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Grammars in Contact in the Volta Basin (West Africa)

On Contact-Induced Grammatical Change in Likpe

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1 The setting

The 'Volta Basin' corresponds to the core area of the (New) Kwa and Gur language groups within Niger-Congo. Geographically, it extends from the Nigeria-Benin border until Côte d'Ivoire to the west and northwards into Burkina Faso. This area is known for its high multilingualism with large repertoires of languages for individuals and different histories of contact among the people who today inhabit the region (Dimmendaal 2001). We focus in this chapter on the Likpe community living in the hills along the Ghana–Togo border surrounded by different groups speaking languages distinct from theirs including Ewe, the dominant lingua franca, Akan, a majority language in the Lower Volta Basin, and smaller languages like Siwu (Lolobi) and LElEmi (Buem), their genetic relatives, on the left bank of the Volta River (see Map 1).

Different factors have promoted contact among the peoples of the Volta Basin over the centuries including migration, trade, and warfare. The oral traditions of many of the peoples in the region, the interpretation of some older written records, and the lower-level relationships among the languages suggest that there have been different waves of migration: from the east to the west, and later some other expansions from the west towards the east. As population movements continued, different processes of linguistic assimilation took place. For instance, Agotime, a town in Ghana's Volta region, used to be Dangme-speaking but has now completely shifted to Ewe.
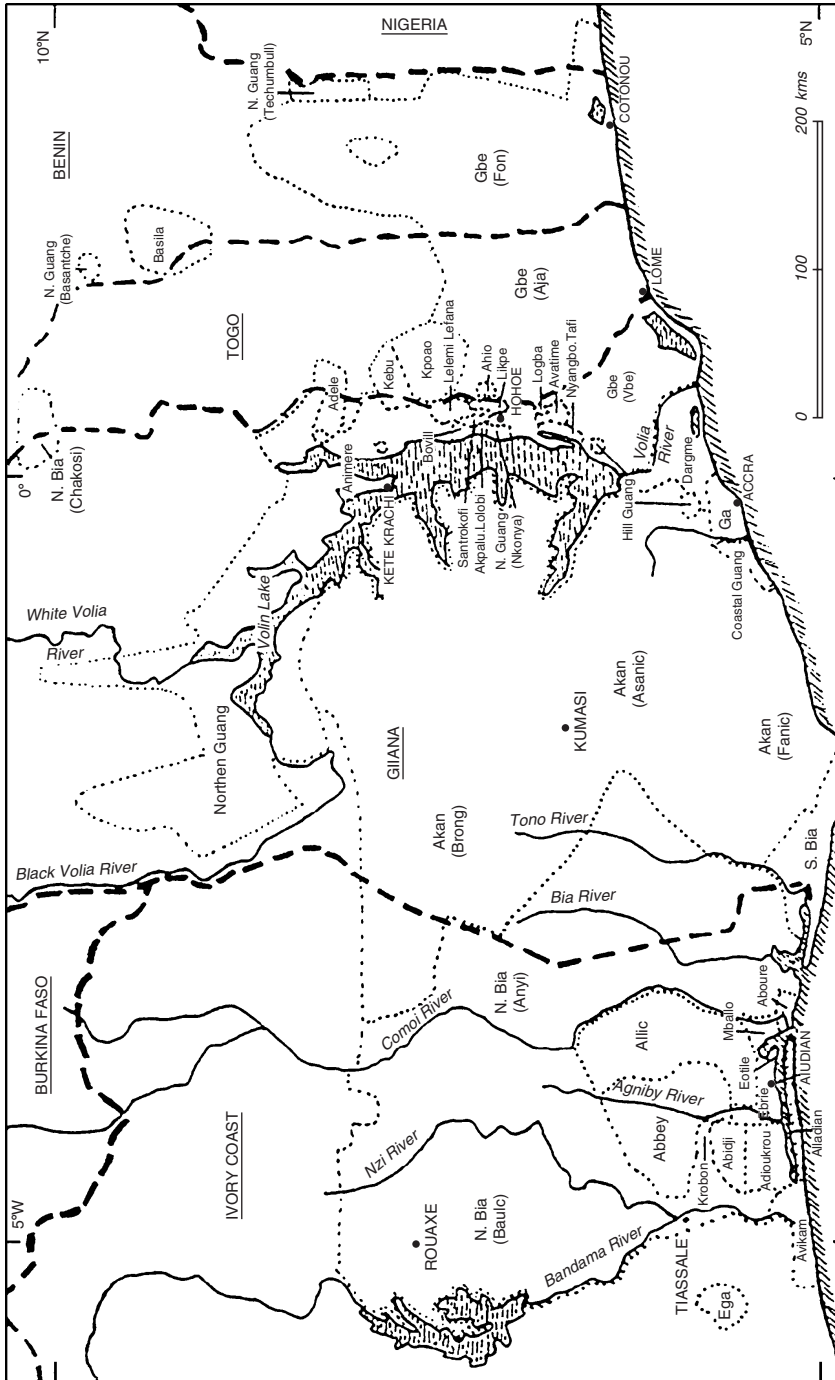
PLATE 10 Kwa languages

MAP 1 The Volta Basin

Source: Bendor Samuel 1989: 216

Another driving force is trade. There were trade routes from the north and west and from the east and also from the sea, introducing the European element.

A further motive for contact and language shift, and even language death, is the wars for hegemony among various groups. In fact the Ghana–Togo–Mountain borderland seems to have been a melting pot for language shifts by whole groups as it ultimately served as refuge for populations fleeing from Asante invasions from the west in the nineteenth century and from Dahomean military operations from the later eighteenth century onwards (Nugent 1997, 2005). As Akyeampong (2002: 39) put it: 'Wars of state formation amongst the Akan west of the Volta between 1670s and 1730s inundated the Ewe of south-eastern Ghana with refugees.' As such movements and turbulence continued languages disappeared, or are—or were—only vaguely remembered. Debrunner (1962) found traces of languages once spoken in this hill area that by the mid-twentieth century were remembered by only a few people. The communities speaking these languages were apparently destroyed by local wars that scattered their populations (Dakubu 2006).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the grammatical changes that have taken place in the Likpe, or, as they call themselves, the Bakpɛlé, cultural linguistic group. I argue that two external factors are responsible for the changes: first the intense contact with Ewe, and, second, 'pressure' to adopt areal patterns. The rest of the chapter is structured as follows. §2 sketches the geographical and sociohistorical context of the contact between Ewe and Sɛkpɛlé, the auto-denomination for the Likpe language. §3 compares Ewe and Likpe typologically. §4 discusses grammatical constructions that Likpe may have borrowed from Ewe. The constructions discussed are the extension of a 3pl pronoun to mark plural on genderless noun (§4.1); the innovation of a gerund formation strategy involving permutation of noun complement order and the reduplication of the verb (§4.2) and of a periphrastic present progressive construction (§4.3); and complement constructions (§4.4). §5 surveys discourse patterns that have spread into Likpe from Ewe and other languages, such as verbal expressions for the notions of 'believe' and 'hope'. §6 summarizes the outcomes, preferences, and attitudes towards the changes.[1]

2 The sociolinguistic and historical context of Likpe

Sɛkpɛlé is one of the fourteen 'Central Togo' (Dakubu and Ford 1988) or Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) languages (Ring 1995). They were first recognized as a group and labelled *Togorestsprachen* 'Togo remnant languages' by Struck (1912). Westermann and Bryan (1952: 96) note that they have 'some vocabulary resemblance to the KWA (*sic*) languages, but the Class system is reminiscent of BANTU (*sic*)'. Nevertheless, they are classified as Kwa and are divided into Na-Togo, to which Likpe belongs, and Ka-Togo subgroups (Heine 1968). The two groups are presumed to branch out from Proto-Kwa as in Figure 1 (Williamson and Blench 2000; Blench 2001).

