UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF *BE* (THAT) IN *E#E*

BY

CYNTHIA SITSOFE DATSA

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Candidate's Name: Cynthia Sitsofe Datsa

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Principal Supervisor's Name: Prof. Edoh TORGAH

Signature:..... Date:.....

Co-Supervisor's Name: Prof. J.B.A. AFFUL

ABSTRACT

Be, the unit under study, is realised as /bɛ́/, /bé/ or /bə′/ across the *E3eme*, *T4`u* and *A`l4* dialects of the *E3e* language respectively. It has as an equivalent, "that" in the English language, *s1* in Akan and *ake* in Ga. *S1* and *that* have been studied widely as complementizers but *be*, according to Clements (1975), is a prepositional verb synonymous with the verb *gbl4* (to say) in *E3e*. This study therefore sought to ascertain what kind of unit *be* actually is on the premise of Tagmemic Grammar. It was observed from analysing data collected from GES primary text books on *E3e* and 6 books from the *E3e* Bible that *be* is a pro-verb since it can replace some verbs in the language. It is also a complementizer like its English and Akan equivalents as it introduces lower clauses in complementation. As a unit whose grammatical class cannot be determined easily in some contexts, *be* is classified as a particle as well. It was also observed that *be* collocates mainly with verbs of request, advice, belief and motion as well as reporting verbs, factives, emotives and resultatives. Between the verb and *be*, there could be noun phrases functioning as objects and adposition phrases functioning as adverbials.

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Finally, I am most grateful to my parents who funded this work fully and whose encouragement helped in the successful completion of this work.

DEDICATION

To my family and friends

TABLE OF CONTENTS

–	-	No English equivalent
Adp	-	Adposition
AdpP	-	Adposition phrase
Adv		Adverb
DET	-	Determiner
FOC	-	Focus marker
LOG	-	Logophoric pronoun
MOD	-	Modal marker
NEG	-	Negative marker
NP	-	Noun phrase
Pcl	-	Particle
PL	-	Plural marker
PoC	-	Preposition of a circumposition
POS	-	Possessive marker
PostP	-	Postposition
PpoC	-	Postposition of a circumposition
Prep	-	Preposition
Q	-	Question marker
REF	-	Reflexive pronoun

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a general idea of what the present study entails. It talks about language and its relation to culture and introduces the reader to the community as well as the language of concern in this study; that is, the *E3es* and the *E3e* language in Ghana. This is to help the reader situate the work in its right context. The chapter also gives an overview of some linguistic features of the item under study, *be,* distinguishing it from its homonyms in the language. It then presents such issues as the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions as well as the significance and scope of the study. Finally, the chapter presents the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 Language as a Cultural Phenomenon

Language, according to Potter (1964), may be defined as a system of arbitrary or conventional vocal symbols by means of which human beings communicate and co-operate with one another. Clark (1996) states that language is a system of signs and symbols, a body of words and the rules for their use that ties people together into a speech community. By this, language acts as a fabric that holds society together. Schane, in his editor's note to Stockwell (1977), presents this idea by stating that language permeates human interaction, culture, behavior and thought. Day by day, human beings portray a particular behaviour, conceive a thought, live a particular culture and engage in series of interactions; all of which are molded in and by language. In the current study, the language of concern is the *E3e* language and the community

it holds together, equivalent to Clark's (1996) speech community, is the *E3es* of Ghana.

1.2 The *E3e* People

The *E3es* of Ghana, together with their Togolese counterparts, are believed to have migrated from Ketu (present day, People's Republic of Benin) through Tado to *~4tsie* (Atakpa, 2003). At Ketu, the *E3es* lived together with the Yoruba, the ancestors of the present day Aja and Fon and the Ga-Dagmes. It is believed that the *E3es* were forced to leave Ketu due to the westward expansion of the Yoruba land. On leaving Ketu, they split into two big groups/divisions. One of these divisions went southward and founded *Tano* and *~4tsie*. The second big division, made up of the *A`l4*, *Be* and *Fon*, went to Adele region in present day Togo. They later joined their relatives at *~4tsie*, but, migrated once again and this time, in three groups. One group settled north of the present day *E3e* land of Ghana and founded settlements like *Hohoe, Matse, Awu2ome, Peki, Kpedze* and *W4dze*. The second group settled at the central part of the *E3e* land and founded *Ho, S4k42e, Takla, Kpe`4e, Abutia* and other surrounding settlements. These first two groups constitute the *E3emes* (central/mid *E3es*) of the *E3e* land of Ghana. The third group, mainly the *A`l4s* and the *T4`us*, settled south of the land (Amenumey, 1997).

1.3 A Brief Overview of the *E3e* Language

The *E3e* language, *"E3egbe"*, is rendered in English as "Ewe" due to the absence of the phoneme /β/ in the phonetic system of English; consequently, the absence of an equivalent physical rendition in the letters of the alphabet as well. It is realised as /1β1gb1/ or /β1gb1/ across various dialects of the *E3e* language. Unlike the realisation, /eβegbe/, given by Atakpa (1997), the actual sound used in the pronunciation of the word is /1/, not /e/. Atakpa (1997) probably mixed up the orthography which uses "e" to represent /1/ with the actual realisation which is /1/.

E3e is a major dialect cluster of Gbe or Tadoid spoken in the south-eastern part of the Volta Region of Ghana across to parts of southern Togo as far as and just across the Togo-Benin border (Capo, 1991; Duthie, 1996). Gbe or Tadoid is believed to be spoken across Ghana, Togo, Benin and Badagry in Nigeria. The *E3e* language is, therefore, categorised under the Kwa language family (Anyidoho, 1990; Capo, 1991; Atakpa, 1997; Torgah, 2003). For the exact location of the area within which the *E3e* language is spoken, the language maps of Gbe and Ghana are presented in the appendices to the work.

As seen already, the *E3es* are located over a vast area; hence, there are variations in the language spoken across the various settlements. This may be due to the differences in geographical location and contact with other languages and people (Sankoff, 2001). These variations (dialects of the language) exhibit varying degrees of differences, some insignificant and others, enormous enough to lead to loss of intelligibility. In Ghana, there are three major dialects of the *E3e* language: *A`l4*, *E3eme* and *T4`u*. Under each of these are a host of many other variants which differ at the level of speech sounds, synonym choice, word forms, pitch/word variations and mode of

expressions. In other words, the differences occur in all aspects of the linguistic features of language: lexis, grammar and phonology, as outlined by Ansre (2000). Though there are variations in the spoken form of the *E3e* language, what is written and studied in schools is a rather concise one, termed "Standard *E3e"*.

The Standard *E3e*, according to Torgah (2001), is also called the "Book *E3e*". He asserts that it shares linguistic features from the Keta and Peki dialects of Ghana and Lomé of Togo. He, however, argues that no one actually speaks the Standard *E3e*, though most *E3e* speakers, including the *A`l4s*, believe that the Standard *E3e* is based on or actually is the *A`l4* dialect. This assumption is also evident in Clements' (1975:147) submission that "the forms (referring to the pronouns of *E3e*) and all subsequent examples (in his write-up) represent the Anlo dialect which serves as the basis for the literary language". Clements refers to the Standard *E3e* as the *literary* language to depict its written nature.

According to Klugah (2012), there are three contexts of *E3e* orthography: the Ghana, Togo and Benin contexts. It is worth noting that only the Ghana context orthography would be considered in this study. This is basically because of the researcher's familiarity and competence in this context of the *E3e* orthography.

Like many other Ghanaian languages, the *E3e* language is considered tonal since tone marks a difference in meaning and differentiates similar words. Consequently, tone is an obligatory part of the syllable structure of the language. An *E3e* syllable, in addition to the obligatory tone, has an obligatory vowel or a syllabic consonant which constitutes the nucleus of the syllable

(Ansre, 2000). The margin is usually a consonant or a consonant cluster with the second consonant in the cluster always being either /l/ or /r/.

Torgah (2003) classifies *E3e,* morphologically, as an agglutinating language. Klugah (2012), however, classifies it as an isolating language with agglutinative features. Agglutinating languages, according to Thakur (1997), have sentences composed of relatively long words which are formed by sticking shorter elements together. He added that the morphemes in such words can therefore be readily segmented into their constituent morphs with each morph representing one morpheme. Words of the *E3e* language range from monomorphic to sentential words. With the introduction of a new writing system in (1997), revised in (1999), what constitutes a word was redefined. Thus, for example, *amesiame* (everybody) which was one word came to be written as three words

1. ***ame siaa ame***
   human all human
   everybody.

Each of these words used to be constituent morphemes of the old word. This division was possible because each of the constituent morphemes (now words) is a free morpheme and could, therefore, be conveniently isolated without any problems to stability. Hyphens (-) in compound words (mostly made of two nouns) were also dropped, making each noun stand as a separate word (*Nyamama le E3egbe`4`l4 me,* 1999). With such isolations in the new orthography, there seemed to be a slight shift from the language being an agglutinating language to an isolating one, as indicated by Klugah (2012).

There is, however, a considerable level of agglutination still present in the language, especially in the use of pronouns.

Syntactically, the *E3e* language is classified as an SVO language though it has traces of the SOV sentence structure (Torgah, 2012). Like any other language, the *E3e* language classifies words both based on form and function and into open and closed word classes where the open word classes consist of lexical or content words and the closed word classes, grammatical or functional words. Some words, however, do function both as lexical items and grammatical items based on where and how they are used. This had become possible through a process known as grammaticalisation. While some words grammaticalise completely, hence, shift totally from one class to another, others grammaticalise partially; thus, maintaining features of their original class and taking up new functions as well (Lehmann, 2004). In such instances, the context in which the item is used helps in determining which of the word's functions is employed in a given structure.

1.4 A Look at the Linguistic Features of *Be*

The unit under study, *be* (in orthography), is realised phonologically as: /bɛ́/ in *E3eme* and *T4`u* and /bə′/ in the *A`l4* dialects of the *E3e* language. It contrasts with its counterpart /bɛ̀/ (hide) and /b1/ (seoop) which, in orthography, are also written as "*be*" and are, without question, verbs in all

regard. Interestingly, the *A`l4* dialect records no difference between *be* which means "scoop" and which is synonymous to *ha* (scrape) and the *be* under study in this research. In both cases, *be* is realised as /bə′/. This notwithstanding, when *be* (scoop) is used in a context where it is followed by a noun (its object) which begins with a vowel, the vowel in *be* undergoes assimilation, changing the /ə/ to some other sound similar to the vowel it precedes. For example,

2) **be ami la** = **"bá mía"**
scoop oil Det
scoop the oil

3) **be…e** = **"bíí"**
scoop+3Sg
scoop it

To the speakers located in mid Volta (known generally as the *E3emes*), *be* (scoop) as an isolated word is realised as /b1/ but in a sentence, as /bɛ́/ which is equivalent to their phonetic realisation of the *be* under study. To them as well, when this verb is followed by a vowel, there is a resultant assimilation which changes the vowel sound in the verb. The following examples indicate this change:

4) **e…be** **beku** **la** = **"ɛ́bɛ́ bɛ̀kuà"**
3Sg+scoop sediments of palm oil Det
He scooped the sediments of the palm oil

5) **be…e** = **"bée"**
scoop+3Sg
He scooped it

Note: "a" in *amia* (example 2) and *b1kua* (example 4) is the elided form of the determiner *la* in the first part of the examples.

The *T4`us* do not use the word "*be*" to denote an action of swiping a finger through something to take a portion (glossed as scoop in the above examples). With respect to the *be* in question, the *T4`us*, like the *E3emes*, use /bɛ́/ when the word is pronounced in isolation and used in a sentence. However, when there is a break after the word or when it ends a clause, it is realised as /bé/, not /bɛ́/. *Be*, which means hide, is, however, realised equally across the three dialects. Being a two letter word, *be* is a monosyllabic word with the structure, CV^T. The tone (compulsory in the syllable structure of the language) is a high tone (′) but is not overtly marked in orthography.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

The collocation between *be* and other words in a given structure seems to follow varying patterns. In some instances, these collocants appear together but are split by some elements in other instances. For instance, one can say "*gbl4 be…"* (gbl4 + be) or "*gbl4 n1 be…"* (gbl4 + na + NP + be) but cannot say "*tsi be…"* (tsi + be) even though both *gbl4* and *tsi* collocate with *be* to mean "to say". The only structure used here is "*tsi n1 be…"* (tsi + na + NP + be), depicting semantic equality but syntactic variation. What exactly conditions the patterning of *be* and its collocants is yet to be determined as most works on the word classes of *E3e* including Anyidoho (1990), Atakpa (1993) and Amegashie (2004) are more centered on the open word classes than the closed word classes.

Nevertheless, even if the closed word classes are explored any further, little or nothing might be said about *be* since it does not seem to belong to any of the eight (8) commonly proposed word classes of the *E3e* language: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections and postpositions (Anyidoho, 1990; Atakpa, 1993; Atakpa and Atakpa, 2005; Abadzivor, 2007) or the ninth (9th), prepositions included by Amegashie (2004).

1.6 Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to determine what kind of verbs *be* collocates with, what characteristics these verbs have, which elements can occur between *be* and its collocants in various structures, under what circumstances *be* functions as the main verb of a sentence and which word class(es) *be* could possibly belong to.

1.7 Research Questions

The following are the questions that guide the study:

1. What are the functions of *be* in *E3e*?
2. What kind of verbs does *be* collocate with?
3. What patterns are characterised by the collocation between *be* and various verbs?
4. Which word class(es) could *be* belong to?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The absence or inadequacy of books on Ghanaian languages (especially on grammar) in our libraries shows that little has been done in

exploring the richness and dynamics of our Ghanaian languages. This is unfortunate, considering the government's efforts at promoting the study of Ghanaian languages in schools. The findings of this research, will, therefore, complement teaching and learning materials available to both the teacher and the learner of the *E3e* language. It would also have implications for further studies into the grammar of the *E3e* language as it directs the focus of researchers a little towards the function words of the language, especially to the particles which do not necessarily have direct equivalents in other languages – particles unique to the *E3e* language. The findings of this research would also add to earlier findings and existing literature on the language.

In addition, this study would introduce Tagmemics to other researchers and serve as a guide to those who would like to engage in other linguistic inquiries using Tagmemics. The study would also serve as a practical application and test of the validity of tagmemics as a grammatical theory applicable to all languages. It would also help unearth the strengths and weaknesses of the various tenets of the theory in its application to the study of *E3e* language.

1.9 Scope of the Study

Though the *E3e* language is spoken in about three countries, (that is, Ghana, Togo and Benin) and has different contexts of orthography, only the Ghana context orthography would be considered in this research. This is because of the researcher's expertise in this context of orthography. Also, though *be* collocates with both verbs and conjunctions, only the collocation

between *be* and verbs would be considered and studied in this work. This is to limit the scope of the work and make room for a better and in-depth analysis.

1.10 Organisation of thesis

The work is in five (5) chapters. Chapter one gives an overview of the study through a broad introduction which touches on issues such as the community and language of concern in the study, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and the organisation of the thesis. Chapter two presents a review of related literature on the unit under study, "*be*" and the theoretical basis of the research. The work proceeds with chapter three which touches on the methodology of the work. This chapter deals with issues of data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter four, which is the main thrust of the work, presents a detailed analysis and discussions on the unit under study based on the patterns observed from the data collected and in accordance with the research questions as well as the tenets of the theoretical framework. The final chapter, chapter five, gives a general conclusion covering the main findings of the work, a summary of the work and some recommendations based on the findings.

1.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter gave a general introduction to the research. It situated the work in a context and presented the linguistic unit under study. It also highlighted the statement of the problem and provided the research questions guiding the work. The significance and scope of the study as well as the organisation of the work are also captured in this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of literature available on the various concepts related to and necessary for the understanding of the phenomenon under study. It begins generally with earlier discussions and findings on the

unit under study "*be"*. It then continues with a brief introduction to syntax and narrows down to concepts such as the word, word classes and the criteria for their classification as well as immediate constituents. Finally, the chapter gives an overview of the theoretical basis of the research, locating the framework within structural grammar and exploring its various tenets.

2.1 Some works on *BE* and its equivalent in Akan

Be in *E3e* can be said to be equivalent to the Twi "*s1"*, Fante "*d1*", Ga "*ake*" (all languages of Ghana) and the English *that*. Discussions in this section would however not cover all these languages. As indicated by the subtopic above, the literature reviewed is mainly on *E3e* and Akan even though a few references are made to the phenomenon of the use of *that* in English. This is because the current study does not seek to establish similarities and differences in the phenomena across languages. Thus, only one other Ghanaian language (Akan, of which Twi and Fante are variations) and one foreign language (English) were considered in the literature review. Akan was considered for this review because of the availability of materials on the Akan equivalent of the unit of concern in this study as well as the researchers better understanding of the Akan language compared to Ga or any other Ghanaian language.

Clements (1975) discovered two main uses of the form *be* in his analysis of the use of the logophoric pronoun, "*ye"* in *E3e*. He indicates that *be* functions, first, as an apparent main verb which is synonymous with the verb *gbl4* "to say" and second, as a complementizer which introduces tensed subordinate clauses. He, however, adds that unlike other true main verbs, *be* is highly restricted in taking various inflectional forms like tense and aspect. As

a result of the inflectional defects of *be* as a main verb, Clements (1975) avers that *be* has the synchronic status of a prepositional verb or a verbid. He adds that *be* is assigned to the grammatical category "verb" but never occurs as a main verb due to a lexical restriction limiting it to the function of a preposition. He also indicates that *be*, in this respect, is of course not unique since Westermann (1930) and Ansre (1966) have shown that all apparent prepositions in *E3e* are verbal in status and most can be shown to derive historically from main verbs. That is, Westermann and Ansre believe that most prepositions of *E3e* have undergone some level of grammaticalisation.

According to Clements (1975), *be,* as a prepositional verb, subcategorises object clauses that characterise the thought, speech and perceptions of individuals other than the speaker/narrator. By subcategorising, he refers to the argument allowances of a unit, mostly verbs (Tallerman, 2011). Thus, as a prepositional verb, *be* has a characteristic of a true verb which is subcategorisation. Similarly, Agyekum (2002) studied *s1* in Akan as an interpretive, a concept that he says reports the thoughts of speakers and other people. The only difference in these two studies is the inclusion of the speaker in Agyekum's view of interpretive use. This difference could, however, be attributed to the environments within which these items were studied. Clements (ibid) studied *be* in an environment of the logophoric pronoun "*ye*" which is a third person singular (3SG) pronoun; hence, automatically excluding any instance of the use of *be* in reporting the thought of the speaker which is first person.

Agyekum (ibid) addresses the use of *s1* with factive verbs and verbs of propositional attitudes of beliefs, desires and expectations as an interpretive

use. He states, however, that there are other forms (which he called non-interpretive forms) of the use of *s1* which comprise *s1* as an intensifier, a conditional marker and a complementizer in Akan.

Duthie (1996) studied what he called *be* – clauses, a reported clause introduced by *be* which is embedded in the other clause as the object or even the subject to its verbal phrase. Similarly, Boadi (2005) studied *s1* as a complementizer and *s1* – clauses as adjuncts in Akan. Lakoff (1968) classified *that* as a complementizer in English and as already stated, Clements (1975) also categorised *be* as a complementizer. This brings the literature or these scholars to a point of agreement that *be* functions as a complementizer. However, the claim of Clements (1975) that *be* is a preposition and a prepositional verb would be either ascertained or debunked at the analysis stage of this study.

According to Agyekum (2002), when *s1* functions as an interpretive marker, it would normally be at a position after the upper clause and then introduce the embedded (lower) clause. However, Boadi's examples for analysing *s1* as a complementizer also feature *s1* in this same position. This implies that in the same position, *s1* could be an interpretive or a complementizer (which is non-interpretive).

Likewise, in *E3e*, Clements (1975) states that *be* as a complementizer introduces tensed subordinate clauses, which apparently is the same as what Agyekum (2002) refers to as the embedded clause. To Agyekum (2002), the interpretive marker acts as a bridge between the speech ("interpretive") verb and the proposition representing the thought. That is to say, *s1* is a bridge

between the verb of the upper clause and the embedded clause. Boadi (2005) refers to this verb as the higher verb, matrix verb and verb of complementation (Vcomp). These names are used interchangeably in this study to avoid monotony. *Be* occurs in the same position in *E3e* and links the Vcomp to the embedded/lower or the tensed subordinate clause as stated for *s1* in Akan. This is illustrated by the following examples.

6. a) Me…di be m…a…dzo (E3e)
I+want X I+Mod+go

b) Me…p1 s1 me…k4 (Akan)
I+want Y I+go

I want to leave

Be (marked as X) links *"di"* (the Vcomp) to *"madzo"* (the lower clause) in the same way as *s1* (marked as Y) links "*p1*" (the Vcomp) and "*mek4*" (the lower clause). Both X and Y occur in a position which is after the upper clause and which introduces the embedded clause as postulated by Clements (1975) and Agyekum (2002) for *E3e* and Akan respectively.

In addition to position, Agyekum (2002), basing his argument on Sperber and Wilson's (1986 and 1988) concept of "interpretive use", asserts that as an interpretive, *s1* is used to render thoughts and/or utterances. He, however, agrees that the term "interpretive" as used here is a cognitive and pragmatic term and is subsumed in the general term *complementizer* used in literature. It is cognitive in that it renders thoughts and pragmatic because it renders utterances as well. This appears consistent with Culioli's (1982) notion of preconstruction which has it that the existence of a predicative relation linguistically is already defined. That is to say, as the term

"preconstruction" suggests, the predicate of the Vcomp has been preconstructed – constructed earlier, before or already. This predicator might already have been conceived, which Agyekum's interpretive marker, *s1*, renders as thought or said, which it renders as utterance. When an utterance is rendered or (for the purpose of understanding) reconstructed, it re-echoes, repeats, emphasises or authenticates the preconstructed one. Agyekum (2002) admits that *s1* as an interpretive is subsumed under a general term complementizer; this is consistent with Clements' (1975) view. As stated already, Boadi (2005) also studied *s1* as a complementizer. The question arising from this, then, is "what is a complementizer?". This is addressed later in this review under the sub topic "Complementation" (p.22).

