UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN GONJA

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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, DRAMANI DARI, declare that this thesis with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE……

DATE……..

SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the preparation of this thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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DEDICATION

I sincerely dedicate this work to my lovely wife (Mama Zet), my children, friends and the entire Dinkere gate of Bole Traditional Area.

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LIST OF ABBREVATIONS

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular
ADJ	Adjective
ASP(p)	Aspectual Phrase
CONJ	Conjunction
DEF	Definite Determiner
FUT	Future
IMPERF	Imperfective
LF	Logical Form
NP	Noun Phrase
NEG	Negative Phrase
Num	Number
OBJ	Object
PP	Postposition
PL	Plural
PERF	Perfective
POSS(P)	Possessive (Phrase)
PROG	Progressive
PTVP	Postverbal Particle
PVP	Preverbal Particle
SG	Singular

Spec	Specifier
SV	Subject Verb
SVC(s)	Serial Verb Construction(s)
SVIO	Subject Verb Indirect Object
SVDO	Subject Verb Direct Object
SVO	Subject Verb Object
CCSVC	Clause Chaining Serial Verb Constructions
ISVC	Integrated Serial Verb Constructions

ABSTRACT

This research investigates serial verb constrictions in Gonja, one of the Guan languages spoken in the Savanna Region of Ghana, from the language family called Kwa. The phenomenon of serial verb constructions has not received any serious attention in the Gonja language. This thesis therefore aims to filling in the gap in the literature by looking at the types and the general features of serial verb constructions in Gonja. The research is purely a descriptive one. Primary and secondary data were used for the analysis. The primary data were collected from ten native speakers of Gonja at both Bole and Ajumako and the secondary data from books, The research identified clause chaining serial verb construction (CCSVC) and integrated serial verb construction (ISVC) as the types in Gonja. Subject sharing exists in clause chaining serial verb construction, whereas object sharing exist in integrated serial verb constructions. All verbs in the serial construction must share one and the same subject, Tense is marked on the first verb, but aspect marking may vary among verbs. However, when the verb is marked in the habitual and the perfective, aspect and polarity are marked only on first verb. Finally, the investigation found out that the benefactive, locative, manner, instrumental, motion, durational, consequential, accompaniment and comparative as the functional types of serial verb constructions in Gonja as in other languagess.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

1.0. Introduction to the study

This thesis examines the concept of serial verb constructions in Gonja. Serial verb constructions, an interesting phenomenon involving verbs in many languages of the world (including Ghana), is an area that has not received any detailed study in Gonja as far as my investigations are concerned. The research therefore attempts to investigate the phenomenon in Gonja with the objective of highlighting the types, general and semantic features of serial verb constructions in Gonja. This introductory chapter discusses the background to the study, the background of the people and the statement of the problem. It also looks at the purpose, objectives of the study as well as the research questions, and significance of the study, delimitation and the organisation of the study.

1.1.1. Background to the study

Most discussions of the history of verb serialization is credited to Christaller (1875) with the first attempt at providing a description of serialization in his grammar of Akan (Kwa, Niger-Congo). Only Lord (1993:7, 51-56, 251) points out that, data similar to that of Christaller (ibid), had already been documented by Christaller (1875) for Akan and by Zimmermann (1858) for Ga. These linguists, all of them German missionaries of the Basel Mission, called the phenomenon they attempted to describe –combinations", –compounds" and –connections". Westermann (1907), analysed similar data in Ewe, a

related West African language; and eventually also labelled them as –combinations". For several decades, linguists continued to use a diverse set of terminology to refer to the phenomenon. Only much later was a consensus on the terminology and characteristion of verb serialization arrived at in the literature. Aikhenvald notes that:

> A serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verbs describe what can be conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value (Aikhenvald 2003:1).

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are reported to be widely spread and recognizable robust grammatical constructions found in nearly one-third of the languages of the world (Dixon 2006). According to Lord (1993), however, the label _Serial verb' has been applied to a range of linguistic constructions in a variety of languages making it difficult, for instance, to distinguish between generalizations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language and real instances of verb serialization.

In persuing the available literature on serial verb constructions in other Ghanaian languages such as Akan, Ga, Dangme, Dagbani, Kusaal, Dagaare, Ewe, Kasem, Gurune amongst others, it is apparent that quite a lot of work has been done on the phenomenon of SVCs in above languages except Gonja. That is, the Gonja language has received rather little attention on the phenomenon of serial verb constructions. This thesis therefore seeks to establish whether the phenomenon actually exists in Gonja, and so doing, add up to the existing syntactic literature on the Gonja language.

1.2. The Gonja Language

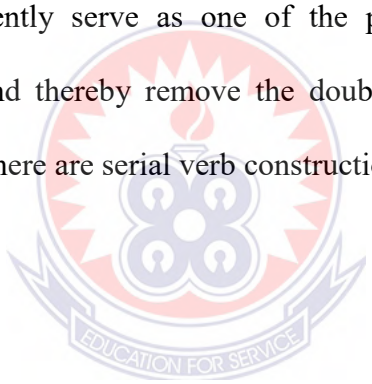
Gonja is a North Guan language of the Guan branch of the Niger-Congo language family group (SIL, 2004). It is mutually intelligible with other Guan languages such as Nchumburu, Nkonya, Kaakyi, Gichode, Effutu, Yeji Prang and Dwang (Dakubu 1988:77) which all share some linguistic features. The language spoken by the Gonja people is called *Ngbanyito* while the people are known as *Ngbanya.* The language is also spoken in major communities such as Bole, Buipe, Daboya, Damongo, Kpembi, Sawla, Kusawgu, Salaga, Tuluwe and Mpaha among others.

There are three major dialects of the language: the Ngbanyito dialect which is widely spoken in communities such as; Kpembe, Busunu, Tulwe, Debre, Bole, Daboya, Damongo, Buipe and Kusawgu. Chorba which is the second dialect is also spoken in and around Sonyo and Seripe in the Bole District of the Savanna Region while the Ndompo dialect is also spoken in and around the Kintampo North District of the Brong-East Region. Gonjaland is located in the Savanna Region of Ghana and has a land mass of about 36,783 square kilometers, representing 20% of the entire land mass of Ghana (Colins 1970). The 2010 Population and Housing Census also puts the estimated population of Gonjas about 580,000 people.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Even though the study of Gonja started as far back the 1924s, it is still one of the under-studied languages within the Guan langage family. Colins (1970) worked on the structure of Gonja while Afari-Twako (2001, Amidu 2010 and Braimah, 1997; 1967) worked on

the cultural system of Gonja and the oral literature respectively. These works not withstanding, there is a gap in the area of the syntax of Gonja. The needed basic research findings that normally catalyze further research are almost nonexistent on the syntax of Gonja. This invariably creates problems for both students and teachers of Gonja either in the Gonja classroom or, in the field of research in the language. It is very critical solving this problem as quickly as possible, one study at a time. The development of the Gonja language depends on how quickly scholars can fill the knowledge gap as far as the syntax of the language is concerned. It is therefore, the aim of this study to provide an empirical analysis of the syntactic phenomenon of serial verb constructions in the Gonja language. This study will subsequently serve as one of the pioneering works on serial verb constructions in Gonja and thereby remove the doubt in the minds of some scholars regarding whether or not there are serial verb constructions in the Gonja language.



1.4. Purpose of the Study

This thesis attempts to investigate serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Gonja. The study thus is to broaden the scope of literature on Gonja with particular reference to its syntactic structures, it focuses on the identification and description of the different types of (SVCs) in Gonja, the identification of the features and properties of these SVCs as well as their functions in Gonja.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

While the overall objective of the study is to depict the concept of SVCs in Gonja, the research aims, much more precisely, to investigate the following:

1. Discuss the types of serial verb constructions in Gonja.
2. Identify the features with the types of serial verb constructions in Gonja.
3. Discuss the functional types of serial verb constructions in Gonja.

1.6. Research Questions

The following questions guided the research:

1. Which types of serial verb constructions occur in Gonja?

2. What are the general features and characteristics of serial verb constructions in Gonja?

3. What are the categories of functional types of serial verb constructions in Gonja?

1.7. Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this research will contribute to the literature on the syntactic structure of Gonja and also serve as a source of reference to both students and teachers of the language. Finally, it is expected that the study will enhance the interest of prospective researchers to carry out further research on the very other interesting aspects of the language which have not been researched into.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

The first challenge I encountered was questionnaire fatigue. This was because NGO's including research fellows from other educational institutions in the country have traded research questionnaires in the Bole Township and also to students and staff of the Bole Senior High School for far too long. Therefore, respondents undermined the value of questionnaire that I served them. Even though, this was a challenge, I managed to solicit the information that I needed for the work.

Data generated by intuition have the tendency of being biased and impacting (both negatively and positively) on the research process. With this in mind, I cross-checked all the data that were self-generated with other native speakers for authentication before they were used in the study.

1.9. Delimitations of the study

The study was only limited to examining the types and functional categories of serial verb constructions in Gonja due to time constraint. This is because the topic is will enhance our understanding of the linguistic structures of a Ghanaian language vis-a-vis the current typological information on similar structures cross-linguistically.

1.10. Organisation of Work

This thesis is organised into five chapters. The first chapter which is the general introduction, captures the background to the study, ethnographic information of the

people of Gonjaland, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, and significance of the study, limitations and delimitations. Chapter two reviewed literature on serial verb constructions. Chapter three discusses the methodology employed for the research. It looks at the research design, the population and sampled population, the instruments used for data collection and the data analysis procedures. Chapter four focuses on the data analyses of serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Gonja while the final chapter gives the summary, findings and conclusions of the study and makes recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a review of various works conducted on serial verb constructions. While the first part of this chapter looks at works that have been done on serial verb constructions in the languages of Asian and the West. The second part reviews related works conducted on various Africa languages with particular regard to those Ghanaian languages that are closely related and have a relevance to Gonja, (the Kwa and Guan languages).

2.1. Serial verb constructions

The term ‗Serial Verb Construction' (SVC) first appeared in English print in 1929 when Balmer and Grant used it to refer to a construction in the Fante dialect of Akan where the tense-aspect inflection of a sentence appeared to be spread over a series of verbs relating to a sequence of events (Osam 1994: 190, Aikhenvald 2006: 59). Aikhenvald (2006:1) notes that SVCs are widespread in Creole languages, in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia (Chinese, Thai, Khmer, etc.), Amazonia, Oceania, and New Guinea. However, Dixon (2006) corroborates this assertion when he notes that while serial verb constructions are found in perhaps one-third of the languages of the world, there appear to be none in Europe or North or Central Asia, and rather few in North America or Australia.

The phenomenon of serial verbs has remained one of the most highly-researched and hotly contested topics in formal and functional linguistics. This is due in part of the varying angles from which many linguistics, consider it and the varying approaches from which it is accounted for (Dixon 2006).

An early explanation of the phenomenon of serialization is provided by Christaller (1875) in his description of –Accidental Combinations" and –Essential Combinations" which depict as follows: –Accidental combinations, which means two or more predicates (verbs with or without, complements or adjuncts), expressing different successive actions, or a state simultaneous with another state or action, but having the same subject, are merely joined together without conjunction and without repeating the subject." In this case, two (or more) sentences are put together or contracted into one, and the verbs are co-ordinate in sense as well as form. He explains that one verb is the principal, while the second is an auxiliary verb supplying, as it were, an adverb of time or manner. .. Forming or introducing a complement... or adjunct. The other option is for the second verb to be supplemental and forming part of a verbal phrase while the actions expressed by both verbs are simultaneous and in an internal or inseparable relation or connection. In this case, the auxiliary or supplemental verb is co-ordinate only in form, but subordinate in sense, whether it is preceding or succeeding the principal verb. While accidental combinations are in clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVCs) essential combinations are like integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs).

Following from the above, Schachter (1974: 254) notes that –A sentence that contains a serial verb construction consists, on the surface at least, of a subject noun phrase followed

by a series of two or more verb phrases, each containing a finite verb plus, possibly the complement(s) of that verb."

This description is not too different from Foley and Olson's (1985: 15) categorization which considers aspects of subject and argument-sharing as well as a lack of conjunctions as defining properties, and arguing that SVCs are ~~–~~constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions. They always contain two or more predicates and each verb in the series may have an argument not shared by other verbs." However, whereas Foley and Olson assert that serial verb constructions always contain two or more predicates, Durie (1997) contends that within the SVCs there are not two or more predicates, but rather, two or more verbs acting as a single predicate ~~–~~taking a unitary complex of direct arguments." While Foley and Olson do not necessarily contradict Durie's analysis, the difference in number of predicates does make for a nuanced difference in their perspectives. He states further that:

> The verbs are bound together syntactically and/or morphologically on the basis of sharing one or more core arguments and neither verb is subordinate to the other. Typically, in a serial verb construction, there is no marker of subordination or co-ordination, no dividing intonational or morphological marker of a clause boundary, and the verbs cannot have separate scope for tense, mode, aspect, illocutionary force and negation (Durie 1988:3).

Likewise considering the above definitions, it is clear that researchers vary in opinion due to the approaches they adopt as well as the properties that exist in the particular language in which the research was conducted. While scholars such as Christaller (1875), Schachter (1974), Foley and Olson (1985), and Aikhhenvald (2003) defined the phenomenon based on theoretical approaches, linguists such as Bakar 1988, 1989; Colins

(1997); and Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) explained serial verb constructions based on necessary and sufficient conditions.

This claim was rejected by Aboh (2009) and Lord (1993) who hold diferent opinions on the description of SVCs and, in particular, disagree with Aikhenvald's (2003) definition of SVCs as a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any marker of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Based on the varying opinions, is thus the case that, in the depiction of SVCs in some African languages like Akan and Ewe, researchers have often excluded sentences with pure conjunctive interpretations (both overt and cvert) as not being proto typical the serial verb construction (SVCs). As a results, some studies have resorted to using certain tests to distinguish serial verb constructions from covert conjunctions constructions.

Another challenge in the description, as pointed out by Sebba (1987), is also to distinguish serial verb construction –from constructions containing morphologically non-distinct _infinitival complements" (Sebba 1987:4), while yet another issue which arises is the fact that _serializing' languages often show a number of different linear arrangements in multi-verb sentences.

Baker (1989) for instance, proposes a double headed VP with a ternary–branching structure for the analysis of object-sharing serial verb construction using data from the Yoruba language. Even though this analysis correctly predicts the pied-piping of the object with both V1 and V2, the ternary-branching structure makes it unacceptable under the minimalist approach and difficult to explain the V1-object and V2-object constituencies. Collins (1997) claims that argument sharing is mediated by the presence

of empty categories contrary to Baker (1989), who asserts that serial verb constructions are analysed as involving a double-headed VP.

Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) on the other hand, proposed an analysis of object-sharing serial verb constructions in Dagaare as an instance of symmetric sharing. In this, they indicated that both V1 and V2 are considered to have merged with the object symmetrically, following the work of Citko (2005) where such instances of merge are called parallel merge. Contributing to the arguments, Lord (1993) points out that even within a single language, one group of serial verb constructions may show a certain property while another group may not. Therefore generalisations of object sharing of serial verb construction of Mabia (Gur) languages based on studies on Dagaare may not be entirely right.

While many studies have focuessed on tended to specific languages, such as Bodomo (2004, 2006) working on Gur languages primarily spoken in northwestern Ghana and southwestern Burkina Faso with some comparative data from Akan and English. Some others have focussed their attention on semantics and comparative typological studies as well as cross-linguistic investigations on serial verb constructions (see for example Schiller 1990, Lord 1993, Baker 2002, Ameka 2005, 2006, Aikhenvald & Dixon (eds.) 2006).

SVCs are considered as superficially similar construction not only across languages but also within a single language (Lord 1993). That is to say, SVCs in different languages may have similar syntactic feature but different semantic features, and within the same language, serial verb construction can be divided into several sub-types according to their semantic differences.