Sɛkpɛlé has two major dialects, Sekwa and Sɛkpɛlé, and is spoken in twelve villages in the area east and north-east of Hohoe (the Ewe-speaking district capital) up to the Togo border in the northern part of the Volta region of Ghana (Map 2). The area has about 23,000 residents who speak the language (1998 figures) including a small percentage of second language speakers. If other native speakers in the diaspora are added, there may well be over 30,000 speakers of the language today. Table 1 shows the distribution of subdialects across the villages.

This dialect division concurs with the Likpe oral settlement history. The Bakwa and Todome, i.e. Sekwa speakers, are said to have been in the area before the rest came. It is likely that Sekwa was shifted to or learnt by the other people when they came. What language the newcomers spoke is not entirely clear. Some may have spoken some other Tano languages since they trace themselves to Atebubu in Brong Ahafo. The Likpe and the Nkonya, a Northern Guang group, also purportedly used to share a common border. Others may have spoken some Gbe variety given that the Bakwa have cultural ties with a group across the border in Yikpa who today speak only Ewe (Nugent 1997). The implication for the language, even before Ewe contact, is that it may have some Guang or more generally Tano substrate elements.

The current dialect distribution also reflects the splits and migrations that have occurred since the first settlements. For instance, the people of Abrani used to live in Mate and a chieftaincy dispute led to their migration.

It is estimated that the Ewes settled in their present homeland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (Amenumey 1986). Since the Ewes
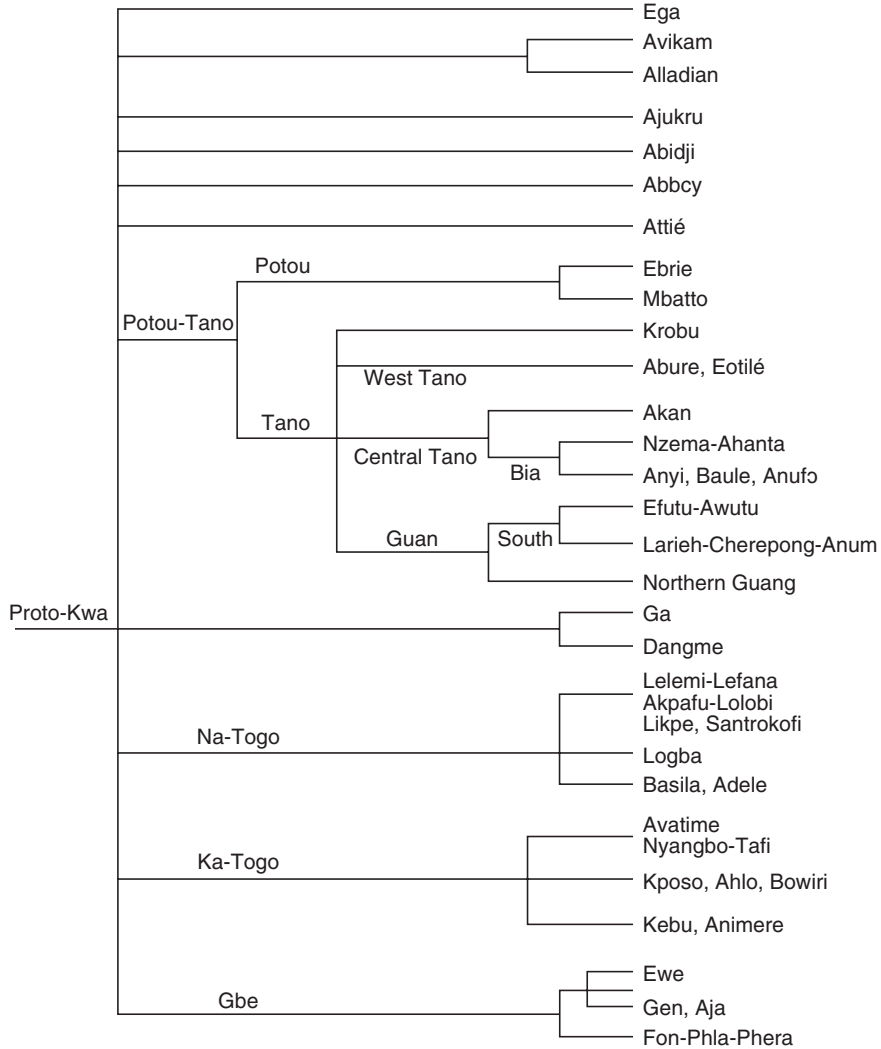
FIGURE 1 Classification of Kwa languages
Source: Williamson and Blench 2000: 29

supposedly arrived later than the GTM groups, the contact between Likpe and the Ewes, especially the Gbis (the people of Hohoe, the district capital), must have started around this time. The name Likpe is derived from Ewe and literally means 'rub/file stone', and the Likpe oral tradition claims that they gave land to the Gbis.
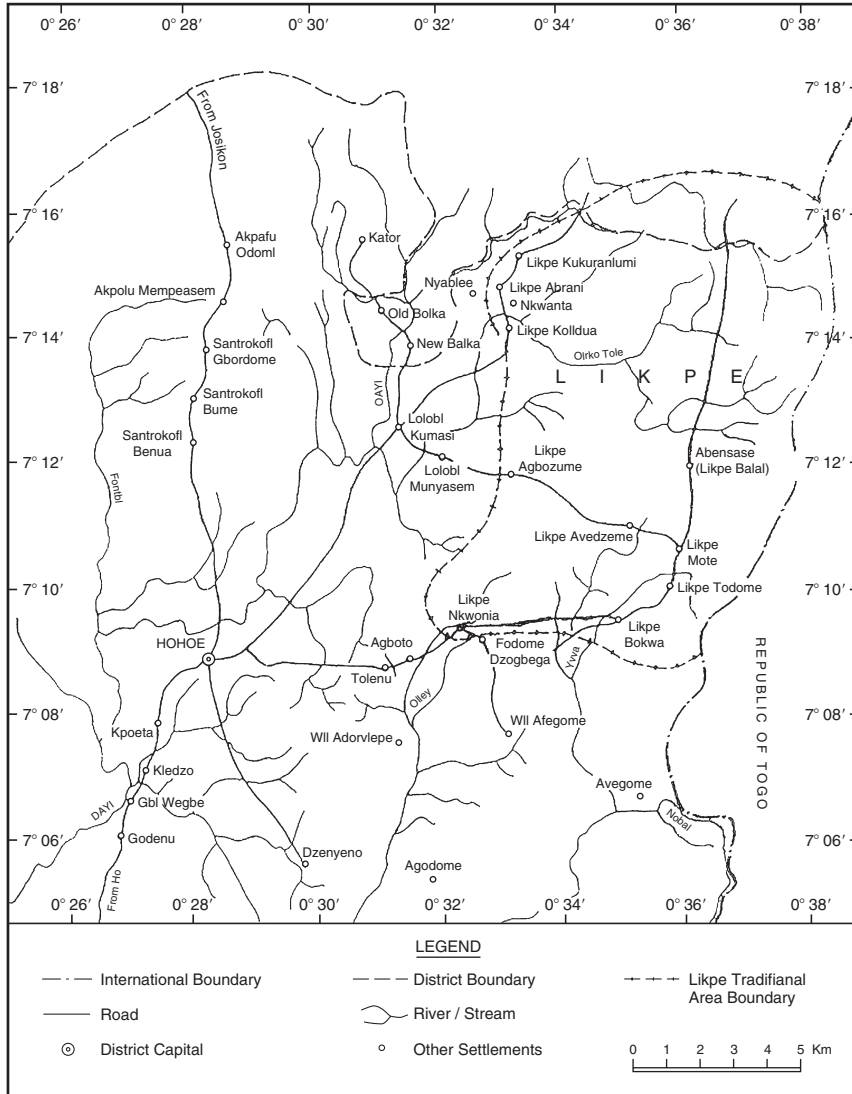
Map 2 Likpe traditional area

