THE GRAMMATICAL UNITS OF EWE

A Study of their Structure, Classes and Systems.

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with the grammar of the Ewe (correctly, and henceforth, Ɛve) language in terms of Scale and Category linguistic theory. It has two main sections: an Introduction and the Grammatical Description.

The Introduction is in three parts. First, a discussion of previous work in the field of Ɛve grammar which is intended to make obvious the need for a fresh look at the subject. Second, a brief summary of the theoretical presuppositions on which the analysis is based - Scale and Category theory. Third, a summary statement of those phonological features of Ɛve which are pertinent to the grammatical description presented here.

The Grammatical Description constitutes the main body of the thesis. The grammatical units found necessary and adequate to describe Ɛve are the

Sentence, Clause, Group, Word and Morpheme. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 deal with the Units Sentence, Clause and Group respectively. Chapter 4 deals with the Units Word and Morpheme. A formal definition is attempted for each of the units and their structures are described in terms of their constituent elements (except for the Morpheme which has no grammatical structure) and the exponents of each are given. Where relevant (i.e. in the Clause, Group, Word and Morpheme but not in the Sentence), the various classes and sub-classes that operate at the places in these structures are described and exemplified to varying degrees of delicacy. The systems operating at the ranks of Sentence, Clause and Group are summarised at the end of the discussion of these units. The grammatical description is summed up in a brief concluding remark.

The thesis closes with a selected bibliography of relevant works in General Linguistics on the one hand and of Eve grammar on the other.

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The influence of Professor M.A.K. Halliday, whose work has formed the theoretical basis for this thesis, is evident on every page. I have also benefited greatly from discussions with Professor Halliday and should like to pay tribute to him here. Clearly any shortcomings are my own and due neither to him nor any of those mentioned above.

Finally I am also greatly indebted to all my willing and kind informants, especially to my wife, Julia, who provided not only data but also constant encouragement and support for this work.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Sent	- Sentence
a	- Element of sentence structure expounded by a free clause
b	- Element of sentence structure expounded by a bound clause
b_c	- Co-ordinate bound clause
b_n	- Neutral bound clause
b_s	- Subordinate bound clause
b_{pre}	- Bound clause sequentially restricted to occur before a free clause
b_{post}	- Bound clause sequentially restricted to occur after a free clause
b_{vari}	- Bound clause not sequentially restricted
?	- Interrogative subsidiary element of sentence structure
!	- Addressive subsidiary element of sentence structure
A	- Adjunct element of clause structure
C	- Complement element of clause structure
C_a	- Direct complement
C_b	- Indirect complement
-C-	- Ambivalent complement
L	- Link element of clause structure
P	- Predicator element of clause structure
S	- Subject element of clause structure
Z	- Ambiguous element of clause structure

ag - Adverbial group
ng - Nominal group
vg - Verbal group

h - Head element of nominal group structure
q - Qualifier element of nominal group structure
disc - Discontinuous element of verbal group structure
n-s - Non-stem element of verbal group structure
pre-s - Pre-stem element of verbal group structure
post-s - Post-stem element of verbal group structure
vs - Verb stem
R(v) - Reduplicated verb

adj - Adjective
adv - Adverb
conj - Conjunction
int - Intensifier
intj - Interjection
l - Linker
n - Noun
part - Participle
pl - Pluraliser
pro - Pronoun
qnt - Quantifier
sp - Specifier
v - Verb
vid - Verbid

adj_a - Ambivalent sub-class of Adjective
adj_u - Univalent sub-class of Adjective

$\underline{adv}_a$ - Attached sub-class of Adverb
$\underline{adv}_u$ - Unattached sub-class of Adverb

$\underline{conj}_c$ - Co-ordinating sub-class of Conjunction
$\underline{conj}_n$ - Neutral sub-class of Conjunction
$\underline{conj}_s$ - Subordinating sub-class of Conjunction

$\underline{n}_j$ - Juxtaposed sub-class of Noun
$\underline{n}_l$ - Linked sub-class of Noun
$\underline{n}_r$ - Relational sub-class of Noun
$\underline{n}_p$ - Postpositional sub-class of Noun
$\underline{n}_t$ - Temporal sub-class of Noun
$\underline{n}_u$ - Univalent sub-class of Noun

$\underline{part}_n$ - Non-verbal particle
$\underline{part}_v$ - Verbal particle

$\underline{qnt}_c$ - Cardinal sub-class of Quantifier
$\underline{qnt}_o$ - Ordinal sub-class of Quantifier
$\underline{qnt}_n$ - Numeral sub-class of Quantifier
$\underline{qnt}_x$ - Non-numeral sub-class of Quantifier

$\underline{sp}_n$ - Neutral sub-class of Specifier
$\underline{sp}_o$ - Negative sub-class of Specifier
$\underline{sp}_?$ - Interrogative sub-class of Specifier

$\underline{v}_d$ - Discontinuous type of verb
$\underline{v}_m$ - Motion sub-class of verb
$\underline{v}_n$ - Non-motion sub-class of verb

r/s - Rankshifted
f/s - Front-shifted
$\overline{x}$ - Absence of item in structure
(x) - Optional item
y⟨x⟩ - Discontinuous item, where x is internal to discontinuous y.
$\dot{x}$ - Recursively occurring item
x/y - Alternatives
↘ - Expounded (realised) by
‖ - Sentence boundary (used only to draw attention to sentence status)
| - Clause boundary
: - Group boundary
space - Word boundary
- - Morpheme boundary (used only to draw attention to morpheme status)
o. - Lengthened vowel (where o is any vowel)
ó - High tone (where o is any tone-bearing segment)
ò - Low tone (where o is any tone-bearing segment)
No mark - Mid tone

ADDENDA

The following abbreviations have been used in addition to those given above:

aug	- augmenting particle
con	- continuous aspect particle
fut	- future tense particle
hab	- habitual aspect particle
in	- intention aspect particle
p/p	- present/past tense particle
rep	- repetitive particle

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a description of the grammar[1] of the western dialect of the Eve language, spoken in the Volta Region of Ghana and in southern Togo. The register[2] is the semi-formal, conversational variety which has developed over the past hundred years or so as a result of the cross-dialectal contacts which may be attributed mainly to the influence of western education and the colonial powers. This register, rather than any one specific dialect, has become the most widely understood form of Eve among native speakers.

This presentation, which deals with grammar to the exclusion of semantics and phonology is, of course, not the first description of the language, and a short survey of previous works is given below. It is rather an attempt to apply modern linguistic principles to an African language that is relatively well-known to linguists. The result of the rigid application of

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[1] The term "grammar" is used in a specific way when referring to this work. This is discussed in the section of the introduction dealing with the theoretical presuppositions.

[2] cf. Halliday, Mcintosh and Strevens: p. 77.

these principles is an analysis that is very different in many respects from all previous descriptions.

The rest of this introduction deals briefly with former grammatical descriptions of the language, the theoretical presuppositions upon which the present description is based, and those phonological features (especially tonal) that are relevant to the grammar as delimited later.

I Former Grammars of Eve

Earlier publications on Eve grammar can be divided into two groups:

1) The works leading up to and including those of D. Westermann,

and 2) The works since Westermann.

Two reasons may be given for this division. The first is that there is evidence to show that whereas Westermann's grammar represents the climax of the descriptions which preceded him, his followers have always looked back to him as their point of reference. The second reason is that all the works of the first group were aimed almost exclusively at studying Eve as a second language, but works of the second group have mainly aimed at teaching the language as the mother tongue to indigenous

pupils.

Eve grammars up to Westermann Although word lists and other records date from much earlier, the first attempt at a grammar of Eve dates from 1857. This is J. Schlegel's Schlüssel zur Ewe-Sprache. The book consists of sections on grammar, proverbs, folk tales, bible stories and word lists in a variety of Eve that seems to be a mixture of the Aŋlɔ and Gɛ̃ dialects. More than thirty years passed before Henrici's Lehrbuch der Ephe Sprache was published (1891). The present writer did not have access to this book, but the title indicates its pedagogical intention. This was followed by Bürgi's Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Ewesprache (1897). Although this is a smaller work, the similarity in subject matter and treatment between it and Westermann's grammar is very great. The belief that the two must have collaborated closely is strengthened by the knowledge that Bürgi and Westermann shared the same house for some time in Lome at the turn of the century.[3] In 1906 A. Seidel, who had earlier produced a grammatical survey of the Aŋlɔ and Anɛxɔ dialects of Eve together with

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[3]Personal communication from Pastor Ramsauer, Director of the Norddeutsche Missions-Gesellschaft.

Hausa (1904), also published a Lehrbuch der Ewhe-Sprache in Togo. In the same year Ewen published his Grammatikalische Elemente von Südwest Togo, a work which the present writer has not been able to obtain.[4]

It was in the context of these works that the first edition of Diedrich Westermann's Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache appeared in 1907. Being the most comprehensive grammar of Eve written hitherto, and unfortunately since, the Grammatik, together with the English translation by Bickford-Smith - A Study of the Ewe Language (1930), has become the standard reference work.

Eve Grammars since Westermann Since the first edition of the Grammatik those who have produced grammatical descriptions of western Eve are Westermann himself, Potakey, Herman, Obianim and Baëta.

Apart from his lexicographical and comparative works Westermann's contribution during this time consisted mainly of Die Ewe-Sprache in Togo (1939), a students' text book and a number of articles dealing

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[4]During all this time valuable work on language surveys, conversational exercises and textual and ethnographic materials was being published. In themselves these had little to do with grammar and so are not of immediate relevance here.

with specific subjects that had more or less been covered in the Grammatik: e.g. Die Frage in Ewe (1942), Der Wortbau des Ewe (1943), and Form und Funktion der Reduplikation (1944). In each of these articles there is no substantial change either in the basic theory or the description from those of the Grammatik.

Potakey's article Notes on Ewe Writing is intended as aguide to teachers in the teaching of orthography, but is relevant inasmuch as he assumes that there are eight parts of speech and discusses how they are to be written.

It has not been possible to have access to Herman's A Short Ewe-Grammar with English-Ewe-French Vocabulary (1939).

Obianim's Evegbe Duti Nya (1950) and Baëta's Míafe Gbe, both of which are textbooks for upper primary and lower secondary school pupils, have one thing in common: they are written in Eve for native Eve speakers. Neither of these, however, is strictly speaking a descriptive grammar.

With their emphasis on the teaching of Eve, works of the second group have not been immediately concerned with questions of grammatical analysis

and the linguistic principles upon which these are based. The analysis of Eve was taken for granted.[5]

Important however as Westermann's works are, they have the disadvantages common to many such descriptions produced at the beginning of the century. Theoretical inconsistencies are not uncommon and many of the categories set up seem to have no basis except a notional one derived from other languages. There are attempts to connect forms by etymologies that cannot be substantiated.

Nevertheless this thesis is not meant as a correction of Westermann or any other writer. It is simply an attempt to examine the grammar of Eve in the light of a current linguistic theory and to describe this grammar in terms of its categories. The theoretical basis of this analysis is the subject of the next section of the introduction.

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[5]Westermann's work and the Eve translation of the Bible are regarded by many educated Eves as the source (rather than the result) of "good" Eve.

II Theoretical Presuppositions

The thesis adopts a general view of language and linguistics that is similar to that of M.A.K. Halliday, known as "Scale and Category" theory.[6] There are minor points of difference, especially in the actual descriptive section, between Halliday's treatment and this presentation, and these are indicated whenever necessary.

A fundamental requirement of the Scale and Category model is that linguistic events should be accounted for at a number of 'levels'. This is because each of these levels involves a different kind of abstraction and patterning. There are three levels: those of Substance, Form and Situation. Substance embraces the phonic and graphic material of language occurrence. Form accounts for the organization of Substance into meaningful structural patterns.[7] Situation comprises the extra-linguistic features to which language refers.

The necessary links between substance and form, and between form and situation are termed "inter-

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[6] cf. Halliday; Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens; Hasan; Huddleston; Smith: 1964; Verma.

[7] cf. Halliday, 1961, p.243.

levels". The interlevel by which substance is related to form is Phonology or Graphology.[8] Form and situation are related to each other by the interlevel of context.

The levels of substance and situation are not treated in this thesis, nor strictly speaking are the interlevels of phonology and context, except insofar as reference to these interlevels sheds light on Form. It is with the level of form that we are concerned here.

The internal structurings for which the level of form accounts are of different status. There are, on the one hand, those patternings which have such a limited number of choice possibilities that they can be exhaustively listed and described, and on the other hand, those patternings which can neither be exhaustively listed nor completely described in grammar. The delimitable patterns are referred to as "closed" and those which are not as "open". The former operate in "systems" and the latter consist of "sets". There is no clear break within form between the "closed systems" and the "open sets". They merge gradually into each other, forming

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[8] cf. Halliday, 1961: p.244; McIntosh, 1956.

a continuum which is termed a "cline".

However, the variable "range" of choice possibilities that occur at various points in the patterning of language at the level of form necessitates an intralevel distinction between "Grammar" and "Lexis". Grammar is concerned with that part of form where the choice possibilities are limited and clear, i.e. closed systems; lexis is concerned with that part where choice is not limited, i.e. open sets.

It is with grammar defined in this way that this thesis is specifically concerned. It is thus limited to a discussion of that part of the linguistic level of form at which finite numbers of choice possibilities operate. Reference will be made to the demilevel of lexis and to the interlevel of phonology only insofar as these contribute to the solution of the grammatical issues being discussed.

The model claims that a full description of grammar requires four basic "Categories". These are Unit, Structure, Class and System. A coherent and comprehensive account of the demilevel of grammar is only possible when all these categories are taken into consideration. In other words, the nature of language

is such that they must be entrenched in any theory about language, and these four categories are necessary and sufficient, qua categories, to account for the generalizations that can be made about the grammar of any language. Each of the four categories is related to and logically dependent on each of the others. None has precedence or logical priority over the others.

The category Unit is set up to account for the stretch of language that carries grammatical pattern. The units are hierarchically arranged on the "Rankscale". Thus one can speak of units of higher and lower rank. This hierarchy is taxonomic and therefore, apart from the lowest grammatical unit, each unit is composed of one, or more than one whole unit of the rank next below it on the rankscale. The grammatical units vary from language to language, and it is the burden of the description to discover and state them.

Structure is that category which accounts for the ways a unit may be made up of the occurrences of the unit next below. It is an abstraction at the highest level of syntagmatic patterns and their relationships. A structure is always that of a given unit and is made up of Elements. The elements are

"ordered", i.e. in each occurrence of a structure exists a patterning of its constituent elements. This ordering is not necessarily lineal or in continuous sequence.

A structure may be Multivariate (made up of different classes of elements) or Univariate - typified by Recursion - (made up of elements of the same class occurring more than once). The elements of structure in a multivariate structure are said to be "place-ordered" and those in a univariate (recursive) structure are said to be "depth-ordered".

The category Class is set up to account for the functional relationship that exists between a given unit and the elements of structure of the next higher unit on the rankscale. A class therefore is that set of members of a given unit which have the same possibility of operation in the structure of the unit next above on the rankscale. It is not a grouping of items that have similar structure. In fact, the members of a class may not have any structural similarity at all. It is their ability to operate at the same place in the structure of the unit next above that determines their common membership in the class. Thus the classes of a given unit are determined at the unit above and not within the

unit itself. The role of this category is to distinguish what may be grouped together in terms of function at the next higher unit and what may not.

At any given place on the rankscale a class may be further analysed into secondary, tertiary, etc Subclasses. This subdivision involves "delicacy" which will be discussed under the heading "Scales".

The demilevel of grammar deals with a fixed and relatively small number of choice possibilities. The occurrence of a specific item rather than another at a given place in structure implies that such a choice possibility exists. Whenever there is a choice it makes a difference which item is chosen from a given finite set. The category of System is set up to account for the choice possibilities at a given place in structure. A system is thus said to operate when one item is chosen from a finite number of mutually exclusive items. The set of items that can possibly operate in a given system are the Terms in that system. The more delicate the subclassification the greater the number of systems.

To relate the four categories of unit, structure, class and system to each other and to the data of individual languages three scales of abstraction are

set up. These are Rank, Exponence and Delicacy.

Some reference has been made to the scale of Rank in the discussion of the category Unit. Rank accounts for the hierarchical relationship that the units have one to another. As has been mentioned, the units are arranged on the rankscale such that there is one or more than one whole unit of the lowest rank in the next unit above it, and one or more than one unit of the second lowest rank in the next unit above (i.e. the third) and so on to the highest unit. The only exception to this rule is seen in the phenomenon of "Rankshift". This is the situation in natural language in which a given unit operates as part of another structure at the same rank, or as the whole or part of the structure of a lower unit.[9] The theory allows rankshifting only within the same unit or from a higher to a lower unit, and never from a lower to a higher unit.

Rankshifting apart, each grammatical unit is "ranked" in relation to the other units. It is important to note that on the rankscale none of the units has logical priority over the others, and no unit is more important than the others. Whilst all languages

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[9] cf. Halliday, 1961: p.251.

can perhaps be described in terms of a scale of rank the number of units on the rankscale in individual languages may differ.

The scale of Exponence relates the categories, which are abstractions of the theory of grammar, to the data which comprise natural language. It links each of the categories to the data by Exponents.[10] The exponent of any of the categories may be cited directly from the data or may be described step by step in terms of its relationship with the other categories. The ultimate link between the grammatical category and the data is expressed in terms of "Formal Items". A move from any one of the categories, via any or all of the other categories, to the formal item is a move along the scale of exponence. When the description reaches the formal item the function of descriptive grammar is over, and from the formal item either lexis or phonology may take over.

The scale of Delicacy deals with the degree of detail in differentiation within the same unit. In theory, the elements that operate at places in the

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[10]The terms "exponence" and "expound" are used interchangeably with "realisation" and "realise".

structure of each unit can be subdivided into secondary or sub-classes, and these sub-classes further subdivided until a point is reached beyond which no grammatical distinctions can be made. The relation between these classes and their sub-groupings is what is termed delicacy. Delicacy is therefore said to be a cline on which structures are ranged from the least delicate (consisting of primary structures) to the most delicate (consisting of the finest subdivisions possible in grammar). In practice an increase in delicacy is an increase in the grammatical comprehensiveness of the description over the whole range of the analysis. It is vital to distinguish delicacy which is an intra-unit scale from rank which is an inter-unit one.

III Phonological Essentials

The thesis presupposes the phonological description of Rue in Ansre 1961 and 1963. A brief summary of this information, which is essentially phonemic rather than phonological, is given here. The description emphasises the role of tone.

1) Vowels: The following twelve vowel phonemes are found in Ɛve:

/i, ĩ, e, ɛ, ɛ̃, a, ã, ɔ, ɔ̃, o, u, ũ/

All of these can be lengthened. Long vowels are analysed as sequences of these vowels.[11]

2) Consonants: There are 27 consonant phonemes. These may be grouped into the following three classes by virtue of their relationship to the tones:

Class A: voiced stops, voiced fricatives and the voiced affricate:

viz. /b, d, ɖ, g, gb, ʋ, v, z, h, dz/

Class B: voiceless stops, voiceless fricatives and the voiceless affricate:

viz. /p, t, k, kp, ƒ, f, s, x, ts/

Class C: the flap/lateral[12], nasals and semi-vowels:

viz. /l, m, n, ny, ŋ, w, y, ɣ/

3) Tones: Three tonemes are found: high, non-high and rising. The non-high toneme has the allotones low and mid. The rising toneme has allotones

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[11] For diphthongs cf. Ansre, 1961: pp. 9f.

[12] [l] and [r] are in complementary distribution and are therefore allophones of the same phoneme.

low-high and mid-high.

The tonal system is interrelated with the consonant system as well as with the Nominal and Verbal grammatical classes.

Nominals with initial consonants from class A always have the low allotone of the non-high toneme, and the low-high allotone of the rising toneme.

Nominals with initial consonants from class B or C can have the high or non-high toneme. When they have the high toneme they remain high in all environments. When they have the non-high toneme they have the low allotone in the following environments:

a) in isolation
b) before a low tone
and c) in final position in the utterance.

They have the mid allotone in the following environments:

a) before a high tone
and b) before a mid tone.

Nominals with initial consonants from class B or C have the mid-high allotone of the rising toneme.

The tone of verbals with initial consonant from any of class A, B or C may be high or low; but in

the singular of the imperative mood verbals with initial consonants from class A and C which have high tone elsewhere, have rising tone. Verbals with initial consonants from class B in this environment, however, remain high.

In the description which follows, the gramma tical units which are set up for Eve are: Sentence, Clause, Group, Word and Morpheme. Each of these is defined and analysed in turn. Chapters One, Two and Three deal with the Sentence, Clause and Group in that order. Chapter Four is devoted to both the Word and the Morpheme. A brief summary of the analysis ends the thesis.

Chapter 1 The Unit Sentence

CHAPTER 1 THE UNIT SENTENCE

1. Introduction and Definition

In this study the sentence is the highest unit on the rankscale which it has been found necessary to set up.[1] This is because it is the largest[2] linguistic stretch about which grammatical statements can be made. Whereas each of the other units set up can be demonstrated to operate as classes at places in the structure of higher units, the unit sentence does not operate as a class at a place in the structure of any higher unit.

1.1 Elements of Sentence Structure

The structure of the sentence is described in terms of the constituent clauses. The sentence

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[1] a) Features such as cross-reference, anaphora and the concept of the paraphone which "discourse analysis" has highlighted do indicate inter-sentence relationships. It is therefore not quite correct to say that a sentence "has internal but no external grammatical relationships" (Smith, 1964:p.68). However these relationships are not dealt with in this thesis, because they do not lend themselves to the same type of abstraction as intra-sentence features.
b) Sole dependence on phonological criteria (e.g. pause potentiality and pre-pausal tonal features) in the setting-up of grammatical entities has been avoided in this thesis as it leads to the confusing of grammar and phonology.

[2] The "largest" in terms of constituent units, not of mere length or the time taken to utter it.

consists of one or more clauses. There can be no sentence which consists of less than one clause.

The primary elements which are found in the structure of Eve sentences are two. These are symbolized as the a element and the b element. These elements a and b which are also called "places" in the structure of sentences, are identified in terms of the class of the unit clause which expounds or realises them. The class of the unit clause which operates at place a in the structure of the sentence is designated the Free (or independent) clause, and that which operates at place b is designated the Bound (or dependent) clause, (cf. 1.3).

All the possible combinations of the elements a and b in the structure of the sentence may be conflated into the formula: $(\dot{b})\ a\ (\dot{b})$[3].

The following patterning of the constituents of Eve sentences illustrate some of the possible combinations:

a	ɖèví á kpó m̀	- the child saw me
a	tsó	- stand up!
a	nyè mé yó wò ò	- I did not call you

[3]Theoretically the element b of sentence structure is recursive. The data available, however, show a maximum of bb in pre a position and bbb in post a position.

ab ɖèví á kpɔ́ m̀ | gàké é trɔ́ megbé
- the child saw me but she turned back

abb ɖèví á kpɔ́ m̀ | éye wò trɔ́ megbé | gàké me yɔ́ è
- the child saw me and turned back but I called her

ba ésì ɖèví á kpɔ́ m lá | é trɔ́ megbé
- when the child saw me she turned back

bba ésì me kpɔ́ ɖèví á | éye wò trɔ́ megbé lá | me yɔ́ è
- when I saw the child and she turned back I called her

bbabbb ési me kpɔ́ ɖèví á | éye wò trɔ́ megbé lá | me yɔ́ è | élàbéná me nyá ɛ nyúíé | ésime míé nɔ̀ àfé ɖèká mè lè kpáńdo | háfí wò dzó vá àfíì
- when I saw the child and she turned back I called her because I knew her well when we lived in a house at Kpando before she left to come here

Note that in the case of recursive b elements there are various kinds of relationship among them. These interrelationships may be paratactic or hypotactic, but are not dealt with in this thesis.

1.2 Sentence Types

Using multiple criteria it is possible to group Eve sentences into various types. It is found useful here to make two such type distinctions. The

first is the distinction between what is termed the Major and the Minor sentence type,[4] the second is between the Simple and the Compound sentence type.

1.2.1 Major and Minor Sentence Types

The distinction between major and minor sentences is made on the basis of the constituent structure of the clause which makes up the sentence. Strictly speaking therefore this major/minor distinction is one that belongs to the unit clause (cf. 2.2). However, it is necessary to refer to it here since a complete sentence can consist of a minor clause alone, and a treatment of the unit sentence is incomplete if it does not account for this.

A sentence whose constituent clause has a Predicator (P) element of structure is designated a Major sentence, and that whose constituent clause structure has no P element a Minor sentence.

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[4]This distinction between major and minor sentence types is similar in essence to the distinction made between "favourite" and "non-favourite" or "minority" sentences by Bendor-Samuel, 1961: pp. 35f., and Robins, 1964: pp. 232f.

e.g.	Major sentence	Minor sentence
	tɔsísí sia dɔ́ gútɔ́	tɔsísí siá
	- this river is very much flooded	- this river
	kofí dzrá kòkóò gèdèè	kofí
	- Kofi sold plenty of cocoa	- Kofi
	é lè àfé á mè à	àfé á mè à
	- is he in the house?	- in the house?

1.2.2 Simple and Compound Sentence Types

The distinction between simple and compound sentences is made on the basis of the number of constituent clauses in the sentence. A sentence consisting of only one clause is simple, and one which consists of more than one clause is compound.

The Simple Sentence The simple sentence is always expounded by a free clause.[5]

àfúá lè dɔ̀ lé-mí	- Afua is sick
é mlɔ́ anyí à	- has she lain down?
é gà lè fèfé-mí kò	- she is still playing

[5]Thus a string of several independent clauses is analysed as consisting of several simple sentences. The advantage of such an analysis in the case of Gbe is that it avoids an arbitrary division between separate sentences and "linked clauses" where no obvious distinguishing criteria can be found.

The Compound Sentence The compound sentence has, by definition, more than one element of sentence structure. Of these only one is a free clause as classified in 1.3 below. All the other constituent clauses are bound. This accounts for the presence of only one a element of sentence structure in the formula: (ḃ) a (ḃ). Thus we have the compound sentence:

abbb égbe é nyé nyèé dzì-gbè | éyaáta mè tsò kokló | éye me ɖa nú yɔ́ mì | gàké mie gbé vàvá
to-day is my birthday so I killed a chicken and cooked it and called you but you refused to come

whose elements of structure are:

the free clause: /égbe é nyé nyèé dzì-gbè/ and

the three bound clauses: /éyaáta mè tsò kokló/
/éye me ɖa nú yɔ́ mì/
/gàké me gbé vàvá/

The relationship which exists between the free clause and the bound clause or clauses in the structure of the compound sentence may be expressed in terms of "presupposition". The free clause which operates at place a is "presupposed" by any bound clauses that operate at place b. However, the bound clause or clauses that

operate at place b are not presupposed by the free clause. The free clause can therefore be referred to as the presupposed clause, and the bound clause as the presupposing clause.

It should be observed that in relating the two type distinctions outlined above, it can be said that a sentence is either major or minor. A major sentence can either be simple or compound, but a minor sentence does not permit of the simple/compound distinction. Thus a series of minor sentences cannot be analysed as anything but a number of separate sentences.

1.3 Free and Bound Clauses

The distinction between free and bound clauses is made on the basis of their function in sentence structure. The free clause can occur in isolation as the sole exponent of the sentence, but the bound clause cannot constitute a complete sentence by itself.[6]

---

[6] The occurrence of the bound clause in "response" utterances is here regarded as an incompleted sentence.

ba ési me kpó wo ko lá | nyèé dzì dzè é-mè
- just seeing you relieved me

which consists of the bound clause:

/ési me kpó wo ko lá/

and the free clause:

/nyèé dzì dzè é-mè/

The latter clause can be the sole exponent of the simple sentence:

nyèé dzì dzè é-mè - I was relieved

whereas the latter cannot.

