‘Cutting’ and ‘Breaking’ Events in Akan

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Declaration

I declare that "Cutting and Breaking Events in Akan" is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this thesis from the work or works of other people has been attributed, cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate
signature removed

Date: 29th October, 2017

Dedication

Jay (My number one cheerleader. Thanks for believing in me!)

Nana Owiredu (Guess what! Mommy finally finished her 'homework'!)

Menhyira ('Lil'Miss.Thanks for the blessings you came along with)

The Yeboah Agyepongs (Thanks for being there for 'us'!)

Mr. Adusei (Boye, You are such an awesome dad!)

To all those who have supported me throughout the years; 'This is for you!'

Abstract

This study investigates the grammar and semantics of verbs that describe separation events in Asante Twi (Akan), a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language spoken in Ghana. It adopts a constructionist perspective combined with a monosemic bias in the analysis. It assumes that contextual interpretations are derived from the interaction of the prototypical meanings of verbs and their arguments.

A multi-method approach was used in data gathering: (i) compilation of verbs that code separation as well as sentences in which they are used from literary texts (bibles, and novels) and dictionaries. (ii) Descriptions of separation activities elicited using video-stimuli (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001), 61 video clips depicting cutting and breaking events (fieldmanuals.mpi.nl) supplemented by 82 clips created by the author involving culturally appropriate objects (Agyepong 2015). (iii) Spontaneous narratives, and procedural discourses about cultural events/practices involving separation e.g. cooking, palm-wine tapping. (iv) Introspection based on the author's native speaker intuitions.

The main finding of the thesis is that there are two central verbs in the separation domain in Akan: *twá* 'to cut' and *bú* 'to break'. There are in addition more specialized verbs for specific types of object separation, e.g. *nú* 'harvest palm fruit by poking with a bladed instrument' or *pòrò* 'to pluck fruit'. The choice of a particular verb in context is determined by parameters such as: instrument involvement, manner of separation, physical properties of entities as well as the end-state result of the situation.

Crucially, the thesis further addresses the challenge of how to account for the interpretation of the typical and atypical argument realization patterns associated with the separation verbs. It shows how constructional meanings contribute to the interpretation of collocations of the verbs. Other principles such as coercion, addition and suppression of components in the lexical semantics of the verbs and its arguments as well as cultural implicatures are invoked in the compositional process of calculating the contextual interpretations.

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"When we become more fully aware that our success is due in large measure to the loyalty, helpfulness, and encouragement we have received from others, our desire grows to pass on similar gifts. Gratitude spurs us on to prove ourselves worthy of what others have done for us. The spirit of gratitude is a powerful energizer."

Wilferd A. Peterson

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I HAVE SURVIVED…

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Abbreviations

1 first person

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A – Agent

AUX – Auxiliary

C&B – Cut and Break

CL– Noun Class

CM – Clause Marker

COMP – Complementizer

COMPL – Completive

COND – Conditional

CONS – Consecutive

CONT – Continuative

COP– Copula

COS – Change of State

CS.C&B – Culture Specific Cut and Break Video

D – Dative

DET – Determiner

E – Effector

EMPH – Emphatic

ET – Effector/Theme

FM – Focus Marker

FOC – Focus

FUT – Future

HAB – Habitual

MIN – Minimal Number

MPI.C&B – Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics Cut and Break Video

IMP – Imperative

IMPV – Imperfective

INA – Inanimate

IND – Independent

INF – Infinitive

LOC – Locative

NEG – Negative

NP – Noun phrase

O – Object

OBJ – Object

OSV – Object Subject Verb

P – Patient

PASS – Passive

PAST – Past

PERF – Perfect

PL – Plural

POSS – Possessor

PP – Postposition

Prep – Preposition

PRO – Pronoun

PROG – Progressive

PST – Past

PVF – Perfective

RED – Reduplicated

REFL – Reflexive

REL – Relativizer

RVC – Resultative Verb Compound

S – Subject

SG – Singular

SM – Subject Marker

SOV – Subject Object Verb

SUBJ – Subject

SVC – Serial Verb Construction

SVO – Subject Verb Object

TOP – Topic

V – Verb

VP – Verb Phrase

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study presents an in-depth analysis of the semantics of Akan (Kwa-Niger Congo) verbs that are used to describe events of separation and material disintegration.

Verbs that depict the separation and disintegration of entities have been semantically classified into two major types (Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1995) – CUT and BREAK verbs (henceforth C&B verbs). The verbs under these categories according to Hale and Keyser (1987), describe actions/events that bring about a separation or disintegration in the material integrity of objects. The separation may or may not be caused by an agent. Breaking events can occur without an agent whiles cutting events require the involvement of an agent.

Fillmore (1970:125) describes C&B events as follows: "the object identified by the X element is understood as undergoing some kind of change of state. That is, the X element is understood as essentially different after the event symbolized by the verb has happened to it".

The verbs in this category can be classified under a broader group referred to by Hale and Keyser (1987) and Levin (1993) as "change of state verbs" (henceforth COS verbs). They are COS verbs in the sense that once the activity described by the verb occurs, there is a change in the original state of that entity. For instance, if a loaf of bread is cut into two, the bread changes from its original state of wholeness to a state of being divided (not whole).

The domain of C&B events includes activities known in English as *cutting*, *breaking*, *slicing*, *chopping*, *hacking*, *tearing*, *ripping*, *smashing*, *snapping*, etc. (Majid et al. 2007). In all these actions, a separation or disintegration that eventually results in a change of state of the entities involved is primed.

C&B verbs involve the interaction of two semantic components – manner and result and can thus be referred to as manner and result verbs. Fillmore (1970) argues that manner and result verbs exhibit significant differences in the ways in which their arguments are realized. Other studies such as Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2013) have

strongly argued that not only are they different in their argument realization patterning, but also manner and result verbs are in complementary distribution i.e. a verb either lexicalizes the manner in which an action was performed or the result of the action carried out on an entity, but never the two.

However, languages deal with the issue of manner/result in different ways. A language like English subsumes manner and result in a single word. For example a word like *slice* encodes a particular way of cutting i.e. cutting an object into thin portions (manner), resulting in the object being divided into specific sizes (result). Similarly, Yélî Dnye (a language spoken on Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea; Levinson 2007) also encodes information about the state change and results in a single mono-morphemic verb. The C&B domain in this language consists of "just three transitive verbs and their intransitive counterparts" (Levinson 2007:207). The verbs encode both the manner and resulting state of the object.

The story is different in Mandarin. Chen (2007) reports that manner and result are distributed across two component verbs of a compound, where the first verb depicts a specific type of action and the second refers to the nature of separation (see (1a) below). Naess (2012) also describes a similar case in Aiwoo (an Oceanic language) where a complex form consisting of two bound morphemes is used to describe C&B events. In this language, the first bound morpheme describes the action that is carried out on an entity. In certain contexts the first part may also refer to the instrument involved in the action if it is required in that particular event. The second part of the Aiwoo complex construction refers to the way or manner in which the action is carried out (Naess 2012; see (1b) and (1c) below). Languages like German and Swedish, are considered as 'satellite-framed' languages by Talmy (1991). These 'satellite frames' have prefixes or particles attached to verbs. The state change is encoded by the prefix, while the main verbs describe the causal action or the manner of state change. The following examples illustrate what pertains in Mandarin (Chen 2007), Aiwoo (Naess 2012) and German (Bohnemeyer 2007):

Mandarin

1a.	Tal	qiel1-duan4	le	shen2zi[2]	
	he	cut.with.single.blade-be.broken	PFV	rope	
	'He cut the rope.'				(Chen 2007:273)

In example (1a), we have *qiel1-duan4*, which Chen (2007) refers to as a resultative verb compound (RVC). The first (V_1) *qiel,* encodes only the sub-event of the cutting action while the

second (V_2) *duan4*, encodes the change of state brought about by the cutting activity (Chen 2007).

German

b. Floyd zer-schmetterte das glas
Floyd apart-smashed the glass
'Floyd smashed the glass to pieces.' (Bohnemeyer 2007:163)

Example (1b) has a pre-verbal particle *zer* attached to the verb *schmetterte.* According to Bohnemeyer (2007), this particle adds a state change component to the verb *schmetterte* 'to smash' and further specifies the result state of the state change verb. In this case, *zer-schmettern* 'smash to pieces' "preserves the specific activity component of the base and adds to that the specific state change component (apart; to pieces) introduced by the particle" (Bohnemeyer 2007:163).

Aiwoo

c. Nyenaa i-to-ki-no
tree PFV-strike-break.rigid.obj-1MIN.A
'I chopped down the tree.' (Naess 2012:404)

d. Tin i-to-bi-no
tin PFV-strike-crumple-1MIN.A
'I bent the tin out of shape by striking it.' (Naess 2012:404)

Naess (2012:404) explains that the forms *to* 'to strike, punch' (action carried out to cause the destruction) and *ki* 'break, snap' (way in which a rigid object such as wood breaks) in (1c) and *bi* 'crumple' in (1d) do not occur outside C&B constructions neither do they occur as individual verb forms with independent meanings in speech.

Cross-linguistic variation in the description of C&B events has been extensively discussed in for example Fillmore 1970; Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Levin 1993; Majid et al. 2007; Ameka and Essegbey 2007; Essegbey 2007; Taylor 2007; Naess 2012; Schaefer and Egbokhare 2012. Studies conducted by members of the Event Representation Project at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Majid et al. 2007; Ameka and Essegbey 2007; Essegbey 2007; Taylor 2007 and team) focused on the typological and experimental analysis of C&B events of twenty-eight different languages from sixteen language families. This project, motivated by Talmy's (1985 and 1991) study of the variations that exist in

how languages encode events into verbs, was aimed at accounting for how speakers of the various languages depicted different instances of separation/change of state. The conclusions drawn from these studies were that:

> …none of the languages categorized C&B events in exactly the same way. For instance, there were enormous differences in the raw number of lexical categories into which speakers of different languages sorted the C&B clips, with Yeli Dnye speakers using only three verbs to describe the entire set, and Tzeltal speakers using more than fifty.
>
> (Majid et al. 2007:145)

The various studies on the semantic properties associated with verbs of separation have also highlighted the difference between CUT and BREAK verbs by arguing that CUT verbs lexicalize instrument and as such require the presence of an agent. BREAK verbs, on the contrary, express separation without the involvement of an instrument and, for this reason, do not require an agent. This allows BREAK verbs, but not CUT verbs to participate in the causative/inchoative alternation (Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1995). Bohnemeyer (2007) for example stresses that contact between the semantic theta-role 'theme' and some instrument (including an agent's body part) is what sets CUT verbs apart. Additionally, CUT verbs, and not BREAK verbs, specify an instrument property or the way in which it was used.

Levin (1993:243) further distinguishes CUT verbs from BREAK verbs by alluding to the fact that even though both verbal categories bring about some form of change in the material integrity of entities, BREAK verbs are considered "pure COS verbs" because they provide no information about how the change of state occurred. CUT verbs, on the other hand indicate *how* the change was brought about, that is either overtly (by indicating the type of instrument) or covertly (absent but implied instrument). This distinguishing feature allows BREAK verbs and not CUT verbs to participate in the causative/inchoative verbal alternation, whereas CUT verbs occur only in conative constructions (Guerssel et al. 1985). The occurrence of CUT verbs in the conative construction is however peculiar to specific languages, for example English and German. Bohnemeyer (2007:162) states that out of the 17 languages that the C&B project members worked on, "except for German, no languages in the sample are reported to have conative alternations". He illustrates the conative construction in German with examples (2a-c):

2a. Floyd kratzte Sally
Floyd scratched Sally
'Floyd scratched Sally.' (Bohnemeyer 2007:164)

b. Floyd zer-kratzte das Glas
Floyd apart-scratched the glass
'Floyd scratched the glass.' (Bohnemeyer 2007:164)

c. Floyd kratzte an den Glas
Floyd scratched at the glass
'Floyd scratched at the glass.' (Bohnemeyer 2007:164)

Furthermore, Delancey (1995) describes CUT verbs as those verbs that involve a type of action that causes separation and includes a delivery of force. BREAK verbs on the other hand involve a change of state in the theme or object that undergoes the action described by the verb. When BREAK verbs occur in intransitive constructions, they describe the result or state of the entity involved.

In addition to these descriptions of C&B events, Levinson (2007) posits that the semantic domain of focal interest can be perceived as "caused division", that is where an agent causes an object or theme to lose its wholeness either with or without the involvement of a tool or instrument.

With this background information, this study investigates the semantics of C&B events in Akan, a Ghanaian language classified under the Kwa language family of Niger-Congo. It is spoken in Asante, Central, Eastern, Western and some parts of the Volta regions of Ghana and consists of varieties such as Fante, Akuapem, Asante, Bron, Wasa, Agona, Akyem, Kwahu, Ahafo, Akwamu, Denyira (see. Dolphyne 1988).

Table 1.1 presents the main Akan verbs used in describing C&B events along with their English translations arranged in an alphabetical order (I provide rough English translations for the purposes of facilitating the discussion in this study and should therefore not be considered as direct translations of the Akan C&B verbs.

Table 1.1: Akan C&B verbs

Verbs	English Gloss
1. bɔ́	'to break or crack open'
2. bú	'to break'
3. dwá	'to cut up'
4. dwé	'to separate, pluck out individual palm fruit from palm stalk'
5. dwèè	'to cut into the skin'
6. dwĩrĩ	'to break up, break or pull down, to demolish'
7. hwànè	'to peel'
8. kyɛ́	'to divide'
9. nú	'to cut, harvest palm fruit from palm tree'
10. pàè	'to split/ to burst'
11. páń	'to pluck, pull off, to crop (off)'
12. pɛ̀kyɛ̀	'to crush'
13. pòrò	'to crumble especially of dry things, to pluck off, gather'
14. pòsà	'to rub to powder, to bruise, to crush, grind, smash in pieces'
15. pòtɔ̀	'to crush, squash, press into pulp'
16. pɔ́n(é)	'to disjoin or separate with some effort'
17. pɔ̀ẁ	'to cut closely, to lop branches of a tree'
18. sàè	'to cut by making a mark'
19. sènsènè	'to peel, sharpen'
20. sùànè	'to tear'
21. té	'to tear/ pluck'
22. tùè	'to pierce'
23. twá	'to cut'
24. wàè	'to peel/ to split'
25. wèrɛ̀	'to scrape'
26. wɔ́	'to prick, pierce, stump, pound'

All the verbs listed in the Table 1.1 semantically encode separation/disintegration of an entity. They also involve entities coming into contact to bring about a particular change of state (separation, damage/destruction of an entity). The separation or damage could be brought about by an agent who uses an instrument to carry out the action described by the verb; as in examples (3) *dwá* 'to cut up', (4) *dwé* 'to separate, pluck out individual palm fruit from palm stalk', (5)

dwèè 'to cut into the skin' and the other verbs describing processes of cutting. Others such as example (2) *bú* 'to break', (14) *pòrò* 'to crumble especially of dry things, to pluck off, gather' and other breaking activities are able to occur spontaneously and as such do not obligatorily necessitate the presence like an agent.

The topic of C&B events has been prominent in recent discussions of universals of verb semantics and syntax, especially with regard to their underlying semantic structure-types (Majid et al. 2007). It has been shown that the underlying structure of cutting-type verbs is distinct from that of the breaking-type verbs and that this distinction in the semantic structure is associated with distinct argument structure and syntactic privileges (Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin and Rappaport 1995; Bohnemeyer 2007).

As pointed out earlier, there is a diversity in the partitioning of the semantic space of cut and break events cross-linguistically. For example, English distinguishes between *cutting a cake* and *breaking a cake*; the former involves the use of an instrument which is commonly a knife, whereas the latter involves the use of a part of the body, in this case the hands.

Table 1.2 below illustrates a comparison of C&B verbs in English, Garifuna (Arawakwan-Central American language), Mandarin and Akan (Table 1.2 is adapted from Pye (1994) with the Akan examples added by the researcher). It provides the verbs used in these languages to describe actions of "separation in the material integrity" of different objects.

Table 1.2: Verbs of object disintegration in English, Garifuna, Mandarin and Akan

	Cloth	Bubble	Plate	Stick
English	*tear/rip*	*pop*	*break*	*break*
Garifuna	*tistiriguana*	*bowguana*	*bowguana*	*halaguana*
Mandarin	*noŋ4-puo4*	*noŋ4-puo4*	*noŋ4-puo4*	*noŋ4-duan4*
Akan	*té/sùànè*	*pàè*	*pàè/bɔ́*	*bú*

We observe in Table 1.2 that Garifuna, Mandarin and Akan behave similarly, in the sense that these languages do not make any distinction in the verbs used to describe the separation or damage of bubble and plate. This points to the cross-linguistic similarity that exists in the way these events are conceptualized. It is almost as if there is no distinction made in the actions involving these materials across the three languages, hence the use of the same verb associated

with these objects. Mandarin however uses the same verb to describe the separation of a cloth, contra Akan, Garifuna and English, which employ different verbs.
The studies of C&B verbs have generated a diverse range of opinions, deriving from the fact that languages continually demonstrate differences in the expression of this notion. In addition to these differences in the expression of C&B events, cross-linguistically, languages also display different or additional syntactic and semantic properties. This thesis' account of C&B events in Akan contributes to the existing studies on this topic, and the findings of this research will be useful in the formulation of further cross-linguistic generalizations.

1.2 Rationale

Linguistic research on the Akan verbal system has received great attention over the past years (Christaller 1875; Welmers 1946; Schachter and Fromkin 1968; Essilfie 1984; Dolphyne 1987; 1988; Osam 1994; 2004; 2008; 2016; Agyeman 2002; Kambon 2012; Duah 2013). However, it is far from being exhaustive, more especially in the area of verbal semantics. Semantics of Akan, unlike syntax and phonology, has been minimally researched. Studies like Christaller (1875), Richter (1997), Agyekum (2002; 2005), Afreh (2011), Ansah (2011) and Adusei (2012) have analyzed the semantics of different classes of verbs from different perspectives. However, none of these studies are concerned with C&B verbs and for this reason, this domain still remains an unchartered territory that needs to be thoroughly explored in order to contribute to the body of research already conducted on this topic.

Since cross-linguistic variations exist in the encoding of C&B verbs, this contribution from Akan provides a different set of empirical data for future C&B research. By exploring how C&B verbs behave syntactically and semantically in Akan, the present study also augments the syntax and semantics of this language.

The study also contributes a new data elicitation tool in the form of videos[1], which are culturally adapted to the African context. These videos serve as a supplementary data elicitation tool to the one developed by Bohnemeyer et al. (2001).

[1] A description of the videos created by Agyepong (2015) is outlined in the Appendix 2

1.3 Objectives

The main objective of this study is to provide an analysis of the verbal treatment of events of separation in Akan. It aims at amassing data related to the C&B semantic domain and presents a rigorous analysis of the syntax and semantics of the C&B verbs in Akan. Finally, this research presents a constructionist inspired (Goldberg 1995) analysis and aims at providing a new persepective to the domain of Akan verbal semantics. This is the perspective adopted by Ameka and Essegbey (2007) in their analysis of Ewe (Kwa-Niger Congo, Ghanaian language) C&B verbs. For this reason, the present study considers their approach and findings very crucial to the Akan analysis.

The core question this research aims to answer concerns how C&B events are conceptualized in Akan. It achieves this through an analysis of the ways in which such events are expressed in the language.

The following research questions address specific key aspects of the study:

1. What are the semantic characteristics of the Akan C&B verbs?
2. What are the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the Akan C&B verbs?
3. Are their uses shaped by cultural, environmental, socio-economic, spiritual and other peculiarities?
4. What does the analysis of Akan C&B events contribute to the understanding of the universality and diversity of separation events?

1.4 Structure of thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. Chapter One introduces the thesis. Chapter Two reviews the literature on 'cutting' and 'breaking' activities and presents a discussion on the relevant cross-linguistic studies conducted on verbal semantics in general. The discussion is based on issues pertaining to verbal classes and alternations, syntactic and semantic properties of C&B verbs etc. The theoretical framework, Construction Grammar (henceforth CxG) (Goldberg 1995) is introduced in this chapter. A further review of works carried out within CxG is presented to show its effectiveness as a framework for analyzing the Akan separation events. Chapter Three describes the methodology used to collect data for this study.

Chapter Four presents a sketch grammar of Akan. In this chapter, the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic features of Akan is discussed. The chapter also explores the various types of constructions relevant to the discussion of the Akan C&B verbs. Chapter Five is dedicated to the Semantics of the Akan CUT verbs whilst Chapter Six focuses on the semantic properties of the BREAK verbs. In Chapter Seven, the contexts in which the C&B verbs collocate with non-prototypical objects and the interpretations that such combinations derive is discussed. Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by summarizing the main findings and the theoretical implications of the study. It also suggests areas for future research on C&B events.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews research that has been carried out on the classification of verbs as well as those within the C&B domain. It also introduces the framework; Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995), employed in the discussion of the various syntactic behaviour of the Akan C&B verbs.

2.1 Introduction

Verbs are syntactic lexical categories that contribute extensively to sentence interpretation and as such possess properties that are usually complex (Fillmore 1970; Hale and Keyser 1987; Levin 1993; Kroeger 2010). According to Levin (1993), the meanings conveyed by verbs determine how they behave in constructions and also their choice of arguments. Consequently, we are able to "probe for linguistically relevant pertinent aspects of verb meaning" by studying the behavior of the verb (Levin 1993:1). Prior to Levin (1993), Hale and Keyser (1987) had made a similar observation. According to Hale and Keyser (1987), *meaning* is what actually enables a speaker to determine the behavior of verbs and that some aspects of the syntactic behavior of verbs are dependent on the meanings they evoke. Additionally, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2011) stress that verbal meaning also determines the range of situations in the world that the verb can be used to describe.

Levin's (1993) phenomenal work on English verbs presents a fine-grained classification of verbs into 48 broad classes and 192 sub-types based on certain commonalities in their semantic properties, argument interpretation, alternations and morphology. Amongst these broad classes, COS verbs, manner of motion verbs, sound emission verbs and experiencer object psych-verbs seem to be the largest classes.

A brief discussion of verbal classes is crucial in order to understand the arguments put forth in this study. The subsequent discussions review some of the arguments in the literature on the C&B verbal class. The review has been divided into three parts. The first part presents work on verbal classes in general by looking at the various verb types and the alternations in which they occur. The second centers on studies specifically on C&B events, most notably on the research

carried out by the "C&B project" members (Majid et al. 2007). The final part introduces the theoretical framework adopted in this study and some studies that have employed the Construction Grammar Framework, with the aim of highlighting its relevance to the present study. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the two assumptions (i.e. the Akan C&B verbs are monosemous and their semantics can be discussed following Wilkins and Hill's (1995) three-levels of meaning strategy) that are adopted in the discussion of the event semantics of Akan C&B verbs.

2.2 Defining verb classes

Verb classes are sets of semantically related verbs that share a range of linguistic properties, such as argument realization (Levin 1993). Levin's (1993) study on verbal classes focuses on the particular interpretations associated with each possible argument realization. (see also Fillmore 1970).

According to Fillmore (1970), verbal classes are important as a means of investigating the organization of the verb lexicon. They also help in the identification of relevant grammatical meanings. There are certain facets of verb classification that are universal and others that are peculiar to specific languages (Fillmore 1970; Levin 1993; Levin 2013).

Kroeger (2010) stresses the importance of cross-linguistic comparison of verb classes by positing that "this similarity offers additional support for the existence of strong cross-linguistic principles which govern the relationship between verbal semantics and argument expression", Kroeger (2010:19). Furthermore, such a comparison helps us to identify certain constructions (for example causative/inchoative) that occur in a wide range of languages.

The following are some of the verb classes discussed by Levin (1993) for English: manner of motion verbs, directed motion verbs, change of state verbs, verbs of ingestion, light emission verbs, perception verbs, verbs of gestures and signs, weather description verbs etc. Verbs are grouped into each of these categories based on the meanings that they possess. In order to identify what actually makes up the meanings of the verbs in each of these classes, one needs to be able to differentiate between what Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991; 2006 and 2001) have described as Lexicalized and Non-lexicalised meanings of verbs. This is briefly discussed in section 2.3.

2.3 Lexicalized Meaning vs. Non-Lexicalized Meaning

The investigation of verbal meanings has revealed a dichotomy proposed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991; 2006 and 2011). In an attempt to answer the question "what belongs in the meaning of verb?" they assert that:

> ..the meaning of a verb determines the range of situations in the world that it can be used to describe; however, when a verb is used in a sentence describing an event, it is only one element in that description, with other elements in the sentence contributing to the description of the event as well. How then can we determine what the verb contributes – that is, what is truly the verb's own meaning? (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2011:1-2).

According to them, it is possible to separate the facets of meaning strictly provided by the verb itself from those based on the argument choice or use of that verb within a speech context. The meaning of the verb itself is referred to as the LEXICALIZED MEANING and is made up of the basic meaning of the verb. The lexicalized meanings are to be distinguished from other additional meanings inferred from the use of the verb within a particular/given context. To illustrate this, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2011:2) use the verb *open*; which describes a change in state. They posit that the actual change of state is not completely determined by the verb *open,* instead, it depends on the choice of NP object that collocates with it.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2011) further argue that all senses of a verb that are attached to different events can be put together under a single sense of the verb in order to minimize the creation of polysemous senses. According to them "…in default, a verb should have a single sense, and concomitantly should be kept constant across all its uses." Relating this perspective to the English verb *cut*, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2011) argue that this verb is basically a result-type verb that has a prototypical manner interpretation inferred from it. Due to lexicalization of result, which is caused by an action carried out in a certain manner, there are some uses of the verb that simply lexicalize the manner rather than the result. In these instances, the result component drops out in consistency with a process known as the manner/result complementarity (the process whereby verbs either lexicalize a manner or a result meaning component), but never both.

A similar stance is taken in this study. It is argued that majority of the Akan C&B verbs have a single sense with diverse contextual interpretations depending on the arguments with which they collocate.

2.4 What are CUT and BREAK verbs?

Hale and Keyser (1987) have described CUT-type verbs as verbs that bring about a "separation in the material integrity" of a theme or an object with an instrument. Examples of CUT verbs in English include *chip, clip, cut, hack, hew, saw, scrape, slash, snip,* etc. (Levin 1993:156). They are classified under the broad category of "contact verbs", because a bladed instrument usually comes into contact with a theme to bring about a change in state. According to Levin (1993:157), the meanings of the verbs in this category involve the notions of motion/movement, contact and effect. The verbs are distinguished according to the type of instrument used to bring about the result. For example, *cut the carrot* will include the notion of using a knife or scissors, which may or not be sharp whereas *slash the carrot* involves the larger set of sharp instruments. There are two critical differences that distinguish the verb *slash* from *cut*. The first has to do with the sharpness of the instrument: *slash* involves the use of a sharper instrument, whereas for *cut* the instrument may or may not necessarily be sharp. The second is with reference to the manner in which the *cutting* is done; *slash* connotes some form of violent action whereas *cut* does not. BREAK verbs are described as being pure change of state verbs as their overall meaning does not provide information about how the change of state occurred i.e. they lexicalize the result rather than cause. Examples of BREAK verbs in English include *break, chip, crack, crash, rip, smash, snap, tear* etc.

2.5 Syntactic and semantic characteristics of CUT and BREAK verbs

Cross-linguistically, BREAK verbs have been said to syntactically occur in the causative/inchoative alternation (Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1993; Haspelmath 1993; Dixon 2000; Majid et. al. 2007; Ameka and Essegbey 2007; Osam 2008). Conversely, CUT verbs are found in conative constructions in languages like German and English and the middle alternations in English, Berber, Kinyarwanda (Bohnemeyer 2007). This distinction in alternation has largely been attributed to the lexical semantics of these verb classes (Fillmore 1970; Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1993; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

In the discussions that follow, I provide some basic information on the alternations in which the Akan C&B verbs participate. The presentation follows what is discussed in Levin (1993).

2.5.1 Verbal Alternations

Verbal Alternations as a syntactic-semantic operation has received considerable attention (see Levin 1993; Haspelmath 1993; Dixon and Aikhenald 2000; Dixon 2000; Aikhenvald 2000; Dixon 2005; Osam 2008; Bohnemeyer 2007; Onishi 2000; Daniel et al. 2008). These studies acknowledge the role that meaning plays in relation to argument structures of verbs.

Levin (1993) for instance posits that verbal alternations refer to variations that occur in the expression of verbal arguments that may or may not be accompanied by differences in meaning.

In this study, I focus on Transitivity Alternations, specifically the Causative/Inchoative and Unexpressed Object Alternation/Instrument Alternations, as these are the types of alternations relevant for the discussion of the Akan C&B verbs. These alternations and how they are exhibited in Akan are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

2.5.1.1 Transitivity Alternations

Transitivity alternations involve a change in the transitivity of a verb. They take either the form 'NP V NP' alternating with 'NP V' or 'NP V NP' alternating with 'NP V PP' (Levin 1993). Examples under this category include Causative/Inchoative Alternation, Middle Alternation, Unexpressed Object Alternation (Instrument Alternation), and Conative Alternation.

2.5.1.1.1 Causative/Inchoative Alternation

According to Levin (1993:26), the causative/inchoative alternation involves verbs that have both transitive and intransitive uses and "where the transitive use of the verb can be paraphrased roughly as "cause to V-intransitive." In addition, Osam (2008:51) states that the causative/inchoative "refers to situations where in the causative construction there is an agent that is responsible for bringing about the change in state, whereas in the inchoative option the event is presented as occurring without an agent". COS verbs, which include C&B verbs, participate in this alternation.

The following are examples of the causative/inchoative alternation in English (1a) and (1b) and Akan (2a) and (2b).

1a. Janet broke the cup (causative) (Levin 1993:29)
b. The cup broke (inchoative) (Levin 1993:29)

Example (1a) has an agent that causes the action described by the verb *break*, whereas in (1b) the causal agent is not indicated and the action is presented as occurring without an agent. The sentences describe the state in which the NP *cup* is in or the result of the "break" action. Also in (1b), the direct object or the semantic patient appears as the only NP and it occupies the subject position in the inchoative clause.

2a. Ɑ́rábá bù-ù àbàá nó (causative) (Osam 2008:52)
Araba break-COMPL stick DEF
'Araba broke the stick.'

b. Abàá nó bú-í (inchoative) (Osam 2008:52)
stick DEF break-COMPL[2]
'The stick broke.'

Similarly, in (2a) the agent that carries out the action described by the verb is overtly represented. In (2b), however, it is only the theme, *àbàá* 'stick' that is presented. Also, the (2b) sentence has an eventuality that is perceived as occurring spontaneously.

It has been argued extensively (see Daniel et al. 2012; Onishi 2000; Dixon 2000, Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000) that the causative sentences involve a valency increase process that allows language users to introduce an additional agentive role, i.e. the CAUSER. Furthermore, the S (subject) of the intransitive functions as an O (object) in the causative construction. This perspective has been contested by earlier studies such as Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Haspelmath (1993). For instance Levin and Rappaport (1995) argue for the causative form as basic, whiles Haspelmath (1993) stresses on the possibility of having both directions in some languages.

[2] The realisation of the COMPLETIVE marker is explained in chapter four (Akan sketch grammar)

2.5.1.1.2 Unexpressed Object Alternation (Instrument Alternation)

This type of alternation according to Levin (1993) has the subject of the transitive usage mapped onto the subject in the intransitive usage. The intransitive usage involves an object that is not expressed overtly, but is understood in context. CUT and CARVE verbs in English participate in the Instrument Alternation which is a variant of the broad category Unexpressed Object Alternation. Levin (1993) describes the instrument alternation as one that indicates how suitable an instrument is for carrying carrying out the action described by the verb.

3a.	I cut the bread with this knife	(Levin 1993:39)
b.	This knife cut the bread	(Levin 1993:39)
c.	This knife doesn't cut	(Levin 1993:39)

In this type of alternation, there is also the deletion of the actor involved in the cutting event.

2.5.2 C&B events discussion

The main discussions in the existing C&B literature have focused on the lexical properties of the C&B verbs and the types of alternations they undergo. There have been various cross-linguistic studies on the semantic characterization of C&B verbs. More especially, the focus has been on the semantic roles played by the arguments of the verbs or the semantic classification of the predicates. These issues have raised two different types of claims with respect to a subset of the verbs (Fillmore 1970; Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1993; Haspelmath 1993; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Reinhart 2002; Osam 2008; Rappaport Hovav 2014; Levin 2015). The first claim is that the alternating verbs are lexically associated with two arguments and the alternation is as a result of the removal or no expression of the causative or external argument, (Rappaport Hovav 2014). These types of verbs have been referred to by Guerssel et al. (1985) as "dyadic". With the second claim, the alternating verbs are described as being lexically associated with only one argument with the alternation arising from the addition of an external causal argument. These types of verbs have been described as being "monadic" by Guerssel et al. (1985). Dowty (1979), Guerssel et al. (1985), and Hale and Keyser (1987) have argued that BREAK verbs are semantically "monadic" and refer to a change in state without attributing a cause to it. This makes the inchoative reading the basic form from which the causative is derived via a productive rule that adds a (generic) causal event. On the other hand, CUT verbs are semantically "dyadic" and as such lexicalize a causal impact on the theme as a result of the contact between an

instrument and a theme or body part. Due to their lexical semantics, CUT verbs are blocked from occurring in the causative construction and instead license the conative alternation.

In contrast with the above discussions, studies such as Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995); Reinhart (2002); Chierchia (2004); Koontz-Garboden (2009); Levin (2015) and Rappaport Hovav (2014) have argued that the causative form is the basic reading and that the non-causative form is derived by the process of de-causativisation (i.e. the process of removing the external causal event). For them, the non-causative form is fundamentally causative even if only one argument is expressed. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Levin (2015) support this analysis and argue with asymmetries in the NPs that can occupy corresponding "positions" in the variants. They discuss certain instances where COS verbs, which prototypically occur in the causative alternation, are found in causative variants that have no corresponding inchoative variants. They illustrate this claim with following examples in (4) (Levin 2015):

4a. The politician broke his promise to his constituents

b. *His promise to his constituents broke

c. I emptied the cupboard

d. *The cupboard emptied

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Levin (2015) consider the causative to be the basic, based on the distributional patterning of the verbs. According to them, the concept of deriving non-causatives from causatives might be constrained to a particular subset of NP patient arguments. Furthermore, their assumption is that if the non-causative variant was basic, then the productive process of the addition of an external argument would be unlikely to make more possibilities available for the NP patient arguments.

Other studies, such as Fillmore (1968); Haspelmath (1993); Doron (2003) and Osam (2008) have argued that both directions can be found in the argument structure derivations of some languages and for that reason do not align to any of these two accounts. For example, Haspelmath (1993) observes that some languages have unaccusative BREAK verbs that causativize whereas others have base-transitive BREAK verbs that anti-causativize. By analyzing Georgian, French and Arabic examples, he argues that in the causative alternation, the inchoative variant is seen as the basic reading from which the causative has derived. In these sample languages, the causative may be marked morphologically through the process of affixation (5a), or by the addition of a causative auxiliary (5b) or simply by a stem modification (5c). (Haspelmath 1993:91)

5a. Georgian	*duy-s*	‘cook’ (Intransitive)
	a-duy-ebs	‘cook’ (Transitive)
b. French	*fondre*	‘melt’ (Intransitive)
	faire fonder	‘melt’ (Transitive)
c. Arabic	*darasa*	‘learn’ (Intransitive)
	darrasa	‘teach’ (Transitive)

In Russian and Hindi-Urdu the causative verbs are seen as basic and the inchoative verbs are derived through the productive process of affixation (6a), auxiliary anti-causative addition or by a stem modification (6b). (Haspelmath 1993:91)

6a. Russian	*katat’-sja*	‘roll’ (Intransitive)
	katat’	‘roll’ (Transitive)
b. Hindi-Urdu	*khul-naa*	‘open’ (Intransitive)
	khol-naa	‘open’ (Transitive)

A third type involves the non-directed alternations in which neither the inchoative nor the causative verb is derived from the other. (Haspelmath 1993:92)

7a. Hindi-Urdu	*suruu honaa*	‘begin’ (Intransitive)
	suruu karnaa	‘begin’ (Transitive)
b. Lithuanian	*luzti*	‘break’ (Intransitive)
	lauzti	‘break’ (Transitive)

Similarly, for Akan, Osam (2008:51) states that “whereas some of the verbs are used causatively, others tend to be used with the spontaneous sense-where no external agent is implied”. He cites examples of *bú* ‘to break’, which can be used intransitively and still imply the involvement of an external agent.

8a. Atsèř nó é-bú (Fa) (Osam 2008:51)

spoon DEF PERF-break

'The spoon is broken.'

According to Osam (2008), the utterance of this sentence, depending on the context of usage, could solicit a follow up question such as (8b) from the hearer. The use of the same verb in (8c) will however not trigger a follow up question. This is because there may not be any involvement of an external agent: whereas the spoon in (8a) is incapable of breaking spontaneously, the building in (8c) can collapse spontaneously without the involvement of an external agent. In consonance with Rappaport Hovav (2014), we can make the claim that within a given pragmatic context, the causal agent may perhaps be unknown to the speaker.

b. Wóáná bú-ú nó? (Fa.) (Osam 2008:51)

Who break-COMPL DEF

'Who broke it?'

c. Dáń nó é-bú (Fa.) (Osam 2008:51)

building DEF PERF-break

'The building is broken.'

Osam (2008) explains that for Akan, whether the intransitive use of such COS verbs implies an agent or not partly depends on the type of entity that undergoes the change of state, namely whether that entity is capable of undergoing a spontaneous change of state or not.

These observations support the claim made by Bohnemeyer (2007:157) that "once it is acknowledged that BREAK verbs may just be as dyadic as CUT verbs…explanations for why the former but not the latter, produce inchoative forms can no longer be maintained".

In this study, the Akan CUT verbs are treated as basically transitive whereas the BREAK verbs are considered as intransitive. This implies that the semantics of CUT verbs entails an instrument/agent whereas that of BREAK verbs only entails result. The study goes a step further and adopts the constructionist approach to argue that both the transitive and intransitive forms of the verbs, can best be viewed as instantiations of the two-place and one-place constructions respectively. Each of these constructions possesses specific interpretations that they contribute to

syntactic structures. The semantics of the constructions interact with the semantics of the verbs to derive the overall interpretations of sentences. Whenever the two-place construction is used, a cause is implied. The one-place construction lacks cause and focuses on the end result of action described by the verb.

2.5.3 The Semantics and Pragmatics of argument realisation (Rappaport Hovav 2014 and Levin 2015).

Deviating from the accounts that focus on just the lexical factors as determinants of verbal alternations, Rappaport Hovav (2014) and Levin (2015) shed light on how non-lexical factors such as pragmatic contexts affect verbal alternation. They argue that contextual factors are involved in determining the verbal alternation variant that appropriately describes a given situation. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the contextual and lexical constraints for the proper understanding and appreciation of a particular verbal alternation.

Rappaport Hovav (2014), for example, outlines certain pragmatic factors that govern the covert and overt representation of the cause argument in the verbal alternations. Both Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2012) and Rappaport Hovav (2014) report that a major constraint on the appearance or non-appearance of the causal argument depends on the fact that the cause argument must be construable as a direct cause. In other words, the direct causation must be a necessary condition for the overt realization of the causal argument, leading to a constraint referred to as the Direct Causation Condition.

The Direct Causation Condition: Wolff (2003), Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2012:160) define this as "a single argument verb may be expressed in a clause with a transitive verb if the subject represents a direct cause of the event expressed by the verb and its argument". For example in Akan:

9.	Ákrábá	bù-ù	àbàá	nó	(causative)	(Osam 2008:52)
	Araba	break-COMPL	stick	DEF		
	'Araba broke the stick.'					

In example (9), the NP *Ákrábá*, acts as the direct causal agent of the activity described by the verb *bú* "to break" and for this reason it is represented. Note however that pragmatically, the agent is also expressed when the speaker actually witnessed the actor in question carrying out the action.

Conversely, certain pragmatic factors can be responsible for the absence or covert realization of the causal argument. The causal argument is not represented when the cause is recoverable from the context i.e. either the cause is default or it has previously been mentioned. It is also omitted when the speaker is not aware of the cause of the action described by the verb.

Default Cause: these involve changes that occur in the normal course of event. They also depict the gradual development involved in such events. These events due to their nature (i.e. dynamic change of state) do not require an agent to bring about the effect. Consider the following examples from from Akan (10a-b).

10a. Ǎbòfrá nó nyǐnǐ-íɛ́
child DEF grow-COMPL
'The child grew.'

b. Ǎrábá nhwȋń fù-ùíɛ́
Araba hair lengthen-COMPL
'Araba's hair lengthened/ grew long.'

In examples (10a) and (10b), the growing of a child and the lengthening of hair are seen as events that occur naturally and as such do not require a causal agent to bring about the effect. Rappaport Hovav (2014) states that the causes of such events are not explicitly mentioned because even though the scientific reasons behind these events are not known to all speakers, there is however the knowledge that a given set of causes which are constant and thus never change, are responsible for causing these events and for that matter need not be overtly expressed. This not withstanding, Akan is able overtly express the causal argument in such contexts, as exemplified in (11).

11. Adúró nó fù-ù Ǎrábá nwȋn
medicine DEF lengthen-COMPL Araba hair
'The medicine lengthened (grew) Araba's hair.'

This sentence, though grammatical, could have been said in the intransitive. The causal agent in this sentence acts as a form of top-up cause to the original default agent. It is not the medicine that is actually responsible for the growth of hair (since it is a natural development), but rather it

acts as an enhancement to the natural process of hair growth i.e. the hair will still grow without the application of medicines or creams.

Previously Mentioned Cause: In these cases, the causing agent is left out because it has already been mentioned in a previous context. For example:

12. Obóhyí téná-á pónó nó só pɛ́ nà è-bú-úíɛ́
    Obohyi sit-COMPL table DEF top immediately and 3SG-break-COMPL
    'Immediately Oboshie sat on the table, it broke.'

The two clauses in example (12) are linked by the conjunction *nà* 'and'. The first clause contains the NP causal agent *Obohyi* who carries out the action described by the verb. This licenses the absence of causer agent in the second clause which is represented by the resumptive pronoun /e/ attached to verb *bú* 'to break'. A direct inference can therefore be made from the previous clause or context.

Unknown Cause: This occurs when the speaker does not know how the change of state came about. For example:

13. Abàá nó á-bù
    stick DEF PERF-break
    'The stick is broken.'

In this sentence, the causer is omitted either because the speaker did not witness how the breaking event happened or is not really sure who actually broke the stick. The statement will however not be pragmatically accurate if the speaker saw that *Kofi* in fact broke the stick and replies with this sentence when questioned about the state of the stick. However, the statement can equally be used when it is the speaker's intention to deliberately hide the causing agent, in which case, the 'pragmatic accuracy' concept is negated.

2.6 The semantic partitioning of C&B verbal categories

The categorization of verbs in the semantic domain of object separation and destruction has resulted in the establishment of two primary classes. Certain semantic and syntactic properties are shared by verbs of each of the two categories. Guerssel et al. (1985) after studying four

unrelated languages; Berber, English, Hocãk and Walpiri make the claim that there exists a two-way distinction namely BREAK verbs vs. CUT verbs in these languages.

BREAK verbs encode a state change event without attributing a cause to it and as such are able to participate in the causative-inchoative alternation (*He broke the glass* and *The glass broke*). CUT verbs in contrast depict actions that involve a causer that is responsible for the separation; they lexicalize the causal impact on a theme as a result of the contact between the instrument and a theme or some part of the body. Thus they cannot occur in the inchoative alternation, e.g. *He cut the bread* and **The bread cut.* Instead, CUT verbs are said to participate in the conative construction, e.g. *He cut at the bread*. This two-way distinction has been contested by researchers who have argued for a deviation from this bipartition into BREAK and CUT verbs in the languages they study (see Bohnemeyer 2007; Narasimhan 2007; Levinson 2007; Ameka and Essegbey 2007; Chen 2007).

Bohnemeyer (2007) tests the universality of the bipartition of the C&B events proposed by Guerssel et al. (1985) against a corpus of data from 17 unrelated languages. He identifies a group of verbs that he refers to as 'bipolar verbs'. These verbs semantically specify both state change and cause on a single verb. His study reveals that, for example, Mandarin has neither CUT verbs nor BREAK verbs as categories. All Mandarin simplex verbs in the C&B domain either encode the use of an instrument but no state change or they describe a state change without any reference to the causing agent (Bohnemeyer 2007). For that reason he argues for a replacement of the bipartition of the C&B domain by a tripartite classification by including bipolar verbs that semantically specify both state change and cause.

Chen (2007) also reports that Mandarin distinguishes fine semantic differences in the causal action as well as in the caused result. According to her, Mandarin has no CUT and BREAK verb categories. Instead it has transitive roots that describe cutting events without necessarily entailing any form of state change. Regarding BREAK verbs, Mandarin has intransitive state change verbs of breaking that do not encode a cause; all causative state change verbs in the domain are bipolar verbs (Bohnemeyer 2007).

Chen (2007:273) furthermore argues that unlike English, which employs a mono-morphemic verb like *cut*, Mandarin typically uses a resultative verb compound (RVC) such as *qiel-duan4* 'cut.with.single.blade-be.broken' as in the example below.

14. Tal qiel-duan4 le shen2zi2
he cut.with.single.blade -be.broken PVF rope
'He cut the rope.' (Chen 2007:273)

According to her, the first verb, in this case *qiel*, encodes only the sub-event of the cutting event whiles the second verb, *duan4* encodes the state change of the rope being broken as the result of the cutting action. "Mandarin has very few mono-morphemic verbs that like English *cut* and *break*- lexicalize both a causal action and a caused state change. Instead, it employs a very productive process of combining two simplex verbs in an RVC" Chen (2007:274). This makes it possible to combine different action verbs with the same result verb (*bail-duan4* 'bend-be.broken', *bail zhe2* 'bend-be.bent') and conversely combining different result verbs with the same action verb (*qiel-duan4* 'cut.with.single.blade-be.broken', *ju4-duan4* 'cut.with.saw(like).instrument-be.broken). This makes Mandarin C&B RVCs semantically compositional, i.e. as a whole they entail indefeasible state changes. The morphemic structure (see. example 14) of the Mandarin C&B verbs makes Chen's (2007) work very distinct. In the cross-linguistic samples of the C&B project, it is only Mandarin that exhibits this compositional way of exhibiting C&B events i.e. using two separate verbs—each with a distinct lexical meaning to describe a single C&B event.

Narasimhan (2007) also argues for a tripartite classification of this semantic domain. She describes Hindi (Indo-European) and Tamil (Dravidian) as exhibiting a three-way distinction between cutting, breaking and tearing. Hindi and Tamil make this distinction based on the predictability of the location of the separation in the theme object. Cutting events involve a relatively high degree of predictability unlike breaking events, which involve greater uncertainty as to the locus of separation. A further distinction is made based on the properties of the instrument as well as that of the theme (whether hard or flexible).

Breaking: Narasimhan (2007:197) describes BREAK verbs in both Hindi and Tamil as being applied to events involving rigid object (e.g. pots, plates, branch etc.) and blunt instruments (hand, hammer). The verb *toD/* 'break' is used in Hindi to describe situations like snapping and breaking in English. Hindi speakers however extend this verb *toD/* 'break' to non-rigid objects and instruments with blade-like edges.[3]

Cutting: The Hindi verb *kaaT* 'cut' is used to describe events like *cut*, *carve*, *slash*, *slice*, *sting* etc. and thus implies the use of bladed or pointed instrument. Narasimhan (2007:200) points out

[3] In Hindi and Tamil transliteration caps stand for retroflex consonants and U represents the unrounded centralized vowel. The symbol "|" following the consonants represent flapped consonants. (Narasimhan 2007).

that unlike the Hindi verb *toD/* the Tamil verb *veTTU* cannot be used to mean 'bite' or 'sting', even though these activities typically involve the use of sharp or pointed instruments like the teeth.

Tearing: Both languages make a clear-cut distinction between verbs of cutting and breaking and verbs of tearing. Hindi uses the verb *phaaD/* and Tamil *kiZii* to express material separation in a two dimensional flexible object such as cloth.

Akan seems to make this same kind of distinction; separation in a two dimensional flexible object such as cloth and paper. Akan however has two verbs that are used to describe the activity of tearing, usually based on the manner in which the action is performed, for example *té* 'to tear' is used for any form of tearing. *Sùànè* 'to tear, split in a longitudinal dimension' is restricted to the separation of thin and soft materials into long pieces or strips or making a long fissure (Christaller 1935:509).

Yélî Dnye (Papuan Language of Rossel Island) is another language that does not make a two-way distinction in description of separation events. Levinson (2007) describes Yélî Dnye as a language that does not have verbs that specifically focus on the use of special instruments on the one hand and verbs that focus on the resultant state on the other. Yélî Dnye uses only three transitive verbs (*chapwo, chaa, pwaa*) and their intransitive counterparts to describe C&B events. The verbal distinction is made based on the mode of severance, i.e. coherent severance with the grain vs. against the grain and incoherent severance (regardless of the grain). This language uses one general breaking verbal notion and two core cutting verbal notions; one depicting severing across the grain and the other splitting/cutting/tearing along the grain. Each of these is represented with two different verbal forms; a transitive and intransitive root (*pwaa*: transitive, *pwopu:* intransitive, *chaa* transitive, *chopu:* intransitive; Levinson (2007:208-209).