As regards the state of the art of the phenomenon in Ghanaian languages, the researcher have relied heavily on research conducted by the linguists such as; Osam (1994; 2004), Bodomo (2004), Ameka (2005, 2006) Schiller (1990), Lord (1993), Baker (2002), and Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006). Bodomo (2002) for instance, researches on the semantic typology of serial verb constructions in Dagaare and outlines a number of constraints of serial verb constructions for that language with regard to object and predicate constraints and the functional features of TAP (tense, aspect and polarity). He concludes that a construction can only be considered as a serial verb construction if that construction satisfies the subject, the TAP, the connector, the object and the predicate constraints. Similarly, Ameka (2006: 56) posits that the SVCs in Ewe is a sequence of two or more verb phrases (including any complements and adjuncts) and outlines: the following as characteristics of serial verb construction in Ewe.

a). a sequence of verbs without any marker of syntactic dependency,

b). VPs in the sequence are construed as occurring within the same temporal frame;

c). VPs share the same mood (e.g. imperative),

d). VPs can be formally marked for different aspect and modality categories,

e). the individual verbs can function as independent verbs in simple clauses (in the same form) and

f). same syntactic subject for all VPs in the series but expressed only once before VP1.

2.2. Definitions based on necessary and sufficient conditions

Many definitions of serial verb constructions go back to a theoretical (and philosophical) approach to categorization and definition whereby an element, in this case a putative SVCs, is defined as belonging to a category on the basis of necessary and sufficient conditions. For example, in the literature, some authors have used argument sharing as the basis for defining and categorizing a possible serial verb construction as a ―true" serial verb construction.

An early notion of argument sharing as fundamental to SVCs is found in Baker's (1989). Argument Sharing Hypothesis (ASH). Drawing from evidence of object pied piping and predicate clefting constructions. Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) argue that object-sharing in SVCs ―must have a syntactic Symmetric Sharing structure and add to firm empirical support for Baker's original intuition of _double-headedness' and object-sharing" (Hiraiwa and Bodomo 2008: 243).

The criterion of sharing at least one argument may be characteristic of prototypical SVCs. However, according to Aikhenvald, although rare, SVCs with no shared arguments are not non-existent (contrary to Baker's 1989 assumptions) (Aikhenvald 2006:12). This notion is reinforced by Aboh (2009) who takes the Argument Sharing Hypothesis (ASH) to task using empirical data from Gungbe. The ASH states that ―in a serial verb construction, V1 and V2 must share an internal argument'' (Baker 1988, 1989; Collins 1997:463). However, according to Aboh ―the ASH and its theoretical correlates (e.g., double-headed VPs and object control) cannot be maintained for all the relevant cases. Therefore, the ASH cannot be a defining condition on serialization, nor can it be related to a serializing parameter" (Aboh 2009:2).

2.3. Pitfalls of definitions based on necessary and sufficient conditions

One of the requisite pitfalls of positing overarching and sweeping universals about SVCs based on characteristics found in a single language lies in the fact that even –within a single language one group of serial verb constructions may show a certain property while another group may not" (Lord 1993:1). This may be due to the idea that, within a given language, there may be different diachronic sources from which the same language arrives at the –clause union" of different structures SVCs.

Lord (1993) posits different groups of serial verb constructions within a single language showing different properties as a result of various diachronic sources from which serializing languages arrive at what he terms, the clause union exhibited in serial verb constructions. In keeping with Lord's (1993) observation even within a single language, different properties may be shown by different SVCs which may have ultimately derived from different sources. This situation is compounded when looking cross-linguistically because –generalisations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language do not necessarily apply to superficially similar constructions in another language" (Lord 1993:1).

Many researchers have done a lot of work on serial verb constructions in both the Western and African languages. Around the 18th Century, researchers such as (Christaller 1875) concentrated their efforts in defining the features, syntactic representation and the applications of relevant theories of serial verb constructions (see Boadi 1966). Therefore, all the works conducted at that time have primarily looked at what actually constitute serial verb constuctions. The argument then was whether the phenomenon of serial verb

constructions is simply a construction that consists of only two verbs or the one that has more than two verbs.

In many languages of the world, a sequence of several verbs act together as one unit. They form one predicate, and contain no overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. These are conventionally referred to as serial verb constructions (SVCs.) Haspelmath (2016) in a recent paper entitled _the serial verb construction: comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalizations', Haspelmath (2016) offers a new definition of serial verb constructions. Serial verbs are a feature of many languages, with different typological profiles. They are prominent in European-based Creole languages, and in isolating languages of West Africa and of Southeast Asia. They have now been recognised in numerous languages of Oceania and New Guinea (especially those of the Oceanic subgroup of the large Austronesian family), and of the Americas (including the Amazonian Lowlands). They have been described for at least a dozen Australian languages, a number of varieties of colloquial Arabic, Syriac Aramaic, Dravidian languages of India, numerous Tibeto-Burman languages, a few languages of northeast Europe, and a number of extinct Indo-European languages (including Hittite and Classical Armenian).

The phenomenon of more than one verb in a row without any mark of syntactic link corresponding to a single verb in English or German was recognised in many classic work. It was not until 1929 that the term _serial verb' was coined, by Balmer and Grant (1929: 115-28) in their grammar of Fante Akan. In their own words, they noted that;

> _There is…one usage which is a distinctive feature of Fante verbs, viz. the use of double or twofold verbs, as, gye…dzi, to believe. This is due partly (a) to the tendency of the language to use vivid figurative expressions and partly (b) to the habit of analysing an action into its component parts… These verbs may be termed serial verbs‘ (pp. 115, 117).

Haspelmath (2016: 292) believes that serial verbs in Australian languages were first recognized in Nordlinger (2014) and Meakins (2010) (who deals with a mixed Kriol-Gurinji language). Accoding to Haspelmth, serial verbs in Australian languages were described a long time before those (e.g. Green 1987 on Burarra, Green 1995 on Gurr-Goni; Reid 2002, 2003 on Ngan.gityemerri and Ford 1998 (published in 2011) on Emmi; Dixon (2006; 2011) on Dyirbal; a cross-linguistic study of serial verbs in Dyirbal and other Australian languages is in Dixon 2015: 149-86).

Haspelmath (2016: 311), states _In all serial verb constructions, the verbs have the same mood value‘. This is based on Haspelmath‘s (2016: 308) idea that _mood is sometimes broadened to include modality and evidentiality‘ (erroneously quoting Aikhenvald 2006a: 2.4). It is well known that modality, mood, and evidentiality are completely different categories (see Matthews (2014) dictionary for clarification). According to him _If an SVC expresses a cause-effect relationship, or a sequential event, the order of the two verbs is tense-iconic, that is, the cause verb precedes the effect verb, and the verb that expresses the earlier event precedes the verb that expresses the later event‘.

According to Matthews (2014), this does not have to be the case. Notable exceptions have been described for Dyirbal by Dixon (2011, 2015) and for Wambaya by Nordlinger (2014) (see also Aikhenvald (2006b: 188, ex 22), for an anti-iconically ordered causative SVCs in Tariana). This appears to be a feature of languages with so called free, or

pragmatically determined, constituent order. Haspelmath's (2016: 309) reference to Aikhenvald (2006a: 16, 21) as misleading, refers to a tendency, not a general rule (_the order (in cause effect SVCs) tends to replicate the order of occurrence of subevents': Aikhenvald 2006a: 16; _the order of components in SVCs may match the temporal order of actions they denote': Aikhenvald 2006a: 21). Indeed, I equally do not belief in tha explanation because any construction involving series of verbs with an intervening conjuction does not constitute serial verb construction.

In fact, around the (1990s), researchers' changed their focus by redirecting their attention on the semantics, demarcations, and comparative studies, typological and cross-linguistic investigations on serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald & Dixon eds. 2006). Kröger (2004: 229-230) has proposed several characteristic features of serial verbs in –true" serial verb constructions, which specifically contains: two verbs may share at least one semantic argument, but only one grammatical subject. According to Lord (1993) and Ameka (2005), there are various types of serial verb constructions even in one language and there are cross-linguistic variations such that the properties of serial verb constructions in one language may not map whole sale onto those of another language.

Similar comments were made by Lord (1993:1), referring to SVCs in particular, stating that –Generalizations about a set of verb phrase sequences in one language do not necessarily apply to superficially similar constructions in another language."

2.4. Formal definitions of serial verb constructions

Some authors, such as Li and Thompson (1973), have dealt with the issue of definition for serial verb constructions by appealing more to a formal definition based on the syntax where serial verb constructions are said to ―consist of a subject followed by two predicates, where the first NP is the subject of both predicates" (Li and Thompson 1973:97). This definition, however, lacks definitional precision in failing to account for what Foley and Olson (1985:26-7), Osam (1994 and later Givon (1997) and Agyeman (2002) refer to as switch-subject clause chains. The phenomenon is also found in mainland Southeast Asian languages like Chinese, Thai, Khmer etc, (Kroeger 2004). Even though serialisation is no more a new phenomenon to linguists, many researchers have defined it in varied ways as follows:

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

(2) Serial verb constructions are constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions . . . . Serial verbs constructions always contain two or more predicates.

3) Furthermore . . . while they may require the same actor for both predicates, each verb in the series may have arguments not shared by other verbs' Foley and Olson (1985:18).

4) _The archetypical serial verb construction consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together acts like a single verb.' Durie (1997:289).

Recent work on SVCs have shown that there is actually more than one kind of construction that satisfies this general description. Some of the typologies that exist are based on intuitive semantic distinctions that are somewhat difficult to evaluate. However, Stewart [1998:529] has shown clearly that there are several kinds of SVCs that can be distinguished on syntactic grounds in the Edo language, and Stewart and Baker (2000) have replicated his distinctions for Nupe and Yoruba. Previous analyses of SVCs which are related to motion events in other languages assume the sequence of verbs in these SVCs and a) have a head-complement relationship to each other (cf. Sebba, 1987; Winford, 1990), or b) belong to a multi-headed structure (Baker, 1989).

In two studies of directional SVCs in Sranan in the framework of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Sebba (1987) and Winford (1990) suggest Immediate Dominance (ID) rules for the VP structure in which the initial verb (which denotes a manner of motion) subcategorizes for the serial verb which indicates a directed motion. Trask (1993:251-252) describes a serial verb construction (SVC) as: ―A construction in which what appears to be a single clause semantically is expressed syntactically by a sequence of juxtaposed separate verbs, all sharing the same subject or agent but each with its own additional arguments, without the use of overt coordinating conjunctions."

Aikhenvald (2006) also distinguishes between two varieties of SVCs. An asymmetrical serial verb construction that involves two verbs of different status: a ―major member" (the head), which can be virtually any verb, and a ―minor member," chosen from a limited set of verbs of a certain semantic set. Among the semantic values that the minor member may specify are direction–coming or going, up or down, across, back, etc.–or stance; aspect, extent, and change of state, covering progressive, continuative,

habitual, and the like; obligation, necessity, probability; starting, finishing, and continuing. Symmetrical SVCs which is the second variety combines verbs of any semantic types and no one verb may be recognized as head. The only restriction is semantic plausibility. The discourse on serial verbs has changed substantively since such seminal works such as Sebba (1987) built upon by Durie (1997) and Aikhenvald (2006). Because of this fact, a concerted effort has been made to cite significant works of the past while letting more recent works set the agenda for discussion. Additionally, Aikhenvald (2006) that serial verb constructions are defined within the same volume as having all or some of the following features:

a. They are monoclausal.

b. They describe what is conceptualized as a single event.

c. Their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause.

d. They have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value.

e. They may share core or other arguments.

f. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own.

g. The individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

h. They act together as a syntactic whole (Aikhenvald 2006: 77).

The crux of Aikhenvald's categorisation is that there is a continuum along which SVCs in a given language may exist. According to Aikhenvald, ~~–In~~ an individual language, SVCs are expected to have most, but not necessarily all, of these properties. This suggests a scalar, or continuum-type, approach to serial verb construction which can be either more or less like the prototype which has the maximal properties" (Aikhenvald 2006: 3).

Baker and Harvey (2010) argue that SVCs are a type of _complex predicate' alongside constructions such as light verb constructions, and particle + verb constructions among several others. They differentiate between co-verb constructions and serial verb constructions even though the two are supposed to be mono clausal. Whereas co-verb constructions express a single event though it may be semantically complex, SVCs express multiple events. This, in a way, appears to be a counter claim to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) though it is not necessarily the case as can seen in a moment.

Baker and Harvey (2010) further outline some basic functions performed by SVCs. They argue that the term _serial verb' just as _complex predicate' has been applied to a wide variety of constructions with many semantic structures involved. They focus on some representative of serial verb structures such as benefactive marking with _give', comitative marking and object marking with _take', and complementizer with _say'. They identify the introduction of non-subcategorized arguments into mono clausal structures as one prominent function of SVCs though it is not universal. Other characteristic functions identified include the introduction of direction and manner which are normally carried out by adjuncts in other languages. SVCs also convey all kinds of resultative and causative meaning.

Using data from Kpeli, a dialect of Ewe, where the postposition *yi* is argued to be able to assign oblique/ default case, Collins (1997) claims that argument sharing is mediated by the presence of empty categories contrary to Baker (1989), where SVCs are analyzed as involving a double-headed VP. The basic argument between Aikhenvald (2006) observation of serial verb constructions and Baker and Harvey (2010) is that, whereas the former claims serial verb construction express _what may be conceptualized

as a single event' the latter claims that serial verb constructions are _multi-predicational'. Jarkey (2010) also observes that serial verb constructions are –mono-clausal but multi-predicational. They are said to involve two or more distinct predicating morphemes, linked together in a single clause by virtue of the fact that they share one or more argument positions through coindexation".

Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) on the other hand, propose an analysis of object-sharing serial verb constructions in Dagaare as an instance of symmetric sharing. According to them, both V1 and V2 are considered to have merged with the object symmetrically, following the work of Citko (2005), where such instances of merge are called parallel merge. Sœtherø (1997) also indicated further that, serial verb constructions are characterized by two or more verbs occurring within a clause and with no overt marking of example co-ordination. The verbs in the series have common NP arguments, and also typically share grammatical properties such as tense, aspect and polarity. Sœtherø concluded that the following generations can be deduced from the above definitions.

1. Serial verb constructions have more than one verb.
2. There are no co-ordinators between the verbs.
3. The verbs have common references of arguments (among other things).

2.5. Features/characteristics of SVCs

Lord (1993) and Ameka (2005), opine that there are various types of serial verb constructions even in one language and there are cross-linguistic variations such that the

properties of serial verb constructions in one language may not map whole sale onto those of another language. I strongely agree with this assertion by Lord and Ameka because not all languages are the same since they vary interms of morphological and syntactic structure. Moreover, they explained that the description of serial verb constructions in many instances appeared not quite adequate either because of the intricacies of the constructions or the tendency on the part of the researcher to address or concentrate on only one particular problem.

2.5.1. Strings of verb-like elements as a characteristic of SVCs

In defining serial verb constructions, some authors such as Sebba (1987) have dealt with serial verbs as strings of one or more ―verb-like" elements. Sebba states that the term ―Serial verb' [...] has generally been used to refer to a surface string of verbs or verb-like or verb phrase-like items which occur in what appears to be a single clause'. According to Sebba at its most basic the term ―serial verb" applies to V1 NP V2 NP or V1 NP V2 where V2 is not obviously an infinitive as it appears, say, in English (Sebba 1987:1).

2.5.2. Iconicity as a characteristics of serial verb constructions (SVCs)

Sœtherø's definition of SVCs follows a line similar to Durie's in asserting that they are monoclausal and lack marking of coordination. According to Sœtherø's (1997), as cited in Agyeman (2002) in an SVCs ―the verbs in the series have common NP arguments, and also typically share grammatical properties such as tense, aspect and polarity. A fundamental criterion of serial verb construction is that [of] the order of the events

described, the first verb describing the initial phase of the event or action" (Sœtherø 1997:8).

2.5.3. Critiques of cluster of characteristics (prosodic approach)

According to Newmeyer (2004:1), critigues of cluster of features is another way of defining serial verb constructions.While such characteristics as those outlined above lend clarity to our cluster of features approach, such an approach has been critiqued by authors such as Newmeyer (2004) due to the vagueness of terms such as ~~"m~~onoclausal" and ~~"c~~onceptualized as a single event" which he asserts, add little substantive clarity in defining serial verb constructions.

In attempting to add meaning to the feature that serial verb constructions ~~"d~~escribe what is conceptualized as a single event" Newmeyer (2004) follows Givón (1991) in using prosody to measure pauses between sub-parts of serial verbs in relation to finite clauses to come to the conclusion that ~~"e~~vents coded in English by single-verb clauses are coded in serializing languages by multi verb clauses" and do not show significant differences in event cognition (Newmeyer 2004:22). This measurement of pauses and intonation may be termed a prosodic approach to defining serial verbs.

