

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN GURENE**



**BY**

**JOSEPH AYAMGA**

**(10238296)**

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF  
LINGUISTICS, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF M.PHIL LINGUISTICS  
DEGREE**

**JULY 2018**

**DECLARATION**

I, Joseph Ayimbila Ayamga, declare that except for references to this work in which I have been duly cited, this thesis is as a result of my original research, under the supervision of Professor Kofi K. Saah and Dr. Paul K. Agbedor and that it has neither been whole nor in part been presented for another degree elsewhere.

CANDIDATE

.....

.....

JOSEPH AYIMBILA AYAMGA

DATE

SUPERVISOR

.....

.....

PROF. KOFI. K. SAAH

DATE

SUPERVISOR

.....

.....

DR. PAUL K. AGBEDOR

DATE

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to Mrs. Adongo Abagna of blessed memory and Mr. Tahiru Aberinga.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I express my profound gratitude to the Almighty God for having helped me to accomplish my academic work that took me this to point. Though it was very tough, God did everything easily for me because of His mercy and favour. I would also like to thank all those who have helped me in diverse ways to achieve my academic goal.

My profound gratitude goes to my principal supervisor, Prof. Kofi K. Saah, who did not only supervise this work, but also provided guidance and counseling and words of encouragement that helped me in my course work and in writing this thesis. I also appreciate his patience and precious time spent in reading through the thesis, making corrections and providing very vital suggestions that made me improve this thesis. Almighty God will replenish his energy and the precious time he spent in helping me to write this thesis.

I also thank Dr. Paul K. Agbedor, my second supervisor, for having sacrificed his precious time and energy to read through this work, made corrections and provided essential suggestions that helped me to improve the thesis. This thesis would not have been possible without the help of these patient, hardworking and the most experienced senior lecturers that I was privileged to have supervised my work. I pray that the Almighty God will give them more energy and more years to continue helping students as they have helped me.

My gratitude also goes to all my lecturers in the Linguistics Department of University of Ghana who have contributed in diverse ways in imparting academic knowledge to me that helped me to write this thesis. They are Prof. K.K. Saah; Prof.

Nana Aba Appiah Amfo, the Dean of School of Languages; Prof. Kweku Osam, former Pro-Vice Chancellor; Dr. James Angkaaraba Saanchi, the Head of Department of Linguistics; Prof. Kofi Agyekum, the Dean of School of Performing Arts and African Studies; Dr. George Akalig-pare; Dr. Fusheini Hudu; Dr. John Tettey Agor; Dr. Evershed Amuzu; Dr. Seth A. Ofori; Dr. Grace Ziabah; Dr. Mercy Boubuafor; Dr. Reginald A. Duan; Dr. Yvonne Agbetsoamedo; Dr. Clement Appah and Dr. Kofi Dorvlo.

I also thank Mr. William Atindaana, the Principal of St. John Bosco's College of Education, for his encouragement that made me to pursue this course. My thanks also goes to Gurene language teachers and all those who had helped me during the data gathering processes, especially Mr. Abange Elias, Pastor Aburiya Robert, and Mr. Aberinga Sulemana. I also thank my wife and children for their encouragement that gave me the energy to complete the course.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates “serial verb constructions” in Gurene, a Gur language spoken in the northern part of Ghana. It examines the defining properties of SVCs, the semantic and the syntactic classification of SVCs in Gurene, using the prototype theory framework. The fundamental principles of the theory which include “prototypicality,” “resemblance” or “similarity to the prototype,” “gradation” and “cognitive economy” are applied in classifying the various types of SVCs in the language. The primary data used in the analysis include interactions between native speakers through informal interviews, recorded public speeches, sermons, local radio discussions in Gurene and a questionnaire based on translations in Gurene. The corpus data used for the analysis are derived from some reading materials written or translated in Gurene and some existing literature on SVCs in some serializing languages across the world. The study presents analysis of “tense, aspect, modality and polarity” (TAMP) marking in serial verb constructions and the types of semantic and syntactic SVCs that exist in Gurene. The semantic types include clause chaining SVCs, integrated SVCs, benefactive SVCs, locative SVC, instrumental SVCs, comitative SVCs, escort/accompaniment SVCs, capability SVCs, concomitant SVCs, concurrent SVCs, refusal SVCs, purpose SVCs, motion SVCs, manner SVCs, comparative SVCs and the cause-effect SVCs. The syntactic types also include mono-subject SVCs, multiple subjects SVCs, mono object SVCs, multiple objects SVCs, non-object SVCs, unexpressed object SVCs, and multiple serial verbs constructions. The study shows some similarities and differences between the defining properties of SVCs in Gurene and those of some other serializing languages; hence, it is beneficial to both speakers and non speakers.

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SVCs	Serial Verb Constructions
SVO	Subject Verb Object
SOV	Subject Object Verb
VSO	Verb Subject Object
OVS	Object Verb Subject
OSV	Object Subject Verb
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Modality
TAMP	Tense, Aspect, Modality and Polarity
ASP	Aspect
MOD	Modality
DEF	Definite Article
T.Z	Too Zaafi (a type of food normally prepared with either millet or maize flour and eaten with soup in northern Ghana)
FUT	Future
BON	Bongo
FA	Fante
NEG	Negation
NPs	Noun Phrases
POSS	Possessive
1SG	First Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2SG	Second Person Singular
2PL	Second Person Plural

3SG	Third Person Singular
3PL	Third Person Plural
VP	Verb Phrase
V1	First Verb
V2	Second Verb
V3	Third Verb
V4	Fourth Verb
CCSVCs	Clause Chaining Serial Verb Constructions
ISVCS	Integrated Serial Verb Constructions
COMPL	Completive
FL-ISVCS	Full Lexicalized Integrated Serial Verb Constructions
PL-ISVCs	Partial Lexicalized Integrated Serial Verb Constructions
SPC	Subject Predicate Complement
SPCA	Subject Predicate Complement Adjunct
BVC	Bound Verb Complement
CCC	Covert Coordination Constructions
ESC	Empty Subject Constructions
LSV	Lexical Serial Verb
PROG	Progressive
HAB	Habitual
MESVC	Multi-Event Serial Verb Construction
PERF	Perfective
IMPERF	Imperfective
ADV	Adverb

FVO	Fusional Verb Object
∅	Unexpressed
SUBJ	Subject
OBJ	Object
AFF	Affirmative
NAN	Nankare (a dialect of Frafra)
DEM	Demonstrative
BOL	Bolga
PRES	Present

**LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES**

Figure 1: Genetic Classification of Gurene..... 4

Table 1: A summary of the prototype classification of syntactic SVCs in  
Gurene ..... 158

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1. An Overview of the Language .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<i>1.1.1. The Gurene Language .....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>1.1.2. Word Order.....</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>1.1.3. An Overview of “Tense, Aspect, Modality, and Polarity” (TAMP).....</i>	<i>5</i>
1.1.3. 1. Tense in Gurene.....	6
1.1.3.2. Aspect in Gurene .....	10
1.1.3.3. Modality in Gurene.....	15
1.1.3.4. Polarity in Gurene.....	16
<b>1.2. Statement of the Problem .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>1.3. Research Objectives .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.4. Research Questions .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.5. Significance of the Study .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.6. The Outline of Thesis .....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2.1. Literature Review.....</b>	<b>21</b>
<i>2.1.1. The History of Serial Verb Constructions.....</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>2.1.2. Some Definitions of Serial Verb Constructions .....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>2.1.3. General Defining Properties of SVCs.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>2.1.4. Contiguous and Non-Contiguous SVCs.....</i>	<i>28</i>

2.1.5. <i>Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Serialization</i> .....	30
2.1.6. <i>Grammaticalization in SVCs</i> .....	32
2.1.6.1. The Notion of Grammaticalization .....	32
2.1.6.2. Grammaticalization in SVCs .....	33
2.1.7. <i>Serial Verb Constructions in Austronesian /Oceanic Languages</i> .....	35
2.1.8. <i>“Serial Verb Constructions” in Thai</i> .....	36
2.1.9. <i>Serial Verb Constructions in Chinese</i> .....	39
2.1.10. <i>“Serial Verb Constructions” in West Ring Languages</i> .....	41
2.1.11.1 “Serial Verb Constructions in Akan” .....	43
2.1.11.2. “Serial Verb Constructions in Ewe” .....	47
2.1.11.3. SVCs in Some Kwa Languages in Cote d’Ivoire.....	50
2.1.11.4. Serial Verb Constructions in Yoruba.....	52
2.1.11.5. Serial Verb Constructions in Igbo .....	56
2.1.11.6. Serial Verb Construction in Igala .....	58
2.1.12. <i>Serial Verb Constructions in Gur Languages</i> .....	59
<b>2.2. Theoretical Framework</b> .....	<b>64</b>
2.2.1. <i>Rosch and Mervis’ (1975) Principles of Prototypes</i> .....	64
2.2.2. <i>Lakoff’s (1987) Principles of Prototypes</i> .....	66
2.2.3. <i>Taylor’s (1995) Principles of Prototypes</i> .....	67
<b>2.3. Methodology</b> .....	<b>68</b>
<b>2.4. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>THE SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>3.0. Introduction</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>3.1. The Integrated Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>3.2. Clause Chaining Serialization</b> .....	<b>74</b>
<b>3.3. The Semantics of Symmetrical Serialization</b> .....	<b>76</b>
<b>3.4. The Semantics of Asymmetrical Serialization</b> .....	<b>77</b>
<b>3.5. Relational Serialization</b> .....	<b>78</b>
3.5.1. <i>Benefactive Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	78
3.5.2. <i>Instrumental Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	84
3.5.3. <i>Locative Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	86

3.5.4. <i>Comitative Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	87
3.5.5. <i>Escort/Accompaniment Serialization</i> .....	89
3.5.6. <i>Capabilitative Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	90
3.5.7. <i>Sequential Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	92
3.5.8. <i>Concomitant Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	92
3.5.9. <i>Concurrent Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	94
3.5.10. <i>Refusal Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	96
<b>3.6. Switch-Function Serialization</b> .....	<b>98</b>
3.6.1 <i>Causative Serial Verb Construction</i> .....	99
3.6.2. <i>Cause-Effect SVCs</i> .....	100
<b>3.7. Purpose Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>101</b>
<b>3.8. Motion Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>103</b>
3.8.1. <i>“Motion-deictic” Serialization</i> .....	103
3.8.2. <i>Motion-directional Serialization</i> .....	104
<b>3.9. Posture/Positional Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>106</b>
<b>3.10. Manner Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>108</b>
<b>3.11. Superlative and Comparative Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>109</b>
<b>3.12. Types of Serial Verb Constructions According to Functions</b> .....	<b>111</b>
3.12.1. <i>Declarative “Serial Verb Constructions”</i> .....	112
3.12.2. <i>Imperative Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	112
3.12.3. <i>Exclamatory Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	114
3.12.4. <i>Interrogative Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	114
<b>3.13. The Prototype Categories of the Semantics of SVCs in Gurene</b> .....	<b>116</b>
<b>3.14. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>116</b>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b> .....	<b>118</b>
<b>THE SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS</b> .....	<b>118</b>
<b>4.0. Introduction</b> .....	<b>118</b>
<b>4.1 Transitivity of Serial Verb Constructions</b> .....	<b>119</b>
4.2.1. <i>Tense Marking in “Serial Verb Constructions”</i> .....	120
4.2.1.1. <i>Past Tense Marking</i> .....	121
4.2.1.2. <i>“Future Tense” Marking</i> .....	124
4.2.2. <i>Aspect Marking in Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	126

4.2.2.1. Perfective Aspectual Marking in SVCs .....	126
4.2.2.1.1. <i>The Perfective Aspect Markers Mɛ and Ya</i> .....	128
4.2.2.2. Imperfective Aspect Marking .....	132
4.2.3. <i>Modality Marking in Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	134
<b>4.3. Polarity Marking in Serial Verb Constructions .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>4.4. Argument Sharing in Mono Subject and Multiple Subjects.....</b>	<b>139</b>
4.4.1. <i>Combined Subject Serialization</i> .....	139
4.4.2. <i>Switch Subject</i> .....	140
4.4.3. <i>Subject Sharing</i> .....	142
4.4.3.1. <i>Single Subject Sharing</i> .....	142
4.4.3.2. <i>Combined Subject Sharing</i> .....	143
<b>4.5. Argument Sharing in Mono Object and Multiple Objects .....</b>	<b>144</b>
4.5.1. <i>Mono Object Serialization</i> .....	144
4.5.2. <i>Multiple Objects Serialization</i> .....	147
4.5.3. <i>Non-Object Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	149
<b>4.6. Argument Sharing in Clause Chaining.....</b>	<b>150</b>
4.6.1. <i>Subject Sharing in Clause Chaining Serialization</i> .....	151
4.6.2. <i>Object Sharing in Clause Chaining SVCs</i> .....	152
<b>4.7. Pronominal Object in SVCs.....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>4.8. Multiple Verbs in Serial Verb Constructions.....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>4.10. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>159</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>5.0. Introduction .....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>5.1. Summary.....</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>5.2. Findings.....</b>	<b>162</b>
5.2.1. <i>The Defining Properties of SVCs in Gurene</i> .....	162
5.2.2. <i>The Types of SVCs in Gurene</i> .....	164
5.2.2.1. <i>The Semantic Types of SVCs in Gurene</i> .....	164
5.2.2.2. <i>The Syntactic Types of SVCs in Gurene</i> .....	164
5.2.2. <i>The Functions of Serial Verb Constructions</i> .....	165
<b>5.3. Recommendations .....</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>167</b>



## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. Introduction

This study examines “serial verb constructions” in Gurene, focusing on both the structural and the functional types of “serial verb constructions” in the language. Though “serial verb constructions” were first discovered in Akan, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana by Christaller’s (1875) work, and the term “Serial verb Construction” (SVC) was also first used by Stewart’s (1963) work in Akan, many languages in the world are discovered to be serializing languages. Language researchers have divergent views about the prevalence of “serial verb constructions” in some of the language groups in the world. Some researchers argue that “serial verb constructions” are prevalent in West African languages, the African Caribbean creole languages, South-east Asian languages and the Oceanic languages (Bodomo, 2002; Aikhenvald, 2006; Atintono, 2005; Ofori, 2010). Haspelmath (2016) posits that serialization is common in African languages and the Oceanic languages.

Dixon (2006) argues that one-third of the languages in the world constitute serializing languages. They include Thai (Muansuwan, 2001; Diller, 2006; Takahashi, 2009), Cantonese, a Chinese language spoken in Hong Kong (Mathews, 2006), Olutec, a Mexican language spoken in Veracruz State, Mexico (Zavala 2006), and Korean (Lee, 2014). Other languages that exhibit serialization include Tariana, an endangered North Arawak language (Aikhenvald, 2006), Dumo, a Skou language which is spoken in the north coast of New Guinea (Ingram, 2006), and Khwe, a central-Khoisan language spoken in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Botswana and Zambia (Kilian-Hatz, 2006). In West Africa, one of the serializing

languages is Goemai, a West Chadic language, spoken in central Nigeria (Hellwig, 2006). Other serializing languages are Igala, Yoruba and Igbo also spoken in Nigeria (Omachonu, 2011 & 2012; Amaechi, 2013). Also, serial verb constructions exist in Akye, a Kwa language spoken in Cote d'Ivoire (Bogny, 2010). In Ghana, many languages are serializing languages. Notable among them include Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagaare, Dagbani and Gurene (Agbedor, 1994; Bodomo, 2002; Saanchi, 2006; Osam, 2004; Atintono, 2005; Abrefa, 2010).

Serializing languages differ; hence, some researchers also differ in their views on what constitute serial verb constructions. According to Takahashi (2009:1), serialization refers to a “construction in which two verb phrases are serialized with no overt linker.” Serial verb constructions may be two or more verbs that occur together in sequence with or without “intervening constituents” in a construction which contains “a single event” without a conjunction. In serial verb constructions, “two or more verbs” can be juxtaposed to share a common predicate without any conjunction intervening (Foley and Olson, 1985; Durie, 1988). Aboh (2010) indicates that the first verb in serial verb constructions has some features that designate it as a functional verb.

## **1.1. An Overview of the Language**

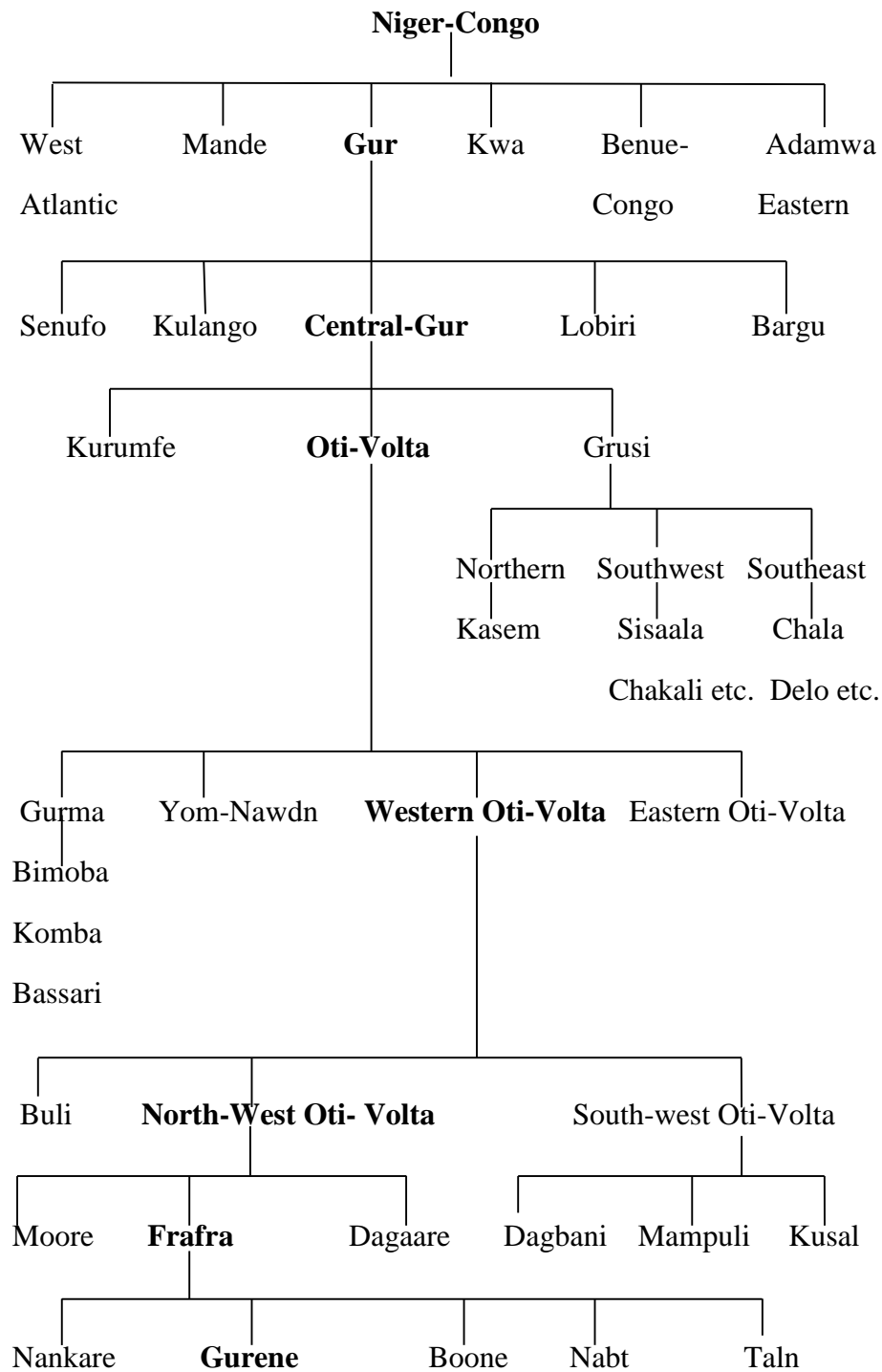
### *1.1.1. The Gurene Language*

Gurene is one of the Gur languages spoken in the northern part of Ghana. The language is one of the dialects of the *Farefare* (Frafra) language spoken in the Upper East region of Ghana. The Frafra language is classified under the North-West Oti-

Volta languages, a sub-group of the Central Gur languages under the “Niger-Congo language family.” The Frafra language is closely related to Dagaare, Dagbani, Mampruli, Buli, Kusal, and the Moore language which is spoken in Bukina Faso. Bodomo (1993) classified these languages as *Mabia* languages because of their closed relationship in which speakers of these languages call themselves *Mabia* which means “my mother’s child.” Nsoh (1997) also termed these languages as “sister languages.” The language has four other dialects which comprise Nankare, Boone, Taln and Nabt (Nsoh, 1997).

Though a majority of Gurene speakers are in the Bolgatanga and Bongo areas, some towns and villages across other areas speak Gurene. Some communities under the Kassena-Nankana East Municipal and Kassena-Nankana West district which include Sirugu and Yua are generally believed to be the historical homes of some Gurene speakers in the Bolgatanga area. Gurene is also spoken across some of the border towns and villages of Burkina Faso, hence, it is widely spoken. Some speakers believe that the Gurene speakers in Sirugu and Yua areas and those across the borders of Ghana speak the proto-Gurene. The genetic classification of Gurene is shown below.

**Figure 1: Genetic Classification of Gurene**



Adapted and modified from: <https://acasearch.files.wordpress.com/2015/03-4-the-gur-languages-of-ghana.pdf> on 19 October, 2017

### *1.1.2. Word Order*

Many languages in the world vary in terms of word order. Some languages have flexible word order marked by morphology. These languages may deviate from what is considered as the basic word order (Comrie 1989; Song 2012). Greenberg introduced the basic word order which involves three constituents of a clause namely subject, verb and object, whose permutation yields six logical parameters: SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OVS, OSV (Comrie 1989; Payne 2006; Song 2012). Gurene is an SVO and a word class language (Nsoh, 2002; Dakubu, 2003; Atintono, 2004). It is important to note that Gurene as an SVO language has postpositions which is a deviation from the idea that SVO languages always have prepositions (Comrie 1989; Payne 2006).

### *1.1.3. An Overview of “Tense, Aspect, Modality, and Polarity” (TAMP)*

“Tense, aspect, modality and polarity (TAMP)” differ across languages in terms of their syntactic structure and use. Givon (2001:70) observes that TAMP can manifest as verb prefixes in some languages, verb suffixes in other languages or verb “stem-internal vowel changes” as occur in some English verbs such as “see/saw/seen, sing/sang/sung and sit/sat.” He also indicates that TAMP may constitute auxiliaries in some languages. Tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) are grammatical rather than lexical. Dahl (1985) observes that even though tense, aspect, mood, and modality are all grammatical categories, some distinctions can be made among them.

### 1.1.3. 1. Tense in Gurene

Tense is associated with time as Dahl (1985) describes it as a relationship that exists between the time being talked about and the time of speaking. According to Dahl, tense constitutes varied morphological forms which may be implicitly or explicitly expressed by the verb. Dahl (1985) maintains that tense involves a relation between two “external points of time.” Hence, tense may be referred to as a grammatical coding of verbs that indicates time location. Givon (2001:285) hypothesizes that tense refers to “the systematic coding of the relationship between two points along the ordered linear dimension of time: reference time and event time.” Tenses are categorized into present, past and future (Dahl, 1985; Givon, 2001; Svartvik and Leech 2002; Uchiyama 2006; Timberlake, 2007). According to Givon (2001), tenses in some languages may be sub-divided into “remote past,” “recent past,” “distant future” and “immediate future.” Riemer (2010) asserts that some languages employ lexical means rather than morphologically marked tenses to express temporal relations. It is important to note that not all languages show distinctions of tenses such as past, present and future. According to Riemer (2010), some languages have no absolute tense, hence, they mark tense for “past and non-past or future and non-future.”

Unlike Akan in which affixes code tense (Dolphyne 1987; Osam 2003; Saah 2003), Gurene lacks inflectional tense markers; hence, tenses are expressed by time adverbial markers. According to Atintono (2004), Gurene has two tense markers or particles: *daa*, *yuun*, and the postverbal completive or affirmative markers *ya*, *mε*. The tense marker *daa* is derived from the time adverbial *daarε* ‘days ago’ and *yuun*

is derived from *yuuma* ‘years ago.’ Though these tense markers do not indicate definite time, they show distinctions between recent past and remote past. The tense marker *daa* indicates past time earlier than a year, whereas *yuun* indicates past time tantamount to a year, or more respectively (See Atintono 2004). This implies that the past tense marker *daa* expresses recent past, while *yuun* expresses remote past (Givon, 2001).

I argue that the particles *ya* and *mɛ* both express recent past events in the form of completive or affirmative activities. Though these markers are used to refer to recent past activities, they require the past tense markers *daa* “days ago” and *yuun* “years ago” in order to also express remote past which is the same as past perfect. On the basis of this, I posit that *ya* and *mɛ* are aspectual markers that express recent past (present perfect) and remote past (past perfect), as indicated below.

- (1) a. Akuka zò **mɛ** kɛ̀ bɔ̀'ɔ̀ pùàh̃ (recent past)  
 Akuka run **PERF** enter room inside  
 ‘Akuka has ran into the room.’
- b. Akuka **dáá** zò **mɛ** kɛ̀ bɔ̀'ɔ̀ pùàh̃ (remote past)  
 Akuka **PAST** run **PERF** enter room inside  
 ‘Akuka had ran into the room.’
- c. Akuka **yúúń** zò **mɛ** kè bɔ̀'ɔ̀ pùàh̃ (remote past)  
 Akuka **PAST** run **PERF** enter room inside  
 ‘Akuka had ran into the room.’

In example (1a), the perfect aspectual marker *mɛ* affirms a recent past activity which is in present perfect, while (1b) affirms a remote past activity which is in past perfect via addition of the “past tense marker” *dáá*. When the past tense marker *yúúń*

is added in (1c), the perfect aspectual marker *mɛ̀* affirms the remote past activity in the form of past perfect. It is worth noting that both markers express past events, however, *daa* expresses past events in terms of days, while *yuun* expresses past events in terms of years; hence they express days ago and years ago respectively.

I argue that the aspectual markers *mɛ̀* and *yà* can both be used with intransitive verbs, but only *mɛ̀* can be used with a transitive verb as indicated below.

- (2) a. *bia lá dí mɛ̀* (intransitive)  
 child DEF eat PERF  
 ‘The child has eaten.’
- b. *bia lá dí yà* (intransitive)  
 child DEF eat PERF  
 ‘The child has eaten.’
- (3) a. *bia lá dí diá lá mɛ̀* (transitive)  
 child DEF eat food DEF PERF  
 ‘The child has eaten the food.’
- b. *bia lá dáá dí diá lá mɛ̀* (transitive)  
 child DEF PAST eat food DEF PERF  
 ‘The child had eaten the food.’
- c. \**bia lá dí diá lá yà*  
 child DEF eat food DEF PERF  
 ‘The child has eaten the food.’
- d. \**bia lá dáá dí diá lá yà*  
 child DEF PAST eat food DEF PERF  
 ‘The child has eaten the food.’

The past aspectual marker *mɛ* in (2a) and *ya* in (2b) are used intransitively with the verb *dí* ‘eat.’ However, in (3a) and (3b), the perfective aspect marker *mɛ̀* is used with the transitive verb *dí* ‘eat,’ whereas the use of the perfective aspect marker *yà* with the transitive verb *dí* “eat” in (3c) and (3d) are ungrammatical. It is important to note that both the aspectual markers *mɛ̀* and *yà* express present perfect, and they require an addition of a past tense marker *dáá* or *yúúń* to encode past perfect aspect as in (3b).

Apart from these past tense markers, Gurene has some time adverbials that express past time. They include *zaam* ‘yesterday,’ *daare* ‘two days ago,’ *dayita*, three days ago,’ *datata* ‘four days ago,’ *datatebe’esi* ‘five days ago,’ *dɛa* ‘a year ago,’ *detaare*, ‘two years ago,’ *detantaare*, three years ago” (Atintono 2004). Some these time adverbials can be used to express future time by either adding the suffix *-sa’am* or without the suffix such as *daare /daaresa’am* “two days ago or two days ahead,” *dayita/dayitasa’am* “three days ago or three days ahead,” *datata/ datasa’am* “four days ago or four ahead” etc. These time adverbials indicate past time in varied degrees such as recent past, remote past, and the remotest past. These time adverbials are distinct from the past tense markers discussed previously because they encode definite time.

Besides, Atintono (2004) observes that Gurene has future tense markers *na* ‘will’, *wa*, ‘will,’ *wan* ‘will’ and *nan* ‘will’ used by different dialects. I posit that Gurene has only one future tense marker which has two dialectal variants of *wan/nan* ‘will.’ Bolga speakers use *wan* ‘will’ while the Bongo and the Nankare dialects use *nan* ‘will.’ These forms of future tense markers are grammaticalized as

*wa* by Bolga speakers and *na* by Bongo and the Nankare speakers. Gurene has no “immediate” and “distant future” tense marker. The language also has some time adverbials that are also used to express future time. They include *beere* ‘tomorrow,’ *daasa’am* ‘two days ahead,’ *dayita*, three days ahead,’ *dayitasa’am* ‘four days ahead,’ *datatebe’esi* ‘five days ahead,’ and *ziisa’am* “a year or years ahead.’ The time adverbials that express past time are *zaam* “yesterday” and *daare* “two days ago.” Past time beyond two days have no time adverbials; hence speakers use explanation such as *dabesa ata pooren/tole* “three days backward/passed,” and *dabesa anaasi pooren/tole* “four days backward/passed.” Other time adverbials include *zina* ‘today,’ *nananewa* ‘presently’ (see Atintono (2004) and *duna* ‘this year.’ It is essential to note that the use of overt tense markers in Gurene is optional because tenses can equally be understood through implied meaning. Tense markers use in serial verb constructions in Gurene will be discussed in chapter four.

### 1.1.3.2. Aspect in Gurene

Aspect may involve an extension of time over a definite time boundary or an extension of time without a definite time boundary. Comrie (1976:3) as cited in Dahl (1985), aspect may be used to express “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Dahl (1985:24) outlines that aspect denotes “the structure of things going on or taking place in the situation described by the sentence.” Though both tense and aspect involve time, Dahl claims that aspect involves “non-deictic categories” which exhibit “internal time” relation, while tense involves “deictic categories” which manifest “external time” relation (1985:24).

Aspect, according to Dahl (1985) and Givon (2001), consists of “grammatical aspect” and “inherent aspect.” Some statements outlined by Givon (2001) suggest that inherent aspect can be observed by the combination of verbs with grammatical aspect, while grammatical aspect is observed by the addition of communicative context to a statement or an event.

Apart from tenses, languages employ different ways which include “grammatical aspects” to express “temporal time relation.” Givon (2001:289) observes that the imperfective category of aspect is often sub-divided into two main divisions: “progressive-durative-continuous” and the “habitual- repetitive.” Timberlake (2007) also indicates that the operators that are used to describe aspect are progressive, iterative or habitual, perfect, and perfective. Timberlake (2007) notes that the progressive and the iterative aspects are used to refer to action in progress or action in duplication. Timberlake (2007:289) indicates that perfect aspect “presents a situation as a state.” It also indicates an activity that begins from the past and ends at the time of the speech with future expectation as shown below:

- (4) a. I didn't turn off the oven  
b. I haven't turned off the oven  
(Timberlake, 2007:290)

Example (4b) is perfect aspect which invites expectations about future possibility, while (4a) does not. However, perfective aspect expresses a static situation that often remains enforced (Timberlake, 2007).

Riemer (2010; 316) describes aspect as “a quite distinct semantic category from completion or duration,” and that languages employ varied “morpho-syntactic means” of expressing the notion of aspect. Riemer (2010:15) asserts that “aspect is the name of the grammatical category which expresses differences in the way time is presented in events.” Riemer (2010:315) maintains that tense indicates “locations of events in time” such as present time, past time and future time, while aspect expresses different ways of which “time is presented in events.” As outlined by Riemer, tense is “deictic,” hence it depends on external speech situations,” while “aspect makes reference to the internal temporal properties of the event” (Riemer, 2010:317). The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspects, as proposed by Riemer (2010), is that the former “is expressed by the ‘simple’ forms of the verb,” while the latter “is expressed by the ‘progressive’ or ‘continuous forms of the verb in English as shown below.

- (5)     a. I wrote a letter  
          b. I was writing a letter
- (6)     a. Joe will write a letter  
          b. Joe will be writing a letter

Example (5a) is simple past tense whereas (5b) is imperfective aspect. Also, (6a) is future time, while (6b) is imperfective aspect.

Gurene has suffixes that express progressive aspect. The progressive aspect marker according to Atintono (2004), is *[-i]* which can be realized as the distributives *[-ri,-ni,-ti,-li,-si]*. These progressive aspect markers in Gurene are

realized by suffix “suppletions” or “suppletive allomorphs” in which different allomorphs are expressed as suffixes (Payne 2006).

(7) The distribution of Gurene progressive suffixes

	<b>Present</b>	<b>Progressive</b>	<b>Present</b>	<b>Progressive</b>
a.	<i>di</i> ‘eat’	<i>di-ti</i> ‘eating’	<i>vole</i> ‘swallow’	<i>vo-li</i> ‘swallowing,
b.	<i>zɔ</i> ‘run’	<i>zɔ-ti</i> ‘running’	<i>voole</i> ‘make noise’	<i>voo-li</i> ‘making noise’
c.	<i>da</i> ‘buy’	<i>da’a-ri</i> ‘buying’	<i>ɣmɛ</i> ‘beat/hit’	<i>ɣmɛɛ-ri</i> ‘hitting’
d.	<i>wa</i> ‘dance’	<i>wa’a-ri</i> ‘dancing’	<i>la</i> ‘laugh’	<i>la’a-ri</i> ‘laughing’
e.	<i>kiŋɛ</i> ‘walk’	<i>ki-ni</i> ‘walking’,	<i>gise</i> ‘sleep’	<i>gi-si</i> ‘sleeping’
f.	<i>nɛɛm</i> ‘grind’	<i>nɛɛ-ni</i> ‘grinding,	<i>kaase</i> ‘cry’	<i>kaa-si</i> ‘crying’

Gurene also has an iterative aspect marker [-a] which is described as habitual aspect marker by Atintono (2004). This marker has the following variants: *-la*, *-ra*, *-na*, *-sa*, *-ta* as shown below in verbs’ suffixes.