Essegbey's (2007) research on the Sranan shows that verb *koti* 'cut', which superficially looks like a CUT verb in English, is actually a BREAK verb, even though most speakers use it to describe a range of events in which sharp-edged or pointed instruments are used to produce a clean cut. Unlike the English verb *cut, koti* has a more general meaning and can be used to describe events that do not necessarily involve the use of a sharp instrument. He argues that this verb *koti* instead of lexicalizing the instrument – as CUT verbs in other languages typically do – lexicalizes the nature of change brought about by the activity; specifically that of a clean cut. Moreover, if one wants to place emphasis on either the manner or instrument, then other resources such as an adverbial phrase or serial verb construction are employed, as shown in examples (15a) and (15b) adopted from Essegbey (2007:233):

15a. a e koti a titie nanga en anu
3SG IMP cut DEF rope with 3SG:POSS hand
'He is cutting the thread with his hands.'

b. a e hari en koti nanga en anu
3SG IMP pull 3SG cut with 3SG:POSS hand
'He is pulling it and cutting it with his hands.'

Essegbey (2007) explains that example (15a) describes the whole event with the verb *koti* whiles an SVC is used in sentence (15b) to specify the manner of cutting (i.e. by pulling on the thread).

Ameka and Essegbey (2007) also argue against the bipartition distinction of verb classes in this semantic domain. Their study of this semantic domain in Ewe shows that cutting and breaking events can be divided into four morpho-syntactic classes based on agentivity. These are highly agentive, agentive, highly non-agentive and non-agentive verbs. The Ewe highly non-agentive BREAK verbs participate in the causative-inchoative alternation while the highly agentive CUT verbs do not. Ameka and Essegbey (2007) make the following distinctions between these verb types.

Highly Agentive: The verbs under this category lexicalize instrument and manner or purpose, examples include *dza* 'slash', *si* 'cut' and *kpa* 'to carve'.

Agentive: Agentive verbs describe situations that are primarily carried out with instruments as in *tso* and *se*. These verbs describe the separation of an object that is or looks as if it was done with a sharp instrument (Ameka and Essegbey 2007:244).

Non-Agentive: Unlike agentive verbs, non-agentive verbs (*la* 'snap off' and *dze* 'split') primarily describe a type of separation that does not incorporate any instrument; it is only used in contexts where there is severance.

Highly Non-Agentive: The verbs in this category either incorporate the type of object that undergoes the change or the nature of the change. Examples include *vuvu* 'tear', *fe* 'split' and *gba* 'break'.

This study is especially relevant for comparative purposes since Ewe and Akan are both Kwa languages. Furthermore, the C&B verbs in Akan exhibit the features proposed by Ameka and Essegbey (2007). For this reason, I discuss how the Akan C&B verbs manifest these morphosyntactic classes based on agentivity in Chapters 5 and 6.

Another language that seems to differ from previously described languages in the C&B domain is Aiwoo; an Oceanic language. Naess (2012) examines the lexical encoding of C&B events in this language. Her study reveals that Aiwoo has extremely complex forms of C&B verbs consisting of two bound elements that refer to distinct aspects of separation events. The first bound morpheme depicts the act carried out to bring about the object destruction. It also specifies the instrument involved in the action if that action requires an instrument. The second morpheme describes the manner in which the object breaks i.e. whether it snaps, smashes, cracks open etc.) (Naess 2012:403). The study also argues against the bi-partitioning of C&B events and rather proposes a cline of lexicalization assumed to reflect a conceptual-semantic continuum of event integration.

The studies discussed so far focus on languages that do not show a bipartition of the C&B events domain. There are however a number of languages which exhibit the two-way distinction in the description of separation events (see for example O'Connor (2007) on Lowland Chontal; Lupke (2007) on Jalonke; Gaby (2007) on Kuuk Thaayore; Staden (2007) on Tidore; Palancar (2007) on Otomi and Brown (2007) on Tzeltal).

In this study, I argue that Akan can be described as a language that makes a two-way distinction between cutting and breaking events, based on my data and further reflections.

Schaefer and Egbokhare (2012) also investigate separation events encoding in Emai, a West Benue Congo language spoken in Nigeria. They discuss a change of state particle *(a)* which is attached to verbs and is associated with the encoding of events that involve an affected entity, usually the grammatical subject or direct object, undergoing some form of change of state.

The studies discussed above provide important background information for the present study. This notwithstanding, it is necessary to highlight the fact that none of these works discussed the metaphorical or non-prototypical uses of the C&B verbs. It is not surprising therefore that Taylor (2007) concludes his paper appealing for further investigation into this aspect of separation events

> ... there are to be sure many other questions which go well beyond the scope of the present project, but which are nevertheless of interest to semantic theory in general, including semantic typology. One concerns the availability of C&B verbs for metaphorical extensions beyond the domain of material separation. Taylor (2007: 335)

The present study therefore is a contribution to the already existing studies on this topic. It looks extensively at the various semantic properties associated with CUT and BREAK verbs in Akan.

It seeks to address the issue raised in the above quote by going a step further to discuss the various ways in which the C&B verbs are used in non-prototypical contexts.

2.7 Theoretical Framework: Construction Grammar

This section of the chapter discusses the main ideas of Construction Grammar as a theoretical perspective. It outlines the essential context required to understand and appreciate the constructionist perspective adopted in this study.

2.7.1 What is Construction Grammar?

The term Construction Grammar has been used to describe the various models or theories in linguistics that consider constructions as being the building blocks of language (i.e. symbolic configurations of form and meaning pairings).

Linguists have extensively explored the concept of arbitrary form-function pairings and have observed that constructions are not only relevant for the analysis of words or morphemes but are also applicable to all levels of grammatical descriptions. Some of the very first works in CxG, according to Hoffman and Trousdale (2013), include Fillmore (1985, 1988), Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988) and Lakoff (1987).

2.7.2 What are constructions?

Goldberg and Casenhiser (2006) and Schonefield (2006) trace the term 'construction' to twelve-century medieval linguists. This term alongside various construction-specific rules was extensively used in the early Chomskyan transformational models (Chomsky 1957, 1965).
A notion shared by all construction grammarians is that constructions are symbolic configurations, i.e. complex signs, a pairing of form and meaning. Attempting to create a unified definition of a "construction" has not gone without debates. Consequently, the main representatives of CxG have given different notions of what a construction is. The subsequent sub-sections present the notion of a construction, as put forth by Fillmore, Langacker, Goldberg and Croft.

2.7.2.1 Fillmore's notion of construction (Fillmore 1988, 1989, Fillmore Kay and O'Connor 1988)

Fillmore's approach is situated within generative linguistics; however his main tenets contradict some of the assumptions made by the generative approach. He argues against the generativists' rejection of constructions as a necessary tool for language by positing that such an assumption deprives a linguistic model of the possibility to account for important language data that are relegated from what is accepted as "core grammar" and pushes it into a category of those referred to as "periphery".

Fillmore et al. (1988) and Fillmore (1989:18) further argue that "a grammar of a language is in large part a repertory of holistic patterns, the language's *grammatical constructions*". According to Fillmore (1988:507) the grammatical constructions are the types of expressions whose form, meaning and use is not easily predictable from the knowledge of the basic structural make-up of the language. He defines a grammatical construction as "any syntactic pattern, which is assigned one or more conventional functions in a language, together with whatever is linguistically conventionalized about its contribution to the meaning or use of structures containing it" (Fillmore 1988:36).

Constructions are considered as formal patterns that have particular meanings or functions associated with them and as such this notion is what shapes the commonly held view amongst constructionists. In this light, they align with various linguists who argue for the semantics of grammar (Wierzbicka 1988; Dixon 2005).

2.7.2.2 Langacker's notion of construction (Langacker 1987, 1991)

Langacker adopts a usage-based perspective in defining constructions. Langacker's (1987:494) main concern is with "the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker's knowledge of this; [i.e. with their] knowledge of the full range of linguistic conventions". He views the lexicon, morphology, syntax, semantics of grammar, pragmatics and cultural experience as not being different, since they are all concerned with meaningful structures.

Langacker defines a construction by claiming that, "grammar resides in patterns for combining simpler symbolic structures to form progressively more complex ones. Any such combination is

referred to as a construction. It consists of two or more component structures that are integrated to form a composite structure" (Langacker 1991:5).

2.7.2.3 Goldberg's notion of construction

Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004:533) have defined constructions "…to be any stored pairings of form and function; according to this definition, words and morphemes are technically constructions as well. In addition, stored (typically highly frequent) regularities between form and meaning are considered constructions even if they are fully compositional".

Goldberg (1995) posits that it is crucial for a construction to have at least one of its properties not being predictable from its component part and its structural make-up.

2.7.2.4 Croft's notion of constructions (Croft 2001, Hoffman and Trousdale 2013)

Croft (2001:4) generally defines constructions as "… basic units of syntactic representation, and categories are derived from the construction(s) in which they occur".

In the first instance, he establishes a relationship between constructions and lexical items. For Croft, constructions consist of everything from basic words to fully schematic and regular patterns. Also, Croft (2001:25-27) asserts that constructions form a taxonomic constructional network, with each construction being an independent node.

Hoffman and Trousdale (2013:1) claim that for construction grammarians, all constructions are part of a lexicon-syntax continuum and for that reason, do not assume that there is a clear-cut division between the lexicon and syntax. Hoffman and Trousdale (2013:1) exemplify this continuum as follows:

1. Word Construction:

   Apple [æpl]-'apple'
2. Idiom Constructions: e.g. X take Y for granted

   [X TAKE Y fə gɹɑ:ntid]- 'X doesn't value Y'
3. Comparative Construction: e.g. John is taller than you

   [X BE Adj.$_{\text{comparative}}$ ðən Y]- 'X is more Adj. than Y'

4. Resultative Construction: e.g. She rocks the baby to sleep

   [X V Y Z] – 'X causes Y to become Z by V-ing'

Hoffman and Trousdale (2013:1-2) explain that the word "apple" in (1) is a classic pairing of form and meaning and can be described as a construction. In (2), they explain that since the meaning of the idiom is not completely compositional, it is has to be stored in the mental lexicon of speakers. In addition, the idiom construction also contains slots (i.e. X and Y) that can be filled with different types of elements (cf. 'Many people take their friends for granted/ She takes him for granted/ John and Jill will take each other for granted' etc.) The above types of constructions are described as being schematic. Consequently, the comparative construction in (3) can be described as being more schematic than the idiom construction in (2), because the only substantive element in (3) is the comparative word than *[ðən]* with four other schematic slots to be filled (i.e. subject X, the form of BE, the comparative adjective and Y). The resultative construction in (4) is classified as completely schematic, because it has slots (i.e. X V Y Z) that need to be filled and specified. As such it is able to license different structures such as *She kissed it better/ They wiped the table clean/ He coloured his beard red.*

2.7.2.5 Importance of the constructional approach

Goldberg (2003:219) discusses the importance of the constructional approach as follows

- CxG as a framework helps to account for the full range of facts about language, without assuming that a particular subset of the data is part of a privileged 'core'. The argument here is that those constructions that are classified as unusual, rather shed light on more general issues and can illuminate what is required for a complete account of a language.

- This approach also allows us to state clearly and directly observations about constructions, thus providing long-standing traditions with a framework that allows both broad generalizations as well as more limited patterns to be analyzed and accounted for fully. It helps in the effective account of both unusual and especially complex patterns and of the basic regular patterns of language.

- It also helps us to adequately account for very subtle semantic facts and use of particular constructions as it aims to account for all aspects of grammar."

Table 2.1, adopted from Goldberg (2003:220) shows examples of constructions, varying in size and complexity.

Table 2.1: Types of constructions

Construction	**Form/ Example**	**Function**
Morpheme	e.g. ***anti****-, pre-, -ing*	
Word	e.g. *avocado, anaconda*	
Complex Word	e.g. *daredevil, shoo-in*	
Idiom (filled)	e.g. *going great guns*	
Idiom (partially filled)	e.g. *jog (someone's) memory*	
Covariational-Conditional Construction	Form: The Xer the Yer (e.g. *The more you think about it, the less you understand)*	Meaning: linked independent and dependent on variables
Di-transitive(double-object)	Form: SUBJ [V OBJ OBJ2] (e.g. *He gave her a Coke; He baked her a muffin*)	Meaning: transfer (intended or actual)
Passive	Form: SUBJ AUX $VP_{pp\ (}PP_{by)}$ (e.g. *The armadillo was hit by a car)*	Discourse function: to make undergoer topical and/or actor non-topical.

According to Goldberg (2003), this table contains an example of an unusual pattern. The Covariational Conditional construction (e.g. *The more you think about it, the less you understand*) is given as an example of an unusual pattern. She explains that the construction is interpreted as involving two variables; an independent variable (identified by the first phrase, *The more you think about it*) and a dependent variable (identified by the second phrase, *the less you understand).* The determiner *the* normally occurs phrase initially in a noun phrase. Contrary to this, the sentence in this example has the determiner coming before a comparative phrase

more. The two major phrases of the construction therefore cannot be classified as either noun phrases or clauses. The requirement that two phrases of this type be juxtaposed without a conjunction is not predictable from the pattern of the sentence. Because of this lack of predictability in the sentence pattern, a construction is posited that specifies the particular form and semantic function involved.

The English C&B verb *sliced* has been discussed in various types of constructions by Goldberg (2003:221). For example:

a) He sliced the bread. (Transitive Construction)

b) Pat sliced the carrots into the salad (Caused Motion Construction)

c) Pat sliced Chris a piece of pie (Ditransitive Construction)

d) Emeril sliced and diced his way to stardom. (Way Construction)

e) Pat sliced the box open (Resultative Construction)"

In all these sentences, the meaning of the verb *slice* is 'to cut with a sharp instrument'. The different interpretations are a result of the different argument-structure constructions which provide a direct link between surface form and general aspects of the interpretation. These are (a) something acting on something else, (b) something causing something else to move, (c) someone intending to cause someone to receive something, (d) someone moving somewhere, (e) someone causing something to change state.

According to Golberg (1995, 2006), the free combination of various types of constructions (to form actual expressions) is allowed provided that the semantics of the terms and that of the constructions are not in conflict. This is exemplified in the sentence below, cited from Goldberg (2003:221):

a) [What did Liza buy the child?]

This sentence is made up of the following constructions (note however that at any one time a particular construction is in the core):

b) 1. Liza, buy, the, child, what, did, constructions (i.e. words)

2. Di-transitive Construction

3. Question Construction

4. Subject-Auxiliary Inversion Construction

5. VP Construction

6. NP Construction

2.7.2.6 Tenets of constructionist approaches

Goldberg (2003:219) outlines some tenets shared by most of the constructionist approaches discussed above. According to Goldberg, each of these tenets represents a major divergence from the mainstream generative approach, and at the same time reflects more traditional views of language. These tenets quoted from Goldberg (2003:219) are listed in the below.

> Tenet 1: All levels of description are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially filled and fully abstract phrasal patterns.
>
> Tenet 2: Emphasis is placed on subtle aspects of the way we conceive of events and states of affairs.
>
> Tenet 3: A 'what you see is what you get' approach to syntactic form is adopted: no underlying levels of syntax or any phonologically empty elements are posited.
>
> Tenet 4: Constructions are understood to be learned on the basis of the input and general cognitive mechanisms (they are constructed), and are expected to vary cross-linguistically.
>
> Tenet 5: Cross-linguistic generalizations are explained by appeal to general cognitive constraints together with functions of the constructions involved
>
> Tenet 6: Language-specific generalizations across constructions are captured via inheritance networks much like those that have long been posited to capture our non-linguistic knowledge.
>
> Tenet 7: The totality of our knowledge of language is captured by a network of constructions: a'construct-i-con'.

2.7.3 Organization of Constructional Knowledge in CxG

Following Boas (2013), this section discusses the organization of constructional knowledge CxG, by focusing mainly on Motivation, Constructional Taxonomies (Networks and Inheritance Hierarchies) as well as Frequency and Productivity.

2.7.3.1 Motivation

CxG stands out from other approaches because it "offers a psychologically realistic account of language by determining how different more general cognitive principles serve to structure the inventories of construction" (Boas 2013:12). This approach is driven by the observation that the existence of any construction in the grammar is largely motivated by human interaction and cognition, and that many facets of grammatical form emerge from social interaction between speakers. Boas (2013) points out that this idea is not solely perculiar to CxG. Other common principles of interaction influence grammatical structures, such as iconicity (Haiman 1983), reasoning through metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff 1987), categorization in terms of prototypes (Lakoff 1987) and categorization based on basic experiential patterns (Johnson 1987).

Goldberg (1995:67) outlines four major principles of motivation: Principle of Maximized Economy, Principle of Maximized Motivation, Principle of Maximized Expressive Power and Principle of No Synonymy. Of these four, the Principle of Maximized Motivation is described as the most influential when it comes to the modeling of constructions. She posits

> "if construction A is related to construction B syntactically, then the system of construction A is motivated to the degree that it is related to construction B semantically… such motivation is maximized." (Goldberg 1995:67)

2.7.3.2 Networks and inheritance hierarchies

In CxG constructions are considered as the "structured inventory of a speaker's knowledge of conventions of their language and not a random collection of exceptions and irregularities", Boas (2013:14).

Goldberg (1995, 2006) highlights the importance of inheritance hierarchies to taxonomic networks in CxG by asserting that sub-constructions are able to inherit some generalizations and

features from constructions that are placed higher on the inheritance hierarchy. Figure 2.1 below illustrates a partial taxonomic hierarchy.

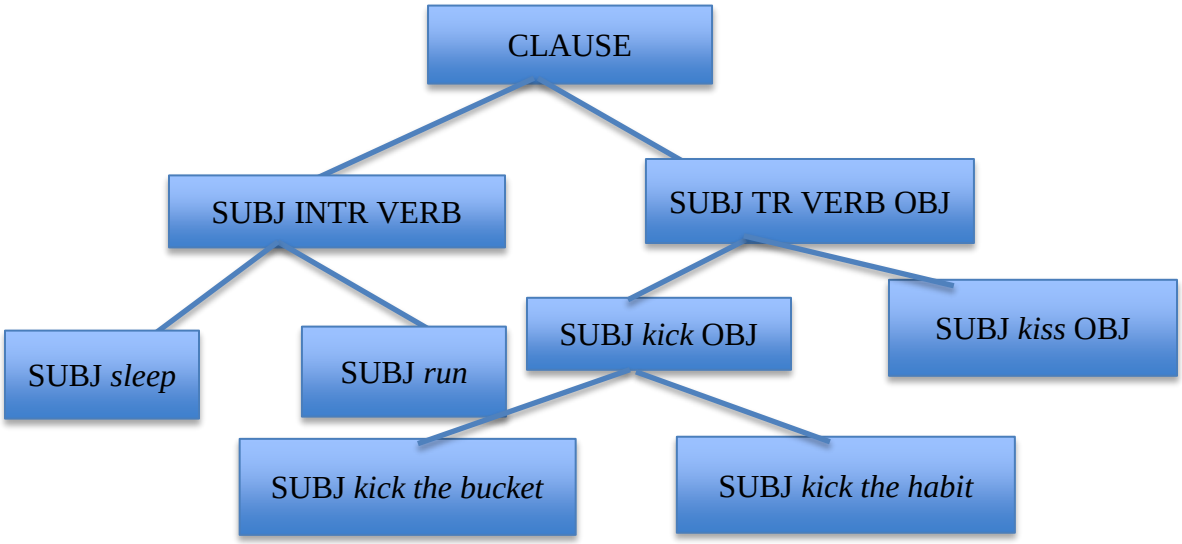

Figure 2.1: Taxonomic Hierarchy (Croft and Cruse 2004:264)

Boas (2013) explains that there are two partially filled idiomatic expressions: *kick the bucket* and *kick the habit* at the bottom on the hierarchy. These expressions have the same argument structure pattern as uses of transitive *kick* ('kick the ball') which is a step higher in the hierarchy. Constructionally, the idiomatic expression constructions inherit more general properties such as verbal inflection, phonological realization, and other specifications regarding the subject (e.g. the fact that it has to be animate), from the mother construction. "Transitive *kick*, in turn, inherits its argument structure pattern from the more schematic transitive verb phrase, which in turn inherits properties from the more general clause construction", Boas (2013:15).

2.7.3.3 Frequency and Productivity

Boas (2013:17) asserts that in CxG, "it is possible that patterns occurring with sufficient frequency are stored as constructions alongside more general linguistic generalizations even when they are fully compositional and predictable". This frequency is also important for accounting for the productivity of a construction i.e. the speaker's ability to extend argument structure constructions to new verbs and to avoid over generalizations.

2.8 Some assumptions on meaning construction

In this section, I discuss the two assumptions associated with linguistic signs and utterances. The semantic description and representation of the C&B verbs are discussed based on these two assumptions:

1. The verbs are monosemous with various collocational readings (Ruhl 1989).
2. Following Wilkins & Hill (1995) and Ameka (2016), I assume that the meanings of lexical items can be placed on three levels, consisting of structured ideas about linguistic signs, pragmatics and online interpretation of utterances.

These two assumptions of meaning are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

2.8.1 Monosemy vs. Polysemy

The Monosemic Bias approach to the analysis of words (Ruhl 1989) is adopted in explaining the semantics of verbs. This approach is grounded in two hypotheses: "a word has a single meaning, secondly, if a word has more than one meaning, its meanings are related by general rules" (Ruhl 1989:4).

Ruhl (1989) further explains that in this approach:

> "… a researcher's initial efforts are directed toward determining a unitary meaning for a lexical item, trying to attribute apparent variations in meaning to other factors. If such efforts fail, then the researcher tries to discover a means of relating the distinct meanings. If these efforts fail, then there are several words. This approach initially assumes that lexical form and meaning are fully congruent, and that claims of polysemy, homonymy, and idiomaticity must be substantiated by detailed study, not merely asserted as intuitive insights. This Monosemic Bias implies a priority of research: a full detailed exploration of a word's variant range before considering its possible paraphrase relationships with other lexical items" (Ruhl 1984:4).

What this actually means is that most lexical items generally have a single meaning that are tested against various ranges of uses in order to establish a relationship. However, if no such relation is able to be accounted for then polysemy (multiple senses) or homonymy (unrelated multiple senses) can be postulated.

It will be argued that majority of the Akan C&B verbs are monosemous verbs that have different readings or interpretations resulting from their collocations with various types of NP arguments. For this reason, one should not consider the different contextual interpretations as distinct senses of the verbs.

2.8.2 The three levels of meaning

Wilkins & Hill (1995) propose three levels of meanings that are associated with lexical items. The first level, which is Semantics 1, consists of structured ideas about lexical items, constructions, gestures, prosodic patterns, stored in the minds of both speakers and hearers. Ameka (2016) further explains that this level is mainly concerned with stable, context independent meanings of linguistic signs. It is also at this level that combinatorial rules and their interpretations operate. It is at this level that literal meanings are produced. This first level feeds into the second level (Pragmatics). Also at this level, the literal meanings of lexical items interact with context related devices such as culture specific and general encyclopedic knowledge associated with the lexical items. It is the interaction between these two levels that results in the online interpretation of utterances for both speakers and hearers (level 3, Semantics 2).

Unlike Semantics 1, the contextual interpretations in Semantic 2 are not stored in the minds of the speakers and hearers but are rather outputs of the interpretation processes and can be cycled back into Semantics 1 when they become fossilized expressions over time (Ameka 2016).

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the verbal alternations relevant for the discussion of the C&B events in Akan. Cross-linguistic studies conducted on C&B events have also been reviewed in this chapter in order to see how the case of Akan fits or deviates from what has been attested in previous studies. The review of the previous C&B studies makes one thing evident: that the main focus for those studies was the prototypical usages of the verbs and have therefore not addressed the availability of the verbs to occur with non-prototypical/atypical objects. To fill this research gap, the present study adopts a constructionist approach and argues that such collocational usages can best be accounted for within this approach; where the interpretation of the collocations derives from the lexical semantics of the verbs plus their internal arguments and the

constructions in which they occur. Furthermore, the constructionist approach as a framework is relevant for three reasons:

1. Akan, unlike Georgian, French, Russian, Arabic (Haspelmath 1993, see. 2.5.3) lacks morphological means of representing argument increase and decrease of verbs, making it difficult to account for some of the alternations that the verbs participate in. Adopting a constructionist perspective however allows one to account for such situations by arguing that such alternations are as result of an interaction between syntactic constructions and the lexical semantics of the verbs. An approach that caters for morphologically 'deficient' languages like Akan and the other Kwa languages.

2. Moreover, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2005) argue that adopting a constructionist rather than a lexicalist approach allows one to avoid positing polysemy for the multiple interpretations of the C&B verbs. Within the lexicalist approach, the syntactic behavior of the verb is determined by its semantics. This implies that when a verb has multiple interpretations it also derives multiple argument realizations, an approach which proliferates the lexicon. The constructionist approach however registers only the core meanings of verbs. It is this core meaning that combines with various meaning-bearing syntactic constructions to derive different interpretations of the verbs.

3. The C&G framework does not argue for a derivation i.e. the fact that one construction is derived from the other, rather it is an approach that allows one to account for different argument patterns associated with verbs, by separating the verbs from the constructions in which they occur.

Finally, following Wilkins & Hill (1995), it was argued that in semantic analysis, it is necessary to posit three levels of meanings. The first level, referred to as Semantics 1, is responsible for the individual lexical items and constructions that are commonly shared by speakers and are stored in the mind. The output of this level is literal meanings of lexical items. This further feeds into level 2 (Pragmatics). It is at this level that literal meanings interact with implicatures and encyclopedic knowledge. This process leads to the third level; online interpretation of utterances (Semantics 2). These interpretations unlike those in Semantics 1 are contextually derived.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter presents the various types of data that were gathered for the analysis in the study. It discusses the data collection techniques used and the reasons behind the choices.

3.1 Introduction

Linguistic research adopts various types of data gathering procedures depending on the types of questions that the research seeks to answer. Bauer (2007) outlines ten different types of language data sources for linguistic description. These include literary texts, non-literary texts, dictionaries and word-lists, sound recordings (i.e. naturally occurring events and recordings of word-lists, read texts etc.), electronic corpora, descriptive grammars, introspection, participant observation, elicitation and experimentation.

Bauer (2007) furthermore argues that such data gathering strategies are not mutually exclusive, thus in order to provide a solid empirical foundation for research findings and conclusions, one needs to gather data from a number of the sources mentioned above. The combination of data gathering strategies is also highlighted by Chelliah (2001), Mithun (2001) and Chelliah and de Reuse (2011), who have argued for an interwoven data collection approach. This amalgamation of data sources is useful mainly because any single data gathering strategy cannot capture all aspects of a linguistic phenomenon and is an important means of triangulating and verifying data.

For these reasons, multiple data collection methods were adopted in this study. The data consisted of stimuli-driven interviews, one-on-one conversations and participant observations.

In the subsequent sections, I discuss the sources and approaches that were used in gathering the data and the reasoning behind their choices. I also describe the creation of an elicitation tool (videos) and how it was used in gathering the data. The chapter also presents information on the consultants involved in the elicitation. Lastly, I discuss how the data gathered were processed for the analysis.

3.2 Data collection

This study is based on data gathered through elicitation, literary texts, interviews, discourses about cultural practices as well as procedural descriptions. In this section, I discuss the different ways in which the data were gathered.

3.2.1 Pilot survey

A pilot data elicitation session was conducted with 61 video clips created by Bohnemeyer et al. (2001).[4] These videos consisted of various scenes, depicting different types of cutting and breaking events. This preliminary survey involved two native speakers of Asante-Twi. The consultants were shown the videos and were asked to describe what they saw after each scene. This pilot survey allowed me to concretize ideas about the Akan C&B project. It was through this survey that I realized that the videos created by Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) were less culturally appropriate, and thus had to be supplemented with additional videos that involved more culturally familiar concepts in the Akan context. The result of this survey was a preliminary inventory of C&B verbs present in Asante-Twi. The pilot survey was conducted in Asante Bekwai; a town close to Kumasi, the capital city of the Asante people (see map 3.1 below). Apart from this area being the researcher's hometown, it is mainly an Asante speaking town.

[4] The Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) videos, which inspired the Ghana videos (Agyepong 2015) can be assessed here http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/cut-and-break-clips/

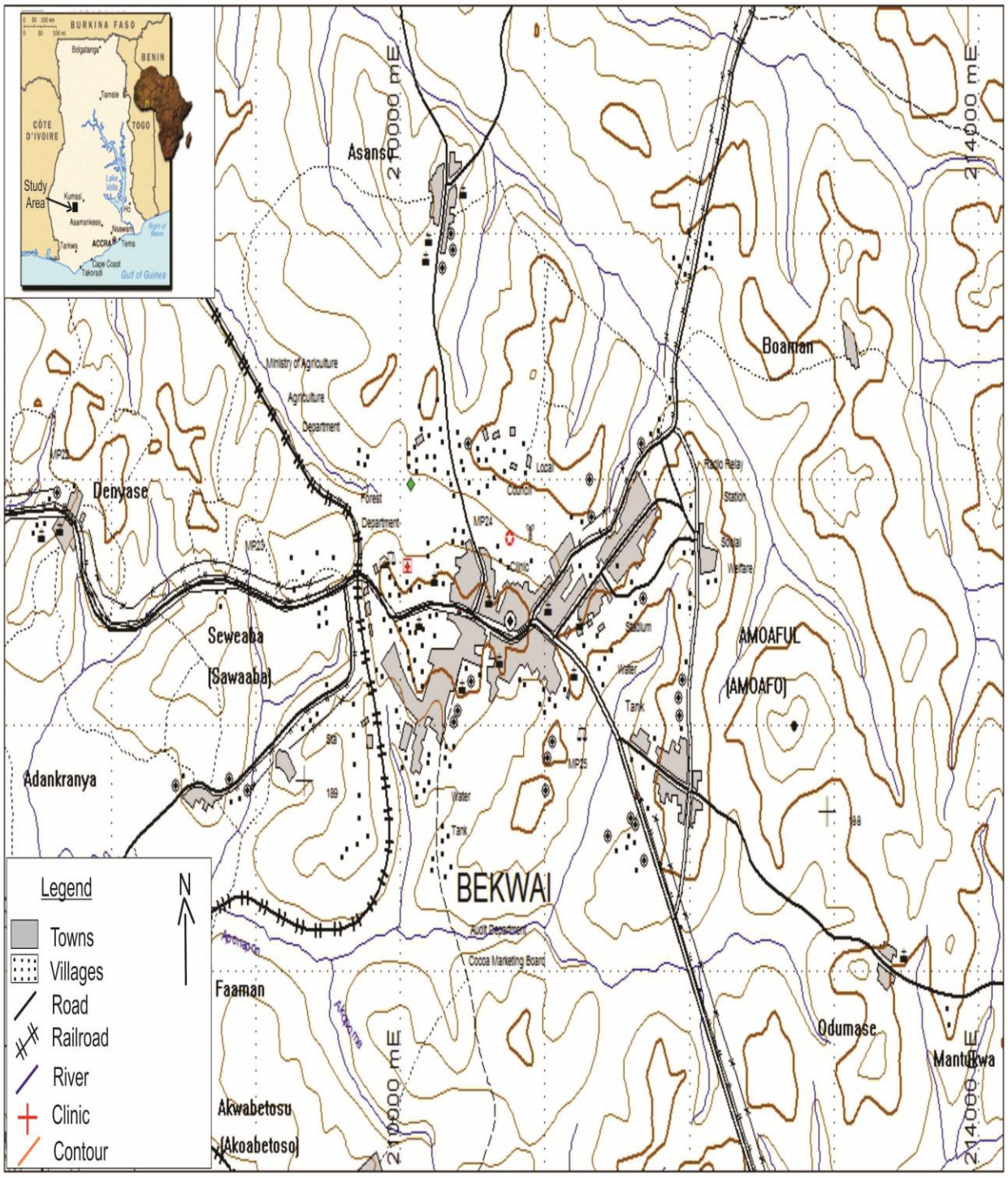

Figure 3.1: District Map of the Amansie East District [5]

[5] I am indeed grateful to my friend Prince Ofori Amponsah for assisting me with this map.

3.2.2 Literary texts

After the pilot elicitation, I set out to investigate how the preliminary inventory of the verbs gathered was used in literary sources. Four literary sources were consulted. These were Bible translations (Asante-Twi Bible translations (1964 and 2012 editions) and an online Akuapem-Twi Bible), Asante-Twi fictions, dictionaries and a book on Akan proverbs.[6]

Following Bauer (2007: 81) I chose to use data from written texts because they are generally seen as "illustrating the very best use of language – highly polished, well expressed, effective and reflecting high points of cultural achievement". They are also assumed to reflect the standardized non-spontaneous use of language. Appah (2012) also points out that, written data are helpful because they are already cleaned up and very stable, and for this reason, the potential of being influenced either by the researcher or other factors are eliminated.

Literary texts are however not free from disadvantages. Firstly, most written texts such as novels, Bibles etc. lack tone markings. This is problematic especially for a tonal language like Akan. In this study, an Asante audio Bible was used in order to help me tone mark the examples extracted from the Bible. I also consulted other native speakers for tone markings on words that I was not sure of, especially with regard to Akuapem and Fante data samples. I relied on my intuition, as a native speaker of Asante, to tone mark some of the examples as well. Secondly, literary texts do not give information about the real-world scenarios, i.e., we do not know how a specific cutting/breaking event looks like. Focusing solely on literary texts makes it difficult for one to solve questions such as, when a 'break' verb is used, what kind of 'breaking event' does it describe? Is the object completely destroyed, partially destroyed, what part of the object is destroyed etc.? In order not to miss out on these crucial real-world scenarios, I supplemented the literary texts with data gathered from participating and observing some of the cultural activities that involve C&B events. During such participant observations, I had the opportunity to ask some of the questions mentioned above. Not only that, but I also got to experience how the C&B events unfolded (I discuss these under 3.5.2).

In the next sub-sections, the ways in which data from these sources were extracted are briefly discussed.

[6] On-line Bible Source https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Nkwa-Asem/ https://www.amazon.com/Akan-Asante-language-Gyidie-Testament/product-reviews/B002L5WGOA

3.2.2.1 Bible translations

Data from the Bible were initially collected from an Akuapem-Twi on-line source; Bible Gateway *Nkwá Ásɛ́mì* NA-Twi. From this source, a concordance search for the verbs elicited during the pilot-survey was conducted. This search led to a compilation of sentences involving C&B verbs.

In order to access the equivalent of the Akuapem verbs in the Akuapem version of the Bible, I included two other hard copies of the Asante versions (1964 and 2012 editions). The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translations (GILBT) translated these Bibles into the Asante dialect.[7] The two Asante versions were compared, especially given the difference in time as well as the language use between the two versions. There were instances where both Bibles used different forms of verbs to describe the same event and this made it a bit difficult to rely completely on the Bible translations.

Another on-line Asante Bible in an audio format; *Gyĭdĭé nó fìrì àsɛ́mì nó tĭé mú* 'Faith comes by hearing' (anonymous author) was also consulted for the purpose of tone marking the Asante examples.

From these Bible translations a database of all the uses of C&B verbs were compiled.

3.2.2.2 Asante-Twi fictions

Data was also gathered from two Asante-Twi novels; *Wó súm bòrɔ̀déɛ́ á sùmì kwàdú bì* (Gyekye-Aboagye 1967) and *Owúó Agyáá* (Donkoh 1993). Based on my intuition as an Asante-Twi native speaker, a collection of C&B verbs was also created from both novels. A compilation of illustrative sentences of the verbs as used in creative writings was compiled from these two novels.

3.2.2.3 Dictionaries

Three Akan dictionaries were consulted in order to check the entries for the C&B verbs gathered so far. These were Christaller's (1933) Akan dictionary, two monolingual Akan dictionaries: the

[7] This is an organization that is involved with the translation of the Bible into the various Ghanaian languages.

Akan Dictionary Project (created by the Department of Linguistics-University of Ghana in 2006) and Asem Kwasi Boadi's (2005). There were also illustrative sentences extracted from these sources.

3.2.2.4 Book of Akan Proverbs

The last written text consulted for this study was a book on proverbs; *Bù mè bɛ́: Proverbs of the Akans* (Appiah et al. 2007). Additional illustrative sentences were extracted from this book.

One cannot help but notice that some of the written sources are relatively old. This raises questions such as the relevance of the data gathered from these sources to the contemporary usage of the language. I admit that indeed some of the sources are old, however, old sources such as Christaller's 1933 dictionary helps us to see how the language was used before and it is the reason why one can say that some of the sentences used in this dictionary are archaic (i.e. presently not used). Crucially, these old sources provide a context to argue for language evolvement.

The list of written sources used in this study are presented in Table 3.1. It also indicates the number of C&B sentences captured from these texts.

Table 3.1: Data sources, data types and number of usages in sentences

Data Source	Data Type	Number
Christaller (1933)	verbs/sentences	32, 103
Nkwa Ásɛ́mì NA-Twi Bible (Ak.).	sentences	602
Owúó Agyáá́ (Agnes Effah Donkoh) (As.)	sentences	202
Wó súmì bòrɔ̀dɛ́ɛ́ á súm kwàdú bì (J. Gyekye-Aboagye) (As.)	sentences	67
Bù mè bɛ́: Proverbs of the Akans (Appiah et al. 2007)	sentences	22
Total		**1028**

Table 3.1 shows all the literary text used in this study. The 'data type' and 'number' columns illustrate the number of sentences that contained C&B verbs.

The 1028 sentences gathered from the above written sources were subsequently compiled into an eighty-page database for the purpose of analysis. Some of these sentences are cited as examples supporting the Akan C&B discussions in the subsequent chapters and are duly referenced.

3.3 Creation of the elicitation video-stimuli

The third stage of the data gathering process involved the creation of culturally appropriate C&B videos drawing inspiration from the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) video-stimuli. These videos served as a supplement to the MPI video-stimuli. [8]

The following were considered during the creation of the new set of videos: (1) that the fruits, vegetables, root tubers and other food stuff were culturally familiar in the Akan contexts (2) the objects that underwent the C&B events were different (3) the actors involved in the C&B events varied to an extent (4) that different types of instruments were used in the C&B events (for example knife vs. tin cutter. The aim of this was to check if different verbs would be elicited) (5) that the actions were carried out in different manners.

The videos were recorded in two different batches; the first from June-July 2015 (recorded in Accra) and the second in December 2015 (recorded in Asante-Bekwai). Inspired by the MPI videos, various videos which comprised of individuals carrying out different C&B activities on local food items such as cocoyam, yam, plantain, palm fruit etc. were recorded. Other activities such as the harvesting of palm wine, things pertaining to cocoa harvesting, and the slaughtering and dissection of animals (chicken) were also included.

The videos were initially recorded in full length lasting for a maximum of 15 minutes. In all, six full length videos were recorded in June 2015. These were later segmented into seventy one short clips, with each clip lasting between 13-30 seconds. Forty-four video clips were created in December 2015, making a total of 115 short video clips for the elicitation process. The set of video clips were all in the MP4 format.

Apart from myself, other consultants were involved in the creation videos. All consultants consented to having their faces appear in these videos.

[8] A list of both videos created by Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) and Agyepong (2015) are listed in the Appendices

3.4 Fieldwork

The videos were used in the second round of data elicitation. This took place from November 18th to December 19th 2015 in Asante Bekwai. The data to be discussed in this study will be in this area's dialect of Akan. Data from other dialects will be indicated.

3.5 Methods

There were two types of elicitation techniques employed in this study: controlled and spontaneous elicitation. The former involved the description of the video-stimulus by the consultants, whiles the latter focused on discourses about cultural events/practices and procedural event narration.

3.5.1 Elicitation

During the elicitation, consultants were shown all the video clips in a successive order and asked to describe what had happened. They first of all watched the videos that were created by the researcher (Agyepong 2015). This was then followed by the 61 videos created by MPI (Bohnemeyer et al.2001). It must be stated that it was impossible to get all the consultants to sit through all the over hundred video clips and as such the interviews were conducted in stages. There were however some consultants who managed to do both video sessions at a sitting.

The video discussions were followed by further linguistic probing based on my own discretion as a linguist and a native speaker of Asante-Twi. Consultants were asked questions such as 'What happened in this video?,'What did the actor do?' 'How else can this be said?' (this was aimed at testing whether the verbs could be used intransitively), 'What did s/he do with the instrument?, What has happened to the object?'. They were also questioned about the grammaticality/acceptability of some of the constructions in which the C&B verbs occurred. For instance whenever I asked questions such as 'Can I say…..?', some of the consultants were so quick to say "no", while explaining the reason behind the inaccuracy of that construction. The folk etymology of some of the usages of the verbs were also questioned. The consultants used this opportunity to narrate stories behind such usages.

The various interviews were both audio and video recorded and later transcribed by the researcher .[9]

3.5.2 Spontaneous discourses

The spontaneous speech elicitation (three recordings in all) involved participants providing discourses about cultural events and daily practices, which involved C&B events. It must be pointed out that this was controlled to an extent since the consultants were provided with specific themes. The results however were spontaneous and involved several minutes of narrations.

There were also procedural texts that were generated during participant observation sessions with some of the consultants as they engaged in their daily activities. Consultants seized the opportunity to explain whatever activity they were doing. For example during the process of palm wine tapping, the harvesting of cash crops such as palm fruit and cocoa, the harvesting of subsistence farm produce such oranges, coconuts, bananas and plantains.

After every recorded session, the files were transferred from the recording device unto individually labelled folders on a computer and subsequently unto an external hard drive. A total of eighteen audio files (elicitation plus spontaneous discourses) were recorded in the wave sound (.wav) format. The processing of the data involved individual transcription of all the sound files into word documents.

3.6 Elicitation outcomes

The following were the outcomes of both the video-stimuli elicitation and the spontaneous discourses:

I. Video recordings of all the activities were compiled
II. There were discourses about the various types of verbs used to describe the separation of fruits/crops from their trees/plants.
III. Folk etymologies were also derived out of the conversations with the consultants
IV. Extensive information was also provided to assist in the comparison of the individual verbs.

[9] The researcher intends to archive the data for this research on the University of Ghana archival system and possibly the MPI archival system.

3.7 Consultants

The consultants (who were mostly relatives) used in this study were selected from Bekwai and Accra. [10] The initial aim was to select monolingual Asante-Twi speakers as much as possible. However, this proved futile largely because of the highly multilingual nature of Ghanaian communities. The reason behind choosing monolingual speakers was to avoid any influence of a second language, such as English, or any of the other Ghanaian languages.

Table 3.2 provides information about the sociolinguistic background of the consultants. It also shows the various tasks they were involved in during the data gathering processes.

[10] Seven of the consultants interviewed are permanent residents of Asante Bekwai and have lived in Bekwai since birth. This excludes the 90+ old lady who lived in a remote village close to Bekwai during her youth. All the seven consultants however have occasionally spent some weeks outside Bekwai in places such as Accra, Mankessim, Kete Krachi, Bogoso and some parts of the Northern region. These involved very short stays in the towns mentioned. The eighth consultant though Asante, resides in Accra and speaks very fluent English and Ga.

Table 3.2: Consultants' information

Name	Age	Gender	Level of Education	Languages	Location	Task
Consultant1	50+	F	Secondary	Asante (native), English (standard)	Bekwai	Video description
Consultant2	60+	M	Tertiary	Asante, English (impressive)	Bekwai	Video description
Consultant3	70+	M	Secondary	Asante (native), English (standard)	Bekwai	Procedural discourse
Consultant4	60+	F	Secondary	Asante (native), Ga (near native), English (standard)	Accra	Video description
Consultant5	50+	M	Secondary	Asante (native), English (standard)	Bekwai	Procedural discourse
Consultant6	70+	M	Secondary	Asante (native), English (standard)	Bekwai	Procedural discourse
Consultant7	40+	M	Secondary	Asante (native), English (standard)	Bekwai	Procedural discourse
Consultant8	90+	F	Informal education	Asante	Bekwai	Historical and daily event narration

Out of the eight consultants interviewed, only one was monolingual (an old woman above 90 years). The remaining seven had Asante as their L1 but spoke and understood some amount English. One of the consultants also spoke Ga (the language of the people of Accra) in addition to English. There was however no evidence of English/Ga interfering or impacting the data produced by these consultants.

All the consultants interviewed were above the age of forty. Working with people above the age of forty was crucial for this study as most of these people have had a longer exposure to the language and its usage, and as such can be considered as experienced users of Asante-Twi.

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the various methods that were used in gathering the data for this study. These included data from literary texts such as novels and the Bible. Data was also gathered from two Akan dictionaries. The second stage involved both controlled and spontaneous speech elicitation. During the controlled elicitation process, consultants were shown two sets of video-stimuli and were asked by the researcher to describe the videos in the order in which they appeared. The spontaneous speech elicitation; which was rather minimal, consisted of story telling and descriptions of certain farming practices.

The chapter has also provided information on the consultants involved in the data collection processes. The research area; Asante-Bekwai, was also introduced in this chapter. Reasons behind the choice of data sources and data collection techniques employed in this research were also provided in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

A sketch grammar of Akan

4.1 Introduction

Akan is classified as belonging to the Kwa language family of Niger-Congo phylum. Since the 1950's, the name Akan has been used as a cover term to refer to Fante, Akuapem, Asante, Bron, Wasa, Agona, Akyem, Kwahu, Ahafo, Akwamu, Denkyira. The term Akan is used for the varieties as well as the cultural zone (Dolphyne 1988, Lewis 2009). Figure 4.1 shows all the various Ghanaian languages and where they are spoken regionally.

Akan speaking areas are represented by the number 57. The larger area represented by this figure depict areas where Akan is spoken as an L1; Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern and Central. Akan is also spoken as an L2 in some parts of the Volta-Region (i.e. around the Volta Lake, also indicated with the number 57).

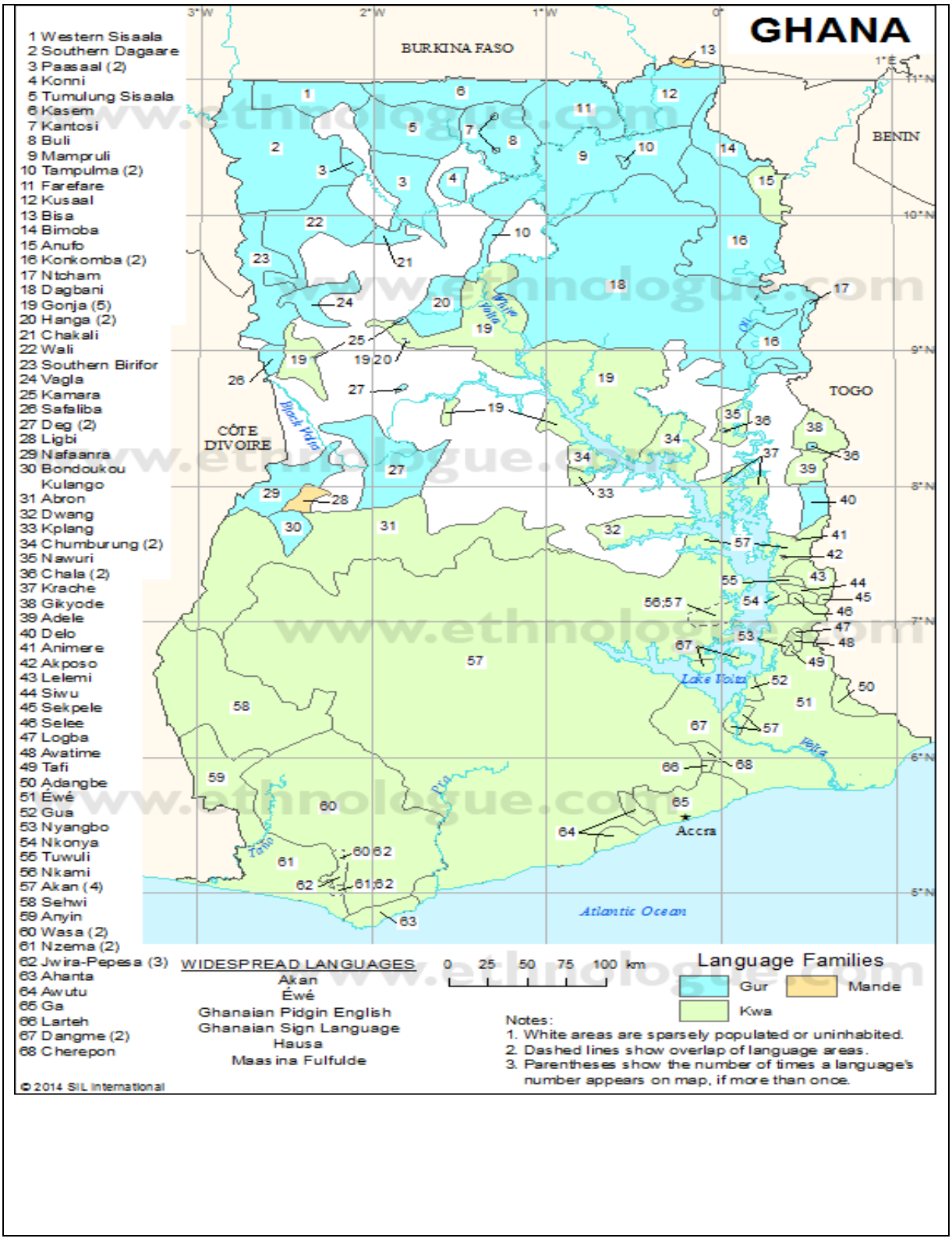

Figure 4.1: Language Map of Ghana

Asante, Fante and Akuapem are the literary dialects of Akan (Dolphyne 1988). The Asante dialect is spoken in the Ashanti Region (areas around Kumasi) and some parts of the Eastern Region. The Fante dialect is used in the Central Region of the country. Akuapem is spoken North of Accra (see Lewis 2009). Bono is larger than Akuapem in terms of the number of speakers; but Akuapem has a higher literary status.