2.5.4. Challenges in describing serial verb constructions

According to Sebba (1987), in describing SVCs a first major challenge is that it is ~~"n~~otoriously difficult to find non-syntactic criteria for determining category status" (Sebba 1987:3). This is an issue because ~~"s~~yntactic tests may not always work" as a means of determining category status (1987:3). Furthermore, in describing SVCs it is

necessary to properly identify what is not an SVC. In English and Dutch, for example, more than one verb may occur but one seems to be dependent on the other through morphological marking or position (Sebba 1987: 4).

2.6. Combined-subject serialisation

In combined-subject serial verb construction, ~~–~~the subject and direct object of the first verb are both subject of the second verb" (Osam 1994:201; 2004:43). He noted that this type of associative NP also occurs in Akan and gave exemples as shown below:

(1)a. Kofi nya.ø Ama ba.a fie.
Kofi accompany Ama come-COMPL home
'Ama accompanied Kofi home/ Kofi came home with Ama.'

b. *Kofi nya.ø banyin no twitwa-a ndua no.*
Kofi accompany man DEF cut-COMPL trees DEF
'Kofi cut the trees together with the man.'(Osam 1994:201; 2004:43)

The final type posited by Osam (1994; 2004) based on argument sharing parameters is the multiple-object type of serial verb construction, which corresponds to the transitive-transitive type of construction outlined above on the basis of transitivity. Th following are some examples of multiple object serialization in Akan:

(2)a. *Kofi tow-w ɔ son no k-u*

Kofi shoot-COMPL elephant DEF kill-COMPL no 3SG.OBJ

'Kofi shot and killed the elephant.'

b. *Kofi bɔ-ɔ abofra no pira-a no*

Kofi hit-COMPL child DEF hurt-COMPL 3SG OBJ

'Kofi hit and hurt the child.' (Osam 1994:196)

Although this appears as multiple-object serialization in Osam (1994), it should be noted that there is a distinction between example (1) and (2). He explains that in example (1) we have a case or real multiple objects in the sense of different NPs. In (2), however, what we actually have is a coreferential NP. Thus, while treated as multiple object serialization in Osam (1994:196) this may be better termed as coreferential object serialization. The intent in this section has been to show an alternative criterion for categorizing SVCs; on the basis of argument sharing.

Osam (1994) on the other hand also observed that one of the problems associated with the study of serial verb constructions cross-linguistically is the difficulty in having two researchers agree on exactly what the phenomenon is about. One possible reason may be that an author defines the concept based on the properties he or she identifies in a particular serializing language under study.

According to Osam (1994), focusing on the types of serial verb constructions in Akan, indicated that, integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs) in Akan is where two or more verbs are used to describe a single event. These multiple verbs conceptually code a single event because, even though they originally code separate events, these events

become integrated as a single event" (Osam 1994:162-4). This type of semantic integration is at the top of Osam's hierarchy of serial verbs wherein one of the verbs can become grammaticalized or the construction as a whole can become lexicalized. The integrated serial verb construction (ISVC) is juxtaposed with the clause chaining serial construction (CCSVC) type which is at the bottom of the hierarchy wherein each clause in the chain remains compositional and the SVC complex as a whole may be said to be composed of multiple –sub-events." Osam's (1994) explained that Clause Chaining Serial Verb Constructions (CCSVCs) may describe what is conceptualized as multiple sub-events, rather than a single event in the case of an ISVC. In Osam (1994a), the semantic notion of event integration (Givon 1990, 2001b) was used as the basis of the typologisation of serial constructions in Akan:

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

Ameka (2006) for instance, contends that individual verbs of the SVCs can be questioned or focused. This analysis could potentially cause a major problem for various definitions of SVCs in Ewe SVCs –exhibit characteristics which are sometimes said to be impossible either in SVCs or in languages that possess them". Such cases may lend themselves to the utility of empirical description over theoretical definition. Other features, such as the monoclausal feature, may be regarded as a defining feature for particular types of SVCs as opposed to as a defining feature for all.

2.7. Typology of SVCs based on semantic integration

Taking a critical look at Serial Verb Construction in other languages especially, the study conducted by Osam (1994) and Aikhenvald (2006) so far, it is clear that the argument revolves around two broad types of serial verb constructions in languages in general. These are: Clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVCs) and integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs). The cardinal difference between the two is that in the CCSVCs and ISVC type is that, the verbs in the clause chain serial verb constructions constitute independent events while those in the integrated serial verb constructions are embedded. The events in CCSVC can be separated without rendering the sentence meaningless while those in the ISVCs cannot be separated. An attempt to do so will render the construction meaningless. On the other hand, because the integrated serial verb constructions represents integrated or embedded events, it is not possible to break it into several parts, and if it does happen it distorts the meaning of the second sentence. This therefore explains that Integrated Serial Verb Constructions is embedded and any attempt to separate the clause can cause it to be meaningless.

Osam (1994a:193), noted that notion of semantic integration, can be recognized in two broad types of serialization in Akan: clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVC) and integrated serial verb construction (ISVC). According to Osam, the main difference between the two is that in the clause chaining serial verb constructions (CC) type, the verbs in the chain constitute the concatenation of otherwise potentially independent events whiles isntegrated serial verb constructions are embedded (ISVCs) express a single event otherwise known as embedded. Consequently, the clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVC) which is seen as composite events can be separated

without destroying the meaning. On the other hand, because the integrated serial verb constructions are integrated (ISVC) they represent tightly integrated events, where the constituent parts connot be separated to give any meaning. The examples below illustrate what is being explained.

(3)a. *Megye* *no* *di*
1SG.SUB-receive 3SG.OBJ eat
‗I believe him/her'

b.*Medi no gye
1SG.SUB-eat 3SG.OBJ receive
‗I eat him/her collect' (Osam 1994:196)

We can see from examples (3) above that though it is possible to break the construction into several parts but because the events in the construction are tightly knit into a single event that we cannot break up the sentence into two separate events. An attempt will render each part meaningless. These differences would be adequately dealt with in chapter four.

Up to this point we have looked at a few organizing principles upon which a typology of SVCs in Akan may be based including criteria of transitivity and argument sharing. However, the primary typology used in this thesis for categorization is based upon degree of semantic integration (see Osam 1994; Agyeman 2002; Hellan et al. 2003). According to Osam (2004), this framework, has three types of SVCs, namely the clause chaining serial construction type (CCSVC), the partially lexicalized-integrated serial verb

construction (PL-ISVC) and the Full Lexicalized-Integrated serial verb construction (FL-ISVC).

He explains further that there are different types of SVCs within these three primary categories wherein certain types of FL-ISVCs may be more semantically integrated and lexicalized than other types that may still qualify as FL-ISVCs as is the case with PL-ISVCs and CCSVCs. We further show that this categorisation is relevant for Akan as evidenced through SVC behaviour across the three disparate categories.

2.8. Characteristcs of serial verbs constructions

Kroeger (2004:229-230) proposes a set of characteristic properties of serial verb constructions in his work. He discusses these properties and provides diagnostic tests for determining whether or not a particular construction is in fact a ~~"t~~rue" serial verb construction or not. The following are the diagnostic test;

a. A prototypical serial verb construction contains two or more morphologically independent verbs within the same clause, neither of which is an auxiliary.

b. There are no conjunctions or other overt markers of subordination or coordination separating the two verbs.

c. The serial verbs belong to a single intonation contour, with no pause separating them.

d. The entire SVC refers to a single (possibly complex) event.

e. A true SVC may contain only one specification for tense, aspect, modality, negation, etc., though these features are sometimes redundantly marked on both verbs.

f. The two verbs in the SVC share at least one semantic argument.

g. Obligatory non-coreference: a true SVC will not contain two overt NPs which refer to the same argument.

h. A prototypical SVC contains only one grammatical subject.

i. Serial verb constructions consist of two verbs (or verb phrases) that occur in a sequence without an intervening conjunction (subordinating or coordinating) between the verbs.

2.9. Argument sharing in serial verb constructions

As indicated earlier, one of the most common feature of SVCs is argument sharing. However, there have been diverse opinions as to which of the arguments are shared by the verbs. The term argument sharing and referent sharing are a bit confusing. For instance, Osam (2004a) differentiate between subjecting sharing and referent sharing in Akan, but Hellen et al. (2003) maintain that subject sharing in Akan is a matter of referent sharing.

Agyeman (2002) also argues that there are two argument sharing patterns in Akan serial verb constructions. According to her there are two types of serial verb constructions identified by Osam (1994) in Akan. These are the clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVSs) and the integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs). Agyeman also pointed out that referent sharing equally exists in clause chaining serial verb constructions whereas object sharing exists in the integrated serial verb constructions.

Busia (2009) also did some work on serial verb construction particularly on clause chaining in some Kwa languages. The work revealed that referent sharing is the most common feature of CCs in Akan and Ewe. The research also found that Akan and Ga do not allow object sharing but sometimes, the object of the second verb may be left out in Ga even when the NP is +animate and that the only instance where the object of the second verb can be left out in Akan is when the object is inanimate. Busia concluded that Akan and Ga do not allow object sharing though there are instances where the object of the second verb may be left out in Akan is when the object is inanimate NP and that Ewe on the other hand allows both subject and object sharing in clause chaining serial verb constructions. The reason is that irrespective of whether the second NP is animate or inanimate it is covertly expressed. Thus, just like the subject, the object occurs once in a CC construction if the NPs involved refer to the same entity. This scenario of object sharing applies in Gonja serial ver construction too. This would be discussed in detail in chapter four.

Dakubu (2000) researches on multi-verb constructions in –Kwa" Ga and central Gur languages and finds that the fact that serial verb constructions are available in a language does not mean that every verb is likely or even able to introduce SVCs. She indicated further that SVCs is not an autonomously definable syntactic phenomenon, but a range of syntactic constraints on a speaker's freedom not to express arguments and features that have been previously expressed, starting from the initial instantiation of the subject. It therefore means that not all verbs in SVCs qualify as SVCs in a language. Dakubu conclude that the use of SVC to express aspect is however, much more common in Guurene than in Ga. At the same time, both languages use COMP constructions, not

SVCs, with verbs of desiring and saying, presumably a direct result of the need to allow for subject change after these verbs.

Caesar (2016) presents a discussion on serial verb construction in Dangme. In this work, she also identified eight (8) formal properties of serial verb constructions in Dangme. These include:

1. The verbs are not linked overtly by coordination or subordination.
2. The subject is expressed once on the first verb.
3. There can be multiple subjects. Where object is shared, it is expressed oncewith first verb.
4. Two or more independent verbs follow another wthin the same clause.
5. The verb shares the same aspect andmood expressed by the first verb.
6. Constituents in SVC can be questioned and focus marked.
7. The negation is expressed in either V1 or V2 in two sequence construction and in two verbs of more than a two-sequnce verb construction.
8. The verbs express one complex event composed by two or more single event. The single event happen simultamously at the same locationand are logically related.

Atintono (2005) also did some work on serial verb constructions in Gurene. In his paper, he discussed the properties of serial verb constructions some of which include the semantic properties such as, subject and object sharing, tense/aspect marking, polarity marking and predicates transitive and intransitive verbs, motion verbs that are used in serial verb constructions in Gurene. The paper concluded with the following findings;

1. All verbs in a serial construction in Gurene share one and the same subject.
2. Serial verbs may or may not share object arguments, and the shared objects may also be the same or not.
3. Tense is marked before the first verb in Gurene SVCs.
4. Aspect may vary among verbs but will be the same if stated in the habitual and the perfective.

The work on serial verb construction that is closely related to Gonja of this research is the one that was carried out by Ofori (2002) on Larteh, one of the Guan languages which is mutually intelligible with Gonja. In his paper, he indicates that in Larteh serial verb construction, tense, aspect and polarity are marked on only the V1, all the verbs in the serial verb construction share the same subject and that tone is responsible for the contrast between the present and the past tense. Ofori (2002) also admitted in his paper that there exists object-subject sharing in the language. According to him this phenomenon occurs in causative constructions structured along the patterns of serialization. According to him, in such constructions, the object of the preceding verb may become the subject of the following verb. I am of the view that since the Latteh language belongs to the same Guan (Kwa) language family, it is possible similar conditions may exist in Gonja.

The Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) also worked extensively in the language especially on the autography and phonology but with littlework on the syntax of Gonja language. Some of these works include a Dictionary and the translation of the Bible into the Gonja language, (1984). The work by GILLBT

was actually not serial verb constructions but it sets the agenda for the thesis because some constructions used here were taken from the translated Bible.

Colins (1970:180) also touched a little on serial verb constructions but like I indicated earlier in the purpose of study, Colins' work did not deal with the fundermentals of serial verb constructions in Gonja. However, he proved that serial verb constructions actually exists in Gonja indicating that the following are verbs that mostly appear in serial verb constructions; *ba* _come' and *ya* _go', *ta* _take' and *sa* _give'.

(4)a. *N* *daŋ* *mo* *m* *ba.ø* *pɔr.*
1SG come first 3SG to come-PST build-PST
_I came and built before him.'

b. *Bu* *ya ji.ø* *ajibi* *na* *nluwe.ø.*
They go eat-PST food DET. finish-PST
_They have finished eating the food.' (Colins 1970: 124).

Finally, Afari-Twako (2001:104-108) also touched on the analysis of serial verb constructions in Gonja but that work is rather brief. More precisely, he provides only one example to explain the concept in Gonja which is replicated below:

(5) *Baasa* *nimbi* *sha* *kolu wuraana* *ba.ø* *china.ø* *mata* *anye.*
People bad like quarrels come-PST sit-PST close us
_Some troublesome peope have come to settle with us.'

In example (5), you can see that within the same construction verbs like sha ‗want', *ba* ‗come' and *china* ‗sit' have been serialized. Similarly, Colins (1970:381) also gave an example of serial verb construction in Gonja in his work on the grammar and phonology Gonja as:

(6) *M ba.ø nɛ mba.ø pɔr.ø ebu.*
1SG come to come build.PST room
‗I have come to build a room.'

From the readings, it is clear that serial verb constructions can best be described as the processes involving series of verbs which share common NP arguments in what appears to be a single clause. In addition as indicated earlier, all these works could not adequately account for the phenomenon of serial verb construction in the language perhaps because their focus was not to discuss serial verb constructions. The research therefore seeks to do a descriptive analysis of serial verb constructions in the language to fill the gap that exists in that aspect of the language.

2.10. Summary of the chapter

The chapter provided a review of various works conducted earlier on serial verb constructions. The first part of this chapter looked at works that have been previously done on serial verb constructions in the Asian and the Western languages. The initial focus was on the evolution of the term serial verb constructions and later on the definition of the phenomenon. The second part of this chapter reviewed research works conducted

in African languages particularly those that have been done in Ghanaian languages that are closely related to this research most especially the Kwa and the Guan languages.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter basically discusses the research design, sampling techniques, methods and procedures employed in the collection of the data for the analysis. The discussion also looks at the instruments used for data collection and data analysis procedures.

3.1. Research approach/design

The research approach adopted for this study is the qualitative one. This involves the inquiry that allows an in-depth understanding of a particular behaviour. In qualitative research, the data collection strategies very often used are interviews, observation, documents and audio-visual materials (Creswell 2009) cited in Owu-Ewie (2012:41). The researcher considers qualitative research method as more appropriate for the study because the analysis of data is mainly descriptive. The aim of qualitative research is to paint a holistic picture and provide in-depth understanding, but not to render a numerical analysis of data.

Neuman (2012) asserts that descriptive research design helps to provide information accurately about a group or a phenomenon, provide new information about issues and also document information that either counteracts or supports prior knowledge about a particular issue. The descriptive design also has the advantages of giving the researcher the opportunity to describe semantic systems, relations or social events, background information about the issue in question as well as explanation. The

researcher chose this design because of the following reasons: It produces in-depth comprehensive information for the purpose of which this study is undertaken.