This isolability of the free clause further justifies the concept of "presupposition" discussed in the paragraph on compound sentence structure (cf. 1.2.2.)

Apart from this functional distinction one structural feature distinguishes these two clauses. The bound clause always has a Link (L) element of clause structure, but the free clause never has this element. The presence of the L element in the case of the bound clause and the absence of it in the free clause is a crucial difference between these clauses.

Thus in the last example:

ba ési me kpó wo ko lá | nyèé dzì dzè é-mè

the L element in the bound clause whose formal exponent

is /ési/ - "when", is an integral part of the bound clause: /ési me kpó wo ko lá/ whereas the free clause: /nyèé dzì dzè é-mè/ cannot have an L element of structure and still be a free clause. Any clause which has an L element of structure is therefore a bound clause by definition.

1.3.1 Classes of the Bound Clause

In the compound sentence the bound clause which operates at place b in sentence structure can be classified into b_c, b_s or b_n according as it is in coordinate, subordinate or neutral relationship to the free clause operating at place a. The criteria for this sub-classification are found in:

i) the class of the L element of structure which occurs in the clause; conditioning

ii) the class of the pronoun which can occur in subject position.

Different classes of L element co-occur with different classes of pronoun, and it is necessary to set up two series of subject pronouns when dealing with the difference among coordinate, subordinate and neutral structures. The following is the paradigm of

the two series concerned.[7]

Series I		Series II	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1. me	míé	me	míé
2. (n)e	mie	(n)e	mie
3. é	wó	wò	wó

Pronoun series I occurs in the free clause. It can occur in a bound clause when, and only when, a specific class of L element co-occurs with it. Series II never occurs in the free clause. In bound clauses it occurs only when a different class of L element also occurs.

The corresponding sub-classification of the L element of clause structure is into L_1, L_2 and L_3. Class L_1 always co-occurs with subject pronoun series I. Class L_2 always co-occurs with subject pronoun series II. Class L_3 is ambivalent and may occur with either series I or series II.

Below is the list of formal items that expound L in clause structure. They are grouped under their appropriate class heading:

---

[7] cf4.1.2.1 for the full set of pronoun series.

L_1 -	élàbéná	- "because"
	gàké	- "but"
L_2 -	àbé (álésí/ɖè)	- "as"
	ési (me)	- "when"
	ési< >ŋútí/tá	- "because"
	éye	- "and"
	kásíáá	- "just before"
	háfí	- "before"
	tètè	- "suddenly"
	vásé (ɖé)(ésime)	- "till"
L_3 -	álé (bé)	- "so that"
	bé	- "that"
	éyaáta	- "therefore"
	né	- "if", "when"
	tógbóbé	- "although"

Those bound clauses in which series I pronouns co-occur with class L_1 are designated Co-ordinate Clauses; those in which series II pronouns co-occur with class L_2 are designated Subordinate Clauses and those in which either series I or series II of the pronoun classes co-occur with the class L_3 are called Neutral Clauses. Neutral Clauses can be either

co-ordinate or subordinate depending on the pronoun series that occurs in them.

Sentences with co-ordinate, subordinate and neutral clauses are given below by way of illustration. In each case the third person singular is used in subject position in the bound clause to highlight the difference.

Co-ordination

ab_c é tsì | gàké é ƒúá dù
- he is old but he runs

ab_c mè ƒò è | élàbéná é dzù m̀
- I beat him because he insulted me

Subordination

ab_s é tsi | éye wò ƒúá dù
- he is old and he runs

ab_s me ƒo e | háfí wò dzù m̀
- I beat him before he insulted me

b_sa ésì wò dzu m ta | mè ƒò è
- because he insulted me I beat him

Neutrality - with no difference in meaning.

ab_n é nyó | bé é vá

ab_n é nyó | bé wò vá
- It is good that he came

b_na né é yɔ́ m lá | ma á yì

b_na né wò yɔ́ m lá | ma á yì
- when he calls me I shall go

It should be noted that pronouns of other persons and number, and other types of nominal group expounding S in bound clauses, are regarded as expounding co-ordination, subordination or neutrality by analogy with the third person singular form that can be substituted in a comparable clause.

1.3.2 Sequential Restraints on Bound Clauses

The formulaic conflation of the elements of sentence structure has been given as (b̊) a (b̊). This means that in the compound sentence the bound clauses which operate at place b may precede or follow the free clause. At a further degree of delicacy there is a restriction on the bound clauses that may operate at each of the two places. Some bound clauses always precede the free clause in sequence, others always follow it, and still others occur freely either before or after the free clause. The bound clause which occurs only before the free clause is termed the Pre-a bound clause (b_{pre}); that which occurs only after the free clause is termed the Post-a bound clause (b_{post}); and that which occurs either before or after the free clause is termed Variant bound clause (b_{vari}).

Whether a bound clause is b_{pre}, b_{post} or b_{vari} is determined by the L element of its constituent structure. The L elements can therefore be further classified into three sets on the basis of the sequential restraints that they impose upon the clauses of which they are constituent elements. This classification cuts across that of the L elements into L_1, L_2 and L_3 which deals with the choice of co-ordination and subordination.

The chart below shows the classification of the L elements of clause structure into sequential groupings.

$\underline{b_{pre}}$	$\underline{b_{post}}$		$\underline{b_{vari}}$	
kásíáá	L_2	élàbéná	L_1	ési (me)	L_2
		gàké	L_1	ési< >ta/ŋútí	L_2
		àbó (álésì/ɖè)	L_2	háfí	L_2
		éye	L_2	vásé (ɖé)(ésime)	L_2
		si	L_2	bé (ná)	L_3
		tètè	L_2	né	L_3
		álé (bé)	L_3	tógbóbé	L_3
		éyaáta	L_3		

The following are illustrations of the sequential restrictions referred to above:

$\underline{b}_{pre}\underline{a}$ kásíáá ŋu ná ke lá | xeví á wó dzò lè àtí á me xóxó
- before it is daylight the birds will have flown from the tree

not *xeví á wó dzò lè àtí á me xóxó | kásíáá ŋu ná ke lá

$\underline{ab}_{post}$ me kpó awu lá | gàké nyè mé ká àsí é-ŋú ò
I saw the clothing but I did not touch it

not *gàké nyè mé ká àsí é-ŋú o | me kpó awu lá

cf. aŋkú dó awu titrií | élàbéná àvùvò le é wɔ-ḿ
Anku wore thick clothing because he felt cold

not *élàbéná àvùvò le é wɔ-ḿ | aŋkú dó awu titrií

and me ɖí fo | éyaáta nyè má a ga ɖu nú fífíá ò
I'm full up therefore I cannot eat anything now

not *éyaáta nyè má a ga ɖu nú fífíá o | me ɖí fo

$\underline{b}_{vari}\underline{a}$ ési ŋu ke lá | xeví á wó dzò lè àtí á mè
- when it was daylight the birds flew from the tree

$\underline{ab}_{vari}$ xeví á wó dzò lè àtí á me | ési ŋu ke lá
- the birds flew from the tree when it was daylight

$\underline{ab}_{vari}$ ma a vá | né mè ŋlɔ̀ àgbàlẽ siá vɔ̀ kò
- I shall come as soon as I finish writing this letter

$\underline{b}_{vari}\underline{a}$ né mè ŋlɔ̀ àgbàlẽ siá vɔ̀ kò | ma a vá
- as soon as I finish writing this letter I shall come.

1.4 Discontinuity in Sentence Structure

Theoretically any two elements of a grammatical unit may be sequentially contiguous to each other, fused with each other, or one or both may be discontinuous with the whole or part of the other internal to it. In the Eve sentence the elements are either contiguous or discontinuous. There is no evidence of fused elements of sentence structure. So far the discussion of sentence structure has been limited to that with contiguous elements of structure. The following is a description of discontinuity in elements of sentence structure.

Discontinuity may mean that only one of two elements is discontinuous and the whole of the other element is internal to it. It may also mean that both elements are discontinuous and part of each is internal to part of the other. In Eve sentence structure only the former case applies. Of the two elements a and b only a can be discontinuous; the b element is never discontinuous. It is accordingly the b element or elements which are internal to the discontinuous a element.

Thus the formula for discontinuity in

sentence structure is: a ⟨b̊⟩ for instance:

a⟨b⟩ ètsɔ ⟨ésì mè gbɔ̀-nà àfé-me lá⟩ me kpɔ́ ɖèví á lè àsì-mè

- yesterday when I was coming home I saw the child in the market

whose constituent elements are:

a ètsɔ me kpɔ́ ɖèví á lè àsì-mè

- yesterday I saw the child in the market

and b ésì mè gbɔ̀-nà àfé-me lá

- when I was coming home

a b àfí kaá ne gblɛ́ ɖèví á ɖó ⟨háfí vá le ɣe ɖú-ḿ⟩:

- where did you leave the children before you came to dance?

whose constituent elements are:

a àfí kaá ne gblɛ́ ɖèví á ɖó⟨ ⟩:

- where did you leave the child?

(containing the sub-class interrogative of the word-class Specifier (sp) realised by the discontinuous formal item /kaá⟨ ⟩:/). cf. 4.1.5.1.

and b háfí vá le ɣe ɖú-ḿ

- before you came to dance

The combination of the two clauses above results in the final low tone of the interrogative

specifier being discontinuous from the rest of the free clause.

The discontinuous a element can have an unlimited number of b elements internal to it. The following example has three:

a⟨bbb⟩ nya kaa é dzɔ ɖé wó dzí ⟨ háfí me dɔ́ ame ɖé wó | wó gbé vàvá | éye wò le ná m bé nye ŋútɔ́ má tí wó ⟩ ː

- why is it that I sent to them and they refused to come and it was necessary for me to go after them myself?

whose constituent elements are:

a nya kaa é dzɔ ɖé wó dzí⟨ ⟩ː
- what happened to them?

b_s háfí me dɔ́ ame ɖé wó
- before I sent people to them

b_s wó gbé vàvá
- they refused to come

b_s éye wò le ná m bé nye ŋútɔ́ má tí wó[8]
- and it was necessary for me tc go after them myself

---

[8] When the tone of the final syllable of the internal element is low, there is phonological neutralisation of the final low tone of the discontinuous element.
Compare: /nú kaá ne fɔ́ː/ - "what did you raise up?"
with: /nú kaá nè fɔ̀ː/ - "what did you find?"

1.5 Subsidiary Elements of Sentence Structure

There are two subsidiary elements of sentence structure in Eve. These are:

i) the interrogative element (?)

and ii) the addressive element (!)

The ? element of structure This subsidiary element is realised by a one-member class particle whose formal exponent is /à/. This element occurs in final position in the sentence, its presence marking the sentence as interrogative.cf.4.1.13.1

e.g. núfíálá yɔ́ kofí - teacher called Kofi
cf. núfíálá yɔ́ kofí à - did teacher call Kofi?
and né zã̀ dɔ́ lá | ɖèví á dɔ́-á alɔ̃ nyúíé
- when night falls the child sleeps well
cf. né zã̀ dɔ́ lá | ɖèví á dɔ́-á alɔ̃ nyúíé à
- when night falls does the child sleep well?

The ? element may occur in minor sentences as well:

e.g. égbè - today
cf. égbè à - today?
and lè àƒé-mè - in the house
cf. lè àƒé-mè à - in the house?

The ! element of structure The subsidiary element ! of sentence structure is realised by addressive particles. The list of addressive particles which have so far been found to operate at place ! in sentence structure is:

tɔ̀ɔ̀	- for endearment
là	- for confirmation
ló	- for announcement
loo	- for announcement

Like the ? element of structure this ! element occurs in final position in the structure of the sentence. Its presence indicates that the utterance is addressed to a party other than the speaker.

The ! element may occur in major or minor sentences:

e.g.	mè fɔ̀ nyè áfɔkpá loo	- I've found my shoe (you hear)
	mè gà fà àví ò tɔ̀ɔ̀	- don't cry, my dear
cf.	nyè áfɔkpá là	- my shoe (certainly)
	bàbàà ló	- sympathy (you hear)

The major sentence in which the ! element occurs may be simple or compound:

e.g.	mì gà dzó ò tɔ̀ɔ̀	- don't leave, dears
and	mì gà dzó háfí má vá o lóo	
	- don't leave before I come dears	

These subsidiary elements of sentence structure are mutually exclusive of each other. In other words, the same Eve sentence cannot have both the ? and the ! elements of structure.

1.6 Systems of the Sentence

Two systems operate in the structure of the Eve sentence. These are:

i) the system of Status

and ii) the system of Mode.

In the structure of every sentence a simultaneous choice must be made from each of these two systems. That is, every Eve sentence has a status as well as a mode.

The system of Status The system of status has two terms at primary degree of delicacy: Major and Minor. As has been mentioned (1.2.1) the major sentence is realised by the occurrence in it of a P element of clause structure, and the minor sentence is realised by the absence of this P element.

At secondary delicacy the major sentence exhibits a further choice possibility between a simple and a compound sentence. The simple sentence is

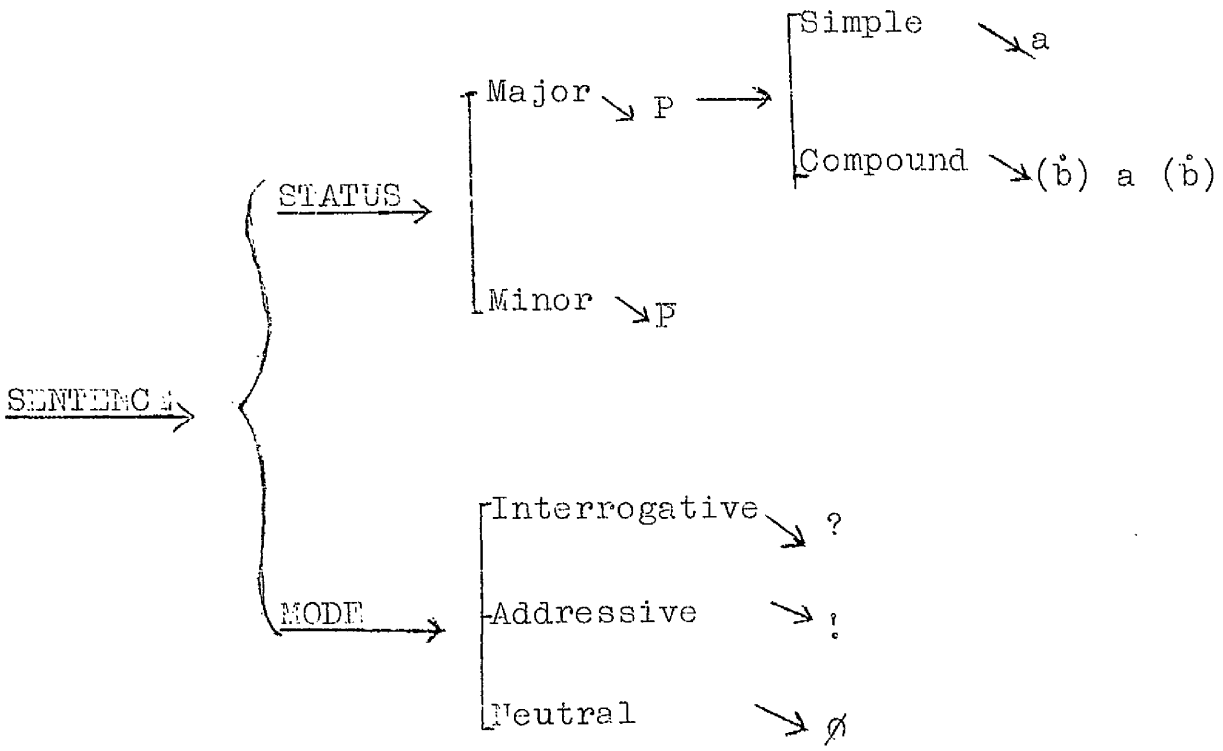
realised by a single a element of structure, and the compound sentence is realised by the possible constituent elements of structure (b̊) a (b̊) (cf. 1.2.2).

The system of Mode The Eve mode system has the following three terms:

a) Interrogative
b) Addressive
and c) Neutral

The interrogative term in the mode system is realised by the subsidiary element ? of sentence structure. The addressive term is realised by the occurrence of the subsidiary element ! of sentence structure. The neutral term is realised by the absence of both of these elements of structure.

To sum up the discussion of the grammatical unit sentence, the systems of the unit and their terms may be represented schematically by the following flow diagram:



The following is a list of possible sentence types obtainable from the systems outlined above with corresponding examples:

Major Simple Neutral — expounded by a

kofí vá — Kofi came

Major Simple Addressive — expounded by a!

kofí vá là — Kofi came (certainly)

Major Simple Interrogative — expounded by a?

kofí vá à — did Kofi come?

Major Compound Neutral expounded by ab

kofí vá | háfí me dzó
- Kofi came before I left

Major Compound Addressive expounded by ab!

kofí vá | háfí me dzó ló
- Kofi came before I left (you hear)

Major Compound Interrogative expounded by ab?

kofí vá | háfí me dzó à
- did Kofi come before I left?

Minor Neutral	kofí	- Kofi
Minor Addressive	kofí loo	- Kofi (announcement)
Minor Interrogative	kofí à	- Kofi?

Chapter 2 The Unit Clause

CHAPTER 2 THE UNIT CLAUSE

2. Introduction and Definition

In this chapter the clause is defined in terms of its operation in the structure of the sentence and described in terms of the constituent elements of which it is made up. The definition thus links the clause to the next higher unit, Sentence, which has been discussed in the previous chapter, and the description foreshadows the next lower unit, Group, the classes of which operate at places in the structure of the clause.

> Definition: A clause is that unit on the rankscale which is able to operate as an element at place a or b in sentence structure. (cf. 1.2).

2.1 Elements of Clause Structure

The following are the possible constituent elements of structure of the five clause: Subject (S), Predicator (P), Complement (C), Adjunct

(A), Ambiguous Nominal Element (Z) and Link (L). Of these, S, P, C, A and Z are designated Primary elements of clause structure, and L the Subsidiary element of clause structure. The distinction is made on the basis of the freedom of occurrence in isolation of their respective exponents.

Before the occurrence of these elements in the structure of the clause is discussed in detail, it is necessary to establish the clause types which are found in Fue.

2.2 Clause Types

Two type distinctions have been found necessary in describing the Fue clause:

i) Major-Minor Clause distinction

and ii) Simple-Compound Clause distinction.

The basis for both distinctions is found in the P element of clause structure. A clause in which a P element of structure occurs is called a Major clause, and a clause in which no P element occurs is called a Minor clause.[1]

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[1]This distinction is related to that between the major and the minor sentence to which reference was made in

Secondly a clause in which only one P element of structure occurs is termed a Simple clause and that in which more than one P element occurs in "serial" relationship is called a Compound clause:[2] cf. 2.2.2 and 3.3.2

The following examples illustrate the type distinctions: i) Major-Minor clause distinction:

SPCA nyɔ́nu lá : yì : àgblè : fífíá
- the woman has just gone to the farm

cf. Z nyɔ́nu lá é - it's the woman

or PC ɖò : tó - be quiet!

cf. A fífíá à - now?

ii) Simple-Compound clause distinction:

SPA kofí : fɔ́ : kábá
- Kofi got up early cf.

SPAPCPC kofí : fɔ́ : kábá : yì : àgblè : ɖà wɔ̀ : dɔ̀.
- Kofi got up early, went to the farm and worked

---

[2]The occurrence of only one S element is taken for granted since the occurrence of more than one implies that there is more than one clause.

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fn.1 continued from preceding page:
paragraph 1.2.1. Since the basis for the distinction is an element of clause structure, the type distinction belongs essentially to this chapter.

or PA tsó : lè àfímá
- get up from there

cf. PPPC tsó : vá : nò : àtíkɛ lá
- get up and come and take the medicine

2.2.1 Major-Simple Clause

The potential structural patterning of the Eve major-simple clause may be represented by the formula: ((Å) S) P (C_a(C_b)) (Å)

This means that the simple clause may consist of:

i) only one P element of structure:

tsó - get up
gbùgbɔ̀ - return

ii) P optionally followed by one or two C elements:

(Note that a clause in which a C element of structure occurs is termed a transitive clause; that in which no C element occurs is termed intransitive; a simple clause in which only one C element of structure occurs is called single transitive; that in which two C elements occur is double transitive).

PC fú : dù - run!

kpɔ́ : nɔví-wó dzí

- take care of your mother's child cf.

PC_aC_b bìá : mɔ́ : núfíálá

- ask the teacher permission

nà : gà : aŋkú

- give Anku some money

tɔ́ : dzɔ̀ : àɖuɖɔ lá

- set fire to the refuse

iii) P optionally followed by an infinitely recursive number of A elements:

PA tsó : kábá - get up quickly

PAA zɔ̀ : blèwùù : kɔ̀

- just walk gently

PAAA zɔ̀ : lè àmètsìtsì wó dòmè : ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀ɔ̀ɖɔ̀ : ɣesíaɣi

- always walk gently among elderly people

iv) P optionally preceded by an S element:

SP ŋù : lè kèkè-ḿ - day is breaking

ɖèví siá : tsì - this child has grown

v) P preceded by S which is in turn preceded by an infinite number of A elements:

ASP ètsɔ̀ : dɔ̀nɔ̀ lá : mé fɔ́ ò
- yesterday the patient did not get up

AAASP gódóó : lè fɔ́ŋli mè : àbé gà ènè-mè lá : mè : nyɔ̀-nà
- generally at dawn about four o'clock I wake up

vi) A simple clause may also consist of other combinations of these elements of structure:

SPC míé : kpɔ́ : wó - we saw them

SPCC nyi-kplɔla nyúfé lá : dó : dù : sɔ́ lá
- the good herdsman spurred the horse

SPCA é : kù-à : vù : blèwùù
- he drives a vehicle slowly

ASPC gbèsíàgbè : mè : fà-à : konyí gèɖèè
- every day I lament a lot

AASPCAA lè dù gèɖèè wó mè : lè èvè-nyígbá dzí lá : àgblèdèlá wó : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : kplé dzìdzɔ̀ : yesíayi
- in many towns in Eveland farmers work happily always

The following restrictions on the sequential occurrence of the elements of clause structure obtain:

1) The structures *SAP, *PAC and *SCP do not occur;

2) The A element precedes the P element only if

the S element occurs, otherwise it follows the P element.[3]

2.2.1.1 Discontinuity in Elements of Clause Structure

Two of the elements of clause structure may be discontinuous: the P element and the A element.

2.2.1.1.1 The Discontinuous P Element

a) The P element may be discontinuous with the C element internal to it:

SP‹C› míé : lè ‹hà› dzì-ḿ
- we are singing a song
nyè : mé kpɔ́ ‹wò› ò[4]
- I did not see you

When the clause structure contains two complements, C_a and C_b, and the P element is realised by a verbal group that selects the positive term in the polarity system (cf. 3.3.3), the C_a element

---

[3]For cases of marked theme in which the P element may be preceded by the C or the A element, see 2.4.2 and 2.4.3.

[4]For the discontinuous item /mé‹ ›ò/, see 3.3.2.2.3.

is internal to the P element, while the C_b element follows the terminal section of the discontinuous P element:

SPC_aC_b ŋútsu sia : ná : gà : kofí
- the man gave money to Kofi

$SP\langle C_a\rangle C_b$ ŋútsu sia : lè ⟨gà⟩ ná-ḿ : kofí
- the man is giving money to Kofi

In the case of a clause structure containing C_a and C_b in which the P element is realised by a verbal group that is negative (i.e. having the negation particle /mé⟨ ⟩ò/), both C elements may be internal to the P element:

$SP\langle C_aC_b\rangle$ ŋútsu lá : mé ná-á ⟨gà : kofí⟩ ò
- the man does not give Kofi money

or $SP\langle C_a\rangle\langle C_b\rangle$ ŋútsu lá : mé lè ⟨gà⟩ ná-ḿ ⟨kofí⟩ ò
- the man is not giving Kofi money

b) The P element may be discontinuous with the S element internal to it. This is the case only when the P element is thematically marked (cf.2.4.5):

$P\langle S\rangle CA$ ɖè ⟨míé⟩ ɖù : àzã̀ lá : kóŋ́
- we certainly did celebrate the occasion

2.2.1.1.2 The Discontinuous A Element

An A element of clause structure may be discontinuous with the S, P and C elements internal to it. This is the case when the A element is thematically marked (cf. 2.4.3).[5]

A⟨SPC⟩ àsi-me ⟨ me : kpɔ́ : wó ⟩ lè
- it was in the market I saw them

àfíka ⟨nè : dà : nyè áfɔkpa ⟩ ɖɔ́:
- where did you put my shoe?

2.2.2 The Major-Compound Clause

The compound clause is defined as that clause in which there is more than one P constituent element of structure. Apart from this defining criterion the compound clause has two other characteristic features:

i) it contains not more than one S element of structure[6]

ii) it does not have the L element of structure.

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[5]It should be observed that discontinuity of the A element is possible only when it is realised by the verbid construction (cf. 3.2.1.2).

[6]This in fact is a feature of every clause. Here, however, it is a very effective distinguishing sign between a single clause and a number of clauses.

Thus an utterance whose analysis produces more than one S element should belong to a grammatical unit that is higher on the rankscale than the clause. It may be a compound sentence or a number of sentences. Secondly the existence of an L element of clause structure indicates an inter-clause and not an intra-clause relationship.

