The Verbal Category:

Reflections From a Language of the Minority

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Dedication

To All Linguists Especially Those Interested In Documenting Endangered Languages

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This book is an adaptation of my doctoral dissertation. It fundamentally discusses the verb using the Role and Reference Grammar theoretical approach with Etulo as the language of exemplification.

The dissertation was supervised by Prof Benjamin Mmadike. Profs Obiamalu and Mbagwu were the internal examiners while Prof Yuka was the external examiner. They contributed significantly towards the final version of the dissertation. The thorough supervision provided through the course of this study by Prof Mmadike is highly appreciated.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
3PL	Third Person Plural
AUH	Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy
AUX	Auxiliary
BVC	Bound Verb Complement
COMP	Complement
CONT	Continuous
COP.M	Copula Masculine
DEM	Demonstrative
DN	Derived Nominal
DET	Determiner
FUT	Future
GSR	Generalized Semantic Role
IMPERF	Imperfective
INGR	Ingressive
ICV	Inherent Complement Verb

LSC	Layered Structure of the Clause
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
PROG	Progressive
REL	Relative
RRG	Role and Reference Grammar
SEML	Semelfactive
SM	Subject Marker
TNS	Tense

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PREFACE

The chapters in this book explore the verbal category in Etulo adopting the Role and Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG) theoretical framework. The RRG theory is a functionalist theory which is based on the communicative function of language. RRG strives to describe language structures based on usage in communication.

A close examination of the verb in Etulo reveals interesting features which can be best extracted and properly defined adopting a functionalist perspective. The book shows the applicability of RRG to Etulo,(ISO 639-3 utr) an Idomoid language of the Benue Congo subgroup of the Niger Congo language family spoken by a minority group found in Benue and parts of Taraba states Nigeria.The minority status of Etulo language notwithstanding, data emanating from the language provide convincing evidence of affinity with other major languages and thus brings to fore the fact that minority languages have interesting features relevant to linguistic theories. The book fills the gap created by the ominous absence of books exploring specific lexical categories from less studied languages within a specified theoretical approach.

Language teachers, undergraduate and postgraduate students of languages and linguistics in addition to researchers will find the book resourceful and appropriate for readership. The book is a relevant reference for specialized studies in aspects of languages especially as pertains to the less studied languages.

The Verbal Category: Reflections from a Language of the Minority comprises five chapters and each chapter is committed to a particular aspect that pertains to the verb in Etulo. Chapter one provides a detailed explication of the verb as a universal lexical category. The chapter further enunciates the properties and the characterization of the verbal category and explicate concepts associated with the verbal category with a focus on tense and aspect as categories associated with the verb. Effort is also made within the chapter to delineate the boundaries between aktionsart and aspect. Chapter two of the book sets forth the theoretical approach adopted in the examination of the verb in Etulo language. The chapter also discuss other approaches which have been adopted in the study of verbs. A major highpoint of the chapter is the explication of the RRG tenets as a basis for comprehending the book in more detail. In Chapter three, the concepts associated with the verbal category previously explicated are demonstrated using data from Etulo language. Within the chapter, a special class of verbs dubbed inherent complement verbs are discussed based on the insights from the Etulo language data. A classification of Etulo verbs based on their Aktionsart and Logical Structure forms the concern of chapter four. Recently, efforts have been geared towards classifying verbs based on meaning(s). Chapter five of the book in line with recent efforts concentrates on the semantic classes of Etulo verbs. Such semantic classes as planting and harvesting, buying and selling as well as communication are treated in the chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides explications of the verb as alexical category.It also discusses the properties and characterization of the verbal category and in addition offer explanation for concepts associated with the verb. The chapter further provides arobust discussion of tense and aspects categories and delineates the boundaries between aspect and aktionsart.

1.1 Defining the verb

The human language is a system of vocal auditory communication that interacts with the experience of its users. The patterned sound units usually employed by language users are assembled according to a set of rules. Furthermore, language has several discrete units beginning with distinctive sounds and progressing to syllables and parts of speech, alternatively referred to as lexical categories.

The verb is one of the major lexical categories, which exists in virtually all the languages of the world. Throughout history, the syntactic and semantic properties of the verb as a lexical category have interested grammarians. As pointed out by Aarts and Meyer(1995:1), Dionysius Thrax stressed the importance of the verb (rhema) as early as 100 BC. He defined the verb as a part of speech lacking case inflection but inflected for tense, person and number. The interest in the verb by early grammarians has influenced linguists to pursue the study of verbs in different languages and has further made the verb to be recognized as a distinct word class. The verb is the central part of predication, hence its crucial semantic role in the sentence. A very important feature of the verb is its valency, which is the ability to be connected with other words in the sentence. Assigning the correct valency to a verb helps to enable appropriate and meaningful production of an utterance.

1.2 Properties and Characterization of Verbs

Aarts and Meyer (1995:4), posit that there are properties associated with the verb as a lexical category. The first property is that verbs “govern” the elements that succeed or precede them depending on whether the language is a headfirst or headlast language. This first property is

morphologically visible in many languages. For instance, in German it is visible on the noun phrase through different case forms as seen in these examples.

1a.Ich sah den Mann
I saw the man

b.Ich sah der Mann
The man saw me

In example 1a, the definite article *den* bears the objective case. This is opposed to 1b, where the definite article *de*r bears nominative case.

A second determining property pointed out by Aarts and Meyers(1995:4) is that verbs, depending on the language involved, can agree with either their subjects or objects in one or more features such as number, person and gender. They further observe that such notions as agreement and government do not exclusively concern verbs because other elements like noun can trigger agreement with (adjectives) while prepositions are also capable of governing their objects.

A third verbal property is that they are employed in licensing the presence of what Tesniere (1953, 1959) in Aarts and Meyer (1995:4) refers to as actants of preposition and by analogy to chemistry called valents, which is the number of performers a verb takes. For instance, in example 9, the verb *told* is trivalent because it has a subject *Micheal*, a direct object *Gabriel* and an indirect object *joke*.

2. Michael told Gabriel a joke.

Verb complementation for Aarts and Meyer (1995:6) subsumes the different types of relationship between verbs and their internal arguments. They also note that there is variance in the notion. The variance is with respect to the view of transformational generative grammar that sees verb complements as obligatory constituents following verbs, which are distinct from adjuncts that are considered optional and the position of the descriptive oriented grammars where verb complements are characterized as elements required to complete the meaning of the verb.

For Gardenfors (2014: 187), verbs are necessary components in the linguistic descriptions of events. Lenci (2014:17) however asserts that important generalizations about the behaviour of a verb can be stated by referring to its semantic class. The author posits two main approaches to semantic verb classification. The approaches are based on *ontology* and on *distribution.*
Lenci (2014: 19) claims that ontology-based classification relies on the features of the extra-linguistic event or situation expressed by a verb meaning rather than on its linguistic behaviour while distribution-based classification uses the range of syntactic alternations licensed by a verb, as a key aspect of its syntagmatic and distributional properties. Lenci therefore asserts that verbs that are classified into one group ontologically may functionally be separated if they exhibit disparate alternation patterns.

Based on the inherent semantics of verbs, Viveka (2012:208) claims that verbs can be dynamic or stative (non dynamic), punctual or durative and telic or atelic. The dynamic or stative class has an inherent semantics, which encodes whether their inner structure involves any form of change or not. Based on this view, Viveka notes that whereas the dynamic verbs have an inherent element of change, the stative verbs are always in a constant state.
For the punctual or durative class, their inherent meanings encode whether their inner structure allows for duration in time or not. Here, the author avers that the punctual verbs lack a real internal structure to the event while the durative verbs contain an inner structure that is made up of series of phases, as is the case with the verb *freeze* and *burn*. The telic verbs have an inherent semantics that imply an endpoint (telic) while the atelic have no endpoint. Viveka (2012:209) further explains that such verbs as *to build*, *to make* and *to bake* designate action that will eventually end, while verbs such as *play*, *dance* and *sing* designate actions with no inherent finishing point. Following this classification by Viveka (2012), it is obvious that a verb can fall into more than one class based on its inherent semantics. If we look at the verbs *know* and *dwell*, though they are stative, they can also be durative because one may know (something) and dwell (somewhere) for some time.

According to Baker (2003) verbs are the nucleus around which sentences are built. The author further provides insights into the criteria for determining what a verb is. For him, x is a verb if and only if x is a lexical category and x has a specifier. The author's position with respect to his

idea of designating verbs is that it is more explicit when compared to Jackendoff's (1977) and Croft's (1991) versions for designating verbs. Baker (2003:24) further argues that in the context of Chomsky's (1995) bare phrase structure, any category other than the verb can combine with a complement. He contends that the ability to take a specifier is an important characterizing feature for distinguishing functional categories, which can also distinguish lexical categories. The author explains that verbs have specifiers in a way that is different from the way most functional categories do because tenses and complementizers acquire their specifiers by movement (internal merge) while verbs get specifiers from external merge. Another difference between verbs and other lexical categories is that verbs can be inflected for tense, aspect and mood in many languages.

A property of the verb is its selectional restriction or sub categorization restriction. Sub categorization shows restrictions between predicates and the syntactic category of their complement while selectional restrictions refer to the ability of the verb to constrain meaning. Chomsky (1986) extensively discussed selectional restriction. Both selectional and sub categorizaiton restrictions need to be accounted for in the analysis of the verb in any language.

In discussing the verb, it is important to note that there are categories associated with the verb. These are tense, aspect and mood usually referred to as TAM. Viveka (2012:193) opines that the verb phrase minimally consists of a word, which is the verb. He further notes that the semantic content of the verb phrase, i.e the basic meaning of the event or action, is borne by the lexical verb. In addition, Fillmore (1970) in Levin (2013:1) claims that verb classes provide a device for capturing patterns of shared verb behaviour, including possible realizations of arguments and their associated interpretations. In addition, verb classes attest to be both a means of investigating the organization of the verb lexicon and a means of identifying grammatically relevant elements of meaning.

Tallerman (2011:33) observes that such methods as finding the distribution of each word through creating of gaps which can only be filled by a member of one word class, looking at the form the word takes in different contexts and based on the work performed by the word in a phrase or sentence can be used as procedures for identifying the verb. According to Tallerman

(2011:39), a major function of verbs is to express 'predication'. A predicate expresses an event in the sentence and the event expressed could include actions, processes, situations, states etc. The author further notes that verbs fall into syntactic subclasses such as intransitive, transitive, ditransitive. An intransitive verb requires one argument (participant). This one argument can be a whole phrase orit can refer to many people as *John and Jane* slept, *All*the children slept etc. A ditransitive verb takes more than two arguments while transitive verbs take two arguments. Verbs can also be ambitransitive, which is either transitive or intransitive. In English verbs such as *sing, cook, read, eat* belong to this class (Tallerman 2011:41).

Givon (2001:48) notes that of the four classes of lexical words that appear most widely across languages, nouns and verbs are the major lexical categories in all languages. Adjectives and adverbs though part of the major categories may not appear in all languages as a distinct word class. Givon also observes that of the three criteria adopted in assigning lexical items to their categories, the semantic and syntactic are the most universally predictive. For him the use of morphological criterion usually displays a high degree of cross – language diversity. Furthermore, Givon (2001:105) is of the view that verbs are characterized semantically by the obligatory semantic roles of the participants in the state or event they code. He also notes that in addition to semantic roles, participants can assume grammatical roles such as subject, direct object and indirect object. His classification of verbs recognizes a class referred to as Dummy-Subject verbs (2001:117).This class describes state and events, which involve mostly natural conditions or weather phenomena.

Dixon (2010: 39) posits that cross linguistically, verbs are characterized by function and semantics. Functionally, the verb occurs as the head of a predicate while semantically it includes words referring to actions such as jump, sit, burn etc. Dixon (2010:116) avers that transitivity is a syntactic matter and not a semantic specification. He however recognizes that semantic parameters underlie several aspects of transitivity but opines that rather than viewing a verb as semantically transitive or intransitive, it is more appropriate to describe verbs as having a semantic profile that is consistent with some transitivity profile at the syntactic level. The author outlines the semantic parameters that help to determine whether a verbal concept is to be expressed by a transitive or intransitive verb as follows:

i. Whether the verb has two or more syntactic roles
ii. Whether there is volitional control
iii. Whether or not the verb describes an action
iv. Whether the reference of one role is saliently affected.

The idea behind volitional control is the claim that if volitional control is involved in an activity, it is represented by a transitive verb while lack of volition makes an activity to be more coded by an intransitive verb. On whether the verb describes an action or not, Dixon submits that some languages have both the simple transitive and extended intransitive featuring two core arguments.

However, he notes that scoring a "no" for two out of the four semantic parameters listed above, makes a two role verb to be classified as extended intransitive. If one role is affected, based on the semantic parameter, the verb is likely to be transitive. Dixon (2010:141) sets out some parameters which underlie transitivity. These parameters underlying transitivity are regarded as "best indicators" for testing the transitivity of verbs in languages. He illustrates these parameters using six English verbs shown in Table 1

Table 1: Parameters underlying transitivity

(i) two or roles	**(ii) volitional**	**(iii) describing**	**(iv) one role saliently**
action	**affected**		
hit	√	√	√	√
touch	√	√	√	√
follow	√	√	√	–
praise	√	√	(√)	–
like	√	–	–	–
hiccup	–	–	–	–

Culled from Dixon 2010:142

In Table 1 the verb *hit*, has two semantic roles which are the agent and patient roles, volitional control is involved in the activity expressed by the verb, it describes an action that affects one semantic role (the patient) saliently. For the verb *touch*, two semantic roles, namely the agent and the theme, are involved, it is volitional and describes an action in which an entity is saliently

affected. Following Dixon's claim, the verb *like* would be classified as an extended intransitive because even though it has two semantic roles, it is not volitional, does not describe any action and none of the roles is saliently affected.

A further study by Dixon (2013:103) shows that verbs are classified into five classes based on the clause type they occur in. These clause types that verbs can occur in, based on Dixon's view, divide verbs into classes namely intransitive, transitive ambitransitives of type S = A, ambitransitives of type S = O and extended transitive. Transitive verbs occur as the predicate of a transitive clause while intransitive verbs occur as the predicate of an intransitive clause. Dixon's ambitransitive verbs also known as labile verbs refer to verbs that occur as predicates in both transitive and intransitive clause. The type S = A depicts a transitive argument which corresponds to the intransitive argument, i.e where the subject argument retains its subject position in both clause types. The S = O ambitransitive type however lacks a correspondence in the argument structure, that is the intransitive subject argument becomes the object argument in a transitive clause. The examples below illustrate the two ambitransitive types :

3 a John has eaten
b John has eaten lunch

4 a Mary tripped
b John tripped Mary

In examples (3a & b) there is a correspondence between the subject of the intransitive clause and the subject of the transitive clause while in (4a and b), there is lack of such correspondence because the subject of the intransitive clause (in 4a which is Mary) corresponds to the object of the transitive clause.

Emenanjo (2015:413) likens the verbal system in a human language to the central nervous system in the human body. He observes that meaning in human language is usually derived from the networks of relationships between the verb and other categories/constituents within a sentence. Another point observed by Emenanjo (2015:413) which stresses the relevance of the

verb and also distinguishes it from other categories is the fact the verb root alone can be used to communicate in most languages. For instance, the Igbo verb *bịà* ' come'.

