Inherent complement verbs revisited: towards an understanding of argument structure in Ewe

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Inherent complements verbs revisited:
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PROEFSCHRIFT

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To Beatrice Awo Essegbey

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative
ARG	argument
AUX	auxiliary
BVC	bound verb complement
CO	canonical object
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DEF	definite
DO	direct object
ERG	ergative
ET	direct argument of the one-place construction
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
GB	Government and Binding
HAB	habitual
IC	inherent complement
ICV	inherent complement verb
IMP	imperative
INDEF	indefinite
INT	intensifier
INTER	interogative morpheme
INSTR	instrument
LINK	NP linker
lit	literally
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric pronoun
MOD	modal
N	noun
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
NPRES	non-present
OBJ	object
OVC	obligatory complement verb
PERF	Perfective

PL	plural
PO	primary object
POSS	possessive linker
PostP	postpositional phrase
POT	potential
PRED	predicate
PrepP	prepositional phrase
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROSP	prospective
PRT	particle
PST	past
QP	question particle
RED	reduplicated segment
REFL	reflexive
RG	Relational Grammar
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
SEM	semantics
SG	singular
SO	secondary object
SPECI	specific
SUBJ	subject
SUBJV	subjunctive
SVC	serial verb construction
SYN	syntax
TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood
TOP	topic
TP	terminal particle
UH	Unaccusativity Hypothesis
V	verb
WEUD	Webster's encyclopaedic unabridged dictionary of the English Language
*(X)	sentence is unacceptable without X
(*X)	sentence is unacceptable with X

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DEMYSTIFYING "INHERENT COMPLEMENT VERBS"

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A central issue in linguistics is the relation between form and meaning. In the area of the syntax-semantics interface, this involves an investigation into the extent to which syntactic behaviour is determined by semantics. The general question which I address in this study is how best to explore such a relation. One of the ways in which the relation has been explored in the literature is via the study of the influence of predicate meanings on the syntax of the predicates. A potential area of interest to this approach is the so-called class of inherent complement verbs (ICVs) in West African languages. These verbs are said to have no independent meaning or, in some cases, to be semantically empty (see below) and that they take their meaning from their inherent complements. They therefore provide a useful subject matter for the investigation of the nature of the syntax-semantics interface. Specifically, the question which I address is whether there is a distinct class of ICVs in Ewe and whether they are indeed devoid of meaning. I argue that ICVs do not constitute a class distinguishable from other complement taking verbs in the language. Furthermore I claim that there are no verbs without meaning in Ewe but that there is a situation in which the semantic labour of all sentences is distributed among elements of the construction, of which the verb is only one. I conclude that for a proper account of the relation between syntax and semantics, we need to look beyond the semantics of the predicates and include the semantics of the constructions in which they occur.

The ICV has been defined by Nwachukwu (1987) as a verb whose citation form is followed by a meaning-specifying complement. Intuitively, one can think of the Ewe word **fú** whose meaning is difficult to establish without an inherent complement (IC). An instance of the verb with an IC is provided in (1) below:

1. **Kofí** ***fú*** **du**
   Kofi ICV IC
   'Kofi ran.'

One piece of evidence which shows that the semantics of **fú** is difficult to determine comes from the fact that it does not receive a uniform gloss in

linguistic analyses: while some linguists give it a specific gloss each time it occurs with a different complement, others do not gloss it at all. For instance, Agbedor (1994) glosses the verb and complement in (1) as 'run' and 'race' respectively. Seddoh (1987), on the other hand, prefers not to provide any gloss for the verb. Instead, he glosses the complement **du** as 'running'. The problem with giving such specific glosses as 'run' for ***fú*** is that one is forced to provide separate glosses for it when it takes different complements. Consider the next two sentences:

2 a. **Kofí** ***fú*** **tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

b. **Kofí** ***fú*** **kɔ́** **Amí**
Kofi ICV fist Ami
'Kofi knocked Ami.'

In (2a), we interprete ***fú*** **tsi** as 'swim' because of the complement **tsi** 'water' while in (2b), ***fú*** **kɔ́** is interpreted as 'to knock' because of the complement, **kɔ́** 'fist'. We therefore have a situation where the same verb receives three apparently different glosses in three different occurrences. The obvious question that this gives rise to is whether it is the same ***fú*** that occurs in the three domains or whether each occurrence represents a different verbal lexeme.

In this study, I argue that verbs like ***fú*** have an invariant meaning in most of their occurrences and that specific glosses tend to conceal this fact and give rise to the erroneous claim that they are meaningless. I show that the phenomenon of verbs obligatorily taking complements extends beyond the small class of verbs which, although possessing meaning, can be said to be semantically under-determined. I conclude that when seen from the perspective of Ewe argument structure, one can safely say that there is no such thing as a distinct class of ICVs of the type defined by Nwachukwu.

ICVs are prevalent in the Kwa and Benue-Congo languages of West Africa. This is illustrated by the next three sentences below which are the equivalents of (1) in Fon, Akan and Ga:

3 a. **Kòfí** **dó** **wɛzùn** (Avolonto, 1995: ex. 14a) Fon
Kofi ICV race
'Kofi ran.'

b. **Kofí** **á-tu** **miriká** Akan
Kofi PERF-ICV race
'Kofi ran.'

c. **Kofí** **jo** **foe** Ga
Kofi ICV race
'Kofi ran.'

In all the three cases, the verbs are known to occur with other complements and yield what, from an English perspective, are different meanings. The phenomenon is not limited to West African languages, however. Davies (1981:244) cited in Frawley (1992) has example (4) below where 'swim' is represented with a verb and complement in Kobon, an Indo-Pacific language:

4. **nig** **pak** (Kobon)
water strike
'swim'

Frawley (1992:175) states that in this case the expression has a "compositional meaning derived from a form that means 'strike'". As I discuss below, this is not the position taken by all discussants of ICVs in the Kwa and Benue-Congo languages.

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate some claims that have been made concerning ICVs. I show that the claims are often conflicting and do not allow for the identification of a non-controversially distinct class of ICVs in Ewe. I argue that this is because, in the context of Ewe, there is really no such thing as a formally distinct class of ICVs. The chapter is divided into five sections. In Section 1.1, I discuss some claims that have been made about ICVs. I consider the basis of such claims and discuss the extent to which they are appropriate. I show in this section why it is not possible to identify a distinct class of verbs in Ewe based on the definition provided by Nwachukwu. In Section 1.2, I discuss briefly how a concatenative view of compositionality leads one to assume that some verbs are without meaning. Section 1.3 is a presentation of my theoretical assumptions. I introduce the concept of argument structure construction and explain how I intend to use it in my analysis. Section 1.4 discusses my methodological principles. In Section 1.5, I conclude the chapter with a summary of the main points and an overview of the thesis.

1.1 CLAIMS ABOUT THE ICV

This section takes a brief look at the claims that have been made concerning the so-called ICV. I begin with a consideration of the claim that ICVs are light verbs and then review some analyses that have been proposed for them.

1.1.1 ARE ICVS LIGHT VERBS?

The ICV has been compared to light verbs (cf. Ihionu 1992, Avolonto 1995). In this section, I consider the extent to which such a comparison can be said to be

justified. I argue that although similar to light verbs, the ICV is not the same as a light verb. This is because the term 'light verb' has a specialised meaning which does not apply to ICVs, a fact which needs to be stated clearly when comparisons are made between the two.

A light verb construction is one in which a verb's capability to assign a theta role (i.e. semantic role) is assumed by another constituent, be it a verb or a noun. A well-known example is the Japanese verb **suru** 'do' discussed by Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Miyagawa (1989) and Isoda (1991). The example provided below, in which the verb is realised as **sita**, is taken from Isoda (1991: ex 2b):

5.	**John**	**wa**	**Mary**	**to**	**MENKAI**	**o**	**si-ta**
		TOP		partner	meeting	ACC	do-PST

'John met Mary.'

In this sentence, the verb **si-ta** 'do-PST' takes as its complement **menkai** 'meeting' which has the object marker **o**. Despite the fact that **menkai** 'meeting' is the syntactic complement, it is the one which acts like the matrix predicate since it determines the number and type of constituents in the sentence. Thus, the subject of the sentence, **John**, is assigned the agentive role of a person who meets someone not by the main verb **si-ta** 'do-PST', but rather by the complement **menkai** 'meeting'.

Di Sciullo and Rosen (1990) discussing light verbs in Italian attribute two main properties to the complement NPs: first of all, they refer to events and, secondly, they possess verbal counterparts. Some of their examples are provided below:

6 a.	**fare**	**una**	**risata/dormita/corsa** (Di Sciullo and Rosen 1990 ex. 43a)
	'make	a	laugh/sleep/run'

b. **ridere/dormire/correre** (Di Sciullo and Rosen 1990 ex. 43b)
'laugh (v)/sleep (v)/run (v)' (JAE)

In (6a), the complements **risata** 'laugh', **dormita** 'sleep' and **corsa** 'run' encode events and are the elements which assign theta roles to the subject arguments of their respective sentences. Furthermore, as (6b) illustrates, they all have verbal counterparts. Considering these properties of light verbs, we can ask ourselves whether ICs also determine the number and type of theta roles assigned to the ICVs, whether they encode events, and or whether they possess verbal counterparts. In answer we could, considering sentence (1), claim that it is the complement **du** which determines an agentive theta role for the verb. In addition, to the extent that one is prepared to accept glosses like 'race' or 'running' for **du**, one could even claim that it encodes an event. What cannot

be claimed, however, is that it possesses a verbal counterpart. This is because, unlike the Italian examples given in (6), **du** cannot occur in any form as a verb.

The problem is not limited to the fact that **du** does not possess a verbal counterpart, however. No matter how tempting it is to assume that it is the complement which assigns agentive theta role to ***fú***, there is a problem with stating that as a general claim about ICVs. This is because, even for ***fú***, such a claim is difficult to sustain in the face of the other types of complements that the verb occurs with. For instance, it is not possible that **tsi** 'water' in (2a) determines the agentive properties of swim the way **du** might; 'water' by itself cannot assign any particular theta role. Furthermore, this complement neither expresses an event nor does it possess a verbal counterpart. These problems do not apply to ***fú*** alone; for most ICVs, it is possible to identify some complements that may be called eventive and others that are not. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the complements that are called eventive do not really determine a particular theta role for the subject arguments. Consider the sentences below:

7 a. **Kofi dze dɔ**
Kofi ICV illness
'Kofi became/is ill.'

b. **Kofi da dɔ ná Amí**
Kofi ICV illness for Ami
'Kofi healed Ami.'

c. **Kofi da kpé Amí**
Kofi ICV stone Ami
'Kofi stoned Ami.'

In (7a, b), an eventive nominal **dɔ** 'illness' occurs with two different ICVs. Although we are tempted, in (7a), to say that **dɔ** 'illness' is the constituent which determines the Theme role that is assigned to the subject argument, this claim becomes difficult to sustain once we consider (7b) where, even though we have the same complement, the subject argument has a different theta role.[1] Furthermore, (7c), like (2a), shows that the ICV does not even need to take an eventive complement.

Confronted with the above, we might, following Di Sciullo and Rosen (1990) who claim that light verbs have heavy counterparts, want to claim that ICVs have counterparts which are not ICVs. However, this is not the path that

[1]We cannot afford the luxury of objecting to this comparison on the grounds that the constructions are different since it will amount to stating that there is another factor aside from the complement that comes into play in determining thematic role assignment.

discussants of ICVs would like to tread. In fact, Nwachukwu's definition of ICVs as constituents which require meaning-specifying complements is meant to be an inherent lexical property of the verbs. Thus, they are expected to be always "light". In my opinion, ICVs, to the extent that one wants to acknowledge their existence, can only be compared to light verbs in the cases where the latter are considered to be semantically under-determined. In that sense, therefore, the comparison excludes verbs which are semantically heavy and yet are considered to be light because their thematic properties are projected by other constituents.

1.1.2 OVERVIEW OF APPROACH TO THE SYNTAX OF THE ICV + IC SEQUENCE

It will be observed that examples involving ICVs and their complements given above express concepts which are expressed by simple verbs on their own in Standard Average European languages (SAE à la Whorf). This has given rise to the debate as to whether the sequence of verb plus complement constitutes a single lexical item or whether it is made up of two independent categories. This subsection offers a brief overview of some syntactic analyses that have been proposed for ICVs and their complements. Two approaches have been adopted with regard to this issue: I refer to them as the "meaning-based" and "form-based" approaches. I show here that those who approach the sequence from a pre-determined semantic point of view invariably end up having their analyses coloured by this judgement. On the other hand, those who approach the sequence, first and foremost, from their distributional point of view, acknowledge that both verb and complement are independent phrasal categories. There is one notable exception in the case of the latter. I argue that this is because the criteria are not properly applied. A more detailed discussion of the syntax of ICVs is undertaken in Chapter 4.

1.1.2.1 MEANING-BASED APPROACH

By meaning-based approach, I refer to analyses in which the syntactic structure proposed for the verb and complement sequence is determined by their resultant interpretation. More often than not, one gets the impression that such analyses are influenced by the translational equivalent of the sequence in European languages. One such approach is proposed by Nwachukwu, whose position on the semantics of the sequence is provided below (1987:40):

> The root and nominal complement form a semantic unit, and any dictionary entry which excludes the complement lacks meaning.

Nwachukwu goes on to analyse the verb and its complement, with the exception of a few cases in which the latter can be assigned the traditional Patient/Theme role, as constituting a single lexical item. This position is most clearly articulated in an earlier paper where he writes (1985:64):

> Whereas DO, IO and PP are VP constituents [... Inherent Complements ...] *are constituents of the category verb in Igbo* (emphasis mine).

Nwachukwu does attempt to provide what he considers to be formal criteria in support of his position. These criteria are reviewed in Chapter 4. There, I show that they are driven by pre-determined meaning considerations and, therefore, do not constitute proper formal diagnostics.

Another person who adopts the meaning-based approach is Seddoh who considers ICVs in Ewe to be compound verbs, he writes (1987:4):

> As bound forms their full meanings become apparent only when they are combined with other morphemes which are always noun morphemes.

He adds that the "compound verbs look deceptively like some simple transitive verbs and a distinction needs to be made between the two" (1987:5). Thus Seddoh, like Nwachukwu, seeks to make a distinction between ICV + IC sequences and what he refers to as simple transitive verbs based on the meanings that the former express.

1.1.2.2 FORM-BASED APPROACH

Other linguists have sought to provide an analysis of the sequence based on the syntactic behaviour of the constituents. Among the proponents are Ameka (1994a, b), Kinyalolo (1991), cited in Avolonto (1995), Ihionu (1992) and Manfredi (1991). These people consider the verb and IC to belong to separate and independent phrasal categories, due to their formal properties.

One person who arrives at a different conclusion using the form-based approach is Avolonto (1995). He claims that ICVs in Fon and their complements should be distinguished from canonical transitive clauses because the complements of the latter can be modified and pronominalised while ICs cannot. The Fon examples below from Avolonto show the inability of the IC to undergo pronominalisation:

8 a. **Kofí dó wɛzùn** (1995: ex. 14a) Fon
Kofi dó course
'Koffi a couru.'
'Kofi ran.'

b. ***Kofi dó è** (1995: ex. 14b) Fon
Kofi dó cl

It is, at first sight, intriguing that Avolonto should apply the same form-based approach as the others cited above and yet arrive at the same conclusion as proponents of the meaning-based approach. One is tempted to conclude that the ICV phenomenon in Fon is different from that discussed in other languages. A closer look at Avolonto's discussion, however, shows that some of the examples which he employs to test his diagnostics are problematic. For instance, to prove that the IC cannot be modified, he provides the sentence below where **ajo** 'theft' cannot be modified by **daxo** 'big'.

9 a. **Kòfí jɛ àjò** Fon
Kofi ICV theft
"Koffi a volé."
'Kofi stole.'

b. ***Kòfí jɛ àjò dàxó** Fon
Kofi ICV theft big
"Koffi a fait un grand vol."
'Kofi committed a huge robbery.'

Actually, the unacceptability of (9b) does not mean that the IC cannot be modified at all. All it means is that the word does not collocate with **daxo** 'big'. Consider the Fon sentence below, elicited from Enoch Aboh, in which it is modified by an adjective and determiner:

10. **Kòfí jɛ àjò bàɖàbàɖà ɖé** Fon
Kofi ICV theft bad SPECI
'Kofi committed a bad theft.'

In fact there is enough evidence to show that complements of ICVs can be modified.[2] Consider the sentences below from Ewe which were elicited with Attipoe pictures:[3]

11a. **É-le tsi *f*oɖi *fú-mí***
3SG-PRES water dirty ICV-PROG
'S/he is swimming in a dirty body of water.'

---

[2]I am indebted to Evershed Amuzu (personal communication) for making me realise that complements of ICVs in Ewe can be modified. Like many people, I used to assume they could not.

[3]For an explanation of what Attipoe Pictures are, see Section 1.4 below.

b. **É-le** **atsíáfu** ***fú-mí***
3SG-PRES sea ICV-PROG
'S/he is swimming in the sea.'

In (11a), the complement **tsi** 'water' is modified by the adjective ***fọ̀ji*** 'dirty' while in (11b), the whole noun phrase is replaced with a specific body of water. In Chapter 4, I present further evidence to show that the ICV and IC are separate phrasal constituents and draw attention to the fact that Nwachukwu makes the same observation concerning ICs in Igbo as well.

Although Manfredi (1991) also adopts a form-based approach, he goes on to analyse some ICs as lexical constants. These, according to Hale and Keyser (1986), are syntactically inert constituents which reduce the valency of a verb. One consequence of this is that Manfredi sometimes posits different analyses for the same expression. Consider the sentence below from Manfredi:

12. **Aje wo {ASO/aso} fun Olu** (1991: ex140b) Igbo
'Aje wore an outfit for Olu' or 'Aje dressed Olu.'

The translation shows that the sentence has two possible interpretations: the one involves dressing oneself for the benefit of another person while the other involves dressing the other person. Manfredi therefore analyses the expression **wo aso** as ambiguous between 'getting dressed' and 'dressing someone', an ambiguity which he represents in the syntax. In Chapter 6, I argue that the Ewe equivalent of the above sentence is best analysed as vague between the situation in which a person puts an item of clothing on him/herself and another in which s/he puts the clothing on someone else. I argue that such an analysis enables us to avoid positing predictable polysemies.

1.1.3 ICVS AND THEIR MEANING

Nwachukwu's definition of ICVs which I provided at the beginning of the chapter is a semantic one. In this section, I review some of the claims that have been made concerning the semantics of ICVs with regard to Ewe. I show that it is difficult to identify a distinct class of ICVs based on these claims because the class is non-existent. I propose a new class of verbs in Ewe which I refer to as the obligatory complement verb (OCV).

At one end of the debate on the semantics of ICVs are those like Ameka (1994a, b), Essegbey (1994b, 1998), Saethero and Hellan (1996) who argue that ICVs do possess meaning and that this meaning is usually the same in most, if not all, occurrences of the verbs. At the opposite end of the debate are others like Seddoh (1987:8) who prefer to consider the ICV to be an "idiomatic verb [which] can assume any semantic property depending on the environment it finds itself". Since the ICV phenomenon is so widespread, calling it an idiomatic

verb is tantamount to saying that a huge chunk of the lexicon is composed of idiomatic verbs, a claim which Clements (1972:205) does indeed make for Ewe:

> A large part, perhaps a majority of lexical entries are to some extent idiomatic in that the total expression is not entirely motivated semantically by its parts.

The standard claim regarding the semantics of ICVs is that made by Ihionu (1992:168):

> In most cases, the lexical head appears to be semantically empty, making the nominal an obligatory element in the meaning of the verb.

Finally, there are also those like Avolonto (1995) who claim that ICVs are simply verbalisers and that any semantic content of the sequence is provided by their complement.[4] Thus, for such analysts, the complement is not simply a meaning specifier (à la Nwachukwu) but rather a "meaning supplier". Avolonto does consider the two sentences below which are counter-examples to his claim because they have the same complement but different verbs (this is not what is expected if the complements are the sole determinants of meaning):

13a. **Kɔ̀kú ɖì xɛsí (nú avun ɔ́)** (1995: ex. 6a) Fon
Kokou ɖi peur pour le chien
"Kokkou a eu peur (du chien)."
'Kokou feared the dog.' (JAE)

b. **Kɔ̀kú dó xɛsí *(avun ɔ́)** (1995: ex. 6b) Fon
Kokou dó peur (chien le)
"Kokkou a effrayé le chien."
'Kokou frightened the dog.' (JAE)

While acknowledging that **ɖì** and **dó** make some contribution to determining the difference in the two sentences, Avolonto adds (1995:75):

> Cependant, il existe une difference avec les cas ordinaires de composition. Dans le cas des VOI en effet, il est si difficil de quantifier l'apport sémantique de l'élément verbal que l'éssentiel de l'interprétation du VOI semble toujours être déterminée par l'élément nominal.
> However, there is a difference with normal cases of compositionality. In the case of ICVs, it is so difficult to quantify the semantic contribution of the verb such that the semantics of the ICVs seems to be essentially determined by the nominal (JAE).

[4]Another person who adopts this position is Boadi (1994).

Thus, instances in which ICVs contribute some meaning represent borderline cases for Avolonto.

It can be seen from the above discussion that opinions are not convergent on whether the verb possesses a semantic content which it contributes to the interpretation of the sequence or not. Moreover, every attempt to comment on the semantics of the verbs always has such caveats as "most of", "in most cases", "essentially", etc. I argue that this lack of consensus is not accidental but rather due to the fact that the proponents are trying to carve out a distinct class from what is actually a continuum. I begin by showing that it is difficult in some cases to agree on the constituent which determines the meaning of the sequence. Consider the sentences below:

14a. **Kofi** **ɖú** **ɣe**
Kofi dance dance
'Kofi danced.'

b. **Kofi** **ɖú** **(*ɣe)** **agbadzá**
Kofi dance dance agbadza
'Kofi danced agbadza (a traditional dance of the southern Ewe people).'

Although the verb and complement in (14a) are different, the appropriate English glosses for both of them, as provided above, is 'dance'. The question one would want to ask here is whether **ɖú** *really* means 'to dance' or whether this meaning is determined by the complement. As (14b) illustrates, the verb does not require **ɣe** 'dance' when there is another complement referring to a specific type of dance. It is therefore possible to claim that the verb itself expresses a dancing activity while the complement refers to the outcome of the activity. In that sense, **ɖú** can be likened to Dowty's (1979) performance verb and, therefore, said to be meaningful. However, others might prefer to claim that it is the complement which determines the meaning of the sequence, especially since **agbadza** in (14b) refers to a type of dance and can, therefore, be said to be a hyponym of **ɣe** 'dance'.

The situation is complicated by the following type of sentences:

15a. **Kofi** **fi** ***(fi)**
Kofi steal steal
'Kofi stole.'

b. **Kofi** **fi** **agbalẽ**
Kofi steal book
'Kofi stole a book.'

In (15a), the verb **fi** 'steal' is followed by an obligatory complement which is a morphological cognate. As with **ɖú ɣe** 'dance a dance', we want to ask whether it is the verb which determines the meaning of the clause or whether it is the complement. Proponents of the semantically-empty-verb approach (Avolonto 1995) claim in this case that it is the complement which is the real determinant of the meaning of the sequence and that its semantics is incorporated into the verb. However, (15b) shows that such a claim is tenuous because in this case where we only have the stolen item occurring as a complement, we are forced to postulate a deletion of the original meaning-assigning nominal. Note that unlike **agbadzá** in (14b) which refers to a type of dancing activity and is, therefore, a hyponym of the inherent complement, **agbalē** 'book' does not refer to a type of stealing activity. It is therefore not a hyponym of **fi** 'steal'. An alternative account for cognate objects which I pursue in this dissertation is that it is the verb which determines the meaning of the sequence and that its form is obligatorily copied to satisfy a requirement that the verb takes a complement. We are therefore left to look for other reasons than the emptiness of verbal meaning to account for the obligatory complements.

Unlike verbs like **ɖú** and **fi** where we hesitate between the choice of verb and complement as meaning determinant, there are others which are clearly the meaning determinants and yet, have to take complements. Some are provided below:

16a. **Kofí tú tá**
Kofi spit spittle
'Kofi spat.'

b. **Kofí tú kpékúí-a**
Kofi spit pebble-DEF
'Kofi spat out the pebble.'

17a. **Kofí ɖɔ aɖuɖɔ**
Kofi urinate urine
'Kofi urinated.'

b. **Kofí ɖɔ ʋu**
Kofi urinate blood
'Kofi urinated blood.'

Tú 'spit' in combination with **tá** 'spittle' in (16a) refers to the act of spitting something out of the mouth. Yet, we would not want to attribute the meaning of the sequence to the complement. This is all the more so since, as (16b) shows, anything that is spat out of the mouth can occur as the complement of **tú** 'spit'.

It should be noted, however, that while we want to claim here that the verb itself is fully meaningful, we still have to recognise the fact that the complement does specify the way and manner in which the spitting is done (that is to say, the way and manner in which spittle is spat out of the mouth is different from the way a pebble is spat out).[5] This is not the case in (17a) where **ɖɔ** 'urinate', for the most part, takes **aɖuɖɔ** 'urine'. The verb alone refers to the act of urinating and, even in cases like (17b) where it takes a different complement, the latter only refers to another type of liquid that comes out during the process of urinating.

From the foregoing discussion, we realise that even though we may want to put **ɖú** 'dance' and **fi** 'steal' in the same category because they both take cognate complements, semantic for the former and morphological for the latter, they differ in one important detail: the other complements which **fi** 'steal' occurs with are not hyponyms of the obligatory complement. Next, even though **tú** 'spit' is similar to **fi** 'steal' in that its complements do not necessarily refer to the result of the act, they differ in that the complements of **tú** 'spit' do specify the manner in which the spitting is done. Finally, **ɖɔ** 'urinate' is fully meaningful by itself and its obligatory complement refers to the entity that comes out in the process of the event represented by the verb. This does not really change when the verb takes a different complement. Between these verbs and several others, it is difficult to tell where the verb alone stops determining the meaning of the sequence and the complement steps in.

While all the complements in the above sentences can be said to be specific, the meaning of some obligatory complements is not specific at all. Consider the sentences below:

18a. **Kofi ɖu *(nú)**
Kofi eat thing
'Kofi ate.'

b. **Kofi wu *(ame)**
Kofi kill person
'Kofi killed someone.'

We could say that **ɖu** in the above sentence means 'to eat'. Yet, it cannot occur by itself. Instead, it has to occur with an obligatory complement which, in this case, simply means 'thing' and is thus indeterminate.[6] In the same way, **wu** 'kill'

[5]In Atsugewi, a Hokan language of northern California, the two states of affairs are expressed with different verbs (cf. Talmy 1985).

[6]Cheng and Sybesma (1998) report a similar case in Chinese where the verb **chi** 'eat' has to take **fan** 'rice' as its obligatory complement. Even though that complement appears

in (18b) takes a complement which simply expresses the fact that the entity killed is human.

The above discussion does not mean that every verb in Ewe has to occur with a complement. Some can occur with or without a complement while others can only occur without it. This is illustrated below:

19a. **Kofi gba atukpá**
Kofi break bottle
'Kofi has broken a bottle.'

b. **Atukpá lá gba**
bottle DEF become_broken
'The bottle is broken.'

20a. ***Kofi bí mɔ́lu-a**
Kofi become_cooked rice-DEF
'Kofi cooked the rice.'

b. **Mɔ́lu-a bí**
rice-DEF become_cooked
'The rice is cooked.'

These sentences show that **gba** 'break' can occur with or without a complement but **bí** 'become cooked' can only occur without a complement.

What this shows is that there is a class of verbs which are formally similar in that they cannot occur without complements. On the semantic side, however, these verbs and their complements form two clines with one relating to verb specificity and the other relating to complement specificity. The less specific verbs occur with the more specific complements while the more specific verbs occur with less specific complements. This is presented in Fig. 1 below:

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to be specific, Cheng and Sybesma note that it is used in a generic manner to refer to things which are not rice. It is therefore indeterminate like **nú**.

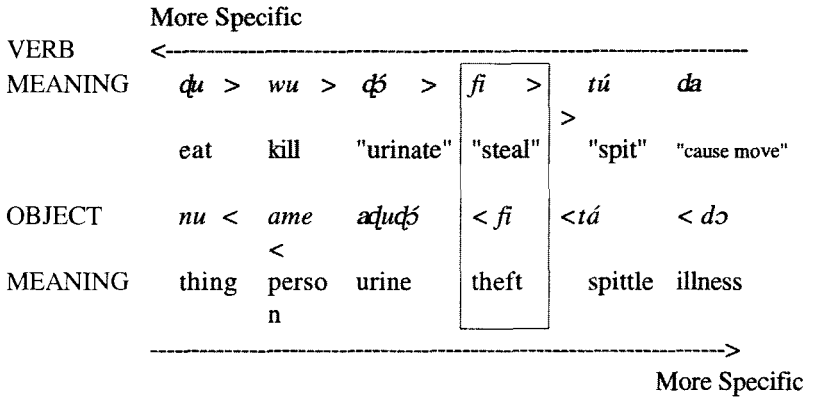

FIG. 1 SPECIFICITY CLINES

At the extreme left of Fig. 1 are verbs whose semantics can be said to be specific in relation to their complements whose semantics is relatively general. Henceforth, I refer to the complements **nú** 'thing' and **ame** 'person' as "generic complements". On the extreme right, we have verbs whose semantics are less determinate in relation to that of the complements they occur with. In the middle of the cline are verbs and complements with cognate meaning. Confronted with such a cline, the big question is where do we draw the line to separate ICVs from non-ICVs? We might want to state that verbs which do not occur with the generic complements provided at the left end of the cline are ICVs. This will be problematic however since, as has been shown, verbs like **tú** 'spit' and **ɖɔ́** 'urinate' which are meaningful do not occur with these complements either. As I observed above, even though we can say that the complements of **tú** 'spit' specify the meaning of the verb by providing the manner in which a thing is spat out, the same cannot be said for complements of **ɖɔ́** 'urinate'.

What the discussion suggests is that we cannot use meaning specification by complements as a criterion to identify a distinct class of verbs in Ewe. Instead, we have to recognise that there is a class of verbs in the language which cannot occur without a complement. For the purposes of this dissertation, I refer to these verbs as obligatory complement verbs (OCVs). These verbs take obligatory complements for reasons other than specification of meaning. In some cases, the meanings of the verbs are indeed under-determined and their complements further specify these meanings. But these cases are not clear cut and, as I show in Chapter 6, even verbs which are traditionally considered to be fully meaningful like **wu** 'kill' can have their meaning further specified by some complements, and verbs which are said to be semantically empty do contribute more to the meaning of the combination than previously thought.

1.2 ON COMPOSITIONALITY AND CO-COMPOSITIONALITY

The various claims that have been made about the semantics of ICVs are partly due to the theoretical leanings of the proponents, especially to their conception of the notion of compositionality. This requires that the meaning of an expression be a function of the meaning of its parts and their manner of combination. Recall Clement's (1972) claim, cited above, that the total expression is not entirely motivated semantically by its parts. Nwachukwu (1985:64) also writes:

> The meaning of the verb+nominal compound, moreover, is not compositionally predictable from the individual meanings of the constituents. But this does not imply that significant semantic generalisations are absent from these data.

There are a number of ways in which compositionality can be construed and Wilkins (ms) notes that there is no assumption that determining the meaning of an expression compositionally "is merely a compositional process that simply takes the meanings of the component parts and adds them together". A similar observation is made by Ross (1981:1) who writes:

> A systematic study of some words refutes the assumptions that sentence meanings are the syncategorematic 'sum' of independent word/morpheme meanings (like a wall assembled out of varied stones) and that an ideal dictionary would have an entry for every meaning in the language.

It has been noted by Pustejovsky (1995) that this concatenative view of compositionality stems from the way categories in the lexicon have been traditionally construed. He writes (1995:1):

> The traditional view has been that words behave as either active functors or passive arguments. But [...] if we change the way in which categories denote, then the form of compositionality itself changes.

Pustejovsky therefore proposes a new construal in which complements will also be perceived to play active roles in the interpretation of clauses. For instance, many of the distinctions that have been established for verbs have actually been due to a rejection of the contribution made by the semantics of their arguments. Consider the examples below from Ruhl:

21 a. The thief took the jewels. (1989:6, ex. 10)
b. The thief took his own jewels. (1989:6, ex. 11)
c. The chief took the jewels. (1989:6, ex. 15)

It will be observed that the most likely interpretation for (21a) is that the thief stole the jewels. This interpretation, which is a default one, is due to the semantics of 'thief'. Thus, according to Ruhl (1989:6) we are, given the lexical-syntactic contribution of this sentence, inferring the most appropriate (likely, typical, plausible, contextually relevant) situation. The sentence does not entail that the thief stole the jewels, however. This is clearer in (21b) where the possessive pronoun removes the likelihood of theft taking place. Note that 'take' is even less likely to be interpreted as 'steal' in (21c) because chiefs do not usually steal jewels (in any case, they are not expected to). We therefore have instances in which the arguments that a verb occurs with can render more specific meanings than the verb itself expresses. Thus, while a dictionary might include 'to steal' as part of the definition of 'take' based on such sentences as (21a), this meaning is not entailed by the verb.

Pustejovsky discusses the supposed polysemy of the word 'bake'. His examples are provided below (1995:122, ex. 45):

22a. John baked the potato.
b. John baked the cake.

In (22a), 'bake' has a change of state interpretation because the state of affairs begins with a potato and ends with a potato, albeit in a different state. In (22b), on the other hand, the state of affairs does not begin with cake. Instead, it starts with some other ingredients and ends up as a cake. We therefore have a creative sense. One might therefore want to claim that 'bake' has two senses. Pustejovsky argues, however, that such a claim will not be taking the semantics of 'cake' into consideration. Essentially, the semantics of 'cake' and terms referring to like entities include the information that they are brought about by the activity of baking. Pustejovsky therefore argues that 'bake' has only one sense and "any other readings are derived by generative mechanisms in composition with its arguments". These generative mechanisms, which he refers to as co-composition, include the governing verb applying to its complement and the latter co-specifying the verb.

In my discussion, I assume that the semantics of arguments play a crucial role in the interpretation of sentences. However, as I point out in the next section, there are other factors which influence the interpretation that we give a sentence. Once these factors are taken into consideration, we will not need to claim that some verbs lack meaning in order to explain why they have to occur with complements. Instead, we will be able to look at the broader issue of some verbs, from specific to general, obligatorily taking complements.

1.3 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

For the purposes of this dissertation, I assume the monosemy bias of Ruhl (1989:4) which is provided below:

> First Hypothesis: A word has a single meaning
> Second Hypothesis: If a word has more than one meaning its meanings are related by general rules.

As a natural consequence of this, I assume, following Wilkins and Hill (1995) that there are two levels of semantics, the first of which is concerned with "stored communicable information associated with conventional signs" and the second of which is concerned with "the information derived online as the final interpretation of utterances (and their parts) in particular contexts". The former is more representative of the invariant meanings of lexical items while the latter accounts for the particular interpretations that derive in part from contextual factors. One type of meaning that I will be particularly concerned with is default meaning. This is a semantics 2 interpretation which uses a general or standard context (given other items in the utterance) to derive an understanding of what might be intended by an utterance. An example is the interpretation given the word **da** in sentence (23) below:

23. **Kofí da kpé xeví-a**
Kofi ICV stone bird
'Kofi hit the bird with a stone.'

The free translation provided for (23) is simply intended to capture the fact that when uttered alone, this sentence is taken to mean that the bird has been hit. One might therefore want to gloss **da** as 'hit'. This interpretation is a default one, however, because it is defeasible, as the next sentence illustrates:

24. **Kofí da kpe xeví-a gaké mé-lɔ́-e o**
Kofi ICV stone bird-DEF but NEG-hit-3SG NEG
'Kofi threw a stone at the bird but it (the stone) did not hit it.'

(24) provides clear evidence that the phrase **da kpé X** does not entail *hit* X with a stone. Following Levinson (1995, 1999), I assume that default interpretations are due to a general conversational implicature and, as such, are not entailed (although, occasionally, they get lexicalised).

Another assumption I make is that constructions have meanings (Goldberg 1995, Wierzbicka 1988, Wilkins in press, *inter alia*). Much of the discussion draws on Goldberg's (1995:3) proposal that argument structure constitutes "a special subclass of constructions that provides the basic means of clausal expression in a language". I assume that the skeletal structures of Ewe basic

sentences possess meaning independent of the verbs which occur in them. Verbs whose meanings conflict with those of the constructions are prevented from occurring in them while those with compatible meaning either take additional meaning components when they enter into the constructions or simply fit into them without any additional meaning. The basic sentences that I am concerned with are single verb clauses in which the verbs occur with core arguments. I therefore refer to the construction as an Argument Structure Construction (ASC) and define it as:

> An A[rgument] S[tructure] C[onstruction] is an n-place construction iff the ASC contains a lexical verb and n-referring expressions <NP/PostP^{1}..... NP/PostP^{n}> which function as core syntactic arguments.

The criteria for identifying core arguments are discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Suffice it to say here that I identify four types of ASCs. These are the one-place construction which is a simple sentence with only one core argument, the causal and non-causal two-place constructions, both of which have two core arguments, and the three-place construction which is a simple sentence with three core arguments. It is clear from the number of the constructions given that I do not distinguish them simply according to the number of core arguments that they occur with. This is because both the causal two-place construction and non-causal two-place construction have two core arguments. The nature of the argument (referred to as construction role) is what distinguishes the two constructions.

In all, I identify four general construction roles which I refer to as ET (Effector/Theme), Causer, Theme and Location. ET represents the single argument of a one-place construction. Causer is the first argument of a causal two-place construction as well as the three-place construction, while Theme is the first argument of a non-causal two-place construction and the second argument of a three-place construction. It can also occur as the second argument of a causal two-place construction. Location is the second argument of the non-causal two-place construction as well as the third argument of the three-place construction. It can also occur as the second argument of a causal two-place construction. I assume that these roles are linked to direct grammatical relations of subject, object 1 and object 2. In Goldberg's terminology, the grammatical relations are said to be profiled by the constructions. I now discuss briefly how verbs with their participants "enter into" the various constructions.

As I have already indicated, the four roles identified above are general construction-level roles. Specific and compatible arguments of the various verbs (referred to here as participants) which occur in the individual constructions are

linked to these roles. Single participants of verbs which have properties of an Effector (i.e. a participant "which does some action and which is unmarked for volition and control" (Van Valin 1993:40)) or Theme are linked to the role ET. Participants which are linked to the role of Theme include those specified in the definitions of Gruber (1976), Jackendoff (1976), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), *inter alia*: among these are participants whose location is specified or which make contact. They also include participants which undergo a change of state or location. Finally, the role Theme is linked to participants which are expressed by a cognate object. I assume that they are entities which are "effected" as a result of the action expressed by the verb (hence a type of incremental theme à la Dowty 1991). The role of the Causer is also linked to participants which have properties of an Effector. Unlike the role ET, this linking occurs when the Effector is engaged in an autonomous state of affairs (cf. Chapters 3 and 4) or when it brings about a change in the state or location of another participant. The final construction role, Location, like the role Theme, is linked to a rather wide range of participants. To begin with, I follow the authors cited above in linking it to participants in terms of which a location is specified. In addition, I assign it to participants with which contact is made. The latter type of participants, in Gruber's analysis, are goals. As Gruber (1976:72) notes, however, there appears to be some identification between the expression of Goal and Location. I consider them to be similar enough to assign the same role to them. Finally, in line with Van Valin (1993), I assign the Location role to recipients. I assume that it is participants which are profiled by a verb which are linked to the construction roles. A participant is said to be profiled by a verb when it occurs in the minimal semantic representation of the verb. For instance, I consider the verb **ŋé** 'become broken' in Ewe to profile only one participant, i.e. the thing which becomes broken. This is because its minimal semantic representation includes this participant, hence the verb cannot occur without it.[7] This is illustrated below:

25a. **Kplɔ̃-a ŋé**
table-DEF become_broken
'The table broke.'

b. **Kofí ŋé**
Kofi become_broken
'Kofi's limb broke.'
*'Kofi caused something to break.'

[7]Goldberg (1995) notes that there are specific constructions which prevent the expression of core arguments within argument structure constructions of the type proposed here. An example is the passive construction in which an argument which is licensed by a verb is expressed as oblique.

(25a) contains only the verb and the entity that breaks. (25b) shows that even if the single argument which occurs with **ŋɛ́** 'become_broken' is capable of causing things to break, that does not allow for the interpretation that the entity caused an unspecified thing to break. The sentences are examples of a one-place construction and their single arguments instantiate the ET role. (25a) is represented in the diagram below which is an adaptation of Goldberg's (1995):[8]

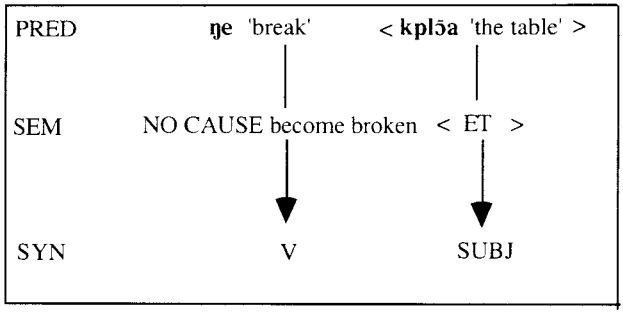

FIG. 2 LINKING IN THE ONE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

'PRED', at the top left of the diagram, represents the verb which occurs in the construction together with its profiled participant. In the middle is the semantics of the construction[9] and the constructional role (ET) to which the verb's profiled participant is linked. The straight line which links the participant to the ET role is meant to indicate that the role is licensed[10] by the verb. Finally, at the bottom, we have the syntactic realisation of the construction's argument in an unmarked clause. The straight line linking the role to the grammatical relation shows that the latter is profiled by the construction.

A crucial assumption which this analysis enables me to make is that constructions can also contribute arguments. This means that it is not every argument a verb occurs with in a construction that is necessarily licensed by the verb. For instance, I have shown that **ŋɛ́** 'become broken' can occur with a single argument. For reasons which I give in Chapter 3, I consider the verb to be inherently monadic and, therefore, capable of licensing only this single argument. However, it can occur with two arguments, as the sentence below illustrates:

[8]My representation differs from Goldberg's slightly in that she has PRED occur in the middle between semantics and syntax.

[9]In Chapter 3, I explain what I mean by the semantics 'NO CAUSE'.

[10]I will use "license" to refer to the profiling of arguments.

26. **Kofí** **ŋé** **kplɔ̃-a**
Kofi become_broken table-DEF
'Kofi broke the table.'

This sentence is an instance of a causal two-place construction. I consider the Causer role in this case to be licensed by the construction and not the verb. This is represented below thus:

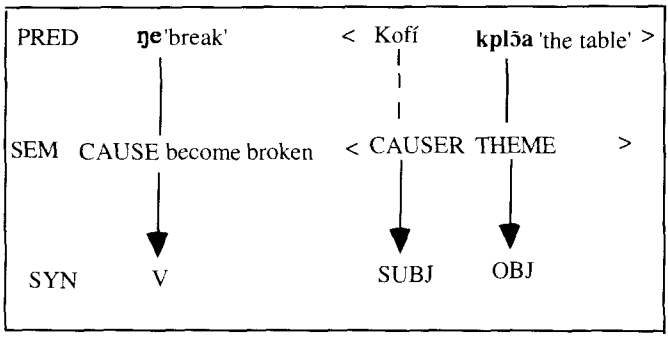

Fig. 3 LINKING IN THE TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

At the top of the diagram, we have the predicate **ŋé** 'become broken' and the two core arguments, 'Kofi' and **kplɔ̃a** 'the table'. This time, the direct line which, as stated above, is an indication that a role is licensed by the verb, links only the breakee argument to the Theme role. The Causer role, on the other hand, is linked by broken lines. This is meant to indicate that the Causer role is not licensed by the verb but rather by the construction. Thus, I argue that in sentences like (25) which involve verbs like **ŋé** 'become broken', the causal semantics is supplied not by the verb but rather by the construction. Constructions are therefore made to handle argument structure alternations which in other analyses are taken to be due to polysemy of verbs.

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

A methodological principle which I adopt is that verbs which have the same syntactic behaviour possess a common element of meaning. In this sense, obligatory complement verbs (i.e. ICVs and canonical transitive verbs) have a common meaning element. In order to show the meaning of ICVs which I argue to be invariant across most contexts, I adopt a propositional decomposition of the verbs. This method allows me to properly represent under-determined meanings. It involves loose paraphrases of the invariant meanings designed according to some metaprinciples which are intended to enable comparability between the meaning of the verbs. I refer to the participants which occur in a

verb's semantic characterisation as "someone" when they are human, "(some)thing" when they are non-human and "entity" when they are events, human or non-human participants. In order to distinguish those which get expressed as core arguments in the syntax, I adopt the convention of bracketed (X, Y Z). These could be compared to lexical syntactic structures of some semantic decomposition analyses where they are supposed to represent syntactically relevant argument-taking properties of the verb (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995). A semantic characterisation of a verb minimally includes (X) and maximally includes (Z). Where a verb with participant (X) enters into a minimal construction (i.e. where it doesn't 'acquire' any role from the construction), (X) is necessarily realised in subject position. As I showed in the previous section, it is possible, however, for a verb to enter into a construction where its (X) participant is more compatible with the argument which occurs in object position. When that happens, it is rather an argument contributed by the construction which is linked to the subject position. In this sense, therefore, my bracketed elements are different from some lexical structures where the nature of the variables determines whether they are underlying subjects or objects. Another important difference is that within my semantic characterisation, more than one participant can be referred to with identical bracketed elements which are differentiated by numbers (e.g. X1, X2 etc.). What this means is that only one of the participants can be linked to a core argument position in a construction at a time but that the linking of one entails the other.

I now discuss my source of material for the dissertation. Being a native speaker of Ewe, I have profited from this to construct initial sentences in order to test speakers' judgements on acceptability. After that, I designed two sets of elicitation material. The first, labelled the Attipoe Pictures, consists of some minimal pair scenes drawn by Mr Attipoe, an art teacher at Anloga Secondary School. These pictures were used to test the possibility of ICs being modified. The next material is the "Induced Change of State Elicitation Film" designed with the help of my colleagues at the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Roberto Zavala and Eva Schultze-Berndt. This is also made up of clips of minimal pair states of affairs. They were designed to test when speakers choose one argument structure construction over another. The details of the film and the results are reported in Chapter 5. To avoid using only elicited material, I have included data from two books: *Agbezuge* and *Tɔkɔ Atɔ́líá*. The former is a novel which chronicles a man's (Agbezuge) suffering on earth and the eventual triumph of good over evil. The latter is a play about the system of justice in traditional Aŋlɔ society.

1.5 CONCLUSION AND OVERVIEW

To conclude, I have argued that the class of verbs which in Kwa and Benue-Congo languages has been referred to as inherent complement verbs is non-existent in Ewe or, at least, the recognition of such a class is difficult to maintain. This is because verbs which obligatorily require a complement form a continuum in terms of semantic specificity. It is therefore not possible to draw a line at the point where the verb stops providing all the meaning and the complement takes over with meaning specification. Furthermore, since some verbs which are meaningful take as their obligatory complements nominals which do not have much meaning themselves, we have to find a different explanation other than semantic under-determinacy to account for the verbs requiring these complements.

The purpose of this study is to show that the so-called ICVs do possess meaning and that this is best accounted for in an analysis that acknowledges that arguments of verbs and constructions do contribute to the eventual interpretation of sentences. Chapter 2 is an introduction to Ewe. In this chapter, I provide background information for the grammatical descriptions that I subsequently undertake in the study. For example, I lay the foundations for a distinction which I make between arguments and adjuncts in subsequent chapters. While many of the issues I discuss in this chapter have already been discussed elsewhere, I approach some of the topics from a different perspective. Thus the chapter also serves the purpose of explaining why I analyse some categories differently from the way they have been analysed in previous studies.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the syntax and semantics of verbs which can occur without complements (i.e. non-obligatory complement verbs). I consider these verbs in the light of the Unaccusativity Hypothesis (UH) which claims that cross-linguistically, intransitive verbs are divided into two distinct classes, namely unaccusatives and unergatives. I show that none of the established criteria enables us to divide the verbs in Ewe into two distinct classes. I argue that this is because sentences in which verbs occur without complements instantiate a construction with a semantic property which I define as "lack of cause". I claim that all verbs which occur in this construction possess this property. They should therefore be considered as belonging to a single class.

In Chapter 4, I provide evidence from the distributional properties of obligatory complement verbs to show why it is not possible to distinguish between canonical transitive verbs and the so-called inherent complement verbs. I claim that the verbs have a similar syntactic distribution because they possess a common semantic property which I refer to as "Cause". I therefore refer to the "transitive clause" in which they occur as the causal two-place construction. This is contrasted with a non-causal two-place construction in which verbs also take two arguments.

In Chapter 5, I discuss sentences in which verbs occur with three core arguments. I argue that even though either of the two objects of canonical ditransitive verbs can occur in immediate postverbal position, the Theme object is the direct object. While this appears to contradict the claim that ditransitive constructions which do not have case or applicatives should have the Recipient in direct object position, I argue that the reason is that the construction encodes 'caused transfer' and not 'cause receive', as has been proposed for the ditransitive construction in English (cf. Goldberg 1995). I claim, therefore, that it is the Theme argument which is 'affected' in these constructions. This claim is confirmed by the so-called ICVs which occur in this construction and whose object positions cannot be interchanged.

Chapter 6 takes a detailed look at the semantics of some of the verbs which take obligatory complements, including the so-called ICVs. In this chapter, I show that ICVs possess invariant meaning across their various usages. I demonstrate that a semantic analysis which takes the contribution of the arguments a verb occurs with, as well as the construction it occurs in, allows for a proper identification of this invariant meaning. I show how this meaning is often confused with contextual interpretations. Chapter 7 sums up the major conclusions of the study. It draws attention to the myth of inherent complement verbs and the attendant claims about their semantic properties. It calls for a more informed semantic study of verbs and their arguments in order to understand better the argument structure properties of Ewe and other West African languages.

THE EWE LANGUAGE

CHAPTER 2

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Ewe belongs to a group of closely related languages called GBE or TADOID (cf. Duthie 1996:1) which are often argued to be a dialect cluster (cf. Ameka 1991, Capo 1991). It belongs to the Kwa branch of Niger Congo. Among the cluster are Fon which is the easternmost and Aja which lies in the centre. The extent of the cluster begins from Lower Volta in Ghana and stretches through Togo and Benin to Western Nigeria and Lower Weme (cf. Ameka 1991, Capo 1991 and Duthie 1996). The dialects of Ewe (i.e. the version of Gbe spoken in Ghana) include Aŋlɔ, Aveno, Dzodze, Tɔnu, Vɛ, Avedakpa, Ho, Awudome, Peki, Anfoe, Sovie, Kpando, Fodome, Gbi, Danyi and Kpedze. These have been put into three major groups, namely *Coastal* Ewe which includes Aŋlɔ and Tɔnu, *Central* Ewe which includes Ho and Kpedze, and *Northern* Ewe which includes Anfoe and Kpando (cf. Ameka 1991, Westermann 1930, Ansre 1971). Central and Northern Ewe are further grouped together as *Inland* Ewe (Ameka 1991:2). The material for this dissertation is mainly from Aŋlɔ, a Coastal dialect which is spoken in Keta and Tegbi where I did my fieldwork, and is also my native dialect. I will, however, make some comparisons, where necessary, with Anfoe and Ho which I take to be representative of the inland dialects (i.e. Central and Northern respectively).[1]

Ewe has a standard form which was developed by the North German Missionary Society of Bremen in the middle of the nineteenth century for instruction in the schools set up by the missionaries and for use in the churches. This standard form draws on the Aŋlɔ, Peki and Amedzofe dialects (cf. Ansre 1971). There is ample material on Ewe, both descriptive and theoretical. In his Ph.D dissertation written as early as 1966, Ansre writes that his work is "an attempt to apply modern linguistic principles to an African language that is *relatively well-known to linguistics*" (1966a:11, emphasis mine). Among these works are Ameka (1991), Ansre (1966a), Collins (1993), Clements 1972, Duthie (1996), Obianim (1954) and Westermann (1930). There has also been work on other Gbe languages, some of which I will be making reference to in the course of my dissertation.

[1]A minor part of my fieldwork was carried out in these two towns.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information for the grammatical descriptions which I undertake in this study. As is to be expected, much of the material which I present in the chapter is not new. However, my analysis of some of the phenomena does not always correspond to previous explications. This chapter therefore serves the second purpose of clarifying why I choose to treat some categories differently from other scholars. The chapter is divided into four main sections: in Section 2.1, I provide a typological overview of Ewe. Section 2.2 is a brief introduction to a phonological feature of Ewe, namely tone. I give reasons for adopting a tone marking convention in my discussion. In Section 2.3, I discuss reduplication, a morphological process which features prominently in this study. Section 2.4 discusses some aspects of the syntax of Ewe. I discuss among others the verb phrase, the noun phrase and the postpositional phrase. I argue that Ewe is a tenseless language. I also note, among other things, that pronominal forms are differentiated according to the grammatical relations of subject and object. Finally, I show that the postpositional phrase in Ewe is not inherently an adjunct. Section 2.5 concludes the chapter with a brief summary of the important points.

2.1 TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Phonologically, Ewe is a register tone language with high and non-high tonemes. It has a seven vowel system. In some dialects, e.g. Kpando and Anfoe, all the seven vowels have nasalised counterparts while in others, e.g. Peki, half closed vowels are not nasalised. Thus the word **lõ** 'to remove from fire' is pronounced **lɔ̃** in the Peki dialect. The language has voiced and voiceless counterparts of the labial-velar stops and bilabial fricatives. Morphologically, Ewe has been characterised as an isolating language with some agglutinative features (cf. Ameka 1991, 1995). Thus many words in the language look like a concatenation of individual morphemes, as the example below illustrates:

1. **nyɔ́nu+ví+wó**
   woman+little+PL
   'girls'

As its derivational strategy, Ewe makes use of, among others, reduplication, compounding and affixation. In Section 2.3, I discuss reduplication which permeates almost all the lexical categories and which figures prominently in my study.

Syntactically, Ewe is an SVO language with alternative surface OSV and SOV orders being systematically linked to the basic one, and determined by semantic and pragmatic factors like topicalisation and focusing (cf. Ameka 1991). Within the noun phrase, modifiers follow the head noun. Ewe has both alienable and inalienable possessive constructions, with body parts being represented in the

former (cf. Ameka 1996). It also has a logophoric pronoun which refers to one whose speech, thoughts, feelings or general state of consciousness is reported (Clements 1975, Essegbey 1994a). Some body parts in the language have evolved into postpositions. Similarly some verbs have become prepositions. Notable constructions in Ewe are the serial verb construction and the overlapping construction.

2.2 TONES

There is no doubt that many a linguist reading some work on an African tone language has expressed some frustration when the tones on the syllables are left unmarked. With the exception of six words (i.e. **è**, **nè**, **wò** 'you'; **wò** 's/he', **mí** 'we' and **lé** 'catch') tone is not represented in Ewe orthography. One possible reason for this is that some words are expressed with different tones in different dialects. For example the words below have mid-tone in Aŋlɔ and rising tone in the Inland dialects:

2. **vi** 'child', **abɔ** 'arm' **gbɔ** 'goat'

Another possible reason is that some nominals are realised differently in different tonal contexts. Thus **gbɔ** 'goat' which has a high toneme can occur with a low or high tone. This is represented below:

3 a. **gbɔ tsú**
goat male
'he goat'

b. **nye** **gbɔ́**
1SG-POSS goat
'My goat'

In the first example, **gbɔ** 'goat' is followed by a syllable with a high tone and it is realised as mid or rising depending on whether the dialect is Aŋlɔ or Inland respectively. In the second example, on the other hand, it follows a syllable with a low tone and it is pronounced as high. All the variations in tone are regular and hence refer to underlying tonemes (cf. Clements 1972). In this dissertation, I follow Ameka (1991) and Duthie (1996) in marking only underlying high tones. Syllables which are not marked will therefore represent the non-high tonemes. Compound tones which occur as a result of the deletion of a segment and the transfer of tone to another syllable are also marked.

2.3 REDUPLICATION

This is the process whereby a constituent is wholly or partially copied to its left, either for the purpose of deriving a new lexical category or intensifying the meaning expressed in the original item. The form of the copy is dependent on the internal structure of the syllable. Where this consists of a first margin and a nucleus, the whole syllable is copied:

4. **da -----> dada**
   boast -------> 'pride'

Where the syllable contains a second margin, the latter is dropped:

5. **kplɔ ------> kpɔkplɔ**
   lead -------> 'leading'

In this example, the lateral approximant is deleted from the copied part of the derived form.

Another (supra)segment that can change during reduplication is tone. This is not evident in the two examples above because there, the non-high tone is maintained on the copied parts. Where reduplication involves derivation of a noun from a verb, a high tone of the copied syllable changes to low, a change which applies to disyllabic verbs as well. The words below involve monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs respectively:

6 a. **trɔ́ ----------> tɔtrɔ́**
   turn ----------> turning

b **Káfú -> Kafukáfú**
   Praise (V) -> Praise (N)

Nasalisation is also not copied onto reduplicated vowels, as (7) below illustrates:

7. **sɛ̂ --------> sésɛ̂**
   be-hard ------> be really hard

I have already stated that reduplication does not necessarily result in the derivation of a new lexical category; in the case of verbs, it also derives the same verbal category item. In such cases the tone remains unchanged, as (7), in which the reduplication simply expresses intensity, illustrates. The process in (7) is the same one by which adjectives are derived (that is to say the tone remains unchanged). Reduplication therefore gives rise to nominals, adjectives as well as

verbs. Derivations involving reduplication in addition to preposing of arguments are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.4 SYNTAX

In this section, I consider some aspects of Ewe syntax. I will be concerned with simple clause structure in Ewe, particularly with verbs and the various types of arguments that they occur with. I take a brief look at each of these in this section, beginning with the basic clause structure.

2.4.1 THE BASIC CLAUSE

The unmarked word order for the basic clause in Ewe given by Ameka (1996) is provided below with some slight modifications:

8. NP V (NP/POSTP) (NP/POSTP) (PREPP)

As stated in the typological overview, pragmatic factors such as topicalisation and focusing affect this order. I will show presently that some aspectual constructions also have a different word order. I now turn to the verb phrase.

2.4.2 THE VERB AND THE VERB PHRASE

In this subsection, I limit myself to pointing out what I consider to be a lexical category and what is a phrasal category.

As I have stated in my introductory chapter, I do not consider ICVs and their complements to form a complex lexical category. My reasons for this, which include the fact that the complements can be modified, are presented in Chapter 4. Here, I point out that such "complex predicates" as **no tsi kú** (drink water die) 'drown', even though translated into English with a single lexical item, do not constitute any complex lexical category in my analysis. Instead, I consider them to be serial verb constructions because both verbs are syntactically active, as the sentence below illustrates:

9. **Kofí le tsi no gé á-kú**
Kofi AUX water drink PROSP POT2-die
'Kofi will drown.'

The second verb in the series **kú** 'die' also takes a TAM morpheme, thus behaving like a canonical serial verb. Where a verb behaves syntactically in the same manner as a canonical transitive verb or a verb in a series, I accord it the same analysis which I accord its canonical counterpart.

Owing to the intrinsically temporal nature of the states of affairs encoded by verbs, their basic inflections have temporal implications (cf. Chafe 1970:186). This is usually expressed in terms of tense or aspect or mood. In the next section,

I discuss some of these categories. This is with the view to proposing a revision of the way some of them have been classified.

2.4.2.1 (TENSE) ASPECT MOOD ((T)AM)

In this section, I propose that where other languages have grammaticalised tense, aspect and mood, Ewe has only aspect and mood.[2] What this means is that my glosses of these morphemes differ from their traditional glosses. As a result, I provide new glosses for some of the categories which are in line with proposals made for related languages.

Writing on the grammatical features of the verbal phrase in Dangme, Dakubu (1987:60) states:

> In the Dangme verb system, tense is of secondary importance. Of course, it is perfectly possible in the language to indicate whether an event took place in the past, is taking place in the present or is to happen in the future, for example by using adverbial expression of time, like **mwɛnɔ** 'today', **hwɔɔ** 'tomorrow'. *However, in the structure of the VP itself, it is not relations of tense or time sequence that are important so much as relations of the kind commonly called aspectual; whether or not an event or action is (or was or will be) actual and/or continuing or not* (emphasis mine).

Osam (1994) also argues that what was traditionally considered tense in Akan is actually an aspectual category which is in the process of being grammaticalised as tense. Both claims are in line with one made by Manfredi (1991) that Kwa languages do not have tense.

With this background, I wish to reconsider some analyses of the tense/aspect paradigm in Ewe, particularly a morpheme which has been analysed as the future morpheme (cf. Clements 1972, Duthie 1996, Westermann 1930). This is the **a-** prefix which has a cognate in Ga, a sister language of Dangme. Dakubu refers to the Ga cognate as the "potential aspect". According to her, it signifies "that something is expected in the future, is hypothetical, or even untrue, but at any rate has not actually happened or is not yet happening from the point of view of the rest of the context" (1987:60). I agree with Dakubu in not considering the morpheme to be a tense morpheme. This is because to say that a morpheme represents future tense is to suggest that it serves the deictic purpose of locating a state of affairs in a time posterior to the moment of speech.[3]

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[2]Actually, Clements (1972) also observes in a footnote that the Aŋlɔ dialect is tenseless.

[3]Exceptions here are "relative tenses" which express temporal relations with respect to a reference point in discourse, rather than with respect to the moment of utterance (Comrie 1976:2). I assume that the evidence I discuss below which show that the temporal markers of Ewe express aspectual and modal meanings rather than mark tenses, is

According to Comrie (1985:46), in order to establish that a grammatical form is the future form, one has not only to establish that it is used for future time reference but also, that its use "*cannot be treated as a special use of a grammatical category with basically non-tense meaning* " (emphasis mine). As I show in the next sub-section, the **a-** prefix in Ewe, just like the one Dakubu describes for Ga, does not have temporal deixis as its primary function. Following Dakubu, I will refer to it as the potential morpheme. Unlike her, however, I do not analyse it as aspectual but, rather, as modal because of its semantics as well as its distributional patterning with other modal morphemes.

2.4.2.1.1 A MODAL ISSUE

In this section, I argue that although the **a**-prefix can have a temporal interpretation in some contexts, its primary use is not temporal. Instead it is primarily modal. Further, I argue that another **á**-prefix which differs in tone and which has been treated as a consecutive morpheme is actually a contextual equivalent of the **a**-prefix. Finally, I show that there is a tendency to confuse the potential with the subjunctive morpheme which has the same segment but that the two forms can be distinguished by their tonal properties.[4]

There is enough evidence to suggest that the **a**-prefix in Ewe deals primarily with modal meaning of probability rather than tense or aspect. For example, the sentence below refers to ability and not futurity:

10. **A-xlẽ** **agbalẽ** **má** **bɔbɔé**
2SG:POT-read book DEM easily
'You will be able to read that book easily.'

This sentence only suggests that the addressee can read the book without difficulty, an interpretation made all the more evident by the presence of the adverbial **bɔbɔé** 'easily'. It does not entail that the state of affairs will come about. The **a**-morpheme is therefore more like an existential quantifier over a set of possible worlds which states that there is a possible world in which this state of affairs can come about.

A further reason for suggesting that the prefix is modal is that even when it occurs with the future adverbial **etsɔ** 'tomorrow', it does not necessarily represent tomorrow as a time when a state of affairs *will* take place. Instead, the adverbial can also be taken to express a possible world in which the state of

sufficient to warrant my discarding a relative tense analysis as well. I will not devote any further attention to the possibility of a relative tense analysis of these morphemes.