The following examples illustrate the structural difference between a) several sentences, b) a compound sentence and c) a compound clause:

a) $Sent_1 \| Sent_2 \rightarrow SPC \| SP$

é : nò : tsì ‖ é : kú

- he drank water. He died

b) $Sent \searrow \underline{a} | \underline{b} \searrow SPC | LSP$

é : nò : tsi | éye : wò : kú

- he drank water and died

c) $Sent \searrow \underline{a} \searrow SPCP$

é : nò : tsi : kú

- he drowned (lit.: "he drank water died")

or a) $Sent_1 \| Sent_2 \| Sent_3 \| Sent_4 \rightarrow SP \| SP \| SPC \| SPC$

é : trɔ́ ‖ é : vá ‖ é : tó : gbɔ̀-nyè ‖ é : yì : àfé

- he turned. He came. He passed my place. He went home

b) Sent ↘ a | $\underline{b}_s$ | $\underline{b}_s$ ↘ SP | LSPC | LPC

é : trɔ́ | éyɛ : wò : vá : gbɔ-nye | háfí : yì : àfé

- he turned and came to me before he went home

c) Sent ↘ a ↘ SPPPCPC

é : trɔ́ : vá : tó : gbɔ̀-nyè : yì : àfé

- he turned, came, passed my place (and) went home

The potential structural patterning of the compound clause is represented in the following formula: $((\mathring{A})\ S)\ P_1\ (C_a\ (C_b))(\mathring{A})\ \overline{P_2\ (C_a\ (C_b))(\mathring{A})}$

That is:

i) the compound clause must have at least two P elements, which may occasionally form the sole exponents of the clause.[7]

PP	fɔ́ : sí	- arise (and) escape!
PPP	tsɔ́ : vá : yì	- stand, pass by (and) go!

ii) the two or more P elements may be optionally preceded by a single S element:

SPP	fiafitɔ́ á : sí : dzɔ́	- the thief has escaped (and is) gone

[7]There are possibilities of ambiguity between the compound clause and the compound sentence when the only exponent consists of a number of P elements. But this ambiguity which is confined to the Imperative mood can usually be phonologically resolved. (cf. Ansre, 1963).

iii) this S element can itself be preceded by an unlimited number of A elements:

ASPP fífílàà : mè : vá : ɖó
- just now I came and arrived

AAASPP gódóó : gbèsíàgbè : lè yètrɔ́ me lá : vù á : trɔ́-ná : gbɔ̀-nà
- usually, daily in the afternoon, the vehicle turns and arrives

iv) the P elements of structure may each be followed by an unlimited number of A elements:

SPAP vù á : trɔ́ : kábá : gà yì
- the vehicle turned round quickly and went again

SPAAPPAA amedɔ́dɔ́ lá : zɔ̀ : bùbùtɔ̀è : blèwùù : yì : ɖà tɔ́ : ɖé fia lá gbɔ́ : kplé ɖòkúí-bɔbɔ́
- the messenger walked respectfully and nobly, and went and stopped before the king with humility

v) each of the P elements of structure may be optionally followed by a C element of structure; i.e. the clause may be transitive or intransitive:

SPP wó kátɑ̃́ wó : sí : dzó
- they have all escaped

SPCP àvù á : nò : tsi : kú
- the dog drowned (lit. "drank water died")

SPPC àdèlá sia : fɔ́ : yì : àdè-gbé
- the hunter got up and went to hunt

SPCPCA míé : kù-à : tsì : yì-à : àgblè : gbèsíàgbè
- we fetch water and go to the farm every day

Each of the P elements of structure may have a double complement: i.e. C_aC_b following it:

$SPCPC_aC_b$ é : yɔ́ : kofí : ná : gà : è
- he called Kofi and gave him money

$SPC_aC_bPC_aC_b$ àɖàʋàkúlá lá : dà : tú : àgbò : hé tɔ́ : hè : kɔkúví
- the madman shot Agbo and stabbed Kɔkuvi

vi) The ordering of the various elements discussed above can be combined in different ways to form a clause. The following example illustrates both the complexity of the clause, and the recursive nature of that portion of the formula symbolised: $\ldots\overline{P_2(C_a(\dot{C}_b))(A)}$:

ASPAPCPCPPCAPCA

égbe lá : é : fó : kábá : dó : dzò : ɖà : nú : ɖu : klɔ́ : àgbà wó me : pépéépé : hé yì : sukú : xóxó

- today she got up early, lit the fire, cooked food, ate, washed up the dishes thoroughly and has gone to school already

2.2.2.1 The Ambivalent Complement

Some compound clauses have the structure SP_1CP_2. This seems to imply that the final P element is intransitive, having no C element following it. However, in some cases, this final P element is realised by a class of the verbal group that is otherwise always used transitively (cf. v_t - 4.11.1.1). The expected structure therefore should have been SP_1CP_2C. In such a case where the final P element is realised by a verbal group whose vs is expounded by v_t the C element is analysed as functioning as complement for both P_1 and P_2. Such a C element is termed an Ambivalent Complement and is symbolised: -C-. The clause in which an ambivalent complement occurs is symbolised: SP-C-P :

SP-C-P míé : ɖà : fùfù : ɖù
- we cooked fufu and ate it

nyónu lá : tró : nya lá : gblɔ̀
- the woman changed the news and said it

wó : fo : ŋútsu lá : wù
- they beat the man and killed him

A elements of structure may occur after each of the P elements in a compound clause which has a double complement:

SP-C-AP mè : kù : tsi : kábá : lè
- I fetched water quickly and bathed

SP-C-PA àdèlá lá : kpɔ́ : lã̀ : wu : énumáké
- the hunter saw an animal and killed it immediately

SP-C-APA wó : fo : ŋútsu lá : vùù : wù : ɖé gbè á mè
- they beat the man for a long time and killed him leaving him in the forest

SP-C-APP é : kù : àgbèlì : ètsɔ̀ : ɖà : ɖù
- he dug up cassava yesterday, cooked and ate it

2.2.2.2 The Redundant Complement

When a particular sub-class of verb expounds the final P element in the compound clause,

an element occurs with it the analysis of which has so far not been completed. This sub-class of verbs is designated Verbs of motion (v_m - cf. 4.11.1.2). They form part of the class of verbs that can occur either transitively or intransitively. The element in question is termed the Redundant Object.[8]

The following is a full list of the members of the sub-class of verbs obtained so far in final P position with which the redundant object occurs:

/bú/	- "be lost"	/tsà/	- "wander"
/ɖɔ̀/	- "arrive"	/vá/	- "come"
/dzɔ́/	- "depart"	/yì/	- "go"
/sí/	- "escape"	/zɔ̀/	- "walk"
/tɔ́/	- "pass"		

The redundant object is underlined in each of the following examples:

SPCP<u>i</u> áma : kplɔ̀ : ɖèví lá : yi <u>ì</u>
- Ama led the child away

not *áma : kplɔ̀ : ɖèví lá : yì

SPCP<u>ɛ</u> me : yɔ́ : ŋútsu lá : vá <u>è</u>
- I called the man to come (or: "and came")

not *me : yɔ́ : ŋútsu lá : vá

---

[8] "Redundant" because unlike other objects it has not been possible to establish that it operates as a complement in clause structure; "Object" because in all respects it is phonologically identical with the third person singular object of the pronoun (cf. 3.1.4.2).

SPCPe vù lá : tsɔ́ : nyè áɖáka : dzó è
- the vehicle took my suitcase and departed

not *vù lá : tsɔ́ : nyè áɖáka : dzó

It should be noted that there is no question of this element operating as complement in the clause, because should a real complement occur after the P element realised by the sub-class $\underline{v}_m$, the redundant object reappears after this C element:

SPCPCe me : yɔ́ : ŋútsu lá : vá : gbɔ̀ nyé è
- I called the man to come to me

SPCPCɛA wó : kplɔ̀-à : ɖèví á wó hã́ã : sí-á : àvà è : lè blèmà
- they used to lead the children as well and flee war in the olden days[9]

2.2.3 The Minor Clause

The minor clause is characterised by the absence of the P element in its constituent structure. This clause type is represented by the

[9]The question of the redundant object cannot be satisfactorily and fully dealt with here because its investigation has not been completed.

following kinds of utterances:

a) vocatives,

b) referential or elliptical utterances

c) some forms of salutation

Of these the vocative has only the Z element of structure. This Z element is postulated to account for the case where the place in the structure of the clause at which a nominal group is operating is indeterminate. Although it is evident that the class nominal of the next lower unit (Group) operates at a place in clause structure, we cannot here assign it to place S, C or A, as we can in all other instances. This ambiguous nominal element is termed the Z element.

Examples of the Z element in vocative usage are:

kofí - Kofi!
dàávi lɔ̀lɔ̀tɔ́ - dear young lady!
àvù káblì - dog!
dzò-qù-àmèlá, ta-me-sɛ́sɛ́tɔ́, mo-lakpaá - sorcerer, wicked person, ugly face!

Referential or elliptical utterances are usually evoked in response to a previous utterance, particularly to a question. Their structure may

consist of:

a) only a Z element:

aŋutĭ é - (it's) an orange (cf. 2.4)

which may be an answer to either of the questions:

aŋutí é à - is it an orange?
nú kaa nyé éma lè àsí wò
- what is that in your hand?

b) only an A element

le é-ʃé ábàtí té - under his bed
kplé è-vì à wó kátɑ́ɑ́ à
- with all his children?

This last example may be a question following a statement such as:

ŋútsu siá uu tsó àblòtsĭ vá àfĭì
- this man migrated here from Europe

c) an unlimited number of A elements:

égbe fĭɛ́ : lè tsame : lè àkúvĭá-tí á té
- this evening, at Tsame, under the resting-tree

Five salutations in whose structure no P element occurs have:

a) only the Z element:

etsɔ ƒé dɔ́	- thanks for helping yesterday (lit. "yesterday's thanks")
àkpé	- thanks

b) the Z element followed by the subsidiary Addressive element (!) (cf. 1.5):

àkpé loo	- thanks (you hear)
ŋdí tɔ̀ɔ̀	- thanks (dear)

c) the Z element followed by the A element:

ŋdí : ná wò	- (good) morning to you
dɔ́nɔ : ná mi kéŋ́	- "salutation to people at work"

2.3 The Subsidiary Element of Clause Structure

In listing the elements of clause structure, the Link element (L) was termed subsidiary because its exponents cannot occur in isolation as the sole exponents of the clause.[10] Two further

[10] Reference has been made (cf. 1.3) to the role of the L element in sentence structure.

characteristics need to be stated here:

i) its occurrence is limited to the b clause

ii) except where the L element itself is discontinuous, it always occurs in initial position in the clause:

ab ↘ SPC | LSP⟨A⟩

kokló : kú : àtɔ́ | gàké : ŋu : mé kè ⟨hàdé⟩ ɔ̀

- the cock has crowed but it is not yet day

ba ↘ LSPCP | SPC

né : mè : dè : sukú : vɔ lá | maá zù : àtíkɛ-wɔlá

- when I finish school I shall become a doctor

The only qualification to the statement that the L element always occurs in initial position in b clause structure is where the L element itself is discontinuous. In such a case the initial part of it occurs first in the structure of the clause and the terminal part is final, all the other elements of clause structure being internal to it. Of the list of formal items which operate at place L in clause structure (cf. 3.1.1) only the item /ési⟨ ⟩ta/ŋútí/ - "because", is discontinuous.[11]

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[11] /ési⟨ ⟩ta/ and /ési⟨ ⟩ŋútí/ are free variants which may occur in the same idiolect. The former is more frequent in North-western Ewe, the latter in Southern Ewe.

There follow examples of the discontinuous L element in sentences:

ba ↘ L⟨SPCA⟩ SPCAA

ésì ⟨wò : wɔ̀ : dɔ̀ á : nyúíé⟩ ta | me : xé : fe : ná ɛ : kábá

- because he did the work well I paid him quickly

ba ↘ L⟨SP⟩ SPC

ésì ⟨tsi : dza⟩ ta | pàpá : fà : te a wó

- because it rained Daddy planted the yams

ba ↘ L⟨SPC⟩ SP

ésì ⟨mè : dzè : dɔ̀⟩ ŋútí | nyè : mé gà yì ò

- because I felt ill I didn't go again

2.4 Marked Theme[12]

In Eve, theme is a feature of the unit Clause. A thematically marked clause is differentiated from an unmarked one by:

i) different ordering of the places of the various elements of clause structure,

and ii) the use of emphasizing particles in the

[12] "Marked theme" is preferred to "Emphasis" because it is more precise, and is the accepted term in current work in linguistics.

structure of the element that is marked. The principal kind of reordering of the elements involved is termed "front-shifting", in which the element front-shifted (f/s) occurs in initial position, whereas in the thematically unmarked form it occurs elsewhere. There are two emphasizing particles in Eve: /é/ which is used when the marked element is not the P element of clause structure, and /ɖè/ which is used when the element marked is P.

Each of the primary elements of clause structure, S, P, C, A and Z can be thematically marked. Of these, however, only one element can be marked in any one clause. So far the description of the clause has been limited to the unmarked forms of the various elements.

2.4.1 The Marked S Element of Structure

The marked S element is always in initial position in the clause and is immediately followed by the P element. This marked S element, however, is always augmented by the emphasizing particle /é/, which occurs as the final formal item of the nominal group which operates at place S. Thus, compare the following

thematically unmarked forms with the marked forms:

SPC kwasí : lé : koklɔ́ lá
- Kwasi caught the chicken

cf. kwasí é : lé : koklɔ́ lá
- it was Kwasi who caught the chicken

SPCA àmè ɖèká : nɔ̀ : xɔ á me : égbè
- one person was in the room today

cf. àmè ɖèká é : nɔ̀ : xɔ á me : égbè
- there was one person in the room today

2.4.2 The Marked C Element of Structure

When the C element of structure is thematically marked it is front-shifted and optionally has the emphasizing particle /é/. This front-shifting results in a clause structure with the elements ordered thus: CSP(Å):

SPCAA míé : kpɔ́ : nyɔ́nu lá : lè àsì-mè : ètsɔ̀
- we saw the woman in the market yesterday

CSPAA nyɔ́nu lá : míé : kpɔ́ : lè àsì-mè : ètsɔ̀
- the woman we saw in the market yesterday

or CSPAA nyɔ́nu lá é : míé : kpɔ́ : lè àsì-mè : ètsɔ̀
- it was the woman we saw in the market yesterday

If the clause has both direct and indirect C elements, either of these can be front-shifted for marked theme:

SPC_aC_bA pàpá : ná : gà : kofí : égbè
- Daddy gave Kofi money today

C_aSPC_bA gà é : pàpá : ná : kofí : égbè
- it was money that Daddy gave Kofi today

C_bSPC_aA kofí é : pàpá : ná : gà : égbè
- it was Kofi whom Daddy gave money today

If the clause is compound any of the C elements can be similarly marked:

SPCPC núfíálá lá : kplɔ̀ : kwámì : yì : sukúù
- the teacher took Kwami to school

CSPPC kwámi é : núfíálá lá : kplɔ̀ : yì : sukúù
- it was Kwami the teacher took to school

CSPCP sukúu é : núfíálá lá : kplɔ̀ : kofí : yi ì
- it was to school that the teacher took Kwami

2.4.3 The Marked A Element of Structure

Only one of the potentially recursive A elements of clause structure can be thematically marked in any one clause, and of all the types of adverbial group which operate at place A only two can be thematically marked. These are the adverbial group involving the temporal noun ($\underline{n}_t$ - cf. 4.1.1.1), and the adverbial group consisting of a non-simplex structure or the verbid construction (cf. 3.2.1.2). Other types of adverbial group operating at A cannot be thematically marked.[13]

Like the C element of structure, the marked A element is front-shifted and may or may not have the emphatic particle /é/. The simple clause in which the A element is marked therefore has the structure: ASPC(Å):

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[13] Only three exceptions have been noted:
a) the biblical occurrence: "Faa miexɔ, faa minae" - 'Freely ye have received, freely give' (Mat. 10:8);
b) the proverb: /ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀ɔ̀ɖɔ̀ : wó : ɖà-à : kpé : kpé : bí-ná/ - stone must be cooked slowly to soften it;
c) /dzódzrɔ̀ɔ́/ as in: /dzódzrɔ̀ɔ́ : kɔ̀ : wɔ̀ : lè fu ɖe-ḿ : ná-m̀/ - he is bothering me unnecessarily.
The first is an artificiality probably due to keeping too close to the word order of the original text; the other two seem to be peculiar register variants:- probably of proverbs and wise-sayings.

SPCA àsitsalá sia wó : zɔ-a : mɔ́ : gbèsíàgbè à
- do these merchants travel daily?

cf. ASPC gbèsíàgbè é : àsitsalá sia wó : zɔ-a : mɔ́ à
- is it every day these merchants travel?

SPCAA dɔ̀dzíkpɔ́lá lá : dó : dzĭkú : gbèmágbe : ŋútɔ́
- the overseer was very cross that day

cf. ASPCA gbèmágbe é : dɔ̀dzíkpɔ́lá lá : dó : dzĭkú : ŋútɔ́
- it was that day the overseer was very cross

but not: *ŋútɔ́ é : dɔ̀dzíkpɔ́lá lá : dó : dzĭkú : gbèmágbè

If the A element of structure is realised by an adverbial group consisting of the verbid construction (cf. 3.2.1.2), the A element is discontinuous with its nominal constituent initial and the verbid terminal. In such a case the S, P and C elements, when they occur, are internal to this thematically marked A element, but any other A elements that might be in the clause occur after the discontinuity:

SPCA kofí : kpɔ́ : áma : lè fèféfé
- Kofi saw Ama in the playground

cf. A⟨SPC⟩ fèféfé é ⟨ kofí : kpɔ́ : áma ⟩ lè
- it's in the playground that Kofi saw Ama

SPCA áma : dó : gbè : ná kofí ɖèɖé kò
- Ama greeted just Kofi

cf. A⟨SPC⟩ kofí dèdé ko é ⟨ áma : dó : gbè ⟩ ná
- it was just Kofi that Ama greeted

SPCAAAA áma : dó : gbè : ná kofí : dzìdzɔtɔ́è : lè fèféfé : ètsɔ̀
- Ama greeted Kofi joyfully at the playground yesterday cf.:

A⟨SPC⟩AAA kofí é ⟨áma : dó : gbè⟩ ná : dzìdzɔtɔ́è : lè fèféfé : ètsɔ̀
- it was Kofi that Ama greeted joyfully at the playground yesterday

2.4.4 The Marked Z Element of Structure

A thematically marked Z element of structure is characterised by the occurrence of the emphasizing particle 'é in final position:

kofí é - (it's) Kofi
míá fé ágblè é - (it's) our farm

2.4.5 The Marked P Element of Structure

The clause in which the P element of structure is thematically marked is characterised by:

i) the occurrence of the verbal emphasizing particle /ɖè/,

and ii) recapitulation of the S element of structure.

This emphasizing particle occurs between the S element and its recapitulated analogue which is in the form of the corresponding subject pronoun of the S element in series II (cf. 1.3.1 and 4.2.1). The structure of the clause which has a thematically marked P element is therefore represented thus: (Å) S ɖè S P ($C_a(C_b)$) (Å). It should be noted that although S appears twice in this formula, there is only one Subject element of structure whose exponents are discontinuous.

S ɖè SP — kofí : ɖè : wò : kɔ́
- Kofí is tall

S ɖè SPC — ɖèví á : ɖè : wò : dze : anyí
- the child fell down

S ɖè SPCA — míá wó ya : ɖè : míé : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : kplé dzìdzɔ̀.
- we work with joy

It should be mentioned that an exception to this rule of recapitulation is when the S element of clause structure is realised by a subject pronoun of series I and II. In such a case no recapitulation occurs and the structure of the clause with the

thematically marked P element is:

(Å) ɖè S P (C_a(C_b)) (Å)

ɖè SP ɖè : mè : trú
- I did vomit

ɖè SPC ɖè : wò : kpɔ́ : gà
- he is wealthy (lit. "he did see money")

ɖè SPCA ɖè : míé : ƒú : dù : sésíé
- we ran hard

A ɖè SPA ètsɔ̀ : ɖè : mìè : lè fɔ̀fɔ́-gé : kábá
- tomorrow you will be getting up early

Note that, as in the second example above, although we have an independent clause, a series II pronoun is used, (cf. 1.3.1 and 4.2.1).

2.5 Systems of the Clause

In describing the systems of the unit Clause it has been found useful to discuss those of the major clause first and then that of the minor clause.

2.5.1 Systems of the Major Clause

Three simultaneous systems operate in the major clause: Bondage, Transitivity and Theme. Each of these is dealt with at primary degree of delicacy first, and then at secondary delicacy.

2.5.1.1 Bondage

At primary delicacy the system of bondage has two terms: Free and Bound. That is, we may have either a free clause or a bound clause. The free clause is realised by the absence of an L element of structure, and the bound clause is realised by the presence of an L element of structure (cf. 1.3.1 and 4.12).

At secondary delicacy only the bound term of the system of bondage is further subdivided, namely into co-ordinate and subordinate. The co-ordinate clause is realised by the occurrence in its constituent structure of the L_1 or L_3 element of clause structure, and the potential occurrence of a pronoun from series I. The subordinate clause is realised by the occurrence of the L_2 or L_3 element, and the

potential occurrence of a pronoun from series II (cf. 1.3.1 and 4.12).

2.5.1.2 Transitivity

At primary delicacy there are two terms in the system of transitivity: Transitive and Intransitive. A major clause must therefore be either transitive or intransitive. A transitive clause is realised by the occurrence of a C element of clause structure, and an intransitive clause by its absence (cf. 2.2.1).

Only the transitive term of the system of transitivity is subdivided at secondary delicacy, namely intc the two terms single transitive and double transitive. A single transitive clause has only one C element of structure, a double transitive clause is realised by two occurrences of this element (C_aC_b).

2.5.1.3 Theme

The system of theme also has two terms at primary delicacy: Thematic and Non-thematic (cf. 2.4). The thematic term is realised by the presence of a

thematically marked element of clause structure, the non-thematic term is realised by the absence of such a marked element.

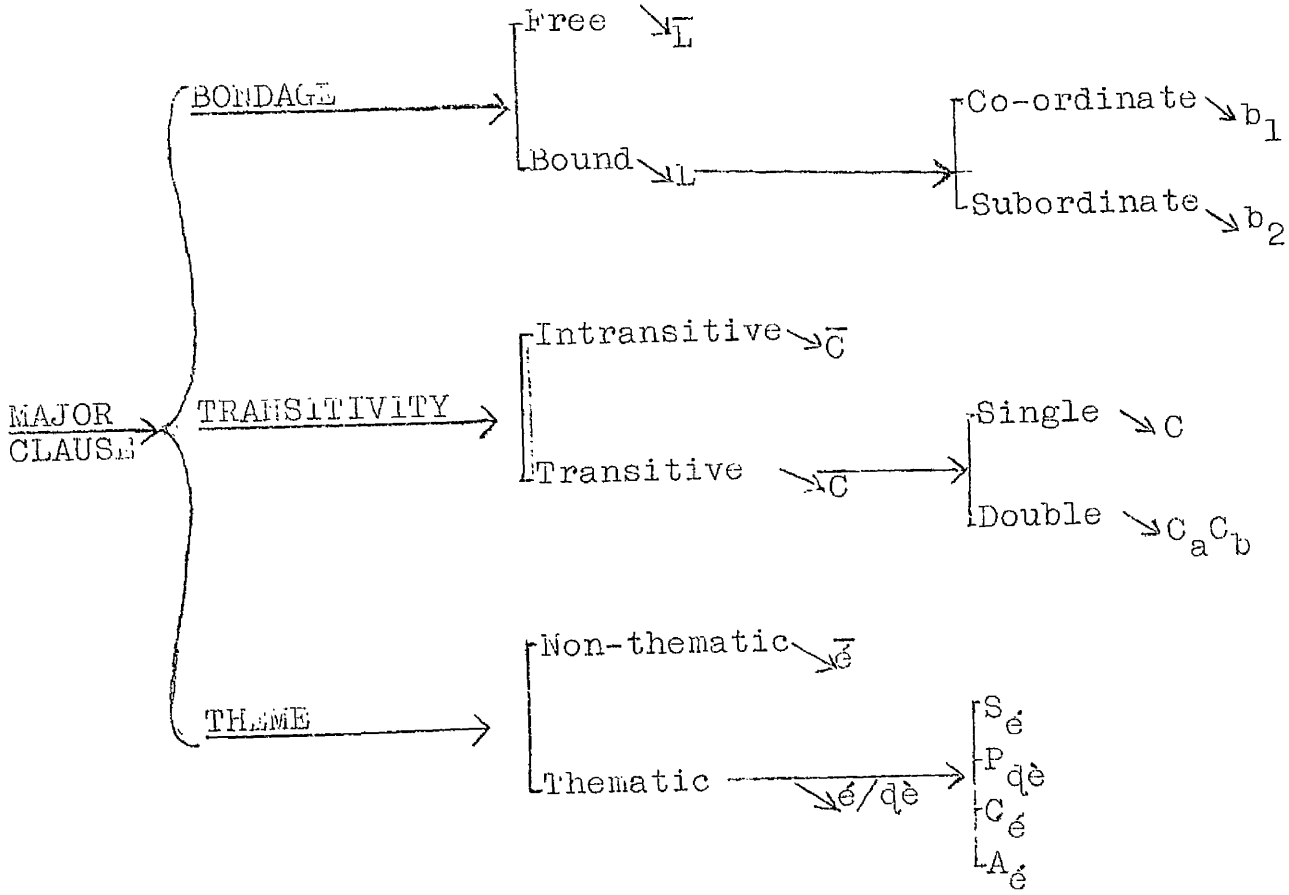
Since each of the primary elements S, P, C and A of the major clause can be thematically marked, the system of theme has four terms at secondary delicacy, corresponding to choice of the thematic elements S, P, C or A. A clause with a thematically marked S element is realised by the occurrence of the emphasizing particle /é/ in the structure of the S element (cf. 2.4.1). A clause with a marked C element is realised by the occurrence of front-shifting and of an optional /é/ in its constituent structure (cf. 2.4.2). In a clause with a marked A element, if the A element occurs in pre-S position, thematic marking is realised by the occurrence of the emphasizing particle /é/ in the A element of structure; and if the A element occurs in post-S position, thematic marking is realised by the occurrence of front-shifting and of an optional /é/ (cf. 2.4.3). A clause with a marked P element of structure is realised by the occurrence of the verbal emphasizing particle /ɖè/ and the possible recapitulation of the S element of structure (cf. 2.4.5).

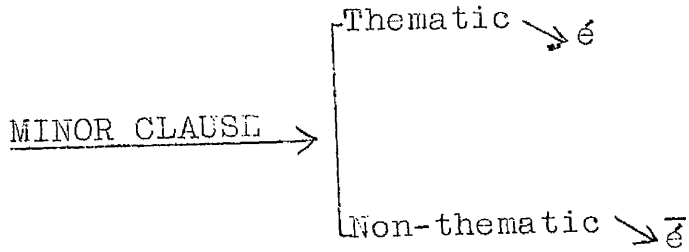
These systems operate in all major clauses whether simple or compound. However, whereas transitivity operates recursively (in correlation with the number of P elements), theme can only operate once. Co-ordination and subordination apply only in the presence of L elements of clause structure.

2.5.2 The System of the Minor Clause

Only one system operates in the minor clause. This is the system of theme which is similar to theme in the major clause and has the two terms Thematic and Non-thematic. The thematic minor clause is realised by the presence of the thematic particle /é/, and the non-thematic minor clause is realised by the absence of this particle.

