

COMPOUNDING IN EWE

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INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS

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DECLARATION

I Anthony Kofi Agbadah, declared that this thesis is the result of my own personal effort and I have not already submitted in part or whole for a degree anywhere. I also certify that except for references to works that have been duly cited, this thesis is the result of my original research under the supervision of Dr. Seth Antwi Ofori and Dr. Clement K. I. Appah.

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DEDICATION

To

God Almighty! He has been my source of inspiration, wisdom, knowledge and understanding. He has always been my shield. He is ever faithful.

To

Margaret Abra Enyonam Pongo Agbadah, my wife for her encouragement.

To

Elorm, Kafui and Yayra, my adorable children, who have been affected in every way possible by my quest to accomplish this task.

To

The rest of my family for being there.

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ABSTRACT

Compounding is a very productive word formation process in Ewe. Works in Ewe grammar (Ofori 2002; Duthie 1996) only referenced it as one of the word formation processes in the language and have not done an in-depth morphological and phonological study on the phenomenon such as pursued in the current thesis. The purpose of this study is to investigate compounding with the view of providing a broad description of the empirical facts of compounds in Ewe. The study examines: the types of compounds in Ewe, the semantic relation between the constituents and the phonological processes involved in compounding. Data for this study is drawn from both primary and secondary sources. The data is based on interactions with native speakers, Ewe novels and course books and my knowledge of the language as a native speaker. The study showed that derived Ewe compounds are not only nouns but also adjectives, and that they are formed from two or more free forms, namely N-N, N-A, N-V, V-V, V-N and N-V-N. Ewe compounds are also attributive, subordinate and coordinate based on the relationship that exists between the constituents. These compounds may have endocentric and exocentric subtypes and the endocentric subtypes may be right-headed, left-headed or dual-headed. In terms of Phonology, the study shows that Ewe does not allow vowel segment sequence. For numeral compounds, the low vowel is always preserved regardless of whether it is a V_1 or V_2 . The low vowel always compensates for the deletion of a non-low vowel. For non-numeral compounds, V_2 is always deleted and there is no vowel lengthening to compensate for the vowel loss, and this leads to syllable loss.

LIST OF ABBRAVIATIONS

A	Adjective
A-N	Adjective-Noun compounds
CTV	Canonical Transitive Verb
Endo	Endocentric
Exo	Exocentric
H	High
ICV	Inherent Complement Verb
INT	Intensifier
L	Low Vowel
M	Mid Vowel
N	Noun
N-A	Noun-Adjective
NEG	Negative
NUM	Numerals
N-N	Noun-Noun Compounds
N-P	Noun Phrase
N-V	Noun-Verb Compound
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PS	Person
RED	Reduplication

SUBJ	Subject
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
SVO	SubjectVerb Object
V	Verb
V1	Vowel 1 at morpheme boundary
V2	Vowel 2 at morpheme boundary
V-N	Vern-Noun compound

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of compounding in Ewe. It provides a comprehensive description of the linguistic phenomenon of compounding in Ewe. It analyses compounding in Ewe both morpho-syntactically and phonologically.

Compounding is one area of grammar that has held the attention of grammarians and linguists, such as Sanskrit grammarians, structuralist linguists, transformational generative grammarians and the subsequent transition to lexicalist approaches for a long time. Primarily, compounding is a word formation process by which two or more free lexemes come together to form another word (i.e. the compound word).

Booij (2007) observed that compounds are very common in languages due to their semantic transparency and versatility. According to Dressler (2006) and Libben (2006), compounding is a language universal. In other words, there is no known language without compounds (Bauer 1988). According to Aikhenvald (2007: 24), “compounding is found in languages of any type, but is dominant in isolating languages”. However, Štekauer, Valera and Körtvélyessy (2012) have indicated that there are languages such as West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut, North America/Greenland), Diola Fogny (Niger-Congo) that do not have compounds.

Many linguists consider compounding as a morphosyntactic process of word formation. Bauer (2006) posits that in individual languages, things may be called compounds that would not normally be so termed in other languages. Compounding is a very productive word-formation process in Ewe, a language spoken in Ghana. Ofori (2002) observes that nominalization is pervasive in Ewe and that it involves processes such as compounding, reduplication, permutation, affixation and combination of these processes which are both morphological and phonological.

This thesis examines the structure and the morphophonological processes involved in the formation of compounds in Ewe. The rest of the chapter is organised as follow. Section 1.2 is a brief history of the Ewe people and the Ewe language. Section 1.3 is statement of the problem, section 1.4 is the objectives of the study, 1.5 is devoted to the research questions, 1.6 is the methodology, 1.7 is the significance of the study, 1.8 is devoted to the organization of the thesis and section 1.9 concludes the chapter.

1.2 The Ewe People and Language

Ewe refers to both the language and the speakers. This section discusses the history of the Ewe people and where they migrated from to their present settlement in Ghana. It also covers the Ewe language and its dialects. These are discussed in sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 respectively.

1.2.1 A Brief History of the Ewe People

According to Westermann (1930), the Ewes are believed to have migrated from Adzotome (Sumeria) to the Delta of the river Nile (presently known as Egypt). From Egypt they moved through Ketu (Sudan) to Ile-Ife in Nigeria. When they left Ile-Ife, they divided into three groups. One group established at the bank of the Mono River also known as Tado, another set settled near the Mono and the Haho River also known as Notsie in the Republic of Togo while the third group settled in Adele, and created the Dogbonyigbo Kingdom which is Dahome, presently known as the Republic of Benin. The Ewe group in the Republic of Benin then moved to join their brothers in Notsie

In Notsie they started quarrelling among themselves on issues concerning throne accession. Tɔgbi Wenya enthrones his nephew Sri as the King of Dogbonyigbo. Sri's accession to the throne invoked anger and envy in Tɔgbe Agɔkɔli the King of Notsie. Tɔgbe Agɔkɔli made life difficult for the Ewe people. He forced them to work hard for him and ordered them to build a very thick wall around his Kingdom using clay mixed with thorns and broken bottles. Tɔgbe Agɔkɔli also tasked the Ewes to make a rope for him using clay. Looking at the difficulties and

the unbearable situations they were going through, the various Ewe chiefs came together and took a decision on how to escape from the leadership of the wicked King of Notsie. They therefore asked their women to throw waste water against the thick wall of Notsie to soften it so that they can push it down.

On the appointed night, the men pushed against the wall until it fell. They left Notsie walking backwards with the women and children in the lead followed by the men. They walked backwards because they did not want their footsteps to be traced knowing very well that the King will send his warriors after them when he discovers their escape the next morning.

After they left Notsie they settled in various parts of Ghana. Some groups settled on the Dayi plains and on the mountains. Others moved towards Adaklu and the northern part of the plains. The rest led by Tɔgbi Wenya moved towards the sea and they founded the Anlo states.

1.2.2 The Ewe Language

Ewe belongs to the Kwa language family of Sudanic languages. It is categorised as a 'Gbe' language, a group of interrelated languages like Fon in Benin and Gengbe in Togo Westermann (1930). Kwa languages are a sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of the Congo-Kordofanian language family of Africa

Ewe is spoken in the following coastal and inland parts in the Volta Region of Ghana namely: Ho, Kpando, Peki, Gbi, Adaklu, Wli, Aɲfɔɛ, Avenor, Ve, etc, Duthie (1996:2).

Ewe shares boundary with Ga-Dangme and Akan to the West, and to the North they share boundary with the Ghana-Togo-Mountain languages, for example, Siwu, Siya, Likpe, Kwa languages, and some Gur languages such as Kabiye. Gbe dialects – Gen, Aja and Xwla are to the east of Ewe. All the languages have different levels of intelligibility with Ewe.

Ewe is studied in schools in Ghana and Togo as a subject at all stages of education up to the tertiary level. There is always a debate about the population of all Ewe speaking people. Several uncoordinated census show that, the number of Ewes may range between two and five million. However, According to Ghana Statistical Service 2010 census, there are about 2.7 million Ewes in Ghana.

The map below shows where Ewe (in yellow) and the rest of Gbe languages are spoken in Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria.

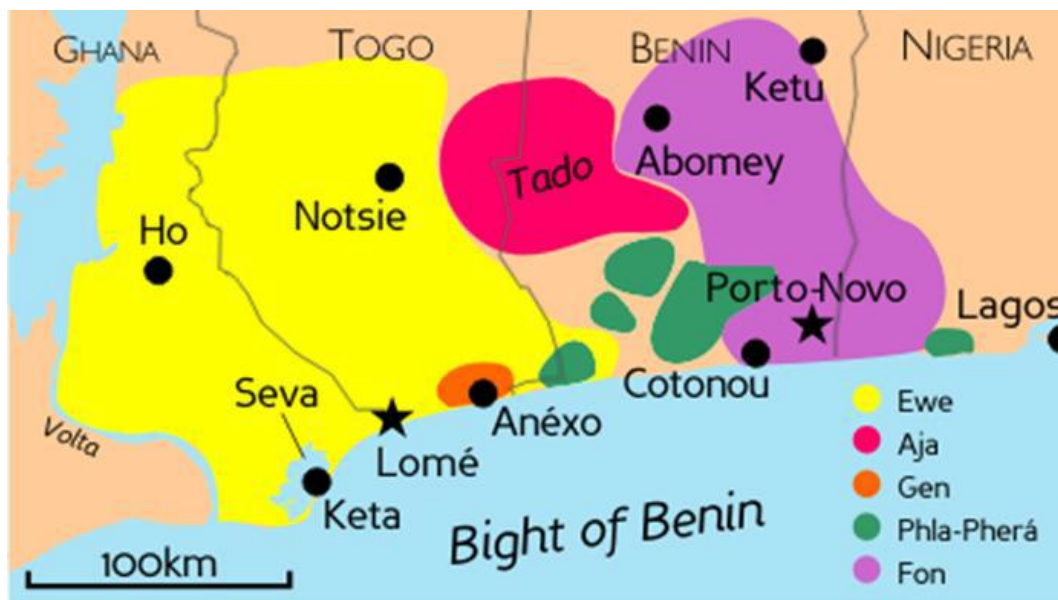


Figure 1. <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/verba-africana/ewe/c-ewe-language.htm>

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Compounding has received much attention in Germanic languages such as English (cf. Benczes 2010, Booij 2005, Harley 2009, Jackendoff 2009). Akan has also received much attention in the subject as far as Ghanaian languages are concerned (cf. Dolphyne 1988, Abakah 2006, Appah 2013b, 2013a 20016c and Ofori 2008). So far there has not been any detailed study into compounding in Ewe. This thesis will look at the structure and the formation of compound in the language.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are as follow:

- to identify the types of compounds in Ewe.
- to identify the semantic and grammatical relations between the constituents.
- to examine the phonological processes involved in compounding.

1.5 Research Questions

The questions that I attempt to answer are:

- What are the types of compounds in Ewe?
- What are the semantic and the grammatical relations between constituent units in compounding?
- What are the phonological processes involved in compounding in Ewe?

1.6 Methodology

Data for this study are drawn from both primary and secondary sources. Examples that have been used in the thesis are records of data collected from native speakers going about their normal duties. A few other examples were taken from linguistic works and Ewe language course book, including Ameka (1991) and, Ofori (2002). The rest are novels in Ewe, books, and journal articles.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Compounding is a very productive word-formation process in Ewe. A study of this kind will serve as a record for persons interested in the subject. It will also contribute to the existing literature on the topic as well as serve as a foundation for future research in this area.

1.8 Organization of the Thesis

The research is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is a general introduction of the study. In this chapter I have given a general introduction to issues concerning compounding. I have also presented an overview of the background of the Ewe people as well as their language. The objective of the study, research questions, methodology and the significance of the study are also featured in this chapter. In chapter two I review literatures that are relevant to this research and also recant or lay out principles of autosegmental phonology that are of relevance to the current study. Chapter three offers a morphosyntactic analysis of Ewe compounds. Chapter four features an analysis of the phonological processes at play in compounding in Ewe. Research findings and recommendations conclude the study in chapter five.

1.9 Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, I have discussed the general introduction of the study. I have given a general introduction to issues concerning compounding. I have also presented an overview of the background of the Ewe people as well as their language. The objective of the study, research questions, methodology and the significance of the study are also presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The study of compounds has attracted attention from various fields of scholarship. The linguistics literature is fully equipped with studies on compounds. Some are theoretical, some are cross-linguistic, and the rest place emphasis on the study of compounds in specific languages. Grammarians and linguists have devoted their attention on the study of compounding over the years. In this chapter, I discuss various works on the general issues in the study of compounding. The rest of the chapter is organized as follow. Section 2.2 looks at the general issues confronting compounding. Section 2.3 is on studies on various definitions of compounding. Section 2.4 features the studies on classification. Studies on differences between compounds and phrases are discussed in 2.5 followed by headedness in compounding in section 2.6. Studies on phonological structures of Ewe and phonological processes are reviewed in sections 2.7. Section 2.8 is devoted to some morphological and semantic issues. The theoretical frameworks and conclusion end the chapter in sections 2.9 and 2.10 respectively.

2.2 General issues of compounding

The study of compounding has attracted attention of researchers for various reasons. Some of the specific studies on compounds as a subject are: Benczes (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2010), Heyvaert (2009), Pepper (2010), Booij (2007, 2009a, and 2010a), Jackendoff (2009a) Harley (2009) and Appah (2016c, 2013b)

Many researchers admit that compounds are very common in the languages of the world due to their semantic transparency and flexibility. Booij (2007), Dressler (2006) and Libben (2006) suggested that compounding is a language universal. This agrees with Bauer (1988:33), who argues that “it seems that no known language is without compounds”. Likewise, Aikhenvald (2007) observed that “compounding is *found in languages of any type*, but is dominant in isolating languages”. Dressler (2006:24) also argued that “compounds are present in *all* languages of the world”. But, Štekauer, Valera, and Körtvélyessy (2012) have shown that some languages do not have compounding. These languages include *West Greenlandic* (Eskimo-Aleut, North America/Greenland), *Diola Fogy* (Niger-Congo). Many exciting issues arise in the study of compounding. These issues include definition, headedness, classification of compounds phonological processes as well as the distinction between compounds and phrases. These issues have attracted scholarly attention and provoked lively debates.

2.3 Definition of compounding

According to Fabb (1998:66) a “compound is a word which consists of two or more words.” This definition characterises the simplest notion of a compound. For example Malay compound *meta-hari* ‘sun’ comprises two words: *meta* ‘eye’ and *hari* ‘day’. This example is very common in the literature on word formation. Booij (2007:75) defines compounding as “the combination of lexemes into larger words. This means that, compounding consists of the combination of two words, in which one word modifies the meaning of the other, the head.” Lieber (2004:46)

defines root compounds as consisting of “two stems combined as one, with the compound as a whole bearing the category of the right-hand stem.” Bauer (1988:38) defines compounding as “the formation of a new lexeme by adjoining two or more lexemes”. According to Katamba (1993) “a prototypical compound is a word made up of at least two bases which can occur elsewhere as independent words.” Spencer (1991: 305) defines compounds as “a concatenation of words to form other words.” Haspeelmath (2002: 85) sees compounds as “two lexemes that are joined together (called compound elements).” Bauer (2003: 40) defines a compound as “the formation of new lexemes by adjoining two or more lexemes.”

It is interesting to note that all the definitions present compounding as a word formation processes. The definitions above are not without problems. Most of them look more language-specific rather than cross-linguistic. This clearly suggests that there are hardly any universally accepted criteria for determining what a compound is in spite of extensive research into compounds and the compounding processes.

Lieber and Štekauer (2009) group the problems that the straightforward characterization of compounding poses into two, namely the “micro question” and the “macro question”. The macro question has to do with the difficulty, sometimes, in making a clean distinction between compounds on the one hand and derived words or phrases on the other whilst the micro question has to do with the status of the compound members: whether they are free-standing words or not. Montermini (2010) suggests that though everybody, linguists and non-linguists,

appears to have a naive, pre-theoretic notion of what a compound is, this conception is hard to formalize, without defining the type of units involved first. Compound constituents in some languages are not free-standing words, but rather stems or roots, as some of the definitions show. However, terms like *stem*, *root*, *word*, etc. are not well-delineated concepts either at the language-specific level or at the cross-linguistic level. For example the definitions that suggest that compounding is the combination of only two free forms to form a new word cannot hold for all Ewe compounds. Compounding in Ewe can consist of combination of two or more free forms. Ewe speakers can put together two bases and more than two bases to form a noun compound as shown in the examples in Tables (1) and (2) below:

Table 1. Ewe Compounds Consisting of Only Two Bases

BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
àbólo	bread	kpó	hill	àbólókpó	oven
gbé	bush	àvu	dog	gbèvú	ruffian
àbòbì	anchovies	àtádí	stew	àbòbitádí	anchovy stew
kú	death	ègà	money	kúgà	funeral donation
àba	bed	hó	money	àbahó	coffin fine
àbà	mat	àtí	wood	àbatí	bed
blí	corn	àvà	barn	blíva	corn barn
àgbà	load	afɔ	leg	àgbàfɔ	ladder
fetrí	okro	àgblè	farm	fetrígble	okro farm

Table 2. Ewe Compounds Consisting of Three Bases

BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	BASE 3	GLOSS	COMP.	GLOSS
ame	human	kó	take	mɔ	machine	amekóm ɔ	lift
anyí	down	mló	sleep	awu	dress	anyímló wu	pajamas
aɲutí	orange	fiá	squeez e	emɔ	machine	aɲutífiá mɔ	juicer
àtíke	medicin e	xɔ	take	àgbàle	book	àtíkexɔg bale	prescription
bɔl	ball	fo	play	há	group	bɔlfohá	football team

Donalies (2004) tries to supply conclusive criteria of compoundhood as shown in example (1).

1. *Putative list of defining properties of compounds.* They

- i. are formed without word-formation affixes.
- ii. are spelled together.
- iii. have a specific stress pattern
- iv. include linking elements.
- v. are right-headed.
- vi. are inflected as a whole.
- vii. are syntactically inseparable.
- viii. are syntactico-semantic islands.
- ix. are conceptual units.

Appah (2013b) describes Donalies (ibid) criteria as too language-specific to be cross-linguistically relevant. The criteria are based on generalizations that have

been found not to hold. For example, Donalie's (2004) suggestion that compounds are right-headed cannot hold in Ewe since Ewe compounds may be right-headed, left-headed or dual-headed.

Lieber and Štekauer (2009) believe that the way forward is to accept that there is "a cline of more compound-like and less compound-like complexes, with no clear categorical distinct". According to Aikhenvald (2007) compounds should be defined on language-specific basis. According to Appah (2013b), this approach could potentially result in little or no structure and would not advance the cause of developing a general theory of language.

Appah (2013b) prefers a definition of compounding that stresses the lexemic status of the constituents of compounds. That is the combination of Katamba (1993) and Booij (2007) definitions. He therefore defines compounding as "the process by which a new lexeme is formed by combining two or more bases each of which potentially occurs alone elsewhere in the grammar as free forms" (Appah 2013: 152b). Ewe compounds can fit well into this definition. The examples and the discussions in (2) explain this point further.

2	BASE1	BASEE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbèlì cassava	àtí stick	àgbèlìtí cassava stick
b.	àsí hand	awu dress	àsíwu glove

In (2a) above, *àgbèliti* is a new lexeme formed by combining two related bases *àgbèli* and *àti*. The same applies to (2b). The compound *dànḡkpóxo* ‘ward’ is the combination of three free forms *dànḡ* ‘patient’ *kpó* ‘see’ and *exo* ‘room’. Ewe compounds are spelled together, they can be right-headed, left-headed and dual-headed, and they are inflected as a whole and are syntactically or structurally inseparable. I define Ewe compounds as the combination of two or more related bases which occur alone as free forms to form a new lexeme.

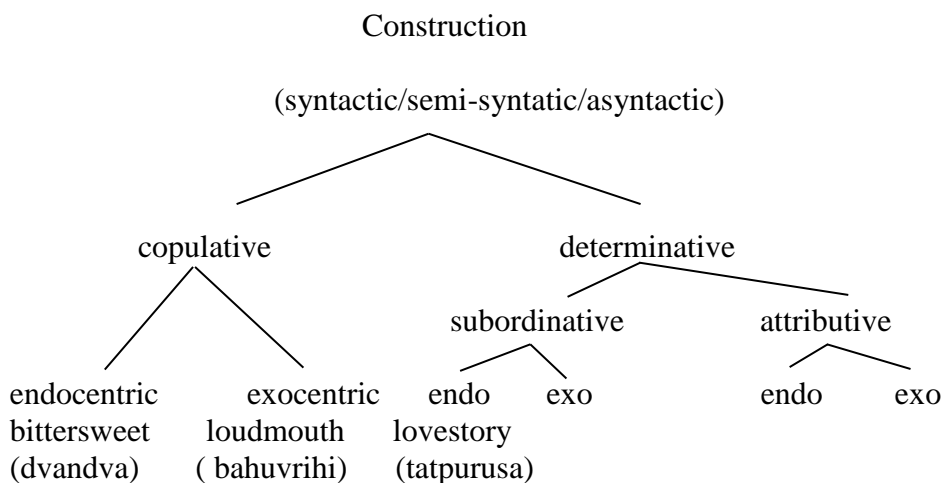
2.4 Classification of Compounds

The classification of compounds has been a central issue in the linguistic literature. Almost every scholar dealing with the study of compounding has proposed his or her own view. According to Appah (2013) one simple way to classify compounds is to use the form-class of the constituents, yielding N-N, N-A, N-V, etc., or that of the output category of the compound, yielding verbal, nominal, adjectival, etc. compounds. According to Bloomfield (1933) the presence and position of a head element, distinguishing between compounds which are hyponyms of their head and those which are not, yielding endocentric vs. exocentric compound respectively is another way of classifying compounds. A final approach uses the grammatical and semantic relation between the constituents. (cf. Appah 2013). In reality, it is clear that most classifications involve more than one of the above parameters, so it is not rare to discover terms like endocentric N+N coordinates and V+V endocentric compounds (cf. Lieber 2009 359).

Some of the classifications proposed in research works on compounds, are illustrated below from (3) to (10).

3.

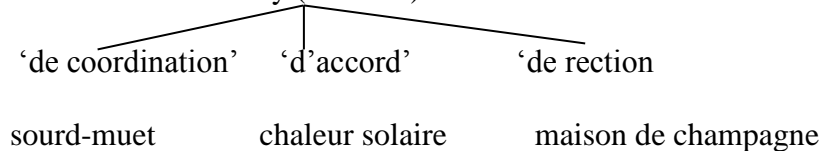
(Bloomfield 1933:128)



Bloomfield used constantly the notions of «subordinate» and «coordinate»; however, the construction of his classification ignores the fact that both subordinate and coordinate compounds can be exocentric (Scalise and Bisetto 2005).

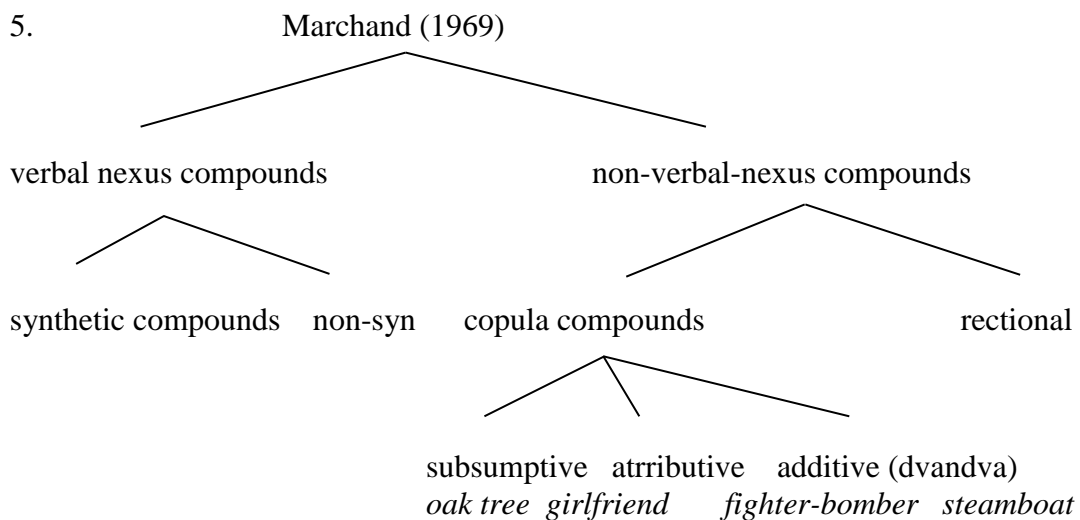
4.