Sub-dialects are identified for some of the major Akan dialects. For example, Fante consists of the Anomabo Fante, Abura Fante, Agona and Gomua sub-dialects (Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988). The Bono dialect of Akan according to Bota (2002), is made up of six sub-dialects spoken in five different towns. The Bono sub-dialects are spoken in Jaman, Berekum/Sunyani/Dormaa, Wenchi/Techiman, Nkoranza/Kintampo and Atebubu.

In this thesis, majority of the data will be from Asante-Twi; the variety of Akan spoken by the researcher. Where other dialects such as Akuapem and Fante are used, contracted forms such as Ak. and Fa. will be indicated by the data.

Though all the Akan varieties are mutually intelligible and the material culture of the people is quite similar, most speakers tend to associate themselves with the dialects and use their dialect names to express their ethnic/linguistic affiliation. According to Dolphyne and Dakubu (1988) even today, many people will still describe themselves as Fante or Twi language speakers rather than speakers of Akan. The name Twi is sometimes used to refer to the Asante and Akuapem dialects and excludes the Fante and Bono varieties (Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988; Osam 2004).

4.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

Akan covers a wide range of socio-cultural domains in terms of its usage. Three dialects of Akan: Asante-Twi, Akuapem-Twi and Fante are officially recognized as languages of education. In the areas where these dialects are spoken as L1, public schools adopt them as the medium of instruction in basic schools during the first three years of primary education, after which English takes over and one of the Akan literary dialects is taught as a subject. The teaching of Akan as a subject continues till the 9th year of basic education after which students are examined. In Senior High Schools and Universities, Akan is studied as an elective or as courses in Linguistics respectively (Dolphyne 1988; Osam 2004; Agyekum 2012).

It seems, however, that English and Akan are undergoing some form of overlapping in their use as lingua francas, a phenomenon known as a 'double overlapping diglossic' relationship (Fasold 1984; Guerini 2006). For instance, in Accra (the capital city of Ghana), which is a Ga land, it is very common for people who speak different languages to adopt either Akan or English as their means of communication and for this reason "Akan, not Ga, has become the lingua franca..." (Dakubu 2005:52).

Akan is used in various aspects of social life. As observed by Agyekum (2012:23) "Akan leads in the media discourse on radio and TV, and again in political discourse in the media". A good number of radio and television stations have adopted Akan as their main medium of broadcasting. Some radio stations, such as Peace FM, Adom FM and Top Radio, as well as some TV stations, such as UTV, TV Africa, NET 2 air programs in Akan. Political talk shows, major news bulletins, newspaper reviews, entertainment and health programmes etc. are also broadcast in Akan. They also offer phone-in-sessions in which listeners are allowed to participate in the discussion using Akan. Many radio and TV commercials are presented in Akan as well. A more recent trend in Ghana is the translation of Mexican soap operas and Indian movies into Akan. Akan reporting television stations like UTV even provide panel discussion sessions after every episode. This use has resulted in an upsurge of viewers of such soap operas (which had always been televised in English).

The use of Akan is not restricted to the media; it is also common in religious activities. In Accra, for example, many churches that were formally conducting services solely in English have more recently began to include services in Akan in order to reach those members of the congregation who are not competent in the English language. Other churches still continue to hold their services in English, but some of them appoint interpreters who translate from English to Akan.

The above discussion of the role Akan plays in the Ghanaian community echoes Osam's (2004: 3) conclusion that "even though no official declaration has been made, Akan is growing in its influence as a potential national language, especially since people who speak other languages sometimes use it as a lingua franca."

4.3 Typological overview

Akan is an SVO register tone language. It is phonologically represented by nine oral vowels and five nasalized vowels. The language also has a set of 18 identifiable consonants; some of which have voiced and voiceless counterparts. The tones relevant in Akan are the High and Low tones

(Dolphyne 1988). These tones mark lexical function by bringing meaning change in segmentally identical words. As a grammatical function, tone can be used to distinguish between the Habitual and the Continuative aspects. Morphologically, Akan marks syntactic categories such as tense/aspect, mood, motion and negation through the process of affixation on the verb (Osam 2004).

4.4 Akan phonology

The subsequent sub-sections present information on the tonal system, syllable structure, vowels and consonants of Akan.

4.4.1 Tone

Dolphyne (1988) describes Akan as a tone language, which distinguishes meanings of words via tone assignment. She identifies two types of tones in Akan; High (´), which is relatively pronounced with a high pitch, and Low (`) said on a relatively low tone. The following words are semantically distinguished by the tones they bear:

1a. pápá 'good' pàpá 'father' pàpà 'fan' (Dolphyne 1988:52)

b. ɔbɔ̀fóɔ́ 'hunter' ɔbɔ́fóɔ́ 'creator' (Dolphyne 1988:52)

Grammatically, tone is also used in Akan to distinguish between the habitual (HAB) and continuative (CONT) aspects as in *gyìná* 'to stand' (habitual) and *gyìnà* 'to stand' (continuative).

4.4.2 Syllable structure

Tones in Akan are not only restricted to words but also individual syllables. In Akan, syllables are tone-bearing units. The syllable structure in Akan is described in terms of tones that are assigned to the individual vowels and consonants that constitute the syllable uttered (Dolphyne 1988:52). Akan has the following syllable types:

2a. V: e in bù.è 'open' ɔ in ɔ.kɔ́ 's/he goes'

In these examples the /e/ and /ɔ/ represent syllables therefore tone-bearing units.

b. CV: u in tú ‘uproot’ a in fá ‘take’

In this type of syllable structure, the tone docks on the V (nucleus) of the CV structure.

c. C:n in ǹ.tòmá ‘cloth’ ɔ̀.pɔ́.ǹ ‘he closes’ (Ak.) à.tá.ɾ̀ ‘dress’(Fa.)

In the third type of syllable structure, the only tone-bearing unit is the consonant. This consonant can occur as the initial or final syllable of a word.

The consonants that occur in these structures are known as syllabic consonants and consist of nasals and approximants/glide [n, m, ŋ, r]. The occurrence of [ŋ] as a syllabic consonant is peculiar to the Akuapem dialect just as [r] is restricted to the Fante dialect. Dolphyne (1988) adds that there exist no syllable that ends in a consonant in Akan i.e. there is no VC or CVC. For this reason every final consonant in the language represents an independent tone-bearing syllable.

These syllable structures make up a simple stem in Akan. In the next sub-section, I provide the phonological structures of the Akan C&B verbs in Table 4.1.

4.4.2.1 The structure of Akan C& B verbs

The structure of Akan simple stems comprises one or two syllables and in few instances three or more syllables (Dolphyne 1988). This sub-section presents the syllable structure of the C&B verbs in Akan. The structure consists of verbs that are CV, CVC(V), CVCV, CVV and CVVCV, each of which is exemplified in Table 4.1 below .

Table 4.1: Structure of Akan C&B stems

CV	CVC(V)	CVCV	CVV/CVVCV
bú 'to break'		pòtɔ̀ 'to crush, press into pulp'	pàè 'to split/burst'
twá 'to cut'	páń 'to pluck, to pull off/out, to crop (off)'	hwànè 'to peel'	wàè 'to peel off'
bɔ́ 'to hit, break or crack open'	pɔ̀(w)'to cut closely, lop tree branches'		
té 'to tear'			tùè 'to pierce'
wɔ́ 'to pound/ prick/pierce'		fùrò 'to crumble'	sàè 'to cut by making a mark'
yí 'to remove/shave'		wèrɛ̀ 'to scale'	
nú 'to harvest palm fruit'			
kyɛ́ 'to divide'		pɔ́n(é) 'to disjoin or separate with some effort'	dwèè 'to cut into the skin
dwá 'to cut up'		pɛ̀kyɛ̀ 'to crush'	sùànè 'to tear' (CVVCV)
sé 'to sharpen'		pòsà 'to rub to powder, to crush, grind, smash'	
dwé 'to pluck out palm fruit from palm stalk'		dwĩrĩ 'to break up, pull down or demolish'	
		pòrò 'to crumble'	

Table 4.1 shows that majority of C&B verbs as being monosyllabic (11 verbs having the CV syllable structure). The disyllabic ones have the structure CVC (2 verbs), CVCV (9 verbs) and CVV (6 verbs). Morphologically, these verbs can be described as bearing simple stems, which are able to undergo the process of reduplication to produce further complex stems. The term simple stem was first used by Christaller (1875) to describe such formative roots/stem morphemes.

4.4.3 Vowels

Dolphyne (1988:2) describes the Akan vowel system as having nine oral and five nasalized vowels. A tenth vowel /æ/ is a variant of /a/ that occurs mainly before syllables with the vowels /i/ and /u/. This vowel is predominantly found in the Asante and Akuapem dialects. In the Fante dialect however, this vowel is replaced by the /e/ as exemplified in the word *pétú* 'pretend' in Table 4.2. Following Dolphyne (1988), Osam (2004) summarizes the Akan oral vowels along with some examples in the Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Akan oral vowels (Osam 2004:4)

Vowel	**Description**	**Example**
i	High Front Advanced	sî 'pound'
ɪ	High Front Unadvanced	tsé /tsí 'hear'
e	Mid-High Front Advanced	èdúr 'medicine'
ɛ	Mid-Low Front Unadvanced	pɛ̀ 'to like'
a	Low Central Unadvanced	àbówá 'animal'
æ	Low Central Advanced	pètú /pætú 'pretend'
ɔ	Mid-Low Back Unadvanced	ɔ̀wɔ́ 'snake'
o	Mid-High Back Advanced	òwú 'death'
ʊ	High Back Unadvanced	tówɔ̀ /túwɔ̀ 'throw'
u	High Back Advanced	bú 'break'

Table 4.3: Akan inherently nasal vowels (Dolphyne 1988:4)

Vowel	**Nasalized**	**Oral**
i	fĩ 'dirt'	fi 'go out'
ɪ	sĩ 'teeth'	sé/séwɔ̀ 'sharpen'
a	kã 'say'	ká 'be left behind'
ʊ	tʊ̃ 'bake'	tó/ tówɔ̀ 'throw'
u	hũ 'see'	hú/ húwɔ̀ 'blow air'

Table 4.3 shows the vowels that can be nasalized in Akan, along with examples of the words that contain such nasalized vowels.

4.4.3.1 Vowel harmony

These nine oral vowels have been grouped into two sets according to the tongue root properties they exhibit (Stewart 1967, Dolphyne 1988). The first set i, e, u, o, æ includes vowels that are produced with advanced tongue root (+ATR) while the second set consists of ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ produced with unadvanced tongue root (-ATR). Out of these nine vowels, five of them i.e. i, ɪ, a, u, ʊ, can be nasalized. "In general, in any Akan word of two or more syllables, only the vowels of one set may occur" (Dolphyne 1988:14) as depicted in Table 4.4 below. It must be pointed out that there are contexts in which there is a combination of vowels from both +ATR and –ATR group eg. in compounds (see Dolphyne 1988 for a detailed discussion of these contexts).

Table 4.4: Vowel harmony within words (Dolphyne 1988:15)

Set 1	**Gloss**	**Set 2**	**Gloss**
wúbétú	'you'll dig it up'	wúbétʊ́ (w)	'you'll throw'
òdí	'he/she eats'	ɔ̀dì	'he/she is called'
màádì/mèédzì(Fa.)	'I've eaten it'	màátɔ̀	'I've bought it'
òwú(ó)	'death'	èwó(ɔ́)	'honey'

4.4.4 Consonants

The phoneme inventory of Akan includes 34 consonants, orthographically represented by 16 letters in the Akan alphabet (Schachter and Fromkin 1968, Dolphyne and Dakubu 1988, Dolphyne 1988). Table 4.5 shows the consonants with their place and manner of articulation. The phonetic representations of some of the Akan consonants have been put in square bracket.

Table 4.5: Akan consonant chart (Dolphyne 1988:29)

	Bilabial	**Labio-dental**	**Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosive	p b		t d		k kw	
					g gw	
Fricatives		f	s si [sy]	hy[ɕ]		h
			su	hw [ɕɥ]		hu
Affricate			ts (Fa)	ky [tɕ]		
			dz	gy [dʑ]		
				tw [tɕɥ]		
				dw [dʑɥ]		
Nasal	m		n	ny [ɲ]	n [ŋ]	
				nw [ɲɥ]	nw [ŋw]	
Lateral			l			
Trill			r (Ak)			
Glide	w					
	w[ɥ]		r	y[ɥ]		

According to Dolphyne (1988:29), we can draw the following conclusions from the above consonant chart. In Akan, only plosives and affricates have voiced and voiceless counterparts. Fricatives in Akan are voiceless, however, nasals, laterals, trills and approximants are naturally voiced. Finally, palatals, velar and glottal consonants have both labialised and non-labialised counterparts as in hy: hw, k: kw.

4.5 Akan morphology

In Akan, the most popular ways of deriving new words from verbs are through affixation, reduplication, and compounding (Dolphyne (1988); Abakah (2015); Osam et al. (2013); Adomako (2012); Appah (2012; 2013; 2015)). How these derivational processes relate to C&B verbs is discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

4.5.1 Reduplication

Reduplication in Akan has been defined by Dolphyne (1988) as a type of compound formation made up of a repetition of either the whole or part of a stem. Spencer (1991:13) also defines reduplication as a fundamental morphological process "in which some part of a base is repeated, either to the left or to the right, or occasionally in the middle". In addition to these definitions, Osam et al. (2013:45) describe reduplication as a "systematic recurrence of a unit within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes". Reduplication can be in the form of a simple repetition of the stem as in:

3. bú 'to break' bù-bù 'to break in a repeated manner'.

Example (3) above is made up of the simple stem *bú* 'to break' appearing in a reduplicated stem. The reduplicated verb comprises of two identical parts of the CV syllable structure.
Reduplication of verbs is used to signify the repetitive or iterative nature of an action or to express intensity of the action described by the verb. Exemplifying this, Osam et al. (2013) explain that when the C&B verb *bɔ́* 'to hit' is reduplicated to give *bɔ̀bɔ̀* 'to hit continuously', the idea it conveys is the repetitive nature of the act of hitting i.e. the hitting is done more than once. This can even further be extended to include intensity, which also points to the rigorous way in which the hitting was done.

Osam et al. (2013) identify two types of reduplication in Akan; these are Full Reduplication and Partial Reduplication. Full Reduplication refers to the type where there is complete repetition of the verb stem. Partial Reduplication typifies the repetition of only one part of the stem. They describe Akan reduplication as being full in terms of segments and also left-directed (i.e. the reduplicant precedes the verb-stem and is presented as CONSTITUENT $1_{\text{reduplicant}}$ − CONSTITUENT 2_{base}). In Akan, reduplicated forms can undergo further reduplication, and it is done by totally reduplicating the already reduplicated verb stem. Dolphyne (1988:132) notes, "the largest reduplicated form in use is made up of three identifiable parts", meaning that the initial reduplicated form can serve as a new base for further reduplication. During the reduplication process, there is a prespecified high vowel in the reduplicant. This high vowel agrees with the ATR status of the stem.
Table 4.6 presents some of the Akan C&B verbs (for the purpose of illustration) in their reduplicated and further reduplicated form.

Table 4.6: Reduplicated forms of Akan C&B verbs

Verbs	Reduplicated Forms	Re-Reduplicated Forms
1. bú 'to break'	bù-bù	bùbù-bùbù 'to break repeatedly'
2. twá 'to cut'	twĩtwà	twĩtwè-twĩtwà 'to cut repeatedly'
3. bɔ́ 'to break'	bòbɔ	bòbɔ- bòbɔ 'to break repeatedly'
4. té 'to tear/to pluck'	tè-tè	tètè-tètè 'to tear repeatedly'
5. wɔ́ 'to pound/ prick/pierce'	wò-wɔ[wʊwɔ]	wòwɔ- wòwɔ 'to pierce repeatedly'
6. yí 'to remove/shave'	yĩ-yĩ	yĩyĩ-yĩyĩ 'to remove repeatedly'
7. kyɛ́ 'to divide'	kyè-kyɛ	kyèkyɛ-kyèkyɛ'to divide repeatedly'
8. dwá 'to cut up'	dwĩ-dwà	dwĩdwè-dwĩdwà 'to cut repeatedly'
9. séné 'to peel'	sèn-sènè	sènsènè- sènsènè'to peel repeatedly'
10. pàè 'to split/burst'	pààpàè	pààpàè-pààpàè 'to split repeatedly'
11. wàè 'to peel off'	wààwàè	wààwàè-wààwàè'to peel repeatedly'
12. tùè 'to pierce'	tùètùè	tùètùè- tùètùè 'to pierce repeatedly'
13. sàè 'to cut with a mark'	sènsàè	sènsàe-sènsàè 'to mark repeatedly'
14. pòtɔ'to crush into pulp'	pòtɔ- pòtɔ	pòtɔpòtɔ-pòtɔpòtɔ'to crush repeatedly'

The monosyllabic stems (1-8) when reduplicated are made up of two distinct parts; a prefix (reduplicant) and the verb stem. The reduplicant has a syllable structure of CV just like the verb stem, for example:

4. bù-bù 'to break continuously'

CV-CV

According to Dolphyne (1988), such reduplicated forms possess certain phonological features. First, there is a repetition of the initial consonant of the verb stem in the reduplicant; in *bù-bù*, both the reduplicant *bù* and stem *bù* begin with the consonant [b]. Second, the vowel of the reduplicant in examples 1-8 are high vowels whether the vowels in the verb stems are high or not; for example *twá* (a-low vowel in stem) *twìtwà* (i-high vowel in the reduplicant), *bɔ́* (ɔ-low vowel in stem) *bòbɔ̀* (ʊ-high vowel in the reduplicant). We also notice that in instances like verbs (2) and (8) (Table 4.9), *twá* and *dwá*, respectively, where the vowel [a] occurs in the stem, it is changed to become advanced and unrounded if the initial consonant is a labial-palatalised

consonant. This explains why *twá* is reduplicated to get *twìtwà* and *dwá* to *dwìdwà* (a consequence of the prespecified vowel harmony).
Verbs (10) and (11), *pàè* and *wàè*, respectively, have the syllable structure CVV. Dolphyne (1988:130) explains that the reduplicated form of these verbs is a repetition of the entire verb stem. However, where the VV is a sequence of a –high vowel [a] followed by a +high front vowel [e], the reduplicant is either a repetition of the entire verb stem as in *pàèpàè/wàèwàè* or the vowel sequence on the reduplicant is a repetition of the first vowel of the verb stem as *pààpàè/wààwàè*. "Both forms can be used interchangeably, although the form with the long vowel is likely to be used in less formal and less deliberate speech" (Dolphyne 1988:131).

4.5.1.1 Reduplication and tone

Tone is crucial in the reduplication of verbs (Dolphyne 1988; Abakah 2015; Osam et al. 2013). Dolphyne (1988) argues that for the verbs with the CV and CVC(V) syllabic stems, the reduplicant is said on a low tone and the verb stem on a high tone, as in (example 5 (a-c)):

5. a. bú 'to break' bú-bù 'to break repeatedly'
   b. bɔ́ 'to break, crack open' bɔ́-bɔ̀ 'to break, crack open repeatedly'
   c. té 'to tear' té-tè 'to tear repeatedly'

She explains that for the other types of syllable stems, the reduplicant maintains the tone of the verb stem. However all syllables after the reduplicant is said on a low tone as in example (6 (a-e)).

6. a. pòtɔ̀ 'to mash' pòtɔ̀-pòtɔ̀ 'to mash repeatedly'
   b. fùrò 'to crumble' fùrò-fùrò 'to crumble repeatedly'
   c. pàè 'to split, burst' pàà-pàè/pàè-pàè 'to split repeatedly'
   d. tùè 'to pierce' tùè-tùè 'to pierce repeatedly'

In the reduplication exemplified in (6), we observe that the tones on the reduplicant are identical with the tones of the actual verb stem.

4.5.2 Nominalization

This is the process whereby a nominal is formed from an existing word by means of morphological conversion or zero derivation, affixation, reduplication, compounding and permutation. For the purposes of the present study, I only focus on affixation and compounding since they are the nominalization processes that the Akan C&B verbs undergo.

4.5.2.1 Affixation

This is when either a prefix or a suffix or both, is attached to a verb stem to form a nominal. The nominal prefix can either be a vowel or a homorganic nasal. This holds true for all the dialects of Akan. For example:

7.	a. ɔ̀-pàé	'explosion'	< pàè 'to split, burst'
	b. è-bú	'calamity'	< bú 'to break'
	c. à-wàé	'shoulder blade'	< wàè 'to peel off'

These vowels agree in vowel harmony with the verb stems to which they are attached. The nouns that have prefixes with the vowel [e, ɛ, o, ɔ, i and e], usually mark the singular form of the noun, and often, though not always, their plural prefix is marked by [a-], (Dolphyne 1988:82).
The nominal suffixes are -i/-e for the Akuapem and Fante dialects and -iɛ/-eɛ for the Asante dialect, as in the following examples:

8a.	bɔ́	à-bɔ̀-é (Ak./Fa.)/ à-bɔ̀-èɛ́ (As)	'a place where coco-pods are cracked open'
b.	wìé	à-wìé-í (Ak./Fa.)/ à-wìè-éɛ́	'the end' (Dolphyne 1988:83)
c.	nàntè	náńté-ɛ́	'walking' (Appah 2005)

In the Asante dialect however, a mid-vowel suffix **e ɛ o ɔ** occurs as a suffix if the nominal stem ends in an oral high vowel. This vowel suffix is required to agree in both ATR status and lip position of the vowel in the nominal stem (Dolphyne 1988) as exemplified in (8d) and (8e):

d.	ò-wú-ó	'death'	(Dolphyne 1988:83)
e.	è-bó-ɔ́	'stone'	

Akan also has suffixes that are attached to nominals to mark them as either singular or plural. The agentive suffixes *-nĭ* and *–fó* (Ak/Fa) *-fóɔ́* (As) are attached to singular and plural stems, respectively. *-fóɔ́* (As) is also sometimes used as a distinctive collective plural marker as in Asante-*fóɔ́* 'Asante people' (marking a group of people as distinct).These suffixes according to Schachter and Fromkin (1968) add the meaning 'agent' when they are attached to noun roots. They mark such nominals as the entities that carry out the activities being described. The *-nĭ* suffix originates from the noun *ó-nĭ* 'person' (Dolphyne (1988:84), Schachter and Fromkin (1968:62)).

9.	a. ɔ̀-bɛ̀-twà-ní/(fóɔ́)	'palm wine tapper'	à-bɛ̀-twà-fóɔ́	'palmwine tappers'
	b. ò-dìyí-ní/(fóɔ́)	'prophet'	à-dìyí-fóɔ́	'prophets'
	c. ò-twà-ní/(fóɔ́)	'reaper'	à-twà-fóɔ́	'reapers'

The suffix *-fóɔ́* can also be used to mark profession and occupation as shown in examples (9a-c). In such cases, the nominals they are attached to are singular and for this reason go with singular marking prefixes.

The dimunitive suffix *-wá* derived from the noun *ɔ̀bá* 'child' is used to indicate the small nature of an object: *pàè-wá* 'a small bag plaited like mats'.

4.5.2.2 Compounding

This is a nominalization process, which involves the derivation of new words by joining two, or more bases or roots to form one word. In Akan, C&B nominals can be derived through compounding and permutation only, or a combination of two or more forms of derivation processes such as reduplication plus affixation or permutation plus affixation. The following are some examples of compound only C&B nominals:

10.	twàhíná	'measuring pot'	twá-àhíná	'cut-pot'

We notice that the compound in examples (10) has a meaning that is compositional, in the sense that the meaning of the individual base make up the compound meaning, so *twàhĭ́ná* refers to a particular type of pot.

4.5.2.3 Reduplication + Compounding + Affixation

As noted by Dolphyne (1988), reduplication in itself is a type of compounding. Thus words formed using this process can equally be classified as compounds with affixes.

11a.	à-twìtwà-tíré	'one who beheads people'
b.	ǹ-twìtwà-sòɔ́	'pieces/trimmings of fabric'
c.	m̀-pààpàé-mú	'separation'

In examples (11a) (11b) (11c), each of the words consist of a prefix which is attached to a reduplicated form of the verbs *twá* 'to cut' and *pàé* 'to split'. There is another nominal in the case of (11a) and a postposition (11b, 11c) also suffixed to the reduplicated form of the verb.

4.6 Akan Morpho-Syntax

This section presents the various morpho-syntactic structures associated with the Akan verbal system. The topics discussed here set the scene for the analysis of the data in the subsequent chapters as it points out the relevant syntactic structures fo the C&B data analysis.

4.6.1 The basic Akan clause structure

Akan is a language with an S V/A V (D) O basic order.[11] Information structure constrains might lead to different orders of the constituents such as O A V Osam (2004:23) argues that in "a simple clause the (A) argument precedes the verb and the (P= O) argument follows the verb. In an intransitive clause, the single argument (S) also precedes the verb, just like the (A) argument in a transitive clause….the A and S arguments are identified as subject and the (P=O) as direct object". Here is an example of a simple transitive clause in Akan:

12a.	Àdjúbí	bù-ù	àbàá	nó
	Adjubi	break-COMPL	stick	DEF
	'Adjubi broke the stick.'			

In (12a) the subject *Adjubi* who is also the (A) argument precedes the verb *bú* "to break" with *àbàá nó* "the stick" following as the direct object and the semantic (P=O) argument.

[11] SV (intransitive), A V O (transitive), A V (D-dative) O (ditransitive)

An argument realisation process changes this word order to S V. With S being the single argument and preceding the predicate, in sentence (12b):

b. Àbàá nó bù-ùyɛ̀
stick DEF break-COMPL
'The stick broke.'

The basic clause structure in Akan can be expanded with Topic, Focus and Relative phrases. These are discussed in 4.6.2, 4.6.3 and 4.6.4 respectively.

4.6.2 Topicalization

According to Amfo (2010), in Akan topic maybe marked morphologically with the morpheme *dè*. This marker is not mandatory, but whenever it is marked it pragmatically "implies a contrast with a different, contextually recoverable entity" (p. 215). In consonance with the notion of "aboutness" proposed in Lambrecht (1994) of Topic constructions, Amfo (2010:216) redefines the entity in a Topic construction as: "a referent is considered the topic of a particular proposition if the information contained in the proposition increases our knowledge of it. It is not about the noun phrases occupying specific argument positions and performing particular theta roles, such as the subject position or the object position. It is the pragmatic relation of aboutness and relevance which exists between a specified referent and the proposition in question".

Amfo's selection of the morpheme *dè* as the topic marker in Akan contradicts earlier studies such as Boadi (1974:8) who labels it as "the nonexclusive or potentially inclusive" focus marker. According to Amfo (2010:219), *dè* as a topic marker indicates "that the denotatum of the constituent to which it is attached is what is a matter of current standing interest or concern" hence is better analyzed as a contrastive/emphatic topic marker. This however does not imply that in Akan, a sentence without the marker *dè* lacks topic as there are other forms of topics markers.

The Topic morpheme has also been represented as *nó́* and *yĭ́* by Ameka (2010:143) who argues that the *nó́* as a topic marker has a "heterosemic relation" with *nó́* "that", the distal demonstrative in Akan and the third person singular pronoun *ɔ̀nó́*. Ameka (2010) suggests that a similar relationship exists between the Akan proximal morpheme *yĭ́* and the Topic marker *yĭ́*. Ameka's analysis follows from Christaller's (1875) proposed conditions for the use of the *yĭ́* and *nó́* topic markers; which is that a dependent clause ends in *yĭ́* if the event in the clause is ongoing at the

time the main event took place, conversely, *nó* marks events that took place in the past or those events that are certain to occur in the future.

I present an example each in (13a), (13b), (13c) and (13d) from Christaller, Osam, Boadi and Amfo respectively, to illustrate how the Topic is marked in Akan.

13a. Wò-á-nyá á-bá yí trà àsè (Ak.)
2SG-PERF-already PERF-come TOP sit down
'As you have come now sit down.' (Christaller 1875 in Ameka 2010:144)

b. Ò-dúr̀ hɔ̀ nò ɔ̀-kɔ̀-tó-ó (Fa)
3SG-reached there TOP 3SG-ITIVE-meet-PAST
dɛ́ àbèr̀wá bí tsènà gyá hó
COMP old.woman INDEF sit fire around
'When he got there, he met an old woman sitting by a fire.' (Osam 1990:47 cited in Ameka 2010:144).

Boadi's use of the *dè* morpheme as potentially inclusive Topic Marker.

c. Mé dèɛ̀ mè-kɔ̀ɔ̀è
I incl-Foc I-go-PAST
'Well, I went.' (Boadi 1974:10)

d. Kòdwó dzè ɔ̀-m̀m̀-pɛ́ dɛ́ (Fa.)[12]
Kodwo CTM he-NEG-like COMP
ɔ́-kɔ́-sɔ́ẁ n'ádzèsùá dò
he-MP-continue his'education continue
'As for Kofi, he doesn't want to continue with his education.' (Amfo 2010:219)

[12] *dze* is the Fante realisation of the *dè* topic marker

4.6.3 Focus marking

Focus construction has been defined as those constructions that

> "involve the selection within each information unit of a certain element or elements as points of prominence within the message…Information focus reflects the speaker's decision as to where the main burden of the message lies…….Information focus is one kind of emphasis whereby the speaker marks out a part which may be the whole of a message block as that which he wishes to be interpreted as informative"
>
> (Halliday 1967:202).

Akan expresses focus morphologically by means of a special morpheme *nà* and *né* (Boadi 1974) of which *nà* is suggested to be the basic and *né* as the derived form through a morphological rule. This view has recently been contested by Ofori (2011) who argues for *né* as the basic with *nà* being the derived. Digressing into the issues relating to which is basic and which is derived goes beyond the scope of this study. I will therefore simply provide an overview of how Focus is marked in Akan grammar (see Ofori 2011 for a detailed discussion). According to Boadi (1974) the focus construction is formed by fronting the focus marker to the left-periphery of a non-focused construction. Boadi (1974) opines that this morpheme functions like contrastive and emphatic stress and intonation in English. He illustrates with examples (14a-c):

14a. Mé nà mè-báá há ǹérá
I FOC I-come-PAST here yesterday
'I it was who came here yesterday: I came here yesterday.' (Boadi 1974:5-6)

b. Há nà mè-báá ǹérá
here FOC I-come-PAST yesterday
'It was here that I came yesterday.' (Boadi 1974:6)

c. Mé né ɔsɔ̀fó
I FOC priest
'It is I who am a priest, I am the one who is a priest.' (Boadi 1974:8)

4.6.4 Relativization

Relative clauses have been syntactically defined by Givon (2001, II: 175) as "clause-size modifiers embedded in the noun phrase". In Akan, Saah (2010) reports that a typical relative clause is often made up of an initial NP also known as the antecedent or head followed by a modifying clause. These two collectively make up one complex NP, which has the external distribution of an NP.

The following examples illustrate the structure of the relative clause in Akan:

15a. [$_{IP}$ Mè-hù-ù [$_{NP}$ ɔbáá [$_{CP}$ áà [$_{IP}$ Kòfí wáré-é nó] nó]]].

1SG-see-PST woman REL K marry-PST 3SG CD

"I saw the woman whom Kofi married." (Saah 2010:92)

b. [$_{IP}$ [$_{NP}$ ɔbáá] [$_{CP}$ áà [$_{IP}$ ɔ-wáré-é Kòfí] nó] fì Àbùrí]

Woman REL 3SG-marry-PST K. CD be.from . A.

"The woman who married Kofi is from Aburi." (Saah 2010:92)

He explains that in (15a) the object of verb *hú* 'to see' is the NP *ɔ̀báá́* 'woman' which also functions as the antecedent. This is followed immediately by the relative clause marker *áà* which introduces the embedded relative clause. This antecedent NP + Relative Clause Structure as a whole functions as the object of the sentence. The reverse is seen in example (15b) where the antecedent NP+ Relative Clause Structure function as the subject of the sentence (Saah 2010).

Saah (2010) sums these up in four characteristics of the Akan Relative Clause: A head/antecedent NP, an obligatory relative clause marker *áà,* a resumptive pronoun in the relativized position and a clause-final determiner.

4.6.5 Tense Aspect Mood (TAM)

Previous studies like Schachter and Fromkin (1968), Boadi (2008), Osam (1994; 2008) describe Akan as having 7 basic aspects; stative, habitual, progressive, completive, perfective, future and the optative. They discuss the completive/past as the only aspect morphologically represented in the surface form with a suffix attached to the verb root. All the other aspects are said to be morphologically marked by prefixes. Osam (1994 and 2008) describe Akan as primarily an aspect-prominent language with a two-way tense contrast: future vs. non-future. Osam's conclusion is grounded in Bhat (1999:91-92) who argues that languages accord different degrees of prominence to these verbal categories, and therefore, "in order to bring out these and other similar interesting differences that co-occur with the relative prominence that languages attach to different verbal categories, it would be helpful to classify languages into tense-prominent, aspect-prominent and mood-prominent language type". Table 4.7 below provides an overview of the Akan Tense-Aspect system:

Table 4.7: Akan tense-aspect

Tense	**Aspect**
Future	Completive
Non-future	Perfective
	Progressive
	Habitual
	Stative

The future tense in Akan is morphologically marked by the prefix *bɛ́-*. This morpheme is semantically used to mark an event that is expected to occur after the time of speaking. It also has a prospective function; it is used to mark intention (Osam 1994).

16a. Òwírèdú bé-kúm ǹtóńtóm̀ nó
Owiredu FUT-kill mosquito DEF
'Owiredu will kill the mosquito.'

In example (16a), the event of mosquito killing is perceived as occurring after the time of speaking.

b. Kyèí bé-sùá àdéɛ́
Kyei FUT-learn thing
'Kyei will learn/study.'

The future tense is used in this example to indicate *Kyei's* intention to study.

The progressive aspect is morphologically marked with the prefix *ré-.* This prefix has different phonetic realizations in the various dialects of Akan. For example in Fante, this morpheme has four different realizations based on the ATR status and the rounding features of the verb root as exemplified in example (17a). In Asante, however, the progressive is realised as a lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding syllable as in (17b) (cf. Schachter and Fromkin 1968; Dolphyne 1988; Osam 1994).

17a. Kòfí rú-bú dùá nó (Fa)
Kofi PROG-break tree DEF
'Kofi is felling the tree.'

b. Kòfí-í bú dùá nó (As)
Kofi-PROG break tree DEF
'Kofi is felling the tree.'

According to Osam (1994; 2004; 2008), the past tense is best described in Akan as a completive aspect. He argues that the primary function of the past tense marker is to indicate the completeness of an activity or an event as a whole. For this reason, the completive marker is incompatible with imperfective aspects such as the progressive, and thus explains the ungrammaticality of sentence (18c). The completive aspect in Akan is marked as a suffix, which has two different realizations in the affirmative. It is realized as a lengthening of the final vowel of the verb stem if the verb ends in a vowel, and is followed by a direct object. The final vowel is then said on a low tone.

18a. Ànás bɔ̀-ɔ̀ tòá nó
Anas break-COMPL bottle DEF
'Anas broke the bottle.'

b. Ámá bù-ù dùá nó
Ama break-COMPL tree DEF
'Ama fell the tree.'

c. *Àmá rè-bù-ù dùá nó
Ama PROG-break-COMPL tree DEF
'Ama fell the tree.'

In order to express sentence (18c) as a past imperfective event, Osam (2004) posits that Akan adopts the morpheme *ná* (As) 'then' as a conjunction which allows the progressive morpheme to co-occur with the past time marker. Example (18d) can be represented as:

d. Ámá bá-éɛ̀ nó ná
Ama come-COMPL TOP then
àbòfrá nó rè-bú dùá nó
child DEF PROG-break tree DEF
'When Ama came, the child was felling the tree.'

The completive also occurs as a low tone leading to the lengthening of the final consonants of verbs that end in consonants and are followed by a direct object or adverbial (Osam 2004).

19. Ámá pàm̀-m̀ ǹtòmá nó
Ama sew-COMPL cloth DEF
'Ama sewed the cloth.'

The completive is sometimes realized by a low tone /i/ or /ɪ/ when the verb occurs clause final. The vowel choice must however conform to the ATR status of the main verb. In addition to this, Asante has an alternative disyllabic additional completive suffix **-yɛ** or **-eɛ** in cases where the verb occurs clause finally (cf. Schachter and Fromkin 1968; Dolphyne 1988; Osam 1994; 2004).

20. Bààlúú nó pàé-yɛ̀
balloon DEF burst-COMPL
'The balloon burst.'

The prefix *a-* is used to mark perfectiveness in Akan. This prefix agrees with the ATR status of the verb to which it is attached, as exemplified in (21) below.

21. Abáá nó á-bù [ǽ- bù]
stick DEF PERF-break
'The stick is broken.'

In example (21) the perfective vowel prefix [a] harmonizes with the +ATR status of the vowel [u] in the verb *bú* 'to break', changing it to an [æ].

4.6.6 Akan noun phrase

Abakah (2005) identifies two sub-types of NPs in Akan: one in which the Head Noun (henceforth HN) is preceded by one or more phrase modifiers (premodification), and another in which the HN is followed by one or more modifying word classes referred to as "post modification". He identifies three types of premodifiers in Akan: possessive pronouns prefixed to the HN, Demonstrative *sàá* or "articles" (Boadi 2005:123) and a noun functioning as a modifier. What is peculiar to all three types is their ability to occur before the HN as exemplified in the following:

Pronoun+Nominal

22a. **Mè** síká
1SG.POSS money
'My money.'

b. **Nè** ǹhómá
3SG.POSS book
'His/her book.'

Demonstrative *sàá*+ nominal

23. **Sàá** ònípá {nó/yí}
As-identified-earlier person FOC
'{this/that} person as earlier referred to or characterized.' (Boadi 2005:134)

This type of NP can be described as an identifier. This construction acts collectively as a single NP and is mandatory that the focus marker *nó/yĩ* follows the nominal.

Noun functioning as a pre-modifier

24a. **Àdwé** ŋgó

palm kernel oil

b. **Àbùsùá** fĩé

family house

c. **Àbɛ́** ǹkwáǹ

Palm nut soup

These types of nominals have been referred to as endocentric compounds (Appah 2012). They consist of an N_1 and N_2. The N_1 functions as the pre-modifier of the N_2 head. Apart from taking pre-modifiers, the compounds are able to occur with post-modifiers (placed after the HN). Examples of such post-modifiers are Determiners, Adjectives, Numerals and Quantifiers. Each of these and how they occur with the nominals are exemplified in (25-28).

Noiminal+ Determiner

25. Àbòfrá **nó/yí/wèí**

child the/this/that

Nominal+Adjectives

26a. Àtààdéɛ́ **tùǹtúm̀ nó**

dress black

b. Kàsá **háré**

speech fast/rapid (rap)

Nominal+ Quantifier

27a. M̀-m̀òfrá **bébréé**

PL-child a lot

b. sìká **kàkrá**

money a bit

Nominal+ Numerals

28a. m̀pàbòá **m̀mm̀ìènú**

shoes two (two pairs of shoes)

b. M̀-m̀òfrá **bàànáǹ**

PL-child four

Example (29) represents a full set of single NP, consisting of a demonstrative (identifier), determiner, an adjective and a numeral.

29. Sàá m̀-m̀òfrá á-túǹtúm̀ m̀mm̃ìènú yí/wèí
DET PL-child PL-black two these
'These two black children…'

4.6.7 Akan pronominal system

Akan has been described as a Nominative/Accusative language by Osam (1994). One way of identifying the case of NP arguments in a simple clause is by word order. Osam (1994:23) states that "in a simple clause, the (A) argument precedes the verb and the (P) argument follows the verb. In an intransitive clause, the single argument (S) also precedes the verb just like (A) argument in a transitive clause. A and S arguments are identified as subject and the (P) arguments as direct objects."

Saah (2002) explains that pronouns in Akan are marked for features such as person, number, gender and case. The 1st and 3rd person plural (animate) overtly exhibit case distinctions between the nominative and the accusative forms, and are represented by different morphological forms when they occur in the subject and object position.

Table 4.8 below illustrates the pronoun markers that appear with verbs.

Table 4.8: Akan pronominal system (Saah 2002:216)

Singular				
	Person	**Citation Form**	**Nominative**	**Accusative**
	1	mé	mé	mé
	2	wó	wó	wó
	3	ɔ̀nó (animate)	ɔ̀	nó
		ɛ̀no (inanimate)	ɛ̀	(nó)
Plural	**1**	yɛ́n	yɛ́	yɛ́n
	2	mó	mó	mó
	3	wɔ́n (animate)	wɔ́	wɔ́n
		ɛ̀nonom *(*inanimate)	ɛ̀	nó

The citation forms on Table 4.8 according to Saah (2002:216) are used in emphatic contexts such as focus constructions, exemplified in (30a).

30a. Ɔ̀nó nà mè-níḿ nó
3SG.ANIM FM 1SG.know.PRES 3SG.ANIM
'**S/he** is the one that I know.' (Saah 2002:216)

b. Ɛ̀nó nà mè-pɛ́ [e[13]]
3SG.IANIM FM 1SG.like.PRES 3SG.IANIM
'**It** is the one that I like.' (Saah 2002:216)

c. Yɛ́n nà yɛ́-bɛ́-k ɔ́ sùkúú ɔ̀kyénà
1PL FM 1PL-FUT-go school tomorrow
'**We** are the ones who will go to school tomorrow.' (Saah 2002:216)

d. Wɔ́n dè wɔ̀-bɛ́-bá[14]
3PL.ANIM FM 3PL.ANIM-FUT-come
'As for them, **they** will come.' (Saah 2002:216)

[13] Saah (2002:216) represents the null argument with [e] for the 3rd person inanimate object pronoun.
[14] The morpheme *dè* has been contested by Amfo (2010, see. 4.5.2) to be more of a Topic Marker than marking Focus. In this example, even though Saah (2002) refers to it as a Focus Marker, in this construction dè plays the role of a contrastive topic marker.

The emphatic pronouns in examples (30a-d) occur in the contrastive topic position, followed by the *dè* topic marker and a complement IP (Inflectional Phrase) which is made up of an NP and VP.

Examples (31a-f) illustrate the use of the Nominative and Accusative forms of the pronouns.

31a. Mè kɔ̀-ɔ̀ sùkúú
1SG go-COMPL school
'I went to school.'

b. Kòfí bò-ò mè
Kofi beat-COMPL 1SG.OBJ
'Kofi beat me.'

c. Ɔ̀-bò-ò nò
3SG-beat-COMPL 3SG.OBJ
'He/she beat him/her.'

d. Yɛ̀ kɔ̀-ɔ̀ sùkúú
1PL go-COMPL school
'We went to school.'

e. Wɔ̀ bò-ò wɔ̀n̂
3PL beat-COMPL 3PL.OBJ
'They beat them.'

f. Ɛ̀-bɔ̀-ɔ̀ nò
3INA-hit-COMPL 3SG.OBJ
'It hit him/her.'

In Akan, the 1SG and 2SG subject prefixes and the object pronouns have identical morphological forms and as such their subject or object status is determined by their relative position in the clause. On the contrary, the 3SG subject and object pronouns have very different morphological forms unlike the other pronouns. The 1PL and 3PL drop their final consonants such that the morpheme and the verb form a single phonological word (31c and 31d).

The 3SG object pronoun *nó* can be realized overtly (31f) or covertly. The 3SG object is overtly represented if its reference is an animate entity. It is however covertly represented if it refers to an inanimate entity (Osam 1993b, 1994; Saah 2002). This is exemplified in the following sentences:

32a. Ámá bɛ́-tó àbòfrá nó
Ama FUT-throw child DEF
'Ama will throw the child.'

b. Ámá bɛ́-tó nó
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ
'Ama will throw him/her.'

c. Ámá bɛ́-tó àbòdùàbá nó
Ama FUT-throw doll DEF
'Ama will throw the doll.'

d. Ámá bɛ́-tó ø
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ
'Ama will throw it.'

In example (32b) the 3SG.OBJ pronoun is overtly realized because the NP *àbòfrá* 'child' is animate. In (32d), however, it is marked as zero because its referent NP *àbòdùàbá* 'doll' is inanimate. Studies like Boadi's (1976) have attributed the absence of the overt object pronoun to a transformational rule, which automatically deletes the 3rd person object pronoun whenever it occurs clause finally. On the contrary, Osam (1994) provides two conditions under which the 3SG object is overtly represented even if the object referent is inanimate. The first relates to the context where an oblique/adverbial element comes directly after the direct object, the 3SG.OBJ pronoun is overtly represented as exemplified below.

33a. Ámá bɛ́-tó àbòdùàbá nó Yáwádá
Ama FUT-throw doll DEF Thursday
'Ama will throw the doll on Thursday.'

b.* Ámá bɛ́-tó ø Yáwádá
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ Thursday
'Ama will throw it on Thursday.'

c. Ámá bɛ́-tó nó Yáwádá
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ Thursday
'Ama will throw it on Thursday.'

34a. Ámá bɛ́-tó àbòdùàbá nó ntɛ́ntɛ́m̀
Ama FUT-throw doll DEF hurriedly
'Ama will hurriedly throw the doll.'

b.* Ámá bɛ́-tó ø ntɛ́ntɛ́m̀
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ hurriedly
'Ama will hurriedly throw it.'

c. Ámá bɛ́-tó nó ntɛ́ntɛ́m̀
Ama FUT-throw 3SG.OBJ hurriedly
'Ama will throw hurriedly throw it.'

As further explained by Osam (1994:26), the ungrammaticality of sentence (33b) is because the 3SG.OBJ pronoun is not overtly represented. The presence of the adverbial nominal *Yáwádá* 'Thursday' after the direct object *àbòdùàbá nó* 'the doll' necessitates the overt realization of the 3SG.OBJ pronoun *nó* as shown in sentence (33c). Similarly, the adverb of manner in example (34c) requires the overt representation of the 3SG object pronoun hence the ungrammaticality of example (34b).

The second condition is determined semantically i.e. certain types of verbs (COS verbs) require the presence of the 3SG.OBJ pronoun *nó*. The COS verb *bú* 'to break' necessitates the overt realization of the 3SG.OBJ.PRN *nó* (35a), this explains the ungrammaticality of the English translation in (35b). The covert realization of 3SG.OBJ.PRN as in (35b) gives a different translation which is 'Ama will break'.

35a. Ámá bé-bú àbòdùàbá nó
Ama FUT-break doll DEF
'Ama will break the doll.'

b. Ámá bé-bú ø
Ama FUT-break 3SG.OBJ
* ‘Ama will break it.’

c. Ámá bé-bú nó
Ama FUT-break 3SG.OBJ
‘Ama will break it.’

Examples (34) make evident the fact that, the nature of the event (where an action is carried out on an entity) described by the verb *bú* ‘to break’ makes it impossible to occur without an object.

4.6.7.1 Reflexives

Faltz (1977) provides what he refers to as an “archetypical context” definition of the structure of reflexives in languages as:

> …simple clause expressing a two-argument predication, the arguments being a human agent or experiencer on the one hand and a patient on the other. Such clauses will consist of a verb, denoting the predicate, two noun phrases, referring to the arguments and any tense-aspect, modal, agreement or other grammatical material required by the syntax… (Faltz 1977:3).

Saah (1989) argues that for reflexivization to take place, there needs to be two NPs that are co-referential and they must occur in the simplex structure. Both Saah (1989) and Osam (2002) explain that in Akan, reflexivization is morphologically marked by combining a possessive pronoun and the Akan word *hó* ‘self’ which literally translates to ‘body’ giving the structure POSS+NP. In Akan the morpheme *hó* ‘self’ can either be interpreted as him/her/itself or ‘his/her/its body’/’near him/her/it’ in other construction Saah (1989). Here are some examples from Saah (1989:16):

36a. Kòfí dè sékáǹ twà-à nè hó
Kofi with knife cut-PST 3s REFL
‘Kofi cut himself with a knife.’ (Saah 1989:16)

b. Kòfí dè sékáǹ twà-à nò
Kofi with knife cut- PST 3s
‘Kofi cut him/her with a knife.’ (Saah 1989:16)

37a. Kòfí dè sékáǹ twà-à mè
Kofi with knife cut-PST 1s
'Kofi cut me with a knife.' (Saah 1989:16)

b. Mè-dè sèkáǹ twà-à mè hó
1s-with knife cut-PST 1s REFL
'I cut myself with a knife.' (Saah 1989:16)

38a. Kòfí dè sèkáǹ twà-à wò
Kofi with knife cut-PST 2s
'Kofi cut you with a knife.' (Saah 1989:16)

b. Wò-dè sèkáǹ twà-à wò hó
2s-with knife cut-PST 2s REFL
'You (sg) cut yourself with a knife.' (Saah 1989:16)

Adopting a functional approach, Osam (2002) following Kemmer (1993) identifies other situations in which the reflexive marker *hó́* is used. The actions involved in such situations depict what Kemmer (1993) refers to as "grooming or body care actions". Here are some examples of such cases in Akan according to Osam (2002:144):

39a. Àmá sèrá-á nó hó (Fa.)
Ama smear-COMPL 3SG.POSS self
'Ama smeared oil on her body.' (Osam 2002:144)

b. Árábá pèpá-á nó hó (Fa.)
Araba wipe-COMPL 3SG.POSS self
'Araba wiped herself (after showering).' (Osam 2002:144)

4.6.7.2 Possessives

The possessive pronouns that exist in Akan are presented in the Table 4.9 below. They collocate with *dè(ɛ̀*) to derive a different meaning as shown by the glosses.