[4]Clements (1972:166) writes: "The subjunctive was ignored in early descriptions of Ewe by Westermann and others, and considerable confusion resulted from the consistent failure to distinguish it from the future" (Clement's "future" is my potential).

affairs might take place. The **a**-prefix is, therefore, not like the future tense in a language like French. Consider the sentence below:

11. **Kofí â-yi Ge (etsɔ)**
Kofi POT-go Accra tomorrow
'Kofi will/may go to Accra tomorrow.'

(11) has two interpretations: first of all, it means that Kofi will travel to Accra tomorrow.[5] However, it also means that Kofi may go to Accra tomorrow.[6] One may ask here whether the **a**-prefix is ambiguous between a future interpretation and a modal interpretation. I argue that this is the not case. As I stated in Chapter 1, I adopt the monosemy principle in my analysis. Both interpretations of (11) involve states of affairs which have not yet taken place. They are therefore too similar for the prefix to be analysed as representing two separate morphemes. But then if we want to consider the morpheme as being the same, we still have to address the issue of whether it is primarily a tense morpheme. I argue that this is not the case either. Recall Comrie's quote above that a future tense must not yield to treatment as a special use of a grammatical category with basically non-tense meaning. I conclude that this morpheme is a modal morpheme which receives temporal interpretation in some contexts. Let us consider further instances in which it does not have a future tense interpretation.

When the adverb **etsɔ** 'tomorrow' in (11) is replaced with **xóxó** 'already', the resultant interpretation is not future. This is illustrated below:

12. **Kofí â-yi Ge xóxó**
Kofi POT-go Accra already
'Kofi would have gone to Accra already.'

This sentence also refers to a state of affairs which could have occurred in a possible world. It could be uttered by someone who knows that Kofi had planned going to Accra *before* the moment of utterance. It therefore indicates that, all things being equal, Kofi is likely to be in Accra.[7]

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[5]Actually, this interpretation is more acceptable in the Inland dialects and in Gungbe, another Gbe language (Enoch Aboh, personal communication).

[6]The way to express 'Kofi will go to Accra tomorrow' in Aŋlɔ without a modal nuance is with the prospective aspect. This is discussed below.

[7]Note that this construction cannot be represented with the future tense in French:

*Kofi ira à Accra déjà
Kofi FUT-go to Accra already

The **a-** prefix also combines with the progressive morpheme (which I discuss below) to open the window to the inner structure of a potential situation. This is represented in the sentence below:

13. **Tsi** **â-nɔ** **dza-dza-ḿ**
water POT-NPRES RED-fall-PROG
'It may/might be raining.'

This sentence does not situate the state of affairs that it represents in any deictic time. As a result, either a temporal adverb can be used to situate it in time, or a subordinate clause containing a similar mood can be used to represent it as a hypothetical situation without temporal reference:

14a. **Tsi** **â-nɔ** **dza-dza-ḿ** **fífíá**
water POT-NPRES RED-fall-PROG now
It may be raining now.'

b. **Tsi** **â-nɔ** **dza-dza-ḿ** **gaké** **wo-a-mlɔ́** **go-ta**
water POT-NPRES RED-fall-PROG but 3SG-POT-lie outside
'He could lie outside while it is raining.'

Sentence (14a) refers to a state of affairs that could be taking place at the moment of enunciation in a possible world, outside the area where the speaker and listener are situated. Sentence (14b), on the other hand, does not make reference to any time at all; the situation represented could occur at any time.

The examples discussed thus far suggest, therefore, that the primary function of the **a-**prefix is not deictic time reference but rather modal.[8] I mentioned earlier that the potential has an equivalent which differs in tone and which has been analysed as a consecutive morpheme (cf. Clements 1972). I refer to it as potential 2. The cognate of potential 2 has been extensively discussed in Akan (Boadi 1994, Dolphyne 1987, Osam 1994, Saah 1994, *inter alia*). Osam writes on the Akan cognate thus:

> In a construction where there are multiple verbs, as in the case of serial construction or clause chaining, if the initial verb is marked for the future or the progressive, the subsequent verbs are not marked by the forms of the future or the progressive; rather, there is a low tone vowel prefix **a-** which occurs on the non-initial verb (1994:75-76).

[8]Of course, it is possible to claim that the morpheme is primarily a future morpheme and that it is secondarily exploited for modal purposes. Because Ewe does not have overt marking for past tense, this will mean that it has a future-non-future opposition. Aboh (1998b) does make this proposal for Gbe languages.

A rather similar condition governs the use of potential 2 in Ewe. There is a slight difference, however, in that the progressive is not among the categories which determine its use. An example with potential 2 is provided below:

15. **Kofí le fɔ-fɔ́ gé fɔ́ŋli á-yi Gɛ**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-rise PROSP dawn POT2-go Accra
'Kofi will get up at dawn and go to Accra'.

Potential 2 therefore occurs with non-initial verbs in serial verb constructions and expresses a state of affairs which is yet to occur.

Ewe also has a subjunctive morpheme which, Clements (1972:167) reports, is the "form characteristic of clauses expressing necessity, purpose, volition, etc.". The subjunctive is represented with either a **na-** or an **a-** prefix. Where it is represented with an **a-**prefix, it can be distinguished from the potential by its tonal behaviour: the potential morpheme is always realised with a low tone[9] and its serial verb equivalent is always realised with a high tone. The subjunctive, on the other hand, has an underlying high tone which becomes low tone when preceded by a low-tone syllable. The distinction is provided in the sentences below:

16a. **Me-dí bé wò-a-vá kpɔ́-m** (Subjunctive)
1SG-want that 2SG-SUBJV-come see- 1SG
'I want him/her to come and see me.'

b. **É-le bé wó-á-vá kpɔ́-m** (Subjunctive)
3SG-be that 3PL-SUBJV-come see- 1SG
'They have to come and see me.'

17a. **Â-yi Gɛ**
POT-go Accra
'He may go to Accra.'

b. **M-a-yi fofó-nye gbɔ́**
1-POT-go father-1SG side
'I may move to my father's.'

18a. **M-a-ʊ̀u á-yi fofó-nye gbɔ́** (Potential 2)
1SG-POT-move POT2-go father-1SG side
'I will move to my father's.'

[9]For Inland speakers, it acquires a high tone when it occurs between two non-high tones (cf. Smith 1968: 298, cited in Clements 1972: 28).

b. **Me-le** **fɔ-fɔ́-gé** **kábá** **á-yi** **Ge** (Potential 2)
1SG-AUX RED-get up-ING quickly POT2-go Accra
'I will get up early and go to Accra.'

The subjunctive morpheme is represented in the subordinate clauses in sentences (16a, b). In (16a), the tone is low because of the preceding pronoun which has a low tone. In (16b), on the other hand, where the tone of the pronoun is high, it is high. This fluctuation is not characteristic of the potential, however. The falling tone in (17a) is a compound tone consisting of the pronominal prefix which is high and the potential which is low.[10] Sentences (18a, b) show that potential 2 has a high tone irrespective of the tone of the preceding syllable.

Thus, we have two modal categories, the first (i.e. the potential) represents possible but non-real states of affairs while the second (the subjunctive) occurs, among other things, in clauses representing necessity and volition. As I stated at the beginning of the section, the subjunctive is sometimes confused with the potential. For example, Westermann (1930:118) gives the example below with an **a**-prefix as a future (potential in my analysis) morpheme:

19. **M-á-fíá** **dzatá** **lá** **w o** **etsɔ**
1SG-SUBJV-show lion DEF 2SG tomorrow (my gloss)
"I shall show you the lion tomorrow." (Westermann's translation)
'Let me show you the lion tomorrow.' (my translation)

I argue that the morpheme preceding **fíá** 'show' in (19) is not the potential. This is because there are two ways in which it is realised when the subject argument is third person, and none of them involves the potential. One representation is with a construction which uses **ná** 'make' together with the subjunctive morpheme, while the other is with the imperative morpheme. The two are provided below:

20a. **Ná** **(né)**[11] **wò-a-fíá** **dzatá** **lá** **w o** **etsɔ**
Make (that) 3SG-SUBJV-show lion DEF 2SG tomorrow
'Let him show you the lion tomorrow.'

[10]One thing that is difficult to explain is that the tone remains falling even when the pronoun is replaced with a noun. Clements (1972) therefore posits two variants, one with a low tone and another with a falling tone. The latter only occurs with third person singular subjects.

[11]The use of **né** is more complicated than my gloss here suggests. There is no doubt that it is related to the imperative in sentence (20b). A thorough discussion of this morpheme is, however, beyond the scope of this introductory chapter.

b. **Né-fíá dzatá lá wò etsɔ**
3SG:IMP-show lion DEF 2SG tomorrow
'Let him show you the lion tomorrow.'

I argue, therefore, that the **a-** in sentence (19) is a special use of the subjunctive morpheme which occurs in the main clause instead of a subordinate clause.[12] When used in the main clause, the subjunctive usually expresses wishes and desires, as the sentences below illustrate:

21a. **Máwú ná[13]-yrá wò**
God SUBJV-bless 2SG
'God bless you.'

b. **Fia ná-nɔ anyí tegbee!**
King SUBJV-sit ground forever
'Long live the king!'

Note that Westermann's sentence (19) could be embedded inside the **ná** construction as is illustrated below:

22. **Ná m-á-fíá dzatá lá wò etsɔ**
Make 1SG-SUBJV-show lion DEF 2SG tomorrow
'Let me show you the lion tomorrow.'

To conclude, I have suggested that the prefix which has hitherto been considered a future tense morpheme in Ewe is best analysed as a potential modal. This prefix always carries a low tone although, in some cases, it adds the high tone of a preceding subject pronoun, thereby yielding a compound falling tone. I have also shown that the potential morpheme has an equivalent (potential 2) which occurs with non-initial verbs in a serial verb construction. I have then discussed the subjunctive which, although segmentally similar to the potential, has different tonal properties. Finally, I noted in a footnote that the subjunctive is sometimes realised as **na-** instead of **a-**.[14] Thus overt modals which express states of affairs in Ewe as non-real are prefixes which, for the

[12]Givón (1994:298) has stated that the subjunctive is usually used in the main clause to indicate either weak manipulation or low certainty. (19) appears to be a case of the former.

[13]The subjunctive is represented as **na-** when the verb is not preceded by a pronominal.

[14]In related Gbe languages, the potential morpheme is also represented as **na-**. I leave it to future research to explain why all the expressions of non-real states of affairs involve **(n)a-**. In fact Ameka (1991) refers to the **a** morpheme as irrealis. That is conceivable for the languages in which both the potential and subjunctive forms are realised in the same way.

most part, are represented by the same segment. They are, however distinguished by their tones. Contrasted with these modal morphemes are aspectual morphemes which are realised as postverbal morphemes. I turn to these in the next subsection.

2.4.2.1.2 ASPECT

There are three grammaticalised aspectual categories in Ewe and they all occur in postverbal position. These are the habitual, the prospective and the progressive. The prospective morpheme has been referred to in the literature as the ingressive. However, ingressive, according to Lyons (1977:713), indicates "entry into the state that the verb denotes". As I will show for Ewe, the form rather asserts the pre-state of a state of affairs. I therefore adopt the term "prospective", used by Comrie (1976) to refer to a construction in English which has the same meaning. I discuss each of the categories in turn.

2.4.2.1.2.1 THE HABITUAL

The habitual morpheme is represented in Ewe by the suffix **-na** and some dialects optionally allow the allomorph **-a**. This morpheme represents, in addition to real habitual states of affairs, what Lyons (1977:716) characterises as "the broader but intuitively related notions like customary, frequent, regular, usual". An example of a simple habitual use is (23):

23. **Kofí ɖu-na mɔ́lu kɔsíɖágbe**
Kofi eat-HAB rice Sunday
'Kofi eats rice on Sundays.'

This sentence represents eating rice as a habitual thing that Kofi does on Sundays. The next sentence shows that when the noun phrases in a sentence do not occur with any overt determiner, a habitual marking on the verb yields a generic state of affairs:

24. **Avu ɖu-na *fú***
dog eat-HAB bone
'Dogs eat bones.'

Generic states of affairs are sometimes given a different analysis because the complement does not refer to a referential entity. I do not adopt this position in this study because, as I show in Chapter 4 (see also Section 2.4.3), sentences expressing such states of affairs invariably have equivalents in which the complements are referential. I therefore consider it a proliferation of the grammar to propose two different structures for all verbs, one for generic states of affairs and another for non-generic states of affairs.

2.4.2.1.2.2 THE PROSPECTIVE

As stated above, this morpheme has traditionally been described as an ingressive (cf. Ameka 1991, Duthie 1996, *inter alia*). Ameka states that the morpheme, which is represented by the forms **gé** or **gbé**, is "used to indicate planned, intentional or imminent future action" (1991:123). The (a) sentences below represent unmarked clauses while the (b) sentences represent their prospective forms:

25a. **Kofí yi Gɛ**
Kofi go Accra
'Kofi went to Accra.'

b. **Kofí le Gɛ yi gé**
Kofi PRES Accra go PROSP
'Kofi is going to go to Accra.'

26a. **Ekpɔ́-a mu**
wall-DEF collapse
'The wall collapsed.'

b. **Ekpɔ́-a le mu-mu gé**
wall-DEF PRES RED-collapse PROSP
'The wall is going to collapse.'

Sentence (25a) has the unmarked order, subject-verb-complement. In order to express this state of affairs in the prospective, the complement is preposed to pre-verbal position while the aspectual morpheme occurs after the verb. (26a), on the other hand, has no complement. Its prospective form involves a reduplication of the verb instead. The prospective clauses also take the locative verb **le** which, in this case, functions as an auxiliary.[15] I will show below that the progressive is formed by a similar process.[16] Sentence (25b) expresses Kofi's plans or intentions while (26b) indicates an expected state of affairs. What the **gé** morpheme does in these sentences, therefore, is to assert the pre-state of the state of affairs encoded by the verbs. It does not express an entry into a state of affairs, which is characteristic of ingressives. Its closest equivalent is the "be going to + Infinitive" construction in English and Romance languages which is referred to as prospective (cf. Comrie 1976, Klein 1994).While the auxiliary verb **le** relays the state of affairs as being simultaneous with the moment of speech it

[15]I assume that **le** is an auxiliary here following Ameka (1991), Clements (1972), Duthie (1996), Essegbey (1994a), Manfredi (1991), inter alia. For an alternative analysis of this constituent, see Aboh (1996), Ameka (1995), Fabb (1992), Torgah (ms).

[16]The difference is that the prospective occurs with more "auxiliaries" than the progressive".

contrasts with **nɔ** which situates the states of affairs in a moment other than the present:

27. **Kofí nɔ nú ɖu-gé háfí Komi vá**
Kofi NPRES thing eat-PROSP before Komi came
'Komi was about to eat when Komi came'

The prospective aspect therefore refers to the moment before a state of affairs begins. In the next subsection, I discuss the progressive which, like the prospective, makes use of the auxiliaries **le** and **nɔ**.

2.4.2.1.2.3 THE PROGRESSIVE

The progressive describes an ongoing action, either relative to the moment of speech or to any time specified in the context. In the sentences below, (28a) expresses a state of affairs simultaneous to the moment of utterance, while in (28b) the subordinate clause indicates the simultaneous context:

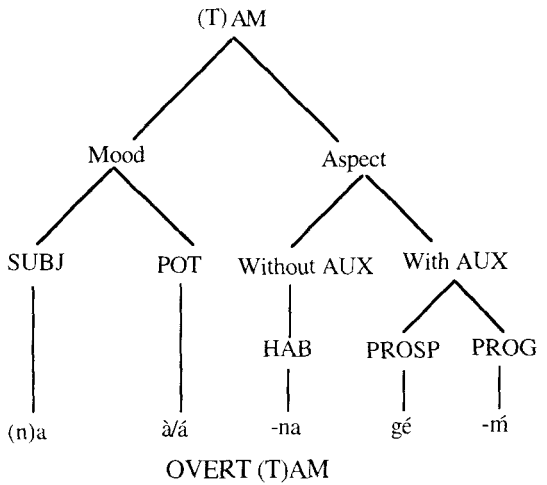
28a. **Kofí le nú ɖu-ḿ**
Kofi PRES thing eat-PROG
'Kofi is eating.'

b. **Ési Kofí yɔ́ Amí lá é-nɔ do-do-ḿ**
When Kofi call Ami TP 3SG-NPRES RED-exit-PROG
'When Kofi called Ami, she was going out.'

It can be observed that the progressive is formed in the same way as the prospective. However, in standard orthography, the progressive morpheme attaches to the verb while the prospective morpheme does not. In Section 2.4.4 and subsequent chapters, I will argue that only arguments are preposed when a verb occurs in a progressive or prospective construction. Adjuncts, on the other hand, remain in postverbal position.

2.4.2.2 THE (T)AM PARADIGM

Considering the above discussion, the overt (T)AM paradigm in Ewe is represented as Fig. 1 below:



The absence of these morphemes in a clause results in what Welmers (1973) refers to as the factative. According to him, the factative expresses the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action was observed or took place but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present (1973:346-347). Welmers notes further that in languages with the factative, the grammar may not make reference to a past tense.

Having now discussed the verb phrase and the TAM morphemes which occur with the verbs, I now turn to the phrasal categories which can occur as arguments of the verb. I begin with the noun phrase.

2.4.3 THE NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase occurs in both subject and object position. In Ewe, it is usually introduced into a sentence without an overt determiner (cf. Ashigbie 1994, Manfredi 1997). Such forms refer to instances of a substance or members of a class as well as generic reference. The examples below show the former use:

29a. **Avu le afé-á me**
dog LOC house-DEF in
'There is a dog in the house.'

b. **Kofí ɖu mɔ́lu**
Kofi eat rice
'Kofi ate rice.'

In (29a), the speaker refers to an instance of a member of the dog family. In like manner the object in (29b) refers to an instance of the food, rice. A speaker who

utters the two sentences could be said to be neutral as to the definiteness of the referent. Following Chafe, I refer to this as the non-definite use of the nominal (1970:188).

When a speaker has a particular member from a class which is not known to the addressee in mind, the determiner **aɖé** is used. This determiner has often been glossed as an indefiniteness marker (cf. Ameka 1991, Amuzu 1998). I do not think, however, that it possesses the vagueness that is characteristic of the indefinite article. Instead, I consider its most appropriate gloss to be 'a certain', provided in Duthie (1996:56). Consider the example below:

30. **Avu áɖé le afé-á me**
dog SPECI LOC house-DEF in
'A certain dog is in the house.'

Reference in this sentence is to a specific dog and not to an indefinite one. I will, therefore, considering the function of this article, refer to it as the specific article. Although specific, the determiner is not definite. In the above sentence, the speaker states that a new item is being introduced to the addressee. **Áɖé** therefore contrasts with another morpheme, **(l)á**, which marks definiteness. This morpheme indicates that the speaker "assumes that the hearer knows the identity of a particular member of a class or a particular instance of the substance" (Chafe 1970:188). An example is:

31. **Avu-a le afé-á me**
dog-DEF LOC house-DEF in
'The dog is in the house.'

Aboh (1996) observes that the Fon equivalent of this article is different from the English and French definite articles because it is used only when an item can be retrieved from immediate discourse context. The same applies to **lá** in Ewe. Definiteness in these cases, therefore, means that the addressee has contextual cues for accessing the item mentioned.

Other definiteness morphemes are the demonstrative pronouns **sia** 'this' and **má** 'that' which, in addition to encoding given information also encode spatial deixis. The noun phrase in Ewe can, therefore, be said to take a null morpheme for nondefiniteness, **áɖé** for specificity and **(l)á**, **sia**, **má**,[17] etc., for definiteness. According to Browne:

[17]Unlike the Aŋlɔ dialect where demonstrative morphemes occur in complementary distribution with the definite article **(l)á**, the two types can co-occur in the Inland dialects and Gungbe. The example below where they cooccur is from Gungbe (Aboh, 1996: ex 5f):

Il va de soi que tout group nominal qui est [+defini] est aussi [+specifique] mais l'inverse n'est pas vrai.
It goes without saying that every nominal which is [+definite] is also [+specific] but the inverse is not true [JAE].

As I showed in Section 2.4.2.1.2.1 when I discussed the habitual, the null morpheme is also the one that represents genericity. Following Ashigbie (1994), I take the determiners to represent a cline from genericity to definiteness.

To conclude, Ewe can be said to have three different types of nominal determiners the first of which is null and indicates both genericity and nondefiniteness. The second marks specificity while the third marks definiteness. The fact that a nominal can occur without a determiner is no indication that it may not be phrasal. In Chapter 4, I show that while the complements of the so-called ICVs often occur without a determiner, this does not mean they cannot occur with it and hence require a different analysis. In the next section, I consider another kind of NP, the personal pronoun.

2.4.3.1 PRONOUNS

My interest in pronouns, as far as this dissertation is concerned, lies in the fact that there are different pronouns for the basic grammatical relations of subject and object. Below is a chart which represents the pronouns found in Ewe:

àgásá àtɔ̀n éhé lɔ́ lɛ́ Gungbe
crab Nral DEM DEF NUM
'Ces trois crabes ci'
'These three crabs here' (JAE).
A crucial difference between Gungbe and the Inland dialects is that the definiteness marker precedes the demonstrative in the latter.

	SINGULAR			PLURAL		
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Preverbal 1st Form 2nd Form	m(e)	e n(è)	é wò	mí(é)	mi(e)	wó
Postverbal	m	wò	i, e, ɛ	mí	mi	wó
Free Form	nye	wò	é(ya)	míá(wó)	mia(wó)	wó(áwɔ́)
Logo-phoric		ye			yewó	

As shown in the table, some preverbal forms have two realisations; they can occur with or without the **e** vowel. The latter form occurs when the pronoun precedes a vowel segment. The (b) example below involves vowel deletion.

32a. **Me-vá**
1SG-come
'I have come.'

b. **Me - a - vá** => **ma-vá**
1SG-POT-come => 'I may come'

Further, the second and third person pronouns have two different preverbal forms: one occurs in sentence initial position, and the other occurs in sentence medial position.[18] The contrast is illustrated in the two sentences below (the relevant pronouns have been underlined):

33a. **É-vá** (first form)
3SG-come
'S/he came.'

[18]There are certain medial positions in which the first form is used instead. For a detailed discussion, see Ansre (1966a).

b. **Me-dí bé wò-a-vá** (second form)
1SG-want that 3SG-SUBJV-come
'I want him/her to come.'

I now turn to the postverbal pronouns. It will be seen from the table that the third person singular pronoun has three forms: **i**, **e**, and **ɛ** (the Aŋlɔ dialect does not have the **ɛ** though). These are the actual realisations of an underlying form **i**, which can be accounted for in terms of assimilation (cf. Duthie 1996). The assimilation process is not the same for all dialects, however. In the Inland dialects, the pronoun is progressively assimilated to the height of the preceding vowel for all the vowels with the exception of the open vowel **a**. These are represented below:

34a. **Me-*fle*+i** => **me*flee*** (Inland)
1SG-buy + 3SG => 'I bought it.'

b. **Me-*fo*+i** => **me*foe*** (Inland)
1SG-beat + 3SG => 'I beat him/her.'

c. **Mewɔ + i** => **mewɔɛ** (Inland)
1SG-do + 3SG => 'I *did* it.'

In the case of the open vowel **a**, coalescence occurs giving rise to half-open front vowels one of which is then deleted. This is illustrated below:

35. **Me-nyá + i** => **menyɛ** (Inland)
1SG-know + 3SG => 'I know it.'

In (35), the tone of the deleted vowel is maintained hence the falling tone.

The assimilation process in Aŋlɔ is rather regressive for the half-close vowels. They are both assimilated to the same height as that of the object pronoun. This is represented below:

36a. **Me-*fle*+i** => **me*flii*** (Aŋlɔ)
1SG-buy + 3SG => 'I bought it.'

b. **Me-*fo*+i** => **me*fui*** (Aŋlɔ)
1SG-beat + 3SG => 'I beat him/her.'

The situation is slightly complicated in the case of the half-open back vowel and the open vowel. In the case of the former, the pronoun is assimilated to half-close height and it, in turn, assimilates the vowel to the same level, as represented in (37) below:

37. **Mewɔ + i** => **mewo-e** (Aŋlɔ)

1SG-do + 3SG => 'I did it.'

In the case of the open vowel, coalescense occurs giving rise to half-close front vowels. A vowel is then deleted but the tone is maintained, as (38) below illustrates:

38. **Menyá + i => menyê** (Aŋlɔ)
1SG-know + 3SG => 'I know it.'

Close vowels are not affected in any dialect, as the examples below illustrate:

39a. **Me-fi-i** (All dialects)
1SG-steal-3SG
'I stole it.'

b. **Me-wu-i** (All dialects)
1SG-kill-3SG
'I killed it.'

In subsequent discussions, I will adopt the standard orthography convention for representing object pronouns. These are the forms in (34, 35, 37).

The free form of the pronominal is also referred to as the prenominal or possessive. This terminology is without doubt due to the fact that it also represents the possessor pronoun in a possessive construction, thereby preceding a possessed nominal. However, this is not the only construction that the free form occurs in. It also occurs in topic or focus positions where it is not necessarily prenominal. This is shown by (40) below:

40. **Nye-é wɔ-e**
1SG-FOC do-3SG
'I did it.'

Duthie (1996) notes that the free form is also used independently while Westermann (1930) observes that it occurs in apposition (cf. also Manfredi 1997):

41. **Mía eʋe-ví-wó**
1PL Eve-child-PL
'We the Ewe youth'

Referring to it as possessive could, therefore, be misleading since it gives the impression that the pronoun is inherently marked for the genitive case.[19] The

[19]Its ability to occur in specifier position of the genitive construction would therefore be due to the fact that it is a free form and therefore an NP. Note that unlike the possessive

latter consideration has been a crucial argument for some linguists who have argued that whatever this form occurs with must be a possessed nominal (e.g. Fabb 1992, but see Manfredi 1997 for arguments to the contrary).

Finally, there is the logophoric pronoun which occurs as a bound pronominal which refers the one whose speech, thoughts etc. is being reported (cf. Clements 1975, Essegbey 1994a). Although this pronoun is always bound in the sense that it requires an antecedent, the latter has to be outside the "minimal domain" (Chomsky 1981):

42. **Kofí nyá bé ye-a-téŋú á-wɔ-e**
Kofi know that LOG-SUBJV-be-able POT2-do-3
'Kofi$_i$ knew that he$_i$ could do it.'

In this sentence, the **ye**, which is contained in the subordinate clause, refers to an antecedent (Kofi) which occurs in the main clause (cf. Essegbey 1994a).

2.4.3.1.1 REFLEXIVES

Manfredi (1991:114) claims that Kwa languages do not have lexical anaphors. Instead, they possess "phrasal anaphors of the form X's body". This claim is evident in Akan where the reflexive is the same as the word for body. The two sentences below illustrate this:

43a. **M-a-prá me-hó** (Akan)
1SG-PERF-hurt 1SG-body
'I have hurt myself.'

b. **Me-hó yɛ́ me hene** (Akan)
1SG-body do 1SG itch
'My body is itching me.'

Manfredi's claim does not apply to Ewe reflexives, however (although, as I mention in Chapter 4, it does apply to the WH-word). The reflexive, **ɖokúí**, in Ewe is like the English reflexive '-self': it occurs with a pronoun which agrees in number and person with its antecedent and it differs from the word for body which is **ŋútí**. Thus, a **ɖokúí** form in Ewe, unlike a **hó** form in Akan, cannot occur without a c-commanding antecedent. Sentences (44a, b) represent the Ewe

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pronoun 'his' in English which is inherently marked for the genitive case, the Ewe pronoun can take the alienable possessive marker ***fe***:

míá *fé* agbalẽ-wó
1Pl Poss book-Pl
'our books'

equivalents of (43a, b) respectively while (44c) shows that **ɖokúí** cannot be used in the latter case:

44a. **Me-si ɖokui-nye**
1SG-cut self-1SG
'I have cut myself.'

b. **ŋuti -nye le nye fie-m**
Body -1SG AUX 1SG itch-PROG
'My body is itching.'

c. ***ɖokúí-nye le nye fie-m**
Self-1SG AUX:PRES 1SG itch-PROG
'My body is itching.'

2.4.3.2 POSSESSIVES

I now take a look at a complex type of noun phrase, complex in the sense that it consists of two or more nouns related to each other by possession. Although possession is realised in several ways in Ewe, I will be concerned with the grammatical rendition of alienable and inalienable possession. Alienable possession is marked by the possessor morpheme ***fé*** which intervenes between the possessor and the possessum. According to Ameka (1996:791), the prototypical relation expressed by this construction is that between an animate possessor and a non-relational item. Relational nouns are those which inherently refer to a relation between one entity and the other. For instance, 'grandfather' is relational because it refers to a kinship relation between the entity grandfather and another, grandchild. A nominal like 'table', on the other hand, does not have this type of relation. It is the latter type of nominals which are possessed "alienably" in Ewe. An example is (45):

45. **Kofí *fé* kplɔ̃**
Kofi POSS table
'Kofi's table.'

Alienables are therefore 'detached' entities and Ameka includes in the semantics of their construction, the fact that the possessor can do anything with them. As detached entities, the alienable possessa can occur in a direct object position when they are the ones construed as affected and not their possessors. Ameka (1996:783) limits this to body parts thus:

> When body parts are the loci of events, they may have the core grammatical roles of subject or object in a clause.

Actually, this is a property of all alienable possessions. The example below does not refer to a body part:

46. **Ame áɖé ŋé kplɔ̃-a ná Kofí**
Person SPECI break table-DEF to/for Kofi
'Someone has broken Kofi's table.'

The adjunction of the possessor serves to indicate the detached nature of the possessum.

The quote from Ameka shows that body parts are also treated as possessing alienable properties. Thus although body parts are represented as inalienable in many other languages, in Ewe, they are conceptualised as detached entities and, therefore, treated as alienable possession. An example is (47):

47. **Kofí *fé* así**
Kofi POSS hand
'Kofi's hand.'

Body parts contrast with other relational items like "kinship, social and cultural relations which are treated as inalienable" (Ameka, 1996:795). The difference between the alienable possessive construction and that of inalienable possessive construction is that the latter does not have a possessive morpheme intervene between the possessor and the possessum. Sentence (48) below, which is an instance of an inalienable construction, shows that a person's in-laws are more inalienable to him/her than his/her body parts:

48. **Kofi tó**
Kofi father-in-law
'Kofi's father-in-law.'

To conclude, alienable possession in Ewe, to the extent that it includes body parts, differs from that in other languages where they are represented as inalienable. Body parts are contrasted with kinship and some social relations which are construed as more integral to the possessors and, therefore inalienable.

2.4.4 THE POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Postpositions have also been referred to as "locatives" (Duthie, 1996:55) or "substantives of place" because they occur with a noun phrase and indicate a region of the latter. The relation between them and the noun phrases they occur with is one of inalienable possession (cf. Ameka 1996). They can, therefore, be considered to be a subtype of the inalienable possessive construction. However, they differ from the canonical construction in that unlike "possessed" nominals,

postpositions cannot be modified. In this section, I make three points: first of all, I claim that although some postpositions and their "possessors" used to be written together, this does not make them lexical items. Secondly, I argue that some lexical items in Ewe are lexicalised postpositional phrases whose constituents are possessor nouns and postpositions. This is in spite of the fact that some of the former are translated into English with adverbs while the origin of some of the latter remains a mystery. Finally, I draw attention to the often forgotten fact that postpositional phrases are not inherently adjunct phrases.

Previous Ewe orthography gave the wrong impression that some postpositional phrases were lexical categories by writing the phrases together as single constituents. The problem with the convention was that not all the phrases were written thus. Thus one encountered such inconsistencies as the ones in ((49) the postpositions are underlined):

49	a. **afé-me**	b. **fíásé me**	c. **kpó-ta**	d. **xɔ gódo**
	house-in	shop in	mound-top	room back
	'at home'	'in a shop'	'on a hill'	'behind a room'

The first two phrases have the same postposition **me** 'inner region' and yet, they used to be written differently in standard orthography. Phrases like (49a) are not lexicalised, however, because they behave like the other nominals in a possessive construction. For example, whatever modification occurs within (49a), is on the first nominal. Thus, one used to find phrases like (50) being the modified version of (49a):

50.	**afé-á**	**me**
	house-DEF	in
	'In the house'	

Fortunately, this mistake has now been rectified and in present Ewe orthography, (49a) is written as **afé me**. Postpositions and their possessors are therefore phrasal. As stated at the beginning of this section, I consider them to be a subtype of the inalienable possessive construction.

In spite of examples like **afé me** 'in the house', there are some postpositions which have indeed become lexicalised. The evidence for this is that the possessor nominal cannot be modified. For example, the internal constituents of **duta** 'part of a town' and **gota** 'outside' cannot be modified. However, of the two examples, **du** 'town' is easily modified when it occurs in other contexts while **go** 'out' can only take the definite article in very limited contexts. The sentences below illustrate this:

51.	**Kofí**	**de**	**du**	**nyúí**	**ádé**	**me**
	Kofi	reach	town	nice	SPECI	in

'Kofi has been to a beautiful town.'

52a ***Kofí do go nyúí áɖé**
Kofi ICV out good SPECI

b. **Kofí do go-a**
Kofi ICV out-DEF
'Kofi has gone out as planned.'

Considering the fact that **du** 'town' can easily be modified when it occurs in other contexts but **go** 'out' cannot, one is tempted to analyse the former as a nominal and the latter as an adverb. The problem with this distinction is that it leads to the supposition that postpositions could take adverbs as their possessor constituents, or that adverbs occur with a determiner, two suppositions which are clearly untenable. The alternative solution is to say that constituents which behave like **go** 'out' are basically nominals because they can occur with postpositions but that they function as adjuncts when they occur in other contexts like sentence (52b) above. I will show in Chapter 4 that this alternative proposal does not work either because nominals which function as adjuncts behave differently from those which are arguments. The criteria I employ to distinguish arguments from adjuncts group nominals like **go** 'out' among arguments.

There is another set of lexical items which I consider to have the internal structure of postpositional phrases but which have become lexicalised to the point that the whole item can be modified. This set consists of such items as **anyígbá** 'land' (e.g. **anyígbá gbadzaa** - 'wide plot of land') **atágbá** 'thigh' (e.g. **atágbá títri** - 'thick thighs') and **tagbá** 'the edge of a river'.[20] These items are not usually considered to be postpositional phrases, firstly because, as I have just illustrated, they can be modified and, secondly, because the origin of **gbá**, the supposed postposition has not been established. Still, the lexical items map certain regions (i.e. parts of the ground, leg and stream). Furthermore, with the exception of **anyí** 'ground', these possessor constituents can be modified in other contexts. Sentences (53a,b) illustrate modification of **tá** 'stream' and **atá** 'leg' respectively:

53a. **Tá sue áɖé le Kumasi**
stream small SPECI LOC Kumasi
'There is a small stream at Kumasi.'

b. **Kofí *fé* atá lee má glɔ́**
Kofi POSS thigh thin DEM be-crooked
'That thin thigh of Kofi is crooked.'

[20]Ameka also has **asígba** 'flat hand' and **alɔgba** 'flat palm' (1980:7).

54a. ***Kofí nɔ anyí sue ádé**
Kofi sit ground small SPECI

b. **Kofí nɔ anyí-á**
Kofi sit ground-DEF
'Kofi sat down as he had intended.'

(54b) shows that **anyí** 'ground' behaves like **go** in taking the determiner **(l)á** in restricted contexts. Just as I argued for **go**, therefore, I claim that even without a modifier, **anyí** 'ground' is a nominal and not an adverbial.[21]

A final point I want to make is that postpositional phrases are not inherently adjunct phrases. Rather, their status as arguments or adjuncts depends on the construction in which they occur. Aboh (1997), couching this in GB terms, states that they can receive accusative case from the verb. For example, one diagnostic which I employ for argumenthood in Chapter 4 is that only postverbal constituents which are arguments are preposed in a progressive or prospective construction.[22] Adjuncts are left in postverbal position. According to this criterion, **zikpuia dzí** 'the chair top' is an argument in (55a) but **afɛ́á me** 'in the house' (55b) is not:

55a. **Kofí le zikpui-a dzí nɔ gé**
Kofi AUX:PRES chair-DEF top sit PROSP
'Kofi will sit on the chair.'

b. **Kofí le dzo-dzo gé (le) afɛ́á me**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-leave PROSP (LOC) house-DEF in
'Kofi will leave the house.'

Zikpuia dzí 'on the chair' is preposed in (55a) and the verb is simply followed by the prospective morpheme. In (55b), on the other hand, **afɛ́á me** 'in the house' remains in postverbal position while the verb is reduplicated. One might

[21]The issue of **go** 'out' and **anyí** 'ground' will be revisited in subsequent chapters.

[22]Aboh (1998b: 185) has examples of some reduplicated elements which are translated into English with adverbs occurring in preverbal position in Gungbe. An example he gives is:

Àsíbá tò dɛdɛ zɔn (1998: 185, ex. 29e)
Asiba Imperf slowly walk
'Asiba is walking slowly.'

He does not, therefore, consider preposing as a property which distinguishes arguments from adjuncts in Gungbe. An interesting fact about these "adverbs" is that they have to be reduplicated. What is more, Aboh notes that they form a very limited class. One could ask if they are rally adverbs or whether they only translate as such.

argue that this is because of the presence of the locative preposition **le**. However, the preposition, in this case, is an optional element. This is further support for my treatment of postpositional phrases as a subtype of possessive constructions: like noun phrases, they can occur as arguments or adjuncts.

In this subsection, I have argued that, even when they are written together, many postpositions and their possessor constituents form phrases. Secondly I have argued that the possessor constituents are always noun phrases, and, even though it is sometimes difficult to determine the origin of some postpositions, this does not make their possessors any less nominal. Finally, I have shown that the postpositional phrase is not inherently an adjunct. The prepositional phrase which I discuss next cannot, unlike the NP and postpositional phrase, occur as a core argument of the verb. It can, however, occur as an non-core argument.

2.4.5 THE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Prepositions in Ewe have also been referred to as "verbids" (Ansre, 1966b). This is because they are verbs in a series which have become grammaticalised as prepositions. They differ from true verbs in not being able to occur with TAM morphemes. The two sentences below illustrate the difference:

56a. **Kofi le agbalẽ *fle-gé* na Amí**
Kofi AUX book buy-PROSP to/for Ami
'Kofi will buy a book for Ami.'

b. **Kofi le agbalẽ *fle-gé* á-na Ami** SVC
Kofi AUX book buy-PROSP POT2-give Ami
'Kofi will buy a book and give it to Ami as a present.'

Ná 'to/for' in (56a) is a preposition which takes a noun phrase as its complement. As such, it does not occur with any TAM morpheme. The **ná** 'give' in (56b), on the other hand, is a second verb in a serial verb construction. The potential morpheme it occurs with is therefore an obligatory element. It can be observed that interpretations of the two sentences differ: (56a) means that Kofi will be buying the book on behalf of Ami while (56b) means that he will buy the book in order to give it to Ami as a present.

Prepositions can also take postpositional phrases as complements, as illustrated below:

57. **Bɔ́lu-á yi ɖé afé-á me**
Ball-DEF go ALL house-DEF in
'The ball went into the house.'

In this dissertation, I will be concerned mainly with three prepositions, namely **le** 'at (locative)', **ná** 'to/for' and **ɖé** 'at/towards (allative)'.[23] I argue that although they can function as arguments, prepositional phrases in Ewe do not function as core arguments. This is demonstrated in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 where I discuss the criteria for distinguishing arguments.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed some basic sentences in Ewe in addition to one primary morphological process, namely reduplication. I have also discussed the verb, which forms the nucleus of the sentence, and constituents which represent its arguments. I argued that the verb only occurs with modal and aspectual morphemes but that these morphemes can be used for temporal purposes as well. In the case of arguments, I claimed that only noun phrases and postpositional phrases can function as core arguments; prepositional phrases can only be non-core arguments. The exact reasons for this claim are provided in Chapter 4. I argued further that some "nominals" are actually lexicalised postpositional phrases even though the etymology of some of their postpositions has not been established. The constituents of such phrases, I argued are possessor nouns and a postposition.

[23] I also mention the preposition **tsó** 'from' but it does not figure prominently in my discussion as the three above.

THE ONE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER 3

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1, I stated that although some verbs in Ewe cannot occur without complements, others can. In this chapter, I discuss the syntax and semantics of those verbs which occur without complements. The discussion is set against the background of the claim made within the "Unaccusativity Hypothesis" that, universally, intransitive verbs can be divided into two distinct classes. I argue that this claim does not apply to Ewe. I propose instead that sentences in which verbs occur with a single direct argument constitute a construction in the sense of Goldberg (1995). The construction which I refer to as "the one-place construction" has a semantics that not only determines which verbs occur in it but influences their interpretation as well. The semantics of the verbs, when they occur in this construction, involves states of affairs in which either the semantic component of cause or control is not asserted. Adopting a proposal made by DeLancey (1990), I argue that both instances involve the lack of a cause, referred to as "lexical cause", as opposed to real world cause (henceforth, I will write it as "Cause" with a capital "C"). I conclude therefore that at a certain level, verbs which occur with a single argument in Ewe can be said to constitute a single class.

The chapter is organised as follows: in Section 3.1, I discuss the Unaccusativity Hypothesis. I discuss the three main positions which have been taken with regard to the claim: one is that it is syntactically determined, a second is that it is semantically determined while yet another is that it is semantically determined and syntactically realised. I concentrate on one of the semantic notions, i.e., control which, as I argue later, also plays a role in determining whether some verbs occur with a single argument in Ewe or not. In a subsection, I take a look at the active-inactive phenomenon where the morphological distinction between intransitive verbs is accounted for by, among others, such factors as control. In Section 3.2, I discuss the semantic classes of verbs which occur in the one-place construction. I argue that although the classes to which the verbs belong are varied, they all lack the semantic element of Cause. Section 3.3 reviews the Unaccusativity Hypothesis in the light of the data presented in Section 3.2. I argue that the so-called unergative/unaccusative distinction does not apply to Ewe. Instead, I claim that the intransitive clause constitutes a construction whose semantics lacks Cause. I claim that Cause

subsumes control. I then compare the phenomenon in Ewe to the active-inactive phenomenon discussed in Section 3.1 and claim that Ewe manifests syntactically what these languages manifest morphologically. Section 3.4 formulates the one-place construction and Section 3.5 concludes the chapter with a summary of the main points of the chapter.

3.1 THE UNACCUSATIVITY HYPOTHESIS

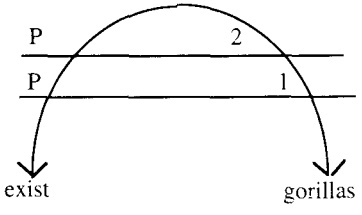
In this section, I discuss the Unaccusativity Hypothesis (UH), noting the various positions that have been taken with regard to it. Promulgated by Perlmutter within the Relational Grammar (RG) framework, the UH states:

> Certain intransitive clauses have an initial 2 but no initial 1 (1978:160).

In non-RG terms, this means that the single argument of some intransitive verbs occurs in the same underlying structural position as the object of monotransitive verbs. These initial 2s become final 1s by a so-called "Final 1 Law" which essentially requires predicates to have subjects. The example Perlmutter uses is:

1. 'Gorillas exist.' (Perlmutter 1978: ex. 11)

This sentence is given the analysis below:



The diagram represents the stratal analysis adopted in the RG framework. The arrow which curves downwards to the left represents the predicate (marked P) while the one on the right represents the argument. The lines represent various levels of derivation, referred to as strata. In the initial stratum which is at the top, the argument, 'gorillas', is 2. In the next stratum, it becomes 1. The process by which an argument is re-evaluated from one stratum to the other is known as advancement. It is the advancement of the single argument from 2 to 1 that Perlmutter calls "unaccusative" (1978:160). Unaccusatives are contrasted with unergatives which, in RG terms, only possess an initial 1 stratum. This means that the arguments of this class of intransitive verbs belong to the same level as

arguments which occur in the subject position of transitive verbs. Thus Rosen (1984:43) writes: "under the UH, then, the basic question about every intransitive clause is: which type of initial stratum does it have, unergative or unaccusative".

The division of intransitives into unaccusatives and unergatives has also been adopted in the Government and Binding (GB) framework. Here, it is assumed that the single argument of unaccusative verbs occur as deep structure objects while that of unergatives occur as deep structure subjects. Following Burzio (1986), it is assumed that unaccusatives are not able to assign structural case (i.e. accusative case) to their single arguments so the latter are forced to move to subject position in order to receive case. According to Levin and Rappaport (1995), an alternative definition is that an unaccusative verb is not able to assign a theta role to its subject. Whatever the position taken, the GB account of unaccusativity is similar to that of RG in that the arguments of unergatives and unaccusative verbs are assumed to occupy different positions on the different levels (strata in RG). There is one major difference though: GB accounts allow for unergatives to take objects in some cases (e.g. cognate objects, cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995:40) whereas the RG definition of unergativity excludes the possibility of it occurring with an object.

Perlmutter and Postal proposed a Universal Alignment Hypothesis which states that (1984:97):

> There exists some set of universal principles on the basis of which, given the semantic representation of a clause, one can predict which initial G[rammatical] R[elation] each nominal bears.

This, in the UH, means that the unergative/unaccusative distinction between intransitive clauses can be determined by the semantics of the verbs that occur in them. Perlmutter proposed that predicates describing willed or volitional acts (including manner-of-speaking verbs and sounds made by animals) as well as those describing certain involuntary bodily processes like 'cough', 'sneeze' and 'weep', belong to the unergative class. On the other hand, predicates expressed by adjectives in English, predicates whose initial term is a semantic patient, predicates of existing and happening and predicates of non-voluntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses will be unaccusatives (cf. 1978:162-163). Opinions are divided on this issue, however. For instance Rosen (1984) argues that unaccusativity is in no way determined by the semantics of a predicate. This is because, according to her, despite the fair amount of correlation between a verb's semantics and its syntactic behaviour, there are also several cases in which verbs which are expected to fall in the one class end up in the other. For instance, 'die' which is predicted to be unaccusative across languages is unergative in Choctaw. Moreover, not only do equivalent verbs in

different languages fall into different classes but the same verb in some languages can display properties of the two classes. Rosen concludes that the ability of a verb to occur in a class is not predictable and, therefore, that the phenomenon is purely syntactic. Rosen's position is contested by Van Valin (1987, 1990) who claims that the distinction is best accounted for in semantic terms. He argues that the phenomenon is not cross-linguistically determined by a single semantic property. Instead, in some languages, e.g. Italian and Georgian, the split in intransitive classes is determined by the inherent aspect of the lexical items while in other languages, e.g. Tsova-Tush (a Caucasian language) and Acehnese (an Austronesian language), it is determined by agentiveness. Van Valin also argues that in some languages, a particular unaccusativity diagnostic may be split between the two parameters. He argues further that his semantic analysis which adopts the two parameters removes the need for a syntactic account of unaccusativity. The latter position is not shared by Levin and Rappaport (1995). They are rather of the view that while unaccusativity is semantically determined, it is also syntactically realised. They point out that the problems that Rosen and others find with the semantic determination idea is due to the fact that only certain aspects of verb meaning are available to syntax and that the semantic classes that were being used were not necessarily relevant. For example, they argue that there are alternative, finer-grained semantic classifications that do not necessarily classify the so-called bodily-process predicates established by Perlmutter together. As an example, they point out that while in terms of lexical aspect, the bodily process verb 'snore' in English can be classified as an activity predicate, 'blush', another bodily process verb, could either be classified as an activity or change of state predicate. However, **arrosire**, the Italian equivalent of 'blush' literally means 'become red' and, therefore, can only be classified as a change of state predicate (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995:9). This is evidence, then, that seemingly equivalent predicates across languages may differ in the crucial element of meaning that is syntactically relevant. Levin and Rappaport therefore shift the semantic burden of determining the distinction from broad semantic classes to some specific syntactically relevant meanings. They propose linking rules which link the arguments to underlying syntactic position thus ensuring the relation between meaning and form. My subsequent discussions of the UH will dwell mainly on the semantic criteria. In the next subsection, I consider the active-inactive phenomenon which has been accounted for in terms of the unaccusative/unergative distinction.

3.1.1 THE ACTIVE-INACTIVE LANGUAGES

The aim of this section is two-fold: firstly, it is to show how the distinction between intransitive verbs is expressed in the morphology of some languages. Secondly, I introduce the semantic notion of control and show the role it plays in the grammar of a language. In Section 3.3, I argue that this notion forms a subpart of Cause which determines whether a verb occurs with or without a complement in Ewe.

The active-inactive phenomenon involves a type of case marking in which one particular case is assigned to the subject of transitive clauses as well as some intransitive clauses while another case is assigned to the object of transitive clauses as well as the subject of some intransitive clauses (cf. Van Valin 1990, Mithun 1991, Danziger 1996, *inter alia*). The examples below illustrate the phenomenon in Guaraní.

2	a.	**a-xá**	'I go.'
	b.	**a-pu$^{?}$á**[1]	'I got up.' (Mithun 1991:ex.1)
3	a.	**še-rasi**	'I am sick.'
	b.	**še-ropehii**	'I am sleepy.' (Mithun 1991:ex.1)
4	a.	**a-gwerú aina**	'I am bringing them now.'
	b.	**ha upépe a-y-gařá**[2] **šupé**	'and there I caught him.' (Mithun 1991:ex.2)
5	a.	**še-rerahá**	'It will carry me off.'
	b.	**še-yukà varà mo$^{?}$á**	'He would have killed me.' (Mithun 1991:ex.3)

The morpheme **a-** marks the first person singular pronoun in the intransitive clauses containing the verbs glossed as 'go' and 'get up' in (2a, b) as well as the transitive clauses in (4). The morpheme **še-**, on the other hand, marks this pronoun when it occurs either in object position of a transitive clause (5a, b) or as subject of intransitive clauses containing verbs which are glossed as 'be sick' and 'be sleepy' (3a, b). The **a-** type of morpheme is referred to as the active or agentive case while the **še-** type is referred to as the inactive or patient case.

As stated above, accounts of the active-inactive phenomenon have been couched in terms of the unaccusativity distinction, with proponents of the

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[1]In Mithun (1991), the nasalisation diacritic is placed above the tonal one. I have placed it below the vowel for the sake of convenience.

[2]Mithun (1991) represents this as 'a-gara'. The present from which reflects the fact that the verb was borrowed from Spanish 'agarrar' (to catch) was brought to my attention by Willem Adelaar (personal communication).

syntactic and semantic determination criteria arguing from their respective positions. Thus, those who prefer a purely syntactic analysis, like Rosen, claim that the distinction is simply based on an a-priori initial position of the arguments of the verbs. The ones which take agentive case marking occur in initial 1 stratum (subject position) while those which are marked with patient case occur in initial 2 (underlying object position). Semantic proponents like Van Valin (1990), on the other hand, claim that these cases are determined simply by semantic criteria like lexical aspect and agentiveness. DeLancey (1985) also argues that the difference in case marking is semantically determined in terms of either lexical or clause-level semantics. Among the semantic factors he mentions is control (1985:3):

> The semantic distinction coded in such systems is usually described in terms of the presence or absence of "volitionality" or "control" on the part of the actor, based either on the proptotypical volitionality value of the predicate or on the actual degree of volitionality imputed by the speaker to the actor in the event being reported.

Thus where agentivity is the determining factor in case selection, it could in turn be determined by volition or control or a composite of these factors.

I will now briefly discuss the active-inactive phenomenon in Caddo, a Caddoan language spoken in West Oklahoma, where active case marking is determined by agentiveness. According to Mithun, when the usual components of agency do not coincide, Caddo case marking reflects control. Thus those who are not in control are classified grammatically as patients even if they are performers, effectors, and instigators (cf. Mithun 1991:526-527). The data below are recorded by Wallace Chafe and reported in Mithun (1991).

6 a. **ci:widahšahyah.** 'I jumped.'
b. **cihahyúnčah.** 'I'm going to go home.' (1991:ex32a)

7 a. **hákkut$^{?}$náw$^{?}$uhsa$^{?}$.** 'I'm sick.'
b. **ku:táy$^{?}$ayah.** 'I'm tired, disgusted, fed up.' (1991:ex32b)

8 a. **ci:wida:kuhnah.** 'I grabbed him.'
b. **ci:kí:$^{?}$čah.** 'I'm going to kill him.' (1991:ex33)

9 a. **ku:wida:kuhnah.** 'He grabbed me.'
b. **ku:kí$^{?}$čak.** 'He's going to kill me'. (1991:ex34)

The morpheme **ci-** marks the first person singular subject of the intransitive verbs glossed as 'jump' and 'go' as well as the subject of the transitive verbs glossed as 'grab' and 'kill'. On the other hand, **ku-** is used to represent the same

personal pronoun when it occurs as the subject of intransitive verbs glossed as 'be sick' and 'be tired' as well as the object of transitive forms of the verbs mentioned above. Since the determining factor in Caddo can be control, Mithun has examples showing that verbs expressing states of affairs like stuttering and staggering are also marked with a patient case. These are provided below (1991: ex. 39):[3]

10 a. **hík<u>ku</u>háwkátdikahih** 'I stuttered'
b. **hák<u>ku</u>kà:suhánná:sa?** I'm staggering'

For languages in which volition alone is the determining factor for agentiveness, these verbs are predicted to take active case.

To sum up the discussion, active-inactive languages provide morphological evidence for the split between intransitive verbs or clauses. One determining factor for active case marking is agentiveness, and this in turn involves either volition, control or composite factors. For languages like Caddo where control is also a factor, some verbs which express a defect in a manner of walking (i.e. stagger) or a manner of speaking (i.e. stutter) take inactive case because they do not assert control. Ordinarily, these verbs would be said to be agentive because their participants are animate effectors. As stated at the beginning of this section, I will argue that the semantic notion of control plays a role in the grammar of Ewe too. I will claim that rather than being morphologically expressed as in Caddo it is syntactically realised. Before getting into this debate, I discuss the syntax and semantics of the verbs which can occur without complements in Ewe.

3.2 ONE-PLACE VERBS IN EWE

In this section, I take a look at the syntax and semantics of verbs which can occur in the intransitive clause in Ewe. I refer to the verbs as "one-place" verbs and the intransitive construction in which they occur as the "one-place construction".[4] One-place verbs can be divided into three broad groups based on the constructions they enter into. Group 1 comprises verbs which do not only occur in the one-place construction but also undergo the causative

[3]The data in Caddo are further complicated by the fact that, in addition to agency, affectedness also determines case marking. Thus participants which are marked as patients must also be seen as affected. Verbs which encode inherent properties of participants are not construed as affecting and therefore not marked with patient case. Instead, they are expressed with adjectives which take the verb 'be' plus agent case. Importantly, they are not directly expressed with verbs which take agent case.

[4]The full list of one-place verbs which are found in Westermann (1928) is provided in the appendix.

alternation construction (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995), referred to in my analysis as one type of a 'two-place construction'. A characteristic of the verbs in this group is that the participant role of the NP which occurs in the subject position of the one-place construction is the one which occurs in the object position of the two-place construction. Examples are **ŋé** 'become broken', **mli** 'roll' and **tsyɔ** 'drip'. Group 2 verbs also occur in both one-place and two-place constructions. They differ from the previous one, however, in that the participant role of the NP which occurs in the subject position of the one-place construction also occurs in the subject position of the two-place construction. There are some restrictions which I will discuss below. Examples are **gbɔ** 'breathe/blow', **do** 'move out' and **fa** 'utter a sound'. Group 3 consists of verbs which can only occur in the one-place construction. The single arguments of these verbs are, therefore, always realised in the subject position. Examples are **lolo** 'be big', **dzó** 'leave a place' and **tá** 'crawl'. I adopt semantic classifications for the verbs that have already been used in the literature on unaccusativity. The classification is based on my native speaker intuitions and does not, therefore, have any formal basis. This is all the more obvious since, as I show in my discussion, verbs belonging to the same semantic class occur in different groups. I show that when the verbs occur in the one-place construction, they express states of affairs that lack the semantic component of cause or control.

3.2.1 GROUP 1

As mentioned above, this group is made up of the subclass of verbs which occur in both the one-place and a two-place construction. I also stated that the participant role of the NP which occurs in the subject position of the one-place construction is the one which occurs in object position of the two place construction. The semantic classes of verbs which occur in this group are 'inchoative', 'emission', and 'non-agentive manner of motion'.[5]

3.2.1.1 THE INCHOATIVE CLASS

Welmers (1973:347) writes:

> A [...] type of nonmatch between what we think of as present time and verbal constructions in many Niger-Congo languages has to do with verbs which, in those languages, have a basically inceptive meaning – e.g., 'get sick, ripen, mature, age'.

[5]There is one verb **bú** 'disappear, to lose' which I classify as a "verb of appearance and disappearance" and which also occurs in this class. I do not include this verb in the present discussion.

I refer to the Ewe equivalent of these verbs as inchoative verbs. Their distinguishing property is that their semantics hovers between a stative and change of state interpretation. By stative, I am not referring to the lexical aspect of the verbs since they can take the progressive morpheme, as the sentence below illustrates:

11. **Emɔ-á** **le** **gɔ-glɔ́-m**
Road-DEF AUX:PRES RED-become_crooked-PROG
'The road is becoming crooked.'

This sentence can be uttered by say, a road construction supervisor during the period of construction of a road. The interpretation here is that the road is gradually entering the state of being crooked. When, on the other hand, the verb occurs without the progressive, we simply have a stative interpretation, as the sentence below illustrates:

12. **Emɔ-á** **glɔ̃**
Road-DEF become_crooked
'The road is crooked.'

Glɔ̃, in this case, refers to the crooked state of the road instead of the fact that it *entered* that state. One can, therefore, say that it simply encodes a state or property of the road.[6] Thus, depending on the linguistic context **glɔ̃** 'become crooked' yields either an inchoative or stative interpretation. In a monosemic account such as the one adopted here, this difference in interpretation is not attributed to a difference in meaning, especially since it can be shown here that aspectual morphemes determine which of the interpretations has to be given to the clauses containing these verbs. Instead, I consider verbs like these to possess a single inchoative meaning.

There are also some punctual verbs which I put in the inchoative class. These verbs differ from the **glɔ̃** type in that, instead of yielding a simple inchoative interpretation when they occur with the progressive morpheme, they rather yield an about-to-enter-a-state or an iterative enter-a-state interpretation. Yet, without the progressive, the verbs also have an inchoative interpretation, especially if they take the adverb **énumáké** 'immediately'. This is illustrated below:

13a **Atí-á** **le** **ŋe-ŋé-m**
Stick-DEF AUX:PRES RED-become_broken-PROG
'The stick is about to break/is breaking into several pieces.'

[6]Welmers (1973) refers to this as the present situation and notes that it is expressed by a "completive" construction.

b. **Atí-á** **ŋé** **énumáké**
Stick-DEF become_broken immediately
'The stick broke immediately.'

c. **Atí-á** **ŋé**
Stick-DEF become_broken
'The stick broke/is broken.'

As the translation of sentence (13a) shows, we have an interpretation that the stick is on the verge of breaking (probably because it has been bent to a breaking point) or that it is breaking into bits and pieces. (13b), on the other hand, has a simple inchoative interpretation as it refers to the stick's abrupt entry into a broken state. (13c) shows that without the adverbial, the sentence can be given not only an inchoative interpretation but a stative one as well. In this case, it is the discourse context that determines the exact interpretation which the verb takes. The above sentences show that, on the one hand, there is a difference between verbs like **glɔ́** 'become crooked' and those like **ŋé** 'become broken'. The differences are, however, not important for the discussion here. What is relevant is that all the verbs in one way or the other give rise to inchoative as well as plain stative (or what Welmers calls present situation) interpretations. An important thing about the semantics of these verbs is that, in encoding the state or property of the entity they are predicated of, they do not assert control. That is to say in stating that a road is crooked or that a stick enters the state of being broken, I do not assert that either argument has control over the state of affairs or that these states of affairs have been caused by anyone.

Not all the verbs which I consider to be inchoative occur in group 1 but in this section, I only discuss the ones that do. Examples of the ones which undergo causative alternation are **ŋé** 'become broken', **bé** 'become bare', **dzɔ** 'become straight, upright', ***fá*** 'become smooth, polished', **gblé** 'become spoiled' and **kaka** 'become separated, scattered'. For instance a causative form of (13c) is (14):

14. **Kofí** **ŋé** **atí-á**
Kofi become_broken stick-DEF
'Kofi broke the stick.'

Here, it has been made explicit that Kofi caused the broken state of the stick. A property of verbs which undergo this alternation is that their change or property is perceived to be caused by an external entity (DeLancey 1985, Levin and Rappaport 1995). A fundamental question which sentences like (13) raise is whether the verbs which occur in them have a causal component in their lexical semantics. Levin and Rappaport claim that this is the case in most languages.

contra Lakoff (1968) and Brousseau and Ritter (1991). Among the reasons they cite in support of their claim are the results of an investigation by Nedjalkov (1969) into the morphological relation between the causative and non-causative use of the equivalent of 'break' and 'laugh' and two other verbs in 60 languages. In most of the languages, the transitive form of the 'break' equivalent is either morphologically similar to the intransitive or the intransitive is more complex suggesting that it is derived from the transitive. Levin and Rappaport also argue from a real world knowledge perspective. They write (1995:93):

> Some externally caused verbs such as *break* can be used intransitively without the expression of an external cause, but, even when no cause is specified, our knowledge of the world tells us that the eventuality that these verbs describe could not have happened without an external cause.

There is no doubt that real world knowledge plays an important role in the interpretations given to lexical items in particular constructions. When it is adopted for the determination of lexical semantics, however, there are lots of events for which one can find an external cause and, yet, opinions are not always convergent on whether the verbs that express them contain a causal component. One such verb is 'die' which Wierzbicka argues also contains cause. She writes (1980:172):

> I would argue then, that sentences like "Bill died" or "the vase broke" do not differ from "Harry killed Bill" or "Harry broke the vase" by virtue of the presence or absence of a causal component. The causal relation is present in the semantic structure of both "die" and "kill". The difference is that in the case of "Bill died" no external person or object is viewed as responsible for the death, whereas in the case of "Harry killed Bill" or "a stray bullet killed Bill" - Harry and the bullet, which are external to Bill, *are* viewed as responsible.

Wierzbicka goes on to argue that some verbs which are not traditionally specified as possessing a causal component in their lexical semantics should be analysed as containing it. There seem to be important reasons for differentiating real world causes from what I would call "lexical cause", however.

Levin and Rappaport's discussion of Nedjalkov's study referred to above also shows that there are some languages, albeit fewer in number (9 to be precise), in which the transitive form of 'break' is derived from the intransitive form. In such languages, we could say that causation in the real world is *not* part of the lexical specification of the verbs, which is why they take the causative morphology when they express causation. There is indeed evidence from Likpe,

a Central-Togo language spoken on the Ghana-Togo mountains, that it is not always the case that external causation is lexicalised. This language, like Ewe, makes predominant use of verbs to encode states and properties which are encoded by participials and adjectives in languages like English. Thus, 'to be wet' is encoded by the verb **bu**. In order to encode that an entity is caused to be wet, the verb takes causative morphology. This is represented below:

15a. **Yi bu**
3SG *become_wet*
'It is wet.'

b. **ntu ə-bu-sə ya**
water AGR-become_wet-CAUS 3SG
'Water made it wet.'

The causative morphology **-sə** in sentence (15b) shows that it is this form which is derived.[7] Note that it would be arbitrary to suggest that states of affairs like becoming wet, represented in (15a), from a real world perspective, do not involve external causation. Instead, the above example, coupled with the 'break' verbs from the nine languages in Nedjalkov's study, suggests that, as stated above, some languages have a causal component in the semantic structure of some lexical items while others do not. This component constitutes a sub-part of what I refer to as Cause.

