Torrence (2015).

### *1.4.3 Sociolinguistic situation*

#### *1.4.3.1 The Domain of use*

Throughout its history, the Kaakye language has been in contact with several other languages such as Asante Twi (a dialect of the Akan) Nkonya, Yeji, Nchumuru, Kokomba, Ewe, Adangme, Battor, Nanumba, Bassa, Hausa, and among others. The Kaakye communities are therefore characterized by a relatively high degree of multilingualism. It is indeed hard to find a monolingual in the Kaakye communities<sup>11</sup>. Twi is currently the language of wider communication which is not so surprising since Kaakye has a long history of contact with the Akans (Maier 1980: 38). It serves as a lingua franca between speakers of different languages. Kaakye is used in the palace and during traditional events. This is probably due to the fact that those who frequent the palace are mostly indigenes of the land. On my first visit to the palace, the Okyeame (Chief's spokesperson) had to interpret whatever I had to say into Kaakye to the elders and the chief, even though they all speak Twi.

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<sup>11</sup> All my informants and those I engaged during the data collection could speak at least Kaakye and Twi and some other languages.

Kaakye is also spoken in the homes of many native speakers especially in the Kaakye speaking communities in the remote areas. Children in these remote areas, therefore, acquire the language at home. However, in the home of most speakers who live in Krachikrom, the district capital, Kaakye and Twi are used. Native speakers sometimes code switch and code mix Kaakye with Twi during conversation at home, interrupting the natural process of language transmission since the children end up becoming less incompetent in the language. One of my informants tells me that even in the home of speakers in the remote areas, Twi is beginning to be used, often mixed with Kaakye.

Outside the home, Twi is used as the lingua franca in public places where speakers of other languages may be found such as the market, hospitals, police station etc. Speakers would switch to Kaakye in such places only when they know the interlocutor is a fellow native speaker. In other words, they only use Kaakye to speak amongst themselves.

In churches, Twi is used throughout the service; from opening prayer to closing prayer. It is interesting to note that most native speakers prefer to pray in Twi. I observed this during one of my recording sessions. When an open invitation was given for anyone to pray in Kaakye, only one person volunteered. Many were reluctant. When I asked why, some said they are not used to praying in their language, although they interact in it on a daily basis. According to the other speakers, they prefer to use Kaakye during their personal prayers and use Twi when they are called upon to pray.

The language of the schools in the Kaakye area is primarily Twi and English. This is obvious since Kaakye is not one of the ten government approved languages used in schools. Akuapem Twi is taught as a subject in the

schools.

The influence of Twi on Kaakye is obvious in the large amount of borrowed words and expressions in the language. This is observed in almost all the data I collected. This is not so surprising since the Kaakyes have long been in trade contact with the Akans right from their migration. It is fascinating to note that some words borrowed from Twi are not borrowed simply because the Kaakyes lack vocabulary for them but instead, they are used as a choice of preference because the speaker does not know that equivalent words exist in their language. The influence is such that even a number of lexical items referring to social organization as well as the chieftaincy titles are borrowings from Twi (see h-j in Table 1.3), obviously suggesting that the concept was borrowed along with the word.

**Table 1.3: Akan borrowed words in Kaakye**

	Words borrowed from Akan	Kaakye equivalent	Glossing
a.	biara	Kumanuŋ	“Every”
b.	boa	kyɛ	“help”
c.	abofra	kegyifɔrɔ	“child”
d.	adwene	agyɛnɔ	‘mind’
e.	awareɛ	kɪfɔŋ	“marriage”
f.	aseda	ayɪkɪsɛ	“thanks/thanksgiving”
g.	mfaso	kɔkɔkɪkɛ	“profit”
h.	Nifa hene	Konowia	“Right wing chief”
i.	Benkum hene	Denteh Kisipo	“left wing chief”
j.	Kyidom hene	Pawia	“Rearguard chief”
k.	brɔdɛɛ	-----	“plantain”

The examples in this table with the exception of (c) and (h-j) were taken from my data on 'Prayers in Kaakye'. Example (k) was from my wordlist and (c) from an interaction between two friends. In (k) *brɔdeɛ* 'plantain' is borrowed from Akan. Plantain was not part of their staple food until their contact with the Akans.

Considering the domain of use of Kaakye as discussed above, there is a clear indication that Kaakye is in the process of shifting to Twi, the prevalent language of wider communication. A number of adults I interacted with during my fieldtrip lament the disappearance of their language and the decline of their culture. One of them passionately said there are many people who consider themselves as Kaakyes but they cannot speak Kaakye without using Akan words. He even mentioned that some Kaakyes no longer speak their heritage language with their children. This fact is evident in one of my recordings on Pito preparation in one of the communities: Tantu. During the recording session in Kaakye, my informant (pito seller) only spoke with her grandchild in Twi.

Despite the fact that the domain of Kaakye language is quite restricted and as such could be considered as endangered, the people have the desire to maintain and promote its use. In the first place, the Kaakyes are very proud of their language and they do not, in any way, feel shy nor have the fear of being identified as 'Kaakyes'. They have a sense of prestige for their language and they only feel the need to use Twi as a lingua franca considering the level of multilingualism in their community. The Kaakyes, therefore, appear to have a positive attitude towards their language. The degree of prestige will motivate the young people to learn the language since they will not feel intimidated

anytime they speak it. Secondly, their desire to have literacy materials and the Bible translated into Kaakye is overwhelming. According to my language consultants who work with GILLBT, most of the Kaakyes showed great interest in a recording of the creation story in Kaakye and in the draft of the book of Mark which was printed and distributed to the churches in the locality. Thirdly, the initiative of the GILLBT staff, who are also native speakers, to have airtime for broadcasting news and discussing Kaakye cultural issues on the Kaakye FM<sup>12</sup>, has offered the language a new domain of use. Kaakye is now used in the media.

#### *1.4.3.2 Dialects*

The major dialect distinctions within the Kaakye language, as reported by Adonae (2005), correspond to two geographic areas: the Le-ka “bank of Le River” Kaakye and Oti-ka “bank of Oti River” Kaakye. The Le-ka is the speech variety spoken in the communities that settled along the Volta River and the Oti-ka is what is spoken in communities that settled along the Oti River before the creation of the Volta Lake. As already mentioned in their migration history, the Kaakyes moved to their present settlement before the creation of the Volta.

Adonae (2005) notes some attested differences in these two dialects. He found that there are few phonemic, lexical, phrasal and tone placement differences between these two dialects. Phonologically, there are minimal differences between the Le-ka and Oti-ka varieties. Adonae (2005:19) reports phonemic differences in some of the words, as shown in (1). This is a case of a

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<sup>12</sup> The Kaakye FM was established five years ago and all that while, news was broadcasted and programmes were made only in English and Twi languages. They started broadcasting news in Kaakye only in December, 2015.

vowel alternation, where Le-ka uses /ɛ/, Oti-ka uses /a/.

(1)	Le-ka	Oti-ka	
a.	kè	kà	‘pay’
b.	fè	fà	‘sell’
c.	sè	sà	‘give’
d.	ɲè	ɲà	‘cut’

(Adonae 2005:15)

In (1), the Le-ka variety shows preference for /ɛ/ phoneme while the Otika shows preference for /a/ phoneme.

There are syntactic differences as shown in (2), as well as lexical differences, as shown in (3).

#### Syntactic Difference

- (2) a. Le-ka: Kwame    ɛ-dzíf    fé    ò-ké-bà  
                  Kwame    PST-say    COMP    3SG.SUBJ-FUT come  
                  ‘Kwame said that he will come’.
- b. Oti-ka: Kwame    ɛ-dzíf    sí    ò-ké bà  
                  Kwame    PST-say    COMP    3SG.SUBJ-FUT come  
                  ‘Kwame said that he will come’.

- (3) a. Le-ka: Kwame    wè    ò-ló  
                  Kwame    say    3SG.SUBJ-sick  
                  ‘Kwame says he is ill’.
- b. Oti-ka: Kwame    nà    ò-ló  
                  Kwame    say    3SG.SUBJ-sick  
                  ‘Kwame says he is ill’.

## (4) Lexical Differences

	Le-ka	Oti-ka	
a.	séj̃	òfé	‘nothing’
b.	àtréni	isiká	‘money’
c.	àdò:lí:	apùtiké̀:	‘mud’

(Adonae 2005:20-21)

Another difference between these two dialects, as Adonae reports, is tone placement as shown in (5). According to Adonae (2005:21-22) the Le-ka dialect as usually maintains the low tones of the bare monosyllabic words in Kaakye. Oti-ka, on the other hand, has the tendency to replace the low tone with a high tone.

## Tone placement

	Le-ka	Oti-ka	
(5) a.	lò	ló	‘be sick’
b.	tèù	téù	‘antelope’
c.	nù	nú	‘listen’

(Adonae 2005: 21)

Adonae’s report on the existence of dialectal difference is worth pursuing. However, more phonological evidence will be needed to substantiate the significant differences.

Having exemplified some of the dialectal differences above, it is worth noting that these differences do not impede intelligibility<sup>13</sup>. It is interesting to

<sup>13</sup> According to my consultants the differences in these two dialects are easy to discern and that they do not pose any difficulties in understanding each other. This suggests that there is

know that speakers of Kaakye are well aware<sup>14</sup> of these salient dialectal differences but despite that, they have equal respect for their speech varieties such that one does not consider ones' variety to be prestigious to the other.

This study is based largely on the Le-ka dialect since it has more speakers than the Oti-ka dialect and it has been the basis of literacy work in the language.

### **1.5. Linguistic Features of Kaakye**

This section briefly discusses some of the important features of the Kaakye language. The discussion below will highlight some aspects of its phonology, morphology, and syntax.

#### *1.5.1 Phonology*

Kaakye has thirty-six (36) consonants phonemes (Adonae 2005): 23 plain consonants and 13 labialised consonants, as illustrated in Table 1.4. Kaakye also has a nine (9) vowel system /i, e, o, u, a, ɪ, ε, ɔ, v/<sup>15</sup> (Adonae 2005). The vowels take part in ATR vowel harmony and so they are divided into two sets, [+ATR] - / i, e, o, u / produced with an advanced tongue root, and [-ATR] - / ɪ, ε, ɔ, v / produced with a retracted tongue.

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relatively little dialectal variation.

<sup>14</sup> During the text translation sections, my consultant could easily point out the dialectal differences anytime we came across one.

<sup>15</sup> Snider proposed the central vowel schwa /ə/ in addition to these (9) vowels.



**Table 1.4: Kaakye consonants** (Adonae 2005:50)

Place → Manner ↓	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Labial Velar	Labial Palatal
Plosive	p b		t d		k g			
Labialized	p <sup>w</sup> b <sup>w</sup>		t <sup>w</sup> d <sup>w</sup>		k <sup>w</sup>			
Affricate				te [ky] dz [gy]			kp gb	
Labialized				te <sup>w</sup> dz <sup>w</sup>				
Fricative		f	s	ɛ [hy]		(h)		
Labialized		f <sup>w</sup>	s <sup>w</sup>	ɛ <sup>w</sup>				
Nasal	m		n	ɲ [ny]	ŋ			
Labialized	m <sup>w</sup>			ɲ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>			
Trill			r					
Lateral			l					
Approximant					j(y)		w	ɥ

According to Snider (1989b: 39) “the North-Guang languages do not have phonemic /ĩ/ and /ĩ̃/ due to vowel mergers in Proto Tano”. Snider’s observation suggests that the nasalised vowels /ĩ/, /õ/, /ũ/, /ẽ/, /ĩ̃/, and /ã/ exist in North Guan languages. Adonae (2005) in his discussion of vowels was silent on nasalised vowels. Dundaa and Nyaaba (2007:13), however, note that nasalised vowels are rare in Kaakye and that they mostly occur in Akan borrowed words. A closer look at the word-list data I collected supports Dundaa and Nyaaba’s (2007) observation. This could account for Adonae’s (2005) silence on this issue. Most of the nasalised vowels occur in Akan borrowed words as shown in (6).

- (6) a. bĩsí                    ‘colanut’  
       b. ìbõĩ                ’evil’  
       c. sũẽ                 ‘learn’



Kaakye is a tonal language with two basic level tones: high (´) and low (˘), (Snider 1990a).

### 1.5.2 Noun morphology

Kaakye is a noun class language. According to Korboe (2001: 46) “Kaakye has noun class system which revolves around the number prefixes (both singular and plural”, as shown in (9).

(9) Kaakye Noun Class System according to Korboe (2001)

Class 1: Ki-/Kɪ-	Class 7: -nyi
Class 2: Ke-/Kɛ-	Class 8: N-
Class 3: Ku-/Kʊ-	Class 9: a-
Class 4: Ko-/Kɔ-	Class 10: i-/ɪ-
Class 5: o-/ɔ-	Class 11: -awie
Class 6: Ø-	

Three (3) nominal affixes which are subject to vowel harmony have been identified in Kaakye grammar (Snider 1989b, Korboe 2000, Dunda 2005, Abunya 2010). They are the action nominalization prefix /kì-/ and /kì-/ as demonstrated in (10), agent nominalization suffix /-p̀̀/ and /-p̀̀/ as shown in (11) and locative nominalization suffix /-kp̀̀/ and /-kp̀̀/ as seen in (12) below.

(10) siri ‘run’ → k̀̀-siri  
ACT.NMLZ-run  
‘Running’

(11) kp̀̀ri ‘to prophecy’ → ò- kp̀̀ri-p̀̀  
SG.NC.PREF-prophecy-AG.NMLZ  
‘A prophet’

- (12) *gyì* ‘to eat’ → *ò-gyì-kpè*  
 SG.NC.PREF-eat-LOC.NMLZ  
 ‘An eating place’

(Abunya 2010:133)

The linguistic phenomenon of compounding (13) and reduplication (16) are also attested in the language. Compound maybe derived by combining two nouns as in (13a) or two verbs as in (13b-c).

- (13) a. *Kumu* ‘head’ + *kawa* ‘calabash’ → *kumukawa* ‘skull’  
 b. *Kòrí* ‘receive’ + *gyì* ‘eat’ → *kòrígyì* ‘faith/believe’  
 c. *wù* ‘die’ + *kyìñí* ‘arise’ → *ò-wùkyìñí* ‘resurrection’

Structurally, nominal compounds bear noun class prefixes which are typical of Kaakyi nouns. This is exemplified in (13c). Syntactically, nominal compounds, like prototypical nouns can occupy the object positions of sentences as seen in (14) where the nominal compound *ò-wùkyìñí* ‘resurrection’ is the object of the verb *gyì* ‘to be’.

- (14) *Yesu Kristo gyì owùkyìñí.*  
 Jesus Christ be resurrection  
 ‘Jesus Christ is the resurrection’.

When *ò-wùkyìñí* ‘resurrection’ is used as a verbal compound the noun class prefix /*ò-*/ is dropped leaving the verb stems only. Thus in the formation of a verbal compound the bare forms of the verb stems are compounded. Verbal compound can also behave just like prototypical verbs in Kaakyi. The verbal compounds can inflect for TAM as demonstrated in (15).

- (15) Yesu Kristo é- wùkyìní  
 Jesus Christ PST-resurrect  
 ‘Jesus Christ resurrected’. (Abunya 2010:149)

In (15) the verbal compound *o-wùkyìní* ‘resurrect’ is inflected for the past tense.

In Kaakyi many verbs of different stem structures can be fully reduplicated as seen in the following:

	VERB		VERB	
(16) a.	wù ‘die’	→	wùwù	‘multiple entities dying’.
b.	kòrí ‘to collect’	→	kòríkòrí	‘to collect (something) repeatedly’
c.	sè ‘give’	→	sèsè	‘give repeatedly’
d.	nètí ‘walk/go’	→	nètínètí	‘walk/go repeatedly’
e.	bàré ‘hide’	→	bàrébàré	‘hide repeatedly’
f.	mùṅé ‘kneel/squat’	→	mùṅémùṅé	‘kneel/squat repeatedly’
g.	gyírì ‘say’	→	gyírìgyírì	‘say repeatedly’

(Abunya 2010:146,151)

Reduplication of verbs in Kaakye usually expresses a repetition of the action designated by the verb. Clearly in some (16a and 16e), it has to involve multiple referents.

Syntactically, the derived reduplicated form can be said to be a verb because it has the characteristics of prototypical verbs. For instance, they can be inflected for some TAM just as underived verbs in Kaakyi. As shown in (17) below, the reduplicated forms *wùwù* ‘the death of multiple entities’ and *kìkì*

‘look repeatedly’ bear the imperative, past and progressive markers, respectively.

- (17) a. Kofi è-**kìkì** kùnú wù.  
 Kofi PROG-look fish DET  
 ‘Kofi is searching for the fish’.
- b. Ngyifɔrɪ wù é-**wuwù**.  
 children DET PST-die repeatedly  
 ‘The children are dead’

### 1.5.3 Verb morphology and syntax

The verb morphology information in this section generally follows Abunya (2010). The structure of Kaakye verbs is clustered by grammatical inflectional affixes.

The following verbal affixes are discussed:

- Pronominal or subject prefixes
- Tense and aspect prefixes
- Mood prefixes
- Negative prefixes

Below is the ordering of the verbal affixes as they occur in Kaakye.

(SUBJ) (MOOD) (NEG) (T/A) (MOTIONAL PREFIX) Verb Stem

(Abunya 2010: 122)

### Figure 1.3: The ordering of Kaakye verbal affixes.

#### 1.5.3.1 Subject markers

Kaakye has a subject pronominal system that makes first, second and third person distinctions. Number distinction is also made for all persons. Table 1.5

is a list of the subject pronominal prefixes in the language. Subject markers are prefixed to the verb stem and the vowels of prefixes harmonise with the vowel of the verb stem in terms of their ATR values, as mentioned in section 6.1. Due to vowel harmony, all the subject markers have two forms.

**Table 1.5: Subject pronominal prefixes in Kaakye**

Number	Person	Subject pronouns
singular	1 <sup>st</sup>	mí-/ mí- ‘I’
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	fú-/ fú- ‘you’
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	ò-/ ò- ‘S/he’(animate) ì-/ ì - ‘it’ (inanimate)
plural	1 <sup>st</sup>	àlí-/àlí- ‘we’
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	bèlí-/ bèlí- ‘you’
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	bè-/bè- ‘they’(animate) ì- / ì - ‘they’ (inanimate)

As Table 1.5 shows, Kaakye distinguishes between animate and inanimate as reflected in the forms of the third person subject pronouns. Therefore, whenever a pronoun substitutes for a singular animate noun in subject position of a clause, the pronominal form *ò-/o-* ‘she/ he’ is employed (18a), while *-i/-i* ‘it’ replaces inanimate referents. This is exemplified in (18b)

- (18) a. Ama ké-gyì ágyìbì wú → ò- ké-gyì ágyìbì wú.  
 Ama FUT-eat food DET 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-eat food DET  
 ‘Ama will eat the food.’ ‘S/he will eat the food.’

b. Nyìnkp̀ìṅ	ké- yú	→	̀ì-ké-yú
rain	FUT-fall		3SG.SUBJ-FUT-fall
‘It will rain.’			‘It will rain.’

These pronominal prefixes behave differently when there is a tense or aspect marker (pronominal agreement marker) between them and the verb stem. In the future tense form, the first person singular prefix *mí-/mí-* is reduced to a syllabic nasal. It becomes homorganic with the initial consonant of the future tense marker *ké-*, *ké-* which is always said on a high tone as seen in (19) below.

(19) mí- +	ké -+ wòté	→	̀ì-ké-wòté
1SG.SUBJ-FUT-cough			1SG.SUBJ-FUT-cough
‘I will cough.’			‘I will cough.’
(20) mí- + é- +	kp̀ìsáṅ	→	mé-kp̀ìsáṅ
1SG.SUBJ-PST-sneeze			1SG.SUBJ-PST-sneeze
‘I sneezed.’			‘I sneezed.’

In the past tense construction in (20), the first subject pronoun is not homorganic. The same is true of the other tense and aspect constructions.

Apart from the first person singular subject pronoun, the vowels of the rest of the subject markers are not deleted in the future tense form, they only harmonise with the vowel of the verb stem as seen in (21) below.

(21) fú-+ké-+gyì	ágyíbi wú	→	fú-ké-gyì	ágyíbi wú.
2SG.SUBJ-FUT-eat food	DET		2SG.SUBJ-FUT-eat food	DET
‘You will eat the food.’			‘You will eat the food.’	



Note that in (21) the future marker *ké* has a CV structure. In instances where the tense and aspect marker has a V structure, the vowel of the subject marker (with the exception of the third person singular subject) is deleted. It also assimilates the vowel and the tone of the tense and aspect marker as demonstrated in (22) below:

(22) *mí-+é-+gyì*      *ágyíbi wú* → *mé-+gyì*      *ágyíbi wú*  
 1SG.SUBJ-PST-eat food DET    1SG. SUBJ-PST-eat food DET  
 ‘I ate the food.’                      ‘I ate the food.’

In the case of the third person singular the vowels are maintained and only the tone is assimilated as shown in (23).

(23) *ò-+é-+gyì*      *ágyíbi wú* → *ó-+gyì*      *ágyíbi wú*  
 3SG.SUBJ-PST-eat food DET    3SG. SUBJ-PST-eat food DET  
 ‘S/he ate the food.’                      ‘S/he ate the food.’

### 1.5.3.2 Tense and aspect markers

Abunya (2010) identifies the following tense and aspect forms for Kaakye: future tense, past tense, perfect, progressive, and habitual aspect.

#### 1.5.3.2.1 Future tense

The future is morphologically marked by the prefix *ké-* which is always said on a high tone, and it agrees with the verb root vowel in terms of ATR harmony.

(24) Keyinte      *ké-nèti*  
 Keyinte      FUT-walk  
 ‘Keyinte will walk.’

*1.5.3.2.2 Past tense*

The past tense in Kaakye is indicated by the high tone prefix *é-/é-*, and it agrees with the vowel of the verb stem in being advanced or unadvanced.

- |         |                    |   |                         |             |
|---------|--------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------|
| (25) a. | <i>fú-+é-+nèti</i> | → | <i>fé-+nèti</i>         | <i>ndié</i> |
|         | 2SG.SUBJ-PST-walk  |   | 2SG.SUBJ.PST-walk       | yesterday   |
|         | ‘You walked.’      |   | ‘You walked yesterday.’ |             |

*1.5.3.2.3 Habitual*

In Kaakye, the habitual is expressed by the segmental prefixes *í-/í-*, as shown in (26).

- |      |                      |
|------|----------------------|
| (26) | <i>Ama í-kpòòní.</i> |
|      | Ama HAB-snores       |
|      | ‘Ama snores.’        |

*1.5.3.2.4 Perfect*

The perfect affirmative is exclusively marked by the prefix */ékà-/* which is always said on a high-low tone.

- |      |                      |   |                   |
|------|----------------------|---|-------------------|
| (27) | <i>fú-+ékà-+ gyí</i> | → | <i>fékà- gyí</i>  |
|      | 2PL.SUBJ.PERF-eat    |   | 2PL.SUBJ.PERF-eat |
|      | ‘We have eaten.’     |   | ‘We have eaten.’  |

*1.5.3.2.5 Progressive*

The progressive aspect in Kaakye is expressed by the prefix *è-* and *è-* which are always pronounced on a low tone.

- |      |                     |   |                   |
|------|---------------------|---|-------------------|
| (28) | <i>àlí-+è-+ gyì</i> | → | <i>àlè- gyì</i>   |
|      | 1PL.SUBJ.PROG-eat   |   | 1PL.SUBJ.PROG-eat |
|      | ‘We are eating’     |   | ‘We are eating’   |

#### 1.5.3.4 Mood

##### 1.5.3.4.1 Imperative

In Kaakye, verbs in imperative constructions have their bare underlying forms as in (31). The imperative does not have any segmental representation.

- (31) fùkí  
IMP.jump  
'jump!'

##### 1.5.3.4.2 Optative

The optative,<sup>16</sup> in affirmative constructions is not morphologically marked. In forming the Optative, the causative verb *sè* which literally means 'give way' or 'allow' is first introduced, followed by the subject prefix and then the verb stem. Example (32) illustrates some optative constructions.

- (32) a. Sè à<sup>17</sup>-kyà  
Allow 2PL.SUBJ.OPT-dance  
'Let us dance; I wish that we dance.'
- b. Sè bè-kpè  
allow 3PL.SUBJ.OPT-sweep  
'Let them sweep.'

#### 1.5.3.5 Negation

Negation in Kaakye is usually marked by nasal and vowel prefixes. The nasals are homorganic when they occur before a consonant.

<sup>16</sup> Following Osam (2004: 18), I use the term Optative to refer to the expression of commands, wishes or requests addressed to plural persons.

<sup>17</sup> *Alt-* 'us' is reduced to a vowel syllable 'a' in the optative.

*1.5.3.5.1 Future negative*

The future negative in Kaakye is marked by the bilabial nasal /m/. In forming the future negative the velar stop consonant, /k/, is first deleted and the bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted in the coda position to form an NV syllable.

- (33) àlí-ké-yò                      obuase → àlí-mé-yò                      obuase  
 1PLSUB-.FUT-go house              1PLSUBJ-NEG.FUT-go              home  
 ‘We will go home.’                      ‘We will not go home.’

*1.5.3.5.2 Negative habitual*

The negative habitual morpheme occurs as a long vowel /àá-/ with a rising tone.

- (34) mí-fùkí                                      → m-àá-fùkí  
 1SG.SUBJ.HAB-jump                      1SG.SUBJ-NEG.HAB-jump  
 ‘I jump.’                                      ‘I do not jump.’

*1.5.3.5.3 Negative past*

In the negative past, the past tense prefix is dropped and the negative morpheme which is a high tone homorganic syllabic nasal, is prefixed to the verb stem. It is realized as a velar nasal /ŋ/ when it occurs before velar consonants as in (35).

- (35) Ama é-kpísáŋ                      → Ama ń-kpísáŋ  
 Ama PST-sneezed                      Ama NEG.PST-sneeze  
 ‘Ama sneezed.’                      ‘Ama did not sneeze.’

*1.5.3.5.4 Negative perfect*

The negative is exclusively marked by the prefix *m̀pè-* which is said on a high-low tone. For example:

- (36) àlékà-kyà → àlí-mpè- kyà  
 1PL.SUBJ.PERF-dance 1PL.SUBJ-NEG-dance  
 ‘We have danced.’ ‘We have not danced.’

#### 1.5.3.5.5 Negative progressive

In the negative, the progressive aspect occurs as a high tone bilabial nasal /m-/ prefix.

- (37) Yaw è-fùkí → Yaw m-é-fùkí  
 Yaw PROG-jump Yaw NEG-PROG-jump  
 ‘Yaw is jumping.’ ‘Yaw is not jumping.’

#### 1.5.3.5.6 Negative imperative and negative optative

The negative imperative (38) and negative optative (37) have similar characterisations. They are both marked by /an/ where the nasal /n/ is homorganic with the following consonant. Now, in their negative formation, the compound prefixes /f-an/ which comprises of the components: second person singular subject /f<sup>18</sup>/ and the negative imperative marker /an/ are attached to the affirmative clauses.

- (38) a. kúsú yírí → b. faŋ- kúsú yírí  
 IMP.rise stand 2SG.SUBJ-NEG-rise stand  
 ‘Stand up!’ ‘Do not stand up!’
- (40)a. Sɛ ò-kpè → b. fan- ò-kpè  
 allow 3SG SUBJ.OPT-sweep 2SG.SUBJ.NEG.allow-3SG.SUBJ-sweep  
 ‘Let him/her sweep.’ ‘Do not allow him/her to sweep.’

<sup>18</sup> The form *fv* is truncated to /f/

(41) a. sɛ a-kúʂú                      yírí  
           let 2PL.SUBJ.OPT-rise stand  
           ‘Let us stand up!’

b. fan-sɛ-a-kúʂú                      yírí  
           2SG.SUBJ.NEG-let-2PL.SUBJ-rise stand  
           ‘Let us not stand up!’

In terms of word order in clausal constituent, Kaakye is an SVO language.

### 1.6 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters and is structured as follows: Chapter 1 is an introduction and it provides general information about the Kaakye language such as the genetic classification, dialectal information, geographic information, history of migration and sociolinguistic information. It also presents the background of the study, previous linguistic studies, and the research questions and objectives. The chapter also provides a sketch grammar on some salient features of Kaakye grammar which are necessary in providing a better understanding of the topics discussed in the thesis.

Chapter 2 covers the theoretical underpinnings of this study, literature review on the various aspects under investigation and the methodological approach.

Chapter 3 looks at noun class system and animacy distinction in Kaakye. Previous studies (Korboe 2001), following a single-set notion of noun classes, has argued that there are no semantic bases for their classification. Adopting a different approach, this chapter examines Kaakye noun classes and finds out whether there are some semantic bases for their classification. The

chapter also builds on Korboe (2002) by exploring the concordial agreement properties of the noun class markers as they occur in the noun phrase. It also compares the synchronic data to the reconstructed Proto-Guan noun class system (Snider 1988) and shows how Kaakye has evolved over the years. Animacy distinction in the language is also examined.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to relativization in Kaakye. It examines the structure of Kaakye relative clauses and the strategies involved in their formation. Keenan and Comrie's (1977) NP accessibility hierarchy is evaluated to see whether or not Kaakye conforms to the hierarchy. The diachronic source of the relativizer is also accounted for.

Chapter 5 discusses complementation in Kaakye. It examines the structural properties of complement clause constructions in Kaakye and the strategies employed in their formation. It also explores the distribution and the functions of complement clauses in the language. The types of complementizers, the behaviour of tense, aspect, mood and negation of the complement are discussed. It also offers a diachronic account of the possible source of Kaakye complementizers.

Chapter 6 examines Kaakye serial verb constructions (SVCs). The morphosyntactic properties of Kaakye SVCs, lexicalization and grammaticalization processes involved in SVCs are described.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter. It presents a chapter summary of the study and also highlights the theoretical implications of the study. The significance of the study and directions for future research are also indicated.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The functionalist approach to language analysis was pioneered first by scholars associated with the Linguistic Circle of Prague in the 1920s in California'' (Newmeyer 1999:101). This chapter discusses the general approach and the theoretical framework that underlies the grammatical description in this thesis (section 2), the methodology (section 3) as well as the literature review of the various aspects of Kaakye syntax investigated in this thesis (section 4).

#### **2.1 Functional approaches to the study of grammar**

There are a wide range of theoretical perspectives of functional approaches to grammar. They include Systemic Grammar (Halliday 1985), Functional Grammar<sup>19</sup> (Dik 1978, 1980, 1983), Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin 1993), West Coast Functionalism/Functional-Typology (Givón 1984), Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1991), and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995). These approaches to grammar differ from each other in terms of their focus of research, methods of inquiry, ways of grammatical description and even the 'sense' of what the term 'functional' means (Nichols 1984)<sup>20</sup>. However, despite these differences, they agree on one basic assumption. This assumption lies in the acknowledgment of the fact that language plays a role in human communication and that the shape of language

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<sup>19</sup> Dik's Functional Grammar has now developed into Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and MacKenzie 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Nichols (1984:99-100) distinguishes five senses in which the term 'functional' is used. They are interdependence, purpose, context, relation and meaning.



is the way it is because it is strongly conditioned by its function. In her review of the various functional approaches to the study of grammar, Nichols compares functional approaches to formal and structural approaches. She makes the following conclusion:

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. Functional grammar, then, differs from formal and structural grammar in that it purports not to model but to explain; and the explanation is grounded in the communicative situation. (Nichols 1984:97)

Croft (1995:490), in his survey of diverse schools of functionalism, makes a similar observation. He states that “[f]unctional analyses of grammar [. . .] centres on linguistic explanation based on the language’s function in a larger context.”

Nichols’ (1984) comments above shows that language structure and language function go hand in hand. It also shows that functional grammar analysis of language goes beyond system-internal explanations where linguistic categories are defined relative to other categories within its structure. Instead

they appeal to system-external explanations by considering the communicative function of language to account for empirically attested cross-linguistic generalizations. In other words, the existence of language depends on the existence of its communicative functions. In the functionalist approach therefore, language is conceived of as “a set of tools for communicating our experience and its structure is fundamentally informed by the structure of our experience and our cultural models of experience” (Delancey 2001:1)

In addition to this basic assumption, functionalists refute the notion of autonomy or the “syntactocentric” view propounded by Chomsky (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:8, Tomasello 1998: viii). This notion of autonomy states that syntax is independent of all other levels of linguistic description including semantics and all other aspects of cognition. They are of the view that all areas of linguistic studies, be it morphology, semantics, syntax, phonology, phonetics, pragmatics, psycho-linguistics, ethno-linguistics, socio-linguistics and discourse are interrelated; and should constitute explanations for language structures.

## **2.2 Theoretical framework: Functional-Typological approach**

Within the broad range of functional approaches one can distinguish a subgroup called Functional-Typological (FT) approach. This theoretical approach was developed by Joseph Greenberg (e.g. Greenberg 1966) and extended by the work of scholars such as Talmy Givón, Bernard Comrie, Paul Hopper, Sandra Thompson and others. The approach taken in this thesis is rooted in a functional-typological framework.

FT as its name suggests, treats language in terms of two components:

one, in terms of its function and two, in terms of its typology. By function, it treats language as a tool for conceptualization and communication between human beings. The typology component looks at the shared and different linguistics features that are attested cross-linguistically.

Croft (1990) says the following about the "FT approach to linguistic theory and explanation":

The relationship between typology and functionalism, as it is seen by the practitioners of the functional-typological approach to language, can be summarized quite simply at the broadest level. Functionalism seeks to explain language structure in terms of language function. It assumes that a large class of fundamental linguistic phenomena are the result of the adaptation of grammatical structure to the function of language. In grammatical basics, the function of language is universal across cultures: roughly, language is the general-purpose communication device. As a consequence, functionalism ought to try to account for those facts, about languages that are universal across all languages. Typology is a primary source of those universals, particularly, those universals which are not unrestricted. (1990:155)

Croft's statement reveals the nature of the interdependence of these two components. Functionalism and typology are related such that one relies on the other. Thus, typology brings out the basic universal features of language, and functionalism strives to offer explanations for these features by appealing to language functions. In this sense, one can say that FT approach is typologically

oriented. In typological studies, “languages or components of languages are classified based on shared formal characteristics” (Whaley 1997:7). Studies of individual languages as well as cross-linguistics studies are considered fundamental since such studies help to discover linguistics universals and develop a theory which is adequate for any type of language. Functional typologists seek to find functional motivations for patterns and functional motivations for exceptions to patterns.

One relevant theoretical principle of the FT approach is the adherence to the evolving nature of language. Functional typologists are of the view that like all “biologically-based systems”, language is part of “the adaptive and coping strategies of the human organism” (Givón 1984: 1). Arguing from this point of view, they claim that the structural complexity of language can only be accounted for with reference to the functional considerations which over the period of human evolution have shaped the form of human communication. Syntactic complexity is an integral part of the evolution of human communication.

Functional typologists also emphasize the use of language external means to account for language structure. They reject the use of formalism in explaining natural data. In order to give a proper understanding of the structure of human language, Givón (1979: 3-4) proposes “some natural explanatory parameters”. These parameters are propositional contents, discourse pragmatics, the processor, cognitive structure, world-view pragmatics, ontogenetic development, diachronic change, and phylogenetic evolution.

Another striking feature of FT approach is the use of diachronic information as explanation for synchronic structure (Croft 1990). Diachronic

explanations claim that common processes of change may independently affect different languages in ways that cause their overall grammars to converge on common structures (Good 2009:11). A clear instance of this feature is seen in the rich body of research on the linguistic phenomenon of grammaticalization and the detailed documentation of universal tendencies and mechanisms involved in grammaticalization (Heine and Kuteva 2002).

As part of its features, the FT framework characterizes basic categories by incorporating in its analysis the concepts of gradience of categories such as the notions of continuum and prototypes (Lakoff 1987, Givón 2001) rather than discrete categories. They also appeal to the notion of implicational or grammatical hierarchies to account for language complexities in cross-linguistic generalisations on language phenomena.

The remaining subsections discuss three of the FT features that have crucial implications for the discussion presented in this study.

### *2.2.1 The concept of implicational hierarchies*

One influential feature of the FT framework which this work employs is their appeal to the notion of implicational /grammatical hierarchy. An implicational hierarchy, according to Good (2009:7) is a kind of operational scale that “encodes possible patterns that are attested across all languages in a given grammatical domain without directly specifying exactly how those patterns manifest themselves concretely in any particular language”. Implicational hierarchies therefore express a set of implicational universals that are schematized as in (1) below

(1)  $W < X < Y < Z$       ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Implicational\\_hierarchy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Implicational_hierarchy))

The underlying intuition of implicational hierarchy given in (1) is that if a language grammatically encodes any of the properties to the right of a “<” symbol, then it will also grammatically encode all the properties to the left of “<”. Thus, If a language has property Z, then it also has properties W, X, and Y; if a language has a property Y, then it also has properties W and X, and so forth. The implicational hierarchy therefore defines the potential combinations of properties W, X, Y, and Z as shown in Table 2.6 below:

**Table 2.1:** Representation of the implicational hierarchy

	W	X	Y	Z
Type 1	√	√	√	√
Type 2	√	√	√	—
Type 3	√	√	—	—
Type 4	√	—	—	—
Type 5	—	—	—	—

Table is adapted from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Implicational\\_hierarchy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Implicational_hierarchy).

The use of implicational hierarchies in general started with Greenberg’s (1966) monumental work. Since his work, other implicational hierarchies have been developed. It is worth mentioning that Implicational hierarchies are found in all sub-fields of grammar. I however focus on the syntactic and morpho-syntactic ones since they have relevance to my study. Examples include number hierarchy (Croft 1990), animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1989, Dahl and Fraurud 1996, Yamamoto 1999), noun phrase accessibility hierarchy (Keenan

and Comrie's 1977; Maxwell 1979; Comrie 1989), person hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 192), colour term hierarchy (Berlin and Kay 1969), syntactic bondedness hierarchy (Foley 1980), semantic agreement targets hierarchy (Corbett 1979) and many others. This study, employs the first three hierarchies which are stated and explained in Figure 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 below.

Singular < Plural < dual < trial/paucal

Figure 2.1: Number Hierarchy (Croft 1990:97)

This hierarchy concerns the grammatical strategies for making number distinctions. It states that if a language has a strategy for encoding nouns as dual, then it will also have strategies for encoding plural and singular nouns.

Human > Animal (animate)> Inanimate

Figure 2.2: Animacy Hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 185)

This hierarchy relates to how the notion of animacy is characterised in languages. It shows the various degrees of animacy from the highest to the lowest. It predicts that if a language has a strategy for distinguishing inanimate nouns then it will also have a strategy for making animal and human distinctions.

NPAH 1: Subject> Direct object > Indirect object> Oblique > Genitive>

Object comparison (Keenan and Comrie's 1977:66)

NPAH 2: Subject > Direct object > Non-direct object > Possessor (Comrie 1989:156)

Figure 2.3: Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH)

The NPAH 1 was first formulated by Keenan and Comrie (1977) and has been revised by writers such as Comrie (1981) as illustrated in NPAH 2. This hierarchy relates to the structural properties of RC and it basically defines the simplicity of accessibility to relative clause formation. Thus in NPAH 2 for instance, if a language can relativize on possessors, then it can also relativize on non-direct object, direct objects and subjects. This hierarchy also implies that it is easier to relativize subjects than the other NP positions.

As a descriptive study, this thesis will test the hierarchies that are relevant to the topics under investigation. The aim of the test is to find out if Kaakye conforms to or contradicts the various grammatical patterns and claims associated with the implicational hierarchies. Testing the implicational hierarchies is of typological relevance since it will throw more light on the reliability of implicational universals.

### *2.2.2 Grammaticalization*

Another principal feature of FT adopted in this study is the notion of grammaticalization. The term grammaticalization was first introduced by the French linguist, Antoine Meillet in 1954. Grammaticalization in cross-linguistic literature has received several definitions. The following are instructive: Heine et al (1991:2) explain that the phenomenon occurs “where a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function”.



According to Hopper and Traugott (2003:1), grammaticalization primarily concerns “how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions”. Heine and Reh (1984:15) define grammaticalization as “...an evolution where by linguistic units lose the semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance”. Hopper (1991:22-33) proposed five principles involved in grammaticalization process: layering, divergence, specialization, persistence, and de-categorialization. These are useful for the characterization of grammaticalization.

Heine and Kuteva (2004:2) characterize grammaticalization as technically involving four main interrelated mechanisms:

- (a) desemantization (or “semantic bleaching”) – loss in meaning content;
- (b) extension (or context generalization) – use in new contexts;
- (c) decategorialization – loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms; and
- (d) erosion (or “phonetic reduction”) – loss in phonetic substance.

According to Bybee (2005:145) “once underway, the course of grammaticalization is unidirectional and thus, in principle, predictable”.

Certain common notions which are worth noting, run through the numerous characterizations. Firstly, it is regarded as a process: diachronic and synchronic (Hopper and Traugott 2003). As a diachronic process it is conceived of as a historical study, investigating the sources of grammatical forms and the typical steps of change they undergo. Grammaticalization is therefore seen as a ‘cline’, a natural ‘pathway’ along which forms evolve

(Hopper and Traugott 2003: 25). As a synchronic process, it is conceived of as a syntactic, discourse pragmatic phenomenon, to be studied from the point of view of fluid patterns of language use. In this perspective, a cline is conceptualized as a natural ‘continuum’ – an arrangement of forms along an imaginary line at one end of which is a fuller form of some kind, and at the opposite end, a compacted and reduced form (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 26). Secondly, grammaticalization is considered as ‘unidirectional’ (Traugott, 2001; Hopper and Traugott, 2003) or in Haspelmath’s (1999:1043-44) term ‘irreversible’. By unidirectional, they mean changes from a more grammatical item to a less grammatical item or from a grammatical item to a lexical item are not possible. It is imperative to state that though this idea is firmly entrenched by many, few ‘legitimate’ counter-examples have been raised by some linguists (Traugott, 2001: 10-13). Thirdly, it is treated as a phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic (Heine and Reh, 1984; Hopper and Traugott, 2003), and recently cognitive notion (Heine et al, 1991; Bybee, 2005).

Within the FT framework, the notion of grammaticalization serves as an explanatory device in accounting for language change. This notion of grammaticalization serves as a diachronic explanatory framework within the FT theory. A classic example where grammaticalization has been used for diachronic explanation is found in SVCs (Heine et al 1991, Lord 1993). Lord (1993:1, 9-11), for instance, in shedding light on the behaviour of SVCs at a problematic stage of their diachronic development mentions that “certain verbs have undergone historical reanalysis as prepositions, adverbs, auxiliaries, conjunctions, complementizers and adverbial subordinations”. She analyzed

Akan locative verbs like *fi* ‘to be from’, *kɔ* ‘go’, *ba* ‘come’, *wɔ* ‘to be’, *gu* ‘fall’, to ‘fall’, *twa* ‘pass through’; benefactive verbs like: *ma* ‘give’, and, *kyerɛ* ‘to show’ and showed that the direction from verbs to preposition in Akan provides paths for grammaticalization” (Lord 1993:29). Osam (1994a: 26-33), after taking a conservative stance (by providing morphological and syntactic evidences) regarding the view that serial verbs in Akan have gone through a reanalysis process to become prepositions, acknowledges that “the evolutionary process of grammaticalization involving serial verbs is underway”. He showed that with the exception of two verbs *de* ‘take, hold’ and *wɔ* ‘be in/at’, the other serial verbs do not conclusively support the view that verbs are prepositions.

It is interesting to know that such the grammaticalization phenomenon is attested in Kaakye. In recent work, Abunya and Amfo (2013) discuss the phenomenon in relation to the development of the Kaakye future tense marker *ké*. The study provides evidence to suggest that the future tense marker is diachronically derived from the time adverbial *ɔké* ‘tomorrow’ through a grammaticalization process.

In this study, grammaticalization has significant implication in the discussion on relativization (Chapter four), complementation (chapter five), and SVC (Chapter six). On relativization, for instance, evidence is provided, following what has been attested cross-linguistically (Keenan 1985, Diessel 1999, Heine and Kuteva 2004, Kuteva and Comrie 2005, Dixon 2010), to suggest that the Kaakye relative markers *ké* and *wó* are diachronically developed from the manner demonstrative adverb *kéniɲ* ‘like this/that’ and the distal demonstrative pronoun *wó* ‘this’ respectively.

### **2.3. Methodology**

The grammatical analyses given in this thesis are essentially based on the data collected from Kaakye speaking communities. This section discusses the field-trip, the data gathering and the data processing.

#### *2.3.1 Field-trip*

In order to get reliable and accurate data, it is important to do field work in the area where the language is actually spoken. With financial support from UG-Carnegie “Next Generation of Academics in Africa Project”, the data for this study was collected during a seven-week field-trip to Kete-Krachi, from October 2015 to December 2015. My aim for this field-trip was to collect data from as many communities as possible and to record natural speech in many contexts from native speakers.

During my visit, I stayed in the Kete-Krachi community and frequently visited the GILLBT office to meet my language consultants. In the first week, I met the GILLBT staff who collaborated with me as a team in the data collection. The team and I paid a courtesy call on the Chief of Kete-Krachi to obtain permission to enter the language community gain for data collection. The rest of the weeks were devoted to the gathering of data.

On the field I collected data from 16 speakers and the data collected formed a large part of the data base for the analysis in this study.

#### *2.3.2 Gathering the data*

##### *2.3.2.1 Selection of language consultants*

The following basic criteria were considered in the selection of my language

consultants:

1. Inclusion criteria for selecting language consultants:

- i. They must be native speakers of Kaakye who live and work within the language community. By native speakers I refer to speakers whose either mother or father comes from Kete-Krachi.
- ii. They must be adult speakers (above 20 years) who are competent in the Kaakye language. The competency of speakers was identified with the help of some elders in the community
- iii. They should include the educated and non-educated; both male and female.

2. Exclusion criteria for selecting language consultants:

- i. Those adults who fulfil the above inclusion criteria, but do not wish to take part or be audio recorded,
- ii. Those adults fulfilling the inclusion criteria, but who have speech difficulties and mental health problems,
- iii. In case of examining language variation, adults below 20 years who fulfil the inclusion criteria (i) and (iii) were selected.

To achieve my data collection aim, I teamed up with four members of staff of GILLBT. They were practically engaged in the Kaakye Bible Translation Project. I chose to team up with them because they were all literate and proficient in the Kaakye language, very fluent speakers who had some working knowledge of linguistic analysis. The purpose of the study was first explained to the team and I solicited their assistance. They showed keen interest in my work and were ready to help without hesitation. This team was very instrumental in the gathering of the data, transcription, and translation of

the texts. The team members who were also my primary language consultants were Vincent Oxford Denteh, Moses Danso, Matthew Donkor and Linda Ntummy. English and Twi were our working language due to my limitation in speaking the Kaakye language and the fact that the primary consultants could speak these languages very well.

Vincent comes from Adankpah, a Kaakye speaking community. He works as a coordinator and a translator for GILLBT staff. He is also a trained primary school teacher. He is very fluent and was 36 years old in 2015. He played a great role in giving Kaakye language a new domain of usage. That is, due to his unrelenting effort, Kaakye is used in the media. He currently hosts one of the Kaakye FM programmes dubbed *Baakusu se Kaakye* ‘give attention to Kaakye; where the Kaakye language is used in discussing the culture and traditions of the Kaakyes. He participated enormously in the collection and processing of the data. He is a good interviewer and he conducted most of the interviews during the recording sessions. He was also in charge of identifying and contacting fluent speakers and setting up meetings with them.

Moses, who was 60 years old in 2015, is a native speaker from Tantu. He is a farmer and works as the literacy coordinator for GILLBT. He has spent a greater part of his life in the speech community. He is very knowledgeable in the history and traditional practices. He devotes his free time to teaching the youth how to read and write Kaakye. He is very fluent in the language and a good storyteller. Moses helped in the transcription of the folk story recordings into Kaakye.

Matthew was 42 years old in 2015 and comes from Monkrah. He is a Translator in the GILLBT project.

Linda comes from Adankpah and was 34 years old in 2015. She works as a typist for GILLBT. Matthew and Linda were also involved in the transcription and translation of some of the data. However, due to the nature of Matthew and Linda's huge responsibilities at home, they were not able to involve themselves in the research as much as they would have liked to.

In total, 16 speakers including my primary consultants were involved in the data collection. The speakers varied greatly in age, education, occupation, life experience and the level of fluency in the language.

In the language documentation literature pertaining to language endangerment, Grinevald (2003: 64-67) identifies four major types of speakers of endangered languages. They are (a) fluent speakers (b) semi-speakers (c) terminal speakers and (d) rememberers. She distinguishes two sub-types of fluent speakers: old fluent speakers and young fluent speakers. The old fluent speakers according to her are speakers who may be monolinguals and dominant in their ethnic language while the young fluent speakers are bilinguals who have generally learnt the ethnic language as their first language and speak with great fluency and mastery in it. Semi-speakers are bilinguals whose dominant language is not the ethnic language being documented, but they could be near fluent in it. Terminal speakers are speakers of the dominant language who may know some phrases and some words of the endangered language and the rememberers are speakers who once in their life-time had a better knowledge of the language, but who have lost much of that knowledge for some reasons.

It is worth indicating that, following Grinevald's (2003) typology, the 16 speakers involved in my data collection all belong to the category of fluent

speakers. It is imperative to add that the 16 speakers were all bilinguals and multilinguals<sup>21</sup> and there were instances whereby (especially for the young fluent speakers) their multilingual competence slightly interfered with Kaakye. This was evident in their minimal use of borrowings and code switching.

The speakers were interviewed individually and in groups. The individual interview sessions created a stress-free environment to talk about personal experiences while the group sessions ensured the language is used in natural communicative situations. The details of speakers involved in the data collection are found in Appendix I.

#### *2.3.2.2 Ethical considerations*

In accordance with the University of Ghana Research Ethics Policy for the Humanities, I applied for ethical approval for my research. Ethical approval can be found in Appendix II. When I arrived in the speech community, informed consent was sought from the chief, Nana Mpra Besemun III and the Elders of the town. Also, before the recording session, I obtained informed consent from the speakers as to whether they want to be video /audio recorded, acknowledged or remain anonymous. They did this by filling a consent form (see Appendix III). The purpose of the study and information in the consent form were explained to those consultants who have not received formal education.

#### *2.3.2.3 Recording equipment and technical issues*

The following equipment were used for the data collection: two digital audio

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<sup>21</sup> This is not surprising since Kaakye is a multilingual community.



recorders, a digital video camera, head phones, pen drive, external hard drive and laptop.

The two Sony (ICDx333) audio recorders were the primary recording devices. They recorded most of the data in mp3 format. These recorders have an in-built microphone and capable of maintaining quality sound especially when recording one or two speakers. To ensure quality sound during recording sessions, the recorders were always held closer to the speakers.

The digital camera (Kodak M530) was used for video recording of procedural data to capture extra-linguistics information. The headphone reduced external sounds and enabled me to hear the recordings clearly. I saved all the data collected on the laptop. By way of backing-up my data, I stored them on the pen drive and the external hard drive as well.

### *2.3.3 Corpus*

My main corpus consists of primary and secondary data which are discussed below.

#### *2.3.3.1 Primary data: From individual/group recording session and elicitation sessions*

The primary data consist of:

(i) Audio and video recordings of spontaneous spoken text of various genres: narratives/folk stories, historical facts, puberty rites, procedural texts, informal interviews/conversations. Using various genres was necessary since certain aspects of grammar and certain constructions may only be found in particular speech genres. For instance, SVCs are more likely to be found in procedural

text. A total of seventeen (17) recordings covering a time period of 03:27:37 (hh:mm:ss) of audio/video media files were collected. Appendix IV has the meta-data on each of the recording. The initials of the kind of genres and their numbers are used in the language examples throughout the thesis. The initials served as identifiers. They showed where exactly the examples were cited from. Thus any example with the initials PT1 comes from the Procedural Text one (1): *fish smoking process*.

(ii) Elicitations included wordlist, paradigms, questionnaire and wordless picture stimuli. The 400-Ibadan wordlist and the SIL comparative African wordlist which comprises about 1700 words (Snider and Roberts 2004) were elicited to clarify issues on the Noun class system of the language. It should be noted that where there were very few naturally occurring instances of a particular topic in the text data; I resorted to elicitation.

Paradigms of sentence structures were also important both as a way of eliciting new data and a tool in interpreting other forms of data. I used these paradigms especially when I was gathering information on the functions of some function words. Prepared questionnaire by Noonan (2007) on complement clause, Payne (1997) and other questionnaire available at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources.php> helped to gather data on Noun phrase structure, relative clause, and grammatical relations. The wordless picture book, *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969), and Picture Series for Positional Verbs (PSPV) (Ameka et al 1999) were used to collect supplementary data.

### *2.3.3.2 Secondary data*

The secondary data is derived from written sources available:

- (i) Translation of New Testament Bible (Drafts) by the Kaakye GILLBT Project.
- (ii) Data extracted from written texts: literacy books, papers, thesis, etc.

### *2.3.4 Processing the data*

After the recordings, the audio files on the SD card were copied and saved on the laptop. The files were labelled according to the speakers' name and the date of recording. After all files were accordingly labelled, the next step was to transcribe the recorded files. Next, the transcribed text was translated. The translation was done with the help of my language consultants and I was always involved in the process. Where the meaning was not clear, I asked them for clarification. After the translation, I went through the translated text in order to get a better understanding of the text. Later, I analyzed the text with the help of the team. At other times, I analyzed the text myself, and verified unclear passages with the team when we met. Where the meaning of grammatical items was not clear, I constructed some sentence structures to elicit from the team. After returning from the field, I made it a point to contact my team members via phone calls, WhatsApp messaging, and emails to clarify questions I had in the grammatical analysis just to ensure that my conclusions were sound. The phone calls were also recorded for reference. Speakers consent was sought before recording.

### 2.3.5 Representation of text examples in the thesis

Text examples in the thesis include three lines as illustrated in (1). The first is the morpheme line. In this line, the dash (-) indicates the morpheme boundary. The second line is the gloss line where the abbreviations follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The final line is the free translation line. The source of the example, also in parentheses, is placed at the right hand side of the example.