(8). Distribution of Iterative Aspects

	<b>Present</b>	<b>Iterative</b>
a.	<i>di</i> ‘eat’	<i>di-ta di-ta</i> ‘eat repeatedly’
b.	<i>zɔ</i> ‘run’	<i>zɔ-ta zɔ-ta</i> ‘run repeatedly,
c.	<i>kiŋɛ</i> ‘walk’	<i>ki-na ki-na</i> ‘walk repeatedly
d.	<i>la</i> ‘laugh’	<i>la’a-ra la’a-ra</i> ‘laughed repeatedly’
e.	<i>kɔ</i> ‘farm’	<i>kɔɔ-ra kɔɔ-ra</i> ‘farm repeatedly’

Habitual aspect is similar to the iterative aspect, except that it uses the unduplicated forms of the verbs such as *ki-na* ‘walk repeatedly’ *zɔ-ta*, ‘run repeatedly,’ *kɔ-ra* ‘farm repeatedly’ (see Atintono 2004).

As I argued in the preceding section, the markers *ya* and *mɛ* in Gurene that indicate completive or affirmative activity or state are aspectual markers because they express present perfect as discussed in (1a), and encode past perfect in (1b) and

(1c). It shows that the perfective aspect in Gurene uses the preverbal past tense markers: *daa* and *yuun*, and the post-verbal aspectual markers: *ya* and *mε* as discussed in examples (1b) and (1c). However, the imperfective aspect uses the preverbal past tense markers: *daa* and *yuun* and the progressive suffixes. These are shown in example (9) below:

- (9)
- a.   bia    la       **daa**   di    sagebɔ   **mε**  
       child DET   PAST eat   T.Z       PERF  
       ‘The child had eaten *too-zaafi*.’
- b.   bia    la       di   sagebɔ   **mε**  
       child DET   eat T.Z       PERF  
       ‘The child has eaten *too-zaafi*.’
- c.   bia    la       **daa**   di-**ti**           sagebɔ  
       child DET   **PAST** eat-**PROG** T.Z  
       ‘The child was eating *too-zaafi*.’
- d.   bia    la       di-**ti**           sagebɔ  
       child DET   eat-**PROG** T.Z  
       ‘The child is eating *too-zaafi*.’
- e.   bia    la       **daa**   di    sagebɔ  
       child DET   **PAST** eat   T.Z  
       ‘The child ate *too-zaafi*.’

The examples in (9a) and (9b) contain the perfective aspect, while (9c) and (9d) contain the imperfective aspect. Example (9a) is past perfect aspect and (9b) is present perfect aspect, while (9c) and (9d) are past progressive and present progressive aspects respectively. The sentence in (9e) is in simple past tense.

### 1.1.3.3. Modality in Gurene

Modal auxiliaries constitute a type of auxiliaries that express ability, probability, wishes, request, obligation, certainty, intention and evidence (Grygel, 1991; Givon, 2001; Ebest et al, 2002). According to Givon (2001:300) “modality codes the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition” in which the attitude involves epistemic judgment (truth, probability, belief, evidence) and deontic judgment (ability, preference, obligation, desirability). Timberlake (2007) observes that modality involves the use of volitive verbs (will, want), obligatory verbs (must, should, ought etc), and permission verbs (may, can). In English, modal auxiliaries do not change their forms in terms of indicating number, or person, and unlike English where some auxiliary verbs such as “is, was, are and were” can occur as lexical verbs (Wiredu, 1998; Ebest et al. 2002), modal auxiliaries in Gurene cannot occur as lexical verbs.

Atintono (2004) indicates that modal auxiliaries in Gurene are preverbal modifiers on the basis that they always precede the verb and modify it. They include *wa* or *wan* or *na* or *nan* ‘will,’ *ta’am* ‘can,’ *yeti* ‘ready to,’ *kelum* ‘still’ and *le* ‘again.’ Other modal auxiliaries include *dela/see* ‘must,’ *ni* ‘habitual’ *ya,am* ‘habitual,’ *nyaa* ‘sequential,’ *leem* ‘afterwards’ *tugum* ‘rather,’ *yerum*, ‘no option than to go ahead,’ *yi* ‘unexpected but occurred’ also (see Atintono, 2004). I argue that Gurene lacks clear distinction between auxiliary verbs and modal auxiliaries as it is in English. In Gurene, more than one modal auxiliary can precede the main verb as indicated below.

- (11) a.   bia     la     wan   ta'am   le     kelum   kaale   (Bol.)  
           child   DEF   FUT   MOD   MOD   MOD   read  
           child   the   will   can     again   still   read  
           ‘The child will still be able to read.’
- b.   bia     la     nan   ta'am   le     kelum   kaale   (Bon./Nan.)  
           child   DEF   FUT   MOD   MOD   MOD   read  
           child   the   will   can     again   still   read  
           ‘The child will still be able to read.’

In (11a) and (11b), modal auxiliaries *wan/nan* or *wa/na* ‘will,’ *ta'am* ‘can,’ *le* ‘again,’ and *kelum* ‘still’ precede the main verb *kaale* ‘read’ in Bolga and Bongo/Nankare dialects. I argue that *wan/nan* is a future tense marker rather than a modal auxiliary in (11a) and (11b).

#### 1.1.3.4. Polarity in Gurene

Polarity involves grammatical marking of verbs in order to indicate negation of actions expressed by the verbs. Polarity marking varies across languages. According to Givon (2001), Bemba language marks polarity by prefixes, while Japanese marks polarity by suffixes. Gurene lacks morphological marking for polarity. Gurene has three polarity markers which are *da* ‘do not,’ *ka* ‘did not’ and *kan* ‘will not.’ According to Atintono (2004), the negation marker *ka* is used to indicate negation of action that occurred in the past, while the *kan* negation marker indicates negation of action yet to occur. The *da* is a present negative marker, *ka* is a past negative marker, and *kan* is a future negative marker as shown below:

- (12)       a.     ba     ka                di  
               3PL   NEG.PAST       eat  
               ‘They **did not** eat.’

- b.     ba     kan             di  
        3PL   NEG.FUT       eat  
        ‘They **will not** eat.’
- c.     Fu     da             di    dia    la  
        2SG   NEG.PRES   eat   food   DEF  
        ‘(You) **don’t** eat the food.’

The negation marker *ka* that precedes the verb *di* ‘eat’ in (12a) denotes a past negative action of the verb. However, in (12b), the negation marker *kan* denotes a future negative action expressed by the verb *di* ‘eat.’ Also in (12c), the marker *da* precedes the verb, expressing present negation.

Mood is one of the grammatical categories used for expressing the attitude of the speaker by indicating whether a construction is declarative, imperative or interrogative (Dahl, 1985; Atintono, 2004). Dahl (1985) observes that mood in English consists of “indicative” and “subjunctive.” There is an interface between mood and other grammatical categories such as TAM and polarity. Mood may be expressed by tone in Gurene on the basis that imperative mood in Gurene has no “segmental representation.” Details of TAMP in SVCs will be discussed in chapter 4.

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

In recent times, many language researchers have become increasingly interested in studying serial verb constructions in many languages across the world. Some notable studies of serial verb constructions include Bower (2001) who carried out a research on serial verbs constructions in the Sivisa dialect of Titan, a sub-group of

the oceanic languages spoken in Austronesian, and de Reuse (2006) who studied “serial verb constructions” in Lakota, a native language spoken in the United States. Dixon (2006) also studied SVCs in Dyirbal, an Australian language, and Cleary-Kemp’s (2015) research was on “serial verb constructions” in Koro, an Oceanic language spoken in New Guinea. Many West African languages have also been given attention in linguistics research on serial verbs constructions. These languages include Goemai, Yoruba, Igbo, Igala, Baule and Akye (Aikhenvald, 2006; Hellwig, 2006; Omachonu, 2011 & 2012; Bogny, 2010; Amaechi, 2013).

In Ghana, many language researchers have carried out substantial studies on “serial verb constructions” in many of our Ghanaian languages. Renowned language researchers (Boadi, 1968; Dolphyne, 1987; Agyeman, 2002; Osam, 2004; Ofori, 2010 and Kambon, 2012) investigated serial verb constructions in Akan. Also, some studies that have been carried out on serial verb constructions in Ewe include Ansre (1966), Agbedor (1994), and Ameka (2006). Besides, Abrefa (2010) investigated clause chaining in serial verb constructions in Akan, Ewe and Ga. Bodomo (1993 & 2002) studied SVCs in Mabia languages which include Dagbani, Mampruli, and Dagaare, while Lee (2003) investigated SVCs in Buli.

However, research on SVCs in Gurene has not been given the attention it deserves by language researchers. Though Dakubu (2003) worked on multi verb constructions in central Gur which involved SVCs, and Atintono (2005) overviewed serial verb constructions in Gurene, SVCs in Gurene have not been comprehensively investigated. Hence, this current research seeks to examine the syntactic and the semantic properties of serial verb constructions, focusing on the structural types and

the functional types of serial verb constructions in Gurene. Though other types of multi-verb constructions such as consecutive constructions, the covert coordination or juxtaposed clauses (Ameka 2005; Osam 2004) are excluded in the scope of study, they may only be used as examples.

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

The study seeks to achieve the objectives below:

1. To identify the defining properties of serial verb constructions in Gurene
2. To examine the types of serial verb constructions in Gurene
3. To identify the functions of SVCs in Gurene.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The research will provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the defining properties of serial verb constructions in Gurene?
2. What types of serial verb constructions exist in Gurene?
3. What functions do SVCs play in Gurene?

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

The study will be beneficial to students, teachers, native speakers, non-native speakers, and some language researchers in diverse ways. The study is anticipated to provide knowledge to students who are studying Gurene at all levels of education. The study also intends to inform both speakers and non-speakers of Gurene about the “types of serial verb constructions” that are used in Gurene. This will help some

native speakers to acquire explicit linguistic knowledge of using serial verb constructions. It may also help non-native speakers of Gurene to acquire some basic communicative skills regarding the use of “serial verb constructions” in Gurene.

Besides, the study of this kind constitutes a build-up from Atintono’s work in order to serve as a comprehensive literature for potential researchers since there are inadequate literature on serial verb constructions in Gurene. It may serve as an immense source of literature for language researchers who may be interested in carrying out researches in the domain of serialization in Gurene and other Gur languages.

#### **1.6. The Outline of Thesis**

The thesis chapters are organized as follows: Chapter one gives an overview of the language. Chapter two reviews literature, discusses the theoretical framework applied in the study, and also discusses the methodology used in the study. Chapter three analyzes the data based on the semantic classification of SVCs in Gurene. Chapter four also examines data based on the syntactic classification of SVCs in Gurene. Chapter five ends the thesis with a conclusion.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.0. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the literature review, the theoretical framework and the methodology. The chapter examines some existing literature on “serial verb constructions” (SVCs) in some languages across the world. Literature on SVCs in West African languages, African-Caribbean Creoles, Southeast Asian languages and the Oceanic languages among others are reviewed. The notion of “SVCs” and the various types of these constructions in some of the serializing languages in world are comprehensively discussed. The chapter also discusses the theoretical framework used in the study. The chapter finally discusses the methodology applied in carrying out the research. It focuses on examining the various methods that are employed in data gathering and data analysis. The sources of data and how the data were collected and analyzed are discussed.

#### **2.1. Literature Review**

##### *2.1.1. The History of Serial Verb Constructions*

Existing literature confirmed that serial verb constructions were first discovered by Christaller in his (1875) grammar of Akan (George, 1975; Leynseele, 1975; Bodomo, 1993; Agyeman, 2002; Osam, 2003; Kießling, 2004; Senft, 2008; Appah, 2009; Omachonu, 2011; Cleary-Kemp, 2015; Haspelmath, 2016; Ameka, 2006). Though the discovery of SVCs dates back to Christaller’s work in (1875), many

authors give credit to Stewart (1963) for being the first scholar who used the most widely acceptable term “Serial Verb Constructions” also in Akan. Even though there were other scholars who worked on serial verb constructions prior to Stewart (1963), he seems to be accorded much credit for SVCs probably due to the coining of the term “serial verb constructions.” According to Leynseele (1975), “Serial verb constructions” was termed by early scholars in various ways such as “accidental combination” by Christaller (1875), and “linking type” by Bamgbose (1974).

Kießling (2004) posits that SVC was formerly termed as “combination of verbs” by Christaller (1875), “Formverben” by Schlegel (1857), “Verbal Kombinationen” by Westermann (1907) and Melzian (1942), and “Verbhaufungen” by Westermann (1927). This is a clear attestation that the early scholars did not have any acceptable term for what is currently known as “serial verb constructions.”

Omachonu (2011) classified works on SVCs into three phases. The phase one scholars may include Christaller (1875), Balmer and Grant (1929), Westermann (1930), Westermann and Bryan (1952), and Stewart (1963). These researchers were the first to discover SVCs in some languages. The phase two scholars of serial verb constructions focused on examining the variation of SVCs in some serializing languages. These researchers may also include Ansre (1966), Boadi (1968), Awobuluyi (1973), Bamgbose (1974), George (1975), Dolphyne (1987) and Lawal (1989). The phase three period started from the 1990s to the present. This period may be considered as the peak of SVCs because many scholars have developed the interest in investigating SVCs in some languages across the world. They include Zwicky (1990), Schiller (1990), Lord (1993), Bodomu (1993 & 2002), Agbedor

(1994), Osam (1994; 2003; 2004), Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) and Ameka (2006).

### *2.1.2. Some Definitions of Serial Verb Constructions*

Though serial verb constructions have been widely studied in many languages in Africa and beyond, the notion of serial verb constructions is still inexplicable. Lawal (1989:1) says “the notion of serial verb itself has not been elaborated explicitly enough” on the basis that determining the constructions that are qualified as serial verb constructions is difficult. This is supported by Lord (1993:1) who states that “defining serial verb constructions is a sticky business.” Agbedor (1994) adds that what characterizes a real serial verb construction requires more questions than answers. According to Takahashi (2009), to come out with a precise definition of SVCs that will encompass all the serializing languages is insurmountable. On the basis of these, various authors define SVCs in various ways, as established by Lee (2014; 136) that “it seems not easy to precisely define SVC of all serializing languages, and scholars may have different ideas about what is SVC and what is not.”

Ansre (1966:29) defines SVCs as “a string of verbs or verbal constructions in a single sentence.” Also, Bamgbose (1974) observes that SVC refers to verbs that are combined in a surface structure sharing a subject in common. In “serial verb constructions,” a number of verbs can be juxtaposed to share a common subject without any conjunction intervening (Foley and Olson 1985; Durie 1988). According to Givon (1991:81), SVC refers to “an event/state that one language

codes as a simple clause with a single verb, is coded in another language as a complex clause with two or more verbs.” Lord (1993:1) also describes serial verb constructions as “a string of verb phrases sharing the same tense, aspect, mood and polarity, where the understood subject of a non-initial verb is the subject or object of the preceding verb.” Bodomo (1993:1) refers SVCs as “constructions involving two or more verbs within what is probably a single clause.”

Aikhenvald (2006:1) asserts that “serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs that act together as a single predicate” with no conjunction; each verb has one tense aspect, one polarity value, and can occur on its own. Matthews (2006) also describes “serial verb constructions” as “two or more verbs” that form a clause, and represent one predicate. Dixon (2006:16) is also of the view that “serial verb construction consists of more than one verb, but the SVC is conceived of as describing a single action.”

Müller and Lipenkova (2009:235) define SVCs as “a complex predicate structure formed by two or more verbal phrases which select for the same subject.” They claim that SVCs are mostly found in languages in West Africa, Central America, South-East Asia, and Oceania. Amaechi (2013:156) conceives SVC to be “a syntactic resource which allows the speaker to express various aspects of a situation as a single cognitive package within one clause and with one predicate.” Lee (2014) describes SVCs as “a structure consisting of more than two component verbs but denotes what is conceptualized as a single event and it is an important part of the study of complex predicates.” Haspelmath (2016:292) defines SVCs as “a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs.” He

admits that there are some cases of SVCs that fall outside his definition. Hence, the defining properties of serial verb constructions differ from one language to another, even though some serializing languages may share some properties that are common.

On the basis of the definitions above, “serial verb construction” refers to a type of construction which contains more than one verb that occur in series without the use of conjunctions, and with or without constituents intervening between the verbs which share at least the same subject.

### *2.1.3. General Defining Properties of SVCs*

Scholars differ in their views on what constitute the defining properties SVCs. According to Ansre (1966:32), SVCs should be “reserved for cases in which real verbs are involved in the structure.” Though “Verbid” constructions and serial verb constructions are alike, Ansre (1966) argues that verbids differ from serial verbs on the basis that verbids are regarded as adverbs rather than verbs. As established by Bamgbose (1974), “serial verb constructions” consist of the “linking type” and the modifying type” in that the latter involves the use of modifying verbs which include adverbs, auxiliaries and adpositions. Bamgbose (1974) argues that modifying verbs are “generally accepted” as serial verbs in West African Languages. Bamgbose maintains that some “real verbs” may lose their status as “full verbs” as a result of the loss of some features in the linking types of SVCs. Hence, SVCs should not be restricted to verbs that can occur in “basic syntactic structures.” According to Bamgbose (1974), the verbs in serial verb constructions share one subject in

common in a “surface structure” without coordination, and that the “NP movement” is possible in SVCs. He concludes that SVCs exhibit sequential relations such that the sequences of the serial verbs are irreversible without changing the meaning.

Givon (1991) suggests that SVCs must exclude modal auxiliaries, verbs with complements, and main clauses that contain a number of adverb clauses as in the following English constructions.

- (1)     a. John wants to eat an apple  
       b. John knew that Mary lied to him  
       c. Having worked he retired                   (Givon, 1991:81)

The prototypical defining property of SVCs, as Lord (1993:1) suggests involves two or more “verb phrases without overt connective morphemes.” He adds that SVCs may contain “defective verbs.” Recent statements outlined by Aikhenvald (2006) and Cleary-Kemp (2015) indicate that serial verbs in a prototypical SVC “share at least one argument” in common which is mostly the subject argument. Aikhenvald (2006) notes that verbs in serial constructions normally function as “a single-verb predicate” in “a mono-clause” and share the same intonation pattern and the same TAM and polarity values. These features of SVCs exist in Gurene, except that the same aspect may be shared or not shared in Gurene.

Dixon (2006) proposed that compound verbs are excluded in SVCs. This view differs from other authors’ views on the basis that some serializing languages have set of verbs that form single words in SVCs. These languages have compound verbs in SVCs. Some of these languages include Olutec and Lakota (Zavala, 2006;

Dixon, 2006). Takahashi (2009) proposes that a basic SVC must consist of two predicates which exclude “a lexical item affecting valency change” (p.2). Though object sharing, switch subject and shared TAM, polarity and transitivity values in serial constructions are controversial, as Seiss (2009) believes, there are some defining properties of SVCs that are generally accepted. The generally accepted defining properties, according to Seiss (2009), include a SVC that contains two or more lexical verbs; the verbs share “at least” one argument and express a single event or series of related actions. The verbs also share the same TAM and polarity values. It is clear that some of these claimed generally accepted defining properties of SVCs are not cross-linguistically universal, hence, the prototype theory’s categorization is relevant. Some of the properties of serial constructions in Gurene are “more prototypical than other properties.” “Subject sharing” is a more prototypical defining property of SVCs, and may be universal across all the serializing languages (Ansre, 1966; Aikhenvald, 2006; Matthews, 2006; Cleary-Kemp, 2015). Though SVCs are generally posited to share the same TAM and polarity value, Dolphyne (1987) argues that negation SVCs in Akan manifest different tenses or aspects. Cleary-Kemp (2015) strongly believes that some serializing languages have obligatory serial verbs in which each verb is incapable of becoming a distinct predicate of a clause as required by the status of serial verbs.

The notion that serial verbs “are often translatable as single predicates into non-serializing languages” as cited by Aikhenvald (2006:4) may be referred to “complex verbs” (Leynseele, 1975; Bamgbose, 1982), as in the examples below.

*Complex Verb SVCs*

- (2) a. Yoruba    Olú gba        ọmọ náà gbó  
                   *Olu received child the hear*  
                   ‘Olu believed the child.’
- b. Akan        Kofi    gye        Amma    dii  
                   *Kofi    received Amma    ate*  
                   ‘Kofi believed Amma.’  
                   (Bamgbose, 1982:5)

In Yoruba SVC in (2a), the complex verbs *gba* ‘received’ and *gbo* ‘hear’ jointly code a single predicate ‘believed.’ Also, in (2b), the complex verb *gyee* ‘receive’ and *dii* ‘ate’ in Akan SVC becomes a single predicate ‘believed.’ These verbs are capable of occurring independently in non-serial verb constructions. However, some types of SVCs do not contain complex verbs.

*2.1.4. Contiguous and Non-Contiguous SVCs*

In contiguous serial verb constructions, the verbs occur side by side without any constituent occurring between them, while non-contiguous serial verb constructions permit constituents to be placed in-between the verbs (Aikheniald, 2006; Dixon, 2006). Matthews (2006:81) suggests that “cause-effect constructions” often contain contiguous verbs in Cantonese. This is contrary to Gurene in which the cause-effect SVCs contain non-contiguous verbs. He maintains that contiguous serial verbs in Chinese are misconstrued by some scholars “as compound words.” Kilian-Hatz’s (2006) assertion is that direction and orientation verbs used in contiguous SVCs are distinct from “symmetrical manner verbs,” even though both required that one verb

represents the action performed, while another verb describes the manner of the action. Also, Solnit (2006) terms contiguous SVCs as “compound sequence” where the SVC contains of more than one verb in sequence as shown below.

- Eastern Kayah Li*
- (3) vĕ [ pù me sĀ ] jòkhró  
 1sg catch do die rat  
 ‘I caught and killed a rat’  
 (Solnit, 2006:156)

The verbs in (3) occur in a serial construction without any intervening constituent in-between them; hence, the construction is regarded as a contiguous SVC. However, in a situation where a serial construction permits a constituent to occur in-between the verbs is a manifestation of a non-contiguous SVC (Aikhenvald, 2006; Dixon, 2006) as shown in Gurene below.

- (4). Anaba dá **díá** dí  
 Anaba buy food eat  
 ‘Anaba bought food and ate.’

In example (4), the initial verb *da* “buy” and the final verb *di* “eat” are all transitive verbs, hence they share the object constituent *dia* “food” which occurs between them.

Takahashi (2009:2) regards contiguous SVCs as “basic SVCs,” as he states “basic SVCs must consist of two verbs phrases and must not include a lexical item affecting valency change.” Gurene has both contiguous and non-contiguous serial verb constructions, as indicated below.

- (5) a. Atiah dá fúó bó à póγà  
 Atiah buy cloth give 3SG wife  
 ‘Atiah bought a cloth for his wife.’
- b. Atiah zó kíηé dá fúó lá  
 Atiah run go buy cloth DEF  
 ‘Atiah ran there and bought the cloth.’

In example (5a), the object constituent *fúó* “cloth” occurs between the two serial verbs *dá* “buy” and *bó* “give” and therefore the construction is non-contiguous. However, in example (5b), the construction is contiguous since there are no constituents intervening in-between the verbs “*zó* “run,” *kíηé* “go,” and *dá* “buy.” This shows that a constituent always intervenes between the verbs if the initial verb is transitive. But when the initial verb is intransitive, a constituent does not intervene between the verbs in SVCs in Gurene.

#### 2.1.5. Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Serialization

Serialization may be classified into two main categories based on the types of verbs used in serial constructions. Aikhenvald (2006) termed the “two compositional” types of serialization as “symmetrical and asymmetrical” serial verb constructions. According to her, languages that use “unrestricted” class of verbs in serial constructions constitute symmetrical serializing languages, while languages that use “restricted” class of verbs are asymmetrical serializing languages. Aikhenvald (2006:21) describes the “non-restricted class” of verbs as “open class,” while the “restricted class” is the “closed class” of verbs which are often restricted to the verbs

that express “motion,” “posture,” and “tense-aspect.” Aikhenvald argues that all the serial verbs in symmetrical SVCs are the same in terms of status, and the order of the verbs is conventional which is contrary to asymmetrical SVCs. Aikhenvald (2006) observes that semantically, asymmetrical serial verbs include verbs that indicate aspect, direction, mood, association and causation, while symmetrical serial verbs indicate “sequence of events, cause-effect [and] manner” (p.35).

Once the verbs in symmetrical SVCs are of the same rank, Dixon (2006) suggests that they are all “major verbs,” and are “lexicalized” in serial verb construction. However, according to him, asymmetrical SVCs consist of “major and minor verbs” which are “grammaticalized.” Dixon (2006) maintains that the minor verbs indicate grammatical categories such as TAM, negation, causation, comparison, association, passivization, superlative, reciprocal among others. Dixon further indicates that the “event-argument” SVC is asymmetrical, while the “cause-effect” or “plain sequencing” SVC is symmetrical (2006:32). Dixon (2006) acknowledges that many serializing languages exhibit both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, but contends that there are some languages that have either asymmetrical or symmetrical SVCs. In order to substantiate his claim, Dixon (2006) asserts that Tentun Dili has only asymmetrical SVCs, while Ewe has only symmetrical SVCs. Takahashi (2009) also supports the view that when “major verbs” are combined in symmetrical SVCs, they tend to be “lexicalized,” while combining a major and a minor verb in asymmetrical SVCs leads to the grammaticalization of the minor verb. I argue that Gurene manifest both “symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs” on the basis that the verbs that are used in

serial constructions often derive from both “open and closed classes,” as shown below.

- (6) a. Abaa dá búá kú óbè (Symmetrical SVC)  
 Abaa buy goat kill chew  
 ‘Abaa bought a goat, killed it and ate.’
- b. Abaa ékè yákè gótèlà lá (Asymmetrical SVC)  
 Abaa jump cross gutter DEF  
 ‘Abaa jumped acrossed the gutter.’

In example (6a), the verbs *dá* ‘buy’, *kú* ‘kill’, and *óbè* ‘eat’ are all derived from an “open verb class” where their usage is unrestricted. Hence, the construction is symmetrical SVC. However, in (6b), the verb *yákè* ‘cross’ is an open class verb, while the verb *ékè* ‘jump’ belongs to a “closed class” which is restricted in use, hence the SVC is asymmetrical. These will be discussed in detail in chapter three and four of the thesis.

### 2.1.6. Grammaticalization in SVCs

#### 2.1.6.1. The Notion of Grammaticalization

Many researchers define “grammaticalization” in various ways. Lehmann (2002: 8) describes grammaticalization as “a process in which something becomes or is made grammatical.” Grammaticalization also refers to “an evolution whereby linguistic units lose in semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom and phonetic substance respectively” (Campbell and Janda, 2001:97). According to

Hopper and Traugott (2003), grammaticalization consists of studying language changes in which “lexical items” based on certain contexts assume “grammatical functions or grammatical items” based on certain contexts develop new grammatical functions. Also, Heine and Kuteva (2007:32) perceive grammaticalization to be “the development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to more grammatical forms.”

#### 2.1.6.2. *Grammaticalization in SVCs*

Lord (1993) asserts that grammaticalization exists in serial verbs in which some lexical serial verbs develop into adpositions, adverbs, auxiliaries, complementizers and conjunctions. Bowerman (2001) describes verbs that are grammaticalized into prepositions in SVCs as “verbal prepositions,” “verboids” or “prepositional verbs.” Lehmann (2002) then notes that one of the verbs in the series is normally grammaticalized, while the remaining verb or verbs remain lexicalized. According to him, a grammaticalized verb in serial verb constructions is still regarded as a serial verb because serial verbs comprise amalgamation of open and closed classes of verbs. The open class verbs are unrestricted; hence they can be grammaticalized into adpositions known as “coverbs.” Lehmann (2002) observes that the first verb *ba'* “come” in serial constructions in Akan is grammaticalized into a future tense marker *be*.

In “serial verb constructions,” lexical verbs can be grammaticalized into “tense and aspect” markers, modal auxiliaries, adpositions or complementizers in some languages. Also, temporal adverbials in SVCs may develop into aspectual markers in other languages (Hopper and Traugott. 2003; Zavala, 2006; Abunya and Amfo,

2014). Personal pronouns can also be grammaticalized into agreement markers as in French where the personal pronouns *il* and *elle* have been developed into number and gender markers in non-standard French (Hopper and Trangott, 2003).

As cited by Zavala (2006:289), “the combination of grammaticalized serialized verbs forming closed classes with other verbs from open classes will be referred to as asymmetrical.” Aikhenvald (2006) points out that grammaticalization involves the development of verbs into tense, aspect and modal auxiliary markers. She notes that grammaticalization often occur in “asymmetrical” SVCs where the minor verbs develop into grammatical markers. Aikhenvald (2006) mentions that the motion verb “go” in Cantonese is grammaticalized as progressive or habitual aspectual marker, and the verb “come” develops into a future/continuous marker. Aikhenvald (2006) adds that the verbs “see” and “hear” may be grammaticalized in SVCs to express evidentiality. It is also possible (Aikhenvald, 2006) for motion verbs in SVCs to develop into directional adpositions, while some verbs that convey the meaning of “pass” or “exceed” may be grammaticalized as “comparative and superlative markers.”

In Serial Verb Constructions in Gurene, some lexical verbs develop into tense markers, aspectual markers, and postpositions or prepositional meanings. Time adverbials in Gurene such as *daare* ‘two days ago’ and *yuunε* ‘a year ago’ develop into past tense markers’ *daa* and *yuun*. The lexical verb *tari* ‘take/possess’ develops into a purpose marker *ta* in SVCs which will be discussed in chapter 3.

### 2.1.7. *Serial Verb Constructions in Austronesian /Oceanic Languages*

Serial Verb Constructions in the Oceanic languages are not cross-linguistically universal. Bower (2001) observes that “Verbal Prepositions” or “Verboids” in the Sivisa dialect of Titan, an Oceanic language, are neither full verbs nor full prepositions. Bower claims that serial verbs that develop into prepositions in serial verb constructions often lose almost all their verbal features, except tense marking, and as a result, some prepositions in the Sivisa dialect of Titan mark tense, while other prepositions do not. Typical examples are the prepositions *ti* ‘on’ which marks tense on the matrix verb (Bower 2001), and the preposition *e* ‘in’ which does not mark tense. Bower’s assertion is that verbal prepositions in the Sivisa dialect are akin to adverbs and prepositions rather than verbs. According to Bower (2001:2) “evidence from Sivisa Titan, and other Oceanic languages of the area suggest that grammaticalization is a kind of feature attrition.” On the contrary, “verbal prepositions” in Gurene retain their verbal status after they have been grammaticalized into prepositions as discussed in the preceding section.

Francois (2006) examines serial verb constructions in Mwothlap, an Austronesian language of the Oceanic language branch spoken in Motalava, a small island in the north of Vanuatu. According to Francois (2006), “serial verb constructions in Mwothlap” consist of Contiguous SVCs with at least two verbs and at most four verbs. The language has asymmetrical SVCs. He adds that the same TAMPs are marked once in SVCs, while arguments sharing constraint exists on the basis that two or more structures often fused into one structure, making the verbs appear like “compound verbs” in SVCS. Gurene also has some object NPs that are fused into some type of verbs which may not be shared by other verbs in SVCs.

Francois (2006) counters the view proposed by Durie (1997) that argument sharing is a fundamental feature of serial verb constructions, on the basis that two serial verbs in Mwotlap may not share a common argument.

“Serial verb constructions” in Koro, another Oceanic language of Papua, spoken in New Guinea vary from Mwotlap in terms of certain features. Cleary-Kemp (2015) reveals that both the VI and V2 in serial verb constructions in Koro function as one predicate in a monocause but can occur as distinct predicates in different non-serialized clauses. Also, the verbs in serial constructions in Koro may be derived from restricted class” or “unrestricted class,” and they share either one or more arguments. She notes that SVCs in Koro are without overt coordinators and subordinators. TAM and polarity value are shared once by the verbs in each SVC in Koro (Cleary-Kemp, 2015), and each verb constitutes a major lexical verb. Some of these properties of SVCs exist in Gurene.

#### 2.1.8. “Serial Verb Constructions” in Thai

Thai is a dialect of the Tai language family spoken in central part of Thailand, and Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. Thai is an official language of Thailand. Muasuwan (2001) mentions that Directional SVCs in Thai manifest a number of unrelated verbs that portray monoclausal construction as illustrated in the example below.

- (7) Malee wîŋ troŋ jɔ́ɔn khâam saphaan ʔòk paj  
 Malee run go straight reverse cross bridge exit go  
 Malee ran straight back, crossing the bridge, out away from the speaker.  
 (Muasuwan, 2001: 229)

Though the six verbal complexes in the series are distinct in (7), they share one common subject that makes them act as a single clause. This type of serialisation exists in Gurene and will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

Sudmuk (2005) hypothesizes that the verbs in “Motion SVC,” “Take SVC,” “Open class SVC” and “Give SVC” in Thai denote series of events rather than a single event.” Whereas “verbs in Posture SVCS, Causative SVCs, Use-SVCs, and Resultative SVCs express only one event” (Sudmuk, 2005:4). She proposes a simple and a complex Lexical Conceptual Structures (LCS) of SVCs in Thai. The simple LCS, according to Sudmuk (2005) contains Posture SVC, use SVCs, Causative SVC, and Resultative SVC, while the Complex LCS comprises Motion SVC, Take SVC, Open Class SVC, and Give SVC. Sudmuk (2005) presumes that the motion SVCs in Thai involve “motion-directional” and “motion-deictic” SVCs. The “manner-of-motion verbs” comprise the verbs “ran,” “walk” and “drive,” while the “deictic verbs” involves the verbs “come” and “go” that are used in motion-deictic SVCs (Sudmuk, 2005). On the other hand, the motion-directional SVCs in Thai as described by Sudmuk are restricted to the “manner-of-motion verbs” and the “directional verbs.” These verbs often occur at predictable slots in terms of V1 and V2 respectively as indicated below.