3.2. Population and sampling procedure

The total number of the sample population for this research was ten (10). The population was made up of four (4) females and six males (6). The participants of the study were made up of two tutors and two students of Bole Senior High School, two lecturers, one M. Phil. student and three level three hundred students of the 2017/2018 academic year group of the Gonja Unit of the Gur-Gonja Department of the University of Education, Winneba.

Gay & Airsian (2000) contend that qualitative research design generally relies on purposive selection of participants who will provide the required data concerning the research topic. The population of this research was purposively selected. Owu-Ewie (2012:29) defines purposive sampling as a method in which elements are chosen based on the purpose of the study. The population for this study was selected because they posses the required information the researcher needed. One of the major benefits of purposive sampling is the wide range of sampling techniques that can be used across such qualitative.

Cornips and Poletto (2005:942) argue that, one cannot use spontaneous speech alone to study the distribution of linguistic phenomenon. It further indicates that acceptability judgement tasks cannot rely entirely on explicit knowledge since native speakers are able to make judgement about structures with no explicit knowledge about

them which has not been explicitly taught to them. Therefore, the researcher selected five creative writing books of Gonja students in the Gur-Gonja Department of the University of Education, Winneba. They are Bugli (2017), Abdul-Rahaman (2017), Lermu (2017), Awusi (2017) and Fati (2018). These books were selected because they contain the data the researcher needed for the study.

The researcher also selected these people because they are more knowledgeable in the writing and the use of the language as far as the teaching and learning of the Gonja is concerned. The list of the consultants, (their ages, sex and occupation) are provided in table 1 below:

Table 1: List of consultants

Consultant number	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION	TOTAL
1	Male	76	UEW, Lecturer	1
2	Male	64	UEW, Lecturer	1
3	Male	30	M.Phil. student-UEW	1
4	Female	28	Level 300 students, UEW	1
5	Female	26	Level 200 Student, UEW	1
6	Male	29	Level 200 student, UEW	1
7	Male	41	Tutor- Bole SHS	1
8	Male	36	Tutor-Bole SHS	1
9	Female	18	Student- Bole-SHS	1
10	Female	18	Student-Bole-SHS	1
Total	-	-	-	10

3.3. Research site

The study was conducted in both Bole District of the Northern Region and at the College of Languages Education, Ajumako, University of Education, Winneba in the Ajumako-

Enyan-Esiam District of the Central Region. The Bole District shares boundaries with the Sawla Tuna-Kalba to the North, the West Gonja district to the East, the Wenchi district to the South and Cote D'Ivoire to the West.

3.4. Sources of data

Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were drawn from the Ngbanyato dialet (because it is the dialet I speak) through personal interactions with the sampled population. I also had conversation on some social media such as whatsApp platforms which include Savanna Development Foundation, Gonjaland Youth Association, *malga n sibɛ Ŋgbanyato and Dinkere Royal Gate platforms* in Gonjaland in January, 2018. Also, I used my own intuitive knowledge of the language to generate some of the data. This data generated were however, cross-checked with other native speakers of Gonja for authentification.

The secondary data used for the analysis were also drawn from available literature such as Colins (1970), Sulemana (2001), Afari-Twako (2001), Gbeadese (2011), Dramani (2011) and as well as Gonja-English Dictionary (2016). Afari-Twako (2001) and Colins (1970) for instance, did some work on serial verb construction but not into detail. In these works, I selected some constructions that contained two or more verbs to do the analyses. The study did not consider dialectal differences that occur in Gonja, my focus was based on the writing system on the standard of the Gonja orthography developed by the Gonja National Orthography Committee in 2014.

3.5. Data collection techniques

The main technique used to collect the data for this research was interview. The interview was more interactive since it was done on one-to-one base during the first session and later in groups. The participatory data collection was done through personal conversation with the respondents.

3.6.1 Interview

I visited Bole Senior High School on the 20th and 25th January 2018 to conduct the face-to-face unstructured interview. Questions were not planned and leading questions depended on the response of the respondent. A prior notice was given to the people concerned in the language community the staff and students a day priar to my visit. The unstructured interview was conducted on an individual basis in communities such as Bole and Winneba. I started at Bole Senior High School with the students and tutors for five days, thus, from Monday to Friday.

The second session also took me two days to interact with the lecturers and the students of the University of Education, Winneba-Ajumako campus on 24th June 2018. In both sessions, same questions were posed to the personalities selected. The interview was conducted on the general concept on serial verb constructions in Gonja. These techniques, to a large extent, were used to elicit information from the respondents to provide the necessary information per the questions raised such as the structure of Gonja syntax. As to whether in Gonja serial verbs constructions actually exist and how the verbs behave in such constructions. The following verbs were also given to participants to construct sentences in Gonja. This was meant to justify answers provided by participants

in the oral interview. Below were some of the verbs selected from the responses of the respondents:

(9). Ta _take‘, sa _give‘, yɔ _go‘, ba _come‘, ji _eat‘, nite _walk‘, china _sit‘, jɔ _fetch‘, kur _dig‘, bri _beat‘, for _wash‘, fuwe _sweep‘, danɛ _cook‘, shile _run‘, dese _sleep.‘

Indeed, some of the constructions used as examples in this work were drawn from the project works, class exercises and the creative writing projects of students of the University of Education, Winneba at the (College of Languages Education, Ajumako).

3.7. Data analysis

The analysis process began by coding and categorization of the data. The descriptive approach design was used for the data analysis. The data collected was analysed based on the number of verbs that occur in each construction I got from the informants. The purpose was to verify whether such constructions constitute serial verb construction in Gonja and the role each of the verbs plays in the sentence. It also discusses the type and the semantic properties of serial verb constructions in Gonja based on the data that were available to me.

3.8. Summary of the chapter

The chapter outlined the various ways by which the research work was carried out. This include the research design, the population, and the sampled population, sources of data

collection, instruments for data collection or data collection procedures as well as the data analysis plan.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.0. Introduction

Different languages have different ways of patterning their structures in order to express meaning. One of such ways is verb serialization which is a syntactic phenomenon of multi-verb construction. Beside Gonja, verb serialization, also called serial verb construction is a reported feature of some Ghanaian and other West African languages such as Akan, Ga, Dangme, Dagaare, Ewe and Yuroba. The first section of this chapter discusses two types of serial verb constructions and their application to the case of Gonja. In the same section, I further discuss the characteristics/properties of each type in the second part. The final part of the chapter also considers the functional types of serial verb constructions in Gonja.

4.1. Types of serial verbs in Gonja

Just as many other languages exhibit different types of serial verb constructions, I can deduce from the readings that I have done that Gonja equally has two different types of serial verb constructions. A critical survey of the literature on verb serialization (such as Lawal 1989, and Bamgbose in 1982), reveals that serial verb constructions are classified into different groups using various parameter. According to Lord (1993) and Ameka (2005), there are various types of serial verb constructions that may be found even in one language. Cross-linguistically, there may be variations or constraints on SVCs such that

the properties of serial verb constructions in one language may not map whole sale onto those of another language.

Osam (1994) and Aikhenvald (2006), for instance, argue that two broad types of serial verb constructions persist in languages in general. These are the: Clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVCs) and Integrated Serial Verb Constructions (ISVCs). In Hellan et al (2003), the foregoing considerations on SVCs are applied to the Akan language. This thesis will assess the two types of serial verb constructions in Gonja.

4.1.1. Clause chaining serial verb construction

In Gonja, there is a type of serial verb constructions were you can have two or more verbs within a construction that code different independent events and I believe this is what experts on SVCs refer to as _dause chaining‘ in other languages. As the name suggests, they are separate and independent events which are chained together in a complex construction due to their order of happening. So the main binding force is thus said to be their _temporal precedence‘ (Hellan et al. 2003). In fact, unrelated events can be chained together to form this kind of serial verb constructions with no proper internal restraints in their occurrence. This type of SVCs are very productive with the only restriction that could come up being, perhaps, one of acceptability judgements. The example (1a) below sheds some light;

(1)a *Fati nya amansherbi, n pur lan mfa kumo*
FATI get-COMPL money to build-COMPL house to sell-COMPL it
‗Fati got money, built a house and sold it.'

The above sentence in example (1a) above is an example of a clause chaining type which can be broken into different independent events without destroying the meaning. On the other hand, the example in (1b) below is difficult to separate because the construction represents integrated events.Any attempt to separate it will therefore distort the inherent intended meaning. This scenario is explained below.

b. *Fati daŋɛ ø n ji ø.*
Fati cook-PAST to eat-PAST
‗Fati cooked and ate.'

The example (1b) above cannot be broken into two separate events because when that happens, it makes it ungrammatical. This therefore explains that ISVC is embedded and any attempt to separate the clauses can cause it to be meaningless.

(2)a. *Fati daŋɛ.ø ajibi ji.ø pɔɛ yɔ.ø kibɛ.*
Fati cook.PST food eat.PST before go.PST market
‗Fati cooked and ate before going to market.'

The above sentence in (2) consists of different independent events with three verbs thus; *daŋɛ* ‗cook', *ji* ‗eat' and *yɔ* ‗go' and therefore can be broken into different events without destroying the meaning as shown in examples (2a, b & c):

b. *Fati daŋɛ.ø.*
Fati cook.PST
‗Fati cooked.'

c. Fati *Ji.ø.*
Fati Eat.PERF
‗Fati ate.'

d. Fati *yɔ.ø* *kibɛ*.
Fati Go.PERF market
‗FatiWent to market.'

From the examples in (2b), it is noteworthy that after decoupling the sentence into three separate entities, each construction still remains grammatical. It is also possible to introduce a conjunction without changing the meaning of the sentence but this is not possible with the integrated SCV. According to Osam (2004), in the clause chaining type, there is a very low degree of semantic integration between the verbs in the construction. Here each verb in the construction represents a separate event. As the name indicates, it is the type in which the verbs in the construction are closely connected. On his hierarchy of serialization, Osam (2004: 206) also places the clause chaining type at the very bottom, implying that it is the most loosely integrated type of serialization. According to Osam (1994), the main difference between the two is that in the clause chaining type, the verbs in the chain constitute the concatenation of otherwise potentially independent events while integrated serial verb constructions express a single event otherwise known as embedded. Consequently, the clause chaining serial verb constructions which is seen as

composite events can be separated out destroying the meaning. Below are two more examples of clause chaining serial verb constructions in (3) to further illustrate this phenomenon:

(3)a. *Binyi kur.ø kujɔ daŋɛ.ø n ji.ø.*
Binyi dig.PST yam cook.PST to eat-PST
‗Binyi uprooted yam, cooked and ate it.'

b. *Jiblaŋ na gbiɛ.ø mpɛ.ø blambuti na.*
Cat DET. sneek.PST catch.PST mouse DET.
‗The cat sneeked and caught the mouse.'

In clause chaining serial verb constructions, there is no limit on the number of verbs that can occur in the construction. That is, there can be as many as possible verbs in one construction. As a result, the sentence in examples (3a) above can be broken into different independent events without destroying the meaning as shown in example (4a) below:

(4)a. *Binyi kur.ø kujɔ.*
Binyi dig.PST yam
‗Binyi uprooted yam.'

b. *Binyi daŋɛ.ø* kujɔ.
Binyi cook.PST yam
Binyi ‗cooked yam.'

c. *Binyi ji.ø kujɔ.*

Binyi eat.PST yam

Binyi ate yam.'

The examples in (4) indicate that even after breaking the sentence in example (3), you will still have each construction remain grammatical and that goes to explain the point I raised about the independent nature of the Clause Chaining Serial Verb Constructions.

4.1.2 Properties of clause chaining SVCs in Gonja

4.1.2.1 Tense/ aspect in clause chaining SVCs in Gonja

While the views on what constitutes the proper properties of serial verb constructions vary, this section discusses some of the features of serial verb constructions in Gonja. Kroeger (2004: 229-230) for instance, proposes eight characteristics or properties that a prototypical serial verb construction should possess which I indicated earlier in (pp 34) of this work.

While Ameka (2006) identifies some four characteristics or features of serial verb construction in Ewe especially as regards their being monoclausal, expressing single events, the transitive nature of their verbs and the expression of objects in SVCs, Caesar (2016), also identified ten (10) formal properties of serial verb constructions in Dangme as indicated in (pp:36) of this work.

In Gonja too, the case is not very different as all the properties, with the exception of 6 and 7 identified for Dangme, also apply in Gonja. Specifically, in Gonja, while the past has scope over all other verbs in the construction, negation, the habital,

progressive and future are expressed only on the V1. This constraint implies that there cannot have be a single node for tense, aspect mood and polarity in the language. The TAMP (Tense, Aspect, Mood and Polarity) markers will therefore be composed of several nodes since it is possible to have a particle from the various categories in a single construction, whereas, it is only the past tense particle that can cut across the entire construction. Stated more succinctly, in clause chaining serial verb construction in Gonja, while the past tense is marked on all verbs in the construction, other aspects such as negation, the future and progressive are expressed via the use of free morphemes which precede the first verb and take scope over all other verbs in the construction. The examples below shed more light on this phenomenon.

(5)a *Binyi ba.ø tɔ.ø eblaŋ we.ø*
Binyi come.PST buy.PST meat chew.PST
_Binyi came and bought the meat and ate.‘

b. *Binyi ba.ø pɛ.ø kaboe na.*
Binyi come.PST catch.PST got DET.
_Binyi came and caught the goat.‘

In the examples (5a&b) it is observed that the verbs *ba* _come‘ *tɔ* _buy‘ and _chew‘ in (a) and ba _come‘ and pɛ _catch‘ in (5b) are all marked with the past tense by an empty morpheme /ø/ but this does not apply to the future, progressive and negation because when that happens the sentence is ill formed. These facts are further discussed in detail below.

4.1.2.2. The past tense as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

Gonja has an overt morpheme for marking the present tense. The present and the past are morphologically marked with tone. The progressive form of the verb is usually used to express events in the present. From examples (6), it can be observed that the tense particle constraint requires that, anytime a tense particle occurs, it must come directly before the first verb and its scope spreads throughout the construction. It is therefore assumed that a null morpheme be imagined as occurring before the first verb and stretching across the entire construction. It will therefore be ungrammatical to have the tense particle after the first verb or repeated before the other verbs. The past tense on the other hand can be expressed through tone. In marking the past in the clause chaining serial verb construction, all verbs in the series are marked with the past tense morpheme, as illustrated below:

(6)a *N nio ba.ø daŋɛ.ø ajibi n sa.ø anye*
My mother come.PSTcook.PST food to give.PST us
_My mother came and cooked food for us to eat.'

b. *Mo tuto yɔ.ø ndɔtɔ n ya.ø dɔɔ-ø kur.ø ajɔ mba.ø epe.*
1SG father go.PST farm to go weed dig yams come home
_His father went to farm and worked and harvested yam for home.'

In examples (6a&b), each of the verbs in the series is marked past with a tone morpheme. Thus in a construction, when the first verb is marked for pastness, then, it has scope over the rest of the verbs in that construction.

4.1.2.3. The Progressive as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

In making the progressive in clause chaining serial verb construction in Gonja, it is only the first verb that is marked with the progressive marker *bee* ‗is'. All the subsequent verbs are not marked with the consecutive. This is illustrated in (7) below:

(7)a. *Bintu bee boŋ kashɛ a chaa.*
Bintu PROG. sing song while dance
‗Bintu is singing while dancing.'

b. *Bintu bee laŋ a chaa*
Bintu PROG. drum while danc
‗Bintu is drumming while dancing.'

c. *Bintu bee for n kaa boŋ kashɛ*
Bintu PROG. wash while sing song
‗Bintu is washing while singing.'

As highlighted in the foregoing examples, in the Gonja serial verb construction, where all the events take place simultaneously, it is only the first verb that takes the progressive marker, while subsequent verbs do not take any tense or aspect marking. For instance, in all the constructions above, the progressive is only marked on the first verbs in each sentence *boŋ* ‗sing' and *laŋ* ‗drum' but not on the verb *chaa* ‗dance'. Even though, the subsequent verbs do not take any progressive marker, the over-all sentence is considered to be in the progressive aspect. That is, the progressive marker of the first verb has a

scope over the other verbs in the construction. The example below provides further illustrations;

(8)a. *Binka bee for mobe awajɛ a fata.*
Binka. PROG wash 3SG clothes to dry
‗Binka is washing his/her clothes to dry.'