- (1) Mé-ŋù            ò-nỳnì        wú    kɛ́    Ama    é-f̀d̀j̀            wú.
- 1SG.PST-see CM-man DET REL Ama PST-marry CD
- ‘I saw the man whom Ama married.’ (Elicited)

## 2.4. Literature review

I present a literature review on the various aspects of grammar investigated in this thesis. They include noun class systems and animacy distinctions, relative clause, complementation and serial verb construction. The discussion of each aspect covers an overview of the phenomena, the definition and characterization issues, typological and theoretical issues, and studies of the topic in Ghanaian Kwa languages closely related to Kaakye.

### 2.4.1 Noun class systems: An Overview

Noun class system is attested in a wide range of Niger-Congo languages and Kaakye is no exception. There are a fair number of cross-linguistics studies (Welmers 1973, Dixon 1986, Denny and Creider 1986, Corbett 1991, Aikhenvald 2000, Good 2012) and numerous descriptive studies on individual languages, dominant among them are the Bantu languages. Cross-linguistic studies show that the languages of the world differ in the number of noun

classes they have, how much semantic transparency there is to noun class assignment, where and how noun class gets expressed, and whether it is possible to change the class of a given noun (cf. Aikhenvald 2000:20).

#### *2.4.1.1 Definition and criteria for noun categorization*

Dixon (1986:105) distinguishes noun classes from noun classifiers and defines noun classes as:

Constituting an obligatory grammatical system, where each noun chooses one from a small number of possibilities. Ways of marking noun class include a prefix to the noun (and usually also to other constituents in the noun phrase, or in the sentence, that show concord with it. (Dixon 1986:105)

Dixon (1986:106) further provides three criteria for characterising noun classes:

- (a) size: involves the number of noun classes found in the language which is usually between 2 and 20
- (b) realization: each noun of a language must be contained in a class
- (c) scope: the noun class markers are expected to occur within the noun itself and other words within the noun phrases of a sentence.

In another typological study, Aikhenvald (2000:19) positing for semantic basis of noun classes, offers the following:

Noun classes and Genders are grammaticalized agreement systems which correlate—at least in part—with certain semantic

characteristics (particularly in the domain of human and animate referents). They are sometimes called concordial classes; they include grammaticalized 'gender' systems of the Indo-European type. They are realized outside the noun itself, usually on modifiers which most often include adjectives, but may also include modifiers from closed classes (demonstratives, interrogatives, possessives, etc). They can also be realized outside the noun phrase, i.e. be marked on the predicate, or even on adverbs. Some languages have a special smallish set of noun classes/genders restricted to closed classes of modifiers (demonstratives, and others) along with a different set which appears on modifiers from other classes.

According to her, noun class assignments are chiefly governed by three principles which include:

- a. semantic assignment principle: concerns the meaning inferred from the class of the nouns. This semantic basis usually includes animacy, humanness and sex, and sometimes also shape and size.
- b. morphological assignment principle : deals with the correlation between derivational affixes and noun classes.
- c. phonological assignment principle: concerns the connection between phonological features and noun classes. (Aikenvald 2000: 22-25)

She further adds that a language may combine these principles in noun class assignment but there will always be some semantic basis to the grouping of nouns. In Aikhenvald's words,

No system of noun classes is completely devoid of semantic

motivation. If a language has non-semantic principles of noun class assignment, the assignment principles will be mixed, since there is always a 'core' where semantics operates. This 'core' includes humans in some languages and animates in others (2002:22).

The idea that the organization of nouns is not arbitrary but has legitimate semantic basis for their categorization is also supported by some writers such as Contini-Morava (1997), Denny and Creider (1986) and Corbet (2006). Contini-Morava (1997: 599) for instance, states that "...understanding the basis for grouping nouns together as members of a class hints at a system of cognitive or cultural classification underlying the system of linguistic classification".

In a comparative study of Bantu noun classes, Maho (1999: 64) remarks:

Some [regular semantic tendencies] recur in many, most and even occasionally all Bantu languages [...] One such tendency concerns the distinction between animates and inanimates. Typically, animate classes are class 1 which in all Bantu languages contains nouns denoting human beings, while class 1a, where it exists, contains nouns denoting certain kinship terms, personified animals (when used in fables and tales) and various other nouns. Class 9 is most often the class where we find nouns denoting animals. Class 7 seems to be a typical thing-class, containing mostly inanimate objects, such as tools, instruments, utensils and other things. Other oft-occurring semantic regularities concerns abstract nouns mostly found in class 14, but not seldom also in class 3.

Maho (1999) acknowledges the relevance of animacy distinction as part of the semantic basis of noun classification.

In the description of African languages, Schuh (1995:128) identifies two different senses of the term noun class. In the first sense, it refers to “a single set of morphological concords which may show up as affixes on noun stems, affixes on modifiers, and pronominal referents to nouns.” In the second sense, it refers to “a paired set of [morphological] concords where one member of the pair is a singular referent and the other member is a plural corresponding to that singular”. The first sense is used in most work on Bantu languages and West Atlantic languages such as Wolof and Fula. The second sense is usually applied in works on the Gur languages (Naden 1989, Bodomo 1997) and Central-Togo languages including, Avatime, Tutrugbu and many others (Ford 1975, 1988).

Another criterion that has been used in noun classification is the concordial agreement system. This criterion requires a system of morphological concord between a nominal and the verb. This is also not sufficient for noun classification in Kaakye as the language does not have a rich concordial system. The only agreement one can find as far as my data is concerned is the agreement between nominals and numerals and adjectives. Even these two identified concordial agreements, as shown in section 2.3, are relatively low and restricted in their occurrences.

A look at these typological studies proves useful especially for the classification of Kaakye noun class systems. In this study, animacy distinction is considered in Kaakye noun class system.



#### *2.4.1.2 Noun class systems in Kwa languages spoken in Ghana.*

Cross-linguistics studies of noun class systems in the Niger-Congo language family show that the Bantu languages have “robust noun class systems; extensive concord and agreement system” as compared to the Kwa languages which have “no true noun classes, but relics of them found and have no concord” (Welmers 1973, Corbet 2006, Good 2012: 9). The difference is usually attributed to the word morphology of these two subgroups. Traditionally, Bantu languages are known to be highly agglutinative while the Kwa subgroup is relatively isolating.

Even though the Kwa languages are characterized as having a reduced system, research has shown that Proto-Kwa, thus, Proto-GTM: Heine (1968) and Proto-Guan: Manessy (1987) and Snider (1988), has a full-fledged noun class systems similar to the Proto-Niger Congo noun class systems.

Studies of noun class systems of Ghanaian Kwa languages include Akan (Osam 1993a), Avatime (Schuh 1995, Watkins 2010), Logba (Dorvlo 2008), Tutrugbu (Essegbey 2009), Sɛlɛɛ (Agbetsoamedo 2014) and Tafi (Bobuafor 2013). Among the studies of Kwa languages spoken in Ghana, the noun class system of the Ghana-Togo Mountain languages has attracted considerable attention. This is perhaps due to their notable feature of having active noun class system and cordial agreement systems as compared to their closely related languages such as Akan.

One common feature of these languages is that noun class systems operates on a prefixal system and have some degree of concordial agreement. There are also evidences in the languages that suggest that the noun class system is reducing.

### 2.4.1.3 Previous work on Kaakye noun classes

Kaakye, like the other languages in the Niger Congo family, has a noun class system. Manessy (1987) and Snider (1998) reconstructed the Proto-Guan noun class system. Despite the consideration of Kaakye in the reconstruction of the Proto-Guan noun class system, Korboe (2001) is the only one who has attempted a description of its noun class system in his discussion of Kaakye pluralisation.

Korboe's noun classification was based on the individual singular and plural affixes that characterize the number systems in Kaakye (sense 1). Based on this criterion, he grouped Kaakye nouns into 11 classes as shown in figure 2.4.

Class 1: Ki-/Kɪ-	Class 7: -nyi
Class 2: Ke-/Kɛ-	Class 8: N-
Class 3: Ku-/Kʊ-	Class 9: a-
Class 4: Ko-/Kɔ-	Class 10: i-/ɪ-
Class 5: o-/ɔ-	Class 11: -awie
Class 6: Ø-	

**Figure 2.4:** Kaakye Noun class system according to Korboe (2001)

Nine (9) of the classes are marked by prefixes and two (2) by suffixes. In his discussion of the classes, he examined the semantic correlation of the nouns in each class. His basic conclusion was that all the noun classes he identified, with the exception of the classes with suffixes, classes 7 and 11 have no semantic basis.

A closer look at the nouns in the prefixed noun classes, however, shows that those classes are not completely devoid of regular semantic coherence, as Korboe (2001) seems to report. As the data suggests, unlike some Kwa

languages which have a one to one mapping of singular prefixes to plural prefixes, Kaakye has quite a complex prefixed system in that several singular prefixes can take particular plural prefixes. More so, there are instances where identical singular prefixes take different plural prefixes. Consequently, classifying the nouns based on the individual morphological affixes does not clearly portray the inherent classes and the semantic basis underlying their classification.

In this study, as discussed in chapter 3, I use the term noun class in the second sense (singular-plural pairing set notion), as it provides a more suitable account for Kaakye noun class system. First, it reveals a clearer semantic basis for at least three of the noun classes (Class 1a, 1b and 3) and maintains some semantic unity in two other classes. Second, it reduces the number of noun classes required, from eleven to six. Third, it clearly reveals a three-way number-marking distinction in the language. They are:

- i. nouns with an overt singular marker and overt plural marker
- ii. nouns with an unmarked singular and an overt plural marker
- iii. nouns with an unmarked singular and an unmarked plural

Snider's (1988) reconstructed Proto-Guan noun class system is also compared to the synchronic data and I show how Kaakye has evolved over the years.

#### **2.4.2 Relative Clauses: An overview**

The study of Relative Clauses (RC) has attracted considerable attention in descriptive studies in several languages as well as cross-linguistics studies (Lehmann 1986, Comrie 1989, Payne 1997, Givón 2001, Cristofaro 2003,

Kuteva and Comrie 2005, Andrews 2007, Dixon 2010), and has been accounted for in a number of theoretical models: Generative Transformational Grammar (Chomsky 1957), Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1985).

Relative clause has typically been defined in structural terms, as " a clause that modifies a noun" (Keenan 1985). Hence, the underlined portions of the following English sentence (2) would be RC:

(2) The man that came yesterday is here.

The underlined clause in (2) above modifies the noun man. It indicates the specific man being talked about.

Andrews (2007:206) defines RC as "a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC". She calls the NP whose reference is being delimited in the matrix clause as NP<sub>mat</sub>, the RC itself as S<sub>rel</sub> and the grammatical function associated with the situational role for the referent of NP<sub>mat</sub> as NP<sub>rel</sub> function. She showed that the typology of relative clauses differs in:

- a. the structural relationships between S<sub>rel</sub> and NP (for example whether or not S<sub>rel</sub> is a constituent of NP<sub>mat</sub>)
- b. the treatment of the NP<sub>rel</sub> function (for example whether it is moved, specially marked, or omitted)
- c. constraints on the possibilities for what the NP<sub>rel</sub> function can be (only subject, only core argument, etc.)
- d. the treatment of S<sub>rel</sub> as a whole ( such as whether it is reduced or nominalised). (Andrews 2007:207)

According to Dixon (2010:314), a canonical RC construction has the following four characteristics:

- (a) The construction should involve a main clause (MC) and (RC) - making up one sentence which consists of a single unit of intonation.
- (b) Underlyingly, the two clauses must share an argument, which he calls the Common Argument (CA). The CA functions as an argument in both the main clause and the RC, although it does not need to be realized at the surface of either clause. Dixon (2010) treats what is traditionally termed 'head' as common argument to refer to the antecedent of the RC. As already noted in chapter 2, I use the term 'head noun'.
- (c) Syntactically, the relative clause modifies the CA in the main clause and semantically, it provides information about the CA which assists in restricting- the reference of the CA.
- (d) The relative clause must have the basic structure of a clause, consisting of a predicate and the core arguments required by that predicate.

Kuteva and Comrie (2005) put forward four major types of relative clause formation strategies which can be found cross-linguistically:

- (i) Relative pronoun strategy: case marked relative pronoun that indicates both the syntactic and semantic role of the head noun within the relative clause.
- (ii) Non-reduction strategy: cases where the head noun appears as a full-fledged noun phrase within the relative clause. There are three sub-types as explained below:
  - a) Correlatives: the head is a full NP within the relative clause and has at least one pronominal element in the matrix clause.
  - b) Head-internal: the head is a full NP within the relative clause and has no

representation thereof in the matrix clause.

c) Paratactics: involves instances where the ‘relative clause’ has a full NP which does not differ from an ordinary declarative clause; it is loosely connected to a ‘main clause’.

(iii) Pronoun retention strategy: cases where a resumptive pronoun explicitly occupies the relativized position within the relative clause.

(iv) Gap strategy: where there is no overt reference to the case of the head noun.

According to Kuteva and Comrie (2005) African languages employ only three of the strategies above. These are correlative (subtype of the non-reduction strategy), pronoun retention and gap.

Studies of RC in Kwa languages of Ghana, Akan (Boadi 2005, Saah 2010, McCracken 2013); Ewe (Dzameshie 1995); Tafi (Bobuafor 2013); Logba (Dorvlo 2008); Nkami (Asante 2016) and Gur (Dagaare: Bodom 1993), attest to Kuteva and Comrie (2005) postulation. Though these languages may have some salient differences, work in these languages, as shown in (3-6), generally have these features in common:

- (a) they do not use relative pronouns in forming RC, rather they use relative markers which introduce the RCs,
- (b) they employ the pronoun retention strategy and the gap strategy,
- (c) their RCs have restrictive meaning,
- (d) RCs are postnominal.

Regarding relative markers, it has been observed in most Ghanaian Kwa language studies (Dzameshie 1995, Saah 2010, McCracken 2013, Harley 2005,

Akrofi-Ansah 2009, Bobuafor 2013) that RCs, are obligatorily marked at the beginning with an invariant relative marker<sup>22</sup> and marked at the end with a particle which has been given different labels such as clause final marker (Dzameshie 1995), clause final particle (Akrofi-Ansah 2009 and Bobuafor 2013), clausal (final) determiner (Saah 2010), identifiability marker (Harley 2005), dependent clause marker (McCracken 2013). Consider the following:

- (3) Awu si Ama nya la  
 shirt which Ama wash CFM  
 ‘The shirt which Ama washed’. (Dzameshie 1995:31)
- (4) [ <sub>NP</sub> [ <sub>NP</sub> Abofrá no [ áà Kofí hú-u nó]] no]] a-!ba  
 Child DEF REL K. see-PST 3SG CD PERF-come  
 ‘The child whom Kofí saw has come.’ (Saah 2010: 94)

In Ewe (3) the relative clause is introduced by *si* and ends with the particle *la* and in Akan (4), the relative clause is preceded by *áà* and ends with the particle *no*. Saah (2010: 96) following Lefebvre (1992) points out that “the clause determiner is used to express event deixis and that its presence [in the RC] is assumed to indicate old or known information”.

Another issue of concern in the study of RCs deals with the possible noun phrase positions that can be relativized. In order to establish the various possible positions, a NP Accessibility Hierarchy has been formulated (Keenan and Comrie (1977), Comrie (1981) as seen in figure 2.5 below:

<sup>22</sup> Saah (2010) refers to it as relative complementizer

Subject > Direct Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

Figure 2.5: NP Accessibility Hierarchy

(Comrie 1981:149)

This hierarchy shows that if a language can form relative clauses on a given position on the hierarchy, then it can form relative clauses on all positions higher on the hierarchy.

Even though the NHAP has contributed a lot in descriptive and typological studies, it has been challenged by some linguists (cf. Fox 1984, Lehmann 1986). For instance, Fox (1984:864) from a semantic perspective, criticise the NPAH and argues for a consideration of the semantic properties associated with the subject and object grammatical roles. To him, the semantic properties provide a more legitimate explanation of the distribution of the RCs.

Lehmann (1986) on the other hand, in examining what determines the achievement of a RC strategy on the hierarchy of syntactic functions and the employment of pronominal representatives of the head inside the RC, argues that the degree of nominalization of a RC largely determines its achievement on the hierarchy of syntactic functions. This is captured in his hypothesis:

Representation of the head in various syntactic functions in the external-head RC correlates inversely with the degree of nominalization of the RC; i.e., the more strongly nominalized a RC is, the less it will allow of pronominal representation of the head in the relativized position (Lehmann 1986:10).

Despite the fact that the NPAH has been criticised, I still find it useful to this study, particularly, with the examination of the relativised syntactic positions.



In his discussion of the Kaakye nominal phrase, Korboe (2002:80) indicates that, Kaakye belongs to the group of the languages that uses special markers in forming RCs. His study of RCs is not extensively discussed since his discussion focused on the nominal phrase. This thesis builds on his work. It discusses the formation strategies employed in Kaakye relativization, the functions of Kaakye RCs and also suggests a diachronic account for the relativizers. Using Comrie's (1981) NP Accessibility; I also examine the NP positions that can be relativized.

### **2.4.3 Complementation**

Complementation has attracted attention in some cross-linguistic literature (Ransom 1986, Payne 1997; Givón 2001, Horie et al 2000; Cristofaro 2003; Noonan 2007; Dixon and Aikenvald 2006, Dixon 2006b, 2010, Höglund et al 2015). A complement clause has typically been defined as the clause that functions as the subject or object of the matrix clause. Noonan (2007:52) defines complementation as “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate”. Complement clauses can therefore function as the subject or object of predicate. Examples in (5), illustrates some complement clauses in English respectively.

- (5) a. I know [that he will come].  
b. For Ama to pass the examination will surprise her father.  
c. Ama's passing the examination surprised her father.

In traditional grammar a complement clause is often considered to be a clause embedded in another clause. Cross-linguistics studies (Cristofaro 2003, Dixon and Aikenvald 2006, Dixon 2010), on the phenomenon have, criticised

the strict adherence to the traditional notion of ‘embedded structures’ often used in describing complement clauses. Within the traditional view, for instance, the string of words, *that he will come*, in example (5a), will be considered as an embedded clause within a main clause. The critics argue that syntactic embedding is unsustainable since it is not cross-linguistically attested. They show that the semantic concept expressed by complementation need not be embedded in all languages. Cristofaro (2003: 95-96), for instance, cites Muna<sup>23</sup> as an example, where complement clauses may be expressed by means of juxtaposed clauses. Cristofaro (2003) considers complementation as a relation and prefers the term ‘dependent clause’ to embedded clause. Dixon (2006b and 2010) approaches this issue by drawing a clear distinction between ‘true’ complement clauses from ‘complementation strategies’. In his view, a true complement clause has three defining characteristics:

- (a) It has the internal structure of a clause.
- (b) It functions as core argument of another clause.
- (c) It describes a proposition, which can be a fact, an activity, or a state.

(Dixon 2010: 370)

He labels all other grammatical mechanisms that express the identical semantic concepts coded by complements as ‘complementation strategies’ which include: relative clause strategy, serial verb construction strategy, nominalization strategy, purposive strategy among others. According to him, languages that lack complement clause construction rely on some of these

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<sup>23</sup> Austric, Austronesian, Malayo-Polinesian

strategies. Noonan (2007:65) subsumes some of these strategies in his discussion of the morphology of complementation.

Noonan (2007:54-55), unlike Dixon, takes a different approach by merging both complement clauses and complementation strategies into one term which he calls 'complement type'. Based on three criteria:

(i) the morphology of the predicate, (ii) the sorts of syntactic relations the predicate has with its arguments (complement-internal syntax), and (iii) the syntactic relation of the complement construction as a whole with the rest of the sentence, Noonan (2007:5) identifies six complement types. They include: sentence-like complements, indicative versus subjunctive sentence-like complements, paratactic complements and verb serialization in complementation, infinitive complements, nominalised complements and participial complements. It is worth noting that what Noonan characterizes as complement types are referred to as complement strategies in Dixon's (2010) account. In this study, I adopt Dixon's notion of complementation for the morpho-syntactic characterization of Kaakye complementation since it appeals to functional explanations to language structures.

The semantic relationship between the matrix verb and the complement in a complement construction has received considerable attention in the literature (Givón 2001; Noonan 1985, 2007; Lehmann 1985; Cristofaro 2003). Consequently, a number of implicational hierarchies have been established to account for the semantic relationship. Notable ones include the Binding Hierarchy by Givón (1980), Parallelism of clause linkage continua by Lehmann (1985), and Complement Deranking Hierarchy by Cristofaro (2003).

A complement clause is usually set off by an overt formal marker,

called the ‘complementizer’<sup>24</sup> (COMP), such as *that* in (5a) above. The complementizer may be in a form of a word, a clitic or an affix which is typically placed before or after the complement clause, like *that* in (5a). Dixon (2010: 372) shows that in some languages too, the complementizer element surfaces in a form of a special marker on the subject of the complement clause, as shown in (6) by the possessive marker *'s* on *China* and *Brazil*; or the predicate of the complement clause may be realized in a special form or receive an affix such as the *-ing* on *develop* (6a) and *beat* in (6b) (Dixon 2010).

(6) a. I witnessed [China ('s) *developing* its economy].

b. I heard [Brazil ('s) *beating* Argentina].

Opinions vary regarding the possible diachronic source of complementizers. Lord (1993:151), for instance, indicates that in “many of the Kwa languages of West Africa, the *that*-complementizers can be shown to have developed historically from a verb *say*.” He also includes the verb *be-like* as a possible source. Departing from verbs as a common source of complementizers, Noonan (2007:57) points out that “complementizers typically derive historically from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers, and rarely, verbs, and so may resemble words currently used in these capacities (Noonan 2007:57). Again, Güldemann (2008:372) shows that “besides the speech verb *say*, complementizers may be developed from generic verbs of equation, inchoativity and action, markers of similarity and manner, quote-referring pronominals and deictics, foregrounding devices and presentationals, and pronominals referring to the speaker”.

The semantic aspect of complementation has always been accounted for

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<sup>24</sup> Also referred to as ‘quotatives’ in Güldemann (2008)

based on the semantics of the Complement Taking Verb (CTV). According to Noonan (2007:101), “the stronger the semantic bond between the events described by the matrix and complement predicates, the greater the degree of syntactic integration there will be between the two clauses. In his view, Sentence-like complement-types are characteristic of the weakest degree of syntactic integration, while reduced complement-types signal a stronger bond, and clause union signals a still closer degree of syntactic integration. A similar view is also expressed by Givón’s (2001) notion of ‘event integration’ which describes “the strength of bond between the two propositions coded in the main and complement clauses”. On the basis of this semantic notion, he classifies CTV into three categories: Manipulative verbs, Perception-Cognition-Utterance verbs and Modality.

From a different semantic perspective, Dixon (2010) observes that cross-linguistically, there are three dominant semantic types of complement clauses: fact, potential and activity. Their realizations are generally dependent on the semantics of the CTV. Briefly, a fact complement clause makes a proposition about a happening; a potential complement clause talks about the possibility of an occurrence; and an activity complement clause simply describes an event/action that spans over a period of time, as exemplified in (7a), (7b) and (7c), respectively.

(7) a. I heard [that Kofi has passed the exams]. Fact

b. I want [to go to the university]. Potential

c. I witnessed [China (’s) *developing* its economy]. Activity

Complementation is a common feature in Kwa languages (Akan: Boadi 1972, Osam 1994, 1998; Lɛtɛ: Akrofi-Ansah 2009; Tafi: Bubafor 2013; Logba: Dorvlo 2008; Nkami: Asante 2016), where complement clauses basically function as a sentential object. Contrary to the assertion that complementizers rarely develop from verbs (Noonan, 2007: 57), studies in these languages attest that *that*-complementizers are derived from verbs, most notably the verb ‘say’. These studies in Kwa languages, as mentioned above, support Lord’s (1993:151) observation that in “many of the Kwa languages of West Africa, *that*-complementizers can be shown to have developed historically from a verb ‘say’.” In this study attention is paid to the possible diachronic sources of the identified Kaakye complementizers. The study reveals that Kaakye patterns differently with regards to the possible source of the *that*-complementizer in Kaakye.

#### **2.4.4 Serial Verb Constructions: An overview**

According to Aikhenvald (2006:58-59) the SVC phenomenon was first identified in Akan by Christaller (1875) and the term SVC was introduced by Balmer and Grant (1929). Since its identification, the phenomenon has been observed in five main linguistic areas: (i) West African languages especially Gur, Kwa and Benue-Congo languages (Lord 1993, Schachter 1974), (ii) African-Caribbean Creoles such as Sranan (Seuren 1991), (iii) South Asian Languages like Oriya (Sahoo 2001), (iv) South-East Asian languages such as Chinese (Li 1991), Khmer (Schiller 1991) and Thai (Diller 2006), and (v) Oceanic, that is Pacific and Papuan Languages such as Kallam and Alamblak (Durrie 1988).

SVCs have been studied in some Ghanaian languages. These languages include Kwa languages like Akan (Osam 1994b, 2004, Agyeman 2003, Hellan et al 2003, Appah 2009), Ewe (Agbedor 1994; Collins 1997; Ameka 2005; Dzameshie 2005), Ga (Dakubu and Hellan 2003, Dakubu 2004a, 2004b): as well as all Gur languages of Ghana, Dagaare (Bodomo 2002), Buli (Lee 2003), and Gurune (Atintono 2005; Dakubu 2002 and 2003); which are spoken in Northern Ghana.

#### *2.4.4.1 Definitions and parameters for SVC classification*

Several attempts have been made to define SVCs (cf. eg. Lord 1993, Foley and Olson 1985, Sebba 1987, Durie 1997, Aikhenvald 2006). Even though the definitions overlap in some parts, one can hardly find a unified definition in the literature. In her book, Lord (1993:1) introduces SVCs, focusing especially on West African languages as follows:

The label “serial verb” has been applied to a range of linguistic constructions in a variety of languages. Generalizations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language do not necessarily apply to superficially similar constructions in another language. Within a single language, one group of serial verb constructions may show a certain property, while another group may not. This situation has encouraged a blossoming of claims and counterclaims about serial verb constructions (1993:1)

Lord suggests by this that there are some false SVCs. She also intimates that there may be various types of SVCs in a single language. Moreover, she also implies that there is cross-linguistic variation such that the properties of SVCs

in one language may differ from another language. Her suggestions draw the attention of linguists to identification of what true SVCs are; to investigate SVC types and the variations in the properties of SVC.

According to Foley and Olson (1985:18):

SVCs are constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions . . . . Serial verbs constructions always contain two or more predicates. Furthermore . . . while they may require the same actor for both predicates, each verb in the series may have arguments not shared by other verbs.

Durie (1997:289) defines SVCs as a construction that “consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb.

Another work, which has attracted the attention of researchers, is Aikhenvald (2006). From a cross-linguistic typological perspective and departing from a static definition for verb serialization, she employs the notion of prototypicality. Below is a summary of the defining characteristics of a prototypical SVC presented in Aikhenvald (2006:4-7):

- (1) A serial construction has the property of a single predicate: (a) it refers to a single event; (b) it functions on a par with monoverbal clauses in discourse and occupies one core functional slot in a clause; (c) it has a single subject; (d) verbs in a serial construction often share other arguments.
- (2) Serial constructions are monoclausal and allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components.
- (3) A serial verb construction has the intonational property of a monoverbal



clause, and not of a sequence of clauses.

- (4) An SVC has a shared tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values.
- (5) Serial constructions share at least one argument. SVCs with no shared arguments are comparatively rare, but not non-existent.
- (6) Semantically, SVCs may encode one event, or several subevents closely linked together, or even several subevents in sequence which may be conceptualized as connected to each other.

According to Aikhenvald, a prototypical SVC is assumed to have all these properties. However, she observes the situation is often much more complex. Therefore, the most important point to note is that no one of these characteristics is defining per se since exceptions can be found to each of them.

She also classifies SVC based on the following four parameters (Aikhenvald 2006: 3-4):

- (a) Composition: SVCs consist of two or more verbs each chosen from a semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. SVCs include a verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class (e.g. a motion, or a posture verb).
- (b) Contiguity versus non-contiguity of components: verbs which form SVC may have to be next to each other, or another constituent may be allowed to intervene between them.
- (c) Wordhood of components: components of a SVC may or may not form independent grammatical or phonological words.
- (d) Marking of grammatical categories in a SVCS: verbal categories—such as, for instance, person of the subject and object(s); tense, aspect,

modality; negation; or valency changing—may be marked just once per construction (‘single marking’); or can be marked on every component (‘concordant marking’).

may represent only one coherent event or at most comprise the subevents of one overall event

The criterion of single eventhood which claims that an SVC represents a single event has been theoretically questioned (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2007, Bisang 2009, Defina 2016, Jarkey 2010). The questions bother on what actually constitute the notion of single eventhood and to what extent can it serve as a criterion for identifying SVCs. Thus, how does one test that speakers actually conceptualize a given state of affairs as a single event?

Several attempts have been made to provide evidence to support the single eventhood nature of SVCs. Appealing to the notion of translation, Lord (1973: 269) shows that in the Kwa languages of Africa, when the two verb phrases *nó* ‘drink’ and *kú* ‘die’ as shown in the Ewe example in (8b) occur in a serial construction, they represent components of the single event, ‘drowning’.

(8) a. *é nò tsī*

‘He drank water and he died’

b. *é kú*

‘he died’

c. *é nò tsī kú*

‘He drowned’

(Lord 1973:269)

Similarly, Aikenvald (2006:5) also observes, through native speaker’s intuition of monopredicative reading, that “an SVC is often best translated with a monoverbal clause into a non-serializing language”. These language-specific evidence suggest that SVCs are conceptual events/ and that there is some

cultural restrictions on the description of events. Jarkey (2010:112), in fact appeals to cultural description as evidence for single eventhoodness by indicating that “a conceptual event is also a cultural construct in that, while our common cognitive make-up results in significant commonalities in what can constitute an event token across languages, cultural differences can result in variation with regard to precisely what are considered the salient boundaries of eventhood in some cases”.

As a matter of fact, this cultural concept of eventhood could be deduced from Aikhenvald (2006:12) prototypical features as stated:

[S]emantically, serial verb constructions may encode one event, or several subevents closely linked together, or even several subevents in sequence which may be conceptualized as connected to each other. [...] Cross-linguistically, and even within one language, SVCs occupy different places on the continuum, between one indissoluble event and a package of subevents all linked together. (Aikhenvald 2006: 12)

These remarks capture the idea that there is some kind of cognitive relationship between SVC and single eventhood. It is, however, difficult to substantiate this fact since there is no consistent methodology that will clearly show the correlation between the way events are packaged cognitively and how they are encoded linguistically in terms structures.

Givón (1991), attempts to rely on pauses as evidence of speakers’ cognitive packaging of events. He shows that pauses in speech could indicate a conceptual event boundaries since speakers often pause when they are encoding the next unit of speech.

In a recent work, Defina (2016) uses the alignment of co-speech

gestures to investigate conceptual event structure. Co-speech gestures are “the frequent and unconscious movements people make while speaking” (Defina 2016: 890). Comparing the alignment patterns of gestures with SVCs and other complex clauses in Avatime (GTM, Kwa), she shows that SVCs in Avatime tend to occur with single gestures overlapping the entire construction suggesting that SVCs, indeed, refer to single conceptual events. On the other hand, other complex clauses often occurred with multiple distinct gestures which suggest that they refer to multiple events. Even though Defina’s appeal to the notion of co-speech gestures as a tool for investigating conceptual event structure seems to provide evidence for single eventhood in SVC, we are not quite sure if the same results will be achieved when it is tested in other languages. The fact is that the notion of co-speech gestures may be relative and may vary from culture to culture. For all we know, cultural differences may result in some kind of variations in co-speech gestures and this could pose a challenge to Defina’s method of evaluation. Further research on co-speech gestures in other languages may throw more light on this method of evaluation.

#### *2.4.4.2 Typological issues*

From the perspective of typology, the questions posed by SVCs are somewhat different, revolving around such issues as understanding the conditions under which argument sharing is possible, examining possibilities for the individual verbs in SVCs to be independently negated and have distinct tenses and aspects from each other, and determining the factors influencing the kinds of verbs that can be combined in SVCs. Such topics have provided rich grounds for typologizing both distinct SVCs within individual languages as

well as across languages.

In his study of Akan SVCs, Osam (1994a, 2004) distinguishes between two broad types of SVC based on the semantic notion of ‘event integration’ (Givón 1990). He basically argues that:

The semantic foundation of serialization has to do with the integration of the subatomic events that are conceived as representing a single event. In other words, the reason why multiple verbs in a construction are treated as conceptually coding a single event is that even though those verbs originally code separate events, these events, through the process of cognitivisation, come to be integrated as a single event... the degree of semantic integration is reflected in the syntax of such constructions and it enables us to identify different levels of integration. (Osam 1994a:193)

Osam (1994a) therefore views SVC as a continuum where the degree of serialisation is determined by the extent of semantic integration of the events coded by the verbs in the construction.

The following are examples of the two types of SVCs from the Fante dialect of Akan. Example (9a) is of the integrated type and (9b) is of the clause chaining type.

(9) a. Aba yé-è asɔr má-à Kofi.

Aba do-COMPL prayer give-COMPL Kofi

‘Aba prayed for Kofi.’

b. Gyasiba nyá-à sika sí-ì dan tón-èè.

Gyasiba get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL

‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.’ (Osam 1994a: 15)

Considering the two examples from the angle of event integration, we notice that in (9a), the semantic integration is very high and the series of verbs are tightly knit into a single coherent event. On the other hand, in the Clause Chaining SVC type, the semantic integration is lower; the series of verbs constitute the concatenation of otherwise potentially independent events. Consequently, the composite events can be separated out.

Osam (1994a) supports the degree of semantic integration between the two types by examining the difference in their syntactic structures. According to him, conjunctions can be introduced into the chaining types to break up the various clauses coding the subatomic events, as shown in (10a), with conjunctions inserted between the various clauses. If the same operation is carried out on the integrated type, the result will be ungrammatical, as in (10b) below.

- (10) a. Gyasiba nyá-à sika na sí-ì dan  
 Gyasiba get-COMPL money and build-COMPL house  
 na tón-èè.  
 and sell-COMPL  
 ‘Gyasiba got money and built a house and sold it.’

- b. \*Aba yé-è asɔr na ó- má-à Kofi.  
 Aba do-COMPL prayer and 3SG.SUBJ-give-COMPL Kofi  
 ‘Aba prayed for Kofi.’ (Osam 2004:35)

The ungrammaticality of (10b) lies in the fact that the ISVC type represents tightly integrated events, and therefore we cannot talk about constituent parts let alone talk about conjoining constituent parts. The syntax of the two types of serialization therefore reflects the degree of integration.

It is worth stating that Osam’s typology of SVCs based on the notion of

event integration adds to our knowledge of SVCs. As Appah (2009:96) notes “it enables one to see serialization as a scalar phenomenon where the grading is done on the basis of semantic integration such that the ISVC is higher up the scale of serialisation and the less integrated CC is at the bottom of the scale”. However, the shortcoming in Osam’s analysis, as pointed out by Appah (2009) is that he does not provide examples of other SVCs that fall between the scale.

It is interesting to note that Osam (1994a, 2004) dichotomy of SVCs has been adopted by researchers such as Agyeman (2002), Hellan et al (2002), Andenes et al (2003), Dzameshie (2005) and Appah (2009). Dzameshie (2005) for example, examined the argument sharing patterns of these two types of SVC in Ewe. His study reveals that ISVC and CC show different argument sharing patterns. ISVC display object sharing while CC exhibits overt and covert referent sharing. Building on Osam’s work, Kambon et al (2015) investigates how Full Lexicalized-Integrated SVCs (FL-ISVCs) are nominalized by native speakers. Their study revealed that the notion of semantic integration is relevant to serial verbs as well as non-verbal elements. They essentially argue that the definition of SVC should not only be focused on the verbs in the construction but should also include non-verbal elements.

Another distinction, similar to Osam, is made by Lee (2003:103-104) in his study of Buli SVCS. He distinguished between tight SVC (11) and non-tight SVC (12).

- (11) a. Ati:m yitì chàli (tight)  
 Atim rise run  
 ‘Atim took off/vanished’

b. Atì:m bò mìnì Amòk

Atim speak reject Amok

‘Atim spoke against Amok’

(Lee 2003:103-104)

Although, he did not provide any definition of what he meant by ‘tight’ he postulates that the verbs in the tight types behave like an idiom. For example, standing up and running do not mean the same as taking off in (11a). In (11b), speaking and rejecting does not literally mean speaking against someone. He further explained that the verbal meaning of the second verb in some tight types as seen in (11b), are very weak with meaning close to a preposition. According to him, in the non-tight type, the meaning of the SVC is transparent and close to coordination.

(12) Atì:m yìk mìnì ikà dàrì (non-tight)

Atim grab the rope pull

‘Atim grabbed and pulled the rope.’

(Lee 2003:103-104)

Most of the Buli data Lee employed in his work suggest contiguity is evident in Buli. As already discussed in section 1, contiguity is identified as one of the formal properties of SVCs. A SVC is characterised as contiguous when the verbs which form the SVCs do not allow any other constituent to intervene between them components. Hence structurally, what Lee distinguishes as tight SVCs is contiguous while the non-tight type is non-contiguous. It also seems to me that what Lee regards as ‘tight’ is related to Osam’s semantic event integration.



## **2.5 Summary**

In summary, this chapter has examined the theoretical framework, the methodology used in collecting the data, and provided a literature review of the various topics examined in this thesis. The functional typological framework is the framework used for this study. The tenets and the characteristic features of the framework were discussed. Three basic features of the framework: implicational hierarchies, grammaticalization and prototype categorization, which have significant implication for the study were also discussed.

In terms of the methodology, attention was paid to the data collection processes and the nature of the corpus was also explained.

This was followed by the literature review on the topics under investigation: the noun class system, relativization, complementation and SVCs were then examined. For each of these topics I looked at their definitions, cross-linguistic and typological studies.

## CHAPTER THREE

### NOUN CLASS SYSTEM AND ANIMACY DISTINCTION

#### 3.0 Introduction

As discussed in section 2.4.1.3, Kaakye nouns, like most Ghanaian Kwa languages such as Akan: (Osam 1993a), Avatime (Schuh 1995, Watkins 2010), Logba (Dorvlo 2008), Tutrugbu (Essegbey 2009), Tafi (Bobuafor 2013) and Sɛlɛɛ (Agbetsoamedo 2014), typically, have class prefixes. Studies in these languages have shown that there are some semantic bases (usually of animacy distinction and cultural belief system) for the classification of the nouns, some degree of agreement systems and the loss of class prefixes.

In this chapter, I investigate noun class system and animacy distinction in Kaakye. Section 3.2 describes the features of the noun class system of Kaakye. It also looks at the concordial agreement properties when they occur in the noun phrase and the semantic basis of the noun classes. Attention is also paid to how the language has evolved from the reconstructed Proto-Guang noun class system. Section 3.3 examines the pronominal systems and the use of some pronouns in relation to animacy distinctions in Kaakye grammar. Thus, it discusses how speakers of the language use pronouns to distinguish between animate and inanimate entities and human and non-human entities.

#### 3.1 The structure of Kaakye simple nouns

Structurally, simple nouns in Kaakye consist of a nominal prefix and a stem. The nominal prefixes are of three kinds; namely vowels, C (nasals) and a CV. Out of the nine vowels in Kaakye, only 5 (a, o, ɔ, i, ɪ) are used for the vowel prefix type. Majority of the nouns have vowel prefixes. These vowels, with the

exception of /a/ (which is neutral), agree with the [ATR] status of the initial vowel of the stem. The vowel prefixes /o-/ and /ɔ-/ are used for singular nouns, /a-/ is used for singular and plural nouns and *i-/i-* is used for plural nouns. The nasal prefixes are homorganic in with the consonant it precedes. Thus, they agree with the initial consonant of the noun stem in terms of place of articulation. The CV involves the voiceless velar stop /k/ and a vowel. I shall refer to this as the kV type. The kV prefix type (*ku-*, *kv-*, *ko-*, *kɔ-*, *ke-*, *kɛ-*, *ki-*, *ki-*) occurs only on singular noun stems. It has varied forms depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel in the stem.

Beside these nominal prefixes, there are quite a number of nouns without prefixes. Out of the 550 nouns collected, 172 (31%) nouns fall into this category.

### 3.2 Noun class system

As discussed in section 2.4.1.4, in this study, I use the term noun class to refer to a singular-plural pair set notion as it provides a more suitable account for Kaakye noun class system. First, it reveals a clearer semantic basis for at least three of the noun classes (Class 1A, 1B and 3). Second, it reduces the number of noun classes from eleven to six. Third, it clearly reveals a three-way number-marking distinction in the language. They are:

- i. nouns with an overt singular marker and overt plural marker
- ii. nouns with an unmarked singular and an overt plural marker
- iii. nouns with an unmarked singular and an unmarked plural

Relating the number-marking distinctions above to the number hierarchy proposed by Croft (1990) in figure 3.1, it is realized that Kaakye, like other

Kwa languages, belongs the group of languages that encodes only singular and plural marking system.

Singular < Plural < dual < trial/paucal

**Figure 3.1:** Number Hierarchy (Croft 1990:97)

This hierarchy concerns the grammatical strategies for making number distinctions. It states that if a language has a strategy for encoding nouns as dual, then it will also have strategies for encoding plural and singular nouns.

In fact, the singular-plural pairing approach, was first adopted for the Guang language group by Manessy (1987) and also by Snider (1988) in their reconstruction of the noun class system of Proto-Guang. It has also been adopted in other Kwa languages such as Avatime (Watson 2010), Tutrugbu (Heine 1968) both belonging to Central Togo language group.

The classification of the nouns, in this study, was based on 550 nouns which were selected from the Kaakye wordlist. It is worth mentioning that the derived forms of nouns like nominalization, compounds, and diminutives are excluded from the data of nouns used for the classification. This is so because the derived forms gathered during the data collection period was not adequately enough for their analysis. Nouns in Korboe's Class 7 and 11 are therefore not included in the noun classification. The noun classification in this work, therefore, takes into account the singular and plural inflections on underived nouns<sup>25</sup>. The nouns were later grouped according to the singular/plural pairings of prefixes.

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<sup>25</sup> Despite this, the classification of derived nouns could be taken up in future research.

I also note the semantic categories that each of the classes, if any, is restricted to. The common semantic features or properties of the nouns were then examined using the following semantic domains: HUMAN, ANIMAL, INANIMATE, BODY PARTS, PHYSICAL FEATURES, ARTEFACT, SIZE, and SHAPE. After this was done, I classified the nouns into the classes and labelled them as 1, 2, 3, and so forth. A class was sub-classified into A, B, C, etc. in cases where within a class domain, there are several different singular prefixes associated with a particular plural prefix. The sub-classification is therefore based on the morphology of the prefixes and, thus, offers clearer morphological distinction<sup>26</sup>.

In the subsections that follow, I discuss the various noun classes and note the semantic correlation of the nouns in the classes. Drawing facts from Snider's reconstructed proto-forms, I also point out the possible developments that Kaakye has undergone.

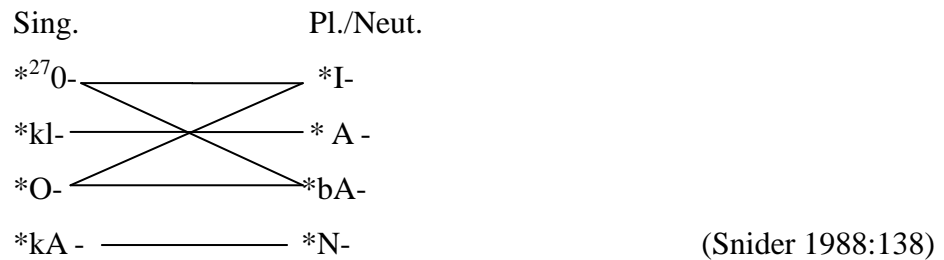
### *3.2.1 Noun class prefixes of the Proto-Guang*

The noun class system of Proto-Guang has long been proposed by Manessy (1987) and Snider (1988). This section briefly outlines Snider's (1988) reconstructed Proto-Guang noun class system. The section is useful because in the discussion of the various noun classes, I compare the synchronic data to the Proto-Guan and show how Kaakye has evolved over the years.

Based on the singular/ plural pairings, Snider (1988) reconstructs the noun class prefixes according to the schema in figure 3.2 below.

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<sup>26</sup> This kind of sub-classification has been applied in the study of Tuwuli, a Kwa-GTM language, spoken in Ghana.



**Figure 3.2:** Noun class prefixes of Proto-Guang<sup>28</sup>

He further discusses the various groups of pairings and the prefixes of neutral nouns which do not have singular forms as outlined in figure 3.2 above. Figure 3.3 also compares Kaakye noun class prefixes with Proto-Guang. I provide more details of figure 3.3 in the discussion of the noun classes in the next section.

Proto-Guang	Kaakye
Group A: *O-/*bA <sup>29</sup> -	O-/a- (Class 1a)
Group B: *O-/*N-	O-/N- (Class 4d)
Group C: *kA-/*N-	kV-/N- (Class 4a,b,c,e)
Group D: *ki-/*A-	kV-/a-(Class 2)
Group E: *Ø-/*A-, *Ø-/*I-	Ø-/a- (Class 1b), Ø-/I- (Class 3e)
Group F: kI-/*I-	kV-/I- (Class 3b-d)
Group G: *I-	I- (Class 5b)
Group H: *A-Class	a- (Class 5a)
Group I: *N-	N- (Class 5c)

**Figure 3.3:** Comparison of Proto-Guang to synchronic Kaakye noun class prefix

<sup>27</sup> The asterisk on the prefixes indicates that they are the proto forms.

<sup>28</sup> The lines connecting the singular prefixes with the plural/neutral suffixes shows which singular prefixes pair with which plural prefixes.

<sup>29</sup> Capitalized vowels show that there are Advanced Tongue Root alternations for the vowels. Capitalized N shows the homorganic nasal alternations. kV shows the variants of all the CV prefixes: *Ke-,ko-,ku-,ki-* and their –ATR variants.

### 3.2.2 The current study: Kaakye noun class system

I propose six noun classes based on the singular/plural pairings of prefixes as shown in Table 3.1 and provide their semantic features. Each noun class is either singular or plural with the exception of class 5 and 6, which function as both singular and plural.

**Table 3.1:** Proposed Kaakye noun class system in this study

Class	Number /550	Singular	Plural	Semantic features
1 A B total	58 47 105	o-/ɔ- Ø-	a-	Almost all are animate nouns. Majority are humans and animals. A few inanimate mostly loanwords denoting plant products
2	187	kV-	a-	Mostly body parts, birds and insects, plants
3 A B C total	63 7 1 70	o-/ɔ- KV- Ø-	i-/ɪ-	All are non-human nouns. Majority are inanimate nouns and few (4) are animals.
4 A B C D total	57 3 2 1 63	kV- o-/ɔ- a- Ø-	N-	Majority are domestic tools, collective nouns and cover terms. Few are human nouns denoting stages of life, small sized animals and insects and body parts.
5 A B C total	28 11 24 63	a- ɪ- N-		Many are mass nouns and liquid/fluid/semiliquids. Some are abstract nouns and few are paired body parts and human nouns.
6	62	Ø-	Ø-	Miscellaneous, all inclusive; Abstract nouns, borrowed nouns,

(Table is adapted from Harley 2005: 90)

### 3.2.3 Class 1

Noun Class 1 is the animate class and has two subclasses: Class 1A (human) and 1B (animal). These subclasses are in the same class because they share similar semantic features. Out of the 105 nouns in this class, 96 are animate nouns and 9 are inanimate consisting of 6 loan words denoting plant products. The other 3 (bells, flames and silver) do not share this semantic characteristic.

3.2.3.1 Class 1A: *o-/ɔ-/; a-*

Class 1A nouns are morphologically marked both in the singular and the plural forms. It contains nouns which take *ɔ-/ɔ-* prefix in the singular and *à-* prefix in the plural as shown in (1-3).

(1)	ɔ-sì	‘father’	à-sì	‘fathers’
	ɔ-yèté	‘younger brother’	à-yèté	‘younger brothers’
	ɔ-nyĩ	‘mother’	à-nyì	‘mothers’
(2)	ɔ-sà	‘in-law’	à-sà	‘in-laws’
	ɔ-kùrí	‘husband’	à-kùrí	‘husbands’
	ɔ-kyɛfɔŋse	‘fiancee’	à-kyɛfɔŋse	‘fiancees’
	ɔ-kɔfɔwɔ	‘bride’	à-kɔfɔwɔ	‘brides’
	ɔ-ké	‘wife’	à-kè	‘wives’

Class 1A is a semantically based class. It describes words referring to human beings such as kinship terms in (1) above, marriage relation words in (2), and extended and social relation words as seen in (3) below.

(3)	ɔ-dàmɔ́	‘friend’	à-dàmɔ́	‘friends’
	ɔ-fúò	‘stranger’	à-fúò	‘strangers’
	ɔ-yú	‘thief’	à-yú	‘thieves’

The abstract noun *ɔ-kìrɛ́* ‘soul’ is also found in this class. Most abstract nouns are generally found in Class 6 and some are found in Class 5. The inclusion of *ɔ-kìrɛ́* ‘soul’ among concrete nouns probably suggests that the Kaakyees conceptualize *ɔ-kìrɛ́* ‘soul’ as a concrete entity. Interestingly, *kù-fúnuúj* ‘corpse’ is not in this category. The classification of the noun *ɔ-kìrɛ́* ‘the soul’ as animate, but not *kù-fúnuúj* ‘corpse’, might be motivated by the relatively greater



importance the people place on the soul. The soul plays a crucial role in the lives of humans. The soul forms an integral part of human being and without it the human body is irrelevant.

Out of the 58 nouns in Class 1A, 55 are humans. All other classes except Class 3 also contain a few human nouns which have another semantic basis for inclusion. Four animals: *ò-pítírìpì* ‘hippopotamus’, *ò-nìni* ‘python’, *ò-dèkìrékè* ‘chameleon’ and *ò-kúrój* ‘mudfish’ are also in this category. The classification of these animate nouns remains unexplained. Nonetheless, this class qualifies as a human class because a high majority of the nouns are humans.

Synchronically, there are aspects of Kaakye grammar that support the fact that Class 1A is a human class. One proof is seen in the formation of agentive nouns. In the formation of Kaakye agentive singular nouns from verbs, the prefixes *ò-/ò-* and the suffix *-pú/-pú* ‘the one who’ are attached to the verb stem. The derived words are pluralized with the Class 1A plural prefix *a-*. Words derived from such a process are usually words that indicate professions as demonstrated in the following:

(4)	Singular		Plural	
	<i>ò-kpànpú</i>	‘hunter’	<i>à-kpànpú</i>	‘hunters’
	<i>ò-kèpú</i>	‘army’	<i>à-kèpú</i>	‘armies’
	<i>ò-gyírípú</i>	‘blacksmith’	<i>á-gyírípú</i>	‘blacksmiths’
	<i>ò-dùèpú</i>	‘farmer’	<i>à-dùèpú</i>	‘farmers’
	<i>ò-píràpú</i>	‘traitor’	<i>à-píràpú</i>	‘traitors’

One other piece of evidence is seen in the Kaakye pronominal system.

The distinction is made in the third person singular subject. Kaakye uses the Class 1a singular prefixes *ò-/ò-* for animate (human and animal) nouns and *ì-/ì-* for inanimate nouns as shown in (5) and (6) below.

(5) a. *Ò-kúràpú wú kè-ḡésé kè-kǐnyí wú.*  
 CL1A.SG-widow DET FUT-smoke CL4.SG-fish DET  
 ‘The widow will smoke the fish.’

b. *Ì- kè-ḡésé kè-kǐnyí wú.*  
 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-smoke CL4.SG-fish DET  
 ‘She will smoke the fish.’

This class falls under Snider (1988) reconstructed form *\*O-/\*bA* (group A). Comparing Kaakye Class 1A to the Proto-Guang system, as was also observed by Snider (1988), we notice a loss of the proto voiced bilabial stop */\*b/*. According to Snider (1988:155), “most of the languages that omit the *\*b* in their plural prefixes retain it in their third person plural pronominal system” and Kaakye is no exception, as example (6b) shows.

(6) a. *Kòfi má Kwàmè é-tà ábà ké dàm̀pú*  
 Kofi CONJ Kwame PST-take each other as friend  
 ‘Kofi and Kwame became friends’.

b. *Bé-tà ábà ké dàm̀pú.*  
 3PL.SUBJ.PST-take each other as friend  
 ‘They became friends’. (Elicited)

### 3.2.3.2 Class 1B: $\emptyset$ -; a-

Class 1B nouns have an unmarked singular and a morphologically marked plural. It contains nouns which take a prefixless ( $\emptyset$ -) singular nouns and a- prefix in the plural as illustrated in (7).

Class 1B contains nouns denoting animals. Out of the 47 nouns, 34 are animals, 4 are humans, and 6 are borrowed words denoting plant products and 3 inanimate entities. Majority of the animals are mammals. It is therefore not surprising that few human nouns are found in this class since human beings are scientifically characterised as mammals. Other categories of animals include birds, insects, reptiles, and fish. Example (7) shows some of the nouns in this class. There are also many animal nouns in Class 2 and few animals in the other classes.

(7) fùrú	‘antelope’	à-fùrú	‘antelopes’
gyòòró	‘dog’	à-gyòòró	‘dogs’
gyábà	‘squirrel’	à-gyábà	‘squirrels’
séńtù	‘sheep’	à-séńtù	‘sheep’
tàńkpírà	‘monitor lizard’	à-tàńkpírà	‘monitor lizards’
dóbwí	‘partridge’	à-dóbwí	‘partridges’
dáńkàrí	‘crocodile’	à-dáńkàrí	‘crocodiles’
làlàpútè	‘butterfly’	á-làlàpútè	‘butterflies’
làsá	‘shrimp’	à-làsá	‘shrimps’
kpíkpi	‘owl’	à-kpíkpi	‘owls’
kpirínyàsì	‘hawk’	à-kpirínyàsì	‘hawks’
bìbèrí	‘bedbug’	à-bìbèrí	‘bedbugs’

(8) Akan Loanwords

bùróyó	‘maize’	à-bùróyó	‘maize’
bùròdíyé	‘plantain’	à-bùròdíyé	‘plantains’
bùrófùré	‘pawpaw’	à-bùrófùré	‘pawpaws’
gyáńdè	‘onion’	à-gyáńdè	‘onions’

mánkénĩ                      ‘cocoyam’                      à-mánkénĩ                      ‘cocoyams’

Even though the singular forms of animal nouns in Class 1B have zero prefix, one could suggest that they once had the *o-/ɔ-* singular prefixes of Class 1A but have lost their prefixes. Again, this is evident in the Kaakye pronominal system, as example (9) illustrates. In (9) *tìrĩ* ‘goat’, just like the human nouns, takes the pronominal prefix *o-/ɔ-*.