The contact between the Likpe and Ewes has been ongoing for centuries, and since Ewe is the dominant lingua franca in the Likpe area, almost all Likpe are bilingual in Likpe and Ewe. Additionally, several Likpe also speak Akan.

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TABLE 1. Sɛkpɛlé dialects and their distribution

Language	Sɛkpɛlé				
Dialects	Sekwa	Sɛkpɛlé			
Subdialects		L2 communitiess	Situnkpa	Semate	Sela
Villages	Bakwa	Alavanyo	Avedzime	Mate	Bala
	Todome	Wudome	Agbozume	Abrani	
		Nkwanta		Koforidua	Kukurantumi

Furthermore, a good proportion has some command of (Ghanaian) English. It is, however, unusual for a speaker of one of the GTM languages to have another GTM language in their repertoire. Children grow up bilingual in Likpe and Ewe such that communication in kindergarten is sometimes in Ewe. Church services are conducted mostly in Ewe including announcements, and Ewe hymn books and Bible are used.[2] Ewe is taught as a subject in schools. Transactions at district offices and the district hospital for most people involve Ewe. Such domains of use reinforce the need to learn and use Ewe. There has thus been a long, intense, and ongoing contact between Ewe and Likpe with many more bilinguals in the two languages in the community than in any other pair of languages. Some of the older Likpe villages have Ewe names: Todome 'bottom of the hill' Avedzime 'in the red forest'. The Ewe presence in Likpe is also reinforced by Ewe-speaking migrants into the area as settler farmers with Ewe-named settlements: Alavanyo 'It will be good' Wudome 'under the Wu tree'. While Likpes marry from outside their ethnolinguistic group, the spouses do not necessarily learn Likpe since they can communicate in one of the 'big' languages: Ewe, Akan, or English.

3 Likpe and Ewe: typological profiles compared

Table 2 presents various typological features and their realization in Ewe and Likpe. Some of the more typical Likpe features are exemplified in the rest of this section.

   Likpe has a root-controlled Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) vowel harmony system where the first syllable of the stem determines the ATR value of the

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[2] Currently, there is a Bible translation project under way. The Letters of Paul have been translated and these texts are used side by side the Ewe ones in church.

TABLE 2. Ewe and Likpe typological features compared

Feature	Ewe	Likpe
Vowel system	7 with oral and nasal counterparts (e and schwa are allophones)	8 with oral and nasal counterparts[a] (e and schwa are distinct phonemes)
Vowel harmony	No ATR but height assimilation	Root-controlled ATR and height assimilation, *i* and *u* are opaque vowels
Consonants	Contrast between labiodental and bilabial fricatives; voicing contrast in all places of articulation	[-anterior] consonants do not have voicing contrast; they are dialect variants
Tone	Two level tonemes High and Non-High plus Rising and Falling; lexical contrast plus derivational function	At least three level tonemes plus Rising and Falling; lexical contrast plus inflectional function
Syllable types	V, CV, CGV, CLV, CVV plus nasal coda syllables (but not VN)	All of these plus VN
Morphological type	Isolating with agglutinative features (and limited fusion)	Agglutinative with some fusion
Marking	Neither head nor dependent marking	Dependent marking in the NP, head marking at the clause level
Noun classes	Inherited nominal prefixes that have no classificatory function	Active noun classes marked by prefixes with concord markers for Noun modifiers and for subject cross-reference
Constituent order	SV/AVO	SV/AVO
Grammatical relations	Defined by constituent order, Subject and non-subject distinguished by distinct forms of pronoun plus behaviour in syntactic constructions, e.g focus	Defined by constituent order, and subject is cross-referenced on the verb. Subject and non-subject distinguished by distinct forms of pronoun plus behaviour in syntactic constructions e.g focus

(*Continued*)

TABLE 2. (*Continued*)

Feature	Ewe	Likpe
NP	Head can be preceded by an identifier, other modifiers follow	Head initial, modifiers follow and are marked for agreement with the head (except the qualifiers)
Adjectives	Small closed class of 5 underived adjectives	No underived adjectives
Nominal possession	Possessor precedes possessum and are justaposed in the inalienable construction (The order is reversed for 1SG and 2SG.) Alienable construction involves the linker *fé* 'POSS'	Possessor precedes possessum; Pronominal possessors juxtaposed, Nominal possessors linked to the possessum by *(e)to* 'POSS'
Verb complex structure	Preverb markers (6 slots)-Verb-Habitual suffix	Prefixes/Proclitics (3 slots)-Verb-Suffixes (2slots)
TAM expression	Preverb markers and dedicated grammatical constructions	Prefixes and dedicated **grammatical constructions for present progressive** (§4.3)
Negation	Marked by a bipartite structure, first part immediately before the verb complex and the other part at the end of the clause before any utterance final particles	Marked by a nasal prefix just before the verb root
Adpositions (Both prepositions and postpositions)	A class of about 10 prepositions grammaticalized from verbs, and over two dozen postpositions, grammaticalized from body part and environment nouns	A class of two prepositions: a locative and a comitative–grammaticalized from the associative verb suffix; and **a class of about a dozen postpositions grammaticalized from body parts and environment terms**
Locative predication	A single locative verb language; no preposition in the Basic Locative Construction (BLC)	A multiverb positional language with 15 verbs used in the BLC and the reference object obligatorily marked by the locative preposition