According to Emenanjo (2015:416), finiteness is the first important factor in the classification of Igbo verbs, thus Igbo verbs are [± finite]. The [+ finite] verbs according to Emenanjo are the full verbs while those with [- finite] features are the defective verbs. The full verbs are characterized by such properties as having full and regular paradigms, a predictable syntactic behaviour, ability to take affixes and ability to have verbal derivatives. On the other hand, the defective verbs are defective in their morphological paradigms and possess irregular syntactic behaviour. Emenanjo further divides these defective verbs into four classes namely the verbids, preverbs, modals and auxiliaries. The verbids according to him comprise a class of Igbo fossilized verbal elements which are usually equivalent to prepositions in English. Other features identified for these verbids include their inability to take inflectional suffixes and their ability to combine with nominals instead of verbals.

Furthermore, Emenanjo (2015: 417) posits that the etymology of the verbids come from different Igbo dialects. He provides instances of the sources of verbids as follows;

5ai. bèesọ̀ – bè 'cut' + sọ̀ 'only' from sọ̀ọsọ̀ 'only' 'except that/only'

iibèe lụ sọ - bè 'cut', = lụ 'towards', sọ < sòọsò 'except that/only'

bi
- gbàsalụ – gba 'run' + - sa 'open' – lụ = rụ = 'towards'(extensional suffix) about something
- gbàsara
- gbhàsara

One of the verbids from Òwèrè dialect is used in the sentential construct in 5iv.

ii Hé O kwúru gbhàsara yā arịhū̀ urù ọ bhàrà [Òwèrè]

Thing he say about it NEG gain it enters

Culled from Emenanjo (2015:417).

For the preverbs, the following features pointed out by Emenanjo (2015:418) are noteworthy: they precede other verbs in the Igbo sentence, they cannot function alone as the only verb in sentences where they occur, they function as linkers of utterances in narratives and translate to conjunctions in English. He identifies two of such verbs in Onicha and Igbuzo dialects namely *wee* and *ba* shown in 6 below.

6….èwèe m̄ na àchọ a…

and then I DUR search for it…

‘…. and then I was looking for it…..

The example in 6 culled from Emenanjo (2015:418) shows the preverb wèe in occurrence with the verb chọ. It is also enclosed between E…m

A class of defective verbs referred to as the modals is assumed to be more verbal than the preverbs and the verbids. Emenanjo (2015:419) postulates two classes based on their structure namely the nuclear and the periphrastic modals. Part of the features of this class includes their lack of verbal derivatives and complementation by nomino – verbals like auxiliaries. These findings by Emenanjo are representative of the Igbo language due to the cross dialectal approach adopted in the study.

Having discussed the the characterization of verbs, the next section explores the verb and the categories associated with it.

1.3Concepts Connected with the Verb

Certainconcepts usually associated verbs are explored in this section.Some of these concepts include aktionsart, predicate decomposition, and argument alternation.

1.3.1 Arguments

Carnie (2007:50-51) asserts that there are two major ways through which verbs can be divided into subcategories. The first way is based on tense/finiteness while the second means is to divide up verbs in terms of the number of noun phrases, prepositional phrases or the clauses they require. According to Carnie (2007), adopting the second technique means following the argument structure.

Carnie defines arguments as entities that participate in a relation defined by a predicate. The author further notes that these entities can be abstract or physical. In the sentence,*Ada slapped Obi*, there are two arguments *Ada* and *Obi*, the predicate *slap* expresses the relation between the two arguments, that is, it shows that the first argument (Ada) exerted some force on the second argument (Obi).

Webelhuth (1999:100) suggests that arguments of predicates are best distinguished in terms of ordered argument lists through the use of such keywords as Agent, Patient.

For Pylkkanen (2002:10), arguments name entities that stand in relevant relation to the event described by the verb. Pylkkanen divides arguments into true arguments and additional arguments. The latter, according to the author, do not belong to the basic structure of the verb while the former belongs to the basic structure of the verb. The additional arguments are often seen as adjuncts.

Marantz (1984) in Pylkkanen (2002:122) argues that the external argument is not an argument of the verb but rather an argument of the verb phrase. Marantz views the internal argment as the core argument of the verb because of its ability to trigger special interpretations of the verb and the subsequent inability of the external argument to trigger such interpretations.
Marantz instantiates the above claim using the following examples in 7and 8

7ai Throw a party
ii Throw a baseball
iii Throw support behind a candidate

1bi Kill an audience
ii Kill a conversation
iii Kill a cockroach

8aiThe police threw a party
ii The school management threw a party
iiiThe man threw a party

bi Silence killed the conversation
ii The drunk killed the conversation

(Culled from Pylkkanen 2012: 122)

In the expressions in 7ai-iii and 1bi-iii, the object NPs trigger different interpretations for the verbs *throw* and *kill* while in 8ai-iii and bi-ii, the subject NPs do not trigger such difference in the interpretation of the verbs *throw* and *kill*

However, some authors do not subscribe to the claim by Marantz. For them, (see Bresnan 1982, Grimshaw 1990), the subject rather being excluded from the core arguments of the verb should be assumed to be the last argument that composes with the verb.

1.3.2 Argument Structure

Argument structure for Carnie (2007) refers to the number of participants a particular predicate requires. However, Aarts (2001:93) posits that argument structures indicate not only the number of arguments taken by a predicate but also their categorical status. i.e, they make explicit the argument positions and the exact number of arguments accruable to a verb alongside implicit ones.

Bresnan (1995:1) sees argument structure as the interface between the syntax and semantics of verbs, which functions to link lexical semantics to syntactic structures. Furthermore, argument structure encodes information about the number of arguments, their syntactic type and the organization necessary for mapping from semantics to syntax

1.3.3 Argument alternation

Levin (2014:3) posits that argument alternation applies to verbs that can be found in more than one context with all or some of the verb's arguments expressed in both contexts in different ways. This explanation by Levin suggests that alternation of arguments can be complete or partial. It is complete where all arguments are expressed in both contexts and partial when not all are expressed.

For Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie (2007:13), an alternation occurs where the same verb can occur with different constructions with roughly the same meaning. The submission of Malchukov et al incorporates the preservation of meaning in the alternation of arguments.

1.3.4 Ergativity

Ergativity refers to the alternation between transitive and intransitive patterns that a verb allows. Elspeth and Bain (1996:350) define ergative verbs as verbs that allow the object of a transitive clause to be the subject of an intransitive clause without changing voice.

For Dixon (1998:1), ergativity is used to describe a grammatical pattern where the subject of an intransitive clause is treated in a similar way as the object of a transitive clause.

Haspelmath (2005a) in Chukwuogor (2015) views ergativity as a type of monotransitive alignment. Alignment refers to the comparison of the properties of arguments across constructions. According to Haspelmath, ergativity is a type of alignment where S and P are treated alike. S corresponds to the single argument of an intransitive verb while P is the patient-like argument of a transitive verb.

Aldridge (2008: 987) explains that morphological ergativity is defined by the uniform assignment of inherent case to subjects by transitive verbs. A language is described as morphologically ergative if S and O appear in the same case while a special case is assigned to A. The syntactic ergativity of a language is established by co-ordination and relativization

1.3.5 Serial Verb Constructions

The phenomenon of serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) is common to Benue Congo languages. According to Aikhenvald (2006:1) serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. Dixon 2006:339 agrees with Aikhenvald's view and further adds that the multiple verbs in a SVC, conceived of as describing a single action can sometimes, but not always, be analyzed into sub events that relate to one verb.

Baker (1989) opines that SVCs are constructions in which a sequence of verbs appears in a single clause. The author further observes that the verbs in a series have a single subject and share logical objects.

Foley and Olson (1985) in Caesar (2016: 33) view SVCs as constructions in which verbs sharing a common subject and object are merely justapoxed without any intervening conjunction.
Emenanjo (2015: 540) asserts that, from existing literature, SVCs have the following features: verb or verb phrases are in a row or series, the first verb bears all the inflectional markers for

tense aspect and negation and all verbs share the same subject, the verbs in a series lack overt connectors.among other features.

1.3.6Lexical decomposition

The motivation behind verbal decomposition is the assumption that verbs are complex and that they can be decomposedinto component parts. Lexical decomposition involves splitting words into minute units of linguistic representation. The motivation for lexical decomposition may be phonological, semantic or syntactic.

With respect to semantic decomposition, which is part of the motivation in this study, (the other being syntactic) it is necessary to detach abstract properties associated with the lexical item from the concrete properties of the word. The semantic decomposition of verbs is referred to as predicate decomposition.

Beavers (2006:278) asserts that predicate decomposition is relevant in capturing the sub-event structure of an event. Sub-events according to Beavers are relevant for argument realization. In addition, decomposition enables one to constrain the possible event templates in terms of sets of basic semantic primitives from which more complex event structures are built.

Pustejovsky (2009:8) highlights some approaches in the decomposition of lexical information. They include parametric decomposition, simple predicative decomposition, and full lexical decomposition. The parametric approach considers additional parameters such as contexts and presuppositional information in the decomposition of verbs. Within the parametric approach,Pustejovsky posits that information considered as adjuncts are represented through conventional mechanisms of logical entailment. In simple predicative decomposition, concepts are seen as conjunctions of primitive features while a combination of parametric and simple predicative approaches yields what Pustejovsky terms full predicate decomposition.

Other authors have further explored predicate decomposition (Dowty (1979), Levin and Rappaport (1995, 2005), Liebner (2004) Van Valin and La Polla (1997) and Van Valin (2005).

Liebner's (2004) approach to decomposition posits two distinct components, which are the body and the skeleton. Whereas the body corresponds to the encyclopedic knowledge, skeleton corresponds to the argument structure. For Levin and Rappaport (1995, 2005), lexical decomposition involves interpreting meaning using a single representation which describes the argument and event structure of verbs by means of primitive predicates and constants which form a lexical semantic template.

For Van Valin and La polla (1997) and Van Valin (2005), the lexical decomposition of verbs is based on Vendler's (1957) theory of *Aktionsart*. Within this approach, the decomposition of predicates reveals the event depicted by the verb inaddition to the argument structure of the verb. It also captures the link between the syntax and semantics of the language. This study adopts the Role and Reference Grammar predicate decomposition approach. Section 2.3, which discusses the theoretical framework, examines the issue of lexical decomposition within the Role and Reference Grammar in some detail.

1.3.7 Tense

Comrie (1985:7) observes that locating situations in time is a conceptual notion and as such independent of distinctions made in any particular language. He thus views tense as the grammaticalization of location in time. The author distinguishes between absolute and relative tenses. Absolute tense takes the present moment as the deictic centre while relative tense does not include the present moment as part of its deitic meaning(1985:35).

According to Comrie, the present, past and future tenses are instances of absolute tense. The present tense is used to describe states and processes that hold at the time of speech but began before the time of speech and may likely continue beyond the speech time as in the expression *Ada is working on the Etulo language*. The past tense locates a situation prior to the present moment while the future tense locates a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment. Comrie (1985: 44-46) however posits that the controversy surrounding the future reference with respect to whether it should be subsumed under tense or mood remains an empirircal question that can only be answered based on the investigation of future time reference across languages.

Frawley (1992:336) sees tense as the grammatical and morphological means employed by a language to locate an event in time. Frawley notes that languages vary in their assignment of tense locus and thus distinguishes between absolute and relative tenses. Frawley's tense distinction aligns with that of Comrie (1985). According to Frawley (1992:343) ,absolute tense reaches directly into the speech event by relating the event to the present position of the speaker, i.e, it relies on here and now to determine the tense locus. He also observes that the tense locus is inherited from a point outside the moment of speech. With regard to relative tense, Frawley notes that it applies typically to events that are dependent on other events such as reported speech or indirect discourse. Frawley exemplifies with the Russian example in 9

9. Ja spros- il počemu u nego trjasutsja ruki
   I ask past why to him tremble/pres hands
   I asked him why his hands were shaking

Frawley asserts that in example 9, it is ungrammatical for *trjasutsja* 'tremble' to be assigned past tense. The verb rather inherits its tense from the first verb *spros* 'ask'.

Dirven and Vespoor (2004:93) discuss tense with respect to what they termed the speech act time. According to them, tense is the grammatical category which relates an event in time with respect to the speech act time which is the moment of speaking. They further aver that events that take place at speech time act itself (present) and before the speech time (past tense) have reality status while events that take place after the speech act (future tense) have the status of potential reality. The authors opine that the category tense is one of the grounding elements of a sentence that aids to ensure successful communication.

Tense according to Viveka (2012:194) is the linguistic device used to show when an event took place. This device however excludes lexical items and expressions like yesterday, tomorrow though they indicate when an event occurred. The author also avers that expressing when something happened can be achieved in form of two conceptually diverse ways which are linking the event to a given reference point (relative tense) or to the moment of speech (absolute tense) (Viveka 2012: 195).

Viveka (2012:198) suggests various strategies that languages can employ to mark tense. These include synthetically with suffixes, analytically using auxiliaries or particles, non- linearly with stem or tone changes or by mixing strategies. The author cites the English language as a language that employs mixed strategies. According to him, the past is either marked synthetically as in I wash-ed/for you yesterday or through lexical suppletion as in go versus went.

Viveka (2012) observes that some languages lack grammatical marking for tense. That is, they appear to be without tenseas seen in example 10 from the Julhoan language cited in Viveka (2012:196).

10.ha úá Tjùmlkúí

3SG go tsumkwe

He went/goes/will go to Tsumkwe

The English translation in the expression in 10translates to past, future or present form except where further context is employed to achieve differentiation in the time of the event.

Another strategy pointed out by Viveka that can be used to mark a clearer grammatical distinction for time is by distinguishing between degrees of remoteness. Languages that employ this kind of difference code an event either having taken place in the near past or remote past and going to take place in the near immediate or remote future (Viveka 2012: 199). Furthermore, Viveka asserts that languages with remoteness in the past distinguish between today (hodiernal past) or not today (hesternal past).

The example in 11 below taken from Carlson (1994:329) in Viveka (2012:199) is an instance of a language with both hodiernal past and hesternal past.

11a Mìînì mu pyi di yɛ?

ISG REC.PAST 2SG tell how question mark

What did I tell you (earlier today)?

b. Jò u ná sá lí iwó yɛ?

who 3SG REM past go it take Q

Who went and took it?

The examples in 11a and b are both in the past. However *nì* in 11a is used to show that the inquiry is with respect to the recent past while *ná* in 11b shows that the question being asked is with regard to a distant past.

Lyons (1977:67) notes that though some languages may lack tense as a clear verbal category, all languages have various deitic adverbs or particles of time that help to relate the time of a situation being described to the time of utterance.

Dixon (2013:9) agrees with Lyons (1977) on the use of particles by languages in tense distinction. Other means of tense distinction according to him include through an obligatory inflectional element that is closely associated with the verb and through a clitic.

.

Comparing tense in Mandarin and Tamil verb forms, Alloway and Corley (2004) opine that the difference between the two languages is that in Tamil tense changes are marked by adding suffixes to the verbroot while in Mandarin, there is no explicit tense marker; rather adverbs like tomorrow, yesterday are included to situate an event within temporal parameters. Table 2 below demonstrates the present, past and future tense inflections of the verb 'to eat' in Tamil and Mandarin

Table 2 Tense inflection in Tamil and Mandarin.