(9) a. Ø-tìrĩ                      wú                      ké-fwì.

CL1b.SG-goat    DET                      FUT-lost

‘The goat will get lost.’

b. Ì-ké-fwì

3SG.SUBJ-FUT-lost

‘It will get lost.’

(Elicited)

The use of the same pronominal prefixes suggests that the language considers humans and animals as belonging to one animate entity.

Considering the fact that in example (9b) *ɔ-* refers to an animal noun, and the fact that four animal nouns are found in class 1a, there is the possibility to posit that class 1B also could have had the prefixes *o-/ɔ-*, but might have lost it as a result of a preference to maintain the *o-/ɔ-* prefix for only human beings.

Comparing class 1b to the Proto-Guang form *\*Ø-/\*A* (group E) reconstructed by Snider (1998), it is clear that Kaakye has also retained this form.

3.2.3.3 Class 2 *kV-*; *a-*

This class is the largest in my dataset. *kV-* prefix in the singular, and *a-* prefix in the plural. They include: *ki-/ki-*, *ku-/kv-*, *ke-/kε-*, *ko-/kv-*. Most of the nouns in this class are body parts, animals and animal parts (mostly birds and insects, few are mammals). Out of the 117 nouns found in this class 51 are body parts and 40 are animals. The following are some examples:

(10) <i>kĩ-déńdénkyùwá</i>	‘bladder’	<i>à-déńdénkyùwá</i>	‘bladders’
<i>kĩ-dépèh̃</i>	‘hawk’	<i>à-dépèh̃</i>	‘hawks’
<i>kĩ-kpĩrí</i>	‘molar (tooth)’	<i>à-kpĩrí</i>	‘molars’
<i>kĩ-kyégyí</i>	‘kidney’	<i>à-kyégyí</i>	‘kidneys’
<i>kè-nèbí</i>	‘lip’	<i>à-nèbí</i>	‘lips’
<i>kì-bàkpá</i>	‘shoulder’	<i>à-bàkpá</i>	‘shoulders’
<i>kè-kèsá</i>	‘bone’	<i>à-kèsá</i>	‘bones’
<i>kì-bèè</i>	‘grasshopper’	<i>à-bèè</i>	‘grasshoppers’
<i>kì-bwì</i>	‘louse’	<i>à-bwì</i>	‘lice’
<i>kó-lókòlókò</i>	‘voicebox’	<i>á-lókòlókò</i>	‘voice boxes’
<i>kò-nòkúú</i>	‘chin’	<i>à-nòkúú</i>	‘chins’
<i>kù-bwágyí</i>	‘termite hill’	<i>à-bwágyí</i>	‘termite hills’
<i>kù-mú</i>	‘head’	<i>à-mú</i>	‘heads’
<i>kù-púřĩ</i>	‘navel’	<i>à-púřĩ</i>	‘navels’
<i>kú-fùfùrú</i>	‘lung’	<i>á-fùfùrú</i>	‘lungs’
<i>kù-bùrúró</i>	‘gall bladder’	<i>à-bùrúró</i>	‘gall bladders’
<i>kì-báñbáñ</i>	‘wing’	<i>à-báñbáñ</i>	‘wings’

Some nouns in this class are plants and plant parts, as well as environmental features, as shown in (11).

(11) kǐ-kyǐkpégyí	‘star’	à-kyǐkpégyí	‘stars’
kǐ-léńkpèrí	‘wave’	à-léńkpèrí	‘waves’
kí-lítí	‘stump’	à-lítí	‘stumps’
kì-bí	‘mountain’	à-bí	‘mountains’
kì-ftá	‘leaf’	à-ftá	‘leaves’
kí-kpùj	‘eggplant’	á-kpùj	‘eggplants’
kì-máńtà	‘pit’	à-máńtà	‘pits’
kù-bù	‘stone’	à-bù	‘stones’
kù-fúř	‘flower’	à-fúř	‘flowers’
kù-fùribó	‘cave’	à-fùribó	‘caves’
kú-pè	‘forest’	á-pè	‘forests’

As example (12) below shows, this class also has few human nouns. The reason why these nouns, though human nouns, are not classified under the typical human class (Class 1A) may be semantically motivated.

(12) a. kù-gyàbùd	‘cripple’	à-gyàbùd	‘cripples’,
b. kù-fúnúj	‘corpse’	à-fúnúj	‘corpses’,
c. kù-mòńgyí	‘orphan’	à-mòńgyí	‘orphans’,
d. kù-nyà	‘slave’	à-nyà	‘slaves’
e. kè-nàńagyĩ	‘ancestor/ descendant’	à-nàńagyĩ	‘ancestors/ descendants’

All the human nouns appear to have some significant conditions that restrict a person’s ability to function physically, mentally, socially or culturally. Socially, orphans (12c) are considered as a burden to families because they

have no parents to care for them. Slaves (12d) have no absolute control of their lives since they are subjected to their masters' authority. Ancestors (12e) are spirits and they are as such separated from the living generations. Example (12a) and (12b) for instance, restrict a person's physical movement.

There are some words such as *ɔ̃-nyísí-bwè-pú* 'blind person' *ò-nyékyè-pú* 'mad person' *kèmu-wíà* 'deaf person' that one might expect to be included in this class, but which don't seem to be here because these words are derived nouns and are consequently not included in the data.

This Class 2B, belongs to group D proto-Guan form \*Ki-/\*A. Again, Kaakye has retained this form.

#### 3.2.3.4 Class 3: *o-/ɔ̃, kV, Ø- ; i-/ɪ-*

Most nouns belonging to this class take the vowel prefixes *o-/ɔ̃-*, few of them take *Ø-* and 3 take *kV* types (*ke-*, *ku-/kv-*, *kɪ-*) in the singular, and *i-/ɪ-* in the plural. Out of the 550 nouns, 70 nouns belong to this class. Class 3 has the clearest semantic coherence. It contains a large number of inanimate nouns relating to plants and plant parts, root crops, parts of a house, environmental features and few body parts as the following example shows:

(13) <i>ò-bú</i>	'room/shelter'	<i>ì-bú</i>	'rooms'
<i>ò-dèṅ</i>	'desert'	<i>ì-dèṅ</i>	'deserts'
<i>ò-dùṅ</i>	'heart'	<i>ì-dùṅ</i>	'hearts'
<i>ò-yú</i>	'tree'	<i>ì-yú</i>	'trees'
<i>ò-làkí</i>	'root'	<i>ì-làkí</i>	'roots'
<i>ò-kírùṅ</i>	'shin'	<i>ì-kírùṅ</i>	'shins'

ɔ-mɔ̀ní	‘nose’	ì-mɔ̀ní	‘noses’
ɔ-bɔ̀ɔ̀	‘river/stream’	ì-bɔ̀ɔ̀	‘rivers’
ɔ-bírím̀	‘cassava’	ì-bírím̀	‘cassavas’
ɔ-fɔ̀r̀	‘moon’	ì-fɔ̀r̀	‘moons’
ɔ-lɔ̀ɔ̀	‘house’	ì-lɔ̀ɔ̀	‘houses’
kè-wíí	‘comb’	ì-wíí	‘combs’
kù-gyò	‘yam’	ì-gyò	‘yams’
kù-túè	‘injection’	ì-túè	‘injections’
kyàrí	‘rattle’	ì-kyàrí	‘rattles’

Also included are four animal nouns, as shown in (14) below.

(14) ɔ-fùfùrí	‘lion’	ì-fùfùrí	‘lions’
ɔ-pùróɔ̀	‘palm rat’	ì-pùróɔ̀	‘palm rats’
ɔ-kòtɔ̀	‘crab’	ì-kòtɔ̀	‘crabs’
ɔ-kwàré	‘eagle’	ì-kwàré	‘eagles’

One observation about the animal nouns which fall in this class is that they include words for personified animals as they are found in folktales. Thus, in Kaakye folk stories, human characteristic features are attributed to these set of animals.

Apart from Class 1A, which has the majority of the human nouns, few human nouns ranging from 4-5 are at least found in all the other classes except this class. Although 4 animals are occur in this class, no human noun is found found in this class. Interestingly, no inanimate nouns are also found in Class 1A. This could suggest that cognitively, the language makes human/non-human distinctions which are also evident in Kaakye grammar as discussed in section



## 3.4.

The fact that this class is an inanimate class is substantiated by the Kaakye pronominal system. In this system, the plural prefix in Class 2 is used for both third person singular and plural pronouns as demonstrated in (15 and 16) below.

(15) a. k̀̀-t̀̀nń́                  ẃ      ḱ́-fẁ̀

          CL4.SG-mat    DET    FUT-lost

‘The mat will get lost.’

b. ì-ḱ́-fẁ̀

          3SG.SUB-FUT-lost

‘It will get lost.’

(Elicited)

(16) a. ñ-t̀̀nń́                  ẃ      ḱ́-fẁ̀

          CL4.PL-mat    DET    FUT-lost

‘The mats will get lost’

b. ì-ḱ́-fẁ̀

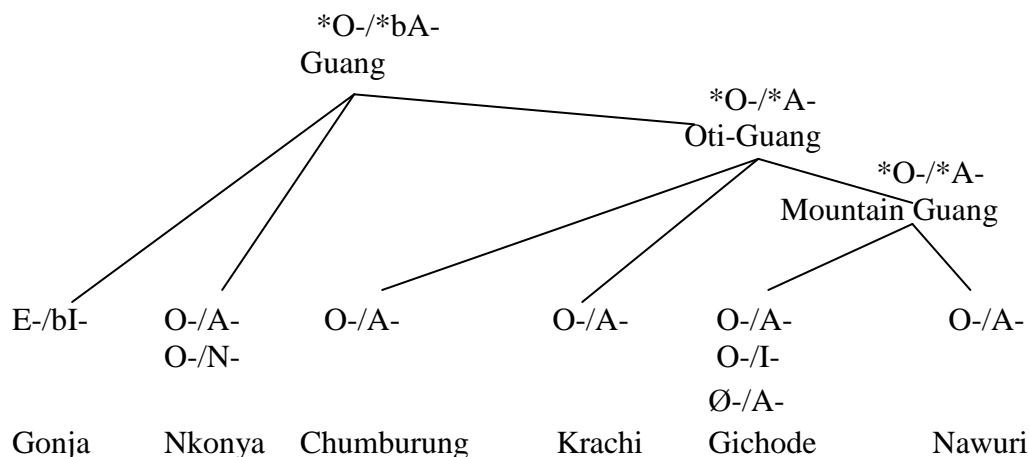
          3SG.SUB-FUT-lost

‘They will get lost.’

(Elicited)

There is one noun *o-kisii* ‘lesser god’, that one might not expect to be included in this class, but which is.

This class of prefixes seems to fall under Snider’s reconstructed Proto-Guang\*Ø-/ \*I- (group E) and \*kV-/\*I (Group F). There however appears to be one emerging pairing with regard to Class 3a (ɔ-/o-: ɪ-/i-), the largest pairing in this class. This emerging pair is not so surprising, as Gichode, one of the languages within the Oti Guang family, as illustrated in figure 3.4, also has it. Kaakye might have copied it from a closely related family. This pairing, though new to Kaakye class system, is not new within the Guang group of languages.

**Figure 3.4:** Noun Stem Group A

(Snider 1988:142)

### 3.2.3.5 Class 4: *kV, o-/ɔ-, a-, Ø; N*

Nouns belonging to Class 4 have several singular prefixes including vowels and the four *kV*s types distributed in accordance with the ATR harmony requirements, as shown in the following examples (17-19). Out of the 550 nouns, 65 nouns belong to this class. Semantically, majority are domestic tools, as in (17), collective nouns and collective terms as in (18).

(17) <i>kɔ̀-ndɛ̃fɔ̀rɔ̀bwɛ̀</i>	‘gun’	<i>ndɛ̃-ndɛ̃fɔ̀rɔ̀bwɛ̀</i>	‘guns’
<i>kɛ̀-bàkɛ̀</i>	‘paddle’	<i>mɛ̀-bàkɛ̀</i>	‘paddles’
<i>kɛ̀-pàɲ</i>	‘cutlass’	<i>mɛ̀-pàɲ</i>	‘cutlasses’
<i>kɛ̀-tɛ̀kpɪ́rɔ̀</i>	‘hoe’	<i>ndɛ̀-tɛ̀kpɪ́rɔ̀</i>	‘hoes’
<i>kɛ̀-tɪ́yá</i>	‘big hoe’	<i>ndɛ̀-tɪ́yá</i>	‘big hoes’
<i>kɛ̀-dà̀rɪ́wá-gyí</i>	‘fishhook’	<i>ndɛ̀-dà̀rɪ́wá-gyí</i>	‘fishhooks’
<i>kɛ̀-bɛ̀ní</i>	‘needle’	<i>mɛ̀-bɛ̀ní</i>	‘needles’
<i>kɛ̀-bùrí</i>	‘whistle’	<i>mɛ̀-bùrí</i>	‘whistles’
<i>kɛ̀-rí</i>	‘funeral’	<i>ndɛ̀-lí</i>	‘funerals’

(18) k̀̀-̀̀ẁ̀	‘animal’	m̀̀-̀̀ẁ̀	‘animals’
k̀̀-̀̀p̀̀	‘herd (cattle/sheep)	m̀̀-̀̀p̀̀	‘herds’
k̀̀-̀̀s̀̀r̀̀	‘bundle’	ǹ̀-̀̀s̀̀r̀̀	‘bundles’
k̀̀-̀̀k̀̀ǹ̀ỳ̀	‘fish’	ǹ̀-̀̀k̀̀ǹ̀ỳ̀	‘fishes’
k̀̀-̀̀b̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀	‘bird’	m̀̀-̀̀b̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀	‘birds’
k̀̀-̀̀ǹ̀	‘meat’	ǹ̀-̀̀ǹ̀	‘meats’

Nouns in this class also include some human nouns, as illustrated in (23).

(19) k̀̀-̀̀k̀̀ỳ̀s̀̀	‘girl’	ǹ̀-̀̀k̀̀ỳ̀s̀̀	‘girls’
k̀̀-̀̀ǹ̀ỳ̀ǹ̀s̀̀	‘boy’	ǹ̀-̀̀ǹ̀ỳ̀ǹ̀s̀̀	‘boys’
k̀̀-̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘child’	ǹ̀-̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘children’
k̀̀-̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘baby’	ǹ̀-̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘babies/’
k̀̀-̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘young man’	ǹ̀-̀̀ỳ̀f̀̀r̀̀	‘young men’
k̀̀-̀̀b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀	‘young woman’	k̀̀-̀̀b̀̀t̀̀g̀̀ỳ̀	‘young women’

Although the nouns in (19) refer to humans, they are not in the typical human class. Characteristically, these words denote stages of the human life cycle and this may explain their perceived status as a collective noun. One would expect to see *kyibiri* ‘old person’ to be included in this class, but it is not.

These human nouns also appear with some regularity in Kaakye grammar. I have observed that these nouns are sometimes used as modifiers to express adjectival quality denoting ‘human propensity’ (Dixon 2004), as seen in (20).

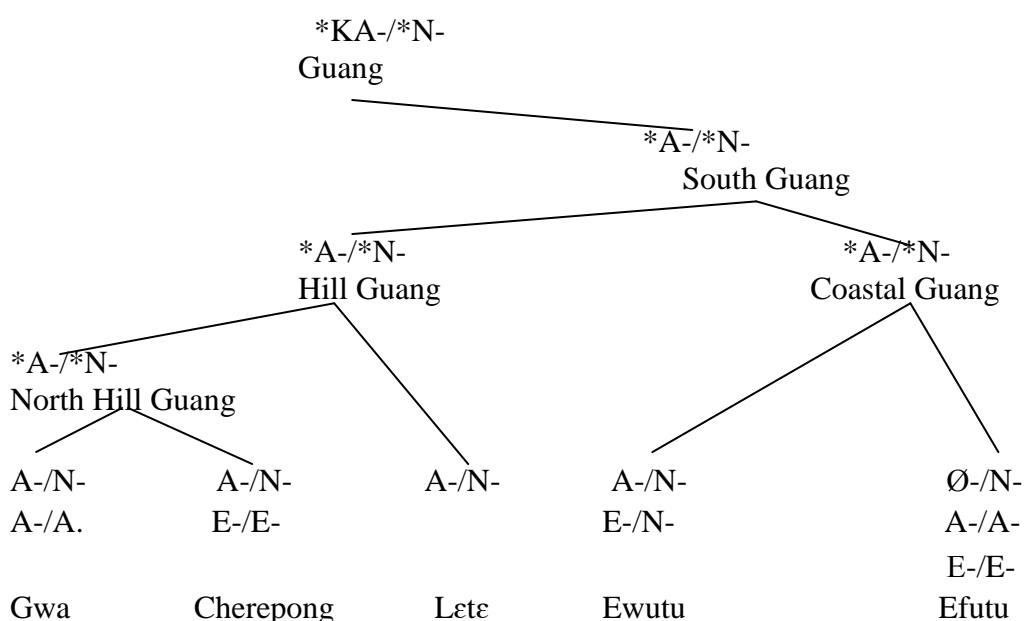
(20) Ama	gỳ̀	k̀̀b̀t̀g̀ỳ	
Ama	COP.be	young woman’	
‘Ama is a young woman.’			(Elicited)

Also included in this class are small sized animals and insects and body parts, as demonstrated in (21).

(21) Kò-nó	‘mouth/beak’	̀n-nó	‘mouths/beaks’
Kó-tùh̀tùh̀	‘mosquito’	́n-tùh̀tùh̀	‘mosquitoes’
Kò-wá	‘snail’	̀n-wá	‘snails’
kè-kìrèmá	‘rib’	̀n-kìrèmá	‘ribs’

The only noun belonging to Class 4f is *a-du* ‘medicine’; *n-du* ‘medicines’.

This class falls under group B and C proto-Guan form *\*Ki-/\*A* and *\*Ø-/\*N*, respectively. Kaakye has therefore retained this form, however, the mapping of the singular prefix *a-* to the nasal prefix is an emerging pairing as compared to Snider’s (1988) reconstructed Proto-Guang noun class prefixes. Again, this emergence is not new to what pertains in the Proto-Guang languages. The South Guang language family such as Gwa, Cherepong, Lete, and Awutu also exhibit this kind of pairing as seen in figure 3.5 below.



**Figure 3.5:** Noun Stem Group C

(Snider 1988:146)

3.2.3.6 Class 5: *a-*, *i-/i-*, *N-*

This class consists of nouns which exhibit the same form in the singular and plural. They usually begin with the plural prefixes *a-*, *i-/i-* and a homorganic nasal. A possible explanation could be that such nouns are uncountable. Semantically, as illustrated in (22-24) many are mass nouns and liquid or fluid. Some are abstract nouns and few are paired body parts or items, one animal: *a-nyiba* ‘hyena’ and one human noun; *a-lamba* ‘twin’. The human noun *alamba* ‘twin’ belongs to this class because twins are a pair.

(22)	ì-fé	‘bush’
	ì-m̀wè	‘rice’
	ì-p̀ù	‘soup’
	ì-s̀èbí	‘faeces’
	ì-m̀é	‘nasal mucus’
	ì-ǹààsí	‘dirt’
	ì-p̀ù	‘buttocks’
(23)	m̀-b̀urí	‘urine’
	m̀-m̀úgyà	‘blood’
	m̀-b̀òṅ	‘brain’
	ǹ-ḿ	‘fat/oil’
	ǹ-ḿrí	‘salt’
	ǹ-ḿù	‘fur’
	ǹ-kyú	‘water’
	ǹ-ḿyèṣí	‘smoke’
	ǹ-ṣò	‘ash’
	ǹ-ḿèkyú	‘tears’
	ǹ-ṣé	‘drink/wine’

(24)	à-fùù	‘wind’
	à-gyǐbí	‘food’
	à-gyókùrí	‘mushy food’
	à-bùbwí	‘gill’
	à-dɛ̀nkpé̀rì	‘storm’
	à-wùrí	‘cloud’
	à-sǐkírè	‘sugar’
	à-nyìbá	‘hyena’
	á-kù̀̀	‘hunchback’

There are, however, certain nouns in this class that begin with *o-/ɔ-* singular prefixes as displayed in (25).

(25)	ò-kwè	‘honey’
	ò-fékyù	‘fever’
	ò-gyàà	‘pain’
	ò-kyòwí	‘sun’
	ò-pè	‘sea’
	ò-gyúyé	‘dust’

Ò-kyòwí ‘sun’ is not an uncountable noun. It is probably in this class because it has no plural form.

This class falls under \*I (Group G), \*A (Group H) and \*N (Group I) of Snider’s reconstructed Proto-Guang.

Osam (1993a: 95), in his discussion of Akan noun class system, refers to such class of nouns as the ‘frozen plurals nouns’. In Akan however, the

group of nouns that falls under this category are mostly body parts and agricultural produce. According to Osam (1993a:95), a possible explanation for these groups of nouns having plural prefixes stems from the fact that “body parts are naturally paired and agricultural produce come in large numbers”. In Kaakye’s case, as mentioned above, the frozen plural nouns are mostly uncountable nouns. The differences in the category of nouns that falls under the frozen plural nouns of these two languages shows clearly that language speakers conceptualizes things differently.

### 3.2.3.7 Class 6; Ø-: Ø-

Nouns in Class 6 contain a sizeable number of nouns which are morphologically unmarked in both singular and plural forms. Thus, they do not have prefixes in the singular or plural as shown in (26). The absence of these prefixes suggests that the language is losing its noun class prefixes. Semantically, this class could be described as the miscellaneous class since it contains diverse nouns including mass nouns, abstract nouns, countable nouns, collective nouns, fluid, natural elements, loan words, body parts, animals, human nouns and others.

(26) b̀̀kyú	‘dews’	b̀̀kyú	‘dews’
kĩšipú	‘sand’	kĩšipú	‘sand’
k̀̀yúdá	‘a curse’	k̀̀yúdá	‘curses’
đtkpá	‘fire’	đtkpá	‘fire’
gyífà	‘money sack’	gyífà	‘money sacks’
k̀̀yúrì	‘body’	k̀̀yúrì	‘bodies’

kèbèntíṅ	stick'	kèbèntíṅ	'sticks'
kèfúíkè	'kingfisher'	kèfúíkè	'kingfishers'
kìbrèkí	diarrhoea'	kìbrèkí	'diarrhoea'
kìkyè̀̀̀kpá	'harmattan'	kìkyè̀̀̀kpá	'harmattan'
kùbóbĩ	'darkness'	kùbóbĩ	'darkness'
kùntú	'blanket'	kùntú	'blankets'
kùbwé	'venom'	kùbwé	'venom'
kyìkyìrà	'gravel'	kyìkyìrà	'gravels'
kyìwùtótó	'rainy season'	kyìwùtótó	'rainy season'
lámàṅ	'crowd'	lámàṅ	'crowd'
sùmíè	'pillow'	sùmíè	'pillows'
sùsù	'sky'	sùsù	'sky'
tùkùgyí	'omen'	tùkùgyí	'omen'
Wùrúbwàrí	'God (supreme being)'	Wùrúbwàrí	'God'
yábùrà	'millet'	yábùrà	'millet'

As the data in (26) demonstrates, majority of nouns that have lost their prefixes are non-human animate nouns. It was also observed in Class 1b that few human nouns have lost their singular prefixes. This suggests that human nouns are less susceptible to class loss as opposed to non-human nouns. This also suggests that the language adheres to the hierarchical ordering of human and non-human distinction in the language. Thus, it tells us that human nouns are at the top of the hierarchy and the non-human nouns are at the bottom. For this reason, human nouns do not easily lose their class prefixes. This observation as well as the animate and inanimate distinctions we observe in



Class 1 and Class 3, provides evidence to what has been observed cross-linguistically, that the notion of animacy is part of the semantic basis of noun classification in languages (Denny and Creider 1986, Maho 1999, Aikenvald 2000). Aikenvald (2000: 271) considers animacy, together with physical properties and function, as the semantic parameters used in noun categorization. In a comparative study of Bantu noun classes, Maho (1999: 64) remarks:

Some [regular semantic tendencies] recur in many, most and even occasionally all Bantu languages [...] One such tendency concerns the distinction between animates and inanimates. Typically, animate classes are class 1 which in all Bantu languages contains nouns denoting human beings, while class 1a, where it exists, contains nouns denoting certain kinship terms, personified animals (when used in fables and tales) and various other nouns. Class 9 is most often the class where we find nouns denoting animals. Class 7 seems to be a typical thing-class, containing mostly inanimate objects, such as tools, instruments, utensils and other things. Other oft-occurring semantic regularities concerns abstract nouns mostly found in class 14, but also in class 3.

In this light, Kaakye conforms to Comrie's (1989) animacy hierarchy illustrated in figure 3.6.

Human > Animal (animate) > Inanimate

**Figure 3.6:** Animacy Hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 185)

This hierarchy relates to how the notion of animacy is characterised in languages. It shows the various degrees of animacy from the highest to the lowest. It predicts that if a language has a strategy for distinguishing inanimate nouns then it will also have a strategy for making animal and human distinctions. Section 3.3 discusses other linguistic ways in which the notion of animacy manifests itself in Kaakye grammar.

Comparing Class 6 to Snider's reconstructed proto-forms, there was no match found. This is strong evidence to support the claim that the noun class system is decaying.

One word in this class which caught my attention is the noun *Wurúbwàri* 'God (supreme being)'. It is not clear at this point why *Wurúbwàri* 'God' (relating to supernatural being, is in this class). Another supernatural being *ò-kìsǐí* 'lesser god' is found in inanimate class: Class 3.

In Akan, Osam (1993a: 90-92) reports that "the concept of hierarchy within the Akan doctrine of being must have been the semantic basis for Proto-Akan noun classification". He indicates that even though synchronically this power hierarchy is not clearly seen, there are, however, some traces to suggest that Proto-Akan originally had such semantic basis for its classification. In the case of Kaakye and as far as the synchronic data is concerned, there is no evidence yet to suggest that its noun class system is semantically based on the power hierarchy in figure 3.7.

In a typological study, Aikenvald (2000: 272) explains that the cultural belief system of people may lead to a variation in the categorisation of nouns. For instance, she pointed out that "[l]anguages differ in how they treat supernatural beings: benevolent gods and angels are frequently personified,



NP → N (ADJ) (NUM) (DEM) (DET) (QUAN)

**Figure 3.8:** Ordering of Kaakye NP modifiers

(27) a-nyini          a-tuntun          asa          wɔ          mpo          ε-ba  
 CL1A.PL-man PL-short          three          DET          even          PST-come  
 ‘Even the three short men came.’

(Korboe 2002:80-82)

Even though Kaakye has a relatively rich noun class system (Snider 1988), the same, cannot be said about its concordial system. The only agreement system identified so far relates to number and adjective modifiers. This section discusses the noun agreements as attested in Kaakye grammar.

#### 3.2.4.1 Head nouns and number agreement

Each Kaakye numeral form consists of a numeral prefix and a root. The counting of cardinal numbers from one to nine as shown in (28) takes the prefixes *ɔ-*, *a-*, and *ku*. The prefix *ɔ-* occurs only on *ɔ-kùṛṛkú* ‘one’, *a-* occurs on numbers two to seven and number 9, and *kù-kwé* ‘eight’ takes a *ku-* prefix.

(28)	ɔ-kùṛṛkú	‘one’	à-siè	‘six’
	à-nyɔ	‘two’	à-sùṇó	‘seven’
	à-sá	‘three’	kù-kwé	‘eight’
	à-ná	‘four’	à-kpùṇó	‘nine’
	à-nùṛ	‘five’		

In Kaakye, it is only the *a-* prefixed cardinal numerals that take part in noun-number agreement. Thus when the *a-* prefixed numerals modify nouns,

the numeral prefixes agree with the plural noun class prefixes. The example in (29) illustrates an agreement of the numeral *àsá* ‘three’ and *àná* ‘four’ with Class 1 (29), Class 2 (30), and Class 3 (31). Note that there is agreement only on plural nouns and the agreement is restricted to Classes 1, 2, and 3.

(29) a. ò-kè	→	à-kè	à-sá
CL1A.SG-wife		CL1A.PL-wife	CL1A.PL-three
‘A wife’		‘Three wives’	
b. Ø-fürú	→	à-fürú	à-ná
CL1B.SG-antelope		CL1B.PL-antelope	CL1B.PL-four
‘An antelope’		‘Four antelopes’	
(30) a. Kì-gyèrá	→	à-gyèrá	à-sá
CL2.SG-basket		CL2.PL-basket	CL2.PL-three
‘A basket’		‘Three baskets’	
b. Kì-bí	→	à-bí	à-ná
CL2.SG-mountain		CL2.PL-mountain	CL2.PL-four
‘A mountain’		‘Four mountains’	
(31) a. ò-dùṅ	→	ĩ-dùṅ	i-sa
CL3.SG-tail		CL3.PL-tail	CL3.PL-three
‘A tail’		‘Three tails’	
b. ò-fùfùrí	→	ĩ-fùfùrí	ĩ-ná
CL3.SG-tiger		CL3.PL-tiger	CL3.PL-four
‘A tiger’		‘Four tigers’	

Observe that in (31) the agreement between the Class 3 nouns and numerals are straightforward. Thus, the plural prefix, *i-/i-* triggers the concord. *À-sá* ‘three’ and *à-ná* ‘four’ becomes *ì-sá* and *i-na*, respectively. The *a-* prefixes of the numeral take the plural class marker *i-/i-*. This is not the case with Class

1 and 2 since the agreement, to some extent, is ambiguous. Since nouns in Class 1 and 2 pluralize their nouns with /a-/ prefix and since the plural prefix is identical with the numeral prefix, the concord agreement becomes questionable. Thus when *a-nyɔ* ‘two’ modifies the noun *ɔ-si* ‘father’, it will not be quite clear if the representation is (32a) or (32b).

- (32) a. *à-sí*                      *à-nyɔ*                      b. *à-sí*                      *à-nyɔ*  
           **C1.PL-father**    **CL3.SG-two**                      **C1.PL-father**    **CL1.PL-two**  
           ‘Two fathers.’    ‘Two fathers’

One may argue in favour of (32a) that there is no concord between the numeral and noun perhaps based on the human/nonhuman distinction the language exhibits. I, however, suggest that there is agreement and that the agreement is redundant. Since in the plural class markers trigger the agreement in Class 3, it is therefore not out of the way to argue that the plural class marker *a-* also triggers the agreement in Classes 1 and 2 as seen in (32b).

In addition to Class 1, 2, and 3, there is concord when numerals modify nouns related to time concepts such as *kè-kè* ‘day’, *ò-kìré*, ‘week’, *ɔ̀fòrí* ‘month’, and *kòsú* ‘year’. This is demonstrated in (33-36).

- (33) *ò-fòrí*                                      →     *ɪ- fòrí*                      *ɪ-síè*  
           **CL3.SG-month**    **CL3.PL**    **CL3.PL-six**  
           ‘A month’    ‘Six months.’

- (34) *ò-kìré*                                      →     *ɪ-kìré*                      *ɪ-sá*  
           **CL3.SG-month**    **CL3.PL**    **CL3.PL-three**  
           ‘A week’    ‘Three weeks’

- (35) *mè-gyírí*                                      *nì*        *wú*        *nté*        *ó-kà-wà*  
           **1SG.SUBJ.PROG-say**    **DEM**    **DET**    **then**    **3.SG.SUBJ-PERF-reach**

**ñ-ké**                **ñ-sá**                ànyìsí kípè    é-bà  
 CL4.PL-day    CL4.PL-three    eyes    red    PST-come

‘(As) I am saying this, he has had three days and he was desperate.’

(36) Ñ-ké-gyì                      Monkrae    **ñ-sú**                      **ñ-nùj**                      bèè  
 1SG.SUBJ-FUT- be Monkrae    CL4.PL-year            CL4.PL-five    or  
**ñ-sú**                      **ñ-sùnó.**  
 CL4.PL-year            CL4.PL-seven

‘I will stay at Monkrae for five years or six years.’                      (Elicited)

As already explained above and just like any other noun in Class 3, the plural class prefix *n-* of the time concept nouns in examples (33 and 34), triggers the agreement on the numeral. Apart from *o-kire* ‘week’ and *ɔ-fɔri* ‘month’ which also belong to Class 3, the others *kè-kè* ‘day’ and *kòsù* ‘year’ in (35 and 36) are Class 4 nouns. As far as my data is concerned, they are the only nouns in Class 4 that show number agreement. Generally, there is no agreement on Class 4 nouns as featured in example (37).

(37) a. Kè-gyífòrì	→	ñ-gyífòrì	à-sá
CL4.SG-child		CL4.PL-child	three
‘A child’		‘Three children’	
b. Kè-kùréjà	→	ñ-kùréjà	à-kpùno
CL4.SG-rib		CL4.PL-rib	nine
‘A rib’		‘Nine ribs’	
c. Kò-ló	→	ñ-ló	à-ná
CL4.SG-waterpot		CL4.PL-water pot	four
‘A waterpot’		‘Four water pots’	

d. Kò-sùrá	→	̀n- sùrá	à-siè
CL4.SG-bundle		CL4.PL-bundle	six
‘A bundle’		‘Six bundles’	
e. Kì-bèsí	→	m̀- bèsí	à-sùnó
CL4.SG-ant		CL4.PL-ant	seven
‘An ant’		‘Seven ants’	
f. ò-pùtú	→	m̀- pùtú	à-nyò
CL4.SG-ladle		CL4.PL-ladle	two
‘A ladle’		‘Two ladles’	

The nouns in (38a) belong to Class 4 but number agreement is not acceptable as illustrated in (38a and 38b). Examples (39a and 39b) are acceptable.

(38) a. * Ñ-gyífórì	̀n-sá
CL4.PL-child	CL4.PL-three
‘Three children’	
b. *m̀- pùtú	̀n-nyò
CL4.PL-ladle	CL4.PL-two
‘Two ladles’	
(39) a. Ñ-gyífórì	à-sá
CL4.PL-child	three
‘Three children’	
b. m̀- pùtú	à-nyó
CL4.PL-ladle	two
‘Two ladles’	

The lack of noun-numeral concord in the other Class 4 nouns is an indication that the concord system is decaying.



### 3.2.4.2 Head nouns and adjective agreement

Two main types of adjectives are identified in Kaakye: derived adjectives and underived. The latter has few adjectives. The derived adjectives include:

(i) adjectives derived from nouns by reduplication process; for example

*nkyú* 'water' becomes *nkyú̀nkyú̀* 'watery';

(ii) adjectives derived from verbs by the suffixation of *sé*; for example

*gyù* 'to rot' becomes *gyù-sé* 'rotten';

(iii) adjectives derived through compounding; for example *àfùtá* 'leaf'

and *bùbùé* 'fresh' becomes *àfùtábùbùé* 'green';

(iv) nouns used as adjectives such as *kèbitégyí* 'young woman'.

The underived adjectives are featured in (44). Morphologically, some of the underived adjectives are overtly marked in the singular and plural form while others are covertly marked.

Structurally, adjectives in Kaakye, like most Kwa languages, follow the nouns they modify.

	Singular		Plural
(40) a.	à-lèlé	'big/fat'	à-lèlé 'big/fat'
b.	ò-yírí	'slow'	à-yírí 'slow'
c.	ò-pùpùè	'new'	ò-pùpùè 'new'
d.	ò-fùfùrí	'white'	i-fufuri 'white'
e.	ò-bìbì	'black'	o-bibi 'black'
f.	kè-tù	'short'	̀n-tù 'short'
g.	kì-tè	'bitter'	kì-tè 'bitter'

h. k̀i-gỳǹg̀ỳǹ	‘small’	n-gyngyun	‘small’
i. k̀k̀k̀r̀	‘crooked’	k̀k̀k̀r̀	‘crooked’
j. ǐ-sàà	‘fast’	ǐ-sàà	‘fast’
k. l̀̀ǹ	‘energetic/strong’	l̀̀ǹ	‘energetic/strong’

Kaakye adjectives do not agree with the class of nouns they modify; rather they agree with nouns in terms of number.<sup>31</sup> Thus, irrespective of the class of the noun, when an adjective modifies a singular noun, the adjective takes the form of singular prefix and when the noun is plural, the adjective takes its plural prefix form as demonstrated in (41) below.

- (41) a. Kú-tù̀tù̀                      l̀̀l̀̀<sup>32</sup>                      b. ́-tù̀tù̀                      á-l̀̀l̀̀  
           CL4.SG-gourd            big                      CL4.PL-gourd            big  
           ‘A big gourd’    ‘Big gourd’
- (42) a. í-b̀̀ỳí      k̀e-gỳǹgỳǹ                      b. í-b̀̀ỳí                      ǹ-gỳǹgỳǹ  
           CL5-sin    CL4.SG-small                      CL5-sin                      CL4PL-small  
           ‘A small sin’    ‘Small sins’
- (43) a. K̀e-k̀inỳí      k̀e- gỳǹgỳǹ                      b. N-kinyi                      gỳǹgỳǹ  
           CL4.SG-fish    SG-small                      CL4.PL-fish    PL-small  
           ‘A small fish’    ‘Small fishes’
- (44) a. Ø-P̀̀kỳé̀ǹ      k̀e-t̀̀t̀̀t̀̀                      b. à-p̀̀kỳé̀ǹ                      ǹ-t̀̀t̀̀t̀̀  
           CL1bSG-cow    CL4.SG-short                      CL1bSG-cow    CL4.SG-short  
           ‘A short cow’    ‘Short cows’

<sup>31</sup> A similar pattern of agreement is attested in Akan (Osam 1993a).

<sup>32</sup> According to one of my language consultants, the inflection of *ɔ-* on *l̀̀l̀̀* ‘big’ is optional. According to him, the *ɔ-* prefix is dropped in fast utterance.

It is worth mentioning that this kind of number agreement is only restricted to few adjectives such as big (41), small (42 and 43) short, as illustrated in (44) above. There is no agreement in (45 and 46).

- |         |              |        |    |              |        |
|---------|--------------|--------|----|--------------|--------|
| (45) a. | ò-yù         | swìswì | b. | ǐ-yù         | swìswì |
|         | CL2.SG-tree  | tall   |    | CL2.PL-tree  | tall   |
|         | ‘Tall tree’  |        |    | ‘Tall trees’ |        |
|         |              |        |    |              |        |
| (46) a. | à-fê         | fùfùrí | b. | ì-fê         | fùfùrí |
|         | CLSG.-rope   | white  |    | CLPL.-rope   | white  |
|         | ‘White rope’ |        |    | ‘White rope’ |        |

The fact that this agreement is attested suggests that the language might have had noun-adjective agreement system, but as the synchronic data shows this system has reduced tremendously. What we find is just a residue of it. This also supports the claim that the noun class system is generally decaying.

### 3.2.5 Summary

The synchronic data analysed for the study shows that Kaakye has still maintained the Proto-Guan noun classes (Snider 1988) in the development of its noun class system. Nonetheless, there are two emerging noun class pairings and the loss of singular and plural prefixes. It was shown that the emerging noun class pairings are not arbitrary; rather they are traceable to some of the Proto-Guang languages such as Gichode, Gwa, Lɛtɛ, Cherepong and Awutu. This could suggest that Kaakye has probably borrowed those pairings from the same language family. The loss of the prefixes strongly suggests that the noun class system is decaying.

The classification is partly motivated by the semantics of the nouns and

partly by the culture of the people. Again, the classification shows that Kaakye makes two kinds of distinctions: animate/inanimate on one hand; and human/nonhuman on the other.

In the discussion on the concord system, it was noted that the concord system has reduced greatly and what is left; noun-numeral agreement and noun-agreement are just remains of it.

### **3.3 Animacy distinction**

As it has been shown in the studies of some Kwa languages (Boadi 1976, Saah 1992, 2017, Osam 1993b, on Akan; Akrofi Ansah 2009 on Lete; Asante and Akanlig-Pare 2016 on Nkami; Dorvlo 2008 on Logba; Bobuafor 2013 on Tafi), that animacy distinction plays a crucial role in the grammar of these languages, especially, in relation to the behaviour of the third person singular object.

It was evident from the noun class discussion that Kaakye makes animacy distinctions. This section discusses other linguistic ways in which the notion of animacy manifests itself in Kaakye grammar. It shows that besides the nominal prefixes, the language also makes animacy distinctions in the forms and behaviours of pronouns.

#### *3.3.1 Pronominal systems*

Kaakye has a pronominal system that makes 1st, 2nd and 3rd person distinctions. It also makes number distinction for all persons. In this section, I look at the forms and behaviour of subject pronouns, object pronouns and possessive pronouns in relation to animacy distinction.

## 3.3.1.1 Subject pronouns

Example (47) is a list of subject pronouns in Kaakye. The distribution shows that Kaakye makes animacy distinctions based on the forms of the third person subject pronouns as seen in (47).

(47)	Person	Singular	Plural	
	1st	mì-/mĩ- ‘I’	arì-/arĩ-	‘we’
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	fù-/fũ- ‘you’	bèrí/bèrĩ	‘you’
	3rd animate	ò-/ǎ- ‘she/he’	bè-/bè-	‘they’
	3rd inanimate	i-/i- ‘it’	ĩ-/ĩ-	‘they’

As illustrated in (47), the third person singular subject pronominal prefix for animate nouns is *ò-/ǎ-* but that for the inanimate nouns is *i-/i-*.

(48) a. Kwàtá wú é-tà òkòtó wú  
 tortoise DET PST-take sack DET  
 ‘The tortoise took the sack.’

b. ó-tà òkòtó wú  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take sack DET  
 ‘It took the sack’

(FST.5)

(49) a. Yábrà wú kè-kwè kpààtí  
 millet DET FUT-germinate small  
 ‘The millet will germinate small.’

b. ì-kè-kwè kpààtí  
 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-germinate small  
 ‘It will germinate’

(PT2)

In (48b) the subject *kwàtá* ‘tortoise’ is replaced by *ɔ̀-* because tortoise is animate while *̀-* replaces *yàbrá* ‘millet’ because it is inanimate.

### 3.3.1.2 Object pronouns

Kaakye also distinguishes between animate and inanimate nouns based on the forms of the third person object pronouns as seen in (49).

(49)	Person	Singular		Plural	
	1st	wí	‘me’	àrí	‘us’
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	fú	‘you’	bèrí	‘you’
	3rd animate	wó	‘him/her’	bóò	‘them’
	3rd inanimate	-Ø	‘it’	Ø	‘them’

Whenever a pronoun substitutes for a singular animate noun in object position, the pronominal form *wó* ‘him/her’ is used, while nothing replaces for inanimate referents. This is illustrated in (50 and 51).

(50) a. Kòfi ké-sùò gyòòró wó.  
 Kofi FUT-buy dog DET  
 ‘Kofi will buy the dog’

b. Kòfi ké-sùò wó.  
 Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.ANM.OBJ  
 ‘Kofi will buy it’

(51) a. Kòfi ké-sùò kùgyò wó.  
 Kofi FUT-buy yam DET  
 ‘Kofi will buy the yam.’

b. Kòfi kɛ-sùò Ø

Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.INANM.OBJ

‘Kofi will buy it.’

(Elicited)

In (50b) *wɔ* replaces the animate object *gyòòrò* ‘dog’ and the inanimate object *kùgyò* ‘yam’ covertly coded in (51b). The behaviour of the third person singular pronoun in relation to animacy is not peculiar to Kaakye. It patterns like other Kwa languages such as Akan, as shown in (52), Nkami and among others.

(52) a. Kofi bɔ-tɔn abofra no.

Kofi FUT-buy child DET

‘Kofi will sell the child.’

b. Kofi bɔ-tɔn no.

Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.

‘Kofi will sell him/her.’

(53) a. Kofi bɔ-tɔn dua no.

Kofi FUT-buy tree DET

‘Kofi will sell the tree.’

b. Kofi bɔ-tɔn ø.

Kofi FUT-buy 3SG

‘Kofi will sell it.’

(Osam 1993b:160)

According to Saah (2017), this phenemon which he refers to as “the null third person object” in Akan, is regulated by three conditions: i) the Animacy Condition; ii) the Clause-final/Right Edge Condition; and iii) the Lexical Condition. Osam (1993b:160) offers a functional explanation to this phenomenon which is worth mentioning. According to Osam (1993b:160), “when an inanimate direct object is directly followed by a temporal adverb the

animacy distinction is compromised” as illustrated in (54).

(54) a. Kofi    bɔ-tɔn            dua    no    ɔkyena.  
           Kofi    FUT-buy        tree    DET    tomorrow  
           ‘Kofi will sell the tree tomorrow.’

b. Kofi    bɔ-tɔn            no                    ɔkyena.  
           Kofi    FUT-buy        3SG                tomorrow  
           ‘Kofi will sell it tomorrow.’ (Osam 1993b:161)

In (54b) the inanimate object *dua* ‘tree’ in (54a) is replaced by the direct object *no* when the direct object is followed by the temporal adverb *ɔkyena* ‘tomorrow’. What this suggests is that the referent of *no* could be an animate object as illustrated in (52b) or an inanimate as shown in (54b). In other words, in Akan, the construction *Kofi bɔ-tɔn no ɔkyena* ‘Kofi will sell it tomorrow’ is equivocal when it is used out of context.

As a functional explanation to the overt realisation of an inanimate object pronoun, Osam appeals to Givón’s (1984) notion of topicality and remarks:

The reason the presence of an adverbial element in the post object position ... triggers the presence of the inanimate object pronoun is that since the direct object is more topical than an adverbial item, and since the immediate postverbal position defines direct objecthood in Akan, if the pronoun is not overtly present it would create the impression that the adverbial element is more topical than the direct



object NP. It is as if the inanimate object pronoun finds its topicality status threatened and so it has to make a physical appearance in order to assert its status. (Osam 1993b: 162)

Interestingly, Osam's functional explanation to this phenomenon in Akan is also applicable to the situation in Kaakye. In the case of Kaakye, as shown in (56b), however, a form *yú*, different from the animate object pronoun is used.

- (55) a. Kòfi kɛ̀-sù̀dò kùgyò wú.  
           Kofi FUT-buy yam DET  
           ‘Kofi will buy the yam.’
- b. Kòfi kɛ̀-sù̀dò Ø  
           Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.INANM.OBJ  
           ‘Kofi will buy it.’
- (56) a. Kòfi kɛ̀-sù̀dò kùgyò wú ðké.  
           Kofi FUT-buy yam DET tomorrow  
           ‘Kofi will buy the yam tomorrow.’
- b. Kòfi kɛ̀-sù̀dò yú ðké.  
           Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.INANM.OBJ tomorrow  
           ‘Kofi will buy it tomorrow.’
- c.\* Kòfi kɛ̀-sù̀dò Ø ðké.  
           Kofi FUT-buy 3SG.INANM.OBJ tomorrow  
           ‘Kofi will buy it tomorrow.’

In (55b) the inanimate direct object is covertly expressed. In (56b) however, the inanimate direct object *yú* is overtly expressed when it occurs immediately before the temporal adverb *ðké* ‘tomorrow’. Example (56c) is ungrammatical because the inanimate direct object is not realised. When the

temporal adverb becomes a focused constituent in a construction as shown (57a) and the direct object occurs at sentence final position, the inanimate object pronoun is covertly expressed. That explains ungrammaticality of (57b).

- (57) a. òké            yí            Kòfi      kɛ̀-s̀d̀d̀      Ø            .  
           tomorrow FM            Kofi      FUT-buy      3SG.INANM.OBJ  
           ‘It is tomorrow that Kofi will buy.’
- b. \*òké            yí            Kòfi      kɛ̀-s̀d̀d̀      yú            .  
           tomorrow FM            Kofi      FUT-buy      3SG.INANM.OBJ  
           ‘Tomorrow, Kofi will buy.’

In Kaakye, unlike Akan, the presence of an overt object pronoun before a temporal adverb does not result in any ambiguity since both pronominal objects have different forms: *yú* for inanimate antecedent and *wú* for animate antecedent. The fact that Kaakye uses, a different pronominal form *yú* other than the animate direct object *wú* to represent the inanimate antecedent provide evidence to suggest that the notion of animacy is crucial to the language’s grammar.

### 3.3.1.3 Possessive pronouns

Another related distinction concerns possessive pronouns. Example (58) shows the distribution of possessive pronouns in Kaakye.

(58) Person	Singular	Plural	
1st	m̀/̀m̀ ‘my’	àrí/àrí	‘our’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	f̀/̀f̀ ‘your’	b̀rí/b̀rí	‘your’
3rd animate	m̀/̀m̀ ‘his/her/its’	b̀d̀	‘their’
3rd inanimate	ỳ ‘its’	ỳ	‘its’

This distinction is clearly seen in possessive constructions where the possessed noun indicates some kind of relation such as *kòyìrí* ‘body/skin/self’ *kèṁá* ‘back/behind’, *kèkèrí* ‘side’, *ànyìsí* ‘face/front’, *tò* ‘inside’, *àsí* ‘under/beneath’. In such constructions, the possessive pronoun *mù* comes after the possessor noun to mark possession whenever the possessor noun is animate as shown in (59 and 60); and *yv*, which incidentally is the same form as the object pronoun which occurs before adverbial, occurs after an inanimate possessor noun as demonstrated in (61) below.

- (59) a. Ama    *kòyìrí*    *é-wà*                    *̀nàsí*  
           Ama    body    PST-do                    dirty  
           ‘Ama is dirty’ (lit. Ama’s body is dirty)
- b. *mù*                    *kòyìrí*    *é-wà*                    *̀nàsí*  
           3SG.POSS    body    PST-do                    dirty  
           ‘She is dirty/her body is dirty.’ (Elicited)
- (60) a. *Gyò̀d̀ró*            *wú*    *kòyìrí*                    *é-wà*                    *̀nàsí*  
           dog                    DET    body                    PST-do                    dirty  
           ‘The dog is dirty’ (lit. The dog’s body is dirty)
- b. *mú*                    *kòyìrí*    *é-wà*                    *̀nàsí*  
           3SG.POSS    body    PST-do                    dirty  
           ‘It is dirty’ (lit. Its body is dirty) (Elicited)
- (61) a. *Asaawu* *wú*    *kòyìrí*    *é-wà*                    *̀nàsí*  
           net            DET    body    PST-do                    dirty  
           ‘The net is dirty’ (lit. The net’s body is dirty)

b. yè	kòyùrí	é-wà	̀nàsí	
3SG.POSS	body	PST-do	dirty	
‘It is dirty’ (lit. Its body is dirty)				(Elicited)

### 3.3.2 Absence of number distinction

Another animacy distinction that can be made within the pronominal system relates to number distinction of the third person. As shown in (47), (49) and (58) above (summarized in Table 3.2 below), all the third person animate pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms while the inanimate counterparts have none or one form for both singular and plural.

**Table 3.2:** Third person pronouns

	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Subject pronouns		3 <sup>rd</sup> person Object pronouns		3 <sup>rd</sup> person Possessive Pronouns associated with relational nouns	
	animate	inanimate	animate	inanimate	animate	inanimate
Singular	ɔ-/ò- ‘s/he’	ì-í- ‘it’	wò ‘her/him’	Ø ‘it’	mò ‘her/his’	yɔ ‘its’
Plural	bè-/bè- ‘they’	ì-í- ‘they’	bóò ‘them’	Ø ‘them’	bóò ‘their’	yɔ ‘their’

In example (62b) and (63b), for instance, ɔ- and bè- replace the subject animate nouns *kègyifòrí* ‘child’ and *n̄gyifòrí* ‘children,’ respectively, and ì- in (64b) and (65b) replaces the subject inanimate nouns *kútùj̀tùj̀* ‘gourd’ *ítùj̀tùj̀* ‘gourds.

(62) a. Kègyifòrí	wó	kè-n̄s̄é	kèk̄nyí	wó.
child	DET	FUT-smoke	fish	DET
‘The child will smoke the fish’				

b. Ì-ké-ḡèsé                      kè-kĩnyí              wú.  
 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-smoke              fish                      DET  
 ‘She will smoke the fish’

(63) a. Ñ-gyĩfòrì              wú              kè-ḡèsé              kèkĩnyí              wú.  
 CL4.PLchild              DET              FUT-smoke              CL4-SG-fish              DET  
 ‘The children will smoke the fish’

b. Bè-kè-ḡèsé                      kèkĩnyí              wú.  
 3PL.SUBJ-FUT-smoke              fish                      DET  
 ‘They will smoke the fish.’

(64) a. Kú-tùḡtùḡ              wú              s̀kà              mú              kú-pwí              s̀.  
 CL4.SG-gourd              DET              STAT.hang              3SG.POSS              CL2.SG-stomach              top  
 ‘The gourd hangs on his stomach.’

b. ì- s̀kà                                      mú                      kú-pwí                      s̀.  
 3SG.SUBJ-STAT.hang              3SG.POSS              CL2.SG-stomach              top  
 ‘It hangs on his stomach.’

(65) a. ñtùḡtùḡ wú s̀kà              mú              k̀pwí              s̀.  
 gourds DET STAT.hang 3SG.POSS stomach top  
 ‘The gourds hang on his stomach’

b. ì- s̀kà                                      mú                      kú-pwí                      s̀.  
 3PL.SUBJ-STAT.hang              3SG.POSS              stomach              top  
 ‘They hang on his stomach.’

In object positions, the pronouns *wú* ‘his/her/it’ substitutes for singular animate nouns and *búḡ* ‘them’ replaces plural animate nouns, as shown in example (66).

(66) a. sé ñfàà              wú              gyì              à-lèlè              ñté              ñ-ké-nyòḡ              wú  
 If tilapias DET COP.be              PL-big then 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-bend 3SG.OBJ

ñté m̀-̀bè ñf̀r̀í wá k̀ỳr̀í wó p̀éé.  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put salt do body DET all  
 ‘If the tilapia is big then I will bend it then I put salt on the whole body’

b. sé ñf̀àà wó gỳ ò-̀l̀l̀ ñté ñ-ké-nỳò̀  
 If tilapias DET COP.be PL-big then 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-bend  
 búò ñté m̀-̀bè ñf̀r̀í wá k̀ỳr̀í wó p̀éé.  
 3PL.ANM.OBJ then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put salt do body DET all  
 ‘If the tilapias are big then I will bend them and put salt on them.’ (PT1)

In (67 and 668), however, both singular and plural inanimate nouns are covertly coded.