Table 4.9: Akan possessive pronouns (Christaller 1875:40)

Pronouns	**Pronoun + de**	**Gloss**
mé	mé + dè(ɛ́)	mine
wó	wó + dè(ɛ́)	yours
né	né + dè(ɛ́)	his/hers
yɛ́ǹ	yɛ́ǹ + dè(ɛ́)	ours
mó	mó + dè(ɛ́)	yours
wɔ́ǹ	wɔ́ǹ + dè(ɛ́)	theirs

The following examples show how both forms are used in the language:

40a. Mè m̀pábòá 'my shoes'

b. Yɛ̀ǹ síká 'our money'

41. Sìká nó yɛ̀ mé dè(ɛ́)
money DEF is mine
'The money is mine.'

4.6.8 Animacy distinction in Akan

The critical role that animacy plays in the form and distribution of Akan nominal prefixes and the pronominal system makes this a relevant aspect in the Akan grammar (Osam 1996). More especially, a discussion on animacy is essential in the present study since some of the readings of the C&B verbs rely extensively on such animacy distinctions. In Akan, animacy distinction is

morphologically represented as nominal affixes and also in the forms and behaviors of the pronouns in the language (Osam 1996).

Osam (1996:155-161) identifies the following as evidence to prove the sensitivity of animacy distinction in Akan grammar:

1. The loss of the nominal prefixes:

It has been observed that inanimate nouns have a greater tendency to lose their nominal prefixes than animate nouns.

2. Double plural marking on nominal

Double plural marking on nominal involves the nouns that are morphologically marked with both a prefix and suffix. This is peculiar to human nouns. Animate nouns, however, do not under go this process. The suffixes *-fó* and *-nóm̀* act as plural markers with person/human attributes included in their semantics. They mark the nominals as agentive. The following examples from Osam (1996:156) illustrate this:

42a.	ɔ̀-héné	'chief'	à-hèǹ-fò	'chiefs'
b.	ɔ̀-pányíǹ	'adult'	m̀-pànyìn-fó	'elders'
c.	à-séẁ	'in-law'	ǹ-sèẁ-nóm̀	'in-laws'

3. Pronouns

This is manifested by the 3SG subject pronoun only in the Twi dialect of Akan. The prefixes o-/ɔ- are used to replace animate nouns whiles e-/ɛ- replaces inanimate nouns. According to Osam (1996:158) "the animate subject prefix is a reanalysis of the old noun Class 1 marker whereas the inanimate subject prefix derives from the old noun Class 4 prefix". This distinction pertains to only the Twi dialect, as the Fante dialect uses the same pronoun for both the animate and inanimate. Here are some examples to illustrate this:

Asante

43a. Mànú bé-bú dùá nó
Manu FUT-break tree DEF
'Manu will fell the tree.'

b. Ɔ̀-bé-bú dùá nó
3SG.SUBJ-FUT-break tree DEF
'S/he will fell the tree.'

44a. Abàá nó bɛ́-bú
stick DEF FUT-break
'The stick will break.'

b. Ɛ̀-bɛ́-bú
3SG.SUBJ.INA-FUT-break
'It will break.'

Fante

c. Ɔ̀-bó-bú (àbàá nó)
3SG.SUBJ-FUT-break (stick DEF)
'S/he/it will break.'

4.6.9 Akan adpositional phrases

Christaller (1875:77) provides the following as postpositions in Akan: *ɛ̀sɔ́ (ɔ̀sɔ́rɔ́)* 'top', *àsɛ́ɛ́* 'down, under', *(è)mú* 'inside', *ɛ̀hɔ́* 'side', *ànɔ́* 'mouth', *ànĭmì* 'front/face', *àkyĭ (àkyĭrĭ)* 'back'. He describes these as "nouns (of place and relations)" (p. 77). These words exist in Akan as individual lexical items and exhibit all characteristics associated with the category of nouns. Here are some examples:

45a. Mè tè àkyì
1SG sit back
'I am sitting at the back/behind.'

b. È-dà sóró
3SG.INA top
'It is lying on top (of something).'

c. Ɔ̀-tɛ̀ àséɛ́
3SG-hide under
'S/he is hiding under.'

In all three examples, the nouns are used to describe the "space, location or landmark of one entity in relation to another" (Osam et al. 2011:109). Osam et al. (2011) refer to them as relator nouns but in this thesis, I will stick to the traditional term 'postposition' following Ameka's (2003) discussion of prepositions and postpositions in Ewe (Kwa-language).

Two postpositions are critical for the expression of separation in Akan. These are *mu* 'inside' and *so* 'top'. A discussion on how these postpositions are used in constructions to express various forms of separation in Akan is provided in 4.8.3.

4.7 Types of verb classes in Akan

In Akan, four types of verb classes can be identified based on their argument structures. These classes consist of verbs that are strictly intransitive, strictly transitive, ditransitive and those verbs that have varying expressions of arguments (Osam 2016:125). Following Osam (2016:125-126), each of these classes is addressed in sections 4.7.1 to 4.7.3.

4.7.1 Strictly intransitive

These verbs are monovalent and occur with only the S (subject) argument in the construction. Examples of strictly intransitive verbs in Akan include *pòrɔ́* 'to rot', *fé* 'to become soft/smooth', *hùrú* 'to boil', *bèrè* 'to be ripe, be fair in complexion'

46a. Ànkàá nó á-bèrè
orange DEF PERF-ripe
'The orange(s) are ripe.'

b. Àdùàné nó á-bèǹ
food DEF PERF-cook
'The food is cooked.'

4.7.2 Strictly transitive

The verbs under this category require two arguments, i.e. the A (agent) and the O (object) arguments. The following are some examples of strictly transitive verbs in Akan; *bó* 'to beat', *ká* 'to bite', *kú* 'to kill', *kyé* 'to catch'.

47a. Ménhyìrá bò-ò àbóá nó
Menhyira beat-COMPL animal DEF
'Menhyira beat the animal.'

b. Ménhyìrá kù-ù àkúrá nó
Menhyira kill-COMPL mouse DEF
'Menhyira killed the mouse.'

4.7.3 Ditransitive

The verbs in this category require three core arguments. The following are some examples of ditranstive verbs in Akan; *kyɛ́* 'to gift, give as gift', *má* 'to give', *gyé* 'to charge', *kyèrɛ̀* 'to teach, to show'.

48a. Ménsima mà-à àbòfrá nó sìká
Mensima give-COMPL child DEF money
'Mensima gave the child money.'

b. Ménsima kyèrɛ̀-ɛ̀ àbòfrá nó àdéɛ́
Mensima teach-COMPL child DEF thing
'Mensima taught the child.'

4.8 Argument structure constructions C&B verbs participate

In this section, the various types of argument structure constructions relevant to the discussion of the syntactic and semantic behavior of the Akan C&B are explored. These constructions can be identified: one-place, two-place, PostP-construction and the *de*-SVC construction.

4.8.1 One-place Construction

This construction involves a simple sentence that requires only a single core argument or participant. This requirement is similar to what Cruse (2011) refers to as Mono-argumental verbs. The construction assigns the Effector or undergoer role to this core arguments/participant, according to Cruse (2011). Essegbey (1999) describes the verbs, which occur in this construction as semantically involving states of affairs in which cause or control is not asserted, that is actions which can occur without a causal agent involvement or "Lexical Cause" à lá Delancey (1990). Syntactically they are "one-place" verbs and the "one-place construction" is the intransitive construction in which they occur (Essegbey 1999:63). He identifies three groups of one-place verbs that vary based on the type of construction in which they occur. The first group involves those verbs that occur in both the one-place construction and two-place construction i.e. the verbs that are able to undergo the causative/inchoative alternation. The single participants of these verbs occur as the subject of the one-place construction but are objects in the two-place construction. The crucial thing about the verbs in this category is that their lexical semantics profiles only one participant. I argue that majority of the Akan BREAK verbs fall into this category.

The second, which also behaves like the first i.e. possibility of occurring in both one-place and two-place constructions, differs in the sense that the sole argument which occurs as the subject of the one-place construction also occurs as a subject in the two-place construction, examples of such verbs in Akan are *kɔ́* 'to go', *brà* 'to come', *fé* 'to vomit' etc. The third group is made up of verbs which occur only in one-place construction and have the sole NP occurring as the subject of the construction. Most of the Akan stative verbs (Osam 2005) or strictly intransitive verbs (Osam 2016) such as *wú* 'to die', *pòrɔ́* 'to be rotten', *dɔ́* 'to be hot' can be classified under this category. I illustrate the three groups as follows in (49), (50a-c):

49a. Àrábá á-bù àbàá nó
Araba PERF-break stick DEF
'Araba has broken the stick.'

b. Àbàá nó á-bù
stick DEF PERF-break
'The stick is broken.'

The above sentences (49a-b) illustrate the causative/inchoative alternation of the verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan. Even though the verb semantically profiles one participant i.e. the stick that is broken, and thus occurs in the one-place construction, it is also able to occur in a two-place construction when the aim is to indicate a causal agent. In (49a) the NP (profiled participant) is the syntactic object; however in (49b), it is the subject. Notice that in both constructions the semantic role of the stick still remains as Theme.

50a. Àrábá á-fɛ̀
Araba PERF-vomit
'Araba has vomited.'

b. Àrábá á-fɛ̀ mógyá
Araba PERF-vomit blood
'Araba has vomited blood.'

In examples (50a-b), the NP Araba (profiled participant) retains her position as subject in both the one-place and two-place constructions.

c. Kwàdú nó á-pòrɔ
banana DEF PERF-rot
'The banana is rotten.'

I describe example (50c) as a true one-place verb since the verbs in this category occur solely in the one-place construction.

d. Àbàá nó á-bù
stick DEF PERF-break
'The stick is broken.'

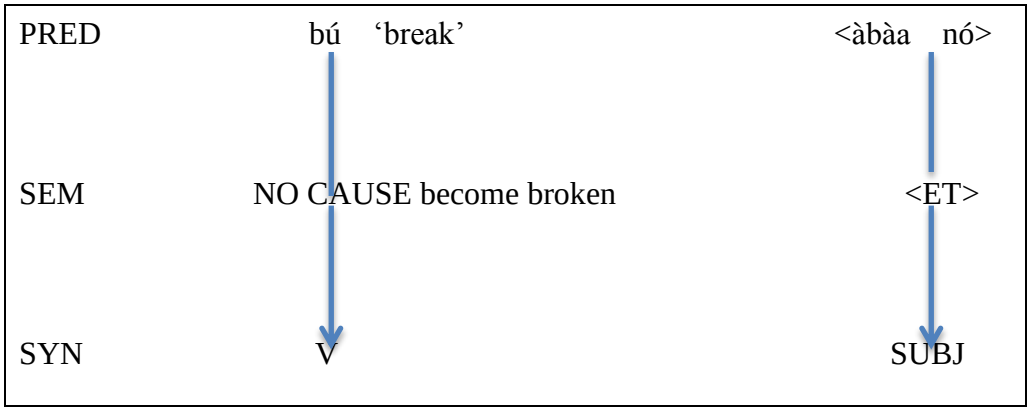

Figure 4.2: Linking in the one-place construction (adopted from Essegbey 1999:21)[15]

This representation of the one-place construction in Figure 4.2 shows a pairing of the semantic level and a syntactic level (Goldberg 1995) of the verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan. The linking pattern involves the one to one mapping/association of the participant roles to the argument roles. Goldberg (1995) describes the diagram as follows: the label PRED represents the verb which occurs in the one-place construction, in this case *bú* 'to break' along with its profiled participant; *pónó nó* 'the table' (Theme). SEM indicates the semantics of the one-place construction and the constructional role associated with the verb (ET i.e. effector/theme; the single argument of the one-place construction) to which the profiled arguments are linked. The final section SYN represents the syntactic realization of the construction's grammatical roles. The straight lines linking the participant *pónó* 'table' to the ET role indicates that it is an argument profiled by the verb.

4.8.2 Causal Two-place Construction

This is a construction that involves two core arguments in which one plays the role of the causal agent and the other the theme. This construction specifies the causal argument and the theme to be syntactically realized as subject and object, respectively (Goldberg 1995). The meaning expressed by this construction is that the state of affairs (change of state) described by the verb was brought about by an entity. In the schema below, I represent the verb *twá* 'to cut' as occurring in a two-place construction. The two participants of the verb and the two constructional arguments are linked directly with straight lines as shown in Figure 4.3 below.

[15] The figures illustrated in this section are adopted from Essegbey (2009) with a modification in the types of verbs occurring in the schemas.

51. Àrábá á-twà páánóó nó
Araba PERF-cut bread DEF
'Araba has cut the bread.'

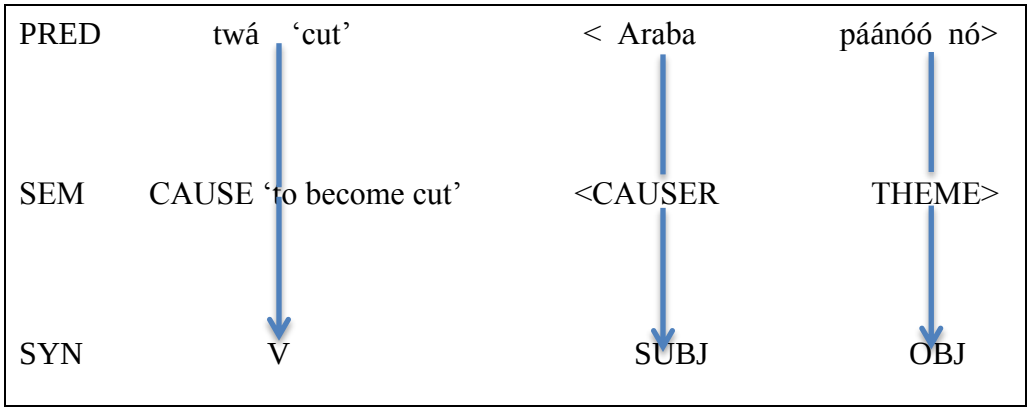

Figure 4.3: Linking in a Two-Place Construction (adopted from Essegbey 1999:22)

Individual constructions are able to contribute arguments to structures allowing some one-place verbs to gain causal arguments when they occur in two-place constructions. This shows that not every argument that a verb occurs with in a construction is necessarily profiled by the verb (Essegbey 1999:21). For instance a verb like *bú* 'to break' that occurs in a one-place construction, has the tendency to occur in a two-place construction in certain contexts. The crucial thing is the addition of a causal agent provided by the two-place construction. I illustrate this with the schema in Figure 4.4 below.

52. Àrábá á-bù àbàá nò
Araba PERF-break stick DEF
'Araba has broken the stick.'

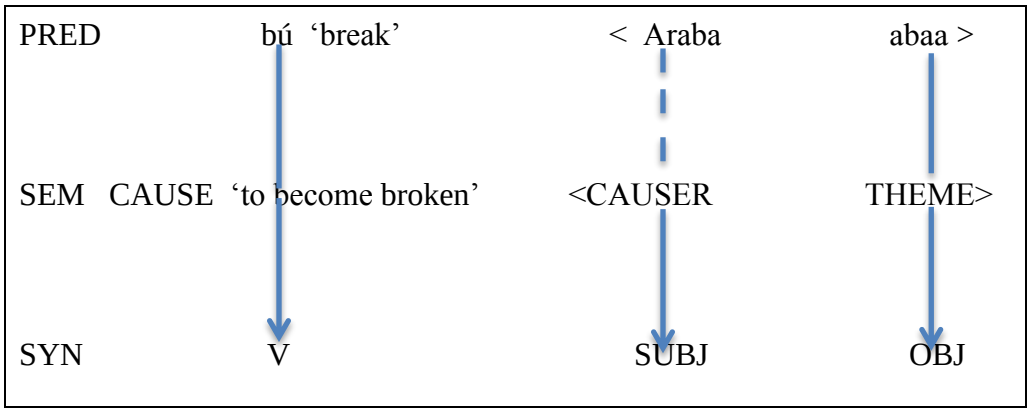

Figure 4.4: Linking in a Two-Place Construction (adopted from Essegbey 1999:22)

It is often the case that most BREAK verbs depict situations which can be instigated by an external causal entity. Hence, their ability to occur in the two-place construction. Since the only profiled participant of the verb is the theme entity, it is linked directly to the theme argument of the two-place construction. The agent argument is provided by the construction and does not form part of the verb's profiled participants. For this, broken lines are used to indicate that the causal argument is not profiled by the verb but rather by the two-place construction.

4.8.3 PostPosition-Construction

In this type of construction, the C&B verbs collocate with postpositions such as *mú* 'inside', *ànó́* 'mouth', *àsɛ́ɛ́* 'under', *ɛ̀tɔ́ɔ́* 'bottom', *àkyî* 'back' and so on to indicate the part of the entity that undergoes the change of state. For instance the postposition *mú* 'inside' (which is very common Postposition that occurs with the Akan C&B verbs) is used to refer to 'the internal parts of an object' that undergoes that separation event.

Consider example (53):

53a. KK bù-ù páánóó nó
KK break-COMPL bread DEF
'KK broke the bread.'

b. KK bù-ù páánóó nó mú
KK break-COMPL bread DEF inside
'KK broke the bread (into separate portions)/ divided the bread.'

In (53a) the breaking could refer to just a portion of the bread and may not necessarily end in a complete separation or division. In (53b) however, what is perceived is a separation that allows one to see the internal part of the entity.

54a. KK twà-à bàyérɛ́ nó
KK cut-COMPL yam DEF
'KK cut the yam.'

b. KK twà-à bàyérɛ́ nó tó
KK cut-COMPL yam DEF bottom
'KK cut the bottom (part of) the yam.'

In the same vein, the cutting in example (54b) shows that it was not the whole part of the yam that underwent the separation event, rather it was only the bottom part that was affected.

55a. KK tè-è krátáá nó
KK tear-COMPL paper/letter DEF
'KK tore the letter.'

b. KK tè-è krátáá nó ànó
KK tear-COMPL letter DEF mouth
'KK opened the letter.'

Example (55a) simply describes the tearing of a letter/paper without highlighting the part that is affected by the separation event. In example (55b) however, the postposition *ànó́* 'mouth' not only indicates the part of the letter that was torn but it goes further to provide an additional semantics to the construction. The tearing sense of the verb *té* 'to tear' is extended to derive a 'to open' interpretation when it occurs with the postposition *ànó́* 'mouth'. In this context, it describes the process of tearing the edge of something, in this case, the envelope, in order to reveal its contents i.e. the letter.

4.8.4 Verb serialization

There are other types of constructions in which we have three arguments and yet these cannot be described as three-place construction. Such constructions do not involve mono-verbal structures such as what has been discussed in the one, two and three place argument structure constructions. Rather, these are found in serial verb construction (SVCs). I identify one of such constructions; *de*-SVC, as relevant to the discussion of the Akan C&B events. I discuss this type of construction in this sub-section. I begin with a brief commentary on the SVC in Akan.

4.8.4.1 Akan SVC

Verb Serialization is considered to be a crucial aspect of Akan verbal syntax and has received a considerable amount of attention from Akan researchers (see. Essilfie 1984; Dolphyne 1987; Osam 1994; 2004; Agyeman 2002; Hellan et al. 2003; Kambon 2012). Several attempts have been made to define the concept of serialization. Osam (2004:32) for instance contends that "…it

is one of the syntactic structures that attempting a definition for is almost like trying the impossible." Following Durie (1997), we can attempt to describe serialization as:

> …what happens when two or more verbs are juxtaposed in such a way that they act as a single predicate, taking a unitary complex of direct arguments. The verbs are found together syntactically and/or morphological on the basis of sharing one or more core arguments, and neither verb is subordinate to the other. Typically in a serial construction there is no marker of subordination or coordination, no dividing intonational or morphological mark of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have a separate scope for tense, mood, aspect, illocutionary force and negation. Durie (1997:3).

Based on the typology of Akan serial verb constructions, Osam (1994; 2004) identifies two classes of serial constructions. These are Clause Chaining Serial Verb Construction (CCSVC) and Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISCV) and are classified based on the notion of semantic integration.

According to Osam (1994a) the CCSVC-type is made up of series of verbs that split up the events based on the order in which they occurred and for this reason events in the CCSVC types can be separated into different clauses and linked with a conjunction.
ISCV however represents events that are compactly put together to form an integrated event and thus cannot be separated into individual events.

Clause Chaining Serial Verb Construction (CCSVC)

56a. Ménhyìrá twà-à páànó nó bì dì-èɛ̀
Menhyira cut-COMPL bread DEF some eat-COMPL
'Menhyira cut some of the bread and ate it.'

In example (56a), the events of 'bread cutting' and 'bread eating' are seen as two separate events, which occurred in a sequential order. The two events can be separated into two different clauses and linked by the conjunction *nà* "and" as in example (56b).

b. Ménhyìrá twà-à páànó nó bì nà ò-dí-éɛ́
Menhyira cut-COMPL bread DEF some and 3SG-eat-COMPL
'Menhyira cut some of the bread and ate it.'

Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISVC)

c. Ménhyìrá gyè-è pàpá nó dì-èɛ̀
Menhyira get-COMPL man DEF eat-COMPL
'Menhyira believed the man.'

d. *Ménhyìrá gyè-è pàpá nó nà ò-dí-éɛ́
Menhyira get-COMPL man DEF and 3SG-eat-COMPL
'Menhyira believed the man.'

The events of *gyé* 'to get' and *dǐ* 'to eat' are seen as an integrated and therefore cannot be separated into separate clauses linked by a conjunction, which explains the ungrammaticality of sentence (56d).

***de*-SVC**

In this type of SVC there is the introduction of a third argument into the construction. This argument, which is contributed by the verb *de* 'use', either introduces the instrument that was used to bring about the current state of affairs or the manner in which the action was carried out (usually an abstract noun) into the construction. The *de*-SVC can be syntactically described as being of an NP_1 V_1 (O) V_2 NP_2 structure. I present a schema in Figure 4.5 showing the linking of arguments in the *de*-SVC below:

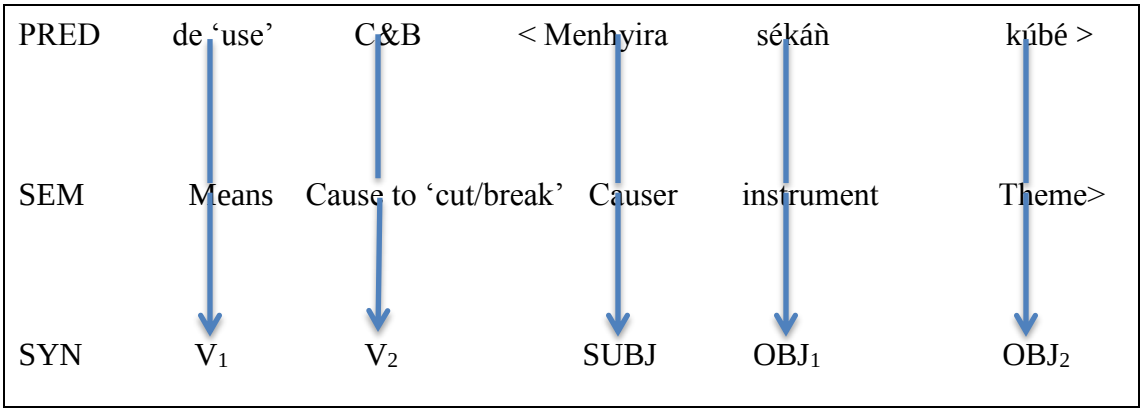

Figure 4.5: Linking of arguments of *de*-SVC

The examples (57a-c) indicate how the *de*-SVC contributes to the meaning of the following sentences:

57a. Ménhyìrá bɔ̀-ɔ́ kúbé nó
Menhyira crack-COMPL coconut DEF
'Menhyira cracked open the coconut.'

b. Ménhyìrá dè sékáǹ bɔ̀-ɔ́ kúbé nó
Menhyira use knife crack-COMPL coconut DEF
'Menhyira cracked the coconut open with a knife.'

c. Ménhyìrá dè àbúfúó bɔ̀-ɔ́ kúbé nó
Menhyira use anger crack-COMPL coconut DEF
'Menhyira angrily cracked the coconut open/ cracked the coconut in anger. '

We notice that in example (57a) there is no overt realization of the instrument, even though it is implied (based on the characteristics of the noun coconut, which requires the application of an instrument in order to get a result). In examples (57b and c) however, the *de*-SVC has the overt representation of the instrument and manner in which the action was carried out respectively. Note however, that the manner interpretation is derived from the semantics of the abstract complement, in this case *àbúfúó* 'anger'.

4.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented a sketch grammar on aspects of Akan grammar relevant to the discussions in the present study. It commenced with a brief introduction to the chapter and provided sociolinguistic and dialectal information on Akan. This was followed by a typological overview that set the scene for discussion on the Akan grammar. The chapter presented information on the phonological system of Akan, the morphology and syntax of the language.

The chapter also presented the various types of verb classes in Akan, following Osam (2016). Four types of verb classes were identified: strictly intransitive, strictly transitive, ditransitive and verbs that can occur both transitively and intransitively. Verbs from these classes have been argued to interact with various types of constructions. Most importantly, it has been argued that within the C&G framework, constructions are related but does not imply that one construction is derived from the other. It has been stressed that during utterance interpretation, there is an interaction between the semantics of verbs and the various types of constructions present in the

given language. For this reason, the present chapter has dealt with the constructions in which CxB verbs occur. The constructions bear meanings on their own which they contribute to the overall meaning of the sentences in which the verbs occur. These constructions and their meanings interact with the lexical semantics of the verbs to yield various types of Argument Structure Constructions.

Overall, this chapter has provided background information on Akan, relevant for the syntactic and semantic analysis of the C&B verbs to be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

The semantics of CUT verbs in Akan

"Meaning…is an exceedingly ill-assorted fellow. One can scarcely invite him into the house without admitting at the same time one or more of his ***drunken friends****. The technique was either to lock him out or to demand a password and slam the door shut the moment the legitimate guest was inside, which not infrequently cost him part of an arm or leg".*

(Bolinger 1975:221)

5.1 Introduction

The above quote highlights the complexity associated with semantic analysis, more specifically how to determine the meaning of the word 'meaning'. Described as one of meaning's drunken friends by Ameka (2016), an attempt to define what the word 'meaning' really means, is an almost impossible venture.

To remedy this, scholars such as Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet (2000) have argued that "meaning" can be better analyzed in terms of "aboutness". This implies that instead of asking questions such as "what does this lexical item mean", one could ask, "what is this lexical item about". Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet (2000) argue that meaning manifests itself in a systematic link that exists between linguistic forms and the things in the world that they talk about. Put simply, meaning can either be viewed as relating to 'things in the world' or about things in the mind. This distinction leads them to argue for a combination of 'aboutness' and 'representational' components as being crucial to the notion of meaning.

A further distinction they make in relation to "aboutness" and "meaning" is informational significance versus cognitive significance. According to Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet (1990), informational significance maps directly on to "aboutness", in the sense that it refers to the connections that exist between a language and the world we talk about. Moreover, "informational significance looks outward to a public world and underlies appraisal of messages in terms of objective non-linguistic notions like truth" (p.11). Conversely, cognitive significance pertains to the links that exist between "language and mental constructs that somehow represent or encode speakers' semantic knowledge. Cognitive significance looks inward to a speaker's

mental apparatus and does not confront issues of public reliability of linguistic communication" (p.11). Ameka (2016), in addition to this, stresses that the goal of any semantic analysis of language is to account for the semantic knowledge and competence of the speakers involved.

Another drunken friend of meaning according to Bolinger (1975), is context. Bolinger (1975) contends the idea that context determines meaning (i.e. one is able to tell the meaning of a word by knowing the words with which it occurs) by arguing that context goes beyond this and as such should be seen in a larger sense. For him, context alone is not able to specify the meaning of a lexical item. Rather the collocations or otherwise the "intralingual relations contracted by linguistic unit" interact with contexts to derive the meaning of a lexical item (Bolinger 1975:221).

The present chapter explores the meanings of the Akan C&B verbs in this light. The chapter investigates whether these verbs have multiple readings/interpretations and if they do whether the readings are completely different senses or just different usages in various contexts. Furthermore, if they are senses, are they semantically related and therefore polysemous or are they unrelated (homonymous)? Also, if they are semantically related, what is the nature of the relationship? The chapter also addresses the argument realization patterns of the C&B verbs and its consequences for the verbs by discussing the constructions in which they occur as well as how their various readings/interpretation are generated.

The chapter is structured as follows: in section 5.2 the Akan CUT verbs and the constructions in which they occur are outlined (Table 5.1). Section 5.3 discusses the basic semantics of CUT verbs, followed by a discussion of the individual CUT verbs and their semantics in Section 5.4. This section also illustrates the types of constructions in which the various readings of the verbs occur. Sections 5.5 dicusses PEEL the verbs in Akan. A synthesis on the various aspects of the CUT verbs in Akan and how they fit within the cross-linguistic domain is summarised in Section 5.6. Section 5.7 concludes the chapter.

5.2 Akan CUT verbs and their constructions

Table 5.1 summarises the CUT verbs that are going to be discussed in this chapter along with[16] the relevant constructions in which they occur. The verbs are arranged in the order in which they are dicussed in this chapter.

Table 5.1: Akan CUT verbs and their constructions

Verbs	Gloss	One-Place	Two-Place	*de*-SVC	PostP-Cons.
twá	'to cut'	+	+	+	+
dwá	'to cut (with force) '	+	+	+	+
sàè	'to cut by making a mark'	-	+	+	+
nú	'to cut, harvest palm fruit	-	+	+	-
wɔ́	'to prick/pound'	-	+	+	+
tùé	'to pierce'	+	+	+	+
dwé	'to separate, pluck out individual palm fruit from	-	+	+	-
dwèè	'to cut into the skin'	-	+	+	-
séné/sèǹsènè	'to sharp/to peel'	-	+	+	-
hwànè	'to peel'	-	+	+	-
wèrɛ̀	'to scale/scrape'	-	+	+	-

We deduce from the Table 5.1 that with the exception of the verbs *dwá* 'to cut up' *', twá* 'to cut' and *tùé* 'to pierce', the rest of the CUT verbs do not occur in the one-place construction. Similarly, it is only the verbs *twá* 'to cut', *dwá* 'to cut up', *sàè* 'to cut by making a mark' and *wɔ́* 'to prick/pierce/stump/pound' that are able to occur in the PostP-construction.

[16] The + and – signs are used to indicate whether the verb participates in that particular type of construction or not.

5.3 The semantics of Akan CUT verbs

In Table 5.2, the semantics associated with Akan C&B verbs are put into four categories: the number of entailed participants, whether the verb lexicalizes an instrument or not, nature of cause (+/- Agent) and the nature of change in the object.

Table 5.2: Basic semantics associated with Akan CUT verbs

Verbs	**Number of lexicalized participants**	**Instrument involvement**	**Agent involvement**	**Nature of change in the object**
twá	3	Yes	+Agent	separated
tùè	1	Yes	+/-Agent	results in an opening on the object
wɔ́	3	Yes	+Agent	crushed (into pieces/pulp)
dwá	3	Yes	+/-Agent	separated
hwànè	2	No	+Agent	left without an outer covering
sèǹsènè	3	Yes	+Agent	left without an outer covering
sàè	3	Yes	+Agent	incision/mark on object
nú	3	Yes	+Agent	uprooted
wèrɛ̀	3	Yes	+Agent	without an outer covering
dwèè	3	Yes	+Agent	incision on object
dwé	3	Yes	+Agent	separation

In Table 5.2 above, we observe that verbs referring to cutting activities spell out three participants and lexicalize an agent. Some of the end results associated with these verbs include different forms of separation, incision, reduction in length of entities or entities being crushed into pulp.

5.4 Akan CUT verbs

In this section, I discuss the CUT verbs in Akan. This category comprises two other sub-categories known as PEEL and CRUSH verbs. These subcategories serve as hyponyms of the CUT verbs, i.e. they depict different modes of cutting yet exhibit the same underlying feature of instrument involvement leading to an eventual separation/change of state.

In the subsequent sections, the semantics of each of the CUT verbs are explained. The section also discusses the relevant readings/interpretations associated with the verbs. These are followed by syntactic representations of the types of constructions in which the various readings/interpretations of the verbs are able to occur.

5.4.1 Semantic properties of CUT verbs

The verbs in this category are prototypical transitive verbs (Dixon 2005; Levin 1993; Hopper & Thompson 1980). According to Dixon (2005), English CUT verbs involve three basic semantic roles— someone (an agent) who moves or manipulates something (an instrument) in order for it to come into contact with an entity or person (patient), which is in turn physically affected by the activity. The thing that is moved or manipulated is either an item held by the agent who carries out the activity or some body part of the agent.

Dixon (2005) further describes English CUT verbs as referring to actions which involve the use of pointed or bladed instruments to penetrate the surface of another entity.

Four things that are critical with regard to this category of verbs are: motion, contact, effect and specification of instrument or the means by which the result is brought about (Levin 1993). These characteristics are not only peculiar to the CUT category, but also pertains to the PEEL and CRUSH group of verbs in English.

5.4.2 Class members

The following are the class members of the CUT verbs in Akan: *twá* 'to cut', *dwá* 'to cut up', *wɔ́* 'to prick, pierce', *sàè* 'to mark', *nú* 'to harvest palm fruit', *wèrɛ̀* 'to scrape', *dwèè* 'to cut into the skin'and *dwé* 'to pluck out palm fruit from the palm stalk'.

With the exception of the verb *twá* 'to cut' which can be categorised as 'agentive', the remaining verbs can be described as highly 'agentive', following Ameka & Essegbey's (2007) categorisation. They are highly agentive in the sense that they require the presence of an agent who acts on volition to bring about the event described by the particular verb. The verbs in this class lexicalize instrument, manner or purpose (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995) and for this reason are restricted from participating in the causative/inchoative alternation in Akan. The 'agentive' verb *twá* 'to cut' also describes separations that are carried out with an instrument, but

unlike the highly 'agentive' verbs, the 'agentive' verb *twá* 'to cut' participates in the causative/inchoative construction in certain restricted contexts (see 5.4.3.2).

5.4.3 Readings / Interpretations of Akan CUT verbs

Wilkins and Hill (1995) highlight the need to distinguish the way in which individual lexemes are treated and understood from the treatment and understanding of utterances that contain these lexemes. They argue that the various readings of verbs are distinguished on the basis of the types of arguments the verbs or lexemes collocate with.
On this premise, the Akan CUT verbs and the various types of NPs they collocate with are explored in the subsequent sections.

5.4.3.1 Readings/Interpretations of the Akan verb twá 'to cut'

A. To cut

This reading of the verb describes separation, damage of an object or entity and generally involves the use of a bladed instrument (for example a knife, machete, and scissors) which is used by an agent to carry out the action. This bladed object is made to come into contact with the entity; finally leading to a separation or a change in the 'material integrity' of the object (Hale & Keyser 1987). This separation ranges from complete to partial separation. Therefore the change in 'material integrity' does not necessarily have to affect the NP object as a whole, rather it could be effected on a part of the NP object. The cut could vary from a slight mark on an object, to a deep cut.
Possible NP collocants that go with the verb *twá* 'to cut' in order to yield the 'cut/cut off' interpretation are of a wide range. They include food items such as (*páànòó* 'bread', *nkùrùmá* 'okra', *kwàdú* 'banana'), materials (*ntòmá* 'cloth', *àhòmá* 'rope') and body parts (*nsá* 'hand', *ètĭ* 'head').
The following are some examples (apart from those examples that have been referenced, all others are constructed based on my intuitions as a native speaker of Asante Twi).

1a. Màábéná twà-à páànòó nó
Maabena cut-COMPL bread DEF
'Maabena cut the bread.'

b. Ò-twî-twá-á ǹkùrúmá nó mú
3SG.SUBJ-RED-cut-COMPL okra DEF inside
'S/he cut the okra into pieces.' [Culture Specific C&B clip 4][17]

c. Tíkyà Kòfí twà-à kwàdú nó fì-ì dùá nó só
Teacher Kofi cut-COMPL banana DEF come out-COMPL tree DEF on top
'Teacher Kofi cut the banana (bunch) from the tree.' [CS.C&B 74]

Examples (1a-c) describe various instances of cutting represented in three different types of constructions. A two-place construction is used in (1a) where the agent *Màábénáˊ* is responsible for the cutting of the bread. Though not overtly mentioned in example (1a), there is an understood involvement of an instrument, as is the case with most cutting activities. The simple or mono-morphemic form of the verb *twáˊ* 'to cut' points to the fact that the cutting was not repeated. In (1b), however, the verb occurs in a Post-position construction headed by *múˊ-* 'inside'. Furthermore, the CUT verb comes in a reduplicated form indicating a repeated cutting, which results in the object NP *ǹkùrúmáˊ* 'okra' becoming smaller in sizes than how they formerly used to be. The reduplication of the verb adds the semantics 'into multiple pieces' to the overall interpretation of example (1b). The object *ǹkùrúmáˊ* 'okra' does not only become 'not whole' but also a new form of the object is created as a result of the repeated cutting. It must be pointed out the PostP *múˊ* 'inside' mainly contributes the 'cut into' interpretation to the entire sentence and does not necessarily imply that the object was 'cut into pieces' (see 4.8.3 for a discussion on the Post-p *múˊ* construction). Rather, the 'cut into pieces' sense is brought about by the reduplicated form of the CUT verb. This interpretation cannot be derived when the verb is not reduplicated.

In (1c) we have a multiple object SVC conveying the idea of cutting/lopping. In this SVC, the verb *twáˊ* 'to cut' is V_1. V_2 in principle can be any verb that can take a locative phrase; in this case we have the verb *fì* 'to come out' which specifies the source from which the banana is cut. *Fì* 'to come out' introduces the locative phrase *dùáˊ nóˊ sóˊ* 'on top of the tree'. The V_2 *fĩ* 'to come out' and the locative phrase collectively specify the locus of effect/result of the cutting event i.e. Kofi cut the banana and it came off the tree.
In all three instances, the interpretation conveyed is that of disconnection or separation of the object in question.

[17] Henceforth abbreviated as CS.C&B, Bohnmeyer et al. (2001) elicitation descriptions abbreviated as MPI.C&B

2.	Ǹtɛ̀m̀	árá	wó-twì-twá-á	bòrɔ̀dé	dé (Gyekye-Aboagye 1967:20)
	hurriedly	EMPH	3PL-RED-cut-COMPL	plantain	use.HAB
	tùá-tùà-à	àbóá	ǹ-tókúró	nyìnáá	
	RED-seal-COMPL	animal	PL-hole	all	

'They hurriedly cut plantain leaves and used it to seal all the holes of the animal.'

Another example of a reduplicated use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' is shown in example (2). In this example, the reduplication is a form of verbal plurality that shows a repetition of the cutting activity i.e. the multiplicity of an action that results in object plurality (the plantain leaves for covering the holes become more than).

Examples (3-4) illustrate the verb *twá* 'to cut' with body parts.

3.	Wò	bá	kɔ́	sùméná	só	ná (Appiah et al. 2007:13)
	2POSS	child	go.HAB	rubbish heap	top	and
	ɔwɔ́	ká	nò	à	wó-ǹ-twá	ǹ-twènné
	snake	bite.HAB	DEF	COND	2SG-NEG-cut	NEG-away

'If your child goes to the rubbish heap and a snake bites him/her, you don't cut off the place (where it was bitten)…'

The Akan proverb in example (3) literally cautions against completely severing/cutting off the body part that has sustained a snake bite from the body. This proverb advises that when someone is in real trouble, instead of neglecting that person or cutting that person off, one has to do all things possible to remedy the situation, more especially if that individual is someone close to you.

4.	Wò	bá	né	gú	wò	sérɛ̀ (Appiah et al. 2007:13)
	2POSS	child	defecate.HAB	pour.HAB	2POSS	lap
	só	á	wó-dè	bàhá	wó-ǹ-twá	ǹ-twènné
	top	COND	2SG-use	sponge	2SG-NEG-cut	NEG-away

'If your child defecates on your lap, you take a sponge to wipe it off, you don't cut it off.'

A different articulation of the underlying conceptual idea of the proverb in (3) is represented here in (4). In (4) one is advised to desist from cutting the part of the lap (body) where one's child defecates, but rather the place ought to be thoroughly cleaned with a sponge. Notice also the use

of the word *twènέ* 'away' in both examples. This word contributes to the meaning "complete separation from another entity", in this case an individual's body. This word is comparable to the English expression "throw away".

In the next sub-section I discuss the types of constructions in which the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs.

5.4.3.2 The constructions in which they participate

We identify the one-place construction, two-place construction, PostP-construction and the *de*-SVC constructions as possible constructions with which *twá* 'to cut' interacts. As discussed in chapters one and two, whenever constructions interact with lexical items, the construction contributes its own meaning to the sentence. Each of these constructions is illustrated below.[18]

I. One-place Construction/Two-Place Construction

Though extensively argued that CUT verbs are not able to participate in the inchoative/causative construction (Guerssel et al. 1985; Levin 1993; Bohnemeyer 2007; Dixon 2005) data from Akan shows that whenever the verb *twá* 'to cut' verb collocates with some types of NPs there is a possible intransitivization. Such NPs include body parts, liquids such as *ǹsúó* 'water' and *mógyá* 'blood', *àwóɔ́* 'child birth'.

5a. Ò-twà-à nè ǹsá
3SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL 3POSS finger
'S/he cut his/her finger.'

b. Nè ǹsá twà-áyɛ̀
3POSS finger cut-COMPL
'His/Her finger got cut.'

Examples (5a) and (5b) above is a representation of the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurring in a Two-place and One-Place construction, respectively. When it occurs in the Two-place construction (5a), it involves a causal agent, represented by the third person singular subject pronoun 'o' as in

[18] The constructions discussed under this verb are applicable to most of the CUT verbs, especially those that connote division/separation of some sort. For this reason, they will not be repeated in the subsequent discussions on the other CUT verbs. However, if a particular verb shows some deviations in the types of constructions they occur in, it will be discussed under the relevant verb.

the case of example (5a). In example (5b), there is no overt realization of the causal agent; rather there is a lexicalization of an instrument even though it is not morphologically represented in the sentence. All things being equal, every form of cutting will involve some sort of instrument, so whether it is overtly represented or not, the instrument involvement is included in the overall interpretation of the sentence. Example (5b) can be used in contexts where for instance one intends to purposefully conceal the cause of the action. It can also be used if whoever is reporting the incidence is not aware of the cause (i.e. did not witness what brought about the current state of finger) and is thus focusing on the end result/current state of the finger. Examples (5a and 5b) do not necessarily describe a complete severance, rather it only shows that the body part in question has been affected in some way by the event described by the verb.

A similar context where the one-place construction can also be used is when an individual has some parts of his/her body amputated or where one has sustained several cuts on his/her body. In such instances, the reduplicated form of the verb *twìtwà* 'to cut repeatedly' is used to depict either the pluractional nature of event or that the cutting affects multiple body parts, as exemplified in (6a and 6b).

6a. Nè nán á-twì-twá
3POSS leg PERF-RED-cut
'His/her legs are cut/amputated.'

b. Nè ǹsá hó á-twì-twá
3POSS hand body PERF-RED-cut
'Parts of his/her hands have been severally cut/ s/he has several cuts on his/her hand.'

c. È-mú á-twà fine pɛ́pɛ́ɛ́pɛ́
3INA-inside PERF-cut fine exactly
'It (the carrot) has been neatly/finely divided.' [MPI.C&B 9]

In example (6c), we see another intransitive use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in describing the state of the carrot after undergoing the cutting event. This statement was made by a consultant when asked what had happened to the carrot in the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) video showing the cutting of a carrot into two equal parts (clip 9). Notice also the use of the PP-(*mú*) construction, which indicates that the interior part of the carrot has been finely cut, the result being a division.

The occurrence of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in such one place constructions allows the agent to be suppressed thus presenting the event as occurring without an agent, with the aim of foregrounding the end result of the activity.
A similar observation has been made by Ameka & Essegbey (2007), Essegbey (2007) and Essegbey (forthcoming) with regard to some of the Ewe and Sranan CUT verbs. This has led Ameka & Essegbey (2007:245) for example, to conclude that the fact that Ewe CUT verbs *tso* and *sɛ́̃* "can occur in the intransitive, however restricted the context, points to a contradiction in the predictions of Guerssel at al. (1985)". This statement holds true and relevant in the Akan situation.

II. PostP[mu 'inside', ti/so 'head/top']-Construction

In this type of construction, the object of *twá* 'to cut' is a postpositional phrase. The PostP indicates the part of the object that is affected by the cutting event.

7a.	Àbíó	twà-à	bàyérɛ	nó	mú
	Abio	cut-COMPL	yam	DEF	inside
	'Abio cut into the yam/ divided the yam.'				

b.	O-twà-à		ǹkùrùmá	nó	tí	fì-ì	hɔ́
	3SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL		okra	DEF	head	come out-COMPL	there
	'S/he cut the top part/head of the okra (from there).'						[CS.C&B 3]

In (7a), the presence of the PP *mú* 'inside' signifies that the cutting is not simply a mark made on the yam, rather it further progresses into the interior part of the yam, resulting in a division into parts. The part of the okra that is cut in (7b) is the top/head represented by the *tí*. The expression *fì hɔ́* 'from there' additionally indicates that the cutting results in the complete separation of the top part of the okra from the rest of its body.

III. *dè* - SVC Construction

In this construction, the *dè* 'use/with' either introduces the instrument that was used in carrying out the cutting activity as in example (8a) or it provides information on the manner in which the cutting was done, as exemplified in (8b).

8a. Dànsó dè sékáǹ twà-à nè ǹsá
Danso use knife cut-COMPL 3POSS finger
'Danso used a knife to cut his finger/cut his finger with a knife'

b. Dànsó dè àhòpèpéré twà-à nè ǹsá
Danso use haste cut-COMPL 3POSS finger
'Danso cut his finger in haste/ hastily cut his finger'

Danso in (8a), is described as using a knife to cut his finger. In (8b), however, the manner in which he did the cutting (i.e. in haste) is expressed.

B. To cut a cloth (for sewing)

The verb *twá* 'to cut' collocates with the NP *ǹtòmá* 'cloth' to describe the process of cutting out a textile for the specific purpose of sewing (a purposeful type of cutting). It is the case that such fabrics usually come in full pieces (12 yards), referred to in Akan as *èpóɔ́* with six yards being *èpófá* (half of the whole). People, depending on their sizes and choice of styles, purchase portions of such textiles, which are usually cut lengthwise with a pair of scissors. The fabrics are subsequently cut out into specific patterns and sewn as exemplified in (9).

9. Ɛ̀nǹ dèdààdà yí wó-ń-twî-twà-à mè kábá nó
so already DEM 2SG-NEG-RED-cut-COMPL 1POSS blouse DEF
'So all this while you have not cut out the pattern of my blouse.'

The reduplicated form of the verb *twá* 'to cut' focuses on the multiple cuttings that are done in order to get the patterns needed to make the garment.

There is also another use of the *twá* 'to cut' + NP *ǹtòmá* 'cloth' collocation in Akan that refers to a popular cultural practice in Ghana where people/family members select and buy a specific type of textile to be sewn and worn by friends and family during special occasions such as child birth, marriage, funerals etc. (see. Essegbey forthcoming for Ewe). This also involves the lengthwise cutting of the selected fabrics into portions depending on the requirements of the buyers.

10. Nà ǹtòmá bɛ́ń nà mó-twá mà-à àyíé nó
so cloth which that 2PL-cut give-COMPL funeral DEF
'So which cloth did you select and buy for the funeral.'

The critical thing about both examples is that the cutting is done for specific purposes i.e. to cut patterns for making the garment as in (9) or to cut (purchase) a portion of a particular cloth to sew for a specific function (10).

C. To Sever/ To behead/ To slaughter

Another contextual interpretation associated with the verb *twɑ́* 'to cut' plus object (NP) collocation is 'to sever/to behead/to slaughter/decapitate/dismember'. This reading is derived when the verb collocates with NP such as animals, fruit or body parts. It describes situations which involve the removal/separation/dismemberment of a part of an entity (which could be the upper most part i.e. head or the bottom of the entity) from the whole. The crucial point here is that the cutting event involves the separation of distinguishable parts (head, bottom) of the NPs that undergo the event (Van Staden 2007).
The following are examples of such severance:

11a. Maame nó twà-à àkókɔ́ nó méné
woman DEF cut-COMPL chicken DEF throat
'The woman cut the chicken's throat/neck'. [CS.C&B 63]

b. Wò-ó-twá àbòrɔbɛ́ nó tó
2SG-PROG-cut pineapple DEF bottom
'You are cutting the bottom part of the pineapple.' [CS.C&B 56]

The examples presented in (11a and b) depict instances of such severance (also illustrated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 respectively). In the case of (11a), the cutting event could, but not necessarily lead to a complete separation of the body part from the entity as a whole. It is a very common practice to see heads of slaughtered animals still hanging on their bodies even after the cutting event. In (11b), however, for the peeling process to be complete, the bottom part of the pineapple is separated from the whole fruit.