Verb-to eat	Present	Past	Future
Tamil	Saapeda ran	Saapetaan	Saapedu Vaan
Mandarin	Chi'h	Chi'h	Chi'h
Gloss	Eats	Ate	Will eat

(Alloway and Corley 2004: 322)

From the table in 1, there are obvious morphological endings for the different tense forms in Tamil while in Mandarin the verb remains invariable.The view expressed by Lyons (1977) is important to the present study as the author's claim appears to be the case in Ètùlo.

1.3.8 Aspect

Aspect is another grammatical category associated with the verb that has received attention from authors. Comrie (1978:3) views aspect as the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.

Dirven and Verspoor (2004:94) explain aspect as a grounding element of a sentence, which represents how the speaker relates an event to what obtains at speech act time or at another specified time. For Crystal (1992:29) aspect is a grammatical category that marks duration or the type of temporal activity denoted by the verb.

Emenanjo (2015:447) submits that although both tense and aspect have to do with time, the former denotes static, atelic and definite time while the latter deals with dynamic, telic and extended time. Thus he opines that tense is the grammaticalization of location of time in terms of past, present or future while aspect is the grammaticalization of duration in terms of inceptive, progressive, perfective etc.

Frawley (1992:294) sees aspect as a category, which shows that an event is distributed through the period in which the event occurs. Frawley distinguishes among aspectual types such as perfective/imperfective, telic /atelic, punctual/durative, iterative/semelfactive, progressive and habitual. Perfective aspect for Frawley (1992:297) is an event viewed as a complete unit irrespective of whether the event has itself ended while imperfective aspect sees “an event as non unitized whether or not the event is finished”. Frawley (1992:298) further asserts that in the interpretation of perfective events, the internal properties such as the beginning, the middle and the end are less relevant; hence the events are viewed from a distance while for the imperfective aspect, events are viewed from within and the internal properties are much relevant. The author exemplifies using the Kusaiean language in 12

12a.Eltahl kang ik ah

They eat/imper fish the

They are eating the fish (imperfective)

b.Eltahl kang- lah ik ah

They eat up -/ perf fish the

They ate up the fish (perfective)

(Culled from Frawley 1992:298)

A look at the instances in 12a and b shows that for the imperfective, there is no morpheme attached to the verb *kang* 'eat', whereas for the perfective form, the morpheme *-lah* is suffixed to *kang* 'eat'

The distinction between telic and atelic is with respect to goal-directedness. Frawley (1992:302) opines that whereas telic events have built- in goal that must be reached, inorder to be successfully affirmed, atelic events do not imply such goals. Punctual aspect denotes a momentous act while durative aspect denotes events that occupy time. For the semelfactive aspect, the author states that it denotes events that consist of a single act but where the events have multiple acts, it is in the iterative or frequentative. The instance in 13below distinguishes between the semelfactive and iterative aspects.

13a. Ada shrugged

13b. Ada wiggled

Example 13a is semelfactive while 13b is a case of frequentative.

This book shall describe aspect in Ètùlo based on these aspectual distinctions.

1.3.9 Aktionsart

The term aktionsart is from German and it means kind of action. Aktionsart can be used in two ways. On the one hand, it refers to the inherent (aspectual)meaning of verbs (Comrie 1976), while on the other hand, it refers to the use of derivational morphology to express temporal properties on the verb. The latter use is employed in the study of Slavic languages because they are morphologically rich.

Pollack (1967) in Kortmann (1991:12) views aktionsart as the manner in which events are integrated into the imagined stream of time. For Kortmann (1991:14), aktionsart is a non-deictic lexical category concerned with the temporal constitution inherent in the meaning of verbs.

Agrell (1908) first made the distinction between aspect and aktionsart in his doctoral thesis on Polish verbs. As noted by Agrell in Kortmann (1991:12), aspect has to do with the completion or incompletion of an action while aktionsart stands for the semantic function of verbs.However, Kortmann (1991:13) explains that aspect is part of grammar and that it can be signalled through inflection while aktionsart is an aspect of the lexicon that indicates manner of action.

The book shall in chapter four group Ètùlo verbs based on their aktionsart, i.e their inherent temporal meanings.

CHAPTER TWO

The study of the verb as a category have been done adopting different approaches. These approaches are set forth and discussed in this chapter. The chapter will explore the Role and Reference Grammar Approach in more detail to reinforce the comprehension of the rest of the chapters.

2.1 Approaches in the study of Verbs

Cook (1989) in examining the approaches adopted in the investigation of the verb, notes that Chafe's approach to verb classification is verb centered as opposed to Fillmore's (1968) model which is noun centered. According to Cook, Chafe's system comprises seven cases namely Agent, Experiencer, Beneficiary, Instrument, Patient, Complement and Location and within this system, as noted by Cook (1989), the verb dictates the features of the noun while cases are defined in terms of the verbs with which they occur rather than in absolute terms.

With regard to the verb types identified by Chafe's model, the basic verb types include state, process action and action-process verbs. These verbs according to Cook (1989) are developed by Chafe's rules of semantic formation, which are

"A verb is a state or a non state, A non state verb is a process, an action or action and process". Cook (1989:73).

Continuing the discussion, Cook (1989:85) notes that the division of all verbs into four types by Dowty is an improvement over the state/action dichotomy in Fillmore's model. Cook (1989: 87) further observes that Chafe first proposed a bidirectional derivational system linking different verb types. He also notes that for the verb types which Chafe claims do not exist, evidence abound for their existence. Irrespective of this lapse, Cook (1989) submits that Chafe's (1970) system remains the most comprehensive model proposed for generative semantics.

Verbs have also been studied from the computational perspective, which is usually corpus-driven. The initial study within the computational perspective is attributed to Levin's (1993) classification of the English verb. Levin's classification comprises both semantic and syntactic profiles for verbs. The main assumption behind this classification is that verbs, which exhibit the

same argument alternation, also share the same semantics such that they can be classified into the same semantic class.

Levin's English verb classification involved 3,024 verbs, which were classified into 49 semantic classes based on 79 argument alternations observed. Kipper and his colleagues expanded Levin's classification to give a more formidable account of the English verb. Their verb net involved about 8,537 verbs grouped into 273 classes. The advantage of Kipper (2000), Kipper et al (2005) verb net is that the verbs are described in terms of traditional semantic information such as thematic roles, semantic predicates, selectional restrictions, etc.

From the perspective of argument structure, the study of verbs has also received attention. Explaining argument structure, Carnie (2007) opines that the term refers to the number of participants a particular predicate requires. Aarts (2001:93) posits that argument structures indicate not only the number of arguments taken by a predicate but also their categorical status. In other words, argument structures make explicit the argument positions and the exact number of arguments accruable to a verb alongside the implicit ones. The study of verbs based on its argument structure dates back to Tesniere's (1959) notion that every sentence is built around a verb and that the verb can exert force just like atoms to phrasal elements technically referred to as actants. Following this approach, four classes of verbs are posited as follows:

Avalent '0 argument' 'it snows a lot'

Mono valent '1 argument' it has spoilt'

Divalent '2 arguments' the woman hugged the child

Trivalent '3 arguments' He showed us the houses

Under this approach to the verb, it is recognized that verbs can sometimes have unexpressed arguments in addition to being accompanied by adjuncts, which occur as phrasal elements. Having pointed out some approaches adopted in the study of verbs, the next section and its succeeding sub-sections shall discuss the approach adopted in the present study.

2.2 Role and Reference Grammar Approach

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the Role and Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG). RRG is a theoretical approach first proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984). The theory was developed in Van Valin (1993) and further developed in Van Valin & La Polla

(1997) and Van Valin (2005). RRG emphasizes the exploration of language systems based on their use in communication.

The RRG framework bears affinity to earlier approaches in diverse ways. With respect to its approach to the structure of the clause, it can be seen as an offshoot of Fillmore's (1968) case grammar while in its lexical decomposition, it implements a system of lexical decomposition based on Vendler's (1957) theory of Aktionsart. The term Aktionsartimplies 'inherent temporal properties of verbs' (Van Valin and La Polla, 1997:92). The central assumption of RRG is that grammatical structure can only be explained and understood with reference to its semantics and communicative function. Following this view, syntax is not autonomous but motivated by semantic factors. RRG seeks to account for the structure of languages alongside the native speakers' knowledge of their language.

2.2.1 Layered Structure of the Clause

Within the RRG theoretical framework, the structure of the clause is captured in a model referred to as the Layered Structure of the Clause (henceforth LSC).According to Van Valin (2005), there are two aspects of clause structure and they are; relational and non-relational aspects. Whereas the relational aspect deals with the relations between predicate and its argument, the non-relational aspect deals with how phrases, clauses and sentences are organized in hierarchy.

As noted by VanValin and Lapolla (1997) and VanValin (2005), the clause primarily constitutes the nucleus, the core and the periphery. The nucleus contains the predicate (usually a verb), the core contains the nucleus and the arguments of the predicate while the periphery is made up of the non arguments of the predicate (peripheral adjuncts and modifiers of the clause). Figure 2 below is a formal representation of the LSC.

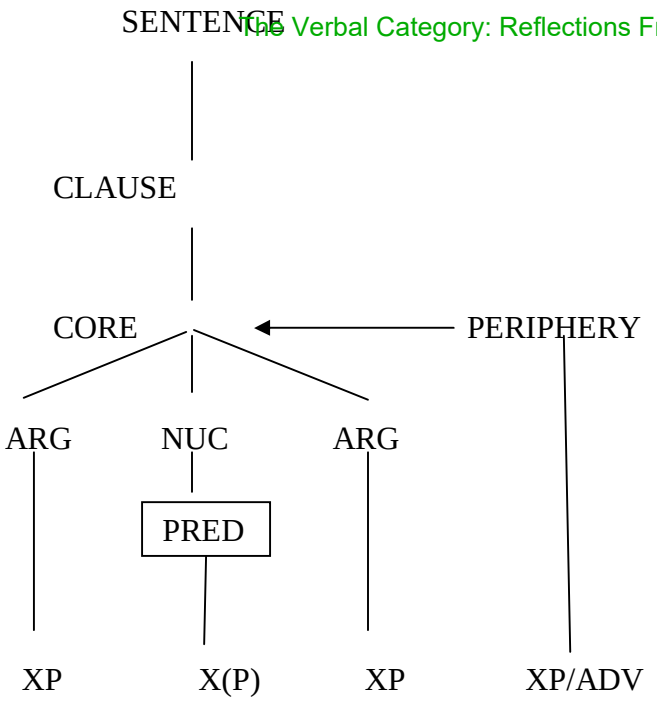


Figure 2 Formal representation of the LSC (Van Valin 1997:31)

Figure 2 above is an abstract schema of the LSC. The arrow pointing to the periphery represented on the margin indicates that it is an optional modifier of the core.The syntactic categories that realize the units in the clause are shown at the bottom. From the schema in figure 2, it is observed that the LSC has two components. These components are illustrated in figure 3

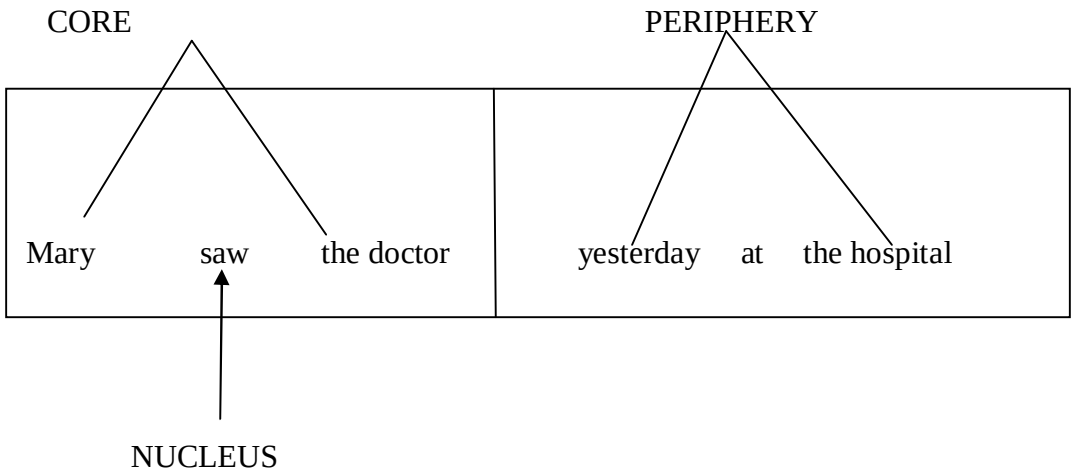


Figure 3: Components of the LSC

In figure 3, the LSC has two parts, the nucleus and its arguments constitute one part while the non-arguments constitute another part. The nucleus *saw* and its arguments *Mary* and *the doctor* represent the core of the clause. The non-arguments *yesterday at the hospital* make up the

periphery of the clause. These components of the LSC are universal, i.e they exist in all languages.

There are components of the LSC, which are not considered universal. These aspects include the precore slot, the detached position and the post-core slot.For the non-universal aspects of the LSC Van Valin and La Polla (1997:35) note that, linear order is relevant to the determination of positions. For instance, WH words in English occupy the precore slot. In other words, they occur in the clause initial position, which is distinct from core initial position occupied by the subject.

Another component of RRG theory of clause structure is the theory of operators. Operators in RRG refer to such grammatical categories like aspect, tense, negation and illocutionary force. These operators modify specific layers of the clause. They represent grammatical categories, which are different from predicates and argument (Van Valin and Polla1997:40).Illocutionary force is a universal operator that refers to whether an utterance is an assertion, a question, a command or an expression of a wish. Every language has illocutionary force as operator because it is possible to make statements, ask questions and give commands in all languages. Van Valin (1997:41).

Van Valin and La Polla (1997:45) also opine that different operators can modify different layers of the clause. Some modify the nucleus; some modify the core while some modify the whole clause.We shall illustrate the LSC in Etulo in Chapter Three.

RRG posits a single representation for each sentence and links the syntactic representation to the semantic representation by means of the linking algorithm.Van Valin posits that the link between syntax and semantics is governed by the completeness constraint, which states:

All the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in the logical structure in the semantic representation of a sentence (Van Valin 2013:81). The linking algorithm is schematically shown in figure 4

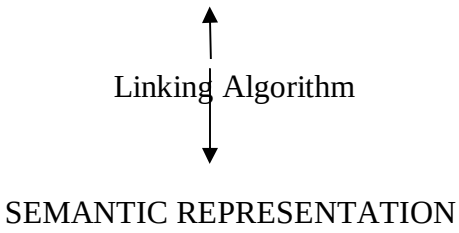


Figure 4 Linking Algorithm Schema

The bidirectional arrows pointing to two directions in figure 4 show that the link is between syntax and semantics.

