

SERIALIZATION OF PATH VERBS IN AKAN

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE AWARD OF THE MPhil DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS**



DECLARATION

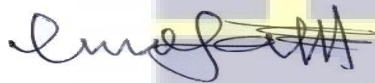
I, Eunice Opoku, do hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research under the supervision of Prof. E. Kweku Osam and Dr. Dorothy Pokua Agyepong and that it has neither in whole nor in part been presented for another degree elsewhere. References to other sources of information used in this work have been duly acknowledged.



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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,

Mr John Kofi Opoku and Helena Opoku Manu

Thank you for supporting me this far, I love you.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My ultimate gratitude goes to the Almighty God for his guidance, protection and strength throughout this period. I wouldn't have been able to complete this thesis without his spiritual backing and divine favour.

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Kofi, *Nyame nhyira wo.*



ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the behaviour of multiple Path verbs in Akan serial verb construction. Akan is a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. It examines the semantic and syntactic properties of Akan serial verb constructions that consist of two or more Path verbs. The study also looks at how Akan Path verbs behave in simple and serial verb constructions. The study relied on primary data complemented with corpus data and also the native speaker intuition of the author.

The study shows that some Akan Path verbs introduce arguments that express the goal of motion, while others express source, route, or change of direction. It also reveals that some Akan Path verbs inherently express the deictic center as the goal of motion while other Path verbs inherently do not express the deictic center as the goal of motion.

The findings reveal that SVCs with multiple Path verbs have major categories based on how the Path elements are packaged in the construction. One category expresses simultaneous event (Simultaneous PSVC) whereas the other category expresses sequential event (Sequential PSVC). The two categories indicate that Akan has a way of packaging verbs to express a particular type of motion event. Using Talmy's (2000) Lexicalization theory as the framework, the study establishes that Akan is an Equipollently-framed language.

The study also examines the grammatical function verbs acquire as they occur in serial verb constructions. It reveals that some verbs acquire grammatical functions based on how they relate to other verbs in the construction. It also points out that other verbs acquire grammatical functions based on their position (V1, V2) in the construction.

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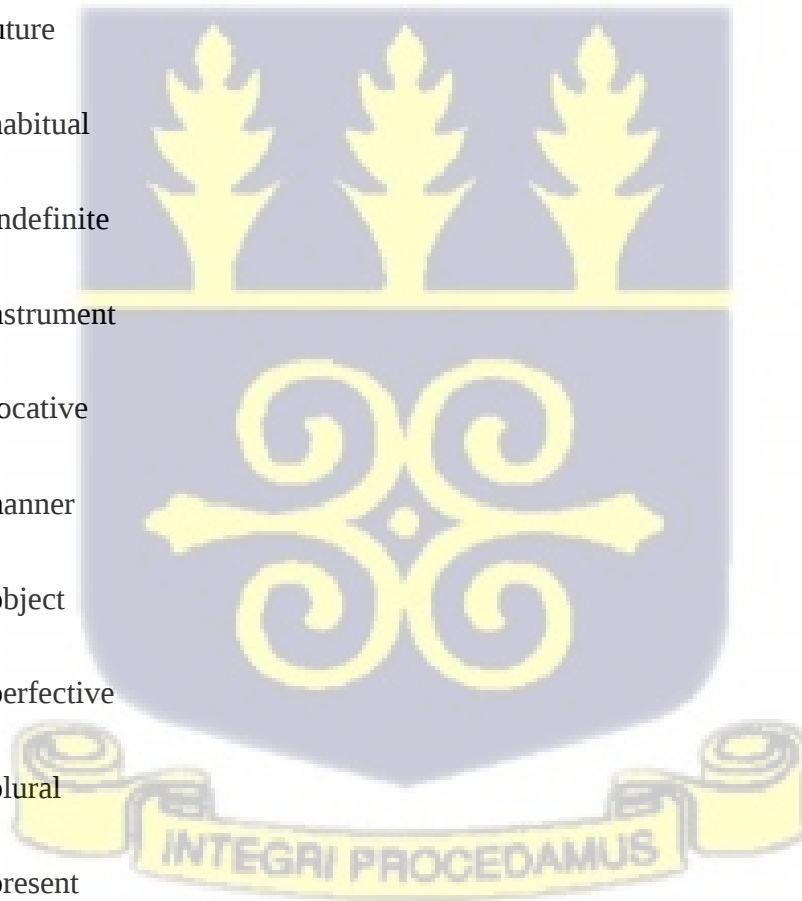
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	PST	past
2	second person	SG	singular
3	third person	SUBJ	subject
CAUS	causative		
DEF	definite		
DEM	demonstrative		
FUT	future		
HAB	habitual		
INDEF	indefinite		
INST	instrument		
LOC	locative		
MAN	manner		
OBJ	object		
PERF	perfective		
PL	plural		
PRES	present		
PROG	progressive		



CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis aims at exploring the behaviour of multiple Path verbs in Akan Serial Verb Constructions. Akan belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo languages families spoken in Ghana. The study seeks to describe the nature and structure of serial verb constructions in Akan, particularly the type of SVC that is made up of multiple Path verbs.

Also, the current study seeks to explore how Akan deictic verbs, transfer verbs and modal verbs behave in serial verb constructions. It specifically investigates the grammatical functions these verbs acquire in relation to other verbs in Akan serial verb constructions.

This chapter sets forth the general introduction of the study. Section 1.2 presents the background of the thesis. Section 1.3 provides brief information about the structure of the Akan language and its speakers. In section 1.4, I present the problem statement of the study. Sections 1.5 and 1.6 explore the objectives and research questions that inform this thesis respectively. Section 1.7 discusses the significance of the study. The methodology employed in this study and the organization of the thesis are captured in sections 1.8 and 1.9, respectively.



1.2 Background of the study

In linguistics, any mono-clausal construction that is made up of two or more verbs that have no marker of dependency relation is recognized as a Serial Verb Construction (SVC). The phenomenon of serialization is also prevalent in many West African languages, Creole languages, Oceanic languages, Amazonia and some languages in Southeast Asia (Bodomo 2002; Aikhenvald 2006; Haspelmath 2016). Languages with such constructions are often characterized as serializing languages. Some of the studies on serial verb constructions focus on the relationship between events, degree of semantic integration of events, lexical meaning of individual verbs and their argument structure (Osam 1994a; Aikhenvald 2006). Other studies examine what takes place when certain verbs are combined in various ways to form serial verb constructions and the grammatical functions some verbs acquire in relation to other verbs (Aikhenvald 2006). It is observed that linguists have divergent views on what constitutes serial verb constructions. This is because serial verb constructions may behave differently in different languages in the world.

These unrelated verbs act together as a single predicate in a serial verb construction. This means that, in such constructions, verbs have no marker of coordination or subordination. In addition, an SVC is conceptualized as a single event and also described as monoclausal because its intonational properties are not different from that of a monoverbal clause (Aikhenvald 2006:1). The properties of SVC contrast with that of a bi-clausal or multi-verbal construction which denotes two or more separate events in a single construction. An example of serial verb constructions in Akan is illustrated in (1a) below.

- 1a. Fosu sóre kò-ò fié
 Fosu stand go-PST home
 ‘Fosu stood up and went home.’

Example (1) is an SVC where the verbs *sɔ́ré* ‘stand’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ serve as a single predicate with no coordinating or subordinating marker and also share the same grammatical subject Fosu and object *fié* ‘home’.

This study seeks to analyze the syntactic and semantic properties of multiple Path verbs that occur in Akan SVCs. Understanding the syntax and semantics of these verbs is crucial to understanding their behaviour in SVCs.

1.3 Background of Akan Language and People

Akan is one of the Kwa languages spoken in Ghana which belongs to the Niger-Congo language family. According to Dolphyne (1988:xi), other varieties of Akan are also spoken in Ivory Coast. Akan is considered the dominant language spoken in Ghana and belongs to particular ethnic groups in Ghana also known as the Akans. The 2010 Population and Housing Census statistically showed that Akan is the language with the highest number of speakers in Ghana. Akan is spoken in eight out of the sixteen regions in Ghana. That is Bono, Bono East, Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Central, Western and Western North region of Ghana. Aside from native speakers, there is a reasonable number of non-native speakers who have varied levels of competence in the language. In Ghana, Akan is largely used as the medium of communication in schools, churches, market places and other public places where all other ethnic groups are based.

According to Osam (1994a), some dialects of Akan include, Agona, Dankyira, Fante, Akwamu, Wassa, Asante, Assin, Bron, Akuapem, Akyem and Kwahu. All the dialects are mutually intelligible but only Akuapem Twi, Asante Twi, and Fante have achieved literary status

and are being studied from the basic level through to the tertiary level (Colleges of Education and universities).

This study mainly focuses on the Asante-Twi dialect even though the name Akan will constantly be used as a reference. Therefore, all data provided in this work are in Asante Twi. The main reason for limiting the data to only Asante Twi is to prevent phonological differences such as tone differences in the dialects that are capable of complicating issues with the use of the three Akan dialects. Aside from Akan, few data would be used from other languages for cross-linguistic importance.



A LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA

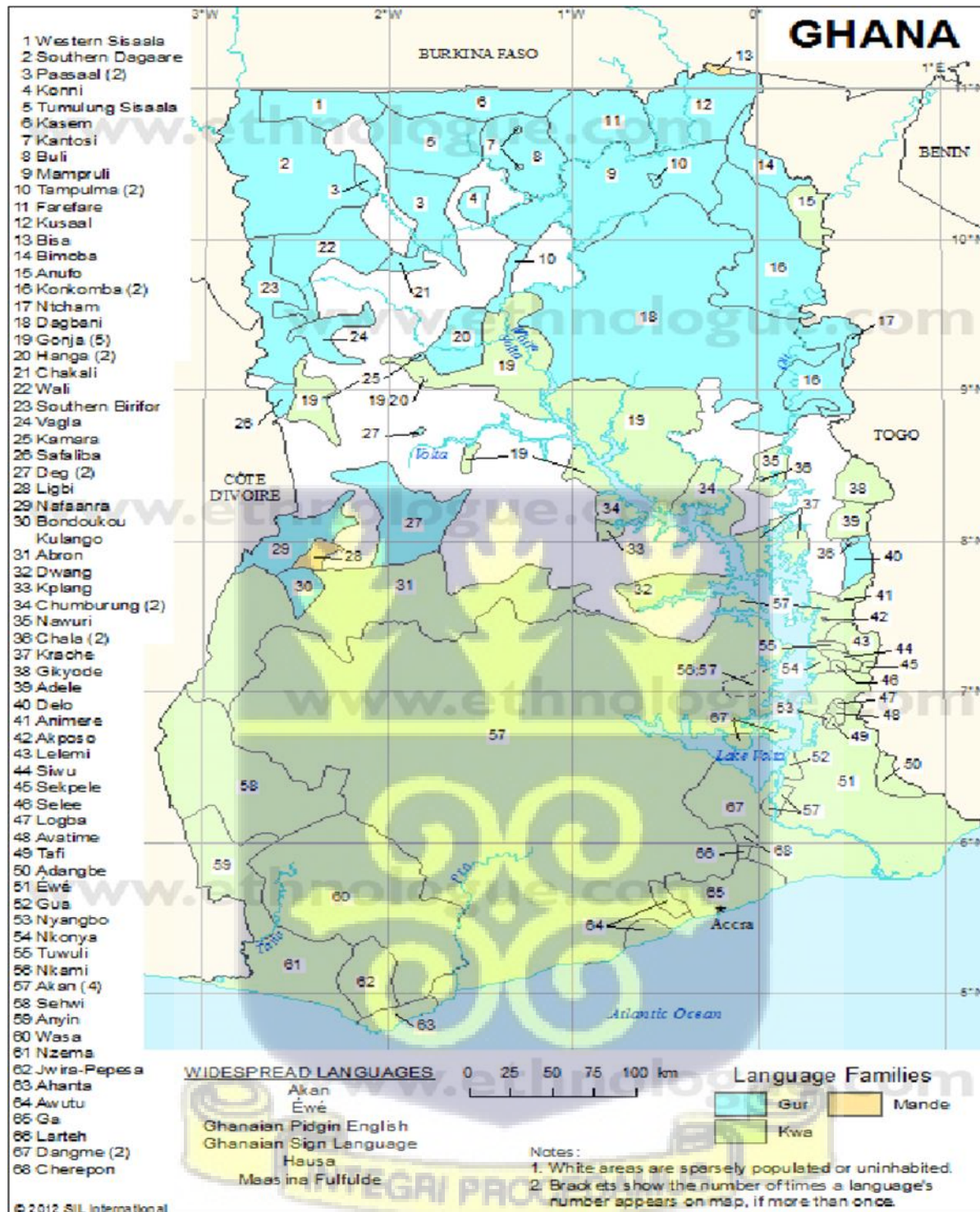


Figure 1. Language Map of Ghana

The number 57 is where Akan is spoken.

Source: Ethnologue 2016

1.3.1 Akan Speech Sounds

Akan has nine oral vowels and five nasalized vowels, with an additional vowel in the Twi dialects (Asante, Akuapem and related dialects) which is represented here as /a/ (Dolphyne 1988; Osam 1994a). This vowel /a/ does not exist in the Fante dialect. It is replaced in the Fante dialect with the mid-high, front advanced vowel, /e/ Osam (1994a). The oral and nasalized vowels with their examples are presented in Table 1 below. In Akan, nasality is not indicated in the orthography though it is phonemic. According to Dolphyne (1988:3), these nasalized vowels do not occur after non-nasal voiced consonants such as /b or d/ unless the vowel is followed by a nasal consonant. Also, nasalized vowels do not occur before and after semivowels like /w/ but they occur after nasal consonants in stem words.

Table 1: Akan oral and nasalized vowels

Oral vowels	Orthography	Example	Nasalized vowels	Orthography	Example
/a/	A	fá ‘take’	/õ/	O	tó ‘bake’
/ã/	A	pàtù ‘pretend’	/ĩ/	I	sí ‘teeth’
/e/	E	bùè ‘open’	/ã/	A	ká ‘say’
/o/	O	òbí ‘someone’	/ũ/	U	kú ‘kill’
/ɛ/	ɛ	dě ‘sweet’	/ĩ/	I	fí ‘dirt’
/i/	I	dí ‘eat’			
/ɪ/	I	tɪ ‘tear’			
/ɔ/	ɔ	fó ‘wet’			
/u/	U	bú ‘break’			
/ʊ/	O	tu ‘throw’			

Again, the ten vowels are further categorized into two based on the position of the tongue root in vowel production. The two categories are Advanced Tongue Root (+ATR) and Retracted Tongue Root (-ATR) (Dolphyne 1988:14). The ten Akan vowels with their correspondent [$\pm$ ATR] values and phonetic descriptions are illustrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Akan vowels and their phonetic description

Vowels	Lip position	Height of tongue	Part of tongue	ATR
/a/	Unrounded	Low	Middle	-
/ɔ/	Unrounded	Low	Middle	+
/e/	Unrounded	mid-high	Front	+
/o/	Rounded	mid-high	Back	+
/ɛ/	Unrounded	mid-low	Front	-
/i/	Unrounded	High	Front	+
/ɪ/	Unrounded	High	Front	-
/ɔ/	Rounded	mid-low	Back	-
/u/	Rounded	High	Back	+
/ʊ/	Rounded	High	Back	-

In addition to the vowel sounds, Table 3 shows consonant sounds in Akan, and their articulatory information such as voicing, place of articulation and manner of articulation. The chart below shows the classification of consonants according to the above-mentioned features.

Table 3: Akan consonants and their articulatory information

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		k g	
Affricate			ts dz	ky gy		
Nasal		M		N ny	n nw	
Lateral			L			
Tril			R			
Fricative		F	S	hy hw		H
Approximant	W			y		
Glide	W					

Adopted from Dolphyne (1988:26)

1.3.2 Tone

Akan is a tone language with two-level contrastive tones namely High [á] and Low [à]. These tones are not orthographically marked but they are borne by the vowels and syllabic consonants which constitute the syllable nucleus (Dolphyne 1988:52-53). Also, there is another type of high

tone known as downstepped high tone which is represented by [!] and only occurs after another high tone not a low tone.

Dolphyne (1988:66) states that Akan tones perform lexical and grammatical functions. She explains that the meaning of some lexical pair of words can purely be distinguished by the tone and also certain grammatical categories are identified or distinguished based on tone. Below are examples (1b) of how tone brings the meaning difference between identical words.

- 1 b. *pápá* ‘good’ - *pàpà* ‘fan’

1.3.3 Akan Verbal Morphology

This subsection presents an overview of the structure of Akan verb focusing on the basic stem and the aspectual or grammatical properties of the affixes that will be relevant to following the analysis on verb serialization in the subsequent chapters. I discuss Akan verbal morphology following Dolphyne (1988) and Boadi (2008).

In Akan, tense and aspect categories are marked on verbs through affixation (Dolphyne 1988:91). Examples of tense/aspect categories include the Present, Past, Perfect, Progressive and Future. Progressive in Akan is marked by attaching the prefix *-rè* to the root of the verb. For example, the progressive form of the verb *bá* ‘come’ is *rè-bá* ‘coming’ and *dá* ‘sleep’ is *rè-dá* ‘sleeping’. Also, the present tense in Akan is coded by attaching a low tone on the final vowel of the verb as shown in example (1c). According to Boadi (2008:17) habitual in Akan is marked with a high tone on the final vowel of the verb. Example (1d) can be said to convey habitual time reading where the act of sleeping happens every day.

1c. Bonsu tè há
 Bonsu live.PRS here
 Bonsu lives here.

1d. Kwame dá há
 Kwame sleep.HAB here
 Kwame sleeps here (every day).

Past tense in Akan is also presented by the insertion of the suffix *-i* or *-e* to the root of the verb, that is if the verb has no direct object or complement. In the case where the verb has a direct object or complement, the final vowel of the verb is reduplicated to denote past tense (Dolphyne 1988). For example, the verb *sú* ‘cry’ in example (1e) has the suffix *-i* to denote that the action of crying is in the past and that the verb has no direct object but the verb *dí* ‘eat’ in example (1f) has the final vowel reduplicated since the verb has a direct object.

1e. Kofi sú-í
 Kofi cry-PST
 ‘Kofi cried.’

1f. Kofi dí-í mò
 Kofi eat-PST rice
 ‘John ate rice.’

