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DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF SẼKPEŁÉ: A GHANA-TOGO MOUNTAIN LANGUAGE OF GHANA

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Field Linguistics

2016

Department of Linguistics
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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a documentation and description of Sekpelé, a Kwa language spoken along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border by the people of the Likpe traditional area. It belongs to the linguistically diverse group of Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages (GTM), spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana. The language is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe: Bakwa, Nkwanta, Mate, Bala, Todome, Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi.

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters and a set of appendixes. The first chapter presents a general introduction. This includes a background overview of the Bakpelé (speakers of Sekpelé) which includes demographic and ethnographic information, as well as material on language classification, dialects and multilingualism, and research methodology. The second chapter is a literature review. Topics covered include language documentation, description, and language classification, and an overview of previous research on the language. The third chapter discusses the phonology of Sekpelé. The fourth chapter focuses on the noun morphology of Sekpelé and includes topics such as the noun class system, agreement, and some noun derivations. The fifth chapter discusses the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpelé. The sixth chapter focuses on pronouns while the seventh chapter describes the verb morphology. The eighth chapter discusses semantic classes of verbs and their valency. The ninth chapter discusses clause structure and clause types in Sekpelé. The tenth chapter discusses several construction types that involve combinations of verbs and/or clauses. This chapter is organised as following: (1) multi-verb clauses: serial verbs; overlapping
clauses; consecutive constructions, (2) complement clauses, (3) adverbial clauses, (4) relative clauses, and (5) coordination. The eleventh chapter consists of the conclusion followed by a full bibliography of materials referenced in this thesis and a set of appendixes containing selected texts collected and annotated in the course of the research.
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Cephas Delalorm
Figure 1: Language map of Ghana (source: www.ethnologue.com)
1 INTRODUCTION

This section provides a general introduction to the Likpe people and their language, Sekpelé. Section 1.1 deals with the ethnographic and demographic information about the Likpe people which includes their geographic location, history, economy, education and their religious affiliation. Section 1.2 looks at the genetic classification of Sekpelé, and gives a brief account of dialects and situations of multilingualism in the area. Section 1.3 provides the methodology I employed in the course of the research.

1.1 The People

1.1.1 Geographical location

Sekpelé (ISO-639 code: lip) is a language spoken by the people of the Likpe communities who live along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border (Latitude: 7° 10' 60 N, Longitude: 0° 36' 0 E) – see Figure 1 location number 55. It is a Kwa language (see §1.2.1) and is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe (the district capital which is an Ewe community). There are two main roads that lead to the various Likpe towns from Hohoe; one leads to Nkwanta, Bakwa, Mate, Bala, Todome, and the other leads to Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi via Lolobi-Kumasi. There is another road that links Mate to Kukurantumi via Avedzime, Agbozume, Koforidua and Abrani. Although some of the communities are difficult to access by road, they are linked to each other by interconnected paths through the forest (see Figure 2).
The current population of the Likpe communities is approximately 25,000\(^1\) with the indigenous speakers of Sekpélé in the majority (Ameka, 2002). There are also a few settlers from neighbouring Ghana-Togo Mountain (GTM) communities and other Kwa groups such as Ewe and Akan. There are also settlers from Northern Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Nigeria. Apart from the indigenous Sekpélé speakers in the area, there are over a thousand native speakers living in the diaspora. The Likpe community is surrounded by Lelemi (Buem) to the north, Ahlo to the east, Siwu and Sele to the west which are all GTM languages and Ewe (the lingua franca) to the south.

\(^1\) An effort was made to get some figures from the 2010 census regarding the current population in the area but the information was not readily available.
1.1.2 History

This historic account was put together partly from oral tradition and partly from the work of Mensah-Edzesi (2004). Mensah-Edzesi’s work was handed to me by Nana Komla Dihie III, the chief of Likpe Todome. The oral historic account was given to me by Mr George Ottah, the Omankrado Anto of Likpe Bala. His account is documented as in the history of Amankrado in Likpe Bala. There is consistency in this oral account based on my observation and informal interactions with Mr. Cyprian Somevi from Likpe Agbozume, Mr. Samuel Korku Mensah, an elder from Likpe Bala and Nana Komla Dihie III. These historic oral accounts are common knowledge in the area and could be sourced from anyone especially the elderly. It is important to note that most oral accounts do not involve dates although those accounts may be historic facts. Most oral cultures make reference to events, circumstances or an era. For instance, one may make reference to the era of the independence of Ghana (1957), the reign of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (the first President of Ghana) or the era of the famine (1983). It is no wonder the elderly do not know their date of birth.

The Likpe people refer to themselves as the Bakpele, the collective for okpele ‘a Likpe person’. The history of the Bakpele has been linked to the legend that they migrated from Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. Before settling in Atebubu, they migrated from the East African sub-region with some other Guang tribes, constituting a group of fugitives escaping the political upheaval of the era circa A.D 1000 (Mensah-Edzesi, 2004:1). Mensah-Edzesi estimates the migration to be between A.D 1000 and 1300. The exodus saw the Bakpele and the Guangs move from the east
toward the west to the savannah regions of Sudan through the Lake Chad area. Oral tradition affirms that the Bakpɛle settled in the southern borders of the ancient Ghana Empire until the empire was threatened by the invasion of Abdullah Ibn Yasin and the Almoravids (a militant Moslem or Berber dynasty). They moved into modern Ghana in several waves between A.D 1054 and 1076.

The Bakpɛle were one of the largest of the Guang ethnic groups which included the Bale (Santrokofi), Nkonya, Buem, Akpafu (lolobi), Krachi, Adele, Nchumuru, larteh and Gonja who lived in the southern part of the Ghana Empire. The Bakpɛle still recall vividly the past memories of the ‘Walata’ market where they obtained their salt. They also recall the memory of a fair-skinned tribe, the Berbers, who lived in the north of the empire. The Bakpɛle refer to them as ‘Obebenyə/Babebenyə’ (native(s) of Berber) while the Akans refer to them as ‘Pepeni/Pepefoɔ’. The word obebenyə also refers to a fierce or hostile person, usually from the north.

From the Ghana Empire, most of the Guang tribes including the Bakpɛle, Bale, and the Nkonya came through the Volta valley and settled at Salaga. They later left Salaga due to the threat of lions. They crossed the Volta River at a ford near Yeji in the dry season under the leadership of Ata, a lion hunter and a great shaman who was believed to possess mystical powers. They settled between the Kulago, Brong, and the Nefana and established a town they called Ata-be-bu (Ata’s cottage). This town, now known as Atebubu, is currently an Akan community. It is believed that the Bakpɛle and the Bale may have started rice cultivation in Atebubu. The Bakpɛle and the Bale are closely related because they once lived in Salaga and Atebubu. They also share a common parent language called Sele ‘language’. This is based on the evidence that both
languages have lexical cognates (see Appendix 1). Both the Bakpele and the Bale share common political, social, religious and cultural institutions such as their system of marriage and inheritance. Other Guang or GTM group such as Atwode, Adele, Nchumuru and Krachi support the legend about Salaga and Atebubu as the main centres of their settlements. This legend seems to point to the likelihood that the Salaga-Atebubu area was the original centre of Guang dispersion to their current settlements.

The Bakpele left Atebubu during the reign of Atara Ofinam VIII, the last king of the Guang kingdom. They were attacked by the Akan tribes in two fronts. The first command was believed to be led by the Mamponghene attacking from the north and the other by Kwahuhene from the south-east. The Akan forces over-ran the ancient Guang kingdom. Atara Ofinam VIII fled across the Volta and Oti River after a hot chase by the forces of the Kwahuhene. It is firmly believed that the Bakwa (a small Bakpele group) led by Ote Katsyankla and Katabuah, like the Atwode leader Awuku-Gevi, were among the early fugitives who fled through the eastern corridor for safety. The Bakwa settled first at Mount Djebobo on the Togo-Atacora ranges and later moved southward to discover the caves they now refer to as the ancestral cave at Todome.

The larger group of the Bakpele and the Bale crossed the Volta River and moved southward. They had several stopovers around present day Krachi, Nchumuru, Atwode, Adele and Kebu traditional areas. They moved southward along Togoland through Akposo and Ahlor in the Republic of Togo. During their stopovers, sections of the group decided to stay a little longer, either to seek the protection of the deities of the area such as Krachi-Dente and Bruku of Shiare, or to cultivate rice. The group that
remained lost contact with the main group and might have been absorbed by the Akan groups who came to settle in the area later.

**Figure 3: Migrational map of the Bakpele and the Bakwa**

During their southward move along the Togoland ranges, the Bakpele made intermittent contact with Ewe groups who were fleeing westward from King Agorkorli of the Notsie Empire, who the Ewes consider as wicked. They finally settled in Kitikpa and Likpeto in the region of Hohoe where they made contact with the Gbi, a section of Ewe tribes who were also escaping from King Agorkorli’s kingdom. The Gbi were originally part of Peki who shared a boundary with Anum. They left Peki due to the fact that they were dissatisfied with their Head-chief. During their migration northward, they came into contact with the Batrugbu (Nyagbo), Baagbɔ (Tafi) and Akpanawo (Logba) (Bobuafor,
Bobuafor’s account suggests that the Baagbɔ were nicknamed Tafi ‘head thief’ by the Ewe due to the hostility they received from them. The Baagbɔ used guerrilla tactics to protect their lands from the Ewe by ambushing and beheading them at night. This and many other incidents caused the Gbi to move northward. The hospitality that the Gbi received from the Bakpele resulted in the name of their settlement Hohoe (hospitality).

The Bakwa and the Bakpele had knowledge of their location and had correspondence between them. It is believed that when they first made contact after their departure from Atebubu, the Bakpele referred to the cave dwellers as BaGwa meaning ‘they are Guangs’ and the cave dwellers in turn seeing the large group exclaimed, Bakple ‘large group’. The Bakple were then lead by a female shaman called Klememfi and six hunters, three pairs representing the three main tribes. They were Alloh-Lemboe, Akonto-Lesiaku, and Ntri-Samba representing Abradi (Mate and Abrani), Akontokrom (Bala and Kukurantumi) and Tunkpa (Avedzeme, Agbozume and Koforidua) respectively. The Bakple controlled a large area of savannah woodland as far as the northern banks of River Koloe (Nubui) which was the boundary with the Ve, an Ewe ethnic group which had occupied the southern banks of the river. They also shared a common boundary with the Nkonya at River Fantibi. The Nkonya, after leaving Atebubu, settled in Bisimbli after a long journey through Larteh, Akwamu, Amedzofe, Gbledi and Kpando.

There was harmony between the Bakple, Bale and the Gbi until one day a tragic incident occurred where a hunter of the Gbi shot and killed a pregnant woman of the Bakple. The Bakple were displeased with this situation and prepared for war. The Gbi
discovered the plot through their spy network who said *ole ekpe li* meaning ‘they are sharpening stones’. It is believed that out of this statement came the name *Likpe* ‘stone sharpening’. However through the diplomacy of Ote Katsyankla, who offered to give the Bakpɛ a new home close to his, a war was averted. The mediation between the Bakpɛ and the Bakwa saw the former move closer to the latter.

Since the ancestral cave could not accommodate the multitude, they decided to settle in the valleys. Katsyankla and Katabuah remain in their original position in the south close to the caves, Ntiri and Samba established a town on the west called Okumasi, Alloh and Lemboe settled in the north in a town they called Abradi, while Akonto and Lesiaku settled in the centre and named their town Akontokrom. They came to a consensus and Katsyankla was made the Ɔsɔnsate or Omankrado ‘landlord’ and convenor of all traditional meetings since he was first on the land before the others arrived. Ambe Klememfi, being the custodian of the Bakpɛle deity *Lekple Boke*, was made the spiritual leader of the new settlement.

After a while, Ote Katsyankla convened a meeting with all the leaders stating that he could no longer work with a female chief. Ambe Klememfi abdicated and handed over the chieftaincy to Alloh and Lemboe. Alloh, the elder of the two, was installed as the first chief of Abradi. At the meeting, a proposal was put forth that the tribe that held the head chief should be located in the centre of the area. The rational was that chiefs and kings should be well protected. In times of invasion and war, if one’s chief or king is captured, then the war is won on the part of the invaders. The implication of losing one’s chief includes servitude and paying homage to the captors. This proposal was disputed by Akonto and Lesiaku since they already occupied the centre. The leaders
Cephas Delalorm

decided to consult the oracle to establish which tribe was to occupy the centre. The leaders of the two tribes were each asked to present palm-fronds, which were to be buried in the ground for three days. After the third day, whoever’s palm-frond had withered would settle in the centre. This process was followed. However, before the third day, legend states that the Abradi had craftily unearthed their palm-frond and manually withered it on a fire and placed it back in the ground. When the leaders inspected the palm-fronds on the third day, they realised that someone had tampered with them. Since no one was caught, it was established that it was the Abradi’s palm-frond that was well withered. Later when the conspiracy was discovered, the Abradi were nicknamed Mate from bate ‘they knew’ because they knew about it. Akontokrom was also nicknamed Bala ‘they liked it’, stating that although they felt cheated, they were content with the outcome of the oracle.

Akontokrom was asked to move to the north and settled at Sieti. They later moved to and established the town of Bala. I would like to emphasise that the aim of documenting this narrative is not to stir enmity between these tribes. This account is common knowledge among all the Likpe communities. There are some accounts that are bitter and very sensitive between Mate and Bala which are best left out of this work. Evidence for this account is the fact that the people of Mate still own lands in Bala and beyond.

When all these events had come to pass, the leaders met again to seal the terms of the union or amalgamation\(^2\). The governing body was shared among the leaders of the

\(^2\) There is similarity and variation in chieftaincy institutions across cultures. In Likpe, the Otekple is the keeper of the state deity *Lekple Bake* in which the soul and spirit of the people is enshrined. He is the
four divisions as follows: (i) Ote Katsyankla remained the Ɔsɔnsate or the Omankrado ‘landlord’; (ii) Alloh, chief of Abradi became the Otekple or Okankple ‘Paramount chief’; (iii) Akonto, chief of Akontokrom became the Ɔtsyiamɪ ‘spokesperson’; and (iv) Samba, chief of Okumase became the Okanto ‘stool father’. The leaders also instituted a special annual festival Lekoryi (biannual these days) - a day when all the people of the group came together as one people with a common destiny. The chiefs and elders assemble at Mate, the central town for elaborate rituals and renew their loyalty to the Almighty God, the group goddess Lɛkplɛ Bɔkɛ and the ancestors. These days during the Lekoryi festival, libation is poured at the courtyard of the Paramount chief. Prayers are made to invoke the Almighty God, the Earth goddess Asase Yaa and there is reciting of the litany of the founding fathers of the Likpe state in this order: Katsyankla, Katabuah, Alloh, Lemboe, Akonto, Lesiaku, Ntri and Samba.

According to Westermann & Bryan (1952), speakers of the Togo Remnant languages (now GTM) represented the indigenous population of the area before the arrival of the Ewe and the Akan speaking groups. This account is confirmed by the oral traditions of most of the GTM groups, the Guangs, the Ewes and the Akans.

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first leader among equals. He is not recognised as the supreme ruler over the others, since he did not get the leadership through conquest. It was during the German colonial rule and later in 1920, when the Native Administration Ordinance was introduced that the political leadership of chief of Mate as Paramount chief became crystallized and officially recognized. Ɔsɔnsate ‘landlord’ as the name suggests is the symbolic owner of the land. His roles include chairing meetings, installing and uninstalling a chief. Okanto ‘stool father’ plays advisory roles to the chief. He also plays a caretaker role in the absence of the chief. These days, we have the Usiənam ‘caretaker’ who represents the chief in his absence. The Ɔtsyiamɪ is the mouthpiece of the council. He reiterates messages to and fro between speakers and audience at meetings. The Ɔtsyiamɪ is mostly considered as the ‘linguist’ in most African cultures due to his function. Apart from the paramount chief, the other chiefs have sub-chiefs who play the above roles.
1.1.3 Economy

The Likpe area is predominantly agrarian. The vast majority of the people are crop farmers and hunters. Others engage in craftsmanship such as pottery, wood carving and basket weaving, and most have multiple occupations. Most of the women are traders, engaged in the sale of foodstuffs and basic commodities at market centres that rotate between towns in the area or elsewhere.

The Likpe people are noted for the cultivation of red or brown rice. Some common staple foods include maize, cassava, groundnut, plantain, cocoyam and water yam; cash crops include cocoa, coffee and oil palm; and fruits such as orange, papaya, and mango also grow in the area. These facts are based on my personal knowledge acquired through contact with the Likpe area.

1.1.4 Education

Every Likpe town has at least one primary school. Pupils in towns that do not have a Junior Secondary/high school go to the nearest town that does. There is one Senior Secondary school called Lise (Likpe Secondary School) located at Likpe-Mate. Although these educational facilities are available, the majority of the pupils find it difficult to go beyond the Junior Secondary level. There is a general trend that children raised in the diaspora or cities excel in the educational domain compared to home-based children; this is a general educational assessment trend in Ghana3.

3 Statistics can be obtained from the Ghana Education Service: http://www.moe.gov.gh/site/statistics (assessed on 25/10/2014)
A new education reform was implemented in September 2007 to handle the prevailing problems in the objectives, content, administration and management of education in Ghana (see Appendix 2). However, the new educational reform falls short in its implementation. Literacy materials for mother tongue teaching are not available in most of the languages in Ghana and the language communities have been left to their fate for the development of their own materials. There is also inadequate equipment for Technical, Vocational, Agricultural and Teacher Training Schools. Conditions of service for teachers are still poor nationwide, with rural teachers more disadvantaged.

The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), a branch of SIL International, has for the past 30 years made efforts to organise literacy classes in the area. The Institute is also engaged in the translation of the Bible into Sekpelé and other GTM languages in collaboration with the Wycliffe Bible Translators International (WBTI). The New Testament in Sekpelé was published in 2009 and progress has been made towards the translation of the Old Testament. A couple of primers for literacy and language training are also available.

1.1.5 Religious affiliation

Since Likpe is an indigenous African traditional area, most rites and rituals such as birth, death, marriage and festivals are held in accordance with the custom and tradition of the area. The majority of people believe in super-natural deities and ancestral spirits. The influence of Christianity has in recent times caused most of the customs and rites to be simplified or abolished.
The prevailing Christian institutions in the area are the Catholic, Evangelical Presbyterian, and Pentecostal churches. Islam is practised by migrant settlers from Northern Ghana, Togo, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. They live in small settlements on the outskirts of towns called ‘Zongo’. The influence of Islam on Likpe people is minimal compared to that of Christianity.

1.2 The Language

1.2.1 Classification

Sɛkpɛlé belongs to the linguistically diverse group of languages spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana now referred to as the Ghana Togo Mountain languages (GTM). This group of languages belongs to the Kwa sub-group of the Niger-Congo languages. The name Ghana Togo Mountain language was first proposed and used by Ring (1995), however the group was first referred to as the Togorestsprachen (Togo remnant languages) by (Struck, 1912; Westermann & Bryan, 1952; Westermann, 1930, 1954) and later as the Central Togo languages by Kropp Dakubu & Ford (1988). Westermann and Bryan have also referred to the group as the class languages of Togoland due to the fact that the noun class system of the group is reminiscent of the Bantu languages. It was Greenberg (1966) who grouped them as a unit in his Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo phylum. Heine (1968) sub-classified the group into the KA and NA branches based on lexical and morphological evidence, as well as lexico-statistical analysis. The basis of this classification is the word for ‘meat’ in the various languages and Sɛkpɛlé falls within the NA group.
Heine’s classification has been subjected to criticism by Blench (2001; 2009), suggesting that the group may be better treated as a mixture of single-branch nodes and small clusters.

Figure 4: Heine’s (1968) classification (as quoted from Blench 2009)

Heine’s classification has been subjected to criticism by Blench (2001; 2009), suggesting that the group may be better treated as a mixture of single-branch nodes and small clusters.

Figure 5: Revised GTM classification (Blench 2009)
Figure 6: Classification of the Eastern Kwa languages

Adapted from (Williamson & Blench, 2000)
A word-list of all the GTM languages was solicited during the 3rd GTM workshop in Ho, Volta region of Ghana on 12th August 2011. The outcome of that project is not yet available.

1.2.2 Dialects and speaker multilingualism

Sekpelé, Sekwá and Sele (spoken by the Santrokofi people) can be said to form a language continuum. They are descendents of Sele ‘language’. One feature that differentiates Sekwá from Sekpelé is the fact that the former has voiced consonants in the final syllable of a Sekpelé variant word, in addition to its diverse vocabulary. Sekwá is spoken in Bakwa and Todome while Sekpelé is spoken by the rest of the towns. The Sekpelé variety can be sub-divided into (1) Situnkpa spoken predominantly in Agbozome, Avedzime and Koforidua; (2) Semate spoken in Mate and Abrani; (3) Sela spoken in Bala and Kukurantumi. This sub-division is based on tribal autonomy rather than clear dialectal differences. However there seems to be some variation in terms of accent and style. Situnkpa seems to have some variant intonation. There is a need for further study of dialects in Sekpelé. The degree of intelligibility between Situnkpa, Semate and Sela is very high compared to that between Sekwa and the Sekpelé. There is an asymmetry in intelligibility such that Sekpelé is intelligible to Sekwá speakers, who are bi-dialectal, but not the other way round. Speakers of Sekwa are able to switch between both dialects but the same cannot be said of the speakers of Sekpelé.

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4 According to a narrative I elicited, there was a chieftaincy dispute in the late 1920s that saw the split of some towns. Abrani and Kukurantumi used to be people of Mate and Bala respectively and have migrated to the current location.
Most of the Likpe people are multilingual due to their geographical and linguistic proximity to other GTM languages (see Figure 1). The lingua-franca in the area is Ewe, which is used in schools, churches, markets and in the media. Some people also speak Akan, probably because it is the largest language group in Ghana. English is taught at school and it is the official language for administrative and formal settings. Most people who have not attended formal schooling tend to speak Pidgin English. Senior High school students who return home for vacation may also speak some form of Pidgin English as a language of association among themselves. Some speakers are in contact with French, and Togo varieties of Ewe, due to cross-border activities. Some speakers over 55 years are familiar with some German vocabulary, which was passed down to them by their parents and grandparents, due to the fact that the area was a German colony before the end of the First World War. Notwithstanding the influence of other languages, Sekpelé is normally the first language children acquire before they get in contact with other languages. Sekpelé is more stable in terms of its vitality when compared with a language such as Animere (a GTM language) which is in the verge of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sele</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dialects</td>
<td>Sekwa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Situnkpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>Bakwa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Todome</td>
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<td>Nkwanta</td>
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Table 1.1: The dialects of Sele
extinction (all speakers over 50 years). Animere is plagued with a total shift to Akan (the national lingua franca in Ghana).

1.3 Methodology and research framework

The methodology adopted in this work is a fieldwork-based approach to cover the scope of the topics and the questions raised, employing language documentation techniques and descriptive linguistic guidelines proposed in Payne (1997), Woodbury (2005) and Chelliah & De Reuse (2011). This work began with Descriptive Linguistic Fieldwork as proposed by Chelliah & De Reuse (2011:7) as ‘the investigation of the structure of a language through the collection of primary data gathered through the interaction with native-speaking consultants’.

Activities undertaken during the research period include fieldwork, data analysis, and write-up of this thesis. There were two fieldtrips that were undertaken. The first fieldwork lasted for nine months from 15th September 2012 to 15th June 2013. The second fieldtrip occurred between February and April 2014. The aim of that trip was to fill in the gaps in the data. I also collected data on the distinct dialect called Sekwa as spoken in Likpe Bakwa and Likpe Todome. I also had the opportunity to document a bi-annual festival of the Likpe Traditional council where most of the extinct and endangered customs and cultures of the Likpe people were portrayed.

5 Prior to my flight to Ghana, I made preparations regarding the resources I needed for the fieldwork. I was able to secure all my equipment. I also made sure that I had downloaded and installed all the software (FLEx, ELAN, Transcriber, Audacity) I needed to process the data. I also secured some books as well as articles from various sources such as JSTOR. I used mendeley desktop to organise my bibliography (www.mendeley.com).
The field trip aimed to collect recordings from:

- Interviews, narratives and everyday conversation,
- Socio-cultural ceremonies such as festivals, birth and naming ceremonies, puberty, marriages, funerals etc.
- Socio-economic activities such as trading at the market place and farming.

Fortunately, my target for video was exceeded due to the enthusiasm of the communities towards the project. I was able to meet my recording target by observing activities such as storytelling, funerals, marriages, industrial activities, community based activities etc. All the video recordings were collected from spontaneous activities. Audio recordings were on the other hand collected by elicitation. I received great support from the entire community during community-based activities. I did not record market activities due to the fact that most traders were foreigners and the medium of communication was Ewe, the local lingua franca. A total of 33 audio and 150 video files were collected from the field.

Regarding data analysis, all the 33 audio files have been processed and interlinearized with FLEX. 11 of the 150 video files have so far been transcribed into text and analysed. The entire collection of the project is grouped into audio and video, with fieldwork notes and meta-data.
A total of 150 videos were edited and formatted into MP4 files. The video folder contains recordings from funerals, industrial activities, marriages, stories, and others taken from everyday activities and interviews.
The video files were annotated with FLEX by first transcribing with Microsoft word and then importing the text into FLEX. This was due to the fact that I had issues with ELAN regarding use of an IPA font. This issue has now been resolved. The FLEX platform consists of 5 categorises: lexicon, texts and words, grammar, note book and list. Each of these categorises has their own set of sub-categorises.

The imported text is registered in the ‘Interlinear text’ subcategory of the ‘text and word’ category. The info. field is use to enter meta-data information about the data. The baseline is where the raw text is entered. Then you can choose to work within the gloss or analyse fields. In both fields, you could choose to code for as many categorises as desired in their configuration. The following are the predefined categorises available for configuration: word, morphemes, lexical entries, lexical gloss, lexical grammatical info., word gloss, word category, free translation, literal translation, and note. I coded for all of these with the exception of literal translation in my ‘analyse’ field. However my choice of categorises for the ‘print view’ is limited to: word, lexical entries, lexical gloss, and free translation to reduce duplication and redundancy as shown below.
The outcome of the above FLEx analysis is then imported into ELAN along with its accompanying video file as shown below.

11 videos have so far been transcribed into text. The audio folder contains recordings from interviews, Swadesh wordlists, text elicitation and other wordlists.
All the 33 audio files have been transcribed and annotated into FLEX. They take the same coding as the video above. All the predefined categories with the exception of literal translation are included in my ‘analyse’ field whereas the ‘print view’ is limited to: word, lexical entries, lexical gloss, word categories, and free translation.

My FLEX data set currently has 2,158 lexicon entries and 3,160 wordforms. The ‘lexicon edit’ subcategory has the following predefined fields: lexeme form, morpheme type, citation form, complex form and components, gloss, definition, grammatical category, example, semantic domains, lexical relations, variant form and type, allomorph and type. There are also some hidden fields which include pronunciation, etymology, notes, usage, etc., which are left to the user to code.
The dictionary can be exported from FLEX into a pdf output with the plug-in Pathway as shown below. The dictionary is going through periodic changes based on occasional reviews. The dictionary will be published as soon as the reviews are completed.
1.4 Presentation of data

The data in this thesis are presented in four lines, as illustrated in:

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osani  ketsenkla  ama  abo  mfo
  ð-  *sàñî  këtsëŋklè  á-  mò  ñò  mò
NCL1  man   tall   CL1  the  PFV  come  here
  ‘The tall man came here’  (Adjectives 22.1)
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The first line is the transcribed Sɛkpɛle text generally without tone marking and presented in bold. The second line presents morphemic breaks of the first line and shows the underlying morphemes of the surface forms in the first line. The third line presents the interlinear English gloss of the morphemes in the second line. Autosegmental features such as tone are indicated on the second line unless the surface tone is different from the underlying tone, in which case the surface tone is indicated on the first line and the underlying tone on the second line. Bound roots are marked with asterisk * because they are meaningless until a prefix is attached to them. For instance, word sànî, uttered in isolation, does not meaning ‘man’. Bound roots sound homophonic to verb and adverb. They take a noun meaning when a class prefix is attached to them.

The fourth line presents a free English translation in single quotes ‘ ’ and the source of the example in bracket ( ). In cases where some aspects of the data are focused, they are presented in the second and third lines in bold, as in abó ‘PFV.come’ above. Sample texts from which the data are extracted are provided in Appendix 6.
2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides literature reviews of some pertinent topics, issues and previous research relating to Sekpelé and Ghana Togo Mountain (GTM) languages as a whole. Section 2.1 deals with language documentation and description. Section 2.2 deals with the controversy surrounding the genetic classification of the GTM languages. Section 2.3 provides an overview of previous works on Sekpelé.

2.1 Language documentation and description

Himmelmann (2006:1) defines language documentation as ‘the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties’. Language documentation entails the collection of primary data which includes audio or video recordings of communicative events (a narrative, a conversation, etc.), notes taken in an elicitation session, a vocabulary list, story or a genealogy written down by a literate native speaker. He goes further to explain what he means by ‘lasting’, ‘multipurpose’ and ‘record of a language’. However my interest in this section is not to comment on his definition of these terms, but how he links language documentation and language description together. Himmelmann highlights some important features of language documentation, including focus on primary data, explicit concern for accountability, concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data, work in interdisciplinary teams, and close cooperation with and direct involvement of speech community.
Himmelmann distinguishes language documentation from language description which lies in the domain of structural linguistics. According to him, language documentation focuses on the collection of primary data for corpus creation and archival purposes whereas language description consists primarily of a grammar and a dictionary which target the language system. Description is based on the notion of the language as an abstract system of rules and oppositions which underlies the observable linguistic behaviour. I agree with Himmelmann’s proposed framework of ‘extended format’ for language documentation which combines both the structures and format of Language Documentation and Language Description to capture a comprehensive fieldwork experience.

Mosel (2006:301-309) investigates the role of a sketch grammar in a language documentation project. She starts with a typology of sketch grammars, stating that there are at least five types; (1) the preliminary grammar that presents the very first account of a language’s structure on the basis of a small corpus; (2) the introductory grammar chapter that accompanies the treatise of a specific research topic; (3) the summary of a large reference grammar; (4) the grammar in the front matter of a dictionary; and (5) the sketch grammar of a language documentation.

Mosel outlines the aims of a sketch grammar by stating that it is not a so-called “short grammar” as it does not aim at describing the language as a system but at facilitating access to the documentation. It serves as a kind of user’s guide, essential for the utility value of the language documentation. The sketch grammar should; (1) contain all the grammatical information that the reader needs to make use of the lexical database and understand how in the corpus of annotated recordings the translations
relate to the transcriptions; (2) accurately reflect the author’s current knowledge of the language at any stage; (3) be user-friendly.

Mosel also outlines the content of a sketch grammar. She suggests that the content of any sketch grammar depends on the structure of the language, the state of analysis, and how much and what kind of information is provided in the annotations and the lexical database. However, she states that descriptive characteristics of the language should include the following: charts of the consonant and vowel system; a note of the syllable structure, and most important phonological processes; a statement on how the orthography and/or transcription used in the documentation relate to these phonological processes; an overview of the word classes and grammatical categories; inflectional paradigms; and word and constituent order rules that would help the user to quickly understand utterances.

### 2.2 Language classification

The classification of the GTM languages has sparked controversy over the years among linguists. Most of them propose an association with Kwa languages, whereas others propose a grouping within Gur, another sub-group of Niger-Congo. One prevailing fact is that most linguists have neglected the accounts of the native speakers regarding their migrations while relying on their current geographical location. Most GTM narratives suggest that they are Guangs. In the account of Likpe ancestral migration, the Likpe people claim they are Guang and they migrated from Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana to their current location in the Central Volta region of Ghana. There is
no relationship whatsoever between Atebubu and Likpe now, since Atebubu is a dominant Akan speaking area.

Blench (2009) gives an introductory account of the transformation of the language group’s name over the 20th century. The language group was first named Togorestsprachen by Westermann & Bryan, 1952 (see also Westermann, 1932, 1933, 1954) after Struck (1912), which translates as ‘Togo remnant’ languages. Bertho (1952) seems to have been the first author to set out a comparative wordlist of these languages and to distinguish them from the Guang (Gondja) and Gur (Voltaïque) languages. Greenberg (1963, 1966) places them in the Kwa sub-group, a position supported by Stewart (1966). Heine (1968) treats the GTM languages as a unit; and he divides them into ‘KA’ and ‘NA’ Togo (see §1.2.1). The group was also referred to as the Central Togo languages by Dakubu & Ford (1988). The name Ghana Togo Mountain languages was first proposed and used by Ring (1995).

The GTM languages appear to be marked out by their noun-class system when compared to the Southern Ga, Ewe, and Akan groups. However, the functioning noun-class system has been neglected by earlier scholars, given their close proximity to the Guang and Gur languages, both of which have functioning noun-classes. Avatime and Kebu (GTM languages) have prefixes and suffixes, a characteristic they share with non-GTM languages like Dilo and Akassem (Blench, 2009). In the light of this, Rongier (1997) offered a major challenge to the GTM hypothesis by arguing that the languages with suffixing morphology would be better reclassified as Gur.

Dilo (Ntrubo) has been reassigned from Kwa to Gur following the expansion of available information (Jones, 1987). Bertho (1952), on purely lexical grounds, classified
Akebu and Ikpana (Logba) as Guang. Egblewogbe (1992) also questions the criteria for distinguishing the GTM from neighbouring Guang languages and includes a comparative wordlist to illustrate his points.

It seems appropriate to attempt a more up-to-date classification of the GTM languages and in particular to address outstanding issues as to the unity and membership of the group and its relation to Kwa as a whole. ‘The evidence is primarily lexical; accounts of the phonology and morphology of the GTM languages are not yet sufficiently detailed to approach their classification using other parameters, although this is certainly the next step’ (Blench, 2009).

In Westermann & Bryan (1952), the GTM languages are treated as one of the ‘Isolated Class language groups’ outside Kwa due to their class system which is reminiscent of Bantu languages. Westermann (1954) later published a short overview specifically focusing on this group which he called Togorestvölker.

Earlier opinions also favour a Gur affiliation and Heine (1968) cites the opinions of Johannes Lukas and Oswin Köhler in support of the idea. Rongier (1997) questioned the very existence of the GTM language group, reviewing languages for which he personally collected data, and on this basis assigned some GTM languages to Gur. Rongier’s argument was more morphological than lexical and it is true that neighbouring Gur languages (Dilo and Chala), show very similar nominal affix alternations to the GTM languages (Blench, 2009).

Heine (1968) attempted to demonstrate that the GTM languages form a genetic group. Heine’s argument was based largely on the lexicon, as he personally collected a 200 item wordlist for each of the languages of the group. Heine points to a number of
common lexical items shared by most of the languages. The problem with his analysis is that most of those words were also shared with many other Kwa and even other Niger-Congo sub-group languages, hence do not constitute proof for the distinctiveness of GTM languages (Blench 2009:22).

Blench cites the internal classification of GTM languages, comparing Heine’s ‘NA’ and ‘KA’ (roots for ‘meat’) distinction to words like ‘water’, ‘give’, ‘animal’, ‘oil or fat’, ‘bird’ and ‘hill or mountain’. The data and commentary show that the lexical boundaries proposed by Heine are nowhere perfect and perhaps appear more convincing when lined up as proposed starred forms with non-cognate forms omitted. Nevertheless, there are one or two common lexemes that match the NA group, in particular ‘give’ and ‘water’. Against this, these are retentions, and are attested elsewhere in Kwa and Niger-Congo. It seems unlikely that further compilation of data would resolve this situation. The region is marked by extensive mutual interaction of language and borrowing which make this type of classificatory boundary hard to define precisely. It would probably be more accurate to regard the GTM languages as a series of clusters linked by overlapping isoglosses. There is more evidence to link together the NA languages than the KA languages, a view reflected in the revised classification (see Figure 3 and 4). Grouping the GTM languages with Kwa requires a demonstrated entity and there is no evidence for such an entity. The most useful provisional way of representing Kwa is thus as a diversified dialect chain with many parallel branches, pending more detailed work on the individual members of the subgroup. The phylogenetic tree proposed by Stewart and reproduced in Williamson & Blench (2000) retains accepted subgroups and treats all the languages included within Kwa as co-ordinate branches (see Figure 5).
2.3 Previous research in Sekpelé

Most of the previous works on Sekpelé are comparative studies with other GTM languages. There is a limited amount of information on some aspects of Sekpelé grammar, consisting of small grammatical sketches found in Westermann & Bryan (1952); Heine (1968); Ford (1973); Alan (1980); Dakubu & Ford (1988) and Ring (1981; 1995). I have also identified two articles (Ring, Okyerefo, & Somevi, 2002; Ring, 2003) which are on the ‘Language structures of Sepkele’ and the ‘Phonology of Sekpelé’ respectively. The only comprehensive publications are Ameka (2002, 2006b, 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2013) which focus on the progressive aspect in Sekpelé, topological relations in verbs, and verb extensions respectively. There is a current project by the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) to translate the Bible into Sekpelé and also to develop a dictionary of the language. The 2009 edition of the Journal of West African Languages (JWAL), volume 36 no. 1-2, contains three articles; ‘Verb extensions in Likpe (SekpeléI’ by Felix Ameka, ‘The vowels of the Likpe language’ by Charlotte Fofo Lomotey, and ‘Vowel harmony in Sekpelé’ by myself. In this section I will provide a review of the topics addressed by Lomotey (2009) and (Ameka, 2009b).

Lomotey (2009) gives a justification for the acoustic analysis of Likpe vowels by referring to Wayland (1998), arguing that ‘converging evidence from articulatory, acoustic, perceptual investigation is necessary for the better and wholesome understanding of the acoustics of vowels’. She also makes reference to O’Connor
Cephas Delalorm

(1993) whose view is that, not all the features present in a sound wave can be perceived by the hearer.

Her study sample is derived from a total of 16 native speakers from Bakwa and Agbozume. Eight of the speakers were from Bakwa while the other eight were from Agbozume. The sample data had an equal ratio of males and females between the ages of 26 and 61 years. All speakers had no speech or hearing impairment. Seven vowels of Likpe were used to prepare the words which were recorded. The words were put in a carrier frame to form the sentences ‘Tayi ...... pepepe’ which she claims means ‘say ..... only’. The sentences were printed on hard card and presented to the speakers to read three times. She also claims that the speakers were made to read the sentences as naturally as possible to reflect their everyday speech.

I have some doubts about the meaning of the frame words she proposed. Either Lomotey was given the wrong words or she perceived them wrongly. ‘Tāyi’ in Sekpelé means ‘to pluck’ while ‘pepepe’ is an ideophone used by most languages in Ghana which means ‘exactly’. The Sekpelé word for ‘say’ is ‘tèr’ and ‘only’ is ‘màtè’. The method of elicitation involving writing words on a card and asking speakers to read and repeat does not capture a natural speech setting. What could have been done is to use words and sentences in English or Ewe and ask the speakers to say the corresponding words or sentences in Sekpelé, keeping the cards of words as a reference to check if they are producing the right words.

Lomotey’s data was analysed with the Kay Elemetrics computized speech laboratory software (CSL model 4500). The first and second formant frequency values of the vowels were measured on broadband spectrogram by minimising consonantal
influence on the vowels. A paired sample t-test shows there is no relationship between any of the vowels in Sekpelé. Her spectrogram chart shows an overlap for most vowels. Does this mean she may have missed some vowels in her representation? Is it possible that those overlapping vowels may include /u/ and /o/ (see §3.1.2)?

Her findings show that there are eight vowels in Sekpelé, an analysis which may have been preconceived from Ameka (2002). She also states that some speakers of Sekpelé produce the vowels [ɛ] the same way they produce [ɛ]. Others produce it the same way they produce [a]. She also claimed all speakers of Sekpelé, with the exception of a fraction from Bakwa, produce the vowel [a] as a back vowel. Lomotey’s work has some shortcomings which include insufficient data and limitations of phonology. Her work does not provide enough data apart from the following words; [budi, bebi, babo, bo, bobo]. She did not show the effect of adjacency with vowels in light of the fact that vowel harmony is prominent in Sekpelé.

I proposed a ten vowel system in Sekpelé (Delalorm 2009). Taking clues from Ameka (2002) and Ford (1973), it can be shown that historically there was a ten vowel system in Sekpelé. Ford (1973) proposes a cross-height harmony with the merger of the [i] and [u] with [i] and [u] in roots and with [ɛ] and [ɔ] in prefixes. However, I have demonstrated that these vowels are present in Sekpelé despite the fact that there are few instances (see §3.1.2). They occupy the root position and trigger harmony (see §3.4.1).

Ameka (2009b) discusses verb extensions in Sekpelé. Verb extension is a term used in the Africanist literature to designate the verbal affixes that are used to extend the verb root to form verb stems. Such affixes may change the valency of the root or stem to which they are added. They can be used to derive reflexive, reciprocal, causative, or
passive verb stems. They may also signal the direction or orientation of the state of affairs coded in the verb root/stem such as ‘ventive’ or ‘itive’. They may mark aspefucual distinctions on the verb e.g. state. Verb extensions occur across the four phyla of the African continent. They are very prominent in GTM languages, yet their study has not been given the same prominence as the noun class and concord system. We can say that verb extension is a feature that distinguishes GTM languages from other Kwa languages because GTM have retained verb extensions whereas Gbe and Akanic languages have lost them.

There are several verb extension forms in Sɛkpɛlé: cline forms, productive and semi-productive, and frozen or fused forms. The productive forms are the causative -sɔ and the associative -ko (see §7.1.3) The semi-productive form is -fo which can be characterised as a ‘contactive’, ‘telic’ or directional derivation. There is also a non-stative extension -ə on some verbs like si ‘sit’ but it has become frozen with other verbs. The extensions can be stacked, but it appears that a maximum of two can occur on a verb root. Ring (2003) treats multisyllabic verbs in Sɛkpɛlé as monosyllabic verb roots with a restricted set of verbal suffixes.
3 SEKPELÉ PHONOLOGY

This chapter provides a review of phonological issues outlined and discussed by earlier research on the language. The outcomes of my findings are also available in Delalorm (2008; 2009). The aim of this Chapter is not to offer detailed phonological analyses, but to present phonological processes that are relevant to the subsequent morphological discussions.

Section 3.1 focuses on the sound inventory in Sekpelé. This includes an overview of consonants and vowels and their allophonic variations. Section 3.2 looks at tone and intonation patterns in Sekpelé. Section 3.3 focuses on the syllable structures and section 3.4 on some phonological processes in Sekpelé including vowel harmony and nasal assimilation.

3.1 Sound inventory

3.1.1 Consonants

According to Ring et al. (2002), there are a total of 17 consonant phonemes produced at 6 places of articulation: labial, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar, labio-velar and glottal. Table 3.1 is a reorganisation of Ring’s consonant inventory, with a split of labials into bilabial and labio-dental. The reorganised chart consists of 21 consonant phonemes produced at 7 places of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, alveo-palatal, velar, labio-velar and glottal.
Table 3.1: Consonant inventory of Sekpelé

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Aveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labiovelar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>(p)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>kp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(z)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ, (dʒ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>j̃</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The exact number of consonants in Sekpelé cannot be established unambiguously due to the fact that speakers are able to integrate new sounds from loanwords without influence of nativization, apart from /r/ → [l]. Segments in parenthesis, although found in some native words, are prevalent in loan words. /p/ can be found in words such as ɔ̀pʊ́nʊ́ ‘table’, m̀pâ ‘bed’ and ƙàmpɛ́ ‘a pair of scissors’ borrowed from Akan; /z/ and /r/ can be found in words such as fɛ̀tɪ̀làízà ‘fertilizer’, kèròzìn ‘kerosene’, rèdìò ‘radio’ and rɔ̀bà ‘rubber’ from English; /dʒ/, /g/, /x/, /h/ can be found in words such as ƙàgbàdʒé ‘big bowl’, gàsɔ́ ‘bicycle’, gàté ‘cornmill’, and ɓɔ̀xé ‘umbrella’ from an Ewe source.

Some voiced consonants appear as allophonic variants in some dialects of Sekpelé. The voiced consonants [z, dʒ, g, gb] are used mostly in word-final syllable position in the Sekwa dialect, whilst their voiceless counterparts are used in the other dialects of Sekpelé.

---

6 In the orthography ’tsy’ is used.
7 In the orthography ‘ny’ is used.
8 In the orthography ’y’ is used.
Sekpele. Therefore there is final voicing in Sekwa. In initial position, [d] occurs as an allophone of /l/; whereas [d] occurs before high vowels, [l] co-occurs with other vowels. However, the Sekwa and the Sela dialects do not have such restrictions but treat [l] and [d] as free variants.

The sound [ŋ] has been excluded because of its allophonic status, and is realised only through homorganic nasal assimilation of /n/ in the environment of velar and labio-velar sounds such as kalëŋkë ‘sieve’, ðleŋkë ‘crocodile’, lëkpenkpè ‘hill’ and ṭkpóntù ‘sperm lit: life water’.

3.1.2 Vowels

Earlier research such as (Ameka, 2002; Heine, 1968; Lomotey, 2009; Ring et al., 2002) proposed an 8 oral vowel system for Sekpelé. This includes /i/, /a/, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /ə/ and /a/ found in the following examples.

1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62
However, Delalorm (2009) shows that the [-ATR] high vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ exist in the language increasing the tally to 10 vowels. According to Ameka (2002)(cf. Ford 1973), it can be shown that historically, there was a ten vowel system where the [+High,-ATR] vowels were lost, leading to different mergers. Ford (1973) proposes a cross-height harmony with the merger of /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ with /i/ and /u/ in roots and with /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in prefixes. In fact, these vowels have actually not been lost. Upon careful investigation, they are acoustically present in words that contain them such as the following examples:

2) /ɪ/ /ʊ/

/sɛ̀fɪɔ̂/ – ‘finger nail’  [lɛ̀wónímí] – ‘sand’
/[àyìnkɔ́á] – ‘fat’  [ɔ̀pɔ̀nù] – ‘table’
/[ɔ̀sì́] – ‘witch’  [kàhɔ̀sì́fá] – ‘universe, world’
/[kɔ̀nì́] – ‘arm’  [lèbɔ́lá] – ‘onion’
/[tɛ̀fí] – ‘tell’  [wùlɔ́] – ‘yawn’
/[lètί́gò] – ‘barrel’  [ɔ̀flíímù] – ‘donkey’
/[kɔ̀fí] – ‘law, taboo’  [skù̀f] – ‘voice’
/[ɔ̀fímfí] – ‘whistle’  [ɔ̀kwè̀( kàkùè)] – ‘farm’
/[kàmìní́] – ‘sweetness’  [kàkwè́( kàkùè)] – ‘spider’
Rather than analysing these vowels as variants of their [+ATR] counterpart, I propose to treat them as separate phonemes due to the notion of their perceptibility, syllable adjacency and the fact that they trigger [-ATR] harmony. This is illustrated in:

3) /ɪ/ /ʊ/

ú-kpì ‘beard’    dì-bùtù ‘bush’
ś-kpì ‘grasscutter’   lè-bólá ‘onion’
ù-yídù ‘root’    kè-bùtó ‘village’
ò-yìmì ‘sibling’   kà-hùslò ‘universe/world’

kú-dì ‘grave’
kò-nì ‘hand/arm’

In example 3 shows near minimal pairs with contrast between /ɪ/ and /u/, and between /u/ and /u/. /i/ and /u/ trigger [+ATR] harmony while /u/ and /u/ trigger [-ATR] harmony. Note also that, /i/ and /u/ trigger height harmony, whereas /i/ and /u/ do not. Details of how harmony is achieved are discussed in §3.4.1. Figure 6 below provides a modified version of the vowel inventory of Sekpelé.
Figure 7: Vowel inventory of Sekpelé

These vowels can be grouped into two sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET I (+ATR)</th>
<th>SETII (-ATR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-back</td>
<td>-back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɐ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The back vowels are all rounded while their front counterparts are unrounded. The central vowels /ə/ and /ɐ/ are also unrounded. However, /a/ is as good a trigger of height harmony as the high [+ATR] vowels are (see §3.4.1.2). I am not sure of the total number of nasal vowels there are in Sekpelé, however there is evidence of underlying nasal vowels in the following examples:

4) [wã] – ‘cook’
   [lé-kpã] – ‘bat’
   [lè-wɔ̃] – ‘nose’
   [di-wɔ̃] – ‘hoe’

9 In prefixes, there are two phonetic vowels: [u] and [ä] which occur with +ATR and –ATR vowels in the verb root respectively. The phoneme with these two allophones is represented orthographically as <a>.
In the examples in (4) there are no nasal consonants to affect the vowels, so the nasal vowels must be assumed to be underlyingly nasal. Vowels co-occurring with nasal consonants in the rime are phonetically nasalized. There is also evidence that, in colloquial speech, nasal consonants may be deleted whilst the nasal feature spreads to an adjacent vowel. This process is mostly regressive and is discussed in §3.4.2.

3.2 **Tone and intonation**

Tone is a feature of most African languages (Manfredi 1993:133; Odden 1995:444; Welmers 1973:77; Yip 2002:130). If the pitch on individual syllables brings about different meanings in words which are otherwise segmentally identical in a language, then that language is a tone language (Bodomo, 1997:13). There are two types of tones: register (level), and contour tones. Sekpelé has two register tones: high and low. Tones are used to contrast mono-syllabic words such as the following:

5) tó ‘throw’
   tô ‘build’

6) té ‘sell’
   tè ‘know’

7) ká ‘drive’
   kà ‘insult’

Sekpelé has contour tones that can be attested in the following examples which have falling tones:

8) ókpà ‘dog’
   lènyì ‘tooth’
   šsí ‘witch’
   kàsò ‘land’
Contour tones occur in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels differing only in tone, resulting in automatic lengthening for either a rising or falling tone, as in:

9) \( \text{wèè → wè: ‘who’} \)
\( \text{mèèsù → mè:sù ‘I go’} \)
\( \text{mùùsù → mù:sù ‘I will go’} \)
\( \text{mùùsù → mù:sù ‘I have gone’} \)
\( \text{bə́ə̀bə̀ → bə̂:bə̀ ‘They had come’} \)

There are two functions of tone: lexical and grammatical. The lexical function of tone applies to examples 5 to 8. Tone performs a grammatical function when a tone difference distinguishes grammatical categories. Tone is used to distinguish TAM in Sekpelé as in the following examples:

10) \( \text{Kòfí } \text{è-dí } \text{kàmò} \)
\( \text{Kofi } \text{SCR.HAB-eat } \text{rice} \)
‘Kofi eats rice’

11) \( \text{Kòfí } \text{è-dí } \text{kàmò} \)
\( \text{Kofi } \text{SCR.PFV-eat } \text{rice} \)
‘Kofi ate rice’

Examples 10 and 11 are identical in all respects with the exception of the segments that indicate TAM. The segment in example 10 has a high tone indicating habitual aspect while that of example 11 has a low tone indicating a perfective aspect.

Intonation involves the use of pitch variation in relation to an entire sentence rather than with syllables and words (Bodomo, 1997:13). The expression of intonation is a universal phenomenon such that a falling intonation is typically used to express declaration whiles a rising intonation is used to express interrogation. Examples 10 and 11 above are declarative sentences with neutral or falling intonation while examples 12
and 13 below are interrogatives with rising intonation. Intonation is not marked; however in this section, they are marked in the same way as lexical or grammatical tone. A high tone is marked across the last word of a sentence to show rising intonation:

12) Kòfí é-dí kámó
   Kofi SCR.HAB-eat rice
   ‘Does Kofi eat rice?’

13) Kòfí  è-dí kámó
    Kofi SCR.PFV-eat rice
    ‘Did Kofi eat rice?’

3.3 Syllable structures

Syllables bear tone in Sɛkpɛlé such that any segment that bears tone is capable of standing alone as a syllable or combines with other segments to form a syllabic structure. Syllable structures in Sɛkpɛlé include V, N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV:

V: - ò.kpâ - ‘dog’
    ð.sì - ‘witch’
    à.tá.bí - ‘money’
    wù.ú.sù - ‘He will go’

N: - m̀.bá - ‘salt’
    m̀.bô - ‘I came’
    ŋ.tù - ‘water’

CV: - lè.má - ‘war’
    kà.sò - ‘land’
    sì.tò - ‘clay’
Cephas Delalorm

CVV - kù.kúá - ‘book’
díá - ‘leak’
bìò - ‘hide’
téf - ‘say’
lè.sìà.bí - ‘knife’

CLV - fló.mà - ‘change’
ò.kló.bé - ‘bird’
ká.kpó.kló - ‘tortoise’

CGV - ò-kwe - ‘farm’
ka.kwe - ‘spider’

NCV - kù.kpà.nsé - ‘famine’
wé.ndí - ‘He didn’t eat’
ké.ngké - ‘all’
á.mbe - ‘mother’

All the syllable types occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions with the exception of prenasal syllable which occurs at word-medial and word-final position. 
N = nasal consonant; L = lateral; C = obstruent consonant; G = glide and V = vowel.

3.4 Phonological processes

Sekpelé exhibits several phonological processes which are also attested in most West African languages (Casali 1995, 1998, 2002; Fadairo 2014; Hyman 1988; Schachter 1969). In this section, I will discuss vowel harmony and nasal assimilation due to the fact that they are the main phonological structures involved in morpho-phonological processes in Sekpelé.
3.4.1 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is a phonological process that occurs between vowels of adjacent syllables in a word or in a morpho-syntactic domain. Vowel harmony is a type of long-distance assimilatory phonological process involving vowels such that vowels of adjacent syllable tend to share some phonetic features. Vowel harmony, according to Goldsmith (1990:304), is a term used to describe a restriction on the set of vowels possible within a given phonological domain, typically the word. A vowel harmony system is one in which the vowels of a language are divided into two or more sometimes overlapping subsets, with the condition that all vowels in a given word or domain must come from a single set. Katamba (1989) also defined vowel harmony as a process whereby within a particular designated domain, usually the word, all or some vowels are required to share one or more phonological properties. The vowels may assimilate in backness, height, ATR or roundness.

Vowel harmony is dominant in Sekpelé and is realised in lexical and morpho-syntactic structures. The morphological structure of Sekpelé is agglutinative, with some fusion. The language employs both prefixes and suffixes (see §4.3 and §7.1). Sekpelé displays anticipatory ATR harmony between roots and prefixes. There is also a step-wise rising height harmony triggered by the High [+ATR] vowels and the schwa (ə). This phenomenon may be unique to Sekpelé taking note that the high [+ATR] vowel and the schwa (ə) do not form a natural class. Assimilatory processes relating to vowel harmony in Sekpelé are regressive and therefore operate in the domain of stems and their prefixes. Suffixes in Sekpelé are not affected by vowel harmony.
Cross-linguistically, there are several vowel harmony types, often involving dimensions such as vowel height, backness, roundness, ATR and nasalization, and they may run through an entire word. However, vowel harmony in Sekpelé is limited to the ATR and height features of correspondent vowels, and it is obligatory between the first vowel of the stem and any prefixes. Both the prefix and stem vowels play their respective roles in both ATR and height harmony. In general, the stem vowel can be any vowel, but the prefix vowel is restricted to the alternation of [e, ɛ, i] if it is a front vowel, or [o, ɔ, u] if it is a back vowel, and [u, ɑ, a] if it is a central vowel. Their resolution depends on the vowel quality of the stem vowel. The data we are going to study in the following sections illustrate regressive harmony.

3.4.1.1 ATR harmony
A language is said to employ ATR harmony if vowels in a lexical or morphological domain share the same ATR feature. In Sekpelé, ATR harmony operates on the following conditions: There are ten phonemic vowels in Sekpelé and all ten vowels can occur as triggers of vowel harmony in the stem. These vowels can be categorised into three groups based on the form of harmony they trigger: group I consists of /e/, /ɐ/ and /o/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony; group II consists of /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ which trigger [-ATR] harmony; and group III consists of /i/, /ə/ and /u/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony as well as a stepwise rise in height (see §3.4.1.2). There are three underlying vowels that can occur in prefixes namely front /e/, central /ɐ/ and back /o/. These underlying prefix vowels remain unchanged when they occur with stem vowels of group I. This is illustrated in:
The above data is an extract of the noun class system of Sekpelé (see §4.3). Examples 14, 15 and 16 show [+ATR] harmony of group I stem vowels. Example 14 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a front vowel prefix resulting in [e-e] in 14a, [e-e] in 14b and [e-o] in 14c. Example 15 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a central vowel prefix resulting in [e-e] in 15a, [e-e] in 15b and [e-e] in 15c. Example 16 shows the permutations of group I stem vowels with a back vowel prefix resulting in [o-e] in 16a, [o-e] in 16b and [o-o] in 16c.

However, when the prefixes occur with stems vowels of group II due to their [-ATR] values they change to [e], [æ] and [o] respectively. This is illustrated in:

17) a) lè-yì b) bè-bè c) lè-fɔ d) lè-bùlá
NCL5-tooth NCL11-palm kernel NCL5-egg NCL5-onion
‘tooth’ ‘palm kernel’ ‘egg’ ‘onion’

18) a) à-yinkòá [à-yinkɔá] b) à-bè [à-bè] c) kà-sɔ [kà-sɔ] d) kà-hùsì [kà-hùsì]
NCL6-fat NCL8-palm fruit NCL9-land NCL9-universe
‘fat’ ‘palm fruit’ ‘land’ ‘universe’

19) a) kà-tìmí b) kpɛ c) bɔbɔ d) pùnù
NCL7-mountain NCL3-bowl NCL3-chalk NCL3-table
‘mountain’ ‘bowl’ ‘chalk’ ‘table’
Examples 17, 18 and 19 show [-ATR] harmony of group II stem vowels. Example 17 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a front vowel prefix resulting in \[\text{[e-ɪ]}\] in 17a, \[\text{[e-ɛ]}\] in 17b, \[\text{[e-ɔ]}\] in 17c and \[\text{[e-u]}\] in 17d. Example 18 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a central vowel prefix resulting in \[\text{[ä-ɪ]}\] in 18a, \[\text{[ä-ɛ]}\] in 18b, \[\text{[ä-ɔ]}\] in 18c and \[\text{[ä-u]}\] in 18d. Example 19 shows the permutations of group II stem vowels with a back vowel prefix resulting in \[\text{[ɔ-ɪ]}\] in 19a, \[\text{[ɔ-ɛ]}\] in 19b, \[\text{[ɔ-ɔ]}\] in 19c and \[\text{[ɔ-u]}\] in 19d.

Another area that Sekpelé employs vowel harmony is in the tense and aspect of verbs. This can be observed in the following examples:

20) a) bó-té
    1PL.PST-sell
    'We sold'

b) bó-tò
    1PL.PST-build
    'We built'

c) bɔ̀-tɔ̀
    1PL.PST-ask
    'We asked'

d) bɔ́-té
    1PL.PST-allow
    'We allowed'

e) á-té \[ä́-té]\n    2SG.PST-sell
    'You sold'

f) á-tò \[ä́-tò]\n    2SG.PST-build
    'You built'

g) á-tɔ̀ \[ä́-tɔ̀]\n    2SG.PST-ask
    'You asked'

h) á-tɛ́ \[ä́-tɛ́]\n    2SG.PST-allow
    'You allowed'

i) bé-te
    2PL.PST-sell
    'You sold'

j) bé-tò
    2PL.PST-build
    'You built'

k) bé-tɔ̀
    2PL.PST-ask
    'You asked'

l) bé-té
    2PL.PST-allow
    'You allowed'
From the above, we can observe that examples 20a to 20d provide instances with their prefixes having a back vowel. In 20a and 20b, the prefix vowel surfaces as [o-] because the stem vowel is [+ATR] while in 20c and 20d, it surfaces as [ɔ-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. We can also observe that in examples 20e to 20h, the prefix vowels are central vowels and they surface as [ɐ-] in examples 20e and 20f because their stem vowels are [+ATR] while in 20g and 20h, they surface as [ä-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. Examples 20i to 20l provide instances where their prefixes are front vowels. In 20i and 20j, the prefix vowel surfaces as [e-] because the stem vowel is [+ATR] while in 20k and 20l, it surfaces as [ɛ-] due to the fact that the stem vowel is [-ATR]. The discussion above can be represented with the autosegmental structure:

```
[ATR]
\ /  
//  
\  
```

The diagram shows the spread of the [ATR] feature onto a preceding segment. If the stem has a [+ATR] value, then both the stem and the prefix will bear +ATR values. Likewise, if the stem has a [-ATR] value, then both the stem and the prefix will bear -ATR values.

### 3.4.1.2 Height harmony

Height harmony in Sekpelé involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa (a) in the stem. This is interesting, given that /i/, /u/ and /a/ do not form a natural class phonetically. This phenomenon, to my knowledge, is
unique to Sekpelé. In §3.4.1.1, I stated that there are ten phonemic vowels in Sekpelé which occur as triggers of vowel harmony in the stem. These vowels form three groups based on the form of harmony they trigger: group I consists of /e/, /ɤ/ and /o/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony, group II consists of /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and /ʊ/ which trigger [-ATR] harmony, and group III consists of /i/, /ə/ and /u/ which trigger [+ATR] harmony as well as a stepwise rise in height. I also demonstrated how the prefix vowel is restricted to the alternation of [e, e, i] if it is a front vowel, [ɤ, ə, ə] if it is a central vowel, and [o, o, u] if it is a back vowel. Their resolution depends on the vowel quality of the stem vowel.

I also hypothesised that the underlying prefix vowels are /e/, /ɤ/ and /o/ which represent the front, low and back vowel positions respectively. On this note, given that the stem vowel is either a [+high, +ATR] vowel or the schwa, then the prefix vowel will surface as [i], [ə] and [u] respectively. The schwa is realised as [e] in the prefix when it occurs with [i] or [u] as stem vowels by most speaker of Sekpelé, especially younger generation (see 21d and 21e). [ɤ] and [e] are used interchangeably and can be said to be free variants. It is possible that younger speakers are shifting for used of [e] in place of [ə]. The following data could be compared with those given in the discussion of ATR harmony in §3.4.1.1.

21) a) ù-kùsè NCL1-fowl
   'a fowl'

   b) ù-tídì NCL1-human
   'a human being'

   c) ú-mò NCL3-town
   ‘town’

   d) bè-kùsè/bè-kùsè NCL2-fowl
   'fowls'

   e) bè-tídì/bè-tídì NCL2-human
   'human beings'

   f) kò-mò NCL4-town
   ‘towns’
Examples 21a, 21b and 21c when compared with 16a, 16b and 16c in §3.4.1.1 show that, the prefix vowels are underlyingly [o] and they surface as [u] in contexts where the first stem vowel is [+high, +ATR] or [ə]. In examples 21d, 21e and 21f we can also observe that the prefix vowel when compared with examples 15a, 15b and 15c should be the low vowel /ɐ/ but surfaces as [ə] or [e] due to its co-occurrence with a [+high, +ATR] or [ə] vowel in the stem. When we also compare examples 21g, 21h and 21i with examples 14a, 14b, and 14c, we realise that the prefix vowel is underlyingly /e/, but it is realised as [i] as a result of its co-occurrence with a [+high, +ATR] or the schwa.

The question may arise as to why the schwa is able to trigger a stepwise rise in height since it not a high vowel. Is it possible that [ə] was originally /ɨ/? This is a difficult question to answer; however, if all the vowels in Sekpelé are arranged according to height symmetry, as shown below, then we may find a reason for this trend. The vowels in the first row are the corresponding high vowels of the second row:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>ɪ</th>
<th>ə</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-high</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɑ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nevertheless, the [+High,-ATR] vowels do not trigger the stepwise rise in height as we have seen earlier. This is because the height feature is not the only necessary factor but the ATR is as well. They do however conform to ATR harmony, as in:
22) ɔ̀-pʊ́nʊ́
NCL3-table
'a table'

23) ɔ̀-sɪ̀nɔ́
NCL1-mosquito
'a mosquito'

Vowel harmony in Sekpele is summarised in Table 3.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front vowel</td>
<td>Central Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e/ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e/ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e/ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Summary of vowel harmony in Sekpele

Observation of Table 3.2 shows that the stem vowels can be grouped into three sets of vowels: {e, ə, o}; {i, e, ə, u}; and {i, a, u}, due to the fact that they trigger the same sets of vowels in the prefix. The first set of vowels trigger the prefix vowels {e, ə, o} representing front, central and back. The second set of vowels trigger the prefix vowels {e, ä, ə} while the third set trigger the prefix vowels {i, e/ə, u}.

3.4.2 Nasal assimilation

I have discussed how adjacent vowels influence each other when they co-occur together. Consonants do also have some level of influence on each other and other segments. One
such instance is nasal assimilation which ensures that segments which occur close to nasals are either being influenced or vice versa. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sɛkpɛlé; vowel nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation.

Vowel nasalization is a phonological process between vowels and nasals such that vowels which co-occur with nasals are influenced to possess the nasal feature. It occurs in situations where a nasal follows a vowel and thereby spreads its feature regressively to vowel preceding it. At the word level, it appears that vowels preceding nasals are nasalized. I assume that they are oral vowels which undergo a transformation into their surface forms as shown in the following demonstration:

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{lèblòmbɛ́}/ & \rightarrow [\text{lèblòmbɛ́}] \quad \text{‘pineapple’} \\
/\text{kɛ̀ŋkɛ́}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kɛ̀ŋkɛ́}] \quad \text{‘clean’} \\
/\text{kùntú}/ & \rightarrow [\text{kùntú}] \quad \text{‘blanket’}
\end{align*}
\]

Homorganic nasal assimilation also involves a process that ensures that nasals which co-occur with anticipatory consonants have the same place of articulation. A consonant spreads its place of articulation regressively onto a preceding nasal where there is a nasal-consonant sequence\(^\text{10}\). At the word level, one could observe nasals and adjacent obstruents sharing the same place of articulation as shown in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{lèbòmbò}] & \quad \text{‘time/bell’} \\
[\text{nòmbò}] & \quad \text{‘potato’} \\
[\text{ònántò}] & \quad \text{‘God’} \\
[\text{lèfiàŋkù}] & \quad \text{‘rag’} \\
[\text{kpèŋkpé}] & \quad \text{‘plenty’} \\
[\text{kɛŋkɛ́}] & \quad \text{‘clean’} \\
[\text{bàfìŋfì}] & \quad \text{‘twins’} \\
[\text{lənǐnsɔ́}] & \quad \text{‘thanksgiving’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^\text{10}\) A consonant-nasal sequence is not acceptable in Sekpele.
The above data show the realisation of each nasal-consonant sequence sharing the same place of articulation. The data also show that multi-syllabic words undergo both nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation simultaneously.

At the morphological level, homorganic nasal assimilation occurs between stems and their prefixes. This is illustrated in:

26) ń-tù
    NCL-water
    ‘water’

27) m̀-bá
    NCL-salt
    ‘salt’

28) ķ̀-kú
    NCL-sheabutter
    ‘sheabutter’

The above data show nouns belonging to the same noun class but varying in their prefixes. This is because each noun stem containing an onset consonant whose place of articulation the prefixes has to assimilate to.

Nasal assimilation is not limited to nouns but also applies to verbs. Verbs in Sekpelé can take as many as three prefixes, but my main concern is the past first person singular and negation because they involve the process of nasal assimilation. We can observe this in the following data:

29) ń-dí
    1SG.PST-eat
    ‘I ate’
The 1SG.PST is realised without a vowel when it immediately precedes the stem while it retains a vowel which results into a /mV/ structure when there is an intermediate prefix closer to the stem. Both the 1SG.PST and the NEG have /N/\(^{11}\) as their underlying form. In both instances, the surface forms vary, depending on the place of articulation of the stem onset. However, if both prefixes are represented, then we have the form [mV-N-] – the first prefix representing the 1SG.PST and the second representing the NEG.

Finally, an exceptional nasal assimilation occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive

\(^{11}\) N is a cover symbol representing a nasal consonant
employed by all harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to
the nasal in a nasal-lateral environment. This can be illustrated with the first person
singular present progressive construction. The stem of the verb is /le/ ‘to possess/hold’,
and it is realised as [ne] when it occurs with the 1SG pronoun n=:

35) a) nne budi
   n = lé     bù-dí
   1SG = possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘I am eating’

   b) *nlẹ budi
   n = lé     bù-dí
   1SG = possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘I am eating’

36) alẹ budi
   à = lé  bù-dí
   2SG = Possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘You are eating’

37) ọlẹ budi
   ì = lé  bù-dí
   3SG = possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘S/he is eating’

38) bolẹ budi
   bɔ̀ = lè  bù-dí
   1PL = possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘We are eating’

39) bélẹ budi
   bè = lè  bù-dí
   2PL = possess NMLZ-eat
   ‘You are eating’
From the above we can observe that the data contain the verb stem \( le \) which literally means ‘to hold’ or ‘to possess’ something. In these constructions, it is being used to express the state of being involved in an action or event. The verb \( le \) maintains its form when any prefix is attached to it except the first person singular pronoun, as in example 30a. It shows a change from \( /lɛ/ \) to \( [nɛ] \) due to the occurrence of the nasal prefix. Example 30b is ungrammatical and unacceptable phonetically, but is represented in text and literature orthographically. A probable explanation for this phenomenon may be the fact that a nasal-lateral sequence is forbidden phonologically. There is a need to investigate if this phenomenon occurs in neighbouring languages and other languages of the world in general. Secondly, the compromise on the part of the lateral instead of the nasal is due to the fact that nasals have dominant effects on adjacent segments such that they spread their nasal feature onto them.

### 3.5 Summary

In summary, there are ten vowels in Sekpelé, however, the exact number of consonants that Sekpelé has is uncertain due to the fact that the language is able to integrate new sounds from loanwords without the influence of nativization. Sekpelé has two register tones: high and low. Sekpelé has a falling contour tone which occurs at word-final position, as well as in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels, differing only in tone in a high-low sequence. Rising tones occurs in cases where there are adjacent
vowels which are identical and have a low and high tone respectively. The syllable structures in Sekpelé include V, N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV. There are two phonological processes: vowel harmony and nasal assimilation. There are also two kinds of vowel harmony: ATR and height harmony. The direction of the vowel harmony process is regressive and it occurs between the first stem vowel and the prefix vowel such that the stem vowel spreads its features to the prefix vowel. ATR harmony is realised such that the stem vowel and the prefix vowel share the same ATR values. The height harmony in Sekpelé involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa (ə) in the stem. The [+High, -ATR] vowels do not trigger the stepwise rise in height. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sekpelé: vowel nasalization and homorganic nasal assimilation. Vowel nasalization is a phonological process between vowels and nasals such that vowels which occur with nasals are being influenced to possess the nasal feature. Homorganic nasal assimilation also involves a process that ensures that nasals which co-occur with anticipatory consonants have the same place of articulation. A consonant spreads its place of articulation regressively onto a preceding nasal where there is a nasal-consonant sequence. There is an exceptional nasal assimilation which occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive employed by all harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to nasal in a nasal-lateral environment.
4 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

This chapter discusses the noun morphology of Sekpelé. Sekpelé is a language that has noun classes and two sets of agreement systems. Section 4.1 defines and differentiates terms used in the domain of nominal classification. Section 4.2 outlines the criteria for noun class assignment cross-linguistically. Section 4.3 identifies and outlines the various noun classes in Sekpelé. Section 4.4 focuses on agreement, the agreement class and the domains of agreement. Section 4.5 discusses some noun derivational processes in Sekpelé.

4.1 Noun class system

4.1.1 ‘Noun class’ and ‘Noun classifiers’

A noun class system is a grammatical system that languages use to overtly categorise nouns. Dixon (1986:105) defines noun class as ‘an obligatory grammatical system, where each noun chooses one from a small number of possibilities’. It is important to distinguish ‘noun classes’ from ‘noun classifiers’, which is a lexico-syntactic phenomenon of noun classification. Ways of marking noun class include an affix to the noun and other elements within the noun phrase, or within the sentence to show concord. Noun classifiers on the other hand, are separate lexemes which may be included with a noun in certain syntactic environments and their scope is mostly limited

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12 This is the main point of noun classes in that they must participate in agreement systems, where the noun controls agreement on its targets, which are other elements in the noun phrase or sentence and, where agreement is usually marked by affixation on elements other than the noun.
to the noun phrase. In many languages, such as Austroasiatic languages, classifiers are required in the context of numeral quantification of a specific noun (Adams 1986:241). Another term used to refer to noun class is grammatical gender (Corbett 1991:43; Payne 1997:107). Both noun classes and noun classifiers perform the same semantic task of categorising objects in terms of relevant parameters of world-view. They provide information about physical design (size, sex, animacy, shape etc.), function or use, cognitive categorises in a given culture, and social role and interaction (Dixon 1982:178; Lakoff 1986:13).

Noun classes are a typological feature of Africa as a linguistic area, while noun classifiers (specifically numeral classifiers) are a typological feature of East and South-East Asia. These distributions can partly be explained in terms of a correlation with the well-established classification into inflectional, agglutinative, and isolating languages. Languages that tend towards isolating (as in East and South-East Asia) most typically employ noun classifiers, whereas languages that are strongly agglutinative (as in Africa) or inflectional (as in Indo-European) prefer systems of noun classes (Dixon, 1986).

4.1.2 ‘Noun Class’ and ‘Gender’ Systems

It is also important to distinguish ‘noun class’ from ‘gender’ as we have done for ‘noun classifiers’ in §4.1.1. The term ‘gender’ is typically used for ‘sex-based’ languages, which make a two or three way distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter (Aikhenvald, 2000; Greenberg, 1978; Heine, 1982). Gender is typically found in Indo-European, Afroasiatic, and Dravidian languages and is distinct from the ‘noun class’
systems of the Niger-Congo languages. Whereas gender systems may be covertly marked for class assignment and agreement, noun class systems are overtly marked.

Despite the fact that gender systems are generally more covert systems than noun class systems, both are to a large extent structurally similar, because they are defined and identified through the presence of agreement. Nouns in these systems belong to a finite number of sets and trigger agreement on agreeing elements, which may include definite determiners, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals and anaphoric pronouns (Sagna, 2008; 2010). This accounts for the frequent interchangeable use in the typological literature of ‘gender’ (Corbett, 1991; Creissels, 2010; Greenberg, 1978; Heine, 1982) or ‘noun class’ (Aikhenvald, 2000; Dixon, 1982; 1986) as cover terms in the description of these grammaticalized systems of nominal classification.

4.2 Noun class assignment

Corbett (1991:7) states that noun class or gender assignment may depend on two basic types of information about the noun: its meaning (semantics) and/or its form. Information about form may in turn be of two types: word-structure, comprising derivation and inflection (morphology), and sound-structure (phonology). Dixon 1982 and Lakoff 1986 also propose a cultural Important Property Principle, where nouns of a language are assigned to a class based on the myths or cultural beliefs of the people who speak the language. In summary, there are four main ways by which natural languages categorise nouns into noun classes:

1) Semantic criteria – according to similarities in their meaning.
2) Morphological criteria – according to nouns having similar forms.
3) Phonological criteria – nouns beginning or ending with a vowel or consonant belong to a class.

4) Cultural criteria – according to cultural myths and beliefs.

However there can also be a combination of these criteria with one of them more prevalent. Morphological systems are connected to semantic systems. First, they always have a semantic core. There is no purely morphological system; the morphological rules assign the nouns in the semantic residue to genders, that is, they are required where semantics fails. And second, they may also overlap with the semantic rules (Corbett, 1991:34). No system of noun classes is completely devoid of semantic motivation. If a language has non-semantic principles of noun class assignment the assignment principle will be mixed, since there is always a ‘core’ where semantics operates (Aikhenvald 2000:25).

4.3 The noun class system of Sekpelé

Noun class systems are common to most Niger-Congo languages. The trait of Niger-Congo morphology which provides the main material for comparison is ‘the system of noun classification by pairs of affixes, one for the singular, and another for the plural’ (Greenberg, 1966:9). As we will see in this section, there are also unpaired groups of nouns. Niger-Congo languages differ in the number of noun classes they exhibit, with some having more than ten. The Bantu languages occupy a special place in gender studies, since many of them have an extensive gender system. The Proto-Bantu language is reconstructed to have a total of 22 noun classes, however no language is
known to express all of them; but most of them have at least 10 noun classes. Meinhof (1906) cited in Corbett (1991:43) states:\footnote{This quote is also found in De Wolf (1971:34)}:

A language may go a bit further in relation to gender-signalling such that a noun may contain a discontinuous noun class marker which is the overt sign of the category to which the noun belongs. If the grammatical categorises of gender and number interplay in such a way that each noun in a given language belongs to a selective category of gender, as soon as we can say that the specific gender class to which a given noun belongs is characterised by its own class affix (prefix, infix, suffix or some combined), we can speak of a Noun Class Language or Class Language.

One characteristic that distinguishes the GTM languages from the rest of the Kwa (branch of Niger-Congo) languages is the fact that they possess a noun class system. Sekpelé has its unique set of noun classes, although there are similarities across the GTM language group. Vowel harmony plays an integral role in the outcome of the interaction of the noun roots/stems and their prefixes. The aim of this section is to identify the various noun classes and to show how harmony plays a vital role in the alternation of their morphological structures.

Languages often make a grammatical distinction between nouns that refer to things that can be counted (count nouns) and those that refer to substances (non-count nouns), like water, sand, air, wood, etc. (Payne 1997:41). There are two sets of noun forms in Sekpelé: count nouns (those that have singular and plural pairs) and mass/abstract nouns (single or unpaired). Each noun class consists of some sets of alternating prefixes either
due to vowel harmony or homorganic nasal assimilation. The prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of noun class and number and are morphologically attached to the noun roots or stems (which are bound forms themselves) to form noun words. There are six paired count noun classes (i.e., twelve individual classes), three mass/abstract noun classes and a class of derived nouns. The classification used in this work is based on the Bantuist tradition, where every countable noun is assigned to two classes: one singular and the other plural. The singular classes are assigned to odd numbers while the plural classes are assigned to even numbers. This is due to the fact that number places a vital role in distinguishing between syncretic forms. For instance, the KA form has two groups: one singular and the other plural. I name them NCL4 and NCL9. NCL4 is the plural counterpart of NCL3 (O form) while NCL9 is the singular of NCL10 (N form).

This classification of Sekpelê noun classes is mine and it is independent of that of Kropp Dakubu & Ford (1988) and Heine (1968), however I show how my account relates to theirs. Figure 8 is a chart of the Sekpelê noun classification and its sub-classifications. The morphological structure of the non-count nouns corresponds to one of the paired count nouns and they show agreement with their correspondent modifiers (see §4.3.4 and §4.4.4). Although I have put the non-count nouns into separate groups, this does not mean they belong to distinct classes to those of the count nouns. The arrow in Figure 8 indicates that the non-count nouns belong to the same classes as the count noun. They are morphologically identical and the share the same agreement classes. What distinguishes the non-count noun from the count nouns is the fact that they do not have corresponding singular or plural forms. Some of them can be used for a singular, plural or collective sense depending on the context.
4.3.1 Count noun classes

4.3.1.1 NCL 1/2 – O, BA

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /o-/ for the singular form and /ba-/ for the plural form. Semantically, this class pair generally consists of animate entities related to humans and animals. This class pair is in correlation with class 1 of Heine and class 1/2 of Dakubu. Table 4.1 provides some members of this class pair:
The above data show some variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The singular class prefix has [o-], [ɔ-], and [u-] while the plural class prefix has [ba-] and [be-] or [bə-] as variant output forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.

### 4.3.1.2 NCL 3/4 – O, KA

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes with /o-/ for the singular form and /ka-/ for the plural form. The structure of this class pair is similar to that of NCL 1/2: the only distinguishing element is that this class has a ka- in the plural form as opposed to a ba- in NCL 1/2. Semantically, this class pair consists of inanimate entities as opposed to those of NCL 1/2 and it ranges over foodstuffs, plant parts, furniture and household items. This class pair is in correlation with class 2 of Heine and class 13/14 of Dakubu. Table 4.2 provides some members of this class pair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò-kpå</td>
<td>bà-kpå</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-sànì</td>
<td>bà-sànì</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-tô</td>
<td>bà-tô</td>
<td>elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-ńfì</td>
<td>bà-ńfì</td>
<td>twin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-yìmì</td>
<td>bà-yìmì</td>
<td>sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-kô</td>
<td>bà-kô</td>
<td>corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-kpì</td>
<td>bà-kpì</td>
<td>grasscutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-lèŋkè</td>
<td>bà-lèŋkè</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-sì</td>
<td>bà-sì</td>
<td>witch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ò-sìnò</td>
<td>bà-sìnò</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù-flúflú</td>
<td>bè-flúflú</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù-sìd</td>
<td>bà-sìd</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù-sìó</td>
<td>bè-sìó</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ù-tíd</td>
<td>bè-tíd</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Members of noun class 1/2
The above data show variation in the vowels in both the singular and plural class prefixes. This is similar to the occurrence in NCL 1/2 (see §4.3.1.1), where the singular class prefix has \[o\]-, \[ɔ\]-, and \[u\]- as variant forms while this time the plural class prefix has \[ka\]- and \[ke\]- or \[ka\]- as variant forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.
4.3.1.3 NCL5/6 – LE/DI, A

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /le-/ or /di-/ for the singular form and /a-/ for the plural form. The two variants of the singular form are complementary to each other such that the di- is attached to stems with [+high, +ATR] vowels or the schwa while le- is attached to stems with any other vowels. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human body parts, cooking utensils, fruits and vegetables, farm tools and natural artefacts. This class pair correlates with class 3 of Heine and class 5/6 of Dakubu. Table 4.3 provides some members of this class pair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lè-bà</td>
<td>à-bà</td>
<td>rock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-blombé</td>
<td>à-blombé</td>
<td>pineapple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-fántó</td>
<td>à-fántó</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-fòkpá</td>
<td>à-fòkpá</td>
<td>footwear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-kpènkpè</td>
<td>à-kpènkpè</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-siábí</td>
<td>à-siábí</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-bólá</td>
<td>à-bólá</td>
<td>onion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-fô</td>
<td>à-fô</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-yî</td>
<td>à-yî</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-kwésì</td>
<td>à-kwésì</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-môkwésì</td>
<td>à-môkwésì</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-nîmî</td>
<td>à-nîmî</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè-ômô</td>
<td>à-ômô</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 Members of noun class 5/6 (first variant)

The above data show that the singular prefix has [le-] and [lɛ-] as variant forms while the plural prefix is orthographically represented as [a-]. [lɛ-] co-occurs with stems whose initial vowels are [-high, -ATR] while [le-] co-occurs with any other vowels.
especially the [-high, + ATR]. [a-] has two allomorphs: [ɐ] and [ä], which co-occur with [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowels respectively. This applies to NCL8 too.

Table 4.4 shows some members of the other alternative form of this class pair. This group of nouns shows prefixes [di-] as the singular form and [e-] as the plural form. This is due to the fact that they are attached to stems that have the [+high, + ATR] vowels or the schwa, triggering a stepwise rise in height from the underlying form (see §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dí-sì</td>
<td>é-sì</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-yìò</td>
<td>ã-yìò (ã-yò)</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-bíntsyò</td>
<td>ë-bíntsyò</td>
<td>vulture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-kùtù</td>
<td>ë-kùtù</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-nàmí</td>
<td>ë-nàmí</td>
<td>face/eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-wúò</td>
<td>ñ-wúò</td>
<td>hoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-bì</td>
<td>ë-bì</td>
<td>drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-bíò</td>
<td>ë-bíò</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-yìè</td>
<td>ã-yìè (ã-yê)</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-tùntù</td>
<td>ë-tùntù</td>
<td>bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-kplíbí</td>
<td>ë-kplíbí</td>
<td>cooking pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-yíbíbí</td>
<td>ë-yíbíbí</td>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-kpò</td>
<td>ñ-kpò</td>
<td>skin/bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí-bùtù</td>
<td>ë-bùtù</td>
<td>bush</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4 Members of noun class 5/6 (second variant)

4.3.1.4 NCL 7/8 – KO, A

This class pair includes nouns whose stems have class prefixes /ko-/ for the singular form and /a-/ for the plural form. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human parts and ecological entities. This class pair correlates with class 5 of Heine and class 11/12 of Dakubu. Table 4.5 provides some members of this class pair:
The above data show some variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The structure of the prefix vowels of this class pair is the same as that of NCL 1/2 and NCL 3/4. The singular class prefix has [ko-], [kɔ-], and [ku-] while the plural class prefix has [ə-], [ɛ-] and [ɔ-] as variant output forms which are determined by the first stem vowel. See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony.

### 4.3.1.5 NCL 9/10 – KA, N

This class pair is made of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /ka-/ for the singular form and /N/, a homorganic nasal, for the plural form. Generally, this class pair consists of some animate entities such as animals. It also contains some human body parts, settlements and clothes. This class pair correlates with class 6 of Heine and class 9/10 of Dakubu. Table 4.6 provides some members of this class pair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kó-kpà</td>
<td>á-kpà</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò-tó</td>
<td>à-tó</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò-bé</td>
<td>à-bé</td>
<td>palmtree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò-kè</td>
<td>à-kè</td>
<td>mortar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò-nì</td>
<td>à-nì</td>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kò-tìnì</td>
<td>à-tìnì</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú-dì</td>
<td>é-dì</td>
<td>grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú-kpiò</td>
<td>é-kpiò</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú-sà</td>
<td>à-sà</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú-sù</td>
<td>é-sù</td>
<td>mushroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kù-sù</td>
<td>è-sù</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5 Members of noun class 7/8
The above data show variations in both the singular and plural class prefixes. The singular class prefix vowel is a central vowel which causes the prefix to surface as [ka-] but varies when the stem vowel is [+high, -ATR] or the schwa and surfaces as [ke-] or [ka-] as a result of a stepwise rise in height (See also §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony). It also shows that the plural prefixes undergo homorganic nasal assimilation such that each nasal prefix assumes the same place feature as the stem onset it is attached to.

**4.3.1.6 NCL 11/12 – SE, BE**

This class pair is made up of nouns whose stems have class prefixes /se-/ for the singular form and /be-/ for the plural form. This class pair consists of diverse entities which include human body parts, foodstuffs, furniture, ecological and heavenly bodies.
This class pair correlates with class 4 of Heine and class 7/8 of Dakubu. Table 4.7 provides some members of this class pair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sè-bó</td>
<td>bè-bó</td>
<td>towel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè-fà</td>
<td>bè-fà</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè-fàndèbi</td>
<td>bè-fàndèbi</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè-lé</td>
<td>bè-lé</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè-bé</td>
<td>bè-bé</td>
<td>palm kernel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè-fió</td>
<td>bè-fió</td>
<td>finger nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-kú</td>
<td>bì-kú</td>
<td>door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-múó</td>
<td>bì-múó</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-sí</td>
<td>bì-sí</td>
<td>yam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-tù</td>
<td>bì-tù</td>
<td>iron/steel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì-yû</td>
<td>bì-yû</td>
<td>thorn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7 Members of noun class 11/12

The above data show that both the singular and plural prefix vowels have the same form and their variation is dependent on the features of the stem vowel they are attached to. The surface forms [se-] and [be-] are realised if the stem vowel is a non-high vowel with a [+ATR] feature. On the other hand, if the non-high vowel possess a [-ATR] feature, [se-] and [be-] will surface as the output forms. However, if the stem vowel is a high [+ATR] vowel, then the output forms will be [si-] and [bi-] (See §3.4.1 for rules of vowel harmony).

4.3.2 Ambiguity in noun classes

Most noun class systems show different classes with identical forms. Most linguists analyse these systems by using one class marker form to encode two or more classes.
This phenomenon is referred to as ‘syncretism’ (Corbett, 1991:190) and ‘superclassing’ (Evans, 1997). Sekpelé is no exception to this phenomenon and is illustrated in:

The chart above shows structural syncretism of NCL1 and NCL3; NCL6 and NCL8; and NCL4 and NCL9 (where the same class marker is used for a singular class as well as a plural class). Although the classes are structurally identical and may share the same agreement class, this is not enough. Agreement should not be the only factor in putting nouns together. A group of people may shape the nouns in a language based on semantics, pragmatics, and on cultural ideology and identity. For instance, NCL1 and NCL3 are structurally identical but are distinct based on animacy. NCL1 contains animates entities while NCL3 contains inanimate entities, so are their plural counterparts. Although NCL1 and NCL2 are the class of animates, some animals and ‘ladies’ are in NCL9 and NCL10 (see Table 4.6). This may be due to some cultural ideology of some sort. These animals are popularly used in folktakes. I cannot tell why ‘vulture’ and children’ are in NCL5 and NCL6 (see Table 4.4). Culturally, ancestors are revered and ‘corpse’ and ‘ancestral spirits’ are placed in NCL1 and NCL2. So it may be
wrong for one to sum a group of nouns together just because they are structurally identical and their corresponding singulars or plurals also sum up with other totally distinct classes on the same bases.

The presence of syncretism brings about ambiguity in identifying the class of a noun. How can one tell which class a noun belongs to? This is where semantics comes into play. There are two ways of identifying the class of a noun: (1) semantic principles based on the inherent meaning of the noun, and (2) the corresponding singular or plural of the noun. The class of NCL1 and NCL3 can be distinguished on the bases of animacy; NCL1 is the class of animates whereas NCL3 is that of inanimates. However, NCL6 and NCL8 do not have such a distinction which makes it difficult to identify the class of a noun from its inherent meaning. In this case, the class of the corresponding singular gives us the clue to the identity of the class. For instance, the nouns á-kpà ‘legs’ and à-fòkpá ‘footwear’ have the same prefix form, however their corresponding singular forms are kó-kpà and lè-fòkpá which belong to classes 7 and 5 respectively. Therefore ákpà is assigned to class 8 while àfòkpá is assigned to class 6. This later approach also applies to the identity of NCL4 and NCL9 (see also §4.4.2).

4.3.3 Mass and abstract noun classes

These classes of nouns consist of those which do not distinguish number. They either come as a single unit or they are abstract in nature such that their numerical value cannot be ascertained. In this section, I have grouped the nouns according to their semantic characteristics instead of their morphological structure and agreement. There are four groups of nouns and they are represented in the tables below. These are not
morphological groupings. Figure 8 in §4.3 show how these nouns in this section are morphologically related to the count nouns.

Table 4.8 contains members of nouns that are abstract in nature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə̀suálé</td>
<td>strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bènáké</td>
<td>inheritance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èkúdí</td>
<td>curse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ètsí</td>
<td>speed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàyí</td>
<td>pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kètúntù</td>
<td>darkness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòbé</td>
<td>knowledge/wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûkpõesé</td>
<td>hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûmánò</td>
<td>madness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèkpá</td>
<td>proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèmà</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèbúá</td>
<td>bad/evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ́kpó</td>
<td>life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñkpó</td>
<td>death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñtámó</td>
<td>oath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñlésìè</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dîtsîtsó</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâkómi</td>
<td>afternoon/daytime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèsyé</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèfé</td>
<td>time/period</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 Abstract nouns
Table 4.9 contains members of nouns that are classified as a single unit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>àtābì</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àsúá</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àwò</td>
<td>clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàsò</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàtò</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòfandè</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòfé</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kómá</td>
<td>scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòyó</td>
<td>shadow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàhònsié</td>
<td>world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àsi</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9 Single unit nouns

Table 4.10 contains members of nouns that are voluminous and mass in nature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dìwì</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kèsú</td>
<td>urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kétù</td>
<td>river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kótà</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúyùù</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèkpò</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèhònómí</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèyò</td>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>níbá</td>
<td>salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nìtè</td>
<td>wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nìtó</td>
<td>ash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nìtú</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nìtífè</td>
<td>saliva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìbònìtsú</td>
<td>dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìpè</td>
<td>fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìtè</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìtí</td>
<td>soil/dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìfìèbí</td>
<td>air/wind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10 Mass nouns
Table 4.11 contains members of derived nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb form</th>
<th>Noun form</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ká</td>
<td>bòká</td>
<td>driving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kà</td>
<td>bòkà</td>
<td>insulting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>té</td>
<td>bòté</td>
<td>teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tò</td>
<td>bòtò</td>
<td>asking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yé</td>
<td>bòyé</td>
<td>walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.df</td>
<td>bùdí</td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dú</td>
<td>bùdú</td>
<td>leaving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11 Derived nouns

4.4 Agreement

Agreement refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another (Steele, 1978:610). Matthews (1997:12) also defines agreement ‘as a syntactic relation between words and phrases which are compatible in a construction by virtue of inflections carried by at least one of them’. Agreement has been used interchangeably with ‘concord’ by some linguists. Other linguists make a distinction, with some using ‘concord’ as the cover term, while others use ‘agreement’ as the cover term. Linguists who follow Bloomfield (1933) treat ‘agreement’ as the superordinate term while those who follow Greenberg (1978) treat ‘concord’ as the wider term (Corbett, 2006). According to Jespersen (1924), ‘concord is the agreement between secondary words and the principal that they belong to’. Concord (or agreement) may be described as a system in which two or more sets of grammatical items (e.g. inflections) attached to different lexical items or constructions are mutually dependent given certain conditions (Bach & Harms 1968: 117).
4.4.1 The agreement types

A language may have several agreement classes (Corbett 1991:147, 2006:120). I showed earlier that Sekpelé is a language that has a noun class system that inflects for number. Sekpelé also has two sets of agreement class markers that do not only inflect for number but each class marker set distinguishes two types of target that agree with the nouns they are in a constituent with. One set of markers is attached to determiner stems such as the definite article and demonstratives (Agreement Type I), while the other set is attached to the indefinite article and numeral stems, pronouns and anaphoric elements (Agreement Type II).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Agreement Type I</th>
<th>Agreement Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL 1/2</td>
<td>o-/ɔ-/u-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
<td>0-/u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 3/4</td>
<td>o-/ɔ-/u-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 5/6</td>
<td>le-/le-/-di-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
<td>le-/di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 7/8</td>
<td>ko-/kə/-ku-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
<td>ko-/kuə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 9/10</td>
<td>ka-/kə-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
<td>a-/ə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 11/12</td>
<td>se/-se/-si-</td>
<td>be/-be/-bi-</td>
<td>be/-be/-bi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.12: The agreement classes

The markers for the agreement types are very similar, with a slight variation in CL1 and CL5. CL1 has the markers /a/ and /o/ while CL5 has the markers /əa/ and /əe/ respectively. The differences in CL1 and CL3 of the agreement type II shows an animacy distinction: CL1 and CL3 are animate and inanimate respectively. The above prefixes attach to the modifier stems in Table 4.13 to form modifier words which co-
occur with their respective nouns to form a larger constituent, taking into consideration their structural and number agreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier Stem</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mō</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mfō</td>
<td>Distal Demonstrative</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mfō</td>
<td>Proximal Demonstrative</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsyúá(^{14})</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>some/ a certain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ní</td>
<td>Numeral</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13: The modifier stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL 1/2</td>
<td>ámō</td>
<td>bámō</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>śmfō</td>
<td>bámfō</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>śmfō</td>
<td>bámfō</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ütsyúń</td>
<td>bätstyúń</td>
<td>somebody/some people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ánń</td>
<td>bänń</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 3/4</td>
<td>śmō</td>
<td>kámō</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>śmfō</td>
<td>kámfō</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>śmfō</td>
<td>kámfō</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>âtsyúń</td>
<td>kätstyúń</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ánń</td>
<td>känń</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 5/6</td>
<td>námō</td>
<td>ñmō</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>námfō</td>
<td>ñmfō</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>námfō</td>
<td>ñmfō</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ðitsyúń</td>
<td>ðtsyúń</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñńń</td>
<td>ñńń</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 7/8</td>
<td>kómś</td>
<td>ñmś</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kómfō</td>
<td>ñmfō</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kómfō</td>
<td>ñmfō</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñttyúń</td>
<td>ñtsyúń</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñńń</td>
<td>ñńń</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 9/10</td>
<td>kómś</td>
<td>bómś</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kómfō</td>
<td>bómfō</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{14}\) [tʃuә]
The prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. The stems in isolation are meaningless until the prefixes have been attached to them.

### 4.4.2 Ambiguity in agreement classes

I have discussed how the noun class system of Sekpelé shows syncretism in §4.3.3. This phenomenon also applies to the agreement types and is illustrated in the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement Type I</th>
<th>Agreement Type II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2 BA</td>
<td>O 1/2 BA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 KA</td>
<td>A 3/4 KA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/6 A</td>
<td>LE/DI 5/6 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/8 KO</td>
<td>KO 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10 KA</td>
<td>KA 9/10 BO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/12 SE</td>
<td>SE 11/12 BE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14: The modifier words

The prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. The stems in isolation are meaningless until the prefixes have been attached to them.
Type I is attached to determiners such as the definite article and demonstratives. Type II is attached to the indefinite article, numerals, personal pronouns and other anaphoric element. The chart above shows syncretism of NCL1, NCL3, NCL6 and NCL8 in Type I and of NCL3, NCL6 and NCL8 in Type II. There is also syncretism of NCL4 and NCL9 in both types where the class marker refers to a singular class as well as a plural class.

In §4.3.3, I illustrated that the presence of syncretism brings about ambiguity in identifying the class of a noun. I proposed a semantic-morphological approach by which two strategies are employed in the identification of the class of a noun: (1) the inherent meaning of the noun and (2) the correspondent singular or plural of the noun. In this section, a third strategy is proposed where the class of the noun which triggers the agreement could give us a clue as to the type of the modifier or anaphor. A noun and its modifier of one agreement type may share the same structure as another set but they are glossed differently. For instance, a noun of NCL1 will trigger the same agreement form as that of NCL3, NCL6, and NCL8 in agreement type I. However, they will be glossed on the modifier differently as CL1, CL3, CL6, and CL8 respectively. The same applies to the case of NCL4 and NCL9.

4.4.3 Domain of agreement

According to Corbett (2006:54), there are four broad domains of agreement: (1) within the noun phrase; (2) beyond the noun phrase but within the clause; (3) beyond the clause but within the sentence; and (4) domains that extend beyond the sentence. In my account of Sekpele, I will narrow my consideration to the three domains suggested by
Bloomfield (1933:191): NP head-modifier (modifier concord); predicate-argument; and anaphoric (referential concord) domains. Modifier concord occurs when various constituents of the NP show morphophonological agreement with the head noun. Referential concord (anaphoric agreement) occurs when the concordial affix denotes the referential part of the lexeme syntactically and semantically. Both types of agreement are present in Sekpelé, and are similarly found in other noun class languages. Predicate-argument agreement occurs cross-linguistically between verb morphology and relevant noun phrase arguments (controllers). It also occurs between relative and complementizer clauses and their head nouns. Sekpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain.

