FOCUS-MARKING IN ANLO EWE GRAMMAR

BY

AROK WOLVENGREY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

This two-part study of the Anlo dialect of Ewe is the result of a seminar in Linguistic Field Methods and, as such, has been prepared as an experiment in data-gathering and analysis. Part I is a grammatical sketch, meant to incorporate as many aspects of the grammar of Anlo Ewe as can possibly be gleaned from the collected data. This then forms the background for part II which consists of an in-depth analysis of a particular focus-marking construction.

One type of focus in Anlo Ewe is obligatorily marked by sentence-initial position and the presence of the focus-marking postposition /é/. A variety of coding strategies are used for focussed constructions. e.g., case-marking and pronoun retention, which allow for the recoverability of certain focussed constituents. As predicted by Keenan and Comrie (1977), constituents which are ranked lower on the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) require more elaborate recoverability strategies. As originally formulated, though, the AH cannot predict the behaviour of non-nominal elements, such as adverbials. Hence, an explanation for a disparity in the focus-marking strategies employed in marking adverbials of time, place and manner must be sought in the high level of thematicity (i.e., scene-setting potential) inherent in some adverbials. This has recently been codified by Luo (1991) in his modification to the AH based on clefting data. The resulting "Cleftability Hierarchy" is found to more accurately describe the coding strategies employed in the /é/-focus construction of Anlo Ewe.

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Most importantly, I wish to thank my family for both supporting me in and enduring the completion of this work. To my daughter, Crystal, and my son, Elessar, thank you for letting your father go when he had to. To my wife, for whom I reserve my greatest appreciation, thank you for your continued belief in me, without which none of this would have been possible. I love you, Susan.

September, 1991

Arok Wolvengrey
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3s	third person singular
1p	first person plural
2p	second person plural
3p	third person plural
X—	prefix
—X	suffix
ADJ	adjective
adj.	adjective
ADV	adverbial
ADVm	manner adverbial
ADVs	spatial adverbial
ADVt	temporal adverbial
ASP	aspect
ASPi	intentive aspect
ASPp	progressive aspect
ASSC	associative
AUX	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
CL	clause
CL_A	aspectually-marked clause
CL_T	tense-marked clause
CND	conditional construction markers (prep. and postp.)
coart	coarticulated stop
COMP	complementizer
cPro	coreferential pronoun
DAT	dative; dative marker
DEF	definite suffix
DEM	demonstrative
dem.	demonstrative
DO	direct object
F	focus-marker
GEN	genitive pronoun
GEN_1	genitive paradigm 1: inalienable
GEN_2	genitive paradigm 2: alienable
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative; imperative subject prefix
INST	instrumental
IO	indirect object
LOC	locative
LOCp	locative postposition
LocP	locative phrase
LPro	logophoric pronoun
mV	main verb
N	noun; nominal
n.	noun

Nas	nasal
NEG	negative marker
nF	non-focus subject agreement
NP	noun phrase
ngp.	nominal grammatical prefix
ngs.	nominal grammatical suffix
O	object; direct object
OBL	oblique
OBLp	oblique postposition
p.	particle
pASSC	associative preposition
pl	plural
pLOC	locative preposition
pOBL	prepositional oblique marker
postp.	postposition
pro.	pronoun
Q	interrogative marker (yes-no questions)
QNT	quantifier
REF	reflexive
REL	relativizer
RELcl	relative clause
rp	resumptive pronoun
S	subject
SAP	speech act participant (i.e. 1st and 2nd persons)
SBJ	subject
sg	singular
TNS	tense
TNSa	aorist tense
TNSf	future tense
tr	trace
V	verb; verbal root ⎤ contextually
V	vowel ⎦ unambiguous
v.	verb
V_1	initial verb in serial verb construction
V_2	second verb in serial verb construction
VComp	verbal complement; syntactic DO slot
vcop.	copular verb
vgp.	verbal grammatical prefix
vgs.	verbal grammatical suffix
VP	verb phrase
VP_A	aspectually-marked verb phrase
VP_T	tense-marked verb phrase
VRedup	reduplicated verb root
WH-	WH-question word or construction
WH-IO	indirect object WH- word
WH-O	(direct) object WH- word
WH-OBL	oblique WH- word
WH-S	subject WH- word
WH-T	temporal WH- word
&	conjunction/coordination
#	cardinal number

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Study

This study of the Anlo [aNlɔ] dialect of Ewe [Ɛ̀βƐ̀] is the result
of a seminar in Linguistic Field Methods and has, therefore, been pre-
pared as an experiment in data-gathering and analysis. Its two-part
structure reflects the two distinct research aims of the seminar. In
essence, this also represents in microcosm the work that has gone before
in the study of Ewe, and West African languages in general. The first
part is a grammatical sketch, meant to incorporate as many aspects of
the grammar of Anlo Ewe as possible, harkening back to the early, all-
encompassing treatises by missionaries and pioneering linguistic scho-
lars. This then forms the background against which an in-depth analysis
of a particular syntactic structure, focus-marking, is set.

As an experiment in the elicitation of linguistic material, this
study was prepared, for the most part, as if no other linguistic inquiry
into the structure of Ewe had ever been attempted. This is particularly
true of Part I, which might otherwise have been augmented by earlier
analyses of specific topics in Ewe grammar, as reviewed below in 1.3.
However, when specific problems are encountered which have been pre-
viously analyzed, reference to the appropriate works has occasionally
been made. This has not been relied upon too heavily, though, for many
of these studies deal with dialects other than Anlo, and dialectal vari-
ation would serve only to further confuse the already problematical is-
sues. First and foremost, this is a study of the Anlo dialect and the
main contribution of Part I is likely to be its potential use in inter-
dialectal comparison.

1.2 Language and Dialect

The Anlo dialect of Ewe is spoken in the coastal region of Ghana. A conservative estimate based on the 1960 Ghana census suggests that there were approximately 230,000 speakers of Anlo Ewe at that time (Clements 1977:169, 179). This compares to the total number of speakers of all Ewe dialects ranging from approximately 1.1 million speakers (Clements 1975a:169) to a more recent estimate of 1.5 million (Duthie 1988:91).

Anlo is also the dialect upon which "standard Ewe" is based. This standard dialect is used "for publishing and educational purposes" (Clements 1975a: 3, fn. 1). Despite this, however, English is the language of higher education in Ghana, and Ewe is not generally used as a common language outside of everyday activities in local communities. Ewe speakers tend to be multilingual, as they learn English (and often, French) in school, and also speak neighbouring African languages.

Speakers of the Ewe language proper are primarily situated within 200 kilometers of the coast betwen the Volta River in Ghana and the Togo-Bénin border (Duthie 1988:91). Ewe is one of the five major languages which have received the greater part of linguistic interest in Ghana, the others being Twi, Ga~, Dagbani, and Kassem (Kotey 1969:1). Of these, Ewe, Twi and Ga~ all belong to the (Western) Kwa group of languages within the Niger-Kordofanian language phylum (cf. Gregersen 1977:85).

1.3 Linguistics and Literature

Initially, linguistic treatises on these languages, and West African languages in general, consisted of word lists or grammatical

sketches by missionaries of German, French, and/or English background. Ewe was originally the province of German missionaries, who established the orthography used for written Ewe, which, with few modifications, is still in use today (Roger Klomegah: personal communication). A brief summary of the early work of the missionaries on the languages is provided by Kotey (1969), indicating that these studies attempted to fit the African languages into the classical Indoeuropean mould.

The earliest substantial work on Ewe, J.B. Schlegel's Schlüssel zur Ewe-Sprache, was published in 1857, but it was not until 1905, with the publication of the first part of Diedrich Westermann's Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache, that a "major step forward" was taken in Ewe linguistics (Kotey 1969:3). Westermann quickly followed this in 1907 with the even more important Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache. This classic, translated in 1930 as A Study of the Ewe Language, has been consulted in the present study of Anlo only insofar as it provides one of the few, albeit cursory, accounts of the focus-marking construction to be analyzed in chapter 5.

With the development of modern linguistics following the missionary period, there was a shift from the attempt to write all-encompassing grammars to in-depth studies of particular languages and particular phenomena within languages (Kotey 1969:7). In this way, a number of aspects of the Ewe language have been analyzed in detail. Foremost among these appears to be the tone system, with studies of tone in the Peki dialect by Ansre (1961) and Smith (1968), the Kpando dialect by Stahlke (1971a, 1971b), and in Anlo by Clements (1971, 1977) (listed in Clements 1977: 169). This wealth of information on Ewe and even Anlo Ewe tone

has been referred to in the section on tone (2.3) to the extent that it supplements an otherwise cursory account of this aspect of Anlo phonology in the current work.

Other studies of Ewe have also concentrated on aspects of phonology or morphology, with little work done on Ewe syntax. Ansre's (1966) study of serial verb constructions appears to be an exception in the earlier literature. Kotey (1969:7) was, at the time of writing, unaware of any attempt to describe Ewe syntax within a transformational framework. The general lack of syntactic inquiry in Ewe is most recently documented by the Bibliography of African Languages (Meier, ed. 1984); in which only two of an extensive list of works on Ewe are classified as being of a syntactic nature.[1]

Both of these papers are by G.N. Clements, whose Ph.D. dissertation (1972) deals with The Verbal Syntax of Ewe. This is undoubtedly the most important previous study of Ewe with respect to the current analysis of Anlo focus-marking, for the /é/-focus construction is, as expected, intimately tied to the syntax of the Anlo Ewe clause. Unfortunately, attempts to obtain a copy of Clements' (1972) thesis have proven fruitless. Hence, the full extent to which Clements discusses this particular focus construction within the context of verbal syntax is unknown, and an understanding of his interpretation of what is here termed focus-marking is limited to the very brief statements, to be discussed in section 5.1 below, found in another syntactically-oriented paper (Clements 1975a).

Beyond Clements' work, focus-marking in Ewe appears to have escaped serious linguistic attention. However, Welmers (1964; cited in

Gregersen 1977:51) has studied a comparable structure in Kpelle, another West African language, where the particle ɓé "it is" follows the "emphasized" element. Given the apparent similarity between this and the Anlo /é/-marked construction, both the data and analysis of Anlo focus-marking given here will, it is hoped, contribute to comparative studies in African linguistics in addition to the general literature on focus constructions.

1.4 Methodology

The data upon which this study is based consist solely of material elicited in a laboratory setting, as supplied by a single language informant, Mr. Roger Klomegah. Mr. Klomegah is a speaker of the Anlo dialect from the Ghanaian coastal village of Anlogah. In addition to Anlo Ewe, his mother-tongue, Mr. Klomegah speaks several other languages, including English, French and Arabic, and he indeed proved himself an extremely articulate informant. He was always willing to contribute to the discussion and his comments on any and all aspects of the Ewe language have proven interesting and helpful. His contributions were both as a native speaker and from a linguistic standpoint, having taken a course in Ewe linguistics with A.S. Duthie at the University in Accra.

In addition to Mr. Klomegah's presence, the Field Methods seminar consisted of Ms. Fu Mengsong, Ms. Shauna Craig, Mr. Gavin Chester, and myself, and was led by Dr. Lorna A. MacDonald. Data was elicited in a series of twice-weekly sessions over two three-month periods: September through November, 1990, and January through March, 1991. The material gathered in the first term was the basis of an initial draft of the grammatical sketch, which, updated with subsequent material, forms Part

I (chapters 2 through 4) of the current study.

The research goals of the seminar shifted in the second term to in-depth analyses of particular topics within Anlo Ewe grammar. My own research question centered on the morphosyntax of the Anlo /é/-focus construction, which forms Part II of this study. In its entirety, the present work represents the results of an experiment in linguistic method. As such, it is hoped that these results will prove useful as an example of linguistic research through the discovery and analysis of language data, and that any faults which remain will similarly prove instructive to students of linguistic methodology.

Notes to Chapter 1

[1]Of the 120 works by 69 different authors listed for Ewe, 30 dealt with "morphology, grammars", though many of these apparently represent dictionaries or lexicons. Furthermore, of those 30, only nine were published after 1970 (Meier, ed. 1984:606-607). Syntactic inquiry in Ewe appears from this listing to be virtually non-existent.

[2]In the first three-month term, the two weekly sessions of one-and-a-half hours each were divided into halves so that each student had one 45-minute period of elicitation per week. This amounted to approximately eight hours per student and a total of 36 hours of elicitation for the term. This pattern shifted slightly near the end of the first term, when Ms. Craig withdrew from participation in the seminar.

For the second term, the available weekly time was reduced to two-and-one-half hours, but this still allowed the three remaining students approximately ten hours each for the term in order to concentrate on a particular research question. Including some additional elicitation, I personally spent about 20 hours over both terms eliciting material, and the total seminar time amounted to approximately 70 hours.

Part I

ANLO EWE GRAMMAR

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Phonemes

There are 26 consonantal phonemes in the Anlo dialect of Ewe, as displayed in figure 2.1. Justification for the postulation of a number of these phonemes is to be found in the minimal or near-minimal pairs (1)-(9) immediately following this consonant chart.

Figure 2.1

Anlo Ewe Consonantal Phonemes

		bi-labial	labio-dental	alveo-lar	retro-flex	alveo-palatal	velar	labio-velar (coart)	glot-tal
Stops	−vd			t			k	kp	
	+vd	b		d	D		g	gb	
Affricates	−vd			ts					
	+vd			dz					
Fricatives	−vd	Φ	f	s			x		h
	+vd	β	v	z			G		
Nasals		m		n		Ñ	N		
Liquids				l					
Glides						y		w	

(1)   /t/ − /d/ − /D/:   ta'   "head" n.
                           da   "snake" n.
                           Da   "hair" n.

(2)   /ts/ − /dz/ − /D/:   tsσ   "take" v.
                           dzσ   "fire, heat" n.
                           Dσ'   "arrive" v.

(3)   /k/ − /g/ − /x/ − /h/: ka   "rope" n.
                             ga   "metal" n.
                           xa'   "near, beside, next to" postp.
                           ha   "song" n.

(4) /x/ − /G/ − /g/:   xε   "fowl" n.
                              Gε   "sun" n.
                              gε'   "future intentive" vgs.

(5) /kp/ − /gb/ − /b/:   kpɔ'   "see" v.   akpa   "tilapia" n.
                             gbɔgbɔ "spirit" n.   agba   "plate" n.
                             bɔbɔ   "down" postp.   abati' "bed" n.

(6) /Φ/ − /β/:   Φu' du "run" v.
                             βu˘   "vehicle" n.

(7) /f/ − /v/ − /β/:   fɔ   "elder brother" n.
                             vɔ   "plus (with numerals)" p.
                             βɔ   "door" n.

(8) /s/ − /z/:   srɔ~   "imitate" v.
                             zrɔ~   "smooth" v.

(9) /m/ − /n/ − /Ñ/ − /N/: mε˘−   "1st person sg. actor" vgp.
                             nε˘−   "2nd person non-focus actor" vgp.
                             Ñε   "be" copular v.
                             Nε'   "break" v.

However, some of the phonemes displayed in figure 2.1 are repre-
sented phonetically by allophonic variation. This is suggested by the
inclusion of bracketed forms in the phonetic examples which follow.
These data are in turn summarized in figure 2.2 (on the following page).
Discussion of the distribution of these allophones, as well as other
problems in Anlo consonantal phonology, will follow in section 2.1.2.

/b/ − [baba]   "termite"   [abɔ]   "arm"
/d/ − [dada]   "mother"   [adε~]   "six"
/dz/ − [dza˘ta]   "lion"   [adzo˘]   "Monday-born f. name"
      ([dZ] − [dZinu'] "moon"   [todZi'βu] "canoe")
/D/ − [Da]   "hair"   [aDε]   "tongue"
/f/ − [fɔfɔ]   "father"   [afɔ]   "foot"
/g/ − [gɔdɔ]   "outdoors"   [adaka'go]   "wooden box"
/gb/ − [gbafi]   "drizzle"   [agba]   "plate"
/h/ − [ha]   "song"   [aho˘m]   "storm"
/k/ − [kεsε']   "monkey"   [akadi']   "lamp"
/kp/ − [kpɔ~˘]   "tiger"   [akpa]   "tilapia fish"
/l/ − [laklε~]   "leopard"   [alɔ]   "or"
      ([r] −   [trε]   "small gourd")
/m/ − [mama]   "grandmother"   [amε]   "person, human being"
/n/ − [na'nε']   "something"   [εnε]   "four"
/Ñ/ − [Ñɔ˘nu]   "woman"   [aÑi]   "mud, clay"
/N/ − [Nu'tsu]   "man"   [aNu'ti]   "orange"

```
/s/  - [sa'fwi']  "key"              [ɛ'sia⁻]      "this"
      ([S]  - [Sika']  "gold"              [aSi]         "hand")
/t/  - [togbi]    "grandfather"     [ata']        "leg"
/ts/ - [tsa~~]    "past"            [atsu'si]    "rival; co-wife"
      ([tS] - [tSi']   "water; rain"   [atSi'ya'Φu] "ocean, sea")
/v/  - [va]        "come"            [ɛvɛ⁻]        "two"
/w/  - [wɔ⁻]       "do"              [awu]         "dress"
/y/  - [ya']       "wind; air"       [ayi]         "beans"
/z/  - [zɔ azɔli] "walk"            [zɔ azɔli]   "walk"
      ([Z]  - [Zikpwi'] "chair"           [fɔmiZi]      "rabbit")
/Φ/  - [Φo]        "hit, beat"       [aΦɛ']        "house"
/β/  - [βu⁻]       "vehicle"         [tɔdzi'βu]    "canoe"
/x/  - [xɛxi]      "umbrella"        [ɛxɔ]         "house"
/G/  - [Gɛ⁻du'la'] "dancer"
                        ([p]  - [pamplo]  "bamboo")
```

Figure 2.2

Anlo Ewe Consonantal Allophones

		bi-labial	labio-dental	alve-olar	retro-flex	alveo-palatal	velar	labio-velar (coart)	glot-tal
Stops	-vd	p		t			k	kp	
	+vd	b		d	D		g	gb	
Affricates	-vd			ts		tS			
	+vd			dz		dZ			
Fricatives	-vd	Φ	f	s		S	x		h[1]
	+vd	β	v	z		Z	G		
Nasals		m		n		Ñ	N		
Liquids	lat.			l					
	"r"				r				
Glides							y	w	

2.1.2 Allophonic Variation

2.1.2.1 [p]

[p] has been omitted from the phonemic inventory of Ewe, as it

occurs only twice in the data, and both times in the borrowed word

[pamplo] "bamboo". There is no other evidence that [p] occurs in the

Anlo dialect of Ewe.[2]

2.1.2.2 /l/

[l] and [r] are in complementary distribution and can thus be

represented as allophones of a single phoneme /l/. The distribution of

the [r] allophone is highly restricted, for it only occurs as the second

element of consonant clusters(CC), and only when following a coronal

([+cor]) consonant. This has been suggested in figures 2.1 and 2.2

above by the isolation (between double lines) of alveolar, retroflex,

and alveo-palatal, as these are the [+cor] places of articulation in

Anlo Ewe. Examples of the occurrence of [r] include the following:

[dr]	— [drɛ̃˜drɛ̃˜]	"smooth" adj.
[dzr]	— [dzra' Do]	"repair" v.
[ñr]	— [ñrui]	"maternal uncle" n.
[sr]	— [sro˜˜]	"spouse" n.
[tr]	— [trɛ]	"small gourd" n.
[tsr]	— [tsra˜]	"sieve" n.
[zr]	— [zro˜]	"smooth" v.

[l] occurs elsewhere, either following [−cor] consonants, e.g.,

[bl]	— [bla]	"tie" v.
[fl]	— [ga'flo]	"fork" n.
[gl]	— [do'glo']	"lizard" n.
[gbl]	— [gblo˜]	"say" v.
[kl]	— [klo]	"tortoise, turtle" n.
[kpl]	— [kplo˜]	"table" n.
[hl]	— [hlɛ̃˜]	"scatter, spread seeds" v.
[Φl]	— [Φlɛ̃˜]	"buy" v.
[βl]	— [βli]	"snatch" v.
[xl]	— [xlɛ̃˜]	"read" v.
[Gl]	— [Glɛti']	"month" n.

or alone as a syllable onset, where [r] may never occur, e.g.,

[l]	— [la˜]	"animal" n.
	[lilikpo]	"cloud" n.

Despite this clear allophonic relationship, and the representation of this phoneme as /l/ in figure 2.1, occurrences of [r] and [l] have not been subsumed under a single symbol in the orthography utilized. This is done as a matter of convenience, in order more closely to represent surface Anlo phonetics.[3]

2.1.2.3 /s/, /z/, /ts/, /dz/

/s/, /z/, /ts/, and /dz/ can optionally be palatalized to [S], [Z], [tS], and [dZ], respectively, and no difference in meaning is signaled by the presence of one or the other of any of these pairs. This variation can be illustrated by the following elicited pairs (10)-(13):

```
(10)  /s/   — [sika']   ≈ [Sika']    "gold" n.
             [asi]      ≈ [aSi]      "hand" n.

(11)  /z/   — [zikpwi'] ≈ [Zikpwi']  "chair" n.
             [fomizi]   ≈ [fomiZi]   "rabbit" n.

(12)  /ts/  — [tsi']    ≈ [tSi']     "water; rain" n.
             [gatsi']   ≈ [gatSi']   "spoon" n.

(13)  /dz/  — [dzi ha]  ≈ [dZi ha]   "sing" v.
             [dzinu']   ≈ [dZinu']   "moon" n.
```

As suggested by the above examples, this palatalization occurs only when followed by the high, front vowel [i].[4] Given this obvious phonetic conditioning, /s/, /z/, /ts/, and /dz/ have been proposed as Anlo Ewe phonemes, while the alveo-palatal counterparts arise through allophonic variation. When elicited in isolation, the alveolar form is most frequently given (e.g. [dzinu']) in clear, well-enunciated speech, with the explanation that it may also have the variant (alveo-palatal) pronunciation (e.g. [dZinu']). However, in ordinary speech, the palatalized form is at least as common, if not predominant.

There is, however, a further complication involving the affricates

/ts/ and /dz/. The allophones of these phonemes do not constitute the only occurrences of [ts] ≈ [tS] and [dz] ≈ [dZ] respectively. Several forms occur in which [t] alternates with [ts] and [tS], while [d] alternates with [dz] and [dZ]. As above, these allophonic alternations occur preceding the high, front vowel [i] and, hence, the environment in which this variation may occur is well-defined and quite restricted, as illustrated by examples (14)-(15):

(14) /d/ — [di˘]   ≈ [dzi˘]   ≈ [dZi˘]   "want" v.

(15) /t/ — [ati']   ≈ [atSi']   "tree" n.
            [atiya'Φu] ≈ [atSiya'Φu]   "ocean" n.
            [ti' kpo]   ≈ [tsi' kpo]   ≈ [tSi' kpo]   "jump" v.

When /d, t/ precede [i], sibilation to [dz, ts], with further possible palatalization to [dZ, tS], may occur. When this is the case, the allophones of /d, t/ and /dz, ts/, respectively, merge phonetically and the phonemic contrast, which nevertheless does exist, is obscured.

2.1.2.4 Nasals

Duthie (1988:95) states that there are several allophonic relationships between the four nasal consonants and their non-nasal counterparts, depending on the vowel which follows. He pairs [m ≈ b], [n ≈ D], [Ñ ≈ y], and [N ≈ G] with nasal consonants preceding nasalized vowels, while the non-nasal counterparts occur when the following vowel is oral. His rules might presumably be stated as follows:

    /m, n, Ñ, N/ —> [b, D, y, G] /___V
                 —> [m, n, Ñ, N] /___V~ (and elsewhere?)

It is unclear what consequences Duthie believes this holds for the phonemic inventory of Ewe. It is possible that all instances of [b, D, y, G] are to be treated as no more than allophones of the nasal consonants.

This seems unrealistic, however, and is not supported by the Anlo data
in the present study.

In the data here examined, it does appear to hold that [b] never
occurs before a nasal vowel. This is a suspicious coincidence given
Duthie's (1988) assertions, but the relationship of [b] and [m] can not
be proven as [m] can and does occur preceding oral vowels in contrastive
distribution with [b]:[5]

(16) [b] — [baba]   "termite" n.
      [m] — [mama]   "grandmother" n.
            [mσli]   "ghost" n.
            [moσ~]   "road" n.

Clear contrasts also occur between the remaining pairs:

(17) [D] — [Du]   "eat" v.
      [n] — [nu'] "something; unspecified object"

(18) [y] — [ya'] "wind; air" n.
      [Ñ] — [Ña'] "news, information" n.

(19) [G] — [GЄ]   "sun" n.
      [N] — [NЄ'] "break" v.

Again, it seems that [D], [y], and [G] also fail to occur prece-
ding a nasalized vowel, lending some support to Duthie's formulation.
It is entirely possible that the alternation Duthie discusses has his-
torical significance, but has now become obscured by the loss of dis-
tinct nasalization following nasal consonants. Conversely, this alter-
nation may have arisen historically in the opposite direction, with the
non-nasal consonants becoming nasalized preceding nasal vowels. Unfor-
tunately, the current data do not favour either one of these hypotheses
at the expense of the other.

However, there are additional data which appear to shed further
doubt on any attempt to treat these nasal/non-nasal pairs as allophones

of single phonemes synchronically. Even clearer examples of the con-

trastive distribution of some of these pairs can be found when followed

by /l/ in a consonant cluster:[6]

(20) /yl/ — [yrσ˜]   "wither (as plants)" v.
      /Ñl/ — [Ñrui']   "maternal uncle" n.

(21) /Gl/ — [Gleti']   "month" n.
      /Nl/ — [Nlσ˜]   "write" v.

Whatever the diachronic situation may have been, synchronically these

nasal/non-nasal pairs appear to be distinct phonemes in Anlo Ewe.

2.1.2.5 Glides

Adding to the confusion surrounding the final pair, [G] and [N],

Duthie (1988:95) also states that [G] becomes [w] before round vowels.

It is certainly possible that the phoneme /G/ surfaces as a phonetic

variant (i.e. [w]) before round vowels, since [G] has only been recorded

preceding non-round vowels (or, in fact, only front vowels in the data

collected). This allophonic relationship, if it does occur, would thus

merge the derived [w] with the /w/ phoneme listed in figure 2.1. Though

/w/, as well as /y/, have been included as Anlo Ewe phonemes, these

glides present a couple of problems, which will require attention in

sections 2.2, 2.4, and 2.5, in addition to the discussion immediately

below.

2.1.2.5.1 There is some doubt as to whether /w/ actually represents a

separate phoneme, since the occurrence of [w] before anything but round

vowels is uncertain at best. The presence of [w] before a non-rounded

vowel in the elicited data may well be restricted to morphologically

derived forms. Hence, examples such as (22) and (23) may be analyzed as

in (22') and (23'), respectively:

(22) [gaNkwi']   "eyeglasses" n.   (22') / ga~ "big" + Nku "eye" + i' /
       [safwi']   "key" n.   ?/ safu   + i' /
       [zikpwi']   "chair" n.   ?/ zikpu   + i' /

(23) [tɔwé:]   "yours (sg)"   (23') / tɔwo~ "yours (sg)" + é "F" /
       [mi'awé:]   "(it is) us."   / mi'awo "we, us"   + é /
       [kɔkɔwé:]   "tall people"   / kɔkɔ "tall" + wo' "pl" + é /
       [kwé]   "only"   / kɔ "only"   + é /

In (22'), the analysis of [gaNkwi'] was suggested by the informant
himself and seems wholly plausible. In this case, surface glide [w] is
derived from an underlying vowel /u/ and is not an instance of /w/ as a
phoneme. It remains questionable whether the remaining two examples are
derived in this same way, since [gaNku] may occur alone, but *[safu] and
*[zikpu] may not, and, in fact, [zikpi'] often occurs without the glide.
However, it might also be that, while [gaNkwi'] still alternates with a
form in which a derivational suffix (i.e. /-i'/) is absent, the two lat-
ter forms, [safwi'] and [zikpwi'], are now frozen and can no longer oc-
cur without this suffix.

Additionally, the standard Ewe orthography utilizes a "u" where
[w] occurs in the examples in (22), perhaps suggesting that these have
been previously treated as two-vowel combinations, in which the first
vowel takes on a glide-like quality in rapid speech. Though spelling
cannot be considered as strong evidence on its own, it does lend some
extra support to the analysis in (22').

In (23'), the postulation of a focus marker ("F") /é/ (to be des-
cribed in detail in chapter 5 below) seems fairly certain. Thus, once
again, the appearance of [w] before a non-rounded vowel is due merely to
a phonological process in which an underlying rounded vowel surfaces as
a [w] glide.

There appear to be very few forms in which an analysis of this type is not readily available. The only apparent exceptions to this are the number terms for the "teens" (i.e. "11-19") which are built on wi'- and the reflexive marker [Dokwi] "self". Again, however, the Ewe spelling system utilizes "u" for instances of [w]. [Dokwi] has a spelling equivalent to "Dokui" suggesting a two-vowel sequence rather than glide-vowel, and thus closely resembles the examples in (22). In a somewhat different pattern, a number such as [wi'ɛnɛ] "fourteen" is spelt "wuiene", in which the glide [w] must be followed by a rounded vowel before the front, non-rounded [i']. Given the possible alternation of [G] and [w], it may be that the "teen"-formative prefix wi'- should be represented underlyingly as /Gui'-/.[7] Without further evidence of this relationship, however, this hypothesis can not be confirmed, and the question is best left to inquiry into the historical development of the Ewe language, which is beyond the scope of the present study.

2.1.2.5.2 If all occurrences of [w] preceding a non-round vowel can be eliminated in the underlying representation, what does this mean for the status of a /w/ phoneme and a possible opposition with the other glide, [y]? Interestingly, Duthie (1988:95) indicates that the glide [y] occurs as the second element in a consonant cluster, but is spelt with an "i" in Ewe orthography. This would seem to contradict the earlier analysis of [w] as an underlying /u/, and actually suggest that the [w] glide is in fact a glide like [y] which is merely spelt with a vowel in Ewe consonant clusters.

However, another observation regarding the [y] glide is that it only occurs before non-round vowels. Since [y] and [G] contrast (e.g. [yi˘] "go there" vs. [Gi'] "white"), the three phones, [w], [y], and [G], may possibly combine in representing two different phonemes, phonetically derived as in (24a) and (24b):

(24a) /[+glide]/ —> w /___ V   (24b) /G/ —> w /___ V
                    [+rnd]   [+rnd]

           —> y / elsewhere   —> G / elsewhere

Hence, surface [w] may actually result from allophonic variation of these two phonemes (i.e. /G/, and /y/ or /[+glide]/) in addition to being derived from underlying round vowels (i.e. /u, o, σ/). These possibilities are particularly important with respect to the status of Ewe vowels and syllabification discussed below in sections 2.2 and 2.4 respectively.

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Phonemes

The data suggest that there are at least 13, and perhaps 14, vowel phonemes in Anlo Ewe, as illustrated in figure 2.3.[8]

Figure 2.3

Anlo Ewe Vowel Phonemes

	front	mid	back
close	i i~		u u~
half-close	e (e~)		o o~
half-open	∈ ∈~		σ σ~
open		a a~	

Some examples are provided below in justification of this phonemic inventory, but given the small number of forms containing some of the nasal vowels, minimal pairs are often difficult to find.

(25) /i/ — /i~/:   **dzi**   "on" postp.
                                                           dzi~' "red" adj.

(26) /ϵ/ — /ϵ~/:
               dϵ asi   "touch" v.   **dzϵ**^ "salt" n.
               dϵ~ la~   "fish" v.

(27) /a/ — /a~/:
               ga   "metal" n.   **dza**   "sacrifice" n.
               ga~   "big" adj./ns.

(28) /ɔ/ — /ɔ~/ — /o/:
               xɔ^ sϵ^   "believe" v.   **dzɔ**   "fire; heat" n.
               xɔ~ lɔ^   "friend" n.
               xo   "pres. perf." vgs.   **dzo**   "go away" p.

(29) /u/ — /ɔ/ — /i/:
               ku'ku'   "hat" n.
               kɔkɔ   "tall" adj.
               kiki   "kick" v.

With the exception of [ʉ] ("schwa"), to be discussed subsequently, there is little allophonic variation in the surface phonetics of these vowel phonemes.

2.2.2 Phonetics

2.2.2.1 Oral

Figure 2.4 (on the following page) charts twelve oral vowel phones in the speech of the Anlo informant. Vowels followed by a colon (:) are lengthened vowels. As will be seen, these could also be represented by a doubling of the vowel (e.g. [ii, ee, aa, ɔɔ]), since they appear to result only from morphophonemic processes (for the very few possible exceptions to this, see 2.4.1). Descriptions of the quality of the twelve oral phones, with appropriate examples, follow figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4

Anlo Ewe Oral Vowel Phones

	front	mid	back
close	i i:		u
half-close	e e:	μ	o o:
half-open	∈		σ
open		a a:	

[i] as in English [biyt] "beat" without diphthongization.
- [afi']   "mouse" n.
- [dzi]   "on, on top" p.
- [yi˘]   "go there" v.

[e] as in English [beyt] "bait" without diphthongization.
- [kete'ke] "train" n.
- [he]   "knife" n.

[∈] as in English [b∈t] "bet".
- [l∈']   "catch" v.
- [∈xo]   "house" n.
- [∈N∈˘]   "I, me" pro.

[a] as in [faðr] "father" in some English dialects.
- [ata']   "leg" n.
- [na˘vi]   "sibling" n.

[σ] as in [kσt] "caught" in some English dialects.
- [tσ']   "stop" v.
- [Ndσ]   "sunshine" n.
- [wσ˘ dσ˘] "work" v.

[o] as in English [bowt] "boat" without diphthongization.
- [wo']   "3rd person plural subject" vgp.
- [Φo]   "hit, beat" v.
- [wo˘]   "2nd person singular subject" vgp.

[u] as in English [buwt] "boot" without diphthongization.
- [ku']   "die" v.
- [kusi]   "basket" n.
- [βu˘vi]   "car" n.

[μ] as in English unstressed syllables or in [dZμmp] "jump".
- [dzμ˘]   "salt" n.
- [gμ']   "intentive aspect" vgs.
- [kμsμ']   "monkey" n.

[i:], lengthened [i].
- [Є'li':] "he caught it"

[e:], lengthened [e].
- [toñé:] "(it is) mine" (in sentence initial position)

[a:], lengthened [a].
- [bla:tơ~'] "fifty" p.

[o:], lengthened [o].
- [dawo:/] "your (sg) mothers"

There are also a number of cases in which vowels occur side by side, but remain as separate syllable rimes and cannot, therefore, be treated as diphthongs:[9]

[aa']	- [blaa'drЄ~]	"seventy" p.
[aЄ]	- [blaЄñi]	"eighty" p.
[ia~]	- [Є'sia~]	"this" dem.
[i'Є]	- [wi'ЄnЄ]	"fourteen." p.
[Єa']	- [amЄa'DЄ']	"someone" pro.
[oa]	- [amЄdzoatsu']	"giant" n.
[ui']	- [dzogbЄñui']	"good luck" n.
[ua']	- [nua'DЄ']	"something" pro.

The data even include one remarkable case which exhibits three adjacent vowels:

[uiЄ] - [hЄDЄnuiЄ] "farewell" p.

There seems to be little or no difference between these multiple vowel combinations and the glide-vowel combinations discussed in 2.1.2.5 above. Originally, the word for the numeral "nine" was recorded as [asyЄ'ke], but there seems no reason why this can not be treated as another instance of an [iЄ'] combination and be represented underlyingly as /asiЄ'ke/. This is not a problem which lends itself to a simple solution but the constraints of Ewe syllabification (see section 2.4) may determine the difference between VV and Glide-V sequences.

2.2.2.2 Nasal

Figure 2.5 below charts seven nasal vowel phones that occur in the Anlo data. Though unattested, [e~] has been added in brackets, as in figure 2.3 (see note 8). Examples of each nasal phone follow.

Figure 2.5

Anlo Ewe Nasal Vowel Phones

	front	mid	back
close	i~		u~
half-close	(e~)		o~
half-open	∈~ ∈~:		ɔ~
open		a~	

[i~] — [vi~dzi~] "baby" n.
— [Dɛwo'hi~] "maybe" p.

[e~] — [? — not attested]

[∈~] — [ad∈~] "six" p.
— [lɛkl∈~] "bright" adj.

[a~] — [agba~l∈] "book" n.
— [ha~] "also" p.

[ɔ~] — [avɔ~] "cloth" n.
— [∈tɔ~~] "three" p.

[o~] — [wezo~] "thanks" p.

[u~] — [ahu~'] "dew" n.

[∈~:] — [dr∈~dr∈:~dr∈] "smoothly"

As with the oral vowels, there are also occasional VV sequences in which one or both vowels are nasalized:

[i∈~] — [fi∈~] "evening" n.
[i~a~] — [hi~a~] "need" v.
[o~∈] — [dzogbevo~∈] "bad luck" n.

Not unexpectedly, nasal vowels are far less frequent in Anlo Ewe

than their oral counterparts. [u~] and [o~] are indeed only attested in the single examples given above. Despite their relative rarity, though, there does not appear to be any way in which the nasal vowels can be allophonically related to their oral counterparts and, hence, they have been treated as separate phonemes.

2.2.3 Allophonic Variation

The only vowel allophone present in the Anlo data is "schwa" [ʉ]. In other dialects of Ewe, this appears to result from a complex relationship between the phonemes /ɛ, e/. Duthie (1988:94) claims that the phonemes /e/ and /ɛ/ were once distinct in Ewe, but that /e/ supposedly became "schwa" [ʉ] in all instances except in the vicinity of [y, i], where it was retained. The following minimal pair suggests that this is not entirely the case for Anlo:

(30) /e/ − /ɛ/: [he]   "knife" n.
                 [hɛ'−]   "anaphoric subject agreement"

Furthermore, [ʉ] in Anlo appears to be in free variation with [ɛ] and not [e], as follows:

(31) [dzɛ~]   ≈ [dzʉ~]   "salt" n.
      [gɛ']   ≈ [gʉ']   "intentive aspect" vgs.
      [kɛsɛ'] ≈ [kʉsʉ']   "monkey" n.
      [mɛ~]   ≈ [mʉ~]   "1s subject" vgp.

Duthie (ibid.) further claims that /e/ and /ɛ/ have merged in the southern dialects (including Anlo) in most forms. This would account for the small number of elicited forms with [e], representing only a small residue of words in which /e/ has been retained in Anlo. It is therefore possible that all forms in [ɛ], whether originally *ɛ or *e, now vary freely with [ʉ], while those which have retained the pronunciation [e] do not vary in this way. Nevertheless, the few remaining

words in which /e/ occurs still allow this segment to remain distinct

phonemically from /i/ and /ϵ/, as seen in the following examples:

(32) /i/ – /e/ – /ϵ/: [yiˇ]   "go there" v.
                        [ye'yi]   "new" adj.
                        [yϵˇ–]   "2s and 3s logophoric pronoun"[10]

The same alternation as in the oral vowels is said to hold true for

their nasal counterparts (Duthie ibid.), but as no nasalized [e~] nor

[µ~] are recorded, their distribution can not be analyzed.

2.3 Tone

As mentioned in chapter 1, a considerable amount of attention has

been given to the tonal system of Ewe, including the Anlo dialect. This

is fortunate, especially given the complex nature of this tonal system,

for these detailed analyses of Ewe tones thus provide a necessary check

on the present tonal data.[11]

These data indicate an apparent three-level tonal system in Anlo

Ewe. These three tones are high (': e.g. ϵ', a', σ'), mid (unmarked)

and low (ˇ: e.g. ϵˇ, aˇ, σˇ). Differences in tone often provide the

only source of phonemic contrast signalling a concomitant difference in

meaning, as in the following examples:

/i/:	mi'a–	"1p GEN$_1$" ngp.		afi'	"mouse" n.
	miˇa–	"2p GEN$_1$" ngp.		afi	"ashes" n.
/ϵ/:	ϵ'–	"3s subject + TNSa" vgp.		ñϵ	"be" vcop.
	ϵˇ–	"2s subject + TNSa" vgp.		ñϵˇ–	"1s GEN$_2$" ngp.
/a/:	a–	"future tense" vgp.		kpa'	"make from wood" v.
	aˇ	"interrogative marker"		kpa	"large gourd" n.
/σ/:	xσxσ	"bright" adj.		tσ'	"stop" v.
	xσ'xσ'	"old, ancient" adj.		tσˇ	"body of water" n.
/σ~/:	srσ~	"imitate" v.		mσ~	"road" n.
	srσ~ˇ	"spouse" n.		mσ~ˇ	"machine" n.

/o/:	wo˘-	"2s GEN₂ / 3snF" n/vgp.	tso'	"stand up" v.
	wo'-	"3p subject" vgp.	tso˘	"cut" v.
/u/:	Du' GE˘	"dance" v.	tu'	"gun" v.
	Du˘ nu'	"eat" v.	tu˘	"grind" v.

These examples appear to indicate that all three tones may con-
trast with any of the other two, and this in turn suggests that three
phonemic tones exist in Anlo Ewe. This is consistent with Westermann's
(1930) analysis, as well as Westermann and Bryan's (1970:91) statement
that tone in Ewe is almost invariably lexical. However, this analysis
has since been successfully challenged and there is also some slight
evidence in the current data which supports (even if it does not en-
tirely confirm) these more recent investigations.

When individual words are elicited, there do not appear to be any
three-way phonemic contrasts between high, mid and low. In this case,
the only phonemic contrast appears to be between high and low; the most
distinct difference possible. Mid tones tend to appear only in phrasal
or sentential sequences, where a three-level contrast can be discerned.
This suggests that the three-level Anlo tonal system may be analyzed as
consisting of only a two-way phonemic contrast. This would then be
consistent with more recent analyses of Ewe tones such as those of Ansre
(1961), Clements (1977), Smith (1968), and Stahlke (1971a, 1971b).
Unfortunately, the data as recorded do not provide consistent enough
evidence to isolate the exact nature of the tonal system or the phonemic
contrast between high and "non-high" (i.e. low and mid) as described in
the work of these scholars. Still, several instances of apparent tone
change or tone sandhi can be discerned and will be discussed briefly
below.

2.3.1 <u>Tone Alternation</u>

Several common suffixes, such as the plural marker <u>-wo'</u>, appear to alternate between high and mid tone. These were originally recorded as having a high tone, which they exhibit predominantly. However, in many other recorded forms (exemplified below), the tone on these suffixes has apparently been "downstepped" or lowered to a mid tone when following a low tone (33), and were occasionally somewhat lower than preceding high tones (34). In no instance is /-wo'/ produced with a low tone.

