AN INTRODUCTION TO THE VERBAL AND MULTI-VERBAL SYSTEM OF AKAN

E. Kweku Osam
Linguistics Department
University of Ghana
kosam@libr.ug.edu.gh/kwekuosam@hotmail.com

0.   Introduction

The purpose of these lectures is to provide an overview of the structure of Akan, focusing on its verbal morphology, grammatical relations, and the multiverb phenomenon of serialization.

1.   Language Information

Akan, as a language, refers to a group of very closely related dialects located in much of the southern half of Ghana. Speakers of the language are found in the following regions of the country: Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Western, and parts of the Volta region.

The Akan language is the most widely spoken of all the Ghanaian languages. Its dialects include Agona, Akuapem, Akwamu, Asante, Akyem, Assin, Bono (Brong), Fante, Kwahu, and Wassa. Even though Akan is predominantly spoken in Ghana, some speakers of the Bono dialect are found in the eastern parts of Cote d'Ivoire (where the dialect is called Abron).

The dialects of Akan tend to be grouped into two broad categories—Fante and Twi (comprising all the non-Fante dialects). The Fante dialect also has identifiable sub-dialects, including Gomua, Ekumfi, Nkusukum, Iguae, Breman, and (sometimes) Agona. Based on the 2000 national census, native speakers of Akan make up about 44% of the national population.[1] Table 1 gives a breakdown of the speakers of the various dialects of the language as extracted from the national census report (Ghana Statistical Service 2002).

Table 1. Dialects of Akan and their number of speakers

Dialect	No. of Speakers
Agona	238,947
Ahafo	185,228
Akuapem	513,561
Akwamu	97,178
Akyem	600,282
Asante	2,578,829
Assin	147,114
Bono	794526
Denkyira	89,963
Fante	1,723,573
Kwahu	392,241
Wassa	251963
Others	140,425
TOTAL	7,753,830

Based on Ghana Statistical Service (2002)

Apart from those who speak Akan as their L1, a sizeable number of people also speak it as a second language. However, it is very difficult to correctly estimate the size of the L2 speakers of Akan since no research has been done in this area.

In terms of usage, Akan covers a wide range of socio-cultural domains. In all the locations where it is the L1, it is used as a medium of instruction in schools and it is also taught as a school subject. In the Western region, the predominant home of the Bia languages, only Nzema is taught in the basic school system. This means that those who speak other Bia languages, for example, Ahanta, are taught Fante, a dialect of Akan. This practise is replicated in parts of the Central, Eastern, and Volta regions where there are speakers of Guan languages. The status of Akan as an academic subject goes beyond the basic and secondary school system. It is offered as a course at the university level.[2]

The use of Akan covers various aspects of social life. It is the language used in many churches in the Akan speaking areas, as well as in some of the non-Akan speaking areas which have high immigrant population of Akan speakers. For example, in the Greater Accra region, where the indigenous languages are Ga and Dangme, many churches use Akan as the medium of religious activities. The use of the language covers the economic sphere as well. In much of the informal sector of the economy, Akan is frequently used as the language for business transactions. In recent times, the advent of private FM radio stations in the country has increased the domain of use of Akan. In Accra, the capital, for example, one station, Peace FM, broadcasts predominantly in Akan.[3] Even though no official declaration has been made, Akan is growing in its influence as a potential national language, especially since people who speak other languages sometimes use it as a lingua franca.

By way of its genetic classification, Akan has generally been made a member of the Kwa sub-group of Niger-Congo. More recently, a proposal has been put forward (Stewart 2001a, 2001b) to move Akan's immediate family, Tano, from the New Kwa (Williamson 1989; Williamson and Blench 2000) to be reclassified as Bantoid. Clearly, the jury is still out on the classification of Akan.

2.0   VEBRAL MORPHOLGOY
In this section I will examine the morphology of the Akan verb.   Since Akan is morphologically depleted, the essentials of its verbal morphology revolve around tense, aspect and mood (TAM) system of the language. The discussion will concentrate on the representation of person markers, tense, aspect, mood, and negation. In the course of the discussion, dialect differences represented in the verbal morphology will be pointed out. I also will draw attention to instances of grammaticalization represented in the morphology of the Akan verb.

2.2   Verbal Affixes
The verb in Akan normally goes with the following categories of affixes:
　　　　a.　　Subject markers
　　　　b.　　Tense Aspect affixes
　　　　c.　　Mood Prefixes
　　　　d.　　Motional Prefixes
　　　　e.　　Negation Prefix

2.2.1   Subject Markers
The following are the subject markers in Akan.

	Subject Prefix	Full Forms
1 SG	me-	me
2 SG	wo- i- (Fa)	wo
3SG	ɔ-	ɔno
3 (inanimate)	ɛ (Ak, As, and some Fa dialects)	ɛno
1 PLU	yɛ-	yɛn/hɛn
2 PLU	mo-/wɔ- (Fa)	mo/hom (Fa)
3PLU	wɔ-/yɛ- (As)	wɔn/hɔn (Fa)

3a.　　ɔ-bɛ-tɔ　　　　　　　bi
　　　　3SG SUBJ-FUT-buy　　some
　　　　S/he will buy some.

b.　　Me-hu-u　　　　maame　　no
　　　　1SG SUBJ-see-COMPL　woman　　DEF
　　　　I saw the woman.

Generally, in Akan sentences if there is a full NP in subject position, there is no pronominal marker on the verb. However, as observed in Dolphyne (1988), Dolphyne and Dakubu (1988) and Osam (1993a), there are instances in the Fante and Bono dialects when the subject prefix could occur on the verb even when there is a full subject NP.

4a.　　Abofra　　　no　　o-bu　　　　　　　　adze
　　　　child　　　　DEF　3SG SUBJ-respect/HAB　thing
　　　　The child is respectful.

b.　　Maame　　　no　　ɔ-yɛ　　　　　　edwuma　　papa
　　　　woman　　　DEF　3SG SUBJ-do/HAB　work　　　well
　　　　The woman works very hard.

The use of the subject marker in combination with the full NP subject has been used to argue that Akan must have been a noun class language in the past. (Osam 1993a) By this argument, it means that the current subject prefixes must have been used as subject agreement markers.

The Twi dialects have a subject prefix for non-animate entities /ɛ/; n Fante, the form for animate reference (ɔ-) is also used for non-animate. However, there are some sub-dialects of Fante which also use the non-animate subject prefix.