4.4.3.1 Modifier concord

This section discusses how agreement is realised in the NP head-modifier domain in Sekpelé. In Bantu languages, there are typically several noun classes reflected in complex agreement systems. Bantu languages have concord or agreement with all noun modifiers (and also with verbs) which are realised alliteratively. The following example is from Swahili:

41) **kikapu** kikubwa kimoja kilianguka
    basket large one fell
    ‘One large basket fell.’ ([Corbett,1991;Welmers,1973](#))

The adjective, numeral and the verb all carry the prefix agreement marker **ki-**, as will other agreement targets outside this domain. Given a different type of noun, they would all have a different prefix. In the plural a similar situation occurs:
In Sekpélé, attributive adjectives do not show any concord with the head noun. Sekpélé however does show concord on modifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, demonstratives, and the numeral ‘one’. This is one characteristic that distinguishes the noun class system of some GTM languages from that of Bantu languages.

Sekpélé shows agreement between the head noun and the definite article. This is shown in examples 44 and 45.

44) ò-sàní ñ-mó
NCL1-man CL1-DEF
N DET
‘The man’

45) bà-sàní bò-mó
NCL2-man CL2-DEF
N DET
‘The men’

Sekpélé also shows agreement between the head noun and the distal as well as the proximal demonstratives. These are shown in examples 46 and 47, 48 and 49 respectively:
There is also agreement between the head noun and the indefinite article. This is shown in:

50) lè-sá dí-tsyúó
NCL5-thing CL5-INDEF
N INDEF
‘something’

51) à-sá ṭ-syúó
NCL6-thing CL6-INDEF
N INDEF
‘some things’

52) ò-flámé ṭ-syúó
NCL3-handkerchief CL3-INDEF
N INDEF
‘a certain handkerchief’
Sekpelé also shows agreement between the head noun and the numeral ‘one’. This is shown in:

54) u-tidi ɔ-ní
    NCL1-person CL1-one
    N NUM
    ‘One person’

55) be-tidi ba-ní
    NCL2-person CL2-one
    N NUM
    ‘One people’

56) ka-lebe ka-ní
    NCL9-place CL9-one
    N NUM
    ‘One place’

57) n-lebe bɔ-ní
    NCL10-place CL10-one
    N NUM
    ‘One place’

As it stands, the data above shows that the numeral ‘one’ agrees with the head noun. Cross-linguistically, agreement involving cardinal numerals is often restricted to lower numerals (Corbett, 2006:42). The use of the numeral ‘one’ with plural nouns in Sekpelé has a collective interpretation as in example 55 or has a similarity relation as in example
57. Example 56 means a specific place or location while example 57 means similar places or locations.

The agreement structures that exist between the noun and members of agreement type I are summarised in Table 4.15:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREEMENT TYPE I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NCL1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL11/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15 Noun-Modifier Agreement

4.4.3.2 Referential concord

Referential concord refers to agreement that exists between a noun and an anaphoric element within a syntactic domain. All the modifier words outlined earlier in Table 4.14, with the exception of the definite article, are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns. It is important to note that each determiner corresponds with the appropriate class of the noun phrase it refers to. This can be shown in the comparative constructions as follows:

58) \text{si-tù} \text{ siə́-mfó́} \text{ á-lɛ́kɛ̀} \text{ só} \text{ siə́-mfó́}

\text{NCL11-metal} \text{ CL11-DIST} \text{ PFV-good} \text{ COMP} \text{ CL11-PROX}

\text{N} \text{ DEM} \text{ V} \text{ DEM}

‘That metal is better than this one’
The data above show the Sekpele comparative construction which involves comparing two nouns belonging to the same class. In each construction, although the noun representing the standard of comparison is absent in the second element being compared, the relevant modifier functions pronominally and has an appropriate noun class prefix that corresponds to the noun class of its antecedent. Thus, in example 58, the pronoun represents a noun in NCL11 while that of example 59 represents a noun in NCL2.

The indefinite modifier *tsyao* ‘INDEF’ can also occur alone in a sentence as an anaphor, bearing the same class marker as the noun being referred to. This is illustrated in Table 4.16 which involves an event with different themes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject/Agent</th>
<th>Verb/Predicate</th>
<th>Object/Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>asɔ</td>
<td>ü-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bɔ-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ã-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kɔ-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>di-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bũ-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bi-tsyoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16: ‘Kofi hit somebody or something’

The above data illustrate that the English sentence ‘Kofi hit somebody or something’ corresponds to eight different sentences in Sekpele since the pronoun representing the theme varies depending on the class of the noun being referred to.
Apart from the Type I modifiers, third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or as anaphors. In Sekpelé, subject pronouns are cliticised to verb stems as proclitics while object pronouns are free forms. Table 4.17 shows the various forms of the third person pronouns and the noun class they correspond to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedent</th>
<th>Nominative Anaphor</th>
<th>Accusative Anaphor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular Proclitic</td>
<td>Plural Proclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL1/2</td>
<td>o /ɔ = /u =</td>
<td>ba /be = /bɔ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL3/4</td>
<td>e /ɛ = /i =</td>
<td>ka /ke = /kɔ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL5/6</td>
<td>le /le = /di =</td>
<td>a /ɛ = /ɔ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL7/8</td>
<td>ko /kɔ = /ku =</td>
<td>a /ɛ = /ɔ =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL9/10</td>
<td>ka /ke = /kɔ =</td>
<td>bo /bɔ = /bu =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL11/12</td>
<td>se /sɛ = /si =</td>
<td>be /be = /bi =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17: The third person pronoun anaphors

The third person anaphors in the above table can be seen in these examples:

60) osani omo le bufi gake usu
    ð- *sàni á mó lé bò- fì gàkè 6= sù
    NCL1 man CL1 the hold NMLZ become sick but 3SG.NOM.PST= go
    keyifo kà- *yífó
    NCL9 work
    ‘The man is sick but he has gone to work’ (Agreement_egs 1.1)

61) basani bomo le bufi gake besu
    bà- *sànì bà mó lé bò- fì gàkè bà= sù
    NCL2 man CL2 the hold NMLZ become sick but 3PL.NOM.PST= go
    keyifo kà- *yífó
    NCL9 work
    ‘The men are sick but they have gone to work’ (Agreement_egs 2.1)
Sekpele has an animacy distinction in the third person. Animate s by default belong to class 1/2 while inanimates fall into class 3/4 by default. This is due to the fact that inanimates borrowed into the language are attached with class 3/4 prefix if they could and take class 3/4 agreement. Examples (60) and (61) represent class 1 and 2 respectively. They show that both the antecedent noun and its anaphor in each case have the same morphological structure and can be said to agree in class and number. While example (50) contains a singular antecedent, example (61) has a plural antecedent. Since it is obvious that the anaphors in both examples share the same class with their antecedents, they are not necessarily glossed for class. Example (62) and (63) also illustrate a situation where the antecedent noun and it anaphor belong to class 3/4. These show that each noun class has a unique anaphor it co-occurs in agreement with.

The anaphor in example (63) is glossed as class 4 in agreement to its antecedent (see Table 4.17).

In certain possessive existential constructions, we find a possessed noun ‘own’ which takes a noun class prefix in agreement with the class of the subject antecedent in the same clause. This is illustrated in:
In examples (64), (66) and (66), the word corresponding to the English ‘mine’ changes morphologically to agree with its antecedent noun.

4.4.4 Concord for mass and abstract nouns

In sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3, I showed how agreement exists between count nouns, their modifiers and anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also have agreement with their modifiers and anaphors. Each noun triggers a prefix on the modifier word or pronoun that corresponds to its first syllable alliteratively (except that initial nasal+stop clusters are replaced by /bo/). The resulting forms are subject to vowel harmony. Table 4.18 below contains examples of some nouns from the three groups of abstract and mass nouns with their relevant combinations with the definite article to form a noun phrase:
Table 4.18: Concord in Mass and Abstract nouns

Table 4.18 above is a representation of the various nouns and their respective definite articles. This phenomenon is not limited to the definite article or other modifiers but is also applicable to all anaphoric elements. This is illustrated in:

67) \( wɔ \) \( wə́ \) NCL6-money \( \text{a-tə́bɪ́} \) \( \text{á-} \) NCL6-LOC \( \text{má} \) \( \text{tə́} \) \( \text{lə́} \) \( \text{lé-} \) \( \text{*yó} \) \( \text{è=} \) \( \text{tə́} \) \( \text{lə́} \)

3SG.POSS NCL6-money NCL5-house 3SG.NOM= be.at LOC

"His/her money is in the room. It is on the table" (Agreement_egr 5.1)

68) \( \text{kofe} \) \( \text{kó-} \) NCL7-sun \( \text{kó-} \) NCL7-CL7-loc \( \text{kə́} \) \( \text{bó-} \) \( \text{fá} \) \( \text{éyéé} \) \( \text{kó=} \) \( \text{tə́} \) \( \text{bóś} \)

NCL7-sun CL7-CL7-loc NMLZ-shine and CL7.NOM.PST= cause 1PL.POSS

"The sun is shining and it has caused some of our clothes to dry" (Agreement_egr 6.1)
In example (67), the default anaphoric pronoun (class 3) has been employed in the second sentence showing that, although the antecedent noun -animation ‘money’ and its modifier are of class 6. In contrast, example (68) shows a verb prefix anaphoric pronoun marked as class 7, apparently triggered by the noun -animation ‘sun’ and its modifier.

4.5 Noun derivations

Noun derivation is a morphological process employed to create new nouns either from noun stems, other lexical forms such as verbs and adjectives, or both. This process of deriving nouns is also referred to as nominalization and there are several such processes employed in Sekpélé which include affixation, compounding and reduplication.

4.5.1 Noun derivation by affixation

Noun derivation by affixation is a process whereby noun derivational affixes are attached to lexical stems such as verbs and adjectives to derive nouns. In Sekpélé, the prefix /b%-/ is attached to action verbs to derive gerunds. These gerunds are used syntactically in the present progressive construction. Its syntactic representation is discussed in §7.2.2.1.1 however the examples below show some derived forms15:

69) a) bù-dí
   NMLZ-eat
   ‘act of eating’

b) bò-ká
   NMLZ-drive
   ‘act of driving’

c) bù-dú
   NMLZ-rear
   ‘act of leaving’

d) bò-té
   NMLZ-teach
   ‘act of teaching’

---

15 I refer to these as the class of derived nouns (see §4.3.4 and table 4.11).
One should note that although nominalization involving /bo-/ has grammaticalized in nouns, the same cannot be said of the infinitive /ka-/.

The process involving /bo-/ is a gerund while that of /ka-/ is a participle. Nouns can also be derived from adjectives by attaching the personalizer suffix [-le] and the NCL1 prefix /o-/. This can be shown in the examples below.

70) a) ð-kèkè-lè
   NCL1-small-PNLZ
   ‘small one’

b) ù-nìnš-lè
   NCL1-elder-PNLZ
   ‘elderly one’

c) ð-stì-a-lè
   NCL1-fair-PNLZ
   ‘fair one’

d) ð-kplè-lè
   NCL1-big-PNLZ
   ‘big one’

e) ð-nâ-lè\[16]
   NCL1-dark-PNLZ
   ‘dark one’

The prefix in the above is NCL1 therefore the derived nouns are placed in class 1. Section 9.3.4.2 also discusses how derived noun-like adjectives are formed.

Different class markers can be attached to a noun stem to derive nouns of varying meanings. This is illustrated in:

---

\[16\] Nickname for the police.
The above data show that each set in a row, has the same root or stem but takes different class markers which influence the meaning of the output noun. For instance, NCL1 has an animacy or human meaning while NCL11 has the meaning of institution or position. Class makers can be used to show a part-whole relation. For instance, when the root bé ‘palm’ takes the NCL7 marker, the resultant meaning is the entire ‘palm tree’; when it takes the NCL8 marker, the resultant meaning is ‘palm fruit’; when it takes the NCL11 marker, the resultant meaning is ‘palm chaff’; and when it takes the NCL12 marker, it means ‘palm kernel’.

---

17 An Òmánkràdo is the custodian of the land therefore the ‘landlord’. He is also responsible for enthroning a chief therefore a ‘kingmaker’

18 An Òkántô is a custodian of the stool/throne which a chief is related to. Chiefs get their chieftaincy names from a particular stool. Òkántô literally mean ‘father of a chief’.
4.5.2 Compounding

Compounding is a productive process of forming derived nominals. There are two basic distinct types of compounds: primary and synthetic compounds, or in other words, compounds with or without juxtaposed roots. Primary compounds are composed of right-headed binominals with a NCL-N-N structure (see Benczes 2006:29; and Carstairs-McCarthy 2002:61). Compounds of this nature are referred to as endocentric compounds (Booij 2007, 2009; Kortmann 2005; Plag 2003; Spencer 1991). The second element is the head of the construction and determines the noun class of the compound. If the two noun stems belong to different classes, then the first noun forfeits its prefix while the second noun prefix is retained as the compound prefix. This is illustrated in:

72) ù-kùsɛ́ + lɛ́-fɔ́ → di-kùsɛ́fɔ́
    NCL1-fowl NCL5-egg NCL5-chicken egg

73) kà-mɔ̀ + di-kplibi → lɛ́-mɔ́kplibi
    NCL4-rice NCL5-pot NCL5-rice pot

74) kɔ̀-bɛ́ + kú-tù → kɔ̀bɛ́tù
    NCL7-palm NCL7-soup NCL7-palmsoup

75) o-kwai + sè-bó → sè-kwaibó
    NCL3-soap NCL11-towel NCL11-toiletry

Although the above illustration is the norm for forming binominal compounds, sometimes elements of a compound can be represented in a sequence without any alterations, as in:

76) a) kà-kwɛ́ + ɱ-fia → kàkwɛ́fia
    NCL9-spider NCL10-cloth spider-web
Examples (76a) and (77a) illustrate compounds represented as a sequence of nouns while examples (76b) and (77b) conform to the normal compound formation. Example (76b) can also be said to be the plural form of (76a). Example (77b) is the norm since palmwine is a liquid. However, example (77a) is used in rare circumstances. The nasal element linking the compound is probably the stem extension or ligature (see eg. 80-82 below).

In synthetic compounds, the head of the compound is a deverbal noun and the other constituent is the argument of the verb. Synthetic compounds are actually a representation of nominalized verb phrases involving collocated verbs and nouns. Sekpelé forms synthetic compounds by attaching a noun class prefix /o-/ to a collocated verb phrase. The compound is assigned to NCL1 if the noun is animate, as in example (78), or assigned to NCL3 if the noun is inanimate, as in example (79):

78) ò-tè-ásá
   NCL1-teach-thing
   ‘teacher’

79) ò-flò-sà
   NCL3-wash-thing
   ‘sponge’
In some situations, the order of the verb phrase could be reversed into an N-V compound with a noun class prefix and a stem extension or ligature between the stems.

80) ɔ̀-kwɛ́-n-fō
 NCL1-farm-LIG-cultivate
   ‘farmer’

81) ʊ-kpɔ̀-n-tá
 NCL1-hunt-LIG-play
   ‘hunter’

82) ʊ-fuo-n-ká
 NCL1-car-LIG-drive
   ‘driver’

4.5.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is another noun derivation method employed in Sekpelé. In most languages, especially those of West Africa, nominals may be derived either by full or partial reduplication of other lexical categorises. Sekpelé may possibly have several derived nominals by reduplication, which may be discovered through comprehensive work on the topic. However one such form is a compound involving a noun and a reduplicated verb. These derived nominals are abstract in nature and may be assigned to the abstract class of nouns.

83) à-sà-té-té
    NCL6-thing-teach-REDUP
    ‘teaching’

84) ɔ̀-kwɛ́-fö̀-fö̀
    NCL3-farm-cultivate-REDUP
    ‘farming’
Summary

In summary, Sekpélé is a language that has twelve noun classes, based on the analysis of the above data set. Nouns in Sekpele can be divided into count and non-count nouns. Count nouns consist of singular-plural pairs, while non-count nouns are unpaired. Non-count nouns include single unit entities, mass nouns, abstract nouns and derived nouns. Sekpélé also has two sets of agreement class systems – one for determiners such as the definite article and demonstratives and the other for the indefinite article, the numeral ‘one’ and pronouns. Each noun class obligatorily selects an appropriate modifier from its corresponding agreement class which occurs in agreement alliteratively. The class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. Stems in isolation are bound forms which require a prefix to be attached to them. This makes the class system productive because different types of prefixes could be attached to a particular stem to produce different words.

There are two domains of concord or agreement in Sekpelé: modifier concord and referential concord. Sekpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain. Modifier concord applies to noun modifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, and demonstratives: attributive adjectives and intensifiers do not show any agreement with the head noun. This is one characteristic that distinguishes GTM languages from Bantu languages although they are both class languages. Most Bantu
languages have concord agreement with all noun modifiers and even verbs. All modifiers with the exception of the definite article are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns and each modifier corresponds with the appropriate noun class referred to. Apart from the modifiers, the third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also show agreement with their modifiers and anaphors. The choice of concord modifiers and anaphors is based on the structure of each noun. Each noun chooses a modifier word or pronoun that corresponds to its first syllable alliteratively.

Finally, Sekpelé employs affixation, compounding and reduplication in its noun derivation processes.
5 NOUN PHRASES

This chapter discusses the types and structures of noun phrases in Sekpele. A noun phrase in Sekpele consists minimally of a head nominal. The obligatory head nominal may be a common noun, a pronoun or a proper name. A noun phrase may include nominal modifiers which modify the head nominal. The noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and all modifiers follow the head; it can also be complex, involving conjoined or complex elements. This chapter is divided into four sections: section 5.1 discusses simple noun phrases; section 5.2 discusses complex noun phrases; section 5.3 discusses conjoined noun phrases and section 5.4 discusses noun phrases in adpositional phrases.

5.1 Simple noun phrases

A simple noun phrase consists of a nominal head and its (optional) modifiers. The structure of a simple noun phrase in Sekpele is illustrated in Table 5.1, where the head is obligatory and the modifiers are optional. Modifiers include qualifiers, numerals, determiners and intensifiers. The numeral ‘one’, the definite article, the indefinite article and the basic demonstratives (proximal and distal see § 5.1.1.3.3), show agreement with the head of the NP (see §4.4). Qualifiers, intensifiers and other numerals do not show any agreement with the head.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Modifiers (optional)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>Qualifiers (Adjectives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper noun</td>
<td>Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>Determiners-Articles and Demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensifiers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Structure of the simple noun phrase in Sekpele
Simple noun phrases are illustrated in examples (86)-(90). Example (86) illustrates the maximum structure of the noun phrase which consists of a noun, an adjective, a numeral, a determiner and an intensifier.

86) osani  kple  ou  omfɔ  kploŋ  dibɔ  
   ð-  *sànî̃  kplè  ð-  *nî  á-  mfolóŋ  lè̄ =  bò̄  
NCL1  man  big  CL1  one  CL1  that  only  REL =  come  
‘Only that one big man came’  (Miscellaneous 102.1)

Example 87 consists of all the elements except for a numeral:

87) ənni  lekpome  kple  kutsyuo  saa  dini  
   ë̄ =  n-  nî  lè-  *kpömë  kplè  kò-  tsyúö  aà  lè̄ =  nî  
3SG.NOM =  NEG  be  NCL5  stool  big  CL7  some  each  CL5.NOM =  be  
lekpome  keke  ma  te  dini  .  
   lè-  *kpömë  këkë  må̄  tè  lè̄ =  nî  
NCL5  stool  small  like  this  only  CL5.NOM =  be  
‘It isn’t any big stool; it is only a small stool like this’  (King making 2.35)

It is possible to have two or more intensifiers in the NP, as in example (88):

88) kofa  lolo lolo  kola  tsa  beyu  ombo  .  
kôfâ  lôblôlô  kôlà  tsyâ  ba-  *yû  â-  n-  bá  
month  whole  even  too  NCL2  thief  SCR  NEG  exist  
‘Even for a whole month too, there were no thieves’  (Good old days 9.3)

The NP can also be a proper noun or a pronoun which can be modified. Example 89 has two NPs, one is a pronoun modified with an intensifier and the other is a proper noun standing alone:

89) alebe  wɔ̃  leyenko  momo  tsa  
   álêbê  wɔ̃̌  lè̄ =  yë̄  -n-  -kò̄  màmà  tsyà  
however  3SG.REL.PRO  REL =  walk  LIG  ASSOC  3PL.ACC  too  
ooboko  ni  Katsyankla  .  
   ð̄ =  ð-  bôkò  nî  Katsyankla  
3SG.NOM.PST =  ANT  bring  be  Katsyankla  
‘However, the one who led them too was Katsyankla’  (History amankrado 1.16)
5.1.1 Nominal modifiers

This section discusses nominal modifiers in depth, including qualifiers, numerals, determiners and intensifiers.

5.1.1.1 Qualifiers (adjectives)

Qualifiers can be described using the traditional term ‘adjective’. There are two senses in which linguists use the term adjective (Dryer, 2007:168). In the first sense, it is used semantically to denote a set of words on the basis of their meaning, regardless of their grammatical properties in particular languages. In the second sense, it is used as a label for a word class in a particular language defined by grammatical characteristics which distinguish it from other word classes in that language. I employ the first sense due to the fact that in Sɛkpɛle, some property notions behave syntactically like verbs, others like nouns, and others like ideophones. Cross-linguistically, adjectives play three syntactic roles that distinguish them as a major word class from nouns and verbs. They can function as a predicate in a clause, modifiers in NPs and as the parameter of comparison.

The criteria for distinguishing adjectives as a class from other word classes differ from language to language. In some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, in some to verbs, in some to nouns and verbs, and in some to neither (Dixon, 2004). Adjectives which have grammatical properties like nouns are noun-like adjectives while those similar to verbs are verb-like adjectives (Blöhdorn 2009; Huddleston 1984). There are four classes of adjectives in Sɛkpɛle: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Details of the adjective classes are provided in the section on
predicate adjectives (see §9.3). A wordlist of adjectives is also provided in Appendix 3.

To avoid duplication, I will only focus on adjectives within the noun phrase. When adjectives occur in NPs, they either directly follow the noun they modify or they undergo a process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives, reduplicated verbs and verb-like adjectives derived with the adjetival suffix –a immediately follow the noun head. This is illustrated in:

90) \(\text{uku} \quad \text{dibïe} \quad \text{tenkë} \quad \text{dïtsyũn} \)
\(\delta = \quad \text{kã ë-} \quad *\text{bã tẽgkũl} \quad \text{lē-} \quad \text{tsyũn} \)
3SG.NOM.PST = dig NCL5 hole shallow CL5 INDEF
‘He dug a shallow hole’ (Adjectives 98.1)

91) \(\text{udi} \quad \text{dïiibibi} \quad \text{yũyũn} \quad \text{n̥a} \)
\(\delta = \quad \text{dí ë-} \quad \text{yibibi} \quad \text{yũyũn} \quad \text{n̥-} \quad \text{m̥} \)
3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit soft CL5 the
‘He ate the soft fruit’ (Adjectives 77.1)

92) \(\text{kuku} \quad \text{flubũ} \quad \text{kõma} \quad \text{teka} \quad \text{lõ} \quad \text{ɛpũnũ} \quad \text{ɛmũ} \)
\(\text{kõ-} \quad *\text{kũ} \quad \text{flũ} \quad -̃ \quad \text{kõ-} \quad \text{m̥} \quad \text{t̥kũ} \quad \text{lõ} \quad \text{ɛ-} \quad *\text{punũ} \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{m̥} \)
NCL7 book become white ADJV CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the
\(\text{ɛsũnũ} \quad \text{ɛsũnũ} \quad \text{top of} \)
‘The white book is on the table’ (Adjectives 7.1)

Example 90 includes an ideophonic adjective, example 91 has an adjective derived from a reduplicated verb, while example 92 shows a verb-like adjective (see §9.3.1). Alternatively, verb-like adjectives, noun-like adjectives, and other derived adjectives, can only occur in the noun phrase through the process of relativization (see § 5.2.2 and § 10.4). This is illustrated in:
Examples 93, 94 and 95 show noun modifiers involving relativization. Examples 93 and 94 show verb-like adjectives while example 95 has a noun-like adjective. In 95, the adjective is the complement of the possessive verb kpé ‘have’ (see §9.7.1.1). An overview of relative pronouns is provided in §6.5.

5.1.1.2 Numerals
This section discusses numerals in Sekpele. There are two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal (Crystal 2011:65; Hurford 1994:23). Numerals occur after the adjective (if any) and before the determiner (if any) in a noun phrase. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system (see Appendix 4). Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers as shown in § 5.1.1.2.2. Numbers used in counting are quite distinct from cardinal numbers as shown in §5.1.1.2.1. The number one is distinct for all three number forms: ndê for counting, (CM)-nî for cardinal, and tûtsî for ordinal.
5.1.1.2.1 Cardinal numbers

The counting forms of cardinal numbers are different from the form they take in attributive function. In the counting form, the words for one, eight and nine are *nùé*, *yèní*, *nàsé* respectively while that of cardinal forms are *nì*, *m̀fámflá* and *ǹwɔ̀nɔ́mbə́* (see table 5.2 and Appendix 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Counting numbers</th>
<th>Cardinal numbers</th>
<th>Ordinal numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>nùé</em> (lɛ̀wɛ́)</td>
<td>lɔ́nɪ́, ɔ̀nɪ́, kɔ̀nɪ́, sɔ̀nɪ́, kànɪ́, ànɪ́, bànɪ́</td>
<td>tʊtő́, dɪtʊtő́, lɪtʊtő́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>núə̀</td>
<td>inùà</td>
<td>inùà-fə̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ìntsyá</td>
<td>ìtsyá</td>
<td>ìtsyá-fə̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ìnà</td>
<td>ènà</td>
<td>ènà-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ìnó</td>
<td>ènó</td>
<td>ènó-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ìnkùá</td>
<td>èkùá</td>
<td>èkùá-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ìkùánsè</td>
<td>èkùánsè</td>
<td>èkùánsè-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ìnèní</td>
<td>m̀fámflá</td>
<td>m̀fámflá-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ìnèsè</td>
<td>ǹwɔ̀nɔ́mbə́</td>
<td>ǹwɔ̀nɔ́mbə́-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>lèfɔsì</td>
<td>lèfɔsì</td>
<td>lèfɔsì-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fɛ̀fɛ̀</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.2: Numeral system up to ten**

Table 5.2 shows that the numeral ‘one’ has varied form linked to various classes. The numerals ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’ and ‘six’ belong to class 3; ‘five’ and ‘seven’ belong to class 6/8; ‘eight’ and ‘nine’ belong to class 10; ‘ten’ belong to class 5 and multiples of ten such as 20, 30 and 40 are of class 6. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and it is prefixed with a class marker. This is illustrated in (see also §4.4.3):

96) *boóteri* *nkɔ lele lɔnt na* , [ 1928 , 29 ].

*bọ* = ó- téfyí ìnkò *lè* *nì* *nọ*

1PL.NOM = FUT say that NCL5 year CL5 one really

‘We will say that it is one year really, 1928/29’ (History_amankrado 15.10)
Example 96 shows agreement with a class 5 head while example 97 shows class 1 agreement; note that class 3 shares the same form as class 1. Example 98 illustrates class 7 while example 99 shows class 9. Other numbers do not show any agreement with the head noun as illustrated in:

Example 100 shows agreement with a class 2 head while example 101 shows class 1 agreement; note that class 3 shares the same form as class 1. Example 102 illustrates class 9 while example 103 shows class 10. Other numbers do not show any agreement with the head noun as illustrated in:
Examples 100 and 101 have a noun belonging to class 2; however the numerals that modify it belong to class 3 and do not show agreement with it. More evidence for the fact that other numerals with the exception of the number ‘one’, do not show any agreement is provided when we compare example 101 to example 102. They have nouns belonging to class 2 and class 6 respectively but the numerals that modify them are of class 3. Cardinal numbers which function as heads are prefixed with the class marker of the noun they replace or refer to. This is illustrated in:

103) la busə , ʃəə, la , kukuə , nye
ló bó- sə̀ ʃə̀ fə̀ = á- bó lá kó- *kùə̀ nyə̀
if NMLZ fry 2SG.NOM = PROSP come TOP NCL7 grinding stone see

ka lu me .
kò- *nì hə̀ tə̀ má .
NCL7 one REL = be.at there

‘If you want to fry it, then grinding stone, see one over there’ (Good_old_days 13.3)
Examples 103 and 104 include the numeral ‘one’ but they are of class 7 and 2 respectively.  Example 105 has the numeral ‘two’ which is of class 11.  The number ‘two’ does not take a class marker if it functions as a modifier.  In this case, it takes a class marker because it is functioning as a head.

Cardinal numbers can also occur with pronouns in possessive constructions where the pronoun is usually an emphatic pronoun or a demonstrative (see also pronominal possessors in §5.2.1.2). This is illustrated in:

106) nya lɔnɪ te mimfi
   nyá lɔ- *nf tɛ mì= n- fì
   3SG.PN CL5 one only 1SG.NOM= EMPH take
   ‘It is only one of it I took’   (Miscellaneous 50.1)

107) bã inuə to nti ini
   bã e- *núd tò ntí ë= ní
   3PL.DEM CL3 two POSS between 3SG.NOM= be
   ‘It is between these two’   (Pottery 158.2)
‘Two of them have escaped, and one remained’ (Pottery 266.1)

5.1.1.2.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers with the exception of the terms for ‘first’ and ‘last’. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of ordinal numbers. The suffix -fə̀ attaches to the numbers two and three, alone or in higher combinations such as 22, 23, 32, 33, 42, 43 etc. The suffix -lè on the other hand occurs elsewhere (see Table 5.2 above and Appendix 4 for details). This is illustrated in:

109) əbutə  wə  nte  tutə .
à =  bó- tō wə̀ fıtə  tûtə́
2SG.NOM  FUT  give  3SG.ACC  wine  first
‘You will give him/her first wine’ (Buying_name 2.1)

110) nya  ekafo  diyi  itsyəfə  .
nyá  é =  kà- fô  diyì  ð-tsə́ -fə̀
then  3SG.NOM.PST=  PROG  earn  full day  CL3-three  ORD
‘Then the third day came’ (History_amankrado 3.59)

111) eso  lefosi  utidi  inuəfo  wə  ni  wə̀
ësò  lë- *fósì  ð- *tìdì  ð- *nùə̀ -fə̀  wə̀  ní  wə̀
therefore  NCL5  ten  NCL1  person  CL3  two  ORD  3SG.PN  be  3SG.REL.PRO
nsi  moma
nì =  sí  məmə̀
REL =  dwell  now
‘Therefore the twelfth person, he is the one who dwells now’ (History_amankrado 3.121)
112) fenko lekplela kolako nome, nya ni fenko kase Yesu 
fè ńkà lé-kplélékolàkò nà- mó nyá ní fé ńkà kàsé Yèsù 
like that NCL5-outdooring CL5 the 3SG.PN be like that how Jesus 
taflatse baala késani ku diyi mflamflalè .
táfllátye bá= à- lâ kèsání kú diyi n-mflamflá -lè 
excuse to say 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut manhood with full day CL10-eight ORD

‘Like the outdoorsing19, it is like how Jesus, excuse to say, was circumcised on the eighth day’
(Naming_ceremony 24.1)

Example 109 has the ordinal number tútó ‘first’ modifying the noun ñié ‘wine’.
Examples 110 and 111 have the ordinal numbers ìtsyàfò ‘third’ and lèfósí ìntúfò ‘twelfth’ respectively, both derived with the suffix -fò. Example 112 has the ordinal 
number mflamflálè ‘eighth’ derived with the suffix -lè.

Similarly to cardinal numbers, ordinal number can function as pronominals, as 
NP heads and are prefixed with the class marker of the noun they replace or refer to.

This is illustrated in:

113) eso kase uutsyi ni ñnle 
ésò kàsé ó= ó- tsyí ní ó= n- lè 
therefore as 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT carry CL5.ACC 3SG.NOM= EMPH hold
botsylama sí, dituto dinufo la ,
bo- tsylama sí lè- tútó lè- *nú à-fò lá
NMLZ roam a while CL5 first CL5 two ORD TOP
bankòbe ni kato la , enii nimble kenke
bà= n- kòbè ní kàtò là èníí nà- -n- *blé kòŋkè
3PL.NOM= NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP probably CL5 LIG all all
efuso .
à- fúnà PFV overturn

‘Therefore as she carried it and roaming for a while, first, second, if they hadn’t held it up,
probably everything would have overturned’ (Buying_name 36.1)

19 New-born babies are kept indoors until the eighth day when they are allowed to be taken outdoors. They are also officially given a name on this day.
Example 113 has the ordinal numbers ditutə́ ‘first’ and dinúə̀fə̀ ‘second’ which are both of class 5. Example 114 also has the ordinal number ditutə́ ‘first’ of class 5 while example 115 has the ordinal number sinúə̀fə̀ ‘second’ of class 11.

Sekpele has borrowed the ordinal gbã ‘first’ from Ewe and it is frequently used as an alternative to the indigenous ordinal tùtə́, as illustrated in:

Example 116
Briefly, in Bala north wing, Bala south wing, that is us and Kukurantumi's migration, first we came from Atebubu to settle in Likpeto'  

‘It is like first of all, in the past, it is like menstrual blood, the blood which drops, they are washing it’  

5.1.1.3 Determiners

Determiners in Sekpele occur after numerals (if any) and before intensifiers (if any). They include articles (definite and indefinite) and demonstratives. The possibility of combining articles and demonstratives differs from language to language. Languages such as English do not allow articles to co-occur with demonstratives and possessive pronouns. However there are many languages in which articles (especially the definite article) freely co-occur with demonstratives and possessive pronouns (Dryer 2007:161). The various types of determiners are discussed in the following section.
5.1.1.3.1 Definite articles

Definite articles are used in an NP to refer to entities that are identifiable and familiar to the participants in a discourse context (Bobuafor 2013:124). The definite article in Sekpele is represented by the root ə́mə́. The definite article agrees with the noun class of the noun it modifies (see §4.4.3). This is illustrated in:

119) osani ə́mə́ eti siku siə́mə
    ð- *sànî á- mó à- tí sè- *kú sfó- mó
    NCL1 man CL1 the PFV close NCL11 door CL11 the
    ‘The man closed the door’      (Verbs 90.1)

120) kukua kwankwa koma takə la opunu ə́mə́ əsua
    kó- *kùá kwánkwá kó- mó táká ló ð- *pùnù á- mó ñúá
    NCL7 book green CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the top of
    ‘The green book is on the table’      (Adjectives 11.1)

121) əsè bisi biə́mə́ əkó
    ð= sè bë- *sí bíd- mó ð= kó
    3SG.NOM.PST= gather NCL12 yam CL12 the 3SG.NOM.PST= mix
    ‘He gathered the yams together’     (Verbs 110.1)

Example 119 has the definite articles ə́má and siə́má which are of class 1 and 11 respectively. Example 120 has the definite articles komá and ə́má which are of class 7 and 3 respectively, while example 121 has the definite article biə́má which is of class 12. The definite articles for the classes 1, 3, 6, 8 are structurally the same. The definite article for these classes has the same form ə́má as illustrated in:

122) osani ə́mə́ ekula
    ð- *sànî á- mó à- kúlá
    NCL1 man CL1 the PFV become tall
    ‘The man is tall’                    (Adjectives 21.1)

123) opunu ə́mə́ əmə́
    ð- *pùnù á- mó à- mò
    NCL3 table CL3 the PFV become big
    ‘The table is big’                  (Adjectives 30.1)
Likewise, the definite articles for classes 4 and 9 are structurally the same. The definite article in example 126 is marked as class 4 while that of example 127 is marked as class 9.

It is important to note that, the form of the class marker of the noun may be different from that of the definite article. This phenomenon applies to class 5 and 10 as illustrated in:
The noun phrases in examples 128 and 129 are of class 5 while those of examples 130 and 131 are of class 10. The class marker of the nouns in examples 128 and 129 is underlyingly le- and it is realised as di- in example 129 due to vowel harmony. The class marker of the definite article is no-. In examples 130 and 131, the class marker of the nouns is underlyingly n- while the class marker of the definite article is bo-.

The definite article has a clipped form which occurs in colloquial or rapid speech. The clipped form involves the class marker with its vowel nasalized. For instance, class 1, 3, 6 and 8 are represented as ŋ, class 2 as bã, class 4 and 9 as kã, class 5 as nã, class 7 as kuã, class 10 as buã, class 11 as sîã and class 12 as biã. This is illustrated in:
5.1.1.3.2 Indefinite articles

Indefinite articles, unlike definite articles, are used in NPs that refer to entities that are general and whose knowledge is unspecific to the participants in a discourse context. Indefiniteness in Sekpele can be expressed in two ways: non-specific and specific. The non-specific way is to express the NP as a bare noun without an article and the specific way is to modify the noun with an indefinite marker whose root is *tsyuá ‘a certain, some’. Just as the definite marker, the indefinite root is prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the head noun. This is illustrated in:
Therefore it is like some oracle to them really’ (History_ama nkrado 3.53)

‘You see some cooking pots exist; if you pour water into them then water is coming out of them’ (Pottery 212.1)

‘He dug a deep hole’ (Adjectives 94.1)

‘He is pouring some water on the ground’ (Verbs 303.1)

The indefinite articles in example 136, 137, 138 and 139 are of class 9, class 6, class 5 and class 10 respectively. The indefinite article, unlike the definite article, can be used pronominally as an NP by itself (see § 6.7). The indefinite pronouns that refer to animates belong to class 1 and class 2. This is also illustrated in:
The indefinite pronoun in example 140 is of class 1 while that of examples 141 and 142 is of class 2. Indefinite pronouns that refer to inanimates are of two forms. The first consists of the compound of the noun lèsá ‘thing’ and the indefinite root tsyúə̀. The second form consists of a derivation whereby the various noun class markers are prefixed to the indefinite root tsyua. The indefinite pronoun in example 143 is lèsatsyuə̀ while those of examples 144 and 145 are kàtsyúə́ and dìtsyúə́ which are of class 4 and class 5 respectively:
They had seen that there aren't any bad insects and others which will worry them in the place’ (History_amankrado 3.98)

‘Sometimes if they gave him that name, it is that which will really be popular’ (Naming_ceremony 32.1)

5.1.1.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions anchored on speech act participants and used to refer to and distinguish some entities from others (Bobuafor 2013:127). Typically, they are used to show whether the entities referred to are close or far in space and time from the speaker. There are two features that characterise demonstratives in most languages (Dryer 2007:162). The first is that they can be used to draw the hearer’s attention to something in the perceptual space of the speaker and hearer, possibly accompanied by a gesture indicating the approximate location of the referent. The second is that they involve at least a two-way contrast in terms of distance from the speaker. Sekpele has a four-way contrast: ǹfô, m̀fô, mó, and nsê. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. They agree in class
with the head noun. The other two are used to refer to proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants and entities in the distal vicinity respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures in discourse. They do not show any agreement with the head noun. All four demonstratives have their corresponding pronouns used as demonstrative pronouns (see also §6.3)

5.1.1.3.3.1 Proximal demonstratives

The proximal demonstrative *m̀fô ‘this’ is used to indicate referents close to the speaker or deictic centre. This is illustrated in:

146) osani ketsyenklé omə obə mfo
    ò- *sànî kêtsɛŋklè á- mó à- bó m̀fô
NCL1 man tall CL1 the PFV come here
‘The tall man came here’ (Adjectives 22.1)

147) fə lekpaa nya ntsyə iibə fëë bo
    fə̀ lekpékpə nyá ntsyô ć= à- bó fëë bó=
2SG.POSS hat then how 3SG.NOM.PST PFV come before 1PL.POSS=
betidì tṣya lisì baataka mfo
bà- *tídì tṣyə lè= sí bà= à- tákà m̀fô
NCL2 person too REL= still 3PL.NOM.PST PFV rise here
beesu Kukurantumi ?
bà= à- sù Kukurantumi
3PL.NOM.PST PFV go Kukurantumi
‘Please, then how did it happen before our people had risen from here and gone to Kukurantumi?’ (History_amankrado 12.1)

Proximal demonstratives which occur as modifiers in a noun phrase are marked with a class marker in agreement with the noun they occur with (see §4.4.3). This is illustrated in:
The proximal demonstratives in examples 148, 149, 150 and 151 are of class 1, class 3, class 6 and class 7 respectively. There are proximal demonstrative pronouns that are marked for specific classes. The proximal demonstrative pronoun in example 152 is of class 11 while example 153 has the animate proximal demonstrative pronoun and the proximal demonstrative pronoun of class 5. Example 153 also shows a tonal contrast between proximal and distal pronouns:
152) siəmfo te muusi nto
siə- mfô tê mò= ó- sí n= tò
CL11 this only 1SG.NOM= FUT still 1SG.NOM= mould
ntake na
n= tâkâ nô
1SG.NOM= put on really
‘Only this one I will still use to mould onto it really’  (Pottery 182.1)

153) ìbusià lefe ditsyə , nô ku wô
à = bô- sîô lé- *fê lé- tsyôô nô kû wô
2SG.NOM FUT dwell NCL5 time CL5 some CL5.DIST and 3SG.PROX
ntsyə yuutsyə , wô ku nô ntsyə
tsyô yô= ó- tsyôô wô kû nô òntsyô
how 3SG.NOM= FUT be 3SG.DIST and CL5.PROX how
yuutsyə ?
yô= ó- tsyôô
3SG.NOM= FUT be
‘You will dwell some time, that and this how will it be, that and this how will it be?’  (Pottery 238.1)

5.1.1.3.3.2 Distal demonstratives
The distal demonstrative mfô ‘that’ forms a minimal pair with the proximal demonstrative mô ‘this’. It is used to indicate referents that are removed or further away from the speaker or deictic centre, either within the vicinity or away from the vicinity. This is illustrated in:

154) ntsyanko , mfô mintsya
n= tsyâ -n- -kô mîfô mî= -n- tsyô
1SG.NOM.PST= meet LIG ASSOC that 1SG.NOM= LIG too
linyə minse ne
lê= nyô mî= n- sé nô
REL= see 1SG.NOM= EMPH reach really
‘I experienced it, that is where my memory can really take me’  (Good_old_days 11.5)
When the distal demonstrative occurs in a noun phrase, it takes a class marker in agreement with the head noun, as illustrated in:

157) \( \text{it} = \text{eso lefe nomfo la , kuyu} \)  
3SG.NOM.PST = allow therefore NCL5 time CL5 that TOP theft

\( \text{mambo} \)  
NEG SCR NEG become widespread

‘For that reason, during that period, stealing was not widespread’ (Punishment 14.2)

158) \( \text{bale fo mbusuo bomfo buloka} \)  
3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NCL10 abomination CL10 that NMLZ remove

‘They are cleansing you of those abominations’ (Punishment 1.6)

159) \( \text{gakee , bomfo kesum kamfo} \)  
gake = 1PL.POSS = here NCL9 service NCL9 that

‘But, with us here that service doesn't exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)
The distal demonstratives in examples 157, 158 and 159 are of class 5, class 10 and class 9 respectively. The distal demonstrative can occur as a personal pronoun. This is illustrated in:

160) \textit{woe ni wəmfô} \quad ?
\textit{wòé ŋí wà mfô}
\textit{who be 3SG.NOM = that}
\textit{‘Who is that?’} \quad \textit{\cite{Pottery156.1}}

161) \textit{eso leyimmala ku litididu}
\textit{éso lè- *yımí n- á- lá kú lè- *tì́dì *dù}
\textit{therefore NCL5 sibling NEG HAB love and NCL5 human betrayal}
\textit{nə̃ lekekè , nya litò mə́mfô tsya}
\textit{nə̃ lè kè = nyá lè = tò mó mfô tsyâ}
\textit{CL5.REL.PRO REL = exist = TOP 3SG.PN REL = give 3PL.PN that too}
\textit{lema beedu nə́ .}
\textit{lè = má bá = à- dú nə́}
\textit{REL = split 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV leave really}
\textit{‘Therefore enmity and the human betrayal which existed, that caused those people too to split and leave really’} \quad \textit{\cite{History_amankrado15.16}}

\section*{5.1.1.3.3 Proximal vicinity}

The demonstrative \textit{mố} is used in an NP to indicate referents within the vicinity of the participants. It has the same form as the definite article but has a different function. Whereas the definite article is prefixed with a class marker, the demonstrative is not. It is typically accompanied with a gesture by the speaker pointing at the referent in sight. Examples of the demonstrative \textit{mố} are illustrated without gestures in:
The demonstrative *mò* has a relational interpretation where an entity or an action is said to be related to another. This is illustrated in:

165) **nya** **beolosɔ** **esu** **eyifo**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nya} & \quad \text{beolosɔ} & \quad \text{esu} & \quad \text{eyifo} \\
\text{bè} & = & \quad \text{ò-} & \quad \text{lò} & \quad -sò & \quad \text{à} & = & \quad \text{sù} & \quad \text{à} & = & \quad \text{yifò} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{2PL.NOM} = & \quad \text{FUT} & \quad \text{be finish} & \quad \text{CAUS} & \quad \text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{do} \\
\text{sekabe} & \quad \text{eyifo} & \quad \text{mə} & \quad \text{ebo} & \quad \text{mə} \\
\text{sèkàbè} & \quad \text{à} & = & \quad \text{yifò} & \quad \text{mò} & \quad \text{è} & = & \quad \text{bò} & \quad \text{mò} \\
\text{palm leaf} & \quad \text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{like this} & \quad \text{3SG.NOM} & \quad \text{bend} & \quad \text{like this} \\
\text{‘Then you (pl) will finish, then you go and get palm leaf then you do like this, it bend like this’} & \quad \text{(Good_old_days 7.4)}
\end{align*}
\]
166) **nya aleebe obeke omɔ [ is like this ]**

nyá álèbè ò-bèkè á-mò
then however NCL3 cage CL3 the
yaamɔ mɔ.
yà = á-mò mò
3SG.NOM = HAB become big like this
‘Then however the cage is like this; it usually as big as this’ (Punishment 4.2)

167) **ye , lɔ ekwee , mootakaso**

é é = kwé = mò = ò-tàkà -sà
yes if 3SG.NOM.PST = become dry =TOP 1SG.NOM = FUT rise CAUS
nyamfoo mɔ pà.
nyàmfò mò pà
this like this swiftly
‘Yes, if it dries up, I will raise this one like this swiftly’ (Pottery 104.1)

5.1.1.3.3.4 Distal vicinity

The demonstrative ñsè, unlike mɔ, is used to indicate one or more referents far away from the vicinity of the participants (both speaker and hearer). It is also typically accompanied with a gesture by the speaker pointing in the direction of the referent out of sight especially in an iterative manner. Examples of the demonstrative ñsè are illustrated without gestures in:

168) **ɔnù əbɔ , wɔ ɔnse atsyimi**

ò-nì ə-bò wɔ ñsè á- tsyími
CL1 one PFV come 3SG.REL.PRO there PFV stay
‘One came, the other over there stayed’ (Verbs 340.1)
169) lə etsyi kalekwa , lə betsyi
ló á = tsiỳ kálɛ̀ *kùɔ̀ = ló bá = tsiỳ
if 2SG.NOM.PST come from area south = TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST = carry
fə mfóó befi fə besu
fə nifó = bá = fí fə bá = sù
2SG.ACC there = TOP 3PL.NOM = take 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = go
betsya lə kalekato to kabanto nse keŋ.
bá = tsiỳ lá kálɛ̀kátɔ tò kábàntɔ nse keŋ
3PL.NOM = put LOC north area POSS outskirt there far
‘From the south, if they carry you from there, they will place you at the farthest outskirt of the north’
(Punishment 7.1)

170) bò ku m̩a ditsyi nse gake bobo du
bó kù m̩ó lè= tsiỳ nse gake bá= bó dú
1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL = come from there but 3PL.NOM.PST = come leave
lə m̩a ɔflɔ eso la , m̩əm̩ə bakpe dibia
ló m̩á ɔflɔ ɛsɔ lá m̩əm̩á bá = kpé lè- *b̩ð
LOC 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM = exist NCL5 cave
‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a cave’
(History_amankrado 1.14)

5.1.1.4 Intensifiers
Intensifiers are a class of adverbs that add emphasis to the meaning of a word or phrase. They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They can be allocated into various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. The intensifiers in Sekpe include sàà ‘each, every, any’, əlɛ̀ ‘alone’, há ‘only’, kόŋ ‘actually, really’, kplóŋ ‘alone, only’, kóʊ́ ‘even’, páá ‘really, very much’, tá ‘all’, tè ‘only’, tətə ‘simply’, tsiỳ ‘too, also’, kέŋké ‘all, completely’ and pέtɛ ‘all, completely’. They do not show any agreement with the head noun.
Quantifying intensifiers

The quantifying intensifiers in Sekpele include *sàà ‘each, every, any’, *kéŋké ‘all, completely’, *pété ‘all, completely’ and *tá ‘all’. The quantifier *sàà can be identified as a universal quantifier in Sekpele. It may be glossed as ‘every’, ‘each’ or ‘any’. In negative constructions, it takes the meaning ‘none’. This is illustrated in:

171) dibu saa kpe ni osate
    lé- *bû *sàà kpé ni òsātē
    NCL5 hut each have CL5.POSS owner
    ‘Each hut has its owner’ (Adverbs 56.1)

172) usio saa əmbə wo la diyo .
    ò- *sîó *sàà à- n- bó wà lês diyô
    NCL1 woman each SCR NEG exist 3SG.ACC LOC house
    ‘No woman is in his house’ (Pottery 299.2)

173) kutsyuə saa nle bokase loo .
    kò- tsyúə sàà ǹ= lé bo- kásē lôó
    NEG INDEF each REL= hold NMLZ study UFP
    ‘Nobody is learning it!’ (Pottery 55.2)

When *sàà is used as a verb modifier, it occurs with a negative VP and expresses the meaning ‘never’, as illustrated in:

174) yambia saa !
    yá= n- biá *sàà
    3SG.NOM.PST= NEG be spoil never
    ‘It isn’t bad!’ (Pottery 274.1)

The quantifier *sàà occurs in distributive nominal duplicative constructions (see Ameka 1999:91; Bobuafor 2013:122). This is a complex NP structure in which two identical NPs are linked by the quantifier *sàà. This is illustrated in:
Examples 175 and 176 show a distributive nominal duplicative construction involving the indefinite noun utsyuə ‘somebody’ while example 177 shows distributive nominal duplicative constructions involving the nouns kālɛ̀ ‘clan’ and úmə̀ ‘town’.

The intensifier sàà when it occurs as a compound to the noun léfɛ̀ ‘time’ takes the interpretation ‘always’, as illustrated in:

178) waatɛyɪ́ bidia lefɛsaa
   wà= á- tɛ́yɪ́ bè- *diá léfɛsà
   3SG.NOM= HAB tell NCL12 lie always
   ‘S/he always tells lies’   (Adverbs 59.1)
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179) \[\text{waayim}\] \[\text{kamɔ}\] \[\text{lefe}\] \[\text{saa}\]
\[\text{wà} = \text{á- yìmì kàmɔ́ lefe sàà}\]
3SG.NOM = HAB chew rice time each
‘He eats rice always’
(Verbs 5.1)

180) \[\text{lefe}\] \[\text{saa}\] \[\text{esi}\] \[\text{fanto}\] \[\text{Peter eto kesie}\]
\[\text{lèfè sàà à = sì f= ántò Peter étò kèsìè}\]
5SG.NOM sit 2SG.POSS = father Peter POSS doorway
‘You always sit at your father Peter’s compound’
(Pottery 327.1)

The quantifier \text{kéŋké} ‘all, completely’ can also be said to be a universal quantifier in Sekpele. It modifies nouns, and personal and demonstrative pronouns, as illustrated in:

181) \[\text{ufi}\] \[\text{bekpɔfi}\] \[\text{bàmə}\] \[\text{kenke}\]
\[\text{ó= fí bà- *kpɔfi bá- mə kéŋké}\]
3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL2 child CL2 the all
‘He took all the children’
(Verbs 50.1)

182) \[\text{nya}\] \[\text{boowã}\] \[\text{lesa}\] \[\text{nomə}\] \[\text{bebudi}\]
\[\text{nyà bò = ó- wà lè- *sà nà- mà bà = bûdî}\]
then 3PL.NOM = FUT cook NCL5 thing CL5 the 3PL.NOM = tear
\[\text{bàtə mə kenke ; bà sǐ lewɔnsakɔ}\]
\[\text{bà = tó mà kéŋké bà sǐ lè = wɔnsàkɔ}\]
3PL.NOM = give 3PL.ACC all 3PL.REL.PRO for a while REL = help
‘Then they will cook the food and share it to everyone who helped’ (Naming_ceremony 4.1)

183) \[\text{be nyamfo}\] \[\text{kenke fëë}\] \[\text{bibla}\] \[\text{lisu}\] \[\text{bò , òbunye}\]
\[\text{bè nyàmfo kéŋké fëë biblà lè = sù bò á = bò- nyɔ}\]
see this all before bible REL = go come 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
‘See all these before the bible came, have you seen?’
(Punishment 1.3)

The quantifier \text{kéŋké} can modify a pronoun which is derived from the universal quantifier \text{blé} ‘all’. This is illustrated in:
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184) yambo lefe nomfò to
yá = n- bò lé- *fè nò- mífò tò
3SG.NOM.PST = NEG become widespread NCL5 time CL5 that POSS
lefe bòo babeiLyá bòo bimblè
lé- *fè bòò bà = bè létsyá bòò bè = -n- *blè
NCL5 time 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM = announce 3PL.COMP 2PL.NOM = LIG all
kenke bìba òbìa
kéngké bè = bò òbìá
It wasn't widespread that period to announce that you all should come to the community centre
(History.amankrado 11.9)

185) bankòbe ní kató la , enìi nimblè kenke
bà = n- kòbè ní kàtò lá ènìì nò- -n- *blè kénkè
3PL.NOM = NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP probably CL5 LIG all all
efusò
à- fùsò
PFV overturn
If they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned’ (Buying_name 36.1)

The quantifier kéngké, unlike the quantifier sàà, does modify positive verb phrases and gives the interpretation of completeness. This is illustrated in:

186) nya fuufi diwuə̃ eklù kenke
nyá fò = ò- fi diwuə̃ à = klù kéngké
then 2SG.NOM = FUT take hoe 2SG.NOM weed with hoe completely
‘Then you will weed with a hoe completely’ (Good_old_days 6.3)

187) ntù lòokpì bòbò kenke ko kàlc
nitù lò = ò- kpi bò- bò kéngké kò kálù
water REL = FUT dry up FUT get out completely then down
yooofiani abe to kòta .
yò = ò- fiàni à- *bè tò kótà
3SG.NOM = FUT become CL6 palmnut POSS mud
‘The water will evaporate completely then underneath it will become palmnut cake’
(Palm_oil 16.5)

The quantifier pété ‘all, completely’ is borrowed from Ewe and it is synonymous to kéngké. It is frequently used in discourse just as kéngké and is illustrated in:
Then he said the entire place from under the mountain over there and beyond was his land

The quantifier tã́ ‘all’ can be said to be synonymous with sàà. However, it does not occur in nominal duplicative constructions. Its use is illustrated in:

They will share the sub-groups and inheritances among them all to inherit the place they settled’

(History_amankrado 3.18)
They found out that the place they had put both palm fronds had been combed' (History_amankrado 3.60)

He will become the person we all will unite to serve’ (King_making 4.2)

Focus intensifiers in Sekpele include àlɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘alone’, bà ‘only’, kóŋ ‘actually, really’, kplóŋ ‘alone, only’, kóla ‘even’, páa ‘really, very much’, tè ‘only’, tètè ‘simply’, and tsyá ‘too, also’. The intensifier àlɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘alone’ is used to place emphasis on the head noun. This is illustrated in:

But according to the custom of the ancients, the chief alone, at home he stays’ (King_making 14.11)
The intensifier há ‘only’ also places emphasis on the head noun or pronoun. This is illustrated in:

195) lə eʃu ə, bə ƙaso ə há
lə ɛ= ʃuʃə  bə ƙaso ə há
if 3SG.NOM.PST = overturn 3PL.REL.PRO ground only

196) mə hə to diye baawɔnɪ
mə hə to diye bá= à- wɔní
1SG.PN only POSS name 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV write

The intensifier kọj ‘actually, really’ is used as a modifier in both noun phrases and verb phrases. This is illustrated in:

20 Disabled people or amputees are not allowed to be chiefs unless they are already on the throne before they were disabled. Being disabled may be a condition for deposition.
197) afo  diye  nā  koŋ.
   â =  fō  lē-  *yē  nā  koŋ
2SG.NOM.PST  receive  NCL5  name  CL5.DEF  really
‘You have received the name for real’   (Buying_name 12.3)

198) itsyise  bɔtsyeua  afo  seka  siō  koŋ
   ìtsyísè  bà-  tsyúò  à-  fō  sō-  *ká  siō  koŋ
because  NCL2  some  PFV  receive  NCL11  chief  CL11.DEF  really
bɔtsyeiko  ìtsyísè  bà-  tsyúò  à-  fō  sō-  *ká  siō  koŋ
Onantoto  ìtsyísè  bà-  tsyúò  à-  fō  sō-  *ká  siō  koŋ
3PL.NOM.PST  =  come  from  ASSOC  Almighty  God  place
mɔɔtɛɪ  mò=  ó-  tɛ́yɪ́  nō
1SG.NOM  =  FUT  say  really
‘Because  some  people  have  received  the  chieftaincy  really  from  God  I  will  say’
(King_making 2.6)

199) yaанkele
   yà =  á-  n-  kēlé
3SG.NOM  =  HAB  NEG  take  much  time
yaанkele  yà =  á-  n-  kēlé  koŋ
3SG.NOM  =  HAB  NEG  take  much  time  really
‘It  really  doesn't  take  much  time’   (Naming_ceremony 19.1)

200) waalabe  koŋ
   wà =  á-  lábé  koŋ
3SG.NOM  =  HAB  sleep  really
‘s/he  really  sleeps’   (Adverbs 66.1)

The  intensifier  kplōŋ  ‘alone,  only’  is  used  for  modifying  nouns,  as  illustrated  in:

201) osani  *sàŋf  *n˨  kplōŋ  lē =  bō
   ð-  *sàníf  ð-  *n˨  kplōŋ  lē =  bō
NCL1  man  CL1  one  only  REL  =  come
‘Only  one  man  came’   (Miscellaneous 48.1)
The intensifier *kólá* ‘even’ is used to modify nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

203) **bətsyuə** kola baanle ola ekuklubi

*bà*- *tsyúə́* kólá *bà=* *á*- *n*- *lé* *ólá* *á*- *kùklúbí*

NCL2 INDEF even 3PL.NOM = HAB NEG hold care NCL6 caterpillar
ekè

*á*- *kè*

HAB exist

‘Even some people don’t take good care of it such that caterpillars dwell in it’ (Pottery 206.2)

The intensifier *páá* ‘really, very much’ is also used for modifying nouns and verbs, as illustrated in:

205) **fo** Oma paa la , [ too bad ].

*fɔ* Oma páá lá

2SG.PN Oma much TOP

‘As for you Oma, too bad’ (Pottery 304.1)
Therefore much difference exists between me and him such that, him and the chief, they are closer to each other than me.” (King making 10.2)

‘If he wins so much, ten cedis’ (Pottery 258.1)

The intensifiers tè ‘only’ and tètè ‘simply’ is used for modifying nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

‘That alone I want to say’ (Buying name 40.1)

‘Therefore if you only carry water ... early morning you bring it “grandma, here is name’s water”’ (Buying name 49.2)
210) ntú buš beetsyi lə seltsyi
   n- *tù búš bá = á- tsyi lɔ̀ *ltsyi
   NCL10 water CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry LOC NCL3 drinking pot
tete tete
tɛtɛ tɛtɛ
  simply simply
  ‘The water they simply carry in drinking pot’ (Buying_name 46.3)

The intensifier *tsyá ‘too, also’ is used for modifying nouns and pronouns, as illustrated in:

211) bate tsey akɛ wɔ
   bà- *tê akɛ̀ PFV exist 3SG.ACC
  ‘She had goats too’ (Buying_name 56.6)

212) eso umə ... kalɛ saa kpɛ oka fɛ̃ɛ̃
   èsò ó- *mò kàlɛ̀ sàà kpɛ̀ ó- *kà fɛ̃̀ɛ̃́
   therefore NCL3 town clan each have NCL1 chief before
   umonka tsey nkpe
   ó- *mò -n- *kà tsey n= kpɛ̀
   NCL1 town LIG chief too REL = exist
  ‘Therefore a town ... each clan has a chief as well as a town chief too’ (History_amankrdo 11.12)

213) nyá eso bǎ tsey leye bunɔ
   nyá èsò bá tsey lè = yè bó- nó
   therefore 3PL.DEM too REL = stop NMLZ drink
  ‘Therefore those too have stopped drinking it’ (Pottery 203.1)

The intensifier can be used to modify a verb phrase as well. This is illustrated in:

214) əmbɔ busiɔ tsey lɔ nì
   à = n- bó bó- sílo tsey lɔ̀ nì
   2SG.NOM NEG come FUT sit too LOC CL5.ACC
  ‘You won't even sit on it’ (King_making 2.39)
215) **ewu likpo oo ukpo tsys**

éwú lè = kpš = oo ́ = kpš tsys
grandmother REL = to die =TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too

wéñkpo too
wá = n- kpš tò
tsys.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet

‘Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’ (Buying_name 18.1)

216) **la kafía to dinō foọtọ wọ tsys**,
ló kà- *fiá tò dínà fà = à- tò wò tsys
if NCL9 cloth POSS piece 2SG.NOM.PST = PFV give 3SG.ACC too

ọtọ wọ.
á = tò wò
tsys.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC

‘If you had given her a piece of cloth too, you gave her’ (Buying_name 56.3)

The intensifier *tys* ‘too, also’ can occur together with other intensifiers, especially
the intensifier *kóla* ‘even’. This is illustrated in:

217) **kofa lọlọlọ kola tsys beyu ombo**
kọfá lọlọlọ kóla tsysá ba- *yù à- n- bó
month whole even too NCL2 thief SCR NEG exist

‘Even a whole month, there were no thieves’ (Good_old_days 9.3)

218) **nya eso la okpe la lelënsi kola tsys la**,
nyá èsò ló ́ = kpé ló lelënsi kóla tsysá lá
therefore if 3SG.NOM = exist LOC abroad even too TOP

elebọ wọ anàmi lee wọ
é = lè bó wò á- *nàmí lëé wò
3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS

koto ke la oto .
kò- *tò kè ló oto

NCL7 ear exist LOC hometown

‘Therefore even if he is abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’
(King_making 14.9)

The intensifiers *péét, kóŋ, hà* and *tètè* have cognates in Ewe while *páá* has a cognate
in Akan.
5.2 Complex noun phrases

This section discusses the types of complex noun phrases in Sekpele. These include genitive or possessive constructions and relative clauses.

5.2.1 Genitive or possessive constructions

The terms genitive and possessive are both used for constructions in which a noun phrase occurs with another noun phrase denoting a possessor (Dryer 2007:177; Payne & Huddleston 2002). However, the term genitive is sometimes reserved for NP constructions while the term possessive is reserved for constructions where the possession is predicated at the clause level (see § 9.7). For glossing conventions used in this thesis, I will employ the term possessive as the cover term. I refer to the modifying NP as ‘the possessor’ and the head noun as ‘the possessed noun’. The range of meanings associated with possessive constructions includes kinship relations, part-whole relations, ownership, and various abstract relations. Cross-linguistically, there are four possibilities by which possession is marked in an NP. Some languages mark it on the possessor, others mark it on the possessed noun, others use a possessive particle, and others place the NPs in juxtaposition. A language may employ two or more of these possibilities, each in a specific context.

In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possession in NPs is represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between them. The difference is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal since nominal possessors require the possessive particle *tò* and pronominal possessors do not require *tò*. Some kinship relations occur in both construction types.
5.2.1.1 Nominal possessors

In Sekpele, if the possessor is a nominal or a noun phrase, the possessive particle *tò intervenes between the possessor and the possessed NP. This is illustrated in:

219)  
\[
\text{efe sà dżawale to kúsa kutsywa atə bo} \\
\text{èfè sà dżawale tò kó- *sà kó- tsyũs à= tò bò} \\
\text{now sing Dżawale POSS NCL7 song CL7 some 2SG.NOM give 1PL.ACC} \\
\text{= e} \\
\text{= TOP} \\
\text{‘Now sing a Dżawale song for us’} \quad \text{(Good_old_days 18.1)}
\]

220)  
\[
\text{nnuəbi to atsyə aŋə , beku ŋə ŋə} \\
\text{ń- *nùəbí tò a- *tsyã a- mó békũ ŋə ŋə} \\
\text{NCL10 oil POSS NCL8 palm cake NCL8 the palmnut cake CL3.DEF really} \\
\text{loo , ebũfĩ atskyə kałesĩə .} \\
\text{lóó à = bó- ŋi à = tskyə kałësĩə} \\
\text{UFP 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM put day after tomorrow} \\
\text{‘The oil cake, the palmnut cake, you will keep for the morning’} \quad \text{(Palm_kernel_oil 6.4)}
\]

221)  
\[
\text{efi otc to kāluə efi atəkə} \\
\text{à= ŋi ì- *tɛ to kɔlũá à= ŋi à = tɔkɔ} \\
\text{2SG.NOM take NCL1 goat POSS jaw 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on} \\
\text{kato etskyə lekəṃklo nɔmə efi aboκo .} \\
\text{kɔtɔ à = tskyə lekəṃklo nɔ- mó à = ŋi à = bókɔ} \\
\text{top of 2SG.NOM carry Lekəṃklo CL5 the 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM bring} \\
\text{‘You put the goat’s jaw on top of it and you bring the Lekəṃklo’} \quad \text{(Buying_name 16.2)}
\]

Examples 219, 220 and 221 contain possessive constructions with two nominals which have the possessive particle *tò intervening between them. Example 219 has the nominal *Dżawale and kúsa ‘song’, 220 has the nominals *nnùəbí ‘oil’ and atskyə ‘palm cake’ while 221 has the nominals *ńtɛ ‘goat’ and kɔlũá ‘jaw’. The first of these nominals is the possessor while the second is the possessed noun.
The possessive particle *tò* is also used in constructions involving spatial and body part elements (as in 221). The possessive particle is realised as *étò* which is the longer form of *tò*. This is illustrated in:

222) uyì ama taka lo ditsyïsyá eto kotosi
    o- *yî a- mô tôkô lô le- tsyïsyà eto kô-tôsî
    NCL3 tree CL3 the be on LOC NCL5 basket POSS NCL7-cheek
    ‘The stick is on the edge of the basket’  (Locative_verbs 43.1)

223) nya baale seka siî
    nyá bá= â- lé sé- *ká siî
    then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV possess NCL11 chief CL11.DEF
    baafo lo Akonto eto anî
    bá= â- fô lî Akonto eto â- *nî
    3PL.NOM.PST= PFV collect LOC Akonto POSS NCL8 arm
    beefi semankrado beefi
    bá= â- fî sè- *mânkrådî bá= â- fî
    3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take NCL11 king making 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take
    booto wô
    bá= â- tô wô
    3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give 3SG.ACC
    ‘Then they had possessed the chieftaincy from the hands of Akonto and they had given him the king making’  (History_amankrado 3.112)

Some kinship relations may have the possessive particle elided, especially when it is used as a name. In most African cultures, it is common for one to be called by their kinship relation. For instance, someone called Kofî may have any of his relations bearing his name. His father may be called ‘Kofî’s father’, his mother called ‘Kofî’s mother’, his grandfather called ‘Kofî’s grandfather’ and his sister called ‘Kofî’s sister’. Parents of twins may be called ‘twin’s father’ and ‘twin’s mother’.

In Sekpêle, all kinship relations have the possessive particle *tô* intervening between the NPs, with the exception of the terms for parents.
Examples 224 and 225 have the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the kinship relations. The relation in 224 is between *ónà* ‘grandfather’ and *éwú* ‘grandmother’ while that of example 225 is between *Menu* and probably his daughter or sister *Rita*. The possessive particle *tò* does not intervene between the kinship relations in 226. The relation is that of a mother and daughter, and they are juxtaposed to each other. This is the name of the mother, *Adzo Ambe*.

However with parents, the possessive NP may either have the possessive particle intervening between the NPs or the NPs can simply be in juxtaposition. NPs in juxtaposition are used as names (to address the persons) while the other is used referentially. This is illustrated in:

227)  
\[omankradoanto\]  
\[ô- mânkrađô ántô\]  
\[NCL1 king making father\]  
‘King maker’s father’ (King_making 7.1)
Therefore is there a difference between the king maker and the king maker's father?

(King_makeing 7.2)

‘My elder maternal aunt, Kɔsidu's mother ... She cooked for her’ (Buying_name 32.2 & 33.1)

‘I am Abuya: Rambo's mother’ (Yarn 35.1)

Examples 227 and 228 have the kinship relation ‘father’ while examples 229 and 230 have the kinship relation ‘mother’. In examples 227 and 229, the relations are juxtaposed to each other and are used as the name of the possessed entity. In examples 228 and 230, the possessive particle tò intervenes between the kinship relations. They are used to express a reference to the possessed entity.

The parent relations can be compounded to their possessor to form a single word. These compounded words are used as names which could be used to address people or used as reference. Example 231 is a list of such names:

231) Ọnàntó ‘Almighty God’ (lit. Father of our ancestors)

Ománkràdóántô ‘King maker’s father’

Ókántô ‘stool father’ (lit. King’s father)

Atlántô ‘twin’s father’
Atāmbē ‘twin’s mother’
Báfimfiántō ‘twin’s father’
Báfimfiāmbē ‘twin’s father’

The Likpe communities have naming conventions such that a person may have a given name and a pseudo-name. Most people also have nicknames which are different from their pseudo-names and they are used among peers. Pseudo-names supersede the given names: people are frequently called by their pseudo-names. A pseudo-name may consist of a relative’s name, a location, an event, or a circumstance as a reference name in combination with one of a person’s given name (first name or name associated with day of birth). The reference name precedes the given name and they occur in juxtaposition as illustrated in:

232) Lelaba Yaw
   ṭkło Charles
   Kooko Amba
   Akonto Charles

Yaw lives close to the church bell therefore the people call him *lelaba* ‘bell’ Yaw. ṭkło Charles’ uncle was called ṭkło therefore he was named after his uncle. Kooko Amba sells agrochemicals for cocoa farming so her name is prefixed with *kookoo* ‘cocoa’ with an omission of the final vowel due to vowel number constraints. The information centre is stationed in the Akonto clan area. Charles is a member of the Akonto clan and his family is in charge of the information centre. He is called Akonto Charles because he lives in the Akonto area where the information centre is located. This naming system originates among peers and it is conventionalised to such an extent that, for example, a person’s obituary notice may bear both their given name and the acquired pseudo-name.
5.2.1.2 Pronominal possessors

In some languages, the construction for pronominal possessors is the same as that used for nominal possessors. For instance, a language that marks possession on the possessor may have the same genitive case marker on both pronominal and nominal possessors. In other languages, pronominal possession involves a distinct construction from that used with nominal possession. In French for instance, nominal possession involves placing the possessor after the possessed NP with the preposition *de* intervening between them, while pronominal possession involves a pronominal possessive pronoun that agrees with the possessed NP in gender and number (Dryer 2007:183).

In Sekpele, the position of the possessor for both pronominal and nominal possession is the same. They precede the possessed NP. However, Sekpele is similar to French in relation to how possession is represented. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle *tò* intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves the juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. There is no gender or number agreement.

Pronominal possession is illustrated in:

233) nya bɔ antɔmɔ lekawã afa
    nyá bó= ántò -mɔ lè = kà- wà à- *fã
    3SG.PN 1PL.POSS= father PL REL = PROG cook NCL8 medicine
    bokɔnɔ
    bá = kà- nɔ
    3PL.NOM.PST = PROG drink
    ‘It is what our fathers used to cook medicines to drink’ (Pottery 47.9)

234) ñni Mate ní mɔ diye . Abladi ní mɔmɔ diye .
    ñ = n- ní Mate ní mó d lýɛ Abladi ní mɔmɔ d lýɛ
    3SG.NOM = NEG be Mate be 3PL.POSS name Abladi be 3PL.POSS name
    ‘Abladi is their name. Mate isn’t their name’ (History_amankrado 3.73&74)
Pronominal possessors can be procliticised onto the possessed noun. This phenomenon is found in other languages. A major source of differences between nominal possession and pronominal possession is the fact that, in many languages, pronominal possessors are normally represented just by possessive affixes on the possessed noun (Dryer 2007:183). This is illustrated in:

236) \text{wanto} \quad \text{lee} \quad \text{futsyə} \quad \text{wookpo}
\begin{align*}
w &= \quad \text{ánto} \quad \text{léé} \quad f &= \quad \text{ūtsyə́} \quad wò &= \quad \text{ó} \quad \text{kpó} \\
\text{3SG.POSS} &= \quad \text{father} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{2SG.POSS} &= \quad \text{somebody} \quad \text{3SG.NOM} &= \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{call} \\
\text{ofa} &= \quad . \quad \text{òfà} = \quad \text{maternal uncle} \\
\text{‘His father or somebody s/he will call uncle’} \quad \text{(Naming_ceremony 29.1)}
\end{align*}

237) \text{nya əsò} \quad \text{ufi} \quad \text{wanto} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{diye}
\begin{align*}
nyá ésò &= \quad ñi \quad w &= \quad \text{ánto} \quad tò \quad ðiyè \\
\text{therefore} \quad \text{3SG.NOM.PST} &= \quad \text{take} \quad \text{3SG.POSS} &= \quad \text{father} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{name} \\
đutko &= \quad \text{fubi} \quad ñ \quad ñ \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} &= \quad \text{put on} \quad \text{2SG.POSS} &= \quad \text{child} \quad \text{CL1.DEF} \\
faale &= \quad . \quad \text{fà} &= \quad \text{à-} \quad \text{lé} \\
\text{2SG.NOM.PST} &= \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{give birth} \\
\text{‘Therefore he placed his father’s name on the child you had given birth to’} \quad \text{(Naming_ceremony 31.4)}
\end{align*}

It is possible for emphatic pronouns to occur with the possessive particle \text{tò}. However, this is rare and applies only in situations where one wants to lay emphasis on the possessor. This is illustrated in:
5.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are dependent clauses that modify a noun (Huddleston & Pullum 2005:183). In Sekpele, relative clauses are postnominal and they employ relative pronouns which are portmanteau morphemes of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. There are two forms of the relativizer: (1) stative \( n= \) and (2) non-stative \( IV= \) where \( V \) is a vowel. The relativizer differs depending on the TAM and vowel harmony of the verb. The underlying relativizers for the perfective, the habitual, and the future are \( /le=/, /la=/> \) and \( /lo=/> \) respectively. The relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization but is dropped in object relativization where the subject is a pronoun. This is because subject pronouns and the relativizer share the same slot in the verb and the presence of the subject pronoun leaves no other slot to be filled by the relativizer, therefore it is dropped.

This is illustrated in:

238) \( \text{wə \ eto} \quad [ \text{support} ] \quad \text{nyafɛ̃̌ \ umɔŋkɛ} \quad \text{tsya} \)

\( \text{wə́ \ eto} \quad \text{nyafɛ̃̌} \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{*mɔ̀} \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{*kà} \quad \text{tsya} \)

\( \text{3SG.PN} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{NCL1 town} \quad \text{LIG chief} \quad \text{too} \)

\( \text{loofɔ} \quad \text{wə́} \quad \text{ale} \quad \text{.} \)

\( \text{REL=} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{be able} \quad \text{3SG.POSS} \quad \text{strength} \)

‘By his support then will the town chief be able to have his strength’ (History_amankrado 11.7)

239) \( \text{eso} \quad [ \text{difference} ] \quad \text{kpe \ lɔ \ mɔ \ ku \ wə \ to \ nti \ paa} \)

\( \text{ésɔ́} \quad \text{kpé} \quad \text{lɔ́} \quad \text{mɔ́} \quad \text{kū} \quad \text{wə́} \quad \text{tò} \quad \text{ǹtí} \quad \text{páá} \)

therefore \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{1SG.PN} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{3SG.PN} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{between} \quad \text{much} \)

‘Therefore much difference exists between me and him’ (King_making 10.2)
‘The child who is lazy is asleep’  
(Miscellaneous 16.1)

241) kufuo [ kuš osani s leya ] nyə lə
kò-*fuó kuš ó-*sàni s lè= yà nyə lə
NCL7 vehicle CL7.REL.PRO NCL1 man CL1.DEF REL= buy stand LOC
obiá
òbiá
community centre

‘The vehicle the man bought is standing at the public square’  
(Miscellaneous 97.1)

242) eso wə ni lekpome [ nə]
éśò wò ní lè-*kpòmè nə
therefore 3SG.PN be NCL5 chair CL5.REL.PRO
uufo nə
ó= ó- fò nə
3SG.NOM.PST= ANT receive really

‘Therefore that is the stool he had received really’  
(History_amankrado 3.23)

Example 240 is subject relativization while examples 241 and 242 are object relativization. In examples 240 and 241, the relative clauses involve a relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, in example 242, the relative clause involves only a relative pronoun due to the fact that the subject of the relative clause is a pronoun. This is in contrast to example 241 in which the relative clause has a nominal subject. Details about relative clauses are discussed in §10.4.

5.3 Conjoined noun phrases

Most languages allow noun phrases that are formed by conjoining or coordinating two noun phrases. The coordinands may be simple NPs or complex NPs. The most common types of means to conjoin NPs are conjunction and disjunction.
5.3.1 NP conjunction

Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú* ‘and/with’ to link NPs as conjoined. A different particle is employed for event conjunction in Sekpele (see §10.5.1.2). The particle *kd* is used to show a comitative relation between two NPs. This is illustrated in:

(243) \[ \text{eso dikplibi ku ɔlsyí , ani ini } \]
\[ \text{ésò lè- *kplíbí kú ɔl- *lsyí a- *nì è= ní } \]
\[ \text{therefore NCL5 cooking pot and NCL3 drinking pot CL6 one 3SG.NOM = be } \]
\[ \text{lee ...? } \]
\[ \text{léé or } \]
\[ \text{‘Therefore the cooking pot and the drinking pot, are they the same?’ (Pottery 46.1) } \]

(244) \[ \text{bó ku mó ditsyi nse gake bobò du } \]
\[ \text{bó ku mó lè= tsyí ìsè gake bá=} \]
\[ \text{bó dú 1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL = come from there but 3PL.NOM.PST = come leave } \]
\[ \text{ló mó ófl è eso la , māmā bakpe dibiə ; } \]
\[ \text{ló 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM = exist NCL5 cave } \]
\[ \text{Bakwa kato bāmā ku Bakwa dikùə , Bakwa kusə fè } \]
\[ \text{Bakwa kató bā- mó kú Bakwa dikùə Bakwa kūsə fè } \]
\[ \text{Bakwa North CL2 the and Bakwa South Bakwa group set already } \]
\[ \text{bakpe dibiə fě́ bsobò } \]
\[ \text{bá=} \]
\[ \text{kpé lè- *bifò fě́ bá=} \]
\[ \text{3PL.NOM = exist NCL5 cave before 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV come } \]
\[ \text{‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a } \]
\[ \text{cave; the Bakwa north and Bakwa south, the entire Bakwa group were in a cave before they } \]
\[ \text{had come’ (History_amankrado 1.14) } \]

Example 245 involves the conjunction of the nouns *dikplíbí* ‘cooking pot’ and *ɔltsyí* ‘drinking pot’. Example 246 has two conjoined NPs. The first conjunction involves the emphatic pronouns *bó* ‘1PL.PN’ and *mó* ‘3PL.PN’. The second pronoun conjunction involves the NPs *Bakwa kato* and *Bakwa dikùə*. 
5.3.2 NP disjunction

Sekpele employs the particle *léé* ‘or’ for NP disjunction. The same particle is employed for event disjunction (see §10.5.2). The particle *léé* is used to express options or a choice relation between two NPs. This is illustrated in:

\[ 245 \]

\[ ebóebé \quad ote \quad leé \quad osámù \quad leé \quad ukúse \]
\[ à = \quad bó- \quad bëbé \quad o- \quad *të \quad léé \quad o- \quad *sàmù \quad léé \quad o- \quad *kùsè \]

2SG.NOM FUT look for NCL1 goat or NCL1 sheep or NCL1 chicken balo
bà = lò
3PL.NOM = kill
‘You will search for a goat, a sheep or a chicken to be killed’ (Naming_ceremony 2.1)

\[ 246 \]

\[ nya \quad fô \quad bayímì \quad leé \quad fô \quad bax35 \quad , \quad mòmò \]
\[ nyá \quad fô \quad bà- \quad *yìmí \quad leé \quad fô \quad bà- \quad *xî \quad = \quad màmà \]

then 2SG.POSS NCL2 sibling or 2SG.POSS NCL2 friend =TOP 3PL.PN
luusu \quad baye \quad hëe \quad bòbò
lò = ó- \quad sù \quad bà = yë \quad hëë \quad bà = bò
REL = FUT go 3PL.NOM = walk craftily 3PL.NOM = come
bayènklì \quad fô
bà = yànkì fô
3PL.NOM = untie 2SG.ACC
‘Then your siblings or friends, they will walk craftily to untie you’ (Punishment 13.1)

\[ 247 \]

\[ nya \quad lô \quad bòto \quad mà \quad tsyüa \quad , \quad be \quad okò \quad lô \]
\[ nyá \quad lô \quad bà = \quad tô \quad mà \quad tsyü = \quad bè \quad ò- \quad *kî \quad lô \]

then if 3PL.NOM.PST = give 1SG.ACC too =TOP see NCL1 corpse then
abe \quad osàte \quad leé \quad w3 \quad looya \quad nte .
à = bè \quad òsàtè \quad lëè \quad w3 \quad lò = ó- \quad yà \quad ñtà
2SG.NOM see owner or 3SG.REL.PRO REL = FUT buy wine
‘Then if they even give me, look at the corpse and its owner or the one who is buying the wine’ (Buying_name 43.1)

Example 245 involves three coordinands: òtê ‘goat’, ósàmù ‘sheep’ and ùkùsè ‘chicken’. Example 246 involves the possessive constructions *fô bayímì* ‘your
siblings’ and fɔ bɛξɔ ‘your friends’. Example 247 involves the noun òsàtɛ ‘owner’ and the relative clause wɔ̀ lòòyà nìtè ‘the one who will buy wine’.

5.4 Noun phrases within adpositional phrases

This section discusses noun phrases within adpositional phrases. The subject of adpositions in the languages of West Africa has sparked controversies. Some linguists (Ameka & Essegbey, 2006; Ameka, 2003; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008; Lefebvre & Brousseau, 2002) hold the view that the languages they work in have prepositions and postpositions. They hold the view that spatial and body part nominals have grammaticalized into postpositions. Other linguists such as Aboh (2005, 2010) have argued that they are postnominal elements and not postpositions as they do not behave like typical postpositions e.g. they do not assign case. Osam, Duah, & Blay (2011) also argued this for Akan, stating that, some of the elements labelled as postposition in Akan should be treated as ‘relator nouns’ as they have not fully grammaticalized into postpositions yet.

Based on the data in Sekpele, I hold the view that the spatial and body part elements in Sekpele are not postpositions. They form a possessive construction with the nominal which precedes it. The nominal is the possessor while the spatial or body part element is the possessed NP. For instance, the prepositional phrase ‘under the table’ is conceptualized as ‘LOC the table’s under’ in Sekpele likewise the phrase ‘on the table’ as ‘LOC the table’s top/body’. I also hold the view that languages may differ in this subject, therefore each language should be analysed in their own right instead of generalising across languages.
In Sekpele, placing the possessive particle to between the NPs reiterates the fact that spatial and body part elements fit into a possessive construction. This is illustrated in:

248) ufi dikplibi nəmə utsyə lə
   ő= fî lė- *kplibi nô- má ő= tsyə lá
  3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST= put LOC
  őpunu əmə kəlo
  ő- *pənô á- mó kələ
  NCL3 table CL3 the down
  ‘He put the pot under the table’  

249) ufi dikplibi nəmə utsyə lə
   ő= fî lė- *kplibi nô- má ő= tsyə lá
  3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST= put LOC
  őpunu əmə to kəlo
  ő- *pənô á- mó tô kələ
  NCL3 table CL3 the POSS down
  ‘He put the pot under the table’

250) utsyə dikplibi nəmə lə dibu nəmə
    ő= tsyə lė- *kplibi nô- má lô lė- *bə nô- má
  3SG.NOM.PST= put NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the LOC NCL5 hut CL5 the
  to kəma
tô kəmə
POSS back
  ‘He placed the pot at the back of the hut’  

251) ufi dikplibi nəmə utsyə lə
    ő= fî lė- *kplibi nô- má ő= tsyə lá
  3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST= put LOC
  kəma
  kəmə
  back
  ‘He placed the pot at the back’

Examples 248 and 249 are semantically similar. What distinguishes them is that example 249 involves the possessive particle to in the adpositional phrase while
example 248 is without it. Likewise, when we compare example 250 with 251,
example 251 is without a possessor. The adpositional phrase consists of the
preposition *lë* ‘LOC’ and its locative noun complement *kámà* ‘back’. It is erroneous
to hold the view that *kámà* is a postposition. If this is so, the adpositional phrase
would have a preposition and a postposition which would be competing for
headship.

The possessive particle test involving the addition of the possessive particle
illustrated above may fail in other languages such as Ewe. Whereas we can say that
spatial and body part elements in Ewe have grammaticalized into postpositions, the
same cannot be said about Sekpele and other GTM languages. Comparing Sekpele
to other GTM languages, similar structures exist. A comparative study of the GTM
languages could establish whether these elements are grammaticalizing into
postpositions or not.

Sekpele has two true prepositions: the locative *lë* and the comitative *kú*. The
locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express
accompaniment and instrument. Other adpositional notions are expressed by verbs.
They are expressed by means of a serial verb construction (see § 10.1.1). A
summary of prepositions and verbs, and their functions is provided in Table 5.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositions</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Source Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lë</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>‘LOC’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>‘COM’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó</td>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsyì</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>‘come from’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yó</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
<td>‘reach’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúfə̀</td>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
<td>‘arrive, enter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yé</td>
<td>Perlative</td>
<td>‘through’</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fè</td>
<td>Perlative</td>
<td>‘through’</td>
<td>‘surpass’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5.3: Adpositional functions in Sekpele*
Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. The noun phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP (see §5.1 and §5.2). This is illustrated in:

252) \[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{kuku} & \text{kwankwâ} & \text{komâ} & \text{tako} & \text{lo} & \text{oprôn} & \text{omâ} & \text{omâ} & \text{omâ} & \text{omâ} \\
\text{kô-} & \text{*kûô} & \text{kwânkwâ} & \text{kô-} & \text{mô} & \text{têkô} & \text{lô} & \text{ô-} & \text{*pûnô} & \text{ô-} & \text{mô} & \text{ûsû} \\
\end{array} \]

NCL7 book green CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the body

‘The green book is on the table’ (Adjectives 11.1)

253) \[ \begin{array}{lll}
\text{la} & \text{eyu} & \text{la} \ , \ \text{ele} & \text{baô} \\
\text{lô} & \text{á=} & \text{yù} & \text{lá} & \text{é=} & \text{là} & \text{bôô} \\
\end{array} \]

\text{if} \ 2SG.NOM.PST \ steal \ TOP \ 3SG.NOM.PST= \ resemble \ 3PL.COMP

\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{bakpe} & \text{fô} & \text{lo} & \text{ôbêkê} . \\
\end{array} \]

\text{bà=} \ \text{kpê} \ fô \ lô \ ôbêkê

3PL.NOM= \ put \ 2SG.ACC \ LOC \ cage

‘If you steal, it is necessary that they put you in a cage’ (Punishment 1.11)

254) \[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{ebusu} & \text{etsyi} & \text{ntu} & \text{ku} & \text{ôtsyî} . \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{â=} & \text{bô-} & \text{sù} & \text{â=} & \text{tsyî} & \text{â} & \text{kû} & \text{ô-} & \text{*ôtsyî} \\
\end{array} \]

2SG.NOM \ FUT \ go \ 2SG.NOM \ carry \ water \ with \ NCL3 \ drinking \ pot

‘You will go and carry water with a drinking pot’ (Buying_name 47.3)

255) \[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{to} & \text{lo} & \text{mbô} & \text{so} & \text{ku} & \text{fô} \\
\text{tô} & \text{lô} & \text{â=} & \text{bô} & \text{sô} & \text{kû} & \text{fô} \\
\end{array} \]

\text{start} \ HORT \ 1SG.NOM= \ come \ sing \ with \ 2SG.ACC

‘Start and let me come and sing with you’ (Good_old_days 23.1)

Examples 252 and 253 consist of prepositional phrases involving the locative \text{is}. Examples 254 and 255 on the other hand, involve the comitative \text{kû}. The prepositions take NPs as their complements. The NP in example 252 is a possessive construction involving the noun \text{ôpônô} ‘table’ and its part \text{ûsû} ‘body’. The NPs in examples 253 and 254 are the nouns \text{ôbêkê} ‘cage’ and \text{ôtsyî} ‘drinking pot’ respectively. The NP in example 255 is the pronoun \text{fô} ‘2SG.ACC’.
5.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpele. This chapter was divided into four sections: (1) simple noun phrases; (2) complex noun phrases; (3) conjoined noun phrases and (4) adpositional phrases.

A simple noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and it consists of a nominal head and its modifiers following it in the order qualifiers (adjectives), numerals, determiners and intensifiers. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. When adjectives occur in NPs, they either occur in direct apposition to the noun they modify or undergo a process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives, reduplicated verbs and adjectives derived from verb-like adjectives with the adjectival suffix –a, occur in apposition to the noun. On the other hand, verb-like adjectives, noun-like adjectives, and other derived adjectives can only occur in the noun phrase through the process of relativization. There are two types of numerals: cardinal and ordinal numbers. Numerals occur after the adjective and before the determiner in a noun phrase. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system. Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal numbers. Numbers used in counting are quite distinct from cardinal numbers as shown in Table 5.2. The number ‘one’ is distinct for all three number forms: nõ̀ɛ́ for counting, (CM)-nì́ for cardinal, and tũtṹ for ordinal numbers. The counting form for eight and nine are yènì́, nàsé respectively which are also distinct from those of cardinal numbers which are m̀fámflá and ǹwɔ̀nɔ́mbə́ respectively. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and it is prefixed with the class marker. Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers with the exception of first and last. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of
ordinal numbers. The suffix -fə̀ is applied to the number two and three while the suffix -lē occurs elsewhere. Determiners include articles (definite and indefinite) and demonstratives. The definite article, indefinite article, proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative are prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the noun. Sekpele has a four-way contrast for demonstratives: m̀fô, m̀fô, mOl, and ñsê. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. The other two are used to express proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants and entities in distal vicinity respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures. The intensifiers in Sekpele include săà ‘each, every, any’, àlɛ̀ɛ̀ ‘alone’, há ‘only’, kóng ‘really’, kplóng ‘alone’, only’, kólá ‘only’, pàá ‘really, very much’, tá ‘all’, tè ‘only’, tètè ‘simply’, tsyá ‘too, also’, kénkó ‘all, completely’ and pété ‘all, completely’. They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They are made up of various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. All noun modifiers with the exception of the definite article and intensifiers have pronoun forms that can become the head of a noun phrase. These pronouns can also be modified.

Complex noun phrases in Sekpele include genitive or possessive construction and relative clauses. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possessive NPs are represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle tò intervening between them. This is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle tò intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves the juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. Some kinship relations have both forms. Relative clauses are postnominal and they employ relative pronouns
which are portmanteau morphemes of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. There are two forms of the relativizer: (1) stative $n=$ and (2) non-stative $lv=.$ The relativizer differs depending on the TAM and vowel harmony of the verb. The relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization but is dropped in object relativization where the subject is a pronoun.

Conjoined NPs discussed in this chapter are conjunction and disjunction. Sekpele employs the comitative particle $kú$ ‘and/with’ for NP conjunction and the particle $lēē$ ‘or’ for NP disjunction. This chapter also discussed noun phrases within adpositional phrases.

Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. Sekpele has two prepositions: the locative $lō$ and the comitative $kū.$ The locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express accompaniment and instrument. A noun phrase within an adpositional phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP.
6 PRONOUNS

This chapter discusses pronouns in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are independent wordforms. For this reason, I have decided to treat this topic as a separate chapter. Section 6.1 discusses personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns, and object/oblique pronouns. Section 6.2 discusses possessive pronouns; section 6.3 discusses demonstrative pronouns; section 6.4 discusses relative pronouns; section 6.5 discusses interrogative pronouns; section 6.6 discusses indefinite pronouns; while section 6.8 discusses reciprocal pronouns.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Sekpele distinguishes between emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns with respect to personal pronouns. Sex-based gender does not play a role; however, there is an animacy contrast in the 3rd person. Although grammatical case is absent in nouns, there is a case distinction in pronouns: nominative, oblique/accusative, and genitive. The nominative and genitive pronoun forms are clitics that attach to verbs and nouns respectively. The nominative also varies depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. The accusative and the emphatic pronouns are independent word-forms that stand alone.

6.1.1 Emphatic pronouns

The function of the emphatic pronouns differs from that of the non-emphatics in that they can stand in isolation as an answer to a question introduced by the interrogative ɔwɔé ‘who’ or bé ‘what’. They also appear in subject function in focus
constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Table 6.1 shows the set of emphatic pronouns in Sekpele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mɔ́</td>
<td>bó/bɔ́21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fə́</td>
<td>mimí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3[+ animate]</td>
<td>wə́</td>
<td>mə́mə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3/4</td>
<td>nyá22</td>
<td>mi23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5/6</td>
<td>ní/níní</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7/8</td>
<td>kó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9/10</td>
<td>ké</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11/12</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Emphatic pronouns

When the emphatic pronoun occurs in a preverbal position, it may function as the subject of the clause, as in:

256)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>lookate</th>
<th>ekeyifo</th>
<th>lesa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.PN</td>
<td>lò = 6- kà- té à = kà- yifò lè- *sá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.NOM</td>
<td>PROG sell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nə̃</td>
<td>faala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl5.DEF</td>
<td>2SG.NOM = HAB wish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’. (Buying_na me 58.2)

257)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eso</th>
<th>mamə</th>
<th>ataka</th>
<th>bate</th>
<th>kobe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL.PN</td>
<td>PFV rise 3PL.NOM.PST = know wisdom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Therefore they were wise’  (History_amankrado 3.57)

21 Bó and bów are free variants and they are used interchangeably.

22 Nyá is the default form.

23 The plural classes are merged as one form.
The emphatic pronouns can occur in postverbal position. They often occur in comparative and coordinate constructions, as in:

258) \( \text{beyifo kplikplikli nso } \text{mə} \).

\( \text{bà=} \text{yifō kplikplikli ŋ=} \text{sō} \text{mŋ} \)  
3PL.NOM = make near REL = become more 1SG.PN

‘They are closer to each other than me’ (King making 10.2)

259) \( \text{nya eso [ difference ] kpé lə mə ku wə to nti } \).

\( \text{nyá ēsō kpé lə mŋ kú wə tò ŋtí} \)  
therefore exist LOC 1SG.PN and 3SG.PN POSS between

‘Therefore there is difference between me and him’ (King making 8.5)

The effect of the emphatic pronouns is greatly felt in focus constructions where the object is placed in preverbal position, as in:

260) \( \text{lesanə lehɪa wə , mə wɔɔtɔ} \).

\( \text{lèsànə̀ lè=} \text{hiə wə} \text{mŋ wò=} \text{ò rápida tò} \)  
something REL = need 3SG.ACC 1SG.PN 3SG.NOM = FUT ask

‘Whatever he needs, it is me he will ask’ (King making 10.3)

261) \( wə \quad \text{beefi okankplɛ} \).