(33) [V⌐-wo']:   [Dɛvi'sia⌐wo]   "these children"
                   /Dɛvi' + ɛ'sia' + wo'/

                   [avu⌐wo]   "dogs"
                   /avu⌐ + wo'/

(34) [V'-wo']:   [Dɛvi'ma'wo]   "those children"
                   /Dɛvi' + ɛ'ma' + wo'/

                   [xɛvila'wo]   "the birds"
                   /xɛvi' + la' + wo'/

From these examples, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the plural marker really has a mid tone underlyingly, if it were not for the aforementioned counter-examples, as in (35)-(37):

(35) /V'-wo'/:   [tu'wo']   "guns"
                   [dati'wo']   "cats"

(36) /V-wo'/:   [hewo']   "knives"
                   [fɔfɔwo']   "fathers"

(37) /V⌐-wo'/:   [βu⌐wo'] ≈ [βu⌐wo] "vehicles"

The examples in (35) also show that the apparent tone change illustrated in example (34) cannot be attributed to a dissimilation from the preceding tone. It is possible that there is a tendency for high tone to lower at the end of a word or phrase, and this is what is occurring in the examples in both (33) and (34), as well as, optionally, in (37). If

this is the case, however, there does not appear to be any determinative conditioning factor involved and the drop in tone is random.

Despite the problems in characterizing the apparent "downstep" of word-final high tone, such an analysis might still seem desirable for Anlo given the existence of an optional system of downstep which occurs in the environment illustrated in example (34) above among speakers of a Western Interior dialect of Ewe (Clements 1977:174). However, Clements (1977:176-177) goes on to argue that speakers of Anlo Ewe may have re-analyzed just such a system of downstep into a system with additional distinctive tone levels. As a result, where the Western Interior (WI) dialect exhibits a drop in tone from high to downstepped-high, Anlo speakers have a regular high tone for the downstepped tone, but an "extra-high" tone in place of the WI high tone. Thus, both dialects exhibit an identical pattern of tone drop: WI high/downstep versus Anlo extra-high/high (Clements 1977:176).

Clements (1977:169) also points to the failure of earlier analyses to accurately describe the extra-high tone in Anlo, with the extra-high/ high pattern having been recorded as a high/mid pattern instead. This error appears to have been replicated in the current Anlo data. Though the pattern was recorded, as with the examples in (34), its significance could not be properly discerned given the failure to isolate **four** distinct, phonetic levels of tone.[12]

Furthermore, the existence of an extra-high tone in Anlo may well explain the examples in (34) above, but those in (33) remain unaccounted for. Duthie (1988:96) states that mid tones can be lowered when following low tones, so the lowering of high tones before low tones, as in the

examples in (33), could conceivably be following this pattern. However, the available data again are too contradictory and insufficient for this point to be argued.

2.3.2 Contour Tones

Contour tones are not common in the Anlo dialect but they do occur as the result of phonological processes. For instance, a rising tone (/) results in the derivation of dawo:/ "your (sg) mothers" as follows:

(38) /da-/ "mother (singular SAP inalienably possessed form)"
      + /-wo`/ "2s (inalienable) possessive suffix"
         + /-wo'/ "nominal plural marker"

    /da+wo`+wo'/ —> /da+wo`+o'/ —> [dawo:/]

As further elaborated in 2.5 below, consonantal deletion is common with some suffixes. With the deletion of /w/, the resulting convergence of the two [o] segments, the first with low tone, and the second with high tone, creates a rising tone from low to high. The resulting vowel with rising tone appears lengthened, but in fact consists of two separate vowels representing two separate morphemes (see section 2.2.2.1).

A similar example can be found in the derivation of blaa'drƐ~ "twenty-seven", where two converging /a/ segments of differing tone value remain distinct, and a rise in tone is registered in the midst of what might otherwise be recorded as a long vowel:

(39) /bla-/ "twenty" + /a'drƐ~/ "seven" —> [blaa'drƐ~]

Yet another example, involving the second person singular object agreement suffix -wo`, can result in a falling tone, as in the following alternation:

(40) /mi'Ɛ-/ "1pS" vgp. + /kpɔ'/ "see" v. + /-wo`/ "2sO" vgs.

    [mi'Ɛkpɔ'wo`] ≈ [mi'Ɛkpɔ'o\]   "We see you(sg)"

In the second, alternative pronunciation, [σ'o\] represents an original

high tone [σ] which is gradually closed and further rounded to [o],

while the tone is lowered. This sequence might also be analyzed as

[σ\w], representing tone drop and rounding from original high-tone [σ].

In the above example, however, a fuller, more carefully enunciated form

preserves both morphemes and a [w] which separates the two vowels, pre-

venting a convergence of vowels and the creation of a falling tone.

This is a prime example of the morphophonologically derived origin of

contour tones in Anlo Ewe.

The only examples which may not fit this pattern of derivation are

colour terms such as dza~\ "(dark) red" and yibo\ "black" in which a

falling tone occurs. These terms exist side by side with alternative

forms, dzi~ "red" and yibo(ε) "black", respectively, which do not exhi-

bit falling tone. These word pairs do not appear to yield to any ana-

lysis that would relate the two words of each pair by means of a phone-

tically consistent derivation. Rather, a semantic difference in the

usage of the word pairs suggests that the falling tone may be present as

an instance of sound symbolism, regardless of any other phonetic differ-

ences. The former, falling-toned examples are used of larger objects,

while the latter terms are more commonly used with objects of more

normal or even diminutive size. In this case, then, a contour tone ap-

pears to exist as a signal of a difference in meaning, just as the level

Anlo tones do, though in a far more specialized and restricted way.

2.4 Syllable Structure

A syllable in Ewe may consist minimally of a single syllabic ele-

ment (i.e. a vowel (V) or a nasal (Nas)) as syllable nucleus, or maxi-
mally of a two-consonant cluster as onset followed by a heavy nucleus
(i.e. VV), though the preferred syllable form is CV. The full set of
possible syllables would thus consist of the following (excluding, for
the moment, the presence of syllabic nasals): V, VV, CV, CVV, CCV, CCVV.
There are, however, two problems with this formulation which deserve
attention: 1) the phenomenon of the heavy nucleus (VV); 2) the existence
of a very few forms in which a coda (C) appears to be present. The
latter problem will be discussed below in 2.4.3.

2.4.1 The Heavy Nucleus

The occurrence of a heavy nucleus, or long vowel, has already been
characterized as problematical (see, for instance, section 2.2.2.1). In
all other sequences of two vowels, each vowel must belong to a separate
syllable, as in the following example (where curled brackets "{}" indi-
cate a syllabified form and a period "." marks the syllable boundary):

(41)   [hƐDƐnuiƐ] —> { hƐ.DƐ.nu.i.Ɛ }   "farewell"

In lengthened vowels, though, Anlo syllabification may allow heavy
nuclei, as in (42):

(42)   [bla:dƐ~]   —> { blaa.dƐ~ }   "sixty"

However, as discussed earlier, these lengthened vowels arise only
through morphological processes (e.g., compounding; derivation). If
they were to be treated as sequences of two distinct vowels, it might be
possible to eliminate the heavy nucleus from Anlo syllabification and
thus simplify the Anlo syllable template to CCV. In certain instances,
when distinct tones are involved, the two vowel sequence is syllabified
as two separate syllable peaks:

(43) [blaa'drɛ̃] —> { bla.a'.drɛ̃ }   "seventy"

The difference between the two words in (42) and (43) is that the
vowels in (42) are identical in both quality and tone and, thus, no
phonetic signal of a possible syllable boundary exists, while, in (43),
a tone difference separates the two vowels into distinct syllables.
There is, then, very little difference between the analyses of (42) and
(43), respectively, and it may well be that (42) can be reanalyzed as in
(44), in which even examples of this type do not contain heavy nuclei.

(44) [blaadɛ̃]   —> { bla.a.dɛ̃ }   "sixty"

However, the heavy nucleus still appears to be required in Anlo
syllabification on the basis of evidence such as the existence of a
single long vowel as the word e: "yes", as well as one or two other
forms in which the derivation of a long vowel is opaque. Additionally,
the position of glides in Anlo syllabification, to be discussed immedi-
ately below, may well provide further support for the heavy nucleus.

2.4.2 Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters in Ewe consist of a maximum of 2 consonants
(CC). The number of clusters is further limited by two constraints on a
$C_1 C_2$ string: 1) liquids can not occur as the initial segment (C_1); 2)
only liquids ([l] ≈ [r]) and possibly glides ([y, w]) may occur as the
second segment (C_2). The distribution of consonant clusters in the Anlo
data is given in figure 2.6 (on the following page).[13]

Some problems with respect to the position of glides in Anlo Ewe
have already been discussed, and the use of a question mark ("?") in
figure 2.6 for all possible consonant-glide clusters indicates this
ambiguity. The restricted distribution of [y] and [w] in possible

Figure 2.6

Consonant Clusters

initial element

second element	p	b	Φ	β	m	f	v	t	d	ts	dz	s	z	n	D	Ñ	k	g	x	G	N	kp	gb	h	y	w
l	x	x	x	x	?	x	?										x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
r								x	x	x	x	x	x			x									x	
y				?	?							?			?											
w						?						?	?					?					?			

sonant clusters again suggests that all instances of CyV and CwV might be better treated as underlying CV_1V_2 sequences in which V_1 (e.g. /i/ or /u/) takes on a glide-like quality ([y] or [w], respectively) before the V_2 peak of a rising diphthong.[14] If all consonant-glide clusters are thereby eliminated, the Ewe CC-constraint can be further narrowed to the following form, in which only liquids are allowed in the C_2 position:

(45)

$$\underset{[-voc]}{\overset{\diagup}{C_1}}\ \underset{[+voc]}{\overset{\diagdown}{C_2}}$$

This distribution can also be stated in terms of the "sonority hierarchy" (SH) as postulated by Kiparsky (1979:432) and modified to illustrate the data of Anlo Ewe consonant clusters:

(46)   {stops, fricatives, nasals}, { l, r }, {w, y, u, i, o, e, a}
       {   — C_1 —   } { C_2 }   —consonantal

Bracketing the elements of the SH in this fashion graphically demonstrates the suggestion that glides do belong among the non-consonantal elements of the syllable nucleus. However, a different bracketing, as in (47) below, could just as easily suggest the inclusion of glides as possible second elements of CC.

(47) {stops, fricatives, nasals}, { l, r, w, y }, { u, i, o, e, a }
      {   — C_1 —   } { C_2 }   —consonantal

Note that this formulation would only present difficulty for the dis-

tinctive feature analysis in (45). Thus, the ambiguity of the position

of glides is seen again.

There is additional evidence that the second bracketing of the

sonority hierarchy, in (47), may be necessary, for if glides are to be

included in the nucleus, sequences of the type CCyV or CCwV should be

possible within the Anlo syllable template of CCVV. These do not, in

fact, appear to be valid syllables in Anlo Ewe and do not occur in the

data at all. In contrast to the earlier discussion, then, this consti-

tutes strong evidence that glides must be treated as onset consonants.

In contrast to both formulations, (i.e. (46) and (47)), there is

one further piece of evidence, illustrated on the far right of figure

2.6 above, which suggests a third formulation of the SH is operative in

Anlo Ewe. This involves the appearance of the glide [y] as the initial

(C_1) segment in the C_1C_2 cluster [yr]. As such, the glide [y] has, in

this instance, been placed lower than (i.e. to the left of) the liquid

[r] (or /l/) on the Anlo—specific version of the sonority hierarchy.

This can be illustrated by the third SH formulation, in (48), which

clearly places the glides (or at least [y]) among Anlo consonants:

(48) {stops, fricatives, nasals, y, (w) } { l, r }, { u, i, o, e, a }
      {   — C_1 —   } { C_2 }   —consonantal

Unlike [y], the glide [w] is only tentatively included in C_1 posi-

tion, as no [wl] cluster occurs in the current Anlo data. This may only

be an accident of elicitation, for [wl] clusters are recorded for Ewe in

general (cf. Halle and Clements 1983:49). When the form cited by Halle

and Clements (ibid.) was checked with the informant, though, it was rejected as a non-Anlo word. It is therefore possible that the Anlo dialect does not contain any [wl] clusters, and this would both follow from and confirm the earlier suggestion that no actual /w/ phoneme exists in Anlo Ewe.

Conversely, the presence of the [yr] cluster suggests that /y/ is most likely a phoneme in Anlo, or at least the allophone of the phoneme /[+glide]/ which occurs preceding the liquid phoneme in consonant clusters. It is still entirely possible, however, that glides can act both as initial and second consonants in clusters, which would call for the further refinement of the Anlo-specific SH in (49):

(49) {stops, fricatives, nasals }{ y, (w) }{ l, r }, { u, i, o, e, a }
      {   — C_1 —   }{ C_1 or C_2}{ C_2 }   —consonantal

This formulation of the SH only eliminates the glide from a possible position in the syllable nucleus, which consonant cluster data appears to warrant. However, a special dispensation of the SH allowing glides to occur in all three positions in Anlo Ewe would not be impossible, nor would it be the only special dispensation necessary for the Anlo SH.

2.4.3 Syllabic Nasals

Another special dispensation in the sonority hierarchy will need to be made for Anlo Ewe, since some nasals can act both as onset consonants and as syllabic segments (grouped with vowels in this respect), while both liquids and glides are non-syllabic. This is important, since there are a number of other apparent consonant clusters which include nasals as the initial segment (C_1) and a stop as C_2. These, however, are not true C-clusters, for the nasal is actually a separate

syllable itself. This is indicated in the examples in (50), mirroring the vowel-initial stems in (51):

(50)   [Ndɔ̃]   { N.dɔ̃ }   "sunshine" n.
       [Ngɔ̃]   { N.gɔ̃ }   "in front of" postp.
       [N'kƐkƐ]   { N'.kƐ.kƐ }   "day" n.

(51)   [Ɛtɔ]   { Ɛ.tɔ }   "three" p.
       [aku']   { a.ku' }   "name of Wednesday-born female"

In each of the examples in (50), the syllabic [N] carries its own tone, clearly audible in these particular cases as it contrasts with the tone of the following syllable peak. Hence, the SH for Anlo must again be revised to the form in (52):[15]

(52)   {stops, fricatives, nasals}{ y, (w)}{l, r}, { m,N, u,i,o,e,ɔ,Ɛ,a }
       {   —   C$_1$ —   }{ Ç/C$_2$ }{ C$_2$ }   —consonantal

Nasals also appear to be the only segments which can occur as syllable codas. These apparent nasal codas can be analyzed in three ways: 1) as syllabic nuclei and, therefore, not codas at all; 2) as occurring in (a) onomatopoeic words or "ideophones" or (b) loan words.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of morphemes which consists solely of a syllabic [m]:

(53)   Ɛ'lƐ̃ dɔ̃ wɔ̃m'   "s/he is working"
       { Ɛ'.lƐ̃.dɔ̃.wɔ̃.m' }

       / Ɛ'— lƐ̃   dɔ̃ wɔ̃ —m' /
         3sS— AUX   work   ASPp

(54)   Ɛ'kpɔ'm̃   "s/he saw me"
       { Ɛ'.kpɔ'.m̃ }

       / Ɛ'— kpɔ' —m̃ /
         3sS— see —1sO

As the syllabified examples indicate, [m] is a syllabic segment bearing its own tone, or a syllable unto itself, and not a coda.

Other forms in which a nasal actually does appear to act as a syl-

lable coda occur only as (a) onomatopoeic or (b) non-Ewe, borrowed terms. The latter seems to be the case with the word pamplo "bamboo", in which there does not appear to be a tone associated with the [m], and this nasal therefore appears as a true coda in violation of the syllable template here postulated for Anlo Ewe.

Similarly, the noun ahom "storm" appears to be an example of an ideophone or onomatopoeic word in Anlo Ewe containing a nasal coda.[16] Another possible example of this is the adverbial goNgoN. If the [N] segments in this form are actual codas, then the initial [N] appears to be the only medial coda other than the [m] of borrowed pamplo. This bears interesting consequences for Anlo syllabification, for there does not appear to be any strategy for separating consonants which syllabify as coda followed by onset (i.e. C.C). In other words, there is no epenthesis between such consonants.[17]

However, the present data yield only these two forms, and in extremely restricted types, so that it is entirely possible that the syllable template of Anlo does not take account of these very few stray nasal codas. In this way, there really are no C.C combinations in Ewe at all and no coda consonant must be postulated for Anlo except in the highly restricted area of ideophones and loanwords where exceptions are actually the norm.

2.5 Morphophonological Rules

2.5.1 Consonantal Rules

As discussed immediately above, the necessities of Ewe syllabification appear to preclude the occurrence of CC combinations across syl-

lable boundaries (i.e. C.C). Hence, no strategy, either of vowel epen-
thesis or consonant deletion, assimilation, etc., is in evidence (though
see note 17). In fact, with the exception of allophonic variation,
(e.g. /l/ —> [l, r]), there appears to be very little in the way of
phonological processes involving consonants. There are, however,
several instances in which a consonant is elided when in intervocalic
position. This is highly constrained and commonly appears only with
select morphemes.

2.5.1.1 Elision I

The definite marker -la' is commonly reduced to the vowel [a']
with deletion of [l]. There is no difference in meaning triggered by
this deletion, as evidenced by the following alternations:

(55) [fia'sƐla']   ≈ [fia'sƐa']   "the store"
      [βola']   ≈ [βoa']   "the door"
      [adakagola'] ≈ [adakagoa']   "the box"
      [Nu'tsula']   ≈ [Nu'tsua']   "the man"

The quality of the preceding vowel certainly plays no part in this con-
sonant deletion. Rather, this is strictly an optional process which may
occur in rapid speech.

2.5.1.2 Elision II

Related to this consonant deletion is the apparent deletion or
loss of an onset consonant when a syllable is repeated. This is illu-
strated in the following examples:

(56) [dawo:/]   "your mothers"
      / da- -wo˘   -wo' /
      mother -2sGEN₁   pl

(57a) [Ɛ'sia' ɲƐ toɲƐ˘]   ≈ (57b) [Ɛ'sia˘ toɲe':]   "this is mine"
      / Ɛ'sia˘ ɲƐ toɲƐ˘ /   / Ɛ'sia˘ toɲƐ˘ + ɲƐ /
         this   be mine   this   mine   be

In (56), as already analyzed above in 2.3.2, the convergence of the
two syllables, −woˇ "2s (inalienable) possessive pronoun" and −wo'
"plural marker", results in a loss of the second [w] and convergence of
the vowels (resulting in the rising tone [o/]). In (57), the relation-
ship is even clearer, since (57a) exists to illustrate the two syllables
in question, ŊƐ "be" and −ŊƐˇ "1s (inalienable) possessive pronoun",
when they are kept separate. When they are placed in proximity to one
another, though, as in (57b), the second [Ŋ] is deleted and the vowels
again converge (resulting in [e':]).[18] Thus, there appears to be a
process in Ewe for avoiding the repetition of syllables when similar or
identical syllables are brought together at morpheme boundaries.[19]

There is additional evidence that the process involving ŊƐ "be" in
(57b) above is not restricted to the combination of this morpheme with a
preceding syllable of similar phonetic detail. Rather, ŊƐ appears to
act in a manner similar to the definite marker /−la'/. A further ex-
ample shows that [Ŋ] of ŊƐ also drops following the independent 2s pos-
sessive pronoun tɔwoˇ:

(58a) [Ɛ'siaˇ ŊƐ tɔwoˇ]   ≈   (58b) [Ɛ'siaˇ tɔwe':]   "this is yours"
        / Ɛ'siaˇ ŊƐ tɔwoˇ /   / Ɛ'siaˇ tɔwoˇ + ŊƐ /
           this be yours   this   yours   be

In (58b), the segment [Ŋ] is deleted, much as is the [l] of the definite
marker −la' discussed above, and leaves the vowel to converge with the
preceding vowel (see 2.5.2 below).

There is one more situation in which the segment [Ŋ] demonstrates
its apparent propensity for deletion. When the 1s (inalienable) posses-
sive prefix −ŊƐˇ occurs postverbally in its highly restricted use as
verbal object agreement, the [Ŋ] segment is commonly reduced to [y] or

deleted entirely, as in (59a), whereas it retains its full form when preceding the verb, as in (59b):

(59a) wo'lЄˇ kpσ'ЄˇgЄ'   "they intend to see me"
      /wo'- lЄˇ kpσ' –ЙЄˇ –gЄ' /
      3pS– AUX see –1sO ASPi

(59b) wo'lЄˇ ЙЄˇkpσ'gЄ'   "they intend to see me"
      /wo'- lЄˇ ЙЄˇ– kpσ' –gЄ' /
      3pS– AUX 1sO– see ASPi

Hence, it is the presence of [Й], rather than a repetition of identical syllables, which results in the consonant deletion in this case.

2.5.2 Vowel Rules

As discussed in 2.2.2.1 above, vowels often occur adjacent to one another without any loss of identity. There is also no need to epenthesize an onset consonant, since no restriction occurs in Ewe syllabification against a vowel nucleus standing alone. Syllable onsets are not obligatory and adjacent vowels merely belong to separate syllables. However, this state of affairs is still complicated in a number of ways.

2.5.2.1 [e:], /–i/

There are several cases in Anlo Ewe in which adjacent vowels assimilate rather than remaining distinct. Just such an example has already been seen in (57) above, which is repeated here as (60). The postulated phonological processes involved in (60) are stated in full following the example proper:

(60) [Є'siaˇ toЙe':]   "this is mine"
      / Є'siaˇ toЙЄˇ + ЙЄ /
         this   mine   be

(60i) deletion of second /Й/: / toЙЄˇ + (Й)Є / —> / toЙЄˇ + Є/.

(60ii) union of /Єˇ + Є/ —> [e':] in [toЙe':]

The second step of this derivation, (60ii), closely resembles the deri-

vation of [e:] in another variant of (60), given here as (61):

(61)   [toÑé: ÑЄ'sia˜]   "this is **mine**"
        / toÑЄ˜ + é ÑЄ + Є'sia˜ /
          mine   F be   this

Hence, both (60) and (61) demonstrate a morphophonemic vowel change.

In (60), the lengthened segment, [e':], derives from the indirect

coalescence of [Є˜ + Є] as illustrated in (60ii). In (61), the focus-

marker (F), /é/, directly follows the genitive pronoun and the union of

the pronoun-final vowel [Є] and the focus-marker /é/ results in the same

long (or doubled) vowel [é:]. The latter case is somewhat more straight-

forward, as a simple regressive assimilation takes place to raise the

/Є/ segment of /toÑЄ˜/ to [e] preceding the focus-marker /é/. In (60),

however, the coalescence of two /Є/ segments results in a long vowel

which appears to be spontaneously raised to [e:]. Just why the vowel

raising occurs in this instance is difficult to answer, unless the

presence of the alveo-palatal [Ñ] segment acts to raise [Є] to [e] or

the complex interplay between the Ewe vowel phones, [e, Є, µ], discussed

in section 2.2.3 above, can in some way be connected with this pheno-

menon.

Additionally, an /Є/ segment can be raised even further via re-

gressive assimilation, as in example (62) where the 3s object agreement

suffix /-i/ acts as the model to which an underlying /Є/ assimilates:

(62)   [Є'li':]   "s/he caught it"
        / Є'- lЄ'   -i /
          3sS- catch -3sO

(62')   [Є'lЄ' avu˜la']   "s/he caught the dog"
        / Є'- lЄ'   avu˜ -la' /
          3sS- catch dog -DEF

The data also indicate that /Є/ is not the only phoneme which un-
dergoes assimilations of these types. Example (63) illustrates an assi-
milation of underlying /o/ to [e] when followed by the focus-marker /é/:

(63) [tɔwé: ÑЄ'sia˘]   "this is **yours (sg)**"
      / tɔwo˘ + é ÑЄ + Є'sia˘ /
       yours(sg) F   be   this

/o/ can also partially assimilate to the 3s object agreement suffix /-i/
in which case it is heightened to [u], as in example (64):

(64) [Є'Φui]   "s/he hit it"
      / Є'- Φo -i /
        3sS- hit -3sO

(64') [Є'Φo avu˘la']   "s/he hit the dog"
       / Є'- Φo avu˘ -la' /
         3sS- hit dog -DEF

In contrast to the assimilations undergone by /Є/ and /o/, the
phoneme /ɔ/ appears to resist assimilation, and in some cases even acts
as the model to which other segments assimilate progressively. Hence,
/ɔ/ does not assimilate to the focus-marker /é/, as demonstrated in
(65), and it is the 3s object suffix which may partially assimilate to
/ɔ/, as in (66), in opposition to the regressive assimilation of (64).

(65) [mi'atɔé ÑЄ'sia˘]   "this is **ours**"
      / mi'atɔ + é ÑЄ + Є'sia˘ /
        1pGEN   F   be   this

(66) [Є'kpɔЄ]   "s/he saw it"
      / Є'- kpɔ -i /
        3sS- see -3sO

In addition to the rather straightforward assimilations demon-
strated thus far, there are other examples of assimilations and/or dele-
tions which are far more difficult to characterize.

2.5.2.2 /bla/

In the derivation of the "tens" numerals (e.g. 20, 30, 40, etc.),

the morpheme /bla-/ is prefixed to the basic "ones" numerals as follows:

```
(67)  (a)   / bla + Є˘vЄ˘ /     [blaˇ:vЄˇ]      "twenty"
      (b)   / bla + Єto~˘ /     [blato~˘]       "thirty"
      (c)   / bla + ЄnЄ /       [bla:nЄ]        "forty"
      (d)   / bla + ato~' /     [bla:to~']      "fifty"
      (e)   / bla + adЄ~ /      [bla:dЄ~]       "sixty"
      (f)   / bla + a'drЄ~ /    [blaa'drЄ~]     "seventy"
      (g)   / bla + Єñi /       [blaЄñi]        "eighty"
      (h)   / bla + asyЄ'ke /   [blasyЄ'ke]     "ninety"
```

Rather than a uniform pattern in the results of these derivations, several different patterns can be observed. Examples (67a), bla˘:vЄ˘, and (c), bla:nЄ, exhibit a lengthening of the initial vowel [a] when [a] combines with [Є]. There appears then to be progressive assimilation of [Є] to the preceding [a]. Note also in (a) that the tone of the second vowel is retained and spreads to the initial vowel, suggesting an opposite, regressive assimilation of the tone.

In contrast to this, however, examples (67b) and (g) differ markedly. In (b), blato~˘, [Є] appears to be deleted outright with no lengthening of preceding [a]. In (g), blaЄñi, [Є] is retained with no assimilation. The tone does not appear to affect this difference, as [Є] is mid tone in examples (67b), (c), and (g). Furthermore (h), blasyЄ'ke, agrees with (b) in that only a short vowel results from the combination of two [a] segments. Perhaps, also like (b), the second segment is deleted. However, in the other instances of two adjoining [a] segments, (67d), (e), and (f), the second segment is retained. In (d), bla:to~', and (e), bla:dЄ~, the two mid tone [a] segments combine to form a lengthened [a:]. In (f), blaa'drЄ~, the second [a] retains its high tone, so that a rise in tone is exhibited on a doubled vowel [aa']. Given the descriptions of Anlo vowels in section 2.2 and Anlo syllabification in section 2.4 above, instances in which adjacent vowels

remain distinct (or lengthened segments result from identical vowels) are to be expected. Unfortunately, no difference in the environment triggering the occurrence of deletion and/or assimilation is apparent in the various tens numerals and this problem remains unresolved at this time.

However, the deletion of vowels in some of these problematical forms may reflect one of two patterns of stem—initial vowel deletion evident in Anlo. These patterns are: 1) the formation of compounds; 2) the elision of the initial vowel from vowel—initial stems in rapid speech; most commonly of nouns when following verbs directly (cf. Duthie 1988:94).

2.5.2.3 Elision in Compounding

When a noun stem, such as ati' "tree", is attached to another stem in compounding, the stem—initial vowel is frequently dropped, as in the following examples:

(68) /ako~Du'/ "banana" + /ati'/ "tree" —> [ako~Du'ti'] "banana tree"
     /pamplo/ "bamboo" + /ati'/ "tree" —> [pamploti'] "bamboo tree"

Another example of a noun stem which exhibits this vowel deletion in compounding is /agba~lE/:

(69) /agba~lE/ "book; paper" —> ña'dzɔdzɔgba~lE "newspaper"

These are simply two of many examples which exist in Anlo Ewe and which are discussed more fully in section 3.1.1.2 below.

2.5.2.4 External Sandhi

Further examples of the loss of stem—initial vowels occur in the use of such stems in ordinary discourse. Many stems begin with a vowel, such as the following, but this vowel is most commonly omitted in every—

day speech:

(70) /Ɛɲi/   ≈   [ɲi]   "cow"
      /ƐvƐli'a/   ≈   [vƐli'a]   "second; friend"
      /amagba/   ≈   [magba]   "leaf"
      /Ɛhe /   ≈   [he]   "knife"

The last of these, /Ɛhe/ "knife", appears to have all but lost this

vowel in all contexts.

The loss of these stem-initial vowels, is especially common when

the noun follows a verb in discourse, as in (71), where it can be termed

"external sandhi":

(71) Ɛ'kpɔ' ɲi   "s/he saw a cow"
      / Ɛ'- kpɔ' Ɛɲi /
      3sS- see cow

Another example, related to this process, has already been seen in

(61) above, and is repeated here as (72), along with a similar example

in (73). In these cases, however, it is not possible to decide which of

the two vowels is actually being deleted.

(72) [toɲé: ɲƐ'sia˜]   "this is mine"
      / toɲƐ˜ + é ɲƐ + Ɛ'sia˜ /
        mine   F be   this

(73) [toɲé: ɲƐ'ma']   "that is mine"
      / toɲƐ˜ + é ɲƐ + Ɛ'ma' /
        mine   F be   that

The vowel which remains in both examples retains the high tone of the

demonstrative-initial [Ɛ'] rather than the verb-final [Ɛ]. However,

this is due to the autosegmental nature of tone, which associates with

any potential tone-bearing segment which is available. Hence, whichever

vowel deletes, the tone will remain to mark it.[20] However, additional

evidence from the noun phrase, in which demonstratives modify nouns,

suggests that it is the demonstrative-initial /Ɛ'/ which is deleted:

(74) [Dɛvi'sia˜]   "this child"
      / Dɛvi' + ɛ'sia˜ /
        child   this

(75) [Ñima'wo']   "those cows"
      / ɛÑi + ɛ'ma' + wo' /
        cow   that   pl

The ordering of the constituents within these noun phrases will be

described in chapter 4.

2.5.2.5 Finally, the derivation of contour tones on vowels via the com-

bination of two vowels has been described in section 2.3.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1][h] usually has a breathy quality to it in Mr. Klomegah's pro-
nunciation. In some cases, /y/ (as in [yi˜] "go") is also articulated
with a breathy sound.

[2]Independent evidence from Ewe syllabification, cited in section
2.4.2, also suggests that [pamplo] is borrowed, and that there is thus
no /p/ phoneme in Anlo Ewe. This analysis is consistent with that of
Duthie (1988), who also omits /p/ from the phonemic inventory of Ewe.

[3]This practice is also followed in official Ewe orthography, where
both [l] and [r] are written.

[4]No evidence was found to suggest whether or not the high front
nasalized vowel [i˜] also conditions this palatalization.

[5]It is possible that the quality of the nasal consonant has masked
the nasal quality of the vowel and that I have therefore misheard the
vowels following nasal consonants. However, the fact that I have
recorded a contrast between [moli] "ghost" and [mo˜] "road" seems to
argue against this possibility. Conversely, it may be that Duthie is
mistaking a spread of nasality from nasal consonants onto following
vowels as evidence of allophonic variation between nasal and non-nasal
consonants.

[6]The occurrence of an [ml] cluster in contrast with [bl] is doubt-
ful in the current data. Duthie (1988:95) states that neither [n] nor
[D] occurs before /l/ and this is confirmed by my own data. This again
suggests a relationship between these two phonemes, though it does not
necessarily indicate synchronic allophony.

[7]Given the additional observations to be made in section
2.1.2.5.2, arguments for an underlying representation of wi'- as /yui'-/

or simply /ui'/ might be added to those in favour of /Gui'/.

[8]The possible phoneme /e~/ has been bracketed since it was not
attested at all in the Anlo data. However, Duthie (1988:93) does in-
clude /e~/ in his phonological sketch of Ewe, and the possibility that
it exists has therefore been recognized in figure 2.3 (as well as in
figure 2.5). Its inclusion also suggests a fully symmetrical vowel
system for Anlo Ewe. Additionally, Duthie (ibid.) includes a nasalized
schwa ([ɯ~]). This has not been similarly included in the present
phonemic inventory since it not only fails to occur in the present data,
but [ɯ] appears to be nothing more than an allophone of /Є/ in Anlo Ewe
(see section 2.2.3).

[9]Duthie (1988:94) claims that most Ewe vowels can appear in com-
bination, "but they are not diphthongs as each vowel belongs to a dif-
ferent morpheme."

[10]The term "logophoric" was introduced to linguistics via African
studies by C. Hagège (Sells 1987:445) and has been utilized in reference
to Ewe by numerous scholars (e.g. Clements 1975b; Kuno 1987:146; Sells
1987) in the description of the morpheme, /yЄ~-/. A "logophoric" pro-
noun is one which coreferences one or more "whose speech, thoughts,
feelings, or general state of consciousness are reported" (Sells 1987:
445 quoting Clements).

[11]This entire section is based on very questionable data, as my
record of variations in tone is quite tentative. Hence, this section
will rely somewhat more heavily on previously published material in
order not to thoroughly misrepresent the Anlo Ewe tonal system. In most
cases, the current data only hints at previous analyses and the patterns
are neither consistent nor strong enough for conclusive agreement with
or refutation of these previous analyses.

[12]Hence, the extra-high tone has been commonly mistaken for high,
while many high tones have then been judged to be mid tones. Grouping
distinct tone levels together as high and/or mid has impeded the formu-
lation of proper rules of tone derivation in Anlo.

[13]There appear to be very few gaps in the data with respect to
possible Anlo consonant clusters, though the cluster [vl] might be
expected to occur in Ewe and data in Halle and Clements (1983:49) sug-
gest that it indeed does. However, when checked with Mr. Klomegah, the
word in question, vlɔ "go far away" was declared to be from a dialect
other than Anlo. The only other serious gaps can also be dealt with, as
Duthie (1988:95) states that neither [l] nor [r] follow [D] or [n], so
that the absence of [Dr, nr] is to be expected.

[14]The term "rising diphthong" is here used to indicate a heavier
stress or emphasis on the second element in a diphthong, rather than on
the initial element, as is far more common in diphthongs generally.
This has also been referred to as "light diphthong" within recent ling-
uistic literature. The theoretical line between such a rising diphthong

and a consonantal onset glide/nuclear vowel sequence is hazy at best and this results in the confusion over the characterization of glides as onset consonants or nuclear elements in Anlo.

[15]In this final modification of the Anlo-specific SH, the two syllabic nasals in Anlo (i.e. [m, N]) are included as nuclear ([-con]) elements, and the seven Anlo Ewe vowel phonemes (minus nasalized vowels) are also included in place of the "generic" vowels included heretofore as postulated by Kiparsky (1979).

[16]It is possible that there is a separate mid tone on the nasal [m] of <u>ahom</u> which would then require this form to be analyzed as a three-syllable word (i.e. {a.ho.m }) mirroring the examples in (53) and (54) above. Duthie (1988:94) cites a different example of an ideophone, <u>kpaˇm</u> "slap", though this may not be an Anlo form.

[17]Epenthesis does actually appear to occur when two syllabic nasal segments are adjacent to one another. Thus, when the first person object agreement suffix /-mˇ/ marks an oblique argument following the marker of progressive aspect /-m'/, [Є] is epenthesized to intercede between them:

    Є'lЄˇ afσ tum'Єmˇ   "s/he is kicking me"
    / Є'- lЄˇ afσ   tu -m' -mˇ /
     3sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp -1sO

Hence, this epenthesis does not appear to be motivated by syllabification alone, since both [m]-segments are already syllable nuclei. [Є] is epenthesized to allow both essential morphemes to remain distinct.

[18]The resulting high tone cannot be explained by the proposed derivation in (57b). It may be that another derivation is actually responsible for the phonetic output of (57b), and this alternative analysis will be explored in chapter 5 as it concerns the Anlo Ewe focus-marker.

[19]This may be restricted to a very few morphemes, however, and the conditioning factor may actually be the rapidity of speech which leads to the deletion of repeated consonants in such environments. Certainly, there are forms in which identical syllables follow one another. Syntactically, a verb stem can be reduplicated to convey verbal aspect, or to create nominalized forms. In most instances of this form of reduplication, however, there is no consonant loss or collapse. See sections 3.2.1 and 4.3.2 for further discussion on Anlo reduplication processes.

[20]Duthie (1988:94) explicitly claims that "final e [re: /Є/ or /e/] of a verb may drop before [a] noun prefix", and this is perhaps comparable to what occurs if the [Є] of /ÑЄ/ deletes preceding the [Є'] of demonstrative (e.g., /Є'siaˇ/).

MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nouns

3.1.1 Stem Formation

3.1.1.1 Simple

Anlo Ewe noun stems consist predominantly of **simple**, underived
roots of one or two syllables. Moreover, the first syllable often
consists of a single vowel which can be deleted in certain contexts (cf.
section 2.5.2.4 above). Some of the following examples of simple stems
will also be used to illustrate compounding and other derivations of
complex noun stems below:

(1) afɔ   "foot"
     ati   "tree"
     baba   "termite"
     Ɛxɔ   "house"
     he   "knife"
     kusi   "basket"
     tɔ   "place of water"
     ya'   "wind; air, atmosphere"
     ßu   "vehicle"

There are also longer stems, which have resisted morphemic segmentation,
but further research might yield an analysis which would derive even
these opaque stems from shorter roots and/or derivational affixes.

3.1.1.2 Complex

Many other noun stems are **complex**, being derived by various means
from simple roots and/or affixes.

3.1.1.2.1 Compounding is very common in Anlo Ewe noun formation, and
can be found in both older lexical forms and newly innovated terminology
required for recently introduced items or cultural concepts. One quite
common form of compounding is the joining of two nouns, as follows:

(2) /akɔ˜Du'/ "banana" + /ati'/ "tree" —> [akɔ˜Du'ti'] "banana tree"
     /dⱸ/   "?"   + /ati'/ "tree"   —> [dⱸti']   "palm tree"
     /mɔli/ "ghost" + /xⱸxi/ "umbrella" —> [mɔlixⱸxi] "mushroom"

(3) /Ña'dzɔdzɔ/ "news" + /agba˜lⱸ/ "book" —>
                                [Ña'dzɔdzɔgba˜lⱸ] "newspaper"

The additional example in (3) represents a somewhat more complex
situation which illustrates a number of further processes in Anlo Ewe
noun formation. This example is interesting as the surface form could
be derived in at least two ways. It is clear that the two independent
nouns Ña'dzɔdzɔ "news" and agba˜lⱸ "book; paper" have been compounded to
derive Ña'dzɔdzɔgba˜lⱸ "newspaper". However, Ña'dzɔdzɔ is itself de-
rived from a morpheme /Ña'/ which can represent both a noun ("knowledge;
information") and a verb ("know"). Thus, the derivation of Ña'dzɔdzɔ
might follow one of two closely related patterns - 1) noun plus adjecti-
val; 2) verb plus objectival - both of which appear to be roughly equi-
valent to gerundials.[1]

In the former pattern, [-dzɔdzɔ] would be analyzed as an adjectiv-
al, perhaps derived via reduplication from a possible (though unrecord-
ed) verb */dzɔ/. This would mirror the derivation of tsi'dzadza "rain"
from the noun /tsi'/ "water" plus the adjectival [dzadza] "falling(?)",
which is itself undoubtedly a reduplicated derivation of the verb dza
"fall". Hence, the analysis for both of these complex nouns would be as
follows:

(4) <u>Noun</u> + <u>Verb</u>   —> <u>Noun</u> + <u>ADJ</u> (= VRedup- V)   —> <u>Noun</u>
     /Ña'/ + */dzɔ/ —> /Ña' +   dzɔ- dzɔ / —> [Ña'dzɔdzɔ]
     /tsi'/ + /dza/ —> /tsi' +   dza- dza / —> [tsi'dzadza]

The result of this type of derivation superficially resembles the sec-
ond type mentioned above, which forms such nouns as nu'DuDu "food" and
xɔtutu "act of building". However, these latter forms correspond to

recorded verbal complexes, <u>Du nu'</u> "eat (s.t.)" and <u>tu xσ</u> "build a house", respectively, from which they are ultimately derived. This derivational process, represented in (5) below, involves both the inversion of the verb root (V) and verbal complement (VComp) and (as in (4)) the reduplication of V (VRedup):

(5) <u>V VComp —> VComp + V   —> VComp + (VRedup-V) —> Noun</u>
     /Du nu'/ —> / nu' + Du / —> / nu' + Du- Du / —> [nu'DuDu]
     /tu xσ/   —> / xσ + tu /   —> / xσ + tu- tu / —>   [xσtutu]

When the derivations in (4) and (5) are compared, the similarity between /Noun + Verb/ in (4) and /VComp + Verb/ in (5) is striking.[2] However, the difference between the two derivations is that words derived as in (4) do not appear to stem from original verb complexes as in (5). In other words, no such verbs as *<u>dzσ ña'</u> or *<u>dza tsi'</u> exist in Anlo Ewe to correspond with those cited in (5).

Another type of derivation, also originating in a verbal complex, is present in the noun <u>kpЄ'kpЄ'DЄNu'</u> "help; aid; assistance". Here, the original verb is <u>kpЄ' DЄ (Nu')</u> "help", in which the verb root <u>kpЄ'</u> is reduplicated but is not preceded by any nominal element. Rather, the reduplicated root precedes an oblique-marking preposition /DЄ/ as well as a special oblique object-marking postposition /Nu'/, both of which are obligatorily associated with this particular verb stem.[3]

Further compounding patterns are also exhibited in Ewe. A verb plus noun pattern is evident in <u>nu'Nlσ̃ti</u> "pen; pencil", which consists of the transposed elements of the verb <u>Nlσ̃ nu'</u> "write", without verb root reduplication in this case, plus the nominal /(a)ti'/ "tree; stick". It appears that the inverse is true of <u>GЄtrσ</u> "evening" in which the noun <u>GЄ</u> "sun" is followed by the element /trσ/ "change" (which may

or may not function verbally), thus representing noun plus verb compounding. These two examples thus indicate that no specific order of verbal and nominal elements is necessary in the formation of a compound noun, though nominal-final compounds appear to be far more common.