Figure 5.1: slaughtering of a chicken

Figure 5.2: cutting of the bottom part of the pineapple

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate the process of beheading a chicken and the severing of the bottom part of a pineapple respectively.

D. To make a mark/ to wound a body part (with an edged tool)

Another interpretation of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in Akan relates to the making of a mark on a body part. It is used to describe the process whereby a cut is made on the human body by the use of sharp objects such as knives, blades, shaving sticks etc. (cf. Ameka & Essebgey 2007 for Ewe verb *tso*). Christaller (1933) also describes this as causing a wound on a body part by using an edged tool. In this context, the cut can vary from a simple mark on the body to a deep cut. There are also certain contexts where the cut that is made can lead to a complete separation. In such instances the severance is done for a specific purpose. An example of such a context is circumcision. This involves the complete separation of the foreskin. This type of cutting, unlike the making of a mark on the body, requires a great deal of expertise.

The following are some examples of this interpretation in Akan.

12a. Ɔsékán ǹǹàm-nàm̀ twá wò á è-kó-m̀ (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:544)
knife sharp-RED cut-HAB 2SG.OBJ COND 3INA.SUBJ-go-in
'When a sharp knife cuts you, it goes deep.'

b. Ò-twà-à nè ǹsá
3SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL 3POSS hand
'S/he cut her finger.' [MPI C&B 18]

c. Yɛ-à-twá nò twétíá
3PL.IMP-PERF-cut 3SG.OBJ circumcision
'They have circumcised him/He has been circumcised.'

In all the three examples in (12) above, there is an involvement of a sharp instrument even though it is not overtly represented. Example (12a) for instance sheds some light on what is likely to happen when one is cut with a knife. Example (12b) was used to describe the C&B video clip (18) by Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) where someone mistakenly cuts her finger with a knife. Example (12c) also describes the cultural practise of circumcision. As previously mentioned, this type of cutting differs from the types mentioned in (12a) and (12b) in this sense that it requires some expertise. Examples (12a) and (12b) do not imply a complete separation but in (12c) however, a complete separation is required for the process.

E. To slice/ chop/ dice

The verb *twá* 'to cut' can also be used to describe the process of slicing, chopping and dicing as in the case of fruits, vegetables, and root tubers. The *twá* 'to cut' verb when used in these instances always occurs in the reduplicated form to signify the repetitive nature of the cutting event which produces a resulting shape/size, as in:

13a. Wò-ò-twì-twá gyéénέ nó
2SG.SUBJ-PROG-RED-cut onion DEF
'You are cutting up or chopping the onions.' [CS.C&B 11]

This sentence was used to describe a scene in the video which involved the cutting up of onions into large portions (Clip 11, Agyepong 2015). The verb occurs in the reduplicated form because the cutting was done more than once.

b.	Wó-pɛ́	sɛ̀	wó-twì-twá	gyéénέ	nó
	2SG.SUBJ-like	COMP	2SG.SUBJ-RED-cut	onion	DEF
	mú	ǹkétéwá			
	inside	small			

'You want to cut the onion into small pieces.' [CS.C&B 13]

This reading maps on to the English meaning dice and was used in the video (Clip 13, Agyepong 2015) to describe the act of using the knife to cut the already chopped onions into smaller pieces. The adjectives *ǹkétéwá* 'small' and others like *àkɛ̀sé* 'big' are used in such sentences to differentiate the sizes into which the items are cut.

Examples (13a and 13b) above make one thing evident; that in Akan size distinction is made through morphological means such as reduplication and the addition of other lexical items such as adjectives to the constructions. Notice that in English, the difference between *slice* and *dice* lie in the shape of the end product; i.e. slice refers to the process of cutting items into thin, broad strips whereas dice refers to the act of cutting food into small cubes. In Akan however, the shape into which the items are cut does not necessarily play a role in determining the form the verb takes.

F. To to cut down/to harvest

This involves the process of separating foodstuffs from a tree. The separation of such food items usually involves the use of a sharp, bladed instrument such as a knife or machete. A more contextual interpretation of the verb *twá* 'to cut' relates to the harvesting of food stuffs such as plantain and banana. The *twá* 'to cut' verb is also used to refer to the harvesting of cereals such as rice, maize and wheat. For example, during the harvesting of rice, a sickle, which has a sharp edge is used to cut the mature cereal grasses.

The harvesting of plantain/banana involves the cutting of the entire tree, in order to get access to the ready to harvest plantain and to also give way to the growth of a new plant (which usually germinates at the base of the plantain/banana tree). It is explained that the cutting of the whole tree gives the farmer easy access to the plantain bunch/stalk, due to the height of the tree. Once the stem of the tree is cut, the farmer then holds onto the branches and gradually pulls the tree

down. With this, he is able to grab the plantain/banana stalk, and then use a machete to cut it off completely from the stalk.

Below is a picture (Fig.5.3) of a farmer harvesting a banana bunch from a tree. The pointed arrow indicates the machete that is used to carry out the separation as well as the locus of separation.

Figure 5.3: The separation of plantain bunch from the plantain tree

The following examples illustrate the use of this verb as it relates to the process of harvesting banana.

14.	Tíkyà	Kofi	twà-à	kwàdú	dúrú	bààkó	
	Teacher	Kofi	cut-COMPL	banana	bunch	one	
	'Teacher Kofi cut/ harvested a bunch of banana.'						[CS.C&B 74]

The verb *twá* 'to cut' apart from these specific contextual usages, is also sometimes used as a general term for harvesting. In such contexts, the reference is not to a specific crop but rather to the process of food harvest in general.

15.	Mó-ǹhwɛ́	kwàákwàádàbí	wò-ǹ-ǹùá	àbá
	2PL.SUBJ-look-HAB	crow	3PL.SUBJ-NEG-plant	seed
	ɛ́ná	wó-ǹ-twá		
	and	3PL.SUBJ-NEG-cut		

'Look at the crows in the sky, they do not plant/sow (seeds) and they do not cut/ harvest.' [Matthew 6:26]

Example (15) shows the use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' as a general basic label used to describe the manner in which crops are separated from trees.

G. To make mounds

This process has a creation sense to an extent. It involves digging up soil from the earth and shaping them in a pyramid form in order to plant root tubers such as yam, cocoyam and cassava. The verb *twá* 'to cut' collocates with the NP *ǹkófĭé* 'mounds' to derive this interpretation. This verb is used in this context because of the instrument that is used to make the mounds. It is the case that the process is carried out with either a hoe or a machete. The Fante dialect however, employs the BREAK verb *bɔ́* 'to break' in this context.

16. Ǹ-ǹá-núm pɛ́pɛ́ɛ́pɛ́ ná w-à-twá ǹ-kófĭé àhánúm á-wíé
PL-day-five exactly and 2SG-PERF-cut PL-mound five hundred PERF-finish
'In exactly five days he had made five hundred mounds.' (Gyekye-Aboagye 1967:29)

H. To tap palm-wine

Another contextualised interpretation of the verb *twá* 'to cut' relates to the process of palm-wine tapping. This interpretation is derived when the verb collocates with the NP *àbɛ́* 'palm fruit'.

Figure 5.4: The cutting of the surface of the felled palm tree

Figure 5.4 shows the process involved in tapping palm-wine, which is described as *twá àbɛ́* 'cut palm fruit'. This is usually done some days after the palm tree has been felled. It involves the use of a sharp knife to carve and dig out a squared shape hole on the trunk of the palm tree. It is through this dug outlet that the palm wine seeps. In the image, the palm wine tapper (from time to time) uses the knife to cut the surface of the trunk in order to expose a fresh surface through which the sap (palm wine) seeps. This action is periodically repeated until the soft stem containing the sap is empty.

I. To mow/ to weed/ to prune

This verb is also used to describe the act of clearing shrubs such as green grasses, lawns or hedges. The range of typical instruments used in the process of mowing/weeding or pruning include a mowing machine, machete, scissors, secateurs or shears. The common feature for all these instruments is their sharp blades/edges which are made to come into contact with weeds or plants in order for the cutting process to be accomplished.
Example (17) illustrate this interpretation.

17. Sɛ́nèà ǹhwî́rén nó á-yɛ́
as flowers DEF PERF-do
nó è-wɔ̀-sɛ̀ yɛ̀-twî́twá-twî̀twà só kàkrá
DEF 3INA-be-COMP 3PL.SUBJ-RED-cut top little
'From the way the flowers are looking, we need to prune them a bit/they need to be pruned a bit.'

In (17) there is a PP *só* 'top' which indicates that it is the top part of the flowers that is cut/pruned. This eventually results in a reduction of the flower's height.

The verb *twá* 'to cut' further collocates with the postposition phrase [NP PP (só 'top)] to dervive the interpretation to reduce in length/cut short. Examples of NPs that undergo such reduction/shortening processes include *ǹtòmá* 'cloth' and *àtààdéɛ́* 'dress'. Example (18) illustrates this.

18. Twà mè kábà nó só kàkrá
cut-IMP 1SG.POSS blouse DEF PP a bit
'Reduce the length of my blouse a bit.'

A different interpretation arises when the PP is omitted as in example (19).

19. Twà mè kábà nó
cut-IMP 1SG.POSS blouse DEF
'Cut my blouse/ cut out the patterns of my blouse.'

This sentence, though grammatical and acceptable, does not derive the interpretation 'reduce in length' since it has no PP but rather, 'cut out the patterns' of the speaker's blouse.

From the above discussion the following conclusions can be drawn on the Akan verb *twá* 'to cut':

1. It describes situations which involve the use of sharp or bladed object to bring about a separation in an object or entity.
2. This verb does not participate in the causative/ inchoative alternation in general. However in Akan, there are certain restricted contexts where there is a deviation to this rule. Whenever the verb collocates with body part nouns, it is able to occur in the one-place construction. It can also be used in the one-place construction when it collocates with liquids such as *ǹsúó* 'water' and *mógyá* 'blood' to describe cessation in a continuous flow.
3. The verb occurs in the one-place construction, two-place construction, *de*-SVC construction and the Post-construction (headed by *mú* 'inside' or *só* 'top') in order to bring about different forms of interpretations.

We now turn to the discussion of the other forms of CUT verbs in Akan, and the various interpretations associated with them in their collocations with NPs of different characteristics.

5.4.3.3 Dwá 'to cut (with force)'

This verb, like all other CUT verbs describes the process of using a sharp instrument to bring about a separation in an entity. This verb does not just mean a separation in an entity by the use of an instrument. Rather, it implies the use of force to bring about a separation in an entity through the use of a sharp instrument.

The syntactic constructions that *dwá* 'to cut (with force)' occurs in are the Two-place construction, PostP-construction (headed by *mú* 'inside') and the *de*-SVC. Below are some examples of the verb's usage in these constructions:

I. PostP $_{(mu)}$-Construction

20. Wò-ò dwá bànkyè nó mú ǹkétéwá
    2SG.SUBJ-PROG cut up cassava DEF inside small
    'You are cutting up the cassava into small pieces.' [CS.C&B 32]

In example (20), the concept of division is not solely contributed to the sentence by the presence of the PP *mú* 'inside', as the verb *dwá* 'to cut up' itself also entails division.

II. *de*-construction

21a.	Ɔ̀-dè	ǹkránté	dwà-à	àbóá	nó
	3SG.SUBJ-use	machete	cut up-COMPL	animal	DEF

'He used a machete to cut up the animal.'

b.	Ɔ̀-dè	ànímbéré	dwè-dwá-á	àbóá	nó
	3SG.SUBJ-use	seriousness	RED.cut up-COMPL	animal	DEF

'He cut up the animal with all seriousness.'

The *de*-SVC contributes the third NP, representing the instrument and manner of action, to examples (21a) and (21b) respectively.

The verb *dwá* 'to cut up/slash', the various types of NPs collocants as well as their derived interpretations are discussed in the next sub-sections.

A. To cut up/ cut in pieces/to slash

This verb, also represented in the Akuapem dialect as *gùá* 'to cut up/slash', is used to refer to the process of cutting up food items into pieces or the slashing of entities. In this type of cutting, there is an extra exertion of force, for this reason heavy instruments such as big knives, cutlasses, machetes and axes are normally required for this type of cutting. Also, the types of food items that can collocate with this verb are restricted to some extent. The major characteristics of such food items is that they are very hard in nature or contain big bones, as in the case of slaughtered animals.

For example, in Akan *dwá* 'cut up/slash' can be used to refer to the cutting up of freshly slaughtered meat. It can also be used to describe the cutting of cassava into pieces (it cannot be applied to other root tubers such as yam, coco yam or potatoes) i.e. even though they are all root tubers and can be cut up, the extremely firm nature of cassava makes it necessary to apply an extra force which is absent in the cutting up of the other root tubers. The following examples illustrate the use of the verb in relation to slaughtered animals.

22a.	Nànkwàsénì	nó-ó	dwá	nám̀	nó
	butcher	DEF-PROG	cut up	meat	DEF

'The butcher is cutting up the meat.' [CS.C&B 70]

b. Ɔbàákófó nà è-kúm̀ ɛ̀sónó (Appiah et al. 2007:19)
one person REL 3INA-kill elephant
má àmànsán ǹ-kúmá kó-dwá díé
give citizen PL-axe go-cut up eat
'It is a single person who kills an elephant to enable his fellow citizens to use their axes to cut it up for consumption.'

B. To peel/carve

The verb is also used to describe the peeling of cassava and plantain, a process which involves the use of a sharp knife to remove the outer layer of such foodstuffs.

Figure 5.5: peeling of cassava

Figure 5.6: marking/drawing a line on the plantain with a knife

23. Maabena dwà-à bànkýe né bòrɔ̀déɛ́ nó nyìnáá
Maabena peel-COMPL cassava and plantain DEF all
'Maabena peeled (and cut up) all the cassava and plantain'

Note however that in the Fante dialect the BREAK verb *bɔ́* 'to break' and the peel verb *hwànè* 'to peel' are used to describe the peeling of cassava and plantain, respectively.

C. To skin an animal

Closely related to the peeling interpretation of *dwá* 'to cut up / slash', is the usage that involves the skinning of an animal, i.e. the removal of the outer covering of animals such as sheep, cows and goats. This activity is also carried out with a sharp instrument but unlike the "cutting up" reading, this does not involve force exertion hence it can be done with a small sharp knife or any bladed instrument. Example (24) demonstrates this use.

24. W-á-gùà nàntwí-ǹhómá á-tɔ̀ǹ (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:147)
3PL.OBJ-PERF-skin cow-skin PERF-sell
'They have skinned the cow and sold it (the skin).'

We can conclude that for the verb *dwá* 'to cut up/slash', the primary property associated with it is the manner in which the action is carried out rather than the instrument that was used in carrying out the cutting activity. In addition to this, the properties associated with the patient entities that collocate with this verb also contribute to the semantics of the verb i.e. the verb describe NPs that are usually hard and bonny (such as slaughtered animals, cassava).

5.4.3.4 Sà(e) 'to make a mark/make an incision'

This verb can occur in the *de*-SVC and the PostP(*mu*)-constructions, construction as exemplified by the following:

A. *de*-Construction

25a. Yɛ-dè dàdèwá á-sàé n'àní ásé
1PL.-use nail PERF-mark 3SG.POSS-eye under
'Underneath his eyes has been marked/inscribed using a nail.'

b. Yɛ-dè àbúfúó sèǹ-sáé dáǹ nó hó
1PL-use anger RED-mark wall DEF body
'We angrily inscribed on the walls (repeatedly).'

The instrument involved in the activity and the manner in which the activity was carried out are demonstrated in examples (25a) and (25b), respectively.

II. PostP(*mu*)-Construction

26a. Mɛ́-sá nè pɔ̀mpɔ́-m̀ (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:414)
1SG.SUBJ-cut 3POSS boil-inside
'I will cut into his boil.'

b. Mɛ́-sá nè m̀fá mú (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:414)
1SG.SUBJ-cut 3POSS guinea-worm infection inside
'I will cut into his guinea-worm infection (I shall cut open his skin so that the guinea-worm can come out.'

In examples (26a-b), the PP *mú* 'inside' indicates that the cut gets to the interior of the affected area of a boil and guinea worm, respectively, thus creating an opening for the passage of the pus (26a) or the guinea worm in the case of (26b).

The verb *sàé* 'to make a mark' further collocates with some NPs to describe the process of making an incision on the outer surface parts of objects and entities, and equally involves (though not restricted to) the use of sharp bladed or pointed objects such as pins/needles and nails, in some instances.

In Ghana it is a cultural practice to make marks or incisions on human body parts as a form of tribal /ethnic identification. Amongst the Dangbes for example, when girls reach puberty and are made to go through the puberty rites, certain incisions are made on both hands to identify them as having successfully completed this rite. There are also certain families amongst the Akan ethnic groups that give tribal marks to its members. This act is usually carried out when the individual is born. This is exemplified in (27a):

27a. Wò-à-sá n'-àní ásé
3PL.SUBJ-PERF-mark 3POSS-eye under
'They have marked underneath his eyes.'

b. Mè dí kán sáé
1SG.SUBJ eat first mark-HAB
bɔ̀ɔ̀dɛ́ɛ́ nó hó ànsá m-à-dwá
plantain DEF self before 1SG.SUBJ-CONS-peel
'I first make a mark (with the knife) on the plantain before I peel it.' [CS.C&B 35]

In (27b) however, the mark/incision is made on the plantain to serve as a guide for the peeling process to follow. This statement was made by a consultant during the description of the clip 35 of Agyepong (2015) video showing the plantain peeling process. According to her, the peeling is made easier when she creates the mark with a knife before the actual peeling.

5.4.3.5 Nú 'to cut, harvest palm fruit from palm tree'

This verb collocates with the NP *àbɛ́* 'palm fruit' to derive the contextualised meaning associated with the process of separating the bulk palm fruit from the palm tree.
The verb occurs in the two-place construction and *de*-SVC. Examples of how the verb behaves in these constructions are provided below.

I. Two-place Construction

28.	Ò-nù-ù	àbɛ́	nó	tɔ́ǹ-ǹ	dì-ìɛ́ɛ̀
	3SG.SUBJ-cut.COMPL	palm fruit	DEF	sell-COMPL	eat-COMPL

'He harvested the palm fruits, sold them and spent the proceeds.'

In (28), the third person singular subject pronoun *o*'s/he' acts as the causal agent responsible for the cutting process described by the verb. Notice also that the sentence is made up of three different verbs, making it an SVC, specifically a Clause Chaining SVC, Osam (2004). The three verbs *nú* 'to harvest palm fruit', *tɔ́ǹ* 'to sell' and *dî* 'to eat', appear in the order in which the activities were carried out, i.e. the first was the harvesting of the palm fruit, followed by its sale and then the subsequent gains he makes from the sale (which he consumes).

II. *de*- SVC Construction

29a.	Yɛ̀-dè	àsɔ́sɔ́	nà	è-nú	àbɛ́	
	2PL.SUBJ-use	digging bill	FOC	3INA-harvest	palm.fruit	

'Palm-fruit is harvested with a digging bill.' [Spontaneous Discourse]

b.	Àbèrántéɛ́	nó	dè	àhòɔ̀déǹ	nù-ù	àbɛ́	nó
	young man	DEF	use	strength	cut-COMPL	palm.fruit	DEF

'The young man used his strength to cut the palm fruit from the palm tree.'

Example (29a) makes explicit the instrument that is used during the harvesting of the palm fruit. In (29b), the manner in which the cutting/harvesting is done is also introduced into the construction by the verb *dè*'to use'.

The various readings/interpretations associated with the verb *nú* are discussed below.

A. To stir

The first meaning of the verb as recorded by Christaller (1933:352) is to 'stir'. It is reduplicated to the form *nùnù* 'continuous stirring', as exemplified in (30a) and (30b):

30a.	Amonu	dè	kwàntá	nó-ó	nù	ǹkwán	nò	mú
	Amonu	use	ladle	DEF-PROG	stir	soup	DEF	inside

'Amonu is stirring the soup with the ladle.'

b.	Amonu	dè	kwàntá	nó	nù-nú-ú	ǹkwán	nò	mú
	Amonu	use	ladle	DEF	RED-stir-COMPL	soup	DEF	inside

'Amonu stirred the soup with the ladle / used the ladle to stir the soup.'

Both examples contain the postposition *mú* 'inside' since the stirring is done in the interior of the soup.

B. To harvest palm fruit from the palm tree

This verb *nú* 'to cut, harvest palm fruit' as previously mentioned, also serves as a specialised verb for the process of harvesting palm fruit from the palm tree. Christaller (1933:352) defines this verb as describing the process of getting "out the palm-nut-cluster from near the stem and between the branches by poking or pushing with a long-handled pick or digging bill". This long-handled digging bill is known as *àsɔ́sɔ́* in Akan.

The following are some examples involving the use of the verb:

31a.	Abɛ́	á	mè-nú	sòɔ́	nîé
	palm.tree	REL	1SG.SUBJ-cut	top	here

'Here is the palm tree from which I harvest (palm fruits).' [Spontaneous Discourse]

b. Yɛ̀-ɛ̀-kɔ̀ nú àbɛ́ á-tɔ̀ǹ
3PL- PROG-go harvest palm-fruit CONS-sell
'We are going to harvest palm-fruit to sell.'

In conclusion the verb *nú* apart from describing the process of stirring, also collocates with the NP *dbɛ́* 'palm fruit' to derive the contextualised meaning 'to harvest palm fruit from a palm tree using a digging bill'. The verb occurs in the two-place construction, the *de*-construction and the SVC constructions.

5.4.3.6 Wɔ / tùè 'to prick/ to pierce/ to pound/stab'

These verbs map onto the English POKE verbs discussed in Levin (1993) and the English STAB verbs presented by Dixon (2005). Levin (1993) and Dixon (2005) describe the verbs in this category as involving a pointed or bladed instrument, penetrating below the surface of an object or location. Location in this context could refer to a body part or a part of an object. The instruments involved in these activities are often pointed. During the process, the instrument is moved by the agent and brought into contact with the location, which could also be referred to as a theme in this situation. The instrument, after coming into contact with the location/theme, penetrates it to bring about a change in the body of the theme. Levin (1993) further argues that the agent of these verbs is always expressed as the subject of the construction with the location/theme acting as the object of the verb.

In Akan the verbs *wɔ́* 'to stab, pound' and *tùè* 'to pierce' are synonymous to some extent and can sometimes be used interchangeably to depict the sense of piercing or pricking. However, it is only the verb *wɔ́* that is able to yield the 'to stab' and 'to pound' interpretations. The 'to pound interpretation' involves the use of the flat end of long object such as a pestle to bring about a disintegration of an object (exemplified in 33). The verb *wɔ́* also collocates with animate NPs to derive the interpretation 'to stab'.
Both verbs occur in the two-place construction, with only *tùè* 'to pierce' occurring in the one-place construction. The verbs also occur in the *de*-SVCconstruction as well as the PostP-constructions. Below are some examples illustrating their uses in these constructions:

I. Two-Place Construction

32a. Ɔ̀-wɔ̀- ɔ̀ àbòfrá nó pánéɛ́
3SG.SUBJ-prick-COMPL child DEF syringe
'S/he pricked the child with a syringe/S/he injected the child.'

b. Ò-tùé-é àbòfrá n'ásó
3SG.SUBJ-pierce-COMPL child 3POSS-ear
'S/he pierced the child's ear.'

In examples (32a) and (32b), we observe the individual contexts in which the verbs *wɔ́* 'to stab, pound' and *tùè* 'to pierce' occur. It seems to be the case that whereas the verb *tùè* 'to pierce' necessarily depicts the creation of an opening, *wɔ́* 'to stab, pound' however, does not entirely derive such an interpretation. For instance, the nature of the event in (32a) may not necessarily result an opening, whereas, in (32b), there is a creation of an opening in the ear.

33. Wòáná ná ɔ̀-bɛ́-wɔ́ fúfúó[19] nó?
who FOC 3SG.SUBJ-pound fufu DEF
'Who will pound the fufu?'

Example (33) illustrates the interpretation 'to pound', which involves the use of a pestle to hit boiled food items such as plantain, cocoyam, cassava, palm fruit, usually placed in a mortar. There is an exertion of force (manner) on the pestle (instrument) which results in the food item being crushed and eventually becoming smooth as a result of continuous pounding.

Examples (34a-c) illustrate contexts in which both the verbs *wɔ́* 'to stab, pound' and *tùè* 'to pierce' are used:

34a. Brago tùé-é ànkòrá nó hó mà-à
Brago pierce-COMPL barrel DEF self make-COMPL
ǹsúó nó nyìnáá nwìní gù-ùyɛ̀
water DEF all leak pour-COMPL
'Brago pierced the barrel and made all the water leak out.'

[19] A Ghanaian staple prepared from root tubers such as yam, cocoyam, cassava or plantain and eaten with soups.

*b. Brago wɔ̀-ɔ̀ ànkòrá nó hó
Brago pierce-COMPL barrel DEF body
'Brago pierced the body of barrel.'

c. Brago wɔ̀-ɔ̀ àbóá nó sékáǹ
Brago pierce-COMPL animal DEF knife
'Brago stabbed the animal (with a knife).'

We observe from examples (34a), (34b) and (34c) that whereas the verb *tùè* 'to pierce' does not require the instrument to be overtly represented (i.e it lexicalises an instrument which does not necessarily have to be specified in the expression), the verb *wɔ́* does. The construction becomes ungrammatical when the instrument is left out as in example (34b). Speakers often tend to resort to the *de*-construction as in example (36a), for instance when they want to use the verb *wɔ́* to describe what Brago did to the barrel.

II. One-Place Construction

35. Ànkòrá né hó á-tùé
barrel 3POSS body PERF-pierce
'The barrel has a hole on it.'

III. *de*-construction

36a. Brago dè dàdèwá wɔ̀-ɔ̀ ànkòrá nó hó
Brago use nail pierce-COMPL barrel DEF body
'Brago pierced the barrel with a nail?'

b. Brago dè dàdèwá tùé-é ànkòrá nó hó
Brago use nail pierce-COMPL barrel DEF body
'Brago pierced the barrel with a nail?'

In examples (36a) and (36b), both verbs are able to occur in the *de*-construction in order to indicate the type of instrument used in carrying out the pricking/piercing action.

IV. PostP (*mu)*-Construction

In this type of construction, the penetration or piercing interpretation is further strengthened by the PP *mú* 'inside'. The PP *mú* 'inside' is often cliticised onto the verbs as illustrated below.

37a. Ɔ̀-dè dàdèwá nó tùé-é-m̀
3SG.SUBJ-use nail DEF pierce-COMPL-inside
'S/he pierced into it with the nail.'

b. Ɔ̀-dè pánéɛ́ nó wɔ-ɔ-m̀
3SG.SUBJ-use needle DEF pierce-COMPL-inside
'S/he pierced into it with a needle.'

To conclude, the verbs *wɔ́* 'to stab, pound' and *tùè* 'to pierce' can often be used interchangeably to derive the interpretation 'to pierce/to prick'. They both involve the use of a pointed instrument to some extent. However, it is only the verb *wɔ́* that is able to yield the 'to stab' translation when it collocates with an animate entity. Furthermore, the verb *wɔ́* has an additional interpretation which means 'to pound' which the verb *tùè* 'to pierce' lacks. Also peculiar to the verb *tùè* is its ability to occur without an instrument. The 'to stab' interpretation of *wɔ́* requires the representation of an instrument whereas the 'to pound' meaning can occur without an instrument.

The two verbs also differ in terms of alternation. Eventhough both verbs occur in the two-place construction, it is only the verb *tùè* 'to pierce' that is able to occur in the one-place construction. This is a very interesting feature of the verb, more especially because it lexicalises an instrument and one would expect it to be blocked from occurring in the one-place construction. Both verbs can also be used in the *de*-SVC construction and the PostP(*mu)*-construction.

5.4.3.7 Dwé 'to separate / pluck out individual palm fruits from palm stalk'

This verb also relates to the palm-fruit and is used to describe the process of cutting out the palm-fruit into clusters in preparation for the plucking of the individual fruits. The norm is that after the palm-fruit has been harvested from the palm-tree, it is allowed to settle for a maximum of two-three days. This allows the roots of individual palm-fruits to weaken in order to make the cutting easier. This is done in two steps. The first step involves the use of a cutlass to cut the

palm-fruit from the bunch into several clusters. After these clusters have been cut off the palm-stalk, the second stage involves the use of the fingers to remove the individual palm-fruits from the clusters.

Figure 5.7: Cutting of palm-fruits into clusters

Figure (5.7) illustrates the process of using a cutlass to cut the palm fruit into individual clusters. This verb can occur in the Two-Place Construction and the *de*-SVC Construction. Examples (38a) and (38b) also demonstrate the use of the verb in each of these constructions respectively.

38a. Mààmé nó-ó dwé àbɛ́ nó
woman DEF-PROG pluck out palm-fruit DEF
'The woman is cutting the palm-fruit into clusters.' [CS.C&B 39]

b. Yɛ̀-kɔ̀ nú àbɛ́ bá fíé á
2PL.SUBJ-go harvest palm-fruit come home REL
yɛ̀-dè sékáǹ dwé
2PL.SUBJ-use knife cut [Spontaneous Discourse]
'When the palm-fruit is harvested and brought home, we cut it into clusters with a knife.'

Examples (38a) and (38b) illustrate the verb use of *dwè* in the two-place and *de*-SVC construction. In (38a) the woman is described as carrying out the cutting activity. Since the verb lexicalises an instrument, it (the instrument) can be omitted as in (38a) without affecting the grammaticality of the sentences.

5.4.3.8 Dwéé ‘to cut into the skin’

This verb describes the result of a causing event which involves the use of an object such as a rope or string to tighten a part of a body. The result of the tightening leads to a cutting which is described with the verb *dwéé* ‘to cut into the skin’ in Akan.

This verb occurs in the two-place construction as exemplified in (39).

39a. Wɔ-kyérè-è nó hàmá sɛ́ǹ hɔ́ ná áféí (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:103)
3PL-tie-COMPL DEF string hang LOC and now
hàmá nó dwèè-é nó nó, àkyìrí ɔ-ká-é
string DEF cut-COMPL 3SG TOP, later 3SG.SUBJ-say-COMPL
‘They tied him with strings and hung him up; but when the strings cut into his skin, he at last confessed.’

b. Ɔ̀bráfóɔ nó mà-à àhòmá nó dwèè-é nó
executioner DEF make-COMPL string DEF cut-COMPL 3SG
kòsíí sɛ́ nè hó yɛ́-ɛ́ mógyá
until that 3POSS body do-COMPL blood
‘The executioner made the rope cut through his skin until his body got bloody.’

In the examples above, the instrument that is used to carry out the cutting activity is not characterised by sharpness and is not a prototypical cutting object. The rope (which acts as the instrument) in these examples is however able to produce a cut when it is made to be extremely tight on the body. Notice that unlike the typical CUT verbs, the result of the cutting by the rope may not be a clean, smooth line as what happens when a sharp edged instrument is used. Nonetheless, the end result is still a cut or separation of some sort. Example (39a) contains an unspecified agent whereas in (39b) the agent is specified. (39b) has its subcategorised argument which is an instrument (the rope) introduced by the verb *má* ‘to make’.

The verbs that have been discussed in this section describe activities that involve a sharp, pointed or bladed edge instrument to bring about a separation in an entity. It has been shown that some of the verbs collocate with specific NP objects to yield contextualised interpretations. For instance, the verb *twá* ‘to cut’ occurs with the NP animal or bird to derive the contextual intepretation ‘to slaughter’. Akan has also been demonstrated to have certain forms of specialised

verbs such as *dwé* 'to separate, pluck out individual palm fruit', *nú* 'to harvest palm fruit' which collocate with *àbɛ́* 'palm fruit', *kwàdú* 'banana' to describe the separation of such fruits from their stalks. The ability for Akan to have such specialised verbs to describe these cultural activities highlights the language's rich lexicon with regard to the C&B domain.

Finally, it has been argued that there are contexts where the Akan verb *twá* 'to cut' is able to occur intransitively. Such contexts involve the verb *twá* 'to cut' collocating with specific types of NPs. In the one-place construction, the interpretation that is conveyed is that the separation action lacks a causal agent. The focus of the one-place construction is the end result of the cutting activity or the state of the theme after undergoing the cutting action. It was again argued that pragmatically, the one-place construction can be used when the speaker intentionally wants to conceal the causal agent or that the speaker is actually not aware of the actual cause of the event, and as such, s/he is only priviledged to the information regarding the state of the theme and nothing else.

5.5 PEEL Verbs

In this section, I discuss another group of CUT verbs; PEEL verbs. However, unlike the verbs just discussed, this group of verbs describes separations involving the removal of the outer covering of entities with sharp, bladed instruments or the hands. The hands in these cases are treated as natural instruments and for this reason, languages do not have a special treatment of them. Furthermore, the hands are seen by default as an anthropocentric part of the human body since it is involved in almost all human movements and activities to a certain degree.

This group of verbs have been classified by Levin (1993) as PEEL verbs with reference to English. The Akan verbs are discussed under this theme since they describe similar processes.

5.5.1 Class members

The Akan verbs that fall into the PEEL category include *sèǹsènè* 'to peel or to sharpen', *hwànè* 'to peel or to dehusk', *dwé* 'to peel an orange in an artistic manner', and *wèrɛ̀* 'to scale'.

According to Levin (1993), in English, the meanings of these verbs critically involve the notions of contact and effect, i.e. an entity comes into contact with an instrument to produce a certain effect or result. Furthermore, the members in this category lexicalise 'an instrument or a means

or a specification of the nature of the result'. The meanings of these verbs, can be paraphrased as "remove X from (something)" as described by Levin (1993:130). The X in this case represents the noun which she describes as being an "inalienably possessed part of an animal or plant". This implies that the NPs that collocate with these verbs possess features that are removable.

Due to the nature of these cutting activities, some form of skill is required in order for a perfect result to be achieved. For instance, not everyone knows how to skilfully peel yam/potatoes so as to make sure that one doesn't end up cutting away the actual food. Similarly, not many people are able to peel an orange in the way it is described by the verb *dwé* 'to peel an orange in artistic manner'.

The discussion below outlines the semantics of the Akan verbs *sènsènè* 'to peel/sharpen', *hwànè* 'to peel or to de-husk', *dwé* 'to peel an orange in an artistic manner' and *wèrɛ̀* 'to scrape, scale'. It also presents the types of constructions in which the verbs occur.

5.5.2 Sé(ne) / Sènsènè 'to peel / to sharpen / carve'

This involves the use of a bladed instrument such as a knife or a blade to remove the outer covering of an entity in an artistic and purposeful manner. The instrument is not necessarily required to be sharp though sharper instruments produce better results.

This verb comes in three variants, each with its own meaning but fundamentally sharing the feature of either involving 'outer covering removal' or 'bladed instrument involvement' or both in most cases. The variants are *sé* 'to sharpen' and *séné* 'to carve' and the reduplicated form *sènsènè* 'to peel'. Examples are provided for each of these verbs in (40):

5.5.2.1 Sé 'to sharpen'

40a. Ɔbètwànî nó sè-è sékáǹ nó ánó
palm-wine tapper DEF sharpen-COMPL knife DEF mouth
'The palm-wine tapper sharpened his knife/cutlass.'

b. Ɔbètwànî nó sè-è sékáǹ nó
palm-wine tapper DEF sharpen-COMPL knife DEF
'The palm-wine tapper sharpened his knife/cutlass.'

c. Àbòfrá nó-ó sé nè pɛ́ǹsèrè n'ánó
child DEF-PROG sharpen 3POSS pencil 3POSS-mouth
'The child is sharpening his/her pencil.'

d. Àbòfrá nó-ó sé nè pɛ́ǹsèrè
child DEF-PROG sharpen 3POSS pencil
'The child is sharpening his/her pencil.'

Examples (40a-d) illustrate the use of the verb *sé* 'to sharpen' in the two-place construction. In (40a and 40b), we do not have the reading of 'outer covering removal' but rather the sharpening of a blunt edge. On the contrary (40c-40d) involve both 'outer covering removal' in this case pencil shavings and 'bladed instrument involvement'. We also notice that examples (40a and 40c) have the body part *ánó* 'mouth' indicating the part of the entity that is sharpened i.e. the top part of the pencil is sharpened in (40a) whereas the edge of the knife is what is sharpened in (40b).

5.5.2.2 Séné 'to carve out'

This variant is used to describe the process of carving out items from wood, as illustrated in example (41) below.

41. Ɔ̀báá sènè bɔ́má á è-twèré ɔ̀bàrímá dáǹ mú (Appiah et al. 2007:16)
woman carve drum COND 3INA-lean man room inside
'If a woman carves a drum, it is kept it in a man's room.'

5.5.2.3 Sènsènè 'to peel'

The verb collocates with food items such as yam, cocoyam, sweet potatoes and fruits like pawpaw, pineapple, oranges etc. We notice that the verb is able to collocate with the NP pencil (since it involves the removal of an outer covering) as well, as shown in the example (42b) below.

Figure 5.11: Peeling of a pineapple

42a.	Wó-ó	sènsèné	àbòrɔ̀bɛ́	nó	
	2SG-PROG	peel	pineapple	DEF	
	'You are peeling the pineapple.'				

b.	Àbòfrá	nó	á-sènsèné	pɛ́nsèré	nó	á-wìé
	child	DEF	PERF-peel	pencil	DEF	PERF-finish
	'The child has finished sharpening the pencil.'					

Apart from occurring in the two-place construction as exhibited in the examples under the verbs, all three variants also occur in *de*-SVC construction in order to introduce instruments used in the sharpening/peeling activity or the manner in which the action was carried out. They however do not participate in the one-place.

5.5.3 Hwànè 'to peel/dehusk'

This verb on its own lexicalises manner rather than instrument. This is because most of the peeling processes that this verb describes can be done with the hands and they do not necessarily require an instrument. So in these cases, the hands act as the default instrument. For instance, the dehusking of maize and the peeling of banana involve the hands rather than a knife, the peeling of plantain is however done with both a knife and the hands.
Figure 5.9 and 5.10 below illustrate the processes of maize dehusking and plantain peeling respectively.

Figure 5.9: De-husking corn

Figure 5.10: Peeling plantain

43a. Pókúá-á hwáné àbúró nó
Pokua-PROG peel maize DEF
'Pokua is peeling the maize.' [CS.C&B 72]

b. Pókúá-á hwáné bòrɔ̀déɛ́ nó
Pokua-PROG peel plantain DEF
'Pokua is peeling the plantain.' [CS.C&B 35]

The verb is used in a Two-Place construction in example (43a-b). It can also occur in the *de*-SVC construction. It however does not occur in a one-place construction and the PostP-construction.

5.5.4 Dwé 'to peel an orange in an artistic manner'

This verb differs from the one used to describe the cutting of palm-fruit into clusters. The verb *dwé* describes the artistic way of peeling oranges in Ghana. Ameka and Essegbey (2007:243) also report on the Anfoe verb *kpa* as used to describe 'a common process in Ghana whereby orange sellers use a knife to 'carve out' the rind of the orange.'

A consultant pointed out that this process is compared to the braiding of a type of hairstyle known as '*àlàtà*' (similar to corn rolls). In fact the Fante version of this verb, *dwéẃ*, means 'to braid one's hair' as exemplified in (44):

44.	Araba	ré-dwèw	né	tsír	álàtà	(Fa.)
	Araba	PROG-braid	3POSS	head	a type of hairstyle	

'Araba is braiding *alata* (a type of hairstyle).'

Figure 5.11 is an image of someone peeling an orange in the manner described above.

Figure 5.11: Artistic way of peeling an orange in Ghana[20]

The artistic result of the rind is classified into two categories; *álàtà* and *sìmpóámmá*. For example, one could request that his/her orange be peeled in the *álàta*-way or *sìmpóámmá*-way. *sìmpóámmá* is a type of coin that was used in Ghana in the olden days. The coins were in the shape of a hexagon, and thus the hexagonal shape of the orange rinds is likened to these coins.

45.	Mèpàwòkyɛ́w	dwè	m'-ànkáá	nó	álàtà	mè-m̀-pɛ́
	please	peel	1POSS-orange	DEF	strands	1SG.SUBJ-NEG-like
	nó	sìmpóámmá				
	3SG	coin-shaped				

'Please peel my orange in the strand style, I don't like it (peeled) in the coined-shaped.'

[20] http://ghanalife.tumblr.com/post/7303727027/fruits-of-ghana-orange-seller-peeling-oranges-in#post:7303727027 (accessed 24-01-2017). As confirmation of the fact that this way of peeling is an artistic concept which requires skills, the Ghanalife.tumblr.com makes this comment about Figure 5.14: "Fruits of Ghana-Orange Seller: Peeling oranges in Ghana is an art form that deserves its own Olympics. We can determine who peels the fastest and who has the best patterns. The street hawkers are the best at this craft."

5.5.5 Wèrɛ̀ ‘to scrape / scale or shave’

A. To scale

This verb describes the process whereby a bladed instrument is used to scrape, peel off or scale a theme/object. This action can also be carried out with the fingernails depending on the type of entity that undergoes the peeling. Also, the type of interpretation derived is dependent on the NP the verb collocates with. In Akan, food items such as plantain and cassava are usually scraped after they have been peeled. In addition to these food items, certain types of fishes for example herrings, tilapia, and red fish are also scaled during their preparation for consumption.

46a. M̀-m̀ɔ̀frá nó-ó wèrɛ́-wèrɛ̀ ámáné nó hó
PL-child DEF-PROG RED-scale herrings DEF self
wɔ̀ gyàádé hɔ́
LOC kitchen there
‘The children are scaling the herrings in the kitchen.’

b. Mè-dwá bànkyé wìé à mè-wèrɛ́-wèrɛ̀ hó
1SG.SUBJ-peel cassava finish.HAB COND 1SG.SUBJ RED-scrape self
‘After peeling cassava, I scrape it (body of the cassava).’

In examples (46a) and (46b), the verb *wèrɛ̀* ‘to scrape’ is used in the reduplicated form. One of the functions of reduplication in Akan is to mark verbal plurality. In these examples, the scraping action is depicted as repetitive actions.
Notice that whereas the process in (46a) depicts a single event, i.e. peeling of the herrings, the same cannot be said of (46b). Example (46b) is a complex sentence consisting of a temporal clause followed by a sequential action i.e. the whole event consists of an initial peeling of cassava which is later followed by the repeated scraping.

B. To shave off completely

Another reading associated with this verb refers to the shaving of hair. This verb is used in the contexts where the hair on the head is shaved off completely to reveal the skin on the head. This used to be a common practice amongst the executioners who lived in the Asante palaces. The shaving of hair was also practiced on widows during their widowhood rites and is still currently

done by some males as a form of fashion. The verb *yĭ* 'to remove' can also be used in this context, where the hair is decribed as being removed from the head.

47.	Ɔbráfóɔ	nó	á-wèrɛ́	nè	tí	hò
	executioner	DEF	PERF-shave	3POSS	head	self
	'The executioner has shaved all the hair on his head.'					

In conclusion, the verbs that have been discussed under this subsection describe the removal of the outer covering of entities either with a bladed instrument or the hands. The verbs under this category have been referred to as PEEL verbs by Levin (1993) in her discussion of the English verbs. They occur in the Two-Place construction and *de*-SVC construction.

5.6 Discussion

This sub-section provides a synthesis on the various aspects of the CUT group of verbs that have been discussed in this chapter. The findings of this chapter are examined cross-linguistically to see where Akan behaves similarly/differently from other languages.

5.6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the semantics associated with the CUT verbs in Akan have been described. It has been extensively argued that Akan has a set of basic CUT verbs that together exhaustively cover the cutting events at a general level. The general verbs are supplemented with more detailed verbs that describe sub-types of such cutting actions, taking into consideration the type of instrument and the manner in which the cutting event is carried out. It also has quite a number of more specialized verbs that describe specific forms of separation involving specific themes. The Akan CUT verbs encode information about control (agent), instrument, manner of separation and the result state of the theme. The cutting events can either result in partial separation of the theme or a complete separation.

In the discussion of the semantics of the Akan CUT verbs, a monosemic bias approach is assumed. It is argued that majority of the verbs possess single meanings that occur in different types of constructions. Within this framework, instead of positing that for instance the prototypical Akan CUT verb *twá* 'to cut' is recorded in the lexicon as two verbs, i.e. one that

requires a causal agent and another which lacks a cause (explaining its occurrence in one-place constructions), rather, they are considered as having a single meaning, with differences in their occurrence resulting from their interaction with the meanings of constructions.

I have also argued that during speech interaction, Akan speakers are usually faced with different lexical choices from which they select one that is contextually appropriate. Moreover, the choice of one CUT verb over another is motivated semantically by properties such as 'agentivity' (Ameka & Essegbey 2007), the physical properties of the NP and finally the specification of a particular type of instrument used or manner in which the cutting event is carried out. Each of these has been argued to syntactically affect the verb's behavior. The following properties as well as how they affect the verb semantics of CUT verbs are presented in the subsections that follow.

5.6.2 On Agentivity

Previous studies such as Ameka & Essegbey (2007) have argued that the semantic property 'agentivity' plays a significant role in how the C&B verbs behave syntactically. Based on the agentive nature of the Ewe C&B verbs, they posit four broad morpho-syntactic categories under which their verbs fall. The four categories are Highly Agentive, Agentive, Non-Agentive and Highly Non-Agentive. The following are briefly discussed in order to see how the Akan verbs fit or deviate from what has been proposed. It is argued that, in Akan, it is not only 'agentivity' that affects the syntactic behavior of the verbs, but, the semantic characteristics of the NPs that the verbs collocate with, also play a crucial role in the syntactic behavior of the verb.
According to Ameka & Essegbey (2007) the highly agentive verbs lexicalize instrument and manner/purpose. For these reasons, verbs, which fall under this category, occur strictly in the two-place construction without any form of exception.

The second category, Agentive verbs, depict instances that are also primarily carried out with instruments and therefore lexicalize instrument/manner. The only difference between the verbs that fall into this category and those highly agentive ones, is that, agentive verbs are able to occur in the one-place construction (intransitively) in certain restricted contexts.

The third category, which Ameka & Essegbey (2007) refer to as Highly Non-agentive either incorporate the type of object that undergoes the change of state described by the verb or the

nature of the change of state. For this reason, the verbs that fall under this category participate in the causative/inchoative alternation without any form of restriction.

The final class of verbs is the Non-Agentive ones. Ameka & Essegbey (2007) report that unlike the agentive verbs, these verbs primarily describe a type of separation that does not specify either an instrument or the manner in which the action is carried. According to them "while the non-agentive verbs, for most part, describe events that can occur spontaneously and therefore participate in the causative/inchoative constructions, there are few instances in which they describe events that require an instrument, in such cases they do not participate in the alternation" (p.246).
The Highly Agentive and Highly Non-Agentive categorized by Ameka & Essegbey (2007) directly maps on to the CUT and BREAK category identified by Guerssel et al. (1985) and as such follows the syntactic predictions put forth by studies such as Guerssel et al. (1985) and Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995).

For the purpose of the present discussion (on CUT verbs), only two out of these four categories will be discussed here. These are the Highly Agentive and Agentive categories. The other two; Highly Non-Agentive and Non-Agentive, will be compared to the Akan data in Chapter 6.

Going back to Table 5.1, which shows the various CUT verbs discussed in the current chapter and the various types of constructions in which they occur. It can be deduced that the Akan verbs *dwá* 'to cut up/slash', *dwé* 'to separate individual palm fruit clusters from palm stalk', *nú* 'to cut, harvest palm fruit from palm tree', *pɔ́wɔ̀* 'to cut closely, to lop branches of a tree', *sáé* 'to cut by making a mark', *séné/sènsènè* 'to sharpen/to peel', *wèrɛ̀* 'to scale, scrape' and *wɔ́* 'to pierce' are the verbs which can be categorized as Highly agentive, following Ameka & Essegbey (2007). All these verbs in Akan are strictly carried out with bladed instruments and as such do not occur in the one-place construction.

On the contrary, only one verb, i.e. *twá* 'to cut' can be described as Agentive. This verb in Akan occurs intransitively in very restricted contexts. It seems to be the case that, Akan is not the only language that has a CUT verb that occurs in a one-place construction. The examples below depict instances where such verbs intransitivize in other languages.

1. Languages where CUT verbs undergo intransitivization

Guerssel et al. (1985) have shown that Berber CUT verbs also intransitivize. The difference is that unlike Berber, the intransitive in Akan does not have a middle-voice or passive interpretation. The following examples (48) and (49) illustrate the intransitive use of the Akan verb *twá* 'to cut'.

48. Nè ǹsá á- twà
    3POSS finger PERF-cut
    'His/Her finger is cut.'

In this example, even though it is obvious that the cutting was brought about by an instrument and therefore an agent, the use of this one-place construction helps the speaker to avoid assigning agency (Essegbey forthcoming). The sentence also refers to a cutting event/severance which occurred at a specific point in time.

49. È-mú á-twà fine
    3SG.INA-inside PERF-cut fine
    'It is finely cut.' [MPI.C&B 9]

Other instances of CUT verbs occurring intransitively have again been reported by Ameka and Essegbey (2007:245) for the Ewe verbs *se* and *tso* and Bobuafor (2013) for Tafi. Ameka and Essegbey (2007) report that these two verbs were used in one-place constructions to describe certain restricted contexts such as the separation of ropes either spontaneously or by agent (Akan however adopts the verb *té* 'to tear' for the separation of ropes). Ameka & Essegbey (2007) further explain that when consultants were asked what happened to the rope that was cut with a hammer in clip 46 (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001) they responded with an intransitive/one-place construction. They argue that in cases such as these, the focus is not necessarily on the instrument that was used in carrying out the cutting event, but rather on the clean cut that is brought about by the cutting event. The same thing can be argued for in the case of the Akan example in (49) (notice the use of the English adjective 'fine' in the example (49) to highlight the clean cut encoded by the construction).