(67) a. Ama ké-s̀òò k̀p̀é wó.  
 Ama FUT-buy hat DET  
 ‘Ama will buy the hat.’

b. Ama ké-s̀òò Ø  
 Ama FUT-buy 3SG.INANM.OBJ  
 ‘Ama will buy it.’

(68) a. Àmá ké-s̀òò k̀p̀é wó  
 Ama FUT-buy hats DET  
 ‘Ama will buy the hats’

b. Àmá ké-s̀òò Ø  
 Ama FUT-buy 3PL.INANM.OBJ  
 ‘Ama will buy them.’ (Elicited)

### 3.3.3 Subject concord marking

The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns is also shown in subject agreement marking. In a sentence that has full plural animate subject noun, the

third person plural subject pronoun *bè-/bè-* may be prefixed to a verb stem as demonstrated in examples (69 and 70). However, if the subject position is occupied by a full inanimate NP, nothing is realized on the verb stem as illustrated in (71).

(69) *kì-yàfòrì wú mà kò-gyòòró-gyí wú*  
 CL2.SG-young boy DET and C2.SG-dog-child DET  
**bé<sup>33</sup>-nù** ìlàwú kú.  
 3PL.SUBJ.PST-hear sound some  
 ‘The young boy and the puppy heard some sound.’ (PDT1)

(70) *À-nyĩnkpúsà kùkyùkyó bɪ-dé kùtùnrìj wú sù.*  
 CL2.PL-people many 3PL.SUBJ.STAT-lie floor DET top  
 ‘There are many people lying on the floor.’ (Elicited)

(71) *Àkyìkyé-yù kúkyùkyó Ø-dé kùtùnrìj wú sù.*  
 write-stick many 3PL.SUBJ-STAT.lie floor DET top  
 ‘There are many pens lying on the floor.’ (Elicited)

In (70) *bé<sup>34</sup>-* is prefixed to verb *dé* ‘lie’ to co-reference the plural subject *kìyàfòrì wú mà kò-gyòòró-gyí* ‘young boy and puppy’. In cases where the NP is inanimate, as (72) shows, subject agreement marking is rendered ungrammatical.

(72) \* *Àkyìkyé-yù kúkyùkyó bɪ-dé kùtùnrìj wú sù.*  
 write-stick many 3PL.SUBJ.STAT-lie floor DET top  
 ‘There are many pens lying on the floor.’

<sup>33</sup> The vowel /ɛ/ of the third person plural pronoun *bɛ* is deleted and the past tense marker /e-/ which agrees with verb in ATR, is inserted.

<sup>34</sup> *bɛ-* is realized *bɪ-* because it fuses with the stative marker

### 3.3.4 Human and nonhuman distinctions

Besides animate and inanimate distinction, Kaakye also makes human and nonhuman distinction in nominal prefixes, indefinite pronouns, and definite pronouns.

#### 3.3.4.1 Nominal prefixes

The distinction between human and nonhuman nouns is demonstrated in the use of plural nominal prefixes. Kaakye has three plural prefixes which include *à-*, *ì-/î-*, *N-* (homorganic nasal). Only two: *à-* and *N-* can pluralize human nouns as illustrated in (73) and (74), respectively. All the three plural prefixes can be used for non-human nouns. Consider the following.

(73) <i>à-bùrìsé</i>	‘elder/adult’	<i>à-bùrìsé</i>	‘elders/adults’
<i>à-dà</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>à-dà</i>	‘elder brothers’
<i>ò-kùrí</i>	‘husband’	<i>à-kùrí</i>	‘husbands’
<i>ò-kpàkpàfúrí</i>	‘whiteman’	<i>à-kpàkpàfúrí</i>	‘whitemen’
<i>wòfè</i>	‘mothers brother’	<i>à-wòfè</i>	‘mother brothers’
<i>nàná</i>	‘grandparent’	<i>à-nàná</i>	‘grandparents’
<i>kù-mòngyí</i>	‘orphan’	<i>à-mòngyí</i>	‘orphans’,
<i>kì-nyà</i>	‘slave’	<i>à-nyá</i>	‘slaves’
(74) <i>kè-kyìsé</i>	‘girl’	<i>òn-kyìsé</i>	‘girls’
<i>kè-nyìnsé</i>	‘boy’	<i>òn-nyìnsé</i>	‘boys’
<i>kè-bíté</i>	‘adult life’	<i>m̀-bíté</i>	‘adult lives’
<i>kè-gyìfòrì</i>	‘child’	<i>òn-gyìfòrì</i>	‘children’



(75) ò-bùsúsú	‘roof’	ĩ-bùsúsú	‘roofs’
ò-dèṅ	‘desert’	ĩ-dèṅ	‘deserts’
kù-fùrí	‘flower’	à-fùrí	‘flowers’
kù-nòṅkú	‘heel’	à-nòṅkú	‘heels’
kĩ-bèsí	‘ant’	m̀- bèsí	‘ants’
kè-bwè	‘animal’	m̀- bwè	‘animals’
kè-gyà	‘stool’	ṅ- gyà	‘stools’

As observed in (73) and (74) human nouns can only take *à-* and *N-* plural prefixes. Non-human nouns can take all the plural prefixes as (75) shows. In view of this distinction, no human noun belongs to noun class 3 since this class has *ì- / ǐ-* plural prefix.

#### 3.3.4.2 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns denote any unspecified entity. Kaakye makes a human-nonhuman distinction in the use of indefinite pronouns *ǎkú*, *àkú* and *íkú*. *ǎkú* and *àkú* are used to refer to entities of human referents, and *íkú* is used for non-human referents. Consider these examples:

(76) a. **ǎ-kyí**                      **kú**                      **é-bè**                      **ṅfiṅ.**  
           CL1.SG -woman        some                      PST-come        here  
           ‘A (certain) woman came here.’

b. **ǎ-kú**                      **é-bè**                      **ṅfiṅ.**  
           CL1.SG-someone        PST-come        here

‘Someone came here.’

(Elicited)

- (77) À-kú            bɛ̀-lɛ̀ɛ                    òdó wú wà    òkùrú wú tò  
 CL1.PL-some 3SG.SUBJ-remove net DET do canoe DET in  
 ànsàŋ yí    bɛ̀-lɛ̀ɛ                    òkɪnyí wú. À-kú  
 before FM 3SG-SUBJ-remove fish DET.CL1.SG-some  
 mè bàá-wà                            kéníj.  
 too 3SG.SUBJ.HABNEG- do that  
 ‘Some (referring to fishermen) remove the net from the canoe before they  
 remove the fishes. Some too do not do that.’ (PT3)

- (78) a. Kùgyó kú    m̀-b̀ààré.  
 yam some be.NEG-good  
 ‘Some of the yams are not good.’

- b. ì-kú                    m̀-b̀ààré  
 CL3.PL-some be.NEG-good  
 ‘Some are not good.’ (Elicited)

*Okú* in (76b) refers to the singular human noun and *akv* in (77) refers to plural human nouns. These three forms are based on the definite determiner *kú* ‘some’ and the difference in these two forms lies in the nominal prefixes *ò-*, *à-* and *ì-*. The definite pronoun *ikv* in (79b) replaces *kùgyò* ‘yam’ in (79a).

### 3.3.4.3 Definite pronouns

Another related human-nonhuman distinction is demonstrated in the forms of definite pronouns. Kaakye definite pronoun, just like the indefinite pronoun, has two forms *òmú/ímú* ‘the one/the thing’. *Òmú* makes reference to a specific

human entity, and *imó* is used for non-human referents. Consider the following:

- (79) *kùsùj̄ kùmánùj̄ ñ-furá mì-wà... àmá òkyí bìrísé,*  
 work every me-for 1SG.SUBJ.HAB-do...well woman old,  
*ì-mó ké ì-bù ñj̄ wú ñ-furá*  
 CL3.PL-the one REL 3SG.INANM.SUBJ-be difficult CD me-for  
*m-àá-đtyé wà ìsú mì-wà*  
 1SG.SUBJ-HAB.NEG-can do so 1SG.SUBJ.HAB-do  
*ì-mó ké ì-mbù ñj̄.*  
 CL3.PL-the one REL 3SG.INANM.SUBJ-NEG.be difficult  
 ‘As for me, I do every work...but well, as an old lady, I cannot do the  
 difficult one; so I do the less difficult one’. (PT2)

- (80) a. *ò-kyì wú ké ó-bè ñfùj̄ wú.*  
 CL1A.SG-woman DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-come here REL  
 ‘The woman who came here’.
- b. *ò-mó ké ó-bè ñfùj̄ wú.*  
 CL1A.SG-the one REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-come here CD  
 ‘The one who came here’ (Elicited)

As observable in (79) the referent of *imó* is *kùsùj̄* ‘work’ and the referent of *òmó* in (80) is *òkyí* ‘woman’.

### 3.3.5. Summary

This section discussed the various ways in which animacy distinctions are made in Kaakye grammar. It has shown that Kaakye speakers make both animate/inanimate and human/nonhuman distinction in their nominal prefixes;

pronominal system; and definite and indefinite pronouns. It was demonstrated that animacy is a strong determinant for the choice of third person pronouns in Kaakye pronominal system.

## CHAPTER 4

### RELATIVIZATION

#### 4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the formation and the functions of the relative clause (RC) in Kaakye. Andrews (2007:206) defines relative clause (RC) as “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC”. Comrie and Kuteva (2011: section 1) define an RC as “a clause which narrows the potential reference of a referring expression by restricting the reference to those referents of which a particular proposition is true”. In brief, a RC provides us with some kind of information about a noun in a construction.

RCs in Ghanaian Kwa languages have attracted the attention of linguists for some time. Notable among them are Dzameshie (1995), Boadi (2005), Saah (2010), McCracken 2013, Dorvlo 2008, Bobuafor (2013) and Asante (2016). Studies in these works, generally, show among other things that RCs are post-nominal, have restrictive meaning, entail the use of relative markers and involve the use of a pronoun retention strategy and a gap strategy. In this chapter, it will be shown that Kaakye RCs displays similar features.

The chapter is organized as follows: in section 2 the structure of Kaakye RCs are presented. Section 3 is devoted to the strategies involved in the formation of the RC. I discuss the form of the relativizer, the head of the RC, and the strategies employed in recovering the relativized nouns. Section 4 examines the NP positions that can be relativized in relation to Keenan and Comrie (1977) accessibility hierarchy. Section 5 looks at the diachronic development of the relativizer. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

#### 4.1 The canonical Relative Clause Construction (RCC) in Kaakye

In describing the structure of the Kaakye RC I adopt Dixon's (2010) characterization of the canonical RC construction as discussed in chapter 2 section 2.4.2. According to Dixon (2010: 314), a relative clause construction should be defined using these four criteria:

- (1) The construction should involve a main clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC) - making up one sentence which consists of a single unit of intonation.
- (2) Underlyingly, the two clauses must share an argument, which he calls the Common Argument (CA). The CA functions as an argument in both the main clause and the RC, although it does not need to be realized at the surface of either clause.
- (3) Syntactically, the relative clause modifies the CA in the main clause and semantically, it provides information about the CA which assists in restricting- the reference of the CA.
- (4) The relative clause must have the basic structure of a clause, consisting of a predicate and the core arguments required by that predicate.

Kaakye RCs meet all four of Dixon's criteria for a canonical relative construction as the typical RCCs in examples (1b and 1c) below show. The relative marker is shown in bold, the head noun is underlined and the RCs are enclosed in square brackets.

- (1) a. Ònyìní wú é-dè òkyí wú.  
 man DET PST-hit woman DET  
 'The man hit the woman.' (Elicited)

##### Subject relativization

- b. Ònyìní wú kɛ́ [ó-dè òkyí wú] wú  
 man DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-hit woman DET CD

b̀̀            ñfí.  
be            here

‘The man who hit the woman is here.’ (Elicited)

### Object relativization

c. Mé-ḡ̀                    òkyí            wó            ké            [ ònyíni    wó  
1SG.SUBJ.PST-see    woman        DET        REL        man        DET  
è-dè        ø            ]        wó.  
PST-hit    3SG.OBJ    CD

‘I saw the woman whom the man hit.’ (Elicited)

The subject noun *ònyíni wó* ‘the man’ in (1a) is relativized in (1b) and the object noun *òkyí wó* ‘the woman’ in (1a) is relativized in (1c). The head noun together with the relative clause in (1b) functions as the subject of the matrix clause; and in (1c), the head noun together with the relative clause assumes an object function of the matrix clause. Again, in both cases, the RCs are embedded in the matrix clauses.

The sentence in (1b) contains two independent clauses: a main clause (MC) *ònyíni wó b̀̀ ñfí* ‘the man is here’ and a RC *ò-dè òkyí wó* ‘the man hit the woman’ (Dixon criterion 1). These two clauses share a common head noun: *ònyíni wó* ‘the man’ (Dixon criterion 2). The head noun *ònyíni wó* ‘the man’ is stated in the MC and is modified by the RC *ònyíni wó è-dè òkyí wó* ‘the man hit the woman’ (Dixon criterion 3). Semantically, the RC restricts the reference of the head noun. In (1b) the RC is restrictive since it indicates the specific man being talked about; thus, ‘the one that hit the woman’.

Syntactically, in Kaakye, the head noun always precedes the RC. As shown in (1b), the head noun *ònyíni wó* ‘the man’ occurs on the left of the RC *ò-dè* ‘he hit’. In other words, the RC is postnominal. There is an overt

resumptive pronoun in the RC  $\delta$  'he' that is co-referential with the head noun. However, example (1c) has a gap.

Structurally, the RC has a basic structure of an independent clause. It has a predicate and core argument required by the predicate (Dixon criterion 4). In (1b) the RC predicate is *dè* 'hit'. In (1b), it takes  $\delta$  'he', a resumptive pronoun, and  $\delta kyí wó$  as arguments and in (1c) it takes  $\delta nyini wó$  'the man' and  $\emptyset$  'covert resumptive pronoun' as arguments. Again, in the relativization process the tense on the verb in (1a) is maintained.

#### 4.2 The formation strategies of Kaakye relative clauses

Making a typological observation on what characterizes a relative clause, typologists (for example, Comrie 1989; Keenan 1985; Givón 2001; Kuteva and Comrie 2005; and Andrews 2007), have relied on several parameters such as:

- a. The position of the RC relative to the head noun: based on this parameter, an RC can be prenominal, postnominal (head-external), head-internal, headless or paratactic.
- b. The strategy for recovery of the identity of the head argument inside the relative clause: the strategies identified include pronoun retention (also known as resumptive pronoun) and gap strategy nominalization.
- c. The kind of form used to identify a relative clause: the forms identified so far are relative pronoun, relativizer, and a clitic.
- d. The syntactic function of the relativized element within the relative clause.

With reference to the above cross-linguistic parameters, Kaakye achieves relativization through pronoun retention strategy, gap strategy, and the



use of relativizers. Also, regarding the position of the head noun with respect to the relative clause, Kaakye displays a post-nominal, head-external relative clause. In the remaining subsections of this section, I present features of each of these strategies as exhibited in Kaakye RCs.

#### 4.2.1 *The relativizer*

Kaakye employs an obligatory invariant relative marker *ké* to introduce RCs and most often the RCs end with a clause determiner<sup>35</sup>.

Generally, *ké* is obligatory. When it is absent as illustrated in (4b) the sentence is rendered ungrammatical.

- (4) a Bé-ŋù                      pènté wú **ké** bè-búti                      wú.  
       3PL.SUBJ.PST-see frog    DET **REL** 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-search CD  
       ‘They saw the frog that they were searching for.
- b.\* bé-ŋù                      pènté wú **??** bè-búti                      wú.  
       3PL.SUBJ.PST-see frog    DET **REL** 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-search CD  
       ‘They saw the frog that they were searching for.                      (PDT1)

As illustrated in (4a), the co-occurrence of *ké* renders the sentence grammatical. The deletion of *ké* in (4b) is unacceptable.

#### 4.2.2 *The head noun*

##### 4.2.2.1 *The position and function of the head noun*

On the basis of the position of the head noun<sup>36</sup>, RCs are often grouped into prenominal, postnominal, internally headed and headless, depending on whether the RC appears before the head noun, after the head noun, within the RC, and

<sup>35</sup> I follow Saah (2010) in the use of term clause determiner to describe the particle that occurs at the end of an RC.

<sup>36</sup> Head nouns and the relativized NP are underlined in the examples in this section.



In (8), the head noun is the object and the relativized NP is the object of the relative clause.

(8). Mé-ɲù	<u>ònyùnì</u>	wó	<b>ké</b>	[ Ama
1SG.SUBJ.PST-see	man	DET	<b>REL</b>	Ama
é-fùṅ	∅	]	wó.	
PST-marry	3SG.OBJ		CD	
'I saw the man whom Ama married.'				(Elicited)

#### 4.3.2.2 Types of head nouns

In this subsection I examine the syntactic categories that can serve as the head **of** the relative construction in Kaakye. Usually, the head of the relative construction is a common noun as shown in (8) above and (9) below. However, proper nouns can also function as the head of the relative clause as in illustrated in (10).

(9) <u>kikùtú</u>	wó	<b>ké</b>	[í-bù	kòlò ]	wó	tò	è-nyité.
orange	DET	<b>REL</b>	3SG.SUBJ-be	pot	CD	in	PROG-rotten
'The orange which is in the pot is getting rotten.'							(Elicited)

(10) a. <u>Mí-gyì</u>	<u>Kwame</u>	wó	<b>ké</b>	[ <u>mé-bè</u>	ńfùṅ]	wó.	
1SG.SUBJ-be	Kwame	DET	<b>REL</b>	1SG.SUBJ.PST-come	here	CD	
'I am Kwame, who came here.'							(Elicited)

b. <u>Kofi</u>	wó	<b>ké</b>	<u>ó-kírì</u>	kí-kíní	kyùṅ.	
Kofi	DET	<b>REL</b>	3SG.SUBJ.HAB-like	NOMZ-roam	than	
fù	wó	è-fwì.				
2SG.OBJ	CD	be-missing				
'Kofi who likes roaming than you is missing.'						(Elicited)

The names of persons Kwame in (10a) and Kofi in (10b) occur as the head noun in the relative construction. Note that in (10) the head nouns occur with a

determiner.

The head noun can also be a personal pronoun (11), definite pronouns (12),

(11) a. Mì wú ké [ǵ-gyì Adam mì gyì wú,  
1SG.SUBJ DET **REL** 1SG.SUBJ-be Adam 3SG.POSS child CD,  
m-m-bà féé bè-sùḅ wì.  
1SG.SUB-NEG.PST-come like 3PL.SUBJ.-serve 2SG.OBJ  
'I, who am the son of Adam, did not come to be served.' (Mark 10:45)

b. Àrí wú ké [arɪ-gyɪ à̀sɪpú-kùkyù lele] wú  
1PL.SUBJ DET **REL** 1PL.SUBJ-be tribe big CD  
è-lìì Borae.  
PROG-come.from Borae  
'We, who are a big tribe, come from Borae.' (Elicited)

(12) a. bùó ké bùó ànyìsí n-dè wú .  
They **REL** their eyes PST.NEG-sleep CD  
'Those who are not vigilant. (Lit: them that their eyes did not sleep)'—  
(PYT1)

b. òmù ké [ó-tè kèwùrágyá ] wú  
the one **REL** 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-sit throne CD  
sù ì-gyì Wùrúbwàrí.  
top STAT.be GOD  
'He who sits on the throne, is God.' (Revelation 4:9)

Indefinite pronoun (13) and adverb (14) can also function as head nouns in on RCC.

(13) a. òkúmàní ké [ò-ké-kyùḅ] n̄fùḅ] wú nté  
everyone **REL** 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-pass there CD then  
ó-bísà, wú féè, nsé kìsàrí nò?  
3SG.SUBJ.HAB-ask 3SG.OBJ COMP whose hand this?  
'Everyone who will pass there asks "whose hand is this"?' (FST2)

- (14) kéké kúmanùñ kéké [àrí-ké-gyèkí ñfí ] wó fù  
 day every REL 2PL.SUBJ-FUT-meet here CD 2SG.SUBJ  
 nyè àsíñ bùdédé sè àrí  
 get.PRES matter sweet give 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Every day that we will meet here you give us nice message.’ (PYT1)

- (15) fè-wàà yú kénùñ kéké fè-kàápú  
 2SG.SUBJ-do 3SG.OBJ.INAM like this REL 2.SG.SUBJ-show  
 nì péé wó.  
 this all CD  
 ‘You do it such a way that you show all of these...’ (PT2)

#### 4.3.2.3 The head noun and determiners

Usually, a head noun modified by an RC in Kaakye typically takes a determiner. Determiners that are often used in Kaakye RC include: *wó* ‘the/this’, *ní* ‘that’, *kú* ‘some/a certain’ and *kénùñ* ‘like this/that. Now consider the following:

- (16) Bé-ñù pènté wó kéké [ bè-bùtí  
 3PL.SUBJ.PST-see frog DET REL 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-search  
 ø ] wó  
 3SG.OBJ CD  
 ‘They saw the frog that they were searching for.’ (PD1)

- (17) Nètí nì kéké [ ì-bù kési ] wó  
 net PDD REL 3SG.SUBJ.INANM under CD  
 mì-sè ìkú bè dònjé sú.  
 1SG.SUB.take some come lie.on top  
 ‘I take some of this net that is under (pointing at it) and I put it on top.’ (PT2)

- (18) bòólí kú kéké [Kofí é-tùkyóñí ñfíñ] wó gyì òpìpé.  
 ball INDEF REL Kofi PST-throw away here CD COP.be red  
 ‘A certain ball that Kofi threw here is red.’ (Elicited)

- (19) *mé-ŋù*                      **kéniŋ**      òkyí              **wú/ní**              **ké**  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-see              MDA              woman              DDD/PDD              **REL**  
 [ ó-bè                      òdiyé ]              wú.  
 3SG.SUB.PST              yesterday              CD  
 ‘I saw that/this woman who came yesterday.’                      (Elicited)

In (16) *wú* is specific/definite determiner and it can also function as a distal demonstrative; its use as a definite or distal demonstrative depends on the context of use. In (17) *ní* ‘this’ functions as a proximal demonstrative and (18) *kú* ‘some/a certain’ as an indefinite determiner. It does not indicate proximity; (19) *kéniŋ* ‘like this/that’ a manner demonstrative adverb can also be used together with the demonstrative determiners.

In the examples presented so far, the definite determiner *wú* modifies the head. Thus, in Kaakye, the occurrence of a determiner on the head noun is to a large extent obligatory. When the head noun occurs without a determiner as observed in (20), the RC construction will be ill-formed.

- (20) \*ònyìní ??              **ké**      [ó-dé                      Ama]      wú      bù      òfí.  
 man      DET              **REL**      3SG.SUBJ.PST-hit Ama      CD      be.LOC      here  
 ‘The/that man who hit Ama is here.’

There are, however, a few exceptions where the determiner may be optional or may not occur. Consider example (21) below. It is observed that the relativised NPs do not take the determiner *wú*.

- (21) a. òmú                      **ké**      [ ò-té                      kèwùtágyá]              wú  
 the.one                      **REL**      3SG.SUBJ.PRES-sit              throne                      CD  
 sù      ò-gyì                                      Wurubwari.  
 top      STAT-be                                      God  
 ‘He who is sitting on the throne, is God’                      (Revelation 4: 9)

- b. *lɛ́ ní kɛ́ [t-bv kikɛ̀ntéń wú tò ]*  
 this.one REL 3SG.SUBJ-be.LOC basket DET inside  
*wú b̀̀ lĩ̀.*  
 REL COP.be beautiful  
 ‘This one that is inside the basket is beautiful.’ (Elicited)
- c. *Nf̀̀j kɛ́ [f̀̀-ýrì ɐ ] wú m̀-ɓwàré*  
 place REL 2SG.SUBJ-stand 3SG.OBJ CD NEG.PRES-be.good  
 ‘The place where you are standing is not good.’ (Elicited)

In other Kwa languages like Akan as shown in (22) the definite determiner before the relativizer is optional. According to Saah (2010: 94), “when an antecedent occurs without a determiner it yields generic reference, if the verb takes the future tense”.

- (22) a. *[NP[NP Abofrá] [CP áà [IP Kofi hu-u nó ] nó ]]* á-!bá.  
 Child REL Kofi see-PST 3SG CD PERF-come  
 ‘The child whom Kofi saw has come.’
- b. *[NP[NP Abofrá nó ] [CP áà [IP Kofi hu-u nó ] nó ]]* á-!bá.  
 Child DEF REL Kofi see-PST 3SG CD PERF-come  
 ‘The child whom Kofi saw has come.’ (Saah 2010: 94)

The obligatory occurrence of the determiner on the relativized NPs in Kaakye runs contrary to Nkami as shown in (23). In Nkami relativised NPs do not accept a definite determiner before the relativizer as shown in (23b and c).

- (23) a. *ɔ̀pɛ́m ní [wó-ɲú m̀ ] amó ɓ̀ China*  
 man REL 2SG.SUBJ-see 3SG.OBJ REL be.in China.  
 ‘The/that man you saw is in China.’

b.\*ɔ̃ɲɪɪ ní [wó-ŋú                      mó ]      amó      bɔ      China  
 man    REL 2SG.SUBJ-see 3SG.OBJ REL      be.in    China.

‘The/that man you saw is in China.’

c.\*ɔ̃ɲɪɪ ní [wó-ŋú                      mó ]      amó      bɔ      China  
 man    REL 2SG.SUBJ-see 3SG.OBJ REL      be.in    China.

‘The/that man you saw is in China.’                      (Asante and Ma 2016: 35)

#### 4.3.3 Case Recoverability Problem (CRP)

One interesting issue discussed in relative clause constructions concerns the case recoverability problem (Keenan 1985). This has to do with how the grammatical relation of the referent of the head noun within the relative clause is expressed to avoid ambiguity. Languages vary in how the relativized element, that is the element within the RC that is co-referential with the head noun, is expressed. Discussing the cross-linguistic relativization strategies employed to resolve the case recoverability problem in the languages of the world, Kuteva and Comrie (2005) identify a six-way classification strategies. Out of the six strategies, only three were noted to occur in the 54 African languages examined. These are pronoun-retention, gap and correlative strategies. Kaakye, as it will be shown, employs the pronoun retention and the gapping strategies to resolve the CRP. I discuss these strategies in the ensuing sub-sections.

##### 4.3.3.1 Pronoun retention strategy

In the pronoun retention strategy, “a resumptive personal pronoun referring to the head noun explicitly occupies the position relativized in the RC” (Kuteva



and Comrie 2005: 211). Typically, in Kaakye RC, just like most Kwa languages such as Akan (Saah 2010), Ewe (Dzameshie 2005, Ameka 2005) when a resumptive pronoun is used, it agrees with the head noun in number, person and animacy. Consider the following:

- (24) a. *kiyàfòrì wú ké [ ó-tà m̀ m̀ náná*  
 boy DET REL 3SG.SUBJ. PST-take 3SG.POSS grandmother  
*yàà bàrá] wú é-sùrínú yà gyírí àsúj wú*  
 go hide CD PST-run go tell matter DET  
*wà m̀ náná.*  
 do 3PL.POSS grandmother

‘The young boy who hid his grandmother ran to inform his grandmother.’  
 (FST3)

- b. *nyàfòrì wú ké [ bè-tà b̀ b̀ náná*  
 boys DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take 3PL.POSS grandmother  
*yàà bàrá] wú é-sùrínú yà gyírí àsúj wú*  
 go hide CD PST-run go tell matter DET  
*wà b̀ náná.*  
 do 3PL.POSS grandmother

‘The young boys who hid their grandmother run to inform her grandmother.’  
 (FST3)

- c. *kpàkùr̀ é-wà mù gyi f̀ f̀ ò-ké-kù*  
 hawk PST-tell 3SG.POSS child COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-look  
*kítá wú ké [ ɿ- b̀ ò-koto wú tò wú].*  
 thing DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.P CM-sack DET in CD

‘The hawk told his child that he will look at the thing which is inside the sack.’  
 (FST4)

d. Mé-ŋù	àkyí	wó	ké	[ Ama	é-dè
1SG.SUBJ.PST-see	women	DET	REL	Ama	PST-hit
bùs]	wó.				
3PL.OBJ	CD				
'I saw the women whom Ama hit.'					(Elicited)

The examples in (24) show that a resumptive pronoun must be present in the canonical position that the head occupies in the RC. In (24a), (24b) and (24c) the resumptive pronouns *ɔ*, *bɛ* and *ɪ* occupy the subject position in the RC while *bvɔ* occupies the object position in (24d). These resumptive pronouns also agree with their respective head nouns *kìyàfɔ̀rì* 'boy' (24a), *nyàfɔ̀rì* 'boys' (24b), *kìtá* 'thing' (24c) and *a-kyɪ* 'women' in person and in number.

In (24a) and (24b) where the head nouns are animate they are co-referential with the animate subject pronouns *ɔ* - 'he', *bɛ* 'they' and in (24d) with the animate object pronoun *bùs* 'them'. On the other hand, where the head noun is inanimate *kìtá* 'thing' in (24c), it is co-referenced with an inanimate subject pronoun *ɪ* - 'it'. Thus, beside number and person agreement between the head noun and the resumptive pronoun, Kaakye also marks animacy distinction within the RC; an animate singular head noun is co-referenced by an animate pronoun, while its inanimate counterpart is co-referenced by an inanimate pronoun.

When the resumptive pronouns are omitted in the canonical positions, as illustrated in (25), the sentence will be unacceptable. Thus, the presence of the resumptive pronoun is obligatory.

(25)\*kìyàfòrì wú ké [??-tà mù náná yàà  
 boy DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take his grandmother go  
 bàrá] wó é-sirínúǵ yà gyírí asíǵ wó wà mù náná.  
 hide CD PST-run go tell matter DET do his grandmother

‘The young boy who hid his grandmother run to inform her grandmother.’

b.\* Mé-ǵù àkyí wó ké [ Ama é-dè  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-see women DET REL Ama PST-hit  
 ??? ] wó.  
 3PL.OBJ CD

‘I saw the women whom Ama hit.’ (Elicited)

#### 4.3.3.2 The gap strategy

The gap strategy<sup>37</sup> involves cases where there is no overt reference to the case role of the head noun within the RC (Kuteva and Comrie (2005: 212). Kaakye, like some Kwa languages, typically employs this strategy in object relativization.

(26) a. ǵ-ké-bíú òtèè` ní.  
 1SG.SUB-FUT-sing story this  
 ‘I will tell this story.’ (PDT1)

b. òtèè ní ké [ǵ-ké-bíú Ø ] wó,...  
 story this REL 1SG.SUB-FUT-sing 3SG.OBJ CD  
 ‘This story that I will tell,...’

c. kènyìnsé wó ké [ ñ-nyì Ø ]  
 young boy DET REL 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know 3SG.OBJ  
 wó è-lù Ɔsramani.  
 CD PROG-come.from Ɔsramani

‘The young boy I know comes from Ɔsramani.’ (Elicited)

<sup>37</sup> Saah (2010, 2017) uses the term “null object pronoun” to refer to the covert realisation of the object pronoun. According to him, “Although there is no overt object,... the unexpressed object is ‘understood’ to be there” (Saah 2017:109). In this work, I follow, Kuteva and Comrie (2005:212) in the use of the term gap strategy to simply refer to “the absence of an overt reference to the case role of the head noun within the RC”.

In (26b) the head noun is inanimate and in (26c) the head noun is animate. These examples show that a gap (the symbol ‘ø’ indicates a gap) must be present in the canonical position that the head occupies in the RC. Thus, the relativized nouns which are co-referential with the head noun are not explicitly stated in the relative clause. Note that when the gaps are filled with resumptive pronouns in the canonical positions, as illustrated in (27), the sentences are ungrammatical. Thus, the presence of the gap is obligatory.

(27) a. \*òtèè ní kɛ́ [ ñ-ké-bú yò ] wú,...  
 story this REL 1SG.SUB-FUT-sing 3SG.OBJ CD

‘This story that I will tell.’

b. \*kènyìnsé wú kɛ́ [ ñ-nyì wú ]  
 young man DET REL 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know 3SG.OBJ

wú è-lì Òsramani.

CD PROG-come.from Òsramani

‘The young man I know comes from Òsramani.’

An interesting point to highlight here is that in Kaakye RC, all inanimate head nouns take a gap in object relativization while all animate head nouns with the exception of the third person singular, take a resumptive pronoun. Consider example (28) below.

(28) a. kènyìnsé wú kɛ́ [ ñ-nyì ø ]  
 young boy DET REL 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know 3SG.OBJ

wú è-lì Òsramani.

CD PROG-come.from Òsramani

‘The young boy I know comes from Òsramani.’ (Elicited)

b. \*ànyìnsé wú kɛ́ [ ñ-nyì b̀̀̀ ]  
 young men DET REL 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know 3PL.OBJ

wú è-lì Òsramani.

CD PROG-come.from Òsramani

‘The young men I know come from Òsramani.’

It is noticeable that the object resumptive pronoun *bvɔ* ‘them’ is co-referenced with the head noun *à-nyìnsé* ‘young men’ and it agrees with it in number, person and animacy. As the data suggests, Kaakye RCs do not allow repetition of the form *wú*. The third person singular object in Kaakye has the same form as the relativizer *wú*. An insertion of this object pronoun at the canonical position will be ill-formed, as shown in example (27b) above. The only form which must occur to render the RC construction grammatical is the second relativizer *wú*. This behaviour is different compared to the other Kwa languages such as Akan (29) and Nkami (30).

(29) ɔbáá<sub>i</sub> áà [ me-nim nó<sub>i</sub> ] nó fi Takoradi.  
 woman **REL** 1SG-know 3SG CD come.from Takoradi  
 ‘The woman I know comes from Takoradi. (Saah 2010: 98)

(30) Ma -á -kpá ɔkplí ní [ John ɲú mǔ ] amó  
 1SG-HAB.NEG-like dog **REL** John see 3SG.OBJ **REL**  
 ‘I don’t like the dog that John saw.’ (Asante 2016: 377)

In these languages animate head nouns irrespective of person take overt object resumptive pronouns in object relativization. Nkami has different forms for the third person singular object. In Akan (29), the third person singular animate object has the same form as the “clausal determiner” but it can occur with the clause determiner. Kaakye is, therefore, different in the strategy it employs for the third person singular animate object in object relativization<sup>38</sup>.

Kaakye employs the gap strategy while Akan, Nkami and other Kwa languages

<sup>38</sup> The motivation for this behaviour remains unexplained. A further investigation in other North Guan languages as well as South Guan languages may perhaps help us ascertain the motivation. If the other North Guan languages behave in a similar way then it could probably be a point of divergence from the South and or other Kwa-sub group languages.

employ the pronoun retention strategy.

#### 4.4 Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH)

One other feature that characterises RCs concerns the different syntactic roles that are accessible to relativization. To characterize cross-linguistic universals in relative clause formation, Keenan & Comrie (1977), proposed an “accessibility hierarchy” (figure 4.1) whereby syntactic positions in the clause are essentially structured relative to one another.

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique<sup>39</sup> > Possessor > Object of Comparison  
(Keenan and Comrie 1977:66)

#### Figure 4.1: Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

What this implicational scale suggests is that if a language can relativize a particular syntactic role on the hierarchy, then it can relativize all other syntactic roles that precede it on the hierarchy, but not vice-versa. This hierarchy makes a typological prediction, as well as a synchronic prediction for individual languages. The typological prediction is that most or all languages will permit noun phrases in subject position to be relativized, a lesser number of languages will permit those in object position to be relativized; still fewer will permit those in indirect object position, and so on. Synchronically, individual languages are expected to also observe the hierarchy. That is, if a language permits indirect object relativization, it must also permit direct object and subject relativization. It does not ‘skip’ levels in the hierarchy by permitting indirect objects and subjects, while disallowing direct objects.

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<sup>39</sup> This position is not realized in the Kaakye language.

Keenan & Comrie (1977) also observe that a language may provide more than one means for relativization. For example, if a particular grammatical construction relativizes subject noun phrases only, the language may provide a different, say periphrastic, means for relativizing noun phrases in other positions. Again, they claim that “any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH” (Keenan & Comrie 1977:67).

The NPAH has been applied to the study of some Kwa languages such as Ewe (Dzameshie 1995), Akan (Boadi 2005, Saah 2010, McCracken 2013), Logba (Dorvlo 2008), Tafi (Bobuafor 2013) and Nkami (Asante 2016). Studies in these languages have shown that all the positions on the NPAH are accessible to relativization and the strategies employed for the relativizations are basically the pronoun retention strategy for subject, animate objects, possessors relativization; and gap strategy for object relativisation. McCracken (2013: 1) further shows that in the Twi dialect of Akan, the NP accessibility “contradicts Keenan and Comrie’s accessibility hierarchy constraints in two respects: Twi resumptive pronouns are obligatory in the relativization of subjects, and the use of the resumptive pronoun strategy in Twi relativization covers a discontinuous portion of the Accessibility Hierarchy”.

In this section, I examine the accessibility hierarchy and its predictions in relation to Kaakye. I show that Kaakye typically permits relativization of noun phrases in all positions, and appears to bear out the predictions of the accessibility hierarchy. Subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and possessors may all be relativized using the pronoun retention and gap strategies, and no skipping of items in the hierarchy occurs.

## 4.4.1 Subject position

The subject NPs of examples (31a, 32a, and 33a) are relativized in (31b, 32b, and 33b).

- (31) a. ànyìní wú é-ηè iyù  
 man DET PST-cut trees  
 ‘The man cuts trees.’
- b. ànyìní wú ké [ó-ηè iyù ] wú  
 man DET REL 3SG.HAB-cuts trees CD  
 ékà-tù òkpà.  
 PERF-travel road  
 ‘The man who cuts trees has travelled.’ (Elicited)
- c.\* ànyìní wú ké [Ø-ηè iyù ] wú  
 man DET REL 3SG.HAB-cuts trees CD  
 ékà-tù òkpà.  
 PERF-travel road  
 ‘The man who cuts trees has travelled.’ (Elicited)
- (32) a. ànyìní wú é-ηè iyù.  
 men DET PST-cut trees  
 ‘The men cut trees.’
- b. ànyìní wú ké [bé-ηè iyu ] wú ékà-tù òkpà.  
 men DET REL 3SG.PST-cut trees CD PERF-travel road  
 ‘The men who cut trees have travelled.’ (Elicited)
- (33) a. kikùtú wú bù kòlò wú tò.  
 orange DET be.LOC pot DET inside  
 ‘The orange is in the pot.’
- b. kikùtú wú ké [í-bù kòlò]  
 orange DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.INAM-be.LOC pot  
 wú tò é-fwì.  
 CD inside PST-missing  
 ‘The orange that is in the pot is missing.’ (Elicited)



The modified head nouns *à-nyìní* ‘man’ (31b), *à-nyìní* ‘men’ (32b) and *kì-kùtú* ‘orange’ (33b) are co-referential with the subject resumptive pronouns of the RCs and they agree with them in person, number and animacy. The gap strategy employed in (31c) renders the construction ungrammatical. So, the highest NP position in the NPAH, the subject, is accessible to relativization and the pronoun retention is the only strategy permitted with the relativization of subjects.

#### 4.4.2 Direct object

Direct object positions are also accessible to relativization. Direct object is used here to refer to the theme of transitive constructions (as underlined in (34a) and (35a) and the recipient of ditransitive constructions as underlined in (36a). The reason is that, grammatically, Kaakye does not distinguish between these roles: both the theme and the recipient occur right after full lexical verb.

(34) a. Ama é-sùwá kègyíforì wú.

Ama PST-carry child DET

‘Ama carried the child.’

b. kègyíforì wú kè [Ama é-sùá ø ] wú è-sù.

child DET REL Ama PST-carry 3SG.OBJ CD PROG-cry

‘The child Ama carried is crying.’ (Elicited)

(35) a. Ama é-sùwá ògyíforì wú.

Ama PST-carry children DET

‘Ama carried the children.’

b. ògyíforì wú kè [Ama é-sùá bùó ] wú è-sù.

children DET REL Ama PST-carry 3PL.OBJ CD PROG-cry

‘The children Ama carried are crying.’ (Elicited)

The direct objects relativized in (34b) and (35b) are all animate nouns. The singular direct object *kègyifɔ̀rì* ‘child’ of the verb *s̀wá* ‘carry’ in (34a) is relativized in (34b). As observed in (34b), the canonical position in which *kègyifɔ̀rì* ‘child’ occurs in the RC is expressed by means of gap strategy. In (35b), however, the canonical position of the plural direct object *ngyifɔ̀rì* ‘children’ in the RC is marked by an object resumptive pronoun *b̀wó* ‘them’. The object noun which the relative clause modifies in (35b) is therefore, co-referential with the object pronoun of the relative clause and it agrees with it in person, number and animacy.

In example (36a) the inanimate direct object *àtèbù* ‘yeast’ is relativized in (36b). Here, the modified head noun is co-referential with the object of the RC, which is a gap. Thus the relativization of the inanimate direct object is achieved through a gap strategy.

- (36) a. *̀n-dè*                                *àtèbù*                                *wù*.  
 1SG.SUBJ-have                                yeast                                DET  
 ‘I have yeast.’
- b. *Àtèbù* *wù*                                **ké**      [*̀n-dè*                                *ə*      ]                                *wù*  
 yeast      DET      **REL**    1SG.SUBJ.-have    3SG.OBJ      CD  
*mé-yàà*                                *s̀wò*.  
 1SG.SUBJ- PST-go                                buy  
 ‘The yeast that I have I went to buy.’                                (PT2)

In (37a), the direct object *ànyìní* ‘men’ of the di-transitive verb *s̀è* ‘give’ is relativized in (37b).

- (37) a. *òkyí*                                *wù*                                *é-s̀è*                                *ànyìní*                                *wù*                                *̀nkyù*                                *wù*  
 woman      DET      PST-give      men                                DET      water                                DET  
 ‘The woman gave water to the men’

b. ànyìní wú **ké** [ òkyí wú é-sè  
 men DET **REL** woman DET PST-give  
 b̀̀́s̀̀̀ òkyù] wú é-ẁ̀̀.  
 3SG.OBJ water CD PST-die

‘The men to whom the woman gave water are dead.’ (Elicited)

The direct object relativization in Kaakye, therefore, involves a gap strategy for the third person singular animate head noun and all inanimate head nouns and it also employs pronoun retention strategy for the third person plural animate head nouns.

#### 4.4.3 Indirect object

The indirect object is used here to refer to the patient or goal of a ditransitive construction as underlined in (38a) and (39a). In-direct objects are also accessible to relativization as illustrated in (38b and 39b).

(38) a. Òwùrà wú é-sè òkùràp̀̀̀ ìgyò wú.  
 chief DET PST-give widow yams DET

‘The chief gave the widow yams.’

b. ìgyò wú **ké** [ òwùrà wú é-sè ø  
 yams DET **REL** chief DET PST-give 3SG.OBJ  
 òkùràp̀̀̀ wú gyĩ àl̀̀̀l̀̀̀.  
 widow CD be.STAT big

‘The yams which the chief gave to the widow are big.’ (Elicited)

(39) a. fé-sè ẁ̀̀ àt̀̀̀r̀̀̀ wú.  
 2SG.SUBJ.PST-give 1SG.OBJ goats DET

‘You gave me the goats.’

b. Atrobea é-m̀̀̀ àt̀̀̀r̀̀̀ wú **ké**  
 Atrobea PST-kill goats DET **REL**

fě-sè	wì	Ø	wú.
2SG.SUBJ.PST-give	2G.OBJ	3SG.OBJ	CD
‘Atrobea killed the goats which you gave me.’			(Elicited)

The inanimate indirect object *ìgyò* ‘yams’ in (38b) and animate indirect object *àtìrì* ‘goats’ (39b) are relativised and the relativization involves a gap strategy.

#### 4.4.4 Oblique

Following Payne (1997: 48) I use the term oblique to refer to “optional participants” in constructions. In this sense, locative NP (40) and temporal adjuncts (41) are accessible to relativization. The underlined oblique or locative NPs in (39a) can also be relativized.

(40) a. ònyùnì wú é-sùdò àgyĩbí wú sè kègyĩfòrì wú ñfùh̃.

man DET PST-buy food DET give child DET here

‘The man bought the food for the child here’

b. Ñfùh̃ wú kě ònyùnì wú é-sùdò àgyĩbí wú

Place DET REL man DET PST-buy food DET

sè kègyĩfòrì wú Ø b̃ ìnáásí.

give child CD 3SG.OBJ COP.be dirty

‘The place where the man bought food for the child is dirty.’ (Elicited)

Example (40) illustrates a relativization on locatives. *Ñfùh̃* ‘here’ in (40a) is relativized in (40b). The relativization involves a gap strategy.

It is also possible to relativize temporal adjuncts. The gap strategy is employed in the relativization of *kèké kùmànúj* ‘every day’ in (41b).

- (41) a. àrí-ké-gyèkí                      òfú    kéké kùmànú.  
           2PL.SUBJ-FUT-meet            here    day    every  
           ‘We will meet here every day.’
- b. kéké kùmànú    **ké**    [ àrí-ké-gyèkí                      òfú ]    wó  
           day every            **REL**    2PL.SUBJ-FUT-meet    here    CD  
           fù-nyè            àsíj    bódéé            sè    àrí.  
           2SG.SUBJ-get    matter    sweet            give    us  
           ‘Everyday that we will meet here you give us nice message.’ (PYT1)

#### 4.4.5 Possessor

The possessor NP is also accessible to relativisation. In Kaakye possessive construction, just like other Kwa languages, the possessed noun always follows the possessor. When the possessor is relativised, the canonical position of the possessor is occupied by a pronoun which agrees with the relativised NP in number and person. Consider the following:

- (42) a. Kènyĩnsé            wó    gyòòró            é-wù.  
           boy            DET    dog            PST-die  
           ‘The boy’s dog is died.’
- b. Atrobea            é-òù            kènyĩnsé    wó    **ké**    mú  
           Atrobea            PST-see    boy            DET    REL    3SG.POSS  
           gyòòró            é-wù            wó .  
           dog            PST-die            CD  
           ‘Atrobea saw the boy whose dog died.’ (Elicited)
- (43) a. Òyù    wó    é-ywĩ            ngyĩfòrì    wó    ìkààrí            wó.  
           thief    DET    PST-steal            children            DET    dresses            DET  
           ‘The thief stole the children’s dresses.’
- b. Ngỹfòrì    wó    **ké**    òyù    wó    é-ywĩ            búò  
           children    DET    **REL**    thief    DET    PST-steal            3PL.POSS

ìkààrí wú bè-sù.

dresses CD 3PL.PROG-cry

‘The children whose dresses the thief stole are crying.’ (Elicited)

In (42a) the underlined possessor NP *kènyìnsé* ‘boy’ is relativised in (42b). In (42b), the original place of the relativized possessor is filled with a singular possessive pronoun *mú* ‘his’ which agrees with the relativised NP *kènyìnsé* ‘in number and person. Similarly, in (42b) *búò* ‘their’ agrees with the relativised NP *n̄gyif̄rì wú* ‘children’ since the relativized possessor NP is singular. Relativization on a possessor as observed (42) and (43) involves a pronoun retention strategy.

#### 4.4.6 Subject and object of comparison

The subjects and objects of comparison are also relativized in Kaakye. In (44a) the comparee or the subject of comparison is relativized in (44b) and the relativization strategy used is pronoun retention.

(44) a. l̄n̄é wú gyì òlèlè kyúń m̄ lè wú.  
 rabbit DET be big than 1SG.POSS PART DET

‘The rabbit that is bigger than my own’

b. Ó-kirì l̄n̄é wú k̄ [ ò-gyì òlèlè  
 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-like rabbit DET REL 3SG.SUBJ-be big  
 kyúń m̄ lè wú.  
 surpass 1SG.POSS PART CD

‘She doesn’t like the rabbit that is bigger than my own.’ (Elicited)

(45) a. Kofi gyì kètíntín kyúń òkyínsé wú.  
 Kofi be short surpass young girl DET

‘Kofi is shorter than the young woman.’

b. òkyínsé wú ké [ Kofi gyì kètíntíŋ kyúŋ  
 young girl DET REL Kofi be short surpass  
 ø ] wú ékà-bà.  
 3SG.OBJ CD PERF-come

‘The young girl whom Kofi is shorter than has come’ (Elicited)

Note that in (44b and 45b) the head nouns are animate nouns. In (45) the object of comparison is relativized in (45b) and, as is typical of third person singular objects, the relativization is achieved via a gap strategy. In (46b) the relativized NP is inanimate and pronoun retention is employed in the relativization.

(46) a. òwùrí wú gyì kègyìngyì kyúŋ òmú  
 book DET be small than the one  
 í-dè tàbùrú wú sù.  
 HAB-lie table DET top

‘The book is smaller than the one on the table.’

b. màá-kirí òwùrí wú ké [ ì-gyí  
 1SG.SUBJ.HAB.NEG-like book DET REL SG.SUBJ.be  
 kègyìngyí kyúŋ ìmú ɪ-dɛ tàbùrú wú sù wú.  
 small surpass the one 1SG.SUBJ table DET top CD

‘I don’t like the book that is smaller than the one on the table.’

(Elicited)

The Table 4.1 below summarizes the syntactic roles that can be relativized in Kaakye and the relevant strategies involved in each case in accordance with Keenan and Comrie’s (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy.

**Table 4.1:** Summary of relativization hierarchy in Kaakye

Roles→		SUBJ	DO	IO	OBL	POSS	COMP		
							S	O	
Strategy↓									
	Pronoun Retention	Animate	SG	+	-	-	-	+	+
PL			+	+	-	-	+	+	+
Inanimate		SG	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
		PL	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
Gap	Animate	SG	-	+	+	! <sup>40</sup>	-	-	+
		PL	-	-	+	!	-	-	-
	inanimate	SG	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
		PL	-	+	+	+	-	-	+

It is observed from Table 9 that the pronoun retention strategy is used in majority of the positions accessible to relativization. Thus, the pronoun retention strategy constitutes the ‘primary strategy’ in Kaakye RC formation. Following Keenan and Comrie (1977: 68) I define the primary strategy as “the strategy that is used to relativize subjects in a given language”. The pronoun retention strategy is used in the highest as well as the lowest position and it is more common if the relativized noun is third person animate plural. The gap strategy is not allowed at the highest point and the possessor position. It is more preferred at object positions and frequently involves inanimate nouns. Again, we observe that the subject of comparison can also be extracted for relativization.

<sup>40</sup> Not applicable since locative and temporal adjuncts can not be animate.



Comparing the findings of Kaakye NPAH to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) NPAH, we notice that Kaakye is consistent with their generalization including the fact that: one, Kaakye relativizes on the lowest position on the NPAH and it also relativizes on all positions higher on the hierarchy; two, Kaakye has a primary relativization strategy which is applied at the lowest and highest position; and three, Kaakye employs more than one means for relativization: pronoun retention strategy and gap strategy.

Kaakye, however, contradicts the Keenan and Comrie (1977) NPAH with regards to the level of continuity a particular strategy can apply to the accessible positions. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 67) states that “[a]ny RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the A[ccessibiliy] H[ierarchy]”. They further state that “once a language begins to retain pronouns it must do so for as long as relativization is possible” Keenan and Comrie (1977: 92). Considering table 9, both the pronoun retention and the gap strategy are non-continuous. Even though, the pronoun retention strategy is applicable at the highest position, it is not used through out the possible relativisable position on the hierarchy. It is worth mentioning that this violation of the rule was also observed by Keenan and Comrie 1977:86-88) in languages such as Hausa, Yuroba (both Kwa languages) and Tongan (Austronesian language)

Again, Kaakye contradicts Keenan and Comrie (1977) in relation to the use of a pronoun retention strategy in subject relativization. Keenan and Comrie (1977: 93) observe that pronouns are not mostly retained at the top of the hierarchy but are rather preferred at the lower end of the hierarchy. They predict that “as [one] descends the AH, languages will exhibit a greater

tendency to use pronoun retaining RC-forming strategies”. From Table 9, we observe that the pronoun retention is used in achieving subject relativisation and Kaakye is not the only exception.

It has been observed cross-linguistically that there are a small number of languages which achieve subject relativization through pronoun retention (Comrie 1981, Keenan 1985, Payne 1997, Dixon 2010, Kuteva and Comrie 2010). Keenan (1985), for example, cites Urhobo (Kwa, Niger-Kordofanian, Nigeria) and Yiddish as examples of languages that achieve subject relativization through the pronoun retention strategy. Schaub (1985) also observes Babungo, a Bantu language spoken in Cameroon, as another language that behaves similarly.

Apart from Kaakye, other Ghanaian Kwa languages, such as Logba, Tafi, Akan, Nkami also employ the resumptive pronoun strategy in subject position, as shown in (47-50) as well as object position.

(47) òbáá<sub>i</sub> áà [ò<sub>i</sub>-tú<sub>rú</sub> nè bá ] nó tè Takoradi.  
 woman REL 3SG.carry 3SG.POSS child CD live Takoradi  
 ‘The woman carrying her baby lives in Takoradi’ (Saah 2010:98)

(48) Ayadɪ ní gɪ avɪ Igɛ́ ní aanyā.  
 a-yadɪ ní [gɪ a-vɪ Igɛ́ ní ] a-a-nyā  
 CM-farmer DEF REL 3SG.DEP-go Accra TOP 3SG-PRSPROG-be.sick  
 ‘The farmer who went to Accra is sick.’ (Bobuafo 2013:267)

(49) Ebiti é xé óbaa odu amu bí  
 [e-biti=é [xé ó-ba-a ] o-du amu bí.  
 CM-child=DET RP SM.SG-come-CFM 3SG-be 1SGPOSS child  
 ‘The child who came was my child.’ (Dorvlo 2008:175)

- (50) ɔ-tʃi'            ni    [ ɔ - tʃi'e'    mi'            ɛdalɔ    ]    amɔ'    ba    mi.  
 SG-woman    REL    3SG-give    1SG.OBJ    money    REL    come here  
 'The woman who gave me the money came here.'    (Asante 2016:375)

This observation attests to the fact that pronoun retention strategy in subject relativization could be a more prominent feature in Kwa languages or even the primary strategy in relativization.