Onomatopeia can also be used in the derivation of complex nouns as attested by the word for "duck", kpakpaxЄ. This is derived by prefixing the ideophone [kpakpa] "quack quack" to the noun xЄ "fowl". Finally, some complex nouns include locative particles, as if locative phrases (minus prepositional marking; see section 4.2.2) have been incorporated in their respective derivations. Of this type are ya'mЄ`βu` "airplane" and tɔdziβu` "canoe", derived as follows:

(6) | Noun | + | Locative | + | Noun | —> | Noun |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| /ya'/ "air" | + | /mЄ`/ "in" | + | /βu`/ "vehicle" | —> | [ya'mЄ`βu`] |
| /tɔ/ "water-body" | + | /dzi/ "on" | + | /βu`/ "vehicle" | —> | [tɔdziβu`] |

Nouns may also be employed in compounding to derive words of other parts of speech, but these will be discussed in the appropriate sections below.

3.1.1.2.2 The addition of affixes to nouns is another common way to derive complex nouns in Anlo Ewe. The terms for days of the week consist of special initial elements plus the suffix /-Da'/:

(7) | | |
|---|---|
| adzɔ'Da' | "Monday" |
| abla'Da' | "Tuesday" |
| aku'Da' | "Wednesday" |
| ya'wɔ'Da' | "Thursday" |
| afi'Da' | "Friday" |
| mЄmli'Da' | "Saturday" |
| kɔ`siDa' | "Sunday" |

The initial elements of these week-day names are commonly the same as the name given to females born on the day in question (e.g. a woman born on Thursday (ya'wɔ'Da') will be named "ya'wɔ'").[4]

Suffixes also appear in the derivation of augmentatives and dimi-
nutives:

(8) /-ga~/ "augmentative" (i.e. "big"):
    /ayi/ "beans" + /-ga~/ —> [ayiga~] "large beans"
    /kusi/ "basket" + /-ga~/ —> [kusiga~] "big basket"

(9) /-vi/ "diminutive" (i.e. "small"):
    /ayi/ "beans" + /-vi/ —> [ayivi] "lentils; small beans"
    /βu`/ "vehicle" + /-vi/  —>  [βu`vi] "car; small vehicle"

These suffixes are highly productive and can apparently occur with any

noun which can inherently be classed by size. However, a few forms have

taken on specialized meaning (i.e. <u>ayivi</u> "lentils") and must therefore

be entered in the Anlo lexicon. More commonly, though, when the meaning

of the derived augmentative or diminutive word is entirely predictable,

an additional lexical entry would be redundant.

A suffix /-la'/ functions very similarly to English "-er" in the

formation of nouns, signifying "one who Xs" in which X represents an

active verb used in the derivation:

(10) /fia' (nu')/ "teach" v. + /-la'/ —> [nu'fia'la'] "teacher"
    /Du' GE~/   "dance" v. + /-la'/ —> [GE`Du'la'] "dancer"

A further example, <u>mo~~dzra'la'Do</u> "mechanic", appears to combine deriva-

tion by means of the suffix /-la'/ with the noun-verb compounding pro-

cess discussed above. Hence, the noun <u>mo~~</u> "machine" combines with the

verb <u>dzra' (Do)</u> "repair", without verb root reduplication, and to this

is added the suffix /-la'/. As in the derivation of <u>kpE'kpE'DENu'</u> illu-

strated above, an additional element, [Do], which is peculiarly asso-

ciated with the verb root /dzra'/, is also suffixed.[5]

The suffix /-tɔ/, also found in the formation of independent pos-

sessive pronouns (see section 3.1.3 below), signifies ownership or pos-

session of the object noun to which it is affixed:[6]

(11)   /fia'sϵ/ "store" + /-tɔ/ —> [fia'sϵtɔ] "shopkeeper/shop-owner"
       /sukli/ "sugar" + /-tɔ/ —> [suklitɔ] "sugar-seller"

A possible nominalizing suffix of the form -i' has already been
alluded to in section 2.1.2.6 above where the noun gaNkwi' "eyeglasses",
was analyzed as follows:

(12)   /ga~/ "big" + /Nku'/ "eye" + /i'/ "?"   —>   [gaNkwi']

Note that the augmentative affix is used here as a prefix rather than a
suffix, as in earlier examples. It is possible to isolate the [i']
element because the form [gaNku'] may also occur with the same meaning.
However, other nouns ending in the same Cwi' pattern obligatorily con-
tain this [i'] element (see section 2.1.2.6).

These examples barely begin to describe the array of nominal-form-
ing patterns to be found in Anlo Ewe and additional patterns could
undoubtedly be discerned given a broader base of data.

3.1.2 Nominal Inflection

3.1.2.1 Number

Ewe marks the distinction between singular and plural, but no
finer differences (e.g. dual) are marked. Singular nouns (as well as
mass nouns) are unmarked and nouns are marked for plurality by the
addition of the suffix /-wo'/.

(13)
singular		plural	
asi'	"foot"	asi'wo'	"feet"
aΦϵ	"house"	aΦϵwo'	"houses"
da	"bow"	dawo'	"bows"
fɔfɔ	"father"	fɔfɔwo'	"fathers"
gbɔgbɔ	"spirit"	gbɔgbɔwo'	"spirits"
he	"knife"	hewo'	"knives"
ku'ku'	"hat"	ku'ku'wo'	"hats"
mama	"grandmother"	mamawo'	"grandmothers"
xɔ~	"friend"	xɔ~wo'	"friends"
ayi	"beans"	ayiwo' "two or more kinds of beans"	

The final example in (13) illustrates a mass noun which appears inflec-
tionally as a singular noun. Pluralizing ayi results in the form ayiwo'
which refers to several kinds of beans (i.e. a plurality of masses).

As will be discussed in section 3.5, -wo' is actually suffixed to
the final element in a noun phrase (NP) (with the exception of locative
and relative clauses), so that this "nominal" inflection may also appear
following an adjective, as well as the marker for definiteness, demon-
strative pronouns, quantifiers, etc.

3.1.2.2 Definiteness

Indefinite nouns are unmarked, while definite nouns are marked by
the suffix /-la'/. As with the plural marker, /-la'/ not only follows
nouns, but also other elements of the NP, most specifically adjectives.
If a definite noun is also plural, the definite marker precedes /-wo'/.

(14)   single   plural
        agba~lƐla'   "the book"   agba~lƐla'wo'   "the books"
        do'glo'la'   "the lizard"   do'glo'la'wo'   "the lizards"
        dzatala'   "the lion"   dzatala'wo'   "the lions"
        kƐsƐ'la'   "the monkey"   kƐsƐ'la'wo'   "the monkeys"
        xƐvila'   "the bird"   xƐvila'wo'   "the birds"

The use of the definite marker -la' is not as restricted in Anlo
Ewe as is the English definite article the. For instance, -la' may
optionally occur following possessed nominals which are thereby already
definite and referential.

(15)   [Ñ€~nu'Nlo~ti] ≈ [Ñ€~nu'lo~tila']   "my pen / my (definite) pen"
                                            (cf. English: *"the my pen")

As already described in section 2.5.1.1, the [l] of /-la'/ is
frequently omitted in ordinary discourse.

(16)   [avu~la']   ≈ [avu~a']   "the dog"
        [fia'sƐla'] ≈ [fia'sƐa'] "the store"
        [zikpwi'la'] ≈ [zikpwi'a'] "the chair"

3.1.2.3 Demonstratives

The demonstrative affixes, derived from independent demonstrative pronouns, occupy the same inflectional slot on a nominal or in the NP as the definite marker /-la'/, i.e., the definite marker and the demonstratives are in complementary distribution. The demonstratives, as suffixes ("bound") and as independent nominals, are as follows:

(17) <u>bound</u>   <u>independent</u>

    -sia`          "this"          Ɛ'sia`
    -ma'   "that"   Ɛ'ma'

As with the definite marker, these demonstratives occur only in singular form and are pluralized by the regular affixation of the plural marker <u>-wo'</u>. Independent demonstratives act as nominals and are marked for plural accordingly, as in (18), while bound demonstratives appear to be marked for plural when <u>-wo'</u> pluralizes the head nominal, as in (19):

(18) Ɛ'sia`wo'   "these"
    Ɛ'ma'wo'   "those"

(19)   <u>singular</u>   <u>plural</u>
    avu`**sia`**   "this dog"   avu`**sia`wo'**   "these dogs"
    kƐsƐ'**sia`**     "this monkey"     kƐsƐ'**sia`wo'**   "these monkeys"
    dzata**ma'**   "that lion"   dzata**ma'wo'**   "those lions"
    kƐsƐ'**ma'**   "that monkey"   kƐsƐ'**ma'wo'**   "those monkeys"

To treat these as examples of both singular and plural demonstratives would also require an analysis postulating both singular and plural forms of the definite marker /-la'/ (cf. (14) above). However, this would overlook the regularity of Anlo pluralization and the fact that <u>-wo'</u> is the last suffix attached to the nominal and thereby only appears to pluralize the definite marker and bound demonstratives rather than the nominal itself.

The bound forms of the demonstratives also appear in the locative

particles, afi'sia` "here" and afi'ma' "there". Since the morpheme
/afi'-/ is also present in afi'ka "where", it is reasonable to assign a
gloss of "location" to /afi'-/ (cf. /ka/ "what" in section 3.1.4 below)
and the demonstrative bases, /-sia`/ and /-ma'/, could then be glossed
as "proximate" and "non-proximate", respectively.

3.1.2.4 Possession and Noun Classes

There are two distinct but related patterns of nominal inflection
for possession. These two patterns, which will be referred to as GEN_1
and GEN_2, provide the only evidence for the existence of noun classes in
Anlo Ewe. Though elaborate gender systems exhibiting large numbers
of noun classes do appear in other Niger-Kordofanian languages, the
grammatical gender system of Ewe is quite limited. Still, nouns which
inflect with GEN_1 affixes can be referred to collectively as Class I or
Inalienable nouns, while those inflected by GEN_2 affixes are then Class
II or Alienable. However, membership in one class or the other is high-
ly predictable and, furthermore, Class I is extremely limited. Hence,
only nouns of Class I need be marked in the Anlo Ewe lexicon.

Class I nouns consist entirely of kinship terms, and virtually all
terms of human relationship are inflected for person with GEN_1 affixes.[7]
GEN_1 inflection of these inalienably possessed nouns differs from that
of GEN_2, which is used with all other nouns, in two important respects,
both of which are evident in the inflectional affixes themselves. These
two differences can be readily seen in the comparison of the GEN_1 and
GEN_2 inflectional paradigms listed in figure 3.1 and the actual example
paradigms in figure 3.2 (on the following page).

Figure 3.1

Nominal Possession

GEN₁				GEN₂	
1s			-ÑЄˇ	1s	ÑЄˇ-
2s			-woˇ	2s	woˇ-
3s	(Є')-		-(a')	3s	Є'Φɛ-
1p	mi'a-			1p	mi'aΦɛ-
2p	miˇa-			2p	miˇaΦɛ-
3p	wo'-			3p	wo'Φɛ-

Figure 3.2

Possessive Paradigms

GEN₁ : used with kinship terms (i.e. inalienable nouns)

fɔfɔ	"father"		dada	"mother"		xɔ~	"friend"
1s	fɔfɔÑЄˇ	1s	daÑЄˇ		1s	xɔ~ÑЄˇ	
2s	fɔfɔwoˇ	2s	dawoˇ		2s	xɔ~woˇ	
3s	fɔfwa' ≈ Є'fɔfwa'	3s	Є'dada'		3s	Є'xɔ~ ≈ Є'xɔ~a'	
1p	mi'afɔfɔ	1p	mi'adada		1p	mi'axɔ~	
2p	miˇafɔfɔ	2p	miˇadada		2p	miˇaxɔ~	
3p	wo'fɔfɔ	3p	wo'dada		3p	wo'xɔ~	

GEN₂ : used in all other cases (i.e. alienable nouns)

ta'	"head"		gbɔgbɔ	"soul, spirit"	awuwo'	"dresses"
1s	ÑЄˇta'	1s	ÑЄˇgbɔgbɔ		1s	ÑЄˇawuwo'
2s	woˇta'	2s	woˇgbɔgbɔ		2s	woˇawuwo'
3s	Є'Φɛta'	3s	Є'Φɛgbɔgbɔ		3s	Є'Φɛawuwo'
1p	mi'aΦɛta'	1p	mi'aΦɛgbɔgbɔ		1p	mi'aΦɛawuwo'
2p	miˇaΦɛta'	2p	miˇaΦɛgbɔgbɔ		2p	miˇaΦɛawuwo'
3p	wo'Φɛta'	3p	wo'Φɛgbɔgbɔ		3p	wo'Φɛawuwo'

3.1.2.4.1 GEN₁

Though the forms of the affixes are virtually identical, alienable (Class II) nouns are inflected for all persons by prefixes, while suffixes mark singular persons (primarily 1s and 2s) on inalienably possessed (Class I) nouns. Thus, a basic 1s possessive affix could be rep-

resented as _-N̈ɛˋ-_, which is then used as a suffix in GEN$_1$ inflection and as a prefix in GEN$_2$ inflection. The same can be said for a basic 2s affix _-woˋ-_. Whether these two affixes occur as suffix or prefix depends on the class of the noun being inflected:

(20) Class I
      fɔfɔ "father"

         Class II
         aΦɛ "house"

    1s fɔfɔN̈ɛˋ "my father"   1s N̈ɛˋaΦɛ "my house"
    2s fɔfɔwoˋ "your father"   2s woˋaΦɛ "your house"

Note also that there is no loss of an initial vowel from the noun stem when GEN$_2$ person inflection is added. This cannot be tested for Class I nouns since GEN$_1$ 1s and 2s inflection follows the nominal. However, in contrast to Class II noun-marking, the initial vowel of Class I nouns does appear to be deleted when 3s inflection is prefixed, as follows:[8]

(21) Class I
      atsu'si "co-wife"

         Class II
         aΦɛ "house"

    3s ɛ'tsu'si   "her co-wife"   3s ɛ'ΦɛaΦɛ "his/her house"

In (21), the 3rd person singular suffix, [-a'], restricted to the GEN$_1$ paradigm, does not mark the Class I noun. This demonstrates the idiosyncratic patterning of the use of this suffix, in contrast to the suffixes for 1st and 2nd person singular (or singular Speech Act Participants (SAPs)), which occur in many other pronominal forms, to be presented below in section 3.1.3. Additionally, the prefix [ɛ'-] occurs idiosyncratically with some Class I nouns, as in (21). This is related to the GEN$_2$ 3s prefix [ɛ'Φɛ-], which is entirely regular in occurrence.

(22) Class I

         Class II

    3s fɔfwa' "his/her father"   3s ɛ'ΦɛaΦɛ "his/her house"
       ≈ ɛ'fɔfwa'

    3s ɛ'dada' "his/her mother"   3s ɛ'Φɛta' "his/her head"

3.1.2.4.2 GEN₂ /ɸɛ/

This last observation includes the second difference between the inflectional patterns of GEN₁ and GEN₂. In GEN₂ inflection, all plural persons, as well as the 3rd person singular (i.e. all but the singular SAPs), take an additional possessive morpheme [-ɸɛ-] following the basic person prefix.

(23) <u>Class I</u>   <u>Class II</u>

3s	ɛ'fɔfwa'	"his/her father"	3s	ɛ'ɸɛta'	"his/her head"
1p	mi'afɔfɔ	"our father"	1p	mi'aɸɛta'	"our head"
2p	mi`afɔfɔ	"your father"	2p	mi`aɸɛta'	"your head"
3p	wo'fɔfɔ	"their father"	3p	wo'ɸɛta'	"their head"

In addition to its appearance in GEN₂ inflection, /ɸɛ/ also intervenes between lexical possessors and possessed nouns:

(24) fɔga ɸɛ ta'   "Foga's head"

In this example, /ɸɛ/ is the sole marker of the genitive relationship and can thus be characterized as a genitive marker. It is, however, never used with singular SAPs, where the affixes suffice, and, in keeping with the established differences between GEN₁ and GEN₂, /ɸɛ/ never occurs when the possessed noun is Class I. In this case, the genitival relationship is marked only by the juxtaposition of possessor and possessed nominal, as follows:

(25) fɔga fɔfɔ   "Foga's father"

3.1.2.4.3 <u>Bound Stems</u>

A third feature of noun possession, which superficially appears to be connected to the difference between GEN₁ and GEN₂ inflection, is the existence of special bound forms of a number of Class I nouns. All GEN₂ inflection is added to an unmodified noun stem which is identical to the

uninflected independent stem. This pattern holds for most Class I nouns

as well, with some notable exceptions, such as those in (26):

(26)   dada   "mother"   DƐvi   "child"

1s		daÑƐˇ	"my mother"	1s	viÑƐˇ	"my child"
2s		dawoˇ	"your mother"	2s	viwoˇ	"your child"
3s	Ɛ'dada'		"his/her mother"	3s	Ɛ'via'	"his/her child"
1p	mi'adada		"our mother"	1p	mi'avi	"our child"
2p	miˇadada		"your mother"	2p	miˇavi	"your child"
3p	wo'dada		"their mother"	3p	wo'vi	"their child"

In these examples, GEN$_1$ inflection is added to bound forms of the stem

which differ from the independent form of the word. In the initial ex-

ample, a bound form <u>da-</u> of independent <u>dada</u> "mother" occurs only with

singular SAP inflection. In the latter example, a bound form <u>-vi-</u> of

independent <u>DƐvi</u> "child" occurs with all persons. The otherwise regular

independent forms of these nouns can not be acceptably inflected (e.g.

*dadaÑƐˇ and *DƐviÑƐˇ). With Class II nouns, as well as most other

Class I nouns, there is no difference in the stem between independent

and possessed forms. Hence, this is not so much a difference between

the two noun classes, as an idiosyncratic feature of several nouns.[9]

3.1.3 Pronouns

GEN$_1$ inflection is virtually identical to the highly productive

base set of pronominal affixes, given in (27), which is employed in the

derivation of all other pronominal sets in Anlo Ewe, including the Inde-

pendent, Genitive, Reflexive and Benefactive pronouns.[10]

(27)   <u>Base Pronominal Affixes</u>

1s		-ÑƐˇ
2s		-woˇ
3s	Ɛ'-	
1p	mi'a-	
2p	miˇa-	
3p	wo'-	

3.1.3.1 Independent

A set of independent pronouns, which clearly include the pronominal base forms in (27), was elicited from the informant, as follows:[11]

(28) Independent Pronouns

1s	ЄЙЄˇ	"I, me"
2s	Єwoˇ	"you, you"
3s	Є'ya'	"he/she/it, him/her/it"
1p	mi'awo	"we, us"
2p	miˇawo	"you(pl), you(pl)"
3p	wo'	"they, them" (≈ wo'awo)

This seems to be their form in whatever sentential position they might occur (i.e. subject, object, etc.), though their use is highly restrictted. The full forms of the singular SAP pronouns (i.e. 1s /ЄЙЄˇ/ and 2s /Єwoˇ/) are not otherwise attested, as the initial vowels are habitually dropped leaving forms identical to the base affixes of (27) above. The shortened forms of these singular SAP pronouns appear with the remainder of the independent pronouns in the derivation of the indirect—reflexives (see also 3.1.3.4 below). In this derivation, the independent pronoun precedes a complex suffix –Nu'tσ "X's own":

(29) Indirect—Reflexive Pronouns
/-Nu'tσ/ "X's own"

1s	ЙЄˇNu'tσ	"my own"
2s	woˇNu'tσ	"your own"
3s	Є'ya'Nu'tσ	"his/her/its own"
1p	mi'awoNu'tσ	"our own"
2p	miˇawoNu'tσ	"your own"
3p	wo'Nu'tσ	"their own"

[–Nu'tσ] can be further analyzed into two component parts: /Nu'/ and /tσ/. /Nu'/ has already been seen in 3.1.1.2.1 above, where it was characterized as an oblique object marker. In this primary function, it marks syntactically oblique (though semantically core) NPs in which the action of the verb with which it associates frequently involves intimate

contact with the marked object (e.g. dЄ asi (Nu') "touch"; li asi (Nu')
"stroke"). Similarly, indirect-reflexive pronouns place special empha-
sis on possession to the point of intimate contact through ownership
(cf. example (35), section 3.1.3.3.2 below).

The second element, /to/ "marker of possession/ownership" has also
been discussed above, in section 3.1.1.2.2, where its use in deriving
nouns of the form "possessor of X" is described. It seems, therefore,
appropriate that this marker of possession is found in the indirect-ref-
lexive pronouns, and it is also present in the independent genitive
pronouns discussed below in section 3.1.3.2.

The only other attested occurrences of the independent pronouns
are in conjoined phrases, as in (30), or in focus constructions, as in
(31). (30) illustrates the use of 1s ЙЄ˜ as well as of 3s Є'ya', which
is commonly reduced to [ya'] in this environment. This is another
example of the deletion of a stem-initial vowel.

(30) Є'kpσ' ЙЄ˜ kplЄ' ya'   "s/he saw me and **him/her**'
      / Є'- kpσ' ЙЄ˜ kplЄ' **Є'ya'** /
      3sS- see 1s   &   3s

(31) mi'awé: ЙЄ dσ˜dala'wo'   "**we** are healers"
      / mi'**awo** + é ЙЄ dσ˜dala' -wo /
          1p   F be   healer   pl

The other independent pronouns may also occur in these environments, in-
cluding the alternative 3p form wo'awo (see note 11). However, verbal
person agreement markers are also found in conjoined phrases.[12]

(32) Є'kpσ' ЙЄ˜ kpa kpli **mi**˜   "s/he saw me and **you(pl)**"
      / Є'- kpσ' ЙЄ˜ kpa kpli -**mi**˜ /
      3Ss- see 1s   &   -2pO

Object agreement markers, such as -mi˜ in (32), may appear suffixed to
the verb if they are the initial element in a conjoined phrase or, as

the second element, following the conjunction (kpa) kplЄ' which then

takes the form [kpli] as above. (see further discussion of verbal

agreement in section 3.4.2 and aspects of NP coordination in 4.2.4).

3.1.3.2 Genitive

The genitive (GEN) or possessive pronouns are derived by the

affixation of the pronominal bases to the morpheme /tơ/, described

above. The resulting genitive paradigm (33a) is suggestive of a nominal

/tơ/ marked by GEN₁ inflection, as evident in the examples of (33b):

(33a) Genitive Pronouns   (33b) "this is X's"
      /tơ/ "possessor"   (this be GEN)

1s	tơñЄˇ	"mine"		1s	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	tơñЄˇ
2s	tơwoˇ	"yours"		2s	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	tơwoˇ
3s	Є'tơ	"his/hers/its"		3s	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	Є'tơ
1p	mi'atơ	"ours"		1p	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	mi'atơ
2p	mi`atơ	"yours"		2p	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	mi`atơ
3p	wo'tơ	"theirs"		3p	Є'siaˇ	ñЄ	wo'tơ

3.1.3.3 Reflexive

3.1.3.3.1 Direct

As with genitive pronouns, direct reflexives (REF) are formed by

affixing the base pronominal forms to a reflexive morpheme, /Dơkwi/:

(34a) Reflexive Pronouns
      /Dơkwi/ "self"

1s	DơkwiñЄˇ	"myself"
2s	Dơkwiwoˇ	"yourself"
3s	ЄˇDơkwi	"himself/herself/itself"
1p	mi'aDơkwi	"ourselves"
2p	mi`aDơkwi	"yourselves"
3p	wo'Dơkwi	"themselves"

(34b) mЄˇkpơ' DơkwiñЄˇ   "I saw myself"
      / mЄˇ- kpơ' DơkwiñЄˇ /
        1sS- see   1sREF

These reflexive pronouns occupy the normal object position within a

clause as illustrated in (34b) (cf. section 4.3 on the verb phrase).

3.1.3.3.2 Indirect

The indirect-reflexives (IREF) were described in 3.1.3.1 and given in (29) above. These pronouns immediately precede a possessed nominal. As indirect-reflexives are built on the independent pronouns, more closely resembling the GEN_2 paradigm, the possessive morpheme /ΦЄ/ may co-occur with all but 1s and 2s persons, though its use in conjunction with indirect-reflexives is always optional. As with GEN_2 inflection, /ΦЄ/ does not co-occur with singular SAPs. However, the singular SAP prefixes are the only ones which must mark a nominal modified by indirect-reflexives. Thus, singular SAP forms are doubly marked for person, while the other persons are marked only once (i.e. the presence of indirect-reflexives can suffice in marking 3s, 1p, 2p, and 3p possessors). This is illustrated by the following examples:

(35)   "X   used   X's own   pen"

1s	mЄ`za~	Ñ̃Є`Ñu'to	Ñ̃Є`nu'Nlo`ti	"I used my own pen"
2s	Є`za~	wo`Ñu'to	wo`nu'Nlo`ti	etc.
3s	Є'za~	Є'ya'Ñu'to	(ΦЄ) nu'Nlo`ti	
1p	mi'Єza~	mi'awoÑu'to	(ΦЄ) nu'Nlo`ti	
2p	mi`Єza~	mi`awoÑu'to	(ΦЄ) nu'Nlo`ti	
3p	wo'za~	wo'Ñu'to	(ΦЄ) nu'Nlo`ti	

First person singular Ñ̃Є`- and second person singular wo`- must be affixed to the possessed noun (e.g. nu'Nlo`ti "pen"), even though both are also present in the indirect-reflexives pronouns. The remainder of the persons are not doubly marked, though /ΦЄ/ can optionally occur to indicate that the nominal is possessed.

3.1.3.4 Benefactive

Finally, a set of benefactive pronouns (BEN) is also derived by

affixing the base pronominal forms to a special morpheme. The bene-
factive morpheme is /tɛƒɛ/, as illustrated in (36):

(36)   Benefactive Pronouns
       /tɛƒɛ/ "on X's behalf"

       1s   tɛƒɛɲɛˋ
       2s   tɛƒɛwoˋ
       3s   ɛ'tɛƒɛ
       1p   mi'atɛƒɛ
       2p   miˋatɛƒɛ
       3p   wo'tɛƒɛ

These pronouns are coded as obliques syntactically (cf. section 4.3.2),
as in the following example set:

(37)   "Foga sent a gift on X's behalf/for X/for X's benefit/*to X"

       1s foga Ɖo nu'nana Ɖɛ tɛƒɛɲɛˋ   ("for me"/*to me)
       2s   "   "   "   Ɖɛ tɛƒɛwoˋ   etc.
       3s   "   "   "   . Ɖɛ ɛ'tɛƒɛ
       1p   "   "   "   Ɖɛ mi'atɛƒɛ
       2p   "   "   "   Ɖɛ miˋatɛƒɛ
       3p   "   "   "   Ɖɛ wo'tɛƒɛ

3.1.4 WH- Words

The morpheme /ka/ "what; which" may occur alone as a modifier of a
noun (i.e. "which X"), or it may be modified by a number of morphemes to
derive the majority of WH- question words in Anlo Ewe. The derivations
of a number of these question words are listed in (38):

(38) /nu'/   "thing; something" + /ka/ —> [nu'ka]   "what"
      /ɲa'/   "news; information" + /ka/ —> [ɲa'ka]   "what (news)"
      /afi'-/ "location"   + /ka/ —> [afi'ka]   "where"
      /amɛ/   "person; human"   + /ka/ —> [ameka]   "who"
      /ga/ "?"   + /ka/ + /mɛˋ/ "in" —> [gakamɛˋ]   "when (hour)"
      /ƒɛ/ "year" + /ka/ + /mɛˋ/ "in" —> [ƒɛkamɛˋ]   "when (year)"
      /ɣɛˋ/ "sun?" + /ka/ + /Gi'ɛ/ "?" —> [ɣɛˋkaGi'ɛ] "when (time
                                                              of day)"

Other WH- words, such as nu'kata "why", probably contain /ka/ as
well, while still others, such as alɛkɛ "how", apparently do not.

3.2 Adjectives

3.2.1 Stem Formation

Many adjectives appear to consist of simple, underived stems of
one or two syllables. This includes most colour terms (e.g. Gi'
"white"; dzi~ "red"; yibʊ "black") as well as others such as Ño "good"
and mu' "fresh". However, this last example can also appear in the form
mu'mu' in which case it is representative of a very large proportion of
adjectives which consist of two identical syllables derived through the
reduplication of an original single-syllable root. A small sample of
these is given in (39):

(39) didi   "ripe"
      drƐ~drƐ~   "smooth"
      kokʊ   "tall"
      kpƐ`kpƐ`   "heavy"
      tsi'tsi'   "elder"
      xʊxʊ   "bright"
      xʊ`xʊ`   "old, ancient, archaic"

These examples suggest that adjective reduplication involves copy-
ing the entire syllable, including consonant clusters and nasalized
vowels. However, verb-root reduplication differs from this reduplica-
tion process. When verb roots are reduplicated, it is only the initial
consonant plus the vowel (without nasalization) which is copied (cf.
Duthie 1988:96; section 4.3.2 below). Hence, the liquids ([l, r]) are
not copied if they occur as the second element in a consonant cluster.

In drƐ~drƐ~, though, the [r] segment as well as vowel nasalization
are copied. This suggests that there are two different reduplication
processes present in Anlo Ewe: one for verbs and another for adjectives.
The adjective pattern of complete syllable copy also appears in the
derivation of adverbs (see section 3.3). However, there is one adjec-

tive, kɛklɛ̃ "bright", which may have been derived following the rules of verb-root reduplication:

(40) /klɛ̃/ —> reduplicate [k] and [ɛ] of /klɛ̃/ —> [kɛklɛ̃]

On the other hand, the surface form of kɛklɛ̃ may be due to a different process of derivation entirely and only superficially resemble verb-root reduplication.

Adjectives may also be formed by compounding and/or affixation just as in noun formation (cf. section 3.1.1.2.1 above). The combination of the nominal /amagba/ "leaf" and the adjective /mu'/ "fresh" creates the derived adjective amagbamu' "green". aɸɛmɛ̀ "domestic" is derived by adding the locative postposition /mɛ̀/ "in, at" to the nominal /aɸɛ/ "house". Ordinal numerals are derived by affixing /-lia/ to the cardinal numbers:

(41) /ɛ̀vɛ̀/   "two"   + /-lia/ —> [ɛ̀vɛ̀lia]   "second"
      /asyɛ'ke/ "nine" + /-lia/ —> [asyɛ'kelia] "ninth"

These are only some of the processes involved in adjective formation, but it is hoped that they suffice to demonstrate that internal adjective morphology can be virtually as complex as that of nouns, despite the paucity of inflection. In the proper context, moreover, adjectives can even take inflectional endings.

3.2.2 Attributives

As in English, adjectives can occur within the nominal phrase or, in attributive sentences, as the object complement. Their position within the NP will be discussed below in section 4.2.1. As object complements, adjectives follow a copular verb and can be marked in at least two ways. In (42a), the adjective yibɔ "black" might at first

glance appear to be marked as an attributive or object complement by a morpheme [Є]. However, this actually represents an instance of sound symbolism, as mentioned in 2.3.2 above, which is common with Anlo Ewe attributives. Example (42b) provides a contrastive form in which the same adjective is used to describe a very large object.[13]

(42a) Є'1Є˘ yibɔЄ   "It (small or normal-sized object)
    / Є'- 1Є˘ yibɔ (+ Є) /   is black"
    3sS- be   black

(42b) Є'1Є˘ yibɔ\   "It (very large object) is black"
    / Є'- 1Є˘ yibɔ (+ ˘) /
    3sS- be   black

A second pattern found in attributives involves marking the adjective with the progressive aspect suffix /-m'/. The resulting sentence, as in (43a), suggests on ongoing state, and is parallel in structure to a progressively-inflected VP construction, as in (43b):

(43a) Є'1Є˘ kpЄ˘kpЄ˘m'   "it is heavy"
    / Є'- 1Є˘ kpЄ˘kpЄ˘ -m' /
    3sS- be   heavy   ASPp

(43b) Є'1Є˘ zɔ zɔm'   "s/he is walking"
    / Є'- 1Є˘ zɔ-   zɔ -m' /
    3sS- AUX VRedup walk ASPp

The progressive aspect and its structure will be discussed in detail in section 3.4.2.2.2. However, it is important to note here that part of the superficial similarity between the examples in (43a) and (43b) is due to the frozen reduplication in the adjective stem, which mirrors the reduplication of the verb root in (43b).

3.3 Adverbs

3.3.1 Stem Formation

Despite the small number of adverbs that have been recorded in the

Anlo data, it is apparent that complete reduplication, as with adjec-
tives, as well as the outright doubling even of two syllables, are very
important in Anlo adverbial morphology. Though underived adverbs such
as (∈)gba~ "first", and perhaps bl∈wu˘ "slowly", do exist, it is also
common to find adverbs of the following sort:

(44) goNgoN   "tightly"
      kabakaba   "quickly"

goNgoN is similar to the doubled adjectives seen above, with two
identical syllables. Even more interesting, though, is the second ex-
ample in (44), kabakaba, which appears to be the doubled form of the
attested adverb kaba "quickly". Though these two near-identical adverbs
are given the same gloss, the process of doubling here conveys a sense
of intensification. In this instance, moreover, the Anlo informant
believes that the simple form, kaba, does not sound complete, and
prefers the use of the doubled form, kabakaba.

Further examples, such as those in (45), can also be attributed to
the doubling of simpler forms via the derivations in (45'):

(45)
  (a) tata:ta   "a lot"
  (b) dr∈~dr∈~:dr∈ "(very) smoothly"

(45') original —>   doubled   —> C deletion —> V coalescence

  (a) /*tata/   —>   /tata + tata/ —> /tata + ata/ —>   [tata:ta]

  (b) /dr∈~dr∈~/ —> /dr∈~dr∈~ + dr∈~dr∈~/ —> / dr∈~dr∈~ + ∈~dr∈~ /
                                              —> [dr∈~dr∈~:dr∈~]

The long vowels, which are not phonemic in Anlo Ewe (cf. sections 2.2.1
and 2.4.1) are here postulated to derive from the coalescence of vowels
following the deletion of a consonant (or consonant cluster), which
occurs in order to simplify the highly repetitive phonetic form of these

doubled adverbs (cf. sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2).

Note that both examples in (45) already represent doubled mor-
phemes. In (45'a), the underlying shorter form /*tata/ is purely hypo-
thetical. but (45'b) is equivalent to the attested adjective drɛ̃drɛ̃
"smooth". When an adverb is derived by doubling this adjective, the
phonetic output would be *[drɛ̃drɛ̃drɛ̃drɛ̃] without the consonant
deletion and vowel coalescence rules discussed in chapter 2. These
rules result in the actual phonetic form of the derived adverb as
[drɛ̃drɛ̃:drɛ̃].

3.3.2 Adverb Types

The examples discussed thus far have consisted predominantly of
adverbials of manner. Anlo Ewe also exhibits spatial and temporal ad-
verbs. However. what is known of these adverbs is more a matter of word
order than morphology and, hence, further discussion of adverbials in
general will be reserved for chapter 4. Additionally, adverbials play
an important role in the survey of Anlo Ewe focus-marking found in
chapter 5.

3.4 Verbs[14]

3.4.1 Stem Formation

A sample of Anlo Ewe verb stems is provided in figure 3.3 on the
following page. Cross-cutting the divisions based on syntactic transi-
tivity. to be described below. is the distinction between simple and
complex stems. Simple stems consist of only one element, the verbal
root (V), while complex stems consist of at least one other element, in
addition to V, which usually occurs in VComp (see discussion below).

Figure 3.3

Verb Stems by Grammatical Category

Ditransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Copula

V VComp

kukɔ f∈   "scratch"
tu afɔkpo "kick"
Φo tom∈`   "slap"

V VComp [Nu']

d∈ asi Nu' "touch"
li asi Nu' "stroke"

V DAT/pOBL

dzra' Do   "repair"
Do   Da   "send"
kɔ'   na' "give"
tsɔ' na' "give"

V pOBL [Nu']

kp∈' De Nu' "help"

V

da   "throw"
D∈`   "remove"
hi~'a~'   "need"
kiki   "kick"
lɔ~   "like"
lɔ~   "weave"
Ñi'   "rear"
za~   "use"
Φo   "hit"
βu'   "open"

V   (nu')

dzra (nu') "sell"
Da   (nu') "cook"
Du   (nu') "eat"
fia' (nu') "teach"
kpɔ' (nu') "see"
l∈'   (nu') "catch"
Nlɔ~~ (nu') "write"
Φl∈` (nu') "buy"
Φo   (nu') "speak"
xl∈~ (nu') "read"

V   VComp

da   kɔ'   "fight"
d∈   dzi   "climb"
dz∈` aÑi   "fall"
dzi   ha   "sing"
dzi   vi   "give birth"
Dɔ'   afɔ`   "step"
Dɔ   alɔ~   "sleep"
Du'   G∈`   "dance"
nɔ`   aÑi   "sit"
ti'   kpo   "jump"
tsi' tr∈`   "stand"
wɔ`   dɔ`   "work"
Φu'   du   "run"
Φu'   dzɔ   "warm up"
Φu'   Ndɔ   "sunbathe"
Φu'   tsi   "swim"
Φu'   G∈   "sunbathe"
xɔ`   s∈`   "believe"

V

Dɔ'   "arrive"
tɔ   "stop"
tsɔ' "stand"
va   "come"
yi`   "go"

V (VComp)

dzo (kpo)   "jump"
lia (dzi)   "climb"
zɔ (azɔli) "walk"

V

l∈` "be"
nɔ` "be"
Ñ∈   "be"
zu   "become"

3.4.1.1 <u>Simple</u>

Simple verb stems consist of a single morpheme, frequently only one syllable in length. This basic root is abbreviated "V" for the purpose of all formulas relating the order of constituents in the verb phrase and the clause, and this base verb root or stem fills the syntactic V slot in simple tense predications. Verbs of this type can be copulas, intransitives and transitives. Copulas are followed by verbal complements (VComp), as in (46), intransitive verb stems are not followed by any element in simple tense predications (i.e. no element occupies the VComp position), as in (47), and transitive verb roots must be followed by some element which occupies VComp and thereby functions as a direct object syntactically, as in (48).

```
(46)  Є'ÑЄ afi'ma'              "s/he is there"
      / Є'-  ÑЄ  afi'ma' /
      3sS-  be    there
            VCop VComp


(47)  Є'Dσ'                     "s/he arrived"
      / Є'-  Dσ' /
      3sS-  arrive  Ø
      V           VComp


(48)  Є'kpσ' avu`               "s/he saw a dog"
      / Є'-  kpσ'  avu` /
      3sS-  see    dog
            V     VComp
```

3.4.1.2 <u>Complex</u>

Yet other Anlo verb stems appear to incorporate a nominal element into the VComp position. Complex verb stems of this type can be either transitive or ditransitive, but not intransitive. Transitive verbs are those which obligatorily have some element in the VComp slot. Ditransitives are those which obligatorily occur with a second argument in addi-

tion to the constituent which fills VComp. The second obligatory object is then coded as an indirect object or syntactic oblique since the VComp or direct object slot is filled.[15]

This purely syntactic definition of transitivity and direct objecthood in Anlo Ewe is based on the uniform treatment of any element in VComp with respect to the /é/-focus construction to be discussed in detail in chapter 5. Hence, whether the nominal in VComp is the direct object of a simple verb stem, such as Ɖo "hit" in (49), or an incorporated VComp constituent, such as /aÑi/ in the complex verb stem. noˋ aÑi "fall" in (50), both types are structurally identical in Anlo Ewe and both are therefore classified as transitive.

(49) Ɛ'Ɖo (Ɛ)Ñi'   "s/he hit a cow"
      / Ɛ'- Ɖo ƐÑi' /
      3sS- hit cow
            V VComp

(50) Ɛ'dzƐˋ aÑi   "s/he fell"
      / Ɛ'- dzƐˋ aÑi /
      3sS-   fall
            V   VComp

3.4.1.2.1 Transitives

One particular set of transitive verbs, exemplified in (51), contains a second element nuˈ "(some)thing" when cited in isolation. In practice, however, [nu'] surfaces only when an object is otherwise unspecified (i.e. the verb is used "detransitively"; (51a)). When a particular object is specified, as in (51b) on the following page, the lexical or pronominal object replaces /nu'/ in the VComp slot.

(51a) Ɛ'Ɖu nu'   "s/he ate"
      / Ɛ'- Ɖu nu' /
      3sS- ate (something)
            V VComp

(51b) Є'Du nЄ   "s/he ate coconut"
      / Є'- Du nЄ /
       3sS- ate coconut
            V   VComp

These verb stems are classified as transitive, for even when no specific

object is lexicalized, the general object /nu'/ must fill the VComp slot

with a large number of otherwise simple stems.