*Motion-Deictic SVCs in Thai*

- (8) a. Ka : nda :            wŋ ma :  
           Kanda                run    come  
           ‘Kanda runs / ran towards the speaker.’

- b. Ka : nda : dʁn pay  
 Kanda walk go  
 ‘Kanda walks / walked away from the speaker.’  
 (Sudmuk, 2005:42)

*Gurene Translation*

- c. \*Kanda **kiŋɛ** **kiŋɛ**  
 Kanda walk go  
 ‘Kanda walks/walked away from the speaker.’  
 (Sudmuk, 2005)

*Motion-directional SVCs in Thai*

- (9) a. Ka : na : dʁn khâw ro : ŋrian pay  
 Kanda walk enter school go  
 ‘Kanda entered the school, walking away from the speaker.’  
 (Sudmuk, 2005:44)

*Motion-directional SVCs in Gurene*

- b. \*Kanda **kiŋɛ** **kɛ̃** sukku **kiŋɛ**  
 Kanda **walk/go** enter school **walk/go**
- c. Kanda **kiŋɛ** **kɛ̃** sukku  
 Kanda walk enter school  
 ‘Kanda walked/went into a school.’

In (8a) the “manner-of-motion verb” is *wîŋ* ‘run,’ while the “deictic verb” is “*ma: come.*” The latter indicates movement towards the speaker. Also, verb “*dʁn walk*” in (8b) indicates manner-of-motion, while “*pay go*” expresses the direction of movement from the speaker. Besides, in example (9a), the V1 *dʁn* ‘walk’ is manner-of-motion verb and the V2 *khaw* “enter” shows direction inside. The final verb *pay* ‘go’ indicates direction from the speaker. It must be noted that Gurene does not show distinction between the manner-of-motion verb ‘walk’ and the deictic/direction verb ‘go’ as used in Thai SVCs in (8b) and (9a). Such combination

of “walk” and “go” in Gurene normally results to a repetition of the same verb as in (8c) and (9b) which are ungrammatical. Also, the initial verb *kiŋɛ* ‘walk/go’ in (9c) is understood as either walked or went. Details of this will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Diller (2006) suggests that Thai has a “single-action SVCs” and a ‘movement sequence SVCs.’ She describes the single-action SVCs as one in which the serial verbs act as one unit expressing one event and sharing at least one argument. The component serial verbs share the same TAM and negation (Sudmuk, 2005; Diller, 2006). Diller (2006) claims that Thai has both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVC in which symmetrical SVC results in “lexicalization” while asymmetrical leads to “grammaticalization” of “coverbs,” adverbials and verbal prepositions. The SVCs in Thai, according to Diller (2006), share subject but may not necessarily share object. Takahashi (2009:2) also mentions that the “basic SVCs in Thai must consist of two verb phrases and must not include a lexical item affecting valency change.” Takahashi (2009) argues that a verb phrase that contains aspectual or modal markers should be excluded from basic SVC on the basis that such a VP lacks proper two verbs.

#### *2.1.9. Serial Verb Constructions in Chinese*

Chinese is among the productive serializing languages. Bodomo (1997) considers the serial verbs termed as “compound predicate” by O’melia (1966) as a “complex predicate,” while Matthews (2006) proposes that the prototypical SVC in Chinese must contain “compound predicate.”

Matthews (2006) takes the position that “coverbs” used in SVCs in Cantonese represent “defective verbs” rather than prepositions as observed below.

- Cantonese SVC*
- (10) ngo<sup>5</sup>    tung<sup>4</sup>-gwo<sup>3</sup>    keoi<sup>5</sup>    king<sup>1</sup>gai<sup>2</sup>  
 I        with<sup>4</sup>-EXP    him    chat  
 ‘I’ve chatted with him before’  
 (Matthews, 2006:70)

Though the verb *tung* ‘with’ in (10) is interpreted as a preposition, it can still take aspectual marker and is more or less a verb (Matthews, 2006). Some coverbs in Gurene are also defective verbs.

Matthew’s (2006) analysis of Cantonese SVCs shows that SVCs exhibit subject sharing and switch-function. The subject sharing involves instrumental SVC, comutative SVC, and manner SVC, while the switch-function serialization comprises causative and cause-effective SVCs. In asymmetrical SVCs in Cantonese, the minor verb (V1) derives from a restricted verb class, whereas the major verb (V2) derives from an unrestricted verb class, even though there are exceptions where the V1 is the main verb, while the V2 is rather the minor or the restricted verb. In symmetrical SVCs in Cantonese as established by Matthews (2006:78), “the order of the verbs can be reversed.” Matthews also notes that SVCs in Cantonese permits both single and concordant marking for aspect. The serial verbs share the same aspectual and modal categories in each SVC (Matthews, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2006). Similarly, Gurene allows both single and concordant marking for aspect. However, the verbs may share the same aspect or may not share the same

aspect. Complement clause SVCs exist in some productive serializing languages like Cantonese (as cited in Aikhenvald, 2006:17) the “switch-function SVCs are used for complement clause serialization” in Cantonese and Vietnamese. On the contrary, Gurene has no complement clause SVCs.

#### 2.1.10. “Serial Verb Constructions” in West Ring Languages

The West Ring Languages are Bantu languages spoken in Cameroon. Three of these languages have received substantial discussion in “serial verb constructions.” Kießling (2004) found that the verbs in serial verb constructions in Isu, Weh and Aghem share both subject and object, share one tense, aspect and modal marking in each SVC, and have a single marking for tense and polarity and concordant marking for aspect. Serialization in these languages as described by Kießling (2004) also involves the use of a core verb and other functional or grammatical verbs in which the functional verbs are restrictive and also exhibit rigid order. Kießling (2004) argues that the functional or grammatical verbs are “coverbs” and that a verb may either be a core verb or coverb depending on the position it occurs in SVCs as instantiated below.

- (11) a. *West Ring Languages SVC (Isu)*  
           ú                  ʼfí                  dyáńí  
           S3sg:P3          go.out          move.through2  
           ‘He went out through / immedi ally.’
- b. ú                  ŋwò                  í  
           S3sg:P3          leave              go.out  
           ‘He went away.’ (Kießling, 2004:3)

In (11a), the serial verb *fĩ* 'go out' in the V1 position of the SVC is a core verb, and when it occurs in the V2 position in (11b), it becomes a "coverb."

Furthermore, Kießling (2004) observes that SVCs in the West Ring languages may consist of one core verb and four coverbs in a "contiguous SVC" in which the direct object of the core verb (V1) is placed at the end of the final coverb. This makes the intransitive coverbs (Kießling, 2004) assume "transitivity" from the core verb that precedes them as in the example below in Aghem (Kießling, 2004).

- West Ring Languages SVC (Aghem)*
- (12) a. *yé*            *nɪ*        *kaʔ*    *ɪfũ*  
           3PL.SUB    take    go.up    hoes  
           'They take up hoes.'  
           (Kießling, 2004:7)

- Gurene SVC*
- b. *Bia*    *la*        *zɔ*    *di*    *mia*  
       Child    DEF    run    eat    rope  
       'The child ran and won the race.'

The intransitive verb *kaʔ* 'go.up' in (12a) assumes transitivity from the transitive (V1) *nɪ* 'take' in order to precede the direct object "hoes." This is contrary to Gurene SVC in (12b) where the intransitive verb *zɔ* 'run' precedes the transitive verb *di* 'eat' that takes the object NP.

### *2.1.11. Serial Verb Constructions in Some Kwa Languages*

The Kwa Languages are mostly found in West Africa. These languages include Akan, Ewe, Ga, Igbo, Nupe, Yoruba, Baule and Akye (Ansre, 1966; Bamgbose, 1974; George, 1975; Leynseele 1975; Kießling, 2004). Literature on serial verb constructions in some selected Kwa languages spoken in Ghana, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire form the focus of the discussions below.

#### *2.1.11.1 “Serial Verb Constructions in Akan”*

Studies on serialization in Akan have been extensively carried out by some early and recent scholars. Akan has been noted to be one of the productive serializing languages on the basis that SVCs was first discovered in Akan by Christaller (1875), and the term “Serial Verb Constructions” (SVCs) was also first proposed in Akan by Stewart’s (1963) work. Boadi (1968) describes SVCs in Akan as a conjoined or an embedded verb phrases that contain identical tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Serialization in Akan has serial verbs that (Boadi, 1968:84) “form a single internally coherent structure” in which the verbs share one subject without pauses or coordinators.

Dolphyne (1987) challenged the views proposed by Boadi (1968) regarding the same tense, aspect, mood and polarity marking in Akan SVCs when she argues that serial verbs that belong to different tenses or aspects can occur in negative “serial verb constructions” where consecutive verbs are used in Akan. Dolphyne (1987) claims that non-initial negative verbs used in SVCs in Akan do not show marking for tense and aspect. This view is supported by Osam (2003) who states

that negative prefixes are often replaced with consecutive prefixes when negating consecutive verbs in Akan.

Besides, Osam (1994; 2003) gives a distinction between Clause Chaining “Serial Verb Constructions” (CCSVCs) and Integrated “Serial Verb Constructions” (ISVCs) in Akan. Osam describes CCSVC as a single clause with concatenated sub-events that can be isolated, while ISVC involves an integration of events which form “closed knit” and are impossible to be disentangled. Osam (1994; 2003; 2004) also proposes that Akan exhibits the same subject SVCs, switch-subject SVCs, combined subjects SVCs, and that the multiple objects type is “more common in clause chaining than in ISVC” (Osam, 2003:22). Clause Chaining SVCs as Agyeman (2002) argues have Referent Sharing, whereas Integrated Serial Verb Constructions have object sharing in Akan. Serial verbs in integrated serial verb constructions (Agyeman, 2002) are semantically integrated such that they code a conceptually single event that cannot be separated. On the other hand, CCSVC involves a series of events chained together into “a single event” by series of verbs, in which the events can be separated into discrete simple clauses (Osam, 1994 & 2003; Agyeman, 2002) as exemplified below.

*Clause Chaining in Akan (Osam 2004)*

- (13) a. Gyasíba nyá-à                      s̀íká (Fa)  
           Gyasiba get-COMPL        money  
           Gyasiba got money.
- b. Gyasíba sí-ì                      dání  
           Gyasiba build-COMPL    house  
           Gyasiba built a house.

- c. Gyasíba tón -n dán (nó)  
 Gyasiba sell-COMPL house DEF  
 Gyasiba sold the house.  
 (Osam 2004: 34)

The clause chaining in SVC in (13) is separated into three sub-events in (13a), (13b) and (13c). This will not be possible in integrated serial verb constructions as instantiated in (14).

- Integrated SVC*
- (14) Aba yé-è asɔre má-à Kofi (Fa)  
 Ama do-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi  
 ‘Ama prayed for Kofi’  
 (Osam, 2003: 15)

Kambon (2012) classifies Integrated Serial Verb Constructions into two: Full-Lexicalized Integrated Serial Verb Constructions (FL-ISVC) and Partial-Lexicalized Integrated Serial Verb Construction (PL-ISVC). The FL-ISVC shows high degree of semantic integration than the PL-ISVC which contains “less grammaticalized or less lexicalized” serial verbs that cannot be differentiated semantically (Kambon, 2012). Literature from early authors and recent authors indicate that SVCs in Akan share single subject, and manifest uniform tense, aspect, modality and polarity marking (Boadi, 1968; Osam, 1994; 2003; Agyeman, 2002; Abrefa, 2010; Kambon, 2012; Nyampong, 2015).

Other defining properties of SVCs in Akan that provoke controversy include the switch-subjects SVCs and the combined subject SVCs proposed by Osam, (1994; 2003; 2004). Seiss (2009) claims that different authors have different views

regarding object sharing, switch-subject, “the same TAM” marking and the same polarity in serial verb constructions. The switch-subject SVC as Osam (1994; 2003; 2004) delineates, involves a SVC in which the direct object of the V1 tends to become the subject of the V2 in serial constructions. The combined subject serialization in Akan (Osam, 2004) is a situation where the subject of the V1 forms an association with its direct object to become the subject NP of the subsequent serial verbs, while in multiple object SVCs, “each verb in the series has its own object” (Osam, 2004:44).

*Switch Subject SVC in Akan*

- (15) a. Kofi má-à Esi dzí-ì bànkye (Fa)  
 Kofi make-COMPL Esi eat-COMPL cassava  
 Kofi made Esi eat cassava.  
 (Osam, 2004:41)

*Combined Subject SVC in Akan*

- b. Araba nyé né mààmé kó-ò fíé (Fa)  
 Araba be with 3SGPOSS mother go-COMPL home  
 Araba went home with her mother.  
 (Osam, 2004:43)

Serial verb constructions in Akan also display uniform concordant marking for tense, aspect and polarity (Boadi, 1968; Osam, 1994; 2003; 2004; Agyeman, 2002; Kambon, 2012). Agyeman (2002) found that the past tense marker in the form of a suffix is placed at the final serial verb in spoken SVCs in Akan, while the past tense marker is placed on each verb in written SVCs in Akan. Besides, the future tense markers *be-* and the progressive aspect marker *re-* are prefixes that exhibit single marking on the initial serial verb, while polarity marking is

“concordant” in Akan SVC (Nyampong, 2015). Serial verbs in Akan also consist of “different valencies” in terms of transitivity. The combination of serial verbs in Akan can be either two transitive verbs, or two intransitive verbs or a transitive verb combined with intransitive or intransitive verb combined with transitive (Osam, 1994; 2003; 2004; 2014).

Appah (2009) posits that subject sharing is inevitable in many serializing languages which includes Akan. However, should there be any object sharing in Akan, “the object need not be shared by all the verbs in the construction” (Appah, 2009:104). It is crucial to note that SVCs in Gurene manifest some defining properties of SVCs that are similar to Akan. They include clause chaining, subject sharing, combined subject, multiple object and transitivity SVCs which will be discussed in the subsequent sections and chapters.

#### 2.1.11.2. “Serial Verb Constructions in Ewe”

Ewe is a Kwa language which is one of the Gbe languages mostly spoken in Ghana and Togo (Ameka 2006). Serial verb constructions in Ewe has been extensively studied by some scholars who include Ansre (1966), Agbedor (1994) and Ameka (2005; 2006c). Ansre (1966) found that some constituents of SVCs in Ewe possess verbal properties and can sometimes manifest prepositional or adverbial features. One of these constituents according to Ansre (1966: 30) is *lè* as used in the following sentences.

- |      |    |                              |       |                                |
|------|----|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| (16) | a. | Kofi <i>lè</i> mia gbó       | SPC   | ‘Kofi is with us’              |
|      | b. | Kofi <i>lè</i> nú dumí       | SP(C) | ‘Kofi is eating’               |
|      | c. | Kofi fo ama <i>lè</i> ηdi me | SPCA  | ‘Kofi beat Ama in the morning’ |

Ansre (1966) describes the *lè* in sentence (16a) as a transitive verb and the *lè* in (16b) as a discontinuous present tense or a discontinuous progressive aspect marker. The *lè* used in sentence (16c) is described by Ansre as “a verbid.” Ansre (1966) argues that verbid constructions are discrete from SVCs on the basis that they are adverbial category rather than verbal category. However, some adverbs in some languages constitute the “core verbs,” or “defective verbs” (Bamgbose, 1974; Lord, 1993), hence they are accepted as verbs in serial verb constructions.

Agbedor (1994) demonstrates that serial verbs in Ewe constitute “a complex predicate” via polarity marking. He indicates that a negation marker in Ewe SVCs is “a discontinuous element” in the form of (*me...o*). Though negation in Ewe is single marking, the discontinuous marker *me* always precedes the negated constituent, while *o* occurs at the extreme end of the SVC as indicated below.

- (17) a. Me fle agbale na Ama  
 Isg buy book give A.  
 ‘I bought a book for Ama’
- b. Nye me fle agbale na Ama o  
 Isg NEG buy book give A. NEG  
 ‘I did not buy a book for Ama’  
 (Agbedor, 1994:117)

Example (17b) is the negation form of (17a) where the discontinuous negative marker *me* precedes the initial verb *fle* ‘buy,’ while its split marker *O* is placed at the very end of the sentence (Agbedor, 1994).

Agbedor (1994) also observes that Ewe has “bimorphemic verbs” which consist of “a bound verb” and “a noun complement” which he termed as “bound verb complement” (BVC) such as the following.

- (18) a. E - *ḍa nu ḍu*  
           3sg cook thing eat 3sg.  
           ‘He cooked and ate the thing’
- b. E – *ku tsi no*  
           fetch water drink  
           ‘He fetched water and drank it’  
           (Agbedor, 1994:120)

Agbedor (1994) is convinced that the BVCs are objects of the verbs *ḍa* ‘cook’ and *ḍu* ‘eat’ in (18a) and *ku* ‘fetch’ and *no* ‘drink’ in (18b). It must be noted that bimorphemic verbs exist in Gurene such as *so inya* ‘bath body’ (bath), *bum ko’om* ‘swim water’ (swim), *yuum yuma* ‘sing songs’ (sing). These verbs may be transitive verbs as Agbedor (1994) states that the “bimorphemic” verbs are transitive verbs in Ewe.

Ameka (2006) posits that serial verbs in Ewe function as one predicate in a single clause where they always share one subject but object may be shared or not. The verbs in series can mark differently for aspect and modal categories but exhibit the same mood and polarity marking, and the SVC in Ewe has no prescribed limit for the number of verbs. Ameka (2005 & 2006) proposes three types of “Commulative subject” SVCs in Ewe which is also called “combined subject” SVCs by (Osam, 1994; 2003; 2004). The commulative subject SVCs type one (Ameka 2006) involves a joint participation of the “subject and the object of the V1” in

executing the action expressed by the verbs in serial constructions. The second type according to Ameka (2006) is a situation where object of the V1 carries out the state of affairs or action expressed by the V2 as Osam (2004) described. Also, the last type involves a situation where the subject of the V1 accompanies its object to perform an event which involves motion expressed by the V2 in SVC (Ameka, 2006). Examples are similar to what have been discussed in Akan in the preceding section.

Ewe has some exceptional serial verb constructions as Dixon (2006) claims that serial verb constructions in Ewe and Goemai have their own transitivity values or have no transitivity values. Abrefa (2010) observes that Ewe allows both the subject and object sharing in clause chaining SVCs, while Akan and Ga do not permit such construction. Gurene permits “subject and object sharing” in CCSVCs in the same way as in Ewe. This will be discussed in chapter four.

### *2.1.11.3. SVCs in Some Kwa Languages in Cote d'Ivoire*

Baule and Akye are Kwa Languages spoken in Cote d'Ivoire. Leynseele (1975) studied serial verbs in Anyi-Sanvi, a dialect of Anyi-Baule, a Western Kwa language. According to Leynseele, Anyi-Baule and Nzema-Ahanta are classified under the ‘Bia group’ which is closely related to Akan.

Serial Verb Constructions vary from one language to another. Leynseele (1975) reports that Anyi-Baule has “verb complex” used in serial verb constructions which are similar to idiomatic SVCs. They involve the use of two verbs that code a single meaning such as *tira-di* ‘catch-eat’ (eat), *ku-di* ‘kill-eat’ (eat) and *ci-mi* ‘catch swallow’ (swallow) (Leynseele, 1975). These verbs, as described by Leynseele

(1975), do not constitute compound verbs. These verbs can be used in non-contiguous SVCs with intervening constituents, and still code a single meaning. Gurene has “complex verbs” similar to these “verb complex” in Anyi-Baule. The Anyi-Sanvi dialect of Anyi- Baule as Leynseele observes has “Relational” serialization composed of dative, benefactive, instrumental, commutative and directional serial verb constructions. These types of SVCs also exist in Gurene.

*Dative SVC in Anyi Sanvi dialect*

- (19) a. Kòfí b̀̀l̀̀k̀̀k̀̀ fá- ' mǎ Kàsí  
 Kofi take-HAB book take-give Kasi  
 ‘Kofi gives the book to Kasi’  
 (Leynseele, 1975:196)

*Benefactive SVC in Anyi-Sanvvi dialect*

- b. ˘Ajó t́ àl̀é mǎ Kàsí  
 Ajo cook.Hab food give.HAB Kasi  
 ‘Ajo cooks food for Kasi’  
 (Leynseele, 1975:197)

Larson (2004) suggests that serial verb constructions in Anyi-Baule must contain “two or more inflected verbs” devoid of coordination and combination of verbs with infinitives, verbs with particles, and verbs with adverbs. According to Larson (2004), tense, aspect and subject markings are optional in Integrated SVCs, Clause Chaining and Covert Coordination Constructions (CCC) in Baule. Larson further argues that object sharing in serial verb constructions in Baule can be either overt object pronouns or null object pronouns; hence clause chaining SVCs have null objects occurring after the non-initial verbs. Larson (2004) proposes that clause chaining in Anyi-Baule should be called Empty Subject Constructions (ESC) on the basis that the non-initial verbs in the so-called clause chaining have subjects which

are “phonetically empty.” On the basis of this, Larson (2004) claims that clause chaining in Akan is tantamount to “multi-verb constructions” in Anyi-Baule. This presumption is contrary to clause chaining in Gurene in which all the verbs exhibit a single subject sharing.

Bogny (2010) proposes two types of serialization known as “Lexical Serial Verb” (LSV) and ‘Analogical Serial Verbs’ (ASV) in Akye. As cited from Bogny (2010:43), “the lexical serial verbs express only one concept, whereas the analogical ones express more than one concept.” This statement outlined by Bogny (2010) suggests that a “single event” serial verb construction contains lexical serial verbs, while a “concatenated” events serialization employs the analogical serial verbs. Bogny (2010) mentions that SVCs in Akye are characterized by subject sharing, object sharing and the same tense, aspect, modality and polarity marking. He notes that each of the verbs in series is marked for aspect, while negation is a single suffix marking on the initial verb in “serial verb constructions” in Akye. Gurene has a single polarity marking like ‘Akye, except that the negative markers can either precede the initial verb and scope to the subsequent verbs in series or precede any of the non-initial verbs. Bogny (2010) concludes that a null pronoun NP may constitute subject or object in SVCs in Akye. He describes ‘a null pronoun’ as a pronominal complement of the verb which is not realized phonetically. This does not exist in Gurene.

#### *2.1.11.4. Serial Verb Constructions in Yoruba*

Yoruba is a Kwa language spoken in Nigeria. Bamgbose (1974) states that the linking serial verb constructions in Yoruba do not derive from coordinate structures

as perceived by some authors such as Boadi (1968) and George (1975) on the basis that coordinate structures are susceptible to extension, while extension is impossible in SVCs.

The classifications of Yoruba SVCs vary from one author to another (Bamgbose, 1974; 1982; George, 1975; Oyelaran, 1982; Ekundayo, 1983). Bamgbose (1982) identifies four types of SVCs in Yoruba and Akan. They are the Linking or Coordinate SVCs, Modifying SVCs, Purpose SVCs and Complex verb SVCs. The verbs in coordinate or linking SVCs are of equal status in terms of meaning (Bamgbose, 1982), while in the modifying SVCs, the meaning of one verb is extended to another verb. Also, in purposive SVCs, one verb indicates state or action, while another verb indicates the purpose of the action. In complex SVCs, two or more verbs in series are combined to derive a single meaning as Bamgbose (1982) instantiated below in Yoruba.

(20) a. The coordinate or Linking SVC

Olu ra èpè je  
 Olu buy groundnut eat  
 'Olu bought and ate groundnuts.'

b. The Modifying SVC

ó sùn lo  
 he sleep go  
 'he fell asleep.' (Bamgbose, 1982:4)

(21) a. Purposive SVC

Olú fée re aso  
 Olu wants.to buy cloth  
 'Olu wants to buy cloth.'

- b. Complex Verb SVC  
 Olu gba omo náà gbó  
 Olu received child the hear  
 ‘Olu believed the child.’  
 (Bamgbose, 1982:5)

These types of serial verb constructions exist in Gurene. Bamgbose (1982:16) states ‘the purpose SVCs are, in all probability, not SVCs at all.’ They seem to derive from embedded purpose clauses where their complementizers are deleted (Bamgbose 1982). I argue that purpose SVCs in Gurene do not derive from embedded clauses; hence they constitute SVCs that contain the purpose particle *ta* which derives from the verb *tari* ‘take possession.’ Dakubu (2003) describes the particle *ta* as a dynamic verb. This will be discussed in chapter 3.

George (1975) proposes a number of semantic types of SVCs in Yoruba. They include comparative, instrumental, manner, causative, accompaniment, locative, directional, dative, benefactive, concordant, purposive, sequential and resultative serial verb constructions. George (1975) also classifies SVCs into broad categories such as simultaneous and non-simultaneous, restrictive and non-restrictive, and comparative and non-comparative serial verb constructions. Simultaneous SVC consists of the modality SVCs, restrictive SVCs, concomitant SVCs, and the purpose SVCs. The modality SVCs according to George (1975) are in the form of instrumental, manner, causative and accompaniment SVCs where the initial verb modifies the non-initial verb or verbs. Also, the restrictive type consists of the locative, directional, dative and the benefactive SVCs, while the concomitant and the purpose SVCs have no sub-categories. The comparative SVC (George,

1975) comprises equative and non-equative SVCs, while the non-comparative SVC composes of simultaneous and non-simultaneous SVCs. As George (1975) notes, the non-simultaneous SVC is asymmetrical SVC, and contains sequential and resultative SVCs.

Though Ansre (1966) states that adverbs should not constitute part of serial verbs, Lawal (1989) strongly believes that adverbs are serial verbs. This is because serial verb constructions in Yoruba and some Kwa languages use special verbs to code adverbials; hence adverbs are used to express the semantic types of SVCs such as instrumental, benefactive, manner and purpose SVCs. Lawal (1989) categorises Yoruba SVCs into two broad types: prepositional SVCs and self-standing SVCs. The prepositional SVCs as described by Lawal (1989) is a SVC type in which one of the serial verbs loses its verbal content and semantically adopts a prepositional function as illustrated in Gurene SVC below:

- (22).    Baba    da        fuo        bo        a        pɔya  
           Baba    buy      cloth    give    3SG    wife  
           ‘Baba bought cloth **for** his wife.’

The serial verb *bo* ‘give’ in (22) adopts prepositional function in the form of benefactive or recipient.

On the other hand, the self-standing SVC type as Lawal (1989) asserts contains sub-types such as locative/direct SVC, manner SVC, purposive SVC, resultative SVC, circumstantial SVC, comparative SVC and temporal SVC. Some of these SVC types exist in Gurene which will be discussed in chapter three.

## 2.1.11.5. Serial Verb Constructions in Igbo

Transitivity in SVCs may be increased or reduced. Increased transitivity involves a situation where an intransitive verb in serial verb constructions adopts transitive features by taking direct object. Also, reduced transitivity refers to a situation in which a ditransitive verb in non-serial construction becomes a transitive verb in SVCs. Aikhenvald (2006) cited that the Igbo verb *ti* ‘hit’ is often a ditransitive verb in non-serial constructions, and transitive verb in SVCs. Apart from subject sharing, Amaechi (2013) found that serial verbs in Igbo have the same status in which the same tense, aspect, modality and negation are marked once on the initial verb as observed below.

- (23) a. Ada    **ná-** ebú        nku        aga    áhía  
           Ada    PROG-carry    firewood    go    market  
           ‘Ada carries firewood to market.’
- b. Ó        ji-ghi        ñgàji        erí        ñri  
           3SG    hold-NEG    spoon        eat        food  
           ‘He/she is not eating with a spoon.’
- c. O        ga-ra        ahia        zuo        ñchà  
           3SG    go-PAST    market    buy        soap  
           ‘He went to the market and bought soap.’  
           (Amaechi, 2013:158)

In (23a), the progressive marker *ná-* is a prefix, while in (23b) and (23c), the negative marker *-ghi* and the past tense marker *-ra* are suffixes respectively. This is contrary to Gurene where the progressive aspectual markers are suffixes, while

the past tense markers and negative markers are particles that precede the initial verb in SVCs.

Amaechi (2013) claims that all the serial verbs in Igbo share subject, except “resultative SVC.” Amaechi (2013) mentions the types of serial verb constructions that exist in Igbo as Instrumental, Multi-Event, Dative and Resultative SVCs. The Multi-Event Serial Verb Constructions (MESVC) is tantamount to the type of SVCs that Osam (1994 & 2003) terms as “Clause Chaining.” The MESVCs are illustrated by Dechaine (1993) and cited in Amaechi (2013:159).

*Multi-Event Serial Verb Construction in Igbo*

- (24) Ógu gòrò okuko gbúo sie rie  
 Ogu buy chicken kill cook eat  
 Ogu bought a chicken killed [it], cooked [it] and ate [it].’  
 Amaechi (2013:159).

*Clause Chaining Equivalent in Gurene*

- (25) Asaa dá nóà kú dúyè óbè  
 Asaa buy chicken kill cook chew  
 ‘Asaa bought a chicken, killed [∅] cooked [∅], and ate [∅].’  
 (Amaechi, 2013)

It is observed that the MESVC in Igbo as in (24) is the same as a CCSVC in Gurene in (25).

Amaechi (2013) also cited Uwalaka (1995) and Saah & Eze (1997) examples to substantiate her argument that dative and resultative SVCs exist in Igbo as observed below.

*Dative SVC in Igbo*

- (26). O bi-nyèrè Ada ego  
 3SG borrow-give Ada money  
 ‘He/she lent Ada some money.’  
 (Saah & Eze, 1997)

*Resultative SVC in Igbo*

- (27) Há ku-wara ikó  
 They hit-break cup  
 ‘They broke the cup.’ (Uwalaka, 1995)

*2.2.11.6. Serial Verb Construction in Igala*

Omachonu (2011; 2012) studies “serial verb constructions” in Igala, a “Yoruboid” language spoken in the Kogi state of the North-Central Nigeria. According to Omachonu (20011 & 2012), the SVC in Igala contains “two or more predicates” that act as one and marks “a single event” The serial verbs share the same arguments, grammatical categories and polarity as indicate below.

- (28) a. Áudù a la oje je  
 Audu **ASP** buy food eat  
 ‘Audu buys /is buying food to eat’
- b. Áudù a la oje je n  
 Audu ASP buy food eat **NEG**  
 ‘Audu does not buy food to eat.’  
 (Amaechi, 2011:267)

*Gurene SVCs*

- (29) a. Abole da’ar-i nɛnɔ ɔber-a  
 Abole buy-PROG meat chew-HAB  
 ‘Abole buys/ is buying meat to eat.’
- b. Abole **ka** da’ar-i nɛnɔ ɔber-a  
 Abole **NEG** buy-PROG meat chew-HAB  
 ‘Abole does not buy meat to eat.’

The aspectual marker [*a*] in Igala SVCs precedes the initial verb *la* ‘buy’ in both (28a) and (28b), while the negative marker is preceded by the final verb in (28b). These are antithesis to aspectual and negation in Gurene SVCs where the progressive and habitual aspects *-i* and *-a* are suffixes in (29a), while the negative marker *ka* precedes the initial serial verb in (29b).

The functional/semantic types of SVCs in Igala as Omachonu (2011) recommends include Accompaniment SVC, Benefactive SVC, Cause and Effect SVC, Comparative SVC, Direct or Motion SVC, Manner SVC, Sequence of Action SVC and Simultaneous Actions SVC. Symmetrical SVCs in Igala as established by Omachonu (2011) include Sequential SVCs, Cause-effect SVCs, Manner SVCs, Concomitant SVCs and Modifying SVCs. On the other hand, Asymmetrical SVCs (Omachonu, 2011) entails Direction or Motion SVCs, Causative SVC, Benefactive SVCs. Some of these types of SVCs also exist in Gurene which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

#### *2.1.12. Serial Verb Constructions in Gur Languages*

The Gur languages are among the productive serializing languages in West Africa. Bodomo (1993) refers a cross section of the Gur languages as Mabilia languages. These languages include Dagaare, Dagbani, Gurene, Kusal, and Mampruli spoken in northern Ghana, and the Moore language spoken in Bukina Faso and Togo. These languages are mutually intelligible and their speakers believe to have been originated from one ancestor; hence they call themselves ‘mabilia’ which literally means ‘mother’s child’ (kinsmen). Based on genetic classification, Bodomo (1993)

termed the relationship among these languages as “sibling” or “sisterhood relationship.” Nsoh (1997) also classifies these languages as “sister languages.” Bodomo (1993) found that SVCs in Mabia languages contain serial verbs that share the same subject, and may share the same object or may not share object structurally. The verbs are also marked by the same TAMP markers. Apart from auxiliaries that are not used to express tense in Mabia languages (Bodomo (1993), all the verbs in the series are either implicitly or explicitly marked by the same aspect.