#### 4.5 Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses

This section aims at finding out if Kaakye formally makes a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs. As mentioned in chapter 2, section 4.2, a restrictive RC is used for delimiting the reference of an NP whereas a non-restrictive RC is used to provide further background information about the referent NP. In languages such as English, non-restrictive RCs are differentiated from restrictive RC by the use of pauses, and the RCs are set off by a comma in written discourse as shown in (51).

(51) a. My in-law who speaks Twi will come today.

b. My in-law, who speaks Twi, will come today.

The underlined RC in (49a) delimits the potential referents of the in-law by identifying the specific in-law in question. On the other hand, in (49b) the referent NP is already identified and the underlined RC serves to add further piece of information about the in-law.

In Kaakye, however, there is no overt marking or a distinctive intonation pattern to differentiate restrictive from non-restrictive relative clauses as shown in (52).

- (52) m̀                            ̀sà    ẃ    ḱ    [ ́-ǹ                            Twi ]  
 1SG.POSS                    in-law DET    REL    3SG.SUBJ.HAB-hear Twi

wú            ké-bà            níké.  
 CD          FUT-come    today

‘My in-law who speaks Twi will come today.’ (Elicited)

In (52), the RC restricts the referent NP by indicating the specific in-law which is being talked about.

Dixon (2010:352) indicates that “in a fair number of languages all RCs are of the restrictive type”. Watter (2000: 225) also observes that the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs “is generally not marked in African languages”. Saah (2010:102) confirms this observation in Akan and remarks that “all the Kwa languages are most likely to use only the restrictive type of relative clause”. The same observation is made for Tafi (Bobuafor 2013:264), Logba (Dorvlo 2008:172) and Nkami (Asante 2016: 20). The same holds true for Kaakye.

#### 4.6 Extraposed relative clauses

In the embedded relative clauses discussed so far, we observed that in all instances, the head NP is adjacent to the relative clauses. There are however cases where the relative clauses are disjoined from the head noun and located outside the matrix clause. This type of RC has been referred to as extraposed RC by Givón (2001). Andrews (2007) calls it ‘adjoined RCs’. Example (53b) illustrates this.

(53) a. ànyìní    kú            ké    [mù            kìnyní            gyì  
           man    INDEF    REL 3SG.POSS    name            be.called  
           Kóńkóŋ ]    wú    é-dà            kì-kyìrá.  
           Kóńkóŋ    CD    PST-live        ACT.NOM-sit  
           ‘There lived a certain man whose name was Kóńkóŋ.’

b. ònyìní	kú	é-dà	kì-kyìrá	<b>ké</b>	[m̀
man	INDEF	PST-live	ACT.NOM-sit	<b>REL</b>	3SG.POSS
k̀nyìní	gyì		Kóńkóŋ ]		
name	be.called		Kóńkóŋ		

‘There lived a certain man whose name was Kóńkóŋ.’ (FST2)

In (53a), the RC is adjacent to the head noun and is also embedded in the matrix clause. In (53b) however, the RC is disjoined from the head noun and relocated to the end of the construction. Observe that in the extraposed RC, the second relativizer *wú* does not occur at clause final position. A similar pattern of extraposed RC has been attested in Ewe (Dzameshie 1995) and in Akan (Saah 2010). Saah (2010: 103) commenting on this in Akan, as shown in (54), attributes the absence of what he calls “the clausal determiner” to the fact that extroposed RCs introduces new information. The same holds true for Kaakye.

(54) a. ɔbarímá	bí	[áà	ne	din	de	Nyamekye]
Man	INDEF	REL	3SG.POSS	name	be.called	Nyamekye
nó	tená-a	ase				
CD	sit-PST	under				

‘There lived a man whose name was Nyamekye.’

b. ɔbarímá	bí	tená-a	ase	[áà	ne	din
------------	----	--------	-----	-----	----	-----

Man INDEF sit-PST under REL 3SG.POSS name

de Nyamekye.

be .called Nyamekye

‘There lived a man whose name was Nyamekye’. (Saah 2010: 103)

#### 4.7 Diachronic development of the relativizer

Crosslinguistic studies of RC have shown that most relative markers originate from demonstratives (Keenan 1985, Diessel 1999; 2003, Heine and Kuteva 2004, Kuteva and Comrie 2005, Dixon 2010, Hendery 2012). Other sources of relative markers are interrogatives (Diessel 2003), the word ‘here’ and indefinite pronouns (Kuteva and Comrie 2004), Heine and Kuteva (2002).

Remarking on the source for relative markers Kuteva and Comrie (2005: 215) states that the fact “that demonstratives develop into relative clause markers is certainly nothing unusual”. Accounting for why demonstratives are the most common and suitable source of relative markers compared to interrogatives, Diessel (2003: 636) explains that “the use of demonstratives in a discourse presupposes that the background knowledge of information outside of a discourse is known to both the speaker and the hearer”. This function of demonstratives, according to Diessel, is a characteristic feature of the functions of relative clauses and it is therefore not surprising that demonstratives develop into RC markers more commonly than interrogatives do. Dixon (2010:364), cites Hungarian, Mupun, Tok Pisin, Yagua, etc. as examples of such languages.

Heine and Kuteva (2004), present (55 and 56) as examples of such languages and their grammaticalization paths.

(55) Baka (Ubangian, Niger-Congo) *kè* ‘this’, proximal demonstrative > relative clause marker

a. <i>tò</i>	<i>peè</i>	<i>ndó</i>	<i>kè!</i>
give:IMP	DAT:1:SG	banana	this
‘Give me this banana.’			

b. <i>bo</i>	<i>kè</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mùngi</i>	<i>lé</i>	<i>ngili</i>
man	REL	1:SG	see:PAST	3:SG:OBJ	yesterday

nè            ʔá            gɔɛ  
REL            3:SG:NAR      go:PAST

‘The man I saw yesterday has left.’ (Heine and Kuteva 2004:176)

(56) Ik (Kuliak, Nilo-Saharan) *ná*, PL *ní*, Proximal demonstratives>relative clause marker

a. ceka            na    **PL**      cikámá            ni  
                  woman            this    woman            these  
‘This woman’    ‘These women’

b. itel-            ia            ima                    ná                    nk’ák  
                  see- 1:SG    child                    REL:SG            eat  
‘I see a child who is eating.’ (Heine and Kuteva 2004:114)

In (55a) *ken* is a postposed demonstrative and in (55b) it is a relativizer. As observed in example (56a), *na* is the singular proximal demonstrative and in (56b) it serves as a relativizer.

An attempt is made in this section to determine the possible diachronic path of Kaakye relative marker *ké*. Based on the available synchronic data, and what is known of the development of relative markers cross-linguistically, I hypothesize that *ké* is diachronically developed from the manner demonstrative adverb *kéniŋ* ‘like this/that’.

Before discussing the diachronic path, it is worthy to mention that the form *ké* has multi-functional roles in the language. A look at their other functions will help us distinguish the relativizer from the other identical forms. In addition to being a relative marker, *ké* also functions as a future marker (57a), and a complementizer (57b).

(57) a. D-**ké**    ŋèsí            kùnù            wú.  
                  1SG.SUBJ-FUT                                    smoke        fish            DET  
                  ‘I will smoke the fish.’ (PT1)

- b. Wùrúbwàrɪ kyè àrí tò ké à-dìyɛ  
 God help 2PL.OBJ inside COMP SM-can  
 kù àrí àgyí  
 watch 2PL.POSS children  
 ‘Help us God to care for our children.’ (PYT1)

#### 4.7.1 The diachronic path of the relative marker *ké*.

Kaakye manner demonstrative adverb *kéniŋ* ‘in such a manner’ or ‘like this/that’, may be used anaphorically in reference to a previously described situation or action as shown in (58a). It can also be used deictically with accompanying gestures to demonstrate the way in which something is done as illustrated in example (58b). When *kéniŋ* plays a demonstrative role in an NP, it occurs before the NP. Again, typically when it co-occurs with the proximal demonstrative determiner *ní* ‘this’, as in (58c), and the determiner or proximal demonstrative determiner *wú* ‘the/that’, as shown in (58b), it occupies the pronominal position and functions as pronominal demonstrative.

- (58) a. Àkú bè-lèè òdò wú wàà òkùrú wú tò  
 some 3PL.SUBJ-remove net DET do canoe DET in  
 ànsáŋ yí bè-lèè òkùrú wú. Àkú  
 before FM 3PL-SUBJ-remove fish DET. Some  
 mè bàá-wàà **kéniŋ**.  
 too 3SG.SUBJ.HABNEG-do MDA  
 ‘Some remove the net from the canoe before they remove the fishes.  
 Some too do not do that.’ (PT3)

- b. **kéniŋ** kèkyisɛ wú bù nífù.  
 DEM girl DET be.LOC here  
 ‘That girl is here.’ (Elicited)



c. **kɛ̀nìj**      òwùrà      **ní**      bú      òfíj.  
 DEM      chief      this      be.LOC      here

‘That chief is here.’

(Elicited)

Commenting on the evolution of grammatical items from demonstratives, Diessel (1999:115) points out that the particular pathway a demonstrative takes is crucially determined by the syntactic context in which it occurs:

Pronominal demonstratives develop into grammatical items that are either still used as pronouns (or have at least some of the properties of a pronominal). Adnominal demonstratives give rise to grammatical items that function as operators of nominal constituents. Adverbial demonstratives evolve into operators of verbs or verb phrases. And identificational demonstratives develop into grammatical markers that interact with nominal constituents derived from predicate nominals (Diessel 1999:115).

Following Diessel (1999), Heine and Kuteva (2004:114-115) assume that “the process (development of relative markers from demonstratives) is an instance of a pronominal demonstrative; and that it constitutes probably the most frequent way in which relative clause markers evolve.”

Grammaticalization primarily concerns “how lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott, 2003:1). According to Heine and Kuteva (2007:34),

grammaticalization technically involves four main interrelated mechanisms: (a) desemanticization (or “semantic bleaching”) – loss in meaning content; (b) extension (or context generalization) – use in new contexts; (c) decategorialization – loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms; and (d) erosion (or “phonetic reduction”) – loss in phonetic substance. (2007:34)

Hiene and Kuteva (2004:2) refer to these parameters as mechanisms. Hopper and Traugott (1991) consider them as principles of grammaticalization.

Based on these parameters of grammaticalization, I show that the grammaticalization process first involves desemanticization whereby the less abstract meaning conveyed by the manner demonstrative adverb, on account of its deitic reference, is first used to delimit a referent NP, and then develops further into a more abstract grammatical marker: in this case a relative marker. Thus, one can construct figure (4.2) as a possible grammaticalization path. Example (58) repeated here as (59) shows the general grammaticalization process.

manner demonstrative adverb > pronominal demonstrative > relative marker

**Figure 4.2:** Grammaticalization path of *ké*

(59) a. *kéniŋ* as a Manner Demonstrative Adverb (MDM)

Àkú	bè-lèè	òdò	wú	wàà	òkòrú	wú
some	3PL.SUBJ-remove	net	DET	do	canoe	DET
tò	ànsán	yí	bè-lèè		ńkinyí	wú.
in	before	FM	3PL-SUBJ-remove	fish		DET

Àkú m̀è bàá-wàà **kénìj̀**  
 some too 3SG.SUBJ.HABNEG-do MDA

‘Some remove the net from the canoe before they remove the fishes. Some too do not do that.’ (PT3)

b. *kénìj̀* as demonstrative + *wó*

**kénìj̀** k̀èkyìsé **wó** b̀ù ñfìj̀  
 DEM girl DET be.LOC here

‘That girl is here.’ (Elicited)

c. *kénìj̀* as demonstrative + *ní*

**kénìj̀** òẁr̀á **ní** bú ñfìj̀  
 DEM chief this be.LOC here

‘That chief is here.’ (Elicited)

d. *kénìj̀* as a relative marker

̀j̀-ké-b̀i òlìj̀ wó **ké** mé-nù ñ̀dìye wó  
 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-sing song DET REL 1SG.SUBJ.PST-hear yesterday CD

‘I will sing the song that I heard yesterday.’ (Elicited)

These three stages of grammaticalization process are attested in Buang (Austronesian, Austro-Tai) as illustrated in (60) where *ken* in (a) exhibits the locative adverb, (b) the demonstrative, and (c) the relative clause marker.

(60) Buang *ken*, place adverbial > postposed demonstrative > relativizer

a. ke mdo ken

I live here

‘I live here.’

b. ke mdo byaŋ ken

I live house this

‘I live in this house.’

c. Ke mdo byaŋ ken gu le vker

I live house that you saw yesterday

‘I live in the house that you saw yesterday.’ (Heine and Kuteva 2004:176)

Secondly, having acquired grammatical meanings *kéniɲ* undergoes decategorization: from a demonstrative to a relativizer. There is a loss in the morphological or structural property of *kéniɲ*. Structurally, *kéniɲ* is a trisyllabic word but has been reduced to *ké* a monosyllable, in its grammaticalized form. Once *ké* has been structurally reduced to a monosyllable, it is syntactically restricted or predictable in its occurrence as a relative marker. Thus, it is used for textual or discourse reference.

Thirdly, Hopper's (1991:22-33) principle of divergence is also applicable. Divergence refers to the fact that "when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization for example to an auxiliary, clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical item" (Hopper 1991:22, 24). One can notice in (59) that the grammaticalization of *kéniɲ* to a relative marker has resulted in the existence of a pair of forms. Synchronically, the original form *kéniɲ* still remains as a demonstrative as in (61) and both *ké* and *kéniɲ* can co-occur in a relative clause construction, as illustrated in (61).

(61) **kéniɲ** kèkyisé wú **ké** [ ó-dì òyù ] wú  
 DEM girl DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-climb tree CD  
 'That girl that climbed the tree.'

This instance of grammaticalization is not peculiar to Kaakye. It has also been attested in some Kwa languages such as Ewegbe cited in (Saah 2010: 97). Saah (2010: 97) mentions that in Ewegbe "the element that introduces the relative clause *si* is derived from the proximal demonstrative *sia* 'this'". This is illustrated below where *sia* 'this' is used as a demonstrative in (62a), and *si* as a relative marker in (62b).

(62) a. Tsó atukpá sia ná-m.

Take bottle this give-1SG

‘Give me this bottle.’

b. Tsó atukpá si [ le kplɔ-a dzí ] lá ná-m.

take bottle REL be-located table-DEF top CD give-1SG

‘Give me the bottle which is o the table.’ (Saah 2010: 97).

#### 4.8 Summary

This chapter has examined relative clauses in Kaakye. Among other things it has highlighted the following: First, Kaakye, like most Kwa languages, has strictly postnominal RC and that both the head noun and its referent within the RC are obligatorily expressed. And, unlike some Kwa languages, the head nouns obligatorily take a definite determiner.

Second, Kaakye predominantly employs both the pronoun retention and the gap strategy to indicate the canonical position that the head noun occupies in the RC. Where pronoun retention strategy is used, a resumptive pronoun co-references the head noun in person, number and animacy to explicitly state the referent of the head noun within the RC.

Third, all NP positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are accessible to relativization in Kaakye and the strategies employed for extracting the relativized NP differ depending on their grammatical roles. Kaakye, however, contradicts the AH constraints in two ways: Kaakye relative clause formation strategies do not apply to a continuous segment of the hierarchy and Kaakye obligatorily uses the pronoun retention strategy in subject relativization.

Finally, it accounts for the possible diachronic paths of the relative

marker. It shows that the relative marker *ké* is diachronically derived from the manner demonstrative adverb *kéniŋ* ‘like this/that’ and through a grammaticalization process. The instance of grammaticalization can be interpreted as being part of a more general “process whereby markers having typical spatial reference are grammaticalized to markers for textual or discourse reference” (Heine and Kuteva 2004:116).

## CHAPTER 5

## COMPLEMENTATION

## 5.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at describing complement clause constructions in Kaakye and it is structured as follows. Section 5.1 provides the structural properties of complement construction in Kaakye and the complementation strategies employed in its formation. It also explores the distribution and the functions of complement clauses in the language. Section 5.2 discusses Givón's framework of event integration and the semantic types of CTVs in Kaakye. Section 5.3 examines the syntactic features of Kaakye complementation. The types of complementizers, the behaviour of tense, aspect, mood and negation of the complement clause are discussed. Section 5.4 offers a diachronic account of the possible source of the complementizers. I summarize the chapter in section 5.5.

## 5.1 The structure and distribution of complement constructions in Kaakye

A typical complement clause construction in Kaakye is given in example (1). For clarity, the complement clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

- (1) a. Anansi é-ŋù [fɛ̀ Ntirikuma é -nyá  
 spider PST-see COMP Ntirikuma PST-get  
 kinyi-àsìj wó ìkú ]<sup>41</sup>  
 wisdom DET some  
 'Spider realised that Ntirikuma has some wisdom.' (FST4)  
 (Literally: 'Spider saw that Ntirikuma get some wisdom.')
- b. Ǿ-gyírí [fɛ̀ Atrobea è-nùù ñkyù].  
 3-SG.SUBJ COMP Atrobea PROG-drink water  
 'He said that Atrobea is drinking water.' (Elicited)

<sup>41</sup> Throughout the examples in this chapter, I enclose complement clauses in square brackets.

The construction in (1a) contains a matrix clause (MC) *Anansi é-ηù* ‘spider saw’ and a complement clause (CC) *fě̀ Ntirikuma é-nyà kì-nyí-ásìḡ wó ikó* ‘that Ntirikuma has some wisdom’. The CC which is introduced by the complementizer *fě̀* functions as the object argument of the matrix verb *ηù*. Without the complementizer *fě̀*, *Ntirikuma é-nyà kì-nyí-ásìḡ wó ikó* ‘Ntirikuma has some wisdom’ is an independent clause. Thus, it has a verb *nyá* ‘get’ which is morphologically inflected for past tense. This verb, takes Ntirikuma as its subject and *kì-nyí-ásìḡ wó ikó* ‘some wisdom’ as its object. As we will note in section 3, Kaakye has four overt complementizers. Interestingly, the choice and the occurrence of the complementizers may be obligatory, or optional, or depending largely on the degree of semantic integration between the MC and the CC. This gives credence to Givón’s (2001) notion of iconicity binding relationship between the syntax and semantics of sentences containing complement clauses.

The Kaakye CC is restricted to object function. Note that in (1a) the CC occurs as the direct object of the transitive verb *ηù* ‘see’. Complement clauses can also function as the second object of a di-transitive verb as shown in (2).

(2) <i>ó-gyírí</i>	<i>wà</i>	<i>mú</i>	<i>sì</i>	[ <i>fě̀</i>
3SG.SUBJ.PST-tell	do	3SG.POSS	father	COMP
<i>kwàtá</i>	<i>è-bà</i>	].		
tortoise	PROG-come			
‘He told his father that tortoise is coming.’				(FST 5)

In (2) the addressee *mú sì* ‘his father’ is the first object. The complement clause *fě̀ kwàtá è-bà* ‘that tortoise is coming’, representing the context of what is said, is the second object.



Complement clauses also function as objects of a copula verb (3).

- (3) *ì-gyì késìntíṅ [fèè ó-bè ]*  
 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-be true COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-come  
 ‘It is true that she came.’ (Elicited)

In discourse, it is possible to find a complement clause in another complement clause as illustrated in (4).

- (4) *mè-kù [fèè ò-kirà pènté wú] [fèé ò-yàà dì-óó ]*  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-look COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-inform frog  
 DET COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-go sleep-INTJ  
 ‘I observe that he is informing frog that he is going to sleep.’ (PDT1)

The complement clause *fèè ò-kirà pènté wú* ‘that he informs the frog’ in (4) is followed immediately by another complement clause *fèé ò-yàà dì-óó* ‘that he is going to sleep oo’. Such a construction occurs because the first complement clause contains a complement taking predicate and consequently the CTV *kirà* ‘inform’ will require another complement clause as its object argument.

A complement clause can also contain an embedded relative clause as shown in (5). The relative clause *ké b̀̀-b̀̀ ò-màṅ wú* ‘who lives in the town’ delimits the reference of the object of the complement clause.

- (5) *ówùrà kú yí ó-gyìrí wà mú*  
 chief INDEF FM 3SG.SUBJ.PST-say do 3SG.POSS  
*áyààfòrì [ké bì-mòò ákyìbirisé wú ]*  
 boys COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-kill oldwoman DET  
*ké b̀̀-b̀̀ ò-màṅ wú tò pèé.*  
 REL 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-live CM-town REL inside all.  
 ‘There was a certain chief who ordered his boys to kill all the old women who lived in the town.’ (FST3)

In (5) the first object of the CTV and the subject of the CC are co-referential but there is no equi-deletion. Thus, the subject of the CC is overtly expressed even though it is raised to the first object position of the CTV.

It is also possible for CC to contain interrogative complements as featured in (6). The CC in example (6a) contains a polar question<sup>42</sup> while (6b) contains constituent question.

- |        |   |             |         |               |      |    |
|--------|---|-------------|---------|---------------|------|----|
| (6) a. | ó-bísá  | Pita        | [fɛ̀ɛ̀  | Simon         |      |    |
|        | 3SG.SUBJ.PST-ask                                      | Peter       | COMP    | Simon         |      |    |
|        | fɛ̀-dùdí  |             | ɛ̀ɛ̀?]  |               |      |    |
|        | 2SG.SUBJ.PROG-sleep                                   | QP          |         |               |      |    |
|        | ‘He asked “Peter Simon, are you sleeping?”            |             |         | (Mark 14:37)  |      |    |
| b.     | Yesu  | é-bísá      | wú      | [ fɛ̀ɛ̀       | “Nè  | yí |
|        | Jesus   | PST-ask     | 3SG.OBJ | COMP          | what | FM |
|        | fɛ̀-bùtí  |             | ɲ-wàà   | sé            | fù”  | ]. |
|        | 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-want                                    | 1SG.SUBJ-do | give    | 2SG.OBJ       |      |    |
|        | ‘Jesus asked him “What do you want me to do for you?” |             |         | (Mark 10:51a) |      |    |

## 5.2 Semantics of complementation: Givón’s framework of Event

### Integration

The semantic aspect of complementation has always been accounted for based on the semantics of the CTV (Givón 1990, 2001; Noonan 1985, 2007; Lehmann 1985; Osam 1998; Cristofaro 2003.). Givón’s (2001:40) event integration framework states that “in the formation of a single clause event, the semantics of the main clause verb largely determines the extent of integration between the events coded in the main clause and the complement clause”. It,

<sup>42</sup> As rightly pointed out by Saah and Dundaa (2012:6), “Kaakye uses two question particles in the formation of polar questions: *bɛ̀ɛ̀* and *ɛ̀ɛ̀*. Both occur at sentence- final position.

thus, predicts that “the greater the semantic bond between the events expressed by the verbs in the matrix clause and the complement clause, the greater the degree of syntactic integration there will be between the two clauses” (Givón 2001:40). Based on the notion of event integration Givón (2001: 40-41) makes a distinction between three main semantic classes of CTVs. They are:

- (a) Perception-Cognition-Utterance (PCU) verbs
- (b) Manipulation verbs
- (c) Modality verbs

Givón (2001: 41) defines the relation between the main and complements clauses based on their semantic and syntactic prototypes as follows:

**Semantic Prototype of Manipulation Verbs:**

- a. The behaviour of the manipulee is influenced by the agent (manipulator) of the main verb.
- b. The manipulee of the main verb and the agent of the complement verb are coreferential.
- c. The manipulee performs the targeted events expressed in the complement clause.

**Syntactic Prototype Manipulation Verbs:**

- a. The manipulator is the subject of the matrix clause; the manipulee can function as the direct object or indirect object.
- b. The manipulee of the main verb also serves as the subject of the complement clause which could be covertly expressed in the complement clause.

- c. The complement-clause verb usually exhibits less-finite morphology and typically functions as the object of the main verb.
- d. The complement clause and the main clause both tend to fall under a unified intonation contour. (Givón 2001: 41)

#### Semantic prototype of PCU verbs

- a. The verb in the main clause can either express a mental state or event of perception or cognition, or a verbal act of utterance.
- b. The subject of the verb is either a dative or an agent.
- c. The state or event expressed in complement and the patient of the main-clause verb are analogous.

#### Syntactic prototype of PCU verbs

- a. The arguments of the main clause and the complement clause are not co-referentially restricted.
- b. The complement clause is more likely to have the normal main-clause finite structure, with a fully expressed subject and finite verb morphology.
- c. The two clauses may be separated by a subordinator morpheme.
- d. The two clauses may fall under separate intonation contours.

(Givón 2001: 41)

#### Semantic prototype of modality verbs

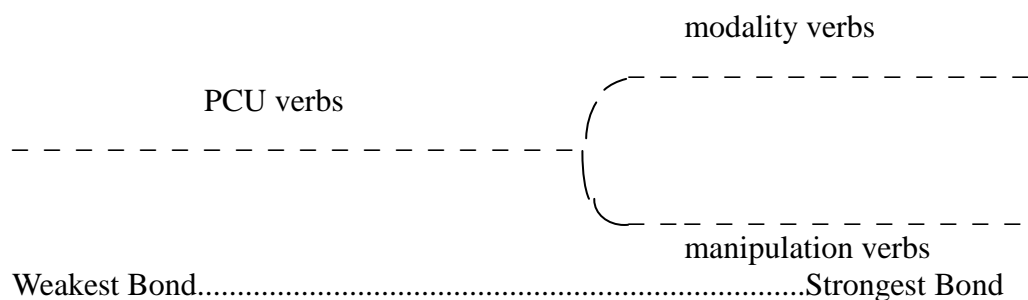
- a. The main-clause verb expresses the aspectual (inception, termination, continuation, success, failure) or modal (attempt, intent, obligation, ability, possibility) action, state or attitude of its subject vis-a-vis the event/state expressed in the complement clause.

- b. The subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause are co-referential.

Syntactic prototype of modality verbs

- a. The subject of the main verb and the subject of the complement clause are similar.
- b. The subject of the complement clause is covertly expressed.
- c. The complement-clause verb is usually non-finite or nominalized.
- d. The complement clause is analogous to the object of the main clause.
- e. The complement clause and the main clause tend to fall under a unified intonation contour. (Givón 2001: 55)

Givón (2001: 41) ranks the three semantic categories on a scale according to the manner in which the verbs code the degree of integration of the matrix and complement clauses into a single event. According to him, the scale appears in unified seamless continuum, with *modality verbs* and *manipulation verbs* running in parallel from the top to mid-scale, showing roughly the same semantic and syntactic transitions". PCU verbs appear at the bottom of the scale as shown in Figure 5.1 below.



**Figure 5.1:** Overview of Givón (2001: 41) Event-integration

Givón (2001) further outlines some salient features of the semantic components of event integration: implicativity, referential cohesion and tense agreement. On implicativity, he distinguishes between implicative verbs and non-implicative verbs. Implicative verbs indicate the successful manipulation of the target event and non-implicative verbs are those in which the manipulation of event is not successful. Usually for implicative verbs when the matrix clause is true the complement clause is also true. The events of the matrix clause and the complement clause of implicative verbs may be co-temporal or temporally contiguous. When they are temporally contiguous, they represent a single complex event. Again, when manipulation is achieved, the agentive status of the manipulee is reduced to patient status such that the manipulee has less degree of control, freedom of choice and independence of action. On the contrary, when manipulation is not attained, the manipulee has control, freedom of choice and independence to perform any action of the target event designated in the complement clause.

Another important feature of event integration is referential cohesion. The events in the matrix clause and the complement clause are tightly integrated if both clauses share the same referents.

One more salient dimension of event integration is tense agreement. When tense-aspect restrictions in the matrix clause are imposed on the complement clause, it indicates an integration of events.

Using Givón's (1990) event integration framework in examining Akan complementation, Osam (1994, 1998) identifies all the three types of Givón's complement taking verbs in Akan. In addition to these three, he identifies for Akan, a fourth semantic type which he calls "Evaluation verbs". These verbs,

according to Osam (1998: 24), “express the opinion of the speaker, which may or may not be objective or universal”. Semantically, they are close to the PCU verbs except that they require that the subject of the main clause be impersonal. Again, by applying Givón’s framework, he clearly identifies a second type of complementizer in Akan that is the *mà* complementizer. Previous studies of Akan complementation (Boadi 1972 and Lord 1993) identified the *sé* complementizer. He also demonstrates that in Akan “Givón’s notion of implicativity, is not only determined by the semantics of main clause verb but also by the type of complementizer used”. His studies also supports Givón’s notion of event integration by showing that in Akan, the level of event integration is reflected in the way tense, aspect, mood, negation and reference are coded.

This study classifies Kaakye CTVs based on Givón’s notion of event integration. Kaakye, like Akan, as it will be shown in section 5.2.1.4, has evaluation verbs in addition to Givón’s three types.

### 5.2.1 Types of complement taking verbs in Kaakye

#### 5.2.1.1 Perception-Cognition-Utterance (PCU) verbs

Some examples are:

nyè/ gyírí	‘say’	gyírí wà	‘tell’
kòrígyì	‘believe’	ṅù	‘see/recognised/realise’
nù	‘hear’	bisá	‘ask’
nyì	‘know’	kùrí	‘beg’
tèṅsú	‘forget’	sè kònó	‘promise’

tù	‘call’	bùká	‘answer’
kù	‘look’	nyìnyí	‘remember’
kpèrí	‘prophecy’	kààpú	‘show’
pìrá	‘deceive’,	fààtó	‘shout’
nù kèsí	‘understand’	wà yò	‘pretend’

#### 5.2.1.2 Manipulation verbs

Examples include:

yífi	‘force’	yèkú	‘stop’
nù kèsí	‘agree’	kyè	‘help’
sírí	‘push’	wà	‘do’

#### 5.2.1.3 Modality verbs

Examples are:

bùtí	‘want’	kpònú	‘allow’
òkpá dè	‘permit’	kyìkè sù	‘continue’
lù kèsí	‘start’,	kù òkpá	‘hope’

#### 5.2.1.4 Evaluation verbs

Examples of this category of verbs are:

bwàré	‘be good’	sè	‘be necessary’
tífi	‘be important’	bù lùj	‘be difficult’
lù kpàṅkpàṅ	‘be obvious’,	gyì nyùré	‘be a blessing’
gyì kèsíntì	‘be true’	dè òdùnkúfwì	‘be annoying’



### 5.3 Morphosyntactic features of Kaakye complementation

#### 5.3.1 Complementizers in Kaakye

According to Dixon (2010: 372), a complement clause can be formally marked via three means:

- (i) by the use of a complementizer element which usually appears at the beginning of the complement clause.
- (ii) by a special marker on the subject of the complement clause
- (iii) by a special form on the verb of a complement clause

(Dixon 2010: 372)

Kaakye, like its related languages, is part of those languages that formally codes complement clauses through the use of complementizers. Its main function is to introduce the CC and delimit it from the CTV. Noonan (2007: 55) indicates that, the use of complementizers may be optional or contextually determined. Some complement types, according to him, may have more than one complementizer associated with them while others may have no complementizer at all.

Kaakye has five main attested complementizers. Each of these complementizers varies in structure depending on the semantics of the CTV and to some extent, depending on the tense, mood and negation markings on the matrix verb. In the ensuing sub-sections I identify and describe these complementizers. The complementizers and their possible historical source of development are discussed in section 5.

5.3.1.1 *The complementizer fě̀è*

This complementizer is the most frequent occurring type in Kaakye. It occurs right after the CTV and immediately before the complement clause, as demonstrated in (7-9). Without the complementizer the clause remains the same as an independent clause. It occurs mainly with PCU verbs, modality verbs and evaluation verbs. It is as such used to assert or enquire about a fact and also to indicate an evaluation.

(7) *ì-kááp̀* [fě̀è òd̀ò ẃ t̀ é-wà ǹasi]  
 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-show COMP net DET in PST-do dirty  
 ‘It shows that the net is dirty.’ (PT3)

(8) *Òwùrà ẃ é-b̀ùtí* [fě̀è ḿ k̀òyírí  
 CM-chief DET PST-want COMP 3SG.POSS body  
*wà k̀ùfù . ]*  
 do fear  
 ‘The chief wanted to look fearful.’ (FST3)

(9) *m̀-̀nyì* [fě̀è Ama òf̀ùó ẃ ]  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know COMP Ama know stranger DET  
 ‘I don’t know if Ama knows the stranger.’ (Elicited)

The CCs introduced by the *fě̀è* complementizer in (7-9) function as the object arguments of the verbs in the MCs. The complement of *kàáp̀* ‘show’ and *b̀ùtí* ‘want’ without the complementizer *fě̀è* in (7) and (8), respectively represent a full independent clause; they have an SVO structure. Their CCs have verbs which take subject and object arguments. In (7) for example, the complement verb *wà* ‘do’ is inflected for past tense and it selects *òd̀ò ẃ* ‘the



Both CC introduced by *sé* in (10-11) appear as the object argument of the verbs in the MC.

### 5.3.1.3 The *ké* complementizer

The *ké* complementizer appears immediately after the matrix clause and right before the CC as shown in (12). The use of *ké* is obligatory and usually appears with manipulation and modality verb. There are also a limited number of PCU verbs that can occur with it, including the utterance verb *gyìrí wá* ‘tell’.

When the *ké* complementizer occurs with manipulation verbs such as *yìrí* ‘force’, *kyè* ‘help’, *yèkí* ‘allow’, the complement construction expresses an intention toward someone. This type of complementizer is mostly preferred when the manipulation verb in the matrix clause is inflected for future tense (12a-13a) and negation (14a). It is ungrammatical when the *sé*-complementizer is used even though the CTV is a manipulation verb as displayed in (12b, 13b and 14b).

(12) a. Kofi ké-yìrí Kwame [ **ké** ò-gyì àgyìbí wú ]  
 Kofi FUT-force Kwame COMP 3SG.SUBJ food DET  
 ‘Kofi will force Kwame to eat the food’.

b. \*Kofi ké-yìrí Kwame [ **sé** ò-gyì àgyìbí wú. ]  
 Kofi FUT-force Kwame COMP 3SG.SUBJ food DET  
 ‘Kofi will force Kwame to eat the food’. (Elicited)

(13) a. Ama ké-kyè mú nyì tò [ **ké**  
 Ama FUT-help 3SG.POSS mother inside COMP

bù<sup>43</sup>-dìkà                      àgyìbí                      wó ].  
 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-cook              food                      DET

‘Ama will help her mother to do the work.’ (Elicited)

b. \*Ama      ké-kyè              mú              nyì      tò      [ sɛ́  
 Ama      FUT-help              3SG.POSS              mother      inside      COMP  
 bù-dìkà                      àgyìbí                      wó ].  
 3PL.SUBJ-cook              food                      DET

‘Ama will help her mother to cook the food.’ (Elicited)

(14) a. Kofi      ñ-kyè              Ama      tò      [ kɛ́      bù-sùṅ]  
 Kofi      NEG-PST-help Ama      inside      COMP      3PL.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 ‘Kofi didn’t help Ama to do the work’. (Elicited)

b. \*Kofi      ñ-kyè              Ama      tò      [ sɛ́      bù-sùṅ]  
 Kofi      NEG-PST-help Ama      inside      COMP      3PL.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 ‘Kofi didn’t help Ama to do the work’. (Elicited)

It is observable in examples (12-14) above that even though CTVs in the matrix clauses are manipulation verbs they do not select a *sɛ́* complementizer as we observed in examples (10 and 11). The reason why the *kɛ́* complement is highly preferred may be grounded in the fact that the manipulation effect of the verb is not yet accomplished or manifested. In other words the manipulative force of the verb is only intended (12a and 13b). There is evidence in Kaakye to support Givón’s notion of implicativity. Kaakye manipulation verbs select a different complementizer to signal unsuccessful manipulation of the event coded in the matrix clause, as shown in (14b), or the intended manipulation of the event coded in the matrix clause, as seen in (12a and 13a).

Again when manipulation verbs in matrix clauses are marked for

<sup>43</sup> The plural subject is used here to indicate inclusiveness.

imperative, they select a *ké* complementizer as demonstrated in (15-17). The same applies to modality verbs like *wàà àniyá* ‘try’, shown in (16).

(15) kyè Ama tò [ **ké** ò-sùṅ ].  
 help.IMP Ama inside COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 ‘Help Ama to do work.’ (Elicited)

(16) Yèkí Ama [ **ké** ò-sùṅ ].  
 allow.IMP Ama COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 ‘Allow Ama to do her work.’ (Elicited)

(17) Wàà àniyá [ **ké** fù-gyi ].  
 do.IMP hard COMP 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-eat  
 ‘Try hard to eat.’ (Elicited)

(18) Wàà àniyá [ **ké** fù-bà ].  
 do.IMP hard COMP 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-come  
 ‘Try hard to come.’ (Elicited)

When the *ké*-complementizer appears with PCU verbs, it has the semantics of marking an order as featured in (19).

(19) òwùrá kú yí **ó-gyìrí** wà mu  
 chief INDEF FM 3SG.SUBJ.PST-say do 3SG.POSS  
 àyààfóri [ **ké** bì-mòò àkyìbìrísé wú ]  
 boy COMP 3PL.SUBJ.IMP-kill oldwomen DET  
 ké bù-bù òmáṅ wú tò pèè.  
 REL 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-live town REL inside all.  
 ‘There was a certain chief who ordered his boys to kill all the old women  
 who live in the town.’ (FST 3)

Another PCU verb it occurs with is *tìì* 'call'. Consider the data in (20).

- (20) Ama      ñ-tù                      wú                      [kɛ                      ò-bà                      ]  
 Ama      NEG.PST-call      3SG.OBJ      COMP      3SG.SUBJ.PST-come  
 'Ama did not call her to come'.                      (Elicited)

One peculiar feature of the *kɛ* complementizer, as will be discussed in section 5.4.4 and 5.4.5, is that its choice is not only dependent to the particular matrix verb but also dependent to the tense, aspect, mood and negation relations inflected on the matrix verb.

#### 5.3.1.4 The complementizer *yí*

The *yí* complementizer has the same structure as the three types discussed. It introduces object complements of manipulation verbs like *kyé* 'help' illustrated in (21).

- (21) Ama      é-kyè                      mù                      nyì                      tò  
 Ama      PST-help      3SG.POSS                      mother                      inside  
 [ *yí*      b̀̀-diká                      àgyìbí                      wú ].  
 COMP      3PL.SUBJ.PST-cook      food                      DET  
 'Ama helped her mother to cook the food.'                      (Elicited)

The *yí* complementizer can also occur with PCU verbs such as *kìì* 'look' and *tìì* 'call' as shown in (21). In (21), however, the meaning of *kìì* 'look' is extended to mean supervise. Hence, the verb *ku* 'look' carries manipulative effect.

- (22) mì                      sikáá      é-kù                      b̀̀ò                      s̀̀      [ *yí*  
 1SG.POSS      uncle      PST-look      3PL.OBJ      on      COMP

bé-sùŋ̃                    ].

3PL.SUBJ.PST-work

‘My uncle supervised them to do the work’. (Elicited)

(23) Kofi            é-tù            Yaaka    [ yí            ó-bà            ]

Kofi            PST-call            Yaaka            COMP            3SG.SUBJ.PST-come

‘Kofi called Yaaka to come’. (Elicited)

### 5.3.1.5 The zero complementizer

This complement type occurs without an overt complementizer. It is sometimes referred to in the literature as “paratactic complement” (Noonan 2007). Thus, the complement clause appears as an independent clause and follows the complement-taking verb directly, without being linked to it by an overt complementizer. Both the complement clause and the matrix clause are adjacent to each other without any intervening element. The complement clause construction appears as two independent sentences. This type is usually used in direct speech where the speaker directly quotes the exact words of another person or him/herself. It usually occurs with utterance verbs. The most frequent verb it occurs with is the quotative verb *say*. Interestingly, Kaakye, unlike other Kwa languages, has variant forms of the quotative verb *say* as shown in (24). Compare (24a) to (24b): its equivalent in Akan. We observe that for Akan, the form of the verb *se* ‘say’ is maintained throughout the paradigm. In Kaakye, the 2SG, 3SG, and the 3PL persons are morphologically complex. These person forms are fused with the quotative verb *nyè*.



Kaakye		Akan	
(24)a. n-nyè	‘I say/said’	b. me-se	‘I say’
fè	‘you say/said’	wo-se	‘you say’
wè	‘s/he say/said’	ɔ-se	‘s/he say’
àlí nyè	‘we say/said’	yɛ-se	‘we say’
bèrí nyè	‘you say/said’	mo-se	‘you say’
bè	‘they say/said’	wɔ-se	‘they say’

In narratives, speakers extensively use these forms of the verb *say* in direct quotations. *nyè*<sup>44</sup> ‘say’ is used in giving direct report of what has been said by a first person singular, second and third person plural. *fè*, *wè* and *bè* are also used in giving report of what has been said by a second person singular, third person singular, as shown in (25), and the third person plural, respectively.

(25) a. n-nyè	bà	ńfùj!	
1SG.SUBJ.PST-say	come	here	
‘I said “come here!”’			
b. ó-wè	ń-bù	ńfùj.	
3SG.SUBJ-say	1SG.SUBJ-PRES.be	here	
‘He said “I am here.”’			(Elicited)
c. ò-kùmáníj	<b>ké</b>	ò-ké-kyùj	ńfùj
INANM- everyone	REL	3SG.SUBJ.FUT-pass	there
<b>wú</b>	ńté	ò-bisá	[ <b>fè</b> ,
REL	then	3SG.SUBJ.HAB-ask	ńsé kìsàrí
		COMP	who hand

<sup>44</sup> I consider *nyè* to be the allomorph of the verb form ‘say’ since it occurs elsewhere.

nò ? ]      òtè      bèè                      òbìrísé      Kòkòkò      kìsàrí      ní.  
 this          then      3PL.SUBJ.say      elder      Kòkòkò      hand      this  
 ‘Everyone who passes by will ask “whose hand is this? Then they say  
 ‘This is elder Kòkòkò’s hand’.’ (FST 2)

Interestingly, these quotative verb forms only appear in affirmative constructions and as such do not allow negative inflection. When one wishes to negate them, a suppletive verb form *gyìrì* ‘say’ is used. This pattern appears to suggest that the quotative verb *nyè* ‘say’ and *gyìrì* ‘say’ are in complementary distribution. The reason for this interaction between verbs and the selection of the *fèè* complement could be explained by the polarity effects. In the affirmative form it is expected that the speaker provides a direct quotation of a discourse.

(26) a. *nyè*                                      *bà*                      *ńfù!*  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST.say      IMP.come      here  
 ‘I said “come here!”’

(27) a. *mì ñ-gyìrì*      [ *fèè*                      *fàm-bè*                                      *ńfù!* ]  
 1SG.SUBJ.NEG.PST-say      COMP      2SG.SUBJ.NEG.IMP-come      here  
 ‘I didn’t say, “Don’t come here!”’ (Elicited)

As it is expected of direct quotations of any conversational discourse, the complement clause may constitute an exclamation or interjection, a phrase, clause or multiple sentences. In (28) for instance, the direct quote consists of a declarative and an interrogative sentence. In (29) it consists of an interjection and a declarative.



- (31) b<sup>é</sup>- fīyétò (f<sup>éè</sup>) p<sup>ènté</sup>! fù bù ñf<sup>úrè</sup>?  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-shout COMP frog 2SG.SUBJ be where  
 ‘They shouted, “frog where are you?” (PDT1)
- (32) \*ò-w<sup>é</sup> f<sup>éè</sup> ñh<sup>ù</sup>ñ, kòy<sup>ú</sup>rí  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-say COMP no body  
 m<sup>-</sup>bù wì gyà.  
 NEG.PRES-be 1SG.OBJ pain  
 ‘He said, “No, I am not in pain”. (PDT1)

### 5.3.2 Complementation strategies

Complementation strategies are the grammatical mechanisms, beyond the use of complement clauses, employed to code the proposition of CTVs (Dixon 2006b, 2010). Cross-linguistic typological studies on complementation clearly reveal that, even though the majority of the world’s languages have complement clauses, there are a sizeable number of languages which lack the means of coding the proposition of CTVs via complement clauses (Dixon 2006b, 2010, Noonan 2007). For such languages they may express the proposition of CTVs through some complementation strategies. These include serial verb constructions, relative clauses, nominalizations, apposition, clause chaining and purposive strategies (Dixon 2010:371). Dixon (2010:371) observes that between the languages that have complement clause and those that lack complement clauses, one can also identify languages which employ both complement clause and complementation strategies. In addition to the complement clause types discussed in section 4.1 above, Kaakye also employs two complementation strategies: nominalisation and relativisation strategies. I discuss them in the subsections below.

### 5.3.2.1 Nominalization strategy

Nominalization is defined as a “process by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective” (Dixon 2010: 408). Through this process, a complement verb is nominalized to create a nominalized complement which then functions as the proposition of the CTVs. As it has been observed within this strategy, the nominalized complements usually have reduced forms (Noonan 2008:70, Dixon 2010:408).

Kaakye uses nominalization as its complementation strategy. Thus, it is possible to find certain types of verbs which take an action nominalized complement as its object argument. I found two examples of this type in my narrative text corpus and they all appeared as the complement of the cognitive verb *nyì* ‘know’ as shown in (33).

- (33) Kwàtá                      ñ-nyì                      [ò-yù                      kì-dù.]  
 tortoise                      NEG.PST-know                      CM-tree                      ACT.NMLZ-climb  
 ‘Tortoise didn’t know how to climb tree’.  
 (Literally: ‘Tortoise didn’t know tree climbing’)                      (FST 5)
- (34) Mù      fùrà      ò- ñ-nyì                      ò-yù                      kì-dù.]  
 him      for      3SG.SUBJ-NEG.PST      CM-tree                      ACT.NMLZ-climb  
 yèsówú                      ó-mikídá                      òsòrí.  
 because of that      3SG.SUBJ.PST-lay.down                      ground  
 ‘For him, he doesn’t know how to climb a tree as a result of that he lay  
 down on the ground’.                      (FST1)

In (33 and 34) the nominalized clause *ò-yù k ì-dù* ‘tree-climbing’ functions as the object argument of the transitive verb *nyì* ‘know how’ in the MC. The nominalized complement has a reduced structure. First, the complement clause has a verb and an object but has no overt subject. The

notional subject of the nominalized verb is referentially identical to the subject of the matrix clause. Second, even though it has a notional object *ò-yù* ‘tree’, we notice that *ò-yù* precedes and modifies<sup>45</sup> the action nominal *kì-dìì* ‘climbing’. Third, the complement verb *dìì* ‘climb’ does not take any verbal inflections. Instead, an action nominalising prefix ‘*ki-*’ is attached to the complement verb, deriving the action nominal *kì-dìì* ‘climbing’. The action nominal together with the object *ò-yù* ‘tree’ form a deverbal nominalization *ò-yù kì-dìì* ‘tree-climbing’. That this complement type occurs as the complement of *nyì* ‘know’ is not surprising. Dixon (2010:409) clearly points out that “even though the CTVs the nominalization strategy occurs with differ from language to language, the most frequent one is the verb ‘know’”. When the nominalized complement functions as the object of know it expresses the notion of having the knowledge of the manner in which some kind of activity is done.

In (33-34) the nominalized complement is not introduced by any complementizer. It is ungrammatical to introduce nominalized complements with a complementizer as demonstrated in (35).

- (35) \* Kwàtá      ñ-nyì                  fèè                  [ò-yù                  kì-dìì                  ]  
           tortoise    NEG.PST-know    COMP    CM-tree            ACT.NMLZ-climb  
           ‘Tortoise didn’t know how to climb tree.’  
           (Literally: ‘Tortoise didn’t know tree climbing’)                                  (FS5)

The fact that the action nominal is the reduced form can also be established by comparing (33) to its full form in (36). The action nominal can, therefore be used in place of a sentential complement as shown in (36). The

<sup>45</sup> In Kaakye, nouns typically precede their modifiers.

difference, however, lies in the syntactic function of the clause. While the nominalized complement expresses an activity, the full sentential complement expresses a state.

- (36) Kwàtá    òyì                    [fèè    ò-ń-diyé                    d̀̀            òyù.]  
 tortoise    PRES.know    COMP    1SG.SUBJ.PRES-can    climb    tree  
 ‘Tortoise knows that he cannot climb a tree.’

The matrix verb in the full sentential complement in (36) is not negated compared to (33) repeated here as (37). Instead the verb in the CC is inflected for negation. In the reduced form, which is the nominal complement, the verb of ability *d̀̀yè* ‘can’ in (36) is omitted.

- (37) Kwàtá                    ń-òyì                                    [ò-yù                    k̀̀-d̀̀.]  
 tortoise                    NEG.PST-know                    CM-tree                    ACT.NMLZ-climb  
 ‘Tortoise didn’t know how to climb tree.’  
 (Literally: ‘Tortoise didn’t know tree climbing’)                                    (FST 5)

Again, the negative morpheme which appears in the CC of (34) is raised to the matrix clause in (35). This example (35) seems to represent a case of ‘negative raising’ as described in Noonan (2007: 50-52), which “is applied to the situation where a negative marker appears to be removed from the complement clause with which it is logically associated and raised to the ordinary position for negatives within the matrix clause”.

Other matrix verbs which take nominalized complement include cognitive verb *s̀̀vè* ‘learn’ (36), utterance verb *k̀̀à̀p̀̀v̀̀* ‘teach/show’ in (37); modality verbs such as *yèk̀̀* ‘stop’ in (38), *k̀̀r̀̀* ‘like/love’ in (39) and *b̀̀t̀̀*

‘want’.

(38) m̀ì            dà            é-s̀v̀é            [ ñkyú    k̀ì-p̀ítíú            ẁú ]  
                  3SG.POSS    brother    PST-learn            water    NMLZ-swim    DET

‘My brother learnt how to swim’. (Elicited)

(39) M̀ì                    nỳì            é-k̀ààp̀ú            ẁì            [            k̀ù-d̀b̀ò            ]  
                  3SG.POSS            mother    PST-teach    1SG.OBJ            NMLZ-farm

‘My mother taught me how to fish’. (Elicited)

(40) Kwame k̀é-ỳèk̀í            [òỳù    k̀ì-̀ǹà            ]  
                  Kwame    FUT-stop            tree    NMLZ-cut

‘Kwame will stop cutting tree’. (Elicited)

(41) Me-k̀ìr̀ì                    [ agyibi            k̀ì-d̀k̀a            ]  
                  1SG.SUBJ.PRES.love            food            NMLZ-cook

‘I love to cook/cooking food’. (Elicited)

The choice of these two complementation strategies depends on the type of verb and the kind of syntactic function of the clausal complement.

### 5.3.2.2 *Relativization strategy*

The last major complement type is the relativized complement which occurs when a CTV takes a whole relative clause construction as its argument. This complement type has been discussed by Torrence and Kandybowicz (2015) in their discussion of the distribution of *wh*- items in embedded indirect question in the language<sup>46</sup>. They point out that those verbs which do not obligatorily

<sup>46</sup> Torrence and Kandybowicz (2015) suggest that Kaakye employs three *wh*-question formation strategies: *wh-ex-situ* focus, *wh-in-situ* and partial *wh-ex-situ* focus. There seems to be an overgeneralisation of the Kaakye *wh*-question formation strategies mentioned in their work. That *wh-in situ* strategy is employed in embedded direct question appears unattested as I did not encounter them in my natural or elicited data and native speakers considered them ungrammatical.



license interrogative complements like *bisá* ‘ask’ in (42) achieve the expression of indirect question meanings through a relativization strategy (Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015:14).

(42) Mɪ e-bisɛ<sup>47</sup> fɛɛ nɛ yɪ ɔ-mɔ bwatɛ wɔ.  
 1ST.SG PST-ask COMP who FOC 3RD.SG-kill.PST chicken the  
 ‘I asked who slaughtered the chicken.’

(Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015:17)

Unlike the verb *bisɛ* ‘ask’ in (42), the matrix verbs *nyɪ* ‘know’ in (43a), *bɔ ɲwanɲwa* ‘wonder’ in (44a) and *tɛɲsv* ‘forget’ in (45a) cannot select a *fɛɛ* complement in an embedded indirect question. The relativization strategies employed in examples (43b, 44b and 45b) are acceptable.

(43) a. \*Mɪ nyɪ fɛɛ Ama ɛ-mɔ nɛ.  
 1ST.SG know COMP Ama PST-kill what  
 Intended: ‘I know what Ama slaughtered.’  
 b. Mɪ nyɪ atɔ wɔ kɛ Ama ɛ-mɔ  
 1ST.SG know thing the REL Ama PST-kill  
 ‘I know what Ama slaughtered.’  
 Literally: ‘I know the thing that Ama slaughtered.’

(Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015:15)

(44) a. \*Yɛ ɛ-bɔ wɪ ɲwanɲwa fɛɛ  
 it PST-do 1ST.SG surprise COMP  
 nɛ (yɪ) ɛ-mɔ bwatɛ wɔ.  
 who FOC PST-kill chicken the  
 Intended: ‘I wondered who slaughtered the chicken.’

<sup>47</sup> There is a dialectal difference with the verb *bise* ‘ask’. I use *bisa* based on the dialect under investigation.

b. Yε	ε-bɔ	wɪ	ŋwaŋwa	ɔ-sɔ	kε
it	PST-do	1ST.SG	surprise	CL-person	REL
ɔ-mɔ		bwate	wɔ.		
	3RD.SG-kill.PST	chicken	the		

‘I wondered who slaughtered the chicken.’

(Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015:16)

(45) a. *Mɪ	ε- tɛŋsv <sup>48</sup>	fεε	(kεmɪkε yɪ)	Ama	ε-mɔ
1ST.SG	PST-forget	COMP	when FOC	Ama	PST-kill
bwate	wɔ	(kεmɪkε).			
chicken	the	when			

Intended: ‘I forgot when Ama slaughtered the chicken.’

Literally: ‘I wondered about the person that slaughtered the chicken.’

b. Mɪ	ε-tɪŋso	kε-kɔ	kε	Ama
1ST.SG	PST-forget	CL-time/day	REL	Ama
ε-mɔ	bwate	wɔ.		
PST-kill	chicken	the		

‘I forgot when Ama slaughtered the chicken.’

Literally: ‘I forgot the time that Ama slaughtered the chicken

(Torrence and Kandybowicz 2015:16).

The relativization strategy is also possible with the verb *bisɛ* ‘ask’ as illustrated in (46) below.