Bally (1950:28)



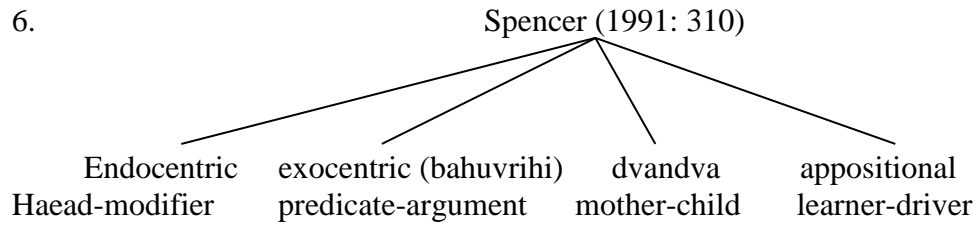
Bally's classification is based on a unique principle that is the grammatical relations between head and non-head constituents: 'de coordination', 'd'accord' and 'de rection'. This suggestion is consistent because it is founded on a single

criterion but, unfortunately, it lacks the notion head. (cf. Scalise and Bisetto 2005/2009).

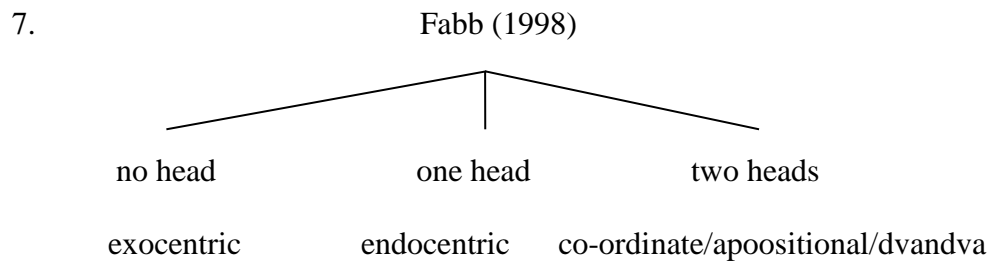


Marchand's proposal is applicable only to endocentric compounds. He presents another view saying compounds do not exist as a separate sort of word formation. He maintains that what is known in the literature as exocentric compounds are to be analysed as containing some sort of (categorizing) zero suffix and, as such, they are formations not pertaining to the compounding domain but to derivation (cf. Scalise and Bisetto 2005/2009).

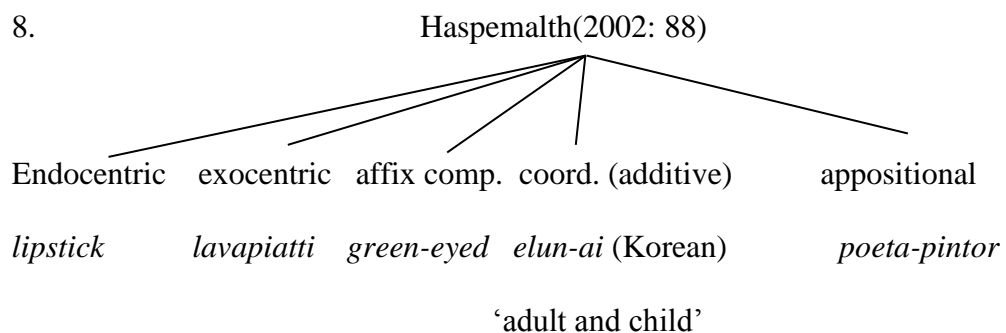
Spencer (1991) proposes that compounds are classed into 3 groups: (a) endocentric head–modifier constructions compounds; (b) exocentric (bahuvrihi) predicate–argument formations and (c) dvandva compounds including appositional constructions.



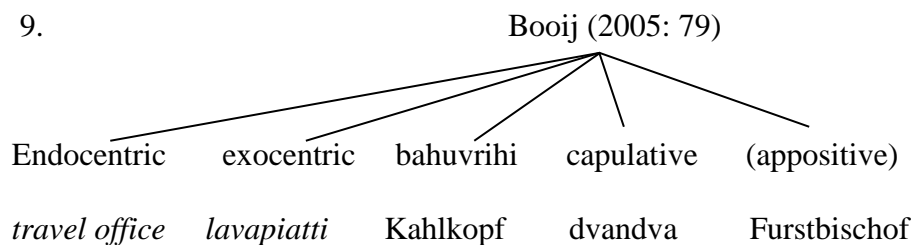
Fabb's classification makes use of a single criterion number of heads.



Haspelmath groups compounds into (endocentric, exocentric, coordinate, appositional and affixed compounds) to suggest that both affixed and coordinate (additive) compounds of the type adult-child are exocentric while appositional ones are endocentric



Booij's organization splits dvandva compounds of the Sanskrit type (with dual or plural inflection) from copulatives (which have singular number). He also separates endocentric and exocentric compounds from bahuvrihis and copulatives.



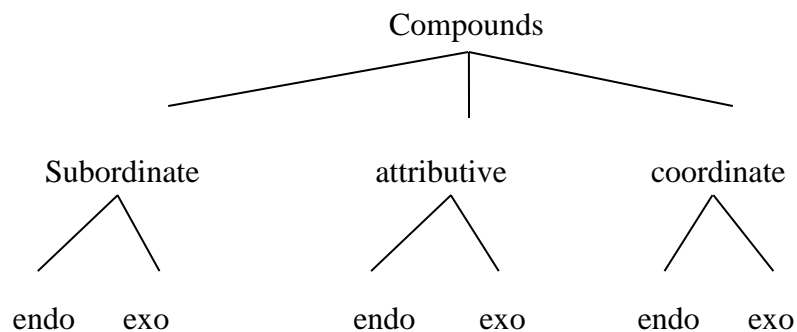
Scalise and Bisetto (2009) identify three problems with existing systems of classification (Bloomfield 1930; Booij 2005; Bally 1950; Bauer 2001; Spencer 1991; Olensen 2001; Marchand 1969 and Haspelmath 2002). Their criticisms include the following:

- a. the terms applied are often too languages-specific to be cross-linguistically appropriate.
- b. many studies privilege compounds formed by certain lexical categories (mostly N-N compounds) leaving many other classes unrepresented; and
- c. the use of unpredictable criteria, making it difficult to compare the various classes posited.

Bisetto and Scalise (2005) categorize compounds based on hierarchy. Their classification considers the grammatical relations between the constituents. The first level produces three macro types – *attributive* compounds, *subordinate*

compounds and *coordinative* compounds. Each one is divided again at the second level centred on the presence or absence of a head element in the compound. This gives rise to *endocentric* and *exocentric* as illustrated in the tree diagram in (10) below:

10.



(Bisetto and Scalise 2005)

Scalise and Bisetto (2009) argue that the three-way classification confirms the manner in which the head selects the non-head in each of the three groups. Scalise and Bisetto (2009) classificatory system is relevant to this current studies.

Appah (2013) discusses types of Akan compounds. He identifies five main classes: Noun-Noun, Noun-Adjective, Verb-verb, Verb-Object (V-N) and Object-Verb (N-V) of compounds. He also shows that, the so-called A-N compounds do not exist in Akan and that the compounds that are put in this class by Dolphyne (1988) and others are N-N compounds. His position is that in the so-called A-N compounds the prefixes nominalize the adjectives which then occur as left-hand nominal components in N-N compounds which are mainly right-headed in Akan. Appah (2013b) again argues that, the semantic properties, phonological properties and

morphosyntactic properties provide strong evidence for accepting a constructional view of grammar. According Appah (2015), the noun constituent in Akan verb-noun compounds may possibly be the internal argument of the verb mostly, but also be the external argument or an adjunct, usually identifying the location of the action. He posits that the noun constituent may bear a semantic role of the action/event chosen by the verb, while the denotatum of the compound may be agent, theme instrument, location or condition. These findings are relevant to the current study.

Appah (2017) suggests that, all five Akan compound types Noun-Noun, Noun-Adjective, Verb-verb, Verb-Object (V-N) and Object-Verb (N-V) have exocentric subtypes. The current study will examine the compound types in Ewe. The analysis is couched within the approaches adopted by Bisetto and Scalise (2005), and Appah (2013a).

2.5 Compounds versus Phrases.

Appah (2013) noted that compounds have a lot in common with phrases, including having lexemic constituents which pattern linearly like phrases. Thus, the issue of how to draw a line between compounds (morphology) and phrases (syntax) is an important one that must be dealt with.

Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) have put forward a number of formal criteria for identifying grammatical words. In their model, a unit is a grammatical word:

- (i) if the elements of the unit occur together rather than scattered over the clause in which it occurs (cohesiveness or internal immutability),
- (ii) if all elements occur in a fixed order and can be moved as a unit (syntagmatic mobility), and
- (iii) if, as a unit, it has a conventionalized meaning.

According to Appah (2013b), the criteria for distinguishing between compounds and phrases in Akan may be orthographic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, or semantic. In terms of semantics, the traditional approach has been to look for semantic specialization and exocentricity. That is, phrases are by definition compositional. So if a word group is non-compositional (whether exocentric or has institutionalized meaning) or partially compositional then it probably is a compound and not a phrase. For the purpose of distinguishing between compounds and phrases Appah reckons a unit to be a compound if it meets the criteria for grammatical words as set out in Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002). He also considers a unit as a compound on purely morphological grounds, that is, if, as a unit, it can inflect for number or can undergo further derivation. Appah also employs constituent order and the tonal pattern of constructions to tell the compoundhood of a unit in Akan.

This is relevant to this study as well. The reasons are that, Ewe compounds can meet the criteria for grammatical words. They are free forms that can inflect for number and can undergo further derivations. Also the constituent order and tonal pattern of construction can be used as a test for compoundhood in Ewe.

2.6 Headedness in compounding

One of the main criteria for classifying compounds in the literature is the presence of the head component. Katamba (1993) looks at the head as the most important aspect in the classification of compounds. Booij (2007) posits that headedness of a compound is important for two reasons; first for its formal properties, and second for its semantic interpretation. Andreou (2014: 12) argues that the head of a complex construction is “the most important in the structure and it dominates the whole complex word.” According to Appah (2016b), the head of a morphological structure defines the dominant and privileged constituent in an asymmetrical relation which defines the properties of the whole. This suggests that, in a compound of two constituents, only one of them succeeds to assume the role of the head. According to Selkirk (1982) the concept of “head” is vital in characterizing the semantics of compounds. Selkirk sees the head of the compound as the constituent that defines the meaning of the compound. That is, the head defines most properties of the compound. If the meaning of the compound is in the head element, then it is easy to identify the head element. This implies that, the class of elements denoted by the compound is usually a subset of the class of elements that is denoted by the head of the compound. For example, *table mat*, is a hyponym of *mat*, the head. Hence, *mat* can occur where *tablemat* is expected to occur without a drastic change in the meaning of the construction, but the same cannot be said of the non-head constituents *table* occurring alone where *tablemat* is expected (Appah 2013). Again *mat* is the head because *tablemat* is a type of *mat* not a type of *table*.

Scholars suggested that the position of the head is a parameter that has to be set for each language, so that the morphology of a language is either left-headed or right-headed, depending on the language. Williams (1981: 248) suggests the right-hand head rule (RHR) by stating that the right-hand elements of complex words are the heads of such words. Selkirk (1982: 20) maintains that “the right-hand head rule (RHR) is not adequate to characterize the headedness of English word structure, if verb- particle sequences are left-headed components and if the head of an inflected word is not the inflectional affix, which in English is on the right”. Táíwò (2009) also confirms most morphologically complex words in Yoruba have their left-hand constituents as heads. Again Appah (2013b) observes that although most of the endocentric N-N compounds in Akan are right-headed, there are also left-headed ones. Many studies on headedness of compounds (Andreou 2014; Booij 2007; Scalise & Fábregas 2010) conclude that many languages have both left-headed and right-headed compounds and may have different types of heads, characterized by different constituents. This discussion is also relevant because Ewe compounds can be right-headed, left-headed and dual-headed. The current study will classify compounds based on the various criteria.

2.7 Background on Ewe Phonology

It is important to introduce aspects of Ewe phonology of relevance to the current study. This section presents the reviews of works on Ewe vowels, consonants, syllable types and some phonological processes.

2.7.1 Ewe Vowels

According to Duthie (1996: 12), there are seven oral and five nasal vowels in Ewe. Table (3) below is the vowel chart of Ewe.

Table 3. Ewe Vowel Chart

	Oral		Nasal	
	Front	Back	Front	Back
Close	i	u	ĩ	ũ
Close-mid	e	o		
Mid	ɛ	ɔ	ẽ	õ
Open	ɑ		ã	

(Duthie 1996: 12)

2.7.2 Ewe Consonants

The consonant structure of Ewe is made up of co-articulated /kp/ and /gb/, bilabial and labiodental fricatives, e.g., /f/ versus /f/ and /v/ versus /v/, and alveolar and retroflex stops, e.g., /d/ versus /d/. /m/ and /n/ may be syllabic and bear tones. (cf. Duthie 1996).

The table below shows the distributions of Ewe consonants.

Table 4. Ewe Consonant Chart

		bilabial	Labio-Dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stops	-voice	p		t			k	kp	
	+voice	b		d	ɖ		g	gb	
Fricatives	-voice	f	f	s					x
	+voice	v	v	z			y		h
Affricates	-voice			ts					
	+voice			dz					
Nasals		m				ɲ	ŋ		
Lateral					l				
Flap					r				
Semi vowel		w				j			

Duthie (1996: 12)

2.7.3 Ewe Syllable Types

According to Duthie (1996: 26), there are three basic syllable types and all of these types necessarily have their accompanying tones.

Syllable type 1

- Tone and nucleus only for example, é “he/she/it”, è “you-SG”, ò “not”

Syllable type 2

- One margin, tone and nucleus for example, tó “pound”, fi “steal”, gbõ “goat”

Syllable type 3

- Two margins, tone and nucleus for example blè “deceive”, dzrá “sell”, flè “buy”, gblò “say”

According to Agbedor (2002), the Ewe syllable is obligatorily composed of a nucleus and a tone. The onset and the coda are optional, and most syllables in Ewe have no codas (i.e., they are open syllables). The syllable types found in Ewe are illustrated below in (8)

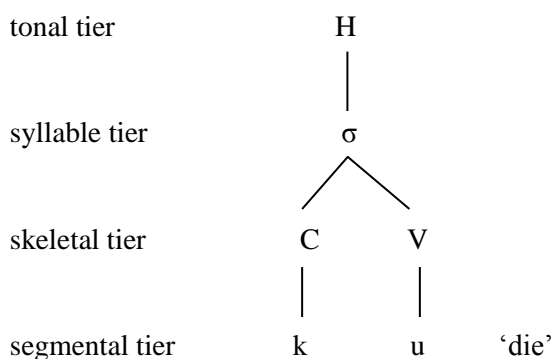
In the current study the mid tone is not marked. The high tones and the low tones are duly marked.

8. Ewe syllable types

- VT: as in à-tí (tree)
- CT: as in ‘ŋ-kú’ (eye)

- CV^T: as in 'va' (come)
- CCV^T: as in 'bla' (tie)
- CV¹V^{2T}: as in 'bia'(ask)
- CVV^T: as in 'dzaa' (stealthily)
- CVCT: as in 'goŋ' (firm) (Agbedor, 2002)

12. Representation of Ewe syllable structure



2.7.4 Phonological Processes

As noted earlier, during compound formation in Ewe, various phonological processes take place. These include vowel deletion, resyllabification, simplification of vowel sequence at morpheme boundaries, assimilation, effects of tone, and cluster reduction. There is the need to review some works that touch on phonological processes. Ofori (2008) discusses morphological and phonological processes that take place in Twi numeral compounds. He posits that Twi basic numerals from one to nine go into compounding with the root of ten *du* and of hundred *ha* that yield numbers like *aduonu* 20, *aduasa* 30, *ahaanu* 200, and *ahaasa* 300. He points out that, the Numeral-Numeral compounds create vowel segment

sequences at morpheme boundaries which are not permissible in the language. He argues that the only permissible vowel sequence is /ue/. He states that Akan uses deletion to solve the problems impermissible vowel sequence at morpheme boundaries create by deleting V2. He identifies deletion, compensatory lengthening and tone harmony as some of the phonological processes involve in numeral compounds. These revelations are very relevant to the current study because vowel segment sequences at morpheme boundaries are not permissible in Ewe. Ofori 2008 uses autosegmental theory in his paper which is also relevant to this study. Autosegmental theory will help this study to draw a line between segments and their features.

Agbedor (2002) discusses the role of tone in reduplication in Ewe. He suggests that reduplication in Ewe is found to have both lexical and grammatical functions; it turns a verb into either a gerund or an adjective. He again suggests that the reduplication template, which represents the copied part of the reduplication, has been found to have different tonal patterns depending on the function of the reduplicated form. In gerunds, there is a default low tone on the reduplicative template. This is relevant to this study since most V-V compounds are derived from reduplication. When two verbs are combined, the verbs undergo reduplication process sometimes. The first verb is reduplicated and compounded with the following verb which always retains its original tone. When the verb (CV stem) is a high tone, the counter changes its high tone to a low tone while the root retains the high tone. When both the counter verb and the root verb are low tone, the verb is a low (Ofori 2002).

Abakah (2006) studies tonal processes in Akan. He suggests that verbs or nouns of the same class behave tonally the same in Akan, and that from tone melodies, one can differentiate between a compound and a phrase. Ewe behaves differently as far as compounding is concerned. Tone deletion, spreading, stability and assimilation are common in compounding in Ewe.

According to Agbedor (2009), vowel deletion involves the removal of a vowel from a word under two conditions. The first is the morphological process of compounding. The other condition takes place where a possessive pronoun is in construction with a noun which begins with a vowel. Agbedor concludes that it is the vowel that begins the second word (N2) that is deleted as shown in the example below.

- (13) a. agbeli + agble → `agbeligble
 cassava farm ‘cassava farm’
- b. ga + aba + ati → gabati
 iron bed wood ‘metal bed’ (Agbedor 2009)

Agbedor’s observation is not entirely the case. Detailed investigation into vowel sequence and vowel sequence processes in this thesis reveals the fact that this vowel deletion rule does not apply when N2 is a numeral. This will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis.

2.8 Some morphological and semantic issues

Ofori (1988, 2002) discusses compounding as one of the nominalization processes in Ewe. Ofori posits that nominalisation processes are prevalent in Ewe and they include the processes of compounding, permutation, affixation, reduplication and combination of two or more of these processes which are both phonological and morphological. She concludes that compounding is a nominalisation process. This will be thoroughly investigated since the data available for the present work suggests that compounding can produce other word class like adjectives. Ofori's on Ewe nominalisation represents an important foundation upon which the present work builds because her work set the stage for this work which seeks to provide an account of the nature and classification of compounds in Ewe.

Westermann (1907) and Ameka (1991) write on person markers/ possessive markers in Ewe. They observe that person markers occur as affixes in some contexts and as free forms in other contexts. According to Westermann, Ewe has four different person markers, *-nɔ* 'mother', *-tɔ* 'father', *-a* and *-la*. He argues that the markers *-a* and *-la* are very similar in terms of their functions. The marker *-a* is used in older varieties, while that of *-la* is very regular in modern varieties of Ewe. Ameka (1991) calls these markers possessive markers. According to Ameka the possessive suffixes *-tɔ*, *-nɔ*, and *-vi* are homophonous with the kin terms *tɔ* 'father', *nɔ* 'mother', and *vi* 'child' respectively. Claudi and Heine (1986) suggest that the former have evolved from the latter through metaphorical language usage and conceptualization. According to Ameka, one can distinguish between the use of these forms as possessum suffixes where they maintain their kin term sense and

their use as possessor suffixes where they have acquired new meanings. This is relevant to the present work because these forms can occur as affixes and they can also occur as free forms (lexemes) in compounding.

According to Ameka (1991), semantically, an adjective describes some important but non-criteria property of an object. This means that an adjectival will draw a line between two members of the same species that a single common noun makes reference to. Ameka identifies five basic adjectives in Ewe (gã ‘big’, vɔ̃ ‘bad’, ʋí ‘white’, ví ‘small’ and dzí ‘red colour’). The list below with English examples were the basis of the cross linguistic comparison of the adjective word class.

(14) Classes of adjectives

- a. DIMENSION - big, large, little, small, long, short, narrow, wide,
- b. PHYSICAL PROPERTY - hard, soft, sweet, sour, rough, smooth, hot
- c. COLOUR - black, white, red, green, yellow, blue.
- d. HUMAN PROPENSITY - jealous, happy, kind, rude, proud, cruel...
- e. AGE - new, young, old....
- f. VALUE - good, bad, precious, delicious, atrocious....
- g. SPEED - fast, quick, slow....

The list above has been investigated with Ewe examples in chapter three.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This thesis is framed on autosegmental theory. The theory will help provide answers to some questions about the phonological processes involved in compounding in Ewe. The theory utilized will help describe, illustrate and discuss the phenomena of vowel deletion, resyllabification, simplification of vowel sequence at morpheme boundaries, assimilation, effects of tone, and cluster reduction in compounding in Ewe

2.9.1 Autosegmental Theory

Autosegmental phonology comprises several linear arrangements of elements and each linear sequence constituting a distinct tier. The principle permits a close link between investigations of segments into distinct features of which every feature in a language appears on precisely one tier.

The common assumption in Sound Pattern of English (SPE) is that the feature specifications for a given segment were combined without any order. When the non-linear theory is developed, it is generally accepted that representation of features should be autosegmentally structured: where every feature is organised on a distinct tier and linked to syllable positions or other tiers by lines of association Goldsmith (1976a). Autosegmental representation permits each feature to be accessed individually by the various phonological processes such as deletion and assimilation. Goldsmith (1976a), the brain behind the theory, sees the segments and their features as distinct and for that matter they are labeled as being parallel.

This means that the features are not part of the segments but they look at them as their properties.

This study discusses deletion as a way of avoiding vowel sequence segment at morpheme boundaries in compounding. Sometimes when the vowels deletes they do not go with their tonal feature; the tones may be preserved and may have influence at other segments. This shows clearly that the segments and their features are different things all together. Precisely, what this means is that, segments and features constitute discrete tiers and that a change in one does not disturb the other. The segments and their features separately bear their consequences. Features and their segments are independent entities. The illustrations help to draw a line between the segments and their tiers.