Bodomo (2002) proposes five semantic types of SVCs in Dagaare. They are the benefactive, causative, inceptive “take”, instrumental and deictic serial verb constructions. According to him, the benefactive verb ‘give’ is preceded by an activity verb to denote recipient function in benefactive SVCs, while the causative SVCs indicate that the action of the V2 is caused by V1. Bodomo (2002) also describes the inceptive-take SVCs as a construction where the inceptive verb “take” precedes any verb and is encoding an introduction of an action or a preparation “to release or let go an object” (Bodomo, 2002:31). Also, instrumental SVCs involve the use of an instrumental verb “take” that precedes activity verb, denoting an action performed with an instrument. He indicates that deictic SVCs in Dagaare involves the use of the verbs ‘run’ and ‘come’ to point at a particular direction or to indicate movement from one location to another. Some of these types of SVCs are exemplified below by Bodomo (2002).

- (30) a. Benefactive SVC in Dagaare  
 O da tong la toma ko ma  
 3SG PAST work FACT work give me  
 ‘S/he worked for me.’

- b. Causative SVC in Dagaare  
 O da daa ma la loo  
 3SG PAST push me FACT cause-fall  
 ‘S/he pushed me down.’
- c. Inceptive-take SVC in Dagaare  
 O de la gane ko ma  
 3SG take FACT book give me  
 ‘S/he gave me a book.’  
 (Bodomo, 2002:31)

These types of SVCs also exist in Gurene, except the causative SVCs. Bodomo (2002) indicates that the switch-subject SVCs (Osam, 1994; 2003) are inapplicable in Dagaare; hence the same subject sharing in SVCs in Dagaare is incontrovertible.

Though some authors (Awobuluyi, 1973; Sebba, 1987; Schiller, 1990) are of the view that SVCs derive from “embedded clauses” and “coordination” in which complementizers and conjunctions are suppressed, SVCs in Dagaare are “unique constructions in which there are no semantically full connectives operating between the series of verbs” (Bodomo, 2002:43).

Saanchi (2006) is of the view that the statement made by Bodomo (1993; 1997; 2002) that a “well-formed SVC” in Dagaare has all its verbs sharing the same subject, object, tense, aspect and polarity is an overgeneralization. He argues that some well-formed SVCs in Dagaare may contain serial verbs with different objects or with different tense, aspect and polarity markings as shown below.

- (31) a. Object sharing constraint (Dagaare SVCs)  
 A pogi da di la kpɛɛ dugi daa nyu kudi  
 DEF woman PAST take AFF malt brew “pito” drink intoxicate  
 The woman took some malt brewed ‘pito’ drank and became intoxicated.’  
 (Saanchi, 2006:102)

## b. The same aspect sharing constraint

Asa    gaa            tuuro            la    a    waari  
 Asa    go-PERF dig-IMPERF    AFF   DEF   yam  
 ‘Asa has gone and is digging yam.’  
 (Saanchi, 2006:107)

## c. The same polarity sharing constraint

			V1		V2	V3	V4
Bayor	da	<b>ba</b>	<u>ɔŋ</u>	kũõ	<u>nyu</u>	<u>gay</u>	<b><u>gbiri</u></b>
Bayor	PAST	NEG	<u>fetch</u>	water	<u>drink</u>	<u>lie-down</u>	<b><u>sleep</u></b>

‘Bayor did not fetch water and drink and lie down and sleep.’  
 (Saanchi, 2006:107)

The final verb *kudi* intoxicated which is the V4 in (31a) has no object and does not share any object with the preceding verbs. However, the V2 *dugi* ‘brew’ and the V3 *nyu* ‘drink’ share the object *daa* ‘pito’ (local alcoholic drink). In (31b), the perfective aspect *gaa* ‘gone’ and the imperfective aspect *tuuro* ‘digging’ which according to Saanchi (2006) is considered by Bodomu (1993) as non-serial construction. Saanchi argues that this construction may constitute another type of SVC in Dagaare. Also, the final verb *gbiri* ‘sleep’ in (31c) does not share the same negative marker with its preceding verbs which poses problem in the same polarity spreading in Dagaare SVC. Semantically, the construction encodes that Bayor did not fetch water, did not drink, did not lie down but it does not mean Bayor did not sleep. Hence the negative marker *ba* affects all the verbs in series, except the final verb which is the V4 in (31c).

## (32) a. SVC without connector constraint (Dagaare)

A    baa   zo   kpɛ    la    a    die    **ti**    gay  
 DEF dog   run   enter    AFF   DEF   house   PURP   lie down  
 ‘The dog has run and entered the house to lie down.’ (Saanchi, 2006:108)

## b. SVC without connector constraint (Gurene)

Baa la zo ke la deem **ta** ga  
 Dog DEF run enter FOC house **PURP** lie down

‘The dog has run and entered the house to lie down.’

(Translated from Saanchi, 2006)

The connector *ti* occurs in Dagaare SVC in (32a) and the purpose marker *ta* occurs in Gurene SVC in (32b) express the purpose of which the actions are expressed in the preceding verbs in the series. Hence, there may be other types of connectors used in SVCs in Dagaare which are distinct from coordinators and subordinators. I argue that the purpose marker *ta* in Gurene is a defective verb which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Though Gurene has polarity spreading in negation serial verb constructions, Atintono (2005) found that the negative marker can precede any of the verbs and does not affect the preceding verb or verbs in SVCs as demonstrated below.

(33) a. Bia la **ka** dike dia la siŋe **ta** bo kaara la  
 Child DEF **NEG** take food DEF go **PURP** give farmer DEF  
 ‘The child did not take the food to the farmer.’

b. Bia la dike dia la **ka** siŋe **ta** bo kaara la  
 child DEF take food DEF **NEG** go **PURP** give farmer DEF  
 ‘The child took the food and did not give to the farmer.’

c. Bia la dike dia la siŋe **ka** **ta** bo kaara la  
 child DEF take food DEF go **NEG** **PURP** give farmer DEF  
 ‘The child took the food and went and did not give to the farmer.’

(Atintono, 2005:63)

The negative marker *ka* (33a) precedes the initial verb and spreads to the subsequent verbs in series. In (33b), the negative marker *ka* precedes the second verb *siŋe* ‘go’

and scopes to the final verb *bo* ‘give,’ and affects only that verb. Atintono (2005) also proposes some types of SVCs in Gurene which include Transitive and Intransitive SVCs, Instrumental SVCs, Motion Verbs SVCs, Cause-effect SVCs and the grammaticalized SVCs. Atintono’s claims regarding SVCs in Gurene and other authors’ claims in SVCs in some serializing languages will be compared and contrast with my data for discussion in the subsequent chapters.

## **2.2. Theoretical Framework**

The study adopts the prototype theory framework for data categorization and analysis. This theory, according to Evans and Green (2006:255), is “associated with the experimental research of cognitive psychologist Eleanor Rosch and her colleagues.” The fundamental concepts of the theory are adopted and applied in the study. They include concepts proposed by Rosch and Mervis (1975), Rosch (1978), Lakoff (1987), Taylor (1995).

### *2.2.1. Rosch and Mervis’ (1975) Principles of Prototypes*

Rosch and Mervis (1975) claim that the membership of prototype categories is underpinned by family resemblance. Hence, members of prototype categories need not be identical in terms of their features. It is obvious that even identical twins that are genetically developed from a single fertilized egg do not have all features in common. What is crucial in prototype categorization, according to Rosch and Mervis, is that the members of prototype categories must portray family resemblances, and the extent to which the category members bear family

resemblance determines their prototypicality. Rosch and Mervis (1975) observe that members that show more family resemblance to the prototype, and show the least family resemblance to members of other categories constitute the prototypical members. According to them, all other members of the categories that form clusters of family resemblances are members of the prototype categories.

The family resemblance principle postulates that linguistic features are categorized based on similarities rather than common features. Hence, the current study hopes to classify the various types of serial verb constructions based on “family resemblances” (Rosch and Mervis, 1975). Serial verb constructions that manifest more “resemblance” to the prototype and “least family resemblance to other categories” in terms of properties will constitute the prototypical SVCs (Rosch and Mervis, 1975:576).

In the current study, irrelevant differences that may exist within each category type of serial verb constructions will be disregarded as Rosch (1978) principle of *cognitive economy* advocates the reduction of insignificant differences. Distinctions will only be made based on serial verb construction types that manifest clear distinction from other types. The study employs empirical facts proposed by Rosch (1978) for making judgment about the properties of SVCs that are good examples. The same type of serial verb constructions may vary in terms of those that are “good examples” and those that are not. The prototypical SVCs will be serial constructions that have more common properties shared with other SVCs within a category, and have fewer common properties shared with other antithetical categories. This hypothesis derives its support from Rosch’s (1978:12) assertion that “the more prototypical a category member is rated, the more attributes it has in common with

other members of the category and the fewer attributes in common with members of the contrasting categories.”

### 2.2.2. Lakoff's (1987) Principles of Prototypes

According to Lakoff (1987), prototype categorization is a criterion in which membership of a category is assigned by means of the members' resemblances to the prototype, a view shared with Rosch and Mervis (1975). Lakoff's (1987) notion of the prototype theory is delineated through some comprehensive principles of categorization. His first principle of prototype categorization is *family resemblances* proposed by Rosch and Mervis (1975). This principle states that members of prototype categories should possess properties that are closely related rather than properties that are common. Lakoff's second principle of *centrality* in prototype categorization indicates that within a category, some members are of good examples than other members, and members with more good examples constitute the central members of a category.

Besides, Lakoff's (1987) principle of *generativity* as prototype phenomenon explains that in prototype categorization, some members are used to generate other members into categories, and these generators are accorded the central or the prototypical status. Also, Lakoff's principle of *membership gradience* indicates that members of prototype categories are of different degrees, and the degrees of membership have no clear boundaries. His *centrality gradience* principle claims that central members are still graded as more or less central.

The current study adopts some of these principles classifying serial verb constructions in Gurene. The study hopes to categorize “serial verb constructions” that are closely related into types; hence members of the various types of “serial verb constructions” are not based on common properties. The members of each type of serial verb constructions are graded, and members that show more good examples, the members that serve as generators, and the members that follow the basic rules of SVCs may be accorded the status of central or prototypical SVCs, as proposed by the prototype theory.

### *2.2.3. Taylor's (1995) Principles of Prototypes*

Prototype categorization is a criterion that involves “assigning entities as members of a category by virtue of their similarity to the prototype” (Taylor, 1995:60). The members’ similarities to the prototype are based on what Taylor termed as “crisscrossing network” (Taylor, 1995:38). This implies that all members of the prototype categories do not share common or equivalent attributes. Taylor observes that the essential attributes that designate members to prototype categories are rated with varied degrees into sets, and a particular set of attributes may not necessarily has to be applicable to all members of a category. Hence, he argues that attributes of members of categories that are intuitively appealing, such that they are frequently encountered and always mentioned first are accorded the prototypicality status. He further argues that category members whose attributes cluster are also given the status of prototypical members, while other members that are associated to the prototype with varied degrees constitute less prototypical members. According to Taylor (1995:54), “the prototype categories achieve the flexibility required by an

ever-changing environment” on the basis that both the the classical and the prototype categories are amalgamated. The theory permits the central members to share more attributes in common, while other members share few attributes with the central members.

The current study permits flexibility in serial verb constructions. The category members include the more prototypical members and the less prototype members. Members that are always mentioned first and have more features clustering will be considered as the prototypical SVCs. Apart from the prototypical SVCs, other SVCs that are similar, but with varied degrees to the prototype are all members of the prototype categories of SVCs. The data for serial verb constructions involve ranges of degrees of category membership as Taylor (1995:51-52) proposes that the “degree of category membership can be readily elicited from speaker of a language; and it is a variable which determines performance on a wide range of diverse experimental tasks.” On the basis of this, the degrees of SVCs in the data obtained from Gurene speakers will create room for diverse analogies of SVCs that may reflect the actual performance.

### **2.3. Methodology**

The study is purely descriptive and data were drawn from primary and secondary sources. The primary data included informal interviews in the form of interactions with some native speakers. The native speakers who were interviewed through informal questions during data elicitation process included traders in the market, farmers, story-tellers, and Gurene language teachers. Apart from the teachers who

were all graduates who had studied Gurene in the University of Education, the remaining interviewees were randomly sampled in which their educational backgrounds were not a criterion. The age range of the interviewees was 30-70 years. The interviewees were asked varied leading questions based on their fields of work. These questions were interactive and prompted the interviewees to speak Gurene, which resulted in the use of some serial verb constructions. The story-tellers were asked to tell one or two stories, in which some serial verb constructions were identified.

I also interacted with some traders in which some questions based on how they sell and buy their goods were asked, and some of their responses were in the form of serial verb constructions. I also sat with some of the traders and listened to how the traders interacted with their customers, and I identified some SVCs used by both the traders and their customers. The farmers and other native speakers in various occupations were interviewed in similar manner in which some of them used SVCs. I jotted down some of these constructions. I also recorded some of these interactions on a tape recorder. These constructions were selected and transcribed as data for the research. Besides, some teachers that teach Gurene were given some selected sentences in English to translate into Gurene in which their translations involved some serial verb constructions.

I also listened keenly to some native speakers' everyday interactions and identified some serial verb constructions that were used. I sat with different groups of native speakers, listened to their interactions and identified some serial verb constructions. Data were also obtained from recorded public speeches in Gurene, and some local radio discussions in the Gurene based on varied tropical issues. I

also listened to, and recorded some Gospel readings and preaching of the word of God in Gurene from some churches in Gurene-speaking area, and identified some SVCs. I also used the “grammaticality judgement task” (my native speaker intuition) to elicit some data for the study.

Apart from these, I elicited some vital data from reading materials and other existing literature on serial verb constructions. I read a Gurene Bible and other religions materials (Bible stories, prayer books, catechism books) written or translated into Gurene, and then selected some constructions that involved serial verbs. Data were also obtained from the reading of some novels, plays and short stories written or translated from other languages into Gurene. Also, data from the existing literature of other languages played a crucial role in the study. I picked some substantial data from other researchers’ works on serial verb constructions in various languages. These data were literally translated into Gurene and tested with some elderly native speakers and confirmed before being used in the study. These data were used for comparison between serial verb constructions of those languages and serial verb constructions in Gurene.

The data elicited were classified based on the prototype theory. The data were graded such that some were “more prototypical” than others (Rosch and Mervis, 1975; Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 1995). The data that were “more prototypical” constituted the prototypical serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald, 2006). The prototypical SVCs included contiguous SVCs and the arguments sharing serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald, 2006). Other categories of data included data that indicated integrated serial verb constructions, clause chaining, and non-contiguous SVCs. Some data were categorized into structural and functional categories of serial

verb constructions. Other data were classified into lexicalized and grammaticalized categories of serial verb constructions. The data generally constitute more or less prototypical on the basis of the prototype theory's principles of "family resemblance," "cognitive economy," "centrality in prototype," and "similarity to the prototype" (Rosch, 1978). The data are analyzed qualitatively in the subsequent chapters.

## **2.4. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I reviewed previous literatures of scholars that studied SVCs in some serializing languages across the world, discusses the theoretical frame work and the methodology applied in the study. The serializing languages reviewed in the literature include some of the Kwa languages, the Gur languages, the Austronesian/Oceanic languages, the Central Khoisan languages, and the West Ring languages. Other languages surveyed include a Skou language, Chinese, Korean, and a central Chadic language. The notion of SVCs, the historical development of SVCs and the defining properties of "serial verb constructions" are discussed in terms of the authors of the previous literatures' point of views. The various types of SVCs in some serializing languages are contrasted and compared among other serializing languages, and also contrasted and compared with SVCs in Gurene. I propose that SVCs in Gurene and other serializing languages exhibit some similarities and differences. The syntactic or structural types and the semantic or functional types of SVCs in Gurene will be discussed in chapters three and four.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**THE SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB**  
**CONSTRUCTIONS**

**3.0. Introduction**

In this chapter, my goal is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the semantic classification of serial verb constructions in Gurene, using data from the original research, the written sources, and the native speaker intuitive knowledge. These data include those obtained from native speakers' interactions, translated materials in Gurene, and a questionnaire on literal translation of some English sentences into Gurene. My native speaker intuitive knowledge generated data were tested and confirmed with other native speakers through personal communication including phone calls. It is anticipated that the data will provide clear evidence of the existence or non-existence of some semantic types of SVCs in Gurene. Analysis of the semantic typology of SVCs will be based on the semantic arguments relations and the function of SVCS. The relational types of serial verb constructions such as the benefactive SVCs, instrumental SVCs and the locative SVCs will be analyzed. Other semantic types of SVCs that will be analyzed include integrated SVCs, clause chaining SVCs, motion SVCs, the semantics of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, capabilitative SVCs, escort SVCs, concomitant SVCs, manner SVCs, switch-function SVCs, comparative and superlative SVCs. These semantic types of SVCs will be considered as either inclusive or exclusive in SVCs in Gurene based on the prototype theory's concepts of "prototypicality" and "gradation" of "the defining properties of serial verb constructions."

### 3.1. The Integrated Serial Verb Constructions

Leynseele (1975:194) described what is currently known as integrated SVCs (Osam; 2003 & 2004) as the “verb complex type of serial construction” in which the events cannot be isolated. Bamgbose (1982:5) also described it as a “complex verb SVC.” Ameka (2006) describes verbs used in these this type of SVCs as “complex predicates.” The events in an integrated serial verb construction, according to Osam (2003; 2004), are fused in that they are impossible to be disintegrated. The events in this type of SVC are regarded as a single unit as established by Nyampong (2015:67) that “integrated SVCs express single events.” The examples below show integrated SVCs.

- (1) a. *Integrated SVCs in Gurene*  
 Yiné kǎ́ máálé yà  
 God pray make 2PL  
 ‘God bless you.’
- b. *Unsuccessful Isolated Events*  
 \*Yiné kǎ́ yà, Yiné máálé yà  
 God pray 2PL, God make 2PL  
 ‘God pray you’ God make you.’  
 (God bless you.)
- (2) a. Ápítá yúún sàkè bó Áyèèzù  
 Peter PAST agree give Jesus  
 ‘Peter believed Jesus.’
- b. *Unsuccessful isolated Events*  
 \*Ápítá yúún sàkè Áyèèzù. Ápítá yúún bó Áyèèzù.  
 Peter PAST agree Jesus. Peter PAST give Jesus.  
 ‘Peter believed Jesus.’

The verbs *ká* ‘pray’ and *máálé* ‘make’ in (1a) function as “a single predicate” which encodes the meaning ‘to bless.’ Isolating the events as in (1b) is ungrammatical. It is also clear that the initial verb *sáké* ‘agree’ and the final verb *bó* ‘give’ in (2a) express a single event which means ‘believed.’ Isolating the events in this construction is impossible and ungrammatical in (2b) because the verbs constitute “complex predicates.”

### 3.2. Clause Chaining Serialization

Unlike integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs) discussed in the preceding section, clause chaining serialization, according to Osam (2003 & 2004), involves a “concatenation” of events which are possible to be isolated without affecting the semantic properties of the construction. I present below some examples of CCSVCs in Gurene in which the concatenated events are separated without affecting the meaning.

#### *Chained Events in Clause Chaining*

- (3) a. Atia **túm** **nyé** lígèrí **díkè** **dá** níí  
 Atia work.PAST see.PAST money take.PAST buy.PAST cows  
**básè** **úgè** **nyógè** **kóóse** **mé** yíré  
 keep.PAST rear.PAST catch.PST sell.PAST build.PAST house  
**bó** á kòmà  
 give.PAST 3SG children  
 ‘Atia worked and got money, took it and bought cows, kept them  
 and reared, caught them and sold, used the proceeds and built a  
 house for his children.’

#### *Isolated Events from Clause Chaining*

- b. i. Atia **túm** yà  
 Atia work AFF  
 ‘Atia worked.’

- ii. Atia ònyé lígèrí  
Atia see.PAST money  
'Atia got money.'
- iii. Atia díkè lígèrí lá  
Atia take.PAST money DEF  
'Atia took the money.'
- iv. Atia dá níí  
Atia buy.PAST cows  
'Atia bought cows.'
- v. Atia básé nìi là  
Atia keep.PAST cows DEF  
'Atia kept the cows.'
- vi. Atia úgè níí là  
Atia rear.PAST cows DEF  
'Atia reared the cows.'
- vii. Atia òyógè níí là  
Atia catch.PAST cows DEF  
'Atia caught the cows.'
- viii. Atia kóósè níí là  
Atia sell.PAST cows DEF  
'Atia sold the cows.'
- ix. Atia mè yìrè bò á kòmà  
Atia build.PAST house give 3SG children  
'Atia built a house for his children.'

It is clear that the meaning expressed in the concatenated events in the clause chaining serialization in (3a) is synonymous to that of the meaning expressed in the isolated events of the same clause chaining SVC as in (3b). All the sub-events, either concatenated as in (3a) or separated as in (3b), modify a single main event which is 'Atia built a house for his children.'

### 3.3. The Semantics of Symmetrical Serialization

Symmetrical serial verb construction contains verbs derived from “semantically” and “grammatically unrestricted” class of verbs also known as “open class” (Aikhenvald, 2006). The verbs in this type of serial verb constructions have equal status in terms of semantic or syntactic properties with “iconic order,” which reflects sequence of events (Aikhenvald, 2006; Dixon, 2006). Examples of this type of SVCs in Gurene are provided below:

- (4) a. Abolga pé búrèyá-fúó yé  
 Abolga sew christmas-dress wear  
 ‘Abolga sewed Christmas dress and wore.’  
 (Means: Abolga sewed x’mas dress, and he wore the dress.)
- b. Abolga dá ságèbó dí  
 Abolga buy T.Z eat  
 ‘Abolga bought *too-zaafi* and ate.’  
 (Means: Abolga bought *too-zaafi* and he ate the *too-zaafi*)
- c. Abolga kú kù’ùŋɔ dúgè múí dí  
 Abolga kill guinea fowl cook rice eat  
 ‘Abolga killed a guinea fowl and cooked rice and ate.’  
 (Abolga killed a guinea fowl, used the meat to cook rice and eat)

The initial verb *pé* ‘sew’ and the final verb *yé* ‘wear’ in (4a) are accorded the same verbal status. Similarly the verbs *dá* ‘buy’ and *dí* ‘eat’ in (4b) are equated in terms of status. Also, in (4c) the initial verb *kú* ‘kill’, the medial verb *dúgè* ‘cook’ and the final verb *dí* ‘eat’ are equal in verbal status. Hence, all the verbs in the series used in (4a), (4b) and (4c) are derived from “open or unrestricted verb class.” These verbs express “sequence of events” in SVCs in Gurene.

### 3.4. The Semantics of Asymmetrical Serialization

Asymmetrical serial verb construction contains verbs that are derived from both restricted and unrestricted verb classes (Aikhenvald, 2006; Ingram, 2006; Zavala, 2006). The unrestricted verbs are “major verbs” which encode single events, while the “grammatically” and “semantically restricted” verbs constitute “minor verbs” that modify and specify the events (Aikhenvald, 2006). The “closed class verbs” in asymmetrical SVCs are mostly motion verbs, directional verbs and positional or posture verbs that express directions or mark tense, aspect and modality. Unlike some languages where open class verbs precede closed class verbs, Gurene exhibits the reverse in asymmetrical SVCs as presented below in the examples.

- (5) a. Kòmà nyé zólègó zó ké yíré púán  
 Children see mad.person run enter house inside  
 ‘Children saw a mad person and ran and entered in a house.’
- b. Dáyúó là zó zóm tíá  
 rat DEF run climb tree  
 ‘The rat ran and climbed a tree.’
- c. Apana zó éké yáké bóká  
 Apana run jump cross stream  
 ‘Apana ran and jumped across the stream.’  
 (see 4.5 and 4.6 for more)

It is obvious that the initial verb *nyé* ‘see’ and final verb *ké* ‘enter’ in (5a) are unrestricted verbs, while medial verb *zó* ‘run’ is a restricted verb. In (5b), the V1 *zó* ‘run’ is a closed class verb, while the V2 *zóm* ‘climb’ is an open class verb. It is also observed in (5c) that both the initial and medial verbs *zó éké* ‘run jump’ are derived

from closed verb class, and as a result, they are minor verbs, while the final verb *yáké* ‘cross’ is a major verb chosen from the open verb class.

### **3.5. Relational Serialization**

Leynseele (1975:190) describes “relational” serialization as “those constructions which generally receive case labels such as dative, instrumental, etc.” According to Leynseele, grammatical relations occur between verbs in the series and the NPs, while verbs in a “complex verb construction” exhibit lexical relations. Leynseele (1975) observed that Anyi has relational SVCs which include “dative,” “benefactive,” “instrumental” and “directional” SVCs. Gurene also has some of these “relational serial verb constructions.”

#### *3.5.1. Benefactive Serial Verb Constructions*

The benefactive serial verb constructions indicate the beneficiary of the action expressed by the verbs in the series. According to Bodomo (1996), the benefactive SVCs consist of two verbs that constitute a “complex predicate” in which the component verbs act together as one lexicalized event. Akan and Dagaare (Bodomo. 1996 & 2002) have benefactive serialization. The benefactive serialization “involves a benefactive verb such as “give” or “receive” preceded by an activity verb which creates the object or the substance of giving” (Bodomo 2002:29). Givon (1997) describes the benefactive as a participant which is typically an animate who constitutes the beneficiary of whatever action performed.

Also, Bodomo et al (2003) observed that the benefactive constructions in Chinese involve either a “single predicate” construction (double object construction) or a “complex predicate” construction (SVC). Besides, Jurafsky and Martin, (2015) suggest that the beneficiary of an event is indicated in the benefactive serial verb constructions. The benefactive SVCs as Saeed (2016:151) describes is “the entity for whose benefit the action is performed.” The benefactive SVC in Gurene contains an activity verb and the benefactive verb *bo* “give” which often creates the beneficiary argument NP. Examples of benefactive serialization in Gurene are shown below.

- Benefactive SVCs*
- (6) a Ayine dáá dá búá là bó Atiŋa  
 Ayine PAST buy goat DEF give 3SG  
 ‘Ayine bought the goat for Atinga.’  
 Atinga is the beneficiary of the goat Ayine bought.
- b. Ayine dáá dá ø bó Atiŋa  
 Ayine PAST buy give 3SG  
 ‘Ayine bought something for Atinga.’  
 What was bought is unexpressed but implied  
 in which Ayine is the beneficiary.
- c. Ayine kó bó á dèɛmà  
 Ayine weed give 3SG in-law  
 ‘Ayine weeded for his in-law.’

The benefactive verb *bó* ‘give’ performs a prepositional function in (6a) and (6b) which indicates that Atinga is the beneficiary of action expressed by the initial verb *da* ‘buy.’ In (6c) the verb *bo* ‘give’ and its argument NP *a dɛɛma* ‘his in-law’ also indicate the beneficiary of the action expressed in initial verb *kɔ* ‘weed.’

- (7) a. Atipoka máálè kóósé bó á déémà  
 Atipoka prepare beans-cake give 3SG in-law  
 ‘Atipoka prepared beans cakes for her in-law.’
- b. Atipoka néém zóm móm ságèbó bó á kòmà  
 Atipoka grind flour stir T.Z give 3SG children  
 ‘Atipoka ground flour and prepared *Too Zaafi* for her children.’
- (8) a. Abaṅa mé yíré bó á pògà  
 Abanga built house give 3SG wife  
 ‘Abanga built a house for his wife.’
- b. Akolego dá lógèró là bó bá  
 Akolgo buy things DEF give 3PL  
 ‘Akolgo bought the things for them.’

Also, the benefactive verb *bó* ‘give’ that precedes the argument NP *á déémà* ‘her in-law’ in (7a) conveys the meaning of the beneficiary of the action performed by the initial verb *máálé* ‘prepare.’ Additionally, the argument NP *á kòmà* ‘her children’ which is preceded by the benefactive verb *bó* ‘give’ in (7b) benefits from the actions performed by the two activity verbs *néém* ‘grind’ and *móm* ‘stir.’ It is also indicated in (8a) by the benefactive verb *bó* ‘give’ that the argument NP *a pògà* ‘his wife’ is the beneficiary of the actions expressed by the initial verb *mé* ‘build,’ while the pronominal argument NP *bá* ‘them’ in (8b) is the beneficiary of the action expressed in the initial verb *dá* ‘buy.’ It clearly shows that the argument NPs that are preceded by the benefactive verb *bo* ‘give’ in the SVCs in (7) and (8) are the direct beneficiaries of the actions performed by the verbs. The benefactive verb *bo* ‘give’ has a prepositional meaning in SVCs in the language. The recipients in these SVCs are direct beneficiaries.

Another type of benefactive serialization that exists in Gurene is where the entity involved benefits from the action performed by the activity verb indirectly, as exemplified below:

- (9) a. Tù            mà        Měéri' zúsèr-á    Yiné b'òr-á    tú  
 1PL.POSS mother Mary beg-HAB God give-HAB 1PL.OBJ  
 'Our mother Mary pray for us.'
- b. Tù            mà        Měéri' wán zúsè Yiné bó tú  
 1PL.POSS mother Mary FUT beg God give 1PL.OBJ  
 'Our mother Mary will pray for us.'
- c. Ayéézù sílègè á      zím kǎábè                      bó tú  
 Jesus pour 3SG blood perform.sacrifice give 1PL  
 'Jesus poured his blood as a sacrifice for us.'  
 (From a sermon in Catholic Church)

The initial verb *zuser-a* 'begs' which means 'pray' and the final verb *bɔɔr-a* 'gives' which means "for" in (9a) convey the meaning that "mother Mary" derives benefits from her prayer to God which the speaker always benefits indirectly. In (9b), it shows that mother Mary will pray in which the speaker will benefit indirectly from her prayers. The SVC in (9c) has an interpretation that Jesus poured his blood as a sacrifice to God for some benefits to the speaker and others.

Moreover, benefactive SVCs can be used to give instruction or ask questions as shown in the examples below.

- (10) a. Bisèr-à        kómà    la    b'òr-à        mání  
 Look-HAB children DEF give-HAB ISG  
 'Watch the children for me/take care of the children for me.'

- b. Fú wàh̀ bìsèr-à kómà là bɔ̀'ɔ̀r-à màm̀?  
 'You FUT look-HAB children DEF give-HAB ISG  
 'Will you watch the children for me? /  
 Will you take care of the children for me?'
- c. Fu dà dá daam bó bùdàà là  
 you NEG buy alcohol give man DEF  
 '(You) don't buy alcohol for the man.'

The benefactive SVCs in (10a) gives instructions. The verb *bɔ̀'ɔ̀r-à* 'give' indicates that the first person pronominal NP *mám* 'me' is the beneficiary of the action expressed by the initial verb '*bìsèr-à* 'look' in the SVC. The benefactive SVC in (10b) is an interrogative type because of the future marker *wan* that precedes the first verb and low tone marked on the pronominal object NP *màm̀* which follows the final verb *bɔ̀'ɔ̀ra* 'give.' The pronominal subject NP *Fu* used with the future tense marker *wan* means "will you?" It is also crucial to note that the initial verb *bìsèr-à* 'look' can be interpreted as either to watch or take care of the child as indicated in (10a) and (10b). Also, the second verb *bó* 'give' in (10c) conveys the meaning that the NP *bùdàà là* 'the man' is the potential beneficiary if the action in the initial verb is performed.

*Negation in Benefactive SVCs*

- (11) a. Abaŋa **ka** mɛ yire bo a pɔga  
 Abanga NEG.PAST build house give 3SG wife  
 'Abanga did not build a house for his wife.'
- b. Abaŋa mɛ yire **ka** dikɛ bo a pɔga  
 Abanga build house NEG.PAST take give 3SG wife  
 'Abanga built a house not for his wife.'

- c. \*Abaŋa mɛ yire **ka** bo a pɔga  
 Abanga build house NEG.PAST give 3SG wife  
 ‘Abanga did not build a house for his wife.’
- (12) a. Abaŋa **kan** mɛ yire bo a pɔga  
 Abanga NEG.FUT build house give 3SG wife  
 ‘Abanga will not build a house for his wife.’
- b. Abaŋa **da** koose fu yire la bo ba  
 Abanga NEG.PRES sell 2SG house DEF give 3PL  
 ‘Abanga don’t sell your house to them.’
- c. \*Abaŋa mɛ yire **kan** bo a pɔga  
 Abanga build house NEG.FUT give 3SG wife  
 ‘Abanga build a house will not for his wife.’

The past negative marker *ka* precedes the initial verb *mɛ* ‘build’ in (11a) which express negation. It also occurs before the second verb *dikɛ* ‘take’ in (11b) which expresses negation. It is ungrammatical in (11c) where the benefactive verb *bo* ‘give’ is negated. Besides, future negative marker *kan* and the present negative marker *da* in (12a) and (12b) precede the initial verbs. When the verb *bo* immediately follows the future negative marker *kan* in (12b), the sentence is ungrammatical. This implies that the benefactive verb *bo* ‘give’ cannot be negated in the benefactive SVCs in the language.

*Ambiguity in Benefactive SVCs*

- (13) a. Amɔa gulesɛ ɔɔŋɔ **bo** naba la  
 Amoah write letter give chief DEF  
 ‘Amoah wrote a letter to the chief/Amoah wrote a letter for the chief.’
- b. Amɔa gulesɛ ɔɔŋɔ **dikɛ** bo naba la  
 Amoah write letter take give chief DEF  
 ‘Amoah wrote a letter to the chief.’

- c. Amoa gulese gɔŋɔ **ta** bo naba la  
 Amoah write letter PURP give chief DEF  
 ‘Amoa wrote a letter to the chief.’

The verbs *gulese bo* ‘write give’ in (13a) express both the “to prepositional” and the “for prepositional” meanings. The distinction in meaning as to who benefits from the action expressed in the initial verb *gulese* ‘write’ will be based on the speech context regarding whether the letter that the agent wrote belongs to him or the recipient. The ambiguity is avoided in (13b) when the verb *dike* ‘take’ precedes the verb *bo* ‘give.’ This has a clear interpretation of the “to prepositional” benefactive serial verb construction because the letter obviously belongs to the agent *Amoah*. Also, the purpose marker *ta* which preceded the verb *bo* ‘give’ in (13c) makes the meaning clear in which the ambiguity is avoided.