In Ewe, there is a difference in the behaviour of the inchoative verbs which undergo causative alternation and another class, exemplified in Chapter 1 Section 1.2.3, which I put down to the presence or absence of Cause in their lexical semantics. As indicated in Chapter 1, there are verbs, outside the traditional ICVs, which also require the occurrence of a complement. These verbs have to take a generic complement to signify the non-referentiality of the second participant. The sentence below illustrates this:

16. **Kofí le nú ɖu-ḿ**
Kofi AUX:PRES *thing* *eat-PROG*
'Kofi is eating.'

This is the kind of answer a person may give when asked what Kofi is doing. **Nú** 'thing', in this sentence need not refer to any specific thing that is being eaten. It can indicate that Kofi is simply consuming something. The situation is

[7]The two break forms in the language **bá** and **fəsə** take the same form in both transitive and intransitive construction. It can be observed that the second one has the causative morpheme **-sə**. I am indebted to Felix Ameka for the data.

different for inchoative verbs. In the few cases where they take a generic complement, the resultant interpretation is not generic, as illustrated below:

17.	**Kofí**	**le**	**nú**	**ŋé-ḿ**	**égbea**
	Kofi	AUX:PRES	thing	become_broken-PROG	today
	'Kofi is harvesting a crop.'				

The free translation in (17), shows that **ŋé** 'become broken' does not refer to a non-specified breaking state of affairs when it takes a generic complement. Instead, it refers to the breaking of a specific type of thing, namely crops, and this in turn gives rise to the specific interpretation of harvesting. The referent of **nú** 'thing' in **ŋé nú** 'harvest', unlike that in **ɖu nú** 'eat' can, therefore, be said to be specific. It is obvious then that there is a difference between the **ɖu** type of verbs and the inchoative verbs which I have discussed above. I propose that this difference stems from the fact that the former has the element Cause in its lexical specification and, therefore, cannot occur in the one-place construction. The latter, on the other hand, does not have Cause, and this explains why it can occur without an obligatory complement.

A point which I elaborate on in the next chapter is that while the one-place construction lacks causal semantics, there is a two-place construction which possesses it. I refer to this construction as "the causal two-place construction". Verbs with causal semantics have to occur in this construction and they do not acquire any additional meaning by doing so. On the other hand, inchoative verbs do not possess Cause. When they occur in the causal two-place construction, the causal interpretation assigned to the sentence is introduced by the construction, and not the verb. This position is supported by the fact that, in Ewe, it is possible to use the impersonal construction, which is a two-place construction, in order to indicate Cause explicitly even when one has no knowledge of the identity of the causal entity. Consider the sentence below:

18.	**Wó-ŋé**	**Kofí**	**fofó**	***fé***	**amefotí**
	3PL-become_broken	Kofi	father	POSS	cane
	'Kofi's father's cane has been broken.' (lit. they have broken...)				

The third person plural pronoun, **wó** 'they', which occurs in subject position here does not refer to any particular entity. All it indicates is that someone is or some people are responsible for the stick entering into a particular state (either as a proximate or immediate cause, on the one hand, or as an ultimate cause, i.e., the entity that sets the causal chain into action, on the other).

To conclude, inchoative verbs in Ewe like **ŋé** 'become broken' and **glɔ́** 'become crooked' do not have Cause in their lexical semantics. When they occur in the one-place construction, they simply express entry into a state or the state or property of an entity. Depending on the context, one can then decide

whether the focus is on the transition or the state. In Chapter 4, I claim that these verbs have a semantics that is compatible with the causal two-place construction and that this explains why they can occur in the latter construction.

3.2.1.2 VERBS OF EMISSION

Perlmutter (1978:163) identified a class of verbs which, according to him are non-voluntary emissions of stimuli that impinge on the senses. These are verbs of sound, smell and light emission, to which Levin and Rappaport (1995:91) add verbs of substance emission. Some Ewe equivalents of these verbs undergo the causative alternation and I consider them here.

3.2.1.2.1 SUBSTANCE EMISSION

The verbs which belong to this subclass could also be classified as verbs of inherently directed motion (cf. below). There is a difference between them, however, in that the former are predicated of only a limited set of arguments, a property noted by Levin and Rappaport (1995). The only Ewe verbs which occur in this class are **wú** 'sprinkle', **tsyɔ** 'drip' and **nyɔ́** spurt'. These three verbs take only liquid things as participants. A fourth verb **ɖuɖu** 'to leak, trickle' has a less restricted meaning and occurs with liquids, powdery and grainy things. The sentences below illustrate the alternation with one of the verbs:

19a. **Tsi-á** **tsyɔ** **ɖé** **ta** **me** **ná-m**
water-DEF drip ALL head in to/for-1SG
'The water dripped onto my head.'

b. **Kofí** **tsyɔ** **tsi** **(le** **te-á** **ŋú)**
Kofi drip water LOC yam-DEF skin
'Kofi strained water (from the yam).'

Sentence (19b) refers to the process whereby water is strained from yam after it has been boiled. **Tsyɔ** 'drip' is used here because the pot in which the yam is boiled is always partly covered when the water is poured out in order to prevent the food from coming out with it. The result is that the water comes out in small measures.

In their one-place occurrences, the verbs of substance emission only take inanimate entities and express the manner in which these entities come out of a container. I assume that inanimate entities do not have any control over states of affairs and, therefore, that the verbs do not assert control. To anticipate a detailed discussion in Section 3.3 below, I take this lack of control to correspond to a lack of Cause, which means that verbs of substance emission

also lack a causal semantics. In sentence (19b), therefore, it is the construction which adds the causal element to the state of affairs expressed by the verb.

3.2.1.2.2 SMELL EMISSION

There are two verbs of smell emission in Ewe. These are **mūmū** 'emit a fishy smell'[8] and **ʋéʋé**[9] 'give off an odour'. **Mūmū** 'emit a fishy smell' can only occur without a complement and will, therefore, be discussed in a different section. In this section, I discuss only **ʋéʋé** 'give off an odour' which occurs in a construction which is similar to the causative alternation construction. As its translation shows, ʋéʋé 'give off an odour' is the general verb of smell in Ewe. It takes various ideophonic adverbs to indicate the various kinds of smell which are emitted, be they pleasant or bad. Consider the illustrations below:

20a. **Ami-á** **le** **ʋeʋé-mí** **lílílí**
Oil-DEF AUX:PRES smell-PROG nice
'The oil smells nice.'

b. **Tefé-á** **le** **ʋeʋé-mí** **kúɖíkúɖí**
Place-DEF AUX:PRES smell-PROG horrible
'The place smells very bad.'

These sentences show that **ʋéʋé** 'give off an odour' simply expresses the olfactory property of entities and therefore, like the verbs of substance emission, cannot be said to assert control. The verb can, however, occur in a serial verb construction where the entity that is supposed to emit the odour occurs in object position. This is shown in the example below:

21. **Kofí** **ʋéʋé** **awu-á** **se**
Kofi smell clothing-DEF perceive
'Kofi smelled the clothing.'

The second verb in the series, **se**, means 'to perceive', and its use in the construction indicates that Kofi uses his appropriate senses to "feel out" the smell that the clothing emits.[10] Thus, in order to express a controlled state of affairs with a verb which does not have control in its lexical semantic

[8]Westermann translates this verb as 'to emit a disagreeable smell'. I do not think that the smell is necessarily disagreeable, especially since it is used to describe the smell of babies as well.

[9]The inland dialect variant of this form is not reduplicated.

[10]Although, in this particular case, we are dealing with a sense of smell, **se** could in other contexts refer to other senses, e.g., taste.

specification, a serial verb construction which is a complex predicate construction (Bodomo 1997) may be used. As stated above, this is not, strictly speaking, a causative alternation construction: the translation shows that Kofi does not cause the clothing to emit an odour. In the present study, I am particularly concerned with monoverbal clauses. I will therefore not dwell on constructions like (21) which involve SVCs. What is relevant for me here is the fact that when verbs of smell emission are used in the one-place construction, they do not assert control.

3.2.1.2.3 LIGHT EMISSION

The verb which encodes light emission is **klɛ́** 'shine'. With most arguments, it expresses an inherent property of the entity and is, thus, unable to undergo causative alternation (cf. section 3.2.3). However, the verb can take an allative preposition in order to express that the light has been directed at a place. These are all illustrated below:

22a. **Akaɖí-á klɛ́**
lamp-DEF shine
'The lamp shone.'

b. ***Kofí klɛ́ akaɖí-á**
Kofi shine lamp-DEF
'Kofi shone the lamp.'

c. **Kofí klɛ́ akaɖí ɖé xɔ-á me**
Kofi shine lamp ALL room-DEF in
'He shone the lamp into the room.'

Klɛ́ is a natural property of **akaɖí** 'lamp' and this explains why (22b) is not acceptable. Lamps can, however, be made to throw their light at a place. The sentence is therefore made acceptable by the presence of the allative preposition (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995).

3.2.1.3 NON-AGENTIVE MANNER OF MOTION

This term is taken from Levin and Rappaport (1995) to describe two verbs of manner of motion which undergo the causative alternation. They are **mli** 'roll' and **tró** 'spin'. The sentences below are illustrations of the verbs in the one-place construction (24a, b are from the novel *Agbezuge*):

Tró

23a. **Kofi le to-tró-ḿ**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-spin-PROG
'Kofi is spinning.'

b. **Akotó-a** **le** **to-tró-mí**
akoto-DEF AUX:PRES RED-spin-PROG
'The *akoto* is spinning.'

Mli

24a. **Wó-dé** **abi** **Agbezúgé** **ŋútí** **vévíé** **wò-dze**
3PL-put wound A. skin seriously 3SG-dze

anyí **hé-le** **mi-mli-mí** **le** **ba** **me**
ground SL-AUX:PRES RED-roll-PROG LOC mud in
'Agbezuge was seriously injured and he fell to the ground and began to roll in the mud.'

b. **Né** **agakpé** **mli** **tsó** **tó** **dzí** **eye** **mé-ɖó**
if rock roll from mountain top and NEG-reach

sɔsɔefé **o** **lá,** **mé-tɔ́-ná** **o**
level_place NEG TP, NEG-stop-HAB NEG
'If a rock which rolls from the top of the hill mountain does not arrive at a level ground, it does not stop rolling.'

Akotó in (23) is a snail shell which is shaped in such a way that it can be spun on the ground like a top. (23a) shows that **tró** 'spin' can be predicated of an human entity. However, this sentence cannot refer to a skater who is doing a pirouette. Instead, like the case of the **akoto** in (23b), it implies that the rotation is brought about by an external entity. We can take this to be evidence that the movement **tró** 'spin' is not autonomous. Ravin (1990) states that verbs expressing autonomous states of affairs assert control. I will assume that when a state of affairs is non-autonomous, it does not assert control. Thus **tró** 'spin' does not assert control on the part of the arguments that it is predicated of. **Mli** 'roll', like **tró** 'spin', can also be predicated of both animate and inanimate entities. Sentence (24a) shows that even when predicated of an animate entity, the manner of movement expressed by **mli** 'roll' does not need to be autonomous. I therefore consider that control is not asserted in this case either. While the animacy of an argument or the discourse context might invite the inference of control, this can always be defeated. The next two examples show that the two verbs undergo the causative alternation:

25a. **Kofí** **mli** **kpé-á**
Kofi roll tone-DEF
'Kofi rolled the stone.'

b. **Kofí tró akotó-á**
Kofi spin akoto-DEF
'Kofi spun the *akoto*.'

We can conclude that the manner of movement that these two verbs express does not include the assertion of control on the part of their arguments. As I stated above, I will later propose that lack of control means that a verb does not possess a causal semantics. Thus the single participant which occurs in the one-place construction is not perceived as causing any state of affairs. The verbs can, however, occur in the two-place construction and thereby gain the causal element from the construction.

3.2.1.4 SUMMARY

In this section, I have considered the semantics of verbs which undergo causative alternation. These are verbs which occur in one-place and two-place constructions and whose participant role in the subject position of the one-place construction occurs in the object position of the two place construction. The verbs discussed here fall into three semantic classes, which I have labelled as inchoative, emission and non-agentive manner of motion. I have shown that when these verbs occur in the one-place construction, they encode either a state or property of an entity or a manner of movement in which neither cause nor control is asserted. In anticipation of a proposal in a later section that both cause and control are components of Cause, I have claimed that the semantic specification of these verbs does not include a causal component. Instead, there is a two-place construction which has a causal semantics. When the verbs occur in it, the construction adds an element of cause to the state of affairs which they express.

3.2.2 GROUP 2

In this section, I discuss verbs which can also occur in both one-place and two-place contructions but which differ from the previous one in that the participant of the NP which occurs in the subject position of the one-place construction also occurs in the subject position of the two-place construction. There is, however, a restriction on the NPs which occur with the verb when it occurs in the two-place construction. I argue that that restriction is due to the semantics of control. The verbs which occur in this group are classified as "inherently directed motion verbs", "involuntary bodily process verbs" and "verbs of cries and movement".[11]

[11]There is a stative verb **baḍa** 'be bad, confuse, spoil' which also occurs in this class. I do not discuss it further.

3.2.2.1 INHERENTLY DIRECTED MOTION

This term is taken from Levin and Rappaport (1995) and refers to a class of verbs which encode movement to or from a particular place. In Ewe, most of the inherently directed motion verbs are locationally anchored and one may consider them as change of location verbs. For instance, **va** has the semantics of 'coming to be located at a deictic centre' while **yi** 'go' refers to movement to a place and **do** 'exit' means to move out of a place. The three verbs are illustrated in the sentences below:

26a. **Kofi** **vá**
Kofi come
'Kofi came.'

b. **Etsi** **yi** **ɖé** **tó-me** **ná** **Kofí**
Water go ALL ear-in for Kofi
'Water has entered Kofi's ear.'

c. **Kofí** **do** **le** **xɔ-a** **me**
Kofi exit LOC room-DEF in
'Kofi left the room.'

Sentence (26a) means that Kofi has moved to be located either at the place of the speaker or the addressee. It is therefore deictic. Sentence (26b), while also expressing movement to a place, does not involve the speaker or the addressee, and (26c) simply indicates movement from a location.

As indicated, all the above verbs have as their semantics movement from one-place to another. What has not been indicated, however, is whether the movement expressed by the verbs is autonomous. As (26b), in which the verb is predicated of an inanimate argument shows, this does not need to be the case. Interestingly, all the verbs in the above sentences can occur in the two-place construction as well. I will now discuss one of the verbs, **do** 'exit', in order to show the shift in interpretation that occurs when it occurs in the two place construction.

Do 'exit' refers to the coming out of a particular enclosure of all kinds of entities (hence my gloss 'exit'). Depending on the type of argument the verb takes, it can be perceived as a verb of substance emission. Consider the sentence below:

27. **Eʋu** **le** **do-do-mí** **le** **é-ŋú**
Blood AUX:PRES RED-exit LOC 3SG-skin
'S/he is dripping blood' (lit. blood is coming out of him/her).

The emission sense that we have here is only due to the semantics of the argument that the verb is predicated of. This is because, as I stated earlier, **do** 'exit' describes the coming out of a place of all kinds of entities. When it has this general sense, the verb always occurs in a one-place construction. It is possible, however, for it to take a second, albeit particular complement and when that happens, it can no longer be predicated of any type of argument. I now turn to this.

Do 'exit' can take the inherent complement **go** 'out'[12] which, as the gloss suggests, is semantically connected to the meaning of the verb (the result of exiting something is that the one doing so is 'out'). When it takes this complement, **do** 'exit' can only be predicated of animate entities, thus:

28. **Kofi/*ɛʊu** **le** **go** **do-mí**
Kofi/*blood AUX:PRES out exit-PROG
'Kofi/blood is going out.'

It can be seen here that Kofi is the subject of the two-place construction just as he is of the one-place construction in (26c). The reason why only animate arguments can be predicated of **do go** "exit out" is that the two-place construction refers to a state of affairs which is under the control of the participant. We can conclude from this discussion that when a verb expressing motion to or from a particular place is encoded in the one-place construction, it does not indicate that the motion is autonomous. As I pointed out in the previous section, this is an indication that control is not asserted. When, on the other hand, the verb occurs in the causal two-place construction control is asserted. As with the causative alternation verbs, I argue that the assertion of control is due to the construction.

3.2.2.2 INVOLUNTARY BODILY PROCESS

Perlmutter (1978) has also identified a class of verbs which he refers to as involuntary bodily-process verbs. This classification has been criticized for being too broad (Rosen 1984, Levin and Rappaport 1995). It is worth reiterating, therefore, that I do not attach any formal significance to the class. What interests me here is the term "involuntary". I assume that predicates which can be so classified are supposed to not involve voluntary participants. For my purposes, this means that the entities do not control the state of affairs expressed by the verbs. There is an interesting change in interpretation when these verbs occur in the two-place construction, however. This is what I seek to explore in this section. One of the verbs which I consider here is **nye**, glossed by

[12]In Chapter 2, I observed that although the gloss of this complement makes it seem an adverbial, it is a noun. I will revisit its properties in the next chapter.

Westermann (1928:187) as 'to sneeze'. I will argue that the meaning of the verb is more general, and includes another **nye** glossed by Westermann (1954) as 'press out, secrete'. The other verb is **gbɔ** 'breathe'.

In Coastal Ewe, when **nye** signifies 'to sneeze', it is used in the one-place construction. This might explain why Westermann glosses it thus. However, there is reason to believe that the meaning is not that specific. Before turning to that, let us consider the implications of the verb occurring in the one-place construction. Evidence that it does not assert control when it occurs in this construction comes from the fact that speakers do not accept that a clause containing it be followed by a purpose clause, as illustrated by the unacceptability of the sentence below:

29. ***Kofí** **nye** **bé** **ye-a-dó** **dzikú** **ná** **Amí**
Kofi sneezed that LOG-SUBJV-ICV anger to/for Ami
'Kofi sneezed in order to annoy Ami.'

The reason given by consultants for rejecting this sentence is that sneezing is something which one has no control over. Felix Ameka (personal communication) reports, however, that in his dialect, **nye** takes **anyi**, a cognate as a complement and that he finds the equivalent of sentence (29) acceptable. Of course while the inability of a verb to take a purpose clause can be taken to be an indication that it does not entail control, the reverse cannot be said for one which does. However, it is still interesting that only speakers who add a complement to the verb are prepared to accept a purposive clause after it. I propose that in the dialects where the verb takes a cognate object, the participant engaged in the sneezing state of affairs is construed as causing the sneeze to come out of the body.[13] This is supported by the other occurrences of the verb.

As I stated above, although, glossed as 'sneeze', **nye** really possesses a more general meaning. This is because of its occurrence in other environments which suggest a semantics that is better characterised as 'something comes out of a person's body'. In the subsequent occurrences of the verb, I will use the gloss 'exude' to represent this general meaning. The two sentences below illustrate this:

30a. **Kofí** **nye** **ŋɔ́**
Kofi exude fart
'Kofi farted.'

[13]For the proposal that some languages assert Cause in their representation of 'sneeze' while others do not, see DeLancey 1985).

b. **Kofí nye mí**
Kofi exude shit
'Kofi defecated.'

Unlike the 'sneeze' case where the thing that comes out of the body is not overtly realised in all the dialects, the situation is different in the two cases in (30) since they always occur with the complement. Not surprisingly, these expressions can occur with the purposive clause as the example below illustrates:

31. **Kofí nye ŋɔ́ bé ye-a-dó dziku ná Amí**
Kofi exude fart that LOG-SUBJV-ICV anger to/for Ami
'Kofi farted in order to annoy Ami.'

As I argued above, I take it that these sentences always take a complement because Kofi is perceived to be a causal entity in the coming out of **ŋɔ́** 'fart' and **mi** 'shit'.[14] The construction therefore adds a causal element which is not present in the verb when it occurs in the one-place construction. Note that, unlike instances involving the causative alternation, the entity which occurs in the subject position of the one-place **nye** 'exude' occurs in the same position for the two-place construction as well.

The next verb **gbɔ** is glossed by Westermann (1928:92) as 'breathe, blow'. This verb is similar to **nye** in that the participant which occurs in the subject position of the one- place construction occurs in the same position in the two place construction. When **gbɔ** occurs in the former construction, the interpretation is one of breathing, while in the latter, it is translated as 'to blow'. Consider the sentences below, the last one adapted from Westermann with some modifications (i.e. subject and location):

32a. **Avu si ʋu-a fo lá ga-le**
dog WH vehicle-DEF hit TP REP-AUX:PRES

[14]In Ewe, the way to express that someone (e.g. one who suffers from severe diarrhoea) defecated without control is:

Emi gbɔ le e-ŋu
Shit arrive LOC 3PSG-skin
'Shit left him'

As can be seen, this construction is intransitive.

gbɔ-gbɔ-mí **ko**
RED-breathe-PROG INT
'The dog which was hit by the truck is still breathing'

b. **Kofí le ya gbɔ-mí le xɔ-a me**
Kofi AUX:PRES air breathe-PROG LOC room-DEF in
'Kofi is fanning (himself) in the room.'

c. **Kofí le mɔ́lu gbɔ-mí le xéxé**
Kofi AUX:PRES rice breathe-PROG LOC outside
'Kofi is blowing husks off the rice outside (lit. blowing on the rice).'

Gbɔ does not have a second argument in sentence (32a) and, as stated, the only interpretation is that the dog is breathing. In the second sentence, on the other hand, it takes **ya** 'air, wind' as its second argument. Note that although breathing also involves the use of air, this sentence does not refer to the mere act of breathing. Instead, it refers to the act of causing air to circulate with an instrument (e.g. fan). Finally, sentence (32c) refers to the process of blowing husks off the rice. A question which then arises is why is it that the breathing interpretation is only realised in the one-place construction? The answer anticipates a claim which I make below drawing on a proposal by Langdon (1977). I claim that actions which are considered to be inherent to entities can be construed as not requiring any effort and therefore not involving control. Thus, **gbɔ** occurs in the one-place construction because it is a natural property of all animate entities. As such, it does not involve conscious control on the part of the entities engaged in it. Fanning oneself and blowing husks off rice, on the other hand, involve conscious efforts at the movement of the air either with a fan, as in the first case, or with the lungs, as in the second. Representation of these states of affairs therefore involve the assertion of control.

3.2.2.3 CRIES AND MOVEMENT

The verbs which I discuss here are **fa** 'utter a sound' (Westermann 1928:45), **zɔ** 'move' and **dzo** 'move upwards'. The gloss 'to utter a sound' which is provided by Westermann for **fa** is, in my opinion, very appropriate. This is because it is general enough to include sounds that are made by, among other things, trees and birds. The following examples are taken from Westermann:

33a. **Atí le fa-fa-mí**
tree AUX:PRES RED-utter_sound-PROG
'A tree is crackling.'

b. **Xeví-wó fa-na**
bird-PL utter_sound-HAB

'Birds chirp.'

The examples show that when **fa** is predicated of inanimate things and birds, it occurs in the one-place construction. The verb can also be predicated of humans and, in that case, it can occur with or without a complement. This is illustrated below:

34a. **Aho-a** **ga-le** **fa-fa-mí**
widow-DEF REP-AUX:PRES RED-utter_sound-PROG
'The widow is still mourning.'

b. **Kofí** **fa** **avi**
Kofi utter_sound cry
'Kofi wept.'

Sentences (34a, b) represent a crying state of affairs. However, one could say that instances like (34a) in which **fa** does not take a complement, represent the state of an entity rather than the crying, even though the latter is the overt manifestation of the former. This is because speakers are not comfortable with the one-place construction in which **fa** takes a purpose clause. This is illustrated below:

35a. **?Kofí** **le** **fa-fa-m** **bé** **yea-dó**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-utter_sound-PROG that LOG-ICV

dzikú **ná** **ye** **dadá**
anger for LOG mother
'Kofi is mourning in order to annoy his mother.'

b. **Kofí** **le** **avi** **fa-m** **bé** **yea-dó**
Kofi AUX:PRES cry(N) utter_sound-PROG that LOG-ICV

dzikú **ná** **ye** **dadá**
anger for LOG mother
'Kofi is crying in order to annoy his mother.'

Consultants found (35a) problematic because, as most of them put it, "a person cannot help finding him/herself in that situation". Further evidence of a difference between the two comes from the fact that among the Ewe a man is not expected to cry, although he is allowed to grieve. The only way to express this in the language is with the use of **fa avi** 'cry a cry', not **fa**, which presupposes that it is only with **fa avi** 'cry a cry' that control is asserted.

Zɔ is a movement verb which can occur with or without a complement. One of the complements, as we shall see, is very much like a morphological cognate.

Westermann glosses this verb as 'to walk; to travel; to move'. I think these glosses are too specific and hide the fact that the verb has a single basic meaning and that it depends on contextual modulations to derive the specific glosses given by Westermann. Instead, the gloss "fortbewegen" (i.e. 'displace oneself') in Westermann (1954) is closer to capturing the general characterisation of the verb, which I provide below as:

An entity (X) which is inherently mobile moves from one place to another

I use the expression "inherently mobile" in order to set such entities as humans and vehicles which I consider to be inherently mobile aside from others like furniture which can be moved but which are not inherently mobile. Secondly, I refer to movement from one place to another in order to show that while, in some contexts, the verb can be translated as move, it only refers to entities that actually displace themselves. Thus it does not apply to things like machines which are said to "go", "run" or "move" in languages like English but which do not undergo a change of location. For the sake of convenience, I will gloss it in my examples as 'move'.

As stated above, **zɔ** 'move' can occur with or without a complement. The verb, without a complement, can be predicated of all mobile entities, including humans. The explanation for this is that at that level, the movement is construed as an inherent activity of these entities. As an illustration, let us consider "self-controlled bodies" (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995): when one wants to convey the idea that these entities are not being moved by, say humans, they are coded intransitively. Consider the two sentences below:

36a. **Eʋu-a le zɔ-zɔ-ḿ (le mɔ́-á dzí)**
vehicle AUX:PRES RED-move-PROG (LOC road-DEF top)
'The vechicle is moving on the road.'

b. **Eʋu-a le mɔ́-á dzí zɔ-ḿ**
vehicle AUX:PRES road-DEF top move-PROG
'The vehicle is moving along the road.'

The first sentence is intransitive and, therefore, the verb is reduplicated in the progressive. This type of sentence would be used in a situation where, for instance, one parks a vehicle, does not pull the hand brake properly and it begins to move down an incline. The second sentence in which the location is a direct argument, on the other hand, is appropriate for contexts in which the vehicle is being driven along the road. **Zɔ**, in the one-place construction, can also be predicated of both humans and animals and, in such cases, it is translated as 'to walk'. While this translation seems to suggest a controlled activity, all that

it really means is that an entity (animal/human) undergoes a change of location. The manner of movement is then taken to be the characteristic manner in which these entities move (i.e humans by walking, reptiles by crawling, etc).

Returning to sentence (36b), it leads to the next property of the verb which is that when it takes a complement, it suggests autonomous movement. As such, some sequences of **zɔ** and its complements can be predicated of only humans. The three sentences below illustrate this:

37a. **Kofí/*avu-a zɔ mɔ́**
Kofi/dog-DEF move road
'Kofi/*the dog travelled (lit. walked the road).'

b. **Kofí/*avu-a zɔ azɔlí**
Kofi/dog-DEF move walk
'Kofi/*the dog walked.'

c. **Kofi/avu-a zɔ**
Kofi/dog-DEF move
'Kofi/the dog walked.'

Mɔ́ which literally means 'road' also refers to the particular road that people take when going on a journey.[15] In sentence (37a), it is this sense which occurs with **zɔ** 'move' and so the interpretation is that Kofi has undertaken a journey.[16] **Azɔli** 'walk' in sentence (37b) refers to a human walk on his or her two feet. Naturally, therefore, the expression can only be predicated of humans. The occurrence of **azɔli** 'walk' as a complement of **zɔ** 'move' shows that the verb does not only occur with a locative complement but that it can also take a cognate object.

The next verb which I consider is **tsa.** For this verb Westermann (1928) has, among others, the glosses 'to walk about; to search in walking'. I consider these glosses to be too specific, especially since they presuppose that the verb is only

[15]An example is given below:

Kofí yi mɔ́ dzí
Kofi go road top
'Kofi has travelled'

[16]This is doubtless due to the fact that the means of travel in this community, not long ago, was by foot. It is also evident in the fact that the expression for welcoming a traveller is **wòézɔ** which literally means 'you have walked'. The jocular response translates as 'I didn't walk, I boarded a vehicle'.

predicated of animate entities. The sentence below shows that this does not need to be the case:

38. **Etré-á le tsa-tsa-m le tɔ-á dzí**
calabash-DEF AUX:PRES RED-tsa-PROG LOC water-DEF top
'The calabash is moving about on the water.'

This sentence describes a calabash on a body of water being moved in every direction by the currents. Thus the verb refers to all kinds of movements. The distinguishing property of the movement is that it is not in any way purposeful, hence its applicability to inanimate entities as well. I therefore prefer to characterise it as 'to move about'. Since the one-place use of the verb is also predicated of inanimate entities, I assume that it does not involve the assertion of control. The verb can take a locative complement and, when it does, the interpretation is that of something moving through a location. An example of such use, given by Westermann, is provided in (39a):

39a. **Adelá tsa gbe me**
hunter move_about bush in
'The hunter is walking about in the bush looking for game.'

b. **Esi me-yi xɔ-á me lá, me-kpɔ́ Kofí**
when 1SG-go room-DEF in TP, 1SG-see Kofi

wo-nɔ éfé nú-wó me tsa-m
3SG-AUX:NPRES 3SG-POSS thing-PL in move_about-PROG
'When I went into the room, I saw Kofi going through his things.'

The addition of a complement to **tsa** shifts the interpretation from simply wandering about to purposeful movement. I have included sentence (39b) to show that going through a place does not necessarily involve walking. As we see with this sentence, what Kofi does is move his hands through his things. In contrast to the one-place construction which does not necessarily involve control, I take this movement to be autonomous, hence controlled. Evidence for this is that it can only be predicated of humans. As before, I claim that the control notion is added by the construction.

Dzo is another movement verb which can occur in one-place and two-place constructions. When predicated of birds, the verb does not take a complement and the interpretation is to fly. Interestingly, when **dzo** is predicated of humans in a one-place construction, there is a difference in the interpretation in that, instead of referring to flying, it refers to the process of jumping out of fright.[17] One could, therefore, characterise the verb as 'the body of an entity moving

[17]In the progressive, it means to shiver.

upward'. In order to refer to a purposeful jump by a human being, a complement is required, as illustrated below:

40. **Kofí dzo kpó**
Kofi ICV mound
'Kofi jumped.'

Kpó 'mound' represents not an actual mound, but an unspecified thing which Kofi supposedly vaults when he moves the body into the air. In a way, it is like **go** 'out' in **do go** 'exit out' (cf. sentence 28) since it indicates a semantic entity that results from the state of affairs encoded by the verb. While **kpó** 'mound' in (40) does not refer to any physical thing, it can be replaced with a more concrete thing, as the example below illustrates:

41. **É-dzo gɔ́ta**
3SG-ICV gutter.
'He jumped over a gutter.'

In this sentence **gɔ́ta** 'gutter', the concrete and visible thing which Kofi jumps over, replaces **kpó** 'mound', the underspecified one. Obviously, the expression of this type of jump, just like the one described in sentence (40), involves the assertion of control on the part of the entity that does the jumping.

The discussion in this section has been concerned with the verb of crying **fa** 'utter a cry' and movement verbs **zɔ**, **tsa** and **dzo.** The striking thing about these verbs, as we have seen, is that when they are predicated of inanimate things as well as animals, they tend to occur in the one-place construction. However, when they are predicated of humans, the interpretation in the one-place construction differs from that in the two-place construction. How do we account for this phenomenon? Langdon (1977:6) has proposed that "the cries and motions of animals are spontaneous, probably not subject to conscious control". If we adopted this position for Ewe, it would explain why the animal cries and movements are represented in the one-place construction in Ewe. Thus the cry and flight of the bird are expressed by **fa** and **dzo** respectively in a one-place construction because they involve the typical manner in which birds cry and move and are, therefore, not subject to conscious control. What is not explained, however, is why **zɔ** can be predicated of humans as well and can be translated as 'to walk'. To account for this we need to extend Langdon's proposal and make the claim that activities which are considered to be inherent to all entities, including humans, are also assumed in Ewe to be spontaneous and, therefore, the lexical items that express them do not assert control. Note that I have already indicated that **zɔ** 'move' by itself does not really mean 'walk'. Instead, it refers to a general movement from one-place to another. Thus, when the verb is used alone, it simply refers to the inherent translated motion of

mobile entities among which are humans, but also including inanimate things like vehicles and boats, and excluding things like watches and engines. At this level, therefore, control is not asserted. When one wants to refer to a purposeful walk which presumably involves the assertion of control, **azɔli** 'walk' is added to the verb thus yielding a two-place construction.

To conclude, therefore, the one-place use of verbs of cries and movements involve states of affairs in which control is not asserted. This is why most of them can be predicated of inanimate entities and animals. When the verbs occur in the two-place constructions, however, control is asserted thereby excluding inanimate entities and non-humans. I take this to be evidence that the verbs themselves do not possess control in their lexical specification. Instead, the element of control that is asserted in the latter cases are gained from the construction.

3.2.2.4 SUMMARY

In this section, I have been concerned with the semantics of verbs which can occur in both one-place and two-place constructions but which differ from the causative alternation types in that the participant role of the NP which occurs in subject position remains in the same position if and when it is allowed to occur in the two-place construction. I labelled the classes which the verbs occur in as "inherently directed motion verbs", "involuntary bodily process verbs" and "verbs of cries and movement". I showed that when the verbs which express motion occur in the one-place construction, they do not assert control. The main evidence for this, I claim, is the fact that they can be predicated of inanimate entities in this construction. The participants which can occur in both one-place and two place constructions are attributed a "controlling" property when they occur in the latter construction. This explains why they occur in subject position in the two-place construction as well.[18] What I have done here is to abstract from the specific meanings which the various "inherent" complements assign to the individual verbs in order to capture the general shift to control or caused action which results when the verbs take these complements. I have then argued that this control or causal component is contributed by the construction. In the next chapter, I will show that when these verbs take complements, they display the same distributional properties as canonical transitive verbs.

[18]Ameka (1998) has noted that a few one-place verbs occur in a two-place construction which does not have Cause. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.3 GROUP 3

Having discussed verbs which occur in both one-place and two-place constructions, I now turn to the ones which can only occur in the one-place construction. The verbs variously fall into the rough semantic classes which I previously labelled as "inchoative", "stative", "verbs of emission", "involuntary bodily process", "cries and movement".[19] I propose that the semantics of these verbs entail lack of control and that this is what prevents them from occurring in the causal two-place construction.

3.2.3.1 INCHOATIVE VERBS

In section 3.2.1, I discussed some inchoative verbs which undergo the causative alternation. There is a fairly large class of inchoative verbs which do not undergo this alternation, however. Examples are **bí** 'become cooked', **bɔ́** 'become abundant', **ɖá** 'become sharp, pointed', **dɔ** 'to grow exuberantly, to spread' and **lia** 'become stiff, brittle'. These verbs, like their counterparts which undergo causative alternation can, depending on the linguistic context, receive a stative or change of state interpretation. The latter is illustrated in the example below where the verb takes a progressive morpheme:

42. **Nye kɔ le lia-lia-mí**
1SG neck AUX:PRES RED-be_stiff-PROG
'My neck is becoming stiff'

To account for the inability of these verbs to undergo causative alternation, I adopt an explanation given by Levin and Rappaport (1995) for why a class of verbs which they refer to as "internally caused verbs", e.g., grow, wither, etc., do not undergo this alternation. According to them, the verbs usually encode changes that are "inherent to the natural development of the entities that they are predicated of and do not need to be brought about by an external cause" (1995:97). In the previous section, I argued that when the state of affairs expressed by some verbs are construed to be inherent, these verbs occur in the one-place construction. In that sense, therefore, the verbs in Group 2 can be said to be similar to the inchoative ones in Group 3. The difference, however, is that the states of affairs expressed by the latter are necessarily inherent to the entities they are predicated of. It has to be pointed out that this is a lexical, and not real-world, property. Thus, although the process by which food becomes cooked is externally caused – and it is represented in Ewe by the verb **ɖa** 'cook' – that of the food entering into the state of being cooked is construed as an inherent

[19]Some verbs of appearance and disappearance as well as inherently directed motion verbs occur in this class as well. I do not discuss them in this section but they are listed in the appendix.

development of the food, hence the verb **bí** 'become cooked' which has been given above is used. In the same way **ɖá** 'become sharp, pointed' is construed as an inherent property of tools that are used to cut things. In order to express that someone brings about this state of affairs, **nyrẽ** 'sharpen' is used.

The Ewe equivalents of some of Levin and Rappaport's examples are **tsi** 'become old', **vó** 'become rotten' **yrɔ** 'become withered'. I have already stated that the verbs which I put in the inchoative class in Ewe can, depending on the context in which they occur, receive a stative interpretation. Thus they do not have to be interpreted as involving change. The sentence below illustrates this:

43. **ŋútsu sia tsi ŋútɔ ló**
man DEM be_old INT PRT
This man is really old!

In this sentence, reference is rather to the advanced stage of the man's age and not to the fact that he is growing old.[20]

To conclude, a semantic characterisation of inchoative verbs belonging to Group 3 would need to indicate that the states of affairs they express are inherent to the entities they are predicated of. As such, they entail a lack of control and, therefore, unlike the verbs in Group 2, cannot allow for the shift in interpretation that is characteristic of the latter.

3.2.3.2 STATIVE VERBS

The next subclass of verbs which I consider here can be said to be the true stative verbs in Ewe because they cannot occur in the progressive. This class contains only seven verbs all of which describe the properties of the entities that they are predicated of. Examples are **sue** 'be small' **gobo** 'be deep', **nyaŋa** 'to be very bad' and **vɔ̃ɖi** 'be bad, wicked'. Of the example sentences below, (44b) shows the verbs cannot take the prospective:

44a. **Kofí vɔ̃ɖi ŋútɔ**
Kofi be_bad INT
'Kofi is very bad.'

b. ***Kofí le vɔ̃ɖi-vɔ̃ɖi gé**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-be_bad PROSP
*'Kofi is going to be bad.'

[20]Levin and Rappaport note in a footnote that, with the exception of 'blush', the internally caused verbs of change of state have, in addition to a change of state interpretation, a 'be in a state' interpretation as well (cf. 1995:295).

c. **Kofi** **le** **ame** **vɔ̃ɖi** **zu** **gé**
Kofi AUX:PRES person bad become PROSP
'Kofi is going to become a bad person.'

In order to express entry into the state expressed by **vɔ̃ɖi** 'be bad, wicked', the inchoative verb **zu** 'become' is used with the adjectival form of **vɔ̃ɖi**. An interesting thing about these verbs is that their adjectival forms, seen from (44c), are the same as the verb forms. It has, therefore, been suggested that they are primarily adjectives (Ameka p.c.). The important thing for my purposes is that they possess a verbal property which is their ability to take the potential morpheme (cf. Chapter 2). These verbs, like those of the inchoative class, simply encode inherent properties of the arguments they are predicated of. They do not, therefore, assert control.

3.2.3.3 VERBS OF EMISSION

When I discussed verbs of emission in section 3.2.1.2, I stated that some of the verbs only occur in the one-place construction. These are the verb of smell emission **mūmū** 'smell fishy' and the verb of sound emission **ɖi** 'to sound'. I undertake a brief discussion of the latter here.

Westermann glosses **ɖi** as 'to sound'. This verb can be considered to be a general verb of sound emission in Ewe. In order to be specific about the type of sound which is being emitted, an ideophone is adjoined to the verb. This is illustrated below:

45. **Enú-á** **le** **ɖi-ɖi-m** **gblagadagblagada**
thing-DEF AUX:PRES RED-sound-PROG gblagadagblagada
'The thing is sounding loud and clumsy.'

The fact that the ideophone, which is the only postverbal constituent here, is not preposed when the clause contains an auxiliary is an indication that it is not an argument of the verb. Mostly, the type of argument that **ɖi** is predicated of is enough to indicate the kind of sound which is emitted. Consider the example below:

46. **Kásía** **ko** **asífúnu** **ɖi** **ɖá**
suddenly INT alarm sound away
'Suddenly, there was an alarm from a distance.'

Asífúnu refers to the typical way by which the Ewe raise an alarm, which is by beating their lips with their finger while letting out a sound. Here, it is used as an argument of **ɖi** to indicate that it is that kind of noise that impinges upon one's senses. Since the verb is only predicated of inanimate things (noises), I assume that it does not assert control.

3.2.3.4 INVOLUNTARY BODILY PROCESS

We saw in section 3.2.2.2 that the involuntary bodily process verbs **nye** 'exude' and **gbɔ** 'breathe/blow' occur in both one and two-place constructions. There is one such verb **haha** 'yawn' which, although predicated of animate entities, only occurs in the one-place construction. I assume that this is because the verb lacks the element of control. This is reflected in the beliefs of the Ewe which is encoded in the saying below taken from Westermann (1930:99):

47. **Ame ɖeká mé-háhá-ná o**
person one NEG-yawn-HAB NEG
'One person does not yawn'.

This sentence means that when one person yawns, others cannot help but do the same. That is to say that they do not have control over it. This is consistent with my assumption that the verb which is used to express such state of affairs does not assert control.

3.2.3.5 CRIES AND MOVEMENT

While there are verbs of cries and movement which can occur in the one and two-place constructions, there are others which only occur in the one-place construction. The ones expressing cries are **xlɔ̃** 'cry', **ŋe** 'moan', and **gbli** 'moan, groan', on the one hand, and **wó** 'bark' and **ʊlu** 'roar, grunt, low, growl' (Westermann), on the other. The movement verbs are **tɔ** 'limp' and **tá** 'crawl'. I begin with a discussion of the former.

3.2.3.5.1 CRY VERBS

Xlɔ̃ describes the vocal sounds that are made by most animals. For instance, the mewing of cats and the bleating of sheep are represented with this verb. The general way to distinguish between the various sounds is to add an ideophonic adverb to the verb, as the sentence below illustrates:

48. **Alé-wó xlɔ̃-ná mɛɛɛ**
lamb-PL cry-HAB mɛɛɛ
'Lambs cry baa.'

It so happens that **xlɔ̃** also refers to the involuntary cry that humans utter when they are hurt. This is contrasted with the purposeful shout which is realised in a two-place construction (i.e. **dó ɣli** 'shout', cf. Chapter 6). Thus when it is predicated of an animal, it describes a sound which is particular to that animal whereas when it is predicated of a human entity, it refers to an involuntary cry of pain. Note that the two verbs, **wó** 'bark' and **vlu** 'roar, grunt, low, growl',

also refer to animal sounds. This recalls Langdon's proposal that animal cries and movements are spontaneous and therefore not subject to conscious control. I assume that these verbs do not assert control either.[21]

Next, we have the two verbs **ŋe** 'sigh, groan, moan' and **gbli** 'moan, groan' which are only predicated of animate entities. I assume that these verbs also express involuntary states of affairs. The assumption is supported by the fact that they can be used to describe situations in which the entity they are predicated of is not capable of controlling the situation. Consider the sentence below from the novel *Agbezuge*:

49. **Nyɔ́nu lá *f*o kúdɔ́ za blíbo lá káta**
woman DEF hit death-throes night complete DEF all

éye wò-le ŋe-ŋe-mí hé-le
LINK 3SG-AUX:PRES RED-groan-PROG S.LINK-AUX:PRES

aɖuklí ɖu-mí
teeth *bite-PROG*
'The woman spent the whole night in death throes groaning and gnashing her teeth.'

The sentence refers to a situation in which a woman has been bitten by a poisonous snake and is in the throes of death. The sounds produced are therefore at a time when she is almost unconscious. We can therefore conclude that the verbs of crying, including those predicated of animate entities do not assert control. We now consider the verbs of movement.

3.2.3.5.2 MOVEMENT VERBS

The first movement verb which I discuss is **tɔ.** For reasons that will become obvious in the next section, I begin by showing that this verb is an activity verb. Consider the sentence below:

50. **Nú véví wɔ Kofí wò-le tɔ-tɔ-mí tsó**
thing serious do Kofi 3SG-AUX:PRES RED-limp-PROG from

ŋdí vásɛ́ɖɛ́ fie
morning till evening
'Kofi has been injured and has been limping from morning till evening.'

---

[21]Note that these verbs refer specifically to sounds made by animals. They cannot therefore shift their interpretation to controlled state of affairs.

In this sentence the verb takes the progressive morpheme and encodes a state of affairs which goes on continuously for some time. A question which arises here is why a verb which looks agentive can only occur in the one-place construction? My conjecture is that it is because the verb expresses a defect. To that extent, therefore, it is not construed as a controlled activity. Another agentive verb which also occurs in the one-place construction is **kúkɔ́** 'stammer'. Since this verb also describes a defect, I assume that such verbs do not entail control. Note that it is the semantic representation of these verbs that denotes lack of control. Thus, it does not matter whether a person is pretending to be stammering or limping since the one merely engages, however consciously, in what is construed to be an uncontrolled state of affairs. In this sense, Ewe is comparable to Caddo, discussed in Section 3.1.1, and Lakhota and Mohawk, all active-inactive languages in which these states of affairs are encoded with a patient case because the arguments which the verbs are predicated of are not perceived to be in control of the state of affairs encoded by the verb (cf. Mithun, 1991).

There is independent evidence that some perspective on physical defects are encoded in the morpho-syntax of Ewe. Ameka (1991) discusses the phenomenon in relation to the possessive construction. In identifying the motivation for the use of the noun **nɔ** to signify possession of a property (e.g. **dɔnɔ** 'sick one/patient', **tsúkúnɔ** 'mad one') instead of **tɔ́** (e.g. in **kaletɔ́** 'courageous one' and **asotɔ́** 'fool'), Ameka explains that the former "occurs on nominals that denote adverse states, for example, a disease, an infirmity or a handicap to indicate that someone is the undergoer of the unpleasant condition" (1991:39). Thus in the semantic characterisation of the affix **tɔ́,** Ameka includes the component:

> This person (X) could do some things because of that (Ameka 1991:38)

For **nɔ**, on the other hand, he writes:

> Because of that this person (X) cannot do some things like other people (Ameka 1991:38)

What this suggests, in effect, is that the choice of affix is dependent on whether the entity which possesses the property is rendered incapable of controlling a state of affairs as a result of it. Note that this is contrued in relation to the things which other people do. It is in this light that one can understand the syntactic distinction in the verb which refers to speaking and walking in general, on the one hand, and stammering and limping, on the other. Speaking and purposeful walk are ***fo* nu** and **zɔ azɔli** respectively.

The final verb is **tá** 'to crawl'. This verb is only predicated of humans and does not refer to a physically defective activity. One might, therefore, at first glance, be surprised that it occurs in the one-place construction. My explanation for this is that it is seen as an activity that is performed by babies and the lame. We have already seen how physical defect is perceived in the society, now we consider age. The Ewe society places a lot of premium on age, and children, in the main, are not usually considered to be responsible for their acts. There are several proverbs in the language which portray this. Consider the one below:

51. **ɖeví ká akplé**[22] **ga mé-ká-a nya ga o**
child bite akple big NEG-bite-HAB word big NEG
The child does not involve itself in the matters for adults (lit. a child that takes a big morsel of food does not get involved in a big matter).

As the translation suggests, children are not expected to play a responsible role in the Ewe society. This is consistent with the view that a state of affairs which is perceived to be a typically childlike activity will not assert control. As with **tɔ**, I consider this to be a semantic property of the verb. Adult purposeful crawl is therefore also encoded in the one-place construction. This, in my opinion, is because it is supposed that one will only do that when prevented from walking, either because one is lame or that one is forced by some particular circumstances to do so.

3.2.3.6 SUMMARY

In this section, I have considered verbs which can only occur in the one-place construction. They include inchoative and stative verbs which express properties of the arguments they are predicated of. I have argued that these verbs do not have Cause in their lexical semantics. Following Levin and Rappaport, I have proposed that it is because the semantics of the verbs entail that the properties are inherent that they do not occur in the causal two-place construction. The verbs of crying which occur in this group are also either inherent animal sounds or involuntary sounds made by humans and, as such, are not controlled. Finally, I have argued that some movement verbs also occur in this construction because they express defect or childlike activities and, as such, do not involve control.

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[22]**Akplé** is a staple food of the Ewe, prepared in the form of a semi-solid paste which people eat with their hands.

3.2.4 SUMMARY OF THE VERB CLASSES

The properties of the three goups are summed up in table 1 below while the semantic classification of verbs which occur in them are presented in table 2:

	one-place	causative alternation	Role of Subj in 1=2
Group 1	+	+	-
Group 2	+	-	+
Group 3	+	-	-

Table 1. Groups and their constructions

Verb Classes	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Inchoative	+	-	+
Emission	+	-	+
Inherently directed motion	-	+	-
Non-agentive manner of motion	+	-	-
Involuntary bodily process	-	+	+
Cries and movement	-	+	+

Table 2. Groups and the verb classes that occur in them.

The tables show that verbs belonging to inherently directed motion and non-agentive manner of motion classes only occur in single groups.[23] However, those belonging to the other semantic classes cross-classify: inchoative and emission verbs occur in groups 1 and 3 while inherently directed motion verbs and cries and movement verbs occur in groups 2 and 3. We cannot, therefore, use the semantic classifications – which, as stated at the beginning of this section are intuitive classifications – identify any sub-class of verbs with distinct formal properties. Levin and Rappaport have argued that not all elements of meaning are syntactically relevant and it is obvious that the ones we have adopted are not relevant for Ewe although they appear to be in some other languages. In the next section, I argue that these data provide evidence that intransitive verbs in Ewe cannot be divided into two distinct classes either based on their formal properties (in terms of the constructions they enter into) or their semantics. I argue instead that there is one syntactically relevant element of

[23]Actually, it is shown in the appendix that that inherently directed motion verbs also occur in group 3. However, this is not included in the discussion here. This is because all I need to show here is that the verbs cross-classify according to the semantic classification that I have put them. This is amply demonstrated in Table 2.

meaning which these verbs lack. I refer to this component as Cause with a subcomponent which is control.

3.3 THE UNACCUSATIVITY HYPOTHESIS AND THE ONE-PLACE VERBS IN EWE

In Section 3.1, I discussed the purported universalist claim within the "Unaccusativity Hypothesis" (UH) that there are two classes of intransitives. In this section, I question the universality of that claim in the light of the Ewe data presented in the previous section. I argue that the intransitive clause in Ewe constitutes a construction in the sense of Golberg (1995) with a semantic commonality which I define as lack of Cause. I conclude therefore that verbs occurring in this construction belong to a single class.

A purely semantic approach to unaccusativity predicts that the one-place verbs can be divided into two classes based on some semantic property. A syntactic approach, on the other hand, predicts that we can distinguish two classes based on the behaviour of the verbs. I show that intransitive verbs cannot be divided into two distinct classes based on either syntactic or semantic criteria. We begin by discounting the syntactic position. As I have shown, the verbs can first of all be divided into three groups depending on the constructions they can enter into. In syntactic terms, this means that the verbs can only be divided into three distinct classes based on their formal properties. The syntactic criterion therefore does not divide the one-place verbs into two distinct classes. The discussion in this section, therefore, focusses on the semantic criteria. I will now show that these fare no better in dividing the one-place verbs into two classes.

Let us begin with the rather trivial observation that the semantic classes which Perlmutter proposes do not distinguish between two classes of intransitive verbs in Ewe. As stated, he considered willed and volitional acts (including manner-of-speaking and sounds made by animals) to be unergative. The discussion in the previous section has shown, however, that while volitional states of affairs tend to be expressed in the two-place construction, animal cries are expressed in the one-place construction. As we have observed, the verbs of crying occur in groups 2 and 3. We might therefore conclude tentatively that unergative verbs occur in these two groups. A problem arises, however, when we turn to consider the supposed unaccusative verbs. For instance, involuntary bodily process verbs which Perlmutter claims to be unaccusatives also occur in groups 2 and 3. This means that the supposed unaccusatives share some formal properties with unergatives. Perlmutter's classifications do not, therefore, allow us to divide one-place verbs in Ewe into two distinct classes. However, I have already pointed out that Perlmutter's semantic classes have been criticized for being too broad.

An alternative is Van Valin's (1990) proposal of lexical aspect or agentiveness or a combination of the two. A distinction based on lexical aspect will predict that activity predicates possess a behaviour that is distinct from, say, achievement and stative verbs. This property does not distinguish any group from the other in Ewe. In fact, standard tests for activity (i.e. ability to take progressive aspect marking and the interpretation that results), succeed with verbs from each of the three groups. For instance, the verbs of substance emission and the non-agentive manner of motion verbs in group 1 are activity verbs as are the cries and movement verbs in groups 2 and 3. Agentiveness is a better criterion since it classifies verbs belonging to group 1 as unaccusative because their one-place arguments are non-agents. The problem, however, is that group 1 cannot be opposed to the other two. To begin with, it cannot be opposed to group 2 because even though most of the verbs in group 2 can take agentive arguments, they do not need to. We have seen that most of them can also be predicated of inanimate arguments and that they only occur in the one-place construction when they do.[24] Group 1 cannot be opposed to group 3 either because while the verbs in group 3 are mostly predicated of non-agents, the arguments of a few verbs like **tɔ** 'limp' and **kúkɔ́** 'stammer' cannot be considered to be non-agents.[25] The discussion shows, therefore, that neither the lexical aspect criterion nor the agentiveness criterion enables us to divide one-place verbs in Ewe into two distinct classes.

In Section 3.1, I stated that Levin and Rappaport propose some determining semantic properties. Two of them are relevant for the discussion here and we can refer to them roughly as internal (as opposed to external) causation and directed change. In a rather loose paraphrase of Levin and Rappaport's position, we may say that verbs which express internal causation are unergatives unless they also express directed change. For an illustration of how these two properties work, let us consider our discussion of the sentences involving the light emission verb **klɛ́** 'shine'. I reproduce the sentences below as (52):

52a. **Akaɖí-á** **klɛ́**
lamp-DEF shine
'The lamp shone.'

[24]There are a few verbs which have been shown by Ameka (1998) to occur in a two-place construction which I refer to as the non-causal two-place construction. This construction is discussed in Chapter 4.

[25]Of course we can say that they are exceptions. But that will only be ignoring the motivation for their occurring in this class, which is that verbs which express defective states of affairs do not assert control.

b. ***Kofí klɛ́ akaɖí-á**
Kofi shine lamp-DEF
'Kofi shone the lamp.'

c. **Kofí klɛ́ akaɖí-á ɖé xɔ-á me**
Kofi shine lamp-DEF ALL room-DEF in
'Kofi shone the lamp into the room.'

As I indicated, **akaɖí** 'lamp' cannot undergo causative alternation in (52b) because shining is perceived as an inherent property of lamps. Sentence (52c) on the other hand, is acceptable because of the addition of the allative prepositional phrase, which gives the sentence the interpretation that the light has been shone at (i.e. towards) a place. The behaviour of **klɛ́** is easily explained using Levin and Rappaport's internal causation and directed change. In (52b), the verb only expresses an internally caused property. With the addition of the allative preposition in (52c), however, it assumes a directed change interpretation as well. And since verbs which express the latter property are unaccusatives, **klɛ́** is now able to undergo the causative alternation. Thus, these two properties account for facts which are otherwise difficult to account for in many languages, including Ewe.

The internal causation property distinguishes between verbs in groups 1 and 3, classifying the former as unaccusatives and the latter as unergatives. The problem comes with group 2. According to this property, the verbs in this group are unergatives, being internally caused. This is problematic, however, since verbs of inherently directed motion, which also occur in this group, are usually considered to be the exemplary unaccusative candidates. So we have to bring in the directed change property which re-classifies the verbs as unaccusatives. Yet this property does not apply to the involuntary bodily process verbs as well as the cries and movement ones, so the latter remain unergatives. The application of the two criteria therefore results in a situation where some unaccusative and unergative verbs have the same formal properties.

It is clear from the above discussion that neither formal nor semantic approaches enable us to divide one-place verbs into two distinct classes. This is because one-place verbs do not belong to two distinct classes but rather to a single class. As I tried to show throughout the discussion of the one-place verbs in the previous section, when the verbs occur in the intransitive clause, they do not assert either cause or control but when they occur in the two-place construction, they do. How do we establish the link between cause and control? The answer to this draws on a proposal made by DeLancey (1990).

In order to characterise volitional intransitive subjects and all transitive subjects regardless of volitionality as a natural class in Lhasa Tibetan, DeLancey proposes that "What the transitive and volitional intransitive subjects have in

common is that both are associated with an act (the act of volition and/or the transitive act) which is the direct cause of another event (the act itself or the change of state in a patient)" (1990:292). It is obviously a similar principle that is at work in Ewe. The difference for Ewe is that instead of an act of volition causing the act itself, it is rather an act of control which does so. For Ewe, we could rephrase DeLancey's proposal thus:

> What the canonical transitive and ICV transitive subjects have in common is that both are associated with an act (the act of control and/or the transitive act) which is the direct cause of another event (the act itself or the change of state in a patient).

An act of control is therefore a subcomponent of lexical cause which I have represented as Cause. This means that a participant perceived to be in control of a state of affairs is taken to be causing it and, therefore, to be responsible for it in the same way as a participant which brings about a change in the state of other entities. The transitive construction is therefore used to express the two kinds of causal states of affairs. As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, this is accounted for by taking intransitive sentences to constitute a construction with its own semantics. This semantics will then exclude Cause. This means that participants of verbs which occur in the construction will not be perceived in any way to be causing the state of affairs. What it also means is that verbs which already have Cause in their lexical semantics will not be able to occur in the construction. Because of their causal semantics, their occurrence in the one-place construction results in a contradiction. Some ICVs which I discuss in Chapters 4 and 6 belong to this category. On the other hand, some verbs entail lack of Cause and, hence, can only occur in this construction. There is, however, a large class of verbs whose semantics is neutral to Cause. It is these verbs which occur in both the one-place and causal-two place constructions.

Thus, by positing that sentences in which verbs occur with a single direct argument constitute a construction with its specific semantics, we are able to explain why verbs with very varied semantics occur in it while others cannot; they have a commonality, which is a lack of Cause in their semantic specification. Note that I am not claiming by this that all two-place verbs necessarily possess a causal semantics. In fact, since the forms that are available for expressing meanings are so limited, this should not be the case. I will show in Chapters 4 and 6 that there is a two-place construction which does not have causal semantics. This construction, like some inchoative verbs, is neutral to Cause and can, therefore, depending on the context, take a causal interpretation.

There is the temptation to couch the claim I have made here in terms of the Unaccusativity Hypothesis. I will now discuss the implications of such a step. It

has been informally stated within "old" Kwa linguistics circles that all Kwa verbs are transitive. This has only been formally expressed for Igbo, however (cf. Émenanjo 1975 cited in Manfredi 1991). To say that all verbs in Ewe are transitive will first presuppose that ICVs are taken to be transitive. Next, the one-place verbs will be analysed as unaccusatives which, as discussed in Section 3.1 above, is taken in GB and RG to mean that they have underlying objects. Thus the claim that all verbs are transitive will be theory internal. It should be noted that in strictly theoretical terms, such a claim denies the relevance of the UH to Ewe since it does not contrast the unaccusatives with any unergative class, there being no way to distinguish between canonical transitive clauses and "unergative transitive" clauses. A question that one might want to ask though is what is the justification for such a claim? From a distributional perspective, such a claim would be acceptable for the verbs which occur in group 1 since the subject of their one-place construction actually ends up in the object position in the two-place construction. And we might even push things further and claim by fiat that the verbs in group 3 also have their single arguments generated in object position even if they always end up in subject position. But the claim becomes tenuous for verbs in group 2 where the same participant occurs in the subject position in the two constructions.[26] The only alternative for such a claim is through recourse to semantics. One criterion that has been proposed for unaccusativity is protagonist control (cf. McLendon 1978). We have seen that all the arguments of the verbs in the one-place construction are not construed to be in control of the state of affairs expressed by the verbs. One would therefore want to claim that this property puts the verbs in the three groups together as one big unaccusative class. Note, however, that as I have pointed out above, such a claim will have nothing to do with the UH since it does not make any distinction between two classes of intransitive verbs.

To conclude, I have argued that the UH which assumes that there are two classes of intransitive verbs does not apply to Ewe. Although one could attribute a single semantic property to all the verbs which occur in the one-place construction, the resultant class is opposed to verbs occurring in the two-place construction and, therefore, such distinctions as unaccusative/unergative do not apply to them. Yet even though the unaccusativity hypothesis does not apply to Ewe, the active-inactive phenomenon which has been described in terms of

[26]Levin and Rappaport have proposed that some unaccusative verbs like verbs of appearance and disappearance have two underlying objects. Thus one could say that the inherently directed verbs in Ewe actually possess two underlying arguments. This claim will be less acceptable for the involuntary bodily process and cries and movement verbs, however.

this hypothesis can be compared and contrasted with what happens in Ewe. Active-inactive languages use morphology to indicate whether a participant in a clause is an active (for my purposes causal) entity. As a result, they mark the participant of the clause with an active case whether the clause is transitive or intransitive. Ewe, on the other hand, makes use of a two-place construction (hence syntax) to mark the presence of a causal participant in a clause. The strategy which Ewe adopts, however, means that all clauses with causal participants are syntactically transitive. It is therefore not possible, from syntactic perspective, to distinguish a two-place construction that one would want to call an active or agentive intransitive construction from a normal transitive one. This will be demonstrated further in Chapter 4. In the next section, I discuss how the verbs are linked in the one-place construction.

3.4 THE ONE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

I have argued that clauses in which verbs occur with a single core argument constitute a construction which I refer to as the one-place construction. In this section, I discuss the formalisation of the construction. I begin by reproducing the definition of an argument structure construction which I gave in Chapter 1:

> An A[rgument] S[tructure] C[onstruction] is an N-place construction iff ASC contains a lexical verb and N referring expressions <NP/PostP^{1}.....NP/PostP^{n}> which function as core arguments.

Considering the above definition, a one-place construction is defined thus:

> A one-place construction is an ASC containing one core syntactic argument.

The next issue to address is the formalisation of the single core argument in a clause. In Ewe, these arguments immediately precede the verb. This is captured by the definition below:

> X is a core syntactic argument if X is a referring expression <NP/PostP> and X immediately precedes the verb.

This formalism captures the single core argument because Ewe is not like English where an adverb can intervene between the verb and the subject. The sentences below illustrate this:

53a. **Kofí** **dzó** **kábá**
Kofi leave early
'Kofi left early.'

b. ***Kofi kábá dzo**
Kofi early leave
'Kofi quickly left.'

c. **Aba dzí fá**
bed top be_cold
'The surface of the bed is cold.'

(53a) is an unmarked sentence with a Subject-Verb-Adverb order. (53b) shows that the adverb cannot occur between the subject and verb even though this is possible in English. (53c) shows that according to this criterion, some postpositional phrases are core syntactic arguments.[27]

Syntactically, the one-place construction is realised as an intransitive clause with the central argument of the verb being linked to the subject relation. The semantics is not straightforward, however. As I showed in Section 3.2, there are various states of affairs which are expressed by this construction. It is therefore not possible to assign a single conventional thematic role label to the arguments which occur in it. For instance, animals which utter sounds (e.g. **wó** 'bark' and **xlɔ̃** 'cry') will be labelled as Effectors in Role and Reference Grammar. On the other hand, entities which are involved in non-controlled motion (e.g. **zɔ** 'an entity X undergoes a change of location') could either be labelled as Theme (Gruber 1976, Jackendoff 1991) or Effectors (because they can also be construed as participants which do actions). Finally, those which participate in states of affairs expressed by inchoatives (**ŋé** 'become broken', **glɔ̃** 'become crooked', etc.) can be labelled as Patient (Williams 1981, in Rappaport et al. 1993, Van Valin 1993, etc.) or Theme. However, all the states of affairs expressed in the one-place construction have a commonality, namely the absence of Cause. It is because the single role cannot be captured by a conventional thematic label that I have chosen to refer to it as the ET role. As I stated in Chapter 1, ET is a kind of composite role made up of Effector and Theme. Its closest equivalent in the literature is Dixon's role "S".[28] Unlike Dixon who has only three roles (S, A/O), however, I have adopted four. A big difference between my roles and those of Dixon is that his are syntactic while mine belong to the interface between syntax and semantics.