Autosegmental phonology helps to resolve numerous problems in the literature. Problems involving tonology which autosegmental phonology resolves are the representation of contour tones and tone preservation also known as stability. In resolving vowel sequence segments at morpheme boundaries in compounding in Ewe some vowel may delete but their tones remain. Whatever happens to the tones afterwards is another thing altogether Morte (2013). Autosegmental phonology also answers the questions floating tones bring. Discussion with illustrations in this domain is dealt with later in chapter 4.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed general issues (definition, classification, headedness and test for compound hood) in the study of compounding. There are hardly any universally accepted criteria for determining what a compound is in spite of extensive research into compound and compounding processes as far as definition and classification are concerned. These general issues are meant as a general backdrop against which Ewe compounding will be discussed in the next three chapters

CHAPTER THREE

MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF EWE COMPOUNDS

3.1 Introduction

Compounding in Ewe has been studied for a short time and it has featured in just a few studies in Ewe (cf. Duthie 1996, Ofori 2002) as a word formation process. However, none of the existing studies provides a detailed account of the different forms of compounds in the language or offers a classificatory account of the different forms of compounds. I aim to classify Ewe compounds both structurally (i.e. morphosyntactically) and semantically. This chapter presents the grammatical and syntactic relations in Ewe compounds as well as the syntactic category of the constituents of the compound members (i.e. N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V, N.V.N). It also covers the presence of a head element, which presents endocentric and exocentric types of compounds. Again, the position of head constituents which gives left-headed, right-headed and dual headed compounds is presented in this chapter. Finally the chapter presents the semantic relations between constituents.

The goal is to establish the morphosyntactic and semantic principles and relationships that underline the formation of compounds in Ewe. The analysis is couched within the approaches adopted by Bisetto and Scalise (2005), and Appah (2013b).

This chapter is organized into five sub-sections with each sub-section focusing on a category of compound. The rest of the chapter is organized as follow. Section 3.2

looks at the grammatical and syntactic relations in Ewe compounds. Section 3.3 features Noun-Noun (N-N) compounds. Section 3.4 deals with Noun Adjective (NA) compounds followed by Noun-Verb (N-V) compounds in 3.5. Section 3.6 is on Verb-Noun (V-N) compounds. Section 3.7 presents Verb-Verb (V-V) compounds, followed by Noun-Verb-Noun (N-V-N) compounds in 3.8. Section 3.9 concludes the chapter.

3.2. Grammatical and syntactic relations in Ewe compounds

It is not just any two verbs, nouns or adjectives for example that can be combined to form a Verb-Verb or a Noun-Noun or adjective-adjective compound. Also it is not just any noun and adjective or any verb and noun that can be compounded to form a Noun-Adjective and a Verb-Noun compound respectively. According to Appah (2013), there must be some observable or imaginable relationships between the elements of the compound. According to Downing (1977:831), “any entity to be referred to as a compound participant participates in many relationships which, in absolute terms, may serve as compounding relationships”. Marchand (1969:11) suggests that “the principle of combining two words arises from the natural human tendency to see a thing identical with another one already existing and at the same time different from it”. Finally Selkirk (1982:22) posits that, “the compound apron string designates a string that is somehow related to an apron, by being attached to one, in the form of one, or whatever”. Naturally two words are combined because there is an already existing relationship between the two. In other words, various relationships characterize the constituents in a compound and these relationships form the basis for the formation of different types of compounds. Following

Bissetto and Scalise (2005) and Scalise and Bissetto (2009), this study pursues account of Ewe compounds based on the different synthetic and semantic relation between words in compounding. The grammatical relations that are acceptable between the two constituents of a compound are those existing in syntactic constructions: subordination, coordination, and attributive (cf. Bissetto and Scalise 2005). Based on the relationship between the constituents Ewe compounds can be subordinate, attributive and coordinative.

3.2.1 Subordinate Ewe Compounds

Subordinate compounds are compounds with the two elements sharing a head-complement relation. One constituent in Ewe subordinate compounds is a complement of the other as shown in example (1).

1.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a)	koko	àgbè	kokogblè
	cocoa	farm	cocoa farm
b)	àbóló	ewó	àbólówó
	bread	powder	bread flour
c)	dzi	kú	dzikú
	heart	die	anger
d)	trǎ	vú	trǎvú
	fetish	drum	fetish drum

In example (1a) above *koko* is the complement of *àgblè*. Likewise, *àbólo* is the complement of *ewɔ* in (1b) *dzi* is the complement of *kú* in (1c) and *trɔ̃* and *vu* (1d) are also in complementary relation and *trɔ̃* is the complement.

3.2.2 Attributive compounds

Attributive compounds in Ewe consist of a noun-head that can be modified by an adjective, as in the example (2) below.

2.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	<i>ta</i>	<i>gã</i>	<i>tagã</i>
	head	big	big headed
b.	<i>àzi</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>àzitutto</i>
	groundnut	grinded	groundnut paste
c.	<i>detsi</i>	<i>fufui</i>	<i>detsifufui</i>
	soup	dried	light soup
d.	<i>fodo</i>	<i>gã</i>	<i>fodogã</i>
	belly	big	big bellied
e.	<i>gbè</i>	<i>àvú</i>	<i>gbèvú</i>
	bush	dog	ruffian

In the examples (2) the non-heads convey a property of the head. In example (2a), *gã* conveys a property of *ta*, in *tagã* and *tutu* conveys a property of *azi* in *azitutto* in (2b). *Fufui* and *gã* convey properties of *detsi* and *fodo* in (2 c and d) respectively. In example (2e), the non-head is a noun unlike the others which have adjectives as

non-noun heads. When the non-head is a noun, its attributive value is associated with a metaphorical interpretation as in *gbèvu* in (2e) above.

3.2.3 Coordinate compounds

Constituents in coordinate compounds in Ewe equally share head-like characteristics. (cf. Fabb 1998). These compounds can be considered to be characterized by two heads. They are co-compounds and dual headed in nature as shown in example (3).

3.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àbà	àtí	àbàtí
	mat	wood	bed
b.	àtí	àkplò	àtíkplò
	wood	arrow	walking stick
c.	àgbà	ná	àgbàná
	goods	give	credit

From a semantic point of view, the compounds in (3) can be considered to be characterized by two heads.

In the next four sections I discuss syntactic classification of Ewe compounds. In these section I classify Ewe compounds according to the syntactic categories of the individual constituents of the compounds (N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V, N-V-N)

and the category of the resultant compound (Nominal compounds, verbal compounds, adjectival).

3.3 Noun-Noun (N-N) Compounds

Two separate nouns are put together which yield an output form which is a nominal. According to Downing (1977), N-N compounding is the concatenation of any two nouns to form a third noun. Most of the studies on compounding (e.g. Appah 2013b; Dressler 2006; Bauer 2009; Booij 2002) suggest that the N-N compound is the most productive compound type. Ewe has more N-N compounds than any other categories as shown in my dataset.

Simple and compound nouns can be combined in N-N compounds. According to Ameka (1991), the simple nouns are made up of a root and a vocalic prefix *a-* or *e-* for example, *e-gbè* ‘bush’, *a-mi* ‘oil’, *e-dzè* ‘salt’. According to him complex nouns are made from other words. A verb can go through a nominalisation process by reduplication, and a noun goes through a nominalisation process by suffixation. Two simple nouns can combine in the formation of N-N compound. Simple nouns like *dzo* ‘fire’ and *wɔ* ‘powder’ can merge to form the compound *dzowɔ* ‘ash’. Other examples of simple noun compounds are shown in the example (4) below.

4.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	blí corn	wó flour'	blíwó 'corn flour'
b.	tugbe beauty	èfia queen	tugbefia beauty queen
c.	àbólo bread	èkpó hill/mound	àbólókpó oven
d.	zã night	úú lorry	zãúú deceit

The examples in (4) are the combinations of two simple nouns. *Blí* and *wó* (4a) are root words that may take vocalic prefix *e* as in *èblí* and *ewó* *èblíwó*. Again, a complex noun and a simple noun can merge in the N-N compound formation as shown in the example (5):

5.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbá-me bowl	àtádí pepper	àgbámetádí raw pepper
b.	nyadzɔdzɔ news	àgbàlě paper	nyadzɔdzɔgbalě newspaper
c.	kpèkpé gathering	àgbàlě book/paper	kpèkpégbalě invitation card
d.	àbolowó bread flour	kotokú sack	àbolowókotokú flour sack
e.	ɲotíme nostril	dzèsi sign	ɲotímedzesi tilde

Furthermore, two complex nouns can combine in the formation of N-N compounds in Ewe as in example (6)

6.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
	aya-me-vú	dzè-fé	ayamevúdze fé
	aero plane	station	airport

3.3.1 Person Markers/ Possessive Markers (PM).

Another thing that is worth mentioning, as far as the structure of N-N compound is concerned, is the role person markers/ possessives play. They function as affixes in certain contexts and free forms in other contexts. According to Westermann (1930) Ewe has four different person markers, *-nɔ* (mother), *-tɔ́* (father), *-a* and *-la*. He argues that the markers *-a* and *-la* are very related in terms of functions. The marker *-a* is used in older varieties, while *-la* is very regular in modern varieties of Ewe. Ameka refers to these markers as possessive markers. According to Ameka (1991), the possessive suffixes *-tɔ́*, *-nɔ*, and *-vi* are homophonous with the kin terms *tɔ́* ‘father’, *nɔ* ‘mother’, and *vi* ‘child’ respectively.

These forms can occur as affixes and as free forms (lexemes). As affixes they can combine with roots to perform ownership functions as shown in example (7).

7. a. witch-PM *adze-tɔ́* (a person with witchcraft)
‘witch or wizard’
- b. wisdom-PM *aɖaŋu-tɔ́* (a person with wisdom)
‘wise man’

- c. *gourd-PM go-nɔ* (a woman with gourd)
‘pregnant woman’
- d. *hunting-PM ade-la* (a person who hunts)
‘hunter’.

These markers, as affixes (personal markers PM) can also establish certain semantic patterns as shown in example (8-12) when they are added to nouns.

8. **[N-PM] ‘Person whose occupation is connected with N’**

- a. *weave-PM avɔ-tɔ* ‘weaver’/
- b. *lorry-PM uu-tɔ* ‘driver’
- c. *‘hunting-PM ade-la* ‘hunter’

9. **[N-PM] ‘Person who suffers from disease N**

- a. *wound –PM àbì-tɔ* ‘person who suffers from fever’
- b. *leprosy-PM kpo-nɔ* ‘person who suffers from leprosy’
- c. *smallpox-PM sakpate-tɔ* ‘person who suffers from smallpox’

10. **[N-PM] ‘Person who possesses or owns object N’**

- a. *home-PM afé-tɔ* ‘Land lord/lady’
- b. *money-PM ga-tɔ* ‘rich man’
- c. *cloth-PM avɔ-tɔ* ‘cloth owner’

11. **[N-PM] ‘Person whose physical attribute is object N’**

- a. *fû-nɔ pregnant-PM* ‘pregnant woman’

- b. ábì-tó sore-PM ‘person full of sores’
- c. eye-PM ñkú-nò ‘a blind person’

12. **[N-V-PM] ‘Person who performs action V involving object N**

- a. sheep-to lead-PM alē-kplɔ-la ‘shepherd’
- b. way-to go-PM mɔ-zɔ-a ‘wanderer’
- d. medicine-to make-PM amatsi-wɔ-lá ‘herbalist’

The examples above show how personal markers function as affixes but not free forms. For instance *nò* in *kponò* as shown in example (9b) above cannot stand on its own as a free form. The same way *tó* in *àfétó* in example (10a) is not a free form but an affix.

When *tó*, *nò* and *vi* combine with other nouns in N-N compounds, they appear as kin terms not affixes. They are free forms as shown in example (13).

13.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	vi ‘child’	tó	vitó
	child	father	father
b.	fia	ví	fiaví
	chief/king	child	pince/princess
c.	vè	nò	vènò
	two	mother	mother of twins

Ameka admits that it is difficult to tell whether the combinations of these forms are words or phrases. According to Ameka (1991:204) “the constructions that are formed by the use of these forms as possessum suffixes are hard to describe in terms of either words or phrases formed by the juxtaposition of two nominal”. This is the situation when the two parts of the constructions are not modified. I suggest that these combinations are words when the forms occur as lexemes and compound with other nominals. That is *vító* ‘father’ and *vènò* ‘mother of twins’ are free forms’. *Tó* in sentence (14) is a free form meaning ‘father’, while in (15) it is an affix meaning ‘one who has’.

14. Kofi *tó* dzè dò

Kofi POSS father fall sick

‘Kofi’s father falls sick’

15. Gátó lá kú

Money-owner (one who has) DEF die.PST

‘The rich man died’

The difference is that, as affixes they are attached to a noun, and as free forms they are on their own.

Table (5) is a summary of N-N compounds formed by concatenating both simple and complex nouns. For example row (a) in the data below is the combination of two simple nouns *àbólo* and *èwɔ*. Row (d) has two complex nouns *yamevú* and *dzèfé* and cell (i) has a complex noun *tɔdzi* and a simple noun *èvu*.

Table 5. Noun-Noun Compounds

	Base 1	Gloss	Base 2	Gloss	Compound	Meaning
a.	àbólo	bread	ewó	flour	àbólówó	bread flour
b.	àbòbì	anchovies	àtádí	stew	àbòbítádí	anchovy stew
c.	àbà	mat	àtí	wood	àbàtí	bed
d.	yamevú	aeroplane	dzèfé	station	yamevúdze fe	airport
e.	àdzɔ	contribute	gà	money	àdzògà	tax
f.	àdzàle	soap	àgba	bowl	àdzàlegbá	sponge dish
g.	àdáká	box	dzèsì	mark	àdákadzèsì	box number
h.	àblòdɛ	freedom	àme	man	àblòdɛme	freeman
i.	tɔdzi	sea	èvu	lorry	tɔdzivu	ship
j.	blí	corn	wó	flour	blíwó	corn flour
k.	dè	home	kɔnú	ritual	dèkɔnú	culture
l.	de	palm	àhà	wine	deha	palm wine
m.	dò	sick	ami	oil	dòmì	ointment
n.	dòmè	stomach	dzò	fire	dòmèdzò	anger
o.	dzò	fire	wó	powder	dzòwó	ash
p.	trɔ	fetish	vú	drum	trɔvú	fetish drum
q.	tɔdzí	sea	àhà	wine	tɔdzíha	schnapps
r.	tugbe	beauty	efia	queen	tugbefia	beauty queen

From the dataset above, we see that the morphology of Ewe N-N compound is mostly regular and flexible as far the relationship between the head and the modifier is concerned. These compounds are also very easy to interpret. Names can be identified easily and when two nouns are put together, the difficulty to identify the lexemes is very minimal.

3.3.3 Numeral compounds

Ewe cardinal numbers one (1) to nine (9) form compounds with the root of ten (bla), hundred (alafa) and of thousand (akpe) to yield cardinal numbers like *blaevè* ‘twenty’ *blaetɔ* ‘thirty’ *alafàdèkà* ‘one hundred’ *alafàdrè* ‘seven hundred’ *àkpévè* ‘two thousand’ *àkpéatɔ* ‘five thousand’ just as Twi compounds (cf. Ofori 2008).

Note that the categorical status of numeral compounds is still an issue linguists are wrestling with (cf. Hurford 1987, Cover and Zwarts 2006). They have been arguing for four positions: one is that, numerals are adjectives. The second one is that numerals are nouns. Those who argue for the third view think that, lower numerals are adjectives whilst higher numerals are nouns. The fourth position regards numerals as constituting a separate syntactic category Appah (2013b). Langacker (1987) defines noun as a linguistic unit which profile a thing, where a thing is defined as a ‘region of some domain and region is characterized in terms of the interconnectedness of entities within a domain. Therefore numerals or number names are considered nouns in the sense that they profile specific regions in the domain of number Appah (2013b). Wiese terms profiling of region in the domain of number as number assignment. Wiese (2003, 2007) posits that numerals refer to specific positions or items (eg. with cardinality) in the domain of number. Numeral compounds in Ewe behave differently from noun-noun compounds. This is discussed in details in chapter four.

Tables (2&3) show some numeral compounds.

Table 6. Ewe numeral compounds (20-90)

NO	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	NUMERAL
a.	blá	ten	èvè	two	bláve	20
b.	blá	ten	ètɔ̃	three	blátɔ̃	30
c.	blá	ten	ènè	four	bláne	40
d.	blá	ten	àtɔ̃	five	bláàtɔ̃	50
e.	blá	ten	adé	six	bláadé	60
f.	blá	ten	adré	seven	bláadré	70
g.	blá	ten	enyí	eight	blányí	80
h.	blá	ten	àsieke	nine	blásieke	90

Table 7. Ewe Numeral Compounds (100-900)

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	NUMERAL
a.	alafá	hundred	dɛka	one	alafadɛká	100
b.	alafá	hundred	ève	two	alafávè	200
c.	alafá	hundred	ètɔ	three	alafátɔ̃	300
d.	alafá	hundred	ene	four	alafáne	400
e.	alafá	hundred	àtɔ̃	five	alafáàtɔ̃	500
f.	alafá	hundred	ade	six	alafádé	600
g.	alafá	hundred	adre	seven	alafadrẽ	700
h.	alafá	hundred	enyi	eight	alafányí	800
i.	alafá	hundred	àsieke	nine	alafáàsieke	900

As indicated above and in the data set, Ewe cardinal numbers one (1) to nine (9) (dɛká, èvè, ètɔ̃ ènè àtɔ̃ adé adré enyí àsíéke) enter into compounding with the root of tens (bla), hundreds (alafa) and of thousands (àkpé) to yield cardinal numbers like *blavè* ‘twenty’ (table 1 cell a) *blátɔ̃* ‘thirty’ (table 1 cell b) *alafávè* ‘two hundred’ (table two cell 2). *Àkpévè* ‘two thousand’ is merger of *akpe* ‘thousands’ and *èvè* ‘two’ meaning thousand multiplied by two. *Alafadɛká* ‘one hundred’ is the combination of *alafa* ‘hundred’ and *dɛká* ‘one’ meaning hundred multiplied by one. *Blátɔ̃* ‘thirty’ is compounding of *blã* ‘tens’ and *ètɔ̃* ‘three’ meaning ten multiplied by three. There is an understood operator that multiplies the roots (bla, alafa, akpe) by the cardinal numbers 1-9 (dɛká, èvè, ètɔ̃ ènè àtɔ̃ adé adré enyí àsíéke).

Note that the combination *bla* ‘tens’ and *dɛká* ‘one’ **bladɛká* which will mean ten multiplied by one is not in the language. Ten multiplied by one is still ten. *Bla* ‘ten’ is the head. The head cannot be omitted but the modifier can be omitted.

3.3.4 Semantic relations in N-N Compounds

The constituents of Ewe N-N compounds share attributive relation. There is one constituent (the *head*) that expresses a main idea, and another (the modifier) that stands in the relation of *attribute* to the head. N-N compounds establish certain semantic patterns such as; ingredient of, location of, part of, made for, made for, type of, part of, cause of and etc. as demonstrated in example (16-22).

16. [N₁-N₂] N₁ is an ingredient for N₂

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àzí	detsi	àzidétsi
	groundnut	soup	groundnut soup
b.	né	ami	némi
	kernel	oil	kernel oil
c.	àbòbì	atádí	àbòbitádí
	anchovies	stew	anchovies stew
d.	àkà	dzò	akadzo
	charcoal fire	fire	charcoal fire

The data in example 16 shows that the first constituents are ingredient for the preparation of the second constituents. For example, *àzi* is the ingredient for the preparation *détsi* (16a).

17. [N₁-N₂] N₂ is location of N₁

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	yamevu	dze ^{fe}	yamevudze ^{fe}
	aeroplane	station	airport

b.	tsi	vudo	tsivudo
	water	dug out	‘well’
c.	amatsi	ezé amatsi	amatsizé
	medicine	pot	‘herb pot’

The nouns in N₂ are locations of the nouns in N₁. In other words N₂ is where N₁ can be found. For example *tsi* ‘water’ can be located in *vudo* ‘dug out’ as in 17b.

18. [N₁-N₂] N₂ is a place for N₁

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àfi	èdo	àfido
	mouse	hole	‘mouse hole’
b.	bàbà	ekó	bàbákó
	termite	mound/hill	ant hill
c.	anyí	eto	anyito
	bee	hole	bee hive
d.	gbõ	kpó	gbõkpó
	goat	fence	pen

The examples above establish a place for or a hiding place for one constituent in the compounds. For example *dò* ‘hole’ is place where *àfi* ‘mouse’ is located. Likewise *kpo* ‘pen’ is a place for *gbõ* ‘goats’

19. [N₁-N₂] N₂ is made for N₁

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	blí	àvà	blíva

	maize	‘ban	barn(for storing maize)
b.	àkpa	kusi	àkpakusi
	fish	basket	basket for storing fish
c.	gà	kotokú	gakotokú
	money	sack	money bag
d.	ami	ègo	amigo
	oil	container	container

All the nouns in base 2 in example 19 are made for the nouns in base 1. *Àvâ* ‘ban’ is made for storing *bli* maize.

20. [N₁-N₂] N₂ the result of N₁

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a	dzo	afi	dzòfi
	fire	dust	ash

Àfi ‘dust/ash’ is produced when there is fire. So *àfi* is produced as a result of *dzò* ‘burning fire’.

21. [N₁-N₂] the whole is a type of N₂

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbèli	amó	àgbèlimó
	cassaava	dough	cassava dough
b	gbe	àfi	gbefi
	bush	mouse	bush mouse

c.	dzògbè	edé	dzògbèdé
	savanna	palm	savanna palm

Example 21 presents a relationship that suggests that the compound is a type of the head (N₂). In (21a), N₂ is made of N₁. That is *amó* is made of *àgbèli* and *àgbèlimó* is a type of *amó*.

22. [N₁-N₂] N₂ is part of N₁

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbèli	etsró	àgbèlìtsró
	cassava	back	cassava pill'
b.	gbõ	fù	gbõfù
	goat	hair	goat hair/faire
c.	àbòbó	ègò	àbòbógo
	snail	shell	'snail shell'
d.	ta	ḡa	taḡa
	head	hair	hair

The examples in (22) show 'a part of relation. All the N₂ are part of their counterparts in N₁. These compounds express meronymic relations. Ameka (1991).

23. [N₁-N₂] represents the user of N₂

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
--	-------	-------	----------

a.	nyónu	avó	nyònuvó
	woman	cloth	‘ladies cloth’
b.	fia	zikpì	fiazikpi
	king/chief	stool	chief stool

The nouns that belong to the N1 in (23) are users of the nouns in N2

3.3.5. Headedness in N-N compounds

The head of a compound is located on the right or left of the compound. The compound can also be said to be dual-headed. Scholars suggested that the position of the head is a parameter that has to be set for each language, so that the morphology of a language is either left-headed or right-headed, depending on the language. The head of the compound can take the position of the compound where the compound is expected to occur but the same cannot be said of the non-head constituents.

Many languages including Ewe have both left-headed and right-headed compounds. According to the data available for this study, Ewe endocentric N-N compounds are mostly right-headed, but there are left-headed and dual-headed N-N compounds as well.

3.3.6 Right-headed N-N Compounds

Right-headed N-N compounds are regular, mostly compositional and the commonest subtype. Examples of Right-headed N-N compounds are shown in table (8).

Table 8. Right- Headed Noun-Noun Compounds

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	GLOSS
a	kókló	chicken	àtsú	male	kóklótsú	rustle
b	dzò	fire	àfí	ash	dzòfí	ash
c	àvùvɔ	cold	àwù	dress	àvùvɔwù	sweater
d	tódzì	river top	àhà	drink	tódzìhà	schnapps
e	àdè	hunt	àvú	dog	àdèvú	hunting dog
f	kpé	cough	dò	ailment	kpédò	cough ailment
g	àkútsá	sponge	àgbá	bowl	àkútságbá	sponge dish
h	kokló	chicken	àzì	egg	koklózì	egg
i	agbeli	cassava	amakpa	leaves	agbelimakpa	cassava leaves
j	tódzì	sea	vú	lorry	tódzìvú	ship/boat

As explained earlier, the head determines most properties of the compound through the mechanism of feature filtration so that the class of elements denoted by the compound is usually a subset of the class of elements that is denoted by the head of the compound. For example, *àgbelimàkpà*, is a hyponym of *amakpa*, the head. Therefore, *amakpa* can occupy the position *àgbelimàkpà* is expected to occur without so much change in the meaning of the construction, but the same cannot happen to the non-head constituent *àgbèlì* occurring alone where *àgbelimàkpà* is expected to occur. Example (24 & 25) explains further.