2.2.2 Verb classes and Logical structure.

The RRG framework implements a system of lexical decomposition based on Vendler's theory of *Aktionsart*. The term *Aktionsart* implies 'inherent temporal properties of verbs' (Van Valin and La Polla, 1997:92). The initial verb classes recognized were *state,achievement, accomplishment* and *activity verb classes*. Van Valin (2005) proposes six classes of verbs, namely *state,achievement, accomplishment, activity, active accomplishment* and *semelfactives.*

Within the RRG framework, a system of lexical decomposition of verbs with state and activity predicates serves as basis. The lexical representation is known as the *logical structure* (LS) of the predicate. State predicates are represented as *predicate'*and activity predicates include *do'*. Accomplishment LS has the operator BECOME, while achievements LS have the operator INGR, which is short for 'ingressive'. Semelfactives include the operator SEML. The Logical Structures of Aktionsart classes of verbs are shown in Table 3

Table 3: Logical structure of verb classes

Verb class	Logical structure
State	**pred´**(x) *or* (x,y)
Activity	**do´**(x [**pred´**(x) *or* (x,y)])
Achievement	INGR **pred´**(x) *or* (x,y), *or* INGR **do´**(x, [**pred´**(x) *or* (x,y)])

Accomplishment BECOME **pred´**(x) *or* (x,y), *or* BECOME do´(x, [**pred´**(x) or (x,y)])

Semelfactive SEML **predicate´** (x) or (x, y), *or* SEML **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) *or* (x, y)])

Active accomplishment **do**'(x, **predicate 1'** (x,(y)]) and INGR **predicate 2'** (z,x) or (y)

Causative α CAUSE β, α, β are logical structures of any type

The aktionsart features of the verb classes are presented in Table 4

Table 4 Aktionsart Features of Verb Classes

Verb Classes	Aktionsart Features			
State	- dynamic	+ static	- telic	- puntual
Activity	+ dynamic	- static	-telic	- puntual
Achievement	- dynamc	- static	+ telic	+ puntual
Accomplishment	+ dynamic	- static	+ telic	- punctual
Semelfactive	+ dynamic	- static	- telic	+punctual
Active Accomplishment	+ dynamic	- static	+ telic	- punctual

The feature static expresses whether the verb encodes a happening or not. Telic has to do with whether a verb encodes an event with an inherent terminal point or not. The feature punctual distinguishes events with internal duration from instantaneous ones. The feature dynamic refers to whether the event expressed involves action or not.

Van Valin (2005:28) explains that states depict static situations, which are inherently temporally unbounded (atelic). Achievements and active accomplishments express changes of states, which are inherently temporally bounded, hence telic. Achievements are punctual while accomplishments are not. Activities are dynamic inherently temporally unbounded state of affairs. Active accomplishments are telic uses of activity verbs while semelfactives are punctual events with no result state. These distinctions according to Van Valin (2005:29) are the universal basis of the organization of verbal systems in the human language.

2.2.3 Semantic macroroles

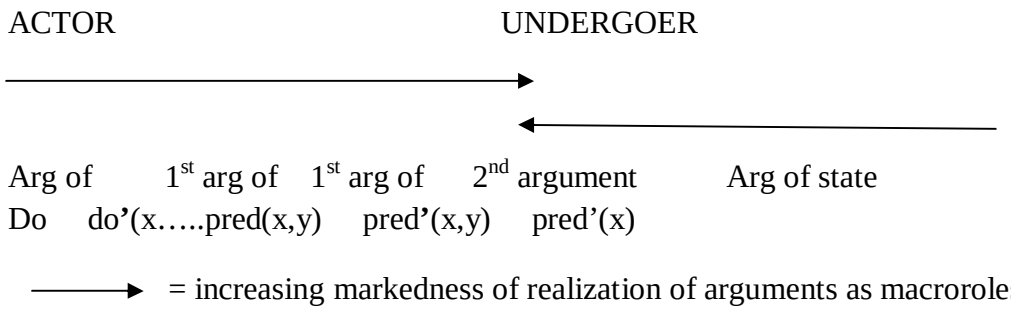
Another component of the RRG framework relevant to this study is that of semantic macroroles. Van Valin posits three different levels of semantic roles. The first is called 'verb-specific' semantic roles, e.g. runner, killer, hearer, broken, etc. The second are thematic relations, which are generalizations across the verb-specific roles. The third are generalized semantic roles, depicted with the terms actor and undergoer, which are generalizations across thematic relations.

The semantic interpretation of an argument in RRG is a function of the logical structure in which it is found.The semantic relation between a predicate and its arguments is referred to as thematic relations. Semantic relationsdo not apply independently rather they are grouped into five namely: Experiencer, Agent, Theme, Patient and Recipient.

The terms (macrorole) proposed in RRG to be used for the two arguments of a transitive verb are 'Actor' and 'Undergoer'.Van Valin (2005:50) posits that the term " macrorole" is used because it subsumes a number of thematic relations. The author asserts that *actor* is a generalization across agent, experiencer, instrument etc while *undergoer* subsumes patient, theme and recipient. The two semantic macro-roles namely *actor* and *undergoer*, are equivalent to the primary arguments of a transitive predication that are referred to as subject and object within earlier frameworks. Van Valin asserts that the choice of a macrorole is determined by the semantic structure of the verb and that the decisive feature is the presence of an activity predicate in the logical structure thus intransitive verbs such as *run* and *die* will be assigned different macroroles because of their logical structure. The logical structure of a verb aids in predicting the number of arguments, which the verb can take. It therefore follows that structure should result from meaning through the lexical decomposition of the verb.

The lexical decomposition of the verb is linked to the semantic macroroles of the verb.The link is expressed in the Actor- Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH). The relationship states that in a logical structure of the verb, the leftmost argument corresponds to the Actor while the rightmost argument is the undergoer. The AUH is illustrated below

Figure 5: Actor- Undergoer Hierarchy (Van Valin 2005:61)



In the diagram in figure 5 above, the arrows pointing to the left and right, signify the likelihood of a participant in a clause to be either the actor or the undergoer.

In RRG, there is no third macrorole rather the third macrorole in a construction is labelled the non macrorole direct core argument. For instance, in the expression *Marcus gave Magnus the money*, the non macrorole direct core argumentis assigned to the third argument which is *the money*. As earlier pointed out, RRG posits three different levels of semantic rolesrepresented in figure 6

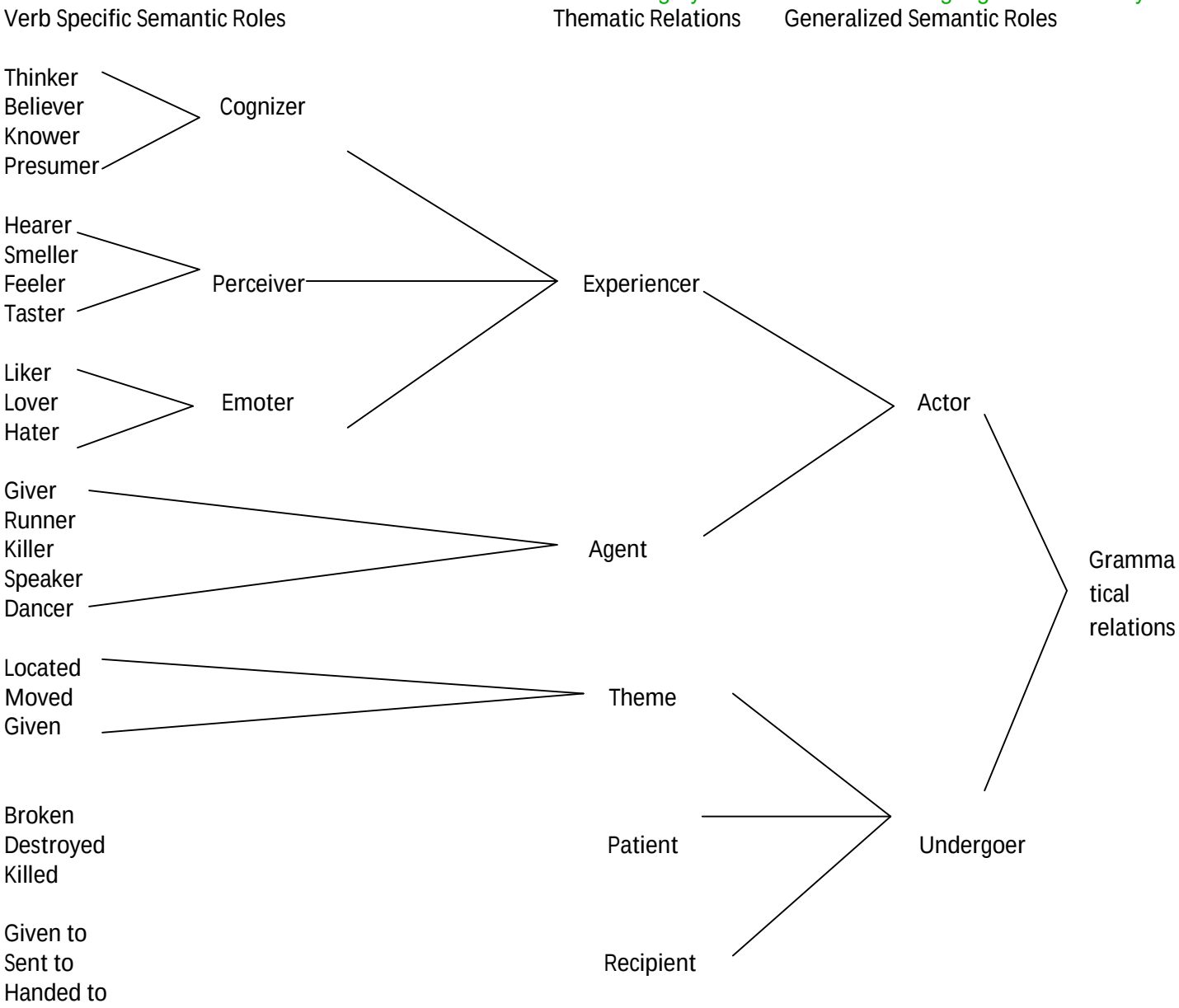


Figure 6. Generalized Semantic Roles in RRG: Van Valin 2001:2

The diagram in figure 6 is a continuum from verb specific semantic roles to grammatical relations. Thematic relations are defined in terms of the argument position in the logical structures. Van Valin (2001:3) asserts that the motivation behind the postulation of generalized semantic role is that irrespective of the excessiveness of thematic relations that can be argued for, the fundamental conflict lies between the two arguments of a transitive predication namely an agent-like role and a patient-like role which the actor and undergoer rightly correspond to.

Explications of the participant roles are as follows:

Agent : A willful instigator of an action

Effector: The doer of an action which may ormay notbe purposeful

Experiencer: Sentient being that experiences internal states

Instrument: An inanimate entity manipulated by an agent in carrying out something

Force: Something like an instrument but which cannot be manipulated e.g. storms, flood etc

Patient: Things which are in a state or condition or things that undergo a change of state and condition

Theme: Things that are located or undergoing a change in location

Benefactive: A participant who benefits from an action that is performed

Recipient: Animate or quasi animate entity who gets something

Goal: Destination that is similar to recipient, except that it is inanimate

Source: The point of origin of a state of affairs

Location: A place or a spatial locus of a state of affairs

Path: A route

(Culled fromVan Valin and Lapolla (1997:85-86)

2.2.4. Transitivity in RRG

According to Van Valin, RRG distinguishes two types of transitivity namely syntactic and semantic transitivity. Syntactic transitivity refers to the number of direct core arguments while the number of macro-roles a verb can take determines semantic transitivity. A transitive verb takes two macro-roles, an intransitive verb takes one macro-role while verbs with no argument have 0 macro role. These distinctions notwithstanding, transitivity in RRG is semantically based because it is usually defined in terms of the number of a verb's macroroles. The principles determining the semantic transitivity of verbs are as follows:

(a) Number: The number of macro roles a verb takes is equal to or less than the number of arguments in its logical structure.

   i. If a verb has two or more macroroles in its logical structure, it will take two macroroles

ii. If a verb has one argument in its logical structure, it will take one argument.

(b) Nature : This second principle is specifically for predicates with one macrorole. It states that if the verb with one macrorole contains an activity predicate in its logical structure, the macrorole is the actor whereas if the verb has no activity predicate in its logical structure, the macrorole is the undergoer.

We shall in chapter four determine the transitivity of Etulo verbs following this assignment principle. For the transitive verb, one argument is the actor while the other is the undergoer while the intransitive verb has its only argument as either the actor or the undergoer.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIBING THE ÈTÙLÓ VERBS

3.0 Preamble

This chapter presents a discussion of the verb in Etulo. Four sets of inherent complement verbs identified in the study are also presented. In addition, it illustrates the LSC and operators in Etulo. The chapter also highlights the realization of tense and aspect in Etulo.

3.1The syllable structure of Etulo verbs.

The basic structure of the Etulo clause is SVO. The Etulo verb consists of a verb stem in combination with other optional constituents. Etulo attests Monosyllabic verbs with CVstructure, Disyllabic verbs which have CV-CV and N-CV and Trisyllabic verbs with CV-CV-V and CV-CV-CVstructures. For detailed discussion of these syllable structures, see (Okoye 2019)

3.2Verbs withInherent Complements

The class of verbs grouped as verbs with complements are those verbs, which derive their meanings from their subcategorized complements. The verbs under this category are made up of double units comprising of a verb and a nominal element. The first unit appears to be the verb while the second unit is the nominal element. The individual parts of a compound verb have meanings in isolation while the units in those seen as verbs with inherent complements do not have independent meanings.The present study identifies four different sets of this class of verbs. The sets include:

14a.The shi set b.The kwɔ set

c.The ta setd.The wa set

3.2.1 Shi set

This set comprises six verbs. Instances of the shi set of inherent complement verbs are shown in 15.

15a.shi ɔ̀dzɛ̀ 'make noise'
b.shi ashi 'sing song'
c.shi òshó 'squat'
d. shiɔ̀kwɔ̀ 'make ridge'
e.shi ishà 'laugh laughter'
f.shi ifwe 'dance dance'

The morphemes*shi* has an inherent high tone. The complements of the *shi* morpheme appear to be their objects. *Shi* in isolation cannot be said to have a fixed meaning. However, it serves to "signal the action" denoted by its rightmost complement such that neither *shi* nor its complement can function in isolation. Furthermore, the process associated with realizing these verbs is somehow tricky because due to some phonological processes, the verbs and their complements appear as single lexical units. Some instances of these verbs in sentential constructs are given in 16

16a.Ò lì shishà
3SG AUX laugh laughter
He/she is laughing

b. Èfu lì shifwe
Efu AUX dance dance
Efu is dancing

In 16a above, the verb consists of the verb *shi* 'laugh' and its noun complement ishà 'laughter' occurring together as a single unit due to the elision of '*i*' the vowel of the verb. Usually the meaning of a verbroot is derived from its complement since a verb root can occur with more than one noun complement.*Shishà* 'laugh laughter' is not recognized as a compound verb because the morpheme *shi* derives its meaning from *isha.* As earlier noted,this

process of meaning derivation does not apply to compound verbs because in isolation, they express events unlike the morpheme *shi* which cannot express any event in isolation.

3.2.2 The kwɔ set

The present study identified the three verbs shown in 17 as members of the kwɔ set.

17a.kwɔ ɪ̄kwɔ̄ ‘make rough

b.kwɔ ènì ‘fetch water’

c.kwɔ nwogɪ̄ē ‘get food’

But for 17a, it appears that the verb *kwɔ* translates to English *get*. However, the study asserts that the meanings of the verbs in 17a-c are derived from the rightmost elements.