5a.　　Nsuo　　　　no　　bɛ-te
　　　　water　　　　DEF　FUT-pluck
　　　　The rain will stop.

b.　　Ɛ-bɛ-te
　　　　3INAN SUBJ-FUT-pluck
　　　　It will stop.

2.2.2 Tense Aspect

There has been a fairly respectable body of literature put out on the tense aspect of Akan (see, for example, Welmers 1946; Stewart 1962; 1966; Boadi 1966, 1974; Schachter and Fromkin 1968; Dolphyne 1971, 1987, 1988; Essilfie 1977, 1986; Osam 1994a, 2003). Despite these works, there are still areas of the tense aspect of the language that have not been adequately dealt with. Since diverging into those longstanding issues will go beyond the limits of this lecture, I will settle for providing an overview of the tense aspect system of the language as reflected in my work in recent times.

In Osam (1994a) and more recently (Osam 2003), I have argued that Akan should be seen as a predominantly aspectual language, but with a two-way tense distinction—future vs non-future. Following from this, I recognise the following tense aspect for the language: Future tense (FUT) and Completive (COMPL), Perfect (PERF), Progressive (PRO), and Habitual (HAB) aspects. Apart from these, I also recognise two secondary aspectual forms – Continuative (CONT) and Consecutive (CON). Later in the discussion, I will explain why I treat these as secondary aspectual forms. The language also has a means for expressing prospective meaning.

2.2.2.1 Future Tense

Considering the synchronic state of the language, we can identify a distinction between future and non-future tense. The future tense is morphologically marked but the non-future is unmarked. The future tense is marked by the prefix b<u>ɛ</u>, as illustrated in (6a) and (6b). The use of the future means that the event coded will occur after the time of speaking. Apart from this function, the prefix can also be used to mark intention (6c). In combination with the verb <u>tum</u> 'be able', the prefix can code ability (6d).

6a.　Kofi　bɛ́-bá　　　fie
　　　Kofi　FUT-come　　home
　　　Kofi will come home.

b.　Maame　　no　bɛ́-sí　　　dan
　　　woman　　DEF　FUT-build　house
　　　The woman will build a house.

c.　Yɛ̀-bɔ́-kɔ́　　　　　fie
　　　1PLU SUBJ-FUT-go　　home
　　　We will go home.

d.　Wɔ̀-bó-túm̀　　　　à-twá
　　　3PLU SUB-FUT-able　CONS-cut
　　　They can cut it.

2.2.2.2 Completive Aspect

The completive aspect in some analysis is referred to as a past tense. After a description of its nature, I will explain why this is better treated as an aspect. In Akan, the completive occurs as a suffix. It has two realisations in the affirmative. These realisations are determined by whether the verb is followed by a direct object or an adverbial. Where a direct object or an adverbial follows the verb, the completive aspect occurs in the form of the lengthening of the final vowel of the verb stem if the verb ends in a vowel; and the final vowel then has a low tone.

7a.	Takyiwa	bɔ́-ɔ̀	abofra	no		(Ak/Fa)
	Takyiwa	hit-COMPL	child	DEF		
	Takyiwa hit the child.					
b.	Abam	yí-ì		sekan	no	(Ak/Fa)
	Abam	take-COMPL		knife	DEF	
	Abam took the knife.					
8a.	Takyiwa	bɔ̀-ɔ̀	abofra	no		(As)
	Takyiwa	hit-COMPL	child	DEF		
	Takyiwa hit the child.					
b.	Abam	yì-ì		sekan	no	(As)
	Abam	take-COMPL		knife	DEF	
	Abam took the knife.					

When the verb ends in a consonant and it is followed by an adverbial or a direct object, the completive aspect occurs in the form of a low tone on the final consonant of the verb.

9a.	Maame	no	pám̀-m̀		atar	no	(Fa)
	woman	DEF	sew-COMPL		dress	DEF	
	The woman sewed to dress.						

In cases where the verb occurs clause finally, the completive is realised by a low tone vowel (/i/ or /ɪ/) suffix. The form of the vowel has to agree with the vowels of the verb stem in terms of ATR harmony. If the verb root has an advanced tongue root vowel, the completive would be realised as /-i/; but if the vowel is unadvanced, then the completive would be realised as /-ɪ/. I will follow the orthographic convention of representing /-ɪ/ with the letter 'e'.

10a.	Ama	ká-è		(Ak/Fa)
	Ama	remember-COMPL		
	Ama remembered.			
b.	Araba	bú-ì		(Ak/Fa)
	Araba	break-COMPL		
	Araba broke (it).			

In addition to the use of -i/-ɪ as the completive form in cases where the verb occurs clause finally, Asante can also use another suffix –yɛ to mark the completive in the same context. In Asante, examples (10a) and (10b) would be realised as (11a) and (11b), respectively.

11a	Ama	káá-yɛ̀	
	Ama	remember-COMPL	
	Ama remembered (it).		

b   Araba   bùù-yὲ
        Araba   break-COMPL
        Araba broke (it).

As can be seen in (11a) and (11b), where the form –yɛ is used to code the completive, it is normally preceded by the lengthening of the final vowel. If the verb ends with the bilabial nasal /m/, the –yɛ suffix would be preceded by a long high back rounded vowel which would harmonise with the vowels of the verb stem in terms of ATR harmony. For verbs ending in the alveolar nasal, the –yɛ would be preceded by a long vowel. Such a vowel would harmonise with the vowel of the verb stem in terms of two parameters – ATR and lip rounding.

12a.   Akosua   nòm-òò-yὲ
        Akosua   drink-COMPL
        Akosua drank it.
b.   Akosua   sàn-éè-yὲ
        Akosua   untie-COMPL
        Akosua untied (it).

In Akuapem and Fante, when a verb ending with a consonant occurs clause finally, the completive is realised as a long -i/-ɪ after the consonant.

13a.   Ama   sún-ìì   (Fa)
        Ama   roll-COMPL
        Ama rolled (it)
b.   Aba   hwán-èè   (Fa)
        Aba   peel-COMPL
        Aba peeled (it).

Earlier I hinted that what I have called the completive aspect has generally been referred to as the past tense. Even though this morpheme has past time as part of its meaning, its primary function is not to mark past time but perfective events. The main reason is that it is found only on verbs which mark completed events. If an event is imperfective in the past it does not use the form discussed here. For example, to report a past progressive event, one cannot use this suffix as shown in (14c).

14a.   Akosua   ré-sù
        Akosua   PROG-cry
        Akosua is crying.
b.   Akosua   sú-ì
        Akosua   cry-COMPL
        Akosua cried.

c.   *Akosua   ré-sú-ì
       Akosua   PROG-cry-COMPL
       Akosua cried.