\( \text{wə bà=} \text{à- fǐ} \text{ò- *kánkplɛ} \)  
3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take NCL1 paramount chief

\( \text{beefi bəətə} \)  
bà = à- fǐ bà = à- tō  
3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give

‘Him they had given the paramount chief’ (King making 3.26)

The emphatic pronoun can also co-occur with its non-emphatic counterpart in the same clause, as in:
Therefore I was sitting at the doorway saying that, that was not how it is done’
(Buying_name 34.8)

‘Me, when I was given a name, goats I sell before I buy cloth’
(Buying_name 57.1)

‘The birth-name that is given in relation to a birthday exists’
(Naming_ceremony 30.1)

‘The landlord, he is the king maker or perhaps the owner of the land’
(King_making 3.21)

6.1.2 Subject pronouns

In Sekpele, subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They are proclitic in the sense that they are attached to the beginning of the verb. They vary depending on the TAM of the predicate they occur with. They are also influenced by vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. It is worth noting that tone plays a
part in the distinction of subject pronouns. Sekpele has a past/non-past distinction. A high tone signals a past tense while a low tone signals a non-past tense. A past tense pronoun can co-occur with the perfective or the anterior (present perfect) to form a past perfect and immediate past perfect respectively. Likewise, a non-past pronoun can co-occur with the future and prospective. Since the habitual does not have temporal restriction, it can co-occur with both past and non-past pronouns. When it co-occurs with a past pronoun, it gives the interpretation that the action or state of affairs used to occur in the past. Its occurrence with a non-past gives a general interpretation of habitual and it is viewed as the default. When a non-past pronoun occurs with the only verb or the first verb in a series, with no TAM indication anywhere in the clause or sentence, then the clause or sentence is said to be in the subjunctive mood. Table 6.2 shows the set of subject pronouns in Sekpele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HAB/PROSP</th>
<th>FUT</th>
<th>SUBJ/PRES.PRO</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PERF</th>
<th>ANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mò</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>fà</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>fà</td>
<td>ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG[+ANIM]</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>bò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>bè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3/4</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5/6</td>
<td>lè</td>
<td>/yè</td>
<td>lè</td>
<td>/è</td>
<td>/è</td>
<td>/è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7/8</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>/yè</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>/è</td>
<td>/è</td>
<td>/è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9/10</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>/bò</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>/bò</td>
<td>kà/bò</td>
<td>kà/bò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11/12</td>
<td>sè</td>
<td>/bè</td>
<td>sè</td>
<td>/bè</td>
<td>sè/bè</td>
<td>sè/bè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Subject pronouns
Table 6.2 shows the various forms of the subject pronoun in relation to number and the TAM they co-occur with. It seems 1PL and 2PL are the most consistent across all TAM with less segmental variation. All other pronouns vary segmentally and tonally. The use of the subject pronoun in the prospective is illustrated in:

266) \( \text{wəəbə} \) \( \text{kamə boymə} \)  
\( \text{wə} = \) á- bō kəmə bō- ÿm̈ə  
3SG.NOM = PROSP come rice NMLZ chew  
‘He shall eat rice’  (Verbs 10.1)

267) \( \text{eye} \) \( \text{dine} \) \( \text{ke} \) \( \text{baahə} \) \( \text{wə} \) \( \text{la} \)  
eye dinə ké bə = á- hiá wə lá  
and the day any 3PL.NOM = PROSP need 3SG.ACC TOP  
eləbəə uəə  
ə = lə bəə ə = bə  
3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = come  
‘And any day they shall need him, it is necessary he comes’  (King-making 14.5)

The use of the subject pronoun in the future is illustrated in:

268) \( \text{lo} \) \( \text{beowə} \) \( \text{nnumə} \) \( \text{lo} \) \( \text{bito} \) \( \text{lo} \)  
lo bə = ó- wə ńnuə lə bə = tə lə  
if 2PL.NOM = FUT cook palm oil HORT 2PL.NOM = allow HORT  
nte lo … nbo yifo  
ń = tə lə ń = bə yifó  
1SG.NOM = know HORT 1SG.NOM = come do  
‘If you will make palm oil, let me know so I come and do it’  (Palm_oil 21.1)

269) \( \text{nya} \) \( \text{fuufi} \) \( \text{akpo} \) , \( \text{fɛ̃ɛ̃} \) \( \text{foobaka} \)  
nya fə = ó- fi à = kpó fɛ̃ɛ̃ fə = ó- báká  
then 2SG.NOM = FUT take 2SG.NOM pour before 2SG.NOM = FUT stir  
əfə  
əfə  
a while  
‘Then you will pour it before you will stir for a while’  (Soap_making 25.1)
The subjunctive, as in (270) and the present progressive constructions as in (271), use the same pronoun forms by attaching it to the bare verb without any TAM. This is illustrated in:

270)  bekɔse  beti  məmlə  loo .
\[ bɛkɔsɛ \ bɛtɛ \ tɪ \ məmlò \ lò \]
\[ 2\text{PL.NOM}= \text{hurry} \]
\[ 2\text{PL.NOM}= \text{crush quickly UFP} \]
‘Hurry and crush quickly’  (Palm kernel oil 15.1)

271)  ale  mfo  bubɔ
\[ ðɛ \ ìɛ \ bɔ- \ bɔ \]
\[ 3\text{SG.NOM}= \text{hold here NMLZ} \]
‘He is coming here’  (Adverbs 37.1)

The past pronouns are unique in the fact that they bear high tones. They may vary depending on whether they occur alone or they co-occur with the perfective or the anterior. This is illustrated in (272), (273) and (274) respectively:

272)  afo  diye  nə̃  koŋ .
\[ ãfò \ ìɛ \ nə̃ \ kòn \]
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM.PST} \]
‘You have received the name for real’  (Buying name 12.3)

273)  lə  kafia  to  dinə  fəətə  wo  tsya ,
\[ ìɛ \ ìɛ \ ìɛ \ ìɛ \ ìɛ \ ìɛ \]
\[ \text{if} \]
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM.PST} \]
‘If a piece of cloth you had given her too, you gave her’  (Buying name 56.3)

274)  obunyə  kase  Onango  lete  bakoko
\[ ã \ bɔ- \ ìɛ \ kâsɛ \ ìnάntó \ lɛ \ tɛ \ bâ \]
\[ 2\text{SG.NOM.PST} \]
\[ \text{CL6 thing} \]
‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’  (Punishment 1.9)
It is worth noting that Table 6.2 shows that the slot for the 1SG and 1PL perfect is empty. This is because those forms do not exist in Sekpele. In this case, the anterior forms of the 1SG and 1PL are used. This is illustrated in:

275)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{mɔ} & \text{mɔ̂} & \text{ ku } \left[ 1933 \right] \text{ eso} \\
\text{m₅} & \text{bá }= & \text{ lé } \text{ m₃} & \text{ kú } \text{ ésò } \\
1\text{SG.PN} & 3\text{PL.NOM.PST} = & \text{ give birth} & 1\text{SG.ACC} \text{ with} \text{ therefore} \\
\text{mookpa} & \text{ənəmi} & \text{ seke} . \\
\text{mó} = & \text{ ð } & \text{ kpá } & \text{ á } & \text{ *nənì sëké } \\
1\text{SG.NOM.PST } = & \text{ ANT become clear} & \text{ NCL6 eye few} \\
\text{}'I was born in 1933, therefore I am quite a level-headed person' \quad \text{(Punishment 19.3)} \\
\end{array}
\]

276)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{gbã} & \text{ gbã́} & \text{ Atebubu buuba } \\
\text{gb₃ } & \text{ bó }= & \text{ tsyì } \text{ Atebubu } \text{ bó }= & \text{ ð } & \text{ bó } \text{ Likpeto } \\
\text{first} & 1\text{PL.NOM.PST } = & \text{ come from Atebubu} & 1\text{PL.NOM.PST } = & \text{ ANT come} \text{ Likpeto} \\
\text{‘First, we came from Atebubu and had come to Likpeto’} \quad \text{(History_ amankrado 1.3)} \\
\end{array}
\]

As stated earlier, the habitual can occur with both past and non-past pronouns. Examples (277) and (278) illustrate the occurrence of the habitual with the past and non-past respectively:

277)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Kwami} , & \text{ bəə } & \text{ m₃} & \text{ ntu } & \text{ buə̃} \\
\text{Saturday-born male} & 3\text{PL.NOM.PST } = & \text{ give} & 1\text{SG.ACC} & \text{ NCL10 water} & \text{ CL10.DEF} \\
\text{bəə } & \text{ féé } & ? \\
\text{bá }= & \text{ á } & \text{ tó } & \text{ féé } \\
3\text{PL.NOM.PST } = & \text{ HAB give before} \\
\text{‘Kwami, did they ever give me the water they used to give?’} \quad \text{(Buying_name 46.2)} \\
\end{array}
\]
278) lə boləko ubi ə lə ləkple,
lə bá = ləkə ə*bí ə lə ləkple
if 3PL.NOM.PST = remove NCL1 child CL1.DEF LOC outside
bəətə wə diye lec … nte lefe nə̃
bəətə á- tə́ wə́ diye leé ñté le- *fè nə̃
3PL.NOM = HAB give 3SG.ACC name or which NCL5 time CL5.DEF
bəətə ubi á diye …?
bəətə á- tə́ ə*bí ə́ diye
3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF name
‘If the child is outdoor, do they give the child a name or which time do they give the child a name?’
(Naming_ceremony 23.1)

6.1.3 Object/oblique pronouns

This section discusses a set of pronouns used as object of the verb or oblique. They are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but differ in tone in some of its components. They especially differ in form and tone in the 1SG. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that they are free word-forms while the subject pronouns are bound to the verb of the clause as clitics. Table 6.3 shows the set of object/oblique pronouns in Sekpele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mə̀</td>
<td>bò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fā</td>
<td>mí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3[+animate]</td>
<td>wə́</td>
<td>mó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3/4</td>
<td>nyá24</td>
<td>mí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5/6</td>
<td>ní/nímí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7/8</td>
<td>kó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9/10</td>
<td>ké</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11/12</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Object/oblique pronouns

---

24 Nyá is the default form.
The use of these pronouns in object function is illustrated in:

279)  nya  betidi  luunyə  fo  kamínso  bəbə
      nyá  bá-  *tídi  lè=  ó-  nyă  fə  kamínso  bá =  bó
then  NCL2  person  REL=  FUT  see  2SG.ACC  mercy  3PL.NOM=  come
yánkli  fo
yánkli  fə  untie  2SG.ACC
‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’  (Punishment 12.1)

280)  ko  mfó  to  ama  yã  leke ,  lo
      kó  mfó  tó  à-  *má  yã  lè =  kè  ló
previously  there  POSS  NCL6  war  CL6.DEF  REL=  exist  if
betsyí  mi  oka  kple
bá=  tsyi  mí  ó-  *ká  kple
3PL.NOM.PST=  carry  2PL.POSS  NCL1  chief  big
bedunko  ko ,  bêtokó  mi
bá=  dû  -n-  kó  kó  bá=  tská  mf
3PL.NOM.PST=  leave  LIG  ASSOC  then  3PL.NOM.PST=  be on  2PL.ACC
kató  .
kató  top of
‘The wars that occurred previously, if they carry your big chief away then, they have
conquered you’  (History_amankrado 3.44)

When the object pronouns occur in a clause that contains a phrasal verb, the pronoun
occurs between the verb and its complement. This is illustrated in:

281)  kemi  maasɔ  mi  anı
      kêmí  mà=  á-  só  mf  à-  *nĩ
that means  1SG.NOM=  HAB  hit  2PL.ACC  NCL8  arm
‘That means I thank you lit: I hit you in your hands’  (Soap_making 40.1)

282)  lo  ukpo  tsysa  esi  wə  kayo .
ló  ó=  kpó  tsysá  à=  sí  wə  kayó
if  3SG.NOM.PST=  die  too  2SG.NOM  dwell  3SG.ACC  debt
‘Even if she dies, you owe her.  (Buying_name 56.7)
Examples (281) and (282) contain the phrasal verbs *sɔ anɪ* ‘thank’ and *si kayo* ‘owe’ respectively. In both cases, the object pronoun intervenes between the verb and its complement. Both (281) and (282) are external possessive construction where the possessor is maintained as the object and the possessee relegated as oblique without any preposition. The object pronouns in both examples may parse as possessors, however they will bear different interpretations. Example 281 will bear the interpretation ‘I hit your hands’ instead of ‘I hit you in your hands’. Likewise, example 282 will bear the interpretation ‘you owe her debt’ instead of ‘you owe her’. The object pronoun can also occur as the complement of the locative particle *lə* which is used for prepositional or locative constructions in Sekpele. This is illustrated in:

283)  

```
kemi aye akpo lə litsyitsya , ufiebi sɔ  
  kẹmí à = yẹ à = kpó ló lè- tsyìtsyà ùfíèbí só  
then 2SG.NOM filter 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL.5 basket air blow  
ekpo lə mi  
  è = kpó  lò  mí  
3SG.NOM pour LOC CL.6.ACC  
```

‘Then you filter and pour into a basket for air to blow onto it’  

(Palm_kernel 4.6)

284)  

```
əmbə busia tsyà lə ni  
à = n- bó bó- só tseyà lə mí  
2SG.NOM NEG come FUT sit too LOC CL.5.ACC  
```

‘You won’t even sit on it’  

(King_making 2.39)

In Sekpele, the benefactor/goal precedes the theme in ditransitive clauses. Example 285 shows two pronouns in succession:
Sekpele does not use prepositions to introduce a beneficiary/recipient as most languages in the region and across the world do (Andvik 2010:392; Bobuafor 2013:310; Dovlo 2008:201; Lord 1993:31). In cases where the theme precedes the beneficiary/recipient, an intervening verb such as the verb tə ‘give’, boko ‘bring’ and kpo ‘pour’ occurs between the object and the oblique. This is illustrated in:

285) diye nɔ foola nko fuuto
lè- *yê nɔ fɔ= ɔ- lá ñkɔ fɔ= ɔ- tɔ
NCL5 name cl5.DEF 2SG.NOM= FUT love that 2SG.NOM= FUT give
fubi la . ebuto wə ni .
f= ùbí lá à= bò- tɔ wɔ nif
2SG.POSS= child TOP 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC CL5.ACC
‘The name you will love to give your child, you will give it to him/her’
(Naming_ceremony 28.1)

286) a) bookpo fɔ ubuki la akpa
bɔ= ɔ- kpɔ fɔ ɔ-*bùkí lá á- *kpa
3PL.NOM= FUT pour 2SG.ACC NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg
‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet’ (King_making 2.34)

b) akpakpa mfɔ la , boola ubuki
ákpákpa mfɔ lá bɔ= ɔ- lá ɔ- *bùkí
immediately there TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal
bakpo fɔ .
bà= kpɔ fɔ
3PL.NOM= pour 2SG.ACC
‘Immediately right there, they will cut the throat of an animal before you’
(King_making 2.31)

287) a) wuuto fɔ ote nko kɔtsyɔ .
wɔ= ɔ- tɔ fɔ ɔ- *tɛ ñkɔ kà- tsyɔ
3SG.NOM= FUT give 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat that INF keep
‘S/he will give you a goat to keep’ (Buying_name 12.4)
Examples (286), (287) and (288) consist of pairs of ditransitive sentences. The first of each shows a case where the benefactor precedes the theme while the second shows the inverse. In order to achieve the later, an additional verb is added to the clause to form a serial verb construction. The added verb precedes the ditransitive verb and it takes the object as its complement while the ditransitive verb takes the oblique as its complement.
## 6.2 Possessive pronouns

The set of possessive pronouns in Sɛkpɛle is distinguished by the fact that they all carry a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and they either stand alone or are attached to the noun they are procliticized to. There is no number distinction in the third person inanimate. Table 6.4 shows the set of emphatic possessive pronouns in Sɛkpɛle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mš</td>
<td>bó/bóš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>fɔ̃</td>
<td>mí/míí/mímí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3[+animate]</td>
<td>wɔ́</td>
<td>móɔ́mɔ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3/4</td>
<td>nyá²⁵</td>
<td>mí/mímí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5/6</td>
<td>ní/níní</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7/8</td>
<td>kókó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9/10</td>
<td>kéké</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11/12</td>
<td>sésé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4: Possessive pronouns

Example (289) illustrates a situation where the possessive pronoun is attached to the possessed constituent while (290) and (291) show an instance of independent possessive word forms.

---

²⁵ Nyá is the default form.
Therefore he placed his father's name on the child you had given birth to’ (Naming_ceremony 31.4)

‘The chief will take the message to his people to tell them’ (History_amankrado 11.8)

‘The king maker, he put his hands under it like this’  (King_making 2.40)

6.3 Demonstrative pronouns

In Sekpele, demonstratives can be used in place of noun in specific discourse contexts where the noun is recoverable in that context. The demonstrative pronouns in Sekpele can be grouped into two forms: neutral and emphatic demonstrative pronouns.
6.3.1 Neutral demonstrative pronouns

There are four types of demonstrative pronouns whose forms are determined by two factors: (a) degree of proximity/relative distance between speaker, listener and object referred to; (b) the morphological class to which the relevant noun belongs. There are demonstrative roots to which these factors apply: (i) m̀fô ‘here’; (ii) m̀fó ‘there’; (iii) mó ‘there’; and (iv) ñsé ‘yonder’. These roots can stand alone as independent pronouns or combine with personal pronouns, or noun class markers. The first form m̀fô and its derivations signify proximity to speaker and may include the hearer if the hearer is close to the speaker. The second form m̀fó and its derivations signify distance away from the speaker and may include proximity to hearer if the referent is close to the hearer. The third form mó signifies a relative distance from both speaker and hearer but also indicates that the referent is within sight and can be pointed at. The fourth form ñsé indicates distance beyond the reach of both the speaker and the hearer. Relatively, m̀fô could be used for referents out of sight, for instance, a referent somewhere in the town of the speaker as opposed to one outside. Likewise m̀fó, mó, and ñsé could be used for distal reference. A discussion of the use of demonstratives in noun phrases is provided in §5.1.1.3.3. The use of the demonstrative root as pronouns is illustrated in:

292) osani
ketsyenko
əmə
əbə
mfo
ð- *sànì këtsëŋkë á- má á- bó m̀fô
NCL1 man tall CL1 the PFV come here
‘The tall man came here’ (Adjectives 22.1)

293) osani
əmə
dikulo
mfó
əbə
mfo
ð- *sànì á- má lë = kûlë m̀fô á- bó m̀fô
NCL1 man CL1 the REL = become tall there PFV come here
‘The man who is tall over there came here’ (Adjectives 23.1)
294) ɔ́nkə̀ ɔ́nkə̀ s/he say ɛlɛ́ ɛlɛ́ 3SG.NOM= hold 3SG.NOM= get out there
‘He says it is coming out there’ (Palm_oil 15.1)

295) lə betsyi fə́ fə́ mfoo befī fə́
lə́ lə́ if 2SG.ACC 2SG.ACC there = TOP 3PL.NOM= take 2SG.ACC
besu botsyo lə kalekato to kabanto nse ken.
3PL.NOM= go 3PL.NOM= put LOC north area POSS outskirt there far
‘If they carry you from there, they will place at the farhermost outskirts of the north’
(Punishment 7.1)

As already stated, the demonstrative root can be combined with other pronouns or noun markers to form demonstrative pronouns. Table 6.5 is the possible set of demonstrative pronouns in Sekpele:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mə́fô</th>
<th>mə́fó</th>
<th>mə̀</th>
<th>ǹsè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>mə́mfô</td>
<td>mə́mfó</td>
<td>mə̀ ṭə́mə</td>
<td>mə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>fə́mfô</td>
<td>fə́mfó</td>
<td>fə́ ə́</td>
<td>fə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>wə́mfô</td>
<td>wə́mfó</td>
<td>wə́ ə́</td>
<td>wə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bə́mfô</td>
<td>bə́mfó</td>
<td>bə́ ə́</td>
<td>bə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mə́mfô</td>
<td>mə́mfó</td>
<td>mə́ ə́</td>
<td>mə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>bàmfô</td>
<td>bàmfó</td>
<td>bà ə́</td>
<td>bàms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL3 (default)</td>
<td>nyə́mfô</td>
<td>nyə́mfó</td>
<td>nyə́mə́</td>
<td>nyə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL5</td>
<td>nə́mfô</td>
<td>nə́mfó</td>
<td>nə́mə́</td>
<td>nə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL7</td>
<td>kə́mfô</td>
<td>kə́mfó</td>
<td>kə́mə́</td>
<td>kə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL9</td>
<td>kə́mfô</td>
<td>kə́mfó</td>
<td>kə́mə́</td>
<td>kə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL10</td>
<td>bə́mfô</td>
<td>bə́mfó</td>
<td>bə́mə́</td>
<td>bə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL11</td>
<td>siə́mfô</td>
<td>siə́mfó</td>
<td>siə́mə́</td>
<td>siə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL12</td>
<td>biə́mfô</td>
<td>biə́mfó</td>
<td>biə́mə́</td>
<td>biə́ms̲ə́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.5: Demonstrative pronouns
Table 6.5 contain distal forms of the first person pronouns. They are mostly used in narratives where speakers make reference to themselves at a particular time and location, in relation to the activity and circumstance in the narrative. For instance, a speaker may literally say ‘I over there was farming, dancing, saying, or sleeping’. The speaker may also express the 2PL pronoun by literally saying ‘We over there crossed the river to the other side’. The use of demonstrative pronouns is illustrated in:

296) ɔnɪ əbə wɔ̃sé à- tsyímì
don one PFV come 3SG.REL.PRO there PFV stay
‘One came, the other over there stayed’ (Verbs 340.1)

297) bətsyuə edí ənə
diff some PFV eat 3PL.REL.PRO there PFV drink
‘Some ate, those over there drank’

298) gakee, bomfo kesum kamfó
get but NCL9 service NCL9 that
kà= n- bò mò = ó- tə́
CL9.NOM= NEG exist 1PL.ACC.1SG.NOM= FUT say
‘But, with us here that service doesn’t exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)

299) utə ma nyamfó
give me 1SG.ACC this
‘He gave me this’ (Adverb 42.1)

300) utə ma nyamfó
give me that (Adverb 43.1)
6.3.2 Emphatic demonstrative pronoun

The only emphatic demonstrative pronoun in Sekpele is *ńkò ‘like that’. It is illustrated in:

302) *ńkò like that 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB make NCL.10 oil really

‘That is how oil is made’ (Palm_kennel_oil 8.1)

303) 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV LOC NCL.4 town CL.4.DEF like that

‘Then they settled in the towns like that’ (History_amankrado 3.16)

304) 2PL.NOM= FUT sing CL.8 song through to 2PL.NOM= do

‘After burial too, they will sing throughout while the performance continue’ (Buying_name 31.4)
6.4 Relative pronouns

Relativity in Sekpele is expressed in two forms: a relative pronoun and relativizer. The first form consists of a relative pronoun which is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Sekpele has a set of independent relative pronouns which can stand alone or co-occur with other bound forms in the clause. The independent relative pronouns are identical to other pronouns already discussed but are unique by their rising tone. They also have forms representing the various noun classes. Examples 325 and 326 show the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL relative pronouns. Other relative pronoun forms are shown in Table 6.6:

305) bā to aye bobā nsi mfo kola
    bā tō ̀ a- *yê bōbā hī sī mīfō kōlā
    3PL.REL.PRO POSS NCL6 name 1PL.REL.PRO REL = dwell here even
lenyi Onanto ate mə asa amfō.
    lē = n- yī ̀ ōnantō ̀ a- tē mō ̀ a- *sā ̀ a- mīfō
    REL = NEG know Almighty God PFV show 3PL.ACC CL6 thing CL6 that
‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’ (Punishment 1.10)

306) nya bušono lə nya : bibā ni anto ku ambe
    nyā bē = ̀ ó- tīnō lō nyā bibā ni āntō kū āmbē
    then 2PL.NOM = FUT agree LOC 3SG.ACC 2PL.REL.PRO be father and mother
    ku ewumə kenke nya bušono
    kū éwū -mə26 kēŋkē nyā bē = ̀ ó- tīnō
    and grandmother PL all then 2PL.NOM = FUT agree
‘Then you will agree on it: all of you who are fathers, mothers and grandmothers will agree’ (Naming_ceremony 31.5)

Table 6.6 shows the set of independent relative pronouns in Sekpele:

---

26 The use of 3PL pronoun as a plural maker is a cross-linguistic phenomenon and can be found in Akan, Ewe and Ga. In Sekpele, it is restricted to kinship terms.
Examples 307 and 308 illustrate relative pronouns represented in the same classes as the nouns they refer to:

307)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Example:} & \text{kem} & \text{la} \quad \text{kem} & \text{la} \quad \text{bebe} & \text{bi} & \text{asua} \\
\text{Translation:} & \text{then if NCL4 dirt CL4 some exist LOC NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the body} \\
\text{Verb:} & \text{la} & \text{ebofle} & \text{eb} & \text{ase} \\
\text{Pronoun:} & \text{bebe} & \text{bi\text{"i}} & \text{lamba} & \text{tsya} & \text{bi\text{"i}} \\
\text{END} & \text{NCL12 palm kernel CL12.REL.PRO REL = NEG break too CL12.REL.PRO} \\
\text{SCR:} & \text{yant} & \text{na} & \text{aloka} & \text{.} \\
\text{Removal:} & \text{y\text{"a} = n- t\text{"i} n\text{"o} \text{\text{"a}- l\text{"i}k\text{"a}}} \\
\end{array}
\]

"Then if there is any dirt in the palm kernels, you will sift it out and pick the palm kernels which didn’t break too, those which didn't really crush out" (Palm_kernel_oil 2.6)
Examples 307 and 308 show independent relative pronouns in classes 12 and 9 respectively. In both cases, the independent relative pronouns are used alone with the bound counterpart. It seems the pronouns are portmanteau morphemes consisting of the demonstrative and the rising tone representing relativity.

The second form of expressing relativity in Sekpele is the relativizer which is represented by \( lè = \) or \( È = \) and prefixed to verbs. They occur in complementary distribution according to the ‘lexical aspect’ of the verb. The relativizer \( È = \) co-occurs with all stative verbs while \( lè = \) co-occurs with all other verbs. The relativizer \( lè = \) has \( lè = \) and \( È = /d É = \) as its variants due to vowel harmony, depending on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb they are attached to. \( È = /d É = \) are free variants in most dialects. The Tunkpas (Agbozume and Avedzeme) prefer to use \( d É = \). This is illustrated in:

\[
309) \text{eso} \quad \text{se} \quad \text{Bakpɛlɛ} \quad \text{fɛfɛ} \quad \text{dibɔ}
\]

\[
\text{éso} \quad \text{sé} \quad \text{bà-} \quad \text{*kpɛ} \quad \text{*lɛ} \quad \text{fɛfɛ} \quad \text{lè} \quad \text{bó}
\]

therefore when NCL2 Likpe person own remaining REL = come

\[
\text{boɔtɔkɔnko} \quad \text{mo}
\]

\[
\text{bà} \quad \text{à-} \quad \text{tɔkɔ} \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{-kɔ} \quad \text{mɔ}
\]

\[
\text{3PL.NOM.PST} = \text{PFV} \quad \text{follow} \quad \text{LIG} \quad \text{ASSOC} \quad \text{3PL.ACC}
\]
Therefore when the remaining Likpe people who had followed, and had come, they met them under a cave' (History_amankrado 1.15)

The reason is that, the Hohoe people who came from, the Peki people who came to dwell in Hohoe who have become Hohoe people, they and the Likpe people were not able to collaborate' (History_amankrado 1.7)

Examples 309 and 310 are extracts from the same narrative. When we compare example 309 to 310, we can observe that the verb bə́ is attached with dì= and lì= respectively. Even when we compare the relativizer attached to tsyì’come from’ and bə́’come’, both in 310, we can say they are used interchangeably and can conclude that they are free variants.

Both relative forms (relative pronouns and the relativizers) can occur separately or together in relative clauses (see §5.2.2 and §10.4). However, the relativizer has a
wider scope or context of usage which includes content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. The relativizer $le=$ may vary depending on the TAM it occurs with. When the relativizer occurs with the bare verb, then it is either in the perfective or past. However, it varies elsewhere. For instance, $le=$ is realised as $lo=/lo=/lu=$ when it occurs with the future morpheme /o-/l. The output of the relativizer in this case is the result of the relative pronoun copying the vowel of the future morpheme. Likewise, the relative pronoun is realised as $la=/le=/lu=$ when it occurs with the habitual morpheme /a-/l. The use of the relative pronoun with the habitual morpheme is illustrated in:

311) uyifo  utidi  ə̃  laano  ə̃̌
    ó=  yífó  ó-  *tídí  ə̃  ì=  á-  nɔ̀
    3SG.NOM.PST  =  make  NCL1  person  CL1.REL.PRO  REL=  HAB  hear
    asa  kaso  ?
    á-  *sá  käsɔ
    CL6  thing  down
‘Is he the person who understands things?’  (King_making 2.20)

312)  le  eyo  obayì  ətsyuə  le  Mate  te
    ló  é=  yó  ó-  *båyì  á-  tsyúə  ló  Mate  étë
    if  3SG.NOM.PST  =  reach  NCL3  festival  CL3  some  LOC  Mate  then
    bå  leesu  ,  Bala  to  bale  tsyə  esu  .
    bå  lè=  á-  sù  Bálá  to  ba-  *lè  tṣya  á-  sù
    3PL.REL.PRO  REL=  HAB  go  Bala  POSS  NCL2  own  too  HAB  go
‘If it is time for a festival in Mate then they go, those of Bala also go’
    (History_amakrado 3.79)

313)  bamankrado  leətsyuə  oka  .
    bå-  *mánkrâdò  lè=  á-  tṣya  ó-  *ká
    NCL2  king  making  REL=  HAB  put  NCL1  chief
‘It is the king makers who enthrone a chief’  (King_making 1.1)

Examples 314 and 315 illustrate the occurrence of the relative pronoun with the future morpheme.
whatever exists which is the custom which exists, it is I who will show him or do it for him if he is not here’ (King_making 10.5)

As stated above, there is a variant of the relativizer ǹ= which co-occurs with stative verbs such as kpe ‘have/exist’, siə ‘sit/dwell’, nyə ‘stand’, le ‘hold’, and the comparative so ‘be more’. This is illustrated in:

‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’ (Adjectives 85.1)
6.5 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used in the formation of content questions, that is, questions requiring the identity of a person, place or object as an answer (Tamanji 2009:68). There are several interrogative pronouns in Sekpele which include bé ‘what’, ówóé ‘who’, siétí ‘where’, ìtsyá ‘how’, bésò ‘why’, ìtè ‘which’, ngbè ‘where’, ìslá/esíá ‘how much’ and kúlámánfè ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns may stand alone in a clause while others may occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners (especially as demonstratives). There are also some pronouns that are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile.

6.5.1 Interrogative pronoun bé ‘what’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the identity of objects or state of affairs. It is very versatile such that it can occur anywhere in a clause or sentence without any distinction in meaning. This is illustrated in:

318) bé ni ìbéké?
   what be cage
   ‘What is ‘ìbéké’?’ (Punishment 2.1)
Therefore grandmother now what 2PL.NOM.PST= PROG do previously omfó ?
á- mfó
CL that
'Therefore grandmum, now, what were you (pl) doing in those old days?’ (Good_old_days 1.1)

320) fó butu te ni bé ?
fó bo- tú té ní bé
2SG.POSS NMLZ depose only be what
'What will be your deposition exactly?’ (King_making 12.6)

### 6.5.2 Interrogative pronoun òwòé ‘who’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the identity of a person. The plural form of this pronoun is bàwòé. Unlike the interrogative pronoun bé, wòé is restricted to clause-initial position. It may occur elsewhere especially as part of an itemized list, as in example 323. This is illustrated in examples:

321) owoe letey nья ?
òwòé lè = téyi nyá
who REL = say 3SG.ACC
'Who said it?’ (Adverbs 47.1)

322) owoe likpọ oo ewu likpọ oo ukpọ
òwòé lè = kpọ oo éwù lè = kpọ oo ò = kpọ
who REL = to die UFP grandmother REL = to die UFP 3SG.NOM.PST = to die
tsya wànkọ too ...
tsya wá = n- kpọ tô = ò
too 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet = UFP
'Who died? Grandma died! She died too but she didn't die yet!’ (Buying_name 17.1)
6.5.3 Interrogative pronoun ǹtè ‘which’

This pronoun is used to emphasize the noun which is in focus in an interrogation. It precedes and occurs in apposition to the noun it modifies. Normally determiners and modifiers follow the head noun with the exception of genitives. We can say that the interrogative pronoun in this case acts like a genitive. This is illustrated in:

323) ẹso ọwọe ọdọọ ubi ọ ọdiye:

therefore who REL= HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF name

wanto ọlee we ona ọlee wo? 3SG.POSS = father or 3SG.POSS grandfather or who

‘Therefore who gives the child a name: his father, his grandfather or who?’

(Naming_ceremony 27.1)

324) ǹtè lefe ná boọtọ ubi ọ ọdiye?

which NCL5 time cl5.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give NCL1 child CL1.DEF name?

diyẹ

‘What time do they give the child a name?’

(Naming_ceremony 23.1)

325) se baafo seka siọ lọ mimi

when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV collect NCL11 chief CL11.DEF LOC 2PL.POSS

kọmọ, ǹtè kọẹ kā- *lẹ kā bá= ì- fì

hand =TOP which NCL9 clan CL9.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV take

seka siọ boọtọ?

NCL11 chief CL11.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give

‘When they had collected the chieftaincy from your hand, which clan had they given the chieftaincy to?’

(History_amankrado 4.1)
6.5.4 Locative interrogatives *siętrí*/*ŋ̀gbə̀* ‘where’

These pronouns are used to question the location of entities or state of affairs. While *siextrí* is versatile and can occur anywhere in a clause or sentence, *ŋ̀gbə̀* is restricted to clause-final position. This is illustrated in:

326) *siextrí osani emə nto* ?

\[\text{siextrí } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \star \text{sànî } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ mò } \overset{\circ}{\circ} = \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ tò} \]

where NCL1 man CL1 the REL= go towards

‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverbs 12.1)

327) *osani emə to *siextrí* ?

\[\overset{\circ}{\circ} - \star \text{sànî } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ mò } \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ siextrí} \]

NCL1 man CL1 the go towards where

‘The man is heading towards where?’ (Adverbs 13.1)

328) *ewu mo ote feọta ma*

\[\text{éwú } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ mò=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \star \text{tè} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ fà=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ à=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ tò } \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ mò} \]

grandmother 1SG.POSS= NCL1 goat 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 1SG.ACC *

*ŋ̀gbə̀* ?

*ŋ̀gbə̀* where

‘Grandma, where is my goat you had given me?’ (Buying_name 44.1)

329) *ntu fuutəkə ntutə akpo kolo*

\[\overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ fò=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ tòkà } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ ntùtò } \overset{\circ}{\circ} = \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ kpò } \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ kò=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \star \text{lò} \]

water 2SG.NOM= FUT put on hot water 2SG.NOM pour NCL7 soda ash

\[\text{kuš } , \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ amantɛɪ mfo } \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ ̣ŋgbə̀ } ? \]

\[\overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ á=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ n=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ n=} \overset{\circ}{\circ} - \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ téyì mfo } \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \text{ ̣ŋgbə̀} \]

CL7.DEF 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG say that where

‘It is water you will pour hot water on the soda ash. You didn't say that?’ (Soap_making 13.2)

Examples 326 and 327 show the use of *siextrí* while examples 328 and 329 show the use of *ŋ̀gbə̀*. The data show how versatile *siextrí* is when we compare (326) to (327). Likewise, when we compare (328) to (329), we observe that *ŋ̀gbə̀* is restricted to clause-final position. *ŋ̀gbə̀* acts more like an emphatic demonstrative as in (329).
6.5.5 Procedural interrogative ǹtsyə ‘how’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the procedure of an action or how a state of affairs came to be. Its occurrence is restricted to clause-initial position, as in:

330) ntsyə beyifọ  
    ǹtsyə  bá= á- yifọ bẹbẹnùbì  
    how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB do kernel oil  
‘How is palm kernel oil made?’  (Palm_kernel_oil 1.1)

331) fọ lekpaa nya ntsyə iibọ  
    fọ lèkpàkpà nyá ǹtsyə é= à- bó fẹẹ bó  
    2SG.POSS hat then how 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV come before 1PL.POSS  
    betidi tsya lisi baataka mọ  
    bètidi tʃya lè= sì bá= à- tàkà m fibonacci  
    NCL2 person too REL= still 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV rise here  
    beesu Kukurantumi ?  
    bèesu Kukurantumi  
    3PL.NOM.PST= PFV go Kukurantumi  
‘Please, then how did it happen before our people had risen and gone to Kukurantumi?’  (History_amankrado 12.1)

6.5.6 Rational interrogative bésọ ‘why’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the reasons for the occurrence of an action or state of affairs. This pronoun only occurs at clause-initial position, as in:

332) bésọ osani aмо dibọ  
    bésọ ọ- *sànif á- mó lè= bó  
    why NCL1 man CL1 the REL= come  
‘Why did the man come?’  (Adverbs 33.1)

333) bésọ ole keku  
    bésọ ọ= lè kẹkú  
    why 3SG.NOM= hold cry  
‘Why is he crying?’  (Adverbs 34.1)
6.5.7 Quantitative interrogative àsìá/èsìá ‘how much’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the quantity or price of entities. When the price of an entity is in question, àsìá is used and it occurs at clause-initial position. Èsìá on the other hand is used for finding out the quantity of entities. It functions as a determiner and therefore occurs after the head noun. The entire constituent of the noun phrase occurs in clause-initial position. This is illustrated in:

335)  àsìá oofò itò
àsìá ó = ó- fó é = à- tó
how much 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT pay 3SG.NOM.PST = PFV give
kàfià Èmò
kà- *fiá kà- mō
NCL9 cloth CL9 the
‘How much did he pay for the cloth?’ (Adverbs 28.1)

336)  bekusesiale esia nkpe wọ
bè- *kùsɛè *šɛè *lè àsìá n = kpè wọ
NCL12 chicken female own how much REL = exist 3SG.ACC
‘How many hens does he have?’ (Adverbs 29.1)

337)  basani esia dibò
bà- *sànì àsìá lè = bọ
NCL2 man how much REL = come
‘How many men came?’ (Adverbs 30.1)

6.5.8 Time interrogative kúlòmánfè ‘when’

This interrogative pronoun is used to question the time of an event or the time a state of affairs came into existence. My intuition of the language shows that this
pronoun is very versatile and occurs anywhere in a clause or sentence. This is probably due to the fact that it is derived from the adverb of time léfè and functions as an adverb. However, there is not enough data to show its full versatility. The only data in the corpus available show its occurrence in clause-initial position, as in:

338) kulômanfe osani amə luubə ?
    kûlômánfè ə- *sànî á- mó lè= ə- bô
    when NCL1 man CL1 the REL = FUT come
    ‘When will the man come?’ (Adverbs 19.1)

339) kulômanfe fuudu ?
    kûlômánfè fô= ə- dú
    when 2SG.NOM = FUT leave
    ‘When will you leave?’ (Adverbs 20.1)

6.6 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns stand for or replace a NP in which the noun is unknown or unspecified (Soukka 2000:107). Sekpele has an indefinite root morpheme tsyúá just as it has a definite root morpheme m and both forms are very productive such that, the various class markers can be attached to them to form words belonging to those classes. Examples of such words include utsyúá, ātsyúá, bûtsyúá, kûtsyúá, sitsyúá, and ditseyúá for the indefinite and amá, bámá, kámá, slámá and námá for the definite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL1/2</td>
<td>ùtsyúá</td>
<td>bûtsyúá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 3/4</td>
<td>ātsyúá</td>
<td>kûtsyúá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 5/6</td>
<td>ditseyúá</td>
<td>ātsyúá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 7/8</td>
<td>kûtsyúá</td>
<td>ātsyúá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 9/10</td>
<td>kûtsyúá</td>
<td>bûtsyúá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL 11/12</td>
<td>sitseyúá</td>
<td>bûtsyúá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7: Indefinite pronouns
The indefinite morpheme can also be contracted to the word *lèsá* ‘thing’ to form *lèsátsyúə́*²⁷ ‘something’. The indefinite root can be attached with the lexical negative morpheme *ko-* to form the negative indefinite pronouns *kùtsyúə́* ‘nobody’ which is used in negative constructions (see §7.5.3).

### 6.6.1 Animate indefinite pronouns

These are represented by the words *utsyuə* ‘somebody’ and *bətsyuə* ‘some people’.

They are only used for animate referents, as in:

340) *utsyuə* mendi lesa
    ð- tsyúə́ n- à- n- dí lèsá
    NCL1 some NEG PFV NEG eat food
'Somebody didn't eat food’  (Verb_morph 60.1)

341) *bətsyuə* mantaka lə mama ayo
    bà- tsyúə́ n- à- n- tákà lò māmà a-*yó*
    NCL2 some NEG PFV NEG get up LOC 3PL.POSS NCL6 house
'Some people didn't get up from their house’  (Verb_morph 62.1)

The animate indefinite pronouns can co-occur with possessive pronouns. When this happens, both pronouns are sometimes fused together to a word meaning ‘the possessor’s person’. This is illustrated in:

342) manle futsyuə to kaso afo
    n- à- n- lf f= utsyuə́ tò kāsò à= fò
    NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS= somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM receive
'Don't seize somebody’s land’  (Punishment 1.1)

²⁷ The full phrase is *lessá ditsyuə*
6.6.2 Inanimate indefinite pronouns

There are two forms of inanimate indefinite pronouns in Sekpele. The first consists of a compound of the noun lèsá ‘thing’ and the indefinite root tsyúə́. The second form consists of a derivation for the various noun classes by prefixing the class markers to the indefinite root tsyúə́. Examples (344) – (346) illustrate some of the indefinite pronouns in Sekpele:

343) futsya wookpadi nkə ofaa.
   \(f=\) ùtsyúə̀ wò = ó- kpádí ŋkə òfà = à
   2SG.POSS = somebody 3SG.NOM= FUT call that maternal uncle = TOP
   bofo wo diye bubə butə.
   bó- fó wò diyə bó- bó- tó
   FUT be able 3SG.ACC name FUT come NMLZ give
   ‘Somebody s/he will call uncle, will be able to give him/her a name’ (Naming_ceremony 29.2)

344) ōle oka òmə lèsatsyuə bɔtɛyɪ
   ò= lé ó- *ká á- mó lèsá tsyúə́ bó- téyɪ
   3SG.NOM= hold NCL1 chief CL1 the thing INDEF NMLZ say
   ‘He is saying something to the chief’ (Verbs_135.1)

345) boonyo bənkə nbukubi bua ku katsyuə
   bá= á- nỵḏ bónkə ŋ- *bùḳḅi bùá kú kà- tsyúə́
   3PL.NOM.PST = PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
   ōmə yookpe mə bula lə
   à- n- bó yò = ó- kpé mó bó- lə lə
   PFV NEG exist 3SG.NOM = FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
   kəsiako kəmo
   kà- sió -kó ká- mó
   NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
   ‘They had seen that there aren’t any bad insects and others which will worry them in the place’ (History_amankrado 3.98)
6.7 Reciprocal pronouns

There are no specific wordforms for reciprocation in Sekpele. There are three ways by which reciprocation may be realised. The first way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun *bətsyúə́* occurs alone in a clause. It may either occur as the complement of a verb or the preposition *lo*, as in:

346) *ditsyuə́* *lo* *bato* *we* *diye* *namfó* *la*,

*le-* *tsyuə́* ló bá= tó wò lè-* *yè* ná-* mfó lá*

CL5 INDEF if 3PL.NOM.PST= give 3SG.ACC NCL5 name CL5 that TOP

ni *tsya ko* *laabe* *we* *kato* *neo*.

ní *tsyā kò* lè= á-* bè wò kátō nó

CL5.PN too then REL= HAB raise 3SG.ACC top of really

‘Perhaps if they gave him that name, it is it too which will really be popular’

(Naming_ceremony 32.1)

347) *lekanka*, *nya* *buufi* *batsya* *sitsya*

lëkânká *nya* bò= ó-* fì bà= tsyà sè-* *tsyó*
sword 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM= FUT take 3PL.NOM= scribble NCL11 three

*nya fëē* *booká* *ntam* *bato* *batsyo*

nyá fëē *bò= ó-* ká ñtám bà= tó bà-* tsyó

then 3PL.NOM= FUT swear oath 3PL.NOM= give NCL2 INDEF

*ofiáni* *umonka*.

ó= fíáni ó-* *mò* -n-* *ká*

3SG.NOM= become NCL1 town LIG chief

‘Sword, it is what they will take to scribble three times, then they will swear an oath to each other to become the town chief’

(King_making 4.1)

348) *beedi* *lo* *batsyuə́* *kakpe* *batsyuə́*.

bà= á-* di ló bà-* tsyó̊ ka-* kpé bà-* tsyó

3PL.NOM= HAB feast LOC NCL2 INDEF INF put NCL2 some

‘They feast among themselves’

(History_amankrado 3.78)
The second way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun bə̀tsyúə́ co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns. This is illustrated in:

350) məmfo Ntini ku Samba , məmə ni Tunkpa kuso to má mfo Ntini kú Samba məmə ní Tunkpa kúso tó 3PL.POSS this Ntini and Samba 3PL.PN be Tunkpa group set POSS bə leedi kəto mə bətsyúə bə lè= á- dí kà- tó má bə- tsyúə 3PL.REL.PRO REL= HAB inherit INF give 3PL.POSS NCL2 some ‘These ones Ntini and Samba, they are those who inherit among themselves for the Tunkpa group set’ (History_amankrado 3.39)

351) Mate tsya Aloh ku Lombue , məmə tsya , leedi kəto Mate tsyá Aloh kú Lombue məmə tsyá lè= á- dí kà- tó Mate too Aloh and Lombue 3PL.PN too REL= HAB inherit INF give mə bətsyúə má bə- tsyúə 3PL.POSS NCL2 some ‘Mate too, Aloh and Lombue, they too inherit among themselves’ (History_amankrado 3.39)

The third way by which reciprocation is realised is where the indefinite pronoun bə̀tsyúə́ co-occurs in apposition with the noun ə̀súə́ ‘body’. This is illustrated in:
The Peki people who came to dwell in Hohoe or those dwelling in Hohoe who have become Hohoe people, they and the Likpe people were not able to collaborate’  
(History_amankrado 1.7)

‘It was that which put Bala and Mate, or the Akontokrom and Abladi people into their conflict among themselves’  
(History_amankrado 3.63)

6.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the pronouns found in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are individual wordforms. Section 6.1 discussed personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns, and object/oblique pronouns. Emphatic pronouns differ from that of the non-emphatic in that they can stand in isolation and they are used as subject in focus constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They are proclitic in the sense that they are prefixed to the verb. They also vary depending on the TAM they occur
with and they are also influenced by the vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. Object/oblique pronouns are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but however differ in tone in some of their components. They also differ in form and tone in the 1SG. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that, they are free word-forms while the subject pronouns are bound to the verb of the clause.

Section 6.2 discussed possessive pronouns in Sekpele which are distinguished by the fact that they all possess a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and they either stand alone or are prefixed to the noun they possess as proclitics. Section 6.3 discussed demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns in Sekpele can be grouped into two forms: neutral and emphatic demonstrative pronouns. There are four types of neutral demonstrative pronouns whose forms are determined by two factors: (a) degree of proximity/relative distance between speaker, listener and object referred to; (b) the morphological class to which the relevant noun belongs. The demonstrative roots include (i) ǹmô ‘here’; (ii) ǹmô ‘there’; (iii) ǹá ‘there’; and (iv) ǹsê ‘yonder’. These roots can stand alone as independent pronouns; combine with personal pronouns, or noun class markers. The only emphatic demonstrative pronoun in Sekpele is ǹkô ‘like that’.

Section 6.4 discussed relative pronouns. Relativity in Sekpele is expressed in two forms: a relative pronoun and relativizer. The first form consists of a relative pronoun which is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. The second form of expressing relativity in Sekpele consists of a relativizer which is represented by ǹd or ǹ and prefixed to the verbs. The relativizer ǹ = co-occurs with stative verbs while ǹd = co-occurs with all other verbs.
The relativizer \( \text{lè=} \) varies due to TAM and vowel harmony which depends on the vowel of the first syllable of the verb they are attached to.

Section 6.5 discussed interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns in Sɛkpɛle include \( \text{bé} \) ‘what’, \( \text{òwòé} \) ‘who’, \( \text{sié} \) ‘where’, \( \text{útsyó} \) ‘how’, \( \text{bésò} \) ‘why’, \( \text{útè} \) ‘which’, \( \text{ńgbò} \) ‘where’, \( \text{àsìá/èsìá} \) ‘how much’ and \( \text{kúlémánfé} \) ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns stand alone in a clause while others occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners especially as demonstratives. Some pronouns are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile. Section 6.6 discussed indefinite pronouns. Sɛkpɛle has an indefinite root morpheme \( \text{tsyúás} \) which is prefixed by class markers, the noun \( \text{lésá} \) ‘thing’ or the lexical negative morpheme \( \text{ko-} \). When the indefinite root is prefixed with classes 1 and 2, the resultant word is animate with the meanings ‘somebody’ and ‘some people’ respectively. All other classes are inanimates. Finally, Section 6.7 discussed reciprocal pronouns. There are three ways by which reciprocation may be realised: the indefinite pronoun \( \text{båtsyúás} \) occurs alone in a clause; the indefinite pronoun \( \text{båtsyúás} \) co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns; or the indefinite pronoun \( \text{båtsyúás} \) co-occurs in apposition with the noun \( \text{àsúá} \) ‘body’. 
7 VERB STRUCTURE AND VALENCY

This chapter systematically describes the structure of the Sɛkpɛlé verb. It also discusses verbs and valency. Sɛkpɛlé is an agglutinating language with some fusion. This means that the language incorporates syntactic and semantic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, association and causation. Also of interest is the fact that the affixes and tone of the verb are sensitive to whether the grammatical subject is a pronominal clitic or an independent noun phrase.

Section 7.1 provides an overview of the inflectional structure of Sekpele verbs. Section 7.2 discusses verbs and valency. Section 7.2.1 discusses the semantic classes of verbs and valency while section 7.2.2 discusses syntactic valency.

7.1 Structure of the Sekpele verb

As an agglutinative language, Sɛkpɛlé has verbal words consisting of a verb root plus as many as four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. Table 7.1 shows the maximum scope of the verbal word but note that not all affixes necessarily occur in a given verbal construction. The table shows a linear hierarchy consisting of a series of slots or positionally-defined categorises which are filled by a set of paradigmatically related forms. The verbal root is the only stable core of the verb word and is obligatory. The pre-verbal and post-verbal positions are optional and are filled when the need arises.
Table 7.1: The structure of the Sekpelé verbal word
7.1.1 Pre-verbal domain

Table 7.1 shows that there are five slots before the verbal root. The five main slots produce a total of seven slots, where the aspect and polarity slot is sub-divided into perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior in the first slot, NEG 2 in second slot, and progressive in the third slot. They do not occur simultaneously. Some of them are mutually exclusive and contrastive. For instance, the element in the initial slot makes a contrast between the subject pronominal marker (SPM) and the relativizer (REL). Similarly, there is a contrast between the perfective and imperfective aspects, and between the anterior and posterior. Contrasting pairs cannot co-occur.

7.1.1.1 The pre-initial position

The slot of the pre-initial position is occupied the hortative marker /lə/ which enters into a form of contraction or fusion with the SPM, especially in colloquial speech. This is illustrated, as in:

\[ \text{354) [fə lekpaa]}^{28}, \text{ lə nto } \text{ fə loo .} \]

\[ \text{fə lèkpa kpə } \text{lò } \text{=n= tò fə lòó} \]

2SG.POSS hat HORT 1SG.NOM = ask 2SG.ACC INTERJ

‘Please, let me ask you a question!’

(History_amankrado 10.1)

In colloquial speech, (354) can be represented as (355):

\[ \text{355) fə lekpaa , lmtọ } \text{ fə loo .} \]

\[ \text{fə lèkpa kpə } \text{lò = n= tò fə lòó} \]

2SG.POSS hat HORT-1SG.NOM = ask 2SG.ACC INTERJ

‘Please, let me ask you a question!’

---

28 ‘fə lekpakpa’ is a phrase used for polite or apologetic statements in Sekpele. Similar phrases occur in neighbouring languages across the region. For instance, the Ewe, Akan and Ga equivalent are ‘mede kuku’, ‘mi paw wu kyɛw’ and ‘min kpa bo fai’. Although they literally mean ‘I remove your hat’, they are used for making polite or apologetic statements.
7.1.1.2 The initial position

This slot is occupied by a subject pronounal marker (SPM) or a relativizer (REL). The SPM occurs obligatorily in the absence of an NP subject in a declarative statement. The REL occurs in relative constructions immediately following the head, as in:

356) \( \text{eboba} \quad \text{nyå} \quad \text{leмо} \)
\[
\text{à} = \quad \text{bò-} \quad \text{bá} \quad \text{nyå} \quad \text{lé} = \quad \text{mò}
\]
\( \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{break} \quad \text{3SG.REL.PRO} \quad \text{REL} = \quad \text{become big} \)
‘You will break those which are big.’ (Soap_making 28.1)

357) \( \text{ebose} \quad \text{nyå} \quad \text{leмо} \quad \text{kenke} \quad \text{aba} \)
\[
\text{à} = \quad \text{bò-} \quad \text{sè} \quad \text{nyå} \quad \text{lé} = \quad \text{mò} \quad \text{kénjké} \quad \text{à} = \quad \text{bá}
\]
\( \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{pick} \quad \text{3SG.REL.PRO} \quad \text{REL} = \quad \text{become big} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{break} \)
‘You will gather all those which are big and break them.’ (Soap_making 28.1)

358) \( \text{fuufi} \quad \text{ntu} \quad \text{əyuə} \quad \text{zò} \quad \text{abaka} \)
\[
\text{fò} = \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{fí} \quad \text{ńtù} \quad \text{à} = \quad \text{yúá} \quad \text{zò} \quad \text{à} = \quad \text{báká}
\]
\( \text{2SG.NOM} = \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{2SG.NOM} = \quad \text{sprinkle} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{2SG.NOM} = \quad \text{stir} \quad \text{ntsya} \quad \text{seke} \quad .
\]
\( \text{à} = \quad \text{tsyáká} \quad \text{-sè} \quad \text{è} = \quad \text{tsyò} \quad \text{séké} \)
\( \text{2SG.NOM} = \quad \text{mix} \quad \text{CAUS} \quad \text{3SG.NOM} = \quad \text{stay} \quad \text{few} \quad .\)
‘You sprinkle water now and stir it to mix for a while.’ (Soap_making 28.3)

7.1.1.3 The post-initial position

This position is occupied by the first negative marker which is referred to as ‘NEG 1’. It occurs just after the SPM and before any TAM. ‘NEG 1’ has the same segmental structure as ‘NEG 2’. The negative marker is the most versatile element in the verbal word and the choice of its position is based on the subject and TAM category. ‘NEG 1’ may mostly occur in a doubly marked negated construction with ‘NEG 2’, as in:
359) **amanye**  
\[ \text{á} = \text{n- à- n- yé ló á- fi} \]  
\( \text{2SG.NOM.PST} \quad \text{NEG 1} \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{NEG 2} \quad \text{walk} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NCL8} \quad \text{rule} \quad \text{CL8.REL.PRO} \)

\( \text{nkpc} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{lekpà} \quad \text{nó} \)

\( \text{n} = \text{kpé} \quad \text{ló} \quad \text{lé- *kpá} \quad \text{nó} \)

\( \text{REL} = \text{exist} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NCL5} \quad \text{custom} \quad \text{cl5.DEF} \)

\( \text{əsuə bəəo} \quad \text{fó} \)

\[ \text{bó̃̃̀ dá = á- tó fó} \]

Top of 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give 2SG.ACC

‘You haven’t walked according to the rules which exist in the custom they had given you.’  
(King making 12.10)

360) **bomufi**  
\( \text{bà = n- ó- fí bà = bókó mò} \)

\( \text{3PL.NOM = NEG 1} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{take 3PL.NOM = bring 1SG.ACC} \)

‘They will not bring it to me’  
(Buying name 59.1)

### 7.1.1.4 Aspect and polarity

There are four slots that are occupied by perfective/imperfective, anterior/posterior, ‘NEG 3’ and the progressive. There is a tonal contrast between the perfective and the imperfective, and between the anterior and the posterior. The morpheme for the perfective is /à-/ while that of the imperfective is /á-/.

The imperfective is subcategorised into the habitual and the prospective, as in:

361) **osani**  
\( \text{ò- *sànî á- mó á- sîn sè- *kú sî- mó} \)

\( \text{NCL1} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{CL1} \quad \text{the PFV open NCL11 door CL11 the} \)

‘The man opened the door’  
(Verbs 88.1)

362) **wooho**  
\( \text{wà = á- bò lefènàkò wà = á- lá} \)

\( \text{3SG.NOM = HAB come whenever 3SG.NOM = HAB want} \)

‘He comes whenever he wants to’  
(Adverbs 22.1)
363) *wəəbə wà= á- bò kàmɔ bò- yîmù
3SG.NOM = PROSP come rice NMLZ chew
‘He shall eat rice’ (Verbs 10.1)

On the other hand, the morpheme for the anterior is /(b)ò-/ while that of the posterior is /(b)ó-/.

The anterior functions like the English ‘perfect’ construction such that it involves a past event with current relevance. The posterior is analysed as the future due to its function.

364) *buudi bó= ò- dí lè- *sá tsyáffè kùkpànsè lé bó
1PL.NOM.PST = ANT eat NCL5 thing however hunger hold 1PL.ACC
‘We have eaten, however, we are still hungry’ (Adverbs 27.1)

365) *ebunyə à= bò- nyə̀ kàsé ònàntó lè= té bà- *kòkò
2SG.NOM.PST = ANT see how Almighty God REL = show NCL2 ancient
asa ?
à- *sá
CL6 thing
‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’ (Punishment 1.9)

366) *ebunyə la , ebe la əmbə la nə nyá
if 3SG.NOM = be cook TOP PFV NEG exist LOC 3SG.ACC
là à= bò là à= bò- nyə̀ fę rîkə rîtə
3SG.NOM = FUT see like that water
‘If it is cooked, you will see that there is no water in it’ (Palm kernel oil 6.2)
Cephas Delalorm

367) lesa
   le- *sá nā bò = 6- fi bā = yifō
NCL5 thing c5.DEF 3PL.NOM = FUT take 3PL.NOM = do

luuləkə
   lò = 6- lākə́ é = té tè bōdā bō = 6- bókō
REL = FUT reveal 3SG.NOM = show only they say 3PL.NOM = FUT bring

ote
   òtōdi
palm frond
‘The thing which will only reveal it is that they will bring palm frond’
(History_amankrado 3.48)

The ‘NEG 2’ occupies the negative slot closest to the verb root. It may occur in a double negated construction with ‘NEG 1’ as in (359), (368) and (369). It however precedes the progressive, as in (370):

368) diyibibi
   le- yibībī nā mā n- ā- n- sé
NCL5 fruit CL5 the NEG 1 PFV NEG 2 ripe
‘The fruit is unripe’
(Verbs 349.1)

369) kuyu
   kūyù n- ā- n- bō
theft NEG 1 PFV NEG 1 become widespread
‘Stealing was not widespread’.
(Punishment 15.1)

370) wankàte
   wā = n- kà- té bō kàkánā
3SG.NOM.PST = NEG PROG show 1PL.ACC place
‘He wasn't showing us the place’
(Verb_morph 53.1)

7.1.1.5 Infinitive and emphatic

In Sekpele, the infinitive form of the verb is formed by adding the prefix /ka-/,
which has [ke-] and [kə-] as variants. The infinitive usually occurs in serial-verb constructions having a similar function to the English infinitive marked by ‘to’
before the verb root. It may also have a progressive or continuative meaning since the same morpheme is used for the progressive aspect.

371) *butsyi*  *befi*  *besuko*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bò} = & \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{tsyí} \\
\text{bà} = & \quad \text{fì} \\
\text{bà} = & \quad \text{sù -kò} \\
\text{3PL.NOM} = & \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{carry} \\
\text{3PL.NOM} = & \quad \text{take} \\
\text{3PL.NOM} = & \quad \text{go \ ASSOC} \\
\text{untsya} & \quad \text{luufi} \quad \text{kèsu} \quad \text{kefi} \quad \text{kedi} \quad .
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ò} = & \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{tsyā} \quad \text{lò} = \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{fì} \quad \text{kà-} \quad \text{sù} \quad \text{fì} \quad \text{kà-} \quad \text{dì} \\
\text{3SG.NOM} = & \quad \text{LIG} \quad \text{too} \quad \text{REL.} = \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{take INF} \quad \text{go INF} \quad \text{take INF} \quad \text{eat} \\
\text{‘They will carry it to him, he too will take it away to go and eat.’} & \quad \text{(King-making 14.21)}
\end{align*}
\]

In Sekpelé, emphases laid on verbs are expressed by the morpheme *n*- and its homogamic variants, as in:

372) *nya*  *betidi*  *lɔɔbɔ*  *kenke*  *nya*  *bale*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nyá} & \quad \text{bà-} \quad \text{*tíðì} \quad \text{lò} = \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{bò} \quad \text{kéŋkè} \quad \text{nyá} \quad \text{bà} = \quad \text{lè} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{RELPRO} = \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{get out} \quad \text{all} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{3PL.NOM} = \quad \text{hold} \\
\text{fò} & \quad \text{boyele} \quad \text{nya} \quad \text{fèë} \quad \text{bentsyi} \quad \text{fò} \\
\text{fò} & \quad \text{bò-} \quad \text{yèlè} \quad \text{nyá} \quad \text{fèë} \quad \text{bà} = \quad \text{n-} \quad \text{tsyf} \quad \text{fò} \\
\text{2SG.ACC} & \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{hoot} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{before} \quad \text{3PL.NOM} = \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{carry 2SG.ACC} \\
\text{bantɔnko} & \quad .
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bà} = & \quad \text{n-} \quad \text{tò} \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{-kò} \\
\text{3PL.NOM} = & \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{go towards} \quad \text{LIG \ ASSOC} \\
\text{‘Then all people who will get out hooting at you while carrying you away’} & \quad \text{(Punishment 17.2)}
\end{align*}
\]

373) *se*  *minlna*  *minkə*  *meedi*  *site*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sé} & \quad \text{mì= n-} \quad \text{lá} \quad \text{minkə} \quad \text{mà} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{dí} \quad \text{sitò} \\
\text{since} & \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{1SG.COMP} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = \quad \text{PROSP} \quad \text{spend} \quad \text{clay} \\
\text{to} & \quad \text{atabi} \quad , \quad \text{nya} \quad \text{minnyə} \quad \text{minto} \\
\text{tò} & \quad \text{átábí} \quad \text{nyá} \quad \text{mì= n-} \quad \text{nyò} \quad \text{mì= n-} \quad \text{tó} \\
\text{POSS} \quad \text{money \ then} & \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{stand} \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{throw} \\
\text{dìwi} & \quad \text{minkase} \quad \text{boto} \quad . \\
\text{dìwi} & \quad \text{mì= n-} \quad \text{kásè} \quad \text{bò-} \quad \text{tò} \\
\text{sweat} & \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{study} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{mould} \\
\text{‘Since I wanted to spend clay money, then I stood and sweated to learn how to mould’} & \quad \text{(Pottery 234.1)}
\end{align*}
\]
7.1.2 Verbal root

The root of the verb is its minimal lexical form: it is the irreducible core of the word, with absolutely nothing else attached to it (Katamba, 2006). Driever (1976:23) defines the verb root in Kiswahili as

*The part of the verbal expression which carries the lexical meaning of the verb and cannot be morphologically analysed into smaller meaningful units.*

In Sekpele, the minimal form of the verb can be used in imperative constructions, as in (374) and (375), or after a deictic verb, as in (376) and (377):

374) **sɪnɪ**

    **sɪ́nɪ̀**

    open NCL11 door CL11 the

    ‘Open the door’  (Verbs 87.1)

375) **tí**

    **tí**

    close NCL11 door CL11 the

    ‘Close the door’  (Verbs 89.1)

376) **bəbə**

    **bá= bə́**

    3PL.NOM.PST= come meet 3PL.ACC LOC place 3PL.NOM.PST= PROG dwell

    ‘They came to meet them where they were dwelling’  (History_amankrado 1.15)

377) **bəə**

    **bə́ə̀**

    they say Katsyankla PFV come tell that before 3PL.NOM= FUT cut

    ‘They said Katsyankla come to say that, before they will divide the chieftaincies ...’  (History_amankrado 3.19)

The minimal verbal root may also occur after an auxiliary which carries the inflectional elements which otherwise are attached to the verb root.
Cephas Delakorm

7.1.3 Post-verbal domain

The post-verbal position is occupied by verbal extensions. In most African languages, the verb root may take suffixes to mark extensions such as causative, applicative, intensity, reciprocal, stative, inversive, associative, passive etc (Mreta, 1998:73). However, in Sekperele, there are only three extensions. These are the causative, the associative and the non-stative. The causative is expressed by the morpheme -sə, as in (379) and (380). This morpheme is used to indicate a situation where an agent or a force causes an event or a state of affairs to happen.

379) a) kutu komə atu
   kó- *tù kó- mó à tú
   NCL7 soup CL7 the PFV be boil
   ‘The soup is boiled’

   b) utusə kutu komə
   ó = tú -sə kó- *tù kó- mó
   3SG.NOM.PST = be boil CAUS NCL7 soup CL7 the
   ‘He boiled the soup’

380) lə betsyi fo babesa kato
   ló bás = tsiyí fó bás = bé -sə kátó
   if 3PL.NOM.PST = carry 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST = raise CAUS up
   ‘If they raise you up’
   (King making 2.40)

The associative is expressed by the morpheme -ko, as in (381) and (382). This morpheme is used to indicate a situation where the agent is directly related to or involved in the action or state of affairs.
‘They were the warriors who migrated from Atebubu’

‘They were the warriors who led the migration from Atebubu’ (History_amankrado 1.5)

‘He brought the pot outside’ (Locative 5.1)

The non-stative morpheme -ə́ is attached to stative verbs, as in (383), to make them non-stative, as in (384) and (385):

‘But before they had arrived, in their sight was Bakwa north, they were already dwelling there’ (History_amankrado 1.12)
The paramount chief, he then will have to dwell in the centre of the land.

(History_Amankrado 3.43)

Then there they had settled but their town they created was called Okumase.

(History_amankrado 3.9)

Whereas the causative and the associative are productive, the stative is limited to the verbs ‘sit’ and ‘dwell’. There is also the possibility of having a combination of any of these extensions.

‘live with/marry’

‘greet’

‘cause to start’
It is important to note that there are some restrictions to the types of combination in relation to acceptable positioning. Examples (388) and (389) show that both the causative and the associative can interchange positions when they occur together. However, the stative is forbidden from occurring in word-final position. As a result, we cannot have the CAUS+NON-STV or ASSOC+NON-STV combinations.

### 7.2 Verbs and valency

This section discusses semantic classes of verbs and their valency. Valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion, or a combination of both (Payne, 1997:169). Semantic valence refers to the number of necessary participants that must be in the scene expressed by the verb. For instance, the verb ‘eat’ has two participants, the ‘eater’ and the thing being eaten. Likewise the verb ‘give’ has three participants, the ‘giver’, the thing being given, and the recipient. The verb ‘eat’ therefore has a semantic valence of two while that of the verb ‘give’ has three.

Syntactic valence on the other hand, refers to the number of arguments or participants present in a given clause. The occurrence of an argument mainly depends on the importance being placed on it. In the case of the verb ‘eat’, it can have a syntactic valence of one or two, or even take an adjunct depending on the specific importance of their occurrence. Semantic valency is a universal phenomenon such that the semantic valence of a particular verb is the same across the languages of the world. However, languages employ various valency increasing or decreasing strategies which affect the syntactic valency of a verb.
It is very important to distinguish between core and peripheral NPs (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:2). The number and nature of arguments is determined by the choice of the predicate. The argument must be present or be understood for the clause to be acceptable and make sense. Adjuncts are less dependent on the semantic nature of the verb. They are optionally included to indicate place, time, cause, and purpose. This section looks at the semantic classes of verbs and their argument structure in Sekpele. Whereas verbs are seen as choosing their arguments, in some pragmatic contexts, selectional restrictions apply between verbs and their objects. This section also accounts for some valency increasing and/or decreasing strategies that are employed in the language.

7.2.1 Semantic classes of verbs and valency

The notion of valence is closely aligned with the traditional idea of transitivity. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). There are some verbs that seem to vary in terms of transitivity. For instance, a verb may be said to be both transitive and intransitive. This section discusses the inherent semantic features of verbs in Sekpele. The meaning of verbs has a great impact in the choice of participants or arguments in a clause. Therefore, this section will be organised in terms of the semantics and the argument structure of verbs.

7.2.1.1 Univalent verbs

A univalent or intransitive verb is one that describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant. The single argument occurs as the subject of the clause. In Sekpele, verbs or verb-like words that belong to this category include
voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs.

7.2.1.1 Voluntary motion verbs

Voluntary motion verbs are verbs used to describe the movement of an entity to or from a particular place. Verbs that fall in this category include bó ‘come’, dú ‘leave’, sà ‘jump’, ló ‘fall’, bó ‘exist, come/go out’, ‘crawl’, tsyétsyí ‘run’ and tsylàmà ‘roam about, wander’. This is illustrated in:

390) osani ketsyenklé amà abo mfo
- *sânî këtsëŋklë - mó à- bó înfô
NCL1 man tall CL1 the PFV come here
‘The tall man came here’ (Adjectives 22.1)

391) utsyetsyi udu
ó= tsyétsyí ó= dú
3SG.NOM.PST= run 3SG.NOM.PST= leave
‘He ran away’ (Verbs 52.1)

392) bəəbə dufə lo kassə kəmə
bá= à- bó dufô lô kà- *sà kà- mó
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come enter LOC NCL9 land CL9 the
batsylama babe
bá= tsylàmà bá= bè
3PL.NOM.PST= roam 3PL.NOM.PST= see
‘They entered and roamed the land to check it’ (History_amankrado 3.5)

7.2.1.2 Verbs of emission

Verbs of emission describe the emission of sounds, scent and substance. Verbs that belong to this category include fá ‘shout’, dù ‘drip/leak’, tâ ‘shine’, and yî ‘smell’; and are illustrated in:
7.2.1.3 Property verbs

Property verbs are used to describe the inherent properties or qualities of entities. These verbs are used to express a state or a change of state (inchoative), depending on the context. I have also referred to them as verb-like adjectives (see §9.3.1).

Some property verbs are illustrated in:

397) kuyi komọ ekula
kọ- *yì kọ- mọ à- kúlọ
NCL7 tree CL7 the PFV become tall
‘The tree is tall’ (Adjectives 17.1)
7.2.1.1.4 Achievement verbs

Achievement verbs describe a change of state of the participants. These verbs include kpó ‘die’, bú ‘wet/rot’, bíá ‘spoil’, kwé ‘dry up’ and là ‘torn’. This is illustrated in:

400) eso Bala to bá lisuu , besu 
ésò Bálá tò bá lè = sù = bá= sù
therefore Bala POSS 3PL.REL.PRO REL= go =TOP 3PL.NOM.PST= go
bedi bòbò kpó .
bá= dí bá= bó kpó
3PL.NOM.PST= eat 3PL.NOM.PST= come die
‘Therefore those of Bala who went, ate and came to die’ (History_amankrado 3.85)

401) sino siama abia 
sé- *nà síás- mà á- bíá
NCL11 meat CL11 the PFV be spoil
‘The meat has become bad’ (Verbs 286.1)

402) awu nyama ebu 
àwù nyá- mà á- bú
clothing CL6 the PFV become wet
‘The clothings are wet’ (Verbs 307.1)
7.2.1.1.5 Verbs of involuntary bodily processes

The verbs that belong to this category are used to describe bodily processes of animate entities. They are involuntary due to the fact that the participants are not in direct control of the state of affairs denoted by the verbs. Verbs that belong to this category include \( w\text{ɔ́nɔ́} \) ‘breathe’, \( y\text{ɪ́nsìè} \) ‘sneeze’, \( k\text{ɔ́sé} \) ‘cough’, \( kp\text{i} \) ‘belch’ and \( w\text{ʊ́là} \) ‘yawn’. There are some bodily processes that involve some control on the part of the participant such as \( m\text{ɔ} \) ‘smile’. Involuntary bodily processes are illustrated in:

403) \( \text{3SG.NOM } \text{ hold NMLZ breathe} \)

\( \text{3SG.NOM = } \) hold NMLZ breathe

‘He is breathing’ (Verbs 382.1)

404) \( \text{3SG.NOM = } \) hold NMLZ sneeze

‘He is sneezing’ (Verbs 260.1)

405) \( \text{3SG.NOM = } \) hold NMLZ yawn

‘He is yawning’ (Verbs 261.1)

406) \( \text{3SG.NOM = } \) hold NMLZ belch

‘He is belching’ (Verbs 262:1)

These verbs can take their noun forms as cognate objects or inherent complements (see also §8.1.2.11). This is illustrated in:

407) \( \text{3SG.NOM = } \) hold cough NMLZ to cough

‘He is coughing’ (Verbs 264.1)
7.2.1.2 Divalent verbs

A divalent or transitive verb is one that describes a relation between two participants such that one of the participants acts upon or towards the other. The argument that performs the action or influences the state of affairs is assigned the subject role while the other is expressed as the object. Therefore the subject could be an agent, an affector or an experiencer whereas the object could be a stimulus. Verbs in this category include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs.

7.2.1.2.1 Verbs of perception

Perception verbs involve the perceiver occurring as the subject of a clause whilst the entity that is perceived occurs as the object. Verbs of perception in Sekpele include *nyə̀* ‘see’, *no* ‘hear’ and *bè* ‘look’. This is illustrated in:

410) unyə unubuki əmə
    ɗ= *nyə̀* ɗ- *bùkí* á- mə
    3SG.NOM.PST = see NCL1 animal CL1 the
    ‘He saw the animal’ (Verbs 54.1)
Perception verbs can take sentential complements. The sentential complement is introduced by the complementizer ńkə̀ or its plural counterpart bə́nkə̀, or kàsé ‘how’.

This is illustrated in:

413) 
dinə ke ehu

the day any 3SG.NOM.PST = need 3PL.COMP 3SG.ACC 3SG.NOM = exist TOP

elebəa

ñkə

3SG.NOM.PST = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = see COMP

ubə
dufə.

3SG.NOM = come arrive

‘Any time it is necessary that he exists, it is necessary he sees to it that he arrives’
(King_making 14.6)

414) 
baanyə

banəko

nbukubi

bua ku

katsyuə

bá= a-

nyə banəko hn- *bùkùbì buá kú ka- tsyuə

3PL.NOM.PST = PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF

ombo

yookpe

mə

bulə

la

SCR NEG exist 3SG.NOM = FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC

kəsikə

komə

ká- sî -kə ká- mó

NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
‘They had seen that there aren’t any bad insects and others which will still disturb them there or will worry them in the place’

(History_amankrado 3.98)

7.2.1.2.2 Verbs of cognition

Just like verbs of perception, Sekpele has a set of cognition verbs. They include *yif ‘know’, *te ‘know/realise’, *kloma ‘remember’ and *tə *asudə ‘forget’. The verb *tə *asudə is a collocation of *tə whose meaning cannot be traced and *asudə ‘body’. Examples of verbs of cognition are:

416) uyif  oka  oma
    3SG.NOM=  know  NCL1 chief CL1 the
‘He knows the chief’

(Verbs 192.1)

417) eso  manoma  ataka  bate  kobe  .
    3PL.PN PFV rise  3PL.NOM.PST=  know wisdom
‘Therefore they were wise’

(History_amankrado 3.57)

418) okloma  uku  oma
    3SG.NOM.PST=  remember  NCL3 story CL3 the
‘He remembered the story’

(Verbs 195.1)

419) ota  oka  oma  asuə
    3SG.NOM.PST=  forget  NCL1 chief CL1 the body
‘He forgot about the chief’

(Verb 197.1)
Verbs of cognition can also take a sentential complement which is introduced by the complementizer ńkə̀ or its plural counterpart bə́nkə̀, or kàsé ‘how’. They can also take conditional clauses introduced by lə́ as a complement. This is illustrated in:

420) amante

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{amante} & \text{nkə̀} & \text{mo} & \text{tasì} \\
\text{á} & n- & à- & n- & tè & \text{ńkə̀} \\
\text{2SG.NOM.PST} & \text{NEG} & \text{PFV} & \text{NEG} & \text{know} & \text{COMP} \\
\end{array}
\]

(1SG.POSS = paternal aunt)

uni

ā = ní

3SG.NOM = be

‘Don't you know that she is my paternal aunt?’

(Pottery 144.1)

421) babloni

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{babloni} & \text{bote} & \text{kase} & \text{boeyifo} & \text{la} \\
\text{bà-} & \text{*blòní} & \text{bò-} & \text{tè} & \text{kàsé} & \text{bò=} & \text{á-} & \text{yìffó} & \text{lò} \\
\text{NCL2 white person} & \text{FUT} & \text{know} & \text{how} & \text{1PL.NOM.PST} & \text{= HAB do} & \text{LOC} \\
\text{bomfo} & \\
\text{bò=} & \text{mìffó} & \text{1PL.POSS} & \text{= here} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘White people will know how we do things here’

(Pottery 280.1)

422) otodi

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{otodi} & \text{beefí} & \text{baakpe} \\
\text{òtòdì} & \text{bá=} & \text{à-} & \text{fí} & \text{bá=} & \text{à-} & \text{kpé} \\
\text{palm frond} & \text{3PL.NOM.PST} & \text{= PFV take} & \text{3PL.NOM.PST} & \text{= PFV put} \\
\text{kasontii} & \text{,} & \text{bante} & \text{la} & \text{} & \text{} & \text{} \\
\text{ground} & \text{=TOP} & \text{3PL.NOM.PST} & \text{= NEG know} & \text{if} \\
\text{wookwe} & \text{mló} & \text{.} & \text{} & \text{} & \text{} & \text{} \\
\text{wò=} & \text{ó-} & \text{kwé} & \text{mló} & \text{} & \text{} & \text{} \\
\text{3SG.NOM} & \text{FUT become dry} & \text{early} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Palm fronds they had put in the ground, they don't know if it would dry quickly’

(History_amankrado 3.56)

7.2.1.2.3 Speech act verbs

Speech act verbs involve a speaker and an addressee or theme. The speaker occurs as the subject while the addressee or theme occurs as the object. Speech act verbs in Sekpele include téfì ‘say’, kà ‘insult’, kpádfì ‘call’, fà ‘cast a spell’ tò ‘ask’ and tó òlá
‘pray’. The verb *tó ólá* is a collocation of the verb *tó* ‘throw’ and the object *ólá* ‘prayer’ (see also §7.2.1.2.11). Some speech act verbs such as *té/yi* ‘tell’ and *tò* ‘ask’ have a semantic valency of three. They are treated in section 7.2.1.3. It is interesting to note that there are two homophonic verbs *té/yi*, a divalent verb meaning ‘say’ and trivalent verb meaning ‘tell’. Examples of speech act verbs in divalent clauses are illustrated in:

423) ọlẹ́  sidiá bọ́-tẹ́yí
    dọ́ = lé sidiá  bọ́- tẹ́yí
    3SG.NOM= hold lie  NMLZ say
    ‘He is telling a lie’  (Verbs 447.1)

424) ọkà  oka  àmọ̀
    dọ́ = kà dọ̀ *kà á- mọ́
    3SG.NOM.PST= insult NCL1 chief CL1 the
    ‘He insulted the chief’  (Verbs 71.1)

425) okpadi  mọ̀  kọ́ọ̀
    dọ́ = kpádí mọ̀ kọ́ọ̀
    3SG.NOM.PST= call 1SG.ACC yesterday
    ‘He called me yesterday’  (verbs 228.1)

426) lọ́  bato ólá  mfó  balọsọ̀  la ,
    lọ́  bá= tó ólá  mfó  bá=  lọ̀  -sà  lá
    if  3PL.NOM.PST= throw prayer there 3PL.NOM.PST= be finish CAUS TOP
    boola  ubúki  bala  kọ́ọ̀  kọ́ọ̀
    bò= dọ̀  lá  dọ̀  *búkì bá=  lá kó-  *tò kó-  mọ̀
    3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM= cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
    ‘If they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’
    (King_making 2.47)

7.2.1.2.4 Verbs of creation

Verbs of creation predicate states of affairs in which an agent performs an activity which leads to or results in the creation of another entity. In this case, the agent is
encoded as the subject while the created entity is the object of the clause. Verbs of creation include tò ‘build/mould’, ká ‘sew’, and dì ‘weave’. This is illustrated in:

427) ntsyə baato ekplibi ?
ntsyo bá á tò á *kplíbi
how 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB mould NCL6 cooking pot
‘How are pots made?’ (Pottery 6.1)

428) nya dínə dínə fɛ̃̃ fientsyue aka ke ko
nyá dínə dínə fɛ̃̃ fo ó tsyúé à ká ké kò
then piece piece before 2SG.NOM = FUT arrange 2SG.NOM sew CL9.ACC then
efiani fo kafia .
è = fíáí fo kà *fiá
3SG.NOM = become 2SG.ACC NCL9 cloth
‘Then piece by piece before you will arrange and sew it then it becomes a full cloth for you’ (Good_old_days 4.1)

429) nyafɛ̃̃ wuudi kpenkple kpenkple kpenkple...
nyáfɛ̃̃ wò = ó dì kpenkplé kpenkplé kpenkplé
then 3SG.NOM = FUT weave weave weave weave
wuudi kafia ká kenke .
wò = ó dì kà *fiá ká kéŋké
3SG.NOM = FUT weave NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF all
‘Then he will weave kpenkple kpenkple kpenkple… he will weave the cloth completely’ (Good_old_days 2.11)

A subset of the verbs of creation is the verbs of cooking. There is a set of verbs that describe the processes and methods of cooking. The generic term for cooking is wã ‘cook’, and it is also used to specify the process of boiling and steaming food on a fire. It is also used to describe the process of brewing wine and liquor, and is illustrated in:

430) èhèè baawà lesa tsya kedi .
èhèè bá á wã lèsá tsyà kà dí
surely 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB cook food too INF eat
‘Surely, they used to cook food too to eat’ (Pottery 49.1)
431) *eboya* | *abe* | *awā* | *awo* | *lo*
  à = bó- yà à - *bɛ* à = wà à = wó ló
  2SG.NOM FUT buy NCL6 palmnut 2SG.NOM cook 2SG.NOM pound LOC

kòkè
mortar
‘You will buy palmnuts, cook and pound it in a mortar’  (Palm_oil 2.1)

432) *nya* | *boolo* | *ubuki* | *omọ* | *bawā*
  nyá bò = ó- lò ó- *bùkí á- mọ bà = wà
  then 3PL.NOM = FUT kill NCL1 animal CL1 the 3PL.NOM = cook

lesa
lè- *sá
NCL5 thing
‘Then they will kill the animal and cook food’  (Naming_ceremony 2.3)

433) *bawā* | *nte* | *leleko*
  bá = wà nítè lèlékò
  3PL.NOM.PST = cook wine last year

‘They brewed wine last year’  (Verbs 528.1)

Other verbs of cooking include *sè* ‘fry’ and *fì* ‘roast’. The verb *sè* is used to describe
the process of frying in a pan. The process could be a dry fry, as in (434) and (435),
or frying in oil as in (436):

434) *esə* | *bebe* | *bioma*
  à = sà bè- *bɛ bá- mọ
  2SG.NOM fry NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the

‘You fry the palm kernel’  (Palm_kernel_oil 4.2)

435) *ọle* | *akutubi* | *atsyuu* | *busa*
  ò = lé à - *kʊtʊábí à - tsyúò bó- sà
  3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 groundnut CL6 some NMLZ fry

‘He is roasting some groundnuts’  (Verbs 120.1)

436) *ọle* | *akpe* | *nyọmọ* | *busa*
  ò = lé à - *kpɛ nyá- mọ bó- sà
  3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 fish CL6 the NMLZ fry

‘He is frying the fishes’  (Verbs 121.1)
The verb *fi* is used to describe the process of preparing food in direct contact with fire. It may be used to refer to the act of roasting, as in (437), or baking, as in (438) and (439):

437) \[ \begin{align*} bà &= \text{hold} \quad \text{CL11 meat} \\ bá &= \text{roast} \quad \text{NMLZ} \end{align*} \]

‘They are roasting the meat’ (Verbs 119.1)

438) \[ \begin{align*} bá &= \text{roast} \\ bá &= \text{bread} \quad \text{yesterday} \end{align*} \]

‘They baked bread yesterday’ (Verbs 527.1)

439) \[ \begin{align*} à- \quad \text{some} \\ bá &= \text{exist} \quad \text{TOP} \\ n- &= \text{Neg} \quad \text{roast} \\ nýá &= \text{3SG.ACC} \end{align*} \]

‘Sometimes, they haven't baked it well, it wasn't well cooked’ (Pottery 216.1)

7.2.1.2.5 Verbs of planting

The speakers of Sekpele are predominantly crop farmers. They mostly practice mixed farming, cultivating plants such as maize, cassava, pepper and cocoyam. They also cultivate commercial crops such as cocoa and oil palm. The oil palm is used to make palm oil, palm kernel oil, and palm-wine (which are used for all recreational activities). Sekpele has a set of verbs (action and positional) which are used to express the processes of cultivating any crop. The verbs are sub-classified according to the type of crop and the method used in planting. It is inappropriate to use any other verb apart from the one that describes the process involved with the particular crop. The generic term for cultivation is *fo* ‘weed land’ which expresses the initial
process in farming – clearing the land. The generic *fó* can be used to express the
cultivation of any crop without specifying the actual process. This is illustrated in:

440) osani ə̃ afo ɔkwɛ
   NCL1 man CL1.DEF PFV cultivate farm
   ‘The man has cultivated a farm’ (Verbs 508.1)

441) ofo kookoo to ɔkwɛ
   3SG.NOM.PST = cultivate cocoa POSS farm
   ‘He has cultivated a cocoa farm’ (Verbs 509.1)

442) usio ə̃ afo ɔkle to ɔkwɛ
   NCL1 woman CL1.DEF PFV cultivate NCL3 pepper POSS farm
   ‘The woman has cultivated a pepper farm’ (Verbs 510.1)

The verbs that express the process of planting are *sé* ‘sprinkle/broadcast’, *tó*
‘throw’, *kpé* ‘put.in’, *tsyì* ‘transplant’ *klù* ‘weed with hoe’ and *tákɔ* ‘put.on’. The
verb *sé* is used to express the process of nursery. All crops that are nursed can take
the verb *sé*. This verb is also used with trees that propagate their seeds without any
human intervention such as the Odum (Iroko) tree, and is illustrated in:

443) ose tomatɔsì to ebibi
   3SG.NOM.PST = sprinkle tomato POSS NCL6 seed
   ‘He nursed tomato seeds’ (Verbs 511.1)

444) base ɔkle to ebibi
   3PL.NOM.PST = sprinkle NCL3 pepper POSS NCL6 seed
   ‘They nursed pepper seeds’ (Verbs 512.1)

445) Odum ase ebibi ekpo kasɔ
   Odûm 2SG.NOM sprinkle NCL6 seed 3SG.NOM.PST = pour ground
   ‘An Iroko tree has sprinkled its seeds on the ground’ (Verbs 513.1)
The verb *sé* and *klù* are used for the cultivation of rice. The verb *klù* is used in a wider sense while the verb *sé* is used specifically to describe the process of broadcasting the seed on cultivated land. This is illustrated in:

446) **besu** **kamɔ** kaseko
   \[bá = sù kàmɔ́ sé -k\]  
3PL.NOM.PST = go rice INF sprinkle PLACE/PURP
   ‘They have gone to plant rice’  
   (Miscellaneous 63.1)

447) **beklu** **kamɔ** leleko
   \[bá = klù kàmɔ́ lɛlɛkò\]  
3PL.NOM.PST = weed with hoe rice last year
   ‘They planted rice last year’  
   (Miscellaneous 64.1)

448) **olle** **kamɔ** buklu
   \[ò = lɛ kàmɔ́ bó- klù\]  
3SG.NOM = hold rice NMLZ weed with hoe
   ‘He is planting rice’  
   (Miscellaneous 65.1)

The verb *tò* is used to express the process where seeds are directly sowed in the ground. It is not clear if in the past seeds were broadcast on cultivated land, which may have resulted in the name. These days, the upper layer of the soil is dug with a machete or a pointed pole, the seeds placed in the hole and covered. The used of the verb *tò* is illustrated as in:

449) **kofi** ato **anta** lɔ ɔkwɛ
   Kofi è- tò èntá lɔ ɔkwɛ́
   Kofi PFV plant maize LOC farm
   ‘Kofi has planted maize on the farm’  
   (Verbs 514.1)

450) **bato** **akɛbi** lele **namfo**
   \[bá = tò àkɛbí lɛ́- *lɛ́ nɔ- mfɔ\]  
3PL.NOM.PST = plant beans NCL5 year CL5 this
   ‘They planted beans this year’  
   (Verbs 515.1)
The verb *tsyì* is used to express the process of transplanting seedlings onto the land. Plants that have first been raised in a nursery, will take the verb *tsyì* during the process of transfer to the main land. This is illustrated in:

451) \[\text{besu} \quad \text{katomatosì} \quad \text{betsyi} \quad \text{lò} \quad \text{okwe}\]
\[\text{bá} = \quad \text{sù} \quad \text{kà-} \quad \text{tòmátòsì} \quad \text{bá} = \quad \text{tsyì} \quad \text{lò} \quad \text{òkwé}\]

\[3\text{PL.NOM.PST} = \text{exhume} \quad \text{NCL4 tomato} \quad 3\text{PL.NOM.PST} = \text{transplant} \quad \text{LOC farm}\]

‘They uprooted tomatoes and transplanted them on the farm’  (Miscellaneous 69.1)

452) \[\text{betsyi} \quad \text{kâkà} \quad \text{bàkò} \quad \text{lò}\]
\[\text{bá} = \quad \text{tsyì} \quad \text{kà-} \quad \ast\text{klè} \quad \text{bá} = \quad \text{kò} \quad \text{lò}\]

\[3\text{PL.NOM.PST} = \text{transplant} \quad \text{NCL4 pepper} \quad 3\text{PL.NOM.PST} = \text{add} \quad \text{LOC}\]

\[\text{kà-} \quad \text{tòmátòsì} \quad \text{ntì}\]

\[\text{NCL4 tomato between}\]

‘They transplanted peppers in the mist of the tomatoes’  (Miscellaneous 70.1)

The verb *kpé* is used to express the process of placing the stalk of a plant into the ground. There are some crops such as plantain and cassava whose stalks are planted directly onto the land. Other crops that are nursed such as cocoa and oil palm use the verb *kpé* to express the process of transplanting onto the main land. The use of the verb *kpé* is illustrated in:

453) \[\text{òlè} \quad \text{akpedi} \quad \text{bokpe}\]
\[\text{ò} = \quad \text{lè} \quad \text{à-} \quad \ast\text{kpèdì} \quad \text{bò-} \quad \text{kpé}\]

\[3\text{SG.NOM} = \text{hold} \quad \text{CL6 cassava} \quad \text{NMLZ plant}\]

‘He is planting cassava’  (Verbs 95.1)
There are some other crops that are placed on a mount or soil bed. The verb that is used to express the process associated with these crops is \textit{tə́kə́}, as in:

\begin{align*}
\text{455) } & \text{batəkə} \quad \text{bisi} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{ɔkwɛ} \\
& \text{bá} = \quad \text{tə́kə́} \quad \text{bè} \quad \text{*sí} \quad \text{ló} \quad \text{akwé} \\
& \text{3PL.NOM.PST} = \text{plant} \quad \text{NCL12} \quad \text{yam} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{farm} \\
& \text{‘They planted yams on the farm’} \quad \text{(Verbs 516.1)}
\end{align*}

It is important to note that the meaning associated with these verbs of planting is based on the crop and the location. In most circumstances which are different from these, the verbs take on their generic meaning. This is illustrated in:

\begin{align*}
\text{457) } & \text{utəkə} \quad \text{bisi} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{ateke} \\
& \text{ð} = \quad \text{tə́kə́} \quad \text{bè} \quad \text{*bólá} \quad \text{ló} \quad \text{akwé} \\
& \text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \text{put on} \quad \text{NCL12} \quad \text{yam} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{stove} \\
& \text{‘He put yams on the stove (He is cooking yams)’} \quad \text{(Verbs 518.1)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{458) } & \text{oto} \quad \text{wə} \quad \text{leba} \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{akwé} \\
& \text{ð} = \quad \text{tó} \quad \text{wè} \quad \text{lèbà} \quad \text{ló} \quad \text{akwé} \\
& \text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \text{throw} \quad \text{3SG.ACC} \quad \text{rock} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{farm} \\
& \text{‘He threw a stone at him on the farm’} \quad \text{(Verbs 519.1)}
\end{align*}
7.2.1.2.6 Verbs of harvesting

Similar to the verbs of planting, Sekpele has a set of verbs that express the process of harvesting crops. They relate to the manner in which various plants are harvested.

The verbs of harvesting are là ‘cut’, kù ‘dig’, sù ‘exhume’ fósó ‘break’, kpín ‘reap’, fódì ‘thresh’, sité ‘rip with axe’, lákà ‘remove’ and lè ‘pluck’. The verb là is used to express the process where the crop is cut, as in:

459) obládzyo mambe feé oola
obládzó n- à- n- bé feé ó= ò- là
plantain NEG PFV NEG mature before 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT cut
‘The plantain has not matured before he harvested it’ (Verbs 520.1)

460) ola kaklotia kenke lə okwe
ó= là kà- *klòtíá kénké ló ɔkwé
3SG.NOM.PST = cut NCL4 banana all LOC farm
‘He harvested the entire crop of bananas on the farm’ (Verbs 521.1)

The verb kù is used to express the process where a crop is dug from the ground. It is used in relation to tubers and nuts, as in:

461) bekú legbédi lə kase boowo fufú
bá= kù legbédi là kásé bó= ó- wó fufú
3PL.NOM.PST = dig cassava just as 3PL.NOM = FUT pound cassava pudding
‘He dug cassava in order to prepare cassava pudding’ (Verbs 522.1)

462) ôle bisi biámə buku
ó= lé bè- *sí bí- má bó- kù
3SG.NOM = hold NCL12 yam CL12 the NMLZ dig
‘He is digging up the yams’ (Verbs 97.1)

The verb sù is used to express the process of uprooting or exhuming a crop from the ground effortlessly with the bare hands without any tools. It is used in relation to bulbs, tubers and nuts that require no tool to harvest them, as below (see also example 451 above):
The verbs *fə́sə́* and *kpɪ́nɪ́* are used to express the process where cereal kernels are detached from their stalk. The verb *fə́sə́* is also used for the harvest of medicinal herbs, as in:

465) **Kofi ofəso**  **anta**  **ufi**  
Kofi  à-  *fə́sə́*  àntá  ò=  ì  
Kofi  PFV  **break**  maize  3SG.NOM.PST =  **roast**  
‘Kofi harvested maize and roasted it’   (Verbs 523.1)

466) **ɔlɛ**  **anta**  **bɔkpɪnɪ**  
ò=  lé  àntá  bó-  kpɪnɪ  
3SG.NOM =  **hold**  maize  NMLZ  **harvest**  
‘He is harvesting maize’   (Verbs 98.1)

467) **ɔlɛ**  **afantosi**  **nyamə**  **bufəsə**  
ò=  lé  à-  *fánto*  *sù*  nyá-  mó  bó-  *fə́sə́*  
3SG.NOM =  **hold**  NCL6  leaf  head  CL6  the  NMLZ  **harvest**  
‘He is harvesting the herbs’   (Verbs 100.1)

The verb *lɛ̀* is used to express the process of plucking fruits, peas and leafy vegetables. The verb *lɛkɔ́* is also used with the harvest of leafy vegetables, as in:

468) **bɛkpəfi**  **bá**  **lɛ**  **kamango**  **bɔlɛ**  
ba-  *kpəfi*  bá  lé  kà-  màŋgɔ  bó-  lɛ  
NCL2  child  CL2.DEF  hold  NCL4  mango  NMLZ  **harvest**  
‘The children are plucking the mangoes’   (Verbs 524.1)
469) **balɛ** | **kakookoo** | **kpɔ**

3PL.NOM.PST = **pluck**

Cocoa many

‘He harvested plenty of cocoa’  
(Verbs 526.1)

470) **ọlɛ** | **ọtente** | **lo kase** | **woowã**

3SG.NOM.PST = **pluck**

Coco-yam leave just as 3SG.NOM = FUT cook

‘She plucked cocoyam leaves so that she will prepare soup’  
(Verbs 525.1)

471) **ulako** | **ọtente** | **ọtɔ** | **kutu**

3SG.NOM.PST = **remove**

Coco-yam leave 3SG.NOM = go towards NCL7 soup

‘She harvested cocoyam leaves to prepare soup’  
(Miscellaneous 68.1)

Other verbs of harvest that are used with specific crops are **fódi** and **síé** and they are illustrated as in:

472) **ọlɛ** | **kamɔ** | **kamɔ** | **bofodi**

3SG.NOM = hold NCL4 rice CL4 the NMLZ harvest

‘He is harvesting rice’  
(Verbs 101.1)

473) **ọlɛ** | **abe** | **busie**

3SG.NOM = hold CL6 palmnut NMLZ harvest

‘He is harvesting palm fruits’  
(Verbs 102.1)

**7.2.1.2.7 Verbs of ingestion**

Verbs of ingestion describe the processes by which substances such as food, drink and medicine are introduced into the bodies of animate entities. Methods of
ingestion include eating, drinking, licking, chewing and swallowing. The choice of the verb depends on the texture of the substance, which could be solid, semi-solid, or liquid. Verbs that belong to this category in Sekpele are dí ‘eat’, nə̀ ‘drink’, mɪ́nɪ̀ ‘swallow’, yɪ́mɪ̀ ‘chew’, nš ‘bite’, dɪá ‘lick/taste’, fíó ‘suck’ and tů ‘sip’. The verb dí is the generic for eating food and solid substances while nə̀ is its liquid counterpart.

This is illustrated in:

474) Kofi edí lesa nomó
   Kofi á- dí lè-sá nọ- mó
   Kofi PFV eat NCL5-food CL5 the
   ‘Kofi ate the food’ (Verb_morphology 63.1)

475) bedí bila
   bá= dí bè- *l5
   3PL.NOM.PST= eat NCL12 gruel
   ‘They ate gruel’ (Miscellaneous 75.1)

476) udi diyibibi nọ nkpe kalo
   ó= dí lè- yìbíbí nọ ǹ= kpé kálò
   3SG.NOM.PST= eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL= have bitter
   ‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’ (Adjectives 85.1)

The verb dí may take on meanings other than ingestion of food. For instance, if it is used in relation to money, it takes on the meaning of spending. It is also used in relation to inheritance or winning something, as in:

477) se minla minkɔ meedi sitɔ
   sé mì= n- lá minkɔ mà= á- dí sitɔ
   since 1SG.NOM= EMPH want 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM= PROSP spend clay
   to atabi , nya minnyɔ mintɔ
   tò átābí nyá mì= n- nyɔ mì= n- tò
   POSS money then 1SG.NOM= EMPH stand 1SG.NOM= EMPH throw
díwi minkase boto
   díwì mì= n- kásé bo- tò
   sweat 1SG.NOM= EMPH study NMLZ mould
   ‘Since I wanted to spend clay money, then I stood and sweated to learn how to mould’
478) **nko wo tsya lidi seka siš nɔ**.