Argument structure constructions. In both languages, transitivity is not an inherent feature of verbs	• Unmarked one-place construction -*nyá* Undergoer voice construction • Two place constructions • Theme-locative (e.g. BLC, Possessive) • Causal • Aspectual constructions of various kinds • Three place constructions • THEME-GOAL construction • GOAL-THEME construction	• Unmarked one-place -nɔ Undergoer voice construction (**Actor realization**) • Two place constructions • Theme-Locative (e.g. BLC, Possessive) • 'Active' • Three place constructions • GOAL-THEME construction • Modal-aspectual constructions of various kinds with nominalized verb as OBJ2
Serial verb constructions	Subject marked only once, Negation marked only once, VPs can be marked for compatible aspect values, Predicate focus possible	Subject marked on each verb, Negation marked once on the first verb, Verbs can be marked for compatible aspect values
Complementation strategies	Nominalization, Overlapping clause; Complement clauses introduced by **bé** also a quotative marker,requires logophoric pronoun for non-1st person coreference **né** an irrealis complement introducer.	Nominalization Complement clauses introduced by ŋkə a **complementizer,** *bɔ́*, **a borrowing from Ewe with functional differentiation** (§4.4), and reduced form of person marked ŋkə for equi complementation.
Connectors NP Addition Contrast (Clauses)	kplé—(also comitative preposition) 'and; with' gaké—'but'	kú—(also comitative preposition) 'and; with' **kaké—'but' adapted from Ewe**

(*Continued*)

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TABLE 2. (*Continued*)

Feature	Ewe	Likpe
Disjunctionphrases and clauses	lóó—'X or Y, I don't know which' aló—'X or Y, It doesn't matter which' lóó aló—'It could be X, It could be Y, I don't know which, It doesn't matter which	**lee—'X or Y, I don't know which'** nye—'X or Y, It doesn't matter which'
Adverbial clauses Temporal Conditional Manner Purpose Reason	ési 'when' né 'if' álési 'how' < álé 'thus, like this, si 'REL' álé bé 'so that' < álé 'thus' be 'COMP' elabéná 'because' postposition ta 'since' < HEAD	ló 'when' < 'LOC' preposition grammaticalized ló 'if' < 'LOC' preposition grammaticalized kase 'how' (also functions as the question word) **aló bó 'so that' (borrowed from Ewe) (§4.4)** nya-so 'therefore' e-so 'because'
Information packaging scene setting focus constructions	Terminal particles lá; ɖé Term constituent preposed and marked by a focus particle (y)é	Phrase final vowel lengthening; **particle lá (borrowed from Ewe) (§5)** Term constituent preposed, no focus marking, subject cross-referenced by dependent markers.
Utterance final particles	Yes (some of which have diffused in the area)	**Yes** (some of which have diffused in the area)

^a Likpe structures suspected to have been influenced by Ewe are in boldface.

prefixes. It does not affect suffixes. For instance, the ATR value of the first syllable in -*kpɛlé* 'Likpe' determines the ATR value of prefixes of its derivatives: *ɔ-kpɛlé* 'a Likpe person'; *ba-kpɛlé* 'Likpe people'; *ɛ-kpɛlé* 'Likpe language'.

Subjects (A/S), but not Objects, are cross-referenced on the verb. The subject cross-reference prefixes are neutralized for number and are distinct from pronominals. Two sets of subject cross-reference markers are distinguished: the non-dependent and the dependent sets. The former is used in pragmatically unmarked main clauses while the latter is used in dependent and pragmatically marked clause types like relative, focus, and content question constructions. The non-dependent cross-reference is unmarked in stative constructions (example 3) and is realized as a vowel whose form depends on the features of the vowel of the verb root (1a, b).

(1) (a) Pius   ə-bə́   mfo
        NAME   SCR-come   here
        Pius came here.

    (b) be-síó   bá-mə́   á-nɔ   li-kpéfí   nə́-mə́
        CMPL-woman   AGR-DET SCR-hear   CM-child   AGR-DET
        The women heard the child.

The dependent cross-reference markers are *n-* and *lV-* where the V harmonizes with the vowel in the verb stem. The former is used with general present time; the latter for non-present situations. The focus counterpart of (1a) with a dependent cross-reference marker on the verb is (2).

(2) Pius   li-bə́   mfo
    NAME   SCR -come   here
    PIUS came here

In predicative possessive structures, the possessor and the possessed can be linked to either the subject or object function as in (3).

(3) (a) Saka   kpé   a-taabí
        NAME   be.in   CM-money
        Saka has money

    (b) a-taabi   kpé   Saka
        CM-money   be.in   NAME
        Money is possessed by Saka

The reversed Possessed—Verb—Possessor order could have been influenced by Ewe where that order prevails in predicative possessive constructions (Ameka 1996).

Likpe, unlike Ewe, is an active noun class language with classes indicated by nominal prefixes. Modifiers follow the head in a noun phrase and, except for the qualifiers, agree with the noun head in number and class, marked by prefixes on the terms.

4 Constructions borrowed from Ewe

4.1 *Plural number-marking strategy*

A clear instance of the influence of Ewe on Likpe grammar is in suffixal plural number marking on a subset of kinship terms and proper nouns (for signalling associative plural). These nouns fall outside the singular/plural gender system. Throughout Niger-Congo gender systems, such nouns tend to be genderless and have other strategies for plural marking. In Bantu linguistics, they are assigned to class 1a (Katamba 2003). Arguably, genderless kinship terms and proper nouns are a retained feature in Likpe. How the plural is marked on these nouns has, however, been borrowed from Ewe. In Ewe plural is marked by a clitic =*wó* 'PL' which is attached to the last element in the NP before the intensifier. For example:

(4)   ame   (eve   má-)wó   ko
Ewe   person   two   DEM-PL   only
         only (those two)people

The Ewe nominal plural marker =*wó* is in a heterosemic relation to the '3PL' pronominal *wó*, as used in utterances of the kind in (5).[3] That is to say, they are identical in form and are semantically related but belong to different grammatical categories. Some might use the term polysemy for this relation, but polysemy for me is a relation between semantically related forms where the senses belong to the same grammatical category.

(5)   (a)   wó-dzo   (wó)
Ewe   3pl-fly   3pl
               They flew (them)

       (b)   wó-ƒé   aƒé   bi
               3pl-POSS   house   burn
               Their house burnt

One of the uses of the Ewe plural marker is as an associative plural, especially in collocation with proper nouns, i.e. *N-wó* means 'N and co', and not two or more instances of the same N. The two readings of the form are illustrated in (6).

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[3] In some dialects, the heterosemic network extends to the possessive linker in the alienable construction (Ameka 1996).

(6)   Kofi=wó   *ƒ*é   sukuu
Ewe   NAME-PL   POSS   school
        the school of several Kofi's/
        the school of Kofi and his associates
        (none of the associates need be called Kofi)

In Likpe, some kinterms, including borrowed ones, are gendered as shown in (7).

(7)   ɔ-nyimi   'sibling'   ba-nyimi   'siblings'
        u-titábo   'nephew/niece'   be-titábo   'nephews/nieces'
        o-tási   'paternal aunt'   ba-tási   'paternal aunts' (from Ewe tási)
        o-fa   'maternal uncle'   ba-fa   'maternal uncles' (from Akan
                                                              via Ewe)

Kinterms belonging to ego's parents' generation and above are genderless and are suffixed with *m*ɔ́ 'PL' to signal plurality, as in (8).