Bobuafor (2013:198) also reports that the verb *bhui* 'to cut' in Tafi occurs intransitively in certain restricted contexts where it serves as a formula for speech termination. It is also used

when one wants to describe a cut made on the body as well as to describe the cessation of the continuous flow of water in a river/tap. Consider examples (50a-c).

Tafi

50a. i-bhui (Bobuafor 2013:198)
1SG-cut
'I am done.'

b. Ke-ní ní ke-bhui (Bobuafor 2013:198)
CM.-river DEF SM-cut
'The river stopped flowing.' (Lit. the river has cut)

c. Yí ki-tsrĭ ní kí-bhui (Bobuafor 2013:199)
3SG.IND CM-toe DEF SM-cut
'His toe got cut.' (Lit: 'His toe cut')

Examples (50a-c) demonstrate the use of the Tafi CUT verb *bhui* 'to cut' occurring in the one-place construction as a formula for ending an individual's speech (50a), the cessation of the flow of water from a river (50b) and the cutting of a body part (50c).

Another language in which CUT verbs exhibit intransitivization is Sranan (a Creole of Surinam). According to Essegbey (2007) Sranan has two CUT verbs, *kapu* 'slash' and *sa* 'saw', which participate in the causative/inchoative alternation. He argues that not only did Sranan consultants use the verb *kapu* transitively to describe the chopping of wood by an agent, but they also used the verb intransitively to describe what had happened to the chopped wood, this is exemplified in example (51) below:

51. A tiki kapu na tu pisi (Essegbey 2007:236)
DEF tree slash PREP two pieces
'The wood slashed in two.'

Tidore (Papuan language spoken in the North Moluccas), according to Van Staden (2007) also has instances where the verbs of cutting participate in the causative/inchoative alternation. Van Staden (2007) argues that in Tidore, CUT verbs occur in this alternation when they express state

change and for this reason, in such intransitive construction, the verb lacks a causal agent. Examples (52a and 52b) illustrate this:

52a. Una tola luto (Van Staden 2007:303)
he cut firewood
'He cuts firewood.'

b. Luto ngge tola (Van Staden 2007:303)
firewood that cut
'The firewood cuts.'

The verb *tola* in Tidore describes cutting events that are done with a blow and involve the use of a machete-type knife (Van Staden 2007). Furthermore, in the intransitive construction (57b), there is no implied agent as it is possible to express the fact that something cuts by itself without any form of agent involvement, in Tidore.

Guerssel et al. (1985) report that in the few cases where CUT verbs participate in the causative/inchoative alternation, they encode either middle or passive interpretations. Following Essegbey (2007) I argue that intransitive constructions in which the Akan CUT verbs occur do not have either a passive or middle interpretation. Reasons why such Akan one-place constructions in which the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs cannot be considered as passives are briefly outlined below: [21]

- The first relates to the way in which passives are represented morphologically. Languages like English, French and Tzeltal for instance have morphological ways of expressing the passive form (i.e. morphological markings representing the passive), which is not present in Akan. Examples (58a-b) below illustrate how the passive is marked in English and Tzeltal respectively.

English

53a. *Mickey broke the chair* vs. *The chair was broken by Mickey*

[21] See Essegbey (2007) for his explanation on why the Sranan one-place constructions in which the CUT verbs occur are neither passives nor middle construction.

Tzeltal

b. Jes-ot kuchilu (Brown 2007:321)
slice-PASS knife
'(It) was sliced (by) a knife'

In the English example (58a) the passive is introduced by the morpheme *by* whereas in Tzeltal, the morpheme *ot* represents the passive marker. Akan, unlike these two languages, lacks such morphological markings for the passive.

- Secondly, in Akan unlike English, only COS verbs are able to occur in the one-place construction, implying that if the intransitive construction were passive then non-COS verbs should also be able to occur in it. Compare the English and Akan examples in (54) and (55) respectively.

English

54a. The food was eaten (Non-COS verb)
b. The table was broken (COS verb)

Akan

55a. *Àdùàné nó à-dí (Non-COS verb)
food DEF PERF-eat
'The food is eaten.'

b. Pónó nó à-bú (COS verb)
table DEF PERF-break
'The table is broken.'

Example (55a) is ungrammatical because the verb that occurs in the one-place construction is not a COS verb. In (55b), the sentence is grammatical since the verb involved is a COS verb. This goes to show that in Akan a [– COS verb] is barred from occurring in such a construction. Akan however has a functional equivalent of the passive construction, where an impersonal subject *yɛ̀n* pronoun acts as the subject of the construction as exemplified in (56).

56a. Y'à-dí àdùàné nó (Non-COS verb)
1PL-PERF-eat food DEF
'The food has been eaten (by someone).'

b. Y'à-bú pónó nó (COS verb)
1PL-PERF-break table DEF
'The table has been broken (by someone).'

- Thirdly, throughout this study, it has been argued that the one-place construction interacts with the semantics of the verb to yield specific interpretations. It has also been iterated that the main semantics associated with the one-place construction is that it presents the event as occurring without a causal agent, with the main focus on the state of the theme after undergoing the event described by the verb. As defined by Essegbey (2007:237), the one-place construction has an 'enter-into-a-state' meaning. This therefore implies only one thing, if the construction does not include a passive interpretation as part of its semantics, then that construction cannot contribute a passive interpretation.

Based on the three reasons discussed above, we can conclude that these one-place constructions in which the verb *twá* 'to cut' occur are indeed the inchoative counterpart of the causative/inchoative alternation. They express a state change (in this case a separation) as occurring without a causal agent and therefore cannot be considered as passives.

In consonance with Essegbey (forthcoming), it is argued that the restricted contexts in which CUT verbs undergo intransitivization (presented above) indeed incorporate a sharp bladed instrument but in languages such as Ewe, Sranan and in this case Akan, such one-place constructions are employed in order to take the focus away from the causal agent and rather highlight the end result of the cutting event, i.e. the use of the one-place construction enables one to avoid assigning agency.

5.6.3 Physical properties of NPs / objects

Apart from the role of the semantic property 'agentivity', another property crucial to the syntactic constructions in which the CUT verbs occur is 'the physical property of NP objects'. Studies such as Narasimhan (2007:203) have argued that in languages such as Hindi and Tamil "patterns of variability in the category boundaries of corresponding high frequency verbs in the two languages are not random, but can be motivated in terms of the *properties of the theme object* and the type of instrument and in some cases, the manner in which the action is carried out". Gaby (2007:263) for instance posits that for a language like Kuuk Thaayore (Paman language spoken in Cape York, Australia) "C&B events differ in the *material nature of the cut or broken*, the instruments employed to cut or break them, and the manner in which the cut or break is effected'". Finally, Chen (2007) also identifies the following semantic features as important for distinguishing Mandarin C&B action verbs, Instrument (hand-like instruments vs. instruments other than handlike instruments (e.g. knife, scissors), Manner (cutting or breaking forcefully) and *features of the affected object* (flexible 2-D objects such as paper, cloth) and rigid linear objects (stick).

In all three studies, there is the mention of the crucial role played by the type of NP (i.e. the physical properties) in the selection of one verb or the other. Similarly, in Akan, the type of NP and its physical properties does not only motivate the choice of one verb over another, but it also affects the transitivity of the verb.

For instance, when the agentive verb *twá* 'to cut', the prototypical CUT verb in Akan, collocates with NPs such as body parts, it is allowed to occur intransitively as exemplified in example (48).

5.6.4 Specification of manner / instrument

The manner in which the cutting event is carried out or the type of instrument used in carrying out the event, also plays a role in the verbal selection. For instance, the Akan verb *dwá* 'to cut up' typically describes the use of a large knife plus force to bring about a separation.

5.7 Chapter summary

The main aim of this chapter was to present the semantics associated with the CUT verbs present in Akan. Adopting a monosemy bias (Ruhl 1989) of analyzing verbs, the chapter discussed the various CUT verbs in Akan. It is argued that most of the verbs have one meaning with different readings and interpretations depending on the type of NP argument with which the verbs collocate. On this premise, the Akan CUT verbs and their various collocational interpretations were discussed.

The chapter also discussed the different types of constructions in which each of the Akan CUT verbs occurred. It was observed throughout the discussion that majority of the CUT verbs occurred in the Two-Place, *de*-SVC construction and the PostP-Construction, with very few participating in the One-Place construction.

CHAPTER SIX

The semantics of Akan BREAK verbs

6.1 Introduction

Breaking events, like their cutting counterparts, bring about a separation/disintegration in the 'material integrity' of objects that undergo such actions. This event type involves a theme, which is usually whole, undergoing a changing state to become non-integrated. When objects are broken, they no longer form a complete piece but rather become one or more pieces depending on the type of object and the manner in which the object is broken.

BREAK actions do not require instruments in order to achieve their end results unlike CUT verbs. (Guerssel et al. 1985; Hale & Keyser 1987; Majid et al. 2007; Bowerman 2007; Bouveret & Sweetser 2009). BREAK verbs are therefore considered pure change of state verbs in both their transitive and intransitive usages because they express a change of state without specifying how the change was brought about. This makes the presence of an agent in BREAK constructions optional, as against the prototypical uses of CUT verbs (which obligatorily require agents to bring about the action). For this reason, BREAK verbs are able to syntactically participate in causative/inchoative alternations (Guerssel et al. 1985; Hale & Keyser 1986; Levin 1993). Guerssel et al. (1985) for example, explain that pure change of state verbs like BREAK basically require only one argument; which is the entity or theme that undergoes the change of state described by the verb, hence their ability to participate in the causative/inchoative construction.

There is discontinuity that occurs when certain objects are broken, i.e. there is a form of interruption in the once continuous entity. Objects that are capable of demonstrating such discontinuity include sticks, ropes, bread etc. The fracture caused by the breaking can either be partial or complete. An example of a partial fracture can be the incomplete breaking of a twig from the branch of a tree, whiles a complete fracture involves a full detachment of the twig from the branch. Examples of Akan BREAK verbs include: *bú* 'to break', *pàè* 'to split, to burst', *pɔ́né* 'to disjoin or separate with some effort', *pòrò* 'to crumble especially of dry things, to pluck off' and *fùró* 'to crumble'. Akan has a polysemous verb, *bɔ́* which has a first meaning as 'to hit' and the second 'to break, crack open'. Both senses entail contact i.e. where an entity comes into

contact with another entity. The ‘to break, crack open’ meaning further describes the result of the contact. This sense is derived from the preparatory event of hitting resulting in a fracture.
In this chapter, I discuss the semantics of each of the Akan BREAK verbs by showing the NPs with which they collocate and the interpretations that are derived as a result of such combinations. Two other sets of verbs, elicited with the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) and Agyepong (2015) videos are also discussed in this chapter. The two classes are TEAR and OPEN verbs. The various types of constructions in which each of the verbs occur will also be presented.

The chapter is structured as follows: The constructions in which the verbs occur are introduced in 6.2 as a guideline to the analysis to be presented in this chapter. Section 6.3 provides a brief background on the semantics associated with the Akan BREAK verbs (Table 6.2). Sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 discuss the semantics of the BREAK, TEAR and CRUSH verbs in Akan respectively. In 6.7, I discuss a ‘Non-C&B’ verb that expresses separation in certain contexts. Section 6.8 discusses the various restricted contexts in which some of the Akan BREAK verbs exhibit features that are not present in the other attested languages. Section 6.9 provides the summary and concluding remarks for the chapter.

6.2 BREAK verbs and their constructions

The Akan BREAK verbs to be discussed in this section are presented in Table 6.1 below. Additionally, it summarises the constructions in which each of the verbs are able to occur.

Table 6.1: Akan BREAK verbs and their constructions

Verbs	Gloss	One-Place	Two-Place	*de*-SVC	PostP-Cons.
bú	'to break'	+	+	+	+
bɔ́	'to break or crack open'	+	+	+	-
pàè	'to break, split or burst'	+	+	+	+
pɔ́né	'to disjoin or separate with some effort'	+	+	+	-
dwĭrĭ	to break up, break or pull down, demolish'	+	+	+	-
páǹ	"to pluck/ pull off/out or to crop off"	+	+	+	-
pòrò	'to crumble especially of dry things, to pluck'	+	+	+	-
pɔ́w	'to lop branches of a tree'	+	+	+	-
té	'to tear'				
sùànè	'to tear longitudinally'	+	+	+	+
pɛ̀kyɛ̀	'to crush/squash'	+	+	+	+
pòtɔ̀	'to crush/squash/grind'	+	+	+	+

Table 6.1 above shows that all the BREAK verbs are able to occur in the one-place, two-place (as predicted of them) and *de*-SVC. It is only the verbs *bú* 'to break', *pàè* 'to break/burst', *sùànè* 'to tear longitudinally', *té* 'to tear' and *pòtɔ̀* 'to crush/squash/grind' are the verbs that occur in the PostP-construction.

6.3 The Semantics of Akan BREAK verbs

In Table 6.2, the semantics associated with Akan C&B verbs are put into four categories: the number of entailed participants, whether the verb lexicalizes an instrument or not, nature of cause (+/- Agent) and the nature of change in the object.

Table 6.2: Basic semantics associated with Akan BREAK verbs

Verbs	**Number of lexicalized participants**	**Instrument involvement**	**Agent involvement**	**Nature of change in the object**
bú	1	No	-Agent	distorted/ disintegrated
bɔ́	1	No	-Agent	disintegrated
dwĩrĩ	1	No	-Agent	crumbled to the ground
pàè	1	No	-Agent	disintegrated
páǹ	1	No	-Agent	separated
pòrò	1	No	-Agent	crumbled
pɔ́ẁ	3	No	-Agent	separated
té	1	No	-Agent	separated
sùàné	1	No	-Agent	separated
pɛ̀kyɛ̀	1	No	-Agent	crushed
pòtɔ̀	1	No	-Agent	crushed into pulp

In Table 6.2 above, we observe that since the verbs of breaking are able to occur spontaneously in certain contexts, they do not lexicalize a causal agent and therefore require just 1 lexicalized participant which is the theme/object in most cases. Some of the end results associated with these verbs include different forms of separation, distortion, or the entities being crushed into pulp.

With these basic semantics as the backdrop, I proceed to discuss the individual BREAK verbs present in Akan following the order in which the verbs are presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2. Each of these discussions will be preceded with a summary of the constructions in which each of the verbs occur.

6.4 Bú 'to break/to crack'

This is the prototypical BREAK verb in Akan and it either represents the separation of an entity or just a change in the shape of the entity. It can occur with objects that are rigid in some of their dimensions for example wood, plastics or objects that may have no form of rigidity, such as bread. Narasimhan (2007:199), for example, points out that the objects that are usually broken "typically involve rigid objects to which pressure is applied to create a breach in their integrity. The break might occur at the point at which the instrument makes contact with the object (e.g. the point at which a stroke of a hammer falls) or when contact is applied elsewhere on the object (e.g. the two ends of a piece of yarn which snaps in the middle as a result of pressure applied from the ends". Peculiar to BREAK verbs are their ability to occur spontaneously without the involvement of an agent.

The verb *bú* 'to break' can be found in the One-Place Construction, Two-Place Construction, *de*-SVC and the PostP-Construction.

One and Two-Place Construction

1a. O-bù-ù dáǹ nó
3SG.SUBJ-break-COMPL building DEF
'S/he broke the building (with a machine).'

b. Dáǹ nó bù-ùyɛ̀
building DEF break-COMPL
'The building collapsed.'

In examples (1a) and (1b) above, we have a Two-Place and a One-Place construction respectively. In example (1a), the subject, in this case the third person singular pronoun *ɔ́* acts as the agent of the action. S/he is described as the one who breaks the building. Notice that in this sentence, the breaking activity could have been brought about with the help of a machine such as a bull dozer, which is used by the agent to achieve the end result, though not overtly represented. In example (1b), however, the agent is omitted and the action is described as one that occurs spontaneously. The nature of event described in (1b) is one that can occur without an external cause i.e. a building can collapse without any external force.

de-SVC Construction

2a. Ɔ̀-dè hámá nó bù- ù blɔ́gò nó
3SG.SUBJ-use hammer DEF break-COMPL block DEF
'S/he used the hammer to break the building block.'

b. Ɔ̀-dè n'àhóɔ́déǹ nyĭnáá bù-ù blɔ́gò nó
3SG.SUBJ-use 3POSS'strength all break-COMPL block DEF
'S/he used all her/his strength to break the building block.'

Examples (2a-b) represent the *de*-SVC construction which introduces the instrument that was used to break the building block as in (2a) and the manner in which the agent broke the block, illustrated by example (2b). In both constructions, the object 'block' ends up in parts or several pieces.

3a. Ò-bù-bú-ú àbáá nó
3SG.SUBJ-RED-break-COMPL stick DEF
'S/he broke the stick.' [MPI.C&B 5]

b. Ɔ̀-dè nè ǹsá bù-bú-ú àbáá nó
3SG.SUBJ-use 3POSS hand RED-break-COMPL stick DEF
'S/he used his hand to break the stick.' [MPI.C&B 5]

c. Ɔ̀-dè àbùfúó bù-bú-ú àbáá nó
3SG.SUBJ-use anger RED-break-COMPL stick DEF
'S/he broke the stick in an angry manner.' [MPI.C&B 5]

The *de*-SVC construction was used by a consultant to describe the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) video clip (5) which showed a man furiously breaking a stick on his knees with his hands repeatedly (3c). We observe the constant use of the reduplicated form of the verb to describe the activity as occurring more than once. Examples (3b) and (3c) indicate the instrument and the manner in which the action was carried out respectively. Recall that the NP hand has been argued to be a default instrument used in carrying out diverse activities, as such languages do not

give it any form of special treatment. The same can be said about the example (3b) where the 'hand' represents the instrument that is used in breaking the stick.

PostP (mú)-Construction

This construction in combination with the NP that is described by the event, derives the specific meaning 'break the entity into a number of parts or divide'.

4a. Ɔ̀-à-bú àbáá nó
3SG.SUBJ-PERF-break stick DEF
'S/he has broken the stick.'

b. Ɔ̀-à-bú àbáá nó mú
3SG.SUBJ-PERF-break stick DEF inside
'S/he broke the stick into parts.'

The breaking that is described by the two examples, though similar to a large extent, differ slightly semantically. In (4a), the sense of division into a certain number is not as profound as what is expressed by example (4b). In (4a), the breaking may not necessarily result in a complete separation, but in (4b), the presence of the PP *mú* 'inside' provides a construal of breaking into parts. This contrastive pair shown in (4a-b) suggests that *mú* 'inside' articulates the disintegrated state of the stick (into parts).

In the discussions that follow, the various interpretations associated with the verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan are outlined. The discussion will also present the characteristics of the NPs that collocate with the verb.

I. To break

This interpretation refers to actions that generally bring about object disintegration or separation. This separation could either be complete or partial separation. The objects that go with the verb to derive this reading are physical objects, which can be [+rigid] such as sticks and furniture or [+firm], for example bread, cake, and pie. Some parts of the body such as the legs, hands and the neck can also collocate with the verb *bú* 'to break' to derive this interpretation.

5a. Mánú bù-ù àbàá nó
Manu break-COMPL stick DEF
'Manu broke the stick.'

b. Pónó nó nán bàákó á-bù
table DEF leg one PERF-break
'One of the table's legs is broken.'

c. Gyàmfi bù-ù páànóó nó bǐ
Gyamfi break-COMPL bread DEF some
'Gyamfi broke some of the bread.'

d. W-á-bú nè nán mú
3SG.SUBJ-PERF-break 3POSS leg inside
'S/he has broken his/her leg.'

In example (5a-5b), the objects that the verb collocates with can be characterised as usually having prominent lengthwise configurations. In (5c) the object *páànóó* 'bread' depending on the type could also be long and thin, for instance the popular Ghanaian bread known as 'tea bread'. Example (5d) has the object *nán* 'leg' representing the body part, which possesses lengthwise characteristics. The NPs, after undergoing the breaking activities described in each of the examples are no longer complete/whole entities, they end up in parts.

II. To break down/demolish/destroy

Levin (1993) posits that this interpretation relates to the total destruction of entities. The 'demolish' sense of this verb often describes a purposeful pulling down of objects by an agent who applies force to an instrument. There are also instances of destruction, which do not necessarily require the presence of an agent. It is very possible to have scenes of destruction that occur spontaneously and as such involve no agent: for example, a building can break down or collapse on its own, without a manipulative agent. Such situations can sometimes be attributed to natural causes/effectors such as storms, tornados, hurricanes etc. A building without a good foundation also has the possibility of spontaneously breaking down.

6a. Melcom dán nó bù-ù ǹǹérá ǹkòáá
Melcom building DEF break-COMPL yesterday only
'The Melcom building collapsed only yesterday.'

The form of destruction depicted in (6a) is not instigated by an agent. Rather, it describes a situation where the building collapses probably because it was not properly constructed. The destruction could also be as a result of natural disasters such as floods and wind as in (6b) below:

b. M̀fràmá nó bù-ù dáǹ nó
wind DEF break-COMPL building DEF
'The wind broke the building.'

In this example, the wind acts as the effector of the event described by the verb.

c. Àbòfrá nó bù-ù àtèré nó
child DEF break-COMPL spoon DEF
'The child broke the spoon.'

The child is the direct cause of the breaking event. The spoon, in this context, could either be wooden, plastic or even aluminium, since such materials possess breakable qualities.

d. Mààmé nó dè àbùfúó bù-bú-ú mùkyíá nó
woman DEF use anger RED-break-COMPL clay stove DEF
'The woman angrily broke the clay stove.'

e. Dàdèsɛ́n nó mú dúró èntí mùkyíá nó bù-ùyɛ̀
pot DEF inside heavy so clay stove DEF break-COMPL
'The clay stove broke as a result of the pot's weight/heaviness.'

The *de*-SVC construction in (6d) describes the manner in which the causal agent, i.e. the woman, broke the clay stove. The reduplicated form of the verb describes the activity as being carried out more than once, resulting in the clay stove being broken into several parts. In (6e), we do not have a physical causal agent, however, the end state of the clay stove is attributed to the weight of the pot.

III. To bend/crook/curve

The verb *bú* 'to break' can also be used to describe the act of bending an entity. Levin (1993) argues that this sense of the BREAK verb describes a change in the shape of an entity and does not bring about any form of disruption in the material integrity of the entity. The state brought about when the NPs undergo the bending activity are often reversible unlike the prototypical 'break' interpretation of the verb, i.e. objects that are bent or crooked can be straightened/unbent, but entities that are broken cannot be unbroken.

The objects that are usually bent are of a flexible nature as shown in examples (7a) below:

7a.	Ò-bù-ù	rɔ̀bá	àtèré	nó	kɔ̀-ɔ̀	n'àkyí
	3SG.SUBJ-break-COMPL	rubber	spoon	DEF	go-COMPL	3POSS'back

'S/he bent the rubber spoon backwards.'

Not only is this usage restricted to the bending of flexible objects but it is also used to describe the process of bending the parts of the body or assuming certain body postures, since they are also flexible in nature. This is illustrated by example (7b) below:

b.	Ménsímá	bù-ù	ǹkòtòdwé	pà-à	né	pàpá	kyɛ́ẁ
	Mensima	break-COMPL	knees	doff-COMPL	3POSS	father	hat

'Mensima bent her knees/knelt down and begged her father.'

This particular reading of the verb, i.e. the bending of the knees, has the verb *bú* 'to break' collocating specifically with the NP *ǹkòtòdwé* 'knees' to derive the specific contextualised meaning 'to kneel (which involves bending the knees)'. This *bú* 'to break'+ *ǹkòtòdwé* 'knees' combination cannot occur in a one-place construction, since it describes an event that obligatory requires an agent. When used intransitively, a different meaning is derived:

c.	Ménsímá	ǹkòtòdwé	mú	bù-ùyɛ̀
	Mensima	knees	inside	break-COMPL

'Mensima's knees broke.'

Example (7c) has the postposition *mú* 'inside' as part of the construction and derives the interpretation 'to break'. In this example, the knee is described as having undergone a breaking that is not brought about by physical causal agent (Mensima's knee can break as a result of a

slip). In such contexts, one can think of a probable separation of the tendons that hold the knee bones together.

IV. To fold and hem

The verb *bú* 'to break' collocates with the PostP (*só* 'top', àséɛ́ 'under' or *ànó* 'edge') to derive the interpretation bend/fold and hem.

8. Ɔ̀yɛ́àdéɛ́yíé nó bù-ù mè kábà nó só/ánó/ àséɛ́
tailor DEF break-COMPL 1POSS blouse DEF top/edge/under
'The tailor bent a part of the blouse (traditional top) and hemmed it.'

There are two activities expressed as a single. The first is the folding/bending of a cloth and the second describes the sewing/hemming of the folded portion. This is sometimes done to reduce the length of a piece of fabric or a dress or to prevent the edges from fraying. The event is named after a part of the whole activity hence a metonymy; where the folding event is used to describe the whole event.

In conclusion, the verb *bú* 'to break' when used in Akan describes the separation of entities and objects without the involvement of a sharp, bladed object. Things that can be broken include wood, plastic, bread and some body parts. The verb has interpretations which include to bend, to reduce in length, to demolish or break down etc. The nature of events described by the verb *bú* 'to break' allows it to occur in the causative/inchoative construction, *de*-SVC construction and the PostP-construction.

6.4.1 Bɔ́ 'to break/to crack'

As explained in the introduction of this chapter, the verb *bɔ́* is polysemous in Akan. Christaller (1933:23) argues that the primary meaning of this verb is 'to strike, to be in or cause vigorous motion' and it describes instances of hitting, striking, smiting and beating. The second sense relates to object separation. This meaning focuses on the result brought about when objects are brought into contact. The crucial thing between both senses is that they both involve contact. For the purposes of this study, I only concentrate on the separation/disintegration sense of the verb.
The polysemous nature of this verb makes it possible for both senses to be expressed in one sentence as in example (9). The separation sense of this verb is sometimes defeasible in the sense

that one can hit something or an object may come into contact with another object and yet there will be no form of separation or change in material integrity. Below is an example to illustrate this:

9. È-bɔ̀-ɔ̀ nò nànsó à-m-mɔ̀
   3SG.INA-hit-COMPL DEF but PERF-NEG-break/crack
   'It hit it, but it did not break/crack.'

Whether the thing that undergoes the activity disintegrates or not, depends on the characteristics of the item, the type of object with which it comes into contact or the manner in which the hitting is done. Example (9) identifies a situation where something hits another thing but the patient does not disintegrate either because the hit was not strong enough or the patient was too hard to disintegrate. Typical objects that collocate with *bɔ́* 'to break, crack (open)' are glass and ceramic wares.

The verb *bɔ́* 'to break/to crack' like all other BREAK verbs occurs in the one-place and two-place construction and *de*-SVC construction to derive various interpretations. These constructions are exemplified below:

One-Place Construction

10. Tòá nò á-bɔ̀
    bottle DEF PERF-crack/break
    'The bottle is cracked/broken.'

Two-Place Construction

11. Ɔ̀-bɔ̀-ɔ̀ tòá nó
    3SG.SUBJ-break/crack-COMPL bottle DEF
    'S/he broke/cracked the bottle.'

Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the one-place and two-place alternation respectively. In (10) the event is depicted as occurring spontaneously. This can be used in a context where for example the bottle was kept in the freezer for a long time and the breaking happened as a result of it been extremely frozen. In (11) however, the causal agent is represented.

de-SVC construction

12. Ɔ̀-dè ɛ̀bóɔ́ bɔ̀-ɔ̀ àhwèhwɛ́ nó
3SG.SUBJ-use stone break-COMPL mirror DEF
'S/he broke the mirror with a stone.'

The construction contributes the instrument, in this case the stone, which was used in carrying out the activity. In this example, the characteristics of both the stone (very hard object) and the mirror (extremely fragile) contribute to the disintegration reading of the sentence. If the hitting had been done with a pillow or even a book, the likelihood of the mirror cracking would have been very minimal.
Apart from introducing the instrument, the *de*-SVC construction also describes the manner in which the action was carried out, as illustrated in example (13) below:

13. Ɔ̀-dè àbúfúó bɔ̀-ɔ̀ àhwèhwɛ́ nó
3SG.SUBJ-use anger break-COMPL mirror DEF
'S/he angrily broke the mirror.'

I. To break/to crack open

The verb *bɔ́* can also be used in relation to the breaking of food items such eggs, peanuts, palm kernel and coconuts. The breaking process of each of these involves either the fingers (peanuts) or instruments such as stones, nutcrackers and sharp-bladed instruments (as in the breaking of coconuts, eggs).[22] These are demonstrated in the following examples:

14a. Wò-ó-bɔ́ ǹkòsùá
2SG.SUBJ-PROG-break egg
'You are breaking the egg.' [CS.C&B 1]

b. Wò-á-bɔ́ ǹkátéɛ́ nó
2SG.SUBJ-PERF-crack peanut DEF
'You have cracked the peanuts.' [CS.C&B 59]

[22] The use of sharp instruments to carry out a breaking action as done for coconuts will be discussed in section 6.8.

These examples were used to describe the scenes in the Agyepong (2015) videos which showed an agent breaking an egg with a knife (clip 1, Agyepong 2015) and also cracking the peanut (in a shell) with her fingers (clip 59, Agyepong 2015). The NPs that undergo this action are covered in shells (which are usually hard) that conceal their contents. The cracking/breaking results in the exposure of the contents.

This interpretation also includes the physical destruction of delicate body parts such as the eyes. Consider example (15) below:

15. Wò-à-bó-bɔ̀ n'ànî́wá (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:25)
3PL.SUBJ-PERF-RED-knock out 3POSS-eye
'His/her eyes have been knocked out (during the fight).'

Example (15) shows the results of a repeated hitting action that occurs during physical activities such as a fight. It is often the case that during such events, there is a repeated exchange of punches which eventually leads to the destruction of certain body parts, in this case, the eyes. In Akan the eyes are likened to an egg due to its delicateness, hence it is described exactly the same way as a broken/cracked egg is described.

II. To crack/shatter/dash

Objects that can be cracked or shattered are either made of glass or ceramics. These items after undergoing the actions described by the verb do not only become disintegrated or non-integral or simply being broken into two parts, but most importantly, they are reduced to many small pieces which can sometimes be indistinguishable (Bouveret & Sweetser 2009).

16. Kúrúwáá nó á-bɔ̀
cup DEF PERF-break
'The cup is broken / cracked / shattered.'

In this example (16), the absence of the causal agent points to the spontaneous disintegration of a once whole cup. This spontaneous breaking of glassware can be attributed to thermal stress in glass. There are also cases where a glass which is constantly used to drink cold liquids cracks the very moment a hot liquid is poured into it. The use of the verb *bɔ́* 'to crack' to describe the state of the cup, suggests that the cup was either made of ceramic or glass, since those are the only materials that have the tendency to break or crack spontaneously.

17. Bààbî á ǹsá àsùhíná á-bɔ́ á-gúó nó (Appiah et al. 2007:18)
place REL alcohol pot PERF-break PERF-pour TOP
ǹsá-húá m̀-pá hɔ́ dà
alcohol-scent NEG-fade there never
'Where the palm-wine pot has broken and poured out (its contents), the scent of palm-wine remains forever.'

A similar situation is illustrated in (17), where a pot is shattered as it hits the ground. Example (17) is a proverb that describes a scene where a palm wine gourd breaks and all of its contents pours out, leaving the smell associated with the wine as a permanent mark.

In Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2007), the verb *gba* 'to break' is used to describe the disintegration of glasses and earthernware. This is the same in Akan, which uses *bɔ́* 'to break' to describe the such events. Ameka & Essegbey (2007) argue that in such contexts the focus of the C&B verb is not actually on the crack that is introduced on the object that has undergone the activity. Thus, whether the broken pieces of objects such as reading glasses come apart or not is of no relevance. Moreover, both Akan and Ewe describe the splintering of a drinking glass that falls and the cracking of a pair of reading glasses with the verbs *bɔ́* 'to break' and *gba* 'to crack' respectively. For this reason, both the Ewe and Akan consultants in their description of the C&B videos, clips 39 and 40 (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001), employed the verbs *gba* 'to break' and *bɔ́* 'to break' respectively.

The verb *bɔ́* 'to strike' has been identified first and foremost as a polysemous. Both the 'to strike, to hit' and the 'to break, crack (open)' senses of the verb involve contact. The discussion in this section however focused on the object disintegration/separation meaning of this verb. It was stated that objects that commonly collocate with this verb are either made of glass or ceramics. Also, food items such a nuts and eggs (i.e. those food items with shells) can also be expressed with the verb *bɔ́* 'to break, crack (open)'. The verb occurs in the One-Place, Two-Place construction and the *de*-SVC to express the different interpretations.

6.4.2 Pàè 'to break/split/burst'

As a BREAK verb, it refers to the acts of bursting, striking, smiting or breaking. It also connotes the division or splitting of items. The division can either occur spontaneously or be brought

about by an agent who uses an instrument to carry out the action described by the verb.[23] Examples of NPs that collocate with this verb include balloons (and other inflatable objects such as car tyres), ceramic wares, firewood and some body parts. The verb *páé* 'to break, split, burst' can be used interchangeably with the verb *bɔ́* to refer to the breaking/shattering of glass and ceramic wares. The examples (18), (19) and (20) depict instances of the verb's usage.

18. Obí á n'-àkyí á-páé nó è-ǹ-yɛ́ (Appiah et al. 2007:30)
someone REL 3POSS-back PERF-break TOP 3INA-NEG-be
ɔ̀nó árá nà ɔ̀-pám̀
him self FOC 3SG.SUBJ-stitch
'The individual who has his back cut, is not required to stitch it himself.'

In this example, the verb is *páé* 'to break, to split' has the interpretation 'to have a cut (possibly as a result of flogging)' because of the presence of the verb *pám̀* 'to stitch', as it is only opened surfaces/wounds that are stitched. This Akan proverb stresses the importance of having people around in time of need. It also makes clear the fact that no individual is self-sufficient and that no matter a person's nature, they cannot solely depend on themselves and will definitely need another person's help at some point in time.

19. Nkáǹkán né ǹkwán sɛ̀ né ǹkwán sɔ̀ (Gyekye- Aboagye 1967:20)
especially 3POSS soup COMP 3POSS soup drop.HAB
fám̀ à ná àsàásé rè-pàé
ground REL then earth PROG-break
'Especially his/her soup, when it touches the ground, the earth cracks open.'

This example describes a scene in the story where an individual's cooking is praised. The taste of the soup prepared is described as having the ability to crack open the earth when it touches the ground. This is a figurative way of praising the person's cooking.

20. Ɛ̀bóɔ́ pàé á yɛ̀-m̀-pám̀ ànká m-ɛ̀-pám̀
stone break.HAB REL 3PL.SUBJ-NEG-sew like 1SG.SUBJ-FUT-sew
'One does not sew/stitch a broken stone together otherwise I would have sewn it.'

[23] The contexts under which this occurs will be discussed under section 6.7

This is an Akan expression used when someone is bereaved. The expression points to the irreversible nature of death. In this case, death is compared to a stone that cannot be stitched together once it is broken.

The verb can occur in the One-Place, Two-Place construction and the *de*-SVC. I illustrate these below:

One-Place Construction

21. Bààlúú nó á-pàé
balloon DEF PERF-burst
'The balloon has burst.'

The nature of the balloon is such that it can spontaneously burst. In this example, the state of the balloon is described with the verb *pàé* 'to break, to split' to show its present non-integral state after undergoing the action.

Two-Place Construction

22. Abòfrá nó pàé-é bààlúú nó
child DEF burst-COMPL balloon DEF
'The child burst the balloon.'

In this example, the child is the causal agent of the action described by the verb.

de-SVC

23a. Ɛ́sí dè ɛ̀bɔ́ɔ́ nó pàé-é tòá nó
Esi use stone DEF break bottle DEF
'Esi broke the bottle with a stone.'

b. Ɛ́sí dè àhòpèpéré pàé-é tòá nó
Esi use rush break bottle DEF
'Esi broke the bottle in a rush.'

In examples (23a) and (23b), the instrument and the manner in which *Esi* breaks the bottle are depicted respectively.

6.4.3 Pɔ́né 'to disjoin or separate (with some effort)'

This verb depicts the act of forcefully disjoining or separating one entity from another. It seems to be case that sometimes when verbs refer to similar actions, for example separation or opening, they are distinguished from each other by the force that is involved. The verb *pɔ́né* 'to separate, to disjoin' is an example of a verb, which distinguishes itself from the other BREAK verbs of separation, by requiring force exertion. Examples (24) and (25) illustrate the use of this verb:

24.	Ɛ̀-yɛ̀	mèá	mé-dé	nà	m'á-pɔ́né
	3INA.SUBJ-be	me	mine	and	1SG-PERF-disjoin
	bî	á-má	móɔ́		
	some	PERF-give	3PL.OBJ		

'It's my very own and I have broken part for you (a part of me that has been separated and given to you).'

During a public speech, the speaker figuratively used this statement to express the fact that the entity in question has been willingly separated from him in order to share with the whole community.

25.	Yɛ	pɔ́né	kòòkóó	nó	á	á-féfɛ́
	3PL	separate	cocoa	DEF	REL	PERF-sprout
	nó	fiřì	dédáá	né	hó	
	DEF	from	old	3POSS	body	

'We break off the sprouted cocoa from the old (cocoa) tree.' [Spontaneous Discourse]

This example was used by a consultant during an interview on his cocoa farm. He explained that whenever a new cocoa sprouted underneath the old/parent cocoa tree, the seedling was uprooted and separated from the old tree into a nursery. This is done to prevent the seedling from having to struggle for nutrients with the old cocoa tree.

The types of separation exhibited in examples (24) and (25) above are carried out with the hands and do not necessarily involve the application of a bladed instrument.

The verb *pɔ́né* 'to disjoin, to separate' is also used in Akan to describe the process of miscarriage, which involves the spontaneous abruption/separation of the foetus from the womb as exemplified in examples (26a):

26a. Ɔ̀béá nó á-pɔ̀n̄ (Ak: Christaller 1933:399)
woman DEF PERF-separate
'The woman has miscarried.'

The verb again combines with the NP *hwéné* 'nose' to describe the state of bleeding from the nose, as exemplified in (26b):

b. Ɔ̀-pɔ́n̄ àhwéné (Ak: Christaller 1933:399)
3SG.SUBJ-separate nose
'He bleeds at the nose.'

The verb *pɔ́né* 'to separate, disjoin' as illustrated in examples (26a) and (26b) respectively, occurs in both the one-place, two-place and the *de*-SVC constructions.

6.4.4 dwìrì 'to break up / break or pull down / to demolish'

This verb describes purposeful breaking down/pulling down/demolishing as well as the spontaneous collapsing of objects. The demolishing sense of the verb necessarily includes the participation of an agent who uses an instrument of some sort to bring about the state described by the verb. However, there can be instances of buildings breaking down without agent involvement. Natural causes such as storms, floods, tornados etc. can cause the collapse of buildings. The collapse can also be as a result of a weak foundation on which the building stands as exemplified in (27) or it could purposefully be brought about by an agent as in (28).

27. Ɛ̀dán nó dwĩrĩ-ĩɛ̀
building DEF collapse-COMPL
'The building collapsed.'

In example (27), the intransitive use of the verb derives the 'collapse' interpretation.

28. Apààfóɔ́ nó dwĭrĭ-ĭ ɛ̀dán nó
labourers DEF demolish-COMPL building DEF
'The labourers demolished the building.'

In (28) however, the agent 'labourers' are the ones who cause the building to come tumbling down.

The verb's usage is not only restricted to the pulling down/collapsing of buildings, but it also describes instances where items such as books, cloths, bowls etc. that are arranged in an upright/tower form come tumbling down either spontaneously (when the arranged items lose equilibrium) or as result of an external force such as a shove by an agent. Such actions also depict disintegration of once-whole entities to an extent.

29a. Abòfrá nó á-dwĭrí́ néámá nó nyĭnáá
child DEF PERF-pull.down things DEF all
'The child pulled down all the things (that have been arranged).'

b. Ɛ̀néámá nó nyĭnáá á-dwĭrí́
things DEF all PERF-pull.down
'The things have all come tumbling down/ the items toppled over.'

Examples (29a) and (29b) illustrate the Two-Place and One-Place constructions respectively. In (29a), the disintegration of the clothes or arranged items is brought about by the child. It is often the case that the items have to be arranged in a high or upright order (i.e. piled up). In (29b), however, the things are described as spontaneously toppling over.

6.4.5 Páǹ 'to pluck / pull off / out or to crop off'

This BREAK verb also focuses on the separation of a part/portion of an object from another. In certain contexts, it collocates with NPs such as banana/plantain to describe the process of breaking/separating bunches of bananas/plantains from the already harvested stalk. This verb is able to occur in the One-Place construction, Two-Place construction and the *de*-SVC construction.

One-Place Construction

30a. Dùbáá nó à-páǹ (Boadi 2005:516)
twig DEF PERF-break
'The twig is broken (off the tree).'

b. Mè sé à-páǹ[24] (Fa.)
1SG.POSS tooth PERF-break
'My (a part of) tooth is broken/chipped.'

In both examples, the change of state is described as occurring spontaneously. Example (30a) can be used in the context where the twigs suddenly broke off due to extreme dryness. In the same vein, a part of a tooth can chip off without the application of any form of instrument. The crucial thing is the absence of a causal agent in both sentences.

Two-Place Construction

31. Kòfí-í pèn-pán kwàdú nó
Kofi-PROG RED-break banana DEF
'Kofi is breaking the bunch of bananas from the stalk.'

The activity described by the verb in example (31) involves the process of separating the individual bunches of bananas from the stalk. This is usually done with the hands or sometimes with a knife as illustrated in Figure 6.1 below:

Figure 6.1: Cropping off banana clusters from the stalk

[24] I am grateful to E. Kweku Osam for sharing this example with me.

6.4.6 Pòrò ‘to crumble especially of dry things/to pluck off’

I. To crumble

This BREAK verb describes the crumbling of things that are usually firm and dry in nature. The crumbling is an effect of two entities coming together and one applying force on the other entity. This reading of the verb occurs in the two-place and the One-Place constructions.

32a. Menhyira á-pòró-pòró bîskǐtǐ nó ǹyínáá
Menhyira PERF-RED-crumble biscuit DEF all
‘Menhyira has crumbled all the biscuits.’

b. Bîskǐtǐ no nyinaa á-pòró-pòró
biscuit DEF all PERF-RED-crumble
‘The biscuits have all crumpled (the biscuits are all in crumps).’

We notice that because the crumbling process involves a repetitive action, the verb in example (32a-b) comes in the reduplicated form.

II. To Pluck

Another interpretation of the verb focuses on the act of plucking fruits from trees, i.e. the separation of fruits from the stalk of trees. The plucking can be done with or without the involvement of an agent. For instance, some fruits naturally fall to the ground when they are ripe beyond a certain. In such cases the separation happens without an agent, i.e. the verb can thus be represented as having a [+/- Agent] semantics.

33a. M-m̀òfrá nó á-pòró àmángò nó nyǐnáá
PL-child DEF PERF-pluck mango DEF all
‘The children have plucked all the mangoes (from the tree).’

b. Amángò nó nyǐnáá á-pòró
mango DEF all PERF-fall
‘The mangoes have all fallen (to the ground from the tree).’

The first sentence describes the plucking activity as being carried out by the children, whereas the second depicts the activity as occurring spontaneously. That is the natural process of fruits

falling off trees when they are ripe. This is particularly common with fruits such as Indian almonds, mangoes, oranges etc. Example (33b) cannot be used as the intransitive form of (33a), i.e. (33b) cannot be used as a way of concealing the agent in (33a). This is because the intransitive form is only restricted to the interpretation 'to fall from a tree spontaneously' hence it cannot be used to describe the state of fruits that have already been plucked by an agent.

6.4.7 Pɔ́(w) 'to remove outer layer'

This verb is used in Akan to describe events that involve the removal of the outer layers of objects. Examples of NPs that collocate with this verb to yield this specific interpretation include *hònáḿ* 'skin' as *pɔ̀ hònáḿ* 'to bleach skin', *pɔ̀ kyénséé hó* 'remove the outer painting of saucepans' (Boadi 2005:528) and *pɔ̀ nkátéé́* (to remove the outer skin of groundnuts). It lexicalises result by focusing on the end state of the object that undergoes the removal i.e. the objects end up with an outer covering.

In context, this verb is able to yield a cutting interpretation. According to Christaller (1933), this is used in reference to the process whereby one cuts closely or lops the branches of an already felled palm-tree in preparation for the extraction of palm-wine. Sentences that derive this cutting interpretation cannot be intransitived (occur in the one-place construction) and thus occurs in the Two-Place Construction and the *de*-SVC Construction. I illustrate these below:

Two-Place Construction

34a. Wɔ̀-á-pó-pɔ́ẁ wɔ́ǹ m̀-m̀ɛ́ (Ak.) (Christaller 1933:405)
3PL.SUBJ-PERF-RED-lop 3PL. POSS PL-palm-tree
'They have lopped all the branches of their palm trees.'

b. Wɔ̀-dè àníbéré á-pɔ́ẁ wɔ́ǹ m̀-m̀ɛ́ (Ak.)
3PL.SUBJ-use seriousness PERF-lop 3PL.POSS PL-palm-tree
'They have lopped all the branches of their palm trees with all seriousness'

The verb *dè* 'to use' can also have an instrument as complement in this construction (34b), even though (34b) contains an abstract nominal leading to a manner rather than instrument interpretation.

6.5 TEAR verbs- class members

The members of this category include: *té* ‘to tear’ and *sùànè* ‘to tear in a lengthwise manner’.

Te / Suane

I. To Tear (off)

These are separation verbs that describe the process of pulling or ripping things apart or into several pieces. This can be done by an agent with the hands or sometimes with an instrument. There are also situations where the tearing occurs spontaneously. The objects that undergo tearing are often thin and soft in nature, and include things like paper, fabrics and leaves. Whereas *té* ‘to tear’ describes generic forms of tearing and is not restricted to a particular style and shape, *sùànè* ‘to tear in a lengthwise dimension’, describes tearing that is done along longitudinal dimensions.

The semantics of the verbs allow them to occur in the one-place, two-place, *de*-SVC, and the PostP-Construction.

35. Ɔ̀-dè àbùfúó sùn-sùánè-è ǹtómá fófórɔ́ nó mú
3SG.SUBJ-use anger RED-tear-COMPL cloth new DEF inside
‘S/he angrily ripped the new cloth apart/into strips.’

In example (35), there is a combination of the *de*-SVC and the PostP (mú ‘inside’)-construction to denote the manner in which the ripping of the cloth was done. The PP *mú* ‘inside’ along with the reduplicated form of the verb suggest that the ripping of the cloth was done repetitively, resulting in several pieces of the fabric.

36. Dàdèwá nó tè-è n’-àtáádéɛ́ nó hó bààbî
nail DEF tear-COMPL 3POSS-dress DEF side somewhere
‘The nail tore a part of his/her dress.’

Unlike example (35), which has its subject slot occupied by an agent, in this example, the instrument, *dàdèwá* ‘nail’ occupies this position and is described as the object that brings about the torn state of the dress in (36). The NP *bààbĭ* ‘somewhere’ also suggests that the tearing did not affect the whole dress, i.e. the dress was not ripped into several parts, but rather, it is only a portion that is affected.

37. Kúúkú ǹhòmá nó nyĭnáá á-tè-tè á-yɛ̀ bàsàà
Kuuku book DEF all PERF-RED-tear PERF-be messy
'All of Kuuku's books are torn and messed up.'

In example (37), there is no representation of the causal agent or the instrument that does the tearing, as seen in examples (35) and (36). The physical properties of the books makes it possible for it to spontaneously tear after a long period of usage.
It was mentioned earlier that the verb *té* 'to tear' describes generic forms of tearing and is not restricted to particular dimensions. Thus the tear could be longitudinal or it could be just a small tear that is not necessarily in a straight line form.
The verb *sùànè* 'to tear in a lengthwise manner' is however used in contexts where the tearing is done in a longitudinal dimension as exemplified in (38) below:

38. Dàdèwá nó á-sùáné mè ǹtómá nó
nail DEF PERF-tear 1POSS close DEF
'The nail has torn my cloth (in a lengthwise dimension).'

In this example, the verb *sùànè* 'to tear in a lengthwise manner' contributes the semantics 'long strip' to the sentence. This means that it was not just any kind of tearing, but rather one that was done in a lengthwise dimension.

II. To Pluck
The verb *té* 'to tear (off)' in context can mean to pluck or harvest fruits, vegetables and other plants , as exemplified in examples (39a.) and (39b.).

39a. M-mófrá nó á-té-té àbòrɔ́fó ǹkátéɛ́ pĭĭ
PL-child DEF PERF-RED-tear Indian almond plenty
'The children have plucked plenty/a lot of Indian almonds.'

b. Àbòrɔ́fó ǹkátéɛ́ nó nyĭnáá á-té-té
Indian almonds DEF all PERF-RED-tear
'All the Indian almonds have fallen (to the ground from the tree).'

Examples (39a) and (39b) illustrate the verb *té* 'to pluck' in the two-place and one-verb construction respectively. In (39a), the causal agents are the children, whereas in (39b), the

almonds are described as spontaneously separating from the tree. This interpretation is similar to the 'pluck' interpretation of the verb *pòrò* discussed in section 6.4.6.