In Akan, the future tense is marked by the prefix *-bé* on the verb stem. In example (1g), it can be observed that *-bé* is used to mark future time which is confirmed by the presence of the adverb *àkyéná* ‘tomorrow’.

- 1g. Kofi bé-bá fié òkyéná
Kofi FUT-go house tomorrow
'Kofi will come home tomorrow'.

1.3.4 The Syntactic Structure of Akan

In this sub-section, I briefly discuss the basic sentence structure of Akan. Like many Kwa languages, Akan is a subject-verb-object (SVO) language. This means, it has a sentence structure where the subject comes before the verb and the verb is also followed by an object as shown in (2a) and (2b) below. Sentence (2a) has *Yaw* as the subject, *pé* 'like' as the verb and *èmò* 'rice' as the object of the verb. This word order is applicable in serial verb constructions. This basic structure could be expanded to include other elements like prepositions, modifiers, etc.

- 2a. Yaw pè èmò
Yaw like.HAB rice
'Yaw likes rice.'
- 2b. Dede à-nòm òsá
Dede PERF-drink alcohol
'Dede has taken alcohol.'

1.4 Statement of Problem

It has been observed that, in a single event of serialization, individual verbs encode different semantic meanings like manner, motion, cause, path, effect, purpose, state and others (for example, Osam 1994a; Schachter 1974; Li & Thompson 1973; Ameka 2006; Aikhenvald 2006). A common example is how the majority of SVCs have a manner or cause verb as the initial verb which

describes the manner or the cause of the subsequent verbs in the construction as shown in example (3a) below in Akan. Comparatively, little has been done on SVCs made up of verbs that encode the same semantic meaning or belong to the same semantic component (manner, path, cause, etc) in a single construction as shown in example (3b) below (Zheng 2012; Thepkanjana 1986; Muansuwan 1999). This raises the question of whether series of verbs that belong to the same semantic category in an SVC make sense at all or express a single event. It is against this backdrop that the study intends to explore series of Path verbs in a single serial construction in Akan. This study, therefore, conforms to the proposition that series of Path expressions in a motion event in Akan do not necessarily encode complex trajectories, they rather provide a detailed specification of a single trajectory (Afreh 2011: 168). Though Afreh's (2011) study serves as a guide in my analysis of complex Path yet the current study slightly differs by specifically investigating whether the order in which Paths events are arranged in a complex motion event affects single-eventhood or plays a role in the type of event expressed.

	ACTOR	CAUSE	FIGURE	MANNER	PATH	GROUND
3a.	Owusu	mà-à	mé	nànté	kɔ̀-ɔ̀	fié
	Owusu	make-PST	1SG.OBJ	walk	go-PST	home
	'Owusu made me walk to the house.'					
	FIGURE	PATH	PATH	PATH	PATH	GROUND
3b.	ziah-ziao	buê	ki	ke	gao	ciudêng
	Cl-bird	fly	go-up	go	arrive	tree-top
	'The bird flew into the tree.'					
	(Zheng 2012:33,37)					
	(SwaTawWe)					

To my knowledge not much has been done on such analysis in the Akan language. Such constructions abound in Akan though few have been recorded (for example, Afreh 2011; Ameka & Essgbey 2013). In this same language, Afreh (2011:157) extensively looked at verbs of different semantic components in a serial construction and their relation to the Figure and Ground. Taking a critical look at the behaviour of individual verbs of the same semantic component in a single event (SVC) as in examples (4a-c) will provide a deeper understanding of how SVCs work and how they can be categorized from a different perspective.

	FIGURE	PATH		GROUND			PATH
4 a.	Siaw	firí	dán	nó	mú	kó-èè	
	Siaw	leave.PST	house	DEF	inside	go-PST	
	‘Siaw stood up from the room and went away.’						
	FIGURE-PATH		GROUND			PATH	PATH
4b.	Mé-kò-ò	dán	nó	mú	sàné	bà-è	
	1SG-go-PST	house	DEF	inside	return	come-PST	
	‘I went to the room and came back.’						
	FIGURE	PATH	GROUND		PATH	GROUND	
4c.	Àbòfrá	nó	firí	dùá	nó	só	sì-ì fám
	Child	DEF	leave	tree	DEF	on	descend down
	‘The child threw himself down from the tree.’						

1.5 Research Objectives

The goal of this paper is to present the serialization of Path verbs in Akan from semantic and syntactic perspectives. Specific objectives to meet include:

- identify and categorize Akan Path verbs based on their features.

- ii. describe the semantic composition and grammatical meaning verbs acquire as they occur in Akan SVC.
- iii. describe the syntactic structure and the type of event expressed by each category of Path Serial Verb Construction in Akan.

1.6 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following questions in the course of the study.

- i. What are the features that qualify a verb to be a member of a Path category?
- ii. What are the semantic compositions and meaning verbs acquire as they occur in Akan SVCs?
- iii. What is the syntactic structure and function of each category of Path Serial Verb Construction in Akan?

1.7 Significance of the study

This study seeks to supplement previous research on serial verb constructions in Akan by looking at the serialization of Path verbs. The ordering of Path verbs in a serial construction being the first of its kind in Akan will serve as an evaluative criterion that will help to better understand the concept of serialization from a different perspective. The study will also serve as a reference point for future research in Akan and other related languages in the area of syntax. Finally, this study will help uncover the complex semantic nature of Path in Akan serial construction.

1.8 Research Methodology

Primary data for the study were drawn from natural speeches of 12 native speakers of Akan through informal interactions and interviews. Participants from the ages of 10 years and above were randomly selected for the interview and discussions. Primary data were elicited using the frog story. In the individual interview, participants were shown pictures from the frog story and were asked to generate grammatical sentences to describe the story they have seen. This was done to find out if the structure of PSVC has a fixed hierarchical order based on which we can predict the order of path verbs in PSVCs. To analyze different means of expressing complex Path events and also find several ways of describing Path in Akan (polysemy) the study gathered narrations from people between the ages of ten years and sixty years. With permission from informants, interactions and interviews were recorded and later transcribed for the study.

The secondary data were drawn from written materials such as Akan novels, the Akan bible, thesis and other articles. I resorted mainly to Osam (1994), Aikhenvald (2006), Afreh (2011) and other studies that have bearings on serial verb constructions and motion expressions. This is a qualitative research with data drawn from both written and spoken sources. In my quest to explain the data used in this study properly and efficiently, I also relied on my native speaker intuition in my data collection and analysis.

1.9 Organization of Chapters

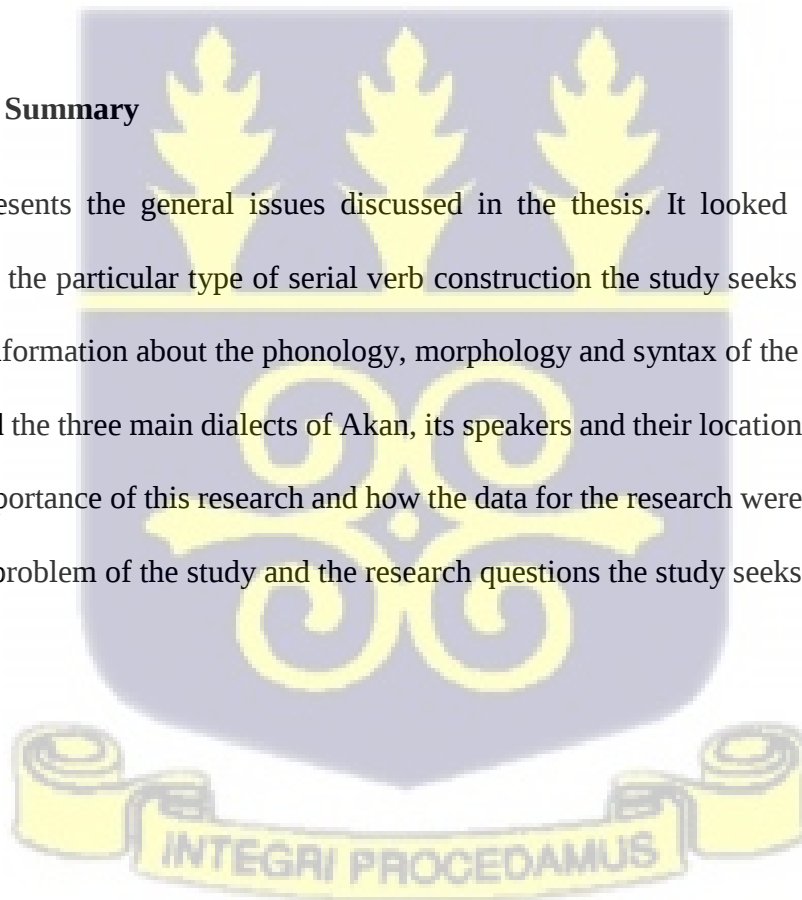
The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents general information about serial verb construction. It also covers the Akan language and its speakers, the objectives of the study, problem

statement, research questions, methodology, the significance of the study and how the entire thesis is organized.

The second chapter focuses on the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. In chapter three, I explore the syntactic and semantic properties of the Path serial verb construction in Akan. I also apply Talmy's (2000b) typology to Path serial verb construction in Akan to determine the behaviour of the Akan language in terms of motion expression. Chapter four primarily centers on the grammatical functions some Akan verbs acquire when they occur in serial verb constructions. Chapter five presents the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the general issues discussed in the thesis. It looked at the concept of serialization and the particular type of serial verb construction the study seeks to explore. It also provided brief information about the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Akan language. It has also revealed the three main dialects of Akan, its speakers and their location. This chapter also looked at the importance of this research and how the data for the research were gathered. Finally, it discussed the problem of the study and the research questions the study seeks to answer.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. Introduction

This chapter discusses studies that have been done on serialization and the expression of path. It also presents an overview of the theoretical framework that underlies this study. Section 2.1 reviews some studies that focus on basic motion events, path expressions and serial verb constructions. Section 2.2 discusses the theoretical approach, Lexicalization Theory (Talmy 1985; 2000), within which the concept of Path is analyzed. Section 2.3 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

2.1 The Concept of Motion

The concept of motion is one of the areas in cognitive linguistics which has been extensively investigated to determine the universals and cross-linguistic variations of how motion events are expressed in various languages (Slobin 1996; Talmy 2000; Afreh 2011; Adjei 2013). This aspect of language is significant because motion is fundamental to humans. Every language has a way of expressing Motion events. The term 'Motion event' has no single or definite meaning. Several definitions of motion have been proposed by linguists over the years hence it has become a topic of greater interest.

Talmy (1978; 1985; 2000) defines motion as the movement or locatedness of an object with respect to another object. He explains that objects are naturally located in space or move with respect to other objects. Afreh (2011) treats motion as the movement in space within a time

interval. Persohn (2018) also defines motion as the movement of an object along a trajectory that may or may not be restricted by landmarks such as the initial location or the final location. Similarly, others like Schaefer & Gaines (1997), Putten (2009) and Levinson & Wilkins (2006) have provided a list of definitions of motion that are based on space, movement, displacement, location and, more importantly, time. At the first approximation of the above definitions, one can say motion involves spatial change but the question is, do all changes in spatial relations involve motion?

In light of current advances and cross-linguistic explorations of motion events verbs are used for expressing motion (Slobin 1996; Schaefer & Gaines 1997; Talmy 2000; Afreh 2011). Over the last three decades, several studies have been conducted on issues relating to Motion expression and lexical patterns in Motion construction. Some of these are discussed below.

2.1.1 The Components of Basic Motion Event

In cognitive linguistics, Motion is regarded as the most basic concept in the human thinking system. This is because it is very pervasive in all our daily activities and communication. The concept of motion seems to be present in all languages in the world though it may be represented differently in different languages. Talmy's (1978; 2000) influential work on the concepts of Space and Motion from a linguistic perspective is known to be one of the foundations in the field of cognitive linguistics. The two concepts have significantly influenced most areas of linguistic research (Slobin 1996; Svorou 1994; Afreh 2011).

Talmy (1978; 1985; 2000) treats the stationary location of an object and an object involved in motion similarly as a Motion event. He considers Figure, Ground, Path, and Motion as the four

main semantic components of the basic Motion event. For this study, I adopt Talmy's (2000) convention of capitalizing 'Motion' in referring to a semantic component and uncapitalized 'motion' in referring to the actual movement of an entity. In his quest to define the relationship that exists between two entities involved in a spatial event, Talmy (1978), uses the term Figure to label the moving object or the entity to be located in space and the term Ground to label the reference object or entity which characterizes the Figure. He further explains that "[f]igure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue." whereas "[g]round is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site or orientation is characterized" (Talmy 2000a: 312). He describes the component of Path as the trajectory followed or site occupied by Figure and the component of Motion as the presence of movement or location of Figure in an event. The following sentences (1a-c) exemplify the four components as explained by Talmy (1985; 2000b).

	FIGURE	MOTION	PATH	GROUND
1a.	The book	lay	on	the desk.
1b.	The bird	flew	across	the river.
1c.	Dan	ran	into	the room.

In examples (1a-c), *book*, *bird* and *Dan* function as Figures in motion. That is, the object to be located as in (1a) or moving object (1b and c) whereas *desk*, *river* and *room* function as the Ground objects. Ground objects are the reference objects with respect to which the Figure is characterized. The verbs *flew*, *ran* in (1b-c) indicate the presence per se of movement by the Figure and the verb *lay* indicates the location of the Figure in motion event. These verbs signify the component of

Motion. Lastly, the component of Path is embedded in the prepositions *on*, *across* and *into* which indicate the course followed (1b and c) or site occupied (1a) by the Figure in Motion event.

Talmy (2000a: 333) explains that in grammatical relations the Figure is the subject and the Ground is the oblique object. In distinguishing Figure from Ground, Talmy (2000a) asserts that the object to be located is mostly characterized by the presence of another object in the spatial situation whose location is already known to the addressee and therefore can function as the reference point or object - Ground. This means that one cannot locate the first object (Figure) without any knowledge of the second object (Ground). Following example (1a) above, it is impossible to locate *book* (Figure) without first locating *desk* (Ground). Similarly, in example (1b) the movement of *bird* is characterized with respect to the Ground *river*.

In some languages, a verb in Motion-sentence pattern expresses both the fact of Motion and a Co-event (Talmy 2000b: 27). These Co-events specifically express the Manner and Cause of Motion. Semantically, Manner expresses how motion is carried out by the Figure whereas Cause expresses the event causing motion of the Figure. According to Talmy (2000b:27), languages that fall within this category have verbs that express both Motion and Manner or Cause. These components can be seen in the illustrations below.

2a. Ama is walking into this room.

2b. The boy pushed me to the ground.

The verb *walking* in (2a) inherently denotes the movement of the Figure *Ama* and at the same time describes the way *Ama* moved into a particular room. This component, therefore, expresses simultaneously the fact of motion and the Manner of motion (co-event). In the same way, the verb *push* in (2b) encodes the movement of the speaker and also describes what caused the speaker to

move onto the ground or how s/he landed on the ground. This component simultaneously encodes the state of motion and Cause or Manner.

Based on the time interval of causation, Talmy (2000) categorizes the Co-event of Cause into onset causation (3a) - causation that lasts within a short while and extended causation (3b) - a type of causation that lasts over a period of time. From the illustrations below, the verb *popped* as seen in (3a) indicates the coming out of something in a very rapid manner whereas the verb *dragged* in (3b) indicates the movement of something steadily or gradually. Undoubtedly, the popping of liquid last within the shortest possible time, implying onset causation while the dragging of a bag lasts over a period of time, implying extended causation.

3a. The liquid popped out of its container.

3b. We dragged the bag into the room.

It is crucial to note that not all the semantic components of motion are present in every motion event. One linguistic element can express two or more semantic components while two or more linguistic elements can express one semantic component (i.e. *out of* express Path of motion). Afreh (2011) posits that in Akan some motion verbs express both Motion and Path. Such verbs include *tó* ‘fall’, *wùrà* ‘enter’, *mím* ‘sink’ and many others. In example (4), the verb *wùrà* ‘enter’ describes the movement of the Figure *àkùrá* ‘mouse’ from a location outside the Ground *bón* hole to a location inside the hole. That means the Figure’s movement is directed towards a particular location *bón* ‘hole’.

4. Àkùrá nó wùrà-à bón nó mú.

Mouse DEF enter-PST hole DEF inside

‘The mouse entered into the hole.’

Talmy (2000) posits that the four semantic components of Motion together with the two optional Co-events of Manner and Cause form the basics of the lexicalization theory. This theory emphasizes how a particular meaning component is observed to be in regular association with a particular linguistic element. His approach to Motion events will guide the present study to identify the various components of the basic motion event and how they are expressed in Akan.

Frawley (1992) treats motion events as the displacement of an entity. He lists eight semantic factors that have bearing on displacement. These factors include Source, Theme, Goal, Path, Conveyance, Site, Cause and Manner. He states that “[t]he full semantic structure of motion requires the specification of eight semantic properties in addition to displacement itself” (Frawley 1992:4). This means that to better understand the concept of motion it is necessary to consider these factors. He clarifies these factors as:

- i. Theme (Figure): displaced entity
- ii. Source: the origin or starting point of motion
- iii. Goal: destination or endpoint of motion
- iv. Path: trajectory or route of motion
- v. Site: the location of motion
- vi. Conveyance: how the motion is carried out
- vii. Cause: the cause of the motion
- viii. Manner: the way the motion is carried out

In describing the relationship between entities involved in motion events, Svorou (1994) borrowed the term ‘trajector’ and ‘landmark’ from Langacker (1987) to label the entity involved in movement and the reference object or entity respectively. She establishes that there is an asymmetrical relation between the Trajector and Landmark. She argues that such a relation is a

result of situational mobility, the path of movement, order between moving entities and direction of movement. She explains that:

... we perceive movement when a ship approaches the docks, or sails away from the harbor, that is, when there is a change in the spatial relation between the harbor and the ship. Asymmetry arises from the mobility of the ship as compared to the immobility of the harbor. (Svorou 1994:24)

For Svorou (1994), there is an asymmetry in all motion situations where the Trajector is considered the center of attention in terms of motion scene and the focus in terms of our utterances in discourse. She adds that the asymmetry determines which entity is moving (Trajector) against an immobile entity (Landmark) but in situations where both entities are moving, the decision as to which is the Trajector and which is the Landmark is based on discourse focus or the relative salience of the entities involved (Svorou 1994:24).