### 3.5.2. Instrumental Serial Verb Constructions

An instrument is an inanimate entity which is used by the agent or the initiator to perform an activity. Saeed (2016:151) describes it as “the means by which an action is performed or something comes about.” Instrumental SVC contains an inanimate object participant which is used by the agent to execute an activity or an event. An instrumental SVC in Gurene always contains instrumental verb *dike* ‘take’ which precedes an instrumental argument NP in a fixed order as illustrated below.

- (14) a. Aduko dike **taya** tẽ ku’uŋɔ ku  
 Aduko take catapult shoot guinea fowl kill’  
 ‘Aduko took a catapult and shot a guinea fowl dead.’

- b. Atibire dike **kugere** lobe bazolegeɔ biɲe  
 Atibire take stone throw mad.dog put.down  
 ‘Atibire took a stone and stoned a mad dog down.’
- c. Akurego dike **gambanɛ** ηmɛ bunsela ku  
 Akurugo take long-stick beat snake kill  
 ‘Akurugo took a long stick and hit a snake dead.’
- (15) a. N-yaaba dike a nu’o zaɛ e  
 N-yaaba take 3SG hand push 3SG  
 ‘N-yaaba used his hand and pushed him/her.’
- b. Anaafɔ lu dike a zuo ηmɛ tiɲa  
 Anaafɔ fall take 3SG head beat ground  
 ‘Anaafɔ fell and use his head hit the ground.’
- c. Akazoti dike yɛm tu naba la  
 Akazoti take sense insult chief DEF  
 ‘Akazoti used intelligence and insulted the chief.’

The instruments *taya* ‘catapult,’ *kugere* ‘stone,’ and *gambame* ‘a long stick.’ in (14a) (14b), and (14c) are selected by the verb *dike* ‘take’ in a fixed order which encodes the meaning that the agents used these instruments to perform activities that are expressed by the subsequent verb or verbs respectively. The meaning in (15a) is that, *N-yaaba* ‘animate human’ used his hand to push someone. Also, in (15b) *Anaafɔ* did not take his head, but used it to hit the ground. An instrument used by the agent to perform an activity can either be concrete or abstract as in (15c) which involves intelligence. It is obvious that intelligence can only be used but cannot be taken physically as an instrument to perform an activity. These examples bear the instrument semantic role.

### 3.5.3. Locative Serial Verb Constructions

Givon (1997) describes locative as a place which is typically concrete and inanimate case role. According to Ndimele (1996:133) as cited in Kari (2003) ‘locative is a case role which describes the direction or spatial orientation of the action or state expressed by the verb.’ Locative as described by Saed (2016:151) is “the place in which something is situated or takes place.” The location of entities are expressed in SVCs in Gurene. This category of SVCs contains the verbs of holding such as “take, hold, collect, pick,” the verbs of motion-directional and the posture/ positional verbs, as in the examples below.

- (16) a. Asore dike gɔŋɔ la pagele teebule zuo  
 Asore take book DEF put.on.top table head  
 ‘Asore put the book on the table.’
- b. Asore dike gɔŋɔ la kiŋe sukuu  
 Asore take book DEF go school  
 ‘Asore took the book to school.’
- c. Asore vae sukaam la tari ke deo puan  
 Asore collect groundnuts DEF send enter room inside  
 ‘Asore collected the groundnuts into the room.’
- (17) a. Kɔma la zɔ kiŋe kuure yire  
 Children DEF run go funeral house  
 ‘The children ran to the funeral house.’
- b. Dunkiina la pe’e nii la pae yire  
 Shepherd DEF drive cows DEF reach house  
 ‘The shepherd drove the cows to the house.’
- c. Atiama nyɔke a bia ga’are suŋɔ la punan  
 Atiama pick 3SG child lie.down mat DEF inside  
 ‘Atiama picked her child and lay him down on the mat.’

The verbs in the series occur in a certain order in the SVCs above. The verbs of holding which include “take, collect, pick” constitute the initial verbs, expressing that the agents physically handled the entities as in (16a-c) and (17c). The verbs of motion also occur before the directional and the posture verbs. The motion verbs express the movement of the entity by the agent, while the directional verbs indicate the directions in which the entities are moving to. The posture verbs show the position of the entities. The motion, directional and posture express prepositional meanings which indicate the location in the form of the oblique participant NPs as demonstrated in (16) and (17). In (17a) where the verbs of holding and posture verbs are lacking, the motion verb *zo* ‘run’ becomes the initial verb which expresses the movement of the entity, while the second verb *kiŋe* ‘go’ expresses the direction of the movement of the entity to a particular location which is a place *kuure yire* ‘funeral house.’ Also, the initial verb *pe’e* ‘to drive animals’ in (17b) indicates movement of the participant NP *nii* ‘cows’ by the agent, while the second verb *paε* ‘reach’ indicates the direction of the movement of the entity to a location *yire* ‘house.’ Finally, the location in (17c) is *suŋɔ la puan* ‘on the mat.’

#### 3.5.4. Comitative Serial Verb Constructions

The comitative SVCs involve the agent going together with the patient/theme to a destination. Lord (1993:5) states that comitative serialization “expresses accompaniment marked by the preposition “with” in English.” However, Kari (2003:281) distinguished the two by indicating that “the subject NP of the initial verb goes with the object NP of the same verb to some destination” in comitative

SVC. Hence, comitative SVC according to Kari, expresses the meaning “go together with.” Aikhenvald (2006) states that comitative SVC or associative SVC expresses the “meaning be with.” I present some examples below that indicate comitative SVCs in Gurene.

- (18) a. Azupɔka doose a sira kule  
Azupoka follow 3SG husband go.home  
‘Azupoka went home with her husband.’
- b. Kɔma la doose ba ma kiŋɛ da’a  
children DEF follow 3PL.POSS mother go market  
‘The children went to the market with their mother.’
- c. Apana ka doose ba kiŋɛ da’a  
Apana NEG follow 3PL go market  
Apana did not go with them to the market.’
- (19) a. Azupɔka naɛ a sira tum tuunɛ la  
Azupoka join.with 3SG husband do work DEF  
‘Azupoka did the work with her husband.’
- b. Azupɔka naɛ a kɔma di dia la  
Azupoka join.with 3SG children eat food DEF  
‘Azupoka ate the food with her children.’
- c. \*Azupɔka **naɛ** a sira **kiŋɛ** da’a  
Azupoka join.with 3SG husband go market  
‘Azupoka went home with her husband.’

Comitative SVCs in Gurene contain two initial verbs *doose* ‘follow with’ and *naɛ* ‘join with’ that occur between the subject NP1 and NP2. The later expresses the meaning ‘go together with’ as in (18a), (18b) and (18c), while the latter expresses the meaning “come together with” as in (19a) and (19b). The initial verb *doose* ‘follow with’ which means “go together with” is often followed with a motion verb,

while the initial verb *naε* ‘join with’ which means “come together with” is followed with an activity verb. This is clearly demonstrated in (19c) where the initial verb *naε* ‘join together with’ is used with a subsequent motion verb *kiηε* ‘go’ is ungrammatical.

### 3.5.5. Escort/Accompaniment Serialization

Escort or accompaniment SVC contains two subject NPs in which “the subject NP of the initial verb takes the second NP of the verb to some location” (Kari, 2003:281). The meaning in this type of SVC is interpreted as a “take along with” (Kari, 2003:281). In escort serial verb constructions in Gurene, the NP1 can either take along the NP2 and move towards the speaker which means ‘to bring / come with’ or the NP1 can take along the NP2 and move away from the speaker which means ‘to send/ go with’ as in the examples below.

- (20) a. Ayameŋa **tari** loore wa’am yire  
 Ayamga bring car come home  
 ‘Ayamga brought a car home.’  
 (This means Ayamga took a car and came home with it.)
- b. Ayamega **tari** gulo wa’am a deema kuure  
 Ayamga bring drummers come 3SG in-laws funeral  
 ‘Ayamga brought drummers to his in-laws funeral.’  
 (This means Ayamga hired drummers and came to his  
 in-law’s funeral with them)
- (21) a. Adongo **dikε** gulo kiηε a deema kuure  
 Adongo take drummers go 3SG in-law’s funeral  
 ‘Adongo took drummers to his in-law’s funeral.’  
 (This means Adongo took drummers and went to  
 his in-law’s funeral with them)

- b. Adongo **dikɛ** loore kiŋɛ a dɛɛma yire  
 Atongo take car go 3SG in-laws house  
 ‘Adongo took a car to his in-law’s house.’  
 (This means Adongo took a car and went  
 to his in-law’s house with it.)
- c. Adongo **zom** loore kiŋɛ a dɛɛma yire  
 Atongo climb car go 3SG in-laws house  
 ‘Adongo went to his in-law’s house by car.’

It is clear in (20a) and (20b) that the initial verb *tari* ‘bring’ is always used with the V2 *wa’am* ‘come’ in escort/accompaniment SVCs to express that the subject NP1 takes the NP2 which is the syntactic object of the V1 and moves towards the location of the speaker. Also, the initial verb *dikɛ* ‘take’ and the subsequent verb *kiŋɛ* ‘go’ are always used together in escort SVC to express that the subject NP1 takes the NP2 and moves to a different location from the speaker as in (21a) and (21b). When a different initial verb *zom* ‘climb’ is used instead of verbs *tari* ‘bring’ and *dikɛ* ‘take’ in (21c), the construction is not an escort/accompaniment SVC.

### 3.5.6. *Capabilitative Serial Verb Constructions*

One category of serial verb constructions that exist in Gurene is a “capabilitative” SVCs also known as “abilitative SVC” (Kari, 2003:282). This type of SVC, according to Kari (2003), indicates that the subject NP is capable of carrying out an action expressed by the non-initial verb. The “capability verb” in this type of SVC in Gurene is always a modal auxiliary verb *ta’am* which encodes the ability of the agent to perform actions expressed by the non-initial verb or verbs as I demonstrated in the following examples.

- (22) a. Naba ta'am nyɔkɛ fu page  
Chief MOD catch 2SG lock  
'A chief can imprison you.'
- b. Naba ta'am to'e fu base  
chief MOD receive 2SG allow  
'A chief can free you.'
- c. Naba ta'am da laa bo a pɔgeba  
chief MOD buy cars give 3SG wives  
'A chief can buy cars for his wives.'
- (23) a. Atia ta'am ɛkɛ yake bɔka la  
Atia MOD jump cross stream DEF  
'Atia can jump across the stream.'
- b. Atia ta'am wɔgɛ ti'a ba'asɛ daan-yine  
Atia MOD weave basket finish one day  
'Atia can finish weaving a basket in a day.'
- c. Atia ta'am zɔ gaŋɛ fu  
Atia MOD run pass 2SG  
'Atia can run more than you.'

The initial modal auxiliary verb *ta'am* used with the main verb *nyɔkɛ* 'arrest' in (22a) indicates the agent's ability in terms of power and authority to perform the actions in the subsequent verbs *nyɔkɛ* 'arrest' and *page* 'to lock' which means "power to imprison." Also, in (22b) the use of the modal auxiliary verb *ta'am* shows that the agent is capable in terms of power and authority to accomplish the actions expressed in the main verbs *to'e* 'receive,' and *base* 'allow' which means "power to set free" someone. However, the capability of the agent in (22c) is based on resources or financial power. It is important to note that the agents in (23a), (23b) and (23c) exhibit abilities in terms of physical, experience and skills in performing the actions expressed by the verbs respectively.

### 3.5.7. Sequential Serial Verb Constructions

Sequential serialization involves the agent performing the actions expressed by the verbs in series in a sequential order. This type of SVC indicates that the agent performs one sub-event first before another sub-event in a sentence as I have demonstrated in the examples below.

- (24) a. Kɔma la pee nu'usi di dia la  
 Children DEF wash hands eat food DEF  
 'The children washed hands before they ate the food.'
- b. Mma nɛɛm zom mɔm sagebo di  
 Mma grind flour stir T.Z eat  
 'Mma ground flour, prepared *too-zaafi* and ate.'
- c. Mma di ba'ase ma yia  
 Mma eat finish 1SG.OBJ first  
 'Mma finished eating before me.'

The initial verb *pee* 'wash' and the subsequent verb *di* 'eat' in (24a) convey the meaning that the agent *kɔma* 'children' washed their hands first before they ate the food. The agent in (24b) first grind the flour, followed by preparing the *too-zaafi* (T.Z) before eating. The actions or the events in each SVC above are performed sequentially.

### 3.5.8. Concomitant Serial Verb Constructions

Concomitant SVCs contain two or more verbs that express a single concept. Bamgbose (1974) refers this type of SVCs as "complex serial verb constructions" which contain "verb complexes" that are like idioms. Leynseele (1975) also

describes these verbs as “verb complex.” According to Aikhenvald (2006:4), the verbs that used in concomitant SVC often encode one sense, hence they become single predicate as she suggests that these “SVCs are often translated as single predicates into non-serializing languages.” Ameka (2006) describes the verbs that are used in this type of SVC as “complex predicates.” Concomitant SVCs in Gurene are displayed in the examples below.

- (25) a. Ma wan inε bisε  
 ISG FUT do see  
 ‘I will try it.’
- b. Yine wan maale bo tu  
 God FUT make give 1PL.OBJ  
 ‘God will help us.’
- c. Yine kā maale fu  
 God pray make 2SG.OBJ  
 ‘God bless you.’
- d. Fu yele pa’ale tu  
 2SG say show 1PL.OBJ  
 ‘(You) tell us.’
- (26) a. Baba daa pirege yele la pa’ale e  
 Baba PAST cut.open problem DEF show 3SG  
 ‘Babab disclosed the problem to him/her.’
- b. Yeezu yuun toge pa’ale a poore-doleeba  
 Jesus PAST talk show 3SG.POSS followers  
 ‘Jesus explained to his followers/  
 Jesus educated his followers.’
- c. Ba yuun sake bo e  
 3PL.SUBJ PAST agree give 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘They believed him.’  
 (A sermon from Sunday church service in Bolga)

- (27) a. Gomena      tuntune-ba    daa      wa      kae      pale  
 Government worker-PL PAST dance go.round road  
 ‘Government workers demonstrated.’
- b. Atanja      zo      di      mi’a  
 Atanga run eat rope  
 ‘Atanga won the race.’

The initial and final verbs *ije bise* ‘do see’ in (25a) means “try.” The verbs *maale bo* ‘make give’ in (25b) means “help.” In (25c) the verbs *kã maale* ‘pray make’ means “bless.” Also, in (25d), the verbs *yele pa’ale* ‘say show’ means “tell.” Similarly, the verbs *pirege pa’ale* ‘cut open show’ in (26a) means “disclosed,” *toge pa’ale* ‘talk show’ in (26b) means “explained” or “educated,” while the verbs *sake bo* ‘agree give’ in (26c) means “believed.” It is also observed that the verb *wa kae* ‘dance go round’ in (27a) means “demonstrated,” and the verbs *zo di* ‘run eat’ in (27b) means “won.” The verbs in this type of SVCs in the language are mostly derived from both “open and closed” classes of verbs.

### 3.5.9. Concurrent Serial Verb Constructions

Concurrent serial verb constructions also known as “simultaneous SVCs (Kari, 2003; Sudmuk, 2005; Aikhenvald, 2006) contain two lexical verbs with distinct meanings in which their actions or states are expressed simultaneously. The verbs in concurrent SVC manifest the same aspect marking or different aspect marking. Perfective aspect and imperfective aspect or progressive and habitual aspect can be marked in the same SVC in Gurene, while the same progressive aspect cannot be marked as observed by Dakubu (2003) and Atintono (2005). The habitual marker is

iterative which functions as progressive vis-à-vis. It must be noted that when progressive and habitual markers mark the verbs in the same SVC, they express either progressive or habitual meaning. The examples below show evidence of concurrent SVCs in Gurene which involves different aspectual marking.

- (28) a. Zolegɔ la tɔger-i kin-a ye'ɛs-a  
 Mad.person DEF talk-PROG walk-HAB go-HAB  
 'The mad person is talking while walking away.'  
 (This means the mad person performed the actions of "talking,"  
 "walking" and "going" together at the same time)
- b. Kɔma la zot-i ye'ɛs-a sukuu  
 children DEF run-PROG go-HAB school  
 'The children are running while going to school.'  
 (The children performed the actions of "running  
 and "going" at the same time)
- c. Bia la ze kaas-a  
 child DEF stand.PROG cry-HAB  
 'The child is standing while crying.'  
 (The child performed the actions of "standing"  
 and "crying" at the same time.)
- d. Fu bia la gai gis-a  
 2SG child DEF lie.PROG sleep-HAB  
 'Your child is lying while sleeping.'  
 (The actions of "lying" and "sleeping" occurred concurrently)

*The same Aspect marking are Ungrammatical*

- (29) a. \*Zolegɔ la tɔger-i kin-i ye'ɛser-i  
 Mad.person DEF talk-PROG walk-PROG go-PROG  
 'The mad person is talking while going away.'
- b. \*Kɔma la zot-i ye'ɛser-i sukuu  
 children DEF run-PROG go-PROG school  
 'The children are running while going to school.'
- c. \*Bia la ze ka'aser-i  
 child DEF stand-PROG cry-PROG  
 'The child is standing while crying.'

- d. \*Fu   bia    la       gai           giser-i  
 2SG child DEF lie.PROG sleep-PROG  
 ‘Your child is lying while sleeping.’
- (30) a.    A    zot-i           kin-a    sukuu    daare woo  
 3SG run-PROG go-HAB school    every day  
 ‘He runs to school every day.’
- b.    A    zot-a       kin-a       sukuu    daare woo  
 3SG run-HAB go-HAB school    every day  
 ‘He should be running to school every day.’

The SVCs in (28) show that the agent always performs the actions that are expressed in the verbs together at the same time. Progressive and habitual aspect markers are marked on the verbs, expressing progressive meanings in (28a), (28b) and (28c). It must be noted that the same progressive aspect cannot mark the verbs in concurrent SVCs as demonstrated in the ungrammatical sentences in (29a), (29b), (29c) and (29d). In (30a), when progressive and habitual markers are marked on the verbs in non- concurrent SVC, meaning expressed is habitual, while in (30b) in which the same habitual aspect markers mark on the verbs encode progressive meaning in an imperative sentence.

### 3.5.10. Refusal Serial Verb Constructions

Refusal serial verb construction indicates that the agent intentionally refuses to initiate the actions that are expressed by the verbs in serial constructions (Kari, 2003; Ofori; 2010). This type of SVCs in Gurene always contains a negative marker that precedes the refusal verb *sakε* ‘agree.’ The negative marker indicates whether the agent refused or will refuse to perform the actions in the verbs that follow the refusal

verb. The negative marker *ka* expresses agent's refusal to perform actions in the past, while negative marker *kan* indicates the refusal of the agent to perform actions which will occur in future time. It must be noted that without the use of negation, the verb *sake* 'agree' expresses agreement or acceptance to perform an action, while the use of negative marker without the verb *sake* 'agree' only shows negation rather than refusal. But when the verb is negated, it expresses a refusal to carry out an action in the subsequent verbs. The examples below are presented to this effect.

*Refusal in the future*

- (31) a. Malam kan sake da daam bo nereba  
 Malam NEG.FUT agree buy alcohol give people  
 'Malam will refuse to buy alcohol for people.'
- b. Faari kan sake di pɔga  
 Priest NEG.FUT agree eat wife  
 'A priest will refuse to marry.'

*Refusal in the Past*

- c. Atia ka sake ŋme a pɔga  
 Atia NEG.PAST agree beat 3SG wife.  
 'Atia refused to beat his wife.'

*Negation in the Future and Past*

- (32) a. Atia kan suse dia di  
 Atia NEG.FUT beg food eat  
 'Atia will not beg for food to eat.'
- b. Atia ka suse da dia di  
 Atia NEG.PAST beg buy food eat  
 'Atia did not beg to buy food and eat.'
- (33) a. Malam sake da daam bo nereba  
 Malam agree buy alcohol give people  
 'A malam agreed to buy alcohol for people.'
- b. Malam kan da daam bo nereba  
 Malam NEG.FUT buy alcohol give people  
 'A malam will not buy alcohol for people.'

The negative marker *kan* that precedes the refusal verb *sakε* ‘agree’ in (31a) and (31b) express the agents’ refusal to perform the actions that are expressed in the subsequent verbs in a future time. In (31c) , the use of the negative marker *ka* and followed by the refusal verb *sakε* ‘agree’ conveys meaning that the agent was deliberately refused to initiate whatever actions that are expressed in the verbs in the series. However, the absence of the refusal verb *sakε* ‘agree’ in (32a) and (32b) only expressed negations which are different from refusal SVCs. In (33a) where the negative marker is avoided, the SVC expresses agreement to perform an action, while the use of the negative marker without the verb *sakε* ‘agree’ in (33b) only indicates negation.

### 3.6. Switch-Function Serialization

A “switch-function” serial verb construction, according to Matthews (2006), consists of two categories. They are causative SVC, and cause-effect SVCs. Matthews observes that the causative type represents asymmetrical SVC which uses a restricted small number of causative verbs such as “make” and “fall.” Whereas the “cause-effect” type involves symmetrical SVC which combines two verbs from the unrestricted verb class. Hajek (2006:247) proposes that “cause – effect is always a switch function, with iconic ordering” such that the effect verb either occurs immediately after the cause verb or is preceded by the cause verb object. Aikhemvald (2006) identifies the switch function types of SVCs as “switch function causative,” switch function cause-effect,” and “switch function consecutive” SVCs in which she noted that the latter type is rare.

### 3.6.1 Causative Serial Verb Construction

Causative serial verb constructions are similar to the switch-subject serialization proposed by Osam (2003 & 2004). It refers to a type of SVC in which the V1 causes its object NP to initiate an action expressed by the V2 without the verbs in series sharing arguments. Aikhenvald (2006) describes causative SVCs as a switch function serialization in which a lexical verb occurs after a causative verb. Sudmuk (2005) observes that the V1 is the causative verb which is restricted to the verb “make,” while the V2 is an intransitive verb derived from an “open verb class” in Thai SVCs. Unlike Thai, Gurene lacks causative SVCs as shown in the examples below.

- (34) a. *Causative SVCs in Thai*  
 Ka : nda : tham dèk r̂ô : ñhâ : y  
 Kanda make child cry  
 ‘Kanda made the child cry.’  
 (Sudmuk, 2005:64)

- b. *Ungrammatical Causative SVCs in Gurene*  
 \*Kanda base bia kaase  
 Kanda make child cry  
 ‘Kanda made the child cry.’  
 (Translated from Sudmuk, 2005)

- c. *Non-serial Verbs Causative Constructions in Gurene*  
 Kanda base ti bia kaase  
 Kanda make CONJ child cry  
 ‘Kanda made and a child cry.’  
 (Translated from Sudmuk, 2005)

The causative SVCs in Thai as in (34a) is ungrammatical in Gurene as translated in (34b). This type of SVCs constitute non-serial verb constructions in Gurene as

exemplified in (34c) in which the conjunction *ti* intervened between the causative verb *base* ‘make’ and the object NP.

### 3.6.2. Cause-Effect SVCs

Cause-effect SVCs can be equated to resultative SVCs as Aikhenvald (2006:19) states that resultative SVCs “are reminiscent of cause-effect serialization.” Aikhenvald (2006) also observes that cause-effect SVCs are symmetrical SVCs with iconic order of constituents in which the causative verb precedes the effect or the result verb as in some serializing languages such as Taba, Igb, Dumo, Tariana, Olutec and Mwotlap. I present the examples below to illustrate that cause-effect serialization exist in Gurene.

- (35) a. Adɔŋɔ lobe baa ku  
Adongo to stone dog kill  
‘Adongo stoned a dog dead.’
- b. \*Adɔŋɔ lobe baa ki  
Adongo to stone dog die  
‘Adongo stoned a dog dead.’
- (36) a. Adɔŋɔ ŋmaɛ tia lube  
Adongo cut tree put-down  
‘Adongo cut a tree down/Adongo fell a tree.’
- b. \*Adɔŋɔ ŋmaɛ tia lui  
Adongo cut tree fall  
‘Adongo cut a tree down/Adongo fell a tree.’
- (37) a. Abugere ŋmaɛ mi’a la **wikɛ**  
Abugre cut rope DEF break  
‘Abugre cut the rope into pieces.’

- b. Abugerɛ    ve'e    fuo    **asegɛ**  
 Abugre    pull    cloth    tear  
 'Abugre pulled a cloth and tore it.'
- c. Abugerɛ    za'ɛ    kuleŋa    **yu**  
 Abugre    push    door    close  
 'Abugre pushed and closed the door.'

In (35a) the verb of causation is *lobe* 'to stone' and the effect verb is *ku* 'kill' which convey the meaning that the effect of the action initiated by the agent *Abugre* is killing the dog which is the patient. The same construction in (35b) which contains the the final intransitive verb *ki die* is ungrammatical. Also, the V2 *lubɛ* 'put down' in (36a) refers to the effect of the V1 *ɲmaɛ* 'cut' which means the agent put the tree down as a result of cutting it. The same construction in (36b) where the V2 *lui* 'fall' is intransitive becomes ungrammatical. This clearly shows that the causative and the effect verbs must always be transitive verbs in cause-effect SVCs in Gurene. However, ambivalent verbs can be used with transitive verbs in cause-effect serialization as in (37a), (37b), and (37c).

### 3.7. Purpose Serial Verb Constructions

Purpose serial verb constructions involve the non-initial verb or verbs indicating the purpose of some actions expressed in the preceding verb or verbs. This type of SVCs exists in Yoruba (George 1975; Bamgbose 1982). The purpose SVC in Gurene contains the purpose marker *ta* in which Dakubu (2003) describes as a dynamic verb. Atintono (2005) glossed this marker as purpose because it indicates the purpose of performing actions. Saanchi (2006) also identifies a similar marker *ti* in

SVCs in Dagaare in which he describes it as a “connector.” I argue that *ta* is a purposive marker derived from the verb *tari* ‘take or have in possession.’ The marker *ta* can be substituted with the verb *tari* ‘take’ as in *dike tari kiŋe/dike ta kiŋe* ‘pick and take it along.’ The examples below provide evidence of purpose serial verb constructions.

- Purpose SVC in Yoruba*
- (38) a. `Ajàó wa gbé àpótí`  
Ajao come take box  
‘Ajao come to take the box.’ (George 1975:82).
- Dagaare*
- b. A baa zo kpε la a die **ti** gay  
DEF dog run enter AFF DEF house PURP lie down  
‘The dog has run and entered the house to lie down.’  
(Saanchi, 2006:108)
- Purpose SVCs in Gurene*
- (39) a. Mma daa kiŋe **ta** da dia duge di  
Mma PAST go PURP buy food cook eat  
‘Mma went to buy foodstuff to cook and cook eat.’
- b. Mma daa kiŋe da dia **ta** duge di  
Mma PAST go buy food PURP cook eat’.  
‘Mma went and bought foodstuff to cook and eat.’
- c. Mma daa kiŋe da dia duge **ta** di  
Mma PAST go buy food cook PURP eat  
‘Mma went and bought foodstuff and cooked to eat.’

The purpose marker *ta* affects only the verb or verbs that follow it, and expressing the purpose of the actions in the preceding verb or verbs as presented in (39a), (39b) and (39c). In (39a), the purpose of which *Mma* went there was to buy foodstuff, cook and eat. She also went and bought the foodstuff in (39b) for the purpose of

cooking to eat. In (39c), the purpose of which Mma went and bought foodstuff and cooked it was to eat.

### 3.8. Motion Serial Verb Constructions

Motion serialization refers to a type of SVCs that involves the movement of the agent from one direction to another. Gurene has two types of motion SVCs similar to those that Sudmuk (2005) identified in Thai. They are “motion-deictic SVCs” and “motion-directional SVCs.”

#### 3.8.1. “Motion-deictic” Serialization

This category of SVCs consists of a combination of motion verbs with deictic verbs. Motion verbs include “run, walk, ride, drive, crawl, shift, push,” while deictic verbs are “come” and “go.” Gurene lacks distinction between the motion verb “walk” and the deictic verb “go” as shown in the examples provided below.

#### *Motion-deictic SVCs*

Thai

- (40) a. Ka : nda :      dʏn      pay  
Kanda              walk      go  
‘Kanda walks / walked towards the speaker.’

#### *Gurene construction*

- b. \*Kanda      **kiŋɛ**      **kiŋɛ**  
Kanda      walk      go  
‘Kanda walks / walked towards the speakers.’  
(Sudmuk, 2005:42)
- c. Kanda      kiŋɛ              ya      (Non-SVC)  
Kanda      walk/go      AFF  
‘Kanda walked away/ Kanda went away.’

- Motion-deictic SVCs in Gurene*
- (41) a. Atule kiŋɛ wa'am  
 Atule walk come  
 'Atule walks/walked towards the speaker.'
- b. Atule zɔ kiŋɛ sukuu  
 Akule run go sukuu  
 'Atule runs/ran to school.'

The translation of “Motion-deictic SVCs” from Thai in (40a) into Gurene in (40b) is ungrammatical because there is no distinction between the V1 *kiŋɛ* ‘walk’ and the V2 *kiŋɛ* ‘go.’ Speakers distinguish these verbs based on the context of the sentence. A single verb *kiŋɛ* ‘walk/go’ is used in non-SVC in (40c) to express either Kanda walked or went away. It is believed that when one is walking, he or she is also going. The distinction between the deictic verbs “walk” and “go” is realized in (41a) and (41b) when different verbs *wa'am* ‘come’ and *zɔ* ‘run’ are used with the verb *kiŋɛ* ‘walk/go.’ The deictic verbs often follow the motion verbs, and they express prepositional meaning such as “towards” in (41a) and ‘to’ in (41b). This implies that a motion verb is always a core verb, while the deictic verb can be a minor verb.

### 3.8.2. *Motion-directional Serialization*

The “motion-directional SVCs” contains a motion verb and a direction verb which express both the movement of entities and the direction of the movement. The directional verbs in Gurene include: enter, turn, reverse, cross, go out or exit, climb, and descend. In a motion-directional SVC, the motion and the deictic verbs always precede the directional verbs as I have demonstrated in the examples below.

*Motion-directional SVCs*

- (42) a. Azeko zɔ ɲmɛrɛgɛ kaɛ yire la  
 Azeko run turn go.round house DEF  
 ‘Azeko ran, turned and went round the house.’
- b. Azeko kiŋɛ yɛsɛ  
 Azeko walk go.out  
 ‘Azeko walked out.’
- c. Bunsɛla zɔ kɛ yoko puan  
 Snake run enter hole inside  
 ‘A snake ran into a hole.’
- d. Dayuɔ la zɔ zom tia  
 rat DEF run climb tree  
 ‘The rat ran and climbed the tree.’
- (43) a. Bunsɛla pakɛ lui zɔ ɲmɛrɛgɛ kɛ yoko puan  
 Snake slip fall run turn enter hole inside  
 ‘A snake slipped and fell, ran, turned and entered in a hole.’
- b. Azoko zɔ ɛkɛ yakɛ bɔka la  
 Azeko run jump cross stream DEF  
 ‘Azeko ran and jumped across the stream.’

The V2 *ɲmɛrɛgɛ* ‘turn’ and the V3 *kaɛ* ‘go round’ in (42a) express the direction of movement of the V1 *zɔ* ‘run.’ The V2 *yɛsɛ* ‘go out’ indicates the direction of which the action is expressed in the V1 *kiŋɛ* ‘walk’ in (42b). Also, the V2 *kɛ* ‘enter’ in (42c) and *zom* ‘climb’ in (42d) express the direction of the action that is expressed in the V1 *zɔ* ‘run’ respectively. The SVC in (43a) contains five verbs in which the initial three verbs express movement of the agent, while final two verbs indicate the direction of the movement expressed in the preceding verbs. In the same vein, the final verb *yakɛ* ‘cross’ expresses the direction of motion in the preceding verbs *zɔ*

‘run’ and *eke* ‘jump’ in (43b). It must be noted that motion-directional SVCs in Gurene constitute both contiguous SVCs and asymmetrical SVCs.

### 3.9. Posture/Positional Serial Verb Constructions

Positional or posture verbs play fundamental role in “serial verb constructions” in Gurene. Atintono (2013:152) mentions that “the positional verb expressions in Gurene involved serial verb constructions.” Positional SVCs contain verbs that express the position and the posture of the agent. Posture verbs (Atintono, 2013) also indicate body position. Posture and positional verbs can be used to express animate or inanimate entities. Some posture verbs in Gurene include *ga* ‘lying,’ *ze* ‘stand,’ *deli* ‘lean,’ *dɔbi* ‘squat,’ *yigi* ‘bend,’ *labi* ‘lean against,’ *yuli* ‘hang,’ *yayi* ‘sit on top’ etc. According to Atintono (2013), the number of posture or positional verbs in SVCs in Gurene are restricted to two. I provide some examples of posture/positional SVCs in Gurene below.

- (44) a. Adɔŋɔ zi’ire delum dangoone  
 Adongo sit lean wall  
 ‘Adongo sat and leaned against a wall.’
- b. Adɔŋɔ ze labelɛ dangoone  
 Adongo stand lean wall  
 ‘Adongo stood and leaned against a wall.’
- c. kinka’asi la tĩ labelɛ dangoone  
 Straws DEF stand lean wall  
 ‘The straws are placed straight leaning against the wall.’  
 (From a basket weaver in a Craft Centre at Nyariga)

The initial verbs *zi'ire* 'sit' and *ze'ele* 'stand' as in (44a) and (44b) express the sitting and standing positions of an animate human. The V2 *delum* 'lean' in (44a) is different from the V2 *labelε* 'lean' in (44b). This shows that "sitting and leaning" differs from "standing and leaning" in Gurene. Also, the standing of inanimate entities differ from that of animate entities as in (44c) where the V1 *tĩ* 'stand' is used for *kinka'asi* 'straws' rather than *ze* 'stand.' However, the same posture verb *labelε* 'lean' is used to express the standing posture of both animate and inanimate entities in (44b) and (44c). It must also be noted that, in expressing a sitting or a standing posture, the positional verb always precedes the posture verb. This is contrary to lying posture where the posture verbs precedes the positional verbs in (45a), (45b) and (45c).