24. àgbèlimàkpà/amakpa -fo -se
Cassava leaf/leaf -bears -flower
'The leaf bears flower'
25. *agbeli -fo -se
Cassava -bear -flower
'The cassava bears flower'

3.3.7 Left-headed N-N Compounds

The left-hand constituent in left-headed N-N compounds is the most important element in the structure. These are N-N compounds for which the whole is a hyponym of constituents and the rest are numeral compounds as shown in Table (9).

Table 9. Left-Headed Noun-Noun Compounds

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	GLOSS
a	àkpa	fish	èví	child	àkpaví	fingerlings
b	gbõ	goat	èví	child	gbõvi	
c	abɔ	arm	afã	half	abòfã	half piece
d	ka	rope	dèkà	one	kàdèkà	one hector
e	kpó	piece	èvè	two	kpóvè	two pieces

Akpa is the head in the compound *akpavi* in table 5, row (1). This is because *akpa* can occupy the position where *akpavi* the whole compound can occur. Example (26&27) explains further.

26. Kofi dè akpavi/akpa
Ama catch fingerlings/fish
'Kofi caught fingerlings/fish'

27. *kofi de evi
 Kofi catch child
 ‘Kofi caught child’

3.3.8 Coordinate N-N compounds in Ewe

According to Fabb (1998:67) when both words are thought of as “equally sharing head-like characteristics, as in *student-prince* (both a student and a prince)” then they are co-compounds. Coordinate compounds are dual headed by nature.

Table 10. Dual- Headed Noun-Noun Compounds

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	GLOSS
a	àba	mat	àtí	tree	àbàtí	bed
b	nɔví	sibling	nyónu	girl	nɔvínyónu	sister
c	mamá	grandmother	gbòví	made	mamágbòví	one trained by grandmother
d	àtí	tree	akplɔ	hook	àtíkplɔ	walking stick
c	nɔví	sibling	ɲútsu	male	nɔvíɲútsu	brother

A close examination of these compounds shows that the compound as a whole denotes not the sum of the two parts but a compromise between the two parts, a half-way point between them. *Aba* and *ati* in *abati* in Table 7 cell (1) equally share head-like characteristics (cf. Bauer 2008).

3.3.9 Exocentric N-N compounds

A compound that has no head element in it is called an exocentric compound (Bloomfield 1993). Exocentric compounds are hyponyms of some unexpressed semantic head, but not of any of its components. Endocentric compounds are defined as “compounds which are hyponyms of their head elements” (Bauer 2010).

167). Exocentric compounds on the other hands, are usually defined as the class that is left after endocentric compounds have been removed (Scalise and Guevara 2006: 192). Often, the meanings of exocentric compounds cannot be determined from its constituents.

Exocentric compounds are the less common type of compounds identified in Ewe. More often than not, meanings of exocentric compounds are not determined from their constituents. Examples in (28) are some exocentric compounds identified in Ewe.

28.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	gbè bush	àvú dog	gbèvú ruffian
b.	zã night	eóu car	zãvú deceit
c.	zã night	nú thing	zãnú bribe

The data shows that exocentric compounds in Ewe usually express metaphorical relations. For instance, *zanu* ‘bribe’ connotes a metaphorical meaning rather than the surface meaning of ‘night thing’. The constituents of *zavu* in the example (28c) are *za*, ‘night’ and *vu* ‘lorry’, but the meaning of the compound is neither a type of car or night. The meaning is *deceit*.

3.3.10 Summary

I have discussed the properties of N-N compounds in Ewe in this session. The dataset and the discussion in the section shows that N-N compounds are largely regular, in spite of certain items that behave like affixes in some environments and full lexemes in other environments. I have pointed out that N-N compounds are largely attributive and even though most N-N compounds are right-headed and endocentric, there exist left-headed and dual-headed N-N compounds as well as exocentric compounds in the language. I have also established certain semantic patterns such as ingredient of, location of, part of, made for, made for, type of, part of, cause and etc. with examples.

3.4 Noun-Adjective (N-A) Noun Compounds

Ewe Noun –Adjective Compounds are made up of a noun as head and adjective as modifiers. According to Ameka (1991) there are five basic adjectives in Ewe (gã ‘big’, vɔ̃ ‘bad’, yí ‘white’, ví ‘small’ and dzí ‘red colour’). The rest of the adjectives are idiophones and derived. The adjectives in N-A compounds listed in table (11) are made up of adjectival roots, idiophones which are underived and derived adjectives.

Table 11. Noun- Adjective Compounds (N-A)_N

No	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMP	GLOSS
a.	àgbè	life	yeye	new	àgbèyeye	new life
b.	àkpatá	hall	gã	big	àkpatágã	main hall
c.	ame	man	gã	big	amegã	sir /mr
d.	àhà	wine	víví	sweet	àhàvíví	soft drink
e.	ame	man	tsitsi	grow	ametsitsi	adult
f.	akpa	fish	yiyi	smoked	akpayiyi	smoked fish

g.	detsi	soup	fúfúí	dry	detsifúfúí	type of soup
h.	dù	town	gã	big	dùgã	city
i.	dù	town	gbàdzà	wide	dùgbàdzà	community
j.	nya	word	nyúí	good	nyanyúí	good news
k.	suku	school	kókó	tall	sukukókó	high school
l.	tó	father	ḍi	young	tóḍi	junior uncle
m.	tó	father	ga	big	tóga	senior uncle
n.	tsi	water	dzódzòe	hot	tsidzódzoe	hot water
o.	xe	bird	ví	small	xeví	small bird
p.	xɔ	room	háyá	rented	xɔháyá	rented room
q.	zì	seat	kpùì	short	zìkpùì	stool

From table 11, we can argue that there are some nouns that compound with basic adjectives, others are merged with idiophones as adjective and the rest are combined with derived adjectives as shown in the examples below.

29. **Noun + Basic adjectives**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	tó	gã	tógã
	father	big	Senior uncle
b.	xe	ví	xevi
	bird	small	small bird

30. **Noun + idiophones**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	tsi	pòtò	tsipòtò
	water	dirty	dirty water
b.	gà	suè	gasue

metal/bell	small	‘bell’
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31. **Noun + derived adjectives**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	dzɔgbe	nyuí	dzɔgbenyui
	birthday	good	good luck’
b.	du	gbadza	dugbadza
	town	wide	community

Appah (2016) has shown that in Akan, N-A compounds are all left-headed, patterning like NPs in which attributive adjectives modify head nouns. A similar pattern is found in Ewe. For example, N-A compound *gbɔ̃dzɛ̃* ‘dog’ has *gbɔ̃* ‘goat’ and *dzɛ̃* ‘red’ as its constituents. It is clear that *dzɛ̃* attributively modifies *gbɔ̃*.

Compounding is not only a nominalization process in Ewe as it is in Akan (cf. Appah 2013) and other languages. In Ewe compounding process can yield adjectives. This compounding process involves a noun and an adjective. Sometimes the nouns compound with derived adjectives and the output is an adjective as shown in Table (12 a & b). In other instances, the noun refers to a body part. The output of these body part noun and adjectives during compounding can be used to qualify another noun (Ameka 1991). This is shown in the table (12 c-d).

Table 12. Noun-Adjective Compound (N-A)_A

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	GLOSS
a.	gbè	grass	mú/múmu	fresh	gbèmú/gbèmúmu	green
b.	aṅutí	orange	dìdì	ripped	aṅutídìdì	yellow
c.	ta	head	gá	big	taga	big headed
d.	aḍu	tooth	yí	white	aḍuyi	white tooth
e.	afɔ	leg	lege	slim	afɔlege	slim legged
f.	abɔ	arm	gá	big	abɔga	big armed
g.	kpe	hip	baye	flat	kpebaye	flat hip
h.	ḥku	eye	gá	big	ḥkuga	big eyed
i.	fodo	belly	gá	big	fodoga	big bellied

In table (12b) *aṅutí* ‘orange’ compounds with *dìdì* ‘ripped’ and the output is *aṅutídìdì* ‘yellow’ an adjective as shown in example (32).

32. E-do.a awu aṅutídìdì
 he-wear.CONT. dress yellow
 ‘He wears yellow dress.’

In Table (12i), *fodo* ‘belly’ compounds with *gá* ‘big’ and the result is *fodogá* ‘pot-bellied’ an adjectival. The product can be used to qualify another noun as in the example (33) below.

33. ḥútsu *fodogá* ma gbò -nà
 Man belly big INT. come -PROG.
 ‘That pot-bellied man is coming

Derived adjectives class of compounds is a large class comes from several sources. According Ameka (1991), the processes that are involved in developing them are

so productive and different from the processes of derivation of other classes such as nouns. This makes the class an open one.

3.4.1 Semantic relations in Noun-Adjective compounds

Semantically, an adjective describes some important but non-criteria property of an object (Ameka 1991). This means that an adjectival will draw a line between two members of the same species that a single common noun makes reference to. The adjective in N-A compounds expresses a property and is in a modifier relation to the noun (cf. Bisetto and Scalise 2005). The examples of the members of each of the semantic are examined in Ewe as shown in example (34-38).

34. N-A compounds with DIMENSION

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	<i>fodo</i> belly	<i>gã</i> big	<i>fodogã</i> pot-bellied
b.	<i>ta</i> head	<i>gã</i> big	<i>tagã</i> big-headed
c.	<i>ɲukú</i> eye	<i>gã</i> big	<i>ɲukúgã</i> big-eyed/greedy

The examples in (34) are body part nouns compounding with adjectives showing dimension or size. *Gã* 'big' in *fodogã* 'pot-bellied' expresses the meaning size that is how big *fodo* 'belly' is. *Ɔkúgã* in (34c) does not only show size as to how big the eye is but it also connotes greed.

35. **N-A compound with PHYSICAL PROPERTY**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	gbògbò spirit	kòkòè clean	gbògbòkòkòè holy spirit
b.	àzì Groundnut	gbó fresh	àzìgbó fresh groundnut
c.	kpé stone	xɔasi precious	kpéxɔasi pearl

The compounds in (35) show certain physical properties. The relationship between the nouns and the adjectives expresses some kind of quality or the state of the nouns. The non-heads convey a property of the heads.

36. **N-A compound with COLOUR**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	gbè grass	mú fresh	gbèmú green
b.	aɲutí orange	ɖiɖi ripped	aɲutíɖiɖi yellow

These compounds (36) are colours. The non-heads describe the heads attributively.

37. **N-A compound with show AGE**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
--	--------------	--------------	-----------------

a.	ame	tsitsi	ametsitsi
	human	old	adult
b.	fe	yeye	feyeye
	year	new	new year'
c.	tó	gã	tógã
	father	big	uncle

The compounds above show age. The meaning the adjectives express in that domain is of age.

38. N-A compound with VALUE

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	suku	kókó	sukukókó
	School	tall/high	high school
b.	amó	vavã	amóvavã
	dough	leaven	leaven dough

The adjectives in the compounds in (38) add some kind of value to their noun counterparts.

3.4.2 Headedness in N-A Compound

N-A compounds in Ewe are all left-headed. *Detsifufui* is a name of a type of soup. *fúfúí* 'dried' attributively qualifies *detsí* 'soup'. The same way *taku* 'scarf' is the head that *ví* 'small' qualifies in the noun *takuvi* 'handkerchief'

3.4.3 Summary

In this section I have discussed the properties of N-A compounds in Ewe. I have shown that basic adjectives, idiophones and derived adjectives combine with the noun head to form a new lexeme. I have also drawn a line between N-A compounds whose outcomes are nouns and those that result in adjectives suggesting that compounding is not only a nominalization process in Ewe. Other word classes can be derived from compounding. I also point out that N-A compounds are all left-headed, patterning like NPs in which attributive adjectives modify head nouns. Some interesting semantic relations are enumerated in this session

3.5 Noun+Verb (N-V) Nominal Compounds

Ewe Noun-Verb (N-V) compounds are formed as the result of the merger of a noun and a verb to form a new word. An argument-head relation can be distinguished between the constituents of N-V compounds and the grammatical and/or semantic properties of both constituents contribute to the determination of the meaning of the compound. Most N-V compounds in Ewe show a patient-action semantic relation. The N-V compounds may also be left-headed in the language as shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Noun-Verb Compounds

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
a.	agbà	goods	na	give	agbana	credit
b.	agbà	goods	tè	drag	agbate	heavy load
c.	agbà	load	tsɔ/kɛ	carry	agbake/tsɔ	shelve
d.	agbè	life	lì	to be/is	agbeli	cassava

e.	afɔ	leg	kú	die	afɔku	accident
f.	dzi	heart	kú	die	dziku	anger
g.	dzi	heart	dzɔ̀	straighten	dzidzɔ	happiness
h.	dzi	heart	vé	pain	dzive	heartache
i.	ɖɔ	cloth	vú	tear	ɖovu	rag
j.	kɔ	neck	zɔe	rest	kɔzɔe	pillow
k.	nu	mouth	fo	beat/strike	nufo	talk/speech
l.	nu	thing	ɖui	eat up	nuɖui	rheumatism
m.	nu	mouth	kú	die	nuku	surprise
n.	ye	sun	trɔ́	turn	yetrɔ	afternoon

The two lexemes that combine to form N-V compounds behave like inherent complement verbs but the resultant word is a noun. Their meaning is metaphoric.

The semantic relation between the constituents of Ewe N-V compounds are *agent-action*, *patient-action* and *experiencer*. This is shown in the examples (39&40)

39. Patient-Experiencer Semantic Role

	BASE2	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	dzi	kú	dzikú
	heart	die	anger
b.	afɔ	kú	afɔkú
	leg	die	accident
c.	dzi	vé	dzivé
	heart	pain	heartache

40. **Agent-Action Semantic Role**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbè life	li stay	àgbèli cassava
b.	nu mouth	fo beat	nufo talk
c.	ye sun	tró turn	yetró afternoon

The grammatical relation between the constituents of Ewe N-V compounds is *subject-verb* or *object-verb* as shown in examples (41).

41. **Subject-Verb Grammatical relation**

	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbè life	li stay	àgbèli cassava
b.	nu mouth	fo beat	nufo talk
c.	ye sun	tró turn	yetró afternoon
d.	afɔ leg	kú die	afɔkú accident
e.	dzi heart	vé pain	dzivé heartache

As we can see from the dataset above, the nouns in Ewe left-headed N-V compounds behave like the subject of the verbs they compound with. For instance *afɔ* ‘leg’ combines with *kú* ‘die’ resulting in a noun *afɔkú* ‘accident’ (41d), (lit. leg dies). Also *ye* ‘sun’ combines with *trɔ* ‘turn’ in *yetrɔ* ‘afternoon’ (41c), (lit. sun turns). So *afɔ* ‘leg’ and *ye* ‘sun’ in the illustrations above act as the subject to their corresponding verbs *kú* and *trɔ* respectively.

3.5.1 Exocentric N-V Compounds

Most Ewe N-V compounds available for this study are exocentric. The meaning of the compounds cannot be predicted just by looking at the meaning of the constituents. Their meanings are metaphoric. They are headless as shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Exocentric Noun-Verb Compounds

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	GLOSS
a.	<i>ye</i>	sun	<i>trɔ</i>	turn	<i>yetrɔ</i>	afternoon
b.	<i>dzi</i>	heart	<i>vɛ</i>	boil	<i>dzivɛ</i>	anguish
c.	<i>afɔ</i>	leg	<i>kú</i>	die	<i>afɔkú</i>	accident
d.	<i>àgbɛ̀</i>	life	<i>li</i>	be	<i>àgbɛ̀li</i>	cassava
e.	<i>dzi</i>	heart	<i>kú</i>	die	<i>dzikú</i>	anger
f.	<i>dzi</i>	heart	<i>dzɔ̀</i>	straighten	<i>dzidzɔ̀</i>	happiness
g.	<i>dɔ</i>	cloth	<i>vu</i>	tear	<i>dovu</i>	rag

The nouns in the N-V compounds seem to lose some of their semantic content since they are usually interpreted metaphorically. For instance, there is nothing about the words *afɔ* ‘leg’ and *kú* ‘die’ to suggest that when they merge, the construction will mean the noun *afɔkú* ‘accident.’ Again, *yetrɔ* ‘afternoon’ is not a type of *ye* ‘sun’. The only left headed (endocentric) N-V compound in the dataset table (14g) is *dòvú* ‘rag’. *dò* ‘cloth’ is the head because *dòvú* is a type of *dò* and

the position *dòvú* can occupy in a sentence *dò* can also occupy to communicate the same meaning. The illustration in (44) explains the point better. It shows that *dò* can occupy the place of *dòvú* to convey the same message.

42. *dòvú/ dò lá lé dzò*

rag /cloth DEF catch fire

‘the rag/cloth catches fire.’

The verbs in Ewe N-V compounds are intransitive and the noun constituents correspond to the notional subjects of the verbs. This means that the constructions have the same linear order of constituents as typical intransitive constructions (cf. Appah 2013).

3.5.2 Summary

My aim in this section was to present an adequate account of the types and properties of Ewe N-V compounds. I have grouped the members according to the presence and position of head elements. The exocentric types are in the majority. Only one left-headed type is found in the dataset. No right-headed subtype is identified as far as this study is concerned. Another is the semantic role of the constituents, giving subtypes like *agent-action*, *patient-action* and *experiencer-stimulus*. A third criterion is the grammatical role of the noun constituent, giving types like *object-verb* and *subject-verb* compounds. I have observed that, the nouns in the N-V compounds seem to lose some of their semantic content thus have to be interpreted metaphorically. The verbs in Ewe N-V compounds are

intransitive and the noun constituents correspond to the notional subjects of the verbs.

3.6 Verb + Noun (V-N) nominal compounds

Ameka (1991) submits that the compounding of V+N is another distinct adjectivalization process which is different from nominalization and relativization. He questioned what one would say is the deep category source of these adjectival. Whether they are deep verbs because they come from predicates or they also can be assigned to two deep categories V and N since they come from both. I assign the source of the constituents to the two deep categories, verb and noun for the purposes of compounding since the V-N compounds come from both verbs and noun. For the first issue raised above, that is the issue concerning the outcomes, my dataset indicate that, some V-N compounds are nouns and others are adjectives.

V-N compounds are compounds made up of verbs (inherent complement verb (ICV) and canonical transitive verb (CTV)) and nouns that share grammatical relations (cf. Dzamesi 2002). Both ICVs and CTVs can compound with the noun.

Table 15. Verb-Noun Compounds (V-N)_N

	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
a.	dzi	sing	hà	song	hàdzidzi	singing
b.	dzrá	sell	nú	thing	núdzáddzrá	sales
c.	dó	plant	dzi	heart	dzidódó	endurance
d.	dó	gather	dzè	voice	dzèdódó	chatting

e.	dè	remove	kúkú	hat	kúkúdeɖe	plea
f.	dì	burry	tsà	boredom	tsaɖiɖi	touring
g.	dù	eat	nú	thing	núduɖu	food
h.	dù	eat	dzí	top	dziɖuɖu	victory
i.	fà	mix	dé	palm	défafa	palm paste
j.	fà	mix	azi	groundnut	azifafa	groundnut syrup
k.	fà	mix	amó	dough	amófafa	dough syrup
l.	fó	wake	ɲɔli	time	fónli	down
m.	fò	gather	fú	bone	fúfofo	gathering
n.	fò	bit	kókó	porridge	kókófofo	plea
o.	kù	drive	vu	car	vukuku	driving
p.	nyí	lick	dome	property	domenyínyí	inheritance
q.	vli	drag	hò	money	hòvli	competition
r.	vù	open	ɲkú	eye	ɲkúvuvu	modernity
s.	wò	make	hò	noise	hòwòwò	commotion
t.	xò	take	dzò	fire	dzòxòxò	heat

There is a permutation and reduplication process at the output level in the V-N_N in (15). According to Ofori (2002), permutation is a morphological process of reversing the order of words in a structure. The order of the words is reversed in the output of V-N_N as seen in the dataset above where the V- N order is permuted and then the verbal part is reduplicated (cf. Ameka 1991)

Table 16. Verb-Noun Compounds (V-N)_A

	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMP.	NUMERAL
a.	fò	strike/	dì	dirt	fodì	dirty
b.	dzé	show	dèkà	whole/one	dzedèkà	handsome
c.	dzé	show	tùgbè	beauty	dzetugbe	beautiful
d.	và	move	ɲu	side	vaɲu	jealous
e.	xò	get	ɲkò	name	xɔɲkò	famous
f.	dzò	straighten	àtsú	male	dzòtsu	huge

The examples in Table (16) [V+N_A] show Verb- Object and Action-Patient grammatical and semantic relations. In the dataset the adjectives are derived from a verb root and a noun which is its inherent complement. I will therefore define the

Ewe Verb-Noun compound as the combination of an inherent complement verb ICV or canonical transitive verb CTV and its obligatory nominal. When the constructions go through permutation and reduplication the outcome is a noun. The outcome is an adjective when no reduplication and permutation process takes place.

3.6.1 Grammatical, Semantics relations between constituents of V-N compounds

The grammatical relation between the constituents of V-N compounds is very clear and easy to identify. The noun constituents can be interpreted as objects of the verb, the verb's inherent complement. See examples (43).

43.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	xò take	ɲkó name	xòɲkó famous
b.	dzi sing	hà song	hàdzidzi singing

The semantic relation exhibited in a typical V-N compound in Ewe is also not difficult to identify. The noun constituent is the patient of the action designated by the verb as shown in (44)

44.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	dó plant	dzi heart	dzidódó 'endurance'
b.	kù drive	vu lorry	vuukuku driving

Syntactically, a V-N compound has a verb as the head and a dependent noun bearing one of the thematic roles associated with the verb. This can be manner, instrument and location, among others. Appah (2013b) argues that, since every activity takes place within time and space, we can almost always establish a head-dependent relation between the constituents of such compounds. For example *fò strike* *dí* ‘dirt’ *fòdí* ‘dirty’ exhibits manner relation.

3.6.2 Exocentric V-N Compounds

From the literature on compounding, V-N compounds are said to be generally exocentric in nature. Kornfeld (2009) suggests that in the Spanish V-N compounds, none of the constituents may apparently function as the head. Appah (2013b) also points out that such compound types are found in Akan. This can also be said about Ewe V-N compounds. V-N compounds in Ewe are left headed and some are exocentric. The Nouns and Adjectives are formed from the verb root and a noun which is its inherent complement. The noun is fixed to the verb which is its head (cf. Ameka 1991). *vaju* (shake skin) ‘jealous’ is an example of exocentric V-N compound in which the word for skin and strike are not explicitly mentioned in the outcome of the compound.

3.6.3 Summary

In this section, I have discussed Ewe V-N compounds, trying to address the pertinent issues that come to play in the discussion of Ewe V-N compounds. I try to answer the two questions that Ameka (1991) posed concerning the source; whether they are deep verbs, because they come from predicates, or they are two

deep categories V and N, since they come from both. I showed that the source of the constituents belong to the two deep categories, verb and noun. Regarding issue concerning the outputs, my data set shows that, some V-N compounds are nouns and others are adjectives. I suggest a definition for Ewe V-N compounds as; the combination of ICV or CTV and their obligatory nominals. When the constructions go through permutation and reduplication the outcome is a noun. On the other hand, the output is an adjective when no reduplication and permutation process takes place.

3.7 Verb + Verb (V-V) Nominal compounds

According to Appah (2013b) the case for a V-V compound analysis included the fact that the constituents have the same order as the same verbs occurring in an analogous SVC. The Ewe V-V compounds are made up of two lexical items of the same form class (V-V) and the output is compounds with a completely different form class (N). This type of compound is not very productive in the language as shown in the Table (17).