(8)   anto   'father'   anto-mɔ́   'father-PL'
        ambe   'mother'   ambe-mɔ́   'mother- PL'
        éwú   'grandmother'   éwú-mɔ́   'grandmother- PL'
        nna   'grandfather'   nna-mɔ́   'grandfather- PL'

Furthermore, the term for 'great-grandparents', borrowed from Ewe, also forms its plural by -*m*ɔ́ suffixation, as in (9).

(9)   así-ma-ká-tó-é-mɔ́
        hand-PRIV-touch-ear-DIM-PL
        great-grandparents

The form -*m*ɔ́ 'PL' is identical in form and is semantically related to the 3pl pronoun form *m*ɔ́, a pattern that is parallel to the situation in Ewe noted earlier. While one cannot completely rule out internal developments in Likpe grammar in accounting for this situation, it seems more plausible that the pattern of the relationship between a 3pl and a PL marker came into Likpe via the copying of a similar Ewe heterosemic pattern. The use of the Ewe PL marker with proper nouns with an associative reading provides a good motivation for the copying. Heine and Kuteva (2005: 92) might prefer to call it 'replica grammaticalization', since it involves the transfer of a grammaticalization process rather than a grammatical concept.

4.2 *The so-called O-V-V nominalization strategy*

Ewe abounds in nominalized structures of the form N(P)-REDUP-V, also described as O-V-V structures (Aboh 2004). The structure involves preposing

the internal argument of a verb to its reduplicated form. Gerunds are formed this way, as illustrated in (10).

(10) (a) *ƒ*a   te   >   te-*ƒ*a- *ƒ*a[4]
Ewe   plant   yam   yam-REDUP-plant
            plant   yams   yam planting

     (b)   fiá   nú   >   nú-fiá-fiá
           teach   thing   thing-REDUP-teach
           teach   teaching

Likpe, by contrast, being an active noun class language, predominantly uses noun class markers as nominalizers. Thus an agentive nominal can be derived from the verb *yu* 'steal' by prefixing it with the class marker for animates, namely, *u-yu* 'thief', and a gerund by prefixing *bu-* to it, i.e. *bu-yu* 'stealing'. Actually, a gerund can be formed from any verb by affixing the prefix *bV-* to it. (The noun class marked by this prefix is equivalent to the class called infinitive in Bantu languages.) We see in §4.3 that the nominalized event complement in the present progressive is formed in this way.

Likpe uses other strategies for deverbal nominalization which do not seem to be due to influence from Ewe. These are:

 (i) reduplication of the verb to form a nominal stem and assigning the derived stem to an appropriate noun class. For instance, the verb *sa* 'jump' is reduplicated and then assigned to the *le-a* gender to form *le-sa-sa* 'frog'.

(ii) conjoining a verb to its noun complement and then assigning it to a class. There are two subtypes: (*a*) the complement is a direct argument of the verb, functioning either as its object (12a), or as its subject (12b); (*b*) the nominal is a peripheral constituent of the verb as in (11).

(11)   yɛ   tsyúɔ́   >   sɛ-yɛ- tsyúɔ́
Likpe walk   some(one)   CM-walk-some(one)
                                  companion

(12) (a) di   sá   >   di-di-sá
Likpe   eat   thing   CM-thing-eat
           eat something   food

     (b)   tí   sá   >   e-ti-n-sá
           be.covered   thing   cm-covered-LIG-thing
           cover thing   lid

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[4] Ewe has both bilabaial and labiodental fricatives. They are written as '*ƒ*' and 'f' for the voiceless and 'ʋ' and 'v' for the voiced respectively.

(iii) compounding of a noun stem plus a verb stem in reversed N-V order and then adding the appropriate class prefix.

(13)   kɛ   a-taabi   >   se-tabi-kɛ
Likpe acquire   CM-money   CM-money-acquire
            to get money   richness

(iv) Gerund formation of the OV type by preposing the O to a nominal-ized verb using the *bV-* prefix, as in the saying in (14).

(14)   di-ku-bi   **bu-lə́kə**   lə́   di-nəmí
Likpe CM-tree-DIM   CM-remove   LOC   CM-eye
            e-so   be-tídi   i-nuə́   laa-yɛ
            IMPERS-because   CMPL-person AGR-two SCR:HAB-walk
            Removing mote from the eye, that is why two people walk together

However, another gerund formation is modelled on the Ewe pattern in (10), involving verb reduplication with the nominal complement preposed. The same meaning, such as 'yam planting' (15), can be expressed using the two different strategies.

(15)   (a) bi-sí   bu-tə́kə   [NP bV-Verb]
Likpe   CMPL -yam   CM-be.on
                yam planting
        (b) bi-sí   tə́kə́-tə́kə́   [NP REDUP-VERB]
                CMPL-yams REDUPUP-be.on
                yam planting

One source of the [NP REDUP-VERB] strategy for gerund formation in Likpe might be translation of Ewe texts into Likpe. for instance the Likpe word for lesson is probably a calque modelled on the Ewe term. Compare (16a) and (16b).

(16)   (a) nú-sɔ́-srɔ̃)
Ewe   thing-REDUP-learn

        (b) a-sa-kasé-kasé
Likpe   cmpl-thing-REDUP -learn
           lesson, learning

Similarly, in the song in (17), translated from the Ewe liturgy, the expression for prayer/praying uses the [NP REDUP-VERB] strategy derived from the VP *tó a-la* 'throw CM-want'.

(17)   o   bo-antó   nɔ   bo   lá-tó-to
Likpe INTERJ 1pl-father hear:IMP 1pl want-REDUP-throw
        O Our Father hear our praying

In addition to the affirmative pattern, Ewe has a privative nominalization which involves the prefixation of the privative marker *ma-* to a verb root and then reduplicating the resulting stem. If the verb has an internal argument, it is preposed to this form. Likpe seems to have adopted this structure as well, as in (18b), which is calqued on the Ewe form in (18a). This is added to an existing strategy for privative nominalization which uses the negative verb prefix, as illustrated in (18c).

(18)	(a)	nú-gɔme-ma-se-ma-se			
Ewe		thing-under-PRIV -hear-PRIV -hear			
		misunderstanding			
	(b)	**kasɔ́-ma-nɔ-ma-nɔ**	ə-bə́-lu-fə́	mə lə́	ntí
Likpe		under-PRIV-hear-PRIV-hear	SCR-VENT-leave-DIR	3pl LOC	midst
		Misunderstanding emerged among them			
	(c)	u-tídi-mə́n-bú			
Likpe		CM-person-NEG-respect			
		disrespect			

The use of O-V-V structures in nominalization, both gerund and privative, in Likpe is due to Ewe influence. Their spread into Likpe may have been facilitated by the existence of a permutation strategy for nominalizing V-O sequences in Likpe. The translation of Christian and educational texts from Ewe into Likpe appear to be the channel for the transfer of the pattern. Moreover, reduplication in Likpe in nominalizations appears to have been adapted to Ewe modes.

4.3 *Present progressive aspect construction*

Likpe typically marks tense-aspect by verb prefixes. Sometimes they are fused with pronominal or subject cross-reference forms, as illustrated for the habitual in (19) and (20).