I now turn to the relation between the verb and the construction. I have already indicated that arguments are either licensed by the verb or the construction. However, in Ewe, every verb licenses at least one argument. Ewe

[27]As I indicated in Chapter 2, Postpositional Phrases have the structure of inalienable possession.

[28]It is different from Role and Reference Grammar's Effector-Theme which refers to some instruments (Foley and Van Valin, 1984).

is therefore not like English or French where the only argument position of some verbs (e.g. weather verbs discussed by Ruwet 1987) is filled by expletive nouns. Consider the sentence below:

54. **Tsi/?é** **dza**
water/3SG fall (as in rain)
'It rained.'

The pronoun **é** is only acceptable when it refers to a particular type of rain. From this discussion, we can expect that every ET argument will be licensed by a verb. (54) is represented in Fig. 1 below:

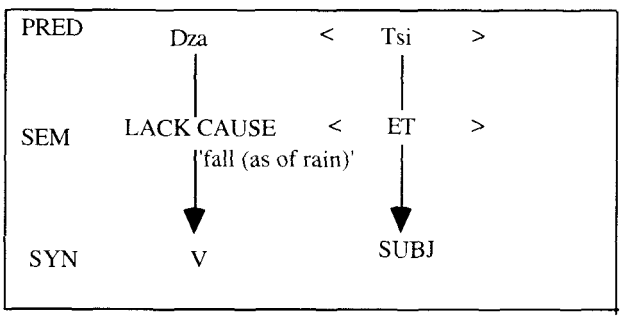

Fig. 1. Linking in the one-place construction

As explained in Chapter 1, PRED represents the verb that occurs in this construction together with its participant. The semantics of the construction indicates that it is only verbs which lack Cause which can occur in it. The discussion in Section 3.2 shows that the semantic classes of such verbs are inchoative, emission, inherently directed motion, non-agentive manner of motion, involuntary bodily process and cries and movement.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter shows that contrary to the claims made by the Unaccusativity Hypothesis, verbs which occur in the intransitive clause in Ewe (which I refer to as the one-place construction) do not sub-divide into two distinct classes. Formally, these verbs can be grouped into three major classes based on the type of constructions they occur in. The semantic classes to which they belong are many and varied. However, all the verbs have a common semantic property which I have referred to as lack of Cause. In that sense therefore the verbs can be said, at a level, to belong to one big class. Although one might want to take this class to be the unaccusative class, I have cautioned against using that to claim that all verbs in Ewe are transitive. This is because

the verbs do not display the formal property of belonging to an underlying object position.

THE TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTIONS

CHAPTER 4

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, I claimed that some ICVs occur in the same monotransitive construction as the more prototypical transitive verbs. I referred to the construction as the "causal two-place construction". In this chapter, evidence is presented in support of this claim. Thus, I will argue that the two sentences below (1a, b), which contain a prototypical transitive verb and an ICV respectively, are equally transitive:

1 a. **Kofí wu Komi**
Kofi kill Komi
'Kofi killed Komi.'

b. **Kofí *fú* tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

This amounts to saying that not only are the two verbs **wu** 'kill' and ***fú*** bivalent but that **tsi** 'water', in the second sentence, is a direct object. It should be obvious then that I am not proceeding from a semantic definition such as that given in Hopper and Thompson (1980) which take as given such notions as agent and affected participant. Instead, I am rather following Lazard's recommendation:

> Since changes in form are discrete and observable while semantic substances seem amorphous, I think it is better, wherever feasible, to proceed the other way round, from form to meaning (1983:121)

My notion of transitivity is, therefore, based on the distributional pattern of complements in Ewe. The reason why I adopt this approach is that Ewe does not distinguish syntactically between verbs like **wu** and ***fú*** and any attempt to posit such a distinction would be arbitrary since it would not account for the syntactic facts of the language. I do distinguish between two types of transitive clauses, however, based on the nature of the argument which is realised in the subject position. The one which I have referred to above as the causal two-place construction has a Causer argument but the other, referred to as the non-

causal two-place construction, does not have it. I will show that the distribution of the Causer argument is different from arguments of the non-causal two-place construction, thus still aligning meaning to form.

The chapter is organised as follows: in Section 4.1, I show that ICVs are like all verbs in their ability to take aspectual and modal affixes as well as in their pattern of nominalisation. Section 4.2 considers the categorial status of the inherent complement (IC). It is argued that the constituent is a phrasal category. Next I address the issue of whether the ICV and its complement constitute a complex lexical item. Section 4.3 argues that like complements of prototypical transitive verbs (referred to here as "canonical transitive verbs"), inherent complements (ICs) behave like direct syntactic arguments of the ICVs and should therefore be given the same analysis. In Section 4.4, I provide a construction grammar analysis for transitive clauses in Ewe. I discuss the two types of two-place constructions which are distinguished by the presence versus absence of a Causer argument. I also expand on my notion of Cause. In Section 4.5, I discuss an alternative solution that has been proposed for ICVs in Igbo by Nwachukwu. I argue that Nwachukwu's analysis is problematic because it ignores the distributional properties of ICVs and instead concentrates on their translations. Section 4.6 concludes the chapter with a summary of the main point.

4.1 WHY ICVS ARE VERBS

The class of words which I refer to as verbs in Ewe are, as I discussed in Chapter 2, distinguished from other categories (i.e. nouns, adjectives and adverbs) by their ability to occur with aspectual or modal morphemes, on the one hand, and their nominalisation process, on the other. ICVs are no different in their ability to undergo such processes. In this section I consider these properties.

4.1.1 INFLECTIONAL CAPABILITIES OF ICVS

Depending on the resultant state of affairs which a sequence encodes, any verb in a clause is capable of occurring with an aspectual or modal morpheme.[1] For instance, **dze** (which is an ICV) in **dze dɔ** 'become ill' and **wu** 'kill' (which is not an ICV in the traditional sense) in **wu xeví** 'kill a bird' can both occur with the habitual morpheme, as in the sentences below:

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[1]Even true statives can take the potential morpheme, as the example below illustrates:

Detsí	**má**	**â-sue**	**ŋútɔ́**
Soup	DEM	POT-be_small	INT

'That soup may be very little'

2 a. **Kofí dze-na dɔ**
Kofí ICV-HAB illness
'Kofí falls ill.'

b. **Kofí wu-na xeví**
Kofí kill-HAB birds
'Kofí kills birds.'

The habitual, as I discussed in Chapter 2, gives rise to a habitual interpretation for the state of affairs encoded by **dze** and **wu** 'kill'.

Avolonto (1995) claims that one reason for considering the ICV and its complement as a lexical unit is that the temporal interpretation of the verbs can change when they take different complements thus influencing the aspectual morphemes which the verbs can occur with. It is natural, however, that the aspectual interpretation of a sentence be influenced not only by the inherent aspect of the verb but also, among others, by the nature of the complement it takes. For instance, Pustejovsky (1995) notes that performance verbs like 'play' can allow for either an activity or accomplishment interpretation of a sentence, depending on the complement it takes. His examples are provided below (1995, examples 27a&b):

3 a. Mary played the piano for hours
b. Mary played the sonata in 15 minutes

It is not only the lexical nature of the complement that influences the aspectual interpretation of a sentence. Pustejovsky (1995:16) writes:

> The aspectual properties of a sentence may change as a result of other factors such as adverbial modification (both durative and frame), the structure of an NP in an argument position (e.g. definite vs bare plural), or the presence of a prepositional phrase (cf. also Vendler 1967).

Thus quantification of an argument can also influence the aspectual interpretation of a sentence, as illustrated below:

4 a. Kofi drank beer for several hours
b. Kofi drank a crate of beer in an hour

Here, although the complement remains 'beer', the one in (4a) is represented as a mass entity while the one in (4b) is quantified. As a result we have an activity interpretation for (4a) and an accomplishment one for (4b).

Considering the above, it is not unusual that the aspectual intepretations of sentences in which ICVs occur sometimes change when they take different complements. One such instance is with the ICV **dze** which I consider to be a punctual verb. Depending on the complement which it takes, **dze** encodes a state of affairs which may be transient or permanent. This affects the ability of the verb to occur with the habitual morpheme, as the sentences below illustrate:

5 a. **Kofí dze-na anyí**
Kofí ICV-HAB ground
'Kofí falls down.'

b. **??Kofí dze-na núnyá**
Kofí ICV-HAB wisdom
'Kofí becomes wise'

In the first sentence, entering a fallen state can be, and usually is, quickly remedied by picking oneself up. After that, if one is not careful, one goes down again. It is therefore acceptable for the verb to take the habitual in this sentence. The situation is different in the second sentence, however. One could suppose that we become wise only once and remain thus for our lifetime (unless senility robs us of it). For this reason, therefore, sentences such as (5b) are less acceptable. To conclude, the ability of an IC to affect the aspectual interpretation of a sentence in which an ICV occurs does not necessarily make the verb and complement a lexical unit.

4.1.2 NOMINALISATION

The second formal characteristic of verbs in Ewe which I mentioned above is their manner of nominalisation. Verbs in Ewe are nominalised first, by the process of reduplication. The reduplication of **da** 'to boast', a one-place verb given in Chapter 2, Section 2.3 is repeated below:

6. **da => dada**
boast => pride

Canonical transitive verbs can also be nominalised in this manner. However, the contexts in which such forms are used are very limited. Instead, they are usually nominalised with a generic complement which is preposed. Thus, (7b) is more usual than (7a) which is similar to (6):

7 a. ***fo*** **=>** ***fofo***
hit => hitting

b. ***fo*** **ame** => **ame*fofo***
hit person => 'hitting people'

It will be recalled from my discussion in Chapter 2 that **ame** 'person' is the generic form for humans. In (7b) this complement is placed before the reduplicated form. Its use in the nominalisation means that humans are the undergoers of the hitting state of affairs. One can be more specific about the person being hit, in which case a more specific term (e.g. proper noun) is used instead, as the example below illustrates:

8. ***fo*** **Komi** => **Komi** ***fofo***
hit Komi => hitting Komi

Unlike canonical transitive verbs, ICVs do not usually undergo the nominal derivation without their complements. The examples below are illustrations:

9 a. ?**dze-dze**

b. **núnyá** **dze-dze**
wisdom RED-ICV
'Becoming wise'

(9b) is more preferable than (9a) because the meaning of the ICV is under-determined so they require a proper context, in this case their complements in order to determine their exact interpretation. However, the distinction between the nominalisation pattern that involves preposing of a complement and that in which there is no complement at all is not of the type Chomsky (1981) makes between gerundive nominal formation and derivations in English, e.g 'destroying' vs 'destruction'. In Ewe, all the forms involve gerundive nominal formation and thus behave in the same manner: they do not have any idiosyncratic meanings and it is not the case that one allows for a plural morpheme where the other does not. The type exemplified by (7b) is used when the speaker wants to be more specific (identify humans as the target of beating, not animals) or, as in (8), fully specific. The reason why ICVs always have their complements when they are nominalised is, as already stated, that the complements are necessary for the interpretation that is given to the sequence (unlike in the case of canonical transitive verbs where they are not).[2]

[2]Actually, even though the meaning of all canonical transitive verbs can be said to be fully specified, acceptability judgement on their nominalisation without their complements vary. For instance, although all speakers accept **ɖuɖu** 'eating', not everyone accepts **wuwu** 'killing' or **xexlẽ** 'reading'.

One further thing that needs to be said concerning the nominalisation process is that only arguments of the verbs can be preposed. This is illustrated below:

10 a. **Kofí dzó etsɔ**
Kofi leave yesterday
'Kofi left yesterday.'

b. **Kofí *fé* dzodzó etsɔ**
Kofi POSS RED-leave yesterday
'Kofi's departure yesterday.'

11a. **Kofí *fo* Komi**
Kofi hit Komi
'Kofi hit Komi.'

b. **Kofí *fé* Komi *fofo/* **fofo* Komi**
Kofi POSS Komi RED-hit/
'Kofi's hitting of Komi.'

Etsɔ 'yesterday', even though a nominal, functions as an adjunct and, therefore, cannot be preposed when the clause is nominalised. Since Komi is the internal argument of ***fo*** 'hit', it has to be preposed when the clause is nominalised. Sentence (9b) illustrates that where an ICV is concerned, the IC also has to be preposed. The above examples suggest, therefore, that not only does the ICV display verbal properties but the IC behaves syntactically like the complement of canonical transitive verbs with respect to nominalisation.

What the discussion in the above sections has shown then is that when such criteria as ability to take aspectual and modal morphemes as well as nominalisation are applied to ICVs, they will be found to behave like canonical transitive verbs. While the inability to leave out their complements when they are nominalised could be taken as evidence of a difference between ICVs and canonical transitive verbs, this difference can be attributed to the degree of specificity of the semantics of the former which makes them require their complements.

4.1.3 ICV ARE NOT IDIOMS

The above facts lead to a tentative conclusion that ICVs and their complements do not constitute idioms. One reason is that idioms are sometimes subject to restrictions on tense or aspect which cannot be explained by the inherent semantics of the verbs and the arguments they occur with. An example from English is 'raining cats and dogs'. This expression is more natural with the progressive, as the sentences below illustrate:

12a. ??It has rained cats and dogs.
b. It was raining cats and dogs.

The inability of the idiom to occur with the perfect aspect is not due to the inability of the verb 'rain' to occur with it. Moreover, it cannot be explained how 'cats and dogs' interact with the inherent semantics of 'rain' to restrict the aspectual interpretation of the verb in the sentence. In this particular case, one has to say that it is an idiosyncratic property of the idiom.

In Ewe too, idioms can have restrictions on the aspectual morphemes a verb takes which are just due to the idiosyncratic nature of the expression. An example is the expression **trɔ́ megbé** 'turn back' which is an idiom for 'to die'. Many speakers do not accept that this form can mean 'die' when the verb in this expression occurs in the progressive. The sentence below cannot therefore have an idiomatic reading:

13. **Tɔ́gbúí-á** **le** **megbé** **trɔ́-mí**
Old_man-DEF AUX:PRES back turn-PROG
The old man is turning back'
?The old man is dying.'

Kú, the non-idiomatic verb which expresses dying, on the other hand, can take the progressive. One could refer to such constraints as "idiom idiosyncracies". As I have already shown ICVs are not subject to such restrictions.

Another restriction that applies to true idioms but does not apply generally to ICVs concerns the nominalisation pattern. That is to say that not all nominalised phrases received idiomatic interpretation in Ewe, as illustrated with the phrase below:

14. **Tɔ́gbúí-á** ***fé*** **megbé** **tɔ́-trɔ́**
Old_man-DEF POSS back RED-turn
'The old man's turning his back'
?'The old man's dying.'

The above shows that while true idioms allow for restrictions in the ability of a verb to take some aspectual morphemes and undergo nominalisation, the same restriction does not apply to ICVs. This suggests that ICVs and their complements should be analysed differently from true idioms.[3] In the next section, I address the issue of the constituency of the IC.

[3]Note that this does not rule out the possibility that an ICV can occur in an idiom that has restrictions on TAM or nominalisations. All it says is that ICVs are not a-priori idioms.

4.2 THE INHERENT COMPLEMENT (IC)

That the IC is some form of nominal has never been in dispute (Ameka 1991, 1994a, 1994b, Avolonto 1995, Essegbey 1994a, Ihionu 1992, Manfredi 1991, Nwachukwu 1985, 1987). Rather, one point of contention has been whether it is simply a noun or a noun phrase. Nwachukwu states that the IC in Igbo can be modified and, therefore, that it is a noun phrase. Ameka makes a similar point by referring to the syntactic independence of the complement (cf. 1991:42). Ihionu (1992) discusses ICVs which, according to him, only have the form V-N. However, following Hale and Keyser (1991), he adopts the structure in which the complement is represented as a noun phrase. This is given below:

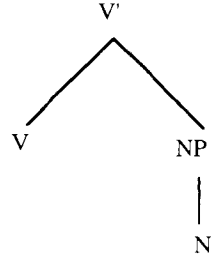

Fig. 1 Ihionu's ICV Structure

This means that while the IC is considered a noun phrase, it is supposedly realised simply as a noun. The implications of Hale and Keyser's analysis for ICVs are discussed in Section 4.3.1. For the moment, I will just point out that rewriting the noun phrase above as a noun can be misleading since it presupposes that the complement can only be realised thus, a position which I show presently to be wrong.

One person who claims that the IC is, in every respect, a simple noun is Avolonto (1995). He argues that the complements of the verbs which he considers to be ICVs in Fon cannot be modified in the manner of complements of transitive verbs and, therefore, are simple nouns. In Chapter 1, I showed that contrary to Avolonto's claims, **ajo** 'theft', the IC of **jɛ** 'steal' can be modified. I show here that some other sentences which he uses to illustrate his point are equally problematic (Avolonto 1995:ex. 41):

15a. **vi** **ɔ** **hun** **sin**
enfant deic. ouvrir eau
'L'enfant a ouvert de l'eau (un robinet par example).'
'The child opened the water (a tap for example).' (JAE)

b. **vi ɔ hun sin**
enfant deic. ouvrir eau
'L'enfant est mal eduque.'
'The child has not been properly raised.' (JAE)

Avolonto gives further examples to show that while **sin** in (15a) can be modified with **zozo** 'hot' (an adjective) to mean the child opened the hot tap, the same cannot be done for **sin** in (15b). Instead, the latter can only be modified by **tawun** 'really' which is an adverb. Avolonto therefore concludes that verb and complement in (15b) function "comme une unité seule et indissociable" - "as a single and inseparable unit" (JAE). While this conclusion is justified for the above sentence, I do not think it should be extended to inherent complement verbs because, such instances are true idioms. Just to make it clear that this does not depend upon our different conceptions of the ICV phenomenon, I will draw attention to what Avolonto takes to be an ICV. According to him, these occur in constructions in which "c'est surtout l'objet qui détermine fondamentalement l'interprétation de l'ensemble" (1995:92)- "it is mainly the object which determines the interpretation of the sequence" (JAE). **Hun sin** in sentence (15b) does not satisfy this criterion since the noun contributes no more to the interpretation of the sentence than the verb does. As I have already suggested, such constructions are the real idioms and should be kept separate from ICV constructions.

I argue that the Ewe IC is a noun phrase because, like its Igbo counterpart which Nwachukwu discusses, it can be modified. I therefore propose that there is no need to indicate that it is realised as a noun (as is done in Fig. 1). One discourse property of Ewe that is reflected in the syntax is that nominals are first introduced into the discourse without overt determiners. Thus one usually says (16):

16. **ʋu-a wu avu le mɔ́-á dzí**
Vehicle-DEF kill dog LOC road-DEF top
'The vehicle killed a dog on the road.'

Avu 'dog', the complement in the sentence, is just a dog and, therefore, is neither specific nor definite. Yet one would not call it generic since, to borrow an expression from Lobner (1997), it is "referentially anchored in the discourse".[4] It is only when the speaker wants to refer to a specific dog that s/he introduces the specific determiner:

[4]One way to determine that such nominals are referential is to find out if they can occur in the complement clauses of factive predicates. Givòn has pointed out that factive verbs do not accept non-referential nominals as complements. Thus in the sentence below, 'letter' could not refer to any letter:

17. **ʊu-a wu avu aɖé le mɔ́-á dzí**
Vehicle-DEF kill dog SPECI LOC road-DEF top
'The vehicle killed a certain dog on the road.'

In the same way, inherent complements are introduced without determiners. To say Kofi swam is (18):

18. **Kofí *fú* tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

The speaker here is not particularly interested in the kind of water Kofi swam in, so the complement is treated just as **avu** 'dog' with **wu** 'kill' in sentence (16). This does not mean, however, that the complement cannot take a determiner. Sentence (19) below is acceptable for expressing the act of Kofi going to swim in a body of water which is known to the interlocutor:

19. **Kofí *fú* tsi-á**
Kofi ICV water-DEF
'Kofi did swim in the water.'

Note that the complement now takes the definite article. This is the kind of sentence someone, say Kofi's sibling, may utter if she wanted to inform their parents that Kofi had flouted the regulations of the house and swum in the pool. This shows that while we could propose a different analysis for ICVs when their complements do not have a determiner, the same would have to be proposed for canonical transitive verbs as well. This is obviously unnecessary since it gives rise to two predictable analyses for all complement taking verbs.

In Chapter 1, I stated that not only do inherent complements take the specific or definite determiner but most of them can be modified with adjectives as well, a point which, as I have already indicated, has been made by Nwachukwu for ICs in Igbo as well. Let us consider further examples here. When consultants

---

He regretted that he read a letter (Givón 1984: ex. 16a)

The sentence below shows that nominals without determiners can occur as complements of factive verbs in Ewe:

Kofi nyá bé ye *fé* ʊu-á wu avu etsɔ
Kofi know that LOG POSS vehicle-DEF kill dog yesterday
'Kofi knows that his vehicle killed a dog yesterday'

This then is extra evidence that such bare nominals could be referential.

were presented with a picture of someone swimming in brownish water which was characterised as dirty and asked to describe what the person had done, they tended to say something like:[5]

20. **É-*fú*** **tsi** ***foḍi***
3SG-ICV water dirty
'He swam in the dirty water.'

Also when they were presented with the picture of a person injecting another with an extra large needle, they said something like:

21. **É-dó** **abui** **gą́** **áḍé** **ná** **ame-á**
3SG-ICV needle big SPECI for person-DEF
'He injected the person with a certain big needle.'

Sentences (20) and (21) show that Ewe does not need to use an adjunct phrase in order to qualify the water in which a person swims and the needle which is used to inject a person. Instead, **tsi** 'water' and **abui** 'needle' behave like canonical transitive complements which are adjectivally modified. In addition to adjectival modification, some ICs can even be conjoined. When consultants were presented with pictures of someone who first swam in the sea and then the lagoon and asked to tell what the person had done they said something like:

22. **É-*fú*** **amū** **kplé** **atsiá*fu***
3SG-ICV lagoon LINK sea
'He swam in the lagoon and the sea.'

Given that the above properties are not only found in the given examples but in all ICV constructions (with two exceptions which I discuss immediately below), we can safely conclude that the IC in Ewe is a noun phrase, not a noun.

As stated in the previous paragraph, there are two ICs which do not allow for adjectival modification. These are **go** 'out' and **anyí** 'ground' or 'down'. Although the glosses make them look like adverbs, I pointed out in Chapter 2 that they really are nominals. This is because, firstly, they take postpositions (eg. **go-ta** 'outside', **anyí-gbá** 'land') and, secondly, they can take the definite article as in examples (23a) and (23b) repectively:

23 a. **Kofí** **do** **go-a**
Kofi ICV out-DEF
'Kofi did go outside.'

[5]At times, the progressive form of the sentences were used. The progressive form of (20) was discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2.2.

b. **Kofí nɔ anyí-á**
Kofi sit ground-DEF
'Kofi did sit down.'

The ability to occur with determiners means that even these seemingly borderline cases are phrasal categories (Webelhuth 1995).

I have now established that the ICV is a verb because it occurs with aspectual or modal morphemes and undergoes gerundive nominal formation like other verbs. Furthermore, I have shown that just like their Igbo counterparts discussed by Nwachukwu, ICs are not just nominals but they are phrasal items because they can be modified. Finally, I have shown that nominals without overt determiners can have referential status in Ewe. Thus the strategy of ICs being introduced in sentences without any article is not a peculiarity of ICVs. For this reason, therefore, it is not appropriate to further represent an IC as a bare noun.

4.3 THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ICV AND THE IC

In this section, I discuss the structural relation that exists between the verb and its IC. I use an X-bar formalism to graphically represent the possible structural relationships. Since I am simply concerned with the relation between a verb and a complement, I will limit my discussion to the VP projection. Fig. 2 shows four potential projections:

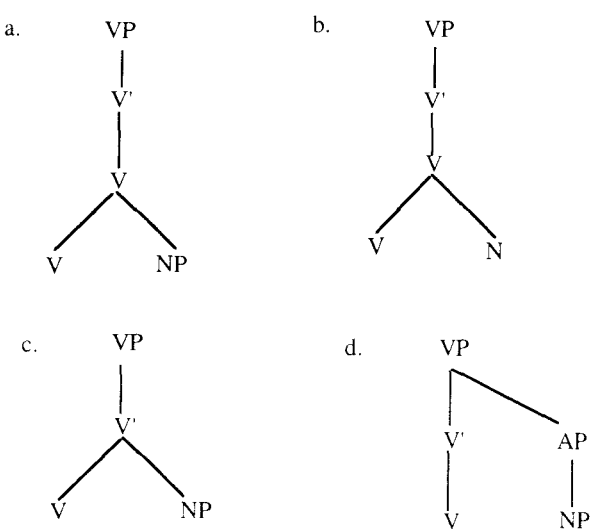

Fig. 2 Possible relations between ICV and IC

Structures (a) and (b) treat the ICV together with its complement as a single lexical item, while structure (c) treats the IC as a direct syntactic argument of the verb and (d) treats it as an adjunct phrase. An analysis similar to (a) has been proposed by Nwachukwu for ICVs in Igbo while Avolonto proposes (b) for ICVs in Fon. Since I have shown the IC in Ewe to be a phrasal category, Avolonto's proposal is straightforwardly inapplicable. As stated, (c) is the analysis in which the IC is taken to be the direct syntactic argument of the verb and, therefore, its direct object. Since this is the structure which applies to simple transitive clauses, I will argue that it is the same one which applies to the ICV + complement sequences as well. There is a proposal by Hale and Keyser (1991, 1993) in which this same structure is generated in the lexicon. Within this proposal, so-called unergative (and therefore nominally intransitive) verbs are assumed to possess the same structure. Since such an analysis has been proposed for ICVs in Igbo by Ihionu (1992), I take a brief look at this position in the next subsection.

4.3.1 THE THEORY OF LEXICAL RELATIONAL STRUCTURES

Hale and Keyser (1993:54) claim that "the proper representation of lexical predicate argument structure is itself a syntax. That is to say, as a matter of strictly lexical representation, each lexical head projects its category to a phrasal level and determines within that projection an unambiguous system of structural relations holding between the head, its categorial projections, and its arguments (specifier, if present, and complement)." The representation is known as Lexical Relational Structure (LRS) and it is supposed to be the lexical-syntactic correlate of semantic entities. Thus the verb 'beat' will determine within a phrasal form of the type represented in structure (c) of Fig. 2 that the beater will be realised in specifier position while the beatee is realised in complement position. Perhaps the most unconventional part of Hale and Keyser's proposals is the claim that derivations are also syntactic. That is to say, certain verbal lexical items are derived through the operation of the head movement variant of Move α. For example, the denominal verb 'laugh' is supposed to have an initial simple transitive structure represented in Fig. 3 (a) with an eventual incorporation à la Baker (1988) yielding (b):

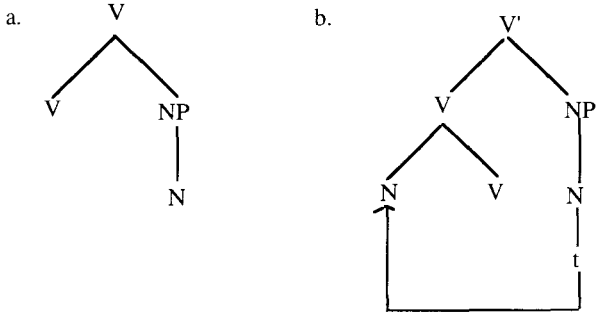

Fig. 3 Deriving denominal verbs

Thus, within the LRS of the verb 'laugh', the verb originates as the complement of an abstract verb. It then undergoes head movement in order to incorporate into the abstract verb.

Let us now consider how this analysis could be applied to Ewe. Hale and Keyser claim that their analysis is strengthened by the observation that unergatives in the Basque language are realised by a simple transitive structure without incorporation. 'To sleep' is encoded in this language as **lo egin,** which literally means 'sleep do'. **Egin** 'do' is a light verb which does not really contribute to the semantics of the eventual sequence. It therefore fills the verb position in Fig 3a. Ihionu (1992) adopts this analysis for ICVs in Igbo. According to him, incorporation does not take place in l-syntax (i.e. syntax within the lexicon) so the whole structure is carried into s-syntax (i.e. surface syntax).[6] For Ihionu, most ICVs in Igbo are semantically empty and are, therefore, like light verbs. This is crucial for the acceptability of the above structure because, as Hale and Keyser put it, this LRS represents a state of affairs in which an event is completed or perfected by virtue of the "creation", "production" or "realisation" of the relevant entity. Thus **lo egin** 'sleep do', in Basque, fits this analysis because the event is completed by virtue of the realization of the complement, i.e. 'sleep'. This is not the case for most ICVs in Ewe, however. I will illustrate this with the verb ***fú*** which I gave in sentence (1). A detailed discussion of this verb is provided in Chapter 6. Suffice it to state here that it involves the swift movement of the limbs of an entity at a location in a manner that is appropriate for the location. Now consider the two sentences in which ***fú*** occurs below (24a is a repeat of 1b):

[6]For Ihionu, as for Hale and Keyser, ICVs are like simple transitive verbs in that they take categorial variables at l-syntax which are then filled at s-syntax. An alternative proposal is given by Hollebrandse and van Hout (1996). For them, it is the complements, and not the verbs, which generate the structure at l-syntax. Then, since incorporation does not take place, light verbs are inserted as spell-outs.

24a. **Kofí** ***fú*** **tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

b. **Kofí** ***fú*** **du**
Kofi ICV course
'Kofi ran.'

In (24a), water is the meduim within which Kofi moves the limbs swiftly. It therefore determines the exact manner of movement. In that sense, therefore, it is crucial for determining the 'swim' interpretation which is given to the sequence. In (24b), on the other hand, it is **du** 'course' which determines the manner of movement and, thus, the 'run' interpretation given to the sequence. Note that while in both cases, the concepts expressed are encoded by so-called unergative verbs in other languages, it is *not* the complements that solely determine these interpretations. The events are therefore not completed or perfected by virtue of the creation, production or realisation of the two complements above. Thus, Hale and Keyser's analysis which does apply to single verb unergatives and truly light verbs does not apply to most ICVs in Ewe.

4.3.2 JUSTIFYING THE SYNTACTIC COMPLEMENT ANALYSIS

I suggested at the beginning of this chapter that from a distributional syntactic point of view, some ICVs are like canonical transitive verbs and, therefore, should be given the same analysis. I first show that ICs fulfill the same criteria for determining arguments as do complements of canonical transitive verbs. Next, I will suggest that one of these is the criterion which applies to direct objects of monotransitive constructions in Ewe. My conclusion is therefore that since ICs satisfy these criteria, they are direct objects. Avolonto (1995:13) states that when a noun phrase is a syntactic complement of a verb phrase, it allows for some syntactic processes among which are questioning, relativisation and modification by an adjectitive. I have already pointed out that the IC can be modified. Among the issues I consider next is the questioning of the IC. Further below, in Section 4.4.1.2, I discuss a process which is similar to passivization for canonical transitive verbs and a subclass of ICVs. The first issue I address is a claim made by Ihionu that ICs cannot be WH-moved.

4.3.2.1 ICVS AND WH-QUESTIONS

In Essegbey (ms), I have echoed Ihionu's (1992) observation that the IC cannot be WH-questioned. In this section, I argue that the observation is wrong. Content questions in Ewe, unlike 'who' or 'what' in English, are phrasal categories headed by the question word **ka** which occur in sentence initial

position.[7] Quite commonly, **ka** heads noun phrases containing the generic words **ame** 'person' and **nú** 'thing'. The problem with these phrases, as with many others in Ewe (cf. discussion of postpositional phrases in Chapter 2), is that they used to be written together in the old Ewe orthography, thus giving the impression that they are lexical categories. In the sentences below, they are written separately as advocated in the revised orthography:

25a. **Ame ka nè-kpɔ́**
Person WH 2SG-see
'Whom did you see?'

b. **Nú ka nè-kpɔ́**
Thing WH 2SG-see
'What did you see?'

In the first sentence, **ka** heads the noun phrase containing **ame** 'person', and draws attention to the fact that the questioner is asking after a human being. In the second example, on the other hand, it is a phrase containing **nú** 'thing' that **ka** heads and this suggests that the questioner is interested in a non-human entity. Because these generic question forms are used frequently, they have been taken to represent the Ewe equivalents of 'who' and 'what'. Thus the reason why it has been supposed that ICs cannot be WH-questioned is because they are not usually questioned with these generic phrases. For example, the IC in sentence (1) repeated below as (26a) is not normally questioned in the manner represented in (26b):

26a. **Kofí *fú* tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

b. ?**Nú ka Kofí *fú***
Thing WH Kofi ICV
'What did Kofi swim.'

Although (26b) is not wrong, it is not the preferred option. The reason for this can be drawn from what I said about the meaning of ICVs in Chapter 1: due to their rather under-determined meaning, they do not occur with the generic complements **nú** 'thing' and **ame** 'person'. Thus (27) below is very odd:

27. ??**Kofí *fú* nú**
Kofi ICV thing

[7]In atributing headedness to **ka**, I adopt a functional head analysis. The claim itself is in line with Manfredi's (1991) observation that WH-forms are phrasal in Kwa languages.

Canonical transitive verbs, on the other hand, can occur with **nú** since their semantics is more specified. As a result, their complements can be questioned with **nú ka**. This is illustrated below (28a was discussed in Chapter 1):

28a. **Kofí ɖu nú**
Kofi eat thing
'Kofi has eaten (something).'

b. **Nú ka Kofí ɖu?**
Thing WH Kofi eat
'What did Kofi eat?'

From this, we can predict that in order to question a state of affairs encoded by an ICV we have to use a phrase in which **ka** heads a phrase containing the type of complement that the ICV can occur with. This is exactly what happens, as sentences (29a, b) illustrate:[8]

29a. **Du ka Kofí fú**
Race WH Kofi ICV
'What race did Kofi run?'

b. **Dɔ ka Kofí dze**
Illness WH Kofi ICV
'What kind of sickness did Kofi contract?'

Some types of questions will then be ruled out because of the kind of information expressed by the verb and complement. For instance, a person who knows that Kofi has run a race or contracted a sickness may not know the particular race or sickness and, therefore, use the respective questions above. A question like (30) below, on the other hand, would not be appropriate since it does not really seek to retrieve information. It is not unacceptable though, and

[8]Note that one cannot say that the Wh-forms for ICs and normal transitive complements differ in a way similar to, for example, true complements versus adjoined nominals à la Baker in Mohawk. In Ewe, when the temporal adjunct is questioned, the temporal morpheme is repeated after **ka**. Thus we have **ɣekayi** (sun-wh-sun) 'when' and **gbe ka gbe** (day WH day) 'which day'. Ameka (1999) notes that these forms can be considered to be lexical categories. In that sense, IC questioning is similar to normal complements in not involving possible lexical categories. In Mohawk, on the other hand, Baker states that **uhka** is the Mohawk equivalent of 'who' and it is used to question argument NPs while **kanikayv**, the equivalent of 'which' is used for non-argument NPs (1995:17-18). If anything at all, things seem to go the other way in Ewe, it is the Wh-form for adjuncts which looks more like a lexical category.

can be used by one who wants to be sarcastic. The reason for this, we can assume, is that there is only one kind of wisdom:

30. **Núnya ka-e Kofí dze**
Wisdom WH-FOC Kofi ICV
'What kind of wisdom has Kofi obtained?'

The important thing, for our purposes, is that this sentence is perfectly acceptable. It so happens that complements of canonical transitive verbs can also be questioned in like manner. Sentence (31) illustrates this:

31. **Deví ka-e nè-kpɔ́**
Child WH-FOC 2SG-see
'Which child did you see?'

The difference between this sentence and (25a) is that the questioner has more information about the nature of the thing s/he questions: not only does s/he know that s/he is enquiring about a human being but also that it is a child. This discussion shows then that as far as the syntax of WH-questioning is concerned, the IC behaves just like a canonical transitive complement.

4.3.2.2 INTERNAL ARGUMENT DETERMINING CRITERIA

The WH-question form applies to arguments which occur in both subject and object positions. I now turn to criteria for determining whether an immediate postverbal nominal is an argument or not. These are obligatory preposing of the argument before the verb when the clause contains an auxiliary or when the verb phrase is nominalised. Another property is pronominalisation.

4.3.2.2.1 ARGUMENT PREPOSING

Immediate post-verbal complements which are arguments of a verb are preposed when the clause in which they occur contains an auxiliary. I stated in Section 4.1.2 that not all true idioms occur in such constructions. For example sentence (32) below in which **megbé** 'back' has been preposed cannot be interpreted as an idiom:

32. **Kofí le megbé trɔ gé**
Kofi AUX:PRES back turn PROSP
'Kofi will turn back.'
?'Kofi will die.'

Nominals which function as adjuncts cannot be preposed either, as the unacceptability of (33a) below illustrates:

33a. ***Kofí le etsɔ dzó gé**
Kofi AUX:PRES tomorrow leave PROSP
'Kofi will leave tomorrow.'

b. **Kofí le dzo-dzó gé etsɔ**
Kofi AUX:PRES RED-leave PROSP tomorrow
'Kofi will leave tomorrow.'

It is not acceptable for **etsɔ** to be preposed in this clause because it is not an argument of **dzó** 'leave'. ICs behave like other argument complements since they have to be preposed in such contexts:

34. **Kofí le du *fú* gé /*le *fu-fú* gé du**
Kofi AUX:PRES course ICV PROSP/
'Kofi is going to run.'

As the example shows, it is unacceptable to reduplicate the verb and leave its complement in postverbal position.

Complements which can be preposed when the clause in which they occur contains an auxiliary can be analysed as direct objects. This is because the preposing criterion is not restricted to any particular participant role. In sentences (35a, b) below, the postverbal complements **avu** 'dog' and **kplɔa dzí** 'table top' which represent Theme and Location respectively are preposed.

35a. **ʋu-a le avu-a wu gé**
Vehicle-DEF AUX:PRES dog-DEF kill PROSP
'The car will kill the dog.'

b. **Agbalẽ-a le kplɔ̃-a dzí nɔ gé**
Book-DEF AUX:PRES table-DEF top be PROSP
'The book will be on the table.'

In subsequent discussions, I will use the ability of a complement to be preposed as a diagnostic for direct objecthood. The next argumenthood diagnostic also involves preposing but this one occurs when the verb phrase is nominalised.

4.3.2.2.2 NOMINALISATION

As I mentioned in Section 4.1.2, nominalisation is another criterion that can be used to identify internal arguments: while these are obligatorily preposed when the verb phrase is nominalised, adjuncts remain in post-verbal position. I also stated that its application to idioms is restricted because some of them do not allow for nominalisation (see Section 4.1.2). Thus, according to argument

preposing tests, ICs are like arguments, not adjuncts. The next criterion points to the same conclusion.

4.3.2.2.3 PRONOMINALISATION

The final piece of evidence in support of the claim that ICs should not be analysed differently from other objects is pronominalisation. Let us first consider how it works for canonical transitive verbs: arguments of canonical transitive verbs can be pronominalised if they have been referred to earlier in the discourse:

36. **Kofi vúvú-i**
Kofi tear-3PSG
'Kofi tore it.'

We could assume that this sentence cannot be uttered in a situation where the addressee does not have prior knowledge of the thing that has been torn. The pronoun in (36) can only be an argument of the verb, as adjuncts cannot be pronominalised. Thus the temporal nominal in (37a) cannot be rendered as a pronoun, as illustrated by the unacceptability of (37b).

37a. **Kofi dzó etsɔ**
Kofi leave yesterday
'Kofi left yesterday.'

b. ***Kofi dzó-i**
Kofi leave-3SG

While it has been suggested for the Fon language that ICs cannot be pronominalised (Avolonto 1995), the situation in Ewe is different: they are pronominalised if they can easily be retrieved from immediately preceding clauses. Thus the difference between the pronominalisation process of canonical complements and ICs is that, in the latter case, reference to the complement needs to be more recent. For example, a consultant while referring to a picture in which someone was running said:

38. **É-*ʃú*-i**
3SG-ICV-3SG
'He ran it (i.e. the race).'

The reason why he used the pronominal instead of the IC, **du** 'race', is that the latter had already been mentioned in the previous utterance. My investigation has shown that pronominalisation of the IC is even preferable in situations

where the verb occurs in both main and subordinate clauses. For instance it is more acceptable to say (39a) than (39b):

39a. **Núfiálá lá nɔ anyí háfí suku-ví-á-wó nɔ-e**
Teacher DEF sit ground before school-child-DEF-PL sit-3SG
'The teacher sat down before the children did.'

b. ??**Núfiálá la nɔ anyí háfí suku-ví-á-wó nɔ anyí**
Teacher DEF sit ground before school-child-DEF-PL sit ground
'The teacher sat down before the children did.'

(39b) was rejected because **anyí** is repeated in the subordinate clause. In (39a), it is replaced with the third person singular pronoun. The above test was applied to several ICVs and the only one that people found unacceptable was with **do go** 'go out':

40. **Kofí do go háfí Amí do(*e)**
Kofi emerge out before Ami go (*3PSG)
'Kofi went/came out before Ami did.'

The unacceptability is not, however, due to the fact that the IC **go** cannot be pronominalised, because this happens when it occurs with another ICV, namely **dze go** 'berth', as the sentence below illustrates:

41. **Kofí *fé* ʋu-á dze go háfí Amí tɔ dze-e**
Kofi POSS vehicle-DEF ICV out before Ami own ICV-3SG
'Kofi's boat berthed before Ami's did.'

It is not exactly clear why, although a nominal with other argument properties, **go** cannot be pronominalised when it occurs with **do**. A possible explanation is that the expression **do go** is undergoing lexicalisation and, therefore, its constituents are losing some of their syntactic properties.

That the IC can be pronominalised is further evidence of its referentiality and, therefore, further argues against an analysis of the sequence as an idiom. This is because it has been argued for English that idioms do not have referential arguments to which other arguments can co-refer. For example, Soames and Perlmutter (1979) observe that the sentence below cannot have the idiomatic meaning, 'the secret is revealed':

42. The cat is eager to be out of the bag

The reason is that they derive the sentence from an underlying one by equi-NP deletion rule. According to the rule, the complement clause contains an NP which is co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. This co-

referentiality is only possible if the sentence is non-idiomatic because only then is the noun 'cat' a referential argument of the verb. Thus, in the sentence below, 'the cat' in the subordinate clause cannot refer to the one in the matrix clause:

43. The cat is eager for the cat to be out of the bag

There are two possible interpretations for this sentence, one of which is idiomatic. The non-idiomatic interpretation is that 'the cat' in the matrix clause (call it "matrix cat") is eager for 'the cat' in the subordinate clause (call it "subordinate cat") to be out of the bag: the two cannot therefore be the same cats since the second is not pronominalised. In the idiomatic interpretation, the "matrix cat" is eager, not for a subordinate cat to be out, but for the secret to be revealed. There is, therefore, no real cat in the subordinate clause for one to talk of co-reference.

The reason then why the ICs in the subordinate clauses cannot be repeated when the same IC occurs in the matrix clause is that the two are co-referential, unlike the case of the two cats in sentence (43). Pronominalisation is the natural consequence of two correferring NPs which occur in different clauses (cf. Binding Principles of Chomsky, 1981). This then is a strong indication not only that the ICVs and their complements are not idiomatic phrases but that the ICs are NPs which are arguments of the verbs.

4.3.3 SUMMARY

The above facts concerning ICVs and their complements can be summed up thus: ICVs are verbs because they can, depending on their inherent semantics and the type of arguments they occur with, take any aspectual or modal morpheme. ICs on the other hand, are noun phrases which behave as syntactic arguments of the verbs. The apparent differences between them and other complements are explained by the fact that owing to the general nature of the meaning of their verbs, their presence is often needed to specify the meaning of the verbs. The table below represents the properties of arguments that I have just discussed (CC represents complement of a canonical transitive verb while R represents restricted use):

	CC	IC	Idiom	Adjunct
1. Wh- Extraction	**Ka**-Phrase	**Ka**-Phrase	No	**Ka**-word
2. Prepose in clause with auxiliary	Yes	Yes	R	No
3. Prepose in nominalisation	Yes	Yes	R	No
4. Pronominalisation	Yes	Yes	No	No

Table 1. Properties of the arguments of bivalent verbs.

As the table shows, canonical complements and inherent complements behave in the same manner. I claimed in Section 4.3.2.2.1 that property 2 refers to the direct object of transitive clauses in Ewe. Returning to the X-bar structures I provided in Fig 2, I ruled out (b) on the grounds that it specifies that the IC is a noun, not a noun phrase. We can also rule out (d) because the IC does not behave as an adjunct. We are therefore left with structures (a) and (c). The syntactic independence which the IC displays in its mobility argues against (a) which, in effect, is a lexical analysis of the verb and complement sequence. Moreover, as I have shown, there is no real difference between the behaviour of the ICV and its complement on the one hand, and canonical transitive verbs and their complements on the other. It therefore makes sense, in Ewe, to adopt the same structure for the two. Since (c) is the structure for simple transitive clauses, it follows that the same structure applies for ICV constructions as well. The implication of this adoption is that items which are considered as logical objects in Ewe are not isomorphic to English objects. In the next section, I propose an argument structure analysis which accounts for the behaviour of canonical transitive verbs and ICVs.

4.4 THE ARGUMENT STRUCTURE CONSTRUCTIONS

The discussion thus far has shown that verbs with two arguments have the same distribution in Ewe and, hence, that there are no formal grounds for distinguishing canonical transitive verbs from ICVs. It could therefore be said that I have followed Lazard's recommendation in beginning with the form. I now pursue the proposal that the similarity in distributional pattern can be handled in an analysis that takes sentences with two direct arguments to be an argument structure construction with its meaning. As I stated at the beginning of the chapter, there are two types of sentences in which verbs take two core arguments. I refer to them as the causal two-place construction and the non-causal two-place construction. The former possesses a Causer argument but the latter does not. I show that the Causer argument possesses distributional properties which distinguishes it from arguments of the non-causal two-place construction, thus still aligning meaning with form. I begin with a discussion of the causal two-place construction.

4.4.1 THE CAUSAL TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

Considering the definition of a construction given in Chapter 1, the causal two-place construction is defined as follows:

> A causal two-place construction is a two-place construction with a Causer argument.

I will now discuss the semantics of this construction, elaborating on the notion of cause which I introduced in the previous chapter.

It is generally assumed that the transitive clause prototypically expresses a state of affairs in which a participant intentionally brings about a change in the state or location of another. There are deviations from this prototype, however, and the same clause can simply express a state of affairs in which an entity brings about a change in another without the trappings of intentionality. The two are represented below:

44a. John broke the window
b. The stone broke the window

In the first sentence, we have a default interpretation that John intentionally performed an action, the result of which is a change in the state of the window. We might therefore want to talk of a series of causal relations in which John performs an action which acts on the window and causes it to undergo the change. (44b), on the other hand, simply expresses the idea that the stone brought about a change in the state of the window. There is no sense of an initial activity by the stone. Wilkins and Van Valin (1996) have argued that the default attribution of intentionality to John in (44a) is due to the combined semantics of the verb, that of the NPs which function as its arguments and the semantics of the construction in which they occur, together with other contextual influences. Crucially, the interpretation that John intentionally did something thereby causing a change in the state of the window is not entailed. His role in bringing about the change might not be different from that of the stone. We could therefore say that the transitive clause encodes a single causal relation, with additional information left to other contextual or pragmatic information.

DeLancey (1990:314) proposes the chain of causation below as a cognitive model of action in Lhasa Tibetan:

Volition -> Act -> Event -> Result

In this chain, elements on the left are supposed to constitute cause while those on the right represent effect. Even though proposed for Lhasa Tibetan, DeLancey notes that his schema represents more or less what a common sense analysis of our understanding of events might come up with. The part of the relation that interests me for the moment is the leftmost part. As I stated in Chapter 3, DeLancey assumes that an act of volition can be perceived to be causing the act. This, for him, explains why in Lhasa Tibetan, an active-inactive language, volitional participants in intransitive clauses take ergative case as do causal participants in transitive clauses. Supposing therefore that data in Lhasa

Tibetan were handled in the framework of Construction Grammar, one would refer to the ergative case marker as a construction with its own semantics, parallel to a similar claim made for the causative morpheme by Goldberg (1995:61). A statement by DeLancey that the meaning of ergative case in Lhasa is "causal actant" (1990:312) could be seen in this light.

I noted in my discussion of split intransitive (i.e. active-inactive) constructions in Chapter 3 that the phenomenon is determined by various factors. This is neatly summed up by Mithun's (1991:538) observation:

> A crosslinguistic examination [...] reveals that active/agentive case-marking systems are not all based on the same single feature. In some languages aspect takes precedence (colloquial Guaraní), in some performance/instigation (Lakhota), and in some control (Caddo); and in some languages several features interact (central Pomo).

We could take the various factors to represent parameters for what constitutes causation in the different languages. Thus for a language like Caddo discussed briefly in Chapter 3, the determining factor is not volitionality but rather control, a factor which, as I have argued, affects Ewe grammar as well. The difference in Ewe, as I have claimed, is that this meaning is encoded syntactically in a clause contaning two direct syntactic arguments. Adapting DeLancey's proposal for Ewe, we would have the modified causal chain below as the representation for Ewe and, for example Caddo:

Control -> Act -> Event -> Result

It should be clear then that I take Cause to be an abstract notion, as does DeLancey. An entity causes a state of affairs if it brings about a change in the state or location of another or if it can be said to be autonomously engaged in the act expressed by the verb. In Chapter 3, I assumed, following Ravin (1990:172-173), that the semantic element "autonomous" applies to an entity which is capable of exercising some degree of control. In the light of the schema proposed above, we will take the participant engaged in an autonomous state of affairs to be causing it and, therefore, a causal actant. When seen in this light, the fact that verbs which express dancing and singing in Ewe always have to take complements does not come as a surprise anymore since they involve autonomous actions. My discussion of the semantics of **fú** in Chapter 6 will show that it is the same situation that prevails with this verb as well. The difference, in this case is that the verb is somewhat less determinate than **wu** 'kill' and **dú** 'dance'.

4.4.1.1 LINKING IN THE CAUSAL TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

In this section, I discuss the nature of the verbs which occur in the causal two-place construction and how their participants are linked to the construction's argument roles. As I stated in Chapter 1, I refer to the arguments of verbs as participants and to those of the construction as arguments. The causal two-place construction is defined in Section 4.4.1 as a two-place construction with a Causer argument. This argument is linked to participants which are Effectors. This means that only verbs that have Effector participants can license this argument in a construction. The second argument of the construction which has not been specified in the definition can either be a Theme or a Location.[9] As I stated in Chapter 1, these are general construction roles which are instantiated by specific verb participants. Constructions in which either Theme or Location is licensed by the verb are discussed below. Following Kita (1998), I assume that the particular entity which fills the Theme role is indeterminate. In other words, it is possible for a verb to have two possible candidates for the role of Theme and the construction to determine which of the two has the most Theme properties. Kita's proposal is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 where I show that it does apply to Ewe.

The construction determines that the Causer is syntactically realised as subject while the Theme or Location is realised as the object. I should stress here that the syntactic realisation is determined by the construction and not the verb. Goldberg (1995) observes that specific lower constructions can influence the word order as well as the number of core syntactic constructions that occur in a construction. For example, the focus construction in Ewe is a specific lower construction which changes word order. Another lower-level construction which influences the number of core arguments, the **nyá**-construction, is discussed in the next subsection.

The discussion in the previous section showed that we can talk of two realisations of Cause: the first involves a state of affairs in which an event causes a change in the state or location of an entity. The expression of this state of affairs involves the representation of the entity whose action causes the change in the subject position. Wilkins and Van Valin (1996) refer to this entity as a "metonymic clip" because it represents a whole event. An example of this type of verb is **wu** 'kill'. The second type of cause is the one in which an argument, by virtue of being in control of a state of affairs, is construed as causing that state of affairs. An example of a verb which expresses this meaning is **ɖú** 'dance'. On the level of abstraction at which I work here, I take the construction role Causer to be representative of the two types. Below are

[9]There is no formal difference between these two arguments in the causal two-place construction.

sentences in which the verbs occur, with a diagram showing how their participants are linked to construction roles:

45. **Kofí wu xeví**
Kofi kill bird
'Kofi killed a bird.'

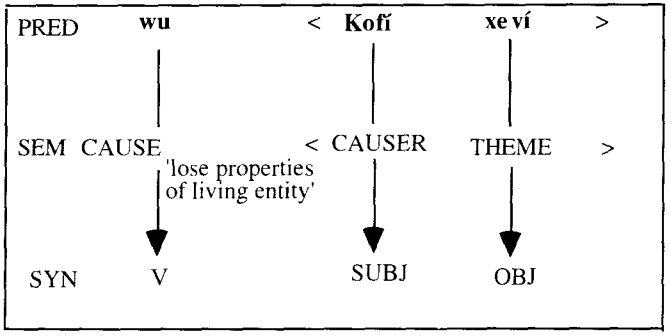

Fig. 4 Linking arguments of **wu** 'kill'

Both verb and construction in this case have causal semantics. As, I explained in the previous chapters, the straight lines linking the participants with the argument roles indicate that both Causer and Theme arguments are licensed by the verb which, in this case, is **wu** 'to kill'. This is the Causer argument which represents a metonymic clip à la Wilkins and Van Valin (1996). The next sentence is also a causal two-place construction in which both arguments are licensed by the verb. The difference, in this case, is that the Causer does not represent a metonymic clip. Instead, it is a "controlling" participant:

46. **Kofí ɖú ɣe**
Kofi dance dance
'Kofi danced.'

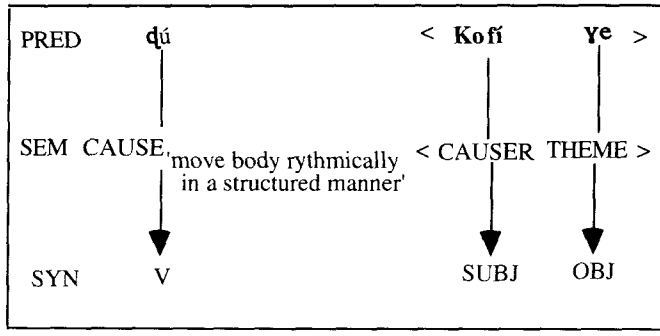

Fig. 5 Linking arguments of **ɖú** 'dance'

The linking of participants in a causal two-place construction with a controlling Causer is therefore not different from that of a metonymic clip Causer: in both cases, the two participants of the verb are linked directly to the constructional arguments which are in turn directly linked to the grammatical relations of subject and object.

I have indicated that the second argument of the causal two-place construction can also be a Location. At the participant level, this is either a Goal or a Location. One verb which has a Location participant is the ICV ***fú***. The semantics given for this verb in Chapter 6 is 'an entity (X) autonomously moves limbs swiftly at a location in a manner appropriate to the location (Y)'. The verb therefore licenses a Causer and Location argument. This is represented below:

47. **Kofi** ***fú*** **tsi**
Kofi ICV water
'Kofi swam.'

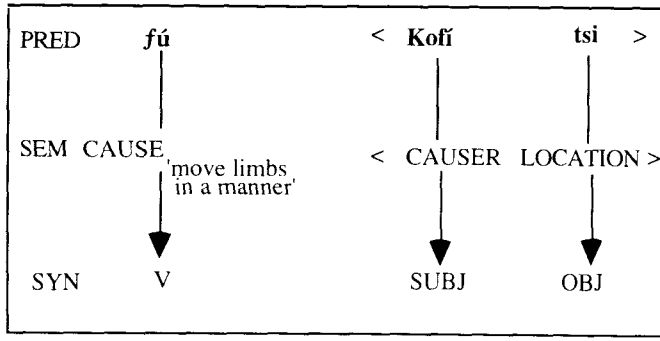

Fig. 6. Linking arguments of ***fú***

Sentence (47) is therefore similar to the first two in that both arguments are licensed by the construction. It differs slightly in having a Location instead of Theme as its second argument.

I stated in Chapter 1 that an important assumption of the argument structure construction analysis is that constructions can contribute arguments and hence meaning. In Chapter 3, I argued that some one-place verbs gain causal meaning when they occur in the two-place construction. Such verbs license only one argument when they occur in the construction so the other argument is licensed by the construction. One such verb which I discussed in Chapter 3 is **ŋé** 'become broken'. Sentence (48) is a repetition of the verb in a causal two-place construction while Fig. 7 represents the fact that its Causer argument is contributed by the construction:

48. **Kofí** **ŋé** **atí-a**
Kofi break stick-DEF
'Kofi broke the stick.'

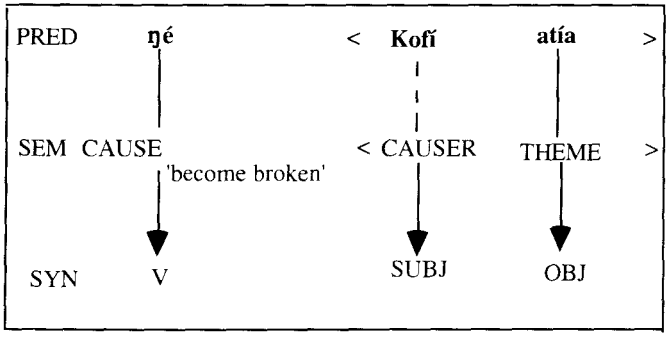

Fig. 7 Linking arguments of **ŋé** 'become broken'

Essentially the class of verbs to which **ŋé** 'become broken' belongs expresses states of affairs which can be brought about by an external entity. As such, these verbs can occur in the causal two-place construction. When they do, their Theme participant is directly linked to the Theme argument of the construction. Since they do not come to the construction with an Effector participant, however, the construction provides its own Causer argument, thereby giving rise to the interpretation that the state expressed by the verbs is brought about by the latter. The broken lines therefore indicate that the Causer argument is not licensed by the verb.

Another group of verbs discussed in Chapter 3 are those whose participants are Effectors and which also occur in the causal two-place construction. When that happens, it is the Effectors which are directly linked to the Causer role while the construction licenses the second argument. This is represented below:

49. **Kofi gbɔ ya**
Kofi blow air
'Kofi blew air.'

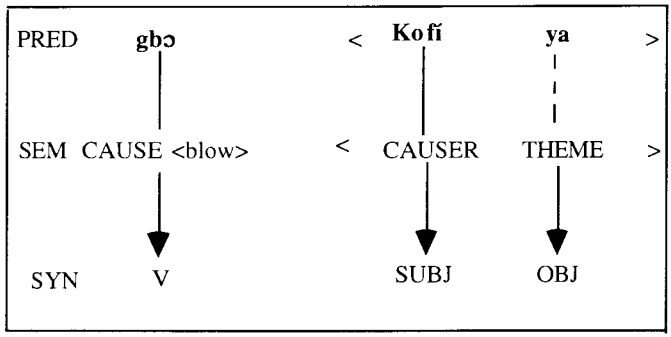

Fig. 8 Linking arguments of **gbɔ** 'blow'

Although the single argument of **gbɔ** 'blow' is an Effector, without the complement, the participant simply 'effects' an inherent state of affairs. This, as I have argued, means that the state of affairs does not involve cause. When it takes a complement, however, the state of affairs becomes autonomous and, therefore, the Effector assumes the role of Causer. Being licensed by the verb, it is directly linked to the Causer argument. The Theme argument, on the other hand, is not profiled by the verb hence it is licensed by the construction. Verbs like **gbɔ** 'blow' are those whose participants can be construed as merely "doing an act", without the assertion of control, or doing an act in which control is asserted. The Causer argument possesses a distributional property that is unique to it and thus sets it apart from other arguments. In the next subsection, I discuss this property.

4.4.1.2 SHADING THE CAUSER

A distinguishing property of the Causer argument is that it can be "shaded". According to Goldberg (1995:57), shading is "the process whereby an argument is 'put in the shadows', and thus no longer profiled". This, in Ewe, occurs in the **nyá**-construction, a construction which is syntactically similar to the passive construction in English in that the complement is placed in subject position, a modal is introduced and the logical subject (i.e. Causer) is optionally adjoined to the verb via the preposition **ná** 'to/for' (cf. Ameka 1991, Collins 1993). Duthie (1996:110) refers to the construction as "inverstion" or "passivization". Sentence (50b) shows the Causer argument of a canonical transitive verb being shaded while (51b) shows that of an ICV being shaded:

50a. **Kofí ɖu akɔɖú-a**
Kofi eat banana
'Kofi ate the banana.'

b. **Akɔɖú-a nyá ɖu ná Kofí**
Banana-DEF MOD eat for Kofi
'Kofi was able to eat the banana.'

51a. **Kofí *ʃú* tsi-a**
Kofi ICV water-DET
'Kofi swam the water.'

b. **Tsi-a nyá *ʃú* ná Kofí**
Water MOD ICV for Kofi
'Kofi was able to swim the water.'

Kofi, the Causer argument in (50a) and (51a) is adjoined to the clause in the **nyá**-constructions in (50b) and (51b). It is therefore no more a direct argument. As I have indicated, shading is a sole property of the Causer argument. Thus arguments of the non-causal two-place construction which I discuss next cannot be shaded.

4.4.2 THE NON-CAUSAL TWO-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

Verbs occurring in the non-causal two-place construction are similar to those referred to by Zavala (1998) as Theme/Location verbs. The definition for the construction is provided below:

> A non-causal two-place construction is a two-place construction with a Theme and a Location argument

This definition shows that unlike the single argument of the one-place construction which cannot be described with a conventional thematic role label, those of the non-causal two-place construction can. Theme, as stated in Chapter 1, refers to an entity whose location is specified or which makes contact with another. Location refers to entities in terms of which a location is specified as well as entities with which contact is made. In its syntactic realisation, the Theme argument is linked to the subject position while the Location argument is linked to the object position.

The non-causal two-place construction has a semantics which is neutral with respect to cause. One verb which best illustrates the construction is the location verb **le** 'be located'. It is exemplified in the sentence below:

52. **Etú-á** **le** **abatí-á** **té**
Gun-DEF be_located bed-DEF under
'The gun is under the bed.'

Le takes a postpositional phrase which I consider to be an argument of the verb. Evidence for this is the fact that it possesses the properties given for determining argumenthood. Consider the sentences below:

53 a. **Etú-á** **le** **abatí-á** **té** **nɔ** **gé**
Gun-DEF AUX:PRES bed-DEF under be_located PROSP
'The gun will be under the bed.'

b. **Etú-á** ***fé*** **abatí-a** **té** **nɔ-nɔ**
Gun-DEF POSS bed-DEF under RED-be_located

mé-nyó **o**
NEG-be_good NEG
'For the gun to be under the bed is not good.'

c. ***Abatí-á** **té** **nyá** **nɔ** **ná** **etú-á**
Bed-DEF under MOD be_located for gun-DEF
'The gun was able to remain under the bed.'

The non-present form for **le** is **nɔ**. In sentence (53a), the postpositional phrase, **abatíá té** 'bed under' is preposed because the clause contains an auxiliary. In (53b), it is preposed in the nominalised phrase. As I stated in Section 4.3.2.2.1, preposing a constituent in the auxiliary construction is an indication that it is a direct object. (53c) is an indication that the argument which occurs in the subject position of **le** does not have causal properties because it cannot be shaded in the ***nyá***-construction. In terms of a transitivity continuum such as that discussed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), therefore, we could say that the construction in which **le** occurs ranks lower in transitivity to that of **wu** 'kill' and ***fu.*** Also, in terms of Levin and Rappaport's (1995) analysis, the verbs which primarily occur in this construction are equivalent to their dyadic verbs which possess two internal arguments and no external argument.[10]

The relation expressed by **le** 'be located' sometimes translates as a possessive construction. Consider the sentence below:

[10]Not everyone prefers to analyse this type of construction as transitive. In doing so, I follow the proposal by, among others, Lazard that two argument verbs are more transitive than single argument verbs in a transitivity continuum.