Table 17. Verb-Verb Compounds

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
a.	dó	test	kpó	see	dodókpó	examination
b.	dó	taste	kpó	see	dɔdɔkpó	tasting
c.	dà	cook	flè	buy	dàflè	food
d.	gbò	breath	xí/xé	block	gbòxí	asthma
e.	kè	open	té	close	keté	kente cloth
f.	ku	dig	xí	block	kuxí	burden
g.	sa	tie	kplí	stick	sakplí	lie
h.	tsó	take	dù	Eat	tsódù	benefit

i.	tsó	take	kè	open	tsóke	forgiveness
j.	xò	take/get	sè	hear	xòsè	faith/ belief
k.	xò	take	vá	come	xòvé	destiny

3.7.1 Structure of V-V Compounds

As can be seen from the data, some of the V-V compounds in the data set undergo a reduplication process. According to Ofori (2002), nominalization in Ewe involves the reduplication of the stem. Dolphyne (1988:124) observes that “reduplication is a type of compound formation which consists of the repetition of the whole or part of a stem”. When a part of the stem is repeated, it is known as partial reduplication. Complete/total reduplication is realized when the whole is repeated as in (cell a & b) in Table (17) and example (45) respectively.

45.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	dó	kpó	dodókpó
	Examine	see	examination
b.	ɖó	se	ɖòɖóse
	taste	see/hear	tasting
c.	zò	vá	zòzòvá
	walk	come	coming by walking (Ofori 2002)

Some of the V-V compounds in the (Table 17, cell g, f, k) do not undergo reduplication. Most of these compounds are exocentric in nature, as shown in example (46). This is because the compounds are headless. Their meanings are not predictable even though the meanings of the compound may be related to the constituents.

46.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	sà tie	kplí stick	sakplí lie
b.	kù dig	xí block	kuxí 'burden'
c.	xò take	vá come	xòvé destiny'

Some of the V-V compounds in example (47) are combinations of two verbs that Ameka (1991) suggests together co-lexicalize a verbal meaning but the current study sees them as nominals.

47.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a	xò take	sè hear	xòsè 'belief'
	ɖɔ taste	kpó see	ɖɔkpó taste'

(Ameka 1991)

3.7.2 Headedness in V-V Compounds

The Ewe V-V compounds are doubly-headed. They are also referred to as coordinate compounds. According to Scalise and Bisetto (2009) coordination can in fact: (a) associate two individual elements without reference to any of them as a separate entity, as in *father-mother = parents*; or else (b) express two properties

associated with an entity, as is the case in modern formations such as *poet-novelist* or *learner driver*. The sense in which the constituents contribute to the overall meaning of the compound may be actual or metaphorical Balmer and Grant (1929) as shown in (48).

48.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a	kù	xí	kuxí
	dig	block	burden
b.	sa	kplí	sakplí
	tie	stick	‘lie’

In example (48) you cannot determine the head based on the meaning of the compounds. The meaning of the compound is completely different from the meaning of the constituents.

3.7.3 The semantic properties of [V-V] compounds

V-V compounds are exocentric and they are metaphorical. The connotation of the compound can be inferred from the meanings of the constituents. Usually, the meanings of the constituents may be related to the meanings of the compounds metaphorically. For Ewe speakers, to believe or have faith in something one must get the thing and hear it. This confirms the cliché “seeing believes”. The same way, the Ewe word for burden *kuxí* comes from compounding *kù* ‘dig’ and *xí* ‘block’. To be under a burden one has to metaphorically burry himself in some uncomfortable situation.

3.7.4 Summary

The aim of this session was to discuss the properties of Ewe V-V compounds. I have shown that Ewe V-V Compounds are double-headed. Some V-V compounds go through reduplication and others do not. When serial verbs undergo a nominalization process, the first verb is reduplicated and compounded with the following verb. Some of the verbs are serial verbs construction (SVC) and may be inseparable so that replacing one with another verb may alter their meaning. Most of the V-V compounds are exocentric. It is interesting to note that the syntactic category of V-V compounds is different from that of the constituents. That is a noun is formed from two verbs.

3.8 Noun +Verb +Noun (N-V-N) Nominal Compounds

Bauer (1988:38) defines compounding as “the formation of a new lexeme by adjoining two or more **lexemes**” while for Katamba (1993:291) “a prototypical compound is a word made up of at least two **bases** which can occur elsewhere as independent **words**.” Ewe compounds are not formed as the result of putting together only two separate words to form a new word, as seen in the dataset for this study. Some Ewe compounds are made up of combination of more than two words. The processes involved in compounding of N-V-N structure are similar to those of verbs and nouns. Table (18) shows some examples.

Table 18. Noun-Verb-Noun Compounds

BASE 1	GLOSS	BAS E 2	GLOS S	BASE 3	GLOSS	COMP.	GLOSS
ame	human	kó	take	mɔ	machine	amekómɔ	lift
anyí	down	mló	sleep	awu	dress	anyímlówu	pajamas
aɲutí	orange	fíá	squeeze	emɔ	machine	aɲutífíámɔ	juicer
àtíke	medicine	xɔ	take	àgbàle	book	àtíkexɔgbale	prescription
bɔl	ball	fo	play	há	group	bɔlfohá	football team
dò	work	dé	put	àsí	hand	dòdásí	responsibility
dònò	patient	kpò	see	exɔ	room	dònòkpóxɔ	surgery
dò	work	tsó	take	èvi	child	dòtsóví	steward
dò	work	wɔ	do	nú	thing	dòwɔnú	tool
dzi	heart	dé	put	fo	stomach	dzidéfo	encouragement
dzí	heart	dzè	fall	émè	inside	dzidzemè	comfort
gà	money	xò	take	àgbàle	book	gàxògbàle	cheque
gbe	weed	lɔ	collect	kusi	basket	gbèlókusi	litter bin
gè	beard	lu	shave	èhé	knife	gèlùhé	shaving stick
dà	hair	lu	shave	èhé	knife	dàlùhé	scissors
mólu	rice	si	harvest	èhé	knife	mólusihé	
mó	road	fíá	point	dzèsì	sign	mòfiadzesi	road sign
nú	thing	dzrá	sell	ègà	money	núdzrága	proceed
nú	thing	dù	eat	téfé	place	núdùfé	restaurant

Similar to the compounds above are combinations of various free forms which are used as names of persons. These names can sometimes be analysed as sentences as shown in (49)

49. a. Agbe-le-mawu-si
b. Nye-me-bui-o

- c. Kpɔ-tɔwo-gbɔ
- d. Agbe-nye-gã

As compounds (names), the examples in (49) are written as a unit. It will be very revealing to look at the grammatical, syntactic semantic and pragmatic properties of these compounds in discourse as a way of confirming their form class membership. I will, however, leave that for future research.

3.8.1 Summary

The aim of this session is to bring to the fore a compound type which is not common in many languages. These are N-V-N compounds, a combination of three free forms that produces a new form (nominal).

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented an account of the types and properties of Ewe compounds. I have classified Ewe compounds by various criteria, including the syntactic category of the compound members (N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V), the presence of a head element (endocentric vs. exocentric compounds), the position of head constituents (left-headed, right-headed, dual headed) and the semantic & grammatical relations between the constituents.

I have discussed six compound types (N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V, N-V-N) drawing attention to the regular and irregular properties that characterize them. Compounds have been classified into *attributive*, *subordinate* and *coordinative* compounds in the literature. Ewe compounds also share these relationships. Most

N-N and N-A compounds are attributive, N-V and V-N compounds are subordinate and V-V and some N-N compounds are coordinative.

The dataset and the discussion in the section shows that N-N compounds are largely regular, in spite of certain items that behave like affixes in some environments and full lexemes in other environments. I have pointed out that N-N compounds are largely attributive and even though most N-N compounds are right-headed and endocentric, there exist left-headed and dual-headed N-N compounds as well as exocentric compounds in the language. I have also established certain semantic patterns such as; ingredient of, location of, part of, made for, made for, type of, part of, cause, etc. with examples.

I have shown that basic adjectives, idiophones and derived adjectives concatenate with the noun head to form a new lexeme. I have also drawn a line between N-A compounds whose outcomes are nouns and those that result in adjectives suggesting that compounding is not only a nominalization strategy in Ewe. Other word classes can be derived from compounding. I also point out that N-A compounds are all left-headed, patterning like NPs in which attributive adjectives modify head nouns. Some adjectives function as inherent complements to their head nouns. Some interesting semantic relations are enumerated in this session. I have also identified the few exocentric N-A compounds in the language.

I have observed that the nouns in the N-V compounds seem to lose some of their semantic content thus have to be interpreted metaphorically. The verbs in Ewe N-

V compounds are intransitive and the noun constituents correspond to the notional subjects of the verbs. These properties seem cross-linguistic.

I suggest a definition for Ewe V-N compounds as the combination of inherent complement verb (ICV) or canonical transitive verb (CTV) and their obligatory nominal. When the constructions go through permutation and reduplication the outcome is a noun. On the other hand, the outcome is an adjective when no duplication and permutation process takes place.

It is also clear in the discussion that compounding is not just a nominalization process. Other word classes could be derived in the concatenations of two or more free forms. Again more than two free forms can be combined in Ewe compounds. Compounding is therefore a very productive word formation process in Ewe.

CHAPTER FOUR

PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF EWE COMPOUNDS

4.1 Introduction

There are several phonological processes associated with compounding in Ewe. This chapter analyzes the phonological processes associated with compounding in Ewe. Specifically, the chapter is aimed at establishing the phonotactic and tonal constraints in Ewe compounding and the mechanisms available in Ewe grammar for dealing with the violations of these constraints. The significant frameworks for this endeavour are the distinctive feature theory and the syllable theory in the context of non-linear phonology.

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.2 focuses on Vowel sequence and vowel sequence processes in Ewe. Section 4.3 is devoted to consonantal and consonant related processes in Ewe compound. Section 4.4 is devoted to tone processes in Ewe compounds. In Section 4.5 is a summary of the findings and their significance to linguistic theory.

4.2 Vowel Sequence and Vowel Sequence Processes in Ewe Compounds

This section deals with vowel sequence and vowel sequence processes in the formation of compound words in Ewe. This section focuses on the ways of solving the problems of vowel sequence in Ewe compounds. According to Harris (2011), vowel sequences lacking an intervening consonant are cross-linguistically dis-preferred, and wherever morpheme combination threatens to

create a hiatus configuration of this sort, languages can take various measures to resolve it. This phenomenon (hiatus) is common when different lexical categories are compounded during compounding in Ewe. Languages use various ways of resolving the problem of vowel sequence including deletion and epenthesis (Harris 2011). According to Duthie (1996), deletion is used as a repair mechanism in resolving the problem of hiatus in Ewe. That is, the language prefers dropping one of the clustering vowels rather than having both of them to repair the phenomenon.

The analysis focuses on establishing the permissible and impermissible vowel sequences in Ewe compounds, and what the repair strategies in Ewe grammar are for dealing with impermissible vowel sequences. The table below presents the possible vowel-vowel contact during compounding.

Table 19. Possible Vowel Sequence at Morpheme Boundaries

		i	u	e	ɔ	o	a
High vowels	i	*ii	*iu	ie	*iɔ	*io	ia
	u	*ui	*uu	ue	*uɔ	*uo	ua
Mid vowels	e	*ei	*eu	ee	*eɔ	*eo	ea
	ɔ	*ɔi	*ɔu	ɔe	*ɔɔ	*ɔo	ɔa
	o	*oi	*ou	oe	*oɔ	*oo	oa
Low vowel	a	*ai	*au	ae	*aɔ	*ao	aa
		1	2	3	4	5	6

The sequences with the asterisks are never realised at morpheme boundaries in compounding. Vowel-vowel sequences without the asterisks occur at the morpheme-morpheme boundary during compounding.

This subsection (4.2) is focused on strategies in Ewe grammar for dealing with these vowel sequences at the morpheme boundaries. Section 4.2.1 examines vowel sequence involving a high vowel as V_1 , section 4.2.2 presents vowel sequence with a mid-vowel as V_1 , and Section 4.2.3 is devoted to vowel sequence with a low vowel as V_1 .

4.2.1 Vowel sequence with a high vowel as V_1

This part of the study examines the high vowels (V_1) combinations with other vowels in compounding in Ewe. The high vowels are i, u, at morpheme boundary in this section.

4.2.1.1 High Vowel (i) + Low vowel (a) Sequence

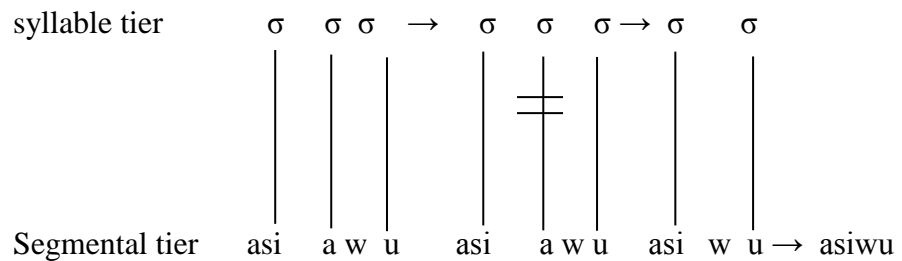
The data in (1) presents vowel sequences involving Ewe high –vowel /i/ and a low vowel /a/ in compounding.

1	BASE1	BASEE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àgbèli cassava	àtí stick	àgbèlití cassava stick
b.	àsí hand	awu dress	àsíwu glove
d.	àzi groundnut	àgblè farm	àzigble groundnut farm

e.	afi	átíke	àtíke
	mouse	medicine	pesticide

The data in (1) shows that all occasions, it is the V₂ /a/ that deletes and the V₁ 'i' survives to the output level. For example in (1b), 'i' V₁ in *àsí* survives deletion and 'a' V₂ of *awu* is deleted. This is further represented in example (2) below.

2. Presentation of V₂ deletion



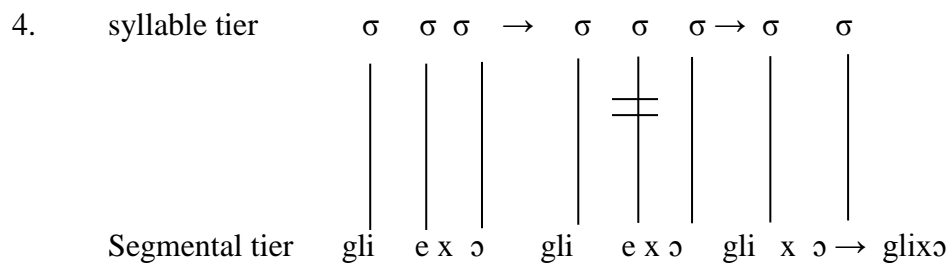
4.2.1.2 High Vowel (i) + Mid vowel (e) Sequence

The data in (3) represents vowel sequences involving the Ewe high vowel /i/ V₁ and a mid-vowel /e/ V₂ in compounding.

3.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	gli	èxò	glixò
	wall	house	mud house
b.	àtádí	ewó	àtádíwó
	pepper	flour	powdered pepper
c.	àtí	èkè	àtíke
	tree	root	medicine

d.	ami	èvu	amivú
	oil	lorry	fuel tanker

In the examples above, only one of the two clustered or adjacent vowels found its way in the outputs. The ‘e’ (V₂) of ewó, elides and ‘i’ (V₂) of àtádí survive into the output àtádíwó in example (3b). The same way, the vocalic prefixes ‘e’ delete in the second inputs in the rest of the examples. The illustration in (4) represents the deletion of ‘e’.



4.2.1.3 High Vowel (u) + Low vowel (a) Sequence

This part of the data looks at the high-vowel /u/ (V₁) and a low vowel /a/ (V₂) in a vowel -vowel sequence at morpheme boundary in Ewe compounds.

5.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	ku	àd́áka	kúd́áka
	death	box	coffin
b.	kú	àba	kúbá
	death	mat	death bed
c.	lũ	agble	lũgble
	millet	farm	sorghum farm

d.	nu	ayí	nuyí
	mouth	flesh	lip
e.	mólũ	àgblè	mólũgle
f.	àdú	àtíke	àdùtíke
	tooth	medicine	tooth medicine
g.	àkɔdú	àgblè	àkɔdúgble
	banana	farm	banana farm

The effect of deletion above shows that, the vowels with no onset are deleted and the vowels occupying the final positions are maintained. All the (V₂) in the dataset in the data set do not find their way into the output.

4.2.1.4 High Vowel (u) + Mid vowel (e) Sequence

The data in (6) show vowel sequences involving Ewe high –vowel /u/ (V₁) and mid vowel /e/ (V₂) at morpheme boundaries in compounding. The data shows that in all occasions, it is the V₂ ‘e’ that deletes and the V₁ ‘u’ survives to the output. For example in (6b), ‘u’ V₁ in *afu* survives deletion and ‘e’ V₂ of *èké* is deleted. That is why *afuké* is correct and **afeké* is incorrect. The same ‘u’ in *Yevú* finds its way in the compound word *Yevúgbe* but ‘e’ in *ègbè* does not.

6.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	dù	eta	dùtà
	town	head	abroad
b.	àfù	èké	afuké
	sea	sand	sea sand

c.	tú	èkpé	túkpé
	gun	stone	bullet
d.	dzù	ègbè	dzùgbè
	insult	voice	insult
e.	àfù	èké	àfuké
	sea	soil	sea sand
f.	Yevú	ègbè	Yevúgbè
	Whiteman	language	English language

4.2.2 Vowel sequence with a mid-vowel as V1

In this section, I look at the mid-vowel as V₁ in a vowel-vowel sequence at morpheme boundary in Ewe compounds. The mid-vowels are (ɔ, o e).

4.2.2.1 Mid-Vowel (ɔ) + mid-vowel (e) Sequence

The data in (7) are vowel sequence involving a mid-vowel /ɔ/ and mid-vowel /e/ at morpheme boundaries in compounding. That is (ɔ + ə Sequence).

7.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	afɔ	èkú	afɔkú
	leg	death	accident
b.	àdzò	ègà	àdzògà
	collection	money	tax
c.	àgblò	èvú	àgblòvú
	curved stick	drum	type of drum.
d.	dzìdzò	enya	dzìdzònya

	happy	news	good news
g.	kò	ègà	kɔga
	neck	metal	necklace

In example (7) only one of the two clustered or adjacent vowels found its way in the outputs. The entire V₂ delete but the V₁ in all the words are seen in the compound words. For example the ‘e’ (V₂) of *ègà*, elides and ‘ɔ’ (V₁) of *kò* survives deletion and it is seen in the compound *kɔga* (7g). In example (7a), *afɔkú* is correct and **afekú* is incorrect because it is ‘e’ of *eku* that is deleted and not ‘u’ of *kú*. The same applies to the rest of the words. The vocalic prefixes ‘e’ delete in the second inputs and do not find their way in the output.

4.2.2.2 Mid-Vowel (ɔ) + Low-Vowel (a) Sequence

The data in (8) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe mid –vowel /ɔ/ V₁ and a low vowel /a/ V₂ in compounding.

8	BASE1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a	àfɔ	àsabù	àfɔsabu
	leg	net	type of fishing net
b	dò	ami	dòmì
	sick	oil	ointment
c	àfɔ	àɖàɲù	afɔɖaɲu
	leg	skills	football
d	àgò	àtí	àgòtí
	royal palm	tree	royal palm

e	àfɔ̃	awu	àfɔ̃wu
	leg	dress	socks
f	àgblɔ̃	èvú	àgblɔ̃vú
	stick	drum	type of drum

The compounds in example (8) are made up of bases 1 and 2. /ɔ̃/ ends all bases identified under base 1 sets and /a/ at word initial in all elements listed in base 2. The /ɔ̃/ is elided from the output forms listed under compounds while the /a/ in all elements in base 2 are retained in the output forms.

Looking at (8a), one can notice that the /ɔ̃/ at word final of *àfɔ̃* is elided whereas the initial /a/ in *àsabù* is sustained in the output *àfɔ̃sabù*.

4.2.2.3 Mid-Vowel (ɔ̃) + Low-Vowel (a) Sequence.

The data in (9) looks at vowel sequences involving the mid- vowel /o/ V₁ and low-vowel /a/ V₂ sequence at morpheme boundaries.

9.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	kòko	àgblè	kòkogblè
	cocoa	farm	cocoa farm
b.	dzò	àká	dzòká
	fire	coal	charcoal
c.	kokló	àvalã	koklóvalã
	chicken	wing	chicken wing
d.	dzò	àve	Dzòvé
	fire	forest	January

e.	kòko	àgblè	kòkogblè
	cocoa	farm	coacoa farm
f.	dzò	àfi	dzòfi
	fire	powder	ash
g.	koklo	àzi	koklózi
	chicken	egg	egg

Examples (9a-g) follow the same trend as pertains in all the previous examples discussed so far. There is elision of the initial vowel /a/ V₂ in the second bases while the mid- vowel /o/ V₁ is maintained in the first bases.

4.2.2.4 Mid-Vowel (ɔ) + Low-Vowel (a) Sequence

Example (10) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe mid –vowel /ɔ/ V₁ and a mid- vowel /e/ V₂ at morpheme boundaries in compounding.

10.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	dzò	èkà	dzòkà
	fire	rope	talisema
b.	fo	ewó	fowó
	millet	powder	millet flour
c.	kpo	èdò	kpodò
	log	sickness	leprosy
d.	kokló	èlã	koklólã
	chicken	meat	chicken meat

Similar to what has been examined in (9), example (10) also shows a typical vowel elision to satisfy the vowel sequence rule of Ewe. Here, vowel /o/ and /e/ are in sequence in both bases where base 1 has /o/ at word final while /e/ at word initial in base 2 of all the words listed in the data set. The output compounds are therefore formed with /e/ elided.

4.2.2.5 Mid-Vowel (e) + Mid-Vowel (e) Sequence

The data in (11) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe mid –vowel /e/ V₁ and mid- vowel /a/ V₂ at morpheme boundaries in compounding.

11	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUNDS
a	àgblè	exɔ	àgblèxɔ
	farm	building	farm hut
b.	gbe	èhà	gbeha
	bush	pig	wild pig
c.	àvè	ègbõ	àvègbõ
	forest	goat	antelope
d.	dzè	ètsi	dzètsi
	salt	water	salt solution

Per the deletion rule established in Ewe, compounds which are formed with bases that typically have /e/ and /e/ in sequence are required to eliminate one of the vowels in the sequence. In the data set found in example (11), the first /e/ V₁ in the sequence is what is maintained in the output form. (11d) shows how the /e/ of *dzè* is retained but the /e/ of *etsi* gets elided in *dzètsi* ‘salt solution’.

Evidence of this is realized from the low tone marking on the /e/ in the compound *dzètsi*.

4.2.2.6 Mid-Vowel (e) + Low-Vowel (a) Sequence

The data in (12) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe mid –vowel /e/ V₁ and a low vowel /a/ V₂ at morpheme boundaries in compounding.

12	BASE 1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	gbè bush	àvú dog	gbèvú ruffian
b.	de palm	àgblè farm	degble palm plantation
c.	àdè slime	ama leaf	àdème juice mallow
d.	àkpé thousand	àtó five	àkpátó five thousand
e.	àkpé thousand	adé six	àkpádé six thousand
f.	àkpé thousand	adré seven	àkpádré seven thousand

Example (12) shows how the vowels in cluster are repaired in the outputs. Two things are happening here. The data comprising the non-numeral compounds (12 a-c), have their V₂ deleted. For the numeral compounds, (12 d-f) the V₁ is deleted while the V₂ is maintained in the compound. There is the case of

compensatory lengthening in numeral compounds. This phenomenon is discussed in detail with further examples and illustrations in example (20-25).

4.2.3 Vowel sequence with a low vowel as V₁

This section focuses on compounds with vowel sequence involving the low vowel, /a/ and any other permissible vowel at morpheme boundaries. That is Low-vowel /a/ as V₁ and V (low, non-low).