3.2.3 The ta set

Eight verbs belong to the ta set.The verbs are listed in 18a-h following

18a. ta àfè ‘ slap’

b. ta àkì ‘lay egg’

c. ta kama ‘lay block’

d. ta angba ‘greet’

e. ta udakâ ‘shoot gun’

f. ta oshi ‘shoot arrow’

g. ta elâ ‘shoot voice’ (scream)

h. ta angwɔ ‘spit saliva’

The verbs are instantiated in the sentential constructs in 19

19a. O ta anî àfè

3SG hit 1SG slap

He slapped me.

b. Ònwè ta anî angba
Child hit1SG greeting
The child greeted me.

c. Ògbi tā ākì
Hen lay egg
The hen layed egg

d. Àjì ta kama
Àjì lay block
Aji layed block

e. Èmumī ntōnāà ta òdakâ
Thief DEM PRON shoot gun
Those thieves shot gun

f. ònwè nâ ta èlà
child DEM shoot voice
That child screamed

Following from the sentential constructs in 19a-f, *ta* appears to be polysemous.Though it serves to indicate the action denoted by its rightmost element, as is the case with *shi*, in 19a and b, it translates to hit. In 19c-d, it corresponds to lay while in 19e-f, it equals shoot and shout. Nevertheless, no matter the meaning ascribed to *ta*, it cannot be used without its complement. The instances in 19a and b have the patient occurring between the bound verb and its complement. There are also observed cases where verbs display the pattern in 19a and b. However, the verbs are not recognized as sets in this work. The reason for the non recognition stems from the fact that they do not appear repeatedely in the data available for the present study. An instance of such verb is *gbo ibe* 'beat' used in 20 below

20.Èfu gbō Àfè ibe

Efu beat Afe beat

Efu beat Afe.

3.2.4 The wa set

This setcomprises five bound verbs that derive their meanings from their complements. The verbs include:

21a. wa ènì ‘drink water’

b. wa ɔ̀sɔ̀ ‘drink porridge’

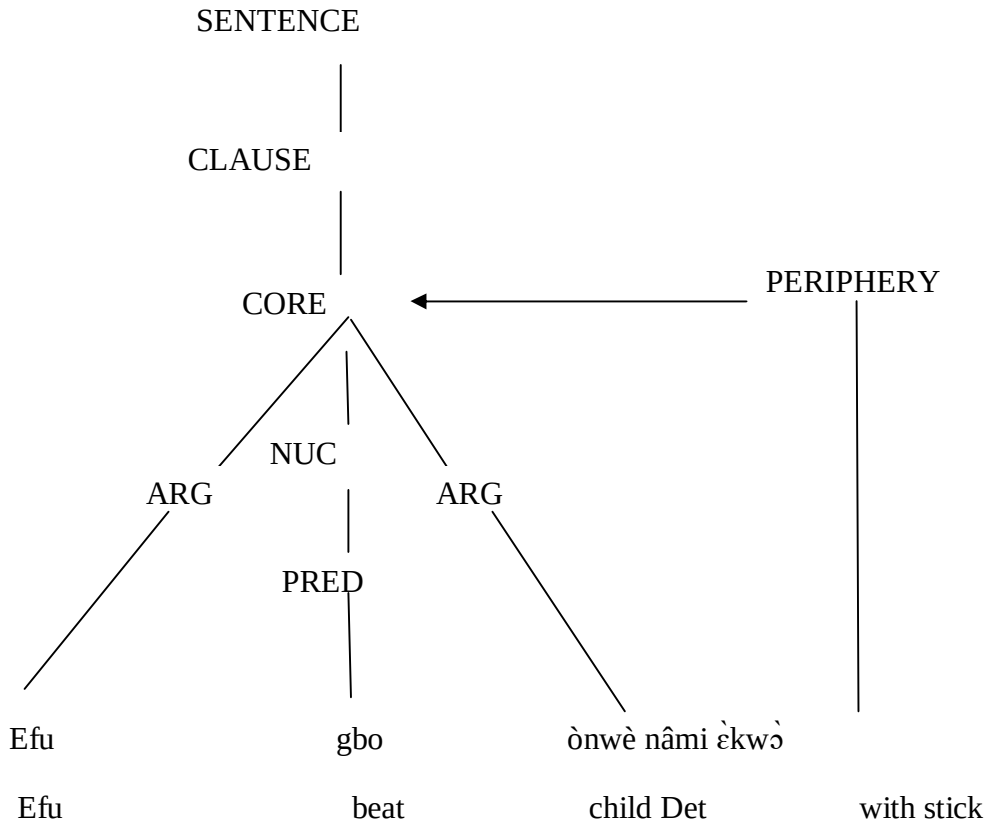
c. wa otse ‘take drug’

d. wa òwà ‘bear fruit’

e. wa ādī ‘chain somebody/something’

These verbs do not make meaning without their complements. In21 a-c, *wa* translates to a verb of ingestion. However, the reason behind the recognition of*wa* as a set follows from the deviation observed in 21d and 96e. But for the deviations, it could have been concluded that *wa* translates to *drink* evidenced in examples 21a, b and c.

Having illustrated the syllable structure and morphological classification of Etulo verbs, in addition to accounting for Etulo inherent complement verbs , we demonstrate the structure of a simple Etulo clause in figure 7 below



Efu beat the child with a stick

Figure 7 Formal representation of the LSC in Etulo

The Etulo sentence representented graphically in figure 7 shows the core and the periphery of the clause in Etulo. The core is the unit containing the nucleus *gbo* 'beat' and the arguments in the semantic representation of the predicate *Efu* and *Ònwè nâ*'the child'. The periphery contains the prepositional phrase *mi ɛ̀kwɔ̀*'with a stick' which is not an argument of the predicate but an element of the clause that is left outside the core.Van Valin and La Polla assert that this distinction into the core and the periphery is a universal aspect of the LSC.

3.3 Tense and the Etulo verb

With respect to tense in Etulo, data available to the present study show that the verbs manifest the same form for both the present and past tense form. This means that there is no change in the form of the verb that obviously distinguishes the present from the past form. Let us consider the instances in 22

22a. Àfè gya angwɔ
Afe buy yam
Afe bought yam

b. Èfu gbobū tasa
Efu break plate
Efu broke the plate

The sentences in 22a and b are appropriate expressions of both present and past in Etulo. The forms of the verbs remain invariant, as there is no morpheme attached to show time distinction with respect to the events being expressed.

However, sometimes inorder to show that an event occurred prior to the time of speech, Etulo uses adverbials of time that are not attached to the verbto make the past very distinct. The words used to indicate past reference are as follows:

23a.teyī ‘first /previously’
b.nosē ‘ before’
c.tsekise ‘already’
d. zika ‘earlier today’

24a. Efu teyī gyā m̀bwe mì ìdû
Efu first buy meat at market
Efu bought the meat at the market

b. Èfu nosē gyā m̀bwe ènì mì idù̀
Efu before buy meat water at market
Efu bought fish at the market before

c. Èfu tsekise yɛ̄ ungwɔ nwi Mfō kyɔ
Efu already know thing which Mfo do

Efu already knew what Mfo did

d. Èfu zika gyā m̀bwe eba mì idù̀
Efu earlier buy meat knife at market
Efu earlier today bought meat at the market

The sentences in 24a –d are representative of past expressions in Etulo.In 24a, the word *teyì* 'first' precedes the verb to show that the action was carried out before the time of speech. Another word, *nosē* 'before' also performs that same function of indicating a past action. With respect to *zika*, which translates to English 'earlier', it is only used if the past action was carried out or indulged-in the same day and at an earlier time before the speech time. If the action was performed on preceeding days, *zika* renders the sentence ungrammatical. The use of the words in 23a-d to signal the past in Etulo is in consonance with Lyons (1977:67) observation that though some languages may lack tense as a clear verbal category, all languages have various deitic adverbs or particles of time that help to relate the time of a situation being described to the time of utterance.

The future tense in Etulo is solely expressed using the auxiliary ka 'will'. This obligatorily precedes the verb in utterances and bears a low tone. Instances showing future actions are shown below:

25a O kà kye àwùyà mgban nu mā
3SG AUX take wealth Poss give 3PL
He will take his wealth and give them.

b. Èfu kà kɛ̀
Efu AUX go
Efu will go

c.Èyi kà gye mi ɔ̀kwɔ̀
1PL AUX eat at farm

We will eat at the farm

d.Èyi kà kyìdɔ yi èkà
1PL AUX do work with together
We will work together.

From the analysis of tense, one observes that although tense is not overtly marked as a verbal category, there are salient distinctions made for the past using time adverbials.

3.4 Aspect in Etulo

With regard to aspect, the data available to this study show that Etulo distinguishes between inceptive, progressive and perfective aspect. In the instances in 26, the particle *wà* is used to indicate an action that had already been completed. The particle occupies the sentence –final position. It cannot be said that the particle marking perfective aspect immediately follows the verb owing to the exceptions observed in 26c and 26g. In all instances, *wà* bears a low tone

26a. ɔ̀njà ná ba wà
Woman DEM come Perf
That woman has come

b.Ìngìsè ná kyé òzû mgbán gyā wà
Person DEM take house 3PLposs sell Perf
That person has sold his own house

c.Èfu fawā M̀fo ànwutò wà.
Efu tear Afe cloth
Efu has torn Afe's cloth.

d.Efu gbɔ̀zɛ wà
Efu spoke Perf
Efu has spoken

e.Èyi kàkà wà

1PL arrive Perf
We have arrived.

f.A gyē wà
3Pl eat Perf
They have eaten.

g. Eyi gyē (ungwɔ) mí ɔkwɔ wà
1PL eat (food) PREP farm Perf
We have eaten at the farm

h. Èyi bā wà
1PL come perf
We have come

i. Anì gye wà
ISG eat perf
I have eaten

j. A ngyēlū wà
3PL finish perf
They have finished

Other distinctions observed with reference to the duration of events are shown in 27 following. Examples 27 a-h show that the event expressed by the verb persists as at the time of speech. This is marked by *lè.* Example 27i represents a case of an unfulfilled event as indicated by the morpheme *ki*

27a. Anì lè lu ɔ̀kwɔ̀
ISG PROG go farm
I am going to the farm

b. Efú lè nunâ
Efu PROG sleep
Efu is sleeping

c. Ani lè kyìdɔ
ISG PROGdo work
I am working

d. Èfú lè tsɛ ɔnyà kyɛ̀
Efu PROGrun race about
Efu is running about

e. Á lè gbɔ̀dzɛ
3PL PROG talk/speak
They are talking

f. Áni lè gye ungwogyē
ISG PROG eat food to eat
I am eating

g. A lè shiɔdzɛ́
1PL PROG make noise
They are making noise

h. Ani lè kyìdɔɔ̀nɔ̀ nenì
1SG PROGdo work time now
I am working now

i. Eyi ki lè gye ungwogyē
1PL PROG eat thing to eat
We would have been eating

From the data available to the present study, one observes that the morpheme, which marks perfective aspect in Etulo, occupies the sentence final position while the morpheme that indicates progressive aspect occupies the clause medial position.

Within the RRG framework, aspect is a nuclear operator, which occupies the operator projection position in the LSC. Van Valin (2005: 8) posits that taking the nucleus as the reference point, the morphemes realizing nuclear operators should be closer to the nucleus than those expressing core and clausal operators. It therefore follows that the ordering of morphemes expressing operators with respect to the verb indicates their relative scope. In figure 8 below, we illustrate the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC) of the Etulo clause with its constituent and operator projections.

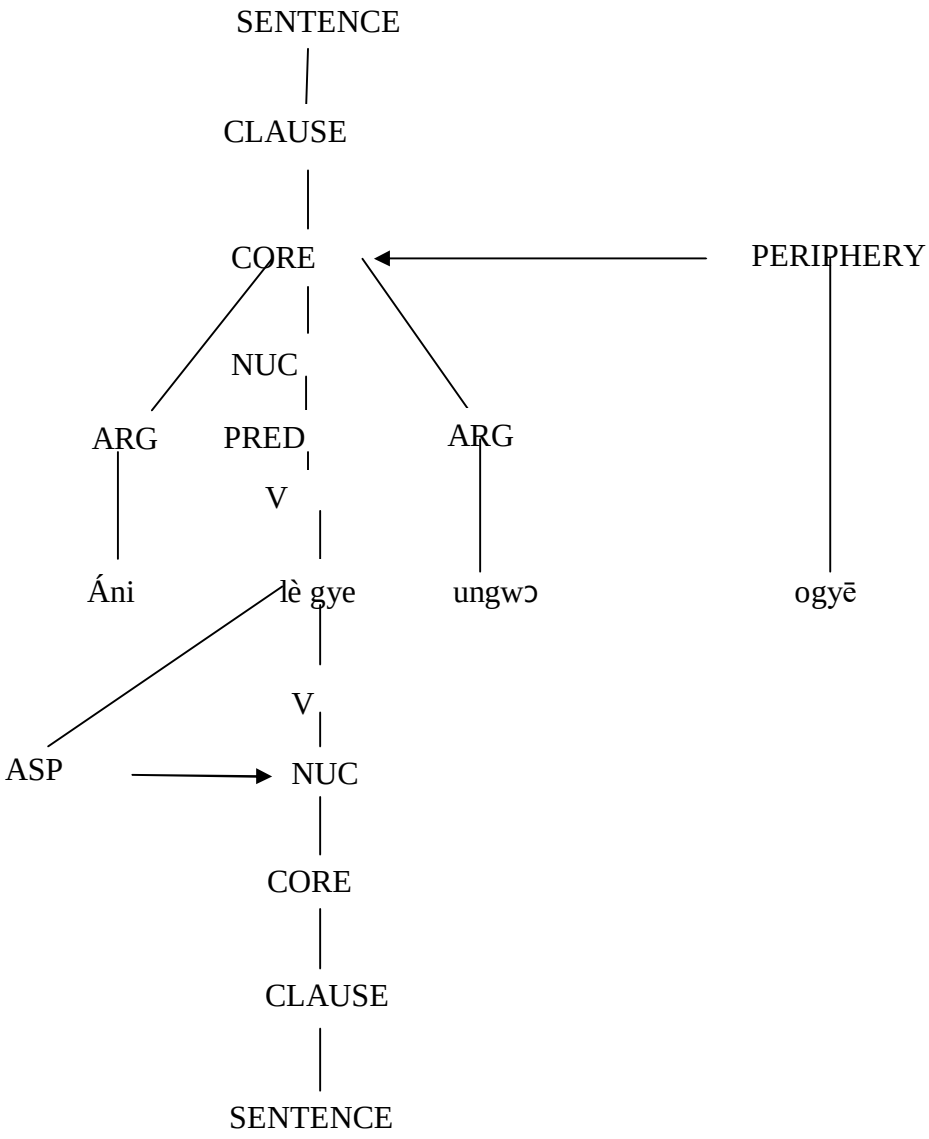


Figure 8 Etulo clause structure with constituent and operator projections.

The diagram in figure 8 has two projections. The top part is the constituent projection while the bottom part is the operator projection. The two projections are joined through the nucleus, which is the central element in the clause. The arrow indicates the scope of the operator. The diagram reveals that aspect is a nuclear operator in Etulo.