54. **Ga le Kofí sí**
Money be_located Kofi hand
'Kofi has money (lit. money is in Kofi's hands)'.

This sentence expresses what, from the perspective of the English translation is a possessive construction. It has been noted that possession can be metaphorically construed as involving the location of a possessed entity next to the possessor (cf. Goldberg 1995, Heine et al 1991). Thus, as far as Ewe is concerned, (54) encodes what is first and foremost a spatial relation. The linking of arguments in this sentence is provided in Fig. 9 below:

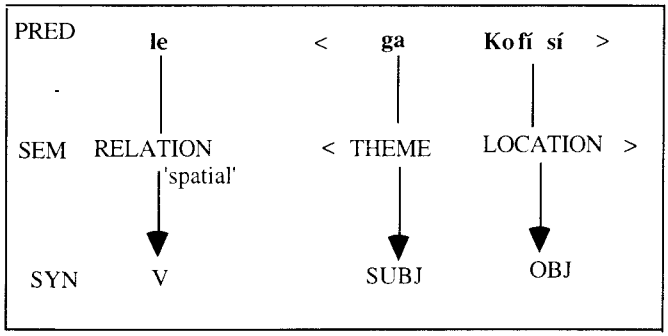

Fig. 9 Linking arguments of **le** 'be located'.

A verb which expresses making contact and hence also occurs in the non-causal two-place construction is **ká**. This verb represents situations in which an object lightly touches another. The semantic characterisation which I provide for it in Chapter 6 is:

> An entity (X) that is movable makes light contact with another entity (Y).

An example sentence is provided below:

55. **Atí-á ká Kofí**
Stick-DEF ICV Kofi
'The stick touched Kofi.'

The important thing to note here is that there is no assertion that the contact is intentional or otherwise. This is what I refer to when I say that the semantics of the construction is neutral with regard to cause. The verb is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Ameka (1998) has noted that occasionally, some one-place verbs also occur in the non-causal two-place construction. The verb which he discusses is **kú** 'die'. While the one-place occurrence of the verb expresses the state of affairs

in which a person becomes dead, the verb can also occur with a complement in which case it expresses the intensity of a property. The example below illustrate this:

56. **Kofi kú aha**
Kofi die beverage
'Kofi is dead drunk'

In the present analysis, the complement is taken to be a Location in which Kofi is immersed. **Kú**, within this construction, expresses intensity. The linking of the arguments is provided below:

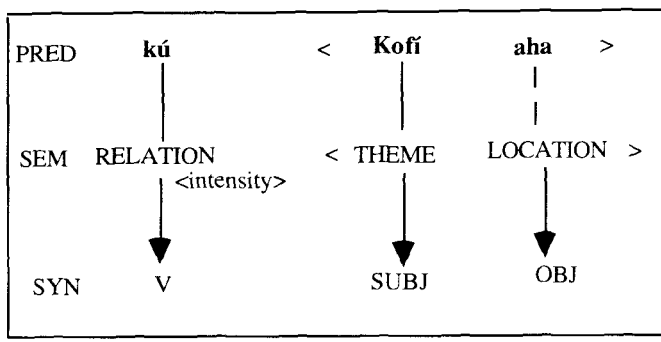

Fig. 10 Linking arguments of **kú** 'die'

What Fig. 10 shows is that the Location argument is not licensed by the verb but is rather licensed by the construction.

4.4.3 SUMMARY

In this section, I have argued that sentences in which verbs take two direct arguments constitute two constructions which I refer to as the causal two-place construction and the non-causal two-place construction. I have argued that these constructions possess meaning independent of the verbs which occur in them. The obvious question then is why do I choose to attribute the semantics to the constructions and not only to the verbs? I will show in the next two chapters that some verbs (e.g **tɔ́**) can occur in the two types of two-place constructions and that this affects the kind of arguments they take. If this were attributed to the verb, we would have a case of a very predictable polysemy, a position which, as stated in Chapter 1, I eschew. Instead, by attributing the causal semantics first to the constructions and then only to the verbs which have a particular distribution, we are able to avoid positing polysemous meanings for these verbs. In the next section, I take a detailed look at an alternative analysis that has been proposed for the ICV in Igbo.

4.5 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

My analysis has proceeded from the syntactic distribution of the verbs before moving on to their semantics. In this section, I take a look at an alternative analysis which starts from the meaning and then moves to the form. It involves an attempt to establish a distinction between ICVs and canonical transitive verbs in Igbo. This analysis, proposed by Nwachukwu 1987, is based on the lexical conceptual structure of the verbs. Put simply, this is the semantic information supplied by the verbs in the lexicon. The purpose of this discussion is to show that the ICs in Igbo behave like canonical complements just like they do in Ewe. I will show that Nwachukwu's distinction between ICVs and canonical transitive verbs is not supported by the Igbo data. This rather extensive discussion of Nwachukwu's analysis is meant to show how an analysis which proceeds from the semantics of the verbs may fail to properly account for the distributional facts of a language.

4.5.1 DATA FROM IGBO

First of all, I provide some general background information on Igbo from Nwachukwu's discussion. Igbo is the kind of language one is tempted to label as "hypertransitive": there are some stative verbs, referred to as "adjectival verbs" by Nwachukwu, which cannot occur without what is referred to as the "bound verb complement" (BVC). The BVC is a phonologically reduced form of the verb. Example (57) below is a conflation of two examples from Nwachukwu (P.19):

57. **Ógù tóro *(eto)** Igbo
Ogu be_tall BVC
'Ogu is tall' or 'Ogu is grown tall.'

When such verbs take the perfective affix, however, the BVC is no longer obligatory and the verb can occur without it:

58. **Ánụ à e-ré-e-le** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex 13b)
Meat Perf. PREFIX-rot-SUFFIX-PERF. SUFFIX
'The meat has become rotten.'

Although they are obligatory with single-argument stative predicates which do not have a perfective affix, BVCs are not obligatory with verbs which take complements. According to Nwachukwu, if and when BVCs occur in transitive clauses, they mark emphasis. The example below illustrates this:

59. **Ógù ga erí anụ́ eri** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex 34b).
Ogu will eat meat BVC
'Ogu will certainly eat meat.'(emphasis)

It should be stressed here that BVCs are not only optional with canonical transitive verbs but rather with *all* complement taking verbs, including ICVs. Their optionality is, therefore, not dependent on whether the verb semantically expresses a property which is encoded with an adjective in a language like English. Instead, any verb that takes a complement can occur without it.

I now consider the ditransitive construction in Igbo. This construction is like that of English in that the word order reflects properties of what Dryer refers to as primary and secondary objects (cf. Chapter 5). The primary object (PO) position is, thus, reserved for Recipient/Beneficiary arguments, as the example below illustrates:

60. **Íbè nye + re Ógù ákwụkwọ** Igbo
Ibe give+PAST Ogu book
'Ibe gave Ogu a book.'

Igbo also possesses an applicative affix which allows an extra beneficiary argument to be introduced in a clause. Arguments thus "promoted" must come immediately after the verb, as can be seen from the example below where the pronoun **m** 'me' is introduced by the applicative affix **re**:

61. **Íbè nye-re-re m Ógù ákwụkwọ** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex.3a)
Ibe give-PAST-for me Ogu book
'Ibe gave the book to Ogu for me or on my behalf.'

Igbo does not possess the English equivalent of a dative construction where the Recipient or Goal argument is introduced by a preposition and, therefore, occurs in second object position.

The above facts can be summarised thus: one-place predicates cannot occur without a BVC unless they take a perfective suffix. Nwachukwu refers to this class of verbs as "adjectival verbs" because they express properties that are usually expressed by adjectives in English. However, this semantic characterisation cannot be used to explain the obligatoriness of the BVC because there are some ICVs which also express "adjectival properties" (e.g. **gba oto** 'be naked'[11] p. 45) but which do not obligatorily take BVCs. It therefore seems preferable to use the distributional criterion to determine conditions under which a BVC is obligatory. That is to say that we can state that a verb requires an obligatory BVC only when it has no syntactic complement. We then note that if a BVC does occur with a complement, it has to come after the latter. This requirement applies equally to canonical

[11]Nwachukwu does state that his adjectival verbs differ from ICV verbs like **gba oto** in that the latter do not encode intrinsic properties. The distinction might therefore reflect that between stage level and individual level properties à la Carlson (1977).

complements as well as to ICs. Another fact of Igbo is that when a verb has two complements, the Theme argument is treated as the secondary object (SO). This secondary object could be a canonical complement or an IC. Related to this is the fact that arguments which are promoted by an applicative affix come immediately after the verb thus displacing the "direct object" to SO position. The surface order of complements in the Igbo verb phrase could be represented thus:

VERB-(PO)-CO/IC-BVC

Crucially, the canonical object (CO) and the IC seem to complement each other. I now turn to Nwachuwku's analysis of the data.

4.5.2 NWACHUKWU'S ANALYSIS

According to Nwachukwu (1987:32), inherent complements are constituents of a "zero-level category while the [canonical] object is a constituent of V' (V-bar) level category". He therefore gives the tree structure representation which I provide below:

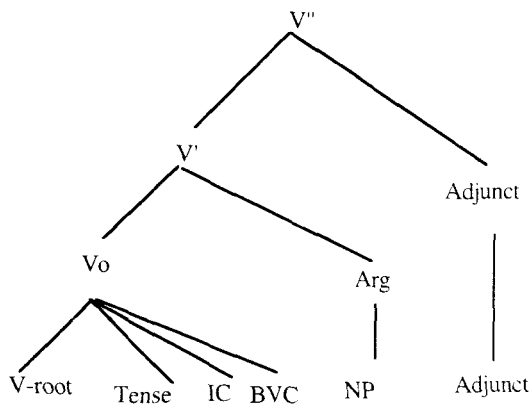

Fig. 11 Nwachukwu's underlying structure for the VP

It can be seen that this structure is similar to structure (a) of Fig 2 presented above. The only difference is that tense and BVC have been added at the word level and the constituency of the IC has not been specified (Nwachukwu states elsewhere that it is an NP). Note here that in the underlying representation, the IC, which is not an argument, is supposed to precede a true argument. In between the two lies the BVC. There is no surface representation of this order, however. I now argue that there are problems with the arguments Nwachukwu

proposes for justifying a surface representation which is different from the underlying one he proposes in the structure above.

As I stated at the beginning of this section, Nwachukwu bases his analysis on the semantic information that the verb specifies in the lexicon. According to him, verbs of the following semantic classes take internal arguments:

verbs of killing
verbs of eating
verbs of hitting and contact
verbs of change of position
verbs of change of state
verbs of change of possession

One could say, therefore, that Nwachukwu's criteria for determining whether a verb is transitive or not is dependent on whether the verb expresses any of the above meanings. He however proposes a syntactic test to distinguish between what he calls "true" complements and ICs. His rule, which he refers to as the "Emphatic Particle Movement" rule, states that a BVC should move from its lexical internal position to adjoin to a verb on a higher node whenever the verb has a true complement. Such a rule does not really make any distinction between ICs and canonical complements. Rather, all it ensures is that the BVC occurs at the end of both ICs and canonical complements. There is no surface reflex in the language of the Emphatic Particle Movement (i.e. BVC movement) such that it sets canonical complements apart from ICs. The distinction that is established is, therefore, not due to the surface realisation of the elements which remains the same but, rather, to the meanings that are attributed to the forms.

The problem with Nwachuwkwu's analysis is evident in cases where verbs occur with two complements. Consider the sentence below which has two postverbal complements **unu** 'you (pl)' and **ama** 'information':

62. **Ógù ga agbá unù ama** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex. 50a)
Ogu FUT ICV 2PL information
'Ogu will betray you.'

Note that like the canonical ditransitive construction in Igbo, the benefactive constituent **unu** 'you (pl)' occurs in immediate postverbal position. From the English translation, however, it is not so obvious that the second constituent could instantiate a Theme role. Nwachukwu therefore analyses it as an instance of a monotransitive construction in which a verb takes a governed NP as a goal, experiencer or affected entity. In order to explain why the "direct object" takes the position of the IC (contrary to the structure), he proposes another rule, the "Move IC" rule. This latter rule is supposed to be similar to the Emphatic Particle Movement Rule in that it moves a non-argument element higher up the

node to adjoin to the verb in order to allow for the direct object to be adjacent to the verb. Note that an important generalisation is thereby missed and the grammar complicated with yet another rule which could be dispensed with if one analysed the verbs purely based on their distributional properties.

The problem with the Move IC rule is that it is not uniformly applied. Where the translation equivalent of the IC fits with what is considered to be a conventional Theme role, Nwachukwu drops the application of the rule. Consider the two sentences below:

63a. **Ókwu gbá-ra egbè** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex 60a)
Okwu fire-PAST gun
'Okwu fired a gun'

b. **Ókwu gbá-ra ha egbè** (Igbo from Nwachukwu, ex 60b)
Okwu fire-PAST them gun
'Okwu fired as gun at them.'

Nwachukwu analyses (63a) as an ICV construction with **egbe** 'gun' as the IC. In (63b), this construction takes an extra complement which occurs in immediate postverbal position. As far as word order goes (63b) is similar to (62). However, Nwachukwu claims that (63b) does not involve a Move-IC. Rather, for him, this is a proper ditransitive construction in which a Theme argument makes way for a Benefactive argument. In my opinion, the only reason why a Move-IC rule is not applied in this case is that **egbe** 'gun' seems to instantiate a proper Theme role and, therefore, fits into Nwachukwu's analysis of a ditransitive construction.

To conclude, Nwachukwu has set up an a-priori semantic criterion for determining the transitivity of a clause. Verbs need to belong to some particular semantic classes in order for the clause in which they occur to be analysed as transitive. In order to justify this, he proposes an Emphatic Particle Movement rule and a Move-IC rule as syntactic reflexes of his semantic analysis. These rules however serve the only purpose of explaining why ICs behave exactly like canonical complements: the former puts BVCs after canonical complements note that BVCs already occur after ICs while the latter ensures that ICs are made SOs when there are two objects canonical objects are SOs in the ditransitive construction. The analysis therefore fails to capture important generalisations in Igbo as well as explain why some verbs in the language cannot occur without complements.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have shown that some inherent complements in Ewe have the same syntactic distribution as canonical complements. I have claimed that this is

because the clause in which both occur encodes Cause, an abstract notion which I have adapted from DeLancey (1990). I have claimed further that there is a second type of two-place construction which differs from the causal two-place construction in that it does not possess a Causer argument. Bivalent verbs which express relations (spatial, possessive, attributive, etc) between two participants occur in this construction. As I have shown, analysing transitive sentences as constructions not only enables us to account for the similarity in the behaviour of canonical transitive verbs and ICVs, but it also enables us to avoid positing different but related meanings for verbs which regularly alternate between one-place use and two-place uses with a predictable shift in interpretation.

THE THREE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER 5

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss sentences in which verbs take three core arguments. Following the pattern adopted in the previous two chapters, I argue that such sentences also constitute a construction which I refer to as the "three-place construction". Since, as we have seen earlier, the one-place and two-place constructions have properties that are specific to them and not necessarily identifiable with similar constructions in other languages, it is to be expected that the same situation prevails in the case of the three-place construction. For example, I argue that there is a basic three-place construction in Ewe with the Theme as its direct object. Concerning the semantics of the construction, I argue that unlike similar constructions in a language like English whose basic semantics Goldberg (1995) claims to involve successful transfer, that of Ewe should be simply characterised as "caused transfer". This semantics, I claim, explains the choice of the Theme, rather than the Recipient[1] argument as the direct object. Although there are two verbs which can also occur in a construction in which the Recipient appears to possess some direct object properties, I argue that this construction is not basic since it does not show the property of direct objecthood which I discussed in Chapter 4.

As I did in Chapter 4, I begin with an initial distinction between a canonical and an ICV three-place construction. The sentences (1a, b) below are illustrations of the canonical and ICV three-place constructions respectively:

1 a. **Kofí** **ná** **ga** **Amí**
Kofi give money Ami
'Kofi gave money to Ami.'

b. **Kofí** **da** **kpé** **xeví**
Kofi ICV stone bird
'Kofi threw a stone at a bird.'

[1]In order to present a discussion that is uniform with that of similar constructions in other languages, I begin by referring to this argument as the Recipient. In a later section, I will adopt the construction role Location for all such non-Theme complements.

Both sentences have two complements in postverbal position, neither of which is marked with an overt case or adposition. This construction has been referred to in the literature as the double object construction (Barss and Lasnik 1986, Hellan 1990, Jackendoff 1990, Lefebvre 1993, *inter alia*) and the ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1995, Osam 1996). While a sentence like (1a) and its equivalent in related languages has been uncontroversially analysed as a three-place construction (cf. Amuzu 1993, Saetheroe 1993, Collins 1993 for Ewe, Lefebvre 1993 for Fon, Manfredi 1991 for Igbo), not everyone considers (1b) thus. For instance, Avolonto (1995) argues that the Fon equivalent of the verb and immediate postverbal complement of such constructions constitute a lexical category hence the construction is monotransitive.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 5.1 discusses the properties of the canonical three-place construction. I argue that although the object positions are variable, the Theme alone possesses the direct object property discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.2.1 and, hence, is the direct object of the construction. Section 5.2 compares this to three-place constructions in other languages. I review the varied accounts offered for the construction, noting the extent to which two major properties of the three-place construction in Ewe differ from those of other languages. In Section 5.3, I discuss the ICV three-place construction which, I argue, supports the claim that the basic construction in Ewe has the Theme preceding the Recipient. In Section 5.4, I discuss the semantics of the construction. I also discuss the type of verbs which enter into the three-place construction and how their arguments are linked. Section 5.5 compares my approach to a similar one adopted by Manfredi and I show that in as far as they differ, my analysis makes some predictions which his does not. Section 5.6 concludes the chapter with a summary of the main points.

5.1 THE CANONICAL THREE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

There are only three verbs in Ewe which are analysed without controversy as occurring in this construction (cf. Saethero 1993). These are **ná** 'give', **fiá** 'teach/show' and **biá** 'ask'. I will show presently that **biá** differs slightly from the other two. The first two verbs have some properties which might be characterised as symmetric object properties (cf. Bresnan and Moshi 1993, Marantz 1993, *inter alia*). That is to say that both their complements possess similar object properties. In the next two subsections, I discuss these properties.

5.1.1 SYMMETRIC PROPERTIES

The symmetric properties are variable word order and its concomitant effect on quantifier scope relations. I begin with a consideration of the former.

5.1.1.1 WORD ORDER

Although I did not discuss this property in Chapter 4, the occurrence of an argument in immediate postverbal position in the unmarked clause has also been taken to be an objecthood property (cf. Hualde 1989a). In Ewe, both complements can occur immediately after the verb. Thus, (1a) could also be realised as (2) below:

2. **Kofí ná Amí ga**
   Kofi give Ami money
   'Kofi gave Ami money.'

In this sentence, instead of the thing that is given (i.e. Theme) occurring in immediate postverbal position as in (1a), it is rather the entity to whom it is given (i.e. Recipient) which occurs there. This is the form that is attested in many languages in which word order is significant, including English. Note that in neither (1a) nor (2) is any of the complements marked with an adposition. Interestingly, the word order alternation affects quantifier scope relations, as I show in the next subsection. Before then, however, I will show why **biá** 'ask' should be distinguished from the other two verbs.

Although either of the postverbal arguments can come immediately after **biá** 'ask', the Recipient only precedes the Theme when the latter is a clausal complement. This is illustrated with the sentences below (the relevant parts are underlined):

3 a. **Né me-dzrá-e mé-nyó ná ame aɖe**
   If 1SG-sell-3PSG NEG-be_good for person SPECI

   o lá, né-vá biá nya-m le é-ŋútí
   NEG TP. SUBJV-come ask word-1SG LOC 3SG-side
   'If I sell it and that does not please someone, the one should come and ask me about it.'

b. **Kofí biá Amí bé wó-*flē* ye-*fé* agbalē máhā**
   Kofi ask Ami that 3PL-buy LOG-POSS book PRT
   'Kofi asked Ami whether his book has been bought.'

c. ***Kofí biá bé wó-*flē* ye-*fé* agbalē máhā Amí**
   Kofi ask that 3PL-buy LOG-POSS book PRT Ami
   'Kofi asked Ami whether his book has been bought.'

In (3a), both complements are NPs and the Recipient **m** 'me' follows the Theme **nya** 'word'. In (3b), on the other hand, the Recipient precedes the Theme which, in this case, is clausal. The unacceptability of (3c) where the Recipient has been placed after the embedded clause suggests that the shift in (3b) is due

to the nature of the Theme. Unlike **biá** 'ask', the other two verbs always have NPs in their complement position and, no matter how complex these NPs are, they can each occur in immediate postverbal position. For example, in (4a) below, **fiá** is immediately followed by an NP which contains a relative clause:

4 a. **Kofí fiá ha víví áɖé si wò-srɔ̃ lá nɔvi-á-wó**
Kofi teach song sweet SPECI WH 3SG-learn TP sibling-DEF-PL
'Kofi taught a sweet song that he'd learnt to his siblings.'

b. **Kofí fiá nɔvi-á-wó ha víví áɖé si wò-srɔ̃ lá**
Kofi teach sibling-DEF-PL song sweet SPECI WH 3SG-learn TP
'Kofi taught his siblings a sweet song that he had learnt.'

Here, it is shown that a modified Theme can occur in both first and second object position because it is still an NP. The quantifier scope property which I discuss in the next section applies to **ná** give' and **fiá** 'show' whose two complements are always NPs.

5.1.1.2 QUANTIFIER SCOPE

Irrespective of which argument occurs in first object position, if it happens to be a quantified expression, it will have scope over the second object where the latter is pronominal. This is illustrated below:

5 a. **Kofí fiá amesíáme é-ƒé fóto**
Kofi show everyone 3SG-POSS photograph
'Kofi showed everybody his photograph.'

b. **Kofí fiá fóto ɖesíáɖe é-ɖelá**
Kofi show photograph every 3SG-taker
'Kofi showed each photograph to the one who took it.'

In (5a), the quantified expression in the first object position instantiates the Recipient and the sentence means that Kofi showed each person (x), x's photograph.[2] The Recipient, therefore, has scope over the Theme which occurs in second object position. The situation is reversed in (5b) where the Theme is the quantified expression and occurs in first object position. This sentence means that Kofi showed every photograph (x) to the one who took x. Thus, in this case, it is the Theme which has scope over the Recipient. It is clear therefore that the quantifier scope relations are established by the order of the arguments and not by the nature of the arguments themselves (i.e. whether they are Recipient or Theme). This is made all the more evident by the fact that when the

[2]It could also mean Kofi showed his own photograph to everybody, but that interpretation does not concern us here.

pronominal precedes the quantified expression, the latter cannot have scope over it, as illustrated below:

6 a. **Kofí fiá é-*fé* fóto amesíáme**
Kofi show 3SG-POSS photograph everyone
'Kofi$_i$ showed his$_{i/j}$ photograph to everyone$_k$.'

b. **Kofí fiá é-ɖelá fóto ɖesíáɖe**
Kofi show 3SG-taker photograph every
'Kofi showed every$_i$ photograph to the one who took it$_j$.'

(6a) and (6b) are similar to (5a) and (5b) respectively with the only difference that the order of the two objects has been changed. Yet, (6a) cannot mean that Kofi allowed each person (x) to see x's photograph, as (5a) does,[3] and (6b) does not mean that Kofi allowed each person (x) to see the photograph that x took. In some other languages, the relations remain the same even when the object positions are changed. For example, Marantz (1993) discusses data from Albanian which show that the equivalent of sentences (5a) and (6a) have the same interpretation. He therefore concludes that both sentences have the same underlying structure in which the Recipient dominates the Theme. The Ewe data suggest however that quantifier scope relations between the two objects in the language are determined by linear precedence (as proposed by Barss and Lasnik 1986, Jackendoff 1990, etc. for the construction in English) and not by a structural relation of c-command as proposed by Larson (1988) and adopted by Lefebvre (1993) for Fon.[4]

Thus for **ná** 'give' and **fiá** 'show', either Theme or Recipient can occur in first object position and have scope over the other. Both properties have been referred to as object properties, so we can, following discussions in Bresnan and Moshi (1993), *inter alia*, refer to them as symmetric object properties, since they are shared properties. Yet, while sharing the above properties, there are other properties which only one of the arguments possesses. I refer to these as asymmetric properties. One of these is the preposing of an argument in a clause containing an auxiliary which I claimed in Chapter 4 to be the direct object property.

[3]Lefebvre claims that this interpretation is available in Fon.

[4]Of course, proponents of structural analysis have an alternative account for data like that of Ewe. This is considered in section 5.1.2.5 below.

5.1.2 ASYMMETRIC PROPERTIES

In Chapter 4, I discussed the various properties for determining whether a postverbal nominal is an argument. I then went on to classify one of them as a direct object determining property. In this section, I consider how these properties apply to the two postverbal complements. I show that the Theme is the only one which possesses what I consider to be the direct object property. But first of all, I discuss the questioning of the complements.

5.1.2.1 WH-QUESTION

WH-questioning is not really an object determining property since it applies to the argument which occurs in the subject position as well. However, it does show a difference in the behaviour of the two objects. I mentioned that generic content questions are formed with a WH-phrase which is constituted by an NP and a **ka** head. I mentioned further that the NP is usually **ame** 'person' if the question is about a human being and **nú** 'thing' if it concerns a non-human thing. Consider how this applies to the two objects:

7 a. **Nú** **ka-é** **Kofi** **ná** **Amí**
thing WH-FOC Kofi give Komi
'What did Kofi give Ami?'

b. **Ame** **ka-é** **Kofí** **ná** **ga-e**
person WH-FOC Kofi give money-3SG
'Whom did Kofi give money?'

c. ***Ame** **ka-é** **Kofí** **ná-e** **ga**
person WH-FOC Kofi give-3SG money
'Whom did Kofi give money?'

In (7a), the question is about the Theme and only the Recipient remains in postverbal position. In (7b) where the Recipient is questioned, however, the Theme is followed by a resumptive pronoun. Interestingly, (7c) shows that this pronoun cannot precede the Theme. This makes it plausible for us to claim that the Recipient can only be questioned in constructions like (1a) where it follows the Theme, and not (2) where it precedes the latter.[5]

[5]According to Ameka (personal communication) an alternative explanation for the unacceptability of (7c) is that when an immediate postverbal complement is questioned, it does not leave behind a resumptive pronoun. His evidence for this is that the resumptive pronoun is optional in some of the dialects. This means that the Theme argument can only be questioned in first object position while the Recipient argument can be questioned in both object positions. Although this is a plausible alternative to the analysis presented

It is generally assumed that resumptive pronouns are an indication that an argument is oblique. Agbedor (1997) has therefore proposed that the Recipient in (7b) is an oblique argument with an empty preposition (see also Baker 1997). I argue that this does not need to be the case. To begin with, this pronoun is not obligatory in all dialects of Ewe (cf. Collins 1993) and, secondly, it does not agree with the argument that is questioned, as the sentence below illustrates:

8. **Ame ka-wó-e Kofí ná ga-e**
person WH-PL-FOC Kofi give money-3SG
Which people did Kofi give money?'

Thus not everyone analyses **e** as a resumptive pronoun. For instance, Collins (1993:49) analyses it as a pronominal which doubles the trace of a moved constituent. For Collins, therefore, **e** a case assigner.[6]

There are others who analyse **e** as a resumptive pronoun which has an invariable form and, therefore, does not need to agree with the argument it replaces (cf. Ameka 1992). This is the position which I adopt here, hence my earlier reference to it as a resumptive pronoun. However, it should be noted that even when we analyse **e** as a resumptive pronoun, that does not necessarily make the argument it replaces an oblique argument. This is shown by the fact that the questioning and focussing of some uncontroversially core arguments obligatorily in some related Kwa languages require resumptive pronouns, as the example below from Akan illustrates:

9. **Hwan na Kofi bɔ-ɔ no** (Akan)
WH FOC Kofi hit-PST 3SG
'Whom did Kofi hit?'

The third person singular pronoun which occurs after **bɔ** 'hit' is an obligatory resumptive pronoun[7] which has to agree with the entity that is questioned. This pronoun clearly instantiates a core argument of the verb.[8] We see therefore that

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above, it does not generalise across dialects in which the resumptive pronoun is obligatory (cf. Agbedor 1997).

[6]In Collins' (1993) analysis of the three-place construction, the Recipient argument is supposed to take inherent case, thus removing the need for it to occur with an empty preposition.

[7]Saah (1998) takes the obligatoriness of the resumptive pronoun to be an indication that the question formation does not involve movement of an argument.

[8]In WH-Questions in Akatec, a Mayan language spoken in Guatemala, direct objects have to have resumptive pronouns while subjects do not have to. The requirement of a resumptive pronoun therefore only indicates an asymmetry between the grammatical

resumptive pronouns do not necessarily herald the presence of oblique arguments. In Section 5.1.2.5, I provide reasons to suggest that analysing the Recipient in Ewe as an oblique argument with an empty preposition unnecessarily complicates the grammar.

5.1.2.2 OBJECT PREPOSING

In Chapter 4, it was shown that the postverbal object has to be preposed when the clause in which it occurs contains an auxiliary. In the three-place construction only the Theme can be preposed, as I illustrate below:

10a. **Kofí le ga ná-mí Amí**
Kofi AUX:PRES money give-PROG Ami
'Kofi is giving money to Ami.'

b. ??**Kofí le Amí ná-mí ga**
Kofi AUX:PRES Ami give-PROG money
'Kofi is giving Ami money.'

(10b), where the Recipient object is preposed, is found by speakers to be highly odd. The same restriction applies to nominalisation which I turn to in the next subsection.

5.1.2.3 NOMINALISATION

Nominalisation, as indicated, is the process whereby a complement is preposed and the verb reduplicated. As far as the three-place construction is concerned, only the Theme object can be preposed:

11a. **Kofí *fé* ga ná-ná Amí**
Kofi POSS money RED-give Ami
'Kofi's giving money to Ami'.

b. ***Kofí *fé* Amí ná-ná ga**
Kofi POSS Ami RED-give money
*'Kofi's giving Ami money.'

(11b), where the Recipient is preposed and the Theme left in object position, is completely unacceptable. Thus, the complement preposing criterion, either when the clause contains an auxiliary or when it is nominalised, applies only to the Theme.

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relations rather than the directness or otherwise of an argument (Roberto Zavala, personal communication).

While preposing of the Themes might suggest that they are being loosely incorporated into the verb (Jane Simpson, personal communication), this is not the case since the arguments can be focused. This is illustrated by (12b) below:

12a. **Amí-é Kofí ná ga-e**
Ami-FOC Kofi give money-3SG
'It was Ami Kofi gave money.'

b. **Ga-é Kofí ná Amí**
Money-FOC Kofi give Ami
'It is money that Kofi gave Ami.'

We see here that it is not only the Recipient which can be focussed but the Theme as well. I take this, together with the fact that they can be questioned (cf. 5.1.2.1) to be evidence that the Theme complements are not incorporated into the verb.

5.1.2.4 **NYÁ**-CONSTRUCTION

As discussed in the previous chapter, the **nyá**-construction is syntactically similar to the passive in English because the unmarked object of a clause is realised as the subject, the verb takes the modal **nyá** and the logical subject is adjoined to the clause. Of the two post-verbal arguments, only the Theme is realised as the subject of this clause, as illustrated below:

13a. **Ga nyá ná-ná**[9] **Amí ná Kofí**
money MOD give-HAB Ami for Kofi
'Kofi likes giving *money* to Ami.'

b. ***Amí nyá ná-ná ga ná Kofí**
Ami MOD give-HAB money for Kofi
'Kofi likes giving money to *Ami*.'

Thus far, I have shown that core argument properties such as preposing in a clause containing an auxiliary or in a nominalisation, as well as occurrence in the subject position of the **nyá**-construction select only the Theme, and not the Recipient. Yet, I have claimed above that the latter is not oblique. In the next subsection, I consider a property of the Recipient which suggests that it is a core argument.

[9]The presence of the habitual morpheme is due to the fact that the subject of this construction is non-specific.

5.1.2.5 PRONOMINALISATION

I stated in Section 5.1.1.2 that some generativist accounts for quantifier relations are couched in terms of c-command relations rather than linear precedence. One such analysis is proposed by Marantz (1993). He takes a sentence like (5b), repeated below as (14a), to be structurally similar to the English sentence in (14b):

14a. **Kofí fiá fóto ɖesíáɖe é-ɖelá**
Kofi show photograph every 3SG-taker
'Kofi showed each photograph to the one who took it.'

b. Kofi gave each book to its author

The Recipient in (14b) is clearly an oblique argument since it is realised as a complement of the preposition "to". Marantz proposes that the Recipient in a Hungarian sentence which is similar to (14a), is also an oblique argument, albeit with an empty preposition. As I stated in Section 5.1.2.1, Agbedor (1997) makes a similar proposal for Ewe. He bases his argument on the fact that the second object requires a resumptive pronoun when it is focussed. I have shown, however, that in some Kwa languages, resumptive pronouns do not necessarily herald oblique arguments. Now, I show why such a proposal unnecessarily complicates the grammar of Ewe.

I begin by showing why there can be no empty element that is a postposition. I then argue that there is no empty preposition either. It is necessary to begin by discounting the possibility of there being an empty element that is a postposition because the latter could also head phrases which function as oblique arguments. The pronominal system in Ewe which I presented in Chapter 2 Section 2.3.3.1, shows that the postverbal third person singular pronoun and its free form equivalent have different realisations. The former is **i** and has the possibility of being assimilated to become **e** or **ɛ** while the latter is **é(ya)**. Even though both can be realised with the segment **e**, they always differ in tone: the fomer has a low tone while the latter has a high tone. Distributionally, the former occurs as a complement of verbs and prepositions while the latter occurs alone or as the possessor NP of a possessive construction. These are illustrated below:

16a. **Kofí kpɔ́-e̲**
Kofi see-3SG
'Kofi saw him/her.'

b. **Kofí kpɔ́ é-fofo-a**
Kofi see 3SG-father-DEF
'Kofi saw his father.'

I stated in Chapter 2 that postpositional phrases have the structure of an inalienable possessive construction (with the difference that the postpositions cannot be modified). I also showed that core postverbal arguments, including postpositions, are directly pronominalised with **i**. Considering these facts, we can make two generalisations: pronominalisation of core arguments requires the postverbal pronoun while pronominalisation of an oblique argument that is headed by a postpositional phrase requires the free form and the postposition. This is illustrated below:

17a. **Kofí dé tsi séfofo-a**
Kofi put water flower-DEF
'Kofi watered the plant.'

b. **Kofí dé tsi-i**
Kofi put water-3SG
'Kofi watered it.'

18a. **Kofí dé así ze-a me**
Kofi put hand pot-DEF in
'Kofi put his hand into the pot.'

b. **Kofí dé asi é-me**
Kofi put hand 3SG-in
'Kofi put his hand into it.'

c. ***Kofí dé así-i**

In (17a), **dé** 'put' is followed by two core arguments and, as (17b) shows, the second complement is pronominalised with the postverbal form. In (18a), on the other hand, the second complement is a postpositional phrase. (18c) shows that this postpositional phrase cannot be pronominalised with the postverbal form. Instead it is the free form that occurs, headed by the postposition (hence a kind of inalienable possession). When the postposition is an oblique argument, therefore, it has to be expressed. This shows a surface distinction between postpositional phrases that function as core arguments and those that function as indirect arguments. I therefore take it that an argument that is pronominalised with the postverbal form is not an oblique argument with an empty

postposition.[10] I now explain why I do not consider there to be an empty preposition either.

Prepositions, like postpositions, can also not be left out when they introduce an oblique argument as the sentence below illustrates:

19. **Kofí yi *(kplí)-i**[11]
Kofi go with-3SG
'Kofi went with him/her.'

They can be left implicit in the Aŋlɔ dialect when they occur in an adjunct phrase and yet, even in such cases, they can always be recovered, as illustrated below:

20. **Kofi kpɔ́ Amí (le) afé me**
Kofi see Ami (LOC) house in
'Kofi saw Ami at home.'

Here, the locative preposition **le** is optional. Considering these distributional properties of adpositions in Ewe, it will, as stated above, be an unnecessary complication to postulate an empty postposition or preposition for the Recipient when it is realised as a postverbal pronoun. I therefore analyse the Recipient as a direct argument of the verb.

There is an interesting restriction on the pronominalisation criterion that applies differently to the two verbs which occur in the canonical three-place construction: the Theme of **ná** 'give' cannot be pronominalised at all while that of **fía** 'show' can only be pronominalised if the Recipient is definite. This is illustrated below:

21a. ***Kofi ná-e Amí**
Kofi give-3SG Ami
'Kofi gave it to Ami.'

b. **Kofí fiá wó ɖeví**
Kofi show 3PL child
'Kofi showed a child to them.'
*'Kofi showed them to a child.'

---

[10]Avolonto also uses a similar piece of evidence in Fon to argue that the Recipient is a core argument. He states that the pronoun represents an argument that is assigned accusative case by the verb.

[11]Thus postpositions take the free form pronoun as their possessor while prepositions take the postverbal pronominal form as their complement..

c. **Kofí fiá wó Amí**
Kofi show 3PL Ami
'Kofi showed them to Ami.'

When consultants were asked what sentence (22) meant, they gave a non-ambiguous reply in which the pronoun in second object position was treated as the Recipient:

22. **Kofí ná nyɔ́núvi ádé-e**
Kofi give girl SPECI-3SG
'Kofi gave a girl to him/her.'

This sentence was usually placed in a context where a girl's hand is given in marriage to a man. Consultants rejected the interpretation in which something is given to a girl. It can be observed that it is only on the rejected interpretation that the pronoun in the second object position instantiates Theme. In order to introduce a pronominal Theme with **ná** 'give', a 'take' serial verb construction is used.[12] This is provided below:

23. **Kofí tsɔ́-e ná Amí**
Kofi take-3SG give Ami
'Kofi gave it to Ami.'

Considering the above discussion, we can make a generalisation about the three-place construction which shows an asymmetry between the Theme and Recipients: the three-place construction does not allow for an unrestricted pronominalisation of the Theme. This, for **ná** 'give' means the Theme cannot be pronominalised at all while for **fiá** 'show', it means that the argument can only be pronominalised when the Recipient is definite.

I conclude from the above discussion that the Recipient in the three-place construction in Ewe is a core argument of the verb and not an oblique argument with an empty adposition. Lefebvre (1993) also takes the fact that the Recipient in Fon can be pronominalised with a postverbal pronoun to be evidence that it is a core argument. Interestingly, she takes the inability of the Theme object to be pronominalised (as with **ná** 'give' in Ewe) to be an indication that the Recipient is the argument that is assigned structural case by the verb and, therefore, the direct object. Unlike Lefebvre, even though I consider the Recipient to be a core argument, I do not analyse it as the direct object. I review Lefebvre's position further below.

[12]This is similar to what pertains generally in the three-place construction in Akan (cf. Christaller 1875, Osam 1994, Stewart 1963, Saah and Eze 1997).

5.1.2.6 DEFINITENESS RESTRICTION

A restriction which is similar, and obviously related, to the pronominal restriction is the definiteness restriction: the Theme cannot be definite unless the Recipient is.[13] This is illustrated below:

24a. ??**Kofí ná ga lá nyɔ́nuví**
Kofi give money DEF girl
'Kofi gave the money to a girl.'

b. ??**Kofí ná nyɔ́nuví ga lá**
Kofi give girl money DEF
'Kofi gave the money to a girl.'

c. **Kofí ná ga lá nyɔ́nuví-á**
Kofi give money DEF girl-DEF
'Kofi gave the money to the girl.'

d. **Kofí ná ga nyɔ́nuví-á**
Kofi give money girl-DEF
'Kofi gave money to the girl.'

The oddity of sentences (24a, b) shows that the definiteness constraint on the Theme is not dependent on the position of the object. (24c) shows that the construction is more acceptable when both Theme and Recipient are definite. I should point out here that not all speakers, including me, accept (24c). However, it appears to be acceptable in other dialects (cf. Collins 1993). Sentence (24d) shows that the Theme can be non-definite when the Recipient is definite. Where the Theme is definite but the Recipient is not, a 'take' serial verb construction is used. Thus (25) below is the more acceptable way to represent (24a, b):

25. **Kofi tsɔ́ ga lá ná nyɔ́nuví ádé**
Kofi take money DEF give girl SPECI
'Kofi gave the money to a certain girl.'

Note that it is the same construction that is used when the Theme is pronominalised. The difference between the pronominalisation criterion and the definiteness criterion is that there is no absolute restriction on the Theme of **ná** 'give' in all dialects. The important thing, however, is that there is a restriction on definiteness that suggests an asymmetry between the Theme and Recipients. We can state a generalisation here which takes the dialectal differences in acceptability into account: there is a restriction on the Theme occurring with the

[13]The same restriction applies in Fon as well. Lefebvre's (1993) account is that it is the argument which is affected which can take this form.

definite article which does not apply to the Recipient. Definiteness is therefore an asymmetric property for the two arguments. I will revisit the restrictions in a later section.

5.1.2.7 SUMMARY

The above discussion shows that despite the variable word order and its concomitant quantifier scope relations, there is a fundamental asymmetry in the properties of the arguments which occur as complements in the three-place construction. This is summarised in the table below (RP is resumptive pronoun):

	Theme	Recipient
1. Wh- Question	Yes	With R.P
2. Object Preposing	Yes	No
3. Nominalisation	Yes	No
4. Subject of **Nyá**-Construction	Yes	No
5. Unrestricted pronominalisation	No	Yes
6. Unrestricted choice of definite article	No	Yes

Table 1. Argument asymmetry in the three-place construction

I claimed in Chapter 4 that it is really the second property that refers to the direct object of the monotransitive construction. As will be recalled from my discussion in that chapter, this is not a property that only applies to the Theme. Instead, it applies to all arguments, irrespective of their thematic role. In the three-place construction, however, the property only applies to the Theme. We can therefore conclude that it is the Theme which is the direct object of the three-place construction.[14] I have argued that the fact that the Recipient object can be directly pronominalised, like the direct object of monotransitives, is an indication that it is also a core argument of the verb. I rejected the possible claim that it is an oblique argument with an empty preposition since this simply complicates the grammar of Ewe. I have, therefore, triangulated from the conclusion that it is a core argument and the fact that it occurs in postverbal position in order to analyse it as a second object. To conclude, the three-place construction in Ewe has two objects like the double object or ditransitive constructions in other languages. However, they do not possess the same properties.

[14]Note that even if we adopted the alternative test of computing all the object properties (cf. Hudson 1992), the Theme would still be found to possess more object properties than the Recipient.

5.2 THE THREE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION IN OTHER LANGUAGES

In this section, I take a look at various analyses of double object constructions across languages. I then compare two main properties of the constructions to that of Ewe. I will argue that some claims made by Lefebvre (1993) concerning the three-place construction in Fon, another Gbe dialect, do not apply to Ewe.

Discussions on the double object construction have taken as the point of departure the two sentences below from English:

26a. John gave Mary a book
b. John gave a book to Mary[15]

Observe that (26a) is similar to one rendition of the three-place construction in Ewe. One difference between the three-place construction in Ewe and that of English is that in Ewe, there is no preposition before the Recipient when it occurs in second object position.

The constructions represented by the sentences in (26) have given rise to two main questions which are, first, whether the one is derived from the other, and second, what the status of the two objects in (26a) are. The answers that have been offered for the two questions are many and varied and, in this section, I only consider a few. First of all, traditional transformational grammarians have taken sentence (26a) to be derived from (26b) by a process known as the dative shift transformation. The Recipient argument derived by this rule has been referred to as the indirect object. The analysis has been recast in Baker (1997). According to him, the derivation is via a process of preposition incorporation which forces the Recipient to move to immediate postverbal position in order to receive case. Thus, according to this analysis, the Theme remains the direct object even though it occurs in a different position. There is another school of thought that also adopts a derivational analysis but assigns a different status to the Recipient. According to this analysis whose proponents are relational grammarians, the indirect object (object 3) is promoted to the position of direct object (object 2) while the former becomes a "chomeur" (cf. Aissen 1983, Dryer 1983). This analysis therefore differs from the former in assigning a different status to the Recipient. The reason for this new status is that the argument does not only occur in immediate postverbal position but it is the one which occurs as the subject in a passive construction:

27a. Mary was given a book
b. ??A book was given Mary

There are others who would rather not portray the relation between the two sentences as transformational. For instance, Givón (1984) prefers to consider it

[15]This sentence is sometimes referred to in the literature as the double complement construction. I will use this term in subsequent references to sentences like this.

as a process of grammaticalisation of the secondary topic. Since he refers to the grammaticalisation process as the "dative shift", it is obvious that he also considers (26a) to be derived from (26b). Like relational grammarians, Givón assumes that the grammaticalised object assumes direct object status (cf. 1984:152).

However, not all generative grammarians consider (26a) to be derived from (26b). There are those like Marantz (1993) who assume that the Recipient is base-generated in a position which is higher than the Theme. According to this analysis, the two sentences are derived from different underlying structures. Lefebvre (1993) also claims that the Recipient in the three-place construction in Fon is base-generated in a position which is higher than the Theme. She goes on to claim that the two constructions in Fon which, like Ewe, have the arguments in different positions have the same underlying structure. She therefore concludes that the three-place construction in Fon is similar to that of English since, underlyingly, they all have a Recipient which dominates the Theme. I will discuss some of the reasons which she uses in support of her argumentation below.

The above discussions have usually been complicated by data from other languages which are not always like English. For example, in languages like Akan (cf. Osam 1996, 1997) and Igbo (cf. Nwachukwu, 1987, Manfredi 1991, Saah and Eze 1997), only the (26a) equivalent exists. To posit a transformational or processual account for these languages, therefore, requires the claim that the transformational or grammaticalisation process is obligatory in these languages. Next, there are languages like German (cf. Hellan 1992), Albanian (Marantz 1993), and Hebrew (Givón 1984) where the Recipient takes dative case while the Theme takes accusative case. Hellan takes the case marking in German to be evidence that it is the Theme which receives accusative case which is the direct object. Marantz, on the other hand, while not exactly using the term "direct object" for the Recipient, claims that the reason why it is generated in a higher position is that it is 'affected', a property usually attributed to direct objects (see below). It so happens that the position of the two objects can alternate while the case marking remains the same in languages like Albanian and Hebrew. Thus, the Theme which takes accusative case can also occur in the first object position. Marantz's analysis of these alternations differs from the one he proposes for the English sentences (26a, b). In the Albanian case which he discusses, he considers the alternations to have an underlying structure in which the Recipient remains in a dominant position. Finally, there are languages (e.g. Bantu languages like Swahili and Kinyarwanda) where arguments are cross-referenced on the verb. In these languages, when the three-place construction contains a Recipient, it takes the Theme's position on the verb in terms of cross-referencing. This has led Bresnan

and Moshi (1993), drawing on Alsina and Mchombo (1989), to propose linking rules which link the Recipient to direct object position over the Theme.

All the derivational analyses discussed thus far take sentences like (26b) to be the basic three-place construction. There is another derivational position which takes the opposite view. Dryer (1986) argues that (26a) is rather the basic construction and that (26b) is derived from it via what he calls an "antidative" rule. Further, he proposes that the objects in this case should be considered as primary and secondary objects and, also, that languages like Akan and Igbo which have this construction alone be referred to as primary object languages. These languages are contrasted with direct object languages in which the Theme is always realised as the direct object. Baker (1997) claims that it is not clear that the latter type of languages exist. I argue that Ewe is one such direct object language because it is only the Theme which possesses the direct object property of the three-place construction.

What the above discussion shows is that, except for Baker's analysis which takes the object position of the Recipient to be derived and, therefore, not the direct object position, the other analyses accord a special status to this object. For some, it is the direct object while, for others, it is the primary object. In all the cases, it is supposed to possess more object properties than the Theme. Of course, this position is not shared by everyone. For instance, Hudson (1992) argues against it, showing that when the direct object properties of the two complements are computed, the Theme ends up with more of the properties than the Recipient. However, it is obvious that the occurrence of the Recipient in first object position accords it a special status which is opposed to its occurrence in a second object position. Various reasons have been given for this, among which are topicality and affectedness. In the next subsections, I consider these two properties and, at the same time, discuss how they affect the three-place construction in Ewe.

5.2.1 TOPICALITY

In this section, I consider the issue of topicality which has been used to explain the ordering of objects in the double object construction. I then show that although the principle of topicality is at work in the Ewe construction as well, its surface realisation is different from that of a language like English.

According to Givón, the two participants which are encoded in postverbal position are ranked relative to each other and the more topical one claims the grammaticalized direct object slot (cf. 1984:154). Topicality is supposed to be due to the fact that these arguments are animate; in the languages in which the Recipient precedes the Theme, there is an animacy restriction on the former. Thus, Goldberg (1995:55) points out that in the sentence below, Chicago is "necessarily construed as standing metonymically for certain people in Chicago

[...] since the construction imposes the constraint that the "send.Location" role must be a recipient and, therefore animate":

28. Joe sent Chicago a letter.

Ransom (1977:424-5) attributes such restrictions to Kuno's Empathy Hierarchy, with empathy being "the speaker's identifying himself with, in varying degrees, persons who participate in the event he describes in a sentence". People supposedly identify more with animate entities than inanimate ones, thereby making the former more topical.

While animacy makes the Recipient more topical than the Theme, there is an added restriction on the latter that it cannot be definite when the former is not. This constraint, referred to by Beckman (1996:28) as the "Definiteness Asymmetry Constraint" requires that the second object not exceed the first in definiteness. Thus, in the sentences below from Ransom, the first is unacceptable because of the definiteness clash:

29a. ??They often feed a lion these lambs.
b. They often feed a lion a lamb.

(29b), on the other hand, is acceptable because both arguments are indefinite.[16] Ransom accounts for such phenomenon by positing the Definiteness-Specificity Constraint. According to her, there is a general tendency for sentences to be more acceptable when the old or predictable information precedes new or unpredictable information. Thus while the animacy of the Recipient makes it the preferred secondary topic (cf Givón 1984), the newness of information encoded by the Theme makes it even less preferred as a secondary topic.

Now let us see how the information packaging restrictions apply to the three-place construction in Ewe. One very obvious thing is that Ransom's claim that old and predictable information precedes new or unpredictable information does not necessarily apply to Ewe. This is because I have shown above that the Theme whose basic position is immediate postverbal has a definiteness restriction. Consider the sentence below:

[16]Jane Simpson (personal communication) has pointed out that there are counter-examples. She gives the example below where an indefinite Theme precedes a definite Recipient in the third sentence:

Many children were sitting at the table. On the table were a bowl of soup and a plate of bread. They gave a girl the soup and a boy the bread.

30. **Kofi ná ga-e**
Kofi give money-3SG
'Kofi gave him/her money.'

This perfectly acceptable Ewe sentence violates the constraints proposed by Ransom (1977) and Beckman (1996). This is because it is rather the second postverbal argument which is definite. In fact, not only does this sentence violate the definiteness constraint; to the extent that the pronominal can be taken to refer to a person, it also violates the animacy constraint. This, then, is evidence that topicality issues in the three-place construction in Ewe differ from thse of languages like English. However, the story does not end there.

Another look at the definiteness and specificity constraints shows that although they are stated for the object positions (i.e. object 2 is not supposed to exceed object 1 in definiteness), they end up applying to argument types in languages in English. That is to say, it is the Theme which cannot be pronominalised or take a definite article unless the Recipient is definite. There appears to be a general tendency for the Theme of three-place constructions to be the one which encodes new information.[17] In that sense, therefore, the restriction in languages like English is similar to what applies in Ewe. The difference, in the case of Ewe, is that in spite of the restrictions, it is the Theme which precedes the Recipient in a basic clause. Thus if, instead of stating the constraints in terms of object positions, they are stated for argument types, they apply to three-place constructions in all languages, possibly with some parametric variation. In Ewe, this means that the Theme of some verbs cannot be pronominalised or occur with the definite article while, for others, they only do so when the Recipient is also definite. A topicality account such as this obviates the need to use case marking principles to account for the pronominalisation of the Recipient in other Gbe languages in which the Theme cannot be pronominalised, as Lefebvre does for Fon.

5.2.2 AFFECTEDNESS

Another property that is often discussed in relation to double object constructions is affectedness. In this section, I argue that although this property applies to the three-place construction in Ewe as well, the entity that is construed as affected is not always the same as that in other languages. According to Givón (1984:154), the argument treated as the direct object exhibits the prime semantic characteristics of the accusative/patient case in that it is the argument most affected by the event. Pinker (1989) also notes that the difference between the two types of three-place constructions in English, as

[17]Hellan (1990) discusses a similar restriction for the impersonal ditransitive construction in Norwegian.

exemplified in (26a, b) above, could be explicated in terms of affectedness. He writes (1989:83):

> *I threw the ball to John* can mean that John is merely the spatial target (possibly asleep or dead), analogous to *I threw the ball to the target*, but *I threw John the ball* entails that he was meant to receive it and invites the inference that he did.

To infer that John has received the ball is to infer that he has been "changed" in terms of coming to be in possession of the ball. Goldberg (1995:33) also notes some difference in the meaning of the two sentences below:

31a. Mary taught Bill French.
b. Mary taught French to Bill.

According to her, (31a) implies that Bill actually learned some French and, therefore, that there was a succesful transfer. By contrast, no such implication is necessary in (31b). Although Goldberg herself does not subscribe to the use of affectedness in cases such as these, we could take the inference to mean that there has been a change in Bill and therefore that he has been affected.[18] As stated by Givón, affectedness is a property that is generally attributed to direct objects. Gropen et al (1991) have, therefore, formulated this as a linking principle. This is given below (1991:154):

> The verb's object would be linked [..] to the argument specified as 'affected' or caused to change as the main event in the verb's meaning. The change can be one of location, resulting from motion in a particular manner, or of state, resulting from accommodating or reacting to a substance.

Thus, in the case of the three-place construction, the Recipient is linked to object position (primary, direct or derived depending on one's analysis) because it is inferred to be accommodating the transferred entity.

I will now discuss how the affectedness phenomenon applies to Ewe. As I stated above, Lefebvre (1993) has argued that the construction in Fon which is like that in Ewe, is underlyingly like (26a) *John gave Mary a book*. According to her, the change in word order is simply a syntactic process which has no corresponding shift in meaning. She claims, therefore, that **ná** 'give', a cognate of the verb which I discussed earlier, always entails reception by the Recipient,

[18]This is not to say that the theme is no more affected since, for a successful transfer to take place, the theme has to undergo a change of location. All that it means is that the "spotlight" has been turned on the affectedness of the goal argument.

no matter the position of this argument. The sentences Lefebvre uses to support her position are provided below:

32a. ***Kɔku na Asiba agala gake agala me-nye Asiba tɔ o**
Koku give Asiba crab but crab NEG-be Asiba own NEG
'Koku gave Asiba some crab but the crab is not hers.'

b. ***Kɔku na agala Asiba gake agala me-nye Asiba tɔ o**
Koku give crab Asiba but crab NEG-be Asiba own NEG
'Koku gave Asiba some crab but the crab is not hers.'

A translation of the above sentences into Ewe yields equally unacceptable results. However, I will not use her sentences to test for affectedness in Ewe. This is because when the **ná** 'give' verb occurs in the ditransitive construction, it can only mean 'to give as a present' (cf. Westermann 1928). When it occurs in the factative (i.e. when it does not take an overt TAM), the state of affairs is taken to be completed and the default interpretation is that the transfer is successful. It is the combination of these factors which make sentence (32b) unacceptable. (33) shows that default intepretations do not constitute entailments because the transfer does not need to be successful:

33. **Kofí bé ye-ná ga Amí wo-gbé**
Kofi say LOG-give money Ami 3SG-refuse

é-xɔ-xɔ eyata ye-tsɔ́-e ná nɔví-á
3SG-RED-receive so LOG-take-3SG give sibling-DEF
'Kofi says he gave money to Ami but she refused to take it so he gave it to her sibling.'

Here, the transfer was not successful and, until Kofi gave it to Ami's sibling, we can presume that it was still with him. The interesting thing about such constructions is that speakers prefer to have the Theme precede the Recipient. The contrast is clearly seen in the two sentences below:

34 a. **Kofí ná ga Amí gaké mé-xɔ-e o**
Kofi give money Ami but NEG-receive-3SG NEG
'Kofi gave money to Ami but she didn't take it'

b. **?Kofi ná Amí ga gaké mé-xɔ-e o**
Kofi give Ami money but NEG-receive-3SG NEG
'Kofi gave Ami money but she didn't take it'

What this suggests is that the construction in which the Theme precedes the Recipient simply encodes transfer. To the extent that we can specify that the

Recipient referent refused to accept the money, we can defeat the successful completion of the transfer and, therefore, the argument does not need to be referred to as a Recipient. Further evidence for this position comes from the fact that unlike the factative, when the potential mood is used, which is an indication that transfer might not yet have taken place, speakers prefer to have the Theme in first object position:

35a. **Kofí â-ná ga Amí**
Kofi POT-give money Ami
'Kofi may give money to Ami.'

b. **?Kofí â-ná Amí ga**
Kofi POT-give Ami money
'Kofi may give Ami money.'

The potential mood here is indicative of the fact that the transfer has not been accomplished and it is not even certain if it will take place. To conclude, when **ná** 'give' occurs in the three-place construction with the Theme in first object position, it simply encodes transfer, not necessarily successful transfer. It also means that the second object in Ewe is more of a Goal than a Recipient (Manfredi (1991) refers to the equivalent in Igbo as Goal). Gruber (1976) has noted that there appears to be a some identification between the expression of Goal and Location. I consider them to be similar enough to adopt Location as a cover term for them. Also, I follow Van Valin (1993) in extending the Location role to include recipients. In my subsequent discussion of the three-place construction, therefore, I will rather refer to the non-Theme complement as Location.

The above discussion shows that the notion of affectedness does indeed apply in the three-place construction in Ewe as well. However, unlike Lefebvre's discussion of Fon, affectedness in Ewe does not remain the same when the object positions are reversed. Instead, when the Theme occurs in first object position, the sentence does not entail that the Location argument receives the transferred item. All that it entails is that the item has been transferred. In this sense, therefore, the interpretation of the construction is like that of the double complement construction in English in which the Location argument is realised as a prepositional phrase. In the next section, I will discuss the ICV three-place construction and use it as further evidence that the basic three-place construction in Ewe has the Location argument follow the Theme.

5.3 ICV THREE-PLACE CONSTRUCTION

Three-place constructions containing ICVs are not always analysed on the same level as canonical three-place constructions because the verb plus complement encode states of affairs that are usually encoded by a simple verb alone in English or French. In this section, I show that they have the same properties as the canonical three-place construction verbs, with the only exception being that the objects do not have variable word order. Avolonto (1995:126) takes this to be an indication that these are not real three-place constructions. I, on the other hand, consider it to be further evidence that the Theme is the real direct object in the Ewe three-place constructions. The various properties are discussed in turn.

5.3.1 WORD ORDER

Unlike the canonical three-place construction, the ICV three-place construction has a fixed word order in which the Theme occurs in the immediate postverbal position. This is illustrated below:

36a. **Kofí da kɔ́ Komi**
Kofi ICV fist Komi
'Kofi dealt a blow to Komi.'

b. ***Kofí da Komi kɔ́**
Kofi ICV Komi fist
'Kofi dealt a blow to Komi.'

In the case of one ICV **dé** 'put', it looks, on the surface, as if the argument positions can be interchanged. What really happens, however, (as can be seen from the translations), is that the item that occurs in immediate postverbal position is always taken to be the Theme. This is illustrated below:

37a. **Kofi dé tsi blí**
Kofi ICV water maize
'Kofi watered maize (lit. Kofi put water on maize).'

b. **Kofí dé blí tsi**
Kofi ICV maize water
'Kofi put maize in water.'

38a. **Kofí dé dze detsí**
Kofi ICV salt soup
'Kofi put salt in the soup.'

b. ?**Kofí dé detsí dze**
Kofi ICV soup salt

The final sentence is as odd as pouring soup on salt. As stated above, Avolonto considers this lack of alternation to be evidence that the construction is not a true three-place construction and, rather, that the verb plus complement constitute a lexical item. These complements are syntactically independent, however, and like their counterparts in the canonical three-place construction, they can be focussed. This is illustrated below:

39a. **Kɔ́-é Kofí da Komi**
Fist-FOC Kofi ICV Komi
'It is a blow Kofi threw at Komi.'

b. **Tsi-é Kofí dé blí** (cf. 37a)
Water-FOC Kofi ICV maize
'It is water that Kofi put on maize.'

c. **Blí-é Kofí dé tsi** (cf. 37b)
Maize-FOC Kofi ICV water
'It is maize that Kofi put in water.'

This, like the case of the canonical three-place construction (cf. 12a, b), is evidence that the complements are not lightly incorporated into the verb. Further, it is evidence that the verb and its inherent complement do not constitute an idiom. This is because the complement **megbé** 'back' in the idiom **trɔ́ mégbé** 'die' (lit. turn back) discussed in the previous chapter cannot be focussed:

40. **Mégbé-é wò-trɔ́**
Back-FOC 3SG-turn
*'What he did was die.'
'It was his back that he turned.'

I now turn to the properties that make this construction similar to the canonical ditransitive construction.

5.3.2 OBJECT PREPOSING

When the construction contains an auxiliary, only the Theme can be preposed, the Location must remain in postverbal position. The sentences below illustrate this:

41a. **Kofí le kɔ́ da-ḿ Komi**
Kofi AUX:PRES fist ICV-PROG Komi
'Kofi is throwing a blow/blows at Komi.'

b. ***Kofí le Komi da-mí kɔ́**
Kofi AUX:PRES Komi ICV-PROG fist
'Kofi is throwing a blow/blows at Komi.'

5.3.3 NOMINALISATION

In addition to preposing in a clause containing an auxiliary, only the Theme can be preposed when the verb phrase is nominalised:

42a. **Kɔ́ da-da Komi mé-nyó o**
Fist RED-ICV Komi NEG-be_good NEG
'Throwing a blow at Komi is not good.'

b. ***Komi dada kɔ́ mé-nyó o**
Komi RED-ICV fist NEG-be_good NEG
'Throwing a blow at Komi is not good.'

5.3.4 **NYÁ** - CONSTRUCTION

Just like the canonical three-place construction, only the Theme of the ICV counterparts can be the subject of **nyá**-constructions, as I illustrate below:

43a. **Kɔ́ nyá da-na Komi ná Kofí**
Fist MOD ICV-HAB Komi to/for Kofi
'Kofi likes thowing blows at Komi.'

b. ***Komi nyá da-na kɔ́ ná Kofí**
Komi MOD ICV-HAB fist to/for Kofi
'Kofi likes thowing blows at Komi.'

5.3.5 PRONOMINALISATION

The Theme behaves similarly to **ná** 'give' in the canonical three-place construction in that it cannot be pronominalised. The Location, on the other hand, can be freely pronominalised. This is illustrated below:

44a. ***Kofí da-e xeví-á**
Kofi ICV-3SG bird-DEF
'Kofi threw it at the bird.'

b. **Kofí da kpé-e**
Kofi ICV stone-3SG
'Kofi threw a stone at him.'

In order to introduce a pronominalised Theme, the 'take' serial verb construction is used:

45. **Kofí tsɔ́-e da xeví-á**
Kofi take-3SG ICV bird-DEF
'Kofi threw it at the bird.'

5.3.6 DEFINITENESS RESTRICTION

Finally the Theme in this construction, like the one in the canonical three-place construction, cannot be realised as a definite noun phrase unless the Location argument is also definite. The Location, on the other hand, is not subject to this restriction. This is illustrated below:

46a. ***Kofí da kpé-a ɖeví**
Kofi ICV stone child-DEF
'Kofi threw the stone at a child.'

b. **Kofí da kpé ɖeví-á**
Kofi ICV stone child-DEF
'Kofi threw a stone at the child.'

c. **Kofí da kpé-á ɖeví-á**
Kofi ICV stone-DEF child-DEF
'Kofi threw the stone at the child.'