4.2.3.1 Low-Vowel (a) + Low-Vowel (a) Sequence

The data in (12) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe low –vowel /a/ V₁ and a low vowel /a/ V₂ at morpheme boundaries in compounding.

13	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a	ad̩iba	amakpa	ad̩ibamakpa
	pawpaw	leaf	pawpaw leaf
b	gà	awu	gàwu
	metal	dress	metal dress
c	lã	àgbalẽ	lãgbalẽ
	animal	skin	leather
d	ta	àti	tati
	head	wood	pestle

In (13a-d) all V₁ are maintained over V₂ as shown in a compound like *tati* where /a/ in *ta* is deleted while the other /a/ at word initial in *ati* preserved.

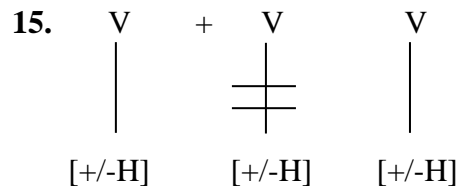
4.2.3.2 Low-Vowel (a) + mid-Vowel (e) Sequence

Example (14) shows vowel sequences involving Ewe low –vowel /a/ V₁ and a mid- vowel /e/ V₂ at morpheme boundaries in compounding.

14	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	gà metal	èxò room	gàxò prison
b.	siká gold	ekplu cup/trophy	sikakplu golden cup
c.	agba load	ekpe stone	àgbàkpé pillar
d.	gà metal	èsó horse	gàsó bicycle
e.	alafá hundred	èvè two	alafávè two hundred

In this data set, all lists in base 1 have /a/ at word final position and the base 2 words have /e/ at word initial position. The two vowels which happen to be in sequence are required to be repaired by deleting one of the vowels. The second vowel in the sequence is therefore deleted as part of the repair mechanism as shown in (14d) *gà + èsó = gàsó*.

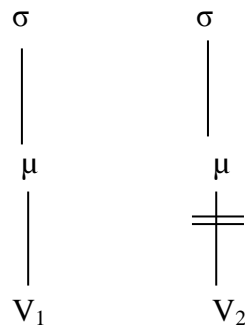
The effect of deletion above shows that, for non-numeral compounds there is segment deletion at the same time syllable deletion. One can also argue that the vowels with no onset are deleted and the vowels with onset are preserved in compounding in the language. The vowel simplification rule in the noun-noun compounds for non-numerals is illustrated



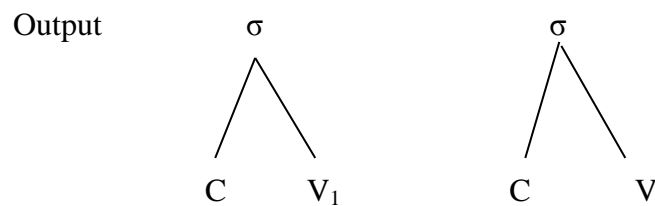
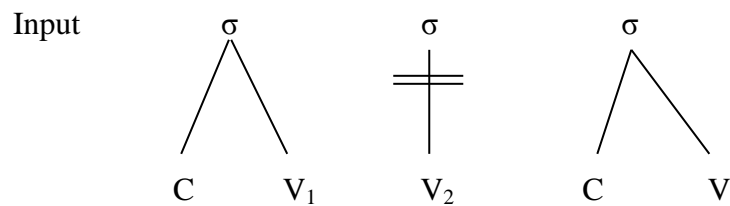
The rule says that when there is a sequence of two vowels at word or morpheme boundary in Ewe and the first vowel (V_1) is whether low or high and the (V_2) can also be low or non-low, it is the V_2 that is deleted. This is illustrated further in (16 & 17)

16. a. tú + èkpé → túkpé *tuekpe ‘bullet’
 b. adzɔ + ègà → àdzògà *adzɔega ‘tax’
 c. gà + èxò → gàxò *gàxò ‘prison’

17a. Presentation of V_2 deletion in noun compounds



b.



The examples in (16) of the presentation in (17) show that, for non-numeral compounds there is segment deletion at the same time syllable deletion. According to Harris (201:1614), “a vowel forms a local sonority peak and thus projects its own syllable nucleus, so removing it inevitably unleashes resyllabification. The phenomenon of segment deletion and syllable deletion in non-numeral compounds creates room for resyllabification. When two or more words are combined in compounding such that the first word ends with a vowel and the initial of the second word is also a vowel, the outcome is a hiatus situation which Ewe does not accept as explained earlier on. The language uses deletion to repair this situation as illustrated (17) above. The illustration suggests that before compounding there are three syllables, but when the V_2 deletes in the process of compounding the syllables reduce to two.

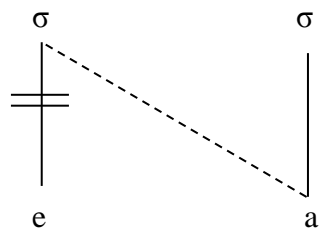
4.2.4 Vowel Sequence in Numeral Compounding in Ewe

Numeral compounds behave differently from noun compounds. The argument is that, there is V_2 deletion during compounding of noun compounds. It is the syllable without an onset that deletes in noun compounds. The argument fails completely when it comes to numeral compounds. The only occasion where segments or a vowel have survived deletion in an attempt to repair vowel sequence is in numeral compounds. For numeral compounds the low vowel /a/ is always preserved regardless of where the low vowel is as shown in (17 & 18).

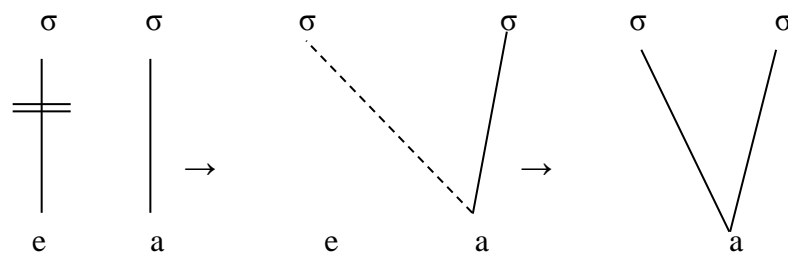
17.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àkpé thousand	atḥ́ six	àkpáatḥ́ six thousand
b.	àkpé thousand	adé seven	àkpáàdé seven thousand
c.	àkpé thousand	àsieke nine	àkpáàsieke nine thousand

18. Presentation of regressive compensatory lengthening

àkpé + atḥ́ → àkpáatḥ́ ‘five thousand’



OR



The examples in (18) above clearly show that V₁ but not V₂ that deletes. This is contrary to the trend common in the language in noun compounds where it is V₂ which always deletes. The low vowel can be V₁ or V₂, the rule states that it must be preserved. When the low vowel /a/ in numeral compounds is a V₂ and the mid-vowel /e/ is the V₁ and /e/ deletes, /a/ is lengthened to compensate for the loss of /e/ regressively.

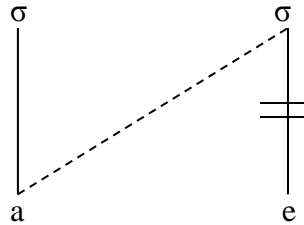
When the low vowel /a/ in numeral compounds is a V₁ and the non-low vowel for example /e/ is the V₂ the non-low vowel deletes the low vowel then lengthens to compensate for the loss of the non-low vowel progressively as shown in (19 & 20).

19.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	blá	èvè	bláàvè
	tens	two	twenty
b.	blá	ètò	bláàtò
	tens	three	thirty
c.	blá	ènè	bláànè
	tens	four	forty
d.	alafá	ètǒ	alafáàtǒ
	hundred	three	three hundred.

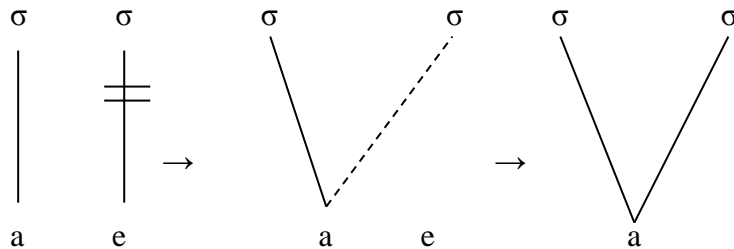
20 **Illustration of Progressive Compensatory lengthening**

blá + èvè bláàvè

20.



OR



In example (20) V_1 lengthens progressively to compensate for the loss of V_2

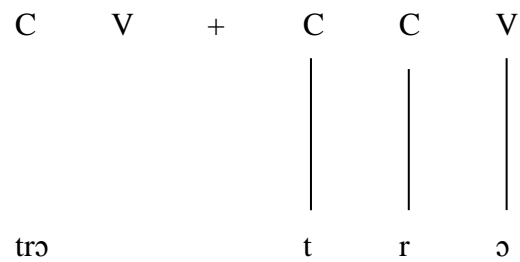
4.3 Consonantal Processes in Ewe Compounds

Consonant clusters are allowed within a syllable. A consonant sequence consists of up to two consonants, the second consonant may be of a liquid or a glide in the following words respectively: *fle* 'to buy' *tre* 'to seal'. In a noun compound consisting of a Verb and a Noun (V-N) where the verb element contains consonant clusters and goes through reduplication, the first consonant in the reduplicated template is dropped as in (21) which lead to cluster reduction and partial reduplication.

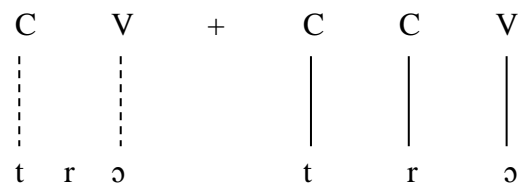
21.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	kplò to sweep	nú thing	núkpòkplò sweeping
b.	dzrà to sell	nú something	núdzádzrà sales
c.	flè to buy	ame human	amefe/fe slave
d.	vli to drag	hò wealth	hovi/ivi competition
e.	trò to drain/collect	tsi water	tsitòtrò rain water

Example (21) shows some V-N compounds that undergo permutation and reduplication. The outputs indicate that the first items in the reduplicative template drop their second consonants but the second items maintain their second consonants. This happens because the reduplicant is a CVI syllable which is copied. In an attempt to reduplicate the verb element *kplò* in (21a) the first *kplò* in the reduplicative template drops its second consonant /l/ but the /l/ is maintained in the second reduplicative template. This is why the output is *núkpòkplò* and **núkplòkplò* is not correct. In the same way, *trò* in (24e) also elides /r/ in its first reduplicative template but maintains it in the second template for the output *tsitòtrò* but not **tsitròtrò* (cf. Ofori 2002). This is further illustrated in the examples (22) below.

22. Illustration of cluster reduction.



Output



It is clear that the reduplicant is an empty CV syllable. It is dependent on the base for its segmental content. That is why *tɔtrɔ* is correct and **trɔtrɔ* is wrong.

4.4 Tonology of Compounds in Ewe

This part of the study is to examine the effects of tone on compounding in Ewe. It looks at the possible tone segments and their effects at morpheme boundary in N-N, and other tonal processes in N-A, V-N, N-V, and N-V-N compounds. I discuss the effect of high tone, low tone and mid tone when they are juxtaposed to each other. The goal is to identify the tones that elide, survive, spread or assimilate.

4.4.1 Tone Segment Involving High and Low Tones (N-N Compounds)

The data in (23) represent tone segment involving H+L tones

23.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àtí tree	àgblè farm	àtígble woodlot
b.	kú death	àdàka box	kúdàka coffin
c.	ewó corn flour	àkplé food	ewókplé type of food
d.	blá tens	àtṣ́ five	blá tṣ́ fifty
e	àkpé thousand	àtṣ́ five	àkpátṣ́ five thousand

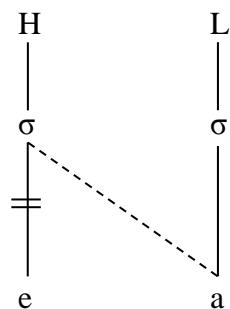
The data in (23) shows that, all the prefixed vowels of the final nouns (Base 2) except (e & f) are elided with their tones. The high tones of the first items survive while the low tones of the final nouns are deleted. Sometimes, during compounding it is possible that the segment carrying the high tone does not suffer elision. When it happens that the high vowel is not elided, but the low vowel at the syllable boundary suffers deletion, the whole of the segment carrying the high tone is carried into the output form. This means that the vowel of the following noun drops its segment and low tone as well. The high tones and the segments of the first nouns knock out the initial vowels of the tones of the second nouns and occupy their positions. There is no spreading situation here. The following data also confirms this point.

For the numeral compounds (23 e & f), there is segment deletion but no syllable deletion. Even though a segment is deleted another segment lengthens to compensate for the loss either progressively or regressively, so the tones are not affected. This observation is evident in example (26).

26.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	blá	èvè	bláàvè
	tens	two	twenty
b.	blá	àtṵ	bláàtṵ
	tens	five	fifty
c.	blá	àsíéke	bláàsíéke
	ten	nine	ninety

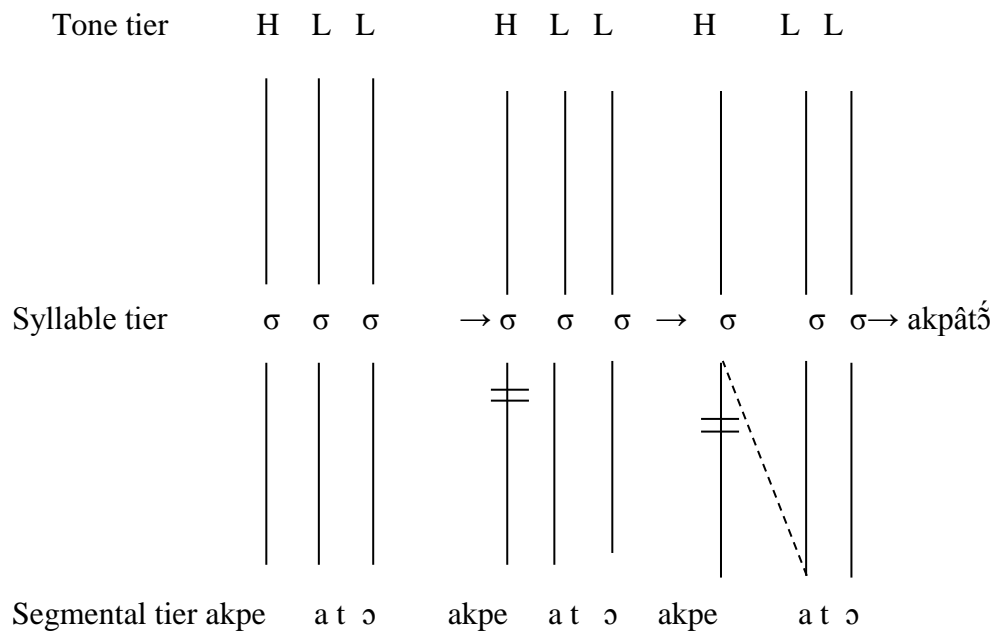
In (26) both the high tones of V₁ and the low tones of the V₂ survive as the result of compensatory lengthening. This is illustrated in (27 & 28).

27. àkpé + àtṵ → akpáàtṵ



The illustration above shows that /a/ lengthens to delete /e/ but the tones are not affected. Further representation of the low vowel lengthening is shown in (28).

28. Illustration of low vowel lengthening



The illustration above in (28) shows that the high tone on *akpe* is maintained because /a/ of the initial vowel of *atɔ* lengthens to compensate for the loss of the segment [e] that carries the high tone.

4.4.2 Tone Segment Involving High and Mid Tones (N-N Compounds)

The data in (29) presents H-M tone segment at morpheme boundary.

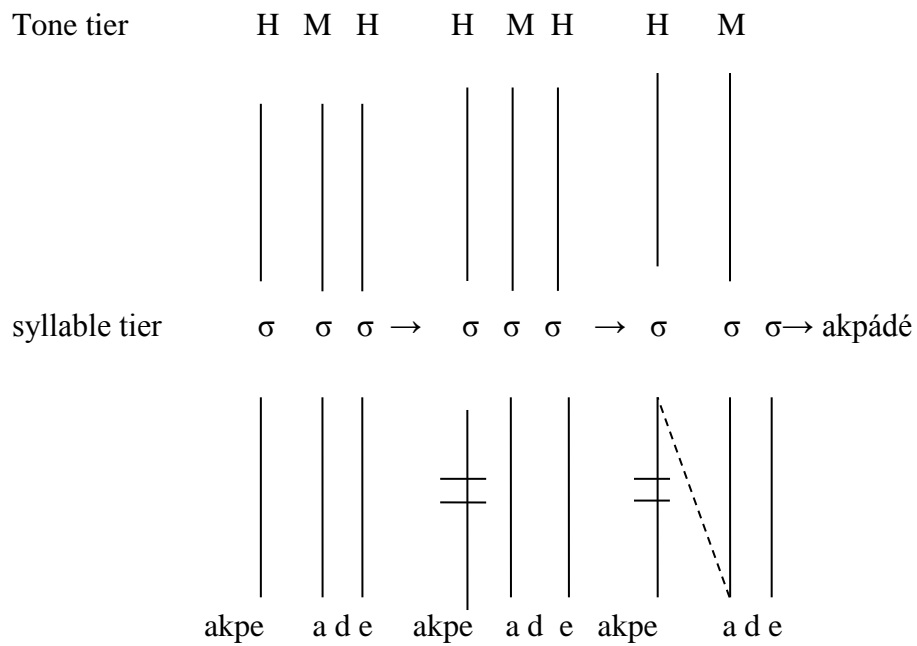
29.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àsí hand	awu dress	àsíwu glove
b.	blí corn	amó dough	blímó corn dough
c.	àḍìbá pawpaw	amakpa leaf	àḍìbámakpa pawpaw leaf

d.	kokonté	ewó	kokontéwó
	dried cassava	flour	type of flour.
e	àkpé	adré	àkpádré
	thousand	seven	seven thousand

The data above presents H+M tone sequence. All the vowels (prefixes) of the final nouns except (29e) are deleted with their mid tones. In the case of (29e), it is the first noun that elides its final vowel e but the high tone is preserved because the a of *adré* compensate for the loss of e of *àkpé*. Here again the mid tones and the high tones survive in the compound *àkpádré*. More data of this sort is presented in (30).

30.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àkpé	adé	àkpádé
	thousand	six	six thousand
b.	akpe	adre	akpadre
	thousand	seven	seven thousand
c.	àkpé	enyí	àkpényi
	thousand	eight	eight thousand

31. Illustrating high tone and mid tone behaviour in numeral compounds



In the illustration above, the high tone has lost its original host [e] in a hiatus situation but it is compensated for by [a]. Both tones are maintained in the output

4.4.3 Tone Segment Involving Mid and Low Tones (N-N Compounds)

The data in 32 presents mid and low tones at morpheme boundary.

32	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àf̄	èkú	àf̄kú
	leg	death	accident
b.	ami	àtí	amítí
	oil	tree	type of tree
c.	ta	àtí	tatí
	head	wood	pestle

d.	àfɔ	àdàŋù	àfɔdàŋu
	leg	skills	game of football
e.	kpo	èdò	kpodò
	log	ailment	leprosy

Example (33) presents two interesting scenarios. Where the second noun ends in a high tone, the high tone is carried onto the output after its low tone prefix is elided as shown in (33 a-c). In the cases where the second nouns ends in a low tone, the low tone of the final items assimilate the mid tones of the preceding items to mid regressively as in (33 d & e).

4.4.4 Tone Segment Involving Mid and Mid Tones (N-N Compounds)

The examples in (34) are tone segments involving mid and mid tones at morpheme boundaries.

34.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	àfɔ	awu	àfɔwu
	leg	dress	socks
b.	àbólo	ewó	àbólówó
	bread	flour	flour
c.	enu	ayí	enuyí
	mouth	flesh	lip

There is no significant change in the M + M tone segments above. The prefixes of the second nouns elide and the vowels that survive surface with their tones into the outputs.

4.4.5 Tone Segment Involving Low and Mid Tones (N-N Compounds)

35.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	èdò ailment	ami oil	èdòmì ointment
b.	àdè slime	ama leaf	àdèmà juice mallow
c.	gà metal	awu dress	gàwù shield
d.	àgbèlì cassava	amakpa leaf	àgbèlimakpa cassava leaf

The example (35) presents L+M tones at morpheme boundary. The mid tones of the prefix of the second nouns elide with their segments. The low tones of the final items of the first nouns assimilate the mid tone of the final items of the second nouns to low tone progressively. For example the low tone of *gà* assimilate the mid tone of /u/ of *awu* to a low tone as in *gàwù* **gawu*. (35c).

4.4.6 Tone Segment Involving Low and Low Tones (N-N Compounds)

Example (36) is the combination of L+L tone segments at morpheme boundary. The tone and the segment of the final nouns elide. They do not surface in the output forms. That is why we have *ègàdzò* **ègàdzò* (40e) and *àgbèlìtí* **àgbèlìtí* (36c).

36.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	ègà metal	àgbá bowl	ègàgbá basin
b.	dzò fire	àvé forest	dzòvé January
c.	àgbèlì cassava	àtí stick	àgbèlítí cassava stick
d.	àdè hunting	àwù dress	àdèwù hunting dress
e.	ègà money	èdzò fire	ègàdzò unclean money

Generally the tone on the initial vowels or prefixes on the noun-noun constituents in compounds are non-high. The same low tone reflects in the word initial of the output (compound) as in example (37).

37.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	àzã festive	àvɔ cloth	àzãvɔ festive cloth
b.	àdè hunting	àwu dress	àdèwù attire for hunting
c.	èkpo stick	èdɔ sickness	èkpodɔ leprosy
d.	ègà metal	àgbà bowl	ègàgbà basin

e.	àgbeli	amɔ	àmò
	cassava	dough	àgbèlimò

4.4.7 Tone Processes in V-V Compounds

When two serial verbs are combined, the verbs undergo reduplication process sometimes. The first verb is reduplicated and suffixed with the following verb which always retains its original tone. When the verb (CV stem) is a high tone, the counter changes its high tone to a low tone while the root retains the high tone as in (38). When both the counter verb and the root verb are low tone, the verb (CV stem) is a low tone as in (39) (cf. Ofori 2002).

38.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	dó	kpó	dòdókpó
	to test	see	examination
b.	sí	dzó	sìsídzó
	to run	go	going by running
c.	té	kpó	tètékpó
	to press	see	pressing

In (38a) above the verb *dó* in the output drops its high tone in the counter stem (first stem) but maintains it in the root stem (second stem). The second verb *kpó* retains its high tone. The rest of the examples are also the same.

39.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	zò walk	vá come	zòzòvá coming by walking
b.	tè drag	kpó see	tètèkpó temptation'
c.	gbò turn	vá come	gbògbòvá returning

In (39a) above, the counter verbs and the root verbs in the reduplicative templates retain the low tone as in the original verbs. The second verbs which suffix the reduplicative template also retain their high tones. For instance, *zò* retains its low tone in the reduplicative template and the second verb *vá* also maintains its high tone.

4.4.8 Tone Processes in V-N Compounds

According to (Ofori 2002), Verb-Noun compounds go through permutation (reversing word order) and reduplication process. The noun is brought forward and the verb is repeated. When the two items (sometimes CV stem are inherent complement verbs) undergoing compounding have low tones, the items in the reduplicative template and the permuted word retain their low tones in the output. Examples in (40) are of this kind.

40.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	vli drag	hò money	hòvìvli competition

b.	dzi	hà	hàdzìdzi
	sing	song	singing
c.	gbà	vò	vògbàgbà
	break	door	burglary

In the example above, the reduplicative template and the permuted word retain their low tones in the output.

When the verb is low tone and the noun is high the reduplicated verb assimilates the high tone of the noun progressively to become mid tone as in (41).