*I like that, too.*  

‘That is how he too inherited the chieftaincy really’  (History _amankrado 3.37)

479) **tɔ wɔ nko uudi** [ten million]

*Ask him if he had ever won ten million before?’  (Pottery 256.2)

However, not all substances that are ingested use the generic verb. They are restricted to specific verbs depending on their texture and the manner they are taken into the body. The generic for drinking liquids: alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks, is **nɔ**, as in:

480) **wuuna ntu**

*He will drink water’  (Verbs 15.1)

481) **wɔnɔ nte**

*He drinks wine or alcohol’  (Verbs 17.1)

482) **bɔnɔ osokpa olesiɔ**

*They drank porridge in the morning’  (Miscellaneous 73.1)
The verb *nə̀* is also used in relation to smoking. This phenomenon is cross-linguistic and can be found in most African languages and other languages of the world such as Japanese. This is illustrated in:

483) ọle  katankpɛ buna

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð} &= \text{lè kàtànkpɛ} \\
3\text{SG.NOM} &= \text{hold smoke-pipe NMLZ smoke}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is smoking a pipe’ (Verbs 389.1)

484) ọle wii buna

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð} &= \text{lè wìì} \\
3\text{SG.NOM} &= \text{hold hemp NMLZ smoke}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is smoking hemp’ (Verbs 390.1)

485) ọle letama buna

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð} &= \text{lè lètànà} \\
3\text{SG.NOM} &= \text{hold tobacco NMLZ smoke}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is smoking tobacco’ (Verbs 391.1)

The verb *fíɔ́* is used to express the act of drinking or sipping soup. Although the process involves drinking, the verb *nə̀* is not used. Instead, the verb *fíɔ́* which depicts ‘sipping’ is used. The verb *fíɔ́* is used in relation to sucking a liquid substance from its container. It is mostly used in relation to fruits. The verb *yɪ́mɪ́* is used for breastfeeding. The verb *yɪ́mɪ́* has a tonal contrast compared to the verb *yɪ́mɪ̀* ‘chew’ which is treated below. In a case where one sips a drink, the verb *tú* is used to refer to such an act, as in:

486) ọle kutu bufio

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð} &= \text{lè kò- *tù bò- fíɔ́} \\
3\text{SG.NOM} &= \text{hold NCL7 soup NMLZ sip}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is sipping soup’ (Miscellaneous 83.1)

487) ubi əmə le dikutu bofio

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ð} &= \text{*bì á- mà lè- *kùtù bò- fíɔ́} \\
\text{NCL1 child CL1 the hold NCL5 orange NMLZ suck}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The child is sucking an orange’ (Verbs 387.1)
488) *bí (á- mó lé) yímf
NCL1 child CL1 the hold NMLZ breastfeed
‘The child is breastfeeding’ (Verbs 388.1)

489) *tè (bó- mó ó= bè)
3SG.NOM.PST= taste NCL10 wine CL10 the 3SG.NOM.PST= see
‘He tasted the wine’ (Verbs 61.1)

The verb *mín is used with substances that are swallowed, especially semi-solid foods, capsules, and tablets. This is illustrated in:

490) *sànî (á- mó á- món kò- *fà kò- mó)
NCL1 man CL1 the PFV swallow NCL7 medicine CL7 the
‘The man swallowed the medicine’ (Verbs 19.1)

491) món fufu
mó= mím fufù
3SG.NOM.PST= swallow cassava pudding
‘He ate cassava pudding’ (Miscellaneous 74.1)

Liquid medicines which are sipped use the verb *nà while injection with a syringe, uses the verb tó ‘pierce’ since it is administered by piercing with a needle. This is illustrated in:

492) á- nà kò- *fà
Kofi - PFV drink NCL7 medicine
‘Kofi took medicine’ (Miscellaneous 76.1)

493) tó wà ǹkà\(\)kà
3PL.NOM.PST= pierce 3SG.ACC needle
‘They gave him an injection’ (Miscellaneous 77.1)
The verb *yɪ́mɪ̀* is used with substances that are chewed, while the verb *díá* is used with those that are licked or tasted, as in:

494) waayɪ́mɪ̀  
\[ 3SG.NOM = HAB \]  
\[ wà = á- yɪ́mɪ̀ \]  
\[ kamɔ kàmɔ́ lefe léfè sàà \]  
\[ time \]  
\[ each \]  
\‘He eats rice always’  
(Verbs 5.1)

495) ɔlɛ ò= lɛ́  
\[ 3SG.NOM = hold \]  
\[ ð= lé sínà fìmfi bò- yɪ́mɪ̀ \]  
\[ meat roasted NMLZ chew \]  
‘He is eating roasted meat’  
(Verbs 118.1)

496) ɔlɛ akpɛ  
\[ 3SG.NOM = hold NCL6 fish fried NMLZ chew \]  
\[ ð= a- kɛ̀ sánɔ̀ bò- yɪ́mɪ̀ \]  
‘He is eating fried fish’  
(Verbs 122.1)

497) odia  
\[ 3SG.NOM.PST = see \]  
\[ é= diá sè- nɔ̀ sîò- mó ð= bè \]  
\[ NCL11 meat CL11 the \]  
‘He tasted the meat’  
(Verbs 60.1)

7.2.1.2.8 ‘Peel’ verbs

Peeling verbs describe the process of removing the outer layer of items. The choice of verb depends on the texture of the item and the instrument needed to do the peeling. The tougher the skin, the more likely a sharp instrument would be required to peel it off thoroughly. Some items will require just the use of the bare hand while others will require a combination of both the hand and a sharp instrument such as a knife. There are two verbs that are used in relation to peeling in Sekpelé: *wé* ‘peel/carve’ and *fè* ‘peel/split’. The verb *wé* is used in relation to tough-coated items which require a sharp instrument to peel thoroughly. The verb *wé* is also used in
relation to carpentry due to the use of a plane to straighten and to make a surface smooth. The use of \textit{wè} is illustrated in:

498) \textit{òle} \textit{dikutu} \textit{bowe} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{ò} &= \text{lè} & \text{lè} & *\text{kùtù} & \text{bò-} & \text{wè} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\text{3SG.NOM} = \text{hold NCL5 orange NMLZ carve} \\
‘He is peeling an orange’ \hspace{1cm} (Miscellaneous 80.1)

499) \textit{weewe} \textit{akpome} \textit{ku} \textit{mpa} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{wà} &= \text{à-} & \text{wè} & \text{à-} & *\text{kpòmè} & \text{ù-} & *\text{pù} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\text{3SG.NOM} = \text{HAB carve NCL6 stool and NCL10 bed} \\
‘He carves stools and beds’ \hspace{1cm} (Miscellaneous 81.1)

500) \textit{owe} \textit{opunu} \textit{utsyə} \textit{lo} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{ò} &= \text{wè} & \text{ò} & *\text{pùnù} & \text{ò} &= \text{tsyə} & \text{lo} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \text{carve NCL3 table 3SG.NOM.PST=} \text{put LOC obia} \\
\text{òbìá} \\
\text{community centre} \\
‘He has carved a table and put it at the community centre’ \hspace{1cm} (Miscellaneous 82.1)

The verb \textit{fè} on the other hand is used in relation to an item whose surface is relatively soft and will only require the use of the bare hand and/or partial application of an instrument. It is also used in relation to items that are split open into two halves, as in:

501) \textit{ufe} \textit{legbedi} \textit{utəkə} \textit{lo} \textit{ateke} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{ò} &= \text{fè} & \text{lègbèdì} & \text{ò} &= \text{tsìkò} & \text{lo} & \text{àtèkè} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \text{peel cassava 3SG.NOM.PST=} \text{put on LOC stove} \\
‘She peeled cassava and put it on the stove’ \hspace{1cm} (Miscellaneous 78.1)

502) \textit{ufe} \textit{oklotia} \textit{ole} \textit{buna} \\
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{ò} &= \text{fè} & \text{ò} & *\text{klòtìà} & \text{ò} &= \text{lè} & \text{bò-} & \text{nò} \\
\end{tabular} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \text{peel NCL3 banana 3SG.NOM=} \text{hold NMLZ bite} \\
‘He peeled a banana and is eating it’ \hspace{1cm} (Miscellaneous 79.1)
7.2.1.2.9 Body-grooming

Verbs of body grooming describe the processes by which humans take care of their body. They include ɬɔ̀ ‘repair’, ʧlɔ̀ ‘wash/bath’, ɗiƙi ‘smear’, kpó ‘pour’, kɔ̀ ‘trim’, kpì ‘shave’, kpé ‘wear’, tʃ ‘cover’, ɬɛ ‘hold’, nyìmì ‘wrap’ and klé ‘tie’. The verb ɬɔ̀ is the generic term for body grooming, and describes the general process of taking care of the body as in:

503) ɔlɔ əsua tinti
   ɬ = bɔsù ɬɔ̀
   3SG.NOM.PST = repair body really
   ‘She has groomed herself really’  (Miscellaneous 84.1)

The verb ɬɔ̀ is also used to describe the process of reshaping a substance, rekindling and repeating an event. This is illustrated in:

504) bale okafɔ əmɔ bolo
   bà = ɬe ɗ- *kàfɔ́ ɬ- mɔ́ bò- ɬ
   3PL.NOM = hold NCL1 bride CL1 the NMLZ repair
   ‘They are grooming the bride’  (Miscellaneous 85.1)

The verb ɬɔ̀ is also used to describe the process of reshaping a substance, rekindling and repeating an event. This is illustrated in:

505) lɔ nsi kenke ko mɔɔlɔ
   lɔ ɬ ɬ = sì kẹŋkẹ kɔ məd = 6- ɬ
   if 1SG.NOM.PST = wipe off all then 1SG.NOM = FUT repair
   nkpi, mɔɔlɔ nkpi kəlo mfo
   n = kpì mò = 6- ɬ n = kpì kàlɔ nifɔ
   1SG.NOM = scrape 1SG.NOM = FUT repair 1SG.NOM = scrape under here
   kenke
   kẹŋkẹ
   all
   ‘If I wipe it off completely then I will again scrape it, I will again scrape the bottom here completely’  (Pottery 187.1)
‘Then you will put the palm oil on the fire and rekindle the fire to boil and cook’
(Palm oil 16.4)

‘They will still call him again a second time to give knowledge that they should be searching for a child’
(King making 12.3)

The verb *flọ* is used to describe the process of washing the body with water. The process may involve any part of the body or the entire body as a whole. It is also used in the process of ritual cleansing. When one commits a taboo, a woman is in her menstrual cycle or gives birth, s/he is considered to be unclean until the rites are performed. The use of the verb *flọ* is illustrated in:

‘If they eat the food, you will wash your hands in that water’
(Naming ceremony 5.1)
Cephas Delalorm

509) **nya ntu bomfóó, mu buufi**

\[ \text{then NCL10 water CL10 that =TOP CL10.EMPH 3PL.NOM = FUT take} \]

\[ \text{bọflasọ díkpọ́fí nọmọ' } \]

\[ \text{3PL.NOM = wash CAUS NCL5 child CL5 the} \]

‘Then that water, it is it they will use to bathe the child’ (Naming ceremony 6.1)

510) **lọ koko to nyamfoo, itọ utọnku,**

\[ \text{LOC old POSS this =TOP 3SG.NOM = be.at menstrual blood} \]

\[ \text{kọko ko lekpoo, bale ko} \]

\[ \text{NCL7 blood CL7.REL.PRO REL = pour =TOP 3PL.NOM = hold CL7.ACC} \]

\[ \text{bọflọ} \]

‘In the past, it is like menstrual blood, the blood which drops, they are washing it’

(Naming_ceremony 2.2)

The verb *díkí* is used to describe the process of smearing body lotion, creams and oils on the body, as illustrated in (511) and (512). The verb *kpó* is used for the process of pouring powder and fragrances onto the body, as illustrated in (513):

511) **udiki nmuubi bomọ lọ wọ asuę**

\[ \text{3SG.NOM.PST = smear NCL10 oil CL10 the LOC 3SG.POSS body} \]

‘He smeared the oil on his body’ (Verbs 312.1)

512) **ufi ufunu sia udiki**

\[ \text{3SG.NOM.PST = take powder become red ADJV 3SG.NOM.PST = smear} \]

\[ \text{wọ asuę} \]

\[ \text{wọ ọsụ́} \]

‘He coated himself with red powder’ (Verbs 313.1)
When they had caught you then, powder which is white chalk or white chalk they will pour on you’ (King_making 2.32)

The verb *kɔ̀* describes the process of trimming the hair and nails of the body, as in:

514) Kofi akɔ̀ disi
Kofi à- kɔ̀ disì
Kofi PFV trim head
‘Kofi has trimmed his hair’ (Miscellaneous 86.1)

515) òkɔ̀ wə befio tsya
ò= kɔ̀ wò bè- *fì̀ tsyâ
3SG.NOM.PST= trim 3SG.POSS NCL12 nail too
‘He has also trimmed his nail too’ (Miscellaneous 87.1)

The verb *kpì́* describes the process of shaving the hair of the body. It is used in reference to the shaving of the beard, as in (516). It is also used in ritualistic performance where one’s hair is shaved to undergo a cleansing process. This process is referred to as *dísìkpì́kpì́* ‘cleansing’29, as in (517).

516) òkpì́ wə ukpì́
ò= kpì́ wò ūkpì́
3SG.NOM.PST= shave 3SG.POSS beard
‘He shaved his beard’ (Miscellaneous 88.1)

517) bale disìkpì́kpì́ to lekpa buyifo
bà= lé disì kpì́ kpì́ tò lé- *kpá bò- yìfì̀
3PL.NOM= hold head shave shave POSS NCL5 custom NMLZ do
‘They are performing a cleansing rite’ (Miscellaneous 89.1)

---

29 These days, one does not necessarily shave off their hair. He or she presents a pot of palm-wine and some items requested by the elders of the community to undergo the cleansing process. The shaving of hair is mostly mandatory when the person is said to have committed a serious taboo.
The verb *kpé* is used to describe the process of wearing clothes and other ornaments on the body, as in (518) and (519). When the object being worn occurs as the subject, the verb takes an existential meaning, thus, the object exists on the specific part body of the person wearing it (see §9.5). This is illustrated in (520) and (521):

518) \[ \text{okpe} \quad \text{awu} \quad \text{nyamọ} \]
\[ \delta = \text{kpé} \quad \text{awọ} \quad \text{nyá- mọ} \]
3SG.NOM.PST = wear clothing CL3 the
‘He wore the garment’ (Verbs 62.1)

519) \[ \text{itsyise} \quad \text{sítọ} \quad \text{sini} \quad \text{əbona} \quad \text{eso} \]
\[ \text{itsy}sé \quad \text{sè-} \quad \text{ṣẹ-} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{à=} \quad \text{bọ-} \quad \text{ná} \quad \text{ésò} \]
because NCL11 soil CL11.NOM = be 2SG.NOM FUT become dirty therefore
\[ \text{awukuku} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{boakpe} \quad \text{kato} \]
awọ \quad *kùkù \quad \text{tè} \quad \text{bọ-} \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{kpé} \quad \text{kà-} \quad \text{tò}
clothing piece only 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB wear INF mould
‘Because it is clay and you will get dirty therefore, we only wear rag clothing to mould’ (Pottery 60.3)

520) \[ \text{atoge} \quad \text{kpe} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{usio} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{ato} \]
\[ \text{à-} \quad \text{togè} \quad \text{kpé} \quad \text{lọ} \quad \text{ọ-} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{tò} \quad \text{à-} \quad \text{tô} \quad \text{NCL6} \quad \text{earring} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NCL1} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{CL1.DEF} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{NCL6} \quad \text{ear} \]
‘There are earrings on the woman’s ears’ (Locative_verbs 8.1)

521) \[ \text{lesokpe} \quad \text{kpe} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{an} \]
\[ \text{lè-} \quad \text{sùkpé} \quad \text{kpé} \quad \text{wà} \quad \text{lọ} \quad \text{à-} \quad \text{ọ} \quad \text{NCL5} \quad \text{ring} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{3SG.ACC} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{NCL8} \quad \text{arm} \]
‘A ring is on her hand’ (Locative_verbs 8.1)

The verb *tlé* is used to describe the process of wearing a cap/hat on the head of men and the wrapping of a cloth for men while the verb *lé* and *nyími* are used for the act of wrapping cloth by women. Traditionally, men wrap their cloth hanging from the shoulder downwards while women wrap theirs on their waist. Men will only lower their cloth to the waist level when performing a rite such as offering libation,
swearing an oath, dancing or paying homage to a deity or a chief/king. The use of verbs tí, ṭé and nyímí are illustrated in:

522) lekpakpa tí wa ló disí
lè- *kpàkpà tí wa ló disí
NCL5 hat cover 3SG.ACC LOC head
‘A hat is worn on his head’ (Locative verbs 50.1)

523) beti kafía bato kusié
bá= tí kà- *fiá bá= tó kó- *sìó
3PL.NOM.PST= cover NCL9 cloth 3PL.NOM= go towards NCL7 wife
kakpako
kà- kpá -kó
INF gather PLACE
‘They put on their cloths and are heading to a marriage ceremony’ (Miscellaneous 90.1)

524) usio ə ale kafía
ō- *sió ə- lé kà- *fiá
NCL1 woman CL1.DEF PFV hold NCL9 cloth
‘The woman has wrapped herself with cloth’ (Miscellaneous 91.1)

525) besio bá anyìmí kafía
bá- *sió bá à- nyímí kà- *fiá
NCL2 woman CL2.DEF PFV wrap NCL9 cloth
‘The women have wrapped cloth around their waist’ (Miscellaneous 90.1)

The verb klé is used to describe the process where women tie their headgear and waistbands. This is illustrated in:

526) kafía koŋ kà faklé disí buú, wa
kà- *fiá kón kà fà= klé disí buú wà
NCL9 cloth really CL9.REL.PRO 2SG.NOM= wrap head be different 3SG.PN
kosate to kafía buuloko bato
kòsàtè tò kà- *fiá bò= ó- lókà bá= tó
ownself POSS NCL9 cloth 3PL.NOM= FUT remove 3PL.NOM= give fà
2SG.ACC
‘Real cloth, that which you wrap the head is different, her own cloth they will give you’
7.2.1.2.10 Verbs of caused change of location

Verbs of caused change of location describe a process whereby an agent causes an item or themselves to move from one location to another. The agent is expressed as the subject while the theme is the object. Verbs of caused change in Sekpele include nə̀ ‘pull/drag’, kə̀ ‘push’, tó ‘throw’, tá ‘kick/shoot’, ká ‘ride/drive’, tsyí ‘carry’, fí ‘take’ and sɔ́nɔ̀ ‘drop/off-load’. The verb nə̀ is used to describe the pulling or dragging effect of an item by the agent. It is also used in relation to stretching items, including the human body. The use of the verb nə̀ is illustrated in:

528) una  bitsyikə  biama
   6 =  nə̀  bê-  *tsyikə  bá-  má
3SG.NOM.PST = pull  NCL12  load  CL12  the
‘He pulled the packages’  (Verbs 72.1)
You will take a maize stick like this, rub like this and drag it straight ... fine’ (Pottery 50.2)

Then you shoot then we will make a yarn, then the one who weaves clothes who will come and clean, then you pull rock’     (Good_old_days 2.8)

The verb $kɔ$ is used to describe the pushing effect of an item by an agent. It is also used in relation to swimming. The rationale is that the swimmer pushes the water backward with his/her hands to thrust themselves forward. The use of the verb $kɔ$ is illustrated in:

‘He pushed the packages’   (Verbs 73.1)
Then when it will be on then he had taken his hands to push for those holding you’  
(King making 2.41)

‘The man swims quickly’  (Verbs 167.1)

‘The boy swam across the river’  
(Verbs 168.1)

The verb *to* is used to express the process where the agent throws an object, as  
illustrated in:

‘He threw the stone’  
(Verbs 184.1)
The verb *óta* is used to express the process where the agent kicks an object with their foot. It can also be used in a situation where the agent pulls a trigger to cause the object or any entity associated with the object to thrust forward, such as in the case of a gun. This is illustrated in:

538) **ota** 
   
   **bolu ama**
   
   ó = tá bólu á- mé

   3SG.NOM.PST = kick ball CL3 the

   ‘He kicked the ball’  (Verbs 220.1)

539) **ota** 
   
   **kokpa okpa ama**
   
   ó = tá kókpá ó- *kpá á- mé

   3SG.NOM.PST = kick leg NCL1 dog CL1 the

   ‘He kicked the dog with his leg’  (Verbs 221.1)
They shoot guns around to capture the area, then they will go and settle’ (History.amankrado 3.103)

The verb *ká* is used to express the process where an agent rides or drives an object, as illustrated in:

541) Kofi aka kufuo usu Bekpi
Kofi à- ká kò- *fùó ó= sù Bèkpí
Kofi PFV drive NCL7 vehicle 3SG.NOM.PST= go Hohoe
‘He drove the vehicle to Hohoe’ (Miscellaneous 93.1)

542) dikpəfi nā le okeke boka
lè- *kpəfi nā le okéké bò- ká
NCL5 child CL5.DEF hold bicycle NMLZ ride
‘The child is riding a bicycle’ (Miscellaneous 94.1)

The verb *tsyí* is used to express a situation where the agent carries an object from a ground/surface upwards or moves it from one location to another. The choice of the verb *tsyí* is linked to items that are relatively heavy such that it will require the use of both hands and/or efforts from others to move them. Lighter items take the more general verb *fi* ‘take’ when they undergo the process of movement. This is illustrated in:

543) utsyi bitsyikə biā nkpe kalende
ò= tsiy bi-tsìyikọ biā n= kpé kàlèndé
3SG.NOM= carry NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL= have heavy
‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)
The verb *sɔ́nɔ̀* can be said to be the opposite of *tsyí* and *ff*. It expresses the situation where the agent drops or off-loads an item from a higher level to a lower surface.

When the verb *sɔ́nɔ̀* is used with animate entities, it takes the interpretation of lodging or settling in a location. The use of the verb *sɔ́nɔ̀* is illustrated in:

547)  

*omni*  

3SG.NOM = NEG be  

*NMLZ carry ASSOC* 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry  

*ko*  

3CL ACC INF go  

*INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put*  

‘It isn't like that they carry it along to off-load’  

(Buying_name 39.1)
7.2.1.2.11 Inherent complement verbs

Sekpele, like most Kwa languages, has a large set of verbs that take obligatory complements. A verb and its complement determine the semantics of the verb phrase. These verbs are also known as ‘light verbs’ (Dorvlo, 2008:133; Lefebvre & Brousseau, 2002) due to the fact that their generic meaning has little or no effect on the semantics of the verb phrase. They are also referred to as inherent complement verbs (Essegbey, 1999; Nwachukwu, 1987:22). There is a semantic bond between inherent complements and their associated verbs. A pronominalization test distinguishes between the objects of transitive verbs and inherent complements (Anyanwu, 2012:1561). Whereas the object complement of transitive verbs can be pronominalized, inherent complements cannot. A list of verb phrases that fall in this categorization and their meanings is provided in appendix 5.

There are two categorises of inherent complement verb phrases: linked and separated. Whereas some verbs and their complements are linked together morphosyntactically, others are separated. In a linked verb phrase, the tone of the verb spreads onto its complement. For instance, if the last verb or only tone of the verb is high and the initial tone of the complement is low, the high tone of the verb spreads to its complement. In most cases, the entire tonality of the verb phrase is high. Verb phrases that belong to this category include bé kató ‘increase/rise’, bé létsyá ‘announce’, bé kásɔ́ ‘decrease’, fɔ kayó ‘pay’, kpé kéní ‘poison’, lé úbi ‘give birth’, sɔ mòf ‘fart’ and tɔ kúsù ‘permit/allow’. This is illustrated in:
Observation of examples (549), (550) and (551) show that the underlying forms of the complements kèní, kúsú and bèbí are realised in the output as kèní, kúsú and bèbí respectively. They assume these outputs because they are connected to the verb as a compound and form a prosodic word. It does not matter if there are several intervening words between the verb and the complement, the high tone of the verb is carried onto the complement so far as it follows the verb to show that they are linked together. This is illustrated in:

552) obe \ ukpo \ amo \ eto \ letsya \ lo \ uma
\=
bé \ ó- \ *kpé \ á- \ mó \ étò \ létsyá \ ló \ ó- \ *mò
3SG.NOM.PST = climb up NCL3 death CL3 the POSS roof LOC NCL3 town amo
á- mó
CL3 the
‘He announced the news of the death in the town’ (Verbs 439.1)
However if the verb and its complement occur in a situation where they are delinked from each other, the tone of the verb does not influence the complement. For instance, in a present progressive construction, the verb becomes nominalised and does not function as the syntactic verb. The noun complement occurs before the nominalised verb and they both occur as the complement of the syntactic verb. However they are linked semantically. Since the verb has been nominalised, its influence on its inherent complement is minimal. This is illustrated in:

554) ketu    kama    le    kato    bobe
      ká-    *tù    ká-    mó    kátò    bó-    bé
      NCL4   stream   CL4   the   hold up   NMLZ   climb up
‘The river is rising’ (Verbs 243.1)

555) òle    oka    ṣiṣiṣẹ    sikpi    bote
      ò-    lé    ò-    *ká    á-    mó    sikpi    bó-    té
      3SG.NOM=   hold NCL1   chief CL1   the   frighten NMLZ   show
‘He is afraid of the chief’ (Verbs 478.1)

Verb phrases whose verb and noun complement are not linked have the same tonality as their underlining form. Verb phrases in this category include ṃfọ ẹtikẹ ‘speak’, kóso ọkọ ‘cough’, kpé ọffọ ‘tickle’, sẹ Ẹkọọkọ ‘kneel’, tso Ẹkọọkọ ‘start’, tso Ẹkọọkọ ‘rest’ and sọ Ẹkọọkọ ‘sing’. This is illustrated in:
Some verbs have the same root form as their noun complement such that it is possible to drop the complement so long as the verb is not ambiguous. In a present progressive construction, either the noun complement or the nominalised verb can be dropped without altering the semantics of the clause. However, in cases of homonymic verbs, keeping the noun complement and dropping the nominalised verb is preferred to avoid ambiguity. Verbs in Sɛkpɛle which have the same root form as
their complements are *m̀* ‘smile/laugh’, *ẁ* ‘dance’ and *s̀* ‘sing’. This is illustrated in:

559) a) ɔlɛ̀ *sìmə* bu*mə*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{hold} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{smile} \\
\text{‘He is laughing’} &\quad \text{(Verbs 210.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

b) ɔlɛ̀ *bumə*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{hold} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{smile} \\
\text{‘He is laughing’} &\quad \text{(Verbs 211.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

560) a) ɔlɛ̀ *(kewi) (buwi)*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{hold} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{dance} \\
\text{‘He is dancing’} &\quad \text{(Verbs 251.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

b) ɔlɛ̀ *kewi buwi ku kɔ̀nɔ*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{hold} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{dance} \quad \text{with good} \\
\text{‘He is performing a beautiful dance’} &\quad \text{(Verbs 252.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

561) a) *efè sà dzawale to kusə* kutsyə̀ *ətə* bo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{now} \quad \text{sing} \quad \text{Dzawale} \quad \text{POSS} \quad \text{NCL7} \quad \text{song} \quad \text{CL7} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{2SG.NOM} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{1PL.ACC} \\
\text{‘Now sing a Dzawale song for us’} &\quad \text{(Good_old_days 18.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

b) ɔlɛ̀ *kusə busə*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{hold} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{sing} \\
\text{‘He is singing’} &\quad \text{(Verbs 130.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

The verbs *ẁ* ‘dance’ and *s̀* ‘sing’ are homonymic such that they also have the meanings ‘cry’ and ‘fry’ respectively. Dropping the noun complement may lead to the ambiguity of ‘dance/cry’ and ‘sing/fry’, as illustrated below:
Example 562a has the full representation of the verb phrase and it expresses the activity of crying. Example 562b has dropped the noun complement which makes the clause ambiguous between the activity of crying and dancing. Example 562c has the nominalised verb dropped and the state of affairs can be deduced from the noun complement. This sentence explicitly expresses the state of crying. In example 563a, the noun complement àkpé ‘fishes’ makes it clear the verb sà is not ‘sing’ but ‘fry’. 
Example 563b and c were extracted from 561b and either the nominalised verb or the noun complement has been dropped. Example 563b is ambiguous between the activities of singing and frying. Example 563c explicitly expresses the activity of singing.

On a broader note, it seems that the noun complement is important in determining the semantics of the verb phrase. The verb may merely express the state of affairs depicted in its complement. There are two tests to account for this assertion. The first is to keep the complement and vary the verb and the second is vice versa. Below is the data with varying verbs. It contains the noun ètìkí ‘word’ and the verb is varied. Other nouns whose verb can be varied are kàtò ‘up’ and kàsɔ̂ ‘down’. Verb phrases involving the noun ètìkí are dí ètìkí ‘speak’, lə́kə̀ ètìkí ‘discuss’, tsyə́ ètìkí ‘interrogate’, nì ètìkí ‘deny’ and tɔ̀ ètìkí ‘question’. This is illustrated in:

564) udì oka oma etìkí
   õ= dí ó- *ká á- mɔ̀ à- *tìkí
3SG.NOM.PST= est NCL1 chief CL1 the NCL6 word
   ‘He spoke to the chief’ (Verbs 138.1)

565) bookpadi wa bato wa etìkí
   bɔ̀= ó- kpádí wɔ̀ bɔ̀= tɔ̀ wɔ̀ à- *tìkí
3PL.NOM= FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= ask 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
   bɔtsɔ̀ wa etìkí lɔ̀ ñɔ̀mí fɛ̀ nɔ̀kɔ̀ kàsɛ̀
3PL.NOM= put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word LOC NCL6 eye like that how
   baale kòle
   bà= ì- lɛ̀ kɔ̀lɛ̀
3PL.NOM.PST= HAB hold advice
   ‘They will call him to ask questions to put questions before his face like how they give advice’ (King making 12.2)
The second test involves varying the noun complement with a specific verb. Verbs that can take various noun complements include bè ‘climb’, kpé ‘put’, tɔ́ ‘give’ and tó ‘throw’. The data below show verb phrases with the verbs kpé and tó. See appendix 5 for more verb phrases.

568) a) okpe  wa  sikpi  nka  wooło  we
    ò=  kpé  wə́  sikpí  ákò  wò=  ò-  lò  wə́
    3SG.NOM.PST= put 3SG.ACC  frighten that 3SG.NOM= FUT  kill 3SG.ACC
    ‘He threatened to kill him’ (Verbs 442.1)

b) bobo  wã  edisabi  ini
    bá=  bò  wã  à-  dif  *sá -bí  ò=  ní
    3PL.NOM.PST= come  cook NCL6  eat  thing  DIM  3SG.NOM= be
    aloku  bobo  bakpe  keni
    àlókù  bá=  bò  bá=  kpé  kà-  *nì
    meat  hide 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= put NCL4  dirt
    ‘They came to cook a dish which is meat hide and put poison into it’
    (History_amankrado 3.81)
569) a) lə bato ola mfó balosə la
lə bá = tô ólá nmfó bá = lə -sə lə
if 3PL.NOM.PST= throw prayer there 3PL.NOM.PST= be finish CAUS TOP
, boola ubuki bala koto komsə
bò = ò- là o- *búkí bá = là kó- *tə kó- mã
3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM= cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
‘If they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’
(King_making 2.47)

b) waato atsyolo
wà = â- tô âtsyolyə
3SG.NOM= HAB throw riddle
‘He tells riddles’ (Verbs 137.1)

7.2.1.3 Trivalent verbs
A trivalent or ditransitive verb is one that has three core participants. It involves the
agent, the goal, and the theme. In another instance, it may involve ‘the effector’, the
patient, and the instrument. The number of trivalent verbs in Sekpele are relatively
few and they include tɔ ‘give’, tɔ ‘ask’, tɛ ‘tell’, tɛ ‘show/teach’, and tsyésé ‘send’.
The agent takes the subject role while the recipient and the theme are the direct and
indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is
irreversible. This is illustrated in:

570) se utə fo ote eso , lə
sé ð = tô fɔ ð - *tə ėsò lə
when 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC NCL1 goat therefore if
ukpəə , buuto fo kafa
ð = kpə = bò ò- tô fɔ kà- *fiá
3SG.NOM= to die =TOP 3PL.NOM= FUT give 2SG.ACC NCL9 cloth
‘Therefore that period, since she gave you a goat therefore if she dies, they will give you cloth’
(Buying.name 40.2)
571) bá to aye bobá nsi mfo kola
   bá tò à- *yê bôbá n= sì mfo kólá
   3PL.REL.PRO POSS NCL6 name 1PL.REL.PRO REL= dwell here even
   lenyi Ononto ate mə asa omfo .
   lè= n- yì ìnántó ì- té mó à- *sá à- mfo
   REL= NEG know Almighty God PFV show 3PL.ACC CL6 thing CL6 that
   ‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’
   (Punishment 1.10)

572) waatsyese oka omọ ọtọsa
   wà= á- tseyésé ó- *ká á- mó à- *tásá
   3SG.NOM= HAB send NCL1 chief CL1 the NCL6 gift
   ‘He sends the chief gifts’
   (Verbs 454.1)

However, if prominence is placed on the theme and it has to occur before the goal, then it has to be introduced by the verb ìfì ‘take’ or lókò ‘remove’ in a serial verb construction, as in:

573) wo lidi ufiaseate eso wo
   wọ lè= dí ò- *fiò *sàtè ésò wọ
   3SG.PN REL= be:N PRES NCL1 god owner therefore 3SG.PN
   beefi sekà sìomọ
   bá= à- ìfì sé- *ká sì- mó
   3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take NCL11 chief CL11 the
   bọọtọ
   bá= à- tó
   3PL.NOM.PST= PFV give
   ‘She became the traditional priest therefore she they had given the chieftaincy’
   (History amankrado 3.31)
574) se kolesa onsi to momo mimfi
sé ko- lèsá à- n- sí tó mòmò mî = n- fi
since NEG thing PFV NEG still be.at now 1SG.NOM = EMPH take
situ mintọ wọ̀ 1...
á- n- sí
PFV NEG still
sé- *tù mî = n- tó wò =
NCL11 metal 1SG.NOM = EMPH give 3SG.ACC = TOP
oya diye nọ loo .
ọ = yà diyè nọ lọ̀
3SG.NOM.PST = buy name really UFP
‘Since I don’t have anything now and I gave him a coin, then he has bought a name really’
(Buying_name 46.4)

575) lọ buusu
ló bá = múṣ fọ 2SG.ACC kò bò = ó- sù
if 3PL.NOM.PST = catch 2SG.ACC then 3PL.NOM = FUT go
bolọka fọ bate , fọ ni utsyọ
bà = lákọ fọ bà = té fọ ni ìtsyúṣá
3PL.NOM = remove 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = show 2SG.PN be somebody
bẹnyọ .
bá = à- nyọ
3PL.NOM.PST = PFV find
‘If they catch you then they will reveal you in public, you are the one they have found’
(King making 2.30)

7.2.2 Syntactic valency

Languages have various strategies for adjusting, that is, increasing, decreasing or rearranging the syntactic valence of clauses (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:147; Van Valin 2001:93). The semantic/pragmatic rationale for increasing syntactic valence is to upgrade a peripheral participant to centre-stage, whereas the rationale for decreasing valence is to downplay a normally centre-stage participant to a peripheral status or eliminate it totally.
7.2.2.1 Valency increasing operations

7.2.2.1.1 Causatives

One way to increase the valence is the application of causation. A causative is a linguistic expression that contains a predicate cause and one of its arguments contains a predicate which express an effect (Payne, 1997:176). In this case, a causative construction is represented as \textit{CAUSE}(x, P) where \(x\) is a term that acts on a proposition \(P\) which is an effect clause. Causative constructions are formed based on the transitivity of the caused event. Causative predicates always involve one more argument than the caused predicate such that if the caused event is intransitive, the causative is transitive. Likewise if the caused event is transitive, the causative is ditransitive. There are three types of causatives: (i) lexical; (ii) morphological; and (iii) periphrastic/analytic.

7.2.2.1.1.1 Lexical causatives

Lexical causatives are verbs that have the notion of cause embedded in their meaning. They exhibit a caused-resultant alternation. One has a choice between a caused and a resultant construction. A caused construction has one argument more than its resultant counterpart. There are at least three ways of representing lexical causatives: (i) no change in verb; (ii) idiosyncratic change in verb; and (iii) different verb. Verbs in Sekpële that can have both caused and resultant interpretations with no change in the structure of the verb include \textit{bá} ‘break/split’, \textit{fósó} ‘break’, \textit{wíf} ‘pour.away’, \textit{láp} ‘tear’, \textit{má} ‘squeeze’, \textit{sásó} ‘spread’, \textit{síní} ‘open’, \textit{tí} ‘close’ and \textit{kó} ‘mix’. This is illustrated in:
The verbs *bá* and *fə́sə́* are forms of ‘break’. The verb *bá* is used with sphere-like objects while the verb *fə́sə́* is used with rod-like objects. Examples 576a, 577a and 578a illustrate resultant while examples 576b, 577b, and 578b illustrate caused constructions for the verbs *bá*, *fə́sə́* and *sɪ́nɪ́* respectively.

Idiosyncratic change in a verb involves a situation with weak suppletion. One such case of weak suppletion in Sekpele is the alteration of stative and action verbs.
Sekpele has a way of forming stative verbs from action verbs which involves a floating low tone on the final syllable of the verb. The effect of the floating low tone is realised on disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, as in (581a) while it has no effect on monosyllabic verbs. This process of forming stative verbs from action verbs is limited to some verbs and not all verbs can undergo this process. I will illustrate idiosyncratic change in verbs with some locative verbs. Other locative verbs use other strategies (such as the morphological) in their caused constructions. Locative verbs which undergo idiosyncratic change include kpé ‘put.in/be.in/wear/exist’, kpó ‘be.spread/pour’, táká/táká ‘be.on/put.on’, tì ‘cover’ and má ‘be.fixed’. This is illustrated in:

579) a) kafia  kā  kpe  lelaka  asuə
ka-  *fiá  kā  kpé  lē-  *lákā  ḫsʊ̀ð
NCL9 cloth  CL9.DEF exist  NCL5  box  body
‘The cloth is in the box’  (Locative_verbs 1.1)

b) ebokpe  kuyibi  lə  lekpenku  asuə .
à=  bō-  kpé  kò-  *yī  -bī  lō  lē-  *kpé  -n-  *kù  ḫsʊ̀ð
2SG.NOM  FUT  put  NCL7  tree  DIM  LOC  NCL5  bowl  LIG  half  body
‘You will put a stick into a scrap bowl’  (Soap_making 18.1)

580) a) ntu  kpo  la  letugo  asuə
ntù  kpó  lō  lē-  *tigó  ḫsʊ̀ð
water  pour  LOC  NCL5  barrel  body
‘Water is in the barrel’  (Locative_verbs 53.1)

b) la  akpo  ntu  ko  ntu  le  bobo .
lō  á=  kpó  ntù  kò  ntù  lē  bō-  bō
if  2SG.NOM.PST  pour  water  then  water  hold  NMLZ  get  out
‘If you pour water into them then water is coming out of them’  (Pottery 212.1)

581) a) kafia  kā  takā  la  opumù  asuə
kā-  *fiá  kā  táká  lō  ḫ  *pōnù  ḫsʊ̀ð
NCL9 cloth  CL9.DEF  be  on  LOC  NCL3  table  body
‘The cloth is on the table’  (Locative_verbs 51.1)
b) **utəkə** **bisi** **lo** **ateke**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} \ &= \ \text{put on} \quad \text{NCL12 yam LOC stove}\\
\text{`He put yams on fire (He is cooking yams)'}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples 579, 580 and 581 illustrate the paired meanings of the verbs *kpé* `exist/put`, *kpó* `be.in/pour` with liquids, and *tə́kə̀/tə́kə́* `be.on/put.in`. Example 581a also shows the effect of the stative floating low tone on the output *tə́kə̀*.

Sekpele also has a set of verbs whose caused and resultant forms are two different verbs. They involve strong suppletion and some of the pairs of verbs are *lò/kpə́* `kill/die`, *wã̀/bé* `cook/be.cooked` and *bɔ́/lə́kə̀* `come or go out/remove`. This is illustrated in:

582) a) **owoé** **likpə** **oo** **ewu** **likpə** **oo** **ukpə** **tsya**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} \ &= \ \text{die} \quad \text{UFP grandmother REL} = \ \text{die} \quad \text{UFP 3SG.NOM.PST} = \ \text{die} \quad \text{too} \\
\text{who} & \quad \text{REL} = \ \text{die} \quad \text{UFP grandmother} \\
\text{wá} & \quad \text{UFP NEG die yet}
\end{align*}
\]

`Who died? Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’  (Buying name 17.1)

b) **balo** **ubuki** **amə**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3PL.NOM.PST} \ &= \ \text{kill} \quad \text{NCL1 animal CL1 the} \\
\text{`They killed the animal'}
\end{align*}
\]

(Verbs 70.1)
Examples 582 and 583 show the alteration of kpə́/lò and bé/wã̀ respectively. Examples 582a and 583a are resultative constructions while examples 582b and 583b are their caused counterpart.

### 7.2.2.1.1.2 Morphological causatives

Morphological causatives involve a productive change in the form of the verb. Sekpele has a causative marker -sə̀ attached to most verbs to express causation. This process is used with only intransitive caused events. The analytic strategy is used with transitive caused events (see §7.2.2.1.1.3). The causative morpheme is very productive and can be attached to a variety of verbs which include tò ‘burn’, tú ‘boil’, bé ‘raise/climb’, lò ‘finish’, tákà ‘rise’, tsyáká ‘mix’, tsyɔ̀ ‘be straight’, yáklà ‘awake’, lábé ‘sleep/lie’, lé ‘give birth’, tsyá ‘join/tie up’, fló ‘wash/bath’, fɔ́
‘increase/swell’, *biá ‘be spoil’, *tsyrbè ‘be smooth’, *fáká ‘hang’, *tínkó ‘shake’ and *bókó ‘bring’. This is illustrated in:

584) a) **sinə** siəmə ato
   sé- *nə sú- má - tò
   NCL11 meat CL11 the PFV burn
   ‘The meat is burnt’ (Verbs 115.1)

   b) **otonsə** sefa siəmə
   ó = tò -n- -sò sè- *fâ sú- má
   3SG.NOM.PST = burn LIG CAUS NCL11 grass CL11 the
   ‘He burned the grass’ (Verbs 113.1)

585) a) **kutu** komə le butu
   kó- *tù kó- má lè bò- tò
   NCL7 soup CL7 the hold NMLZ be boil
   ‘The soup is boiling’ (Verbs 124.1)

   b) **utusə** kutu komə
   ó = tò -sò kó- *tù kó- má
   3SG.NOM.PST = be boil CAUS NCL7 soup CL7 the
   ‘He boiled the soup’ (Verbs 125.1)

The pairs of examples 584 and 585 show the resultative and caused constructions of the verbs *tò ‘burn’ and *tú ‘be boil’ respectively. Examples 584a and 585a are resultative constructions while examples 584b and 585b are their caused counterpart.

### 7.2.2.1.1.3 Periphrastic or analytic causatives

Periphrastic or analytic causatives involve the use of a separate causative verb which may have the meaning ‘make’, ‘cause’, ‘force’, or ‘compel’. They consist of a matrix verb (expressing the notion of CAUSE) whose sentential complement refers to the caused event. Sekpele verbs which are used to express CAUSE include *yíffó ‘do/make’, *wá ‘cause’, *tsó ‘allow/cause’ and *kpé ‘cause/compel’. The verb *yíffó is
used to express the agent making or influencing the outcome of the caused event.

This is illustrated in:

586) a) \textbf{siku \ siõmõ \ ama}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
se- & *kú & siõ & mõ & à- & má \\
NCL11 & door & CL11 & the & PFV & become narrow \\
\end{tabular}  

‘The door is narrow’  (Adjectives 67.1)

b) \textbf{uyifo \ siku \ siõ \ lema}  
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
ó= & yífô & se- & *kú & siõ & lè= & má \\
3SG.NOM.PST= & make & NCL11 & door & CL11.REL.PRO & REL= & become narrow \\
\end{tabular}  

‘He made the door which is narrow/ He made a narrow door’  (Adjectives 68.1)

c) \textbf{uyifo \ siku \ siõ \ ama}  
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
ó= & yífô & se- & *kú & siõ & à- & má \\
3SG.NOM.PST= & make & NCL11 & door & CL11.DEF & PFV & become narrow \\
\end{tabular}  

‘He made the door narrow’

Another verb used for expressing \textbf{CAUSE} is the verb \textbf{wə́} and it is illustrated in:

587) \textbf{kemi \ itsyô \ akpo \ ntu \ owë́ \ nya}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
kêmî & è= & tsyô & à= & kpô & nîtû & à= & wô & nyâ \\
then & 3SG.NOM= & stay & 2SG.NOM & pour & water & 2SG.NOM & cause & 3SG.ACC \\
aba & à= & bá \\
2SG.NOM & mash \\
\end{tabular}  

‘Then you pour water and mash’  (Palm_kernel_oil 6.5)

588) \textbf{fëé \ fuuwë́ \ wô \ asô \ kemi}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
fêé & fô= & ó- & wô & wô & à= & sô & kêmî \\
before & 2SG.NOM= & FUT & cause & 3SG.ACC & 2SG.NOM & beat & then \\
eba & okuyë́ \ nom \\
è= & bô & òkuôyë́ \ nó \\
3SG.NOM= & get out \ soap \ really \\
\end{tabular}  

‘Then you will beat into balls to really come out as soap’  (Soap_making 25.6)

The verb \textbf{ò} is used to encode an animate entity causing another animate entity to perform a task or cause an event to come into being. This is illustrated in:
Two causative clauses can occur in succession such that the second causative clause can be said to be the result of the first causative clause. The first clause is usually an analytic causation while the second clause may be either lexical or morphological causation. The verb tə́ is usually used in such construction, as in:

591) a) *siku  sìəmə  asmi
    sè-  *kú  síš-  mó  à-  sfíl
    NCL11  door  CL.1  the  PFV  open
    ‘The door is opened’

b) *osani  omo  asmi  *siku  sìəmə
    ò-  *sànì  á-  mò  à-  sfíl  sè-  *kú  síš-  mó
    NCL.1  man  CL.1  the  PFV  open  NCL11  door  CL.11  the
    ‘The man opened the door’
c) Kofi ṣọ osani ṣọ asimi siku sọmọ
Kofi PFV open NCL1 man CL1 the PFV open NCL11 door CL11 the
‘Kofi caused the man to open the door’

The verb ṭọ is also used with situational caused and abstract entities. In this circumstance, a preceding event or an abstract entity is said to be the cause of the event at stake. This is illustrated in:

592) nya ni itọ bastaka
nyá ní é= à- tọ bá= à- tákà
3SG.PN be 3SG.NOM.PST= PFV cause 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV rise
beedu ná.
bá= à- dú ná
3PL.NOM.PST = PFV leave really
‘That is what had caused them to rise and leave’ (History_amankrado 15.15)

593) sikpitete oọta weetsyetsyi kedu
sikpitété à- à- tọ wà= á- tsyétsyí kà- dú
fear SCR HAB cause 3SG.NOM = HAB run INF leave
‘Fear causes him to run away’

The verb ṭọ can be used as the only verb in a clause and take an abstract noun, as in:

594) nya eso la awà lọ ni ọọ la,
nyá ọsọ lọ á= wà lọ ní á= nọ lá
therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST cook LOC CL5.ACC 2SG.NOM.PST drink TOP
yà lọ ọọ lọ
yà= á- n- tọ bò- fì
3SG.NOM = HAB NEG cause NMLZ become sick
‘Therefore if you cook in it and drink, it doesn't cause sickness’ (Pottery 47.5)

The verb kpé is used to express the agent of the matrix clause compelling the agent of the caused event to perform or cause the event to happen. This is illustrated in:

595) be laakpe nya nko ?
bé lè= á- kpé nyá ŋkò
what REL = HAB cause 3SG.ACC like that
‘What causes that to happen?’ (Pottery 212.1)
7.2.2.1.2 Comitative or Associative

Another valency increasing mechanism in Sekpele is comitative or associative which denotes accompaniment. It encodes a relationship of accompaniment between two participants in an event: the accompanee and the companion. Prominence is placed on the accompanee. In Sekpele, the associative marker –ko is attached to verbs to introduce an accompanee. The associative marker, like the causative marker, is very productive and can be attached to most verbs especially motion verbs. These verbs include ye ‘walk’, tɔ ‘go towards’, dú ‘leave’, tsyĩ ‘come from’, sú ‘go’, tsó ‘follow’, leke ‘be good’, tɔnɔ ‘agree’, bɔ ‘get out’ and tɔyá ‘meet. When two animate entities are involved, they may share responsibility of the task. The subject plays the lead role while the object plays the role of an accomplice or collaborator. This is illustrated in:

596) mə mə̀ didi bəkpə
mə̀ lè= dí bá- *kpɔ̀
3PL.PN  REL= be:NPRES NCL2 warrior
baayenko
bá= à- yɛ̀ -n- -k̀
mó
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV walk LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC
beetsyiko Atebubu fɛ̀
bá= à- tsyĩ̀ -kò Atebubu fɛ̀
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come from ASSOC Atebubu before
bɔɔbɔ Likpeto .
bá= à- bɔ Likpeto
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come Likpeto
‘They were warriors who lead the migration from Atebubu to Likpeto’
(History_amankrado 1.5)

597) eso se Bakpele fefɛ dibɔ̀
ésɔ̀ sé bə- *kpɛ̀ *lè fɛfɛ̀ lè= bɔ̀
therefore when NCL2 Likpe person own remaining REL= come
boɔtɔnko mɔ beeti
bá= à- tsɔ̀ -n- -kò mó bá= à- tí
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV follow LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV track
However, the object can play a dormant role such the sole responsibility of the task or event lies in the hand of the subject. The subject act on the object by carrying out the task and this is illustrated in:

598) kò m̀fò to ama yà leke le kò
previously there POSS NCL6 war CL6.REL.PRO REL= exist if
betsy mi okankple
bà= tsií mi ó- *kánkple
3PL.NOM.PST= carry 2PL.POSS NCL1 paramount chief
bedunko kò , bòtako mi kato
bà= dú -n- -kó kò bà= tskó mí kàtò
3PL.NOM.PST= leave LIG ASSOC

'The wars that existed in the past, if they carry your paramount chief away, then they have conquered you’

(History_amankrado 3.44)

599) nya m̀mò mò, lè fenka m̀mò lè esu eyu eyu,
then now here if assuming now if 2SG.NOM.PST go 2SG.NOM.PST steal
nya bùtsyi ñò m̀mò háá háá
nyà bà= ó- tsií ñò m̀mò háá
then 3PL.NOM= FUT carry 2SG.ACC now through to
besuko bòkpi?
bà= ñù -kó Bèkpí
3PL.NOM= go ASSOC Hohoe

‘Then right now, let assuming now if you steal, then will they carry you all the way to Hohoe?’

(Punishment 16.1)
When the object is an inanimate entity, the subject is said to act on or in relation to the object. This is illustrated in:

600) **kemi**  **efi**  **esuko**  **gate**  **esu**

\[
	ext{kèmí} \quad \text{à} &= \quad \text{fì} \quad \text{à} &= \quad \text{sù} \quad \text{-kò} \quad \text{gàtè} \quad \text{à} &= \quad \text{sù}
\]

then 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC mill 2SG.NOM go

\[
\text{à} &= \quad \text{kùù}
\]

2SG.NOM grind

‘Then you take it to the mill to be ground’  (Palm_kernel_oil 4.7)

A comitative or associative relation can apply to two inanimate entities. This is illustrated in:

601) **obonko**  **dikplibi**  **nämà**  **lekple**

\[
\text{ó} &= \quad \text{bá} \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{-kò} \quad \text{lè-} \quad \text{*kplíbí} \quad \text{nú} \quad \text{- mó lèkplè}
\]

3SG.NOM.PST = get out LIG ASSOC NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the outside

‘He brought the pot outside’  (Locative_noun 5.1)

Abstract entities can act on or be in a comitative relation with other entities. This is illustrated in:

602) **nya**  **ewu**  **fò**  **lepkapka**  **, be**  **beefì**

\[
\text{nyá} \quad \text{éwú} \quad \text{fò} \quad \text{lè-} \quad \text{*kpàkpà} \quad \text{bé} \quad \text{bá=} \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{fì}
\]

then grandmother 2SG.POSS NCL5 hat what 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB take

\[
\text{kèdinko} \quad \text{nya} \quad \text{?}
\]

\[
\text{INF} \quad \text{cat} \quad \text{LIG} \quad \text{ASSOC} \quad 3SG.ACC
\]

‘Then grandma, please, what do they eat with it?’  (Ofo 8.1)
Because some people have received the chieftaincy really from God I will say
(King_making 2.6)

‘After burial too, that is how they will sing throughout while the performance continues’
(Buying_name 31.4)

‘It is well with him/her’   (Miscellaneous 34.1)

A comitative relation can be introduced with the comitative particle *ku* as in:

‘Start then I come and sing with you’   (Good_old_days 23.1)
7.2.2.1.3 Possessor raising or external possession

Another valency increasing operation in Sekpele is ‘possessor raising’ or external possession. It involves a process where a peripheral entity is promoted to the core. This causes an intransitive clause to be transitive. An area where possessor raising is applicable is the locative construction (see §9.6). Locative constructions are intransitive clauses with obligatory locative adjuncts. If the locative adjunct contains a possessive phrase, the possessor can be promoted to the object function and occurs immediately after the verb (Ameka 2007:1076). This is illustrated in:

608) a) kalande kà- *ländé kà- má tákò ló lè- tsyìtsyà rò kòtòsì
NCL9 machete CL9 the be on LOC NCL5 basket POSS check
‘The machete is on the edges of the basket’ (Locative_verbs 17.1)

b) kalande kà- *ländé kà- má tákò lè- tsyìtsyà lò kòtòsì
NCL9 machete CL9 the be on NCL5 basket LOC check
‘The machete is on the basket on the edges’

609) a) lekpakpa tì ló wò disì
lè- *kpàkpà tì ló wò disì
NCL5 hat cover LOC 3SG.POSS head
‘A hat is worn on his head’
Examples 608a and 609a are prototypical forms of a locative construction. It consists of a Figure, a locative verb, and a Ground which is an adjunct phrase. In these cases, the adjunct phrases contain possessive noun phrases. In Example 608b and 609b, the possessor is promoted to the object function making the clause transitive. Whereas the adjunct phrases in 608a and 609a are obligatory and cannot be omitted from the clause, those of 608b and 609b can be relatively omitted. The adjunct phrase in 608b can be omitted and replaced with the generic locative noun ə̀súə́ ‘body’ while that of 609b can be omitted completely. One can conclude that the role of the adjunct in this case, is to specify the part of body (Ground) the Figure is located. Possessor raising can also be used in an action where the possessor is the benefactor or patient of the action. This is illustrated in:

610) a) **bookpo** **ubuki** **lo** **fɔ** **akpa**
   bò = ो- kpó ो- *bùkì lɔ fɔ ə- *kpà

3PL.NOM = FUT pour NCL1 animal LOC 2SG.POSS NCL6 leg

‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet’

b) **bookpo** **fɔ** **ubuki** **lo** **akpa**
   bò = ो- kpó ो- *bùkì lɔ ə- *kpà

3PL.NOM = FUT pour 2SG.ACC NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg

ubuki akpaana ini legbosu
o- *bùkì á- *kpà ánà è = ní lèkpòsú

NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram
'They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram they had requested, before they will slaughter before your feet'   (King making 2.34)

611) a) ṭọkan bisi lo wo ọkwẹ́
   ó = tọkọ bè- *sí ọ̀ ọkwẹ́
   3SG.NOM.PST = put on NCL12 yam LOC 3SG.POSS farm
   ‘He planted yams on his farm’   (Locative_verbs 18.1)

b) ṭọkan wo bisi lo ọkwẹ́
   ó = tọkọ ọ̀ bè- *sí ọ̀ ọkwẹ́
   3SG.NOM.PST = put on 3SG.ACC NCL12 yam LOC farm
   ‘He planted yams for him on the farm’

c) ṭọkan mo bisi lo ọkwẹ́
   ó = tọkọ ọ̀ bè- *sí ọ̀ ọkwẹ́
   3SG.NOM.PST = put on 3SG.ACC NCL12 yam LOC farm
   ‘He planted yams for me on the farm’

In examples 610a and 610b, the benefactor is located in the adjunct phrase and core respectively. This distinguishes between whether the benefactor benefitted or was affected directly or indirectly by the action of the subject. The process of promotion to the core is similar to the dative-shift however different in the sense that in dative-shift, the entire constituent is moved to the core while in this case, only the possessor is promoted. Example 611a is ambiguous between the possessor being a third party or being co-referential to the subject. Example 611a also forms the underlying structure for example 611b. However, the interpretation of 611b is restricted to the benefactor being a third party otherwise; the reflexive noun ọ̀súọ́
‘body’ will be used. In 611b and 611c, the benefactor is promoted to the object function and they are directly affected by the action of the subject.

7.2.2.2 Valency decreasing operations

Just as languages have valency increasing operations, they also have morphological, lexical, and periphrastic/analytic means of reducing the valency of the verb. Valency decreasing operations downplay, omit or move an argument to the periphery. Valency decreasing operations include reflexives, reciprocals, passive, antipassive, subject omission and object omission (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000:7). This section focuses on the valency decreasing mechanisms in Sekpele which only applies to object omission.

7.2.2.2.1 Object omission

Object omission is an operation that downplays the centrality of a patient such that it is omitted from the clause. Object omission occurs in situations where the object of the clause can be deduced from context such that its omission will not render the clause vague or ungrammatical. Object omission is mostly used in conversations or can be found in discourse where the context is clear. This is illustrated in:

612) a) \text{ essa } \quad \text{bebe} \quad \text{biama} .
\begin{align*}
\text{à = } & \text{sò bë-} & \text{*bë} & \text{bìs-} & \text{mò} \\
\text{2SG.NOM fry NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the} \\
\text{‘You fry the palm kernel’} & \quad (\text{Palm_kernel_oil 4.2})
\end{align*}

Cephas Delalorm
The context was a narration of how palm kernel oil is made. Example 612a consists of the antecedent clause and it contains the object of focus. In Example 612b, the narrator has omitted the object in the clause based on the background that the object can be deduced from context. Without the antecedent clause in 612a, example 612b will be vague. Another instance of object omission is illustrated in:

613)

a) lə lọ́ fọ́ otẹ́ ọ́, lẹ́ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ná
lọ̀ ọ̀ = tọ̀ fọ̀ ọ́tẹ̀ = lẹ̀- ọ́*lè ẹ̀ ná
if 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC goat = TOP NCL5 year CL5.DEF
ukpọ̀ o tẹ̀ ọ̀ ọ́mə fọ̀ lọ́ 3SG.NOM = to die = TOP NCL1 goat thNOMe 2SG. = FUT kill
awā lekonklo akpe lọ́ ọ́tśyitsya efi
à = wà lèkònklò à = kpẹ̀ lọ̀ lẹ̀- tśyitsyà à = fì
ten 2SG.NOM put Lèkònklò 2SG.NOM put LOC NCL5 basket 2SG.NOM take
otakọ tlaì .
à = tákọ̣ tlaì
ten 2SG.NOM put on tray
‘If s/he gives you a goat, the year s/he dies, this is the goat you will kill and prepare Lekonklo30, put (it) in a basket and place on a tray’ (Buying_name 14.1)

30 Lekonklo is a traditional meal prepared with roasted maize flour and beans in palnmut soup.
The context of the above examples is a narration of a rite of role-model or mentorship. According to the narrative, a person is supposed to prepare a traditional meal for his/her mentor when they die. Example 613a contains the object of focus ‘Lekonklo’. In examples 613b and 613c, the objects of the clauses have been omitted. Although the narrator has made several intermittent statements prior to making the utterances in 613b and 613c, it can be deduced from context that he is still referring to the focus object in 613a. Secondly, 613a has several clauses. The clauses that follow the clause with ‘Lekonklo’ as object (antecedent clause), have their objects omitted. The omitted objects can be inferred from the antecedent clause.
7.2.2.3 Argument adjustment operation

7.2.2.3.1 Inversion
Inverse constructions are technically valence ‘rearranging’ devices since they do not add or remove arguments from the clause (Payne, 1997:209). They rather invert the normal alignment between semantic roles and grammatical expression of these roles, leaving the clause with the same number of arguments as the corresponding direct construction. The semantic effect of a prototypical inverse construction is to downplay the centrality of the agentive participant with respect to the more patient-like participant. Inversion is based on the notion of precedence. If a speaker wants to place emphasis on the AGENT, s/he places the AGENT in the subject function thereby expressing a direct construction. On the other hand, if they wish to place emphasis on the PATIENT, precedence is placed on it and it appears in the subject function while the AGENT functions as the object.

In some languages, inversion is marked on the verb. However, in Sekpele, there is no marking on the verb. The arguments are swapped around depending on the mode of precedence. Inversion in Sekpele does not apply to all verbs. It is employed and limited to a relatively small number of stative and locative verbs. The locative verb kpé can be used to express possession. The syntactic function of the possessor and the possessed can be swapped. If the possessor occurs as the subject, the construction is referred to as a HAVE construction where the possessor has the possessed item. On the other hand, if the possessed item occurs as the subject, the construction is said to be a BELONG construction (see also §9.7). This is illustrated in:
Examples 614a and 615a are the direct construction of the corresponding inverse construction in 614b and 615b. Notwithstanding, not all verbs of possession can undergo the process of inversion. Some verbs require the possessed item or possessor to obligatorily occur as the subject. This is illustrated in:

616) 
\[
\text{atábi } \text{to } \text{wọ}
\]
\[
\text{atábi } \text{tọ } \text{wọ}
\]
\[
\text{money } \text{be.at } \text{3SG.ACC}
\]
\[
\text{‘He has money’} \quad \text{(Verbs 501)}
\]

617) 
\[
\text{osani } \text{sànî } \text{ənyə } \text{atábi}
\]
\[
\text{NCL1 man } \text{CL1.DEF PfV find money}
\]
\[
\text{‘The man has money’} \quad \text{(Verbs 503.1)}
\]

618) 
\[
\text{osani } \text{sànî } \text{ənyə } \text{disuayọ}
\]
\[
\text{NCL1 man } \text{CL1.DEF PfV find happiness}
\]
\[
\text{‘The man is happy’} \quad \text{(Verbs 504.1)}
\]
Example 616 has the possessed item occurring as the subject of the clause. It is the preferred means of expressing possession with the verb *be.at*. The rationale is that it is only possessed entities that can be with a possessor and not the other way round. In 617 and 618, the possessor is the subject of the clause. The clause cannot be inverted due to the fact that it is only animates that have the potential to find or discover other entities.

Another verb whose arguments can be inverted is the verb *hold*. The process of inversion can only occur when the arguments involved are animates and abstract entities. One scenario is when abstract entities affect animates. When the animate occurs as the subject, s/he is said to catch it. On the other hand, when the abstract entity occurs as the subject, it is said to affect the animate. This is illustrated in:

619) a) ɔlɛ̀  kofani
   ð=  lɛ̀ kɔfɔnì
   3SG.NOM=  hold shame
   ‘He is ashamed’

   b)  kofani  lɛ́ wə
      kɔfɔnì  lɛ́ wɔ̀
      shame hold 3SG.ACC
      ‘He is ashamed’ (Verbs 474.1)

620) a)  ubuki  əmə  lɛ̀  bufi
     ð-  *bũkì  á-  mò  lɛ̀  bò-  fì
     NCL1 animal CL1 the hold NMLZ become sick
     ‘The animal is sick’ (Verbs 355.1)

   b)  bufi  lɛ̀  ubuki  əmə
      bũfì  lɛ̀  ð-  *bũkì  á-  mò
data disease hold NCL1 animal CL1 the
      ‘The animal is sick’

In examples 619a and 620a, the animate occurs as the subject and the meaning is that the animate entities got ashamed and sick respectively. Contrarily, in 619b and
620b, the abstract entities occur as the subject. The abstract entity is said to affect the animate entity. In all cases, the animate has no control over the situation.

Inanimates cannot undergo the process of inversion. This is because they cannot act upon or affect other entities on their own accord: it is the other way round. In this regards, inanimates are restricted to the object function. This is illustrated in:

621) Kofi le kukuə lə ant
   Kofi hold NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
   ‘Kofi has a book in his hand’ (Verbs 500.1)

622) Kofi tsyi kukuə kuə
   Kofi carry NCL7 book CL7.DEF
   ‘Kofi is carrying the book’ (Verbs 505.1)

In Examples 621 and 622, the possessor occurs as the subject and the inanimate entity is restricted to the object function. This is because the semantics of the verbs ‘hold’ and ‘carry’ in Sekpele would not allow the process of inversion. In Sekpele, inanimates cannot hold or carry animates and abstract entities. However, inversion with these verbs does occur in some languages such as Akan.

7.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the verb structure and valency. Section 7.1 discussed the structure of the Sekpele verb. Sekpele is an agglutinating language with some fusion, thus, the language incorporates syntactic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, and causation. A verbal word consists of a verb root plus as many as three or four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. The verbal root is the only stable core of the verb word and is
obligatory. The pre-verbal domain includes the pre-initial, the initial, post-initial, aspect and polarity, and the infinitive while the post-verbal domain includes verb extensions such as the causative, the associative and the stative.

Section 7.2 discussed verbs and valency. This section was divided into two broad sections. Section 7.2.1 discussed the semantic classes of verbs and their valency. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). Univalent verbs include voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs. Divalent verbs include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs. The number of trivalent verbs in Sekpele are relatively few and they include tɔ̀ ‘give’, tɔ̀ ‘ask’, tɛ́ ‘tell’, tɛ́ ‘show/teach’, and tsyésé ‘send’. The agent takes the subject role while the goal and the theme are the direct and indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is irreversible.

Section 7.2.2 discussed syntactic valency in Sekpele which includes increasing, decreasing and argument adjusting operations. Valency increasing operations include causatives, comitative or associative, and possessor raising or external possession. The only valency decreasing operation in Sekpelé is object omission. The only argument adjustment operation in Sekpelé is inversion.
8 TENSE, ASPECT, MODALITY AND NEGATION

This chapter discusses tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverbs. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs.

Section 8.1 outlines and describes the tense and aspectual system of Sekpele according to three main groupings: (i) past, perfective and anterior; (ii) imperfective (progressive and habitual); and (iii) future (primary future and prospective). Section 8.2 discusses phasal aspects, section 8.3 discusses how mood and modality are expressed in Sekpele, while section 8.4 looks at negation of the various tenses and aspects.

8.1 Tense and aspect

Tense is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event or situation with respect to another reference point (Bhat, 1999:13). The terms ‘deictic’ and ‘non-deictic’ are used to differentiate between tenses which have the utterance time as the reference point and those which have some other event as the reference point, respectively. Some languages such as Kurukh (Dravidian) have a three-fold deictic tense distinction between past, present, and future, depending upon whether the events occur before, simultaneously or after the time of utterance. English, Kannada, and several related languages have a two-fold tense distinction between past and non-past. Some other languages such as Manipuri and Tuwuli have a two-fold distinction between future and non-future (Bhat, 1999; Harley, 2008).
Aspect, on the other hand, indicates the temporal structure in which the event occurs. Aspectual distinctions can be categorised into three distinct groups: (1) perfectives and imperfectives; (2) ingressives, progressives, egressives and resultatives; and (3) semelfactives, iteratives, habituals and frequentatives (Bhat, 1999:44). The first group is concerned with the distinction between the view of an event as a whole from outside as opposed to the view of an event from inside (Comrie, 1976:3). The second group, on the other hand, is concerned with the distinction between different phases of an event such that an event may be beginning, ending, continuing or changing. The third group is concerned with the various quantificational components of an event. In this case, an event may be viewed as occurring just once or several times, as a specific event or part of a general habit of carrying out similar events, or the different degrees of frequency with which the event occurs (Bhat, 1999:53). The most important aspectual distinction that occurs in the grammar of natural languages is the one between perfectives and imperfectives such that it forms the basic division of the verbal forms, with other aspectual, temporal and modal distinctions being regarded as forming different subdivisions of either the perfective or the imperfective category, or both (Bhat, 1999:46).

The debate about whether Aspect and Modality are more central to the grammar of the verb and the clause than tense in West African language groups such as Kwa has been well documented in Ameka & Kropp Dakubu (2008). This stems from the idea that aspect is more prominent in some languages than in others (Bhat, 1999; Comrie, 1976). This is true of languages such as Akan, Ewe, Ga, and Dangme. However languages belonging to the Ghana-Togo Mountain branch of Kwa have shown characteristics of tense in the morphology of verbs, in addition to aspect
(Dorvlo, 2008; Harley, 2005, 2008), depending on the ‘Aktionsart’ or lexical aspect of the verb. In these languages, the notion of modality is expressed by verbs, sentence particles and adverbials. The following sections seek to show the various tenses and aspects in Sekpele and their temporal functionality.

Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are à- and á- respectively. The imperfective morpheme á- is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs bò́ ‘come’ and sù ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are (b)ò- and (b)ó- respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Posterior has been glossed as future in this work.

Since subject pronouns and aspects are attached to verbs, it is possible to have a combination of tense and aspect. A past tense subject pronoun can combine with the perfective and the anterior morphemes. These combinations produce the effect of a past perfect construction. Likewise, a non-past subject pronoun combines with imperfective and posterior morphemes. The habitual can combine with both past and non-past subject pronouns to form past habituals and non-past habituals respectively.
8.1.1 Past, perfective and anterior

According to Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994:51) past and perfective typically develop from the same source and have very similar semantic content. They however differ from one another in the way they interact with imperfective and with semantic classes of verbs. A given morpheme will be interpreted as past or perfective depending on whether the language in which it occurs has an imperfective and whether it contrasts with the imperfective. If there is a contrast, then it is the perfective. However, if it co-occurs with the perfective then it is the past. In addition, interactions with stative predicates distinguish pasts from perfectives. Past indicates a situation which occurred before the moment of speech. The perfective on the other hand signals that the situation is viewed as bounded temporally and as forming a unified entity (Comrie, 1976; Dahl, 1985). In most languages, the perfective is used to denote a situation that occurred in the past. When the perfective co-occurs with the past, it signals remoteness distinctions in the past. In a given situation, the past may co-occur with imperfective forms such as the habitual and the progressive.

8.1.1.1 Past and perfective

In Sekpele, both past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. Past tense is indicated by a high tone on the subject pronominal. A past subject pronoun is attached to the verb stem alone or combines with the perfective morpheme to form a past perfect construction, as (623) and (624). Since NP subjects do not require subject pronominals to be attached to the verb, only the perfective morpheme is attached to the verb, as in (625) and (626).
Example 627 shows a situation where both the perfective and the past morphemes are represented. Constructions with NP subjects do not result in perfect constructions.

623) \( \text{ufəsə} \quad \text{wə} \quad \text{kokpa} \)
\( \overset{\overset{\overset{3SG.\text{NOM.PST}}{=}}{\overset{\overset{\text{break}}{\text{3SG.POFSS leg}}}{\overset{\overset{\text{He broke his leg}}{\text{(Verb 332.1)}}}{}}} } \)

624) \( \text{nya} \quad \text{besu} \quad \text{beku} \quad \text{kasə} \quad \text{kā} \)
\( \overset{\overset{\text{nıyá bá =}}{3PL.\text{NOM.PST} = \text{go}}}{\overset{\overset{\text{3PL.\text{NOM.PST} = \text{dig}}}{\text{NCL9 ground CL9.DEF}}}{\overset{\overset{\text{Then they dug the ground and put (them) there'}}{\text{(History_amankrado 3.54)}}}{}}} \)

625) \( \text{osaibi} \quad \text{ɔmə} \quad \text{əfəsə} \quad \text{wə} \quad \text{kokpa} \)
\( \overset{\overset{\text{NCL1 boy CL1 the PFV break 3SG.POFSS leg}}{\overset{\overset{\text{The boy broke his leg'}}{\text{(Verb 333.1)}}}{}}} \)

626) \( \text{wə} \quad \text{kokpa} \text{əfəsə} \)
\( \overset{\overset{3SG.POFSS leg PFV break}{\overset{\overset{\text{His leg is broken'}}{\text{(Verb 333.1)}}}{}}} \)

627) \( \text{itsyise} \quad \text{botsyua} \quad \text{afo} \quad \text{seka} \quad \text{siə} \quad \text{koŋ} \)
\( \overset{\overset{\text{itsyisɛ ba- tsyuš à- fɔ se- *ká siə kón}}{\overset{\overset{\text{because CL2 some PFV receive NCL11 chief CL11.DEF really}}{\text{betsiyiko Onantoto məətər}}}{}}} \)
\( \overset{\overset{\text{3PL.NOM.PST = come from ASSOC Almighty God place 1SG.NOM = FUT say}}{\overset{\overset{\text{Because some people have received the chieftaincy really from God I will say'}}{\text{(King_making 2.6)}}}{}}} \)
Examples 628 and 629 provide the tonal contrast that exist between past and non-past. Past is marked in the gloss while non-past is unmarked. Example 628 shows a past/non-past contrast between the 3PL.NOM. Examples 628 and 629 show the same contrast in the 3SG.NOM.

628) lə bakpo
lə́ bakpo
if 3PL.NOM.PST = pour
ntu lə okeke
ńtu lə okeke
ô = kpó nù lə ô = *kéké ô = lá

3PL.NOM = water
CL3.DEF TOP
bəflə ńtu
bəflə ńtu
bəflə = fló kò *nì ô = tṣyúṣ sàà fló kò *nì
okpe

3SG.NOM = put
ô = kpé

‘If they finish eating, if they pour water in the pan, then they wash hands; everyone washes hands in it’. (Naming_ceremony 4.5)

629) okpe
okpe
ŋa kokpa lə ntu
ŋa kokpa lə ntu
bomo osu
bomo osu
ô = kpé wó kōkpà lə ŋ = *tù bô mə āsū

3SG.NOM.PST = put 3SG.POSS leg LOC NCL10 water CL10 the body

‘He put his foot into the water’ (Verbs 401.1)

I have analysed these morphemes as past/non-past instead of perfective/imperfective based on Bybee et al. 1994’s hypothesis that if a morpheme contrast with the imperfective in a language, then it is perfective but if it co-occurs with the perfective, then it is the past. I have shown the tonal contrast between past and non-past, and between perfective and imperfective. The past can co-occur with the perfective to signal a remote past or better still a past perfect which is especially used in narratives of historic events, as in:

630) nya eso baafo
tyá ësò bá = à fò lè *yè ná mọ ìkò Mate.

therefore 3PL.NOM.PST = receive 5CL NCL5 name CL5 the that Mate

‘Therefore they had received the name Mate’. (History_amankra do 3.72)
The past can also co-occur with the habitual and the progressive, as in (632) and (633) respectively, to indicate a continuous occurrence of an event in the past:

632) **baata**  
*shoot*  
<br>  
3PL.NOM.PST = PFV shoot NCL7 gun because like that  
<br>  
633) **bekedu**  
*betray*  
<br>  
3PL.NOM.PST = PROG betray 3PL.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST = PROG give  

8.1.1.2 Anterior  

Another morpheme of interest that indicates a situation in the ‘past’ is the anterior. Anterior is defined as ‘a past action with current relevance’ (Bybee et al., 1994;
Dahl, 1985). It signals that the situation occurs prior to a reference time and is relevant to the situation at the reference time. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘perfect’ in most linguistic literature. I have chosen to use ‘anterior’ in this work to minimise the confusion between the use of ‘perfect’ and ‘perfective’. The anterior in Sekpele is represented by the morpheme (b)ò-, as in:

634) se bealakə ko fintsya bofiani
    sé bá= à- lókò kò f₃ -n- tsyā bò- fiānì

when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV remove then 2SG.PN LIG too ANT become

[ko] ordinary person [kase utidi bamba nte]
    kásè ō- *tidi bàmbà ŋ= té
as NCL1 person another REL= be

‘When they had removed it then you too have become an ordinary person as another person is’. (King_making 12.9)

The anterior may occur simultaneously with the current situation such that its occurrence necessitates the occurrence of the event after it, as in:

635) lefe boyo ito budu
    léfè bò- yó é= tó bò- dú

time ANT reach 3SG.NOM= give NMLZ leave

‘It is time to leave’ (Miscellaneous 51.1)

The anterior can also co-occur with the future in a subordinate clause to indicate that the event occurs immediately before or prior to the event in the main clause:

636) nya se yabutakə ko wə bufi anin
    nyá sé yà= bó- tṣákò kò wò bò- fì à- *nì
then when 3SG.NOM= FUT be on then 3SG.ACC ANT take NCL8 arm

ukə ito bā nle fo .

ō= kò é= tó bā ŋ= lé fò

3SG.NOM.PST= push 3SG.NOM= give 3PL.REL.PRO REL= hold 2SG.ACC

‘Then when it will be on, then he will have taken his hands to push for those holding you’ (King_making 2.41)

When the past occurs with the anterior, it indicates a past event as being relevant to the current moment or reference time (Bybee et al., 1994:61). It is sometimes
referred to as indefinite past. The indefinite aspect of the past tense is expressed such that the goal of the utterance is not to locate the situation at some definite point in the past, but only to offer it as relevant to the current moment.

637) *mọ bale mọ ku [ 1933 ] eso*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mọ} & \quad \text{bé} \quad \text{mọ} \quad \text{ku} \quad [1933] \quad \text{eso} \\
1SG.PN & \quad 3PL.NOM.PST = \quad \text{give birth} \quad 1SG.ACC & \quad \text{therefore}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
mọ & = \quad \delta - \quad \text{kpá} \quad \á - \quad *\text{nàmí sëkê} \\
1SG.NOM.PST = & \quad \text{ANT} \quad \text{become clear} \quad \text{NCL6} \quad \text{eye} \quad \text{few}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I was born in 1933, therefore I am quite a level-headed person’  (Punishment 19.3)

638) *alebe wọ leyenko mamọ tsya*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{álébé} & \quad \text{wọ} \quad \text{lè} \quad \text{yè} \quad \text{-n-} \quad \text{-kó} \quad \text{mómọ} \quad \text{tsyâ} \\
\text{however} & \quad \text{3SG.REL.PRO} \quad \text{REL} = \quad \text{walk} \quad \text{LIG} \quad \text{ASSOC} \quad \text{3PL.ACC} \quad \text{too}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ooboko} & \quad \text{nì} \quad \text{Katsyankla} \\
\delta & = \quad \delta - \quad \text{bókó nì Katsyankla}
\end{align*}
\]

‘However, the one who led them too was Katsyankla’  (History_amankrado 1.16)

### 8.1.2 Imperfective (progressive and habitual)

The imperfective is an aspectral category that views the internal structure of an event or situation as unbounded. It provides a view of the event as a whole from inside and contrasts with the perfective which provides a view of the event from outside (Bhat, 1999; Bybee et al., 1994; Comrie, 1976). An imperfective situation may be viewed as in progress at a particular reference point, either in the past, current or future, or viewed as characteristic of the period of time that includes the reference time. In this case, the imperfective can be sub-categorised into the progressive and the habitual.
8.1.2.1 Progressive

Progressive views an action as on-going at reference time. It applies typically to dynamic predicates that require constant input of energy to be sustained. When the notion of progressive is extended to stative predicates, then it is known as ‘continuative’. According to Bybee et al. (1994:133), the original function of the progressive is often to give the location of an agent as in the midst of an activity. As expressions of location, progressive constructions would most appropriately be used with main verbs that describe activities that have some characteristic and overt location, rather than with predicates describing internal and non-observable states, thus restricting the use of progressives to dynamic verbs. The progressive aspect can be used with the past, the current and future reference time.

8.1.2.1.1 Present progressive

The present situation is expressed by a present progressive construction. This is encoded by a periphrastic construction in which the verb *le* ‘hold’ takes a phrasal complement that expresses the progressive aspect. This construction is also found in other Kwa languages such as Ewe, Dangme, and Tuwuli. The phrasal complement is a non-finite phrase consisting of a nominalized verb and its complement occurring before it. The prototypical function of the progressive construction is to signal that the state of affairs represented in the clause is ongoing at the relevant reference time indicated by the verb.

639) ०le       kukuə   bokla
    3SG.NOM=  hold NCL7  book NMLZ  read

‘He is reading a book’  (Verbs 104.1)
When the clause has an NP subject, the verb *le occurs without any inflectional element, as in:

642) kutu koma le butu
kò- *tù kò- mês lé bò- tù
NCL7 soup CL7 the hold NMLZ boil
‘The soup is boiling’ (Verb 124.1)

643) Kofi le kosa bote
Kofi lé kósà bò- tò
Kofi hold question NMLZ ask
‘Kofi is asking a question’ (Verb_morphology 35.1)

The verb *le can also take more than one nominalized verb in the progressive construction. This is illustrated in:

644) anle bo bote boyenko
à = n- lé bò- bò- tè bò- yë -n- -kò
2SG.NOM NEG hold IPL.ACC NMLZ know NMLZ walk LIG ASSOC
‘You are unable to lead us’ (History_amankrado 3.110)

645) *le asa bowóni bokase
ò = lé à- *sá bò- wóni bò- kásé
3SG.NOM = hold CL6 thing NMLZ write NMLZ study
‘He is learning to write’ (Verb 107.1)

Present progressive can also be expressed with the verb *bo ‘go toward’ which has an inherent progressive property. This is because it indicates a movement toward a
goal. In context, the utterance of the progressive construction can be used to express

the imminence, immediate or intended future occurrence of a state of affairs.

646) sieti osani omə nto ?

siétí ḍ- *sànî á- mɔ̀ ð = tɔ̀

where NCL1 man CL1 the REL = go towards

‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverb 12.1)

647) òtɔ la kebuto

ò = tɔ̀ lɔ̀ kététò

3SG.NOM = go towards LOC village

‘He is going to the village’ (Verb 30.1)

648) kokoko utidi looke

kɔ̀kɔ̀kɔ̀ ḍ- *tìdî lɔ̀ = ḍ- kè

certainly NCL1 person REL = FUT exist

ɔtɔnko mi fenkə kale tɔ̀

ò = tɔ̀ -n- -kó mí fè ńkə̀ kà̀lə tɔ̀

3SG.NOM = go towards LIG ASSOC 2PL.ACC like that clan POSS

uninə

ò- *ninə̀

NCL1 elder

‘Certainly someone will exist and be leading you as the elder of the clan’.

(History_amankrado 11.4)

The attribution of an auxiliary status to the verb le is based on the idea that the
central message of such clauses is expressed by the nominalized VP. Hence the
verbal element in the nominalized structure is referred to as the main verb and the
element that carries other information is the auxiliary. This proposal is dependent
on the idea that when a verb takes a complement that is non-finite in form, such as
the participle, gerund, and infinitive, then the verb tends to assume a grammatical
function and to start on the road to auxiliary status (Heine, 1993). However, there
are numerous counter-arguments for the supposed ‘auxiliary’ verb being the main
verb in most West African languages. These arguments and the evidence for the
verb being the main verb in these constructions in Ewe and Tuwul is have been
divid provided by (Ameka & Kropp Dakubu, 2008; Harley, 2008) respectively. In
Sekpele, there is evidence that the verb le can occur on its own as the main verb of a
clause:

649) Kofi ali kuku klo ani
Kofi á- le kó- *kùo ló á- *nì
Kofi PFV hold NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
‘Kofi held a book in his hand’ (Verb_morphology 38.1)

650) kofani le wà lè wà ubissibi asua
kòfàni le wò ló wó ubisáíbi ìsúáa
shame hold 3SG.ACC LOC 3SG.POSS son body
‘He is ashamed because of his son’ (Verb 475.1)

The verb can also be modified by a preverbal auxiliary, as in (641), and more
importantly, can be habitualized, as in (652):

651) iise bensi le wà bobèbe
iise bà= n- sí le wò bobo bëbë
because 3PL.NOM= NEG still hold 3SG.ACC NMLZ search
‘Because they don’t want him anymore’ (king_making 12.4)

652) bookpadi wà botsyo wà etiki
bò= ó- kpádí wò bà= tsyò wò á- *tikí
3PL.NOM= FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM= put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
lò onomi fenka kase bàale köle
LOC NCL6 eye like that how 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB hold advice
‘They will call him and put words before him just like how they give advice’
(King_making 12.2)

Another argument that can be raised in support of the verb le being the main verb is
the issue of obligatoriness. In cases where the meaning of the clause can be inferred
from the object of the nominalized verb, the nominalized verb is considered as an
optional element whose omission still leaves the clause grammatical. We can
distinguish between the inflectional head of the clause and the semantic head – it looks like *le* is the inflectional head but the nominalized verb is the semantic head.

653) **ole** keyifo (buyifo)
       3SG.NOM = hold NCL9 work NMLZ do
       ‘He is working’ (Verb_morphology 39.1)

654) **ole** etsyi (butsyi)
       3SG.NOM = hold race NMLZ carry
       ‘He is running’ (Verb_morphology 40.1)

655) beso ole keku ?
       why 3SG.NOM = hold cry
       ‘Why is he crying?’ (Adverb 34.1)

At this juncture, I would argue for the fact that the nominalized VP is a verbal noun in Sekpelé. It can assume most of the characteristics associated with nouns. According to Ameka & Kropp Dakubu (2008b:236), the nominalized VP in Ewe is not an NP but a complement to an Aspect Phrase headed by aspectual markers. The difference between the nominalized VP in Sekpelé and that of Ewe is that in Ewe it is not a free constituent. Arguments raised for this include the fact that they cannot be modified by adjectives or be pronominalized. However, in Sekpelé, nominalized VPs can be modified or possessed due to the fact that they function as verbal nouns and assume all the characteristics of elements in noun class 10.

656) **Kofi** to budi kpe bomə kpe sikpi
       Kofi POSS NMLZ eat big CL10 DEF have frighten
       ‘Kofi’s massive eating is frightening’ (Verb_morphology 41.1)

Whereas in Ewe only the NP part of the nominalized VP can be fronted for focus, in Sekpelé, both can be fronted, wholly or separately.
The above examples show that it is possible to move any element into focus position. However the verb takes an emphatic marker n- to emphasize the occurrence of focus (see also §7.1.1.5).

8.1.2.1.2 Past progressive

In Sekpele, the progressive is expressed by the morpheme /ka-/ and its variants. When the progressive co-occurs with the perfective, since the perfective functions to indicate a past event, the clause will be interpreted as indicating an event that was on-going in the past, as in (661) and (662):

661) ọsọmụ  akam  lefẹnọ  ubọ
   rain  PFV PROG fall  when  3SG.NOM.PST = come
   ‘It was raining when he came’  (Adverb 23.1)
The interpretation of an event as being on-going in the past is best established in sentences which have subordinate clauses or temporal adverbs specifying a reference time. In the absence of this, a clause such as (662) may be ambiguous. It may have a habitual meaning such that the state of affairs indicates a habitual, customary action or state. In this case, (661) is more specific compared to (662) in terms of ambiguity. Examples (663) and (664) below also show the habitual interpretation of the past progressive:

662) Kofi àkayɛ̌  kesu  asi  omə
   Kofi PFV PROG walk INF go market CL the
   ‘Kofi was walking to the market’  (Verb_morphology 29.1)

The past progressive can be expressed with the emphatic morpheme /n-/ and its variants, as in:

663) bekedu  mɔ  bokoto
   3PL.NOM.PST PROG betray 3PL.ACC 3PL.NOM.PST PROG give
   abaa
   ̀abháá
government
   ‘They used to betray them to the government’  (History_amankrado 13.3)

664) okala  kamo  boyĩmɪ
   3SG.NOM.PST PROG love rice NMLZ chew
   ‘He used to love eating rice’  (Verbs 7.1)
But since they were migrating in a large group and sub-groups therefore, they came and settled’ (History_amankrado 3.4)

8.1.2.1.3 Future progressive

When the progressive co-occurs with the future tense, it indicates that an on-going state of affairs will be taking place in the future. The future progressive meaning expressed by the state of affairs is straightforward and has no ambiguity, as in:

‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’ (buying_name 58.2)

‘It is it only they will be calling him/her really’ (Naming_ceremony 33.1)
Therefore I will come so you could be teaching me’
(Punishment 20.1)

8.1.2.2 Habituals

Habituals describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, such that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 1976:26). Habituals in general are said to describe events that hold over a span of time that stretches from the past to the present, and to a large extent could continue into the future.

The habitual in Sekpele is expressed by the morpheme /á-./ The habitual is a subcategory of the imperfective aspect. When the habitual co-occurs with a subject NP, it carries an unbounded meaning such that the state of affairs being expressed is said to be on-going and its range covers prior or current situations to reference time.

‘The man swims quickly’   (Verbs 167.1)

‘The animal smells bad’  (Verbs 58.1)

On the other hand, the habitual may co-occur with both past and non-past subject pronominals. If the habitual co-occurs with the past subject pronominal, then it may
have a past habitual meaning and is used to account for past habitual occurrence of a state of affairs or event. These forms are prominent in historic narratives, as in:

671) baata  kota  iise  nko
bá = à- tá  kò- *tá  ise  nð
3PL.NOM.PST  PFV  NCL7  gun  because  like that

baata  ata  lọ  dibutu  nṣ
bá = á- tá  à-  *tá ló  lè-  *bùù nṣ
3PL.NOM.PST  HAB  shoot  NCL8  gun  LOC NCL5  bush  cl5.DEF
‘They had shot a gun because that is how they used to shoot guns in the bush’ (History_amankrado 3.102)

672) ewu  ! nko  te  baata  nọ
éwú  nko  tè  bá = à- tá nọ
grandmother  like that  only 3PL.NOM.PST  HAB  give  really
‘Grandma! That is how they often used to give really’ (Buying_name 56.2)

If the habitual co-occurs with a non-past subject pronominal then it takes a general habitual meaning, as in:

673) baata  ata  katsylama  bòmuọ  mfọ
bá = á- tá  à-  *tá kà- tsylama  bá = múọ  mfọ
3PL.NOM  HAB  shoot  NCL8  gun  INF  surround  3PL.NOM  catch  there
bedu  ,  nya fɛ̃ɛ̃  buusu
bá = dú  nyá fɛ̃́ɛ̃́  bó = ó- sù
3PL.NOM  leave  then  3PL.NOM  FUT  go
bọsọ
bá = sí  -s
3PL.NOM  dwell  NON-STV
‘They shoot guns around to capture the area then they will go and settle’ (History_amankrado 3.103)

674) waakpe  mba  lọ  kutu  căsu
wà = á- kpé  mbá  ló  kútù  căsu
3SG.NOM  HAB  add salt  LOC soup  body
‘He adds salt to soup’ (Verbs 406.1)
8.1.3 Future

The focal use of future is equivalent to a prediction on the part of the speaker that the situation in the proposition, which denotes an event taking place after the moment of speech, will hold (Bybee et al. 1994:244). The prediction may refer to the intention, desire, willingness, obligation, ability and possibility that the events may occur after the utterance or a reference point. The means for expressing the future may vary from one language to another, as well as the relationship to the expression of modality. Secondly, some languages may have means for primary future and aspectual futures. Others may distinguish between immediate and simple future. In Sekpele, we can distinguish between events which are imminent or about to take place in the near future, and those that are non-imminent. I refer to them as prospective and primary future respectively.

8.1.3.1 Primary future

In Sekpele, the primary future refers to events that are expected to occur at a remote reference time from the utterance or current time. The morpheme for expressing the primary future is /bɔ/- and its variant. When the future co-occurs with a subject NP or the 2SG subject pronominal (in some cases), the future morpheme is realised as bɔ-, depending on the vowel quality of the verb.

675) Kofi bɔye usu asi
   Kofi bɔ- yɛ  ɸ = sʊ  aši
   ‘Kofi will walk to the market’ (Verb_morphology 14.1)

676) utidi ɔnI butsyi mfɔ bɔkɔ ku ma
   ɸ- *tidi ɸ- *nI bɔ- tsi ɪnfɔ bɔ- kɔ ƙu ma
   NCL1 person CL1 one FUT come from there FUT join with 3PL.ACC
   ‘One person will come from there and will join them’ (King_making 2.1)
677)  eboba  nyā  lemo
   à =         bó-  bá  nyā    lè =  mò
2SG.NOM  FUT  break   3SG.REL.PRO  REL =  become big

ebose  nyā  lemo  kenke aba
   à =         bó-  sè  nyā    lè =  mò  kéŋké  à =  bá
2SG.NOM  FUT  pick 3SG.REL.PRO  REL =  become big all 2SG.NOM  break

‘You will break those which are big, you will gather all those which are big and break them’
(Soap_making 28.1)

The consonant is however deleted in all other environments. As stated already, the 2SG may take both forms, as in:

678)  ebokpe  kotoku  fëe  fuuwinisọ  ntu
   à =         bó-  kpé  kò-  *tòkú  fëe  fò =  ó-  wínis̀  ñtù
2SG.NOM  FUT  put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM =  FUT pour ash

buô  akpo  lọ  kotoku  asuọ .

buô  à =  kpó  lọ  kò-  *tòkú  àsùúb

CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body

‘You will put a sack before you pour the ash into the sack’
(Soap_making 18.4)

679)  nyā fëe  fuutəké  ntu  ekiti  akpo  fëe
   nyá fëe  fò =  ó-  tòkú  ñtù  â =  kútú  â =  kpó  fëe
then  2SG.NOM =  FUT put on water 2SG.NOM fetch 2SG.NOM pour before

kò-  *lọ  kùs  lè =  ó-  dù  kéŋké  é =  lókù  ñtù
NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL =  FUT drip all 3SG.NOM =  remove water

lọ  ntu  buô  asuọ ,  efì  ntu  buô

LOC NCL10-ash CL10.DEF REL =  FUT take all CL10.DEF

ewi
   à =     wí
2SG.NOM pour away

‘Then you will put water on fire and pour it before the soda ash will drip totally from the soda ash and throw the soda ash away’
(Soap_making 18.5)
From the above examples, it seems that one function of the future is to depict
consecutive imagination in narrating procedures. It can also function as a marker of
obligation and prohibition, as in (680) and (681) respectively:

680)  \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{biuflə} & \text{kɔnɪ} & \text{lo} & \text{ntu} & \text{bomfó} \\
&\text{bè} = & \text{6-} & \text{flá} & \text{kò-} & \text{*nī} & \text{lò} & \text{ú-} & \text{*tù} & \text{bó-} & \text{mfó}
\end{align*}
\]
\[2\text{PL.NOM} = \text{FUT} \text{wash} \text{NCL7 arm LOC NCL10 water CL10 that} \]
‘You will wash your hands in that water’  
(Naming_ceremony 5.1)

681)  \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kolesa} & \text{əmuflə} & \text{kɔnɪ} & \text{lete} \\
&\text{kölésá} & \text{à-} & \text{n-} & \text{6-} & \text{flá} & \text{kò-} & \text{*nì lètè}
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{anything SCR NEG FUT wash NCL7 arm separate} \]
‘No one will wash their hands separately’  
(Naming_ceremony 5.2)

The future can be used in connection with certain verbs in a clause to depict the
modality associated with such verbs. For instance, its occurrence with the verb \textit{lá} ‘love’ will indicate desire while \textit{fò} ‘able’ will indicate ability:

682)  \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{diye} & \text{nà} & \text{foola} & \text{nko} & \text{fuuto} \\
&\text{lè-} & \text{*yê} & \text{nà} & \text{fò} = & \text{6-} & \text{là} & \text{ńkò} & \text{fò} = & \text{6-} & \text{tó}
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{NCL5 name cl5.DEF 2SG.NOM = FUT love that 2SG.NOM = FUT give} \]
\[\text{fubi} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{ebute} \quad \text{wè} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{.} \]
\[\text{2SG.POSS = child TOP 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC CL5.ACC} \]
‘The name you will love to give your child, you will give it to him/her’
(Naming_ceremony 28.1)

683)  \[
\begin{align*}
&\text{woofo} & \text{əbeyi} & \text{ama} & \text{bola} \\
&wò = & \text{6-} & \text{fò} & \text{ó-} & \text{*bê} & \text{*yî á-} & \text{má bó-} & \text{là}
\end{align*}
\]
\[\text{3SG.NOM = FUT be able NCL3 palmnut tree CL3 the NMLZ cut} \]
‘He will be able to cut the palm tree’
(Verbs 362.1)

The future morpheme can also be used to show a ‘relative tense’ effect, where the
interpretation is in relation to the reference time of the main verb in the main clause:
Structurally, when the future occurs in a serial-verb construction, it is marked on the first verb of the series. However, its function and interpretation is extended to all the verbs that follow unless an element outside the scope of the clause intervenes:

8.1.3.2 Prospective

Most languages in the world have a primary future (as in §8.1.3.1 above) and an imminent future expression (Bybee et al. 1994:245). The imminent future in Sekpele is expressed by a prospective construction. The general meaning of the prospective construction is that the state of affairs characterised in the clause will happen
immediately after the reference time specified in the verbs (Ameka & Kropp Dakubu 2008b:227). Prospective constructions are used to indicate planned, intentional, imminent future actions. They are characterised by the deictic verbs 'to come' and 'to go', indicating that the participant(s) expressed in the clause is coming or going to perform the state of affairs in the clause. In Sekpele, the deictic verbs bo ‘come’ and su ‘go’ co-occur with the prospective morpheme /á-/ to indicate the prospect of an action or state of affairs occurring in the imminent future.

688) \( \text{waəbə} \quad \text{kəmə} \quad \text{bɔɨmɨ} \)
\( \text{wə} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{bə} \quad \text{kəmə} \quad \text{bə-} \quad \text{yɨmɨ} \)
3SG.NOM = PROSP come NMLZ chew
‘He is coming to eat rice’ (Verbs 10.1)

689) \( \text{baəba} \quad \text{lesə} \quad \text{bəwə} \)
\( \text{bə} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{bɔ} \quad \text{ləsə} \quad \text{bə-} \quad \text{wə} \)
3PL.NOM = PROSP come thing NMLZ cook
‘They are coming to cook food’

690) \( \text{weesu} \quad \text{cəymi} \quad \text{kəmə} \)
\( \text{wə} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{sə} \quad \text{ðə} = \quad \text{yɨmɨ} \quad \text{kəmə} \)
3SG.NOM = PROSP go 3SG.NOM chew rice
‘He is going to eat rice’

691) \( \text{meezsu} \quad \text{nwə} \quad \text{lesə} \)
\( \text{mə} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{sə} \quad \text{hə} = \quad \text{wə} \quad \text{ləsə} \)
1SG.NOM = PROSP go 1SG.NOM cook thing
‘I am going to cook food’

Paying attention to the above examples, we can observe that bo ‘come’ and su ‘go’ occur in distinct syntactic constructions. The former occurs in a periphrastic construction involving a nominalized verb complement whereas the latter occurs with other verbs in a serial-verb construction. The bo-clause, as in (688) and (689), could have an intentional interpretation where the participant(s) may be view as having a mere intention to perform the action in the clause. The su-clause, as in
(690) and (691), may be associated with a purposive interpretation due to the fact that the participant(s) may be viewed as moving to a location in order to perform the action or state of affairs expressed in the clause. The deictic use of the prospective can also be expressed with the verb to ‘go towards’ and a locative noun complement.

This is also associated with the purposive use of the prospective.

692) ntwá lesa kawákó / kedikó
\[ \hat{n} = tó \] lèsá ká- wá -kó ká- dí -kó
1SG.NOM = go.towards thing INF cook PURPOSE INF eat PURPOSE
‘I am going to cook/eat food’

693) ntwá keku eti
\[ \hat{n} = tó \] kè- kú êtí
1SG.NOM = go.towards NCL9 cry place
‘I am going to a funeral’

The above examples indicate the purposive use of the prospective in the sense that the participant is heading towards a location in order to perform the action indicated in both clauses. However, the imminent future interpretation of (692) and (693) can be realised when we compare the to-clause with its deictic counterpart in (694) and (695) below which is said to have an imminent past interpretation (see also Ameka & Kropp Dakubu 2008b; Clements 1972).