(47c) shows that the Theme can take a definite article when the Location is definite.

5.3.7 SUMMARY

The above facts concerning ICs which occur in first object position and Location arguments which occur as second object are summed up in the table below (compare it to table 1 in Section 5.1.2.7):

	IC as Theme Object	Location Object
1. Immediate Post-verbal position	Yes	No
2. Object Preposing	Yes	No
3. Nominalisation	Yes	No
4. Subject of Nya Construction	Yes	No
5. Prominalisation	No	Yes
6. Unrestricted Use of Definite Article	No	Yes

Table 2. ICV Object Properties

It can be observed that, with the exception of word order and its concomitant quantifier scope relation, which does not apply here, the above table is very

similar to the asymmetry table for the canonical three-place construction (pronominalisation of the Theme is not allowed for ICVs but is allowed for one canonical three-place verbs). It is the Theme which allows for such processes as preposing and occurrence in subject position of the **nyá**-construction. Of these properties, I have claimed that the one involving object preposing applies to the direct object. The above facts go to suggest, therefore, that sentences (1a, b) repeated below as (47a, b) constitute the basic three-place constructions in Ewe:

47a. **Kofí ná ga Amí**
Kofi give money Ami
'Kofi gave money to Ami.'

b. **Kofí da kpé xeví**
Kofi ICV stone bird
'Kofi a stone at a bird.'

The Theme in both constructions is the direct object since it is the only argument which is preposed when the clause contains an auxiliary and its basic position is the immediate postverbal position. The Location argument which is realised after the Theme is also an object because it is a core argument and can be realised as an object pronoun. Having determined that the two sentences have the same formal properties (i.e. ignoring the canonical variant for the moment), I will now turn to the semantic properties that determine their similar behaviour.

5.4 THE CONSTRUCTION AND ITS SEMANTICS

In line with the position taken in the previous chapters, I argue that the three-place argument structure in Ewe constitutes a construction with its own semantics, which I characterise as "caused transfer". The construction is defined below:

A three-place construction is an ASC with three core arguments.

In this section, I consider how the semantics of the construction interacts with that of the verbs. There are three specific ways in which the transfer is encoded and each instantiation is dependent on the semantics of the particular verbs. The three senses are represented below:

48a. X causes Y to undergo a change of location towards Z
b. X causes Y to make contact with Z
c. X causes Y to be located at Z

For the moment, I will concentrate on the specific form of transfer expressed by (48a). The others are discussed in the next section. (48a) is instantiated by a verb like **da**. In Chapter 6 where I discuss the detailed semantics of verbs, I characterise **da** as "an entity (X), through the use of a part of the body, causes an entity (Y) to move away". The verb therefore licenses an Effector and a Theme. As (49) below shows, it occurs in the causal two-place construction:

49. **Kofí da kpé**
Kofi ICV stone
'Kofi threw a stone.'

(49) does not in any way indicate *how* Kofi caused the stone to undergo a change of location (although the default interpretation is with the hands). For our purposes, it suffices to note that the verb does not express movement towards another entity. Sentence (47b), repeated below, shows that the verb can take a second complement with the latter being treated as the Location.

47b. **Kofí da kpé xeví**
Kofi ICV stone bird
'Kofi threw a stone at a bird.'

In Chapter 1 where I first discussed this sentence, I stated that its default interpretation is that the bird was hit. However, I pointed out that this sense is not entailed because it can be defeated, as the next sentence illustrates:

50. **Kofí da kpé xeví-á gaké mé-lɔ́-e o**
Kofi ICV stone bird-DEF but NEG-hit-3SG NEG
'Kofi threw a stone at the bird but it didn't hit it.'

Having established that **da** does not entail making contact, the next question is whether we want to have two senses for it, one which involves a simple change of location (i.e. 49) and the other which includes an endpoint (47b). In line with my argument structure construction analysis, I claim that this is not necessary. Instead, I argue that since **da** has a compatible semantics (causal + change of location), it is able to enter into the three-place construction and thereby take a Location argument. By contributing the Location argument, the construction enables the end-point interpretation. However, it does not add a 'coming into contact' sense hence this default interpretation can always be defeated. In order to encode both a change of state and a be located sense, for instance, the latter sense has to be introduced by an allative prepositional phrase which takes as its complement a postpositional phrase. This is illustrated below:

51. **Kofí da kpé ɖé kplɔ̃-a dzí**
Kofi ICV stone ALL table-DEF top
'Kofi put a stone on the table.'

Although, semantically, **da** takes three arguments in (51), I do not consider this to be an instance of a three-place construction in my analysis since the third argument is introduced by a prepositional phrase. The three-place construction therefore ensures that the transfer expressed by **da** is simply 'cause X to undergo change of location', henceforth 'caused change of location'.

What this tells us is that on the constructional level, we can always predict an entailed change in the location of the Theme but cannot predict an entailed change in the state of the argument which occurs in the second object position and which I refer to as the Location argument. It therefore explains why the Theme is the direct object in this construction. If, as Gropen et al.'s (1991) linking principles suggest, the affected participant is the one that is linked to direct object position, it is the Theme which should be considered to be affected in a construction whose semantics is caused transfer and not necessarily "caused *successful* transfer". To the extent that the success of the transfer that **ná** 'give' expresses can be defeated, we can place it in the same class as **da**. The difference, however, is that **ná** 'give' is lexically specified as possessing a Location argument and that this argument, following somewhat general (or universal) linking principles, can also be linked to the direct object position. I discuss this alternation presently.

One language which possesses a strategy that is similar to the one I have just discussed is Chechen-Ingush, discussed by Nichols (1984). This language has a construction containing verbs which Nichols refers to as verbs of hitting, and which take three arguments. The subject of the construction takes ergative case, the person or object struck takes dative case, and the weapon or instrument takes nominative case. This is illustrated below:

52a. **da:s wo¿a: urs tiexar**
father:ERG son:DAT knife:NOM hit
'(The) father stabbed (his) son.' (Nichols 1984: ex.4i)

b. **da:s wo¿a: tuop tiexar**
father:ERG son:DAT rifle:NOM hit
'(The) father shot (his) son.' (Nichols 1984: ex.5i)

Nichols explains that the combination of instrument plus verb should not be regarded as semantic incorporation or some other reduction of the nominative noun's autonomy. "It simply means that the verbs of hitting have abstract and very general meanings which are not well captured in their English glosses" (1984:190). She goes on to show that the objects can be modified. I suggest

that on the construction level, the first objects do not encode instrumental arguments as Nichols claims even though their translation into English makes it look as though they do. This is because Nichols herself states that "the instrumental instruments are adverbials" (1984:189). Consider the sentence below which has a "true" instrumental:

53. **husam da:s ursaca kuotam j-i:ra**
house father-ERG knife-INST chicken-NOM killed
'The host killed the chicken with a knife.' (Nichols 1984: ex.4i)

In this sentence, the host (i.e. the father of the house) causes a change in the state of the chicken and the instrument he uses is a knife. This entity therefore takes the instrumental case while the one which undergoes a change (of state) takes the nominative case. We can therefore assume that when the so-called instruments are coded in the nominative, they are not construed as instruments but rather as entities undergoing a change of location. Pinker (1989:101) notes that events can be viewed from different angles:

> Most situations can be construed in many different ways [...] When I hit a wall with a stick, is the wall an 'affected entity' and the stick the 'instrument' or is the stick the affected entity because it moves, and the wall the Recipient of the movement?[19]

If, as Nichols claims, the above constructions involve general verbs of hitting, we might infer that they do not entail any change in the state of the second object, but simply entail a change in the location of the so-called instruments. The objects would then instantiate Themes and not instrument, hence their taking the nominative case.

I argue that the three-place construction in Ewe, like the Chechen-Ingush construction above, does not encode a change of state[20] and, therefore, that the inherent complement does not instantiate an instrument argument. Although Ewe does not possess case marking with which to distinguish between instruments and Themes, there is another construction discussed by Amuzu (1993) which helps establish the distinction. Amuzu observes that the preposition **kplé** 'with' "is used to introduce [an] instrumental nominal after [the object] nominal construed as the patient of the action" (1993:11). An example is provided below:

---

[19]A similar observation is made by Ruhl (1989: 213) concerning the sentence 'She kicked her foot in the air'. According to him, "when foot is a direct object, it is viewed as 'the thing moved' rather than an instrument".

[20]I make a distinction between change of location and change of state.

54. **Kofí lã te-a (kplé hɛ)**
Kofi cut yam-DEF (with knife)
'Kofi cut the yam (with knife).' (Amuzu 1993:ex.3b).

Amuzu notes further that the ICV type verbs which occur in the three-place construction do not allow for the inherent complement to be encoded as a complement of the **kplé** preposition. He illustrates with (55a) below:

55a. ***Kofí tɔ́ Amá (kplé hɛ)**
Kofi prick Ama with knife
'Kofi stabbed Ama with a knife.' (Amuzu 1993:ex. 13b)

b. **Kofí tɔ́ hɛ Amá**
Kofi ICV knife Ama
'Kofi stabbed Ama.'

(55a) shows that **hɛ** 'knife' cannot occur as a complement of **kplé** 'with' to licence an instrument construal of the argument. It can, however, occur as an IC of **tɔ́**. In spite of this Amuzu still refers to it as an instrument. His explanation for its inability to occur with a preposition is that ICVs "express some general meaning [...] which requires the overt expression of an instrumental object if certain of its shades of meaning are to be coded" (ibid: 20). Thus, for him, the contrast between (55a) which is unacceptable, and (56) below which contains a non-ICV and is acceptable, is that the instrument in the latter is predictable from the meaning of the verb:

56. **Kofí ŋɔ́ (*abui) bɔ́lu-á**
Kofi pierce needle ball-DEF
'Kofi pierced the ball.' (Amuzu 1993:ex. 6a)

Although Amuzu is perfectly right when he states that the meaning of verbs like **tɔ́** are very general, he misses the point when he states that the acceptability of (56) is due to the fact that the instrument can be predicted from the meaning of the verb. Rather, **ŋɔ́** pierce' cannot occur in the three-place construction because it encodes a *change of state* and, therefore, cannot take for its direct object an entity that undergoes a change of location. **Tɔ́,** on the other hand, does not have a change of state semantics. Instead, it encodes the coming into contact of a pointed entity with a relatively flatter surface.[21] This means that when it occurs in the three-place construction, it necessarily requires a Theme for its direct object in order to express the pointed entity which is caused to make contact.

[21]A detailed discussion of the semantics of this verb is provided in Chapter 6.

We can now sum up the contrast between the three-place construction which is causal and the causal two-place construction which I discussed in the previous chapter:

Construction Type Semantics *can* entail->	Change of State	Change of Location
Causal Two-Place	Neutral	Neutral
Three-Place	No	Yes

Table 3. Distinction between two-place construction and three-place construction

The above is supported by the results of the Induced Change of State Elicitation Film. As I stated in Chapter 1, this film consists of 18 scenes which are subdivided into 9 minimal pair scenes. The minimal pair scenes contain similar events with slight variations involving a change of state or otherwise of an entity. For example in the first pair, someone hits at a wall with a blunt instrument. In the first scene of the pair, nothing happens to the wall (although there is a noise to indicate that it has been hit) but in the second scene, it collapses. The second scene therefore depicts a caused change of state while the first does not. The aim was to find out which of the two types of scenes elicited a three-place construction. I therefore constructed minimal pair sentences with non-existent verbs. The sentences below are the ones that I offered for the scenes described above:

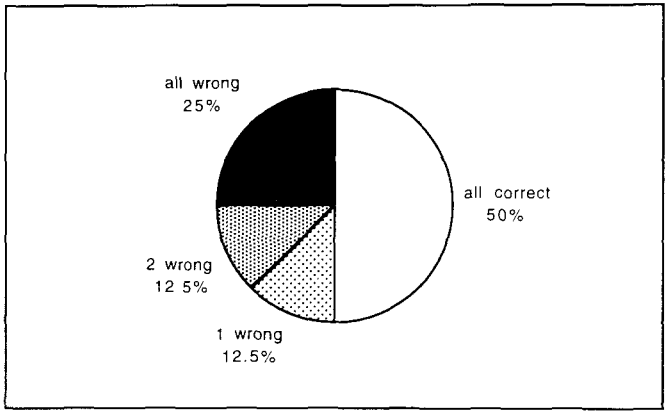
57a. **É-flá atí gli-a**
3SG-V stick wall-DEF
'He "verbed" a stick against the wall.'

b. **É-flá gli-a**
3SG-V wall-DEF
'He "verbed" the wall.'

The first sentence is a three-place construction while the second is a two-place construction. In (57a), the thing that is brought into contact with the wall is made the first object while in (57b), it is not mentioned. Consultants were asked to match the two sentences to the two scenes. They were supposed to use one sentence to describe one scene only. The predictions are that sentences like (57a) would be matched with scenes in which there is no change of state while those like (57b) would be matched with scenes involving a change of state.

In all, eight (8) people were consulted for this specific task. Two were from Kpandu (Northern Ewe), two from Ho (Central Ewe) and 4 from Keta (Southern Ewe). One person in Kpandu and one in Keta systematically used the monotransitive construction (i.e. sentences like 57b) for all the films in which

there was no change of state, and the ditransitive construction (i.e. sentences like 57a) for the films in which there was a change of state. For my purposes, these two had mismatches for all the scenes. Next, two people from Keta, one from Ho and one from Kpandu systematically did the opposite. That is to say they matched the three-place sentences with only the scenes in which there were no changes, and the two-place sentences with only the scenes in which there were changes. They therefore had perfect matches. One person from Ho "wrongly" matched a single scene in which there was no change of state with a monotransitive verb and the corresponding scene in which there was a change of state with the ditransitive. Another person from Keta had two such mismatches. This is graphically represented below:



What the chart shows is that 50 percent of the consultants correctly matched all the three-place sentences with the scenes in which there was no change of state. Half of the remaining 50 percent had very limited mismatches: one had a mismatch for only one pair of scenes while the other had mismatches for two pairs.[22] Thus 75 percent of the consultants displayed a very high tendency toward the use of the three-place construction for states of affairs in which there was no change of state. Although eight is a rather small number, the results are

[22]The reasons given for the choices were even more interesting. The two who used the three-place constructions for the change of state could offer no clear explanation for their choice of that construction and one finally said that he is not an L1 speaker of Ewe. His L1 is Buem but he grew up bilingual in his L1 and an L2 variety of Ewe that is used as a lingua franca among speakers of the Togo languages to which Buem belongs. Those who chose to use monotransitive for the change of state films and ditransitive for the lack of change films, on the other hand, were able to explain that they chose the former for situations in which something happened to the objects (the change of state).

still instructive: they lend support to my claim that the semantics of the three-place construction does not include a change of state component.

I have argued here that the ICV three-place construction entails affectedness of the Theme. This is the construction in which only the Theme possesses what I claim to be the direct object property. Let us now reconsider the semantics of the canonical three-place construction. I argued in section 5.2.2 that contrary to Lefebvre's claim, when the Theme occurs in first object position, the sentence does not entail successful transfer. The interpretation, as noted earlier, is like that of the ICV **da** where, although the default interpretation is that the transfer got to its end-point, this interpretation is defeasible. Still, canonical three-place construction verbs do possess a unique quality which is made evident in their ability to have the Location argument occur in first object position. I have indicated that when that happens, speakers do not like to defeat the success of the transfer. Recall the problem with sentence (34b) which I repeat below:

34b. ?**Kofi ná Amí ga gaké mé-xɔ-e o**
Kofi give Ami money but 3SG-NEG-receive-3SG NEG
'Kofi gave Ami money but she didn't take it'

We can assume then that the interpretation given for this sentence is similar to that given to equivalent constructions in languages like English; that is to say that the success of the transfer is implicated. Do we take this to be a fully-fledged independent three-place construction, with properties similar to that discussed for similar constructions in other languages? The answer to this question is no. Recall that this construction cannot be questioned since, as I showed earlier, the resumptive pronoun cannot occur in the first object position. The sentences are repeated below:

7 b. **Ame ka-é Kofí ná ga-e**
Person Wh-FOC Kofi give money-3SG
'Whom did Kofi give money?'

c. ***Ame ka-é Kofí ná-e ga**
Person Wh-FOC Kofi give-3SG money
'Whom did Kofi give money?'

Secondly, the Location argument cannot be preposed either in a clause with an auxiliary or for the nominalisation of the clause. Thirdly, it cannot occur in the subject position of the **nyá**-construction. This final point is significant since much of what has been said about the direct or primary object property of this argument in other languages has come from the fact that it is the one that occurs in subject position of the passive construction. We have to conclude therefore

that the occurrence of the Location argument in the first object position is derivational.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that Ewe is a true direct object language in the sense of Dryer (1986). This is because in the basic three-place construction, only the Theme possesses the direct object property. As a consequence of this, the semantics of the construction is also primarily that of simple transfer; the success of the transfer is not necessarily entailed. Although the Location argument of **ná** 'give' and that of **fiá** 'teach' can occur in the direct object position with an implication that it is affected, it does not possess the properties which would suggest that it 'belongs' to that place. I have therefore claimed that it's position is derived. The successful-transfer interpretation is then attributed to the occurrence of the Location object in first object position. Let us now consider how verbs enter into the three-place construction.

Considering the above discussion, we can assume that the verbs which occur in the three-place construction may have an Effector which causes the transfer, the transferred entity, and end-point of the transfer, or just two of these three. These participants are mapped onto Causer, Theme and Location roles respectively in the construction's argument structure. In this section, I discuss how the arguments of the verbs which occur in the construction are linked.

I stated above that while the three-place construction means "caused transfer", this meaning can, depending on the semantics of the verbs be expressed as causing a change in the location of an entity towards another entity, causing something to come into contact with another or causing something to be located at a place. I illustrated the first specific meaning with **ná** 'give' and **da**. Of the two verbs, only **ná** 'give' licenses its three arguments. Sentences (47a, b) are repeated below with their linking:

47a. **Kofí ná ga Amí**
Kofi give money Ami
'Kofi gave money to Ami.'

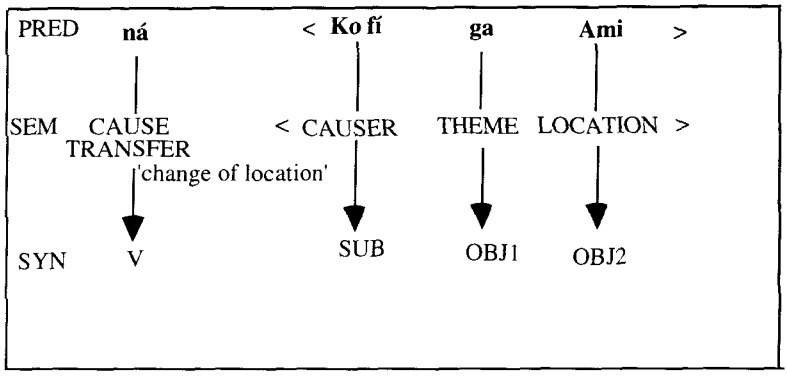


Fig. 1 Linking of arguments **ná**

b. **Kofí da kpé xeví**
Kofi ICV stone bird
'Kofi threw a stone at a bird.'

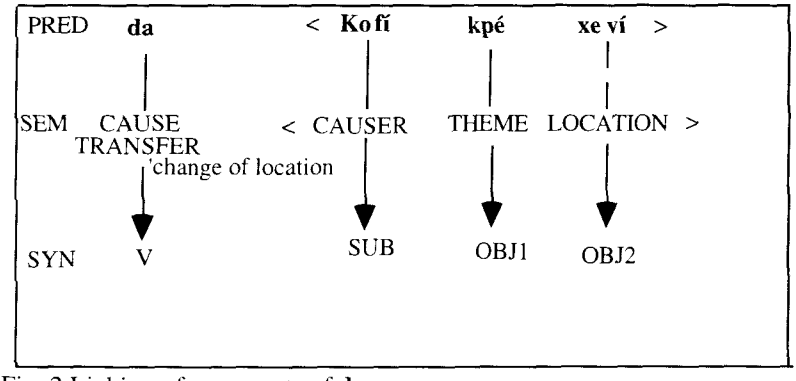


Fig. 2 Linking of arguments of **da**

Da licenses only an Effector and a Theme. The construction therefore supplies the Location argument which serves as an end-point.

The second sense of transfer that is expressed in the three-place construction is caused contact. This is expressed by the verb **ká**. In Chapter 4, I showed that **ká** is a Theme/Location verb which only licenses those two arguments. Being neutral to Cause, this verb can also occur in the three-place construction where the construction contributes the Causer argument. This is represented by (58) whose linking is shown in Fig. 3:

58. **Kofi ká así kpé-á**
Kofi ICV hand stone-DEF
'Kofi touched the stone.'

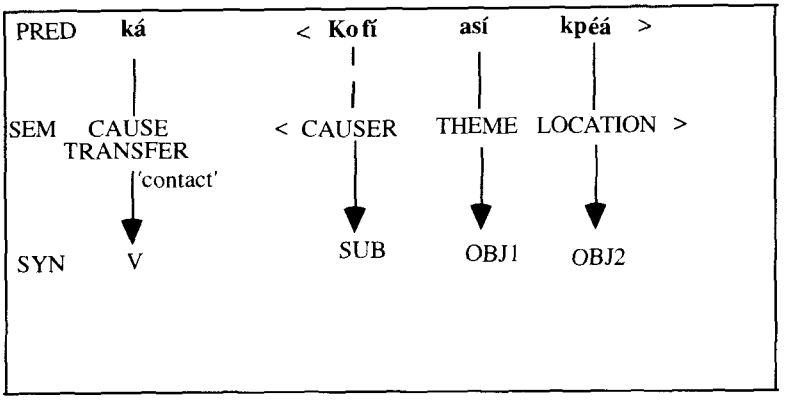


Fig. 3 Linking of arguments of **ká**

The broken lines linking Kofi with the Causer argument suggest that this argument is contributed by the construction.

The final sense of caused transfer is caused location. The only verb I am aware of which expresses this meaning in the three-place construction is **dé** 'put' which licenses all the three arguments. This is illustrated below:

59. **Kofi de blí tsi**
Kofi ICV maize water
'Kofi put the maize in water'

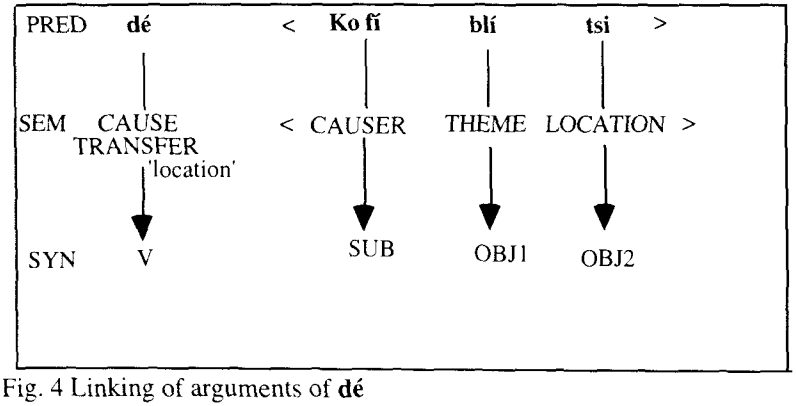


Fig. 4 Linking of arguments of **dé**

I have now illustrated three different linking possibilites in the three-place construction. In the first case, the verb licenses all the three arguments of the construction. In the second case, it licenses the Causer and Theme while the construction licenses the Location. In the third, the verb licenses the Theme and Location arguments while the construction licenses the Causer. There is a fourth possibility where the verbs license the Causer and the Location while the construction licenses the Theme. One such verb is ***fo*** 'hit'. The sentence below illustrates this while the diagram shows how the arguments are licensed.:

60. **Kofi** ***fo*** **tú** **xeví-á**
Kofi hit gun bird-DEF
'Kofi shot the bird.'

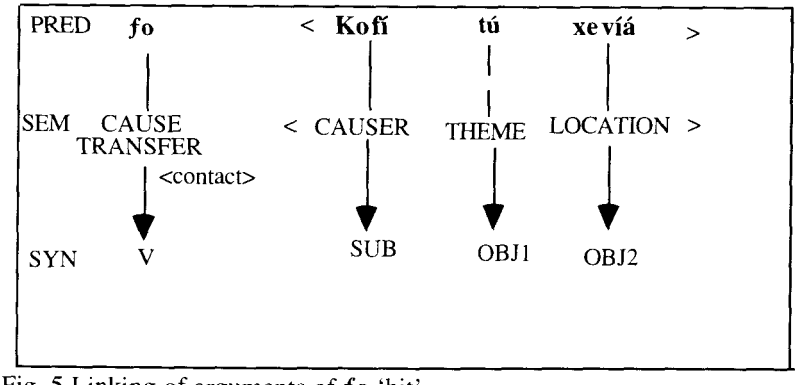


Fig. 5 Linking of arguments of ***fo*** 'hit'

In Chapter 6, I will argue that this is the type of linking which takes place when the ICV ***fú***, which also has an Effector and Location in its semantic characterisation, occurs in the three-place construction.

In this section, I have shown that verbs which express different forms of transfer can occur in the three-place construction where they either license all the arguments of the construction or license at least two while the construction licenses the third. To conclude, the three-place construction in Ewe expresses caused transfer and hence its Theme is the direct object. The canonical three-place verbs which occur in the construction license all the three arguments. Although the complements of these verbs can all occur in immediate postverbal position, I have argued that the position belongs basically to the Theme. ICVs also occur in this construction although, in most cases, they only license two of the arguments of the construction. In the next section, I discuss an alternative analysis of the three-place construction.

5.5 MANFREDI'S ANALYSIS

To some extent, my analysis of the ICV three-place construction is similar to that of Manfredi's (1991). He also analyses equivalent expressions in Igbo as ditransitive and takes the IC of the constructions to be affected. However what we both take to be the basis of analysing an argument as affected differs. In this section, I briefly discuss Manfredi's analysis and show that my account makes some predictions which his analysis does not.

Manfredi claims that the double object construction in Igbo is a morphological spell-out of affectedness. His use of affectedness draws on Tenny's (1987) Aspectual Interface Hypothesis which seeks to give an aspectual account of the projection of conceptual structure into syntax. The ICVs that occur in ditransitives are therefore said to be affecting 'lite' verbs (Manfredi's term). This, according to Manfredi, means that the verbs are lexically specified as affecting. Now let's consider the entity that is taken to be affected. Tenny's claim that the affected argument of a delimited predicate occurs in complement position refers to the direct object of such constructions. This, in Manfredi's analysis, is the IC which occurs in second object position. I stated in the previous chapter that the three-place construction in Igbo is similar to the one in English in that the Location argument has to precede the Theme. This difference in structure is not in any way reflected in Manfredi's analysis as the structure for (61) below given in Fig 6 illustrates.

61. **Àdhá tù-ru Úgwu (otụ́tụ) NKÚMÈ**
Adha ?-φAsp Ugwu [NP multiplicity stone]
'Adha threw (many) stones at Ugwu.' (1991:154, ex. 172a)

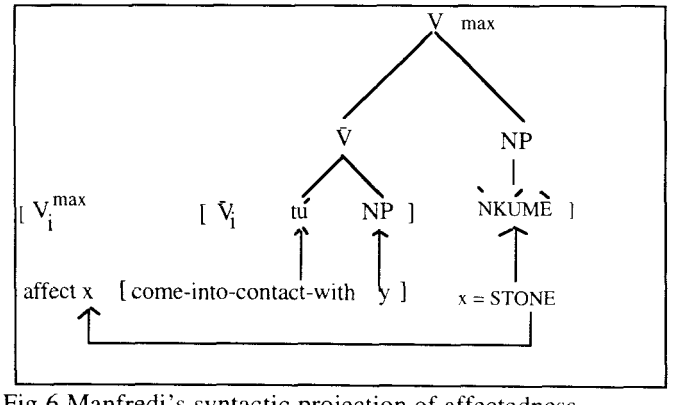


Fig 6 Manfredi's syntactic projection of affectedness

In Manfredi's analysis of ICVs occurring in three-place constructions, therefore, the IC is always the affected entity and nothing is made of the Location

argument preceding it.[23] I will now show that to the extent that our analyses differ, mine accounts for some interpretations which Manfredi's does not handle.

By taking note of the syntactic realisation of the IC in my analyses I can predict that constructions containing verbs with cognate semantics could have different interpretations in different languages because the IC occurs in different syntactic positions. This is borne out by comparing the construction in Ewe to that of Akan which Osam (1996) argues is a primary object language. The examples below are from Osam:

62 a. **Kofí ma-a abofrá nó akokɔ́** (Akan from Osam 1996,ex 23a)
Kofi give-COMPL child DEF chicken
'Kofi gave the child a chicken.'

b. ***Kofí ma-a akokɔ́ abofrá nó** (Akan from Osam 1996,ex 24a)
Kofi give-COPL chicken child DEF
'Kofi gave a chicken to the boy.'

As can be seen here, unlike the case of Ewe, the Theme object cannot occur in immediate postverbal position in Akan, a position which Osam argues is the direct object position in this language as well.

Akan also has ditransitives that can be referred to as ICV ditransitive constructions. Osam refers to them as ditransitives that have "developed into discontinuous verbs". Examples are **ka...yaw** 'tease', **bɔ...nsawa** 'donate', **bɔ...bosa** 'give a loan', **bɔ...dua** 'curse' and **yi...ayɛ** 'praise'. As can be seen from these examples, one can talk of affectedness of the Location argument in one way or the other. Interestingly, Akan and Ewe have ICV constructions that contain words with cognate semantics. Yet, the interpretations that they give rise to are not necessarily the same. This is illustrated below:

63 a. **Kofí to-o bóɔ́** (Akan)
Kofi ICV-COMPL stone
'Kofi threw a stone.'

b. **Kofí da kpé** (Ewe)
Kofi ICV stone
'Kofi threw a stone.'

[23]Baker (1997) has also argued that while, for instance, the locative alternation construction demonstrates a clear instance of an affected entity being linked to direct object position, the same cannot be said for the ditransitive.

64 a. **Kofí to-o Kwáme bóɔ́** (Akan)
Kofi ICV-COMPL Kwame stone
'Kofi's bad prediction about Kwame has come to pass' or
'Kofi threw a stone at Kwame .'

b. **Kofí da kpé Komi**
Kofi ICV stone Komi
'Kofi threw a stone at Komi.'

In (63a, b), **to** and **da** are ICVs that indicate caused movement without specification of the direction of movement. As I discussed in Section 5.4, when a second object is added to the **da** construction yielding a three-place construction, the second object becomes the end point of the caused movement of the stone. I stated there that the Location argument does not need to be hit by the stone. In Akan, on the other hand, where the Location argument becomes the primary object, the sentence takes on a figurative interpretation in which the argument is necessarily affected.[24] This difference in interpretation can only be accounted for in an analysis that attributes affectedness to the direct or primary object.

The Akan data, compared to the Ewe data show that the syntactic position in which a constituent occurs does affect its interpretation. The Location argument does not receive any special interpretation in Ewe because it occurs in second object position. In Akan, on the other hand, it is a primary object and hence, receives an extended interpretation. As I have already stated, saying that a Location argument is affected does not mean that the Theme is not.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that sentences which contain three core arguments in Ewe also constitute a construction which I have referred to as the three-place construction. I have argued that the semantics of this construction is 'caused transfer'. As such, it differs from the ditransitive construction in languages like English whose semantics, Goldberg states, encodes successful transfer. The syntactic expression of the caused transfer sense implies that it is rather the Theme that is the direct object. Ewe is therefore not a primary object language. The fact that the object positions of canonical three-place verbs can be reversed with consequent semantic differences goes to support the linking principles of Gropen et al. (1991) that affected arguments are linked to direct

[24]Joscelyn Essegbey (personal communication) says that some Akan speakers use this construction in the same way as Ewe speakers, i.e. even when the stone does not hit a person. The interesting thing here though, is the fact that not all speaker use it thus and, also, that the Ewe construction does not have the kind of extended meaning in which the goal argument is taken to be affected.

object position (we should add primary object position if the language is a primary object language). It also supports Bresnan and Moshi's (1993) claim that Recipients are universally chosen over Themes for direct object. Yet, while this applies to Ewe as well, I have claimed that the resultant structure is not a basic three-place construction.

THE SEMANTICS OF SOME OBLIGATORY COMPLEMENT VERBS

CHAPTER 6

> If a lexical decomposition analysis exists for [ICVs] at all, then Nwachukwu's claim of IC nonargumenthood is untenable, because it has no phenomenon to analyse (Manfredi 1991:152)

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 4, I showed that inherent complement verbs do not have a different distribution from normal transitive verbs. Instead, verbs which obligatorily take complements in Ewe can be divided into two classes, namely those which have a causal semantic specification and those which do not. On a more fine-grained level, one could talk of some verbs taking generic complements while others take cognate complements and yet others take inherent complements. However, these distinctions are not clear cut and certainly do not reflect the distributional properties of verbs in Ewe. It therefore makes sense to talk instead, of a cline of obligatory complement verbs (OCVs). At one end of the cline are verbs with specific meaning which can occur with generic complements. At the other end are verbs with underspecified meanings whose meanings are further specified by their complements; these are the traditional inherent complement verbs (ICVs). In the middle of the cline are verbs which take cognate complements.

In this chapter, I attempt a decompositional analysis of some OCVs, with special emphasis on the ones which have under-specified meaning, namely the ICVs. I do not account for the semantics of all ICVs because it is not possible to identify this class as distinct from others. Further, I do not provide all the possible interpretations that the verbs which I describe here can take in context. Instead I demonstrate how apparent differences in the meanings of verbs, including ICVs, derive from a combination of the invariant semantics of verbs, the semantics of the NPs functioning as their arguments and the semantics of the constructions in which they occur. Particularly, I show how the meanings of inherent complements (ICs) often get attributed to ICVs in definitions thereby giving the impression that the latter possess much more semantic content than they actually do (e.g. the glossing of ***fú* du** as 'run race' discussed in Chapter 1). Paradoxically, this has also led to the claim that the verbs themselves are meaningless.

I begin with a review of my assumptions concerning semantics which I presented in Chapter 1. As I stated, I adopt the monosemy principle of Ruhl (1989). This is repeated below (1989:4):

> First Hypothesis: A word has a single meaning
> Second Hypothesis: If a word has more than one meaning, its meanings are related by general rules.

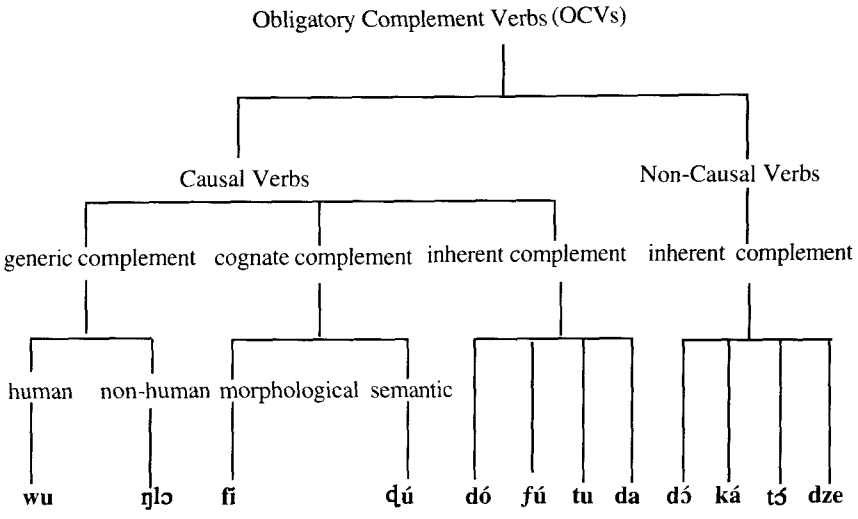
Following Wilkins and Hill (1995), I adopt two levels of semantic representation, i.e. semantics 1 and semantics 2. Semantics 1 deals with stored communicable information associated with each lexical item. It is on this level that the meaning of words are invariant. Semantics 2, on the other hand, deals with on-line interpretations. Several factors come into play in order to derive on-line interpretations at Semantics 2. Among these are the semantic representations from Semantics 1: namely, the semantics of the verb, the semantics of the NPs functioning as its arguments, the semantics of the construction in which they occur, and the resulting semantics from compositional rules. These serve as input to a set of principles which guide specific interpretation in context. Such principles are referred to by Levinson (1995, 1999) as generalized conversational implicatures (GCIs). Other factors are language specific usage conventions which dictate specific interpretations for some combinations in particular contexts. Although the discussion in this chapter focusses on the semantics of lexical items as well as their constructions (i.e. the description at the level of semantics 1), the relevance of the other factors to sentence interpretation is so crucial that I will be drawing attention to them in the course of the discussion. For instance, I will assume that default interpretations are due to general principles according to which unmarked interpretations are assigned in unmarked contexts. Levinson (1999) proposes that one heuristic on the level of GCIs is that what is simply described is stereotypically exemplified. I will assume that such stereotypical interpretations do not constitute meanings of the verbs, but rather interpretations of utterance types. Finally, as a consequence of the monosemy principle, I do not assume that concrete entities have primacy over non-concrete entities. Thus, if I characterise a verb as a verb of movement, I will not necessarily assume that its occurrence with non-concrete entities is an extended use. Instead, the nature of the arguments determines at semantics 2 whether the movement is concrete or otherwise.

As stated in Chapter 1, I adopt a semantic decomposition analysis of the verbs: their invariant semantics are characterised with loose paraphrases which are designed according to some metaprinciples in order to facilitate their comparability. For instance, I refer to participants which occur in the verb's semantic representation as "(some)one" when they are human, "(some)thing" when they are non-human, and "entity" when they could be either. "Entity" is

also used to refer to events which occur as arguments. In order to distinguish those participants which get licensed by the verb in the argument structure construction, I adopt the convention of bracketed (X, Y, Z). Following Ravin (1995), I use the term "autonomous" to represent states of affairs in which a participant has some degree of control. One major diagnostic that I use to distinguish between related senses of the verbs is the number and/or type of participants which they license. Thus a verb will be said to be polysemous if one sense licenses participants (X, Y and Z) and the other licenses participants (X, Y1, Y2).

In this chapter, I discuss the translations that Westermann (1928, 1954) provides for some of the verbs in Ewe. These are mainly English and German translation equivalents of contextual uses of the verbs. As a result, they tend to be very specific. I will contrast these equivalents with general characterisations of the verbs outside specific semantic or discourse contexts. The aim is not to play down the importance of Westermann's dictionaries. Instead, it is to introduce a semantic analysis that will eventually enrich lexicographic work on Ewe. Also included in the chapter are elicited data and sentences from the novel *Agbezuge* and and the play *Tɔkɔ Atɔ́liá*.

The chapter is divided into two main sections: Section 6.1 discusses verbs which have a causal semantics. This section is subdivided into three subsections comprising those verbs which take generic complements, those which take cognate complements, and those whose obligatory complement is neither of the two. Section 6.2 is also divided into two subsections. In Section 6.2.1, I discuss a one-place verb which can occur in both causal and non-causal two-place constructions. In Section 6.1.2, I discuss ICVs which do not possess causal semantics. Following Zavala (1998) I refer to these verbs as Theme/Location verbs. The verbs to be discussed are provided below:



Section 6.3 concludes the chapter with a summary of the main points.

6.1 VERBS WITH CAUSAL SEMANTICS

In this section, I discuss a cross-section of verbs with a causal meaning, starting from those which take the generic complements **ame** 'person' or **nú** 'thing' through those which take cognate objects and ending with verbs which take a different kind of complement. The latter constitute what has traditionally been referred to as ICVs. In essence, I will be following the specificity cline which I presented in Chapter 1. This is reproduced below:

	More Specific					
VERB	<----------					
MEANING	*ɖu* >	*wu* >	*ɖɔ́* >	*fi* >	*tú* >	*da*
	eat	kill	"urinate"	"steal"	"spit"	"cause move"
OBJECT	*nú* <	*ame* <	*aɖuɖɔ́*	< *fi*	< *tá*	< *dɔ*
MEANING	thing	person	urine	theft	spittle	illness
	---------->					
						More Specific

FIG. 1 Specificity clines

As I stated in Chapter 1, verbs with more specific meaning occur with complements which have more general meaning on the left of the cline, while verbs with less specific meaning occur with complements which have more specific meaning on the right. I argue that those verbs which take either of the two generic complements on the left have selectional restrictions which are satisfied by the complements. This is not the case with traditional ICVs, however.

6.1.1 GENERIC COMPLEMENT VERBS

In this subsection, I discuss two verbs **wu** and **ŋlɔ**. The first verb has two separate entries in Westermann (1928:285) one of which has the glosses 'to pluck, pull, cut' and the other, 'to kill, murder, butcher'. I will argue that these glosses are too specific and that the verb has a more general meaning.

6.1.1.1 **wu**

The semantic characterisation for **wu** which covers Westermann's two entries is:

> An entity (X) causes an entity (Y) which is a living entity to no longer have the properties of a living entity.

This characterisation means that the verb expresses a caused change of state. The exact manner in which the change is caused is not part of the semantics of the verb. Thus, Westermann's glosses like 'butcher' and 'cut' are too specific. They only represent some of the means by which the state of affairs is effected. Because **wu** has a causal semantics, it is not able to occur in a one-place construction. Instead, it occurs in the causal two-place construction where two participants are obligatorily expressed. Since both participants (X and Y) are characterised as entities, they could be human, non-human or even events. The selectional restrictions determine which entities are appropriate participants. Consider the sentence below:

1. **Kofí wu ame**
   Kofi kill person
   'Kofi killed someone.'

Sentence (1) has **ame** 'person' as a generic complement. It does not, however, take **nú** 'thing' as its generic complement. This should not be surprising since the semantic characterisation of the verb restricts the entities undergoing a change to living ones. While **ame** possesses this property, **nú** does not. Yet, other complements which **wu** occurs with could only be considered to be generic. Consider the next sentence:

2. **Kofí wu lã**
Kofi kill animal
'Kofi killed an animal.'

Instead of a human entity undergoing a change of state here, we have **lã** 'animal'. One could say that this complement is also generic because it is the superordinate term for all animals (including fish). This means that **wu** does not take only **ame** 'person' as its generic complement. It will become clearer as we go along that once we widen the class of generic arguments to include superordinate entities like **lã** 'animal', the difference between verbs like **wu**, on the one hand, and ICVs, on the other, becomes even more blurred.

There seem to be significant differences between **wu** and 'kill' in English. For instance, Wierzbicka (1980:159-168) argues that the semantic representation of 'kill' in English needs to include reference to unity of time and place. This is not necessarily the case with **wu**. To find out from consultants what they considered to be the manner of carrying out such an event, I asked them about sentence (1). Contrary to the situation in English where Kofi would need to be at the same place as the person killed and bring something into contact with the affected entity, this was not the first interpretation offered by any of my consultants. Rather, the one given is that Kofi cast a spell on the person thus causing him or her to die. This means that it is neither necessary for Kofi to be seen near the person nor for an incriminating piece of evidence to be found near him or her. Of course, this interpretation is a default one which is determined by the nature of the causal entity and the one undergoing a change of state (i.e. undergoer). Thus a participant like **lã** 'animal' in sentence (2) would call for a different interpretation. However, what my consultants' responses suggest is that **wu** simply expresses the responsibility of one entity for the loss of the life of another.

I stated in Chapter 1 that complements specify the meaning not only of traditional ICVs but also of semantically heavy verbs. Let us consider how this applies in the case of **wu**. Under his first entry for this verb, Westermann has the expression **wu ɔlo** 'mushroom' which he translates as 'to gather mushroom' (1928) and "pilze pflücken" 'to pluck mushroom' (1954). These glosses presuppose that **wu** also means 'to gather' or 'to pluck'. I claim that this is not the case. Rather, the glosses are specific interpretations that are brought about by the nature of the undergoer. Recall the characterisation of the verb which states roughly that an entity causes a living entity to lose the properties of a living entity. We saw above that when the entities involved in the state of affairs are both human, the default interpretation is that one used a spell to cause the other to lose this property. This default intepretation changes once we replace the human causal entity with something like a vehicle. This is because vehicles do not have the ability to cast spells. Also, we get a different default

interpretation when causal entity is human and the undergoer is an animal. The reason is that humans, by default, slaughter animals, and not kill them with a spell. Coming back to mushrooms, these are also living entities and the usual way in which they are caused to lose this property is by being gathered for food. That is not to say, however, that **wu** also means 'to gather' or 'to pluck'. To begin with, **wu ɔlo** also describes a situation in which someone crushes the mushroom under his or her boots. Moreover, as pointed out to me by a consultant, **wu** would also be used to describe a situation in which someone neglects to water a plant and, thereby, causes the death of the plant. Westermann's glosses are, therefore, examples of a situation where the semantics of the NPs that function as a verb's arguments affect its interpretation. The important thing to note is that these are default interpretations that are assigned to the verbs in what one would characterise as unmarked contexts. They therefore belong to semantic 2. When I discuss the semantics of ICVs below, I will argue that it is the same process that is taking place there. The difference in that case is that the semantics of the verbs are less specific and, therefore, their complements are always seen to specify their meaning.

Since **wu** by itself does not place any restriction on the manner in which a change is caused, it can take all sorts of subject arguments. As such, inanimate entities can also figure as the causing entities. The example below illustrates this:

3. **Aḍi-a** **wu** **afi-a**
   Poison-DEF kill mouse-DEF
   'The poison killed the mouse.'

I follow DeLancey (1990) in not analysing such entities as instruments. This is because there is no indication in this sentence that somebody caused the death of the mouse with the help of the poison. (3) could also represent a situation in which the mouse accidentally comes into contact with the poison and dies. What this shows then is that even though most of Westermann's glosses lead one to suppose that the state of affairs expressed by **wu** 'kill' is intentional, this is not necessarily the case.

To conclude, **wu** 'kill' encodes as a subpart of its meaning an element which I refer to as Cause, i.e. bringing about a change in the state of an entity. As a result it cannot occur without an obligatory complement. One of its obligatory complements is the generic complement **ame** 'person' because the latter satisfies its selectional restriction, i.e., the entity that undergoes the change must be living. Specific complements give rise to inferences about specific ways in which particular entities are made to undergo the change of state expressed by the verb. Some of the possible contextual interpretations of **wu** 'kill' are provided below:

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	X- Participant	Y- Participant	
Cause a living entity to no longer have the property	Human	Human	Kill (by casting a spell)
"	Human	Chicken	Slaughter
"	Vehicle	Chicken	Run over
"	Human	Mushroom	Gather/ squash

Table 1. From the invariant meaning of **wu** 'kill' to its contextual interpretation

The invariant meaning of the verb and the NPs that function as its arguments are represented under semantics 1. Depending on the type of NPs that functions as arguments of the verb, different glosses are provided which suggest different ways in which particular living entities are caused to lose this property. The beliefs of the Ewe play a role in the inference from a person killing the other, that it is done with a spell. It should be noted, however, that the above glosses represent default interpretations which can be defeated. Thus, in the first case, one can talk of a person killing another by shooting him/her.

6.1.1.2 **ŋlɔ**

In this section I discuss the verb **ŋlɔ** 'weed, write' which has two polysemous meanings and which takes **nú** 'thing' as its generic complement. I argue that this is because of the selectional restrictions of the verb. The semantic characterization of the first sense of **ŋlɔ** is provided below:

> Someone (X1) uses a sharp ended thing (X2) to make contact with a herbaceous thing (Y1) which grows, and causes (Y1) or part of (Y1) to be removed from a location (Y2).

ŋlɔ 'weed' is a causal verb because it involves the removal of an entity or part of it from a place. As such, this verb can also not occur in the one-place construction. The interesting thing about the 'weed' characterisation of **ŋlɔ** is that it has two participants represented with (X) and two with (Y). The co-identification of (X) is meant to suggest that both participants (i.e. X1 and X2) are heads of a causal chain but that only one of them can be linked to an argument (i.e Causer argument) in the argument structure construction. The causal role that each of the participants plays is different, however, and the choice of a human causal entity leads to a metonymic inference that there is a sharp-ended tool. In this sense, **ŋlɔ** 'weed' is different from **wu** 'kill' discussed above where taking an animate causal argument does not necessarily invite such an inference.

The co-identification of (Y) is also meant to suggest that both participants head an affectedness chain. (Y1) is affected by being removed while (Y2) is affected by being deprived of (Y1). The verb is represented with its obligatory generic complement below:

4. **Kofí ŋlɔ nú/*ame**
Kofi weed thing/person
'Kofi weeded.'

The complement in (4) only refers to the (Y1) participant. This is because while **nú** 'thing' can refer to weeds, herbs, etc., it cannot refer to places.

The semantic characterisation of **ŋlɔ** 'weed' provided above means that instead of the verb taking as its sole complement the thing that is removed, it can also occur with the place from which something is removed. When that happens there is a metonymic inference that a herbaceous thing was removed from there. This is represented below:

5. **Kofí ŋlɔ a*fé*-á me**
Kofi weed house-DEF in
'Kofi weeded the house.'

(5) therefore means simply that Kofi weeded a herbaceous thing growing within the region of the house.

As indicated above, there is another sense of **ŋlɔ** which is related to the one above but which is not exactly the same. This also involves bringing a sharp ended object into contact with an entity but instead of the entity being removed, something is created. I characterise it as:

> An entity (X1) brings a sharp ended object (X2) into contact with a surface and thereby produces letters (Y) on the surface.

This sense represents the creation which comes about as a result of the sharp object coming into contact with a surface. It therefore differs from the former in not expressing the destruction of an entity. It also differs in that only three participants have the capability of being expressed in the syntax as licensed arguments. The generic complement that the verb takes refers to the unspecified letter(s) which is/are created during the process of writing. It can therefore be replaced with a more specified letter, as the senteces below illustrate:

6 a. **Kofí ŋlɔ nú**
Kofi write thing
'Kofi wrote.'

b. **Kofí ŋlɔ "a"**
Kofi write
'Kofi wrote "a".'

Sentences (6a, b) suggest that the two senses which are glossed as 'weed' and 'write' are not exactly the same. This is all the more so since sentences (4) and (6a) show that **ŋlɔ nú**, with a generic complement, is ambiguous between destroying weeds and creating letters. The two verbs are related, however, because they both involve bringing a sharp-ended tool into contact with something to bring about a change. Also, it is the same verb which expresses the process of carving out letters in a tree (cf. Westermann 1928). In that situation, the letters are carved using a sharp object to remove parts of the tree.

6.1.1.3 SUMMARY

In this subsection, I have discussed the semantics of the verb **wu** 'kill' and **ŋlɔ** 'weed, write'. I have shown that **wu** 'kill' has a single meaning and can take the generic complements **ame** 'person' and **lā** 'animal', and that the nature of the NPs that function as its arguments can further specify its meaning. The specific interpretation that results, I have argued, belongs to a different semantic level (i.e. semantics 2) and should be distinguished from the invariant meaning which belongs to semantics 1. With respect to **ŋlɔ**, I have argued that it has two different but related meanings and that its generic complement is **nú** 'thing'. I have argued that the verbs are able to take these particular generic complements because the latter satisfy their selectional restrictions. Finally, I have claimed that the two verbs take obligatory complements because of their causal meaning. In the next subsection, I discuss two verbs which take cognate objects.

6.1.2 VERBS WITH COGNATE OBJECTS

In this subsection, I discuss verbs which can also be said to be semantically specific and yet, take neither **ame** 'person' nor **nú** 'thing' as their obligatory complement. Instead, they take cognate complements. The two verbs are **fi** 'steal' and **ɖú** 'dance'. I argue that the reason why these verbs do not take either **ame** 'person' or **nú** 'thing' as their obligatory complement is simply that the complements do not generalise at the correct level.

6.1.2.1 **fi**

For the semantics of this verb, I adapt a part of Webster's definition for 'steal' which best characterises it. This is provided below:

> Someone (X) autonomously takes an entity (Y) which does not belong to (X), without permission.

As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, I use the word "autonomous" to indicate that a participant (in this case X) has some degree of control over a state of affairs. It therefore constitutes a subpart of my notion of Cause. Let us now consider why the verb does not take **ame** 'person' or **nú** 'thing' as its generic complement.

It can be seen from the semantic characterisation of **fi** 'steal' that there is no restriction on the nature of the thing that is taken, except that it should not belong to (X). This means that it allows for a wide range of entities including humans (i.e. kidnapping people or snatching spouses) and non-humans alike. As such, neither **ame** 'person' nor **nú** 'thing' serves as a proper superordinate term for this entity. This is not to say that the verb cannot occur with either of them. However, when it does occur with them, it usually refers to a particular thing that is stolen and, more often than not, the nominal takes a determiner, as illustrated below:

7. **Kofí fi nú-á**
   Kofi steal thing-DEF
   'Kofi stole the thing.'

Even when **nú** 'thing' occurs as a complement of **fi** 'steal' without the determiner, it refers to an entity in the discourse. Note that this is unlike its occurrence with **ŋlɔ** 'weed, write' where **nú** can refer to a non-specified thing. The way to refer to a stealing activity in which the stolen item is not necessarily referential is, as discussed in Chapter 1, with a morphological cognate complement. The sentence is repeated below:

8. **Kofí fi fi**
   Kofi steal steal
   'Kofi stole.'

Avolonto (1995:4) argues that for cognate object constructions, it is the complement that supplies the meaning of the sequence. He writes:

> C'est le sens de l'élément nominal – qui se trouve être ici le 'cognate object' – qui s'incorpore dans le verbe tout en laissant une copie afin de préserver la sequence [verbe-nom]
> It is the meaning of the nominal element which, in this case, is the cognate object, which is incorporated into the verb and a copy is left behind in order to preserve the verb-noun sequence. [JAE]

Avolonto makes this claim with reference to the verb **kpé èkpé** 'cough a cough' in Fon. **Fi fi** 'steal a "steal"' shows that the claim cannot be extended to all cognate verbs. This is because, as I indicated in Chapter 1, one does not express

the cognate complement when one wants to represent a specific entity that is stolen. Instead, it is replaced with the thing that is stolen. This is represented below:

9 a. **Kofí fi awu**
Kofi steal garment
'Kofi stole a garment.'

b. ***Kofí fi fi awu**
Kofi steal steal garment
'Kofi stole a garment.'

(9b) shows that the cognate object does not co-occur with the thing that is stolen. Moreover, the latter (in this case, **awu** 'garment') is not a hyponym of **fi**. This is therefore not a case of a complement incorporating into the verb and leaving behind part of its form in order to allow for modification or anything of the sort (e.g. 'smile a crooked smile').[1] Instead, (9) shows that an analysis which attributes the semantics of cognate object verbs primarily to the verb allows for a more uniform account of verbal semantics in Ewe.

We can now explain why **fi** has to take a complement: it refers to a state of affairs in which the protagonist has some degree of control. In my analysis, this means that it has a causal meaning. Next, its generic complement is neither **ame** 'person' nor **nú** 'thing' because these do not form proper cover (i.e. superordinate) terms for things that can be stolen. This is because due to the lack of restriction on the verb's undergoer, it occurs with all kinds of complements, both concrete and non-concrete. The example below which is a serial verb construction has **dɔ** 'work' as the shared object of **fi** 'steal' and **wɔ** 'do'.

10. **Kofí fi dɔ-a wɔ**
Kofi steal work-DEF do
'Kofi did the work without permission.'

Although this sentence does not mean Kofi literally took the work the way he would take a stolen object, what he did was without proper authorisation.

To conclude, **fi** takes an obligatory complement because it involves an autonomous state of affairs and is therefore causal. Its obligatory complement is neither **nu** 'thing' nor **ame** 'person' because neither covers the whole category

[1]In Chapter 4, I mentioned Ameka's (1998) discussion of some one-place verbs which also occur in the non-causal two-place construction. While one of these verbs **kú** 'die' can also take a cognate object, the object has to be modified, thus **kú *(anyra) kú** 'die a death of pretence'.

of things that can be stolen. Despite this fact, the verb itself can be said to be semantically specific.

6.1.2.2 **ɖú**

My semantic characterisation of **ɖú** is provided below:

> Someone (X) autonomously moves his or her body in a rhythmic structured pattern[2]

As with **fi** 'steal' discussed above, the presence of "autonomous" in the semantic characterisation of **ɖú** is an indication that the person engaged in the state of affairs is capable of controlling it and therefore construed as causing it. The verb therefore has to occur with a complement. The characterisation shows that the verb itself is meaningful so its obligatory complement is not going to determine its meaning in the sense of ICVs. Instead, the complement will simply express a movement which has a "rhythmic structured pattern". It is therefore an event and, as such, it cannot be represented by the generic complements **ame** 'person' or **nú** 'thing'. Instead, it is represented by **ɣe** 'dance', the only superordinate form for the rhythmic structured patterns. I refer to it as a semantic cognate because it belongs to the type of complements which "are understood as semantically connected to the meaning of the verb" (cf. Austin 1982). This complement can be replaced with non-generic complements which are hyponyms of **ɣe** 'dance' because they represent specific types of dances. The examples discussed in Chapter 1 are repeated below:

11a. **Kofí** **ɖú** **ɣe**
Kofi dance dance
'Kofi danced'

b. **Kofí** **ɖú** **(*ɣe)** **agbadzá**
Kofi dance dance agbadza
'Kofi danced agbadza (a traditional dance of the southern Ewe people)'.

To conclude, **ɖú** is fully meaningful but it occurs with a complement because it represents an autonomous state of affairs. It does not take the generic complements **ame** 'person' or **nu** 'thing' because they do not satisfy its selectional restrictions. Instead, it requires a type of event as its complement and this is expressed by **ɣe** 'dance'.

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[2]Contexts play a great role in determining which rhythmic structured pattern is **ɣe** 'dance'. Thus what may be a dance in one context may simply be a movement in another and what may be work at one time may be dance at another.

6.1.3 VERBS WHICH ALWAYS TAKE MEANING-SPECIFYING COMPLEMENTS

In this section, I discuss four verbs which neither take the two generic complements (i.e. **ame** 'person' and **nú** 'thing') nor cognate objects. These are the verbs which, in combination with different complements, seem to give rise to different and apparently unrelated meanings. They therefore belong to the class of verbs which have been traditionally considered to be ICVs. I argue that, for the most part, these verbs possess invariant semantics but that the meaning is under-determined and so it is always further specified by their complements. This is different from saying that the verbs do not have any meaning and that their complements are the sole determinants of their meaning. It is also different from saying that whenever the verbs occur with a different complement, they mean something different. Rather, the interpretations which are given the verbs in particular contexts are predictable from their invariant meanings in combination with that of their complements and their constructions. What the complements do in this case is specify the rather under-determined meaning of the verbs. However, as I illustrated with **wu** 'kill' in Section 6.1.1.1, the specification of meaning by a complement is not solely a property of verbs with under-determined meanings, it applies to those whose meanings are supposed to be specific as well. So this property does not set ICVs apart from other verbs. There are instances where the verbs do indeed have separate senses. However, I will argue that many of such instances, like **ŋlɔ** 'weed, write', involve polysemy and not homonymy. In a few number cases, the meanings are indeed unrelated and we have a case of homonymy.

6.1.3.1 **dó**

The first verb which I discuss in this section is **dó**. This verb has two polysemous meanings. I characterise the first as:

> Someone (X) causes a something (Y) to be placed in a typical location in a characteristic manner so that (Y) can serve its characteristic function.

The causal function of the participant (X) in this case is to locate the participant (Y) which has a characteristic function. The location is implicit in the semantics of the complement but it can also be overtly expressed with the allative preposition **ɖé** 'towards'. Among the items which **dó** takes as its complements are garments, food, plants, needles, fishing rods and what I refer to as "communication entities". I consider each of these in turn.

A semantic characterisation of each of the above-mentioned entities will independently have to specify that they possess a characteristic function that is carried out in typical locations. As an example, let us consider **awu** 'garment' which is typically placed on the body for adornment or for warmth. As part of

her semantic characterisation of 'jumper', a type of garment, Wierzbicka (1985:350) writes:

> A kind of thing that is made by people for people to wear [...] they are made to be worn on the upper half of the body, below the head when it is cold to be warm.

This semantic characterisation contains the fact that the garment is fitted at a particular location and that it serves a particular purpose. Sentences (12a, b) below show **dó** occurring with the generic word for garments and a particular type of garment respectively:

12a.. **Kofí dó awu**
Kofi ICV garment
'Kofi dressed.'

b. **Kofí dó jumper**
Kofi ICV jumper
'Kofi put on a jumper.'

Awu 'garment' in (12a) is generic in the sense that it refers to all types of clothing. It contrasts with **nú** 'thing', however, in being more specific; it excludes non-clothing things. I have translated the sentence in which it occurs as 'Kofi dressed' because the complement does not necessarily represent a referential entity in this case. However, the sentence can also be translated as 'Kofi put on a garment'. To the extent that we are prepared to consider superordinate items like **awu** as generic, we can claim that ICVs also take generic complements. (12b) shows that the generic complement can be replaced with a more specific item of clothing. Using Wierzbicka's definition of 'jumper', we can paraphrase (12b) as: 'Kofi causes "a thing that is made for people to wear" to be worn (i.e. characteristic manner of "placing" a jumper) "on the upper half of the body, below the head" so that it can "[keep that part of the body] warm"'.

I now consider further evidence of the under-determined semantics of **dó**. Although the default interpretation of the above sentences is that Kofi puts the clothing on himself, they also represent situations in which he allows someone to dress him in them. In that situation, he is more of an enabler of the state of affairs. Further, if a dative prepositional phrase is added to the above sentence, the interpretation is that Kofi put the garment on the object of the preposition. This is illustrated below:

13. **Kofí dó awu ná Amí**
Kofi ICV garment to/for Ami
'Kofi dressed Ami.'

If we wanted to capture all these variations in the **dó** + clothing sequences, we would end up with several predictable polysemes, (1) in which a person dresses himself or herself, (2) in which the person allows himself or herself to be dressed and, finally, (3) in which the person dresses someone else. I argue, instead, that **dó awu** is indeterminate as to the one on whose body the clothing ends up. The dative preposition then strongly favours the reading on which it goes on the body of the NP that functions as the Goal argument. Without this phrase, the preferred interpretation will be one of a reflexive action. I claim further that the verb is indeterminate as to whether the NP that functions as the subject argument actually carries out the state of affairs or merely enables it to happen. Thus (12a) is vague, not ambiguous, as to whether Kofi did the dressing himself or allowed it to be done to him.

Garments are not the only items of clothing which occur with **dó**. Footwear (**afɔkpa**) and jewelry like earrings (**tóge**) and rings (**asíge**) can also occur with the verb. Some specific manners of dressing are, however, represented by different verbs. For example, two types of dressing that involve wrapping cloth around the body are described by the verbs **ta** and **gbá**, as (14a) and (14b) illustrate respectively:

14a. **Nyɔ́nu-a ta avɔ**
woman-DEF put-on cloth
'The woman wrapped cloth around her.'

b. **ŋútsu-a gbá avɔ**
man-DEF cover cloth
'The man covered himself with cloth.'

(14a) refers to a manner of dressing among most West African women where a piece of cloth is wrapped around the lower part of the body. (14b) also represents a manner of dressing among men in the southern part of Ghana which involves wrapping a big cloth around the whole body below the neck. It also represents the situation where a person covers himself or herself in bed. However, the senses of **dó**, on the one hand, and **ta/gbá**, on the other, do not exclude each other. This is because one can ask a question about the dress someone wore, using **dó awu**, and receive a reply with **ta** or **gbá**. I therefore take **dó awu** to be the more general expression for dressing.