(46) Mɪ	e-bisɛ	ɔ-sɔ	kε	ɔ-mɔ	bwate	wɔ.
1ST.SG	PST-ask	CL-person	REL	3RD.SG-kill.PST	chicken	the

‘I asked who slaughtered the chicken’.

Literally: ‘I asked about the person that slaughtered the chicken.’

As it is rightly observed by Torrence and Kandybowicz (2015:16), indirect interrogative complements in Kaakye usually bear clear resemblances

<sup>48</sup> I have replaced the verb *tɪŋso* ‘forget’ with *tɛŋsv* ‘forget’

to relative clauses. That Kaakye uses this strategy is not surprising. As already mentioned in section 3.1.2, languages may employ this kind of strategy in addition to the array of complement clause type or in cases where they have no appropriate complement clause construction.

According to Payne (1997: 316), “indirect questions may share formal properties with interrogative clauses or relative clauses”. Payne (1997:316) for instance cites Yoruba in (47) as an example of languages that use relativization strategy in indirect question.

(47) a. Tale mo okunrin ti obinrin na lu.

Tale know man that woman the hit

‘Tale knows which man the woman hit.’ (Payne 1997:316)

(48) a. I know the month that Kwaakru was baptized.

b. I know which month Kwaakru was baptized.

One observation about the relativization strategy employed in Kaakye complementation is that it typically functions as complements of PCU verbs and when it does, the second relative marker, which usually occurs after the relative clause, is optional.

### 5.3.3 Reference

In cases where a complement type is not truncated, as we noticed with nominal complements, the subject of complement clause in Kaakye is always overtly expressed, as demonstrated in (49a, 50a and 51a), irrespective of the CTV. As illustrated in (49b, 50b and 51b), the omission of complement subjects is considered ungrammatical.

(49) a. Akua é-lìì kèsí [ fèè ð-wòtí

Akua PST-leave under COMP 3SG.SUBJ-pound.PROG

kèpé́rí wú].

fufu DET

‘Akua started to pound the fufu.’

(Elicited)

b. \*Akua é-lù kèsí [ fèè wòtí

Akua PST-leave under COMP pound.PROG

kèpé́rí wú ].

fufu DET

‘Akua started to pound the fufu.’

(Elicited)

(50) a. Ama é-nyìjí Yaaka [ sé ǎ-sɔ̀ ìkú].

Ama PST-remind Yaaka COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-buy some

‘Ama reminded Yaaka to buy some.’

b. \*Ama é-nyìjí Yaaka [sé sù̀ ìkú].

Ama PST-remind Yaaka COMP buy some

‘Ama reminded Yaaka to buy some.’

(Elicited)

(51) a. Yí Pita é-bùkàá wú [ fèé,

And Peter PST-answer 3SG.OBJ COMP

“fɔ̀ í-gyì Òkòrípó wú? ].”

2SG.SUBJ HAB-be Christ DET

‘And Peter answered “You are the Christ’.

(Mark 8:29b)

b. \*Yí Pita é-bùkàá wú [ fèé,

And Peter PST-answer 3SG.OBJ COMP

í-gyì Òkòrípó wú? ].”

HAB-be Christ DET

‘And Peter answered “You are the Christ’.

Manipulation verbs require the object of the matrix clause and the subject of the complement to be co-referential, while modality verbs require the subject of the matrix clause and the complement subject to be co-

referential. In (49a), the subject of the complement verb is co-referential with the object of the matrix verb. In (50a), the complement subject is co-referential with the subject of the matrix verb. There is however no such co-referential relation between the objects of PCU verbs in matrix clauses and complement subjects, as illustrated in (51). Note that in (49a and 50a) the subjects of the complement clause are not equi-deleted even though they are co-referential with the arguments of the matrix verb. Thus, the process of equi-deletion which is the process whereby subjects of complements are deleted when, they are co-referential with some argument in the matrix clause (Noonan 2007:76), is not allowed in Kaakye CC construction.

The co-referential status observed in Kaakye supports Givón's notion of referential cohesion in his framework of event integration. The Referential cohesion states that "the more two events share their referents, the more likely they are to be construed as a single event" (Givón 2001:50). Manipulation and modality verbs therefore indicate a high level of integration while PCU verbs demonstrate a low level of integration.

#### *5.3.4 Tense and aspect*

As expounded within Givón's framework, the level of event integration is indicated by the tense and aspect agreement between the matrix clause and the complement.

In Kaakye, manipulation verbs in matrix clauses impose their tense and aspectual restrictions on their complements as shown in (52 and 53).

- (52) Ama é-yírí Kofi [sé ò-nùù àdù wú  
 Ama PST-force Kofi COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-drink medicine DET  
 ‘Ama forced Kofi to take the medicine’. (Elicited)
- (53) Ama ékà-yírí Kofi [sé òka-nùù àdù wú  
 Ama PERF-force Kofi COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PERF-drink medicine DET  
 ‘Ama has forced Kofi to take the medicine’. (Elicited)
- (54) Ababio é-sírí Kwame [ sé ó-lùtwé òsùrí ]  
 Ababio PST-push Kwame COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-fall ground  
 ‘Ababio pushed Kwame to fall on the ground’. (Elicited)

As shown in (52 - 54) above, the complements do not exhibit any tense distinction different from the matrix verb.

Some Modality verbs can impose future tense on their complements. These verbs include *yírí m̀̀ ìnyì / wàà t̀̀* ‘try/make an effort’ in (55-56), *kírí* ‘want’, *wàà b̀̀h̀̀* ‘determine’ as shown in (59).

- (55) Kofi é-yírí<sup>49</sup> m̀̀ ìnyì [fèè ò-ké-kp̀̀ità òsùrí wú  
 Kofi PST-force 3POSS self COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-scrub floor DET  
 ‘Kofi tried to scrub the floor’. (Elicited)
- (56) Kofi é-yírí m̀̀ ìnyì [fèè ò-ké-kp̀̀ità òsùrí wú]  
 Kofi PST-force 3POSS self COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-scrub floor DET  
 ‘Kofi tried to scrub the floor’. (Elicited)
- (57) ò-wàà m̀̀ m̀̀-b̀̀h̀̀ [fèè ò-ké-kèsí. ]  
 3SG.SUBJ.do 3SG.POSS mind COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-imitate  
 ‘She is determined to learn’. (Elicited)

Some modality verbs such as *l̀̀ k̀̀sí* ‘start/begin’ in (58) impose the progressive aspect on their complements. In (58a and 58b) the verb *l̀̀ k̀̀sí*

<sup>49</sup> This verb is not inflected for the perfect aspect in complement clause construction. The motivation for this is not clear to me at this point.

‘start/begin’ imposes progressive aspect on *kyà* ‘dance’.

(58) a. Abena é-liù kèsí fèè ò-kyà.  
 Abena PST-leave under COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PROG-dance  
 ‘Abena started to dance.’

b. Abena ké-liù kèsí fèè ò-kyà.  
 Abena FUT-leave under COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PROG-dance  
 ‘Abena will begin to dance/will start dancing’. (Elicited)

Some modality verbs like *yèkí* ‘stop’ also selects nominalised complements as illustrated in (59). In (59a), (59b) and (59c) *yèkí* ‘stop’ is marked for the future tense, past tense and perfect aspect, respectively and it selects a nominalised complement *òyú kì-ńá* ‘tree-cutting’.

(59) a. Kwame ké-yèkí òyú kì-ńá.  
 Kwame FUT-stop tree NOMZ-cut  
 ‘Kwame will stop cutting tree.’

b. Kwame é-yèkí òyú kì-ńá.  
 Kwame PST-stop tree NOMZ-cut  
 ‘Kwame stopped cutting tree.’

c. Kwame ékà-yèkí òyú kì-ńá.  
 Kwame PERF-stop tree NOMZ-cut  
 ‘Kwame has stopped cutting tree.’ (Elicited)

For PCU verbs, complements can show tense and aspectual distinctions different from their matrix verbs as shown in examples (60-.62). In (60) the PCU verb *nù* ‘hear’ is in the past tense while the CC is in the future. In (71) the PCU verb *gyìrí wà* ‘tell’ is in the future but its CC is in the perfect tense. In (60), both the matrix verb and CC verb are in the past tense.

(60) Mé-nù [ fèè ò-ké-bà.  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-hear COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-come  
 ‘I heard that she will come’. (Elicited)

- (61) Kofi ké-gyìrì wà Ama [fèè àlékà-ḡèsí  
 Kofi FUT-tell do Ama COMP 2PL.SUBJ.PERF-smoke  
 kèkìnyí wú].  
 fish DET  
 ‘Kofi will tell Ama that we have smoked the fish.’ (Elicited)
- (62) Kwame é-gyìrì fèè ó-ḡù kpirìnyàsì wú.  
 Kwame PST-say COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST -see hawk DET  
 ‘Kwame said that he saw the hawk.’ (Elicited)

Even though PCU verbs may vary in the aspect they impose on their complement verbs, there are some PCU verbs which always select the future tense for their complements. They include *kpèrì* ‘prophesy’ in (63), *sé kònó* ‘promise’ in (64), *kìì ànyìsì tó* ‘expect’, and *kòrìgyì* ‘believe’. The selection of the future tense on the complement clause is perhaps associated with the semantics of the verb in the matrix clause. Their results can only be manifested in the future.

- (63) Wùrúbwàrì òlòḡápú wú é-kpèrì [ fèè  
 God sender DET PST-prophesy COMP  
 àlì-ké-nyà àtirèḡyì].  
 2PL.SUBJ-FUT-get money  
 ‘The pastor prophesied that we will get money’ (Elicited)
- (64) òkùrì wú sé kònó [fèè ò-ké-yò ].  
 husband DET give mouth COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-go  
 ‘The husband promised that he will come.’ (Elicited)

### 5.3.5 Mood

The choice of mood for complements may be determined by the semantics of the CTV in the matrix clause. The utterance verb *bisa* ‘ask’ imposes only



interrogative mood on its complement as shown in (65).

(65) ò-bìsá                      wú                      fèè                      mì  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-ask            3SG.OBJ            COMP            1SG.POSS  
 dàmpú,    nèkítá    ásùj            yí    ò-gyírí    wà    fú?  
 friend    what    matter    FM    3SG.SUBJ-say do    2SG.OBJ  
 ‘He asked him, “My friend what did he tell you?”                      (FS2)

(66) ó-bìsá                      búò                      fèè,                      “Bodobodo    àmùní  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-ask 3PL.OBJ    COMP            bread            how many  
 yí            bèrí-dè            ?”  
 FM            3PL.SUBJ.PRES-have  
 ‘He asked him how may loafs of bread do you have?                      (Mark 8:5a)

The selectional restriction of *bìsá* ‘ask’ is also evident in embedded indirect question construction. It is the only verb that allows question words to occur after the complementizer as shown in (67).

(67) mè-bìsá                      fèè                      òsé                      yí                      ó-tà  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-ask    COMP    who    FM    3SG.SUBJ.PST-take  
 kíkátó    wú.  
 egg            DET  
 ‘I asked who took the egg’.                      (Elicited)

Verbs which do not impose interrogative mood on the complement cannot contain question words in embedded indirect questions as shown in (68).

(68) \*ñ-nyí                      fèè                      òsè                      yí  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know    COMP    who            FM  
 ò-tá                      kíkátó            wú.  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take            egg            DET  
 ‘I know who took the egg’.                      (Elicited)

To achieve the intended interpretation in (68), a relativization strategy is required as illustrated in (69).

(69) ñ-nyí	òsó	wú	ké
1SG.SUBJ.PRES-know	person	DET	REL
ò-tá	kìkàtó	wú.	
3SG.SUBJ.PST-take	egg	REL	
‘I know who took the egg’.			(Elicited)

The verb *bísà* ‘ask’ can also employ the relativization strategy in addition to combining a question words in embedded indirect clause construction as shown in (69) above. The verb *bísá* ‘ask’ therefore appears to behave in an exceptional way.

Some CTVs impose both interrogative and declarative mood on the complement verbs. These set of verbs include *kìì* ‘ascertain’, *nùù* ‘listen’, *kìì ànyí sí* ‘expect’ and *bùkà* ‘answer/respond’ as illustrated in (70) below.

(70) Bé-bùkàá	wú	fèè ,	“Àkú	bèè	
3PL.SUBJ.PST-answer	3SG.OBJ	COMP	some	say	
fù	í-gyì	Gyàh	Ñkyù	Ògyíyèpú	wú <sup>50</sup> .
2SG.SUBJ	HAB-be	John	water	baptiser	DET
‘They answered him “some say you are John the Baptist”’. (Mark 8:28a)					

There are certain utterance verbs which impose only imperative and declarative mood on the complement verbs. Such verbs include *tu* ‘call’, *faatɔ* ‘shout’, *fíyeto* ‘cry out’, *nye* ‘say’, *gyiri* ‘say’.

<sup>50</sup> Tones marked are mine.

(71) ó-fààtó                      fě̀ě                  fù                  bà  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-shout    COMP                  2SG.SUBJ        come.IMP  
 'She shouted 'You come!'' (Elicited)

(71) mé-gyírí                      fě̀ě                  yò!  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-say        COMP                  go.IMP  
 'I said that go'. (Elicited)

When the main clause has a modality or manipulation verb which is marked for imperative, the complement clause is introduced by a *ké* complementizer and the complement clause takes a declarative mood as featured in (73-75) below.

(73) kyè                      Ama      tò                  [ ké      ò-sù̀ṅ ]  
 Help.IMP                  Ama      inside                  COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 'Help Ama to work'.

(74) Yèkí                      Ama      [ ké      ò-sù̀ṅ ]  
 Allow.IMP                  Ama      COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-work  
 'Allow Ama to work'

(75) Wàà aniyá                  [ ké                  fù-bà  
 do force                  COMP                  2SG.SUBJ-come  
 'Try to come'. (Elicited)

### 5.3.6 Negation

Ransom (1986) identifies two kinds of negative marking in complementation:

- (i) Broad Scope Negation and
  - (ii) Narrow Scope Negation.
- The first type involves negation where both the verbs of the matrix clause and complement clause take negative marking. The second type involves instances where only

one verb is negated. These two types are attested in Kaakye. When manipulative verbs are negated, the complement clause verbs do not get negated as shown in (76b and 77), rather, the negation effect on the manipulation verb selects a different complementizer.

(76) a. Kofi é-kyè Ama tò yí bé sùj̃.

Kofi PST-help Ama inside COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PST-work

‘Kofi helped Ama to do the work.’

b. Kofi ñ-kyè Ama tò [ ké bù-sùj̃ ]

Kofi NEG.PST-help Ama inside COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-work

‘Kofi did not help Ama to do the work’.

c.\* Kofi ñ-kyè Ama tò [ké bù-sùj̃ ]

Kofi NEG.PST-help Ama inside COMP 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-work

‘Kofi did not help Ama to do the work’. (Elicited)

(77) Kwame mé-yírí Yaw [ ké ò-gyì

Kwame NEG.FUT-force Yaw COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-eat

àgyíbi wú ].

food DET

‘Kwame will not force Yaw to eat the food’. (Elicited)

Again, there appears to be some peculiar effects of polarity and on the obligatoriness of the complementizers. In the affirmative past construction in (76a), the complement clause of the manipulation verb is introduced by the complementizer *yí* while in (76b), the negative past construction, a *ké* complementizer introduces the complement clause. Thus, the negative marker occurs only in the matrix clause. A possible explanation could be that Kaakye draws a distinction between realis and irrealis mood by contrasting these two complementizers. It is clear in (76a) that the use of *ké* in the negative past

construction serves to indicate that the act of help expected from Kofi did not happen as at the time the speaker is talking. In contrast, *yí* indicates that the action expressed by the verb *kyè* ‘help’ happened as at the moment of speech. In Givón’s (2001:4) terms we could say there is a successful manipulation in the action expressed by the verb in the matrix clause.

The same applies to modality verbs. However, for modality verbs the complementizer is maintained as illustrated in (78).

- (78) a. Ama    é-kírí            féè        ò-ké-yò                    lòh̀tò.  
           Ama   PST-want        COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-go home  
           ‘Ama wanted to go home.’
- b. Ama    ò-kírí            féè        ò-ké-yò                    lòh̀tò.  
           Ama   NEG.PST-want        COMP 3SG.SUBJ-FUT-go home  
           ‘Ama didn’t want to go home.’                                    (Elicited)

Unlike manipulation and modality verbs, where negation is allowed to occur only in the matrix clause, PCU verbs can allow both broad scope negation as in (79) and narrow scope negation as shown in (80 and 81).

- (79) òkyí        wú        ò-gyìrí        [ féè        ò-mé-yò                    ]  
           woman    DET    NEG.PST-say    COMP 3SG.SUBJ-NEG.FUT-come  
           ‘The woman didn’t say she will not go’.                                    (Elicited)

- (80) mì            pùkyí            àá-gyìrí                    wà        wì  
           1SG.POSS sister            NEG.HAB-tell            do        1SG.OBJ  
           [ féé        ò-kwè                                    kyámá.]  
           COMP 1SG.SUBJ.IMP-grind            pepper  
           ‘My sister does not tell me to grind pepper’.

- (81) *mì pùkyí ékà-gyìrì wà wì*  
 1SG.POSS sister PERF-tell do 1SG.OBJ  
 [*fě̀é màń-kwè kyámá*]  
 COMP 1SG.SUBJ.NEG.IMP-grind pepper  
 ‘My sister has told me not to grind pepper’. (Elicited)

In (79) both the matrix clause and complement verbs are marked for negation. In (80) only the matrix verb is negated while in (81) only the complement verb is negated.

Table 5.1: Summary of semantic classes of CTVs and complement type in Kaakye

Semantics of CTV	Complement type						
	S-like complement					Nominalized complement	Relativized complement
	<i>fě̀é</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>ké</i>	<i>yí</i>	$\emptyset$		
P-C-U	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
Manipulation	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
Modality	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
Evaluation	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

It is observed in Table 8 that evaluation verbs can only occur with the complementizer *fě̀é*. It is also observed that the relativized complement and the  $\emptyset$ -complement can only appear with PCU verbs. Manipulation verbs cannot take a *fě̀é*-complementizer and in the same vein, PCU, Modality, and evaluation verbs cannot take a *sé*-complementizer. PCU verbs can occur with all complement type except the *sé* complementizer. Nominalised complements can only occur with PCU and modality verbs.

#### 5.4 A diachronic account of Kaakye complementizers

In this section, I look at the diachronic sources of the Kaakye complementizers identified in this study. Descriptive surveys of the sources of complementizers in some African languages have shown that complementizers are derived from the verb ‘say’ (Lord 1993; Osam 1994a, 1996, Heine and Kuteva 2004). Lord (1993:151) points out that “the *that*-complementizers of many of the Kwa languages of West Africa are derived from the verb ‘say’”<sup>51</sup>. Below are examples of such phenomenon in Akan (82) and Ewe (83).

- (82) a. ɔ-se    kɔ.  
                     3SG SUBJ-say                      go  
                     ‘S/he says you should go.’    (Osam 1996:99)  
 b. Mi-nim    sɛ          ɔ-bɛ-ba.  
                     1SG SUBJ-know                      COMP 3SG SUBJ-FUT-come  
                     ‘I know that s/he will come.’    (Osam 1996: 100)

- (83) a. meɔblɔ                                  be          mewɔe.  
                     I-say                                  (say) I-do-it  
                     ‘I said, "I did it." or 'I said that I did it.’  
 b. meɔ́ vinyéa bé adzó  
                     I-call child-my (say) adzo  
                     ‘I called my child "Adzo." or 'I called my child Adzo.’                                  (Lord 1993:185)

A similar phenomenon occurs in other closely related Guan languages such as Lete (84) and Nkami (85) shown below.

- (84) a. A                                  bè-yí                                  ese                                  a.  
                     3SG                                  FUT-say                                  matter                                  DEF  
                     ‘He will report the matter.’    (Akrofi-Ansah 2009:236)  
 b. Nɛ                                  a                                  bísé                                  mɛ  
                     And                                  3SG.SUBJ                                  PST.ask                                  3SG.OBJ

<sup>51</sup> Güldemann (2008) refers to this phenomenon as “the speech-verb channel”.

[ yí, wv bú miredukuu anaa?]  
 COMP 2SG PRES.have handkerchief or

‘And he asked him that do you have a handkerchief?’

(Akrofi-Ansah 2009:230-231)

(85) a. Kofi yεε ɔ-lɔ-lɔ  
 Kofi say 3SG-PERF-be.sick

‘Kofi says (that) she is sick.’

b. Kofi lε-kãã [yεε ɔ-lɔ-lɔ ]  
 Kofi PERF-say COMP 3SG-PERF-be.sick

‘Kofi has said that she is sick.’ (Asante 2016:241)

Noonan (2008: 5) also indicates that “[c]omplementizers typically derive historically from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers, and, rarely, verbs, and so may resemble words currently used in these capacities”. A more recent synchronic and diachronic cross-African linguistics survey of quotative indexes based on 39 languages by Güldemann (2008:372) reveals other sources of complementizers besides the speech verb *say*. They include:

- (a) generic verbs of equation, inchoativity and action
- (b) markers of similarity and manner
- (c) quote-referring pronominals and deictics
- (d) foregrounding devices and presentationals
- (e) pronominals referring to the speaker

(Güldemann 2008: 372)

Based on his basic findings, Güldemann (2008: 296/372) discourages the overgeneralization<sup>52</sup> of speech verbs as the most common source of the

<sup>52</sup> Güldemann (2008) refers here, among other works, to the Frajzyngier (1996: 99) generalization. It states: “what the sources of complementizers were has been a subject of



complementizers. In his words:

generic speech verbs are far less important as input for grammaticalized QIs than has been claimed in the literature. Instead, the range of relevant element types is wider and includes generic verbs of equation, inchoativity, action, and motion; markers of similarity and manner; pronominal items referring to the quote; markers of focus, presentation and identification; and finally pronominal items referring to the speaker. Against this list of elements, speech verbs are less important sources for the emergence of more routinized QIs. (Güldemann 2008: 296).

#### *5.4.1 The diachronic development of the f'è complementizer*

As Lord (1993:210) states, “there is another, less widespread version of the story, with a different beginning. Instead of starting with a verb 'say', it begins with a verb 'resemble, be like'. This verb also starts out in a serial construction, and as its verb meaning fades, it serves as a complementizer to verbs of mental action”. (Lord 1993: 210)

The complementizer *f'è* in Kaakye resembles the equative or similitive marker<sup>53</sup> *f'è* in equative construction as featured in (86) below.

- (86) a. Kòfì gyì k'ètù f'è Ama.  
           Kofì be short DEG Ama  
           ‘Kofì is as short as Ama’.

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several studies, and the issue is not controversial. One of the most common sources for de dicto complementizers are verbs of saying, confirmed time and again in many languages of the world.” Frajzyngier (1996: 99 cited in Güldemann (2008:267)

<sup>53</sup> Also referred to as ‘degree marker’ (Haspelmath 2017), comparative particle (Lord 1993)

b. Kòfi g̀ỳ k̀é̀t̀ù̀ f̀é̀é̀<sup>54</sup>

Kofi COP.be short very

‘Kofi is very short’

(Abunya 2014:18)

c. ò̀k̀ỳì ẁú̀ b̀ù̀ d̀é̀h̀ f̀é̀é̀ f̀ù̀ ǹỳì

woman DET COP.be beautiful like 2SG.POSS mother

‘The woman is as beautiful as your mother.’

(Abunya 2014:18)

In (86a) *f̀é̀é̀* indicates the physical similarity between the comparee of comparison ò̀k̀ỳì ‘woman’ and the standard of comparison ǹỳì ‘mother’. The degree-marker *f̀é̀é̀* occurs between the adjective and the standard of comparison.

Besides the usage of *f̀é̀é̀* in equative comparison constructions in Kaakye, *f̀é̀é̀* is also used to modify adjectives that are analogous in meaning to English words like *very*, as illustrated in (86b). The degree word, *f̀é̀é̀* appears at sentence-final position.

Equative constructions, according to Haspelmath (2017:9), “express situations in which two referents have a gradable property to the same degree”. The function of the equative-marker is to express the equative or the similitive sense indicated in the construction.

In (86c) *f̀é̀é̀* functions as a grammatical morpheme introducing a complement clause which translates as the *that*-complementizer in English. It is interesting to note that when *f̀é̀é̀* is used as a complementizer it is syntactically restricted in its occurrence. As discussed in section 4.1.5, *f̀é̀é̀* occurs most frequently with utterance verbs but it is not allowed to occur with any of the direct quotative verb ò̀ỳè ‘say’ as illustrated in (87b). Instead a zero

<sup>54</sup> Some speakers due to the influence of Akan prefer the Akan degree word *paa*. (Agnes Nyarko Abunya, personal communication, June 19, 2014).

complementizer is preferred as illustrated in (87a).

- (87) a.  $\acute{a}$ -wè [ Ø wà ðìḡ! ]  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-say COMP do.IMP quiet  
 mè-nú òlèmbé kú  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-hear sound IND  
 ‘He said, “Be quiet! I heard some sound”’ (PDT1)
- b. \* $\acute{á}$ -wè fèé wà ðìḡ!  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-say COMP do.IMP quiet  
 mè-nú òlèmbé kú  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-hear sound IND  
 ‘He said, “Be quiet! I heard some sound”.’ (PDT1)

The use of *fèé* as a *that*-complementizer is analogous to its occurrence as the degree-marker *fèé* ‘like/as’. Semantically, when the *fèé* complementizer introduces a complement, it signals to the hearer/audience that the information reported in the complement clause is a similar representation of what might have transpired, been said, done, or even perceived in a direct discourse. This following is the explanation by Güldemann (2008: 320-321)

The semantic motivation for a feature of similarity ... in quotative index<sup>55</sup> is “a mimetic reenactment of a non-immediate state of affairs. For an event of human speech, this involves, besides some propositional content, especially the attitude, feelings, etc. of the speaker, which are expressed by the [way] an utterance is made. It also provides a hedge for the reporter with reference to the fact that direct reported discourse is only an approximation to an evoked

<sup>55</sup> Güldemann (2008: 11) defines quotative index as “a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse”.

experience of speech/cognition, in both its linguistic and paralinguistic form.

The nature of Kaakye *fɛ̀ɛ̀* complementizer is characteristic of most Kwa languages as cross-linguistic studies show (Lord 1993, Dixon 2006b; 2010, Güldemann 2008, Akrofi Ansah 2009, Asante 2016). In these languages, the sources of the complementizers are traceable to the verb ‘resemble/ be like’ which have the same form as their complementizers. Example (88) is an illustration.

(88) a. Kofi    *sɛ*                    Amma.  
           Kofi    be-like                Amma  
           ‘Kofi resembles Amma.’

b. na        Ama    nim        *sɛ*    Kofi    *yɛɛ*    adwuma    no.  
       PAST    Ama    know    that    Kofi    did    work        the  
       ‘Ama knew that Kofi had done the work.’        (Akan: Lord 1993:159)<sup>56</sup>

In (88a) *sɛ* indicates the physical similarity between the comparee of comparison ‘Kofi’ and the standard of comparison ‘Ama’ and in (88b) functions as the complementizer.

(89) a. Kofi    mo                    *apɛsɪlɔ*        **dʒi**    **bɛ/bɛɛ**        akpãã.  
           Kofi    poss                    face            be    like                bat  
           ‘Kofi’s face is like a bat.’

b. Kofi                    *ɲu*                    [**bɛɛ**        *ɔ-lɔ-dɪ*        ] .  
           Kofi                    see                    COMP        3sg-prog-sleep  
           ‘Kofi saw him sleeping (Literally: Kofi saw that he was sleeping).’

(Nkami: Asante 2016: 244)

<sup>56</sup> Osam (1996) disagrees with this historical source of Akan complementizer *sɛ*. He provides legitimate reasons and examples to substantiate his claim that *sɛ* is diachronically derived from the verb ‘say’.



category”. According to him, “a non-verbal item can show up in predicator function depending on the extent to which a language allows non-predicative clause structures” Güldemann (ibid 2008: 321).

In view of Güldemann’s (2008: 321) remarks, it can be suggested that the use of *fě̀̀* in simulative constructions may not be historically derived from a verbal lexeme but only functions in a predicative environment. Thus, based on what Kaakye synchronic data suggests, I consider it reasonable to account for *fě̀̀* by appealing to its predicative simulative meaning *like*. In order to make a more convincing claim however, it will be useful to resort to language-internal evidence. Thus, a research on the forms and sources of complementizers in its dialects and its closely related North-Guan languages may be critical in throwing more light on the source of the *fě̀̀* complementizer.

The source of Kaakye *that*-complementizer, patterns differently from what has been observed by Lord (1993) in other Kwa languages. Lord (1993:151) reports that “the *that*-complementizers of many of the Kwa languages of West Africa are derived from the verb ‘say’”. As Kaakye data suggests, *fě̀̀*, the *that*-complementizer in Kaakye is not derived from the speech verb *say*. What is attested in Kaakye seems to support Güldemann’s (2008:267) basic observation that “generic speech verbs are less important source of complementizers”.

#### 5.4.2 *The diachronic development of the sé complementizer*

The complementizer *sé* originates from the causative verb *sé* ‘make’. When used as a verb it takes the full verbal inflections. Consider the following examples.

- (91) a. Ababio é-sè Kwame é-gyì àgyìbí wú.  
 Ababio PST-make Kwame PST-eat food DET  
 ‘Ababio made Kwame eat the food’.
- b. Ababio ké-sè Kwame é-gyì àgyìbí wú.  
 Ababio FUT-make Kwame eat. food DET  
 ‘Ababio will make Kwame eat the food’. (Elicited)
- (92) a. Ababio é-sirí Kwame [sé ò-lùtwé òsùrí ]  
 Ababio PST-push Kwame COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-fall ground  
 ‘Ababio pushed Kwame to the ground’.
- b.\* Ababio é-sirí Kwame é-sé ò-lùtwé òsùrí.  
 Ababio PST-push Kwame PST-COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PST-fall ground  
 ‘Ababio pushed Kwame to the ground’. (Elicited)

In Examples (91a) the verb *sé* ‘make’ takes past tense marking while in (91b) it is marked for future tense. The use of *sé* in the complementizing function is illustrated in (91). As it is obvious from (92b) *sé* cannot be inflected for person, tense, aspect and negation.

As discussed in (section 3.1.1.2) above, *sé* complementizer collocates mostly with manipulation verbs.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to Kaakye. Other languages such as Akan (93), Lete (94) and probably other Kwa languages might exhibit this feature.

- (93) a. Kofi ma-a abofra no bɔ-ɔ famu  
 Kofi make-COMPL child DEF fall-COMPL ground  
 ‘Kofi made the child fall to the ground’.
- b. Ama hyɛ-ɛ Abena ma  
 Ama force-COMPL Abena COMP

o-soa-a adaka no  
 3SG.SUBJ-carry-COMPL box DEF

‘Ama forced Abena to carry the box’. (Osam 1996: 95)

(94) a. Ama dí-né oyirebi a tegyi.  
 Name PROG-give child DEF food

‘Ama is giving the child food’.

b. Ama wórè [nè Kofi bùè esumi a].  
 Name PST.force COMP Name PST.do work DEF

‘Ama forced Kofi to do the work’. (Lete: Akrofi Ansah 2009: 237)

It is important to hint here (as it will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6) that, the form *se* may also function as an adposition in SVC construction, to introduce a benefactive or recipient noun phrase as shown in (95).

(95) Abena ké-diká ì-kù sé àrí.  
 Abena FUT-cook INANM-some give 2PL.OBJ

‘Abena will cook some for us’. (Elicited)

Again, *sé* could also be used to introduce conditional clauses as shown in (96).

(96) **Sé** bèrí- é-bè ñkyú wú tò yí  
 If 2PL.SUBJ.PST-come water DET inside CONJ  
 bèrí-é-ñù kètébóyì kù wú  
 2PL.SUBJ.PST-see snake IND DET

nene yi bəri-waa?

what FM 2PL.SUBJ.PRES-do

‘When/supposing you got in the river and you saw a snake what do you do?

(PT3)

#### 5.4.3 The diachronic development of the *ké* complementizer

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that complementizers usually have multifunctional roles in grammar. The ‘that’ complementizer in English, for instance, functions as a relative marker and a nominal demonstrative. (Dixon



2006b). In Kaakye, the complementizer *ke* is identical to the morpheme that introduces relative clauses as shown in (97), and future tense marker, as illustrated in (98).

- (97). kù-suŋ      wv      kɛ́      [ m̀v      nyi      é-sé      wì  
 work      DET      REL      1SG.POSS      mother      PST-give      1SG.OBJ  
 wú      ]      ì-b̀v           l̀ìŋ  
 REL      3SG.SUBJ.INANM-be      difficult      (Elicited)  
 ‘The work that my mother gave me is difficult.’

- (98) Keyinte      kɛ́-ǹetí  
 Keyinte      FUT-walk  
 ‘Keyinte will walk.’      (Elicited)

The possible source of the relative marker *kɛ́* has been accounted for in chapter 4. In that chapter, I suggest that the relative marker is derived from the manner demonstrative pronoun *kɛ́ǹìŋ* ‘like this/that’. Abunya and Amfo (2013) also suggest that the future marker developed from the temporal adverb *ɔ̀kɛ́* ‘tomorrow’. With the possible different sources of these markers which have identical form as the complementizer *kɛ́*, it is quite challenging to establish the possible source of the complementizer *kɛ́*. In such situation, relying on cross-linguistic observations about the development of complementizers and on what is observed in synchronic data is instructive. Cross-linguistic survey of complementizers has shown that complementizers may derive from relativizers (Heine and Kuteva 2004:254, Payne 1997), Heine and Kuteva (2004: 254), for instance, cite Thai as an example of a language where *thii*, a relative marker is used as complementizer.

From what is attested in cross-linguistics studies, and considering the fact that Kaakye complementation shares some formal features with

relativization and again, the possible source of the relativizer; (thus, derived from demonstrative), it seems reasonable to assume that the complementizer *ké* is the functional extension of the relativizer *ké*. This stage of grammaticalization where “a grammatical marker developed from a lexical word, further develops into a more grammatical marker” is a common attested path in the processes of grammaticalization (Heine et al 1991: 2, Hopper 1991, Heine and Kuteva 2004). This situation could be likened to Hopper’s (1991:22) principle of Layering<sup>58</sup> which states that “[w]ithin a functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers”. The Kaakye data discussed here provides a good example for the Hopper’s (1991) layering principle of grammaticalization.

As it was discussed in section 3.1.1.3, manipulation verbs in matrix clauses select this complementizer when they are inflected for future tense or in the imperative mood, as shown in (99). It is not quite clear to me whether the preference for this complementizer in such instances is in any way related to the future tense marker since it is identical to the form *ké*.

- (99) b. Wurubwart kyè àrí tò **ké** à-diyé  
 God help 2PL.OBJ inside COMP SM-can.be able  
 kù àrí à-gyí.  
 watch 2PL.POSS CM-child  
 ‘Help us, God, to care for our children.’ (PT1)

<sup>58</sup> Hopper derives the term ‘Layering’ from Givón (1984)

5.4.4 *The diachronic development of the yí complementizer*

The complementizer *yí* is homophonous with the form used as clausal connective and focus marker.

(100) Sé	bèrí -é-làà	òdò	wú	<u>yí</u>	
If	2PL.SUBJ-PST-remove	net	DET	CONJ	
bèré-nyì	fèé	í-kitá			
32PL.SUBJ.PST-see	COMP	3SG.SUBJ.PST-catch			
kètèbóyì	wú	nènè	<i>yí</i>	bèrí -wàà	mò wú?
snake	DET	what	FM	2PL.SUBJ.PRES-do	kill 2SG.OBJ?
‘When/supposing you removed the net and you saw a snake what do you do?’					(PT3)

The underlined *yì* in (100) serves as a conjunction. It connects the two clauses: *sé bèrí -é-làà òdò wú* ‘supposing you removed the net’ and *bèré-nyì fèé í-kitá wú* ‘you saw a snake’. The italicised *yí* in (100) functions as contrastive focus marker. It emphasizes the fact that the speaker has no clue to the answer to his/her question and the fact that he/she is eager to know the answer. It is very likely that the complementizer *yí* is a functional extension of the clausal connective *yí*. From a diachronic point of view, Noonan (2007:57) indicates that “complementizers usually originate from various sources like pronouns, adpositions, case markers, conjunctions, or even verbs”. As a clause linker, *yí* may be a probable source of the complementizer *yí*.

Amfo (2018: 256-258) in discussing the possible clausal connectives source for focus particles, which are phonologically identical, in some Kwa languages, tentatively, concludes that these markers may serve as “general linkage between units of complex clausal connectives and that the semantics and pragmatics of the constructions and constituents they link will provide input

for a more specific characterization of the markers in context”. The possible source of the *yí* complementizer in Kaakye seems to support the view expressed by Amfo (2018). The complementizer *yí* is phonologically similar to the clausal connective and focus marker. As a complementizer, *yí* gains a more specific role by serving as a linkage between the matrix clause and the complement clause in a complement clause construction.

### 5.5 Summary

This chapter has described complementation in Kaakye. It has shown that Kaakye has five complementizers: *fɛ́ɛ́*, *sé*, *ké*, *yí*,  $\emptyset$ -complementizers; and two complementation strategies: nominalization and relativization strategies, all of which serve as object complements of CTVs. The choice of these complement types and complementation strategies is to a large extent determined by the semantics of the CTVs and to some extent by the tense, aspects, mood and negation effects of the CTVs reflected in the matrix clause. Regarding their distribution, it was observed that the *fɛ́ɛ́* complementizer is strongly required by PCU verbs, evaluation verbs and modality verbs while the *sé* complementizer is highly required by manipulation verbs. It was also shown that *ké* and *yí* complements are mostly used for manipulative and modality verbs and in some instances PCU verbs and their choice is usually dependent on tense, aspect, mood and negation effects in the matrix clause. The  $\emptyset$ -complementizer is obligatory with direct quotative verb *nyè* ‘say’ and optionally required by some PCU verbs. Nominalized complements which usually have reduced structures are also preferred only by some PCU verbs and modality verbs. Relativized

complements are syntactically determined. They are preferably used in embedded indirect questions and they typically occur with PCU verbs.

The co-referential relation, tense, aspect, mood and negation between the CTVs and the complement clauses were also examined. It was shown that Kaakye generally conforms to Givón's notion of event integration. Firstly, it was demonstrated that all sentential complements in Kaakye take an overt subject. It was shown that true to Givón's notion of referential cohesion, manipulation and modality verbs are more semantically integrated since they show co-referential requirements while, PCU verbs are not, since they have no co-referential requirement. Secondly, Kaakye complementation supports his notion of implicativity. It was observed that implicative manipulation verbs may either impose tense aspectual systems on their complements. PCU verbs do not show such restrictions since they are usually independent of the matrix clause.

As cross-linguistics studies have shown, most Kwa languages of West Africa historically developed their 'that'-complementizers from the verb 'say'. This phenomenon is missing in Kaakye as the discussion on the diachronic account of the complementizers show. Instead, as the account suggests, the *fěé* complementizer is historically derived from the predicative similative marker *fěé* 'like', the *sé* complementizer from the verb *sé* 'make', the *ké* complementizer from the relative marker *ké* and the *yí* complementizer from the clause linker *yí*.

## CHAPTER 6

### SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 6.0 Introduction

Like many West African languages, the sequence of two or more verbs occurring adjacent to each other is not hard to find in Kaakye natural discourse. This kind of construction that usually contains two or more verbs in a single clause which collectively express a single event is traditionally referred to as Serial Verb Construction (SVC).

In the literature, SVC is prototypically characterised as having the following features: (i) two or more verbs in a sequence which act together as a single predicate in a single clause (ii) There is no explicit marking of subordination or coordination (iii) The series of verbs in a construction share tense, aspect, mood, transitivity and polarity values (iv) The string of verbs share at least one and possibly more arguments (v) Each component of a serial verb construction must be able to occur on its own in a clause (i.e. they all must have the status of verbs (vi) Intonational properties of a clause with serialization are those of a mono-verbal clause. (Aikhenvald 2006: 1).

Despite these prototypical features, cross-linguistics studies have pointed out that the phenomenon varies from language to language, and even within the same language, some variations are expected (see Lord 1993, Durie 1997: 292, Aikhenvald 2006, Ameka 2006). The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to examine the properties of SVCs in Kaakye. The chapter is organized as follows: Section 6.1 discusses the structure and general features of SVCs in Kaakye. Section 6.2 outlines the general typology of SVCs. Section 6.3 considers the transitivity status of the verbs that occur in SVC. In Section 6.4, I



the coordinator *yì* ‘and’ resulting in a multi-clause construction while (1a) lacks such coordination making it a single clause construction. (1a) is a typical example of SVC in Kaakye. It expresses a single events expressed by means of three verbs.

The interpretation here is that the subject *ò* ‘he’ actually considers his daily sequence of actions: hiding, going and giving as a single event. In this light, it lacks overt coordination; the verbal components in (1a) share the same subject *ò*- ‘he’ and habitual aspect which is marked once on the first verb. In (1b) the subject and aspectual marker appear on each of the verbs. (1b) lacks this sense of single eventhood. Example (2) also illustrates an SVC in Kaakye:

(2) <i>Bì-yà</i>	<i>sié</i>	<i>ńkyú</i>	<i>bè</i>	<i>pòrá</i>	<i>òwòrí</i>	<i>wó</i> .
3PL.SUBJ.PRES-go	fetch	water	take	wet	skin	DET
‘They go to fetch water to wet on the skin (of animal).’						(FST 3)

The SVC in (2) contains four verbs *yà* ‘go’, *sié* ‘fetch’, *bè* ‘take’ and *pòrá* ‘wet’ and they also share the same subject *bì*- ‘they’ and tense. The ditransitive verb *sé* ‘give’ in (1a) takes the third person singular object *wó* ‘her’ and *àgyìbí* ‘food’ as its arguments. In (2) the transitive verbs *sié* ‘fetch’ and *pòrá* ‘wet’ take *ńkyú* ‘water’ and *òwòrí wó* ‘the leather’, respectively as their objects. Unlike in (1a) where the verbs are contiguous in structure, the verbs in (2) are non-contiguous. Both sentences in (1a) and (2) are mono-clausal in that they do not constitute any marker of coordination or subordination and the events which appear in succession express a sequence of interrelated events. Each of the verbs can function independently as a verb on its own as illustrated in (3) below:



- (3) a. Kikyéni kùmàní ò-bàré .  
time every 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-hide  
‘Every time, he hides.’
- b. Kikyéni kùmàní ò-yà .  
time every 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-go  
‘Every time, he goes.’
- c. Kikyéni kùmàní ò-sé wú àgyibi.  
time every 3SG.SUBJ.HAB give 3SG.OBJ food  
‘Every time, he gives her food.’

## 6.2 Typology of SVCs

### 6.2.1 Composition of the verbs: Asymmetrical and Symmetrical SVCs

The level of restriction on each of the verb slots in an SVC is referred as Symmetricality (Aikhenvald 2006b:21). SVCs can either be asymmetrical or symmetrical depending on their composition. Both types of SVCs are found in Kaakye.

Asymmetrical SVCs involve one or more verbs from an open or restricted class and one or more from the closed or unrestricted class. Usually, the verb from the unrestricted class determines the semantic or the syntactic property of the whole construction since it describes the main event expressed in the SVC and the verb from the restricted class modifies the events denoted by a verb from an unrestricted class. She points out that the verbs from the restricted class could signal direction or express some sort of tense or aspectual meaning to the entire construction. Example (4) is an instance of asymmetrical SVC.

- (4) a. Kofi é-wùùrí ò-yì.  
Kofi PST-crawl 3SG.SUBJ-go  
‘Kofi crawled away.’ (Elicited)

- b. Mé-**kpè**                      **wòrí**                      wú.....  
 1PL.SUBJ.PST-sweep    finish                      DCM  
 ‘I have finished sweeping.’                      (NT 4)

In (4a) *wòrí* ‘crawl’ is an open verb and *yì* ‘go’ is a closed verb. As we can see, the direction of the activity of crawling is signalled by the motion verb go. In (4b) the  $V_1$  *kpè* ‘sweep’ is an open verb and *wòrí* ‘finish’ is a closed verb. The verb finish in (4b) signals that the activity of eating is completed or has been brought to an end. Often, the restricted verbs are noted to occur in a particular position in the construction: either as the first or the last verb in the construction. Sebba (1987) makes this distinction clear by labelling the verbs from the restricted class as ‘fixed verbs’ and those from the unrestricted class as ‘free verbs’ to highlight the fixed position of the occurrence of the restricted verbs.

On the other hand, symmetrical SVC involves only two or more verbs from the semantically and grammatically unrestricted class. Since verbs that form the symmetrical SVCs are from the same class, they tend to have equal status. Example (5) features this type of SVC.

- (5) a. Atrobea                      **é-kùsú**                      **yìrí.**  
 Atrobea                      PST-get up                      stand  
 ‘Atrobea stood up.’                      (Elicited)
- b. Kojo                      **é-kòrí**                      asìj                      wú                      **gyì.**  
 Kojo                      PST-collect                      matter                      DET                      eat  
 ‘Kojo believed the story.’                      (Elicited)

In example (5a) both verbs *kùsú* ‘get up’ and *yìrí* ‘stand’ are open class verbs. The same is true of (5b); the verbs *kòrí* ‘collect’ and *gyì* ‘eat’ are also

from open class verbs. Thus, the event of getting up and standing in (5a), and receiving and eating in (5b) are considered as having occurred consecutively.

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that usually verbs from asymmetrical SVC and symmetrical SVC have a strong tendency of becoming grammaticalized and lexicalized, respectively (Lord 2003, Aikenvald 2006:30, Heine and Kuteva 2004). Because of these diachronic tendencies, it is necessary to examine both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs very closely in order to differentiate them from lexicalized compounds on the one hand, and grammaticalized constructions on the other. I discuss grammaticalization and lexicalisation in section 6.5.

### 6.2.2 Degree of semantic and syntactic integration

Depending on the extent of the semantic cohesion of the events expressed by the verbal components in SVCs, Osam (1994a, 2004, and 2014) identifies two types of SVCs in Akan, as discussed in section 2.4.4.2. They are the integrated serial verb construction (ISVC) and Clause chaining serial verb construction (CCSVC). Another distinction, similar to Osam, is made by Lee (2003:103-104) in his study of Buli SVCs. He distinguished between tight SVC and non-tight SVCs. I follow Osam (1994a, 2004, 2014) in categorizing SVCs in Kaakye. According to Osam (2014: 14), the CCSVCs type constitutes the concatenation of otherwise “potentially independent events”. The example (6) illustrates this type of SVC.

- (6)a. *ndìbákè wú àrí-kùsú bɛ̀ kù òdò wú.*  
 dawn DET 2PL.SUBJ.HAB-wake.up come look net DET  
 ‘At dawn we wake up and come to look at the net.’ (PT3)

- b. Yaaka é-sà ñkyù kú fè ñyè àtirènyì.  
 Yaaka PST-fetch water tie sell get money  
 ‘Yaaka fetched water, tied it, sold it and got money.’ (Elicited)

The verbs in CCSVCs constitute a combination of independent events.

On this note example (6b) could be separated as follows:

- (7) a. Yaaka é-sà ñkyù.  
 Yaaka PST-fetch water  
 ‘Yaaka fetched the water.’  
 b. Yaaka é-kú ñkyù.  
 Yaaka PST-tie water  
 ‘Yaaka tied the water.’  
 c. Yaaka é-fè ñkyù.  
 Yaaka PST-sell water  
 ‘Yaaka sold the water.’  
 d. Yaaka é-nyè àtirènyì.  
 Yaaka PST-get money  
 ‘Yaaka got money’.

Since CCSVCs involve the chaining of separate events it can be linked with conjunctions as in (8). The introduction of the conjunction, as can be observed in (8), does not cause a change in the meaning of the construction.

- (8) Yaaka é-sà ñkyù yí ó-kú yí  
 Yaaka PST-fetch water CONJ 3SG.SUBJ.PST-tie CONJ  
 ó-fè yí ó-nyè àtirènyì.  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-sell CONJ 3SG.SUBJ.PST-get money  
 ‘Yaaka fetched water and tied (it) and sold (it) and got money’. (Elicited)





- c. àrí-sìrìnìj                      bà      òkyù      kònó.  
 2PL.SUBJ.HAB.run    come    water    mouth  
 ‘We ran to the riverbank.’ (PT3)

Note that the combination of intransitive-intransitive verb in (11a) and (11b) results in a contiguous SVC. An SVC is characterised as contiguous when the verbs which form the SVC do not allow any other constituent to intervene between their components (Aikhenvald 2006:37). The verb *mikidá* ‘fall down’ is directly followed by *wù* ‘die’ in (11a) and in (11b) *dà* ‘fall down’ immediately follows *tè* ‘cut’.

### 6.3.2 Intransitive-Transitive combination

The sequence of intransitive-transitive verbs combination in (12a-12c) also results in a contiguous SVC. The verbs in (12a) to (12c) are all adjacent to each other.

- (12) a. báá-kyìré                      nùù                      pító.  
 3PL.SUBJ.HAB-sit    drink                      pito  
 ‘They sit down to drink pito.’ (PT2)

- b. Ò-kyirà                                      kòrí                      ànyìnkpúsà.  
 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-sit                      receive                      people  
 ‘He sits to welcome people.’

(RDD 6)

- c. Kèbè              wú      é-dáj              sùè              kibòmú              kùnkú.  
 palmtree    DET    PST-grow      bear              palmfruit              one  
 ‘The palm tree grew and bore one palm-fruit.’ (FST2)

## 6.3.3 Transitive-Intransitive combination

- (13) a. Akua    **é-tà**            òfé                    bè-sìkà            ñfùh̃.  
 Akua    PST-take    rope                    APPL-hang            there  
 ‘Akua took the rope and hanged it there.’
- b. ó-dè                                    wú                                    ò-sìrìnìh̃                    kírí-kírí  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-hold 3SG.ANM.OBJ    3SG.SUBJ-run    quick-quick  
 ‘He held it and he ran quickly.’ (PDT)
- c. ó-dìì                                    òyú    wú    kpìnì.  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-climb            tree    DET    be.tired  
 ‘He climbed the tree and was tired.’ (FST4)

The sequence of transitive-intransitive verbs combination in (13a) and (13b) also results in a non-contiguous<sup>60</sup> SVC. In (13a) and (13b) there are intervening objects between the verbs in sequence. Thus, in (13a) and (13b) the objects òfé ‘rope’ and wú sù ‘him on’ come between the verbs *tà* ‘take’ and *sìkà* ‘hang’; and sòh̃ ‘sniff’ and *kìì* ‘see’, respectively.

## 6.3.4 Transitive-Transitive combination

- (14) a. Bèrì                    **é-dè**                    wú                    **mò**                    wú.  
 2PL.SUBJ    PST-beat            3SG.OBJ    kill                    3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You beat and killed it’. (PT 3)
- b. yí                    **mé-kyíkí**                    kèbè                    gyì    kùnkú                    pé  
 CONJ    1SG.SUBJ.HAB-pluck            palm tree    seed    one                    only  
**wà**    ñfùwò,    mí-nyè                    kùtùh̃tùh̃    lèlè    kùnkú                    òbó.  
 do    oil                    1SG.SUBJ.HAB-get            gourd    big    one                    full  
 ‘And (if) I take only one palm fruit, it can yield a gourd full of palm oil.’ (FST2)

The sequence of transitive-transitive verbs combination in (14a) and

<sup>60</sup> An SVC is characterised as non-contiguous when the verbs which form the SVC allow other constituent to intervene between their components (Aikhenvald 2006:37).



(14b) above also yields a non-contiguous SVC. The serial verbs do not follow each other directly. Their sequences are interrupted by the direct objects of the first verb.

Dixon (2006a: 340) observes that “in each language, an SVC allows its component verbs to be all transitive, or all intransitive, or a mix of transitive and intransitive”. As observed from above, the verbal components of SVCs in Kaakye have no transitivity restrictions. Thus, verbs in Kaakye SVC may have the same or different transitivity values. The possible transitivity combination as presented above is similar to what occurs in other related Kwa<sup>61</sup> languages such as, Chumburung (Hansford 2012), Lete (Akrofi-Ansah 2009), Nkami (Asante 2016), Akan (Osam 1994a, 2004) Ewe (Ameka 2006), Ga (Campbell 2017), Logba (Dorvlo 2008), Tafi (Bobuafor 2013) and other GTM languages. Kaakye and these languages exhibit an exception which is contrary to what has been observed to be prototypical.

#### **6.4 Formal properties of SVCs in Kaakye**

Like SVCs in other Kwa languages, Kaakye SVCs have common properties such as subject marking; object marking; tense, aspect, mood marking; and negation marking. This section examines these syntactic properties of Kaakye SVCs.

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<sup>61</sup> It is interesting to note that most Gur languages spoken in Ghana such as Gurune (Atintono 2005), Buli (Lee 2003), and Dagaare (Bodomo 1998) exhibit transitivity restrictions.



(15c)<sup>62</sup>. In (15b) the full NP subject ‘Kofi’ occurs before the  $V_1$  and its pronominal form  $\delta$  is also marked on the  $V_2$  *bà* ‘come’; and as can be seen in (15b) is also ungrammatical.

In (16a) the subject *ó-* is a third person singular pronoun and it is also shared by the three verbs *fùkí* ‘jump’, *tè* ‘sit’ and *yèkí* ‘leave’. The occurrence of the subject pronoun on each of the verbs in serialization is ungrammatical as shown in (16b).

(16) a.	<b>ó-fùkí</b>	<b>kyìré</b>	<i>òyù</i>	<i>súsú</i>	<b>yèkí</b>
	3SG.SUBJ.PST-jumped	sit	tree	top	leave
	<i>mú</i>	<i>dèmpú</i>	<i>wú.</i>		
	3SG.POSS	friend	DET		
	‘He jumped and sat on top of the tree and left his friend.’ (FST1)				
b.	* <b>ó-fukí</b>	<b>ò-kyìré</b>	<i>òyù</i>	<i>súsú</i>	
	3SG.SUBJ.PST-jumped	3SG.SUBJ-sit	tree	top	
	<b>ò-yèkí</b>	<i>mú</i>	<i>dèmpú</i>	<i>wú.</i>	
	3SG.SUBJ-leave	3SG.POSS	friend	DET	
	‘He jumped and sat on top of the tree.’				