Complex transitive stems are often transparently derived by the

addition of nominal elements to verb roots. The following examples

illustrate the presence of particular nominal elements in the VComp of

several transitive stems:

V	+ Nominal	—>	V VComp
(52) /*dzi/ "bring forth?"	+ /ha/ "song"	—>	[dzi ha] "sing"
	+ /-vi/ "child"	—>	[dzi vi] "give birth"
(53) /*Φu'/ "bask in?"	+ /dzσ/ "heat"	—>	[Φu' dzσ] "warm up"
	+ /Ndσ/ "sunshine"	—>	[Φu' Ndσ] "sunbathe"
	+ /tsi/ "water"	—>	[Φu' tsi] "swim"
	+ /GЄ/ "sun"	—>	[Φu' GЄ] "sunbathe"
(54) /*dzЄˇ/ "?"	+ /añi/ "ground"	—>	[dzЄˇ añi] "fall"
/*noˇ/ "?"	+	—>	[noˇ añi] "sit"

The underlying, and often opaque semantics of the V element of

complex verb stems of this sort, which are not recorded in isolation,

are thus modified by the nominal element which occupies VComp in the

derivation of the overall meaning of the verb stem. Many stems do not

readily lend themselves to such an analysis, but this may be due to

several factors, not the least being the insufficient amount of data yet

gathered. A more extensive lexicon would certainly bring further rela-

tionships to light.[16]

3.4.1.2.2 Ditransitives

In addition to direct objects or incorporated VComp constituents,

ditransitive verbs must code an additional obligatory argument as a syn-
tactic indirect object or oblique. The formation of ditransitive stems
is often as transparent as that of transitives, as in Φo tomЄ˘ "slap",
exemplified by the following:

(55) Є'Φo tomЄ˘ na' foga   "s/he slapped Foga"
      / Є'– Φo   tomЄ˘   na' foga /
        3sS– hit side–of–face DAT 3sIO
            V   VComp   IO

In (55), the verb meaning "slap" has apparently been derived histori-
cally by the addition of the nominal tomЄ˘ "side of the face" to the
verb root /Φo/ "hit". Since tomЄ˘ fills the VComp slot, the patient,
foga, must be coded in same way other than as a direct object. This
particular verb codes the patient in the dative as marked by the dative
marker na'.[17]

A similar pattern exists in the use of the particle /Nu'(ti)/
"post–oblique marker" (OBLp) with verbs like dЄ asi "touch" and li asi
"stroke". In both of these verbs, as illustrated in (56) below, the
VComp slot is already filled by asi "hand", the presence of which is
fairly predictable given the semantics of these verbs. Once the object
slot is filled, however, the patient must again be coded in some way
other than as the direct object. Hence, [Nu'] or [Nu'ti] marks the pa-
tient of the verb, which is not in the object slot (as it is in (56')),
but rather must be coded as an oblique following the verbal complex:

(56) Є'li asi dadila' Nu'   "s/he stroked the cat"
      / Є'– li asi   dadi –la' Nu' /
        3sS– stroke   cat –DEF OBLp
             V   VComp OBL

(56') Є'Φo dadila'   "s/he hit the cat"
       / Є'– Φo dadi –la' /
         3sS– hit cat –DEF
              V   DO

Another oblique marker is represented by three allomorphs in three different verbs in figure 3.3. This is the element /DƐ/, present in kpƐ' DƐ Nu' "help", and in the form of [Da] in Do Da "send". The form [Do] in dzra' Do "repair" may represent the third allomorph of /DƐ/ which is otherwise attested (see section 5.3.4.2.3). The allomorphy of this morpheme plays an important role in the syntax of focus-marking and as such will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

3.4.2 Verbal Inflection

3.4.2.1 Person

There are several sets of affixes which mark person agreement on the Ewe verb. The appropriate use of each set depends on several factors, including focus-placement in the clause (i.e. non-focus subject agreement), the grammatical role of the person in the predication (i.e. subject, direct object, etc.), the illocutionary force of the predication (i.e. indicative/interrogative versus imperative), or whether the predication is affirmative or negative. While each of these sets will be individually described and exemplified below, the entire scheme is displayed in figure 3.4 on the page following. There is also some alternation based on tense (specifically future versus non-future or aorist), but as discussion of this will be reserved until section 3.4.2.2, the subject prefixes for 2s and 3s are represented in figure 3.4 solely by a tone, which then associates with a vowel segment when tense is added.[18]

3.4.2.1.1 Subject

The basic paradigm of subject person agreement might well be

Figure 3.4

Verbal Person Agreement

A. Affirmative

Indicative and Interrogative						Imperative	
Subject				DO/IO/OBL			
			Non-Focus				
1s	m`-		1s	m`-	1s	-m`	
2s	`-		2s	n`-	2s	-wo`	2s (m∈-)
3s	'-		3s	wo`-	3s	-i	
1p	mi'-		1p	mi'-	1p	-mi'	
2p	mi`-		2p	mi`-	2p	-mi`	2p mi-
3p	wo'-		3p	wo'-	3p	-wo'	

B. Negative (/-o`/)

Indicative/Interrogative (SBJ)				Imperative		
(Pro + /m∈/)				(Pro + /ga/)		
1s	∩∈`m∈-	(-o`)				
2s	m∈`-	(-o`)		2s	m∈ga-	(-o`)
3s	m∈'-	(-o`)				
1p	mi'∈-	(-o`)				
2p	mi`∈-	(-o`)		2p	miga-	(-o`)
3p	wo'm∈-	(-o`)				

termed "focus" or "topic" in contrast to the "non-focus" prefixes, but these affixes do not necessarily indicate the presence of special emphasis and are employed when no other argument in the predication has been placed in focus (see chapter 5). Hence, the basic prefixes are used when there is no non-subject focussed element, as in the following examples.

(57) m∈`kpσ'wo`   "I saw you"
      / m∈`- kpσ' -wo` /
        1sS- see -2sO

(58) mi'∈wσ` dσ`   "we worked"
      / mi'∈- wσ` dσ` /
        1pS-   work

Verbal subject agreement, as illustrated in (57) and (58), must

occur on the initial verb in a clause[19] unless a lexical third person
(singular or plural) is specified, in which case verbal agreement does
not occur. Examples (59) and (60) correspond to (57) and (58), respec-
tively:

(59) **amɛa'Dɛ'** kpɔ'wõ   "somebody saw you"
      / amɛa'Dɛ' kpɔ' –wõ /
         3sS   see –2sO

(60) **fɔga** wõ dõ   "Foga worked"
      / fɔga wõ dõ /
         3sS work

Additionally, the agreement prefixes of all persons must be omit-
ted when the subject is placed in focus. The examples in (61) illus-
trate: (a) a verb inflected for subject agreement; (b) a focussed
subject pronoun with no verbal inflection; (c) a predication which is
unacceptable due to the presence of both a focussed pronoun and (co-
referential) verbal subject agreement.

(61)
  (a) **mɛ̃Do'**   "I arrived"
       / mɛ̃– Do' /
         1sS– arrive

  (b) **Ñé: Do'**   "it was I who arrived"
       / Ñɛ̃ + é Do' /
         1s   F arrive

  (c) *Ñé: mɛ̃Do'**   "it was me I arrived"
       / Ñɛ̃ + é mɛ̃– Do' /
         1s   F 1sS– arrive

In certain constructions, these basic subject agreement prefixes
must be replaced by their "non-focus" (nF) counterparts. This occurs
primarily when either a (non–subject) focussed element precedes the verb
or the verb is itself part of a subordinate clause.[20] Examples of the
focus construction will be reserved for detailed discussion in section
5.3 below. Examples (62) and (63) illustrate the occurrence of "non-

focus" prefixes in subordinate clauses.

(62) Є'di bЄ' na`yi`
      / Є'- di   bЄ' n`-   a-   yi` /
      3sS- want COMP 2snF- TNSf go
      "s/he wants **you** to go / s/he wants that **you** will go"

(63) mЄ`kpσ' Nu'tsula' Є'yЄ' wo`Φo avu`la`
      / mЄ`- kpσ' Nu'tsu -la' Є'yЄ'  wo`- Φo avu` -la' /
      1sS- see man   -DEF &   3snF- hit dog   -DEF
      "I saw the man and **he** hit the dog"

These examples also serve to illustrate the only two "non-focus" pre-
fixes which actually differ from the basic set. The 2snF prefix n`- (or
na`- in future tense: see 3.4.2.2.1 below) in (62) contrasts with the
basic 2s subject prefix `- ([Є`-] or [a`-]), while (63) shows the 3snF
prefix wo`- which differs from the basic 3sS '- ([Є'-] or [a'-]).

Second and third persons (both singular and plural) also pattern
together in the use of a special "logophoric" pronoun (LPro) yЄ`-
(plural yЄ`wo-) which takes the place of the "non-focus" prefixes when
the subjects of both a main and subordinate clause are coreferential and
the main clause verb is one which reports the speech or thoughts of this
pronoun's antecedent (cf. Sells 1987:445). Hence, yЄ`- can be construed
as 2s or 3s and yЄ`wo- as 2p and 3p, depending on its antecedent in the
preceding (main) clause. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(64) Є`gblσ` bЄ' yЄ`lЄ` dzσ dzσm'
      / Є`- gblσ` bЄ'   yЄ`-  lЄ` dzσ- dzσ   -m'/
      2sS- say COMP 2s-LPro AUX VRedup leave ASPp
      "you$_i$ said that you$_i$ are leaving"

(65) wo'di bЄ' yЄ`woa yi`
      / wo'- di   bЄ' yЄ`wo-  a-  yi` /
      3pS- want COMP 3p-LPro TNSf go
      "they want to go"

A comparison of example (65) with an almost identical variant in (66) on
the following page shows that the use of this logophoric pronoun is op-

tional, though it does serve to eliminate the ambiguity of reference

present in (66):

(66) wo'di bƐ' wo'ayi˅
　　　/ wo'- di　　bƐ'　　wo'-　a-　yi˅ /
　　　　3pS- want COMP 3pS- TNSf go
　　　"they₁ want them₍/ⱼ₎ to go"

Kuno (1987:146) claims that this logophoric pronoun can stand for

all persons in Ewe, including 1s and 1p, but the present evidence from

Anlo Ewe suggests that first persons are excluded from the scope of

/yƐ˅(wo)-/, as attested by the unacceptability of (67).

(67) *mƐ˅gblɔ˅ bƐ' yƐ˅lƐ˅ dzɔ dzɔm'
　　　/ mƐ˅- gblɔ˅ bƐ'　　yƐ˅-　　lƐ˅ dzɔ-　dzɔ　-m' /
　　　　1sS- say　COMP *1s-LPro　AUX VRedup leave ASPp
　　　"I said that I am leaving"

3.4.2.1.2 Subject of a Negative Clause

For the most part, the prefixes for subject in a negative clause

are derived from the regular subject prefixes by the addition of the

negative element /mƐ/. This morpheme is most clearly seen in the 3p

prefix wo'mƐ-, and in 1s ÑƐ˅mƐ-. This latter prefix deviates somewhat

from the other persons in that it is the base form or independent 1s

nominal prefix /ÑƐ˅-/ which occurs rather than the verbal /m˅-/.[21] In

some cases, /mƐ/ appears to coalesce with the preceding pronoun (cf.

Duthie 1988:96). Hence, the derivation of these special prefixes can be

illustrated as in (68), with deletion of underscored segments:

(68)　1s　/ ÑƐ˅ + mƐ /　—> [　ÑƐ˅mƐ-]
　　　2s　/ ˅ + mƐ /　　—> [　　mƐ˅-]
　　　3s　/ ' + mƐ /　　—> [　　mƐ'-]
　　　1p　/ mi' + mƐ /　—> [　mi'Ɛ-]
　　　2p　/ mi˅ + mƐ /　—> [　mi˅Ɛ-]
　　　3p　/ wo' + mƐ /　—> [　wo'mƐ-]

Only the initial [m] of /mƐ/ is deleted when it is combined with the

[m]-initial 1p and 2p prefixes. This represents yet another example of the deletion of an identical consonant in adjacent syllables allowing for the collapse of two morphemes into a single syllable (cf. section 2.5.1). Additionally, in 2s and 3s forms, the tone of the subject pre-fixes survives to modify the tone of the negative clause prefix, just as it does with the tense-marking vowels described below in 3.4.2.2.1.

The negative marker itself is /oˇ/, which occurs in all negative clauses – indicative, imperative or interrogative. The quality of the vowel of this morpheme never changes. In some instances, a glottal stop [?] precedes /oˇ/ and the negative marker is thereby kept separate and distinct from the immediately preceding vowel:

```
(69)  [ÑєˇmєDa nu' ?oˇ]              "I did not cook"
      / Ñєˇmє-   Da nu'   oˇ /
       1sS-NEG   cook    NEG
```

This occurs most often in slowed speech and may be due to this manner of speaking. In rapid speech, there is less evidence of a [?] inserted between the vowels, but the negative [oˇ] is still always distinct from any preceding vowel. This marker of negation occurs clause-finally, except in interrogatives where it immediately precedes the interroga-tive marker /-aˇ/, which is always clause-final:

```
(70)  [ÑєˇmєФ1єˇ dzєˇ oˇ aˇ]
      / Ñєˇmє-   Ф1єˇ    dzєˇ   oˇ  aˇ /
       1sS-NEG   buy    salt  NEG  Q
      "Did I not buy salt?"
```

3.4.2.1.3 Object

Regardless of the illocutionary force of a clause, the object agreement suffixes, which can be employed for direct objects (DOs), indirect objects (IOs) and obliques (OBLs), take a single form, as dis-

played in figure 3.4, and exemplified below:

(71) <u>Direct Object</u>

-1s	[ɛ'kpɔ'**m˅**]	"s/he saw	me"
-2s	[ɛ'kpɔ'**wo˅**]	"s/he saw	you"
-3s	[ɛ'kpɔ'**i** ≈ ɛ'kpɔ'ɛ]	"s/he saw him/her/it"	
-1p	[ɛ'kpɔ'**mi'**]	"s/he saw	us"
-2p	[ɛ'kpɔ'**mi˅**]	"s/he saw	you(pl)"
-3p	[ɛ'kpɔ'**wo'**]	"s/he saw	them"

(72) <u>Indirect Object</u>

-1s	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi na'**m˅**]	"s/he wishes good-luck to/for	me"
-2s	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi na'**wo˅**]	"	you"
-3s	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi ne**:'**]	"	him/her"
-1p	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi na'**mi'**]	"	us"
-2p	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi na'**mi˅**]	"	you(pl)"
-3p	[ɛ'di' dzɔgbɛ̃ũi na'**wo'**]	"	them"

(73) <u>Oblique</u>

-1s	[ɛ'kpɛ' Dɛ**m˅**]	"s/he helped	me"
-2s	[ɛ'kpɛ' Dɛ**wo˅**]	"	you"
-3s	[ɛ'kpɛ' D**i:**]	"	him/her/it"
-1p	[ɛ'kpɛ' Dɛ**mi'**]	"	us"
-2p	[ɛ'kpɛ' Dɛ**mi˅**]	"	you(pl)"
-3p	[ɛ'kpɛ' Dɛ**wo'**]	"	them"

There are two peculiarities which must be noted. Though it has
not been recorded as such in the above examples, the 1s object pronoun
/-m˅/ sometimes occurs in lengthened form, [m˅:]. There does not appear
to be any factor which conditions this lengthening and, as with the
glottal stop preceding the negative /o˅/, this may just be an artifact
of the slowed speech of elicitation.

The second issue involves the form of the 3s object affix, given
as /-i/ (following Duthie 1988:99). There appears to be ample evidence
to support /-i/ as the underlying 3s object suffix. However, the Anlo
data also provides some evidence that the situation is not so simple.
When following the final vowel of a verb stem or verbal inflection, the
3s suffix can vary in quality from [i], through shades of [ɪ] and [e],

to [∈]. This is shown in the variation between 3s [∈'kpʊ'i] and

[∈'kpʊ'∈] in the direct object examples above. These examples appear to

support /-i/ as the form of the suffix, for it can partially assimilate

to the preceding vowel in certain instances (i.e. lowering from /i/ to

[∈] when preceded by [ʊ]). However, the reverse also seems to be true

so that, occasionally, a verbal stem-final vowel appears to assimilate

to the 3s suffix, as with /D∈ -i/ —> [Di:] in the oblique example in

(73), or as follows:

(74) /Do/ "send" as in [Do agba~l∈la' Da] "send the letter"

      [Dui]   "send it!"
      / Do -i /
         V   -3sO

(75) /l∈'/ "catch" as in [l∈' k∈s∈'la'] "catch the monkey"

      [∈'li':]   "s/he caught it"
      / ∈'- l∈' -i /
       3sS- V -3sO

In the indirect object examples, the dative marker /na'/ "to, for"

combines with the 3s suffix /-i/ to yield the phonetic form [ne:'].

Thus, the 3s suffix /-i/ would have to combine with the /a'/ of /na'/ to

result in a vowel of intermediate quality, [e], with accompanying leng-

thening (i.e. [e:]). In essence, /a'/ partially assimilates to /i/ and

/i/ partially assimilates to /a'/ to meet in between at [e]. The leng-

thening follows as the typical process resulting from the combination of

two (identical or similar) vowels (see section 2.5.2 above).

However, another view of this phenomenon might suggest that the

[e] in [ne:'] is derived, as with many other instances of [e:], from the

combination of a vowel with following [e] or [∈] (see section 2.5.2).

Hence, postulating an underlying /-e/ or /-∈/ as the form of the 3s ob-

ject suffix is not entirely implausible. This may be given further sup-
port by the occurrence of the 3s object agreement marker as a prefix
[ɛ'-] when it occurs with the oblique object marker /Nu'/:

(76) mɛ̰ˈlɛ̰ asi dɛm' ɛ'Nu'
      / mɛ̰- lɛ̰   asi dɛ -m'   (ɛ'-)   Nu' /
        1sS- AUX   touch ASPp -3sO(?)   OBLp
                   VComp V
      "I am touching it"

Deriving [ɛ'] from an underlying /-i/ via assimilation appears unten-
able in this situation. However, it may be that this is a specialized
occurrence of the subject 3s prefix with non-future (aorist) tense (i.e.
/ɛ'-/) rather than the object affix. If so, then this instance of ap-
parent quality change need not be considered and the postulation of /-i/
as the 3s object suffix is no longer seriously challenged. It is also
clear that the assimilation data examined in (74) and (75) above are not
consistent with a 3s object affix in any form other than /-i/, for any
underlying suffix of the shape /-ɛ/ or /-e/ would be unlikely to trigger
raising of both itself and the verb-final vowel.

3.4.2.1.4 Imperative

The 2p imperative prefix mi- corresponds directly to the 2p object
suffix, though the tone of the imperative was recorded as mid while the
2p object suffix was low. However, this discrepancy may only be due to
a regular tone variation since the difference between mid and low tone
in Ewe does not appear to be phonemic (cf. section 2.3).

However, it is quite unlikely that the 2s imperative marker /mɛ/
can similarly be related to the 2s object suffix -wo`, or to any other
2s pronominal form. If anything, imperative /mɛ/, which usually only
appears in negative imperatives, seems more likely to be related to the

negative marker /mЄ/. In negative imperatives, though, an additional element /ga/ also appears to function as a negator in both second person singular and plural forms. Examples of the use of these imperative prefixes, both negative and affirmative, will be given in chapter 4.

3.4.2.2 Tense and Aspect

Both tense and aspect are marked on the Ewe verb (i.e. within the verbal complex). Markers of tense precede the verb and are closely associated with subject person inflection, while aspectual markers are suffixed to the verb root.

3.4.2.2.1 Tense

The predominant tense distinction in Anlo Ewe is between the aorist (past and present) and future tenses. The aorist is marked by a vowel /Є/ which only surfaces following all subject person prefixes with the exception of 3p. Following all lexical subjects, as well as the 3p prefix, the aorist is unmarked (i.e. ∅). The future tense marker also consists of a sole vowel segment, /a/, which follows all subject prefixes (including 3p) and precedes the verb when the subject is lexicalized. The basic subject person prefixes, originally illustrated in figure 3.4 above, can now be displayed in full tense-marked form in figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5

Verbal Person and Tense Agreement

Aorist		Future	
1s	mЄˋ-	1s	maˋ-
2s	Єˋ-	2s	aˋ-
3s	Є'-	3s	a'-
1p	mi'Є-	1p	mi'a-
2p	miˋЄ-	2p	miˋa-
3p	wo'-	3p	wo'a-

The tense-marking vowels remain mid-tone when added to plural persons, but assume the tone of the singular person prefixes. In the case of the 2s and 3s prefixes, this results in the tense-marker alone carrying the tone. The majority of verbal examples given thus far have been in the aorist, and person prefixes marked for the aorist have been treated as basic and inseparable in constituent analysis. For the most part, this practice will be continued so that, of the simple tenses, only the presence of future tense will normally be indicated. However, both tenses will be fully specified in the following examples:

(77) Aorist: (a) m∈ˇDu' G∈ˇ   "I dance/danced"
                    / mˇ-   ∈-   Du' G∈ˇ /
                    1sS- TNSa   dance

              (b) mi'∈kpσ'wo'   "we see/saw them"
                   / mi'-   ∈-   kpσ' -wo' /
                    1pS-   TNSa   see   -3pO

(78) Future: (a) maˇDu' G∈ˇ   "I will dance"
                    / mˇ-   a-   Du' G∈ˇ /
                    1sS- TNSf   dance

              (b) mi'akpσˇwoˇ   "we will see them"
                   / mi'-   a-   kpσ' -wo' /
                    1pS-   TNSf   see   -3pO

Formulaically, the word order present in these simple tenses can be reduced to the following:

    Aorist: S -/∈/- V VComp

    Future: S -/a/- V VComp

where the subject affix (S) is followed in turn by tense-marking (/∈/ or /a/), the verb root (V), and the verbal complement (VComp).

In order to differentiate between past and present time within the aorist, context and/or temporal modifiers are employed, as in (79b):

(79)
(a) mɛ̀kpɔ' fɔga
     / mɛ̀- kpɔ' fɔga /
       1sS- see 3sO
     "I see/saw Foga"

(b) Past: mɛ̀kpɔ' fɔga **ɛtsɔ siva'yi**
           / mɛ̀- kpɔ' fɔga   ɛtsɔ   siva'yi /
             1sS- see 3sO **yesterday**/tomorrow past
           "I **saw** Foga yesterday"

Adverbials can be used to impart a meaning similar to past and/or

present perfective, thus functioning like aspectual markers:

(80) mɛ̀fɔ̃ **xɔ(xɔ)**   "I just got up"
      / mɛ̀- fɔ̃   xɔ(xɔ) /
        1sS- get up ADV/ASP

(81) mɛ̀fɔ̃ **vɔ̀**   "I'm already up"
      / mɛ̀- fɔ̃   vɔ̀ /
        1sS- get up ADV/ASP

Other particles can provide a past habitual meaning:

(82) (a) mɛ̀Du' Gɛ̀ **kpɔ'**
      (b) mɛ̀Du' Gɛ̀ **va'yi**   "I used to dance"
      (c) mɛ̀Du' Gɛ̀ **kpɔ' va'yi**

In contrast to this, present habitual action is indicated by an

aspectual marker /na/ which is suffixed to the verb root and thus inter-

venes between the V and VComp elements in the verbal complex:

(83) mɛ̀Du'**na** Gɛ̀   "I dance habitually"
      / mɛ̀- Du' -na Gɛ̀ /
        1sS- V   HAB VComp

(84) mɛ̀kpɔ'**na** wɔ̀   "I always see you"
      / mɛ̀- kpɔ' -na -wɔ̀ /
        1sS- see HAB -2sO

The formula for habitual constructions is thus:

    Habitual: S -TNSa- V-[na] VComp

This construction is structurally isolated from both tense and

aspect in the sense that /na/ is neither prefixed to the verbal complex,

as with tense, nor suffixed to it, as with aspect. As will be seen,

however, the habitual marker agrees with other aspectual markers by following the verbal stem (V) immediately. The difference between the simple tense constructions and those marked for aspect is in their constituent order. The above constructions all exhibit V VComp ordering, while the remaining (aspectual) constructions typically reverse this to VComp V order.

3.4.2.2.2 Aspect

Both an auxiliary verb and an aspectual suffix occur in the construction of aspectually-inflected verbal complexes in Anlo Ewe. The basic constituent order may be represented by the following formula:

Aspect: S -TNS- (AUX) VComp V -ASP

Tense-marking obligatorily co-occurs with aspectual inflection. The aorist is most commonly used, though the future tense /a/ is present in the future progressive, as well as in the poorly attested future intentive. It is interesting to note that in the progressive, tense is even further differentiated than the simple tense distinction of aorist versus future. Through a combination of the tense-markers and auxiliary verbs, past, present and future are all differentiated in the progressive, and, in contrast to the grouping of past and present under the aorist, it is the present which is isolated from past and future.

This present versus non-present distinction manifests itself in the shape of the auxiliary used in the various progressive constructions. In the past and future progressives, the auxiliary is the copular /nɔ̃/, while in the present, /lɛ̃/ is employed. Hence, the progressive aspects, with appropriate examples, can be represented formulaically as follows:

Present Progressive: S –TNSa– [1Є˅] VComp V [–m']

(85) mi'Є1Є˅ dơ˅ wơ˅m'   "we are working"
/ mi'Є– 1Є˅ dơ˅   wơ˅ –m' /
1pS– AUX VComp V   ASPp

(86) Є'1Є˅ kЄsЄ' 1Є'm'   "s/he is catching a monkey"
/ Є'– 1Є˅ kЄsЄ'   1Є'   –m' /
3sS– AUX monkey catch ASPp

Past Progressive: S –TNSa– [nơ˅] VComp V [–m']

(87) mi'Єnơ˅ dơ˅ wơ˅m'   "we were working"
/ mi'Є– nơ˅ dơ˅   wơ˅ –m' /
1pS– AUX VComp V   ASPp

(88) Є'nơ˅ kЄsЄ'wo' 1Є'm'   "s/he was catching monkeys"[22]
/ Є'– nơ˅ kЄsЄ' –wo' 1Є'   –m' /
3sS– AUX monkey pl   catch ASPp

Future Progressive:[23]   S –TNSf– [nơ˅] VComp V [–m']

(89) mi'a'nơ˅ dơ˅ wơ˅m'   "we will be working"
/ mi'– a– nơ˅ dơ˅   wơ˅ –m' /
1pS– TNSf AUX VComp V   ASPp

(90) a'nơ˅ kЄsЄ' 1Є'm'   "s/he will be catching a monkey"
/ '– a– kЄsЄ'   1Є'   –m' /
3sS– TNSf monkey catch ASPp

The auxiliaries are clearly copular verbs, and they can be found
in stative constructions, where, as expected, 1Є˅ "be" is present tense,
as in (91) and (92), and nơ˅ "be" is past (or non-present), as in (93).

(91) mЄ˅1Є˅ afi'sia˅   "I am here"
/ mЄ˅– 1Є˅ afi'sia˅ /
1sS– be   ADV

(92) Є'1Є˅ kpЄ˅kpЄ˅m'   "it is heavy/it is being heavy"
/ Є'– 1Є˅   kpЄ˅kpЄ˅ –m' /
3sS– AUX/be   heavy   ASPp

(93) mЄ˅nơ˅ afi'ma'   "I was there"
/ mЄ˅– nơ˅ afi'ma' /
1sS– be   ADV

An account of Anlo Ewe copular verbs is further complicated by the
use of another form, /ŊЄ/ "be", in possessive or attributive construc-

tions of the following type:

(94) Є'sia˘ ÑЄ toÑЄ˘   "this is mine"
     / Є'sia˘ ÑЄ toÑЄ˘ /
        this   be 1sGEN

(95) Є'sia˘ a':ÑЄ toÑЄ˘   "this will be mine"
     / Є'sia˘   a- ÑЄ   toÑЄ˘ /
        this   TNSf be   1sGEN

Note that before /ÑЄ/ the future marker /a-/ surfaces as a long vowel
with a high tone (i.e. [a':]). There does not appear to be any condi-
tioning factor which will account for this, though it is worth noting
that this inexplicable phenomenon occurs before a copular verb and, in
many languages, copulas are notorious for their irregularity.[24] /ÑЄ/
appears to be limited to constructions in which an object or state is
attributed to a human (or animate?) agent, whereas the use of /lЄ˘/
and/or /no˘/ more generally resembles that of English be.

Another aspectual construction, the intentive, initially appears
to complicate the distribution of Anlo copulas further by placing pre-
sent tense lЄ˘ in a future construction. However, the occurrence of lЄ˘
in the intentive may be explained by appealing to the notion that the
"intent" is actually in the present, even if the action is not. Hence,
an intentive aspect construction would be marked for present tense and
the present tense form of the copula (i.e. /lЄ˘/) would be appropriate.
The formula for this construction, with examples, is as follows:

     Intentive: S -TNSa- [lЄ˘] VComp V [-gЄ']

(96) mi'ЄlЄ˘ do˘ wo˘gЄ'   "we will work / we intend to work"
     / mi'Є- lЄ˘ do˘   wo˘ -gЄ' /
        1pS- AUX VComp V   ASPi

(97) Є'lЄ˘ kЄsЄ'sia˘ lЄ'gЄ'   "s/he will catch this monkey"
     / Є'- lЄ˘ kЄsЄ' -sia˘ lЄ' -gЄ' /
        3sS- AUX monkey -DEM   V   ASPi

Despite the English glosses which strongly suggest the future tense, another piece of evidence is available to confirm that the above construction is actually a present intentive. This evidence consists of a possible future intentive construction, exemplified in (98), which was judged by the informant to be acceptable.

(98) mi'a'nɔˇ dɔˇ wɔˇgɛ'   "we will intend to work"
     / mi'–   a–   nɔˇ dɔˇ   wɔˇ –gɛ' /
        1pS– TNSf AUX VComp V   ASPi

Finally, the verb yiˇ "go" may also fit into the auxiliary slot in conjunction with the intentive marker /–gɛ'/ in the formation of verbal constructions denoting "action towards a goal":

(99) ɛ'yiˇna kɛsɛ'ma' lɛ'gɛ'
     / ɛ'– yiˇ –na   kɛsɛ'   –ma'   lɛ'   –gɛ' /
       3sS– AUX ?   monkey –DEM catch ASPi
     "s/he is going (walking there) to catch that monkey".

In this construction, yiˇ is always followed by a morpheme [na] which may be equivalent to the dative marker /na'/ "to". It is possible that the dative /na'/ is here used as a locative or directional indicator "to". This is, however, a tentative conclusion at best.

Notes to Chapter 3

*I would like to express my gratitude to my fellow students, Shauna Craig and Fu Mengsong, whose work proved an invaluable aid in the preparation of this chapter. Ms. Craig's preliminary report on nouns and the noun phrase in Anlo Ewe has been integrated into my own analysis in most sections on noun morphology in this chapter, with the exception of the section on pronouns which is entirely my own. Ms. Fu's tireless investigation of the tense and aspect system of Ewe has contributed to the latter sections of chapter 3. However, the final analysis is my own, as are any remaining faults.

[1]In his analysis of Ewe Nominal Formation, Clements (1975a) includes sections on "gerundive nominals" and "lexical nominals", both of which appear to be derived from an underlying verb phrase. By Clements' classification, the example in question, ɲa'dzɔdzɔ, would appear to be an example of a lexical nominal due to the semantic unpredictability of the derived noun.

[2]This is to be expected since the verbal complement position, as
discussed in chapter 4 below, is generally filled by a nominal. This is
true of both examples being discussed here. The element /nu'/ in Du nu'
"eat" is the nominal nu' "something" which must occur in the verbal com-
plement position of this and many other verbs if no object is specified.
Similarly, the element [xσ] in tu xσ "build (a house)" is equivalent to
/Єxσ/ "house", having lost the initial vowel as expected (cf. section
2.5.2.4 above). It is interesting to note that Clements (1975a: 6, 12)
discusses both of these examples, classifying xσtutu as a gerundive
nominal and nu'DuDu as a lexical nominal. The difference then is purely
semantic and not morphological.

[3]The derivation of this particular noun obviously involves a
rather complex and important analysis of the originating verb complex,
which is discussed at various points in chapters 3, 4 and 5. For now,
the characterization of the associated elements, /DЄ/ and /Nu'/, as
oblique markers of one form or another must be taken for granted.

[4]The only exception appears to be the female week-day name ami'
which is the counterpart to mЄmli'Da' "Saturday".

[5]It is possible that the element [Do] associated with the verb
dzra' Do, is morphologically related to the element /DЄ/ (with variant
[Da]) associated with verbs like kpЄ' DЄ Nu' "help" and Do Da "send".
However, the behaviour of [Do] in dzra' Do does not follow that of /DЄ/
as described in chapters 4 and 5 below.

[6]The noun fia'sЄ "store" is itself a complex noun-stem derived
from fia' "chief" plus an element [sЄ]. The noun suklitσ could be more
explicitly glossed "one who has sugar (and who may thus provide it for
sale)".

[7]The nouns vi~dzi~ "baby" and ЄvЄlia` "friend" appear to be ex-
ceptional in that they are generally inflected with GEN$_2$ affixes, rather
than GEN$_1$, in contrast to all other terms of human relationship.
However, vi~dzi~ can optionally be inflected with GEN$_1$ affixes, and
another noun glossed "friend", xo~, takes GEN$_1$ as expected.

[8]atsu'si "co-wife" is the only recorded vowel-initial stem of
Class I and so the evidence presented by the deletion of the initial
vowel of this stem is not strong. The fact that this stem is three syl-
lables long may, in fact, contribute to the deletion of the vowel. See
section 3.1.2.4.3 and note 9 below for another instance of shortening in
Class I nouns.

[9]It still must be noted, however, that these bound forms are found
only among Class I nouns. It is quite possible that the shortening of
the stem in this instance reflects a more familiar or endearing usage,
due to the nature of these commonly inflected stems. See also note 8.

[10]Additionally, the base form appears to combine with /-(a)si-/
which could be roughly glossed as "have". Given the nominal inflection

on this morpheme, however, it is probable that /-(a)si-/ is a nominal
form closer in meaning to "possession" than the verbal notion of "pos-
sessing" (i.e. asiÑє˘ may be better glossed as "my possession" than "I
have"). It is interesting to note, then, that the inflectional paradigm
that is used with /-(a)si-/ is that of the inalienable GEN$_1$, perhaps
suggesting a highly valued possession.

[11]The informant supplied wo' as the form of the 3rd person plural
independent pronoun. However, an alternate form, wo'awo is used in
coordinated NPs. This form has perhaps been created by analogy with the
1p and 2p pronouns, /mi'awo/ and /mi˘awo/, respectively, or perhaps it
is an older form of the 3p pronoun which has been replaced by the sim-
plified [wo'] in all but the most marginal occurrences.

[12]Neither example (30) nor (32) is an idiomatically phrased Anlo
Ewe sentence, but rather an attempt by the informant to translate the
English sentence directly. Independent pronouns are, in fact, rarely
used in conjoined phrases, unless special emphasis (i.e. focus) is being
directed towards the individual participants. It is far more common to
group the individual participants together under one appropriate pro-
noun. However, the fact that a parseable sentence can be found does
indicate that this particular strategy of pronoun use does exist as an
option should an Anlo Ewe speaker choose to use it.

[13]Sound symbolism of this type can also occur on adjectives within
NPs, where it is commonly used in association with Anlo Ewe insults, as
in the following pair:

(a)   amє Doє   "lazy person (small in stature)"
       / amє   Do + є /
       person lazy

(b)   amє Do˘   "lazy person (large in stature)"
       / amє   Do (˘) /
       person lazy

The distinction by size appears to pervade the language, as well as cul-
ture of the Anlo Ewe.

[14]Ewe verb stems, as supplied in elicitation, consist of up to
three elements which can and frequently do appear discontinuously in
predications. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to separate morpho-
logy and syntax in the treatment of Ewe verb stems and a good deal of
Ewe verb syntax must necessarily be covered in the section on verb
morphology. This will simply decrease the volume of the section on
verbal syntax in chapter 4.

[15]Ditransitives might then also be defined semantically as verbs
which obligatorily subcategorize for two objects. In one particular
case, however, both the syntactic and semantic definitions of ditransi-
tivity have been set aside, for the verb kpє' Dє Nu' "help" has been
classified as a ditransitive despite the fact that it only subcategor-

izes for a single object argument. This has been done since the object of this verb does not occur in VComp, but is coded as an oblique, while VComp remains empty. Hence, it is the coding of a semantically obligatory argument as an IO or oblique which is most important in the definition of Anlo Ewe ditransitives. This verb kp€' DE Nu', in particular, will be examined in detail in sections 4.3.2 and 5.3.4.2.3 below.

[16]Certainly, there will always be some stems which resist all attempts at semantic analysis. Among these will be the more archaic stems which have drifted away semantically from the morphemes from which they were originally formed.

[17]Hence the verb ƒo tom€⁻ could also be listed among the other ditransitives categorized in figure 3.3 as "V pOBL" or placed in a separate group "V VComp pOBL" intermediate between such verbs as kɔ' (na') "give" (V pObl) and tu afokpo "kick" (V VComp). The former specifies a patient within VComp and a recipient as dative, while the latter fills VComp with an incorporated nominal and codes a patient as an unmarked oblique. See section 4.3.2 for further discussion of the syntax of these verbs.

[18]For ease of presentation, subject agreement markers have been and will continue to be presented in the aorist (non-future tense; i.e. with [€] following the form of the person prefix and assuming the prefix tone when applicable) in the analysis of most cited examples. Refer to section 3.4.2.1.1 for further discussion of Anlo Ewe tense-marking.

[19]Normally, this indicates that every verb will be marked by a subject prefix, but in aspectually marked predications (i.e. auxiliary plus main verb) or serial verb constructions, only the initial verb is so marked. In the former case, this means that the auxiliary takes person agreement.

[20]Evidence to be discussed in section 5.1.2 suggests that the non-focus subject agreement in the /é/-focus construction may also be present in a subordinate clause or, more specifically, in a restrictive relative clause which is part of the complement in a cleft construction.

[21]If the 1s nominal /ñ€⁻/ did not occur in this context, then two almost homophonous morphemes (i.e. /m⁻-/ or /m€⁻/ "1s subject agreement" and /m€-/ "negative") would combine. As seen earlier in section 2.5.1, there is a tendency for like syllables to collapse in Ewe. If this were to occur with the 1s subject prefix of a negative clause, it is entirely possible that the result would be identical to that of the negative clause 2s subject prefix (i.e. [m€⁻-]). It is therefore conceivable that the 1s pronoun /ñ€⁻/ occurs in the negative clause verbal agreement paradigm in order to prevent such a collapse from occurring, or perhaps in order to restore a distinct 1s prefix after just such a collapse.

In addition to this hypothesis, based largely on phonology, there is also a possibility of a syntactically motivated explanation for this phenomenon. In their study "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse", Hopper and Thompson (1980) cite examples from several languages which

show typically "intransitive" constructions in use when a clause is
negative, in opposition to the more typical "transitive" construction,
which is used with affirmatives. In this sense, the use of the nominal
pronoun for the negative clause 1s subject could be a morphosyntactic
marker of the reduced transitivity of a negative clause. However, the
fact that nominal pronouns are not used for the remainder of the verbal
agreement markers in negative clauses proves problematical for this
"transitivity hypothesis" for Anlo Ewe (see Hopper and Thompson 1980 for
elaboration).

[22]This and several other like sentences were given alternative
forms of the type:

> Є'nɔ`a kЄsЄ'wo' lЄ'm'
> / Є'- nɔ` na kЄsЄ' —wo' lЄ' —m' /
> 3sS— AUX HAB monkey pl catch ASPp
> "s/he was catching monkeys"

in which [a] appears after /nɔ`/. This appears to represent the habi-
tual marker /na/, with the deletion of initial [n]. In conjunction with
the past progressive, the habitual thus creates an aspectually—marked
alternative to the adverbial "past habitual" cited above in section
3.4.2.2.1.

[23]In this construction, the future tense marker /a/ is uttered
with a high tone whether or not a high tone is available from the
preceding person agreement. I can offer no firm explanation for this,
though it is not an isolated phenomenon and more is said concerning this
in note 24 below.

[24]As pointed out to me by L.A. MacDonald.
This same possibility might also play a role in the high tone of
future tense /a/ mentioned in note 23 above, since this high tone again
surfaces preceding a copular verb (or auxiliary). It is also possible
that the high tone is an instance of the extra—high tone resulting from
a regular tone rule in Anlo Ewe (cf. Clements 1977; see also section 2.3
above).

Chapter 4

SYNTAX

4.1 Typology

As in the majority of Niger—Kordofanian languages (cf. Gregersen 1977:44), SVO word order predominates in Ewe and is generally quite strict in the Anlo dialect, where word order plays a large part in the expression of grammatical relations. In his summary of Greenberg's universals, Comrie (1989:95—96) suggests that SVO (or simply VO) order tends to co—occur with several other ordering parameters, including possessed—possessor or nominal—genitive (NG), nominal—adjective (NA), nominal—relative clause (NREL), and auxiliary—main verb (AUX—mV) ordering, as well as the presence of prepositions (pr), and prefixes. Anlo Ewe, however, does not entirely fit these frequently observed correlations.

Ultan (1979:234) lists Ewe as a language of the SVO, po, GN, NA type. Hence, this characterization claims that Ewe has postpositions rather than prepositions. The present data actually suggest that both prepositions and postpositions are employed in Anlo Ewe, as will be demonstrated in the description of locative phrases, and has in fact already been suggested in the treatment of oblique—marking (see 3.4.1.1 above), which will be expanded below. Similarly, both noun and verb morphology, as discussed in chapter 3, attest not only to the presence of prefixes in the Anlo dialect, but of suffixes as well.[1]

The ordering of auxiliary and main verb is particularly interest-ing in Anlo Ewe for, as was described in section 3.4.2.2.2 above, auxi-liary verbs are used in aspectually—marked constructions in which the verb root (i.e. main verb) and VComp (or object) reverse their relative

order following the auxiliary. Hence, the AUX-mV ordering predicted to correlate with VO order does occur in Anlo Ewe, but only when the constituent order is reversed to OV. However, Westermann and Bryan (1970: 94) claim that this apparent SOV ordering is not actually inconsistent with the predominant SVO Ewe word order, since the object (or VComp) in aspectual constructions is actually entering into a genitival relationship with the (nominalized?) main verb. Structurally, this possibility is entirely consistent with both the GN ordering present in Anlo Ewe (see immediately below) and the formation of complex noun-stems through verb-root reduplication (see 3.1.1.2.1 above). This structural identity will be further examined below, though it can not be accepted as absolute proof of the nominalization of aspectually-marked verbs.

The three parameters dealing with the relative order of a nominal and its modifiers will be dealt with in section 4.2 below with respect to the noun phrase (NP). A universal tendency for the consistent ordering of a nominal in relation to its various modifiers (i.e. preceding or following) within a language or language type has been observed and this is suggested by the consistent pattern of NG, NA, and NREL, cited above, which function in association with VO order. As will be seen, this same consistency is largely present in the Anlo Ewe NP, with the exception of genitive constructions which have already been shown to be formed with a preceding possessor (i.e. GN, not NG; see 3.1.2.4 above).

Interestingly, Gregersen (1977:113) points out that possessor-possessed order in genitival phrases is present only in the Western Kwa languages (including Ewe), whereas the opposite (i.e. possessed-possessor or NG ordering) tends to be the pattern in the rest of the Niger-

Kordofanian languages. Thus, Ewe is one of a small group of languages attested to veer from a universal tendency which is otherwise upheld in the larger language grouping to which it belongs.

Nevertheless, the differences between predicted universal and actual Anlo data serve to underscore the fact that these typological universals are not absolute. Though useful for descriptive linguistics and, perhaps, ultimately for linguistic explanation, it is still necessary to describe individual languages and/or dialects against the backdrop of these universal tendencies.

4.2 The Noun Phrase

The Anlo Ewe Noun Phrase (NP) can be represented by the formula:

$$\text{NP} => \text{(Possessor) Head-Nominal (ADJ)}^n \text{ (\#) } \begin{array}{c} \text{(DEM)} \\ \text{(DEF)} \\ \text{(QNT)} \end{array} \text{ (pl) (LocP \& RELcl)}$$

in which Relative Clauses and Locative Phrases follow all other NP constituents, and are identically coded within the NP (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 below). Many of the details of the construction of the NP have already been described in section 3.1.2, such as the relationship of a possessor to the possessed (head-) nominal, the location of the number marker (i.e. plural /-wo'/) in the NP, and the shape of the mutually exclusive definite marker (/-la'/) and demonstratives (/-sia`/ and /-ma'/). These will be further illustrated below in the discussion of several other NP constituents.