3.5 Summary

This chapter presented an overview of the Etulo verb. Tense and aspect as relevant aspects of the Etulo verb are discussed and exemplified. Furthermore, the LayeredStructure of the Clause in Etulo with its constituent and operator projections is illustrated inaddition to Etulo verbs whose meanings fully emanate from their rightmost complements were also identified.

CHAPTER FOUR
AKTIONSART AND LOGICAL STRUCTURES OF ETULO VERBS

4.0 Preamble

The goal of this chapter is to discuss the Etulo verb aktionsart and logical structures. Section 4.1 and its succeeding subsections apply the aktionsart classification to Etulo verbs.Both lexical and sentential illustrations of each aktionsart class are provided.In addition, the section accounts for the argument structure of Etulo verbs

4.1 Aktionsart classes of Etulo verbs

Aktionsart means the form of action depicted by a verb. The term aktionsart was used by Vendler (1967) in classifying English verbs. The term was later extended to RRG's approach to verb classification. Events denoted by verbs are referred to as state of affairs or situations. RRG distinguishes among six verb classes, which are the state, activity, achievement, accomplishment, semelfactive and the active accomplishment verb classes. State verbs are non dynamic. Activities are non static and code ongoing events that have no conceptual boundaries. Achievement verbs indicate instantaneous changes that have terminal points. The changes indicated by achievement verbs could be from state to activity or from one activity to another. Accomplishment verbs code events that have terminal points but are non instantianeous. Events classified as accomplishments extend longer than the achievement class. The semelfactive verb class codes one-off events while active accomplishments are activity verbs with a terminal point. For instance the phrase run (a mile) is an active accomplishment verb because the activity verb run has a terminal point. (Van Valin :2005)

Within the RRG framework, argument structure is accounted for in terms of the interaction between logical structures, semantic macro roles and Actor – Undergoer Hierarchy (AUH).
Logical structures are lexical templates that link the semantics of verbs to their syntax. Thus it is used as a tool for describing the argument structure of the verb. The relationship between logical structure position and macro role assignment is captured in the Actor –Undergoer hierarchy. The basic idea of the AUH is that in a logical structure, the leftmost argument in

terms of hierarachy will be the Actor while the rightmost will be the undergoer.

Van Valin (2005) and Van Valin and La Polla (1997) utilize predicate decomposition in accounting for the argument structure of verbs.The argument structure of a verb is embedded in its logical structure. The reason behind the postulation of logical structure follows from the assumption that the combinatory possibilities and syntactic potentials of a verb aresemantically induced.

In RRG, state and activity verbs are basic while other verb classes are derived from them. State verbs are represented as **predicate** , activity verbs contain the operator **do**, achievement verbs contain INGR (ingressive) in their logical structure, accomplishment verbs compriseBECOME, semelfactive verbs contain SEML in their logical structure.

In representing the logical structures, constants (verbs) appear in bold face followed by a prime (**'**). The prime indicates that the word is part of a semantic metalanguage and not a word in any particular language. The meta language for constants in RRG is English in spite of the language under study. However, arguments are particular to the language being investigated. Thematic relations are defined with respect to their argument position in the decomposed logical structure. With the exception of state and activity predicates that have argument position which defines thematic relations, the thematic relations of all other aktionsart classes are derived compositionally from the state and activity predicates that they constitute of.

The subsections following, provide lexical and sentential illustrations of aktionsart classes of Etulo verbs. It also accounts for the argument structure of the verbs. Van Valin (2005) suggests some tests that help to determine the aktionsart classes of verbs. Accordingly, the study first develops four syntactic tests for determining Etulo verb classes following Van Valin (2005) and Van Valin and La Polla (1997). One of the tests concerns the co-occurrence with the progressive marker 'le'. Two of the tests involve the co-occurrence of the verb classes with Etulo adverbial words while the last test concerns the co-occurrence of the verb classes with the causative marker kyɔ 'do/cause'.In addition, the study provides the basic

aktionsart classes before presenting sentential constructs to illustrate the various aktionsart classes.

Table 5 Aktionsart test for Etulo verbs

Test	Decisive Factor	State	Activity	Achievement	Accomplishment	Semelfactive	Active Accomplishment
1	Occurs with the progressive marker 'le'	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
2	Occurswith the adverb dumudumo	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
3	Occurs with the adverb saan	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
4	Occurs with the causative marker kyɔ	No	No	No	No	No	No

In the table above, four tests have been developed to determine the aktionsart of Etulo verbs. The first test concerns the verb co-occurrence with the progressive marker 'le'. From the test, state and semelfactive verb classes cannot occur with the progressive marker while activity, achievement, active accomplishment and achievement verb classes can occur with the progressive marker.

Test two involves the ability to co-occur with the adverb dumudumo. This test is incompatible with states and semelfactives but compatible with other verb classes.

Test three concerns the co-occurrence of the verb class with the adverbial saan. Thetest distinguishes attributive state verbs from predicative states. Whereas the test is compatible with the former, it is incompatible with the latter.

The fourth test checks the ability of the verb classes to co-occur with the causative marker kyɔ 'do/cause'.Apart from the achievement verb class, other verb classes are incompatible with the fourth test

4.1.1 State verbs in Etulo:

The verbs classified as state verbs are those that express situations.

The following features characterize these verbs: [+ static], [-dynamic] [- telic], [-punctual]. These features simply imply that these verbs code events that do not involve any action. Furthermore, this class of verbs does not necessitate change and the events expressed by the verbs lack internal duration. In the examples that follow, the infinitive verb form is marked by a low tone prefix. Examples of state verbs in Etulo are shown below:

28a. òlumà 'to be fair complexioned'
b. òmamā 'to be bitter'
c. òfùnfià 'to be sweet'
d. òshigbò 'to be tall'
e. òma 'to be ripe'
f. òmyē 'to be mature
g. òlumbi 'to be dark complexioned'
h. òfunfu 'to be fat'
i. ɔgyɛ̀ngyɛ̀'to be small
j. òkpilima 'to be dumb'
k. òshe 'to be big'
l. òyuyu 'to be cool'
m. òdzèàlùdù 'to be rich'
n. òtumya 'to be deformed'
o. òtsidzâ 'to be dirty'
p. òshimbi 'to be rotten'
q. ofùnfie 'to be strong'

The state verbs are used in the sentential constructs shown below:

29a ɔ̀dɔ̀ ne mamà
soup DEM bitter
This soup is bitter
a`**bitter'** (ɔ̀dɔ̀)
b. ìmbè né yúyù
Place DEM cool

This place is cool

b`. **cool'**(imbe)

c. Èfu fùnfie ikye

Èfu stronghead

He is stubborn

c`. **stubborn'** (Èfu)

d. ànwutò tsidzâ

cloth dirty

The cloth is dirty

d`. **dirty'** (ànwutò)

e. Adi tunto

Adi far

Adi is far

e`. **far'** (Adi)

f. Òlùmu shimbi

Orange rotten

The orange is rotten

f`. **rotten'**(olumu)

g. Èfu dzè àlùdù

Èfu stay wealth

Efu is rich

g`. **rich'** (Efu)

The sentential constructs in 29a-g comprise verbs that encode situations which are non instantaneous as well as lack activity.The events denoted by the verbs do not involve change.

This class of verbs in terms of logical structure takes one argument. 29 a`-g` illustrate the logical structure of some Etulo state verbs.

State verbs do not usually imply a beginning or an end to the state; rather they describe a state of affair that is enduring. In 29a, the soup is attributed with the state of being bitter. The inanimate participant *ɔ̀dɔ̀* 'soup' in 29a is assigned the UNDERGOER macrorole, which is the default choice for a single argument of a state verb as predicted by the Actor Undergoer Hierarchy. Each example of 29b-g has only a single argument in their logical structures and these arguments correspond to UNDERGOER. Notice also that the arguments do not volitionally direct the state of affair denoted by the verbs. The verbs also constrain the nature of arguments that collocate with them. For instance, the examples in 29c and g require animate arguments and are adjudged semantically ill-formed if the only argument is inanimate. For example if Èfu in 29c and g with the feature [+Animate, +Human] is replaced with *ìkutsê* 'stone' [-Animate, -Human], the expression would be semantically deviant because *ìkutsê* 'stone' lacks the capacity to be stubborn and to be rich. The expressions in 29a-g are grammatical.

In a bid to test for state verbs, let us consider the Etulo expressions below

30a *ɛkwɔ lè shigbò

Tree PROG tall

The tree is being tall

b. Adi tunto saan

Adi far very well

Adi is very far

c. * ɔ̀dɔ̀ ne kyɔ mamà

soup DEM cause bitter

This soup is cause bitter

The Etulo sentence in 30a is ungrammatical because state verbs do not occur with the progressive marker 'lè'. The adverbial *saan* 'very well' occurs with state verbs hence the grammaticality of 30b. The causative marker do not occur with state verbs and at such, 30c is ungrammatical.

4.1.2 Activity Verbs in Etulo

Activity verbs shown below are verbs that are characterized by such features as [- static] [- telic] [- punctual], [+ dynamic]. These verbs express actions; hence they are dynamic. The action expressed lacks inherent endpoint. Instances of Etulo activity verbs include:

31a. sa ‘wash’
b. gya ‘buy’
c. màkwɔ̀ ‘cry’
d. wa ‘drink’
e. tsɛwɛ ‘think’
f. gye ‘eat’
g. gbɔ ‘say’
h. lɔ̂ ‘write’
i. tsɛ ɔ̀nyà ‘run race ’
j. shìfwe ‘dance dance’
k. kyìdɔ ‘ do work’
l. gbɔ̀dzɛ ‘talk’
m. lelè ‘play’
n. wà ‘sweep’
o. fafa ‘drive’
p. shishà ‘laugh laughter’

Activity verbs encode non-instanteous events that are unbounded. In their logical structure, they are modified by the operator **do’.** Within the RRG framework, activity verbs form one of the primitive verb classes from which other verb classes are derived. Examples 32 a-h below are illustrative of Etulo activity verbs and their logical structures.

32a. Àfè gyā m̀bwe èbà
Afe buy meat knife
Afe bought meat

a' **do'** (Àfè) , [**buy'** (Afe, m̀bwe èbà)])

b. Owaànî lèkyɔ̄ ùngwogyē

wife1SGPROG cook thing to eat

My wife is cooking food

b'. **do'** (Owan) [**cook'** (Owan, ùngwogyē)])

c. O gbō èyî

3SG beat 1PL

He/She beat us

c`'. **do'** (O) [**beat'** (O, èyî)])

d. ɔ̀njà na lè kyɛ̀mà

woman DEM PROG coming

That woman is coming

do' (ɔ̀ngyà) [**come'** (ɔ̀ngyà)])

e. Èfè lè shifwe

Èfè PROG dance dance

Èfè is dancing

e' **do'**(Èfè) [**dance'** (Èfè)])

f. Òshishe mgba anì dzè̀yìàtsàònagbēanî

Life POSS 1SG stay with rejoice saviour 1SG

My spirit rejoices in my saviour

f'. **do'** (Òshishe mgba anì) [**rejoice'** (Òshishe mgba anì , ònagbē anî)])

g. Ìtukwū mgba anì tsɛ Òtsɛ Ìmgbàshò

Heart POSS 1SG glorify Lord God

My soul glorifies the Lord.

g'. **do'** (Ìtukwū mgba anì) [**glorify'** (Ìtukwū mgba anì, Òtsɛ Ìmgbàshò)])

h. Ònwè gbokòyeē lò n mi īfū
Child leap POSS 3SG in stomach
The baby leaped in her stomach.

h'. **do'** (Ònwè) [**leap'** (Ònwè, ìfu)])

The examples ofverbs in the sentential construct in 32a-h describe events that take time, without an inherent temporal endpoint, which could go on indefinitely. With the exception of static and dynamic features, these verbs are composed of the same features as state verbs. The features shared by both verb classes are [-telic] and [–punctual]

From the logical structures in 32a` to h`, it can be inferred that verbs belonging to the activity class can takeeither oneor two arguments.
The activity verbs in examples 32d and 32 e take only one argument, which is the ACTOR. The actions denoted by activity verbs are volitional and directed by the participants involved. In examples 32a and 32c, the activity verbs take two arguments, which are assigned the macroroles of ACTOR and UNDERGOER.
In 32b, the ACTOR*Owanî* 'my wife'engages in an activity, which affects *ùngwogyē* 'food' however, *ùngwogyē* 'food' is not seen as a participant in the event denoted by the verb. Van Valin and La Polla (1997:123) observe that the second argument with an activity verb like *gye* 'eat' will be called an inherent argument because it serves to characterize the nature of the action rather than refer to any participant. It then follows that in Etulo, *lè kyɔ̄*'cooking' in 32b obligatorily requires an inherent argument otherwise, it becomes semantically ill-formed. This is deviant from what obtains in the English language where the construction is acceptable. Consider the examples below.

33a. *Èfu lè gye
Efu PROG eat
Efu is eating.

a' . Èfu lè gye ùngwogyē
Efu PROG eat thing to eat
Efu is eating

b. *Èfu lè lô
Efu PROG write
Efu is writing

b'. Èfu lè lô takeràda
Efu PROG write book
Efu is writing book

Examples 33a and b are ill-formed because the inherent arguments are covert while 33a' and b' are well formed due to the explicitness of the inherent arguments. Following the Actor Undergoer Hierarchy, the ACTORS of activity verbs are high on the agentivity scale. This is evidenced in examples 32a-h and 33a' and b'. Notice also that the ACTORS have the capacity to perform the action specified by the verb. Thus, agreement between verbs and their external and internal arguments is achieved through restricting the class of arguments a verb selects to only arguments that have close semantic affinity with the verb. For instance the activity of buying requires an external argument which must be [+Animate, +Human], otherwise the construction becomes semantically deviant.The eating activity also requires an internal argument that is edible to maintain wellformedness. Also observable is the fact that arguments assigned the ACTOR macroles in examples 32a-h through 33a'-b' have the semantic feature [+Animate].

The Etulo sentences below reveal the result of the test for activity verbs

34a. Èfu lè gye mbwe
Efu PROG eat meat
Efu is eating meat

b. Afe lɔ takeràda dumudumo
Afe write book slowly
Afe writes slowly

c. Efu tsɛ ɔ̀nyà saan
Efu run race very well
Efu runs very well

d. * Àfè kyɔgyā m̀bwe èbà
Afe cause buy meat knife
Afe bought meat

The sentences in 34a-c are grammatical because they all pass the test for activity verbs. 34d fails the test for activity verbs because of its occurrence with the causative marker kyɔ 'cause'.

4.1.3 Achievement Verbs in Etulo

This class of verb is characterized by such features as [- static], [+ telic], [+punctual] and [- dynamic]. This simply means that these verbs do not code happenings rather they express events which are temporally bounded and at the same time instantaneous. Examples of Etulo achievement verbs include;

35a. gbóbū 'break' (in pieces)
b. fáwā 'tear'
c. gbɛ̀sɛ́ 'fall down'
d. dì 'see'
e. shɛ 'pluck'
f. sulu 'sink'
g. fashī 'roll'
h. fwe 'throw'
i. túkwù 'cover'

j. tsìvû ‘froth’
k. dze ‘cut’
l. nyà ‘win’
m. fwalu ‘split’
n. gbíkyē ‘break’ (into two)
o. che ‘touch’
p. dzàtá ‘leave’
q. tsô ‘ show’
r. dɔ ‘put’
s. yawò ‘pour’

This class of verbs is derived from either state or activity class which are the primitive verb classes in RRG. Thus, theyare represented as a state or an activity predicate plus an INGR (ingressive) operator. The verbs in this class denote punctual change of state or onset of activity. The sentential constructs below illustrate this verb class and their logical structure.