- (45) a. Akolego nyure gã suŋɔ puan  
 Akolgo bend lie mat inside  
 'Akolgo bent himself and lay on a mat.'
- b. Bunsɛla kuurum ga yoko puan  
 Snake coil lie hole inside  
 'A snake coiled itself and lay in a hole.'
- c. Sukaam la kã'asε kuge ga  
 Groundnuts DEF gather be.heap lie  
 'The groundnuts are gathered into a heap lying down.'  
 (It means a heap of groundnuts is lying down.)

The two posture verbs *nyure* 'bend' for animate human in (45a) differ from the posture verb *kuurum* 'coil' used for animate non-human *bunsɛla* 'snake' in (45b). Also, the lying posture of an animate non-human "snake" is different from an

inanimate entity “groundnuts” as in (45c) in which the posture verb *kuge* ‘to heap’ is used.

### 3.10. Manner Serial Verb Constructions

The manner SVCs contain verbs in the series in which one of the verbs expresses the manner of action expressed in another verb or verbs in an event. This type of SVCs, according to Aikhanvald (2006), constitute asymmetrical SVCs where one of the verbs is always a manner verb. The manner verbs in this type of SVCs in Gurene include motion verbs and body position or posture verbs that often precede the major verbs as demonstrated in the examples below.

- (46) a. Atiŋa    ɛkɛ    wa    gulo  
 Atinga    jump    dance    local drums  
 ‘Atinga jumped and danced to the tune of local drums.’
- b. Atiŋa    ɛkɛ    ba    boŋa  
 Atinga    jump    sit.on    donkey  
 ‘Atinga jumped and sat on a donkey.’
- c. Ku’uŋɔ    la    ɛkɛ    sigɛ    tiŋa  
 Guinea fowl DEF fly    come.down    ground  
 ‘The guinea fowl flew and came down.’
- (47) a. Adɔŋɔ    dɔbeɛ    mɛ    pu’usɛ    a    dɛɛma  
 Adongo squat PERF greet 3SG in-law.  
 ‘Adongo has squatted and greeted his in-law.’
- b. Baba    daa    veese    biɛ    bɔɔ    la    puan  
 Baba PAST stretch look room DEF inside  
 ‘Baba stretched and looked in the room.’

The initial verb *εκε* ‘jump’ as in (46a), (46b), and (46c) is a motion verb that expresses the manner of the actions expressed in the non-initial verbs used in the SVCs. The initial verb *εκε* ‘fly’ expresses the manner of which *Atinga* danced as in (46a), and the manner in which he sat on the donkey as in (46b). In (46c), the V1 *εκε* ‘jump’ also expresses the manner in which the guinea fowl came down from the top. Besides, the initial verb *δῶbele* ‘squat’ in (47a) is a body position/posture verb that expresses the manner of which the action in the subsequent verb *pu’use* ‘greet’ is performed. Also, in (47b) the V1 *veese* ‘stretch’ is a manner verb, while the V2 *bise* ‘look’ is a core verb, where the V1 indicates how the agent looked in the room. One crucial point to note is that manner SVCs are mostly asymmetrical SVCs.

### 3.11. Superlative and Comparative Serial Verb Constructions

“Serial verb constructions” can be used to compare and contrast two or more entities. George (1975) identified “equative” and “non-equative” comparative SVCs in Yoruba. Aikhenvald (2006:27) states that “serial verb constructions with comparative and superlative meanings typically involve verbs meaning ‘exceed.’” She further argues that the verbs that convey the meaning “pass” or “exceed” in SVC are often used as “comparative and superlative markers.” In comparative serialization in Gurene, the V2 *gaηε* “exceed or surpass” is always a comparative verb, while the V1 can be any verb. I argue that Gurene has no verb that expresses superlative serial verb constructions. Superlative meaning is expressed by adding an adjective *zã’a* ‘all’ to a comparative SVC that involves more than two entities as displayed in the examples below.

*Comparative SVCs*

- (48) a. Azuure karege gaɲe e  
 Azuure be.big exceed 3SG  
 ‘Azuure is bigger than him/her.’
- b. Azuure wɔge gaɲe ba  
 Azuure be.tall exceed 3PL  
 ‘Azuure is taller than them.’
- c. Bolega da’a yalege gaɲe Nɔvɔreɲɔ da’a  
 Bolga market be.large exceed Navrongo market  
 ‘Bolga market is larger than Navrongo market.’
- d. Aduko zo’e gaɲe Apana  
 Aduko grow exceed Apana  
 ‘Aduko is more grown than Apana.’

- (49) a. Ayine di gaɲe Atiɲa  
 Ayine eat exceed Atinga  
 ‘Ayine ate more than Atinga.’
- b. Ayine zo gaɲe Atiɲa  
 Ayine run exceed Atinga  
 ‘Ayine ran more than Atinga.’
- c. Ayine tum tuune la gaɲe Atiɲa  
 Ayine do work DEF exceed Atnga  
 ‘Ayine did the work more than Atinga.’

*Superlative Meaning in Comparative SVCs*

- (50) a. Azuure wɔge gaɲe ba **za’a**  
 Azuure tall exceed 3PL all  
 ‘Azuure is taller than them all.’  
 (Means Azuure is the tallest among them)
- b. Aduko zo’e gaɲe kɔma la **za’a**  
 Aduko grow exceed children DEF all  
 ‘Aduko is more grown than all the children.’  
 (Means: Aduko is the most grown up child among the children)

Interestingly, the initial verb *karege* ‘big’ in (48a), *wɔge* ‘tall’ in (48b) and *yalege* ‘large’ in (48c) constitute “adjective-like” verbs that precede the comparative verb *gaŋe* ‘exceed.’ These combinations of the verbs express comparison in serial verb constructions in Gurene. In (48d) the V1 *zo’e* ‘grow’ and the V2 *gaŋe* ‘exceed’ compare the experiencer *Aduko* with the experiencer *Apana*. On the other hand, the initial verbs from (49a) to (49c) are activity verbs that precede the second verb *gaŋe* ‘exceed’ encoding comparative meanings in the SVCs. The verbs *di gaŋe* ‘eat exceed’ in (49a) compare the quantity of food that *Ayine* ate with that of the quantity *Atinga* ate. Also, the verbs *ɔ gaŋe* ‘run exceed’ in (49b) compare how fast *Ayine* ran with that of *Atinga*’s running. It is also observed in (49c) that the initial verb *tum* ‘do’ and the final verb *gaŋe* ‘exceed’ provide a comparison between the works *Ayine* did and the work *Atinga* did. One important point worth noting is that superlative meaning is expressed in SVCs by adding an adjective *za’a* ‘all’ to comparative SVCs which involve three or more entities as in (50a) and (50b).

### 3.12. Types of Serial Verb Constructions According to Functions

Serial verb constructions also perform general functions of language in Gurene. Speakers use both non- serial verb constructions and serial verb constructions to make statements, express emotions, give instructions, ask and answer questions. Serial verb constructions that perform declarative, imperative, exclamatory and interrogative functions are discussed below.

### 3.12.1. Declarative “Serial Verb Constructions”

A declarative SVC refers to a type of serialization that makes statements or gives information. This type of constructions usually end with a period. I present concrete examples below to show that SVCs are also used to make statements in Gurene.

- (51) a. Ayeezu daa tɔgɛ pa'ale a poore-doleba  
 Jesus PAST speak show 3SG back-followers  
 ‘Jesus explained to his disciples.’  
 (From a Catholic Priest in Sunday sermon)
- b. Gele la lu ɲwɔrege  
 Egg DEF fall break  
 ‘The egg fell and broke.’
- c. Ma da dia di  
 ISG buy food eat  
 ‘I bought food and ate.’

The verbs *tɔgɛ* ‘speak’ and *pa'ale* ‘show’ in (51a) are used in a contiguous SVC to make a statement about Jesus and his disciples. The SVC declares the action Jesus performed. In (51b) the contiguous verbs *lu* ‘fall’ and *ɲwɔrege* ‘break’ give information about what happened to the egg. Also, the verbs *da* ‘buy’ and *di* ‘eat’ in (51c) are used in non-contiguous SVC to make a statement.

### 3.12.2. Imperative Serial Verb Constructions

Imperative serial verb constructions are used to give order or instructions. They often end with either full stops or an exclamation points. Instructions or commands that must be complied with by the addressee often end with exclamation points, while those that the addressee is not necessarily obliged to be complied with usually

end with full stops. I present below some examples of imperative sentences that contain serial verbs in Gurene.

- (52) a. Fu isègè nyòkè bia là bò a ma.  
 2SG get-up pick child DEF give 3SG mother  
 ‘(You) get up and pick the child for his mother.’
- b. Ìsègè nyòkè bia là bò mam  
 Get-up pick child DEF give 1SG  
 ‘Get up and pick the child for me.’
- (53) a. Fu ísègé bilam nyóké bia là bó a ma!  
 2SG get-up there pick child DEF give 3SG mother  
 ‘You get up there and pick the child for his/her mother.’
- b. Ísègé bílám nyóké bia là bó mam!  
 Get-up there pick child DEF give 1SG  
 ‘Get up there and pick the child for me!’

The SVC in (52a) has an overt pronominal agent *Fu* ‘you,’ while (52b) has an implied pronominal agent. The verbs *isègè* ‘get up’, *nyòkè* ‘pick’, and *bò* ‘give’ in both (52a) and (52b) are marked with low tone which give instructions, and the sentences end with full stops. Though instructions are given to the addressee to pick the child for his or her mother in (52a), and to pick the child for the speaker as in (52b), these instructions are not mandatory. The verbs in same SVCs in (53a) and (53b) are marked with high tone, and the sentences end with exclamation marks. These SVCs convey the meaning that the speaker actually wants the child to be picked and given to his or her mother in (53a) and given to the speaker in (53b) in which the addressee must comply with these instructions.

### 3.12.3. Exclamatory Serial Verb Constructions

Exclamatory serial verb constructions in Gurene express speakers' strong emotions in terms of excitement rather than anger and surprise. This type of SVCs often ends with an exclamation point as in the examples below.

- (54) a. Tu zina wa obe nɛnɔ tige mɛ!  
 IPL today FUT chew meat become full AFF  
 'We will eat meat and become full today!'  
 (From a jubilant child on X'mas day)
- b. Tu nyu daam tige!  
 IPL drink alcohol become full  
 'We drank alcohol and became full!'  
 (From an excited funeral performer)
- c. Atule zo tabɛ ɛkɛ tɛbɛ nayiga lubɛ!  
 Atule run pursue jump kick thief put down  
 'Atule pursued a thief, jumped and kicked him down!'

The speaker in (54a) saw plenty meat and became excited that the meat will be abundant for him and other members of family to eat to the full on Christmas day. In (54b) the speaker is excited that he and others drank some alcoholic drinks and became full. Also, in (54c) the speaker describes a scene in an excited mood. The SVCs in (54a), (54b) and (54c) are marked with high tones, and ended with exclamation points that expressed excitements.

### 3.12.4. Interrogative Serial Verb Constructions

Gurene speakers also use SVCs to ask questions and respond to questions. The language has different question markers: *yo*, *bii*, *- a*, *- ɛ*. They occur at the extreme

end of interrogative sentences in which *yo* and *bii* are particles, while [-a] is a suffix question marker of the definite article *la*, and [-ε] is a suffix question marker of a perfective, completive or affirmative marker *mε*. These question markers can be used interchangeably which convey the same meaning. Other questions markers include *beni*, *bε*, *ani*, *ηwani*. When a serial verb construction is used to ask a question, the response can either be “Yes” or “No” or in serial verb construction than non-serial serial verb construction. Consider the examples below.

*Interrogative SVCs in Gurene*

- (55) a. Fu da za'asum dugε dia bo kɔma (la) yo  
 2SG buy ingredient cook food give children DEF QUE  
 ‘Did you buy ingredient to cook food for the child?’
- b. Fu da za'asum dugε dia bo kɔma la-a  
 2SG buy ingredient cook food give children DEF-QUE  
 ‘Did you buy ingredient to cook food give the children?’  
 (Did you buy ingredient to cook food for the children?)

*Responses of Interrogative SVCs*

- (56) a. Mam da za'asum dugε dia bo ba  
 ISG buy ingredient cook food give 3PL  
 ‘I bought ingredients and cooked for them.’
- b. Mam **ka** da (∅) dugε bo ba  
 ISG NEG.PAST buy cook give 3PL  
 ‘I did not buy to cook for them.’
- c.  $\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\epsilon}$  / aai ‘yes / no’

The question markers *yo* and *-a* can be used inter-changeable as in (55a) and (55b).

The responses are also in SVCs, and can either be positive or negative as in (56a)

and (56b) in a non-contiguous and a contiguous SVCs. The response can also be “Yes” or “No” as in (56c).

### **3.13. The Prototype Categories of the Semantics of SVCs in Gurene**

The semantic classifications of SVCs in Gurene, as indicated in the previous sections of this chapter are based on the principles of family resemblance and similarity to the prototype as proposed by Rosch and Mervis (1975) and Taylor (1995). It is worth noting that the members of each category of the semantic types of serial verb constructions in Gurene that are classified in the preceding sections of this chapter do not all exhibit common features with similar categories in other serializing languages. The features are crisscrossing, as proposed by Taylor (1995). The prototypical categories of the semantics of SVCs in the language are those that manifest good examples as suggested in Lakoff’s (1987) principle of centrality in prototype. Based on Rosch’s (1978) principle of cognitive economy, there are insignificant differences that exist between the sub-types of each category of the semantic classification of serial verb constructions in Gurene which are ignored in order to create room for discussing more of the data that show significant variations.

### **3.14. Conclusion**

This chapter examines the semantic classification of serial verb constructions in Gurene. I discussed the semantics of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, and the semantics of integrated SVCs and clause chaining SVCs in Gurene. Relational types of SVCs are also discussed in this chapter. They include the benefactive, locative,

instrumental, comitative, escort, capability, sequential, concomitant, concurrent, and the refusal SVCs. The switch function SVCs, motion SVCs, posture/positional SVCs, manner SVCs, and a comparative SVCs are also discussed in the chapter. I also discussed the types of serial verb constructions based on function. It is clear that SVCs also play the normal functions of language such as asking questions, making declarations, expressing surprises or giving instructions in Gurene. Apart from the causative SVCs, these types of SVCs manifest in the language with varied features.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB**  
**CONSTRUCTIONS**

**4.0. Introduction**

This chapter aims at analyzing the syntactic types of serial verb constructions in Gurene by using data obtained from the original research through field trip, a questionnaire, and data from existing literatures that contained serial verb constructions. The data comprise some transcribed serial verb constructions produced by some native speakers, and some sentences produced by Gurene translators. Some data were also generated through my native speakers' intuitive knowledge which were tested and confirmed by other native speakers through personal communication and phone calls. Other data were obtained from written sources in Gurene. The data will be analyzed based on the concept of the prototype theory. I will examine transitivity in serial verb constructions, tense, aspect and modality marking in serial verb constructions, polarity marking in serial verb constructions, multiple subjects' serialization, and multiple objects' serialization. I will also analyze subject sharing serialization, object sharing serialization and zero object serial verb constructions. I will finally investigate the significance of the data in terms of the concepts of "prototypicality" and "gradations" which are fundamental in classifying the syntactic SVCs in Gurene. This will be based on the established prototypical defining properties of serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald, 2006).

#### 4.1 Transitivity of Serial Verb Constructions

This section is devoted to analyzing transitivity in serial verb constructions. The verbs in Gurene can be “intransitive,” “transitive” or “ditransitive.” Serial verbs in Akan may consist of the same transitivity value or different transitivity values (Osam, 1994; 2003; 2004). Aikhenvald (2006:13) proclaims that “a verb which is transitive when used on its own may become less transitive in an SVC.” Kießling (2004) notes that “coverbs” which are intransitive can assimilate transitivity from core verbs in SVCs. I propose that serial verbs in Gurene can be combined in terms of the same transitivity value or different transitivity values. The data below substantiates this argument.

- (1) a. Transitive-Transitive  
 Atia      dá      búá      kú      dúgè      óbè      nénó  
 Atia      buy      goat      kill      cook      chew      meat  
 ‘Atia bought a goat, killed (it), cooked (it) and ate the meat.’
- b. Intransitive -Intransitive  
 Bia      kán      káásé      kí  
 Child      NEG      cry      die  
 ‘A child will not cry to death.’
- (2) a. Transitive-Intransitive  
 Atia      sú      lígèrí      wá’ám  
 Atia      pocket      money      come  
 ‘Atia came with money in his pocket.’
- b. Intransitive-Transitive  
 Atia      zó      dí      mí’à  
 Atia      run      eat      rope  
 ‘Atia ran and won the race.’

One important issue to note is that all the verbs *dá* ‘buy,’ *kú* ‘kill,’ *dúgɛ̀* ‘cook,’ and *óbè* ‘chew’ in (1a) are transitive verbs, while those in (1b) *káásé* ‘cry’ and *kí* ‘die’ are intransitive. The initial verb *sú* ‘to pocket’ in (2a) is a transitive verb, while the final verb *wá’ám* ‘come’ is an intransitive verb. On the other hand, the initial verb *zɔ́* ‘run’ in (2b) is intransitive, while the subsequent verb *di* ‘eat’ is transitive.

#### 4.2. Tense, Aspect, Modality and Marking in SVCs

I argued in 1.1.4.1 that tense, aspect and modality in Gurene can be overtly marked or covertly marked. I also demonstrated that Gurene has two past tense particles *daa* and *yuun*, which are derived from the time adverbials *daarɛ* ‘two days ago’ and *yuunɛ* ‘a year ago.’ I also showed that Gurene has two perfect aspectual particles *mɛ* and *ya*. It was also noted that time adverbials can be used to indicate tense and aspect in Gurene. I also indicated that Gurene has a past negative marker *ka*, present negative marker *da* and a future negative marker *kan*. In this section, I present data that demonstrate tense, aspect and modality marking in serial verb constructions in Gurene.

##### 4.2.1. Tense Marking in “Serial Verb Constructions”

Tense, according to Riemer (2010: 310), “is the name of the class of grammatical markers used to signal the locations in time,” and tenses typically mark verbs describing past, present and future. It is crucial to note that whether tense is implicitly or explicitly marked, the “verbs in an SVC in Gurene share the same tense

markers” (Atintono, 2005:61). Gurene marks tense once in SVCs in which the tense marker usually precedes the initial verb. This is contrary to Akan in which individual verbs are separately marked for the same tense in SVCs (Agyeman, 2002; 2003; Osam, 1994; 2004; Kambon, 2005). Dolphyne (1987) identified some SVCs in Akan in which the verbs take different tenses. This does not exist in Gurene SVCs. The verbs that are used in “serial verb constructions” in many languages such as the West Ring languages, Tetun Dili, Mwoɬlap, Thai, and Tariana share the same tense (Kießling, 2004; Hajek, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2006; Francois, 2006). Tense marking in SVCs in Gurene are indicated below.

#### 4.2.1.1. Past Tense Marking

Gurene has two time adverbial markers *daa* “days ago” and *yuun* “years ago” which indicate past tense. They precede the initial verb and scope over all the verbs in serial constructions. The tense marker *daa* indicates past, while the tense marker *yuun* indicates remote past (See 1.4.1.1).

- (3) a. Atia **daa** dugɛ nyua obe  
 Atia PAST cook yam chew  
 ‘Atia cooked yam and ate.’
- b. \*Atia **daa** dugɛ nyua **daa** obe  
 Atia PAST cook yam PAST chew  
 ‘Atia cooked yam and ate.’
- (4) a. Akolgo **daa** tum nyɛ ligeri da lore  
 Akolgo PAST work see money buy car  
 ‘Akolgo worked, got some money and bought a car.’

- b. Adongo **daa** sake doose ba kiŋε  
 Adongo PAST agree follow 3PL go  
 ‘Adongo agreed and went with them.’
- c. \* Akolgo **daa** tum **daa** nyε ligeri **daa** da lore  
 Akolgo PAST work PAST see money PAST buy car  
 ‘Akolgo worked, got some money and bought a car.’

It is only the initial verb *dugε* ‘cook’ in (3a) that the past tense marker *daa* precedes and scopes to the second verb *obe* ‘chew.’ In (3b) where the same past tense marker precedes each of the verbs *dugε* ‘cooks’ and *obe* ‘chew,’ the sentence becomes awkward and ungrammatical in terms of the native speakers’ language. Similarly, the past tense marker *daa* precedes the initial verb and scopes over all the verbs in (4a) and (4b). It is also ungrammatical to have the tense marker preceding each verb in (4c).

- (5) a. Atia **yuun** peŋe ligeri da nii sule a pɔga  
 Atia PAST borrow money buy cows pay.bride price 3SG wife  
 ‘Atia borrowed money (years ago), bought cows and paid the bride price of his wife.’
- b. \*Atia **yuun** peŋe ligeri **yuun** da nii **yuun** sule  
 Atia PAST borrow money PAST buy cows PAST pay.bride price  
 a pɔga  
 3SG wife  
 ‘Atia borrowed money (years ago), bought cows and paid the bride price of his wife.’

The past tense marker *yuun* which indicates remote past occurs before the V1 *peŋe* ‘borrow’ in (5a), and scopes over all the verbs. When each of the verbs is separately

preceded by the past tense marker *yuun* in (5b), the sentence becomes awkward, and ungrammatical.

It is crucial to note that past tense in Gurene can be covertly marked and the meaning is implied based on context. The covert tense marking can be understood as either simple past tense or perfect aspect; hence overt tense marking is required in formal speech in order to avoid ambiguity as shown in the examples below.

*Implied Past Tense marking in SVC*

- (6) a. Atia *dugε nyua obe*  
 Atia cook yam chew  
 ‘Atia cooked yam and ate/Atia has cooked yam and eaten.’
- b. Atia **daa** *dugε nyua obe*  
 Atia PAST cook yam chew  
 ‘Atia cooked yam and ate.’
- (7) a. Atia *peje ligeri da nii sule a pɔga*  
 Atia borrow money buy cows pay.dowry 3SG wife  
 ‘Atia borrowed money, bought cows and paid the bride price of his wife /Atia has borrowed money, bought cows and paid the bride price of his wife.’
- b. Atia **yuun** *peje ligeri da nii sule a pɔga*  
 Atia PAST borrow money buy cows pay.dowry 3SG wife  
 ‘Atia borrowed money (a year or some years ago), bought cows and paid the bride price of his wife.’

The omission of the past tense markers from (6a) does not affect tense marking because tense can be covertly marked in Gurene. However, the meaning is interpreted as either past tense or perfect aspect in SVCs in (6a). This is because the verbs in both past tense and perfect aspect are not marked, and both indicate past event. In (6b) where an overt tense marker *daa* precedes the initial verb *dugε* ‘cook,’



*Gurene*

- b. Mma **wa** da dia bo a bia  
 Mma FUT buy food give 3SG child  
 ‘Mma will buy food for her child.’
- (9) a. Atia **wan/wa** duɣɛ nyua obe (Bol.)  
 Atia FUT cook yam chew  
 ‘Atia will cook yam and eat.’
- b. Mam **nan/na** zuseɛ moto ba kiŋɛ Bolga beere (Bon.)  
 1SG FUT beg motor-bike ride go Bolga tomorrow  
 ‘I will beg for a motor-bike and ride to Bolga tomorrow.’
- c. \*Atia **wan** duɣɛ nyua **wan** obe (Bol.)  
 Atia FUT cook yam FUT chew  
 ‘Atia will cook yam and eat.’
- d. \*Atia **nan** duɣɛ nyua **nan** obe (Bon.)  
 Atia FUT cook yam FUT chew  
 ‘Atia will cook yam and eat.’

The future tense marker *bɔ́-* in Akan is a prefix of the initial verb *tɔ́* ‘buy’ and the second verb is marked by a consecutive marker *à-* in (8a). This is contrary in Gurene which has no morphological future markers. In (9a) the future tense marker *wan/wa* in the Bolga dialect is marked once in SVCs, just the same way as the past tense marking discussed in the preceding section. The same future tense marker written in different forms as *nan/na* in the Bongo dialect in (9b) is also marked once. It is ungrammatical when the future tense marker is marked on each of the verbs in (9c) and (9d) in both dialects.

#### *4.2.2. Aspect Marking in Serial Verb Constructions*

As established by Riemer (2010:315), “aspect is the name of the grammatical category which expresses differences in the way time is presented in events.” Aspect differs from tense on the basis that aspects indicate different ways in which time is presented within an event, while “tenses show different locations of the event in time” (Riemer, 2010:315). The main aspectual categories are the “perfective aspect” and the “imperfective aspect.” Riemer (2010) pointed out that the event in the perfective aspect is often viewed at distance, while it is viewed closely in the imperfective aspect. Aspect can be marked covertly or overtly in serial verb constructions in the same way as tense marking that I have discussed in the preceding section. I also noted in 1.1.4.2, that Gurene has morphological suffix markers for imperfective aspect. The language also has post-verbal aspect markers *mε* and *ya* which can be combined with past tense markers *daa* and *yuun* to indicate past perfective aspect in serial verb constructions. According to Atintono (2005:61), “serial verbs may share the same aspect or not.”

##### *4.2.2.1. Perfective Aspectual Marking in SVCs*

Perfective aspect in Gurene can be covertly marked just as the “past tense” marking that I have discussed in the preceding section. This is because speakers can imply tense and aspect meaning based on context. An overt perfective aspect marking often occurs in formal language, while implied aspect marking is mostly informal. An implied perfective aspect marking in SVCs can be inferred as past tense or perfect aspect on the basis that the verbs are unmarked. What accounts for the

ambiguity is that the events in both perfect aspect and simple past tense usually occurred and were completed in the past as I exemplified below.

- Implied Perfect Aspect Marking*
- (10) a. Ba da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di  
 3PL buy meat cook rice eat  
 ‘They bought meat and used it to cook rice and ate/  
 They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’
- b. Ba da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di **mɛ**  
 3PL buy meat cook rice eat ASP  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’
- c. Nɛreba la dike ba lɔgerɔ zɔ  
 people DEF take 3PL things run  
 ‘The people have taken their things and run away /  
 The people took their things and ran away.’
- d. Nɛreba la dike ba lɔgerɔ zɔ **mɛ**  
 people DEF take 3PL things run ASP  
 ‘The people have taken their things and run away.’
- (11) a. Ba da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di **nananawa**  
 3PL buy meat cook rice eat now  
 They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eat just recently.’
- b. Nɛreba la dike ba lɔgerɔ zɔ **bulika wa**  
 people DEF take 3PL things run morning DEM  
 ‘The people have taken their things and run away this morning.’

The implied perfect aspectual marking in (10a) and (10c) are interpreted as either perfective aspect or simple past tense on the basis that the verbs are unmarked to indicate perfect aspect or past tense. In order to distinguish between perfective aspect and a simple past tense, the perfective perfective aspect marker *mɛ* is used in (11c) and (11d). Besides, the use of the adverb *nananawa* ‘now’ in (11a) clearly

shows a perfective aspect rather than simple past tense. Also, the use of the adverbial *bulika wa* ‘this morning’ in (11b) indicates an absolute perfective aspect.

#### 4.2.2.1.1. *The Perfective Aspect Markers mε and Ya*

As I indicated in 1.1.4.1, the markers *mε* and *ya* express perfective aspect in Gurene.

The use of these markers clearly manifests perfective aspect devoid of past tense reading in (10) above. These markers affirm that an action expressed by the verb was completed recently; hence they are also used as affirmative markers. They require an addition of a past tense marker in order to express past perfect aspect (see 1.1.4.1). The distinction between these two aspectual markers is grounded on the reason that *mε* is used in all serial verb constructions, whereas *ya* is restricted in usage in “serial verb constructions.” The perfect aspect marker *mε* can be preceded by any of the verbs in serial constructions. However, it cannot precede a verb or directly follow a verb that takes an object in SVCs in Gurene. When it occurs before a verb, it marks the preceding verb rather than the subsequent verb. The data below substantiate these claims.

(12). Ba da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di **mε**  
 3PL buy meat cook rice eat PERF  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’

(13). Ba da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui **mε** di  
 3PL buy meat cook rice PERF eat  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’

(14). Ba da nenɔ **mɛ** duɣɛ mui di  
 3PL buy meat PERF cook rice eat  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’

(15) a. Ba da **mɛ** duɣɛ mui di  
 3PL buy PERF cook rice eat  
 ‘They have bought and have cooked rice and eaten.’

b. Ba da duɣɛ **mɛ** di  
 3PL buy cook PERF eat  
 ‘They have bought and have cooked and eaten.’

c. Ba da duɣɛ di **mɛ**  
 3PL buy cook eat PERF  
 ‘They have bought and have cooked and eaten.’

The same perfective aspect marker *mɛ* is marked once from (12) to (15). It is important to note that the perfect aspect marker *mɛ* occurs after the final serial verb *di* ‘eat’ in (12). In (13) the same aspectual marker is preceded by the direct object *mui* ‘rice’ of the medial verb *duɣɛ* ‘cook.’ This is because the perfective aspect marker cannot directly follow a transitive verb before its direct object. Also, the same perfect aspectual marker occurs after the initial verb *da* ‘buy’ in (14) and is preceded by the direct object *nenɔ* ‘meat’ because perfective aspect marker cannot directly follow the verb *da* with its object. In (15a) where the perfect aspect marker *mɛ* intervenes between the initial verbs *da* ‘buy’ and the medial verb *duɣɛ* ‘cook,’ it affects the initial verb rather than the medial verb. In (15b) the perfective aspect marker *mɛ* marks the medial verb *duɣɛ* ‘cook’ rather than the final verb *di* ‘eat.’ It shows that the perfective marker can occur after any verb in SVCs in which the object of the verb usually intervenes between the verb and the perfective marker. It

cannot occur between the verb and the object in (16a). The perfective marker *mε* precedes each verb in (16b) also renders sentence ungrammatical.

- (16) a. \*Ba da **mε** nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di  
 3PL buy PERF meat cook rice eat  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’
- b. \*Ba da nɛnɔ **mε** dugɛ mui **mε** di **mε**  
 3PL buy meat PERF cook rice PERF rice eat  
 ‘They have bought meat and used it to cook rice and eaten.’
- (17) a. Ba **mε** da nɛnɔ dugɛ mui di  
 3PL ADV buy meat cook rice eat  
 ‘They also bought meat, cooked rice and ate/  
 They have also bought meat, cooked rice and eaten.’
- b. Kɔma la **mε** da nɛnɔ dugɛ obe  
 children DEF ADV buy meat cook chew  
 ‘The children also bought meat, cooked and ate/  
 They have also bought meat, cooked rice and ate.’

It must be noted that in (17a) and (17b), where *mε* precedes a verb, it becomes an adverb rather than a perfective marker. It shows that the perfective marker *mε* can occur immediately after any verb, except a verb that takes an object NP in SVCs.

On the contrary, the perfect aspect marker *ya* can only be used in an event-argument SVC. Dixon (2006) describes an event-argument SVC as asymmetrical SVC where an event that contains the initial verb becomes the subject argument of the second verb. Aikhenvald (2006) asserts that an event-argument SVC contains verbs that do not “share arguments.” I present these concrete examples below.

- (18) a. Ba di **ya** (Non-SVC)  
 3PL eat PERF  
 ‘They have eaten.’
- b. \*Ba da nenɔ duɛ mui di **ya** (SVC)  
 They buy meat cook rice eat PERF  
 ‘They have bought meat and cooked rice and eaten.’

*Event-argument SVCS*

- (19) a. [Baa la dum bia la] ki **ya**  
 dog DEF bite child DEF die PERF  
 ‘The dog which bit the child is dead /  
 the dog which bit the child has died.’
- b. [Nayiga la zu nii la] zɔ **ya**  
 thief DEF steal cows DEF run PERF  
 ‘The thief who stole the cows has run away.’
- c. [Budaa la ba moto la] lui **ya**  
 man DEF ride motor-bike DEF fall PERF  
 ‘The man who rode the motor-bike has fallen down.’

In (18a) the perfective marker *ya* directly follows the verb *di* ‘eat’ in a non-SVC. When it follows the same verb *di* ‘eat’ which is the final verb in SVC in (18b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. The presence of the object NP makes the sentence ungrammatical. However, this perfective aspect marker directly follows the second verb *ki* ‘die’ in an event-argument SVC in (19a). In (19b) the marker is placed after the second verb *zɔ* which contains an event as its subject NP. This same marker is also placed after the V2 *lui* ‘fall’ in (19c) which takes both the subject and the object of the V1 *ba* ‘ride’ as its subject argument. It is important to note that the event-argument SVC has no object NP, hence the perfective marker *ya* can occur in it.

4.2.2.2. *Imperfective Aspect Marking*

The imperfective aspect involves progressive and habitual aspects. The progressive aspect in Gurene has the suffix [-i], while habitual aspect has the suffix [-a]. It must be noted that the SVC in Gurene manifests single marking for perfective aspect and separate marking for imperfective aspect in which each verb is morphologically marked. Some SVCs in Gurene do not share the same aspect which is a phenomenon contrary to the idea that all SVCs must share the same tense and aspect. This aspect agreement phenomenon was observed by Dakubu (2003) and Atintono (2005).