In exploring the use of *s1* as an interpretive, Agyekum (2002) examines *s1* in hearsays, propositional attitudes, desires, factives and beliefs as well as in proverbs, wise sayings, adages, narratives, legends and myths. He also considered its use and importance in the preservation of culture and traditions, its use based on narratives, legends and myths, folksongs and written literature as well as in relaying information from authorities and chiefs in the society. Agyekum's concern, as mentioned earlier, was the use of *s1* in rendering thoughts and utterances only. Apart from expressing propositional attitudes, desires, factives and beliefs which are cognitive, hence, render thoughts, all the other instances of the interpretive use of *s1* studied by Agyekum (2002) render utterances.

In *E3e*, *be* is used in hearsays, utterances in which the speaker dissociates him/herself from what s/he is saying, as in "*Kofi be yedzo*" (Kofi says he is gone). It is also used in propositional attitudes, desires, factives and

beliefs – utterances which express various speech acts either reported by or originated from the speaker. For instance, example 6 which expresses a desire and an expression like "*menya be eyae da kpem*" (I know he was the one who stoned me) which has a factive verb (the underlined word). Like *s1*, *be* is also used in all the other instances, situations and genres cited by Agyekum (2002). An example of the use of *be* in proverbs is;

7. Koklo be; "v4v-…e nye agbe"
   Fowl X fear+foc is life
   The fowl says "fear is life" / The fowl says "to fear is to live".

Comparing this to the previous example, it can be observed that the Vcomp which precedes the X is absent. In this example, the X which is the interpretive marker takes up the function of the verb and leads to the deletion/dropping of the verb itself. This is contrary to the case in many other languages, with Akan and English being examples. According to Agyekum (2002), when *se* (to say) is used instead of *ka* (to say) in addition to *s1* (the interpretive marker) in Akan, the interpretive marker is sometimes dropped. That is "*se s1"* becomes "*se"*. In this case, the verb is retained while the interpretive marker is dropped or deleted. In English, *that*-deletion, which is equivalent to the *s1* deletion of Akan is an accepted grammatical process in complementation (Lakoff, 1968). That is, one can easily say example 8b instead of 8a.

8.a He said that coming was a mistake

b. He said coming was a mistake.

In *E3e*, *be* can assume the position of a deleted verb, thereby, act as the main verb of the construction. However, this can only be in the surface

structure of such constructions. In the underlying or deep structure, there is always a true verb to which *be* is a collocant. Two verbs in *E3e* which normally undergo this deletion process are *gbl4* "to say" and *di* "to want'. According to Clements (1975), *gbl4* may be deleted only if the subject is animate and *di*, if the subject is inanimate. That is, when *be* assumes the position of the main verb in any surface structure, one can determine which true verb was deleted or would have been present in the deep structure depending on the type of subject in the structure. Taking the following sentences for example, one can easily determine which verb was deleted.

9. **Tsi be ye...a dza** (Clements, 1975)

Water X log+mod rain

It's about to rain

10. **Kofi be ye t4 nyo**

Kofi X log Pos good

Kofi says his is good

With *tsi* (water) being an inanimate subject, it can be concluded, based on Clements' (1975) view, that the verb deleted from example 9 is *di* (want) while that of example 10 is *gbl4* (say) since its subject is animate. Example 9 and 10, then, are the surface structures of the following;

11. **Tsi di be ye...a dza**

Water want X log+mod rain

It wants to rain /it is about to rain

12. **Kofi gbl4 be ye t4 nyo**

Kofi say X log Pos good

Kofi says his is good

However, there are many other possible uses of similar structures which may have animate subjects but in which cases the deleted verb is *di* (want). Example 13, below, is an example of such structures which contradict the earlier mentioned assertion of Clements.

13. Avu...a be ye...a...ge 2e x4....a me (Clements 1975)
dog+Det X Log+Mod+fall - room+Det in

.....

According to Clements (1975),

> the sense corresponding to the verb *di* (want) is excluded if the subject is animate, hence, the example above cannot be interpreted in the sense 'the dog wants to enter the house' or 'the dog is about to enter the house', and in fact cannot be interpreted at all unless the dog in question is in a fable, in which case it would have the meaning 'the dog said he would enter the house' (p.168).

Clements is forced to say this because of his belief that *di* (want) is the deleted verb only in instances of inanimate subjects. In example 13, "the dog" is animate; hence, the deleted verb, per Clements' assertion, should be gbl4 (say), a rather impossible one. The dog, though animate, is not human and so

cannot say anything. Clements, therefore, concludes that such a sentence could only be found in a fable.

This is, however, not very accurate since such a construction is very common and typical of the home situation in most rural areas where domestic animals are kept in free range and doors are mostly left ajar. This sentence, then, could be interpreted as "the dog wants to enter the room" and translated into English as "the dog is about to enter the room" or "the dog is about entering the room". The underlying structure, therefore, would be example 14 below and not 15, as claimed by Clements (1975). That is not to say that example 15 is impossible. It can be in fables as argued by Clements. It is grammatically correct but not acceptable, owing to Chomsky's (1965) notions of grammaticality and acceptability. As claimed by Chomsky, not all grammatical sentences are acceptable; they may be unacceptable for processing or other reasons which have nothing to do with the nature of grammar.

14. **avu...a di be ye...a...ge 2e x4...a me**

Dog+the want X Log+Mod+fall – room+Det in

The dog wants to enter the room= the dog is about to enter the room

15. **avu...a gbl4 be ye...a...ge 2e x4...a me**

Dog+Det say X Log+Mod+fall – room+Det in

**The dog said it would enter the room*

2.2 Complementation

In response to the question about complentation and complementizers, Lakoff (1968) asserts that complementation is one of the processes used to

achieve recursion in Transformational Grammar. He defines recursion as a property of language which allows sentences to be formed within sentences and which is achieved through conjunction, relativisation and complementation. He defines complements as the sentences embedded in other sentences and the complementizer as a marker added to the embedded sentence. Taking the sentence *I know that he'll come* as an example, "I know" is an independent clause, in other words, a sentence but does occur with yet another clause in this example. *That he'll come*, then, is the complement with *that* being the complementizer.

Ouhalla (1994) postulates that some verbs take as complements sentences which are introduced by a complementizer. These verbs are usually verbs of saying and believing which describe a relationship between a subject and a proposition of some kind (Agyekum, 2002; Spotchie, Koopman & Stabler, 2012). These verbs (the Vcomp/matrix verbs/higher verbs), according to Boadi (2005), mostly consist of more than a word in Akan. This phenomenon is evident in *E3e* as well and Essegbey (2002) refers to such verbs as "inherent complement verbs" in *E3e*. Boadi (2005) refers to them as "compound verbs". Examples of these verbs include *do `ugbe* (to promise), *2e adz4gbe* (to vow), *2ee gbl4* (to state) in *E3e* and *gye to mu* (to accept), *di adanse* (to witness), *fa to dwa* (to declare) in Akan. All these compound or inherent complement verbs collocate with *be* and *s1* in *E3e* and Akan respectively. In *E3e*, however, there could be single word verb collocants of *be* as well. Examples of such verbs include *bia* (ask), *bu* (think), *zu* (become) among others.

Sportiche et al. (2012) believe that the complement "C" was not a category in traditional grammar because of the kind of tools used in recognising such a category which probably would be a subset of "subordinating conjunctions" (of traditional grammar). The reason for this claim might be that such tools/concepts were absent in traditional grammar. These tools, as they mentioned, include constituency tests, VP topicalisation, do-so replacement and VP elipses or coordination with another VP. Lakoff (1968) suggests the ability of an embedded sentence to function as a noun phrase either in subject or direct object position to be a proof that such a sentence is a complement phrase. Likewise, Boadi (2005) postulates that all noun phrase clausal complements should be able to undergo the processes of focus marking and pseudo clefting like any other simple noun.

In the extensions to the X-bar theory of Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG), the complement phrase (CP) concept was introduced. Sportiche et al. (2012) aver that the CP can occur as the right hand sister of V (verb) or subject of sentences. They state that the CPs begin with a "C" (complement) which is followed by a TP (tensed phrase). This TP in a CP is referred to as sentential complement (S^I) and clausal complement in Ouhalla (1994) and Boadi (2005) respectively.

2.3 Syntax

As indicated by the topic of the thesis, this study is rooted in syntax. Syntax is defined as the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages (Chomsky 1957). According to Thakur (1998), syntax consists of two word-elements. He states that the first

element syn-, is the Latinized form of the Greek preposition sun which means "together" and the second, -tax, a derivation from a Greek root which means "to put together". Based on the etymological meaning of the word, traditional grammarians considered syntax to be a study of the ways in which words could be strung together to form acceptable sentences. They suggested that an exercise called parsing should be used for syntactic analyses. Parsing involves dividing a sentence into its component parts of speech and describing the grammatical features of each of these parts of speech (Lyons, 1968; Thakur, 1998). That is, for example, a sentence should be analysed as follows:

16. "The girl beat the boy" = the | girl | beat | the | boy.

Art N V N Art

Subj Pred

The parts of speech of the component words in this sentence are article (Art), noun (N) and verb (V) and the grammatical features, subject (Subj) and predicate (Pred). The first article and noun constitute the subject while the verb and everything that follows it constitute the predicate.

According to Thakur (1998), structural grammarians, in addressing some of the inadequacies of traditional grammar, suggest describing syntactic structures of sentences in terms of their successive layers of grammatical units. They argue that words were not the immediate constituents of sentences; hence, parsing could not be adequate for analysing sentences. In order to make syntax account for the other constituents which the structural grammarians believed were present in language, Tallerman (1998), for instance, did not end her description of syntax on sentences. To her, syntax means sentence

construction; how words group together to make phrases and sentences. She includes phrases, a unit larger than words and smaller than sentences, in her description of what syntax entails. That is, grammarians now consider syntax to be a study of how words are combined into bigger structures which may be phrases, clauses or sentences. Three key concepts arise in this brief introduction to syntax: word, classifying words (parts of speech) and immediate constituents.

A word is said to be difficult to define but is accepted as basic and very important in every language. As Palmer (1971) rightly states:

> In literate societies, at least, the word is so much a part of everyday knowledge that is completely taken for granted. Grammar books often make no attempt to give a definition of the word though they happily define other grammatical elements in terms of it. A sentence, for instance is a 'combination of words' and the parts of speech are 'classes of words'. But what a word is and how it can be defined is often not considered (p.41).

The "word" is described differently in and according to the various branches and aspects of the field of linguistics (Palmer, 1971; Jackson, 2007).

Jackson (2007) presents a summary of all the definitions of a word as: the elements that enter into the construction of phrases in syntax, a sequence of letters bounded by spaces in writing, a unit composed of one or more root morphemes which may be affixed in morphology and the basic unit of study in lexicology. He adds that a word in lexical terms (a lexeme) may be composed

of more than one written (orthographic) word. He states Phrasal verbs as an example of such words.

Regarding the classification of words, Van Valin (2001) posits that words were given notional definitions in traditional grammar, categorising them in terms of their semantic content, whereas, in modern linguistics, they are defined morphosyntactically in terms of their grammatical properties. Similarly, Jackson (2007) defines a word class as a set of words that are grouped on the basis of shared syntactic functions, shared inflectional and derivational morphology and to some extent, shared reference. By this, elements of a word class are grouped together in their respective classes either because they function similarly in the construction of phrases, clauses or sentences; accept the same affixes or probably, evoke the same or similar mental pictures or meanings.

According to Van Valin (2001), such a grouping of words was traditionally referred to as parts of speech, later as speech or word classes and, more contemporarily, as lexical categories. To O'grady, Archibald & Katamba (1997), words are rather categorised into syntactic categories with lexical categories being just a subset. To them, syntactic categories are further divided into lexical and non-lexical categories. The lexical category comprises content words while the non-lexical category comprises function words.

Thakur (1998) believes that the change from parts of speech to word classes was more than a mere change in name. It was, more importantly, to account for an extension within the paradigm, a progression from focusing on only the form of a word to considering its functions within particular

structures. On the other hand, Klugah (2012) avers that there were disparities in the definitions of the various parts of speech in traditional grammar. She indicates that while some parts of speech are defined per their meanings, others are defined with respect to their function. To her, this disparity was what modern grammarians sought to address. She cited, as an example, the definition of verbs and adjectives in traditional grammar to illustrate the "meaning/function" disparity. A verb, she states, is regarded as an action word or a word denoting a form of activity; a definition based solely on the meaning expressed by the word and not its function. An adjective, on the other hand, is defined as a word that qualifies or modifies a noun. Unlike the definition of a verb, this definition is based on function, not meaning.

What this suggests is that the shift within the paradigm (from "form" to "function"), which Thakur (1998) proposes, was not exactly the case. It is evident from Klugah's submission that "function" was not ignored in traditional grammar. The problem, then, probably, was that it was not given the kind of importance that subsequent schools of thought believe it should have. That is, instead of limiting function as a key criterion to the classification of words into only those parts of speech which were difficult to define, it became central to the identification and classification of all words. The question arising from this, however, is whether Thakur's "form" is equivalent to Klugah's "meaning" since Thakur contrasts "form and function" while Klugah contrasts "meaning and function".

In addressing the aforementioned inconsistency in the classification of words in traditional grammar, Klugah (2012) posits that modern grammarians, including Palmer (1971), Thakur (1998), Radford, Atkinson, Britain, Clahsen

& Spencer (2009) and Verma & Krishnaswamy (2009) came up with a standard criterion for the classification of words. This does not only curb the problem of disparity in classifying words, it also satisfies the function requirement as it gives substantive importance to function.

As a result of the shift of focus from form and meaning to function, one word may belong to different word classes as its functions vary from structure to structure. For example, the word "man" functions at some point in English as a noun but at another, as a verb. This difference is illustrated by the following sentences.

17. This man made me who I am (noun)
18. This is the man of the day (noun)
19. You must man up to the task (verb)
20. He manned the company for a while (verb)

In example 17, the subject of the sentence is the noun phrase (NP) "this man". The "this" is a determiner while "man" is the noun. The verb in example 17 is "made". Similarly, "the man" is an NP having as determiner, "the" and as head, "man" in example 18. According to Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams (2011), the NP often consists of a determiner and a noun and has the noun as its head, therefore man is a noun. Unlike 17, however, the NP in 18 is in the object position. This is characteristic of nouns as indicated by Fromkin et al. (2011) who aver that a noun can occupy both subject and object positions in sentences. Man, as a noun, could therefore be a subject or an object, as evident in examples 17 and 18 respectively. The verb in example 18

is "is". In example 19, "man" is the verb in the phrasal verb "man up". A phrasal verb according to Mendis (2010) is a two or three part structure which consists of a verb followed by what looks like a preposition but is commonly described as a particle. "Manned", which is "man" + {-ed}, is the verb in example 20. Since a noun cannot inflect for tense, "man" here is a verb because it inflects with the past tense marker {-ed} and is the predicator of the sentence.

Consequently, what exactly an item is doing in a particular construction or where it finds itself in a structure determines the class it is assigned to. This also implies that there is no rigid boundary limiting words to particular classes. The proposed standard criterion cited by Klugah (2012) would be discussed later in this chapter.

In addition to the formal criteria for classifying words is the concept of immediate constituents which was also introduced by structural grammarians in an attempt to solve the problems of PARSING in traditional grammar. Akmajian, Demers, Farmer & Harnish (1990) provide as a proof that sentences are structured units, the grouping of words into constituents. They believe that if words were not grouped into constituents, a sentence containing individual unambiguous words could not be ambiguous. By structuring, they suggest that words are grouped into smaller units within the sentence. To Sportiche et al. (2012), a constituent is a string that speakers can manipulate as a single chunk. In other words, they are daughters of a single mother node in a tree representation. They suggest substitution as a test for constituents. That is, any group of words which functions as one unit and could therefore be replaced by some other unit is a constituent. As the name immediate

constituents suggests, some words move more closely together than others within the sentence. In determining immediate constituents, structural grammarians divided sentences into binary units or larger ones when binary division is impossible.

Apart from a binary division being impossible in some instances, one other problem encountered in such a division was the separation of elements that were believed to belong together in a sequence (Palmer, 1971; Akmajian et al., 1990). This phenomenon, according to Palmer (1971), is known as "discontinuity". Akmajian et al. (1990) referred to it as "discontinuous dependency" and cited as examples, the splitting of the verb and particle (particle movement) and that of the head noun and its modifying clause. Sportiche et al. (ibid.) mentioned topicalisations, cleft constructions and pseudo-clefting as examples of such movements or distortions.

As seen in the first chapter of this work, *be* and its collocants sometimes appear together but are split by some elements in other instances. Assuming *be* is a verbid (which is a particle) as suggested by Clements (1975), its positioning at any other place other than right after a verb in a VP would be a discontinuity and particularly, a particle movement. Akmajian et al (1990) postulate that given a verb + particle construction, the particle may be shifted from the verb to the right of the object NP and made a sister to that NP. They add that such movements of the particle are obligatory in English when the object noun phrase is a pronoun. The following examples illustrate a particle movement in the constituent "heat up" (verb+particle).

21. a. heat **up** the engine

b. heat the engine **up**

c. *heat **up** it

d. heat it **up**

It is possible to conclude that this rule applies to *be* movement as well in considering a sentence such as example 20.

22**. E...5e dziku...kp4kp4 w4...e be wò...dzo kaba**

3SG+Pos anger+seeing make+K X 3SG+leave early

His/her anger made him/her leave early

Interestingly, just as it would be quite difficult to say "him" is the object in the English version of this sentence, it is difficult to say the "*e"* glossed as K is equal to the "*e*" glossed as 3SG which, without question, is a pronoun. As a pronoun, the 3SG "*e*" could be a replacement to any noun, for instance Ato as in 23a. The "wò", on the other hand, can be a replacement to any other noun (for example Ama in 23b) or anaphorically, the same noun, Ato. By this, "wò" in this context can be ambiguous. The two possible meanings that could be derived from this structure are:

23. a. **Ato$_i$ 5e dziku...kp4kp4 w4...e be wò$_i$...dzo kaba**

Ato Pos anger+seeing make+K X 3SG+leave early

Ato's anger made him leave early/Ato left early because he (himself) was angry.

b. **Ato 5e dziku...kp4kp4 w4...e be Ama dzo kaba**

Ato Pos anger+seeing make+K X Ama leave early

Ato's anger made Ama leave early/Ama left early because Ato was angry.

What these examples seek to establish is that, unlike the other pronouns in the sentence, the "*e*" labelled K, cannot be said to be a replacement to any noun. It could, therefore, be said to be a dummy like the

dummy "it" of English which also resembles a pronoun but does not replace any noun as such. Thus, even though this "*e*" looks like a pronoun and an object to *w4* (make) and occurs between the verb and *be* in what looks like a particle movement, it does not imply the application of the English "obligatory particle movement to the right of an object pronoun" in *E3e*.

As already seen in chapter one, one of the purposes of this study, is to determine the kind of elements that split *be* and the verbs it collocates with in a given structure. It is worth noting, however, that such movements seem to occur in phrasal verbs in English. The question then is whether the collocation between verbs and *be* constitute phrasal verbs in *E3e* as well. A phrasal verb, as mentioned ealier, is a combination of a verb and a particle (Side, 1990; Mendis, 2010). If *be* is a particle, its collocation with a verb would constitute a phrasal verb, making such movements possible in *E3e*.

In addressing the problem of discontinuity which IC analysis could not account for, transformations (the concept of deep and surface structures) were introduced. However, before the introduction of Chomky's revolutionary Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG), there were other extensions to the IC analysis in structural grammar (Palmer 1971). Some of the notable ones given by Palmer (ibid) include; *Scale and Category* associated with Michael Halliday in the late 1950s to early 1960s; *Tagmemics* of Kenneth L. Pike around the same time and *Stratificational grammar* by Sidney Lamb in the early 1960s as well. Tagmemics, being the theoretical basis of this work, would be the only one discussed in detail later in this review.

2.3.1 Syntactic categories/Word classes

Linguistic items, whether lexical or non-lexical, vary from language to language. Grammatical functions and categorising of words according to such functions, however, may cut across languages. The generally identified and studied syntactic categories in linguistics include: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, adpositions, determiners, conjunctions, complementizers and particles (Radford, 1997; Van Valin, 2001). This is an improvement on the traditional parts of speech which include; nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, preposition, conjunction, interjection (Palmer, 1971) and article (Culicover, 1976). Sportiche et al. (2012) make this classification more elaborate by adding numerals, auxiliaries, modals and negation/affirmation markers as separate classes.

Apparently, most of the traditional parts of speech were maintained while other classes were added. Interjections, however, did not seem to retain much of an importance in the recategorisation of words. This raises questions about whether the structural grammarians did not see the functions of interjection in language or perhaps just did not see its functions as important enough. Probably, its loss of place was because of its less productivity in language and its contribution more to semantics and pragmatics than syntax; that is, to meaning communication rather than to structuring. Other interesting additions were, however, recorded. Prepositions were changed to adpositions to embrace both prepositions and postpositions; articles into determiners to capture the other units which might not necessarily be articles but can also be specifiers to nouns. The class of complementizers, referred to as subordinating conjunctions in traditional grammar, was also added to strike a difference between complementation and conjunction. Particles were also introduced to

account for units and functions which were almost unacknowledged in traditional grammar.