694) ntwi lesa kawákó / kedikó
\[ \hat{n} = tsí \] lèsá ká- wá -kó ká- dí -kó
1SG.NOM = come.from thing INF cook PURPOSE INF eat PURPOSE
‘I was coming from cooking/eating food’

695) ntwi keku eti
\[ \hat{n} = tsí \] kè- kú êtí
1SG.NOM = come.from NCL9 cry place
‘I was coming from a funeral’

The prospective can be expressed with no reference to any deictic verb. It may be used to express the intention of the participant(s) at the moment of speech.
Cephas Delalorm

696) cynso wọ oxọ kafo nkọ

\(\text{ð} = \text{yì} - \text{n-} - \text{sò} \ \text{wọ} \ \text{àxọ} \ \text{kàfọ} \ \text{ńkọ} \)

3SG.NOM.PST = pain LIG CAUS 3SG.POSS friend inside that

baakpọ

\(\text{bà} = \text{á-} \ \text{kpọ} \)

3PL.NOM = PROSP fight

‘He provoked his friend to fight’ (Verbs 446.1)

697) nya te minkọ maatei

\(\text{nyá} \ \text{tè} \ \text{mínkọ} \ \text{mà} = \text{á-} \ \text{tẹyí} \)

3SG.PN only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP say

‘That only I want to say’ (Buying_name 40.1)

The prospective can be used to express various states of unreality such as wish, emotion, possibility, judgment, opinion, necessity, or action that has not yet occurred, as in:

698) minkọ boosia nkọ te

\(\text{ánkọ} \ \text{bà} = \text{á-} \ \text{sí} - \text{ó} \ \text{ńkọ} \ \text{tè} \)

3SG.COMP 3PL.NOM = PROSP dwell NON-STV like that only

‘He said they should just stay like that’ (History_amankrado 3.93)

699) boesu bowã lesa

\(\text{bò} = \text{á-} \ \text{sù} \ \text{bò} = \ \text{wà} \ \text{lèsá} \)

1PL.NOM = PROSP go 1SG.NOM cook thing

‘We should go and cook food’

The prospective can also be used relative to another event or state of affairs. When this occurs, the prospective event is expected to occur after the reference event, either in the past or in the future.

700) bale bukpọ katsylọ , beedu

\(\text{bà} = \ \text{lé} \ \text{bò-} \ \text{kpọ} \ \text{kà-} \ \text{tsylọ} \ \text{bà} = \ \text{á-} \ \text{dù} \)

3PL.NOM = hold NMLZ die INF perish 3PL.NOM = PROSP leave

\(\text{ó} = \text{nì} \)

3SG.NOM.PST = refuse

‘They were dying and perishing, they should leave, he refused’ (History_amankrado 3.116)
In summary, the function of the prospective is that of imminent future orientation. Thus, a proposition is made that the planned event or state of affairs will happen after the moment of speech or a reference point. It also portrays the intention on the part of the participant(s) in performing the intended action. Finally, the purposive function of the prospective is to indicate the movement to a place on the part of the participant(s) in order to carry out the intended action.

8.2 Phasal aspect

An event or state of affairs may have a beginning, a middle portion, an end and also an ensuing result or an altered state (Bhat 1999:49; Dik 1989:186). These are considered to be the various ‘phases’ of an event. These phases are also described as **onset, nucleus** and **coda** (Freed 2012:30; Wierzbicka 1988:77). A speaker may talk about an event from the point of view of any of these individual phases, and his language may have inflectional (or other types of) markers for representing these distinctions. Other languages may express phasal aspect by means of verbs. The markers of onset, nucleus and coda phases may be referred to as ingressive/inceptive, progressive/continuative, and egressive/completive respectively. Phasal aspect also includes the cessative/terminative, as in §7.3.4.
8.2.1 Ingressive/inceptive

The ingressive/inceptive aspect refers to the beginning of a state of affairs (Bhat 1999:176; Bybee 1985:147; Payne 1997:240). Whereas some languages may express the inceptive aspect with an inflectional element on the verb, other languages express it by means of verbs whose meaning include ‘start’ and ‘begin’. Sekpele expresses inceptive aspect with the verbs *tsyıkó ‘begin/start’ and *tó ‘start’. The verb *tó is used in relation to starting a song. It originated from the verb *tó ‘throw’.

Inceptive aspect is illustrated in:

702) ɔlɛ keyifo kama kasɔ butsyiko
    d̩= l̩ kà- *yif̩ó ká- má kás̩ b̩- tsyıkó
3SG.NOM= hold NCL9 work CL9 the down NMLZ begin
    ‘He is beginning the work’  (Verbs 269.1)

703) buutsyiko keyifo kama kasɔ
    b̩= d̩- tsyıkó kà- *yif̩ó ká- má kás̩
1PL.NOM.PST= ANT begin NCL9 work CL9 the down
    ‘They have begun the work’  (Verbs 270.1)

704) to la mbo sə ku fa
    t̩= l̩ n̩= b̩ s̩ k̩ fa
    start then 1SG.NOM= come sing with 2SG.ACC
    ‘Start then I come and sing with you’  (Good_old_days 23.1)

8.2.2 Progressive/continuative

Progressive/continuative aspect expresses the continuity of a situation. The verb *sükɔ̀sɔ̀ consists of the verb *sù ‘go’, and the verbal extensions –kò ‘ASSOC’ and –sɔ̀ ‘CAUS’ and it is used to express the continuative aspect, as in:

705) bekpəfi bā esukosə lesa budi
    bà- *kpəfi b̩ a- sù -kò -sɔ̀ lèsá b̩- d̩
NCL2 child CL2.DEF PFV go ASSOC CAUS food NMLZ eat
    ‘The children continued with eating’  (Miscellaneous 104.1)
8.2.3 Egressive/completive

The completive aspect signals that a situation or event has ended. The verb ُلَّوُ ‘be finished’ is used to express a completive aspect in Sekpele, as in:

707) ُلَّوُ َالْيُوُ َمْلَ َالْبَزْرَ َكَلْهَوْ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    *لَّوُ َمْلَ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    بَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ
    َبَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ

‘If you finish weeding with a hoe, then you gather the grass away’ (Good_old_days 6.4)

708) ُلَّوُ َالْيُوُ َمْلَ َالْبَزْرَ َكَلْهَوْ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    *لَّوُ َمْلَ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    بَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ
    َبَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ

‘He has finished paying for his house’ (Verbs 483.1)

709) ُلَّوُ َالْيُوُ َمْلَ َالْبَزْرَ َكَلْهَوْ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    *لَّوُ َمْلَ َلْوُ َسُدَّ
    بَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ
    َبَالْيُوُ َهَٰذَا َنْعَلْتَ ٌلْوُ َسُدَّ

‘If I finish scraping, I will pinch with fingernails like this’ (Pottery 166.1)

8.2.4 Cessative/terminative

The cessative/terminative aspect in Sekpele is expressed with the verb ُيَذُ ‘stop’, as in:

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8.3 Mood and modality

Modality is the grammaticization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions (Bybee et al., 1994). The distinction between mood and modality is similar to that between tense and time, gender and sex. Modality designates the conceptual domain which may take various types of linguistic expression, while mood designates the inflectional expression of a subdivision of this semantic domain (Bybee 1985:169; Palmer 1986:21). The notion of mood and modality is not restricted to the verb but expands across an entire clause or sentence. It is useful to distinguish various types of modality because these types of modality correlate with different types of formal expression. Most relevant literature distinguishes between epistemic and deontic modalities. However, in this work, I will adopt the classification of modality proposed in Bybee et al. (1994). According to Bybee, modality can be sub-classified into (i) agent-oriented (ii) speaker-oriented (iii) epistemic and (iv) subordination. The aim of this section is to account for the expression of modality in Sekpele in relation to the various types enumerated.
8.3.1 Agent-oriented modality

Agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of an action expressed in the main predicate. Agent-oriented modality can be expressed by lexical or grammatical morphemes. Some of the most semantically specific notions include obligation, necessity, ability and desire. Obligation reports the existence of external, social conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action. Necessity on the other hand, reports the existence of physical conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action. In Sekpele, the contracted complement clause élëbë́ə is used to indicate both obligation and necessity.

712) ła bənkə ubə mmi mmi la ,
ló bənkə ə= bó mmi mmi lá
if 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= come today today TOP
elebə wuubə .
ə= lè bó wə= ə- bó
3SG.NOM= resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM= FUT come
‘If they say he should come today, it is necessary he should come’ (King_making 14.10)

713) élëbë́ə kale to uninə ebəkə .
ə= lè bó kalə tə ə- *ninə ə- bó- ké
3SG.NOM= resemble 3PL.COMP clan POSS NCL1 elder SCR FUT exist
‘It is necessary an elder of a clan will exist’ (History_amankrado 11.5)

The socially compelling condition can be felt in the bə́ə part of élébë́ə which is a contracted form of bə́nkə ‘3PL.COMP lit: they say that’, when we compare it to minkə or mə which expresses a speaker’s subjective opinion.

714) nya te minkə maatə́ .
nyá tə minkə mə= ə- téyí
3SG.ACC only 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM= PROSP say
‘That only I want to say’ (Buy_name 40.1)
Necessity can also be expressed by the verb ́hìã́ ‘need’. Depending on the kind of element it occurs with, it can be seen as expressing either objective or subjective opinion.

In (716), the social obligation of the referent, in this the case the king or chief, to be available when needed is marked by bə́ə̀. In (717), although the speaker is expressing his subjective opinion, the referent is socially obligated to come, which is marked by bə́ə̀. This phenomenon of expressing necessity is also present in Ewe, which suggests that it may have been borrowed from Ewe (see Ameka 2008:147). However, this may be a crosslinguistic phenomenon since the Sekpele ̀èlèbè̀ ‘it resembles they say’ is semantically similar to the Akan ɛ̀sɛ̀sɛ̀ɛ́ ‘it resembles say’ and the Ga èsààkɛ̀ ‘it befits they say’. Another word that has been borrowed from Ewe that expresses obligation and necessity is èdzèbé, as shown in:
Ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions of the agent(s) with respect to the predicate action. In Sekpele, the notion of ability is expressed by the verb *fó* ‘be able’, as in:

720) **woofó** **obeyi** **ama** **bola**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wò}= & \quad \text{ó-} \quad \text{fó} \quad \text{ò-} \quad *\text{bé} \quad *\text{yî} \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{mó} \quad \text{bó-} \quad \text{là} \\
3\text{SG.NOM}= & \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{be able} \quad \text{NCL3} \quad \text{palmnut} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{CL3} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{cut}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is able to cut the palm tree’ (Verbs 362.1)

721) **waamfo** **obeyi** **ama** **bola**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wà}= & \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{n-} \quad \text{fó} \quad \text{ò-} \quad *\text{bé} \quad *\text{yî} \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{mó} \quad \text{bó-} \quad \text{là} \\
3\text{SG.NOM}= & \quad \text{HAB} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{be able} \quad \text{NCL3} \quad \text{palmnut} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{CL3} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{NMLZ} \quad \text{cut}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is unable to cut the palm tree’ (Verbs 363.1)

That which is of much interest is the fact that the verb *fó* takes a nominalized VP as its complement (see §8.1.2.1.1).

The final notion of modality to be accounted for in this section is desire. Desire reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the
Cephas Delalorm

predicate action. In Sekpele, the notion of desire is expressed by the verb *lá* ‘love/want/desire/wish’, as in the following examples:

722) **nya** minla miə məələkə

3SG.PN 1SG.NOM = EMPH want 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP reveal

nyá mí = n- lá míò mà = á- lskə

723) **waala** nko waake awu fɔfɔ

3SG.NOM = HAB want COMP 3SG.NOM = HAB get clothing new

wà = á- lá nkö wà = á- kè ñwò fɔfɔ

‘That I wanted to reveal to you like this really’ (History_amankrado 1.2)

The above examples show that the verb *lá* takes a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *ńkə̀*, or any of its contracted forms as in *mìə̀* in (722). The verb *lá* can also take a complement clause introduced by the optative marker *lə́*, as in:

724) **ola** lo usio nkpo

3SG.NOM.PST = wish OPT 3SG.NOM = live life

ó = lá lɔ ó = sìş ʃkɔ́

‘He wished to live’ (Verbs 146.1)

725) **ola** lo udu

3SG.NOM.PST = wish OPT 3SG.NOM = leave

ó = lá lɔ ó = dú

‘He wished to leave’ (Verbs 147.1)

The verb *lá* can also take a nominalized VP as its complement, as shown in:

726) **okala** kamo boymi

3SG.NOM.PST = PROG love rice NMLZ chew

ó = kà- lá kàmọ́ bó- yìmì

‘He used to love eating rice’ (Verbs 7.1)

According to Bybee et al. (1994), most semantic senses of agent-oriented modality can be generalized over time to express broader meanings. For instance, in the
formation of the future, both desire and obligation can come to be used in the expression of the agent’s intention, especially in the first person. Desire can also give rise to willingness.

727) Bala tsyaa , boala se baatafa
Bálá tsyá = bò= á- lá sé bá= á- táfá
Bala too = TOP 1PL.NOM= HAB love since 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cheat
bo ko boala .
bò kò bò= á- lá
1PL.ACC then 1PL.NOM= HAB love
‘Bala too, we love it since they had cheated us then we love it’ (History_amankrado 3.75)

Ability generalizes to possibility, which reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal condition of ability, but also reports on general external conditions such as social and physical conditions.

728) ale bote lo woofo bubo
ð= lé bó- tò lò wò= ó- fò bó- bó
3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ ask if 3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ come
‘He is asking if he could come’ (Verbs 142.1)

729) woofo budu kesu kake la lelensi
wò= ó- fò bó- dú kà- sù kà- kè ló lèlènsì
3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ leave INF go INF exist LOC abroad
‘He will be able to leave to stay abroad’ (King_making 14.4)

8.3.2 Speaker-oriented modality

Speaker-oriented modality involves utterances which impose or propose some course of action or pattern of behaviour and indicate that it should be carried out. It involves directives such as commands, demands, requests, warnings, exhortations and recommendations. Grammatical terms used in the literature for these speaker-oriented modalities are imperative, prohibitive, optative, hortative, admonitive and permissive. Imperative is the form used to issue direct commands or orders to a
second person. In Sekpele, the second person singular is not marked in the indicative unless it is emphatic or topicalized, whereas the second person plural is marked, as shown in:

730) smi siku siama

sfnl sè- *kú síš- må

open NCL11 door CL11 the

‘Open the door’  
(Verbs 87.1)

731) fə ti siku siama

fɔ tf sè- *kú síš- må

2SG.PN close NCL11 door CL11 the

‘You! Close the door’  
(Verbs 89.1)

732) bekose bett mamla loo

bè = kósè bè = tf mósóm lóó

2PL.NOM = hurry 2PL.NOM = crush quickly INTERJ

‘Hurry and crush it quickly’  
(Palm_kennel_oil 15.1)

733) bimble kenke bibə obia

bè = -n- *blè kéŋké bè = bó obiá

2PL.NOM = LIG all all 2PL.NOM = come community centre

‘You all should come to the community centre’  
(History_amankrado 11.9)

Prohibitive is the form used to issue a negative command or order. It is normally issued to the addressee(s) to ensure that the action or state of affairs does not occur.

In Sekpele, the negative marker is introduced into the morphology of the first verb of an imperative construction and its function of prohibition is carried across the entire clause or sentence.

734) manlɛ futsyua to kasɔ afo

n- à- n- lé f= útsyuð tò kàsɔ à= fɔ

NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM receive

‘Don't seize somebody's land’  
(Punishment 1.1)
Both the optative and hortative express the wish of a speaker about a future state of affairs. Optative is the form used to express a wish or hope on the part of the speaker in the main clause. Hortative on the other hand, is the form used to encourage or incite someone to perform an action. The distinction between the optative and hortative is the fact that the hortative appeals to the addressee(s) to ensure that the future state of affairs occurs while the optative does not require the addressee(s) to do anything. The accomplishment of the latter is based on fate. In Sɛkpɛle, the particle lə́ is used for both the optative and the hortative.

‘He should do it so that trouble will stop coming to him’

‘If you will make palm oil, let me know so I come and do it’
In (737), the speaker is expressing his wish or desire for a third party (in this case a chief) to perform his responsibilities in order to avert any calamity befalling him. In another context, (737) could be interpreted as expressing an indirect exhortation or admonition to a third party to perform his responsibilities. In (738), the speaker is inciting the addressees to inform him of a possible future state of affairs so that he can come and participate, whereas (739) expresses a wish on the part of the speaker for a third party to be helped by God in his situation.

8.3.3 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality indicates the extent to which a speaker is committed to the truth of a proposition. An unmarked proposition may be said to indicate a total commitment to the truth of the proposition whereas a marked proposition attributes uncertainty and no assurance on the part of the speaker in relation to the truth of the proposition. In most languages, the declarative or the indicative is the unmarked form. There are two sub-systems of epistemic modality that are marked cross-linguistically: (i) Judgements which involve speculation and deduction; and (2) Evidentials such as ‘hearsay’, ‘report’, or the evidence of the senses (Palmer, 1986:53). According to Bybee et al. (1994), epistemic modality may include possibility, probability and inferred certainty. Possibility indicates that the proposition may possibly be true. Probability indicates a greater likelihood that the proposition is true than possibility does. A stronger sense of probability is found in the notion of inferred certainty, which strongly implies that the speaker has good
reason for supposing that the proposition is true. Counterfactual indicates the expression of something or an event as contrary to fact.

In Sekpele, truth and inferred certainty are expressed with ɛ̀kpɛ̀ ‘truly’, ̀mʊkʊdálé ‘truth’ tìntì ‘true’ and kòkòkò ‘certainly’, as in:

740) lə efe esi lə lekpomɛ fɛ̀ ekpe
ló ɛ̀fɛ̀ ə= sì ló lè- *kpomɛ fɛ̀ ɛ̀kpɛ̀
if now 2SG.NOM dwell LOC NCL5 stool before truly

eekpe ekuku alee , [ consideration ] kpe
é= à- kpé á- *kùkù àlɛ̀ kpé
3SG.NOM.PST = PFV exist NCL6 piece alone exist
bofo fo butə .
bò= ó- fò fò bò- tò
3PL.NOM = FUT be able 2SG.ACC NMLZ give
‘If you already sit on the throne before truly it became amputated alone, they will be able to give you some consideration’ (King making 2.14)

741) mɔ mɔ̂ 1SG.PN ɔ̀nʊ̀kʊ̀álé truth mò= ó- téyì fò bà= n- lè
1SG.PN truth 1SG.NOM = FUT tell 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = NEG hold
bofo bubo .
bò- fò bò- bò
NMLZ be able NMLZ come
‘As for me the truth I will tell you. They aren't able to come.’ (King making 16.2/3)

742) ɔnukuale , utidi ɔmù , se buosi
mʊkʊdálé ò- *tìdì ò- *nì = sé bà= à- sà
truth NCL1 person CL1 one = TOP when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV sing
lə Kpalime , se utinkəsə disì , keku ko
ló Kpalime sé ò= tìnkə̀ -sà disì kèkù kò
LOC Kpalime when 3SG.NOM = shake CAUS head cry then
one buwi .
ò= n- lè bó- wi
3SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ cry
‘Truthfully, one person, when they sung in Kpalime, when she shook her head, she was just crying’ (Good old days 16.2)
The chief's words are true’ (Verbs 139.1)

'But certainly since it is him who is the head, some will require him certainly to be there before they will do it (King_making 19.4)

‘probably’, ūnye ‘perhaps’ and àfikpé ‘perhaps’, as in:

‘They say Marti ... was it ... it probably look like Odartey’ (History_amankrado 9.1)

‘If he isn't there, we probably do it but certainly it is necessary that probably he too will be there before we plan’ (King_making 19.6)
Table 8.1: Epistemic modality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modality</th>
<th>Term and gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth and inferred certainty</td>
<td>èkpè ‘truly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ònùkùálé ‘truth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìntì ‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kòkòkò ‘certainly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility and probability</td>
<td>yá ‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ènìì ‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ònyè ‘perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ònkà ‘perhaps’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further studies need to be done in this area.

### 8.3.4 Subordinating mood

This section deals with situations where mood and modality are expressed by subordinate clauses. There are several types of subordinate clause. They may include complement clauses, concessive clauses, and purposive clauses. Complement clauses are introduced by a lexical subordinator, or ‘predicator’, most importantly a verb which can be interpreted as reporting something that was said or might have been
said by the subject of the main clause (Palmer, 1986:127). A concessive clause is one which expresses an idea that is opposite to that one in the main clause. In English, concessive clauses are introduced by conjunctions and particles such as ‘although’, ‘even though’, ‘despite’, and ‘in spite of’. Purpose clauses express a motivating event which is unrealised at the time of the main event. Details of these clauses are provided in §10.2, §10.3.8 and §10.3.4 respectively.

8.4 Negation

Negation is an element used for denial of a term or clause. The negation of terms falls in the domain of word formation. Examples of such forms of negation are the English prefixes un-, in- and dis-. The term for this kind of negation is ‘lexical negation’ (Dahl, 2010:11). Negation in the clausal domain is referred to as ‘sentential negation’. The aim of this section is to focus on sentential negation. Most literature on negation has distinguished two classes of sentential negation: ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’. Standard negation is the term used for the expression of negation in simple clauses or declarative sentences (Dahl, 2010; Miestamo, 2007; Payne, 1985). Non-standard negation is the term used for the expression of negation in non-verbal predicates, imperatives and existential sentences (Dahl, 2010:26).

Languages employ several strategies for the expression of negation. These include (i) morphological, (ii) negative particles, and (iii) negative verbs. In morphological negation, negation is expressed by an affix, normally on a verb or an auxiliary (Dahl, 1979:81, 2010:14; Payne, 1985:226). In languages with negative particles, negation is expressed by independent words rather than affixes (Dahl, 2010:19). Negative verbs on the other hand, are expressed by negative main verbs and auxiliary negative verbs (Dahl, 2010:20; Payne, 1985). According to Dahl, the
expression of negation by verbs is rare. However, this is attested in Sekpele, in the formation of negative existential clauses (see also Ameka, 2007:1070). Most languages may employ double negation in a sentence by a combination of these strategies.

8.4.1 Standard negation

The languages of the West African region show a complexity of negation patterns that are linked to the type of TAM employed in a sentence. The issue of different negation patterns in different TAMs is very challenging and requires a deep analysis of the conceptualization of negation in a language (Cyffer, 2009:1). In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root, depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may be doubly marked based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON, especially the second person. The aim of the following subsections is to outline and account for the various variations that may result in the expression of negation.

8.4.1.1 Past/perfective negation

In §8.1.1.1, I stated that past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. The perfective is marked directly on the verb whereas the past is indirectly marked on the verb via the subject pronominals. The same scenario applies to the negation of the past and perfective. However, the negative marker occurs as a double negated word when the perfective or 2SG pronominal is involved, as in (749) and (750) respectively. In all other situations of a past event, a
single negative marker occurs closer to the verb root before all other prefixes, as in (751) and (752):

749) **kolesa** manlo
    kólèsá n- à- n- ló
    anything **NEG** PFV **NEG** fall
    ‘Nothing fell’ (Adverbs 70.1)

750) lə fenko amennyə nte
    ló fènkà à= n- à- n- nyà ñtè
    if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST **NEG** PFV **NEG** find wine
    ebutsyi ntu
    à= bó- tseyí ñtù
    2SG.NOM FUT carry water
    ‘If assuming you don't get wine, you will carry water’ (Buying_name 47.2)

751) wemfi kolesa
    wá= n- fì kólèsá
    3SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** take anything
    ‘He didn't take anything’ (Adverb 69.1)

752) nya lə fenko manwá lekonklo namfó
    nyá ló fènkà mà= n- wà lèkònklo ná- mfó
    then if assuming 1SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** cook Lèkònklo CL5 that
    ‘Then if assuming I don't cook that lekonklo’ (Buying_name 53.2)

**8.4.1.2 Habitual negation**

The negative marker usually occurs between the habitual and the verb root. Thus, it occurs after the habitual and before the verb root in linear order. In most cases, a single negative marker occurs with the habitual.

753) Kofi énsu asole ong
    Kofi á- n- sù ashlé á- mó
    Kofi HAB **NEG** go church CL the
    ‘Kofi doesn't go to the church’ (Verb_morph 42.1)
754) **Kofi ányɛ**  kešu asi əmə

Kofi á-  n-  yɛ̀  kà-  sü  àsi  á-  mó
Kofi HAB NEG walk INF go market CL the

‘Kofi doesn’t walk to the market’  
(Verb_morph 43.1)

---

755) **yaankɛlɛ**  **kon**

yà =  á-  n-  kɛ̀lɛ̀  kòn

3SG.NOM = HAB NEG take much time really

‘It really doesn’t take much time’  
(Naming_ceremony 19.1)

---

756) **weenwi**  **kulefɛ̀**

wà =  á-  n-  wì  külɛfɛ̀

3SG.NOM = HAB NEG cry never

‘S/he never cries’  
(Adverb 62.1)

However, if a negative habitual occurs in a conditional clause, it takes the form of a double negated construction, as in:

---

757) **nya eso**  **lo**  **amanła**  **bənkə**

nyá ésɔ̀  ló  á =  n-  á-  n-  lá  bònkò  

therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG HAB NEG want 3PL.COMP

ɛsɔ̀  fə  la ,  lɔ ntu  fəə ...  

3SG.NOM = beat 2SG.ACC TOP if water you say

‘Therefore if you don’t want to lose, if water you say …’  
(Buying_name 49.1)

---

### 8.4.1.3 Progressive negation

#### 8.4.1.3.1 Present progressive negation

In §7.2.2.1.1, I stated that the present progressive in Sekpele is expressed by a periphrastic construction in which the verb *le* ‘hold’ takes a phrasal complement that expresses the progressive aspect. In order to indicate negation in the present progressive, the negative marker /n-/ is prefixed to the verb *le* to form the negative present progressive, as in:
8.4.1.3.2 Past progressive negation

The negative past progressive in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n/- before the progressive marker. The progressive marker is closer to the verb root than the negative marker. When a NP subject or the 2SG pronominal is involved, a double negated construction is realised. These are illustrated in:

762) **menkesu**  
\[ \text{má=} \quad \text{n-} \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{sù} \quad \text{àsèlè} \quad \text{á} \quad \text{mò} \]  
1SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** PROG go church CL the  
‘I wasn’t going to the church’  
(Verb_morph 52.1)

763) **wankàte**  
\[ \text{wá=} \quad \text{n-} \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{té} \quad \text{bò} \quad \text{kàkámò} \]  
3SG.NOM.PST = **NEG** PROG show 1PL.ACC place  
‘He wasn’t showing us the place’  
(Verb_morph 53.1)
8.4.1.3.3 Future progressive negation

The negative future progressive in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n-/ before the future and the progressive markers such that the future and progressive markers are closer to the verb root, as in:

764) Kofi mënkesu asole əmə
Kofi n- à- n- kà- sù əsəlẹ ə- mó
Kofi NEG PFV NEG PROG go church CL the
‘Kofi wasn't going to the church’ (Verb_morph 50.1)

765) amënkesu asole əmə
á= n- à- n- kà- sù əsəlẹ a- mó
2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG PROG go church CL the
‘You weren’t going to the church’

8.4.1.4 Future negation

8.4.1.4.1 Primary future negation

The negative future in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n-/ before the future marker. In this case, the future marker is closer to the verb root than the negative marker. If the clause has an NP subject, the subject cross-reference marker is marked on the verb at word-initial position.
8.4.1.4.2 Prospective negation

The negative prospective in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n-/ to the deictic verb bo. In this case, the prospective marker seems to be deleted or fused with the pronominal (see §8.1.3.2).

770) emufi aboko wa loo.
     à = n- ó- ì à = bókò wà ló
2SG.NOM NEG FUT take 2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP
‘You will not bring it to her’ (Buying_name 58.1)

772) əmbə kekuə kə bofo boyankli.
     à = n- bó kà- *kùə kà bó- fò bó- yánklì
2SG.NOM NEG come NCL4 rope CL4.DEF NMLZ be able NMLZ untie
‘You will not be able to untie the ropes’ (Punishment 10.1)
If you lose one eye, they won't accept you’ (King_making 2.23)

The absence of the prospective marker is due to the fact that contraction is prominent in Sekpele. This phenomenon occurs frequently in colloquial speech where words may be contracted such that vital elements are omitted, as shown in:

In (774), the underlying form of ambofo is aambə bofo which means ‘won’t be able’. However, both the prospective and the deictic verb have been omitted to arrive at the surface form.

8.4.2 Non-standard negation

According to Dahl (2010:26), negation in constructions other than declarative clauses may deviate more or less completely from the expression of standard negation in a language. The aim of the following subsections is to account for the variations that exist in the expression of negation in these constructions from the standard negation, described in §8.4.1.

8.4.2.1 Negative imperative

The simplest way a language may negate an imperative is by adding the standard negator used in declaratives to a positive imperative (Dahl, 2010:27). In this case, a
negative imperative in Sekpele is formed by prefixing the negative marker /n-/ to the
main or first verb of an imperative construction. This construction is used for
prohibition and admonition (see §8.3.2). What is interesting in this construction is
the fact that the 2SG form takes a double negated construction while its plural
counterpart takes a single negative marker. Examples (734), (735) and (736) have
been repeated as (775), (776) and (777) respectively, for convenience:

775) manle               futsyuə               to kasɔ afo
                   n-  à- n-  lé  ŋ=  ùsųyúx  tô  kàsɔ̀ à=  fò
NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS= somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM receive
‘Don’t seize somebody’s land’ (Punishment 1.1)

776) mènkesu          asole əmə
                   n-  à- n-  kà-  sù àsålɛ̀  á-  mó
NEG PFV NEG PROG go church CL the
‘Don’t be going to the church’ (Verb_morph 51.1)

777) biènkesu          asole əmə
                  bià= n- kà-  sù àsålɛ̀  á-  mó
2PL.NOM NEG PROG go church CL the
‘(You (pl)) Don’t be going to the church’

Another strategy a language may employ to negate the imperative is the use of
inherent negative lexical items such as abstain, stop, refuse and never (van der
Auwera, Lejeune, & Goussev, 2013; van der Auwera, 2010:88). They may be
applied to ‘prospective’ imperative in order not to start the activity or a
‘retrospective’ one to stop an activity (De Clerck, 2006). In Sekpele, the verbs yɛ̀
‘stop’ and ni ‘abstain/refuse’ are used for prohibition. Both verbs are used in a
periphrastic construction involving a nominalization, as in:

778) mbe    , ye  bọso
       njbê  yɛ̀ bọ-  sò
mother stop NMLZ beat
‘Mother, stop beating’ (Palm_oil 14.1)
Although both verbs are used in a similar construction where they take a nominalized complement, their functions may differ slightly. The verb yɛ̀ is used for direct ‘retrospective’ prohibition while the verb nì is used for indirect ‘prospective’ prohibition. The verb nì is also used as an admonitive, to urge the addressee to rather perform the intended action in order to prevent the consequence.

The use of prohibitive is not limited to verbs. The negative adverb kóléfè ‘never’ is used to emphasis a prohibition. It modifies a negated verb. It occurs in a different context compared to the negative verbs. It is also restricted to clause-final position, as in:

781) mensu mfo kóléfè
    n- à- n- sù mbó kó- léfè
NEG PFV NEG go there NEG time
‘Never go there’  (Adverb 71.1)

782) manwà ntambà kóléfè
    n- à- n- wà mbàmbà kó- léfè
NEG PFV NEG cook sweet potato NEG time
‘Never cook sweet potato’  (Adverb 72.1)

8.4.2.2 Negative non-verbal predicate

Sentences in which the predicate is not a lexical verb but a noun, an adjective or a locative phrase often exhibit special ways of expressing negation (Dahl, 2010:27).
One form of non-verbal predication is a cleft construction. A cleft construction is a construction in which some element in a sentence is moved from its normal position into a separate clause or position to give it greater emphasis. Cleft constructions in Sekpele include a copula *nf* focus and relativized clauses, as in:

783) **osani** bua uni
    ḏ- *sànî bùà ḏ= nf
    NCL1 man bad 3SG.NOM= be
    ‘He is a bad man’ (Adjectives 113.1)

784) **sidia** sini
    sìdiá se = nf
    lie CL11.NOM= be
    ‘It is a lie’ (Verbs 448.1)

785) fo leboya kọọ wọ
    fọ lè = bó- yà kà- tô wọ
    2SG.ACC REL = FUT buy INF give 3SG.ACC
    ‘It is you who will buy it for him’ (King making 14.24)

In order to negate these clauses, a negative copula item is placed at clause-initial position, as in:

786) **unni** osani bua
    ḏ= n- nf ḏ= *sànî bùà
    3SG.NOM= NEG be NCL1 man bad
    ‘He isn’t a bad man’ (Adjective 113.1)

787) **anni** sidia
    é= n- ní sìdiá
    3SG.NOM= NEG be lie
    ‘It isn’t a lie’ (Verb 448.1)

788) **anni** fo leboya kọọ wọ
    é= n- ní fọ lè= bó- yà kà- tô wọ
    3SG.NOM= NEG be 2SG.ACC REL = FUT buy INF give 3SG.ACC
    ‘It isn’t you who will buy it for him’ (King making 14.24)
When we compare (786), (787) and (789) with their affirmative counterparts in (783), (784) and (785), there seems to be some form of word order inversion in the process of arriving at the surface structure. It is also possible to retain the copula verb in its original position. This process produces a scenario of double copula when we compare (790) to (791) and (792) to (793):

790) lekpomɛ keke mɔ te dini
    le- *kpɔmɛ kɛkɛ mɔ tɛ lɛ = nf
NCL5 stool small like this only CL5.NOM = be
‘It is only a small stool like this’ (King_making 2.35)

791) ənni lekpomɛ kple kutsyuɔ sau dini
    ɛ = n- nf le- *kpɔmɛ kplɛ kɔ- tṣyúɔ sàà lɛ = nf
3SG.NOM = NEG be NCL5 stool big CL7 some each CL5.NOM = be
‘It isn't any big stool’ (King_making 2.35)

792) ənni Mate ni mɔ diye
    ɛ = n- nf Mate ni mɔ diyɛ
3SG.NOM = NEG be Mate be 3PL.POSS name
‘It isn’t Mate which is their name’ (History_amakrado 3.73)

793) Abladi ni mamsɔ diye.
    Abladi nf mɔmɔ diyɛ
Abladi be 3PL.POSS name
‘Abladi is their name’ (History_amakrado 3.74)

8.4.2.3 Negative existential

An existential clause refers to the existence or presence of something. In Sekpele, there are two verbs that are used to express existentiality: kpé ‘exist’ and kɛ̀ ‘exist’.
These verbs are also used to express possession and location (see §9.5, §9.6 and §9.7). This is illustrated in:

794) elebəə wə ənəmi lee wə
   ē = lē bād wō ā- *nəmī lēē wō
3SG.NOM = resemble 3PL.COMP 3SG.POSS NCL6 eye or 3SG.POSS
koto ke lə oto
kō- *tō kē lō ōtō
NCL7 ear exist LOC hometown
‘It is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’ (King_making 14.9)

795) ufiebi kpe lə oka amo osu kə kənə
   ūfiēbī kpē lō ē- *kā ā- mō əsū kā kənə
air exist LOC NCL3 tire CL3 the body with good
‘The tire is well inflated’ (Verbs 372.1)

796) okpe bate kpe
   ō = kpe bā- *tē kpe
3SG.NOM = have NCL2 goat many
‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 36.1)

797) bate tsya ake wə
   bā- *tē tsyā ā- kē wə
NCL2 goat too PFV exist 3SG.ACC
‘She had goats too’ (Buying_name 56.6)

Although both verbs have similar functions, they differ in the formation of negation. The verb kpē has a suppletive negative form bā ‘not exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction, as in (798) and (799). However, the verb kē maintains its original form which takes the regular negative formation processes, as in (800).
Cephas Delalorm

798) **bomfo**  **kesum**  **kamfó**  **kombo**  **bo**
    bó = mfó ká- *súm ká- mfó ká = n- bó bó
    1PL.POSS = this NCL9 service NCL9 that CL9.NOM = NEG exist 1PL.ACC

    mó = ó- téyí
    1SG.NOM = FUT say

    ‘With us here that service doesn’t exist that I will say’ (King_making 14.17)

799) **eyifobi**  **tsya onsí**  **mbó**  ... **umo**  **tsya** ;
    à- yífó -bí tsyá à- n- sí n- bó ó- *mò tsyá
    NCL6 work NMLZ too PFV NEG still NEG exist NCL3 town too

    ò = n- bó lèsànó bó bó bá = yífó
    3SG.NOM = NEG have something 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM = do

    bò = tó fò ó- *ká ̀ s ló à = kà- dí
    3PL.NOM = give 2SG.ACC NCL1 chief CL1.DEF OPT 2SG.NOM PROG eat

    ‘There are no jobs ... the town too; he doesn't have something that they should do for you the chief to be eating’ (King_making 14.2)

800) **leyímila**  **manke**  **botsyuɔ**  **ake**
    le- *yìmí lá n- à- n- kè bà- tsyús à- kè
    NCL5 sibling love NEG PFV NEG exist CL2 INDEF PFV exist

    mò  ntí ;  bekedu  mò
    mò  ntí  bà = kà- dù  mò
    3PL.POSS between 3PL.NOM.PST = PROG betray 3PL.ACC

    bokàta ... abaa
    bá = kà- tó ̀ aaba
    3PL.NOM.PST = PROG give government

    ‘There wasn’t fraternal love, there were some who existed among them; they used to betray them to the government’ (History_amankrado 13.2/3)

8.4.3 Negation and quantification

According to Dahl (2010:29), negation often shows up in combination with quantification. Languages differ in the ways such combination are realised, and even within one language, it may be possible to have several combinations. Surveys of
typological variation have been provided by Haspelmath (2013) and Kahrel (1996). The main aim of Haspelmath’s classification is to establish whether negative indefinite pronouns such as ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’ co-occur with the marker of standard negation in a language. According to his findings, there are some languages in which the standard negator is obligatory while in other languages, the occurrence of the standard negator with the negative indefinite pronoun will render the clause or sentence ungrammatical. A third group of languages show ‘mixed behaviour’ such that they have a choice between the standard negator occurring with the negative indefinite pronoun or not. Kahrel’s classification also provides three types in which indefinite pronouns that co-occur with standard negator are classified: ‘NEG plus indefinite’, ‘NEG plus special indefinite’ and ‘NEG plus zero quantification’. According to Kahrel, in the first type, the same indefinite pronouns are used under negation as in affirmation. In this sense, a positive indefinite pronoun co-occurs with the standard negator. In the second type, polarity-sensitive items such as the English *anybody* and *anything* are used under negation. The third type is where a standard negator is combined with ‘inherently negative quantifiers’.

The aim of this section is to find out if there are any negative indefinite pronouns in Sɛkpɛle. If there are any, which of the above strategies does Sɛkpɛle employs? Sekpele has an indefinite root morpheme *tsyùá* just as it has a definite root morpheme *má*. They are very productive such that, the various class markers could be attached to them to form words belonging to those classes. Examples of such words include *utsyùá, ātsyùá, bâtsyùá, kâtsyùá, sìtsyùá*, and *ditsyùá* for the indefinite while *āmá, bámá, kámá, siámá* and *námá* for the definite. The indefinite morpheme
could be contracted to the word lèsá ‘thing’ to form lèsātsyúə́31 ‘something’. Since our interest in this section is on the indefinite, I will focus on the negative indefinite pronoun and whether they are obligatory in negation.

In Sekpele, the lexical negative morpheme is ko-. This morpheme is attached to the indefinite tsyúə́ or the noun lèsá to form the negative indefinite pronouns kùtsyúə́ ‘nobody’ and kólèsá ‘nothing/anything’ respectively. This could be referred to as “negative concord”. Kólèsá occurs in negative constructions when we compare it to its affirmative form lèsātsyúə́, as in:

801) uyifo  lesatsyuə
   ó= yífó lèsá tsyúə́
3SG.NOM.PST= make thing INDEF
‘He did something’  (Verbs 29.1)

802) wemfì  kolesa
   wá= n- fí kó- lèsá
3SG.NOM.PST= NEG take NEG thing
‘He didn’t take anything’  (Adverbs 69.1)

803) kolesa  manlo
   kó- lèsá n- à- n- ló
NEG thing NEG PFV NEG fall
‘Nothing fell’  (Adverbs 70.1)

Kùtsyúə́ also occurs in negative constructions when compared to its affirmative form ùtsyúə́, as in:

804) ùtsyúə́  saa fló koni okpe ...
   ó- tsyúə́ sàà fló kò- *ní ó= kpé
NCL1 INDEF each wash NCL7 arm 3SG.NOM= put
‘Everyone washes their hands in it’  (Naming_ceremony 4.5)

31 The full phrase is lèsá dítsyúə́
The above examples show that the negative indefinite pronouns  *kutsyúə* and  *kólèsá* co-occur with the standard negation in a clause or sentence. The negative indefinite pronouns can be referred to as ‘negative concords’. What we need to find out is whether it is possible and acceptable for the negative indefinite pronoun to occur without the standard negator. Secondly, are there any possibilities that the positive indefinite pronouns could co-occur with standard negator? It is important to note that the negative indefinite pronouns are obligatorily required to co-occur with the standard negator at all times to make a clause or sentence grammatical. The positive indefinite pronouns, on the other hand, are not restricted. They can co-occur with the standard negator, as in:

808)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>utsyua</th>
<th>mendi</th>
<th>lesa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò-</td>
<td>tsyúə</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ò-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dí</td>
<td>lèsá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NCL1  INDEF  NEG  PFV  NEG  eat  food

‘Somebody didn’t eat food’  (Verb_morph 60.1)

809)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>utsyua</th>
<th>mambə</th>
<th>mfo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ò-</td>
<td>tsyúə</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ò-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá</td>
<td>m̀fô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NCL1  INDEF  NEG  PFV  NEG  come  here

‘Somebody didn’t come here’  (Verb_morph 61.1)
Another scenario where the indefinite pronouns can co-occur with the standard negator is when they occur in coordination, comparative constructions or in reciprocal constructions with a nominal entity as in:

811) batsylama babe bòo , bebuki bua
   bá= tşylåmå bá= bè bòå bà- *bükí bùå
3PL.NOM.PST= roam 3PL.NOM.PST= see 3PL.COMP NCL2 animal bad
ku botsyuə ambə
kú bà- tşyuə à- n- bò
and NCL2 INDEF PFV NEG exist
‘They roamed and checked to see if there are no wild animals and others’
(History_amankrado 3.5)

812) nya se beedu mfó bebe Sieti
   nyá sè bá= à- dú mfó bá= à- bò Sieti
   then when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV leave there 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come Sieti
la , yantsyo ku botsyuə .
lá yá= n- tšyó kú bà- tşyúə
TOP 3SG.NOM.PST= NEG be far with NCL2 INDEF
‘Then when they had left there and had come to Sieti, it wasn't far from each other’
(History_amankrado 3.77)

813) bɔnnyə bènka nbukubi bua ku ktsyuə
   bá= à- nyō bónkə n- *bükũbí bùå kú kà- tšyuə
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV see 3PL.COMP NCL10 insect bad and NCL4 INDEF
ambə yookpe mə bulə la
à- n- bò yò= ò- kpé mó bò- lə lɔ
PFV NEG exist 3SG.NOM= FUT put 3PL.ACC NMLZ worry LOC
kɔsiako komo
kà- sìò -kɔk kà- mó
NCL9 dwell PLACE CL9 the
‘They had seen that there aren’t any bad insects and others which will worry them in the dwelling place’
(History_amankrado 3.98)
In summary, the negative indefinite pronouns obligatorily co-occur with the standard negator. The positive indefinite pronouns can also occur with the standard negator.

### 8.4.4 Negation and focus

Negation often behaves differently in focus constructions. In many languages, a negator may be moved from its standard position to the focus position (Dahl 2010:31). In Sekpele, elements are fronted to lay emphasis or place them in focus. In this case a subject, verb, object or an adjunct may be fronted in focus. The aim of this section is to show how negation behaves in relation to focused constituents. I will show data from scenarios involving an NP subject, pronominal subject and periphrastic constructions because they behave differently in focus as well as in relation to negation. The standard way of forming negation from affirmative clauses is to synthetically attach the negator to the verb root, as shown when we compare the pairs in (814), (815) and (816):

#### 814) a) *Kofi* _edi_ _le sa_ _nəmə_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kofi</th>
<th>à–</th>
<th>dí</th>
<th>lèsá</th>
<th>ná–</th>
<th>mó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>CL5</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Kofi ate the food’ (Verb_morph 63.1)

#### 814) b) *Kofi* _mendi_ _le sa_ _nəmə_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kofi</th>
<th>n–</th>
<th>à=</th>
<th>n–</th>
<th>dí</th>
<th>lèsá</th>
<th>ná–</th>
<th>mó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kofi</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>CL5</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Kofi didn’t eat the food’ (Verb_morph 64.1)

#### 815) a) _udi_ _le sa_ _nəmə_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ó=</th>
<th>dí</th>
<th>lèsá</th>
<th>ná–</th>
<th>mó</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG.NOM.PST=</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>CL5</td>
<td>the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He ate the food’ (Verb_morph 71.1)
First of all, we will start by focusing on the subject followed by the object and the verb in that order. In the first place when any element is placed in focus, the focus element is optionally introduced by a cleft construction. The cleft construction then forms part of a relative clause depending on the constituent in focus. When the subject is in focus, it takes an optional clefted verbal element \(\text{ini} \) The entire clause then forms the subject of the relative clause, introduced by the relative proclitic \(\text{lè=} \) or \(\text{ǹ=} \) attached to the verb. The choice of the relativizer depends on the ‘lexical aspect’ of the verb they are attached to. ‘Activity’ and ‘accomplishment’ predicates take \(\text{lè=} \) while ‘achievement’ and ‘state’ predicates take \(\text{ǹ=} \). In the negation of focus constructions, it is the focus constituent which is negated. This is referred to as constituent negation (Dahl 2010:31; Sandu 1994:345). This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (817), (818) and (819):

817) a) \(\text{Kofi (} \text{ini} \) \(\text{ lidi} \) \(\text{ lesa nàmọ} \) \(\text{budi} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{Kofi} & \quad \text{è=} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{lè=} \quad \text{df} \quad \text{lèsá nà-} \quad \text{mọ} \\
\text{Kofi} & \quad 3\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{food CL5} \quad \text{the} \\
\end{align*}

‘It is Kofi who ate the food’

(Verb_morph 65.1)
When the object of a clause or sentence is in focus, it is moved to the beginning of sentence. The sentence has a similar syntactic typology as described above. However, the subject of the sentence intervenes between the focused object and the verb of the sentence. Since the object is in focus, it occurs first followed by the subject and the verb in that order. In order to form the negation of the focus construction, the constituent of the object in focus is negated. This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (820), (821) and (822):

820) a) lesa nome Kofi lidi
   le-sá ná- má Kofi le= diá lësá ná- má
   NCL5-food CL5 the Kofi REL= eat
   ‘It is the food Kofi ate’ (Verb_morph 67.1)

b) amni Kofi lidi lesa nome
   è= ní Kofi le= diá lësá ná- má
   3SG.NOM= NEG be Kofi REL= eat food CL5 the
   ‘It isn't Kofi who ate the food’ (Verb_morph 66.1)
What is interesting in the above data is the fact that the pair in (821) takes a past
perfect construction instead of the usual relative clause construction. This
phenomenon always occurs when subject pronominals are involved. Another
interesting phenomenon is the fact that in colloquial speech, the verb is contracted
such that the prefixed vowels are fused as one vowel. The resulting toneme is a
falling tone. The examples in (821) can be represented as:

823) a) lesa nəmə udi
lē-sā nā- mā δ =
NCL5-food CL5 the 3SG.NOM.PST.ANT= eat
‘It was the food he ate/had eaten’ (Verb_morph 75.1)
When the verb is in focus, a rather spectacular phenomenon occurs. The verb as it occurs is not placed at the beginning of the sentence but rather a nominalized form of the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. The original verb maintains its position in the clause. The nominalized verb occurs first followed by the subject and a relative clause consisting of the verb and the object in that order. In order to form the negation of the focus construction, the constituent containing the nominalized verb in focus, is negated. This phenomenon can be observed when we compare the pairs in (824), (825) and (826):

824) a) budi Kofi lidi lesa nəmə
   bò- df Kofi lè= df lè-sá ná- mó
   NMLZ eat Kofi REL= eat NCL5-food CL5 the
   ‘It was eating Kofi did to the food’ (Verb_morph 69.1)

b) omni budi Kofi lidi lesa nəmə
   è= n- ní bò- df Kofi lè= df lè-sá ná- mó
   3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ eat Kofi REL= eat NCL5-food CL5 the
   ‘It wasn’t eating Kofi did to the food’ (Verb_morph 70.1)

825) a) budi uudi lesa nəmə
   bò- df è= ò- df lè-sá ná- mó
   NMLZ eat 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT eat NCL5-food CL5 the
   ‘It was eating he did to the food’ (Verb_morph 77.1)

b) omni budi uudi lesa
   è= n- ní bò- df è= ò- df lè-sá
   3SG.NOM= NEG be NMLZ eat 3SG.NOM.PST= ANT eat NCL5-food
   ná- mó
   CL5 the
   ‘It wasn’t eating he did to the food’ (Verb_morph 70.1)
The pairs in examples (824) and (825) show a scenario where the verb is in focus and the regular inflected form is maintained in its original position. However, the pair in example (826) only involves the focused verb. This is probably due to the fact that it is the semantic verb and not the syntactic verb. The verb in focus is already nominalized and behaves as a nominal just like the subject or object. The syntactic verb le can possibly be focused by nominalizing it and placing it at the beginning of the sentence as demonstrated before. However, its use is quite rare. We need to note that adjuncts are also focused and negated the same way as subjects and objects. In terms of order, the adjunct occurs first followed by the subject and a relative clause consisting of the verb and the object.

8.5 Summary

This chapter discussed tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverb. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs.

Section 8.1 discussed tense and aspect in Sekpele. Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low
tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are á- and á- respectively. The imperfective morpheme á- is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs bə́ ‘come’ and sù ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are (b)ò- and (b)ó- respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Section 8.1.1 discussed the past, perfective and the anterior. In Sekpele, both past and perfective are used to indicate situations before the moment of speaking. Past tense is indicated by a high tone on the subject pronominal. A past subject pronoun is attached to the verb stem alone or combines with the perfective morpheme to form a past perfect construction. Since NP subjects do not require subject pronominals to be attached to the verb, only the perfective morpheme is attached to the verb. Anterior refers to the phenomenon which is referred to as ‘perfect’ in most linguistic literature. I have chosen to use ‘anterior’ in this work to minimise the confusion between the use of ‘perfect’ and ‘perfective’. Section 8.1.2 discussed imperfective aspects which include the progressive and the habitual. Section 8.1.3 discussed the two kinds of the future: the primary future and the prospective.

Section 8.2 discussed the phasal aspects in Sekpele which include the ingressive/inceptive; progressive/continuative; egressive/completive; and the cessative/terminative. Section 8.3 discussed mood and modality in Sekpele. Topics
discussed include agent-oriented modality; speaker-oriented modality; epistemic modality; and subordination. These mood and modalities are represented lexically especially by verbs. Section 8.4 discussed negation in Sekpele and the topics treated include the standard negation; non-standard negation; negation and quantification; and negation and focus. In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may assume a double negation based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON especially the second person. The verb kpé has a suppletive negative form bə́ ‘exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction.
9 CLAUSE STRUCTURE AND TYPES

This chapter discusses the basic structure of a simple clause in Sekpele. I will look at the order of constituents in the basic clause and the grammatical relations arguments hold with their predicate. I will also discuss other types of clauses which include predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and the predicative possessive construction.

9.1 Basic clause structure and grammatical relation

The basic clause in a language is a simple declarative clause which has a verb as its predicate. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it: thus Sekpele is an SVO language. The number of elements that can be represented in a clause depends on whether the clause is a one-place, two-place or a three place construction and may also have one or more adjuncts. A one-place construction consists of a verbal word and a nominal argument subject. The verbal word is made up of a verb and its affixed component while the nominal subject is an NP (a noun, an independent pronoun or a demonstrative). In cases where the verbal word has a prefixed pronoun as a subject, then it stands alone in a one-place construction. A two-place construction consists of a verbal word and a nominal argument as its object or verb which has two nominal arguments as its subject and object. Finally, a three-place construction has a verb and three NP arguments. All constructions can have one or more optional adjuncts consisting of locatives, adverbials, and adpositional phrases. These optional adjuncts may occur.
either in clause-initial or clause-final positions. Table 9.1 shows the basic constituent order of a clause and the positions filled by the arguments of the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjuncts</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object 1</th>
<th>Object 2</th>
<th>Adjuncts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9.1: Constituent order of a clause**

The following are examples of each type of clause. For further discussion of verbs and their argument structures, see §7.2.

827) **sïa** **sïam** **ebu**

| sé-  | *nɔ  | sì-  | mɔ́  | à-  | bû   |
| NCL1 | meat | CL1  | the  | PFV | become rotten |

‘The meat is rotten’  (Verbs 287.1)

828) **ebia**

| ë =  | biá  |
| 3SG.NOM.PST = | be spoil |

‘It is bad’  (Verbs 288.1)

829) **ibu**

| ë =  | bû   |
| 3SG.NOM.PST = | become rotten |

‘It is rotten’  (Verbs 289.1)

830) **osani** **sìam** **amini** **kofa**

| ò-  | *sànì  | ã-  | mɔ́  | ã-  | mínì  | kò-  | *fɔ́  |
| NCL1 | man   | CL1 | the  | HAB | swallow | NCL7 | medicine |

‘The man swallows medicine’  (Verb 22.1)

831) **wɔɔyɪm** **kamɔ**

| wò =  | ò-  | yìmì  | kàmɔ́  |
| 3SG.NOM = | FUT | chew rice |

‘He will eat rice’  (Verb 9.1)

832) **Onanto** **ate** **me** **asa** **əmfɔ́**

| ònàntɔ́  | à-  | té | mɔ́  | à-  | *sà  | á-  | mfɔ́  |
| Almighty God | PFV | show | 3PL.ACC | CL6 | thing | CL6 | that |

‘God has revealed those things to them’  (Punishment 1.10)
Examples 827, 828, and 829 are one-place constructions in which the verb takes one argument that functions as the subject. In (827), the noun phrase sínə̀ síə́mə́ ‘the meat’ functions as the subject of the clause. However in (828) and (829), the clause is represented as a verbal word which has a prefixed pronoun as its subject. Examples 830 and 831 are two place constructions in which the verb takes two arguments: one as the subject and the other as the object. Example 830 has a noun phrase as the subject while (831) has a prefixed pronoun on the verb as its subject. Examples 832 and 833 are three-place constructions. In (832), the clause has three arguments: Onanto ‘God’ is the subject and it precedes the verb àtə́ ‘PFV.show’. There are two NPs, mə́ ‘3PL.ACC’ and à̀tə̀sá ə́mfó ‘those things’ which function as objects and occur in postverbal position. Example 833 has a pronoun prefixed to the verb as its subject and has two NPs (òká ə́mə́ and àtə́sá) as its object in postverbal position. In both (832) and (833), the two objects play the role of a goal and a theme respectively. In Sɛkpɛle, the order of the goal and the theme is restricted and cannot be switched. However, if one would like to place prominence on the theme, by switching the position of the goal and the theme, an alternative would be to employ a serial verb construction. The composition of the serial verb construction is characterised by the introduction of verbs like fí ‘take’ and lə́kə̀ ‘remove’, preceding the theme. The introduced verb takes the theme as its complement while the original verb takes the goal as its complement (see also §10.1.1). In this case, examples 832 and 833 would be reconstructed as (834) and (835):
‘God has revealed those things to them’. (lit. God removed those things and showed to them)

‘He sends the chief gifts’  (lit. He takes gifts and sends them to the chief)

Examples 834 and 835 can be seen as a series of two statements. The two statements in (834) go like this: the subject, ‘God removed those things; he showed them those things’. The prefix on the second verb is co-referential to the subject of the first. We also observe the theme leaving a gap in its original position. However, in example (835), the second verb is introduced by the infinitive marker ka- which goes to show the progression of the action performed by the subject.

## 9.2 Predicate nominal clauses

A predicate nominal clause is a clause in which the main semantic content of predication is embodied in a noun phrase. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation (Payne, 1997:114). Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to belong to the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. The subject of a predicate nominal clause indicating proper inclusion is usually specific while the nominal predicate is non-specific. Equative clauses on the other hand, are those which assert that a particular entity is identical
to the entity specified in the predicate nominal. Both the subject and the nominal predicate in an equative clause are specific, and therefore it is sometimes difficult to tell which nominal is the subject and which is the predicate. Languages have various strategies for expressing proper inclusion and equation. These strategies include: (1) NP NP juxtaposition and (2) copula constructions of various forms. A language may employ one or a combination of these strategies. The aim of this section is to explore the strategies that Sekpele uses in the expression of proper inclusion and equation.

Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. There is a copula verb *ni ‘be’ which is used for present reference.

836) **ntu** buš ditu buni

\[\text{ntu-}^*\text{tù} \text{ buš} \text{ lè=} \text{ tù} \text{ bò=} \text{ nf}\]

NCL10 water CL10.DEF REL= be boil CL10.NOM= be

‘It is boiled water’ (Verb 127.1)

837) **eso** lekpomɛ kekɛ mə te dini

\[\text{eso-}^*\text{kpɔmɛ} \text{ kɛkɛ} \text{ mə} \text{ tɛ} \text{ lɛ=} \text{ nf}\]

therefore NCL5 stool small like this only CL5.NOM= be

‘Therefore it is just a small stool like this.’ (King_making 2.38)

Proper inclusion is of this kind and it is restricted to this word order where the reference precedes the verbal word. The verbal word consists of the copula *ni and subject pronominal which is co-referential to the reference NP. One can say that the reference NP is in focus and that is why it is placed in clause initial position. The order cannot be switched. The order is the same when two NPs occur in the clause, both NPs precede the copula. The subject of the clause is placed in the periphery,
while the NP predicate is closer to the copula. The copula is also marked with a pronoun referring to the NP predicate.

838) Kofi, osani see uni
   Kofi ò- *sànì sèè ò= ní
   Kofi NCL1 man good 3SG.NOM= be
   ‘Kofi is a good man’ (Miscellaneous 55.1)

839) nnuə tsya sekpele sini ?
   ñnuò tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé sè= ní
   palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.NOM= be
   ‘Is ‘nnuə’ too a Sekpele word?’ (Soap_making 23.2)

It is interesting to note that, the fact that the subject is placed in the periphery suggests that it can be omitted from the clause. This presupposes that the NP predicate is an important component of the copula clause since it has a co-referential element attached to the copula. Examples 838 and 839 can be represented as (840) and (841):

840) osani see uni
   o- *sànì sèè ò= ní
   NCL1 man good 3SG.NOM= be
   ‘He is a good man’ (Adjective 103.1)

841) sekpele sini ?
   se- *kpè *lé sè= ní
   NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.NOM= be
   ‘Is it a Sekpele word?’

Equation in Sekpele on the other hand, is versatile in terms of its word order. The copula is normally placed between the NPs. Since the NPs share a common identity, their position can be switched. This is illustrated in (842) and (843):

842) a) Abladi ni mama diye .
    Abladi ní mɛmɛ diyɛ
    Abladi be 3PL.POSS name
    ‘Abladi is their name’ (History_amankrado 3.74)
Equation in Sekpele is versatile in that the copula can occur at clause final position just like a proper inclusion clause. However each word ordering pattern has its own interpretation within the context it is made. Example 844 shows the versatility of equative clauses in Sekpele:

844) a) Kofi ni mɔ anto
   Kofi nf mɔ= ántɔ
   Kofi be 1SG.POSS= father
   ‘Kofi is my father’ (Miscellaneous 56.1)

b) mɔ anto ni Kofi
   mɔ= ántɔ nf Kofi
   1SG.POSS= father be Kofi
   ‘My father is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 57.1)

c) Kofi , mɔ anto uni
   Kofi mɔ= ántɔ ɔ= nf
   Kofi 1SG.POSS= father 3SG.NOM= be
   ‘Kofi, he is my father’ (Miscellaneous 58.1)
d) \( mɔ \) \( anto \) , Kofi \( uni \)
\( mɔ= \) \( Kofi \) \( d= \) \( ní \)
1SG.POSS = father Kofi 3SG.NOM = be
‘My father, he is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 59.1)

e) \( mɔ \) \( anto \) \( uni \)
\( mɔ= \) \( Kofi \) \( d= \) \( ní \)
1SG.POSS = father 3SG.NOM = be
‘He is my father’ (Miscellaneous 60.1)

f) Kofi \( uni \)
Kofi \( d= \) \( ní \)
Kofi 3SG.NOM = be
‘He is Kofi’ (Miscellaneous 61.1)

The interpretation that can be given to (844a) is that, a particular person called Kofi is my father. (844b) can be interpreted as my father is the particular person called Kofi. (844c) is ambiguous between an address to a person called Kofi that an entity in contention is my father and Kofi is my father. (844d) is the reversal which is also ambiguous between an address to my father that, an entity in contention is Kofi and my father is Kofi. In (844e) and (844f), the peripheral elements have been omitted. The interpretations for (844e) and (844f) are reflected in their glosses respectively. Both can be used as a response to the question ‘who is he’. This is totally different from the response to the question ‘who is it’ in (845). In (845) the anaphoric pronoun is omitted which presupposes that the copula is underlyingly \textit{ini}.

845) a) \( mɔ \) \( anto \) \( ni \) ( \textit{ini} )
\( mɔ= \) \( Kofi \) \( è= \) \( ní \)
1SG.POSS = father \textit{be} 3SG.NOM = be
‘It is my father’

b) Kofi \( ni \) ( \textit{ini} )
Kofi \( ní \) \( è= \) \( ní \)
Kofi \textit{be} 3SG.NOM = be
‘It is Kofi’
There is another copula verb *di* ‘become’ which is used for non-present reference: thus past, habitual and future occurrence of an event or state of affairs.

846) 

Cephas Delalorm

Examples 846, 847, 848 and 849 illustrate the use of *di* in past, habitual, subjunctive and the future respectively.
9.3 **Predicate adjectives (attributive clauses)**

A predicate adjective clause is one in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. Adjectives play three syntactic roles that distinguish them as a major word class like nouns and verbs. They can function as a predicate in a clause, modifiers in NPs and as the parameter of comparison. When they occur as predicates, they are coded as either intransitive predicates or copula complements. When they occur in NPs, they either occur in direct apposition to the noun they modify or undergo a process of relativization. Distinguishing adjectives from other word classes differs from language to language. In some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, others to verbs, others to both nouns and verbs, and others to neither (Dixon 2004). Adjectives which have grammatical properties similar to nouns are noun-like adjectives while those similar to verbs are verb-like adjectives. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. A wordlist of adjectives is provided in appendix 3.

### 9.3.1 Verb-like Adjectives

Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. This is illustrated in:

```
850) ɔpʊnʊ əmə amɔ əmə ́
       d- *pʊnʊ á- mɔ d- mɔ́
NCL3 table CL3 the PFV become big
‘The table is big’ (Adjectives 30.1)
```
Verbal-like adjectives do not directly modify a noun in an NP. They modify the noun by relativization, as in:

853) ɔpʊnuŋ ʊ̃ lɛmɔ əmə
      ɗ-  *pʊ̀nʊ́ ʊ̃  lɛ= mə a- mó
NCL3 table CL3.REL.PRO REL= become big CL3 the
‘The table which is big’ (Adjectives 32.1)

854) ola kuyi ƙũ dikula
     ɗ= là kò- *yî ƙũ lɛ= kúlə́
3SG.NOM.PST= cut NCL7 tree CL7.REL.PRO REL= become tall
‘He cut a tree which is tall’ (Adjectives 18.1)

855) ɔle lesaŋə lemanleke buyiño
     ɗ= lé lèsənə lɛ= n- à- n- ɗə- yifó
3SG.NOM= hold something REL= NEG PFV NEG be good NMLZ do
‘He is doing something which isn’t good’ (King_making 12.1)

It is important to note that verbal-like adjectives do not occur as copula complements.

9.3.2 Noun-like Adjectives

Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. One characteristic that distinguishes the noun-like adjectives from nouns is the fact that they do not take determiners such as the definite article. Unlike verb-
like adjectives, they occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb *kpe* in predicate position. This is illustrated in:

856) *diyibibi nəmə kpe ale*

     lè- yibibi nə- mó kpé álé

NCL5 fruit CL5 the have **hard**

‘The fruit is hard’ (Adjectives 72.1)

857) *bitsyikə biəmə kpe kalende*

     bi-tsylkə bi- mó kpé kàlèndé

NCL12-load CL12 the have **heavy**

‘The package is heavy’ (Adjectives 1.1)

858) *diyibibi nəmə kpe kalo*

     lè- yibibi nə- mó kpé kálò

NCL5 fruit CL5 the have **bitter**

‘The fruit is bitter’ (Adjectives 84.1)

Noun-like adjectives like verb-like ones do not directly modify the head noun in an NP. They modify the noun by relativization, as in:

859) *ubuki ò nkpe ale eedi lesa*

     ò- *bùkí ̀ n= kpé álé á- á- dí lè- *sá

NCL1 animal CL1.REL.PRO REL= have **hard** SCR HAB eat NCL5 thing

ku kɔnɔk

kú kɔnmó

with **good**

‘The animal which is healthy eats well’ (Verbs 354.1)

860) *utsyi bitsyikə biə nkpe kalende*

     ò= tsyí bi-tsylkə biishly n= kpé kàlèndé

3SG.NOM= carry NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL= have **heavy**

‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)

861) *udi diyibibi nə nkpe kalo*

     ò= dí lè- yibibi nə n= kpé kálò

3SG.NOM.PST= eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL= have **bitter**

‘He ate the fruit which is bitter’ (Adjectives 85.1)
9.3.3 Ideophonic Adjectives

Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. Ideophones are a distinct class of words used for vivid representation of ideas in sound, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity (Crystal, 1997:189; Doke, 1935:118; Trask, 1993:131). Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery (Dingemanse, 2011:25). Indeed, in many other languages of Africa and other parts of the world, ideophones are often treated as belonging to a separate word class (Bodomo, 2006:204). In Sɛkpɛle, ideophones belong to a broad class of words which include adjectives and adverbs. They are distinct from nouns in the sense that they do not take noun class marker. They are also distinct from verbs because they do not take any affixes associated with verbs. Their sensory imagery can only be depicted emotionally through speech. They play a vital role within an NP as well as within a clause, functioning as modifiers and as copula complements respectively. In NPs, they occur in direct apposition to the head noun or occur as relativized copula complement. This is illustrated as in (863) and (864). Example 863 shows the adjective occurring in direct apposition to the noun while (864) shows the adjective occurring as the copula complement in a relative clause:

862) uku dibiə tenkle dîtinyə
   3SG.NOM.PST = dig NCL5 hole shallow CL5 some
   ‘He dug a shallow hole’

863) ola kuyi ketsenkle komə
   3SG.NOM.PST = cut NCL7 tree tall CL7 the
   ‘He cut the tall tree’
In predicate position, they occur as copula complements to the ‘do-verb’ *yîfô and the positional verb *tlê. This is illustrated as in:

865) kuyi koma eyifo kitikpo
kò- *yî kó- mó à- yîfô kîtîk pó
NCL7 tree CL7 the PFV do short
‘The tree is short’ (Adjectives 24.1)

866) bitsyikô bıma eyifo fomflo
b̀-tsyilkô bî- mó à- yîfô fômfló
NCL12-load CL12 the PFV do light
‘The package is light’ (Adjectives 4.1)

867) lewãkplibi nema to fufu
lé- wã̀ *kplibî nò- mó tò fúfú
NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the be.at empty
‘The cooking pot is empty’ (Miscellaneous 14.1)

868) ita bekebeke
tì = tò bêkêbêkê
3SG.NOM = be.at thin
‘It is thin’ (Adjectives 60.1)

There are some adjectives that can co-occur with both verbs interchangeably. Most adjectives that do occur as copula complements take either of the verbs. Examples 869 and 870 show adjectives that can occur with both verbs:

869) a) dibió nema to tenklé
lè- *bìò nò- mó tò tênkîlê
NCL5 hole CL5 the be.at shallow
‘The hole is shallow’ (Adjectives 96.1)
b) dibio nomo eyifo tenkle
lè- *bì ̀ ná- mò à- yifó téŋkë
NCL5 hole CL5 the PFV do shallow
‘The hole is shallow’ (Adjectives 97.1)

870) a) kukua komo to kwankwà
kò- *kù ̀ kó- mò tó kwánkwà
NCL7 book CL7 the be.at green
‘The book is green’ (Adjectives 12.1)

b) kukua komo eyifo kwankwà
kò- *kù ̀ kó- mò à- yifó kwánkwà
NCL7 book CL7 the PFV do green
‘The book is green’ (Adjectives 13.1)

It seems that the positional verb tó is used for expressing permanent or perpetual states while the do-verb yifó is used for transient states. Ideophonic adjectives can also function as adverbs modifying verbs, as in:

871) ọle etsyi bembe
ò = lé ètsyi bëmbé
3SG.NOM = hold race hard
‘He is running fast’ (Verbs 51.1)

872) udi kpà
ò = dí kpà
3SG.NOM.PST = eat many
‘He ate a lot’ (Adjectives 41.1)

Ideophones can be reduplicated and when they do, they have the semantic effect of intensification of the quality. This is illustrated in:

873) udi kpànkpà
ò = dí kpànkpà
3SG.NOM.PST = eat very many
‘He ate too much’ (Adjectives 42.1)
Ideophonic adjectives can modify verb-like adjectives with a similar semantic meaning. This process is used to intensify or exaggerate the quality or property of the NP subject. They mostly apply to dimension terms, as in:

874) bate kpə kpə  wə
    bà- *tê kpə kpə  wə
    NCL2 goat many exist 3SG.ACC
    ‘He has many goats’   (Adjectives 38.1)

875) bate kpənkpə kpə  wə
    bà- *tê kpəŋkpə kpə  wə
    NCL2 goat very many exist 3SG.ACC
    ‘He has very many goats’  (Adjectives 39.1)

9.3.4 Derived adjectives

Some adjectives can be derived from verb-like and Ideophonic adjectives. There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives can be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix.
9.3.4.1 Reduplication of verb-like adjectives

One process by which adjectives could be derived is by reduplication of verb-like adjectives. Adjectives of this kind are mostly used for attributive purposes. Thus, their function is restricted to noun modification in the NP and cannot be used for predication. This is illustrated in:

879) a) diyibibi nama ayuə
   lè- yìbibì ná- mó à- yúð
   NCL5 fruit CL5 the PFV become soft
   ‘The fruit is soft’ (Adjectives 75.1)

   b) udi
diyibibi yuuuuu nama
   ò= dì lè- yìbibì yùyù ná- mó
   3SG.NOM.PST= eat NCL5 fruit soft CL5 the
   ‘He ate the soft fruit’ (Adjectives 77.1)

880) a) dibibò nama atsyo
   lè- *bì ná- mó à- tseyó
   NCL5 hole CL5 the PFV be deep
   ‘The hole is deep’ (Adjectives 92.1)

   b) uku
dibiò tseyontsyo dtysuə
   ò= kù lè- *bì tseyóntsyó lè- tseyúð
   3SG.NOM.PST= dig NCL5 hole deep CL5 some
   ‘He dug a deep hole’ (Adjectives 94.1)

9.3.4.2 Derived noun-like adjectives

Adjectives can also be derived by prefixing the noun class marker of the head noun in the subject NP to the ideophonic adjective in the predicate constituent. The marking on the adjective is co-referential and shows the association of the property to the noun. The adjective is not marked when it occurs within the NP. This is because the adjective is compounded to the head noun forming a prosodic word. This derivational process mostly applies to dimension and age terms in Sekpele. The
derived adjectives occur as copula complement to the do-verb *yifó. This is illustrated when we compare the pairs in (881), (882) and (883):

881) a) ɔpʊnʊ  kple  ãmə
    ð-  *pʊ̀nʊ́  kplɛ̀  á-  mó
NCL3   table   big  CL3  the
‘The big table’  (Adjectives 31.1)

b) ɔpʊnʊ  ãmə  eyifó  ɔkple
    ð-  *pʊ̀nʊ́  á-  mó  á-  yífó  ð-  kplɛ̀
NCL3  table  CL3  the  PFV  do  NCL3 big
‘The table is big’  (Adjectives 118.1)

882) a) eso  lekpome  keke  mə  te  dini
    èsò  lè-  *kpòmɛ̀  kɛkɛ̀  mó  tè  lè=  ní
therefore  NCL5  stool  small  like this  only  CL5.NOM=  be
‘Therefore it is just a small stool like this’  (King_making 2.38)

b) lekpome  Nmə  eyifó  lekeke
    lè-  *kpòmɛ̀  nɪ-  mó  á-  yífó  lè-  kɛkɛ̀
NCL5  stool  CL5  the  PFV  do  NCL5  small
‘The stool is small’  (Adjectives 119.1)

883) a) kafia  fɔfɔ  ahia  wə
    kàfìá  fɔ́fɔ́  à-  hìá  wɔ
cloth  new  PFV  need  3SG.ACC
‘She needs a new cloth’  (Verbs 468.1)

b) kafia  kəmə  eyifó  kafɔfɔ
    kà-  *fiá  kà-  mó  á-  yífó  kà-  fɔ́fɔ́
NCL9  cloth  CL9  the  PFV  do  NCL9  new
‘The cloth is new’  (Adjectives 120.1)

Noun-like adjectives can also be derived from ideophonic adjectives by attaching the noun marker *ka-. This process is unique and only applies to the physical property ‘sweet’. The derived adjective does not occur with the do-verb *yifò and the be-verb
tá, but occurs as copula complement to the existential or possessive verb kpé. This is illustrated when we compare (884) and (885) to (886):

884) udi  diyiibi  mìnimì  nàmò
     ó=  dí  lè-  yibi  mìnìmìnì  nà-  mà
3SG.NOM.PST=  eat  NCL5  fruit  sweet  CL5  the
‘He ate the sweet fruit’ (Adjectives 81.1)

885) diyiifo  mìmmì
lè=  yifò  mìnmìnì
CL5.NOM=  do  sweet
‘It is sweet’ (Adjectives 83.1)

886) diyiibi  nàmò  kpé  kàmìní
lè-  yibi  ná-  mà  kpé  kàmìnì
NCL5  fruit  CL5  the  have  sweet
‘The fruit is sweet’ (Adjectives 79.1)

9.3.4.3 Derivation by adjectival suffix

Another process by which adjectives can be derived is by attaching the adjectival suffix -a to verb-like adjectives. This process applies mostly to colour and some value terms. This is illustrated when we compare the pairs in (887) and (888):

887) a) kuku  koma  efubi
    kò-  *kùò  kò-  mà-  flùbì
NCL7  book  CL7  the  PFV  become white
‘The book is white’ (Adjectives 8.1)

b) kuku  flubia  koma  tòko  lo  opùnu
    kò-  *kùò  flùbì  -à  kò-  mà  tòkò  lò  ò-  *pònu
NCL7  book  become white  ADJV  CL7  the  be on  LOC  NCL3  table
    òmà  òsùnà
    á-  mà  òsùdà
CL3  the  top of
‘The white book is on the table’ (Adjectives 7.1)
Although derived adjectives of this kind are restricted to attributive function, they can undergo a further process to function in predicate position. The noun class marker of the head noun in the subject NP is prefixed to the stem. The derived adjective occurs as copula complement to the do-verb yífó, as in:

889) **kukua**  

NCL7 book CL7 the PFV become black  

‘The book is black’  

(Adjectives 121.1)

890) **kafia**  

NCL9 cloth CL9 the PFV do NCL9 become white ADJV  

‘The cloth is white’  

(Adjectives 122.1)

### 9.3.5 Syntactic possibilities of adjectives

Following from the previous sections, it is obvious that some adjective classes are flexible while others are limited in terms of their syntactic representation. Verb-like adjectives do occur as intransitive predicates whereas all other adjectives occur as copula complements. Within the NP, ideophonic adjectives and adjectives derived from verb-like adjectives can directly modify the head noun. However, noun-like
and verb-like adjectives can only modify the head noun by undergoing the process of relativization. Ideophonic adjectives are the most versatile such that, apart from modifying nouns and functioning as copula complement, they do function as adverbs modifying verbs and verb-like adjectives - a characteristic that all other adjectives lack. All adjectives function as parameters of comparison. Table 9.2 provides a summary of the various possibilities available to the various adjective classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Verb-like adjectives</th>
<th>Noun-like adjectives</th>
<th>Ideophonic adjectives</th>
<th>Derived adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct modification of nouns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓ Verb derived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification by relativization</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive predication</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula complement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function as adverb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make up a whole NP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parameter of comparison</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.2: Syntactic possibilities of adjectives

9.4 **Presentational constructions**

A presentational construction is a deictic construction used to present a proposition or an idea. In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle ‘*nu*’, placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *nu* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase just as a demonstrative does. On the other hand, it lays emphases on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position, as in:
9.5 Existential constructions

Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, usually in some specific location. An existential construction in Sekpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two forms of the locative/existential verb: kpé ‘be.at, exist’ and kë ‘be.at:NPRES’. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence, as in:

895) ła keni katsyuə kpé ła bebe biamo asua la ,
    ló ká- *ní ká- tsyũó kpé ló bê- *bê bíə- mó õsũã lá
    if NCL4 dirt CL4 some exist LOC NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the body TOP
ebofle aloka ,
    à= bó- flé à= lũkũ
    2SG.NOM FUT sift 2SG.NOM remove
‘If there is any dirt in the palm kernels, you will sift it out’  (Palm_kernel_oil 2.6)
Therefore if he is even abroad too, it is necessary his eyes or his ears be at home’

(King_making 14.9)

‘Elder of a clan anywhere which is a clan, it is necessary an elder of a clan will exist’

(History_amankrado 11.5)

Sekpele has a unique negative existential verb ìbó that is a suppletive form of the present existential kpé. The negative existential verb co-occurs with the standard negative marker in Sekpele. However, the non-present existential kè does not change its form in the negative. This is illustrated in:

‘Is there no money for them to make wine pots?’

(Pottery 207.1)

‘No woman is in his house’

(Pottery 299.2)
Existential constructions can be intransitive. In most cases, the subject NP is indefinite, as in:

902) **bafonafana** kpe loo .
bì̀fùnì̀fì̀nù̀ kpé lù̀
itchy leaves exist UFP
‘There are itchy leaves’ (Punishment 5.1)

903) **leleye** bọọta leleyi nini kpe .
lè- *lèyê bá= à- tá lè- *lèyi níní kpé
NCL5 birth-name 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB give NCL5 birthday CL5.PN exist
‘The birth-name that is given in relation to birthday exists’ (Naming_ceremony 30.1)

904) **bakoko** eke .
bà- *kòkó é= kè
NCL2 ancient 3SG.NOM.PST= exist
‘In the past, it existed’ (King_making 14.18)

### 9.6 Locative constructions

A locative construction is a clause whose predicate states the location of the subject.

There are various syntactic frames that a language may employ to account for the predominant construction that occurs in response to a ‘Where-question’. This predominant construction is known as the Basic Locative Construction (BLC)
Bobuafor (2013:152) proposed four syntactic frames used in Tafi, a language that belongs to the GTM language group. In totality a locative construction consists of an NP (which is the subject of the clause) which denotes the FIGURE, a verb or locative verb, followed by an adpositional phrase which has an NP as the REFERENCE OBJECT and sometimes a locative noun as their Search Domain. The syntactic frames are represented in Table 9.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>GROUND REFERENCE OBJECT</th>
<th>SEARCH DOMAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. NP</td>
<td>V_{[LOC]}</td>
<td>[NP]</td>
<td>(Postposition)$_{PostP}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. NP</td>
<td>V_{[LOC]}</td>
<td>[NP]$_{Bpart}$</td>
<td>(Postposition)$_{PostP}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. NP</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Prep</td>
<td>[NP]$_{PostP}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. NP</td>
<td>V$_1$ V$_2$</td>
<td>[NP]</td>
<td>(Postposition)$_{PostP}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.3: Syntactic frames of locative constructions (adapted from Bobuafor 2013:152)

It is important to note that the notion of postposition as discussed by Bobuafor (2013) is not the same notion of postpositions as in Sekpele (see §5.4). In Sekpelé, they are spatial or body-part elements and thus can be referred to as locative nouns. In frame (I), the NP representing the Figure is followed by a locative verb, NP (Ground) and an optional locative noun. Frame (II) is similar to frame (I), however, the NP representing the reference object is a body part. Frame (III) consists of a verb (usually stative) having a locative adjunct phrase occurring after it. The locative adjunct phrase is a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition as its head and a possessive noun phrase as its complement. Frame (IV) is a serial verb construction. The first verb in the series contributes information about the manner in which a Figure is located on the Ground while the second verb describes how the figure is positioned.
Cephas Delalorm

Ameka & Levinson (2007:852) identified four language types based on the verbal component used in locative predication. Type 0 languages have no verb in basic locative construction (e.g., Saliba). Type I languages have a single locative verb (or a suppleted form under certain grammatical conditioning). The verb in this type may be a copula as in English, German, and Tamil; locative/existential predicate as in Yucatec; or a locative verb determined by grammatical categorises as in Japanese. Type II languages have a large or unlimited set of positional verbs as in Tzeltal and Zapotec. Finally, Type III languages have a small, contrastive set of posture or positional verbs as in Guugu Yimidhirr, Rossel, Dutch, and Arrernte. Based on this classification, Sekpele belongs to Type II. Ameka (2007:1065) identified a set of 15 contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction in Sekpele. My stipulation is that there could be more given the identification of the locomotive verb ɗọ ‘go towards’ in this work. The aim of this section is to elaborate on each of these verbs.

The basic locative construction (BLC) in Sekpele is made up of an NP representing the Figure and the subject of the clause followed by a locative verb and an obligatory locative adjunct phrase. The locative adjunct phrase is a prepositional phrase whose head is the locative preposition ɗọ. The complement of the preposition is a possessive noun phrase which consists of a possessor (noun) and a possessed noun (locative noun), and it specifies the search domain or reference object associated to the Figure. Locative nouns constitute a distinct grammatical class which evolved from body part and environment terms. The locative noun is bound to an NP which is the reference object to form a larger constituent. There are two modes of linking the locative nouns to their dependent NPs: (1) juxtaposition and (2) possessive marker. The former is widely used as the default while the latter is used
to specify the relation of the search domain to the reference object. The figure, the verb, and the reference object are obligatory while the preposition and the locative noun can be omitted under certain circumstances. The locative preposition is normally omitted when the Ground where the Figure is localized is inherently locative such as kàsɔ̂ ‘land, ground, earth’ or it relates to a stereotypical expected location of the figure such as kàtô ‘up, heaven’ and diyó ‘house, room’. On the other hand, the locative noun can be omitted when the information it carries is redundant because it is embedded in the verb or the specific search domain information is recoverable from the reference object especially one which is a surface or container.

The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. As already stated, there are more verbs that are yet to be discovered. The semantic classification of the locative verbs in Sekpele is shown in Table 9.4:
There are five verbs that make up the general topological verbs. They are the enclosure or containment verb kpé ‘be.in/exist’; contact and support verb, tǎkà ‘be.on’; coincidence verb, tó ‘be.at’; and propinquity or proximity verbs, fí and kpíó ‘be.near’. 

9.6.1.1 The enclosure or containment verb kpé ‘be.in, exist’

The verb kpé is used to localize entities in an enclosed or contained space. The entity or Figure could be concrete or abstract, animate or inanimate. The Ground could be a total container such as a room or a box, a partial one such as under a table or a shed, or a surrounded space such as within a fence.
Whenever the verb *kpé* is used with the reference object being a prototypical container, the search domain represented by locative nouns need not be specified. This is because the information of containment is in the verb and both the verb and the reference object make the relation clear. If a locative noun occurs in the clause, it is meant to lay emphasis on the Ground, as in:

907) **osani** ə̀ sànî  kpè  diyo
    ó-  *sànî  á-  kpé  lè-  *yó
    NCL1 man  CL1.DEF exist  NCL5 house
    ‘The man is at home’  (Locative_verb 2.1)

908) **osani** ə̀ mə  kpè  diyo  kafo
    ó-  *sànî  á-  má kpé  lè-  *yó  kêfô
    NCL1 man  CL1 the exist  NCL5 house inside
    ‘The man is in the room’  (Locative_verb 3.1)

However, where the Ground is an open space, various locative nouns are used to specify the active zone of the reference object containing the Figure. In this case, the locative noun is obligatory; otherwise, the construction will be vague.

909) **Ọkpé** ə̀ mə  kpè  la  kakpe  nti
    ó-  *kpé  á-  mà kpé  ló  kê-  *kpé  ŋtí
    NCL3 bowl  CL3 the exist LOC  NCL4 bowl between
    ‘The bowl is in between the bowls’  (Locative_verb 4.1)
The verb *kpé* is versatile and performs various functions. It is used in both existential and possessive constructions. It is also used in relation to attachment, where the Figure is attached to its reference object. There are two types of attachment. The first type is when the Figure is permanently attached to the reference object such as a door fixed to the entrance of a room or house. The second type refers to adornment such as clothing on the body. Both types of attachment however show a part-whole relation between the Figure and the Ground. The Figure can be said to be an accessory to the Ground which it attaches to permanently or moveably depending on the scope of attachment, as in:

910)  
\[ \text{okla \ kpé \ ló \ sùnu \ kalo} \]
\[ \text{ô- klá kpé ló ô- } *\text{punú kálb} \]
NCL1 cat exist LOC NCL3 table down
‘A cat is under the table’  \( \text{(Locative\_verb \ 5.1)} \)

911)  
\[ \text{siku \ kpé \ ló \ diyo \ namo \ əsù} \]
\[ \text{sè- *kú kpé ló lè- } *\text{yó nš- mš əsùd} \]
NCL11 door exist LOC NCL5 house CL5 the body
‘There is a door on the building’  \( \text{(Locative\_verb \ 7.1)} \)

912)  
\[ \text{atogɛ \ kpé \ ló \ usio \ ə \ to \ ato} \]
\[ \text{à- tógɛ kpé ló ô- } *\text{sló ə to à- } *\text{tó} \]
NCL6 earring exist LOC NCL1 woman CL1.DEF POSS NCL6 ear
‘There are earrings on the woman's ears’  \( \text{(Locative\_verb \ 8.1)} \)

913)  
\[ \text{lesukpe \ kpé \ wà \ ló \ ańt} \]
\[ \text{lè- súkpé kpé wà ló à- } *\text{nì} \]
NCL5 ring exist 3SG.ACC LOC NCL8 arm
‘A ring is on her hand’  \( \text{(Locative\_verb \ 9.1)} \)

914)  
\[ \text{safi kpé \ ló \ siku \ əsù} \]
\[ \text{sáfi kpé ló sè- } *\text{kú əsùd} \]
key exist LOC NCL11 door body
‘A key is on the door’  \( \text{(Locative\_verb \ 10.1)} \)
The verb is also used in agentive-causative constructions. In context, it has an active caused locative interpretation and tends to be glossed as ‘put.in’. Another context in which the verb *kpé* is used with a caused locative reading is when it is used to talk about the cultivation of plants. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used to describe how plants are planted and harvested aside from their prototypical usage (see §7.2.1.2.5 and §7.2.1.2.6). The verb *kpé* is used to describe the process of putting stalks or seedlings of plants such as cassava, plantain and cocoa into the ground. The process also includes transplanting seedlings such as pepper and tomato which have gone through a previous cultivation process with the verb *tó* ‘throw, sprinkle’.

915) **osani**  s  **akpe**  kookoo lele  namfo
\[\text{orman} \quad \text{DEF} \quad \text{put} \quad \text{cocoa} \quad \text{NCL5} \quad \text{this} \]

‘The man has planted cocoa this month’  (Locative_verb 11.1)

916) **okpe** = **kpé**
\[3SG.NOM.PST= \quad \text{put} \quad \text{NCL4} \quad \text{plantain} \quad \text{too} \quad \text{TOP} \]

‘He planted plantains too’  (Locative_verb 12.1)

917) **bakpe**  **tomatosí**  ku  **okle**  lo  **mama**  **okwe**
\[3PL.NOM.PST= \quad \text{put} \quad \text{tomato} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{NCL3} \quad \text{pepper} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{3PL.POSS} \quad \text{farm} \]

‘They planted tomato and pepper on their farm’  (Locative_verb 13.1)

The verb *kpé* is also used for the localization of abstract Figures. This is illustrated in:

918) **kutokó kpé lo sukuususu asua**
\[\text{benefit} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{body} \]

‘There is benefit in education’  (Locative_verb 14.1)
The verb $kpé$ has two allomorphs as shown in §9.5. They are the negative existential/locative $bə́$ which occurs with the negative marker $n-$, and the non-stative form $kɛ̀$.

The contact support verb $tə́kə̀$ ‘be.on’

The verb $tə́kə̀$ is used to describe the locative configuration where the Figure is in contact with and supported by a surface on a horizontal plane. The supporting surface is one that is above the ground and can be a flat one such as a table; a rough surface such as a felled trunk of a tree; a high-level peak such a mountain; or a hanging spot such as a shelf. It does not matter what the orientation of the Figure is.
The Figure can be standing or lying on the surface. The surface can also refer to liquids such as the upper surface of a river, stream or ocean, as in:

922) *kùə́ kò- *kùə́ kò- *pùnú́ á- mó
NCL7 book become white ADJiV CL7 the be on LOC NCL3 table CL3 the
əsùn
əsùn
top of

‘The white book is on the table’
(Adjective 7.1)

923) *klɔ̂ təkə́ tə́kə́ lə́ lə́ əsùn
NCL3 canoe be on LOC water body

‘There is a canoe on the river’
(Locative 16.1)

924) kà- *làndé ka- mó tókò́ lè- tsyìtsyà tò kòtòsì
NCL9 machete CL9 the be on LOC NCL5 basket POSS check

‘The machete is on the edges of the basket’
(Locative 17.1)

The verb tókò́ is used with both animate and inanimate Figures. Some scenarios involving the use of the verb for animate Figures are ‘a man on a roof’ and ‘a bird on a tree’, as in:

925) ô= bè ô= sù tókò́ lè- tsyìsyà əsùn
3SG.NOM.PST= climb up 3SG.NOM.PST= go be on LOC roof top of

‘He climbed onto the roof’
(Verbs 47.1)

The verb can also be used in an agentive construction. When the verb is used in a caused locative construction, the interpretation ‘put.on’ is inferred, as in:
When the verb is used in reference to the cultivation of a plant, it is used for the process where the plant is mounted on a raised surface such as a mount or bed.

Plants such as yam and onion are associated with the verb $\text{tə́kə̀}$, as in:

9.6.1.3 The coincidence verb $tə̀$ ‘be.at’

The verb $tə̀$ is used to signal the topological relation of coincidence. It is mainly used in the localization of inanimate Figures. It is the general locative verb used to
refer to entities located on the ground or floor. The verb does not occur in agentive context and thus does not have caused locative readings. The verb *tô expresses topological coincidence and is highly favoured in localizing entities that are placed on the ground or floor. It is considered the purest of the verbs in stativity since it does not occur in agentive constructions.

929) ɔpʊnʊ əmə əfəsə ɛye ɨtə ɬə ɬekple
    *pʊnó ɭá ɭáes ɛye ɛ= tô ɭá ɬekple
    NCL3 table CL3 the PFV break and 3SG.NOM= be.at LOC outside
    ‘The table is broken and it is outside’ (Agreement_egl 3.1)

930) aʃkpa ɭə ɬə kèsie
    *fɔkpá tô ɭá kèsie
    NCL6 footwear be.at LOC doorway
    ‘The pair of footwear is at the doorway’ (Locative_verb 19.1)

931) kota əntə diyo?
    *tá ɭá n- tô diyô =
    NCL7 gun PFV NEG be.at house =TOP
    ‘Is there no gun in the room?’ (Pottery 265.1)

9.6.1.4 The propinquity verbs *ff ‘be.near’ and kpîọ ‘be.near’
The verb *ff is used marginally to express entities that have close proximity to their reference object. The Figure is said to be near the vicinity of the Ground. The verb rarely occurs alone in a clause. It normally occurs with postural verbs in a serial verb construction. In most cases, it occurs as the second verb in the series, as in:

932) osani ɬə nyə ɔfi diɓo ɬamə
    *sànî ʃ nyə ɬ = ff ɭə = *ɓiŋ nə- mə
    NCL1 man CL1.DEF stand 3SG.NOM= be near NCL5 hole CL5 the
    ‘The man is standing near the hole’ (Locative_verbs 20.1)
Another way of expressing proximity is to introduce the locative noun ɔ́flɔ̀ in the Ground phrase, with the posture verb as the main verb, as in:

935) okpe we oymisani oflo
   3SG.NOM= exist 3SG.POSS sibling man side
   ‘He lives with his brother’ (Verbs 394.1)

936) unyə lo usunte oflo
   3SG.NOM= stand LOC main road side
   ‘He is standing beside the road’ (Verbs 375.1)

The verb fì can be used to express near-proximity of the Figure to the Ground. This is expressed through the serialization of the finish verb lòsə̀ depending on the action taken by the Figure to get closer to the Ground.

937) oye ofi we diyo
   3SG.NOM.PST= walk 3SG.NOM.PST= be near 3SG.POSS NCL5 house
   ‘He walked and he is almost close to his house’ (Locative_verbs 21.1)
Another verb that is used to express proximity is the verb kpi₅. The verb is used to express proximity relations that are said to be established by divine inheritance. The Figure is mostly abstract in nature and the relation of the Figure to the Ground is one of possession. The Ground is mostly animate in nature such that it is said to possess the Figure especially by divine heritance.

9.6.2 The postural verbs

9.6.2.1 The verb sí ‘sit’

The verb sí is used to express the state of an animate entity on its base supported from below by a surface. It is used to describe the sitting posture of humans as well as the squatting posture of animals, as in:
The verb \textit{sí} is also used to localize the dwelling of human entities irrespective of their posture. This has the interpretation of the Figure living or being settled at the Ground. The use of the verb \textit{sf} in this context implies a permanent location which contrasts with the verb \textit{kpé} used for expressing a more temporary location.

The verb \textit{sf} has an allolexical (non-stative) form \textit{sfó} which is used in agentive constructions. It is also used as the non-present counterpart of \textit{sf} which is used to express the idea that the Figure had lived or will be living at the Ground, as in:
Just as the verb *sí* has a more permanent implication compared to *kpé, síə́* also implicates a more permanent settlement compared to *kè*, the non-present counterpart of *kpé*, as in:

948) **Kofi** osia  lə  oto  
Kofi  à-  sf  -ə  ló  ótò  
Kofi  PFV  dwell  NON-STV  LOC  hometown 
‘Kofi had lived in his hometown’  (Locative_verbs 28.1)

949) **Kofi** ake  lə  oto  
Kofi  à-  kè  ló  ótò  
Kofi  PFV  exist  LOC  hometown 
‘Kofi has been in his hometown’  (Locative_verbs 29.1)
9.6.2.2 The verb nyə́ ‘stand’

The verb nyə́ is used for entities that are in a relatively upright position in relation to a horizontal surface. This applies to animates, thus humans and animals; entities that are naturally upright such as plants and mountains; structures that are erected such as houses and poles; and entities that are said to stand on their feet, referring to vehicles of all kinds. This is illustrated in:

950)  
unyə  
la  
usunte  
oflọ  

ð =  
nyə́  
lọ  
úsùnté  
oflọ  
3SG.NOM =  
stand  
LOC  
main road  
side  

‘He is standing beside the road’  (Verbs 375.1)

951)  
kuyi  
kọ́  
nyə́  
lọ  
ọkpọ́  
kafo  

kọ́-  
yi  
nyə́  
lọ  
ọkpọ́  
kafọ́  
NCL7  
tree  
CL7.DEF  
stand  
LOC  
fence  
inside  

‘The tree is standing in the compound’  (Locative_verbs 30.1)

952)  
kufuo  
kọ́  
nyə́  
lọ  
obia  

kọ́-  
*fùó  
nyə́  
lọ  
obìá  
NCL7  
vehicle  
CL7.DEF  
stand  
LOC  
community centre  

‘The vehicle is standing at the community centre’  (Locative_verbs 31.1)

While the verb is used with some erected entities firmly fixed to the ground in upright position such as a pole, others such as a bottle that is fixed to the ground and upright use the verb kpé as in (953). This is probably due to the limitation of these entities in terms of size and length. The verb nyə́ usually used for entities that are relatively tall. This limitation is extended to creeping creatures such as snakes, cockroaches and ants. Instead of nyə́, kpé or kpọ́ is used with these creatures as in (954). Secondly, if the surface is above the ground, then the verb tọkọ́ is used for such creatures, as in (955):
In terms of its causative use, the verb nyọ can either take the causative suffix -sə̀ to form the word nyọnsə̀ ‘cause to stand’, or it can be used in a serial verb construction as the non-initial verb to signal the resultant state of the action of the first verb such as sụ̀ ọ̀nyọ̀ ‘go and stand’ and tákà ọ̀nyọ̀ ‘get up and stand’. The verb nyọ with the causative suffix can also occur in a serial verb construction such as fí ạnyọnsə̀ ‘take and put in upright position. The verb nyọ is thought as the resultative counterpart of the action verb sé ‘fix, erect’

9.6.2.3 The verb lábè ‘lie’

The verb lábè is typically used with animate entities. It is used to characterise entities that are in an elongated position on a horizontal surface. Therefore it is used to localize entities that are lying on a flat surface such as animals lying on the ground and people lying on bed or any surface. The verb lábè has an additional sense of sleep, as in:
The verb *labè* is not used with inanimates, rather the verbs *tɔ* and *tɔkɔ* are used for entities on the ground and on surface above the ground respectively. However, the verb *labè* can be used in extreme cases to show contrast among multiple Figures in terms of their orientation and position as in (958). The verb *labè* is also used to describe the resulting position that an entity falls into. In this context, it occurs as the last verb in a serial verb construction in contrast with an action verb which describes the action that made the entity assume the position represented by the verb *labè*, as in (959):

959) *dikplibi* *nɔmɔ* *etu* *lelabè* *dikubiku*

\[ \text{CL5 cooking pot CL5 the PFV fall CL5.NOM = lie NCL5 tree stump} \]

\[ \text{NCL5 tree stump NCL5 tree stump} \]

\[ \text{The pot fell over and lies near the tree stump’ (Ameka 2007:1090; Locative_verbs 37.1)} \]

In terms of its causative use, the active form of the verb *labè* takes the causative suffix -*sɔ* to form the word *labèsɔ* ‘cause to lie’. Both the verb *labè* and *labèsɔ* can
be used in a serial verb construction with a resultative interpretation such as *sù àlábé* ‘go and sleep’ and *sù àlábésə̀* ‘go and cause it to lie’, as in:

\[
\text{960) nyá booyani fo balabesə mfó .} \\
\text{then 3PL.NOM = FUT abandon 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = lie CAUS there} \\
\text{‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’ (Punishment 9.1)}
\]

### 9.6.2.4 The verbs fákà and yómà ‘hang’

The verbs *fákà* and *yómà* are used to describe Figures that are attached to their reference object by suspension. *Fákà* is mostly used to characterise a locative relation where the Figure is not supported on any other side at the point of suspension. It is thus used to localize clothing hanging on a hook or line; fruits on trees; and animates hanging on a bar or tree, as in:

\[
\text{961) awʊ nyəmə fakà lə kuyi asuə lə usunte mfó} \\
\text{awʊ nyá- mə fáká lə kò- *yî àsùə lə úsùnté sfl̩} \\
\text{clothing CL6 the hang LOC NCL7 tree top of LOC main road side} \\
\text{‘The garment is hung on a tree by the road side’ (Verbs 378.1)}
\]

\[
\text{962) bekpəfi bã fakà lə kufuo asuə} \\
\text{bã- *kpəfí bã fáká lə kò- *fuó àsúə} \\
\text{NCL2 child CL2.DEF hang LOC NCL7 vehicle body} \\
\text{‘The children are hanging on the vehicle’ (Locative_verbs 38.1)}
\]

The verb *yómà* on the other hand involves a partial support of the Figure to the reference object. It is mostly used with humans in a bending position engaging in work. In this case the reference object is the ground. If the human figure is off the ground and in contact with a surface other than the ground, then the verb *fákà* is used, as in:
Therefore if you bend over, then you will be moulding’  

(Pottery 33.1)

‘A part of the cloth is suspending from the branch (of a tree) and another part also is hanging over the branch’  

(Ameke 2007:1092; Locative 39.1)

‘The rope is hanging on the window’   

(Locative_verbs 40.1)

The verb *fikà can be causativized and used alone or in a serial verb construction to express caused location. The verb *yómà on the other hand does not take the causative marker and usually maintains its form in a caused serial verb construction.