The systems of the unit Clause and their terms, which have been discussed above, are summarised in the following flow diagram. This is followed by a listing of all possible combinations of terms and their exemplification:


MAJOR CLAUSE
BONDAGE
Free ↘L̄
Bound ↘L
Co-ordinate ↘b1
Subordinate ↘b2
TRANSITIVITY
Intransitive ↘C̄
Transitive ↘C
Single ↘C
Double ↘CaCb
THEME
Non-thematic ↘ē
Thematic ↘é/qè
Sé
Pqè
Cé
Aé


MINOR CLAUSE
Thematic ↘é
Non-thematic ↘ē

Major clause exemplification:

1. Free, Intransitive, Non-thematic

ŋútsu a : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè
- the man died indoors

2. Free, Intransitive, S thematic

ŋútsu a é : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè
- it was the man who died indoors

3. Free, Intransitive, P thematic

ŋútsu a : ɖè : wò : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè
- the man <u>died</u> indoors

4. Free, Intransitive, A thematic

xɔ me é : ŋútsu a : kú : ɖó
- it was indoors that the man died

5. Free, Single transitive, Non-thematic

kofí : kpó : ŋútsu á : ètsɔ̀
- Kofi saw the man yesterday

6. Free, Single transitive, S thematic

kofí é : kpó : ŋútsu á : ètsɔ̀
- it was Kofi who saw the man yesterday

7. Free, Single transitive, P thematic

kofí : ɖè : wò : kpó : ŋútsu á : ètsɔ̀
- Kofi <u>saw</u> the man yesterday

8. Free, Single transitive, C thematic

ŋútsu a é : kofí : kpó : ètsɔ̀
- it was the man Kofi saw yesterday

9. Free, Single transitive, A thematic

ètsɔ é : kofí : kpɔ́ : ŋútsu á
- it was yesterday that Kofi saw the man

10. Free, Double transitive, Non-thematic

kofí : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè
- Kofi set fire to the cloth in the room

11. Free, Double transitive, S thematic

kofí é : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè
- it was Kofi who set fire to the cloth in the room

12. Free, Double transitive, P thematic

kofí : ɖè : wò : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè
- Kofi <u>set fire</u> to the cloth in the room

13. Free, Double transitive, C_a thematic

dzò é : kofí : tɔ́ : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè
- it was fire that Kofi set to the cloth in the room

14. Free, Double transitive, C_b thematic

àvɔ̀ à é : kofí : tɔ́ : dzò è : lè xɔ̀ mè
- it was the cloth that Kofi set fire to in the room

15. Free, Double transitive, A thematic

xɔ me é : kofí : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè
- it was in the room that Kofi set fire to the cloth

16. Bound, Co-ordinate, Intransitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : é : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he died inside

17. Bound, Co-ordinate, Intransitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : éya : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but <u>he</u> died inside

18. Bound, Co-ordinate, Intransitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : ɖè : wò : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he <u>died</u> inside

19. Bound, Co-ordinate, Intransitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : xɔ me é : wò : kú : ɖó

- you were outside but it was inside that he died

20. Bound, Co-ordinate, Single transitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : é : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he saw Kofi in the room

21. Bound, Co-ordinate, Single transitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : éya : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but <u>he</u> saw Kofi in the room

22. Bound, Co-ordinate, Single transitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : ɖè : wò : kpɔ́ : kofí :
lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he <u>saw</u> Kofi in the room

23 Bound, Co-ordinate, Single transitive, C thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : kofí é : wò : kpɔ́ : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but it was Kofi he saw in the room

24. Bound, Co-ordinate, Single transitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : xɔ me é : wò : kpó : kofí : lè

- you were outside but it was in the room he saw Kofi

25. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : é : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he set fire to the cloth in the room

26. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : éya : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but <u>he</u> set fire to the cloth in the room

27. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : ɖè : wò : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but he <u>set fire</u> to the cloth in the room

28. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, C_a thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : dzò é : wò : tɔ́ : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but it was fire he set to the cloth in the room

29. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, C_D thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : àvɔ̀ à é : wò : tɔ́ : dzɔ̀ è : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside but it was the cloth he set fire to in the room

30. Bound, Co-ordinate, Double transitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | gàké : xɔ me é : wò : tɔ́ : dzɔ̀ : àvɔ̀ á : lè

- you were outside but it was in the room that he set fire to the cloth

31. Bound, Subordinate, Intransitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : wò : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he died in the room

32. Bound, Subordinate, Intransitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : éya : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before <u>he</u> died in the room

33. Bound, Subordinate, Intransitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : ɖè : wò : kú : ɖé xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he <u>died</u> in the room

34. Bound, Subordinate, Intransitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : xɔ me é : wò : kú : ɖó

- you were outside before he died <u>in the room</u>

35. Bound, Subordinate, Single transitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : wò : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he saw Kofi in the room

36. Bound, Subordinate, Single transitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : éya : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before <u>he</u> saw Kofi in the room

37. Bound, Subordinate, Single transitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : ɖè : wò : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he <u>saw</u> Kofi in the room

38. Bound, Subordinate, Single transitive, C thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : kofí é : wò : kpɔ́ : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he saw <u>Kofi</u> in the room

39. Bound, Subordinate, Single transitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : xɔ me é : wò : kpɔ́ : kofí : lè

- you were outside before he saw Kofi <u>in the room</u>

40. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, Non-thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : wò : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he set fire to the cloth in the room

41. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, S thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : éya : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before <u>he</u> set fire to the cloth in the room

42. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, P thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : ɖè : wò : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he <u>set fire</u> to the cloth in the room

43. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, C_a thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : dzò é : wò : tɔ́ : àvɔ̀ á : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he set <u>fire</u> to the cloth in the room

44. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, C_b thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : àvɔ̀ á : wò : tɔ́ : dzò è : lè xɔ̀ mè

- you were outside before he set fire to the <u>cloth</u> in the room

45. Bound, Subordinate, Double transitive, A thematic

mìè : lè : xéxé | háfí : xɔ me ɔ́ : wò : tɔ́ : dzò : àvɔ̀ á : lè

- you were outside before he set fire to the cloth <u>in the room</u>

Chapter 3 The Unit Group

3 The Unit Group

This chapter on the grammatical Unit Group begins with a definition of the whole unit in relation to the next higher unit, the Clause. It is followed by a classification in terms of the places in structure at which the group operates. A description of the structure of each of these classes is then given. This description is done in terms of the constituent elements of structure which are expounded by items from classes of the unit Word. The unit group is thus linked with the next lower unit word.

> Definition: The Group is that grammatical unit the classes of which operate at places S, P, C, A, L and Z in the structure of the clause, and which is expounded by classes or sequences of classes of the unit word.

3.0 The Group Classes

With six elements of clause structure: S, P, C, A, L and Z to be accounted for in terms of their constituent elements of structure at group

rank, it might be expected that this would require the setting up of six different group classes, one of which operates at each of these places. However, this is not the case.

The exponents of the primary elements S, C and Z, and some cases of A can justifiably be analysed as consisting of a single class of the unit group.[1] The exponents of the P element of clause structure, however, form a distinct class from that which expounds the elements S, C, Z and those cases of A referred to above. There are also cases in which the exponents of the A element of clause structure are not of the same class of the unit group as the exponents of the elements S, C and Z. Such exponents of the A element are also set up as a separate class. The exponents of the subsidiary element L are analysed as forming another group class. Thus only four classes of the unit group are required to account for the six elements of clause structure. These classes are:

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[1] Any differences that are exhibited can be accounted for either as phonological alternants of the same grammatical item or as a sub-class of the group.

1. the class Nominal of the unit Group (ng)
2. the class Verbal of the unit Group (vg)
3. the class Adverbial of the unit Group (ag)
4. the class Conjunctive of the unit Group.

The nominal group operates at places S, C, Z and in some cases A in clause structure; the verbal group operates only at place P in clause structure; the adverbial group operates at place A in those cases where ng does not operate, and the conjunctive group operates at place L in clause structure.

The conjunctive group is not discussed in the rest of this chapter because its exponents are analysed as consisting of single items of the next lower unit, word, and are therefore most economically treated in the next chapter (cf. 4.12).

This leaves us with three classes of the unit group which are discussed in the rest of the chapter.

For a full description of these three group classes it has been found necessary to set up the following classes of the next lower unit, word:

Noun	(n)	Pronoun	(pro)
Adjective	(adj)	Quantifier	(qnt)
Specifier	(sp)	Pluraliser	(pl)
Intensifier	(int)	Linker	(l)
Verb	(v)	Particles	(part)
Adverb	(adv)	Verbid	(vid)[2]

3.1 The Nominal Group

It has been found economical to set up three structural types in the description of the Eve ng: Simple Nominal Group, Complex Nominal Group and Multiple Nominal Group. The simple ng is that one whose head (cf. 3.1.1.1) is realised by a single item of the unit next below, word, and whose structure involves no rank-shifting (cf. Introduction). The complex ng is that which has only one head element and whose structure involves rank-shifting. The multiple ng is that which consists of a potentially recursive series of two or more simple and/or complex nominal groups in any combination or sequence.

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[2]For a detailed definition, description and analysis of these and the other two word classes: Conjunction and Interjection cf. 4.

3.1.1 Simple Nominal Group

The constituent elements of structure of the simple ng are:

i) an obligatory head (h)

and ii) an optional qualifier (q).

The qualifier always occurs after the head. The possible patterning of these elements of structure is therefore conflated into the formula: h (q).

In the structure of the simple ng, if only the obligatory h element occurs, the group is termed a Simplex ng to distinguish it from the Non-simplex ng in which both h and q occur:

SP $\underset{h}{\text{tsɨ}}$: lè dzàdzà-ḿ - rain is falling

cf. $\underset{h}{\text{tsi}}$ $\underset{q}{\text{gãã̀ ádé}}$: lè dzàdzà-ḿ

- a heavy rain is falling

The following word classes operate at place h in the structure of the simple ng in Eve: Noun, Pronoun and Quantifier.

3.1.1.1 Simplex Nominal Group

Since each of the three word classes cited immediately above, and only these, can occur as the sole exponent of the ng they constitute the set of word classes that expound the simplex ng:

a) h expounded by n

SPC gà : lè : é-sí
- he has money (lit. "money located his hand")

SP tólálíá : mé bòbò ò
- mountaineering is not easy

SPCA àgbò : yì : àfé : xóxó
- Agbo has gone home already

b) h expounded by pro

When the simplex ng is expounded by the word class pro one of three pronoun series may occur at h. These are labelled Pronoun Series I (pro I), Pronoun Series II (pro II) and Pronoun Series III (pro III). pro I and pro II have been discussed with reference to their function in free, co-ordinate and subordinate clauses (cf. 1.3.1). All the three forms involved in the simplex ng are given here:

		pro I	pro II	pro III
Sing.	1.	me	me	nye
	2.	(n)e	(n)e	wo
	3.	é	wò[3]	éya
Pl.	1.	míé	míé	míá
	2.	mie	mie	mia
	3.	wó	wó	wó

pro I occurs at h in the simplex ng when this operates at S in free and co-ordinate clauses. pro II occurs at place h in the simplex ng when this operates at S in the subordinate clause, and pro III occurs in the simplex ng when it operates at Z in the minor clause and in thematically marked clauses.[4]

i) h expounded by pro I in the free clause

SPC é : dze : anyí
- he fell down (lit. "he fell ground")

SPCA me : kpó : dzìdzɔ̀ : ŋútó
- I am very glad (lit. "I see joy much")

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[3]In contrast to the normal non-high toneme the tone of this item is invariably low.

[4]For the pronoun series that operate at C and Z, and at place h in the genitival multiple ng, cf. 2.1.
For the occurrence of pro III in the simple ng which has both h and g elements of structure, cf. 3.1.1.2.2.

ii) h expounded by pro I in the co-ordinate clause

SPC|LSP é : dze : anyí | gàké : é : ga fɔ́
- he fell down but he got up again

SPC|LSPC wɔ́ : kpɔ́ : dzìdzɔ̀ | élàbé : mie : vá : wɔ́ gbɔ́
- they are glad because you came to them

iii) h expounded by pro II in the subordinate clause

SPC|LSP é : dze : anyí | éye : wò : ga fɔ́
- he fell down and he got up again

LSP|SPA né : wò : vá lá | mía : kpé : ɖé é ŋú
- when he comes we shall help him

(For the form of the pronoun /mía/ in this last example, cf. 3.3.1.2.1.4).

iv) h expounded by pro III

Z nyè à - me?

SPC éya é : yɔ́ : m̀ - it was he who called me

c) h expounded by qnt

The quantifier which expounds h in the simplex ng may be numerical or non-numerical (cf. 4.4.1).

SPC èvè : lè : xɔ̀-mè
- two are indoors

SPC gèɖèè : tsí : anyí
- much/many remain(s)

SPCA me : kpɔ́ : enyí : ètsɔ̀
- I saw eight yesterday

3.1.1.2 Non-simplex Nominal Group

The word classes which operate at h in both the simplex and the non-simplex ng have been given above (cf. 3.1.1). When any of the three word classes n, pro or qnt expound h, various word classes may expound q, either as sole exponents or in combination.

3.1.1.2.1 Exponents of q when h is expounded by n

When the word class n expounds h in group structure the word classes that can occur as exponents of q are: adjective, quantifier, specifier, pluraliser and intensifier. Each of these word classes may occur as the sole exponent of q :

a) adj as exponent of q

SPCA tɔsísí gã́ : dó-á : ŋɔ́dzí : ná m̀
- a large river frightens me

SPC tsi dzɔ́dzɔ̀é : lè : zè lá mè
- there is hot water in the pot

A number of items from the word class adj may expound q.[5]

SPC vì nyúíé fáfáá dzèɖèkáá́ : lè : àsí-wɔ̀
- you have a nice, gentle, good-looking child

b) qnt as exponent of q

SPC ɖèví èvè : mlɔ́ : àbàtí ɖèká dzí
- two children lay on one bed

SPC súkúuví ɖèká : nɛ́ flè : àgbàlɛ̃̀ ètɔ̃̀
- let one pupil buy three books

SPCA nyɔ́nu gèɖèè : nyá : àgbàlɛ̃̀ : lè dù á mè
- many women are educated in the town

c) sp as exponent of q

SPCA ɖèví á : wɔ̀ : dɔ̀ sia : nyúíé
- the child did this work well

---

[5]It seems that further investigation will reveal some sequential ordering in the sub-classes of adj which expound q.

Z ame kaa é̀ - who is it? (lit. "person who?")

SP mɔ́ siá : dìdì - this road is long

d) pl as exponent of q

SPA ame wó : yì : xóxó
- people have gone already

SPC nyɔ́nu wó : lɔ̃ : lekewɔwɔ
- women love dressing-up

SPCA míé : kpɔ́ : kesé wó : le mɔ́ á tó
- we saw monkeys by the roadside

e) int as exponent of q

SPC yawá ko é : fo : nu
- only Yawa spoke

SPCA yiyi hã́ã̀ : dze : aye : ŋútɔ́
- spider also was very clever

SPC àtíkpalá ŋútɔ́ : yɔ́ : mí
- the carpenter himself called us

A number of items from the word class int may expound q, but more investigation is necessary to determine whether their occurrence is place-ordered or depth-ordered at a further degree of delicacy. Thus we have:

CSP kofí dèdé dzáá ko : mié : kpó
- it was only Kofi we saw

SPC áma ŋútó kúráá gɔ̃ hã̃ã̃ : se : nya lá
- even Ama herself also heard the news

f) All five of the word classes which expound q when h is expounded by the word class n can occur together. In such a case these word classes are place-ordered thus: adj qnt sp pl int

SPPC àtí gã̃ã̃ èvè ádé wó hã̃ã̃ : mu : dze : mɔ́ á mè
adj qnt sp pl int
- some two big trees also fell in the road

SPC lã̃ ví́ kákéé sɔ́ èvè maa wó dèdé pé ko é :
adj adj adj qnt sp pl int int int
lè : detsi á mè
- just these two tiny pieces of meat are in the soup

Any combination of these word classes can expound q, but their order in place as given above must be maintained. In the following sub-sections 24 combinations are possible in all, but only three of each are given:

a) q expounded by a combination of two word classes:

SP kúkú xóxóó lá : vú - the old hat is torn
adj sp

SPA àgbàlɛ̃ nyúíé wó : bó : ɖé àblòtsí
adj pl
- there are many good books in Europe

SP síli ewó hɑ̃ɑ̃ : mé lè dèdè gé ò
qnt int
- even ten shillings will not be enough

b) q expounded by a combination of three word classes:

SPC zìkpùì víí ɖèká sia é : nyé : fia ƒé ŋúsɛ́
adj qnt sp
- this one small stool embodies the power of the king

SPC lɑ̃ gɑ́ɑ́ gèɖèè wó : le : áfrikà
adj qnt pl
- there are many large animals in Africa

SP xɔ a wó kátɑ́ɑ́ : mù
sp pl int
- all the houses have fallen down

c) q expounded by a combination of four word classes:

SPAA alɛ́ yibɔ́ɔ́ àtɔ́ sia wó : tsi : kábá : ŋútɔ́
adj qnt sp pl
- these five black sheep have grown very fast

SP àtí sɔɛ́ ɖèká maá ɣa : mé ŋé ò
adj qnt sp int
- as for that one small tree, it didn't break

SPCA nyɔ́nu enyí á wó kéŋ : ɖú-á : ɣe : nukútɔɛ̀
qnt sp pl int
- all the eight women dance marvellously

3.1.1.2.2 Exponents of q when h is expounded by pro

When the word class pro operates at h in ng structure the following two restrictions apply:

i) only pro III operates at h when q occurs (cf. 3.1.1.1 and 4.1.2.1),

ii) the word classes that can expound q are dependent on the grammatical number of the particular pro, i.e. whether it is singular or plural.

If h is expounded by a singular pro the following word classes can be the sole exponents of q: qnt, sp and int:

SPC éya dèká : tsí : anyí
qnt
- he alone is left

SPC nye sia é : áàqè : wò à
sp
- will my type marry you?

SPC wo ko é : kpó : àdzè lá
int
- only you saw the witch

The following word classes can expound q in the various combinations given below:
adj, qnt, sp and int:

a) q expounded by a combination of all four classes:

SPCPCA nye sɔ́ɛ́ dèká siá ko é : tsɔ́ : wo : fú :
adj qnt sp int
anyí : nenémá
- just I alone, small as I am, threw you to the ground like that

b) q expounded by a combination of three classes:

SP C éya tsitsií maa hɑ́ɑ̃̀ : gà lè dèvínú wɔ-ḿ
adj sp int
- he also, old as he is, is still being childish

SP C wò dèká siá ko é : lè fu de-ḿ : ná mí
qnt sp int
- you and only you are troubling us

Note that the combinations *adj qnt int and *adj qnt sp do not occur as exponents of q when h is expounded by pro.

c) q expounded by a combination of two classes:

SP C wo tsitsií sia é : gà lè àdùdɔ́ dɔ́-ḿ à
adj sp
- old as you are are you still wetting your bed?

SPC éya dèká maa é : dè : àgblè à wó kátɑ́ɑ́
qnt sp
- he alone made all the farms

SPCA nyè dèká ko é : nyá : vufofo : nyúíé
qnt int
- I alone know drumming well

SPC wo sia hấã é : bé : yè à dà tú à[5]
sp int
- do you too say you will shoot a gun?

Note that the combinations *adj qnt and *adj int do not occur as exponents of q.

When h in the simple ng is expounded by an item of the word class pro, and this item is in the plural, the only word classes that can expound q are: sp, pl and int.[6] Moreover, in such a case, both sp and pl occur as obligatory exponents of q.

SPCA mí á wó é : dɔ́ : ame : dé wò
sp pl
- we sent a person to you

SPA mi a wó é : lè : dɔ̀ : dzí
sp pl
- keep up the good work!
(lit. "you are on job")

---

[5]For r/s items expounding ng, cf. 3.1.2.

[6]An alternative treatment of the simple ng with h expounded by the word class pro in the plural is to regard all of the items, which are analysed here as h, sp and pl, as the pronoun itself; i.e. /mí-á-wó, mi-a-wó and wó-á-wó/ together being the formal item expounding the word class pro III in the plural. But

One or more items from the word class int may occur after sp and pl and, together with them, expound q:

SPCA wó á wó ko é : sà-à : sakpálí : nenémá
sp pl int
- only they gossip like that

SPC mi a wó ɖèɖé dzáá ko é : lè : àfé á mè à
sp pl int int int
- are you the only ones in the house?

The only exception to the obligatory co-occurrence of the word classes sp and pl with h expounded by the word class pro in the plural is when the formal item /kátɑ́ɑ́/ - "all" of the word class int expounds q. Then q can be expounded by int alone without the occurrence of the word classes sp and pl:

S ɖè SPC mí kátɑ́ɑ́ : ɖè : míé : ɖì : vò
- we were all surprised

(For the structure of this last clause, cf. 2.4.5).

Footnote continued from preceding page:

this will create difficulties: e.g. similarities between other pronoun series and parts of this new series, and also similarities between other parts of the pronoun with the shape of formal items expounding sp and pl will remain unexplained.

3.1.1.2.3 Exponents of q when h is expounded by qnt

When the word class qnt expounds h in the structure of the simple ng each of the following word classes can be the sole exponent of q: sp and int:

SP àtɔ́ sia : áàdè - these five will suffice
sp

SP C èvè ɖèɖé : mé sɔ̀ gbɔ̀ ò
int
- only two is not enough

The following word classes are involved when q is expounded by a combination of two or more word classes: sp, pl and int.

a) q expounded by a combination of all three classes:

SP enyí sia wó kátɑ̃́ɑ̃́ : vó
sp pl int
- all these eight are rotten

SP gèɖèè à wó hɑ̃́ɑ̃̃ : mé vívĩ́-ná ò
sp pl int
- most of them are not sweet either

b) q expounded by a combination of two classes:

SP ene maa wó : nyó - these four are good
sp pl

SP èvè ádé ko é : sùsɔ̀ - only a couple is left
sp int

Note that the word class pl does not occur as the sole exponent of q when h is expounded by qnt. Note also that in the combinations above sp is obligatory and hence */vɛ̀ɛ̀ wó hã́ã̀ : sùsɔ̀/ does not occur.

When h is expounded by an item from the word class qnt the occurrence or absence of pl as an exponent of q is dependent on whether or not the referent of this qnt is regarded as collective (as opposed to individual).

SP enyí sia wó yaá : lòlò - these eight are large
sp pl int

cf. enyí siá yaá : lòlò - this set of eight is large
sp int

SP vɛ̀ɛ̀ ádé wó : tsï - a few of them are mature
sp pl

cf. vɛ̀ɛ̀ ádé : tsï - a little of it is mature
sp

SPC adé sia wó : tsí : megbé
sp pl
- these six are late

cf. adé sia : tsí : megbé - this group of six is late
sp

3.1.2 Complex Nominal Group

The elements of structure of the complex ng are the same as those of the simple ng (i.e. h and q), but the exponents of these elements are different.

The complex ng is distinguished by:

i) the occurrence of a rankshifted item as the exponent of either h or q,

and ii) the possibility of the recursion of q.

Its structure may therefore be conflated into the formula: h ($\mathring{q}$).

In Hue the items that are rankshifted to operate in the structure of the ng are the clause and the adverbial group. r/s clauses may expound either h or q, but r/s adverbial groups expound only q.

3.1.2.1 h expounded by r/s clause

Two types of r/s clause expound h. One is initiated by the reporting conjunction /bé/ and optionally terminated by the particle /lá/: this is termed the "Reported" (or "Imputed") clause; the other is unmarked formally and occurs mainly in wise

sayings and proverbs. When a r/s clause of either the reported or the unmarked type expounds h, the q element of group structure does not occur.

i) r/s reported clause expounding h:

SPC bé wò yì sukúu kábá lá : nyé : nú nyúíé áɖé
L S P C A
- that he went to school early is a good thing

SPCA bé me de wó-gbó ɖèɖé : sɔ̀ : gbɔ̀ : ná m̀
L S P C A
- that I just went to them is enough for me

ii) r/s unmarked clause expounding h

SP⟨C⟩ xɔ̀ ɖé àsí : mé nyé ⟨àmè tɔ̀⟩ ò
P A
- "hold it in your hand" is not one's own

SP⟨C⟩ me wu i klóé : mé fò-à ⟨detsií⟩ ò
S P C A
- "I almost killed it" does not make soup

3.1.2.2 q expounded by r/s clause or adverbial group

q in the complex ng may be expounded by:

i) a r/s clause

or ii) a r/s adverbial group.

i) q expounded by a r/s clause:

When a r/s clause expounds q in the ng the r/s item is marked by the relative particle /si/[7] in initial position plus the optional terminal marker /lá/. The r/s clause may be the sole exponent of q:

SP atí si me do lá : kú
S P
- the tree which I planted is dead

SPC atí si mu lá : dzè : xɔ a dzí
P
- the tree which fell hit the house

SPPC amé si kpɔ́ dà lá lá : né vá : wù : ì
P C
- the person who saw the snake should come and kill it

$SPPC_aC_bA$ ŋútsu si me ná gà ɛ lá : vá : ná : tè
S P C_a C_b
èvè : m̀ : ètsɔ̀
- the man whom I gave money came to give me two yams yesterday

---

[7] An expanded form of /si/ is /siké/, and an (Inland) dialect form is /xeé/.
The traditional term for this construction is the relative clause.
/si/ as a marker of the relative construction is not analysed as an element of clause structure and is therefore left unmarked.

ii) q expounded by a r/s adverbial group:

The only condition under which q can be expounded in the Ewe ng by a r/s adverbial group is when the element h is expounded by a nominalised verbal (cf. 4.1.1.2.2.2). The only type of ag that is rankshifted to expound q is the verbid construction (cf. 3.2.1.2). Thus we have for example:

SP kòkò lè kútefé : mé nyó ò
- laughing at funerals is not good

in which h is expounded by /kòkò/ - "laughing" which is a nominalised form of the verb /kò/ - "to laugh" used intransitively, and q is expounded by the r/s ag consisting of the verbid construction whose constituent elements are the verbid /lè/ and the nominal /kútefé/ - "funeral" (lit. "death place"). Other examples are:

SPA zɔ̀zɔ̀ kplé gàtó wó : vívĭ-ná : ná yawá
- going with wealthy people pleases Yawa

SPC dèɖè tsó xàxá me : ná-á : dzìdzɔ́ gèɖèè
- deliverance from trouble gives much joy

The nominalised item which expounds h

may itself contain a nominal (cf. 4.1.1.2.2.2.1.1).

SPCA kpédada ɖé tsi-me : dó-á : dzìdzɔ̀ɔ̀ :
ná ɖèví wó
- throwing stones in water gives joy
to children

SP C tsilele le ŋdí-me : mé má yevú wó ò
- bathing in the morning is not a habit
with whit people

3.1.2.3 Recursion of the q Element

The q element of structure in the complex ng is potentially recursive. Of these recurring q elements the first may be expounded by any one or more items from the word classes adj, qnt, sp, pl and int as in the simple ng (cf. 3.1.1.2). The others are expounded by r/s clauses.

a) $q_1 q_2$ expounded by an item from a word class and a r/s clause respectively:

SPA àvɔ̀ nyúíé si ne fle ná m lá : vú : ètsɔ̀
adj S P A
- the fine cloth which you bought for me
was torn yesterday

When the word classes pl and/or int expound q_1 and a r/s clause expounds q_2 the constituent elements of the r/s clause are discontinuous and the word classes pl and int are internal to it:

SPCA alɛ́ si ‹wó› míé ná fia lá : sɔ̀ : gbɔ̀ : ákpá
pl S P C

- the sheep which we gave the chief are too many

SPA ame si‹ko› me nyá le kɔ́fé á me lá : kú : xóxó
int S P A

- the only person I know in the village is already dead

b) q_1q_2 expounded by combinations of more than two items from word classes and r/s clauses:

SPC kokló loloó etɔ̃ maá si ‹wó kátɑ́ɑ́› kofí ná m lá :
adj qnt sp pl int S P C

qɔ́ : àzì

- all the three large chickens Kofi gave me have laid eggs

SP kpákpáxe ɣíí maá si ‹wó hɑ́ɑ̀› lè táá lá me lá : dzò
adj sp pl int P C

- those white ducks in the pond also have flown

An alternative to this last sentence which occurs in some idiolects is:

SP kpákpáxe ɣíí maá si wó lè táá lá me lá hɑ́ɑ̀ : dzò
adj sp pl P C int

SPC hàdzɪ̈dzì: ètɔ̃ ádé si ⟨wó kóŋ⟩ me lɔ̃-na lá :
qnt sp pl int S P
mé lè : àgbàlɛ̃̀ á mè ò
- some three hymns which I like very much are not in the book

SPA afɔkpa: dzɛ̃́ɛ̃́ èvè siá si me fle lá : qi : ŋútɔ́
adj qnt sp S P
- the two red shoes which I bought are very cheap

SPC túkpé dèká siá si ⟨ko⟩ susɔ lá : fò : tsì
qnt sp int P
- the only cartridge left was wet

The combinations adj qnt pl and sp pl int as exponents of q in the complex ng are not acceptable to a number of Eue speakers.

Any two items from word classes adj, qnt, sp, pl and int may occur together as exponents of q_1 when other q elements are expounded by a r/s clause. Only a few examples are given below:

SPA xɔ gáá èvè si àmúzù tù si mè kwámi le lá :
adj qnt S P C S P
nyá kpɔ́-ná : ŋútɔ́
- the two large houses which Amuzu built in which Kwami lives are very beautiful

SPA zè: si wó kátáá áma fle lá : gbã : qé àfíì
pl int S P
- all the pots which Ama bought got broken here

c) q_1 may be expounded by a r/s ag and the other q elements by r/s clauses. Again this is provided that h is expounded by an item containing a nominalised verbal:

SPC glitété lè ŋkèkè-mè si nyé kúvíámú
r/s ag P C
sì blèmàtɔ́ wó mé lɔ̃-na o lá : zu : nú bɔ́bɔ́ɔ́
S P
- telling fables during the day which is laziness which the forefathers did not like has become a common thing

SPCA núwɔwɔ ɖé sé dzí sì àsráfo a wó srɔ̃́ lá :
r/s ag S P
ɖè : vì : ná wó
- doing things according to rule which the soldiers learned benefitted them

d) Each of the q elements in a recursive series may be expounded by a r/s clause:

SPC àvɔ̀́ si me fle ná wo si mé dzè ŋù-wò ò
S P A P C
si yawá xɔ lá é : nyé : ésì
S P
- the cloth which I bought for you which you did not like and which Yawa got is this [8]

[8] Another instance of the occurrence of many r/s clauses in the ng is found in the phenomenon usually known as embedding. However, the inter-relationships between the q elements of the recursive series exemplified above differ from the following example in which each succeeding q element is dependent not on one h element, but on

e) Each of the q elements of structure in a recursive series may be expounded by a r/s ag provided that the h element is expounded by an item involving a nominalised verbal:

SPC tsòtsó lè àfé-me ɖé gàmè-dzí lè vùvɔŋɔlĩ :
nyé : àgbà
- starting from home on time in the winter is a difficulty

SPA núɖuɖu ɖé ame tsitsii-tí tsó ɖèví-me :
nyó : ná àdzó
- eating with elders from infancy is good for Adzo

A generalization may be made about the items that can expound recurring q elements in a complex ng: a q element expounded by an item or items from word classes must precede any q element expounded by a r/s group and this in turn must precede any q element expounded by a r/s clause. Hence a q element expounded by an item or items from word classes or by a r/s ag cannot follow a q element expounded by a r/s clause.