(19)	Atta	**əə-siə**	kò-lá
Likpe	NAME	AGR:HAB-dream	CM-dream
	Atta dreams (habitually)		

(20)	ɔ-la	ŋkəə	**woa-te**	bo bakpɛlé	eto	ke-tsyí-kɔ
	3sg-like	QUOT	3sg:HAB-know	1pl CMPL-Likpe	POSS	CM-origin-place
	He wants to learn about the history of we the Likpe people					

There are paradigms for future, present and past perfects, past habitual, and the past. However, the present progressive is expressed periphrastically. The operator verb in this construction is *lɛ́ 'hold' which takes a single or double*

complement. One of its complements is a nominalized verb formed by Italic NOT ALLOWEDbV- prefixation representing the event whose temporal develop-ment is being characterized (Ameka 2002). For example,

(21) li-kpefí   nɔ́-mɔ́   lɛ́   wó   ambe   bɔ-kpɔ̀-n-kó
Likpe CM-child CM-DET hold 3sg mother CM-fight-LIG-ASSOC
         The child is fighting with his/her mother

Two features suggest that this construction is borrowed from Ewe. First, the operator verb looks like the operator verb in the analogous Ewe construction. The Ewe form is *lè* 'be.at:PRES'. In the inland dialects surrounding Likpe, the form is pronounced *lɛ́* (Capo 1991). Second, the order of the elements, especially of the nominalized verb and its internal argument, is parallel to the Ewe one. Heine (1976) characterized this 'quirky' constituent order (Gensler 1997) as Type B–S-Aux-O-V. I would argue that the operators in these constructions are not auxiliaries, nor is the nominalized verb a Verb in clause structure. Likpe provides good evidence for this position, since the nominalization of the verb is achieved through the prefixation of a noun class marker, and the derived form has distributional properties of nominals (see Ameka and Dakubu to appear for further arguments). Compare an instanti-ation of the Ewe construction in (22).

(22) Kofí   **le**   mɔ́lî   ɖǔ
Ewe NAME be.at:PRES rice eat:PROG
         Kofi is eating rice

There is an overt marker of the progressive in Ewe, a floating high tone in (22) (and in some dialects a high toned *ḿ*). In Likpe, however, it is the whole construction that generates the present progressive interpretation. The entrench-ment of this construction in Likpe could have been aided by similar double complement structures that are employed for other "secondary concept" predi-cates (e.g. Dixon 2005) that translate as 'can' (23a), 'begin' (23b), or 'start'.

(23) (a) m-oo-fo   fə   bɔ́-sɔ   nɛ́   ló
Likpe   1sg-POT-can 2sg CM-hit INFER UFP
              I could spank you, you know.
        (b) u-tsyiko   nwə   kasɔ-kssɔ   bɔ-lɛ́
              3sg-begin ones down-down CM-hold
              He started picking those (pears) at the lowest end.

The effect of this Ewe influence on Likpe grammar is that the present progressive is the only situational aspect expressed periphrastically; all others, including the past progressive, are marked by verbal prefixes. This

construction appears to be innovated following the similarity in form of the operator verbs in Ewe and Likpe. As the verb 'hold' provides an event schema related to the Location schema underlying the Ewe progressive construction, there could have been analogical mapping as well (cf. Heine 1997). Above all, two internal factors may have promoted the development: the fact that the verb *kɛ* 'hold' in Likpe can occur in three-place constructions independent of the progressive construction, and the availability of double complement constructions.

4.4 *Complementation strategies*

Likpe has borrowed the quotative/complementizer *bé* from Ewe and added it to an indigenous quotative/complementizer *ŋkə*, which probably evolved from a verb of saying. This form *ŋkə* can be followed by direct, as in (25), or indirect speech, as in (24). It can be the only predicator in the report frame construction, just like the Ewe *bé*. In both languages, there is almost always a prosodic break after the quotative/complementizer. Such a prosodic break is signalled in Likpe by final vowel lengthening, hence in the examples the forms are written with double vowels whenever there is such a break.

(24)   Betty   ŋkəə   ń-tɛyí   fə   ŋkəə   ú-su   school
Likpe   NAME   QUOT   1sg-tell   2sg   QUOT   3sg-go   school
      Betty says I should tell you that she was going to school

(25)   u-sío   ɔ́-mɔ́   ŋkəə   oo   lɔ́   ŋkəə   e-kpé wə
Likpe   CM-woman   AGR-DET   QUOT   INTERJ   LOC   QUOT   3sg-be.in 3sg
      ɔ́-kwɛ-ɛ   alee   fãã   ku-su   kpé
      CM-neck-TOP   then   freely   CM-way   be.in
      The woman said ooh if he says that it interests him then freely there
      is permission

The form *ŋkə* 'QUOT" is used to introduce complements of speech (24), cognition (26), and perception verbs as well.

(26)   sé   ɔfu   kɔdzó   ɔ́-mɔ́   le-te   ŋkəə   məə-tsyá
Likpe   when   NAME   NAME   AGR-DET   SCR-know   QUOT   3pl-too
      a-sɔlé   eto   bé-tídi   be-ni   ko   ŋkəə   oo,   atúu
      CM-church   POSS   CMPL-person   3pl-COP   INTENS   QUOT   INTERJ   welcome
      When Ofu Kwadzo got to know that they too were church people, he
      said oo welcome (he and they will work together)

The Likpe quotative-complementizer is also used to introduce an adjunct purpose clause, especially after a matrix clause headed by a motion predicate, as in (27).

(27) ú-su   totoninto ŋkəə wəə-sú   u-tsyi   n-tu
Likpe 3SG-go NAME   QUOT 3sg:HAB-go 3sg-carry CM-water

    She went to the Tontoninto Mountain (saying she wanted) to go and fetch
water

    The form *ŋkə* 'QUOT' still functions as a verb in many contexts where it
gets marked for person and TAM features. This happens especially when it
follows a desiderative complement-taking predicate. For example,

(28) n-la   **mí-ŋkə**   maa-te
Likpe 1sg-want 1sg-QUOT 1sg:POT-know
      I want to know

(29) sé   be-kpí   bá-mə́   lέ-nɔ   bə́ə́ bo-la   **buə**
Likpe when   CMPL-Gbi AGR-DET   SCR-hear QUOT 1pl-want 1pl:QUOT
      boa-taka   mə́   le-ma-a   ba-tɛyí mə́   bə́-tsyuə́ bə́-ŋkə
      1pl:HAB-raise 3pl   CM-war-TOP 3pl-tell 3pl   CMPL-part 3pl-QUOT
      bɔ-lέ   a-ba   bú-luə
      1pl-hold CMPL-stone CM-sharpen
      When the Gbis heard that we wanted to wage war against them, they
      told their neighbours that we were sharpening stones [Hence the name
      Likpe which is Ewe for sharpening stones]

    The person-marked QUOT forms have apparently given rise to a reduced
version such as *buə* '1pl:QUOT' in (29) which is used as a complementizer
after any complement-taking predicate and even on its own as a reporting
form (30b). These reduced QUOT forms developed in equi-type construc-
tions signalling coreference between the matrix and complement clause
subject, as illustrated in (30).