4.2.1 Adjectives and Quantifiers

Adjectives, of which there may be none, one, or more, follow the head noun.[2] If an NP consists only of a plural head noun and adjective,

there is only one plural marker and it is suffixed to the adjective:

(1)
(a) ati' kɔkɔ   "a tall tree"
     / ati' kɔkɔ /
        tree ADJ

(b) ati' **kɔkɔwo'**   "tall trees"
     / ati' kɔkɔ -wo' /
        tree ADJ   pl

Cardinal numbers can also fill the adjective slot, and when this occurs, the plural marker is optional and usually omitted, as in (2a):

(2) (a)   apɛl ɛtɔ~
     (b)   apɛl ɛtɔ~ **wo'**   "three apples"
     (c)   apɛl **wo'**(a)m(ɛ) ɛtɔ~
           / apɛl   wo' amɛ   ɛtɔ~ /
              apple pl   person? three

In addition to its optionality, (2c) illustrates that the placement of the plural marker, when combined with cardinal numbers, can be inconsistent with its usual position.[3]

When both a cardinal number and at least one other adjective are present in the NP, the cardinal number follows the adjective(s) in the the adjectival phrase (AdjP):

(3)   sɛ'Φ oΦ o dzi~ ga~ atɔ~(wo')(la')
      / sɛ'Φ oΦ o dzi~ ga~ atɔ~ -wo' -la' /
        flower   red   big five   pl   -DEF
      "(the) five big red flowers"

Example (3) again illustrates the optionality of the plural marker when a cardinal number is used, as well as a difference in the placement of the plural marker, which is shown occurring before the definite marker /-la'/ rather than after it as is usual.

The use of the definite marker itself demonstrates that cardinal numbers are grouped with adjectives, for when both adjectives and the definite marker or a demonstrative are present, the determiner is suf-

fixed to the adjective, and the plural suffix again follows the right-most constituent:

(4)   agba~lꞓ kpꞓˋkpꞓˋla'wo'   "the heavy books"
       / agba~lꞓ kpꞓˋkpꞓˋ -la' -wo' /
         book   heavy   -DEF   pl

(5)   nu'Nlơˋti xơ'xơ'ma'wo'   "those old pencils"
       / nu'Nlơˋti xơ'xơ' -ma' -wo' /
         pencil   old   -DEM   pl

Ordinal numbers also appear to the right of the AdjP, and can also be followed by the definite marker or a demonstrative, as in (6).

(6)   nu'Nlơˋti dzi~ Ꞓñiliala'   "the eighth red pencil"
       / nu'Nlơˋti dzi~ Ꞓñi-lia -la' /
         pencil   red 8 -th   -DEF

The presence of the determiner /-la'/ in (6) shows that ordinals cannot be grouped with other quantifiers (QNT), which are mutually exclusive with the definite marker and demonstratives.

(7)   yꞓ'vubolo dzo a'Dꞓ'   "some warm bread"
       / yꞓ'vubolo dzo a'Dꞓ' /
         bread   warm QNT

(7')   *yꞓ'vubolo dzo a'Dꞓ'la'   "the some warm bread"
       / yꞓ'vubolo dzo a'Dꞓ' -la' /
         bread   warm QNT   -DEF

Example (7') illustrates the unacceptability of adding a definite marker when a quantifier is present. Thus, quantifiers are in contrastive distribution with the other determiners.

4.2.2 The Locative Phrase

The locative phrase (LocP) in Ewe is usually marked by the prepositional (pLOC) use of a copular/auxiliary verb and a postpositional locative morpheme (LOCp). The formula for the LocP is thus:

LocP   =>   pLOC NP LOCp

The copula /lꞓˋ/ "be" is employed as the locative preposition for

all stative or positional locatives, as in the following examples:

(8) 1∈˘ fia's∈la' m∈˘   "at, in the store"
     1∈˘ añigba ta'm∈˘   "above ground"
     1∈˘ mo˜la' tσ'   "at the edge of the road"
     1∈˘ fia's∈la' xa'   "beside, near, next to the store"

(9) 1∈˘ kp∈'la' dzi   "on, on top of the stone"
     / 1∈˘ kp∈' -la' dzi /
     pLOC stone -DEF LOCp

In (9), the stative notion "on/on top" is conveyed by the prepositional

use of /1∈˘/ in conjunction with the locative particle /dzi/. This can

be further illustrated by the example in (10), where the action of the

predication takes place in one area, i.e., on top of the stone:

(10) mi'∈1∈˘ kpo dzσm' 1∈˘ kp∈'la' dzi
      / mi'∈– 1∈˘ kpo dzσ –m' 1∈˘ kp∈' -la' dzi /
        1pS– AUX jump ASPp pLOC stone -DEF LOCp
      "we are jumping on the stone"

     In contrast to stative locatives of this type, different preposi-

tions are employed when the locative involves motion towards a goal.

For instance, when the locative /dzi/, employed in the stative locative

in (10), is used in conjunction with a different preposition, /d∈˘/, the

locative conveys the meaning of motion "onto" an object, as in (11):

(11) m∈˘dzσ kpo d∈˘ kp∈˘la' dzi
      / m∈˘– dzσ kpo d∈˘ kp∈' -la' dzi /
        1sS– jump pLOC box -DEF LOCp
      "I jumped onto the stone"

     The same sequence of morphemes, /d∈˘/ and /dzi/, also constitute a

verb stem, d∈˘ dzi "climb", which homonymously denotes an action "onto"

an object, in which the locative particle follows the object in the

VComp position. This is illustrated in (12):

(12) m∈˘d∈˘ kp∈'la' dzi
      / m∈˘– d∈˘ kp∈' -la' dzi /
        1sS– climb stone -DEF LOCp
      "I climbed (onto) the stone"

Hence, an identical structure is found in the locative, (11), and the verbal construction, (12). This in turn suggests that a serial verb construction may be present in (11), in which d€‌ represents the second V rather than a locative preposition.

The verb /yi˜/ "go" also appears to function as a motion locative marker in conjunction with /m€˜/ "in, at" to convey the meaning of "to, towards":

(13)　m€˜Φu' du **yi˜ fia'sЄla' m€˜**
　　　/ m€˜– Φu' du　yi˜　fia'sЄ –la'　m€˜ /
　　　　1sS– run　pLOC　　store –DEF　LOCp
　　　"I ran to the store"

Again, this structure is identical to one in which yi˜ occurs as main verb, as in (14):

(14)　Є'yi˜ fia'sЄla' m€˜
　　　/ Є'– yi˜　fia'sЄ –la'　m€˜ /
　　　　3sS– go　store　–DEF　LOCp
　　　"s/he went to the store"

It is therefore possible that the locative postposition /m€˜/ alone has the function of a locative meaning "to", without a locative preposition present. In this case, the presence of /yi˜/ in (13) above could also be explained as an instance of a serial verb construction (see section 4.4.3.4 below). However, structures as in (10) above show that the locative phrase follows an aspectually–marked main verb. In contrast, when verbs such as lЄ˜, yi˜, and dЄ˜ (dzi) are used prepositionally, they can never be marked for aspect.

When a locative phrase is included within the NP, it is introduced by the relative clause marker /si'/, to be discussed in section 4.2.3 below. Hence, LocP and RELcl are similarly coded in the NP, and example (15) on the next page can be compared to the examples of relative

clauses to be found in the next section:

(15) agba~lЄ **si**' lЄ` kplo~la' dzi
      / agba~lЄ -la' si' lЄ` kplo~ -la' dzi /
         book   -DEF REL pLOC table -DEF LOCp
      "the book on the table / the book which is on the table"

In this case, the locative preposition is clearly functioning as a copu-

lar verb in a relative clause construction.

4.2.3 The Relative Clause

The relative clause marker /si'/, illustrated in (15) above, fol-

lows the head nominal and precedes the relative clause, which itself

follows all other constituents in the NP. A large number of sentential

constituents can be relativized in Anlo Ewe, including: (16) subject;

(17) direct object; (18) indirect object; (19) unmarked oblique; (20)

/Nu'/-marked oblique; (21) /DЄ- -Nu'/-marked oblique; (22) /DЄ/-marked

oblique; (23) locative; (24) associative; and (25) instrumental. Addi-

tionally, example (26) shows that genitives can not be relativized, and

the genitive therefore marks the Anlo Ewe cut-off point on Keenan and

Comrie's (1977) NP Accessibility Hierarchy.

(16) foga kpo' amЄ si' Фo abla la'
      / foga kpo' amЄ si' ___ Фo abla la' /
         3sS see person REL   S hit 3sO -REL
      "Foga saw the one who hit Abla"

(17) foga kpo' amЄ si' abla Фo la'
      / foga kpo' amЄ si' abla Фo ___ la' /
         3sS see person REL 3sS hit DO -REL
      "Foga saw the one who Abla hit"

(18) foga kpo' amЄ si' abla tso' agba~lЄla' na'
      / foga kpo' amЄ si' abla tso' agba~lЄ -la' na' ___ /
         3sS see person REL 3sS give book -DEF DAT IO
      "Foga saw the one who Abla gave the book to"

(19) fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla tu afɔe
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla tu afɔ -e /
        3sS see person REL 3sS   kick **OBL**
      "Foga saw the one who Abla kicked"

(20) fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla dɛ asie
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla dɛ asi -e /
        3sS see person REL 3sS   touch **OBL**
      "Foga saw the one who Abla touched"

(21) fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla kpɛ' Do
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla kpɛ' Dɛ + ? /
        3sS see person REL 3sS   help pOBL **OBL**
      "Foga saw the one who Abla helped"

(22) fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla Do agba~lɛla' Do
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla Do agba~lɛ -la' Dɛ + ? /
        3sS see person REL 3sS   send letter -DEF pOBL **OBL**
      "Foga saw the one who Abla sent the letter to"

(23) fɔga kpɔ' fia'sɛ si' mɛˇ abla Φlɛˇ agba~lɛla' lɛˇ
      / fɔga kpɔ' fia'sɛ si' mɛˇ abla Φlɛˇ agba~lɛ -la' lɛˇ /
        3sS see store REL LOCp 3sS buy book -DEF **pLOC**
      "Foga saw the store that Abla bought the book at /
      Foga saw the store where at Abla bought the book"

(24) fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla yiˇ fia'sɛla' mɛˇ kpli':
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla yiˇ fia'sɛ -la' mɛˇ kplɛ' -e /
        3sS see person REL 3sS   go store -DEF LOCp pASSC **ASSC**
      "Foga saw the one who Abla went to the store with"

(25) fɔga kpɔ' safwi' si' abla βuˇ βola' kpli':
      / fɔga kpɔ' safwi' si' abla βuˇ βo -la' kplɛ' -e /
        3sS see key   REL 3sS   open door -DEF pINST **INST**
      "Foga saw the key that Abla opened the door with"

(26) *fɔga kpɔ' amɛ si' abla Φo Φɛ dadi
      / fɔga kpɔ' amɛ   si' abla Φo Φɛ dadi
        3sS see person REL 3sS   hit GEN cat
      "Foga saw the one who abla hit the cat of"

     The syntactic classification of many of the arguments exemplified
above as obliques will be discussed in section 4.3.2 below. The relati-
vizing strategies employed in the above constructions (i.e. gapping
(___), case-coding (e.g. dative na'), and pronoun retention (-e), are
identical to those found in the /é/-focus construction and, hence, dis-

cussion of these strategies will be reserved until the description of this particular Anlo Ewe focus construction in chapter 5.

In examples (16)-(25) above, the presence of the relative clause marker /si'/ appears to obviate the need for the definite marker /-la'/, which never marks the head nominal when it is modified by a relative clause. A noun which is further specified by a relative clause is made definite or referential, rendering the definite marker unnecessary.

However, a morpheme /la'/, which may well represent a special use of the definite marker /-la'/, does occasionally appear following the relative clause. In this position, /la'/ seems to be optional, for it is only present in two of the examples above, (16) and (17). Its use appears to be more common when some sentential constituent follows the relative clause, in which case /la'/ offsets the relative clause and complex NP from the remainder of the sentence. This is illustrated in (27), where a relative clause modifies the subject and /la'/ offsets this complex NP from the following verb phrase:

(27) agba~lƐ si' Nu'tsula' bu' la' lƐˇ afi'ma'
      / agba~lƐ si' Nu'tsu -la' bu' la' lƐˇ afi'ma' /
         book   REL man -DEF lose -REL be   there
      "the book (that) the man lost is there"

Even this is not obligatory, however, as attested by the absence of /la'/ in the similar example in (28):

(28) Nu'tsu si' avuˇla' Du kpɔ'mˇ
      / Nu'tsu si' avuˇ -la' Du ___ kpɔ -mˇ /
         man   REL dog -DEF bit   see -1sO
      "The man (that) the dog bit saw me"

Despite the inconclusive and contradictory evidence regarding the use of /la'/ in this context, further evidence exists to suggest that /la'/ is functioning to offset a complex NP or subordinate clause from

the remainder of a sentence (i.e. a main clause). This evidence will be reviewed in section 4.4.3.3 in the examination of conditionals.

4.2.4 NP Coordination

NPs can be coordinated by the conjunctions /kplЄ'/ "and, with" and /alʊ/ "or":[4]

(29) fʊga **kplЄ'** abla   "Foga and Abla"

(30) fʊga **alʊ** abla   "Foga or Abla"

When both elements of a coordinate NP are definite, the definite marker only appears once, following the second nominal:

(31) kplʊ~~ kplЄ' zikpwi'la'   "the table and the chair"
```
/ kplʊ~~  kplЄ'  zikpwi' -la /
  table    &     chair   -DEF
```

Similarly, the plural marker appears only once in a coordinate NP, modifying both constituents, even if only one is actually meant to be plural, so that the translation is left ambiguous:

(32) kplʊ~~ kplЄ' zikpwi'la'wo'   "the table and the chairs/
```
/ kplʊ~~  kplЄ'  zikpwi' -la' -wo' /     the tables and the chair/
  table    &     chair   -DEF  pl        the tables and the chairs"
```

When two pronouns are conjoined, an additional morpheme, /kpa/, may optionally precede the conjunction /kplЄ'/. This /kpa/ denotes common human activity and is only used when human referents are con-joined in a coordinate NP. Furthermore, when pronouns are conjoined, /kplЄ'/ generally surfaces as [kpli']:

(33) Є'kpʊ' Ñ€~ kpli' wo~   "s/he saw me and you"
```
/ Є~- kpʊ'  Ñ€~  kplЄ'  wo~ /
  3sS- see   1s    &     2s
```

(34) Є~kpʊ' Ñ€~ **kpa** kpli':   "you saw me and him/her"
```
/ Є~- kpʊ'  Ñ€~  kpa kplЄ'  -i /
  2sS- see   1s    &        -3sO
```

In example (33), the [i] of [kpli] is occasionally lengthened with the addition of the 3s object agreement suffix, though fluctuation in the length of this vowel has been recorded. When the 3s independent pronoun occurs in the same position, however, /kplЄ'/ surfaces without vowel alternation or lengthening:

(35) Є˘kpʊ' ÑЄ˘ kplЄ' ya'   "you saw me and him/her"
      / Є˘- kpʊ' ÑЄ˘ kplЄ' Є'ya' /
      2sS- see 1s & 3s

This may be due to deletion of the final [Є'] of /kplЄ'/ before /Є'ya'/, which only optionally occurs before /-i/ though it is not certain to which of the two morphemes involved the surface [Є'] actually belongs.

Additionally, there is an ordering preference among persons within these coordinate NPs. A first person will precede a second person, both speech act participants (SAPs) will occur before third persons, and singular persons tend to precede plurals. Hence, whether a sentence is elicited as "I saw them and you" or "I saw you and them", it will be calqued as [mЄ˘kpʊ' wo˘ kpli' wo'] "1sS- see 2s & 3p".[5]

It must be noted that the coordination of independent pronouns, or a mixture of independent pronouns and pronominal agreement affixes as shown in the examples above, is highly restricted and more likely to be replaced by a single pronoun which combines the two persons specified (see note 5). Generally, when independent pronouns are used in Anlo Ewe, they convey a special emphasis being placed on the referent. As will be discussed in section 5.3.1.2, the use of independent pronouns, alone or in coordinated NPs outside of some construction of special emphasis or focus, is highly restricted and, in fact, strictly unacceptable in subject position, as exemplified in (36) below:

(36) *wo˜ kpli' wo' kpɔ'm˜   "you and they saw me"
      / wo˜ kplⱻ' wo' kpɔ' —m˜ /
        2s   &   3p   see —1sO

In addition to its use in coordinated NPs, the conjunction /kplⱻ'/

is also used to mark oblique instrumentals (37) and associatives (38) as

illustrated below:

(37) Ⱐ'βu˜ βɔla' kplⱻ' safwi'
      / Ⱐ'— βu˜ βɔ —la' kplⱻ' safwi' /
        3sS— open door —DEF pINST key
      "s/he opened the door with a key"

(38) Ⱐ'da kɔ' kplⱻ' dzatala'
      / Ⱐ'— da kɔ kplⱻ' dzata —la' /
        3sS— fight pASSC lion —DEF
      "s/he fought (with) the lion"

4.3 The Verb Phrase

Much of the internal structure of the verb phrase (VP) has already

been outlined in section 3.4 on verb morphology. The very structure of

a complex verb stem, consisting of a verb root (V) and an additional

modifying morpheme (VComp; which is also the slot filled by direct ob-

jects with simple verb stems), confirms the existence of a VP in Ewe.

As has already been surveyed, the constituent order within the VP

changes depending on the interaction of tense and aspect. The following

formula represents the structure of the VP with simple tenses (VP_T),

optionally given a more aspectual reading through modification by adver-

bials. Adjuncts ("{}"), such as indirect objects, obliques, or adver-

bials, always follow the basic VP structure:

  VP_T =>   TNS V (—HAB) VComp/DO   {(na' DAT/pOBL OBL) ADV}

The simple aorist (past and present), the simple future, and the past

and present habitual follow this formula, which illustrates the basic VO

constituent order.

A second formula represents aspectually-marked verb phrases (VP_A): the past, present and future progressives, as well as the intentive (and possibly the /yi˜na'/ "go to" form). All of these appear to reflect a basic OV constituent order:

VP_A => TNS AUX (-HAB) VComp/DO V-ASP {(na' DAT/pOBL OBL) ADV}

There is, however, the possibility that even this second construction should also be treated as a VO ordering. There are several features of the VP_A which lend themselves to this alternative analysis.

4.3.1 Main Verb or Nominal Complement

In VP_A, the V and VComp constituents appear to trade places or be transposed. However, a syntactic test is available to suggest that it is only the verb root which is transposed (rightward). This test involves the position of the habitual marker, which can be compared in the two formulae above, and in examples (39) and (40) representing VP_T and VP_A respectively:

```
(39)  Є'Du'na GЄ˜                    "s/he (habitually) dances"
      / Є'–  Du' –na   GЄ˜ /
        3sS–  V    HAB  VComp
```

```
(40)  Є'no˜(n)a GЄ˜ Du'm'            "s/he was always dancing"
      / Є'–  no˜  –na  GЄ˜    Du' –m' /
        3sS–  AUX  HAB  VComp  V   ASPp
```

In both of these examples, the habitual marker precedes the VComp, suggesting that VComp is not moved to the left in constituent order, but that V is moved rightward out of its usual slot preceding HAB.

The position of the habitual also allows for the observation of the similarity between the surface order of <u>V HAB VComp</u> in VP_T and <u>AUX HAB VComp</u> in VP_A. This suggests the possibility that AUX occupies

the V slot vacated by V transposition in aspectually-marked VPs. On the other hand, it is also possible that AUX and V are not the same in these constructions and the rightward transposition of V in VP$_A$ leaves a gap (as in (40')) which, being empty, does nothing to keep AUX and HAB from appearing to be adjacent syntactically:

(40') Є'nσˇ(n)a GЄˇ Du'm'   "s/he was always dancing"
      / Є'- nσˇ ___ -na GЄˇ   Du' -m' /
      3sS- AUX (V) HAB VComp V   ASPp

Unfortunately, no other syntactic test provides confirmation or refutation of the analysis which places AUX in the V slot. In order for AUX to function as a main verb, though, the transposed V would have to cease its function as a verb. This is only possible if the aspectually-marked VComp V complex is analyzable as a gerundive nominalization (cf. section 3.1.1.2.1 above). Though the structural similarities between gerundive nominals and aspectually-marked VPs make such a conclusion attractive, Clements (1975) has shown that VP$_A$s are not syntactically identical to these similarly derived gerundive nouns.[6] Clements' argument can be recapitulated, in part, as follows:

One example from (5) in chapter 3, restated here as (41), illustrates the derivation of the gerundive nominal xσtutu "house-building" from the complex verb tu xσ "build a house":

(41) /tu xσ/ —> /xσ   tu/ —> /xσ   tu-   tu/ —> [xσtutu]
       V VComp   VComp V   VComp VRedup V   Noun

That xσtutu is a noun is demonstrated by its ability to be marked for possession (i.e. GEN$_2$ inflection), as in (42), and conjoined by /kplЄ'/ in a coordinate NP with other nouns, as in (43):

(42) ÑЄˇxσtutu   "my house-building"
      / ÑЄˇ-   xσtutu /
      1sGEN$_2$- house-building

(43) xʊtutu kplϵ' akʊ~Du'wo'   "house-building and bananas"
      / xʊtutu   kplϵ' akʊ~Du' —wo' /
        house-building   &   banana   pl

Aspectually—marked verbs undergo a process similar to gerundive nominal formation in that V follows VComp. Reduplication of the verb root may also be involved, for a simple verb stem without an object will require reduplication to fill VComp, as in (44) below. If, however, the verb is complex, the VComp will already be filled and no reduplication takes place, as in (45). These aspectually—marked constructions can then be compared to a simple tense predication with VP$_T$ structure con—taining a gerundive nominal, as in (46):

(44) ϵ'lϵ` fʊ~ fʊ~m'   "s/he is getting up"
      / ϵ'— lϵ` fʊ~—   fʊ~   —m' /
        3sS— AUX VRedup `get up ASPp
                   VComp   V

(45) ϵ'lϵ` xʊ tum'   "s/he is building a house"
      / ϵ'— xʊ   tu   —m' /
        3sS— house build ASPp
             VComp   V

(46) ϵ'lʊ~ xʊtutu   "s/he likes house—building"
      / ϵ'— lʊ~ xʊtutu /
        3sS— like house—building
             V   VComp

Little difference, other than the aspectual marker in (44) and (45), is evident between these predications, and the structural parallels between the auxiliary in (44)—(45) and the main verb in (46) are again striking. It is therefore possible that the auxiliary lϵ` is functioning in a manner identical to the main verb lʊ of (46) and that the aspectual zʊzʊm' and xʊtum' are as much nominals as xʊtutu. A small modification of the gloss of (45) to "s/he is house—building" would further graphic—ally demonstrate this conclusion. However, the aspectually—marked verb complexes fail to pass the tests of nominal—hood already demonstrated

for gerundive nouns above. Thus, <u>xotum'</u> can neither be marked by geni-
tive inflection nor coordinated by /kplЄ'/, as in (47) and (48), respec-
tively:

(47) *ÑЄˇxσ tum'
      / ÑЄˇ–   xσ   tu   –m' /
        1sGEN₂– house build ASPp
      "my building a house"

(48) *Є'lЄˇ fσ~ fσ~m' kplЄ' xσ tum'
      / Є'– lЄˇ fσ~–   fσ~   –m' kplЄ' xσ   tu   –m /
        3sS– AUX VRedup get up ASPp &   house build ASPp
      "s/he is getting up and building a house"

Despite the structural similarities, then, aspectually–marked verb
roots cannot be equated with nominals and are only analyzable as main
verbs in the VP_A.

4.3.2 <u>Verb Root Reduplication and Transposition</u>

Verb root reduplication and transposition have been touched upon
above, and the importance of these processes in syntactic tests has been
made evident. Both are particularly useful in determining which, if
any, constituents may fill the VComp slot. Though the occasional simple
verb root can stand alone without a VComp element in VP_T constructions,
the VComp in a VP_A must be filled by some element. If a direct object
or verbal complement is present, it will occur immediately to the left
of the aspectually–marked verb root. If, however, no element is present
to fill VComp, the verb root must be reduplicated to fill this slot.
This latter case was exemplified in (44) above, where the simple verb
<u>fσ~</u> "get up" was reduplicated when marked for the present progressive.
This same verb appears without a verbal complement in the simple tenses:

(49) mЄˇfσ~   "I got up"
      / mЄˇ–   fσ~ /
        1sS– get up

The element that fills the verbal complement slot is important for a number of reasons. VComp is the slot in the VP where direct objects occur. This is a purely syntactic definition of DO, for even semantic obliques such as locatives can occur in VComp in association with verb roots belonging to certain semantic sets. The verb yi͂ "go" is one example of this. Though a simple tense statement, as in (50a), might leave some doubt as to the position of the locative object complement, an aspectually-marked VP, as in (50b), illustrates the placement of the locative in VComp:

(50a) Є'yi͂ *Accra*   "s/he went to Accra"
    / Є'– yi͂ *Accra* /
     3sS– go

(50b) Є'lЄ͂ *Accra* yi͂gЄ'   "s/he intends to go to Accra"
    / Є'– lЄ͂ *Accra* yi͂ –gЄ͂ /
     3sS– AUX VComp go ASPi

In contrast to this, semantic patients, for which some verbs obligatorily subcategorize, are blocked from being coded as DOs (i.e. placed in VComp) by the presence of nominals incorporated into complex verb stems as secondary verbal elements. In some cases, these displaced patients are coded as indirect objects (i.e. marked by the dative preposition /na'/):

(51a) Є'Φo tomЄ͂ na' foga   "s/he slapped Foga"
    / Є'– Φo tomЄ͂ na' foga /
     3sS– slap   DAT 3sIO

(51b) Є'lЄ͂ tomЄ͂ Φom' na' foga   "s/he is slapping Foga"
    / Є'– lЄ͂ tomЄ͂ Φo na' foga /
     3sS– AUX VComp V   DAT 3sIO

In other cases, oblique-marking elements, such as /Nu'/, are used:

(52a) Є'li asi dadila' Nu'   "s/he stroked the cat"
    / Є'– li asi dadi –la' Nu' /
     3sS– stroke   cat –DEF OBLp

(52b) Є'1Є˘ asi lim' dadila' Nu'   "s/he is stroking the cat"
     / Є'- 1Є˘ asi li -m' dadi -la' Nu' /
       3sS- AUX VComp V ASPp cat -DEF OBLp

Yet others simply follow the verbal complex with no overt marking

whatsoever:

(53a) mi'Єdo go foga   "we met Foga"
     / mi'Є- do go foga /
       1pS- meet OBL

(53b) mi'Є1Є˘ go dogЄ' foga   "we will meet Foga"
     / mi'Є- 1Є˘ go do -gЄ' foga /
       1pS- AUX VComp V ASPi OBL

In examples (51)-(53), these displaced patients follow the verbal

complex in all cases and are all treated alike syntactically as obliques

(or as indirect objects when marked by /na'/). This syntactic pattern

of coding obliques will play an important role in the Anlo Ewe focus-

marking construction to be discussed in chapter 5.

Finally, there are a number of verbs which are provided in elici-

tation with what appear to be secondary verbal elements, but the syntac-

tic tests provided by aspect-marking show that these elements do not

occupy VComp. One verb of this type is kpЄ' DЄ Nu' "help", which is

exceptional for two reasons. If a simple tense predication of this verb

were to be analyzed alone, as in (54a), it could easily be concluded

that the element DЄ occupies VComp, thus displacing the semantic patient

which is then marked as an oblique by /Nu'/:

(54a) Є'kpЄ' DЄ foga Nu'   "s/he helped Foga"
     / Є˘- kpЄ' DЄ foga Nu' /
       3sS- help ? OBL OBLp

However, the test of aspect-marking, as in (54b), shows that not only

does DЄ fail to occupy VComp, but that no element, whether an incor-

porated nominal or a direct object, can occur in VComp at all. This is

attested by the reduplication of the verb root /kpЄ'/ which fills the otherwise empty VComp:

(54b) Є'lЄˋ kpЄ' kpЄ'm' DЄ fɔga Nu'
      / Є'– lЄˋ kpЄ'– kpЄ' –m'   DЄ fɔga Nu' /
       3sS– AUX VRedup help ASPp pOBL OBL   OBLp
      "s/he is helping Foga"

DЄ must then be analyzed as a prepositional oblique-marker. The evidence for this is found in another verb in which /DЄ/ occurs.

The verb Dɔ Da "send" is similar in structure to kpЄ' DЄ Nu' except that a direct object can occur in VComp (see (55a)). That /DЄ/ is truly marking the oblique in this case is evident when it takes an alternate surface form [Da] just when the oblique is unspecified, as in (55b):[7]

(55a) Є'Dɔ agba~lЄla' DЄ fɔga
      / Є'– Dɔ agba~lЄ –la' DЄ   fɔga /
       3sS– send letter –DEF pOBL OBL
      "s/he sent the letter to Foga"

(55b) Є'Dɔ agba~lЄla' Da
      / Є'– Dɔ agba~lЄ –la' DЄ + ? /
       3sS– send letter –DEF pOBL
      "s/he sent the letter"

The verb dzra Dɔ "repair" appears to represent a similar construction, except that the element Dɔ, which may be related to the oblique-marking preposition /DЄ/, fails to function as an oblique-marker in any way. In fact, the exact role of Dɔ in this verb is uncertain:

(56a) Є'dzra mɔ~la' Dɔ (na' fɔga)
      / Є'– dzra   mɔ~   –la' Dɔ (na' fɔga) /
       3sS– repair machine –DEF ? (DAT IO)
      "s/he repaired the machine (for Foga)"

(56b) Є'lЄˋ mɔ~la' dzram' Dɔ (na' fɔga)
      / Є'– lЄˋ mɔ~   –la' dzra –m' Dɔ (na' fɔga) /
       3sS– AUX machine –DEF repair ASPp ? (DAT IO)
      "s/he is repairing the machine (for Foga)"

Do does not occupy VComp for an actual direct object is present in this position. Furthermore, if an optional oblique benefactive is added, it is coded as a dative which follows Do. This suggests that Do is not an adverbial since adverbials generally occur clause-finally. An allomorph of /DE/ in the form [Do] has been recorded (see section 5.3.4.2.3), but if this Do is a form of the oblique-marker /DE/, it appears to have become frozen and is without overt function in this particular verb.

Morphological alternations, such as [DE ≈ Da ≈ Do], also play a role in Anlo Ewe focus-marking and, as such, the verbs kpE' DE Nu' and Do Da will be discussed again in chapter 5.

4.4 The Clause

An Anlo Ewe clause consists minimally of a verb, though some index of a participant (e.g. verbal agreement; lexical specification) is usual. The minimal clause, then, consists of a VP. In principle, every main verb belongs to a separate clause, even in the serial verb constructions to be discussed below. With the inclusion of the adjuncts in the VP formulas in 4.3, above, almost all aspects of the basic clause have already been covered. When a subject is specified, and it appears that there must always be some kind of subject-marking (with the exception of the singular imperative), this subject occurs before the VP. Hence, the two basic word orders in Ewe are SVO (tense-marked) and SOV (aspect-marked). Both occur in the indicative and interrogative moods. No passive voice exists in Anlo Ewe to alter this basic clausal order.

4.4.1 Mood

4.4.1.1 Indicative

The majority of the example sentences cited thus far are in the indicative (or declarative) mood and, therefore, few more will be cited here except to demonstrate various extreme possibilities allowed within the clausal structure.

This structure is represented in the two formulas below, each preceding their respective example sets. These formulas are essentially the same as the VP formulas, expanded to full clausal structure by the addition of a subject NP (S) slot before VP:

$$CL_T \Rightarrow S/(Sa-)\ TNS-\ V\ (-HAB)\ VComp\ (DAT/OBL)\ (ADV)$$

(57) mЄˇzσ
/ mˇ- Є-   zσ /
1sS- TNSa walk
"I walked"

(58) fσga tsina kpo lЄˇ kpЄ'la' dzi
/ fσga tsi -na kpo lЄˇ kpЄ' -la' dzi /
  S   V   HAB VComp pLOC stone -DEF LOCp
"Foga jumps on the stone"

(59) Nu'tsu kplЄ' Ñoˇnula'wo' a'Du moˇ~lu a'DЄ' blЄwuˇ
/ Nu'tsu kplЄ' Ñoˇnu -la' -wo' a-   Du moˇ~lu a'DЄ'   blЄwuˇ /
  man   &   woman -DEF pl   TNSf eat rice   some   ADV
"the men and women will eat some rice slowly"

$$CL_A \Rightarrow S/(Sa-)\ TNS-\ AUX\ (-HAB)\ VComp\ V-ASP\ (DAT/OBL)\ (ADV)$$

(60) miˇЄlЄˇ zσ zσm'
/ miˇ- Є- lЄˇ zσ-   zσ   -m' /
  2pS- TNSa AUX VRedup walk ASPp
"you(pl) are walking"

(61) vi ñЄˇ lЄˇ kσ' dagЄ' kplЄ' dzatawo'
/ -vi- -ñЄˇ   lЄˇ   kσ' da -gЄ' kplЄ' dzata -wo' /
  child -1sGEN₁   AUX   fight   ASPi &   lion pl
"my child intends to be fighting (with) lions"

(62)   fɔga a'nɔ˘ agba~lƐ Dom' DƐm˘ kabakaba
       / fɔga a-   nɔ˘ agba~lƐ Do   -m' DƐ   -m˘ kabakaba /
         S   TNSf AUX letter send ASPp pOBL -1sO ADV
       "Foga will be sending a letter to me quickly"

Examples (59) and (62) show that manner adverbials, blƐwu˘ "slow-
ly" and kabakaba "quickly", respectively, occur clause-finally. Adver-
bials of time and space, which usually occur clause-finally as well (see
example (63a)), can also be placed in clause-initial position. In this
case, it is generally necessary to mark them for emphasis in some way.
The Anlo Ewe focus-marking construction, discussed in chapter 5, is one
way in which an adverbial can be emphasized. However, other modes of
emphasis also exist, including the use of a morpheme /la'/, in conjunc-
tion with off-setting the emphasized constituent from the main clause by
use of a prosodic break, illustrated typographically by a comma, as in
(63b):

(63a) mi'Ɛwɔ˘ dɔ˘ Ɛtsɔ siva'yi   "we worked yesterday"
       / mi'Ɛ- wɔ˘ dɔ˘   Ɛtsɔ   siva'yi /
         1pS- work 1-day-off past
               V   VComp   ADV

(63b) Ɛtsɔ siva'yi la', Ɛ'da nu'   "yesterday, s/he cooked (s.t.)"
       / Ɛtsɔ siva'yi la'   Ɛ'- da nu' /
          ADV   ?   3sS- cook

The element la', present in (63b), would appear to be another instance
of the /la'/ which has been observed in several different constructions,
including relative clauses (4.2.3 above) and conditionals (4.4.3.3 be-
low). In this case, la' again appears to intervene between a subordi-
nate clause and a following main clause. Hence, this /la'/ morpheme may
well be a postpositional marker of subordinate clauses, though this
hypothesis requires further investigation.

4.4.1.2 Interrogative

The basic clausal word order of the interrogative (i.e. yes/no questions) in Anlo Ewe is identical to that of the indicative, with the addition of an interrogative or question-marking morpheme (Q), /a˘/, which appears in absolute clause-final position. The following examples will first provide a short indicative clause (a) and then demonstrate how this is placed in the interrogative by the addition of /a˘/ (b):

```
(64a) a'Du' GE˘                          "s/he will dance"
      / '-    a-    Du' GE˘ /
        3sS- TNSf    dance

(64b) a'Du' GE˘ a˘                        "will s/he dance?"
      / '-    a-    du' GE˘   a˘ /
        3sS- TNSf    dance   Q
        S     V    (O)

(65a) E'lE˘ yi˘ yi˘gE'                    "s/he intends to go"
      / E'-   lE˘   yi˘-    yi˘ -gE' /
        3sS- AUX  VRedup go  ASPi

(65b) E'lE˘ yi˘ yi˘gE a˘                  "does s/he intend to go"
      / E'-   lE˘   yi˘     yi˘ -gE'   a˘ /
        3sS- AUX  VRedup  go  ASPi    Q
```

In contrast to the structural identity shared by the indicative and yes/no interrogative, the structure of WH- questions is quite different. Though echo questions can be formed with the WH- word in the appropriate syntactic slot (e.g. VComp when questioning a DO), the more usual pattern in Anlo Ewe parallels that of English. WH- questions are commonly formed by fronting the WH- question word to clause-initial position. This involves marking the WH- word with the focus-marker as it has been moved from its normal position in the clause and because, in asking a question, the speaker is focussing on the information that the WH- word is designed to elicit. The following examples will provide an echo question first (a), followed by the more common construction of a

fronted WH- (b):

(66) <u>nu'ka</u>   "what"

  (a) Є`Nlσ` nu'ka   "you wrote **what**?"
     / Є`- Nlσ` nu'ka /
       2sS- write WH-

  (b) nu'kaé nЄ`Nlσ`   "what did you write?"
     / nu'ka + é nЄ`-   Nlσ` /
       WH-   F 2snF- write

(67) <u>ka</u>   "which"

  (a) mi'aDu ka   "we will eat **which**?
     / mi'- a-   Du ka /
       1pS- TNSf   eat WH-

  (b) kaé mi'aDu   "which will we eat?"
     / ka + é mi'- a-   Du /
       WH-   F 1pS- TNSf eat

(68) <u>amЄka</u>   "who"

  (a) Є'kpσ' amЄka   "s/he saw **who**?"
     / Є'- kpσ amЄka /
       3sS- see   WH-

  (b) amekaé wo`kpσ'   "who did s/he see?"
     / amЄka   wo`- kpσ' /
       WH-   3snF- see

The non-focus pronouns, present in (66b) and (68b), once again indicate that the subject is subordinate to some other element in the clause or sentence. In these particular examples, it is a focussed constituent which precedes the subject-verb sequence.

4.4.1.3 Imperative

The clause structure of imperatives is naturally quite reduced from the possibilities of indicative and interrogative sentences. However, the word order is still recognizably that of the basic VO pattern of a VP_τ. No lexical subject is present in the imperative mood, though

second person imperative agreement prefixes, introduced in 3.4.2.1.4

above, are employed:

(69)   Du' GE˘   "dance (thou)!"
        /   Du' GE˘ /
       (2sIMP)   dance

(70)   mЄgaDu' GE˘ o˘   "don't (thou) dance!"
       / mЄ—ga—   Du' GE˘   o˘ /
       2sIMP—NEG   dance   NEG

(71)   miDui   "eat (ye) it!"
       / mi—   Du —i /
       2pIMP—   eat —3sO

(72)   migadЄ asi dadila' Nu' o˘   "don't (ye) touch the cat!"
       / mi—ga—   dЄ asi dadi —la' Nu' o˘ /
       2pIMP—NEG   touch   cat   —DEF OBLp NEG

The negative imperatives in examples (70) and (72) follow the

general pattern of negation which will be described immediately below.

4.4.2 Negation

Negation in Anlo Ewe shares features with both the imperative and

the interrogative moods. When a clause is negated, a special set of

negative subject agreement (see 3.3.2.1.2) is used in place of the

regular subject prefixes. These negative agreement prefixes are thus

similar in function to the more restricted set of negative imperative

subject agreement, though the negative markers present in the indicative

(i.e. /mЄ/) and imperative (i.e. /ga/) prefixes do not appear to be re-

lated morphologically. Additionally, a negative morpheme /o˘/ appears

clause-finally, paralleling the interrogative /a˘/. These are the modi-

fications to the basic clausal word order that are required in the

formation of negatives.

(73)   ÑЄ˘mЄ kpσ'wo˘ o˘   "I didn't see you(sg)"
       / ÑЄ˘mЄ   kpσ' —wo˘   o˘ /
       1sS—NEG   see   —2sO   NEG

(74) mi'∈ yi˘ o˘   "we didn't go"
      / mi'∈   yi˘ o˘ /
       1pS—NEG   go   NEG

When a lexical subject is present, the negative morpheme /m∈/ follows it

preceding the verb, and clausal order remains as usual:

(75) foga m∈ kpσ'wo˘ o˘   "Foga didn't see you"
      / foga m∈   kpσ' —wo˘   o˘ /
        3sS   NEG see —2sO   NEG

   Though the negative marker /o˘/ is clause—final in indicative pre-

dications, it is prevented from occurring clause—finally in negative

questions by the interrogative marker /a˘/.

(76) wo'm∈ Du mσ~lula' o˘ a˘   "didn't they eat the rice?"
      / wo'm∈   Du   mσ~lu —la'   o˘ a˘ /
        3pS—NEG eat rice —DEF NEG Q

The question marker is, however, the only element which can follow the

negative /o˘/ in any Anlo Ewe sentence.

4.4.3 Complex Sentences

4.4.3.1 Coordination

   When two independent clauses are conjoined, they are linked by the

morpheme /∈'y∈'/ "and", and if the subject of the second of the two

clauses is pronominalized, it is represented by non—focus agreement

rather than the regular subject prefixes.

(77) ∈˘N∈' zikpwi'la' ∈'y∈' wo˘N∈˘ kplσ~la'
      / ∈˘— N∈'   zikpwi' —la' ∈'y∈' wo˘—   N∈' kplσ~ —la' /
        2sS— break chair —DEF   &   3snF— break table —DEF
      "you broke the chair **and** he broke the table"

There is little deletability allowed between conjoined clauses. In the

above example, the repeated verb can be deleted in English, but this is

not acceptable in Anlo Ewe, even when a lexical subject is present:

(78) *Є~NЄ' zikpwi'la' Є'yЄ' fɔga kplɔ~la'
    / Є~– NЄ' zikpwi' –la' Є'yЄ' fɔga   kplɔ~ –la' /
    2sS– break chair –DEF &   3sS (V) table –DEF
    "you broke the chair and Foga the table"

Another, even more common deletion in English results from the avoidance
of repeating a coreferential subject in the second clause of a complex
sentence. However, verbal person agreement can not normally be deleted
from the verb in any clause immediately following the conjunction
/Є'yЄ'/ in an Anlo Ewe sentence.