III. To open (make an opening)

The verb *té* 'to tear (off)' is also used in certain contexts to mean 'create an opening in something by separating or pulling apart.' The opening reveals that which is concealed. The following are some examples in Akan.

40a.	Mè-tè-è	krátàá	nó	ánó
	1SG.SUBJ-tear-COMPL	letter	DEF	edge
	'I opened the letter.'			

It seems to be the case that in some of the contexts, in order to derive the 'opening' interpretation, the verb *té* 'to tear (off)' has to collocate with the PostP *ànó́* 'edge', which signifies the part of the entity (i.e. the mouth/edge) that is torn. A different interpretation is derived when the Postposition is omitted, as in:

b.	Mè-tè-è	krátàá	nó
	1SG.SUBJ-tear-COMPL	letter	DEF
	'I tore the letter.'		

The absence of the PostP *ànó́* 'edge' in example (40b) changes the meaning from 'tear open' to simply 'tear' in this context.

Additionally, the verb *té* 'to tear (off)' combines with the body part *ànĭ́* 'eyes' to describe the opening of the eyes as in example (41).

41.	M'à-té	m'-ànĭ́
	1SG.SUBJ-PERF-tear	1POSS-eye
	'I have opened my eyes/ I am awake.'	

This is an event that involves the separation or pulling apart of the both eyelids in order to reveal the eyes (to see).

6.6 CRUSH verbs

This group of verbs does not necessarily involve the use of a sharp instrument. Their semantics can be summarised as "do something to a firm and whole object/substance, after sometime the object/substance sticks together or becomes softer/flat/spongy. It becomes compressible and it is no longer one/whole". The Akan verbs under this category include *pɛ̀kyɛ̀* 'to crush', *twĭ* 'to grind/blend', *yámì* 'to grind/to blend'and *pòtɔ̀* 'to mash'.

Such activities involve a contact between an object and the instrument which produces a change in the theme, i.e. turns it into soft. They lexicalise more of the manner in which the action is carried out than the instrument involved. These activities also require some amount of force exertion in order to get the desired end result.
Their lexicalisation of manner and not instrument allows some of the verbs to alternate between overtly representing an instrument or not. The verbs *pɛ̀kyɛ̀* 'to crush' and *pòtɔ̀* 'to mash' for example are also able to alternate between the One-Place and Two-Place Constructions.
In the subsequent sub-sections, the meanings evoked by these verbs are presented.

6.6.1 Pɛ̀kyɛ̀ 'to crush / squash'

During this event, 'someone uses something to do something with force to an object, after some time, the object becomes pulverized, soft or flat'. The verb collocates with NPs that are delicate in nature for example fruits, vegetables and sometimes animals.

42a. Trɔ̀kò nó pɛ̀kyɛ́-ɛ́ àkùrá nó
truck DEF crush-COMPL mouse DEF
'The truck crushed/squashed the mouse.'

b. Ntós nó á-pɛ̀kyɛ́
tomatoes DEF PERF-crush
'The tomatoes have crushed/squashed (into pulp).'

The above examples illustrate the use of the verb *pɛ̀kyɛ́* in both the Two-Place and One-Place constructions. In (42a) the NP 'truck' is the one that causes the mouse to be crushed. In (42b)

however, there is no causal agent, even though it is understood that the resulting state, i.e. crushed or pulpy was brought about by something.
Apart from the one-place and two-place constructions, the verb can also occur in the *de*-construction to overtly state the instrument involved in the activity or the manner in which the action was carried out.

6.6.2 Pòtɔ̀ / Twí / ǹyám̀ 'to mash / grind / crush'

These verbs are used synonymously to describe the act of crushing, grinding, squashing and pressing an object into pulp. Like the verb *pɛ̀kyɛ́* 'to crush', the NPs that qualify as themes of these verbs exhibit softness in their make up, allowing them to be easily pressed into pulp. Though sometimes used interchangeably there are certain contexts where this does not work. For example, it is only the verb *yàm̀* 'to mash' that can be used to describe the specific crushing processes where bladed machines such as blenders, corn mills etc. are employed in the event. *Pòtɔ̀* 'to mash' and *twǐ* 'to grind' seem to be restricted to objects that are mashed in the local grinding pot or the grinding stone. The verb *ǹyàm̀* can equally be used in such contexts to derive the same interpretation. The verb *pòtɔ̀* 'to mash' can be used to describe the mashing of certain food items such as kenkey, groundnut paste etc., in which case the hands serves as the mashing instrument. The common denominator for these verbs is the fact that the objects they collocate with all possess the 'softness' quality. The following are some examples depicting their usages.

43a. Ɔ̀-ǹyàm̀ màkó wɔ̀ àsánká mú
3SG.SUBJ-mash.HAB pepper LOC grinding bowl inside
'S/he mashes/grinds pepper in the grinding pot.'

b. Ò-tìá bìrìbí wɔ̀ fàm̀ à ná à-pòtɔ́w (Ak. Christaller 1933:405)
3SG-step.HAB something LOC ground COND and PERF-crush
'S/he steps on something on the ground and it is crushed.'

44a. Àbòfrá nó á-twì gyééné nó á-wìé
child DEF PERF-grind onion DEF PERF-finish
'The child has finished grinding the onions.'

b. Ɔ̀-kɔ̀ ǹyáḿ àbúró nó wɔ̀ àfìkyírí hɔ́
3SG.SUBJ-go.HAB grind corn DEF LOC back.yard there
'S/he is going to mill the corn behind the house.'

Examples (43a) and (44a-b) describe various food preparation methods carried out with specific type of instruments. The processes illustrated by examples (43a and 44a) are usually carried out with local/traditional instruments that do not have sharp bladed edges. These include the local grinding pot *àsáŋkáá* or *àyéwá* and a flat edge masher *tàpórĭ* or in some instances grinding stones.

Figure 6.2: Ghanaian grinding bowl[25]

Figure 6.2 shows the grinding bowl and the grinder. Due to technological advancement, there has been a proliferation of blenders and other food processors for carrying out such grinding activities. These electrical appliances are equipped with sharp blades that facilitate the crushing and grinding activities. These have however not wiped out the use of the local devices in Ghanaian homes since the local ones are used side by side in many homes.

Since all three verbs require an agent of some sort to bring about an end result, they do not occur in the one-place construction but rather participate in the Two-Place Construction and the *de*-SVC Construction.

An exception to this are the verbs *pɛ̀kyɛ́* 'to crush' and *pòtɔ̀* 'to mash' that are sometimes used to describe food items that get mashed when they go bad. Perishable food items such as fruits and vegetables are the most common types of NPs that collocate with the two verbs in such one-place constructions. In such contexts, the description focuses on the end result of the fruit or vegetable in question, as exemplified in examples (45a and 45b).

[25] http://africancuisine.about.com/od/Techniques-Used-in-African-Cuisine/fl/The-Asanka-The-Ghanaian-Grinding-Pot.htm (accessed 26-01-2017)

45a. Ǹtós nó à-pɛ̀kyɛ́ (repeated from 41a)
tomatoes DEF PERF-squash
'The tomatoes are squashed/mashed.'

b. Àmángó nó à- pòtɔ̀
mangoes DEF PERF-squashed
'The mangoes are squashed.'

The one-place construction cannot be used in contexts where an instrument was used to carry out the mashing or squashing processes. So for instance, examples (45a and 45b) cannot be used in a situation where one wants to describe the state of tomatoes that were mashed with a local earthenware pot or a blender, this will necessitate the verb's occurrence in the two-place construction.

6.7 'Non-C&B' verb(s) of separation

The verb I discuss in this section; *tú* 'to pull out', is not primarly a C&B verb but it is able to derive a separation or disintegration interpretation in context when it collocates with certain types of NP arguments.

The event described by *tú* 'to pull out' can be done with or without an instrument. The critical thing is that in such contexts, the activity brings about a separation. The verb occurs in the Two-Place Construction and *de*-SVC when it describes a separation done with an instrument. It also occurs in the one-place construction when the event occurs spontaneously. I discuss the interpretations associated with this verb in collocation with different types of arguments in the subsections that follow.

6.7.1 Tú 'to uproot/to open/to pull out or up'

This verb collocates with certain types of plants and food stuffs to describe the acts of completely pulling up or out such plants along with their roots from the ground. Consider as example (46).

46. O-tù-ù bàyéɾɛ́ nó
3SG.SUBJ-uproot-COMPL yam DEF
'S/he uprooted the yam.'

In Akan, apart from using the verb *tú* 'to pull out' to describe the uprooting of plants, it can also be used in relation to the separation of individual maize from a corncob; a process which involves pulling up/out the grains from the cob with the hands as illustrated in Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3: removing corn from cob

The verb is used in the two-place construction in order to express this interpretation, as in example (47a):

47a. O-ò-tù-tú àbùró nó
3SG.SUBJ-PROG-RED-pull out corn DEF
'S/he is pulling out the corn from the cob.' [CS.C&B 73]

b. * Abùró nó á-tú-tú
corn corn PERF-RED-pull out
'The individual corn has been removed.'

This verb is used in the reduplicated form since the whole process is repeated on several grains. Example (47b) is ungrammatical because of the nature of the event i.e. grains do not have the ability to separate spontaneously from the cob and for this reason, the action requires an external agent.
The 'to pull out' interpretation is further illustrated in examples (48a-c):

48a. Abèrántéɛ́ nó tù-ù àwí nó sé
young man DEF pull out-COMPL thief DEF teeth
'The young man pulled out the thief's tooth.'

b. Dàdéɛ́ nó tù-ù né sé
Metal-plier DEF pull out-COMPL 3POSS teeth
'The metal-plier pulled out his tooth.'

c. Nè sé á-tú
3POSS teeth PERF-pull out/uproot
'His/her tooth has fallen out.'

Examples (48a), (48b) and (48c) bring into perspective different aspects of a single situation. In (48a) the pulling out of the teeth is done by an animate entity whereas in (48b), it is caused by an instrument. Nonetheless, they both involve an external force of some sort. The intransitive use of the verb in (48c) describes the teeth as spontaneously falling out. Unlike corn, the teeth has a tendency to fall out at certain stages in life.

Another context where the verb *tú* 'to pull out' is used relates to the opening of bottled and canned foods/drinks. Consider examples (49a-b).

49a. Atá tù-ù béɛ̀ nó só
Ata open-COMPL beer DEF top
'Ata opened the beer.'

b. Atá dè ópɨ̀nà nó tù-ù béɛ̀ nó só
Ata use opener DEF open-COMPL beer DEF top
'Ata opened the beer bottle with a bottle opener.'

Examples (49a) and (49b) describe the separation of a bottle cover from the whole bottle. The *de*-SVC is used in (49b) to show the instrument that was used in the opening. Similarly, (50) refers to the opening of a tin of tomato puree (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5).

50. Pókúá tù-ù ǹtós nó só
Pokua open-COMPL tomato DEF top
'Pokua opened the tomato.' [CS.C&B 67/68]

Figure 6.4: opening an 'easy-open' tin of tomato puree

Figure 6.5: opening a tin of tomato puree with a tin cutter

In Figure 6.4 the tomato puree is opened by pulling up the top cover. In 6.5, however, the opening is done with an instrument. Both events results in a separation which eventually reveals the contents of the tin.

In conclusion, I have argued that the verb *tú* 'pull out' is not primarily a C&B verb. It can however be used in certain contexts to describe separation in entities. The first interpretation of the verb which is 'to pull out', usually involves the use of the hand or an instrument. Objects that collocate with this verb to derive the 'pull out' interpretation include *àbúró* 'corn' and *ɛ̀sé* 'teeth'. The second interpretation relates to the opening of tins and bottles. In such events, one part of the entity is separated by pulling up the removable part of the entity. This can also be done with the hands or an instrument.

6.8 Discussion

In this section I argue that the BREAK verbs in Akan also have properties such as agentivity and physical properties of objects, contributing to the semantic and syntactic behaviours of the verbs.

Agentivity

Following Ameka & Essegbey (2007), the Akan BREAK verbs can be categorised under the Non-Agentive and Highly Non-Agentive classes. It has been argued that the Non-Agentive class primarily describes a type of separation that does not specify the instrument or manner in which the action is brought about. Furthermore, some of the separation events that this group of verbs describes (such as splitting activities) necessarily imply the involvement of a bladed instrument. For this reason, such verbs participate in the causative/inchoative alternation with some restrictions. The requirement of an instrument is largely dependent on the type of NP argument with which the BREAK non-agentive verbs collocate. I argue that Akan has some very limited contexts in which some of its BREAK verbs deviate from the general semantics associated with them and are not able to participate in the causative/inchoative alternation as predicted. Examples of such Non-Agentive verbs in Akan include *bú* 'to break', *bɔ́* 'to break, to crack' and *pàè* 'to split'.

The highly non-agentive verbs incorporate the type of object that undergoes the event described by the verb or the nature of the change. The verbs under this category participate in the causative/inchoative construction fully and without any restriction (Ameka & Essegbey 2007). Examples of highly non-agentive verbs in Akan include *dwìrì* 'to break up, break or pull down, demolish', *pánì* to pluck/pull off/out or to crop off", *pɔ́né* 'to disjoin or separate with some effort', *pòrò* 'to crumble especially of dry things, to pluck', *sèkyè* 'to bend backwards, *sùànè* 'to tear longitudinally' and *té* 'to tear'.

The following examples illustrate some of the restricted contexts in which the non-agentive verbs necessarily require the presence of a causal agent using a bladed object to carry out the action described by the verb. These are however restricted to specific types of NPs that collocate with the BREAK verbs.

51a.	Obî	m̀-mù	dùá	ǹ-ǹyá	só	àbá (Appiah et al. 2007:31)
	no one	NEG-break.HAB	tree	NEG-get	top	seed

'No one fells a tree and expects to reap from it.'

b. Pàpá nó bù-ù dùá nó
man DEF break-COMPL tree DEF
'The man felled the tree.'

c. *Dùá nó bù-ùyɛ̀
tree DEF break-COMPL
'The tree broke.'

In examples (51a-c), when the verb *bú* 'to break' has the NP *dùá* 'tree' as its complement, it can only refer to the felling of tree, a process which can only be carried out with sharp, bladed objects such as the saw and an axe. This interpretation cannot be intransitivized since trees cannot be spontaneously felled and therefore obligatorily require the presence of a causal agent who uses an instrument to carry out the action. Example (51c), can however be used when the aim is to describe instances of a tree collapsing as result of a storm (in which case there is no reference to an instrument).

The argument here is that it is only the interpretation that lacks the involvement of an instrument (in this case sentence 51a), that is allowed to occur in the one-place construction. When the 'to fell' interpretation is implied, then it cannot be intransitivized.

Another context where a quintessential BREAK verb is used to describe an activity that requires a sharp/bladed instrument, is the process of cutting or trimming the finger nails. This is a purposeful cutting event that is done to keep the nails tidy. It is usually done with instruments such as a blade, scissors, nail cutter, nail files etc. It is also possible to break the nails with the hands because of its flexible nature. Example (52) illustrates the use of the verb *bú* and the NP *mmɔ̀wèrɛ̀* 'finger/toe nails' to derive the meaning 'to cut ones nails'.

52. S̀isí bù-bú-ú àbòfrá nó m-mɔ̀wèrɛ̀
Sisi RED-break-COMPL child DEF PL-nail
'Sisi cut the child's nails.'

An interesting thing about this combination is that the verb *bú* 'to break' has to always be in the reduplicated form in order to derive the interpretation 'to cut/trim finger or toe nails'. The whole nail cutting event is a repetitive action done on more than one finger. This explains why the process is described with the verb in a reduplicated form, making the verb *bùbù* the lexicalised

form for the description of this event. This further implies that in the event where only one finger/toe nail is cut, the action can still be described with the reduplicated form of the verb.
When the verb is not reduplicated the interpretation is simply 'to break the finger/toe nail' without the involvement of an instrument. This does not have the interpretation 'do the action purposely'. It is this reading that is able to occur in the one-place and two-place construction, as exemplified below:

53a.	Sĩsĩ	bù-ù	àbòfrá	nó	bɔ̀wèrɛ̀
	Sisi	break-COMPL	child	DEF	nail
	'Sisi broke the child's nail.'				

b.	Abòfrá	nó	bɔ̀wèrɛ̀	bù-ùyɛ̀
	child	DEF	nail	break-COMPL
	'The child's nail broke.'			

In example (53a), the causal agent *Sisi* breaks the nail of the child. For instance, the nail could have gotten broken while *Sisi* was playing with the child, but does not imply that the agent does this with the aim of achieving a specific purpose. This interpretation also does not entail the involvement of an instrument. When expressed in the one-place construction, as in (53b), the idea is that of a spontaneous breaking of the nail. (53b) can be used in a contexts where the child's nail breaks on its own due to its extremely soft nature. The verb in this context can be used in the reduplicated form to present the event as pluractional (i.e. the spontaneous breaking was done repeatedly/ affected more than one finger nail).

We can therefore argue that the verb *bùbù* is the lexicalised verb for describing the process of 'cutting the nails with an instrument'. When used in the monomorphemic form in the one-place construction, it describes a spontaneous breaking of the nails. It is this monomorphemic form that is reduplicated to derive the interpretation of 'several nails breaking spontaneously'.
Apart from the verb *bú* 'to break' which deviates in semantics when it collocates with specific NPs, the BREAK verb *bɔ́* 'to break' also has similar features. As already indicated, this verb is also a BREAK verb in Akan and as such it is able to occur in both the one-place and two-place construction to refer to spontaneous breaking and agent-triggered breaking respectively. An example of each of these constructions is repeated here for the purpose of emphasis and clarity.

54a. Fòsúá bɔ̀-ɔ̀ plɛ́tè nó
Fosua break-COMPL plate DEF
'Fosua broke the plate.'

b. Plɛ́tè nó bɔ̀-ɔ̀yɛ̀
plate DEF break-COMPL
'The plate broke.'

In example (54a), *Fosua* is introduced as the causal agent in the two-place construction, and she is described as the one who causes the plate to break. In (54b) however, the plate is described as breaking on its own without the involvement of an external agent. The reason why the plate is able to break on its own is because of its material composition.
When the same verb *bɔ́* 'to break, to crack' collocates with an NP that does not possess 'spontaneously breakable characteristics' such as *kubé* 'coconut', the verb is not able to occur in the one-place construction as illustrated below.

55a. Fosua bɔ̀-ɔ̀ kùbé nó bí nòm-myɛ̀
Fosua break-COMPL coconut DEF some drink-COMPL
'Fosua cracked open some of the coconut and drunk.'

b. *Kùbé nó bɔ̀-ɔ̀yɛ̀
coconut DEF break-COMPL
'The coconut cracked open.'

The unacceptability of example (55b) is due to the fact that coconut by its nature cannot break spontaneously. It requires some amount of external force before it can crack open.
In Akan, the whole process of peeling the coconut and cracking is described as *bɔ̀ kùbé*. During the data elicitation, there was never an instant where a consultant described Figure 6.6 below, with any of the peel verbs in Akan, even though the process involved a typical peeling activity and was brought about using a bladed instrument. A consultant explained that when the coconut is very dry, the outer covering can be removed by constantly hitting it on a rock. This softens the husk, which is subsequently taken off with the fingers. The cracking of the dried coconut can either be done through the same process, i.e. hitting on the rock, or by using a knife to crack it open.
Figure 6.6 below illustrates the process of peeling coconut.

Figure 6.6: Peeling of coconut

Another BREAK verb which deviates semantically and syntactically when it collocates with a specific type of NP is the verb *pàè* 'to break, split'. This verb, when it collocates with the NP *ègyá* 'firewood' derives the meaning 'to split firewood using an axe'. The reference to the involvement of a sharp bladed instrument prevents this particular interpretation from being used intransitively either to describe the state of the firewood after undergoing the event described the verb or as a way of concealing the agent of the action.

56a. Tàkyí pàé-é ègyá nó
Takyi split-COMPL firewood DEF
'Takyi split the firewood.'

In (56a) the verb *pàé* 'to split' along with the NP *égyá* 'firewood' occur in the two-place construction to derive the interpretation 'split firewood'. The splitting of firewood is usually done with an axe and thus obligatorily requires the presence of a causal agent. This prevents the 'spontaneous splitting' interpretation from being associated with this specific collocation. This explains the ungrammaticality of example (56b) below.

b. *Egyá nó páé-éyɛ̀
firewood DEF spilt-COMPL
'The firewood broke.'

This example cannot be used to describe the state of a firewood that has been split with an instrument. The use of the verb *pàé* 'to split' and NP *égyá* 'firewood' in the one-place construction is only acceptable when the splitting happened without an instrument. For instance,

when the wood becomes so dry that it spontaneously develops cracks. In this context, the one-place construction can be used to describe the state of the firewood.

This is also attested in Ewe by Ameka & Essebgey (2007:246) in relation to verb *dze.* They have also demonstrated that the verb *dze* has some limited contexts in which an instrument is obligatorily required in order to bring about the change of state. They explain that although '*X dze nake'* which means 'X split firewood' is acceptable in Ewe, its inchoative or one-place usage is not acceptable, thus in Ewe, one cannot use '*nake a dze*' which is 'the firewood split' to describe the state of the firewood that has been already split.

With other types of NPs the verb *pàé* 'to break' behaves like a typical BREAK verb and undergoes the causative / inchoative alternation, as demonstrated in examples (57a) and (57b).

57a. Takyi páé-é tòá nó
Takyi break-COMPL bottle DEF
'Takyi broke the bottle.'

b. Tòá nó páé-éyɛ̀
firewood DEF spilt-COMPL
'The bottle broke.'

58a. Tàkyí páé-é bààlún nó
Takyi burst-COMPL balloon DEF
'Takyi burst the balloon.'

b. Bààlún nó páé-éyɛ̀
balloon DEF burst-COMPL
'The balloon burst.'

Both examples (57a-b) and (58a-b), have NPs that are capable of breaking or separating on their own without the involvement of an external force or causal agent. For instance, a bottle can break when it over freezes. In the same vein, a balloon can burst on its own whilst hanging around. It is these features of the NP and the semantics of the verb *pàé* 'to split, burst' that allows such actions to be expressed intransitively. This, therefore, supports the fact that in Akan, the NP objects and their physical properties affect the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the verbs with which they collocate.

The fact that there are instances where BREAK verbs do not intransitivize is not only attested in Akan and Ewe. In Jalonke (central Mande language spoken in the North of Guinea), Luepke (2007: 258) reports that two BREAK verbs: *muNuxun* 'crush, smash' and *wuru* 'crack', have been only attested to occur in transitive argument structures. She concludes that in Jalonke:

> "…it is a matter of future research to determine whether the transitive-only breaks verbs of Jalonke have some meaning components that distinguish them from causativie/inchoative or instransitive verbs of pure state change, whether they must be accepted as idiosyncratic cases, or whether their existence is a mere by-product of Jalonke favoring the lexicalization of events in transitive verb roots"
> (Luepke 2007: 258)

The only difference between what Akan and Ewe exhibit and that which pertains to Jalonke is that, these verbs in Jalonke are inherently transitive and do not occur intransitively (not in any restricted contexts). In Akan and Ewe however, the BREAK verbs occur both transitively and intransitively, except for very restricted contexts where those specific verbs fail to intransitivize as expected.

6.9 Chapter summary

The semantics of Akan BREAK verbs has been the focus of this chapter. The chapter commenced with a summary of the verbs and the constructions in which they each occur. This was followed by a discussion on the general characteristics associated with the BREAK category within the C&B domain. The individual verbs were described under four categories; BREAK, TEAR, OPEN and CRUSH. The syntactic and semantic behaviour of the verbs under each of these categories were thoroughly discussed.

It was argued that Akan exhibits some deviations from the general characteristics cross-linguistically associated with the CUT and BREAK semantic categories, i.e. CUT verbs involve the use of sharp, bladed instruments whereas BREAK verbs lack the use of sharp, bladed instruments. It was discussed that data from Akan point to the fact that there are certain contexts where typical BREAK verbs behave like CUT verbs, in requiring the necessary application of a sharp/bladed instrument in order to achieve the required change of state. The verbs do not only semantically behave like CUT verbs, but also syntactically, those interpretations are not able to occur in the one-place construction.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Non-prototypical usages of C&B verbs in Akan

7.1 Introduction

Chapters five and six focused on the semantics associated with Akan C&B verbs. The discussions centred on how various prototypical NP collocants combine with the verbs in diverse constructions to yield different interpretations. It was pointed out that the prototypical uses of the verbs involve concrete entities. These have given rise to the basic meanings proposed and the extensions of these in context depending on the constructions in which they occur. When the verbs collocate with abstract entities they may yield non-prototypical interpretations. This chapter explores some of the collocations of the verbs with non-typical internal arguments and their derived interpretations.

Following Spalek's (2015) discussion on the atypical collocations of the Spanish verbs *romper* 'to break' and *cortar* 'to cut', it is argued in this chapter that Akan C&B verbs also collocate with non-prototypical objects (i.e. abstract entities) to derive "very productive compositional patterns" (Spalek 2015:36). Crucially, I illustrate how verb-object combinations involving C&B verbs interact with constructions in order to express distinct, contextual interpretations of the verb phrases. In support of the prototype meaning analysis, it is proposed that the semantics of the verbs and the prototypical objects extend to the non-prototypical usages of the C&B verbs.
The present chapter aims at showing how one can derive such interpretations from the abstract combinations, while still maintaining the prototypical semantics associated with the C&B verbs. Allan (2012), for instance, stresses the importance of default semantics of lexical items for pragmatic analysis by arguing that:

> Pragmatics within the lexicon is largely an addition to the semantic specification; for instance, it is useful to identify the default meanings and connotations of listemes. Default meanings are those that are applied more frequently by more people and normally with greater certitude than any alternatives.(Allan 2012: 228)

The various types of atypical arguments that the verbs select and the derived contextualized interpretations are also explored in this chapter. It is argued that the atypical internal arguments of the verbs also place certain selectional restrictions on the types of subject NPs allowed in the argument structure constructions.

For the purpose of the present discussion, I select verbs that have extensive collocational usages, following Christaller's (1933) representation of the lexicon. A verb each is selected from these categories: BREAK, CUT and TEAR (presented in chapters five and six) and discussed. The verbs to be discussed in this chapter are *bú* 'to break', *twá* 'to cut', *té* 'to tear' and *pàè* 'to split, burst'.

The chapter is structured as follows: section 7.2 serves as an introduction to the derivation of combinatorial patterns of the C&B verbs. Sections 7.3, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 explore the various ways in which *bú* 'to break', *twá* 'to cut', *té* 'to tear' and *pàè* 'to split, burst'interact with atypical NPs in specific constructions to derive specialized interpretations. The findings and concluding remarks are provided in section 7.7.

7.2 Combinatorial diversity of C&B verbs in Akan

In this section, I discuss the types of complements that the C&B verbs in Akan combine with to derive various interpretations. It is argued that not only do they occur with physical objects, but they also combine with atypical entities to describe "distinct kinds of eventualities like processes and states" (Spalek 2015: 37). Four things are highlighted here. From a constructional perspective, it is first and foremost argued that most of the collocations (there are some limited cases of clause-type collocations) are instantiations of a higher VP construction. This VP construction further breaks down into various sub-constructions which combine with specific types of atypical NP complements to derive the structure [V NP $_{\text{(from a particular semantic class)}}$].

Secondly, the specific interpretations that are derived from these constructions are a combination of the semantics of the verb and that of the atypical NPs with which they pair. Furthermore, the rich combinatorial patterns exhibited by the C&B verbs in such atypical contexts can be mapped on to the core/basic meanings of the verbs already identified in chapters five and six i.e. the core meanings of the verbs are maintained even in the atypical combinatorial patterns. Finally, it is argued that a bulk of the collocations occur as fixed expressions, with fixed orders that cannot be syntactically altered. Such fixed expressions stand on their own as individual constructions with specific specialized meanings.

7.3 Collocations of *bú* 'to break'

The verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan, has been identified to have the semantics, "something happens to something at a point in time. After sometime, this thing is no longer whole. This thing ends up in two or more parts. "

In Akan, this semantics interacts with the meanings of internal abstract arguments, semantically characterized as events, processes, states, temporal sequence, body parts, liquids, numerical concepts, norms etc., to derive interpretations such as 'to cease/terminate/end/, 'to break a norm', 'to measure', 'to break boundaries', and so on. Constructionally, the verb requires NP arguments of specific semantic characteristics in order to derive the specialized interpretation.

In the sub-sections that follow, examples of the types of atypical arguments with which the *bú* 'to break' collocates and how they generate their interpretations are discussed.

7.3.1 [V NP (liquids)]: to measure, transfer from mass into another

The verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan collocates with the NP (liquid) to derive the specialized interpretation 'to measure/ transfer from mass/whole into another'. The collocations under this category relate to the basic meaning of *bú* 'to break' by describing the act of taking a part/portion of a liquid from a place and putting it in another place. During such actions, the portions of the liquid are measured and separated from a mass using measuring instruments such as cups, buckets and bottles.

In Akan, the types of NPs that can undergo such measurements/transfer include *ǹsúó* 'water', *ǹgó* 'palm-oil', *pɛ́tró* 'petrol' etc.

Examples (1a) illustrate the use of [*bú* 'to break' + NP (liquid)] to express liquid measurements and transfers.

1a. O-bù- ù pipe no
3SG.SUBJ-break-COMPL pipe.water give
'S/he fetched the pipe-water (Literal: She broke the pipe).'

In interactions, when people request others to do things for them (in this case, to fetch water), they use a combination of the [*bú* 'to break' + NP (liquid)] and other constructions such as SVCs,

as exemplified in (1b-c).

b. Bù ǹsúó má mè
break water give 1SG.OBJ
'Fetch water for me (Literal: Break water give me!).'

c. Bù pipe má mè
break pipe.water give 1SG.OBJ
'Fetch pipe-water for me (Literal: Break pipe give me!).'

In (1b), the expression *bú ǹsúó* 'lit. break water' is only used to describe the fetching of water from a tap and can therefore not be used in contexts where the water is fetched from a river, stream or well. There is a metonymic (part-whole relation) representation of the same 'water fetching' concept in (1c). In (1b) the NP *pipe* represents the entity (whole) that contains the water (part). The NP 'pipe' is metonymically used to represent liquid. The description of the pipe as being broken is used to depict the 'opening' of the object (pipe; [+solid] object), which results in the flow of the water. It is the 'opening' process (resulting in the exposure of the pipe's internal content) that accounts for the use of the verb *bú* 'to break'. Since water bodies such as rivers, wells, and lakes, do not have such 'opening' characteristics they cannot be described with the verb *bú* 'to break'.

The collocation *bú ǹsúó* 'break water' can also be used euphemistically to describe the act of urinating. So in Akan, if one wants to convey the idea of 'going to urinate' s/he can use the expression in example (2):

2. Mè-è kɔ̀ bú ǹsúó
1SG.SUBJ-PROG go break water
'I am going to urinate (euphemism) (Literal: I am going to fetch water).'

3a. O-bù-ù pɛ́tró mà-à drɔ́bà nó
3SG.OBJ-break-COMPL petrol give-COMPL driver DEF
'S/he (fuel attendant) measured petrol for the driver /S/he fueled the driver's car.
(Literal: S/he broke petrol and gave the driver).'

b. Màámé nó bù-bú ǹgò tɔ́ǹ
woman DEF RED-break palm-oil sell
'The woman sells palm-oil in portions. (Literal: The woman breaks palm oil and sells).'

The verb *bú* 'to break' is used in example (3a) to describe the process of fueling a car. The quantity that is measured/purchased is omitted in this context since it is clearly understood that the fuel attendant measures a specific quantity of the petrol (a portion from the whole) into the driver's car. In the same vein, the activity described in example (3b) also involves the separation/transfer of a portion of palm-oil from one source into another. Notice the use of the reduplicated form of the verb in this example. The essence of this is to present the event as pluractional.

7.3.2 [V NP (norm)]: transgressing a particular norm by a [+human]

Akan, like English and Spanish (cf. Spalek 2015), uses the BREAK verb to describe the act of disobeying rules and norms. Examples of nouns that collocate with the verb *bú* 'to break' to derive this interpretation include *àsɛ́mì* 'matter' and *mìmìrá* 'law'. The choice of the BREAK verb derives from the fact that concepts like laws and norms are comparable to physical objects that are whole/unified. When there is a break in physical objects, the outcome is a disintegration, which eventually leads to a non-functionality of the object. Similarly, laws and norms are a unified set of conventions implemented for the purpose of creating order/harmony/unity in a community. They become non-functional when they are disobeyed or transgressed.

Consider examples (4a-b):

4a. Mé-núá! wó-á-bù mìmìrá
1POSS-sibling 2SG.SUBJ-PERF-break law
'My brother/sister, you have broken a law.'

b. Abòfrá m̀-mú n-àwófóɔ́ ásɛ́m̀ só
child NEG-break 3POSS-parents matter top
'A child does not break his/her parent's order (does not disobey his/her parents).'
(Literal: a child does not break the top of his/her parent's matter). '

In both examples, the verb *bú* 'to break' represents the disintegration of a once whole entity (in this case the law). The semantics of the verb *bú* 'to break' interacts with that of law to derive the

interpretation ‘to transgress a particular law/norm’. The nature of the internal argument, *law*, places some restrictions on the type of NPs that are allowed to fill the subject slot of the construction. It is the case that such constructions, take only [+ human] entities.

7.3.3 [V NP (temporal concepts, numerals/account/money depicting themes)]: to count/calculate

The verb *bú* ‘to break’ combines with NP arguments that describe temporal concepts, numbers and money related entities. Such NPs in Akan include *ǹ-ná* ‘day(s)’, *m̀-fíé* ‘years’, *àkóǹtàà* ‘account’, *ká* ‘debt’. The combination of the verb *bú* ‘to break’ and such NPs derives the specialized meaning ‘to count/ to calculate’.

Akan

5a. Ayíé ásé tú wɪ̀é ànsà yɛ̀-à-bù ká
funeral under uproot.HAB finish before 3PL.SUBJ-PERF-break debt
‘A funeral ends before expenses are calculated.’

b. Mè né wó wɔ̀ ǹkóntá bú
1SG.SUBJ and 2SG.SUBJ have.HAB account break.HAB
‘You and I have accounts to settle.’ (Literal: You and I have accounts to break).

c. Bù wó m̀-fié á wó-á-nyá má mè
break.HAB 2POSS PL-year REL 2SG.SUBJ-PERF-get give.HAB 1SG.OBJ
‘Calculate your age for me/ let me know your age.’(Literal: Break your ages that you have received and give to me).

The use of the verb *bú* ‘to break’ in examples (5a-c) can be accounted for by the fact that culturally, counting involves the use of the fingers. It is a common practice in the Ghanaian context to bend (which is also a form of breaking) the knuckles during counting activities. The Akan way of counting involves the use of the fingers and sometimes the toes. Westerman (1930:101) for instance reports that in Ewe (also applicable to Akan):

> … people count on the outstretched fingers, beginning with the little finger of the left hand, each finger being **bent** by the forefinger of the right hand as it is counted; the right hand is used next, and then one begins, or else, squatting on the ground, one

counts the toes with the little finger of the right hand….[26] (Westerman 1930:101)

The use of these collocations has spread from Akan to other Ghanaian languages such as Ga and Ewe (both Kwa languages). It appears that Ga and Ewe have borrowed the collocation in its entirety i.e. the [*bú* 'to break' + NP] construction. Note however that even though both languages have specific verbs that are equivalent to the Akan *bú* 'to break', the Akan forms are still employed in such contexts. A few phonological changes in the form of the verb *bú* 'to break' occur in the Ga and Ewe usages. Examples (6-7) demonstrate how such collocations occur in Ga and Ewe.

Ga

6a. Ɛ-bù àkɔ̀ǹtáá (Dakubu 2009:54)
3SG.SUBJ-break account
'S/he did the account (arithmetic). (Literal: S/he broke the account).'

b. Ɛ-bù-ɔ̀ nyɔ̀jì lɛ̀ ànàà (Dakubu 2009:54)
3PL.SUBJ-break-HAB debts DEF sum
'S/he calculated the debts. (Literal: S/he breaks the debts)'

Ewe

7. Ɛ-bù àkɔ̀ǹtáá
3SG.SUBJ-break account
'S/he did the account (arithmetic). (Literal: S/he breaks account).'

Both the Ga and Ewe examples in (6a) and (7), consist of the [bu + akɔntaa] combination, which has already been argued as a borrowed construction from Akan. Not only do the Ga and Ewe verbs collocate with the NP *àkɔ̀ǹtáá*, but like Akan, they also take other forms of NPs such *nyɔ̀jì* 'debts'(6b) in order to express the 'to count/ to calculate' interpretation.

It is must be pointed out that the constructions discussed so far relate to those instances where the combination of the verb *bú* 'to break' and the abstract entities yield interpretations that are immediately transparent/straightforward (i.e. interpretations that are derived from the interaction of the verb, its internal argument and the constructions in which they occur), making them easy

[26] The bending direction may vary from person to person. For instance some people may bend the fingers forward whiles others will do the opposite (backward). What is crucial here is the fact there is a bending or breaking of the once straight and upright fingers.

to account for within the prototype analysis.

There are however other forms of collocations where abstract entities such as *àdéɛ́* 'thing', the adjective *kɛ̀séɛ́* 'big' combine with the verb *bú* 'to break' to describe states of people being dependable, respectful or honorable and so on. There are two types of constructions that derive this interpretation. The first is [*bú* 'to break' + NP (+human) + adjective (*kɛ̀séɛ́*)] and the second represented as [*bú* 'to break' + NP (-human *àdéɛ́* 'thing')].

Examples (8a-b) illustrate this interpretation in the [*bú* 'to break' + NP $_{+human}$ + (adjective)] and [*bú* 'to break' + NP (-human *àdéɛ́* 'thing')], respectively.

[V NP $_{[+human]}$ adjective]

8a. Mè bù màámé nó kɛ̀séɛ́
1SG.SUBJ break woman DEF big
'I hold the woman in high esteem.' (Literal: I break the woman big).

b. Mè bù màámé nó
1SG.SUBJ break woman DEF
'I hold the woman in high esteem/I respect the woman.' (Literal: I break the woman).

[*bú* 'to break' + NP (*àdéɛ́* 'thing')]
c. Ménsímá bù àdéɛ́ páá
Mensima break thing very
'Mensima is very respectful.' (Literal: Mensima breaks thing very well).

Note that in examples 8(a-c), the derived interpretations do not result from the compositionality of the semantics of the verb and its internal arguments.

A second type of constructions; [V NP $_{(utterance/pronouncements/judgments)}$] also derives specialized meanings/interpretations that cannot be linked to the semantics of individual components (i.e. the verb and its internal arguments) of the constructions. The NPs that occur in such slots can be semantically characterised as those nouns that are employed as speech acts (utterances, pronouncement, judgments etc.). Akan examples of such nouns include *bɛ́mì* 'innocence', *fɔ́* 'guilt', *àtɛ́mì* 'judgement'. The combination of the verb *bú* 'to break' and these NPs derive the interpretation 'to make a declaration/proclamation'. Each of the collocations is illustrated in examples (9a-c).

7.3.4 [V NP (utterances, pronouncements, judgments)]: to make a declaration/ proclamation

9a. Ɔtɛ̀nmùàfòɔ́ nó bù-ù nò bém̀
judge DEF break-COMPL 3SG.OBJ innocence
'The judge acquitted him/her of an accusation.' (Literal: The judge broke him innocent).

b. O-bù-ù nò fɔ́
3SG.SUBJ-break-COMPL 3SG.OBJ guilt
'He found him guilty.' (Literal: S/he broke him guilty).

c. O-bù-ù nò àtɛ́ǹ
3SG.SUBJ-break-COMPL 3SG.OBJ judgment
'He judged him.' (Literal: S/he broke him judgement).

All three examples illustrate the [V NP (utterance/pronouncements/judgments)] construction. I argue for a homonymous account of the use of the verb *bú* 'to break' in these types (examples 8-9) of constructions since the overall interpretations cannot be said to be related to the basic sense associated with the verb and its internal argument. Most of these construction types are used as idioms in the Akan.

7.3.5 [V (NP) PP(so)]: breaking boundaries, abundance, going beyond the limit

Apart from occurring in [V NP] constructions, the verb *bú* 'to break' collocates with PP to form the [V (NP) PP] construction. The postpositional phrase construction is headed by *so* 'top' which takes an NP complement. It is this NP complement whose boundary is described as being exceeded in such constructions. The combination of the verb and the PP (so 'top, upper surface') derive the interpretation 'to break boundaries/to go beyond the expected limit/abundance'. The PP *só* in Akan refers to the top/upper part of an entity or object. The image that is created is that of a break in the top part of an object.

The NP complement in the construction can either be overtly or covertly represented. In contexts where the NP complement is covertly represented, its reference is contextually derived (i.e. it may be referred to in the previous/preceding discourse).

The abstract NP combines with the verb in this type of construction to derive the interpretation

'break boundaries, go beyond the time, to be abundant'. Examples (10a-b) illustrate this point:

10a. Adwúmá yí á-bù mè ǹsá só (Christaller 1933:49)
task DEM PERF-break 1POSS hand top
'This work is too much for my strength (This work is beyond my strength).'
(Literal: This work has broken the top of my hands).

b. Ǹsúó nó á-bù só
water DEF PERF-break top
'The water has gone beyond the limit (of the container)/overflowing.'
(Literal: The water has broken the top).

Example (10a) describes the NP *àdwúmá* 'work' as exceeding the limit that can be handled by the body part *ǹsá* 'hand'. The NP *ǹsá* 'hands' is used in this context to represent the bodypart used in carrying out the task in question. The 'hand' metonymically stands for the strength (the whole) that is used in carrying out the task. The task is thus described as exceeding the capacity that can be handled by the hands (i.e. the task exceeding the individual's strength limit). This PP (*so* 'top) in the [VP PP $_{(so)}$] contributes to this interpretation by indicating the part of the entity that is exceeded or broken, in this case, the top. The same holds for example (10b) which describes the NP *ǹsúó* 'water' as breaking the boundary or going over the limit/top of the container that holds it.

To be common

There is a sub-construction of the [V PP$_{(so\ 'top')}$] which occurs without the PP *só* 'top'. The combination of the NP complement and the verb derives the interpretation 'to be common'. This interpretation also includes the concept of abundance or limit breaking. For instance, when there is excessive production of a particular dress or gadget (mobile phones), the result is that the item becomes common and almost every one owns it. Example (11) illustrates this usage:

11. Atààdéɛ́ yí á-bù
dress DEM PERF-break
'This dress is common.' (Literal: This dress has broken).

The only difference between this type of construction and the [V $PP_{(so\ 'top')}$] is the absence of the postpositional phrase. In this context, the part of the object that is broken or exceeded is contextually derived.

In comparison to the prototypical usage of the verb *bú* 'to break', the following conclusions can be drawn. Breaking events in Akan that involve physical objects and entities are able to occur with various types of NPs as causes: agents, natural forces, instruments, events, stative eventualities etc. However, when the verb occurs with an NP such as those discussed so far, there seems to be some form of selectional restrictions that the abstract NP objects place on the type of causes that can fill the subject slot of such constructions. In such constructions, only agents are allowed to occupy the subject position. Spalek (2015) observes a similar pattern in Spanish with regards to the verb *romper* 'to break'. The following Spanish examples (12a-b) depict this:

12a. Juan/ el hacha/ el huracán/ el peso de los libros/ la explosion rompió la mesa.

Juan/ the axe/ the hurricane/ the weight of the books/ the explosion broke the table

'Juan/ the axe/ the hurricane/ the weight of the books/ the explosion broke the table.'

(Spalek 2015:41)

b. Juan/ #la rueda/ #el accidente/ #la anchura de la piscina/ #la explosion rompio la ley/ la norma.

Juan/ the wheel/ the accident/ the width of the swimming pool/ the explosion broke the law/ the norm

'Juan/ #the wheel/ #the accident/ #the width of the swimming pool/ #the explosion broke the law/ the norm.' (Spalek 2015:41)

According to Spalek (2015:41) "this restriction with respect to the cause argument of abstract *romper*-events, however, is not an across the board restriction, since there are actually many abstract breakings that do allow for a whole range of causes". This can be observed in example (11) where the subject slot is filled by a physical NP *àtààdéɛ́* 'dress' and yet its combination with the *bú* 'to break' derives the abstract interpretation 'to be common/ abundant'.

7.4 Collocations of *twá* 'to cut'

Christaller (1933:544) for example reports of the verb *twá* 'to cut' that "many of the different meanings of this word may in a generalizing way, be reduced to this; pass (move or cause to move) in a line, especially in an effective movement through (on, over, across, along, by the side of) anything'. In consonance with the NSM (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2015), the semantics of the Akan verb *twá* 'to cut' can be summarized as "someone is doing something to something for sometime. This someone is doing it with something else (instrument). If someone does this to something for some time, this thing will create an incision or come into two or more parts".

In this section, it is argued that it is this semantics that is extended into the non-prototypical usages of the *twá* 'to cut' verb. The collocations occur in higher schema VP construction, taking specific types of internal NP complements. The NPs that the verb semantically combines with to describe abstract forms of cutting include events/processes/activities/states, water bodies, body parts, entities/locations, substances that add taste to food, temporal sequence and units of measurement. Apart from collocating with NPs from these semantic categories, the verb *twá* 'to cut' also collocates with the post-positional phrases headed by different types of PPs.

The subsequent sections present the combinatorial interpretations of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in the various constructions.

7.4.1 [V NP **(events/processes/activities/states)** PP$_{(so\ 'top',\ to\text{ɔ}\ 'bottom')}$]: terminate/cease/end, cut short, reduce

The verb *twá* 'to cut' forms combinatorial patterns with NPs that semantically represent events, processes, activities, states, to derive the interpretation 'to terminate/to cease/end/cut short/reduce' a state or activity that has the tendency to continue. When physical objects undergo cutting activities, the cut objects end up divided, depending on the part of the object/entity that undergoes the cutting event, there could be a reduction in length or size. It is this meaning that is implied when the cutting verb is used to describe NPs that refer to processes, activities and certain states. The NPs that undergo the abstract cutting are depicted as either being reduced in duration or terminated. Examples (13) and (14) demonstrate the combination of the verb *twá* 'to cut' and the abstract NPs which represent events/processes, activities and states.

13. Mààmé nó á-twà àwóɔ́
woman DEF PERF-cut child birth
'The woman has stopped bearing children (her fertility period has ended).'
(Literal: The woman has cut child birth).

In Akan, the [V (NP) PP$_{(so\ 'top',\ to\mathfrak{o}\ 'bottom')}$] construction derives the interpretation 'to cease/to end/to reduce etc.' The PPs in this construction indicate the part of the entity that undergoes the abstract cutting. The PP is dropped sometimes as in example (13), in which the construction is [V NP $_{(events/processes/activities/states)}$]. Examples (14a-b) illustrate the use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in the [V (NP) PP $_{(so\ 'top',\ to(\mathfrak{o})\ 'bottom')}$] construction to denote the 'cessation' of an event/processes, states, activities.

14a. W'àsɛ́m̀ wà dódó nà twà só
2POSS'matter be.long too much so cut top
'You talk too much, cut it (your speech) short.' (Literal: Your matter is long so cut its top).

b. N'àmáné nó tó bé-twá (Christaller 1933:545)
3POSS-trials DEF bottom FUT-cut
'His trials will soon be ended/ His trials will soon come to an end.' (Literal: The bottom of his/her trials will be cut).

In example (14a), an agent (who is not overtly mentioned in this discourse) is advised to cut his/her speech short. The PP *só* 'top' which occurs in the second clause introduced by the *ná* conjunction is co-referential with the NP *àsɛ́m̀* 'matter' in the first clause. It is this NP that is described by the adjective *wà* 'long' and which also undergoes the abstract cutting. The NP *àsɛ́m̀* 'matter' is compared to a physical object that is long in its dimensions. The same can be said of example (14b), where the state of misery is likened to a physical object that also undergoes an envisaged cutting that will eventually lead to an end of that particular state. In both examples, the abstract NPs precede the VP and PP. Both the semantics of PP $_{(so\ 'top')}$ and PP$_{(to'bottom')}$ interact with the verb meaning to derive the 'termination/cessation' interpretation illustrated by examples (14a and 14b).

Another context where the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs in the one-place construction is when it collocates with NPs such as *ǹsúó/kànéá* 'water/light'and *mógyá* 'blood' to derive the

contextualised meaning ‘to cease to flow or to cause a cessation in a constant supply of something’ as demonstrated in the following examples:

c. ECG-fóɔ́ à-twá ǹ-kànéá nó mú
ECG-workers PERF-cut PL-light DEF inside
‘The workers of the Electricity Cooperation of Ghana have cut off (= disconnected) the lights.’

7.4.2 [V NP (water bodies, (location: road)]: to cross

Christaller’s (1933:544) posits that the verb *twá* ‘to cut’ can “be reduced to this; pass (move or cause to move) in a line, especially in an effective movement through (on, over, across, along, by the side of) anything’. When physical objects are cut, two things happen: movement of the bladed instrument from one point of the object to another point. This movement creates an incision (line) on the object. It can be argued that when one moves across things like road, water body, there is actually a movement from one point to another, and for that matter there is a creation of an abstract line/incision. This concept is what is at play when Akans use the verb *twá* ‘to cut’ in combination with NPs such as *ǹsúó* ‘water body’ or *(è)kwáǹ* ‘road’. The derived interpretation of this combination is ‘to cross’.