2.1.2 Various Classifications of Motion

2.1.2.1 Talmy's classification of motion

Talmy (2000a) presents the concept of Motion as having two forms. They are translational motion and self-contained motion. He describes translational motion as the type in which the basic location of the Figure shifts from one point in space to another within a particular time frame. With self-contained motion, the Figure is fixed at its position or location exhibiting movements such as rotation, oscillation or dilation (Talmy 2000a). Consider the following examples of translational (5a) and self-contained motion (5b). The motion verb *fell* in example (5a) indicates that there is the movement of the Figure *bird* from one place which is the Ground *tree* to another location which

possibly is the ground. On the other hand, the verb *whirling* in (5b) specifies how the Figure *clothes* moved around the same location inside the Ground *washing machine* which is known to have boundaries.

5a. The bird fell from the tree.

5b. Clothes were whirling in the washing machine.

Again, Talmy (2000b) lists agentive, non-agentive and self-agentive motion as the three types of motion that occur based on whether the Figure is responsible for the motion or not. For agentive, the motion of the Figure is caused by an agent. He explains that though the motion is caused by the agent, verbs in this type of motion can express the semantic components of Cause and Manner in which the Figure moves. The Figure 'table' in (6a) is set in motion by the agent *Musa*. This means the agent caused the motion and not the Figure itself.

6a. Musa pushed the table.

Non-agentive motion involves autonomous Figural movement, that is having the sense to move along a particular Path (Talmy 2000b:65). This type of motion involves a situation where inanimate entities that are incapable of moving on their own perform some motion (Afreh 2011:58). Afreh (2011:105) indicates that non-agentive motion occurs as a result of human action or natural force. In (6b), there is the movement of an inanimate Figure 'napkin' from one location to another without the help of an agent.

6b. The napkin blew off the table.

(Talmy 2000b:30)

Self-agentive motion involves the movement of a Figure on its own with no external agent causing motion. This is illustrated in example (6c) where the Figure *boy* moved from one location to another location *home* without the help of any agent. Also, in the Akan example (6d), the Figure *òdwáń* ‘sheep’ performs the action *hùrí* ‘jump’ by itself without the help of any agent. This type of motion expresses the fact that the Figure has power over its movement (Afreh 2011:58).

6c. Àbèrántéé nó á-dwáné kó fié
Boy DEF run-PST go home
‘The boy has run home.’

6d. Òdwáń nó hòrí-íè
Sheep DEF jump-PST
‘The sheep jumped.’

2.1.2.2 **Langacker’s Classification of Motion**

Langacker (1987) establishes that the conceptualization of motion is more elaborate if it involves a series of continuous or uninterrupted transformations from one configuration into another. He divides the concept of Motion into two categories: spatial and abstract motion. For Langacker (1987:166), spatial motion is simply conceptualized as a complex train of cognitive events. He defines spatial motion as the change in location of an entity through time. He explains that time is the medium of conceptualization and it is incorporated into the scope of predication even though time is hardly a primary domain for these predications (1987:168). He further adds that an entity in motion requires the span of processing time to conceptualize its movement. This complex motion event is realized in *the train went through the tunnel* where the subject *train* moved from

one location into the *tunnel* and from there it moved out of the *tunnel* through another location all within a specific time frame.

For Langacker (1987), motion can only be considered abstract when it occurs in a non-spatial domain. He refers to the movement of an object in a non-spatial domain as abstract motion. He states that the linguistic terms and elements for conveying the movement of a physical object through space are usually extended to convey the movement of an object in non-spatial domains. For example, the verb *cross* in (7a) expresses the physical movement of the entity *dog* from one end of the street to the other but in (7b), the verb *cross* expresses the movement of the object *news* in a non-spatial domain *mind*. In (7b), the subject *news* moved on the surface of an imaginary space-like region which is the *mind*. Therefore, *news* is considered as transporting itself across a spatially construed region.

7a. The dog crossed the street

7b. The news just crossed my mind

From Langacker's (1987) point of view, both spatial and abstract motion involve the movement of an entity that is relatively the focus within a specific time range. This means the two types of motion share common things like the moving entity, space, time and actual movement. He emphasizes that the idea of space is what distinguishes spatial motion from abstract motion. In spatial motion, there is the presence of a physical space where motion is carried out, unlike abstract motion whose space is usually not physical though it can have a physical moving entity as its subject. For example; *He can quickly go from one mood to another*. This sentence can be interpreted as a physical entity moving from a spatially interpreted region of happiness to another region, sadness. Langacker's (1987) view on motion contributes significantly to this study in the sense that it highlights the properties that distinguish spatial motion from abstract motion. His

analysis of the properties of the two types of motions reveals how motion is conceptualized and expressed in actual sense as well as some basic generalizations on motion events as a whole which is the primary concern of this study.

2.1.3 Path Expression

As pointed out in section 2.1.1, Path as a component of motion is regarded as the route or site occupied by the moving entity (Talmy 2000). Path is considered an obligatory component without which one cannot talk about motion. This component is the most important element of this research and it is said to be encoded in either the verb root, preposition or satellite (Talmy 1985, 2000). Each language has a specific component for expressing Path. This implies that the Path encoding elements mentioned above are not mutually exclusive. The various Path encoding elements are discussed in the following subsections.

2.1.3.1 Satellite

According to Talmy (2000b), the semantic component of Path appears to be lexicalized in the closed-class of surface elements in most languages of the world. He asserts that this element when present in construction relates to the verb root as a complement yet it is not critically acknowledged in the literature of linguistics. He refers to this closed-class element as satellite or ‘satellite to the verb’ because of its dependence on the verb root as the head. He defines satellite as “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or a prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (Talmy 2000b:102). He states that be it a free word or bound affix the satellite is projected to encompass all other grammatical forms which

are treated independently. He adds that all forms capable of functioning as satellites in a particular language, to some extent, overlap with other grammatical categories like prepositions, nouns or verbs of the same language. In English, the satellite is mostly used for the expression of Path but generally, a complete representation of Path combines satellite and preposition (Talmy 2000b:104). This is shown in example (8a) where the satellite *out* together with the preposition *of* express the trajectory or Path of the motion *walk*. He states that in English and most Indo-European languages like Russian, the satellite *out* can stand alone as in (8b) to express Path. Talmy (2000b:104) argues that the absence of the prepositional phrase indicates that the Ground or nominal object is known to the addressee but a case like (8b) does not represent the complete surface expression of Path like that of (8a).

8a. He walked out of the room

8b. He walked out

He emphasizes that satellites are not the same as prepositions since the two forms have reasonably dissimilar positional and grammatical properties (2000b:106). This means that the two forms have no identical relationship. He adds that in some languages satellite corresponds to verb whereas preposition corresponds to the object nominal which is semantically known as Ground. He explains that the omission of the preposition in construction is based on the absence of object nominal since the preposition corresponds to the object nominal. Consider the example ‘*the cat ran out (of the box)*’. If the object nominal *the box* is absent then the preposition *of* must also be omitted but the satellite *out* remains since it corresponds to the verb *ran* and not the object. The presence of the preposition without the object nominal makes the sentence incomplete. As illustrated in (9a), the preposition *from* takes the object nominal *school* and it precedes this nominal whereas the satellite *away* also precedes the preposition *from* to illustrate a complete Path as in

(9b) but when there is no preposition the satellite follows or precedes an NP as in (9c). According to Talmy (2000b:107), these satellites and prepositions participate in Path expressions of English, Mandarin, some Indo-European and many other languages in the world.

- 9 a. John ran from school
- 9 b. John ran away from school
- 9 c. John moved away the car/ John moved the car away

Łozińska (2019) lists Polish, Russian, and English as languages that express Path through the use of satellite. She states that, as far as Path is concerned English differs from the two Slavic languages (Polish and Russian) though they are all considered satellite-framed languages. The difference lies in the fact that Path information is expressed in the two Slavic languages by prefixes which English does not have. In reference to Talmy (2000b), she lists these prefixes as satellites to the verb since these prefixes usually accompany motion verbs in the expression of basic motion events in Polish and Russian. She adds that Polish and Russian express complex Path through the use of a directional prefix followed by a prepositional phrase. She states that English expresses complex Path through series of satellites. Łozińska (2019) establishes that in Polish and Russian, motion verbs need to be combined with these directional prefixes before they can express an upward or downward motion - Path. She gives an instance in Polish where the verb root *piąć się* 'to climb' in *wspiąć się* has a prefix -*ws* expressing the semantic notion of Path as illustrated in example (9d) below. Another instance is given in Russian where the verb root -*nimat* 'to rise' is prefixed with *pod-* to express *podnimat* 'to rise', that is the direction of motion.

9d. Reksio wspina się po drabinie, raczej
Reksio climb.3SG.PRES REFL along ladder.LOC rather

biegnie po drabinie. [PI]
run.3SG.PRES along ladder.LOC

‘Reksio is climbing a ladder, or rather running up the ladder.’

(Lozinka 2019:42, 5)

2.1.3.2 Verb Root

In many languages, the verb root conflates the fact of Motion as well as Path. Languages that seem to have this conflation pattern include Nez Perce, Ewe, Semitic, Turkish, Avatime, Romance, Akan, Japanese, Spanish, English, Polynesian and many others (Ameka 2006; Putten 2009; Afreh 2011; Ameka & Essgbey 2016). According to Talmy (2000b), the use of Path-conflating verbs in such languages requires that any expression of Manner or Cause (if present) be expressed in a separate constituent aside from the main verb root as in (10b) where the Manner *rodandolo* ‘rolling’ is separate from the Path verb *ti* ‘move-in’. Here, the main verb indicates both Motion and Path. He gives examples (10a-b) in Spanish where agentive and non-agentive verbs manifest the Path-conflating pattern.

- 10a. La botella entró a la cueva (flotando)
The bottle MOVED-in to the cave (floating) (Non-agentive motion)
‘The bottle floated into the cave.’
(Talmy 2000b:49, 29a)

- 10b. Metí el barril a la bodega rodándolo
I-MOVED-in the keg to the storeroom rolling-it (Agentive motion)
'I rolled the keg into the store room.'
(Talmy 2000b:51, 30a)

Talmy (2000b:52) posits that another way of expressing Path in English is solely by the use of verbs that genuinely conflate Path with no corresponding preposition or Path particle as shown in (11a-b) below. He lists some of this Path conflating verbs as *arrive*, *cross*, *rise*, *descend*, *near*, *enter*, *separate*, *exit*, *proceed*, *follow*, *leave*, *circle*, *return*, *join*, *advance* and *depart*. He indicates that these verbs call for any Manner notion to be expressed in a separate element as illustrated in example (11c) below where the Manner constituent *jogging* is separated from the Path verb *left*.

- 11a. Wait for the elevator to descend.
11b. The dog followed the children home.
11c. He left the house jogging.

In examples (11a-b) above, Path is conflated in the verb root 'descend' and 'follow' respectively which is in contrast with the case where Path is conflated in satellite and preposition as seen in other languages (Polish and Russian). Here, Talmy (2000b) discusses the various semantic categories that appear to be lexicalized in one of the open-class or surface elements known as verb root.

Another study of motion expression indicates that in Ewe, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana, Path is encoded in the verb root (Adjei 2013). In the same way, Akan expresses Path through the use of verbs (Afreh 2011). Adjei (2013) states that, in a translational motion where an

entity moves from a particular location (source) to another (goal) through some medium, Path is the trajectory of motion. She lists *dɔ* ‘arrive’, *va* ‘come’, *gbɔ* ‘return’, *dzó* ‘depart’, *tsó* ‘arise’, *dzo* ‘drop, fall’ as some of the Path-conflating verbs in the Ewe language. Afreh (2011) also lists *fá* ‘pass’, *fóró* ‘climb-up/go up’, *gyá* ‘leave/ abandon’, *hyéné* ‘enter’, *hwè àsé* ‘fall’, *kó* ‘go’, *pùé* ‘exit’, *siánè* ‘descend’ *mánè* ‘turn’, *sì mú* ‘set off’ and *wùrà* ‘enter’ as the verbs that encode Path in Akan. In examples (12a-b), the two verbs *wùrà* ‘enter’ (Akan) and *do* ‘arrive’ (Ewe) encode the semantic components of Motion and Path of the motion event.

12a. Tánó wùrà-à dán nó mú
Tano enter-PST room DEF inside
‘Tano entered the room.’

12b. “É - dɔ du – a me.
3SG arrive town-DEF containing region inside
‘S/He entered/arrived in the town.’”
(Adjei 2013:123, 48a)

2.1.3.3 Components/ Classification of Path

Talmy (2000b) establishes that Path, whether expressed in a verb root or satellite for spoken languages, can be grouped into three main distinct components. These components are Vector, Conformation, and Deictic. He adds that sign languages have two additional components which are Contour and Direction. Talmy (2000b:53) posits that the Vector component expresses basic arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figure undergoes with respect to Ground. The Vector component is expressed in English with prepositions such as *to*, *from*, *via*, *towards*, *at*, *away from* and *along*, each corresponding to the motion verb move in the underlined form.

The Vector component of arrival generally expresses the accomplishment of the Figure's trajectory *to* or *towards* the Ground object. Akan verbs which belong to this category are *bà* 'come', *dúru* 'reach', *twé* 'pull', *mín* 'sink', *fóro* 'climb', *tó* 'fall' etc. This group of verbs generally express the accomplishment of the Figure's trajectory *to* or *towards* the Ground (Afreh 2011). The verb *dúru* 'reach' in (13a) serves as the Path of the Motion *ká* 'drive' indicating direction of the Figure *èhyén* 'car' towards the Ground *fié* 'home'.

- 13a. Mè-ká-à èhyén nó dùrù-ù fié
 1SG-drive-PST car DEF reach -PST home
 'I drove the car home.'

The traversal forms also denote the motion of the Figure across or through the Ground. In Akan, verbs like *fà* 'pass', *twá* 'cross' and *twà mú* 'go/ pass by' express motion of the Figure beyond or across the Ground. Consider example (13b) where the verb *nàm* 'be in progressive motion' expresses the Path or route of the Figure *nsúó* 'water' as moving through the Ground *dán* 'room'. Here, the verb *nàm* simultaneously expresses the fact of Motion as well as the Path of motion.

- 13b. Nsúó nàm dán nó mú
 Water move-CONT house DEF inside
 'Water is streaming through the room.'

Departure forms express the Figure's trajectory or motion away from the Ground. Examples of such verbs in Akan are *ko* 'go', *firi* 'move out/leave', *dwàné* 'flee', *pià* 'push', *pànè* 'send away' etc. As illustrated in example (13c) the verb *firi* 'leave' being Path of the Motion *nàntè* 'walk' implies that the Figure moved or departed from his original location being the Ground *sùkúù* 'school' to a different location.

- 13c. Dèdé nànté firi-ì sùkúù mú
 Dede walk leave-PST school inside
 ‘Dede walked from school.’

The component of Conformation expresses the spatial relation of Path to the Ground object. This notion denotes the motion of a Figure at a point which is the surface of the Ground, inside of the Ground (an enclosure) or a point by the side of the Ground (Talmy 2000b:55). As illustrated in example (13d), the verb *wùrà* ‘enter’ indicates the motion of the Figure *Dede* at the point inside the Ground *fié* ‘house’. The verb *wùrà* ‘enter’ in this context expresses the direction of motion, and at the same time ‘motion into’ the Ground object *fié* ‘house’.

- 13d. Dèdé wùrà-à fié hó
 Dede enter-PST house there
 ‘Dede entered into the house.’

The component of Deictic as discussed by Talmy (2000) expresses motion towards and from the direction of the speaker. He explains that Deictic Path prepositions incorporate their meaning from the physical movement of a Figure from a point known as the source and towards a point known as goal. Considering example (13e), the verb *bà* ‘come’ being the Path indicates that Figure *Tutu* moved from an unknown location to the goal which is the Ground *fié* ‘home’.

- 13e. Tùtù á-bà fié
 Tutu PRF-come house
 ‘Tutu has come home.’

Here, the speaker addresses the motion event from his/her point of view. In other words, the speaker describes the motion event from his/her direction or location. The Akan verbs *bà* ‘come’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ imply the source-goal of the motion event (Afreh 2011). Afreh (2011: 104) states that

the verb *bà* ‘come’ is in a reverse relationship with the verb *kó* ‘go’. As the verb *bà* ‘come’ indicates movement towards the deictic center, the verb *kó* ‘go’ indicates movement away from the deictic center. This means, the direction of *bà* ‘come’ is opposite to the direction of *kó* ‘go’.

According to van Putten (2009), the semantic component of Path is expressed in Avatime, a Ghana-Togo Mountain language, through the use of verbs. She divides Avatime Path verbs into goal-anchored path verbs, source-anchored path verbs and path-oriented verbs. This categorization is based on the type of ground element a particular Path verb expresses as its argument. She describes Path verbs that take goal argument as their complement or prepositional phrase as goal-anchored verbs. Some goal-anchored verbs in Avatime include *trē* ‘go’ and *bā* ‘come’, *kū* ‘arrive’ and *nà* ‘reach’ and also *dzi* ‘return’ etc. Out of the four goal-anchored verbs, she lists *trē* ‘go’ and *bā* ‘come’ as the deictic verbs in Avatime. Consider the following examples (14a-b).

- 14a. *lě ɔ̃-dzɛ ā-trē ní kē-pe-ā mɛ*
 and C1S-woman C1S-go LOC C6S-house-DEF inside
 ‘And the woman would go to the house.’

(van Putten 2009:36, 1)

- 14b. *a-ba ke-dzi-a mɛ*
 C1S-come C6S-market-DEF inside
 ‘She came to the market.’

(van Putten 2009:36, 4)

The second Path category which is source-anchored verbs is described by van Putten (2009) as Path verbs that are anchored to a source and, therefore, must take a locative source argument. These verbs include *dò* ‘move out’, *sè* ‘leave’, *dɔ̃* ‘move from’ and *wɔ̃lì* ‘fall’. The verb *dɔ̃* ‘move from’ in (14c) indicates that the Figure’s movement started from the location Ho.

- 14c. má-dó òhòlò
 1S-move.from:LOC Ho
 ‘I came from Ho.’
 (van Putten 2009:45, 42).