(30) (a) n-te   **míə**   kə-tə́   mfô
Likpe   1sg-know 1sg:QUOT ANAPH-be.at there
        I knew that it was there

      (b) nyā   **míə**   oo e-ní   kú   le-sa   en-sí-bə́
        and   1sg:QUOT no IMPERS-COP COMIT CM-thing SCR:NEG-ITER-come
        and I said no, nothing else came up again

    The Ewe form *bé* 'QUOT' is assumed to have developed from a 'say' verb into a
quotative/complementizer (Westermann 1907, 1930; Heine and Reh 1984;
Lord 1993; but see Güldemann 2001 for an alternative suggestion). The Ewe
bé 'QUOT' form like the Likpe form *ŋkə* 'QUOT' introduces direct quotes
(31a), indirect speech (31b), and complement clauses of verbs of saying, thinking,
wanting, etc. (32) It can also be the only predicator in the quote frame (31a, b).

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(31) (a) é-bé   vǎ
Ewe   3sg-QUOT   2sgIMP: come
        He said: 'come!'

     (b) é-bé   né   na-vá
         3sg-QUOT   COMP   2sg:SUBJ-come
         He said that you should come

A logophoric pronoun is used in a *bé* clause to signal coreference between participants in the domain of *bé* and those in the matrix clause other than the first person (Clements 1979; Ameka 2004). Consider the contrast between (32a) and (32b).

(32) (a) Kofi_i gblɔ ná-m   bé   é_{*i/j}-gbɔ-na
Ewe   NAME say   DAT-1sg QUOT 3SG-come.back-HAB
        Kofi told me that he (not Kofi) was coming

     (b) Kofi_i yɔ́ Ami_j bé   ye_{i/*j}-gbɔ-na
         NAME call NAME   QUOT LOG-come.back-HAB
         Kofi called Ami to say that he was coming

Ewe *bé* also introduces the complement clauses of impersonal subject verbs like psychological and 'secondary concept' predicates, and like Likpe *ŋkə* 'QUOT' also introduces adjunct clauses of purpose/result. In (33), the first *bé* clause is an emotive predicate complement and the second is an adjunct /purpose clause.

(33) É-vé-m   [bé   me-ɖe   así   le   vi-nye   ŋú]_COMP
Ewe 3sg-pain-1sg QUOT   1sg-remove hand LOC child-1sg surface
     [bé   wò-wɔ   funyáfunyá-e]_PURP
     QUOT   3sg-do   torture-3sg

It pains me that I released my child for him to torture as a criminal

The Ewe *bé* 'QUOT' is lexicalized with some adverbial clause introducers namely:

(34) (a) álé-bé
Ewe   thus-QUOT
        so that

Ewe (b) tó-gbɔ́   bé
         pass-place   QUOT
         even though

I suggest that Ewe *bé* 'QUOT' has been borrowed into Likpe and used in similar contexts to the Likpe form *ŋkə* 'QUOT'. The adopted Ewe complementizer into Likpe is used to introduce direct speech (35b) and complement

clauses of verbs of saying, cognition, and perception etc. (35a) and also complements of clefts (35c).

(35)   (a) bə́-nyə **bə́ə́**   be-tídi   bə-tsyúə́ sí lə́ kə-tíní
Likpe   3pl-see QUOT CMPL-person AGR-some sit LOC CM-mountain
            kálə
            under
            They saw that some people were at the bottom of the mountain

   (b) nyā **bə́ə́** oo   ka-sə   kpé
       and QUOT INTERJ CM-land be.in
       And they said oh there is land

   (c) kasé mi-nə   nyā ní **bə́ə́** bó ba-kpɛle   lá   …
       how 1sg-hear 3sg COP QUOT 1pl CMPL-Likpe TOP
       How I heard it is that we the Likpe people, … (our last place of
       settlement where we stayed was Atebubu)

The Ewe complementizer *bé* probably entered Likpe through the borrowing of the connector *alébé* 'so that' (36b) and the obligation expressing phrase *éle bé* 'IMPERS-be.at:PRES QUOT', i.e. it must be that (36a) as well as the necessity expression *hi̵ɛ̃ bə́* 'need QUOT' (36c) from Ewe.

(36)   (a) ãã   …   nya-so   **é-le-bə́**   ó-te
Likpe   INTERJ   3sg-because 3sg-be.at-QUOT 3sg-know
            Aa, … therefore he must know

   (b) **álé-bé**   ŋko   ni   kasé min-yi   ba-kpɛlé   eto
       thus-QUOT this COP how 1sg-know CMPL-Likpe POSS
       akokosa   nɛ
       history   INFER
       So this is how I know the history of Likpe

   (c) **é-hi̵ɛ̃**   bə́   u-tsyi   wə   ú-su   u-bíkə
       IMPERS-need QUOT 3sg-carry 3sg 3sg-go 3sg-bury
       It was necessary that he (Skunk) should take her (his mother)
       to go and bury

The use of the Ewe borrowed form in such modal contexts has been extended to other impersonal-subject contexts leading to impersonal framing constructions such as *í-tə bə́* 'IMPERS-give QUOT', i.e. 'it caused it that' or *í-bə bə́* 'IMPERS-come QUOT', i.e. 'it happened that', as in (37).

(37)   i-bə   **bə́ə́** ke-ni   e-yifo ataabi-nyə wə di-siə
Likpe IMPERS-come QUOT CM-skunk SCR-do money-one 3sg SCR-sit
       It happened that the skunk was a rich man who lived

The form *bɔ́* 'QUOT' in Likpe is a direct borrowing from Ewe. Its introduction has led to two complementizers in Likpe with overlapping functions. Both forms are used to introduce direct and indirect speech as well as complement clauses, but the borrowed term is specialized for 'secondary concept' predicates that take sentential complements. The Ewe complementizer may have entered Likpe through the borrowing of constructions in which it is a filler.

4.5 Summary

There is unilateral influence of Ewe on Likpe grammar through direct borrowing or the diffusion of patterns. There are different motivations for these effects. Some are due to gaps in Likpe grammar such as the plural for kinship terms. Others reinforce existing Likpe structures. The consequences of the Ewe contact-induced changes in Likpe grammar discussed in §§4.1–4.5 are summarized in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Summary of constructions borrowed from Ewe

Grammatical construction	Structuration process	Effect on the system
Plural marking on kinterms (§4.1)	Heterosemy copying	Fills a gap for genderless kin nouns. Introduces a suffixation process for the marking of nominal number
Gerund formation (§4.2)	Pattern borrowing, exploiting the existing verb-noun reversal strategy	Adding a pattern to existing means of nominalization; expansion of the function of reduplication; might lead to less use of the nominal prefixing strategy
Present progressive (§4.3)	Innovated on the basis of existing structures and of phonological matching of operator verbs	Introduces a periphrastic structure for the marking of situational aspect (instead of a prefixal system)
Complementation strategies (§4.4)	Form borrowing	Borrowed form overlaps with indigenous term but has additional functions, seems to fill the gap for modal sentential complementation

5 Areal patterns

In this section, I examine some Likpe structures that articulate underlying semantic and cultural scripts common to the languages in the Lower Volta Basin. Likpe expressions of several meanings align more closely with the Ewe one, indicating that Ewe served as the conduit for the spread of such meanings into Likpe. Hence we focus more on Ewe–Likpe parallels.