To code past imperfective events, the language uses a periphrastic means as well as the discourse context. So in order to correctly present (14c), a morpheme na (Twi) (nna in Fante) 'then' is used, as shown in (15a).

15a.   Yέ-bá-é   no   nna   Akosua   ré-sú
       1PLU SUBJ-come-COMPL   when   then   Akosua   PROG-cry
       When we came, Akosua was crying.

It should be noted that the morpheme na/nna 'then' is not restricted to the past; it can also be used in the context of future time.

2.2.2.3   Perfect
The perfect in Akan is marked by the prefix a- and it agrees with the verb root vowel in terms of ATR harmony. (16) illustrates the perfect in the Fante dialect.

16a.   Adwoa   á-pàm̀   atar
       Adwoa   PERF-sew   dress
       Adwoa has sewn a dress.
b.   Abena   é-sì   dan
       Abena   PERF-build   house
       Abena has built a house.

It should be noted that in Akan the perfect is atemporal; its form is in variant no matter the time of the event.

2.2.2.4   Progressive
The Akan progressive is indicated by the prefix re-. This prefix has different phonetic realisations in the various dialects. However, in the Akuapem dialect, its pronunciation is invariant: the vowel is always realised as the high front unadvanced vowel /ɪ/, orthographically represented as 'e'. In Fante, the progressive has four allomorphs as determined by the ATR and rounding status of the vowel of the verb root. For Asante, the progressive is realised as a vowel. This vowel is the same as the vowel of the preceding syllable. Having in mind the various ways in which the progressive is manifested in Akan, I will use (17) to illustrate this aspect.

17a.   Efua   ré-tsìw   bɔdɔm   no
       Efua   PROG-chase   dog   DEF
       Efua is chasing the dog.

Even though the progressive is not bound to a specific time, it is fair to say that in isolation, it is understood as conveying a present time. However, various temporal adverbs and the discourse context can be used to indicate a past or future time.

2.2.2.5   Habitual
The habitual in Akan is marked by tone.

18a.	Ama	tɔ̀ǹ	bankye
	Ama	sell/HAB	cassava

Ama sells cassava.

b.	Ama	gyìná	ha
	Ama	stand/HAB	here

Ama stands here.

2.2.2.6   Continuative
I treat the continuative as a secondary aspect because it is an alternative to the progressive where stative verbs are concerned. The continuative aspect indicates a persisting state coded by a stative verb. Just like the habitual, the continuative occurs as tonal changes in the verb stem. Generally, when a verb is in the continuative, all the tone bearing units of the verb stem carry low tones.

19a.	Mè-hyὲ		mpɛtsea	(Fa)
	1SG SUBJ-wear/CONT		ring	

I have a ring on.

b.	Mè-gyìnà		ha	(Fa)
	1SG SUBJ-stand/CONT		here	

I am standing here (and have been for some time).

Stative verbs cannot take the progressive and maintain their stative meaning. In (20a), the progressive prefix on the verb means that the subject is in the process of putting on the ring; but in (19a) where the verb has a continuative meaning, the inception of the ring wearing process is over and at the time of speaking the participant has the ring on. This contrast also exists between (19b) and (20b).

20a.	Mè-ré-hyὲ		mpɛtsea		(Fa)
	1SG SUBJ-PROG-wear		ring		

I am putting on a ring.

b.	Mè-rè-gyìná		ha	(Fa)
	1SG SUBJ-PROG-stand		here	

I am (in the process of) standing here

2.2.2.7   Consecutive
The consecutive is secondary to the progressive aspect and the future tense in the context of serial constructions, and sometimes even in conjoined structures. In a serial construction in which the initial verb is marked for either the future tense or progressive aspect, the subsequent verbs would have a low tone <u>à-</u> vowel prefix. This prefix is what marks a verb as consecutive or non-initial in a chain of verbs.

21a.	Kofi	ré-yì	bankye	no	à-mà	Esi

| | Kofi | PROG-take | cassava | DEF | CONS-give | Esi |

Kofi is taking the cassava to give to Esi.

b.　　　Kofi　bé-yì　　　　bankye　　　no　　à-mà　　　Esi

Kofi　FUT-take　　cassava　　　　DEF　　CONS-give　Esi

Kofi will take the cassava and give it to Esi.

2.2.2.8　　　Expressing Prospective Meaning

Akan has not got to the stage where it can be said to have the prospective aspect. However, the language has the morphological resources to express prospective meaning. The prospective is "where a state is related to some subsequent situation .... where someone is in a state of being about to do something." (Comrie 1976:64) Prospective meaning in Akan is expressed by combining the progressive prefix and the future prefix. In the past what I have called the prospective meaning has been classified as immediate future, contrasting with the simple future (see Dolphyne 1971, 1988).

22a.　　　Ɔhen　no　　rè-bɛ́-kásà　　　　　　　　　　　(Fa)

chief　DEF　　PROG-FUT-speak

The chief is about to speak.

b.　　　Wò-rè-bé-síésìe　　　　　　　　dan　　no　　mu　　(Fa)

3PLU SUBJ-PROG-FUT-clean　　　room　　DEF　　in

They are about to clean the room.

2.3　　Motional Prefixes

The verb word in Akan may also have, as part of its composition, one of two prefixes, as illustrated in (23).

23a.　　　Araba　　　　kɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀　　　　　nyena　　　(Fa)

Araba　　　　go-buy-COMPL　　firewood

Araba went to buy firewood.

b.　　　Araba　　　　bɔ̀-tɔ́-ɔ̀　　　　　nyena　　　(Fa)

Araba　　　　come-buy-COMPL　firewood

Araba came to buy firewood.

In previous analyses of Akan, these prefixes have been classified as part of the aspectual system of the language being identified as the ingressive aspect. (for example, Dolphyne 1971, 1988; Boadi 1974). However, as argued in Osam (1994a, 2002), these prefixes are not aspects. Rather when used, they "indicate a movement engaged in for the event coded by the verb to take place." (Osam 2002:114)

The morphemes derive from the verbs for 'go' kɔ and 'come' bɛ. The use of kɔ 'go' and its various forms shows that an agent "moves to a location away from a deictic center which the speaker assumes." (Osam 2002:114). In contrast, when bɛ 'come' is used, the agent "moves towards the deictic center assumed by the speaker" (Osam 2002:115). Other writers have given similar semantic interpretation of these prefixes. Boadi (1974), for example, states that:

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. . . . the choice of kɔ and bɛ depends upon the speaker's temporal or background orientation in relation to the place or time of the event described by the verb. The prefix kɔ is used when the location or time referred to in the discourse is viewed by the speaker as being relatively distant from him, while bɛ refers to places and times relatively close to him. (1974:3)

These prefixes, therefore, are used to code physical movement towards or away from a deictic center. This is why I choose to treat them as indicators of motion, not aspects.