Footnote continued from preceding page:
different h elements which occur within the preceding q element: SPPC nyɔ́nu si dzrá àvɔ̀ sì kofí ƒle ná ɖèví sì lè gbɔ-nye lá : vá : xɔ̀ : gà lá
- the woman who sold the cloth which Kofi bought for the child who is with me has come to collect the money.
It is not proposed to discuss this type of structure in this thesis.

3.1.3 Multiple Nominal Group

The multiple ng consists of a potentially recursive series of simple or complex nominal groups in any combination or sequence. It is identified therefore by the occurrence of two or more h elements of structure, each of which may or may not have a q element. Each ng in the series forming the multiple ng is linked to another by a subsidiary element, when overt, of group structure, or by simple juxtaposition. This subsidiary element is termed "linker" to distinguish it from the Link element of clause structure (cf. 1.3 and 2.1). This linking of constituent nominal groups results in various statable relationships between the groups (cf. 3.1.3.1).

The elements of structure of the multiple ng may be conflated into the formula: h $(\mathring{q})\overline{(l)\ h\ (\mathring{q})}$.

The elements h and q may each be expounded by items from word classes or by r/s items (clause or ag) such as have been described in the sections on the simple and complex nominal groups (cf. 3.1.1 and 3.1.2).

3.1.3.1 The Linking Elements

The linking elements involved in the structure of the multiple ng are expounded by items from the word class linker (l).

These linking elements may be classified as follows:

1) l_1 - /fé/ expressing a "genitival" relationship
2) l_2 - /kplé/ expressing an "additive" relationship
3) l_3 - /àlóó/ expressing an "alternative" relationship

Elements of the multiple ng may also be placed in simple Juxtaposition, resulting in either "appositional" or "genitival" relationship.

3.1.3.1.1 Relationship involving /fé/

When successive simple or complex nominal groups are linked by the item /fé/ of the word class l_1 a genitival relationship is said to exist between these groups. The first of any two constituent groups thus linked is termed the "possessor" and the second the "possessed":

SPA máwúénáˊ fé áfɔ : didi : ŋútɔ́
h l h
- Mawuena's feet are very long

SP àtíˊ kókɔ́ɔ́ èvè à wó kátãã́ fé álɔ wó kéŋ : ŋé
h q l h q
- all the branches of both the two tall trees were broken

SPC kútrɪ́kúkúˊ lè dèkákpuíˊ me fé víde wó : sɔ̀ : gbɔ̀
h q l h q
- the benefits of perseverance in youth are many

SPPC àtíˊ sɪ̀ wò tsɔ lá fé álɔ wó : vá : fò : è
h q l h q
- the branches of the tree he felled hit him

SPC é fé nɔ̀nɔ̀-mè : tó : vòvò
h l h
- his character is different

When the "possessor" group of any series in the multiple ng is expounded solely by either the first or second person singular of the word class pronoun (i.e. /nye/ and /wo/ of pro III), the genitival relationship is expounded by a rising tone and /fé/ does not occur at all; thus in comparison with the last example above we have:

SPC nyèˊ nɔ̀nɔ̀-mè : tó : vòvò
h h
- my character is different

SPA wò́ ádáka : lolo : ákpá
h h
- your case is too large

cf. mánsá fé ádáka : lolo : ákpá
h l h
- Mansa's case is too large

3.1.3.1.2 Relationship involving /kplé/

Successive simple or complex nominal groups linked by the item /kplé/ of the word class l are said to be in an "additive" relationship. When a series of l_2 elements occurs linking more than two groups the last may be expounded by the variant /kpakplé/.

The word classes pl and int may occur terminally in a multiple ng in addition to those that may have occurred in the simple or complex nominal groups that constitute the multiple ng. Examples of multiple nominal groups with l_2 are:

SPCA te kplé àgbèlì : lè : àgblè lá me : fűű
h l h
- there are plenty of yams and cassava on the farm

SPC séfofo dzɛ̃ɛ̃ lá kplé takú χíí èvè kpakplé
h q l h q l
àsígɛ dèká : nɔ̀ : kplɔ̃ a dzí
h q
- the red flower and two white scarves and one ring were on the table

SP xɔtutu dé gɛ̃ kplé àgblèdèdè dé kútè kpakplé
h q l h q l
alɛ́nyìnyì lè àfé wó kátɑ̃ɑ̃ : nyó
h q pl int
- building in Accra and farming at Kute and rearing sheep at home, all are good

SPC nye kplé éya é : nyé : àfélíka wó
h l h
- I and he are neighbours

SPC ene kplé adé kplé àsíéke kpakplé dèká : lè : bláàvè
h l h l h l h
- 4 + 6 + 9 + 1 = 20

SPC gɛ̃ kumásí tèmà kplé tàmàlè wó : nyé : dù gɑ́ɑ́ wó
h h h l h pl
- Accra, Kumasi, Tema and Tamale are large towns

3.1.3.1.3 Relationship involving /àlóó/

Successive simple or complex nominal groups in a multiple ng linked by l_3 which is expounded by the item /àlóó/ of the word class l are said to be in "alternative" relationship. /àlóó/ has an

abbreviated form /lóó/ with which it freely alternates. As in the case of /kplé/, $\underline{l}_3$ may occur either between successive simple or complex nominal groups in the series or only between the last two of the series. Examples of the $\underline{l}_3$ element are:

SPC fùfù àlóó àbólo àlóó gàlí àlóó àkplɛ́ : mé lè :
h l h l h l h
àsí-wò ò à
- don't you have fufu or abolo or gali or akplɛ̃?

or: fùfù àbólo gàlí àlóó àkplɛ́ : mé lè : àsí-wò ò à
h h h l h

SPC nyè wò àlóó meńsa é : áa tsɔ́ : àgbà lá
h h l h
- I, you or Mensa will carry the load

SPA dɔwɔwɔ kplé ŋúsɛ́ lóó vèvíédódó àlóó dzìdódó
h q l h l h
lè fukpékpé me : mé trɔ́ : ná è ò
q
- working with strength or perseverance or endurance in suffering are not to his liking

3.1.3.1.4 Relationship involving Juxtaposition

Successive simple or complex nominal groups in a multiple ng may be linked by simple juxtaposition. The resulting relationship between

the two nominal groups thus linked may be either appositional or genitival.

a) Appositional relationship:

Generally the nominal groups constituting the multiple ng when in appositional relationship are simplex (i.e. with h elements only), except for the last ng in the series which may have both h and q elements:

SPCA núfíálá kwámi àkatɔ́ : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : vévíé
h h h
- teacher Kwami Akatɔ works hard

SPC àgbò dèví nyúíé lá hã̀ã̀ : le : wó dòmè
h h q
- Agbo the good child also is among them

SPCA àmúzù vì.́ si nye ŋútɔ́ me dzi lá : tsí : tre : ɖé ŋú nyè
h h q
- Amuzu the child that I myself bore has stood up against me

SPA wò àdèlá yàwò kalɛ̃tɔ́ é : lè vɔ̀vɔ́-ḿ : álé à
h h h h
- are you Yawo, brave man and hunter as you are, so much afraid?

b) Genitival relationship:

Apart from the genitival relationship expounded by 1_1 above, the genitival relationship

between nominal groups may also be expounded by the simple juxtaposition of the nominal groups under the following conditions:

> When the element h of the "possessed" ng is expounded either by an item of the sub-class "Relational noun" (n_r) or by an item of the sub-class "Postpositional noun" (n_p) of the unit Word (cf. 4.1.1.1.2.1).

SPCCA kofí tási : ná : àkutsá : m̀ : ètsɔ̀
h h:n_r

- Kofi's aunt gave me a sponge yesterday

SP àfúá yibɔé nɔví wó dèdé ko é : vá
h q h:n_r q

- only the siblings of Dark Af[illegible] came

SP ŋútsu si míé kpó lá dadá é : kú
h q h:n_r

- the mother of the man we saw is dead

SPC yàwò : lè : kofí gbó
h h:n_p

- Yawo is with Kofi

SPC xɔ lá ŋú : fo : qi
h q h:n_p

- the surface of the house is dirty

SPA kplɔ̃ kɔ́kɔ́ èvè sia wó kátɑ̃́ɑ̃́ dzí : [illegible]
h q h:n_p

- the tops of both these tables are very smooth indeed

SP mía gbó : fá - our place is calm (a greeting)
    h h:n_p

In a combination of any item from the word class n and one from the sub-class n_p in genitival relationship, the first ng is "possessor" and the second "possessed". Apart from these nouns there is a paradigm of pronouns (series IV) which are used only in genitival relationship. The majority of items from this series (3rd person singular and all persons in the plural) precede the n_p in the multiple ng and therefore the term "possessor" can be applied to them. The other two (1st and 2nd person singular), on the other hand, follow the n_p. However, since in other respects they are complementary to the other forms of the pro series, it is simpler to call them "possessor" as well, despite their place in the order of the multiple ng.

The form of the "possessor" pronoun series IV is as follows:

Sing	1.	nye	Pl	1.	mía
	2.	wo		2.	mia
	3.	é or è [9]		3.	wó

[9] /é/ occurs as "possessor" when the "possessed" is expounded by an item from n_p and /è/ occurs as "possessor" when the "possessed" is expounded by an item from n_r. cf. 4.1.1.1.2.1 and 4.1.2.1

Thus in contrast with the immediately preceding example: /míá gbɔ́ : fá/ we have:

SP gbɔ nye : fá - my place is calm
h:n$_p$ h

cf. kofí gbɔ́ : fá - Kofi's place is calm
h h:n$_p$

but gbɔ wo : fá - your place is calm
h:n$_p$ h

3.1.3.2 Multiple Relationships

When more than two simple or complex nominal groups occur in a series constituting a multiple ng, more than one type of the subsidiary element l may occur between the nominal groups, thus resulting in different relationships. The following examples are only a sample of the possible combinations of linking relationship:[10]

SPC ɖèví lá fé zɔ̀zɔ̀ kplé núwɔna : dzè : ŋù nyè
- the walking and the action of the child please me

[10] If each l element had the possibility of occurring only once in any given multiple ng there would be about 60 possible combinations. Since, however, any can occur more than once, and the elements of structure of the multiple ng are recursive, the possible combinations are infinite.

SP yàwò kplé kofí àlóó kwadzó : né vá
- let Yawo and Kofi or Kwadzo come

SP àdzá_kofí fé glìqóqó : mé dzɔ̀-nà ò
- elder Kofi's wall-building is not straight

SP àfúá kplé áma; àlóó dàà_mánsá é : lè yìyì gé
- it is Ama and Afua or Sister Mansa that will go

SPC àfétɔ́ àlóó àfénɔ̀_káfúi fé àgbàlɛ̀ kplé àkaqí : tsí : àfíì
- the book and lamp of Mr and Mrs Kafui have been left here

SPC kofí_srɔ̃ kplé è_fò á kpakplé gbèdé_folí wó : kpé : nyà
- Kofi's wife and his/her brother and blacksmith Foli have met over a case

3.1.3.3 Apparent Ambiguities

A number of questions arise in the analysis of the multiple ng when several l elements occur. All of these cannot be treated in detail in this thesis. However, one such case is discussed by way of illustration. This is the case of apparent ambiguity which may lead to several possible immediate constituent analyses. For instance, in the sentence:

SPCA àgbènɔ̀nɔ̀ fé nyɔ̀nyɔ́ fé ŋgɔyiyi : dɔ́-á :
living of goodness of progress brings
dzìdzɔ̀ : ná mí kátɑ̃́ɑ̃́
joy to us all

the immediate constituents of the multiple ng may be analysed in different ways as illustrated by the following bracketings:

(àgbènɔ̀nɔ̀ fé nyɔ̀nyɔ́) fé ŋgɔyiyi
- the progress in good living

àgbènɔ̀nɔ̀ fé (nyɔ̀nyɔ́ fé ŋgɔyiyi)
- the goodness of progress in living

This apparent ambiguity can be resolved in a number of ways, however: by rhythm on the one hand, and by context and co-text on the other (i.e. the situational and linguistic environments, respectively, in which the item occurs).[11]

3.1.4 Nominal Group in Clause Structure

Having given an account of the various structural types of the ng, it is now necessary to make

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[11] For discussion on this and similar matters relating to "surface and deep" grammar, cf. Postal, 1964b; Chomsky, 1965 and Halliday, 1966a.

a statement on any restrictions that there may be on their operation at various places in clause structure.

3.1.4.1 Nominal Group operating at S

Practically all examples of the ng given in the description above operate at place S in clause structure. In fact all ng types described can operate at S, and the most economical way of stating the operation of the ng at places C, Z and A has been found to be by stating the restrictions placed on the ng types when they operate at these places as distinct from S.

3.1.4.2 Nominal Group operating at C

It is necessary to distinguish between the ng of which the h element is expounded by an item from a word class other than pro, and that of which the h element is expounded by an item from the word class pro. In the former case: i.e. when h is not expounded by a pronoun, the structures of the ng which operates at C are identical to those which operate at S.

Restrictions occur when h is expounded by a pronoun. Two pronoun series (III and V) can

operate at C in clause structure. The paradigm of pronoun series III has been discussed (cf. 3.1.1.1), but it is given here again together with series V:

		pro III	pro V
Sing.	1.	nye	m
	2.	wo	wo
	3.	éya	i/e/ɛ[12]
Pl.	1.	mía	mí
	2.	mia	mi
	3.	wó	wó

pro III operates at C when this C element is thematically marked; pro V operates at C when it is thematically unmarked:

SPC é : ʃo : éya - he beat him

cf. é : ʃò : è - he beat him

When pro III expounds h in a ng that operates at C, this ng may have a g element just as

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[12]The phonological form of the 3rd person singular here is determined by the last vowel of the preceding syllable. When it is close (i.e. /i/ or /u/ the form of the 3rd person singular is /i/; when it is mid (i.e. /e/ or /o/) the form of the pro is /e/; when it is open (i.e. /ɛ/, /ɔ/ or /a/) the form of the pro is /ɛ/:

e.g. mè : wù : ì - I killed it
me : tó : è - I pounded it
me : kpɔ́ : è - I saw it

it has when it operates at S (cf. 3.1.1.2.2):

SPC me : kpɔ́ : wò ɖèká dzáá kò
h q
- I saw just you alone

SPPC kpovítɔ́ wó : vá : lé : éya bòŋ́ si mé wɔ nánéké o lá
h q1 q2
- the police came to arrest rather him who did not do anything

However, when pro V expounds h in an ng that operates at C, this ng never has a q element of structure. Thus we have:

SPC é : fò : m̀ - he beat me

and é : fò : nyè ɖèká - he beat only me

but not *é : fò : m̀ ɖèká

nor *wó : kpɔ́ : e si vá lá

Note also that pro V does not expound h in the multiple ng.

For a discussion of all the pronoun series, cf. 4.1.2.1).

3.1.4.3 Nominal Group operating at Z

The simple, complex or multiple ng can each operate at place Z; and h and q may each be

expounded by items from the same word classes that expound these places in the ng operating at S. When an item of the word class pro expounds h in the ng operating at Z only pro III can occur. Examples of nominal groups operating at Z are as follows:

mánsá - Mansa!

èvè áɖé kò - just a couple
h q

míá wó é - it's us
h q

dàáví àfúá àlóó àfénɔ mánsá à
h h l h h
- is it Miss Afua or Madam Mansa?

3.1.4.4 Nominal Group operating at A

The only kind of ng which operates at place A in clause structure is that whose h element is expounded by the sub-class temporal of the word class noun (n_t).[13] This nominal group with the h element expounded by n_t may be simple, complex or

[13]The nominal group in the verbid construction is only an element of structure of the adverbial group, and is discussed in the section on the adverbial group below (cf. 3.2.1.2).

multiple. It may occur in pre-S or post-S position in clause structure:

SPCA núfíálá : yó : m : égbè
- teacher called me today

PA yì : fífílàà - go now!

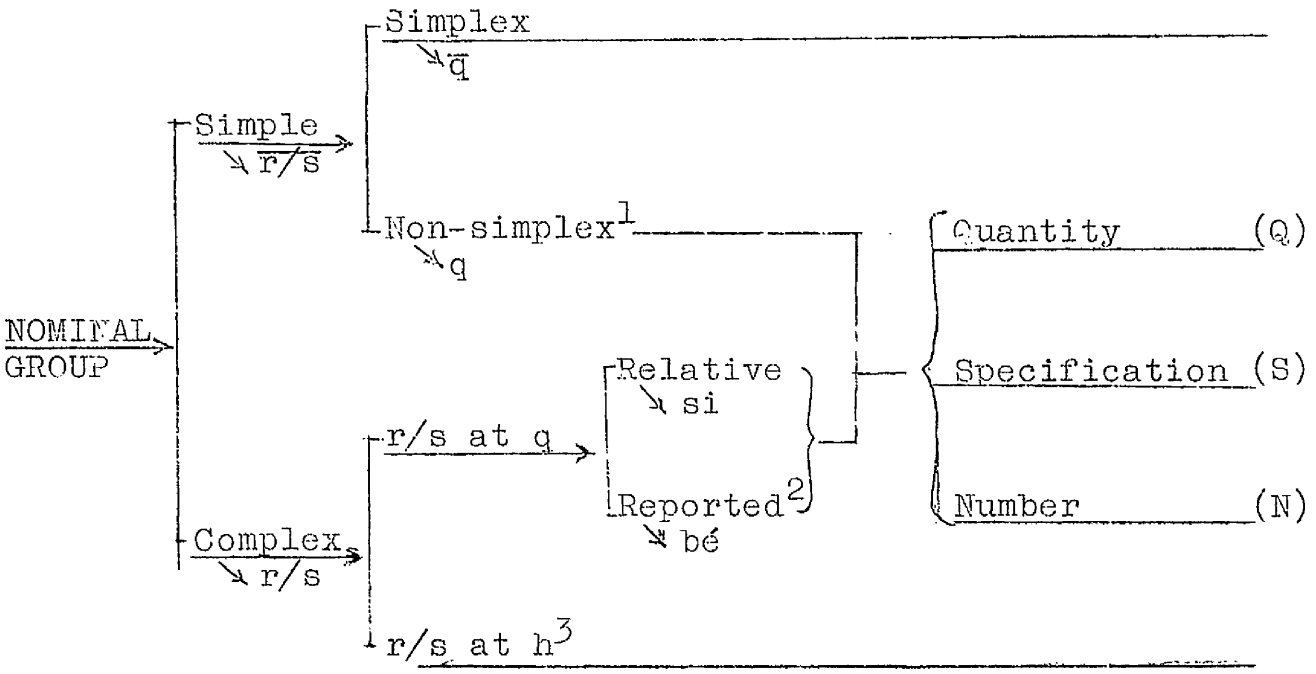
SPCA me : tó-á : àfímá : gbèsíàgbè
- I pass there every day

SPCA me : kpó : ŋútsu lá : nyitsó si vá yì
- I saw the man the other day
(lit. "...day which came went")

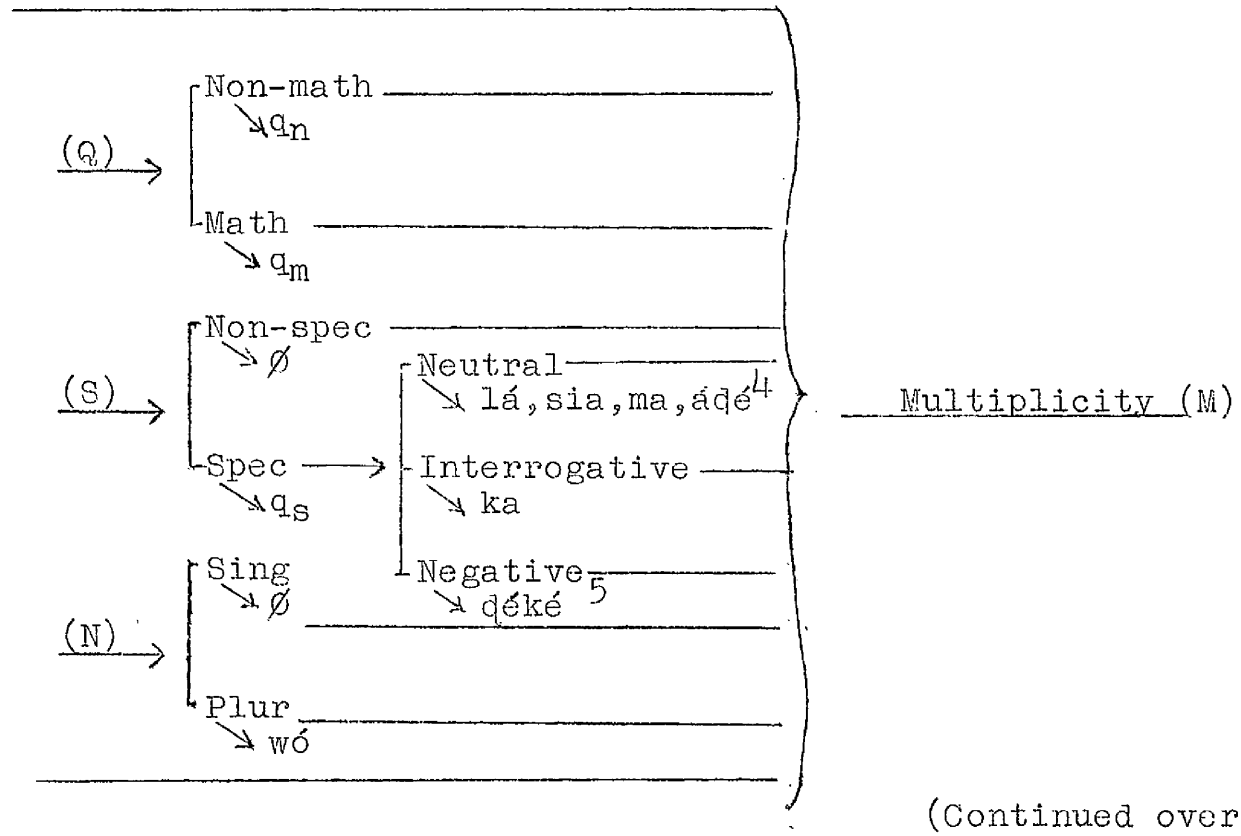
ASP égbe ŋkeke sia é : wò : le yiyi-gé
h h q
- today, this day, is when he will be going

3.1.5 Systems of the Nominal Group

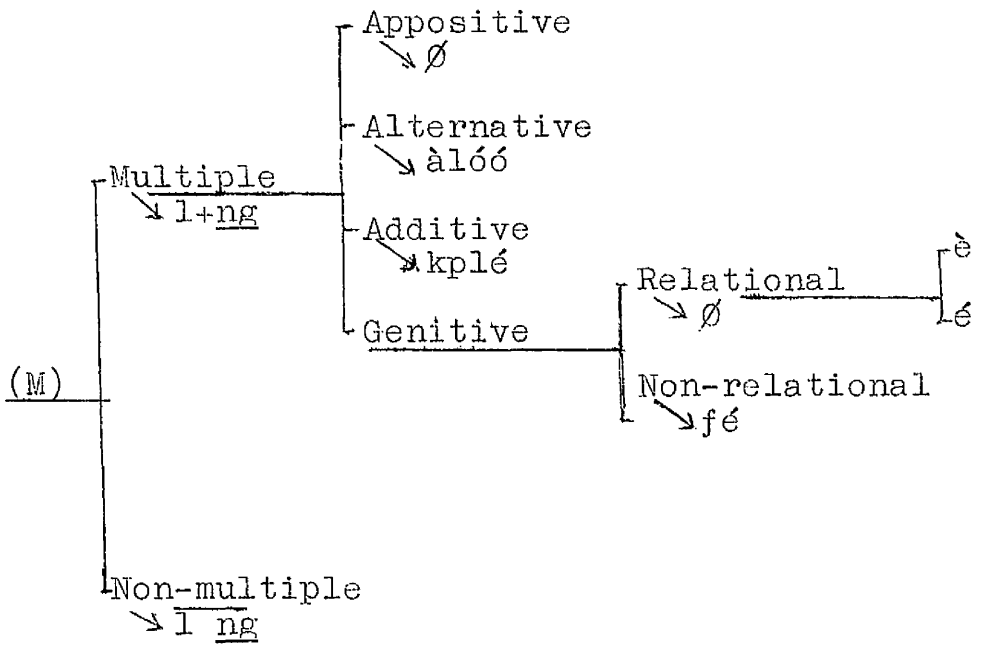
The systems operative in the ng are closely relatable to the structures and classes of the group as have been described above, and the following flow diagram is a comprehensive summary of these systems. Exemplifications of the terms are not included because they would amount to a repetition of those already given in the description we have presented.



(Continued below)



(Continued overleaf)



Notes:

1. The presence or absence of adjectives and intensifiers is non-systemic.

2. Where a ng with a reported clause expounded by /bé/ does not permit of genitival relationship in a multiple ng.

3. Where a complex ng with a r/s item at h can only be part of a multiple ng together with another complex ng with a r/s item at h.

4. /lá/ can only be selected if "Sing" is selected.

5. /ɖéké/ does not co-occur with semantically "plural" intensifiers such as /kéŋ/.

3.2 The Adverbial Group

The adverbial group has been defined earlier as that class of the unit Group which operates at place A in clause structure and nowhere else in the immediate structure of the clause, (cf. 3.0). The operation of the ag when rankshifted into group structure has been dealt with above (3.1.2.2).

3.2.1 Structure

For the description of the ag it has been found useful to set up two structural types: the simplex adverbial group and the non-simplex adverbial group, symbolized ag_1 and ag_2 respectively.

3.2.1.1 Simplex Adverbial Group

ag_1 is characterised by being expounded by a single item of a class of the next lower unit Word.

The word classes whose members may expound ag_1 are: Adverb, Intensifier and Adjective. Of these word classes, adv is univalent in that it expounds only the ag; int and adj, on the other hand,

are ambivalent, being potential exponents of q in the ng as well as potential exponents of the ag.

The differences between adj and int have already been made clear in the discussion of the q element of structure of the ng, (cf. 3.1.1.2).