The next type of thing which **dó** occurs with is **abui** 'needle (of syringe)'. Although often glossed as 'needle', **abui** is also the word used to refer to syringes which are used for injections. I therefore gloss it here as 'syringe':

15. **Kofí dó abui.**
Kofi ICV syringe
'Kofi gave/received an injection.'

As with **dó awu** discussed above, this sentence could mean either that Kofi injected himself or that he received an injection. Furthermore, when the dative prepositional phrase is added, the interpretation is that he has injected someone. The function of the needle in putting medicine into a person is crucial here so the sentence will not describe a situation where a needle is simply stuck into a person.

When I discussed the combination of **dó** with garments above, I stated that it is the nature of the garment which determines where it is placed. This is not the case with **abui** 'syringe' because injections can be administered on various parts of the body and the nature of the syringe does not allow one to determine this fact. The particular location is, therefore, usually expressed with an allative prepositional phrase, as illustrated below:

16. **Kofí dó abui ɖé mefínu ná Amí**
Kofi ICV needle ALL buttocks for Ami
'Kofi injected Ami on the buttocks.'

Adapting a definition given in WEUD for 'syringe', we could paraphrase (16) as: 'Kofi causes "a small device consisting of a glass metal, narrowed at its outlet and fitted [with a needle]" to be pushed gently (i.e. characteristic manner) into Ami's buttocks so that it can let in "drugs"'.[3]

Another entity which co-occurs with **dó** is food, which has the characteristic function of nourishment. This is illustrated below:

17. **Kofí dó núɖuɖu ná Amí**
Kofi ICV food to/for Ami
'Kofi fed Ami.'

Unlike the case with garments and needles, when **dó** occurs with food as its complement, it obligatorily takes the dative prepositional phrase to express the

[3]One question that needs to be answered is why the combination of **dó** and **abui** does not refer to sewing seeing that this is a characteristic function of the needle. My conjecture is that sewing does not merely involve placing a needle in a material but it has to be continually moved through it.

person who is fed. This is because, unless specifically indicated, the expression is not used to represent feeding oneself. The reason, I argue, is due to the existence of the expression **ɖu nú** 'eat' which already represents the situation in which a person puts food inside himself or herself. It is this expression which pre-empts the assignment of the eat or feed oneself meaning to **dó** + food.

Another entity with a characteristic function which occurs with **dó** is ***ʃu*** 'fishing rod'. There are two types of fishing rods used by the Ewe. One is a long pole which has a relatively short line attached to it. The line has hooks attached to it for catching fish. The other is simply a very long line at the end of which is a sinker and some hooks. The first type is simply placed in a body of water while the second type is thrown far into it. In Section 6.1.3.4 below, I discuss the verb used to describe the specific process of throwing the line with a sinker into water. However, the general expression for putting a line in water for the purpose of catching a fish, without reference to the manner in which this is done, is with the use of the verb **dó**. The emphasis in this case is on the function of the line when it is placed in the water.

It is possible for translations to conceal the invariant semantics that a verb possesses when it occurs with different complements. For instance, one possible translation that can be given for the combination of **dó** + ***ʃu*** is 'to fish', as illustrated below:

18. **Kofí dó *ʃu* ɖé amu-a me**
Kofi ICV fishing_rod ALL lagoon-DEF in
'Kofi fished in the lagoon.'

The verb 'to fish' which is used in the free translation here is doubtless due to the semantics of the inherent complement. It therefore belongs to the level of semantics 2 and should not be confused with the invariant meaning of the verb. It could be replaced with the literal translation, 'Kofi cast a fishing line in the lagoon for the purpose of catching a fish'.

As indicated earlier, **dó** can also take plants as its complements. The sentences below illustrate the combination of **dó** + a generic and specific plant respectively:

19a. **Kofí dó atí (ɖé aʃé-á gódo)**
Kofi ICV tree ALL house-DEF behind
'Kofi planted a tree (behind the house).'

b. **Kofí dó né (ɖé agble-a me)**
Kofi ICV coconut ALL farm-DEF in
'Kofi planted coconut in the farm.'

The optional prepositional phrases indicate the location where the plants are put. The characteristic function of these entities in the soil is growth. Thus, the sentences do not represent situations in which poles are stuck in the soil for the purpose of making a fence. Such situations are expressed with the verb **tu** (cf. Section 6.1.3.3).

While the instances I have considered thus far all involve concrete entities, this does not mean that **dó** can only take such entities as complements. I now consider two types of entities which are non-concrete. The first is what I refer to as a "communication entity". It represents situations in which a person communicates verbally with another. The location, in this case, is the interlocutor. An example of a communication entity is **gbe** which Westermann (1928:84) glosses as 'voice, sound, language, news'. When the complement occurs with **dó**, it represents a general, non-specific message of greetings. In the extract from *Agbezuge* provided below, a hyponym of **gbe** occurs in complement position:

20. **Wó-dó "ɖó afé" ná ŋútsu si tsɔ́-m ɖé abɔ-ta lá**
3PL-ICV welcome for man REL take-1SG ALL arm-head TP
'They said welcome to the man who carried me on his shoulder.'

ɖó afé (lit. 'reach home') is an expression used for welcoming people who return to their home after undertaking a journey.

It should be stressed here that the use of **dó** with any communication argument necessarily involves interaction and, therefore, presupposes the presence of an interlocutor. This contrasts with the expression below which simply refers to the process of talking without specifying whether it is done in a communicative context or not:

21. **Kofí fo nu**
Kofi hit mouth
'Kofi spoke.'

This sentence can also describe a situation in which Kofi soliloquizes. (22) below, by contrast, implicates that he spoke to someone:

22. **Kofí dó ʋe-gbe**
Kofi ICV Ewe-language
'Kofi spoke Ewe (to someone).'

Other entities which I refer to as communication entities rather specify the manner in which the person communicates. The two sentences below illustrate this:

23a. **Kofí dó ɣlí**
Kofi ICV shout
'Kofi shouted.'

b. **Kofí dó dali**
Kofi ICV whisper
'Kofi whispered (to someone).'

Dó ɣlí in (23a) can be contrasted with **xlɔ̃**, discussed in Chapter 3, which is an involuntary cry of pain which is not aimed at anybody. The former, on the other hand, is purposeful and usually intended for attracting attention.[4] **Dali** 'whisper' requires the presence of an addressee.

Another type of non-concrete entities which occur as complements of **dó** are referred to here as "psychological entities". Some of them are **dzidzɔ** 'happiness', **dzikú** 'anger' and **tɔtɔ́e** 'confusion'. The sentences below illustrate this:

24a. **Kofí dó dzikú**
Kofi ICV anger
'Kofi is angry.'

b. **Kofí dó dzikú ná Amí**
Kofi ICV anger to/for Ami
'Kofi angered Ami.'

(24a) shows that the expression, without a prepositional phrase, means 'to be angry'. It is when it takes the dative prepositional phrase that it means 'to make someone angry'. Ameka (1990:151) argues that "when the experiencer is encoded as subject, it is conceptualised as an active participant". We could, therefore, say that the use of **dó** with psychological entities is similar to those in which it takes complements like the Ewe equivalent of syringe and garment. The absence of the dative prepositional phrase invites the inference that the participant represented in the subject position causes or allows the state of affairs to happen to him or herself while its presence leads to the interpretation that he or she caused it to happen to the object of the preposition. Sentence (24a) can be contrasted with (25) below, slightly adapted from Ameka (1991):

25. **Dzi kú Kofí**
Heart die Kofi
'Kofi was angry.'

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[4]Strictly speaking, this verb does not require that an addressee be present. Still, unlike **xlɔ̃**, it indicates that the protagonist intends to be heard.

Unlike in (24a), Kofi is conceptualised in (25) as a "passive, non-volitional participant" (Ameka 1991:162).

What I have demonstrated thus far is that such specific glosses as 'to dress', 'inject', 'plant', 'feed', 'fish', 'communicate' and 'make someone angry', all derive from a single and general meaning of the verb **dó** in productive combination with the semantics of the complements it co-occurs with. However, this does not mean that all the interpretations assigned to **dó** derive synchronically from that single meaning. There is a separate, though related, meaning in which **dó** occurs with liquids, flour and grains and indicates measurement. The sense of measuring which is specific is therefore what differentiates the second meaning from the first. I characterise this sense as:

> Someone (X) causes something (Y) which is liquid, flour or grain stuff to go into a typical container where (Y) is measured out.

This meaning of **dó** is related to the one discussed above because they both involve someone causing something to move to a location which is determined by nature of the thing being moved. In the case of the second meaning, this location is a container. However, the nature of the container is only determined by the nature of the moved item. Consider the examples below:

26a. **Kofí dó blí (ɖé olónká me)**
Kofi ICV maize ALL olonka in
'Kofi measured the maize (into the "olonka" [special bowl for measuring grains])'.

b. **Kofí dó blí (olónká ɖeká)**
Kofi ICV maize olonka one
'Kofi measured out (one "olonka" of) maize.'

c. **Kofí dó aha (kɔ́nkɔ ɖeká)**
Kofi ICV drink glass one
'Kofi measured out (one glass of) drink.'

Sentence (26a) shows that while the container does not need to be specified because it is understood from the context, it can be expressed with the allative prepositional phrase. In most cases (as in 24b, c), it is used to indicate the measure of a thing. While some containers (e.g. **olónká**) have the sole function of measuring stuff, others (e.g. **kɔ́nkɔ** 'glass) have primary uses which do not involve measurement. It can be seen that the difference between the meaning of **dó** discussed earlier and the one discussed here is that, in this case, the item that is moved does not have a characteristic function. Instead, it is the location that serves the specific purpose of measuring out.

Some uses of **dó** are extended. I consider a few here and argue that they can be traced to the first invariant meaning. I stated above that **dó** occurs with footwear to mean a person has put it on. Instead of a footwear, **afɔ** 'foot' is used as a complement of **dó** where it metonymically represents footprints. This is illustrated below:

27. **Kofí dó afɔ ná fiafitɔ́-á**
Kofi ICV foot to/for thief-DEF
'Kofi tracked the thief (i.e. followed the footprints).'

A consultant's explanation for this is that it represents a situation in which a person gets up in the morning to find that he or she has been robbed and sets out, placing his or her feet into the footprints left behind by the robber, with the intention of catching up with the latter. We therefore have the situation where the person is perceived to be metaphorically putting his or her feet in the footprints of another for a characteristic purpose (i.e. catching up with the one). In the same way, the complement **aŋɛ** which refers to the fresh blood of a wounded animal can be used to express the situation in which someone tries to track down a wounded animal by following the trail left by drops of blood.

Another extended use which draws on dressing (i.e. **dó afɔgɛ** 'wear a ring', **dó afɔkpa** 'put on a footwear') is **dó afɔgɛ** 'establish a network' as the sentence below illustrates:

28. **Kofí dó afɔ-gɛ**
Kofi ICV foot-chain
'Kofi established a network (lit. Kofi puts a chain around his feet).'

The consultant who explained this to me said it is used to refer to a situation in which someone establishes a network within his or her family or community by visiting each and every member (often expressed with the preposition **na** 'to/for' + an NP representing the one who is visited). It is therefore the connectedness that is established between the protagonist and the members of the network (done by moving on foot from one person to the other) that is visualised in the form of a chain.

The discussion in this section shows that while the combination of **dó** with different complements appears to yield different interpretations, this is not to say that the verb is not meaningful. At the level of semantics 1, the verb possesses only two main different but related meanings. These meanings are under-determined, however, and therefore are specified by the meanings of the NPs that function as arguments of the verb. To conclude, things like garments, syringes, plants, fishing rods, food and messages can occur with one meaning of **dó** where the semantics of the latter enable the interpretation that they are being put in a typical place for a characteristic function. Wierzbicka's (1985)

discussion of the semantics of English 'jumper' which I summarized at the beginning of this section shows that the characterisation of such entities necessarily include their typical locations and characteristic functions. The combination of the invariant semantics and the interpretations that result from it are provided in table 2 below:

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Y Participant	Characteristic function of Y	Typical Location of Y	
Put Y in typical location for characteristic function of Y	garment	adornment, warmth	body	dress
"	jumper	warmth	upper half of body	dress
"	needle (of syringe)	administering medicine	body	inject
"	food	nourishment	stomach	feed
"	fishing rod	catching fish	water body	cast, fish
"	tree	growth	earth	plant
"	message	communication	interlocutor	tell

Table 2. From the invariant semantics of **dó** to its contextual interpretation.

Where the complement refers to liquid stuff like alcohol and fuel, or flour or grains, the measure meaning is the preferred one. Since both meanings involve causing things to move to places, immovable things cannot occur as complements of **dó**.

6.1.3.2 ***fú***

Westermann (1928:63) has two separate entries for this verb; the first is glossed as 'to be dry' while the second has the glosses, 'to strike, knock, throw'. Still under the second entry, he has the following sentences and translations: **éfú así ta nám** 'he struck me (with his hand) on the head' and ***fú* kpé ame** 'to fell a person with a stone'. The latter expression is translated in Westermann (1954) as "mit steinen bewerfen" 'to throw and hit someone with stones'.[5] Westermann also has the following expressions in the second entry, ***fú* du** 'to run'; ***fú* tsi** 'to swim'; ***fú* dzo** 'to warm oneself by the fire' (1928:64). In the

[5]This is actually a default interpretation brought on by the use of the applicative prefix 'be-'. Thus "werfen" 'to throw' itself does not entail hit.

present discussion, I support the existence of two different and unrelated meanings for ***fú***. However, I argue that the ***fú*** in ***fú* dzo** 'to warm oneself by the fire' is different from the one in ***fú* du** 'run' and ***fú* tsi** 'swim' and should, therefore, not be placed in the same entry. I consider each of the forms in turn.

Ameka (1994b) characterises the ***fú*** in ***fú* du / *fú* tsi** as "move continuously at". I think that a more appropriate characterisation is:

> Someone (X) autonomously moves limbs swiftly at a location (Y) in a manner appropriate for (Y).

There are two types of locations where this movement takes place, namely solid ground and water. I first discuss the occurrence of ***fú*** with the solid ground as location before turning to water. I claim that it is this location that is represented by **du** in ***fú* du** 'run'. This claim is not without controversy, however. Westermann glosses it as 'race' or 'course' (see also Ameka 1994a), and there are a few reasons that make it look as though it is the former. One reason is that the complement can be replaced by different types of races. For instance, when I presented consultants with an Attipoe picture in which someone is running in a straight track similar to a hundred metre track, it was described as:

29. **É-le** **hundred** **metres** ***fu-mí***
3SG-PRES 100 metres ICV-PROG
'S/he is running a 100 metre race.'

The second reason is that **du** can occur without the verb ***fú*** and still refer to a race. This is illustrated by the sentence below:

30. **Va** **kpɔ́** **du** **ɖá**
come see race/course at_a_distance
'Come and see running.'

Despite the above considerations, there is one compelling reason why **du** should not be glossed as 'race'. This is because the word does not need to refer to any contest or competition. Instead it can, and most often does, simply refer to a running activity. The most appropriate gloss for it therefore seems to be 'course', which is the route along which movement occurs (WEUD). Terms like 'hundred metres' then refer to the specific types of route along which a person runs. Sentence (29) therefore means literally 'he or she is moving his or her limbs swifly on a hundred-metre course in the manner appropriate for the course'. I propose that sentences like (30) also involve metonymic attribution of an activity to the location where it is performed.

The second type of complement which ***fú*** occurs with provides support for my claim that **du** simply means 'course'. This complement is **tsi** 'water'. Water, in this case, is also treated as a location where a person moves his or her limbs swiftly. Being a generic complement, it can be replaced by more specific types of water. For instance, I stated in Chapter 1 that consultants described an Attipoe picture in which someone swam in the sea as:

31. **É-le** **atsíáfu** ***fú-mí***
3SG-PRES sea ICV-PROG
'He or she is swimming in the sea.'

Atsíáfu 'sea', in this case, is a hyponym of **tsi** 'water. Note that it does not occur as an adverbial phrase after ***fú*** **tsi** (e.g. ****fú tsi atsíáfu***[6] 'swim the sea'). Thus, ***fú*** is not determinate as to the manner in which the limbs are moved. Rather, it is the complements it occurs with which allow for a specific interpretation.

The above discussion has been concerned with sentences in which ***fú*** takes two arguments. The sentences belong to the causal two-place construction because the semantic specification of the verb states that the state of affairs it expresses is autonomous. The participant represented by (X) is therefore linked to the Causer role while the one represented by (Y) is linked to the Location role. I now turn to the discussion of sentences in which ***fú*** occurs with three arguments. It will be recalled that the semantics I gave for this construction in Chapter 5 is "caused transfer". Since the semantics of ***fú*** involves an entity autonomously moving its limbs at a location, the prediction is that when it occurs in the three-place construction, the interpretation will involve an entity being transferred to a location through the swift movement of the limbs. The construction licenses the thing that is transferred to the location (i.e. the Theme). With this in mind, let us reconsider Westermann's sentences which I gave at the beginning of the section and which I repeat below, together with an extra sentence:

32a **É-*fú*** **así** **ta** **ná-m**
3PSG-ICV hand head for-me
'He or she struck me on the head with his or her hands.'

b. ***fú*** **kpé** **ame**
ICV stone person
'To throw and hit someone with a stone.'

[6]It is possible to have **atsíáfu tsi** 'sea water' but that is an appositional noun phrase.

c. **Kofí** ***fú*** **kɔ́** **Komi**
Kofi ICV fist Komi
'Kofi knocked Komi.'

All the sentences inovlve someone using the limbs to move something swiftly into contact with another. We therefore derive specific glosses like 'strike', 'throw', 'hit', and 'knock' from ***fú***'s occurrence with specific complements in a specific construction without having to proliferate its senses. Deriving specific interpretations of ***fú*** expressions in this way also enables us to account for some otherwise puzzling constructions. For instance the sentence below does not imply that Kofi has hit his head against the pot, although it could have that meaning as well:

33. **Kofí** ***fú*** **ta** **ze-a** **ŋú**
Kofi ICV head pot-DEF side
'Kofi carried the pot.'

The usual way that things are carried around in Ghana is by placing them on the head. The use of this sentence to refer to a carrying activity is thus a metonymic shift from the act of bringing one's head into contact with a pot to what results from that act, i.e. carrying the pot.

There are further instances where the interpretation deriving from the use of ***fú*** in a three-place construction would be said to be metonymic. The two sentences below illustrate this:

34a. **Wó-*fú*** **así** **nu** **hé-dé** **así** **avifafa** **me**
3PL-ICV hand mouth CONJ-ICV hand weeping in'
'They raised the alarm (by beating their lips) and started to weep.'

b **Kofí** ***fú*** **nú-á** **gbe**
Kofi ICV thing-DEF bush
'Kofi has thrown/poured the thing away.'

The first sentence describes a typical gesture of raising alarm among the Ewe. This involves beating the lips with the fingers while producing a shrill sound. Here too, there is a metonymic shift from the act of beating one's lips to the resultant sound. The same process applies to (34b). A way to get rid of something is to throw it into the bush. This construction, which describes the activity of causing something to go into the bush, is taken to represent the result, i.e. getting rid of the thing.[7] It is worth noting that all the states of affairs

[7]Actually, the latter expression has become lexicalised, since it is used for situations in which the thing that is thrown away is not necessarily put in the bush. Moreover, as can be seen from sentence (34b), the lexicalisation process has affected the realisation of the

involve using one's limbs to cause something to move to a location. This, I have argued, is a combination of the invariant semantics given at the beginning of the section and the semantics of the three-place construction in which ***fú*** occurs. The difference between (33, 34a, b) and the three-place sentences discussed earlier is that there is a metonymic shift in interpretation of the former from the act of bringing something to a location to the result of that act.

There is an anticausative expression that, in my opinion, derives from (34b). This expression does not include the entity causing something to go into the bush; instead, it is the Theme that occurs in subject position. The anticausative form for (34b) is given below in (35):

35. **Nú-á** ***fú*** **gbe**
Thing-DEF ICV bush
'The thing has poured away.'

Just as with the causative construction, this sentence does not necessarily involve the Theme argument ending up in a bush. In fact the default interpretation is simply that the thing has ended up outside of its container. Although related to the three-place ***fú*** construction, this one has become lexicalised, thereby acquiring its idiosyncracies: it only applies to mass nouns. This is illustrated below:

36. **Tsi-a** / **blí-á** / ***agbalē-a** ***fú*** **gbe**
Water-DEF / maize-DEF / book-DEF ICV bush
'The water / maize /*book has spilled / poured away.'

Blí 'maize' is hereby treated as a mass noun. **Agbalē** 'book', on the other hand, cannot be considered as a mass noun so it does not occur in the construction. I consider the three-place construction to be the basic one from which this anticausative variant is derived because it has a higher frequency of occurrence and, consequently, less restrictions (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1995). The derived construction is similar to the non-causal two-place construction because it has Theme in the subject position and Location in the object position.

I have argued that the ***fú*** in a two-place construction, as in ***fú*** **du** 'run' and ***fú*** **tsi** 'swim', has an invariant meaning which involves autonomously moving the limbs swiftly at a location in a manner appropriate for the location. The complements **du** 'course' and **tsi** 'water' then specify the manner of movement. I have argued further that when the semantics of ***fú*** interacts with that of the three-place construction, it yields states of affairs in which someone uses the

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theme argument. Unlike in regular three-place constructions, the Theme argument here can take a determiner but the goal argument cannot.

limbs to cause something to move swiftly to a location. In a few cases, there is a metonymic shift from the act of transfer to the result. Since the verb only licenses the Causer and Location arguments, the Theme argument is licensed by the construction. I have also identified a two-place construction which, I have claimed, is an anticausative variant of the three-place construction. In this construction, no Causer argument is expressed. Some of the contextual intepretations of ***fú*** discussed thus far are summarised in the tables below:

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Location (Y)	
move limbs swifly in a manner appropriate at (Y)	water	swim
"	course	run

Table 3. Two-place occrrences of ***fú***

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Constructio n	Theme	Location	
move limbs swifly in a manner appropriate at (Y)	caused transfer	stone	person	to throw and hit
"	"	hand	head	strike head
"	"	hand	mouth	strike mouth -> raise alarm
"	"	thing	bush	cast in bush -> throw away

Table 4. Three-place occurrences of ***fú***

The 'raise alarm' and 'throw away' interpretations are fixed by language specific conventions.

I stated at the beginning of this subsection that ***fú*** has two different meanings. I now discuss the one which Westermann glosses as 'to be dry'. With this sense, the verb can either occur as a one-place verb or take a complement. The sentences below illustrate this:

37a. **Mɔ́lu-a** ***fú***
rice-DEF be-dry
'The rice has dried up.'

b. **Mɔ́lu-a** ***fú*** **tsi**
rice-DEF dry water
'The rice has dried of the water.'

(37a) simply refers to a change in the state of the rice. (37b), on the other hand, adds the thing that is absorbed as the rice undergoes a change of state. The sentence is used to describe the process of cooking rice when the water in which it is being boiled dries up. I argue that the ***fú*** in ***fú*** **dzo** 'become warm' derives from the combination of this meaning and that of the arguments. The semantics of the verb is provided below:

Something (X) becomes dry as a result of absorbing something.

The characterisation indicates that the verb does not license the thing that is absorbed. However, when it occurs, it functions as a Location argument which is licensed by the construction. In the case of boiling rice, the rice is located in water until the latter is completely absorbed. In the case of ***fú*** **dzo** 'become warm', the entity engaged in drying is located within the source of the heat and, in the process of getting dry, it also becomes warm. This is illustrated by the sentence below which can be used in a situation where a damp clothing is put in the sun:

38. **Awu-a** **né-*fú*** **ŋdɔ́** **víé**
Garment-DEF SUBJV-dry sun a_little
'Let the garment become dry/warm in the sun for a while.'

This sentence can be paraphrased as: 'let the garment become dry as a result of absorbing the sun's heat'. The natural result of drying something in the sun is the removal, not only of the dampness, but also of the chill from the clothing. The "become warm" sense is therefore derived from the nature of the complement which, in this case, is a generator of heat.

To conclude, I have argued that there are two distinct and unrelated verbs, ***fú***. One involves autonomous movement of the limbs while the other involves the process of drying as a result of absorbing something. I have claimed that depending on the complement that the latter occurs with, one can also get a become warm interpretation. The dry verb differs from the move verb in that it does not refer to an autonomous state of affairs. It therefore occurs in the non-causal two-place construction where its participants are linked to the Theme and Location arguments. What this discussion suggests is that unlike Westermann, I will not put ***fú*** **dzo** 'become warm' in the same entry as ***fú*** **du** 'run' and ***fú*** **tsi** 'swim'.

6.1.3.3 **tu**

The verb **tu**, which I discuss in this section, also has two different and unrelated meanings. One of these is further divided into three related senses. Westermann (1928: 246) represents this fact by positing two main entries for the verb, with subdivisions for each entry. In one of his entries, he has 'push', 'pound', 'throw out smoke', 'ram in' and 'forge' while in the other, he has 'approach', 'come near' and 'meet'. I argue that the grouping of the glosses does not reflect a proper demarcation of the verb's meanings. This is because I do not consider such interpretations as 'ram in' and 'approach' to belong to unrelated forms of **tu**. While admitting that they are different, I argue that they are related because they both involve contact of some sort. I therefore propose a grouping which puts the gloss 'throw out smoke' apart as separate and unrelated to the others.

My characterisation of the first **tu** is provided below:

Something (X) which is a smoky substance comes out.

Tu is, therefore, a change of location verb which places a restriction on the nature of the entity that comes out. Since it does not specify the manner in which the thing is made to come out, its semantics provides the right ingredient for entry into the causative alternation construction. Consider the examples below:

39a. **Dzudzɔ** **tu**
Smoke come_out
'Smoke came out.'

b **Nú-á** **tu** **dzudzɔ**
Thing-DEF come_out smoke
'The thing threw out smoke.'

Sentence (39a) refers to smoke coming out of an unspecified location while (39b) refers to a similar state of affairs in which **nú-á** 'the thing' is the source, hence the perceived cause. This form of **tu**, as indicated, is different from the one to which I now turn.

The meaning of the second **tu** is provided below:

Someone (X) causes something (Y) to move into forceful contact with an entity (Z)

This characterisation offers the perfect recipe for insertion into a three-place construction. As sentence (40) below illustrates, this is what happens when only contact is expressed:

40. **Kofí tu kɔ́ Amí (wo-dze anyí)**
Kofi ICV fist Ami (2SG-ICV ground)
'Kofi knocked Ami (and she fell down).'

It will be recalled that I argued in Chapter 5 that the three-place construction only expresses a change in the location of the Theme argument without entailing a change in the state of either complement. This claim is supported by results of Attipoe pictures in which **tu** is used. For instance, when I presented consultants with two minimal pair pictures, one in which someone kicks at a rock and the other in which someone kicks a rock into the air, the first picture elicited sentence (41a) while the second one elicited (41b):

41a. **É-le afɔ tu-mí kpé**
3SG-AUX:PRES foot ICV-PROG stone
'He or she is kicking at a rock.'

b. **É-le kpé *fo*-mí**
3PSG-AUX:PRES stone hit-PROG
'He or she is hitting / kicking the rock.'

The three-place construction in (41a) simply expresses the fact that the foot has been moved into forceful contact with the rock while (41b) expresses the fact that the rock has been affected (i.e. caused to undergo a change of location). This is evidence that **tu** in the three-place construction simply refers to making a forceful contact. There is no entailed effect on the entity with which contact is made.

Where the participant representing the Theme argument is affected as a result of the caused contact, the Location participant is expressed as a complement of the allative prepositional phrase. This is illustrated below:

42. **Wó-tu atí-wó ɖé *afé*-á me**
3PL-ICV stick-PL ALL house-DEF in
'They had rammed poles in the house.'

This sentence expresses the situation in which sticks are firmly stuck into the ground. The argument that is expressed by the postpositional phrase indicates the location where they are stuck. I take the change in state of the sticks from being loose and detached to being firmly stuck into the ground to represent the fact that the sentence expresses a change-of-state meaning. As I argued in Chapter 5, I do not consider the allative prepositional phrase to be a core syntactic argument. (42) is therefore a two-place construction and hence its expression of a change-of-state meaning is not controversial. The general characterisation given above, in combination with the semantics of the

complements and that of the three-place construction in which they occur, therefore, enables me to derive such specific interpretations as 'knock' and 'kick at', while its combination with the causal two-place construction derives 'ram in' (cf. Westermann's). Although Westermann includes 'push' among his glosses, I propose that the best gloss will be 'push at' since **tu** is only appropriate if the entity against which one pushes cannot be made to budge.[8] Westermann also puts 'to build' together with 'ram in', suggesting that they are intimately related. This must be doubtless due to the fact that the houses which were built in the earlier times, and are still built in some rural areas, had walls made of poles that were stuck into the ground. Although the process of building has, for the most part, changed among the Ewe, there is still the fact that the end result of building a house is to have it firmly fixed on the ground. In that sense therefore, it is similar to what is done to **atí** 'stick' in (42). The Location argument, when expressed, is therefore with the allative preposition, as in (42).

The next sense of **tu**, while also involving forceful contact, entails a change in the state of the thing with which contact is made. The contact, in this case, is only a means by which the change is effected. I characterise this sense as:

> An entity (X) causes a change in the state of something (Y1) by repeatedly bringing another thing into forceful contact with (Y1) and thereby making it become a new thing (Y2).

This meaning is related to the one I have just discussed because they both involve forceful contact. However, it differs from the latter in having two participants which head the affectedness chain (i.e. Y1 and Y2). Both participants have properties compatible with a Theme role because one involves a change of state while the other involves coming into existence. They are both represented as (Y) because only one of them can be realised in the argument structure construction. However, the mention of one entails the other. Consider the sentences below:

43a. **Kofí tu blí**
Kofi ICV maize
'Kofi ground maize.'

[8]This was also confirmed with the Attipoe pictures where consultants were prepared to use **tu** in the three-place construction to describe someone pushing against a wall but they used a monotransitive construction with the verb **mli** 'roll' for one pushing a rock. For a discussion of similar results with the Induced Change of State film, see Chapter 5.

b. **Kofí tu wɔ́**
Kofi ICV flour
'Kofi ground flour.'

Both (43a, b) express a state of affairs in which an object is brought repeatedly into contact with maize to reduce it to flour. In (43a), the thing that undergoes a change of state is expressed in the object position while in (43b), it is the thing that comes into existence as a result of 'crushing' the maize which is the object.

The complement with which **tu** occurs determines the sort of instrument that is used to bring about the change. In (43a, b), it could either be a grinding stone or a grinding mill. The instrument in (44a, b) below is different:

44a. **Nútulá tu ga**
blacksmith ICV metal
'The blacksmith forged metal (into something).'

b. **Nútulá tu kodzi**
blacksmith ICV hoe
'The blacksmith forged a hoe (out of a metal).'

Because the complements in the above sentences are metal and hoe and, also, because the Effector is a blacksmith, we are able to infer that the instrument used here is a hammer. We are therefore able to derive specific glosses like 'grind' and 'forge' from an invariant, albeit general meaning of **tu** in composition with the semantics of its complements.

I now turn to another sense of **tu** which is translated as 'approach'. As I pointed out at the beginning of this section, Westermann treats this sense as being completely unrelated to the last two senses which I have discussed. I take a different position here, treating the sense as related because it also involves movement and co-location which can be interpreted as a form of contact. The semantic characterisation is provided below:

> An entity (X) autonomously moves such that (X) comes to be in a location which is thought of as being the same location where another entity (Y) is.

It is the sense of co-location expressed by **tu** which I take to involve a kind of contact and which relates the present sense to the two discussed above. However, unlike the other two, only two participants can be realised in the argument structure construction. I use the term 'autonomous' to qualify the movement of the Effector because it posesses a certain degree of control. Consider the sentences below:

45a. **Kofí tu Amí le mɔ́ dzí**
Kofi ICV Ami LOC road top
'Kofi caught up with Ami on the way.'

b. **E-gbɔ-na nye tu gé le afé-á me**
2SG-return-HAB 1SG ICV PROSP LOC home-DEF in
'You will come and meet me at home.'

Both sentences involve animate entities that move by themselves in order to be located at the same place as another entity. In (45a), we have a situation where the object argument is also assumed to be moving. We therefore get the translation 'to catch up with'. Sentence (45b) shows that the second argument does not need to be moving before the co-location is established. All the movement that is required is on the part of the participant (X). The particular distance between the two entities when they come together is also indeterminate; they could be so close together as to be able to touch each other or they could simply be in the same room or house.

I argue that it is this sense of **tu** that gives rise to Westermann's gloss, 'approach'. There is a sense of imminence that results when the entity that moves to become located and the entity at whose place it becomes located are not concrete. This is illustrated by the sentences below from *Agbezuge*:

46a. **Égbe lá, nye kú tu afé**
today TOP 1PSG-POSS death ICV home
'Today, I am about to die (lit. my death has come to locate itself at my home).'

b. **Né tsizí dó lá, fɔ́ŋli tu afé**
when darkness cover TP, dawn ICV home
'When it gets very dark, then dawn is about to break.'

(46a) is uttered by Agbezuge's closest friend Agɔbaya a little before he died. In this sentence, Agɔbaya takes his death to be an entity that has come home to roost, so to speak. Because of this, he expects to die but death is not immediate. I propose that it is the lack of specificity of the location **afé** 'home' that allows for the delayed effect of the co-location and, consequently, the 'approach' or 'imminence' interpretation. The same applies to the second sentence where the speaker makes reference to a phenomenon which is common in the tropics: just before the break of dawn, the skies get very dark. Here too, the use of **afé** 'home' as the end-point of contact gives rise to an imminence interpretation.[9]

[9]The two sentences should be placed in the cultural context where forces like the weather and death, although non-human, are perceived to be capable of control.

When co-location is between a non-concrete entity and a concrete one, the interpretation is not that of imminence, as the expression below illustrates:

47. **Hĩã tu ame**
poverty ICV person
'Poverty has affected a person.'

This expression is figurative because it does not only express the idea that poverty has moved to locate itself at the same place as a person, but that the person becomes affected as a result. There is therefore a metonymic shift from simply being located to the result of the co-location.

In this section, I have discussed four senses of **tu**. The first involves smoke and is not related to the other three. I have argued that the remaining three are related. Two of them involve movement and contact while the third involves movement and co-location. I have argued that being located at the same place as another entity can be taken to be a form of contact. While the English glosses sometimes give the impression that there are several different and unrelated meanings for **tu**, this is often due to specific contextual uses of the verb. For instance, I have shown that depending on whether an entity is taken to be moving or not before co-location is established, the completely different glosses 'catch up with' and 'meet' are used. As we have seen, however, this is because the semantics of **tu** does not place any restriction on the state of participant (Y). A dictionary representation of **tu,** therefore, would look like this:

Tu - Something (X) which is smoky comes out

Tu - a. An entity (X) causes something (Y) to move into forceful contact with an entity (Z)

b. An entity (X) causes a change in the state of something (Y1) by repeatedly bringing another thing into forceful contact with (Y1) and thereby making it become a new thing (Y2).

c. An entity (X) autonomously moves such that (X) comes to be in a location which is thought of as being the same location where another entity (Y) is.

6.1.3.3 **da**

Compared to the other verbs discussed so far, **da** may be said to be the lightest because it has a wider range of interpretations. However, most of the interpretations are made up of a combination of one general meaning of the verb and the meaning of the NPs which function as its arguments, together with the meaning of the constructions in which they occur. Pragmatic principles play an important role in the interpretations here as well. **Da** does have a second

meaning which, although historically related to the first, has practically lost its connection to it. I will therefore claim that there are two **da** lexemes. I begin with a discussion of the first **da** and show interpretations which are derived when the verb takes concrete arguments, on the one hand, and non-concrete arguments, on the other.

The characterisation of the first **da** is provided below:

> An entity (X) through the use of a part of the body, causes another entity (Y) to move away.

When the verb occurs with a concrete entity, the default gloss is 'to throw'. The example which I discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4 is repeated below:

48. **Kofí da kpé**
Kofi ICV stone
'Kofi threw a stone.'

As I stated in Chapter 5, in an unmarked situation, this sentence describes the state of affairs in which a person hurls a stone away from himself or herself with the hands. This does not mean that hands are a necessary part of the moving event because the sentence is equally applicable to situations in which the throw is effected with the feet or even the lips. Although the default gloss 'throw' seems to suggest physical force, this is not a necessary component of **da**. Before giving my reasons for this claim, I discuss the directionality of movement.

I have stated that **da** involves moving an entity away. In most cases, this is away from the causal entity and the direction or end-point of movement is expressed by a prepositional phrase. This is illustrated below:

49. **Kofí da kpé ɖé ya me**
Kofi ICV stone ALL sky in
'Kofi threw a stone into the sky.'

In other cases, however, the location is not expressed because it is understood either from the discourse or semantic context. Consider the two sentences below, the first of which is from *Agbezuge*:

50a. **Nyitsɔ me-da yí lá ŋútɔ́**
Last_time 1SG-ICV machette DEF INT
'The last time I threw the machette very hard.'

b. **Kofí da *f*u**
Kofi ICV hook
'Kofi cast a line.'

Sentence (50a) is part of a conversation between two friends who tried to kill Agbezuge by cutting him up with a machette. Even though the location where the machette is placed is not specified in this sentence, readers know that it is Agbezuge's body. The second sentence refers to a typical activity among the southern Ewe people. I stated in Section 6.1.3.1 that one type of fishing rod used by the Ewes is a long line at the end of which is a sinker and hooks. This type of line is made to be thrown far into bodies of water and the process is described with **da**. The verb, in this case, takes on the specific interpretation of 'cast' because of the semantics of its complement.

I have claimed that **da** does not specify whether physical force is used in moving things away or not. The sentences I have discussed so far, however, have this element in their interpretation. I will now show that this is due to the inherent lexical content of **da**'s arguments. Consider the sentence below from *Agbezuge*:

51. **Wó-tsɔ́-a** **séda-takú** **ɖeká** **blá-a** **ta** **nê**
3PL-take-Hab silk-headkerchief one tie-Hab head to/for:3SG

ga-tsɔ́-a **ɖeká** **da-na** **ɖé** **kɔ-me** **nê**
Rep-take-Hab one ICV-Hab ALL neck-in to/for:3SG
'They tie a silk kerchief on his head and wrap one around his neck.'

(51) describes the habit of slaves putting a silk kerchief around the neck of Hotɔ Desu, Agbezuge's master. Instead of the interpretation 'throw' here, we have 'put' or 'wrap'. I claim that this interpretation is due to the semantics of kerchiefs which includes the information that they are wrapped around the body (e.g. WEUD defines its English equivalent as 'a cloth worn about the neck or shoulders'). Sentence (51) can be contrasted with (52), which is very similar and, yet, differs in having **zu** 'forge hammer' as the complement of **da**, and **gayibɔ dzi** 'iron top' as the complement of the allative preposition **ɖé**:

52. **é-ga-da-e** **ɖé** **dzi-nye** **le** **anyí-nɔ-*fé*-á**
3SG-Rep-ICV-3SG ALL top-1SG-Poss Loc ground-sit-place-DEF

abé **álési** **nútulá** **da-a** **zu** **ɖé**
as how blacksmith ICV-Hab forge_hammer ALL

ga-yibɔ **dzí** **ené**
metal-black top as
'He hit me again (i.e. with a big stick) while I sat there just the way a blacksmith beats iron with a forge hammer'

This is a narration by Agbezuge of how he was clubbed for eating stolen vegetables. He likens the force with which the stick is placed on him to that of a blacksmith forging iron. Thus, when we have a kerchief as the entity moved and the neck as the location, we get a 'wrap' interpretation. However, when the two are replaced by a forge hammer and a piece of metal, we get a 'beat' interpretation. It should be pointed out here that these are default interpretations and, therefore, are defeasible. Thus, in a different context, (51) would describe the situation in which a kerchief is forcefully thrown around someone's neck while (52) could also describe a blacksmith gently placing a hammer on a piece of metal.

The allative preposition in the above sentences expresses direction of movement while its postpositional complement indicates the end point of the movement. In Chapter 5, I showed that **da** can also occur in a three-place construction, where the end-point is not introduced by a preposition but rather encoded as a core argument. The sentence is repeated below:

53. **Kofí da kpé Amí**
Kofi ICV stone Ami
'Kofi threw a stone at Ami.'

In this sentence, Ami is represented as the end-point of the stone throw. As I discussed in Chapter 5, although the default interpretation is 'hit', that is not entailed. A better gloss is therefore 'throw at'.

Thus far, I have discussed instances in which **da** takes concrete entities as its arguments. It is possible for the verb to occur with non-concrete entities as well, as the next two sentences illustrate:

54a. **Wó-da gbe ɖé Agbezugé gbɔ́**
3PL-ICV voice ALL Agbezuge place
'They left a message with Agbezuge.'

b. **Wó-da dɔ ɖé Kofí dzí**
3PL-ICV illness ALL Kofi top
'They made Kofi ill (by casting a spell on him).'

(54a) is an instance of what is generally referred to as "conduit metaphor", with **gbe** 'voice, message', a "vocal" product, figuratively placed at Agbezuge's side. In (54b), illness is perceived as an entity that can be moved from place to place. In this case, it is placed on an individual. The interpretation involves a metonymic shift from the illness coming on top of Kofi to the result: he becomes afflicted.

The discussion so far suggests that specific glosses like 'throw', 'put', 'cast (a line)', 'leave (a message)' and 'make a person ill' are derived through the

combination of a single invariant meaning of **da**, the semantics of the NPs which function as its arguments and the semantics of the construction in which they occur. Pragmatic considerations determine that the combinations are given stereotypical interpretations in unmarked contexts. Some uses of the verb are more specialised, however, with the result that **da** appears to take on senses that are different from the one given above. Consider the sentences below:

55a. **Kofí da kɔ́ Amí**
Kofi ICV fist Ami
'Kofi threw a blow at Ami,'

b. **Kofí da kɔ́**
Kofi ICV fist
'Kofi fought.'

(55a), like (53) discussed above, describes an entity moving something (i.e. a fist) away from itself and in the direction of another. The default, though not entailed, interpretation is that the one in whose direction the object is moved has been hit. In (55b), on the other hand, there is no second complement and the interpretation is not simply that of Kofi causing the fist to move away. Instead, it means he engaged in a fight. I propose that this is due to a pragmatic process according to which more is inferred from the little that is said (cf. Levinson 1995). In other words, since the addition of a second complement describes a unidirectional movement of the blow, its omission gives rise to the assumption that there was an exchange of blows. This is all the more so because the expression is only used to refer to real fights and not, for instance, to verbal wrangles or a person's emotional struggles. Evidence that the 'fight' interpretation for **da kɔ́** is due to a pragmatic process and not a different meaning is the fact that the expression also refers to the mere act of punching the air.[10]

When **da** occurs with weapons which have missiles in them, the default interpretation involves a metonymic shift from the weapon itself to the missile. This is represented below:

56. **Kofí da tú Amí**
Kofi ICV gun Ami
'Kofi fired / threw a gun at Ami.'

The free translation shows that the expression **da tu** can be taken to mean 'throw a gun'. However, the preferred interpretation is 'fire a gun'. It is clear

[10]Some speakers, however, prefer to add the allative prepositional phrase **ɖé ya me** 'in the air'.

that in such cases, language specific usage conventions determine the shift from causing the movement of the weapon itself to that of causing the missiles contained inside it to move away. This preference is made possible by the nature of the NP. For instance, the first definition which WEUD provides for 'gun' is "a metallic tube, with its stock or carriage and attachments, *from which missiles are shot by force of an explosive*" (emphasis mine). Other weapons which the verb occurs with are catapults and bows whose pebbles and arrows are the respective entities which are made to undergo a change of location.

Da also occurs within the framework of a metaphor in Ewe which can be characterised as "life is a journey". As in many other languages, the experiences of a person going through life are often characterised in the form of a traveller who treads life's paths (e.g. Shakespeare's "life is but a walking shadow"). In the example below from *Agbezuge*, we have an instance of the 'life is a journey' metaphor:

57 **Me-gblɔ-e nê bé ési wo-nyí Hotɔ́ Desú**
1SG-say-3SG to/for:3SG that since 3SG-inherit Hotɔ Desu

***fé* dome fífiá lá, é-le bé wo-a-nyá zɔ-zɔ**
POSS middle now TP, 3-LOC that 3SG-SUBJV-know RED-walk
'I told him that now that he has inherited money from Hotɔ Desu, he should know enough to be careful about his conduct (lit. He should know how to walk)'.

Here, in order to express the idea that a person should be careful about how he conducts himself after inheriting a lot of money, the speaker makes use of the travel metaphor and states that the one should know how to walk. Within this metaphor, if someone does not conduct himself or herself properly, the one is said to have thrown a foot or, to be precise, missed a step. The expression is given below:

58. **É-da afɔ**
3PS-ICV foot
'He or she missed his or her step (i.e He or she misbehaved).'

Among the coastal Ewe, this expression has become rather specialised in the sense that it is used mainly for a woman who cheats on her husband, a conduct which is considered taboo in the society. In the inland dialects, however, it is used for all kinds of serious misconduct. The metaphor is also extended to include the mouth, as sentence (59) illustrates:

59. **Kofí da nu**
Kofi ICV mouth
'Kofi has a slip of tongue.'

In this expression too, one can see the motivation for the use of **da**: instead of the tongue which slips for a language like English, for the Ewes, it is the lips which are "moved out of order", so to speak.

Finally, **da** occurs with rules and regulations with the interpretation that they have been broken. The examples below represents this:

60a. **Kofí da sé dzí**
Kofi ICV rule top
'Kofi broke the rule.'

b. **Kofí da ɖoɖó si míé-wɔ lá dzí**
Kofi ICV regulation REL 1PL make TP top
'Kofi broke the regulations that we made.'

The one who breaks the rules is taken to be casting them away.[11]

The final sense of **da** which I discuss here is 'to weigh'. This sense is obviously unrelated to that of causing something to move away. However, the origin of the 'weigh' sense can also be traced to this characterisation. This is because the original means of weighing things among the Ewe was by throwing them in the air in order to determine their weight. The advent of scales has however removed the relation between throwing objects in the air and determining their weight, although the practice is still carried out in some rural areas. A dictionary entry for **da** will therefore have to represent this sense separately from the ones discussed above, but the diachronic semantic links leading to the change are clear. Such an entry will look like this:

da An entity (X), through the use of a part of the body, causes an entity (Y) to move away

da. Someone (X) weighs something (Y).

---

[11]The postposition **dzí** 'top' occurs with rules and regulations in other contexts as well, as the sentence below illustrates:

É-wɔ sé dzí
3SG-do rule top
'He followed the rules'.

Below is a table which sums up the contextual interpretations that derive from the use of the sense in 1a.

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Y particpant	'Allative argument'	
Use part of the body to cause Y to move away	stone		throw
"	fishing rod		cast a line
"	kerchief	neck	wrap
"	forge hammer	metal	to forge
	illness	person	make person ill
"	message	person	leave message with person

Table 5. Contextual interpretations of a two-place use of **da**

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Three-place construction	Theme	Location	
Use part of the body to cause Y to move away	caused transfer	stone	person	throw stone at
"	"	fist	person	throw a blow at
"	"	foot	person	kick at

Table 6. Contextual interpretations of a three-place use of **da**

Specific usage conventions dictate that when the entity that is caused to move away is a weapon that is manufactured for the purpose of firing missiles, the interpretation shifts from the movement of the weapon to the missile that is contained inside it.

6.2 THE NON-CAUSAL VERBS

In this section, I discuss verbs which do not have a causal semantics. That is to say that their semantic specification neither includes the element of caused change-of-state/location nor that of control. As I argued in Chapter 4, these verbs express various relations (e.g. spatial, possessive, attributive, etc.) between two entities. Following Zavala (1998) I refer to them as Theme/Location verbs. The verbs which I discuss are **dɔ́**, **ká**, **tɔ́** and **dze**. Strictly speaking, one could say that **dɔ́** and **dze** are not ICVs because they do not license a second

argument. However, they occur in both causal and non-causal two-place constructions where their meaning is further specified by the complement. This is why I treat them as ICVs. Three of the verbs, **ká**, **tɔ́** and **dze**, express different kinds of contact. Depending on the NPs that function as their arguments and the constructions in which they occur, different inferences are drawn regarding the contact.

6.2.1 **dɔ́**

This verb serves as a bridge between the causal ICVs which I discussed in the previous section and the non-causal ICVs which I discuss in this section. As stated above, **dɔ́** occurs in the one-place construction so one might say that it is not, strictly speaking, an ICV. However, it has the interesting property of being able to occur in both the causal and non-causal two-place constructions as well. In all its occurrences, it refers to states of affairs that take place in the night. These states of affairs are specified by the complement, thereby making the verb look like an ICV. **Dɔ́** can occur in both causal and non-causal two-place constructions because the participant that is involved in the state of affairs can be either construed as an Effector or a Theme. In the former case, it is linked to the Causer argument of the causal two-place construction. I discuss how this works.

Westermann glosses **dɔ́** as 'sleep'. However, I consider this gloss to be only one of the specific states of affairs that could be inferred from **dɔ́** Consider the expression below which is one of those that the Ewe use when they are parting in the night:

61. **Na-dɔ́** **nyúíé**
Subj-pass_night well
'Pass the night well.'

While this expression could be taken to be a call for the interlocutor to sleep well, this interpretation is merely an inference. For one thing, it is not said to a person who is about to take a nap during the day. Ameka (1994a), noting the above, also draws attention to the over-specificity of a gloss like 'sleep' for this verb. He therefore proposes 'to pass the night' as the semantic characterisation for **dɔ́**. This characterisation is indeterminate as to how the night is spent. Drawing on that, I characterise the verb as:

Someone (X) passes the night in a certain manner

In (61), the addressee is not expected to have any control over the way the night is spent. He or she is therefore treated as a Theme which is "located" in a

state of affairs. The adverb with which the verb occurs serves to express the manner in which the night is to be spent.

As I have already indicated, the participant which **dɔ́** licenses can be construed as a person who is actively engaged in a state of affairs (i.e. an Effector). In such cases, the verb occurs with a complement which expresses either a state or a location, and it is the complement which specifies the manner in which the person passes the night. Constructionally, I consider an argument that expresses a state to represent a Location. Thus all the complements **dɔ́** occurs with, if it occurs with any, have a Location role. The sentence below has an argument which expresses a state:

62. **Kofí dɔ́ alɔ̃**
Kofi pass_night sleep
'Kofi slept / is asleep.'

This sentence could be paraphrased literally as 'Kofi spent the night in a state of sleep'. The issue is slightly more complicated, however, as the sentence does not need to refer to a state of affairs that takes place in the night alone. It can also refer to a situation in which Kofi sleeps in the daytime. Considering this, we have two options: first of all, we could generalise the semantics of **dɔ́** further and state that it merely refers to passing a time in a particular state. Alternatively, we could state that **dɔ́** primarily refers to passing the night and that its use for a daytime activity is an extended use. For evidence of the latter position which I take here, let us consider the other occurrences of **dɔ́**.

One of the complements that **dɔ́** takes is **ŋu**. Westermann states that it is the same as **ŋkú** 'eye'. When it occurs as the complement of **dɔ́**, the interpretation is that of something other than sleep taking place in the night:[12]

63. ***fome-a*** **dɔ́ ŋu le afíɖágbe**
family-DET pass_night eye LOC Friday
'The family held a wake on Friday.'

(63) can be paraphrased as the family passed the night of Friday in a state of wakefulness. There is a gradual shift from the sense of merely passing the night in a state of wakefulness to the act of holding a wake. This is doubtless because

[12]**ŋu** also represents 'the state of being awake when it occurs with the locative verb **le**, as the sentence below from Ameka (1994a) illustrates:

É-le ŋu
3PSG-Loc eye
'S/he is awake (lit. she is at eye).'

of the existence of other expressions with **ŋu** (e.g. footnote 2) which simply refer to the state of being awake without specifying whether it is for a particular purpose. While the mourning sense is taken to be the default one, it is not an entailed sense, as the sentence below from *Agbezuge* illustrates:

64. **Alé Agbezuge dɔ́ ŋu le kúnyówu-wó me**
thus Agbezuge pass_night eye LOC handcuff-PL in
'Agbezuge therefore spent the night awake in handcuffs.'

Agbezuge has been wrongfully accused, handcuffed and thrown into jail. He spends all the night mentally going through all the woes that had befallen him. Since there is nothing in the discourse context to suggest mourning a person's death, the sentence is not interpreted to mean that Agbezuge kept wake in order to mourn someone's death. What this suggests, then, is that **dɔ́ ŋu** does not have the fixed meaning "to keep wake in order to mourn the dead". Instead, it simply means to pass the night in a state of wakefulness. A default purpose of mourning is, however, assumed unless otherwise indicated.

As I stated earlier, **dɔ́** also occurs with arguments which express a location, with the latter also specifying the manner in which the night is spent. The characteristic manner is usually taken to be sleep. Consider the sentence below, also from *Agbezuge*:

65. **É-dɔ́-a súɖúí bɔbɔe-wó dzí**
3SG-pass_night-HAB pillow soft-PL top
'He sleeps on soft pillows.'

This sentence refers to the nightly activities of Hotɔ Desu, Agbezuge's master. Since the verb necessarily refers to an activity which takes place in the night and the complement represents a location where sleep occurs, there is the metonymic inference that the man passes the night on the pillows sleeping. The above is contrasted with the next sentence where there is no reference to the time the person spends on the pillow:

66. **Émlɔ́-a súɖúí bɔbɔe-wó dzí**
3SG-lie-HAB pillow soft-PL top
'He lies on soft pillows.'

This sentence merely refers to the act of lying on a pillow without indicating *when* it takes place. The likelihood that one would infer that the person is asleep is, consequently, less in this sentence than in our previous one (although it is still possible).

Some of the constructions in which **dɔ́** occurs with a locative complement take on specialised meanings which can, however, be related to my general characterisation. Consider the sentence below:

67. **Kofí dɔ́ Amí gbɔ́**
Kofi pass_night Ami side
'Kofi had sex with Ami' or 'Kofi slept at Ami's side.'

The first translation is reminiscent of the biblical euphemism "to lie with". One consequence of Kofi passing the night beside Ami is thus metonymically represented in the form of the activity itself. However, while it is used euphemistically, the expression still keeps its primary sense of passing the night at someone's place. This is because, as the second translation shows, it is perfectly acceptable for describing situations in which the two people only spend the night in the same bed (they may be siblings).

All the two-place uses discussed so far involve the causal two-place construction. It therefore has a participant that is actively engaged in the states of affairs. The argument can therefore be demoted in the **nyá**-construction, as the example below illustrates:

68. **Alɔ̃-a nyá dɔ́ ná wò-a?**
Sleep-DEF MOD pass_night to/for 2SG-INTEROG
'Were you able to sleep?'

As I stated earlier, the single argument that occurs in the semantic characterisation of **dɔ́** can also be construed as a Theme. When that happens, it occurs in the non-causal two-place construction, and the Theme cannot be demoted in the **nyá**-construction. This is represented by the sentences below; (69a) is another way of saying 'good night' in Ewe and (69b) shows that the participant cannot be demoted in the **nyá**-construction:

69a. **Na-dɔ́ agbe**
Subj-pass_night life
'Good night'

b. ***Agbe nyá dɔ́ ná wo**
life MOD pass_night to/for 2SG
'You were able to have a good night'.

The literal translation of (69a) is 'pass the night alive'. The person to whom such an expression is addressed is therefore not expected to "do anything". He or she is more of a passive participant located in a state.

The final expression I wish to consider here is more fixed than the others discussed thus far:

70. **Égbea** **me-dɔ́** **alɔ** **dzí**
Today 1SG-pass_night arm top
'Today I couldn't get up to do what I planned (lit. I slept on my arm).'

This sentence is used in situations where someone plans to get up early in order to do something but, for one reason or another, is unable to do that upon waking up. That the expression is appropriate for referring to the early parts of the day is instructive. The most likely effect of spending the night on one's arm is that, for a while at least, one would not be able to use it. This would therefore explain the use of this expression to signal inability to carry out a planned activity.

In this section, I have argued that **dɔ́** means passing the night in a manner. I have claimed that the manner itself is not specified and that the verb can occur with NPs functioning as Location arguments which specify the manner in which the night is spent. I have argued further that the single participant that is licensed by the verb can be construed as either an active participant or a passive participant. The former occurs in a causal two-place construction while the latter occurs in a non-causal two-place construction. I will now turn to the real Theme/Location verbs.

6.2.2 **ká**

This verb expresses light contact between two entities. I characterise it as:

Something (X) which is movable makes light contact with another thing (Y).

The characterisation states nothing to indicate that the verb possesses or lacks Cause. This means that it is neutral to Cause. Furthermore, since it simply expresses contact without effect, it can enter into the three-place construction in order to take Cause. I begin with its occurrence in the non-causal two-place construction.

Although general in meaning, **ká** requires that the thing which makes contact be movable. And because the contact it expresses is light, it is usually glossed as 'touch'. However, unlike 'touch' in English which has 'hands' as its default argument, **ká** does not possess any default argument. Consider the sentences below:

71a. ?**Kofí** **ká** **Amí** **ŋú**
Kofi ICV Ami skin
'Kofi (i.e his body) touched Ami.'

b. **Kofí** ***fé*** **así** **ká** **Amí** **ŋú**
Kofi POSS hand ICV Ami skin
'Kofi touched Ami (with the hand).'

(71a) does not mean that Kofi touched Ami with his hands. In fact it is slightly odd because the part of Kofi which makes the contact has not been specified. It is, however, acceptable in the context where Kofi is being carried and his body somehow makes contact with Ami's. (71b) is more acceptable because the thing making the contact has been specified and that thing, i.e. **así** 'hand', is movable. While there is a restriction on the entity making contact that it be movable, no such restriction is placed on the one with which contact is made. Let us now consider what the verb means when it enters the three-place construction.

I stated above that the thing which makes the contact is not treated as undertaking an autonomous movement. The three-place construction therefore introduces the person who causes something to make the contact. This is because, unlike **da** and ***fú*** discussed in the previous section which already contain Cause and can, therefore, have their lexically specified participants linked to the Causer argument of the three-place construction, **ká** itself does not possess this component of meaning. The sentence below illustrates **ká** in a three-place construction:

72. **Kofí ká así ɖeví-á ŋútí**
Kofi ICV hand child-DEF side
'Kofi touched the child (with the hand).'

The difference between (71b) and (72) is that, in the latter case, there is an entity responsible for the contact. Kofi is taken to have performed the action intentionally. The implication is that **ká** can also be predicated of an argument that controls the state of affairs encoded here, but for that to happen, the element of control has to be added by the construction.

6.2.3 **Tɔ́**

Westermann (1928) gives the following glosses for **tɔ́** 'push', 'thrust', 'strike', 'knock', 'hit', 'touch', 'sting' and 'stab'. As with the other verbs discussed thus far, I consider these glosses to be too specific because they take over much of the contribution that the NPs which function as arguments of **tɔ́** make in determining the various specific interpretations. In this section, I will show the extent to which these arguments contribute to make a rather under-determined meaning specific. As usual, I argue that Westermann's glosses are interpretations that are assigned to the verb in specific contexts.

To some extent, **tɔ́** can be compared to **tanthe-** in Mparntwe Arrente, described by Wilkins and Van Valin (1993:22) as minimally requiring a situation where "someone intentionally or unintentionally does something to an object which causes what may be construed as the pointy end of that object to come into contact with the surface of another entity and thereby affect this latter entity in some way". There is some difference between the two verbs, however,

since in the case of **tɔ́** in Ewe, all that is minimally required is for the relatively pointed end of an object to make sharp contact with the rather wider surface of another entity. This is characterised thus:

> The relatively pointed end of something (X) comes into sharp contact with the comparatively flatter side of an entity (Y).

The key elements here are "sharp contact" and the configuration of the arguments: one has to be pointed in relation to the other. Crucially, **tɔ́** neither requires a specification of manipulation of the pointed object nor that of a change of state of the argument with which contact is made. It is the lack of determinacy about whether the state of affairs expressed by the verb is intentional or not that I take to be representative of neutrality with respect to Cause. As usual, the type of argument structure construction in which the verb occurs contributes to the eventual interpretation that it receives. I begin the discussion with its occurrence in a two-place construction.

Although I have not specified in the semantics of **tɔ́** that the entity with which contact is made is affected, depending on the semantics of the arguments, some degree of affectedness might be inferred. The two sentences below illustrate this:

73a. **Eŋu tɔ́ Kofí**
thorn ICV Kofi
'A thorn has pricked Kofi.'

b. **Atí-á tɔ́ ŋkú ná-m**
stick-DEF ICV eye to/for-me
'The stick has pricked my eye.'

In (73a), the pointed end of the thorn comes into contact with Kofi and as a result, he might feel some sharp pain. In (73b), the eye might be bruised as a result of the contact. On the other hand, nothing might happen in either case (e.g. the sole of Kofi's feet may be so thick that the thorn breaks on contact). Whatever happens or does not happen belongs outside the domain of the semantics of **tɔ́**. In Chapter 5, I contrasted (73b) with (74) below, where the predicate necessarily expresses a change of state:

74. **Atí-á ŋɔ́ ŋkú ná-m**
stick-DEF pierce eye to/for-me
'The stick has punctured my eye.'

I stated that this sentence indicates that the eye undergoes a change of state by becoming punctured as the result of an object with a relatively pointed edge

coming into contact with it. I pointed out that while **tɔ́** and **ŋɔ́** are similar in requiring that the things which come into contact possess a particular configuration in relation to each other, they differ in that the latter specifies a change of state as an inherent part of its semantics while the former does not. However, depending on the nature of the NPs which function as **tɔ́**'s arguments, one could infer that an entity has been affected. This position is further supported by the next sentence in which the object is usually taken to be affected because of the nature of the thing that comes into contact with it:

75. **Ehe-a tɔ́ Kofí**
knife-DEF ICV Kofi
'The knife pierced Kofi.'

The most natural interpretation for this sentence is that the pointed edge of the knife has pierced Kofi. Rather than give a new meaning for **tɔ́** (e.g. Westermann's "stab"), I argue that this is an inference that is drawn from the semantics of the arguments of the verb. This two-place construction is, therefore, similar to the one with **ka** discussed above in that it involves a participant representing the Theme argument making a kind of contact with another participant which I take to be a Location. Depending on the nature of the former and the sensitivity of the latter, the latter will be taken to be affected to some degree.

Thus far, I have discussed instances where **tɔ́** occurs with a concrete entity. It can also occur with non-concrete entities. An example is the sentence below from *Agbezuge*:[13]

76. **Nya lá tɔ́ Agbezuge**
word DEF ICV Agbezuge
'The words pierced Agbezuge.'

The characterisation of **nya** 'word' as a rather sharp object, recalls such metaphorical expressions as "the word is mightier than the sword". In constructions such as these, the focus is on the effect of the contact on the object. The above could therefore not refer to trivial issues. Since we take message here to be the thing that is characterised as a sharp- edged object, I do not consider **tɔ́** itself to take on an extended meaning since, as I stated to begin

[13]After drifting around for a while, Agbezuge ends up in a village where someone offers him a piece of land to farm on. He is always haunted by the fact that he does not know his roots and he therefore chooses to live the life of a recluse on his farm. It is while there that a child comes to ask him where he comes from, thus bringing back all the painful memories.

with, I do not treat concrete movement or contact as primary instances from which non-concrete ones are derived. Rather, the output interpretation (i.e. semantics 2) derives from the conception of **nya** word.

I will now discuss the use of **tɔ́** in three-place constructions. There are two reasons why the verb fits in this template: it is a verb of contact and it does not specify a change of state for any of its arguments. Since the semantics describes an entity that makes contact with another, the former, which is the Theme, will be automatically linked to direct object position while the latter is linked to second object position. As with the two-place constructions, any effect that might result from the contact expressed by this construction is inferred from the semantics of the arguments. Finally, since the verb does not license a Causer, this is introduced by the three-place construction. Let us now consider how this works.