The concept of 'believe' construed as 'receiving something and imbibing it' is lexicalized in the area in two-verb component SVCs. The specific verbs used for the 'imbibe' part vary across the languages; see Table 4. Except for Tuwuli, V2 is invariably 'eat' or 'hear'. Akan uses both while Ewe and Likpe use 'hear'.

Ewe and Likpe SVCs differ in one respect: the shared subject is expressed in Ewe only with the first VP. In Likpe by contrast, it is expressed on subsequent VPs by a concordial marker as in (38). Akan and Ga have both single expression, like Ewe, and agreeing subject expression SVCs, like Likpe (Ameka 2005).

(38)	**n-fo**	n-nɔ	míə	yɔɔ-lékɛ
Likpe	1sg-receive	1sg-hear	1sg: QUOT	3sg:FUT-be.good
	I believe it will be good			

Significantly, the concept for 'expect' interpreted as 'see/look (on the) way' can be matched in the four languages, as in (39).

(39)	(a)	é-**kpɔ́**	mɔ́	bé . . .
Ewe		3sg-see	way	QUOT
Likpe	(b)	ó-**be**	ku-sú	ŋkə . . .
		3sg-look	CM-way	QUOT

TABLE 4. Lexicalization of 'believe'

Language	Subgroup	V1	V2
Ga	Ga-Dangme	he 'receive'	ye 'eat'
Nawuri	Northern Guang	kɔɔlu 'receive'	dʒi 'eat'
Tuwuli	GTM-Ka	tɛ 'receive'	do 'put in'
Ewe	Gbe	**xɔ 'receive'**	**se 'hear'**
Likpe	GTM-Na	**fo 'receive'**	**nɔ 'hear'**
Akan	Tano	**gye 'receive'**	**tie 'hear'**
		gye 'receive'	di 'eat'

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Akan	(c)	ɔ-hwɛ	ɔ-kwaŋ	sɛ...	
		3sg-look		CM-way	QUOT
		She/he hoped that...			
Ga	(d)	mii-**kwɛ**	gbɛ	akɛ...	
		1sg-look	way	QUOT	
		I am expecting/hoping that...			

Emotional experiences also tend to be expressed with similar body-image collocations. Consider (40) and (41).

(40)	Ewe	(a)	é-**kpɔ́**	dzikú
	Likpe	(b)	ə-**nyə**	ɔ́-blɔ
			3sg-see	anger
			She/he is angry	

(41)		(a)	é-**vé**	dɔme	ná	likpe-á-wó
Ewe			3sg-pain	stomach	DAT	Likpe-DET-PL
Likpe		(b)	í-**fi**	ba-kpɛlé	**ka-fó**	tintí
			3sg-pain	CM-Likpe	CM-stomach	INTENS
			It angered the Likpes			

The difference between Ewe and Likpe in (41) is in the coding of the experiencer: Ewe codes it as a dative prepositional object while Likpe codes it as the Goal Object in a double object construction.

Euphemisms for bodily actions are also parallel in the two languages. For example:

(42)	(a)	má-dé	así	gô-me
Ewe		1sg:POT-put	hand	pants-containing.region
Likpe	(b)	ma-kpé	kɔ-ni	
		1sg:POT-be.in	CM-hand	
		'I want to urinate'		

Furthermore, interactional routines including proverbs have spread in the area. Some have similar underlying scripts, others appear to be direct translations of one another. Leave-taking expressions are an example (Ameka 1999).

(43)		Pre-closing request		
Likpe	(a)	ń-tɔ	ku-sú	ló
		1sg-ask	CM-way	UFP
Akan	(b)	ɣɛ-srɛ	kwan	
		1pl-beg	road	

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Ewe	(c)	ma-biá	mɔ́
		1sg:POT-ask	way
		I ask permission to leave	

| (44) | (a) | labe | kpóó |
| Likpe | | lie:IMP | quietly |

| Akan | (b) | da | yie |
| | | lie:IMP | well |

Ewe	(c)	mlɔ́	anyí	nyuie
		lie:IMP	ground	well
		Sleep well		

One goodnight expression, which reflects the belief that things that happen to people are due to God, is calqued in Likpe from Ewe as in (45).

| (45) | (a) | Máwú | né-fɔ́ | mí |
| Ewe | | God | juss-rise | 1pl |

Likpe	(b)	bo	anto	taka-sɔ́	bo
		1pl	father	raise-caus	1pl
		May God wake us up			

6 Conclusion

In this concluding section, I draw attention to attitudes of the Likpes towards the areal and Ewe influences on their language, both grammatical and semantic, described in this chapter. Likpe speakers are acutely aware of the various languages on offer in their community. They are however, not always conscious of the loans that have been integrated in the language. When some feature is identified as foreign, there are two stances that are taken. One is to accept it and nativize it by adapting it to Likpe norms. The other is to 'purify' the language by keeping foreign elements out.

One strategy of nativization is to reanalyse and reinterpret forms in Likpe grammatical ways. For instance, an areal attention-getting routine *agoo*, which is used to gain access to a place or to a group of people, has been reanalysed as consisting of a 2sg pronominal prefix *a-* and a stem *-goo* so that it is used for singular addressees. For plural addressees, the form *be-goo* '2pl-root' is used. This reinterpretation makes *agoo,* which has spread across languages along the West African littoral, look more Likpe-like, hence it is not seen as foreign (Ameka 1994).

The recognizable foreign elements are 'banned', at least in public. For example, the Ewe particle *lá* 'TOP' is frequently used in spontaneous discourse to mark background information instead of lengthening the vowel at the end of phrases, which is the Likpe way of marking such units.

Compare (46a) [=35c] containing the Ewe particle and (46b) with vowel lengthening.

(46) (a) kasé   mi-nɔ   nyā   ní   bɔ́ɔ́   bó ba-kpɛle   **lá** ...
           how   1sg-hear   3sg   COP   QUOT   1pl CMPL-Likpe TOP
           How I heard it is that we the Likpe people ...

      (b) sɛ́   ke-kú   eto   dí-yi   nɔ́-mɔ́   **le-yo-o** ...
           when   CM-funeral POSS   CM-day   AGR-DET   SCR-reach-TOP
           When the day of the funeral arrived ...

When speakers are reflective, for instance during transcription sessions of recorded texts, they ask for *lá* to be replaced by vowel length.

Similarly, an areal routine for gratitude *adase* 'thanks' which spread from Akan via Ewe and was adapted into Likpe as *lasio* specialized for expressing thanks at the end of social gatherings involving alcohol, has been officially 'banned' because it is identified as being Akan. Paradoxically, in another domain, an authentic Likpe title for chief *o-te* has been replaced by the Akan title *nana* 'grandfather, chief'. This was done in a sociopolitical climate of asserting a more Guang or Akan affiliation.

The contact-induced changes surveyed in this chapter come from multiple sources and have varied motivations (see Chapter 1). A holistic understanding of grammatical change requires multiple perspectives.

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