- The same Aspect Marking in SVCs*
- (20) a. Aloko da nɛnɔ duɣɛ ɔbe  
 Aloko buy.**PERF** meat cook.**PERF** chew.**PERF**  
 ‘Aloko has bought meat, cooked and eaten.’
- b. Aloko da nɛnɔ duɣɛ ɔbe **mɛ**  
 Aloko buy meat cook chew **PERF**  
 ‘Aloko has bought meat cooked and eaten.’
- (21). A da’ar-a nɛnɔ deger-a ɔber-a  
 3SG buy-**HAB** meat cook-**HAB** chew-**HAB**  
 ‘He buys meat, cooks it and eats.’
- Different Aspects Marking in SVCs*
- (22) a. Aloko da’ar-i nɛnɔ duger-a ɔber-a  
 Aloko buy-**PROG** meat cook-**HAB** chew-**HAB**  
 ‘Aloko has been buying meat to cook and eat.’
- b. \*Aloko da’ar-i nɛnɔ duger-i ɔber-i  
 Aloko buy-**PROG** meat cook-**PROG** chew-**PROG**  
 ‘Aloko has been buying meat to cook and eat.’
- c. Aloko da nɛnɔ duɣɛ ɔber-a  
 Aloko buy.**PERF** meat cook.**PERF** chew-**IMPERF**  
 ‘Aloko has bought meat, cooked it and eats.’

- d. Aloko da nɛnɔ **mɛ** dugɛ ɔber-a  
 Aloko buy meat **PERF** cook chew-**IMPERF**  
 ‘Aloko has bought meat, cooked it and eats/  
 Aloko has bought meat, cooked it and is eating.’

- (23). Pɔka la akɛ ko’om dugɛ-a dia la  
 Woman DEF fetch.**PERF** water cook-**IMPERF** food DEF  
 ‘‘The woman fetched water and is cooking the food.’’  
 (Atintono, 2005:62)

The verbs in (20a) share the same implied perfective aspect marker, while a single aspectual marker *mɛ* is shared by the verbs in (20b). In (21) the same imperfective habitual suffix [-a] is marked on each verb indicating iterative. However, the initial verb *da’ar-i* ‘buying’ in (22a) is marked by a progressive aspect marker [-i], while the subsequent verbs are marked by the habitual aspect marker [-a]. It is however ungrammatical in (22b) where each verb is marked by the same progressive marker [-i]. This clearly attests that verbs in SVCs in Gurene can either share the same perfective aspect or the same habitual aspect but cannot share progressive aspect. Besides, examples in (22c) and (22d) show that SVCs contain some verbs that are marked by a mixture of perfective and imperfective aspect markers. In (22c) the initial verb *da* ‘buy’ and the medial verb *dugɛ* ‘cook’ contain the same implied perfective aspect marker, while the final verb *ɔber-a* ‘chewing’ contains an imperfective habitual aspect marker [-a]. The discussion confirms Atintono’s (2005) observation that Gurene has some SVCs in which the verbs are marked by different aspectual markers as in (23). The habitual aspect marker is iterative, except that it

does not duplicate in SVCs, hence it also expresses progressive meaning in (22d) and (23).

#### 4.2.3. Modality Marking in Serial Verb Constructions

Modality in English, refers to the use of modal auxiliary verbs to express ability, probability, request, obligation, certainty, intention and evidence to support the main verbs in sentences (Grygel 1991; Givon, 2001; Ebest et al, 2002). Kreidler (1998:140) claims that “all modality involves obligation or possibility of one sort or another,” hence modality extends to nouns, adjectives and adverbs. Timberlake (2007) describes modal auxiliary verbs as “volitive verbs,” “obligatory verbs” and “permission verbs” (see 1.1.4.3). Modality, as defined by Saeed (2016; 134) is a “term for devices which allow speakers to express varying degrees of commitment to, or belief in, a proposition.” Saeed (2016) further explicates that modals such as “must, should, need, ought to” constitute “epistemic” modality in which the speaker signals “degrees of knowledge.” He added that “deontic modality” contains modal verbs which include “can, could, might” that express obligation, responsibility and permission, while “evidential modality” indicates the source of information. Modal auxiliary verbs are always supporting verbs; hence they cannot be used as main verbs in sentences. Gurene does not mark tense for auxiliary verbs as Bodomo (1993) observed in Mabia languages. I argued in 1.1.4.3 that Gurene has a number of modal auxiliaries in which two or more of such auxiliaries can co-occur in a sentence. As discussed in 1.1.4.3, Atintono (2004) indicated that modal auxiliary verbs in Gurene include *wan/wa* or *nan/na* ‘will,’ *ta’am* ‘can,’ *le* ‘again,’ *ni* ‘always,’ *kelum* ‘still,’ *kɔ’ɔm* ‘just,’ *ya’am* ‘habitual,’ *nyaa* ‘afterwards,’ and *zi’im*

‘may be.’ I argue that *wan/wa* or *nan/na* ‘will,’ is future marker rather than modal auxiliary verb. The same modal auxiliary verb is marked once in SVCs in Gurene in which the modal auxiliary verb precedes the initial verb in the examples below.

- (24) a. Tu **ni** yuun-a peger-a fu  
 IPL MOD sing-IMPERF praise-IMPERF 2SG  
 ‘We always sing and praise you.’
- b. Mam **ta’am** zɔ εkε zɔε boko la  
 1SG MOD run jump cross ditch DEF  
 ‘I can run and jump across the ditch.’
- c. \*Mam **ta’am** zɔ **ta’am** εkε **ta’am** zɔε boko la  
 1SG MOD run MOD jump MOD cross ditch DEF  
 ‘I can run and jump across the ditch.’
- (25). A **wan ta’am le** zɔ εkε zɔε boko la  
 3SG MOD MOD MOD run jump cross ditch DEF  
 ‘He/she will be able to run and jumped across the ditch again.’

The same modal auxiliary verb *ni* which expresses habitual meaning occurs before the initial verb *yuun-a* ‘sing’ in (24a), and affects the subsequent verb *pegegr-a* ‘praise.’ In (24b) the modal auxiliary verb *ta’am* which denotes ability precedes the V1 *zɔ* ‘run’ and scopes over both the V2 *εkε* ‘jump’ and the V3 *zɔε* ‘cross.’ But when it precedes each of the verbs in (24c), the SVC becomes ungrammatical. Also, three modal verbs *wan* ‘will,’ *ta’am* ‘can,’ and *le* ‘again’ that express certainty, ability and habitual respectively co-precede the initial verb *zɔ* ‘run’ in (25) and scope over all the verbs that follow.



- c. Atinga da mui dugε **ka** di  
 Atinga buy rice cook NEG eat  
 ‘Atinga bought rice, cooked and did not eat.’

- (29) \*Atinga **ka** da mui **ka** dugε **ka** di  
 Atinga NEG buy rice NEG cook NEG eat  
 ‘Atinga did not buy rice to cook and eat’

The negative marker *ka* precedes the initial verb *da* ‘buy’ in (28a) resulting to polarity spreading in which I consider as the prototypical SVC. In (28b) the same negative marker precedes the medial verb *dugε* which affects it and the subsequent verb *di* ‘eat’ and without affecting the preceding verb *da*, ‘buy.’ Also, the negative marker *ka* is placed before the final verb *di* ‘eat’ in (28c) which does not spread to the preceding verbs. It negates only the final verb. When the same negative marker *ka* occurs before each of the verbs in (29), the SVC becomes ungrammatical.

*Future Negation in Asymmetrical SVCs*

- (30) a. Yinε **kan** sakeε tum be'em bo tu (Prototypical SVC)  
 God NEG agree do bad give 3PL  
 ‘God will not to agree to do bad to us.’
- b. Nera **kan** sakeε dikeε bonsela bo a bia  
 person NEG agree take snake give 3SG child  
 ‘A person will not agree to give a snake to his/her child.’
- c. \*Yinε sakeε **kan** tum be'em bo tu  
 God agree NEG do bad give 3PL  
 ‘God will not to agree to do bad to us.’
- d. \*Nera sakeε dikeε bonsela **kan** bo a bia  
 person agree take snake NEG give 3SG child  
 ‘A person will not agree to give a snake to his/her child.’

The negative marker can only precede the initial verb *sakε* ‘agree’ in the asymmetrical SVCs in (30a) and (30b) where verbs are derived from a “restricted verb class.” The SVC becomes ungrammatical in (30c) when the negative marker precedes the second verb *tum* ‘work.’ It is also ungrammatical when the future negative marker *kan* precedes the final verb *bo* in (30d).

It is also observed that the present negative marker *da* cannot precede non-initial verbs in SVCs in Gurene as demonstrated below.

- Present Negative Marker da used in SVCs*
- (31) a. Bá **dà** dá dáám bó bùdàà là (Prototypical SVC)  
           3PL NEG buy alcohol give man DEF  
           ‘They should buy alcohol for the man.’
- b. \*Ba dá dáám **dà** bó bùdàà là  
           3PL buy alcohol NEG give man DEF  
           ‘They should buy alcohol for the man.’
- (32) a. Atua **dà** díké` dia là dí`  
           Atua NEG take food DEF eat  
           ‘Atua don’t take the food and eat.’
- b. \*Atua díké` dia là **dà** di  
           Atua take food DEF NEG eat  
           ‘Atua don’t take the food and eat.’

The present negative marker *dà`* precedes the initial verb *dá* ‘buy’ in (31a) and *díké`* ‘take’ in (32a). In (31b) and (32b) where the negative marker *dà`* precedes the second verbs *bó* ‘give’ and *dí`* ‘eat,’ makes the SVCs ungrammatical. I conclude that not all the negative markers can precede non-initial verbs in SVCs in Gurene, hence polarity spreading is prototypical in SVCs in Gurene. I also maintain that unlike the

West Ring languages, Ewe, and Akan in which negation affects all the verbs in SVCs (Kießling, 2004; Osam, 2003; Ameka, 2006), some negations do not affect all the verbs in SVCs in Gurene.

#### **4.4. Argument Sharing in Mono Subject and Multiple Subjects**

Serial verb constructions may consist of single subject or multiple subjects. According to Abrefa (2010:71), “there are instances where two or more subjects are overtly expressed in SVC.” Givon (1997) describes what seem to be multiple subjects as “equi-subjects (SS)” which he claimed exist in some clause chaining. Multiple subjects in serial verb constructions include “combined subjects” and “switch-subject” (Osam, 1994; 2004). Subject sharing occurs in both mono-subject and multiple subjects in SVCs.

##### *4.4.1. Combined Subject Serialization*

Combined subject in a SVC is where the subject of the initial verb and the object NP are jointly become the subject of the second verb (Osam, 2004). A combined subjects, also known as “cumulative subjects” (Aikhenvald, 2006; Ameka, 2006), feature accompaniment SVCs. In accompaniment SVCs, “the subject and the object” of the initial verb accompany each other to perform an activity. Gurene has a combined subject serialization as it exists in Akan (Osam, 2004; Kambon, 2005). Combined or cumulative subject manifests in SVCs in Gurene as exemplified below:

- (33) a. [Aduko lagum Atia] di sagebo  
 Aduko put.together Atia eat T.Z  
 ‘Aduko with Atia ate *too-zaafi*.’
- b. [Aduko dike Atia] kiŋe Bolga-da’a  
 Aduko take Atia go Bolga-market  
 ‘Aduko picked Atia to Bolga market’
- (34) a. [Aduko naε Atia] zu ligeri la  
 Aduko join Atia steal money DEF  
 ‘Aduko with Atia stole the money.’
- b. [Aduko doose a pɔga] zo kiŋe Kumasi  
 Aduko follow 3SG wife run go Kumasi  
 ‘Aduko with his wife ran to Kumasi.’

The “subject and the object” of the initial verb *lagum* ‘put together’ in (33a) are combined as a subject of the second verb *kiŋe* ‘go.’ In (33b), the subject and the object of the initial verb *dike* ‘take’ are combined to become the subject of the second verb *kiŋe* ‘go.’ Also, in (34a) the subject and the object of the V1 *naε* ‘join’ jointly become the subject of the V2 *zu* ‘steal.’ Additionally, the subject and the object NP of the initial verb *doose* ‘follow’ are combined to become a subject of the medial verb *zo* ‘run’ and the subject of the final verb *kiŋe* ‘go’ in (34b). These SVCs show that the subject and the object of the V1 usually accompany each other to perform an action expressed by the V2.

#### 4.4.2. Switch Subject

A switch subject serialization as proposed by Osam (1994; 2003 & 2004) is a type SVC where the object NP of the initial verb becomes the bona fide subject NP of



subject or object in the SVC is ungrammatical. The switch subject construction in Gurene is a non-SVC in (36b) where the conjunction *ti* is used.

#### 4.4.3. Subject Sharing

Subject sharing constitutes the prototypical serial verb construction in Gurene as Aikhenvald (2006:12) pointed out that “the prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one argument.” I argue that all “serial verb constructions” in Gurene share the same subject. However, the subject sharing in SVCs are graded according to the prototype theory’s concepts of “prototypicality” and “gradation” (Rosch and Mervis, 1975; Rosch, 1978; Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 1995). Hampton (2006) on his part observes that the prototypical SVCs constitute good examples of SVCs than the the less prototypical categories; hence, the prototypical SVCs should be considered first before other categories of SVCs. This principle is applied in data analysis.

##### 4.4.3.1. Single Subject Sharing

In a single subject sharing serial verb construction, all the verbs share the subject which may be an overt subject or an unexpressed subject. An overt subject in SVCs in Gurene is the subject that is overtly expressed, while an unexpressed subject in SVCs constitutes imperative sentences in which the subject is normally omitted but understood as illustrated below:

- (37).            **Seera** daa      nyɔkɛ   puurɛ   dɔgɛ   dayua  
                  Sarah PAST   catch   stomach born   child  
                  ‘Sarah became pregnant and bore a son.’  
                  (Catholic Church Translation from Genesis 21:2)

- (38).            Kaareba      kɔ      nyɛ      kamantuusi  
                  Farmers      farm      see      tomatoes  
                  ‘Farmers farmed and got good harvest of tomatoes.’
- (39).            To’e      lagefɔ      da      dia      bo      kɔma      la  
                  collect      money      buy      food      give      children      DEF  
                  ‘Collect money and buy food for the children.’

The verbs *nyɔkɛ* ‘catch’ and *dɔgɛ* ‘born’ in (37) share the same explicit subject **Sɛɛra** ‘Sarah.’ In (38) the verb *kɔ* ‘farm’ and *nyɛ* ‘see’ also share the same explicit subject *kaareba* ‘farmers.’ All the verbs *to’e* ‘collect,’ *da* ‘buy,’ and *bo* ‘give’ share the same unexpressed subject in (39).

#### 4.4.3.2. Combined Subject Sharing

A combined subject is shared by all the verbs in serial verb constructions in Gurene as established by Haspelmath (2016:310) that “all languages with SVCs have same-subject serial verb constructions.” In a combined subject SVC that contains multiple verbs, the verbs share the subject argument as in the following examples.

- (40) [Akolgo doose Atia] zɔ kinɛ Kumasi  
       Akolgo follow Atia run go Kumasi  
       ‘Akolgo together with Atia has run to Kumasi.’
- (41) [Akolgo la ba yeefo] zɔ doose kelam kinɛ Bolga]  
       Akolgo DEF ride horse run pass here go Bolga  
       ‘Akolgo rode a horse and passed here to Bolga.’
- (42) [Akolgo naɛ Atia] zu ligeri pu  
       Akolgo join Atia steal money share  
       ‘Akolgo with Atia stole money and shared.’

It is observed in (40) that the initial verb *doose* ‘follow’ combines the subject *Akolgo* and the object *Atia* into a single subject, which is shared by the second verbs *zo* ‘run’ and the final verb *kiɲɛ* ‘go.’ It must be noted that the initial verb shares only one subject with the subsequent verbs, hence it does not share the combined subject. In (41) the initial verb *ba* ‘ride’ connects the subject NP *Akolgo* to the object NP *yeefo* ‘horse’ into a single subject which is shared by the V2 *zo* ‘run,’ the V3 *doose* ‘pass’ and the V4 *kiɲɛ* ‘go.’ Also, *Akolgo* and *Atia* which are the subject and the object of the V1 *naɛ* ‘join’ in (42) became a joined single subject shared by the V2 *zu* ‘steal’ and the V3 *pu* ‘share.’

#### **4.5. Argument Sharing in Mono Object and Multiple Objects**

Serial verb constructions may contain mono object or multiple objects. The verbs with multiple objects in serial verb constructions do not share the same object. According to Givon (1997:46) “multiple objects in serial clauses also behave like single objects of single clauses.” Each transitive verb has an independent object in multiple object SVCs. Abrefa (2010) pointed out that two or more transitive verbs in serial verb constructions in Akan and Ga may contain mono object in which the object may be shared or may not be shared. Mono object and multiple objects serial constructions in Gurene are instantiated below.

##### *4.5.1. Mono Object Serialization*

Two or more transitive verbs used in a mono object SVC in Gurene share the same object. The phenomenon is illustrated below.

- Mono Object Sharing in contiguous SVC*
- (43) a. Kaareba wan [kɔ nyɛ **dia**  
Farmers FUT farm see foodstuff  
'Farmers will farm and get good harvest of foodstuff.'
- b. Kaareba wan [kɔ (**dia**)] [nyɛ **dia**  
Farmers FUT farm foodstuff see foodstuff  
'Farmers will farm and get good harvest of foodstuff.'
- Mono Object Sharing in Non-contiguous SVCs*
- (44) a. Ayine [da **daam** nyu]  
Ayine buy alcohol drink  
'Ayine bought alcohol and drank.'
- b. Ayine [da daam] [nyu (**daam**)]  
Ayine buy alcohol drink alcohol  
'Ayine bought alcohol and drank the alcohol.'

The mono object *dia* 'foodstuff' is shared by the two transitive verbs *kɔ* 'to farm' and *nyɛ* 'see' in a contiguous SVC in (43a). The mono object sharing is clearly realized in (43b) where each verb takes the same repeated object *dia* 'foodstuff'. In (44a) both the transitive verbs *da* 'buy' and *nyu* 'drink' share the same mono object *daam* 'alcohol' in a non-contiguous SVC, and the object sharing is clearly realized in (44b) in which second verb *nyu* 'drink' takes the same object *dia* 'foodstuff' with the initial verb *da* 'buy.' It will be ungrammatical for each of the verbs in these SVCs to take different objects rather than the same objects. Though the repetition of the same objects in (43b) and (44b) show that the verbs share them is grammatical, speakers often avoid the repetition in SVCs because it makes the sentences lengthy and awkward.

In a mono-object serial verb construction in Gurene, intransitive verbs always occur before transitive verbs in contiguous SVCs. Unlike the West Ring languages (Kießling 2004) where intransitive verbs precede the object NP and sharing it with transitive verbs, only transitive verbs in Gurene can precede the object and share it as in the following examples.

- (45) a. Apana isege mε zɔ tabε ηmε a bià  
 Apana get.up PERF run chase beat 3SG child  
 ‘Apana has gotten up, ran and pursued her child and beat him up.’
- b. Apana tabε ηmε a bia  
 Apana chase beat 3SG child  
 ‘Apana pursued her child and beat him up.’
- c. \*Apana isege mε zɔ a bia  
 Apana get-up PERF run 3SG child  
 ‘Apana has gotten up and run her child.’
- (46) a. \*Apana ηmε a bia isege zɔ (SVC)  
 Apana beat 3SG child get-up run  
 ‘Apana beat up her child and he got up and ran.’
- b. Apana ηmε a bia **ti** a isege zɔ (Non-SVC)  
 Apana beat 3SG child CONJ 3SG get-up run  
 ‘Apana beat up her child and he got up and ran.’

In example (45a), the two intransitive verbs *isege* ‘get up’ and *zɔ* ‘run’ occur before the two transitive verbs *tabε* ‘chase’ and *ηmε* ‘beat’ which precede the object NP *a bia* ‘her child.’ These transitive verbs share the same object *a bia* ‘her child’ as in (45b). Because intransitive verbs have no objects, they cannot precede the object NP *a bia* ‘her child’ as shown in an ungrammatical construction in (45c). In asymmetrical SVC, the order of verbs is crucial as intransitive verbs cannot occur

after the object NP in (46a). However, it is possible to have intransitive verbs occurring after the object NP in “non-serial verb constructions” as in (46b).

#### 4.5.2. Multiple Objects Serialization

Multiple objects serialization is tantamount to non-contiguous SVCs in which the serial verbs have object constituents intervening between them. Though all the verbs do not share the same object, it is possible for some transitive verbs to share a particular object in multiple objects SVC in Gurene as illustrated below.

- (47). Apana nɛɛm zom mɔm sagebɔ bo kɔma  
 Apana grind flour stir T.Z. give children  
 ‘Apana ground flour and prepared *too-zaafi* for children.’

- (48). Apana væ ki tɔ yeele nɛɛm zom mɔm sagebɔ  
 Apana collect millet pound throw the trash grind flour stir T.Z.  
 ‘Apana collected millet, pounded it, threw off the trash and then ground some flour and used the flour to prepare T.Z.’

Each verb in (47) takes its own object, while in (48), the V1, V2 and V3 share the same object *ki* ‘millet,’ while the subsequent verbs *nɛɛm* ‘grind’ and *mɔm* ‘stir’ take their independent objects *zom* ‘flour’ and *sagebɔ* ‘*too-zaafi*’ respectively.

Multiple objects serial verb constructions also involve some objects that are unexpressed. The verbs that take the unexpressed objects are like the “bimorphemic verbs” identified in Ewe and Yoruba by Baker (1989) as cited in Agbedor (1994). According to Agbedor (1994:120), the bimorphemic verbs in Ewe contain “bound verb complement (BVC).” This type of verbs in Gurene constitutes transitive verbs

that have their respective direct objects fused into them. The fused object can be predicted and overtly expressed or unexpressed. These objects may be referred to as “fusional verb object” (FVO) which are sometimes unexpressed in SVCs. Objects that are fused in the verbs or objects that can be implied from the verbs may be unexpressed on the basis that their meanings are always realized whether they are expressed or unexpressed.

*Unexpressed multiple object SVCs*

- (49) Apana néém zóm móm (∅) bó kɔma  
 Apana grind flour stir give children  
 ‘Apana ground flour and prepared *too-zaafi* for children.’
- (50). Atanga kíηè nama kúlé (∅)  
 Atanga walk legs go.home  
 ‘Atanga walked home.’
- (51) a. Kaareba là kó sukaam sú. (∅) bíηé  
 Farmers DEF farm groundnuts put.inside keep.  
 ‘The farmers harvested groundnuts and put into sack(s) and kept’
- b. Kaareba là kó sukaam sú **bɔra** bíηé  
 farmers DEF farm groundnuts put.inside sacks keep  
 ‘The farmers harvested groundnuts and put into sacks and kept.’
- (52) a. Ayameηa nyóké nɔa yú (∅)  
 Ayamga catch fowl close  
 ‘Ayamga caught a fowl and closed it in a hen coop.’
- b. Ayameηa nyóké nɔa yú **ùkà** puan  
 Ayamga catch fowl close hen.coop inside  
 ‘Ayamga caught a fowl and closed it in a hen coop.’

The V2 *móm* ‘stir’ in (49) contains its own object which is unexpressed, and the object can easily be predicted. It does not share the object *zóm* ‘flour’ with V1 or the object *kɔma* ‘children’ with the V3. In (50) the final verb *kúlé* ‘go.home’ contains a fusional verb object (FVO) “home” which is unexpressed. Also in (51a), the verb *su* ‘put inside’ contains a FVO *bɔra* ‘sacks’ which is shared by the final verb *biɲe* ‘keep.’ This is clearly illustrated in (51b) where the object is overtly expressed. In (52a) the V2 *yú* ‘close’ contains FVO *ùkà* ‘hen coop’ which is covertly expressed. The object is fused into the verb in which speakers can easily imply without it being overtly expressed. The object can also be overtly expressed as in (52b). Speakers do not mostly express these objects in SVCs because the meaning is always clear whether the objects are expressed or not.

#### 4.5.3. Non-Object Serial Verb Constructions

Apart from the unexpressed objects, some serial verb constructions in Gurene do not have objects at all. In these SVCs, all the verbs are always intransitive which cannot take any object NP. Some examples are found below.

- (53) a. Saa ni go’e  
Rain fall stop  
‘It rained and stopped’
- b. Saa la ku yilege  
rain DEF form.clouds disappear  
‘The rain formed clouds and disappeared’
- c. Kusebego la lobe go’e  
wind DEF throw stop  
‘The wind blew and stopped.’

- (54) a. Atia zɔ tarege  
 Atia run tire  
 ‘Atia ran and became tired’
- b. Bia la kaasi go’e  
 child DEF cry top  
 ‘The child cried and stopped.’
- c. Nii la mɛ tarege  
 cows DEF wrestle tire  
 ‘The cows fought and became tired.’

All the verbs in (53) and (54) share the same subjects but lack object NPs because the verbs are all intransitive. This type of SVCs is similar to the West Ring Languages (Kießling, 2004) discussed in (11a) and (11b) of (2.2.10), in which some SVCs shared only the subject, and without any object because all the serial verbs used were intransitive.

#### 4.6. Argument Sharing in Clause Chaining

Gurene has zero anaphora in clause chaining serialization. The non-initial verbs in clause chaining in Gurene have “zero subject marking” as Osam (2004) observed in Akan. However, the direct object NPs of the non-initial transitive verbs in clause chaining SVCs in Akan, according to Osam (2004), have a pronominal object NP *nó* which often occurs after the verbs and function as anaphoric reference to the direct object NP of the initial verb. However, non-initial transitive verbs in clause chaining in Gurene either share the same object NP or take their own object NPs which are not pronominal object NPs. Hence, clause chaining SVCs in Gurene have no subject anaphora or object anaphora.

#### 4.6.1. Subject Sharing in Clause Chaining Serialization

Clause Chaining Serialization, according to Osam (2004), involves a series of events that are chained into a single event in which the concatenated events can be isolated. Larson (2004) claims that the type of construction considered as Clause Chaining in Akan is a “Multi-verb Construction” in Anyi Baule on the basis that the non-initial verbs in clause chaining have “empty subjects.” The concatenated events in clause chaining serial verb constructions share the same subject (Osam, 1994; 2003; 2004) and represent a single clause. This is distinct from other forms of Multi-verb constructions such as “consecutive constructions” or “covert coordination” which contain two or more clauses. Just as the verbs in clause chaining serialization in Akan (Osam, 2003; 2004) share the same subject, I propose that verbs that are used in CCSVCs in Gurene share one subject as demonstrated below.

(55). **Apana** [zu ki] [nɛɛm zom] [mɔm sagebɔ] [di]  
 Apana steal millet grind flour stir T.Z eat  
 ‘Apana stole millet, ground flour, prepared *too-zaafi* and ate.’

(56). **Abraham** daa [nyɔkɛ pesego ku] [kaabɛ bo Yinɛ]  
 Abraham PAST catch sheep kill offer.sacrifice give God  
 ‘Abraham caught a sheep, killed (it), and offered sacrifice to God.’  
 (Catholic Translation from Genesis 22:13)

All the verbs in (55) which are *zu* ‘steal,’ *nɛɛm* ‘grind,’ *mɔm* ‘stIr,’ and *di* ‘eat’ share a single subject *Apana* ‘name.’ In (56) the verb *nyɔkɛ* ‘catch,’ *ku* ‘kill,’ *kaabɛ* ‘to offer sacrifice,’ and *bo* ‘give’ share the same subject “Abraham,” hence the same subject sharing in clause chaining is a prototypical defining property in SVCs in Gurene.

4.6.2 *Object Sharing in Clause Chaining SVCs*

The phenomenon of zero pronominal anaphoric object NPs in clause chaining serialization in Gurene is contrary to Akan as exemplified below.

*Clause Chaining SVC in Akan (Osam, 2004)*

- (57). Ama kyér-̀r                      èwí    nó    ø-bór-̀r                      ‘  
 Ama catch-COMPL thief DEF 3SG SUBJ-beat-COMPL  
 nó            ø-kú-̀ù                                      nò                      (Fa)  
 3SG OBJ 3SG SUBJ-kill-COMPL 3SG.OBJ  
 Ama caught the thief, beat him and killed him.’  
 (Osam, 2004:28)

*Clause Chaining SVCs in Gurene*

- (58) a. Nso tabε **bazolegɔ** ηmε ku  
 Nsoh chase mad.dog beat kill  
 ‘Nsoh pursued a mad dog, beat it and killed it.’
- b. \*Nso tabε **bazolegɔ** ηmε **e**                      ku **e**  
 Nsoh chase mad.dog beat 3SG.OBJ kill 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Nsoh pursued a mad dog, beat it and killed it.’

The non-initial verb *bór-̀r* ‘beat’ and *kú-̀ù* ‘killed’ in (57) shared the same subject, while the direct object NPs of each verb is marked by the anaphora *nó* in clause chaining SVCs in Akan. However, both the initial verb *tabε* ‘pursue’ and the non-initial verbs *ηmε* ‘beat’ and *ku* ‘kill’ share the same subject NP and the same direct object NP in (58a) without anaphoric pronominal object NP. It is also clear in (58b) where the object NPs of each non-initial verbs *ηmε* ‘beat’ and *ku* ‘kill’ are overtly expressed by the third person pronominal object NP *e* which is an anaphor, the sentence becomes ungrammatical in Gurene. This phenomenon in which both the

subject and the object are shared is a contradistinction between clause chaining serialization in Akan and Gurene.

#### 4.7. Pronominal Object in SVCs

Nyampong (20015) identifies pronominal object serial verb constructions in Krio. The pronominal objects and object NPs are co-referential in SVCs in Krio. Unlike Krio, the pronominal objects in SVCs in Gurene do not have co-referential object NPs. The pronominal objects used in SVCs in Gurene are direct objects, and sometimes make meaning unclear because they have no distinctions in terms of gender, animate and inanimate objects. The examples below are evidence of my argument.

##### *Pronominal Object in SVC in Krio*

- (59) **Di bɔbɔ kech di titi bit am.**  
 “the boy caught the girl and beat her up.”  
 (Nyampong, 2015:70)

##### *Pronominal Object in SVCs in Gurene*

- (60) a. Anaba nyɔkɛ e ŋmɛ (animate human)  
 Anaba catch 3SG beat  
 ‘Anaba caught him/her and beat him/her up.’
- b. Anaba nyɔkɛ e ku (animate non-human)  
 Anaba catch 3SG kill  
 ‘Anaba caught it and killed it.’
- c. Anaba dike e lobe base (inanimate)  
 Anaba take 3SG throw leave  
 ‘Anaba took it and threw it away.’

In (59), the pronominal object “*am*” ‘her’ in SVC in Krio has anaphoric reference “*titi*” ‘girl. However, the pronominal object NPs in SVCs in Gurene are direct object NPs as demonstrated in (60a), (60b) and (60c). They can be referred to both animate humans and non-humans or inanimate. Unlike Krio, pronominal object NPs in the SVCs in Gurene have no anaphoric reference as presented below.

(61) a. Ayine nyɔkɛ bua kɔregɛ (∅)  
 Ayine catch goat slaughter 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Ayine caught a goat and slaughtered it.’

b. \*Ayine nyɔkɛ bua kɔregɛ e  
 Ayine catch goat slaughter 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Ayine caught a goat and slaughtered it.’

(62) a. Atua nyu daam buge nyɔkɛ a pɔga ŋmɛ (∅)  
 Atua drink alcohol intoxicate catch 3SG.POSS wife beat 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Atua drank alcohol and became intoxicated and beat up his wife.’

b. \*Atua nyu daam buge nyɔkɛ a pɔga ŋmɛ e  
 Atua drink alcohol intoxicate catch 3SG.POSS wife beat 3SG.OBJ  
 ‘Atua drank alcohol and became intoxicated and beat up his wife.’

The SVCs in (61a) and (62a) have zero pronominal objects on the basis that the verbs have direct objects. The initial verb *nyɔkɛ* ‘catch’ has a direct object *bua* ‘goat’ in (61a) which is shared by the second verb *kɔregɛ* ‘slaughter.’ In (61b) where the pronominal object *e* is anaphoric referent of the direct object *bua* ‘goat’ constitutes an ungrammatical sentence in Gurene. This is because the object is shared. Similarly, the final verb *ŋmɛ* ‘beat’ in (62a) has a zero direct object. It is worth noting that when the pronominal third person singular object *e* which is anaphoric

referent follows the final verb *ɣmɛ* ‘beat’ in (62b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical in Gurene SVCs, though these sentences are grammatical in Krio and Akan (Osam, 2004; Nyampong, 2015).

#### 4.8. Multiple Verbs in Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions involve the use of “two or more verbs” in which Ameka (2006:129) observes that “there is no limit of the number of VPs that can constitute SVCs” According to Kießling (2004), the West Ring languages have five verbs contiguous SVCs in which four verbs are “coverbs” intervening between the initial verb and its direct object which is often placed at the extreme end of the sentence. Diller (2006:173) also argues that Thai has six verbs in contiguous SVCs in which “the whole five-verb serial construction occurs as a complement of the initial verb.” Aikhenvald (2006) claims that Tariana has both multiple-word and single-word contiguous SVCs in which the component verbs often occur in a fixed order and without fixed number. Gurene equally has no fixed number of verbs used in SVCs. Gurene has multiplicity of serial verbs that can form a long contiguous serial verb construction or a long clause chaining SVCs. Some examples of multiple verbs used in SVCs are presented below.