3.2.1.1.1 Simplex ag expounded by adv

An item from the word class adv may occur as the sole exponent of ag:

PPA trɔ́ : vá : kábá - come back quickly

SPCCA wó : tù : hɛ̀ : ŋútsu lá : kplù
- they stabbed the man "kplu"

SPCA ame tsitsii wó : dzro : nya lá me : tsítótsító
- elders investigated the case exhaustively

SPCA èvè à wó : wɔ̀ : àvà : kalɛ̃tɔ́ɛ̀
- the Ewes fought bravely

SPA àgbàlɛ̃̀ lá : nyɔ̀ : yìbɔ̀ɔ̀
- the book is very black

SPCA mɔ́zɔlá lá : mlɔ́ : anyí : tsimalemaléè
- the traveller lay down without bathing (lit. "water-not-bathing")

3.2.1.1.2 Simplex ag expounded by adj

ag_1 may be expounded by items from a sub-class of the word class adj, which may also expound the element q in ng structure (cf. 3.1.1.2.1.a). This sub-class of the adj is termed ambivalent adjective (adj_a) to distinguish it from other sub-classes of adj which cannot expound ag_1, and also to draw attention to its dual role: as the exponent of elements of structure in both the ng and the ag. In the following examples ag_1 is expounded by items from adj_a:[14]

SPA kúnúwɔlá wó kátáá́ : mú : nyúíé
- all the mourners were well drunk

SPCA ne : kpé : fu : dzódzròó́
- you suffered for nothing

SPCA yawá : wɔ̀ : àkónta lá : bɔbɔ́
- Yawa did the sum easily

[14] In some dialects of Eve, e.g. Peki, Anfɔe, these adjectives are adverbialised by the suffixing of /-ɖé/. Thus we have /nyúíé/ - "good" beside /nyúíéɖé/ - "well" and /séséé́/ - "strong" beside /séséé́ɖé/ - "strongly". In such cases items of the word class adj cannot be said to expound ag_1. The forms with the suffix /-ɖé/ are items of the word class adv:
e.g. é : wɔ-a : dɔ : nyúíéɖé - he works well.
adv

3.2.1.1.3 Simplex ag expounded by int

The word class int whose members may expound q as demonstrated in the description of the ng above (cf. 3.1.1.2.1.e), may also expound ag_1:

SPCA fu lá : dzè : àgbò : ŋútɔ́
- the sea is very rough

ɖè SP C ɖè : wò : le : amesíame : dzu-ḿ : kò
- he was just insulting everyone

SPCA dàdá : mlɔ́ : àbà lá dzí : dzáá
- mother lay on the mat gently

SPA fli lá : dzɔ : tútúútú
- the line is very straight

3.2.1.2 Non-simplex Adverbial Group

ag_2 is characterised by being expounded by what is termed a Verbid Construction.[15]

The elements of structure of the verbid construction are a verbid followed by one or more r/s nominal groups. The structure of the verbid construction

[15]For a discussion on the identification of the verbid and its role in the adverbial group, cf. 4.1.10 and Ansre, 1966.

may thus be conflated in the formula: vid $\overset{\circ}{\underline{r/s\ ng}}$.

The place vid is expounded by an item from the word class verbid. This class consists of an enumerable set of formal items, which at the present stage of investigation comprises the following six members: /le, kplé, tsó, ná, ɖé, tó/.[16]

The verbid differs from the verb in that it is not subject to the systems that operate in the vg (cf. 3.3.1). For instance the systems of tense, aspect and polarity do not apply to the verbid. Thus, although the items /le, tsó, ná, ɖé, tó/ have homophones which operate as verbs, the two sets should be distinguished. The verbid /kplé/ is also analysed as grammatically different from the additive linker with which it is homophonous. The latter occurs in the ng and the former occurs only in the ag, each performing a different function.

The r/s ng types which combine with the verbid to form ag_2 are identical with the ng as described above (cf. 3.1). They may be simple, complex or multiple.

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[16] Two other items: /yi/ and /vá/ seem to operate as verbids, but they are more economically treated as items from the word class verb occurring in serial verbal constructions, (cf. 3.3.2)

The following examples contain a representative sample of verbid constructions expounding ag_2:

a) ag_2 expounded by vid and a simple ng:

SPCA sényó : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀́ : lè gɛ̃̀

- Senyo works in Accra

SPCA àfénɔ lá : xɔ : amedzró lá: kplé lɔ̃̀lɔ̃̀ gèdɛ̀è

- the lady received the guest with much kindness

b) ag_2 expounded by vid and a complex ng:

SPCA é : tù : xɔ : dé tèfé sì wò fle lá

- he built a house on the plot which he bought

SPCA wó : wɔ̀ : kúnú : ná amé si wó kátãã futɔ́ wó wù lè àvà lá

- they performed a funeral for all the people whom the enemy killed at war

c) ag_2 expounded by vid and a multiple ng:

SPCA mè : xɔ̀-à : àgbàlɛ̃̀ : tó kofí dzí

- I receive letters through Kofi

SPCAA míé : le : mɔ́ : kpɔ́-ḿ : ná amedɔ́dɔ́ : tsó kéta àlóó àdìdómè

- we are expecting a messenger from Keta or Adidome

No clear-cut systems seem to operate in the ag, but it should be mentioned that the occurrence of /hàqé/ as an exponent of the ag is dependent upon the occurrence of the negative particle /mé< >ò/ in the vg:

SP<A>yàwò : mé yì < hàqé> ò - Yawo has not gone yet

not *yàwò : yì : hàqé.

3.3 The Verbal Group

The verbal group is defined as that class of the unit group which operates at P in clause structure and nowhere else.

In the description of the vg which follows the various constituent elements of structure are listed and each is discussed in turn. This is followed by a statement on the various combinations of these elements which are possible. The section closes with a discussion of serial verbal constructions.

3.3.1 Structure

The elements of structure of the vg at the primary degree of delicacy are:

i) a verb stem whose occurrence in the vg is obligatory,

ii) non-stem elements[17] whose occurrence is optional and dependent on the systems that are operative in the given verbal group.

These n-s elements are subdivided with reference to their ordering in place in relation to the vs element thus:

a) pre-stem element

b) post-stem element

c) discontinuous element.

The elements of structure of the vg may be formulaically represented as follows:

(disc) (pre-s) vs (post-s)

3.3.1.1 The vs Element

The element vs is always expounded by an item from the word class verb (v). Depending on the systems that operate in the vg (cf. 3.3.3) vs may be "simple" or "reduplicated" (R(v)).

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[17]The term "non-stem elements" is preferred to "affixes" because this discussion is on the unit group and not on the word, where "roots" and "affixes" might be more apt. Furthermore the stem and non-stem elements do not have the formal properties of a paradigm.

At the phonological level what is called "reduplicated" here can take a variety of forms, only one of which is complete repetition of the phonological form of the simple vs. A discussion of these types is not relevant to this thesis.[18] Examples of simple and reduplicated vs are given below:

SPA koffí : tsi : ŋútɔ́
- Kofi has grown very much

cf. koffí : lè tsìtsì-ḿ : ŋútɔ́
- Kofi is growing very much

SP ɖèví á : tɔ́ - the child stopped

cf. ɖèví á : nɔ̀ tɔ̀tɔ́-ḿ - the child was stopping

SP ɖèví á : tɔ́tɔ́[19] - the child is confused

cf. ɖèví á : lè tɔ̀tɔ́tɔ́-ḿ
- the child is getting confused

SP wó : dzrá ɖó[20] - they prepared

cf. wó : lè dzàdzrà-ḿ ɖó
- they are preparing

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[18] See however, Westermann, 1930: pp. 75, 181ff; 1944 and Ansre, 1961: pp. 38 - 42 and 1963: pp. 128 - 132.

[19] The item /tɔ́tɔ́/ - "to be confused" is grammatically a simple vs, and should not be confused with /tɔ́/ - "to stop" which occurs in the previous example.

[20] For a discussion on the discontinuous verb type, cf. 4.1.11.2.2.

3.3.1.2 The n-s Elements

The n-s elements of vg structure are expounded by the word class particle (cf. 4.1.13). These elements, pre-s, post-s and disc are each described below.

3.3.1.2.1 The pre-s Element

The pre-s element may be expounded by any one or more of the following four sub-classes of the particle:

1) the present/past particle (p/p)
2) the augmenting particle (aug)
3) the repetitive particle (rep)
4) the future tense particle (fut)

3.3.1.2.1.1 pre-s Element expounded by p/p

p/p comprises a single item from the sub-class of the particle. It is expounded by the formal item /le/ which has a morphological alternant /nɔ/.[21] This tense particle occurs only when either the continuous or the intention term of the aspect system is operative in the vg (cf. 3.3.3).

[21] These should not be confused with the homophonous verbs /le/ and /nɔ/, nor with the verbid /le/.

It should be mentioned that the system of transitivity (cf. 2.5.1.2) also affects the structure of the vg when pre-s is expounded by p/p. If the clause of which the vg is the exponent of the P element of structure is transitive (i.e. has a C element) the constituent vg is discontinuous, with p/p initial and vs together with the continuous aspect particle, con (cf. 3.3.1.2.2.1) terminal. The C element of clause structure (expounded by a ng) is internal to the vg:

SP⟨C⟩ yawá : lè ⟨fufu⟩ tó-ḿ
p/p C vs con
- Yawa is pounding fufu

SP⟨C⟩ ɖèví á wó : nɔ̀ kpé da-ḿ
p/p C vs con
- the children were throwing stones

SP⟨C⟩A wó : lè ⟨hà⟩ dzì-ḿ : ázɔ́
p/p C vs con
- they are singing a song now

SP⟨C⟩A àfénɔ siá : lè ⟨dɔ⟩ wɔ-ḿ : lè xɔ̀ mè
p/p C vs con
- this lady is working indoors

If, on the other hand, the clause of which the vg is the exponent of the P element is intransitive (i.e. has no C element), then the

constituent vs is reduplicated. p/p naturally precedes the R(v) and con follows:

SP dàdì lá : lè tsìtsì-ḿ
p/p R(v) con
- the cat is growing

SPA vù á : nɔ̀ tɔ̀trɔ́-ḿ : ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀
p/p R(v) con
- the vehicle was turning slowly

SP nú á : lè fèfìè-ḿ - the thing is boiling
p/p R(v) con

3.3.1.2.1.2 pre-s Element expounded by aug

aug forms a sub-class of the word class particle, which in turn consists of a closed set of some five formal items.[22] Their function is mainly to supplement and "augment" the meaning of the vs element. Below is a list of these augments. It is not unlikely that further investigation will increase the membership of this sub-class of particles:

/ká/ - alleviating augment
/kpɔ́/ - negative augment
/xa/ - frustration augment

[22]Of these five not every one is found in every dialect of Eve, and some have dialect variants. Where relevant the dialect to which a given item belongs and dialectal variants are given. Note, however, that the tendency is towards the blurring of these dialectal peculiarities.

/ɖa/ - goal augment
/hé/ - serial augment

The various augmenting particles appear in the following examples as sole exponents of the pre-s element of vg structure:

SPA dɔ̀lélé á : ká bɔbɔ : vĭé
- the sickness has lessened slightly

SP⟨A⟩ ŋútsu á : mé kpɔ́ vá ⟨hàɖé⟩ ò
- the man has not come as yet

SPCA me : xa vá : àfé : dzódzròó
- I came home for nothing

This form may have an optional structural variation in which the C element of clause structure is internal to the vg:

SP⟨C⟩A mè : xà ⟨àfé⟩ vá : dzódzròó
- I came home for nothing

The augmenting particles /ɖa/ and /hé/ usually occur in the compound clause (cf. 2.2.2 and 3.3.2.2.1). They occur as the exponent of the pre-s element in the last of the serial verbal groups which expound the various P elements. /ɖa/ has a dialect variant /báa/ which is found in the North-West

(Peki, Awudome, Anfɔe, Kpando and Hohoe); and /hé/ which is, in the main, an Anlɔ form has the morphological variant /há/ which occurs only when the tense of the vg is fut.

SPCPC nyónu á : yì : fíásé mè : dà flè : takú
- the woman went into a shop and bought a scarf

or: nyónu á : yì : fíásé me : báà flè : takú

SPCPCPCAA é : yɔ́ : m̀ : yì : xɔ me : hé ká : mo : ná m : vévíé
- he led me indoors and rebuked me severely

SPCPCPC wó : à lè : tsi : á du : nú : á há mlɔ́ : anyí
- they will bathe, eat and lie down

3.3.1.2.1.3 pre-s Element expounded by rep

The sub-class rep of the word class particle has one member whose formal exponent is /ga/. Its occurrence in the vg implies the repetition of the idea expressed in the vg. rep is used in the following examples as the sole exponent of pre-s:

SP xɔ lá : mù - the house fell

SP xɔ lá : gà mù - the house fell again

SPC màmí : kpɔ́ : àdzè. - mother saw a witch

SPC màmí : ga kpɔ́ : àdzè. - mother saw a witch again

3.3.1.2.1.4 pre-s Element expounded by fut

The sub-class fut also has only one member whose formal exponent is /a/. The tone of /a/ is determined by morphophonemic factors, the detailed description of which does not form part of the present thesis. All that is necessary here is to state that the tone of the syllables immediately preceding and following this particle determine whether it should be high or non-high. Another feature of this item /a/ is that it may be fused, phonologically, with the immediately preceding morpheme. This fusion takes place either:

i) with the initial constituent of the disc element of vg structure which is expounded by the negation particle /mé ò/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.3 and 3.3.1.2.4). When /mé/ occurs before /a/ the phonological realisation is /máa/:

SP⟨CA⟩ ŋútsu á : máa ɖó ⟨gɛ̃ : égbè⟩ ò
- the man will not reach Accra today

or: ii) with the formal item pro when this occurs as the sole exponent of the S element of clause structure. The result is the phonological fusion of two grammatically distinct groups: the ng and part of the vg. Thus we have:

	pro	fut		pro	fut
Sing. 1.	me	a → maá	Plur. 1.	mǐé	a → mía
2.	(n)e	a →(n)aá	2.	mie	a → miá
3.	é	a → áa	3.	wó	a → wóa

SPC maá dù : fùfù - I shall eat fufu

SPC LSP wóa yɔ́ : mí éye : mía tɔ̀
- they will call us and we shall respond

When the ng operating at S is expounded by an item or items other than pro, the future marker /a/ is lengthened and has a falling tone, thus /áa/:

SPA tsi : áa dza : fűű
- rain will fall plentifully

SP àtǐ sia : áa ŋé - this stick will break

SPCA yàwò : áa wù : dà lá : ná m̀
- Yawo will kill the snake for me

3.3.1.2.1.5 pre-s Element expounded by Combinations of Particles

When pre-s is expounded by a combination of items from the word class part, these items are place-ordered according to the sub-class of part to which they belong. Thus the "first" item in the series is that which is closest to the vs element, and the left-most item expounding pre-s is the "last". The order in which these sub-classes occur may be represented thus: ← fut rep aug p/p vs

In the following examples, combinations of two, three and four of these items occur expounding the pre-s element:

a) pre-s expounded by two items

SP⟨C⟩ mè : xà lè ⟨àtíkɛ⟩ wɔ-ḿ
aug p/p C vs con
- I'm taking medicine in vain

SP ya:́ : gà lè fòfò-ḿ
rep p/p vs con
- the wind is still blowing

When both fut and p/p expound the element pre-s, p/p is always expounded by the variant /nɔ/ and never by /le/:

SP⟨C⟩A maá nɔ̀ ⟨àgbàlɛ̃̀⟩ ŋlɔ-ḿ : ná mì
fut p/p vs con
- I shall be writing you letters

SPCPC é : yì : xɔ me : ga ɖa tsó : àvɔ̀ búbùú
rep aug vs
- she went indoors and took another cloth

SPCA kofí : áa ɖa ɖó : kɔ́fé á me : gbɑ̃́
fut aug vs
- Kofi will arrive in the village first

SPA mía ga kpé : ètsɔ̀
fut rep vs
- we shall meet again tomorrow

b) pre-s expounded by three items:

SP⟨C⟩A àfúá : gà ɖà lè ⟨dzrè⟩ hè-ḿ : lè gbɔ̀ mè
rep aug p/p vs con
- Afua is gone and is quarrelling in town again

SP⟨C⟩|LSP maá ɖà nɔ̀ ⟨fufu⟩ ɖa-ḿ | háfí : mìà vá
fut aug p/p vs con
- I shall go and be cooking fufu before you come

SPC maá ga ɖa nɔ : mamá gbɔ́
fut rep aug vs
- I shall go to stay with Grandma again

c) pre-s expounded by four items:

SP⟨C⟩ wó : máa ga ɖà nɔ̀ ⟨gbèvú⟩ wɔ-ḿ ò
fut rep aug p/p vs con

- if we punish them they will no longer be ruffians

SP⟨C⟩|LPC vì꞉ wo : máa ga xa nɔ ⟨nu꞉⟩ fo-ḿ |
fut rep aug p/p vs con

háfí : á dzì : hà ɔ̀ à

- won't your child be barely talking before he sings?

3.3.1.2.2 The post-s Element

The post-s element is expounded by any one of the following aspect markers, which are sub-classes of the part. Combinations of items expounding post-s do not occur except in the doubtful case discussed below (3.3.1.2.4).

1) the continuous aspect particle (con)
2) the intention aspect particle (in)
3) the habitual aspect particle (hab)

3.3.1.2.2.1 post-s Element expounded by con

con is a one term sub-class whose formal exponent is /ḿ/.[23]

[23] /ḿ/ is predominantly Aŋlɔ. In Western Inland dialects the exponent of con is lengthening of the final vowel of the vs together with high tone. Compare: /é : lè yìyì-ḿ/ with: /é : lè yìyì-í/ - "he is going".

con is the exponent of the continuous term in the aspect system of the vg (cf. 3.3.3). As has been said above (3.3.1.2.1.1) con always co-occurs with the exponent of p/p of the pre-s element.

SP⟨C⟩ mè : lè ⟨àkatsá⟩ no-ḿ
p/p vs con
- I am eating porridge

SPA vù á : nɔ̀ zɔ̀zɔ̀-ḿ : sésɛ́ɛ́
p/p vs con
- the vehicle was moving fast

3.3.1.2.2.2 post-s Element expounded by in

in is a one term sub-class whose formal exponent is /gé/. in expounds the intention term of the aspect system in the vg (cf. 3.3.3), and like con co-occurs with the exponent of p/p of the pre-s element:[24]

SP⟨C⟩ wó : lè ⟨hà⟩ dzì-gé : fífíá
p/p vs in
- they will sing soon

---

[24] It is possible to analyse /gé/ as an alternative future marker (i.e. to fut expounded by /a/, cf. 3.3.1.2.1.4), but the rare form: /wóà nɔ̀ yìyì-gé/ - "they would be going" in which both /a/ and /gé/ occur militates against this analysis.

SP⟨C⟩|LSP nyruś : nɔ̀ ⟨ àgblè ⟩ yì-gé | háfí : míé : dè
p/p vs in

- Uncle was going to go to farm when we got there

3.3.1.2.2.3 post-s Element expounded by hab

Like the other aspect markers which expound the post-s element, hab is also a one term sub-class whose formal exponent is /a/, with the free variant /na/ occurring in more deliberate speech.[25] hab is the exponent of the habitual term of the aspect system (cf. 3.3.3).

SPCA mè : yì-nà : àsì mè : gbèsíàgbè
vs hab

- I go to market every day

SPCA àʃénɔ á : kpɔ́-á : ɖèví á dzí : nyúíé
vs hab

- the lady supervises the child well

It should be noted that hab and p/p never co-occur, so we do not have */mè nɔ̀ yìyì-à/. It is, however, possible to analyse the relatively rare form in /me nɔ-a mɔ́ zɔ-ḿ/ - "I used to walk",

[25]The tone of /a/ is neither high nor non-high but neutral: i.e. it has the same tone as the preceding syllable.

which is frequently found in written Eve but is scarce in the spoken form, as an occurrence of this combination. In such a case it would be necessary to consider hab as an item that can expound both pre-s and post-s elements, but this does not seem necessary in view of the rarity of this form in spoken Eve.

3.3.1.2.3 The disc Element

The disc element of vg structure is always expounded by the one term sub-class Negation (neg) of the word class part. neg is expounded by the discontinuous formal item /mé<>ò/. It is the exponent of the term Negative in the polarity system in the vg (cf. 3.3.3).

As has been described in the section on discontinuity in the P element of clause structure (2.2.1.1.1), neg may have internal to it the rest of the exponents of the P element (the rest of the vg) when the clause is intransitive and has no A element of structure.

SP àtí lá : mé ⟨ kó ⟩ ò
- the tree is not tall

SP nyè : mé ⟨gà lè tsìtsì-ḿ⟩ ò
- I'm not growing any more

When the clause is transitive, neg may have the rest of the vg and the C element of clause structure and, should one occur in the clause, the A element all internal to it.

SP⟨C⟩ nyè : mé ⟨ kpó : àgbò ⟩ ò
neg vs C neg
- I did not see Agbo

SP⟨CA⟩ gà ɖéké : mé ⟨ lè àsí nye : égbè ⟩ ò
neg vs C A neg
- I have no money today

SP⟨C_aC_bA⟩ wó : mé ⟨ dà-à : tú : lã̀ : lè àvè siá mè ⟩ ò
neg vs C_a C_b A neg
- they don't shoot animals in this forest

3.3.1.2.4 Verbal Group involving Combination of n-s Elements

The vg may consist of vs and various combinations of n-s elements:

a) n-s expounded by pre-s and post-s elements:

SP tsì : nɔ̀ dzàdzà-ḿ
- it was raining

SP vù á : gà lè zɔ̀zɔ̀-gé́
- the vehicle will move again

b) n-s expounded by disc and post-s elements

SP⟨CA⟩ fia : mé ⟨fo-a : nu : lè hà mè⟩ ò
- a chief does not talk in public

SP⟨C⟩ wó : mé ⟨ɖù-à hàlã̀⟩ ò
- they don't eat pork

c) n-s expounded by disc and pre-s elements:

SP⟨CA⟩ màmí : mé ⟨ga kpɔ́ : m : kpɔ́⟩ ò
- Mami hasn't seen me for a long time

When both disc and pre-s elements occur in the vg, and pre-s is expounded by the sub-class fut (/a/), the initial component /mé/ of the neg /mé⟨ ⟩ò/ fuses with /a/ and the two together are realised as /máa⟨ ⟩ò/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.1.4).

SP⟨CA⟩ mí : máa ⟨ga wɔ̀ : àvà : gbèɖé⟩ ò
- we shall not fight again ever

d) n-s expounded by disc, pre-s and post-s elements:

SP tsi : máa ⟨ga nɔ̀ dzàdzà-ḿ⟩ ɔ̀
disc pre-s post-s

- it will no more be raining

SP⟨CA⟩ nyè : máa ⟨nɔ̀ : fu : kpé-ḿ : xesíaxi⟩ ɔ̀
disc pre-s C vs post-s disc

- I shall not be suffering always

3.3.2 Serial Verbal Constructions

In a compound clause, i.e. one which has more than one P element of structure (cf. 2.2.2), the verbal groups which expound the P elements involved are said to form a serial verbal construction. Some of the elements of structure of the verbal groups which constitute the series exhibit some inter-relationship with others. Below is a description of the relationships between various elements within constituent verbal groups.

3.3.2.1 The vs Element in Serial Construction

Every vg in the series has a vs element of structure, and any of these vs elements may be expounded by either a simple or a reduplicated verb.

The conditions governing the occurrence of a simple verb (v) or a reduplicated verb (R(v)) are the same as those for the single verbal group: i.e. the systems of transitivity and aspect (cf. 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.3). The following examples illustrate v and R(v) expounding the vs element:

SPP é : tsi : gblɛ́
- he has grown spoiled

cf. é : lè tsìtsì-ḿ : lè gbègblɛ́-ḿ
- he is growing (and becoming) spoiled

SPPPC àdzúá : trɔ́ : vá : yì : àfé
- Adzua returned and went home

cf. àdzúá : lè tɔ̀trɔ́-ḿ : vá : yì-nà : àfé
- Adzua is turning to go home

3.3.2.2 n-s Elements in Serial Construction

The various n-s elements display relationships and restrictions which are described below.

3.3.2.2.1 The pre-s Element in Serial Construction

Each of the exponents of the pre-s element shows a different pattern of occurrence in

the serial construction.

a) p/p can occur in any one or more or all of the verbal groups in the series:

SPCPCP ⟨C⟩ wó : fò : vù : dzì : hà : lè ⟨yè⟩ dú-ḿ
vs vs p/p vs

- they have drummed and sung and are dancing

SP ⟨C⟩ P ⟨C⟩ P ⟨C⟩ wó : lè ⟨vù⟩ fo-ḿ : lè ⟨hà⟩ dzì-ḿ :
p/p vs p/p vs

le ⟨ye⟩ dú-ḿ
p/p vs

- they are drumming, singing and dancing

b) aug: Of the five augmenting particles /ká, kpɔ́, xa, ɖa, hé/ which can expound pre-s in the vg, /ɖà/ and /hé/ occur only in serial verbal constructions (cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2), and in the data studied they occur only once in a series and never as part of the first vg. The following examples are all confined to the neutral/non-future terms of the aspect/tense systems for the sake of simplicity:

SPPC wó : yì : ɖà flè : tè
vs aug vs

- they went to buy yams

SPCPCPA wó : flè : tè : ɖà : fufú i : ɖa ɖu :
vs vs aug vs
le mɔ́ á dzí
- they bought yam, cooked fufu and ate it on the way

SPCPPCPC míé : ɖa : nú : ɖù : lè : tsi : hé mlɔ́ : anyí
vs vs vs aug vs
- we cooked food, ate, bathed and lay down

/xa/ and /kpɔ́/ occur in the material studied only in the initial vg of the series:

SPPPC yàwò : xà zɔ̌ : vá : kpɔ́ : amegã́ lá à
aug vs vs vs
- did Yawo come to see the great man?

SPPCA ɖèví á : mé kpɔ́ tsi : nyá : núvɔ̃́ : hàɖé ò
aug vs vs
- the child is not yet old enough to know evil

/ká/ usually occurs in the initial vg of the series, but in rare cases it occurs in the non-initial vg:

SPPA é : ká fɔ́ : zɔ : vĭé
aug vs vs
- he managed to get up and walk a little

SPPPCA é : fɔ́ : zɔ : ká ɖu : nú : vĭé
vs vs aug vs
- he got up, walked and managed to eat a little

c) rep may expound the pre-s element in any one or more verbal groups of the serial construction. Its occurrence in one vg does not necessitate any formal change in the other verbal groups forming the series:

SFCPCPC ne : ga dó : dzikú : tsó : àtí : fò : àvù lá
rep vs vs vs

-- you were again annoyed, took a stick and hit the dog

SPCPCPC ne : ga dó : dzikú : ga tsó : àtí : fò :
rep vs rep vs vs

àvù lá

- you were again annoyed and again took a stick and hit the dog

d) fut: The occurrence of fut as an exponent of pre-s formally involves every member vg of the serial verbal construction. The formal exponent of fut, /a/, occurs in each vg of the series, thus forming a kind of concord agreement among all the member verbal groups:

SPPCPCA yàwò : fó : dó : àwù : yì : àgblè : xóxó

- Yawo has got up, put on his garment and gone to farm already

cf. yàwò : áa fó́ : á dó : àwù : á yì :
àgbl̀è : xóxó
- Yawo will get up, will put on his garment and will go to farm

SPCP àvù lá : no : tsi : kú
- the dog is drowned

cf. àvù lá : áa no : tsi : á kú
- the dog will be drowned

When the lexical item /vá/ - "to come" occurs as vs in a vg which is a member of a serial verbal construction, the vg immediately following does not have fut as exponent:

SPPCPC áa tró : á tó : àfíi : á yì : àfé
- he will return via here and go home

cf. áa tró : á vá : tó : àfíi : á yì : àfé
- he will return and come via here and go home

3.3.2.2.2 The post-s Element in Serial Construction

Of the three exponents of the post-s element, con, in and hab, whose formal realisations are /m̀/, /gé/ and /ná/ respectively, not more than one may occur in any one serial verbal construction.

a) con can occur as exponent of post-s in any one or more of the verbal groups in the series:

SPCPAP wó : dzè : àhà : dzrà ɖó : ɖé xɔ̀ mè : nɔ̀ nònò-ḿ
- they bought drinks, hid them indoors and were drinking

SPCPP⟨C⟩ míé : tó : fùfù : lè ɖùɖù-ḿ : lè ⟨àhà⟩ nò-ḿ
- we pounded fufu, were eating it and drinking wine

b) hab may occur as an exponent of post-s in any of the verbal groups in the series. Once it occurs in a vg in the series its occurrence in all subsequent verbal groups in that series is obligatory:

SPCPAP é : dzè : àhà : ɣlá : ɖé àbàtí té : nò-nà
- he has bought drinks and hidden them under his bed and drinks them

SPCPCP míé : dó-á[26] dzò : ɖà-nà : nú : ɖù-nà
- we (habitually) make a fire, cook food and eat it

c) in unlike con and hab can occur as an exponent of post-s only once in the series. When it occurs

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[26] For the alternant exponents /a/ and /na/ of hab, cf. 3.3.1.2.2.3.

in a vg in a series all subsequent verbal groups have the fut particle /a/ as an exponent of pre-s:

SPCPPP wó : flè : gbɔ̃́ : tsò : ɖà : lè ɖuɖu-gé
- they bought a goat, slaughtered it, cooked it and will be eating it

SP⟨C⟩PPP wó : lè ⟨gbɔ̃ ⟩ fle-gé : á tso : á ɖa : á ɖù
- they will be buying a goat to slaughter, cook and eat

3.3.2.2.3 The disc Element in Serial Construction

The disc element which is expounded by the negation particle /mé⟨ ⟩ò/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.3), can occur only once in a given serial verbal construction. The single occurrence of this element indicates that the term Negation in the Polarity system applies to all the verbal groups which are internal to it: in fact to the whole clause (cf. 2.2.1.1.1 and 3.3.3).