‘He hanged the basket on the tree’   

(Verbs 377.1)

9.6.2.5 The verb kpòsè ‘lean’

The verb kpòsè is used to describe Figures that are in a leaning relation to their reference objects. The Figure is in contact with the reference object at one point and
supported at another point external to the reference object but orthogonal to it and thus creating an angle between the Figure and the reference object, as in (967) and (968):

967) \textbf{kalande kà kpọ̀lọ̀ oʃàtì əsua}  
\textbf{kà} \text{NCL9} \text{machete} \text{CL9.DEF} \text{lean} \text{LOC} \text{wall body} \text{‘The machete is leaning against the wall’} \text{(Locative verbs 41.1)}

968) \textbf{osani ọ kpọ̀lọ̀ kuyì əsua}  
\textbf{ọ} \text{NCL1} \text{man} \text{CL1.DEF} \text{lean} \text{LOC} \text{NCL7 tree body} \text{‘The man is leaning against the tree’} \text{(Locative verbs 42.1)}

969) \textbf{uyi əmə təkə̀ lọ ditryitsya eto kotosi} \text{‘The stick is on the edge of the basket’} \text{(Locative verbs 43.1)}

One characteristic of the verb \textbf{kpọ̀lọ̀} is the fact that it is used when the reference object is higher than the point of contact with it. In this case the verb \textbf{kpọ̀lọ̀} cannot be used with Figures that make contact at the top of the reference object although they may be in a leaning relation. The verb \textbf{təkə̀} ‘be.on’ is preferred instead, as in (969).

9.6.2.6 The verb \textbf{fụsọ̀ ‘crouch or squat’}  
The verb \textbf{fụsọ̀} is used to describe the crouching or squatting of animate entities. It is also used to describe inanimates that are upside down, as in:
"The child is squatting at the back of the house and defecating" (Locative_verbs 44.1)

"The chicken is squatting on the eggs" (Locative_verbs 45.1)

"Therefore as she carried it and was roaming for a while, first second, if they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned" (Buying_name 36.1)

"If it overturns, only those on the ground will eat it" (Buying_name 37.1)
The verb *fúsə̀* has a causative overtone and it is used in agentive caused constructions. The same form is used which presupposes that the verb is made up of the root *fù* and the causative maker -sə̀, as in:

974)  
ufusə̀  
dikplibí  
nə̀mə  
\[ \text{ó} = \text{fúsə̀} \text{lè-} \text{*kplíbí} \text{nş-} \text{mş} \]  
\text{3SG.NOM.PST= overturn NCL5 cooking pot CL5 the}  
‘He overturned the pot’  
(Verbs 304.1)

975)  
ufi  
ditsyitsya  
ufusə̀  
\[ \text{ó} = \text{fí} \text{lè-} \text{tsyìtsyà} \text{ó} = \text{fúsə̀} \text{ló} \]  
\text{3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL5 basket 3SG.NOM.PST= overturn LOC}  
\text{ukuse}  
\text{ó-} \text{*kùsɛ́ ìsùá}  
\text{NCL1 chicken body}  
‘He used the basket to cover the chicken’  
(Locative_verbs 46.1)

976)  
ufi  
ukuse  
okpe  
ditsyitsya  
\[ \text{ó} = \text{fí} \text{ó-} \text{*kùsɛ́} \text{ó} = \text{kpé} \text{lè-} \text{tsyìtsyà} \]  
\text{3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL1 chicken 3SG.NOM.PST= put NCL5 basket}  
\text{kalo}  
\text{kálɔ}  
down  
‘He placed the chicken under the basket’  
(Locative_verbs 47.1)

9.6.3 Distributed configuration

9.6.3.1 The verb tí ‘be.covered’

The verb *tí* is used to describe Figures that are said to cover the top of their reference object entirely. The relation of the Figure and the reference object can be tight fit or loose. Scenarios of each of these relations can be ‘a cork on a bottle’ and ‘a cloth covering a table’ respectively. This is illustrated in:
The verb tí is used for agentive caused constructions and in some situations it does have a ‘close’ interpretation, as in:

980) uti  
lewàkplibi
nàmà
ě= tí lè- wà *kplíbí nà- mò
3SG.NOM.PST= cover NCL5 cook cooking pot CL5 the
‘He covered the cooking pot’ (Verb 402.1)

981) tí  siku  siàmà
 tí sè- *kù sià- mò
close NCL11 door CL11 the
‘Close the door’ (Verbs 89.1)

982) osani  sàmà eti  siku  siàmà
ò- *sànlì á- mà à- tí sè- *kù sià- mò
NCL1 man CL1 the PFV close NCL11 door CL11 the
‘The man closed the door’ (Verbs 90.1)

The difference between the verb tí and the verb tákà ‘be.on’ is that the former applies to broad contact of a surface while the latter applies to minute contact of a surface. If the Figure covers the entire surface of the top of the reference object, then
the verb * tí is used. On the other hand, the verb * tə́kə̀ is used if the Figure is in contact with a part of the surface, as in:

983) kə́fia kə́ takə̀ lo ọpunu ọsua
kə- *fia kə́ tə́kə̀ lo ọ- *punů ọsúə
NCL9 cloth CL9.DEF be on LOC NCL3 table body
‘The cloth is on the table’ (Locative_verbs 51.1)

9.6.3.2 The verb kpó ‘be.spread, heaped’

The verb * kpó is used to describe a multiplicity of Figures on a Ground. It is used with respect to a mass of particle-like entities, liquids or flexible objects that are spread in a place or in a heap, as in:

984) kə́mọ kpọ kə̂sọ ọtị
kə́mọ kpọ kə̂sọ ọtị
rice pour ground between
‘Rice is on the floor’ (Locative_verbs 52.1)

985) ntu kpọ ọ la letgo ọsua
ntu kpọ ọ la letgo ọsua
water pour LOC NCL5 barrel body
‘Water is in the barrel’ (Locative_verbs 53.1)

Given that the verb kpó is used with mass Figures, it is usually interpreted as ‘pour’ in a caused locative construction. This is illustrated in:

986) ebọkpe kotoku ụfụfụ fuụwiniṣọ ntu
à = bó- kpé kọ- *tọkú ụfụfụ fo = ó- winiṣọ ntu
2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM= FUT pour ash
buṣ akpo ọ kotokọ ọsua
buṣ à = kpọ ọtọ kọ- *tọkú ọsúə
CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body
‘You will put a sack into it before you pour the ash into the sack’ (Soap_making 18.4)
9.6.4 Verbs of adhesion

Sekpele has two verbs that are used to characterise adhesion. These verbs are *má* ‘be.pasted’ and *mánklà* ‘be.fixed to’ which are used interchangeably. The verb *má* occurs in a wider context than *mánklà* such that *mánklà* is mostly use with animate Figures. The difference between *má* and *mánklà* is also in whether the attachment configuration between the Figure and the reference object is construed as one which is easily detached or not. This is illustrated in:

988) **kukuə** ma lo ofati əsuə
{kùə̃} ma \lo \ofati \əsuə
NCL7 book CL7.DEF paste LOC wall body
‘The paper is pasted on the wall’ \(\text{Locative_verbs 54.1}\)

989) **okanɪɛ** ma \lo \uyi \əsuə
{kànɪɛ́} ma \lo \uyi \əsuə
NCL3 lamp paste LOC NCL3 tree body
‘A lamp is attached to a pole’ \(\text{Locative_verbs 55.1}\)

990) **ubi** \bí mánklà \lo \wambe
{bí́} \bí \mánklà \lo \wambe
NCL1 child CL1.DEF be.fixed.to LOC 3SG.POSS = mother
‘The child is fixed to his mother’ \(\text{Locative_verbs 56.1}\)

991) **kakwɛ** mánklà \lo \ofati to uko
{kwɛ́} mánklà \lo \ofati to \ūkɔ
NCL9 spider be.fixed.to LOC wall POSS tail
‘A spider is fixed to the corner of the wall’ \(\text{Locative_verbs 57.1}\)
992) kota manklà lọ letugo asua
kótà máňklá lọ lè-*tígó àsúá
mud be.fixed.to LOC NCL5 barrel body
‘Mud is stuck to the barrel’ (Locative_verbs 58.1)

Another feature that distinguishes má from máňklá is that fact that má cannot take
the causative marker whereas máňklá can. This is illustrated in:

993) ufi taabo omanklasə uyì
ó= fì tàábbò ó= máňklá -sò ó- *yì
3SG.NOM.PST= take board 3SG.NOM.PST= be.fixed.to CAUS NCL3 tree
əmə əsuə
á- mó àsúá
CL3 the body
‘He took the board and fixed it to the pole’ (Locative_verbs 59.1)

994) ufi kukúə oma lọ ofati asua
ó= fì kò-*kùə́ ó= má lọ ofatì àsúá
3SG.NOM.PST= take NCL7 book 3SG.NOM.PST= paste LOC wall body
‘He pasted the paper on the wall’ (Locative_verbs 60.1)

9.6.5 Locomotive verb tɔ́ ‘go.towards’

In answering the question ‘where is X’, where X is moving towards a location, the
verb tɔ́ is used to describe such a scenario. The verb can be used to ask the question
‘where is X going towards’, as in:

995) sieti osani əmə nто ??
siètí ó-*sàní á- mó ñ= tò
where NCL1 man CL1 the REL= go towards
‘Where is the man going?’ (Adverbs 12.1)

996) osani əmə to sieti ??
ó- *sàní á- mó tò siètí
NCL1 man CL1 the go towards where
‘The man is heading towards where?’ (Adverbs 13.1)
Due to the locomotive nature of the verb, it can only occur with animates and inanimates which have wheels and are capable of locomotion (vehicles of all types).

This is illustrated in:

997) ɔtɔ lə kebuto

\( \delta = t\delta \) ló kêbûtó

3SG.NOM = go towards LOC village

‘He is going to the village’ (Verbs 30.1)

998) kufuo kuɔ tɔ lə Bekpi

kò- *fùó kuɔ tɔ ló Bèkpí

NCL7 vehicle CL7.DEF go towards LOC Hohoe

‘The vehicle is going towards Hohoe’ (Locative_verbs 61.1)

999) oma kusu ɔtɔ lə onwekato

\( \delta = m\delta \) kùsù \( \delta = t\delta \) ló ŋwèkàtò

3SG.NOM.PST = make narrow road 3SG.NOM = go towards LOC north

‘He is heading towards the north’ (Locative_nouns 27.1)

It is worth noting that the verb can be used in various temporal situations depending on the context. One scenario is when the Figure is in motion and is in sight moving toward the location. Another scenario is when the Figure is out of sight but is perceived to be moving towards the location. The last scenario is when there is a potential that the Figure will move towards the location but has not yet done that.

The foregoing scenarios represent the present, past and future respectively. It is also interesting to note that the same construction is used to represent all scenarios. It is the context in which the utterance is made that determines the temporal category unless in conditional clauses, as in:
9.7 Predicate possessive constructions

Predicate possessive constructions in Sekpele, unlike existential and locative constructions, are bivalent. They involve a possessor and a possessee each of which play different syntactic roles depending on the verb they occur with. The possessor in subject position is said to a HAVE-construction while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction (Ameka, 2013:237; Heine, 2006; Stassen, 2009). Some verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. Others have Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are kpé ‘have, exist’, le ‘hold’, tó ‘be.at’, nyó ‘see, find’ and tsyí ‘carry’.

9.7.1 Possessive verbs

9.7.1.1 Kpé ‘have, exist’

The verb kpé as used in existential and locative constructions is also used to express possession. There is a Figure-Ground reversal when the possessee is a concrete thing. The possessee is usually indefinite. This is illustrated in:
1001) a) *okpe bate kpọ
\[ \text{\O = kpọ bà- *tê kpọ} \]
3SG.NOM = have NCL2 goat many
‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 36.1)

b) *bate kpọ kpọ wọ
\[ \text{bà- *tê kpọ kpọ wọ} \]
NCL2 goat many exist 3SG.ACC
‘He has many goats’ (Adjectives 38.1)

1002) a) *okpe atabi
\[ \text{\O = kpọ àtábí} \]
3SG.NOM = have money
‘S/he has money’ (Miscellaneous 33.1)

b) se uyì nkọ atabi kpọ mọ eso okpe
\[ \text{sé \O = yí ìkọ àtábí kpọ mọ ésò \O = kpọ} \]
since 3SG.NOM = know that money exist 1SG.ACC therefore 3SG.NOM = exist
\[ \text{waa[bluff ]} \]
wà = á- bluff
3SG.NOM = HAB bluff
‘Since she knows I have money that is why she bluffs’ (Pottery 349.1)

However, there are some situations where either the possessor or the possessee is placed in subject position to avoid ambiguity with locative constructions. If the possessee is a location as in (1003) or the possessor is a specific group as in (1004), then it preferably occurs as the subject to project a possessive meaning. Any attempt to reverse their position will trigger other meanings including a locative one.

1003) dibù saa kpe ni osate
\[ \text{lè- *bù sàà kpọ ni òsàtẹ} \]
NCL5 hut each have CL5.POSS owner
‘Each hut has its owner’ (Adverbs 56.1)
The verb *kpé* is also used to predicate the possession of abstract qualities especially describing the physical property of an entity. In this case, the entity possessing the quality occurs as the subject and there is no reversal of roles.

The verb *kpé* can be used to predicate or show kin and affinal relations. In terms of affinal relation the verb *kpé* can be used to express either having a wife or a husband. However, the verb *fi* ‘take’ is only used with a man having a wife while *sf* ‘sit, dwell’ is used with a woman having a husband. A man does not dwell in a woman’s house neither does a woman takes a man as her husband. This is illustrated in (1008) and (1009):
1008) a) okpe kuso
   \( \delta = kpé kò- *só \)
   3SG.NOM = have NCL7 husband
   ‘She has a husband’  (Verbs 497.1)

   b) usi kuso
   \( \delta = sf kò- *só \)
   3SG.NOM = dwell NCL7 husband
   ‘She has a husband’  (Verbs 498.1)

1009) a) okpe kusia
   \( \delta = kpé kó- *síá \)
   3SG.NOM = have NCL7 wife
   ‘He has a wife’  (Verbs 499.1)

   b) ló oba obe ma ,
   ló \( \delta = fíá \) \( \delta = bė \) \( \delta = mó \)
   if 3SG.NOM.PST = be quiet 3SG.NOM.PST = grow up like this
   if
   \( \delta = fí kó- *síá \)
   3SG.NOM = take NCL7 wife
   ‘If he is quite old like this, is he married?’     (King_making 2.11)

9.7.1.2 lɛ ‘hold’

The verb lɛ is also used to express possession. It is mostly used to describe animate entities possessing concrete things. In its use, there is no Figure-Ground reversal.

The possessor occurs as the subject while the possessee occurs as the object, as in:

1010) Kofi lɛ kukua la an
   Kofi lɛ kò- *kùá ló à- *nì
   Kofi hold NCL7 book LOC NCL8 arm
   ‘Kofi has a book in his hand’  (Verbs 500.1)
1011) wo lekpome namo, monle ni
wo le- *kpomé ná- mó mó= n- lé ni
3SG.POSS NCL5 stool CL5 the 1SG.NOM= EMPH hold CL5.ACC
fie unsi lo ni.
fie ó= n- sí ló ni.
before 3SG.NOM= EMPH dwell LOC CL5.ACC
‘His stool, I am holding it before he is sitting on it’ (King making 8.4)

When the verb lé occurs with abstract entities, it functions as an ‘affect’ verb. The
abstract entity occurs as the subject while the entity affected occurs as the object.

There is no reversal of roles.

1012) buudi lesa tsyafee kukpanse le bo
bó= ó- dí lé- *sá tsyáfẹ̃e kǔkpanse lé bó
1PL.NOM.PST = ANT eat NCL5 thing however hunger hold 1PL.ACC
‘We have eaten however we are still hungry’ (Adverbs 27.1)

1013) kofani le wo ló wo ubisaibi asu
kòfànì lé wò ló wò ubisáibi òsùá
shame hold 3SG.ACC LOC 3SG.POSS son body
‘He is ashamed because of his son’ (Verbs 475.1)

The verb lé can also collocate with other words which result in various concepts and
meanings. Examples (1014), (1015) and (1016) illustrate the use of lé with other
words to form ‘take care’, ‘give advice’ and ‘seize’ respectively.

1014) bɔtsyuo kola baanle ola ekuklubi
bá- tsyuşá kólá bá= á- n- lé ólá á- *kùklúbí
NCL2 some even 3PL.NOM= HAB NEG hold care NCL6 caterpillar
ake
á- kè
HAB exist
‘Even some people don’t take good care of it such that caterpillars dwell in it’
(Pottery 206.1)
If his lifestyle isn't good, he is doing something which isn't good, they will call him the first time to give him an advice

Surely somebody's land, you go and seize

The verb *le* is also used in a periphrastic construction to show present progressive aspect (see also §8.1.2.1.1). This is illustrated in:

The dog is licking the cooking pot

The soup is boiling
9.7.1.3 tó ‘be.at’

Another verb used to express possession is the verb tó. The verb tó unlike the verb lé is used with inanimate entities. The possessee occurs as the subject and is in a BELONG relation with the possessor which occurs as the object. There is no Figure-Ground reversal with the use of the verb tó. The verb tó is also used in existential and locative constructions. This is illustrated in:

1019) atabi to wo
   ātābī tó wò
   money be.at 3SG.ACC
   ‘He has money’  (Verbs 501.1)

1020) kalande to ma
   kà- *làndé tó mà
   NCL9 machete be.at 1SG.ACC
   ‘I have a machete’  (Verbs 502.1)

When the verb tó is used with abstract entities, it is used to describe the state, quality or attribute that concrete entities possess. This is illustrated in:

1021) lekobe nama to fufu
   lé- *kòbè nò- mò tó fufú
   NCL5 calabash CL5 the be.at empty
   ‘The calabash is empty’  (Verbs 276.1)

1022) diyibibi nama to kwankwà
   lè- yìbìbì nò- mò tó kwànkwà
   NCL5 fruit CL5 the be.at green
   ‘The fruit is green/unripe’  (Verbs 348.1)

1023) dibie nama to tenkle
   lè- *bìì nò- mò tó téŋklë
   NCL5 hole CL5 the be.at shallow
   ‘The hole is shallow’  (Adjectives 96.1)
9.7.1.4  nyə̀ ‘see, find’

The verb *nyə̀* is also used to express possession. The use of a ‘see’ or ‘find’ verb to express possession is a cross-linguistic phenomenon and is found in languages like Ewe, Akan, Ga and Tafi. There is a presumption that what is in one’s perceptual domain or discovery belongs to them. Since it is only animate entities that can see or discover, the possessor is always animate. The verb *nyə̀* is therefore used to express the possession of concrete entities, abstract attributes and emotional states. The possessor occurs as the subject while the possessee occurs as the object. This is illustrated in:

1024) `osani  ð s ənyə  atabi`
   
   NCL1  man  CL1.DEF  PFV  find  money
   
   ‘The man has money’ (Verbs 503.1)

1025) `osani  ð s ənyə  disuayuə`
   
   NCL1  man  CL1.DEF  PFV  find  happiness
   
   ‘The man is happy’ (Verbs 504.1)

The construction is not expressed as stative since what is possessed, seen or discovered has already been achieved. Further evidence that the verb *nyə̀* is a ‘discovery’ verb is illustrated in:

1026) `unyə  wə  lesiabi`
   
   3SG.NOM.PST = find  3SG.PSS  NCL5  knife
   
   ‘He found his knife’ (Verbs 427.1)
Just like other possessive verbs, the verb *nyə̀* can collocate with other words to project different concepts or meanings. Examples (1028) and (1029) portray the meanings of ‘realise’ and ‘experience’ respectively:

1028) **alebe** Mate *à- bó* nyo batsya lekpo boa

However Mate PFV come 3PL.NOM.PST= put recognition 3PL.COMP

m surprise

‘However Mate had surprisely come to realise that …!’ (History_amankrado 3.55)

1029) **ntsyanko** , mfó mintsya

1SG.NOM.PST= meet LIG ASSOC that 1SG.NOM= LIG too

lè= nyə mì= n- sé ná

REL= see 1SG.NOM= EMPH reach really

‘I experienced, that is where my memory can really take me’ (Good_old_days 11.5)

9.7.1.5 **týf ‘carry’**

The verb *týf* is also used to express possession similar to the verb *lè*. There is a presumption that what one is holding or carrying is in his or her possession.

Although the verbs *týf* and *lè* share the same construction, *týf* is used with
animates that carry only concrete things. The possessor occurs as the subject and there is no Figure-Ground reversal between the possessor and the possessee.

1030) Kofi tsyi kuku ko kuá
Kofi tsyi kò- *kàò kuá
Kofi carry NCL7 book CL7.DEF
‘Kofi is carrying the book’ (Verbs 505.1)

1031) utsyi bitsyiká bià nkpe kalende
ò = tsyi bì-tsyiká bià nì = kpé kàlèndé
3SG.NOM = carry NCL12-load CL12.REL.PRO REL = have heavy
‘He is carrying a heavy package’ (Adjectives 2.1)

Further evidence of the verb tsyi being a verb of possession is illustrated in:

1032) ke Akonto wantsyi lepakpa nàmà fenka
gage Akonto wà= n- tsyi lè- *kpàkpà nò- mó fè nìká
but Akonto 3SG.NOM = EMPH carry NCL5 hat CL5 the like that
seka
sè- *ká
NCL11 chief
‘But Akonto, he was carrying the crown like the chieftaincy’ (History_amankrado 3.42)

1033) kò mfó to ama yà leke , lè
kò mfó tò à- *má yà lè= kè lò
previously there POSS NCL6 war CL6.REL.PRO REL = exist if
betsyi mì okankple
bá = tsyi mì ó- *kànkpè
3PL.NOM.PST = carry 2PL.Poss NCL1 paramount chief
bedunko ko , botéka mì
bá = dú -n- -kó kò bá = tákó mì
3PL.NOM.PST = leave LIG ASSOC then 3PL.NOM.PST = be on 2PL.ACC
kato
kàtò
top of
‘The wars that existed preciously, if they carry your paramount chief away, then they have conquered you’ (History_amankrado 3.44)
‘Then they too earned the name Bala we carried the name until today’
(History_amankrado 3.76)

9.7.2 External possessor constructions

External possessor constructions refer to those which the possessor and possessee do not belong to the same constituent in the clause as do normal possessive constructions. The possessee is said to be located on a body part or spatial location which is expressed by an obligatory locative adjunct. The possessor of the body part is linked to the object function, as in:

1035) a) lekpakpa ti wə lə disi
     lè- *kpâkpà tì wə̀ ló disì
     NCL5 hat cover 3SG.ACC LOC head
     ‘A hat is worn on his head’ (Locative_verbs 50.1)

b) lekpakpa ti wə disi
   lè- *kpâkpà tì wó disì
   NCL5 hat cover 3SG.POSS head
   ‘A hat is worn on his head’

c) lekpakpa ti lə wə disi
   lè- *kpâkpà tì ló wó disì
   NCL5 hat cover LOC 3SG.POSS head
   ‘A hat is worn on his head’
1036) a) usio lɔɔkɛ wɔ lɔ diyo fɛɛ
   ð- *stó lò= ð- kɛ wɔ lɔ lè- *yó fɛɛ
   NCL1 woman REL= FUT exist 3SG.ACC LOC NCL5 house before
   buutsyɔ utidi seka .
   bò= ð- tsyò ð- *tidi sé- *ká
   1PL.NOM = FUT put NCL1 person NCL11 chief
   ‘A woman will exist with him in his house before they will install a person as chief’
   (King_making 2.12)

   b) usio lɔɔkɛ lɔ wɔ diyo fɛɛ
   ð- *stó lò= ð- kɛ wɔ lè- *yó fɛɛ
   NCL1 woman REL= FUT exist LOC 3SG.POSS NCL5 house before
   buutsyɔ utidi seka .
   bò= ð- tsyò ð- *tidi sé- *ká
   1PL.NOM = FUT put NCL1 person NCL11 chief
   ‘A woman will exist with him in his house before they will install a person as chief’

1037) a) bookpo fɔ ubuki lɔ akpa ;
   bò= ð- kpó fɔ ð- *bùkí lɔ á- *kpà
   3PL.NOM = FUT pour 2SG.ACC NCL1 animal LOC NCL6 leg
   ubuki akpaana ini legbosu .
   ð- *bùkí á- *kpà ánà è= ní lèkpòsù
   NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram
   ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram’
   (King_making 2.34)

   b) bookpo ubuki lɔ fɔ akpa ;
   bò= ð- kpó ð- *bùkí lɔ fɔ á- *kpà
   3PL.NOM = FUT pour NCL1 animal LOC 2SG.POSS NCL6 leg
   ubuki akpaana ini legbosu .
   ð- *bùkí á- *kpà ánà è= ní lèkpòsù
   NCL1 animal NCL8 leg four 3SG.NOM = be ram
   ‘They will slaughter an animal before your feet; a four-legged animal which is a ram’

When we compare example 1035a to 1035b and 1035c, we can observe that the possessor and the possessee are separated by the locative lɔ in 1035a, while in 1035b and 1035c, the possessor and the possessee are together in one constituent. The same applies if we compare the pairs in example 1036 and 1037.
Although the body part is expressed as an oblique element, in some experiential constructions, it is presented as a direct argument and usually occurs as the second object, as in:

1038) ɔbɔbɔ  
        bookpo  
        fo  
        la  
        usu  
        ...  
        nya

white chalk  
3PL.NOM =  
FUT pour  
2SG.ACC  
LOC body  
3SG.PN

buefi  
  kakpo  
  ko  
  la  ,  
  buutako

1PL.NOM =  
HAB take  
INF pour then  
TOP  
1PL.NOM.PST =  
ANT put on

2SG.ACC NCL7  
arm really

‘A white chalk they will pour on you ... it is that which we always pour out, then we have placed our hand on you really’  
(King making 2.32)

1039)  
lo  
odi  
nyaa  
,  
yamuto

if  
2SG.NOM.PST  
eat  
3SG.ACC =TOP  
3SG.NOM =  
NEG FUT cause

fɔ  
kolesa  
banko  
kafo  
bufi  
fo  
ŋgbɔ  
?

2SG.ACC NEG  
thing  
3PL.COMP  
belly  
FUT pain  
2SG.ACC where

‘If you eat it, wouldn’t it cause something such that your belly will be in pain?’  
(Ofo 10.1)

If the possessor is co-referential to the subject of the clause, it is usually not expressed. The body part is assumed to be related to the subject, as in:

1040)  
Kofi le  
kukua  
lo  
ani

Kofi lé  
kɔ̀-  
*kùs  
lá  
a-  
*nǐ

Kofi hold NCL7  
book LOC NCL8  
arm

‘Kofi has a book in his hand’  
(Verbs 500.1)

1041)  
ofo  
ukpa  
lo  
disi

3SG.NOM.PST =  
receive blow  
LOC head

‘He received a blow on the head’  
(Verbs 494.1)
9.7.3 Expressing lack

There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker n-; or (2) using the negative existential verb mbó. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. This is illustrated in:

1042) atábi àtábí bo
   àtábí à- n- bó bò
money PFV NEG exist 1PL.ACC
‘We don’t have money’ (Verbs 506.1)

1043) atábi anto bo
   àtábí à- n- ts bó
money PFV NEG be.at 1PL.ACC
‘We don’t have money’ (Verbs 507.1)

1044) baakpo nte nya eso nte ensi
   bà = á- kpó ñtè nyá éso ñtè á- n- sí
3PL.NOM = HAB pour wine therefore wine HAB NEG still
   ombó kammí
   à- n- bó kàmìní
PFV NEG exist sweet
‘They pour wine into it therefore wine isn’t sweet anymore’ (Pottery 202.2)

Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb híá ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that they are not in possession of such an entity.

This is illustrated in:

1045) kafía fosó ahia wo
   kàfìá fósò à- híá wà
cloth new PFV need 3SG.ACC
‘She needs a new cloth’ (Verbs 486.1)
9.7.4 Non-stative expression of possession

As with existential and locative constructions, the non-stative existential verb *kɛ̀ is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession. It also used to ask hypothetical questions. These are illustrated in:

1047) ɒke bekwenkə kpə
\( \hat{o}= \) \( *kɛ̀ \) \( bɛ̃ \) \( *kwɛ́ \) \( -n- \) \( *kɛ̀ \) \( kpə \)
\( 3SG.NOM.PST= \) obtain \( NCL12 \) farm \( LIG \) item many

‘He obtained a good harvest’ (Verbs 317.1)

1048) ubə lo kase bookə nkə
\( \hat{o}= \) \( bɔ̀ \) \( lə \) kàsé \( bɔ̀= \) \( \hat{o}= \) \( \hat{bɛ̃} \) \( \hat{kɛ̀} \)
\( 3SG.NOM.PST= \) come in order \( 1PL.NOM= \) FUT obtain life

‘He came in order for us to have life’ (Adverbs 26.1)

1049) waala nkə waakə awu fofo
\( wà= \) \( á- \) \( lá \) ŋkə \( wà= \) \( á- \) \( \hat{kɛ̀} \) \( àwù \) \( fɔfɔ \)
\( 3SG.NOM= \) HAB want that \( 3SG.NOM= \) HAB get clothing new

‘He wants to have a new garment’ (Verbs 148.1)

1050) alə asia fakafo fefe
\( á- \) \( *lɛ́ \) \( àsìá \) \( fà= \) \( kà- \) \( fɔ̀ \) \( fɛ́ɛ \)
\( NCL6 \) year how much \( 2SG.NOM= \) PROG earn before

fakafo bebi məmə ekua ?
\( fà= \) \( kà- \) \( \hat{kɛ̀} \) \( bɛ́ \) \( *bì \) məmə\( ìkùá \)
\( 2SG.NOM= \) PROG get \( NCL12 \) child \( 3PL.PN \) six

‘How many years have you earned before you have six children?’
9.8 Summary

This chapter discussed clause structures in Sekpele. These include the basic structure of a simple clause, predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and predicative possessive construction. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it: thus Sekpele is an SVO language. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. Proper inclusion is restricted in its word order such that the reference is in focus and placed in clause initial position. The copula is marked with a pronoun which is co-referential to the reference NP. Equation in Sekpele on the other hand, is versatile in term of its word order. The copula is normally placed between the NPs. Since the NPs share a common identity, their position can be switched. The copula can also occur in clause final position just like proper inclusion clause. However each word ordering pattern has its own interpretation within the context it is made.

A predicate adjective clause is a clause in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. They occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb \textit{kpe} in predicate...
position. Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. In predicate position, they occur as copula complements to the ‘do-verb’ *yifo* and the positional verb *to*.

There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives could be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix. However it is the latter two that can occur in predicate clauses.

In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle ‘*no*’, placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *no* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase just as a demonstrative does. It lays emphasis on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position.

An existential construction in Sekpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two forms of the locative/existential verb: *kpe* ‘be.at, exist’ and *ke* ‘be.at:NPRES’. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence.

Sekpele has a set of 17 or more contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction. The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. The general topological verbs include the enclosure or containment verb *kpé* ‘be.in/exist’; contact and support verb, *tákə* ‘be.on’; coincidence verb, *tó* ‘be.at’; and propinquity or proximity verbs, *ff* and *kpfó* ‘be.near’. The postural verbs include the verbs *si* ‘sit’, *nyá* ‘stand’, *lábè* ‘lie’, *fákà* ‘hang’, *yómà* ‘hang’ and *kpóssá* ‘lean’. The distributed configuration verbs include the verbs *tí* ‘cover’ and *kpó* ‘be spread, heaped’. The adhesive verbs include the verbs *má* ‘be fixed’ and *máŋklà* ‘be stuck to’. The locomotive verbs include the verbs *tò* ‘go towards’ and *tsyì* ‘come from’ however the verb *tsyì* has not been discussed in this chapter because of its uniqueness to the rest of the verbs. It is the only verb that takes TAM in the list.
Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are kpé ‘have, exist’, lé ‘hold’, tó ‘be.at’, nyó ‘see, find’ and tsyí ‘carry’. The verb kpé ‘have, exist’ can undergo Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. The possessor in subject position is said to be a HAVE-construction while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction. The other verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker n-; or (2) using the negative existential verb mbé. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb híá ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that they are not in possession of such an entity. The non-stative existential verb kè is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession. It also used to ask hypothetical questions.
10 VERB AND CLAUSE COMBINATIONS

In previous chapters, I discussed clause types and structures (see chapter 9). I also discussed verbs and their argument structure (See chapter 8: verbs and valency). Within a discourse, it is possible for a speaker to make a combination of clauses and/or a combination of verbs within a single clause. This chapter discusses several construction types that involve combinations of verbs and/or clauses.

This chapter is organised as following: section 10.1 discusses multi-verb clauses: serial verbs; overlapping clauses; and consecutive constructions, section 10.2 discusses complement clauses, section 10.3 discusses adverbial clauses, section 10.4 discusses relative clauses, and section 10.5 discusses coordination.

10.1 Multi-verb constructions

A multi-verb construction involves a sequence of verbs or verb phrases and their complements without any marker of syntactic dependency; typically, there is at least one argument common to all the verbs in a sequence (with various constraints on their expression). The VPs in the sequence are seen as related and the individual verbs can function as independent verbs in simple clauses (in the same form). It is very important to distinguish between several types of multi-verb constructions, namely serial verbs; overlapping clauses and consecutive clauses. A language may have all these types of multi-verb constructions. Due to similarities, they have all been labelled as serial verbs in the typological and descriptive literature. As Creissels (2000:240) put it:

“It is difficult to say exactly which languages have serial verbs. The point is that manipulations are necessary in order to establish the precise
nature of a verb sequence, since at first sight, there is most of the time no obvious distinction between serial verbs and verb sequences in which each verb constitutes a distinct predicate, in particular consecutive constructions (i.e. constructions in which two or more successive clauses represent successive events...). Unfortunately in many descriptions of African languages, any more or less “exotic” verb sequences (i.e. any sequence of verbs that does not exhibit every characteristic of the sequence of verbs found in European languages), are loosely termed ‘serial verbs’. In typical serialising languages, many constructions commonly viewed as particular types of serial verbs are not serial verbs at all. In Africa, uncontroversial cases of serial verbs are found mainly in Kwa languages (e.g. Ewe) and in Benue-Congo languages previously classified as Eastern Kwa (e.g. Yoruba).”

Ameka (2006:130) provides properties that distinguish several types of multi-verb constructions. He identifies three types: serial verbs; overlapping clauses; and consecutive constructions. Table 10.1 provides a list of features that are shared by all multi-verb clauses and also features that distinguish between them:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Serial verb</th>
<th>Overlapping</th>
<th>Consecutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Each verb can have different aspect and /or modal marking</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each verb can have different mood marking</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each verb can be independently negated</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject argument of each verb can be overtly expressed.</td>
<td>Depends on whether the language mandates it.</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is the subject of each verb the same or different?</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>different</td>
<td>same or different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each verb can surface with its own non-subject argument</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elements can occur between verbs</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each VP can be independently focused or questioned</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectives can occur</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many clauses?</td>
<td>monoclausal</td>
<td>bi-clausal</td>
<td>multi-clausal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.1: Similarities and differences in multi-verb constructions (adapted and modified from Ameka 2006:130).

10.1.1 Serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort (Aikhenvald 2006:1). Serial verb constructions are widespread in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea. Characteristics of serial verb constructions that distinguish them from other multi-verb constructions are as follows:

- Each component functions as part of a single event.
- They function as a single predicate just like monoverbal clauses.
- They allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components.
• They have the intonational properties of a monoverbal clause, and not of a sequence of clauses.

• They share tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values such that no independent choice or contrast in any of these categorises is possible for individual components.

• They share at least one argument.

All VPs in a serial verb construction share the same subject or the referent of the subject arguments includes an identical participant. Use of the term VP here implies a verb and its object(s). They do not involve syntactic switch-function, a characteristic of overlapping clauses (see 10.1.2). In Sekpele, a serial verb construction can be contiguous or non-contiguous. Verbs in contiguity occur next to each other, as in:

1051) nya besu beku kasɔ kã

nyá bá= sù bá= kù kã̀- *sã kã
then 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= dig NCL9 ground CL9.DEF

beefi baakpe

bá= à- ff bá= à- kpé
3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put

‘Then they went and dug the ground and put (them) there’ (History_amankrado 3.54)
Then they went and removed it in the night before in that night, they damped it in fire and returned it into the ground’ (History_amankrado 3.58)

Example 1051 has two sub-events. The first event has the verbs sù ‘go’ and kù ‘dig’ occurring in congruity while the second event has the verbs fí ‘take’ and kpé ‘put’. Both events share the same theme kàsɔ̂ ‘ground’ which is represented once in the clause. Example 1052 has three sub-events. The first event has sù ‘go’ and lə́kə̀ ‘remove’, the second event has sù ‘go’ and wí ‘roast’, while the third event has sínklì ‘return’, sù ‘go’ and kpé ‘put’. Each set of verbs occur in congruity to each other. On the other hand, serial verbs which are non-contiguous have another constituent intervening between them, as in:

‘They will not carry lekonklo and roam about in the midst of people for a while before taking it to the house’ (Buying_name 34.10)
Example 1053 contains two clauses. Each clause is a serial verb construction in which the verbs have an intervening element between them. The first clause in example 1053 has the verbs tsyí ‘carry’, ye and tsylâmà ‘roam’ with Lèkônklô and bètîdî as intervening elements respectively. The second clause has the verbs fi ‘take’ and sù ‘go’ with ni as the intervening element. Example 1054 has two clauses. The first clause has the verbs kpá ‘gather’ and sù ‘go’ with mə́ intervening between them while the second clause has the verbs wâ ‘cook’ and kpé ‘put’ with èdisá intervening between them.

Marking of grammatical categorises on the verbs vary. In Sekpele, whereas subject pronominals are marked concordantly on each verb, aspect, modality and negation are marked on the first verb. Tense occurs as a portmanteau morpheme with subject pronouns; therefore it is represented concordantly on each verb. Past tense and past perfect can be marked on each verb in a clause. This is illustrated in:

1055) 

nyá mâmô tsyâ lè = tâkà bâ= bô bâ= bè
then 3PL.PN too REL= get up 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= see
kasô kâ nya besu bala
NCL9 land CL9.DEF then 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= cut
kasô kâ nko pete.
kâ- *sâ kâ àkô péte
NCL9 land CL9.DEF like that completely

‘Then they too got up and came to see the land then shared the land like that completely’
(History_amankrado 3.101)
“Then they had possessed the chieftaincy from the hands of Akonto and they had given him the king’  

(History_amankrado 3.112)

Example 1055 has two clauses, the verbs of which carry past tense marking. Example 1056 also has two clauses and they are both marked for past perfect. Past perfect in Sekpele is represented by past tense and perfective aspect on the verb. On the other hand, habitual, future/potential and negation are marked once on the first verb and they cover the entire scope of the clause, as in:

(1057) baata  ata  katsylama  bomuo
bá=  á-  tá  à-  *tá  kà-  tsylama  bà=  múá
3PL.NOM.PST=  HAB  shoot  NCL8  gun  INF  surround  3PL.NOM=  catch
mfó  bedu  nya  fée  buusu  basio
mfó  bá=  dú  nyá  fée  bò=  ó-  sù  bá=  stó
there 3PL.NOM=  leave then before 3PL.NOM=  FUT  go  3PL.NOM=  dwell
‘They shoot guns around to capture there they leave then they will go and settle’

(History_amankrado 3.103)

(1058) banter  fa  banko  baantsya
bá=  n-  téyi  fà  bónkò  bà=  á-  n-  tsýá
3PL.NOM.PST=  NEG  tell  2SG.ACC  3PL.COMP  3PL.NOM=  HAB  NEG assemble
kaka  betidi  lo  momo  ayo  ?
kà-  kà  bá-  *tídi  lá  mámò  à-  *yó
INF  insult  NCL2  person  LOC  3PL.POSS  NCL6  house
‘Haven’t they told you that they don’t insult people in their houses?’  
(Pottery 155.1)
Example 1057 has two clauses. The first clause is marked for habitual while the second clause is marked for future/potential. In each instance, the aspect is marked on the first verb but its scope spreads across the entire clause. Examples 1058 and 1059 are marked for habitual and future respectively. They are also marked for negation which is also marked only on the first verb. Although subject pronouns are underlingly attached to verbs, in colloquial speech, the subject pronoun attached to the second verb in a series may be dropped. The subject pronoun resurfaces on subsequent verbs thereafter. This phenomenon of dropping the subject pronoun occurs with contiguous verbs involving the verb bó ‘come’ and is illustrated in:

1060) a) nya betidi luunyə fə kaminsə bəbə
   then NCL2 person REL = FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM = come
   yankli fə .
   yándkli fə
   untie 2SG.ACC
   ‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’ (Punishment 12.1)

b) nya fə bayɪmɪ lee fə baxɔ̃́ bəbə
   then 2SG.POSS NCL2 sibling or 2SG.POSS NCL2 friend = TOP 3PL.PN
   luusu baye həɛ bəbə
   lə = ə- sə bə = ɣɛ hɛɛ bə = bóż
   REL = FUT go 3PL.NOM = walk craftily 3PL.NOM = come
   bayankli fə .
   bə = yándkli fə
   3PL.NOM = untie 2SG.ACC
   ‘Then your siblings or friends, they will walk craftily to untie you’ (Punishment 13.1)
Example 1060a and 1060b have the sequence of the verbs bá ‘come’ and yánklî ‘untie’. In 1060a, the pronominal prefix on the verb yánklî is omitted while that in 1060b is retained. This is related to the rate at which utterances are made. In fast speech, speakers are likely to omit the pronominal prefix on a subsequent verb whereas in slow and careful speech they retain it. The omission of the pronominal prefix on the verb is restricted to the verb that occurs immediately after the verb bá, as in:

1061) eso boɔboɔ duʃə boɔsia
   therefore 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come arrive 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV
   ‘Therefore they had come and settled’ (History_amankrado 3.7)

1062) eso se boɔlɛkɔ otodí ə̃ la,
   therefore when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV remove NCL3 palm frond CL3.DEF TOP
   bɔbo nyɔ bɔtsya lekpo bɔnko məmə
   bá= bá nyɔ bá= tɔdī ə̃ lá
   3PL.NOM.PST= come find 3PL.NOM.PST= keep recognition 3PL.COMP 3PL.PN
   ałəkɔ məmə otodí besu bakpe
   ə̃ lɔkɔ məmə ə̃tɔdī bá= sù bá= kpē
   PFV remove 3PL.POSS palm frond 3PL.NOM.PST= go 3PL.NOM.PST= put
   ‘Therefore when they had removed the palm frond, they found out that they had removed their palm frond’ (History_amankrado 3.61)

1063) boɔbo wã edisabí ini ałəkú
   bá= bá wã ə̃ dì *sá -bí ě= ní əlɔkú
   3PL.NOM.PST= come cook NCL6 eat thing DIM 3SG.NOM= be meat hide
   bɔbo bakpe kənèi
   bá= bá bá= kpē kə- *nì
   3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= put NCL4 dirt
   ‘They came to cook a dish which is meat hide and put poison into it’ (History_amankrado 3.81)

In examples 1061 and 1062, the pronominal prefixes of the verbs duʃə ‘enter/arrive’ and nyɔ ‘find’ have been omitted respectively while all other verbs carry their pronominal prefixes. Example 1063 illustrates that the pronominal prefix can be
retained in slow and careful speech. Example 1063 has two sub-events, each of which constitutes a serial verb with the verb bɔ́. The serial verbs are bɔ́ wã̀ ‘come/cook’ and bɔ́ kpé ‘come/put’ respectively. The first set has the pronominal prefix of the second verb dropped while that of the second set is retained. In slow speech, the verb wã̀ can retain its prefix; likewise the verb kpé can drop its prefix in fast speech.

Serial verb constructions can occur with a nominalized verb construction. This is illustrated in:

1064) nya ni ma boye kabo mfo.
   nyá mí mó bó- ye kà- bó mífó
   3SG.PN be 3PL.POSS NMLZ walk INF come here
   ‘That was their journey to this place’ (History_amankrado 1.11)

1065) woofo budu kesu kake lo lelenši
   wò= ó- fó bo- dú sù kà- kè lɛ lelenšì
   3SG.NOM= FUT be able NMLZ leave INF go INF exist LOC abroad
   ‘He will be able to leave to stay abroad’ (King_making 14.4)

1066) ole ekubi nyomó bοse katsyə ditsyu
   ò= lé à- *kùbí nyá- mó bo- sè kà- tsyà dìtsyû
   3SG.NOM= hold CL6 rubbish CL6 the NMLZ gather INF put pile
   ‘He is piling the rubbish together’ (Verbs 409.1)

Example 1064 has a nominalized verb construction within a possessive construction. The nominalized verb construction is made up of the serial verbs ye ‘walk’ and bɔ́ ‘come’. Example 1065 has the nominalized verb construction made up of the serial verbs dú ‘leave’, sù ‘go’ and kɛ̀ ‘exist. The verb fó ‘be able’ marks the deontic modality of ability. The nominalized verb construction in example 1066 is made up of the verbs sɛ̀ ‘gather’ and tsyà ‘put’. The verb lé ‘hold’ marks the progressive aspect.
Any verb in a serial verb construction can be focused. A nominalized form of the verb is placed in a preclausal position while the verb is retained within the clause. This is how predicate focus is achieved in Sekpele and most Kwa languages (see also §8.4.4). This is illustrated in:

1067) ənni  butsyiko  beetsyi
è =  n- ní  bo- tsysí -kó  bá =  á- tsysí
3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ carry ASSOC 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry
ko  keso  kasonɔ  ni  katsyɔ .
kó  kà- sù  kà- sɔ́nɔ  ní  kà- tsysɔ .
CL7.ACC INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
‘Don't they CARRY it along to off-load!’  (Buying_name 39.1)

1068) ənni  busu  beetsyi  ko
è =  n- ní  bo- sù  bá =  á- tsysí  kó
3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ go 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry CL7.ACC
késu  kasonɔ  ni  katsyɔ .
kà- sù  kà- sɔ́nɔ  ní  kà- tsysɔ .
INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
‘Don't they carry it ALONG to off-load!’

1069) ənni  bɔsonɔ  beetsyi  ko
è =  n- ní  bo- sɔ́nɔ  bá =  á- tsysí  kó
3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ off-load 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry CL7.ACC
késu  kasonɔ  ni  katsyɔ .
kà- sù  kà- sɔ́nɔ  ní  kà- tsysɔ .
INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
‘Don't they carry it along to OFF-LOAD!’

1070) ənni  butsyɔ  beetsyi  ko
è =  n- ní  bo- tsysɔ  bá =  á- tsysí  kó
3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ put 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry CL7.ACC
késu  kasonɔ  ni  katsyɔ .
kà- sù  kà- sɔ́nɔ  ní  kà- tsysɔ .
INF go INF off-load CL5.ACC INF put
‘Don't they carry it along to off-load it DOWN!’
Examples 1068, 1069 and 1070 are variants of example 1067 to show that each verb in a series can be focused. In example 1067 the verb *tsyí* ‘carry’ is in focus. It has been nominalized and placed in preclausal position. The verb is also retained in its original position in the clause. In examples 1068, 1069, and 1070, the verbs *sù* ‘go’, *sɔ́nɔ̀* ‘offload’ and *tsyə̀* ‘put’ are in focus respectively. In each case, a copy of the verb is retained in its original position.

### 10.1.1.1 Functional types of serial verb constructions

Serial verbs are used to perform various pragmatic functions depending on the semantics of the verbs involved and the relation they have within a construction. The functional types of serial verbs include manipulative, directional, dative, comparative, aspectual, resultative, and posture. These are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

### 10.1.1.1.1 Manipulative SVCs

Manipulative SVCs involve the handling verb *ff* ‘take’ as the first verb. In this construction, the first VP describes the means by which the states of affairs expressed by subsequent VPs are carried out. The NP complement of the verb *ff* could be an instrument used for performing the subsequent sub-event, or a theme which undergoes a change of location, or a theme of a dative construction (see 10.1.1.3). This is illustrated in:

```
1071) nya fuufi diwuə eklu kenke .
   nyá fó 6- ff diwúá á = klá kéké
   then 2SG.NOM = FUT take hoe 2SG.NOM weed with hoe all
   ‘Then you will weed with a hoe completely’   (Good_old_days 6.3)
```
Examples 1071 and 1072 involve the use of an instrument to perform the subsequent task. The instrument in example 1071 is *diwás* ‘hoe’ while that of example 1072 is *lefíánkù* ‘rag’. Rags are used in pottery to smooth the edges of a pot. They are soaked in water and rubbed carefully along the edges to make them smooth.

Examples 1073 and 1074 on the other hand involve the movement of a theme. In 1073, the water is splashed onto the roof of the house. In 1074, the remainder of the substance that was sprinkled is taken away to be kept. Both themes in 1073 and
1074 undergo a change of location as a result of them being manipulated. The manipulation effect is indicated by the verb *take*.

### 10.1.1.1.2 Directional SVCs

Directional SVCs involve motion verbs are used to denote the direction of movement of the state of affairs being expressed in the preceding VPs. The motion verb in final position signals the endpoint of the entire SVC while the preceding VPs express the manner of motion. Motion verbs that are used in this construction include *sù* ‘go’, *tɔ́* ‘go towards’, *bɔ́* ‘come’, *bɔ́* ‘get out’ and *dúfə́* ‘enter/arrive’. This is illustrated in:

1075) **Kofi aka kufuo usu Bekpi**

Kofi PFV drive NCL7 vehicle 3SG.NOM.PST= go Hohoe

‘He drove the vehicle to Hohoe’ (Miscellaneous 93.1)

1076) **nya betidi loobɔ kenke nya bale fə**

nyá bá- *tídì lò= ó- bɔ kéŋkë nyá bá= lé fɔ̃

then NCL2 person REL= FUT get out all then 3PL.NOM= hold 2SG.ACC

boyele nya fëë bentayi fə
de NMLZ hoot then 3PL.NOM= EMPH carry 2SG.ACC

bɔ̀l yëlè nyá fëë bá= n- tṣyí fɔ̃

NMLZ hoot then before 3PL.NOM= EMPH carry 2SG.ACC

bantomko

bá= n- tɔ̀ -n- -kò

3PL.NOM= EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC

‘Then all people who will get out hooting at you while carrying you away’ (Punishment 17.2)

In example 1075, the direction in which the vehicle was driven is indicated with the verb *sù* ‘go’. In example 1076, the direction of the action of carrying is indicated with the verb *tɔ́* ‘go towards’. Motion verbs can also occur as the first verb in a series, and they imply that the subject moves in a certain direction in order to perform the task in the subsequent VPs. They can also combine with other motion
verbs in series and the direction of movement depends on the orientation of the verbs: thus the movement in one direction results in or complements another movement. This is illustrated in:

Example 1077 has two clauses each of which contains a serial verb construction. The first clause is made up of the verbs sù ‘go’, kùə̀ ‘grind’ and bə́ ‘come’. There are two directional verbs involved: one at the beginning and the other at the end which indicates a movement to a place to perform the task of grinding and back from that place. The second clause indicates a movement to put a steel pot on the fire.

Example 1078 has two sets of serial verbs: bə́ ‘come’ and dúfə́ ‘enter/arrive’; bə́ ‘come’ and bɔ́ ‘get out’, the first of each indicating movement.
10.1.1.3 Benefactive SVCs

Benefactive SVCs are used to indicate that a state of affairs occurs with respect to an intended target either for their benefit, for their sake or on their behalf. This is indicated by the verb *tə́ ‘give’ which occurs as the last verb of the series. The verb *tə́ ‘give’ is used to introduce the role of recipient or beneficiary. It can co-occur with any verb including the verb *fí ‘take’ (see 10.1.1.1). This is illustrated in:

1079) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{wo} & \text{kosate} & \text{to} & \text{kafìa} & \text{buulakò} \\
\text{wò} & \text{kòsàtè} & \text{tò} & \text{kà-} & \text{*fiá} & \text{bò=} & \text{6-} & \text{16kò} \\
\text{3SG.POSS} & \text{ownself} & \text{POSS} & \text{NCL9} & \text{cloth} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{FUT} & \text{remove} \\
bò & \text{fa} & . \\
bà= & \text{tò} & \text{fò} \\
\text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{give} & \text{2SG.ACC} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Her own cloth they will give you’ (Buying_name 40.3)

1080) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{buusu} & \text{bafo} & \text{okwe} & \text{bòta} & \text{wo} \\
bò= & \text{6-} & \text{bà=} & \text{fò} & \text{bkwé} & \text{bà=} & \text{tò} & \text{wò} \\
\text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{FUT} & \text{go} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{cultivate} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{give} & \text{3SG.ACC} \\
bakpe & \text{kookoo} & \text{bòta} & \text{wo} & \text{lee} & \text{bakpe} \\
bà= & \text{kpé} & \text{kòòkò} & \text{bà=} & \text{tò} & \text{wò} & \text{léé} & \text{bà=} & \text{kpé} \\
\text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{plant} & \text{cocoa} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{give} & \text{3SG.ACC} & \text{or} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{plant} \\
kòfi & \text{bòta} & \text{wo} \\
kòfi & \text{bà=} & \text{tò} & \text{wò} \\
\text{coffee} & \text{3PL.NOM=} & \text{give} & \text{3SG.ACC} \\
\end{array}\]

‘They will go and farm for him, plant cocoa for him or plant coffee for him’
(King_making 14.20)

1081) \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{wo} & \text{beefì} & \text{okankplè} \\
wò & \text{bá=} & \text{à-} & \text{fì} & \text{6-} & \text{*kánkplè} \\
\text{3SG.PN} & \text{3PL.NOM.PST=} & \text{PFV} & \text{take} & \text{NCL1} & \text{paramount chief} \\
\text{beefì} & \text{bòta} & . \\
bá= & \text{à-} & \text{fì} & \text{bá=} & \text{à-} & \text{tò} \\
\text{3PL.NOM.PST=} & \text{PFV} & \text{take} & \text{3PL.NOM.PST=} & \text{PFV} & \text{give} \\
\end{array}\]

‘Him they had given the paramount chief’
(History_amankrado 3.26)
Example 1079 has the serial verbs lòkò ‘remove’ and tò ‘give’. It entails taking something from a lot and giving it to someone. In this case, the mentor’s cloth is being given to the mentee. Example 1139 has two sets of serial verbs. The first set has the verbs sù ‘go’, fò ‘cultivate’ and tò ‘give’ while that of the second set are kpè ‘plant’ and tò ‘give’. It entails going to cultivate a farm for someone by planting cocoa and coffee. Example 1080 may also have a substitutive interpretation depending on the context where the task of cultivating the farm is done on behalf of the person. Example 1081 involves the serial verbs fí ‘take’ and tò ‘give’. It is a combination of the manipulative and dative functions. The manipulative task is indicated with the verb fí while the dative task is indicated with the verb tò. In this case, the verb fí is duplicated due to the speaker’s idiolect.

Another verb that has dative function is the verb té ‘show’. It implies demonstrating a task for someone. This is illustrated in:

1082) nya  minla  mio  məələkə
nyá  mì = n- lá  mìb  mà = á- lòkò
3SG.PN 1SG.NOM = EMPH want 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP reveal
nte  fò  mò  nò.
1SG.NOM = show 2SG.ACC like this really
‘That is what I really want to reveal to you like this’  (History_amankrado 1.2)

1083) nya eso  bônle  kaso  bulakə  kate  fò
nyá ésò  bò = n- lé kàsò bo- lòkò kà- té fò
therefore 1PL.NOM = EMPH hold down NMLZ remove INF show 2SG.ACC
nò.
really
‘That is why we were really explaining it to you’  (Punishment 19.2)

Examples 1082 and 1083 have the serial verbs lòkò ‘remove’ and té ‘show’. The serial verb construction in (1082) is within a complementizer clause while that of
(1083) is with a nominalized verb construction. It entails revealing something to someone. The verb té can co-occur with other verbs including the manipulative verb ft.

10.1.1.1.4 Comparative constructions

Comparative constructions in Sekpele require a serial verb construction. They are used in relation to comparing properties and qualities of entities, and to compare the performance of a task between entities. The number of verbs involved in the construction is limited to two and they are usually juxtaposed to each other. The first verb denotes the property or action while the comparative verb só ‘surpass’ is the second verb. The standard of comparison occurs as the object of the verb só while the element of comparison occurs as the subject of the construction. This is illustrated in:

1084) eso bate kobe baso bā

ësò bā = të kōbè bā = só bā

therefore 3PL.NOM.PST= know wisdom 3PL.NOM.PST= surpass 3PL.DEM

nə loo nə lóó

really UFP

‘Therefore they were wiser than those really’ (History_amankrado 3.71)

1085) ukulọ oso oka omọ

ô = kúlọ ô = só ô- *ká á- mó

3SG.NOM.PST = become tall 3SG.NOM = surpass NCL1 chief CL1 the

‘He is taller than the chief’ (Miscellaneous 4.1)

1086) uyi kobe oso oka omọ

ô = yì kōbè ô = só ô- *ká á- mó

3SG.NOM = know wisdom 3SG.NOM = surpass NCL1 chief CL1 the

‘He is wiser than the chief’ (Miscellaneous 5.1)
The property verbs in comparison in examples 1084, 1085, and 1086 are tè ‘know’, kúlò ‘become tall’, and yì ‘know’ respectively. The verbs tè and yì are nonstative and stative respectively. In both cases, they are used in relation to the knowledge of wisdom. The comparison in (1084) is between two groups. The standard of comparison in (1085) and (1086) is the chief. In (1085) the subject is taller than the chief while the subject is wiser than the chief in (1086).

Sèkpèle does not have a distinct way to express superlatives. The verb só is used for both comparative and superlative. When two elements are involved, a comparative interpretation is given to the construction. On the other hand, a superlative interpretation is implied when multiple elements are involved. A superlative interpretation also applies to constructions whose standard of comparison is not indicated. This is illustrated in:

1087) \[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{wo} & \text{nso} & \text{bukulɔ} & \text{kenke} \\
\text{3SG.PN} & \text{REL} & \text{NMLZ} & \text{completely}
\end{array} \]
‘He is the tallest’ (Miscellaneous 6.1)

1088) \[ \begin{array}{llll}
\text{wo} & \text{nso} & \text{kitikpo} & \text{kenke} \\
\text{3SG.PN} & \text{REL} & \text{short} & \text{completely}
\end{array} \]
‘He is the shortest’ (Miscellaneous 9.1)

1089) \[ \begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{wo} & \text{ku} & \text{okaa}, & \text{beyifo} & \text{kpliklikpli} & \text{nso} \\
\text{3SG.PN} & \text{and} & \text{chief} & \text{TOP} & \text{3PL.NOM= make} & \text{near} & \text{REL= surpass}
\end{array} \]
‘Him and the chief, they are closer to each other than me’ (King_making 10.2)

The property of comparison in examples 1087 and 1088 is kúlò ‘tall’ and kitikpó ‘short’ respectively. The property verb in (1087) has been nominalized while that of
c087) is an ideophone. The comparative construction is emphasised or reiterated with the adverb *kẹŋkẹ*. In example 1089, there are three entities being compared. The speaker is comparing the closeness of a third party to the chief to that of his. The relationship between the speaker and the chief is very close but that of the third party and the chief surpass his.

The superlative relation can be negated. The negative marker is attached to the property verb. This is illustrated in:

1090) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{wə} & \quad \text{dimenkula} & \quad \text{nso} & \quad \text{kenke} \\
\text{wə̂} & \quad \text{lè= n- à- n- kúlô} & \quad \text{h= só} & \quad \text{kẹŋkẹ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{REL}= \text{NEG} \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{become tall} \quad \text{REL}= \text{become more} \quad \text{all}\]

‘He is not the tallest’ (Miscellaneous 10.1)

1091) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{wə} & \quad \text{lenyi} & \quad \text{kobe} & \quad \text{nso} & \quad \text{kenke} \\
\text{wə̂} & \quad \text{lè= n- yl} & \quad \text{kòbé} & \quad \text{h= só} & \quad \text{kẹŋkẹ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{REL}= \text{NEG} \quad \text{know} \quad \text{REL}= \text{become more} \quad \text{all}\]

‘He is the dumbest’ (Miscellaneous 11.1)

Sekpele has verbs or verb particles that are used to express equality in comparison. They are *kàtê* ‘be equal’ and *fè* ‘be like’. The verb *kàtê* can be used independently of the quality of comparison if it could be deduced from context. This is illustrated in:

1092) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{bakate} & \\
\text{bá=} & \quad \text{kàtê} \\
\text{3PL.NOM.PST}= & \quad \text{be equal} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘They are equals’ (Verbs 292.1)

1093) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{okateko} & \\
\text{ó=} & \quad \text{kàtê} & \quad \text{-kó} & \quad \text{ó=} & \quad 2\text{ká} & \quad \text{á=} & \quad \text{má} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST}= & \quad \text{be equal} \quad \text{ASSOC} \quad \text{NCL1} \quad \text{chief} \quad \text{CL1} \quad \text{the} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He equals the chief’ (Verbs 293.1)
Examples 1092, 1093 and 1095 are monoverbal clauses. In 1092 and 1093, the property of comparison is absent and can only be deduced from the context. In 1095, the property of comparison is expressed in the peripheral phrase. The prepositional phrase has its NP complement ‘work’ as the yardstick for comparing the entities.

The entities are equal at work or have the same work-rate. Example 1094 involves a serial verb construction where the property of comparison is explicitly expressed. The property verb is kúlọ ‘tall’ and occurs in juxtaposition to the equation verb kàtê. The subject is equal in height to the chief.

The verb particle fè on the other hand obligatorily requires the property of comparison; otherwise the construction will take a ‘surpass’ interpretation. The property verb precedes the verb particle and is illustrated in:

Examples 1092, 1093 and 1095 are monoverbal clauses. In 1092 and 1093, the property of comparison is absent and can only be deduced from the context. In 1095, the property of comparison is expressed in the peripheral phrase. The prepositional phrase has its NP complement ‘work’ as the yardstick for comparing the entities.

The entities are equal at work or have the same work-rate. Example 1094 involves a serial verb construction where the property of comparison is explicitly expressed. The property verb is kúlọ ‘tall’ and occurs in juxtaposition to the equation verb kàtê. The subject is equal in height to the chief.

The verb particle fè on the other hand obligatorily requires the property of comparison; otherwise the construction will take a ‘surpass’ interpretation. The property verb precedes the verb particle and is illustrated in:
The property verbs in examples 1096 and 1097 is *kúlə́ ‘tall’ which is followed by the verb particle. Example 1097 also has the negative marker attached to the property verb. Example 1096 show that the subject is equal to the chief in terms of height while 1097 is the opposite. The property verb in 1098 is *yí ‘know’ which is negated. The clause states that the subject is not as wise as the chief.

10.1.1.1.5  Aspectual SVCs
In Sekpele, some verbs can be used to convey aspectual meanings (see §8.1 and §8.2). They form a serial verb construction with other verbs. They may occur either as the first or final verb in the series. Verbs which occur first in the series include the verb *sìnglì ‘return’ for iterative aspect and the verb *su ‘go’ for prospective aspect. In Sekpele, the deictic verbs *bə́ ‘come’ and *sù ‘go’ co-occur with the prospective morpheme á- to indicate the prospect of an action or state of affairs occurring in the imminent future. The verbs *bə́ and *sù occur in distinct syntactic constructions. The former occurs in a periphrastic construction involving a nominalized verb complement whereas the latter occurs with other verbs in a serial-verb construction. This is illustrated in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1098)} & \quad \text{unyi} & \quad \text{kòbé} & \quad \text{fe} & \quad \text{oka} & \quad \text{ama} \\
\text{ð}= & \quad \text{n-} & \quad \text{yí} & \quad \text{kòbé} & \quad \text{fe} & \quad \text{ð-} & \quad \text{*ká} & \quad \text{á-} & \quad \text{mó} \\
3\text{SG.NOM}= & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{know} & \quad \text{wisdom} & \quad \text{like} & \quad \text{NCL1} & \quad \text{chief} & \quad \text{CL1} & \quad \text{the} \\
\text{‘He isn't as wise as the chief’} & \quad \text{(Miscellaneous 8.1)}
\end{align*}
\]
Examples 1099 and 1100 express iterative aspect while 1101 and 1102 express prospective aspect. Example 1099 has the serial verbs ñìŋlì ‘return’ and kpì ‘scrape’ while 1100 has the verbs ñìŋlì ‘return’ and wà̀ ‘cook’. In both cases, the verb ñìŋlì precedes the other verbs. Likewise, 1101 has the serial verbs sù ‘go’ and yìmì ‘chew’ while 1102 has the verbs sù ‘go’ and wà̀ ‘cook’. The verb sù is marked with the prospective marker and the entire verbal word expresses prospective aspect. It precedes the other verbs.
Another aspectual element that occurs first in a series is the continuative verb \( sf \) ‘still’. It is the only verbal element that has completely grammaticalized into an aspectual element. It is possible it could have been derived from the verb \( sf \) ‘sit/dwell’. Evidence of it being derived from a verb is provided by the fact that it behaves just like any verb. It can take all verbal affixes including subject pronominals, marked for tense and aspect, and it can be negated. This is illustrated in:

1103) \( \text{mɔmɔ \ bensi \ awà .} \n\) \( \text{mɔmɔ \ bà= \ n- sf \ à- wà} \)

‘Now they still don't cook it’ (Buying_name 31.6)

1104) \( \text{bəə \ bensi \ le \ boya \ eso ,} \n\) \( \text{bəə \ bà= \ n- sf \ lé \ bò- yà \ èsò} \)

‘They said that they are not buying anymore therefore they said they are not moulding it anymore’ (Pottery 57.2)

Examples 1103 and 1104 are in present and present progressive respectively. They are also marked for negation which is marked on \( sf \). In (1103) the verb \( wà \) ‘cook’ only bears the subject cross reference (SCR) marker which is co-referential to the subject carried by \( sf \). In most cases the aspectual verb \( sf \) can be the element that carries all the verbal prefixes while the subsequent verb is without any verb affix as in (1104). This is further illustrated in:
They still didn't agree that he become the chief anymore because he was unable to lead them’ (History_amankrado 3.115)

In examples 1105 and 1106, the verbs tɔ́nɔ̀ ‘agree’ and nə̀ ‘drink’ follow the aspectual particle sí and in both cases they are without any verbal affixes. The aspectual particle sí can also have an iterative interpretation especially with future and irrealis moods. This is illustrated in:

‘You will still call your people piece by piece and sit to reveal the message’ (History_amankrado 11.10)
When the verb *sí* stands alone without any verbal affixes, it could be seen as performing an adverbial role in the clause. This is illustrated in:

1109) **nnuəbi**  

\[ \text{NCL10 oil still} \]  

**sí**  

\[ \text{still} \]  

**yɔɔbɔ**  

\[ 3SG.NOM= FUT get out \]  

\[ \text{LOC 3SG.POSS body again} \]  

‘Oil will get out of it again’  

(Palm_kernel_oil 6.5)

There are verbs that occur in the final position in the series and they include the verb *nyə̀* ‘see’ for experiential aspect and the verb *ló* ‘be finish’ for completive aspect.

This is illustrated in:

1111) **əbusu**  

\[ \text{[ amedife ] anyo} \]  

\[ ? \]  

\[ \text{2SG.NOM.PST ANT go see} \]  

‘Have you been to the cemetery before?’  

(Pottery 109.1)

1112) **tɔ**  

\[ \text{[ ten million ]} \]  

**wa**  

\[ \text{that} \]  

**nko**  

\[ \text{uudi} \]  

\[ ? \]  

\[ \text{Ask him if he had ever won ten million before?} \]  

(Pottery 256.2)
Examples 1111 and 1112 express experiential aspect. Example 1111 has the serial verbs *su ‘go’ and *nyɔ ‘see’ while those of 1112 are *dif ‘win’ and *nyɔ ‘see’. The experiential aspect is expressed by the verb *nyɔ which occurs as the final verb.

Examples 1113 and 1114 on the other hand express completive aspect. Example 1113 has the serial verb *fo ‘pay’ and *lo ‘be finish’ while 1114 has the verb *to ọlā ‘pray’ and *lo ‘be finish’. The verb expressing the completive aspect is the verb *lo which occurs as the final verb.

The inceptive, pausative/cessative and progressive/continuative aspects are not expressed by serial verb constructions. They are expressed by periphrastic constructions involving the verbs *tyinkọ ‘start’, *yɛ ‘stop’ and *le ‘hold’ respectively (see §8.2). Table 10.2 shows aspectual verbs in Sekpele and their position within a clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Verb 1</th>
<th>Verb 2</th>
<th>Verb 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1111</td>
<td>*su</td>
<td>*nyɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1112</td>
<td>*dif</td>
<td>*nyɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1113</td>
<td>*fo</td>
<td>*lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1114</td>
<td>*to ọlā</td>
<td>*lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.2: Aspectual verbs and their position within a clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Preclausal</th>
<th>Postclausal</th>
<th>Periphrastic construction</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inceptive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tsyìko ‘start’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive</td>
<td></td>
<td>lò ‘be finish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td>lɛ̀ ‘hold’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausative</td>
<td></td>
<td>yɛ̀ ‘stop’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective</td>
<td></td>
<td>sò ‘go’</td>
<td>bò ‘come’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyò ‘see’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>sìnglì ‘return’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuative</td>
<td>sì ‘still’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sī̀ ‘for a while’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.1.1.1.6 Resultative SVCs

Resultative SVCs involve situations where one VP expresses a causative state of affairs which results in another state of affairs. Both states of affairs share the same subject such that the subject is expressed as performing both events. There is no switch-function; otherwise the construction will be an overlap clause (see §10.1.2). The object, if there is one, is also shared such that it is represented once in the first VP with or without an anaphoric element in the resultant VP. This is illustrated in:

\[1115\)
\[
\text{itə } \text{bəə } \text{baə } \text{ta}
\]
\[
\text{é } \text{tō } \text{bo}= \text{bə́ə } \text{bə́ə́ } \text{3PL.CMP}
\]
\[
\text{boofondɛ } \text{bó}= \text{ò- *fondɛ́ } \text{1PL.POSS= NCL1 pregnant woman}
\]
\[
\text{utsyuə } \text{ó- tsyúə́ } \text{CL1 INDEF}
\]
\[
\text{balo } \text{bá}= \text{á- sù } \text{3PL.NOM.PST= HAB go}
\]
\[
\text{ketsyi } \text{ntu } \text{ntú }
\]
\[
\text{dibiə } \text{lé- *bìə́ } \text{NCL5 hole}
\]
\[
\text{nə̃ } \text{CL5.DEF}
\]
\[
\text{beesu } \text{bá}= \text{á- sū } \text{kà- tsyí́ } \text{ntú }
\]
\[
\text{ntu }
\]

‘It caused a situation such that they shot and killed one of our pregnant women at the well that they use to fetch water’ (History_amankrado 1.9)
Example 1115 has two sets of serial verbs. However, the first set is of interest in this section. It consists of the verbs bó ‘come’, tá ‘shoot’ and lò ‘kill’. The actions of the two verbs bó and tá result in the event of the verb lò. As a result of the shooting of the pregnant woman, they kill her. Example 1116 on the other hand, has the serial verbs sɔ́ ‘beat’ and bá which also constitutes a resultant event. The act of beating something results in you breaking it completely. Likewise, example 1117 has the serial verbs là ‘cut’ and kpó ‘pour’. In this case, they will slaughter the animal and pour its blood before the chief to swear an oath. The slaughtering of the animal results in its blood being poured on the ground.

10.1.1.1.7 Posture SVCs

Posture SVCs involve the use of a posture verb to describe the position of entities. Just like most SVCs, the posture verb may occur either as the first or final verb in the series. The orientation of the verb determines whether the position of an entity precedes or follows the performance of the other tasks in the series. If the posture
verb precedes other verbs, then it implies that the entity assumed that posture before the other tasks were performed. On the other hand, if the posture verb follows the other verbs in the series, then it implies that the entity performed the preceding tasks to arrive at the posture as in (1119), or the entity was acted upon to be in that posture as in (1118):

1118) nya booyani  \[ \text{nya} \quad \text{booyani} \quad \text{fə} \quad \text{balabesə} \quad \text{mfö} \quad . \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nya} & \quad \text{bō} = \quad \text{ō} \quad \text{yānī} \quad \text{fə} & \quad \text{bā} = \quad \text{lābē} \quad -\text{sā} \quad \text{mfö} \\
\text{then} & & \text{3PL.NOM} = \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{abandon} & \quad \text{2SG.NOM} = \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{CAUS} & \quad \text{there} \\
\text{‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’} & & \text{(Punishment 9.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

1119) obe usu təko lo letsya asuə

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ō} & \quad \text{bē} \quad \text{ō} = \quad \text{sù} \quad \text{tōkō} & \quad \text{lē} \quad \text{letsyā} \quad \text{āsūd} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \quad \text{climb up} & \quad \text{3SG.NOM.PST} = \quad \text{go} \quad \text{be on} & \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{roof} \quad \text{top of} \\
\text{‘He climbed onto the roof’} & & \text{(Verbs 47.1)}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 1118 has the serial verbs yānī ‘abandon’ and lābē ‘lie’. The posture verb lābē occurs as the final verb and it implies that the object was abandoned to be in a lying posture. Likewise, example 1119 has the serial verbs bē ‘climb’, sù ‘go’ and tōkō ‘be on’. The posture verb tōkō occurs as the final verb with the verbs bē and sù preceding it. This implies that the subject performed the task of climbing and going
in order to be on top of the roof. Example 1120 on the other hand has the serial verbs *bó* ‘get out’, *nyá* ‘stand’ and *dí ëtìkí* ‘speak’. The posture verb *nyá* is in medial position which implies that the task of getting out precedes the act of standing and the act of standing precedes the event of speaking.

10.1.2 Overlapping constructions

An overlapping construction is one in which the second subject is co-referential with a non-subject argument of the first verb or with the situation characterised by the first verb. It involves a subject switch-function where each verb takes a non-identical subject unlike serial verbs where the subjects are identical. Overlapping constructions are different from consecutive constructions such that the second subject is co-referential with a non-subject argument in the first clause while the latter has nothing to do with the first clause. The main features of this construction are as follows:

- It consists of two clauses juxtaposed to each other without any overt connector;
- The subject argument of each clause must be obligatorily expressed;
- The subject argument of the second clause is co-referential with either a non-subject argument of the first clause or with the situation characterised by the first clause or it indexes the spatio-temporal features of the situation represented in the first clause;
- Each clause can be independently negated;
- Each clause can be marked for its aspect and modality values, however they should share the same temporal frame or time value;
- The individual verbs in the clauses can function as independent verbs in simple mono-verbal clauses.
Overlapping constructions due to their switch function are linked to a number of constructions with causative semantics. This includes overlapping causative (a.k.a causative serialisation) and overlapping cause-effect constructions (Aikhenvald 2006:14; Matthews 2006:75). These constructions are found in Sɛkpɛle in addition to overlapping dative construction.

10.1.2.1 Overlapping causative constructions

Overlapping causative constructions are asymmetrical constructions with a small set of causative verbs occurring as the first verb. These causative verbs all exist as main verbs in their own right. The other verbs within the construction could be any verb within the open class of verbs. Sekpele has two causative verbs ʷọ́ ‘cause’ and องค์ ‘cause’ which are used in this construction. This is illustrated in:

1121) евич́ евич́ ʷọ́ ʷọ́ 3SG.ACC 3SG.ACC

before 2SG.NOM = FUT cause 3SG.ACC 2SG.NOM = get out

okuaye ńo

soap really

‘Then you will beat it into balls to really come out as soap’ (Soap_making 25.6)

1122) ʷọ́ ʷọ́ ʷọ́ ʷọ́ 3SG.PN 3SG.ACC 3SG.ACC 3SG.ACC

REL = FUT cause NCL2 person NMLZ know 3PL.COMP see like this

ń = ńe hold come

‘It is him who will cause the people to know that this is what is coming’ (King_making 14.13)
"It is him who will cause the people to know that this is what is coming’

Examples 1121 has the serial verbs \( \text{wə̃́} \) ‘cause’, \( \text{sɔ́} \) ‘beat’ and \( \text{bɔ́} \) ‘get out’. The verbs \( \text{wə̃́} \) and \( \text{sɔ́} \) constitute the first clause whose subject is the second person singular. The second clause has the verb \( \text{bɔ́} \) with the third singular pronominal as its subject. The subject is also co-referential to the object \( \text{wə̀} \) ‘3SG.ACC’ of the first clause. Example 1122 has the causative verb \( \text{tə́} \) ‘cause’ and the stative verb \( \text{tè} \) ‘know’. The verb \( \text{tè} \) in this case is non-finite however it can occur with the 3PL pronominal and be co-referential with the noun \( \text{betidi} \) ‘people’ as in 1123. The antecedent cause could also be situational such that a situation is said to cause an event to occur. This is illustrated in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1124) nya} & \quad \text{nì} & \quad \text{iita} & \quad \text{baataka} \\
\text{nya} & \quad \text{nì} & \quad \text{é} & \quad \text{à- tò} & \quad \text{bá=} & \quad \text{à- tákà} \\
3SG.PN & \text{be} & 3SG.NOM.PST= & \text{PFV cause} & 3PL.NOM.PST= & \text{PFV rise} \\
\text{beedu} & & & \text{na} & . \\
\text{bá=} & & \text{à- dú} & \text{nó} & 3PL.NOM.PST= & \text{PFV leave really} \\
\text{It is what had caused them to rise and leave’} & \quad \text{(History_amankrado 15.15)}
\end{align*}
\]

The situation in example 1124 is in focus and is co-referential to the subject of the verb \( \text{tə́} \) ‘cause’. The object of the verb \( \text{tə́} \) is omitted however its anaphor is the
subject of the serial verbs тыка ‘rise’ and ду ‘leave’. In (1125), сикпите ‘fear’ is the situation that cause the event тысцы ‘run’ and ду ‘leave’ to occur.

10.1.2.2 Overlapping cause-effect constructions

Overlapping cause-effect constructions are symmetrical constructions with all verbs involved in the construction belonging to the open class of verbs. Overlapping cause-effect constructions are similar to the resultant serial verb constructions in §10.1.1.1.6 such that the first sub-event is the caused clause while the second is the resultant clause. The difference between the overlapping cause-effect and the resultant serial verbs is that the former has a switch-function where the object of the first event is the subject of the second. This is illustrated in:

1126) кеми эбоэ  бё  у  бё  *бэ  биа  мё  а  лакась
then 2SG.NOM FUT filter NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the 2SG.NOM dry бекве биа
CL12.NOM= become dry
‘Then you will filter the palm kernel and dry them to become dry’  (Palm_kernel_oil 2.5)

1127) ня муутсюэ  коло  кума  куду
then 1SG.NOM= FUT arrange NCL7 soda ash CL7 the CL7.NOM= drip
‘Then I will arrange the soda ash to drip’  (Soap_making 12.3)
‘Then you will put the palm oil on fire and rekindle the fire to boil and cook’ (Palm_oil 16.4)

The antecedent clause in example 1126 has the serial verbs yɛ́ ‘filter’ and lákàsə̀ ‘to dry’ and they serve as the caused event. The verb lákàsə̀ has the causative morpheme -sə̀ however the entire word is lexicalized since the root lákà is meaningless if used in isolation. The effect clause consists of the verb kwé ‘become dry’ whose subject is of CL12 and it is co-referential to bɛ̀bɛ́ ‘palm kernel’, the object of the caused event. The verb kwé compared to lákà does occur in isolation and can take the causative morpheme. Likewise example 1127 has the verb tsyúé ‘arrange’ in the caused event while that of the effect event has the verb dù ‘drip’ whose subject is co-referential to kòló ‘soda ash’, the object of the caused event.

Example 1128 has three sub-events each of which constitutes a serial verb construction. The first clause is the caused event and it has the verbs fí ‘take’ and tə́kə́ ‘put on’ with ùbìsíà ‘palm oil’ as the theme. The original word for palm oil in Sekpele is ńnùə̀ which is of CL10. The word ùbìsíà is the metaphoric form of ńnùə̀ and it is a compound of the words ùbì ‘child’ and síà ‘red’. The medial clause consists of the verbs lɔ̀ ‘repair’ and kpé ‘put’ while the effect clause consists of the verbs tú ‘be boil’ and bé ‘be cook’. In the effect clause we can observe that the speaker tried to correct herself by repeating the verb bé with the appropriate class.
She made reference to CL10 which corresponds to ìmì̀ù instead of ìbìsìà which is of CL3.

### 10.1.2.3 Overlapping dative constructions

Overlapping dative constructions involve a situation where a dative entity performs a task based on how they have benefited from an antecedent event. Antecedent events may involve the verb tsó ‘give’ and tsé ‘show’ or a series of verbs with dative interpretation in Sekpele. This is illustrated in:

1129) `wà= á- tò kùsù mà= á- sù m̀fò
   3SG.NOM= HAB give 1SG.NOM= HAB go there
   ‘He allows me to go there (lit He gives me road to go there)’  (Verbs 436.1)

1130) `álébé ló bá= kpádí à- *kpáfi ǹkò lá
   however if 3PL.NOM.PST= call NCL6 child like that  TOP
   bò= ó- tò m̀ó lè- *sá nò bà= dí
   3PL.NOM= FUT give 3PL.ACC NCL5 thing CL5.DEF 3PL.NOM= eat
   ‘However if they call the children like that, they will give them the food to eat’
   (naming_ceremony 4.4)

1131) `ò- *sànì á- mò á- tò bò kàkàmò bò= sù
   NCL1 man CL1 the PFV show IPL.ACC place 1PL.NOM.PST= go
   ‘The man showed us the place and we went there’  (Verb_morphology 20.1)

1132) `bò= ó- tsyí bà= fì bà= sù -kò
   3PL.NOM= FUT carry 3PL.NOM= take 3PL.NOM= go ASSOC
   ò= -n- tsyā lè= ó- fì kà- sù kà- fì kà- dí
   3SG.NOM= REL= FUT take INF go INF take INF eat
   ‘They will carry it to him, he too will take it away to go and eat’  (King_making 14.21)
Examples 1129 and 1130 have the dative verb tə́ ‘give’ occurring as the antecedent event. In (1129), the beneficiary was given the permission to go to a place while in (1130), the children were given food to eat. The subject of the verb df̀ ‘eat’ is co-referential to the dative mə́ ‘3PL.ACC’. Example 1131 has the dative verb té ‘show’. The subject of the antecedent clause shows the beneficiary a place to go. The subject of the verb sù ‘go’ is co-referential to the dative bò ‘1PL.ACC’. Example 1132 does not have a dative verb. It consists of two sets of serial verb clauses the first of which constitutes a dative interpretation. The beneficiary in turn performs the tasks in the second clause.

10.1.3 Consecutive constructions

Consecutive constructions are made up of two or more verbal clauses and together they represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time. The individual clauses can be marked for different aspect and modality. Each VP can be independently negated. One can distinguish different types of consecutive constructions. In one type, the VPs in the construction typically have the same subject and the subsequent VPs are marked such that they signal sequentiality or dependency on the first VP. The clauses may consist of individual verbs or serial verbs. This is illustrated in:

1133) məmə́ tsyâ bəbə balə umə
məmə́ tsyâ bá= bó bá= là ó- *mə̀
3PL.PN too 3PL.NOM.PST= come 3PL.NOM.PST= cut NCL3 town
baakpo Akontokrom.
bá= á- kpó Akontokrom
3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call Akontokrom
‘They too create a town they called Akontokrom’
(History_amankrado 3.15)
Example 1133 has two clauses, the first of which is a serial verb construction. The first clause has the serial verbs *bó* ‘come’ and *là* ‘cut’ while the second clause has the verb *kpó* ‘call’. The first clause involves the establishment of a town while the second involves giving it a name. The clause is marked for past tense while the second is marked for past habitual aspect. Example 1134 has three events however the last two are of concern to us. They involve catching a chief indicated by the verbs *bó* ‘come’ and *mùə́* ‘catch’ while the subsequent clause involves collecting the chieftaincy from him which is also indicated by the verb *fò* ‘collect’. Both clauses are in the past perfect. Example 1135 likewise has two clauses the first of which has the serial verbs *tsyí* ‘carry’ and *tɔ́* ‘go towards’. The second clause has the verb *yó* ‘reach’. Each of the clauses can stand alone in their own right.
The second type of consecutive construction is the hortative construction. In these constructions, the different components exhibit properties of independent clauses and they may be just juxtaposed or linked by a connector. Sekpele employs the hortative particle *lə* in hortative constructions. The subject of each component clause is obligatory expressed, but there need not be any shared arguments between the clauses in the construction. There are three types of consecutive hortative constructions in Sekpele: (1) same subjects; (2) inclusive subjects; and (3) exclusive subjects. The first type of consecutive hortative constructions involves a situation where the subject of subsequent clauses is the same as the first clause. This is illustrated in:

1136) 
nyá kámà lô á = lô -sâ lô á = tôkâ 3SG.POSS back if 2SG.NOM.PST be finish CAUS HORT 2SG.NOM put on akpe úta tôkê mmuô lô gâzë , eâfì á = kpé útâ â = tôkâ ñmûê lô gâzê â = fî 2SG.NOM put fire 2SG.NOM put on palm oil LOC steel pot 2SG.NOM take bebe biâmô akpò . bè- *bè - biš- mà â = kpó NCL12 palm kernel CL12 the 2SG.NOM pour

‘After you finish then you set fire, put palm oil in a steel pot, and pour the palm kernel into it’ (Palm kernel oil 2.7)

1137) 
â = n- bô bo- fô bo- yánklî lô 2SG.NOM NEG come NMLZ be able NMLZ untie HORT abô . à = bô 2SG.NOM get out

‘You will not be able to untie and escape’ (Punishment 10.2)
Example 1136 has four events represented by four clauses which have the same subject. The first clause involves the verb *lö* ‘be finish’ which occurs in a conditional clause of finishing a task. The second clause involves the verb *kpé* ‘put’ and the event of setting fire. The third event involves the verb *tôkô* ‘put on’ where palm oil is put in a steel pot and placed on fire. The final event involves the serial verbs *fl* ‘take’ and *kpó* where you pour palm kernel into the mix. Example 1137 has two clauses the first of which is a periphrastic construction of being able to untie a knot while the second clause involves the verb *bô* and the event of escaping. Both clauses have the same subject however only the first clause is negated. This supports the view that they are separate clauses. Likewise, example 1138 has two clauses with the same subject. The verbs involved are *sîf* ‘sit’ and *bê* ‘see’ respectively.

In the second type, the referents of the subject of the first clause are included in the subject of the second clause or vice versa. This is illustrated in:

---

1138) **fô sîa kpôo lô akabe.**

2SG.PN sit quiet HORT 2SG.NOM PROG see

‘You sit quietly and keep watching’ (Pottery 184.2)

---

1139) **amubo sîa lô bokawee.**

2SG.NOM NEG FUT come HORT 1PL.NOM= PROG carve =TOP

‘Won't you come and sit so we will be carving?’ (Pottery 147.1)

---

1140) **kokoko eña bôo enii untsya.**

kôkôkô ̣ é= hîá bôô ènfî ̣ ô= -n- tsyâ
certainly 3SG.NOM.PST= need 3PL.COMP probably 3SG.NOM= LIG too

SCR FUT exist before HORT 1PL.NOM= arrange

‘Certainly it is necessary that probably he too will be there before we plan’

(King_making 19.6)
Examples 1139 and 1140 are cases where the subject of the first clause is included in the collective subject of the second clause. In (1139), the subject of the first clause is invited to come and sit so that they could both perform the task in the second clause. The first clause is also negated and in the future while the second clause is in the progressive aspect. Likewise, example 1140 states the necessity for the subject in the first clause to be present for the collective task of the second clause to be performed. However, example 1141 is the reversal where the subject of the second clause is included in the subject of the first clause. Another way to put it is that, a participant in the collective subject of the first clause is involved in the event of the second clause as the subject. In this case, the participants swear an oath to each other in the first clause and one of them becomes the chief of the town in the second clause. The hortative particle in example 1141 is omitted.

The third type of consecutive hortative is where the subjects of the clauses are mutually exclusive. The subjects are different and they perform different tasks. It is possible to have a switch-function of some sort. The subject of the first clause can become the object of the second clause. Likewise the object of the first clause can be the subject of the second clause. This is illustrated in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1139</td>
<td>They will swear an oath to themselves to become the town chief</td>
<td>(King_making 4.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1141</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentence in example 1141 is translated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romanization</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bookà bò = 6- ká 3PL.NOM=FUT swear</td>
<td>They will swear an oath to themselves to become the town chief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples 1142, 1143 and 1144 have two clauses each. The subjects of each of the first clauses are different from the second clauses. In (1142), the subject of the first clause is 1SG which is attached to the verb bə́ ‘come’ while the subject of the second clause is 2PL which is attached to the verb té ‘teach’. The object of the second is also co-referential to the subject of the first clause. In (1143), the subject of the first clause is 1SG which is attached to the verb kpádí ‘call’ while the subject of the second clause is 2SG which is attached to the verb bə́ ‘come’. The subject of the second clause is also co-referential to the object of the first clause. However, in (1144), the subjects of the first and second clauses are 1SG and 3PL, and they are attached to the verbs téyɪ́ ‘tell’ and yɪ́mɪ̀ ‘chew’ respectively. Both clauses share the same object fə̀ ‘2SG.ACC’.
It is possible to have a combination of both inclusive and exclusive subjects. This is illustrated in:

1145) \textit{fi \ okpe \ m\- \ aboko \ la \ nse \ abe}
\textit{take \ NCL3 \ bowl \ there \ 2SG.NOM \ bring \ HORT \ 1SG.NOM= \ pick \ CL6 \ palmnut}
\textit{nkpo \ bowa \ budi \ .}
\textit{\textit{\= kp\= o \ b\= o= \ w\= a \ b\= o= \ df}}
\textit{1SG.NOM= \ pour \ 1PL.NOM= \ cook \ 1PL.NOM= \ eat}

‘Bring a bowl from over there so I pick palmnuts into it so we can cook and eat’

(Pottery 217.2)

Example 1145 has three clauses. The first two clauses constitute an exclusive construction where their subjects are different. The subjects of the first and second clauses are \textit{2SG} and \textit{1SG} respectively. The third clause on the other hand constitutes an inclusive clause where the subjects of the first and second clauses are engaged in the performance of the task in the clause as a collective subject.

10.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause that functions as a core argument of a clause (Dixon 2006:4; Payne 1997:313). Noonan (2007:52) defines complementation as ‘a syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate’. Complement clauses can function as subject or object of a clause. Languages which do not have complement clauses may employ other strategies which include serial verb constructions, relative clauses, nominalizations and clauses linked together within a sentence. Clauses may be linked together by apposition, clause chaining or purposive linking. Languages which have complement clauses may also employ a combination of these strategies. Sekpele employs nominalization for subjects and complementation for objects. Complement clauses cannot occur in
subject position. The following are examples of nominalization and they can be represented as a possessive construction:

1146) bolabe aleke ito ufinfi
   bò- lábé à- lékè è= tó üfinfi
   NMLZ sleep PFV be good 3SG.NOM = give sick person
   ‘Sleeping is good for the sick’ (Verbs 80.1)

1147) wa bubø kedufø eyifo wa yanì
   wá bó- bó kà- dũfì à- yìfó wà yànnì
   3SG.POSS NMLZ come INF arrive PFV do 3SG.ACC surprise
   ‘His arrival surprised him’ (Verbs 477.1)

1148) fo butu te ni be ?
   fò bó- tò tè nì bè
   2SG.POSS NMLZ uninstall only be what
   ‘What will be your uninstallation exactly?’ (King_making 12.6)

Since this section is on complement clauses, I will discuss the use of complement clauses as objects of verb predicates. Complement clauses in Sekpele are introduced by the complementizer ñkə̀ ‘COMP’. The complementizer is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has a correspondent clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. This is illustrated in table 10.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Complementizers</th>
<th>Clipped forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>mínkò</td>
<td>míù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>fõnkò</td>
<td>fàò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>wǹnkò/ǹnkò/ǹkò</td>
<td>wàò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>bónkò</td>
<td>bùò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>bínkò</td>
<td>bìò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>bónkò</td>
<td>bòò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.3: Complementizers and their clipped forms

Although the complementizers correspond to the person and number of the subject, speakers may resort to ñkò as a default. This is illustrated in:
Therefore I asked that is there any sea there?"  (Pottery 116.1)

‘They will still call him again a second time to give knowledge that they should be searching for a child’  (King making 12.3)

‘Don't you know that she is my paternal aunt?’  (Pottery 144.1)

Examples 1149, 1150 and 1151 have the default complementizer which does not correspond to the subject of the main clause. The subjects of 1149, 1150 and 1151 are 1SG, 3PL and 2SG respectively. Speakers may also resort to bə́nkə̀ ‘3PL.COMP’ to express indefiniteness. In this case the complementizer also does not correspond to the subject. This is illustrated in:
Examples 1152 and 1153 have bə́nkə̀ as their complementizer which is 3PL; however, their subject is 3SG and 1PL respectively. The verbs for both examples are té ‘show’ and tə́ kúsú ‘permit’ which are manipulative verbs (see 10.2.3). Tə́ kúsú is a collocation of the verb tə́ ‘give’ and the noun kùsú ‘road’.

There is cross-linguistic evidence showing that complementizers are utterance verbs that have grammaticalized as complementizers. In Sekpele and other Kwa languages such as Ewe, Ga and Akan, the complementizer may occur as the main predicate of a sentence and carries the interpretation of ‘tell’, ‘say’ or ‘call’. The complementizer in these languages are bɛ́(ná) (Ewe), ákɛ̀ɛ́ (Ga) and sɪ́ɪ́ (Akan). They are also used in indirect speech, as in:

1154) fənkə́ yuuyifo be , fənkə́ be ?
  fənkə́ yɔ̀ = ó- yufò bé fənkə́ bé
  2SG.COMP 3SG.NOM= FUT make what 2SG.COMP what
‘What did you say it will make, you said what?’ (Pottery 99.1)
Examples 1154, 1155 and 1156 have the complementizer occurring as predicates in their own right. Example 1154 has the second person singular, 1155 has first person singular, and 1156 has third person plural as their subjects respectively. Examples 1154 and 1155 have the interpretation of ‘say’ while 1156, has the interpretation of ‘call’.

There is a restricted set of verbs which take complement clauses as their objects and they can be categorised into semantic classes of utterance, perception-cognition, manipulation, desiderative and modality. Detailed discussion of each semantic class is offered in the following sections.

10.2.1 Utterance

There are several verbs which fall into the category of utterance verbs. They include téyí ‘say/tell’, kpádí ‘call’, tɔ̀ ‘ask’, bé létsyá ‘announce’ lákɔ̀ kàṣò ‘explain’, ‘promise’, ká ñtàm ‘swear an oath’. This is illustrated in:
Examples 1157, 1158 and 1159 have utterance verbs which take complement clauses as their object. Examples 1157 and 1158 have the verb tɛ́ɪ́ which are glossed as ‘say’ and ‘tell’ respectively. The complementizer in (1157) is 1SG and that of (1158) is 3PL which are co-referential to the subject. Example 1159 on the other hand has the verb kpó ‘call’ whose subject is 1PL while the complementizer is 3PL which indicate indefiniteness.

10.2.2 Perception-cognition

Example 1160 has the verb *bè* ‘see’ which has the complement clause that immediately follows it as its object. Likewise, example 1161 has the verb *klómà* ‘remember’ while 1162, has the serial collocation *nyà tṣyà lèkpó*. Both 1160 and 1162 have the complementizer corresponding to the subject. However, in example 1161, the subject is 1SG while the complementizer is 3PL indicating indefiniteness.