(79) mЄ~Фo avu~la' Є'yЄ' mЄ~si
    / mЄ~– Фo   avu~ –la' Є'yЄ' mЄ~– si /
    1sS– hit dog –DEF &   1sS– flee
    "I hit the dog and (I) fled"

(80) *mЄ~Фo avu~la' Є'yЄ' si
    / mЄ~– Фo   avu~ –la' Є'yЄ' ____ si /
    1sS– hit dog –DEF & (1sS–) flee
    "I hit the dog and fled"

Deletion of verbal subject agreement is possible, though optional,
in a sequence of clauses which have the same subject. Once again, how-
ever, subject agreement can not be deleted following /Є'yЄ'/, and a non-
focus subject prefix occurs (if applicable: i.e. 2s and 3s):

(81) Є'Dɔ', DЄ~ Є'ФЄku'ku', trɔ' Є'yЄ' wo~nɔ~ añi
    / Є'– Dɔ' (Є'–) DЄ~ Є'ФЄ– ku'ku' (Є'–) trɔ' Є'yЄ' wo~– nɔ~ añi /
    3sS– arrive   remove 3sGEN$_2$– hat   turn & 3snF– sit
    "s/he arrived, took off his/her hat, turned around and sat down"

The result of this optional deletion is a serial verb construction (see
also 4.4.3.4 below).

In certain circumstances, the subject of a second clause, corefer-
ential to the initial clause subject, can be represented by a special
anaphoric pronoun /hЄ'/. This pronoun can only be used when the action
in the first clause purposefully leads to or sets up the second clause.
In this construction, the conjunction /Є'yЄ'/ can not occur.

(82) m∈`yi` h∈' kpσ'i
      / m∈`- yi`   h∈' kpσ' -i /
        1sS- go   cPro see -3sO
      "I went (and) I saw it / I went in order to see it"

When more than two clauses are so conjoined, /h∈'/ may only occur once,

and the third clause must be linked by /∈'y∈'/ and include the proper

verbal agreement.

(83) fσga bobσ h∈' tsσ tu ∈'y∈' wo`da kpσ~la'
      / fσga bobσ   h∈' tsσ   tu ∈'y∈' wo`- da   kpσ~ -la' /
        3sS reach-down cPro pick-up gun & 3snF- shoot tiger -DEF
      "Foga reached down, picked up a gun and shot the tiger"

Lexical direct objects are also generally not deletable and must

at least be represented by an agreement affix in subsequent clauses

within a complex sentence.

(84) m∈`Φo avu`la' ∈'y∈' m∈`tu afσkpo∈
      / m∈`- Φo  avu` -la' ∈'y∈' m∈`- tu afσkpo -i /
        1sS- hit dog -DEF &   1sS- kick   -3sO
      "I hit the dog and kicked it"

Ewe differs from English, then, as it is the initial clause in which the

direct object must be lexicalized. In the context of elicitation exper-

iments, a direct calque from English into Anlo Ewe, with the DO speci-

fied only in the second clause is judged to be odd, if not strictly

unacceptable.

(85) ?m∈`Φo ∈'y∈' m∈`tu afσkpo avu`la'
      / m∈`- Φo ____ ∈'y∈'  m∈`- tu afσkpo avu` -la' /
        1sS- hit (DO) &   1sS- kick   dog -DEF
      "I hit and kicked the dog"

4.4.3.2 Subordination

Anlo Ewe subordinate clauses exhibit a number of different pat-

terns, though the use of the complementizer /b∈'/ "that" predominates.

One subordinate construction is introduced by the complementizer /b∈'/

and the verb <u>di</u> "want":

(86) mɛˋdi bɛ' woˋa yiˋ
      / mɛˋ- di   bɛ'   woˋ- a- yiˋ /
        1sS- want COMP 3snF- TNSf go
      "I want him to go /
      I want that he will go"

Note that the subject of the subordinate clause must be represented by a

non-focus agreement affix.

      Two further examples illustrate subordination introduced by imper-

sonal main clauses representing declarations of "necessity" (87) and

"obligation" (88), respectively. 3s subject agreement in the main

clause marks a dummy subject:

(87) ɛ'hi~a~ bɛˋ maˋ Du apɛl
      / ɛ'- hi~a~ bɛ'   mˋ- a- Du apɛl /
        3sS- need COMP 1sS- TNSf eat apple
      "I have to eat an apple /
      it is necessary that I eat an apple"

(88) mɛ'dzɛˋ bɛ' woˋa dzrai Do oˋ
      / mɛˋ- dzɛˋ bɛ' woˋ- a   dzra -i Do oˋ /
        3sS-NEG V   COMP 3snF- TNSf repair -3sO ? NEG
      "s/he should not repair it"
      ≈ "it's not obligatory/important that she repair it" (??)

Example (88) illustrates that even when a main clause contains an imper-

sonal dummy subject, the subordinate subject must be represented by

"non-focus" agreement (if applicable; i.e. 2s and 3s).

      Another specialized pronoun which can occur in subordinate clauses

is the "logophoric" pronoun /yɛˋ/ discussed and exemplified in 3.4.2.1.1

above. Moreover, several additional constructions, including what may

represent the Ewe equivalent of "raising to object", are present in the

Anlo data. However, this evidence is poor and fragmentary at best and,

hence, attempts at analysis would be premature at this time. Further

investigation along these lines is clearly necessary.

4.4.3.3 Conditionals

Conditionals in Anlo Ewe are marked by both prepositional and postpositional elements. The postpositional morpheme /la'/, which has already appeared in the earlier discussion of relative clauses (section 4.2.3), appears to obligatorily offset all conditional clauses from the following "consequence" or "then" clause. Two different prepositional elements are employed in what are roughly equivalent to "if" and "when" conditionals respectively. The use of one or the other is determined by temporal considerations, or tense.

The "when" conditional is introduced by the particle /Є'si/ and is used when the conditions being described have already been met (i.e. aorist or past tense/aspect):

(89) Є'si mЄ˜dzo vσ˜ la', Є'Dσ'
/ Є'si mЄ˜- dzo   vσ˜ la' Є'- Dσ' /
CND 1sS– go away ADV CND 3sS– arrive
"after I left, s/he arrived"

(90) Є'si mЄ˜nσ˜ nu' Dum' la', Є'DЄ˜ Є'ФЄku'ku'
/ Є'si mЄ˜- nσ˜ nu' Du –m' la' Є'- DЄ˜ Є'ФЄ– ku'ku'/
CND 1sS– AUX VComp eat ASPp CND 3sS– remove 3sGEN₂– hat
"when I was eating, he removed his hat"

The "if" conditional is introduced by the particle /nЄ/ and is employed when conditions have not yet been met. When there is an expectation that the specified conditions will certainly be met, the aorist can be used with the meaning of present tense:

(91) nЄ mi'ЄDσ' afi'ma' la', mi'aФlЄ˜ dadi
/ nЄ   mi'Є– Dσ' afi'ma' la' mi'– a– ФlЄ˜ dadi /
CND 1pS– arrive there CND 1pS– TNSf buy cat
"when we arrive there, we will buy a cat"

As indicated by the English gloss "when", the combination of /nЄ/ and

the (present) aorist conveys a sense of inevitability and, hence, is much closer to English "when" than "if".

In contrast, the specified conditions are construed as hypothetical or doubtful if /nε/ is combined with a future tense predication:

```
(92)  nε ma~da nu' la', ma~Dui
      / nε    m~- a-   da nu'  la'    m~- a-  Du  -i /
        CND 1sS- TNSf  eat    CND 1sS- TNSf  eat -3sO
      "if I cook (s.t.), I will eat it"
```

4.4.3.4 Serial Verbs

One type of serial verb construction, derived from the deletion of verbal subject agreement from main verbs was exemplified in (81) above. In addition to this, another type of serial verb construction appears in the form [AUX + V], in which the auxiliary is not a copular verb of the type used in the tense/aspect system of Ewe. In this construction, person marking occurs on the initial, auxiliary verb, while the second verb is preceded by a particle /a/. This particle may have no other function than to mark the verb as part of this serial verb construction:

```
(93)  ma~tε'Nu' a kpε' DE Nu'tsuma' Nu' a~
      / m~- a tε'Nu'  a  kpε'   DE   Nu'tsu -ma'  Nu'   a~ /
        1sS-  AUX        help  pOBL  man   -DEM  OBLp  Q
      "can I help that man?"
```

The initial [a] of /a tε'Nu'/ "can (ability)" combines with the subject prefix just as does the future tense marker /a/. It is, in fact, possible that [a] here actually is equivalent to the marker of future tense. If this is so, then tense-marking must occur on consecutive verbs in a serial verb construction even when person agreement has been omitted.

Beyond examples of this type, only limited data on Anlo Ewe serial verb constructions have been gathered and such constructions appear to be more restricted in Anlo than is usual for West African languages in

general (cf. Gregersen 1977:49). On the other hand, the paucity of data

gathered on this topic may be a consequence of the reliance on elicited

data based on English sentences being translated into Ewe. Discourse or

textual studies might add greatly to an understanding of Anlo Ewe serial

verbs as well as of other constructions.

Notes to Chapter 4

*Many of the topics in Anlo Ewe syntax have already been touched
upon in chapter 3 morphology. This is completely unavoidable for, as
Westermann (1930:vi) observed, in Ewe, "the formation of words is large-
ly a matter of syntax." This chapter will take up once more several key
points already touched upon in the discussion of noun and verb morpho-
logy, and will include an initial description of additional construc-
tions in Anlo Ewe. Nevertheless, this excessively brief overview will
undoubtedly miss many important aspect of Ewe syntax, and any fault of
analysis or omission is again my sole responsibility. However, even
this brief chapter would not have been possible without the contribu-
tions of my fellow students. In particular, I am grateful to Mr. Gavin
Chester, who paved the way for much of the analysis in this chapter
through his elicitation of many of the syntactic constructions analyzed
herein.

[1]The presence of these affixes may lend support to Gregersen's
(1977:83) assertion that, while Ewe has usually been referred to as an
"isolating" language, it should more properly be classed as "agglutina-
ting".

[2]Little data has been gathered on the extent to which more than
two adjectives can or do occur in Anlo Ewe. The few sentences with
several adjectives in sequence which were submitted to the Anlo infor-
mant for his approval met with little success. Apparently, long adjec-
tival phrases are avoided in Anlo. This is not surprising, since in
English, too, such sentences are more likely to be found in grammatical
treatises than in ordinary discourse.

[3]The analysis of this peculiar construction (i.e. containing amɛ
"person") was suggested by the informant. Further discussion of this
point is beyond the scope of the present analysis.

[4]The data on coordinated NPs consist almost solely of forms with
the conjunction /kplɛ'/ and, hence, the examples cited will reflect
this. The extent to which /alo/ "or" shares the same distribution as
/kplɛ'/ has not been tested.

[5]This sentence is already odd from the perspective of an Anlo
speaker, who is more likely to group a second person singular and third

persons plural together as 2p, as in:

```
mɛ̀kpɔ'mì          "I saw you(pl)"
/ mɛ̀- kpɔ' -mì /
  1sS- see  -2pO
```

rather than isolate the different persons by the use of conjoined pro-
nouns. However, if the distinction is made, the ordering principles are
adhered to. Also, it appears that the singular before plural principle
may override the first person before second person rule, given the fol-
lowing example:

```
wo'kpɔ' wò kpli mi'        "They saw you(sg) and us"
/ wo'- kpɔ' wò kplɛ' -mi' /
  3pS-  see  2s  &    -1pO
```

[6]Clements (1975a:27-35) also goes on to argue that the auxiliaries
of aspectual-marked clauses cannot be equated with main verbs in Ewe.
However, it is still unclear as to whether or not AUX is occupying the
syntactic V slot.

[7]Since the optional oblique is semantically a recipient (or bene-
factive), it might be expected that the dative would be used with this
verb. It is in fact possible that the surface form [Da] is actually
derived from the coalescence of the prepositional oblique-marker plus
dative-marker (i.e. /Dɛ + na'/. This is, however, merely a suggestion
which remains to be tested.

Part II

ANLO EWE FOCUS-MARKING

Chapter 5

FOCUS-MARKING

5.1 Introduction

The Anlo dialect of Ewe exhibits a very productive focus-marking construction, which is characterized by a number of co-occurring morphosyntactic phenomena. Chief among these is the focus-marker itself, which follows the focussed constituent. This focus-marker, represented underlyingly as /é/, generally surfaces as [é], though it has occasionally been recorded as [ɛ'], apparently assimilating partially to a preceding lax, mid, back vowel [ɔ]. Additionally, when preceded by [e], [ɛ], or pronoun-final [o], complete regressive assimilation results in a long vowel, [é:].[1]

Literature citing this focus-marker seems to be rare indeed, and detail of its use even more so. Most recently, Duthie (1988:97) says no more than that "an extra phrase may be focussed with -(y)é attached." The optional [y] is not explained, but it most likely represents a phontic glide between a stem-final vowel and the focus-marker itself. In the Anlo data to be examined below, there is very little evidence of this [y]-glide. If it occurs at all, then only following a high, front stem-final vowel, [i], from which it can then be postulated to arise. The very low frequency of this glide may provide evidence that Duthie's claim is not based on the Anlo dialect, but this is not certain.

In Westermann (1930:143-147), the /é/-focus construction is included among a number of different patterns in a section titled, "To make part of a sentence predominant". The focus-marker is there equated with a third person singular pronoun e, which is said to be "used to stress phrases, both subjectively and objectively" (ibid.:145). The morpho-

phonological origin of the focus-marker suggested by Westermann will be one possibility investigated in section 5.2 below. Additionally, the claim that this particular focus construction applies only to subjects and objects is quite surprising in light of the present data.

As the analysis in section 5.3 will attest, the Anlo /é/-focus construction is a pervasive one, capable of marking a large number of sentential constituents in both indicative and interrogative predications. In fact, the use of /é/-marking for both WH- interrogatives and answers to such questions is virtually obligatory, and the great importance that /é/ has in marking questions and answers is vital to the identification of this construction as a form of focus-marking.

Moreover, the examples cited by Westermann (1930:146) suggest that /é/ simply follows the emphasized constituent in its usual syntactic slot. Again, the present data clearly indicate that this in not the case for Anlo Ewe today, as any constituent marked by /é/ must obligatorily occur in sentence-initial position.[2]

A more recent view of the /é/-focus construction can be found in the syntactic work of G.N. Clements, who has, in fact, studied the Anlo dialect.[3] Clements (1975a:22) briefly illustrates the use of the focus-marker or "emphatic particle" in what he calls "topicalization", stressing the importance of sentence-initial position. His terminology is interesting as it apparently represents a somewhat different analysis of the construction here called focus-marking. In fact, the brief literature review provided here has yielded no fewer than five terms for what the particle /é/ is or does in the Ewe clause: focus (Duthie 1988:95), predominance and stress (Westermann 1930:143, 145), emphasis and topic-

alization (Clements 1975a:22). Clearly, some discussion of this terminology within the context of the present analysis is appropriate.

5.1.1 Topic, Focus and Emphasis

Terms such as topic, focus, and emphasis have been notoriously resistent to precise definition within linguistic theory. Topic is usually reserved for referential and given (or old) information and often defined as "what the predication is about" (Dik 1978:132). The counterpart to topic is then generally the focus, representing new or revived information as prominent (Werth 1979:219; cf. Westermann's term, predominant), or bearing the "main sentential stress" (Dahl 1974:2). Emphasis is perhaps the most vaguely defined term of all, even represented by one author as the entirety of the presentation of connected information in discourse, under which even a broadly defined focus is subsumed (Werth 1984:8-9).

The common factor which links all of these notions together is their use in discourse pragmatics. Hence, a knowledge of context is essential in assigning such terms as topic and focus to any sentential constituent. This might present a problem for the present analysis since, as discussed in chapter 1, the Anlo data consist solely of discourse-free elicitation. However, this does not mean that information on the contexts in which the /é/-marked construction can be used is totally lacking, but only that informant-supplied contexts have not been checked against actual occurrences in Anlo narrative or dialogue. Despite this methodological constraint, some contexts in which /é/-marking is employed are fairly straightforward, even when isolated from discourse. This is particularly true in the marking of WH- questions.

Werth (1984:9) characterizes one type of focus, or <u>information accent</u>, as prominence on either new information or "structural gaps" where information is lacking. These focussed structural gaps are represented by WH- words in requests for the desired information. Furthermore, Dahl 1974:2) states that questions with fronted WH- words represent the typical focus word order in topic-comment structure. It must surely follow that new information supplied in answer to such questions would receive the same accent or focus, particularly if this too were to be fronted to sentence-initial position. In fact, sentence-initial WH-words are obligatorily marked by /é/ in Anlo Ewe and among the most prominent of contexts cited by the Anlo informant for the use of /é/-marking is the corresponding emphasis on answers.

5.1.2 <u>Clefting</u>

The importance of sentence-initial position to the analysis of the Anlo /é/-marking construction can not be overstated. Within Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) theory, the grammatical relation of subject, the semantic agent and the pragmatic topic are typically mapped to sentence-initial position or <u>theme</u>. In contrast, direct objects, patients and focus are generally mapped together in the comment or <u>rheme</u> following the theme (Brömser 1984:332). This does not mean that elements typically constituting the rheme cannot be fronted. Many structures exist which allow focal information to be "thematized", changing the usual order of constituents. For instance, passivization and other changes of verbal "voice" are commonly employed to accomplish just such shifts in topic-comment structure (Dahl 1974:19). This particular kind of word-order change does not apply to Anlo, though, as the category of voice

does not exist in Ewe.

Brömser (1984:334–335) suggests that focussed elements can be thematized or fronted by use of clefting strategies, most specifically, the it-cleft, the main function of which is to highlight contrasts. When clefting takes place, the focal part of topic-comment structure is predicated first, while the topic is displaced (ibid.:340–341). In addition to sentence-initial position, this structure correlates with the /é/-marked construction in a number of interrelated ways.

First, English it-clefts are used consistently by the informant himself to gloss /é/-marked constituents. Despite his conviction that it-clefts are the appropriate English counterpart to Anlo /é/-marking, though, the uncertainties of translation from one language to another preclude this argument from being accepted as unquestionable proof on its own. However, the informant also equates /é/-focus with another structure in Anlo Ewe, which exhibits all the characteristics of cleft sentences as discussed by Harries-Delisle (1978).

These characteristics include an equational sentence structure in which a copula equates the focussed element with a complement, which in turn consists of a neutral head noun further specified by a restrictive relative clause. Therefore, three elements which are common to these structures cross-linguistically are copular verbs, head nouns such as the one or the person, and relative clause markers (Harries-Delisle 1978:422–426). However, comparative data from numerous languages indicate that one, two or all three of these elements can be absent from actual cleft constructions (ibid.:424). Both extremes may well be represented by /é/-marking in Anlo Ewe.

In the Anlo cleft structure, exemplified in (1) below, all three

of the characteristic clefting elements, represented by the copula ÑE

"be", a head noun amE "person" and a relative clause introduced by the

relativizer si', are present, in addition to a focussed constituent

marked by /é/ in sentence-initial position:

(1)   fɔgaé **ÑE amE si'** wo`kpɔ'
       / fɔga + é   ÑE   amE   si'   wo`- kpɔ' /
        3s(O) F   be   person REL 3snF- see
       "Foga is the one who s/he saw"

Deletion of all three of the clefting constituents, ÑE amE si', would

leave a structure identical to the apparent /é/-focus counterpart to (1)

in which only the /é/-marked constituent is present.

(2)   fɔgaé wo`kpɔ'
       / fɔga + é   wo`- kpɔ' /
        3sS   F   3snF- see
       "it was Foga (who) s/he saw"

In (2), as in all examples of the /é/-focus construction to be examined

in detail below, virtually all semblance of clefting is absent. How-

ever, one further feature of these Anlo Ewe constructions, which is pre-

sent in certain contexts (i.e. 2s and 3s subjects), suggests that the

structures in (1) and (2) are related and can both, therefore, be con-

sidered as representative of cleft constructions.

The evidence for this relationship is to be found in the use of

the non-focus subject agreement prefixes which must be employed in both

relative clauses (see section 4.2.3) and the /é/-focus construction (see

section 5.3.1 ff.). In (1) above, the non-focus 3s subject wo`- is

present in the restrictive relative clause found in the complement of

the cleft structure. In (2), this same agreement prefix must be used

for the non-focussed subject, even though no relative clause structure

is apparent. In both cases, these special agreement markers appear to be employed when some other constituent precedes the normally sentence-initial subject. Hence, non-focus agreement could be construed as signalling the demotion of the subject, just as clefting displaces the topic to the focal area of topic-comment structure. When the possibility that both structures are representative of clefting is considered, such similarity of structure is to be expected, and the presence of non-focus agreement can be attributed to a single phenomenon - presence in a subordinate (i.e. relative) clause.

Moreover, the recoverability strategies employed in marking focussed constituents (as discussed in section 5.3 below) are identical to those which mark relativized elements (as illustrated in section 4.2.3 above). Evidence such as this, in combination with Harries-Delisle's (1978) characterization of clefting, suggests quite strongly that Anlo Ewe /é/-focus-marking may be identified structurally as a cleft-sentence construction.

5.1.3 Leftmost Position and Resumptive Pronouns

Another aspect of sentence-initial position important to the analysis of Anlo /é/-focus can be found in the number of different constructions identified in linguistics which involve "left movement". This list includes topicalization, left-dislocation, WH-movement, and clefting (Werth 1984:11-12).[4] WH-movement and clefting have already been discussed in the context of Anlo /é/, and both represent focus-constructions.

In opposition to this, Clements (1975a:22) refers to the /é/-construction as topicalization. However, topicalization, as well as left-

dislocation, typically exhibit a second feature which does not appear to be a part of the Anlo /é/-marking construction. Both topicalization and left-dislocation generally require a prosodic break or pause following the fronted argument, offsetting it from the following predication (cf. Werth 1984:11-12; Foley and Van Valin 1984:125). In Anlo, unless /é/ itself is interpreted as a prosodic break, there is no pause separating an /é/-marked constituent from the remainder of the sentence.

One difference between left-dislocation and topicalization is in the presence or absence of a coreferential trace or resumptive pronoun in the clause following the fronted constituent. Topics do not control verb agreement and no pronominal agreement should coreference the topic within the main clause (Foley and Van Valin 1984:128). Conversely, a resumptive pronoun must be left in the syntactic position of a left-dislocated NP. This pronominal agreement, as well as the prosodic pause (accompanied in this case by a falling tone (\)), can be illustrated by another structure attested for Anlo Ewe, which is thereby an example of left-dislocation:

```
(3)   xɛvima\, foga a'li':
      / xɛvi -(ɛ')ma'  , foga   a-   lɛ'   -i /
        bird  -DEM           3sS  TNSf  catch  -3sO
      "that bird, Foga will catch it"
```

An /é/-marked counterpart to (3) is formed as follows:

```
(4)   xɛvima'é foga a'lɛ'
      / xɛvi -(ɛ')ma' + é foga  a-   lɛ' /
        bird  -DEM      F  3sS  TNSf catch
      "it is that bird (that) Foga will catch"
```

Among the contrasts between (3) and (4) is that the /é/-marked object in (4) does not need a further index (i.e. 3s object agreement suffix) on the verb, as is required in the left-dislocation exemplified in (3).

Still, the lack of resumptive pronominal agreement might again suggest that (4) is an example of a topicalization. However, other arguments can be made to counter this possibility.

Certain focus-marking constructions can also involve both pronoun deletion and pronoun retention strategies, as most recently observed by Luo (1991) in his survey of clefting. Pronoun deletion strategies, in which no pronominal agreement marker occurs to coreference the focussed element (i.e. obligatory in topicalization), appear to be extremely common cross-linguistically with subject-focus constructions. Converse-ly, pronoun retention strategies (i.e. obligatory in left-dislocations), in which a pronominal trace is used to mark the usual syntactic position of a focussed NP, become more and more common when elements lower on the Accessibility Hierarchy are placed in focus (Luo 1991).[5]

In contrast, Foley and Van Valin (1984:126) suggest a hierarchy of topicalization which virtually reverses the Accessibility Hierarchy, by characterizing core arguments (i.e. subject, object) as more difficult to topicalize, while obliques and other peripheral constituents are more naturally topicalizable and tend to be accompanied by less syntactic marking. This will prove very important to the discussion of the /é/-marking construction, and section 5.4 will deal with the theoretical implications of the interaction of /é/-marking with these various hier-archies.

5.1.4 Summary

This brief introduction has only hinted at the complexity to be found in the /é/-marked focus construction, as described in section 5.3 below. Similarly, the complex terminology in use for the pragmatic

functions and rules of fronting to sentence-initial position have only been touched upon in the above discussion. This has been undertaken with the aim of presenting some justification for referring to this construction as one of focus-marking. It seems apparent that the emphasis placed on WH-questions and answers is commonly associated with focus-marking, and all other /é/-marked predications are both similarly constructed and construed. Moreover, the possibility that /é/-focus represents a clefting strategy is attractive, given the structural and semantic similarities to it-clefts. It may even be possible to further develop this relationship by examining two possible origins of the focus-marking /é/ itself.

5.2 Morphophonology of the Focus-Marker /é/

5.2.1 Impersonal 3s Agreement

Westermann's (1930:142) view that the focus-marking /é/ is derived from a third person singular pronoun is echoed in the belief of the Anlo informant who steadfastly translates the focus marker even in isolation by the impersonal "it (is)". Certainly, a great deal of phonetic similarity exists between the focus-marker /é/ and the 3s object agreement affix /-i/ which frequently surfaces as [e] (5a), though also frequently as [ɛ] (5b):[6]

(5)
  (a) abla tu afɔkpoe   "Abla kicked him/her/it"
       / abla tu afɔkpo -i /
         3sS- kick   -3sOBL

  (b) abla tu afoɛ   "Abla kicked him/her/it"
       / abla tu afɔ   -i /
         3sS- V VComp -3sOBL

These examples can be compared to the focus-marked constructions in (6),
where /é/ also surfaces as [Є'] following [σ], though this assimilation
is not as consistent as it is with the 3s agreement suffix.

(6)
 (a)   afɔkpoé abla tu fɔga
       / afɔkpo + é   abla   tu   fɔga /
         VComp   F   3sS   V   3sO
       "it was kicking that Abla did to Foga"

 (b)   afɔЄ' abla tu fɔga
       / afɔ   + é   abla   tu   fɔga /
         VComp   F   3sS   V   3sO
       "it was kicking that Abla did to Foga"

The structure in (6) is interesting for the evidence it presents on the
focussability of the incorporated VComp element of a complex verb and,
hence, will be discussed further below in section 5.3.3.4.

        Despite this similarity, though, the focus-marker never surfaces
as [i'] following high front vowels (8), while this has already been
observed for the 3s agreement marker, as in (7) (see section 2.5.2).

(7)   Є'Dui   "s/he ate it"
       / Є'- Du   -i /
         3sS- eat -3sO

(8)   avu`é mЄ`kpσ   "it was a dog (that) I saw"
       / avu` + é   mЄ`- kpσ /
         dog   F   1sS- see

The surface realization of the 3s agreement marker as [i] is nowhere
more evident than when it follows the conjunction or associative/instru-
mental preposition kplЄ', which then surfaces as [kpli'] or [kpli':].
Interestingly, this fully inflected form of /kplЄ'/ is present in cer-
tain focus-constructions even when the constituent which should follow
it, pronominal or otherwise, has been placed in focus sentence-initial-
ly, as in (9) below.

(9) kpoé mɛˋlɛˋ kɔ da'm' kpli'
     / kpo + é   mɛˋ- lɛˋ kɔ   da' -m'   kplɛ' -i/-e /
      tiger F   1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp pASSC -rp?
     "it is a tiger that I am fighting with"

In this case, the apparent presence of the 3s agreement following
/kplɛ'/ most likely represents a resumptive pronoun coreferencing the
focussed associative oblique. This is certainly plausible, and the
presence of resumptive pronouns in the /é/-focus construction will form
an important part of the discussion in sections 5.3 and 5.4. However,
this structure is further complicated by the optional occurrence of
another [(y)e'], which still defies complete analysis, following
[kpli'], as in (10):

(10) kpoé mɛˋlɛˋ kɔ da'm' kpli'(y)e'
     / kpo + é   mɛˋ- lɛˋ kɔ   da' -m'   kplɛ' -i/-e + (y)e'/
      tiger F   1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp pASSC -rp ?F?
     "it is a tiger that I am fighting with"

The surface form of this additional marker, which appears invariable,
actually reflects Duthie's (1988:97) description of the focus-marker
exactly. It would be odd indeed if the focus-marker were to be func-
tioning as its own trace, though the only alternative explanation is
that 3s object agreement is doubly marked on the associative preposi-
tion.

From the available evidence, then, it does not seem possible to
conclude unequivocally that the focus-marker is ultimately related to 3s
agreement and it appears most likely that the similarity between the
focus-marker and the 3s object agreement affix is due purely to the
phonological complexity surrounding phonetic [ɛ], [e], and [i], as well
as [µ] in Anlo Ewe (cf. sections 2.2.3 and 3.4.2.1.3). While the shared

behaviour of the 3s agreement marker and the apparent resumptive pronoun suggests an identity between the two, the focus-marker does not share all the phonetic idiosyncrasies of the 3s affix.

5.2.2 The Copula /ÑƐ/

A second possibility for the origin of the focus-marker /é/ is the copula ÑƐ, but unfortunately the arguments for it are also based primarily on phonological grounds. It does, however, have the advantage of representing a correspondence between contrastive focus markers (CFMs) (e.g. in it-clefts) and copulas which have been shown in many cases to share a common historical derivation from demonstratives (Luo 1990).

As discussed in section 2.5.1, there is a tendency for sonorants to be elided between vowels. This occurs to the [l] of the definite marker /-la'/, the [n] of the habitual /-na/, and commonly to [Ñ] in a number of morphemes, including the phonologically similar 1s pronoun /ÑƐ/ and copula /ÑƐ/. For instance, when the 1s pronoun occurs between the verb root and an aspectual suffix,[7] [Ñ] is deleted or at least weakened to [y], as in (11):

(11) wo'lƐˋ Фo(y)ƐˋgƐ'   "they intend to hit me"
      / wo'- lƐˋ Фo ÑƐˋ -gƐ' /
        3sS- AUX hit 1s ASPi

When this same pronoun is focussed, the vowel is raised to assimilate to the following focus-marker /é/.

(12) Ñé: abla kpɔ'   "it was me (that) Abla saw"
      /ÑƐˋ + é abla kpɔ' /
        1s   F 3sS see

Both of these processes also appear to apply to the copula /ÑƐ/ in example (13a) below, which is a word-order variant of (13b):

(13)
  (a) Є'sia˘ avu˘(y)e'   "this is a dog"
      / Є'sia˘ avu˘ + ÑЄ /
        DEM   dog   be

  (b) Є'sia˘ ÑЄ avu˘   "this is a dog"
      / Є'sia˘ ÑЄ avu˘ /
        DEM   be   dog

Similarly, the copula can also combine with the 1s genitive pronoun /toÑЄ˘/, as illustrated in examples (57a) and (57b) of chapter 2 and repeated below as (14b) and (14a) respectively.

(14)
  (a) Є'sia˘ toÑe'⁚   "this is mine"
      / Є'sia˘ toÑЄ˘ + ÑЄ /
        DEM   1sGEN be

  (b) Є'sia˘ ÑЄ toÑЄ˘   "this is mine"
      / Є'sia˘ ÑЄ toÑЄ˘ /
        DEM   be   1sGEN

A third variant in which the genitive pronoun is placed in focus (15) yields a result which is phonetically identical to the coalescence of the genitive plus copula in (14a).

(15) toÑé⁚ ÑЄ'sia˘   "this is **mine**"
      / toÑЄ˘ + é ÑЄ + Є'sia˘ /
        1sGEN   F be   DEM

    The exact phonetic correspondence between focussed /toÑЄ˘/ and /toÑЄ˘/ plus the copula, postulated in (14a) could, of course, be interpreted in another way. It is possible that (14a) and, for that matter, (13a) as well, do not contain the copula at all, but simply represent another instance of focus-marking. This alternative analysis, though supported by the phonetic form, raises the two-fold problem of placing the focussed element in non-initial position, and suggesting that the copula is absent altogether.

    On the other hand, these problems may have to be overlooked, for

another piece of evidence suggests that examples such as (13a) and (14a) may represent the focus-marker after all. This evidence is illustrated in (16), where (16a) shows that the demonstrative can be placed in focus when the genitive pronoun and copula are separate, as in example (14b) above. In contrast to this, however, (16b) illustrates the unacceptability of focussing on the demonstrative when the genitive takes the form [toÑe':].

(16)
  (a) Є'sia˜é ÑЄ toÑЄ˜   "this is mine"
       / Є'sia˜ + é ÑЄ toÑЄ˜ /
           DEM   F be   1sGEN

  (b) *Є'sia˜é toÑe':   "this is mine"
       / Є'sia˜ + é toÑЄ˜ + ÑЄ/é /
           DEM   F 1sGEN ?be/F?

The demonstrative in (16b) ought to be focussable if [toÑe':] merely represents the genitive pronoun and copula. The fact that this focus is not allowed, suggests that focus has already been assigned and is blocked from being assigned to both genitive pronoun and demonstrative.

Moreover, the example of a typical Anlo cleft sentence, presented in (1) in section 5.1.2 above, included a focussed constituent marked by /é/ and immediately followed by the copula ÑЄ. If the focus-marker were to originate historically from the copula /ÑЄ/, it might seem unlikely for the focus-marker and the copula to appear adjacent in the same construction. Rather, one or the other should be present, but not both.

Hence, the evidence in further relating the focus-marker to the copula /ÑЄ/ amounts to little more than the shaky phonological evidence which points to the 3s agreement marker. The counter-evidence of (16b) may damage this hypothesis irreparably, unless some other restriction can be found to account for the unacceptability of that predication.

Similarly, example (1) also proves problematical for this hypothesis.
It is obvious that much further investigation, including comparative
evidence, will be necessary before either hypothesis suggested here, or
other possibilities as yet undiscovered, can be accepted. However, this
is but a small part of the /é/-focus-marking phenomenon in Anlo Ewe, of
which the syntactic analysis of section 5.3 proves by far the greater.

5.3 The Morphosyntax of Anlo Focus-Marking

5.3.1 Equational Sentences and WH- Question and Answer Focus

The most prominent use of the Anlo focus-marking construction oc-
curs in equational sentences, especially those which arise pragmatically
as answers to WH- questions. Focussing a constituent with /é/ is by no
means limited to interrogative situations, but as has already been
emphasized in 5.1 above, the use of the focus construction in Anlo Ewe
is extremely common, if not obligatory, when responding to WH- ques-
tions, and it is just as common when asking those same questions.

To ask a question is to focus on a specific piece of information.
This focus is marked on WH- words in the same way as it is on consti-
tuents which answer them. Hence, a simple exchange, such as in (17),
shows focus-marking in both the question (a) and answer (b), while the
unfocussed counterparts in (18), though they would be understood, are
not idiomatically correct in the Anlo dialect, in the opinion of the
informant.

(17)
 (a)   amℰkaé wo˙ℕℰ
      / amℰka + é   wo˙-   ℕℰ /
        WH-   F   3snF- be
      "who is he?

(17b) fɔgaé
/ fɔga + é /
   3s   F
"(it is) Foga"

(18)
(a)   ?* am∈ka wo`ɲ∈   "who is he?"
     / am∈ka wo`- ɲ∈ /
      WH-   3snF- be

(b)   ?* fɔga   "Foga"
     / fɔga /
      3s

As can be seen in (17b), even short one-word answers are marked
for focus. In response to a question about one's vocation, a single
focussed word might suffice (19a), or the pronoun and copula can be
added following the focussed constituent (19b). The unfocussed coun-
terpart, which can not be used as an answer to a question, is given in
(19c) for contrast.

(19)
(a)   G∈`du'la'wé: "(we are) dancers!"
     / G∈`du'la' -wo' + é /
       dancer   pl   F

(b)   G∈`du'la'wé: mi'∈ɲ∈   "it is dancers (that) we are"
     / G∈`du'la' -wo' + é mi'∈- ɲ∈ /
       dancer   pl   F   1pS- be

(c)   mi'∈ɲ∈ G∈`du'la'wo'   "we are dancers"
     / mi'∈- ɲ∈ G∈`du'la' -wo' /
      1pS- be   dancer   pl

One small complication in this pattern arises when answering for
oneself alone. When the pronoun and copula are not used, the answer
word is not focussed (20a), but when they are, focus-marking is again
obligatory (20b):

(20)
(a)   sukuvi   "(I am) a student"
     / sukuvi /
      student

(20b) sukuvié mɛ̀~Ňɛ   "a student am I"
       / sukuvi + é   mɛ̀~-   Ňɛ /
       student F   1sS-   be

This exception occurs only for self-description. Whenever it is another

person being described (i.e. all but 1s), focus is obligatory, just as

in (19a).

In addition to the prevalence of focus-marking in equational sen-

tences, a WH- question could be constructed that would elicit each and

every focussed constituent to be exemplified below. Furthermore, WH-

question words can stand for all of the constituents which can be placed

in focus, and some appropriate examples of this will be provided in each

section.

5.3.2 Subject

The clause-initial position of the subject in an Anlo Ewe clause

has already been demonstrated (see 4.4). This ordering prevails whether

VO (tense) or OV (aspect) ordering is present among the constituents of

VP. The clause-initial position of the subject in basic indicative pre-

dications will be further illustrated in many of the examples to follow,

and basic subject-initial sentences will frequently be cited to contrast

with sentences in which some element (subject or otherwise) has been

marked for focus. When a new pattern is demonstrated, as in (21) below,

the example set will be preceded by a formula representing the basic

constituent order and a concomitant focus-construction respectively.

5.3.2.1 Lexical NPs

When a lexical subject in an Anlo clause is focussed, the focus-

marker /é/ is added but no apparent change occurs in the constituent or-

der of the clause. Hence, the only difference evident between a focus-
sed subject and a subject in a clause without specific focus assignment
is the presence or absence of the focus-marker itself. This is illus-
trated in example set (21), where the only difference between (a) and
(b) is the addition of /é/ to the subject in (b).

(21) S̲ V O : S̲+F̲ V O

  (a) f̲ɔg̲a̲ kpɔ' abla   "Foga saw Abla"
      / fɔga kpɔ' abla /
        3sS see 3sO

  (b) f̲ɔg̲a̲é kpɔ' abla   "it was Foga who saw Abla"
      / fɔga + é kpɔ' abla /
        3sS F see 3sO

That the focus-marker is added to the entire NP, rather than just
the head noun, is readily demonstrated. Additional examples show an
indefinite (22) noun, singular (23) and plural (24) definite nouns, and
a noun plus adjective NP (25) in subject position.

(22a) d̲a̲d̲i̲ kpɔ' afila'   "a cat saw the mouse"
      / dadi kpɔ' afi -la' /
        cat   see mouse -DEF

  (b) d̲a̲d̲i̲é kpɔ' afila'   "it was a cat that saw the mouse"
      / dadi + é   kpɔ' afi -la' /
        cat   F see   mouse -DEF

(23)
  (a) d̲a̲d̲i̲l̲a̲' kpɔ' afi   "the cat saw a mouse"
      / dadi -la' kpɔ' afi /
        cat -DEF see mouse

  (b) d̲a̲d̲i̲l̲a̲'é kpɔ' afi   "it was the cat that saw a mouse"
      / dadi -la' + é   kpɔ' afi /
        cat -DEF F see mouse

(24)
  (a) d̲a̲d̲i̲l̲a̲'w̲o̲' kpɔ' afi   "the cats saw a mouse"
      / dadi -la' -wo' kpɔ' afi /
        cat -DEF pl   see   mouse

(24b) <u>dadila'wé:</u> kpo' afi   "it was the cats that saw a mouse"
       / dadi -la' -wo' + é   kpo' afi /
         cat -DEF pl   F   see   mouse

(25)
 (a) <u>dadi dzi~ kpo' afi</u>   "a red cat saw a mouse"
       / dadi dzi~ kpo' afi /
         cat red   see   mouse

 (b) dadi dzi~é kpo' afi   "it was a red cat that saw a mouse"
       / dadi dzi~ + é kpo' afi /
         cat red   F see mouse

Even complex NPs containing relative clauses can be focussed with /é/

following the entire NP structure, as illustrated in (26).

(26)
 (a) <u>dadi si' ti' kpo' dꞒ~ kpola' dzi la'</u> kpo' afi
       / dadi si' ti' kpo'   dꞒ~   kpo -la' dzi la' kpo' afi /
         cat REL jump   pLOC stone -DEF LOCp -REL see mouse

      "the cat that jumped onto the fence saw a mouse"

 (b) <u>dadi si' ti' kpo' dꞒ~ kpola' dzi la'é</u> kpo' afi
       / dadi si' ti kpo'   dꞒ~   kpo -la' dzi la' + é kpo' afi /
         cat REL jump   pLOC stone -DEF LOCp -REL   F see mouse

      "it was the cat that jumped onto the fence that saw a mouse"

In all of the above cases, the only difference is the addition of

the focus-marker. There is no change in constituent order. In (26a),

the additional element <u>la'</u> follows the relative clause, as discussed in

4.2.3 above, offsetting the relative clause from the following main

clause verb. When this complex NP is focussed, the focus-marker simply

follows the element <u>la'</u>. In addition to providing evidence that <u>la'</u> be-

longs within the NP, example (26) confirms that complex NPs are treated

exactly as any other lexical NP placed in focus.

Finally, coordinate NPs also follow this pattern in that the

focus-marker will follow the final conjoined element in the NP. Example

set (27) illustrates the basic pattern (a), and the focussed equivalent
(b), as well as demonstrating (c) that the focus-marker can not follow
the first element in a coordinate NP.[8]

(27)
(a)   dadi kplЄ' avu῀la' kpσ' afi
       / dadi kplЄ' avu῀ -la' kpσ' afi /
         cat &   dog -DEF see mouse

       "the cat and the dog saw a mouse"

(b)   dadi kplЄ' avu῀la'é kpσ' afi
       / dadi kplЄ' avu῀ -la' + é kpσ' afi /
         cat &   dog -DEF   F   see mouse

       "it was the cat and the dog that saw a mouse"

(c)   *dadi(la')é kplЄ' avu῀la' kpσ' afi
       / dadi (-la') + é kplЄ' avu῀ -la' kpσ' afi /
         cat (-DEF) F   &   dog -DEF see mouse

       "it was the cat and the dog that saw a mouse"

Though the few examples in (27) do not present the full complexity
of the interaction between focus-marking and NP coordination, they do
suffice to demonstrate that coordinate NPs can be focussed in subject
position just as other NPs. Hence, a uniform pattern of adding the
focus-marker /é/ to a subject NP has been demonstrated. This pattern
remains consistent for all focussable NP constituents, including pro-
nominal rather than lexical NPs.

5.3.2.2 Independent Pronouns versus Inflectional Agreement

When a pronominal subject is placed in focus, it must be the inde-
pendent pronoun rather than the inflectional agreement prefix to which
the focus-marker is attached. The focussed pronoun thus appears to
occur in the same position as other focussed subject NPs and, as with
other focussed NPs, no prosodic pause separates the focussed NP from the

following clausal elements. Example set (28) shows the basic pattern, consisting of verbal agreement alone, in (a), while the subject-focus counterpart is given in (b).