In the examples (8a) above it is clear that in both sentences it is not possible to apply the progressive on all the verbs. It can applied only on the first verb if one applies the progressive marker on all the verbs it would yield only ungrammatical constructions.

4.1.2.4. The future as a property of CCSVC in Gonja

As regards the future construction in serial verbs in Gonja, it is only the first verb that precedes the future tense just as it happens to the past. The future marker, *beeŋ* and *baaŋ* ‗will' is only applied on the first verb in the construction while the subsequent verbs in the series then take the consecutive aspect as shown in (9).

(9)a. *Binka beeŋ shiɛ kujɔ n daŋɛ n ji.*
Binka FUT. peel yam to cook to eat
‗Binka is peeling yam, to cook and eat.'

b. *Binka beeŋ ba ji.*
Binka FUT. come eat
‗Bimka will come and eat.'

c. *Baaŋ ba ji ajibi na.*
They FUT. come eat food DET.
_They will come and eat the food.‘

d. * *Binka beeŋ shiɛ kujɔ e beeŋ daŋɛ n ji.*
Binka FUT. peel yam 3SG FUT. cook to eat
*‘Binka will be peeling yam to cook and eat.‘

e. **Binka beeŋ ba beeŋ ji.*
Binka FUT. Come FUT. eat
* _Binka will come and will eat.‘

The examples in (9a) and (b) above show that when the future marker *beeŋ/baaŋ* _will‘ is applied to both *ba* _come‘ and *ji* _eat‘ on clause chaining serial verb constructions in Gonja, only the first verb that precedes the future marker while any attempt to place the future marker before the second verb will render the constructions ungrammatical as demonstrated above in (9a, b and c).

4.1.2.5. The habitual as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

The habitual aspect in Gonja is marked with the morpheme *bee shaa* _likes.‘ Even though, *bee* _is‘ a progressive marker, but in this sense both *bee* and act together as habitual. This morpheme is marked on only the first verb in the construction. Similarly to the past and the future, the habitual is also marked on the initial verb which has a scope over other verbs in the construction. The sentences in examples (10a - c) exemplify how the habitual occurs in clause chaining serial verb construction in Gonja.

(10)a. *Binka bee shaa kushu saŋɛkama e di n koso.*
Binka HAB. cry anytime 3SG sleep wake up
_Binka always cries anytime she wakes up from sleep.‘

b. *Binka bee shaa ku daŋɛ n ji.*
Binka HAB. to cook to eat
_Binka likes cooking to eat.‘

c. *Binka bee shaa ku yɔ enite to.*
Binka HAB. to go travel
_Binka considers to travel.‘

From the above examples (10), it is observed that the habitual morpheme *bee shaa* ‘likes‘ only precedes only the first verb *shaa* _likes‘ and subsequently cut across all other verbs in the construction. When the habitual precedes subsequence verbs, the construction becomes ill formed.

4.1.2.6. Marking negation as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

Gonja is not the only language that has negation modality. Many studies such as Lyons & John (1997) and Osime (2006) report that negation is a universal feature of human language but its use differs from language to language. Negation markers in Gonja are *maa ‘is not’, maŋ* _will not‘ and *maŋ tiŋ*; cannot‘ for the past, present and future negation respectively. As regards clause chaining SVCs, each verb in the clause chaining is not marked with the negation marker. The negative marker precedes the first verb similar to the case of the progressive. Examples include the following:

(11)a. *Binka maŋ sa Mantenso ajibi nɛ e ji n di.*
Binka NEG. give Mantenso food to. 3SG eat to sleep
_Binka did not give Mantenso food to eat to sleep.‘

b. *Bu kaa maŋ ba tu mo.*
3PL can. PST NEG. come meet him
_They could not come to meet him.‘

c. *Kanyiti daa maŋ ba ji chipur ere.*
Kanyiti do.PST NEG. come eat morning DEM.
_Kanyiti did not come to eat this morning.‘

d. *Kanyiti maaŋ for enɔ aji ajibi.*
Kanyiti NEG. wash hand eat food.
_Kanyiti does not wash hands before eating food.‘

In the examples in (11), the negation morpheme *maaŋ* only precedes the first verb *for* _wash‘ as in the case of tense, progressive and future. As expected, the negative marker is only permissible on the first verb in the construction. When the negative marker is applied to all the verbs in the construction, the construction will be rendered ungrammatical.

4.1.2.7. The monoclausality as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

Clause chaining serial verb constructions are often noted as being monoclausal, and this is a key feature that differentiates them from Gonja bi-/multiclausal constructions such as coordinate clauses, and sentences showing subordination. An

indicator of the monoclausality of clause chaining serial verb construction is the fact that the sequence of VPs in it ‗act together as a single predicate, without any marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any kind'' (Aikhenvald, 2006:1). For example, in (12a) below, the verbs *chala* ‗gather' and *chige* ‗share' are not overtly linked by any conjunction and these verbs, which are transitive, share syntactic subject and object that are expressed with only *chala* ‗gather', the V1. As soon as a conjunction is introduced to link the verbs, a biclausal construction results because the subject and object of the second verb are now overtly expressed with the the first verb. Compare (12) below with (12b) which illustrates coordination.

(12)a. *Amati chala.ø mobe awajɛ kikɛ n chige.ø amo*
Amati gather 3SG-POSS cloth all to share.PST them
‗Amati gathered all her cloths and shared them.'

b. *Amati chala.ø mobe awajɛ kikɛ nɛ e chige amo*
Amati gather 3SG.POSS cloth.PL CONJ. 3SG share 3PL
‗Amati gathered all her cloths and she shared them.' *(Coordination)*

Note that in example (12a) *Amati,* the subject of both verbs *chala* ‗gather' and *chige* ‗share' in both sentences, is expressed only with the first verb and that the shared object of the two verbs (i.e. *mobe awajɛ* ‗her clothes') is also expressed only after the first verb. Note, however, that in (12b), where the coordinative conjunction *nɛ* ‗and' is introduced to link the two verb phrases, the second verb carries its subject as well as its object, both of

which are realized as pronouns that refer respectively to the subject and object of the first verb and therefore cannot be considered as serial verb constructions.

4.1.2.8. The SVC as an expression of one event in CCSVCs in Gonja

Irrespective of whether a serial verb construction is made up of just two verbs as in (13b) or of more than two verbs as in (13a), idealy it is expected that the entire construction expresses only one event. See the following examples in (13).

(13)a. *E tiɛ egbel na so nyaŋ kɔlba na pante yari.*
3SG jump wall DET. on squiz bottle DET. explode scatter
_He jumped on the wall and smashed the bottle on the ground and it exploded and scattered.'

b. *E ba.ø sa.ø ma asɔ na.*
3SG come.PST give.PST me things DET.
_She came and gave me the things.'

All the serial verb constructions in (13a and b) illustrate the single-scene type: the subevents are closely related in time and space and do complement each other as they describe a single event. With _multi-scene' SVCs, a series of events describe what may be conceived as a macro (i.e. one complex) event or episode. The events in question may take place at different times and locations so long as they are construed as being segments of an episode. However, the event which serial verb construction expresses

consists of sub-components or sub-events that are represented by the individual VPs or groups of VPs. These are further illustrated below:

(14)a. *Kanyiti kulɛbɔrɛ.ø n sa.ø Dukulbi.*
Kanyiti pray.PST to give.PST Dukulbi
_Kanyiti prayed for Dukulbi.'

b. *Mantenso ba.ø tɔ.ø kaboe na sa.ø ma.*
Mantenso come.PST buy.PST goat DET. give.PST me
_Mantenso came and bought the goat for me.'

c. *Ekuso ya.ø tɔ.ø ajibi n ji.ø.*
Ekuso go.PST buy.PST food to eat
_Ekuso bought food and eat.'

4.1.2.9. Argument sharing as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

In the literature on serialization, argument sharing is used as one of the criteria for defining serial verb constructions (see for instance, Bakar, 1989). Linguists who share this view argue that argument sharing is obligatory (except for few cases) as a characteristics of serial verb constructions. This is a situation where the verbs share the same objects and subjects in a construction. The following throws more light on the phenomenon.

4.1.2.10. Subject sharing as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

A very common property of serial verb construction in Gonja is the subject sharing phenomenon. Most often in this type of construction, the verbs share the same subject but with different object. The shared subject always occurs before the first verb in the series. This situation is a common property of serial verb constructions in Gonja. Bodomo (1993) refers to this as the subject sameness constraint. The implication being that there is a distinction between serial verb constructions and other constructions such as canonical coordination and subordination where different arguments can act as the subject. The constraint states that: –A construction (such as example 15 below) satisfies the subject sameness constraint if all the lexical verbs in C share the same structural subject." In the Ga language for instance, if the subject is a pronoun, it precedes all the verbs in the construction but this is not the case in Gonja where the subject precedes only the V1. Examples (15a-d) serve to illustrate:

(15)a. *Binyi ta.ø kawol na sa.ø mo.*
Binyi. take.PST book DET. give.PST him.
_Binyi gave him the book.'

b. *Binyi ŋin.ø ma lɛ.ø kasawule.*
Binyi push.PST me. throw PST down
'Binyi pushed me down.'

c. *Binyi daŋɛ.ø ajibi chige.ø sa.ø mbia na.*
Binyi prepare.PST food share.PST give.PST children DET
_Binyi prepared food and shared among the kids.'

d. *Binyi dɔɔ kudɔ na duu aboyu.*
Binyi PST plough farm DET plant corn
_Binyi ploughed the farm and planted corn.'

In examples (15a-d) all the verbs such as; *ta* _take', *sa* _give', *ŋin* _push', *lɛ* 'throw', *daŋɛ* 'cook', *chige* _share', *dɔɔ* 'plough' and *duu* _plant' share the same subject *Binyi* in all the sentences. On the same subject sharing phenomenon in serial verb constructions, Baker (1989:522) observes that in a language like Yoruba, in the event of subject sharing, ditransitive verbs cannot precede a mono- transitive verb. That is, in a situation where a ditransitive verb precedes a mono-transitive verb, both verbs cannot share the same subject. However, contrary to Baker's observation, it is possible in Gonja for a ditransitive verb to precede a transisitve verb and yet both verbs share the same subject.

(16)a. *Aduna sa.ø koshi na aboyu mpɛ.ø kumo.*
Aduna give.PST hen DET corn catch.PST it
_Aduna gave the hen some corn and caught it'.

It stands out from the examples in (16a and b) that both constructions are made up of a di-transitive verb as *sa* _give' and the transitive verbs as and *mpɛ* 'catch'. In example (16a) both verbs in the constructions do not share the formal subject of the construction. The subject *_Aduna'* is the subject of only *sa* _give'. The verb *mpɛ* _catch' does not share this formal subject rather, the indirect object of *_Akunatu*', happens to be the subject of the second verb *mpɛ*. This is what Osam (1994) also refers to as Switch Subject.

4.1.2.11. Object sharing as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

In many serialisingg languages, the internal argument sharing element in clause chaining serial verb constructions could be the object rather than the subject. In Gonja too, the situation is dicey. Whereas there is finality on CCSVCs involving two or more verbs sharing a single internal subject argument, instances where two or more verbs share the same object do not necessarily translate to a situation of verb serialisation.

Object sharing is a construction in which two or more verbs share the same object without any intervening connecter. Naturally, this shared object must not be more than one in number. When the shared objects are two or more, then a specific case of coordination is assumed to have been occasioned. The following examples give an illustration to this scenario:

(17)a *Mantenso tɔ.ø amalo chige.ø amo sa mbia na.*
Mantenso PST buy rice share it give children DET
_Mantenso bought rice and shared it to the children.‘

Note that in example (17a), there is only one subject noun phrase Mantenso which occurs before the first verb *tɔ* _buy‘. The second verb *chige* _share‘, also has amo _it‘ as the object occurring after it. *Sa* _give‘ which is the second verb also have *mbia* _children‘as the object. (17a) thus ex typical coordinated construction. The best exemplar of shared object arguments is thus (17b) where the two verbs *wɔrɔ* _do‘ and *keni* _see‘ share the same object *Mankiri.* In examples (18a) and (b) too, the verbs *tɔ* _buy‘ and *fa* _sell‘, and *daŋɛ* _cook‘ and *ji* _eat‘ share the object *amalo* _rice‘ and *kujɔ* _yam‘ respectively in each case.

(18)a. *Kache na tɔ.ø amalo m fa.ø amo.*
Woman DET. buy.PST rice to sell.PST it
_The woman bought rice and sold it.'

b. *Kabia na ba.ø daŋɛ.ø kujɔ ji.ø kumo.*
Child DET. come cook.PST yam eat.PST it
'The child came and cooked yam and ate it.'

Adger (2003: 81) puts it succinctly that each role must necessarily be assigned, but a constituent cannot be assigned more than one role; *amalo* 'rice' is the only internal argument in (18); *ji* _eat' and *fa* _sell' are transitive verbs that assign a theme-role to an internal argument but there is no overt Noun Phrase following it. What this means is that the complement of the second verb is not represented in serial verb constructions while both the first and second verbs are assumed to assign a theme theta-role to a single internal argument. The sharing of a common internal argument is thus necessary in CCSVCs in Gonja as it serves as a distinguishing feature between CCSVCs and other constructions in the language such as overt coordinating construction. Other examples are provided below in (19a and b).

(19) a. *Amati bri eyu na luri ebu na to.*
Amati hit thief DEF enter room DEF into
_Amati hit the thief into the room.'

b. *Amati bri eyu na nɛ e luri ebu na to.*
Amati hit thief DEF and 3SG enter room DEF into
_Amati hit the thief and then she entered the room.'

In the absence of internal argument sharing as shown in (19b), the costruction is deemed a coordinate construction. In (19a) the direct object of *bri* ‗hit' is the understood subject of *luri* ‗enter'. Both the first and the second verbs however share the internal argument *eyu* ‗thief'. (19b) on the other hand is composed of two separate clauses joined by the conjunction *ka* therefore no internal argument can be alluded to here.

4.1.2.12 Referent sharing as a property of CCSVCs in Gonja

Referent sharing on the other hand involves a situation where each verb in the construction has a token object NP. Thus, there is no token sharing in this case. However, the individual token object share a common referent that is to say they all refer to the same entity. An example is given below in (20):

(20)a *Mantenso tere.ø Mankiri n shuŋi mo.*
Mantenso call.PST Mankiri to send.PST 3SG
‗Mantenso called Mankiri and sent him'.

b *Mantenso ta ajɔ na n sa Mankiri*
Mantenso take.PST yam DET. to give Mankiri
‗Mantenso gave the yam to Mankiri.'

In examples (20a and b), the first verb in the construction has a token object NP. *Mankiri* is the object of the the first verb *tere* ‗call', and *mo* ‗him/her' is the object of the second verb *shuŋi* ‗send.' However, the two object NPs share a common referent, in other words, they refer to the same entity; *mo* 'him/her' refers back to *Mankiri* and so they are co-indexed on each other.

The following examples illustrate the situation:

c. *Alima tɔ.ø amalo chige.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice share.PST it
_Alima bought rice and shared it.‘

d. *Alima tɔ.ø amalo daŋɛ.ø n ji.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice cookPST to eat.PST it
_Alima bought rice cooked it and ate it.‘

e. *Binka ya.ø tɔ.ø asabta sa.ø* Mantenso *nɛ e wutɔ.*
Binka go.PST buy.PST sandals give.PST Mantensoto CONJ. 3SG wear
_Binka bought shoes for Mantenso to wear.‘(Coordinate construction)

f. *Ajata tɔ.ø* kalɛ *sa.ø Kasha.*
Ajata buy.PST dress give.PST Kasha
_Ajata bought a dress for kasha.‘

From the examples in (20a- c), it is obvious that the patient object (the first object NP) is shared by both verbs. What makes the sharing pattern permissible is the fact that the second verbs are verbs that can be used either mono or ditransitively. Thus, it is possible for these verbs *tɔ* ‘buy’ and *wutɔ* _wear‘ to share the object *asabta* ‘sandals‘ in (20c) and *tɔ* _buy‘ and *sa* _give‘ in (20d) respectively. Following Collins (1997: 463), Thus I propose that the subject of a transitive verb should be cosidered as functioning as an external argument (e.g. causers) while all other arguments are considered as internal arguments (such as themes, instruments and goals).