41.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	fà	amó	amófafa
	mixed	dough	dough syrup
b.	fò	fú	fúfofo
	beat	bone	gathering
c.	zò	mó	mózozo
	walk	way	traveling

The examples above illustrate the situation where the reduplicated verbs assimilate the high tones of the noun to become mid tones.

If the noun has high tone and the verb is low, they retain their tone in the output. Examples in (42) are this kind.

42.	BASE 1	BASE 2	COMPOUND
a.	dó gather	dzè voice	dzèdódó chatting
b.	bí turn	dzi dzi	dzìbíbí anger
c.	dó plant	dzi heart	dzìdódó endurance

Here the verbs and the noun retain their high and low tones respectively in the output.

4.4.9 Tone Processes in N-A Compounds

Compounding of nouns and adjectives is a compounding process that does not involve any tonal change as shown in (43).

43.	BASE1	BASE2	COMPOUND
a.	detsi soup	fufui dried	detsi fufui light soup
b.	ta head	gá' big	tagá' big headed
c.	dɔ sickness	dzẽ red	dɔdzẽ leprosy'
d.	ɲkeke day	nyuí good	ɲkekenyuí festival

4.4.10 Tone Processes in N-V-N

The processes involved in the compounding of N-V-N structure are similar to those of verbs and nouns. Sometimes the final syllable of the stem may have a low tone changed to a rising one as shown in (4 a, b e & f).

44.	BASE 1	BASE 2	BASE 3	COMPOUNDS.
a.	aɲutí orange	fíá squeeze	emɔ machine	aɲutífíámǔ juicer
b.	dzi sky	kè open	dzò fire	dzíkèdzò thunder
c.	bɔl ball	fò play	há group	bɔlfòhá football team
d.	dò work	wɔ do	nú thing	dòwɔnú tool
e.	gà money	xó take	àgbàle book	gàxògbàlě cheque
f.	mó road	fíá point	dzèsì sign	mòfíadzesí road sign

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines some phonological processes observed in compounding in Ewe. Some of the phonological processes I look at include both segmental and non-segmental processes; vowel deletion, consonant deletion (cluster reduction) resyllabification, tone spreading and stability and assimilation.

First, I focus on establishing the permissible and impermissible vowel sequences in Ewe compounds, (vowel sequence involving a high vowel, vowel sequence involving a mid-vowel, vowel sequence involving a low vowel and vowel sequence involving a round vowel) and what the repair strategies in Ewe grammar are for dealing with impermissible vowel sequences.

The phenomenon (hiatus) is common when different lexical categories are compounded during compounding in Ewe. In compounding in Ewe, deletion is used as a repair mechanism in resolving the problem of hiatus. The effect of deletion shows that, mostly the vowels with no onset are deleted. The V2 deletion is in the majority while V1 deletion is in the minority in the language. The syllable that suffers from the deletion becomes short of a segment which leads to resyllabification.

In a noun compound consisting of a Verb and a Noun (V-N) where the verb element contains consonant clusters and goes through reduplication, the first consonant in the reduplicated template is dropped.

The chapter also examines the effects of tone on compounding in Ewe. It looks at the possible tone segments and their effects at morpheme boundary in N-N, and other tonal processes in N-A, V-N, N-V, and N-V-N compounds. I discuss the effect of high tone, low tone and mid tone when they are juxtaposed to each other. Mostly all the prefixed vowels of the final nouns (Base 2) are elided with their tones. The high tones of the first items survive while the low tones of the

final nouns are deleted with their segments. The high tones and the segments of the first nouns knock out the initial vowels of the tones of the second nouns and occupy their positions which do not lead to spreading. Sometime there are instances where during compounding the low tone is specified. The segment bearing the low tone elides but the low tone is preserved. It is also interesting to note that the first segment (V1) can elide instead of (V2). When this happens, the vowel /e/ of the first item of the compound elides but its high tone is preserved and spread onto the prefix of the second item of the compound /a/ which also maintains its low tone. This gives rise to a contour tone.

Where the second noun ends in a high tone, the high tone is carried onto the output after its low tone prefix is elided. In the cases where the second nouns end in a low tone, the low tones of the final items assimilate the mid tones of the preceding items to mid regressively. In the case for L+M tones at morpheme boundary, the mid tones of the prefix of the second nouns elide with their segments. The low tones of the final items of the first nouns assimilate the mid tone of the final items of the second nouns to low tone progressively.

The combination of L+L tone segments at morpheme boundary, the tone and the segment of the final nouns elide. They do not surface in the output forms.

Sometimes the final syllable of the stem of V-V-N compounds may have a low tone changed to a rising one.

Autosegmental theory addresses the situations which put tones and other phonological features together as if they have no autonomy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The goal of this thesis has been to establish the morphosyntactic and the phonological principles underlie compounding in Ewe. It discusses Ewe compounds in relation to the syntactic categories of constituents, position of the head element, the presence of a head element and phonological processes in compounding in order to establish how related or different they are from what exists in other languages. This chapter is the summary of the core issues in the previous chapters. It outlines what the study has discovered about compounding in Ewe and finally proposes areas for future studies. The rest of the chapter is organised as follow. Section 5.2 presents the summary of the previous chapters, section 5.3 is the contribution of the study to knowledge and recommendation for future studies concludes the chapter in section 5.4.

5.2 Summary of chapters

In chapter one I presented the topic of the study. I showed in the chapter that compounding is one area in morphology that has attracted numerous debates. Both definitions related and typology /categorization related issues have been identified in the study of compounding; the reason for a comprehensive description of the linguistic phenomenon of compounding in Ewe is essential. The chapter showed that, comparatively there have not been any detailed studies into compounding in Ewe. The subject has been under-studied and

therefore needed to be studied in order to examine the structure and establish the morphophonological processes involved in the formation of compounds in Ewe. I also presented an overview of the background of the Ewe people as well as their language. The objective of the study, research questions, methodology and the significance of the study are also featured in the chapter.

In chapter two, I discussed some general issues concerning the study of compounding in the literature. I discussed various works of the general issues in the study of compounding and show that the study of compounds has attracted interest from diverse fields of scholarship. I reviewed literature on issues concerning definition, classification and headedness. I showed that there are hardly any universally accepted criteria for determining what a compound is in spite of extensive research into compound and compounding processes as far as definition and classification are concerned. Concerning definition I pointed out that most of the definitions are language specific because compound members appear differently in various languages. I propose a definition for Ewe compounds as the combination of two or more related bases which occur alone as free forms to form a new lexeme. For example, *àgbèliti* ‘cassava stem’ is a new lexeme formed by combining two related bases *àgbèli* ‘cassava’ and *àti* ‘stick’. The same applies *dànàkpóxo* ‘ward’ is the combination of three free forms *dànà* ‘patient’ *kpó* ‘see’ *exo* ‘room’. I showed that Ewe compounds can be formed with word formation affixes, they are spelled together, they can be right-headed, left-headed and dual-headed, and they are inflected as a whole and are syntactically or structurally inseparable.

The classification of compounds has been a central issue in the linguistic literature. Almost every scholar dealing with study of compounding has proposed his/her own view. Bases on various works discussed concerning classification, I showed in the chapter that compounds can be classified based on the form-class of the constituents, yielding, N-N, N-A, N-V, etc., or that of the output category of the compound, yielding verbal, nominal, adjectival, etc. compounds. Again, the presence and position of a head element, distinguishing between compounds which are hyponyms of their head and those which are not, yielding endocentric vs. exocentric compound respectively is another way of classifying compounds. A final approach uses the grammatical and semantic relation between the constituents. I agreed that it is not uncommon to see most classifications involve more than one of the above parameters, so it is not unusual to find terms like endocentric N+N coordinates and V+V endocentric compounds.

Booij (2007) opines that headedness of a compound is not only relevant for its formal properties, but also for its semantic interpretation. Regarding headedness I showed that Ewe endocentric N-N compounds are mostly right-headed, but there are left-headed and dual-headed N-N compounds as well. The same is true of V-V compounds, but all N-A compounds are left-headed. I finally presented a discussion on the theoretical framework for the thesis in chapter two. I suggested that, autosegmental theory helps us to account sufficiently for segments and features as constituting discrete tiers so that a modification in one does not necessarily affect the other; they individually bear their significances.

In chapter three, I classify Ewe compounds both structurally (i.e. morphosyntactically) and semantically. In this chapter I have presented an adequate account of the types and properties of Ewe compounds. I have classified Ewe compounds by various criteria. First, is the syntactic category of the compound members, (N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V) followed by presence of a head element, endocentric vs. exocentric compounds. Classification based position of head constituents, left-headed, right-headed, dual headed was also discussed including semantics & grammatical relations between constituents

I have discussed six compound types, (N-N, N-A, N-V, V-N, V-V, N-V-N) drawing attention to the regular and irregular properties that characterize them. Compounds have been classified into *attributive*, *subordinate* and *coordinative* compounds in the literature. Ewe compounds also share these relationships. Most N-N and N-A compounds are attributive, N-V and V-N compounds are subordinate and V-V and some N-N compounds are coordinative. The dataset and the discussion in the section shows that N-N compounds are largely regular, in spite of certain items that behave like affixes in some environments and full lexemes in other environments. I have pointed out that N-N compounds are largely attributive and even though most N-N compounds are right-headed and endocentric, there exist left-headed and dual-headed N-N compounds as well as exocentric compounds in the language. I have also established certain semantic patterns such as; ingredient of, location of, part of, made for, made for, type of, part of, cause and etc. with examples. I have shown that basic adjectives, idiophones and derived adjectives concatenate

with the noun head to form a new lexeme. I have also drawn a line between N-A compounds whose outcomes are nouns and those that result in adjectives suggesting that compounding is not only a nominalization in Ewe. Other word classes can be derived from compounding. I also point out that N-A compounds are all left-headed, patterning like NPs in which attributive adjectives modify head nouns. Some adjectives function as inherent complements to their head nouns. Some interesting semantic relations are enumerated in this session. I have also identified the few exocentric N-A compounds in the language. I have observed that, the nouns in the N-V compounds seem to lose some of their semantic content thus have to be interpreted metaphorically. The verbs in Ewe N-V compounds are intransitive and the noun constituents correspond to the notional subjects of the verbs. These properties seem cross-linguistic.

I suggested a definition for Ewe V-N compounds as: the combination of inherent complement verb (ICV) or canonical transitive verb (CTV) and their obligatory nominal. When the constructions go through permutation and reduplication the outcome is a noun. On the other hand, the outcome is an adjective when no duplication and permutation process takes place. It is also clear in the discussion that compounding is not just a nominalization process. Other word classes could be derived in the concatenations of two or more free forms. Again more than two free forms can be combined in Ewe compounds. Compounding is therefore a very productive word formation process in Ewe.

In chapter 4, I examined some phonological processes observed in compounding in Ewe. Some of the phonological processes I look at include both segmental and non-segmental processes; vowel deletion, consonant deletion (cluster reduction) resyllabification, tone stability and assimilation. First, I focus on establishing the permissible and impermissible vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries in Ewe compounds, (vowel sequence involving a high vowel as V_1 , vowel sequence involving a mid-vowel as V_1 , and vowel sequence involving a low vowel as V_1 .) I also presented what the repair strategies in Ewe grammar are for dealing with impermissible vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries. The phenomenon (hiatus) is common when different lexical categories are compounded during compounding in Ewe. The language does not allow vowel segment sequence. In compounding in Ewe, deletion is used as a repair mechanism in resolving the problem of hiatus. For non-numeral the effect of deletion shows that, mostly the vowels with no onset are deleted. The V_2 deletion occurs in non-numerals. There is syllable deletion at the same time segment deletion. In numbers there is segment deletion but there is no syllable deletion. The low vowel is always preserved in numeral compounds that give rise to compensatory lengthening. The compensatory lengthening may be progressive or regressive depending on where the low vowel /a/ is located. The syllable that suffers from the deletion becomes short of a segment which leads to resyllabification. In a noun compound consisting of a Verb and a Noun (V-N) where the verb element contains consonant clusters and goes through reduplication, the first consonant in the reduplicated template is dropped. The chapter also examines the effects of tone on compounding in Ewe. It looks at the possible tone segments and

their effects at morpheme boundary in N-N, and other tonal processes in N-A, V-N, N-V, and N-V-N compounds. I discuss the effect of high tone, low tone and mid tone when they are juxtaposed to each other. Where the second noun ends in a high tone, the high tone is carried onto the output after its low tone prefix is elided. In the cases where the second nouns end in a low tone, the low tones of the final items assimilate the mid tones of the preceding items to mid regressively. In the case for L+M tones at morpheme boundary, the mid tones of the prefix of the second nouns elide with their segments. The low tones of the final items of the first nouns assimilate the mid tone of the final items of the second nouns to low tone progressively. For the combination of L+L tone segments at morpheme boundary, the tone and the segment of the final nouns elide. They do not surface in the output forms. Sometimes the final syllable of the stem of V-V-N compounds may have a low tone changed to a rising one. Autosegmental theory addresses the situations which put tones and other phonological features together as if they have no autonomy.

5.3 Findings and contribution to knowledge.

This thesis investigates compounding in Ewe. The study has investigated Ewe compounds both morphosyntactically and phonologically.

The study provides basic answers to how Ewe compounds are formed, the types of compounds and the relationship that exist between compounds and their constituents. The compound types the study reveals based on the form-class of the constituents in the language are N-N, N-A, N-V, V-V, V-N and N-V-N. Ewe compounds have also been classified into *attributive*, *subordinate*

and *coordinative* based on the relationship that exists between the constituents. The study also identifies exocentric and endocentric compounds in the language. The study being the first to investigate compounding at this magnitude reveals that compounding is not only a nominalization process but also an adjectivization process. The study has therefore contributed to Ewe morphology and will serve as a reference material in the literature.

Phonologically, the study shows that the Ewe does not allow vowel segment sequence. For numeral compounds the study shows that there is that case of low vowel preservation regardless of where it is located (that is whether it is V_1 or V_2). The low vowel always lengthens to compensate for the deletion of non-low vowel. With numbers again, there is segment deletion but there is no syllable deletion. The phenomenon of compensatory lengthening in numeral compounds may be regressive or progressive depending on where the low vowel is. The low vowel is also doubly associated in numeral compounds for that matter there is no tone loss in the output. Unlike the numeral compounds there is segment deletion at the same time syllable deletion in non-numeral compounds which unchecks resyllabification. The segment that elides in non-numeral compounds goes with its tone and syllable. All non-numeral compounds experience a V_2 deletion at morpheme boundaries. In reduplication, the reduplicant is an empty CV syllable.

In general, the application of the frameworks of the distinctive feature theory and the syllable theory in the context of non-linear phonology has added to the call in linguistic to distinguish features from their segments since they operate

at different levels. Finally this study adds to the study of compounding in all-purpose and specifically Ewe.

5.4 Recommendation for future studies

It will be very revealing to look at the syntactic distribution, semantic and pragmatic properties of compounds that are formed with more than three bases in discourse as a way of confirming their form class membership. This clearly shows that issues bordering on compounding are not comprehensive considering what has been done in this present study. I will, however, leave that for future research.

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APPENDIX

The items cited came from data collected from native speakers going about their normal duties, linguistic works and Ewe language course books and candidate's own understanding of Ewe as a native speaker.

NOUN-NOUN COMPOUNDS

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
1.	àbàdzí	bed top	àvò	cloth	àbàdzívò	bedsheet
2.	àbà	mat	hó	money	àbàhó	coffin money
3.	àblàdzó	plantain	kó	slice	àblàdzókò	plantain slice
4.	àbólo	bread	kpó	hill	àbólókpo	oven
5.	àbólo	bread	ewó	flour	àbólówó	bread flour
6.	abɔbi	anchovies	atadi	stew	abɔbitadi	anchovy stew
7.	àblɔ	street	mè	inside	àblòme	outdoor
8.	àba	bed	hó	money	àbàhó	coffin fine
9.	àbà	mat	àtí	wood	àbàtí	bed
10.	àgbà	load	kèké	truck	àgbàkèké	truck
11.	àgbà	load	afɔ	leg	àgbàfɔ	ladder
12.	àgbame	bowl	àtádí	pepper	àgbametádí	raw pepper
13.	àdzɔ	contribute	gà	money	àdzògà	tax
14.	àdzàle	soap	àgba	bowl	àdzàlegbá	sponge dish
15.	àdɔ̀nù	idea	nù	something	àdɔ̀nùnù	craft
16.	àdɔ̀ka	box	dzèsi	mark	àdɔ̀kadzèsi	box number
17.	àdɔ̀bá	pawpaw	amàkpa	leaf	àdɔ̀bámàkpa	food wrapper (leaf)
18.	àblɔ̀dɛ	freedom	àme	person/man	àblɔ̀dɛme	freeman
19.	áde	search	gbe	bush	adegbe	hunting
20.	ádè	limy	ama	leaf	ádèmè	juice mallow
21.	ádè	hunting	àvú	dog	ádèvú	hunting dog
22.	ádè	hunting	vú	dance	ádèvú	war dance
23.	àdɔ̀	eye	ètsi	water	àdɔ̀atsi	tears
24.	àdɔ̀	dirt	kpó	hill	àdɔ̀kpó	refuse dump
25.	àdzè	witch	ègà	money	àdzega	dirty money
26.	afɔ	leg	dzi	top	afɔdzi	toilet
27.	afɔ	leg	kpa	cover	afɔkpa	shoe
28.	afɔ	leg	ku	death	afɔku	accident
29.	afɔ	leg	asabu	net	afɔsabui	small fishing net
30.	afɔ	leg	àdɔ̀nù	skills	afɔdɔ̀nù	football
31.	àfè	home	afi	mouse	àfèfi	home mouse
32.	àfè	house	me	inside	àfème	home
33.	àgbàlɛ	book/paper	kòtòkú	sack	àgbàlɛkòtòkú	envelop
34.	àgblè	farm	núkú	produce	àgblènúkú	farm produce
35.	àgblè	farm	exɔ	room	àgblèxɔ	farm hut
36.	àgblè	farm	nú	thing	àgblènú	hoe
37.	àgbéli	cassava	amakpa	leaf	àgbèlimàkpa	cassava leaf

38.	àgbèli	cassava	ètsró	back	àgbèlitsró	cassava back
39.	àgbèli	cassava	amó	dough	àgbèlimò	cassava dough
40.	àgbèli	cassava	kàkló		àgbèlikàkló	
41.	àgbèli	cassava	àgbèlè	farm	àgbèligblè	cassava farm
42.	àgbónu	entrance	dzàà	keeper	àgbónudzàà	gate keeper
43.	àgà	valley	èkpé	stone	àgàkpé	pillar
44.	aṅɔ	coal	tsi	water	aṅɔtsi	paint
45.	àhiã	love	ví	child	àhiãví	girl friend
46.	àhò	widow	asi	wife	àhòsi	widow
47.	àhò	widow	àvó	cloth	àhòvó	widow cloth
48.	àkadí	light	àtí	stick	àkadítí	lamp stand
49.	àkpa	fish	ta	head	àkpata	fish head
50.	aló	face	go	container	alógo	cheek
51.	àkɔli	dumping	kpó	heap	àkɔlikpó	dumping place
52.	àkutsá	sponge	àgba	bowl	àkutságbá	sponge dish
53.	alɔ	hand	gɛ	metal	alɔgɛ	bangle
54.	ama	leaf	détsi	soup	amdétsi	spinach soup
55.	amedzró	stranger	xɔlá	taker	amedzróxɔa	receptionist
56.	ami	oil	àtíke	medicine	amítíke	ointment
57.	ami	oil	èvu	car	amivú	fuel tanker
58.	anagótè	potato	àgbèlè	farm	anagótegle	potato farm
59.	anyí	cloud	èvò	python	anyíèvò	rainbow
60.	anyígbá	land	tátá	drawing	anyígbátátá	map
61.	àsí	hand	nu	end/mouth	àsínu	handwriting
62.	àtátútú	loose leg	èdò	sickness	àtátútúdò	stroke
63.	àtí	tree	ke	root	àtíke	medicine
64.	àtí	tree	èkú	seed	àtíkú	seed
65.	àtɔ	apple	ama	herb	àtɔma	type of herb
66.	àtɔtɔ	pineapple	àgbèlè	farm	àtɔtɔgble	pineapple plantation
67.	àtíke	root	kú	seed	àtíkekú	capcule/tablet
68.	àsì	market	gbè	day	àsìgbè	market day
69.	àsí	hand	awu	dress	àsíwu	glove
70.	asra	fever	dɔ	ailment	asradɔ	fever
71.	àtí	tree	àkplɔ̃	arrow	àtíkplɔ̃	walking stick
72.	àve	forest	àtsú	male	àvètsú	jungle
73.	àve	forest	ègbɔ̃	goat	àvègbɔ̃	antelope
74.	àví	crying	hà	song	àvíha	dirge
75.	àvùvɔ̃	cold	àwù	dress	àvùvɔ̃wù	sweater
76.	àzã	festive	gbè	day	àzãgbè	birthday
77.	àzi	groundnut	àgbèlè	farm	àzigble	groundnut farm
78.	bàbà	termite	èkó	hill	bàbàkó	ant hill
79.	blí	corn	wó	flour	blíwó	corn flour
80.	blí	corn	àgbèlè	farm	blígble	corn farm
81.	dè	home	kɔnú	ritual	dèkɔnú	culture
82.	de	palm	tsi	water	detsi	soup
83.	de	palm	àhà	wine	deha	palm wine

84.	dɔdzí	work top	kpòlá	seer	dòdzìkpólá	manager
85.	dò	stomach	kà	rope	dòkà	intestine
86.	dò	stomach	mè	inside	dòmè	abdomen
87.	dò	sick	ami	oil	dòmi	ointment
88.	dòmè	stomach	dzò	fire	dòmèdzò	anger
89.	dò	work	amegã	big person	domegã	boss
90.	dò	stomach	nò	female	dònò	patient
91.	dù	town	kó	hill	dùkó	nation
92.	dù	town	tà	head	dùtà	abroad
93.	dù	town	ègà	money	dùgà	contribution
94.	dzè	salt	tsì	water	dzètsì	salt solution
95.	dzi	heart	kú	death	dzikú	anger
96.	dzi	birth	gbè	day	dzigbè	birthday
97.	dzí	top	awu	dress	dziwu	shirt
98.	dzidzo	happy	nyà	word	dzidzònyà	good news
99.	dzò	fire	kà	rope	dzòkà	charm
100.	dzò	fire	àkà	coal	dzòkà	charcoal
101.	dzò	fire	ègbé	grass	dzògbè	savanna
102.	dzò	fire	nú	thing	dzònú	bead
103.	dzò	fire	gbó	place/side	dzògbó	porridge
104.	dzò	fire	àmì	oil	dzòmi	red/palm oil
105.	dzò	fire	àtí	tree	dzòtí	clan
106.	dzò	fire	wó	powder	dzòwó	ash
107.	dzò	fire	àfì	powder	dzòfì	ash/grey
108.	dzò	fire	mè	inside	dzòmè	december
109.	dzò	fire	àvé	forest	dzòvé	january
110.	dzò	fire	dzè	rest	dzòdzè	february
111.	dzò	fire	gò	gourd	dzògò	corner
112.	dzò	fire	nú	thing	dzònú	bead
113.	dětí	cotton	èkà	thread	dětíka	cotton wool
114.	de	palm	àgblè	farm	degble	palm plantation
115.	de	palm	àtí	tree	dětí	palm tree
116.	dè	home	dù	town	dedu	home town
117.	de	palm	àhà	wine	déha	palm wine
118.	dè	home	àzã	festival	dèzã	cultural festival
119.	dù	town	nyà	word	dùnyà	politics
120.	evè	ewe	mè	inside	evèmè	eweland
121.	fe	money	tú	payment	fetú	wages
122.	fĩ	evening	nú	food	fĩnú	supper
123.	fia	chief	àfè	owner	fiafè	chief palace
124.	fia	chief	zikpui	stool	fiàzipkui	
125.	fia	chief	àtíkplɔ	staff	fiàtíkplɔ	linguist staff
126.	fia	chief	kúkú	hat	fiàkúkú	crown
127.	fo	stomach	me	inside	fome	family
128.	fu	sea	ta	head	futa	coast
129.	fu	sea	gódo	behind	fugódo	oversea
130.	gà	metal	èmò	machine	gàmò	trap