- Multiple Verbs in Contiguous SVC in Thai* (Diller, 2006)
- (63). ri':p2    [[o':k1    pay]    su':3]    [klap1    ma:]]  
 hurry    exit        go        buy        return        come  
 ‘Hurry off and buy some, then come back’  
 (Diller, 2006: 173)

*Multiple Verbs in Contiguous SVC in Gurene*

- (64). **ḱᵛᵛᵛᵛ**    la    p̄ɛ    ɛkɛ    lui    zɔ    velege    ηmɛrege  
 Guinea fowl DEF escape fly fall run go.round turn  
ke    surege            sugɛ    labegɛ            gã'a    **mᵛᵛᵛ puan**  
 enter cover.itself.under hide being.quiet lie.down bush inside  
 'The guinea fowl escaped and flew; it fell down and ran round,  
 then turned and entered in the bush, hid itself by having lay  
 down quietly and covered itself under the bushes.'

The multiple serial verbs are six (63) in which the five verbs are complements of the initial verb *ri':p2* 'hurry' in a contiguous construction in Thai. However, in (64), Gurene has eleven multiple serial verbs in a contiguous construction in which the V1 to V6 are intransitive, while the V7 to V11 are transitive verbs that precede the direct object NP *mᵛᵛᵛ puan* 'into bush.' The order of the multiple serial verbs is that the intransitive verbs occur first before the transitive verbs. This also occurs in CCSVCs as in (65).

*Multiple serial Verbs in Clause Chaining SVC in Gurene*

- (65) Atia tum nyɛ ligeri dikɛ da nii base uge  
 Atia work get money take buy cows keep rear  
nyɔge koose mɛ yire bɔ a kɔma  
 catch sell build house give 3SG children  
 'Atia worked and got some money, used it and bought cows, kept  
 them and reared, caught them and sold and then used the proceeds  
 to build a house for his children.'

**4.9. The Prototypical Syntactic Categories of SVCs**

Different types of syntactic serial verb constructions exist in Gurene which are classified based on the prototype theory. These categories of SVCs vary on the basis that not all the category members are identical in terms of their defining properties.

The prototypical SVCs have features that are more common in other serializing languages, and they are often “good examples” than others, hence they are considered first. The category members are graded such that some types of serial verb constructions are “more prototypical” than other types. However, both the prototypical and the less prototypical categories constitute members of serial verb constructions, but with varied degrees as proposed by the prototype theory (Rosch, 1978; Hampton, 2006). The syntactic SVCs in Gurene are categorized based on prototypes as indicated below:

**Table 1: A summary of the prototype classification of syntactic SVCs in****Gurene**

<b>Types of SVCs</b>	<b>Prototypical SVCs</b>	<b>Less Prototypical SVCs</b>	<b>Peripheral of SVCs</b>
1. Argument Sharing	Both arguments sharing: subject and object	One argument sharing.	No argument sharing.
2. Subject Sharing.	Single / mono-subject sharing.	Combined subject sharing. Implied subject sharing.	No subject sharing- Switch subject.
3. Object Sharing.	Single / mono object sharing in: Contiguous SVC. Non-contiguous SVCs.	Mono object non- sharing. Unexpressed object sharing. Non-object SVCs.	Multiple objects with multiple subjects.
4. TAM Marking.	Multiple objects non-sharing	Multiple objects sharing	
5. Polarity Marking	The same tense and modality marking	Different aspectual marking.	Different tense & aspect marking.
6. Contiguity	Polarity spreading. Single or concordant marking of TAMP.	Non-polarity spreading	Implied negation
	Both contiguous and non-contiguous	Contiguous or non-contiguous	

#### 4.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed that Gurene has varied syntactic categories of serial verb constructions. They include transitivity SVCs, tense, aspect and modality marking SVCs, polarity marking SVCs, mono subject SVCs, multiple subject SVCs, mono object SVCs, multiple objects SVCs, and non-object SVCs. Argument sharing exists in some of these types of SVCs. I argued that verbs with the same or different transitivity can be combined in “serial verb constructions” in Gurene. Also, the same tense and modality are marked once in SVCs in Gurene, in which the tense and modality markers always precede the initial verb. On the other hand, the aspect can have a single marking or mark on each verb in SVCs in Gurene. I went further to indicate that negation in serial verb constructions in Gurene involves both polarity spreading and non-polarity spreading. I demonstrated that the past negative marker *ka* can precede any verb in SVCs, while present negative marker *da* and the future negative marker *kan* cannot precede non-initial verbs in some SVCs. Evidence showed that Gurene has the prototypical subject sharing serialization.

It was also observed that Gurene lacks switch subject SVCs. I also clearly demonstrated that some multiple objects SVCs in Gurene contain unexpressed objects which are fused into some types of verbs or can be implied from the verb based on context. Again, I argued that Gurene allows object sharing in Clause chaining serial verb constructions. I finally showed that Gurene has a peculiar type of SVCs that lacks object complements of any form.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the discussions in the preceding chapters of the entire study, highlighting some key issues that emerged from the discussions. The chapter also presents some findings and conclusions drawn from the data that were presented and discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Besides, some recommendations regarding future research are finally presented in this chapter.

#### 5.1. Summary

Chapter one was general introduction of the study. In that chapter, I discussed the language background which involved the language family, and an overview of tense, aspect, modality and polarity (TAMP) marking in Gurene. The problem statement, research objectives, research questions, and the significance of the research were also discussed.

Chapter two was divided into three sub-sections: Literature review, Theoretical Frame work and Methodology. I discussed extensively some existing literatures on “serial verb constructions” in some serializing languages across the world. Literature on serialization in some Kwa and Gur languages of West Africa were not left out in the discussion. The chapter also discussed the theoretical framework applied in the study. I mentioned some of the principles of the prototype theory that were applied in the study. They included “gradation”, “prototypicality” or “centrality,” “similarity to the prototype,” and “cognitive economy” proposed by

Rosch and Mervis (1975), Rosch (1978), Lakoff (1987) and Taylor (1995). In the summary of the chapter, I indicated how the thesis was organized. I also discussed the data collection strategies and the data analysis procedures. They included data from the primary source, secondary source and data from the “grammaticality judgement task” (native speaker intuition). The corpus data were obtained from a field work, where native speakers were interviewed, observed and their speeches listened. The interviewees’ responses and some language items listened were recorded and transcribed.

The data were presented and analyzed in chapters three and four. Chapter three explored the semantic classification of SVCs in Gurene in which the functional typology and the relational typology of serial verb constructions were focused on in the data analysis and the discussions. Other types of SVCs that were found to be related to semantics were also analyzed. I finally provided a brief discussion of some principles of the prototype theory that were applied in categorizing members of these semantic types of SVCs. The data analysis and discussion in chapter four focused on the “syntactic classification” of serial verb constructions. I discussed the defining properties of SVCs that are associated with the syntactic typology of serial verb constructions in Gurene. They included transitivity in SVCs, TAMP marking in serial verb constructions and argument sharing in various types of syntactic SVCs in Gurene. The chapter ended with a discussion of the prototype categories of members of the syntactic types of serial verb constructions in Gurene. The types of SVCs that constituted the peripheral members of “serial verb constructions” in the language were showed based on the

prototype theory's principles. The findings from these discussions are presented in the subsequent section.

## **5.2. Findings**

Following the data analysis and the discussions in chapters 3 and 4, I present the key findings of the study in this section of the chapter. The findings are classified under the defining properties of SVCs, the types of SVCs and the functions of SVCs in Gurene.

### *5.2.1. The Defining Properties of SVCs in Gurene*

The results of the data presented and analyzed in the preceding chapters of the thesis generally attested that the defining properties of SVCs in serializing languages are not cross-linguistically universal. The study showed some similarities and differences that existed between the defining properties of SVCs in Gurene and the defining properties SVCs of some other serializing languages. Based on the prototype theory, the defining properties that showed resemblance, good examples and were more common in other serializing languages constituted the central members or the prototypical defining properties of SVCs in Gurene (Rosch and Marvis, 1975; Rosch, 1978; Lakoff, 1987; Taylor, 1995). The key defining properties of SVCs in Gurene that were identified from the discussions in chapter 3 and 4 of the study are summarized below.

The study revealed that the same tense and modality are marked once in SVCs in Gurene in which the tense markers and the modal auxiliary verbs precede the

initial verb. It was also shown that the same aspect or different aspects can be marked on each verb in serial constructions in the language. The perfective aspect markers are particles, while the imperfective aspect markers are suffixes. It was also established that past tense and perfect aspect can be overtly marked or covertly marked in SVCs. The study proved that Gurene manifest both polarity spreading and non-polarity spreading. However, it was discovered that the present negative marker *da* and the future negative marker *kan* cannot precede non-initial verbs in some types of SVCs; hence, polarity spreading constitutes the prototypical defining property of SVCs in Gurene.

Moreover, the study indicated that all verbs share the same subject without any conjunction intervening between them. It was also realized that the shared subject can be overly expressed or implied. In addition, it was evident that the verbs in serial constructions may either share the same object or not. It was realized that transitive verbs used in a single object SVC share the object, while intransitive verbs used with transitive verbs do not share the object. This phenomenon is contrary to the West Ring languages where both transitive and the intransitive verbs share the same object in contiguous SVC (Kießling, 2004). It was also found that SVCs in Gurene contain either an overtly expressed object, unexpressed object fused in a verb or non-object. Both verbs in the non-object SVCs were noted to be intransitive verbs. The study also established that the pronominal objects in SVCs in Gurene constitute only direct objects; hence, they have no anaphoric reference. Finally, the study proved that Gurene permits both object sharing in clause chaining serialization.

### *5.2.2. The Types of SVCs in Gurene*

#### *5.2.2.1. The Semantic Types of SVCs in Gurene*

The study identified clause chaining SVCs, integrated SVCs, symmetrical SVCs, asymmetrical SVCs, contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs in Gurene. It was also established that Gurene has relational types of SVCs. They include benefactive SVCs, locative SVC, instrumental SVCs, comitative SVCs, escort/accompaniment SVCs and sequential SVCs. Other semantic types of SVCs which were identified in the study are capabilitative SVCs, concomitant SVCs, concurrent SVCs, refusal SVCs, purpose SVCs, motion SVCs, posture/positional SVCs, manner SVCs, comparative SVCs and the cause-effect SVCs. These types of SVCs play different functions in the language, and they contain some features that are distinct from other serializing languages. It was also realized that these types of SVCs in the language do not contain all features in common as the prototype theory established that SVCs in serializing languages need not possess all features in common. The study found other functional types of SVCs in Gurene which include declarative SVCs, imperative SVCs, exclamatory SVCs, and interrogative SVCs. These types of SVCs play the normal language functions in Gurene.

#### *5.2.2.2. The Syntactic Types of SVCs in Gurene*

The study identified some syntactic types of SVCs in Gurene based on the data analyzed. The syntactic features of these types of SVCs were the same, while other features differ in other serializing languages as the prototype theory proposed. The syntactic types of SVCs that were identified in the data analyzed in chapter four include the mono-subject SVCs and the multiple subjects SVCs. It was realized that

the combined subject type of the multiple SVCs exists in SVCs Gurene, while the switch subject type does not exist in SVCs in Gurene.

The study attested that Gurene has multiple object SVCs, mono object SVCs, the non-object SVCs, unexpressed object SVCs, and multiple serial verbs constructions. It was realized that the unexpressed object type of SVC contains two types of objects: object that can easily be predicated from some transitive verbs based on context, and objects that are fused in types of verbs as in the verb *kule* ‘go home.’

#### *5.2.2. The Functions of Serial Verb Constructions*

The data analyzed in chapter three provided an attestation that serial verb constructions play certain fundamental language functions in Gurene. It was realized that serial verb constructions are also used in declarative sentences, imperative sentences, exclamatory sentences and interrogative sentences. It showed that most speakers preferred using SVCs to describe exciting scenes or give instructions to using non-SVCs. The study found that responses to serial verb constructions’ questions in Gurene are mostly in SVCs, except “Yes” or “No” responses. Even “Yes” or “No” responses are sometimes accompanied with full answers in SVCs. It was also identified that Gurene speakers can either use SVCs or non-SVCs in some sentences. Consequently, the educated Gurene speakers seemed to be using SVCs more in spoken than in written communicative encounters.

### 5.3. Recommendations

Though the study provided significant analysis of serial verb constructions in Gurene, there are still some issues that require further investigation. Some of these issues are recommended below.

It was realized that Gurene has more than 20 pre-verb particles and many post-verb particles and suffixes that express TAMP. They include: *ta, ti, n, bii, nyaa, wa, me, ya, pugum, kɔ,ɔm, lagum, ge, ka, kan, da, le, maan, daa, yuun, kelum, ni, san* and *daare*. These pre-verb and post-verb elements should be extensively investigated to determine those that can occur in SVCs, and their grammatical categories and functions in SVCs in Gurene.

Finally, serial verb nominalization, grammatical relations in serial verb constructions and the grammaticalization in serial verb constructions that Atintono (2005) identified in Gurene should be considered in future research. Research on SVCs in the language will be incomplete without carrying out research on these areas.

### 5.4. Concluding Remark

Though I feel I have not done much in this interesting field of research, I am also optimistic that this current research has produced significantly, interesting results that are essential to this research area. Hence, I have made some significant contributions to knowledge on “serial verb constructions” and the grammar of Gurene as a whole.

**REFERENCES**

- Aboh, O. Enoch. 2009. Clause structure and verb series. *Linguistic Enquiry*, 40 (1):1-33
- Aboh, E. and Essegbey, J. (eds.). 2010. *Topics in Kwa syntax*. Dordrecht Heidelberg London: Springer.
- Abrefa, Kofi Busia. 2010. Clause chaining in some Kwa languages. *Studies in the languages of the Volta Basin, Proceedings of the annual Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project*, 16: 61-9.
- Abunya, Levina Nyamekye and Amfo, Nana Aba Appiah. 2014. Grammaticalization in Kaakyi: From a temporal adverb to a future tense marker. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*.
- Agbedor. Paul. 1994. Verb serialization in Ewe. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 3 (1):115-135.
- Agyeman, Nana Ama. 2002. *Serial verb constructions in Akan*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis. University of Trondheim (NTNU).
- Agyeman, Nana Ama. 2003. On object sharing and referent sharing in Akan: Serial verb constructions. In M.E. Kropp Dakubu and E. K. Osam. (eds.), *Studies in the Languages of the Volta Basin vol. I: Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistic Project*. Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana.
- Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra. 2006. Serial verb constructions in typological perspective. In Aikhenvald Y. Alexandra and R.M.W. Dixon. (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A cross-linguistic Typology, 1-60*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Amaechi, Mary. 2013. Case checking in Igbo serial verb constructions. *Human, Research and Social sciences*, 3(90): 155-164.
- Ameka, Felix K. 2005a. Forms of secondary predication in serializing languages: depictives in Ewe. In Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. and Eva Schultze-Berndt (eds.), *Secondary Predication and Adverbial Modification: Cross-linguistic Experience in the Syntax and Semantics of Depictives*, 335- 378. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ameka, Felix. 2005b. Multiverb constructions in a West African littoral: microvariation and areal typology. In M. Vulchanova and T.A. Afrirli (eds.), *Grammar and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Lars Hellan*, 15-42. Oslo: Novus Press.
- Ameka, Felix K. 2006c. Ewe serial verb constructions in their grammatical context. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R.M.W. Dixon. (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 124-141. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ameka, Felix K. and M.E. Kropp Dakubu. 2008. Aspects and modality in Kwa languages, *Studies in Language Companion Series (SLCS)*, 35-194.
- Ansre, G 1966. The verbid-a caveat to serial verbs. *The Journal of West African Languages*, 3 (1): 29-32.
- Appah, Clement Kwamina Insaideo. 2009. The representation of ISVC in C and F structures of LFG: A proposal. In *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics*, 6(1): 92-117.

- Arokoyo, B. E. 2010. *Acquisition of Yoruba argument structure by pre-school children in Nigeria*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.
- Atintono, Awenkine Samuel. 2004. *A Morpho-syntactic study of the Gurene verb*. Unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Ghana.
- Atintono, Awenkine Samuel. 2005. Serial verb constructions in Gurene: An overview. In G.S.K. Adika and Kofi Ackah (eds), *Legon Journal of the Humanities* 16: 55-71.
- Atintono, Awinkene Samuel. 2013. *The semantics and grammar of positional verbs in Gurene: A typological perspective*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Manchester
- Awobuluyi, Oladele. A. 1973. The modifying serial verb constructions: A critique. *Studies in African linguistics* 4 (1): 87-111.
- Baker, Mark. 1989. Object sharing and projection in serial verb constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 513-553.
- Balmer, W. T. and Grant, F. 1929. *A grammar of the Fante-Akan language*. London: "The" Atlantis Press.
- Bamgbose, A. 1968. Negation and Serial Verb Construction types in Yoruba. In Boadi, L. Some aspect of Akan deep syntax. *Journal of West African Languages*, 5(2): 83 – 90.
- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1974. On serial verbs and verbal status. *Journal of West African Languages*, 9(1): 17-48.
- Bamgbose, Ayo. 1982. Issues in analysis of serial verb constructions. *Journal of West African Languages*, 12 (2): 3-21.

- Boadi, L. A. 1968. Some aspects of Akan deep syntax. *Journal of West African Languages*, 2: 83-90.
- Bodomo, Adams B. 1993. Complex predicates and event structure: An integrated analysis of serial verb constructions in the Mabia languages of West Africa. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 20. Department of Linguistics, University of Trondheim, Norway
- Bodomo, B. Adams. 1996. Complex predicates. The case of serial verb constructions in Dagaare and Akan. *A Paper Presented at the Proceedings of the First LFG Conference in Grenoble*.  
mailto:[adams.bodomo@hf.ntnu.no](mailto:adams.bodomo@hf.ntnu.no)
- Bodomo, Adams. 1997. *The structure of Dagaare*. USA: CSLI Publication.
- Bodomo, Adams B. 2002. The syntax of serial verbs. In Felix Ameka and Kwaku E. Osam. (eds.), *New Directions in Ghanaian Linguistics*. Accra: Black Mask
- Bodomo, B. Adams, Lam, S.C. Olivia and Yu, S.S. Natlie. 2003. Double object and serial benefactive constructions in Cantonese. In Mariam Butt and Tracy Holloway King (eds.). *Proceedings of the LFG03 Conference*, 59-74. University of Albany, State University of New York: CSLI Publications. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/>
- Bogny, Yapo Joseph. 2010. Serial Verbs: From Parameterization. *Studies in the Languages of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon – Trondheim Linguistics Project*, 6: 41 – 59.
- Botne, Robert. 2006. Motion, time and tense: On grammaticization of come and go to future markers in Bantu. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 35 (2):127-188.

- Bowern, Claire. 2001. *Grammatical reanalysis and verb serialization: The unusual case of Sivisa Titan*. Austronian Linguistic Association VIII
- Campbell, Aimeel L. and Tomasello, Michael. 2001. The acquisition of English dative constructions. *Applied Psycholinguistic*, 22: 253- 267.
- Campbell, Lyle and Janda, Richard. 2001. Introduction: Concepts of grammaticalization and their problems. *Language Sciences*, 23: 93-112.
- Carnie, Andrew. 2013. *Syntax: A generative introduction*. Third Edition. UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Carol Lord, Foong Ha Yap and Iwasaki Shoichi. 2002. *Grammaticalization of Give: African and Asian Perspectives*. USA: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Christaller, J. 1875. *A grammar of Asante and Fante language called Twi*. Basel: Basel Evangelical Missionary
- Cleary- Kemp, Jessica. 2015. *Serial verbs constructions revisited: A case study from Koro*. Unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, Bernd. 1989. *Language universal and linguistic typology*. Second Edition. Britain: University of Chicago Press.
- Crowley, Terry. 2010. *Serial verb constructions in Oceanic*. Oxford scholarship Online, [www.oxfordscholarship.com/page/privacy-policy](http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/page/privacy-policy).
- Dahl, Osten. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Dakubu, Kropp M.E. 2003a. Aspect agreement constraints in Gurene multi-verbal constructions. In Dorothee Beermann and Lars Hellan.(eds.), *Multi-Verb Constructions, Proceedings of the Workshop on Multi-verb Constructions*. Trondheim summer school 2003. Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim  
<http://edvarda.hf.htnu.no/ling/tross/>
- Dakubu, Kropp M.E. 2003b. Towards a typology of multi-verb constructions in Kwa and Central Gur. In Dakubu and E.K. Osam. (eds.), *Studies in Languages of the Volta Basin: Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project*, 1:31-42.
- Dakubu, Kropp Mary Esther, Hellan, Lars and Beermann, Dorothee. 2007. Verb sequencing constraints in Ga: Serial verb constructions and the extended verb complex. In Stefan Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the HPSG07 Conference*. Stanford University: CSLI Publications.
- Dechaine, Rose-Marie. 1993. *Predicates across categories: Towards a category neutral syntax*. PhD. dissertation. MIT Press.
- de Reuse J. Willem. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions in Mwoɬlap. In Aikhenvald Y. Alexandra and R.M.W. Dixon. (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 301-317. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Diller, Anthony V.N. 2006. Thai Serial Verbs: Cohesion and Culture. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. W. Dixon (eds), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 160-177. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dixon, R.M, W. 2006. Serial verb constructions: Conspectus and coda. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 338-365. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dolphyne, F. A. 1987. On negating the consecutive verb in Akan. *Journal of West African Languages* 18(1): 70 – 80.
- Durie, Mark. 1988. Verb serialization and verbal – prepositions in Oceanic languages. In *Oceanic Linguistics* 27(1) 1 – 23.
- Durie, M. 1997. Grammatical structures in verb serialization. In A. Alsina, J. Bresnan and P. Sells (eds.), *Complex Predicates*, 289-354. Stanford: *CSLI*.
- Ebest, Sally; Barr, Alfred Gerald J.; Brussaw, Charles T. and Oliu , Walter E. (eds.). 2002. *Writing from A-to -Z: The Easy-to- Use Reference Handbook*. Fourth Edition. USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Ekundayo and Akinnaso. 1983. Yoruba serial verb string commutability constraints. *Lingua*, 60 (2-3): 115-133.
- Evans, Vyvyan and Green, Melanie. 2006. *Cognitive linguistics: An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Foley W., and Olson, M. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. In J. Nichols and A. Woodborry (eds.), *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause*, 17-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Francois, Alexandre. 2006. Verb constructions in Mwoɬlap. In Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. and R. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 223-239. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- George, Isaac. 1975. Typology of verb serialization. *Journal of West African Languages*, 10(2):189-218.
- Givon, Talmy. 1991. Serial verbs and mental reality 'event.' Grammatical vs. cognitive packaging. In Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.), *Typological Studies in Language: Approaches to Grammaticalization* vol.1. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Givon, Talmy. 1997. Grammatical relations: An introduction. In T. Givon, (ed.), *Grammatical relations: A functionalist perspective*, 1-84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Givón, T. 2001. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction*. Vol.1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grygel, Joan A. 1991. *The world book of word power*, (ed.), vol. 1. Chicago: World Book, Inc.
- Hajek, John. 2006. Serial verbs in Tetun Deli. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon, (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A cross-linguistic Typology*, 239-253. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hallen, L. Cynthia. 1999. *Exploring the Niger-Congo languages*. Department of Linguistics. Brigham Young University.
- Hamston, James A. 2006. The concepts as prototypes. *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation*, 46: 79 -113.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2016. The serial verb construction: Comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalizations. *Language and Linguistics*, 17(3): 291-319.

- Heine, Bernd and Kuteva, Tania. 2007. *The genesis of grammar. A reconstruction* (studies in the evolution of language). USA: Oxford University Press.
- Hellwig, Birgit. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Goemai. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon, (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 88-106. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hengeveld, Kees 2011. *The grammaticalization of tense and aspect*. Amsterdam centre for language and communication. University of Amsterdam.
- Hopper, Paul. 1991. On principles of grammaticalization. In Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine, (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. 1:18-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Traugott, Elizabeth. 2003. Grammaticalization. Second Edition, *Cambridge Handbook in Linguistics*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ingram, Andrew. 2006. Serial verb constructions in Dumi. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon, (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 202-222. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jurafsky, Daniel and Martin, H. James. 2001. Semantic role labeling. *Speech and Language Processing*. Stanford University
- Kambon, Bakari Obadele. 2012. *Serial verb nominalization in Akan*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Department of Linguistics, University of Ghana.
- Kari, E. Ethelbert. 2003. Serial verb constructions in Degema, Nigeria. *African Studies Monographs*, 24(4):271-289.

- Kießling, Roland. 2004. The giraffes burst throw emerge climb pass through the roof of the hut: Verbal serialization in the West Ring languages (Isu, Weh, Aghem). In Akinbiyi Akinlabi (ed.), *Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> World Congress of African Linguistics in 2004*. Koln: Rudiger Koppe.
- Kilian – Hatz, Christa. 2006. Serial verb construction in Khwe (Central –Khoisan). In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon. (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 108-123. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kriedler, Charles W. 1998. *Introducing English semantics*. London and New York: Routledge
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Larson, Martha. 2004. Distributive numerals and multi-verb constructions in Baule. *Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project Annual Colloquium, 12-13 January 2004*. University of Ghana, Legon.
- Lawal, Adenika S. 1989. The classification of Yoruba serial verb constructions. *Journal of West African languages*, 19 (2): 3- 14.
- Lee, In Que. 1997. *Dative constructions and case theory in Korean*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Department of Linguistics. Simon Fraser University.
- Lee, Juwon. 2014. Two types of serial verb constructions in Korean: Subject sharing and index-sharing. In Stefan Muller. (ed.), *Processings of the 21<sup>st</sup> International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 135-155. CSLI Publication.

- Lee, Youngjoo, 2003. Serial verb constructions in Buli. In Michael Kenstowicz and George Akanlig-Pare, (eds.), *Studies in Buli Grammar*. Working Papers in Endangered and Less Familiar Languages, 4(1): 97 – 115.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2002. Thoughts on grammaticalization. Second Edition. *Arbeitspapiere des seminars für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Erfurt*. Bei den Autoren.
- Leynseele, Van Helene. 1975. Restriction on serial verbs in Ayi. *Journal of West African Languages*, 10(2):189-218.
- Lord, Carol. 1993. *Historical change in serial verb construction*. *Typological Studies in Language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Matthews, Stephen. 2006. On serial verb constructions in Cantonese. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon, (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 69-85. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Melzian, Hans-Joachim. 1942. *Vergleichende charakteristik des verbums im Bini (Südnigerien)*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Muansuwan, Nuttanart. 2001. Directional serial verb constructions in Thai. Dan Flickinger and Andreas Kalhol. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> International HPSG Conference*, UC Berkeley (22-23 July, 2000), 229-246. Stanford: CSLI Publication.
- [http://csli\\_publications.stanford.edu/](http://csli_publications.stanford.edu/)

- Müller, Stefan and Lipenkova, Jonna. 2009. Serial verb constructions in Chinese: An HPSG Account. In *Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, 234-254, University of Göttingen, Germany, Stanford: CSLI Publication.
- Næss, Asild. 2007. *Prototypical transitivity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Ndimele, O. M. 1996. On the “Kwaness” of Nigeria pidgin: Insights from verb serialization. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 52:125-136.
- Nsoh, E. A. 1997. *Some aspects of Gurene word structure*. Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Ghana.
- Nsoh, E. A. 2002. Classifying the nominal in the Gurene dialect of the Farefare of the Northern Ghana. *Journal of Dagaare Studies*, 2: 1-15.
- Nyampong, Owusu Beatrice. 2015. *Serial verb constructions in Krio and Akan*. Unpublished Master’s thesis in linguistics, Department of Language and Literature, Norwegian University of Science and Technology.
- Ofori, Kwaku 2010. Verb serialization in Larteh. *Studies in the Languages of the Volta Basin: Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project*, 16: 75 – 91.
- Omachonu, Gideon Sunday. 2011. Serial verb constructions in Igala. *Journal of Linguistics Association of Nigeria*, 14(2): 263-281.
- Omachonu, Gideon Sunday. 2012. *Verbal status and serial verb constructions in Igala*. Georg Forster Post- Doctoral Fellow. Humboldt- Universität Zu Berlin. Society.

- O'melia, T. 1966. *First year Cantonese*. Revised edition, vol. 2. Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society
- Osam, E. Kweku. 1994. From serial verbs to prepositions and the road between. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung*, 47 (1): 16-36.
- Osam, E. Kwaku. 1996. The object relation in Akan in Akan. *Afrika and Ubersee*, Band 79: 57- 83.
- Osam, E. Kweku. 1997. Serial verbs and Grammar Relations in Akan. In Givon, Talmy. (ed.), *Grammatical Relations: A Functional Perspective*, 253-279. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Osam, E. Kweku. 2003. An introduction to the verbal and multiverbal system of Akan. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Multi-verbal Constructions*, Troindheim Summer School 2003.
- Osam, E. Kweku. 2004. *Introduction to the structure of Akan: Its verbal and multiverbal system*. The Trondheim Lectures. Department of Linguistics Legon, University of Ghana.
- Osam, E. Kweku. 2014. Descriptive features of serial verb constructions in Akan. In Yankah, Kwesi; Kofi K. Saah, and Nana Aba Appiah Amfo (eds.), *A Legon Reader in Ghanaian Linguistics*, 11-23. Oxfordshire: Ayebia Clarke Publishing.
- Oyelaran, O. 1982. On the scope of serial verb constructions in Yoruba. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 13 (2), 109-146.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

- Payne, Thomas. 2006. *Exploring language structure: A student's guide*. USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Riemer, Nick. 2010. *Introducing semantics*. USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosch, Eleanor and Mervis, B. Carolyn. 1975. Family resemblances: Studies in the internal structure of categories. *Cognitive Psychologies*, 7: 573-605.
- Rosch, Eleanor. 1978. Principles of categorization. In E.R. Rosch & B.B. Lloyd. (eds.), *Cognitive and categorization*, 27-48. Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum.
- Saah, Kofi K. 1997. Double Objects in Akan and Egbo. In Dechaine, Rose-Marie and Victor Manfredi (eds.), *Object positions in Benue-Kwa*, 139-151. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.
- Saah, Kofi K. 2003. The nature and function of Akan verbal affixes. In M.E. Kropp Dakubu and E.K. Osam, (eds.), *Studies in the Languages of the Volta Basin: Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium of the Legon-Trondheim Linguistics Project*, 1: 180-196.
- Saanchi, James Ankaaraba N. 2006. *A grammar of spatial constructions in Dagaare*. Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Ghana.
- Saed, I. John. 2016. *Semantics*. Fourth Edition. UK: Blackwell Publishing
- Schachter, Paul. 1974. A non-transformational account of serial verbs. *Studies in African Linguistics Supplementary* 5, 253-270.
- Schiller, E. 1990. On the definition and distribution of serial verb constructions. In Z.A.M. Joseph Brian D. (ed.), *When Verbs Collide: Papers from the Ohio State Mini-conference on Serial Verbs*, 34-64. Ohio State University.

- Schlegel, J. B. 1857. *Schlüssel zur Ewe- Sprache*. Bremen: Valett & Co.
- Sebba, Mark. 1987. *The syntax of serial verbs: An investigation into serialization in Sranan and other languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Seiss, Malanie. 2009. On the differences between auxiliaries, serial verbs and light verbs. *Proceedings of the LFG09 conference*. CSLI Publication
- Senft, Grunter. (ed.). 2008. Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages. *Pacific Linguistics*, 1-15, Canberra.
- Solnit, David B. 2006. Verb serialization in eastern Kayah Li. In Aikhenvald, Y. Alexandra and R. M. W. Dixon, (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 144-159. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Song, Jae Jung. (ed.). 2012. *The Oxford handbook of linguistic typology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, John.M. 1963. Some restrictions on objects in Twi. *Journal of African Languages*, 2(2):145-149.
- Sudmuk, Cholthicha. 2005. *The syntax and semantics of serial verb constructions in Thai*. Unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Svartvik, Jan and Leech, Greeffrey (eds.). 2002. *A communicative grammar of English*. Third Edition. London: Longman.
- Takahashi, Kiyoko. 2009. Basic Serial Verb Constructions in Thai. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, 1:215 – 229.
- Taylor, John. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory*. Second Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

The Gur Languages of Ghana.

<https://acasearch.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/3-4-the-gur-language-of-ghana.pdf>.

17 October 2017.

Thepkanjana, K. 1986. *Serial verb constructions in Thai*. Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Michigan.

Timberlake, Alan. 2007. Aspect, tense, mood. In Timothy Shopen, (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Second Edition, vol. 3. USA: Cambridge University Press

Uchiyama, Kent. 2006. *English verb tenses: An informal but extensive reference for ESL structure, the good folks who teach them, the idly curious, and the linguistically perplexed*. [faa.khislamic.wordpress.com](http://faa.khislamic.wordpress.com)

Uwalaka, M. A. 1995. X-Movement and Igbo complex predicates. In K. Owolabi (ed.), *Language in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Ayo Bamgbose*. Ibadan: Group Publishers.

Westermann, D. H. 1907. *Grammatik der Ewe-sprache*. Berlin: Diederich Reimer.

Westermann, Diederich .H. 1927. *Die westlichen sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Westermann, D. H. 1930. *A study of the Ewe language*. London: Oxford University Press.

Westermann, Diederich and Margaret Bryan. 1952. *Languages of West Africa: Handbook of languages, vol. 2*. London: Oxford University Press.

Williams, W. 1971. Serial verb constructions in Krio. *Studies in African languages*, (10) 2:189-218.

Wiredu, John F. 1998. *Organised English grammar*. Ghana: Academic Publication Limited.

Zavala, Roberto. 2006. Serial Verbs in Olutec (Mixean). In Aikhenvald, Alexandra and R. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 273-299. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zwicky, M. Arnold. 1990. What are we talking about when we talk about serial verb constructions? In Joseph, B and Zwicky, A. (eds.), *Osu Working Papers in Linguistics*, 39:1-13.