SP⟨PP⟩ pàpá : mé ⟨trɔ́ vá : yì ⟩ ò
- Daddy has not returned via here

SP⟨PC⟩ dàdì lá : mé ⟨nò tsi : kú ⟩ ò
- the cat did not drown

3.3.3 Systems of the Verbal Group

The following six systems operate in the vg: Mood, Aspect, Tense, Polarity, Repetition and Augmentation.

a) Mood:

The system of mood has two terms: Indicative and Subjunctive. When the subjunctive term of the mood system is chosen in the vg it has repercussions on the pronoun. The formal exponents of the pronoun paradigm are then:

Sing.	1. má	Plur.	1. mí
	2. -		2. mi
	3. né		3. wóné

These forms are optionally preceded by the subjunctive particle /ná/ (cf. 4.~~13~~ 1.13.1).

The second person forms, singular and plural, are used in what is usually termed the Imperative. When these forms are used as commands the subjunctive particle does not occur:

	nà má yì	- let me go
cf.	yì	- go!

nà mí dzó - let's depart

cf. mi dzó[27] - depart

The Indicative term of the mood system is characterised by the absence of the features described above, i.e. the absence of any repercussions on the pronoun forms and of the subjunctive particle.

b) Aspect:

The aspect system has four terms: Neutral, Habitual, Continuous and Intention.

The neutral term is exponentially unmarked; the habitual term is expounded by the habitual particle /ńá/; the continuous term is expounded by the continuous particle /ḿ/ and the intention term is expounded by the intention particle /gé/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.2 and 4.13).

c) Tense:

There are three terms in the tense system: Past, Present and Future. The formal exponents of these are /nɔ/, /le/ and /a/ respectively (cf. 3.3.1.2.1.1., 3.3.1.2.1.4 and 4.13).

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[27]For the inter-relationships between the tone of the "Imperative" form and the consonant system, cf. Ansre, 1963.

d) Polarity:

The polarity system has two terms: Positive and Negative. The negative term is expounded by the negation particle /mé< >ò/, and the positive term is marked by the absence of this exponent (cf. 3.3.1.2.2 and 4.13).

e) Repetition:

The system of repetition has two terms: Marked and Unmarked. The marked term is expounded by the repetitive particle /ga/, and the unmarked term by the absence of this particle (cf. 3.3.1.2.1.3 and 4.13).

f) Augmentation:

This system also has two terms at the primary degree of delicacy: Marked and Unmarked. The marked term of the augmentation system is expounded by an augmenting particle, and the unmarked term is expounded by the absence of such a particle. At secondary delicacy the marked term may have any one of the following five kinds of augmentation: alleviating, negative, frustration, goal and serial whose formal exponents are /ká, kpɔ́, xa, ɖa, hé/ respectively (cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2 and 4.13).

The systems of mood, aspect and tense may be summed up in the following chart. The mark + in a column indicates choices that are attested in Ewe, and - those that are not.

MOOD	Indicative			Subjunctive		
TENSE	Non-future		Future	Non-future		Future
ASPECT Neutral ↘ ø	+		+	+		-
Habitual ↘ na	+		-	+		-
	Past	Present		Past	Present	
Continuous ↘ ḿ	+	+	+	+	-	-
Intention ↘ gé	+	+	+	+	-	-

It should be noted that all the other terms of all other vg systems: viz. Polarity, Repetition and Augmentation, may all occur with all the above possibilities, except that /ká/ and /kpɔ́/ do not occur with the subjunctive.

Chapter 4 The Units Word and Morpheme

4 Introduction

This chapter is in two parts dealing with the grammatical units Word and Morpheme respectively. After a general definition of the word, the first part lists the word classes which have been found necessary for the analysis. Each of these is defined in turn and, where relevant, sub-classes and structural types are discussed. The second part defines the morpheme and gives its classes. Since members of this unit have no grammatical structure no types can be given.

4.1 The Unit Word

The Word is that grammatical unit the classes of which operate at places in the structure of the nominal, adverbial, verbal and link groups.

4.1.0 Word Classes

The classes of the unit word which have been found both necessary and sufficient for the analysis of Eve are:

Noun	(n)	Pronoun	(pro)
Adjective	(adj)	Quantifier	(qnt)
Specifier	(sp)	Pluraliser	(pl)
Intensifier	(int)	Linker	(l)
Adverb	(adv)	Verbid	(vid)
Verb	(v)	Conjunction	(conj)
Particle	(part)	Interjection	(intj)

Of these, the classes pro, sp, pl, l, vid, conj and part each consists of a closed system of formal items, and n, adj, qnt, int, adv, v and intj each consists of an open set of formal items.

4.1.1 The Noun

n is that class of the unit word which can expound h, but never q, in the structure of the ng and which is not a pronoun.

4.1.1.1 Sub-classes of the Noun

The above definition covers all members of the word class n at the primary degree of delicacy. At secondary delicacy members of n may be divided into two different but intersecting sub-classes

based on different criteria. The criterion for the first sub-classification is whether or not an item from n can operate both at h in the ng and as exponent of an ag operating at A. The criterion for the second sub-classification is the way the genitival relationship between two nominal groups is expounded when the item in question expounds h in the "possessed" ng (cf. 3.1.3.1.1 and 3.1.3.1.4).

4.1.1.1.1 Univalent and Ambivalent Nouns

All items of the word class n belong to either i) the univalent sub-class of n (n_u)
or ii) the ambivalent sub-class of n (n_t)

The sub-class n_u consists of those items of the class n which can expound h in the ng and nothing else; the sub-class n_t can expound both h in the ng and an ag operating at A in clause structure.[1]

For illustration of these two sub-classes

[1] All members of this ambivalent sub-class happen to be nouns which can be semantically labelled as "temporal"; hence the symbol n_t.

compare:

SP égbe : fá — today is cold
$\underline{n}_t$

SP àfíi : fá — this place (here) is cold
$\underline{n}_u$

SP tsi á : fá — the water is cold
$\underline{n}_u$

with:

SPA maa dzó : égbè — I shall leave today
A

but not *maa dzó : àfíì

nor *maa dzó : tsi á

Similarly:

SPPA ètsɔ : nyá : kpɔ́ : ŋútɔ́
$\underline{n}_t$
- yesterday was very beautiful

SPPA tèmà : nyá : kpɔ́ : ŋútɔ́
$\underline{n}_u$
- Tema was very beautiful

SPPA áma : nyá : kpɔ́ : ŋútɔ́
$\underline{n}_u$
- Ama was very beautiful

in comparison with:

SPCA mè : dè : àgblè : ètsɔ̀
$\underline{n}_t$

- I went to the farm yesterday

but not *mè : dè : àgblè : tèmà

nor *mè : dè : àgblè : áma

4.1.1.1.2 Linked and Juxtaposed Nouns

All items of the word class n may again be sub-classified into either:

i) the linked sub-class of n ($\underline{n}_l$)

or ii) the juxtaposed sub-class of n ($\underline{n}_j$)

The sub-class $\underline{n}_l$ comprises those members of n which require the presence of the particle /ƒé/ as exponent of the genitival relationship between "possessor" and "possessed" nominal groups when $\underline{n}_l$ is operating at h in the possessed ng. The sub-class $\underline{n}_j$ comprises those members of n which do not require the presence of /ƒé/ in such circumstances but allow the genitival relationship to be expounded by simple juxtaposition (cf. 3.1.3.1.1 and 3.1.3.1.4).

kofí ƒé áfɔ̀ - Kofi's foot
l $\underline{n}_l$

cf. kofí srɔ̀ — Kofi's wife
($\underline{n}_j$)

kofí ŋgɔ̀ — Kofi's front
($\underline{n}_j$)

but not *kofí àfɔ̀

nor *kofí ƒé srɔ̀

nor *kofí ƒé ŋgɔ̀

Also: sukú-ví sia wó ƒé vèvíé-dódó
($\underline{h}$ $\underline{q}$ $\underline{l}$ $\underline{n}_1$)
- the perseverance of these pupils

cf. ɖèví sia wó nɔ — the mother of these children
($\underline{h}$ $\underline{q}$ $\underline{n}_j$)

àtí loloo ma gbó tútúútú
($\underline{h}$ $\underline{q}$ $\underline{n}_j$ $\underline{q}$)
- exactly by that large tree

but not *sukú-ví sia wó vèvíé-dódó

nor *ɖèví sia wó ƒé nɔ

nor *àtí loloo ma ƒé gbó tútúútú

4.1.1.1.2.1 Relational and Postpositional Nouns

At a further degree of delicacy the sub-class $\underline{n}_j$ may itself be sub-classified into:

i) the relational sub-class of $\underline{n}_j$ ($\underline{n}_r$)

and ii) the postpositional sub-class of $\underline{n}_j$ ($\underline{n}_p$)

The criterion for this subdivision is found in the form of the third person singular pronoun when it expounds h in the "possessor" ng and a member of n_j expounds h in the "possessed" ng (cf. 3.1.3.1.4 and 4.1.2.1).

When an item of the sub-class n_r expounds h in the possessed ng and the possessor ng is expounded by the third person singular pro, the form of the pro is /è/. When, on the other hand, an item of the sub-class n_p expounds h in the possessed ng and the possessor ng is expounded by the third person singular pro, the form of the pro is /é/:

SP è-vì á : tsì - his child is grown
pro n_r q

SP C è-tɔ́ á : lè dɔ̀ lé-m̀
pro n_r q
- his father is ill cf.

SP é-dzí : fá - its top is cold
pro n_p

SP é-mè : gòglò - its inside is deep
pro n_p

Similarly, compare:

SPC kofí : bù-à : $\underset{n_r}{\underline{è\text{-}tɔ́}}$ á

- Kofi respects his father

and SPC kofí : le : $\underset{n_p}{\underline{é\text{-}gbɔ́}}$

- Kofi is staying with him

4.1.1.2 Noun Structure[2]

Two major structural types of the word class n are set up in this thesis with reference to their constituents. These are the simple noun and the non-simple noun.

4.1.1.2.1 The Simple Noun

The simple noun type is characterised by being expounded by a single element of structure, i.e. by one item of the next lower unit Morpheme. This type cannot be subjected to further grammatical

[2]The details of noun structure cannot be covered comprehensively in this thesis. What is given here is a discussion of the principal structures which it has been found necessary to set up for a limited description of the noun. (cf. Westermann's treatment 1930, pp. 166 - 182.

analysis. Examples of the simple noun are:

xɔ̀ - house
dzì - heart
àkplɔ̀ - spear
dàdì - cat
àblàdzó - plantain
àkpɔ̀kplɔ̀ - frog
kakalíka - cockroach

4.1.1.2.2 The Non-simple Noun

The non-simple noun type is characterised by being polymorphemic in structure. The following sub-types have been found in the data studied: Compound nouns and Nominalisations.

4.1.1.2.2.1 Compound Noun

These are those members of n which are made up of more than one simple noun, and in which the "compounding element" is expounded by the lengthening of the final syllable coupled with high tone:[3]

[3]Compounding is not to be confused with juxtaposition of nominal groups in the multiple ng. The latter expounds apposition or genitival relationship, the former does not expound either.

anyí - mud glì - wall	}	anyí-glií - mud wall
gà - metal kpɔ́ - fence	}	gà-kpɔ́ɔ́ - metal fence
lã̀ - animal glã̀ - jaw-bone kpɔ́ - fence	}	lã-glã-kpɔ́ɔ́ - a fence made of animal jaw-bones

4.1.1.2.2.2 Nominalisations

The term nominalisation is used here for the changing in form of an item or group of items belonging to a particular class, such that the item resulting from the change functions as a member of the class n. The two main types of nominalisation found are: i) nominalisation involving the verb and ii) nominalisation not involving the verb.

i) Nominalisation involving v:

a) The nominalised item may consist of just v. In such a case v is simply reduplicated:

tsɔ́	- get up	tsɔ̀tsɔ́	- getting up
nɔ̀	- drink	nɔ̀nɔ̀	- drinking
gblɔ̀	- say	gbɔ̀gblɔ̀	- saying
dzró	- long for	dzɔ̀dzró	- longing for
lìà	- harden	làlìà	- hardening

Should the item to be nominalised consist of serial verbs, only the initial v in the series is reduplicated and the others occur after it in simple sequence:

zɔ̀ vá - walk and come
zɔ̀zɔ̀-vá - coming by walking

trɔ́ gbɔ̀ - turn and return
tɔ̀trɔ́-gbɔ̀ - returning

gbɔ̀ vá ɖó - return, come and arrive
gbɔ̀gbɔ̀-vá-ɖó - returning and arriving[4]

The item to be nominalised may contain a noun (potentially the C element of clause structure), in which case "Inversion" takes place, whereby the n precedes the R(v):

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[4]The nominalisation of serial verbal groups containing three or more verbs without a C element is relatively rare.

dá àkpé	- give thanks	àkpé-dádá	- thanksgiving
nò tsì	- drink water	tsì-nònò	- drinking water
ɖù nú	- eat (thing)	nú-ɖùɖù	- eating
bíá hlɔ̃	- avenge	hlɔ̃-bábíá	- revenge

When the item to be nominalised contains two members of the word class n (i.e. direct and indirect complements in terms of clause structure), the direct complement precedes R(v) and the indirect complement follows:

$\underset{C_a}{\text{gà}}\text{-}\underset{R(v)}{\text{náná}}\text{-}\underset{C_b}{\text{ɖèví}}$	- giving money to child
$\underset{C_a}{\text{tú}}\text{-}\underset{R(v)}{\text{dàdà}}\text{-}\underset{C_b}{\text{àmè}}$	- shooting a person

b) Compounding of Nominalisations involving v:

The nominalised forms described above may be compounded with other morphemes, including those which function as simple nouns, to form other nouns. This combination is similar to the formation of compound nouns described above (4.1.1.2.2.1) and the "compounding element" expounded by lengthening and high tone on the final syllable occurs in some cases, as will be seen below.

The morpheme compounded with the nominalised item may be free or bound. When it is free the "compounding element" is suffixed to the final morpheme. If in such a case the nominalised item involves only v, reduplication of the v element is obligatory:

fèfé - play
nú - thing
fèfé-núú - toy

tsìtsì - growth
tèʃé - place
tsìtsì-tèʃéé - position of honour

When the compounded morpheme is bound this bound morpheme itself expounds the compounding and there is no lengthening nor high tone in the final syllable. If the nominalised item in such a case involves only v, reduplication may or may not occur. The factors determining the occurrence or absence of reduplication are still under investigation. They seem, however, to be partially stylistic and partially grammatical. The following is a sample of the more frequently occurring bound morphemes used in such compounding:

-lá - doer
-fé - place, manner
-yi - time

The compounding process itself is very productive:

vá	- come	vàvá	- coming	vàvá-lá	- comer
sí	- escape	sìsí	- escaping	sìsí-lá	- fugitive

But note:

dzì	- give birth	dzìdzì	- birth	dzì-lá	- parent
xɔ̀	- receive	xɔ̀xɔ̀	- reception	xɔ̀-lá	- redeemer

And also:

gbɔ̀ - arrive
vá - come — gbɔ̀gbɔ̀-vá-lá - one who returns and comes

yì - go — yìyì - going
yìyì-fé or yì-fé - place, manner of going

kú - die — kùkú - dying
kùkú-fé or kù-fó - place, manner of dying

But note:

nɔ̀ - be located — nɔ̀nɔ̀ - being located
nɔ̀-fó - habitat, seat

tsó - get up tsòtsó - getting up
tsòtsó-ɣi or tsó-ɣi - starting time

háyá - convalesce hàyàháyá - convalescence
hàyàháyá-ɣi - convalescing time

dzrà-ɖó - prepare dzàdzrà-ɖó - preparation
dzàdzrà-ɖó-ɣi - time for preparing

When the nominalised item contains a noun, a potential exponent of C, and the free morpheme with which it is compounded is n, there is no reduplication of the v and the free morpheme follows the nominalised item:

tsì - water
nò - drink
tré - calabash
} tsi-no-tréé - calabash for drinking water

àsì - wife
yɔ́ - call
àhà - wine
} àsi-yɔ́-haá - courting wine

hlɔ̃́ - vengeance
bíá - ask
nú - thing
} hlɔ̃́-bíá-núú - revengeful act

àgblè - farm
dè - go
àwù - clothing
} àgblè-dè-wùú - farming clothes

àgbàlɛ̃́	- book	àgbàlɛ̃-tá-mɔ́	- printing machine
tá	- print		
mɔ̀	- machine		or typewriter

In the case of bound morphemes we have:

àhà-nò-lá	- one who drinks wine
àsi-yɔ́-lá	- one who is courting
hlɔ̃̀-bíá-lá	- avenger
àgblɛ̀-dè-lá	- farmer
àgbàlɛ̃-tá-lá	- printer, typist
àhà-nò-ƒé	- drinking place, bar
àsi-yɔ́-ƒé	- courting place
hlɔ̃̀-bíá-ƒé	- place of revenge
àgblè-dè-ƒé	- farming area
àgbàlɛ̃-tá-ƒé	- printing works
àhà-nò-ɣì	- time for drinking
àsi-yɔ́-ɣi	- courting time
hlɔ̃̀-bíá-ɣi	- time for revenge
àgblè-dè-ɣì	- farming season
àgbàlɛ̃-tá-ɣi	- printing time

The nominalisation may involve negation in which case the negative nominalising morpheme /ma/ is prefixed to the item from v, and both together are reduplicated:

tsì	- grow	tsìtsì	- growth	màtsìmàtsì	- lack of growth
kú	- die	kùkú	- death	màkúmakú	- immortality

For serial verbs:

zɔ̀ vá	- walk and come	màzɔ̀màzɔ̀-vá	- without walking and coming
trɔ́ gbɔ̀	- return	màtɔmatrɔ́-gbɔ̀	- without returning

For double complements:

ná gà ɖèví - give money to child
gà-mànamaná-ɖèví - not giving money to a child

fò tsì àbì - clean a sore with water
tsì-màfòmàfò-àbì - not cleaning a sore with water

For single complements:

dá àkpé - give thanks
àkpé-madámadá - ingratitude

lè tsì - have a bath
tsi-malemale - not having a bath[5]

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[5]The nominalisation of more complex structures such as items involving v as well as the whole of the ng and also items including A elements of clause structure is not dealt with in this thesis.

ii) Nominalisation not involving v:

Items whose nominalisation does not directly[6] involve the word class v are the adjective and the specifier.

a) Nominalisation of adj:

An item of the word class adj is nominalised by a nominalising morpheme which is expounded by a combination of the following features:

1) tonal change of the item with or without the lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable,[7]

2) the suffixing of /-á/[8] or /tɔ/.

nyúíé	- good	nyùìé-á	or	nyùìé-tɔ	- the good one
sɔɛ́	- small	sɔ̀ɛ̀-á	or	sɔ̀ɛ́-tɔ	- the small one
gā́	- big	gā̀-á	or	gā̀ā́-tɔ	- the big one
kɔ́kɔ́ɔ́	- tall	kɔ̀kɔ́-á	or	kɔ̀kɔ́ɔ́-tɔ	- the tall one
tsitsií	- old	tsìtsì-á	or	tsìtsìí-tɔ	- the old one
loloó	- large	lòlò-á	or	lòlòó-tɔ	- the large one[9]

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[6] Although some items that are designated adj are derived from verbs (cf. 4.1.3.2.2), these are best regarded as full adjectives which are then nominalised, because this kind of nominalisation is restricted to the class adj.

[7] The occurrence or absence of lengthening is phonologically determined and is not discussed in this thesis.

[8] It is possible to identify this /á/ as the specifier (cf. 4.1.5), but such commitment is not necessary for present purposes.

[9] The tonal changes involved here are regular, but are better dealt with in a phonological description.

b) Nominalisation of sp:

Most items of the word class sp can be nominalised.[10] In the majority of cases this nominalisation is achieved by the prefixing of the morpheme /é/ to the formal item:

siá	- this	é-siá	- this one
maá	- that	é-maá	- that one
kèmɛ̀	- that over there	é-kèmɛ̀	- that one over there
kaa	- which?	é-kaa	- which one?

The nominalisation of the item /ádɛ́/ - "some, a certain" is different in form, being achieved by the deletion of the initial vowel /á/ and the suffixing of high tone: /dɛ̀ː/ - "some" (as a noun).

There is no evidence of compounding of those nominalised items which do not involve v.

4.1.2 The Pronoun

pro is defined as that class of the unit word comprising a closed system which, like n, can expound h but not q in the structure of the ng and

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[10] Of the six items that comprise the membership of this closed system only /lá/ - "the" cannot be nominalised.

whose members expound the systems of person and number.

4.1.2.1 Sub-classes of the Pronoun

Given various criteria, six classes of pro can be established at the secondary degree of delicacy. Of these, five have already been outlined in the previous chapters (cf. 1.3.1., 3.1.1., 3.1.3.1.4 and 3.1.4.2). These have been called "pronoun series" and the conditions governing the occurrence of each stated. A sixth series is included here to complete the list.

The following chart shows all the pronoun series and the formal items which expound the various terms in the number and person systems. The criteria governing the occurrence of each series are given immediately after the chart.

The Pronoun Series or Sub-classes

NUMBER	PERSON	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Sing	1	me	me	nye	nyè(é)	m	me
	2	(n)e	(n)e	wo	wò(ó)	wo	ne
	3	é	wò	éya	è/é	i/e/ɛ	ye/e
Plur	1	míé	míé	mí	míá	mí	míé
	2	mie	mie	mi	mia	mi	mie
	3	wó	wó	wó	wó	wó	wó

pro series I occurs as exponent of h in a ng which operates at place S in clause structure, when the clause is either free or co-ordinated (cf. 1.3.1).

pro series II occurs as exponent of h in a ng which operates at place S in clause structure when the clause is subordinate, and also when the P element of clause structure is thematically marked (cf. 1.3.1).

pro series III occurs as exponent of h in a ng that operates at place Z in a minor clause, and at S and C in the thematically marked clause (cf. 3.1.1).

pro series IV occurs as exponent of h in the "possessor" ng in a multiple ng (cf. 3.1.3.4.1).

pro series V occurs as exponent of h in a ng that operates at place C in the thematically unmarked clause (cf. 3.1.4.2).

pro series VI occurs as exponent of h in the ng which expounds S in the reported clause.

This last series, the "reported" or "imputed" clause series, to which reference was made in the discussion of the complex ng (3.1.2.1) has one peculiarity. The third person singular has two forms referring to two different personal categories. These forms are /ye/ and /e/. The form /ye/ is used when the pro refers to the person making the report or imputation himself; the form /e/ is used when the pro refers to someone other than the person making the report or imputation. The following examples will clarify the difference:

SPC kofí : kpó : bé yè xɔ̀ àbì
- Kofi saw that he (himself) was wounded

SPC kofí : kpó : bé è xɔ̀ àbì
- Kofi saw that he (another person) was wounded

There is no need to set up structural types of the word class pro since all the formal items are simple and monomorphemic.

4.1.3 The Adjective

adj is that class of the unit word which, being an exponent of q, can occur immediately after the exponent of the h element of ng structure, and precedes all other exponents of q should such occur.

4.1.3.1 Sub-classes of the Adjective

The word class adj may be subdivided into univalent (adj_u) and ambivalent (adj_a) adjectives.

4.1.3.1.1 Univalent Adjective

The sub-class adj_u consists of those items of the class adj which can expound only the q element of structure in the ng. Examples from this sub-class are found in the following sentences:

SP àtí gã́ lá : mù
- the big tree has fallen down

SPCA takú sɔ́é siá : xɔ̀ : àsi : ŋútɔ́
- this small headkerchief is very costly

SPC nyɔ́nù dzè-tugbee lá : nyá : nú-ɖàɖà
- this beautiful woman knows how to cook

4.1.3.1.2 Ambivalent Adjective

The sub-class adj_a consists of those items of the class adj which can expound both the q element of ng structure and the adverbial group (cf. 3.2.1.1.2). Examples of adj_a expounding both q and ag follow:

SPC àgbàlɛ̃̀ nyúíé wó : le : é-sí
- he has good books

SPA ɖèví á : lè zɔ̀zɔ̀-ḿ : nyúíé
- the child is walking well

SP⟨C⟩ é : le ⟨nya dzódzròó ko⟩ gblɔ-ḿ
- he is speaking only nonsense

SPA é : vá : dzódzròó
- he came in vain

4.1.3.2 Structure of the Adjective

Two main structural types of adj are set up: the simple adjective and the non-simple adjective.

4.1.3.2.1 Simple Adjective

The simple adj is characterised by being expounded by a single element of structure of the unit next below, morpheme. Being monomorphemic it cannot be subjected to further grammatical analysis.[11] Examples of the simple adj are found in the following sentences:

SPC xɔ gã́ lá : xɔ̀ : àsì
- the big house is expensive

SPC vì fɛ̃́ɛ̃́ : le : akúa-sí
- Akua has a young child

SPC ŋútsu tralaá sia : nyá : tsi-fúfú
- this tall thin man knows how to swim

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[11] The assertion by Westermann (1930, p.183) that "there are no words which are adjectives pure and simple" is inaccurate and must be attributed mainly to lack of sophistication in tonal analysis, and too great a tendency to etymologise.

4.1.3.2.2 Non-simple Adjective - Adjectivalisation

The non-simple type of adj is polymorphemic in structure. It is a form that can be considered to be derived from another form by a process termed adjectivalisation. Judging by the material studied all adjectivalisations involve an item from the word class v. In addition to this v element th item to be adjectivalised may contain a nominal element.

4.1.3.2.2.1 Adjectivalisation involving v alone

When the item adjectivalised consists of v alone, adjectivalisation is usually effected by the reduplication of v combined with lengthening of the final vowel and addition of final high tone:[12]

tsì - to grow tsitsí - old
ame tsitsí - old person

kú - to die kúkúú - dead
àtí kúkúú - dead tree

kɔ́ - to be tall kɔ́kɔ́ɔ́ - tall
nyɔ́nu kɔ́kɔ́ɔ́ - tall woman

[12]For an earlier discussion of reduplication in the formation of adjectives, cf. Ansre, 1963.