2.4   Mood

There are two mood distinctions in Akan – indicative and the imperative. In this section, I would like to draw attention to the imperative. We can make two imperative distinctions – imperative proper (imperative) and the optative. The proper imperative does not have segmental representation.

24a.   Kɔ́
       Go!
b.   Gyìnà
       Halt!

The optative, on the other hand, involves the presence of a subject marker and a high tone homorganic nasal prefix on the verb. The optative is used when commands are directed at plural addressees.

25a.   Hom   ń-gyínà   hɔ   (Fa)
       2PLU SUBJ   OPT-stop   there
       You (should) stop there.
b.   Mó-ń-dá   (Ak/As)
       2PLU SUBJ-OPT-sleep
       You (should) sleep
c.   Yɛ́-ḿ-pŕá
       1PLU SUB-OPT-sweep
       Let's sweep.

Sometimes an addressee may be ordered to make another persons carry out an activity. In such a case, the optative my be introduced by the causative verb ma 'let, cause'.

26a.   Màa   ɔ́-ń-dá
       let   3SG SUBJ-OPT-sleep
       Let him/her sleep.
b.   Màa   wɔ́-ḿ-pŕá
       let   3PLU SUBJ-OPT-sweep
       Let them sweep.

2.5   Negation

Negation is marked by a homorganic nasal which is normally said on a low tone. The language has more forms in the affirmative than in the negative. This means that certain aspectual forms in the affirmative are collapsed in the negative.

2.5.1   Negative Completive

 In the affirmative, the completive aspect is a suffix; but in the negative it is a prefix. The prefix is a low tone à- vowel and it is followed by the negative morpheme. In speech the form of the vowel prefix is determined by vowel harmony.

27a. Yaw bɔ́-ɔ̀   famu   (Fa)
      Yaw   fall-COMPL   ground
      Yaw feel down.
b.   Yaw   à-m̀-bɔ́   famu   (Fa)
      Yaw   COMPL-NEG-fall   ground
      Yaw did not fall down.

2.5.2   Negative Perfect

In the negative, the perfect morpheme occurs as a suffix (even though in the affirmative it is a prefix), with the negative marker occurring as a high tone prefix in Fante. In the other dialects, the tone of the negative prefix depends on the verb and on whether the subject is pronoun or a full noun phrase.

28a. Ekua   á-tɔ́   bi   (Fa)
      Ekua   PERF-buy   some
      Ekua has bought some.
b.   Ekua   ń-tɔ́-ɔ̀   bi   (Fa)
      Ekua   NEG-buy-PERF   some
      Ekua hasn't bought some.

2.5.3   Negative Progressive and Future

In Akan, the progressive aspect and the future tense are negated in the same. The negative prefix follows the form used to code the progressive and future.

29a. Abofra   no   rè-kásá   (Fa)
      child   DEF   PROG-speak
      The child is speaking.
b.   Abofra   no   ré-ǹ-kásà
      child   DEF   PROG-NEG-speak
      The child is not speaking.
30a. Abofra   no   bɛ́-kásá   (Fa)
      child   DEF   FUT-speak
      The child will speak.
b.   Abofra   no   ré-ǹ-kásà
      child   DEF   PROG-NEG-speak

       The child will not speak.

2.5.4   Negative Continuative
The negation of the continuative involves the use of the negative morpheme and changes in the tone of the verb stem.

31a.   Ò-gyìnà   hɔ   (Fa)
        3SG SUBJ-stand/CONT   there
        S/he is standing there.

b.   Ò-ǹ-gyínà   hɔ
        3SG SUBJ-NEG-stand/CONT   there.
        S/he is not standing there.

2.5.5   Negative Habitual
In the negative habitual, the negative morpheme occurs as a prefix with or without tonal changes in the verb stem.

32a.   Kofi   bísà   no   (Fa)
        Kofi   ask/HAB   3SG OBJ
        Kofi asks him/her.

b.   Kofi   m̀-bísà   no
        Kofi   NEG-ask/HAB   3SG OBJ
        Kofi doesn't ask him/her.

2.5.6   Negative Consecutive
In negating the consecutive, the consecutive prefix is dropped and the negative prefix goes on the verb.

33a.   Araba   bɔ́-nóá   bi   à-mà   hɛn   (Fa)
        Araba   FUT-cook   some   CONS-give   1PLU OBJ
        Araba will cook some for us.

b.   Araba   ré-ǹ-nòá   bi   m̀-má   hɛn
        Araba   PROG-NEG-cook   some   NEG-give   1PLU OBJ
        Araba will not cook some for us.

2.5.7   Negative Imperative
In Akan, verbs in the imperative can be negated. In Fante, the negative imperative is preceded by the negative form of the verb ma 'let'

34a.   Kɔ́   (Fa)
        Go!

b.   M̀-má   ǹ-kɔ́
        NEG-let   NEG-go
        Don't go.

The negative optative is as follows:

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35a.   Hom   ń-dá   (Fa)
        2PLU SUBJ   OPT-sleep
        You should sleep.

b.   M̀-má   hom   ǹ-ǹ-dá
        NEG-let   2PLU SUBJ   NEG-OPT-sleep
        You shouldn't sleep.

In Akuapem and Asante, unlike Fante, the verb ma 'let' is not used in negating the imperative.   Examples (34b) and (35b) would be rendered as (36a) and (36b), respectively:

36a.   Ǹ-kɔ́
        NEG-go
        Don't go

b.   Mɔ́   ǹ-ǹ-dá
        2PLU SUBJ   NEG-OPT-sleep
        You shouldn't sleep.

4.0   SERIALIZATION

Serialization in Akan has had a fairly good coverage in the linguistics literature. However, the fact that issues in serialization, not just in Akan, but in other languages keep coming up means that there are still areas that need to be sorted out.   The purpose of this section is to provide, in as much detail as possible, the manifestation of serialization as a multi-verb construction in Akan. In doing this, I would be drawing on insights that previous studies (Chrisitaller 1875, Stewart 1963, Boadi 1968, Ansre 1966, Essilfie 1977, 1984, Schachter 1974, Dolphyne 1987, Lord 1973, 1993) have made available; what current studies are bringing up (Hellan et al 2003); may own work on the subject (Osam 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997) and my knowledge of the language as a native speaker linguist (NSL).