(21)a. *Kanyiti gmiɛ.ø digi na mburɛ.ø kumo.*
Kanyiti hit.PST mirror DET. break.PST it
_Kanyiti hit the mirror and broke it.'

b. *Kanyiti ji.ø bri mo.*
Kanyiti eat.PST beat him
_Kanyiti became victor over him.'

From the foregoing data, under normal circumstances, it would have been proper for the object to be realized as a pronoun rather than as a null NP; that is, where the construction lacks a noun phrase as illustrated in (21) above. Such an instance however, would yield constructions that are absolutely ungrammatical in the language as shown in the examples in (22):

(22)a. **Alima tɔ.ø amalo daŋɛ.ø amo n ji.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice cook.PST it to eat.PST it
_Amina bought rice cooked it and ate it.'

The sharing of a common internal argument is necessary in serial verb constructions in Gonja as it serves as a distinguishing feature between serial verb constructions in the language and other constructions including overt coordinating constructions. Consider also the examples in (23) below:

(23)a. *Yɔmba biri.ø eyu na luri.ø ebu na to.*
Yɔmba beat.PST thief DET enter.PST room DET in
_Yɔmba beat the thief into the room.

b. *Yɔmba biri.ø eyu na nɛ e luri.ø ebu na to.*
Yɔmba beat.PST thief DET. CONJ. 3SG enter.PST room DET in
_Yɔmba beat the thief and she entered the room.'(Coodinated construction)

In the absence of internal argument sharing (23b) must necessarily a coordinate construction. In examples (23a) the direct object of *biri* _beat' is the understood subject of *luri* 'enter'. Both the first and the second verbs share the internal argument *eyu* _thief'. Example (23b) on the other hand is composed of two separate clauses joined by the conjunction *nɛ* _and.'

Often too, all the verbs in this type of constructions could share the same subject. The shared subject always occurs before the first verb in the series; Bodomo's (1993) so called _subject sameness constraint.' This constraint in itself is not a distinguishing factor between SVCs and other constructions but rather what it does is to distinguish SVCs from constructions such as canonical coordination and subordination where different arguments can act as the subject. In Gonja there are instances where the single subject constraint can be set aside. This occurs in causative constructions which are structured along the patterns of serialization. For instance, two or more subjects can be occasioned in a sentence with one at the causative and the other at the non-initial position both of which could share the same object. Consider the following examples in (24):

(24)a. *Binyi shinnɛ Awusa ji.ø kujɔ.*
Binyi make.PST Awusa eat.PST yam
_Binyi made Awusa to eat yam.'

b. *Binyi shinnɛ Ndefoso shile.ø nchoŋ.ø.*
Binyi make.PST Ndefoso run.PST away
_Binyi made Ndefoso run away.'

From the constructions, one can note that, the initial verb in the construction is the causative verb *shinnɛ* 'let' or _make'. In such instances, the NP of the causative verb is different from the subject NP of the non-initial verb. Baker (1989: 522) argues that in a case where a ditransitive verb precedes a mono-transitive verb, the two verbs cannot share the same object. This argument stems from his observation of what happens in a language like Yoruba in the event of object sharing. Kusaal, a Mabia (Gur) language of northern Ghana is observed to be consistent with this assertion following the ungrammaticality of example (25b):

(25) a. *Amina da'a fuug tis Asibi*
Amina buy smock give Asibi
_Amina bought a dress for Asibi.'

b. **Amina tis Asibi da'a fuug*
Amina give Asibi buy smock
_Amina gave Asibi buy dress.' (Abubakar (2011: 38)

4.2.0. Integrated serial verb construction (ISVCs)

The other type of serial verb construction is the integrated serial verb constructions. (Hereafter ISVC) according to Osam (2004), ISVC refers to the type of serial verb construction in which two or more verbs are used to code a single event. In this type of serialization, an activity or event, which in other languages like English, is expressed in

one verb, is expressed by using two verbs in Akan. An alternative term used by Osam (1994: 193) for the integrated serial construction is ‗Lexicalised verb Construction'.

As the name indicates, the integrated type has a higher degree of semantic integration between the verbs. In this type of serial verb construction, multi-verbs (usually two verbs) are used to code a single event. Gonja uses multi-verbs to express unitary concepts. On the other hand, because the integrated serial verb construction type represents tightly integrated events, it is not possible to talk about constituent parts. Therefore, it is not possible to break the construction into two or more separate events. If that happens, it gives different events and not the one when put together.

(26)a. *Mankiri ya.ø ŋin.ø Binka nase.ø kesawule.*
Mankiri go.PST push.PST Binka put ground
‗Mankiri pushed Binka down.'

b. *Ekunatu kulɛ.ø ebɔrɛ sa.ø ma.*
Ekunatu pray.PST god give.PST me
‗Ekunatu prayed for me.'

From observation, one reason why the integrated serial verb construction cannot be broken into simple sentences is that, usuaully, the meaning the combination of verbs give, cannot be derived from the individual verbs. In other words, when verbs combine in this manner, they convey a meaning quite different from what the individual verbs mean. This, therefore, explains why the integrated serial verb construction is embedded and any attempt to separate the clauses can cause it to be meaningless as in (26). By way of

further illustration, while clause chaining serialization can be broken up into separate clauses as shown in example (26) above, this is not possible with integrated serial verb constructions, precisely when one attempts to break down example (26) as shown above, it loses its meaning as shown in (27a, and b) below:

(27)a. **Mankiri ŋin.ø*
Mankiri push.PST
_Mankiri pushed.‘

b. ** Binka nase kesawule*
Binka put down
_Binka down.‘

Observe that when the example in (27a) is broken into two parts as in (27a and b) each sentence does not make any meaning. As indicated earlier in the definitions, it raises the question of what _Makiri pushed‘ meanwhile Binka down‘ does not make any meaning and specifically does not answer any question. This explains why such sentences are regarded as integrated and inseparable. Other examples include the following:

(28)a. *Binyi tɔ.ø koshi sa.ø kebia na.*
Binyi buy.PST fowl give child DET
_Binyi bought a fowl for the child.‘

b. Binyi *tɔ.ø koshi*.
Binyi buy.PST fowl
_Binyi bought fowl.‘

c. Binyi *sa.ø* *kebia* *na*.
Binyi Give.PST child. DET
_Binyi gave the child.‘

From the above examples in (28a and b), it is observed that after breaking the sentence into two, each construction becomes ungrammatical because, in each of the construction, there is a fundamental question as who bought and who gave.

4.2.1. Subject marking as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

In constructing serial verbs in Gonja, a single subject always occurs either as a full NP or a pronominal which precedes the initial verb in the series. If it occurs as a full NP, it appears before the initial verb but if it appears as part of a full NP, it comes after the verb. This is evidenced in the following examples in (29):

(29)a. *Ebuayɛ* *tɔ.ø* *ajibi* *n* *sa.ø* *Anyiamo*
Ebuayɛ buy.PST food to. Give.PST Anyiamo
_Ebuayɛ bought food for Anyiamo.‘

b. *Kanyiti* *ta.ø* *asabta* *na* *n* *sa.ø* *Kawurbi*.
Kanyiti take.PST sandals DET. to give.PST Kawurbi
_Kanyiti took the sandals for Kawurbi‘.

In examples (29a and b) one will notice that the subject marking on the second verbs is optional and as a result both *Kanyiti* and *Kawurbi* share the same object asabta ‗sandals' in the construction.

4.2.2. Tense and aspect marking as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

Tense and aspect marking in ISVCs is not diferent from what has been said earlier on CCSVCs except that where as in CCSVCs the serial construction codes diferent events in the ISVCs the entire construction codes a single event. In addition, in the ISVCs, all the verbs in the construction mark the past tense with a null morpheme. The future, habitual, progressive and negative markers also always precede the first verb in the construction such that anytime they preede subsequent verbs, an ill formed construction is occasioned. Though, tense is not morphologically marked, the sense of completeness is clearly indicated through other structures. Consider the examples below in (30):

(30)a. *Akunatu ba.ø tɔ.ø eblaŋ n sa.ø Akunatu.*
Akunatu come.PST buy.PST meat to give.PST Akunatu
‗Akunatu came and bought meat for Akunatu.'

b. *Ashilanto kuu.ø eblaŋ n sa.ø Makpɛto.*
Ashilanto cut.PST meat to give.PST Makpɛto
‗Ashilanto cut meat for Makpɛto.'

Gonja has a zero or null tense marker as demonstrated in the construction above; however, in serial verb constructions, even though, tense is indicated with a zero or null

marker, both or all the verbs in the construction will take a similar indication of tenseness. That is if the first verb inflects a perfect tense, the rest of the verbs also assume a perfect tense colouration.

4.2.3. Negation marking as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

Generally, negation in Gonja is not marked morphologically on the verb but is done through the use of a pre-verb, the so called negative free morpheme. These markers: *maa* _is not,' *maŋ* _will not' and *maŋ tiŋ* _cannot' for past, present and future respectively. Negated integrated serialized verbs take only one of these negative polarity particles depending on the time reference of the expression even if the verbs are more than one in the construction. The data in (31) below illustrate that:

(31)a. *Ewonya maŋ ji sa mo.*
Ewonya NEG. eat give him
_Ewonya will not eat for him.'

b. *Ewonya maŋ tɔ malfa sa mo tuto.*
Ewonya NEG. buy gun give his father
_Ewonya did not buy a gun for the father.'

c. *Ewonya maŋ tiŋ tɔ malfa na sa mo tuto.*
Ewonya can.NEG buy gun DET. give his father
_Ewonya could not buy the gun for the father.'

From the examples in (31a-c) which show negative marking in Gonja ISVCs, it is thus the case that the justapositioning of the negation morpheme on each verb in the series renders the structure ungrammatical. Below are two examples in (32):

(32)a. **Ewonya maŋ tɔ malfa maŋ sa mo tuto.*
Ewonya can.NEG buy gun NEG. give his father
‗Ewonya will not buy gun will not give the father.'

b. **Ewonya maŋ tiŋ ta ajibi na e maŋ tiŋ sa kebia na.*
Ewonya can.NEG take food DET.3SG can NEG. give child DET.
'Ewonya could not the food could not give to the child.'

4.2.4. Future marking as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

The future is expressed in Gonja using the particles *beeŋ/baŋ* ‗will'/'shall' and is pre-verbal as in English. The constraint here stipulates that the particle precedes the first verb in a series and has scope over the entire series of verbs. The future particle can thus not be used after the first verb nor can it recur with all the verbs:

(33)a. *E beeŋ koso n ya tɔ ajibi na.*
S/he FUT. get-up to go buy food det.
‗S/he will get up and go and buy the food.'

b. *E maŋ koso n ya tɔ ajibi na.*
S/he FUT.NEG. get-up to go buy food det.
_S/he will not get up and go and buy the food.'

Observe from the examples in (33) that the future marker can only appear before the the verb. As a result, any time the future marker appears after the verb, it will render the sentence ungrammatical.

4.2.5. Multiple verbs as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

Similarly to many serializing languages, serial verb constructions in Gonja involve, naturally, the occurrence of more than one verb in a construction which act as a single clause code conceptually unitary events. Examples include the following:

(34)a. *Kanyen na ŋin.ø kebia na nlɛ.ø kasawule.*
Man DET push.PST child DET throw ground
_The man pushed the child down.'

b. *E sɔ.ø kesherkpaŋ na n ji.*
3SG collect.PST story DET. to eat
_S/he believed the story.'

c. *E shile.ø n ler.ø ebu na to.*
3SG run.PST to go-out.PST room *DET.* inside
_S/he ran out from the room.'

d. *E tɔ.ø asɔ na n sa.ø bumo.*
3SG buy.PST items DET. to give.PST them
_S/he bought the items for them.'

The examples in (34) above the combination of the semantic senses of the verbs in the constructions result in the depiction of single events. The linear ordering of the verbs also depicts the order in which the events took place while the number of verbs that can occur in this type of construction is, to a laege extent, very flexible though not ad infinitum (Lord 1993). See the following examples which serve to highlight this feature:

(35)a. *N tuto mɔ.ø* ko*shi na n kwia.ø kumo n daŋɛ.ø n we.ø.*
My father kill.PST fowl DET. to cut.PST it to cook.PST to chew.PST
_My father killed a hen, cut it cooked it and ate it.'

b. *Keche na koso n shile-ø n ler-ø n ya tɔ kwaya na.*
Woman DET. get.PST up to run.PST to go.PST to go buy-past soap DET.
_The woman got up, ran out to buy the soap'.

The sentence in (35a-b) is made up of four verbs all of which code different events and follow in a sequence representing the order in which the events unfolded. It can also be summarised from the example in (35a) that all the verbs are transitive. Example (35b) on the other hand has both transitive verbs such as *tɔ* _buy' and intransitive verb such as *shile* _run' and *ler* _go out'. However, when conjunctions are introduced into some of the preceeding coordinate constructions result thereby rendering the expression to be ungrammatical.

(36)a. *E chige.ø asɔ na nɛ sa.ø bumo.
S/he share.PST items DET. CONJ give.PST them
'S/he shared the items and gave them.'

These sentences are grammatically incorrect because the verbs no longer code a unitary event. Example (37) on the other hand comes out as a full coordinate construction as a result of obvious coordinators:

(37). *N tuto mɔ.ø koshi na kwia.ø kumo daŋɛ.ø kumo n shin we.ø kumo.*
My father kill-PST hen DET. cut-PST it cook-PAST it to then chew it.
_My father killed the fowl, cut and cooked and chewed it.'

The last verb in the construction takes an obligatory subject pronoun *kumo* _it' which signals that the sentence is close to the end. Example (37) can equally be broken down into four simple sentences as illustrated in (38) below.

(38)a. *N tuto mɔ.ø koshi na.*
My father kill.PST hen DET.
_My father killed the hen.'

b. *N tuto kwia.ø koshi na.*
My father cut.PST hen DET.
_My father cut the chicken into pieces.'

c. *N tuto daŋɛ.ø koshi na.*
My father cook.PST hen DET.
'My father cooked the chicken.'

d. *N tuto we.ø koshi na.*
My father chew.PST hen DET.
'My father chewed the chicken.'

This type of structure is prominent in most languages that have serial verb constructions. It can be found in languages such as Akan, Ewe and Yoruba (see Agyeman 2002, Agbedor 1993, and Awoyale 1988). Bodomo (1993) refers to instances whereby series of verbs are used to code conceptually unitary events, such as discussed in examples (38), as cases involving the predicate constraint. He puts it thus:

> 'A particular construction can only be considered as a Serial Verb Constructions if two or more different finite verbs occur monoclausally, selecting each other in such a way that together they express a single event.' (Bodomo (1993: 67)

This thesis considers constructions that involve the chaining together of series of verbs in an expression as cases involving serial verb constructions because these construction types pass all the tests that are used in differentiating SVCs from other types of constructions. Serial verb constructions consist of two verbs (or verb phrases) that occur in a sequence without an intervening conjunction (subordinating or coordinating) between the verbs. The following sentences further illustrate frequent types of serializing verb constructions in Gonja.

(39)a. E *tɔ.ø* *awajɛ* *n* *sa.ø* *mobe* *mbia*.
3SG buy.PST clothes to give.PST his children
‗He/she bought some clothes for his children.'

b. *E* *ta.ø* *kasaŋɛ* *n* *kuu.ø* *kujɔ*.
3SG take.PST knife to cut.PST yam
‗He/she cut the yam with a knife.'

From the serial verb constructions in (39a), the second verb phrase *sa mobe mbia* ‗give his children' is used to express a benefactive relation. In (39b), the serializing verb ta ‗take' is used in order to arrive at an instrumental interpretation.

4.2.6. The polarity constraint as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

In many serialising languages, all the verbs must take the same polarity marker either positive or negative. This constraint also holds in Gonja integrated SVCs as it is not possible to have both positive and negative polarity markers in the same construction. The following structures serve to illustrate:

(40)a. **E* *maaŋ* *koso* *n* *maaŋ* *ya* *tɔ* *ajibi* *na*.
3SG NEG. get-up, to NEG. go buy food DET.
‗He/she got up and go and buy the food.'

b. **E* *maŋ* *koso* *maaŋ* *ya* *tɔ* *ajibi* *na*.
3SG NEG. get-up, NEG. go buy food DET.
'He/she did not get up and did not go to buy the food.'