However, if the phonological structure of v itself involves reduplication, no further reduplication takes place. The adjectival form therefore has only the lengthening and high tone on the final syllable:

lòlò - to be large loloó - large
ŋútsu loloó - large man

dìdì - to be long didií - long
mɔ́ didií - long road

4.1.3.2.2.2 Adjectivalisation involving v and a Nominal Element

When the item adjectivalised consists of v and a nominal element, no reduplication occurs. The adjectival form consists of a combination of the v and the nominal element together with lengthening and high tone on the final syllable:

lé dɔ̀ - to catch sickness lé-dɔ̀ɔ́ - sickly
àvù lé-dɔ̀ɔ́ - sick dog

nyá nú - to know thing nyá-núú - wise
ɖèví nyá-núú - wise child

ɖù àgbà - to be bankrupt ɖù-àgbàá - bankrupt
yevú ɖù-àgbàá - bankrupt white man

dzè ɖèká - to be handsome dzè-ɖèkáá - handsome
ɖèkákpuí dzè-ɖèkáá - handsome young man

A series of v elements can also occur in adjectivalised form:

ɖù nú kpɔ̀tɔ̀[13]	- to eat thing leave (some)
ɖu-nú-kpɔtɔ́	- wealthy
ame ɖu-nú-kpɔtɔ́	- wealthy person

but this form is relatively rare.

4.1.3.3 The Diminutive

The diminutive form of adj is expounded by a change in the final vowel of the adj to a form which is identical to the conditioned forms of the vowel of the third person singular of the pro (cf. 3.1.4.2 and fn. 12):

kúkúú	- dead	àtí kúkúú	- small dead tree
loloó	- large	xɔ loloé	- fairly large house
yibɔ́	- dark	nyɔ́nu yibɔ́é	- small dark woman
kanyaá	- filthy	nú kanyéé	- small filthy thing

[13] The verb /kpɔ̀tɔ̀/ - "to leave a remainder" should be distinguished from the adj /kpɔtɔ́/ - "dirty" with which it becomes homophonous in the adjectivalised form.

4.1.4 The Quantifier

qnt is that class of the unit word which can expound both h and q elements of ng structure and which, when expounding q, occurs between the word classes adj and sp when all three occur (cf. 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2.1).

4.1.4.1 Sub-classes of the Quantifier

At the secondary degree of delicacy the word class qnt can be divided into numeral (qnt_n) and non-numeral (qnt_x) sub-classes, the basis of this sub-classification being that members of qnt_n comprise a set of numerals which can be used in counting and calculating, while members of qnt_x cannot. For example compare the following:

SPC ɖèví nyúíé èvè : lè : xɔ á mè
(qnt_n)

- two good children are in the room

and ɖèví nyúíé gèɖèè : lè : xɔ á mè
(qnt_x)

- many good children are in the room

SPC awu nyúíé èvè kplé awu nyúíé èvè : lè :
awu nyúíé ènè
- two good garments plus two good garments are four good garments

but not *awu nyúíé gèɖèè kplé awu nyúíé gèɖèè : lè :
awu nyúíé ....

where only /gèɖèè/ can be repeated at the end of the sentence. This is because /gèɖèè/ - "many" a formal item from the sub-class $\underline{qnt}_x$ does not belong to the set that can be used in mathematical calculation.

The sub-class $\underline{qnt}_n$ may be further subdivided into cardinal ($\underline{qnt}_c$) and ordinal ($\underline{qnt}_o$) sub-classes.

In addition to the occurrence of either of these sub-classes as exponents of q in ng structure, $\underline{qnt}_c$ is used in counting:

ɖèká - one
èvè - two
ètɔ̃ - three etc.

and $\underline{qnt}_o$ is used for assigning numerical order:

gbáá (gbáátɔ) - first
èvèlíá - second
ètɔ̃líá - third etc.

The main structural difference between the formal items of $\underline{qnt}_c$ and those of $\underline{qnt}_o$ is the occurrence of the suffix /-lĺá/ in the latter. The only exception to this is found in /gbấ/ and its alternant /gbấtɔ/.

4.1.4.2 Structure of the Quantifier

Two main structural types of qnt: simple and non-simple may be set up.

The structure of the simple qnt is monomorphemic and is not subject to further analysis:

èvè - two
ètɔ̃ - three
ewó - ten
gèɖèè - many etc.

The structure of the non-simple qnt is polymorphemic and usually consists of morphemes that have undergone extensive phonological alteration. However, a good number of these can be identified:

11 - wúĺɖèkɛ́ from ewó-ɖèká - ten-one
20 - bláàvè from bàblá-èvè - two bundles
21 - bláàvèvòɖèkɛ́ from bàblá-èvè-vò-ɖèká
- after two bundles, one

Some items of the non-simple type of qnt are nevertheless best regarded as rank-shifted nominal groups:

alafá èvè kplé ewó - two hundred and ten

4.1.5 The Specifier

sp is that class of the unit word the members of which expound the place q in ng structure, and which occur between the exponents of the word classes qnt and pl when all three occur to expound q (cf. 3.1.1.2.1.c).

The membership of this word class is made up of the following six formal items:

lá - the
ádé - a certain
sia - this
maa - that
kaa - which?
déké - none

4.1.5.1 Sub-classes of the Specifier

sp may be divided into the following sub-classes at the secondary degree of delicacy:

i) neutral ($\underline{sp}_n$)

ii) interrogative ($\underline{sp}_?$)

and iii) negative ($\underline{sp}_o$)

The basis for this sub-classification is the connection between members of some of these sub-classes and the systems of mood and polarity at group rank and the system of mode at sentence rank.

Members of $\underline{sp}_n$ are /lá/, /ádé/, /sia/ and /maa/. Their occurrence as exponents of q in ng structure is not restricted by the occurrence ofany particular term in the systems of mode, mood or polarity, so they may occur both in indicative sentences and in interrogative sentences:

SPC dèví lá : kpɔ́ : wò
- the child saw you

SPC dèví lá : kpɔ́ : wò à
- did the child see you?

and also both in positive and in negative sentences:

SPC dèví sia : kpɔ́ : wò
- this child saw you

SP⟨C⟩ dèví sia : mé kpɔ́ ⟨wò⟩ ò
- this child did not see you

$sp_?$ has /kaa/ as its only member. Its occurrence as an exponent of q in ng structure is only possible when the interrogative term of the mode system is selected:

SPC ɋèví kaa : kpɔ́ : wɔ́
- which child saw them?

where the interrogative is expounded by final low tone (cf. 1.4 and 1.6) as well as by /kaa/. Thus

SPC *ɋèví kaa : kpɔ́ : wɔ́

is not possible.

Similarly sp_o has a single exponent /ɋéké/ whose occurrence as the realisation of q in ng structure is possible only when the negative term of the polarity system is selected. Thus we may have:

SP⟨C⟩ ɋèví ɋéké : mé kpɔ́ ⟨wɔ́⟩ ɔ̀
- no child saw them

where negation is expounded by /mé⟨ ⟩ɔ̀/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.3) as well as by /ɋéké/; but not:

SPC *ɋèví ɋéké : kpɔ́ : wɔ́

Only one structural type of sp, the simple sp is necessary since all the formal exponents of this word class are monomorphemic.

4.1.6 The Pluraliser

pl is that one-member class of the unit word which expounds q in ng structure and which occurs between the word classes sp and int should all three occur to expound q.

The formal exponent of pl is /wó/. It occurs in ng structure to expound the plural term of the number system.

In this thesis this formal item is distinguished on functional grounds from the third person plural of the word class pro with which it is homophonous.[14]

4.1.7 The Intensifier

int is that class of the unit word the members of which are ambivalent, being capable

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[14] Westermann's statement (1930, p.47) "the plural of substantives is formed by adding the third person plural of the personal pronoun to them" cannot be demonstrated as true or untrue; but the implications would make the structure of the ng cumbersome. Our analysis is simpler.

of expounding q in ng structure, in which case they occur in final position in the qualifier, and also of expounding the ag[15] (cf. 3.1.1.2.1.e and 3.2.1.1.3).

4.1.7.1 Sub-classes of the Intensifier

It has not been possible to establish sub-classes of the int beyond the primary degree of delicacy. A number of tests to which they have been subjected has not yielded any results. An examination of more extensive data than is possible now, for the purpose of establishing the recursive potentialities of the members of this word class suggests itself for future investigation.

4.1.7.2 Structure of the Intensifier

It has been found necessary to set up two structural types of int: reduplicable (int_r) and unreduplicable (int_u). The criterion for this type distinction is whether or not the formal item expounding int can occur in reduplicated form.

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[15] int should not be confused with the adjectival sub-class adj_a members of which can also expound q in ng structure and ag (cf. 3.1.1.2.1.a and 4.1.3.1.2).

4.1.7.2.1 Reduplicable Intensifier

Members of this type may or may not be reduplicated to expound q in ng structure or to expound the ag:

SPC kofí ŋútɔ́ : lè : àfíì
- Kofi himself is here

cf. kofí ŋútɔ́-ŋútɔ́ : lè : àfíì
- Kofi himself is here

SPCA kofí : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : ŋútɔ́
- Kofi works hard

cf. kofí : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : ŋútɔ́-ŋútɔ́-ŋútɔ́
- Kofi works very very hard

This reduplication serves to accentuate the meaning of the int. The occurrence of a (multiply) reduplicated int is analysed as expounding one q or ag, and is distinguished from recursion, where different items expound these places, because this reduplication does not necessarily involve a full repetition of the item (cf. 3.3.1.1 and 4.1.9.1.3).

The following is a sample of items from int_r:

	sɔ́ŋ́	- plenty	sɔ́ŋ́-sɔ́ŋ́-sɔ́ŋ́
	kátã́	- all	kátã́-kátã́ or kátã́ã́
but	ké	- exactly	ké-ké-á-ké

4.1.7.2.2 Unreduplicable Intensifier

Members of this type of int occur only in unreduplicated form, whether they expound q in the ng or the ag:

SPC kofí hã́ã̀ : lè : àfíì
- Kofi also is here

SPCA kofí : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : hã́ã̀
- Kofi works also

but not *kofí hã́ã-hã́ã̀ : lè : àfíì
nor *kofí : wɔ̀-à : dɔ̀ : hã́ã-hã́ã̀

Examples of int_u are:

dzaa	- exclusively
ɖɔ̀ɖé	- only, single
kò	- just, only
ya	- as for

4.1.8 The Linker

l is that class of the unit word, the members of which expound relationships in the multiple

ng (cf. 3.1.3.1). This word class forms a closed system consisting of three members whose formal exponents are:

fé - of
kplé - together with
àlóó - or

Each of these expounds a specific relationship in the multiple ng, and can be set up as one-term sub-classes as follows:

fé expounds the genitival relationship
kplé expounds the additive relationship
àlóó expounds the alternative relationship

All members of the word class 1 are simple in structure. For the alternative forms /kpakplé/ and /lóó/ of /kplé/ and /àlóó/ respectively cf. 3.1.3.1.2 and 3.1.3.1.3.

4.1.9 The Adverb

adv is that class of the unit word members of which expound ag but which are neither members of the classes n, adj or int nor verbid

constructions.

This discussion on adv is tentative because its analysis has not produced any distinct sub-classes. It seems that the items of adv can be arranged in a cline rather than in clear-cut divisions. It is necessary to mention that as far as Eve is concerned, it seems impracticable to set up a grammatical distinction between the "ideophone" or "picture word" (cf. Westermann: 1930, pp.187ff., Ansre: 1961, pp.49ff.) and other items of adv. The conclusion drawn in the latter case is that, although ideophones are phonologically and semantically interesting, they are not grammatically distinct from adv.

4.1.9.1 Structure of the Adverb

Two structural types of adv are set up: the simple and non-simple.

4.1.9.1.1 Simple Adverb

The structure of the simple adv is monomorphemic and is not subject to further

grammatical analysis:

kábá - quickly
fűű - plenty
gòbàà - clumsily bent

4.1.9.1.2 Non-simple Adverb - Adverbialisation

The non-simple adv has more than one morpheme in its structure, and involves "adverbialisation" of other word classes. This adverbialisation consists in the affixing of an adverbialising morpheme to the item in question. It may involve an item from n alone, or an item from each of n and v.

a) Adverbialisation involving n alone:

When adverbialisation involves n alone it frequently consists in suffixing the morpheme /tɔ̀è/ to the item from n:

ŋútsu	- man	ŋútsu-tɔ̀è	- in a manly way
núblánúí	- pathos	núblánúí-tɔ̀è	- pathetically
dzìdzɔ̀	- joy	dzìdzɔ̀-tɔ̀è	- joyfully

Should the item from n itself be a nominalised form with the negating nominalising

morpheme /ma/ (cf. 4.1.1.2.2.2), the adverbialisation takes the form of alterations to the final vowel which are phonologically identical with those seen in the third person singular of the pro series V, and in the diminutive of the adj (cf. 3.1.4.2, fn. 12 and 4.1.3.3):

màɖìmàɖì	- without burial
màɖìmàɖì-ì	- without burial
tsi-malemale	- going without washing
tsi-malemale-è	- unwashed
àkpé-madámadá	- ingratitude
àkpé-madámadá-è	- ungratefully

b) Adverbialisation involving items from n and v:

In an adverbialisation involving n and v the item from n precedes the item from v which in turn precedes the adverbialising suffix /tɔè/:

dá àkpé	- give thanks
àkpé-dá-tɔè	- thankfully, gratefully
dzu ame	- insult a person
ame-dzu-tɔè	- insultingly

4.1.9.1.3 Reduplication

Some items from adv can be reduplicated as in the case of int (cf. 4.1.7.2.1). This reduplication is limited to the simple adv type, and is usually for the purpose of indicating intensity or repetition. As usual, the reduplication may take the form of a full repetition of the phonological form of the item in question:

SPA é : zɔ̀ : kábá
- he walked quickly

cf. é : zɔ̀ : kábá-kábá
- he walked very quickly

SPCCA wó : tɔ́ : hɛ̀ : ŋútsu lá : kplù
- the man was stabbed "kplu" (once)

cf. wó : tɔ́ : hɛ̀ : ŋútsu lá : kplù-kplù-kplù
- the man was stabbed many times

or it may consist of the repetition and/or lengthening of only part of the item:

SPA kofí : dzó : xóxó
- Kofi has left already

cf. kofí : dzó : xóxóóxó
- Kofi left long long ago

4.1.9.2 The Diminutive

Some items of adv, occurring in related pairs, have a structural characteristic consisting of a tonal alternance high/non-high which is correlated with an indication of size. Generally speaking the high tone form of the item indicates smallness in size and the non-high tone indicates largeness. This characteristic is found mainly in ideophones, although it is not confined to them (cf. Ansre: 1961, pp.49f.):

SPA ɔ : zɔ̀-nà : hlòyì-hlòyì
- he walks clumsily (and is large)

cf. ɔ́ : zɔ-na : hlóyí-hlóyí
- he walks clumsily (and is small)

SPA vù á : ɖì : kpòtò-kpòtò
- the drum sounded (and was large)

cf. vù á : ɖi : kpótó-kpótó
- the drum sounded (and was small)

4.1.10 The Verbid

vid is that class of the unit word which occurs together with a nominal group to form an adverbial group which operates at place A in clause

structure (cf. 3.2.1.2).

This word class consists of a closed system of some six members whose formal exponents are:

/le, kplé, tsó, ná, ɖé, tó/

The members of vid do not lend themselves to subclassification. Structurally they are all monomorphemic and therefore not subject to type distinctions. The following sentences exemplify:

SPCA wó : ɖú-á : ɣè : lè àfíì
- they dance here

SPA é : vá : kplé dù
- he came with speed

SPCA yàwò : dò : gò : tsó xɔ̀ mè
- Yawo came out from the room

SPCA nya lá : wɔ : nukú : ná ɱ
- the matter surprised me

SPCA núfíálá : kpɔ́ : dzìkú : ɖé kofí ŋú
- the teacher was cross with Kofi

SPCA trɔ̃́ lá : fo-a : nu : tó trɔ̃́-si a wó dzí
- the deity speaks through the priestesses

4.1.11 The Verb

v is that class of the unit word which can be the sole exponent of the verbal group (cf. 3.3.1.1).

4.1.11.1 Sub-classes of the Verb

Using two different criteria, two intersecting sub-classes of v are set up. These criteria involve the transitivity system at clause rank, and the occurrence of the redundant C element in the compound clause.

4.1.11.1.1 Transitive, Intransitive and Ambivalent Verbs

The first sub-classification is based on whether or not the item in question can expound vs in the vg operating at P in a transitive clause. Items from v which can expound vs in the vg operating at P only when the clause is transitive are termed transitive verbs (v_t). Items which can expound vs in the vg operating at P only when the clause is intransitive are termed intransitive verbs (v_i), and items which can expound vs in the vg operating at P in either transitive or intransitive clauses are termed ambivalent verbs (v_a) (cf. 2.5.1.2). The following examples contain v_t, v_i or v_a as indicated:

SPC fùfù : $\underset{v_t}{\text{tì}}$: m̀ - I'm fed up with fufu

SPC àfúá : $\underset{v_t}{\text{dú-á}}$: ɣè - Afua dances

SP àtí sia : $\underset{v_i}{\text{kɔ́}}$ - this tree is tall

SPA dèví á : $\underset{v_i}{\text{zá}}$: nyúíé - the child is very smart

SP awu lá : $\underset{v_a}{\text{vú}}$ - the garment is torn

SPC me : $\underset{v_a}{\text{vú}}$: awu lá - I tore the garment

SP é : $\underset{v_a}{\text{tɔ́}}$ - he stopped

SPC é : $\underset{v_a}{\text{tɔ́}}$: vù á - he stopped the vehicle

4.1.11.1.2 Verbs of Motion and Neutral Verbs

The second sub-classification is based on whether or not the item in question can expound the vg operating at the final P when the redundant C element occurs in the compound clause (cf. 2.2.2.2). Those items of v which can expound the vg in such circumstances are designated verbs of motion (v_m).

Those items of v which do not require the redundant C element in such circumstances are designated neutral verbs ($\underline{v}_n$):

SPCPe wó : kplɔ̀ : ɖèví lá : dzó-è
$\underline{v}_m$

- they led the child away

PCPɛ tsɔ́ : àɖáka lá : vá-è
$\underline{v}_m$

- fetch the box

SPCP wó : kù : tsì : nò
$\underline{v}_n$

- they fetched water and drank

SPCP yàwò : xɔ̀ : nyà lá : sè
$\underline{v}_n$

- Yawo believed the matter

4.1.11.2 Structure of the Verb

Two structural types of v are set up: the simple and the discontinuous.

4.1.11.2.1 Simple Verb

The simple verb is characterised by being monomorphemic. It should, however, be noted

that monomorphemic but polysyllabic simple verbs are distinguished from discontinuous verbs and verbs in serial relationship.

sí	- to escape	dzùdzɔ̀	- to rest
trɔ́	- to turn	súbɔ́	- to worship
bíá	- to ask	nyàmà	- to disturb, mix up

4.1.11.2.2 Discontinuous Verb

The discontinuous verb ($\underline{v}_d$) is characterised by the possibility of its formal exponent being discontinuous; this occurring under the following conditions: When an item from $\underline{v}_d$ and a post-s element of structure occur in the same vg and/or when a $\underline{v}_d$ is an exponent of the P element of structure in a transitive clause.

The following items are examples of $\underline{v}_d$:

dzra-ɖɔ́	- to prepare, get ready, hide
ɖɔ́-ɖá	- to send
ɖɔ-ɖɔ́	- to correct
kplɔ-ɖɔ́	- to go after
kpɔ́-ɖá	- to visit, look at
ŋlɔ-bé	- to forget
tu-ɖɔ́	- to pile up

a) $\underline{v}_d$ occurring without <u>post-s</u> and C elements:

SPA kofí : <u>dzra-ɖó</u> : kábá
- Kofi prepared quickly

SPA mie : <u>ŋlɔ-bé</u> : xóxó à
- have you forgotten already?

b) $\underline{v}_d$ occurring with a <u>post-s</u> element internal to it:

SPA kofí : <u>dzra</u> ⟨na⟩ <u>ɖó</u> : kábá
- Kofi gets ready quickly

SP é : lè <u>ɖɔ̀ɖɔ̀</u> ⟨ḿ⟩ <u>ɖó</u>
- it is getting corrected

c) $\underline{v}_d$ occurring with a C element internal to it:

SP C àgbò : <u>dzrà</u> gà lá <u>ɖó</u>
- Agbo hid the money

SP⟨C⟩A tási : <u>ŋlɔ</u> ⟨m⟩ <u>bé</u> : égbè
- Aunt has forgotten me today

d) $\underline{v}_d$ occurring with both <u>post-s</u> and C elements internal to it:

When <u>post-s</u> is expounded by <u>hab</u>, both <u>hab</u> and C are internal to $\underline{v}_d$:

SP⟨C⟩A dàdá : <u>dzrà</u> ⟨<u>nà</u> gà⟩ <u>ɖó</u> : ɖé àfíì
<u>hab</u> C
- Mother hides her money here

When post-s is expounded by either con or in together with C, post-s is internal to $\underline{v}_d$ and C is internal to the vg but not to $\underline{v}_d$:

SP⟨C⟩ ɖèví á : nɔ ⟨nákɛ⟩ tu ⟨ḿ⟩ ɖó
- the child was piling up firewood

in which the C element /nákɛ/ - "firewood" is internal to the discontinuous vg /nɔ⟨ ⟩tu-ḿ ɖó/, and con /ḿ/ is internal to $\underline{v}_d$ /tu⟨ ⟩ɖó/.

4.1.12 The Conjunction

conj is that class of the unit word the members of which expound the conjunction group which operates at place L in the structure of the bound clause (cf. 1.3 and 3.0).

4.1.12.1 Sub-classes of the Conjunction

Three sub-classes of conj are set up on the basis of their function in the bound clause: co-ordinate ($\underline{conj}_c$), subordinate ($\underline{conj}_s$) and neutral ($\underline{conj}_n$) conjunctions.

The criteria for setting up these sub-classes and their respective functions in the bound clause have already been discussed above (1.3., 1.3.1 and 1.3.2). An example of the occurrence of each sub-class is given here:

SPC|LSPC é : dɔ́ : ɣlí | élàbéná : é : kpɔ́ : m̀
conj$_c$

- he shouted because he saw me

SPC|LSP me : yɔ́ : ɛ | éye : wò : tɔ̀
conj$_s$

- I called him and he replied

SPC|LSPC ɖèɖì : té : é-ŋú | éyaáta : é : dɔ́ : àlɔ̃̀
conj$_n$

or SPC|LSPC ɖèɖì : té : é-ŋú | éyaáta : wò : dɔ́ : àlɔ̃̀
conj$_n$

- he was tired therefore he slept

4.1.12.2 Structure of the Conjunction

Two structural types of conjunction are set up: the simple and the non-simple. The simple conj is that which consists of only one morpheme:

gàké	- but	tètè	- suddenly
éye	- and	né	- if, when
háfí	- before	bé	- that

The non-simple conj is that type consisting of more than one morpheme:

élàbéná - because - consisting of:

é - third person singular pro (series I)
lè - to be located
béná - that

éyaáta - therefore - consisting of:

éya - third person singular pro (series III)
ta꜒ - head

One member of the non-simple conj type is usually discontinuous and has internal to it the rest of the bound clause of which it is a constituent part. The formal exponent of this particular conj is /ési< >ŋútí/ - "on account of" which is analysed as consisting of: /ési/ - "this one", the nominalised form of the sp /sia/ - "this" (cf. 4.1.1.2.2.2.ii.b) and /ŋútí/ - "surrounding of", the postpositional noun (cf. 4.1.1.1.2.1).

4.1.13 Particles

The word class part comprises those exponents which have not been included in the word

classes given above. They thus comprise:

the exponents of the terms in the systems of tense, aspect and mood

the augmenting element

the repetitive element

the negation element

the mode elements

the thematic element

the terminal element[16]

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[16]The exact function of this terminal particle is still under investigation. It can, however, be said that it usually occurs optionally at the end of bound clauses and of some nominal and adverbial groups:

LSP|SPA kásíáá : má yi lá | é : dzó : xóxó
- before I went he had already left

cf. kásíáá : má yi | é : dzó : xóxó
- before I went he had already left

SP⟨C⟩ ɖèví sia lá : mé bù-à ⟨àmè⟩ ò
- this child does not respect people

cf. ɖèví sia : mé bù-à àmè ò
- this child does not respect people

ASP ètsɔ lá : maa vá
- tomorrow I shall come

cf. ètsɔ : maa vá
- tomorrow I shall come

The formal exponent of this terminal part should not be confused with the homophonous item from the word class sp. Both items occur in the following sentence:

LSPC|SPA ési : me : kpɔ́ : dà lá lá | me : vɔ̃́ : ŋútɔ́
- when I saw the snake I was very frightened

4.1.13.1 Sub-classes of Particles

part may be subdivided into verbal ($part_v$) and non-verbal ($part_n$) particles.

$part_v$ comprises those items which expound elements operating at places in vg structure, and $part_n$ comprises those which expound elements other than those which operate in vg structure. The following chart is an exhaustive list of part exemplifying this division:

Sub-class	Name of Particle	Formal exponent and ref.
$part_v$	Tense	
	Present	le cf. 3.3.1.2.1.1
	Past	nɔ cf. 3.3.1.2.1.1
	Future	á cf. 3.3.1.2.1.4
	Aspect	
	Continuous	ḿ cf. 3.3.1.2.2.1
	Intention	gé cf. 3.3.1.2.2.2
	Habitual	(n)a cf. 3.3.1.2.2.3
	Mood	
	Subjunctive	na cf. 3.3.3
	Augmenting	
	Alleviating	ká cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2
	Negative	kpɔ́ cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2
	Frustration	xa cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2
	Goal	ɖa cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2
	Serial	hé/há cf. 3.3.1.2.1.2
	Repetitive	ga cf. 3.3.1.2.1.3
	Negation	mé<>ò cf. 3.3.1.2.3

Sub-class	Name of Particle	Formal exponent and ref.
part$_n$	Mode	
	Addressive	tɔ̀ɔ̀, lá, ló, loo cf. 1.5 and 1.6
	Interrogative	à cf. 1.5 and 1.6
	Thematic	
	(Emphasising)	é/ɖè cf. 2.4
	Terminal	lá cf. fn.16 supra.

4.1.14 The Interjection

intj consists of utterances that are regarded in this thesis as extra-systemic in that their exponents do not enter into any grammatical relationship as described above. They cannot therefore, strictly speaking, be assigned to any class of any unit. Traditionally, intj has been considered as a word class (part of speech) and is included here mainly for the sake of completeness. The following is a sample of items from intj:

óò	- oh!
ɛ̃ɛ́	- yes
ààò	- no
ãã̀	- OK
àgòò ló	- may I come in?

4.2 The Morpheme

The morpheme is here defined as the lowest grammatical unit on the rankscale. It has no structure and therefore cannot be further analysed into grammatical constituents. However, the morpheme has classes, which expound places in the structure of the next higher unit word.

4.2.1 Morpheme Classes

Two morpheme classes are set up in this analysis, based on the criterion of the isolability of the item in question when it operates at a place in word structure. These are: free and bound morphemes.

The class of free morphemes is made up of those items which can operate as sole exponent of a word:

àgàmà	-	chameleon
sí	-	to escape
gàké	-	but

The class of bound morphemes is made up of those items which cannot be sole exponent of a word:

-lá	as in	dzì-<u>lá</u>	-	parent
-tɔè	as in	nu-kú-tɔè	-	miraculously
-fé	as in	nu-wú-fé	-	the end

Concluding Observations

In the foregoing chapters an attempt has been made to present a grammatical description of Western (standard) Ewe in terms of Scale and Category Theory. The units set up were:

Sentence
Clause
Group
Word
Morpheme

Each of these units has been defined and analysed in terms of their classes, structures and systems where these are relevant.

This approach can be said to yield an adequate and coherent linguistic description of the grammar of the language.

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