When you start looking at the cross-linguistic literature on serialization, it does not take too long for you to realise that it is one of the syntactic structures that attempting a definition for is almost like trying the impossible.   Nevertheless, the following are instructive:

Schachter (1974:254)
        A sentence that contains a serial verb construction consists, on the surface
        at least, of a subject noun phrase followed by a series of two or more verb
        phrases, each containing a finite verb plus, possibly, the complement(s) of
        that verb.

Foley and Olson (1985:18):
        Serial verb constructions . . . . are constructions in which verbs sharing a
        common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening
        conjunctions . . . . Serial verbs constructions always contain two or more
        predicates. Furthermore . . . while they may require the same actor for

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both predicates, each verb in the series may have arguments not shared by other verbs.

Durie (1988:3):

In simple descriptive terms, serialization is what happens when two or more verbs are juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a single predicate, taking a unitary complex of direct arguments. The verbs are found together syntactically and/or morphological on the basis of sharing one or more core arguments, and neither verb is subordinate to the other. Typically in a serial construction there is no marker of subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or morphological mark of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have a separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force, and negation.

Durie (1997:289):

The archetypal serial verb construction consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb.

The following illustrate the type of constructions referred to as serial construction:

53a. Aba   yέ-ὲ   asɔr má-à   Kofi   (Fa)
     Aba   do-COMPL   prayer give-COMPL Kofi
     Aba prayed for Kofi.

b. Gyasiba   nyá-à   sika sí-ì   dan tɔ́n-èὲ   (Fa)
    Gyasiba   get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL
    Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.

4.1   Typology

One of the debates about serialization is the very definition of what type of construction should be given this label. To ensure a proper analysis of this phenomenon, it is important that we recognise a typology of serial constructions. In Osam (1994a), the semantic notion of event integration (Givon 1990, 2001b) was used as the basis of the typologisation of serial constructions in Akan:

"The semantic foundation of serialization has to do with the integration of the subatomic events that are conceived as representing a single event. In other words, the reason why multiple verbs in a construction are treated as conceptually coding a single event is that even though those verbs originally code separate events, these events, through the process of cognitivisation, come to be integrated as a single event ... the degree of semantic integration is reflected in the syntax of such constructions and it enables us to identify different levels of integration. " (Osam 1994a:193)

Based on the notion of semantic integration, we can recognise two broad types of serialization in Akan: Clause Chaining Serialisation (CC) and Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISVC).[7]

Example (53a) is the IVSC type and (53b) the CC type. The main difference between the two is that in the CC type, the verbs in the chain constitute the concatenation of otherwise potentially independent events. Consequently, the composite events can be separated out, as in (54a) where the events coded in (53b) have been isolated.

54a. Gyasiba   nyá-à   sika   (Fa)
     Gyasiba   get-COMPL   money
     Gyasiba got money.
b.   Gyasiba   sí-ì   dan
     Gyasiba   build-COMPL   house
     Gyasiba built a house.
c.   Gyasiba   tɔ́ǹ-ǹ   dan   (no)
     Gyasiba   sell-COMPL   house   DEF
     Gyasiba sold the house.

On the other hand, because the ISVC type represents tightly integrated events, we cannot talk about constituent parts. So we cannot break up (53a) into two separate events.

Secondly, since the CC involves chaining of separate events, the order of the verbs reflects the sequential order of the events as occurring in the real world. So each event has "temporal precedence" (Hellan et al 2003) over the event subsequent to it.

The syntax of the two types of serialization reflects the degree of integration. For example, CC serialisation can be broken up into separate clauses and linked with conjuctions (55a), but this is not possible with ISVC (55b).

55a. Gyasiba   nyá-à   sika na   ó-sí-ì   dan   na
     Gyasiba   get-COMPL   money and   build-COMPL   house and
     ɔ́-tɔ́n-èè
     sell-COMPL
     Gyasiba got money and built a house and sold it.
b.   *Aba yɛ́-ɛ   asɔr na   ɔ́-má-à   Kofi
     Aba do-COMPL   prayer and 3SG SUBJ-give-COMPL Kofi
     Aba prayed and gave Kofi.

4.2   Verb Valency and Serialization
Verbs that are used in serial constructions may have different valencies. In Akan, the following combinations are possible:
- Transitive-Transitive
- Intrasitive-Intrasitive
- Transitive-Intrasitive
- Intrasitive-Transitive.

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Transitive-Transitive

56a.	Kofi	kyêr-r̀		ewi	no	bôr-r̀	no	(Fa)
	Kofi	catch-COMPL		thief	DEF	beat-COMPL	3SG OBJ	

Kofi caught the thief and beat him.

b.	Aba	fr̀ɛ̀-ɛ̀		Esi	sómà-à	no
	Aba	call-COMPL		Esi	send-COMPL	3SG OBJ

Aba called Esi and sent her.

Intransitive-Intransitive

57a.	Banyin	no	wéà-é	kɔ́-è	(Fa)
	man	DEF	crawl-COMPL	go-COMPL	

The man crawled away.

b.	Araba	sɔ́r-èé	gyínà-è	(Fa)
	Araba	rise-COMPL	stand-COMPL	

Araba stood up.

Transitive-Intransitive

58a.	Ato	yí-ì	ahoma	no	fí-ì	hɔ	(Fa)
	Ato	take-COMPL	rope	DEF	be from-COMPL	there	

Ato took the rope from there.

b.	Ekua	nóm̀-m̀	nsu	dá-è	(Fa)
	Ekua	drink-COMPL	water	sleep-COMPL	

Ekua drank water and slept.

Intransitive-Transitive

59a.	Kofi	sɔ́r-èɛ̀	kyîà-à	papa	no	(Fa)
	Kofi	rise-COMPL	greet-COMPL	man	DEF	

Kofi got up and greeted the man.

b.	Esi	kyímà-é	hwèhwɛ́-ɛ̀	Ama	(Fa)
	Esi	roam-COMPL	look-COMPL	Ama	

Esi went round looking for Ama

4.3   General Features
Whether dealing with ISVC or CC, there are certain properties that characterize serial constructions in Akan.

4.3.1   Subject Marking
In Akan serialization, there is usually a single subject NP occurring either as a full NP or pronominal marking on the initial verb in the series. If it is a full NP it precedes the initial verb. As shown in (60b), the various verbs in the serialization cannot have different subjects. Furthermore, (61c) indicates that when the subject is marked on the initial verb, it is ungrammatical for it to occur on any non-initial verb.