The problem of acknowledgement could also stem from the high adaptation of grammar to one language; from the Greek to Latin adaptation and more currently to English and French; a problem which Noam Chomsky sought to address with his "Universal Grammar" in the 1960's. Currently, it is quite difficult to find matching grammatical categories and concepts of units in other languages which have no equivalents or near equivalents in English even in grammar books which are not necessarily labelled as English grammar books and so could be considered general.

Nevertheless, these word classes are established as word classes not only of English but other languages as well. As already seen in the previous discussion on word classes, there is no uniform way of defining word classes. Classification, as established, is now based mainly on function, but the problem of definition has not really been addressed. What is seen in most grammar books is more of descriptions and constituting units than definitions. This might also be in fulfilment of the standard given by Palmer (1971) when he says "the definition of a word class is established by what is said about it in the grammar. In other words if you want to know what a noun is, you will have to see what the grammar has to say about the functions of the noun" (p.62). In *E3e,* Atakpa (1993) asserts that before one could correctly write the language, s/he must first know which word classes various words belong to. This makes it appear as though Atakpa (ibid) still believes that there should be boundaries between word classes where each word belongs to a particular word class and which a writer must know before writing the language.

2.3.2 Syntactic Categories in *E3e*

Duthie (1993) gives a detailed account of the word classes in E3e. They comprise the above mentioned commonly studied ones and others which probably are specific to the *E3e* language and might not apply to many other languages. The chart below shows the word classes of *E3e* and the structures in which they normally occur.

Structure	Grammatical item	Lexical item
Verbal phrase	Verbal auxiliary	Verbs
Adjunct phrase	Preposition	Adverb
Nominal phrase	Pronoun, quantifier, demonstrative, pluralizer, intensifier, locative	Noun, adjective
As a particle in: nominal phrase	Possessive, linker, topicalizer, focalizer	
Clauses	Negative marker, mood marker, conjunction	
Sentences	Question marker, addressive	Interjection

Word Classes in *E3e* (Duthie, 1993)

Interestingly, other works on the word classes of *E3e* seem to have ignored most of the function words in their classifications. Modern grammarians simply created the class of "particles" to account for most of the function words which are easily ignored. Duthie (1993) expressly breaks the classes down to show the distinct functions of words within the language. He

used locative to account for what other scholars called postpositions. Three years later, he added postpositions to the locatives as well (Duthie, 1996). As already indicated, the word classes of *E3e* given by other authors include: nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections and postpositions (Anyidoho, 1990; Atakpa, 1993; Atakpa & Atakpa, 2005; Abadzivor, 2007). Amegashie (2004) went a step further to include a ninth (9th) class, prepositions.

2.3.3 Criteria for Classifying Words

Tallerman (1998) suggests three levels of analyses as comprising the linguistic criteria for identifying word classes. These three levels are captured in the following questions. Words which record similar answers to these questions invariably belong to the same word class. The questions, therefore, apply to particular words before categorising into classes. The questions include the following:

a) What are the different forms that the word can have? (Morphology)

b) Where in a phrase or sentence does the word occur? (Distribution)

c) What work does the word perform in a phrase or sentence? (Function)

In addition to these linguistic levels, she suggests considering the grammatical categories of words as well in their classification. For instance, she gives number, gender/noun class, definiteness and case as the grammatical categories for nouns and tense, aspect, mood, transitivity, voice and agreement as those for verbs. Consequently, words which exhibit or could be assigned the grammatical categories for nouns are classified as nouns in the same way as those with the categories for verbs are classified as verbs.

Thakur (1998) also suggests these criteria for identifying word classes. He, however, simplifies these levels into two concise ones, morphological and syntactic criteria. By morphological criterion, he implies the kind of affixes that words can take. He suggests, as an example, the plural and genitive suffixes as the inflexional endings of nouns in English and -ation, -hood, -ity, -ism, -ment, -ness and -ship as their derivations. By this, words which can take any of these affixes should be classified as nouns. This criterion is equal to the question *a*) of Tallerman. In his syntactic criteria, Thakur (1998) posits that words which can be subjects, objects (of transitive verbs) and completives to prepositions are nouns; those which are subject or object complements, adjectives and those which constitute the predicator elements of a sentence, verbs. This also equates to question c) of Tallerman which deals with the function of words.

Though Thakur does not mention distribution and grammatical categories in his criteria, they also would have formed part of his syntactic criteria. In sum, both authors agree that the morphology and syntax of words play key roles in the classification of such words.

Radford et al. (2009) added semantics to the morphological and syntactic criteria. They believe that the meaning of words also play a role in their classification. Interestingly, their criteria answer the question on the relationship between form and meaning. If semantics (which deals with meaning) and morphology (which deals with form) are considered distinct and separate criteria in classifying words, then Thakur's "form" in "form and function" is different from Klugah's "meaning" in "meaning and function"

(ref. p. 28). This poses yet another question, which is about what exactly was considered in traditional grammar, form or meaning?

According to Palmer (1971), the traditionally identified eight (8) parts of speech were aligned to the Greek grammar of about 100BC written by Dionysius Thrax who also recognised eight (8) parts of speech based largely upon morphology. Though Palmer himself also attests to the role of morphology in classifying words, he indicates clearly that it results in problems with words classifications. He, therefore, subscribes more to the syntactic criterion than the morphological criterion. This, however, suggests that "form" was the notion available in traditional grammar. Hence, the shift of focus in structural grammar was from "form to function" and not "meaning to function". This also implies that more weight was given to syntax than morphology in the modern classification of words.

2.4.0 Tagmemic Grammar

Tagmemics, as a theory for syntactic analysis, was propounded by an American linguist called Kenneth L. Pike in the 1950's. Franklin (1970) indicates that it was expounded pedagogically by Elson and Picket in 1962, Longacre in 1964, Cook in 1969 and was later revised by Pike himself in 1970. According to Hale (1976), tagmemics was born as the result of a search for units of grammar which would have the same kind of usefulness as phonemes have in phonology and morphemes in lexicons. He indicates that Tagmemics involves learning what systematic physical differences serve to distinguish and identify various units in various systems. It also involves ascertaining the various physical representations that a given unit can have and still remain the same unit for communicative purposes and where such a unit

can be used appropriately in terms of class, sequence and system; that is, kind of unit, where it is found in a structure and how it functions in relation to the other units in the structure respectively.

In addressing how a unit can have different physical representations yet remain the same unit for communicative purposes, Pike introduced the phonological "emic" and "etic" views from phonetic and phonemic respectively, into grammar. He believes that there are levels at which generalisations are possible and acceptable; levels at which an active participant or a native's view about a unit might differ from that of an outsider. Kissel (2005), therefore, describes the "etic" form as objective and the "emic" as subjective. Franklin (1996) also defines an emic unit as a physical or mental item or system treated by insiders as relevant to their system of behaviour and as the same unit in spite of etic variability.

According to Jones (1980), the theoretical postulates of Tagmemics include: the belief that every human behaviour including language, comes in chunks or units; the fact that units do not occur in isolation, hence, the importance of context and the belief that there is a part-whole hierarchy. Unlike other linguistic or grammatical theories, Tagmemics was meant to account for any aspect of life that can be said to occur in units. This resulted in the change of name of the unit of study in the theory from "grameme" (similar to phoneme and morpheme and thus suggesting the smallest unit of grammar) to a more general one, the "Tagmeme" (explained later). Owing to the broad spectrum of possible application of this theory, Pike introduced the physics terms "particle", "wave" and "field" into the theoretical framework. This, he

did, mainly to introduce the theory to other scholars outside the realm of linguistics.

In his final report on the application of Tagmemic and Matrix grammar to some African languages, Pike states that

> Units were seen first of all as particles segmented out of the stream of speech. When, however, the units were viewed as having indeterminate non-segmentable boundaries in a dynamic flowing hierarchy of nuclear and marginal elements, a wave perspective was more appropriate. As points in an intersecting set of contrastive categories, units such as clauses were seen in field perspective (p.2).

Randal (2002) makes it simpler by stating that as a *particle*, each element is considered a discrete unit. These elements are defined by a nucleus in a *wave*. In a *field*, they are believed to have very important relationships with other elements. That is, individual elements, for example various words in a sentence, are to be analysed as particles. When they occur in structures in which some parts are considered more important than others (nuclei) {as in verbs (important) against adjuncts (optional)}, they are analysed as wave and in larger structures where the element has some kind of relationship with other elements to achieve some goal; for example words in sentences or sentences in paragraphs, they are to be analysed as field.

As indicated already, these terms were adopted mainly to generalise the tenets of the theory and to make it easier for scholars outside linguistics to grasp the basis of the theory. This study would not necessarily adapt to this kind of analysis since the original/general tenets of the theory stem from

grammar and are adequate to carry out a Tagmemic analysis of the unit under study in a linguistic or grammatical enquiry such as the current one.

2.4.1 The Tagmeme

According to Prasad (2009), utterances are analysed at three semi-autonomous but interpenetrating levels in a tagmemic approach. These levels are the phonological level where the minimum unit is a phoneme, the lexical level where the minimum unit is a morpheme and the grammatical level which has a tagmeme as the minimum unit.

The tagmeme is a slot-class correlation where the slot refers to any grammatical position (like subject) which is filled by a list of mutually substitutable items (Franklin, 1970). Jones (1980) also describes the tagmeme similarly by stating that a tagmeme is a grammatical unit consisting of at least two simultaneously occurring features – SLOT and CLASS. To her, the slot represents the grammatical relation between the unit and other units in a construction while the class refers to whether the unit is a noun, verb, noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective or any other grammatical category.

Pike first suggested that a tagmeme should be analysed on two axioms: slot and class. In later modifications to the theory, however, he suggested that four axioms be used in a tagmemic study. These include: **slot** (where the unit is located in a structure), **class** (what kind of unit it is), **role** (how the unit functions) and **cohesion** (how the unit relates with other units). Owing to this, Franklin (1996) defines the tagmeme as a special kind of emic unit which combines paradigmatic, syntagmatic, pragmatic and cohesion features. He further mapped the paradigmatic features to class, syntagmatic to position/slot, pragmatic to role and cohesion to knowledge and experience. These features

are believed to satisfy the grammatical form, grammatical function and situational meaning requirement of any language discussion or study as postulated by Fries (1976).

So far, three forms of analysis within the tagmemic framework have been discussed: the emic/etic view, the particle-wave-field view and the slot-class-role-cohesion perspective. However, the first two approaches were not used in this study. The third approach, which studies a unit in terms of its slot, class, role and cohesion, was the one adopted and applied to the current study. This is mainly because it is easier to understand and use as compared to the other two. Taking the various terms employed as an example, it does not take any special expertise in phonology or physics to understand slot, class, role and cohesion as needed for the total understanding of etic/emic differences and the particle-wave-field concept of phonology and physics respectively.

2.4.2 Traces of other Structural Grammars in Tagmemics

As stated earlier in this chapter, Palmer (1971) mentioned Tagmemics as one of the extensions to the IC analysis in Structural Grammar. Prasad (2009) states that Tagmemics is quite different from IC analysis in that while IC analysis cuts sentences into binary elements, Tagmemics makes room for string constituent analysis as well. He also avers that while other structuralists ignore the function of a linguistic form to concentrate on its form only, tagmemists fuse both form and function together in carrying out a syntactic analysis. That makes Tagmemics similar to the criteria for word classification which also deals with the form and function of words (Thakur, 1998). However, like IC analysis, word classification also concerns itself with words

only. Tagmemics does not only differ from these two by making room for analysing longer strings, it also incorporates pragmatic information which is absent in most structural grammars.

Palmer (1971) indicates that several attempts were made by grammarians to address the various criticisms raised against IC analysis in other models or theories, one of which is the Tagmemic approach. He added that Chomsky's Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) was, however, the theory that actually caused a great wave in Structural Grammar. The following chapters are thereby dedicated to the various comparisons tagmemicists have drawn between Tagmemics and TGG in particular and other later developments within the structural grammar framework.

Pike, in his 1966 report on the application of Tagmemics and matrix grammar to some African languages, agrees that the development of Transformational Grammar had had a heavy impact on linguistic studies. He indicated that tagmemic investigations had not been immune to the transformational grammar wave. He was, however, hopeful that rather than incapacitating Tagmemics as a viable grammatical theory, Transformational Grammar would help substantiate and develop most of the tagmemic postulates.

In addressing some of the extensions introduced by some scholars into his matrix theory and in expressing his hope for the influence of Transformational Grammar on his Tagmemics, Pike concludes that:

> It seems highly probable that the implicit transformational question, 'how are sentences related?' as further developed by Noam Chomsky may have

> hastened the development of such approaches as matrix multiplication. I am happy to acknowledge these influences. Already, many tagmemic descriptions are using a transformational component, encouraging us to hope, as I stated in 1960, that the two approaches should some day 'come to a point of complete overlap' (p.10).

He added that, the generative approach to grammatical description, as posited by Chomsky and his associates, is also beginning to have its impact on tagmemic discussion.

This, notwithstanding, Pike still believed that Tagmemics was a more useful tool in studying unwritten languages than Transformational Generative Grammar. This was because, to him, the search for patterns precedes any descriptive or generative grammar. As Hale (1976) rightly puts it, units are more important than rules in Tagmemic grammar. The vice versa, however, applies to Generative Grammar which is rule driven. Like the deep structure of TGG, tagmemic grammarians believe in underlying structure as well. According to Hale (1976), it is mandatory to represent anything that is a unit in the underlying structure as a unit in the surface structure.

Chomsky's claim about language universals is not alien to Tagmemics as Pike had attempted to find universals as well through his etic views of language. In an interview with Karl J. Franklin, Pike was quoted as saying,

> There is a *tremendous* drive towards what is called 'universals', but which are not 'absolute' universals but rather universal possibilities, or tendencies. Universals which are really absolute universals include the ones I have talked about in the

> concepts' book (Pike 1982), e.g. about particle, wave and field approaches. Contrast, variation and distribution are universal – you can't talk without them.

To Franklin, Pike, of course, was interested in establishing a set of etic universals, for example, a list of all possible clause types in languages which would parallel the list of all possible phonemes or syllable types.

In addition to the similarities drawn between word classification, IC analysis and TGG, Hale (1976) identifies some traces of what Filmore came to call Case Grammar in 1968 in Pike's works from as early as 1954. Currently, role is still seen as an important element in Tagmemics. Hale (1976) indicates that a suggestion was made in Cook (1971) that Case Grammar be adopted as deep structure for Tagmemics since its postulates are already present in Tagmemics.

With traces of these and other grammatical concepts and postulates in the tagmemic framework, Tagmemics cannot be said to be less a framework than other grammatical theories. TGG was and is definitely a more popular framework than Tagmemics but as Pike said, the two, probably, might overlap for a more holistic linguistic analysis some day.

2.4.3 Justification for the choice of Tagmemics

Tagmemics is chosen as a suitable theoretical basis for the current study because it is concerned with form, function and context and would thereby help in addressing the concerns of the study, which are: to determine which word class items *be* collocates with, what characteristics these items have, which elements occur between *be* and its collocants in various structures, under what circumstances *be* functions as a verb and which word

class(es) *be* could possibly belong to. It is also valid because it encompasses most of the ideas of other theoretical frameworks and criteria for word class classification which are important to the current study.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter dealt with literature reviewed on the unit under study and the theoretical basis of the study. Issues about the functions of the unit as an interpretative marker and a complementizer were particularly discussed. Syntax across traditional and structural grammar was also discussed with focus on the concepts of the word, word classes, immediate constituents (especially with movements/transformations in mind) and the criteria for classifying words. Finally, Tagmemic Grammar, the theoretical basis of the work, was discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods and procedures used in obtaining the data for the current research. It presents the type of research undertaken, the research design used, the nature and sources of data, the sampling techniques employed and the justification of the data sources considered.

3.1 Type of Research and Research Design

This work employs the descriptive research design. This makes it a descriptive research. As the name suggests, this kind of study involves giving a description of a particular phenomenon. According to James (1997), a descriptive research is used to obtain information concerning the current status of a phenomenon to describe what exists with respect to variables and conditions in a situation. Its main purpose includes making careful observations and detailed documentation of a phenomenon of interest (Bhattacherjee, 2012) and providing an overall "picture" of the phenomenon by describing situations or events in which it occurs (Rubin & Babbie, 1997). The phenomenon under study here is the use of *be* in the *E3e* language, with particular attention to the dynamics of use (function) based on word order and context.

3.2 Sources of Data

Various instances of language use in some languages such as English, French and Chinese, which have had their fair share of recognition and use on the global scene, have been compiled into large corpora. These collections or corpora are made readily available to researchers who wish to carry out diverse investigations into such languages to end what was beforehand known as "arm chair" research. Corpus linguistics, thus, is the new wave in language study. However, this approach is yet to be duly and largely patronised on the African continent. Thus, most linguistic works on various African languages are still highly dependent on individually composed corpora which may not be large enough to cover every genre and aspect of language use that other researchers could fall on for diverse investigations. Thus, till such modern innovations are adopted and large, widely recognised and institutionally accepted corpora on African languages are built, linguistic research on African languages would continually be based on individual observations and individually collected data.

The *E3e* language, presented in the first chapter as located within Africa and belonging to the Kwa language family, is no exception in this lag. There has not been any largely built, accepted and used corpus or corpora on the language. Each researcher is, therefore, faced with the responsibility of composing his own specialised "corpus" to study a particular phenomenon.

The data for this study was, therefore, collected from some written documents in the language about the language, its speakers and the culture of the people. These documents include the Ghana Education Service (G.E.S.) authorised and prescribed text books for primary schools which are currently

in use and a new translation of the *E3e* Bible called *Agbenya la* (The Living Word).

3.3 Sampling Technique

Though there are diverse documents (including drama, prose and poetry books, hymnals, collection of folktales and proverbs among others) in the *E3e* language from which data could be collected and used for the current study, time and financial constraints did not permit the building of an awesomely huge corpus incorporating almost if not all these genres of the language. As helpful as such a corpus might be to the current study and subsequent ones, the inadequacy of resources required that a small but adequate corpus be built for the purpose of this study only. As Sankoff (1980, cited in Milroy, 1987) indicates, a linguistic survey does not tend to require large samples as in the case of other surveys; but the sample, he says, must be well chosen and representative of the area about which one wishes to make generalisations. Bell (1999) also states that the amount of documentary material that one can study is inevitably influenced by the amount of time available to the researcher. Thus, the choice of data sources was limited to a few materials by the use of some sampling techniques (accepted in a scientific research). There are many sampling techniques available to the researcher; however, the choice of one over the other is determined by the objectives of the research and the research questions to be answered (Milroy, 1996). The sampling techniques employed in this research include the convenience, systematic and purposive sampling techniques.

The convenience sampling technique is the least rigorous technique, involving the selection of the most accessible subjects to the researcher (Marshall, 1996). It is also the least costly in terms of time, effort and money. This technique was used in choosing the two broad categories of the written documents from which data was collected for the study. They are G.E.S. textbooks and the new *E3e* Bible. Firstly, as written boldly on the G.E.S. text books "STRICTLY NOT FOR SALE" and in other instances, "STRICTLY NOT TO BE SOLD", these books were chosen to save the researcher the cost of buying other written documents. Apart from this benefit, these text books were readily available to me because of family and friendship ties with people who happen to work for the Ghana Education Service. Secondly, the *E3e* Bible (*Agbenya la*) which was also chosen as a data source for the current study was acquired at no cost. As part of a team that shares these Bibles within the *E3e* community, I was privileged to receive a copy of the Bible for my personal use. Thus, these two sources were readily available; hence, the use of the convenience sampling method.

Another sampling technique used in this research is the systematic sampling technique. It is a type of probability sampling method in which a sample from a larger population is selected according to a fixed periodic interval. The interval is calculated by dividing the population size by the desired sample size. This sampling technique was employed in extracting a sample from the Bible which has sixty six (66) Books. For the purpose of the current study, only six (6) Books were extracted from the 66 Books to form part of the data for the study. This made the calculation for a sample interval 66 divided by 6 which is equal to 11. Every 11^{th} Book in the Bible was, thus,

selected to constitute a sample of 6 books. The sample of Bible books which formed part of the data then, comprised of: *Fiawo I* (I Kings), *Hawo* (Songs of Solomon), *Mika* (Micah) *D4w4w4wo* (Acts), *Timoteo II* (II Timothy) and *Nya2e2efia* (Revelation).

Finally, the purposive sampling technique, also known as judgment sampling, was adopted to satisfy the saturation criterion of data collection in this kind of research as stipulated by Creswell (1998). This technique, according to Marshall (1996), is the most common of all the sampling techniques and requires that the researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research questions. The purposive sampling technique was employed because the research focuses on a particular item and needs data from which evidence for the use of this item is adequate or enough for making generalisations. Through the purposive sampling technique, what may be called a "specialised corpus" on the various uses and occurrences of *be* in writing was built through extracting and compiling sentences within which the item was found. The term "corpus", as used here, is in the traditional sense and use of the term. That means the purposively collected data for this study is not necessarily a huge data collection in a machine readable form as expected and needed in the more modern corpus linguistics. The procedure employed is addressed below.