Things which can be moved with the hands and which have relatively pointed ends most often occur as the first object of **tɔ́** in three-place constructions. A typical example is the one below:

77. **Kofí tɔ́ he Komi**
Kofi ICV knife Komi
'Kofi stabbed Komi.'

What this sentence states, minimally, is that Kofi brought the pointed edge of a knife into contact with Komi. The most likely consequence is that Komi is wounded by the contact. Wounding is not necessarily entailed in the above construction because the same expression is used to describe a performance in Anloga (a town close to the place where I did my fieldwork) in which some ritual dancers stab at their bellies with sharp knives without hurting themselves.

The next sentence is also suggestive of the inferences that can be drawn from the semantics of the arguments of **tɔ́**:

78. **Kofí tɔ́ dzo**[14] **afé-á**
Kofi ICV fire home-DEF
'Kofi set fire to the house.'

The crucial issue here is whether there is an entailed change of state in the second object. The position taken here is that this is not the case. In Ewe, the verb that expresses 'to be on fire' is **bi**. A consultant was asked whether it is

[14]Eva Schultze-Berndt (personal communication) has drawn my attention to the fact that this expression could be originally due to the use of firewood to set fire to things. These woods usually have relatively pointed edges, which must explain the use of **tɔ** to describe the situation in which a small flame is brought into contact with an object, thereby setting it on fire.

possible to have a **tɔ́ dzo** activity without a **bi** process taking place and, in setting out to justify why this is so, he gave the brief narration which I reproduce below:

79. **Etsã** **be-xɔ-wó** **bɔ́** **ɖé** **Anyako.** [.....]
Formerly thatch-room-PL be-several ALL Anyako

nyɔ́nu **áɖé** **nɔ** **du-a** **me** **tsã,** **mé-nɔ**
woman SPECI sit town-DEF in formerly NEG-AUX:NPRS

mentally sound **o.** **Né** **ewɔ** **náné** **ɖé**
mentally sound NEG If 2SG-do something ALL

é-ŋú **koa,** **wo-a-tsɔ** **agobó** **á-dé**
3SG-skin then 3SG-POT-take corn_husk POT2-put

kerosin **á-tɔ́** **dzo-e** **á-tsɔ́** ***fo*** **ɖé**
kerosene POT2-ICV fire-3SG POT2-take put ALL

ebe-a **me** **háfí** **yé** **ŋútɔ́** **ná-*fú*** **du**
thatch-DEF me before 3SG Intensifier SUBJV-ICV course

á-yí **adzɔgé** **á-*fú*** **así** **nu** **bé** **exɔ**
POT2-go distance POT2-ICV hand mouth that room

áɖé **lé** **dzo.** **Wó-tsi-ne.** **Still** **a,**
SPECI catch fire 3PL-put_OUT-HAB_3SG Still TP

wó-tsí-i **gake** **ɖe** **wó-tɔ** **dzo-e**
3PPL-put_OUT-3SG but FOC 3PL-ICV fire-3SG

There used to be several thatched houses in Anyako. [...] there used to be a woman in the town who was not mentally sound. If you did something bad to this woman, she'd put corn husk in kerosene, light it and push it into the thatch before she herself will run a distance away and start shouting that there is a house on fire. The fire is extinguished. Although it is extinguished, it has been set on fire'.

The interesting thing here is that the speaker uses **tɔ́ dzo** for the corn husk as well. The implication here is that unless otherwise indicated, the expression will mean that the thing with which the fire makes contact burns. I take this inference to be due to the semantics of **dzo** 'fire'.

While the previous sentences allow the inference of a change in the second object, there are several instances where no change is implied at all. This is often the case in situations where the thing that is caused to make contact with

another object cannot cause any change in the latter. Most notable are body parts, as the next sentence illustrates:

80. **Kofí tɔ́ afɔ Komi**
Kofi ICV foot Komi
'Kofi touched Komi with the tip of his toes.'

All that is indicated here is that Komi brings the part of his foot that is relatively pointed (i.e. his toes) into contact with Komi. Although it could be said that Komi may feel some pain as a result of the contact, this is simply due to the semantics of Komi (i.e. animate beings are capable of feeling pain). It is possible, however, to have an inanimate entity as the second object, in which case, one cannot talk of pain at all.

In my semantic characterisation of **tɔ́** I implied that the thing that makes contact is pointed *in relation to* the thing with which the contact is made. This is because, although the verb is mostly used for objects that have naturally pointed edges, it can also be used to refer to situations in which all that is required is for there to be a configuration in which the object which makes the contact can be said to be pointed in relation to the one with which the contact is made. Consider the sentence below which refers to a body part which is not really pointed:

81. **Tɔ́ mefí anyí**
ICV buttocks ground
'Sit down (lit. pin your buttocks to the ground).'

(81) refers to a situation where someone is being asked to sit down. While buttocks are not pointed, when one considers them in relation to a seat or the ground, the configuration explains the use of the word **tɔ́**. The interpretation involves a metonymic shift from the act of bringing one's buttocks into contact with a place to the resultant posture, which is one of being seated.

Just like in the two-place uses of **tɔ́**, some of the entities that are taken to be moved into contact with others are not necessarily concrete. I have already indicated that words and messages are non-concrete things that are taken to be pointed. It should be pointed out here that it is only messages that have the effect of hurting or inculpating which are conceived of thus.[15] The sentence below, from *Tɔkɔ atɔ́liá* refers to a situation in which a man (Amedza) reports to another (Gbadago) that the latter's son has taken his wife:

[15]I tried to elicit sentences with a love message as the first object and this was rejected because "it is good news".

82. **Amedza vá tɔ́ du Gbadago béná via xɔ**
Amedza come ICV message Gbadago that child receive
ye srɔ
LOG wife
'Amedza came to report to Gbadago that the child had taken his wife.'

In (82) Amedza causes **du** 'message' which, obviously, is a very serious one to get into contact with Gbadago. Its combination with **tɔ** invites the inference that this does not merely involve the delivery of a message but that it involves an accusation.

I have claimed that most interpretations assigned to **tɔ́** derive from a combination of several factors. One factor is an invariant semantics which I have characterised as 'the relatively pointed end of something (X) comes into sharp contact with a comparatively flatter side of an entity (Y)'. Other factors are the semantics of the constructions in which **tɔ́** occurs and the semantics of the NPs that function as its arguments. Pragmatic factors then give rise to default interpretations like 'knock', 'touch', 'stab', 'set fire to' and 'sit'. The table below shows the default interpretations that are assigned to the verb in three-place construction (the causal participant is not included):

Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 1	Semantics 2
Verb	Three-Place	Theme	Location	
Relatively pointed entity makes contact	Caused transfer	stick	eye	prick
"	"	fist	human	knock someone
"	"	knife	human	stab someone
"	"	foot	human	hit with toes
"	"	buttocks	ground	sit down
"	"	fire	house	set fire to a house
"	"	message	human	inculpate someone

Table 7. Contextual interpretations of the three-place use of **tɔ́**.

The causal semantics in this case is supplied by the construction because the verb itself does not possess it. This is because the verb does not lexically specify a change of state of the argument which occurs in the complement position. The verb therefore primarily occurs in the non-causal two-place construction.

Tɔ́ can also occur in the causal two-place construction. In such constructions, the entity with which contact is made is realised as an allative preposition. Consider the sentence below:

83. **Kofí tɔ́ abui-a ɖé súɖúí ŋú**
Kofi ICV needle-DEF ALL pillow side
'Kofi stuck the needle into a pillow.'

Constructionally, the verb in this sentence takes two direct arguments with the third argument realised as an oblique. A question that arises here is what exactly is the difference between this construction and the three-place one. I stated in Chapter 5 that the three-place construction expresses either the change of location towards an entity, contact or becoming located, but that it does not combine any of these senses. Yet, (83) expresses not only a contact sense but also the added sense of becoming stuck at the location. This extra sense, which is not expressed by the verb, is encoded by the allative prepositional phrase. Because the construction necessarily entails that the entities which came together got stuck, entities whose semantics do not allow such a construal cannot occur in it. (84) below is therefore very odd:

84. ??**Kofí tɔ́ afɔ ɖé gli ŋú**
Kofi ICV foot ALL wall side
'Kofi stuck his toes into a wall.'

While Kofi can bring his foot into contact with the wall, he cannot make it penetrate the wall and thus, stick to it.

Unlike the non-causal two-place construction in which the entity making contact is linked to subject position and the one with which contact is made is linked to direct object position, there is some degree of indeterminacy with regard to the entity which is linked to the direct object position in the causal two-place construction. In this case, it is the entity which is taken to be stuck that ends up as the direct object. For example in sentence (84), we have an instance where the pointed thing is realised as the direct object. The next sentence, (85), describes the process of making 'khebab', which involves sticking pieces of meat onto a skewer:

85. **Wó-tɔ́ gbɔ̃lã ɖé atí-á ŋú bé**
3PL-ICV goat-flesh ALL stick-DEF side that

wo-a-wɔ tsintsiŋga
3PL-POT-make khebab
'They skewered the meat onto the stick in order to make khebab.'

Although we have the same configuration as in sentence (83) in this case, it is the meat which is stuck onto the skewer that is linked to the direct object position, and not the skewer.

The indeterminacy of linking observed above can be compared to that of the Japanese verb, **sashi** 'pierce', investigated by Kita (1998). This verb, which requires that an argument with a pointed end (e.g. skewer) penetrate another (e.g meat), is not determinate as to which should take accusative case (direct object for our purposes). The examples below illustrate this:

86a. **Taroo-ga** **toriniku-o** **kushi-ni** **sashi-ta**
T. -NOM chicken-ACC skewer-LOC pierce-PST
'Taroo put chicken on a skewer.'

b. **Taroo-ga** **kushi-o** **toriniku-ni** **sashi-ta**
T. -NOM skewer-ACC chicken-LOC pierce-PST
'Taroo pierced chicken with a skewer.'

According to Kita (1998), it is the "mover" that is linked to NP-Acc. In contrast to **sashi**, where **tɔ́** is concerned, it is rather the entity that is taken to be "stuck" that can occur in direct object position of the causal two-place construction. Thus only **gbɔ̄lā** 'goat meat' can be the direct object of **tɔ́** in sentence (85).

There are instances where the allative prepositional phrase is not expressed because the location argument can be inferred from the semantics of the other arguments. This is shown in the sentence below:

87. **Me-tɔ́** **dzonú** **(ɖé** **ka** **ŋú)**
1SG-ICV bead (ALL thread side)
'I strung beads (on the thread).'

Threads are the only things on which beads are strung and so, even when they are not mentioned, they can be recovered.

In this section, I have argued that all occurrences of **tɔ́** derive from a single and rather general meaning which, typically, involves a configuration in which the relatively pointed part of something makes contact with a comparatively flatter entity. I have claimed that the verb itself does not have a causal semantics since it does not lexically encode any specific change of state or autonomous state of affairs. I have then gone on to show that the verb takes a causal reading when it occurs in one of the two types of two-place constructions. It also occurs in the non-causal two-place construction in which case it does not take any extra meaning from the construction.

6.2.4 **dze**

I conclude the section with a discussion of a non-causal verb which, admittedly, has the most general semantics of all the verbs. Westermann describes it as a multifarious verb. **Dze** does have two different and unrelated meanings, the first of which is very specific. The second one has two different but related senses.

Like the other verbs discussed in the previous sections, many of **dze**'s seeming multiplicity of meanings derive from a general meaning, in combination with the semantics of the NPs which function as arguments of the verb and the semantics of the construction in which they occur. Pragmatic factors also play an important role, especially in determining that default interpretations are assigned in unmarked contexts. Like **dɔ́** with which I opened the discussion of the section (i.e. 6.2.1), **dze** also occurs in both the causal and non-causal two-place constructions.

I begin with a brief discussion of the first **dze** which is different from the others. The meaning of the verb is, as stated, fully specific. I will therefore not undertake a proper decomposition for it. The meaning of this **dze** involves purchasing liquid stuff.[16] It refers to the process of buying things like drinks and liquid fuel. An example is provided below:

88. **Kofí dze aha**
Kofi buy drink
'Kofi bought a drink.'

This verb does not belong to the Theme/Location grouping since it refers to an autonomous state of affairs.

As I have stated, the second **dze** has two different but related senses. One of the senses is more general than the other and most of the interpretations derive from it. I begin with a discussion of this general sense. Combinations of this sense and some complements has given rise to figurative meanings which are quite lexicalised. I characterise the sense as:

An entity (X) moves into contact with another entity

The characterisation shows that the verb does not license the thing with which contact is made. The verb is therefore able to occur in the one-place construction. I begin by discussing such instances. After that, I discuss instances in which it occurs in the non-causal two-place construction, noting how the semantics of the additional NP further specifies the interpretation given to the verb.

When **dze** occurs in the one-place construction, the entity with which contact is made could be expressed with an allative preposition. However, this is not necessary in most cases because the entity is understood from the nature of the participant that makes the contact. Consider the sentences below (for the sake of convenience and, because the NP it takes as an argument specifies its

[16]In order to express the idea that the purchasing transaction involves solid stuff, the verb **fle** 'buy' is used.

meaning, I gloss the verb as ICV even though it does not need to take a complement):

89a. **Yaméʊu-á dze (ɖé yaméʊu-dzefé)**
plane ICV ALL airport
'The plane landed at the airport.'

b. **Xeví-á dze**
bird-DEF ICV
'The bird has landed.'

I have put the allative prepositional phrase in (89a) in parenthesis in order to indicate that it is an optional phrase. Even without this phrase, 'airport' is taken to be the default entity with which the plane makes contact. In (89b), on the other hand, there are several possibilities, most of which are determined by discourse context. However, when this sentence is uttered in isolation, the bird is taken to have landed on a tree. The translations of the above sentences might lead one to suppose that **dze** has a 'come to be located' sense, not a 'come into contact' one. This is due to the fact that the default entities with which contact is made are locations. I will show presently when I discuss the occurrence of **dze** in the non-causal two-place construction that the nature of the entity with which contact is made determines whether the entity which makes contact locates itself at the place or not. One property of **dze** in the one-place construction is that it favours the attribution of autonomous action to the entities predicated of it. Thus (89a) does not represent an instance of a plane crash. Moreover, I could not elicit (89b) with an Attipoe picture in which a dead bird falls on a tree. The explanation for this is simple: when the verb occurs in the non-causal two-place construction, it is taken to involve a non-autonomous state of affairs. This use is contrasted with the one-place use which are then taken to involve some degree of autonomy. I argue that it is the latter use of **dze** which pre-empts the former.[17] I will now turn to a discussion of **dze** in the non-causal two-place construction.

To the extent that it expresses a state of affairs involving contact, **dze** in the non-causal two-place construction can be said to be similar to **tɔ́** and **ká** discussed above. However, it differs from **ká** in not including the element of lightness in its contact. Also, it differs from **tɔ́** in not specifying the configuration between the things that come into contact. When the verb occurs with two concrete participants, it is translated as 'to hit'. As in the instances discussed earlier, if the participant with which the contact is made has the

[17]To the extent that its use in the one-place construction expresses an autonomous state of affairs, **dze** could be taken to be a counter-example to my claim that one-place constructions lack cause.

semantics of a place where things can be located, then **dze** invites the inference 'come to be located'. Finally, if one of the entities is non-concrete, we have a situation where the concrete entity is seen to be taking on a property expressed by the non-concrete entity. Each of these interpretations is discussed below.

I begin by considering instances where **dze** is translated as 'to hit'. I will show that this interpretation is preferred when the complement does not express the kind of location where an entity remains after contact. The two sentences below illustrate this:

90a. **Kofí** *fé* **kɔ́** **dze** **Amí**
Kofi POSS fist ICV Ami
'Kofi's blow hit Ami.'

b. **Kpé-á** **dze** **gli-a**
Stone ICV wall-DEF
'The stone hit the wall.'

Kɔ́ 'fist' in (90a) is a concrete entity. Ami, the entity with which it makes contact is also a concrete entity. In addition, Ami does not possess the semantics of a place where things which make forceful contact come to be located. We therefore infer that (90a) simply expresses a state of affairs in which Kofi's fist moves into contact with Ami. The same situation applies to the two NPs that function as arguments of **dze** in (90b): **kpé** 'stone' and **gli** 'wall' are both concrete entities and the latter merely expresses an entity, not a place where something can be located.

In contrast to the above, when the entities with which contact is made are represented with postpositional phrases, we get 'be located' inference. This is because postpositions have the semantics of marking the region where an entity can be located (cf. Ameka 1995). Consider the sentences below:

91a. **Kpé-á** **dze** **xɔ-a** **ta** **me**
Stone-DEF ICV room-DEF head in
'The stone hit/fell on the roof of the building.'

b. **Míé-dze** **adzodaláwo** **sí** **me**
1PL-ICV murderers hand in
'We fell into the hands of murderers.'

Xɔ-a ta me 'the roof top', in the Ghanaian context, is usually a flat surface where things which are thrown can come to lie. In (91a) therefore we infer that the stone remains at the top of the roof after making contact with it. However, this is merely an inference because one could add that the stone then bounced off the roof. In (91b), on the other hand, **así me** 'in the hands' is an entity used

for grabbing things. Thus, when people fall into such a location, the interpretation is not simply one of contact but that of location. The semantics of the NP which occurs in complement position therefore determines whether we get only an 'impact' interpretation or a 'be located' interpretation. Yet, while most 'be located' interpretations are brought about by the postpositional complements, the latter are not the only ones to possess such semantics. Consider the next sentence:

92. **ʊu-a** **dze** **go**
Boat-DEF ICV out
'The boat berthed.'

Go 'out' in this context refers to the region outside the sea, i.e., the shore. The sentence is therefore used to indicate that it has made contact with the shore.

The above sentences involve the occurrence of **dze** with concrete entities. As I have already stated, **dze** can also occur with a non-concrete entity in which case the latter expresses a property. The non-concrete entity can be construed either as the Theme or the Location. In other words, the non-concrete entity can be represented either as the one which makes contact with a concrete entity or the one with which a concrete entity makes contact. In the former case, the concrete entity is expressed by a postpositional phrase. The two are illustrated below:

93a. **Dɔ** **dze** **Kofí** **dzí**
Illness ICV Kofi top
'Illness fell upon Kofi'

b. **Kofí** **dze** **dɔ/núnyá**
Kofi ICV illness/wisdom
'Kofi became ill/wise.'

We have already seen that illness can be construed as a thing which is placed on people. In (93a), we have illness making contact with the top of Kofi and the result is that he is taken to be ill. The verb is therefore like the expression "to befall" in English. **Dze** also occurs with other non-concrete nouns like **nya** 'word', **vɔ̃vɔ̃** 'fear', etc. The difference, with such entities, is that they are only represented as Theme arguments, as in (93a). The interpretation remains that of a concrete entity taking on a property as a result of a non-concrete entity "befalling" it.

Some nouns have both concrete and non-concrete meanings. Yet, when these nouns occur with **dze**, they do not give rise to ambiguous interpretations. Instead, they are only treated as non-concrete. I argue that this is because the

nouns can also occur in postpositional phrases and, when they do, they are only treated as concrete entities. Two such nouns are **veliá** 'friend, friendship' and **dzo** 'fire, heat'. Their occurrence with **dze** in both constructions is illustrated below:

94 a. **Kofí dze veliá**
Kofi ICV friend
'Kofi made a friend.'

b. **Kofí dze velia dzi**
Kofi ICV friend top
'Kofi fell on his friend.'

95 a. **Kofí dze dzo**
Kofi ICV fire
'Kofi is hot.'

b. **Kofí dze dzo me**
Kofi ICV fire in
'Kofi fell into fire.'

The (a) sentences refer to someone taking on a property while the (b) sentences refer to someone coming to be located at a place.[18] It is clear from the contrasts here that the attribution of concreteness to the postpositional forms of the nominals is what pre-empts the attribution of a similar interpretation to the simple noun forms.

To sum up the discussion thus far, when **dze** takes two concrete entities as its arguments, the interpretation involves one moving into contact with the other. When the entity with which contact is made has the semantics of a place where something can be located, then the inference may arise that the entity which makes contact remains at the location. Further, when one of the arguments is non-concrete, it is treated as a property which is taken on by the concrete entity. Some nominals can represent both concrete and non-concrete entities. When these nominals occur in the bare form with **dze**, they are treated as properties. When they occur with postpositions, they are treated as concrete locations.

One advantage of this general semantic account of **dze** is that it provides a natural explanation for some expressions that would otherwise appear to be idioms. Consider the three sentences below:

[18](94b) also means Kofi turned to his friend for help. I take this to be an extended interpretation of falling on someone.

96 a. **Kofí dze anyí**
Kofi ICV ground
'Kofi fell.'

b. **Kofí dze klo dzí**
Kofi ICV knee top
'Kofi fell on his knees.'

c. **Kofí dze alɔ dzí**
Kofi ICV arm top
'Kofi fell on his arm.'

If (96a) simply refers to Kofi coming into contact with the ground, the 'fall' construal is explained. We can contrast that with (96b, c) which have 'knee top' and 'arm top' respectively as their complements instead of **anyí** 'ground'. Ameka (1996) has noted that body parts in Ewe are interpreted as parts of the subject NP unless there is a dative prepositional phrase which assigns the reference of the body parts to another entity. **Klo dzí** 'knee top' and **alɔ dzí** 'arm top' therefore refer to Kofi in sentences (96b) and (96c) respectively. These two sentences have two possible analyses: we could say that **dze**, in this case, is a separate, albeit related, meaning of the one in (96a). The characterisation of this one would involve the body part of someone making contact with a location which is not specified in the construction. Alternatively, we could say that it is the same meaning that is involved here. On the latter account, the reason why (96b, c) are not taken to mean Kofi hit his knees and arms would be due to the fact that the state of affairs expressed by the verb is non-autonomous. Moreover, it is not physically possible for the whole body of a person to fall on a part of the person's body. These considerations narrow the possible interpretations to that of the part of the body making contact with an unspecified entity. It is the second position which I adopt here. Note that this position is in line with a monosemic account of 'fall' in English in such expressions as 'to fall on the ground' and 'to fall on one's knees'.

All the above sentences refer to non-autonomous states of affairs and, even though control can be attributed to some of them because they involve human participants, this is always defeasible. I have already stated that **dze** also occurs in the causal two-place construction. When it does, its interpretation involves control, as the sentence below illustrates:

97. **Kofí dze klo**
Kofi ICV knee
'Kofi knelt.'

Note that the only overt difference between (96b) and (97) is that the complement of the latter does not have a postposition. Yet while this sentence also involves Kofi bringing his knees into contact with the ground, the state of affairs is autonomous. The element of control can therefore not be defeated. There is evidence that the difference between (96b) and (97) extends beyond the mere presence and absence of a postposition: while (97) can be expressed with the allative prepositional phrase, (96b) cannot. This is shown below:

98 a. **Kofí dze klo ɖé aba dzí**
Kofi ICV knees ALL mat top
'Kofi knelt on a mat.'

b. **Kofi dze klo dzí le/*ɖé aba dzí**
Kofi ICV knee top LOC/ALL mat top
'Kofi fell on his knees on the bed'.

The allative preposition in (98a) expresses the direction and eventual location of Kofi's knees. It is clear then that the knees are treated as a Theme. In (98b), on the other hand, **klo dzí** 'knee top' is not a Theme so it cannot take the allative preposition. Instead, it is the Location where Kofi falls. Thus **klo dzí** 'knee top' can only take the locative preposition to map the wider region where the falling occurs. (97) therefore expresses a state of affairs in which Kofi autonomously moves his knees into contact with the ground. Recall that the verb itself expresses an entity moving into contact with another entity. It therefore licenses a Theme argument. The causal two-place construction, in turn, licenses the Causer argument and thereby contributes the sense of control.

I have stated that when one of the arguments of **dze** is non-concrete, it is taken to be a property which is acquired by the concrete entity. I stated that the resultant interpretation is figurative because the issue is not simply one of contact but rather the result of the contact. There are further uses of **dze** which are also metaphorical. For instance, the Ewe have several constructions in which the stomach is construed as the seat of emotions. The two sentences below illustrate this:

99a. **Dzi ɖe le é-*fo***
Heart remove LOC 3SG-stomach
He lost his courage (lit. his heart moved away from his stomach).'

b. **Dzi ɖó é-*fo***
Heart arrive 3SG-stomach
'He gained courage (lit. his heart arrived at his stomach).'

The above show that the presence of the heart in the stomach is taken to represent an emotional state of calmness. In the same way, messages which settle in the stomach are taken to have a calming effect, as the sentence below from *Agbezuge* illustrates:

100. **Dzifá** ***fé*** **mo** **klẽ** **le** **xɔ̃-á** ***fé*** **nya-wó** **tá**
Dzifa POSS face shine LOC friend-DEF POSS word-PL head

élabéná **nya** **dze-dɔme-é** **fá-a** **dzí**
because word ICV-stomach-FOC cool-HAB heart
'Dzifa's face shone at her friend's words because it is a calming message (lit. message that hits the stomach) that cools the heart'.

I now turn to some uses of **dze** with postpositional complements which give rise to aspectual interpretations. I propose that these are also figurative uses since they involve a construal of the result of being located at a place. The postpositions are **gɔme** 'under' and **dzí** 'top'. The sentences below illustrate the uses:

101a. **Kofí** **dze** **awu-a** **(tɔtɔ)** **gɔme**
Kofi ICV work-DEF sewing under
'Kofi started to make the dress.'

b. **Kofí** **dze** **dɔ** **dzí**
Kofi ICV work top
'Kofi set about working (lit. fell on the work).'

I propose that there is a metonymic shift from an entity being located at the bottom of a place or state to the construal that it is about to tackle the thing. The thing that is to be tackled can be represented as a nominalised verb phrase (cf. 101a) or, in the case where the state of affairs can be understood from the context, a noun phrase (101b). Sentence (101b) occurs in the context of a wider metaphor in which being located on top of something is taken to mean that one is in the process of tackling it. This is represented below:

102. **Kofí** **le** **dɔ-a** **dzí**
Kofi LOC work-DEF top
Kofi is doing the work (lit. on top of the work).'

Most of the interpretations I have discussed thus far derive from one under-determined meaning of **dze**. I have claimed that it involves an entity moving into contact with another. In some cases, the interpretation is not based on the contact itself but the result of the contact. The latter interpretation is usually figurative.

Dze also occurs in the three-place construction where it means that someone takes on a property at a location. Consider the sentences below:

103 a. **Amedzró dze Amí**
visitor ICV Ami
'Ami has received a visitor' (lit. a visitor has hit Ami).'

b. **Kofí dze amedzró Amí**
Kofi ICV visitor Ami
'Kofi visited Ami (i.e. became Amis visitor).'

In the three-place construction, we have a person moving to another person's place and, in the process, taking on the property of a visitor. There is therefore the figurative transfer of the property of visitor.

The second separate but related meaning of **dze** is characterised as:

A part of an entity (X) moves away from the entity

This sense is related to the other one in involving movement. However it differs from then in not including contact. Further, it specifies that the movement is from the entity itself. The manner in which the movement takes place is determined by the nature of the entity. Consider the sentences below:

104a. **Atí-á dze**
Tree-DEF move_away
'The tree became split.'

b. **Mɔ́-á dze**
Road-DEF move_away
'The road forked.'

Both sentences involve instances in which an entity is taken to become partially detached from itself.

To conclude, **dze** has one specific meaning which is unrelated to a second one which, on the other hand, has two general and related meanings. Their characterisations are repeated below:

Dze - Someone (X) buys liquid stuff (Y).

Dze - a. An entity (X) moves into contact with an entity.
b. A part of an entity (X) moves away from the entity.

The figurative interpretations are then derived from the general meaning of the second **dze**. Thus like the other verbs discussed in this chapter, most of the

apparently different interpretations of **dze** derive from a few general and related meanings in combination with the meaning of its arguments.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the semantics of verbs which take obligatory complements. I have shown that the verbs are divided into two classes, namely those which have what I refer to as causal meaning and those which do not. Both classes contain verbs which have specific meanings and those which have underspecified meaning. The meanings of the latter are always further specified by the NPs which function as their arguments while the meanings of the former can also be further specified. For example I characterised **wu** which has a relatively specified meaning as:

> An entity (X) causes an entity (Y) which is a living entity to no longer have the properties of a living entity.

I showed that when the verb occurs with humans and animals, it is interpreted as 'to kill'. I noted that the form of killing differs depending on the causal entity as well as the undergoer. Thus humans are assumed to kill fellow humans with a spell but to kill animals by slaughtering them. The latter assumption requires contact between the causer and the undergoer but the former does not. When the verb occurs with a mushroom as an undergoer, it is interpreted as 'to pluck' or 'to gather'. I argued that these are default interpretations brought about by the fact that the states of affairs expressed by the two verbs represent stereotypical ways in which mushrooms are caused to lose the properties of a living entity. Following Levinson (1995, 1999), I argued that these default interpretations are due to pragmatic factors and do not constitute the lexical meaning of the verbs. In order to distinguish such interpretations which are contextualised from the invariant meaning which is not, I adopted Wilkins and Hill's (1995) two levels of semantic representation, namely semantics 1 and semantics 2. Invariant meanings belong to semantics 1 while contextual meanings, among which are default interpretations, belong to semantics 2.

Because the meanings of ICVs are under-determined, their complements appear to further specify their meaning at every instance. However, it is not only the complements which contribute to the interpretation of the verbs, the meaning of the construction in which they occur also contributes to their interpretation. By adopting the two levels of semantic representation, I have shown that the ICVs do not possess unlimited meanings or empty meanings as is usually thought. For instance, **dɔ́**, **ká** and **tɔ́** only possess single general meanings at the level of semantics 1. For instance, I characterised the general meaning of **tɔ** in Section 6.2.3 as:

The relatively pointed end of something (X) comes into sharp contact with the comparatively flatter side of an entity (Y).

This is a non-causal verb which occurs in the non-causal two-place construction. When the NPs which function as its arguments represent a knife and a person, then one would infer that the person was wounded as a result of the contact. This interpretation is not available if the NPs represent a stick and a wall. When the verb occurs in a three-place construction, the construction licenses the Causer argument and adds a cause interpretation. Other ICVs have a few different but related forms. Of these, **dó** and **dze** have two polysemous senses while **tu** has three. A few of the ICVs are indeed homonymous with other verbs. They are ***fú***, **tu**, **da** and **dze**. The properties of the verbs are summed in the table below:

ICVs with a single invariant meaning	**dɔ́ ká**, **tɔ́**
ICVs with different but related meaning	**dó** (2), **tu** (3), **da** (2), **dze**
ICVs with homonym counterparts	***fú*** (2) **tu** (2), **da** (2), **dze** (2)

Table 8. Properties of ICVs

The number of meanings that the verbs have are placed beside them in the table. We can therefore conclude by reiterating that ICVs do not possess unlimited or empty meanings as is usually assumed. Instead, they are like their normal counterparts in possessing a very limited number of invariant meanings. The invariant *meanings* is repeated at the level of semantics 1 while the contextual *interpretations* are represented at semantic 2.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 7

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter is divided into three main sections: in Section 7.1, I summarise the discussions in the previous chapters. In Section 7.2, I consider the implications of the study and Section 7.3 takes a very brief look at areas for future research.

7.1 SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS

In Chapter 1, I argued that even though one may want to compare ICVs to light verbs because of their underspecified meanings, they cannot be reduced to the light verb phenomenon. This is because unlike light verbs, ICVs do not cede their theta-assigning capabilities to their complements. Moreover, inherent complements (ICs) do not need to be eventive like complements of light verbs. I argued further that ICVs do not constitute any formal class in Ewe. Any attempt to explain the obligatoriness of inherent complements in terms of semantic indeterminacy (or even lack of it) of the ICVs is erroneous because it conceals the fact that there are also verbs with fully specified semantics which cannot occur without complements. Therefore, instead of focussing on ICVs, I proposed a shift to obligatory complement verbs (OCVs). This term refers to all the verbs which take obligatory complements and, therefore, subsumes ICVs.

Chapter 2 provides an introductory discussion of Ewe. In Chapter 3, I investigated the syntax and semantics of non-OCVs. These are verbs which can occur in the intransitive clause in Ewe. I divided the verbs into three classes based on the type of constructions in which they occur. The first class consists of verbs which, in addition to occurring in the intransitive clause, also occur in the causative alternation construction. This means that the participant represented by the NP which occurs in the subject position of the intransitive clause, occurs in the object position of the transitive clause. The second class also consists of verbs which occur in intransitive and transitive clauses. They differ from the first class in that the participant represented by the NP which occurs in the subject position of the intransitive clause remains in the same position in the transitive clause. The third class consists of verbs which can only occur in the intransitive clause. I set the discussion of these three classes of verbs against the background of the universalist claim by proponents of the Unaccusativity Hypothesis that intransitive verbs can be divided into two

distinct classes. I demonstrated that neither semantic nor syntactic criteria enable us to sub-divide the three classes of verbs in Ewe into two distinct classes. However, I noted that a commonality of all the verbs is that when they occur in the intransitive clause, they do not assert a cause or control. The former represents causing a change in a state or location while the latter represents engaging in an autonomous state of affairs. Drawing on a suggestion made by DeLancey (1990), I proposed that the two features – cause and control – are components of what I referred to as "Cause". I therefore proposed that at a certain level, the verbs which occur in the intransitive clause in Ewe can be said to belong to a single class. While acknowledging that the class could be referred to as an unaccusative class, I argued against attributing any formal significance to such a claim. For instance, one could not say that since unaccusatives are supposed to have underlying objects in theories like GB and RG, all Ewe verbs are transitive. This is because some of the verbs possess properties that are not in consonance with the claim that their single arguments are underlying objects. Following Goldberg (1995), I proposed instead that the intransitive clause in Ewe be considered to be a construction which has its own semantics. The semantics, which I defined in terms of lack of Cause, not only determines the type of verbs which occur in the construction but it also influences the interpretation of the ones that do.

In Chapter 4, I discussed two classes of transitive verbs in Ewe. I referred to the verbs belonging to one class as "canonical transitive verbs" and the ones belonging to the other class as "Theme/Location verbs", following Zavala (1998). Verbs belonging to the two classes share the same distribution, with the exception that the subject argument of those in the canonical transitive verb class can be demoted in the **nyá**-construction, thereby making it oblique. I showed that ICVs do not constitute a distinct class from these two classes. Instead, their distributional properties put them in either the canonical transitive verb class or the Theme/Location class. I claimed that canonical transitive verbs express either a state of affairs in which an entity brings about a change in the state or location of another entity or one in which control is asserted. This is the semantics of Cause which is absent in the verbs that occur in the one-place construction. I proposed, therefore, that the transitive clause in which these verbs occur constitutes a construction which I referred to as the causal two-place construction. While verbs with causal semantics (e.g. **wu** 'kill') simply occur in this construction without taking additional meaning component, the states of affairs expressed by other verbs (e.g. **gba** 'become broken') only have a causal component when they occur in the construction. I referred to the other transitive clause as the non-causal two-place construction. Verbs which occur in this construction express a kind of relation (primarily spatial) between a figure and a ground. Building on a discussion in Chapter 3, I claimed that Ewe

represents syntactically what active-inactive languages represent morphologically. Active-Inactive languages, as I explained, distinguish morphologically between two classes of intransitive verbs such that the subject of one class (i.e. active verbs) takes the same affix as the subject of transitive clauses while the subject of the other class (i.e. inactive) takes the same affix as the object of transitive clauses. In Ewe, active verbs occur in the transitive clause which I have referred to as the causal two-place construction. Because the realisation is syntactic, these verbs end up possessing the same properties as canonical transitive verbs, and any attempt to distinguish between them leads to the creation of an artificial class.

In Chapter 5, I discussed a type of simple sentence in Ewe in which verbs take three core arguments. I argued that this sentence also constitutes an argument structure construction which I referred to as the three-place construction. I claimed that the semantics of the construction is caused transfer and not successful transfer which, Goldberg (1995) states, is the semantics of the equivalent construction in English. I claimed that this explains why the Theme argument possesses the direct object property of this construction. This claim supports the universalist claim made by Groepen et al. (1991) that affected participants are linked to direct object position. The fact that two verbs **ná** 'give' and **fíá** 'show', the only verbs which can have either Theme or Location arguments in immediate postverbal position, yield different interpretations when they alternate the position of their arguments, lends further support to this claim. Also, the behaviour of the two verbs supports the claim made by Bresnan and Moshi (1993) that Recipients take precedence over Theme arguments for the position of direct object.

In Chapter 6, I discussed the meaning of verbs belonging to the two transitive classes in Ewe, namely the causal transitive class and non-causal transitive class. For the first class, I discussed three types of verbs: those that have a specific meaning and occur with generic complements, those that have a specific meaning and take cognate complements, and those that have an under-determined meaning and take the so-called inherent complements. I showed that verbs which take the generic complements **ame** 'person' and **nú** 'thing' have their selectional restrictions satisfied by them. On the other hand, verbs which take cognate complements have wider restrictions which are not adequately covered by either generic complement. For the second class of transitive verbs, I concentrated on verbs which take inherent complements. In order to properly account for the meaning of the verbs, both the specific and the under-determined ones, I adopted the two levels of semantic analysis proposed by Wilkins and Hill (1995). One level deals with the invariant meaning of the verb while the other deals with on-line interpretation. At the second level, other factors come into play, among which are the semantics of NPs which function as

the arguments of the verbs and the semantics of the constructions in which they occur. Pragmatic factors also come into play at this level. One set of pragmatic factors, generalized conversational implicatures, play an important role in determining that most of the contextual interpretations are default interpretations which can be defeated. Following Levinson (1995, 1999), I claimed that these interpretations are not the lexical meanings of the verbs.

7.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

What this study establishes is that inherent complement verbs do not constitute any special phenomenon in Ewe: they cannot be distinguished from other verbs based on either their semantic or formal properties. On the semantic level, I showed that it is not enough to say that ICVs are distinguished from 'normal' transitive verbs by the fact that their complements further specify their meaning. This is because verbs with specific meanings, e.g. **wu** 'kill' can also have their interpretation further specified by the complement with which they occur. If we decided to treat these contextual interpretations as different meanings, we would end up with almost as many homonyms for such semantically specific verbs as has been claimed for ICVs. One possible diagnostic which I considered is the ability of a verb to take the generic complement **ame** 'person' or **nú** 'thing'. However, as I demonstrated, this diagnostic does not work because there are verbs with specific meanings which do not take these complements as their obligatory objects. Furthermore, as the discussion in Chapter 6 showed, a complement like **ame** 'person' is only one type of generic complement which a verb can take. Thus **wu** 'kill' can also take **lã** 'animal' as a generic complement. The term generic complement therefore reduces to a higher level term that satisfies the selectional restrictions of the verb. In some cases, as in **wu** 'kill', there is more than one such term. Seen in this light, ICVs can also be said to occur with generic complements since some of their complements represent superordinate categories. An example is **awu** the generic term for 'clothing' which occurs with the ICV **dó**. Finally, some verbs which can occur without inherent complements appear to take on "inherent complement interpretations". Examples are **dze** 'an entitiy (X) moves into contact with an entity' and **dɔ** 'an entity (X) passes the night in a manner' which were discussed in Chapter 6.

On the formal level, I showed that ICVs do not possess a distributional property which is distinct from other verbs. Nwachukwu (1987) accepts that inherent complements in Igbo can be modified while Avolonto claims that those in Fon cannot. However, as I showed in Chapter 1, the IC in Fon can also be modified. It is indeed very easy to assume that the IC cannot be modified if one thinks or tries to elicit such expressions through English or, for that matter, French equivalents. The type of elicitation method adopted therefore plays an

important role here. For example, it was only because I used the Attipoe pictures that I discovered, to my surprise, that the IC could also be pronominalised. I would not have been able to elicit such sentences just by using translation equivalents. Recently, I mentioned to an Ewe speaker that one could say the sentence below:

1. **É-*fú*-i**
   3SG-ICV-3SG
   'He ran/swam it'.

She protested that that was not possible. So I asked her how she would respond if I asked her the question:

2. **Kofi *fú* du-a?**
   Kofi ICV course-QP
   'Did Kofi ran?'

Her response was a surprised "Oo, I see".

Another formal claim which I showed not to be applicable is the claim that ICVs cannot be Wh-questioned. This claim is undoubtedly due to the misconception that the expressions **ame-ka** and **nú-ka** are the Ewe equivalents of 'who' and 'what' respectively. But once we recognise that **ame-ka** means 'which person' and **nú-ka** means 'what thing', we can expect that it is only verbs which take **ame** 'person' and **nú** 'thing' as generic complements which can be questioned thus. An ICV which takes **awu** 'garment' as its generic complement should be questioned with **awu-ka** 'which garment', not **nú-ka** 'what thing'. This follows straightforwardly from the nature of the complement with which the ICV occurs.

7.2.1 ICVS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Although the claim I have made concerns ICVs in Ewe, my proposal can be extended to other languages. For example, Avolonto's (1995) discussion of the data in Fon shows that verbs which obligatorily take complements in the language are not only those which have under-determined meaning (i.e. ICVs). The issue in that language, as in Ewe, is therefore one of obligatory complement verbs (i.e. OCVs). Nwachukwu (1985) also notes that some of the obligatory complements are cognates. As I showed in Chapter 4, his attempt to distinguish between ICVs and other transitive verbs on syntactic grounds fails for the simple reason that the the verbs belong to the same class. Semantically, one could suppose that, as in Ewe, the verbs in the other languages form a cline such that some of the ones with under-determined meaning take complements with

more specific meaning while other verbs with more specific meaning take generic complements.

At the moment, discussions in other languages have rather focussed on just a few ICVs. A problem with these discussions is that they have mainly been limited to providing a syntactic account of the verbs with very little said about their semantics (except that the verbs are meaningless). A detailed investigation is required into the syntax as well as semantics of all verbs which take obligatory complements in order to establish whether the principle motivating the realisation of the verbs as transitive applies in the same way across the languages or, if they differ, which parameter determines the variation. It has been claimed that ICVs express states of affairs that are expressed by so-called unergative verbs in other languages. Ihionu (1992), for example, remarks that ICVs in Igbo are mainly unergatives. In the present study, I have proposed that Ewe and languages like it which possess OCVs constitute a new typology in the domain of the active-inactive phenomenon. Such a proposal allows for the possibility that factors governing the lexicalisation of OCVs will differ across languages. For example, Nwachukwu (1987) notes that some verbs which obligatorily take bound verb complements (BVCs) drop these when they take a perfective suffix. The example he discusses is provided below:

2 a. **Ánụ à rére ere** (BVC)
meat this rots rot
'This meat is rotten'.

b. **Ánụ à e-ré-e-le**
meat this PREFIX-rot-SUFFIX-PERF. SUFFIX
'The meat has become rotten'.

The examples show that overt aspect plays a role in determining whether some verbs have to occur with complements. A detailed study is needed into the semantics of the verbs to determine the exact role that aspect plays in the Igbo.

It should be noted that in order to establish the existence of the typology that I have alluded to, the studies will need to take the individual properties of the languages into consideration. That will be the way to determine whether language-peculiar properties affect their manifestation of OCV. For example, although Akan and Ga are related to, and in contact with, Ewe they differ in their representation of OCVs. To begin with, all the languages are similar in representing the state of affairs encoded by 'run' with an ICV. Next Ga, like Ewe, has the generic complement **nii** 'thing' for a verb like 'eat' (i.e. **ye nii** 'lit. eat thing') while Akan reduplicates the verb instead (i.e. **di** 'eat' becomes **didi** without a complement). Finally, Akan and Ga are different from Ewe in that their cognate arguments are not obligatorily expressed. The latter, like their English

equivalents, only occur when they are modified (i.e. **sa asa bɔne** 'dance a bad dance' for Akan and **joo jo ko** 'dance a certain dance' for Ga). Although it is tempting to conclude from such surface data that these verbs, like their English counterparts are not OCVs, the issue is not that cut and dried. This is because both languages, unlike English, have zero anaphora: inanimate objects are not overtly expressed in the languages when they are pronominalised. This is illustrated below:

		Akan	Ga
3	a.	**Kofí a-hu**	**Kofí na**
		Kofi PERF-see	Kofi see
		'Kofi has seen it.'	'Kofi has seen it.'
	b.	**Kofí a-hu no**	**Kofí na le**
		Kofi PERF-see 3SG	Kofi see 3SG
		'Kofi has seen him/her.'	'Kofi has seen him/her.'

The examples show that object pronouns are only expressed when they refer to animate entities (Saah 1992). There are other conditions under which the pronoun can be expressed, e.g., the presence of an adverb in Akan triggers the overt expression of the inanimate pronoun. It is clear that before a claim can be made concerning the transitivity of verbs which take cognate objects, these issues first have to be thoroughly investigated.

I identified two classes of transitive verbs, namely, the causal and non-causal. There is evidence that such division exists in other Kwa languages as well. The data I have discussed thus far refer to verbs with causal semantics. Richter (1998) has shown that some posture verbs in Akan (e.g. **twere** 'lean', **si** 'stand', etc.) and Ga (e.g. **jwéré** 'collectively be located') take obligatory complements which express the places where things are located. She argues that the locative complements are direct arguments. The verbs are therefore Theme/Location verbs.

7.2.2 ICVS HAVE MEANING!

Manfredi (1991), quoted at the beginning of Chapter 6, notes that if a decomposition can be provided for ICVs, then Nwachukwu's claims concerning the non-argumenthood of ICs is untenable. In Chapter 6, I demonstrated that ICVs do have meaning. This agrees with similar observations in Ameka (1994b), Saethero and Hellan(1996), Essegbey (1998), etc. It should be noted, however, that whatever the method of decomposition that is adopted for ICVs, and indeed for any kind of verb, one has to take into consideration the fact that a lot more goes into the interpretation of the verb in sentences than the verbs' invariant meanings alone. Among these factors are the semantics of the NPs

which function as the verbs' arguments and the semantics of the constructions in which they occur. Pragmatic factors also play an important role in this regard. The notion that verbs are supposed to be active functors which take passive arguments has therefore been demonstrated to be false, a point which has already been made by Pustejovsky (1995). Paradoxically, it is in acknowledging the fact that other factors play a role in the eventual interpretation of ICVs that I am about to bring out the contribution that they make.

By giving ICVs their semantic due, I have avoided some of the contradictions that have been made by some analysts. For example, even though Nwachukwu (1985:64), quoted in Chapter 1, does not accept that the ICV and its complement are compositionally predictable, he concedes that "this does not imply that significant generalisations are absent from [the] data". The "generalisations" are significant enough for him to provide the following decompositions for the two ICVs which he discusses (Nwachukwu,1985:71):

X **gbá** -Y (Z)	X cause Y to move (toward Z)
X **tú** Y X	throw Y/ cause Y to move

Yet, in spite of the above characterisations, Nwachukwu (1985:72) concludes that "in the Igbo ICV it appears that it is the verb root which is semantically opaque to the point of suppletive harmony in the case of the **-tú** and **-gbá** clusters". There is a contradiction in Nwachukwu's ability to provide a single semantic decomposition for a verb and his claim that the verb is semantically opaque to the point of suppletive homonymy. Such conflicts are obviously due to the need to account for the interpretations that the verbs receive in specific contexts. Different contexts give rise to different, and apparently unrelated, interpretations and this is made even more problematic when the verbs are translated into other languages. The present study shows that such conflicts are resolved when two levels of semantic representation are adopted. The contextual interpretations of the verbs are then represented on a level which is different from the one on which they are expected to manifest invariant meaning.

7.2.3 FORM AND MEANING

On the general issue of the relation between form and meaning, this study confirms the well-known fact that verbs play an important role in determining the type of construction in which they occur . However, it has also been shown that the constructions in which the verbs occur also play an important role in determining how their arguments are linked and the interpretation that results. Analysing basic sentences as argument structure constructions not only accounts for verbs which obligatorily take complements but it also allows us to avoid having to provide predictable polysemous accounts for many verbs. Thus

verbs which occur in two-place and three-place constructions are not necessarily taken to express separate but related meanings. Moreover, it enables us to refer to a limited number of argument roles while still recognising that participant roles are unlimited. Van Valin (1993:41) states:

> It [is] better to set up a semantic continuum of thematic relations rather than a fixed universal inventory. Agent defines one end and patient the other; all of the other thematic relations represent points along the continuum and there is no absolute number of distinctions which every language must make...

Dowty (1991) reduces the count to two macro-roles, namely, proto-agent and proto-patient. In the present study, I have adopted four construction roles instead of only two. It has been necessary to distinguish between Causer roles and Effector/Theme (ET) because the former entails the presence of an additional argument. Further, the distinction between Location and Theme has been necessary to show how the verbs behave when they occur in a three-place construction. For instance, I showed that the three-place construction has Causer, Theme and Location arguments in subject, object 1 and object 2 positions, respectively. **Da** which licenses only an Effector and a Theme argument has its extra argument linked to second object when it occurs in this construction. On the other hand, ***fú*** which licenses an Effector and a Location argument has its additional argument linked to first object position. Finally, **ka** which licenses a Theme and a Location argument has its extra argument linked to the subject position. The only way to account for this in an analysis that attributes argument structure solely to the verb is to posit polysemous forms for each of the verbs. Yet such an analysis fails to capture the generalisations that have been noted in the study. Furthermore, it fails to account for the regular variation in interpretation that occurs when the verbs occur in different constructions. An example is the fact that when **dzo** 'jump' is predicated of a human entity in the one-place construction, its Effector participant is taken to be involved in an involuntary jump. However, when it occurs in the two-place construction, the participant is perceived to be doing a purposeful jump.

By removing the spotlight from ICVs and placing it on the argument structure constructions in which they occur, I have succeeded in offering a more plausible account for some otherwise unexplainable phenomena. For instance, I have been able to explain why verbs which have specific meaning still occur with complements even though the latter do not necessarily further specify their meaning (e.g. **ŋlɔ nú** 'weed, write'). Moreover, I have been able to restore the important role that the verb plays in a clause, such that it is not necessary, where a verb takes a cognate complement (e.g. **fĩ fĩ** 'steal "a steal"'), to claim that it is the latter that determines its meaning. Yet, at the same time, I have demonstrated

that other factors play equally important roles in the interpretation of a sentence.

7.2.4 LEVELS OF SEMANTIC REPRESENTATION

What this study has shown, therefore, is that the interpretation of verbs, irrespective of whether they are semantically under-determined or not is influenced by the context in which they occur. However, this does not mean that the verbs have as many meanings as their translational equivalents in other languages can provide. Usually, they possess an invariant meaning which can only be captured when they are relieved of their contextual baggage. This can only be done by providing sepatate levels of representation for the verb, one of which is not influenced by context and the other taking other factors into consideration. In the present study, the two levels of semantic representation proposed in Wilkins and Hill (1995) is adopted. On the first level, some of the meanings are so general to the point that they are considered to be under-determined. At the second level, this invariant meaning combines with the meaning of the NPs which function as arguments of the verb and that of the constructions in which they occur. The resulting semantics from compositional rules then serves as input for pragmatic principles. Among the pragmatic principles are generalized conversational implicatures (GCI) which are a set of princples which guide specific interpretation in context (Levinson 1995, 1999). These principles account for preferred interpretations, not lexical meanings, of the verbs.

7.3 FURTHER RESEARCH

One issue that has been raised in this study is the possibility that languages with an OCV phenomenon syntactically represent a distinction that is morphologically expressed in active-inactive languages. It has been well established, as the discussion in Chapter 3 shows, that the phenomenon in these languages vary according to some parameters. It will be worthwhile to investigate whether languages with OCVs constitute a new typology in this regard. In order to establish this, it is necessary to undertake a detailed cross-linguistic investigation into the semantics of verbs which take obligatory complements and the ones which do not have to. Also, some Asian languages are known to have OCVs (cf. Cheng and Sybesma 1998). A comparison of the phenomenon in the different language families will help establish the principles which govern the lexicalisation of the verbs across languages.

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APPENDIX:

ONE-PLACE PREDICATES[1]

GROUP I

Inchoatives

báká mix
bé to cut away; to excise, to be bald, to be laid bare
bébé to lay bare, to expose, to be rotten, decayed, brittle
bi to burn, be burnt
bí to bend, to be bent
blá to bind, wrap, pack, to be folded together, to be thick, coagulate, join, unite
blu stir (water), knead (dough), to confuse, be confused
botso to become loose, to loosen
bɔ bend, be bent
bɔbɔ be bent, bowed low, be soft, mild, humble, submissive
bu to turn upside down
dra to stretch or spread oneself, da dra ɖe mɔadzí- the snake lay spread on the road
dudu to fall off, drop (leaves), to leak, be spilled; to spill
dugu to crush, mash, triturate
dza to be clean, to cleanse (as ground maize)
dzobo to shake, toss, to become loose
dzɔ to be straight, to make straight; to be upright, just, fair
dzɔ́ to fall down from, to drop
dzudzɔ to cease, leave of, to rest, respire
ɖɔli to change
fá to be cool, cold, fresh, refreshing, comforting, mild, peaceful, harmless, conciliatory
fanya to knead, rub
fé to split, slit, crack, splinter
fiã to singe, scorch
flẽ to tear away, tear off, pluck, slip off
fli to cut, shred, slice, to crash, smash
fló to tear off, pull off, pluck away

[1]The glosses are based on Westermann (1928).

flu to be dark, blurred; to deceive, take in, humbug; to be perfectly firm in, master a matter
fó to flay, skin, scratch
fu to be white
fá to smoothe, polish, burnish
flɔ́ to shave, scrape, scratch, smoothe, plane; to be shaved, worn-out, shabby, to fall, come out (as hair or grain)
fɔ́ to stand up, rise, arise; to raise, erect
gé to drop, fall off
glɔ̃ to be crooked, curved, slanting, spiral
gɔ̃ to be not well done, not completed, not in a finished state
gbã to break
gblẽ to spoil, get spoilèd
gbugbɔ to return
hé to tie, join, mend, pit in order; purify (e.g a house)
hlẽ to spread, extend, straddle; to be scattered; to sprinkle, splash
ho to rise, swell, ascend
xáxá to be narrow, to compress, press together, to be in a straight, difficulty; to embarass, perplex, puzzle
xé to close; to be closed
ka to scatter, spread, extend, diffuse, separate; **efe ŋkume ka** - he is thoughtful, down-cast, feels oppressed, distressed, homesick
ká to break off
kaka to scatter, spread, separate, be scattered, separated
ke to be wide open, broad, open; to open, spread
klã́ to be separated, to separate, part, depart
klí to pluck, tear off
klɔ́ to be bare, uncovered, to disclose, discover; to fade, lose colour
kɔ́ be bald, naked; to make bald, uncover, to skin, flay
kɔ to pour, spill, be spilled; to throw
kpálí to lay or join crosswise
kpé to join, meet
kpɔtɔ to be wanting, lacking; to be remaining
lã́ to tear, rend, cut
lìɔ to be pointed, acute, peaked; to point, sharpen to a point
lóló to melt, dissolve, liquefy
lũ to be loose, become loose, to detach, untie
lũlũ to be loose, fall off, drop
má to divide, be divided, distribute
míá to be narrow, close, to press close to; to make narrow, press together, squeeze, crush, bruise

mímí to press, squeeze, crush, bruise, throng, push
mlá to be tame, to tame, domesticate
mú to be intoxicated, to be in liquor, be drunk, to intoxicate
nyí to melt
ŋlɔ to be speckled, checkered; to make speckled, variegated
ŋlɔ́ to roll, roll up, wind, form into a ball; to be rolled up
ŋɔ́ to be pierced, perforated, hollow; to pierce, perforate
su to suffice, be sufficient, be enough, be suited, to suit
susɔ to be wanting; to be left, remaining; to leave
tɔ́ to stop, stay, to make a halt, to halt
tɔ́tɔ́ to mix; to be mixed, confused.
tré to stop up, choke up, to seal, daub, smear, to stop up or fill up with clay, lime, to glue
trɔ́ to turn, to change, to return
tú to be loose, dissolved, relaxed, untied; to be closed; to close
tugu to rub, pound, grind; to crumble, moulder, rot
tsí to extinguish, put out, to be extinguished
tso to rend, tear; cut, hew; to divide; to finish; to be rent, cut, divided, finished; to cross
tsrɔ́ not to grow well, to pine away, wear away, to languish; to die out, perish, be destroyed, exterminated, eradicated; to fall out of use
tsyɔ́ to cover, spread, overspread; to envelop
viã to be bent, curved, to lean
víá to soak in water, to be soaked
vɔ to be finished, ended, at an end, exhausted
vúvú to be rent, torn, tattered, slashed, lacerated; to rend, tear
ʋã to move, stir, agitate
ʋu to open; to be open
ʋuʋu to be agitated, moved, to move, shake, tremble; to drop
ya to tear, be torn, to break of; to pull, pull off; to cut, mow
ziɔ to lean

Non-agentive manner of movement
mli to roll, wallow, revolve, welter
tró spin

Emission
ɖuɖu leak, trickle
nyɔ́ to spinkle, splash, spurt, spout, spatter (**tsi le nyɔnyɔ́mí-** it is drizzling)
tsyɔ to drip, drop, trickle; to run down from
ʋẽ to smell, emit a smell

wú sprinkle

Appearance and disappearance
bú disappear, to lose, be lost

GROUP 2

Inherently directed motion
do move out, to appear, become visible; to project, be protruding
ɖi to go down, descend, **ɖi go** - to go ashore
ɖó to arrive, reach an aim, to have arrived, be fulfilled
va come
yi go

Cry
fa to utter a sound; to crack, chirp, weep, wail, moan. **atí le fafaḿ** - 'the tree is cracking'; **xevíwó fana** - the birds chirp

Movement
tsa to walk about; to search in walking
ʋli to wrestle; to quarrel, dispute, argue, contend, strive, struggle, **afia le ʋiʋliḿ le mɔ me** 'the mouse is struggling in the trap, **wóle anyígbá ʋliḿ** 'they are fighting over land'
zɔ to walk, travel; to move

Involuntary bodily process
gbɔ to breathe; to blow
nye to sneeze

Stative
baɖa be bad, confuse, spoil, seduce

GROUP 3

Inchoatives
bala to cling (as vines), to be attached
bátá to grow together
bí to be boiled (be cooked)
bĩã to be red
bɔ́ be abundant
didi to be long, stretch
dɔ to grow exuberantly, to spread

ɖɔ be weak, fatigued, exhausted, faint
drá to be strong, vigorous, daring, rash, stubborn
drẽ to be sticky
dro to burst, crack, crash
drɔ̃ to be half dry, half done
drú to be sore, bruised
dzẽ to be worn out, spent, shabby, stringy (as old cassava)
dzí to heave, swell, be inflated
ɖá to be sharp, pointed
ɖá to foam
ɖi to surprise, come unexpectedly
ɖi to be low in price, cheap
ɖɔ weak, slack, faint
ɖɔ́ to overflow, flood
ɖuɖu to leak, trickle
fie to boil, be boiling hot
fli to be speckled
flo pierced, full of holes
fã to be half-ripe
flê to be sickly, not to thrive (of animals)
****fú*** to be dry
gã to escape (from a disagreeable or dangerous situation) **égã le dɔlélé me** - he recovered from the sickness
glí to be crooked, bent, slant, awry, wry, dislocated
glí to glide, slide, slip
gló to be exceeding, extraordinary, to surpass, be too much
gblá to be vain, haughty, conceited
gbada to be out of one's senses
gbagba to boil over
gble to be forked
gblɔ to be too wide (as a dress)
gblɔ to be lukewarm, tepid; weak, faint
gbɔ to be loose, slack, weak, faint; to be half-done, watery, insipid
gbɔ́dzɔ́ to be weak, faint, weary
gbúgbá to boil over
xla to be bent
ke to stop, be finished, e.g. **aʋa ke** - the war is finished
kɔ to be clear, bright, limpid, pure, light; sober, conscious; to be in good health; to be religiously clean, sacred, holy
kɔ́ to be high, to be in a high, respected position; to lift up
klɔ́ to be vain, self-conceited, haughty

***kú**	to die, be dead
kpá	to be bald
kpe	to be big
kpɔ̃kpɔ̃	to be rancid
lí	to become erect
lia	be stiff, brittle
liáliá	to be clean, bare, smooth
liɔ	to be grown-up, full grown
lolo	to be big, large, massive, corpulent
ló	to be pointed, tapering
lɔ	to be vain, fond of dress, self-conceited
mé	to be fine, pulverised, smooth, polished
mie	to germinate, sprout, shoot, come up
mló	to be stretched, extended, strained, tense, tight
níní	to be smooth, glib, slippery, lubricous, to glide, slide, slip
nyó	to be good, nice, pretty, agreeable, right, suitable, satisfactory
nyrɔ̃	to capsize, upset, sink, to be submerged, be lost
ŋló	to be speckled
pɔ́	to be soaked, wet, also to be rich
pú	to be bald, to scald
sɛ̃	to be hard, firm, strong, difficult
sɔ	to be even, equal, alike
te	to swell, heave, to be inflated, puffed up
to	to be thick, compressed, cramped, shrivelled
to	to grow, sprout, bud, shoot forth
to	bubble, spout; to melt, liquefy
tɔ	to be abundant, be low in price
tɔ	to be luxated, dislocated, disjointed; to be sprained
tri	to be thick, strong, vigorous, difficult
tu	to germinate, sprout
tsí	to be blunt, dull, faded, used up, weak, waning
tsɔ	to be near, near at hand, close by; to concern
vé	to be biting, hot, acid, salty, sour
víví	to be sweet, flavoured, to be agreeable, pleasing, pleasant, delightful
vo	to be at leisure, be disengaged, free; to be at rest, at ease
vó	to rot, decay, be decomposed; to be rotten
vɔ̃	to fear, be afraid, to dread, be in fear; to be timid, shy
vu	to grow exuberantly, to straggle
vu	to swell, puff up, extend
ʊã	to thrive, grow well, grow exuberantly of cereals
ʊã	to be leavened, be sour

ʋlá to be tight, tense (as breasts)
yá to rot, decay, moulder
yɔ to be full; to fill
yrɔ to be lukewarm, tepid
yrɔ to wither, shrivel, fade, flag
yrɔ́ to be pointed
zã to be clever, able, skillful, adriot, well-educated, nice, civil
zrɔ̃ to be smooth, polished

Inherently directed motion
dzó to go away, leave, escape, abscond
gbɔ to come back, return; to come
hê to go away, to leave
tsó to rise, get up, arise, start, depart; to stand upright
vɪe to go

Cries
nyrã to rage, be furious, mad, to rave, to be excited, agitated
ŋe to sigh, groan, moan
ʋlũ to roar, grunt, low, growl, snarl, hum, creak, sqeak
wó to bark

Movement
glí to be possessed with a deity, dance wildly in ecstasy
gó to be quick, to follow, come close
lũ to rush, dart, dash, jump 'the leopard jumped on the hunter
tɔ to stumble; hobble; to halt, limb, be lame
tra to get out of the right direction, to lose one's way, to stray, wander, go astray.
va to ramble, rove, roam (of animals)
vli to overflow
vlɔ to go far away; to make a long journey; **Eʃe dɔme vlɔ** -he is very thin; to die
ʋlã to be quick, run quickly
yru to rush, to do with vehemence, in great numbers, **lãwo yru ɖe ɖɔ me** - the fishes rushed into the net
yɔ to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be impatient **éyɔ ná núɖuɖu** he was impatient for his food

Emission
dzí to drip, trickle, secrete

ɖi to sound
gbli to groan, moan
mũ to emit a strange (i.e. *fishy*) smell

Appearance and disappearance
be to hide, disappear
dzɔ to be born, come into existence

Stative
dovo be very bad
gobo to be deep
nyaŋa be very bad
sue be small
súkpá to show one's feebleness, to fall into disgrace, lose public esteem, to feel ashamed
vɔ̃ɖí bad, wicked, ill-natured, malignant, evil
ʊa to be vain, arrogant, insolent

Involuntary bodily process
háhá yawn

MISCELLANEOUS
defect
fia to speak a foreign, untintelligible language
kúkɔ́ stammer

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