From the declarative sentences in (40a&b) above, it is observed that a negative declarative sentence in Gonja is marked using the particle *maŋ/maaŋ* ‗will not'. The absence of the *maaŋ* ‗will not' particle as in (40a) will render the sentence a positive declarative one. The polarity constraint requires that the negative polarity particle, precedes the first verb and has scope over the entire construction. It is therefore not possible to have two polarity markers interpretations in a single construction as is occasioned in (40b). In addition, neither is it possible to have the negative polarity element following the first verb nor recurring with all the verbs. When two polarity markers occur, it is that the derived construction is a coordinate rather than a serial verb construction;

(41)a. *E maŋ tor amoso e maŋ koso.*
3SG NEG. fall hence 3SG NEG. get-up
‗H/she did not fall hence did not get up.'

b. *E tor.ø kaa maŋ koso.*
He/she fall.PST do NEG. get up
‗He/she fell and did not get up.'

4.2.7. Argument sharing as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

In the literature of serialization, argument sharing has been used as one of the criteria for defining integrated serial verb constructions (Baker, 1989). The linguists as discussed in

chapter two, (Osam 2004a and Agyeman 2002) who share this view argue that argument (subjects and objects) sharing is obligatory as a characteristic of serial verb construction.

4.2.7.1 Subject sharing as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

A very common characteristic of integrated serial verb constructions in Gonja is the subject sharing phenomenon. Often, all the verbs in this type of constructions share the same subject with the shared subject always occuring before the first verb in the series. This situation is a common characteristic of serial verb constructions in Gonja. Bodomo (1993) refers to this as the ‗Subject sameness constraint'. He intimates although this constraint is not a special distinguishing feature of only serial verb constructions, what it does is to distinguish serial verb constructions from other constructions such as canonical coordination and subordination where different arguments can act as the subject. The constraint states that ―A construction such as in example (42) satisfies the subject sameness constraint if all the lexical verbs in (42) share the same structural subject."

(42)a. *Binyi ta.ø kawol na sa.ø mo.*
Binyi. take.PST book DET. give.PST him.
‗Binyi gave him the book.'

b. *Binyi ŋin.ø ma lɛ.ø kasawule.*
Binyi push.PST me .throw PST down
'Binyi pushed me down.'

c. *Binyi daŋɛ.ø ajibi chige.ø sa.ø mbia na.*
Binyi prepare.PST food share.PST give.PST children DET
_Binyi prepared food and shared among the kids.'

d. *Binyi dɔɔ kudɔ na duu aboyu.*
Binyi plough.PST farm DET plant corn
_Binyi ploughed the farm and planted corn.'

In the examples in (42a and d) above, *Binyi* is the shared subject of all the verbs including; *ta* _take', *sa* _give', *ŋin* _push', *lɛ* 'throw', *daŋɛ* 'cook', *chige* _share', *dɔɔ* 'plough' and *duu* _plant' in the sentences. In a language like Yoruba, for instance, Baker (1989:522) observes that in the event of subject sharing, it is not possible for a ditransitive verb to precede a mono-transitive one. That is, in a situation where the ditransitive verb precedes the mono transitive verb, both verbs cannot share the same subject. Contrary to Baker's observation, however, it is possible in Gonja for a ditransitive verb to precede a transisitve verb and for both verbs to share the same subject.

(43)a. *Aduna sa.ø Akunatu ajibi nɛ e ji.ø.*
Aduna give.PST Akunatu food to 3SG eat.PST
_Aduna gave Akunatu food and she ate it.'

b. *Aduna sa.ø koshi na aboyu mpɛ.ø kumo.*
Aduna give.PST hen DET corn catch.PST it
_Aduna gave the hen some corn and caught it'.

It can be seen from examples (43a and b) that both constructions are made up of verb such as *sa* ‗give' and *ji* ‗eat'. However, whereas (43b) follows Baker's observation, example (43a) contradicts it. In example (43b) both verbs in the constructions do not share the formal subject of the construction as a result, *Aduna* is the subject only of the verb *sa* ‗give'. The verb *mpɛ* ‗catch' does not share this formal subject rather, the indirect object ‗ Akunatu', happens to be the subject of the second verb *mpɛ* ‗to catch'. This is what Osam (1994) also refers to as ‗Switch subject'.

4.2.7.2. Object sharing as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

ISVCs also share arguments in much the same way as CCSVCs. Object sharing in ISVCs difers from that of CCSVCs in that while in CCSVCs all the verbs share the same subject but with diferent objects, in ISVCs all the verbs share the same subjects and object arguments. In such situations, therefore cannot be more than one object NP that is it becomes ungrammatical to have more than one object noun phrase irrespective of the animacy status of the object. Consequently, the only object in the construction is seen to be understood as being the object of both verbs. The following examples in (44) serve to illustrate:

(44)a *Mantenso tɔ.ø amalo chige.ø amo.*
Mantenso buy.PST rice share it
‗Mantenso bought rice and shared it.'

b. *Mantenso wɔrɔ.ø Mankiri n keni.*
Mantenso do.PST Mankiri FACT. See
_Mantenso tried Mankiri‘.

In examples (44a and b) above, there is only one noun phrase *Mantenso* which occurs after the first verb *tɔ* _buy‘. The second verb *chige* _share‘, has no object occurring after it while the noun phrase *Mantenso* which appears to be the object of the first verb *tɔ* _buy‘ is also understood as the object of the second verb *chige* _share‘ which implies that the two verbs *tɔ ‘buy’* and *chige* ‘share‘ share the same noun phrase as object. For instance in examples (44a and b), you will notice that the verbs *tɔ* _buy‘ and *fa* _sell‘, and *daŋɛ* _cook‘ and *ji* _eat‘ share the objects *amalo* _rice‘ and *kujɔ* _yam‘ in both sentences respectively:

(45)a. *Kache na tɔ.ø amalo m fa.ø amo.*
Woman DET. buy.PST rice to sell.PST it
_The woman bought rice and sold it‘.

b. *Kabia na ba.ø daŋɛ.ø kujɔ ji.ø kumo.*
Child DET. come cook.PST yam eat.PST it
‘The child came and cooked yam and ate it.‘

Considering that each role must be assigned but a constituent cannot be assigned more than one role. (Adger 2003:81), *amalo* ‘rice’ is the only internal argument in (45). *Fa* _sell‘ is a transitive verb that assigns a theme-role to an internal argument but there is no

overt noun phrase following it. What this means is that the complement of the second verb is not represented in serial verb constructions and both the first and second verbs are assumed to assign a theme theta-role to a single internal argument. The sharing of a common internal argument is necessary in SVCs in Gonja as it serves as a distinguishing feature between SVCs in this language and other constructions such as overt coordinating construction. Other examples include the following in (46a and b).

(46)a. *Amati bri eyu na luri ebu na to*
Amati hit thief DEF enter room DEF into
_Amati hit the thief into the room.'

b. *Amati bri eyu na nɛ e luri ebu na to*
Amati hit thief DEF and she enter room DEF into
_Amati hit the thief and then she entered the room.' (coordinate construction)

In the absence of internal argument sharing as shown in (46b), the construction necessarily becomes a coordinate construction. In (46a) the direct object of *bri* _hit' is the understood subject of *luri* _enter'. Both the first and the second verbs share the internal argument *eyu* _thief'. (46b) on the other hand is composed of two separate clauses joined by the conjunction *ka;* therefore, no internal argument is deducible and a coordinate structure arises.

4.2.7.3. Referent sharing as a property of ISVCs in Gonja

Referent sharing on the other hand involves a situation where each verb in the construction has a token object NP although, there is no token sharing. As a result, the individual token share a common referent and refers to the same entity. An example is given in (47) below:

(47)a *Mantenso tere.ø Mankiri n shuŋi mo.*
Mantenso call.PST Mankiri to send.PST 3SG
‗Mantenso called Mankiri and sent him.'

b *Mantenso ta ajɔ na n sa Mankiri.*
Mantenso take.PST yam DET. to give Mankiri
‗Mantenso gave the yam to Mankiri.'

In example (47a and b), each verb in the construction has a token object noun phrase. *Mankiri* is the object of the the first verb *tere* ‗call', and *mo* ‗him/her' is the object of the second verb *shuŋi* ‗to send.' However, the two object NPs share a common referent, in other words, they refer to the same entity; *mo* 'him/her' refers back to *Mankiri* and so they are co-indexed on each other. The following examples in (48) illustrate further:

(48)a. *Alima tɔ.ø amalo chige.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice share.PST it
‗Alima bought rice and shared it.'

b. *Alima tɔ.ø amalo daŋɛ.ø n ji.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice cookPST to eat.PST it
_Alima bought rice cooked it and ate it.'

Other ways by which object sharing is patterned in the language are illustrated below:

c. *Binka ya.ø tɔ.ø asabta sa.ø* Mantenso *nɛ e wutɔ.*
Binka go.PST buy.PST sandals give.PST Mantensoto CONJ. 3SG wear
_Binka bought shoes for Mantenso to wear.' (coordinate construction).

d. *Ajata tɔ.ø* kal*ɛ sa.ø Kasha.*
Ajata buy.PST dress give.PST Kasha
_Ajata bought a dress for kasha.'

From the examples in (48a and b), the patient object (the first object NP) is shared by both verbs in the construction. What makes the sharing pattern possible is the fact that the second verbs are verbs that can be used either mono or ditransitively. Thus, it is possible for these verbs *tɔ* 'buy' and *wɔtɔ* _wear' to share the object *asabta* 'sandals'in (48a) and *tɔ* _buy' and *sa* _give' in (48b) respectively. Following Collins (1997: 463), it is proposed that the subject of a transitive verb functions as an external arguments (e.g. causers) while all other are considered as internal arguments (e.g. themes, intruments and goals). Under normal circumstances, then, the object would be realized as a pronoun rather than a null NP in cases where the construction lacks noun phrases as illustrated in (49).

(49)a. *Kanyiti gmiɛ.ø digi na mburɛ.ø kumo.*
Kanyiti hit.PST mirror DET. break.PST it
_Kanyiti hit the mirror and broke it.'

b. *Kanyiti ji.ø mbri mo.*
Kanyiti eat.PST beat him
_Kanyiti became victor over him.'

Where this is not following to the letter, ungrammatical constructions such as the ones in (50)

(50)a. **Alima tɔ.ø amalo daŋɛ.ø amo n ji.ø amo.*
Alima buy.PST rice cook.PST it to eat.PST it
_Amina bought rice cooked it and ate it.'

b. **Alima daŋ.ø nɛ e ji.ø pɔɛ e di.*
Alima cook-PAST. CONJ. 3SG eat.PST before 3SG sleep
_Alima cooked and he ate before he slept.'

The sharing of a common internal argument is necessary in serial verb constructions in Gonja as it serves as a distinguishing feature between serial verb constructions and other constructions such as overt coordinating construction. Consider the examples illustrated in (51) below:

(51)a. *Yɔmba biri.ø eyu na luri.ø ebu na to.*
Yɔmba beat.PST thief DET enter.PST room DET into
_Yɔmba beat the thief into the room.'

b. *Yɔmba biri.ø eyu na nɛ e luri.ø ebu na to.*
Yɔmba beat.PST thief DET. CONJ. 3SG enter.PST room DET into
_Yɔmba beat the thief and she entered the room.' (a coordinated clause).

In the absence of internal argument sharing (51b) becomes a coordinate construction. In examples (51a) the direct object of *biri* _beat' is the understood subject of *luri* _enter'. Both the first and the second verbs share the internal argument *eyu* _thief'. Example (51b) on the other hand is composed of two separate clauses joined by the conjunction nɛ _and' which has no internal argument.

When verbs in this type of constructions share the same subject, it is the expectation that the shared subject occurs before the first verb in the series. Bodomo (1993) refers to this as the _Subject sameness constraint' and intimates that this constraint is not a distinguishing of SVCs from other constructions such as the canonical coordination and subordination where different arguments can act as the subject. In Gonja there are instances where the single subject constraint can be set aside. This occurs in causative constructions which are structured along the patterns of serialization. For instance, there can be two or more different subjects with one acting the causative and the other at the non-initial position sharing the same object within the same construction. Consider the constructions in (52) below:

(52)a. *Binyi shinnɛ Awusa ji.ø kujɔ* n luwe.ø
Binyi make.PST Awusa eat.PST yam to finsh.PST
_Binyi made Awusa to finish eating the yam.'

b. *Binyi shinnɛ Ndefoso shile.ø nchoŋ.*
Binyi make.PST Ndefoso run.PST away
_Binyi made Ndefoso run away.‘

From the above the initial verb in the construction is the causative verb *shinnɛ*‘let‘ or _make’**.** In this instances, the NP of the causative verb is different from the subject noun phrase of the non-initial verb. Mono-transitive verb, can likewise not share the same object.

4.3.0 Functional types of SVCs in Gonja

In serial verb constructions, two or more verbs normally function together to express a single complex event. However, because both verbs contribute to the meaning of the clause, the resulting expression is semantically more complex than the meaning of each verb on its own. The function of verbs in serial constructions can be classified into symmetrical and asymmetrical classes. In a symmetrical arrangement all the verbs in the series have equal functional status while in an asymmetical arrangement one verb modifies the meaning of another verb in some way. SVCs in Gonja are also observed to be used in the introduction of non-subcategorised arguments into monoclausal structures.

Baker and Harvey (2010) following Lord (1993) assert that this function is very prominent in serializing languages within the West African language sub-group and the Caribbean creoles. In examples (53a-b) we see the verb *ta* _give‘ being used to introduce a non-subcategorised argument, an instrumental, into the monoclausal structure.

(53)a. *Kanyɛn na wu.ø sa anye*
Man DET die.PST give us
_The man died for us.‘

b. *Ebu na bu tor bumo so*
Room DET cut fall them on
_The room fell on them.‘

In examples (56a and b), multiple events are described as taking place within a single scope of time. The verbs also follow in the order in which the events took place and very often entail the addition of an extra argument. This factor is evident in the semantics of the verbs that occur in some Gonja serial verb constructions and the arising functional types include the introduction of the benfactive, instrumental, locative, abilitative, manner, accompaniment, refusal, consequential, comparative and the simultaneous. Some of these are discussed in turn below:

4.3.1. The benefactive as a functional type of SVCs in Gomja

One of the functional concepts expressed by serialized verbs in Gonja is the benefactive. This is where one entity _benefits‘ from the action of another. In the example that follows, for instance, the serial verb construction suggests that the oblique object *mo* _his/her‘ benefits from an action carried out by the subject *Borɛsa*. In such a construction the verb which comes before the NP benefiting from the action is usually *sa* _give‘. In English, the preposition _for‘ is often used to express such an action. An example could

be. ‗He bought a mobile phone for the boy.' In Gonja, the concept *sa* ‗give' is used to express the benefactive. For example:

(54)a. *Borɛsa tɔ.ø koshi sa.ø mo tuto.*
Borɛsa buy.PST fowl give.PST her father
‗Borɛsa bought fowl for his father.'

b. *Akunatu shuŋ.ø sa.ø mo nyempe.*
Akunatu work.PST give.PST 3SG master
‗Akunatu worked for his father.'

c. *Akunatu boŋ.ø kashɛ sa.ø mbia na.*
Akunatu sing.PST a song give.PST children na
‗Akunatu sang for the children.'

In the examples in (54) above, *tuto na* ‗the father', *enyempe* na ‗the master' and *mbia na* ‗the children' are the beneficiaries of the actions of *Borɛsa* and *Akunatu's* arising from the serialized verbs *tɔ* ‗buy' and *sa* ‗give', *shuŋ* ‗work' and ‗give'.

4.3.2. The instrumental as a functional type of SVC in Gonja

The second concept expressed by Gonja serial verb constructions is the notion of instrumentality. This involves an action being accomplished with the assistance of something else. In this type of SVC, the object NP undergoes a change in its physical state which is caused by the subject NP using an instrument. The first verb is always the

verb, *ta* ‗take' which is followed by the NP2 which is the instrument while the second verb is normally used transitively. This expression is carried out in English using the preposition *nɛ* ‗with'. In Gonja, this is expressed using *nɛ* ‗with' and *ta* ‗take' as in the examples below;

(55)a. *E ta.ø safi na buwi.ø kabuni na.*
He take.PST key DET. open.PST door DET.
‗He opened the door with the key.'

b. *E ba.ø* ta.ø shafi na *buwi.ø kabuni na.*
3SG come.PST take.PST key DET. open.PST door DET.
‗He/she used the key to open the door.'