60a. Esi   tɔ́-ɔ̀   paanoo   dzí-ì   (Fa)
      Esi   buy-COMPL bread   eat-COMPL
      Esi bought bread and ate it.

b.   *Esi   tɔ́-ɔ̀   paanoo   Ama dzí-ì   (Fa)
      Esi   buy-COMPL bread   Ama eat-COMPL
      Esi bought bread and Ama ate it.

61a. Kwesi   yí-ì   atser no   má-à   Ato   (Fa)
      Kwesi   take-COMPL spoon DEF   give-COMPL Ato
      Kwesi took the spoon for Ato.

b.   Ò-yí-ì   atser no   má-à   Ato
      3SG SUBJ-take-COMPL   spoon DEF   give-COMPL   Ato
      He took the spoon for Ato.

c.   *Ò-yí-ì   atser no   ɔ-má-à   Ato
      3SG SUBJ-take-COMPL   spoon DEF   3SG SUBJ-give-COMPL   Ato
      He took the spoon for Ato.

As has been mentioned in the literature on Akan serialization, the rule that the subject marking occurs on the first verb only is not followed in certain cases, as shown in (62) and (63).[8]

62a. Mò-ró-kɔ̀   mà-à-bá   (Fa)
      1SG SUBJ-PROG-go   1SG SUBJ-CONS-come
      I'm going but will be back soon.

b.   Mò-ró-kɔ̀   à-bá
      1SG SUBJ-PROG-go   CONS-come
      I'm going but will be back soon.

63a. Wò-é-dzídzí   wò-é-wíé   (Fa)
      3PLU SUB-PERF-eat   3PLU SUBJ-PERF-finish
      They have finished eating.

b.   Wò-é-dzídzí   é-wíé
      3PLU SUBJ-PERF-eat   PERF-finish
      They have finished eating.

In (62b) and (63b) we see that the presence of subject marking on the non-initial verbs in such cases is optional. The exception that all the verbs should have a single subject will be discussed in the section on argument sharing (section 4.4).

4.3.2 Tense Aspect Marking
Verbs in an Akan serial construction manifest uniformity in tense aspect marking.

64a. Ama tɔ́-ɔ̀   mpaboa   kyɛ́-ɛ̀   Fiifi (Fa)
      Ama buy-COMPL   shoes   give-COMPL Fiifi
      Ama bought shoes for Fiifi.

b.	Ama	á-tɔ̀	mpaboa	á-kyɛ̀	Fiifi
	Ama	PERF-buy	shoes	PERF-give	Fiifi

Ama has bought shoes for Fiifi.

c.	Ama	bɔ́-tɔ́	mpaboa	à-kyɛ̀	Fiifi
	Ama	FUT-buy	shoes	CONS-give	Fiifi

Ama will buy shoes for Fiifi.

d.	Ama	ré-tɔ̀	mpaboa	à-kyɛ̀	Fiifi
	Ama	PROG-buy	shoes	CONS-give	Fiifi

Ama is buying shoes for Fiifi.

Generally, combination of tense-aspect is not allowed as exemplified in (65).

65a.	*Ama	tɔ́-ɔ̀	mpaboa	bɛ́-kyɛ́	Fiifi
	Ama	buy-COMPL	shoes	FUT-give	Fiifi

Ama bought shoes to be given to Fiifi.

b.	Ama	á-tɔ̀	mpaboa	kyɛ́-ɛ̀	Fiifi
	Ama	PERF-buy	shoes	give-COMPL	Fiifi

Ama has bought shoes for Fiifi.

This, notwithstanding, it has been pointed out (Dolphyne 1987) that there are cases where different aspectual forms can co-occur on verbs in a serial construction.[9] In the permissible combinations, the initial verb must be marked by the perfect and the second by the progressive.[10]

66a.	Abam	é-yì	nam	no	ró-wé	(Fa)
	Abam	PERF-take	fish	DEF	PROG-chew	

Abam has taken the fish and is eating it.

b.	Esi	á-hɔ̀r	entuho	no	rè-hátá
	Esi	PERF-wash	towel	DEF	PROG-hang

Esi has washed the towel and is hanging it.

4.3.3 Negation Marking

Generally, in an Akan serial construction, negating the sentence means each verb being morphologically marked by the negative prefix.

67a.	Araba	tɔ́-ɔ̀	mpɛtsea	má-à	abofra	no	(Fa)
	Araba	buy-COMPL	ring	give-COMPL	child	DEF	

Araba bought a ring for the child.

b.	Araba	à-ǹ-tɔ́	mpɛtsea	à-m̀-má	abofra	no
	Araba	COMPL-NEG-buy	ring	COMPL-NEG-give	child	DEF

Araba did not buy a ring for the child.

Despite the uniformity in negation marking, there is another form of the negative, peculiar to some sub-dialects of Fante, that does not follow this pattern. This form involves the negation of the future tense, as shown in (68c).

68a.   Mò-bɔ́-tɔ́   bi   à-mà   wo
        1SG SUBJ-FUT-buy some CONS-give 2SG OBJ
        I will buy some for you.

b.   Mò-ró-ǹ-tɔ́   bi   m̀-má   wo
        1SG SUBJ-PROG-NEG-buy   some NEG-give   2SG OBJ
        I will not buy some for you.

c.   Mò-ǹ-kɔ́-tɔ́   bi   à-mà   wo
        1SG SUBJ-NEG-FUT-buy some CONS-give 2SG OBJ
        I will not buy some for you.

In (68b) the normal negation pattern is used. However, in (68c) where the n-kɛ format is adopted, the second verb does not carry any negation marker; but it is understood that the negation on the initial verb has scope over the remaining verb.

4.4   Argument Sharing
Perhaps the most talked about aspect of serialization is argument sharing. In this section, I intend to explore this issue in relation to serialization in Akan.

4.4.1   Same Subject Serialization
Shared subject is generally a defining feature of serial constructions, as discussed and illustrated in section 4.3.1. Examples (60a) and (61a) are repeated here as (69a) and (69b), respectively. The verbs in each sentence share the same subject entity.

69a.   Esi   tɔ́-ɔ́   paanoo   dzí-ì   (Fa)
        Esi   buy-COMPL bread   eat-COMPL
        Esi bought bread and ate it.

b.   Kwesi   yí-ì   atser no   má-à   Ato   (Fa)
        Kwesi   take-COMPL spoon DEF   give-COMPL Ato
        Kwesi took the spoon for Ato.