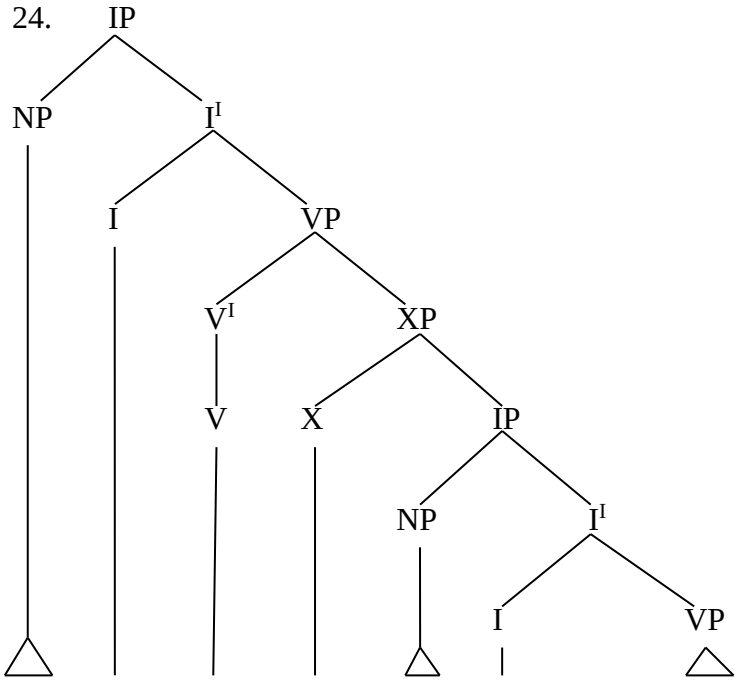
3.4 Data Collection Procedure

The sampled books were read thoroughly one at a time starting with the G.E.S. text books from class one to six and then followed by the selected books from the *E3e* Bible, *Agbenya la*. Sentences within which the item of concern, *be,* was used were identified and highlighted. Within these sentences,

a further categorisation was done to mark out elements that are most important to the study. *Be*, itself, in all the highlighted sentences were circled. The verbs which collocate with *be* within the highlighted sentences were underlined with red ink while all the elements that occur between the verbs and *be* were underlined in green. It is worth noting, however, that not all instances of the use of *be* were sampled for the analysis.

In instances where *be* occurs in similar structures with different lexical items in exception of the verbs or other items with which it collocates, only one such structure was considered. For example, one structure could have different lexical items under each grammatical category. However, so far as there is a change in the lexical item under the grammatical category of the verb (V), specifically the Vcomp or matrix verb which is more rampant, the new sentence was considered. Nevertheless, if the verb remains the same and any other lexical item change within the same structure, only one structure, therefore, sentence, was considered and added to the corpus. This was to avoid repetition of structures which had no significant differences relevant for answering the research questions and consequently, aid the progress of the work. The following examples illustrate this exemption factor in the data collection process which is accounted for by the purposive sampling technique employed.

24.



a) **Kofi {past} gbl4 be ye -a va**

b) Kofi {past} l- be ye -a va

c) **Kofi gbl4 be ye…a…va**

Kofi say X 3SG+MOD+come

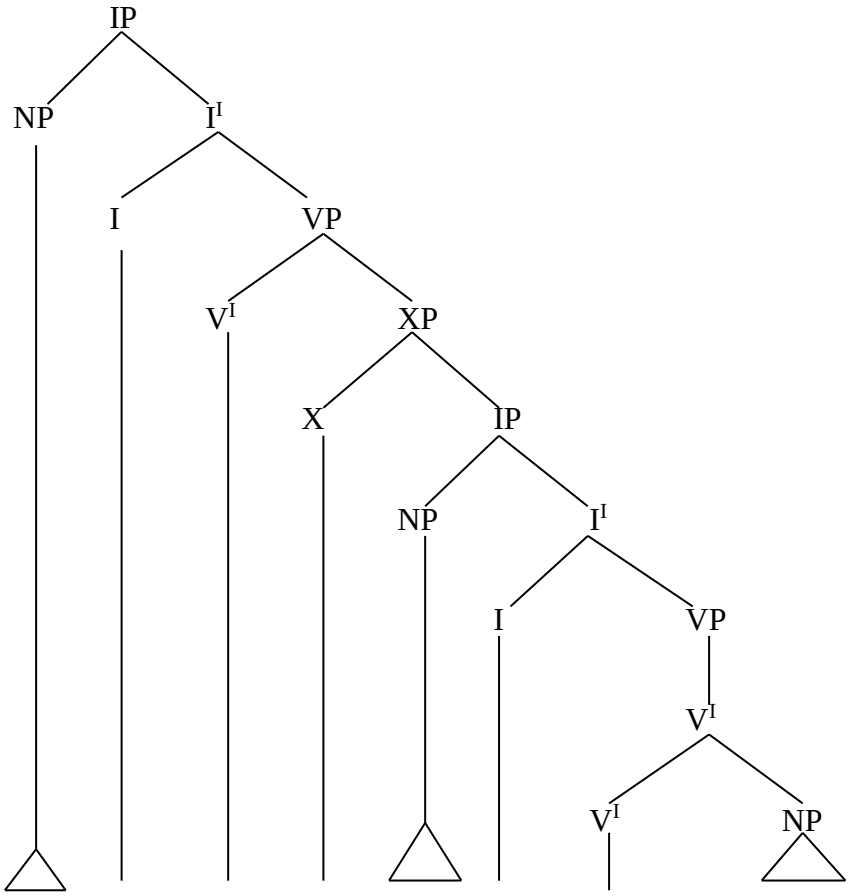
Kofi said he would come

d) **Kofi l- be ye…a…va**

Kofi agree X 3SG+MOD+come

Kofi agreed to come

25.



b) Adzo {past} 2oe be ye -a dzo ets4

In example 24, even though the structure remains equal for the two sentences a) and b), there has been a change in the matrix verb. Therefore, both sentences would be sampled as different entries in the data. The second example, example 25, also has two sentences under the structure. However, unlike those of example 24, most of the lexical items (other than the matrix

verb) have changed in this case. Nonetheless, these changes have no effect on the analysis, hence, only one of the two sentences would be considered.

In addition to these exemptions, structures which had more information than needed for the analysis in this work and which could be simplified without a distortion to the elements necessary for the study were simplified. For example, a noun phrase (NP) which has an embedded sentence could be replaced with a simpler NP. This replacement or simplification, however, was not applied to such structures if they occur between the collocants of concern (*be* and its collacants). This is because one of the research questions seeks to identify the kind of elements that split or occur between *be* and its collocants. The full sentences are, however, written at the appendices section of the work.

After identifying, choosing and highlighting the sentences that would be considered for analysis in each book, the sentences were written in a different book. To ensure that the collection of matrix verbs collated was not clad with repetitions, a numbering system was adopted. The letters of the alphabet of the *E3e* language were mapped onto numbers; starting with "a" corresponding to 1 through to "z" corresponding to 30. Thus, all the verbs marked with 1, for instance, are verbs beginning with the letter "a". The matrix verbs were thereafter classified alphabetically and rewritten in a separate book. Unlike most coding procedures, the categorisation of various items carried out in this study was not to translate data into a machine readable language which could be fed into a software program for analysis. The recategorisation of items done here was to create smaller groups of similar items which made it easier to make quick references and avoid repetitions.

These processes were carried out on one book at a time; hence, the updating of the database after reading and sampling necessary sentences from each book. This made the data collection process systematic and the data, devoid of unnecessary repetitions of sentences and structures. Two people were consulted to crosscheck the sampled data to ensure its veracity and adequacy.

3.5 Justification of Data Sources

The data was collected from the G.E.S. text books and the *E3e* Bible because there are many different types of essays in these books. The text books, for instance, are clad with a collection of narrative, descriptive and expository essays as well as dialogues. These books also have a progression from simple constructions to complex ones across the lower and the upper primary classes. The Junior Secondary School (JSS) text books were not used because they had the same essay types. The remarkable difference is the progression of thought and the advancement in the kind of language used. This, however, does not affect the work since constructions at this level are not different from those of the upper primary and the Bible. The Bible was also used because it has different essays and sentence types. It is also probably the biggest written document in the language which is compiled by the joint efforts of many scholars and which therefore can be said to be a trusted source of data on the language. The diversity of genres and construction types in these books suggests that there is a bit of almost all instances of language use in these books; thus, making up for the other written materials in the language. *Agbenya la* was also considered mainly because it employs the new

orthography. Consequently, no special attention was given to the content of the translation.

3.6 Techniques Employed in Discussing Findings

Analysis in the more current corpus linguistics is aided, to a large extent, by the use of softwares such as AntConc, Unitex and Wordsmith. These softwares help in generating regularities and patterns which are important to the current study. However, as already indicated, an institutionally recognised copora on the *E3e* lanaguage is yet to be composed. Data for this study was, therefore, collected from written documents which are in print, unlike the electronic texts required for software analysis. Consequently, discussions in this study were based largely on patterns generated through careful observation of the manually sampled data. Further illustrations were carried out by the use of other examples with similar structures and counter examples where necessary to build, support or refute a point. This was done because the data was collected to help find patterns and substantiate the findings of the research rather than to restrict the work. In cases where the sentences from the data were very long and stretched across one line, only the part of the sentence which is necessary to the point being built was written. Elipses (...) were used to indicate that a part of the sentence had been left out while “modified” was written under sentences whose lexical items were replaced to make the sentences shorter. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the structures within which various replacements were done were maintained without any compromise. These changes were effected mainly to

economise space and to avoid clumsy glossing. However, the full sentences are recorded in the appendices section of the work as Appendix C.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The discussions in this chapter centered mainly on the methods and procedures used in obtaining the data for the research. Areas discussed include research type and research design, data sources and the data collection procedure, the sampling techniques employed and the justification of the data sources considered. The data sources include G.E.S. authorised and published text books as well as a new translation of the *E3e* Bible called *Agbenya la*. The sampling techniques employed were the convenient, judgment/purposive and the systematic sampling techniques.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents various patterns observed from the data collected for the current study. It seeks to determine and explain factors that either come into play or that affect the use of *be* in divers structures in *E3e*. The discussions were centred on the four tenets of Tagmemic grammar which include: role, slot, class and cohesion. These tenets were explored under various topics and subtopics other than their known terms. At the end of the discussion, however, the findings were categorised under (the terms of) the tagmemic tenets. The discussions covered include functions of *be* (role and slot), collocants of *be* as well as elements that occur between *be* and its collocants (cohesion) and the grammatical categories of *be* (class).

4.1.0 Functions of *Be*

As noted in the literature review section (chapter 2) of this work, Clements (1975) indicates that *be* is a prepositional verb in *E3e*. Agyekum (2002) considers *s1*, the Akan equivalent of *be*, as an interpretive marker as it renders the thoughts and utterances of speakers. He agrees, however, that it is subsumed under the general term, "complementizer" used in the literature. Boadi (2005) also studied *s1* as a complementizer, a unit which helps in

achieving recursion and which occurs at a position after the matrix clause, introducing the embedded clause.

4.1.1 Test for *Be* as a Prepositional Verb

A prepositional verb, according to Matthews (2007), is a unit formed from a verb and one or two prepositions which directly follow the verb. He gives an example from English as "care for" (V+Prep). A prepositional verb is distinguished from phrasal verbs in that unlike prepositional verbs, phrasal verbs could be split. The following examples illustrate the difference between prepositional and phrasal verbs which are both made of a verb and a preposition.

26. i) I *care for* some water.
ii) *I *care* some water *for*.
iii) They *pulled down* the bridge.
iv) They *pulled* the bridge *down*.

Splitting up the prepositional verb, "care for" by the object NP, "some water" in example 26. ii) renders the sentence ungrammatical. The same phenomenon in "pull down", however, does not affect the acceptability of the structure or its interpretation. By this, "care for" is a prepositional verb while "pull down" is a phrasal verb. Against this backdrop, one would expect that a prepositional verb should be a term given to a unit which comprises two or more elements. *Be* as a single unit, then, cannot be said to be a prepositional verb. At best, one can only assume that it is an element in the prepositional

verb. The question this raises is, if it is an element in the prepositional verb, which of the elements, then, could it be (the verb or the preposition)?

The *E3e* language largely employs postpositions instead of the prepositions of English. That is, they occur after (post) the object nouns and not before (pre), as in English. As a result, one would expect *E3e* to have postpositional verbs juxtaposing the prepositional verbs of English. At a glance, it appears that such a phenomenon does not exist in the *E3e* language. What is common in the language is a different formulation which may be classified more as a phrasal verb than a postpositional verb. "Come in", which is a prepositional verb in English translates directly into *E3e* as "*va* (come) *(e)me* (in)" which means enter . *Va (e)me,* as a unit, however, means "happen" and not "enter". When it means "enter", the structure is a verb phrase which has a verb and an adjunct postpositional phrase while as "happen", it is a phrasal verb. It is worth mentioning, however, that the structure most likely to be used to communicate "enter" in *E3e* is *ge 2e (e)me*.

- Ge 2e e...me
  fall Pcl 3SG+PostP
  Enter

Unlike the English "come in", there is a pronoun (*e* – 3SG) in the *E3e* structure; be it a verb phrase or a phrasal verb. This pronoun is not used necessarily in spoken language probably due to speech economy. That is, even in omitting the 3SG pronoun "*e"* from spoken language, it is an essential part of the deep structure of that sequence. This is illustrated in examples 27 to 29 below.

27. i) Come in. (Surface structure, English)

ii) You, come in. (Deep structure, English)

28. i) Va me. (Surface structure, *E3e*)

Come Prep

Come in/Enter

ii) Wò, va **e**...me (Deep structure, *E3e*)

2SG come 3SG+PostP

You, come in.

29. i) E...va me (Surface Structure)

3SG+come PostP

It has come to pass/ it happened.

ii) E...va **e**...me (Deep Structure)

3SG+come 3SG+PostP

It has come to pass/ it happened.

The deep structure of the English phrase (in example 27. i)) is a clause made of a subject and a predicate (NP+VP). As stipulated by Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan (1999), prepositional verbs are intransitive; therefore, the VP predicate of the English structure (come in) is without an object (– Obj). However, the subject is not the only covert element in the *E3e* surface structure. In the deep structure of the *E3e* version is an obligatory postpositional object "*e*" and a subject, *wò*. This object could be omitted in the surface structure, as seen in example 28 i). This is acceptable to a large extent in spoken language because the object could be implied or deduced in context. With an obligatory object, therefore, the translation of the English prepositional verb, "come in" into *E3e,* could be said to result in a

phrasal verb. But a phrasal verb, like the prepositional verb, is and functions as a unit; thus, this same structure tends to mean something else as a unit (happen). This is illustrated in example 29.

Unlike the object 3SG pronoun "*e*", which may be considered as empty, the antecedent of the 3SG "*e*" which is the subject of the phrasal verb could be deduced in context or determined by previous knowledge. It can also be duplicated at the end of the sentence where the pronoun (which occurs at sentence initial) refers to it cataphorically. In such instances, the antecedent of the subject pronoun is introduced by *be*. Thus we can have, *e$_i$va (e)me be Kofi dzo$_i$* (it happened that Kofi left) where the lower clause, *Kofi dzo* (Kofi left) is the antecedent of the subject 3SG pronoun "*e"* (it).

From the argument raised above, we can conclude that a phrasal verb in *E3e* comprises a verb and a postpositional phrase which has an obligatory object. If a prepositional verb in English could translate into *E3e* as a phrasal verb (which is the prepositional verb + object), then *be*, as an element of a prepositional or phrasal verb could be: a verb, a preposition, a postpositional object or a postposition.

4.1.2 Test for *Be* as a verb

As indicated in the literature review section (chapter 2) of this study, words are assigned grammatical categories based on their semantic, morphological and syntactic characteristics. A verb is a unit that designates an action, sensation or state semantically and inflects primarily for tense and number morphologically (O'grady et al. 2011). Syntactically, they fill the predicate slot in a sentence (Matthews, 2007). *Be* would be analysed as a verb

based on these characteristics in the next paragraphs. It would be tested, first, as a verb in a phrasal verb and secondly, as a main verb by itself (predicate of a sentence).

In a phrasal verb, *be* should occur in a position after the subject and before a postpositional object. That is, it should fill the slot occupied by dash (–) in the frame

NP – NP PostP.

Examples of possible sentences that could be generated by this test frame include

30. Kofi **n4** Ama **dzi**
    Kofi sit Ama PostP
    Kofi sat on Ama
31. E...**lia** ati ma **dzi**
    3SG+climb tree DET PostP
    S/he climbed the.

The phrasal verbs in these examples, based on the test frame, should be *n4 dzi* and *lia dzi* for examples 30 and 31 respectively. Nonetheless, while *n4 dzi* does function as a unit, in that the verb without the postposition would render the sentence incomplete, *lia* alone can suitably be the predicate of the sentence in example 31. That is, example 32 is incomplete; therefore, ungrammatical while example 33 is complete and grammatical.

32. *Kofi **n4** Ama
    Kofi sit Ama
    Kofi sat Ama

33. E...**lia** ati ma

3SG+climb tree DET

He climbed that tree

Though the two forms are generated by the same test frame, one of the phrasal verbs could do without the postposition. This is probably as a result of speech economy and because the verb already entails an upward movement and is unambiguous without the postposition. The postposition, *dzi*, indicates the top of something, an idea which is somehow present in the verb. *N4* on the other hand is ambiguous out of context. It could be the past tense of *le* (to be at) and the base form of the verb, "to sit", as used in the examples above. In its use as a locative (past tense of *le*), it communicates being at a particular place if what follows it is a spatio-temporal item (Torgah, 2012). That is, if the NP object in example 31 is (– animate, +locative), the sentence would have been complete and grammatical. In the event of having a –locative nominal as its object, Torgah avers that it must be provided with a spatio-temporal site. This site is created for such objects mostly by the use of postpositions in the language. Likewise, as a verb depicting an action of sitting, *n4* definitely requires a supporting unit to be stable. If it is followed by an animate object, it would still require a locative (mostly a postposition) to be stable since the subject would have to sit somewhere (Torgah's spatio-temporal site).

Having addressed some of the factors affecting examples 30 and 31 as derived from the test frame generated for phrasal verbs in *E3e* (characteristics of the individual verbs and their ability to function as a unit with the postpositions), *be* is inserted into the empty slot in the test frame against four

basic postpositions (*dzi* – "on", *me* – "in/inside", *xa* – "beside" and *g4me* – "under") to test for its function as a phrasal verb.

34. Kofi be ati ma dzi
    Kofi X tree DET PostP
    Kofi ..... on the tree
35. Kojo be x4 la me
    Kojo X room DET in
    Kojo..... in the room
36. E...be Ama xa
    3SG+X Ama beside
    S/he..... beside Ama
37. E...be kpl4 la g4me
    3SG+X table DET under
    S/he ..... under the table

All the sentences above (examples 34 to 37) are grammatical. To any native speaker, these sentences would be considered as answers to a question demanding the whereabouts or location of something which somebody had indicated earlier. The sentences, then, are more of a repetition of what has been said earlier or precontructued. Thus, *be* does not form a phrasal verb with any of the postpositions in the sentences above. There are no such units as *be dzi, be me, be xa or be g4me* in *E3e.* In the verb position of the test frame under consideration and in the examples generated, *be* could be interpreted as "said". Thus, one can conclude that *be* is a verb, as evident from examples 34 to 37. As indicated by Clements (1975), *be* is synonymous with the verb, *gbl4* (to say) in *E3e.* It is assigned to the grammatical category of verbs; yet, it

never occurs as a main verb due to a lexical restriction limiting it to the function of a preposition (Clements, 1975). This claim that *be* functions as a preposition would be examined under the subtopic, *Be as an adposition*. However, *be* functioning as a verb which is synonymous with *gbl4* or which appears to be the short form of the collocation, *gbl4 be* in examples 34 to 37 can be said to be a result of what may be called "verb deletion" in *E3e* complementation along the notion of "that-deletion" in English complementation.

Still using the criteria for classifying word classes due to O'grady et al. (2011), *be* as a verb should designate an action, sensation or state. It should also inflect primarily for tense and number and fill the predicate slot in a sentence. The following sentences from the data have *be* in the predicate slot.

38. Agbledela la **be** ye...a...ho te la
Farmer DET X log+MOD+uproot yam DET
i. *The farmer wants to harvest the yam*
ii. *The farmer says he would harvest the yam*
(Primary 1:14)

39. Ho neni... e nè...**be** ye...a...5le?
Cost how–much+FOC 2SG+X log+MOD+buy
i. *How much do you **want** to buy*
ii. *How much did you **say** you **want** to buy*
iii. *How much **did** you **say** you would buy*
(Primary 1:45)

It was established in the literature review section of this study that *be* could function as a main verb in a sentence when the true main verb of the sentence has been deleted from the surface structure. It was noted that there ought to be some other verb functioning as the main verb of the sentence in the deep structure. These verbs are mostly verbs depicting "saying" or "intention". The commonest verbs usually deleted and replaced by *be* are *gbl4* (to say) and *di* (to want). It was mentioned that Clements (1975) believes that if the subject of the sentence is animate, the true main verb in the deep structure is *gbl4* (to say) while inanimate subjects would have the verb *di* (to say) being replaced by *be* in the surface structure. This assertion was, however, proven otherwise since both animate and inanimate subjects could take both verbs in various contexts and still make grammatical and acceptable sentences.

Be in examples 38 and 39 justifies this assertion as it does invoke the sense of saying and intention. Consequently, there are more than single translations of the examples into English. The particular translation at play in both sentences would be determined in context per the hearer's knowledge of an earlier declaration or act, a notion termed as preconstruction by Culioli (1982). Though both sentences are apparently ambiguous out of context, it appears that example 38 is less problematic as compared to example 39; that is, if the phenomenon of verb deletion should be considered as a problem since it has resulted in the ambiguity of the sentences in examples 38 and 39. While example 38 could mean two things (represented by the two English translations), example 39 could mean three different things (shown by the three translations) in English.