Alongside this single subject marking, it is also possible to find cases where the pronominal copy of the subject of  $V_1$  occurs on each of the verbs in series. As far as my data is concerned, this concordant marking is attested in two domains. One is found in instrumental SVC where the initial verb is a handling verb and the  $V_2$  is expressed in the progressive aspect as shown in (17

<sup>62</sup> It is interesting to note that Logba, a GTM language allows this kind of marking where the subject NP of the  $V_1$  is cross-reference on  $V_2$  with a subject pronominal prefix as well and the remaining verbs in series are not marked with any pronominal prefixes as shown below:

Kofi *óteni zó ɔgbá yó.*

Kofi	<i>ó-teni</i>	<i>zó</i>	<i>ɔ-gbá yó</i>
Kofi	SM.SG-escape	go	CM-road skin

‘Kofi run to the road side.’

(Dorvlo 2008:194)

and 18). The other occurs when the first verb is a stative verb and the event expressed in the second verb is progressive as illustrated in (17 and 18).

(17) a. Bayoba      **dè**      mú              kùsèrí    ò-**gyì**  
 Bayoba      use      3SG.POSS      hand    3SG.SUBJ.PROG-eat  
 àgyíbí      wú.  
 food              DET

‘Bayoba is eating the food with his hand.’ (Elicited)

b. \* Bayoba      **dè**      mú              àsèrí    **gyì**    àgyíbí    wú.  
 Bayoba      use      3SG.POSS      hand    eat      food      DET  
 ‘Bayoba is eating the food with his hand.’

(18) a. a. Ò-**dè**              kùtò              ò-**gyì**                      àgyíbí      wú.  
 3SG.SUBJ-take    spoon              3SG.SUBJ.PROG-eat    food      DET  
 ‘He is eating the food with a spoon’. (Elicited)

b \*. Ò-**dè**              kùtò              **gyì**    àgyíbí    wú.  
 3SG.SUBJ-take    spoon              eat      food      DET  
 ‘He is eating the food with a spoon’. (Elicited)

In (17a) and (18a) the syntactic subjects are overtly marked on all the verbs in series. In (17a) Bayoba, the syntactic subject of the initial verb *dè* is cross-referenced on the second verb *gyì* ‘eat’ by a subject pronoun *ò* ‘he’. In (18a) there is a concordial marking of subject pronoun of *dè* on the V<sub>2</sub>. Sentences (17b) and (18b) are rendered ungrammatical due to the absence of subject marking on the non-initial verbs. A similar situation is attested in Chumburung (Hansford 2012:23-24), as shown in (19) below.

(19) n **dé**              ké ↓ sárée    ↓ mó              í              **gyí**      kàpáré.  
 I STAT.have    hand              I              PRES    eat      fufu  
 ‘I am eating fufu with the hand.’ (Hansford 2012:23-24)



## 6.4.1.2 Object-subject sharing / switch function SVC

Another feature of Kaakye SVC in relation to subject argument sharing is what is referred to in the literature as switch-function<sup>63</sup> SVCs (Aikenvald 2006). It is the situation where “the subject of one component of an SVC is identical to a non-subject constituent of the other component” (Aikenvald 2006:14). In Kaakye, this type of SVC usually occurs in causative constructions as demonstrated in (23) and (24).

- (23) a. Ababio *é-sè* Ama *é-nùù* ñkyù wú.  
 Ababio PST-make Ama PST-drink water DET  
 ‘Ababio made Ama drink the water.’ (Elicited)
- b. Ababio *é-sè* ò -nùù ñkyù wú.  
 Ababio PST-make 3SG.SUBJ -drink water DET  
 ‘Ababio made Ama her the water.’ (Elicited)
- (24) a. Òwùrá wú *é-sè* àyààfòrí *mòò* òkèsénkpòj.  
 Chief DET PST-make boys kill tiger  
 ‘The chief made the boys kill a tiger.’ (FST 3)
- b. Òwùrá wú *é-sè* bè-mòò òkèsénkpòj.  
 Chief DET PST-make 3PL.OBJ-kill tiger  
 ‘The chief made them kill a tiger.’ (FST 3)

The direct objects of the causative verb *sè* ‘make’ in (23a) and (24a) are also the subject of *nùù* ‘drink’ in (23a), and *mòò* ‘kill’ (24a). In other words, the object *Ama* in (23a) is identical to the subject of *nùù* ‘drink’ and the object *àyààfòrí* ‘children’ is also identical to the subject of *mòò* ‘kill’.

This type of SVC is not peculiar to Kaakye. It has been reported in other Kwa languages such as Akan, Nkami, and Lete. Discussing this

<sup>63</sup> Crowley (1987:39), Sebba (1987), Lord (1993), Osam (2004) refers to this type of SVC as the Switch-Subject serialisation while Foley and Olson (1985:25) label it as the causative serial verb construction.

phenomenon in Akan, Osam (1994a, 2004:21) showed that “though in this kind of causative construction the NP<sub>2</sub> semantically functions as the object of V<sub>1</sub> and the subject of V<sub>2</sub>, syntactically in Fante<sup>64</sup>, the NP<sub>2</sub> associates with the V<sub>2</sub> as subject” (Osam 2004: 21) . This, according to him, is evident when the NP<sub>2</sub> is pronominalised as shown in (25b).

- (25) a. Kofi má-à Esi dzi-í bankye .  
           Kofi make-COMPL Esi eat-COMPL cassava  
           Kofi made Esi eat cassava. (Osam 2004:41)
- b. Kofi má-à o-dzi-í bankye .  
           Kofi make-COMPL 3SG.SUBJ-eat-COMPL cassava  
           Kofi made her eat cassava. (Osam 2004:42)

In (25b), Esi is replaced by the subject pronoun *o-*, showing that it is the subject of the second verb. A similar pattern is attested in Kaakye causative construction as observed in (23 and 24) where the NP<sub>2</sub> *Ama* and *àyààf̂r̂rí* ‘children’ are replaced with subject pronouns: the subject pronominal prefixes *ó-* ‘she’ in (23b) and *bé* ‘they’ in (24b). Hence, in this type of causative construction the subject of V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> are not identical.

#### 6.4.1.3 Cause-effect serialization

Another type of switch-function SVC attested in Kaakye is the cause-effect SVC. With this type of SVC, the V<sub>2</sub> describes the result, or the effect, of V<sub>1</sub>. Thus, similar to the causative switch-function SVCs, the NP<sub>2</sub> functions as the

<sup>64</sup> As observed by Osam (2004:42) a different situation is realised in the Twi dialect where the object pronoun is replaces the NP<sub>2</sub>. Osam (2004:42) points out that “even though in terms of coding, NP<sub>2</sub> is represented as the DO of the first verb in Twi, there is no doubt that it is the actor of V<sub>2</sub>”.





#### 6.4.2.1 Object sharing

In Kaakyé serial construction, a single direct object may be shared by the verbal components. When the verbal components share the same object, it may either be:

- i. expressed only once as a full NP on the initial verb
- ii. or it may, in addition to (i), be expressed as a resumptive object pronoun on the V2.

Consider the following:

(28) a. Akua **é-kù** kùgyò **fè**.  
Akua PST-fry yam sell  
'Akua fried yam and sold (it). (Elicited)

b. \*Akua **é-kù** kùgyò **fè** kùgyò  
Akua PST-fry yam sell yam  
'Akua fried yam and sold (it).

(29) a. Ama **ké-svò** nkette **kù wi**.  
Ama FUT-buy groundnut fry chew  
'Ama will buy groundnut, fry (it) and chew it.' (Elicited)

b. \*Ama **ké-svò** nkette **kù** nkette **wi** nkette.  
Ama FUT-buy groundnuts fry groundnut chew groundnut  
'Ama will buy groundnut, fry groundnuts and chew groundnuts.  
(Elicited)

In (28) the direct object *kùgyò* 'yam' is expressed only once with the first verb *kù* 'fry' and it is shared with the second verb *fè* 'sell' and similarly in (29) the verbs *svò* 'buy', *kù* 'fry' and *wi* 'chew' share the only object *nkette* 'groundnuts'. Note that in both examples the direct objects of the verbs in series are inanimate nouns. Even though the verbs in series are all transitive, it is ungrammatical, as shown in (28b and 29b), to place the same direct object

after the non-initial verb.

Examples (30 and 31) are also instances of object sharing involving two transitive verbs. In (30) and (31) however, overt object pronouns which are coreferential to the direct object of  $V_1$  are realised after  $V_2$ .

- (30) a. Kenyite      **é-dè**      ñgyìfòrí      wú      **mòò**      bùó.  
 Kenyite      PST-beat      children      DET      kill      3PL.OBJ  
 ‘Kenyite beat the children to death.’      (Elicited)
- b. \*Kenyite      **é-dè**      ñgyìfòrí      wú      **mòò**  
 Kenyite      PST-beat      children      DET      kill  
 ‘Kenyite beat the children to death.’      (Elicited)
- (31) a. Kofi      **é-yùì**      pùkyèní      **fè**      **wú.**  
 Kofi      PST-steal      cow      sell      3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Kofi stole the cow and sold it.’      (Elicited)
- b. \*Kofi      **é-yùì**      pùkyèní      **fè.**  
 Kofi      PST-steal      cow      sell  
 ‘Kofi stole the cow and sold it.’      (Elicited)

Note that in (30) and (31) the objects of the initial verbs are animate nouns. In (30a) for instance, the first verb *dè* ‘beat’ takes a full NP *ñgyìfòrí wú* ‘the children’ as the direct object while the second verb *mòò* ‘kill’ takes the object pronoun *bùó* ‘them’ which is co-referential to the object of  $V_1$ . Thus, in (30a) the object of the verbs in sequence has a common referent. In (31a) too, there is referent sharing between *pùkyèní* ‘cow’ and *wú* ‘it’. Examples (30b and 31b) are unacceptable since they have no object pronoun after  $V_2$ .

Considering the above, we notice that the realisation or the non-realisation of a direct object after the second transitive verb is motivated by the

animacy<sup>65</sup> status of the shared object. In (30a and 31b) the referent NP is animate and it is expressed after V<sub>2</sub> but in (28a and 29a) the shared object is not expressed after the V<sub>2</sub>. The animacy distinction explanation is however countered in (32a) where the shared object is animate but an object pronoun is not realised after V<sub>2</sub>. The occurrence of an object pronoun is ungrammatical as shown in (32b).

(32) a. *ó-tà*                      *mó*                      *nàná*                      ***bàrá***.  
           3SG.SUBJ.PST-take    3SG.POSS              grandmother              hide  
           ‘He hid his grandmother’.    (FST3)

b. \**ó-tà*                      *mó*                      *nàná*                      ***bàrá*** ***wv***.  
           3SG.SUBJ.PST-take    3SG.POSS              grandmother    hide    3SG.OBJ  
           ‘He hid his grandmother’.

The explanation for this counter example is not clear to me yet. This will need further investigation.

#### 6.4.2.2 Multiple object serialization

Besides same object sharing, it is also possible for each verbal component to have its own direct object. This situation has been referred to in the literature as multiple object serialisation (Durie 1988). The constructions in (33) exemplify this type of serialization:

(33) a. *fù-nyè*                      *àsìj*                      *búdèè*                      ***sè***                      *àrí*.  
           2SG.SUBJ.HAB-get    matter    sweet                      give                      1PL.OBJ  
           ‘You give us sweet word/message’.    (PYT1)

<sup>65</sup> In chapter 3, it was shown that Kaakye, like other Kwa languages, is sensitive to animacy hierarchy where distinctions are shown between nouns which are higher in animacy than those at the lower on the hierarchy.

b. *bèrí -é-sùù*              *ìdò*     *wàà*     *n̄kyù ànyísì ní.*  
 2PL.SUBJ -PST-set     net     do     water face     this  
 ‘You set the net on the surface of the water like this ...’     (Fishing process)

c. *mì-bè*                              *yàbrà*                      *wàà*                      *pító.*  
 1SG.SUBJ.HAB-take     millet                      do                      pito  
 ‘I prepare pito with millet’.    (PT2)

As it is observable from (33) direct objects are not shared. Instead, each verb in series takes their own direct object. The initial verb *nyè* ‘get’ in (33a) takes *àsìj búdèè* ‘sweet message’ as its direct object whereas *sè* ‘give’ takes *àrí* ‘us’ as its direct object. In (33b) *ìdò* ‘net’ is the direct object of *sùù* ‘set’, but the direct object of *wàà* ‘do’ is *n̄kyù ànyísì* ‘the water surface’. The same is true of (33c) below. *Yàbrà* ‘millet’ is the direct object of *bè* ‘take’ while *pito* ‘palm wine’ is the direct object *wàà* ‘do’.

#### 6.4.3 Marking of verbal properties

##### 6.4.3.1 Tense and aspect marking

As already pointed out in section 1.4.3.2 of chapter 1, tense and aspect marking in Kaakye are signalled by verbal prefixes and tonal patterns. Generally, in Kaakye serial constructions, tense and aspect are overtly marked once on the first verb. Thus, the verbs in series share the same tense and aspect marker and they have scope over the whole sequence of verbs. As I will illustrate later, there is one exception to this. Consider the following examples.

(34) a. *Kiyàfòrí wú*     *é-sìrìnìj*     *yà*     ***gyìrí***     ***àsìj***                      ***wú***     ***wà***  
                               boy                DET     PST-run     go     tell     matter                DET     do

mú                    nàà.  
3SG.POSS          grandmother

‘The boy ran to tell the story to his grandmother’. (FST3)

b. \*Kiyàfòrí wú      é-sìrìnìḽ      é-yà      é-gyìrí      àsìḽ      wú  
boy    DET          PST-run      PST-go    PST-tell    matter    DET  
é-wà                  mú                  nàà.  
PST-do              3SG.POSS      grandmother

‘The boy ran to tell the story to his grandmother’.

In (34a) the past tense marker *é-* occurs on the initial verb *sìrìnìḽ* ‘run’ and it is expressed once in the construction. Example (34b) is ungrammatical since the past tense marker appears on all the verbs in the series. The SVC in (35a) is in the future and the future marker occurs on the first verb. As can be seen, (35b) is unacceptable. In both (34a) and (35a) though the tense is marked on the initial verb, the subsequent verbs receive the same tense interpretation.

(35) a. Kiyàfòrí wú      ké-sìrìnìḽ      yà      gyìrí      àsìḽ      wú      wà  
boy      DET      FUT-run      go      tell      matter      DET      do  
mú                  nàà.  
3SG.POSS      grandmother

‘The boy will run to tell the story to his grandmother’. (Elicited)

b.\*Kiyàfòrí wú      ké-sìrìnìḽ      ké-yà      ké-gyìrí      àsìḽ      wú  
boy      DET      FUT-run      FUT-go    FUT-tell    matter      DET  
ké-wà                  mú                  nàà.  
FUT-do              3SG.POSS      grandmother

‘The boy will run to tell the story to his grandmother’.

Examples (36a), (37a) and (38a) are in the habitual, progressive and perfect construction, respectively and once again, the aspectual markers occur

on the first verbs only. Repetition of the aspectual markers renders them ungrammatical, as illustrated in (36b, 37b and 38b).

(36) a. Atrobea      ì-kyìjí      gyiè      dídì      kùmáńń̀.  
 Atrobea      HAB-wake up      bathe      morning      every  
 ‘Atrobea wakes up and bathes every morning’. (Elicited)

b.\* Atrobea      ì-kyìjí      ì- gyiè      dídì      kùmáńń̀.  
 Atrobea      HAB-wake up      HAB-bathe      morning      every  
 ‘Atrobea wakes up and bathes every morning’.

(37) a. Ama      è-díká      àgyìbí      wú      gyí.  
 Ama      PROG-cook      food      DET      eat  
 ‘Ama is cooking the food to eat (it).’

b.\* Ama è-díká      àgyìbí      wú      è-gyí.  
 Ama      PROG-cook      food      DET      PROG-eat  
 ‘Ama is cooking the food and eat (it).’ (Elicited)

(38) a. Ama      ékà-díkà      àgyìbí      wú      gyì.  
 Ama      PERF-cook      food      DET      eat  
 ‘Ama has cooked the food and has eaten (it)’

b.\* Ama      ékà-díkà      àgyìbí      wú      ékà-gyì.  
 Ama      PERF-cook      food      DET      PERF-eat  
 ‘Ama has cooked the food and has eaten (it).’

Kaakye SVC therefore allows single tense and aspectual marking which must appear on the initial verb otherwise the construction will be ungrammatical.

There is, however, an exception to the single marking of tense and aspect. As far as my data on Kaakye SVC show, there is an instance where

tense-aspect could be concordially marked on each verb. This usually occurs in causative SVC which is featured in the past as shown in (39) and (40).

- (39) a. Ababio    **é-sè**            Ama    **é-nùù**            ñkyù            wó.  
           Ababio    PST-make    Ama    PST-drink        water            DET  
           ‘Ababio made Ama drink the water.’
- b.\* Ababio    **é-sè**            Ama    **nùù**            ñkyù            wó.  
           Ababio    PST-make    Ama    drink            water            DET  
           ‘Ababio made Ama drink the water.’            (Elicited)

- (40) a. Kwame            **é-sè**            Yaaka            **é-siì**            kè má.  
           Kwame            PST-make        Yaaka            PST-remain        back  
           ‘Kwame made Yaaka late.’
- b.\* Kwame            **é-sè**            Yaaka            **siì**            kè má.  
           Kwame            PST-make        Yaaka            remain            back  
           ‘Kwame made Yaaka late.’                            (Elicited)

As it is shown in (39a) and (40a) the overt marking of the past on each verb in the series is grammatical whereas the single marking in (39b) and (40b) is ungrammatical. This exceptional concordial marking might be explained by the successful manipulative effect of the action. This might be the reason why it does not conform to the general single marking pattern on initial verbs.

Besides the aspectual uniformity as observed in (38a), it is also possible to have mixed aspects as shown in (41) in Kaakye serialization. In (41) the  $V_1$  is marked by the perfect aspect and the  $V_2$  takes a progressive aspectual marker.

- (41) Ama            **ékà-dìká**            àgyibí wó            **è-gyì**.  
           Ama            PERF-cook        food    DET    PROG- eat  
           ‘Ama has cooked the food and she is eating (it).’

Lack of uniformity is also found in SVCs involving the continuative and progressive aspect as illustrated in (42).

- (42) Atrobea **bù**                      kitèkpá    tò    ò-gyì                      àgyìbí.  
 Atrobea    be.CONT                      kitchen    in    3SG.SUBJ.PROG-eat    food  
 ‘Atrobea is in the kitchen eating’.                      (Elicited)

#### 6.4.3.2 Mood

Verbs in Kaakye serialization share the same mood. In Kaakye, verbs in the imperative mood are not morphologically marked. They take their bare forms, making it quite difficult to recognise which verb carries the marking for mood. The negative imperative serves to clarify where exactly the marking appears. As will be shown in section 6.4.3.4, the negative imperative is marked on the V<sub>1</sub>. So just like the tense aspect marking, mood is also marked once on the initial verb as exemplified in (43).

- (43) a. **kùsò**                      **nètí.**  
 IMP.get up    walk  
 ‘Get up and walk.’                      (Elicited)
- b. **kùsò**                      **bè**    **kùì**                      òdò    wù.  
 IMP.get up    come    watch                      net    DET  
 ‘Get up and come and look at the net.’                      (PT3)

In (43) mood appears once on V<sub>1</sub> and is shared by the subsequent verb.

#### 6.4.3.3 Negation marking

In Kaakye SVC, negation is expressed only once on the initial verb but the scope of the negation is over the whole construction. Consider the following examples which are the negation of the affirmative constructions observed in examples (34-38).



(44)a. Kiyàfòrí wú ñ-sìrìnìḡ yà gyìrí àsìḡ wú  
 boy DET NEG.PST-run go tell matter DET  
 wà mú nàná.  
 do 3SG.POSS grandmother

‘The boy did not run to tell the story to his grandmother’.

b.\* Kiyàfòrí wú ñ-sìrìnìḡ ñ-yà ñ-gyìrí .  
 boy DET NEG.PST-run NEG.PST-go NEG.PST-tell  
 àsìḡ wú ñ-wà mú nàná.  
 matter DET NEG.PST-do 3SG.POSS grandmother

‘The boy did not run to tell the story to his grandmother’.

Example (44a) features a negative past SVC construction consisting of four verbs in series. As can be seen, negation is marked only on the first verb *sìrìnìḡ* ‘run’. The subsequent verbs do not appear with the negative past marker *ñ*.<sup>66</sup> The sentence in (44b) is ungrammatical since the negative marker is prefixed to the non-initial verbs. The same is true of the habitual negative and the progressive negative as shown in (45a) and (46a), respectively. Again, the appearance of the negative marker *aa-* and *mè-* on the non-initial verbs in (45b) and (46b) is unacceptable.

(45) a. Atrobea àà-kyìḡí gyiè didì kùmáḡḡ.  
 Atrobea NEG.HAB-wake up bathe morning every  
 ‘Atrobea does not wake up and bathe every morning’.

b.\* Atrobea àà-kyìḡí àà-gyiè didì kùmáḡḡ.  
 Atrobea NEG.HAB-wake up NEG.HAB-bathe morning every  
 ‘Atrobea does not wake up and bathe every morning’. (Elicited)

(46) a. Ama mè-dìká àgyìbí wú gyí.  
 Ama NEG.PROG-cook food DET eat  
 ‘Ama is not cooking the food to eat (it).’

<sup>66</sup> This negative marker is a homorganic nasal.

- b. \*Ama m̀̀-**dìká** àgyìbí wú m̀̀-**gyí**.  
 Ama NEG.PROG-cook food DET NEG.PROG-eat  
 ‘Ama is not cooking the food to eat (it).’ (Elicited)

Sentence (47a) and (48a) below illustrate future negative construction and perfect negative, respectively. Here again, the negative markers *m̀̀-* and *m̀̀pè-* is attached to the V<sub>1</sub>. All the verbs in series in (47b) and (48b) have concordant negative marking and this makes them ungrammatical.

- (47) a. Kiyàfòrí wú m̀̀-**sìrìnìj** yà **gyìrí** **àsìj**  
 boy DET NEG.FUT-run go tell matter  
**wú wà** mú nàà.  
 DET do 3SG.POSS grandmother

‘The boy will not run to tell the story to his grandmother’

- b. \*Kiyàfòrí wú m̀̀-**sìrìnìj** m̀̀-**yà** m̀̀-**gyìrí**  
 boy DET NEG.FUT-run NEG.FUT-go NEG.FUT-tell  
**àsìj wú** m̀̀-**wà** mú nàà.  
 matter DET NEG.FUT-do 3SG.POSS grandmother

‘The boy will not run to tell the story to his grandmother.’ (Elicited)

- (48) a. Ama m̀̀pè-**dìká** àgyìbí wú **gyì**.  
 Ama NEG.PERF-cook food DET eat

‘Ama has not cooked the food to eat (it).’

- b. \*Ama m̀̀pè-**dìká** àgyìbí wú m̀̀pè-**gyì**.  
 Ama NEG.PERF-cook food DET NEG.PERF-eat

‘Ama has not cooked the food to eat (it).’ (Elicited)

The same negative marking pattern is true of ISVC type as shown in (49a). The negative marker occurs once per SVC. The sentences become ungrammatical when all the verbs are marked for negative as demonstrated in (49b).

(49) a. *Yì fù ñ-kòrí gyí fèè ....*  
 So 2SG.SUBJ NEG-take eat COMP  
 ‘So you don’t believe that...’ (PT2)

b. \*. *Yì fù ñ-kòrí ñ-gyí fèè ....*  
 So 2SG.SUBJ NEG-take NEG-eat COMP  
 ‘So you don’t believe that...’

Sentence (50) is a case of negative imperative and same single marking on  $V_1$  is attested.

(50) a. *Mò bwàté sè mú nyì.*  
 kill fowl give 2SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Kill a fowl for your mother.’  
 b. *Mε-mò bwàté sè mú nyì .*  
 NEG.IMP-kill fowl give 2SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Do not kill a fowl for your mother.’

All the examples illustrated suggest that negation is strictly marked on  $V_1$  irrespective of the domain of negation and it has scope over the entire clause. Kaakye is similar to other serialising languages such as Lipke (Ameka 2005), Lete (Akrofi Ansah 2009), Nkami (Asante 2016). Kaakye and these languages differ from what pertains in Akan (Osam 1994a) as illustrated in (51) where negation is concordantly marked on all the verbs in series.

(51). *O-e-n-huru a-n-to nsu no mu*  
 3SG SUBJ-COMPL-NEG-jump COMPL-NEG-fall river DEF in  
 ‘S/he did not jump into the river.’ (Osam 1994a: 230)

### 6.5 Argument-adding SVCs

The tendency of SVCs to introduce additional arguments to a serial construction has been cross-linguistically attested and discussed in the literature (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000, Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006a, Comrie and Polinsky 1993, Osam 2016). Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006a: 48-49) for instance, indicate that “valency-increasing and argument-adding SVCs involve transitive verbs with fairly generic semantics, such as ‘give’ (for valency-increasing causative and benefactive), ‘take’ (for instrumental and/or for general argument adding), and also ‘do, make’ and ‘put’ for causative”. In this section, I discuss the argument-adding SVCs in Kaakye. These include instrumental, benefactive, manner, and locative SVCs.

Frequently, in Kaakye SVCs, where additional arguments are introduced,  $V_2$  is preceded by *bè-/bè* ‘take’<sup>67</sup>. There are, however, a few exceptions to this and I will indicate them in the course of the discussion. The status of *bè-/bè* ‘take’ is later discussed in section 6.6.

#### 6.5.1 Instrumental SVCs

This SVC results in the addition of an instrumental argument to the construction. It usually involves a take or handling verb *bè* or *tà* which

<sup>67</sup> The occurrence of a particle on  $V_2$  in argument adding SVCs is different in other serializing languages such as Akan, Ga, Nkami, Lete, Logba, Tafi, Gurune, Buli, and Dagaare. In these languages nothing occurs between the NP object of  $V_1$  and the  $V_2$  as illustrated below from Akan, Lete and Logba

Akan: Kofi de sekan no twa-a dua no.  
Kofi use knife DEF cut-COMPL tree DEF  
‘Kofi cut the tree with the knife/Kofi used the knife to cut the tree.’ (Osam 1994:250)

Nkami: ə-fu bəta ɪ blodo amɔ ɪ.  
3SG-take butter pass bread DET inside  
‘He spread butter over the surface of the bread.’ (Asante 2016:335)

Tafi: Ayík ə kawí adzya osiń.  
a-yíkə ka-wí a-dzya o-si ní.  
3SG-take CM-axe SM-hack CM-tree DEF  
‘He used an axe and hacked the tree.’ (Bobuafor 2012:308)

typically occurs as the  $V_1$  of the construction and the  $V_3$  is usually an activity verb. Semantically, the lexical verb ‘take’ at  $V_1$  position expresses the idea of getting hold of something (an object) in one’s hand to perform a certain action. Hence, the object held in the hands functions as an instrument used to perform an action. In other words, the  $V_1$  introduces the instrumental argument. Examples (52) illustrate clear cases of this type of SVC. In (52a) the instrumental verb *bè* ‘take’ is the initial verb and its object *kòkí* ‘cork’ is used in tying the edges of the net. In (52b) *kìbàkí* ‘paddle’ is the instrument that will be used in hitting and in (52c) the object of the instrument verb *àsèrí* ‘hand’ performs the action of  $V_2$ , *gyi* ‘eat’.

- (52) a. *Àrí-bè*                      *kòkí*    *bè-dè*                      *kònó*                      *ñfi*.  
 1PL.SUBJ.HAB-take    cork    take-tie                      mouth                      here  
 ‘We tie the mouth (the edges of the net) with a cork.’                      (PT3)
- b. *fù-tà*                      *kìbàkí*                      *bè-dà*                      *wú*.  
 2SG.SUBJ.HAB.take    paddle                      take-hit                      3SG.OBJ  
 ‘You hit it with a paddle.’                      (PT3)
- c. Keyeke    *é-bè*                      *kùkùyátò*                      *bè-nèèrí*                      *òyù*    *wú*.  
 Keyeke    PST-take                      axe                      take-cut                      tree    DET  
 ‘Keyeke will cut the tree with an axe.’                      (Elicited)

The presence of *bè* ‘take’ before the  $V_2$  is obligatorily required in instrumental SVCs except in cases where a progressive meaning is realized. It is observable that *bè* precedes the  $V_2$  in the habitual (52a), in the past (52c), in the future (53a), where the  $V_1$  is occupied by *bè*. It is however absent in the progressive where the  $V_1$  is occupied by another handling verb *dè* (53b)<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> The progressive marker in Kaakye is *è-*. The expected construction of (53b) using the progressive marker would have looked like:

\*Keyeke    *è-bè*                      *kùkùyátò*                      *bè-nèèrí*    *òyù*    *wú*.

- (53) a. Keyeke      kɛ̀-bɛ̀      kùkùyátò      bɛ̀-nɛ̀ɛ̀rí      òyù      wú.  
 Keyeke      FUT-take      axe      take-cut      tree      DET  
 ‘Keyeke will cut the tree with an axe.’

- b. Keyeke      dɛ̀      kùkùyátò      ò-nɛ̀ɛ̀rí      òyù      wú.  
 Keyeke      PROG.take      axe      3SG.SUBJ-cut      tree      DET  
 ‘Keyeke is cutting the tree with an axe.’

A possible explanation is to consider *dɛ̀* at V<sub>1</sub> position as a case of suppletion where it is semantically related to the root verb *bɛ̀* but has no phonetic similarity between them. Observe that in the absence of *bɛ̀* in (53b) a subject pronoun precedes the V<sub>2</sub>.

#### 6.5.2 Manner SVCs

This type is structurally similar to the instrumental SVC. The first verb is usually a handling verb *bɛ̀* which describes the manner in which the action of the V<sub>2</sub> was performed. Thus, the V<sub>1</sub> introduces the manner argument into the clause. Consider the following:

- (54) a. Kofi      ɛ̀-bɛ̀      kɛ̀dùnfwí      bɛ̀-kúsù      dɛ̀      kɛ̀gyifòrí      wú.  
 Kofi      PST-take      anger      take-get up      beat      child      DET  
 ‘Kofi angrily stood up and beat the child.’

- b. Ama      kɛ̀-bɛ̀      ànyìsùkǐgyí      bɛ̀-ɣò      òbùàsì  
 Ama      FUT-take      happiness      take-go      home  
 ‘Ama will go home happily.’

---

Keyeke      PROG-take      axe      take-cut      tree      DET  
 ‘Keyeke is cutting the tree with an axe.’

This construction is, however, unacceptable in Kaakye. Instead, a different form *dɛ̀* which characterises the progressive and the verb *take*, is used. *Dɛ̀* is therefore a clear case of suppletion in Kaakye.

- c. \*Ama kɛ̀-bɛ̀ ànyìsìkìgyí yò òbùàsì.  
 Ama FUT-take happiness go home  
 ‘Ama will go home happily.’
- d. Atrobea dɛ̀ anyisikiwu ò-yò òbùàsì.  
 Ama PROG.take shame 3SG.SUBJ-go home  
 ‘Ama is going home with shame.’ (Elicited)

The manner SVCs in (54) indicate the emotional attitude that accompanies the action expressed in the V2. In (54a), the initial verb *bɛ̀* ‘take’ introduces the manner, *kɛ̀dù̀nfwí* ‘anger’ with which Kofi stood up. Example (54b) *bɛ̀* ‘take’ indicates that the act of going home will be done in a happy manner. The occurrence of *bɛ̀* before V<sub>2</sub> in manner SVCs is obligatory. This explains why (54c) is ungrammatical. Example (54d) is expressed in the progressive and once again the V1 takes *dɛ̀*, the suppletive form of *bɛ̀* ‘take’.

### 6.5.3 Benefactive SVCs

In benefactive SVCs, a recipient or a benefactive argument is added to the construction. The first verb is usually an action verb and a benefactive verb *sɛ̀* ‘give’ occupies the final position of the verbs in series. Functionally, *sɛ̀* introduces the benefactive participant. Usually, the construction denotes a situation where someone or something benefits from the action expressed by the verbs which precede it. In (55), the act of taking the sack was done for the benefit of the father. In (56) and (57) *̀ngyìfɔ̀rí* ‘children’ and *̀arí* ‘us’ are the beneficiaries, respectively.

- (55) Kègyìfɔ̀rí wú é-bwì bɛ̀-tà òkòtó wú  
 boy DET PST-return come-take sack DET

yà sè mú sí .  
go give 3SG.POSS father

‘The boy returned and took the sack to give it to his father.’ (FST5)

(56) mé-**bè-dìká** àgyíbí **bè-sè** ñgyífòrí wú.  
1SG.SUBJ.PST-come cook food take-give children DET  
‘I came to cook food for the children’. (NT5)

(57) fù-**nyè** àsìj̄ tímà kú **bè-sè** àrí .  
2SG.SUBJ-get matter good some take-give 2SG.OBJ  
‘You have a different word to give us.’ (PYT1)

The occurrence of *bè* in benefactive SVCs appears to be optional. This was evident in most of the data collected. For instance, within the same discourse (prayer text) the speaker uses benefactive SVC with *bè* as shown in (57) and one without *bè* as in (58) to convey the same meaning.

(58) ...fù-**nyè** àsìj̄ bùdèè sè àrí,  
2SG.SUBJ.HAB-get matter sweet give 1PL.OBJ  
‘You have a pleasing /sweet word to give us.’ (PYT1)

One of my language consultants, however, explains that there are some instances or contexts where the absence or the presence of *bè* ‘take’ could convey a subtle difference in meaning. For instance, in (59a), where *bè* is absent, the meaning conveyed is that, Kofi lent a helping hand to his mother, by killing a fowl for her. The meaning conveyed in (59b) is that Kofi killed a fowl and used the meat to prepare food for the mother who happens to be his guest at home. Thus, Kofi killed fowl as part of his preparation to welcome his mother at home.



- (59) a. Kofi **é-mòò** bwàtè **sè** mú nyì.  
 Kofi PST-kill fowl give 3SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Kofi killed a fowl for his mother.’ (Elicited)
- b. Kofi **é-mòò** bwàtè **bè-sè** mú nyì.  
 Kofi PST-kill fowl take-give 3SG.POSS mother  
 ‘Kofi killed a fowl for his mother.’ (Elicited)

#### 6.5.4 Locational SVCs

Locational SVCs introduces a locative argument to the construction. Like instrumental SVC, it usually involves a handling verb *tà* ‘take’, *bè* ‘take/put’ which typically occurs at V<sub>1</sub>. In locative SVCs, however, the object of the V<sub>1</sub> *tà* ‘take’ undergoes a change of location. Hence, the verb *tà* ‘take’ in Locative SVCs codes a change in the location of objects. Here are some examples:

- (60)a. **ò-ké-tà** òkòtó kú **bè-yè** ñkpàṅkpàṅ ñfùṅ.  
 3SG.SUBJ-FUT -take sack INDEF put-down outside there  
 ‘He will put a certain sack outside there.’ (FST5)
- b. **mì-bè** kùnù wú **bè-dòṅá** kùtùrí wú.  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-take fish DET take-lie mesh DET  
 ‘I put the fish on the mesh.’ (PDT1)
- c. Anansù **é-tà** mú kùtùṅtùṅ lèlè kú  
 spider PST-take 3SG.POSS gourd big INDEF  
**bè-sìká** mú kùpwí sù.  
 take-hang 3SG.POSS stomach on.  
 ‘Spider took his big gourd and hanged it on his stomach.’ (FST4)

In (60a) *òkòtó* ‘sack’, the object argument of V<sub>1</sub>, which is the Theme undergoes a change of location. It is no longer at its original position thus where it was taken from. It is now hanged somewhere else. In (60b) the object

*kùnù* ‘fish’ undergoes a change of location. Usually the  $V_2$  is occupied by positional verb *dɔɲa* ‘lie’ in (60b), and *síká* ‘hang’ (60c), placement verb such as *yè* ‘put down’ as in (60a). The  $V_2$  provides the locative argument which follows the  $V_2$ .

The  $V_1$  could also include verbs which denote movement or a change in the location of something such as *lè* ‘remove’ shown in (61a) or express a transfer relation of objects as in (61b).

(61) a. Ama    é-**lè**                  òfè    wú    **bè-síká**                  ñfìɲ.  
 Ama    PST-remove    rope    DET    take    hang    here  
 ‘Ama removed the rope and hanged it here.’ (Elicited)

b. mì                              sì     é-**yò**                              wú     ò-**bè**                              àtò  
 1SG.POSS                  father   PST-go                              DCM    3SG.SUBJ-take                  thing  
 kú                              **bé-sì**                              wí.  
 INDEF                              take-leave    1SG.OBJ  
 ‘While my father was leaving, he left me something.’ (RT1)

c. \*mì                              sì     é-yò                              wú     ò-**bè**                              àtò  
 1SG.POSS                  father   PST-go                              DCM    3SG.SUBJ-take                  thing  
 kú                              **sì**     wí.  
 INDEF                              leave    1SG.OBJ  
 ‘While my father was leaving, he left me something.’

*Bè* is obligatorily required before  $V_2$  in locative SVCs. Its absence results in ungrammaticality as illustrated in (61c).

It is worthy to note that Kaakye is not the only Guan language that behaves in this manner. A similar structural pattern is reported in Chumburung (Hansford 2012), as illustrated in (62). As can be observed from (62) *bè* is rendered in Chumburung as *bó* and it also precedes  $V_2$ .

- (62) Mò á **bá** kés↓árée bó **gyí** ka↓párè  
 I PST use hand AUX.CAUS.to eat fufu  
 ‘I ate fufu with the hand’. (Hansford 2012: 20)

Hansford (2012:19) considers “*bó* as an ‘auxiliary causative verb’<sup>69</sup>” which carries the meaning “cause to or use to perform the action of  $V_2$ ”. He noted that in Chumburung SVC, *bó* occurs in cases where the NP object of  $V_1$  becomes the implied semantic subject of  $V_2$  resulting in some form of causation. According to him, *bó* occurs in subordinating SVCs involving instrumental, manner, causative, locative, directional, benefactive SVCs.

In Lete, Akrofi Ansah (2009: 220-221) indicates that whenever an instrumental verb occurs as the first verb in a series, the particle *é/é-* is placed before the second verb as shown in (100). She glossed the particle as an applicative<sup>70</sup>.

- (63) a. A dī-hú/twú/bítí əkyi é-mó okireni a .  
 3SG PROG-use/take knife APPL-kill chicken DEF  
 ‘He is using/taking a knife to slaughter the chicken.’ (Akrofi-Ansah 2009)

Again, within the Kwa family, Ewe, as observed by Ameka (2005: 135) has the tendency to behave in a similar pattern in instrumental SVC as shown in (101)<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>69</sup>Considering the context in which *bó* occurs in Chumburung, I find Hansford’s (2012) label ‘auxiliary causative verb’ quite misleading. Per the evidence he presented, the term auxiliary causative verb confines *bó* to causative SVC and perhaps the instrumental SVC. Thus, the term includes in its definition only SVCs that have causative interpretation and will consequently exclude the other context in which *bó* occurs such as the benefactive, locative and directional SVC.

<sup>70</sup> Apart from the label Applicative, Akrofi Ansah (2009:220), did not throw any light on the functional role of this particle.

<sup>71</sup> Reginald Duah (p.c. January 2018) points out that there’s such a parallel in Akan:

Kwame de ne nsa de wia adee.  
 Kwame take 3SG.POSS hand take steal something

- (64) [e-kó                    fiá    kó    dzá    ati-a ]  
           3sg-raise                axe    take    hack    stick-def  
           ‘He used an axe and hacked the wood.’                    (Ameka 2005a:135)

Note that in (64) two handling verbs occupy V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub>. Discussing example (64), Ameka (2005:135) points out that “the verb *kó* ‘take or raise’ together with one other handling verb *tsó* ‘take’ are grammaticalizing as sequential modal markers that occur on a VP to indicate finality as in the description of the chopping of wood with an axe”. In section 6.6.2, I discuss the verbal status of *bè* ‘take’.

## 6.6 Lexicalization and grammaticalization

As many cross-linguistics studies show, symmetrical SVCs have the tendency to become lexicalized and develop idiomatic meanings while verbs from the restricted class of asymmetrical SVCs have the tendency of becoming grammaticalized (Lord 2003, Aikenvald 2006:30, Heine and Kuteva 2004). In the ensuing subsections, I discuss lexicalization and grammaticalization.

### 6.6.1 Lexicalization

Through the use of SVCs, some words have become lexicalized as verbal compounds in Kaakye. The lexicalized words are usually a combination of two verbal compounds as shown in example (65). These verbal combinations are understood as one single event.

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‘Kwame steals with his hand.’

For some speakers of Akan, the occurrence of *de* before V<sub>2</sub> *wia* ‘steal’ is not possible. This issue needs further investigation. It could perhaps be limited to the speech of younger people.

(65)

Verbal sequence	Component meaning	Compound meaning
kyìré kòrí	sit collect	‘welcome/ receive guest’
kòrí gyì	collect eat	‘believe’
tùḡ dòná	cut put.on	‘accuse’
kò kòrí	fight collect	‘defend’
gyìrí wà	say do	‘tell’
Sù tì	cry call	‘call on’

A careful examination of (65) reveals that the meanings of verbal compounds cannot be inferred from the meanings of their component words. Thus, they all seem to be idiomaticized in some way. Consider for example *kò kòrí* in (66a) and *tùḡ dòná* in (66b) below. Fighting and collecting in (66a) do not literally lead to defending something or someone. In the same vein, cutting and lying do not mean accusing someone in (66b).

(66)a. ò-diyé	yìrí	òmàḡ	wú	kònò
3SG.SUBJ-can	stand	town	DET	mouth
ké	<b>kò</b>	<b>kòrí</b>	òmàḡ.	
CONJ	fight	collect	town	
‘He can stand in and defend the town’.				

(NT1)

b. Òfùrónpú	áá-kirí	fèè	òkú	<b>tùḡ</b>
liar	NEG.HAB-like	COMP	someone	cut
àfùròn	bè	<b>dòná</b>	wú	sú.
lie	take	lie	3SG.OBJ	on
‘A liar doesn’t like to be accused’.				

(PRT1)

c. Ñ-dè	mì	kìyáfòrí	kú	tìrìkpá
1SG.SUBJ.PRES-have	1SG.POSS	youngman	some	place

kùnkú yí ò-kyirá kòrí ànyìnkpúsá.  
 one FM 3SG.SUBJ.STAT-sit take people  
 Nìkíté àtò ní?  
 What thing this

‘I have some youngman. It is at one place that he welcomes people. What am I?’  
 (RT1)

d. bèrí é-kòrí gyì fèè Wùrùbwári  
 2PL.SUBJ PST-take eat COMP God  
 kùnkú pé gyì ò-bù tó éè?  
 one only be 1SG.SUBJ.be in QP  
 ‘Don’t you believe that there is only one God?’  
 (James 2:19a)

Discussing this phenomenon in Akan, Osam (1994a:204-205) distinguishes between two main types of lexicalization of SVCs. He refers to the one described above as the Full Lexicalisation type and the other as Partial Lexicalization. Within the partial lexicalization, the meanings of verbal compounds can easily be inferred from the meanings of their component parts. Example (67) shows some examples.

(67)

Verbal sequence	Component meaning	Resultative meaning
nùj bèdà	push fall	push down
tùv bèdà	throw fall	throw (hit) at
tà wà tó	take put inside	put in
tà nètí	take walk	take away
tà bèsiká	take hang	hang
tà bèsè	take give	give to
bwì bà	return come	return
kùsú yírí	get up stand	stand up/wake up
bè kèè	take share	forgive

### 6.6.2 SVC and grammaticalization

In Kaaye, a number of serial verbs have grammaticalized and others are in the process of grammaticalizing into motional/directional markers and applicative markers. The fully grammaticalized ones lose some semantic, syntactic and morphological properties. Those in the process of grammaticalization lose some semantic properties with no loss in morphosyntactic properties of the main lexical verb.

#### 6.6.2.1 Motion verbs to motional/directional markers

There are two motion verbs: *bà* ‘come’ and *yò* ‘go’ used as minor verbs in Kaakye SVCs that are grammaticalized to motional markers/directional markers. Consider the following:

- (68) a. Atrobea            kɛ̀-bɛ̀            ɲfi̯    ɔ̀kɛ̀.  
           Atrobea          FUT-come        here    tomorrow.  
           ‘Atrobea will come here tomorrow.’
- b. Kèbwì wú    é-bà            sòṅ    wú            sú    kù.  
           animal DET    PST-come        sniff    3SG.OBJ        on    see  
           ‘The animal came to sniff him to see’ (FST3)

- (69) a. Ababio            é-yò            ɲdíè.  
           Ababio          PST-go            yesterday  
           ‘Ababio went yesterday.’
- b. bɛ̀-yà                    siè    ɲkyù    bɛ̀    pòrá    ɔ̀wùrí wú.  
           3SG.SUBJ.PST-go    fetch    water    take    wet    skin    DET  
           ‘They went to fetch water and wet the skin’. (FST3)

In (68a) *bɛ̀* ‘come’ occurs as a main verb and in (68b) as a motional marker. In (69a) *yò* ‘go’ also occurs as a main verb and in (69b) as motional marker.

This type of phenomenon has been attested in other Kwa languages. Examining a similar phenomenon in Akan (70), Osam (2002:114) identifies the motion verbs *kɔ* ‘go’ and *bɛ* ‘come’, derived from the Akan verbs *kɔ* ‘go’ and *bɛ* ‘come’, respectively, as motional prefixes. According to him, they “indicate a movement engaged in for the event coded by the verb to take place” (Osam 2002:114) the proximal motional prefix *bɛ* indicates a movement towards the speaker that is required before the action indicated by the verb *fa* ‘take’ is performed. This distal motional prefix *kɔ* on the other hand indicates movement away from the speaker that is required before the action indicated by the verb *fa* ‘take’ is performed.

- (70) a. Kofi    *kɔ*-fa-a                      sika                      no.  
           Kofi    go-take-COMPL            money                      DET  
           ‘Kofi went and took the money.’
- b. Kofi    *bɛ*-fa-a                      sika                      no.  
           Kofi    come-take-COMPL    money                      DET  
           ‘Kofi came and took the money.’                      (Osam 2002:113)

Following Osam (2002), and as the data in Kaakye suggest, I argue that the minor verbs *bà* and *yà* in the SVC construction are derived from the lexical verbs *bè* ‘come’ and *yò* ‘go’, respectively. Even though there are vowel changes from ‘è’ and ‘ò’ to ‘a’, the motional prefixes still maintain their verbal markings.

#### 6.6.2.2 Handling verb to an applicative marker

We observed in section 6.5 that *bè* ‘take/hold’ can occur in two main syntactic positions in Kaakye argument-adding SVCs. First, it can occur at V<sub>1</sub> position<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> This is often found in instrumental, manner and locative SVCs.



and second, it occurs as a prefix on the  $V_2$ . In section 6.5, we observed that the occurrence of the second *bè* is obligatory in instrumental, locative and manner SVCs and optional in the benefactive SVC.

When *bè* occurs at  $V_1$  position, it acts as a full-fledged verb<sup>73</sup> in Kaakyee SVC. It takes all the verbal inflections as shown in (52 and 54) repeated here as (71 and 72) with the exception of the progressive aspect (72b) and the negative future (73) which take *dè*, the suppletive form of *bè*.

- (71) a. Àrí-bè                      kòkí    bè-dè                      kònó                      òfí.  
           1PL.SUBJ.HAB-take    cork    take-tie                      mouth                      here  
           ‘We tie the mouth (the edges of the net) with a cork.’                      (PT3)
- b. Keyeke    é-bè                      kùkùyátò                      bè-nèèrí                      òyù    wú.  
           Keyeke    PST-take                      axe                      take-cut                      tree    DET  
           ‘Keyeke cut the tree with an axe.’                      (Elicited)

- (72) a. Keyeke                      ké-bè                      kùkùyátò                      bè-nèèrí                      òyù    wú.  
           Keyeke                      FUT-take                      axe                      take-cut                      tree    DET  
           ‘Keyeke will cut the tree with an axe.’
- b. Keyeke    dè                      kùkùyátò                      ò-nèèrí                      òyù    wú.  
           Keyeke    PROG.take                      axe                      3SG.SUBJ-cut                      tree    DET  
           ‘Keyeke is cutting the tree with an axe.’

<sup>73</sup> This morpheme functionally parallels as *de* in Akan. In Akan *de* is a ‘defective’ verb (Osam 2004, 2014). By defective, it means, it can not occur as an independent verb in simple clauses. It can only occur in SVC. In Akan instrumental SVC for instance, *de* has a doubtful acceptability when it occurs at  $V_1$  and at the same time occur immediately before  $V_2$  as shown below.

?Kofi    de            sikan    no            de            twa            ankaa    no  
           Kofi    take        knife    DET        take        cut            orange    DET  
           ‘Kofi cut the orange with a knife’

It seems more acceptable when it either occurs only at  $V_1$  or only before  $V_2$ , only if the  $V_1$  is a different handling verb other than *de* as shown below:

Kofi    fa-a                      sikan    no            de            twa            ankaa    no  
           Kofi    take-PST                      knife    DET        take        cut            orange    DET  
           ‘Kofi took the knife and cut the orange (with it).’

- (73). Kwame n-**dɛ̀** ḿ kìsèrí **bè-gyì** àgyìbí  
 Kwame NEG.FUT-take 3SG.POSS hand take-eat food  
 'Kwame will not eat the food with his hands.' (Elicited)

Besides its restriction to the progressive and negative future, the first *bè* cannot occur in simple sentences. It occurs only in SVCs. In simple sentences, the handling verb *ta* 'take' is used as demonstrated in (74).

- (74) a. Ama é- tà kèbèní .  
 Ama PST-take needle  
 'Ama took the needle.'

- b. \* Ama é-bè kèbèní .  
 Ama PST-take needle  
 'Ama took the needle.'

When it occurs right before  $V_2$ , *bè* is prefixal and as typical of Kaakye prefixes, it is subject to the vowel harmony rule in the language as illustrated in (75).

- (75) a. Ama ké-bè kèbèní bè-lòò kààrí wú.  
 Ama FUT-take needle take-sew dress DET  
 'Ama will use the needle to sew the dress.' (Elicited)

- b. Kwame é-bè ḿ kìsèrí bè-gyì àgyìbí.  
 Kwame PST-take 3SG.POSS hands take-eat food  
 'Kwame ate the food with his hands.' (Elicited)

Thus, like all other verbal prefixes, it agrees with the vowels of the verb stem in terms of ATR harmony, as shown in (75). In (75b), for instance, the vowel in  $V_2$  is +ATR so the vowel of *bè* changes to a +ATR /*è*/ in order to harmonize with the vowels of the verb stem.

Analysing a similar pattern in Ewe instrumental SVC (64 repeated as 76), Ameka (2005:135) points out that the verb take which is *kɔ* in Ewe is grammaticalizing as sequential modal marker that occur on a VP to indicate the finality of the action or event described in the VP.

- (76) [e-kɔ                      fiá      kɔ      dzá      ati-a      ]  
          3sg-raise                      axe      take      hack      stick-def  
          ‘He used an axe and hacked the wood.’                      (Ameka 2005a:135)

In Lete, Akrofi Ansah (2009: 220-221) observes that in instrumental SVC, (63) repeated here as (77), the particle *é/é*<sup>74</sup> is placed before the second verb. She glossed the particle as an applicative<sup>75</sup>.

- (77) a. A              dī-hú/twú/bítí                      əkyi      é-mó                      okireni                      a .  
          3SG      PROG-use/take                      knife      APPL-kill                      chicken                      DEF  
          ‘He is using/taking a knife to slaughter the chicken.’ (Akrofi-Ansah 2009)

Based on the consistent occurrence of *bè* on the  $V_2$  in argument adding SVC in Kaakye and the fact that *bè* is prefixed to  $V_2$  and agrees with the vowels in  $V_2$ , one can tentatively conclude that *bè* is a grammaticalized form: from a lexical verb to an applicative marker *bè/bè* whose primary function is to indicate the presence of an additional argument or a semantic role to the construction. This, however, needs further investigation in future work.

## 6.7 Summary

This chapter has described SVCs in Kaakye. It has basically shown that Kaakye shares many features of SVCs cross-linguistically. An SVC in Kaakye

<sup>74</sup> which harmonizes with the vowels of the second verb.

<sup>75</sup> Apart from the label applicative, Akrofi Ansah (2009:220) did not throw more light on the functional role of this particle.

is any construction that has a sequence of two or more verbs (verb phrases) with the following features:

- i. The verbs may express a unitary action or a sequence of related sub-events
- ii. Most of the verbs that occur in SVC can function as full lexical verbs in simple clauses
- iii. The construction occurs without any overt marker of co-ordination or subordination
- iv. It has the same syntactic subject which may be expressed once on the initial verbs or on every verb
- v. The verbs in series may either share the same object or each may have its own objects
- vi. The verbs may have different aspectual and transitivity values
- vii. The verbs in most cases share the same tense, aspect and mood which is marked once on  $V_1$
- viii. Negation is marked only once on the initial verb

Following Aikenvald (2006) and Osam (1994), I classified Kaakye SVCs into Asymmetrical and Symmetrical SVCs; and Clause chaining and Integrated SVCs, respectively in section 6.2.

In the discussion of same object sharing, it was argued that the realisation or non-realisation of direct objects in SVCs with a clause-final transitive verb is not essentially motivated by the animacy status of the object of the initial verb, as has been explained in other related languages, but rather, by the animacy status of the object arguments that is required by the semantics of transitive verb.

Section 6.5 also looked at argument-adding SVCs. It was observed that Kaakye allows for the addition of semantic roles such as instrument, benefactive, locatives and manner in SVCs.

As in many serializing languages, it was evident that certain verb combinations in Kaakye have become lexicalized as verbal compounds. Following Osam (1994a), two kinds of lexicalization were distinguished: Full lexicalization and Partial Lexicalization. In the former, the meaning of the verb combinations cannot be derived from the meaning of the component parts while in the latter, the meaning of the verb combination can easily be derived from the combination. The discussion revealed that serial verbs are relatively productive in Kaakye.