According to van Putten (2009), the third Path category which is known as Path-oriented verbs encodes the Path features without goal or source. She noted that verbs in this category can take “landmark, medium or ground as direct or locative arguments” (Putten 2009: 49). These verbs include *klānò* ‘move around’, *tsà* ‘cross’, *gà* ‘move’ *plē* ‘descend’, *mū* ‘ascend’ and *zā* ‘pass’. Consider example (14d).

- 14d. ɔ-ɔblaga-ε εε-ga
 C1S-snake-DEF C1S.PROG-move
 ‘The snake is crawling.’
 (van Putten 2009:49, 64)

2.1.4. Serial Verb Construction

2.1.4.1. Defining Properties of Serial Verb Construction

This section highlights some major properties that are shared by prototypical SVCs. These are properties shared by several SVCs but not all SVCs. A prototypical SVC is expected to have if not all then most of these properties. Following Aikhenvald (2006), I discuss below some defining properties of SVC.

i. Monoclausality

According to Aikhenvald (2006: 93), the monoclausality of serial verb constructions can best be interpreted using intonational contour. She explains that intonational breaks indicate pause or

clause boundaries and the absence of this property within SVCs suggests that SVCs constitute a single clause with no pause between the component verbs. As illustrated in Akan below, the presence of pause distinguishes SVCs (15b) from multiclausal structures (15a). According to Defina (2016:142), the fact that Avatime SVCs tend to have Single Totally Overlapping Gestures suggests that SVCs do indeed refer to single conceptual events whereas some complex clauses with Multiple gestures refer to multiple events. She explains that Single Total Overlap denotes cases where a single event gesture overlaps all verb roots whereas Single Partial Overlap denotes cases where a single event gesture overlaps some of the verb roots (Defina 2016:135).

- 15a. Ò-sù-ìé, éfirì sé nè wérè àhó
 SG-cry-PST because POSS soul PRF-sad
 ‘S/he cried because s/he was sad.’
- 15b. Kòfì nànté kò-ò fíé kó-hyíá-á né mààmé sáné bà-è
 Kofi walk go-PST home go-meet-PST POSS mother return come-PST
 ‘Kofi walked home to meet his mother and returned.’

ii. No overt connector

Related to monoclausality constraint is the fact that verb components within SVCs should not be overtly or covertly connected by any intervening element of coordination or subordination. Any conjunction or overt marker of dependency placed between the verbs prevents the construction from being considered as SVC. This property helps to distinguish consecutivization, coordination, complement clause and other multiclausal structures (16b) from SVCs (16a) in most African languages (Aikhenvald 2006:6). Consider the following examples of SVCs in Tafi, a Ghana-

Togo-Mountain language spoken in the south-eastern part of Ghana. This property combines verb components to express a single event without any syntactic element linking them together.

- 16a. Foli a-ta bɔlu e-hu Folitse
Foli SM-strike ball SM-hit Folitse
‘Foli struck the ball and hit Folitse.’
(Bobuafor 2013:303, 5a)

- 16b. Foli a-ta bɔlu kílí e-hu Folitse
Foli SM-strike ball CONJ 3SG-hit Folitse
‘Foli struck the ball and it hit Folitse.’
(Bobuafor 2013:303, 5b)

iii. Subject sharing

One of the important properties which appear in all serializing languages is the sharing of the same subject by verb components within SVCs. In most types of SVCs, it is expected that all verb components have the same subject. Aikhenvald (2006) asserts that sharing of the subject is a prototypical feature of SVCs. Consider the following examples from Kana (17a), a variety of Ogoni languages spoken in Nigeria, and Logba (17b), a Ghana-Togo-Mountain language spoken in Ghana.

- 17a. Zúē āā mò kāgā-ré nū
Sun PROG shine dry-CAUS thing
‘Sunshine is helping something to get dry.’
(Alerechi 2018:21, 7)

- 17b. Kofi ó-teni zó ɔ-gbá yó
 Kofi SM.SG-escape go CM-road skin
 ‘Kofi run to the roadside.’
 (Dorvlo 2008:194, 10)

In example (17a) the verbs *mɔ* ‘shine’ and *kaga* ‘dry’ share the same subject *zue* ‘sun’ just as the components *teni* ‘escape’ and *zɔ* ‘go’ in example (17b) share the subject, Kofi. Dorvlo (2008:194) observes that SVCs in Logba express the subject on the first verb if the subject is a pronoun, leaving subsequent verbs unmarked. He asserts that in Logba, any SVC with an anaphoric pronoun marked on both verbs is ungrammatical. In some cases, components of SVC share different subjects. Here, the subject of one component is the object of a different component. Aikhenvald (2006) refers to this type of SVC as switch-function SVC. Consider this example (17c) in Akan where *pàpà* ‘man’ is the subject of the first verb *wɔ̀* ‘push’ whereas *àbɔ̀frá* ‘child’ is the subject of the second verb *hwé* ‘fall’. It is interesting to know that, in languages like Akan and Tafi, subject argument (pronominal vowel prefix) is marked on each verb within an SVC. Sentence (17d) is an illustration in Fanti dialect where the verbs *dzi* ‘eat’ and *wié* ‘finish’ are both marked with the subject prefix *wo* ‘3SG’ in an SVC.

- 17c. Pàpà nó wɔ̀-ɔ̀ à-bɔ̀frá nó hwè-è fám
 Man DEF push-PST SING-child DEF fall-PST ground
 ‘The man pushed the child onto the ground.’

- 17d. Wo-e-dzidzi wo-e-wie
 3SG SUBJ-PRF-eat 3SG SUBJ-PRF-finish
 ‘They have finished eating.’
 (Osam 1994a:227, 19b)

iv. Object sharing

Another important feature of SVCs is the sharing of an object by the verb components. Sentence (18a) is an SVC in Cantonese with verbs *bongl* ‘help’ and *daa* ‘make’ sharing the same object *lei* ‘you’. Also, sentence (18b) is an SVC in Logba with verbs *mi* ‘take’ and *zi* ‘cover’ having different objects *kplotsuziva* ‘table cloth’ and *kplɔ* ‘table’ respectively. This belongs to what Aikhenvald (2006) terms switch-function SVC. With switch-function SVCs, the object argument of the first verb functions as the subject argument of the second verb (Aikhenvald 2006:14). Consider the following examples from Cantonese (18a) and Logba (18b).

- 18a. “ngo bongl lei daa din -waa
I help you make phone-call
‘I’ll make a phone call for you.’”
(Aikhenvald 2006:14, 28)

- 18b. “a-mi u-kplotsuziva zi u-kplɔ=á tsú
3PLU-take CM-table cloth cover CM-table=DET on
‘They cover the table with a table cloth.’”
(Dorvlo 2008:196, 20)

v. Marking of Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM)

One of the crucial properties of SVCs is shared tense, aspect and modality among verbal components. This property implies that individual verb components within SVCs cannot have an independent choice of tense, mood and aspect that contrast with the TAM of the remaining verbs. This property also makes SVCs different from multiclausal structures even though it is not observed in all serializing languages.

19a. Mé-tò-ò náám bá-à fié bè-wé-é
 1SG-buy-PST meat come-PST home come-chew-PST
 ‘I bought meat and brought it home to eat.’

19b. a-bó-mí ya i-dzó=ó pétée
 2SG-FUT-take stake CM-yam=DET all
 ‘you will stake all the yams.’
 (Dorvlo 2008:196, 23)

In Akan SVC (19a) above, the verb components *tó* ‘buy’, *bá* ‘come’ and *wé* ‘chew’ are marked by the same aspect ‘Past’. In contrast, Logba SVC in (19b) has TAM marked only once on the first verb *mi* ‘take’. Bobuafor (2013) contends that verb components express one macro-event when they share the same tense, aspect and modality. This property of the same TAM does not fully work in Akan and other serializing languages like Ewe. Osam (1994a: 228) observes that in the Fanti dialect verb components in SVCs can have mixed aspects involving continuative and progressive. This is illustrated in (19c) where the verb *gyíná* ‘stand’ takes a continuative aspect but the verb *hwé* ‘look’ takes a progressive aspect marker *-ré*. He indicates that the aspects are contrastive in the sense that, the continuative aspect occurs with stative verbs and the progressive aspect occurs with dynamic verbs (Osam 1994a:229). This property of mixed aspect is also observed in the Asante dialect of Akan.

19c. O-gyina ho re-hwe hen
 3SG SUBJ-stand/CONT there PROG-look 1PLU OBJ
 ‘S/he is standing there looking at us.’
 (Osam 1994a:229, 22b)

vi. Polarity marking

Related to the sharing of the same tense, aspect and modality is the fact that verb components within SVCs share the same polarity value. Polarity indicates the expression of positivity or negativity by verbs. Akan and some other languages mark polarity by morphologically adding nasal prefix *-n* to each verb component *sá* ‘fetch’ and *gú* ‘pour’ within an SVC (20a) but in Ewe (20b), polarity is marked with discontinuous markers *me* and *o* where *me* precedes the initial verb *ta* ‘crawl’ and *o* occurs at the end of the entire SVC.

- 20a. Dúfié à-ń-sá ñsúó à-n-gú bókitì nó mú
 Dufie PST-NEG-fetch water PST-NEG-pour bucket DEF inside
 ‘Dufie did not fetch water into the bucket.’
- 20b. devi’-a mé-tá yi xɔ-a me o
 Child-DEF NEG-crawl go room-DEF containing.region.of NEG
 ‘The child didn’t crawl before going into the room. It ran out.’
 (Ameka, 2006:139)

2.1.5 Classification of Serial Verb Constructions

A greater number of serial verb constructions make use of two verbs (V1-V2). However, there are SVCs that have two or three verbs in addition to the initial verb (V1) all of which express related actions. Examining the syntax and semantics of these verbs helps to better understand the kind of relationship that exists between them. This relationship plays a major role in the classification of SVCs. This section discusses some classifications of SVCs that have been discovered in Akan and other languages in the world, specifically African languages. It is important to note that some of these classifications may not have a direct bearing on the current study but provide a brief overview

of the most relevant parameters of SVCs that will help us to better understand the nature of SVC and its various features.

2.1.5.1 Symmetrical and Asymmetrical SVCs

Aikhenvald (2006) classifies serial verb constructions into two main categories based on the type of verbs used and their composition. The two categories are symmetrical SVC and asymmetrical SVC. According to Aikhenvald (2006), asymmetrical SVCs comprise verbs from both grammatically open (unrestricted) and closed classes (restricted). This type of SVC is similar to what Durie (1988) refers to as ‘unbalanced’ constructions. She explains that the verb from the open class expresses the major action that is considered the head whereas the verb from the closed class provides modification specification to the entire construction (Aikhenvald 2006:21). She also argues that verbs from the closed class are usually motion verbs which sometimes impart TAM meaning to the whole construction. Symmetrical SVCs, on the other hand, consist of verb components that belong to the open class (unrestricted). She emphasizes that unlike asymmetrical SVCs, verbs in this class have equal status in the sense that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the entire SVC (Aikhenvald 2006:22). Aikhenvald (2006) establishes that some serializing languages have both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs while some have either symmetrical or asymmetrical. To substantiate this argument, she lists Ewe as one of the serializing languages which has symmetrical SVCs as in (21a) the verbs *da* ‘cook’ and *du* ‘eat’ are both derived from an “open verb class” where their usage is unrestricted (Aikhenvald 2016). Thus, the event of cooking and eating in (21a) occurred consecutively.

- 21a. Ama a-ɖa nu ɖu
 name pot-cook thing eat
 ‘Ama will cook and eat.’
 (Aikhenvald 2006:28, 49)

Ayamga (2018) also points out that both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs reflect in Gurene, a Gur language spoken in the northern part of Ghana. An example of symmetrical SVCs in Gurene is provided in (21b) below where the verbs *pé* ‘sew’ and *yé* ‘wear’ are accorded the same verbal status and also express sequence of events. Asymmetrical SVC is also noted in (21c) where the initial verb *nyé* ‘see’ and final verb *ké* ‘enter’ in (21c) are open class verbs, while medial verb *zó* ‘run’ is a close verb.

- 21b. Abolga pé búrèyá-fúó yé
 Abolga sew christmas-dress wear
 ‘Abolga sewed Christmas dress and wore.’
 (Ayamga 2018:76, 4a)

- 21c. Kòmà nyé zólègó zó ké yíré púan
 Children see mad.person run enter house inside
 ‘Children saw a mad person and ran and entered a house.’
 (Ayamga 2018:77, 5a)

Adding to that, I argue that both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs are evident in Akan on the basis that verb components within Akan SVCs often belong to both open and closed classes. Considering example (21d), the initial verb *húnú* ‘see’ and the final verb *kyéá* ‘greet’ are equal in terms of status and are both from grammatically and semantically unrestricted classes. This means the event of seeing and greeting in (21d) occurred sequentially. However, the verbs *húrí* ‘jump’

and *kɔ́* ‘go’ in (21e) express asymmetrical SVC. The former is a major verb chosen from a grammatically unrestricted class whereas the latter is a minor verb from a restricted class.

Semantically, the direction of the verb *jumping* is signaled by the motion verb *go*.

21d. Àdwóá húnù-ù pàpà nó kyéá-à nó
 Adwoa see-PST man DEF greet-PST DEF
 ‘Adwoa saw the man and greeted him.’

21e. Àdwóá húrí kɔ́-ɔ́ sóró
 Adwoa jump go-PST up
 ‘Adwoa jumped up.’

2.1.5.2 Integrated SVC and Clause Chaining SVC

Osam (1994a; 2014) categorized Akan SVCs into two broad types based on the extent of semantic integration of events coded by the serial construction. He referred to the two categories as Clause Chaining Serialization (CCS) and Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISVC). He described ISVC as a single clause whose components are tightly knitted into a single coherent event and therefore cannot be broken up into separate clauses. CCS, on the other hand, “constitute the concatenation of otherwise potentially independent events” (Osam 2014:13). This means composite events in CCS can be broken up into separate events. Consider the following examples of ISVC and CCS as illustrated in (22a) and (22b) respectively.

22a. Aba yé-è àsóre má-à Kofi
 Aba do-COMPL prayer give-COMPL Kofi
 ‘Aba prayed for Kofi.’
 (Osam 2014:12, 1a)

- 22b. Gyasiba nyá-à síká sí-ì dán tón-èè
Gyasiba get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL
‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.’
(Osam 2014:12, 1b)

The verbs *yé* ‘do’ and *má* ‘give’ in ISVC (22a) represent tightly connected events and cannot be broken up into separate events whereas the verbs *nyá* ‘get’, *sí* ‘build’ and *tón* ‘sell’ in CCS type represent loosely connected events and can therefore be broken into separate clauses as illustrated in example (23a-c).

- 23a. Gyasiba nyá-à síká
Gyasiba get-COMPL money
‘Gyasiba got money.’
23b. Gyasiba sí-ì dán
Gyasiba build-COMPL house
‘Gyasiba built a house.’
23c. Gyasiba tón-èè dán (nó)
Gyasiba sell-COMPL house DEF
‘Gyasiba sold the house.’

He indicated that the syntax of serial verb constructions reflects the degree of semantic integration as well as different levels of integration. Osam (1994a; 2014) posited that one structural difference between the two types of SVCs is that when a conjunction is introduced in CCS it breaks the entire construction into separate clauses coding subatomic events, as shown in (24a) but the presence of conjunction in ISVC makes the sentence ungrammatical as shown in (24b).

24a. Gyasiba nyá-à sàká nà sí-ì dán nà tón-èè
Gyasiba get-COMPL money and build-COMPL house and sell-COMPL
'Gyasiba got money and built a house and sold it.'
(Osam 2014:14, 3a)

24b.* Aba yé-è àsóré na má-à Kofi
Aba do-COMPL prayer and give-COMPL Kofi
'Aba prayed and gave Kofi.'
(Osam 2014:14, 3b)

2.2. Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Lexicalization Theory

Talmy (1985; 2000) categorizes languages in the world into two main typological groups based on the lexicalization pattern of Path. He refers to languages that express Path in the verb root as verb-framed languages and languages that express Path in satellite as satellite-framed languages. He posits that in satellite-framed languages, the category of Path is expressed by a non-verbal element while the Co-event of Manner or Cause is expressed by a verb. However, with verb-framed languages, Path is expressed with a motion verb while Manner or Cause is expressed in a subordinate clause or constituent. Talmy (2000) lists English, Atsugewi, Slavic, Germanic and Finno-Ugric as satellite-framed languages and Semitic, Japanese, Basque, Turkic, Korean and Romance as verb-framed languages. Consider (8a) repeated in (25a) as an illustration for satellite-framed languages and example (10b) repeated in (25b) for verb-framed languages.

25a. He walked out of the room.

- 25b. Metí el barril a la bodega rodándolo
I-MOVED-in the keg to the storeroom rolling-it
'I rolled the keg into the storeroom.'
(Talmy 2000b:51, 30a)

Schaefer and Gaines (1997) applied Talmy's (2000) typology to four language phyla of Africa and argued that African languages tend to be Verb-framed languages with respect to how the semantic component of Path and Manner are lexically apportioned in motion events. They looked at the expression of motion in four language phyla of Africa – Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Kordofanian and Afro-Asiatic. They observed that in all the four language phyla, the component of Motion and Direction are consistently incorporated in the main verb of simple clauses. This is illustrated in Hausa (Afro-Asiatic) and Supyire (Niger-Kordofanian) where each of the verbs *shiga* 'enter' (25c) and *jye* 'enter' (25d) conflates both Motion and Direction respectively.

- 25c. yaaroo yaa shiga daakii
boy he entered room.the
'The boy entered the room.'
(Schaefer & Gaines 1997:198,8b)

- 25d. u a jye ba-ge e
3S PRF enter house-the inside
's/he entered the house.'
(Schaefer & Gaines 1997:200,11b)

In terms of Direction and Manner, they observed that each language phylum conflates Direction in a verb of the main clause but Manner in a separate constituent like gerundive,

subordinate clause or through clause level de-ranking where components are supposed to occur in a strict linear order - Manner precedes Direction, as in (25e) below. Others like Emai, Tswana, and Shona also combine Manner and Direction through coordination or serialization. A coordination strategy is observed in Kanuri in the Nilo Saharan phylum where the Manner component *səgas* ‘ran’ is joined to the Direction of motion *jəwa* ‘ascend’ by a coordinating conjunction -ə ‘and’ in (25e). Schaefer and Gaines’ (1997) argument that African languages are more Verb-framed languages than Satellite-framed languages is based on the fact that other phyla of African languages express directional motion with the verb.