Example 38 could evoke both senses of saying and intention in one sentence though there is only one occurrence of *be* as a verb in the surface structure. The translation in Example 39. ii) shows such a phenomenon while i) and iii) represent the sense of "intention" and "saying" respectively. If the verb is *di* (to want), it could be in the present tense since the intention of buying has not ended. As *gbl4* (to say), however, whatever the "*be"* reports has been said already (preconstructed); hence, its translation into English in the past tense. Verbs in *E3e* do not overtly mark the past tense because the bare form of the verbs reports the past (Rongier, 1975 cited in Torgah, 2012). As a result of this phenomenon, *be*, as a verb, does not need to inflect with any affix or co-occur with any unit to mark the past tense. *Be* is, therefore, translated into English in the past tense in example 39. ii) and iii) based on speakers' intuition and knowledge that whatever *be* is to report has been preconstructed.

The translation in 39.ii) is also possible because it is a common practice among the *E3es* and in other Ghanaian communities for a buyer to initiate the buyer – seller conversation with an incomplete statement which would require the seller to ask a follow up question before the exchange of goods and payment. Below is a hypothetical selling and buying experience which is typical in the *E3e* community as well as elsewhere in Ghana.

Buyer: M...a...5le nu.
1SG+MOD+buy thing

"I'll buy something."

Seller: Nu ka

Thing what

"*What?"*

Buyer: Abolo (or) m...a...5le abolo

Bread / 1Sg+MOD+buy bread

"*Bread* or *I'll buy bread"*

Seller: Nene (or) Ho neni...e nè...be ye...a...5le

How-much / Cost how-much+FOC 2SG+X LOG+MOD+buy

How much?OR How much do you want to buy?

Buyer : 2000.

This conversation could end here for the actual exchange of the good and payment to take place. In this case, since there has not been any earlier mention of the amount of bread the buyer intends to buy, *be* would be translated as "want" which suggests (based on the earlier assumption that *be* as a verb replaces either *gbl4* or *di* in the surface structure) that *di* exists in the deep structure of that question. However, there could also be some distraction to the seller which would prevent him/her from hearing the buyer's voice or which can make him/her lose track of the just ended conversation. It is also possible for the seller to forget what the buyer had said. In such a case, the buyer might seek clarification or ask further questions in this buying process. These questions might be any of the following

a) Nè...**be** (ho) nen(e/i)?

2SG+X cost how-much

*How much did you **say**?*

b) Ho neni...e nè...**be** ye...a...5le?

Cost how-much+FOC 2SG+X LOG+MOD+buy

*How much did you **say** you would buy?*

c) ? Ho neni...e nè...**be** ye...**be** ye...a...5le?

Cost how-much+FOC 2SG+X LOG+X LOG+MOD+buy

*How much did you **say** you **want** to buy?*

As can be seen from these sentences, one would expect that since the buyer had said something earlier which the seller needs to be reminded of, the sense evoked by *be* is "to say". In expressing the two senses, then, *be* had to be used twice in sentence c); each representing one sense of the use of *be* as a verb. This structure is, however, marked with a question mark (?) because it is not likely to be used often in the *E3e* language. In communicating the idea of "*how much did you say you want to buy?*", only the first verb *gbl4* is likely to be deleted in everyday spoken *E3e*. It is also possible to use the structure in b) to communicate that idea as well.

In addition to filling the predicate slot, as seen in examples 38 and 39, *be* as a verb should also undergo some morphological changes via inflections. Though *E3e* verbs do not inflect for number or the past tense, they inflect for aspect. They can place an action in the future by inflecting with {*-a/le ... ge*}, the present continuous with {*le ... -m*} and the habitual with {*-na/-a*} where the elipses indicates where the verb is inserted. Most, if not all, the verbs of the language should be able to co-occur or inflect with these morphemes. As a test for *be* being a verb, therefore, it is attached to the morphemes the verbs it replaces can take. This is to ascertain whether *be* would indicate the various aspects of such verbs under such inflections as it did for the present and past tenses.

40. i) Ama **a**...gbl4 be m...a...va. (future)
Ama MOD+say X 1SG+MOD+come

Ama would say (that) I should come.

ii) *Ama **a**...be m...a...va

Ama MOD+X 1SG+MOD+come

41. i) E...di...**na** 6e siaa 6i be ye t4 ko n...a...nyo
3SG+want+MOD always X LOG POS only 3SG+MOD+good
He always seeks his own good.
ii) *E...be...**na** 6e siaa 6i ye t4 ko n...a...nyo (habitual)
3SG+X+MOD always LOG POS only 3SG+MOD+good

It is evident from these examples that *be* cannot inflect for tense/aspect like other verbs. Though it can occupy the slot of these two verbs (*gbl4*, "say" and *di*, "want") and assume their meanings in sentences, *be* cannot take up the inflections of these verbs to show tense/aspect. However, if the adverb (*6e siaa 6i*) in example 41.ii) is positioned at word final, the sentence would be grammatical and *be* would translate into the past tense of "to say". This is because there is a synonym of *be, "bena",* which looks like *be* + {*-na*} in the language. The {*na*} in *bena*, however, does not mark or indicate the habitualness of the action expressed by *be* as a verb in such cases. Instead, it forms an integral part of the base form of the word. This *na* can be considered as an empty morph since it has no meaning and by extension, adds no information to the interpretation of the word (Thakur, 1997). The sentences in examples 42 and 43 below are, thus, equal syntactically and semantically.

42. E...nye nye didi **be** mi...a...yi `g4.
3SG+is POS wish X 3SG+MOD+go front
It is my wish that you progress.
43. E...nye nye didi **bena** mi...a...yi `g4.
3SG+is POS wish X 3SG+MOD+go front
It is my wish that you progress.

In conclusion, *be* as an idle word does not designate any action, state or sensation but can, in context, express the action of saying or intending. It can fill the predicate slot of a sentence in the absence of the verb with which it collocates in the deep structure and consequently, assume the function of that verb. However, it can only replace the verb in the present and past tenses since these tenses have a zero morph in the language. In showing aspect, which requires an overt morpheme, *be* does not conveniently replace these verbs. Replacing the verbs with *be* in such instances renders the structure ungrammatical and meaningless. *Be,* then, can be classified as a pro-verb (hyphenated to differentiate from figurative language use – proverb) of a verb like a pronoun of a noun. Just as there are slight differences in the use of pronouns and nouns, for instance in the use of determiners where pronouns cannot take determiners like other nouns, there are slight differences in the use of *be* as a pro-verb in comparison with other verbs as well. While other verbs can mark aspect, *be* as a pro-verb cannot.

4.1.3 Test for *Be* as an object (Noun)

In advancing the argument of *be* being a phrasal verb or a unit within the phrasal verb, *be* would have to be tested as a postpositional object (which is a noun) as well. A noun, according to Crystal (2008), is an item which names a person, a place or a thing and which displays certain types of inflection (for example, case or number), has a specific distribution (as they follow prepositions) and perform specific syntactic functions (for example, subject or object). Though, generally, nouns in *E3e* do not inflect for case, the possessive marker *5e* occurs between two nouns to show possession; the former being the possessor and the latter, the possessed.

As an item that names an entity, *be* cannot be said to be a noun since it does not name anything. Using the genitive (not achieved by inflection though) as a test for nouns, where both the possessor and the possessed are nouns, *be* can neither be a possessor of an item or a possessed item. That is, *be* does not occur in a position that it either before or after the possessive marker in *E3e*. The following structures are, therefore, impossible and ungrammatical in the *E3e* language.

44. ***Be** 5e awu
    X POS dress
    Be's dress
45. *Esi 5e **be**
    Esi POS X
    Esi's be

Apart from the naming and inflection requirements, *be*, as a noun, should also be able to function as a subject or an object in various structures. It could be an object to a verb or an adposition. These, however, are also not possible in *E3e. Be* can neither be a subject nor an object, be it a direct or indirect object of a predicate or an object of a preposition or postposition.

In sum, *be* does not name anything in *E3e*. It cannot take the possessive marker and can neither function as a subject nor an object in any sentence in *E3e*. This implies that *be* is not a noun in *E3e* and by projection, cannot be an adpositional object in any phrasal verb in the language.

4.1.4 Test for *Be* as an Adposition (Preposition/Postposition)

The term, "adposition", was adopted in later modifications to the grammatical categories established in structural grammar as an umbrella term for prepositions and postpositions. A preposition, according to Jackson (2007), is a word used to connect a noun or noun phrase to other elements in a sentence. It occurs before the noun (preposition) in some languages and after the noun (postposition) in other languages. Prepositions/Postpositions often express spatial relations. *Be,* in all instances of use as observed from the data, does not reflect or express any spatial relations nor form a unit with nouns. On this premise, therefore, *be* cannot be assigned to the grammatical category of adpositions (prepositions and postpositions).

4.1.5 Test for *Be* as a complementizer

A complementizer, as already indicated in the literature review (chapter two), is a word which introduces an embedded clause in a sentence. According to Ouhalla (1994), some verbs take as complements sentences which are introduced by complementizers. Biber et al. (1999) define complementizers as functional elements that transform an independent clause/sentence into an argument of a predicate. The complement clause, thus, is seen as a nominal clause because it typically occupies a noun phrase slot and functions as a subject or an object. According to Sportiche et al. (2012), what follows a complementizer should be a tensed phrase (TP). In English, complementation is achieved by the use of infinitive clauses, that – clauses and gerund clauses (Biber et al., 1999).

In this discussion, more attention is given to *be* as a complementizer instead of establishing the types of complementation in *E3e*. Per the

definitions of the complementizer given above, *be* as a complementizer is expected to occur between two clauses, the matrix and the lower clauses; where the lower clause is a tensed phrase. It is observed from the data that *be* does occur between what can be said to be two parts of a sentence. However, not all the lower clauses introduced by *be* in the data are tensed phrases. This could be because in the same position, *be* is something else other than a complementizer in some structures. It could also be that the requirement of introducing a tensed phrase does not apply to *E3e*. An example is the sentence,

46. Wo...y4...a Dzo2agbe vidzidzi...wo **be K4dzo kple Adzo.**
3PL+call+MOD Monday born+PL X K4dzo kple Adzo
They call/name people born on Monday, Kodjo and Adjo.
(Primary 1:47)

Kodjo and Adjo is just a noun phrase with no verbal element. It can, therefore, not be conjugated in any way. Likewise, not all the matrix clauses in the data are independent clauses. They gain stability as a result of the insertion of the CP which is an argument of the matrix verb. This is mainly when the CP fills a core argument slot for the verb. For instance,

47. **Amedzro la gbl4** be: "Me...do gbe na mi".
Visitor DET say X 1SG+say languge Prep 2PL
The visitor said: "I greet you".
(Primary 2:5 *modified*)

i) *Amedzro la gbl4 (matrix clause)
The visitor said

ii) Medo gbe na mi (lower clause)
I greet you.

The matrix clause of example 47 cannot stand alone because it is a dependent clause. The verb requires, as core arguments, a subject and a complement. However, only the subject slot is filled in the matrix clause, which makes the structure unstable. In the full sentence, the lower clause with *be* functions as the complement of the sentence. With both argument slots filled, the sentence gains stability.

In other instances, both the matrix clause and the lower clause could be independent. This is seen in examples 48 and 49 below:

48. **Ama 2o e...`u** be: "~d4, nu ka ma...w4 na wò?"
Ama arrange 3SG+Postp X afternoon thing DET 1SG+do Prep 2SG
Ama replied that, "Good afternoon, what may I do for you?"
(Primary 2:5)

i) Ama 2o **e**`u (matrix)
Ama replied it.

ii) ~d4, nu ka maw4 na wò (lower)
Good afternoon, what may I do for you?

Here, the matrix verb *2o `u* (reply) is a transitive verb and so requires as core arguments, both subject and object elements. It is still stable even without the lower clause which is believed to fill the object slot because it could be a ditransitive verb as evident in this example. The lower clause, therefore, fills only one argument slot of this verb as a ditransitive. That slot could be taken as that of an optional argument since the verb could be used easily as a monotransitive verb as well. The core argument slot which should be filled by what can be considered the direct object is thus filled in the matrix clause by the 3SG pronoun, "*e*". This pronoun refers to the question to which

the lower clause is an answer. Having the core argument slots, subject and direct object, filled, the matrix clause thus obtains stability and independency even without the lower clause.

49. **@evi...a...wo kat7 do 6li** be: "E8 mama, to gli na mi".
Child+DET+PL all say noise X yes grandma say folktale Prep 2PL
All the children shouted that: "Yes grandma, tell us a folktale".
(Primary 2:4)

i) @eviawo kat7 do 6li (matrix clause)
All the children shouted

ii) E8, mama to gli na mi (lower clause)
Yes grandma tell us a folktale

Unlike the matrix verb of example 47 and 48, that of example 49, *do 6li* (to shout) is intransitive. It is a compound verb or an ICV with *6li* (noise) being the inherent complement of the verb *do* (to say/plant). Together they form one unit which functions as the predicate of the sentence. This verbal unit, therefore, requires only one other core argument which is the subject. With the subject slot filled by *2eviawo* (the children), the clause is complete and stable as an independent clause. Thus, *do 6li* (to shout) takes as a complement, the CP introduced by *be*.

It is worth noting, however, that in this same example, there could be a covert element of "saying". Thus, the verb *gbl4* (to say) could easily be inserted into the surface structure of example 49 without any effect on the meaning of the sentence. It could be argued that the verb "to say" is present in the deep structure of the sentence in example 49 and, as has already been mentioned, this verb could have been deleted and replaced by its collocant *be*,

which adopts its verbal function. In that case, *be* as a second verb in the matrix clause is what takes the lower clause as a complement. The lower clause, thus, is the substance of the verb "to say"; that is, it communicates what exactly was said. The lower clause, therefore, functions as a complement, helping to make the idea expressed by the verb "to say" complete by stating what was said. Per this argument, *be* has a dual function of a predicate and the complementizer which introduces the lower clause in the CP since *be* itself has to be part of the CP as well. Similarly, this verb (to say) could be inserted into the English equivalent of the sentence to have *the children shouted saying; "yes grandma, tell us a folktale".* But the verb cannot get deleted in the English equivalent. This, notwithstanding, if there was no second verb in the matrix clause, then *do 6li* (to shout), itself, took as a complement, the CP.

However, there could indeed be verb sequences in the matrix clause of sentences with *be* as a complementizer. Mostly, the verbs in the sequence can all collocate with *be* but only the last one does overtly co-occur with *be*. Consequently, even if there are two or more possible verb collocants of *be* in a serial verb construction in a matrix clause, there would not be any *be* in that clause. This is because only one *be* would be maintained and it would be a link between the matrix clause and the lower clause. For example,

50. Wo...**5u du yi** be yewo...a...2a...kp4...e
3PL+- town go X LOG+MOD+see+3SG
They hurried to go and see him.

51.Wo...**yi** e...**dzi 2e gbe57** na wo be yewo...a...n4 wo dome...
3PL+go 3SG+Prep remove – Prep 3PL X LOG+MOD+stay 3PL mist

They went head and announced to them that they would be in their mist...

In these examples, all the verbs in the matrix clause: *5u du* (run) and *yi (go)* in example 50 and *yi dzi* (go on/continue) and *2e gbe57* (announce) in example 51, can collocate with *be* but only one occurrence of *be* is seen in each of the sentences. It occurs in a position between the two clauses of the sentence. The upper clause has a subject and the predicate (which in this case comprises a serial verb construction) and the lower clause, the TP (tensed phrase) which is a sentence.

4.2 Complementation vs. Collocation

Agyekum (2002) studied *s1* as an interpretive in Akan. He indicated that *s1* in this regard is different from the non-interpretive use which may include *s1* as a complementizer (studied by Boadi, 2005). Though he added that even as an interpretive, it is subsumed under the general term "complementizer" in the literature, it raises questions about whether the interpretive *s1* is different from the complementizer *s1*. It is expected that if there are, indeed, any differences, they probably are very minute and subtle. This is especially because they are all categorised under the general term, "complementizer" and do occur in the same position; that is, after the matrix clause and before the lower clause.

It was observed from the data for the study that indeed there seem to be slight differences in the use of *be* at the position which is after the matrix clause and introducing the lower clause; a position which is to be occupied by a complementizer. *Be,* in this study, has been seen all along as a collocant to

verbs. But the slight differences observed in its function in different structures have led to the need to ascertain if indeed the verb and *be* are collocants in all instances of their occurrence within a structure. This was also partly because of Agyekum's (ibid) belief that there is an interpretive use of *s1* (the Akan equivalent of *be*) which is different from the non-interpretive use of which complementation is a part. It is, therefore, necessary to define collocation since complementation has already been defined.

Collocation is a term used in lexicology to mark a relation and a habitual co-occurrence of individual lexical items (Matthews, 2007; Crystal, 2008). By this definition, the lexical items in question are not necessarily seen together always but have a considerable high rate of occurring together. According to Crystal (ibid), the bond between some words is greater than that of other words and this makes collocations linguistically predictable to a greater or lesser extent.

From examples 46 to 49 above, we come across variations in structures within which *be* occurs. There are those whose matrix clauses are independent clauses and those which have dependent clauses and so need the lower clause to gain stability. It can be assumed of those with independent matrix clauses that their matrix verbs do not form as much close ties or bonds with *be* as the verbs in the dependent matrix clauses. For instance, while "*gbl4 be"* in example 47 was translated into English simply as "say" yet could be translated as "say that" (where the *be* would be equivalent to "that") as well, "*y4 be",* of example 46 could only be translated as "call", which is the same as the meaning of the verb itself when used alone. The difference here is that the translation of *gbl4 be* into a single verb "say" in English is a result of that-

deletion which is accepted in English complementation while the *be* in "*y4 be"* seems not to have an equivalent in English at all. This is explained further with the two sentences below which have the same verb within the same matrix clause structure:

52. Wo...y4...m be fiafi
    3PL+call+1SG X thief
    They called me a thief.

53. Wo...y4...m be m...a...va
    3PL+call+1SG X 1SG+MOD+come
    They called me to come.

The verb, *y4* (call), as used in these two examples, communicates different ideas. In replacing them with synonyms, *name* can be used in example 52 while *beckon* can be used in example 53. Though structurally there seems to be the same matrix clause in both sentences, the matrix clause of example 52 is dependent while that of example 53 is independent. If the sentence was made of only the matrix clause, the idea in example 52 would not be expressed. Thus, the verb in example 52 needs the lower clause to gain stability than that of example 53. What this suggests is that the verb in example 52 has a closer tie with *be* than the verb in example 53. The lower clause in example 52, then, is a complement (obligatory) to the verb while that of example 53 is an adjunct (optional). Boadi (2005) studied *s1* – clauses as adjuncts in Akan. It can be concluded that the *be* in example 52 is a collocant to the verb and was the concern of Agyekum's (2002) study while that of example 53 is a complementizer and the object of study in Boadi's (2005) *s1* – clauses as adjuncts. Despite this slight difference, all the matrix verbs of

structures in which *be* occurs are seen and named as collocants of *be* in this study.

As already noted, Biber et al. (1999) aver that complementation in English is achieved by the use of *that* – clauses, infinitive clauses and gerund clauses. It can be said, based on the translation of *be* into English as "that" in earlier examples and the translation of example 51, that *be – clauses,* as CPs in *E3e,* are equivalent to both the *that – clause* and *infinitive clause* CPs of English.

4.3.0 Collocants of *Be*

Be collocates with various items in the *E3e* language. Some of these include the conjunctions, *ale* and *togb4;* where the collocation, *ale + be* is equivalent to the English *thus* and *togb4 + be*, the English *even though*. *Be* collocates with the conditional marker, *nenye* as well (*nenye + be*) to mean "if" in English. Nonetheless, the most productive collocation involving *be* in the *E3e* language is that which is between *be* and verbs. It is worth noting that even *togb4*, which is a conjunction, seems to be a compound of a verb and an adposition; *to* (to pass) and *gb4* (side) respectively. The conditional marker, *nenye,* also appears to have an inherent verb, *nye* (to be) in its structure. Thus, even when *be* does not collocate with an overt verb, it is likely that there is an inherent verb in the composition of the item it collocates with. However, the focus of this study is the overt verb collocants of *be*.

4.3.1 Verb Collocants of *Be*

As established earlier in this discussion, *be* forms closer ties with some matrix verbs than others. It would be expected, then, that only the verbs which

forms such bonds with *be* should be referred to as its collocants. But for the purpose of this discussion, as already mentioned, all the matrix verbs which take lower clauses introduced by *be* either as (extraposed) subjects, objects, complements or adjuncts are referred to as verb/verbal collocants of *be*. The terms, "collocate"/"collocation" and "co-occur"/"co-occurrence" are also used interchangeably in this write-up. *Be* co-occurs with several verbs in the language and about a hundred and forty (140) of such verbs were found in the data for the current study (Appendix B). Structurally, they range from single word verbs to many-word verbs.

Examples of the single word verbal collacants of *be* include *bia* (to ask), *bu* (to think), *di* (to want), *2o* (to plan), *fia* (to show), *gbe* (to disagree), *gbl4* (to say), *hi7* (to need), *kp4* (to see), *le* (to be), *l-* (to agree) *se* (to hear) *sr-* (to learn), *w4* (to make), *zu* (to become) among others.

A unique occurrence of a verbal collocation with *be* is found in the expression *aklama 2i* which collocates with *be* in the example,

54. Aklama 2i na wò be nè...le agbe.
luck - for 2SG X 2SG+ are life
You are lucky to be alive.
(Primary 2:20)

Here, the subject *aklama* (a noun) and *2i* (the verb) are considered as collocants. This is because without the noun, the verb is ambiguous. It can mean "to sound", "to descend" or "to be ripe". In this context, however, neither of the meanings communicated by the verb itself is in play. Luck,

apparently, is not something that can make a sound, neither is it something positioned somewhere above ground level so that it could descend nor a fruit that can ripen. The meaning derived from the verb in this context, therefore, depends to a large extent on the elements in the context in which it occurs. The elements in its environment are the subject, *aklama* and object, *wò* (2nd person singular pronoun). Out of these, the element that gives the verb a meaning in this sentence is the subject, *aklama*. Consequently, in communicating the idea of being lucky, the subject noun and the verb are used together in a predictable occurrence; thus, considered collocants which in turn collocate with *be*.