Kaakye, like its closely-related and non-related neighbouring Kwa languages, shows a pathway to grammaticalization through SVC. It was shown that certain independent lexical verbs develop into grammatical forms such as motional or directional markers, and applicative markers; through the process of grammaticalization. From a typological perspective, it appears that the development of the applicative marker, also attested in Lete, seems to be common among the Guan group of languages, particularly the North Guan languages. Unfortunately, given the lack of comparative data on the Guan languages, it is difficult to make any definite statement at this point. We are not certain whether their SVCs will pattern similarly or differently. Further research is needed in this area before any generalization is made.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 7.0 Introduction

In this thesis, an effort has been made to provide a detailed description of some aspects of Kaakye syntax within the functional-typological framework. Topics covered include those that have been given little attention in existing linguistic research in the language and which are of typological interest as far as the study of African languages are concerned. They include noun class system and animacy distinctions, relativization, complementation and serial verb construction.

In this final chapter, I give a summary of what has been discussed so far and also present the implications of the study. Section 1 summarizes the discussions and the findings of each of the previous chapters. Section 2 indicates the directions for future research. Section 3 looks at significance of the study and section 4 presents the concluding remarks.

#### 7.1 Summary of the preceding chapters

Chapter 1 presented a general introduction to the study. It provided the background of the study, discussed the language and its speakers, the geographical location of Kaakye, the sociolinguistic situation and the genetic affiliation of the language, a review of previous linguistic work on the language. It also listed the research objectives and the research questions. Additionally, the chapter presented a sketch grammar on some salient features of Kaakye grammar which were necessary in providing a better understanding of the topics discussed in the thesis.

Chapter 2 examined the theoretical framework, the methodology and the literature review. The basic tenets of the functional-typological framework and three basic features of the framework: implicational hierarchies, grammaticalization and prototype categorization, which have significant implication for the study were discussed. Regarding the methodology, the various data collection processes, and the nature of the corpus were explained. The data collected was primarily based on natural discourse from native speakers in the Kaakye speaking community. The corpus included spontaneous spoken text of various genres, elicitation and data from written sources. This was followed by the literature review on the topics under investigation: the noun class system and animacy distinctions, relativization, complementation and serial verb constructions.

Chapter 3 was in two parts. The first part described the features of the noun class system of Kaakye. Departing from an earlier description (Korboe 2002) that distinguished the classes based on a single-set notion of noun classes; I adopted the paired singular-plural set notion. This criterion provided a more suitable account for Kaakye noun class system. First, it revealed a clearer semantic basis for at least three of the noun classes. The classification of the nouns showed that the nouns in the classes are partly motivated by the semantics of the nouns and partly by the culture of the people. Again, it showed that Kaakye makes two kinds of distinctions: animate/inanimate on one hand; and human/nonhuman on the other. Second, it reduces the number of noun classes, from eleven to six. Third, it clearly reveals a three-way number-marking distinction in the language.

The chapter also looked at the concordial agreement properties of the

noun classes when they occur in noun phrases. I showed that nouns usually agree with two modifiers: numerals and adjectives. Numeral agreement has restricted class agreement. Few adjective agreements are attested and they agree in number instead of class. The agreement system patterns after what has been observed in Proto-Kwa languages. It has generally been observed that “numeral agreement is very robust in Kwa as opposed to adjectival agreement which seems to have been lost either in Proto-Kwa or most of its daughter languages” (Konoshenko and Shavarina 2016:27).

Attention was also paid to how the language has evolved from the reconstructed Proto-Guan noun class system. The synchronic data analysed for the study showed that Kaakye has still maintained the Proto-Guan noun classes (Snider 1988) in the development of its noun class system. Nonetheless, there are two emerging noun class pairings and the loss of singular and plural prefixes. It was shown that the emerging noun class pairings are not arbitrary; rather they are traceable to some of the Proto-Guan languages such as Gichode, Gwa, Letɛ, Cherepong (Okere) and Awutu. This could suggest that Kaakye has probably borrowed those pairings from the same language family. The loss of the prefixes strongly suggests that the noun class system is decaying. Non-human nouns are more susceptible to losses of class markers than human nouns.

The second part examined the pronominal systems and the use of some pronouns in relation to animacy distinctions in Kaakye grammar. It looked at how speakers of the language use pronouns to distinguish between animate and inanimate entities and human and non-human entities. It was shown that Kaakye speakers both make animate/inanimate and human/nonhuman distinction in their nominal prefixes, pronominal system, and definite and



indefinite pronouns. It was demonstrated that animacy is a strong determinant for the choice of third person pronouns in Kaakye pronominal system.

Chapter 4 focused on the formation and the functions of relative clause (RC) in Kaakye. It was observed among other things that Kaakye RC, as pertains in other Kwa languages, is strictly postnominal and that both the head noun and its referent within the RC are obligatorily expressed. Unlike, some Kwa languages, however, the head nouns obligatorily take a definite determiner. It also showed that Kaakye predominantly employs both the pronoun retention and the gap strategy to indicate the canonical position that the head noun occupies in the RC. Where pronoun retention strategy is used, a resumptive pronoun co-references the head noun in person, number and animacy to explicitly state the referent of the head noun within the RC.

Using Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), it was demonstrated that all NP positions on the hierarchy are accessible to relativization in Kaakye and that the strategies employed for extracting the relativized NP differ depending on their grammatical roles. Kaakye, however, contradicts the AH constraints in two ways. One, Kaakye relative clause formation strategies do not need to apply to a continuous segment of the hierarchy. Two, Kaakye obligatorily uses the pronoun retention strategy in subject relativization: a situation observed to rarely occur but attested in some languages, especially African languages.

The chapter also showed that Kaakye belongs to the group of languages that employs the 'bracketing device' in relativization where enclosing relative markers *ké* and *wó* are concurrently placed at the beginning and the end, respectively, of the RC. The possible diachronic account of the relative markers

revealed that the relative markers *ké* and *wú* are historically derived from the manner demonstrative adverb *kéniŋ* ‘like this/that’ and the distal demonstrative *wú* ‘that’ through a grammaticalization process. The instance of grammaticalization can be interpreted as being part of a more general “process whereby markers having typical spatial reference are grammaticalized to markers for textual or discourse reference” (Heine and Kuteva 2004:116).

In chapter 5, I discussed Kaakye complementation. It was shown that Kaakye has five complementizers: *fěé*, *sé*, *ké*, *yí*,  $\emptyset$ -complementizers; and two complementation strategies: nominalization and relativization strategies, all of which serve as object complements of Complement Taking Verbs (CTVs). The choice of these complement types and complementation strategies are largely determined by the semantics of the CTVs and, to some extent, by the tense, aspects, mood and negation values of the CTVs as reflected in the matrix clause. Regarding their distribution, it was observed that the *fěé* complementizer is selected by PCU verbs, evaluation verbs and modality verbs, while the *sé* complementizer is selected by manipulation verbs. It was also shown that *ké* and *yí* complements are mostly used for manipulative and modality verbs and in some instances PCU verbs and their choice is usually dependent on tense, aspect, mood and negation values in the matrix clause. The  $\emptyset$ -complementizer is obligatory with the direct quotative verb *nyè* ‘say’ and optionally required by some PCU verbs. Nominalized complements which usually have reduced structures are also preferred by some PCU verbs and modality verbs. It was observed that relativized complements are syntactically determined. They are preferably used in embedded indirect questions and they typically occur with PCU verbs.

The co-referential relation, tense, aspect, mood and negation between the CTVs and the complement clauses were also examined. I showed that Kaakye generally conforms to Givón's (2001) notion of event integration. Firstly, it was demonstrated that all sentential complements in Kaakye take an overt subject. It was shown that true to Givón's notion of referential cohesion, manipulation and modality verbs are more semantically integrated since they show co-referential requirements while, PCU verbs are not since; they have no co-referential requirement. Secondly, Kaakye complementation supports his notion of implicativity. It was observed that implicative manipulation verbs may either impose tense aspectual restrictions on their complements. PCU verbs do not show such restrictions since they are usually independent of the matrix clause.

As cross-linguistic studies have shown, Kwa languages of West Africa historically developed their 'that'-complementizer from the verb 'say'. This phenomenon is missing in Kaakye as the discussion on the diachronic account of the complementizers shows. Instead, the *fɛ́ɛ́* complementizer is historically derived from the predicative simulative marker *fɛ́ɛ́* 'like', the *sé* complementizer from the verb *sé* 'give', the *ké* complementizer from the relative marker *ké* and the *yí* complementizer from the clause linker *yí*.

Finally, chapter 6 dealt with serial verb construction in Kaakye. There we saw that Kaakye shares many features of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically. It was shown that an SVC in Kaakye has a sequence of two or more verbs (verb phrases). The verbs may express a unitary action or a sequence of related sub-event. Most of the verbs that occur in SVC can function as full lexical verbs in simple clauses. The SVC occurs without any

overt marker of co-ordination or subordination. It has the same syntactic subject which may be expressed once on the initial verbs or on every verb. The verbs in series may either share the same object or each may have their own objects. The verbs may have different aspectual and transitivity values. The verbs in most cases share the same tense, aspect and mood which are marked once on V<sub>1</sub>. Negation is marked only once on the initial verb.

As in many serializing languages, it was evident that certain verb combinations in Kaakye have become lexicalized as verbal compounds. Following Osam (1994b), two kinds of lexicalization were distinguished: Full lexicalization and Partial Lexicalization. In the former, the meaning of the verb combinations cannot be derived from the meaning of the component parts while in the latter, the meaning of the verb combination can easily be derived from their combination. The discussion revealed that the serial verbs are relatively productive in Kaakye.

Kaakye, like its closely-related and non-related neighbouring Kwa languages, shows a pathway to grammaticalization through SVC. It was shown that certain independent lexical verbs develop into grammatical forms. Motion verbs, for instance, develop into motional or directional markers, and the handling verb *bé* 'take' which frequently occur in argument-adding SVCs is developed into applicative marker *bé-/bé-*; through the process of grammaticalization.

## **7.2 Theoretical implications of the study**

The theoretical background within which this thesis has been analysed is the functional-typological framework. The aim of this section is to highlight the

implication of adopting the framework to the work.

The significance of using the FT framework, as already mentioned in chapter 2, lies in the fact that there are functional explanations for regular and irregular patterns. This was evident throughout the thesis. For example, in the discussion of the noun class system it was observed that certain prefixes which belonged to a particular noun class had some functional motivations for being in that class. At the same time, we realised there were some exceptions to the regular pattern and these exceptions also had some functional explanations which have their roots within the cultural and history of the people. It was also observed that the use of the third person subject pronominal prefixes was functionally motivated by the animacy distinction feature found in the noun class system. Typical animate singular noun class prefixes are used as third person singular subject pronominal prefixes for animate referents while the typical inanimate singular noun class prefix is used as third person singular subject pronominal prefix for inanimate referents. Again, in the discussion of the negation of complement clauses in chapter 5, it was demonstrated that in the negative past constructions, complement clause verbs do not get negated when manipulation verbs are negated in the matrix clause. Instead, the negation effect on the manipulation verb selects another complementizer *yí* which is different from the complementizer *ké* found in the affirmative past constructions. In that discussion, it was showed that the unrealisation of negation on complement verbs has some functional implications. I explained that the motivation for the alternation of these two complementizers is simply to draw a distinction between realis and irrealis mood. These regular and irregular patterns acknowledge the fact that the function of language has an

influence on the shape of its structure. In other words, we can appeal to the communicative functions of languages to explain structural complexities of languages.

The use of diachronic information as explanation for synchronic structure was very useful to this study. Diachronic explanations claim that common processes of change may independently affect different languages in ways that cause their overall grammars to converge on common structures (Good 2009:11). A clear instance of this feature in this work was seen in chapters 4 and 5 where I accounted for the possible sources of the relativizer *ké*, the complimentizers *fêé*, *sé*, *ké*, and *yí*, by resorting to the linguistics phenomenon of grammaticalization and language tendencies attested in cross-linguistics studies (Heine and Kuteva 2002).

The concept of implicational hierarchy was very instructive to this study. In this work three implicational hierarchies<sup>76</sup> were tested. The aim of the test of these implicational hierarchies was to find out if Kaakye conforms to or contradicts the various grammatical patterns and claims associated with the implicational hierarchies. The hierarchies assessed include:

a. Number Hierarchy (Croft 1990:97)

Singular < Plural < dual < trial/paucal

b. Animacy Hierarchy (Comrie 1989: 185)

Human > Animal (animate) > Inanimate

c. Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH) (Comrie 1981:149, 1989:156)

Subject > Direct object > Non-direct object > Possessor

In chapter 3, the Number Hierarchy and the Animacy Hierarchy were

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<sup>76</sup> These implicational hierarchies are defined and explained in chapter 2 section 2.1.1.

tested. Basically, it was shown that Kaakye conforms to these hierarchies. Regarding the number hierarchy, it was shown that Kaakye encodes plural and since it encodes plural, it also has strategies for encoding singular nouns. On animacy hierarchy, it was shown that the language observes the various degrees of animacy from the highest to the lowest. Thus, Kaakye grammar is sensitive to animate and inanimate distinction on one hand, and human and non-human distinctions on the other hand. This was clearly evident in the discussion of the noun class system; the pronominal system; and indefinite and definite pronouns. Again in chapters 4 and 6, we also saw the implication of the notion of animacy in the relativisation of direct object nouns and the realization of object pronoun after  $V_2$ , respectively. The relevance of animacy distinction cannot be underestimated in the language's grammar.

The Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (NPAH) (Comrie 1981:149, 1989:156) was evaluated in chapter 4. It was demonstrated that all NP positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are accessible to relativization in Kaakye and the strategies employed for extracting the relativized NP differ depending on their grammatical roles. Kaakye, however, contradicts the NPAH by using the pronoun retention strategy for subject relativization. A situation observed to rarely occur but attested in some languages, especially African languages.

### **7.3 Future research**

This thesis identifies some issues that require further research.

- i. In the comparison of the synchronic noun class system to the Proto-Guan class system, it was observed that there were two emerging noun class pairings which were traceable to some of the Proto-Guan

languages such as Gichode, Gwa, Lete, Cherepong (Okere) and Awutu. Similar comparative study can be conducted in other Guan languages to find out how the languages have evolved over the years. It will be interesting to know if these Guan languages are developing a new system.

- ii. From a typological perspective, it appears that the development of the applicative marker, also attested in Lete, seems to be common among the Guan languages, particularly the North Guan languages. Unfortunately, given the lack of comparative data on the Guan languages, it is difficult to make any definite statement at this point. We are not certain whether their SVCs will pattern similarly or differently. Further research is needed in this area to provide a better understanding of this phenomenon.
- iii. It was observed that the choice of complementizers is not only relevant to the semantics of the CTVs but also relevant to the tense, aspects, mood and negation relations inflected on the matrix verbs. Although, I touched on some of the peculiar polarity effects, further study will be useful to ascertain their clear contextual usage.
- iv. The study of the diachronic source of Kaakye complementizers revealed that none of them are derived from the speech verb 'say'. It will be interesting to know if other Guan languages has similar pattern. Research on its closely related North-Guan languages may be useful in throwing more light on the source of the *fɛɛ* complementizer.



- v. The discussion on SVC did not examine question and focus marking in Kaakye SVCs. Further studies are invited on these areas.

#### **7.4 Concluding remarks**

The description that is presented in this study covers topics of syntax that have not been extensively explored in earlier research. This thesis is thus the first comprehensive syntactic description of Kaakye grammar analysed from functional-typological perspective.

An important difference between this grammar and previous works on Kaakye is that the analyses are empirically-based. Data is obtained from native speakers interacting with each other as they would in everyday life in their own community.

As a descriptive research, this study is useful in a number of ways. It serves as resource for typological and cross-linguistics studies. It will also preserve the language and serve as a source of information needed for developing educational materials. It is an effort to contribute to the documentation of the language.

I hope that the description of Kaakye that is presented in this thesis will provide an empirical basis for further research into Kaakye, other Guan languages as well as offer insights on the study of Ghanaian linguistics in particular and African linguistics in general.

**APPENDIX I: Meta data of speakers of texts that formed the main corpus for the thesis**

<b>Speaker's Full Name/Initials</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Hometown</b>	<b>Other Languages</b>	<b>level of education</b>	<b>No. of years in KeteKrachi</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Moses Danso (MD)	M	Tantu	English and Twi	Elementary	60	GILLBT Staff, farmer
Linda Ntumi (LN)	F	Adankpah	Nchumuru, Hausa, Ewe, Twi, English	Senior High School	34	GILLBT Staff
Vincent Oxford Denteh (VOD)	M	Adankpah	Nchumuru, Hausa, Ewe, Twi, English	Tertiary	36	GILLBT Staff, Teacher
Matthew O. Donkor (MOD)	M	Monkrah	Twi, Nchumuru, English	O' Level	42	GILLBT Staff
Ware Kofi Tano Sragyimah (WKTS)	M	Osramanae Chantae	Twi, Hausa, Zulu, English, Siswati	Tertiary	30	Accountant
Keyeke Maclean Tio (KMT)	M	Osramanae Dobeso	Twi and English	Tertiary	26	Teacher and Farmer
Benedicta Azumah (BA)	F	Ntewusae	Twi and English	Tertiary	40	Teacher
Agartha Boanya (AB)	F	Osramanae	Twi	None	50	Fish Seller
Agnes Denteh (AD)	F	Kadenkpen	Twi	None	50+	Farmer
Akwasi Owusu (AO)	M	Osramanae	Twi	None	30	Fisherman
Christiana Afua Kuma (CAK)	F	Osramanae Kwankwata	Twi	None	50+	Pito Seller
Yaa Asinkyor (YA)	F	Kadenkpen	Twi	None	70+	Farmer
Nana Asunto Abrese (NAA)	M	Abujuro	Twi and English	Tertiary	56	Teacher, chief
Akwesi Mensah (AM)	M	Osramanae Yabian	Twi	O' Level	58	Farmer
Solomo Yaw Okoita (SYO)	M	Osramanae	Twi and English	Tertiary	38	Teacher
Jackson Bewiah Donkor (JBD)	M	Ntewusae	Twi, Hausa, Ewe, Leleme, Buem and English	Tertiary	70	Traditonal council secretary



# UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

## ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

My Ref. No.....

7<sup>th</sup> December 2015

Ms. Levina Nyameye Abunya  
Department of Linguistics  
University of Ghana  
Legon

Dear Ms. Abunya,

### ECH 048/15-16: ASPECTS OF KAAKYI SYNTAX

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 7/11/16

On Agenda for: Initial Submission

Date of Submission: 20/10/15

ECH Action: Approved

Reporting: Bi-Annually

Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Prof. J. O. Y. Mante  
ECH Chair

CC: Prof. Nana Aba Amfo Appiah



**APPENDIX III**  
**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**  
**DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS**  
**CONSENT FORM**

**Section A- BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Title of Study:	Aspects of Kaakye Syntax
Principal Investigator:	Levina Nyameye Abunya
Certified Protocol Number	ECH 048/15-16

**Section B- CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY**

**General Information about the Research**

The purpose of this study is to describe some aspects of the sentence structures or the grammar of Kaakye language. Your participation in this research will basically involve any of the following: sharing your knowledge of the language through storytelling, history narration, describing a procedure or an activity, engaging in a conversation with another speaker, describing a traditional or cultural practice, describing pictures and video clips. If you agree to participate in any of the above-listed activity, you will be audio or/and video recorded. This may take about 30 or more minutes of your time depending on the kind of activity you will be engaged in. The audio or video recordings will later be transcribed, translated and linguistically analysed for the purpose of the study and for future research of the language.

**Benefits/Risk of the study**

This study to a large extent will help us understand the grammar of the language. By sharing your knowledge of your language in this study, you will contribute to the preservation of the language which will later serve as the basis for the development of practical school materials in the future. It will also contribute to my PhD dissertation. There are no conceivable risks associated with this study.

**Confidentiality**

If you decide to participate in this research, your privacy will be protected. The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. The audio and video recordings are for the purpose of linguistics analysis only and it will therefore

be accessible to the researcher and her team only. The recordings will not be available to the public. . Your identity will not be revealed if you wish to remain anonymous. From the options below, please tick appropriately the one you willingly agree:

\_\_\_I agree to be recorded for purposes of this project but wish to remain anonymous in any publication that is a result of this project.

\_\_\_I agree to be recorded for purposes of this project and I would like to be acknowledged by name in any publication that is a direct result of this project.

### **Compensation**

There are no compensation packages in cash or kind available for participants who are not actively involved in the data collection process. Where participants are actively involved in the process of data collection, they will be compensated GHS 20 per day.

### **Withdrawal from the study**

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate and you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you decide not to participate or to withdraw from this study.

During the recording section, if you feel that I may have audio-/video-recorded anything which you would prefer that I do not keep, tell me and that recording will be deleted.

### **Contact for Additional Information**

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Levina Nyameye Abunya at [leviabu@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:leviabu@yahoo.co.uk) or on 0244182170/0206128958.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant in this study you may contact the Administrator of the Ethics Committee for Humanities, ISSER, University of Ghana at [ech@isser.edu.gh](mailto:ech@isser.edu.gh) / [ech@ug.edu.gh](mailto:ech@ug.edu.gh) or 00233- 303-933-866.

**Section C- VOLUNTEER AGREEMENT**

**"I have read or have had someone read all of the above, asked questions, received answers regarding participation in this study, and am willing to give consent for me, my child/ward to participate in this study. I will not have waived any of my rights by signing this consent form. Upon signing this consent form, I will receive a copy for my personal records."**

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of Volunteer

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature or mark of volunteer

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

**If volunteers cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign here:**

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of witness

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature of witness

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

\_\_\_\_\_

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

\_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent

\_\_\_\_\_

Date

**APPENDIX IV: Metadata of texts that formed the main corpus for the Dissertation**

<b>Speakers initials</b>	<b>Recording</b>	<b>Recording full name</b>	<b>Genre</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>hh:mm:ss</b>	<b>Format</b>
MD1	Audio	Nye ɔdɛmpɔ kɔmanɔ ɔdɛmpɔ tima 'Not all friends are good friend'	Folk Story (1)	27/10/2015	00:02:33	.MP3
MD2	Audio	Kita wɔ sɛ kɛ kɔnkɔnsa ɛ ba wɔ 'How the word konkonsa came about'	Folk Story (2)	20/11/2015	00:02:13	.MP3
MD3	Audio	Kyibɔrɔ mɛ bɔ mule 'Oldlady has her own'	Folk Story (3)	30/11/2015	00:02:10	.MP3
MD4	Audio	Kinyi asɔ mɔ ɔbakɔnkɔ asɔ 'Wisdom does not reside in one person's head'	Folk Story (4)	30/11/2015	00:01:16	.MP3
MD5	Audio	Kinyi asɔ yɛ ba bɛ wa kɔtɔkɔmamɔ 'It is wisdom that does everything'	Folk Story (5)	30/11/2015	00:01:42	.MP3
LN1	Audio	Fish smoking process	Procedural Text (PT1)	29/11/2015	00:03:13	.MP3
WKTS1	Audio	The Frog story	Picture description (PD1)	27/11/2015	00:22:03	.MP3
MD6	Audio	Revised version:Frog story	Picture description (PD2)	03/12/2015	00:26:18	.MP3
KMT1	Audio	The traditional role of the youth in the Kaakyi community	Narrative (N1)	04/12/2015	00:06:18	.MP3
KMT2	Audio	Typological Relation Picture Series (TRPS)	Picture description (PD3)	27/11/2015	00:08:31	.MP3
CAK1	Audio/Video	Pito preparation	Procedural Text (PT2)	19/11/2015	00:14:10	.MP3/.MP4

AO1	Audio/Video	Fishing Process	Procedural Text (PT3)	30/10/2015	00:11:45	.MP3/.MP4
AO2	Audio	Fishing Challenges	Narrative (N2)	30/10/2015	00:02:53	.MP3
BA1	Audio	Prayer	Prayer Text (PYT1)	17/11/2015	00:05:04	.MP3
AB1	Audio	Fish selling business	Conversation (C1)	30/11/2015	00:03:18	.MP3
MD and LN 1	Audio	Ibadan Wordlist	Wordlist (W1)	25/11/2015	00:17:16	.MP3
AD1	Audio	Puberty rites	Narrative (N3)	14/11/2015	00:17:15	.MP3
GILLBT Team1	Audio	Riddles and Proverbs	Riddles and proverbs (RP1)	28/10/2015	00:19:51	.MP3
JBD1	Audio	History of migration	Narrative (N3)	14/11/2015	00:37:54	.MP3
JBD2	Audio	Proverbs	Proverbs (RP2)	12/11/2015	00:09:40	.MP3
LN1	Audio	Numerals	Wordlist (W2)	18/11/2015	00:01:52	.MP3
SYO and VOD 1	Audio	Kaakyi FM maiden Programme	Radio programme (RPG1)	26/11/2015	00:27:53	.MP3
SYO 1	Audio	Kaakyi news	Radio programme (RPG2)	30/11/2015	00:06:20	.MP3
NAA1	Audio/Video	Libation pouring for the township	Procedural Text (PT4)	12/12/2015	00:11:32	.MP3/.MOV
AM1	Audio/Video	Libation for marriage	Procedural Text (PT5)	11/12/2015	00:03:32	.MP3/.MOV
YA1	Audio	Puberty rites	Narrative (N4)	14/11/2015	00:09:40	.MP3
MD and LN 2	Audio	Positional Verbs Picture Series (PVPS)	Picture description (PD3)	07/12/2015	00:07:20	MPEG-4



**APPENDIX V: TEXT SAMPLES**

The Kaakye texts in this appendix form part of the data collected during my field-trip to the Kaakye community. I present one folk story, one procedural text and one prayer text. For each sample, I first summarise the text in English followed by the Kaakye text with inter-linear glossing.

**TEXT SAMPLE I**

Title: The old woman too has her own (Folk Story)

Genre: Folk Story

Code: FST3

Gender of speaker: Male

The old woman too has her own

There was a certain chief who ordered his boys to kill all the old women in the town. He gave this order because, according to the soothsayer, the old women in the town were those who were killing the young men of the town. There was a certain boy who hid his grandmother somewhere and every time, he hides to go and give her food. One day, the chief wanted to look fearful so he made them kill a tiger and covered his body with the tiger's skin. The following day the tiger's skin stuck on his body. So, the chief called on all his wise mento remove the tiger's skin from his body. They did their best but they could not remove the skin. This became a serious issue since the chief had been in that state for three days. The boy who hid his grandmother ran to tell her about the problem. His grandmother advised that they pour water on the tiger's skin. According to her, the skin will remove only when it is wet. The boy returned to the elders and told them to wet the skin. When that was done, they easily removed the tiger's skin. This is the reason why our elders consult the old women whenever they are unable to resolve a dispute.

1. Kyìbirí      m̀è      b̀ò      mú      l̀è  
           old woman   too      be      her      own

The old woman too has her own

2. òwùrà      kù                      yí      ó-gyìrí                      wà      mú  
           chief            INDEF                      FM      3SG.SUBJ.PST-say      do      3SG.POSS  
           àyààfòrì      ké                      bì-m̀ò                                      àkyìbirísé      wù  
           boys            COMP            3PL.SUBJ.PRES-kill      oldwomen      DET

ké b̀̀-b̀̀ òmáṅ wú tò p̀̀é.   
 REL 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-live town CD inside all.

‘There was a certain chief who ordered his boys to kill all the old women who lived in the town.’

3. lùfèè bé-yò tèbìsá yàà ṅù fèé   
 because 3PL.SUBJ.PST-go ask.soothsayers go see COMP   
 àkyìb̀̀rìsé wú yí bè-mò òmáṅ   
 old women DET FM 3PL.SUBJ.PROG-kill town   
 wú tò àyààfòrì wú.   
 DET inside boy DET

‘because they went to ask the soothsayer who said that it is the old women who kills the boys in the town.’

4. kiyààfòrì wú òkú firá ó-tà mú   
 boy DET some for him 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take 3SG.POSS   
 nàná yàà bàré t̀̀nkú.   
 grandmother go hide somewhere

‘As for a certain boy, he took his grandmother and hid her somewhere.’

5. Kì-kyèní k̀̀m̀̀ànù´ ó-bàré yà sè wú   
 CM-time every 3SG.SUBJ.PST-hide go give 3SG.OBJ   
 àgyìbí.   
 food

‘Every time, he hides to go and give his grandmother food.’

6. òwùrá wú é-b̀̀tí fèé mú k̀̀yìrí   
 chief DET PST-want COMP 3SG.POSS body   
 wà k̀̀fú k̀̀m̀̀ù-sù ò-sè bè yàà   
 do fear therefore 3SG.SUBJ.OPT.make 3PL.OBJ go   
 mò òkèsénkp̀̀ṅ̀̀ yí bé-gyò mú   
 kill tiger CONJ 3PL.SUBJ.PST-remove 3SG.POSS

òwùrì wú bé-sì wú .  
 skin DET 3PL.SUBJ.PST-put.on 3SG.OBJ

‘The chief wanted his body to look fearful so he let them kill a tiger and they removed its skin and put it on him.’

7. Kèyì é-kà wú òwùrà yí òkèséńkpòh òwùrì  
 day PST-break DCM chief FM tiger skin  
 é-sì mú kòyìrí wú.  
 PST-remain 3SG.POSS body DET

‘The following day the tiger’s skin stuck on his body.’

8. ó-tù mú ànyìsítùpú bè gyèsí mè  
 3PL.SUBJ.PST-call 3SG.POSS wisemen come meet but  
 bí-ń-diyé lèè òwùrì wú bè  
 3PL.SUBJ.NEG.PST-can remove skin DET com  
 lù mú kòyìrí.  
 leave 3SG.POSS body

‘He called his wise men but they could not remove it for him.’

9. bé-wà kpíní. mé-gyìrí nì wú, òtè  
 3PL.SUBJ.PST-do tired 1SG.SUBJ.PROG-say this DCM then  
 ó-kà-nyà nkè òsà ànyìsì kì-pé  
 3SG.SUBJ-PERF-get days three eye NOMZ-be.rip  
 é-bà.  
 PST-come

‘They were tired/they tried their best. (As) I am saying this then he (chief has been in that situation) for three days and it’s a serious problem. (Literally eye reddening has come.)’

10. ńfùh yí kiyàáfòrì wú ké ó-tà  
 there FM boy DET REL 3SG.SUBJ.PST-take

mú náná yàà bàré wú é-sírínìj yà  
 3SG.POSS grandmother go hide CD PST-run go  
 gyírí àsìj wú wà mú náná.  
 tell matter DET do 3SG.POSS grandmother

‘It is there the boy who hid his grandmother ran to tell her the issue.’

11. kyìbìrì wú é-kyìrá dìj yí ó-gyírí  
 oldlady DET PST-sit quiet CONJ 3SG.SUBJ.PST-tell  
 wú ké bì-yà sié ñkyù  
 3SG.OBJ COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-go fetch water  
 bè pòrá òwùrì wú  
 come wet skin DET

‘The old woman became quiet and she told him that they should fetch water and wet the skin.’

12. òwùrì wú ké pùò bì-diyé mààkí  
 skin DET REL wet 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-can remove  
 bè lì òwùrá wú kòyùrí.  
 come leave chief DET body

‘The skin can only be removed when it is wet’

13. kiyàfòrì wú é-bwì bè gyírí yí  
 boy DET PST-return come say CONJ  
 bé-sà ñkyù bìrékí wú, òwùrá  
 3SG.SUBJ.PST-fetch water pour 3SG.OBJ chief  
 wú sù yí òwùrì wú é- mààkí .  
 DET on CONJ skin DET PST-remove

‘The boy returned and said they should fetch water and pour it on the chief and the skin remove’

14. kénìjìsù yí àbìrìsé bè-kyìrá àsìj kú  
 that why FM elders 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-sit matter INDEF

s̀̀ ẃ yí ì-wà òlù̀ ẃ  
 on DET if 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-do hard DCM  
 bà-gyìrí f̀̀̀ bì-yà ñ̀̀ kyìbìrí.  
 3SG.SUBJ.HAB-say COMP 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-go see oldlady

‘That is how come elders say they are going to consult the old lady whenever they find it difficult to resolve an issue.’

## TEXT SAMPLE II

Title: Fish smoking process

Genre: Procedural Text

Code: PT1

Speaker gender: Female

## Fish smoking process

My name is Ntumi Linda. I am going to show you how we smoke fish in Kaakye. If I will smoke fish, I go to the lakeside to buy the fish, like tilapia. If I come, then I pour water on it and remove the scales. After, I remove the intestine and cut them into preferred sizes. Afterwards, I set fire in the oven and I put the mesh on it. Then I put the fish on top of the mesh, I can salt the fish if I like. After, I smoke the fish that is on top for some time then, I turn it. After turning it, I smoke it till it becomes dry, then, I take it out and I put it down (in a basket). The following day, I can smoke it again. If the fishes are small, I wash them, cut the sides and bend them if I want. If they are big, I put salt on all the body and bend them. After, I set the fire in the local oven and I put the mesh on it. Then I put the fish on the mesh such that they do not lie on each other when they are in the oven. Then, I regulate the fire. It will be on fire till it becomes dry then I turn the fish. Then, I regulate the fire again. I will keep turning the fish and regulating the fire till the fish becomes dry just as I desire it to be. When it is done, I take it off the fire. This is how I smoke my fish.

1. mì                      kinyìní                      ì-gyì                      Ntumi                      Linda.  
 1SG.POSS      name                      STAT-COP.be      Ntumi                      Linda.

‘My name is Ntumi Linda’.

2. Mè-bè-káápò    kénùḡ      ké      bà -ḡèsí  
 1SG.SUBJ-PROG-come-show      how      REL      3PL.SUBJ-PRES-smoke  
 kùnù                      kaakye                      tò                      wú.  
 fish                      kaakye                      inside                      CD.

‘I am going to show you how they smoke fish in Kaakye.’

3. m̀-ke-ɲ̀esé                                  k̀nú    ẃ                  m̀-̀ỳd̀                                  ̀nỳỳ  
 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-smoke    fish    DET                  1SG.SUBJ.HAB-go    water  
 k̀ǹǹ                  ̀ǹ-̀ỳà̀à    s̀d̀                  k̀nú                  ẃ,  
 mouth                  1SG.SUBJ.HAB-go                  buy                  fish                  DET  
 f̀èè                  ̀-̀gỳì    ̀nf̀à̀à,  
 like                  PRES-be    tilapia

‘If I will smoke fish, I go to the lakeside to buy the fish, like tilapia for example’

4. m̀-̀b̀à    ẃ                  ̀nt̀è                  m̀-̀b̀à-̀ẁà  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-come                  DCM    then                  1SG.SUBJ.PRES-come-put  
 ̀nỳỳ                  t̀d̀,  
 water                  inside,  
 ̀nt̀è                  m̀-̀k̀os̀ì  
 then                  1SG.SUBJ.PRES-remove.scales

‘If I come, then I pour water on it, then, I remove the scales’

5. m̀ -̀ẁd̀k̀ìt̀ó    ẁr̀í                  ẃ                  ̀nt̀è  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-remove.intestine    finish                  DCM                  then  
 m̀-̀t̀k̀ìt̀ó    k̀̀ǹǹ                  k̀è                  m̀-̀k̀ìr̀ì  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES -cut into pieces                  how                  REL                  1SG.SUBJ.PRES-like  
 ẃ.

CD

‘When I finish removing the intestine, then I cut it into preferred pieces’

6. ̀nt̀è    m̀-̀kp̀ùt̀á    òk̀p̀á                  k̀d̀sẁí                  t̀ó                  ̀nt̀è  
 then    1SG.SUBJ.PRES-set                  fire                  local oven                  inside                  then  
 m̀-̀b̀è    k̀t̀t̀r̀ì                  b̀è                  gỳè                  s̀.  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put    mesh                  put                  top                  on

‘Then I set fire in the oven and I put the mesh on it.’

7. ̀nt̀è    m̀-̀be    k̀nú    ẃ                  b̀è                  d̀̀ǹá                  k̀t̀t̀r̀ì                  ẃ  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put    fish    DET                  come    lie                  mesh                  DET

sú            ìkú            m̀̀̀            m̀̀̀-kírí            wú  
 top            some            if            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-like            DCM

m̀̀̀-b̀̀̀                       ñf̀̀r̀̀            b̀̀̀            wa            k̀̀ǹ̀            wú            sú  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put            salt            put            do            fish            DET            top

‘then I put the fish on top of the mesh, I can salt the fish if I want to’

8. ñt́            m̀̀̀-ḡ̀̀s̀̀                       k̀̀ǹ̀            wú            ḱ            d̀̀ḡ́            sú  
 then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-smoke            fish            DET            REL            lie            top

yàà            f̀̀            k̀̀b̀̀            ḱ            ñt́            m̀̀̀-b̀̀̀r̀̀ḱ            yú.  
 till            ??            time            INDEF            then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-turn            3SG.OBJ

‘then, I smoke the fish that is on top for some time then, I turn it’

9. m̀̀̀-b̀̀̀r̀̀ḱ                       yú            ñt́            m̀̀̀-ḡ̀̀s̀̀  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-turn            3SG.OBJ            then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-smoke

ḱ̀ǹ̀ḡ́            ḱ            ì-wú̀̀                       ñt́            m̀̀̀-d̀̀ḡ́,  
 till            REL            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-dry            then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-take off

‘After turning it, I smoke it till it becomes dry then, I take it out.’

10. ñt́            m̀̀̀- t̀̀                       yàà            ỳ̀            k̀̀ỳ́k̀̀k̀̀  
 then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-take            put            down            daybreak

m̀̀̀-kírí                       wú            ñt́            m̀̀̀-b̀̀̀r̀̀  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-like            DCM            then            1SG.SUBJ.PRES- again

ḡ̀̀s̀̀            t̀̀.

smoke            inside

‘then I put it down. The following day I can smoke it again.’

11. ḱ̀ǹ̀ḡ́            ḱ            m̀̀̀-ẁ̀                       m̀̀̀            nf̀̀à            ní.  
 how            REL            1SG.SUBJ.PRES-do            1SG.POSS            tilapia this

‘this is how I smoke my tilapia’

12. Ỳ            s̀̀            b̀̀d̀            m̀̀            b̀̀ḡ̀ỳ            nwééḡ̀ỳ  
 CONJ            if            3PL.SUBJ            too            3PL.SUBJ.STAT-be            small



wú m̀è-yàà sùð òt́ m̀è-bà  
 DCM 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-go buy then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-come  
 fwì búð sù  
 wash 3SG.OBJ top

‘And if I buy the small types too, I wash them’

13. òt́ m̀è-wòkùt́ òt́ m̀è-nyòh̄  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-cut side then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-bend  
 búð m̀è-kírí wú.  
 3PL.OBJ 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-like DCM

‘then, I cut the sides and bend them if I want’

14. s̀è bì-gyì àl̀èl̀è furá òt́ m̀è-b̀è  
 if 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-be big soo then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put  
 òfòrí b̀è wà k̀òyòrí wú p̀èé yí  
 salt come do body DET all CONJ  
 ò-ké-nyòh̄ búð.  
 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-bend 3PL.OBJ

‘if they are big , I put salt on all the body and I will bend them’

15. òt́ m̀è-b̀é òfòrí b̀è wá k̀òyòrí wú p̀èé  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-put salt come do body DET all  
 òt́ m̀è-kpùtá òkpa k̀óswì t́  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-set fire local oven inside

‘then I salt them and then I set the fire in the local oven’

16. òt́ m̀è-b̀è k̀ùtùrí b̀è-gyà sù òt́  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-take mesh take-put on then  
 m̀è-b̀è k̀ùnù wú b̀è-dòh̄á sù.  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-take fish DET take-lie top

‘then I put the mesh on it, then I put the fish on top (of the mesh)’

17. kènùj ké ì-mé-dòṅá ábàà sù ðìkpá  
 how REL 3SG.SUBJ.NEG.FUT-lie each other on fire

wú ì-bú tó.

CD 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-be inside

‘The way that it will not lie on each other on the fire when it is inside (the oven)

18. òté mù-láá ðìkpá wú  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-turn fire DET

mù-wà tó yààfú fèè ì-ké-wùrí  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-do inside until like 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-dry

‘then I turn the fire. I do it until it becomes dry’

19. òté mè-bìriká bè òfáṅ kùṅkú wú  
 then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-turn come side one DET

bè-dòṅá sù òté mè-làà ðìkpá wú  
 take-lie top then 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-control fire DET

‘then I turn it to one side put it on top then I control the fire’

20. mù-wà tó yààfú fèè ì-ké-wùrí  
 1SG.SUBJ.PRES-do inside until like 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-dry

kènùj ké mé-kírí wú òté mé-dòṅí

how REL 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-like CD then 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-remove

‘I do it until it becomes dry, the way that I like, then I take it out of the fire’

21. kènùj ké mù-ṅèsí mù kùnú ní.  
 how REL 1SG.SUBJ-HAB-smoke 1SG.POSS fish this

‘This is how I smoke my fish.’

## TEXT SAMPLE III

Title: Prayers after sermon

Genre: Prayer Text

Code: PYT1

Gender of speaker: Female

## Prayer

O God this evening, we agree with the singer that you are God, so we know your name. There is none besides you. There is no other name before us, on our left side and our right side because, you, God are the only one we know. Every day that we meet here, you have a different word to give us. We are fortunate. There are some fathers who would not call their children to talk to them. But since there is no father besides you, you always have something to tell us. This evening too, we have met and that which is necessary, you have given it to us. We understood that we must be vigilant in our work, our marriage, our home, and in our worship of God. God help us in this direction. God help us so we can be vigilant. We heard that in the Bible you gave money. You gave some; five money, some three and some, one, to make use of them. This evening, empower us through your spirit so that we can make profit out of what you have given us, just like, the one whom you gave the five talents. So, we can work and gain two more, so that when you come, you give us praise. God help us to be vigilant in this direction. God help us in everything that we do so that when we go out, they will say we are members of the Church of Pentecost, because we obey you. The day that you will appear too, you will say that well-done my children, you were faithful with the work that I gave you. God help us so that we can take care of our children, our marriage, and to worship you. God, if you are not with us we cannot do it with our strength so God help us in all of these. When we are able to do all these things, we will not forget to thank you. We do not have any other God that we will give this thanks to. It is only you that we will give it to. This is what we ask in your name. Amen.

1. O	Wùrúbwàrì	kènyé	nì	sù	àrí	á	òlùj	
	O	God	night	this	top	1PL.SUBJ	and	song
	bù-pù		wù	àré-wà				àgyìní,
	sing-AG.NOMZ	DET	3PL.SUBJ-PST-make					mind,
	àrì-dè		àgyìní	kùnkù	fèè			
	1PL.SUBJ.HAB-have	mind	one	COMP				

‘O God this evening, we agree with the song singer that’

2. ft-gyì		Wùrúbwàrì	ìsù	àrì-nyì
2SG.SUBJ-PRES-be	God	so	1PL.SUBJ.PRES-know	

fù kìnỳìní

2SG.POSS name

‘You are God so we know your name’

3. fù kè má kìnỳìní kú m̀- b̀ù tó, àrí  
2SG.POSS back name some NEG.PRES-be there 1PL.POSS

ànyìsì-t̀d̀ kìnỳìní kú m̀- b̀ù tó ,  
eye-inside name some NEG.PRES-be there.

àrí bìr̀é-s̀ú k̀ì-nyìní kú m̀- b̀ù tó,  
1PL.POSS left-on name some NEG.PRES-be there

àrí g̀ỳìs̀é-s̀ú kìnỳìní kú m̀- b̀ù tó,  
1PL.POSS right-on name some NEG.PRES-be there

‘There is none besides you; there is no other name before us, on our left side and our right side.’

4. ỳéèf̀ùf̀éé, f̀ú , Wùr̀úbwàrí k̀ù̀nk̀ú p̀è ké  
because 2SG.SUBJ God one only REL

àr̀ì-nyì f̀ù k̀ù̀m̀ús̀ù k̀èk̀è k̀ù̀m̀áǹùj̀  
2PL.SUBJ.PRES-know 2SG.OBJ because day every

f̀ù-nyè à̀s̀ìj̀ bàj̀bàj̀ b̀è-s̀é àrí,  
2SG.SUBJ.HAB-get matter different come give 2SG.OBJ,

‘because, you, God are the only one we know, because every day you give us a different word/message

5. k̀èk̀è k̀ù̀m̀áǹùj̀ ké àr̀ì-k̀é-g̀ỳèk̀ì òf̀í ẁú  
day every REL 2SG.SUBJ-FUT-meet here CD

f̀ù-nyè à̀s̀ìj̀ t̀ì má kú b̀è-s̀é àrí,  
2SG.SUBJ.PRES-get matter good some take-give 2SG.OBJ

ò-nyè k̀ù̀m̀áǹùj̀ ỳí ò-nyè ỳù k̀éǹùj̀,  
NEG.PRES-beevery one FM 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-get it way,

‘Every day that we meet here, you have a different word to give us, we are fortunate’

6. òsí kú b̀̀ t́ ẃ òsú péé òté  
 father some be there DET years many then  
 ɔ-mpɛ-t̀̀ m̀̀ àgyĩ f̀̀è  
 3SG.SUBJ-NEG.PERF-call 3SG.POSS children COMP  
 ò-b̀̀ gỳ̀rí àsíj wà bú̀̀.  
 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-come say matter do 3PL.OBJ

‘There are some fathers who wouldn’t call their children to talk to them.’

7. M̀̀ ỳ̀èf̀̀f̀̀f̀̀éé, f̀̀ f̀̀ŕ f̀̀-gyĩ òsí k̀̀ònkú  
 But because you for you 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-be father one  
 pé ké f́ k̀̀má òkú m̀̀-b̀̀ t́  
 only REL 2SG.POSS back someone NEG.PRES-be there  
 k̀̀mús̀̀ k̀̀k̀̀ k̀̀máǹ̀j̀̀ àr̀̀-gỳ̀k̀̀í ẃ  
 because day every 1PL.SUBJ.HAB-meet CD  
 f̀̀-nỳ̀ àsíj bú̀̀d̀̀è sé àrí,  
 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-get matter sweet give 1PL.OBJ

‘but since there is no father besides you, you always have something to tell us.’

8. òbúásĩ ò t́ m̀̀ àr̀̀-b̀̀-gỳ̀k̀̀í ìmú  
 evening this inside too 1PL.SUBJ-PST-come-meet the one  
 ké ì-sé f̀̀è fé-b̀̀-sé  
 REL 3SG.SUBJ.PRES-be.necessary COMP 2SG.SUBJ.PST-come-give  
 àrí ẃ, fé-b̀̀-sé àrí,  
 1PL.OBJ CD 2SG.SUBJ.PST-come-give 1PL.OBJ

‘This evening too, we have met and that which is necessary, you have given it to us’.

9. fê-sè                                      àré-nù                                      kèsí      fêè  
 2SG.SUBJ-PST-make      1PL.SUBJ.PST-hear      under      COMP  
 àrí              àgyùmá              tó,              àrí              kífóh              tó,  
 1PL.POSS      work              inside,      1PL.POSS      marriage              inside  
 àrí              lòh              tó,              àrí              Wùrúbwàrì              kùsúj  
 1PL.POSS      home      inside      1PL.POSS              God              worship  
 kì-bè                                      tó,              àsè              àrí              ànyìsí              ðì,  
 NOMZ-come              inside,      Let      1PL.POSS      eyes              sleep,  
 ‘we understood that we must be vigilant in our work, our marriage, our home,  
 and in our worship of God.’

10. Wùrúbwàrì              bè              kyè              àrí              tó              kénùh  
 God                                      come      help      1PL.OBJ              inside              this  
 òkpé      nì      sù, Wùrúbwàrì      bè              kyè              àrí              kénùh  
 road      this      on, God              come      help      1PL.OBJ              way  
 òkpé              nì              sù.  
 road              this              on  
 ‘God help us in this direction’

11. Wùrúbwàrì              bè              kyè              àrí              tó              ké  
 God                                      come      help              1PL.OBJ              inside              COMP  
 àrí                                      ànyìsí                                      ðtyé      ðì  
 1PL.POSS              eyes                                      can      sleep  
 ‘God help us so we can be vigilant’

12. fê-sé                                      àré-nù                                      kèsí      fêè      bìbùró  
 1SG.SUBJ-PST-make              1PL.SUBJ.PST-hear      under      COMP      bible  
 tó,              fê-sè                                      àkú              àtìrénýí,  
 inside              1SG.SUBJ.PST-give              some              money,  
 ‘We heard that in the Bible you gave money’

13. fê-sè àkú ànúh, fê-sè àkú  
 1SG.SUBJ.PST-give someone five, 1SG.SUBJ.PST-give some  
 àsá, fê-sè àkú bē- dtyé  
 three 1SG.SUBJ.PST-give someone, 3PL.SUBJ.PST-able  
 bē yú pèé búð.  
 come it all 3PL.OBJ

‘You gave some; five money, some three and some, one, they make use of them.’

14. kènyé nì sù bē sé àrí kénùh ànyìsí kɪdɪ  
 night this on come give 1PL.OBJ way eyes sleep  
 kèfúh ké àrí ànyìsí dɪ ké à-dtyé  
 spirit so 1PL.POSS eyes sleep REL SM-can be able  
 bē wà àgyùmà wú ké yú kòyùrí  
 come do work CD REL its body  
 bē kùkòkíkè fêè òmó ké fê-sé wú  
 come profitable like someone REL you-PST CD  
 àtírényĩ ànúh.  
 money five

‘This evening, empower us through your spirit so that we can make profit out of what you have given us just like the one whom you gave the five talents.’

15. ké à-dtyé bē wà àgyùmá ké yè wà ànyò,  
 so SM-be able come do work that it make two,  
 ké fê- bē wú, ké fê-bē  
 so 2SG.SUBJ.PST- come DCM, so 2SG.SUBJ.PRES-come  
 sé wú àyù.  
 give 3SG.OBJ praise

‘so we can work and gain two so that when you come, you will praise us.’

16. Wùrúbwàrí bẹ̀ kyẹ̀ àrí tó ké  
 God come help 1PL.OBJ inside COMP

àrí ànyíṣì ðì kénùḡ,  
 1PL.POSS eyes sleep that way

Wùrúbwàrí kyẹ̀ àrí tò ké àrí kítò  
 God help 1PL.OBJ inside COMP 1PL.POSS thing

kùmùnùḡ ðiyé yò sù,  
 every can go on,

‘God help us to be vigilant in this direction. God help us in everything that we do’

17. àrè-pùkí wú, búð- ké-gyírí fèè Pèntíkòsí  
 1PL.SUBJ.PRES-appear DCM, they-FUT-say COMP Pentecost

àgyĩ nù kèké kùmùnùḡ bẹ̀-yò wú  
 children this day every 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-go DCM

yéèlùfèé búð sù gyírí àsíḡ wà búð  
 because 3PL.POSS father say matter do 3PL.OBJ

kùmùsù kèké kùmùnùḡ bẹ̀-dè àsíḡ pùpwe  
 because day every 3PL.SUBJ.PRES -have matter new

bẹ̀-à ðiyé bẹ̀, wà àgyùmá  
 3PL.SUBJ.PRES-be able come do work.

‘so that when we go out, they will say we are members of the Church of Pentecost, because they obey their Father

18. kèké wú ké fù-ké-pùkí mèè wú ké fù-bè  
 day DET REL you-will-appear too CD that you-come

gyírí fèè m̀bó mù àgyĩ àgyùmá  
 say COMP well-done 1SG.POSS children work



wú ké mé-bè sé bèrí mèè wú,  
 DET REL 1SG.SUBJ-PST-come give 2PL.OBJ too CD  
 bèrí-é-ɖiyé kù sù,  
 2PL.SUBJ-PST-be able watch on,

‘The day that you will appear too, you will say that well-done my children,  
 you were faithful with the work that I gave you.’

19. Wùrúbwàrí kyè àrí tó ké à-ɖiyé  
 God help 1PL.OBJ inside COMP SM-be able  
 kù àrí àgyĩ sù, kyè àrí tó ké  
 watch 1PL.POSS children on, help us inside COMP  
 à-ɖiyé kù àrí kífóŋ wú sù,  
 SM-be able watch 1PL.OBJ marriage DET on  
 kyè àrí tó ké à-ɖiyé kù  
 help 1PL.OBJ inside COMP SM-be able watch  
 Wùrúbwàrí kǐ-súŋ wú sù,  
 God NOMZ-worship DET on,

‘God help us so that we can take care of our children, help us so that we can  
 take care of our marriage, help us so that we can worship you’

20. Wùrúbwàrí fù-m-baate àrí, àrí  
 God 2SG.SUBJ-NEG.PRES-be.with 1PL.OBJ 1PL.SUBJ  
 dóó kiyààlùj mé-ɖiyé ì-wà ìsú wú.  
 alone strength NEG.FUT-can it-do so DCM  
 Wùrúbwàrí bè kyè àrí tó ké  
 God come help 1PL.OBJ inside COMP  
 à-ɖiyé ìnù pée wà.  
 SM- can this all do

‘God, if you are not with us we cannot do it with our strength so God help

us in all of these.’

21. àrè-dtyé                      ìnì              pée              wà              wú,  
 1PL.SUBJ.PRES-can              this              all              do              DCM  
 àrí-mé-tènsó                                      fèè              àrí-ké-tà  
 1PL.SUBJ- NEG.FUT-forget              COMP              1PL.SUBJ-FUT-take  
 fù                      àyìkìsé              bè-sé              fú,  
 2SG.POSS              praise              take-give              2SG.OBJ

‘When we are able, we won’t forget to thank you.’

22. àrí -n-dè                                      òyú      kú,      àrí -n-dè  
 1PL.SUBJ-NEG.PRES-have              tree      one, 1PL.SUBJ-NEG.PRES-have  
 kùbù              kú,  
 stone              one,

‘We don’t have any tree, we don’t have any stone (we don’t have any god)’

23. fèè              àrí-ké-tà                                      àrí                                      àyìkìsé              yà  
 COMP              2SG.SUBJ-FUT-take              1PL.POSS                                      thanks              go  
 sé              fù                      dóó                      yí              àrí-ké-bè-sé  
 give              2SG.OBJ              alone                      FM              2PL.SUBJ-FUT-take-give  
 ìnì              yí              àrí -kvrì                                      àrí-ù  
 this.one              FM              2PL.SUBJ-beg.PRES                                      2PL.SUBJ-leave  
 fù                                      kùnyìní              tó.                      Amun.  
 2SG.POSS                      name                      inside                      Amen.

‘that we will give this thanks to. It is only you that we will give it to. This is what we ask in your name. Amen’

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