36a. Ènìàde na tsìvû
Water palm DEM froth
That palmwine frothed
a' INGR **froth’** (ènìàde)

b. Tasa gbobū
plate break
The plate broke (break in pieces)
b' INGR **break’** (tasa)

c. ɛ̀kwɔ̀ gbikyē
Stick break
The stick broke
c' INGR **break’** (ɛ̀kwɔ̀)

d. Anì dzàta imbenâ
ISG leave place DEM
I left that place
d'. INGR **leave'**(ánî, imbe)

e. Èfu sheòlùmu nwi ēfâ
Efu pluck orange of two
Efu pluck two oranges
e'. INGR **pluck'** (Èfu, òlùmu)

f. O kyē ìkutsê fwe ma
2SG take stone throw them
He throws stoneat them
f'' INGR **throw'**(O, ìkutsê)

g. ùwà sulu
boat sink
The boat sank
g'INGR **sink'** (uwa)

The achievement verbs in 36a – c take one argument, which translates to either the theme or patient. In 36a, the single argument of *tsìvû* 'froth' is the theme and is assigned the UNDERGOER macrorole whereas in 36b and c, the single arguments of the achievement verbs gbóbū and gbíkyē 'break' are the patients, which also correspond to the UNDERGOER. Consider examples 36 b and c where we have two forms of break. The verb *gbobū* in 36b can take only arguments that can break into pieces for instance *ibwe* 'cup' while *gbikyē* 36c can take arguments like *àbɔ̂* 'hand'.Thus the forms in 37 below are semantically ill-formed.

37a *Tasa gbikyē
Plate break
The plate broke

b. *ɛ̀kwɔ̀ gbobū

Stick break

The stick broke

The achievement verbs in 36 d and e have two arguments. In 36d, *anî* '1SG is the agent and is assigned the ACTOR macrorole while*imbe* 'place'is the theme and corresponds to the UNDERGOER.

In example 36f, we have three nominals in the sentential construct. However only two, are seen as arguments. This is the case because throwing typically requires two participants the agent who throws, is assigned the ACTOR macrorole and the entity that is thrownis the theme, which corresponds to the UNDERGOER. Other information such as the owner of what is thrown, whom it is thrown at and where it landed are considered adjunct. Example 36f substantiates the first principle determining the semantic transitivity of verbs.

The achievement verbs in 36 denote actions, which are instantaneous and cause a change of state, which has a terminal point. The action depicted by the verb affects the participant in a manner that the initial state is altered within a period that is short and imperceptible. In 36 g, for instance, the *ùwà* 'boat' changed instantly from floating on top of the water to being beneath the water. In 36b, *tasa* 'plate' that was not initially broken, instantly became broken.

We now test achievement verbs using some Etulo sentences shown below

38a. ɛ̀kwɔ̀ lè gbikyē

Stick PROGbreak

The stick is breaking

b. Ènìàde na tsìvû saan

Water palm DEM froth very well

That palmwine frothed

c.* Ènìàde na kyɔ tsìvû

Water palm DEM cause froth
That palmwine cause frothed

d. *Èfu sheòlùmu nwi ēfà dumodumo
Efu pluck orange of two slowly
Efu pluck two oranges slowly

The examples in 38a-b pass the test for achievement verb. 38c fails the test because of the causative marker which do not occur with the achievement verbs while 38d fails because achievement verbs denote instantaneous events and at such cannot occur with the adverb *dumodumo* 'slowly'

4.1.4 Accomplishment Verbs in Etulo

Accomplishment verbs denote processes that culminate in a gradual endpoint. They are non instantaneous. The characteristic features of this verb class are [-static], [+telic], [-punctual] and [-dynamic].

39a. shakê 'tie'
b. tèlà 'search'
c. do 'boil'
d. sha 'roast'
e. ka 'fry'
f. buwo 'mix'
g. sho 'pound'
h. shɛ 'parboil'
i. yìle 'melt'
j. mbɛ 'build'
k. fwìshê 'give birth'
l. shù èwô 'wash body'
m. kpáyī 'learn'
n. yífù 'darken'

o. fio ‘peel’
p. ta aki ‘lay egg’
q. fifi ‘urinate’

Verbs under this class consist of those that denote change in state or onset of activities that are non-punctual. As earlier noted, state and activity predicates are the basis for deriving other classes. Accomplishment verbs consist of state/activity logical structures modified by the ‘BECOME’ operator. The ‘become’operator depicts that the state and activities expressed by the verbs involve a process. In other words, they are not instantaneous. Examples 40 illustrate the logical structure of Etulo accomplishment verbs.

40a. A shake m̀myà
3PL tie horse
They tied the horse
a'. BECOME **tied’**(A, m̀myà)

b. Mary kyè òshàta ndìwo n
Mary take towel wrap 3SG
Mary wrapped him in towel
b'. BECOME **wrapped’** (Mary, n)

c. Àfè nu ènì dòla
Afe give water boil fire
Afe boiled water
c'. BECOME **boiled’** (Afe, eni)

d. èngyɛ̀yìle
Oil melt
The oil melted
d'. BECOME **melt’** (èngyɛ̀)

e. imbe yifù
place darkened
The place darkened
e'. BECOME **dark'** (imbe)

f. Àfè mbɛ̄ òzû
Afe build house
Afe built a house
f'. BECOME **built'** (Afe, òzû)

g. Èfu kpayī Ètùlo
Efu kpayi Etulo
Efu learned Etulo
g`'. BECOME **learnt'** (Efu, Ètùlo)

The sentence examples in 40 a-g demonstrate events that involve a process that is gradual. The processes are not immediate. In 40a, m̀myà 'horse' is tied and the action of tying is not instantaneous. In 40c and d, the process of boiling ènì 'water' and the melting of ɛ̀ngyɛ̀ 'oil' require sometime for the desired effect to the achieved. The act of building a house and learning a language in 40 f and g respectively are processes that take time to accomplish.

All the examples of accomplishment verbs in Etulo except for 40 d and g, have two arguments in their logical structure. These arguments are the agent, which corresponds to ACTOR in RRG, and the processes initiated by theACTOR are volitional. For instance, Efu learning Etulo is a process, which the agent '*Efu*' willingly engages in. The act of learning itself is a process that culminates influency. For the accomplishment verbs with one argument, for instance,*yìle* 'melt' in 40d and *yifu* 'darkened' in 40e, the single arguments are assigned the UNDERGOER macrorole. These single arguments are inanimate and do not initiate the process they undergo.
In the examples below, we apply the test for accomplishment verbs

41a èngyɛ̀ le yìle
Oil PROGmelt
The oil is melting

b. èngyɛ̀yìle saan
Oil melt very well
The oil melted very well

c.Èfu kpayī Ètùlo dumodumo
Efu kpayi Etulo slowly
Efu learned Etulo slowly

d.* Èfu kyɔkpayī Ètùlo
Efu cause learn Etulo
Efu cause learned Etulo

From the examples above, one observes that the Etulo expressions in 41a-c are grammatical while 41d is ungrammatical because accomplishment verbs do not occur with the causative marker.

4.1.5 Semelfactive Verbs in Etulo

This class of verbs constitutes verbs that encode 'one-off' events.The events are instantaneous and usually take very short duration. The features of semelfactives are [-static], [-telic], [+punctual] and [+dynamic]. Some verbs considered to belong to the semelfactive class are shown as follows:

42a.kwɔkwɔ 'cough'
b. gbɛ 'flash'
c. bili(n e) 'blink (eye)
d. tì àtishōò 'sneeze sneeze'
e. ngungā 'yawn'

f. ta angwɔ̂ ‘spit saliva’

From the examples in 42a-f, it is obvious the semelfactive class constitutes a small class compared to other verb classes. The lexical decomposition of the semelfactive class consists of SEML followed by an activity or state logical structure. The following in 43a-f are instances of semelfactives and their logical structures in Etulo.

43a. Àfè kwɔkwɔ
Afe cough
Afe coughed

a`. SEML **do’** (Àfè, [**coughed’** (Àfè)])

b. Òla gbɛ
fire flash
Light flashed

b`. SEML **flashed’** (Òlá)

c. Àfè tì àtishōò
Afe sneeze sneeze
Afe sneezed

c`. SEML **do’** (Àfè, [**sneezed’** (Àfè)])

d. O ngungā
3SG yawn
He yawned

d`. SEML **do’** (O, [**yawned’** (O)])

e. Èfu ta angwɔ̂
Efu spit saliva
Efu spat

e`. SEML **do’** (Èfu, [**spat’** (Èfu)])

f. Àfè bìlì ìnê
Àfè blink eye
Àfè blinked.
f`. SEML **do'**(Àfè, [**blink' (**Afe)])

The events encoded by the verbs in 43a-f above are events that occur swiftly. Some of these events are beyond the control of the participants hence they are involuntary. For instance, the blinking of eye and sneezing by Afe in c and f can be adjudged involuntary. Ngungā 'yawn' also share the same analysis. For gbɛ 'flash' and ta angwɔ 'spit saliva', though they may not be involuntary, they are punctual events that occur within a very short interval.

Apart from the instance in 43b, the activities denoted by the verbs are initiated by animate entities, which are human. The intransitivity displayed by the semelfactive class following from the logical structures in a` -f` shows that members of the verb class take only one argument which correspond to Actor. With the exception of 43b, which has the UNDERGOER macrorole assigned to the single argument of the verb, the actors in 43a, c, d and e translate to agents whose actions are volitional. For instance, in 43a, Àfè willingly coughs(kwɔkwɔ). However, the action is instantaneous. The example in 43b has *òla* as its only argument. We assign the undergoer macrorole to this single argument because thematically, this single argument is the theme, which corresponds to UNDERGOER following the Generalized Semantic Roles (GSR) of RRG.
We test some of the semelfactive verbs in the example below

a. *Òla kyɔgbɛ
fire cause flash
Light cause flash

b. *O bìlì ìnê dumodumo
3SG blink eye slowly
She blink eye slowly

Example 44a is ungrammatical because the causative marker kyɔ do not occur with

semelfactive verbs. In 44b, the occurrence of the semelfactive verb bìlì ‘blink’ with the adverb dumudumo ‘slowly’ is also incompatible.

4.1.6 Active Accomplishment Verbs in Etulo

The active accomplishment verb class is derived from the activity verbs.Active accomplishment verbs are activity verbs with a terminal point. The feature combination of this verb class is [-static], [+telic], [-punctual] and [+dynamic]. Following from this feature combination, it is obvious that active accomplishment verbs share most features with activity verbs but differ only with respect to the feature [telic] (activity verbs are [–telic] while active accomplishment verbs are [+telic]. The instances in 45 below show the logical structures of Etulo active accomplishment verbs.

45a .Èfu gyē ìsikapa tasā èfà
Èfu eat rice plate two
Efu ate two plates of rice
a`. **do’** (Efu, [**eat’** (Efu, ìsikapa)] & BECOME **consumed’** (ìsikapa)

b.Àfè tsɛ̄ ɔ̀nyà kàkà ìfo òzû
Àfè run race enter inside house
Àfè ran into the house.
b`. **do’** (Àfè, [**run’**(Àfè, òzû)]) & BECOME **be-at’** (òzû, Àfè)

c. Èfu kyìkye kɛ́ òpò àduwà
Èfu walk to tent worship
Èfu walked to the church
c`. **do’** (Èfu, [**walk’** (Èfu, òpò àduwà)] & BECOME **be-at’** (òpò àduwà, Èfu)

d.O shifwē kɛ́ ìwàshî ǹgi M̀gbàshò
3SG dance to altar of God

He danced to the altar

d`. **do'** (O, [**dance'** (O, altar)] & BECOME **be-at'** (altar, O)

e.O wā ènì ìbwe ētā

3SG drink water cup three

He drank three cups of water

e`. do' (O, [**drink'** (O, ènì)] & BECOME **consumed'** (eni)

f. Inju wawā fa òyombo èkyò

Inju swim cross across river

Inju swam across the river

f`.**do'** (Inju, [**swim'**(Inju, èkyò)] & BECOME **crossed'** (èkyò, Inju)

g Èfu lɔ̂ takeràda ǹgi èfà

Efu write book of two

Efu wrote two books

g`. **do'** (Efu, [**write'** (Efu, takeràda)] & BECOME **exist'**(takeràda)

The active accomplishment verbs are telic uses of activity verbs, that is they have an inherent endpoint which is usually absent in activity verbs. For instance, the activity verbs like gye '*eat*' and *tsɛɔnya* 'run' are inherently [– telic]. However, they can become [+telic] when temporal boundaries are introduced. The expression *ìsikapa tasa èfà* is an instance of a temporal boundary when associated with the verb *gye*'eat'.

In the logical structures presented in 45a` through 45g`, we observe that both activity and accomplishment logical structures are combined to derive the active accomplishment logical structures. Whereas the *do* in the activity logical structure reveals the initial atelic quality of the event expressed, the accomplishment logical structure specifies the telicity of the events by means of the *BECOME* in its logical structure.

According to Van Valin and La Polla (1997:111), active accomplishments are like plain

accomplishments because they are telic and take place over time.On the other hand, they differ from them because they are more active. The examples under the active accomplishment verbs are verbs of motion and verbs of creation and consumption. For the motion verbs (45b,c,d and f), the motion plus the change of position are represented. 40g is an instance of a creation verb and from the logical structure, one observes that the result of the activity yields the existence of the entity *takeràda* 'book' Thus; active accomplishment verbs involve both an activity and a result state that is a function of the activity.

With respect to the macrorole assignment, it is observed that the verbs take two arguments. The external arguments are agent, which corresponds to ACTORS in RRG while there is variance with respect to the internal arguments. In 45 b` , c` f` and g`, the internal arguments are goals while 45a` and e` have themes as their internal arguments. However, following the ACTOR-UNDERGOER hierarchy, these internal arguments correspond to UNDERGOERS in RRG. In example 45d, we have the prepositional phrase *ngi Ṁgbàshò* which translates to 'of God' in English. This cannot be assigned a macrorole role because within RRG, it is considered an adjunct.Based on the principle of number in macrorole assignment, the macrorole of a verb is equal to or less than the number of arguments in its logical structure. The logical structure of the Etulo active accomplishment verbs examined show that they are all transitive verbs.

The sentenceexamples in 45a-g are instances of telic uses of activity verbs, which are inherently atelic. The verbs *gye* 'eat' and *wa* 'drink' are activities that are unbounded, that is they can go on without ending. However, these activities are bounded in examples 45a and e because the eating event ends with the consumption of two plates of *ìsikapa* 'rice while *wa* 'drink' ends with the consumption of three cups of water. These instances confirm the claim by Van Valin (1997:92) that interpretation of verbs in the context of the clause can result in a reading, which is different from the basic aktionsart of the verb.