In addition to the single word verbs and other "collocants" which collocate with *be*, *be* could also collocate with verbal units which comprise more than a word. These units have been given several names to reflect their various composition types in the literature. Some of these names include prepositional verbs, verbal prepositions, phrasal verbs, inherent complement verbs and compound verbs. In this write-up, the term "compound verb" would be used widely to refer to any group of words that function as a verbal unit within a sentence or as the predicate of a sentence. Below is a synopsis of the compound verbs which collocate with *be* with supporting examples from the data and further illustrations where necessary.

The compound verbs compiled from the data include those which comprise a verb and a verb (V+V). An example is ***x4*** (take) ***se*** (hear) which means "to believe". The verb "to believe" can also be rendered as *x4* ***dzi*** *se* which has a particle between the verbs. This form can also take *be* in the complementizer slot. Though these two structures are very similar, the V+V form entails, to a large extent, believing the possibility of the

occurrence/happening of something while the V+Pcl+V form entails believing in something or someone. That is, the V+V form can be equated to the English "believe" while the V+Pcl+V form can be mapped to the English "believe in". In forming nouns from these two forms, the V+V form produces the noun, *x4se* (belief) while the V+Pcl+V form forms the noun, *dzix4se* (faith). A more detailed analysis based on some data collected on the use of these two forms would have to be carried out to determine exactly what conditions or determines the choice of one over the other in some contexts. An example of a sentence with the V+V compound verb is

55. Me...**x4**...e **se** be Kofi a...va egbe.
1SG+take+3SG hear X Kofi MOD+come today
I believe (that) Kofi would come today.

In the English version of this example, the complementizer "that" is optional. Its use or otherwise does not affect the grammaticality or acceptability of the sentence in anyway. As already mentioned in the literature review section (chapter two) of the work as well as earlier in this discussion, this is a result of the phenomenon of "that-deletion" in English complementation. However, the only unit in the *E3e* version that could translate into "that" and which is a complementizer too by virtue of its position and function in this sentence is *be*. Albeit, unlike the English "that", *be* is obligatory in such constructions in *E3e*. This, notwithstanding, if the two clauses on both sides of *be* are used as two separate sentences, *be* would no longer be necessary. The two clauses as separate sentences would be

56. a) Me...x4...e se.
1SG+take+3SG hear

I believe it

b) Kofi a...va egbe.

Kofi Mod+come today

Kofi would come today

The first change observed from treating the clauses of the sentence in example 55 as separate sentences in example 56. a) and b) is the loss of the complementizer which was a bridge between the two clauses of the original sentence in both *E3e* and English. More interesting, however, is the second change which involves the introduction of a third person singular (3Sg) pronoun, "it" in the English version of example 56. a). Without the pronoun, the sentence seems quite unstable since the verb "believe" is transitive and therefore requires an object. In the English version of the complex sentence (of example 55), the embedded clause, with or without the complementizer, "that", functions as the object of the verb. Taking the embedded clause away, therefore, leaves the verb without an object. This makes the sentence unstable; hence, the introduction of the 3SG pronoun as an object.

c) I believe <u>(that) Kofi would come today</u>

S V O

One would observe, however, that in the *E3e* version, the pronoun was present even in the compound sentence. This raises the question of whether there are two objects in the *E3e* version of the compound (original) sentence. The answer could be "yes" and "no"; yes, because based on the above argument, there appears to be two objects in the complex sentence in *E3e* and no, because the two refer (cataphorically) to the same thing. The antecedent of the 3SG pronoun "*e*" (which is inserted within the compound verb) is the

embedded clause at the end of the sentence. This phenomenon is explored further in the latter parts of this discussion (p.112).

The third type of compound verbs which collocate with *be* as seen in the data is that which is formed with a verb and an object noun (V+N). In such compounds, the object forms an intrinsic part of the compound verb and its absence or deletion leads to some kind of vagueness. This type of compounds is what Essegbey (2002) refers to as inherent complement verbs (ICVs) indicating the obligatory inclusion of the object. Like the subject noun and verb (N+V) compound, the object forms the semantic core of this compound verb as its deletion mostly renders the verb vague and its replacement leads to a change in the meaning of the verb. An example is ***do*** (say) ***6li*** (noise) which means "to shout" in English. This is illustrated with the example below:

57. @evi a2e **do 6li** be me...nya nu si mí...a...na
Child Det say noise X 1SG+know thing SPEC 1PL+MOD+give
ny4nufia la
queen Det
A child shouted that: "I know what we would give to the queen".
(Primary 1:97 *modified*)

In this compound, the object *6li* (noise) is what gives the verb the meaning derived in this context. *Do* alone may mean "say" or "plant" but when it takes a compulsory or inherent object complement, the object gives it particular meanings in particular contexts. This meaning can be totally different from the sum of the meanings of the individual words. For example, *do* (say) + *gbe* (language) "say language" should have been more of "to speak" than its actual meaning "to greet". By adding an additional particle *2a*

(off) to this compound verb (making *do+gbe+2a*), the meaning changes again to "to pray". With a totally different object, for instance *dzi* (heart) in *do dzi* (take heart), *"do"* no longer communicates any idea of saying. That is to say, whatever occurs with the verb in the compound helps in giving the compound a meaning.

Another form of the compound verb collocants of *be* comprises a verb and a postposition (V+PostP). An example is ***x4*** (take) ***dzi*** (on) which means "to reply" in the sentence,

58. Amedzro la **x4** e...**dzi** be: "me...yi...na k45e a2e me"
tranger Det take 3SG+on X 1SG+go+MOD village Det Post.P
The stranger replied that: "I am going to a certain village".
(Primary 2:5)

Once again, there is a pronoun (3SG) present in the gloss but absent in the translation. Unlike example 56 where the pronoun was attached to the first verb, it is attached to the postposition in this case. The antecedent of the pronoun, here, unlike that of example 56 is also not present in this sentence (making the reference exophoric). The question being answered by this sentence is the antecedent of the pronoun. As an object to a verb, the pronoun is attached to the verb. In this case, however, the object to the verb appears to be the whole postpositional phrase *edzi* which is made up of the postposition *dzi* and an associative marker "*e"*.

There are also compound verb collocants of *be* which have more than two composing elements. An example is *2o* (arrange) *`ku* (eye) *dzi* (on) which means "remember" and which is seen in the sentence,

59. Mi...**2o** **`ku** e...**dzi** be asr7...e lé mi

2PL+arrange eye 3SG+on X fever+FOC catch 2PL

Remember that it is fever you are suffering from.

(Primary 2:61)

In this example, the compound is made up of a verb (*2o*), a noun *(`ku*) and a post position (*dzi*). A third person singular pronoun is attached to the post position in this example as well. This compound can be classified as V+N+PostP where the verb has an object noun and an adjunct postposition.

A different type of this V+N+PostP compound verb (above) is that which has an inserted particle before the postposition (V+N+Pcl+PostP). This compound, therefore, has a verb, a noun, a particle and a postposition. An example is ***da*** (to place – V) ***`k4*** (name – N) ***2e*** (- – particle) *dzi* (on – postposition) which means "to name" in the sentence,

60. Blu...a...wo **da** **`k4** **2e** e...**dzi** be Anansesem.

Akan+Det+PL place name Pcl 3SG+on X Anansesem

The Akans call it "Anansesem".

(Primary 4:78)

The 3SG pronoun is marked overtly in the English version of this example unlike others that have been seen so far. The question that arises from this is whether this object 3SG pronoun in the matrix clause forms a part of the compound matrix verbs since it seems consistent in the compound verb structures. This question would be addressed later in this discussion under the topic: *The null "e" and extraposition in E3e* (p.111).

An interesting formulation aside the seven above is one which involves the word under study (*be*) itself in the compound, *`l4 be* "to forget". It is

difficult to classify this compound since it is unclear which grammatical category to assign *be.* This compound, as used in example 61 below, has the same structure as most of the verb collocants of *be.* Unlike the rest, the verb here forms a unit with *be* and performs its verbal functions together with it.

61. Wo...**`l4** nuku la **be** vase2e esime wò...tsi
3Pl+ – seed DET – until when LOG+grow
They forgot the seed until it grew.
(Primary 2:96)

The verb and *be*, in this sentence, have been represented by a dash (–) in the glossing because they have no meaning as individual words. The verb alone, as a word, could mean "to write" and "to weed", none of which seems applicable in this context. However, like any other compound verb, when it is used together with *be* as a unit, it makes a distinct meaning. It evokes a sense of forgetting something. In the same structure (N+V+NP+X; where N is the subject; V, the predicate; NP, an object and X, the *be*), however, another verb could have its meaning intact, independent of *be.* This can be seen in the examples below:

62. Wo...**gbl4** nya sia be fiafit4...e nè...nye
3PL+say matter DET X thief+FOC 2SG+to-be
They said it that you are a thief.

63. Wo...**y4** 2evi ma be fiafi
3PL+call child DET X thief
They called that child a thief.

These sentences, without any attention to the differences in the lower clauses, mark some difference in the function of *be* in the compound, *"`l4 be"* and its use elsewhere. While the verb, *`l4* in *"`l4 be"* makes no meaning independently of *be*, *gbl4* and *y4* in "*gbl4 be"* and "*y4 be"* respectively, have their own meanings independently of *be*. This implies that they do not form a unit with *be* like *`l4*. The *be* of *`l4* ***be*** can also conveniently end a sentence while that of *gbl4 be* or *y4 be* cannot. This is illustrated in examples 64 to 66 below. While example 64 makes a complete thought, examples 65 and 66 are incomplete with the same structure.

64. Me...`l4...e be.
1SG+ – + 3SG –
I've forgotten it

65. *Me...gbl4...e be.
1SG+say+3SG X
I said it that.

66. *Me...y4...e be.
1SG+call+3SG X
I called him...

Another support for the claim that *be* forms a unit with *`l4* to have *"`l4 be"* (to forget) is the co-occurrence or collcation of *"`l4 be",* as a compound verb, with *be*. That is, the structure in which *"`l4 be"* could be considered as equivalent to *gbl4 be* and *y4 be* is "*`l4 be*$_1$ ***be***$_2$" like the "*x4 dzi be*" of example 58.

The *be*$_2$ (which is in bold), then, would be equivalent to the *be* in *gbl4 be*, *y4 be* and *x4 dzi be* while the *be*$_1$ would be considered as equivalent to *dzi*

in *x4 dzi*. *Be* would, however, be taken as a particle instead of a postposition since it does not express any spatial relations like *dzi* and does not form a single constituent with a noun phrase to form a postpositional phrase as expected of postpositions. Also, as seen in earlier examples, there could be a noun in the same slot occupied by the postposition, *dzi*. It has been established already that a verb+object compound could have the object as a noun or a postpositional phrase. *Be* would be classified as a particle because, according to Jackson (2007), a particle is any short invariable word which has a grammatical function and which cannot easily be attached to any of the well defined grammatical categories.

This adds an eighth compound verb collant of *be* as V+Pcl. A remarkable difference between the N+PostP and the V+Pcl compounds is that while an object is obligatory in the deep structure of the N+PostP compound, it is optional in that of the V+Pcl compound because unlike postpositions, the particle does not necessarily require an object. Consequently, examples 67 and 68 below are both correct.

67. Me...`l4 be
    1SG+ – –
    I forgot/I've forgotten

68. Me...`l4...**e** be
    1SG+ – 3SG –
    I forgot him/her/it or *I've forgotten him/her/it.*

In sum, the compound verb collocants of *be* as observed from the data include:

i.	N+V	v.	V+PostP
ii.	V+V	vi.	V+N+ PostP
iii.	V+Pcl+V	vii.	V+N+Pcl+PostP
iv.	V+N	viii.	V+Pcl

Generally, it has been stated in the literature that verbs that take as complements sentences introduced by a complementizer are usually verbs of saying and believing (Ouhalla, 1994; Agyekum, 2002; Sportiche et al., 2012). These verbs have been recategorised in Biber et al. (1999) as request type verbs, factives, emotives, belief type verbs, advice type verbs and reporting verbs. The verb collocants of *be,* as seen in the data, include the following:

a) request types..... *bia* (to ask)

b) factives..... *kp4 gb4* (to ensure), *sr-* (to learn)

c) emotives..... *ve* (to pain)

d) belief types..... *x4 se* (to believe), *bu* (to think)

e) advice types..... *xl- nu* (to advise), *fia* (to teach)

f) reporting verbs..... *de dzesi* (to notice), ku dr-e (to dream)

g) motion verbs..... *yi* (go), *dze m4* (set off), *va* (come)

h) resutatives ..... *na* (make) *w4* (to make).

There are, however, no strict barriers limiting these verbs to particular categories since some of them function differently in various structures. The request type verb *bia* (to ask), for example could be an advice type verb in a different context.

4.4.0 Elements that occur between *Be* and Its Collocants

Many elements occur between verbs and *be* in various sentences. They include words and phrases. While some of these elements (what would be referred to as "split elements") seem optional within some structures, others are obligatory and their absence renders the sentence incomplete, unstable and ungrammatical. The term "split environment" is also used in this study to refer to the slot between the verb collocants of *be* and the *be* itself. This implies that the split environment is filled by the split elements. The split elements observed from the data include nouns and noun phrases functioning as objects and adverbs and adpositional phrases (prepositional and postpositional phrases) functioning as adverbials.

4.4.1 Nouns/Noun Phrases as Split Elements

Most, if not all, the verb collocants of *be,* seem to be transitive, hence, accept various nouns and noun phrases as their objects. What appears rather common is the insertion of the 3rd person singular pronoun (*e*) within the collocants. As seen earlier, this pronoun sometimes refers to concrete things which may or may not be within the sentence. Its antecedent could also be inferred from other available resources within the discourse event. Yet, at other times, it appears to be empty since it doesn't refer to anything in particular. Below are some instances of the occurrence of nouns and/or noun phrases in the split environment in various structures taken from the data:

69. Sr-...a bia...**e** be: "è...ts4 takuvi...a?"
Spouse+DET ask+3SG X 2SG+take handkerchief+Q
His wife asked him: "have you taken a hankerchief?"

(Primary 1:37)

70. E...va **e**...me be nu siaa nu dze dzi nyuie

3SG+come 3SG+in X thing all thing hit on well

It happened that everything as successful.

71. E...2e **e**...me be nu ma ta ye...va

3SG+remove 3SG+in X thing DET top LOG+come

He explained that he came because of that.

It is evident from these examples that the 3SG pronoun under consideration here (in bold in the examples) can occur between a single word verb and its collocant *be* as well as a compound verb and *be*. In a compound verb made of a verb and a postposition, it occurs between the verb and the postposition and acts as an object to the postposition. The use of this 3SG pronoun in the three examples above appears to be somehow similar. However, its uses in examples 70 and 71 are more similar as it occurs in virtually the same structure. It fills the slot in the frame, V....PostP. Yet, unlike the 3SG pronoun of examples 69 and 71, that of example 70 cannot really be substituted with any noun as should be possible for a pronoun.

In example 69, the 3SG pronoun refers back to another which is a possessive and a specifier to the subject (*sr-a*). This other pronoun is, however, covert and could be replaced with a noun where the determiner (*a*) would be dropped. That is, the subject could be *sr-a,* "his wife"; ***e****sr-a,* "his wife" and *Kwame sr-,* "Kwame's wife". In this case, the split "*e*" can have its antecedent in the same sentence or elsewhere in the discourse event.

Examples 72 – 74 are repetitions of the sentences in examples 69 – 71 but with nouns replacing the pronouns.

72. Kwame$_i$ sr- bia Kwame$_i$ be ...
    Kwame wife ask Kofi X
    Kwame's wife asked him if...
73. E...va – me be ...
    3SG+come – in X
    It happened that...
74. Kofi 2e **nya la** me be ...
    Kofi remove matter DET in X
    Kofi explained (the issue) that...

It can be seen from these changes that though examples 70 and 71 have fairly similar structures, the 3SG split element in both examples are not really equal. That of example 71 was conveniently replaced with *nya la* (the matter) in example 74 while that of example 70 could not be replaced with any noun. The same applies to the subject pronoun of the same example. Replacing the subject pronoun with a noun changes the meaning of the verb from "happen" to "enter"; where the split 3SG pronoun refers to what might be entered. That is, if the subject pronoun in 70 can be replaced, the split pronoun can be replaced too but this depends on the predicate of the sentence. That brings the discussion back to the same issue about the null "*e*" discussed on p.111. In sum, there could be nouns or pronouns in the split environment. The pronouns are mainly the third person singular pronouns which may be referential or empty.

4.4.2 Adverbials as Split Elements

The units that occur between matrix verbs and *be* in various structures and which function as adverbials include adverbs and adpositions. The term, "adpositions" is used here because there are both prepositions and postpositions in this regard.

Adverbs, according to Crystal (2008), constitute a heterogeneous group of items whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of a verb. As units which modify or give added information about the action, state or sensation expressed by the verb in *E3e*, they occur within a close range to the verb. Adverbs in *E3e* are not as mobile in sentences as English adverbs. They occur right after the verb if the verb has no direct object. In the presence of a direct object in a sentence which has *be* in the complementizer slot, the adverb occurs in a position after the object and before *be*. Below are a few examples extracted from the data. The lower clauses are omitted here because they do not affect the adverbs in anyway. The verbs are in bold while the adverbs are underlined.

75. Lovi la **kp4**...e <u>k4t0e</u> be...
Hatchling DET see+3SG Adv X
It was very clear to the hatchling that...
(Primary 2:93)

76. E...**le** <u>vevie</u> be...
3SG+to-be Adv X
It is important that...
(Primary 2:76)

77. E...**di**...na <u>6e siaa 6i</u> be...
3SG+want+MOD Adv X

He always wants to...

(Primary 2:103)

In addition to the adverbs, adpositional phrases also function as adverbials within the matrix clause and split up *be* and its verb collocants. These phrases have as head, adpositions which are mainly prepositions. Two types of PPs were identified in this position in the data. There are those constituted by the head preposition and an object NP and those made of the head preposition with a postpositional phrase (which comprises an object NP and a head postposition) as its complement. In marking a difference between these two types of PPs, the term "circumposition" was adopted for the latter, borrowing the affix, "circum" from morphology. In morphology, an affix which is attached to the front of its stem is termed a "prefix" to show where it occurs in the word. This is similar to "preposition" of syntax which also indicates that the unit occurs before its object. Likewise, the idea of naming an affix which is attached to both ends of the stem, a circumfix is adopted here to account for those prepositions which are made of three units; the preposition, the object NP and the postposition. The circumposition thus comprises both a preposition and a postposition phrase functioning as one unit with a part occuring before the object NP and the other, after the NP.

This notwithstanding, it is worth noting that most postpositions of the *E3e* language seem to derive from nouns. They sometimes, therefore, co occur with possessive pronouns. Out of context, the postpositional phrase seems more like a noun phrase with the head noun being the postposition while the possessive pronoun functions as the specifier or determiner. For instance we can have

my top *me on (on me).*

These possessive pronouns, especially the 1st person possessive pronoun, *nye* (my) can occur before and after the postposition. That is, both *nye dzi* (N+Adp) and *dzinye* (Adp+N) are correct and mean the same thing, "on me", in both written and spoken *E3e*. This defies the assertion that postpositional objects occur before the postposition, a reason for giving it the name "post-" position in the first place. In instances where the possessive pronoun occurs after the postposition, the two units of what, beforehand, was referred to as a circumposition, tend to follow each other directly. They no longer surround the object. Yet, it is on the premise of surrounding the object that the term "circumposition" was adopted. Nonetheless, it is a common belief that to every rule, there is an exception. The use of possessive pronouns as adpositional objects that occur after the adpositions would, therefore, be considered the exception to this phenomenon.

The following examples are the matrix clauses+***be*** of sentences taken from the data with adpositions in the split environment. The preposition of what is referred to as a "circumposition" in this write-up is glossed as PoC (preposition of a circumposition) while the postposition is glossed as PpoC (postposition of a circumposition).

78. Yiyi **2e** **al4...me** le lovi la `u be...

spider remove cheek+Prep PoC hatchling DET PpoC X

Spider mocked the hatchling saying...

(Primary 2:94)

79. Nà...**do gbe 2a** 2e ta...nye be...

2SG-MOD+say language Pcl PoC Ppoc+1SG X

Do pray for me that...

(1 Kings 13:6)

80. Fia Asa **2e gbe57** le Yu2a nyigba blibo la dzi be...

king Asa remove - PoC Judah land entire DET PpoC X

King Asa announced throughout the whole of Judah that...

(1 Kings 15:22)

These are just a few of the many forms in which the circumpositions occur in the split environment. Apart from the *le...`u, 2e...ta* (which is rather 2e ta... in example 79, indicated earlier as an exception to the phenomenon) and *le...dzi* which are seen in the above examples, there are other forms like; *2e...`u, 2e...me, le...me* among others. Apparently, while the postpositions can vary, the prepositions are mainly *le* and *2e*. One main observation is that, unlike the prepositions which seem to derive from verbs (Ansre, 1973), the postpositions, as mentioned earlier, appear to derive from nouns. It is also evident, from the above examples, that the verbs are all compound verbs made of the head verb and its object noun. However, there are similar structures in which the object does not form an integral part of the verb. For instance, in the sentence below, *d4* (send) and its object *amewo* (people) do not form a unit like the *do* (say) and *gbe* (language) of example 79. That is, *d4 amewo* is a verb phrase (VP) while *do gbe* is a phrasal verb.