- 25e. ngəri-də səgas-ə kawu-ro jəwa
 gazelle-the 3S.ran-and mountain-Go 3S.ascended
 'The gazelle ran and ascended the mountain.'
 'The gazelle ran up the mountain.'
 (Schaefer & Gaines 1998:207, 24a)

After applying Talmy’s (2000) two-way typology to some languages, Slobin (1996; 1997; 2004) argued that some languages do not fit in the typology and that such languages constitute a third type. Using data from Mandarin and Thai he observed that what Talmy (2000) considers satellite in the two languages is not satellite but rather a path verb. He emphasizes that Thai and Mandarin are serial-verb languages that express the Path of motion by an independent verb. As illustrated by Slobin (2004:6-8), Mandarin expresses the movement of an owl out of a hole in a tree by the use of two full verbs *fei1* ‘fly’ and *chu1* ‘exit’ which are “morphologically unmarked and monosyllabic”. This reads as *Fei1-chu1 yi1 zhi1 mao1 tou2 ying1* ‘fly out one owl’. He establishes that such findings make it difficult to place serializing languages into any of Talmy’s (2000) typologies because neither of the two categories makes use of independent categories. As a result, he proposed that serializing languages be treated as a third language typology with respect

to motion expression. Slobin (2004) proposed a third language typology that sums up languages with bipartite verbs and serializing languages. He refers to this third language type as ‘equipollently-framed’ languages. In equipollently-framed languages, both Path and Manner are expressed in independent verb components.

Following Slobin’s (2004) introduction of a third language typology, Talmy (2009) argued that the criteria for judging what the main verb is in so-called equipollently-framed languages might have been few and therefore proposes an expanded list of properties that would best point out what the main verb is. He stated that a constituent is privileged with the main verb status if it has most of these properties (Talmy 2009:391). The properties include being able to take inflection (TAM, negation, person, transitivity, causation etc.), being an open class verb with rich semantics, should occur across different types of constructions, the difference in meaning when a verb occurs as a single verb and the second verb in an SVC (Talmy 2009:391-392). Talmy (2009) applied this set of criteria to polysynthetic constructions, coverb constructions and serial verb constructions and concluded that Path and Manner in such constructions show co-satellite or co-subordination status but not main verb status (Talmy 2009: 401).

Ameka and Essegbey (2013) pointed out that Talmy’s (2000) typology for expressing Path does not seem to reflect in serializing languages. This is because SVCs are known to have two or more verbs of the same status with each expressing either path or manner independently and not as a subordinate constituent as discussed by Talmy (2000) in verb-framed languages. Therefore, the notion of the main verb with subordinate constituent (verb-framed) and satellite with non-verbal constituent (satellite-framed) is questionable since they do not manifest in SVCs. Drawing data from Akan and Ewe, both serializing languages, Ameka and Essegbey (2013) argued that serializing languages should be assigned to a third typological group since they neither pattern

with verb-framed nor satellite-framed languages. They established that “in terms of discourse properties serializing languages behave like Verb-framed with respect to some properties and like Satellite-framed languages in terms of others” yet they (serializing languages) do not completely fit into any of the categories (Ameka & Essegbey 2013:19). Ameka & Essegbey discussed (26a) as an SVC in Ewe with the verbs *ta* ‘crawl’ and *yi* ‘go’ having the same verbal status with the former expressing Manner independently and the latter expressing Path of motion independently and not as a subordinate constituent. They also presented another SVC in Akan (26b) where the verbs *tú* ‘move’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ possess inflectional capabilities and are, therefore, considered full verbs and not verbids.

- 26a. *ɖevi-a tá yi xɔ-a me*
 child-DEF crawl go room-DEF containing.region
 ‘The child crawled into the room.’
 (Ameka & Essegbey 2013:24, 6a)

- 26b. *ákwádàà nó tú-ú miríká kò-ò dàn nó mú*
 Child DEF move-PST course go-PST room DEF containing.region
 ‘The child ran into the room.’
 (Ameka & Essegbey 2013:26, 9b)

After critically examining the semantic components involved in the expression of motion in Ga, Campbell (2014) mentioned that Ga, a serializing language, behaves like an equipollently-framed language. Comparing the discourse properties of Ga to other serializing languages such as Akan, Thai and Ewe, she observed that these serializing languages share more common properties than they share with either Verb or Satellite framed languages (Campbell 2014: 93). She indicated that this similarity is influenced by the structure of their verbal predicates. One thing that makes Ga different from the other serializing languages discussed in Campbell (2014) is its low manner

salience. That is the inability of Ga to express manner frequently. Campbell (2014) argued that this property of low manner saliency makes Ga more of a Verb-framed language.

2.3 Summary

This chapter looked at some relevant studies linguists have done on the concept of Motion, its components and classification. Many of the literature reviewed here list Figure, Ground, Motion and Path as the components of basic motion events with two optional co-events of Manner and Cause. These studies also revealed that verb is the only word class known for expressing the component of motion in all languages. The discussions have shown that due to the heterogeneous nature of motion events, linguists tend to classify them in different ways. One classification is based on whether the location of the Figure changes or it is fixed – translational and self-contained motion. Another classification is based on whether the Figure moves in a physical space or an abstract space. In terms of Path expression, it was revealed that some languages express Path of motion in the verb root while others express Path in a satellite.

The chapter also discussed some studies on serialization in different languages. The serializing languages reviewed in the literature include Kwa languages, Gur language, Chinese, Afro-Asiatic languages, Niger-Kordofanian languages, Nilo-Saharan languages and many others. The defining properties of SVCs as well as the various classifications were also discussed. For the theoretical approach, section 2.2 of this chapter gives in-depth information about Talmy's (1985; 2000) lexicalization theory.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF PATH SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKAN

3. Introduction

This chapter discusses a subtype of serial verb constructions in Akan that expresses multiple Paths or complex paths of motion. For this thesis, I will refer to such constructions as Path Serial Verb Constructions (hereafter PSVCs) to differentiate them from other SVCs in Akan. Path Serial Verb Constructions express the movement of an entity along or via a complex path in a direction towards or away from the referential object or location. In this section, I explore how multiple Path elements and their Ground arguments are lexically apportioned in PSVCs. Also, I investigate the meaning expressed by each category of PSVC. This is because languages express complex predicates differently. As a result, it is important to explore the mechanisms employed in the distribution of several Path components in Akan SVCs. Following the semantic criterion, I only discuss Path verbs that denote self-motion of the Figure in a motion event. These verbs conflate the notion of Motion and Path. I also show that the lexicalization pattern of Akan PSVCs does not fit into Slobin's (2004) equipollently-framed languages and Talmy's (1985; 2000b) binary typology.

In the subsections that follow, I briefly discuss Akan Path verbs that express self-motion of the Figure in 3.1 followed by the two major types of Akan PSVCs in 3.2. In 3.3, I apply Talmy's (1985) binary typology and Slobin's (2004; 1997) typology to Akan PSVCs. The chapter summary is presented in 3.4.

3.1 The Expression of Path in Akan

Of central concern to this thesis is the behaviour of multiple Path verbs in Akan serial verb constructions. Therefore, it is important to discuss the semantic and syntactic properties of Akan Path verbs that will be relevant for the analysis of PSVCs in the following chapters. Specifically, this section discusses Path verbs that encode self-motion of the Figure. For convenience, I categorize such path verbs into four groups based on the semantic notion (goal, source and landmark/medium) expressed as the Ground argument of the verb. The categories include goal-anchored verbs (3.1.1), source-anchored verbs (3.1.2), route-denoting verbs (3.1.3). Verbs that express change of orientation are also discussed in subsection (3.1.4). These sections address the first research question “what are the features that qualify a verb to be a member of a Path category?” Each section provides the semantic and syntactic properties that make members of a particular Path category different from other members of a different category.

3.1.1 Goal-anchored Path verbs

Goal-anchored Path verbs in Akan either introduce the endpoint to be reached by the Figure in motion or occur without goal argument in certain contexts. The goal or endpoint of motion is explicitly expressed in locative phrases or the complement of the verb. Some goal-anchored verbs in Akan lexicalize reference to the deictic center while others do not. According to Talmy (2000b), the location of the speaker is semantically known as the deictic center. Therefore, any motion verb that inherently expresses the location of the speaker is known as a deictic motion verb. Based on this definition, I divide goal-anchored verbs into two major classes- deictic and non-deictic path verbs. The verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ are known to be the only goal-anchored path verbs in Akan

that inherently express the deictic center (Afreh 2011). Other goal-anchored verbs in Akan include *wùrà* ‘enter/go inside’, *pùè* ‘exit’, *dúru* ‘reach’, *tí* ‘follow’, *sá* ‘chase’, *tó/hwé* ‘fall’, *bén* ‘be close’, *sí* ‘come down’, *hyià* ‘meet/come upon’, *píní* ‘draw near’ etc. These are non-deictic path verbs that express the endpoint of motion.

3.1.1.1 Deictic Path verbs

In the expression of deictic Path verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’, the speaker relates the motion event to his or her direction or viewpoint. The verb *bá* ‘come’ expresses movement towards the deictic center whereas the verb *kó* ‘go’ expresses movement away from the deictic center. These verbs express the goal of motion in their complements or locative phrases. In sentence (1a), the verb *bá* ‘come’ expresses the movement of Figure *mé* ‘1SG’ from an unknown location to the location *fié* ‘home’ which is the present location of the speaker (deictic center) as well as the goal of motion. In (1b), the verb *kó* ‘go’ also denotes the movement of the Figure *Òwùrà* away from the deictic center to a different location *àsóré* which is the endpoint of motion. Aside from expressing the location of the speaker, the verb *bá* ‘come’ expresses the movement of the Figure towards the location of the addressee. The verb *bá* ‘come’ as used by the speaker *mé* ‘1SG’ in (1c) denotes the movement of the speaker – Figure, from his or her present location to the location *fié* ‘home’ of the addressee.

1a. M-à-bá fié
 1SG.SUBJ-PERF-come home
 ‘I have come home.’

1b. Òwùrà kó àsóré

Owura go.PERF church
 ‘Owura has gone to church.’

1c. Mè-rè-bá fié
 1SG.SUBJ-PROG-come home
 ‘I am coming home.’

Usually, when the verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ occur as the only verb in an utterance without a locative complement, a Goal is presupposed. This Goal is usually the deictic center or addressee’s location though it is not expressed by any landmark. This is illustrated in (1d) below where the verb *bá* ‘come’ has no complement and therefore the motion of the Figure *èhyén* ‘car’ ends at the location of the speaker or a different location that can be understood from the context. Also, the verb *bá* ‘come’ describes the motion of a Figure on a path close to the deictic center. In such events, the deictic center is not the Goal but a place that is close to the Goal. The Goal is therefore a location between the Source and the deictic center. The verb *bá* ‘come’ as used in (1e) expresses motion of the Figure *Bonsu* to a Goal *kùró* ‘town’ which is not the deictic center but rather a location close to the deictic center.

1d. Èhyén bí ré-bá
 Car certain PROG-come
 ‘A certain car is coming.’

1e. Bònsù à-bá sàà kùró nó mú
 Bonso PERF-come that town DEF inside
 ‘Bonsu has come to that town.’ (The town is a place close to the deictic center)

is known to both of them. This means the deictic center in this context, which is considered the Source of motion is conceptualized as a container. The verb *pùè* ‘exit’ as used in (3a) expresses the motion of the Figure *obi* ‘someone’ either from the deictic center or a different location. On the other hand, when the verb *pùè* ‘exit’ occurs with a locative Ground complement, for example, *àbòntén* ‘outside’ as in (3b), the Ground argument acts as the endpoint or Goal of motion. In Akan, the verb *pùè* ‘exit’ can also occur with the directional verb *kó* ‘go’ to indicate the goal of motion. The presence of the verb *kó* ‘go’ as in (3c) indicates that the speaker is close to the location where the motion started.

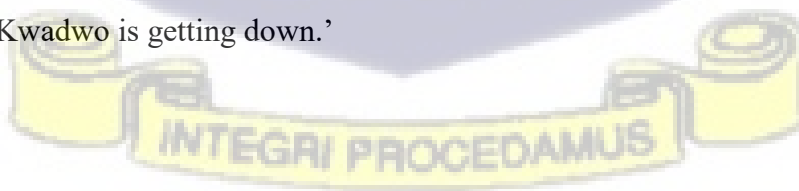
- 3a. Òbí á-pùé
Someone PERF-exit
‘Someone has gone out.’
- 3b. Mààmé nó á-pùé àbòntén
Woman DEF PERF-exit outside
‘The woman has gone out.’
- 3c. Mààmé nó á-pùé kó àbòntén
Woman DEF PERF-exit go outside
‘The woman has gone out.’

3.1.1.4 The verbs *sí* ‘go down’, *hwé* ‘fall/drop’ and *tó* ‘fall/drop’

The verbs *tó* ‘fall/drop’, *hwé* ‘fall/drop’ and *sí* ‘go down’ describe the motion of a Figure in a downward direction whose endpoint is the surface of another entity or the ground. That is motion from an upward region to a downward region. As a single predicate, the verbs *tó* ‘fall/drop’ and *hwé* ‘fall/drop’ usually encode motion of an entity without control but the verb *sí* ‘go down’

expresses the volitional motion of the Figure. According to Afreh (2011:94), the verb *sí* ‘go down’ only occurs with animate entities whereas the verbs *hwé* and *tó* ‘fall/drop’ can occur with both animate and inanimate entities. In Akan, the verbs *tó* ‘fall/drop’ and *sí* ‘descend’ can occur with or without a locative Ground complement but *hwé* requires a locative Ground argument to express the endpoint of motion. This can be seen in (4c) below where the verb *hwé* ‘fall/drop’ takes the locative argument *àsé* ‘ground’. Whenever the verbs *tó* ‘fall/drop’ and *sí* ‘go down’ occur without a complement it means the Goal of the motion, ground, is implied as in (4a). As illustrated in (4b), the verb *tó* introduces the Ground argument *fám* ‘ground’ as the endpoint of motion.

- 4a. Ñsúó á-tò
 Rain PRF-fall
 ‘Rain has fallen.’
- 4b. Àkwàdàá nó á-tó fám
 Child DEF PRF-fall ground
 ‘The child has fallen down.’
- 4c. Tùtú á-hwè àsé
 Tutu PRF-fall ground
 ‘Tutu has fallen.’
- 4d. Kwàdwó rè-sí fám
 Kwadwo PROG-descend ground
 ‘Kwadwo is getting down.’



3.1.1.5 The verb *dúró* ‘reach/arrive’

The verb *dúró* ‘reach/arrive’ in Akan inherently expresses the reaching of a goal by an entity in motion. It can be used intransitively or transitively. The Ground argument of the transitive verb *dúró* ‘reach/arrive’ serves as the goal of motion. In sentence (5a), the verb *dúró* ‘reach’ expresses the motion of the entity *m̀mɔ̀frá* ‘children’ to an unknown goal whereas in sentence (5b) the verb *dúró* ‘reach’ expresses the motion of the Figure *Kwasi* to the goal *hɔ́* ‘there’. The locative argument *hɔ́* ‘there’ in (5b) expresses a goal that is away from the deictic center. This means, in terms of deixis, the locative argument *hɔ́* ‘there’ and the verb *kɔ́* ‘go’ play the same deictic role.

- 5a. *M̀-mɔ̀frá* *nó* *á-dúró*
 PL-child DEF PERF-reach
 ‘The children have reached.’
- 5b. *Kwàsí* *á-dúró* *hɔ́*
 Kwasi PERF-reach there
 ‘Kwasi has reached there.’

3.1.1.6 The verbs *bén* ‘be close’, *píni* ‘draw near’ and *hyà* ‘meet’

The verbs *bén* ‘be close’, *píni* ‘draw near’ and *hyà* ‘meet’ express motion of the Figure towards or close to the goal. The verb *bén* ‘be close’ expresses a goal that is not reached by the Figure but *hyà* ‘meet’ expresses a goal that is usually reached by the Figure. These verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively except *píni* ‘draw near’, a strictly transitive verb, which requires a locative ground argument to indicate the endpoint of motion. Also, the verbs *bén* ‘be close’ and *píni* ‘draw near’ can take both animate and inanimate objects while the verb *hyà* ‘meet’ takes

only animate objects but in metaphorical contexts, it can take both animate and inanimate objects. As illustrated in the sentence (6a) below, the verb *bén* ‘be close’ depicts the movement of the Figure *ñkwàdàá* ‘children’ towards but not to the goal *fié* ‘home’. However, the verbs *píní* ‘draw near’ and *hyià* ‘to meet’ as used in sentences (6b) and (6c) depict the motion of the Figure to the location *dán* ‘house’ and the entity *yén* ‘1PL’ respectively.

- 6a. Ñkwàdàá nó á-bèn fié
 PL-child DEF PERF-close house’
 ‘The children are close to home.’
- 6b. Ànókyé píní-í dán nó hó
 Anokye draw near-PST house DEF self
 ‘Anokye drew close to the house.’
- 6c. Ànókyé hyiá-à yén kwán só
 Anokye meet-PST 1PL.OBJ road on
 ‘Anokye met us on the way.’

3.1.1.7 The verbs *tí* ‘follow’ and *sá* ‘chase’

The verbs *tí* ‘follow’ and *sá* ‘chase’ express motion of a Figure after a moving goal. These are strictly transitive verbs that require Ground argument to express the goal of motion. These verbs can take animate or inanimate entities as the direct object or Ground argument. As shown in (7a), the Figure *papa* ‘man’ moves behind another entity *dóm* ‘crowd’ at a distance. Also, the verb *sá*

‘chase’ as used in sentence (7b), indicates that the children are moving behind or chasing a moving car. Here, the direct object of the verb *èhyén* ‘car’ is the goal of motion.

- 7a. Pàpá nó tí-í dómò nó
Man DEF follow-PST crowd DEF
‘The man followed the crowd.’

- 7b. M-mòfrá nó sà èhyén nó
PL-child DEF chase.CONT car DEF
‘The children are chasing the car.’