### 10.2.3 Manipulation

Verbs of manipulation include *tọ* ‘give/cause/allow’, *tě* ‘show’, *nyà* ‘stand/ensure/enforce’, and *tọ kúsú* ‘permit’. This is illustrated in:
Examples 1163-1166 involve manipulative verbs. The verbs are **tô** ‘cause’, **té** ‘show’, **nyô** ‘stand’ and ** tô kúsù** ‘permit’. Examples 1163 and 1164 have the complementizer **bánkô** which implies indefiniteness. Examples 1165 and 1166 have the complementizer **mìô** ‘1SG.COMP’ and **bôô** ‘3PL.COMP’ which are coreferential to the subject of the main clause.
10.2.4 Desiderative

The Sekpele verbs of desire include lá ‘want/love/desire’, bébé ‘search/want/desire’, bè kwsú ‘hope’, lé ókwê ‘crave’ and tńô ‘agree/accept’. This is illustrated in:

1167) nya minla mì = mọalako
nyá 1SG.PN = 1SG.NOM = EMPH want 1SG.COMP 1SG.NOM = PROSP reveal
mite = 1SG.NOM = EMPH want 1SG.COMPLEMENTIZER
n̄ = té fō mā nā
1SG.NOM = show 2SG.ACC like this really
‘That is what I really want to reveal to you like this’
(History_amankrado 1.2)

1168) bensi tọno bọo udi seka
bà = n̄ - sì tńô bō = ò = dī sē - *ká
3PL.NOM = NEG still agree 3PL.COMPLEMENTIZER 3SG.NOM = inherit NCL11 chief
ítsyise n̄ = n̄ - lē mō bō - tē
because 3SG.NOM = NEG hold 3PL.ACC NMLZ know
boyenko .
NMLZ walk LIG ASSOC
‘They still didn’t agree that he inherit the chieftaincy because he was unable to lead them’
(History_amankrado 3.115)

1169) la kutu fọo askpe tsyaa , nko ṭỵa
l̄ = kô - *tù fō à = á - k̄p̄t̄sỵ = a īk̄ṭsỵ if NCL7 soup 2SG.COMPLEMENTIZER 2SG.NOM PROSP put too = TOP like that too
boakpe kutu tsya n̄ .
bō = á - k̄p̄t̄k̄ - *tù ṭsỵ n̄ 1PL.NOM.PST = HAB put NCL7 soup too really
‘If it is soup you desire to put also, it is so they put in soup too’
(Ofo 9.3)

Examples 1167 and 1168 have the verbs lá ‘want’ and tńô ‘agree’ respectively. Their complementizers are mọ 1SG.COMPLEMENTIZER and bō 3PL.COMPLEMENTIZER and they are co-referential to their subject. In example 1169, there is no verb expressing desire.
However, the notion of desire can be deduced from context. The verbs lá and bɛ́bɛ́ can fit in the verb slot of (1169) and make sense.

10.2.5 Modality

There are verbs that are used to express necessity. They are lá ‘resemble’ and híá ‘need’. These verbs take complement clauses as their objects. In the case of the verb lá, it may form a compound with the complementizer bə́nkə̀ ‘3PL.COMP’ or its clipped form bə́ə̀. One may question the rationale behind the use of the verb lá as a marker of necessity. For a situation to be necessary, it has to be similar or resemble a conceptual notion of need. The verb híá has cognates found in Ewe, Akan and Ga. The use of the verbs lá and híá to express necessity is illustrated in:

1170)  

\[
\text{lə́ \text{á} = \ yù \ lά} \quad \text{él = \ lè \ béò}
\]

\[
\text{bakpe } \quad \text{fə́ lə́ \ ņobɛ́kɛ́ .}
\]

\[
\text{bà = kpé fə́ \ lə́ \ bēké .}
\]

\[
\text{bəə́ bə́ə̀ \ 3PL.CMP.}
\]

‘If you steal, it is necessary they put you in a cage’   (Punishment 1.11)

1171)  

\[
\text{dìnə́ dìnə́ \ \epsilon= \ hìã́ \ bòò} \quad \text{wə́ \ d = \ kə́ \ lά}
\]

\[
\text{dufə́ dufə́́ \ \text{arrive}}
\]

‘Any time it is necessary that he exist, it is necessary he see to it that he arrives’   (King_making 14.6)
Example 1170 has the verb le ‘resemble’ and the complementizer bə̀ə ‘3PL.COMP’. Example 1171 has the verbs le ‘resemble’ and híá ‘need’ and both verbs have the complementizer bə́ə̀ ‘3PL.COMP’. Example 1172 has the verb híá and the complementizer bə́ə̀.

It is a coincidence that the structure of these constructions is similar to that of Ewe (Ameka 2008:147). There are two verbs in Ewe used for expressing necessity. They are le ‘be.at:PRES’ and dzè ‘fit’ and they take the complement bé(ná) ‘COMP’. Sekpele has borrowed the verb dzè in the expression of necessity and it is illustrated in:

Example 1173 has the verb lè ‘resemble’ and the complementizer bə̀ə ‘3PL.COMP’.
10.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function such that they modify verb phrases or entire clauses. They are adjuncts and not arguments of predicates, and only add extra information to the proposition since they are not subcategorised by the predicate. They express notions such as time, location, purpose, manner, reason etc. Adverbial clauses which have been reported for the world’s language can be divided into twelve types: (1) time; (2) location; (3) manner; (4) purpose; (5) reason; (6) circumstantial; (7) simultaneous; (8) conditional; (9) concessive; (10) substitutive; (11) additive and (12) absolutive (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007:243). Secondly, languages have various ways of representing adverbial clauses. This may include relative clauses, complement clauses and multi-verb constructions. In this section, I will describe the range of adverbial clauses that can be found in Sekpele. Adverbial clauses will be represented in square brackets [ ].

10.3.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are used to express the time of an event or proposition. There are two types of temporal clauses: temporal sequence clauses and ‘before’ clauses.
10.3.1.1 Temporal sequence clauses

Temporal sequence clauses are used to express a temporal sequence relation between clauses. Sekpele employs three particles, namely sé ‘when’, lèfènə́ ‘when’, and lèfènə́kə́ ‘whenever’. The particle lèfènə́ is a compound of the noun léfè ‘time’ and the CL5 determiner marker nə́ while lèfènə́kə́ include the indefinite ké ‘any’ added to the compound of lèfènə́. Temporal clauses can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before the main clause, they tend to be topicalized or occur in a conditional clause. The particle sé is illustrated in:

1175) ɔnʊkʊale , utidi ɔnɪɪ , [ sé ]
bəə bə́ bà = à- bə́ mfó lá kà- sìó -kó
head cry then 3SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ cry
‘Truthfully, one person, when they sung in Kpalime, when she shook her head, she was just crying’ (Good_old_days 35.1)

1176) [ sé ]
bəə bə́ bà = à- bó mfó lá kà- sìó -kó
when 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV come there TOP NCL9 dwell PLACE
kà manleke mə .
kà n- à- n- lékè mò
CL9.DEF NEG PFV NEG be good 3PL.ACC
‘When they came there, the area wasn't convenient to them’ (History_amankrado 1.6)

1177) iyifo wο yanir [ sé ]
ć= yifó wó yànir sé ò= ò- nyó
3SG.NOM.PST = do 3SG.ACC surprise when 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT see
wò
3SG.ACC
‘He was surprised when he saw him’ (Verbs 476.1)
Examples 1175 and 1176 have the temporal clause occurring before the main clause. Example 1175 has three sequences of events. The first two are temporal clauses introduced by the particle *sé ‘when’. In (1176), the temporal clause is introduced by the particle *sé and it is topicalized. However, in (1177), the temporal clause occurs after the main clause and it is also introduced by the particle *sé. Both 1176 and 1177 are bi-clausal and the clause carrying the temporal particle *sé precedes the main clause in terms of time. The particle *lèfènə́ ‘when’ is illustrated in:

1178) [ *lèfènə́ bastakatakə fə̀ =ə̀ ] , *lèfè

*lèfènə́ bá = à - tšká tšká fə = à lé - *fè
when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put on put on 2SG.ACC = TOP NCL5 time

manfó okpe ale . ná- f mé- ò = kpé álé
CL5 that 3SG.NOM= have strength
‘When they place a name on you, that time she had strength’ (Buying_name 56.5)

1179) [ lə cyo *lèfènə́ biuyifo ] ko

ló é = yı *lèfènə́ bë = ó - yıfó kò
if 3SG.NOM.PST= reach when 2PL.NOM= FUT make then

muubò kpo . mó = ó - bó kpó
1SG.NOM= FUT come snap
‘If it is time for you to make it then I will come and cover’ (Palm_kernel_oil 9.1)

1180) *osomi akan [ *lèfènə́ ubə ]

šbámi à - ká- ní *lèfènə́ ó = bó
rain PFV PROG fall when 3SG.NOM.PST= come
‘It was raining when he came’ (Adverbs 23.1)

Examples 1178 and 1179 have the temporal clause occurring before the main clause. In (1178), the temporal clause is topicalized while in (1179), it occurs with a conditional clause. Example 1180 on the other hand has the temporal clause occurring after the main clause. The particle *lèfènə́kə́ ‘whenever’ is illustrated in:
Whenever it rains, he comes’  (Adverbs 21.1)

‘He comes whenever he wants to’  (Adverbs 22.1)

Example 1181 has the temporal clause occurring before the main clause while that of example 1182 occurring after the main clause. The temporal clause in 1181 is topicalized. Both 1181 and 1182 are in the habitual aspect and it seems the particle lèfènə́kə́ is associated with habitu als. The particle lèfènə́kə́ can occur in a complement clause. This is illustrated in:

‘Therefore it is said that certainly whenever he comes, then only will you tell him that ’ what he was doing is not going well’”  (King making 16.9)

In example 1183, the temporal clause is embedded in the complement clause indicated by the indefinite complementizer bə́ə̀ ‘3PL.COMP’. The entire clause occurs before the main clause and it is topicalized. The main clause also has a complement clause which is the argument of the verb tɛ́ɪ́ ‘tell’.
10.3.1.2 ‘Before’ clauses

‘Before’ clauses are used to express situations in which the state of affairs indicated in the clause has not happened by the time of the state of affairs specified in the main clause. In Sekpele, the ‘before’ clause is introduced by the particle fɛ̃́ɛ̃́ ‘before’. The clause can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before the main clause, they tend to be marked by a topic marker. The following illustrates the occurring of the ‘before’ clause:

1184) [ fɛ́ɛ́ buutsyə nnye buumuə fo tsya fɛ́ɛ́ bɔ́ = ó- tsyà ̀ nnyè bɔ́ = ó- múɔ̍ fɔ́ tsyà ̀

   before 1PL.NOM =  FUT put  perhaps 3PL.NOM =  FUT catch 2SG.ACC too

   la ] , ətsyua̍ fo əmə ̀ mante fɛ́ɛ́

   TOP  CL3  some 2SG.PN  CL1  the NEG  PFV  NEG  know  before

   fɔ́ bɛtidi ̀ laɔbɔ́ ̀ fo bufi

   2SG.POSS  NCL2  person  REL =  PROSP  come  2SG.ACC  NMLZ  take

   kətə ] .

   kà- tó

   INF  give

   ‘Before they will install or perhaps catch you too, maybe you in person didn't know before your people shall give you out’ (King_making 2.27)

1185) ebontəsə ̀ kolo ətokə ̀ ntu

   à = bó- tɔ́ -n- -sɔ̀ kòlò à = tákɔ́ ntu

   2SG.NOM  FUT  burn  LIG  CAUS  soda ash  2SG.NOM  put on  water

   akpo ̀ kolo [ fɛ́ɛ́ abutsyue ̀ kolo ] .

   à = kpó kòlò fɛ́ɛ́ à = bó- tsyu̍ n kòlò

   2SG.NOM  pour  soda ash  before  2SG.NOM  FUT  arrange  soda ash

   ‘You will burn soda ash, put water on fire, and pour it on soda ash before arranging soda ash’ (Soap_making 4.1)
‘They were the warriors who lead the migration from Atebubu to Likpeto’

(History_amankrado 1.5)

Example 1184 has two ‘before’ clauses: one precedes and the other follows the main clause. The one before the main clause is topicalized. Examples 1185 and 1186 have the ‘before’ clauses occurring after the main clause. The main clause in 1185 is a multi-verb construction with the verbs tò ‘burn’, tə́kə́ ‘put on’ and kpó ‘pour’. The ‘before’ clause can be used for hypothetical constructions. The hypothetical clause is placed at the beginning of the construction, as in:

‘Before they will get hold of you on that day, if they catch you then they will reveal you in public’

(King_making 2.30)
Locative clauses

Locative clauses express the location of events. In Sekpele, locative clauses are expressed as a relative clause with the head noun kàkã́ ‘place’. The locative clause can occur before or after the main clause. When it occurs before the main clause, it is topicalized. This is illustrated in:

1188) kemi [ kàkã́ ke lemanleke la ] ,
   kemí kàkã́ ke lè= n- à= n- lékè lá
   then place any REL= NEG PFV NEG be good TOP
   yòoleke ewɔnsɔ .
   yò= ó- lékè è= wɔnsɔ

   3SG.NOM= FUT be good 3SG.NOM= support
   ‘Then wherever isn’t perfect, it will be perfect in addition’ (Pottery 50.3)

1189) [ kàkã́ buusu bakã bɔ= ó- sù bà= kà nta₃m õ tsya la ] , ì
   kakã́ bò= ó- sù bà= kà ñtám õ tsyã lá ló
   place 3PL.NOM= FUT go 3PL.NOM= swear oath CL3.DEF too TOP if
   bato ola mfò baloso la ,
   bá= tò ólá mfò bá= lò -sò lá
   3PL.NOM.PST= throw prayer there 3PL.NOM.PST= be finish CAUS TOP
   boola ubuki bala kòọ kòọ
   bò= ó- là ọ̀ *bùkì bà= là kò ọ̄ *tò kò- móṛ
   3PL.NOM= FUT cut NCL1 animal 3PL.NOM= cut NCL7 blood CL7 the
   ‘Where they will go and swear the oath too, if they finish praying there, they will slaughter an animal and pour out the blood’ (King_makeing 2.47)

Examples 1188 and 1189 have the locative clause occurring before the main clause and they are topicalized. Example 1189 has three clauses: the first clause is the locative clause; the second clause has a temporal clause embedded in a conditional clause; while the third clause is the main clause. The first and second clauses are topicalized because they occur before the main clause. On the other hand, if the locative clause occurs after the main clause, there are two possibilities. It may stand
alone or occurs as the complement of the locative marker \( \text{lo} \) ‘LOC’. This is illustrated in:

1190) Mate tṣya osio lọ [ kakā baosio to ]
       Mate tṣya à- sí lọ \( \text{kakā} \) bà= à- sí -ə tò
Mate too PFV dwell LOC \( \text{kakā} \) baala mfó eto kama ]].
       \( \text{kakā} \) bà= à- là mfó eto kánà
place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut there POSS back
       ‘Mate too settled behind where they had settled at the back of where they were allocated’
(History_amankrado 3.11)

1191) nya baataka ɓoɓọ [ \( \text{kakā} \)
       nyá bà= à- tákà bà= à- bó \( \text{kakā} \)
then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV rise 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV come place
baakpo Sieti ].
       bà= à- kpó Sieti
3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call Sieti
       ‘Then they had risen and had come to the place they called Sieti’ (History_amankrado 3.67)

Examples 1190 and 1191 have the locative clause occurring after the main clause.

Example 1190 has two locative clauses: the second is embedded in a possessive construction which is also embedded in the first locative clause. The entire locative clause is the complement of the locative maker \( \text{lo} \). In 1191 the locative clause occurs as a locative adjunct to the serial verbs tákà ‘rise’ and bó ‘come’. Example 1190 shows that the locative clause is versatile and can occur within various constructions. It can also occur in a complement clause. This is illustrated in:
Example 1192, the first clause is a complement clause of cognition. The cognitive verb is made up of the serial verbs nyə̀ ‘find’, tsyə̀ ‘keep’ and noun lèkpó ‘recognition. The clause has the complementizer ŋkə̀ ‘that/COMP’ which takes the locative clause as its complement.

10.3.1.4 Manner clauses

Manner clauses express the way the situation in the clause was carried out or came to be. Manner clauses in Sekpele are introduced by particles such as kàsé ‘how’, ŋkò ‘like’, and fénkə̀ ‘like’. These particles can be combined together to express a notion of manner. When the particle kàsé occurs alone in a proposition, the manner clause occurs after the main clause. This is illustrated in:

1193) abunyə [ kase Onanto lete bakoko
á = bó nyə̀ kàsé ёнántó lè = té bà- *kōkō
2SG.NOM.PST ANT see how Almighty God REL = show NMLZ ancient
asa ]?
á- *sá
CL6 thing
‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’ (Punishment 1.9)
Cephas Delalorm

1194) **muusi** | **nkpi** | [ **kase** | **minkpi**

mò=ó- sí =kpí kàsé =mí =n- kpí
1SG.NOM= FUT still 1SG.NOM= scrape how 1SG.NOM= EMPH scrape

nyamfo ke ]

nyàmfô kê

this same

‘I will again scrape just as I scraped this very one’ (Pottery 182.3)

1195) **wookwe** | **wuutsye** | [ **kase** | **ntó**

wò=ó- kwé wò=ó- tsyò kàsé =n =tó
3SG.NOM= FUT become dry 3SG.NOM= FUT be how REL = be.at

mə ]

mó

like this

‘It will become dry like this’ (Soap_making 25.4)

In example 1193, the speaker is drawing the attention of the addressee to see how God has revealed such wisdom to their ancestors. In example 1194, the speaker is stating that she will perform an action in a manner as she had performed before. In example 1195, an entity is said to be in a state just as another entity is. In this way, the particle kàsé indicates a replication of an event or a state of affairs.

A manner clause involving the particle **ńkò** can occur before or after the main clause. This is illustrated in:

1196) [ **ńkò** | **buesë** | | **bóle** | **kamo** | **boso**

ńkò bò=á- só lò bò=lé kàmò bò= só
like that 1PL.NOM= HAB sing if 1PL.NOM= hold rice NMLZ beat

nə

nó

really

‘That is how we sing if we are threshing rice really’ (Good_old_days 7.2)
In examples 1196 and 1197, the manner clause occurs before the main clause. Example 1197 is a ‘before’ clause (temporal) that has a manner clause as its main clause. On the other hand, example 1198 has the manner clause occurring after the main clause. In the above examples, the particle ńkò occurs before the manner clause. However, the particle ńkò can occur after the manner clause especially in a question. This is illustrated in:

1199) [ ebofo butsyi nyo nko ]

à = bó- fò bó- tsyí nyá ñkò
2SG.NOM FUT be able NMLZ carry 3SG.ACC like that

yà = n- ó- yífó kólésà =
3SG.NOM = NEG FUT do nothing =TOP

‘Can you be able to carry it like that such that it wouldn't do anything?’ (Pottery 103.1)
Examples 1199 and 1200 are questions involving manner clauses. In (1199), the manner clause occurs before the main clause. The particle ńkò occurs at the end of the manner clause. In example 1200, there are two manner clauses forming the question. Each clause has the particle ńkò occurring at the end of the clause. Example 1201 is a conditional construction. The manner clause is embedded in the antecedent conditional clause and the particle ńkò occurs at the end of the clause.

The particle fenkà is a compound of the fe ‘like’ and the complementizer ńkà ‘COMP’. The manner clause involving the particle fenkà may take a circumstantial clause as it complement. This is illustrated in:
In examples 1202 and 1203, the particle *fenkə* introduces a circumstantial clause which acts as a manner clause of the main clause. In (1202), the circumstance is the smell of a fragrance while that of (1203) is the nonexistence of water. The particle *fenkə* can also take a noun or noun phrase as its complement. This is illustrated in:

**1204)**

*kokoko*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kokọkọ</th>
<th><em>utidi</em></th>
<th><em>lọọke</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kòkòkò</td>
<td>ò-<em>tídì</em></td>
<td>lò= ó- kè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>certainly</td>
<td>NCL.1 person</td>
<td>REL= FUT exist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*okọkọ*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ọtọkọ</th>
<th>ọ- <em>nìná</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ọtọkọ</td>
<td>ọ- <em>nìná</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL.1 elder</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

‘Certainly someone has to exist and lead you as the elder of the clan’  
*(History_amankrado 11.4)*

In example 1204, the *fenkə* has the noun phrase *kàlè tòúninà* ‘elder of clan’ as its complement while that of (1205) is *òsòkpa* ‘porridge’. When the particle *fenkə*
occurs before the main clause, it takes the interpretation of assumption. This is
illustrated in:

1206) \[ fënko \quad o'mɔnnnɔyɔ \quad nte \]
\[ lɔ \quad fënko \quad ɔ= \quad n- \quad ə- \quad n- \quad nyɔ \quad ðtɛ \]
if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG find wine
ebutsyi ntu
\[ ɔ= \quad ð0- \quad tɔyi \quad ðtù \]
2SG.NOM FUT carry water
‘If assuming you don’t get wine, you will carry water’ (Buying _name 47.2)

1207) \[ fënko \quad kase \quad bootsyo \quad oka \quad , \quad umɔnkkaa \]
\[ fënko \quad kásɛ \quad ɔ= \quad á- \quad tɔyi \quad ɔ- \quad *ká \quad ðumɔnká \quad = \]
assuming how 3PL.NOM = HAB put NCL1 chief town chief =TOP
besio to oka tsya , [ nko bootsyo
\[ bà- \quad *sìó \quad tɔ \quad ɔ- \quad *ká \quad tɔyi \quad ʃkò \quad ɔ= \quad á- \quad tɔyi \]
NCL2 woman POSS NCL1 chief too like that 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB put
untsya ] ?
\[ ɔ= \quad -n- \quad tɔyi \]
3SG.NOM = LIG too
‘Then excuse me, assuming how they install the chief, the town chief, the queen too, is that
how they install her too?’ (King_making 20.1)

Just as in example 1207, the particle *fënkò can combine with other particles such as
the manner particle *kàsɛ ‘how’ or the temporal particle *sè ‘when’. This is illustrated
in:

1208) \[ bookpadi \quad wo \quad bato \quad wo \quad etiki \]
\[ bɔ= \quad ó- \quad kpádi \quad wɔ \quad bà= \quad tɔ \quad wɔ \quad ə- \quad *tikí \]
3PL.NOM = FUT call 3SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = ask 3SG.ACC NCL6 word
botsyo wo etiki ɔ= onɔmì [ fënko kase
\[ bà= \quad tɔyi \quad wɔ \quad ə- \quad *tikí \quad ʃl \quad ə- \quad *nɔmì \quad fe \quad ʃkò \quad kàsɛ \]
3PL.NOM = put 3SG.ACC NCL6 word LOC NCL6 eye like that how
baale kółe ]
\[ bà= \quad ə- \quad le \quad këlè \]
3PL.NOM.PST = HAB hold advice
‘They will call him to ask questions to put questions before his face like how they give advice’
(King_making 12.2)
The day you were born, assuming as children being born today Sunday, Akosua and Korsi they will be called’

Two manner particles can complement each other within a clause or adjacent clauses. This is illustrated in:

Example 1210 has two manner clauses. The first clause has the particles *kásé and *fíkò complementing each other. The second clause has the particle *fíkò which complements the first clause. Likewise, example 1211 has two manner clauses. The first clause has the particle *kásé while the second clause has the particle *fíkò and both clauses are complementing each other.
10.3.2 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses express a motivating event which is unrealised at the time of the main event. Sekpele has two ways of expressing a purpose event. One way is the use of the particle *lə́ kàsé* to introduce the purpose clause. The particle *lə́ kàsé* is composed of the hortative *lə́* and the manner particle *kàsé* ‘how’. This is illustrated in:

1212) ụbọ  [ lə kase booke nkpo ]

_votes_ 3SG.NOM.PST = come _in order_ 1PL.NOM = FUT obtain life

‘He came in order for us to have life’  (Adverbs 26.1)

1213) kemi aboto otsiyi oti ota

_then_ 2SG.NOM FUT mould NCL3 drinking pot CL3 one 2SG.NOM give

_mà_ [ lə kase mookakpo ntu ]

1SG.ACC _in order_ 1SG.NOM = FUT PROG pour water

‘Then you will mould one drinking pot for me so I will be pouring water into it’  (Pottery 194.1)

1214) ọle otente [ lə kase woowà]

_votes_ 3SG.NOM.PST = pluck cocoyam leave _in order_ 3SG.NOM = FUT cook

_kutu_ ]

_C7_ soup

‘She plucked cocoyam leaves so that she will prepare soup’  (Verbs 525.1)

In the above examples, the purpose clause occurs after the main clause. Whenever the purpose clause occurs before the main clause, the main clause may assume a reason clause and be introduced by the reason particle *nyá éso* ‘therefore’ (see §10.3.5). This is illustrated in:
The other way of expressing purpose is the nominalization of the purpose event. The nominalization process involves the noun class marker *ka-* ‘NCL9’, the verb predicate and the place/purpose marker -kɔ́. The marker -kɔ́ serves the same function for indicating place and purpose such that the only rationale for being at a specific place is to perform the task or purpose connected to the place. Examples of place nominalization include *kə̀sìə̀kɔ́* ‘dwelling place’, *disikàkpèkɔ́* ‘meeting place’ *kàwàkɔ́* ‘kitchen’, *kàlàbèkɔ́* ‘bedroom’, *kèdìkɔ́* ‘dining place/inheritance’, *kàkàsèkɔ́* ‘study area/school’ and *kèyìfòkɔ́* ‘work place’. The difference between place and purpose interpretations is that the marker *ka-* is expressed as an infinitive marker (INF) for purpose. This is illustrated in:

1215)  

Cephas Delorm

1216)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>beti</th>
<th>kafia</th>
<th>bato</th>
<th>kusìa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bá=</td>
<td>tí</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>*fiá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.NOM.PST=</td>
<td>cover</td>
<td>NCL9 cloth</td>
<td>3PL.NOM=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakpako</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kà-</td>
<td>kpá</td>
<td>-kɔ́</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>gather PLACE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They put on their cloths and are heading to a marriage ceremony’  
(Miscellaneous 90.1)

1217)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>besu</th>
<th>menkeni</th>
<th>bato</th>
<th>kawàkɔ́</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bá=</td>
<td>sù</td>
<td>mènkənì</td>
<td>bá=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.NOM.PST=</td>
<td>exhume cocoyam</td>
<td>3PL.NOM=</td>
<td>go towards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They uprooted cocoyam to cook’  
(Miscellaneous 67.1)
1218) **besu** kamɔ kaseko
    bá = sù kàmɔ̀ kà- sé -kɔ̀

3PL.NOM.PST = go rice INF sprinkle PLACE

‘They have gone to plant rice’  (Miscellaneous 63.1)

1219) **əəbə** kanyako
    á = á- bá kà- nyɔ̀ -kɔ̀

2SG.NOM.PST PFV come INF see PLACE

‘Have you come to see?’  (Pottery 164.3)

One characteristic of the purpose construction is that it occurs with motion verbs in the main clause. Examples 1216 and 1217 have the verb tɔ́ ‘go towards’ while examples 1218 and 1219 have the verbs sù ‘go’ and bə́ ‘come’ respectively. If the nominalized verb has a noun complement, it occurs before the nominalized structure as in 1216 and 1218. In (1216), the complement of the verb kpá ‘gather’ is kúsíə̀ ‘wife’ while that of the verb sé ‘sprinkle’ in (1218) is kàmɔ́ ‘rice.

### 10.3.3 Reason clauses

Unlike purposive clauses, reason clauses express a motivating event which may be realised at the time of the main clause event. Many languages use the same morpheme for both purposive and reason clauses (Thompson et al., 2007:250). The rationale is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as providing explanations or accounts for the occurrence of a given state or action. Notwithstanding this phenomenon, languages do employ different markings to signal the unrealised status of purposive clauses as opposed to realised status of reason clauses. In Sekpele, reasons clauses are introduced by the particle nyá ésɔ̀ ‘therefore’ which is a combination of the demonstrative nyá ‘that’ and the connective ésɔ̀ ‘therefore’. The reason clause mostly occurs before the main clause while the particle acts as a connective between them. This is illustrated in:
In example 1220, the narrator in the process of narrating the procedures for making soap is interrupted because she failed to include the process where water is introduced. The speaker is stating the reason for interrupting the narrator. In example 1221, the speaker is stating the reason why wine isn’t sweet anymore due to the fact that they are put in plastic containers instead of the original pots. In
example 1222, the speaker states that the reason why midwives are called *balesalesa* is the fact that they go and deliver babies at home since there were no hospitals by then.

Reasons may span through a discourse as the antecedent for arriving at a conclusion. In this case the particle *nyá ésô* introduces the conclusion (main clause) while the reason is drawn from the context of the discourse. The particle *nyá ésô* and the main clause occur alone in the construction. This is illustrated in:

1223)  

| nyá eso | kuyu lebo | mimo no |  
| nyá ésô | kuyu lè | bô | mòmò nô | therefore, theft REL = become widespread now really  

“That is why stealing is really rampant now” (Punishment 16.3)

1224)  

| nyá eso | bonle | kasö | bulàka | kate | fo |  
| nyá ésô | bô | n- lë | kâsô | bô- lskô | kâ- té | fô | therefore, 1PL.NOM = EMPH hold down NMLZ remove INF show 2SG.ACC no | really  

“That is why we were really explaining it to you” (Punishment 19.2)

1225)  

| nyá eso | mimbo | oto | eso |  
| nyá ésô | mi | n- bô | ō- *tò | èsô | therefore, 1SG.NOM = EMPH come NCL3 hometown therefore  
| muubô | lô | bekate | mô |  

1SG.NOM = FUT come HORT 2PL.NOM = PROG teach 1SG.ACC  

“That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me” (Punishment 20.1)

In example 1223, the narrator is concluding that stealing is now rampant due to the fact that the mode of punishment narrated has been abandoned for the current system. The current system required the accused to be handed over to the police to be tried in court. Judgement is delayed and unreliable. In the old system, the accused
is brought before the traditional court headed by the chief and a jury of elders. Witnesses are brought to testify and if the accused is found guilty, depending on the crime, s/he is shamed in public: this is corporal punishment. It takes a day and there is no prison or capital punishment. In example 1224, the speaker is stating that due to the complexity of the narrative that is why they are taking their time to explain it to the researcher. Example 1225 is the response to example 1224 and the researcher is stating that the narrative and others of its kind is the reason he has come home to collect stories and document the culture.

10.3.4 Simultaneous clauses

Clauses are said to be simultaneous when the events they depict are understood to occur at the same time. Languages may signal one of the simultaneous events as providing the context or background for the other. The choice of which clause serves as the background is determined essentially by the nature of the discourse. It is important to note that clauses in simultaneity do not follow any particular order, so the order of the clauses could be switched around. There are three strategies languages employ to signal simultaneity, two of which are used to mark background clauses to foreground clauses. The first strategy is where a marker is explicitly used to signal simultaneity; the second involves the use of a continuative, durative or imperfective aspect marker; and the third is a relative paratactic clause where two clauses are juxtaposed. The first two strategies will be accounted for in this section. With the first strategy, Sekpele employs the temporal particle sɛ ‘when’ to signal the background clause. This is illustrated:
Example 1226 has two temporal clauses the second of which is signalling the background clause which is understood as simultaneous with the following clause. Likewise, in example 1227, the ‘sé’ clause is the background to the following clause. Both foreground clauses in 1226 and 1227 have some level of continuative or progressive aspect in them.

With the second strategy, Sekpele employs the progressive marker ƙà- to indicate simultaneity. This is illustrated in:

Example 1226 has two temporal clauses the second of which is signalling the background clause which is understood as simultaneous with the following clause. Likewise, in example 1227, the ‘sé’ clause is the background to the following clause. Both foreground clauses in 1226 and 1227 have some level of continuative or progressive aspect in them.

With the second strategy, Sekpele employs the progressive marker ƙà- to indicate simultaneity. This is illustrated in:

1228) ƙà- ƙà- kàbà
    ƙà- ƙà- kàbà
2SG.ACC sit quiet HORT 2SG.NOM PROG see

‘You sit quietly and keep watching’ (Pottery 184.2)
In the above examples the progressive marker is attached to the predicate of one of the clauses. The progressive marker does not mark the clause as a background clause but indicates that the marked clause is simultaneous with the other clause. The positions of the clauses can be switched around. In example 1228, the speaker was asking the addressee to sit quietly while watching the procedure of moulding a pot. In example 1229, the person came while it was raining or the reverse. In example 1230, we can observe that simultaneous clauses can occur in a conditional construction. It states that one has to be in a bending position while moulding a pot.

### 10.3.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses express factual implications or hypothetical situations which serve as premise (protasis) to their consequences (apodosis). In Sekpele, the conditional clause is introduced by the particle *lə* ‘if’ while the consequence clause is optionally introduced by the connectives *kò* ‘then’ or *nya* ‘then’. The position of the conditional and consequence clauses can be switched around such that either of them can occur before the other. Universally, conditional clauses are said to have a
temporal interpretation. In some languages, the conditional and temporal clauses have the same particles. Conditional clauses can be classified as implicative, predictive and counterfactual.

10.3.5.1 Implicative conditionals

Implicative conditional clauses may also be referred to as factual conditional clauses and they state that if one fact holds, then the other holds. They are used to express certainty, universal statements and logical deductions about particular circumstances.

This is illustrated as in:

1231) [lo bewo] yaanwale
    If 2PL.NOM.PST = pound 3SG.NOM = HAB NEG grain
    ‘If you pound it, it doesn't dehusk’ (Good_old_days 13.2)

1232) nko buesa [lo bole kamo boso]
    like that 1PL.NOM = HAB sing if 1PL.NOM = hold rice NMLZ beat
    nə
    really
    ‘That is how we sing if we are threshing rice really’ (Good_old_days 7.2)

1233) iise [lo nyamfó edufó] [lo akpe lo uto]
    because if that PFV enter =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST put LOC fire
    yaata kpo kpo kpo eba
    3SG.NOM = HAB splash slap slap slap 3SG.NOM = break
    ‘Because if that enters into it and you put it in fire, it splashes and breaks’ (Pottery 201.5)

Example 1231 was uttered on the background that in the past, rice was pounded in a mortar to dehusk it. It is a fact that when rice is pounded in a mortar, it does not dehusk completely. Culturally, when women are engaging in domestic and
communal work, they sing. Example 1232 is stating the fact that they sing when they are threshing rice. In the process of making pottery, it must be ensured that no impurities are found in the clay. Example 1233, is making a deduction that if any impurity is allowed in the clay, during the process of baking the pot in fire, it splashes and breaks.

10.3.5.2 Predictive conditionals

A predictive conditional clause expresses a hypothetical situation whose consequence is normally a future event. The consequence clause usually has the future, potential or prospective tense-aspect-mood. It states that if the condition holds, then the possibility of the consequence event happening is high. This is illustrated in:

1234) [la osaní amí], wuubọ

lọ ọsàní à- ní =í wọ = ó- bọ

if rain PFV fall =TOP 3SG.NOM = FUT come

‘If it rains, he will come’ (Adverbs 16.1)

1235) [la osaní ame obeo], usio ame

lọ ò- *sàni á- mó à- bọ =ó ò- *sìo á- mó

if NCL1 man CL1 the PFV come =TOP NCL1 woman CL1 the

ebudu .

à- bó- dú

SCR FUT leave

‘If the man comes, the woman will leave’ (Adverbs 17.1)

1236) [la nsì kenke] ko mọọlọ

lọ ní = sí kẹ̀njẹ̀ kọ mọ = ó- lọ

if 1SG.NOM.PST= wipe off completely then 1SG.NOM = FUT repair

nkpt

nì = kpí

1SG.NOM = scrape

‘If I wipe it off completely then I will scrape it again’ (Pottery 187.1)
The above examples are predicting that if the condition in the antecedent clause holds, then the event in the consequence clause is likely to happen. Example 1234 is stating that if it rains, then someone known in the context will come. Likewise, example 1235 is stating that if the man comes then the woman will leave. In example 1236, the potter is stating that as soon as she finishes wiping the pot, she will scrape it again. The order of the conditional and the consequence clauses can be switched around.

10.3.5.3 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditional clauses express situations that are speculative, known to be false or are unlikely to have happened. This is illustrated in:

1237) [ se fenkə lə utə ] [ lə ]
   sé fənkə ló ó = tó fó ló
   when assuming if 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC if
   ole la ] , emufí
   ó = lé lá à = n- ó- fi
   3SG.NOM.PST = give birth lá 2SG.NOM NEG FUT take
   aboko wə loo .
   à = bókó wà lóó
   2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP

‘When assuming, if she had given it to you, if it procreates, you will not bring it to her’
(Buying_name 58.1)

1238) [ lə itə nko alee ] , singli aye kaká
   ló è = tó nkɔ ìlɛ̀ síŋkli à = yè kàkà
   if 3SG.NOM = be.at like that alone return 2SG.NOM stop place
   fakayo mfo .
   fà = kà- yó mfó
   2SG.NOM = PROG reach here

‘If it is like that really, you have to stop it at this stage you have reached’ (Pottery 253.2)
In example 1237, the speaker is making an assumption that if your mentor gives you a goat during the process of mentorship and the goat procreates, you keep it yourself instead of bringing it to your mentor. In example 1238, a woman was advising a young man regarding a specific behaviour. It is a fact that the man is not engaged in the said behaviour. However, the woman is stipulating that if the situation holds, then the young man should desist from it. In example 1239, the narrator is stating that, assuming the chief has a land, the people will go and farm for him.

10.3.5.4 Negative conditionals

Many languages have a morpheme used to signal a negative condition. The negative conditional signals that the proposition in the main clause depends on a situation which is not obtainable. The negative conditional may have the same truth value as an ‘if’ clause containing the conditional marker and the negative marker but the implication may be different. Sekpele employs the negative conditional particle sankpa ‘unless’. This is illustrated in:
In example 1240, the speaker is stating that nobody occupies the throne forever unless it is another throne. A chief has no immunity and may be deposed at any time especially if he is found to live a life contrary to the dignity attached to chieftaincy. I am not sure why the speaker used the future marker in this example. Probably, what he was trying to state is that unless the rules for occupying the throne change in the future, no one occupies it forever. The ‘sankpa’ clause in this case occurs after the main clause; it can also occur before the main clause.

10.3.5.5   Concessive conditionals

Concessive conditional clauses carry additional presuppositions not signalled by ordinary conditionals. They refer to clauses analogous to the ‘even if’ clauses in English. The concessive particle in Sekpele is *kóla ‘even’ and has cognates across most languages in Ghana. The particle is used in combination with the conditional particle *lo ‘if’ in Sekpele to express a concessive condition. This is illustrated in:
Example 1241 has the combination of the conditional particle lə́ and the concessive particle kólá in the conditional clause. The speaker is stating that even if the chief is living in the diaspora, he has to pay attention to the situation at home.

10.3.6 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses express propositions which contrast with that of the main clause. Sekpele employs the connective tsyáfɛ̃́ɛ̃́ ‘however’ to express concession. The connective tsyáfɛ̃́ɛ̃́ is a compound of the intensifier tsyâ ‘too’ and the connective fɛ̃́ɛ̃́ ‘before’. The connective serves as a link between the contrastive clauses. The contrastive clauses occur in the order in which they happen in time. Sekpele also employs the disjunctive particle gàké ‘but’ to express concession. The connective gàké is borrowed from Ewe. This is illustrated in:

1242) [ buudi lesa tsyáfɛ̃́ɛ̃́ kúkpɔnsɛ le bo ]

bó = ò- dí lɛ̀ *sá tsyáfɛ̃́ɛ̃́ kúkpɔnsɛ lɛ̀ bó

1PL.NOM.PST = ANT eat NCL5 thing however hunger hold 1PL.ACC

‘We have eaten however we are still hungry’  (Adverbs 27.1)
Example 1242 employed the connective tsyáfɛ̃́ɛ̃́ while examples 1243 and 1244 employed the disjunctive particle gàké. Example 1242 states that although we have eaten, we are still hungry. Example 1243 states that although the men were sick, they went to work. Example 1244 states that although the chiefs are permitted to live in the diaspora, they are still chiefs back home.

10.3.7 Sequential clauses

Sequential clauses are used to express events in sequence. They express states of affairs that occur after an antecedent clause, and can be found in procedural and narrative clauses. They also occur as apodosis of conditional constructions (see §10.3.7). Connectives used to link sequential clauses in Sekpele include étè ‘then’,
kò ‘then’, lọ ‘then’, mfè ‘then’ and nyá ‘then’. The following are examples of each of the connective in the order enumerated:

1245) [ aye sebese olako ] ete [ ubisia bọbọ ]
   à = yé sèbésè à- lákà ètè übisà bó- bó
2SG.NOM filter palmnut chaff 2SG.NOM remove then palm oil FUT get out
   isu kàlọ sebese tṣymi lọ kalenke əsu ].
   è = sù kālō sèbésè tṣymi lọ kà- *lèŋké əsú
3SG.NOM = go down palmnut chaff stay LOC CL9 sieve body
   ‘You filter the palmnut out then the palm oil will drain leaving the palmnut chaff to stay in the sieve’
   (Palm_oil 16.3)

1246) [ ntu lọokpi bọbọ kẹnke ] ko [ kàlọ ]
   rítu lò = ó- kpì bó- bó kẹŋké kò kālō
   water RELPRO = FUT dry up FUT get out completely then down
   yọofiání abẹ to kọta ].
   yò = ó- ọffiá ni à- *bẹ tô kótà
3SG.NOM = FUT become CL6 palmnut POSS mud
   ‘The water will evaporate completely then underneath it will become palmnut cake’
   (Palm_oil 16.5)

1247) [ chia ] lọ [ bọnka , Akonto ku Leshiaku fe ]
   è = ọ́a lọ bónkà Akonto kú Leshiaku fě
   3SG.NOM.PST = need then 3PL.COMP Akonto and Leshiaku like
   batakà lọ m̀fó ] lọ [ bayāni m̀fó ]
   3PL.NOM = get up LOC there then 3PL.NOM = abandon there
   bà = tákà lọ m̀fó lọ bà = yànì m̀fó
   3PL.NOM = give 3PL.DEM 3PL.NOM = dwell
   ‘It was necessary then that Akonto and Leshiaku to get up from there then abandon there for those to dwell’
   (History_amankrado 3.64)
If I finish like this completely, then I will scrape here like this. (Pottery 39.1)

Then all the people who will get out, hooting at you while carrying you away.
(Punishment 17.2)

However if you lie in it, then they tie up the palm leaves then you are already in it.
(Punishment 4.4)
1251) [ fuuwō  wō  aso ] kemi
   fō =  ó-  wō  wō  ā =  só  kēmī
   2SG.NOM=  FUT  cause  3SG.ACC  2SG.NOM  beat  then
   [ēbo  okuaye  nō ].
   ē =  bō  ōkuaye  nō
   3SG.NOM=  get out  soap  really
   ‘You will beat it into balls then it will really come out as soap’  (Soup_making 25.6)

1252) [ lo  omanyifo  nkō  mō ] ,  kemi
   lō  ā =  n-  ā-  n-  ŋfō  ŋkō  mō  kēmī
   if  2SG.NOM.PST  NEG  PFV  NEG  do  like that  like this  then
   [yooya  ko  yooba ].
   yō =  ó-  yā  kō  yō =  ó-  bā
   3SG.NOM=  FUT  crack  then  3SG.NOM=  FUT  break
   ‘If you didn’t do it like this, then it will crack, then it will break’  (Pottery 98.2)

Example 1250 has the connective kēmā while 1251 and 1252 have the connective kēmī. Example 1252 consists of the combination of the particle kēmī and the particle kō.

10.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a dependent clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause (Andrews, 2007:206). The pertinent parts of a relative clause are the following: (1) the Head (noun phrase); (2) the restricting clause; (3) the relativized noun phrase (NP_rel); and (4) the relativizer. Payne (1997:326) proposes that there are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped: (1) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun; (2) the mode of expression of the relativized NP (case recoverability strategy); and (3) which grammatical relations can be relativized. The aim of this section is to discuss relativization strategies that Sekpele employs in accordance with these parameters.
The first typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is the position of the clause with respect to the head. Relative clauses can be prenominal (before the head noun), postnominal (after the head noun), internally headed (the head occurs within the relative clause), or they may be headless. Postnominal relative clauses are the most common type cross-linguistically. Languages which are dominantly VO in main-clause constituent order always have postnominal relative clauses. English and Luganda are such languages. Prenominal relative clauses occur in some OV languages such as Japanese and Turkish. Internally headed relative clauses are those for which the head is within the relative clause. Many OV languages including Bambara, a Niger-Congo language of West Africa, have internally headed relative clauses. Internally headed relative clauses can be thought of as another means of avoiding having a phonologically large and semantically complex modifier precede the head noun. Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves are used to refer to the noun that they modify. In general, languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major RC strategy than languages for which there is distinct and large classes of modifiers. Some languages use headless relative clauses whenever the specific reference to the head is clear. Ndjuká (Surinam creole) is an example of such languages (Payne 1997:328).

In view of these parameters, Sekpele is postnominal, and it employs a relative pronoun and a relativizer in forming a relative clause. The relative pronoun is a portmanteau morpheme of the determiner. Relativity is indicated by a rising tone on the segment ('). The relativizer is le=/la=/lo= or n=, which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. Le=/la=/lo= is attached to non-stative verbs while n= is attached to stative verbs. Le=/la=/lo= are varying forms based on the TAM they
occur with. They also vary in terms of vowel harmony triggered by the first vowel of the verb. \( Le= \) occurs with the perfective, \( la= \) occurs with the habitual and prospective, while \( lo= \) occurs with future. This is illustrated in:

1253) udi
diyibibi [ nọ
diyọ ]

\( \delta= \)
di lè- yibibí nọ lè = yùd
3SG.NOM.PST = eat NCL5 fruit CL5.REL.PRO REL = become soft

‘He ate the fruit which is soft’ (Adjectives 76.1)

1254) wọ
ni
utsyo [ ọ
daakpla lema lo ]

wọ ní útsyùd ọ lè = ø- kplá lèmá lọ
3SG.PN be somebody CL1.REL.PRO REL = HAB intervene war LOC

utidi ku utidi lee kale ku kale lee kasò ku kasò to
ô- *tidi kú ô- *tidi léé kálè kú kálè léé kásò kú kásò tò
NCL1 person and NCL1 person or clan and clan or land and land POSS
nti ]

ntí between

‘He is the person who intervenes during conflict between persons, or between clans, or between lands’ (King making 14.14)

1255) mọ
lekañi [ bā
luusio lo ]
mọ lè = kà- fiánì bā lò = ø- sfó lọ
3PL.PN REL = PROG become 3PL.REL.PRO REL = FUT dwell LOC

umo ... kasò kà to ntinti nọ ].
ô- *mọ kà- *sọ kà to ntinti nọ
NCL3 town NCL9 land CL9.DEF POSS centre really

‘They have become those who will dwell in the town ... the centre of the land really’ (History_amankrado 3.65)

1256) ufi
kuko [ kuš nọ bebebeke ]

\( \delta= \)
fi kò- *kùd kuš n = tó bëkbëbëkë
3SG.NOM.PST = take NCL7 book CL7.REL.PRO REL = be.at thin

‘He took the book which is thin’ (Adjectives 58.1)

Examples 1253, 1254, 1255, and 1256 illustrate the relative clause for perfective, habitual, future and stative respectively. The relative clauses in all cases are postnominal, and consist of a relative pronoun which agrees with the head noun in
terms of noun class. The relativizers added to the dependent verb on the other hand vary not only in terms of TAM but vary in relation to vowel harmony triggered by the first vowel of the verb. In example 1253, the underlying form of the relativizer is \( \text{le}= \) but surfaces as \( \text{di}= \) due to the vowel of the verb. The segment \( d \) and \( l \) are free variants in some dialects of Sekpele. Here \( li \) and \( di \) are interchangeable. In example 1254, the relativizer does not change in form. In example 1255, the relativizer changes from \( \text{lo}= \) to \( \text{lu}= \) in the surface form. In example 1256, the relativizer is realised as \( n= \) because the verb is stative.

The relativizer in Sekpele is not only used in relative clauses but occurs in other constructions such as content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. This is illustrated in:

1257) \( \text{bekusesiəle esia nkpe wə} \)
\( \text{bə- *kəsə } *\text{sǐə } *\text{lə= } \text{àsiə } \text{= } \text{kpे= wə} \)
NCL2 chicken female own how much REL= exist 3SG.ACC
‘How many hens does he have?’ (Adverbs 29.1)

1258) \( \text{beso osani omə dibə} \)
\( \text{bəsə } \text{= } *\text{sənə } \text{á- } \text{mə lə= } \text{bə } \)
why NCL1 man CL1 the REL= come
‘Why did the man come?’ (Adverbs 33.1)

1259) \( \text{bamankrado loətəsyə oka} \)
\( \text{bə- } *\text{mənkərədə } \text{lа= } \text{á- } \text{tsəyə } \text{= } *\text{kά} \)
NCL2 king making REL= HAB put NCL1 chief
‘It is the king makers who installs a chief’ (King_making 1.1)

1260) \( \text{lə kase usio omə didu ete osani omə} \)
\( \text{lа kəsə } \text{= } *\text{sǐə } \text{á- } \text{mə lə= } \text{də= } \text{ētə } \text{= } *\text{sənə } \text{á- } \text{= } \text{mə} \)
as soon as NCL1 woman CL1 the REL= leave then NCL1 man CL1 the dibə
\( \text{lə= } \text{bə} \)
REL= come
‘As soon as the woman left, the man came’ (Adverbs 31.1)
Examples 1257 and 1258 are content questions while examples 1259 and 1260 are emphatic constructions. Example 1257 has the relativizer \( n = \), example 1259 has the relativizer \( la = \) while examples 1258 and 1260 have the relativizer \( le = \).

Many languages employ a special form called a relativizer as shown in Sekpele, to identify a clause as a relative clause. A prototypical relativizer does not constitute a reference to the \( \text{NP}_{\text{rel}} \) and thus cannot itself help recover the role of the \( \text{NP}_{\text{rel}} \) in the relative clause. Instead, in such circumstances, a different form called a relative pronoun is used to introduce the relative clause. Relative pronouns are typically similar to other pronouns in the language, either question particles or pronouns used to refer to non-specific or indefinite items. Relative pronouns can be thought of as combining the functions of a plain relativizer and a clause-internal pronoun that refers to the relativized NP. In Sekpele, the relative pronoun used to express indefiniteness is \( bà \) ‘3PL.REL.PRO’. It occurs as an independent relative pronoun or is attached to other pronouns, especially the plural pronouns. This is illustrated in:

1261) \[ \text{gake} \quad [ \quad \text{bobà} \quad \text{laalaa} \quad ] \quad , \quad \text{bo} \quad \text{te} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{gake} & \quad \text{bobà} \quad \text{là} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{là} = \quad \text{bó} \quad \text{tè} \\
\text{but} & \quad 1\text{PL.REL.PRO} \quad \text{REL=} \quad \text{HAB} \quad \text{love} \quad =\text{TOP} \\
\text{laaya} & \quad \text{kawà} \quad \text{afa} \quad \text{nà} . \\
\text{là} = \quad \text{á-} \quad \text{yà} \quad \text{kà} \quad \text{wà} \quad \text{à-} \quad \text{*fà} \quad \text{nà} \\
\text{REL=} \quad \text{HAB} \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{INF} \quad \text{cook} \quad \text{NCL8} \quad \text{medicine} \quad \text{really} \\
\end{align*}

‘But we those who love it, it is only us who buys it to prepare medicines really’

(Pottery 59.2)
As for me, I thought that you who have been to school, you said that we shouldn't drink stream water that, it is causing us to be sick? (Pottery 142.1)

In example 1261, the relative pronoun is bɔ̀ ‘3PL.REL.PRO’ and it occurs alone as an independent relative pronoun. However, the relative pronoun in examples 1262 and 1263 are bɔbã́ ‘1PL.REL.PRO’ and bɪ̀bã́ ‘2PL.REL.PRO’ respectively. The relative pronoun bɔbã́ is a compound of the 1PL pronoun and the indefinite relative pronoun while bɪ̀bã́ is a compound of the 2PL pronoun and the indefinite relative pronoun.

Singular relative pronouns also exist in Sekpele. The 1SG and 2SG relative pronouns are rare. In both cases, their emphatic forms are used (see Emphatic pronouns). On the other hand, the 3SG relative pronouns in Sekpele are wə̃̌ ‘3SG.REL.PRO, wɔ̃̌ ‘3SG.REL.PRO’ and nyã̌ ‘3SG.REL.PRO’. The relative pronoun wə̃̌ can be said to be the default and it is used for both animate and inanimate references. The relative pronoun wɔ̃̌ is used for animate reference only while nyã̌ is used for inanimate reference only. This is illustrated in:

The caretaker or stool father, he is the one who does everything on his behalf“
Examples 1264 and 1265 have the relative pronoun \( wə̃ \). The relative pronoun \( wə̃ \) is used for animate reference in (1264) and inanimate reference in (1265). In example 1266, the relative pronoun \( wɔ̃̌ \) is used for animate reference. On the other hand, example 1267 has the relative pronoun \( nyã \) which is used for inanimate reference.

The second major parameter by which the relative clauses can vary is how the \( \text{NP}_{\text{rel}} \) is expressed. This parameter is known as ‘case recoverability’ (Keenan,
That is, in any relative clause, there is some way of identifying the role of the reference of the head noun within the relative clause. The role of the NP within the RC can be different from the role of the head noun within the main clause. There are several strategies that languages may employ to recover the role of the clause-internal NP. One such strategy is the ‘gap strategy’ which works for languages that have a fairly fixed constituent order, used to express the grammatical relations of the core nominals in a clause. In such languages a missing argument is obvious. The gap strategy may leave the relative clause in these languages ambiguous. Isthmus Zapotec is a VAP language that allows an NP$_{rel}$ to be coded with a gap, but renders it useless as a case recovery strategy (Payne, 1997:330). In an instance where the gap strategy is insufficient or fails to be of use as a case recovery strategy, pronoun retention is employed. In this strategy, a pronoun that explicitly references the grammatical relation of the NP$_{rel}$ by its position, its form, or both, is retained within the relative clause. Such languages that employ pronoun retention includes Hebrew and Urhobo (Kwa; Nigeria) (Keenan, 1985:146).

English allows the relative pronoun strategy (Rel Pro), a relativizer plus gap strategy (Rel + gap), and an unmarked ‘no relativizer’ plus gap strategy (No Rel) (Payne, 1997:333). Lango, a Nilotic language of Uganda, employs a relativizer âmê that is invariant no matter what the inherent properties or grammatical relation of the NP$_{rel}$ are (Noonan, 1992:215). Turkish employs the ‘participial relative clause strategy’ (Payne, 1997:327). A language may allow a combination of any or all the strategies in the same environment and it is difficult to determine what semantic nuances are conveyed, if any, by the various allowable structures. Sekupele employs a combination of the relative pronoun, relativizer plus gap strategy (Rel Pro,
Rel + gap) depending on which elements of the relative clause are being relativized. Details will be provided in sections which deal with each relativized element.

The final typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is which elements can be relativized. Keenan & Comrie (1977:66) argue on the basis of data from fifty languages, that languages vary with respect to which NP grammatical functions can be relativized, and that their variation is not random. They proposed the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) shown below where ‘>’ means ‘it is more accessible than’.

| Subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > genitive > object of comparison |

A given position on the AH is understood as specifying a set of possible grammatical distinctions that a language may take and that languages may not necessary distinguish all these categorises or may employ other syntactic processes. In terms of the AH, they also propose the Hierarchy Constraints (HCs) and the Primary Relativization Constraint (PRC) which states that every language must have a primary RC-forming strategy which is used to relativize at least the subject. Toba Batak (a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken in Sumatra) has a primary strategy, which is postnominal and –case (Keenan & Comrie, 1977). However, direct objects cannot be relativized using this or any other strategy in Toba. The only way to achieve the semantic effect of relativization, is first to passivize the underlying sentence, and then relativize on the derived subject.

### 10.4.1 Subject relativization

Subject relativization is when the head of the relative clause bears the subject role within the relative clause. Sekpele employs the gap strategy in subject relativization.
Note that the same syntactic structure is employed in focus, emphatic and content questions. The difference between subject relativized clauses and the others is that the former employs a relative pronoun which occurs after the head noun and before the verb of the relative clause. The relative pronoun occurs alone or is compounded to the determiner. This is illustrated in:

1268) efi  okpe  [ ə  lebo  kalo  ]
     à =  fí  ò-  *kpé  ə  lè =  bó  káà
     2SG.NOM take  NCL3 bowl  CL3.REL.PRO  REL=  get out  down
     efi  otakə  okpe  bamba  asuə .
     à =  fí  à =  tákó  ò-  *kpé  bàmbà  ñsúà
     2SG.NOM take  2SG.NOM put on  NCL3 bowl  another body

‘You take a bowl which has holes underneath it and put it on another bowl’
(Soap, making 18.2)

1269) dikpəfí  [ nô  nkpe  selo  ]  alabe
     lè-  *kpəfí  nô  hé =  kpé  sélô  à-  lâbê
     NCL5 child  CL5.REL.PRO  REL=  have laziness  PFV  sleep

‘The child who is lazy is asleep’
(Miscellaneous 16.1)

1270) osaibi  amə  leba  lewâkplibi  namə
     ò-  *sâibí  á-  mô  lè =  bá  lè-  wâ  *kplîbí  nâ-  mó
     NCL1 boy  CL1 the  REL=  break  NCL5 cook  cooking pot  CL5 the

‘It is the boy who broke the cooking pot’
(Verbs 336.1)

Example 1268, 1269 and 1270 are similar in terms of their syntactic structure. However, examples 1268 and 1269 are relative clauses while example 1270 is a subject focus or emphatic clause. In all cases, the subject has been moved from its original position in the clause to an external slot leaving a gap in the original slot.

What distinguishes examples 1268 and 1269 from example 1270 is that the former are reiterated with the relative pronoun which is lacking in the latter. What makes examples 1268 and 1269 subject relativized clauses is the fact that the subject of the relative clause and not the subject of the main clause is relativized. In (1268), the
head of the relative clause ɔ̀kpɛ́ ‘bowl’ is the object of the verb fí ‘take’ but the subject of the relative clause. In (1269), the head of the relative clause dìkpə́fí ‘child’ is the subject of the relative clause as well as the subject of the main clause. All the previous examples in this section are subject relativized clauses.

10.4.2 Object relativization

Object relativization is when the head of the relative clause is understood as having the object role inside the relative clause. Sekpele employs the gap strategy in object relativization just as subject relativization. However, whereas the relativizer is mandatory in subject relativization no matter what the subject of the relative clause is, in object relativization, the relativizer is only required when the subject is a noun. If the subject is a pronoun, the relativizer is not required. The relative clause is however indicated by the relative pronoun which occurs after the head of the relative clause. This is illustrated in:

1271) kufuo [ kuʃ osani ŋ leyə nyo lə
kò- *fùó kuʃ ŋ- *sànî ŋ lè= yà nyo lŞ
NCL7 vehicle CL7.REL.PRO NCL1 man CL1.DEF REL= buy stand LOC
obia
ðbiá
community centre
‘The vehicle the man bought is standing at the public square’ (Miscellaneous 97.1)

1272) eso wọ ni lekpome [ ná
éso wọ ní lè- *kpòmɛ ná
therefore 3SG.PN be NCL5 chair CL5.REL.PRO
uufo nà ]
ó= ŋ- fọ ná
3SG.NOM.PST= ANT receive really
‘Therefore that is the stool he had received really’ (History_amankrado 3.23)
Examples 1271, 1272 and 1273 are all object relativized clauses. In (1271), the subject noun and the relative clause consist of the relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, in examples 1272 and 1273, the subject of the clause is a pronoun. The relative clauses in these cases consist of only a relative pronoun. There is no place for the relativizer since the proclitic slot of the verb is already being filled by the subject pronoun. The objects of ditransitive verbs can also be relativized. This is illustrated in:

1275)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɔtɔnɔ} & \quad \text{ofo} & \quad \text{atabi} & \quad [\text{nyā}] \\
\text{ō} & = & \text{tínð} & \quad \text{ō} & = & \text{fò} & \quad \text{átábí} & \quad \text{nyā} \\
3\text{SG.NOM.PST} = & & \text{accept} & & 3\text{SG.NOM.PST} = & & \text{receive} & & \text{money} \\
\text{mintə} & \quad wə & & \text{wə} \\
1\text{SG.NOM} = & & \text{EMPH} & & \text{give} & & 3\text{SG.ACC} \\
\text{mì} & = & n- & \text{tô} & \text{wə} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He received the money I gave him’  
(Verbs 496.1)
Examples 1274 and 1275 have the ditransitive verbs *tɛ́yɪ́* ‘tell’ and *tɔ́* ‘give’ respectively. Both examples have their themes relativized. Example 1276 is the counterpart of 1275 where the dative is relativized. The above relative clauses employ only a relative pronoun and not a relativizer because of their subject pronouns. This will be different if the subject of the relative clause is a noun. Examples 1275 and 1276 are quite different in terms of the number of participants. Example 1275 has three participants while example 1276 has four participants. The dative of the relative clause in (1275) is co-referential to the subject of the main clause while they are different in (1276). To have a dative relativized clause with the same participant as (1275), the relative clause has to occur in the subject position in the sentence as illustrated in:

1277) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{wɔ̃} & \quad \text{mintə} & \quad \text{atabi} & \quad \text{nyã} & \quad \text{ɔtɔnɔ} \\
\text{wɔ́} & \quad \text{mì}= & \quad \text{n-} & \quad \text{tó} & \quad \text{atábi} & \quad \text{nyã} & \quad \text{à} & \quad \text{tɔ́nɔ̀} \\
\text{3SG.REL.PRO} & \quad \text{1SG.NOM} = & \quad \text{EMPH} & \quad \text{give} & \quad \text{money} & \quad \text{CL6.DEF} & \quad \text{PFV} & \quad \text{accept}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The person whom I gave the money has accepted and received it’

10.4.3 Oblique relativization

Oblique relativization is where an oblique element is relativized. Since a relativized oblique clause is not a core argument of the main clause, it can occur anywhere in
the construction. However, the relative clause itself has the same structure as discussed in subject and object relativization. The relative clause consists of the head, a relative pronoun and the verb phrase. The verb takes a relativizer if the subject of the relative clause is a noun. The heads of the relativized oblique clauses function as adverbials of location, time and circumstance. Adverbials of manner, reason and purpose are expressed by way of adverbial clauses (see §10.3).

Relativized locative clauses entail a location and are illustrated in:

1278)  baba    ta    boofonde   utsyuə
      bá=    bó    tá   bó=    ò-    *fondɛ    ó-    tsyúð
3PL.NOM.PST  =  come  1PL.POSS  =  NCL1  pregnant woman  CL1  some
balo      lo    dibio     [  ná
bá=    lò    ló   lè-    *bó    ná
3PL.NOM.PST  =  kill  LOC  NCL5  hole  CL5.REL.PRO
beesu        ketsyi  ntu  ] .
   bá=    á-    sù    kà-   tsyí  fítu
3PL.NOM.PST  =  HAB  go  INF  carry  water
‘They shot and killed one of our pregnant women at the well that they use to fetch water from’
(History_amankrado 1.9)

1279)  kaká    ke   [  lidufə  la  ] .  mfó  fantɔ  ,  mfó
káká  ké   lè=    dufə    lá   mfó  fa=    n-    tì   mfó
place  any  REL  =  enter  TOP  there  2SG.NOM  =  EMPH  go  towards  there
buusu         beti   fa    bakpe  [  for  twelve
bò=    ó-    sù    bá=    tì   fó   bá=    kpé
3PL.NOM  =  FUT  go  3PL.NOM  =  lock  2SG.ACC  3PL.NOM  =  put
days  ]  .
‘Wherever it enters, there you are going; there they will lock you up for twelve days’
(King_making 2.44)

Relativized temporal clauses entail time and dates and are illustrated in:
Relativized circumstantial clauses entail a circumstance under which an event is said to have happened. This is illustrated in:

1282) \( \text{ukpə} \quad \text{ukpə} \quad [\, \text{nkpe} \quad \text{sebua} \, ] \)
\( \delta = \quad \text{kpə} \quad \text{ukpə} \quad \varpi \quad \text{nkpe} \quad \text{sebua} \quad \text{REL} = \quad \text{exist NCL11} \quad \text{bad} \)

‘He died a violent death’
(Verbs 239.1)

1283) \( \text{boofo} \quad \text{fo} \quad \text{butu} \quad [\, \text{any time} \, ] \quad \text{ɓɔɔ} \)
\( \text{bɔɔ} = \quad \text{ɓɔɔ} \quad \text{fɔ} \quad \text{ɓɔɔ} \quad \text{bɔɔ}- \quad \text{ɓɔɔ} \quad \text{bɔɔ} \quad \text{RULE} \quad \text{exist} \quad \text{NCL5} \quad \text{custom CL5.DEF} \quad \text{top of} \)

‘They will be able to depose you any time that you haven’t walked according to the rules which exist in the custom’
(King_making 12.10)

10.4.4 Genitive relativization

Genitive or possessive constructions involve two NPs, the possessor and the possessum, and either of which could be relativized. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessum and the possessive construction may consist of the
possessive particle (*é)tò. Possessive constructions involving a pronoun possessor occur in juxtaposition to the possessum. Kinship terms relating to parents are also juxtaposed to their possessor. Relativization of any of the NPs in a possessive construction may involve subject, object, or oblique relativization depending on the role that the head of the relative clause plays in the relative clause. This is illustrated in:

1284) Mate tsey asió ló [ kaká [ baosió ] ] to
Mate tseyá à- síá ló kaká bá= à- sí -o tò
ta Mate tseyó PFV dwell LOC place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV dwell STV POSS
káká bá= à- là mfó eto kámà
place 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV cut there POSS back
‘Mate too settled behind where they had settled at the back of where they were allocated’
(History_amankrado 3.11)

1285) kaká [ seka siš nkpe ] eto utidi omi
káká sé- *ká siš n= kpé eto ò- *tídl ò- *ní
place NCL11 chief CL11.DEF REL= exist POSS NCL1 person CL1 one
butsyi mfó bokó ku mó
bó- tseyi mfó bó- kó kú mó
FUT come from there FUT join with 3PL.ACC
‘A person from where the chieftaincy exists will join with them’ (King_making 2.1)

1286) nya beeffi baka bama to [ wé
nya bá= à- fí bá- *ká bá- mó tò wé
then 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV take NCL2 chief CL2 the POSS 3SG.REL.PRO
lụọọko mó kenyę fenko otayami ]
là= á- lákà mó kényę fẹ́ nákà ò- *tsyáamí
REL= HAB remove 3PL.POSS mouth like that NCL1 spokesperson
‘Then they took the one who speaks on behalf of the chiefs like a spokesperson’
(History_amankrado 3.35)
Examples 1284 and 1285 are relativization of the possessor while examples 1286 and 1287 are relativization of the possessum. Example 1284 has two relative clauses one of which is embedded in the other. Both clauses are involved in the relativization of location. The head of the first clause is the oblique of the verb sí ‘dwell’ while that of the second clause is the object of the verb là ‘cut’. The second clause acts as the possessum of the first clause whose possessum is kámà ‘back’.

Example 1285 is also a relativized location which is the oblique of the verb kpé ‘exist’. The relative clause in (1286) is subject relativization while that of (1287) is object relativization. The subject of the relative clause in (1287) is itself subject relativization.

10.4.5 Relativization of comparison

Comparative constructions in Sekpele involve a serial verb construction usually of a property verb and the comparative verb só ‘surpass’. This is illustrated in:

1288) ukula \( \sigma \) oso \( \delta \) oka \( \delta \) \( \alpha \)ma
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3SG.NOM.PST} &= \text{become tall} & \text{3SG.NOM} &= \text{surpass} & \text{NCL1} &= \text{chief} & \text{CL1} &= \text{the} \\
\sigma &= \text{tall} & \delta &= \text{taller} & \delta &= \text{surpass} & \alpha &= \text{taller} & \alpha &= \text{surpass} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘S/he is taller than the chief’

(Miscellaneous 4.1)
Example 1288 has the serial verbs kúlə ‘become tall’ and só ‘surpass’ while example 1289 has the serial verbs yí ‘know’ and só ‘surpass’. Since serial verb constructions are just like mono-verbal clauses, the subject and the object can be relativized.

Below are relativized counterparts of the previous examples:

1290) wɔ̃ dikulə oso oka omo
   wɔ̃ le= kúlə ó= só ó- *ká á- mɔ
3SG.REL.PRO REL= become tall 3SG.NOM= surpass NCL1 chief CL1 the
‘The person who is taller than the chief’
(Miscellaneous 98.1)

1291) wɔ̃ nyi kobe oso oka omo
   wɔ̃ ñ= yí kóbê ó= só ó- *ká á- mɔ
3SG.REL.PRO REL= know wisdom 3SG.NOM= surpass NCL1 chief CL1 the
‘The person who is wiser than the chief’
(Miscellaneous 99.1)

1292) oka ṣ ukulə oso
   ó- *ká ṣ ó= kúlə ó= só
NCL1 chief CL1.REL.PRO 3SG.NOM= become tall 3SG.NOM= surpass
‘The chief whom he is taller than’
(Miscellaneous 100.1)

1293) oka ṣ uyı kobe oso
   ó- *ká ṣ ó= yí kóbê ó= só
NCL1 chief CL1.REL.PRO 3SG.NOM= know wisdom 3SG.NOM= surpass
‘The chief whom he is wiser than’
(Miscellaneous 101.1)

Examples 1290 and 1291 are relativized subjects while examples 1292 and 1293 are relativized objects. Examples 1290 and 1291 employ both a relative pronoun and a relativizer. However, examples 1292 and 1293 employ only a relative pronoun. It is important to note that if the subject of examples 1292 and 1293 were nouns, a relativizer would be attached to the verb. In all cases, a gap strategy is employed in both subject and object relativization.
10.5 Coordination

Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements (Haskelmath 2007:1). The units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences. All languages possess coordinate constructions of some kind, but there is a lot of cross-linguistic variation. Each language may possess a wealth of different coordinate constructions that are related to each other in complex ways. Coordinate constructions may have a particle or an affix called the coordinator that serves to link the units of the construction. Units of any coordination are referred to as coordinands. The basic semantic types of coordination include conjunction, disjunction, and adversative coordination. This section discusses these types of coordination in Sekpele.

10.5.1 Conjunction

In many languages, the semantic-syntactic type of coordinands is relevant for the choice of the coordinators (Haskelmath 2007:20). The most widespread contrast for conjunction is that between NP conjunction and event conjunction. The use of different formal means for expressing NP conjunction and event conjunction is the major pattern in the world’s languages. Welmers (1973:305) states that he is not aware of any African language that expresses NP conjunction and event conjunction in the same way. This contrasts with European, Palaeosiberian, Mixtecian and Austronesian languages where the same form is used for both NP and event conjunctions. Sekpele employs the comitative particle kú ‘and/with’ for NP conjunction and the particles ēyē ‘and’ and nyá ‘and/then’ for event conjunction.
10.5.1.1 NP conjunction

Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú ‘and/with’ to link NPs. In many of the world’s languages, the conjunctive coordinator for NPs is identical in shape with the marker for accompaniment (Haspelmath 2007:29). The extension of a comitative marker to express a conjunctive relationship is of course very natural. Haspelmath further demonstrates why comitative conjunction in most languages is a type of conjunction separate from comitative construction given semantic and morphosyntactic evidences. The used of the particle *kú as conjunction is illustrated in:

1294) **be kakpe ku asa kenke nkpo fo oflo mfó**
    bè kà- *kpé kú à- *sá kéŋké ñ= kpó fó ñfló mífó
    see NCL4 bowl and CL6 thing all REL= gather 2SG.ACC side there
    ‘See all the bowls and other things beside you over there’ (Pottery 44.1)

1295) **alebe bā leyenko mə ni Akonto ku**
    álèbé bā̹ lè= yḕ -n- -kó mó ní Akonto kú
    however 3PL.REL.PRO REL= walk LIG ASSOC 3PL.ACC be Akonto and Leshiaku .
    Leshiaku
    Leshiaku
    ‘However, those who lead them were Akonto and Leshiaku’  (History_amankrado 1.4)

1296) **ebusu etsyi ntu ku ọlọtsyí**
    à= bó- sù à= tsyí ńtù kú ò- *ọlọtsyí
    2SG.NOM FUT go 2SG.NOM carry water with NCL3 drinking pot
    ‘You will go and carry water with drinking pot’  (Buying_name 47.3)

The particle *kú occurs in examples 1294 and 1295 linking the nouns *kakpé ‘bowls’ and *asá ‘things’; Akonto and Leshiaku respectively. Example 1295 also contains the associative or comitative marker -ko attached to the verb yē ‘walk’ to indicate accompaniment. In example 1296, the particle *kú is used to introduce an instrument.
10.5.1.2 Event conjunction

Event conjunction entails the linkage of two or more clauses. Sekpele employs the particles éyé and nyá ‘and/then’. It appears that the main strategy Sekpele employs for conjoining clauses is the use of the connective nyá which is also used for subordination (see §10.3.7). The particle éyé can be said to be a loanword from Ewe.

Event conjunction is illustrated in:

1297) nya falabe nya booklet nya
   nyá fà = làbè nyá bò = ó- klé nyá
   then 2SG.NOM = lie then 3PL.NOM = FUT tie then
   boota fə betsyi .
   bò = ó- tá fə bà = tsyí
   3PL.NOM = FUT shoot 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = carry
   ‘While you lie in it they will wrap and carry you’ (Punishment 5.3)

1298) lə eyo bolako bòto besio
   lə́ ć= yó bà = làkò bà = tò bà- *šó
   if 3SG.NOM.PST = reach 3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give NCL2 woman
   bolako bòto basani nya
   bà = làkò bà = tò bà- *sànî nyá
   3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give NCL2 man then
   beoma bidi .
   bè = ó- má bè = dí
   2PL.NOM = FUT share 2PL.NOM = eat
   ‘If it is time, they will give to the women, give to the men then you will share and eat’ (Buying_name 31.5)
Examples 1297 and 1298 have the particle *nyá* as their conjunctive coordinator while example 1358 has the particle *éyé* as its conjunctive coordinator. The particles *nyá* and *éyé* are also used to introduce an additional proposition to a discourse. The particle occurs before the clause and it is illustrated in:

1300) *nya* betidi luunyò ò fò kaminsò bòò
    *nyá* bà- *tídì* lò = ò- *nyá* fò kàmpsò bà = bó
    then NCL2 person REL = FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM = come
    yankli ò
    yánklì ò
    untie 2SG.ACC

‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’ (Punishment 12.1)
Example 1300 has the particle *nyá* while examples 1301 and 1302 have the particle *éyé* introducing an additional proposition to the discourse.

### 10.5.2 Disjunction

In contrast to conjunction, Sekpele employs the particle *léé* ‘or’ for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. It is common that most languages employ a single form for NP disjunction and event disjunction. While conjunctive coordinators are thus often selective with respect to the semantic-syntactic type of the coordinands, this is less true of disjunctive coordinators. Languages that employ different coordinators for NP and event disjunction are relatively few (Haspelmath 2007:21). Some languages are also selective with respect to which coordinand types they even allow to be coordinated. For instance a language may allow event disjunction and not NP disjunction. Disjunction in Sekpele is illustrated in:

1303) **usi**nám  **lee**  **okanto** ,  **wə**  **ni**  **wô**  **leeyifó**

`úsìnám  lèé  ókántô  wô  ní  wô  là=  á-  yífó`

*caretaker or stool father*  *3SG.PN be 3SG.REL.PRO REL= HAB do*

1303) **lesa**  **saa**  **lo**  **wô**  **kámà**

`lè-  *sá  sàà  lô  wô  kámà`

*NCL5 thing each LOC 3SG.POSS back*

‘The caretaker or stool father, he is the one who does everything on his behalf’

(King_making 19.3)
‘You will search for a goat, a sheep or a chicken to be killed’ (Naming_ceremony 2.1)

‘If you say that it should become round at once now, it will crack or it will break’ (Pottery 53.2)

‘Whatever exists which is the custom which exists, it is I who will show him or do it for him if he is not available’ (King_making 10.5)
10.5.3 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination is the coordinative linking of two syntactic elements that display some form of semantic contrast. The terms adversative and concessive have been used interchangeably to refer to the function of denial of expectations by some authors. However, they are distinct such that adversative functions in the domain of coordination while concessive functions in the domain of subordination (Malchukov 2004:175). Adversative coordination is always binary and must consist of two coordinands. Sekpele employs the particles gàké ‘but’ and vɔ̀ ‘but’: both of which are loanwords from Ewe. Whereas the particle gàké is used to make contrast between two clauses and between propositions in a discourse, the particle vɔ̀ is only used to contrast propositions within a discourse. This is illustrated in:

1307) \begin{align*}
\text{bo} & \quad \text{ku} & \quad \text{mọ} & \quad \text{ditṣyi} & \quad \text{nse} & \quad \text{gake} & \quad \text{bọbo} & \quad \text{du} \\
\text{bọ} & \quad \text{kù} & \quad \text{mọ} & \quad \text{lè} & \quad \text{tsyi} & \quad \text{āṣe} & \quad \text{gake} & \quad \text{bá} & \quad \text{bọ} & \quad \text{dú}
\end{align*}

1PL.PN and 3PL.PN REL = come from but 3PL.NOM.PST = come leave

\begin{align*}
\text{lọ} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{ọflọ} & \quad \text{eso} & \quad \text{la} & \quad \text{mamọ} & \quad \text{bakpe} & \quad \text{dibiọ} \\
\text{lọ} & \quad \text{mọ} & \quad \text{ọflọ} & \quad \text{ẹsọ} & \quad \text{lá} & \quad \text{mámọ} & \quad \text{bá} & \quad \text{kpé} & \quad \text{lè-} & \quad \text{biọ}
\end{align*}

LOC 3PL.POSS side therefore TOP 3PL.PN 3PL.NOM = exist NCL5 cave

‘They and we came from there but they depart from their presence therefore, they live in a cave’

\begin{align*}
\text{História amankrado 1.14}
\end{align*}

1308) \begin{align*}
\text{gake} & \quad \text{lọ} & \quad \text{awà} & \quad \text{ọf} & \quad \text{slivaa} & \quad \text{slivà} & \quad \text{sliwa} \\
\text{gake} & \quad \text{lọ} & \quad \text{ā} & \quad \text{wà} & \quad \text{lọ} & \quad \text{slivà} & \quad \text{slivà}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{but} & \quad \text{if} & \quad 2SG.NOM.PST & \quad \text{cook} & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad \text{aluminium pot} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{aluminium pot} \\
\text{ọflọ} & \quad \text{kedufọ} & \quad \text{lọ} & \quad \text{kọfa} & \quad \text{kuṣ} & \quad \text{osuọ} & \quad \text{.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{à-} & \quad \text{flọ} & \quad \text{kà-} & \quad \text{dáfọ} & \quad \text{lọ} & \quad \text{kò-} & \quad \text{fù} & \quad \text{kuṣ} & \quad \text{bṣúọ} & \quad \text{.}
\end{align*}

PFV wash INF enter LOC NCL7 medicine CL7.DEF body

‘But if you cook in an aluminium pot, residues of the aluminium pot enter the medicine’

(Pottery 47.7)
The particle *gàké* is used to make a contrast between two clauses in example 1307.

In examples 1308 and 1309, the particles *gàké* and *vɔ̀* are used respectively to make a contrast between a following proposition and a preceding one within a discourse.

In both cases, the particle occurs before the clause indicating its contrast to an antecedent proposition mentioned earlier in the discourse.

### 10.6 Summary

This chapter discussed clause combinations and complex constructions in Sekpele. Topics include multi-verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and coordination. Sekpele distinguishes between three types of multi-verb clauses: (1) serial verb constructions; (2) overlapping clauses; and (3) consecutive constructions. Serial verb constructions entail a sequence of verbs which function as a single predicate: they are mono-clausal. Overlapping clauses are bi-clausal constructions with switch-function such that the object of the first clause is the subject of the first clause. Consecutive constructions on the other hand are multi-clausal constructions, whose components represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time.

Complement clauses function as core arguments of the main clause they occur in. Sekpele employs nominalization for subject and complementation for object.
Complement clauses in Sekpele are introduced by the complementizer *ńkà ‘COMP’ which is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has a corresponding clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. Complement clauses are used in relation to verbs of utterance, perception, cognition, manipulation, desideration and modality.

Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function of time, location, manner, purpose, reason, circumstance, simultaneity, condition, concession, substitution, addition, and absolute. Adverbial clause in Sekpele discussed in this chapter include temporal clauses, locative clauses, manner clauses, purpose clauses, reason clauses, simultaneous clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses and sequential clauses.

This chapter also discussed relativization strategies in Sekpele. Relative clauses in Sekpele are postnominal and they entail a relative pronoun and a relativizer depending on whether the subject of the relative clause is a noun or a pronominal. The relativizer is attached to the verb if the subject of the clause is a noun and it is absent if the subject is a pronominal. The rationale is that since the pronominal and relativizer share the same slot and in this case the slot is being occupied by the pronominal, there is no other slot to be filled by the relativizer. The relativizer is also used in other constructions such as content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. All positions on Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized. In terms of case recovery, Sekpele employs the gap strategy across all elements on the Accessibility Hierarchy.

The types of coordination in Sekpele include conjunction, disjunction and adverasion. Sekpele employs the comitative particle *kú for NP conjunction and the particle *nyá and *éyé for event conjunction. Contrary to conjunction, Sekpele
employs the particle léé for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. Unlike conjunction and disjunction, no native particle has been accounted for in terms of adversative coordination. The particles employed in this chapter are gàké and vò which are loanwords from Ewe. It is possible that Sekpele may have indigenous means of expressing semantic contrast between two syntactic elements but it has not been captured in this work.
11 CONCLUSION

11.1 Research overview

This thesis is a documentation and description of Sekpelé, a Kwa language spoken along the Akwapim Range close to the Ghana-Togo border by the people of the Likpe traditional area. It belongs to the linguistically diverse group of Ghana-Togo Mountain Languages (GTM), spoken in the Central Volta region of Ghana (Ameka, 2002, 2007, 2009a, 2013; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008). The language is spoken primarily by ten Likpe communities north-east of Hohoe: Bakwa, Nkwanta, Mate, Bala, Todome, Abrani, Koforidua, Agbozume, Avedzime and Kukurantumi.

Chapter one provides a general introduction to the Likpe people and their language. Section 1.1 presents ethnographic and demographic information about the Likpe people which includes their geographic location, brief history, economy, education and their religious affiliation. Historic accounts suggest that the Likpe people and the GTM at large are Guangs. This account is greatly supported by the oral traditions of the people. However, indigenous knowledge has been disregarded in the classification of the language group. Instead the current location of the language group has been employed in their classification, thus the name Ghana-Togo Mountain (GTM) languages. A vivid migrational history has been provided in this thesis for consideration in a possible reclassification. Section 1.2 looks at the genetic classification of Sekpelé, and gives a brief account of its dialects, language continuum and community multilingualism. Sekpelé is a descendent of the proto-language Sele ‘language’ which includes Sekwá and Sele (spoken by the Santrokofi people). Sekpelé is sub-divided into (1) Situnkpa spoken predominantly in Agbozome, Avedzime and Koforidua; (2) Semate spoken in Mate and Abrani; (3)
Sela spoken in Bala and Kukurantumi. This sub-division is based on tribal autonomy rather than clear dialectal differences. Section 1.3 provides the methodology employed in the course of the research, which adopts a participant observation and fieldwork-based approach. Activities undertaken during the research period include fieldwork, data analysis, and write-up of this thesis. A total of 33 audio and 150 video files were collected in the field. The videos document spontaneous activities, which include storytelling, funerals, marriages, industrial activities, and community-based activities. Audio recordings were, on the other hand, collected during sessions of elicitation. All the 33 audio files have been processed and interlinearized with the software tool FLEX. A sample of 11 of the 150 video files have so far been transcribed and analysed.

Chapter two provides literature reviews of some pertinent topics, especially issues and previous research relating to Sekpelé and Ghana Togo Mountain (GTM) languages as a whole. Section 2.1 deals with language documentation and description. Himmelmann (2006) and Mosel (2006) are reviewed. Section 2.2 deals with the controversy surrounding the genetic classification of the GTM languages. It addresses the fact that most linguists have neglected the accounts of the native speakers regarding their migrations, while relying on their current geographical location. Most GTM narratives suggest that they are Guangs. Accounts by Bertho, 1952; Blench, 2009; Egblewogbe, 1992; Heine, 1968; Rongier, 1997 suggest a reclassification of the language group. Section 2.3 provides an overview of previous works on Sekpelé. It includes publications from the earliest (Westermann & Bryan 1952) to the latest research (Ameka 2013). I also provide a review of the topics addressed by Lomotey (2009) and (Ameka, 2009b), with a criticism of Lomotey’s
methodology for the analysis of the vowel inventory in Sekpele. I review Ameka’s discussion of verb extensions, which are also outlined in § 7.1.3.

Chapter three focuses on the phonology of Sekpele. It provides a review of phonological issues outlined and discussed by earlier research on the language, especially the vowel inventory. I provide a detailed account for the ten vowel phonemes which includes new data for the vowels /ɪ/ and /ʊ/. Sekpelé has two register tones: high and low. Sekpelé has a falling contour tone which occurs at word-final position, as well as in cases where there are identical adjacent vowels, differing only in tone in a high-low sequence. Rising tones occur in instances where there are adjacent vowels which are identical and have a low and high tone respectively. The syllable structure in Sekpelé includes V32, N, CV, CVV, CLV, CGV and NCV. There are two morpho-phonological processes: vowel harmony and nasal assimilation. There are also two kinds of vowel harmony: Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) and height harmony. The direction of the vowel harmony processes is regressive and they occur between the first stem vowel and the prefix vowel such that the stem vowel spreads its features to the prefix vowel. The height harmony in Sekpelé involves a stepwise rise in height triggered by the [+high, +ATR] vowels i and u or by schwa (ə) in the stem. There are two nasal assimilation processes in Sekpelé: vowel nasalization, and homorganic nasal assimilation. There is an exceptional nasal assimilation which occurs between nasals and laterals. It is exceptional because the direction of assimilation is progressive, in contrast to regressive direction employed by other harmonising cases. This results in total assimilation from the lateral to nasal in a nasal-lateral environment.

32 N = nasal; C = consonant; V = vowel; L = lateral; and G = glide
Chapter four discusses the noun morphology of Sekpelé. Sekpelé has a 12 noun class and concord system. Count nouns consist of singular-plural pairs, while non-count nouns are unpaired. Non-count nouns include single unit entities, mass nouns, abstract nouns and derived nouns. Sekpelé also has two sets of agreement class systems – one for determiners (such as the definite article and demonstratives) and the other for the indefinite article, the numeral ‘one’ and pronouns. Each noun obligatorily selects an appropriate modifier from the two sets of agreement classes; these occur in agreement alliteratively. The class prefixes are portmanteau morphemes of class marker and number and are morphologically attached to roots and stems to form words. Stems in isolation are bound forms which require a prefix to be attached to them. Sekpelé does not show agreement in the predicate-argument domain. Modifier concord applies to noun specifiers such as the definite article, the indefinite article, and demonstratives: attributive adjectives and intensifiers do not show any agreement with the head noun. All modifiers, with the exception of the definite article, are capable of functioning as anaphors or referential pronouns and each modifier carries the appropriate noun class marker of the element it refers to. The third person pronouns also function as referential pronouns or anaphors. Abstract and mass nouns also show some form of agreement with their modifiers and anaphors, however each member of a class has its unique agreement forms, unlike count nouns where agreement forms attached to a noun class apply to all members of that class. Abstract and mass nouns are not marked by a prefix which expressed number like the count nouns, and therefore are grouped as a class on semantic basis. The expression of concord modifiers and anaphors is based on the structure of each noun, thus, specifier words or pronouns take a prefix that
corresponds to the first syllable of the head noun alliteratively. Finally, Sekpelé employs affixation, compounding and reduplication in its noun derivation processes.

Chapter five discusses the structure and types of noun phrases in Sekpele. This chapter is divided into four sections: (1) simple noun phrases; (2) complex noun phrases; (3) conjoined noun phrases and (4) adpositional phrases. A simple noun phrase in Sekpele is head-initial and consists of a nominal head and its modifiers following it, in the order qualifiers (adjectives), numerals, determiners and intensifiers. Adjectives do not show any agreement with the head noun. Sekpele has a decimal numeral system. Ordinal numbers in Sekpele are derived from cardinal numbers, with the exception of the forms for first and last. There are two derivational suffixes that are applied in the formation of ordinal numbers. The suffix -fə̀ is applied on the numbers ‘two’ and ‘three’ and wherever they occur, while the suffix -lè is used elsewhere. The number ‘one’ is distinct for all three number forms: nʊ̀ɛ́ for counting, (CM)-nì for cardinal, and tıtó for ordinal numbers. The counting form for eight and nine are yènì, nàsé respectively which are also distinct from the cardinals which are mfámflá and âwònǎmbo respectively. The cardinal number ‘one’ is the only number that agrees with the head noun and is prefixed with a class marker. The definite article, indefinite article, proximal demonstrative and the distal demonstrative are prefixed with a class marker in agreement with the noun. Sekpele has a four-way contrast for demonstratives: mfó, mfó, má, and ìsé. The first two are the default for proximal and distal respectively. The other two are used to express proximal entities within the vicinity of the participants, and entities in distal locations respectively. The latter two are mostly accompanied with gestures. The intensifiers in Sekpele include sàà ‘each, every, any’, àlèè ‘alone’, há ‘only’, kóŋ ‘really’, kplóŋ ‘alone, only’, kólá ‘only’, páá ‘really, very much’, tá ‘all’, tè ‘only’,
tètè ‘simply’, tsyá ‘too, also’, kéŋké ‘all, completely’ and pété ‘all, completely’. They have multi-functional properties since they function as modifiers in both NPs and VPs. They are made up of various semantic subgroups including quantification and focus. All noun modifiers with the exception of the definite article and intensifiers have pronoun forms that can function as the head of a noun phrase. These pronouns can also be modified. Complex noun phrases in Sekpele include genitive or possessive constructions and relative clauses. In Sekpele, the possessor precedes the possessed NP. There are two ways by which possessive NPs are represented. The NPs are either in juxtaposition to each other or have the possessive particle tò intervening between them. The choice between these two strategies is partly based on whether the possessor is nominal or pronominal. Nominal possession in most cases involves the possessive particle tò intervening between the possessor and the possessed NP, while pronominal possession involves juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed NP. Some NPs expressing kinship relations have both forms. Relative clauses are postnominal and employ relative pronouns which are portmanteaus of a determiner and a rising tone indicating relativity. Relative clauses may also employ a relativizer which is attached to the verb of the relative clause. Adpositional phrases in Sekpele consist of a preposition and a noun phrase as its complement. Sekpele has two prepositions: the locative ló and the comitative kú. The locative is used to express location while the comitative is used to express accompaniment and instrument. A noun phrase within an adpositional phrase can be a simple NP or a complex NP.

Chapter six discusses pronouns in Sekpele. Subject pronouns in Sekpele are attached to verbs while object pronouns are separate wordforms. Section 6.1 discusses personal pronouns which include emphatic pronouns, subject pronouns,
and object/oblique pronouns. Section 6.2 discusses possessive pronouns; section 6.3 discusses reflexive pronouns; section 6.4 discusses demonstrative pronouns; section 6.5 discusses relative pronouns; section 6.6 discusses interrogative pronouns; section 6.7 discusses indefinite pronouns; while section 6.8 discusses reciprocal pronouns. Most of the pronouns are similar in form but differ in tone. Emphatic pronouns occur in isolation and are used as subjects in focus constructions to show emphasis. They can occur in preverbal as well as postverbal position. Subject pronouns are bound to the verb root. They also vary depending on the tense-aspect-mood (TAM) they occur with and are also influenced by the vowel harmony, triggered by the first vowel of the verb. Object/oblique pronouns are similar to the set of emphatic pronouns but differ in tone in some of their components. They differ greatly from the subject pronouns in the sense that they are free word-forms. Possessive pronouns in Sekpele are distinguished by the fact that they all possess a high tone. They always precede the possessed constituent and either stand alone or are prefixed to the noun they possess as a proclitic. The interrogative pronouns in Sekpele include be ‘what’, owoe ‘who’, sieti ‘where’, ntsyə ‘how’, beso ‘why’, nte ‘which’, ngbo ‘where’, asia/esia ‘how much’ and kulemanfe ‘when’. Some of the interrogative pronouns stand alone in a clause while others occur in apposition to nouns and function as determiners, especially as demonstratives. Some pronouns are restricted to either clause-initial or clause-final position while others are versatile in terms of location within the sentence. Sekpele has an indefinite root morpheme tsyúə́ which is prefixed by class markers, the noun lèsá ‘thing’ or the lexical negative morpheme kò-. When the indefinite root is prefixed with classes 1 and 2, the resultant word is used for reference to animates with the meanings ‘somebody’ and ‘some people’ respectively. All other classes are used in reference to inanimates. There are three
ways by which reciprocation may be realised: the indefinite pronoun bə̀tsyúə́ occurs alone in a clause; the indefinite pronoun bə̀tsyúə́ co-occurs with the 3PL possessive pronouns; or the indefinite pronoun bə̀tsyúə́ co-occurs in apposition with the noun ə̀súə́ ‘body’. 

Chapter seven discusses the verb structure and valency. Section 7.1 discussed the structure of the Sekpelé verb. The language incorporates syntactic information into the verbal word, using a combination of affixation and tonal modification to encode distinctions in person/number, tense-aspect-mood, negation, and causation. A verbal word consists of a verb root plus as many as four prefixes and an optional suffix simultaneously. The verbal root is the stable core of the verb word and is obligatory. The pre-verbal domain includes slots for pre-initial, initial, post-initial, aspect and polarity, and the infinitive prefix ka- while the post-verbal domain includes verb extensions such as the causative, associative and stative. Section 7.2 discussed verbs and valency. This section was divided into two broad sections. Section 7.2.1 discussed the semantic classes of verbs and their valency. There are three classes that verbs fall into: (i) univalent (intransitive); (ii) divalent (transitive) and (iii) trivalent (ditransitive). Univalent verbs include voluntary motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs (verb-like adjectives) and achievement verbs. Divalent verbs include perception, cognition, speech act, creation, planting, harvesting, peeling, cutting and body grooming verbs. It also includes verbs of caused change of location and obligatory complement verbs. The number of trivalent verbs in Sekpelé are relatively few and they include tó ‘give’, tò ‘ask’, té ‘tell’, té ‘show/teach’, and tseyé ‘send’. The agent takes the subject role while the goal and the theme are the direct and indirect object respectively. The order of the goal and the theme is fixed and is irreversible. Section 7.2.2 discussed syntactic valency in
Sekpele which includes increasing, decreasing and argument adjusting operations. Valency increasing operations include causatives, comitative or associative, and possessor raising or external possession. The only valency decreasing operation in Sekpelé is object omission. The only argument adjustment operation in Sekpelé is inversion.

Chapter eight discusses tense, aspects, modality and negation in Sekpele. Tense, aspect and negation are directly or indirectly marked on the verb while modality is lexically indicated by verbs and adverb. Phasal aspects are also indicated by verbs. Section 8.1 discussed tense and aspect in Sekpele. Sekpelé distinguishes between past and non-past, perfective and imperfective, anterior and posterior. These distinctions are indicated by tones. Tenses (past and non-past) are marked on subject pronominals. A high tone on a subject pronoun indicates a past tense while a low tone indicates a non-past tense. Aspects (perfective, imperfective, anterior and posterior) on the other hand are attached to verbs. There is a tonal distinction of aspects. The perfective and imperfective morphemes are à- and á- respectively. The imperfective morpheme á- is used for habitual and prospective senses with different syntactic constructions. The habitual sense is used with all verbs in a normal construction while the prospective sense is used with the deictic verbs bə́ ‘come’ and sù ‘go’ in a periphrastic construction. The anterior and posterior morphemes are (b)ò- and (b)ó- respectively. When they occur with a subject pronominal, the consonant onset is omitted. The anterior sense applies to past events with current relevance. The posterior sense applies to events that are likely to occur in the future however relevant they are to the current state or circumstance. Section 8.1.1 discussed the past, perfective and the anterior. Section 8.1.2 discussed imperfective aspects which include the progressive and the habitual. Section 8.1.3 discussed the
two kinds of the future: the primary future and the prospective. Section 8.2 discussed the phasal aspects in Sekpele which include the ingressive/inceptive; progressive/continuative; egressive/completive; and the cessative/terminative. Section 8.3 discussed mood and modality in Sekpele. Topics discussed include agent-oriented modality; speaker-oriented modality; epistemic modality; and subordination. These mood and modalities are represented lexically especially by verbs. Section 8.4 discussed negation in Sekpele and the topics treated include the standard negation; non-standard negation; negation and quantification; and negation and focus. In Sekpele, the negative marker is represented by /n-/ and its homorganic variants which occur as a prefix to the verb root. The negative marker may be closer or further away from the verb root depending on the type of TAM it co-occurs with. In some situations, the negative clause may assume a double negation based on factors which include the type of TAM and PERSON especially the second person. The verb kpé has a suppletive negative form bs ‘exist’ which combines with the negative marker /n-/ in the clause or sentence to produce a negative existential construction.