4.4.2   Object-Subject Sharing (Switch Subject)
It has been recgonised that in Akan there are cases where the single subject constraint is set aside. This happens in causative constructions which are structured along the patterns of serialization.

70a.   Papa no   má-à   abofra   no   sú-ì   (Fa)
        man   DEF   make-COMPL child   DEF   cry-COMPL
        The man made the child cry.

b.   Kofi   má-à   Esi   dzí-ì   bankye   (Fa)
        Kofi   make-COMPL   Esi   eat-COMPL cassava
        Kofi made Esi eat cassava.

In (70a) and (70b), the initial verb in the construction is the causative verb ma 'let, make'. In both sentences, the subject NPs of the causative verb are different from the subject

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NPs of the non-initial verbs. In (70a) the second verb has as its subject abofra no 'the child'; and (70b) Araba is the subject of dzi 'eat'. The evidence for this is seen in (71a) and (71b) where abofra no 'the child' and Araba, respectively, are replaced by pronouns.

71a.   Papa   no   má-à   ò-sú-ì   (Fa)
        man   DEF   make-COMPL   3SG SUBJ-cry-COMPL
        The man made him cry.
b.   Kofi   má-à   ò-dzí-ì   bankye   (Fa)
        Kofi   make-COMPL   3SG SUBJ-eat-COMPL   cassava
        Kofi made her eat cassava.

The use of the subject pronominal form in (71a) and (71b) applies to the Fante dialect. In the Twi dialects, something different happens, as illustrated in (72a) and (72b).

72a.   Papa   no   mà-à   no   sú-ì
        man   DEF   make-COMPL   3SG OBJ   cry-COMPL
        The man made him cry.
b.   Kofi   mà-à   no   dì-ì   bankye
        Kofi   make-COMPL   3SG OBJ   eat-COMPL   cassava
        Kofi made her eat cassava.

This means that whereas in Fante the NP$_2$ in the ma causativization associates with the following verb as subject, in the Twi dialects the NP manifests grammatically as the direct object of the non-initial verb. Even though in terms of coding, NP$_2$ is represented as the DO of the first verb in Twi, there is no doubt that it is the actor of V$_2$, as shown by the subject coding in the Fante dialect.

There is another type of construction which some have used as an example of switch subject (see for example, Lord 1993:85; Sebba 1987:181).

73a.   Ama   twé-è   Ekua   bɔ́-ɔ   famu   (Fa)
        Ama   pull-COMPL   Ekua   fall-COMPL   ground.
        Ama pulled Ekua down.

b.   Yaa   tów-w   bobaa   bɔ́-ɔ   Ama   (Fa)
        Yaa   throw-COMPL   stone   hit-COMPL   Ama
        Yaa threw a stone at Ama.

The argument goes that in sentences such as (73a) and (73b), the NP$_2$ is the "logical subject" of the second verb. In effect, in the case of (73a), for example, Ama is the subject of twe 'pull' and Ekua is the subject of bɔ 'fall'. However, as argued in Osam (1994a:199-201), cases like these cannot be treated as instances of switch-subject. What they show is a situation where the two verbs are used to code a single event, an example of Integrated Serial Verb Construction: "Speakers of the language in using this combination [of verbs] intend to represent the event as being a single unit. . . . Such verb

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combinations constitute, to varying degrees, instances of verb lexicalisation/compounding resulting from serialization." (Osam 1994a:200).

4.4.3   Combined Subject

It is possible to have a situation where the subject and direct object of the initial verb constitute the subject of subsequent verb(s).   In this case, NP_1 and NP_2 form an associative NP.   This requires that the initial verb be the associative verb <u>nye/ne</u> 'be with'.[11]

74a.	Araba	nyé	ne	maame	kɔ́-ɔ̀	fie	(Fa)
	Araba	be with	3SG POSS	mother	go-COMPL	home	
	Araba went home with her mother.						
b.	Efua	nyé	hɔn	yɛ́-ɛ̀	edwuma	no	
	Efua	be with	3PLU OBJ	do-COMPL	work	DEF	
	Efua did the work with them.						

Examples (74a) and (74b) illustrate the combined subject serialization because the second verb in each sentence has as its subject NP_1 and NP_2.

4.4.4   Multiple Object Serialization

In Akan serial constructions, it is possible to have a situation where each verb in the series has its own direct object.   Of course such serialization would involve transitive verbs.

75a.	Araba tɔ́-ɔ̀	mpɛtsea	má-à	abofra	no	(Fa)
	Araba buy-COMPL	ring	give-COMPL	child	DEF	
	Araba bought a ring for the child.					
b.	Gyasiba	nyá-à	sika	sí-ì	dan	(Fa)
	Gyasiba	get-COMPL	money	build-COMPL	house	
	Gyasiba got money and built a house.					

In each sentence in (75), every verb has its own direct object.   The multiple object serialization is different from situations where the verbs in the series share the same object (reference sharing).   Secondly, the multiple object serialization is more common in Clause Chaining than in ISVC.

4.5   Serialization and Grammatical Relations

As reported elsewhere (Osam 1994a, 1996, 1997), there is an interface between serialisation and grammatical relations.

4.5.1   Definiteness Status of Theme NPs

Various studies (Stewart 1963, Lord 1982, Osam 1994a, 1996) have shown that most ditransitive verbs in the language cannot take a Theme NP that is definite in the structure. In effect, in structures as in (50), NP_3, for most verbs, cannot be a definite one.

76a.   Abena   kyέ-ὲ   abofra   no   sika   (Fa)
       Abena   give-COMPL   child   DEF   money
       Abena gave the child money.

b.   *Abena   kyέ-ὲ   abofra   no   sika   no   (Fa)
       Abena   give-COMPL   child   DEF   money DEF
       Abena gave the child the money.

77a.   Kwesi   bŕὲ-ὲ   maame   no   adaka   (Fa)
       Kwesi   bring-COMPL woman   DEF   box
       Kwesi brought the woman a box.

b.   *Kwesi   bŕὲ-ὲ   maame   no   adaka no   (Fa)
       Kwesi   bring-COMPL woman   DEF   box   DEF
       Kwesi brought the woman the box.