- Wo...d4 ame...wo 2e gbe...dzi
  3SG+send person+PL – grass+PostP
  They've sent people out there

Apart from these similar structures, there are those in which the adpositional phrase seems to occur in a split environment but is actually an integral part of the predicate of the sentence. The predicate then is a compound verb which has an inherent adpositional phrase (the V+PostP compound of example 58).

In addition to the adverbs and the adpositional phrases which have prepositions as head and postpositional phrases as objects, there are other occurrences of the adpositional phrases as adverbials in a split environment. These phrases are headed by the prepositions, "*na"* and *"kple"*. Though these items do not express spatial relations, they precede noun phrases to form a single constituent structure. This is a characteristic typical of prepositions, as stipulated by Crystal (2008).

4.4.3 "*Na"* in the Split Environment

Na, as a grammatical item in *E3e* and like the other prepositions already mentioned, is considered a grammaticalised unit which derives from a verb. That is, it has gradually lost its verbality and has adopted prepositional functions in the language. When it takes the 3rd person singular pronoun *e* as its object within a structure, there is an assimilation that transforms the /*a*/ in *na* into /*1*/ (that is, *na* + *e* = *n1*).

Na as a split element does not occur alone in the split environment. Like any other preposition, it occurs with an object NP. This object can be considered as a prepositional object as well as the second object of a

ditransitive verb. It has been mentioned in the introductory chapter of this work, specifically, in the statement of the problem, that though *gbl4* "to say/tell" and *tsi* "to say/tell" are synonymous, *gbl4* could be used directly with *be* (as immediate constituents) while *tsi* necessarily requires a prepositional phrase (*na*+NP in a split environment) to be stable and meaningful.

A look at the following examples from the data (the second and third, slightly modified to build the point) brings to bare a perculiar use of *na* as a preposition in the split environment.

81. @evia...wo x4 gbe n1 be: "`di, míe...f-"
Child+PL receive language Prep+3SG X morning 1PL+rise
The children replied that: "good morning, we're fine."
(Primary 1:22)

82. ?Sr4...a bia gbe...e be; "è...ts4 takuvi...a?"
Spouse+DET ask language+3SG X 2SG+take handkerchief+Q
His wife asked him: "have you taken a handkerchief?"

83. ?Sr-..a bia gbe...e be e...ts4 takuvi...a?
Spouse+DET ask language+3SG X 3SG+take handkerchief+Q
His wife asked him if he had taken a handkerchief.

84. Wo...do gbe na wo n4ewo be "`di".
3PL+plant language Prep each-other X morning
They greeted each other with "good morning".
(Primary 1:50 *modified*)

The verbs in the examples above all seem to have two objects, but, the second object is introduced by *na* only in examples 81 and 84. Examples 82 and 83 are virtually the same with just a slight difference in the subject of the

lower clause. They both have been marked with a question mark (?) because, normally, they would not be used in everyday conversation in the language. That is because though there is a central idea of asking in both *bia* and *bia gbe* (ICV), *bia* could translate into English as "to ask" while *bia gbe* would be translated as "to interrogate". In an event of a wife asking her husband if he had taken a handkerchief, it would be more of an enquiry than an interrogation; hence the choice of *bia* over *bia gbe*. The concern here, however, is about the structure of the verbs, being ICVs and having *na* in the split environment.

X4 gbe (to respond to a greeting) and *do gbe* (to greet), in examples 81 and 84 respectively, conveniently accept *na* in the split environment to introduce the second object. *Bia gbe*, however, did not require na in introducing this second object. Yet, if there is a third (or more) object (s), even *bia gbe* would require *na* to introduce the other objects. In such events (of having more than two objects), *x4 gbe* and *do gbe* would also end up having a double or more occurrences of *na*.

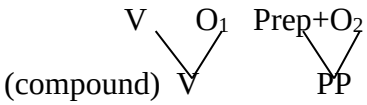
85. Do gbe **na** wo **na**...m
say language Prep 3PL Prep+1SG
Greet them for me

86. X4 gbe **na** wo **na**...m
take language Prep 3PL Prep+1SG
Respond to their greetings for me/on my behalf.

87. Bia gbe wo **na**...m
Ask language 3Pl Prep+1SG
Interrogate them for me.

Apparently the co occurrence of *na* with these verbs does not depend on the content or type of the verb. *Tsi* and *gbl4* have the same content; yet, the former requires *na* obligatorily in all structures while the latter can be used with or without *na* in some structures. Also, neither being a single word verb nor a compound verb affects the phenomenon of co-occurring with *na*. This is because both single word verbs and compound verbs can have *na* introducing one or more objects. The problem with this phenomenon (the phrasal verb and VP similarity), however, is the fact that the first object of a compound verb may be a compulsory part of the verbal unit (phrasal verb) which may result in the second object being the true first object. For instance, example 88 below can be contrasted with example 89 though they seem to have the same constituents.

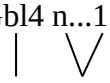
88. X4 gbe n...1



89. Gbl4 nya la n...1

What this implies is that the compound verb does not really have two objects since the first object is a part of the verb. Consequently, the structure of example 88 is virtually the same as example 90 below. They both have the PP headed by *na* right after the verbal unit and introducing what can be said to be the first true object occurring in the structure (V PP). This object is mostly indirect while the lower clause functions as the direct object.

90. Gbl4 n...1



V PP

Accounting for exactly what conditions the co occurrence of *na* with some verbs or otherwise with even similar verbs would require more data and a more sophisticated grammatical tool. In the current study, the discussion is limited to seeing *na* as a split element between *be* and its verb collocants. The conclusion drawn here is that *na* introduces true second objects and what appear to be second objects but are first objects of compound verbs. In both instances, however, what *na* introduces is an indirect object of the verb. When *na* introduces a first occuring object, it is likely, especially in the case of the use of *be,* that the lower clause would be the direct object of the predicate.

This is illustrated in example 91 below where the first NP after the verb is an intrinsic part of the verb; hence, considered here as a pseudo object while the one introduced by *na* (true first occurring object) is the indirect object and the lower clause, the direct object of the predicate.

91. Wo...x4 gbe n...**1** be: "`di, míe...f4".
3PL+take language Prep+3SG X morning 3Pl+rise
They replied him saying: "Good morning, we're fine".
(Primary 1:14 *modified*)

4.4.4 *Kple* – phrases in the Split Environment

What is referred to here as *kple* – phrases refers to prepositional phrases which have as head the preposition, "*kple*". These phrases could occur alone or with other elements in the split environment. When the matrix verb takes an object, the *kple* – phrase occurs after the object and before *be*. It can

also be used together with other adpositional phrases which indicate a spatial relation. The following are a few examples.

92.a. **Ame ge2ewo do...a gas4 <u>kple susu</u> be yewo...a...n4**
Person many ride+MOD bicycle Prep mind X 3PL+MOD+stay

l7meses8 me 6e siaa 6i.
health PostP always

Many people ride bicycles in order to stay healthy always.

(Primary 3:78)

93.a. E...**wu nu <u>kple nyagb4gbl4 sia</u>** be:
3SG + – top Prep saying DET X

"ne gli...a vivi alo me...vivi o la...".
if folktale+DET sweet or NEG+sweet NEG Pcl

S/he ended with the saying:"whether the folktale is interesting or not..."

(Primary 4:82)

94. **Apostolo...a...wo 2e abla do go <u>le takpekpe...x4...a</u>**
Apostle+DET+PL remove – exit out Prep meeting+room+DET

<u>me</u> <u>kple dzidz4 blibo</u> be wo...do `ukpe ye...wo ...
PostP Prep joy whole X 3PL+– shame LOG+PL

The apostles went out of the meeting with great joy that they have been ridiculed ...

(Acts 5:41)

In examples 92 and 93, the *kple* – phrase was used alone as an adverbial in the split environment while it co-occurred with another prepositional phrase (*le*+NP+*me*) in example 94.

It is worth mentioning that the deletion of the *kple* – phrase from examples 92 and 93 would not result in any loss of information. This is because the *kple* – phrase, especially as in the case of *kple susu* which is used

in example 91, also forms a bond with *be.* It is, therefore, expected that whenever this phrase is used, it should be followed by "*be*" which would introduce the lower clause. The non-loss of information with the deletion of the *kple*-phrase from examples 91 and 92 is as a result of this bond. Thus, like the case of verb-deletion where *be* can replace the deleted verb and assume its function and meaning, *be* alone can carry the idea expressed by its collocation with a *kple*-phrase in some contexts as well. By this, *kple*-phrases can also be treated as collocants of *be.*

92. b. Ame ge2ewo doa gas4 be yewoan4 l7meses8 me.

Many people ride bicycles to stay healthy.

93. b. Ewu nu be: "ne glia vivi alo mevivi o..."

She ended with the saying: "whether the folktale is nice or not..."

4.4.5 Multiple Units in the Split Environment

Apart from having more than one occurrence of an adverbial in the split environment as in the case of the case of having two PPs as seen in example 93 above, there are many other instances where separate units function as one or different units in the split environment. These units include Adp+Adv where both units are adverbials and NPs + various forms of the adverbial including; adverbs and all forms of the adpositional phrase. Below are some examples of this linguistic phenomenon. The first units are in bold while the second are underlined. Whether the two units function as one unit or not is indicated by the additional information presented in the accompanying parenthesis.

95. Wo...2o **ame...wo** <u>2e gbe...dzi</u> be... (NP+Adp)

3PL+send person+PL PoC grass+PpoC X

They sent people out to...
(Primary 5:51)

96. Sedede tso **Kaisaro Augusto** gb4 be... (NP+PostP = PostPP)
Rule stand Caesar August PostP X
There was a rule from Caesar Augustus that...
(Primary 5 :81)

97. E...me n...a...k4 **na mi** nyuie be... (PP+Adv)
3Sg+PostP LOG +MOD+clear Prep 3PL well X
It should be very clear to you that...
(Acts 3:13)

98. Wo...y4...a **ame si...wo wo...dzi** le Dzo2agbe be
3PL+call+MOD person DET+PL 3PL+deliver Prep Monday X
K4dzo kple Adzo (NP+PP = NP)
Kojo and Adjo
They call people whom are born on Monday Kojo and Adjo.
(Primary 1:47)

4.5 The Null "*e*" (it) and Extraposition in the Environment of *Be*

The 3rd person singular pronoun is used in diverse ways in the *E3e* language just as it is in English. While it can have an antecedent which may be endophoric or exophoric in some instances, it actually seems empty in many other cases. When it seems empty, it does not have a meaning, neither does it refer to anything; but it helps in communicating a perfect idea and helps make sentences complete.

This pronoun has been described in many ways and consequently, been given several names in different studies (Sinclair, 1995; Biber et al., 1999; Evans, 2001, Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski, 2005 & Kaltenböck, 2005). Some of these names include; the introductory, anticipatory, expletive, pleonastic, dummy, neutral and null 3SG personal pronoun ("it" in English and "*e*" in

E3e). As empty as this pronoun may seem, it has attracted a lot of attention in language study. As Evans (2001) points out, the use of "it" is covered in most serious surveys of English grammar. Gundel et al. (2005) classify the 3SG personal pronoun into the following categories: NP antecedent; non-NP antecedent (refers to a fact, proposition, activity, event, situation or reason); pleonastic (used in extraposition, clefting and communicating the atmospheric); idiomatic; exophoric and the indeterminate. For the purpose of the current study, only its use in extraposition in *E3e* is explored.

According to Biber et al. (1999), the introductory/anticipatory "it" is regarded as a type of formal subject or object which is meaningless and thus, only introduces and anticipates the real subject or object of the sentence. It has been noted already that the CP is considered a nominal phrase; in that, it is able to function as a subject or an object in a sentence. It is stipulated by Boadi (2005) that all noun phrase clausal complements should conveniently undergo the processes of pseudo-clefting and focus marking like any other simple noun.

Similar to clefting is extraposition, which like the clefting, is also achieved by the use of the pleonastic "it". While clefting entails fitting a structure into a frame ("it" + a conjugated form of the verb "to be" + X + a subordinate clause; where X refers to a nominal phrase), extraposition involves shifting a structure which has a nominal function from one point in a sentence to a later position. According to Quirk et al. (1985), it-clefts are used as a focusing device which highlights or contrasts particular bits of information while extraposition is used to avoid having complex subjects at the beginning of the sentence.

Throughout the discussion, several structures with the 3rd person singular personal pronoun "*e*" have been observed, some of which seemed to have exophoric referents and others which seem to be expletive or null. When "*e"* is used as an anticipatory personal pronoun, it fills the slot of either the subject or the object and has as an antecedent, the lower clause introduced by *be.* This clause also happens to be the true subject or object of such structures. The following are a few examples of extraposition in *E3e* as extracted from the data.

99. **E**...nye k4 be wo...a...na asi kple mia...si
3SG+to-be taboo X 3PL+MOD+give hand Prep left+hand
It is a taboo to give a handshake with the left.

(Primary 5:16)

100. E...2o...**e** e...2okui dzi be ye...a...kpe 2e K4ku `u.
3SG+place+3Sg 3SG REF PostP X LOG+MOD+add Pcl Kwaku PostP
He took it upon himself to help Kwaku.

(Primary 5:29)

These examples feature the null – "*e*" in both subject and object positions in examples 99 and 100 respectively and have as antecedents, lower clauses introduced by *be*. The unextraposed sentences then would be.

101. Be wo...a...na asi kple mia...si **la** nye k4
X 3PL+MOD+give hand Prep left+hand DET to-be taboo
To shake hands with the left hand is a taboo.

102. *E...2o be ye...a...kpe 2e K4ku `u e...2okui
3SG+place X LOG+MOD+add Pcl Kwaku PostP 3SG+REF
dzi
PostP
He planned to help Kwaku by himself.

It is evident from this attempt to reconstruct the extraposed sentences that replacing the expletive/null "*e"* in subject position with what we can call a *be*-clause like its counterparts, the *sɛ*-clause and that-clause of Akan and English respectively, is quite easier than replacing the null "*e"* in object position. While it is possible to lift the *be*-clause from the end of the sentence and put it in the place of the anticipatory "*e*" which is in subject position, it is impossible to do same for the "*e"* in object position.

The only modification needed for the *be*-clause to suitably fit in the subject position is the introduction of the determiner *la* to make the clause more stable as a nominal phrase. What would make the structure with the *be*-clause in object position stable, however, would involve a complete removal of the postpositional phrase, *e2okui dzi* (on himself). This deletion would make the structure stable but would change the meaning of the verb from taking up a responsibility to planning to do something. This is seen in example 103 below.

103. E...2o(e) be ye...a...kpe 2e K4ku `u.
3SG+plan X LOG+MOD+add Pcl Kwaku PostP
He planned to help Kwaku.

The "*e*" in brackets in this example, could be used without any change in the meaning of the structure. It could be exempted as a result of speech economy. But its presence, in a way, adds an element of topicalizing the lower clause as it aniticipates it. This "*e*" is also expletive and is the same as the one being replaced by the *be*-clause. Its use together with the *be*-clause, however, suggests that there is a slight difference between the "*e*" which is being replaced by the *be*-clause and the one which is co-occurring with it. While the one replaced can be said to be an anticipatory "*e*" because it

anticipated the object which was to come later (at the end) in the sentence, this one is an introductory "*e*" because it introduces the object *be*-clause. This differentiation is based on the idea of introductory and anticipatory "it" due to Biber et al. (1999).

There is yet another way of reconstructing the extraposed sentence to place the *be*-clause in object position without a change in the meaning of the verb. This involves changing the type of complementation used in the sentence from the *be*-clause complement to the gerund clause complement which is placed at sentence initial. As a nominal phrase, it can take the determiner, *la* and as an object placed before the subject, it assumes a topicalised or focused state which makes it mandatory to introduce a focus marker (*ye*). The subject 3SG pronoun also assumes a logophoric state changing it from "*e*" to *wò*. It is worth noting that the unit under study, *be* loses its function as a complementizer introducing the lower clause in this kind of reconstruction as the CP changes from a *be*-clause type to a gerund type. This reconstruction would result in the sentence,

104. Kpekpe 2e K4ku `u (la) ye wò...2o e...2okui dzi.

Meeting Pcl Kwaku PostP DET FOC LOG+place 3SG+REF PostP

Helping Kwaku is what he has placed on himself.

In sum, the null "*e*" can replace the *be*-clause in both subject and object positions. Yet, while it is fairly easy to reconstruct the sentence with an extraposed subject *be*-clause, it is quite difficult to do same with an extraposed object *be*-clause without a change in the meaning of the sentence or modifications to the CP. The null "*e*" can either be introductory or anticipatory.

4.6 Multiple Occurrences of *Be* within Structures

All the examples seen so far in this discussion have been sentences with *be* only in a position after the matrix clause and before the lower clause. However, there are other structures in which there could be more than a single occurrence of *be*. Such structures are usually complex sentences which may or may not have an overt conjunction. Some of these sentences have *be* in the lower clause in addition to the "*be"* in the complementizer slot (examples 105 and 106). The matrix verb could also have a double *be* collocant in a sentence where the *be* introduces different lower clauses. Sometimes the two clauses are joined by a conjunction (example 108). At other times, however, the two clauses joined by the conjunction have different verb collocants of the various occurrences of *be* in the structure (example 107).

105. **Mie...ka 2e e...dzi *be*$_1$ mie...di *be*$_2$ m...a...to**
2Pl+ - Pcl 3SG+PostP X 2PL+want X 1SG +MOD+say
gli na mi...a?
folktale Prep 2Pl+Q
Are you sure that you want me to tell you a folktale?

(Primary 2:4)

106. **Mose bu...i *be*$_1$ w4na sia a...na *be*$_2$ Israelviwo**
Moses think+3SG X act DET MOD+make X Israelites
a...x4...e se *be*$_3$ Mawu...e 2o ye 2a *be*$_4$
MOD+take+3SG hear X God+FOC send LOG Pcl X
ye...a...va 2e wo le aboyo me.
LOG+MOD+come remove 3PL Prep bondage PostP
Moses thought that this act would make the Israelites believe he was sent by God to deliver them from bondage.

(Acts 7:25)

107. **E...*be*$_1$ ye `k4e nye K4bina eye wò...do `ugbe *be*$_2$**
3SG+X LOG name to-be Kwabena and LOG+say promise X
ye...a...ga...tr4 a...va.
LOG+MOD+again turn MOD+come
He said his name is Kwabena and he promised to return.

(Primary 2:8)

108. **@e wò nye a5et4 fia 2e gbe57 *be*$_1$ Adoniya...e**
Pcl 2SG my lord king remove – X Adonijah+FOC
a...2u fia 2e te...wò...5e eye *be*$_2$ wò...a...n4 wò
MOD+eat king Pcl your-place and X LOG+MOD+sit 2SG
fiazikpui dzi...a?
throne PostP+Q

Did you, my lord the king, announce that it is Adonijah who would be king after you and that he shall inherit your throne?

(1 Kings 1:24)

Unlike the other examples where all the instances of the use of *be* are collocants of verbs, the *be*$_1$ in example 107 functions as a verb. In the deep structure, however, it is also a collocant of a verb, the verb *gbl4* (to say) which has been deleted because of speech economy. *Be* in example 107, then, has a dual function of a verb and a complementizer.

4.7 Grammatical Categories of *Be*

From the discussions presented so far based mainly on the data collected for the study and other examples generated to test claims, *be* can be classified as belonging to three grammatical categories on the merits of its morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. First, *be* is a particle because it is not very easy to affiliate it with any of the well defined grammatical categories as suggested by structural grammarians. Second, *be* is a complementizer because it functions mainly as an introductory unit to the lower clause in cases of embedding. Finally, *be* is a pro-verb since it can adopt a verbal status though in limited structures and tenses.

4.8 Chapter Summary

To conclude with, *be* has been studied thematically yet along the tenets of Tagmemic Grammar which include slot, class, role and cohesion. These tenets help in answering the research questions that guided the study. These questions were centred mainly on the functions of *be*, collocants of *be*, dominant patterns of collocations involving *be* and the grammatical categories that *be* could be assigned to.

It has been observed that *be* occupies a *slot* between matrix clauses and lower clauses in recursion achieved through complementation. It belongs to the *class* of pro-verbs, complementizers and particles. As a pro-verb, it functions as a predicate in sentences while as a complementizer, it functions as the head of CPs which are subjects, objects, complements (obligatory) or adjuncts (optional) to various matrix verbs. As a particle, generally, it performs various grammatical functions which help in making sentences complete, grammatical and meaningful. With respect to cohesion, it collocates mainly with verbs and other units which seem to have inherent verbs but function in other capacities other than predication. Between *be* and its collocants, there could be different units which may function as separate units and as constituents. These units are mostly noun phrases functioning as objects and adverbs as well as adpositional phrases which function as adverbials.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter sums up the essence of the thesis. It gives a summary of the whole thesis from chapter one to chapter five. It touches briefly on the concerns of chapters one to three and presents the main findings of the work. It also gives the impressions of the researcher about the thesis as a whole and suggests areas for further studies.

5.1 Summary

The phenomenon that was studied in this thesis has been the use of *be* in the *E3e* language. The thesis sought to determine what kind of verbs *be* collocates with, what characteristics these verbs have, which elements can occur between *be* and its collocants, when *be* functions as the main verb of a sentence and which word classes *be* belongs to. The thesis was organised generally in five chapters.

Chapter one gave a broad introduction to the work while chapter two covered the literature reviewed about the item under study (*be*) and its equivalents, "that" and *s1* of English and Akan respectively. Being a syntactic study, literature was reviewed on the field of syntax as well. Chapter three presented the methodology that was employed in the study. It touched on issues such as the type of research conducted and the research design employed. It was indicated that the study is descriptive; therefore, the descriptive research design was employed. The sources of data used for the work include the Ghana Education Service (GES) authorised and published

E3e text books and a new translation of the *E3e* Bible, *Agbenya la*. The sampling techniques used in extracting the sentences within which *be* occurred in these books were also discussed this chapter three. The sampling techniques include the convenience sampling technique, the systematic sampling technique and the purposive/judgment sampling technique. Finally, the procedures used for the data collection and discussions on findings were also discussed. Chapter four presented the patterns of the use of *be* as observed in the data while Chapter five concludes the work by providing a summary of the work, stating the conclusions and making recommendations for further studies.