15a. Mè-twà-à kwáǹ nó mú kɔ̀-ɔ̀ sùkúú
1SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL road/street DEF inside go-COMPL school
‘I crossed the road and went to school.’ (Literal: I cut into the road and went to school).

b. M̀-m̀ɔ̀frá nó twá ǹsúó dáá kɔ́ sùkúú
PL-child DEF cut.HAB river always go.HAB school
‘The children always cross a river in order to go to school.’ (Literal: The children cut water always and go to school).

We notice that in example (15a), there is an inclusion of a PP *mú* ‘inside’, which is absent in examples (15b). The *mú* ‘inside’ brings about a difference in the use of the [VP + *kwáǹ* ‘road’] collocation present in example (16 discussed in 7.4.3) and (15a). The ‘crossing road’ concept can only be expressed when there is *mú*. When the PP *mú* is absent, the derived interpretation is ‘to travel’ (discussed in 7.4.3).

7.4.3 [V NP (entity: road)]: to travel/ to journey/to move around

According to the Christaller's definition provided in 7.4.2, the movement does not necessarily have to be across, or one that creates a line, but it could also be along or by the side of entities such as *ǹsúó* 'water body' or *ɛ̀kwáǹ* 'road'. When the movement is along or by the side of such NPs, a slightly different semantics is derived. Such contexts refer to the act of 'traveling or moving around' an entity.

16.

Mè-twà-à	kwáǹ	kɔ̀-ɔ̀	hɔ̀
1SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL	road	go-COMPL	there
nànsó	m'à-n-kɔ̀-tó	nò	
but	1SG.SUBJ-PERF-NEG-go-meet	3SG.OBJ	

'I went all the way there, but met his/her absence.' (Literal: I cut the road and went there but I did not go and meet him).

7.4.4 [V NP (body part *ano* 'mouth')]: to interrupt/cut short

When physical objects are cut, there is a break in continuity. Similarly, the verb *twá* 'to cut' collocates with the NP *ànó* 'mouth' to derive the interpretation 'to interrupt/cut short a speech'. This occurs when the continuous progress of a person's speech is stopped by another person for a period, either by something said or done by this other person. Consider example (17):

17.

Mé	ǹ-twá	w'-ànó
1SG.SUBJ	NEG-cut	2POSS-mouth

'I do not intend to interrupt your speech/cut your speech short.' (Literal: I will not cut your mouth).

The use of the body part *ànó* 'mouth' in this example illustrates a metonymic relationship where the mouth (the part of the body that is used for speaking) represents the whole speaking event. It is this body part (speech) that is described as being cut by the other person.

7.4.5 [V NP (entities: journey)]: to cut short/ to cease

Another instance of the 'reduction, cut short' interpretation of the verb *twá* 'to cut' is when it collocates with journey/travel related NPs as exemplified in (18).

18. Abòfrá nó yáréɛ́ nó éntí
child DEF illness DEF so
n'àwófóɔ́ nó twà-à àkwáǹtúó nó só
3POSS'parents DEF cut-COMPL trip DEF top
'Due to the child's illness, the parents cut the trip short.' (Literal: Due to the child's illness, the parents cut the top of the trip).

The trip referred to in example (18) is described as being brought to an end (where there is a reduction in duration) as a result of the child's illness.

7.4.6 [V NP (sugar/salt (tasty substances)]: excessiveness/too much/ breaking boundary

In sub-section 7.3.5, it was argued that the verb *bú* 'to break' in Akan combines with specific types of NPs to express 'boundary breaking' by entities. The verb *twá* 'to cut' also combines with specific types of NPs to derive this 'boundary breaking' interpretation. The types of NP collocants of *twá* 'to cut' include *ǹkyéné* 'salt', *àsīkyìré* 'sugar' (substances that add taste to food). Their combination with the verb *twá* 'to cut', gives the meaning 'excessive amount of sugar or salt in food'. In such contexts the substances are considered as going beyond their required limit resulting in a break in boundary. Example (19a) and (19b) serve as illustrations of this:

19a. Asíkyìré á-twá àdùàné nó mú
sugar PERF-cut food DEF inside
'There is excessive sugar in the food/ the sugar has exceeded the food.' (Literal: Sugar has cut into the food).

b. Nkyéné á-twà ǹkwán nó mú
salt PERF-cut soup DEF inside
'There is excessive salt in the food/ the salt has exceeded the food.' (Literal: Salt has cut into the food).

Both examples (19a) and (19b) have the NPs *àsīkyìré* 'sugar' and *ǹkyéné* 'salt' combining with the semantics of the verb *twá* 'to cut' to present the substances as exceeding the limits required in order to make the food/soup tasty. We notice that both examples occur with the PP *mú* 'inside', showing exactly where the salt and sugar are placed, i.e. inside the food.

7.4.7 [V NP (temporal sequence)]: elapsing of time (crossing boundaries)

Another type of 'boundary crossing/breaking' interpretation is brought about when the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs with NPs that semantically encode temporal sequence such as *(ɛ̀)mméré* 'time/era', *ǹnà́* 'days', *m̀fĭ́é* 'years' and so on. The combination of *twá* 'to cut' and NPs of such nature refers to situations that describe the elapsing of time. In this type of construction, the time relating NPs are expressed as going beyond an expected duration, as is the case in example (20a) and (20b).

20a. Né m̀-m̀éré á-twá-m̀
3POSS PL-time/era PERF-cut-inside
'Its time has elapsed (It is out of vogue).' (Literal: His/her time has cut into it).

b. Ɔ̀-mà-à ǹ-ná mmĭ̀énú twà-á-m̀
3SG.SUBJ-make-COMPL PL-day two cut-COMPL-inside
ànsà ɔ̀-ɔ́-kɔ́ hɔ́
before 3SG.SUBJ-PROG-go there
'S/he allowed two days to go by before going there/Two days elapsed before s/he went there.' (Literal: S/he made two days cut into it before s/he went there).

In examples (20a) and (20b), the duration of a process is presented as exceeding a certain limit (or out of vogue). In such contexts, it is understood that a process or concept crosses over from a point in time into another. In (20a) the theme of the verb is described as being out of vogue, meaning that the entity/concept has moved from one era into another or that it has gone beyond its expected time. In the same vein, (20b) shows that the agent allows a certain number of days to go by before carrying out an activity. The crucial thing is that in both examples, there is 'a going beyond' idea implied.

7.4.8 [V (NP) (unit of measurement)]: measure an amount

In this type of construction, the verb *twá* 'to cut' combines with NPs that describe 'units of measurement' to derive the meaning 'measure an amount of a +liquid/+alcohol' object. The use of the *twá* 'to cut' verb results from the idea of separating a portion (measured amount) of an alcoholic substance from another source. This usage is similar to that of the verb *bú* 'to break' discussed in sub-section 7.3.1.

21. Mé núá! twà mè kɔ́tá!
1POSS sibling cut 1.OBJ quarter
'My brother, give me a tot (of gin).' (Literal: My brother/sister, cut me a quarter)

This is a popular request used in bars and drinking spots in the Akan speaking communities as well as some other parts of Ghana. This expression is often used when people want to purchase a portion of alcohol, usually strong liquors such as gin. The verb *bú* 'to break' can also be used in this context to derive the same interpretation and for this reason it is very common to have people alternating between the two verbs i.e. *bú* 'to break' and *twá* 'to cut'.

Furthermore, example (21) illustrates the use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in a three-place construction. In this construction, there is an agent who cuts (= measure) a portion of alcohol for an another person. This is a rather rare use of the verb in the sense that *twá* 'to cut' throughout this study has been argued to occur in the two-place and one-place constructions. The ditransitive use of the verb focuses on the transfer of an object from a source to a recipient (Goldberg 1995, Levin 1993). It seems to be the case that the ditransitive/three-place construction is only applicable in this kind of context i.e. where the verb collocates with atypical NP arguments (specifically NPs that express units of measurements), and for this reason, the verb's occurrence in ditransitive (three-place) construction was not discussed in Chapter 5 (which focuses on CUT verbs occurring with prototypical NP arguments).

7.4.9 [V (NP) PP (ho 'body')]: to pass, overtake, outstrip (movement)

Apart from taking NPs as internal arguments, the verb *twá* 'to cut' also collocates with postpositional phrases headed by specific PP in order to derive particular contextual interpretations. The examples of PPs that head the postpositional phrases include *hó* 'body (outer surface of an object)' and *mú* 'inside'. The meaning that is derived from the combinatorial patterns these PPs form with the verb *twá* 'to cut' is 'to pass, overtake, outstrip'. Recall that Christaller (1933) definition of the verb *twá* 'to cut' presented in 7.4 includes the concept of movement. It is this 'movement' meaning that accounts for the use of the verb *twá* 'to cut' in examples (22a) and (22b):

22a. Ò-twà-à nè hó kɔ̀-ɔ̀ fíé
3SG.SUBJ-cut-COMPL 3POSS body go-COMPL home
'S/he passed by him and went home.' (Literal: S/he cut him/her self and went home).

b. Wò-à-twá né nyíní hó (Christaller 1933: 545)
3SG.SUBJ-PERF-cut 3POSS growth body
'S/he has gone beyond her age (of doing something).' (Literal: S/he has cut his/her growth's body).

In example (22a), the [twa + ho] construction expresses the idea of an agent going past another person before going home. Example (22b) describes what can be seen as a physical movement of an individual across certain age limit i.e. where age is conceptualised as a path along which people traverse. The interpretation derived in this construction is that of an individual going beyond the required age of doing something, thereby, break/crossing a limit/boundary.

7.4.10 [V PP (mu 'inside')]: to cross out, cancel.

The [V PP (mu)] also collocates with other forms of NPs to derive the meaning 'to cancel or to cross out'. This interpretation is derived from the fact when physical objects are cut; an incision (a line) is made on the object. Similarly, a written form is cancelled or crossed out by drawing a line through it. The result/effect of crossing out what is written is that the thing becomes non-existent, invalid, and null. It is this concept that is applied to the abstract forms of cancellation that refers to the annulling of planned events. Examples of NPs that the verb *twá* 'to cut' combines with to derive the 'cross out, cancel' interpretation include *ǹhyìámì* 'meeting', *ǹsɔ́hwɛ́* 'examination', *ǹtwèrɛ̀ɛ́* 'writings'. Examples (24a-c) demonstrate this:

23a. Baah twĭ-twá-à ǹsèmfùá nó mú
Baah RED-cut-COMPL sentences DEF inside
'Baah crossed out/ cancelled all the sentences.' (Literal: Baah cut into the sentences).

b. WAEC[27] twà-à ǹsɔ́hwɛ́ nó mú
WAEC cut-COMPL examination DEF inside
'The West African Examinations Council (WAEC) cancelled the examinations.' (Literal: WAEC cut into the examination).

[27] WAEC- West African Examination Council is the body responsible for conducting examinations in the Junior High and Senior School level in West African Countires.

c. Ɲsúó nó éntí yɛ̀-twà-à-m̀
rain DEF so 3PL.SUBJ-cut-COMPL-inside
'It (the meeting/gathering) was cancelled as a result of the rain.' (Literal: Due to the rain, they cut into it).

The difference between the cancellation depicted by example (23a) and that of (23b-c) is that, (23a) involves a physical crossing (using a writing instrument to draw a line through that which is already written) whereas (23b) and (23c) describe abstract forms of cancellation (without the use of a writing material). This notwithstanding, all three examples point to instances of annulment or invalidation of something that is written or a planned event.

7.5 Collocations of *té* 'to tear'

The verb *té* 'to tear' describes acts of separating entities from each other, pulling objects apart or into pieces, opening/breaking the seal of an object (in order to reveal its contents) and plucking off. It has various combinatorial patterns that lead to different types of interpretation. The crucial thing about such combinations is that the meanings relate directly to the basic meanings associated with the verb *té* 'to tear'. In the subsequent sections, I discuss the various types of combinations of this verb that are present in Akan as well as their interpretations.

7.5.1 [V NP [(body part: ani 'eye'/akoma 'heart'/ home 'breath]: To rip/to separate/pull apart

24a. Òbí-í tè n'àkómà yàyááyá
someone-PROG tear 3POSS'heart painfully
'Someone is painfully tearing his/her heart (breaking his/her heart).'

b. Amĭrĭká nó-ó má mè hómè-è tè
race DEF-PROG make 1POSS breathe-PROG tear
'The race is causing me to run out of breath.' (Literal: The race is making my breathe tear).

Examples (24a-b) illustrate the combination of the verb *té* 'to tear' and the NPs *àkòmá* 'heart' and *hómè* 'breath', respectively. In (24a), the *àkòmá* 'heart' is described as undergoes a separation from the body as a result of the pain the patient undergoes. In (24b), the race is seen as causing the separation of an individual's breath from his/her body.

7.5.2 [V NP (meteorological NP)]: to cease/ stop or to clear

The verb collocates with meteorological NPs such as *ǹsúó* 'rain' and *èwǐémǹ* 'sky' to refer to the rain stopping or the clouds clearing after a rainfall to reveal the bright sky.

25a. Ǹsúó nó á-tè
rain DEF PERF-tear
'The rain has stopped/ it has stopped raining.' (Literal: The rain is torn).

b. Ɛ̀wǐé-mǹ á-tè
skies-inside PERF-tear
'The clouds have cleared/ the sky is clear.' (Literal: Inside the sky is torn).

Apart from example (25a) implying that the rain has ceased, it also points to the fact that the clouds (which are formed when it is raining) are clear. This clearing of the clouds, as expressed in example (25b) involves a separation of some sort, where dark clouds move away in order to reveal clear skies. The brightness in the skies is the outcome of the separation/removal action. It is this separation sense i.e. the removal of that which separates one thing from another that accounts for the use of the verb *té* 'to tear' in these contexts.

7.5.3 [NP(ntam 'between') V]: to dissociate oneself/to part/ go through leading to separation

The verb *té* 'to tear' again collocates with the NP *ǹtámǹ* 'between' to describe the dissociating or parting of one entity from another, the effect being a separation in both entities (they come to be in two different parts).

26. Mè né nè ǹtámǹ á-tè-té
1SG.SUBJ and 3POSS between PERF-RED-tear
'S/he and I have parted ways/ separated.' (Literal: What lies between s/he and I is torn).

In example (26) the bond (i.e. link between them) that holds the two parties together is described as being torn into several parts (triggered by the reduplicated form of the verb). The effect of this tearing is a separation of the two entities into two parts i.e. the two entities are no longer unified.

7.5.4 [V (PRO) NP (body part anim 'face')]: to do something pleasant for another person or have a pleasant disposition/to be welcoming.

Two types of constructions can be derived from this pattern: one-place and the two-place construction. In the one-place construction, the combination of the verb *té* 'to tear' and *ànĭm̀* 'face' describe the state of a person having a pleasant disposition towards others or being welcoming. The non-stative form occurs in the two-place construction, where an individual is described as doing something pleasant for the benefit of another person. It is this constructional differences that enables speakers to distinguish between the two interpretations. Both constructions are demonstrated in example (27a) and (27b) respectively.

27a. Abòfrá nó ánîm̀ tè
child DEF face tear.HAB
'The child has a pleasant disposition (is welcoming).' (Literal: The child's face tears).

b. Abòfrá nó á-tè n'àwófóɔ́ ánîm̀
child DEF PERF-tear POSS-parents face
'The child has made his parents proud/happy.' (Literal: The child has torn his parents' face).

Example (27a) is a stative construction and, therefore, indicates the state of the child. It was mentioned in section 6.4 that the verb *té* 'to tear' has 'opening/breaking the seal of an object (in order to reveal its contents)' as part of its semantics. It was explained out that the verb *té* 'to tear' can be used in Akan to describe the process of 'opening one's eyes', which involves a parting/separation of the eye lids. I argue that it is this interpretation that is first of all extended to derive the 'state of being welcoming or to have a pleasant disposition towards others' in the one place construction (where the eyes are opened in order to reveal a person's pleasant nature). Generally, when the eyelids are separated, the eye becomes opened in order to see things around. It is often assumed that a person with the eyes open is generally sociable, approachable, as opposed to a person with closed eyes. For instance, in Akan, one way to show hostility, described as *bù ànìkyĭé* 'break eye lids (literal), to eye a person' an act that involves momentarily closing one's eyes towards another. Opened eyes have thus been associated with receptiveness in all the Ghanaian cultures. The 'opening eyes' interpretation is even associated with civilization, the state of being civilised is referred to as *ànìbùéɛ́* 'opened eyes' (literal). Akan however uses a different OPEN verb; *bùè* 'to open' to express this concept. The underlying thing is that both the civilization and the pleasant disposition interpretation imply 'an opening of the eyes'.

Similarly, if the face/eyes is described as 'opened/separated', it is assumed that the result is a revelation of pleasantness, beauty, welcoming demeanour and so on.

7.6 Collocation of *pàè* 'to split open, burst'

The verb *pàè* 'to split, strike, burst' semantically encodes partitioning (as a result of lengthwise division). Entities that undergo such split activities end up being separated into two or more parts thus allowing access into the interior parts of the object that undergoes the action.

In Akan, this verb also forms combinatorial patterns with specific types of NPs. Examples of these NPs include *ɛ̀kwáǹ* 'road', *mmràné* 'accolades', *ɔ̀srám̀* 'moon', *ɔ̀pràndá* 'lighting' and body parts such as *tí́(rí́)*'head'. Such combinations form specific types of constructions that derive specialized interpretations. In the sub-sections that follow, the various types of such constructions and the meanings they evoke are discussed.

7.6.1 [V NP (entity)]: to branch/create a path/road

The verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' occurs with the NPs such as *ɔ̀kwáǹ* 'road' to derive the interpretation 'to branch' or 'create a path'. The process of branching involves a division or separation of an entity into two or more parts. It also describes the extension of an entity into different directions. It is this meaning that is extended into the 'road construction/creation' sense associated with the verb *pàè* 'to split, strike, burst' in collocation with entities such as *ɔ̀kwáǹ* 'road', *ǹsúó* 'river', as internal arguments. Road construction for instance consists of the creation of divisions and extensions of different paths.

Examples (28a) and (28b) demonstrate the 'to branch and to create path/road' sense of the verb *pàè* 'to split, strike, burst', respectively.

28a. Ɔ̀kwáǹ nó pàé mmǐènú
path DEF split two
'The road branches into two.' (Literal: The road splits into two).

b. Y-à-páé kwáǹ wɔ̀ àfikyíré hɔ́
3PL-PERF-split road LOC backyard there
'They have created a path at the backyard (back of the house).' (Literal: They have split the road at the back yard).

In example (28a), the road is described as splitting into two, whereas in (28b), there is a creation of a road/path at a particular location.

7.6.2 [V_1 ($NP_{(abstract\ value\ term)}$ $PP_{(mu\ 'inside')}$ V_2]: to speak plainly/ openly or frankly

29. Àsɛ̀m̀ nòkwáré dà hɔ́ á pàé-m ká
matter truth lie there COND split-inside say
'When there is a truthful matter, split it and say it / State the facts as they are.' (Literal: When a truthful matter is lying there, split into it and say it).

In this type of construction, the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' occurs as V_1. A speech related verb occupies the V_2 slot. There is an insertion of the $PP_{(mu\ 'inside')}$ in between the two verbs. V_1 takes the abstract value term *asɛ̀m̀ nòkwáré* 'truth' as its internal argument. This abstract value term is compared to a physical object that is whole. The $PP_{(mu\ 'inside')}$ refers to the interior of the object, in this case *asɛ̀m̀ nòkwáré* 'truth' that is split open in order to reveal its contents. The constructional interpretation derived is 'to speak frankly, to lay open, to display (literally to split open the speech to show what is entailed in it).'

7.6.3 [V (X) $NP_{(speech\ act)}$]: to exclaim, proclaim, call out the names/titles of someone

According to Christaller (1933:369), *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' can be used to describe the acts of proclaiming or exclaiming (speaking loudly). He explains that such since such actions and done in an extremely loud manner, they have the ability to rend the air i.e. there is an imagery of the sounds piercing/penetrating the air thus causing a split or an opening.This imagery serves as the basis for which we are able to link all the speech act related extensions. Example (30a) and (30b) illustrate the use of the [V (X) $NP_{(speech\ act)}$] in reference to the acts of exclaiming or proclaiming the titles/accolades/names of an individual.

30a. ɔ̀hénéᵢ-é bá á yɛ̀-pàé nèᵢ mmráné
king-PROG come-HAB COND 3PL-split.HAB 3POSS titles/accolades
'When a king is approaching, his titles/accolades are called out/exclaimed.'
(Literal: When a king is coming, they split his accolades).

b. Yɛ̀-pàé nè dɩ̋ǹ
3PL-split.HAB 3POSS name
'His/Her name is proclaimed.' (Literal: They split his/her name).

Examples (30a) and (30b) are instantiations of the two-place construction, with the constructional interpretation 'to call/exclaim an individual's name, titles'. The beneficiary of this appellation may be mentioned in the construction (as in 30a) or omitted and contextually derived (as in 30b). In (30a), the possessive construction [*nè mmráné* 'his title'] has the possessive pronoun co-referenced with the subject NP *ɔ̀héné* 'king'. In (30b) however, even though the calling is done by someone for another person, this beneficiary is not mentioned in the construction. Note that, it is possible to include the beneficiary of the action, in which case a double-object construction will be employed, as in example (31):

31. Yɛ̀-pàé Kòfi dɩ̋ǹ
3PL-split.HAB Kofi name
'Kofi's title/name is proclaimed.' (Literal: They split Kofi's name).

The objects of the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' in this construction are *Kòfɩ̋* and *dɩ̋ǹ* 'name'.

The meaning associated with the [V (X) NP $_{(\text{speech act})}$] construction is also related to the use of the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' to describe how hawkers advertise their wares in the markets and neighbourhoods.

32. Kùbé-wúrà nó-ò páé-m̀ wɔ̀ dáǹ n'ákyí
coconut-owner DEF-PROG split- inside LOC building POSS'back
'The coconut seller is calling out/advertising his wares behind the house.'
(Literal: The coconut seller is splitting inside at the house's backing).

The verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' is used in (32) to describe the way in which the coconut seller calls out to draw attention to his wares. It is usually the case that most hawkers shout on top of their voices during such advertisements, making it possible to hear them from a distance.

7.6.4 [V NP (festival)]: to declare a festival officially opened

The declaration or proclamation interpretation is also derived when the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' collocates with a festival name. This combination derives the meaning 'to declare a festival opened' and is exemplified in (33):

33. Pàè Ohúm̀[28] (Christaller 1933:370)
spilt Ohum (festival)
'Declare the Ohum festival opened.'(Literal: Split Ohum!).

7.6.5 [V NP (body part) PP (mu 'inside')]: to part/divide

This construction consists of the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' occurring with a possessive construction and a PP *mú* 'inside' as exemplified in (34):

34. Kòfi$_i$ á-pàé nè$_i$ tĭrĭ-m̀
Kofi PERF-split 3POSS head-inside
'Kofi has a (special kind of split) in his hair.' (Literal: Kofi has split inside his head).

In (34), the possessive construction is headed by the possessive marker *nè* 'his' that is co-referenced with the subject NP, *Kofi*. The NP *tĭrĭ* 'head' has the cliticised form of the PP$_{(mu\ 'inside')}$ attached to it. The presence of this PP $_{(mu\ 'inside')}$ implies that the splitting gets into the interior part of the entity. The constructional meaning derived here is 'to create a division or partition in the body part.' The use of the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' can be accounted for by the fact the partitioning described in example (34), involves the use of a comb (or other forms of instrument) to separate the hair, which results in the visibility of the scalp.

Apart from occurring in two-place constructions, there are certain contexts where the verb *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' occurs only in the one-place construction. In such contexts the one-place in which the combinatorial patterns describes 'happenings (example 35a-b)' and states (examples 36) rather than 'actions' and as such do not require any form of agent. Using them in a two-place or three-place constructions either renders the sentence ungrammatical or brings about a semantic deviation.

[28] An annual festival celebrated by the Akyem people of Ghana. They are located in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

7.6.6 [NP(translucent entities in the sky) V]: to shine, break forth as a flood of light/to shine

Light producing entities in the sky combine with *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' in the one-place construction to derive the interpretation 'to shine, break forth through the skies'. In such contexts, the light that is produced is seen as having the tendency to break/split through the skies and create an opening in order to become visible. This is exemplified by the use of *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' in (35a-b).

35a. Ɔ̀sràm̀ á-pàé (Christaller 1933:370)
moon PERF-split
'The moon is shinning.' (Literal: Moon is split).

b. Ɔ̀pràànàá á-pàé (Christaller 1933:370)
lightning PERF-split
'There is a flood of lightning.' (Literal: Lightning is split).

In examples (35a-b), the *ɔ̀srám̀* 'moon' and *ɔ̀pránàá* 'lightning' are described as exposing their lights by breaking through the skies. It is this process of going through or dividing the skies in order to reveal their lights, that accounts for the use of the *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' in these contexts.

7.6.7 [NP(body part tɨ́ 'head') V Experiencer]: to have pain/ ache in the body part

In this type of combinatorial pattern, *pàè* 'to split open, strike, burst' collocates with the body part *tɨ́* 'head' specifically to describe a sever headache that is comparable to the of splitting of an entity. This interpretation is only derived when a subject NP_1 combines with the body part head (to form a possessive construction) in a construction with the verb and an experiencer that is co-referential to the subject. The experiencer which is the NP_2 of the clause always occurs as an object pronoun. Consider example (36):

36. Mè$_i$ tɨ́ pàé mè$_i$
1POSS head PERF-split 1SG.OBJ
'I have a splitting headache.' (Literal: My head splits me).

This one-place construction describes the state in which the individual is in i.e. s/he has an intolerably painful headache. The possessor in the complex subject NP is co-referential with the object pronoun, who is also the experiencer of the pain caused by the headache. The sentence becomes ungrammatical when the NP_2 is omitted (37a) or is not co-referenced to the possessor (37b), consider (37a) and (37b):

37a. *Mè$_i$ tɪ́ pàé
1POSS head PERF-split
'I have a splitting headache.' (Literal: My head splits).

b. *Mè$_i$ tɪ́ pàé nó$_j$
1POSS head PERF-split 3SG.OBJ
'I have a splitting headache.' (Literal: My head splits him/her).
(where the 3SG.OBJ pronoun has its co-referential NP in another clause)

When the headache is minor or tolerable, a different verb *yɛ̀ yá* 'to be painful' is used to express this idea, as exemplified in (38):

38. Mè tɪ́ yɛ́ mè yá
1POSS head be 1SG.OBJ painful
'I have a headache. (which is not as excruciating as a splitting headache)'. (Literal: My head is paining me).

The discussions so far have shown that the C&B verbs collocate with states, events, processes and other forms of NP arguments, in specific types of constructions, in order to derive specialized contextual interpretations.

7.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the different ways in which the verb *bú* 'to break', *twá* 'to cut', *té* 'to tear' and *pàè* 'to split, burst' undergo various types of combinatorial patternings to derive specific contextualized interpretations. I discussed the various types of arguments with which the verb collocate as well as the constructions in which they occur. I have argued that the verbs select atypical/abstract arguments as themes. From a constructionist perspective, I have shown that the patterns form specific types of constructions with specialized meanings.

Some of the findings in this chapter include:

1. The interpretations of the collocations are derived from the interaction between the meanings of the verbs and those of their internal arguments.

2. Constructional meanings contribute extensively to the interpretations of the combinatorial patternings (i.e. verb + internal arguments).

3. In the process of calculating the various contextual interpretations, principles such as coercion, addition and suppression of aspects in the lexical semantics of the verbs and their arguments as well as cultural implicatures are invoked.

4. Semantically, when events and states are the objects of the description, only agents are allowed to fill the subject positions of those constructions.

5. Whereas some of the verb usages can be used in both the one-place and two-place constructions, there are some limited contexts where the verbs can only be used in the one-place construction in order to derive the specific interpretation. When that which is described is a ‘happening’ rather than an ‘action’, the agent is not required.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The findings and contributions made by this study are discussed in this chapter. The chapter consists of four sections: a summary of the previous chapters is presented in section 8.2. In 8.3, the theoretical implications of this study are discussed. The final sections; 8.4 and 8.5, highlight the major contributions of this study and suggest areas for future investigation respectively.

8.2 Summary of previous chapters

Chapter One provided a general introduction to 'cutting' and 'breaking' events. It was indicated that C&B verbs are used to describe events that depict various types of material separation and disintegration. The verbs fall under the broader group of 'change of state verbs' in the sense that such events bring about a change in the 'material integrity' of objects (Hale and Keyser 1987). Attention was drawn to the fact that the separation and disintegration of objects/patients could either occur with or without the involvement of an agent. The main Akan C&B verbs discussed in this study were outlined in this chapter. In all, twenty seven (27) verbs were identified. The rationale and objectives of this study were also discussed. This chapter provided contextual knowledge relevant to the discussion of the Akan verbs of separation.

In Chapter Two, the verbal alternations relevant to the discussion of the Akan C&B verbs were introduced following Levin (1993). These were the causative/inchoative verbal alternations and the Unexpressed Object Alternations. This was followed by a detailed review of cross-linguistic studies conducted on 'cutting' and 'breaking' events. The studies made one thing evident: that there are cross-linguistic similarities in the way C&B events are conceptualized i.e. most languages make a distinction between events involving the use of an instrument and those that lack instrument. There exist also differences in the way languages express this notion. For instance, a language like Akan, uses different verbs to describe ways of separating different types of fruits/food stuffs from trees. English for example, disintinguishes between the manner in which objects are cut (e.g. *slice* vs. *hack*) as well as the sizes into which they are cut (e.g. *chop* vs. *dice*). These differences are present in the semantics of the verbs as well as in the syntactic

behaviors of the verbs cross-linguistically. The analytical framework; Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995) was extensively discussed in this chapter. One critical problem the study sought to address was the multiple interpretations derived from the C&B verbs as a result of their combination with different internal arguments. I argued that adopting a constructionist approach was useful especially if one wants to account for these various combinatorial patterns. The constructionist perspective, supported by a monosemy-bias approach (Ruhl 1989) was argued to be useful for this study since it allowed the verbs to be analysed as having core meanings which interacts with individual constructions to yield such multiple interpretations, rather than arguing that the verbs themselves have multiple but related senses (polysemous). The assumption that the semantics of verbs can be properly analysed by focusing on the three levels of meanings was also presented following Wilkins and Hill's (1995) proposal.

The various data collection methods and sources were discussed in Chapter three. The data used in this study were gathered from literary texts, video-stimuli elicitation as well as spontaneous conversations about cultural practices. There were also instances of participant observation during which examples from spontaneous interactions were collected.

In Chapter four, I presented a sketch grammar on relevant aspects of the Akan grammar. The phonological system, morphology and syntax of Akan were explored. Four different types of argument structure constructions interact with the C&B verbs in order to derive diverse interpretations. These were: one-place construction, causal-two place construction, PostP-construction and the *dè*-SVC. The one-place construction profiles only a single core argument. It describes state of affairs thus their semantics do not include cause. Most of the Akan BREAK verbs occur in this type of construction. The causal-two place construction however profiles two core arguments and refers to state of affairs brought about by an entity. The CUT verbs in Akan occur in this causal-two place construction. The C&B verbs occur in the Post-P construction to indicate the part of the entity that undergoes the separation. A sub-construction of this is the *mú*-construction which interacts with the verb semantics to derive the interpretation 'to cut/break into the interior of an entity'. This is a very common type of construction used with most of the Akan C&B verbs. The *dè*-SVC syntactically represented as [NP_1 V_1 (O) V_2 NP_2] introduces an instrument or a manner of action complement into the construction. This argument acts as the complement of the verb *dè* 'to use' in this type of construction. These constructions were argued to possess individual semantics that interact with the core semantics of the C&B verbs to derive specific interpretations.

The semantics of Akan CUT verbs were discussed in Chapter Five. The critical thing about the verbs in this category is that they obligatorily require the presence of an agent who uses a bladed instrument to bring about the state change. I demonstrated that the choice of a particular CUT verb over another is dependent on parameters such as agentivity (Ameka and Essegbey 2007), the physical properties of the verb's internal argument and specification of manner/instrument.

Following Ameka and Essegbey's (2007) category based on the argument structure behavior of the verbs, it was deduced that the *dwá* 'to cut up/slash', *dwé* 'to separate individual palm fruit clusters from palm stalk', *nú* 'to cut, harvest palm fruit', *pɔ́wɔ̀* 'to cut closely, to lop branches of a tree', *sàé* 'to cut by making a mark', *séné/sènsènè* 'to sharpen/ to peel', *wèrɛ̀* 'to scale, scrape' and *wɔ́* 'to pierce' can be categorized as Highly agentive. These verbs lexicalize instrument and manner/purpose thus obligatorily require the involvement of an agent. Due to their semantics, they strictly occur in the two-place construction. The only Agentive verb identified in Akan is *twá* 'to cut'. Agentive verbs are primarily carried out with instrument and occur in the two-place construction. There are however certain restricted contexts where the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs in the one-place construction. It was stated languages like Ewe (Ameka and Essegbey 2007), Tafi (Bobuafor 2013), Sranan (Essegbey 2007) and Tzeltal (Brown 2007) also have CUT verbs that occur in the one-place construction.

Furthermore, it was explained that the physical properties of the internal arguments with which the C&B verbs occur also influence the syntactic behavior of the verbs. For example when the agentive verb *twá* 'to cut' occurs with a body part, it is allowed to occur in the one-place construction.

Finally, the chapter also demonstrated that the manner of cutting and the type of instrument employed in the cutting event also plays a role in the selection of the verb. The verb *dwá* 'to cut up' for instance typically describes the use of a large knife plus force exertion to cut up objects.

Chapter six presented the semantics associated with Akan BREAK verbs. It was pointed out that the types of objects that could be broken are solid and firm in nature. The verbs in this category can also be used to describe the disintegration of flexible objects under tension. Unlike CUT verbs, the activities described by BREAK verbs do not require the use of an instrument and therefore are able to occur without an agent. For this reason, BREAK verbs have been referred to as the pure state of change verbs since they describe states without focusing on the manner in which the change was brought about. This semantic characteristic has been observed to affect the syntactic behavior of the verbs in this group. The most common type of alternation associated

with BREAK verbs is the causative/inchoative alternation (Guerssel et al.1985; Hale & Keyser 1987; Levin 1993).

Just like their CUT counterparts, some of the verbs in the BREAK category have certain restricted contexts where their semantics and syntactic behavior deviate from what is attested cross-linguistically. An example is when the verb *bú* 'to break' collocates with the NP *dùá* 'tree' to describe the process of 'felling a tree'. Even though this collocation involves a prototypical BREAK verb, its occurrence with this specific type of NP affect the overall event interpretation i.e. the event that is described cannot occur without a bladed instrument. These restricted instances do not only affect the semantics of the verbs but they also have an impact on the syntactic behavior of the verbs. The BREAK verbs that exhibit this feature fail to occur in the causative/inchoative alternation in such contexts. Other examples of this type of deviations were explored in this chapter.

Chapter seven focused on the different ways in which C&B verbs formed combinatorial patterns with non-prototypical NPs (i.e. abstract) to derive specific interpretations. It was argued that these patterns occurr in specific types of argument structure constructions with specialized meanings. I demonstrated that the specialized interpretations derived from these combinatorial patterns resulted from an interaction between the verb's core semantics, its internal argument (theme) and the meanings of the constructions in which they occur. It was explained that there were certain selectional restrictions that the non-prototypical NPs imposed on the verbs. Two types of such restrictions were identified: syntactically, whenever a construction contained [possesive + NP], the pronoun occurs in the same clause as its co-referential NP. Semantically, the nature of the events described by these non-prototypical constructions is such that only agents are permitted to fill the subject position slots of such constructions. Whereas some of the verbs occur in both the one-place and two-place constructions, there are certain restricted contexts in which the verbs occur in a one-place construction in order to achieve the specialized intepretation.

8.3 Theoretical implications

In this section, I discuss how multiple interpretations of the verbs can be accounted for. I also point out the role contexts play in order to achieve this. Finally, the importance of adopting a constructionist approach in this type of analysis is highlighted.

8.3.1 Accounting for the multiple interpretations associated with C&B verbs

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the different ways in which C&B verbs combine with diverse NPs to derive multiple interpretations. To achieve this, a monosemic bias approach (Ruhl 1989) was adopted. In combination with a constructionist approach, I argued that majority of the C&B verbs possess single meanings that derive multiple interpretations depending on the constructions in which they occur. It was explained that compositionality (i.e. meaning of the verb plus its internal argument) sometimes posed problems for this kind of analysis. For instance, in chapter 7, it was observed that in some of the combinatorial patterns the verbs could not be traced back to the core meanings. For this reason, it was difficult to account for the relationship between for example the use of the verb *bú* 'to break' in *bù ɔ̀mán* 'to govern a nation' and the core 'to break' meaning of the verb. A question we are confronted with in such contexts is whether we are dealing with a single verb or two different types of *bú* 'to break' verbs; where in one usage the collocation relates to the verb's core meaning whereas the other verb lacks such a relationship. Can we conclude that all occurrences of the verbs are monosemic? Are there perhaps some polysemous uses of these C&B verbs? I argue that eventhough most of the verbs appear to be monosemic, contexts such these suggest polysemy. I believe, this conclusion can be firmly drawn after further research is done on this topic.

8.3.2 Context and Meaning

One thing that has been highlighted in this study is that meanings cannot be discussed without context. I have tried to show that C&B verbs are influenced by the contexts in which they occur. The study has explored the different types of contexts in which the verbs occur as well as their derived contextual interpretations i.e. with both physical and abstract entities.

In the introduction of Chapter 5, I appeal to Wilkins and Hill's (1995) three levels of semantic representation. The first level provides general information about the verbs. The next level is where contextual interpretations operate. At this level there is a combinatorial patterning of the core verb meanings, the semantics of the internal arguments and the constructions. Again, at this level, there is an interaction between the verb meanings and specific cultural devices. For example in Chapter 7, the various ways in which some of the C&B verbs combine with non-prototypical NPs to derive contextualized interpretations clearly points to the fact that there is a difference between cultural and universal meanings, and that such collocational usages indicate cultural specificity i.e. the collocations vary across cultures and that one has to depend on certain

cultural knowledge in order to account for them. For this reason it is necessary that careful attention is given to these types of collocations.

8.3.3 Constructions and verb meanings

The study has shown the effective role that constructions play in deriving multiple verbal interpretations. Throughout this thesis, it has been stressed that there is an interaction between verb meaning and constructional semantics. One major challenge this thesis sought to address was how to account for the various argument alternations in a morphologically deficient language like Akan. In Chapter 2, it was pointed out that languages, like Russian and French (Haspelmath 1993), have properties of multiple argument realisations which are represented morphologically. Cleary, since Akan and its other Kwa counterparts lack such morphological markings in their alternations, the need to adopt a perspective which argues for a syntactic rather than morphological way of accounting for this phenomenon was critical. From this perspective, we do not have to rely on morphemes to tell whether the verb is used transitively or intransitively. Rather, we can think of individual constructions with their own meanings interacting with the meanings of verbs to derive the transitive and intransitive interpretations. For instance in Chapter 5, the contexts where the verb *twá* 'to cut' occurred in the one-place construction was discussed. The constructionist perspective was very useful in this regard, in the sense that I was able to argue against a passive reading of such one-place constructions, as proposed in the literature (Guerssel et al. 1985, Bohnemeyer 2007). Rather, it was argued that since the one-place construction in Akan, had the 'enter-into-state' interpretation, and did not have passive as part of its constructional meaning, there was no way a passive interpretation can be contributed by the construction i.e. the construction cannot contribute a meaning it does not have.

Adopting the constructional approach was helpful in the discussion of the non-prototypical use of the verbs. In such cases, individual constructions were created to interact with the core meaning of the verb and that of the atypical object NP with which the verb collocates.

8.4 Major contributions of this study

This work, which is the first comprehensive study on separation events in Akan, adds to previous studies on various aspects of Akan verbal semantics. It serves as a rich resource for future cross-linguistic research on C&B events and verbal semantics on a more general level. The thesis has

also provided an indepth description and analysis of more than twenty different types of C&B verbs. The number of C&B verbs presented in this study exceeds those that have been studied in previous studies on C&B events. Furthermore, following Taylor's (2007:335) comment on the limitations of the C&B project conducted in 2007, that:

> 'There are, to be sure, many other open questions which go well beyond the scope of the present project, but which are nevertheless of interest to semantic theory in general, including semantic typology. One concerns the availability of C&B verbs for metaphorical extention beyond the domain of material separation…

The present study goes a step further to analyse the behavior of C&B verbs beyond the material separation/disintegration domain. I have discussed ways in which C&B verbs collocate with non-prototypical themes in specific constructions to derive various contextualized interpretations. This aspect of C&B discussion to the best of my knowledge has not received much attention, making the findings in this study not only interesting but also crucial.

Lastly, the analytical approach i.e. constructionist perspective adopted in this study, I believe, provides a better way to account for the various alternations and associated interpretations of the C&B verbs.

8.5 Future directions

This study has established that the C&B verbs, which form part of the broader change-of-state class (COS), occur in specific types of constructions. There is an interaction of the verbal semantics and that of constructions in order to derive multiple interpretations. It has been explained that certain principles govern the ways in which the C&B verbs behave in these constructions. It will be worthwhile to investigate whether the principles identified to affect C&B verbs are also applicable in all the other classes of COS verbs. Furthermore, in relation to the atypical/prototypical usages of the C&B verbs, it will be necessary to conduct a cross-linguistic study to explore whether the patterns that have been identified in Akan can be identified in other African languages on a minute level. It will also be interesting to investigate whether there are some deviations that such languages exhibit.

One issue that could not be resolved in this study was how to account for the atypical collocations of the verbs that cannot be traced to the core semantics of the C&B verbs. A further investigation is required to see if there exist any form of relation at all or whether in such cases

one can argue that there are actually two separate verbs i.e. *bú*$_1$ which is related to the core meaning ‘to break’ and *bú*$_2$ which is not related to the ‘to break’ meaning.

Finally, this study has shown that languages like Akan, Ewe, Tafi have restricted contexts where CUT verbs occur in the one-place construction. An interesting question to investigate is whether there is something areal about this phenomenon. Such cross-linguistic comparisons, I believe, will help adequately account for COS verbs and their multiple interpretations.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: descriptions of Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) video stimuli

The lists below present short descriptions of the two sets of video stimuli used for the data elicitation. The first set, created by Bohnemeyer, Bowerman, and Brown (2001) consists of sixty-one (61) short videos that depict various types of C&B activities. These video clips are distinguished based on their agentivity. The list for Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) follows what is presented by Majid et al. (2007:146-147). "Clips showing an agent appear in normal font, spontaneous events with no agents are shown in bold-face. Italics indicate the "open", "take apart" and "peel" items" Majid et al. (2007:146).

See the link below for the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) videos which inspired the Ghana videos created by Agyepong (2015).
http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/cut-and-break-clips/

1. Tear cloth into two pieces by hand
2. Cut rope stretched between two tables with single downward blow of chisel
3. Hack branch off tree with machete
4. Chop cloth stretched between two tables with repeated intense knife
5. Break stick over knee several times with intensity
6. Chop multiple carrots crossways with big knife with intensity
7. *Push chair back from table*
8. **Piece of cloth tears spontaneously into two pieces**
9. Slice carrot lengthwise with knife into two pieces
10. Slice carrot across into multiple pieces with knife
11. *Pull two paper cups apart by hand*
12. Cut strip of cloth stretched between two people's hands in two
13. Cut rope stretched between two tables with blow of axe
14. Make single incision in melon with knife
15. Saw stick propped between two tables in half
16. **Forking branch of twig snaps spontaneously off**
17. **Carrot snaps spontaneously**

18. Cut finger accidentally while cutting orange
19. Snap twig with two hands
20. Cut single branch off twig with sawing motion of knife
21. Smash carrot into several fragments with hammer
22. Take top off pen
23. Chop cloth stretched between two tables into two pieces with two blows of hammer
24. Cut rope in two with scissors
25. Snap twig with two hands, but it doesn't come apart
26. Cut carrot crossways into two pieces with a couple of sawing motions with knife
27. Cut hair with scissors
28. Cut fish into three pieces with sawing motion of knife
29. Peel an orange almost completely by hand
30. Peel a banana completely by hand
31. Smash a stick into several fragments with single blow of hammer
32. Cut carrot in half crossways with single karate-chop of hand
33. Open a book
34. Chop cloth stretched between two tables with single karate-chop of hand
35. Break yarn into many pieces with fury
36. Tear cloth about half-way through with two hands
37. Cut carrot half lengthwise with single blow of axe
38. Break single piece off yarn by hand
39. Smash flower pot with single blow of hammer
40. Smash plate with single blow of hammer
41. Open a hinged box
42. Break vertically-held stick with single karate-chop of hand
43. Cut carrot crossways into two pieces with single blow of chisel
44. Open canister by twisting top slightly and lifting it off
45. Poke hole in cloth stretched between two tables with a twig
46. Rope parts spontaneously, sound of a single chop
47. Open hand
48. Chop branch repeatedly with axe, both lengthwise and crosswise, until a piece comes off

49. Cut rope in two with knife
50. Chop rope stretched between two tables in two with repeated blows of hammer
51. Split melon in two with single knife blow, followed by pushing halves apart by hand
52. Open mouth
53. Break stick in two with single downward blow of chisel
54. Cut carrot in half crosswise with single blow of axe
55. Open teapot/take lid off teapot
56. Cut cloth stretched between two tables in two with scissors
57. Snap carrot with two hands
58. Open eyes
59. Open scissors
60. Open door
61. Break rope stretched between two tables with single karate-chop of hand

Appendix 2: descriptions of Agyepong (2015) video stimuli

The following are descriptions of the video-stimuli created in Ghana by the author in 2015. These videos, inspired by the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) video-stimuli, show different types of separation events events culturally relevant to the Ghanaian and African setting on the whole. Unlike the Bohnemeyer et al. (2001) clips, which depict both agentive and spontaneous activities, these videos only involve actions carried out by an agent.

1. Breaking an egg with a knife into a bowl
2. Breaking the bottom part of an okra with fingers
3. Cutting the top/head and bottom part of okra and chopping the okra
4. Chopping/dicing okra into tiny pieces
5. Cutting the top/head of garden eggs followed by chopping of the vegetable
6. Breaking the top/head of green pepper
7. Separating *abeduru* ‘turkey berry’ fruits from the stalk
8. Chopping tomatoes
9. Dividing onion into two halves. Removing the top and bottom part of the onion
10. Peeling an onion

11. Chopping onion into large portions/sizes
12. Slicing onion
13. Dicing onion into tiny bits
14. Cutting the head/top part of an avocado. Dividing avocado
15. Splitting avocado into two halves
16. Cutting avocado into slices
17. Cutting avocado into smaller sizes/cubes
18. Peeling an orange
19. Dividing orange into four portions
20. Splitting cut portions of orange with the hands
21. Cutting the joints of the orange
22. Cutting the bottom part of yam
23. Peeling yam
24. Slicing yam into thin portions
25. Slicing yam into large portions
26. Cutting bottom part of cocoyam and dividing into two parts
27. Peeling cocoyam
28. Splitting cocoyam into portions
29. Cutting bottom and head of cassava
30. Peeling cassava
31. Scraping cassava
32. Splitting cassava into two/ cutting cassava into portions
33. Peeling ripe plantain
34. Cutting ripe plantain into portions
35. Peeling unripe plantain
36. Scraping unripe plantain
37. Cutting unripe plantain into two portions
38. Scraping ginger outer covering off
39. Separating palm fruits from the stalk
40. Removing individual palm fruits with fingers
41. Cutting sugar cane

42. Peeling sugar cane
43. Cutting sugar cane into two portions
44. Dividing sugar cane into four portions
45. Peeling coconut
46. Crack opening coconut by cutting the top part
47. Cracking a dry coconut
48. Separating dry coconut food from coconut pod
49. Peeling of tangerine with hands
50. Splitting sugar cane into portions
51. Peeling of pawpaw
52. Splitting pawpaw into two halves. Removing seeds from cut pawpaw
53. Cutting pawpaw into small portions
54. Peeling of mango
55. Cutting mango into small portions
56. Peeling pineapple
57. Dividing pineapple into two halves
58. Cutting pineapple into small portions
59. Crack opening peanut pods with fingers
60. De-husking of nut
61. Removing of scales from dried herrings with fingers
62. Chopping spinach
63. Beheading chicken
64. Cutting chicken thigh
65. Cutting chicken wing, feet and thigh
66. Opening a tin of milk with tip of knife
67. Opening an ‘easy-open’ tin of tomato puree
68. Cutting a tin of tomato puree with tin cutter
69. Cutting a tin of tomato puree with knife
70. Cutting up fresh meat at the butcher’s
71. Peeling coconut and cut opening the ‘mouth’
72. De-husking boiled corn/maize

73. Removing individual corn grains from corn cob
74. Felling a banana tree and separating bulk of plantain food from tree
75. Separating banana bunches from plantain stalk
76. Harvesting palm fruit from palm tree
77. Plucking coconut from coconut tree
78. Plucking orange from an orange tree
79. Separation of banana clusters from stalk
80. Separation of cocoa from cocoa tree. Opening of cocoa pod with a knife
81. Cutting the surface of cut-out pit of felled palm-tree
82. Sharpening of a knife on a stone