In (76a) and (77a), the Theme NPs, <u>sika</u> 'money' and <u>adaka</u> 'box', respectively, are non-definite. However, in (76b) and (77b) they are definite and the resulting sentences are ungrammatical. Other verbs which behave this way include <u>ma</u> 'give' <u>hyε</u> 'put on' <u>fír</u> 'lend', <u>gye</u> 'charge' <u>mona</u>/<u>mane</u> 'send'. From our discussions on grammatical relations and the structure in (50), we can present the relationship between grammatical relations and semantic roles in ditransitive as in Table 6.

Table 6. Grammatical relations and semantic roles of NPs in Akan ditransitive clauses.

NP	GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS	SEMANTIC ROLES
NP$_1$	Subject	Agent
NP$_2$	Direct Object	Recipient [Loc]
NP$_3$	Asymmetrical Object	Theme

A possible explanation for why most ditransitive verbs do not allow definite theme NPs to occur in the NP$_3$ slot is that they rank high on the hierarchy of definiteness. Consequently, they require a higher ranking on the grammatical relations scale. As a result, they are promoted out of the non-core relation to a position where they can have a core grammatical relation. The syntactic device for doing this is the use of the <u>de</u>-serial construction. This is the serial construction where the initial verb is the defect verb <u>de</u> 'take, use'. Through this device, (76b) and (77b) would be realised as (78a) and (78b), respectively.

78a.   Abena de   sika   no   kyέ-ὲ   abofra   no   (Fa)
       Abena take   money DEF   give-COMPL   child   DEF
       Abena gave the child the money.

b.   Kwesi   de   adaka no   bŕὲ-ὲ   maame   no   (Fa)
       Kwesi   take   box   DEF   bring-COMPL woman   DEF
       Kwesi brought the woman the box.

Once promoted, the definite Theme NPs become direct objects. This process can be referred to as Theme NP Promotion.

4.5.2   Direct Objecthood in <u>de</u> Serialization

The essence of this section is to prove that the post verbal NP of <u>de</u> 'take, use, hold' in the <u>de</u> serialization is a direct object. It has been established that in Akan, a direct object NP must meet two main criteria:

        (a)   position test
        (b)   pronominalisation

In addition to these two tests, a candidate for direct object status must also be relativisable and amenable to focus marking.   The conditions of relativisation and focusing are secondary to the position and pronominalisation tests. When we apply the positional test to (78a) and (78b), we find that the Theme NPs occur immediately after the defective verb <u>de</u>, By the proximity to the verb test, then, <u>sika no</u> 'the money' (78a) and <u>adaka no</u> (78b) 'the box' are direct objects.

Applying the pronominalisation test produces the following sentences. It should be remembered that in Akan a post-verbal NP whose referent is inanimate receives zero coding.

79a.   Abena de   Ø   kyέ-ὲ   abofra   no   (Fa)
        Abena take   give-COMPL child   DEF
        Abena gave it to the child.

b.   Kwesi   de   Ø   bŕὲ-ὲ   maame   no   (Fa)
     Kwesi   take   bring-COMPL woman   DEF
     Kwesi brought it to the woman.

The result of the tests go to show that the Theme NPs in the <u>de</u> serialisation are direct objects. This conclusion has implication for the verbal status of <u>de</u>. Even though it is a defective verb in the sense that it has lost many of its verbal features, it, nevertheless, performs verbal functions (See Osam 1994a, 1994b).

ENDNOTES

1.   In the Census Report, the following languages classified under the Bia group are listed as Akan: Nzema, Sehwi, Aowin, Ahanta, and Chakosi. But these are not part of the Akan group, despite their closeness to Akan.

2.   At the University of Ghana, for example, programmes in the study of Akan, from bachelors to doctoral level, have existed in the Linguistics Department for over twenty five years.

3.   Recently (on May 19, 2003), two Ghanaian football teams were playing in international competitions outside the country. This station sent commentators to those places (Cameroon and Angola) who gave a live coverage of the matches in Akan.

4.   The A argument is the most agent-like entity in a two argument clause; the P argument is the most patient-like entity in a two argument clause; and S is the single argument in a one argument clause. For a discussion of the terms S, A, and P, see Comrie (1978) and Payne (1997).

5.   These issues have been fully discussed in Osam (1993b, 1995). See also Boadi (1976).

6.   For a detailed discussion of the issue of the typology of ditransitive and whether or not the notion of indirect object is relevant in Akan, see Osam (1996, 2000).

7.   Recently, Hellan et al (2003), building on Osam (1994a, 1994b) have introduced further classification of the ISVC type.

8.   There are other issues involved in this exception which are currently being explored in Osam (in progress): "Some outstanding issues in Akan serialization." One of these is the type of constraints on constructions in which it is possible to mark the subject on all the verbs in the series. Some earlier studies (Schachter 1974, Forson 1990) had suggested that having subject marking on the non-initial verbs in the series is restricted to instances where the subject is first person singular. However, this is not so.

9.   It appears that the co-occurrence of mixed tense aspect does not apply to ISVC. For example, even though it is permissible to have perfect and progressive combining (as in example (66a) and (66b), applying this combination to an ISVC, such as the sentence below, results in an ungrammatical sentence.

Ɔ̀-á-yɛ̀   asɔr   ré-mà   Kofi
3SG SUBJ-PERF-do prayer   PROG-give   Kofi
He has prayed for Kofi.

10.   In Dolphyne's (1987) discussion, there are other combinations she presents that, in my opinion, do not qualify to be considered as true cases of mixed tense aspect. She presents the following as permissible combinations:
Stative—Progressive
Perfect—Progressive
Perfect—Progressive—Consecutive
Progressive—Consecutive
Immediate Future—Consecutive
Indefinite Future—Consecutive
Of these, only the Perfect—Progressive is a legitimate case of mixed aspects, as I have illustrated in (66). Her stative is what I have called continuative. As already

pointed out, the continuative and the progressive are complementary; whereas the progressive occurs with dynamic verbs, the continuative occurs with stative verbs. We cannot, therefore, consider them as separate aspects. The Progressive—Consecutive (and also the Future—Consecutive) is also not a good case of mixed aspects because the two are dependent on each other; just as the consecutive and future are co-dependent. The consecutive shows up on non-initial verbs if the initial verb is progressive (or future). This is because when the initial verb is in the progressive, the subsequent ones cannot be in the progressive. The same situation is true of the future. The consecutive cannot occur on initial verbs. So the consecutive is dependent on the progressive and the future, just as they also depend on it—a kind of symbiotic relationship. This why we cannot strictly say that the consecutive is a different aspect from the progressive and the future.

11.	The verb nye/ne 'be with' is defective in some sense. For example, in this context it cannot be marked for a number of tense aspect; but in some dialects, for example Fante, it can be negated.

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