Chapter nine discusses clause structures in Sekpele. These include the basic structure of various clause types: simple clause, predicate nominal, presentational, locative, and predicative possessive constructions. The basic clause in Sekpele consists of a verb which may have associated nominal elements performing the subject and object functions. The verb is preceded by the subject while the objects follow it, thus Sekpele is an SVO language. Predicate nominal clauses express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Sekpele employs a copula construction in the expression of both proper inclusion and equation. However, both proper inclusion and equative clauses differ in the way their constituents are ordered. A
predicate adjective clause is one in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. There are four classes of adjectives in Sekpele: (1) Verb-like Adjectives; (2) Noun-like Adjectives; (3) Ideophonic Adjectives; and (4) Derived Adjectives. Verb-like adjectives in Sekpele function as intransitive predicates. They take all the morphological processes and syntactic modifiers that apply to verbs when they function as intransitive predicates. Noun-like adjectives in Sekpele take some of the morphological processes that apply to nouns. They occur as copula complements to the existential or possessive verb *kpe* in predicate position. Ideophonic adjectives are a sub-group of ideophones. In predicate function, they occur as copula complements to the ‘do-verb’ *yifo* and the positional verb *to*. There are three derivational processes by which these derived adjectives can be attained. These processes are: (1) reduplication of verb-like adjectives; (2) derived noun-like adjectives; and (3) derivation by adjectival suffix. However, it is the latter two that can occur as predicate clauses. In Sekpele, a presentational construction consists of the deictic adverb or particle *na*, placed at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. The particle *na* performs a deictic function when it occurs with a noun phrase, just as a demonstrative does. It lays emphases on a proposition when it occurs in a clause-final position. An existential construction in Sekpele is composed of a locative/existential verb. There are two forms of the locative/existential verb: *kpe* ‘be.at, exist’ and *ke* ‘be.at:NPRES’. The former is used to express present existence while the latter is used for non-present existence. Sekpele has a set of 17 or more contrastive locative verbs that function in the basic locative construction. The locative verbs are subclassified into five semantic groups. The general topological verbs include the enclosure or containment verb *kpe* ‘be.in/exist’, contact and support verb, *tọkọ* ‘be.on’, coincidence verb, *tọ* ‘be.at’, and propinquity or proximity
verbs, *ff* and *kpfɔ́* ‘be.near’. The postural verbs include *sɪ* ‘sit’, *nyá* ‘stand’, *lábɛ́* ‘lie’, *fàkà* ‘hang’, *yómɔ́* ‘hang’ and *kpɔ́sɔ́* ‘lean’. The distributed configuration verbs include *tf* ‘cover’ and *kpɔ́* ‘be spread, heaped’. The adhesive verbs include *má* ‘be fixed’ and *mánklà* ‘be stuck to’. The locomotive verbs include *tsi* ‘go towards’ and *tsyi* ‘come from’, however the verb *tsyi* has not been discussed in this chapter because of its distinctiveness from the rest of the verbs. It is the only verb that takes TAM in this list. Sekpele has a set of verbs that are used in predicate possessive constructions. They are *kpes* ‘have, exist’, *lé* ‘hold’, *tɔ́* ‘be.at’, *nyá* ‘see, find’ and *tsyi* ‘carry’. The verb *kpes* ‘have, exist’ can undergo Figure-Ground reversal such that the roles of the possessor and the possessee can be switched. The possessor in subject position is said to a HAVE-construction, while a possessee in subject position is a BELONG-construction. The other verbs restrict the possessor or the possessee to subject function. There are two main strategies for expressing lack: (1) negating the predicate with the negative marker *n*-; or (2) using the negative existential verb *mbɛ́*. These strategies are also used to express lack in existential and locative constructions. Another means of expressing lack is the use of the verb *hía* ‘need’. The fact that one is in need of an entity presupposes that one is not in possession of such an entity. The non-stative existential verb *kè* is used to express past, habitual and future speculation of possession.

Chapter ten discusses clause combinations and complex constructions in Sekpele. Topics include multi-verb constructions, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and coordination. Sekpele distinguishes between three types of multi-verb clauses: (1) serial verb constructions, (2) overlapping clauses, and (3) consecutive constructions. Serial verb constructions involve a sequence of verbs which function as a single predicate: they are mono-clausal. Overlapping clauses are
bi-clausal constructions with switch-function such that the object of the first clause is the subject of the second clause. Consecutive constructions on the other hand are multi-clausal constructions whose components represent related states of affairs which may be successive, simultaneous or alternating in time. Complement clauses are clauses which function as core arguments of the main clause they occur in. Sekpele employs nominalization for subject and complementation for object. Complement clauses in Sekpele are introduced by the complementizer ńkə̀ ‘COMP’ which is often prefixed with a pronominal which is co-referential to the subject of the main clause. Each complementizer word has its correspondent clipped form which is mostly used in colloquial speech. Complement clauses are used in relation to verbs of utterance, perception, cognition, manipulation, desideration and modality. Adverbial clauses are those that serve an adverbial function of time, location, manner, purpose, reason, circumstance, simultaneity, condition, concession, substitution, addition, and absolute. Adverbial clauses in Sekpele discussed in this chapter include temporal clauses, locative clauses, manner clauses, purpose clauses, reason clauses, simultaneous clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses and sequential clauses. Relative clauses in Sekpele are postnominal and require a relative pronoun and possibly also a relativizer, depending on whether the subject of the relative clause is a noun or a pronominal. The relativizer is attached to the verb if the subject of the clause is a noun, and it is absent if the subject is a pronominal. The rationale is that since the pronominal and relativizer share the same slot and in this case the slot is being occupied by the pronominal, there is no other slot to be filled by the relativizer. The relativizer is also used in other constructions such as content questions, focus and emphatic constructions. All positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy can be relativized. In terms of grammatical function
recovery, Sekpele employs a gap strategy across all elements on the Accessibility Hierarchy. The types of coordination in Sekpele include conjunction, disjunction and adversative coordination. Sekpele employs the comitative particle kú for NP conjunction and the particles nyá and éyé for event conjunction. In contrast to conjunction, Sekpele employs the particle léé for both NP disjunction and event disjunction. Unlike conjunction and disjunction, no native particle has been identified for adversative coordination. The particles employed in this function are gàké and vɔ̀ which are loanwords from Ewe. It is possible that Sekpele may have an indigenous means of expressing semantic contrast between two syntactic elements but it has not been identified in this work.

11.2 Contribution to linguistic description

This thesis is the third major descriptive grammar of a GTM language after Dorvlo (2008) on Ikpana (Logba) and Bobuafor (2013) on Tɪgbɔ (Tafi). There is also a documentation project on Tutrugbu (Nyagbo) led by James Essegbey. This thesis has provided historic accounts which may aid the reclassification of the language group. I have also argued for the consideration of indigenous knowledge in this regard.

Another contribution of this thesis is its approach to language documentation and description. This work has employed recordings from spontaneous activities in addition to elicited data. This was necessary due to the fact that elicited data may not fully capture how the language is spoken and used by a community. Limitations of elicited data include rigidity and the possibility that a consultant may give a word-for-word back translation which may not be a reflection of the actual use of the language. Therefore it is necessary for a descriptive work such as this thesis to include spontaneous data in addition to elicited and stimuli induced data.
The presentation of data in this work is such that each phenomenon discussed is supported with a minimum of two and a maximum of four examples. Most descriptive works fall short in terms of providing supporting data. Data is supposed to give evidence that a phenomenon discussed actually exists in a described language and needs to be adequate. This approach was adopted to challenge the representation of data in descriptive works and to advocate for ‘data-based’ work.

Another contribution of this work is the approach to sounds in the language especially the vowel inventory. This work provides an in-depth analysis supporting a 10 vowel system which had previously been analysed as an 8 vowel system. Supporting evidence was drawn from the vowel harmony system in Sekpele. Another challenge posed in this work is the issue of natural classes of sounds. The sounds [i], [u] and [ə] trigger height harmony although they do not form a natural class. This poses some questions about natural classes. Are natural classes universal? Do these phenomena occur in other languages of the world? Should issues of natural classes be approached on a language specific basis?

Typological contributions of this work include the analysis of the noun class system, noun phrase structure, pronouns, verb structure, clause structure and complex constructions. This work also provides a semantic classification of verbs. Nevertheless, there are more topics in the language that may contribute to linguistics as a whole. These topics have been suggested as potential area for further study in the following section.

11.3 Areas for further research

The entire Ghana-Togo mountain (GTM) language group needs attention in terms of documentation and description. There are 14 languages in the group, however, this
work is only the third comprehensive grammar. Typological comparative studies in most aspects of linguistics are also needed for the group. Genetic classification has been an issue and is still under discussion and further work in this area is plausible.

Although this thesis aims to provide a comprehensive descriptive grammar of the main areas of morph-syntax, it is just a scratch on the surface. There are topics within and outside this work that need further detailed study. A sociolinguistic study of the Likpe people is necessary. This includes the use of the language in daily activities, for rites and ceremonies such as marriage, funerals, public meetings and festivities. Most of the traditional sociocultural practices are dying out and being replaced by new religious customs, especially Christianity. For instance, the Likpe people traditionally employ a six day calendar for rites and ceremonies. However, nobody remembers the names of the days of the week, except the terms lɛ̀bɔ̀ ‘good day’ and lèbláyi ‘bad day’. Lèbɔ̀ is a day for performing ceremonies such as marriages, mentorship and visiting the ancestral stool room. It is believed that lɛ̀bɔ̀ is a day of good fortune such that ceremonies performed on this day flourish or prosper. These days, it is not mandatory. A person or group may decide to ‘buy a day’ where rites are performed to replace lɛ̀bɔ̀ with an ordinary day to perform their ceremonies. Lèbláyi, on the other hand, is a taboo day when people refrained from work, especially on their farms. However, this day is not adhered to in the modern setting.

Another area of potential interest is ritual language and poetry. Ritual languages have their unique vocabulary that can often be linked to an ancient form of the language. I had the opportunity to document the ritual language used for marriage and funerals. There is a wealth of other repertoires of ritual language. I also had the opportunity to document some folktales and riddles, however these are just a few of
the rich cultural store maintained by current older speakers. There are repertoires of various stories that the elderly have which are not being passed down to the younger generation.

Another area of potential interest is anthropological and ethnobotanical studies. I had the opportunity to document the process of palmwine production. Likpe is a palmwine culture due to the fact that all rites and ceremonies require the use of palmwine. I was amazed at the wealth of vocabulary I recorded for the instruments used in tapping palmwine and the parts of the palm tree. These vocabularies are used in this context or in reference to it. Similarly rich vocabularies surely exist in other culturally and socially significant domains that are yet to be properly explored.

Another area of study is discourse analysis and information structure. This may include strategies for introducing a new referent, tracking of information, reintroduction of reference, and methods for turn-taking and other conventional structures in Sekpele. Focus constructions are an area for future detailed study.

Routine expressions are another area that needs detailed study. This includes social encounters and their act sequences, greetings, gratitude expressions, expressing congratulations, sympathy, farewell, disclaimers and expressions addressed to people at work. They are likely to have their own unique grammar and pragmatic implicatures. For instance, the elaborate greeting system of Sekpele is based on EXISTENCE and WELLBEING. The morning greeting is ə́sìə̀ which is an exclamation of existence. The addressee responds with ə́sìə̀ òó, a counter expression of existence. Then the addressee continues with ə́lábèè, enquiring whether the addressee slept well. The addressee responds with a counter expression ə́lábè kpóò. Then the addressee continues with ákpé âléé, enquiring about the wellbeing of the addressee who follows it with a counter response. The greeting routine ends and a
conversation follows thereafter. The afternoon and evening greetings begin with the expression *śiò* which is a wish for the existence for both parties. The response may be *wàà kàtè ḏo* ‘lit: Yeah, how is it?’ especially during the afternoon. The welcoming expression for people arriving from a journey or from work is *ɔ̀fɔ̀*. The word *ɔ̀fɔ̀* is homonymic to the word *ɔ̀fɔ̀* ‘stranger/sojourner’. On this note I end with the gratitude expression:

\[
\text{maaśo } \quad \text{mi } \quad \text{ańi} \\
\text{mà } = \quad \text{á- } \quad \text{só } \quad \text{ mí } \quad \text{ a- } \quad *nī \\
\text{1SG.NOM = PROSP hit 2PL.ACC NCL8 arm} \\
\text{‘I thank you’ lit: I wish to hit you in the hand/palm}
\]
BIBLIOGRAPHY


International.


## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1: Cognates in Sekpele and Sele

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Cognates in Sekpele and Sele adapted from (Mensah-Edzesi, 2004)
Appendix 2: 2007 Education Policy of Ghana

The key points of the new education system include; (1) Universal Basic Education shall now be 11 years, made up of: 2 years of Kindergarten, 6 years of Primary School, 3 years of Junior High School (JHS); (2) The medium of instruction in Kindergarten and Lower Primary will be a Ghanaian language and English; (3) At the basic level, emphasis shall be on Literacy, Numeracy, Creative Arts and Problem Solving Skills; (4) After JHS, students may choose to go into different streams at Senior High School (SHS), comprising General Education and Technical, Vocational and Agricultural and Training (TVET) or enter into an apprenticeship scheme with some support from the Government; (5) A new 4-year SHS will offer General Education with electives in General, Business, Technical, Vocational and Agriculture options for entry into a tertiary institution or the job market; (6) Technical, Vocational and Agricultural Institutions will offer 4-year courses including the core SHS subjects; (7) Teacher Training Colleges will be upgraded and conditions of service of teachers improved, with special incentives for teachers in rural areas; 8. Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) shall be responsible for the infrastructure, supervision and monitoring of Basic and Senior High Schools; (9) A new National Inspectorate Board (NIB) outside the Ghana Education Service (GES) but under the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports (MOESS) shall be responsible for periodic inspection of Basic and Secondary Schools to ensure quality education; 10. Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) and cost-sharing at the Senior High and tertiary levels shall be maintained; (11) Educational services will be widened to include Library and Information, Guidance and Counselling and Distance Education; (12) The private sector will be encouraged to increase its participation in the provision of educational services; (13) Greater emphasis will be put on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and Science and Technology; (14) Special Needs Education will be improved at all levels. (http://www.ghanagov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=331: ministry-of-education&catid=74:ministries&Itemid=224) accessed 2011-12-28
Appendix 333: Semantic types and syntactic functions of adjectives in Sekpele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic type</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>kplè (I), kpétékpetè (I)</td>
<td>mò (V), ákplè (DN)</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kèkè (I), kêmìnì (I)</td>
<td>fè (V), ákèkè (DN)</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kèntsyeñklè (I)</td>
<td>kùlé (V)</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kèntsyeñklè (I)</td>
<td>tàkà (V)</td>
<td>tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìnkplë (I), kìtkpò (I)</td>
<td>tìnkplì (I), kìtkpò (I)</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sǎnsò (V), sǎnsànsànsò (RDV)</td>
<td>sǎnsò (V)</td>
<td>wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tìso (V), tsìontsyò (RDV)</td>
<td>tsìö (V)</td>
<td>deep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tèntlè (I)</td>
<td>tèntlè (I)</td>
<td>shallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>fòfo (I)</td>
<td>àfòfo (DN)</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kòkò (I)</td>
<td>àkòkò (DN)</td>
<td>old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bëmbë (RDV)</td>
<td>bë (V)</td>
<td>old (growth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>sè (I)</td>
<td>lékè (V), ñsè (DN)</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bùà (DAdj)</td>
<td>bù (V), ñbùà (DN)</td>
<td>rotten/bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kònò (N)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hià (V)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bìmì (I)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>useless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>nàà (DAdj)</td>
<td>nà (V), ànàà (DN)</td>
<td>dark (black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sìà (DAdj)</td>
<td>sè (V), àsìà (DN)</td>
<td>fair (red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>flùbìà (DAdj)</td>
<td>flùbì (V), àflùbìà (DN)</td>
<td>bright (white)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 Abreviation used in the appendix: I = Ideophonic adjective; V = Verb-like adjective; N = Noun-like adjective; DN = Derived Noun; RDV = Reduplicated Verb; DAdj = Derived adjective (from verb); PV = Phrasal Verb.
| Physical property | kùà (I) | àkùà (DN) | fresh (green) |
| | | ñkusèleñùbí (DN) | chicken fat (yellow) |
| | àlé (N) | hard/strong |
| yùòyùò (RDV) | yùò (V) | soft/cold |
| | kàlèndè (N) | heavy |
| fómfló (I) | fómfló (I) | light |
| békébéké (I), félélélé (I) | thin |
| kwékwé (RDV) | kwé (V) | dry |
| bùbù (RDV) | bù (V) | wet/rotten |
| | yàlà (V) fò ùtè (PV) | hot |
| mínímíní (I) | kàmíní (N) | sweet |
| | kàlò (N) | bitter |
| ká tákátá (I), ká tá (I) | sour |
| lómé (I) | òlòmé (N) | citrus (sour) |
| Speed | mámíló (I) | fast/quick |
| | bùè | slow |
| Human propensity | kùtsyùbsé (N) | jealous |
| | disùsyùù (DN) | happy |
| | kàfóökô (DN), lèfonó (N) | kind/generous |
| | disíkpaŋpá (DN) | clever |
| | disíalé (DN) | cruel |
| | disùòtè (DN) | proud |
| | kofani (N) | ashame |
| | áyò (N), òfòtò (N) | eager |
| Difficulty | yùò (V) | easy/simple |
| | àlé (N) | difficult/tough |
| | bámbó (I) | hard/loud |
| Similarity | lè (V) | like/similar |
Semantic types and syntactic functions of adjectives in Sekpele

Appendix 4: Numeral system of Sekpele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Counting numbers</th>
<th>Cardinal numbers</th>
<th>Ordinal numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nùé (lèwé)</td>
<td>lɔ̀nɪ́, ɔ̀nɪ́, kɔ̀nɪ́, sɔ̀nɪ́, kànɪ́, ànɪ́, bànɪ́</td>
<td>tûtɔ́, dítùtɔ́, litùtɔ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>núɔ́</td>
<td>ìnúɔ́</td>
<td>ìnúɔ́-fɔ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ìtsyʊ́</td>
<td>ìtsyʊ́</td>
<td>ìtsyʊ́-fɔ́</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ìnà</td>
<td>énà</td>
<td>énà-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ènú</td>
<td>ènú</td>
<td>ènú-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>èkùá</td>
<td>èkùá/èkùá</td>
<td>èkùá-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>èkùánsè</td>
<td>èkùánsè-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mfnámflá</td>
<td>mfnámflá-lè</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>èkùánsè</td>
<td>èkùánsè</td>
<td>èkùánsè-lè</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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<td>lèfòsì</td>
<td>lèfòsì-lè</td>
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<td>lèfòsì-lèwé</td>
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<td>lèfòsì-èntsya-fô</td>
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<td>lèfòsì-ènwùémbò</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-lèwé</td>
<td>afòsì-ènnù-lèwé</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnúá</td>
<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnúá-fô</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-èntsya-fô</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnà</td>
<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnà-lè</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnù</td>
<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènnù-lè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènkùá</td>
<td>afòsì-ènnù-ènkùá-lè</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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44 Some dialects use àwòsì
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numeral System</th>
<th>Numeral System</th>
<th>Numeral System</th>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-àkùánsè</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-àkùánsè</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-àkùánsè-̀nè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹfàmflá</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹfàmflá</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹfàmflá-̀nè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹwɔ̀nùmbò</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹwɔ̀nùmbò</td>
<td>áfɔsì-ǹnùd-ǹwɔ̀nùmbò-̀nè</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>áfɔsì-átsyó</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>áfɔsì-á-anà</td>
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<td>áfɔsì-ánù-̀nè</td>
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<td>áfɔsì-àwɔ̀nùmbò</td>
<td>áfɔsì-àwɔ̀nùmbò-̀nè</td>
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<td>kòlòfā-̀nè</td>
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<td>̀lòfā-ǹnùd</td>
<td>̀lòfā-ǹnùd-̀nè</td>
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<td>kɔ̀kpí-̀nè</td>
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<td>̀kpí-lèfɔsì</td>
<td>̀kpí-lèfɔsì-̀nè</td>
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<td>1 million</td>
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<td>kòmè</td>
<td>kòmè-̀nè</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 million</td>
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<td>àmè-ǹnùd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 billion</td>
<td>àmè-àmè</td>
<td>àmè-àmè</td>
<td>àmè-àmè-̀nè</td>
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<td>Last</td>
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**Numeral system of Sekpele**

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**Appendix 5: Inherent complement verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb phrase</th>
<th>Verb meaning</th>
<th>Noun meaning</th>
<th>Combined meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bè kátó</td>
<td>bè ‘climb’</td>
<td>kátó ‘up’</td>
<td>increase/rise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bè létsyá</td>
<td>bè ‘climb’</td>
<td>létsyá ‘roof’</td>
<td>announce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔ̀ kásɔ̀</td>
<td>bɔ̀ ‘come’</td>
<td>kásɔ̀ ‘down’</td>
<td>decrease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bókó kásɔ̀</td>
<td>bókó ‘bring’</td>
<td>kásɔ̀ ‘down’</td>
<td>lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bú dísì</td>
<td>bú ‘wet’</td>
<td>dísì ‘head’</td>
<td>think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dí ètìkí</td>
<td>dí ‘eat’</td>
<td>ètìkí ‘words’</td>
<td>speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɔ̀ dìkùbí</td>
<td>fɔ̀ ‘blow’</td>
<td>dìkùbí ‘horn’</td>
<td>blow horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɔ̀ òfìmì</td>
<td>fɔ̀ ‘blow’</td>
<td>òfìmì ‘whistle’</td>
<td>whistle with lips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɔ̀ kàyó</td>
<td>fɔ̀ ‘weed’</td>
<td>kàyó ‘debt’</td>
<td>pay (debt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɔ̀ ûtò</td>
<td>fɔ̀ ‘receive’</td>
<td>ûtò ‘fire’</td>
<td>get hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásè àsá</td>
<td>kásè ‘study’</td>
<td>àsá ‘thing’</td>
<td>learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásɔ̀ ðkò</td>
<td>kásɔ̀ ‘sound’</td>
<td>ðkò ‘cough’</td>
<td>cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé àffì</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>àffì ‘tickle’</td>
<td>tickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé kέnì</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>kέnì ‘dirt’</td>
<td>poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé sìkőpí</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>sìkőpí ‘fright’</td>
<td>threaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé sìkőpí</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>sìkőpí ‘fright’</td>
<td>be ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé sèbùá</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>sèbùá ‘evil’</td>
<td>wicked/be ugly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpé ðufìèbí</td>
<td>kpé ‘put’</td>
<td>ðufìèbí ‘air’</td>
<td>inflate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>là ètìkí</td>
<td>là ‘cut’</td>
<td>ètìkí ‘words’</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè ûtí</td>
<td>lè ‘bring forth’</td>
<td>ûtí ‘child’</td>
<td>give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè kòlé</td>
<td>lè ‘hold’</td>
<td>kòlé ‘advice’</td>
<td>advise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòkò kásɔ̀</td>
<td>lòkò ‘remove/reveal’</td>
<td>kásɔ̀ ‘down’</td>
<td>explain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòkò ètìkí</td>
<td>lòkò ‘remove/reveal’</td>
<td>ètìkí ‘words’</td>
<td>discuss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò sìmò</td>
<td>mò ‘laugh’</td>
<td>sìmò ‘laughter’</td>
<td>smile/laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò dísì</td>
<td>mò ‘plait’</td>
<td>dísì ‘head’</td>
<td>plait hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nì ètìkí</td>
<td>nì ‘refuse’</td>
<td>ètìkí ‘words’</td>
<td>deny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè àkònkí</td>
<td>sè ‘plant’</td>
<td>àkònkí ‘knee’</td>
<td>kneel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò kùsò</td>
<td>sò ‘sing’</td>
<td>kùsò ‘song’</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò kèkú</td>
<td>sò ‘sing’</td>
<td>kèkú ‘cry’</td>
<td>sing dirges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò ðúkú</td>
<td>sò ‘sing’</td>
<td>ðúkú ‘story’</td>
<td>tell story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sì kàyó</td>
<td>sì ‘exist’</td>
<td>kàyó ‘debt’</td>
<td>owe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìò ðòlá</td>
<td>sìò ‘exist’</td>
<td>ðòlá ‘dream’</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìè ðùbì</td>
<td>sìè ‘excrete’</td>
<td>ðùbì ‘faeces’</td>
<td>fart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò ðùbì</td>
<td>sò ‘hit’</td>
<td>ðùbì ‘faeces’</td>
<td>fart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sò ðùnì</td>
<td>sò ‘hit’</td>
<td>ðùnì ‘hand’</td>
<td>thank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà ðsúùò</td>
<td>tà ‘forget’</td>
<td>ðsúùò ‘body’</td>
<td>forget</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6: Sekpele Texts

This appendix contains four selected texts, collected and analysed with the software tool FLEx. These texts were selected due to the fact that they with cultural topics that are now relatively endangered. The first two consist of narratives: ñbèkè (mode of punishment) and mentorship. The last two are examples of procedural discourse, in this instance, involving the making of spices and soap. The mode of punishment text deals with the practice whereby offenders are put in a cage and paraded through the streets. This practice has been outlawed due to dignity and human rights issues. Mentorship is still being practised but it is rare. The use of homemade spices has been relegated to a select few individuals due to the widespread use of commercial spices. Indigenous soap is still in production due to the abundance of cocoa pod, its main raw material. However it is also now competing with industrialised and
commercialised soaps. The pseudo names of the participants in the discourse have been used.

i) Ṣèbẹ̀-Mode of Punishment

File name: 20130127-001_Punishment

This narrative was given by Michael Asamoah (Akompi) and Gerald Ansah Kunutse (Konko) on 27\textsuperscript{th} January 2013. It gives an account of the mode of punishment which existed before the current judicial system.

Akompi:

1.1 manle futsyuə to kasɔ
n- à- n- lé f= ûtsyûò tò kàsò
NEG PFV NEG hold 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land
afo
à = fò
2SG.NOM receive
‘Don’t seize somebody’s land’

1.2 ɛ̃hɛ̃ɛ̃ futsyuə to kasɔ esu ale
ɛ̃hɛ̃ɛ̃ f= ûtsyûò tò kàsò à = sù à = lé
surely 2SG.POSS = somebody POSS land 2SG.NOM go 2SG.NOM hold
ke afo
ké à = fò
CL9.ACC 2SG.NOM receive
‘Surely somebody’s land, you go and seize’

1.3 be nyamfo kenke ëëë bibla lisu bë , əbunyo ?
bè nyàmfo këŋkë ëëë biblâ lè = sù bò á = bò- nyà
see this all before bible REL = go come 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
‘See all these before the bible came, have you seen?’
1.4 lə eyu bakpe fo lə obeke.
lə á = yù bà = kpé fо lə bbèkè
if 2SG.NOM.PST steal 3PL.NOM = put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
‘If you steal, they put you in a cage’

1.5 ëhëë bakpe fo lə obeke.
ëhëë bà = kpé fо lə bbèkè
surely 3PL.NOM = put 2SG.ACC LOC cage
‘Surely they put you in a cage’

1.6 balɛ fo mbusuo bomfо
bà = lé fо n- *bàsùùò bó- mfó
3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NCL10 abomination CL10 that
bulëko.
bó- làkà
NMLZ remove
‘They are cleansing you of those abominations’

1.7 nyamfo kenke fe beyi nya feëe govmenti to seli
nyàmfо kéŋké fе bà = yi nyá feëe gòvimëntì tò sèli
this all like 3PL.NOM = know 3SG.ACC before government POSS cell
tsya lisu ba banle betidi kesu
tsyà lè = sù bó bà = n- lé bà- *tídi kà- sù
too REL = go come 3PL.NOM = EMPH hold NCL2 person INF go
kakpe lə diyo.
kà- kpé lə lè- *yó
INF put LOC NCL5 house
‘All these they knew before the inception of government's police cells’

1.8 miə obunye?
mið á = bó- nỳð
1SG.COMP 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
‘Have you seen what I say?’
1.9 əbunye  kase  Onanto  lete  bakoko

á= bō- nyō  kāsē  ōnāntō  lē= tē  bā- *kōkō

2SG.NOM.PST  ANT  see  how  Almighty  God  REL= show  NCL2  ancient
asa  ?

à- *sā

CL6  thing

‘Have you seen how God revealed things to the ancestors?’

1.10 bā  to  aye  bobā  nsi  mfo  kola

bā  tō  ā- *yē  bōbā  n= sī  mōfō  kōlā

3PL.REL.PRO  POSS  NCL6  name  1PL.REL.PRO  REL= dwell  here  even
lenyi  Onanto  ate  mō  asa

lē= n- yī  ōnāntō  ā- tē  mō  ā- *sā

REL= NEG  know  Almighty  God  PFV  show  3PL.ACC  CL6  thing
əmfō

ā- mōfō

CL6  that

‘Those whose name those of us sitting even do not know, God has revealed those things to’

1.11 ə eyu  la  ,  ele  bāo

lā  á= yū  lā  ē= lē  bāô

if  2SG.NOM.PST  steal  TOP  3SG.NOM.PST= resemble  3PL.COMP
bakpe  fō  lō  əbeke

bā= kpē  fō  lō  əbēkē

3PL.NOM=  put  2SG.ACC  LOC  cage

‘If you steal, it is necessary that they put you in a cage’

Cephas (Researcher):

2 be  nì  əbeke  ?

bē  nī  əbēkē

what  be  cage

‘What is ‘əbeke’?’

Akompi and Konko, speaking Ewe:

3 [ ekele  ,  wafo  ekele  ,  abaya  ,  debaya  ,  akō  abe  ...  adza  ,  adza ekuna amen].
Akompi:

4.1 **nya buuyifo bakpo lë òbeke**

```
nyá bò = ó- yífó bà = kpó lò ò- *bèkè
3SG.PN 3PL.NOM= FUT do 3PL.NOM= pour LOC NCL3 cage

ómo .
á- mó

CL3 the
```

‘That is what they will put in the cage’

4.2 **nya alebe òbeke òmo [ is like this ]**

```
nyá álébé ò- *bèkè á- mó
then however NCL3 cage CL3 the

yaamó mò .
yà = á- mó mó

3SG.NOM= HAB become big like this
‘Then however the cage is like this; it is usually as big as this’ **English codemixing**
```

4.3 **nya buuyifo nya** .

```
nyá bò = ó- yífó nyá
then 3PL.NOM= FUT do 3SG.ACC
‘Then they will do it’
```

4.4 **alebe lë alabe lë , bòmùa sekabe**

```
álébé lò á = lábè lá bà = múó sèkábè
however if 2SG.NOM.PST lie TOP 3PL.NOM= catch palm leaf

batsyasè kema efe akpe nya .
bà= tsyá -sò kèmá èfè à = kpé nyá

3PL.NOM= tie up CAUS then now 2SG.NOM exist 3SG.ACC
‘However if you lie in it, then they tie up the palm leaves then you are already in it’
```

Konko:

5.1 **bafonfôna kpe loo** .
bàfonfôné kpé lóó
itchy leaves exist UFP
‘There are itchy leaves’
5.2 *buulakə*  \( \text{fə} \)  \( \text{dziměkpo} \) .
\( \text{bò} = \text{ó} - \text{lỳkò} \ \text{fò} \)  \( \text{dzimèkpò} \)
3PL.NOM = FUT remove 2SG.ACC bare-chested

‘They undress you bare-chested’

5.3 *nya falabe*  \( \text{nya bookle} \)  \( \text{nya} \)
\( \text{nyá} \)  \( \text{fà} = \)  \( \text{lài} \text{bè nyá} \)  \( \text{bò} = \)  \( \text{ó} - \)  \( \text{klé} \text{nyá} \)
then 2SG.NOM = lie then 3PL.NOM = FUT tie then

*boota*  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{betsyi} \) .
\( \text{bò} = \)  \( \text{ó} - \)  \( \text{tá} \)  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{tsyì} \)
3PL.NOM = FUT shoot 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = carry

‘While you lie in it they will wrap and carry you’

*Akompi:*

6 *nya bale*  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{boyele} \) .
\( \text{nyá} \)  \( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{lé} \)  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{bò}- \text{yèlè} \)
then 3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot

‘Then they are hooting at you’

*Konko:*

7 *lo etsyi*  \( \text{kalekuɔɔ} \)  \( \text{lo betsyi} \)
\( \text{ló} \)  \( \text{á} = \)  \( \text{tsyì} \)  \( \text{kàlì} \)  \( \text{*kùò} = \)  \( \text{lò} \)  \( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{tsyì} \)
if 2SG.NOM.PST come from area south =TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST = carry
\( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{mfòö} \)  \( \text{befí} \)  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{besú} \)
\( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{mfò} = \)  \( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{fí} \)  \( \text{fò} \)  \( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{sù} \)
2SG.ACC there =TOP 3PL.NOM = take 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = go

*betsya*  \( \text{lò} \)  \( \text{kalekato} \)  \( \text{to} \)  \( \text{kabanto} \)  \( \text{nse} \)  \( \text{keŋ} \).
\( \text{bà} = \)  \( \text{tsyò} \)  \( \text{lò} \)  \( \text{kálëkàtò} \)  \( \text{tò} \)  \( \text{kàbàntò} \)  \( \text{ǹsé} \)  \( \text{kèŋ} \)
3PL.NOM = put LOC north area POSS outskirt there far

‘From the south, if they carry you from there, they will place you at the furthermost outskirts of the north’
Akompi:

8.1 kabanto nse keŋ la Lokɔsi.

dúmbúta ŋnɛ̄ keŋ lɔ Lɒkɔsɪ

outskirt there far LOC Lokɔsi

‘Furthermost outskirts at Lokɔsi’

8.2 mfó keŋ buusu bɛtyɛ fɔ nɔ.

mɛ́ fɔ keŋ bɔ = ó- sù bɔ = tɔyɔ fɔ nɔ

there far 3PL.NOM = FUT go 3PL.NOM = put 2SG.ACC really

‘That far they will go and place you really’

Konko:

9.1 nya booyani fɔ balabese mfó.

nyá bɔ = ó- yənǐ fɔ bɛ = lɛbɛ -sɔ mfó

then 3PL.NOM = FUT abandon 2SG.ACC 3PL.NOM = lie CAUS there

‘Then they will abandon you to lie there’

9.2 batee mə luubə yɪmɪ obeke.

bə *tɛ = mɔ lɔ = ó- bɔ yɪmɪ ó- *bɛkɛ

NCL2 goat =TOP 3PL.PN REL = FUT come chew NCL3 cage

əmɔ sɪ fɛ fɔo.á- mɔ sɪ fɛ fɔ = ó- bɔ

CL3 the for a while before 2SG.NOM = FUT get out

‘It is goats which will come and chew the cage for a while before you will be free’

Akompi:

10.1 əmbə kekua kã bofo.

ã = n- bɔ kã *kʊd kã bɔ- fɔ

2SG.NOM NEG come NCL4 rope CL4.DEF NMLZ be able

boyankli.

bɔ- yãŋkli

NMLZ untie

‘You will not be able to untie the ropes’
Cephas Delalorm

10.2 əmbə bofo boyankli lə
à = n- bó bó- fó bó- yánklî ló
2SG.NOM NEG come NMLZ be able NMLZ untie HORT

abo
à = bó
2SG.NOM get out
‘You will not be able to untie and escape’

Cephas:
11 eso lə beyifo fa nko,
ésò ló bá = yífó fə ànkó therefore if 3PL.NOM.PST = make 2SG.ACC like that
ebofo butsyə ... siə mfó [ seven day ] lə
à = bó- fó bó- tsyə sfá ìnfó ló 2SG.NOM FUT be able NMLZ stay sit there if
ote məmbə yìmí ko ...
ò- *tê n- à- n- bó yímì kò
NCL1 goat NEG PFV NEG come chew then
‘So if they do that to you, will you be there for seven days if a goat then does not come and chew...?’

Konko:
12 nya betidi luunya fa kaminsə bàbə
nyá bà- *tìdì lò = ó- nyò fò kàmìnsə bà = bó then NCL2 person REL = FUT see 2SG.ACC mercy 3PL.NOM = come
yankli fə .
yánklî fə untie 2SG.ACC
‘Then people will have mercy on you to untie you’
Akompi:

13.1 nyà  fô  baymî  leè  fô  bax35
nyá  fô  bà-  *yìmî  leè  fô  bà-  *xô  =
then  2SG.POSS  NCL2  sibling  or  2SG.POSS  NCL2  friend  =TOP
mômô  luusu  baye  heè  bôbô
mômô  lô=  ó-  sù  bà=  yê  hêè  bà=  bó
3PL.PN  REL=  FUT  go  3PL.NOM=  walk  craftily  3PL.NOM=  come
bayankli  fô  .
bà=  yánklî  fô
3PL.NOM=  untie  2SG.ACC
‘Then your siblings or friends, they will walk craftily to untie you’

Cephas

13.2 bate  oô  yankli  fô  .
bà-  *tê  à-  bó  yánklî  fô
NCL2  goat  PFV  come  untie  2SG.ACC
‘Goats have come to untie you’

Konko:

14.1 êhêè  ,  la  bate  oô  bôô  baaymî  la
êhêè  lô  bà-  *tê  à-  bó  bà=  á-  yìmî  lô
surely  if  NCL2  goat  PFV  come  3PL.COMP  3PL.NOM=  PROSP  chew  if
etînê  oôu  la  ,  bootsyêsyi
á=  tînkâ  ësùô  lâ  bô=  ó-  tsyêsyî
2SG.NOM.PST  shake  body  TOP  3PL.NOM=  FUT  run
‘Surely, if goats come close to chew and you shake your body, they will run away’

14.2 itô  eso  lefe  nômfô  la  ,  kuyu
é=  tô  ësô  lé-  *fê  nô-  mfô  lâ  kûyû
3SG.NOM.PST=  allow  therefore  NCL5  time  CL5  that  TOP  theft
mamô
n-  à-  n-  bô
NEG  PFV  NEG  become  widespread
‘For that reason, during that period, stealing was not widespread’
Akompì:

15 kuyu mambo

kúyù n- à- n- bò
theft NEG PFV NEG become widespread
‘Stealing was not widespread’

Konko:

16.1 nya momo mfo, lo fenka momo se … lo boo [ police station ]
nyá mòmò mfo ló fënkà mòmò sé ló bó
then now here if assuming now when if 3PL.COMP
lëntò Bala mfo momo, lo esu
là = n- tó Bálà mfo mòmò = ló á = sù
REL = NEG be.at Bala here now =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST go
eyu, nya buutsyi fò momo
á = yù nyá bó = ó- tsyí fò mòmò
2SG.NOM.PST steal then 3PL.NOM= FUT carry 2SG.ACC now
hâã besuko Bekpi ?
hâã bà = sù -kó Bëkpí
through to 3PL.NOM= go ASSOC Hohoe
‘Then right now, let’s assume now that there is no police station in Bala here and now, if you steal, then will they carry you all the way to Hohoe?’

16.2 imbò nko lee lo etsyetsyi
è = n- bó nkò lèe ló á = tseyetsyi
3SG.NOM= NEG exist like that or if 2SG.NOM.PST run
edu ko elo .
á = dú kò é = lò
2SG.NOM.PST leave then 3SG.NOM.PST= be finish
‘It is not like that or if you run away then it is finished’

16.3 nya eso kuyu lebo momo no .
yá ésó kúyù lè = bó mòmò nò
therefore theft REL = become widespread now really
‘That is why stealing is really rampant now’
‘Previously, it was the cage’

‘If they put you in a cage then, because of shame alone …’

‘They follow, about 50 or 70 people follow and they are hooting at you with children, all the children ‘hoo, hoo, old thief he stole plantain, he stole cassava, he went, stole and harvested whole palm fruit hoo, hoo’
17.2 nya betidi looɔo kenke nya
nyá bà- *tídi lò= ó- bó kẹŋké nyá
then NCL2 person REL = FUT get out completely then
bale fò boyele nya fẹẹ
bà= lé fò bó- yèlè nyá fẹẹ
3PL.NOM = hold 2SG.ACC NMLZ hoot then before
bentsyi fò
bà= n- tsyí fò
3PL.NOM = EMPH carry 2SG.ACC
bantonko
bà= n- tô -n- -kó
3PL.NOM = EMPH go towards LIG ASSOC
‘Then all the people who will get out hooting at you while carrying you away’

17.3 ehẹhẹ əbunyə?
ehẹhẹ á= bó- nyọ
surely 2SG.NOM.PST ANT see
Surely have you seen?

17.4 nya eso la , dzɔdzɔmɛ to kobe efe kọlɛ
nyá ésọ lá dzɔdzɔmɛ tò kòbè èfè ko= lé
then therefore TOP from creation POSS wisdom now CL7.NOM = hold
keyifo kokokoko fẹẹ ...
ka- *yifó kókó kókó fẹẹ
NCL9 work already already before
‘Therefore the wisdom of old used to be working already before ...’

Konko:
18 babloni libo ...
bà- *blöní lè= bó
NCL2 white person REL = come
‘The Europeans came’

Akompi:
The Europeans came.

That is why we were really explaining it to you.

I was born in 1933; therefore I am quite a level-headed person.

That is the reason I have come home therefore I will come so you could be teaching me.”
ii) Diye to boya ‘Buying a name’-Mentorship

File name: 20130207-007_Buying_name

Mentorship is a rite upheld by the Likpe people. As the name goes, one buys a name from a noble and elderly person by performing an initial rite. The mentorship is supposed to last throughout the life of the mentor. When the mentor dies, the mentee is supposed to perform a rite to show his/her final respect to his/her departed mentor. This narrative was given by Francisca Kumesi (Dzifa Basabasa) and Vicentia Akposu (Matiko Adzoa) on 7th February 2013. Gloria Akposu (Kumah) was my consultant and interviewer.

Kumah:

1 ntsyə beeyifo fe kase fanle

How 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB do like how 2SG.NOM = EMPH hold

bɔtɛɪ mə bɔwə boowã lesa ?

NMLZ say like this 3PL.COMP 3PL.NOM = FUT cook NCL5 thing

‘How do they do it as you were saying they say they will cook food?’
Dzifa Basabasa:

2.1 əbutə ə= bó- tə́ wə̀ 3SG.ACC wine first
‘You will give him/her first wine’

2.2 əbutə ə= bó- tə́ wə̀ 3SG.ACC wine first ledzafi lɔ̀- nì 5cl5 one wine pot
‘You will give him/her some wine first, one big wine pot’

2.3 ɔlɔtsyɪ baakpo
‘A drinking pot they call it’

Cephas:

3 be ini ?
‘What is it?’

Kumah:

4 la ətəka əyə
‘If they place a name on someone’

Dzifa Basabasa:

5 əyə
‘Name’

Cephas:

6 [ OK OK ]
OK OK
Kumah: She switch to Akan to try to explain the topic to me
7 [ tise ]

Dzifa Basabasa:
8 eso abu ... 
ésò à = bó- 
therefore 2SG.NOM FUT ‘Therefore you will ...’

Kumah: She continued her explanation
9 [ yenfa nu se ye di mi atu wu ]

Dzifa Basabasa:
10.1 eso abutœ wœ litutœ olɔtsyɪ 
ésò à = bó- tô wò lé- tàtá ò- *lɔtsyí 
therefore 2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC CL5 first NCL3 drinking pot baakpo 
bá = á- kpó 
3PL.NOM.PST = HAB call ‘Therefore you will give him/her, first, a drinking pot they call it’

10.2 abutœ wœ olɔtsyɪ oœi kemi 
à = bó- tô wò ò- *lɔtsyí ò- *nî këmî 
2SG.NOM FUT give 3SG.ACC NCL3 drinking pot CL3 one then nyaféë faya diye nœ loo . 
nyaféë fa = yà diyë nô lôó 
then 2SG.NOM = buy name really UFP ‘You will give one drinking pot then you have bought a name really’

Matiko Adzoa:
11 oya diye 
ó = yà diyë 
3SG.NOM.PST = buy name ‘S/he bought a name’
Dzifa Basabasa:

12.1 dinuəfə ə̃ kple ̃

*láka* ə̃ kple, ə̃
CL5 two ORD NCL3 storage drinking pot big CL3.DEF

baapkə ə̃mfő ə̃, nya

bá= á- kpá kó- *sid á- mfó = nyá

3PL.NOM.PST= HAB gather NCL7 wife CL3 that =TOP 3SG.PN

fookpo nte buə̃.

fō= ó- kpó ŋ- *tè bū́

2SG.NOM= FUT pour NCL10 wine CL10.DEF

‘Secondly, the big storage pot which they use for marriage, it is from it you will pour the wine’

12.2 nya fuufi esuko wə.

nyá fō= ó- fī à= sù -kó wə

then 2SG.NOM= FUT take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC 3SG.ACC

‘Then you will take it to him/her’

12.3 afo diye nō koŋ.

á= fō lè- *yē nō koŋ

2SG.NOM.PST receive NCL5 name CL5.DEF really

‘You have received the name for real’

12.4 kemi lefənə la aboko nya wuutə

kəmí ləfənō lō á= bókó nyá wə = ó- tō

then when if 2SG.NOM.PST bring then 3SG.NOM= FUT give

fo ote nka kətsyə.

fō ó- *tē ŋkə kà- tsyə

2SG.ACC NCL1 goat that INF keep

‘Then when you bring it then s/he will give you a goat to keep’

Matiko Adzoa:

13 nnye oya kafia kpo uto fo.

ỳnyè ə̃ yā kà- *fiá kpō ə̃= tō fō

perhaps 3SG.NOM= buy NCL9 cloth huge 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC

‘Perhaps s/he buys a huge cloth for you’
Dzifa Basabasa:

14.1 la uta fo otee , lele
ló ṣ= tó fo òtê = lè- *lè
if 3SG.NOM.PST= give 2SG.ACC goat =TOP NCL5 year
nô ukpô , ote òmə
nô ṣ= kpô = ṣ- *tê á- mó
CL5.REL.PRO 3SG.NOM= to die =TOP NCL1 goat CL1 the
foolo awá lekonklo akpe lo
fô = ṣ- lò à= wà lèkònklò à= kpé ló
2SG.NOM= FUT kill 2SG.NOM cook Lèkònklò 2SG.NOM put LOC
litsyitsya efi atako tlaí .
lè- tsyitsyà à= fî à= tâkó tlâí
NCL5 basket 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on tray
‘If s/he gives you a goat, the year s/he dies, the goat you will kill and prepare
Lekonklo, put in a basket and place on a tray’

14.2 akpe ... efi oblázęyo atako
à= kpé à= fî òblâdzyó à= tâkó
2SG.NOM put 2SG.NOM take plantain 2SG.NOM put on
atako akebi atako bino biô ku
à= tâkó àkêbi à= tâkó bê- *nô biô ku
2SG.NOM put on beans 2SG.NOM put on NCL12 meat CL12.DEF and
ote  INCLUDED ...
ò- *tê INCLUDED tò
NCL1 goat CL1.DEF POSS
‘You put plantain, beans, the meat and the goat’s ...’

Kumah:

15.1 nnàbô luo .
n= lé bó lôó
1SG.NOM= hold come UFP
‘I am coming’
15.2 obladyo , obladyo sia le obladzyo kwá ?
oblàdzyó oblàdzyó sé -à léé oblàdzyó kwá
plantain plantain become red ADJV or plantain fresh
‘Plaintain: ripe plantain or fresh plantain?’

Dzifa Basabasa:
16.1 obladzyo obladzyo kwá kosałte .
oblàdzyó oblàdzyó kwá kòsàłtè
plantain plantain fresh ownself
‘Plaintain, real fresh plantain’

16.2 efi ote to kalua efi
à = fì ò- *tê tò  ArgumentNullException à = fì
2SG.NOM take NCL1 goat POSS jaw 2SG.NOM take
stàke kato etsyi lekonklo nàmè
à = tòskó kàtò à = tsyí lèkònklò nà- mà
2SG.NOM put on top of 2SG.NOM carry Lèkònklò CL5 the
efi aboko .
à = fì à = bókó
2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM bring
‘You put the goat's jaw on top of it and you bring the Lekonklo’

16.3 nya banle bэнkə
yá bà = n- lé bónkó
then 3PL.NOM = EMPH hold 3PL.COMP
‘Then they say that’

Dzifa Basabasa and Matiko Adzoa:
17 ' owoe likpə oo ewu likpə oo
òwòé lè = kpò óó éwú lè = kpò óó
who REL = to die UFP grandmother REL = to die UFP
ukpə tsyà wəŋkə too .
ó = kpò tsyà wá = n- kpò tòù
go 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet
‘Who died? Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’
Cephas Delalorm

Kumah:
18 **ewu likpè oo ukpè tsya**
   éwù lè= kpó = ó= kpó tsyâ
   grandmother REL = to die = TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = to die too

19 **wànkpè tòo**
   wá= n- kpó tɔɔ
   3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet
   ‘Grandma died! Although she is dead she is not dead yet!"

Dzifa Basabasa, Matiko Adzoa and Kumah:
19 **tetente si alo wee**
   têtènè sí à- lò wèé
   scorn still PFV be finish completely
   ‘The scorn is still finished completely’

Matiko Adzoa:
20 **ukpè tsya wànkpè tòo**
   ó= kpó tsyâ wá= n- kpó tɔɔ
   3SG.NOM.PST = to die too 3SG.NOM.PST = NEG to die yet
   ‘Although she is dead she is not dead yet!’

Dzifa Basabasa, Matiko Adzoa and Kumah:
21 **tetente si alo wee tetente’**
   têtènè sí à- lò wèé têtènè
   scorn still PFV be finish completely scorn
   ‘The scorn is still finished completely’

Kumah:
22 **uwu uwu uwuuuw ,**
   uwu uwu uwu ùúù
   yodel yodel yodel hoot
   ‘Yodelling’

Dzifa Basabasa:
23 **ebi oo ukpè uukpè**
   èbîì = ùkpó ó= ó- kpó
   not-knowing = TOP death 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT to die
   ‘Not-knowing, it is death she died’
Matiko Adzoa:

24 amni lekente loo.
è = n- ní lóó
3SG.NOM = NEG be UFP
‘It is not lekente’

Dzifa Basabasa:

25 tetente.
têtèntè
scorn
‘Scorn’

Matiko Adzoa:

26 okpaye funle wə butə
ò- kpá *yê fà = n- lé wə bò- tá
NCL1 scorn name 2SG.NOM = EMPH hold 3SG.ACC NMLZ give
‘Scorn-name you were giving her’

Kumah:

27 hāā tetente
hāā têtèntè
OK scorn
‘OK tetente’

Dzifa Basabasa:

28 tetente
têtèntè
scorn
‘tetente’

Matiko Adzoa:

29.1 fenko mmi ə ubi eyifo lesa , ...
fênkò rìmî lô ò- *bî à- yìfò lè- *sá
assuming today if NCL1 child PFV do NCL5 thing
yaakpa fə .
yà = á- kpá fɔ
3SG.NOM = HAB scorn 2SG.ACC
‘Assuming today if a child does something .... It scorns you’
29.2  

`Cephas Delalorm`

29.2  

`Dzifa Basabasa:
30.1 … yaakpa fo ....`

`Matiko Adzoa:
31.1 nya lo dinɔ utidi ə̃ labe lo`

31.2  

`Cephas Delalorm`

31.2  

`Dzifa Basabasa:
30.2 tetente , se ni sele sekokole no .`

`Matiko Adzoa:
31.2 bambo … lo besu kake okɔ`
31.3 nyo buukiti ... bese le kasu ... 

nyá bò = ó- kútí bà = só ló kásá
then 3PL.NOM = FUT fetch 3PL.NOM = sprinkle LOC ground
ko beffi lefele
kò bà = fí lé *fèfè
then 3PL.NOM = take NCL5 remaining
bedunko bese betsyə .
bà = dú -n- -kò bà = sù bà = tsyô
3PL.NOM = leave LIG ASSOC 3PL.NOM = go 3PL.NOM = keep
‘Then they will fetch ... sprinkle on the ground ... then take the remainder away to keep’

31.4 lo besu bebika to kama tsya , nko te 
ló bá = sù bá = bíkò tò kámà tsyá ríkò tè
if 3PL.NOM.PST = go 3PL.NOM = bury POSS back too like that only
biusə asa háá biyifo
bè = ó- sò á- *sò háá bè = yifò
2PL.NOM = FUT sing CL8 song through to 2PL.NOM = do
bidunko .
bè = dú -n- -kò
2PL.NOM = leave LIG ASSOC
‘After burial too, that is how they will sing throughout while the performance continues’

31.5 lo eyo bolako bota 
ló é = yó bà = lókò bà = tô
if 3SG.NOM.PST = reach 3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give
besio bolako bota basani nyo
bà- *sìó bà = lókò bà = tô bà- *sàní nýá
NCL2 woman 3PL.NOM = remove 3PL.NOM = give NCL2 man then
beoma bidì .
bè = ó- mà bè = dí
2PL.NOM = FUT share 2PL.NOM = eat
‘If it is time, they will give it to the women, give it to the men then you will share it and eat’
31.6 *momɔ bensi* awã.
*mɔmɔ̀ bà = n- sí à- wà*
Now 3PL.NOM = NEG still PFV cook
‘Now they still don’t cook it’

**Dzifa Basabasa:**

32.1 *bawã*.
*bá = wà*
3PL.NOM.PST = cook
‘They cooked it’

32.2 *mɔambe-nina* Kɔsidu ambee ... 
*mɔ́ = ámbê *nìnə Kɔsidu ámbê =*
1SG.POSS = mother elder Kɔsidu mother =TOP
‘My elder maternal aunt, Kɔsidu's mother ...’

**Matiko Adzoa:**

33 *wə awã wə*
*wɔ̀ à- wà wə*
3SG.PN PFV cook 3SG.ACC
‘She cooked for her’

**Dzifa Basabasa:**

34.1 ... *Menu to Rita*, *wə bətəkə* wə
*Mɛnʊ̀ tò Rita = wɔ̀ bá = tákɔ̀ wɔ̀*
Menu POSS Rita =TOP 3SG.PN 3PL.NOM.PST = put on 3SG.ACC
no .
*nò*
really
‘Menu's Rita, she they name her after really’
Therefore when she died, they cooked for her.

The lekonklo they carried.

As Ayivor's Nora carried the lekonklo.

As they carried it, they were going and they reached there.
When the ghost possessed her, if they hadn't held it, probably it would have risen like this:

'When the ghost possessed her, if they hadn't held it, probably it would have risen like this'

Because how they taught her that is not how it is done:

'Because how they taught her that is not how it is done'

Therefore I sat at the doorway saying that, that was not how it is done:

'Therefore I sat at the doorway saying that, that was not how it is done'
34.9 mìntsya mookpa
mì = -n- tsyâ mó = ó- kpá
1SG.NOM = LIG too 1SG.NOM.PST = ANT become clear

enəmí.
á- *nəmí
NCL6 eye
‘Me too I am level-headed’

34.10 bənusyí lekonklo baye lə
bà = n- ó- tsyí lèkònklo bà = yé ló
3PL.NOM = NEG FUT carry Lèkònklo 3PL.NOM = walk LOC

bëtidi nti batsylama sīī fëë
bà- *tiðì ntí bà = tsylama sīī fëë
NCL2 person between 3PL.NOM = roam a while before

buufi ni besu diyo.
bò = ó- fì ní bà = sù lë- *yó
3PL.NOM = FUT take CL5.ACC 3PL.NOM = go NCL5 house
‘They will not carry lekonklo and roam about in the midst of people for a while before taking it to the house’

Matiko Adzoa:
35.1 oo loo .
òó lóó
no UFP
‘No!’

35.2 anni butsyi beetsyi
è = n- ní bò- tsyí bā = á- tsyí
3SG.NOM = NEG be NMLZ carry 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry

nì kinkinkì ?
ní kinkinkí
CL5.ACC firmly
‘Isn’t it like that they carry it firmly?’
35.3 **nya kola mimbo nə**.

nyá kólá mì = n- bọ nò

3SG.PN even 1SG.NOM = EMPH come really

‘It even I came really’

**Dzifa Basabasa:**

36 **eso kase uutsyi ni**

esò kàsé ó = ó- tsyí ní

therefore as 3SG.NOM.PST = ANT carry CL5.ACC

̄nle botsylama sī , dituta

ò = n- lé bò- tsylàmà sī lé- tútó

3SG.NOM = EMPH hold NMLZ roam a while CL5 first

dinuəfə la , bankobe ni kató la ,

lè- * núə -fə lá bà = n- kàbë ní kàtò lá

CL5 two ORD TOP 3PL.NOM = NEG hold CL5.ACC up TOP

enii nimble kenke efusə .

dęnìí nò- -n- *blé kéŋké à- fúsə

probably CL5 LIG all all PFV overturn

‘Therefore as she carried it and roaming for a while, first second, if they hadn't held it up, probably everything would have overturned’

**Matiko Adzoa:**

37 **lo ifusə , bā kaso hā**

lò ē = fúsə bā kàsə hā

if 3SG.NOM.PST = overturn 3PL.REL.PRO ground only

luudii

lò = ó- dí =

REL = FUT eat = UFP

‘If it overturns, only those on the ground will eat it’

**Dzifa Basabasa:**
Therefore when they even scrambled it home, it was difficult before the lekonklo stayed on the ground.'

Matiko Adzoa:

'...Don't they carry it along to off-load' 

Dzifa Basabasa:

'...That alone I want to say'
Therefore that period, since she gave you a goat therefore if she dies, they will give you cloth.’

‘Real cloth, that which you wrap the head is different: her own cloth they will give you’

‘The name’s cloth really’

‘Then now all those who were named after me …’
Dzifa Basabasa:

42 nya moom moo , lo bojkoe ... etoke

nyá môme môme = ló bá = tókó à = tókó

then now here =TOP if 3PL.NOM.PST= put on 2SG.NOM put on

ko elo

kò ó = lò

then 3SG.NOM.PST= be finish

‘Then this time, if they place a name on someone... you take a name then it is finished’

Matiko Adzoa:

43 nya lo bojoe më tsyaa , be oko

nyá ló bá= tó mà tsyá = bè ó- *k5

then if 3PL.NOM.PST= give 1SG.ACC too =TOP see NCL1 corpse

lo abe osate lee wò looya nte .

ló à= bè osaté léé wò lò = ó- yà nîte

then 2SG.NOM see owner or 3SG.REL.PRO REL= FUT buy wine

‘Then if they even give me (something), look at the corpse and its owner or the one who is buying the wine’

Kwami:

44 ewu më ote foote më

éwù mì= ó- *të fà= à- tó mà

grandmother 1SG.POSS= NCL1 goat 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 1SG.ACC

ngbô ?

ŋgbô

where

‘Grandma, where is my goat you had given me?’

Dzifa Basabasa:

45 etoe wë ntëee ?

á= tó wò nîté =

2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC wine =TOP

‘Did you give her wine?’
Matiko Adzoa:

46.1 ṭə mə̣ ńtu ʔ?
ó = tô mə̣ ńtı
3SG.NOM.PST = give 1SG.ACC water
‘Did they give me water?’

46.2 Kwami, bəta mə̣ ńtu
Kwami bá = tô mə̣ ńtı *tə̣
Saturday-born male 3PL.NOM.PST = give 1SG.ACC NCL10 water
buə̃ bəta fée ʔ?
buə̃ bá = á- tô fée
CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give before
‘Kwami, did they give me the water they used to give before?’

46.3 ńtu buə̃ beetsyi lə
ń- *tə buə̃ bá = á- tsyí lə
NCL10 water CL10.DEF 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB carry LOC
öltsyi tete tete .
ò- *latsyi têtè têtè
NCL3 drinking pot simply simply
‘The water they simply carry in a drinking pot’

46.4 lə efi abokoo lə ... nə̣ se
lə ʔá = fi á = bókó = lə nyə̣ sé
if 2SG.NOM.PST take 2SG.NOM.PST bring =TOP if see since
kolesa ensi tô momo mimfi
kó- lèsá â- n- sî tô mə̣mə̣ mi = n- fi
NEG thing PFV NEG still be.at now 1SG.NOM = EMPH take
situ mintə wə̣ ... 
ër- *tə mi = n- tô wə̣ =
NCL11 metal 1SG.NOM = EMPH give 3SG.ACC =TOP
oya diye nə̣ loo .
ó = yà diye nə̣ lóó
3SG.NOM.PST = buy name really UFP
‘If you bring it, see! Since I don't have anything now and I gave him a coin, then he has bought a name really’
Dzifa Basabasa:
47.1 "te\(\text{ea}\) ?
\(\text{á} = \text{tō} =\) 
2SG.NOM.PST give =TOP
‘Did you give it?’

47.2 lə fenkə omə̀nnə nte
\(\text{lō fēnkō} \text{á} = \text{n- à- n- nyō ūtē}\)
if assuming 2SG.NOM.PST NEG PFV NEG find wine
ebusyi ntu .
\(\text{á} = \text{bō- tsyī ūtū}\)
2SG.NOM FUT carry water
‘If assuming you don't get wine, you will carry water’

47.3 ebusuetsyi ntu ku olotsyi .
\(\text{á} = \text{bō- sū ū} = \text{tsyī ūtū kū ū- }^*\text{otsyī}\)
2SG.NOM FUT go 2SG.NOM carry water with NCL3 drinking pot
‘You will go and carry water with a drinking pot’

47.4 diyi olesio tututu efi esuko ;
\(\text{diyī olesīō tūtūtū ū} = \text{fī ū} = \text{sū -kō}\)
full day morning early 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM go ASSOC
aya diye .
\(\text{á} = \text{yā dįyē}\)
2SG.NOM.PST buy name
‘One early morning, you send the stuff; you have bought a name’

47.5 … elo kemi dina ukpō la ,
\(\text{é} = \text{lō kēmī dīnō ū = kpō lá}\)
3SG.NOM.PST = be finish then the day 3SG.NOM = to die TOP
ebowã we lekonklō .
\(\text{á} = \text{bō- wā wā }\text{lēkōnklō}\)
2SG.NOM FUT cook 3SG.ACC Lēkōnklō
‘It is finished then the day she dies, you will cook lekonklo for her’
Kumah:

48 eso məmə =
therefore now =TOP
‘Therefore now ...’

Dzifa Basabasa:

49.1 nya eso la amanla bənkə
nyá éso ló á = n- á- n- lá bónkə
therefore if 2SG.NOM.PST NEG HAB NEG want 3PL.COMP
eso fə la, lo ńtu fəc ... se
e = só fə lá lá ńtı fəc sé
3SG.NOM = beat 2SG.ACC TOP if water 2SG.COMP since
wəmbə wəmfo wəmbə
wà = n- bó wà = mfô wà = n- bó
3SG.NOM = NEG come 3SG.NOM = this 3SG.NOM = NEG come
nte bofo buna .
ńtí bó- fó bó- nà
wine NMLZ be able NMLZ drink
‘Therefore if you don't want to lose, if water you say ... since she won't be able to drink wine’

49.2 eso lo ńtu te fetsyi ... olesiə tu
éso ló ńtı tè fá = tsyí ńlesiə tú
therefore if water only 2SG.NOM = carry morning early
fetsyi fəbo aboko ‘ ewu nya
fá = tsyí fá = bó à = bóko évú nyà
2SG.NOM = carry 2SG.NOM = come 2SG.NOM bring grandmother see
diye to ńtu ‘.
diyè tò ńtı
name POSS water
‘Therefore if water only you carry ... early morning you bring it 'grandma, here is name's water’
Cephas Delalorm

49.3 lesa nə̃ kə unyə ute
lè- *sá nə̃ kó ò = nyə̃ ò = tó
NCL5 thing CL5.DEF whatever 3SG.NOM = find 3SG.NOM = give
fə ku nkə la , ute fə .
2SG.ACC with life TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = give 2SG.ACC
‘Whatever thing she gives you in her lifetime, she gave you’.

49.4 lo ukpə la , ebowā wo
ló ò = kpó lá à = bó- wà wɔ
if 3SG.NOM.PST = to die TOP 2SG.NOM FUT cook 3SG.ACC
lekonklo .
lèkònklò Lèkònklò
‘If she dies, you will cook lekonklo for her’

49.5 lo ofiamə te bəələkə
ló òfiámé tè bá = à- lákò
if handkerchief only 3PL.NOM.PST = PFV remove
bəətə bá = à- tó fə bóò nyə̃ diye tò
3PL.NOM.PST = PFV give 2SG.ACC 3PL.COMP see name POSS
ofiamə la , ekpa .
oùfiámé lá é = kpá
handkerchief TOP 3SG.NOM.PST = become clear
‘If only a handkerchief they give you that name's handkerchief, it is clear’.

Matiko Adzoa:

50 nya fookle ...
nyá fə = ó- klé
then 2SG.NOM = FUT tie
‘Then you will tie ...’
Kumah:

51 nya lə fenkə ... 
nyá ló fěnkə
then if assuming
‘Then if assuming ...’

Kwami:

52.1 ewu , ntsyə beaye katɔ mii 
éwú ñtsyó bé= á- yé kà- tɔ mii
grandmother how 2PL.NOM.PST= HAB walk INF ask 2PL.POSS
bosɔ ..... 
bà- *sọ NCL2 husband
‘Grandma, how do you ask your husbands out ...’

52.2 ohoo ... 
òhóò not-sure
‘Not sure’

Kumah:

53.1 nnabə loo ! 
ǹ= lé bó lóó 1SG.NOM= hold come UFP
‘I am coming!’

53.2 nya lə fenkə manwä lekonklo namfó . 
nyá ló fěnkə má= n- wâ lèkònklò ná- mfó
then if assuming 1SG.NOM.PST= NEG cook Lèkònklò CL5 that
‘Then if assuming I don’t cook that lekonklo’
'Since you gave me those items, if I don't cook the lekonklo ...?'

Dzifa Basabasa:

54 atafa atafa 
á = táffá ásúó á = táffá 2SG.NOM.PST cheat body =TOP 2SG.NOM.PST cheat

wøntsyå
wà = -n- tsyå 3SG.NOM = LIG too

'You have cheated yourself and cheated her too'.

Matiko Adzoa:

55 nya m.btnAdd emo eso minsí
nyá mìmá = mó a mó ésò mì = n sí then now =TOP 1SG.PN CL1 the therefore 1SG.NOM = NEG still

yí kase kó ... yí käsé kó

know how whatever

'Then now, I in person, I still don't know how whatever ...'

Dzifa Basabasa:

56.1 ewu !

éwú grandmother

'Grandma'

56.2 nko te boòco nco .
nkò tè bá = á tó nó like that only 3PL.NOM.PST = HAB give really

'That is how they often give it really'
56.3 lo kafia to dinə fəə to tə tsya, 
ló kà- *fiá tò dìnò fá = à- tò wò tsyá
if NCL9 cloth POSS piece 2SG.NOM.PST= PFV give 3SG.ACC too
əte wə.
á = tò wò
2SG.NOM.PST give 3SG.ACC
‘If a piece of cloth you had given her too, you gave her’.

56.4 itsyise momo ote ... atabi onsi to
itsysé mòmò ò- *të àtābī à- n- sì tò
because now NCL1 goat money PFV NEG still be.at
wooya ote uto ṭə.
wò = ò- yà ò- *të ò = tò ṭə
3SG.NOM= FUT buy NCL1 goat 3SG.NOM= give 2SG.ACC
‘Because now a goat ... money isn't available for her to buy a goat for you’

56.5 lefense bootokatako fəə,
lefénà bá= à- tákò tákò fə =
when 3PL.NOM.PST= PFV put on put on 2SG.ACC =TOP
lefe namfó okpe ale.
lé- *fè nò- mfó ò = kpé àlé
NCL5 time CL5 that 3SG.NOM= have strength
‘When they had placed a name on you, that time she had strength’

56.6 bate tsya ake wə.
bá- *të tsyá à- kē wò
NCL2 goat too PFV exist 3SG.ACC
‘She had goats too’.

56.7 eso lefe namfóó, eso lefe
éso lé- *fè nò- mfó = éso lé- *fè
therefore NCL5 time CL5 that =TOP therefore NCL5 time
namfóó, lo ate
nò- mfó = ìs á= tè
CL5 that =TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST know
Therefore that time, if you knew she had caused her to know, probably now a goat ...
if she even dies you owe her'.

‘You will be keeping that goat throughout until the one who gave the goat dies’.

‘Me, when I was given a name, the goat I sell before I buy cloth’.
Dzifa Basabasa:

58.1  when assuming if 3SG.NOM.PST= give 2SG.ACC if
ole  la , emufi
ól= lé lá à= n- ò- fì
3SG.NOM.PST= give birth TOP 2SG.NOM NEG FUT take
aboko  we loo .
à= bókó wò lóó
2SG.NOM bring 3SG.ACC UFP
‘When assuming, if she had given it to you, if it procreates, you will not bring it to her’.

58.2  2SG.PN REL = FUT PROG sell 2SG.NOM PROG do NCL5 thing
nà  faala
nà  fà = ò- lá
CL5.DEF 2SG.NOM= HAB wish
‘You will be selling and doing whatever you wish’.

Matiko Adzoa:

59  no UFP be 3PL.NOM= NEG FUT take 3PL.NOM= bring 1SG.ACC
‘Oh no, they will not bring it to me’
Dzifa Basabasa:

60 eso dino ukpə la , nya
ésò dínó ó = kpó lá nyá
therefore the day 3SG.NOM.PST= to die TOP then
fuufi asɔ lebo fɛɛ
fô= ó- fî à = só lébò fɛɛ
2SG.NOM= FUT take 2SG.NOM beat fist before
fuuyifo wə lesa namfô
fô= ó- yifó wá lè- *sá ná- mfô
2SG.NOM= FUT do 3SG.POSS NCL5 thing CL5 that
‘Therefore the day she dies, then you will put it together before you will perform her thing’.

iii) Ofo-Spice from okro

File name: 20130207-000_ofo

This descriptive procedure was given by Vicentia Akposu (Matiko Adzoa) on 7th February 2013. Gloria Akposu (Kumah) was my consultant and interviewer. The discourse was about the procedure for making spices from okro. Spices are also made from locust beans (carob) and Agushi seeds (cucurbitaceous plant).

Dzifa Basabasa:
1 ewu!
éwú
grandmother
‘Grandma!’

Kumah:
2 fɔ lekpakpaa , be ini nyamfo tí.
fɔ lekpàkpà = à bé è = ní nyàmfó tí
2SG.POSS hat =TOP what 3SG.NOM = be this INT
‘Please, what is this?’
Matiko Adzoa:

3.1 \textit{bo kokoo}, \textit{katoto} \textit{kā baa} …

\textit{bó kókó} =\textit{ō} \textit{ka} *tótó \textit{kā bá} = \textit{ā-}  
1PL.PN \text{old} =\text{TOP} \text{NCL4 \textit{okro}} \text{CL4.DEF} \textit{3PL.NOM.PST} = \text{HAB} 

\textit{boatakaso \textit{lo skwee}, \textit{keke}} 
\textit{bó} = \textit{ā-} \textit{tókà -sò \textit{ló òkwé} = \textit{kéké}}  
1PL.NOM.PST = \text{HAB} \text{rise CAUS} \text{LOC farm} =\text{TOP} \text{CL4.POSS} 

\textit{ebibi keke \textit{buefi \textit{kawā}} } 
\textit{ā- *bibí kéké bó} = \textit{ā-} \textit{fí kà- wà}  
NCL6 \text{seed} \text{CL4.PN} 1PL.NOM.PST = \text{HAB} \text{take INF cook} 

\textit{ebe blbloblò ìtsy̖ ìyí } 
\textit{è= bé blblblò} \textit{è=} \text{tsyò \textit{ā-} *yì}  
3SG.NOM = \text{be cook} \text{tender} 3SG.NOM = \text{stay} \text{NCL6} \text{full day} 

\textit{eyi ìyi n\text{yaf}ìì fìììo} 
\textit{à=} \text{3SG.NOM= be cook} \text{tender} \text{NCL6} \text{full day} 

\text{NCL6} \text{full day} \text{NCL6} \text{full day then} 2SG.NOM = \text{FUT pound} 

‘As of us of old, the okro they harvest from farms, its seeds we used to cook it, to be cooked tenderly and keep for several days before you will pound it’

3.2 \textit{lo awoo}, \textit{n\text{yaf}ìì f\text{uufi}} 

\textit{ló \textit{ā} = wó = n\text{yaf}ìì fó = ó- fí}  
if 2SG.NOM.PST \text{pound} =\text{TOP} \text{then} 2SG.NOM = \text{FUT take} 

\textit{akpe likpli\text{bí}, n\text{yaf}ìì f\text{utsy̖}} 
\textit{à=} \text{kpé lè-} \text{*kplíbí \text{n\text{yaf}ìì fó = ó- tsyúé}}  
2SG.NOM \text{put NCL5 cooking pot then} 2SG.NOM = \text{FUT arrange} 

\textit{kabeka to kolo efi akpo \text{abaka}} 
\textit{tò kókó \text{à=} fí \text{à=} kpó \text{à=} bákà}  
\text{POSS soda ash 2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM pour 2SG.NOM stir} 

\textit{efi \text{atsy̖}} 
\textit{à=} \text{fí \text{à=} tsyò}  
2SG.NOM \text{take 2SG.NOM put} 

‘If you pound it, then you will put it into a pot, then you will arrange soda ash and you will add it to it, stir and keep’
‘If you stir and keep, it will stay for say six or seven days then it is ready to be eaten’.

‘Its job I really do therefore it is the spice we really used to make in the old days to eat’.

‘How is it called?’
Matiko Adzoa:
5 nyamfo ?

nyàmfọ

this
‘This?’

Kumah:
6 hĩĩ , lə eyifọ nyaa . ntsyə

hĩĩ lọ á= yifọ nyá = ŋtsyọ

yes if 2SG.NOM.PST do 3SG.ACC =TOP how

bookpo nya ?

bò= ó- kpọ nyá

3PL.NOM = FUT call 3SG.ACC

‘Yes, if you make it, how will they call it?’

Matiko Adzoa:
7 nya diye te ni ofo .

nyá diyè tè ní ófọ

3SG.POSS name only be spice

‘Its name is only 'Ofo’

Kumah:
8 nga ewu fə lekpakpa , be

nyá éwù fọ lè- *kpàkpà bé

then grandmother 2SG.POSS NCL5 hat what

beefí kedinko nyal ?

bá= á- fí kà- dí -n- -kó nyá

3PL.NOM.PST = HAB take INF eat LIG ASSOC 3SG.ACC

‘Then Grandma, please, what do they eat with it?’
Matiko Adzoa:

9.1 lesanə ke Ṽo usitsye te fanle bowā
lèsanə ké Ṽó úsitsyè tè fà= n- lé bó- wà
something any if food slice only 2SG.NOM= EMPH hold NMLZ cook
kakpe okle , ebokpe
kà- kpé ̀ọ- *klé à= bó- kpé
INF put NCL3 pepper 2SG.NOM FUT put
‘Whatever, if it is only food slices you are cooking with pepper/stew, you will put it in’

9.2 kamɔ te fanwā fakpe ubisia
kàmɔ̀ tè fà= n- wà fà= kpé ubeísìà
rice only 2SG.NOM= EMPH cook 2SG.NOM= put palm oil
fabakaa , nya te beedia nà
fà= bánà = nyà tè bè= á- diá nà
2SG.NOM= stir =TOP 3SG.PN only 2PL.NOM= PROSP taste really
‘It is just rice you cook, add palm oil and stir, it is it only you will really ingest’

9.3 Ṽo kutu fàə aakpe tsyaa , nko
ló kò- *tù fòd à= á- kpé tsyà = ñkò
if NCL7 soup 2SG.COMP 2SG.NOM PROSP put too =TOP like that
tsyà bó= á- kpé kò- *tù tsyà nà
too 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB put NCL7 soup too really
‘If it is soup you desire to put also, that is how we put in soup too’.

9.4 ee nko bueyifo nya nà .
éé ñkò bó= á- yíffó nyà nà
yes like that 1PL.NOM.PST= HAB do 3SG.ACC really
‘Yes! That is how we really do it’

9.5 ehēē .
ehēē
surely
‘Surely’
Cephas Delalorm

Kumah:
10 eso ewu, nyamfo tii, lọ edi
éso éwú nyàmfó tí = lọ á = dí	herefore grandmother this INT = TOP if 2SG.NOM.PST eat
nyaa, yəmuto fọ kolesa
nyá = yà = n- ó- tọ fọ kó- lèsá
3SG.ACC = TOP 3SG.NOM = NEG FUT cause 2SG.ACC NEG thing
bánkọ kafo bufi fa lee kolesa buyifo fọ
bónkọ kàfọ bó- fi fọ léé kó- lèsá bó- yifọ fọ
3PL.COMP belly FUT pain 2SG.ACC or NEG thing FUT do 2SG.ACC
ŋgbọ ?
ŋgbọ
EMPH
‘Therefore grandma, this one, if you eat it, wouldn't it cause anything such that your
belly will be in pain or won’t anything happen to you?’

Matiko Adzoa:
11.1 awo !
àwò
no
‘No!’

11.2 itsyibọ ənni kpọ tsya
é = tsyì bọ è = n- ní kpọ tsyá
3SG.NOM.PST = come from 3PL.COMP 3SG.NOM = NEG be many too
foo ...  miə se le əəbo kamo
fọ = ó- miə sé lọ à = á- bọ kàmọ
2SG.NOM = FUT 1SG.COMP when if 2SG.NOM PROSP come rice
bọ- yimi nyáfẹ̀ fuuyifo nnye əklẹ
bọ- yimi nyáfẹ̀ fọ = ó- yifọ ṣọnyè ó- *klẹ
NMLZ chew then 2SG.NOM = FUT do perhaps NCL3 pepper
feyifo fakpe lọ kase beakpe
fà = yifọ fà = kpé lọ kásé bè = á- kpé
2SG.NOM = do 2SG.NOM = put just as 2PL.NOM.PST = HAB put
... afe eso baate kase
á- *fè èsò bà= á- té kàsé
NCL6 time therefore 3PL.NOM= HAB show how
fookpe mo
fò= ó- kpé mà
2SG.NOM= FUT put like this
‘Because it isn't so much you will ... I said that when if you are about to eat rice, then you will do it or perhaps if stew you prepare and add to it just as you put it ... sometimes they show how you will put it like this’.

Kumah:

12 ee
ée
yes
‘Yes’

Matiko Adzoa:

13.1 ebokpe fëë yàmbofe fo
à= bó- kpé fëë yà= n- bó- fè fò
2SG.NOM FUT put before 3SG.NOM= NEG FUT surpass 2SG.ACC iyifo nyakpla.
é= yífó nyákplá
3SG.NOM.PST= do sour
‘You will put it in sure that the quantity will not be excessive to cause it to be sour’.

13.2 nya te baatsya keyifo no.
nyá tè bá= á- tsyá kà- yífó nó
3SG.PN only 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB meet INF do really
‘That is what they really used to do’

13.3 yeenyifo kolesa.
yà= n- yífó kò- lèsá
3SG.NOM= HAB NEG do NEG thing
‘It doesn't do anything’
13.4 ayombi to ole, lo efe ayombii, ayómbí tò ó- *lè ló è= fè ò- ò́ ayómbí = Agushi POSS NCL1 own if 3SG.NOM.PST= split Agushi =TOP Òle Òlè nànmò awá nya à= sò à= lòkò ínmàmò à= wá nyá 2SG.NOM fry 2SG.NOM remove flour 2SG.NOM cook 3SG.ACC fenkè osokpa. Ò òkò òsòkà like that porridge
‘That of Agushi, if you split Agushi, you fry and remove the flour and cook it like porridge’

13.5 lo awá, Ò fe osokpa, aye akle tititi ló à= wá fè òsòkà à= yé à= klé títítì if 2SG.NOM cook like porridge 2SG.NOM sieve 2SG.NOM tie tight Òtsyà efo eyì ko, efe à= tsyà è= fò á- *yì kò èfè 2SG.NOM keep 3SG.NOM= earn NCL6 full day then now ale budi. à= lè bò- dí 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ eat
‘If you cook it like porridge, you will sieve and tie it tightly to keep it for some days then, now you can eat it’

Kumah:
14 eso ayombi to ole, nya tsya ofo Òsò ò- áyómbí tò ó- *lè nyá tsyà òfò therefore Agushi POSS NCL1 own 3SG.PN too spice baakpo nya?
Ò= á- kpó nyá 3PL.NOM.PST= HAB call 3SG.ACC
‘Therefore that of Agushi, Is it also call Ofo (spice)’.
Matiko Adzoa:

15.1 *nya tsya ofo* .

nyá tsyá ófô

3SG.PN too spice

‘It is also Ofo (spice)’.

15.2 *nya , diye nô loni kplôŋ te dini*  

nyá diyê nô lò- *nî kplôŋ tè lè= nî*  

3SG.PN name CL5.DEF CL5 one only only CL5.NOM= be

boakpo  

bó= á- kpó nyá

1PL.NOM.PST= HAB call 3SG.ACC

‘For it, it is the same name we call it’.

15.3 *ofo* .

ófô

spice

‘Ofo (spice)’

Kumah:

16 *nya lô dina ke esi funle abamba*  

nyá ló diná ké à= sî fà= n- lé à- bàmbà  

then if the day any 2SG.NOM still 2SG.NOM= EMPH hold NCL another

buyifoo  

bó- yífô = lô ë= yífô mò= ó- bó  

NMLZ do =TOP if 3SG.NOM.PST= do 1SG.NOM= FUT come

le dina fuusi eyifo etsyuə , le  

lô dinó fô= ó- sî à= yífô à- tsyuə lô  

if the day 2SG.NOM= FUT still 2SG.NOM do CL6 some HORT

eto … buubə lə …  

à= tô bó= ó- bó lô  

2SG.NOM give 1PL.NOM= FUT come HORT

‘Then anytime you will be doing another, then I will come the time you will do some again, let me ... we will come so ...’
Matiko Adzoa:

17.1 ənyǝ mǝ ... nyamfo ebii fo [ papavi ]
á = nyǝ mǝ nyǝmfǝ ebii fo
2SG.NOM.PST see 1SG.PN this not-knowing 2SG.POSS
ǝ lebokoo ebii eso
ð lè = bókó =ò ebii é = só
CL1.DEF REL = bring =TOP not-knowing 3SG.NOM.PST = surpass
utu .
dô- *tú
NCL3 plenty
‘You see, for me ... this not-knowing it was your paternal uncle who brought it, not-knowing it is too much’

17.2 ɔnko buyifo kǝ esoo ,
ɔnkǝ bò = yifò kǝ èsò =
3SG.COMP 1PL.NOM = do many therefore = TOP
ənni mmi ku kǝnǝ te buǝ
e = n- ní mmì kù kǝnǝ tè bò = á-
3SG.NOM = NEG be today and yesterday only 1PL.NOM = PROSP
buyifo .
bó- yifò
NMLZ do
‘He said we should make a lot of it therefore, we will not be making any soon’

iv) Okuaye buyifo-Soap making

File name: 20130205-000_Soap_making

This procedural narrative was given with the collaboration of Patience Akposu (Koko Amba), Grace Akposu (Ogre), Gloria Akposu (Kumah) and Regina Ameedzi (Kpodo) on 5th February 2013. The process begins with making potash from cocoa pods. The potash is placed in a sieved bowl and water is drained through to get the
soda solution. The solution is placed on the fire to cook, then palm oil is added. The mixture is stirred during the process and it becomes solid.

Cephas:

1 ntsyə beeyifo okuaye ?

‘How is soap made?’

Koko Amba:

2 lə oobə okuaye bowa ə ,

‘If you are about to make soap, you will gather soda ash’.

Ogre:

3 ebotonsə kolo ,

‘You will burn soda ash, you will burn cocoa pods’

Kumah:

4 ebotonsə kolo atakə ntu

‘You will burn soda ash, put water on the fire, and pour it on soda ash before arranging soda ash’
Kpodo:
5 tsyə əsuə
 tsyə̀ əsúə
 keep body
 ‘Take your time’

Ogre:
6 ntsyə sieti kolo kuə̃ leetsyi fée
tsyó sietí kò-*ló kuó là = á- tsyì fée
 how where NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL = HAB come from before
 faəə ko butsyue ?
fà = á- bó kó bó- tsyúé
 2SG.NOM = PROSP come CL7.ACC NMLZ arrange
 ‘Where will the soda ash come from before you will arrange it?’

Koko Amba:
7 boya maaya
 bó- yà mà = á- yà
 NMLZ buy 1SG.NOM = HAB buy
 ‘I always buy it’

Kumah:
8 ebotonsə etsyinko
 à = bó- tò -n- -sə̀ à = tsyinkó
 2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS 2SG.NOM start
 ebotonsə
 à = bó- tò -n- -sə̀
 2SG.NOM FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘You will burn it from the start, you will burn it’.

Ogre:
9 nya eso edzebe lə etsyə kaso kase
 nyá ésò é = dzébé lá à = tsyó kásə kásé
therefore 3SG.NOM.PST = be necessary HORT 2SG.NOM put down how
 efoəə
 fo = ó- tò -n- -sə̀
 2SG.NOM = FUT burn LIG CAUS
 ‘Therefore it is necessary that you start from how you will burn it’.
Koko Amba:
10 moo touso akookookpo.

mò = ó- tò -n- -sà à- kòokòò *kpó
1SG.NOM = FUT burn LIG CAUS NCL6 cocoa bark; skin

‘I will burn cocoa pods’

Kpodo:
11 lee kofi.

léé kófi
or coffee
‘Or coffee’

Koko Amba:
12.1 lee kofitokpo.

léé kófi tò *kpó
or coffee POSS bark; skin
‘Or coffee pod’

12.2 nya yuyifo nto.

nyá yò = ó- yífó ñtò
then 3SG.NOM = FUT make ash
‘Then it will become ash’

12.3 nya mutsyue kolo kumam.

nyá mò = ó- tsyúé kò- *ló kúú- má
then 1SG.NOM = FUT arrange NCL7 soda ash CL7 the

kudu.
kò = dù
CL7.NOM = drip
‘Then I will arrange the soda ash to drip’
If it drips before I will put it on the fire to boil and cook.

Mother, I am coming.

If you arrange the soda ash, what will you pour into it before you arrange the soda ash to drip to put on fire to be thick, it is water you will pour hot water on the soda ash. You didn't say that?
**Koko Amba:**

14  lọ ntududu  fakpo  tsyá .
lọ  ntudúdú  fà=  kpó  tsyâ
if cold water  2SG.NOM= pour too
‘If it is cold water you pour into it too’

16.1  nọ eso  mie  ntu .
nyá  ésó  mé  ntù
therefore  1SG.COMP water
‘That is why I said water’

16.2  ntei  mie  fookpo  ntu  lọ
ní=  teyí  mé  fo=  ó-  kpó  ntù  lọ
1SG.NOM.PST=  say  1SG.COMP  2SG.NOM=  FUT  pour water  LOC
ko
kó
CL7.ACC
‘I said that you will pour water into it’

**Kumah:**

17  amantere .
á=  n=  á-  n=  teyí
2SG.NOM.PST  NEG  PFV  NEG  say
‘You didn't say it’
Ogre:

18.1 ebokpe  kuyibi  lo lekenku
à = bó- kpé kò- *yì -bí ló lè- *kpé -n- *kú
2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 tree DIM LOC NCL5 bowl LIG half
àsuá .
àsuá
body
‘You will put a stick into a scrap bowl’

18.2 efi  okpe  ō  lebo  kaló
à = fí ò- *kpé ō lè = bó káló
2SG.NOM take NCL3 bowl CL3.REL.PRO REL = get out down
efi  okpe  okpe  bambá àsuá .
à = fí à = tókó ò- *kpé bábó àsuá
2SG.NOM take 2SG.NOM put on NCL3 bowl another body
‘You take a bowl which has holes underneath it and put it on another bowl’

18.3 akpe  fe  se  kotoku  kuəmfo  sekā  mó .
à = kpé fè sè kò- *tòkú kúš- mfò sèkā mó
2SG.NOM put like when NCL7 sack CL7 this similar like this
‘You put something similar to this sack’

18.4 ebokpe  kotoku  fēe  fuuwinaə  nto
à = bó- kpé kò- *tòkú fēe fô = ò- wínisô ntu
2SG.NOM FUT put NCL7 sack before 2SG.NOM= FUT pour ash
bũá akpo  lo  kotoku  àsuá .
bũá à = kpó ló kò- *tòkú ãsúá
CL10.DEF 2SG.NOM pour LOC NCL7 sack body
‘You will put a sack before you pour the ash into the sack’

18.5 nyafēe  fiutokə  ntu ekiti akpo
nyāfēe fô = ò- tókó ñtû à = kútí à = kpó
then 2SG.NOM= FUT put on water 2SG.NOM fetch 2SG.NOM pour
fēe  kolo  kuũ luudu kenke
fēe kò- *ló kúʃ lô = ò- dù kęŋkə
before NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF REL= FUT drip completely
'Then you will put water on the fire and pour it before the soda ash will drip totally from the Soda ash and throw the soda ash away.'

18.6 *nto to sakpo omfö 'ebufi 'ewi
\ntò sàkpò à- mfö à= bó- fí à= wí
ash POSS chaff CL3 that 2SG.NOM FUT take 2SG.NOM pour away
fë́ fë́ fà= á- bó í- *tù bú́
before 2SG.NOM= PROSP come NCL10 water CL10.DEF
businkli kàtakə 'ateke kase fətsyue
bó- sinjli kà- tókò àtèké kàsè fà= tsyúé
NMLZ return INF put on stove how 2SG.NOM= arrange
'You will throw away that chaff of the ash before you will put the water on the fire as you arrange it.'

18.7 se fàta kə 'ateke 'akpe utë , nya
sè fà= tókò àtèké à= kpé ùtò nyá
when 2SG.NOM= put on stove 2SG.NOM put fire then
yuutu sìí ekpi
yò= ó- tú sìí è= kpi
3SG.NOM= FUT be boil a while 3SG.NOM= be thick
'When you put it on the fire, then it will boil for a while to be thick'
18.8 lọ kokpi

lọ  kó = kọì  kéjké  à = bó- nyò lọ

if  CL7.NOM.PST = be thick  completely  2SG.NOM  FUT  see  if

kokpi

kó = kọì

CL7.NOM.PST = be thick

‘If it becomes thick you will see if it is thick’

18.9 nyafẹ́  fọọbọ  ubisia  bufi  kakpo

nyafẹ́  fà = á- bó  ubisìà  bó- fì  kà- kpó

then  2SG.NOM = PROSP  come  palm oil  NMLZ  take  INF  pour

‘Then you shall pour palm oil’

Koko Amba:

19 nnuò

ńnuò

palm oil

‘Palm oil’

Cephas:

20 be  ?

bé

what

‘What?’

Kumah:

21 nnuò

ńnuò

palm oil

‘Palm oil’

Cephas:

22.1 ubisia

ùbisìà

palm oil

‘Palm oil’
Kpodo:
22.2 ubisia
übìsìà
palm oil
‘Palm oil’

23.1 ubisia a , nnuə ni ubisia .
übìsìà = à ñnuə ní übìsìà
palm oil = TOP palm oil be palm oil
‘Ubisia’, palm oil is ‘ubisia’

23.2 nnuə tsya sekpele sini ?
ñnuə tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé sè= ní
palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language CL11.NOM = be
‘Is ‘nnuə’ too a Sekpele word?’

23.3 ubisia tsya sekpele ?
übìsìà tsyâ sè- *kpè *lé
palm oil too NCL11 Likpe person language
‘ubisia’ too sekpele?’

Cephas:
24 hĩĩ
hĩĩ
yes
‘Yes’

Ogre:
25.1 nya fuufi akpo , fëë
nyá fò = ó- fi â = kpó fëë
then 2SG.NOM = FUT take 2SG.NOM pour before
foobaka sǐĩ .
fò = ó- báká sǐĩ
2SG.NOM = FUT stir a while
‘Then you will pour it before you will stir it for a while’
25.2 lo abaka, ale bobaka kenke ko
ló á= báká à= lé bò- báká kéŋké kò
if 2SG.NOM.PST stir 2SG.NOM hold NMLZ stir completely then
ete ele bokpi ko ele
étè è= lé bò- kpi kò è= lé
then 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ be thick then 3SG.NOM= hold
bokle lè bətsyuə ko lə bobaka
bò- klé ló bà- tsyúə kò- *ló kú ŋ kú ŋbisià
NMLZ wrap LOC NCL2 some NCL7 soda ash CL7.DEF and palm oil
kenke ko ele bokle lè bətsyuə sǐ
kéŋké kò è= lé bò- klé ló bà- tsyúə sǐ
all then 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ wrap LOC NCL2 some a while
yuuba kpi yuuba wɔ
yò= ó- bò kpi yò= ó- bò wɔ
3SG.NOM= FUT come be thick 3SG.NOM= FUT come become
isi .
è= sì
3SG.NOM= thicken
‘If you stir and you stir it then it will be thickening and holding to each other the soda and the palm oil, for a while it will become thick’.

25.3 kase uto s kpe ele bunya ko ,
kásé ò- *tò ɔ kpé è= lé bò- nyó kò
as NCL3 fire CL3.DEF exist 3SG.NOM= hold NMLZ sparkle then
yeesu yífó kenke elosə ko
yà= á- sù yífó kéŋké è= ló -sò kò
3SG.NOM= PROSP go do completely 3SG.NOM be finish CAUS then
la , wuuwɔ okwe .
lá wò= ó- wó wò= kwé
TOP 3SG.NOM= FUT become 3SG.NOM= become dry
‘As the fire exists and it is sparkling, then by the time it is done, it will become dry’
25.4 *wookwe*  
\[wò = \text{ó- kwé} \quad wò = \text{ó- tsyè kàsé}\]  
3SG.NOM = FUT become dry 3SG.NOM = FUT be how  
\[nò = \text{mà} \]  
REL = be.at like this  
‘It will become dry like this’.

25.5 *nyáfɛ́ nyuweg*  
\[nò = \text{wò = ó- tsyə ̀} \]  
2SG.NOM = FUT be  
\[mà \]  
like this.  
‘Then you will gather it’

25.6 *fɛ́ fuuweg*  
\[fò = \text{fò = ó- wò ̀ wò = è = kpá} \]  
2SG.NOM = FUT cause 2SG.NOM gather  
\[mà \]  
like this.  
‘Then you will beat it into balls then it will really come out as soap’

**Kpodo:**

26 *awu kenkenkenke*  
\[àwò \text{n- kēŋkē kàfiā kēŋkē n- kēŋkē lóo} \]  
clothing clean LIG clean cloth clean LIG clean UFP  
‘Clean, clean attire; clean, clean cloth’

**Kumah:**

27.1 *nyáfɛ́ foso*  
\[nò = \text{wò = ó- sò wò} \]  
2SG.NOM = FUT beat 3SG.ACC  
‘Then you beat it into balls’
For example how you will put in a bowl like this, you will beat and break into pieces.

You will break those which are big, you will gather all those which are big and break.

If you break them, then you will sprinkle water.
28.3 *fuufi*  *ntu*  *ayuə*  *zɔ̃*  *abaka*

\[ \text{fò} = \text{ó-} \ \text{fì} \ \text{ńtù} \ \text{à} = \ \text{yùó} \ \text{zɔ̃} \ \text{à} = \ \text{báká} \]

2SG.NOM = FUT  take  water  2SG.NOM  sprinkle  now  2SG.NOM  stir

\[ \text{ntu} \ \text{ńtù} \ \text{water} \]

\[ \text{əyuə} \ \text{à= yúə́} \ 2SG.NOM  sprinkle \]

\[ \text{zɔ̃} \ \text{zɔ̃́} \ now \]

\[ \text{abaka} \ \text{à= báká} \ 2SG.NOM  stir \]

\[ \text{atsyakasə} \ \text{itsyə} \ \text{seke ekobe} \ \text{lə} \]

\[ \text{à} = \ \text{tsyáká -sə è} = \ \text{tsyòd séké è} = \ \text{kòbè lə} \]

2SG.NOM  mix  CAUS  3SG.NOM  =  stay  few  3SG.NOM  =  hold  LOC

\[ \text{bətsyəu } . \]

bà-  tsyúá

NCL2  some

‘You sprinkle water now and stir it to mix for a while to hold each other’

28.4 *nyafɛ̃ɛ̃*  *òobə*  *abo*  *bosɔ*  *kase*

\[ \text{nyàiře} \ \text{à} = \ \text{á-} \ \text{bò á-} \ \text{*bò bò-} \ \text{só kàsé} \]

then  2SG.NOM  PROSP  come  CL6  fist  NMLZ  beat  as

\[ \text{òos} \ \text{utsyə} \ \text{mfo mə na} . \]

\[ \text{ò} = \ \text{só o} = \ \text{tsyòd mfò mò nò} \]

3SG.NOM  =  beat  3SG.NOM  =  put  here  like  this  really

‘Then you shall make them into fist blows as she has really done here like this’.

**Cephas:**

29 *Kemi*  *lə eyo*  *kase beyifo*  *kosate* ,

\[ \text{kèmí lò è} = \ \text{yó kàsé bá=} \ \text{yífò kòsàtə} \]

then  if  3SG.NOM.PST=  reach  how  3PL.NOM.PST=  do  ownself

\[ \text{muubə} \ \text{nbə kpo mi} . \]

\[ \text{mò=} \ \text{ó-} \ \text{bò n=} \ \text{bó kpò mí} \]

1SG.NOM  =  FUT  come  1SG.NOM  =  come  snap  2PL.ACC

‘That means if it is time for doing it in reality, I will come and cover you’.

**Koko Amba**

30 *dinə*  *muutsyue*  *mfo na* .

\[ \text{dinò mò=} \ \text{ó-} \ \text{tsyúé mfò nò} \]

the  day  1SG.NOM  =  FUT  arrange  here  really

‘The day I will really arrange it here’
Cephas Delalorm

**Cephas:**

31 lə etsyue  muubə  kpo . lə

lə́ á =  tseyúć  mò =  ó- bó  kpó  lə

if 2SG.NOM.PST  arrange 1SG.NOM =  FUT  come  snap  if

ale  bowā  muubə  kpo .

à =  lé  bó-  wà  mò =  ó- bó  kpó

2SG.NOM  hold  NMLZ  cook 1SG.NOM =  FUT  come  snap

‘If you arrange it I will come and cover it, if you are cooking, I will come and cover it’

**Kumah:**

32 sekpele  siā  simgbe kpé .

sè-  *kpè  *lé  siā  simgbé kpé

NCL11  Likpe person  language  CL11.DEF  Ewe  exist

‘The Sekpele has Ewe in it’

**Kpodo:**

33 lə ale  bosɔ  wuubə  kpo .

lə́ à =  lé  bó-  sò  wò =  ó- bó  kpó

if 2SG.NOM  hold  NMLZ  beat 3SG.NOM =  FUT  come  snap

‘If you are making balls he will come and cover it’

**Kpodo:**

34 kənə  kə̀nə́  yesterday  koŋ  kóŋ  really  enii  èníí  probably  ubə  ó =  bó  kpó  fɛ̃ɛ̃  nə

kənó  kōŋ  ènníí  ó =  bó  kpó  fɛ̃ɛ̃  nə

yesterday  really  probably  3SG.NOM.PST =  come  snap  before  really

‘Yesterday really probably he should have really come to cover it before’

**Ogre:**

35 ənni  kənə  .

è =  n-  ni  kənó

3SG.NOM =  NEG  be  yesterday

‘It isn’t yesterday’
Kumah:
36 kaymakyənə
káyipkənə
day before yesterday
‘The day before yesterday’

Kpodo:
37 kənə yɔɔsɔɔ
kənə ɔ= sɔ = ɔ
yesterday 3SG.NOM = beat = TOP
‘Yesterday she beat it’

Ogre:
38 oo kaymakyənə
ǒ o káyipkənə
no day before yesterday
‘No, the day before yesterday’

Koko Amba:
39.1 kaymakyənə minso
káyipkənə mì = n- sò
day before yesterday 1SG.NOM = EMPH beat
‘The day before yesterday I beat it into ball’

39.2 mɔmɔ mfo tsya mò̃bɔsɔɔ
mòmɔ mŋo tsyå mò= bò- sò
now here too 1SG.NOM = FUT beat
‘Right now too I will beat it’

Cephas:
40 kemi maasɔ mì anî
kèmî mà = á- sò mì à- *mì
then 1SG.NOM = PROSP hit 2PL.ACC NCL8 arm
‘Then I thank you’