3.1.2 Source-anchored verb

In this section, I discuss the Akan path verb that expresses the source of motion, that is the location where a particular motion starts from. The verb in this category introduces a ground argument which also serves as the source of motion. The source of motion is usually expressed in a locative complement of the verb. In Akan, the verb *fíri* ‘come from/leave’ moves with other motion verbs to express the source of motion. For example, the ground argument *dwám* ‘market’ in (8) serves as the source of the motion *fíri* ‘come from/leave’ indicating that the movement of the women started from the market. Here, the direct object of the verb serves as the source of motion.

8. M-máá nó á-fíri dwám
PL-woman DEF PRF-leave market
‘The women have left the market.’

3.1.3 Route-denoting path verbs

In this subsection, I discuss path verbs that express the route or trajectory of the Figure in motion. Verbs in this category introduce landmark or medium as the locative argument to the signify route of motion. These verbs include *séné* ‘move along/pass by’, *fá* ‘pass’ and *sàné* ‘descend’. The verb *séné* ‘move along/pass by’ mostly does not require a ground argument to express medium or landmark as can be seen in (9a) but *fá* ‘pass’ is a strictly transitive verb with the ground argument *dàn* ‘house’ being the trajectory along which the Figure moves as in (9b). The verb *sàné* ‘descend’ depicts the movement of the Figure in a downwards direction along a landmark. In (9c), the ground argument *bépó* ‘mountain’ of the verb *sàné* ‘descend’ expresses landmark or trajectory.

- 9a. Ɔbáá nó á-bè-séné
 Woman DEF PRF-come-pass by
 ‘The lady has passed by.’
- 9b. Sùkúú-fòó nó fà-à dán nó ákyí
 School-PL DEF pass-PST building DEF behind
 ‘The students passed behind the building.’
- 9c. Mè-sáné-é bepó nó
 1SG.SUBJ-descend-PST mountain DEF
 ‘I climbed down the mountain.’

3.1.4 Change in orientation

Verbs in this category do not express change of location but rather change of direction. They include *sán* ‘return’, *màné* ‘branch’ and *dàné* ‘turn’. These verbs often express the change in direction followed by motion of the Figure. The verb *sán* ‘return’ expresses the change in direction from location A to B and again back to location A. The verb *sán* ‘return’ in (10a) describes the change in direction of the teacher from one location back to his original location. In Akan, the verbs *sán* ‘return’ and *dáné* ‘turn’ can generally be used for the same purpose. The verb *dáné* ‘turn’ also expresses backward movement of the Figure in motion just like the verb *sán* ‘return’. This is illustrated in (10b) where the verb *dáné* ‘turn’ describes movement of the Figure *èhyén* ‘car’ back to its previous location. The verb *dáné* ‘verb’ can also be used to describe a figure that moves or turns around at a fixed location. Also, the verb *màné* ‘branch/turn’ describes change in direction towards a different direction that deviates from the original route. In (10c), the verb *màné* ‘branch’ describes the motion of the car off the road.

- 10a. Kyèrèkyéré-ní nó ásàh
Teacher-SG DEF PRF-return
‘The teacher has returned.’
- 10b. Èhyén nó bé-dané n-àní
Car DEF FUT-turn POSS-eye
‘The car will turn back.’
- 10c. Èhyén nó mànè-e bòkòò
Car DEF branch-PST slowly
‘The car branched slowly/ The car slowly turned off the road.’

3.2 Path Serial Verb Constructions in Akan

Path Serial Verb Constructions express change in location of an entity along or via several trajectories with respect to the referential location. These constructions combine multiple path elements to express motion event. Like all SVCs, Path Serial Verb Constructions are also characterized by general properties such as mono-clausality, argument sharing, no overt coordinator, same TAM and polarity (see section 2.1.4 for the discussion of these properties). An example of PSVC in Akan is shown in sentence (11a) below. This PSVC expresses the movement of an entity *Adwoa* along multiple Paths *pùè* ‘exit’, *firi* ‘leave’ and *hyià* ‘meet’. That is, Adwoa left a specific location and moved towards her mother. Another example of PSVC in Akan is given in (11b).

- 11a. Àdwóá pùé firì-ì dán nó mú
 Adwoa exit leave-PST house DEF inside
 kò-hyíá-á né màámé
 go-meet-PST POSS woman
 ‘Adwoa left the room to meet her mother.’
- 11b. Àdwóá firì-ì àsóré bà-à fié sáné kò-è
 Adwoa leave-PST church come-PST home return.PST go-PST
 ‘Adwoa left the church, came home and returned (to church).’

A key observation is that the combinatory possibilities of Path verbs that form Akan PSVCs yield two distinct semantic types of motion events; Simultaneous PSVC and Sequential PSVC. This distinction is based on whether events in PSVC are expressed concurrently or in sequential order. Interestingly the two distinct semantic types of motion events fall under Osam’s (1994a; 2014) Integrated and Clause Chaining SVCs respectively. This distinction is primarily based on

the semantic integration of events in PSVCs. The following subsections address the third research question “What is the syntactic structure and function of each category of Path Serial Verb Construction in Akan?” by discussing Simultaneous PSVCs and Sequential PSVCs and their morphosyntactic properties.

3.2.1 *Simultaneous PSVC in Akan*

Path Serial Verb Constructions in this category combine multiple Path components or actions simultaneously as a single event. This means the agent performs the actions expressed by individual verbs in this PSVC simultaneously. This type of PSVC indicates that the agent performs all Path events at the same time. It is worthy to note that in Simultaneous PSVCs Path verbs that express different trajectories of motion and also have different semantic and syntactic features are strictly packaged to express a single event. As mentioned in section 1.4 the strict ordering of multiple Path verbs does not express complex trajectories rather, they provide a detailed specification of a single event. It is observed that Simultaneous PSVCs in Akan describe motion event by expressing Source, Milestone/Route and Goal of motion in that order as in (12a). Usually, the first verb in Simultaneous PSVC introduces the Source of motion and the second verb introduces the Milestone or Route taken by the Figure and the last verb also introduces the Goal of motion. The Source, Milestone or Goal are explicitly expressed through the use of the nouns, nominals or postpositions that occur as the arguments of the verbs within the PSVC. In sentence (12a), the first verb *fíri* ‘leave’ introduces the argument *bépo* ‘mountain’ as the Source of motion, the second verb *sàné* ‘descend’ expresses the Route of motion and the last verb *bá* ‘come’ introduces the argument *fám* ‘ground’ as the Goal of motion.

12a. Òpánín nó firí bépó nó só sàné
 Old man DEF leave.PST mountain DEF top descend.PST

bà-à fám
 come ground

‘The old man climbed down the mountain.’

(The event of ‘leaving’, descending’ and ‘coming’ occurred simultaneously)

Simultaneous PSVCs can also have a Goal-anchored verb followed by either a Source anchored verb as in (12b) or Change of orientation verb followed by either Source, Route or Goal-anchored verb as in (12c). Goal-anchored verbs like *pùè* ‘exit’ and *sí* ‘descend/go down’ are usually found in motion events like (12b). In such events, the Goal-anchored verbs or verbs that denote Change in direction do not introduce any argument. They occur as intransitive verbs. As illustrated in sentences (12b) and (12c), the initial verbs *pùè* ‘exit’ and *sán* ‘return’ do not introduce an argument, only the last verb *firí* ‘leave’ introduces the Source of motion. Sentence (12d) also constitutes a single event in which the agent *kràmán* ‘dog’ moves from a location known as the Source to another location that is the Goal. Here, the initial verb introduces the argument *m̀pómá* ‘window’ as the Source of motion and the final verb *hwé* ‘fall’ also introduces *fám* ‘ground’ as the Goal of motion.

12b. Àpòtórò nó bé-pùè à-firí tòá nó mú
 Frog DEF FUT-exit PERF-leave bottle DEF inside

‘The frog will move out of the bottle.’

(‘Exiting’ and ‘leaving’ events occurred at the same time)

12c.	Tùtú	sán	firí-í	né	màámé	àkyí
	Tutu	return.PST	leave-PST	POSS	mother	back

‘Tutu stopped following his mother.’

(The event of ‘returning’ and ‘leaving’ occurred at the same time)

12d.	Kràmán	nó	firí	mpómá	nó	àním
	Dog	DEF	leave.PST	window	DEF	face

bè-hwè-è fám

come-fall-PST ground

‘The dog fell from the window.’

(The event of ‘leaving’ and ‘falling’ occurred at the same time)

Following the examples (12a-12d) above, it can be observed that individual Path verbs in Simultaneous PSVCs are packaged in a strict order, are tightly integrated and also act as a complex predicate to express a single event. This means there is a high level of restriction on Path verbs within this type of Simultaneous PSVCs. It is important to emphasize that the strict packaging of multiple Path verbs in Simultaneous PSVCs does not necessarily express complex trajectories, they rather provide a detailed specification of a single trajectory. Also, it should be noted that components of all Simultaneous PSVCs in Akan are integrated but certain types of Simultaneous PSVCs may be more semantically or lexically integrated than other PSVCs. They are referred to as Full Lexicalized-Integrated Serial Verb Constructions (FL-ISVCs) and Partial Lexicalized-Integrated Serial Verb Constructions (PL-ISVCs PSVCs) respectively. This distinction is primarily derived from Osam (1994). As indicated in Osam (1994a; 2004), tight semantic integration is tested by inserting conjunctions between verbal components in SVCs. In the case of Simultaneous PSVCs, the presence of conjunctions may either lead to distortion of meaning or render the sentence ungrammatical depending on the degree of semantic integration. As evidence,

I show that the presence of a conjunction between the verbal components *sán* ‘return’ and *firí* ‘leave’ in (12c) repeated here as (12d) leads to ungrammaticality or affects the intended meaning. The ungrammaticality of the sentence (12d) implies that the verbs *sán* ‘return’ and *firí* ‘leave’ are more tightly connected that the presence of a conjunction cannot separate it into independent events without making it ungrammatical.

- 12d. *Tùtú sán nà firí-í né màámé àkyí
 Tutu return.PST and leave-PST POSS mother back
 ‘Tutu stopped following his mother.’

Also, the strict syntactic and semantic integration is shown by the fact that verbs are not allowed to be separately modified by temporal or locational modifiers. This is because simultaneous actions are expected to have the same space and temporal trace. As evidence, I modify the verbs within Simultaneous PSVC in (13a) with a temporal modifier. It is worthy to note that, irrespective of the position of a modifier it takes scope over the entire construction. This can be seen from the unacceptability of (13b), as the events of *branching* and *leaving/moving away* cannot be separated. PSVC in (13a) expresses a single event involving simultaneous branching and leaving by the Figure in motion *nípánóm* ‘people’. This is because it has a temporal modifier *ínórà* ‘yesterday’ that takes scope over the entire event and not part of the event. In contrast, the temporal modifier *ínórà* ‘yesterday’ in (13b) takes scope over the first verb *màné* ‘branch’ whereas the modifier *íné* ‘today’ takes scope over the subsequent verb *firí* ‘leave’. The presence of separate temporal modifiers renders the PSVC in (13b) ungrammatical in the sense that, the Figure’s action of leaving the route was carried out by changing his/her orientation so the two sub-events cannot be performed at different times. Separate modifiers are used when combining different events or actions which occurred at different times and places but not simultaneous events.

13a. Ní pá-nóm bì mǎné firí-í kwáń yì só ńńórà
 Human-PL INDEF branch leave-PST road DEM top yesterday
 ‘Some of the people branched from this route yesterday.’

13b. *Ní pá-nóm bì mǎné ńńórà firí-í
 Human-PL INDEF branch yesterday leave-PST

kwáń yì só ńńé
 road DEM top today.

‘Some of the people branched yesterday and left this route today.’

Like Manner-Path SVCs, the first verb *mǎné* ‘branch’ in the simultaneous PSVC in (13a) describes how the event expressed by the subsequent verb was performed. In this way, the preceding verb acts like a Manner verb even though it is a Path verb. It is observed that in most Simultaneous PSVC the first verb usually expresses the direction of motion by the Figure. This means, the first verb plays a dual role – describes the manner and at the same time expresses the direction of motion by the Figure, as demonstrated in examples (13a) above. In sentence (13a) the first verb *mǎné* ‘branch’ describes how the Figure *ní pánom* ‘human’ moved to the Ground *kwáń* ‘route/road’. This is interpreted as some people moved to a particular route/road by turning or branching from an original direction. In this sense, the verb *mǎné* ‘branch’ is acting as a modifier describing the way the motion *firí* ‘leave’ was carried out. It also describes the Figure as changing his/her orientation from one direction to a different direction. Crucially, the sub-events of *branching* and *leaving* in (13a) are simultaneous. Therefore, sentence (13a) denotes a single event described by both *branching* and *leaving*.

3.2.2 Sequential PSVCs in Akan

Path Serial Verb Constructions in this category combine multiple Path elements or distinct sub-events that are carried out in a sequential order. This means the agent performs the actions expressed by individual verbs in this PSVC sequentially. This type of PSVC indicates that the agent performs one event first before another event. It is observed that Sequential PSVCs in Akan have a fixed order where a Goal-anchored verb is either followed by a Route denoting verb or another Goal anchored. As shown in (14a), the initial verb *wùrà* ‘enter’ introduces an argument that expresses the Goal of motion and the second verb *twá* ‘cross’ introduces an argument that expresses milestone or route of motion while the final verb *hyià* ‘meet’ also introduces an argument that expresses the Goal of motion. This PSVC expresses an event where the Figure *òbòfóó* ‘hunter’ moves to a particular location *kwáè* ‘forest’ and later crosses a river and finally moves from his location to a different location. Here, the hunter performs the events within this PSVC in a sequential manner but not at the same time.

- 14a. *ò-bòfóó* *nó* *wùrà-à* *kwáè* *nó* *mú*
 SG-hunter DEF enter-PST forest DEF inside
kò-twá-á *nsúó* *nó* *kò-ò* *nè* *ńkyí*
 go-cross river DEF go-PST POSS origin
 ‘The hunter entered the forest, crossed the river and went to where he came from.’
 (The entering event occurred before the crossing event and the crossing event also occurred before the going event).

It is also observed that whenever Route-denoting verbs like *twá* ‘cross’, *fá* ‘pass’ and others are followed by the Goal-anchored verb *wùrà* ‘enter’, they express a Sequential event. Sentence (14b) constitutes an event where the agent, cat first passed behind the house before entering the

sack bag. In this PSVC, the verb *fá* ‘pass’ introduces the argument *dàn* ‘building’ which expresses the route or trajectory of the Figure in motion and the last verb *wùrà* ‘enter’ also introduces an argument *bótó* ‘sack’ which is the goal of motion.

14b. Ìkrà nó fà-à dàn nó ákyí kó-wùrà-à
Cat DEF pass-PST building DEF back go-enter

bótó nó mú
building DEF inside

‘The cat passed the back of the house and entered into the sack’

(The passing event occurred before the entering event)

In Akan, the combination of two deictic verbs in a serial verb construction where one deictic verb directly follows the other expresses Sequential PSVC. This type of motion event expresses a going event followed by a coming event or a coming event followed by a going event. This can be seen (14c) where the first verb *kó* ‘go’ expresses the movement of the Figure *Dàbíásém* from the deictic center to the market and the last verb *bá* ‘come’ expresses the movement of the Figure from the market back to the deictic center. Such a combination cannot express a simultaneous event. It rather expresses separate trajectories or related multi-events.

14c. Dàbíásém á-kò dwám rè-bà fíé
Dabiasem PERF-go market PROG-come home

‘Dabiasem has gone to the market and she is coming back home.’

(‘Going’ event occurred before the ‘coming’ event)

It is observed that verbal elements in Sequential PSVCs are distinct and are used to code related multi-events. This means verbal elements cannot act as a complex predicate to express a single event as observed in Simultaneous PSVCs. This also implies that verbal elements in

Sequential PSVCs are loosely connected or less integrated. Therefore, Sequential PSVCs fall under Osam's (1994a; 2004) Cross Chaining SVCs in Akan. Composite events within this category have less syntactic and semantic integration. Less syntactic and semantic integration can be tested by modifying individual Path verbs with a temporal or spatial modifier. This is shown by the fact that loosely connected verbs are allowed to be separately modified by temporal phrases without affecting the potential of the sentence. As evidence, I modify the verbs within PSVC in (14c) repeated here as (14d) with temporal modifiers *ànpá* 'morning' and *ànwùmmére* 'evening'.

- 14d. Dàbíásém kòò dwám ànpá
Dabiasem go-PST market morning

bà-à fié ànwùmmére
come-PST home evening
'Dabiasem went to the market in the morning and came back home in the evening'

The less semantic integration of components may also be tested by inserting conjunctions between clauses to evaluate if the original meaning of the sentence will be interrupted. Because the verbal components within Sequential PSVCs in Akan are not tightly connected, adding a conjunction *ná* 'and' should be able to separate the structure into independent events without affecting the original interpretation or the order in which events occur in the real world. This can be seen from the acceptability of (14b) repeated here as (15a) and (14c) repeated here as (15b).

15a. Ìkrà nó fà-à dàn nó ákyí nà kó-wùrà-à
Cat DEF pass-PST building DEF back and go-enter

bótó nó mú
building DEF inside

‘The cat passed the back of the house and entered into the sack.’

15b. Dàbíásém á-kò dwám nà rè-bà fíé
Dabiasem PERF-go market and PROG-come home

‘Dabiasem has gone to the market and she is coming back home.’

3.3 The Place of Akan in Motion Event Typology: The case of PSVC

Several studies have challenged Talmy’s (2000) two-way typology to be problematic (Slobin 1996/1997, Ameka & Essegbey 2013). Talmy’s (2000) binary typology divides languages in the world into two main groups based on the lexicalization pattern of Path. According to Talmy (2000), satellite-framed languages express Path in satellite while verb-framed languages express Path in the verb root. As discussed in chapter 2, satellite-framed languages, express the category of Path in a non-verbal element and the Co-event of Manner or Cause is expressed with a verb. Verb-framed languages on the other hand express Path in the main verb and Manner or Cause in subordinate clause or constituent.

Again, Talmy (2009) proposed an expanded list of properties that the main verb is expected to have. The properties include being able to take inflection, being from an open class with rich semantics, should occur across different types of constructions, the difference in meaning when a verb occurs as a single verb and the second verb in an SVC (Talmy 2009: 391-392). After applying

these properties to polysynthetic constructions, coverb constructions and serial verb constructions he concluded that Path and Manner in such constructions show co-satellite or co-subordination status but not main verb status (Talmy 2009: 401).