(28) <u>S</u>-V-O : <u>S+F</u> V-O

   (a) <u>mɛˋkpɔ'woˋ</u>   "I saw you"
      / mɛˋ- kpɔ' -woˋ /
       1sS- see -2sO

   (b) <u>Ñé:</u> kpɔ'woˋ   "it was I who saw you"
      / Ñɛˋ + é kpɔ' -woˋ /
       1s   F see -2sO

   (c) *Ñɛˋ kpɔ'woˋ   "I saw you"
      / Ñɛˋ kpɔ' -woˋ /
       1s   see -2sO

In these particular examples, the 1s subject agreement marker mɛˋ-, which occurs in a basic sentence (a) without focus assignment, cannot occur when the subject is placed in focus. Rather, the 1s independent pronoun Ñɛˋ must be marked for focus. Assimilation of the pronoun-final vowel to the focus-marker results in the surface phonetic form [Ñé:]. The very use of an independent pronoun in subject position is indicative of special emphasis and, hence, the focus-marker appears obligatorily. In such a position of focus, the independent pronouns cannot be used if the person is not marked for focus by /é/, as exemplified above in (28c).[9]

    Following the pattern illustrated in (28), all of the independent pronouns appear in subject position only when in focus. Figure 5.1, on the following page, lists the independent pronouns and their focussed forms, while the remaining pronouns are exemplified in (29) through (33) to follow:

Figure 5.1

Focussed Pronouns

Independent Pronoun	+	Focus-marker	=>	Focussed Pronoun
1s (∈)Ñ∈ˋ				(∈)Ñé:
2s (∈)woˋ				(∈)wé:
3s ∈'ya'		é		∈'ya'é
1p mi'awo				mi'awé:
2p miˋawo				miˋawé:
3p wo'awo				wo'awé:

(29) **2s**
  (a) ∈ˋkpσ' abla   "you saw Abla"
       / ∈ˋ-   kpσ' abla /
       2sS-   see 3sO

  (b) wé: kpσ' abla   "it is you who saw Abla"
       / woˋ + é kpσ' abla /
        2s   F see 3sO

  (c) *woˋ kpσ' abla   "you saw Abla"
       / woˋ kpσ' abla /
        2s see 3sO

(30) **3s**
  (a) ∈'kpσ' abla   "s/he saw Abla"
       / ∈'-   kpσ' abla /
       3sS-   see   3sO

  (b) ∈'ya'é kpσ' abla   "it is s/he who saw Abla"
       / ∈'ya' + é   kpσ' abla /
        3s   F see 3sO

  (c) *∈'ya' kpσ' abla   "s/he saw Abla"
       / ∈'ya' kpσ' abla /
        3s   see 3sO

(31) **1p**
  (a) mi'∈kpσ' abla   "we saw Abla"
       / mi'∈- kpσ' abla /
        1pS-   see 3sO

  (b) mi'awé: kpσ' abla   "it is we who saw Abla"
       / mi'awo + é   kpσ' abla /
        1p   F see 3sO

(31c) *mi'awo kpɔ' abla   "we saw Abla"
/ mi'awo kpɔ' abla /
    1p   see 3sO

(32) **2p**
 (a) <u>mi˜ɛkpɔ'</u> abla   "you(pl) saw Abla"
      / mi˜ɛ- kpɔ' abla /
        2pS- see 3sO

 (b) <u>mi˜awé:</u> kpɔ' abla   "it is you(pl) who saw Abla"
      / mi˜awo + é   kpɔ' abla /
        2p   F   see 3sO

 (c) *mi˜awo kpɔ' abla   "you(pl) saw Abla"
      / mi˜awo   kpɔ' abla /
        2p   see   3sO

(33) **3p**
 (a) <u>wo'kpɔ'</u> abla   "they saw Abla"
      / wo'- kpɔ' abla /
        3pS- see 3sO

 (b) <u>wo'awé:</u> kpɔ' abla   "it is they who saw Abla"
      / wo'awo + é   kpɔ' abla /
        3p   F   see 3sO

 (c) *wo'awo kpɔ' abla   "they saw Abla"
      / wo'awo kpɔ' abla /
        3p   V   3sO

5.3.2.2.1 Coordinate NPs consisting of conjoined pronouns present several problems in analysis, but these problems only appear to affect the focus-marking construction in one way. As with the use of independent pronouns in general, whenever pronominals in any form are conjoined there is a connotation of special emphasis. Hence, any use of conjoined pronouns, at least in subject position, must be offset by some indicator of this focus. In (34a), despite the occurrence of the inflectional form of the 3s pronoun, no focus-marker is present and the sentence is therefore unacceptable. In contrast, (34b) contains the focus-marker

/é/ and is perfectly acceptable. (34c) shows that the independent 3s pronoun can also occur in this position, if focussed, while (34d) again illustrates that a lack of focus-marking will render the sentence ungrammatical.

(34)
(a) *Ñ∈˘ kpli' kpσ' abla
  / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' -i kpσ' abla /
   1s & -3sO see 3sO
  "I and s/he saw Abla"

(b) Ñ∈˘ kpli'é kpσ' abla
  / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' -i + é kpσ' abla /
   1s & -3sO F see 3sO
  "it was I and s/he who saw Abla"

(c) Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' ya'é kpσ' abla
  / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' (∈')ya' + é kpσ' abla /
   1s & 3s F see 3sO
  "it was I and s/he who saw Abla"

(d) *Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' ya' kpσ' abla
  / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' (∈')ya' kpσ' abla /
   1s & 3s see 3sO
  "I and s/he saw Abla"

Despite this elicited evidence, even the grammatical sentences in (b) and (c) do not appear to be highly favoured, as the very use of conjoined pronouns in Anlo Ewe is considered "odd" by the informant. Indeed, special circumstances are necessary to make a use of a conjoined pronoun NP fully acceptable. Usually, this entails the use of the coordinate NP, offset from the main clause by a pause (represented orthographically by a comma ","), and followed by the main clause including appropriate verbal agreement for person and number grouping the two conjoined persons together. Examples (35a and c) illustrate two such possibilities in which the conjoined persons, 1s and 3s, are offset from the clause, as left-dislocations, but the 1p-agreement marker, mi'∈-, reiterates the subject of the sentence. Most importantly, perhaps, is

the fact that the focus-marker /é/ can not occur with this structure, as

shown by the unacceptability of both (35b and d).

(35)
  (a) <u>Ñ∈˘ kpli'</u>, mi'∈kpʊ' abla
       / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' -i , mi'∈- kpʊ' abla /
         1s   &   -3sO   1pS- see 3sO
       "I and s/he, we saw Abla"

  (b) *<u>Ñ∈˘ kpli'**é**</u>, mi'∈kpʊ' abla
       / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' -i + é , mi'∈- kpʊ' abla /
         1s   &   -3sO   F   1pS- see 3sO
       "it was I and s/he, we saw Abla"

  (c) <u>Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' ya'</u>, mi'∈kpʊ' abla
       / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' (∈')ya' , mi'∈- kpʊ' abla /
         1s   &   3s   1pS- see 3sO
       "I and s/he, we saw Abla"

  (d) *<u>Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' ya'**é**</u>, mi'∈'kpʊ' abla
       / Ñ∈˘ kpl∈' (∈')ya' + é , mi'∈- kpʊ' abla /
         1s   &   3s   F   1pS- see 3sO
       "it was I and s/he, we saw Abla"

This suggests one of two things. Either the constituent marked

for focus by /é/ is not outside of the clause as the constituent in (35)

is, or subject-focus in Anlo Ewe is marked by a pronoun deletion strat-

egy in which a coreferential or resumptive pronoun is unnecessary. In

the first case, examples (35b and d) would be ungrammatical because of

the prosodic separation of the focus-construction from the main clause.

In the latter case, this ungrammaticality would be attributable to the

appearance of the verbal subject agreement. Both possibilities could,

in fact, be correct. However, given the analysis which suggests that

/é/-focus represents a cleft construction, an /é/-marked constituent

would have to be outside of the (subordinate) clause following the

focussed constituent. Data further pertaining to this problem will be

examined in section 5.3.2.4 below.

5.3.2.3 WH- Subjects

The use of WH- words when questioning a subject follows the same pattern as any other subject in focus. The question word occurs sentence-initially and is marked with /é/, as in (36a). Unlike the previous, non-interrogative examples, however, "unfocussed" equivalents (exemplified here in (36b)) are extremely rare and occur only in highly marked contexts.

(36)
  (a) amƐkaé kpɔ' abla   "who saw Abla?"
       / amƐka + é   kpɔ' abla /
         WH-S   F   see 3sO

  (b) amƐka kpɔ' abla   "**who** saw Abla?'
       / amƐka   kpɔ' abla /
         WH-S   see 3sO

Example (36b) conveys a sense of surprise, disbelief or sarcasm, which is directed at the subject represented by the WH- word. This occurs when special emphasis in a form of echo question is placed on the question word, (e.g. "I heard who you said saw Abla, but did he? Really!"). This special emphasis is actually marked by the omission of the focus-marker.

Unmarked WH- words generally occur only in isolated elicitation or in echo questions, which do not appear to be as common in Anlo Ewe as their focussed counterparts. Even when a subject is questioned in an echo question, /é/ is likely to appear, just as in (36a) above, since the question word will still be in sentence-initial position. Hence, when special emphasis, in the form of surprise or disbelief, is required, it must now be marked by the absence of the original marker of focus or emphasis. When a subject is questioned in a regular WH- interrogative structure, the WH- word is obligatorily marked for focus.

5.3.2.4 <u>Summary and Discussion</u>

The evidence discussed thus far for the focus-marking of subjects
has shown nothing more than that focus is marked by the morphological
addition of /é/. Even the use of the independent pronoun rather than
verbal agreement when a pronominalized subject is focussed demonstrates
no more than that a focussed subject appears to occur in the usual sub-
ject slot in Anlo Ewe clausal word order. If it were true that /é/ is
the sole marker of focus for all focussable elements within the Anlo
clause, then Ewe could be classified with a relatively small group of
languages, such as Mandarin (Luo 1991) and Mandan (Wolvengrey 1991),
which mark focus by morphology alone (Luo 1991). However, as already
made explicit in both the introduction to this chapter and section 5.3.1
above, this is not the case.

Since subjects in Anlo Ewe typically occur in sentence-initial
position, general constituent order in Ewe has the effect of obscuring
another cross-linguistically common pattern of focus-marking in the
observation of subject-focus. This important pattern is placement of
the focussed constituent in sentence-initial position (cf. Werth 1984:
12). When a subject, already in sentence-initial position, is placed in
focus, no change is evident other than the addition of /é/. However,
when any other focussable element in an Anlo clause is placed in focus,
such as the equational complements illustrated in 5.3.1 above, it be-
comes apparent that focus-marking in Ewe combines both the morphological
addition of /é/ with the syntactic effect of sentence-initial position.
Hence, within Luo's (1991) classification, Ewe is rather to be grouped
with the large number of languages which mark focus by both morphologi-

cal and syntactic means.

There is, of course, a possibility that even focussed subjects must occur in a special sentence-initial slot, which differs from the usual subject position. However, tests to show this do not appear to be available, beyond reference to the cleft structure illustrated in section 5.1.2. For instance, there is a certain particle, dɛwo'hi~ "maybe", which must appear sentence-initially whenever it occurs. If it could be shown that all focussed elements must precede dɛwo'hi~, an argument could be made for this special sentence-initial position. Conversely, if only non-subjects in focus precede dɛwo'hi~, it would provide evidence that the subject does not move into a focus slot, while other constituents do. In practice, however, neither possibility is borne out, as shown in examples (37a) through (37e). (37a) illustrates basic clause structure, while (b) and (c) demonstrate that when either a subject or direct object is focussed they must still follow dɛwo'hi~. (d) and (e) simply confirm the unacceptability of placing either subject or object in focus before this particle.

(37)
 (a)   dɛwo'hi~ foga akpɔ' abla
      / dɛwo'hi~ foga a- kpɔ' abla /
       maybe   3sS TNSf see 3sO
      "Foga may see Abla / maybe Foga will see Abla"

 (b)   dɛwo'hi~ fogaé akpɔ' abla
      / dɛwo'hi~ foga + é a- kpɔ' abla /
       maybe   3sS   F TNSf see 3sO
      "it is Foga who may see Abla"

 (c)   dɛwo'hi~ ablaé foga akpɔ'
      / dɛwo'hi~ abla + é foga a- kpɔ' /
       maybe   3sO   F 3sS TNSf see
      "it is Abla who Foga may see"

(d) *fↄgaé dƐwo'hĩ~ akpↄ' abla
     / fↄga + é   dewo'hĩ~ a-   kpↄ' abla /
       3sS   F   maybe   TNSf see 3sO
     "it is Foga who may see Abla"

(e) *ablaé dƐwo'hĩ~ fↄga akpↄ'
     / abla + é   dƐwo'hĩ~ fↄga a- kpↄ' /
       3sO   F   maybe   3sS   TNSf see
     "it is Abla that Foga may see"

Hence, these examples alone do not allow for the conclusive identifica-
tion of a syntactic focus position, and the position of a focussed sub-
ject remains in doubt.

However, dƐwo'hĩ~ must also precede the focussed element in the
cleft structure in (38), which corresponds to (37b):

(38) dƐwo'hĩ~ fↄgaé ŃƐ amƐ si' akpↄ' abla
      / dƐwo'hĩ~ fↄga + é   ŃƐ   amƐ   si' a-   kpↄ' abla /
        maybe   3sS   F   be person REL TNSf see 3sO
      "maybe Foga is the one who will see Abla"

Here, the focussed constituent, fↄgaé, is not part of the relative
clause in the complement, but neither is dƐwo'hĩ~. Therefore, examples
as in (38) suggest that the focussed constituent is outside of the
following clause, though this is totally obscured in the usual focus
construction in which no semblance of cleft structure is evident.

5.3.3 Direct Object

Example (37c) above serves to introduce object focus in which the
direct object occurs "sentence-initially" preceding the subject.[10] An
understanding of the VComp position, as discussed in sections 3.4 and
4.3 above, is vital to the examination of direct object-focus in Anlo
Ewe verbal syntax. This follows from the definition of the direct
object based exclusively on the syntactic criterion of appearance in
VComp. Essentially, for any nominal element to be a DO, it must be

capable of filling the VComp slot. Until now, however, this definition has been taken for granted, and the incorporated nominal elements of complex verb stems have been grouped with the freely occuring lexical objects of simple stems, without illustration of the focussability of both types of elements in VComp. Part of the discussion of direct object focus, then, must necessarily include a demonstration that any element which can fill VComp can be placed in focus and be coded consistently in a pattern which covers all instances of DO focus. Before this can be undertaken, however, a basic survey of the direct object of simple transitive stems is necessary to establish the coding pattern of direct object focus.

5.3.3.1 Lexical Objects

The clearest indicator that sentence—initial position corresponds to the focus position in Anlo Ewe is to be found when an object is placed in focus. Whether in tense—marked VO or aspect—marked OV order, the VP and, hence, the direct object always follows the subject in basic Anlo Ewe word order. However, when a direct object is focussed, the object, marked by /é/, appears in sentence—initial position preceding the subject. Examples shown below will repeat or modify earlier examples in (a) but will illustrate object—focus (O+F), rather than subject—focus, in (b).

(39) **S V <u>O</u> : <u>O+F</u> S V**

  (a)   fɔga Φo <u>abla</u>   "Foga hit Abla"
         / fɔga   Φo   abla /
             3sS   hit   3sO

  (b)   <u>ablaé</u> fɔga Φo   "it was Abla (whom) Foga hit"
         / abla + é   fɔga   Φo /
             3sO   F   3sS   hit

In (39a), the NP, _abla_, is the direct object, occurring in VComp immediately following the verb Фo. In (39b), this direct object has been placed in leftmost or sentence-initial position and marked by /é/. Furthermore, there is no longer any element left where the object normally occurs in the basic construction (i.e., construction without focus assignment). Hence, in a simple sentence with object-focus, VComp remains empty when the DO is placed in a position of focus.

The patterning of the verb in aspectual predications serves to support this conclusion. When an aspectually-marked clause contains on object-focus construction, the verb root is reduplicated to fill the slot despite the presence of a direct object elsewhere in the clause, as in (40b).

(40) **S AUX O V-ASP : O+F S AUX VComp V-ASP**

(a) foga lЄˇ _abla_ Фom'
     / foga lЄˇ abla Фo -m' /
        3sS AUX 3sO hit ASPp
     "Foga is hitting Abla"

(b) _abla_é foga lЄˇ Фo Фom'
     / abla + é foga lЄˇ Фo   Фo -m' /
        3sO   F 3sS AUX VRedup hit ASPp
     "it is Abla (whom) Foga is hitting"

The reduplication of the verb root only occurs when no verbal complement is present to fill VComp. Hence, example (40b) also testifies to the fact that the VComp position is left empty when object-focus occurs. Though the object is no longer in its usual syntactic slot, the strict word order of Anlo Ewe allows for the recoverability of the object in focus position, and no index of the object's presence elsewhere in the sentence is necessary.

As for the types of direct object which can be placed in focus,

the full range that was found for subject NPs can also be focussed as
object NPs. Again, examples can illustrate indefinite (41), and defi-
nite (both singular (42) and plural (43)) nouns, as well as noun plus
adjective (44), relative clause (45), and coordinate (46) NPs in object
(a) and in focus (b) position.

(41)
 (a) fɔga kpɔ' <u>dadi</u>   "Foga saw a cat"
     / fɔga kpɔ' dadi /
      3sS   see   cat

 (b) <u>dadié</u> fɔga kpɔ'   "it was a cat (that) Foga saw"
     / dadi + é   fɔga kpɔ' /
      3sO   F   3sS   V

(42)
 (a) fɔga kpɔ' <u>dadila'</u>   "Foga saw the cat"
     / fɔga kpɔ' dadi −la' /
      3sS   see   cat   −DEF

 (b) <u>dadila'é</u> fɔga kpɔ'   "it was the cat (that) Foga saw"
     / dadi −la' + é   fɔga kpɔ' /
      3sO −DEF F   3sS   V

(43)
 (a) fɔga kpɔ' <u>dadila'wo'</u>   "Foga saw the cats"
     / fɔga kpɔ' dadi −la' −wo' /
      3sS   see   cat −DEF pl

 (b) <u>dadila'wé:</u> fɔga kpɔ'   "it was the cats (that) Foga saw"
     / dadi −la' −wo' + é fɔga kpɔ' /
      3sO −DEF pl   F   3sS   V

(44)
 (a) fɔga kpɔ' <u>dadi dzi~la'</u>   "Foga saw a red cat"
     / fɔga kpɔ' dadi dzi~ −la' /
      3sS   see   cat   red −DEF

 (b) <u>dadi dzi~la'é</u> Foga kpɔ'   "it was a red cat (that) Foga saw"
     / dadi dzi~ −la' + é fɔga kpɔ' /
      3sO ADJ −DEF F 3sS   V

(45)
 (a) fɔga kpɔ' <u>dadi si' ti' kpo' dɛ̀ kpola' dzi</u>
     / fɔga kpɔ' dadi si' ti' kpo' dɛ̀ kpo −la' dzi /
      3sS   see   cat REL   jump   pLOC fence −DEF LOCp
     "Foga saw the cat who jumped onto the fence"

(45b) <u>dadi si' ti' kpo' dƐˇ kpola' dzié foga kpo'</u>
    / dadi si' ti' kpo' dƐˇ   kpo -la' dzi + é foga kpo' /
      3sO   REL V   VComp pLOC   OBL -DEF LOCp F 3sS   V
    "it was the cat who jumped onto the fence (that) Foga saw"

(46)

  (a)   <u>foga kpɔ' dadi kplƐ' avuˇla'</u>
       / foga kpɔ' dadi kplƐ' avuˇ -la' /
         3sS   see   cat   &   dog -DEF
       "Foga saw the cat and the dog"

  (b)   <u>dadi kplƐ' avuˇla'é</u> foga kpɔ'
       / dadi kplƐ' avuˇ -la' + é Foga kpɔ' /
         3sO   &   3sO -DEF   F   3sS V
       "it was the cat and the dog (that) Foga saw"

Additionally, pronominal NPs can occur in object focus and such constructions prove quite important for a full understanding of Anlo Ewe focus-marking.

5.3.3.2 <u>Independent Pronouns versus Inflectional Agreement</u>

Both independent pronouns and inflectional agreement may be used to express an object in Ewe, but there is a strong restriction against using an independent pronoun for an unfocussed object. Only the 1s and 2s independent pronouns appear to be used with any regularity as direct objects, but even this occurs in a syntactically odd construction in which the pronouns follow rather than precede the verb root, as in (47).[11]

(47) Ɛ'lƐˇ wuˇ(y)Ɛˇm'   "s/he will kill me"
     / Ɛ'- lƐˇ wuˇ (-)ÑƐˇ -m' /
      3sS- AUX kill 1s ASPp

Conversely, a pronominal object placed in focus must appear in its independent form in sentence-initial position and be marked by /é/. These pronouns are thus identical to subject pronouns in focus, as summarized earlier in Figure 5.1. Following the pattern found for lexical objects in focus, strict word order allows for recoverability of the

focussed object, and nothing marks VComp following the verb. The examples in (48a) and (48b) illustrate the differences between a first person singular object as (non-aspectual) verbal agreement marker and the independent pronoun in focus.

(48) S-V-O : O+F (nF)S-V

(a) Ɛ̂kpɔ'm̂   "you saw me"
    / Ɛ̂-   kpɔ' -m̂ /
    2sS- see -1sO

(b) Ñé: nƐ̂kpɔ'   "it was me you saw"
    / ÑƐ̂ + é   nƐ̂- kpɔ' /
    1s   F 2snF- see

(c) *Ñé: Ɛ̂kpɔ'   "it was me you saw"
    / ÑƐ̂ + é   Ɛ̂-   kpɔ' /
    1s   F 2sS- see

In addition to the pattern already observed for object-focus, the examples in (48) illustrate a further morphosyntactic signal, already touched upon in section 5.1.2, which can occasionally serve to indicate the presence of a focus construction. In (48a), the 2s verbal subject agreement marker appears (clause-initially) as Ɛ̂-. In contrast, when a focussed object (or any other focussed element) precedes the subject in the sentence, as in (48b), the 2s subject agreement must appear in its alternative, non-focus form nƐ̂-. The use of the non-focus subject agreement is obligatory, and Ɛ̂- can not be used if another element is placed in focus. This is illustrated by the unacceptability of (48c).

Example set (49), on the following page, illustrates the alternation between the basic 3s subject agreement marker, Ɛ'-, and its non-focus counterpart, wô-. All other persons fail to exhibit an alternation of this sort and examples (50-53) below illustrate this

fact, as well as show the agreement markers and focussed forms of the remaining persons as direct objects.

(49)
(a) Є'kpɔ'wo˯   "s/he saw you"
     / Є'-   kpɔ'   -wo˯ /
       3sS-   see   -2sO

(b) wé: wo˯kpɔ'   "it was you s/he saw"
     / wo˯ + é   wo˯-   kpɔ' /
       2s   F   3snF-   see

(c) *wé: Є'kpɔ'   "it was you s/he saw"
     / wo˯ + é   Є'-   kpɔ' /
       2s   F   3sS-   see

(50)
(a) mi'Єkpɔ'Є   "we saw him/her"
     / mi'Є-   kpɔ' -i /
       1pS-   see   -3sO

(b) Є'ya'é mi'Єkpɔ'   "it was him/her we saw"
     / Є'ya' + é   mi'Є-   kpɔ' /
       3s   F   1pS-   see

(51)
(a) mi˯Єkpɔ'mi'   "you(pl) saw us"
     / mi˯Є-   kpɔ' -mi' /
       2pS-   see   -1pO

(b) mi'awé: mi˯Єkpɔ'   "it was us you(pl) saw"
     / mi'awo + é   mi˯Є-   kpɔ' /
       1p   F   2pS-   see

(52)
(a) wo'kpɔ'mi˯   "they saw you(pl)"
     / wo'-   kpɔ' -mi˯ /
       3pS-   see   -2pO

(b) mi˯awé: wo'kpɔ'   "it was you(pl) they saw"
     / mi˯awo + é   wo'-   kpɔ' /
       2p   F   3pS-   see

(53)
(a) mЄ˯kpɔ'wo'   "I saw them"
     / mЄ˯-   kpɔ' -wo' /
       1sS-   see   -3pO

(b) wo'awé: mЄ˯kpɔ'   "it was you(pl) they saw"
     / wo'awo + é   mЄ˯-   kpɔ' /
       3p   F   1sS-   see

Despite the possible additional uses of the non-focus agreement markers in subordinate clauses, as illustrated in sections 3.4.2.1.1 and 4.3.2, they have been termed "non-focus" because they obligatorily occur when a constituent other than the subject is placed in focus. When a 2s or 3s subject is present as verbal agreement and another element is focussed, the non-focus forms of these person prefixes are obligatory.

5.3.3.3 WH- Objects

Following the pattern of object-focus, WH- words representing direct objects are similarly placed in sentence-initial position and marked by /é/. Again, the presence of the focus-marker /é/ is virtually obligatory, though it is somewhat more acceptable for echo questions to be formed with non-focussed WH- object words than was found when questioning subjects. In such cases, the WH- words occur in the usual VComp or direct object position in the clause, and no special meaning (e.g. disbelief, sarcasm, etc.) beyond the request for repetition is conveyed. Examples of focussed WH- objects will be given below in (a) and non-focussed echo-questions will be provided in (b) for contrast.

(54)
  (a) amꞒkaé nꞒˇkpơ'   "whom did you see?"
       / amꞒka + é nꞒˇ- kpơ' /
         WH-O   F   2snF- see

  (b) Ꞓˇkpơ' amꞒka   "you saw **who**?"
       / Ꞓˇ- kpơ amꞒka /
        2sS-   see   WH-O

(55)
  (a) nu'kaé woˇNlơˇ   "what did s/he write?"
       / nu'ka + é woˇ- Nlơˇ /
         WH-O   F   3snF- write

  (b) Ꞓ'Nlơˇ nu'ka   "s/he wrote **what**?"
       / Ꞓ'- Nlơˇ nu'ka /
        3sS- write   WH-O

(56)
(a) kaé nɛ̀di   "which did you want?"
     / ka + é   nɛ̀-   di /
     WH-O   F   2snF- want

(b) ɛ̀di ka   "you want which?"
     / ɛ̀-   di   ka /
     2sS- want WH-O

Naturally, direct objects in aspectually-marked predications can
be similarly replaced by WH- words, as exemplified in (57).

(57) nu'kaé wòlɛ̀ Ña Ñam'
      / nu'ka + é   wò-   lɛ̀   Ña   Ña   -m' /
        WH-   F 3snF- AUX VRedup wash ASPp
      "what is s/he washing?"

5.3.3.4 Summary and Discussion

All of the direct object-focus examples seen thus far involve con-
stituents which unambiguously represent DOs in the VComp position of
simple transitive stems. However, the status of verbal complements, or
nominal elements incorporated in VComp in complex verb stems, has not
been addressed. It remains to be seen if such elements can be placed in
focus. If not, they cannot be considered DOs despite their presence in
VComp and such verbs would have to classified as intransitives. How-
ever, this was not done in the classification of section 3.4.1, for such
VComp elements can, in fact, be placed in focus. Hence, these VComp
elements do function syntactically as direct objects, at least with
regard to focus-marking. This is demonstrated by the fully acceptable,
though pragmatically restricted sentences in example sets (58)-(60)
which follow:

(58)
(a) abla Φo tomɛ̀ na' foga   "Abla slapped Foga"
     / abla Φo tomɛ̀ na' foga /
       3sS   slap   DAT 3sIO

(58b) <u>tomɛ́:</u> abla Φo na' foga
      / tomɛˋ + é   abla   Φo ____   na'   foga /
        VComp   F   3sS   V   DAT   3sIO
      "it was slapping that Abla did to Foga"

(59)
 (a)   abla tu <u>afɔkpo</u> foga   "Abla kicked Foga"
       / abla   tu afɔkpo   foga /
         3sS   stomp   3sOBL

 (b)   <u>afɔkpoé</u> abla tu foga
       / afɔkpo + é   abla   tu ____   foga /
        VComp   F   3sS   V   3sOBL
       "it was kicking that Abla did to Foga"

(60)
 (a)   abla dɛ <u>asi</u> foga Nu'   "Abla touched Foga"
       / abla   dɛ asi   foga   Nu' /
         3sS   touch   3sOBL OBLp

 (b)   <u>asié</u> abla dɛ foga Nu'
       / asi + é   abla   dɛ ____   foga   Nu' /
        VComp   F   3sS   V   3sOBL OBLp
       "it was touching that Abla did to Foga"

The (b) examples arise in response to a specific question type, of which the following is an example:

(61)   nu'kaé abla wɔˋ na' foga
       / nu'ka + é   abla   wɔ'   na'   foga /
        WH—   F   3sS   do   DAT   3sIO
       "what did Abla do to Foga?"

In each case, the verbal complement can be placed in focus and is therefore acting as the direct object of the clause syntactically, at least so far as focus-marking is concerned, despite the obligatory presence of a semantic patient elsewhere in the clause.[12] Hence, the VComp position (which is marked by a blank in the analysis of the focus constructions above) represents the syntactic DO slot regardless of what fills it.

5.3.4 Indirect Objects and Obliques

The complex nature of Anlo Ewe verb stems has been mentioned in a
number of contexts throughout this study, but the discussion of oblique-
coding in 4.3.2 provides the most important background for this section.
Since complex verbs contain incorporated elements in VComp which thus
fill the syntactic DO slot, verbs which obligatorily subcategorize for
an additional argument (i.e., ditransitive verbs) must then code this
argument in some way other than as a DO. Such arguents, which are fre-
quently represented by semantic patients, are primarily coded as in-
direct objects (i.e. "dative government"), or as obliques, whether in
conjunction with oblique case-marking or not. In turn, the
constructions resulting from placing these obliques in focus present
almost as much diversity as in the oblique-coding strategies themselves.

5.3.4.1 Indirect Objects and Dative /na'/

The indirect object, or semantic recipient, as well as some ob-
lique/benefactives, are generally marked by a dative preposition, /na'/,
which itself follows the verbal complex in constituent order. When the
IO is focussed, it appears in leftmost position, but the dative marker
must remain in its usual position following the verbal complex. These
patterns are exemplified in (61), with example (61c) demonstrating the
unacceptability of allowing /na'/ to accompany the IO·into sentence-ini-
tial position.

(62) **S-V O DAT IO** : **IO+F** (nF)**S-V O DAT**

(a) Є'tsσ' agba~lЄla' <u>na' fσga</u>
     / Є'- tsσ' agba~lЄ -la'   na' fσga /
      3sS- give   book   -DEF   DAT 3sIO
     "s/he gave the book to Foga"

(62)
(b)   <u>fɔɡaé</u> woˇtsσ' agba~lƐla' <u>na'</u>
      / fɔga + é   woˇ- tsσ' agba~lƐ -la'   na' /
        3sIO   F 3snF- give book   -DEF   DAT
      "it was Fɔga s/he gave the book to"

(c)   *<u>na' fɔɡaé</u> woˇtsσ' agba~lƐla'
      / na' fɔga + é   woˇ- tsσ' agba~lƐ -la' /
        DAT 3sIO   F 3snF- give book   -DEF
      "it was to Fɔga that s/he gave the book"

Unlike the patterns found in subject and object focus-marking, the
IO-focus construction includes the use of a case-marker to mark the us-
ual syntactic slot of the focussed element. The strict placement of the
dative marker indicates that an indirect object is part of the predica-
tion and allows for the recoverability of the focussed element as an IO.

The verb <u>tsσ' (na')</u> "give", illustrated above, is subcategorized
for both a direct object and an indirect object. Other verbs, such as
<u>Φo tomƐˇ</u> "slap" and <u>lƐ tsi</u> "wash", obligatorily code a semantic patient
as an indirect object following the dative <u>na'</u>.[13] This "dative govern-
ment" is illustrated in example set (63), which mirrors the structure of
the ditransitive in (62). Both are coded as ditransitives in Ewe.

(63)
(a)   Ɛ'Φo tomƐˇ na' fɔga
      / Ɛ'- Φo tomƐˇ na' fɔga /
        3sS- slap   DAT 3sIO
      "s/he slapped Fɔga"

(b)   fɔɡaé woˇΦo tomƐˇ na'
      / fɔga + é   woˇ-   Φo tomƐˇ   na' /
        3sS   F 3snF-   slap   DAT
      "it was Fɔga s/he slapped"

(c)   *<u>na' fɔɡaé</u> woˇΦo tomƐˇ
      / na' Fɔga + é   woˇ-   Φo tomƐˇ /
        DAT 3sIO   F 3snF-   hit face-side
      "it was to Fɔga that s/he hit face-side"

The important point in the focus-marking of IOs, then, is the

presence of the preposition /na'/, which marks the case of the focussed element. IO-focus is thereby somewhat more complex than either subject or object focus, in which no case-marker is present. This is a pattern that is further developed in the focus-marking of obliques.

5.3.4.2 Oblique Objects

For ditransitive verbs which cannot code a semantic patient as DO and which do not code it as a /na'/-marked IO, there are a number of oblique-coding strategies available in Anlo Ewe. In every case, just as with dative government, the semantic patient follows the verbal complex. There are several ways in which these arguments are treated but, based on the syntactic construction of focus-marking, all of these types can be grouped together as oblique objects. When any of these obliques are placed in focus, which can again be done freely, some form of trace morpheme must follow the verbal complex in the position normally occupied by the focussed constituent.

5.3.4.2.1 Ø-Obliques

The simplest of these oblique types bears no case-marking whatsoever, but merely places the oblique to the right of the verbal complex. The structure of predications with complex verbs such as <u>tu afɔ(kpo)</u> "kick", <u>do go</u> "meet", and <u>kukɔ fɛ</u> "scratch" is nearly identical to that of verbs with the dative, except that no dative or other case marker exists. Hence, oblique objects must appear directly after the verbal complex, while object agreement markers, which can be used for obliques as well, appear to be affixed directly to the final element in the verbal complex, as in (65a) and (65b)[14] instead of being attached to the

dative marker, in the case of IOs (64):

(64) Є'Φo tomЄ˘ <u>na'm˘</u>   "s/he slapped me"
      / Є'-   Φo tomЄ˘ na' -m˘ /
      3sS-   slap   DAT -1sIO

(65)
 (a) Є'tu <u>afɔkpom˘</u>   "s/he kicked me"
      / Є'-   tu afɔkpo -m˘ /
      3sS-   kick   -1sOBL

 (b) Є'lЄ˘ afɔkpo tum'Єm˘   "s/he is kicking me"
      / Є'- lЄ˘ afɔkpo tu -m' -m˘ /
      3sS- AUX   VComp   V   ASPp -1sOBL

When the syntactically oblique objects of this type of verb are
placed in focus, as in (66a) and (66b), some form of trace morpheme or
resumptive pronoun (rp) must follow the verbal complex in the position
that the oblique would otherwise occupy.

(66)
 (a) Ñé: wo˘tu afɔkpo<u>e</u>
      / ÑЄ˘ + é   wo˘-   tu afɔkpo -e /
        1s   F 3snF-   kick   -(3s)rp
      "it was me s/he kicked"

 (b) Ñé: wo˘lЄ˘ afɔkpo tum<u>e</u>
      / ÑЄ˘ + é   wo˘-   afɔkpo tu -m'   -e /
        1s   F 3snF-   VComp   V   ASPp -(3s)rp
      "it is me s/he is kicking"

The origin of this trace-marking [e] is obscure, though it is almost
identical phonetically to both the focus-marker /é/, and the 3s object
agreement marker /-i/ which can also take the phonetic form [e]. In
order to disambiguate this trace [e] from both the focus-marker and the
3s agreement marker, it will be represented as /e/. Whatever its ori-
gin, this /e/ appears to be a resumptive pronoun and therefore repre-
sents the first instance of a pronoun retention strategy to be found in
Anlo Ewe focus-marking.

This morpheme appears following the verbal complex regardless of

the type of NP it traces. Example set (67) demonstrates this with an ordinary (definite) noun as the oblique object.

(67)   S-V VComp <u>OBL</u>   :   <u>OBL+F</u> (nF)S-V VComp <u>-rp</u>

(a)   Є'tu afɔkpo avuˇla'
      / Є'- tu afɔkpo avuˇ -la' /
       3sS- kick   dog -DEF
      "s/he kicked the dog"

(b)   avuˇla'**é** woˇtu afɔkpo<u>e</u>
      / avuˇ -la' + é   woˇ-   tu afɔkpo -e /
        dog -DEF F 3snF-   kick   -rp
      "it was the dog (whom) s/he kicked"

5.3.4.2.2   <u>/Nu'/-Obliques</u>

A second type of oblique appears to utilize an oblique case-marker although it differs greatly from the dative /na'/. The element /Nu'(ti)/, discussed previously, is a postposition which marks oblique NPs. When the oblique is placed in focus, the /Nu'/-marking accompanies it in sentence-initial position. Similar to the oblique type examined immediately above, no case-marker is present to mark the usual syntactic oblique position when the oblique is focussed, but instead the same resumptive pronoun appears, as in (68b).

(68)   S-V VComp <u>OBL-Nu'</u>   :   <u>OBL-Nu'+F</u> (nF)S-V VComp <u>-rp</u>

(a)   Є'dЄ asi <u>dadila' Nu'</u>
      / Є'- dЄ asi   dadi -la' Nu' /
       3sS- touch   cat -DEF OBLp
      "s/he touched the cat"

(b)   <u>dadila' Nu'**é**</u> woˇdЄ asi<u>e</u>
      / dadi -la' Nu' + é   woˇ-   dЄ asi   -e /
        OBL -DEF OBLp F   3snF-   touch   -rp
      "it was the cat (that) s/he touched"

Functionally, it may be that /Nu'/ occurs idiosyncratically with certain complex verbs in order to mark a NP as the semantic patient when

it cannot occur in the usual object slot.[15] However, this does not override the fact that the patient occurs outside of the VP, and is therefore treated as an oblique syntactically. The pronoun retention strategy is one further indicator of this.

5.3.4.2.3 /kp∈' D∈ Nu'/

A further example of a /Nu'/-marking verb, presented in (69), adds another complication to Anlo Ewe focus-marking. As described in 4.3.2 above, the complex verb stem kp∈' D∈ Nu' "help" includes the preposition /D∈/ which marks the semantic patient as an oblique despite the fact that VComp contains no other element. /D∈/ appears in the same sentential position as the dative marker /na'/ and the respective constructions are similar (compare example sets (63) and (69)). When the oblique object marked by /D∈/ is placed in focus, this preposition also remains in its usual position. However, unlike the unchanging and unmarked /na'/, /D∈/ changes to the surface phonetic form [Do].

(69) **S–V D∈ OBL–Nu'** : **OBL–Nu'+F (nF)S–V Do**

(a) ∈'kp∈' D∈ foga Nu'
/ ∈'–   kp∈' ___   D∈   foga   Nu' /
  3sS–   help   pOBL   3sOBL OBLp
"s/he helped Foga"

(b) foga Nu'é wo‸kp∈' Do
/ foga Nu'   + é   wo‸–   kp∈'   D∈   + ? /
  3sOBL OBLp   F   3snF–   V   pOBL   –tr
"it was Foga (that) s/he helped"

The construction exemplified in (69b) thus closely reflects that of (68b), which also exhibits some kind of change. Instead of the addition of the resumptive pronoun, though, the oblique-marking element D∈ appears to undergo an unexpected phonological change, perhaps by the

addition of some trace element. However, if the resumptive pronoun were to be added to DE, the expected phonological result would be [De:] or [Di:],[16] but this is obviously not the case. Despite the phonetic unpredictability of this oblique preposition, perhaps suggesting a morphologically-conditioned alternation, the alternative form does appear to function in the same manner as a resumptive pronoun by coreferencing a focussed oblique. The constructions differ only in that a different form of visible trace is employed to allow recoverability of the oblique object.

5.3.4.2.4 /Do Da/

It is possible to postulate an alternative view of the change from /DE/ to [Do] which would refute the function of [Do] as a type of resumptive pronoun. If [Do] were to mark only the fact that the semantic patient, or syntactic oblique, was unspecified, this could not be construed as functionally the same as the resumptive pronoun. That this is not the case, however, has already been shown indirectly in 4.3.2 above by the complex pattern exhibited by the verb stem Do Da "send [something] (to someone/somewhere)", and will be illustrated again, in (70) below, with the addition of the focus-construction in (70c).

There are three possibilities when using the stem Do Da. When both a direct object and an oblique (i.e. recipient or locative) are specified, DE precedes the oblique, as shown in (70a) below, which in turn parallels (69a). With this particular verb, however, it is possible to omit the recipient or locative oblique, in which case the DE element takes the form [Da], as in (70b). It is therefore the form [Da] which marks an unspecified oblique in this verb, and not [Do].

(70) S-V O DⒺ OBL : S-V O Da : OBL+F (nF)S-V O Do

(a) Ɛ'Dɔ agba~lⒺ DⒺ *Accra*
     / Ɛ'- Dɔ agba~lⒺ DⒺ *Accra* /
      3sS- send letter pOBL OBL/LOC
     "s/he sent a letter to Accra"

(b) Ɛ'Dɔ agba~lⒺ Da
     / Ɛ'- Dɔ agba~lⒺ DⒺ + ? /
      3sS- send letter pOBL
     "s/he sent a letter"

(c) *Accra*é wo`Dɔ agba~lⒺ Do
     / *Accra* + é wo`- Dɔ agba~lⒺ DⒺ + ? /
      OBL/LOC F 3snF- send letter pOBL tr
     "it was Accra s/he sent a letter to"

Finally, when a recipient or locative object is focussed on, as in (69c), the DⒺ element again takes the form [Do], paralleling (68b). The occurrence of the DⒺ element before a locative suggests even more strongly that /DⒺ/ is an oblique case-marker, while the phonological alternant, [Do], again appears to mark a trace of some sort when the oblique is focussed.

5.3.4.3 WH- IOs and Obliques

By this point, little more need be said about the use of question words, for it is apparent that the WH- words simply take the place of any other focussed element and the rest of the clause follows as it normally would. It can therefore be easily demonstrated that IOs (compare (71) with (63b)), and oblique objects marked by both Ø (compare (72) with (66a)) and DⒺ (compare (73) with (69b)), are treated similarly when represented by WH- words in focus as without.