From the examples in (55a and b), it is clear that *shafi* ‗key' is used as the instrument to effect the change in the sentence so constructed.

4.3.3. The locative as a functional type of SVC in Gonja

These are verbs that are used to express or indicate the position of an entity or its location. In Gonja, location is expressed with positional verbs such as *so* ‗on' and *to* ‗in' among others. Consider the following examples in (56).

(56)a. *Kache na ta.ø nku na wɔtɔ.ø kabaa na to.*
Woman DET. take.PST oil DET. Put.PST pot DET. into
‗The woman put the oil in the pot.'

b. *E ta.ø kawol na deŋi.ø tebul na so.*
3SG take-past book det. Put.PST table DET. on
‗He/she put the book on the mat.'

From the examples in (56), the locative verbs *wɔtɔ* ‗put in' and *deŋi* 'on' are used to indicate where the *kawol* ‗book' and *ŋku* ‗shea-buter' are or can be located. This confirms how locative verbs are used in serial verb constructions in Gonja.

4.3.4. Manner verbs as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

In symmetrical serial verb constructions, one verb may describe the way in which the action of the other was performed. This situation also happens in Gonja serialization. Example include the following;

(57)a. *Dukulbi ya-ø ji-ø manaŋ.*
Dukulbi go.PST eat.PST Adv.
‗Dukulbi went and ate faster.'

b. *E shile.ø manaŋ ba.ø epe*
3SG run.PST ADV. come.PST home
‗He/she ran faster home.'

Manner SVCs simply show how an action or incidenent is performed or takes place just as *ji manaŋ* ‗eats fast' or *shile manaŋ* ‗ran faster' into the house.

4.3.5. Motion verbs as a functional Type of SVCs in Gonja

One other common pattern of serialization involves a verb of motion. A motion verb occurs in the position dictated by the temporal sequencing of sub-events. Consider the examples in (58) below:

(58)a. *Mbianyensobi na ya.ø kur.ø ajɔ* n sulɔ.ø.
Boys DET. go.PST dig.PST yam to carry.PST
_The boys came and dug yams to carry.'

b. *Mbiachebi na bee nite a ba.*
Girls DET. PROG. walk towards come'
_The girls are walking towards us.'

Motion SVC demonstrate that an action is still ongoing as shown in the two sentences above where *Mbianyensobi* _boys' and *Mbiachebi* _girls' are involved in an action like *kur* _dig' or *nite* _walk' and *ba* _coming' that is still ongoing or happening.

4.3.6. The comparative as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

In this type of Serial Verb Constructions, two NP's are compared to determine which of them has more or less attributes than the other, as in (59). The subject NP of the initial verb could have more or less attributes than the second NP. The initial verb in this SVCs is usually a stative verb. For instance *achɔ* _more/ better' than is used to express comparism in Gonja.

(59)a. *Borenyi bee shile n naa ji achɔ mo tere.*
Borenyi PROG. runs CONJ. also eats more than his friend
‗Borenyi runs and also eats more than his friends.'

b. *Borenyi wɔ nteŋ n naa ji achɔ Amati.*
Borenyi is tall and also eats. COMP Amati
‗Borenyi is taller and also eats moer than Amati.'

In comparative serial verb constructions, we compare two subjects to show the one that is more or less attributive. From the sentences above, we have demonstrated that Borenyi (the subject) is either more handsome or taller than the next subject in context. The word that expresses the comparative is *achɔ* ‗more than'.

4.3.7. The comitative as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

The comitative SVC expresses a meaning of ‗go together with.' The subject NP of the initial verb (V1) goes with the object NP of the same verb to some ‗destination'. That is, the V1 in such constructions in Gonja is the, bipartite *nɛ…mo/ mo...nɛ..mo* **'**with'**.** The first part *nɛ/mo* occurs before the NP object which is then followed by the second part *mo/nɛ mo* with a resulting combined effect that the one ‗goes with or comes along with' the other norminal.

(60)a. *Borenyi nɛ mo e ba.ø ji.ø*
Borenyi COM.him 3SG come.PST eat.PST
‗Borenyi went with him/her.'

b. *E* *ba.ø* *sɔ.ø* *ajibi* *na* *n* *yɔ.ø* .
3SG come.PST collect food DET. to go.PST
_He/she came and collected the food away.'

In the examples above, *mo/mo…nɛ…nɛ* are used to indicate that Borenyi _went with' the other participant in one instance and that he came with the other participant in the next instance.

4.3.8. The accompanimental as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

This serial verb construction has the meaning of _take along with'. The subject NP of the initial verb takes the second NP of the same verb to some location. This serial verb construction in Gonja differs from the comitative in which the subject NP of the initial verb _goes with' the object NP of the same verb to some destination:

(61)a. *Borenyi* *bra.ø* *awajɛ* *ko* *m* *ba* *sa* *ma.*
Borenyi bring.PST clothes some to come give me
_Borenyi brought some clothes for me.'

b. *Borenyi* *ta.ø* *amaŋshɛrbi* *na* *mba.ø.*
Borenyi take.PST money DET. come.PST
_Borenyi brought the money.'

The accompaniment serial verb construction is also done using *bra* ‗brings' or *ta n ba* ‗brought it' or ‗come along with' as indicated in example (61b). This means something or someone comes with or takes another entity along with it to a certain destination.

4.3.9. The sequential as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

In the sequential SVC, the initial verb expresses the fact that the subject NP will be the first to carry out the action or achieve the state of the non-initial verb before the object NP. It also signifies how events in a construction follow each other in terms of the action that comes first. In Gonja, *pɔɛ* ‗before' and *ta* ‗take' must necessarily come before the action is carried out. In this case, the first event occurs before the subsequent ones can occur. In other words, the first action precedes the second action as shown in examples (62a and b) below.

(62)a. *Borenyi beeŋ ji pɔɛ n yɔ.*
Borenyi FUT. eat before to go
‗Borenyi will eat before leaving.'

b. *Borenyi ta.ø malfa na too.ø kabuibi.*
Borenyi take.PST gun DET. shoot.PST bird
‗Borenyi took the gun to kill the bird.'

From the examples in (62), one can easily notice how the events or actions follow each other in a logical sequence to carry out some sense. Often, if the actions do not follow each other in a logical sequence, the meaning of the sentence may be lost. For instance, if

the statement in (62) is placed in the opposite, the meaning will be lost. That is why *ta malfa* ‗take gun' must come before *too kabuibi* ‗shoot the bird'.

4.3.10. The abilitative as a functional type of SVC in Gonja

This serial verb construction is used to express the notion of an ‗ability to do something or carry out an action', whereby the subject noun phrase of the initial verb is able to carry out the action of the non-initial verb. This is expressed in Gonja with been tiŋ ‗can or is able to' as in (63):

(63)a. *Borenyi beeŋ tiŋ di cheche na yɔ sukuru.*
Borenyi FUT. able climb bicycle DET. go school
‗Borenyi can ride the bicycle to school.

b. *Borenyi beeŋ tiŋ kuu kadibi na ntuŋ anyɔ.*
Borenyi FUT. be able cut tree DET. type two
‗Borenyi can cut the tree into two.'

The examples in (63) show how Borenyi is able to carry out the action. Either he is able to go there or he can cut the tree. The Gonja words that describe ability is: beeŋ tiŋ ‗is able' as used in both sentences.

4.3.11. The consequential as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

In this type of Serial Verb Construction, the action of the first verb results in the consequence or state of the second verb. Example (64) shows that the death or killing of the animal results from the action of shooting animal. From the examples below, it is easy to deduce that the action of firing in the first instance caused the animal to die in (64), while the action of the first participant against the second participant caused the second participant to fall to ground in (64b). This type of SVCs shows how an object is affected as a result of another person's action.

(64)a. *E too.ø kusɔbaɔya na mɔ.ø.*
3SG shoot.PST animal DET. kill.PAST
_He/she shot the animal dead.'

b. E too.ø kiya sila kanyen na nɛ e tor.ø.
3sg shoot.PST leg hit man DET. CONJ. fall.PST
_He/she hit the man with his leg and he fell.' (coordinate construction)

4.3.12. The simultaneous event as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

The verbs in this type of serial verb construction express the idea that the actions depicted by the initial and non-initial verbs take place at the same time and are expressed using *bee* _is' and *kaa* _whiles' in Gonja. For instance, from the examples below, the agent *Borenyi* is shown to be eating while working in (65a) while in (65b) he is simultaneously

sweeping and singing. Observe also that the progressive is marked on allthe verbs in the constructions in the examples.

(65)a. *Borenyi bee ji kaa shuŋ.*
Borenyi PROG. eat whiles work.PROG
_Borenyi is eating while working.‘

b. *Borenyi bee ɟuwe kaa boŋ kashɛ.*
Borenyi PROG. sweep whiles sing.PROG song
_Borenyi is sweeping while singing.‘

4.3.13. The refusal as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

The refusal SVC expresses the fact that the action or state of the verbs in a series was deliberately not initiated, or is deliberately denied of happening. This is demonstrated in Gonja using the morpheme kini _ddiberate refusal‘. Examples (67) throws more light on this:

(67)a. *Borenyi kini.ø kushuŋ kushuŋ na.*
Borenyi refuse.PST work work DET.
_Borenyi refused to do the work.‘

b. *Borenyi kini.ø ku yɔ.ø ndɔ na to.*
Borenyi refuse.PST to go.PST farm DET. inside
_Borenyi refused to go to the farm.‘

4.3.14. The durational as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

Bamgbose (1986:-33) sees the durational serial verb construction as one in which ‗the action or state of the first verb continuous until the action or state of the second verb is attained. The durational is expressed in Gonja using *hali* ‗till‘ and the following serve to examplify:

(68)a. *Borenyi shuŋ.ø chipur na hali mba fo kasusɔ.*
Borenyi work.PST dawn DET. untill come reach evening
‗Borenyi worked from dawn till evening.‘

b. *Borenyi chaa.ø kushuŋ ndre m ba fo kabre.*
Borenyi dance.PST since yesterday come reach today
‗Borenyi danced since yesterday up to this morning.‘

Durational serial verb constructions tell how long an action takes to finish or the time that an event takes to end. From the examples, the agent Borenyi either took the whole day or the whole night to finish whatever he was doing.

4.3.15. The causative as a functional type of SVCs in Gonja

Causative serial verb constructions in Gonja express a causer cause relationship involving the use of verbs like *ta* ‗take‘, *sa* ‗give‘ and *kaŋɛ* ‗say‘ which are direct causation verbs. In the examples that follow, this relationship, of one entity causing another thing or event to happen, is clearly outlined:

(69)a. *E* *tɔ.ø* *kawol* *na* *sa.ø* *kabia* *na*.
3SG buyPST book DET. give.PST child DET.
_He/she bought the book for the child.'

b. *Kache na* *shinnɛ* *kanyɛn na* *bri* *kabia* *na* *mɔ*.
Woman DET. make man DET. beatPST. child DET. kill
_Woman made the man to beat the child to death.'

Examples (69a) the subject *e* _he/she' cause *kebia 'the child'* to have a book by paying for. In (69b) *kache* _woman' influence *kanyɛn 'man'* to beat the *child* _kabia to die'.

4.4. Summary of the chapter

This chapter discussed the various categorazations of SVCs in the Gonja language. This was premised on the appropriate and acceptable means of describing the phenomenon of SVCs in the language where it was noted that a prototypical SVC is a construction that involves two or more verbs within the same construction which share the same noun phrase arguments in what appears to be a single clause without any intervening conjunction. The chapter proceeded to dicuss the two main types of serial verb constructions in the language: the clause chaining and the intergrated serial verb constructions. The discussions on these two revolved the general features of serial verb constructions including subject marking, tense and aspect marking, negation, future marking and argument sharing where a constellation of verbs share the same argument. The concluding parts of the chapter considered the functional groupings into which Gonja serial verb constructions can be put.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARRY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introductions

This chapter presents the summary of the thesis, provides an outline of the major findings that are made in this study, makes some concluding remarks and concludes with some recommendations for future reseachers into the linguistic systems of the Gonja language.

5.1. Summary of the thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter which forms the general introduction to the study touches on important themes such as the background to the study, ethnographic information of Gonja, statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, and research questions, significance of the study, limitation and organization of the study.

Chapter two provides a review of current and past literature on research conducted on the topic of verb serialization and its many interfaces cross-linguistically but also with a focus on the Kwa group of languages which are cognates of the Guan group to which Gonja belongs.

Chapter three discusses the methodology that was used for the data collection, where the data was collected, how it was collected and the instruments used to solicit for the data. Chapter four presents data to show that Gonja is a true serializing language based on a study of the types of serial verb constructions and the properties that fall under each type.

The tests for subject and object sharing, tense, aspect, modality and polarity were also discussed under each type of serial verb construction. The final part of chapter four discussed the functional and semantic types of Gonja serial verb constructions. This chapter, that is chapter five, gives the summary, findings, conclusions, suggestions and recommendations for future research.

5.2. Findings

The work found out that there are two types of serial verb constructions in Gonja. These are the clause chaining serial verb constructions (CCSVCs) and the integrated serial verb constructions (ISVCs). The findings resonate some of Osam's (1994) treatise on the topic in Akan under the two main types of serial verb constructions. The analysis revealed that before any linguistic structure can be considered as a serial verb construction in Gonja, then all the verbs in that structure should have the same subject as in other verb serialization languages. The study also identified subject and object sharing as properties of serial verb constructions in Gonja and that apart from the subject constraints which is permissible in Gonja, the rest do not hold in general terms because there are structures within the language which do not conform to these constraints. The study also found that referent sharing is the most common feature of clause chaining serial verb constructions in the language. In addition, serial verb constructions were analysed as being different from cognate constructions like auxiliary constructions, although there may be some similarities. It was also noted that because _serial verbs' are considered as _complex predicates' they lend themselves to a myriad of semantic

nuances, interpretations and applications. The following are the major points in respect of serial verb constructions in Gonja:

1. All verbs in the serial construction must share one and the same subject.
2. Serialised verbs may or may not share object arguments.
3. Tense must be marked on the first verb in the serial verb construction.
4. Aspect may vary among verbs but will be the same if stated in the habitual and the perfective.
5. Tense aspect and polarity markers are indicated only on V1 and this sets the tone for the contrast between the present and the past tense.

Finally, the research identified the following: motion, manner, refusal, durational, causative, locative, benefactive, comparative, instrumental, comitative, sequential, abilitative, accompaniment, consequential and simultaneous verbs as the functional category of serial verb construction in Gonja.

5.3. Conclusion

Thus far, it has been observed that in Gonja, serial verb constructions are mono-clausal but multi-predicational. They are said to involve two or more distinct predicating morphemes, linked together in a single clause by virtue of the fact that they share one or more argument positions through coindexation. I observed further that a construction can only be considered as a serial verb construction in Gonja if that construction satisfies the subject, the TAMP, the connector, the object and the predicate constraints.

I note also that there are two argument sharing patterns in Gonja serial verb constructions. These are subject and object sharing, subject sharing exists in clause

chaining serial verb constructions whereas object sharing exists in the integrated serial verb constructions. The analysis revealed that subject sharing is the most common feature of clause chaining in the language. In analyzing Gonja serial verb constructions, tense aspect and polarity are marked on only the V1, all the verbs in the serial verb construction share the same subject while most verbs in a serial verb construction in Gonja also share one and the same subject.

The study also revealed that Gonja does not allow object sharing but sometimes, the object of the second verb may be left out. However, the only instance where the object of the second verb can be left out in a serial verb constructions, is when the object is inanimate. In the Gonja serial verb construction too, all the verbs must have the same tense and polarity markers.

5.4. Recommendations

In the interim, it is my hope that this work will serve as a platform for further studies and expand our understanding of serial verb constructions in Gonja. Though the study has provided some insights into this area, there are still some outstanding issues which deserve further investigations. Therefore, a lot more research could be undertaken even on serial verb constructions in Gonja especially on the norminalization of serial verb constructions in the language.

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