It is clear from the discussions of PSVCs that, Akan, like many serializing languages, does not comfortably fit into existing language typologies (V-framed, S-framed and Equipollently-framed). Following the discussion of PSVCs above, Akan seems to share certain properties with both S-languages and V-languages yet these similarities alone cannot be the basis of the argument that Akan fits into these typologies. This is because Akan, like many Kwa languages has certain properties that are unique to only serializing languages. To mention a few, Akan PSVCs express the core component of motion with a verb whereas Satellite-framed languages express the core component of motion with a Satellite. V-languages on the other hand differentiate between Path focus and boundary focus types of Path but Akan does not make that distinction (Talmy 2000). In terms of Ground, it is observed that Akan PSVCs tend to express one Ground argument per verb, V-languages express the maximum of two Grounds per verb, and S-languages can express multiple Ground arguments per verb (Ameka & Essegbey 2013).

The expression of multiple Path verbs in Akan Serial Verb Constructions supports Ameka and Essegbey's (2013) argument that serializing languages seem to belong to a class of their own since they do not pattern with any of the existing typologies. Also, the strict order with which Path verbs are packaged in PSVCs in Akan supports Campbell's (2014) argument that there is a limitation on the types of verbs that occur in the first slot of a language where serial verbs are used to encode motion events.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter was devoted to investigating the syntactic and semantic classification of Serial Verb Constructions in Akan made up of multiple Path elements. First, the chapter discussed semantic and syntactic properties of Path verbs in Akan that express self-motion by the Figure. Akan Path verbs were categorized into Source-oriented, Goal-oriented, Change of orientation and Route denoting verbs. Goal-anchored Path verbs introduce the endpoint to be reached by the Figure in motion. Examples include; *wùrà* ‘enter’, *pùè* ‘exit’, *dúru* ‘reach’, *tí* ‘follow’, *sá* ‘chase’, *tó/hwé* ‘fall’, *bén* ‘be close’, *sí* ‘come down’, *hyià* ‘meet/come upon’, *píní* ‘draw near’. Source-anchored Path verb expresses the source of motion. The verb *fíri* ‘come from/leave’ is known to be the only Source-anchored Path in Akan. Route-denoting path verbs denote the route or trajectory of the Figure in motion. These verbs include *séné* ‘move along/pass by’, *fá* ‘pass’ and *sàné* ‘descend’. Change of orientation verbs depict change in direction followed by motion of the Figure. They include *sán* ‘return’, *mànè* ‘branch’ and *dàné* ‘turn’.

I discussed the semantics properties of Simultaneous and Sequential Path Serial Verb Constructions in Akan. It was observed that Simultaneous PSVCs combines Path elements simultaneously while Sequential PSVCs combine consecutive actions. I also showed that the two semantic categories have specific verbs and specific ways of packing Path elements to express motion events. I argued that when Goal-anchored verbs or verbs that denote Change in direction occur as the first verb in Simultaneous PSVCs they usually do not introduce any argument they occur as intransitive verbs. The chapter also pointed to the fact that verbs in Simultaneous PSVCs fall under Integrated SVCs and Sequential PSVCs fall under Cross Chained SVCs. Finally, I demonstrated that Akan PSVCs do not belong to any of the existing typologies, rather, they constitute a class of their own.

CHAPTER FOUR

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF VERBS IN AKAN SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

4.0 Introduction

Grammaticalization is a process of language change by which lexical items like nouns or verbs gradually turn into grammatical markers like prepositions, pronouns or auxiliaries (Bybee 2003:45). These grammatical items may continue to acquire more abstract functions like inflectional affixes. According to Heine and Reh (1984), grammaticalization is a reductive process that may cause lexical items to lose their content meaning, phonological substance as well syntactic freedom. An example of grammaticalization is the evolvement of the indefinite article *a(n)* in English and *un(e)* in French out of the numeral *one* (Norde 2019). An example of grammaticalization in Akan is the development of the future tense marker *bé* out of the motion verb *bá* ‘come’ and the development of the noun *hó* ‘self’ into a reflexive marker and postposition (Osam 2002). According to Hopper and Traugott (2003:7), these changes proceed along the ‘cline of grammaticality’ given in Figure (2) below. In this cline, each item becomes more grammatical when it shifts towards the right. This means each item on the right is less lexical and more grammatical than the one to its left (Hopper and Traugott 2003).

Figure 2: Grammaticalization Cline

Content Item > Grammatical Word > Clitic > Affix

(Hopper and Traugott 2003:7)

As many cross-linguistics studies have shown, verbs in serial verb constructions tend to acquire new grammatical functions (Lord 1993; Abunya 2018). This realization is rampant in many West African and some Asian languages. The main goal of this chapter is to describe the grammatical functions some Akan verbs acquire as they occur in SVCs. The chapter mainly focuses on the grammatical functions some motion verbs and transfer verbs acquire since both categories express the general movement of an entity or object from one location to another. They include deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’, transfer verb *dé* ‘take’ and the modal verb *tù mí* ‘be able’.

In order to address the second research question “what are the semantic compositions and meaning verbs acquire as they occur in Akan SVCs?”, each of the following sections begins by discussing the literal meaning of the verbs and later discusses the new meaning verbs acquire as they occur in the SVCs. First, I discuss the grammatical functions of the two deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ in Akan SVCs in section 4.1 followed by the grammatical functions of the transfer *dé* ‘take/hold’ in section 4.2. Section 4.3 describes the grammatical functions of the modal verb *tù mí* ‘be able’. The summary of this chapter is also provided in section 4.4.

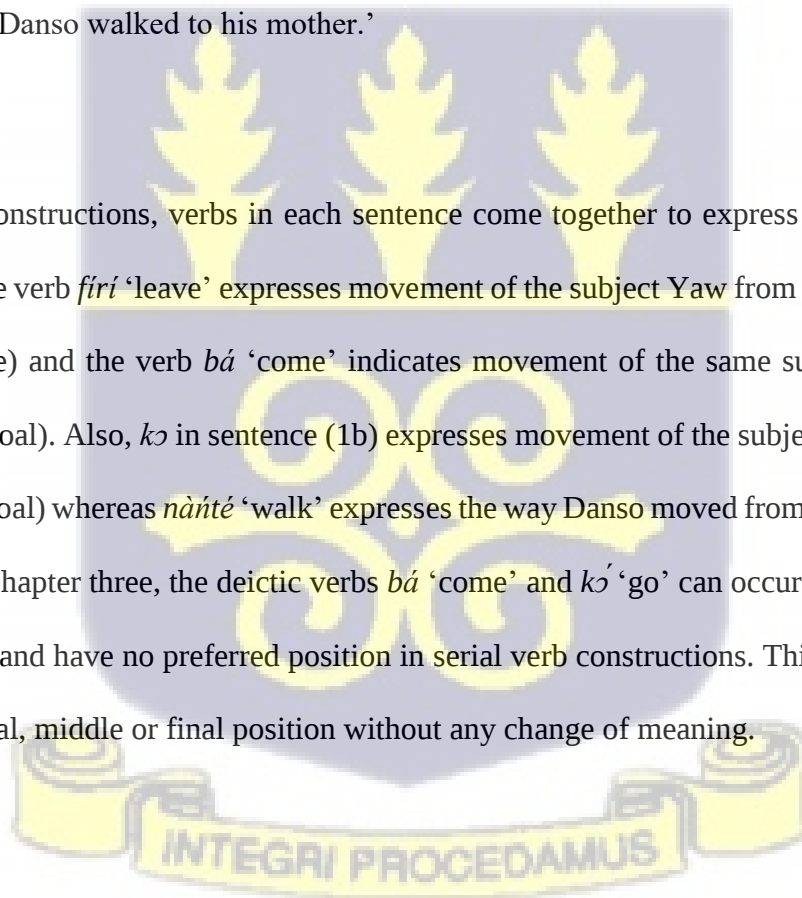
4.1 Grammaticalization of deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ in Akan SVCs

In Akan, the verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ are motion verbs that are used in various contexts primarily to express the physical movement of an object in space. As a simple predicate, *kó* denotes movement oriented towards a location situated away from the participants of the speech event and *bá* expresses movement toward the location of the speaker. As discussed in Chapter 3, both verbs express the goal of motion in their complements or locative phrases. Before we move to the

grammatical functions of these verbs and their relation with other verbs in SVCs, it is important to note that the presence of the verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ in SVCs do not always imply that they have acquired new grammatical functions. That is because they are full verbs. Consider the following examples of the verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ in serial verb constructions.

- 1a. Yàw firi dwám á-bà fié
 Yaw leave.PST market PRF-come home
 ‘Yaw has come home from the market.’
- 1b. Dànsó nànté kò-ò né mààmé hó
 Danso walk.PST go-PST POSS mother there
 ‘Danso walked to his mother.’

As serial verb constructions, verbs in each sentence come together to express a single event. In example (1a), the verb *firi* ‘leave’ expresses movement of the subject Yaw from the location *dwám* ‘market’ (Source) and the verb *bá* ‘come’ indicates movement of the same subject towards the deictic center (Goal). Also, *kɔ́* in sentence (1b) expresses movement of the subject *Danso* from the deictic center (Goal) whereas *nànté* ‘walk’ expresses the way Danso moved from the deictic center. As observed in chapter three, the deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kɔ́* ‘go’ can occur either transitively or intransitively and have no preferred position in serial verb constructions. This means, they can occur at the initial, middle or final position without any change of meaning.



4.1.1 Spatial Deixis

In a way parallel to the simple predicate, the grammaticalized form of the verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ function as Venitive and Andative directionals in SVCs denoting the orientation of a particular movement towards or away from the deictic center respectively. The verb *bá* ‘come’ as used in sentence (2a) functionally play the role as venitive directional indicating that the women’s action of buying *kènté* took place at the speaker’s current location. In the same way, the verb *kó* ‘go’ as used in (2b) functionally play the role as andative directional indicating that the men’s action of taking firewood happened at a location other than the deictic center. In Akan, both venitive and andative directionals occur as the initial verb in serial verb constructions describing the direction of the subsequent event can be seen in (2) above.

- 2a. *M̃-máá* *pìi* *bá* *há* *bè-tó* *kènté*
 PL-woman plenty come.HAB here come-buy.HAB kente
 ‘Plenty women come here to buy kente.’
- 2b. *M̃-màríma* *nó* *nyìnàà* *kó* *àfúó-rí*
 PL-man DEF all come.HAB farm-inside

 kò-fá *gyá*
 go-take firewood
 ‘All the men go to the farm to take firewood.’

4.1.2 Grammaticalization of *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ as markers of durativity

The deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ may be used not only with spatial significance but also with temporal significance. In contexts where the verb *bá* ‘come’ functions as venitive directional, the deictic center is broadly construed as a location but in its durative function, the deictic center is construed as time of utterance. It expresses the continuation of an event from an earlier time towards the time of speech or other reference time. Also, in the durative use of the verb *kó* ‘go’, the deictic center is construed as time in the past. That is a time before the utterance. This illustrates a situation where a spatial-venitive directional acquires the grammatical meaning expressing the notion of continuity as well as a time reference and a situation where the spatial-andative directional acquires the grammatical function of expressing time before utterance. This means temporal use of *bá* ‘come’ or *kó* ‘go’ involves an abstract motion. This shift in meaning metaphorically reflects the general metaphor ‘movement in time is movement in space’. By metaphorical extension, speakers conceptualize spatial dimension as a temporal dimension. This means speakers relate their experience with space or direction to the general concept of time. This also suggests that the notion of durativity is metaphorically derived from the inherent semantic substance in the spatial-venitive directional *bá* ‘come’ and the andative directional *kó* ‘go’. In the venitive case, an entity moves through space from one location to another location (deictic center) whereas in the durative use an event holds through a certain period of time to the time of speech act (deictic center). That is to say, the event ended at the time of utterance.

- 3a. Àdókòtá-fòò á-kò yàréé nó á-bà
 Doctor-PL PRF-fight disease DEF PRF-come
 á-bè-dúrù nnè
 PRF-come-reach today

‘Doctors have been fighting the disease till today.’

3b À-pààfóó nó dó firì ànòpá bá
PL-laborer DEF weed leave morning come

bè-pím.PST ànwùmméré
come-reach evening

‘The labourers weeded from morning till evening.’

3c. Dókòtá no kò-ò yàréé nó kó
Doctor DEF fight-PST disease DEF go

kò-sí-í né wú béré
come-reach-PST 3SG POSS die time

‘The doctor fought the disease till he died.’

The grammaticalized form of *bá* ‘come’ in sentence (3a) indicates that the doctors’ action of fighting the disease began in the past and has continued to the time of speech. In the same way, the grammaticalized form of *bá* ‘come’ in (3b) indicates that the labourers action of weeding began in the morning till evening which is likely the time of utterance. In contrast, the grammaticalized form of *kó* ‘go’ as in (3c) indicates that the doctor’s action of fighting the disease happened in the past and ended in the past even before the utterance was made by the speaker. The durative form of *bá* ‘come’ or *kó* ‘go’ occurs as an intransitive verb followed by certain verbs, including *dúrí*, *sí* or *pím* all of which are contextually interpreted as *until* or *up to*. This means, the durative interpretation is not only derived from the verb *bá* ‘come’ or *kó* ‘go’ but in instances where the deictic verbs are followed by the verb *dúrí*, *sí* or *pím*. These verbs are used in such context to indicate that a certain action continued till the present time. This grammaticalization of the venitive or andative directional involves the use of a serial verb construction in which *bá* ‘come’ or *kó* ‘go’

occurs as a non-initial verb. That is, a three-verb serialization such as (3a) where the first verb describes an event carried out by the agent, the second verb indicates the continuation of the event described by the first verb and the last verb indicates the extent of time through which the first event holds. As observed in Osam (1994a), any verb that follows the deictic verb *bá* ‘come’ or *kó* ‘go’ in Akan serial verb construction requires a corresponding motional prefix, otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical. This points to the reason why the deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ in (3a-b) and *kó* ‘go’ (3b) are both followed by verbs with motional prefixes *bè* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ attached to them respectively.

4.2 Grammaticalization of *de* ‘take, hold’ in Akan Serial Verb Constructions

In Akan, the verb *dé* which generally translates as ‘hold’ or ‘take’ is used in simple sentences primarily to express the act of taking up something, possessing something or owing something. In such contexts, the verb *dé* ‘take’ does not express physical action or movement by the entities involved. As a single predicate, the verb *dé* ‘take’ as used in (4a) indicates that the subject *ɔ́héné* ‘King’ is not under the control of anyone. Also, in (4b) the verb *de* ‘take’ indicates that the subject *ɔ́héné* ‘King’ owns something which is his name. Another instance can be seen in (4c) where the verb *de* ‘take’ indicates that the object *mmɔ́frá* ‘children’ experienced the subject *èkóm* ‘hunger’.

- 4a. *ɔ́héné* *nó* *dé* *nè* *hó*
 King DEF possess.PRS POSS self
 ‘The King possesses himself.’

- 4b. Ìhéné bíará dé Náná
 King every is.called Nana
 ‘Every king is called Nana.’

- 4c. Ékóm dé m-mòfrá nó
 Hunger take.PRS PL-child DEF
 ‘The children are hungry.’

The verb *dé* ‘take’ has been discussed in the literature on Akan verbs (Lord 1993; Osam 1994a&b; Christaller 1875). Lord (1993) treats the morpheme *dé* ‘take’ in Akan as a prepositional case marker which developed from the verb *dé* ‘take’. She states that its function as a case marker is observed in constructions with multiple verb phrases. The morpheme *dé* ‘take’ is used in Akan to mark the grammatical role of means, instrument, manner, accompaniment etc. For Lord (1993), *dé* ‘take’ has lost part of its semantic properties and syntactic properties. She points out that the defectiveness of *dé* ‘take’ is reflected in its morphology and distribution.

According to Osam (1994a), the morpheme *dé* ‘take’ is a defective verb that has lost some of its formal properties in Akan SVCs. He adds that even though the morpheme *dé* ‘take’ has lost most of the morphological and formal properties a verb is expected to have, it has not completely shifted from the verb category into a preposition. Osam (1994b) points to the fact that in Akan SVCs the verb *dé* ‘take’ can have a direct object that appears semantically as Manner, Instrument or Patient and still maintain its function as a verb and not as a prepositional marker as described by Lord (1993).

In this section, I discuss the grammatical functions that have evolved from the verb *dé* ‘take’ as a result of its occurrence in serial verb constructions. This discussion supports arguments

made in earlier studies that the verb *dé* ‘take’ is gradually being extended to perform some grammatical functions in Akan. The grammatical forms that have extended from the verb *dé* ‘take’ includes Durative, Manner, Connector, Instrument and Accompaniment. It is observed that the literal meaning of the verb *dé* ‘take’ can take both animate and inanimate objects but the grammatical form of the verb *dé* ‘take’ can only occur with an inanimate object.

4.2.1 Durative

The verb *dé* ‘take, hold’ in some contexts acquires a grammatical function as a Durative marker indicating the duration of an event. This form of the verb *dé* ‘take, hold’ usually occurs in serial verb constructions. In such contexts, the verb *dé* ‘take’ occurs as the first verb in a serial verb construction expressing the temporal duration or time in space the subsequent action (V2) occurred. In this case, the verb *dé* ‘take, hold’ takes a noun or a noun phrase that indicates the period of time as its direct object. This direct object may describe the beginning, end or period within which the subsequent event happened. This means, the direct object of the verb *dé* ‘take’ in this sense cannot be an animate object. This direct object is used metaphorically to perform the subsequent action. Consider sentence (5a).

- 5a. Àsráfòó nó dé m-fíé mmíènú kó
 Soldiers DEF take PL-year two fight
- gyè-è àsààsé nó
 take-PST land DEF
- ‘The soldiers used two years to fight for the land.’

The verb *dé* ‘take’ in (5a) expresses the fact that the subject *àsráfòó* engaged in a fight for two years before they were able to take their land from other people. Just like the literal meaning of

the verb *dé* ‘take’, this grammatical form of the verb metaphorically expresses the act of taking the object *mfié mmiénú* ‘two years’ to perform the act of fighting. This grammaticalized form of the verb *dé* ‘take’ cannot inflect for tense and aspect as can be seen with the original form of the verb *dé* ‘take’ as in (5b) but the grammaticalized form of the verb can be negated using the suppletive form *fá* ‘take’ as in (5c).