The patterns observed from the collocations involving *be* and various verbs in the data were studied along the tenets of Tagmemic Grammar (slot, class, role and cohesion) and in response to the research questions to achieve the purpose of the study. Research question 1 is answered by identifying the slot and role of the unit. Questions 2 and 3 are also answered by studying the cohesion of the unit while Question 4 is answered by identifying the class of the unit.

Be was found to occur mainly in a slot after the matrix clause and before (that is, introducing) the lower clause. The lower clause together with *be* can either be the object or a complement of the verb in the matrix clause (matrix verb). It can also be a delayed subject in extraposition. In such a slot, *be* functions as a complementizer. *Be* can also fill the predicate slot and function as a verb in the case of a verb-deletion which is acceptable in *E3e* complementation. The verbs that can be deleted in such instances include the verbs *gbl4* (to say) and *di* (to want). Regarding cohesion, *be* collocates mainly

with verbs which are classified broadly as verbs of "saying" and "believing" in the literature. The units that normally split the matrix verb and *be* are, predominantly, noun phrases, adverbial phrases and adpositional phrases. Finally, based on its slot and role, *be* was categorised as a complementizer, a pro-verb and a particle.

5.2 Conclusions

In sum, the findings at the end of the research had conveniently answered the research questions along the tenets of Tagmemics. As mentioned in the literature review section of the work (chapter two), Kenneth L. Pike, the name behind Tagmemic Grammar, expressed his belief that Tagmemics is applicable to every aspect of life that occurs in units. Language use cannot be exempted from such phenomena since units play very important roles in language and language study. Pike (1966) was confident that his Tagmemic Grammar was a step in the right direction towards achieving language universals since it can be applied to any language. By its successful application to the *E3e* language as well, this assertion can be considered worth accepting.

However, it seems the theory was not developed to its full potentials before the inception of Chomsky's (1957) Generative Grammar and its expansions which gained more popularity among linguists of the time. Consequently, even though the tenets of Tagmemic Grammar are workable and universal, the necessary tools needed for studying a unit along such tenets were not expressly provided. Thus, various tagmemists have adapted the theory to suit the kind of analyses they seek to do. The only point of convergence of some sort is at the end of the study, where the slot, role, class

and cohesion of the unit is successfully realised and stated. In the current study, a thematic approach was adopted in studying the unit before arriving at a conclusion along the tagmemic tenets. This is different from Randal's (2002) tabular approach in the use of the theory.

This notwithstanding, the purpose of the research has been achieved since all the research questions had been answered. In addition to ascertaining and debunking claims of previous studies, new claims have also been made in the study. Clement's (1975) assertion that *be* is a complementizer had been ascertained; but, instead of considering *be* as a verb or a prepositional verb which functions as a preposition, it has been suggested that *be* should be classified as a pro-verb.

Finally, though the aim of this study has been achieved, there are still issues unresolved about the factors that affect or determine the use of *be* as well as other particles in the *E3e* language. Some areas for further study are therefore suggested in the Recommendations to the study.

5.3 Recommendations

As mentioned earlier in this work (chapter two), the introduction of Generative Grammar onto the structural grammar scene and the popularity it gained among linguists of the time had interrupted or cut short the development or expansion of other structural grammars of the same time. It was noted in the literature review (chapter two) that despite this challenge, Pike expressed hope that someday Tagmemics and TGG might come to a complete overlap. However, this can only be achieved when Tagmemics gains a fair share of use as a grammatical theory. It is only in the use of the theory

that its strengths and weaknesses can be identified. Addressing the identified weaknesses would, consequently, result in some growth, expansion or the development of the theory. By applying Tagmemics to this work, its handicap regarding the express grammatical tools to be used in identifying the various tagmemic tenets of a unit had been identified. It is, therefore, suggested that other studies should also employ this theory to unearth and improve its strengths and weaknesses.

Secondly, this work touched briefly on the use of the expletive 3SG pronoun "*e*" (it) and the preposition *na* in structures in which *be* occurs. There is, definitely, a lot more that could be done about these units than what has been covered in this study. It is therefore recommended that further studies into the use of the expletive pronoun "*e*", the characteristics of those verbs that require the preposition *na* even when they have a single object and by extension, other particles of the *E3e* language be carried out.

Lastly, this study was based on data collected from written documents. However, there are very interesting formulations and structures in which *be* is used in spoken language. Examples include the addition of other particles like *sina ta 2e*, *ta 2e* or only *2e* to *be*. These additions may or may not add any extra information to the use of *be*, but they are used diversely across the various dialects of the language. It is, therefore, recommended, again, that further studies be carried out on the collocation between *be* and other particles in the various dialects of the *E3e* language. The data for such studies must be collected from oral sources and in the natural environments of the use of the language.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter had been devoted to summarising the whole thesis and giving conclusions and recommendations. The summary gave brief synopsis of the various chapters of the thesis while the conclusions stated the researcher's impressions about the thesis in terms of the approach, findings and the theory employed. Finally, other areas for further studies were suggested in the recommendations.

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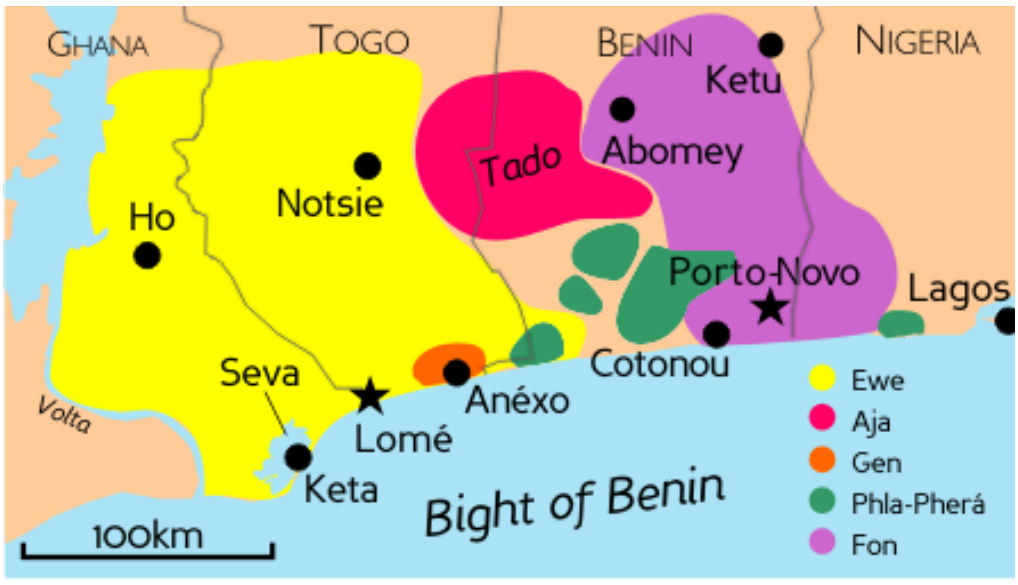
APPENDICES

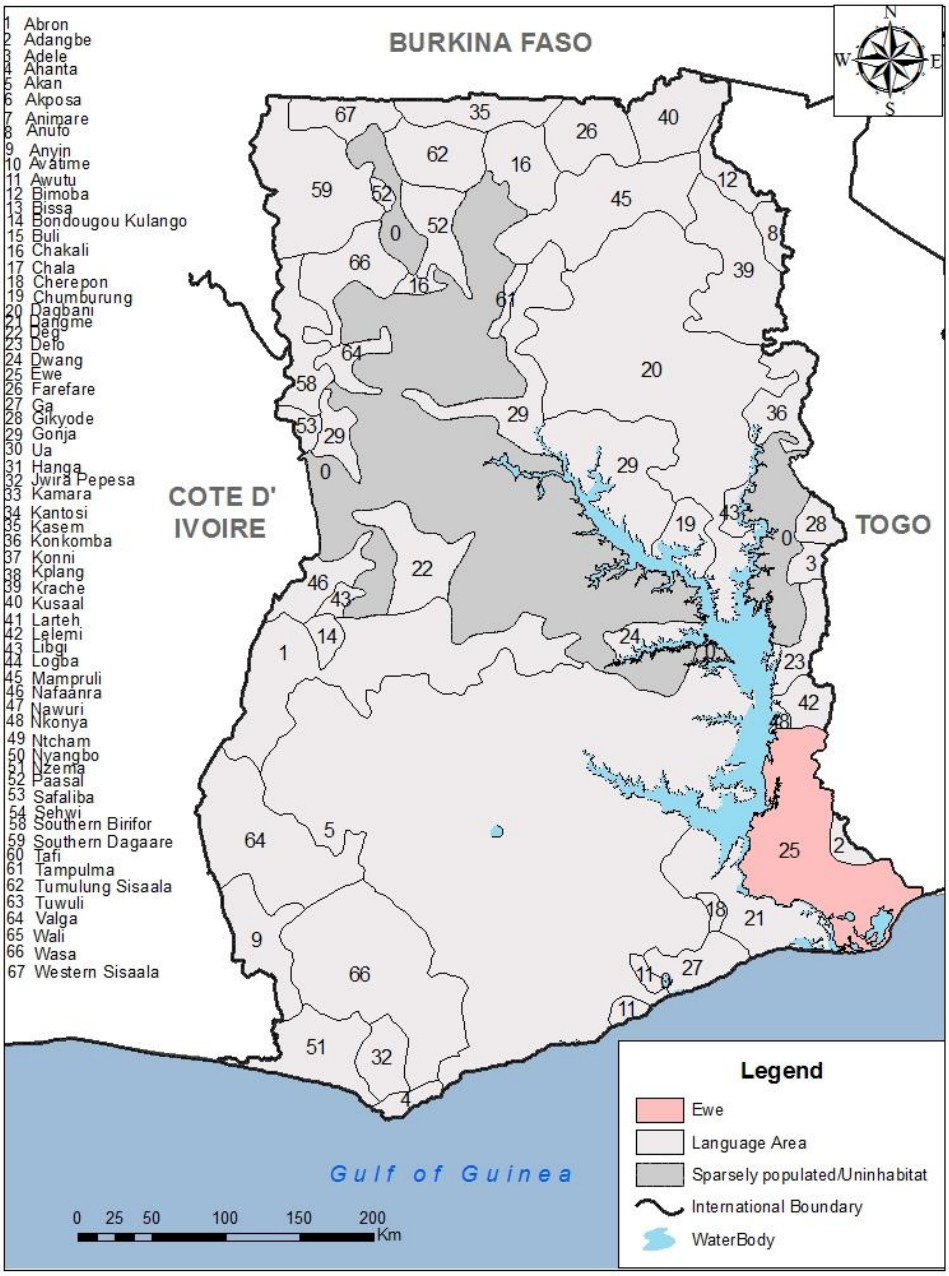
APPENDIX A

i) Language Map of Gbe



Source: https:www./en.m.wikipedia.org

ii) Language Map of Ghana



APPENDIX B

LIST OF MATRIX VERBS WITHIN THE ENVIRONMENT OF *BE*.

The following is a list of the matrix verbs of the upper clauses after which *be* occurs. Some of these verbs cannot be translated into English as independent lexical units unless they are used in context; where their meanings are dependent on the other items within the structures in which they occur. Some are vague out of context while others are ambiguous. Such verbs are simply marked as NT (not translated). Another type of these verbs requires compulsory objects in their structuring. They are mostly compound verbs whose objects can be any NP including the expletive 3SG "*e*". The positions to be occupied by the compulsory objects within such compound verbs are indicated by a dash (–).

	E3e	English translation
1.	aklama 2i	NT
2.	bia	*to ask*
3.	bia gbe	*to interrogate*
4.	bia tso – si	*to ask of –*
5.	ble	*to deceive*
6.	ble – nu	*to convince*
7.	blu	*to shout*
8.	bu	*to think*
9.	da `k4 2e – dzi	*to name*
10.	de	*to went*
11.	de dzesi	*to note*
12.	de dzi5o	*to encourage*
13.	de tsi	*to water*
14.	di	*to want*
15.	do gas4	*to ride a bicycle*
16.	do go	*to go out*
17.	do gbe	*to greet*
18.	do gbe 2a	*to pray*
19.	do 6li	*to shout*
20.	do `ugbe	*to promise*

21.	do `us8	*to empower*
22.	do v4v-	*to frighten*
23.	d4 –	*to send*
24.	d4 – dzi	*to brood over (to hatch an egg)*
25.	d4 – 2a	*to dispatch*
26.	dze	NT
27.	dze agbagba	*to try*
28.	dze m4	*to set off*
29.	dze sii	*to notice*
30.	dzi ha	*to sing*
31.	dz4 dzi	*to excite*
32.	dzra 2o	*to prepare*
33.	dzro	*to yearn for*
34.	2a	*to cook*
35.	2e al4me	*to mock*
36.	2e asi	*to let go*
37.	2e gbe	*to command*
38.	2e gbe57	*to announce*
39.	2e – fia	*to introduce*
40.	2e kuku	*to beg*
41.	2e – me	*to explain*
42.	2e m4	*to permit*
43.	2i 2ase	*to testify*
44.	2o	*to plan*
45.	2o – dzi	NT
46.	2o – 2a	*to dispatch*
47.	2o `keke	*to set a date*
48.	2o `ku – dzi	*to remember*
49.	2o – `u	*to reply*
50.	2o `ui	*to remember*
51.	2o to	*to keep quiet*
52.	24	*to describe*
53.	2u fewu	*to mock*
54.	fia	*to show*

55.	5o nu	*to talk*
56.	5u du	*to run*
57.	gbe	*to refuse*
58.	gbl4	*to say*
59.	hi7	*to need*
60.	xe	NT
61.	xe m4	*to block a way*
62.	xl- nu	*to advise*
63.	x4 dzi	*to respond*
64.	x4 gbe	*respond (to a greeting)*
65.	x4 se	*to believe*
66.	ka atam	*to swear*
67.	ka 2e – dzi	*to be sure/ to ensure*
68.	k4	*to be clear*
69.	kp4	*to see*
70.	kp4 dzidz4	*to jubilate*
71.	kp4 2a	*to check*
72.	kp4 – gb4	*to ensure*
73.	kp4 m4	*to expect*
74.	kp4 nyuie	*be careful*
75.	kpe	*to invite*
76.	kpl4	*to sweep*
77.	kpl4 2o	*to follow*
78.	kpe 2e – `u	*to help*
79.	ku dr-e	*to dream*
80.	ku kp8	*to blow a whistle*
81.	ku nu me kp4	*to investigate*
82.	lala	*to wait*
83.	lé af4	*to plead*
84.	l-	*to agree*
85.	l- 2e – dzi	*to agree on*
86.	l- gbe	*to respond to greeting*
87.	mia asi	*to beckon*
88.	na	*to make*

89.	na `k4	*to name*
90.	na m4nukp4kp4	*to give an opportunity to someone*
91.	n4	NT
92.	nya	*to know*
93.	nye	*to be*
94.	nye k4	*to turn*
95.	nyo	*to be good*
96.	nyo `u	*to please*
97.	n4 `u	NT
98.	`l4 be	*to forget*
99.	se	*to hear*
100.	sr-	*to learn*
101.	susu	*to think*
102.	ta –	*to swear*
103.	te 2e – dzi	NT
104.	te gbe 2e – dzi	*to emphasise*
105.	t4	*to stop*
106.	te kp4	*to attempt*
107.	tia	*to select*
108.	tr4	*to turn*
109.	tso	*to stand*
110.	tso – nu	*to end*
111.	ts4 – 2e – `u	NT
112.	tu –	*to build*
113.	va	come
114.	va me	*to happen*
115.	vivi	*to be sweet*
116.	w4 2eka	*to unify/ come together*
117.	w4 2o2o	*to plan*
118.	w4 nuku	*to be surprised*
119.	w4 se	*to make a law*
120.	wu nu	*to end*
121.	yi	*to go*
122.	yi dzi	*to continue*

123.	yi megbe	*to move backwards*
124.	y4	*to call*
125.	z4	*to walk*
126.	z7	*to use*
127.	zi dzi	*to force*

Serial verb collocants of be.

128.	do 6li gbl4
129.	dzo lia
130.	2e abla do go
131.	2e – nu gbl4
132.	5u du yi
133.	kpl4 yi
134.	l- da 2i
135.	tr4 2e – gb4 gbl4
136.	tr4 yi
137.	yi dzi gbl4

APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM THE DATA USED IN THE WRITE-UP

Text books

Book 1

Ex. 38. Agbledela la be yeaho te la. (p.14)

Ex. 39. Ho nenie nèbe yea5le. (p. 45)

Ex. 46. Woy4a ame siwo wodzi le Dzo2agbe be K4dzo kple Adzo.

(p. 47)

Ex. 57. @evi sue a2e do 6li ses=e be: "Menya nu si míana ny4nu fia la.
(p.97)

Ex. 69. Sr-a biae be: "èts4 takuvia?" (p.37)

Ex. 81. @eviawo x4 gbe n1 be: "~di míef-". (p.22)

Ex. 84. Wodo gbe na wo n4ewo be: "%e yeye na mi loo!" (p. 50)

Book 2

Ex. 47. Amedzro la gbl4 be: "Medo gbe na a5e sia met4wo". (p. 5)

Ex. 48. Ama 2o e`u be: "~d4, nu ka maw4 na wò?" (p. 5)

Ex. 49. @eviawo kat7 do 6li be: “E8 Mama, to gli na mi”. (p. 4)

Ex. 54. Aklama 2i na wo be nèle agbe. (p.20)

Ex. 58. Amedzro la x4 edzi be: “Meyina k45e a2e si woy4na be D4w4w4 doa dzidz4 na ame la me”. (p. 5)

Ex. 59. Mi2o `ku edzi be asr7e le fu 2em na mia domet4 ge2ewo.

(p. 61)

Ex. 61. Wo`l4 nuku la be vase2e esime wogava to egb4 le `keke 31 a2ewo megbe. (p. 96)

Ex. 75. Lovi la kp4e k4t0 be yiyi mate `u a2e e2okui le m4 a2eke nu o. (p.93)

Ex. 76. Esia ta ele vevie be miagbugb4 a`enu siwo gbl8 la aw4.

(p.76)

Ex. 77. Edina 6e siaa 6i be yea2u nu wu ale si dze. (p.103)

Ex. 78. Yiyi 2e al4me le lovi la `u be lovi nyee nye esi. Mele afi sia kple nye dzi si dim nèle la. Ne edi be yeax4e la, lia ati la va afii.
(p. 94)

Ex. 105. Mieka 2e edzi be miedi be mato gli na mia? (p. 4)

Ex. 107. Ebe ye `k4e nye K4bina eye wodo `ugbe be yeagatr4 ava.

(p. 8)

Book 3

Ex. 92. Ame ge2ewo doa gas4 kple susu be yewoan4 l7meses8 me 6e siaa 6i. (p. 78)

Book 4

Ex. 60. Bluawo da `k4 2e edzi be “Anansesem”. (p.78)

Ex. 93. Ewu nu kple nyagb4gbl4 sia be: “ne nye glia vivi alo mevivi o la, ame bubu h7 neva to et4.

(p.82)

Book 5

Ex. 95. Wo2o amewo 2e gbedzi be woadi atikew4nuawo v1. (p.51)

Ex. 96. Sedede tso Kaisaro Augusto gb4 be woaxl8 xexea me kat7.

(p.81)

Ex. 99. Enye k4 be woana asi kple miasi. (p.16)

Ex. 100. E2oe e2okui dzi be yeakpe 2e K4ku `u. (p.29)

Agbenya la

Ex. 79. Tete fia la gbl4 na Mawu 5e ame la be, "@e kuku 2e tanye le Yehowa wò Mawu la gb4 eye nàdo gbe 2a 2e tanye be nye asi na24 2o. Ale Mawu 5e ame la 2e kuku na Yehowa 2e eta eye fia la 5e asi 24 2o.

(1 Kings 13:6)

Ex. 80. Fia Asa 2e gbe57 le Yu2a nyigba blibo la dzi be `utsu l7meses8t4 2e siaa 2e nava na kpekpe2e`u yewoagb7 Rama eye yewoal4 x4tukpewo kple x4tutiwo kat7 adzoe

(1 Kings 15:22)

Ex. 94**.** Apostoloawo 2e abla do go le takpekpex4a me kple dzidz4 blibo be wodo `ukpe yewo le Yesu 5e `k4 ta.

(Acts 5:41)

Ex. 97. Medi be eme nak4 **na mi** nyuie be Mawu si nye Abraham, Isak, Yak4b kple mía t4gbuit4gbuiwo 5e Mawu lae da gbe le ame sia `u be yeats4 ade bubu e5e sub4la Yesu Kristo `u. Yesu Kristo siae nye ame si gb4 miawo miegbe nu le le Pilato `kume, togb4 be Pilato dze agbagba ale gbegbe be yea2e asi le e`u, a2e e5e agbe tso ku me hafi h7.

(Acts 3:13)

Ex. 106. Mose bui be w4na sia ana be Israelviwo ax4e se be Mawue 2o ye 2a be yeava 2e wo le aboyo me hafi gake womex4e nenema o.

(Acts 7:25)

Ex. 108. Natan gbl4 be, "@e wò, nye a5et4 fia, 2e gbe57 be Adoniyae a2u fia 2e tewò5e eye be wòan4 wò fiazikpui dzia?"

(1 Kings 1: 24)