131.	gà	metal	nú	thing	gànú	tin
132.	gà	metal	àgba	bowl	gàgbá	pan
133.	gà	metal	èxò	room	gàxò	prison
134.	gà	metal	èsó	horse	gàsó	bicycle
135.	gà	metal	gò	gourd	gàgò	tank
136.	ga	metal	ete			
137.	gà	metal	àdákà	box	gàdákà	trunk
138.	gà	metal	èkpò	log	gàkpò	iron/metal
139.	gà	metal	ṛjú	eye	gàṛjú	eye glasses
140.	gà	metal	ètsí	ladle	gàtsí	spoon/ladle
141.	gà	metal	àwù	dress	gàwù	shield
142.	gè	beard	àtí	tree	gètí	type of fish
143.	gbàgblàdz à	cockroach	àtíkè	medicine	gbàgblàdzàtíkè	insecticide
144.	gbe	grass	àdudɔ	rubbish	gbèdúɔ	rubbish
145.	gbè	voice	àfã	sound	gbèfã	announcement
146.	gbè	grass	ta	head	gbèta	abroad
147.	gbè	voice	gbògblò	saying	gbègbògblò	language
148.	gbè	voice/lang	tó	owner	gbètó	human being
149.	gbò	town	mè	inside	gbòmè	outdoors
150.	gbõ	goat	elã	meat	gbõlã	goat meat
151.	gbõ	goat	détsi	soup	gbõdétsi	goat soup
152.	gbé	bush	èhà	pig	gbéha	bush pig
153.	gbé	bush	afi	mouse	gbéfi	bush mouse
154.	gbògbò	spirit	kòkœ	clean/holy	gbògbòkòkœ	holy spirit
155.	gbògbòmè	spirit inside	èdò	ailment	gbògbòmèdò	psychosomatic illness
156.	gbè	voice	dé	palm	gbèdè	blacksmith#
157.	gbe	bush	àvú	dog	gbèvú	ruffian
158.	gli	wall	xò	building	glìxò	mud house
159.	hà	song	lò	crocodile	hàlò	idiom
160.	hà	song	gbè	voice	hàgbè	singing voice
161.	kètékè	train	mó	road	kètékémó	railway
162.	kètékè	train	dzèfé	rest place	kètékèdzèfé	train station
163.	kesé	monkey	àkàbà	mark	kesékaba	deceit
164.	kesé	monkey	kúkú	hat	kesékúkú	fooled
165.	kokló	chicken	lã	meat	koklólã	chicken
166.	kokló	chicken	àzi	egg	koklózi	egg
167.	kokló	chicken	àtsú	male	koklòtsú	rustle
168.	kòko	cocoa	àgblè	farm	kòkogblè	cocoa farm
169.	kokló	chicken	àvãlã	wing	koklòvãlã	chicken wing
170.	kokló	chicken	èfú	feather	koklòfú	chicken feather
171.	kú	death	nú	thing	kúnú	funeral
172.	kɔ	neck	nú	thing	kɔnú	ritual
173.	kɔ	neck	ga	metal	kɔga	necklace
174.	ka	rope	ègó	pant	kamegó	nicker
175.	kpé	stone	kú	seed	kpékú	cheapens

176.	kpé	cough	èdò	ailment	kpédo	cough ailment
177.	kpé	cough	zã	night	kpezã	flu
178.	kpé	cough	àtikè	medicine	kpétikè	candy/cough syrup
179.	kpèkpé	gathering	àgbalē	book	kpèkpégbalē	invitation card
180.	kpo	stick	dò	ailment	kpodò	leprosy
181.	kpɔ	fence	mè	inside	kpómè	garden
182.	kpɔ	fence	xa	side	kpóxa	toilet
183.	kú	death	gà	money	kúga	funeral donation
184.	lã	meat	me	part	lãme	body/health
185.	lã	animal	àgbalē	skin	lãgbalē	leather
186.	lã	animal	nya	word	lãnya	nonsense
187.	lãgbalē	leather	kotokú	bag	lãgbalekotokú	leather bag
188.	máwú	God	nya	word	máwúnya	gospel
189.	máwú	God	dòlá	servant	máwúdòlá	angel
190.	mó	road	tó	side	mótó	roadside
191.	mɔ	road	dzí	top	módzí	journey
192.	mɔ	road	nu	mouth	mónu	entrance
193.	mɔli	rice	àgblè	farm	móligble	rice plantation
194.	mú	mosquito	dó	shed	múdó	mosquito net
195.	mú	mosquito	àtikè	medicine	mútikè	insecticide
196.	né	kernel	ami	oil	némi	kernel oil
197.	nɔví	sibling	nyónù	female	nɔvínyónù	sister
198.	nɔví	sibling	ɲútsù	male	nɔvíɲútsù	brother
199.	nɔví	sibling	nɔví	sibling	nɔvínɔví	relatives
200.	nú	thing	ɖuɖu	eating	núɖuɖu	food/menu
201.	nú	thing	kó	hill	núkó	slice
202.	nú	thing	àgbágbè	living	nùgbágbè	bacteria
203.	nú	thing	kú	death	núkú	seed
204.	nú	thing	nàná	giving	núnáná	gift
205.	nyadzɔdzɔ	news	àgbalē	book	nyadzɔdzɔgbalē	newspaper
206.	nyi	cow	àdú	teeth	nyidú	ivory
207.	nyi	cow	nótsi	breast water	nyinótsi	milk
208.	nyi	cow	àfɔtí	leg stick	nyifɔtí	cow leg (meat)
209.	nyi	cow	lã	meat	nyilã	beef
210.	nya	word	èkpé	stone	nyakpé	morpheme
211.	nya	word	gbè	voice/ language	nyagbe	sentence
212.	nya	word	àtí	tree	nyatí	subject matter
213.	nyónu	female	fìà	chief	nyónufia	queen mother
214.	ɲdí	morning	nú	thing	ɲdínú	breakfast
215.	ɲdɔ	afternoon	nú	thing	ɲdɔnú	lunch
216.	ɲkú	eye	mè	inside	ɲkúme	face
217.	ɲɔɲlò	writing	dzèsi	sign	ɲɔɲlòdzèsi	letters
218.	ɲɔtímè	nostril	dzèsi	sign	ɲɔtímedzèsi	tilde
219.	ɲútí	skin	nya	word	ɲútínya	story

220.	sika	gold	èxò	room	sikáxò	golden room
221.	súǰí	pillow	kotokú	sack	súǰíkotokú	pillow case
222.	siká	gold	àsígè	ring	sikásígè	golden ring
223.	siká	gold	tógè	earring	sikátógè	golden earring
224.	siká	gold	àǰákà	box	sikáǰákà	golden casket
225.	siká	gold	àfòkpà	footwear	sikáfòkpà	golden boot
226.	siká	gold	èkplú	cup	sikákplú	golden cup
227.	siká	gold	èkòwla	necklace	sikákòwla	golden necklace
228.	ta	head	kú	seed	takú	headgear
229.	ta	head	àtí	tree/wood	tatí	pestle
230.	ta	head	nyà	word	tanya	heading
231.	ta	head	kpékpé	gathering	takpékpé	meeting
232.	te	yam	àgbè	farm	tegbè	yam farm
233.	tú	gun	kpé	stone	túkpé	bullet
234.	tú	gun	èxò	room	túxò	amory
235.	tó	ear	gà	metal	tógè	earring
236.	tó	ear	ǵlí	sound	tóǵli	disturbance
237.	tó	ear	mè	inside	tóme	earlobe #
238.	trò	fetish	xò	house	tròxò	shrine
239.	trò	fetish	vú	drum	tròvú	fetish drum
240.	tsátsá	lotto	àgabàlè	book	tsátságbalè	lottery ticket
241.	tsátsá	lottery	gò	container	tsátságo	gambler
242.	tsátsá	lottery	mò	machine	tsátsámò	lottery machine
243.	tòdzí	sea	àhà	wine	tòdzíha	schnapps
244.	tòdzí	sea	èvu	car	tòdzívú	ship
245.	tsì	water	èkpé	stone	tsìkpé	ice cube
246.	tsì	water	kò	neck	tsìkò	thirst
247.	tugbe	beauty	efia	queen	tugbefia	beauty queen
248.	vì	child	ǵútsù	male	vìǵútsù	son
249.	vì	child	nyónù	female	vìnyónù	daughter
250.	vì	child	nò	mother	vìnò	nursing mother
251.	vì	child	tó	father	vító	father
252.	vu	car	àfòkú	accident	vufòkú	motor accident
253.	vu	car	àdzò	tax	vudzò	fare
254.	vu	car	àtí	tree	vùtí	type of tree
255.	vù	blood	àtíkè	medicine	vùtíkè	blood tonic
256.	vù	blood	kó	hill	vùkó	blood clot
257.	vu	car	tó	side	vùtó	lorry station
258.	vu	drum	gbè	voice	vugbe	drum language
259.	xèxlèmè	amount	dzèsi	sign	xèxlèmèdzèsi	number
260.	xò	room	fetú	payment	xòfetú	rent
261.	xòlā	game	detsi	soup	xòlādetsi	game soup
262.	ya	air	mè	inside	yamè	weather/ atmosphere
263.	yame	atmosphere	vú	car	yamevú	aeroplane
264.	yamevú	aeroplane	dzèfé	rest place	yamevúdzèfé	airport
265.	yame	atmosphere	tó/nú	owner/	yametó	witch/wizard

				thing		
266.	zã	night	nú	thing	zãnú	bribe
267.	zã	night	gbé	bush	zãgbé	night hunting
268.	zã	night	evú	car	zãvú	deceit

VERB –NOUN COMPOUNDS

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMP.	MEANING
1	dzídzi	measure	nú	thing	dzídzinú	measuring tin
2	dzi	sing	hà	song	hàdzidzi	singing
3	dzrá	sell	nú	thing	núdzáddzrá	sales
4	dó	plant	dzi	heart	dzidódó	endurance
5	dó	gather	dzè	voice	dzèdódó	chatting
6	dè	remove	kúkú	hat	kúkúdeḍe	plea
7	dì	burry	tsà	boredom	tsadìdì	touring
8	dù	eat	nú	thing	núduḍu	food
9	dù	eat	dzí	top	dzíduḍu	victory
10	fà	mix	dé	palm	défafa	palm paste
11	fà	mix	àzi	groundnut	àzifafa	groundnut syrup
12	fà	mix	amó	dough	amófafa	dough syrup
13	fó	wake	ḡḡli	time	fḡḡli	down
14	fò	gather	fú	bone	fúfofo	gathering
15	fò	bit	kókó	porridge	kókófofo	plea
16	kù	drive	vu	car	vukuku	driving
17	nyi	lick	dome	property	domenyínyí	inheritance
18	vli	drag	hò	money	hòvli	competition
19	vù	open	ḡkú	eye	ḡkúvuvu	modernity
20	wò	maoḡke	hò	noise	hòwòwò	commotion
21	xò	take	dzò	fire	dzòxòxò	heat
22	zò	walk	mó	way	mózozo	journey

VERB-VERB COMPOUNDS

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMPOUND	MEANING
1.	dó	test	kpó	see	dodókpó	exam
2.	dó	taste	kpó	see	dókpókpó	tasting
3.	dà	cook	fìlè	buy	dàfìlè	food
4.	gbò	breath	xí/xé	block	gbòxí	asthma
5.	kè	open	té	close	keté	kente cloth
6.	ku	dig	xí	block	kuxí	burden
7.	sa	tie	kpí	stick	sakpí	lie
8.	tsó	take	dù	eat	tsódù	benefit
9.	tsó	take	kè	open	tsóke	forgive
10.	xò	take	sè	hear	xòsè	faith
11.	xò	take	vá	come	xòvé	destiny

NOUN-VERB COMPOUNDS

NO.	BASE1	GLOSS	BASE2	GLOSS	COMP.	MEANING
1.	agbà	load	na	give	agbana	credit
2.	agbà	load	te	drag	agbate	heavy load
3.	agbà	load	tsɔ/kɛ	carry	agbake/tsɔ	shelve
4.	agbè	life	lì	to be/is	agbeli	cassava
5.	afɔ	leg	kú	die	afɔku	accident
6.	dzi	heart	kú	die	dziku	anger
7.	dzi	heart	dzɔ̀	straighten	dzidzɔ	happiness
8.	dzi	heart	vé	pain	dzive	heartache
9.	ɖɔ	cloth	vú	tear	ɖovu	rag
10.	kɔ	neck	zɔe	rest	kɔzɔe	pillow
11.	mú	mosquito	dó	cover	mudɔ	mosquito net
12.	nu	mouth	fo	beat	nufo	talk/speech
13.	nu	thing	ɖui	eat up	nuɖui	rheumatism
14.	nu	mouth	kú	die	nuku	surprise
15.	ye	sun	tró	turn	yetrɔ	afternoon
16.	ɖò	cloth	vú	tear	ɖòvú	rag

NOUN-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	COMP.	GLOSS
1.	àblàdzó	plantain	meme	roasted	àblàdzómeme	roasted plantain
2.	àbi	wound	yeye	new	àbiyeye	a cut
3.	àbi	wound	xóxó	old	àbixóxó	scar
4.	àbɔ	arm	kpui	short	àbɔkpui	short sleeve
5.	àbɔ	arm	lègbè	long	àbɔlègbè	long sleeve
6.	àgba	bowl	gbadze	flat	àgbagbadze	tray
7.	àgba	bowl	gobo	dip	àgbagobo	basin
8.	àgbè	life	yeye	new	àgbèyeye	new life
9.	àgbàtè	load	ví	small	àgbàtèví	porter
10.	àhà	drink	víví	sweet	àhàvíví	soft drink
11.	àkpatá	hall	gã	big	àkpatágã	main hall
12.	ama	leaf	mumu	fresh	amamumu	green
13.	ame	man	dzró	empty/new	amedzró	guest
14.	amedzró	guest	dzèfé	rest place	amedzródze fé	hotel
15.	ame	man	gã	big	amegã	sir /mr
16.	ame	man	gbètó	being	àmègbètó	human being
17.	ame	man	yibɔ	black	ameyibɔ	black man
18.	àbɔ	hand	legbe	long	àbɔlegbe	long sleeve
19.	àhà	wine	víví	sweet	àhàvíví	soft drink

20.	àhiã	courting	ví	small	àhiãví	girl friend
21.	àféno	madam	ví	small	àfénoví	miss
22.	àgbàlě	book	ví	small	àgbàlěví	documents
23.	ame	man	dró	empty	amedzró	guest
24.	àgbèli	cassava	mèmè	roasted	àgbèlimèmè	roasted cassava
25.	ame	man	gã	big	amegã	sir/mr
26.	ame	man	yibo	black	ameyibo	blackperson
27.	ame	man	tsitsi	grow	ametsitsi	adult
28.	amɔ	dough	vávã	leaven	amóvávã	leaven dough
29.	amɔ	dough	mumu	raw	amómumu	raw dough
30.	akpa	fish	mú	fresh	akpamúmu	fresh fish
31.	akpa	fish	iyi	smoked	akpayiyi	smoked fish
32.	akpa	fish	ta	head	akpata	fish head
33.	átá	thigh	legbe	long	átálegbe	trouser
34.	añutí	orange	ḍiḍi	ripe	añutíḍiḍi	yellow
35.	àzi	groundnut	gbó	fresh	àzigbó	fresh groundnut
36.	àzi	groundnut	tɔtɔ	roasted	àzitɔtɔ	roasted groundnut
37.	àzi	groundnut	tutu	grinded	azitutu	groundnut paste
38.	blí	corn	yeye	new	blíyeye	fresh corn
39.	blí	maize	tɔtɔ	roasted	blítɔtɔ	roasted corn
40.	blí	corn	mumu	raw/fresh	blímumu	fresh corn
41.	blí	corn	fúfú	dried	blífúfú	dried corn
42.	daa	mother	ví	small	daaví	sister
43.	detsi	soup	fúfúí	dry	detsifúfúí	type of soup
44.	dzi	heart	titrì	thickened	dzititrì	heartless
45.	dzi	heart	blèwù	slow	dziblèwù	patient
46.	dzi	heart	gbàdzà	wide	dzìgbàdzà	big heart
47.	dzi	heart	kpèkpè	heavy	dzìkpèkpè	heavy heart
48.	dò	sickness	dze	red	dòdze	leprosy
49.	dù	town	gã	big	dùgã	city
50.	dù	town	gbàdzà	wide	dùgbàdzà	community
51.	nú	thing	dzádzrá	selling	núdzádzrá	sale items
52.	dzɔgbè	destiny	nyúí	good	dzɔgbènyúí	good luck
53.	ḍèká	one	kpúí	short	ḍèkákpúí	gentle man
54.	ḍètùgbì	lady	ví	small	ḍètùgbìví	young lady
55.	fia	chief	gá	big	fíagá	paramount chief
56.	gànú	metal thing	ví	small	gànúví	buckle
57.	gbògbò	spirit	vǔ	bad	gbògbòvó	devil
58.	gbògbò	spirit	kòkòè	clean	gbògbòkòkòè	holy spirit
59.	gbō	goat	dzī	red	gbōdzī	dog
60.	gbè	grass	mú	raw/fresh	gbèmú	green
61.	gli	wall	kpò	shot	glikpò	broken wall
62.	yè	sun	bia	red	yèbia	rust
63.	γletí	moon	ví	small	γletíví	star
64.	ka	thread	dzē	red	kadzē	blood
65.	ké	sand	ví	small	kéví	small sack
66.	kónkó	glass	ví	small	kónkóví	tot glass

67.	koklo	chicken	ví	small	kokloví	chick
68.	kókó	porridge	γί	white	kókóγί	white porridge
69.	kó	hill	dze	red	kódze	red mud (paint)
70.	lã	meat	tɔtɔ	fried	lãtɔtɔ	fried meat
71.	lã	meat	meme	roasted	lãmeme	roasted meat
72.	lã	meat	yi yi	smoked	lãyi yi	smoked meat
73.	lɔ	love	xó	old	lɔxó	mother inlaw
74.	lòlò	love	yeye	new	lòlòyeye	fresh love
75.	lòlò	love	ɲkúmè	facial	lòlòɲkúmè	facial love
76.	mó	road	didí	long	mòdidí	long journey
77.	mó	road	xáxá	narrow	móxáxá	narrow road
78.	mó	road	dzèvè	divided into	módzèvè	junction/forked
79.	mó	way	keke	wide	mókeke	holiday
80.	mó	road	tátá	cleared	mótátá	cleared road
81.	mó	road	dódó	constructed	módódó	tarred road
82.	mo	face	nyúí	good/fine	monyúí	handsome face
83.	mo	face	dzáká	restless	modzáká	entertainment
84.	núgbágbè	living thing	ví	small	núgbágbèví	bacteria
85.	nú	thing	maɖínú	useless	númaɖínú	unnecessary thing
86.	núnɔŋlɔ	writing	kpui	short	núnɔŋlɔkpui	short hand
87.	nya	word	nyúí	good	nyanyúí	good news
88.	nubáblá	covenant	xóxó	old	nubábláxóxó	old covenant
89.	nubáblá	covenant	yeye	new	nubábláyeye	new covenant
90.	suku	school	kókó	tall	sukukókó	high school
91.	srɔ	spouse	ɖi	young	srɔɖi	young spouse
92.	takú	headgear	ví	small	takúví	handkerchief
93.	tó	father	ɖi	young	tóɖi	uncle
94.	tó	father	ga	big	tóga	uncle
95.	tsi	water	fafa	cold	tsifafa	cold water
96.	tsi	water	dzódzòe	hot	tsidzódzoe	hot water
97.	tsi	water	gbɔgbɔe	warm	tsigbɔgbɔe	warm water
98.	tsi	water	pɔtɔ	muddy	tsipɔtɔ	muddy water
99.	tsi	water	zɔzrɔ	clear	tsizɔzrɔ	clean water
100.	tsi	water	bublu	dirty	tsibublu	dirtywater
101.	tsi	water	tsétsé	hanging	tsitsétsé	a fall
102.	tɔ	river	dzí	red	tɔdzí	red sea
103.	vi	child	dzi	red	vidzi	baby
104.	xe	bird	ví	small	xeví	bird
105.	xɔ	room	háyá	rented	xɔháyá	rented room
106.	zi	seat	kpùì	short	zikpùì	stool

NOUN-VERB-NOUN COMPOUNDS

NO	BASE 1	GLOSS	BASE 2	GLOSS	BASE 3	GLOSS	COMP.	GLOSS
1	àgbà	load	dró	lift	tefé	place	àgbàdrófé	mile
2	ame	human	kó	take	mɔ	machine	amekómɔ	lift
3	ami	oil	dze	buy	tefé	place	amidzefé	filling station
4	anyí	down	mló	sleep	awu	dress	anyímlówu	pajamas
5	aṅutí	orange	fiá	squeeze	emɔ	machine	aṅutífiámɔ	juicer
6	àsí	hand	kló	wash	tefé	place	àsíklófé	wash basin
7	àtíke	medicine	xɔ	take	àgbàle	book	àtíkexɔgbàle	prescription
8	bɔl	ball	fo	play	há	group	bɔlfohá	football team
9	dò	work	dé	put	àsí	hand	dòdásí	responsibility
10	dònò	patient	kpò	see	exɔ	room	dònòkpóxɔ	surgery
11	dò	work	tsó	take	èvi	child	dòtsóví	steward
12	dò	work	wɔ	do	nú	thing	dòwɔnú	tool
13	dzi	heart	dé	put	fo	stomach	dzidéfo	encouragement
14	dzí	heart	dzè	fall	émè	inside	dzidzemè	comfort
15	gà	money	xò	take	àgbàle	book	gàxògbàle	cheque
16	gbe	weed	lɔ	collect	kusi	basket	gbèlókusi	litter bin
17	gè	beard	lu	shave	èhé	knife	gèlùhé	shaving stick
18	ḡà	hair	lu	shave	èhé	knife	ḡàlùhé	scissors
19	mólu	rice	si	harvest	èhé	knife	mólusihé	
20	mama	grandmother	yó	call	èví	child	mamayóví	grandchild
21	máwúti	godwater	dé	pour	eta	head	máwútsidéta	baptism
22	mó	road	fiá	point	dzèsi	sign	mòfiadzèsi	road sign
23	mó	road	fiá	point	àkaḡi	light	mòfiákaḡi	traffic light
24	mó	road	gló	bend	tèfé	place	mòglófé	curve
25	nú	thing	dzrá	sell	ègà	money	núdzrágà	proceed
26	nú	thing	ḡa	cook	mlkpui	stove	núḡamlékpui	cooker
27	nú	thing	ḡu	eat	tèfé	place	núḡufé	restaurant
28	nú	thing	ḡu	eat	gàtsí	spoon	núḡugàtsí	table spoon
29	nú	thing	ḡu	eat	àkplɔ	table	núḡukplɔ	dining table
30	nú	thing	ḡlɔ	write	àtí	stick	núḡlɔtí	pen/pencil
31	nú	thing	tɔ	fry	àgba	bowl	nútɔgbá	frying pan
32	nú	thing	tu	grind	mɔ	machine	nútumɔ	blender
33	vu	car	ku	drive	ahuhɔe	mirror	vukuhuhɔe	driving mirror
34	vu	blood	trɔ	turn	atike	medicine	vutrɔtike	blood tonic
35	xɔme	room	tso	divide	avɔ	cloth	xɔmetsovɔ	curtain