(71) amⒺkaé nⒺ`Φo tomⒺ` na'   "whom did you slap?"
      / amⒺka + é nⒺ`-  Φo tomⒺ` na' /
        WH-IO F 2snF- slap DAT

(72) améka**é** fɔga tu afɔkpoe   "whom did Foga kick?"
      / améka + **é**   fɔga tu afɔkpo –e /
        WH–OBL F 3sS   kick   –rp

(73) améka Nu'**é** wo'kpє' Do   "whom did they help?"
      / améka Nu' + **é**   wɔ'– kpє'   DЄ + ? /
        WH–OBL   F   3pS– help pOBL

There is, however, one particularly interesting construction which
provides further evidence for the allomorphy of /DЄ/ in the surface form
[Do]. With certain uses of the WH– word nu'kata "why", the /DЄ/ element
is present in one form or another, though it will only surface as [DЄ]
when in an echo question. The form [Do], which is optional in this
construction, is extremely common here since the constituent which
normally follows D**Є** is virtually always focussed. This is exemplified
in (74), with the echo question given in (b).

(74)
 (a) nu'kata**é** nє`tsi mЄgbЄ (**Do**)
      / nu'kata + é   nє`–   tsi mЄgbЄ (DЄ + ?) /
        WH–OBL   F 2snF–   V   ADV   (pOBL)
      "why were you late?"

 (b) Є`tsi mЄgbЄ D**Є** su'su' **kata**
      / Є`–   tsi mЄgbЄ DЄ   su'su'   kata /
        2sS– V   ADV   pOBL reason   WH–
      "you were late _for_ **what reason?**"

The /DЄ/ element again marks an oblique phrase and it again changes to
[Do] when that phrase, or the WH– word representing it, is placed in
focus.

5.3.4.4 Summary and Discussion

Until this section, discussion on the possible use of pronoun re-
tention and deletion strategies in Anlo focus–marking had been down-
played due to lack of evidence. Now, however, the use of a resumptive

pronoun in the focus of obliques serves to recall the lack of any similar strategy in the focus of subjects, DOs and IOs already examined.

According to a survey conducted by Luo (1991), pronoun deletion strategies are extremely common cross-linguistically with subject-focus constructions. Unfortunately, it is not certain that suitable evidence of such a strategy can be extracted from the Anlo data. On might characterize as pronoun deletion the lack of verbal agreement when a subject (or, for that matter. a direct object) is placed in focus. However, in Anlo, this may only be an artefact of the lack of verbal agreement when a subject or direct object is lexicalized.

The same argument also holds for the lack of a resumptive pronoun following the dative /na'/ in IO-focus constructions. If the resumptive pronoun that occurs in oblique-focus-marking were to follow the dative /na'/, it would presumably take the surface phonetic form [ne':].[17] This does not occur. In light of the appearance of a resumptive pronoun in the focus of obliques, however, the important point about the other focus constructions already examined is their lack of a resumptive pronoun. At the very least, then, subject, DO and IO focus in Anlo Ewe can be characterized as focus-constructions which lack pronoun retention. This is clearly a negative definition, but even this will prove useful in the comparison of the constructions already examined with the further sentential constituents which can be focussed in Anlo Ewe.

Before continuing with the survey of focus-marking patterns, the information already found for Anlo focus-marking can be summarized with the aid of a table (figure 5.2 on the following page) listing both the presence (or absence) of pronoun retention (Pro Ret) and case-marking

for each of the syntactic relations examined thus far.

Figure 5.2

Focussability I

	Pro Ret	Case-Marking
SBJ	–	–
DO	–	–
IO	–	na'
OBL	+	Ø/DE/Nu'

Both subjects and direct objects are unmarked for case, and neither employ pronoun retention when placed in focus. Indirect objects share this latter trait with subjects and DOs, but the dative /na'/ aids recoverability in a manner similar to that of a resumptive pronoun.[18] In contrast, the obliques examined thus far exhibit a variety of case-marking, but are more or less uniform in the use of pronoun retention or recoverability trace. These observations can also be displayed in the form of a linear hierarchy (from left to right) representing unmarked to highly marked:

Subject & Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique

If positional change were also to be incorporated into figure 5.2, the lack of apparent change in the position of a focussed subject would set it apart from the DO, modifying the hierarchy as follows:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique

This happens to be identical to the upper end of Keenan and Comrie's (1977:66) Relativization Accessability Hierarchy, and the possible theoretical implications of this will be discussed below in section 5.4.

Initially, however, there are still a number of focussable sentential elements in Anlo which must be examined and compared with the findings in figure 5.2.

5.3.5 Further Obliques and Adverbials

5.3.5.1 Locatives

The locative optionally subcategorized for by the verb Do Da "send [something] (to someone/somewhere)" has already been shown to be coded as an oblique which must be traced by a resumptive pronoun when placed in focus. From this, it could be hypothesized that all such semantic locatives will be coded as obliques. However, this does not appear to be the case. For instance, a locative occurring with the verb yi` "go [somewhere]" does not exhibit any form of pronoun retention when placed in focus.

(75)

(a) E'yi` _Accra_   "s/he went to Accra"
     / E'-   yi`   _Accra_ /
     3sS-   go   VComp

(b) _Accraé_ wo`yi`   "it was to Accra, s/he went"
     / _Accra_ + é   wo`-   yi` /
     LOC   F   3snF-   go

However, this does not indicate that some Ewe locatives must have pronoun retention while others do not. As discussed in 4.3.2 above, the simple verb yi` codes its locative complement in the VComp slot or, in other words, as a DO. Hence, the lack of pronoun retention does not characterize a locative oblique in this verb, but a direct object which should not and does not exhibit pronoun retention.

In contrast, the locative occurring with the verb Do Da "send" cannot occur in VComp since this is already filled by a DO. As such, it

must be coded as an oblique. Though both verbs are subcategorized for locatives, the different demands made by their respective verbal morphology dictate the coding of the locative as a DO or an oblique respectively.

That the locative of a verb such as yi˘ must be specially coded is perhaps not so surprising given the observation that no locative marking occurs in association with this locative element. It is, in fact, more usual for Ewe locatives to be marked by a postpositional particle (see section 4.2.2). However, even the presence of such a postposition does not insure that a pure locative pattern will be found. Despite the presence of the locative postposition which obligatorily marks the locative with the verb dɛ˘ dzi "climb", the locative-marked NP occupies VComp and is treated syntactically as a DO, as seen in example set (76).

(76)
  (a) dadila' dɛ˘ ati'la' dzi
        / dadi -la' dɛ˘   ati' -la'   dzi /
          cat -DEF climb   tree -DEF   LOCp
        "the cat climbed (onto) the tree"

  (b) ati'la' dzié dadila' dɛ˘
        / ati' -la' dzi + é   dadi -la' dɛ˘ /
          tree -DEF LOCp   F   cat -DEF climb
        "it was (onto) the tree (that) the cat climbed"

Since all of the locative examples cited thus far involve verbally subcategorized locatives, it is unlikely that a separate pattern of locative focus-marking will be discovered unless examples with purely optional locatives are investigated. When truly optional locatives occur, as in example sets (77) and (78) below, a prepositional locative marker appears in addition to the locative postposition.[19] When these locatives are placed in focus, the prepositional element remains behind. This pattern is demonstrated in the (b) examples:

(77) S V O pLOC-LOC-LOCp : LOC-LOCp+F S V O pLOC

(a) abla Φo fɔga lE˘ aΦe mE˘
/ abla   Φo   fɔga   lE˘   aΦe   mE˘ /
3sS   hit   3sO   pLOC   house   LOCp
"Abla hit Foga in the house"

(b) aΦe mé: abla Φo fɔga lE˘
/ aΦe   mE˘ + é   abla   Φo   fɔga   lE˘ /
house   LOCp   F   3sS   hit   3sO   pLOC
"it was in the house (that) Abla hit Foga"

(78) S-V VComp pLOC-LOC-LOCp : LOC-LOCp+F (nF)S-V VComp pLOC

(a) mi'Eti' kpo' dE˘ kpE'la' dzi
/ mi'E- ti' kpo'   dE˘   kpE'   -la'   dzi /
1pS-   jump   pLOC   stone   -DEF   LOCp
"we jumped onto the stone"

(b) kpE'la' dzié mi'Eti' kpo' dE˘
/ kpE'   -la'   dzi + é   mi'E-   ti' kpo'   dE˘ /
stone   -DEF   LOCp   F   1pS-   jump   pLOC
"it was onto the stone (that) we jumped"

Thus, the pattern is similar to that exhibited by IOs. Just as the dative marker /na'/ is left behind for recoverability of the indirect object, there is a locative (case-) marker but no resumptive pronoun. This evidence places locatives among the constituents which do not require a pronoun retention strategy.

5.3.5.2 Associatives and Instrumentals

The associative and instrumental cases are marked by kplE' "and, with" which is also the conjunction which coordinates NPs.[20] When an associative element is placed in focus, this marker remains behind, just as do the dative and locative prepositions, and appears in the form [kpli'].[21] This is phonetically identical to the combination of the conjunction /kplE'/ and the 3s object agreement suffix, as seen in example sets (34) and (35) above. Hence, this appears to be a clear-cut

instance of the resumptive pronoun. However, as seen in 5.2.1, [kpli']
can also be marked by an optional [e'], which is phonetically identical
to the focus-marker. This complicates the question of the origin of
both the resumptive pronoun and the focus-marker itself. Be that as it
may, the pattern of focussing an associative appears to mirror the
patterns found for placing obliques in focus, except that the addition
of the resumptive pronoun to the oblique prepositonal marker is now
phonologically transparent, in contrast to the alternation of [DЄ] with
[Do]. These patterns are demonstrated in example sets (79) and (80).

In (79a), a simple statement without an associative is given. The
associative is added in (b) and focussed in (c). The restriction
against placing the associative marker kplЄ' before the oblique in focus
is again observed, and illustrated in (d).

(79)
 (a)   mЄˋlЄˋ kʊ da'm'
       / mЄˋ- lЄˋ kʊ   da' -m' /
         1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp
       "I am fighting"

 (b)   mЄˋlЄˋ kʊ da'm' kplЄ' kpo
       / mЄˋ- lЄˋ kʊ   da' -m'   kplЄ' kpo /
         1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp pASSC tiger
       "I am fighting with a tiger"

 (c)   kpoé mЄˋlЄˋ kʊ da'm' kpli(ye')
       / kpo + é mЄˋ- lЄˋ kʊ   da' -m'   kplЄ' -e +((y)e') /
         tiger F   1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp pASSC -rp ?F?
       "it is a tiger that I am fighting with"

 (d)   *kplЄ' kpoé mЄˋlЄˋ kʊ da'm'
       / kplЄ' kpo + é   mЄˋ- lЄˋ kʊ   da' -m' /
         pASSC tiger F   1sS- AUX VComp V   ASPp
       "it is with a tiger that I am fighting"

Example (80) is a more straightforward example of basic (a) and focussed
(b) counterparts, in which it is an instrumental (INST) that is marked:

(80)   S–V O kplЄ' INST : INST+F (nF)S–V O kplЄ'-rp

(a)   mЄˋβuˇ βoˋla' kplЄ' safwi'
      / mЄˋ– βuˇ βoˇ –la' kplЄ' safwi' /
        1sS– open door –DEF pINST   key
      "I opened the door with a key"

(b)   safwi'é mЄˋβuˇ βoˋla' kpli'(e')
      / safwi' + é mЄˋ– βuˇ βoˇ –la' kplЄ' –e (+ e') /
         key   F   1sS– open door –DEF pINST –rp ?F?
      "it was a key (that) I opened the door with"

Though (80b) is perfectly acceptable, there is another construc-
tion which may be favoured in this context. This involves the use of a
serial–verb construction and the loss of the associative marking kplЄ'
at the end of the clause. When this occurs, as in (81), the resumptive
pronoun still appears but then merely follows the direct object in
VComp, just as is the case with various other obliques seen in section
5.3.4 above.

(81)   safwi'é mЄˋtsσ βuˇ βoˋla'e̲
       / safwi' + é mЄˋ– tsσ βuˇ βoˇ –la' –e /
          key   F   1sS– use open door –DEF –rp
         INST/O?   V₁   V₂
       "it was a key I used to open the door"

It would seem reasonable to suggest that safwi' is actually the object
of V₁ tsσ "use" and the VComp slot following tsσ has simply been left
empty as is the case when DOs are focussed. However, that the structure
in (81) is to be related to the basic sentence in (80a) is evident from
the retention of the resumptive pronoun following the object of the
second verb βuˇ in the serial–verb construction. There is no other
argument for the appearance of the resumptive pronoun in this position,
for no element other than the instrumental would need a trace. The ap-
pearance of the resumptive pronoun in an oblique position still marks
safwi' "key" as the oblique instrumental.

5.3.5.3 Adverbials

5.3.5.3.1 Spatial Adverbials

Closely related to locatives, and perhaps frequently identical with them, are spatial adverbials. Certain spatial adverbials can appear in VComp (i.e. with certain verbs which are subcategorized for adverbs of place), or they can follow the verbal complex, as with obliques. In the former case, any marking strategy in evidence would be the invariable coding of DO-focus, as has already been examined. The latter of these possibilities, however, will exhibit a pattern not yet observed, since spatial adverbials are not coded by any case-marker and no resumptive pronoun occurs to coreference them when placed in focus. This pattern is illustrated by the following example set:

(82) **S V O ADVs : ADVs+F S V O**

  (a) foga kpɔ' abla afi'ma'
      / foga kpɔ' abla afi'ma' /
        3sS   see   3sO   ADVs
      "Foga saw Abla there"

  (b) afi'ma'é foga kpɔ' abla
      / afi'ma' + é   foga   kpɔ'   abla /
        ADVs   F   3sS   see   3sO
      "it was there (that) Foga saw Abla"

The same pattern is found with most temporal adverbials.

5.3.5.3.2 Temporal Adverbials

Adverbials of time are not as strictly placed within the constituent order of the Ewe clause as many other elements are, and they can be freely focussed in Anlo Ewe. One extreme example of this is the phrase fifi(l)a' kɔ "just now" which almost always occurs sentence-initially and is almost always accompanied by the focus-marker. The general pattern found elsewhere can be exemplified in set (83), though,

according to the Anlo informant, this adverbial rarely occurs as an un-
focussed, non-initial constituent, as in (83a). In this, it resembles
the nearly obligatory focussing of WH- question words. In fact,
fifi(1)a' kɔ occurs in sentence-initial position so commonly that mark-
ing it for focus does not appear to be obligatory, even though it still
occurs predominantly.

(83) S-V ADVt : ADVt+F (nF)S-V

(a) Є'dzo fifia' kɔ
     / Є'-   dzo   fifi-la' kɔ /
     3sS- go away   now   only (= ADVt)
     "s/he has just gone / s/he went just now"

(b) fifia' kɔé woˇdzo
     / fifi-la' kɔ + é   woˇ-   dzo /
           ADVt   F   3snF-   go away
     "just now, s/he went"

    Other examples of temporal adverbials are somewhat more regular and
can be regularly focussed.

(84)
(a) Є'yiˇ Accra Ɛtsɔ (siva'yi)
     / Є'-   yiˇ Accra Ɛtsɔ (siva'yi) /
     3sS- go   LOC   yesterday
     "s/he went to Accra yesterday"

(b) Ɛtsɔé woˇyiˇ Accra
     / Ɛtsɔ + é   woˇ-   yiˇ Accra /
     ADVt   F 3snF-   go   LOC
     "it was yesterday (that) s/he went to Accra"

    One feature shared in both (83) and (84), and typical of all tem-
poral adverbials placed in focus, is the lack of a resumptive pronoun.
This can most likely be related to the somewhat freer constituent order
of temporal adverbials (as well as of spatial adverbials) in the Anlo
Ewe clause. In other words, there is no particular place where a trace
would necessarily have to occur. Additionally, temporal adverbials are

not marked by any particular prepositional or postpositional element.
Hence, the focus-marking of adverbials of time is not even complicated
by the presence of a case-marker, such as those which co-occur with in-
direct objects and locatives. Focussing on temporal and spatial adver-
bials appears to be almost as simple a matter as subject-focus construc-
tions.

5.3.5.3.3 Manner Adverbials

Unlike the other adverbials discussed thus far, manner adverbials
have a very strict position in the constituent order of the Anlo Ewe
clause. Manner adverbials must appear clause-finally, as in (85a), and
only fail to do so if they are placed in focus, as in (85b). When this
occurs, a trace morpheme must be left behind, similar to the resumptive
pronoun employed with oblique objects, as discussed in section 5.3.4.2.

(85) **S-V O ADVm** : **ADVm+F S-V O -rp**

(a) mɛ̀Du mɔ̀lula' blɛwù̱   "I ate the rice slowly"
   / mɛ̀- Du mɔ̀lu -la' blɛwù̱ /
   1sS- eat rice -DEF ADVm

(b) blɛwù̱é̱ mɛ̀Du mɔ̀lula'e̱   "**Slowly**, I ate the rice"
   / blɛwù̱ + é̱ mɛ̀- Du mɔ̀lu -la' -e /
   ADVm F 1sS- eat 3sO -DEF -rp

5.3.5.4 Further Oblique and Adverbial WH- Words

Insufficient data is available to properly illustrate all of the
obliques and adverbials discussed immediately above with WH- questions,
and the available data present certain difficulties. For instance, the
question word alɛkɛ "how" might be used to question manner, though none
of the few examples elicited included a resumptive pronoun of the type
employed when focussing on manner adverbials. Conversely, a large

amount of data is available for temporal questions, since there are

several interrogative words in Ewe for questioning time. These include

gakamƐ "what hour", GƐˋkaGiˋƐ "what time of day", gbƐˋkagbƐˋ "what day",

and ƒƐkamƐ "what year. Examples of each these, (86)-(89) respectively,

illustrate the focus-marked WH- word, but as temporal adverbials are not

marked otherwise, no other concomitant syntactic phenomena are evident.

In this way, at least, they are consistent with their non-interrogative

counterparts.

(86) gakamé: woˋdzo   "when did s/he go?"
      / gakamƐ + é   woˋ-   dzo /
          WH-T   F 3snF- go away

(87) GƐˋkaGiˋé: woˋdzo   "when did s/he go?"
      / GƐˋkaGiˋƐ + é   woˋ-   dzo /
          WH-T   F 3snF- go away

(88) gbƐˋkagbé: nƐˋlƐˋ yiˋ yiˋgƐ'   "when are you going?"
      / gbƐˋkagbƐˋ + é   nƐˋ-   lƐˋ yiˋ   yiˋ -gƐ' /
          WH-T   F 2snF- AUX VRedup go ASPi

(89) ƒƐkamé: wo'dziwoˋ   "when were you born?/
      / ƒƐkamƐ + é   wo'-   dzi   -woˋ /   (what year did they birth you)"
          WH-T   F 3pS- birth -2sO

Similarly, afi'ka "where" could represent spatial adverbials, but

it may also represent locatives. It is difficult to decide which, if

not both, afi'ka represents since neither constituent uses a pronoun

retention strategy. Furthermore, the majority of elicited examples

consist of equational structures in which lƐˋ is employed, the copular

use of which cannot be distinguished from the prepositional.[22] Further

data would be required before anything more definitive could be con-

cluded on this and other aspects of questioning obliques and adver-

bials.[23]

5.3.5.5 Summary and Discussion

There is an obvious disparity in the treatment of the various types of adverbials in case-marking and especially in focus constructions. Temporal and spatial adverbials do not require a pronoun retention strategy when placed in focus. In contrast, manner adverbials must be traced by a morpheme /e/. These differences seem to correspond, at least in part, to the degree to which the different types of adverbials are freely ordered in the Anlo Ewe clause.[24] No adverbials take case-marking, but adverbs of manner are the only ones that must be traced and which occupy a definite syntactic slot in the order of clausal constituents. Hence, they are traceable. The others do not have a specific clausal position in which a trace would be left. Only predictably ordered constituents are traced, and of those which can be, all but subject and DO are traced or marked for case, or both.

However, arguments based on the structural predictability of the position of certain constituents in the Anlo Ewe clause present a paradox. On the one hand, it has been suggested that subjects and DOs do not require pronoun retention or case-marking since their strict placement in constituent order is enough to allow for their recoverability. In contradiction to this, the very lack of structual predictability exhibited by temporal and spatial adverbials is argued to contribute to the lack of resumptive pronoun tracing.

In opposition to both of these types are the predictably ordered and case-marked IOs and locatives, without pronoun retention, and the equally predictable manner adverbials and oblique objects, which exhibit both case-marking and pronoun retention. The differences in these lat-

ter strategies in particular do not appear attributable to structural predictability alone and some other principle must be sought which might account for the particular Anlo focus-marking patterns examined above and incorporated in the revised table in figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5.3

Focussability II

	Pro Ret	Case Marking
SBJ	—	—
ADVt/s	—	—
DO	—	—
IO	—	na'
LOC	—	lЄ˘/dЄ˘
ADVm	+	—
OBL	+	Ø/DЄ/-Nu'
ASSC/INST	+	kplЄ'

These results can again be arranged in a linear hierarchy, as follows:

SBJ (>)& DO & ADVt/s > IO & LOC > ADVm & OBL (ASSC/INST)

which still closely resembles the Accessability Hierarchy. However, the position of temporal and spatial adverbials is problematical in this context. This problem will require further examination in section 5.4 below.

Lastly, the diagrammed hierarchy of Anlo focus-marking above can be completed by a final element "GEN" which must be added to its lower end since genitives cannot be focussed in Anlo Ewe. This is illustrated in example set (90) on the following page:

(90)

(a) Є'kpɔ <u>abla</u> ФЄ dadi
/ Є'-   kpɔ' abla ФЄ   dadi /
  3sS-   see   3s   GEN₂   cat
"s/he saw Abla's cat"

(b) *ablaé wo˘kpɔ' (Є')ФЄ dadi
/ abla + é   wo˘- kpɔ' (Є-) ФЄ-   dadi /
  3sGEN F 3snF- see   (3s-)GEN₂ - cat
"it was Abla whose cat s/he saw"

Example (90b) is ungrammatical whether or not a resumptive pronoun re-places the genitive NP.

5.3.6 Aspectual VPs

There is one final focussable constituent in the Anlo clause which must not be overlooked. This is the aspectually-marked VP which can be placed in leftmost position in an apparently unexceptional focus con-struction. In contrast, a tense-marked VP can not be focussed in this way, suggesting again that the aspectual VP is acting as a nominal with regard to focus-marking (cf. section 4.3.1 above and Clements 1975a:22). If this is so, the focussed (nominal) VP is treated just as the comple-ment in an equational sentence, as illustrated in 5.3.1 above. Example set (91) illustrates (a) a basic, non-focus pattern, (b) the focus of a DO from VComp only, and (c) a construction in which the DO as well as the aspectually-marked verbal root have been placed in focus.

(91) **S AUX <u>O</u> V-Asp : <u>O+F</u> S AUX VRedup <u>V-Asp</u> : <u>O V-Asp(+F)</u> S AUX**

(a) abla 1Є˘ <u>foga Фom'</u>
/ abla 1Є˘   foga Фo   -m' /
  3sS   AUX   3sO   hit ASPp
"Abla is hitting Foga"

(b) <u>fogaé</u> abla 1Є˘ Фo <u>Фom'</u>
/ Foga + é Abla 1Є˘ Фo   Фo -m' /
  3sO   F 3sS AUX VRedup
"it is Foga (whom) Abla is hitting"

(91c) <u>foga Φom(é)</u> abla 1∈⁻
  / foga   Φo   -m'   (+é)   abla   1∈⁻ /
    3sO   hit   ASPp   (F)   3sS   AUX
  "it is hitting Foga (that) Abla is (doing)"

(91c) also indicates that the focus-marker /é/ is optional in this par-
ticular construction. In fact, when the entire VP is placed in focus,
/é/ appears to be absent more often than not. Perhaps the mere place-
ment of the VP in a position preceding the subject is enough to indicate
that special emphasis is being placed on the action, so that the focus-
marker itself is seen as redundant or unneccessary. This particular
type of structure is most common in answer to a question of the sort in
(92), which also contains an aspectual VP in sentence-initial position,
demonstrating that WH- words can also be included in this VP focus. In
such a structure, it is clearly the action which is being questioned.

(92)   <u>nu'ka wom'(é)</u> abla 1∈⁻   "what is Abla **doing**?"
   / nu'ka   wo   -m'   (+ é)   abla   1∈⁻ /
     WH-   do   ASPp   (F)   3sS   AUX

   Another example (93b), illustrating a complex transitive verb, is
similarly constructed as a possible answer to the question in (92):

(93)   **S-AUX <u>VComp VASPp</u>**   :   <u>VComp VASPp(+F)</u> (nF)S-AUX

 (a)   ∈'1∈⁻ <u>G∈⁻ Du'm'</u>
    / ∈'-   1∈⁻   G∈⁻   Du'   -m' /
     3sS-   AUX   VComp   V   ASPp
    "she is dancing"

 (b)   <u>G∈⁻ Du'm'(é)</u> wo⁻1∈⁻
    / G∈⁻   Du'   -m'   (+ é)   wo⁻-   1∈⁻ /
     VComp   V   ASPp   (F)   3snFS-   AUX
    "it is dancing (that) s/he is (doing)"

   Though VPs marked for the progressive appear to be more usual in
this focus construction, VPs marked for the intentive aspect can also be
focussed, as in (94b) below:

(94) **S-AUX O V-ASPi** : **O V-ASPi+F (nF)S-AUX**

(a) Є'lЄˋ foga kpσ'gЄ'
     / Є'- lЄˋ foga kpσ' -gЄ' /
      3sS- AUX 3sO see ASPi
     "s/he intends to see Foga"

(b) foga kpσ'gé: woˋala'
     / foga kpσ' -gЄ + é woˋ- a-- lЄˋ + ? /
      3sO see ASPi F 3snF- TNSf AUX tr?
     ?"it is intending to see Foga that s/he is (doing)"

The formulae provided with (94) simplify matters somewhat. For in-
stance, no indication is given that future tense-marking must be added
to the (non-focus) subject agreement marker. It is also uncertain
whether or not the focus-marker is optional in this context, for it was
present in all of the unfortunately few elicited examples of this type.
Most importantly, the auxiliary surfaces in a form ([la']) which has not
been recorded in any other construction. It is tempting to interpret
this surface variation as yet another example of a trace. In this case,
the auxiliary verb might be acting in a fashion similar to the various
case-marking prepositions in marking the original syntactic position of
the focussed element, which in this case is VP. However, further
evidence is required before any substantial conclusion can be reached.

5.3.7 Summary

Several points have arisen in the preceding descriptive analysis
which must be addressed. The hierarchical ranking of focussable ele-
ments resembles but does not absolutely reflect the Accessibility Hier-
archy. In particular, the placement of adverbials can not be accounted
for within a hierarchy dealing only with NP constituents. It remains to
be seen if an adequate account can be found for the behaviour of adver-
bials in the Anlo Ewe /é/-focus construction.

5.4 Theoretical Implications

5.4.1 The Accessibility Hierarchy

A preliminary view of the strategies employed in the /é/-focussing of subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and some select obliques was summarized in section 5.3.4.5 above. The primary indicators of focus were seen to be the focus-marker, /é/, itself, and sentence-initial position. The presence of /é/ is obligatory, so that the marked constituents cannot be differentiated on the grounds of its presence or absence. Similarly, all /é/-focussed constituents must occur in sentence-initial position and all are explicitly marked in this way. The only possible exception to this would be the subject which, as it typically occurs in sentence-initial position, does not appear to be displaced when focussed.

The presence of case-marking also contributes to the focus-marking strategies. Both subject and direct object are free of case-marking, but indirect objects and some of the obliques are marked in this way, and the presence of case-marking prepositions serves as an aid to recoverability when the case-marked constituent is placed in focus. Finally, marking by a resumptive pronoun or trace occurs only with obliques, leaving subjects, direct objects and indirect objects unmarked. Thus, a hierarchy from least to most marked takes the form:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique

This preliminary hierarchy, including only NPs, is an exact replica of the upper end of Keenan and Comrie's (1977:66) NP Accessibility Hierarchy based on strategies of relativization:

Subject > DO > IO > OBL > Genitive > Obj of Comparison

Keenan and Comrie's study also incorporated case-marking or "case-coding" and pronoun retention strategies in the formation of relative clauses, and they found that pronoun retention was employed over a greater range of "'difficult' environments" (i.e. on the lower (right-most) end of the scale) (ibid.:92). Similarly, Luo's (1991) survey of clefting strategies in a number of Polynesian languages suggests a uniform use of pronoun deletion for subject-focus, a variation between deletion and retention for DO-focus, and in all cases a use of pronoun retention at some point lower on the Accessibility Hierarchy than DOs. The NP focus-marking patterns found in Anlo Ewe support these hypotheses, as pronoun retention occurs only among oblique NPs, but not higher on the scale among subjects, DOs, and IOs.

In addition to the application of the Accessibility Hierarchy to relative clause-formation, Keenan and Comrie (ibid.:95-96) reviewed two further uses for it in the description of causative constructions and "advancement processes". Within the framework of Relational Grammar, the Accessibility Hierarchy was widely cited in the description of one particular advancement rule, passivization (cf. Perlmutter and Postal 1984:48). These research areas were eminently suited to the NP Accessibility Hierarchy which was not formulated by Keenan and Comrie to apply to constituents beyond the noun phrase. In Anlo focus-marking, however, more than just NPs are involved.

Specifically, the role played by adverbials in focus-marking lies completely outside the predictive potential of the Accessibility Hierarchy. Keenan and Comrie, quite naturally, do not even include, let alone rank, adverbials in general amongst NPs. Neither are they differ-

entiated into time, place and manner adverbs. This is, however, precisely what is necessary for the present description of Anlo focus-marking as summarized in section 5.3.5 and in the following revised hierarchy of Anlo focus-marking:

SUBJ (>)& **ADVt/s** & DO > IO & LOC > **ADVm** & OBL (ASSC/INST)

Clearly, the Accessibility Hierarchy is insufficient to account for the position of adverbials in this focus-marking construction.

5.4.2 Thematicity

The beginnings of an explanation can be found in the Hierarchy of Communicative Importance presented by Sgall (1974:37) and restated here for the purpose of comparison with the Anlo hierarchy:

Actor (SBJ) > **ADVt** > **ADVs** > **ADVm*** > **INST** > **IO** > **OBJ** ...

The ranking is based on the relative "thematicity" or "communicative dynamism" of each constituent. This refers to their respective ability to set the theme (i.e., provide the setting) for the discourse. Elements high in thematicity are more easily focussed. Sgall (ibid.) considers manner adverbs (ADVm*) to be problematical and encounters difficulty in placing them definitively in this hierarchy. However, adverbials in general are clearly ranked higher in communicative dynamism than DOs (Sgall 1974:36). Brömser (1984:344) also acknowledges this in his statement that "an adverbial as the theme of a discourse-initial it-cleft can in particular be used as a setting for the following text." Luo (1991) cites Collins' English text counts in which it was found that adverbials are clefted almost as frequently as subjects.

The ease with which adverbials are focussed can thus be seen as a function of their high thematicity. Luo (1991) has recognized this in

his revision of the Accessibility Hierarchy based on clefting data. His
"Cleftability Hierarchy", which ranks adverbials virtually as high as
subjects, very closely reflects the Anlo Ewe focus-marking hierarchy.

However, the characterization of adverbials as high in thematicity
suggests that **all** adverbials should be freely focussable. If this is
so, the disparity in Anlo focus-marking strategies between temporal and
spatial adverbials on the one hand and manner adverbials on the other
would remain unsolved. Conversely, it may be that the differences be-
tween manner adverbials and those of time and place in Anlo are purely
artificial, arising from the different way each is constrained (or not)
by strict word order. In this case, no further reason for the attested
disparity need be sought. However, Sgall's (1974) hierarchy, cited
above, does give some indication that manner adverbials may rank lower
than the others, even though no reason for this is made explicit.

A pragmatic difference does appear to exist between the different
types of adverbials, and this may account in part for the observed dis-
parity in Anlo Ewe. Luo (personal communication) suggests that manner
adverbs are lower in thematicity than both temporal and spatial adverbs,
as well as locatives, since the scope of these latter sentential consti-
tuents covers the entire predication, setting the scene for the dis-
course. In contrast, manner adverbials modify only the verbal action
within the clause. Given the increased potential for setting the scene,
it should not be surprising if temporal and spatial adverbs can more
readily be focussed than manner adverbials. This hypothesis nicely
accounts for the behaviour of adverbials in the Anlo /é/-focus construc-
tion, and in turn, the Anlo data supports the Cleftability Hierarchy

postulated by Luo (1991).

In light of this, the earlier suggestion that structural predicta-
bility could likely account for at least part of the disparity between
the adverbials in focus (cf. 5.3.5.5) must be reviewed. The interaction
between thematicity and structural considerations may never be suscept-
ible to an analysis which would allow for a decision on the primacy of
one or the other in the Anlo data. Then again, the lack of a definitive
clausal position for temporal and spatial adverbials may even result
from their high thematicity.

5.5 Conclusion

The /é/-focus construction is highly productive in the Anlo dia-
lect of Ewe. It has been demonstrated that a wide variety of consti-
tuents in the Anlo clause can be placed in focus, and that the coding of
these, by and large, corresponds to that postulated in Keenan and Com-
rie's Accessibility Hierarchy as modified for clefting by Luo (1991).
At the very least, then, /é/-marking can be considered a focus construc-
tion, and most likely represents a clefting structure.

Furthermore, the Anlo data will fit the "Cleftability Hierarchy"
only if this hierarchy applies to the morphosyntactic structure of
focussable constituents rather than their semantic function. The
relatively strict constituent order of Ewe is very important in allowing
for the recoverability of a large number of constituents via a number of
strategies within the Anlo /é/-focus construction.

Comparative studies of focus constructions, involving languages
representing a wide variability in set word order, may well provide

further insights into the interplay between the Cleftability Hierarchy
and syntactic structure. It would be interesting to see the effect that
strict versus free constituent ordering has on the extent to which vari-
ous recoverability strategies, or focus-marking itself, are employed in
various language types.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1]The assimilation of "pronoun-final [o]" is actually conditioned
by the fact that all pronoun-final instances of [o] follow [w] and the
quality of the [o] is therefore lost in the preceding [w] when the
focus-marker /é/ is added. Other instances of /o + é/ do not result in
assimilation unless, again, [w] immediately precedes them.

[2]Hence, the /é/-focus construction may well have developed to its
present use in the Anlo dialect within the past century, assuming that
the cursory description of /é/-focus in Westermann (1930) did not over-
look the marking of constituents other than subject and object. This is
not meant as criticism, but as an observation on the probable differ-
ences of methodology between Westermann's work and this study. It is
possible that the in-depth elicitation carried out in the current re-
search uncovered many constituents which can in principle be focussed by
/é/, but which in practice are only /é/-marked infrequently, and which
may not be encountered often in texts and/or daily discourse. However,
the examples which show the occurrence of /é/-marking without a concomi-
tant syntactic change to leftmost position suggest quite strongly, in
comparison with the current Anlo data, that the /é/-focus construction
has evolved considerably since Westermann's work.

[3]Clements' (1972) Ph.D. thesis, which dealt with the syntax of the
Ewe verb, may have been based on the Anlo dialect, as was his Master's
thesis (1971). As mentioned in chapter 1, Clements' dissertation would
undoubtedly have proven of the greatest value if the difficulties in
procuring a copy from London could have been surmounted. It is quite
likely that Clements did discuss the /é/-focus construction in that work
and it is unfortunate that a comparison of his work with my own research
could not be undertaken.

[4]Use of the term "movement" here implies neither an adherence to
transformational grammar nor the derivation of variants from a single
underlying base structure, either by Werth (1984:11) or in the present
study.

[5]This characterization of pronoun retention and deletion in topic-
alization and left-dislocation is somewhat simplified, since consti-
tuuents such as adverbials can be fronted without obligatory pronoun
retention. This is a matter which will be explored further in the

context of the Anlo /é/-focus construction.

[6]In this particular example, the /-i/ marking 3sO agreement assi-milates to the quality of the final [ɔ] of afɔkpo. This is not always the case, as stem-final /ɔ/ occasionally assimilates to [u] when pre-ceding /-i/ (see section 2.5.2.1). Additionally, the tone of the 3s agreement actually fluctuates between high and mid. It may be that the tone should be high and that the fluctuation is due to the influence of the preceding syllabic segment, or a consequence of the extra-high tone rule discussed in section 2.3.

[7]Only the 1s and 2s pronouns occur in this position, marking the verb root like GEN$_1$ inflection on a nominal. See section 4.3.1 for a discussion on the similarities of aspectual VPs and nominalized verbs.

[8]The unacceptability of focussing on only part of a coordinate NP could be cited as further support for the Coordinate Structure Con-straint in formalist linguistics.

[9]The question might then be raised as to where the independent pronouns can occur without focus-marking and even without connotations of special emphasis. They can, in fact, occur in very few constructions indeed. The indededependent pronouns were offered in elicitation, but rarely used otherwise outside the focus construction. Occasionally, they can occur in coordinate NPs, though there are restrictions in this case as well (see section 4.2.4). Their most unrestricted use appears to be as part of the indirect reflexive pronouns discussed in 3.1.3.1, where the independent pronouns are compounded with the complex element /ŋu'tɔ/. Also, the restrictions against the use of the independent pronouns are not as great outside of subject position, so that they may occur in VComp or as an oblique, etc.

[10]The term "sentence-initial" will continue to be utilized despite the evidence that at least one particle, dɛwo'hi˜, must obligatorily occur even before focussed elements in the sentence. The alternative would be to use the unwieldy term, "subject-preceding", which has the added disadvantage of failing to apply to subjects themselves.

[11]In this construction, it is in fact possible that the 1s and 2s pronominal forms being used actually represent the nominal GEN$_1$ inflec-tions, for they appear to be suffixed to the verb root just as in the possessive, rather than preceding the verb root as a normal object. The fact that this occurs in aspectually-marked VPs further indicates that aspectually-marked verb roots behave similarly to nominalized verbs (see section 4.3.1 for discussion of this phenomenon).

[12]The classification of the semantic patient as something other than the DO has been discussed in section 4.3.2 and this forms important background for the analysis of oblique-focus-marking to follow.

[13]The derivation of the two verbs cited is quite straightforward. Φo tomɛ˜ "slap" has already been described and the VComp element tomɛ˜

"side of the face" has been shown to act as a DO. Hence, the semantic patient becomes something akin to a semantic recipient, and a sentence of the type:

        abla Φo tomϵ̂ na' foga

could be glossed as "Abla hit face-side on/to Foga". This is apparently how it should be treated with the VComp acting just as the DO, given the evidence provided in section 5.3.3.3, where the verbal complement was seen to be focussable.

        The second verb, lϵ tsi "wash", contains the nominal tsi "water" in the VComp position, so that lϵ tsi might be glossed as "apply water" and a sentence such as:

        abla le tsi na' foga

could then be interpreted literally as "Abla applied water to Foga". Again, the verbal complement can be placed in focus as a direct object (as attested by the example below), so that what is commonly considered the semantic patient must be coded as the indirect object.

        tsié abla lϵ na' foga
     / tsi + é   abla le   na' foga /
        VComp F   3sS   V   DAT   3sIO
     "it was washing that Abla did to Foga"

[14]Note the epenthesis of [ϵ] between the two near-identical morphemes /-m'/ "progressive aspect" and /-m̀/ "1s object agreement". This epenthesis allows both morphemes to remain distinct in Anlo syllabification.

[15]This is a situation which may well have arisen historically from an idiosyncratic use of the noun Nu'ti "skin; corporeal being". When pronominalized forms are marked with this /Nu'/ or /Nu'ti/, the GEN$_1$ personal possessive paradigm affixes are employed. This suggests a very personal, inalienable relationship. Though Nu'ti takes the GEN$_2$ possessive paradigm, the use of the GEN$_1$ paradigm could make this noun more personal, and this more personalized construction may have found its way into Ewe verbal syntax as a marker of morphologically oblique but semantically essential objects. The fact that Nu'(ti) is used to mark verbs such as dϵ asi "touch" and li asi "stroke", which involve contact with a person, suggests that the oblique-marker may be related to the noun form Nu'ti.

[16]The form [Di:] is actually attested and derives from the combination of the oblique-marking /Dϵ/ plus the 3s object agreement suffix /-i/, as in the following:

        ϵ'Dui Di: "s/he sent it to him/her"
     / ϵ'- Do   -i   Dϵ   -i /
        3sS- send -3sO pOBL -3sOBL

[17]If the resumptive pronoun were to be present following the dat-
ive-marker /na'/, the phonetic result might be expected to be [ne':],
which is identical to the combination of the dative marker and the 3s
object agreement marker (i.e. / na' -i / => [ne':]. As we have seen,
though, when an IO is placed in focus, the dative marker remains behind
in the simple form [na']. No resumptive pronoun is present.

[18]It is true that the dative marker does not stand in place of an
NP as does the resumptive pronoun. However, in a fashion similar to the
resumptive pronoun, the appearance of dative /na'/ does serve to mark
the syntactic slot that the focussed element otherwise occupies.

[19]See section 4.2.2 on the locative phrase for details of the use
of the copular lε̰ "be" as a locative preposition.

[20]Hence, an associative must be defined as an oblique which is
separated from some other argument by an intervening element. If the
associative structure, kplε' NP, were to be placed immediately following
another NP, kplε' would be interpreted as the conjunction and the two
NPs would form a coordinate NP, taking on the grammatical relation of
the initial (non-associative) NP.

[21]There seems to be some fluctuation in the length of the vowel
[i'] following [kpl] in kpli'. If short, it would appear that the vowel
[ε'] of /kplε'/ drops before the addition of 3s pronominal agreement.
If, however, the vowel is long, this could simply represent regressive
assimilation of /ε'/ to the following -i' 3s agreement marker. Either
hypothesis is plausible.

[22]See section 4.2.2 on the use of the copula lε̰ "be" as a loca-
tive preposition.

[23]Data on a number of these constructions is not presently avail-
lable. In order to demonstrate whether lε̰ is functioning as the copula
or the locative preposition, sentences such as, "Where did Abla see
Foga?" or "In what did you put the rice?", are required. Unfortunately,
the restricted set of data upon which this study is based does not
include sentences of this type. Similarly, questions of the type, "Who
did Foga go to Accra with?" would allow for the investigation of the
presence of a resumptive pronoun following the associative marker kplε'
in questions. I suspect that this is most likely, though the necessary
confirmation is lacking in the present data.

[24]"Freely ordered" refers to the ordering of temporal and spatial
adverbials with respect to each other. Even these adverbials commonly
follow the verbal complex. Manner adverbials, on the other hand, must
come clause-finally, following all other constituents present (with the
exception of the interrogative and negative markers).

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