5b.*	Àsráfòó	nó	dé-é	m-fié	mmiénú	kó
	Soldiers	DEF	take-PST	PL-year	two	fight

gyé-é àsáàsé no.
Take-PST land DEF

‘The soldiers used two years to fight for their land.’

5c.	Àsráfòó	nó	á-ń-fá	m-fié	mmiénú
	Soldiers	DEF	PERF-NEG-take	PL-year	two

á-ń-kó á-ń-gyé àsáàsé no.
PERF-NEG-fight take-PST land DEF

‘The soldiers did not take two years to fight for their land.’

4.2.2 Manner

One extension of the verb *dé* ‘take’ is observed in its function of introducing the semantic role of Manner to its direct object. In such an SVC, the verb *de* ‘take’ occurs as the first verb introducing how the Agent performed the subsequent action. The verb *dé* ‘take’ in (6a) indicates that the subject *pàpá* ‘man’ performed the act of speaking in a sorrowful manner.

- 6a. Pàpá nó dé àwèrèhóó kàsá-è
 Man DEF MAN sorrow speak-PST
 ‘The man spoke in sorrow.’

In this context, the verb *dé* ‘take’ can only take a noun that describes a state of being as its direct object. From example (6a), it can be observed that the grammaticalized form of the verb *dé* ‘take’ occurs with the noun *àwèrèhóó* ‘sorrow’ indicating manner. In its use of introducing the manner of a particular action, the original meaning of the verb *dé* ‘take’ is bleached from the ‘act of taking’ to ‘describing the manner of an action’. This grammatical change affects the verbal properties of the verb *dé* ‘take’ which means this new grammatical form cannot inflect for tense and aspect without becoming ungrammatical as illustrated in (6b). This grammaticalized form can be negated using the suppletive form *fá* ‘take’ as can be seen in (6c).

- 6b. * Pàpá nó bé-dé àwèrèhóó kàsá-è
 Man DEF FUT-MAN sorrow speak-PST
 ‘The man will speak in sorrow.’
- 6c. Pàpá nó ò-fá àwèrèhóó ò-kàsá
 Man DEF NEG-MAN sorrow NEG-speak
 ‘The man will not speak in sorrow.’

4.2.3 Instrument/Accompaniment

In Akan serial verb constructions, the verb *dé* ‘take’ sometimes acquire the grammatical function of introducing an Instrument argument. This SVC has the verb *dé* ‘take’ in the first position (V1) introducing the object used by the agent in performing the following action (V2). As shown in

(7a), the verb *dé* ‘take’ indicates that the agent Kusi always uses the body part *ńsá* ‘hand’ to perform the act of eating.

- 7a. Kùsì dé né nsá dídì dá-bíará
 Kusi INST POSS hand eat day-every
 ‘Kusi always eat with his hand.’

This grammaticalized form of the verb strictly takes an inanimate object as its direct object. This means an instrument in this context cannot be an animate entity. In this context, the verb *dé* ‘take’ extends its meaning from ‘take’ to ‘use’. When the verbs *fá* ‘take’ and *dé* ‘take’ occur in a serial verb construction, the verb *fá* is interpreted as ‘take’ whereas *dé* is also interpreted as ‘use’ but when the verb *dé* is used alone, the ‘take’ interpretation is often implied. This would imply that; the agent first picked or took the instrument before using it to perform the following action. A clear instance where the verb *dé* ‘take’ can be interpreted as ‘use’ is given in (7b) where the first verb *fa* means to take and *de* being the second verb means ‘to use’. The verb *dé* ‘take’ in such a situation cannot have two interpretations as ‘take’ and ‘use’.

- 7b. Kùsì fá-à à-tèrré dé dídì-ì
 Kusi take-PST SG-spoon use eat-PST
 ‘Kusi took a spoon and used it to eat.’

4.3 Grammaticalization of *tù mí* ‘be able’ in Akan Serial Verb Constructions

In Akan, the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ is used to express the subject’s authority, power or strength over the object or to undertake an action with regards to the object. Action in this sense can be physical, mental or abstract. The verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ as used in (8a) expresses the power of the subject Akua

over the object *mààmé* ‘woman’. It can also be interpreted as Akua’s ability to undertake an action against her mother.

- 8a. Àkúá tùmí né mààmé
Akua be.able.PRS POSS mother
‘Akua can handle or deal with her mother.’

This verb is also used in Akan to express different categories of modality. In its use as a modal marker, some studies have argued that *tùmí* ‘be able’ is an auxiliary verb because it cannot occur as the main verb in a simple active clause (Pokuaa 2014; Sakyi 2019). They supported this claim with the notion that whenever *tùmí* ‘be able’ is used as a single verb in a clause such as (8b), then there is a supporting main verb (eg. *pàgyá* ‘take/carry’) which has been ellipsed. Other studies are also of the view that the fact that *tùmí* ‘be able’ can appear in a serial verb construction and inflect for tense and aspect means that it is an independent verb. This is because serial verb constructions do not make use of auxiliary verbs as seen in (8c).

- 8b. Mààmé nó tùmí né bá nó
Maame DEF be.able.PRS POSS child DEF
‘The woman is able to carry her child’ (carry her child is implied).
- 8c. Mààmé nó tùmí pàgyá ne bá nó
Maame DEF be.able.PRS carry POSS child DEF
‘The woman is able to lift her child.’

I contend that the fact that clauses with *tùmí* ‘be able’ as a single verb remain acceptable and meaningful to speakers of the language without needing any other verb to complete the meaning is enough to consider it an independent verb. *Tùmí* ‘be able’ as used in the SVC in (8c) expresses the characteristics or ability of the woman to carry her child. The succeeding sections

explore the various grammatical functions that have evolved from the literal meaning of the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ as a result of serialization.

4.3.1 Permissive

The literal meaning of the verb *tù mí* which translates as ‘be able’ is extended in serial verb constructions to express the act of seeking or giving permission. In the context where *tù mí* ‘be able’ is used in seeking permission, the subject seeks permission from an external force or entity. This is illustrated in (9a) where the subject *mé* ‘1SG’ is asking if he or she is allowed or permitted to ask a question. In the context where *tù mí* ‘be able’ is used in giving permission, the speaker grants permission to the subject to undertake the action expressed in the subsequent verb. As in sentence (9b), the speaker uses the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ to grant permission to ladies to leave a certain place (enclosed).

- 9a. *Mè-tù mí* *bìsá* *wó* *àsém?*
1SG.SUBJ-can ask 2SG.OBJ question
‘Can I ask you a question?’
- 9b. *Ì-máá* *nó* *nyínáá* *tù mí* *pùé*
3PL-woman DEF all can exit
‘All the women can go out/exit.’

Semantically, the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ as used in these instances indicates that the subject can undertake an action based on permission granted to him or her by an external entity. For example, in (9b), the subject *ìmáá* ‘women’ can exit a specific location because of the permission given to them by the speaker. This shows that the literal meaning of *tù mí* ‘be able’ reflects in its

permissive function and therefore can be concluded that the grammatical form gradually evolved from the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’.

4.3.2 Possibility

In certain contexts, the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ is used to express the possibility that an action has already happened or it is yet to happen. The use of *tù mí* ‘be able’ in this context indicates the speaker’s perception of a proposition under discussion. The use of *tù mí* ‘be able’ to express possibility is exemplified in (10a-b). In (10a), the speaker looking at the severity of the harmattan states that there is enough evidence to show that there is the possibility of famine. In (10b), the addressee asked the speaker when his father is likely to return home from his journey. The speaker then replied that his father could return home that evening. In these SVCs, *tù mí* ‘be able’ occurs as the first verb signifying the possibility of the action expressed in the subsequent verb to occur.

- 10a. *Èpé* *yí* *bé-tù mí* *dè* *èkóm* *á-bá*
 Harmattan DEM FUT-capable take famine PERF-come
 ‘This harmattan is capable of causing famine.’
- 10b. *Mé* *pàpá* *bé-tù mí* *á-bà* *fié* *ànwùmméré* *yí*
 1SG.SUBJ father FUT-can PRF-come home evening DEM
 ‘My father could (is likely to) come home this evening.’

Just like the permissive function, the semantics of the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ in these instances does not only indicate subject’s ability to undertake an action as the literal meaning of *tù mí* ‘be able’, it also indicates the speaker’s perception about whether or not an event can occur. Considering (10b), the speaker is of the view that his/her father is likely to come home even though he or she does not

state emphatically. Omitting the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ in any of these sentences gives you a different construction. One that is affirmative as in (10c).

- 10c. Mé pàpá bé-bà fié ànwùmméré yí
1SG father FUT-come home evening DEM
‘My father will come home this evening.’

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter aimed at exploring the evolvement of new grammatical meanings from some verbal categories in Akan through the process of grammaticalization. It was noted that these grammatical meanings or functions become evident when these verbs occur in serial verb constructions. The verbal categories discussed include deictic verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’, transfer verb *dé* ‘take’ and modal verb *tù mí* ‘be able/capable’. It was observed that individual verbs in a serial verb construction solely do not develop new grammatical functions but rather the propositional relation between verbs in SVCs results in grammaticalization. Interestingly, it was observed that though motion verbs *bá* ‘come’ and *kó* ‘go’ and the transfer verb *dé* ‘take’ express different forms of movement yet the two categories acquire temporal significance when they occur in SVC. Through the process of grammaticalization, some verbs lost their syntactic properties like inflection, changing from a transitive to an intransitive verb or vice versa. Other verbs also acquired new meaning by taking animate or inanimate entities as their object. It was observed that the new grammatical meanings of the verbs were related to the literal meaning of the verbs.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This thesis focused mainly on the behaviour of multiple Path verbs in Akan serial verb constructions. It adopted Talmy's (2000) lexicalization theory to show how motion is expressed in Akan and also supports previous argument that Akan, like other serializing languages, does not fit into any of Talmy's (2000) typologies, rather it constitutes a type of its own, serial verb framed language (Ameke & Essegbey 2013). The primary aim of this thesis was to answer the following research questions:

- i. What are the features that qualify a verb to be a member of a Path category?
- ii. What are the semantic compositions and meaning verbs acquire as they occur in Akan SVC.
- iii. What is the syntactic structure and function of each category of Path Serial Verb Constructions in Akan?

These questions have been addressed in the preceding chapters. This chapter presents the summary, conclusion and recommendation for further studies.

5.2 Summary of the Chapters

Chapter one discussed the general introduction of this thesis. This chapter outlined the background of the study by discussing the concept of serialization and how it derives its meaning from the lexical meaning of individual verbs, argument structure of verbs and also the structural meaning

or arrangement of verbs in the construction. It also pointed out that serial verb constructions have peculiar properties that contrast with that of bi-clausal constructions. The chapter provided information on Akan, its speakers, dialects and a brief overview of the aspects of its linguistic structure. In addition, the chapter laid out the problem statement, objective, research questions and the methodology for the study.

Chapter two focused on reviewing some relevant studies on Motion events. It discussed the concept of motion, its basic components and how motion events are classified. It focused on Path as one of the components of basic motion event and how it is expressed in different languages. It is observed that some languages express Path in verb roots whereas others express Path in satellites. This chapter also discussed previous studies on serial verb constructions in other languages. It discussed how serial verb constructions are categorized in different languages based on the meaning and structure of the construction. It also pointed out the general properties of serial verb constructions. The chapter also discussed the theoretical framework within which PSVCs were analyzed.

Chapter three discussed the behavior of multiple Path elements in Akan serial verb constructions. It started by looking at the syntax and semantics of Path verbs in Akan. It focused on Akan path verbs that express self-motion by the Figure. The discussions inferred that Akan Path verbs can be categorized into four different groups based on the meaning expressed by the arguments of the Path verb. The categories include goal-anchored Path verbs, source-anchored path verbs, route-denoting path verbs and path verbs that denote change of direction. The semantics of the Path verbs such as *bá* 'come' and *kó* 'go' showed that they are the only deictic verbs whose argument express the goal or endpoint of motion. That is to say, the only goal anchored path verbs in Akan that inherently express the deictic center as the endpoint of motion.

The semantics of other Path verbs such as *wùrà* ‘enter/go inside’, *pùè* ‘exit’, *dúrí* ‘reach’, *tí* ‘follow’, *sá* ‘chase’, *tó/hwé* ‘fall’, *bén* ‘be close’, *sí* ‘come down’, *hyà* ‘meet/come upon’, *píní* ‘draw near’ also showed that they express goal of motion. The goal of motion in this case is not the deictic center. Akan Path verbs that denote change of direction include *sán* ‘return’, *màné* ‘branch’ and *dàné* ‘turn’.

The discussion revealed that the verb *fíri* ‘come from/leave’ is a source-anchored Path verb whose Ground argument expresses the location where a particular motion starts from. The semantics of the verbs *séné* ‘move along/pass by’, *fá* ‘pass’ and *sàné* ‘descend’ indicated that they are Route-denoting path verbs. This means they introduce landmark or medium as their locative argument to signify the route of motion.

This chapter again pointed out two major types of Akan PSVCs – Simultaneous and Sequential PSVCs. It showed that Simultaneous PSVCs combine actions simultaneously whereas Sequential PSVCs combine actions in a sequential order. The chapter established that each category of PSVC in Akan consists of specific path verbs that are arranged in a specific order to express a type of motion event. It was observed that Simultaneous PSVCs in Akan usually have a Source-anchored path verb as the first verb followed by a Milestone/Route-denoting path verb which is also followed by a Goal-anchored path verb in that order. Other Simultaneous PSVCs in Akan have a Goal-anchored verb such as *pùè* ‘exit’ and *sí* ‘descend/go down’ followed by either a Source anchored verb or Change in direction verb followed by a Source-anchored verb. Verbs in Simultaneous PSVC can have the same aspect marking or different aspect marking but not the same progressive aspect. Sequential PSVCs on the other hand have a Goal-anchored verb followed by a Route denoting verb or another Goal anchored verb in that order. The discussion pointed to the fact that Akan has a way of packaging verbs to express a particular type of motion event.

Lastly, the study applied Talmy's (1985) and Slobin's (2004; 1997) typology to Akan PSVCs in this chapter and established that Akan is an Equipollently-framed language.

Chapter four focused on the grammatical function verbs acquire as they occur in serial verb constructions. This chapter concentrated on the deictic verbs *bá* 'come' and *kó* 'go', the transfer verb *dé* 'take' and the modal verb *tùmi* 'be able'. It established that the two deictic verbs *bá* 'come' and *kó* 'go' in some cases acquire the function as venitive and andative directionals in serial verb constructions respectively. Aside expressing direction, the discussion made it known that the two deictic verbs *bá* 'come' and *kó* 'go', in some contexts, express durativity. In such contexts, the verb *bá* 'come' expresses the continuation of an event from an earlier time towards the time of speech or other reference time whereas the verb *kó* 'go' expresses the continuation of an event which started from an earlier time and ended in the past even before the utterance was made by the speaker.

Again, the chapter discusses how the transfer verb *dé* 'take' based on context introduces the semantic role of manner, durative and instrument to its direct object in Akan serial verb constructions. As a durative marker, the verb *dé* 'take' expresses the temporal duration or time in space a particular event (V2) occurred. The durative *dé* 'take, hold' takes a noun or a noun phrase that indicates period of time as its direct object. It was also observed that this grammaticalized form of the verb *dé* 'take' cannot inflect for tense and aspect and can only be negated using the suppletive form *fá* 'take'. Another extension of the verb *dé* 'take' is observed in its function of introducing the semantic role of Manner, showing how an Agent performs a particular action. In this context, the verb *dé* 'take' can only take a noun that describes a state of being as its direct object. In contexts where the verb *dé* 'take' introduces the role of instrument, it generally takes an

inanimate object as its direct object. In such contexts, the verb *dé* ‘take’ extends its meaning from ‘take’ to ‘use’.

Lastly, the chapter revealed that the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ plays a permissive and possibility role in Akan serial verb constructions. In permissive constructions, the verb *tù mí* expresses the act of seeking or giving permission. Here, the subject seeks permission from an external force or entity or the speaker grants permission to the subject to undertake the action expressed in the subsequent verb. The findings also showed that the verb *tù mí* ‘be able’ is used in Akan to express the possibility that an action has already happened, or it is yet to happen. The use of *tù mí* ‘be able’ in this context indicates the speaker’s perception of a proposition under discussion.

5.3 Recommendations for Further Study

This study has been concerned with providing insight into the syntactic and semantic properties of Akan Path Serial Verb Constructions. It also focused on the behaviour of Akan Path verbs as they occur in and outside of serial verb constructions. However, there are aspects of Akan Path verbs that this study could not cover. Further studies on the Akan Path expressions could examine the behaviour of Path verbs in metaphorical expressions and their relation to other verbs in serial verb constructions.

5.4 Conclusion

This thesis is thus, one of the novel studies on motion expressions in Akan (Asante) analyzed from the syntactic and semantic point of view. Research on Path expression is very important since it helps in better understanding the concept of motion from a different perspective.

The findings in chapter three revealed that the two semantic categories have specific verbs and specific ways of packing Path elements to express motion events. Also, when Goal-anchored verbs or verbs that denote Change in direction occur as the first verb in Simultaneous PSVCs they usually do not introduce any argument they occur as intransitive verbs. The chapter revealed that verbs in Simultaneous PSVCs can have the same aspect marking or different aspect marking but not the same progressive aspect. Finally, I demonstrated that verbs in Akan PSVCs have equal status and therefore qualifies Akan to be classified as an Equipollently-framed language.

The findings in chapter four revealed that individual verbs in a serial verb construction solely do not develop a new grammatical function rather a propositional relation between verbs in SVC results in grammaticalization. The study also showed that through the process of grammaticalization some verbs like *dé* ‘take’ and the modal verb *tùmi* ‘be able’ lose certain syntactic properties like inflection, changing from a transitive to an intransitive verb or vice versa. Other verbs also acquired new meaning by taking animate or inanimate entities as their object. It was observed that the new grammatical meanings of the verbs were somehow related to the literal meaning of the verbs.

The findings above will help to uncover the behaviour of Akan in terms of motion expression. Generally, the findings of this study will help to better understand and preserve the Akan language.



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