4.2 Summary

This chapter classified Etulo verbs into six classes based on the events they denote. Four tests were developed to test the verb classes. One of the tests concerned co-occurrence with the

progressive marker ‘le’ while two of the tests have to do with the ability of the verb classes to occur with words that express adverbial notions in Etulo. The last test involved the ability of the verb classes to occur with the causative marker ‘kyɔ’. It was observed that all the verb classes failed the last test.The chapter further examined the logical structure of the verb classes in a bid to reveal their transitivity and observed among others, that activity verbs exist essentially as transitive verbs while the state verbs are largely intransitive.

CHAPTER FIVE
SEMANTIC CLASSES OF ETULO VERBS

5.0 Preamble

This chapter examines some groups of verbs associated with the same semantic domain. The selected semantic classes of verbs are exploredin a bid to determine the co-occurrence restriction of the Etulo verbs.

The verbs involved in the study are verbs of planting and harvesting, verbs of buying, verbs of washing and verbs of communication. It is important to note that the verb classes studied in this section are not exhaustive. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that some constructions in the Leipzig questionnaire which form part of our research instrument in this study stimulated the verb classes selected.

5.1Verbs of Planting & Harvesting

The verbs discussed in this subsection are those verbs that describe events associated with crop farming. The study identifies eleven verbs associated with planting and harvesting. Whereas four of these verbs have to do with planting, the other seven convey the notion of harvesting. The verbs of planting are *kyà*, *fwe* ,*ye* and *ǹdzì* while the verbs of harvesting comprise *tò* , *shɛ* , *ka* , *gbo* , *dze*, *kwɔ̀*and *nwua*.

One observation with respect to this semantic class of verbs is that amidst the crops and plants grown in Etulo, the yam plant seem to have specific verbs, which serve to indicate it's planting as well as its different stages of harvesting. For instance, the verb *ǹdzì* literally *bury* which is often used for *ìkwɔ̂* 'corpse' is the appropriate verb used to indicate the planting of yam and cocoyam in Etulo. Let us demonstrate with the sentential constructs in 46 below

46a Anîkye àdishī /àgbàlikyè ǹdzì

ISG take seedyam / cocoyam bury

I planted yam /cocoyam

do' (Anî, [**take'** (Anî, àdishī àgbàlikyè)]) & INGR **buried'** (àdishī/àgbàlikyè)

b. * Èfú kyeangwɔ ǹdzì

Efu take yam bury

Efu planted yam

do' (Èfu, [**take'** (Èfu ,angwɔ)])& INGR **buried'** (angwɔ)

c. Àfè ka àdishī

Afe cut seed yam

Afe harvestedseedyam.

INGR **cut'** (Afe ,adishi)

d.* Àfè ka angwɔ

Afe cut yam

Àfè harvested yam.

INGR**cut'** (Àfè, angwɔ)

e. Anî tò angwɔ

Ani dig yam

I harvested yam

do' (Anî, [**dig'** (Anî, angwɔ)]) & INGR **remove'** (angwɔ)

f. * Anî tò àdishī

Ani dig seedyam

I harvested yam

do' (Anî, [**dig'** (Anî, angwɔ)]) & INGR **remove'** (àdishī)

The example in 46a instantiates an incident where *àdishī* 'seedyam' and *àgbàlikyè* 'cocoyam' are planted. This is the initial planting and the appropriate verb used at this stage is *ǹdzì* 'bury'. This means that any other verb of planting cannot select *adishi* as the object complement. The ungrammaticality of 46bfollows from the fact that the logical object(angwɔ) is wrong. The speakers of Etulo plant *adishi* 'yam seed' not *angwɔ* 'whole yam tuber'.

Angwɔ is the product of adishi that can only be harvested or eaten but not planted. In examples 46 c through e, we find two distinct verbs of harvesting which apply to yam. In 46 c, the verb *ka* 'cut' is used alongside *àdishī* 'seed yam'. This usually applies to interim harvesting which is not the final harvest hence the co occurrence of the verb *ka* with adishi 'seedyam'. During this process, the seedyam is cut and the stem covered back with the soil to allow for the development of *angwɔ* 'yam', which is finally harvested employing the verb *to* 'dig' in 46 e. The examples in 46d and f are highly marked in Etulo because the verb *tò* 'dig' does not select adishi as object complement while ka does not co-occur with *angwɔ* 'yam'.The logical structure in 46c is an achievement logical structure because harvesting by cutting is conceptualized as an instantaneous event.

The verb*of* planting, *ye* is used if stem plant such as ɛ̀kwɔ̀ òlogō 'cassava stem' is the object complement. Furthermore, *ye* as a verb also translates to transplanting and is used where an earlier sprayed crop for instance ìsikapa 'rice' has germinated insitu, and is moved from its original site to another location .

Kya and *fwe* as verbs of planting collocate with object complements that are seeds. However, the latter is used when the seeds are sprayed on seed beds while the former is used where these seeds are put independently into the soil. Examples 47 following further demonstrate instances of verbs of planting and their acceptable object complements.

47a Anì fwe ìtsikapa/ itomato/ olubese/ òlùmu mi ɛyɛ
ISGspray rice /tomatoes / pawpaw /oranges in soil
I planted rice tomatoes , pawpaw, oranges in the soil
INGR **spray'** (Anî, ìtsikapa, itomato, òlùbesè ,òlùmu)

b. Anì kya ìtsikapa/ itomato/ òlùbesè/òlùmu mi ɔ̀kwɔ̀
ISG put rice/ tomatoes / pawpaw /oranges in farm
I plant rice tomatoes , pawpaw, oranges in the farm
INGR **put'** (ìtsikapa/ itomato/ òlùbesè/òlùmu)

c. Anì ye ìtsíkapa

ISG transplant rice

I plantedrice.

do' (Anî, [**uproot'** (Anî, ìtsíkapa)]) & INGR **plant'** (ìtsíkapa)

In 47a, *fwe* 'spray' collocates withsuch object complements that are usually sprayed during planting. 47b is used when the same object complements in 47a are planted by putting each seed into the soil. Example 47c represents a case of transplanting.

The verb *she* 'pluck' is a verb of harvesting used exclusively for crops and fruits that are removed either with the aid of a stick or by hand. The verb *dze* 'cut' is obligatorily used with object complements that are leafy. The method of harvesting that permits *dze* involves partially cutting some leafy vegetables and allowing some to remain on the plant. However, the verb *kwɔ* 'uproot' entails total removal of the vegetable from the root. *Gbo* is a verb of harvesting that is used exclusively for ìtsikapa 'rice'. Examples 48 a-d below show these verbs occurring alongside the object complement that represents Etulo native like competence.

48a. Anîshe òlùmu / òlùbésè / m̀tsà / itomato

ISG pluck oranges/ pawpaw/ mango/ tomatoes

I pluck oranges, pawpaw, mango, tomatoes.

INGR **pluck'** (Anî, òlùmu ,òlùbésè , m̀tsà , itomato)

b. Èfu dze ìtsikapa

Èfu cut rice

Efu harvested rice

INGR **cut'** (Èfu, ìtsikapa)

c. Anî gbo ìtsikapa

Ani beat ìtsikapa

I thresh rice

INGR **beat'** (Anî, ìtsikapa)

d. Èfu kwɔàleēfū

Èfu uproot water leaf

Èfu harvested waterleaf

INGR **uproot'** (Èfu, àleēfū)

Following from the logical structures of the verbs of planting and harvesting, the study claims that this semantic verb class falls mainly into achievement and active accomplishment verb classes.

5.2Verbs of Buying

This semantic class involves verbs associated with all objects that can be bought from the market or even from individuals. The distinction concerning the item bought depends on the quantity. The generic verb is*gya* 'buy'while other verbs that have the connotation of buying are *mba* 'measure' and dze 'cut'

If the item is to be measured in litres or cups, then the appropriate verb is mba. In a case where the object to be bought is to be separated from a larger part, the verb becomes*dze* 'cut'. A situation where the whole item is bought, the verb *gya*'buy' is used. The verb forms in sentential construct are shown below

49.Àfè mbaikerosene/ipetrol/ɛngyɛ/ ìtsikapa/ inatse

Àfè measured kerosene/petrol/oil/rice/ beans

Àfèbought some kerosene,petrol,oil, rice, beans

do' (Àfè) [**buy'** (Àfè, ikerosene/ipetrol/ɛngyɛ / ìtsikapa/ inatse)])

The noun complements of the verb *mba*'buy' are all inanimate. They include liquid and cerealsthat can be measured in litres or with cups.It should also be noted that where some of the object NP in example 49 such as ɛngyɛ'oil', *ìtsikapa* 'rice'and *inatse* 'beans'are acquired in bags , *gya* 'buy' is the appropriate verb.

The verb *mba* cannot co-occur with an animate object. For instance, the construct in 50 below is semantically illformed.

50*Afe mba ǹdà

Afe mba cow

Afe bought cow

The unacceptability of example 50follows from the fact that cow 'an animate object NP cannot be measured in the sense used here. The appropriate verb is either *gya* 'buy' or *dze* 'cut' shown in 51 following:

51a Àfègya ǹdà

Àfèbuy cow

Àfè bought cow

do' (Àfè) [**buy'**(ǹdà])

b. Afedzɛm̀bwe ǹdà

Afe cut meat cow

Afe bought cow meat.

INGR **cut'** (Àfè, m̀bwe ǹdà)

The interpretation in 51a is that of a case where Afe buys a live cow while 51b represents a case where Afe buys a portion of meat from an already slaughtered cow. Consider the instance in 52 a and b below

52a Efu dzɛ ìsàpulù / ànwutò

Efu cut soap / cloth

Efu bought soap / cloth

INGR **cut'** (Efu, ìsàpulù / ànwutò)

b.Efu gya ìsàpulù / ànwutò

Efu buy soap / cloth

Efu bought soap / cloth

do' (Efu) **buy'** (Efu, ìsàpulù / ànwutò)

The sentential constructs in 52a and b are semantically well-formed Etulo sentences. The difference however is that the quantity of the items bought determines the verb that co-occurs with the object complements. The verb 'dze, is used when buying items that are detached from their major source by cutting with a scissor, knife or razor. It also applies to inanimate object complements, which could be either edible or nonedible.

Gyá applies when the item to be bought is taken as a whole. The verb co-occurs with both animate and inanimate object NPs. The item, could also be bulky or light, movable, immovable, count, uncountable etc.

53a.Áni gya òzû

ISG buy house

I bought land

do' (ani) **buy'**[òzû]

b.Àfè gya àyàtù

Àfè buy ayatu

Àfè bought a car

do' (Àfè) **buy'**[òzû]

From the logical structures of Etulo verbs of buying, there is evidence that they belong to RRG's activity and achievement verb classes. *Gya* 'buy' and *mba* 'measure' have the reading of activity hence the do' in their logical structure while dze 'cut' depicts an action that is instant thus, the ingressive (INGR) cointained in its logical structure.

5.3Verbs of Communication

Verbs in this semantic class involve verbs generally employed in conversations. The verbs identified as verbs of communication involve transfer of information from an addreseer to the addressee .Etulo verbs of communication are shown in 54 below

54a.gbɔ̀ 'speak'
b.mkà 'answer'
c.tangwe 'deny'
d.nyà 'tell, narrate'
e.bità 'ask'
f. kwu 'call'
g. ìbà 'reveal'
h.usâ 'explain'
i. kpage 'lie'
j.kponya 'discuss'
k.dzidzɛ̄ 'gossip'
l.gbɔ̀dzɛ 'talk'

Some of the verbs are illustrated in examples 55 below

55a. Ònwè nâ gbɔ̀ òtsítsí
Child Det speak truth
The child spoke the truth
do' (Ońwè, [**speak'** (ònwè)]) & INGR **speak- truth** (Ońwè)

b. Efu nu ani m̀kà wà
Efu give ISG answer PERF
Efu answered me
do' (Efu) [**speak'** (Efu)] & INGR **answer'** (Efu, ani)

c. Èfu tangwe ifū òbíbī
Èfu deny stomach carry carry
Èfu denied the pregnancy

do' (Èfu) [**speak'** (Èfu)] & INGR **deny'** (Èfu, ifū òbíbī)

d. Anì nya ìpolice na òtsitsi
ISG tell police Det truth
I told the police the truth
do' (ISG) [**speak'** (ISG, ipolice)]) ^ [**tell'** (ìpolice, òtsitsi)

e.Ònwèɔ̀nja na gbɔ̀dzɛ mgbī obwè mgban yiì ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ nanì
child woman DETtalkPREP dog 3SGPOSSPREP child man DET
The girl talked to the boy about her dog
do'(Ònwèɔ̀nja) [**speak'**(Ònwèɔ̀nja, ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ)]) ^ **talk-about'** (Ònwèɔ̀nja, obwe)

f.Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ na bità ma ɔ́tsɔ́ ǹ ùdzà
Child man DET ask them parent POSS money
The boy asked his parents for money
do' (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ) [**speak'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ, ɔ́tsɔ́)]) ^[**ask .for'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ, ùdzà)]

In examples 55,one observestransfer of message. The examples in 55 d,e and f have complex logical structures. For each of the examples two things are going on. In 55d, *Anî*1SG is talking to the police as well as telling the truth. In 55e, the girl is speaking to the boys as well as speaking about her dog. Each of these can be represented by a single logical structure. For instance, the logical structure in 55f comprises two logical structures combined with the modifier up arrow ^. The first logical structure is **do'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ) [**speak'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ, ɔ́tsɔ́)]) which is the representation for the child speaking to the parents. **do'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ) [**ask.for'** (Ònwèɔ̀njùlɔ, ùdzà)]) is the second logical structure and it is the semantic representation for the child asking for money. These logical structures are combined to simultaneously yield the complex logical structure in 55f. The verbs of communication examined have the active accomplishment logical structure. However, one observes that the logical structures are derived on one hand and complex on the other hand.

5.5 Summary

This chapter examined some semantic classes of Etulo verbs to ascertain the co-occurrence restriction among Etulo verbs. The semantic classes of Etulo verbs show that verbs within the same semantic class select the objects they co-occur with to reflect native speaker's competence. The analysis in this chapter has the advantage of considering the role of language in communication from the perspective of the Etulo native speaker.

EPILOGUE

You should by now have a general understanding of the verbal category and the instantiations of this category within the theoretical purview of Role and Reference Grammar based on robust data from Etulo Language.

Chapter one served as the introduction and provided the necessary background information that necessitated the study. The chapter also reviewed relevant works on the properties of the verb, its characterization and some studies carried out on the verb in other languages. The chapter also examined some studies on aspects of the Etulo language and discovered that the Etulo verb has received little or no attention.

In Chapter two, approaches adopted in the study of the verb were explored. Partiularily, the Role and Reference Grammar Theoretical approach which formed the basis for subsequent analysis of the Etulo verb were explored in detail in the chapter.

Chapter three centred on describing the Etulo verb as well as instantiating the realizations of tense and aspect in Etulo. An interesting verb class dubbed inherent complement verbs which derive their meaning from their rightmost element also received attention in the chapter.

Chapter four classified Etulo verbs based on the kind of events they denote. The argument structures of the verbs were also accounted for through lexical decomposition.

Chapter five examined some semantic classes of Etulo verbs and revealed co –occurrence restriction as it pertains to Etulo verbs. Agreement relations between verbs and their arguments (internal and external) were also highlighted in the chapter.

Based on the action denoted by the verb, the study grouped Etulo verbs into state, activity, achievement, accomplishment, semelfactive and active accomplishment verb classes.

Concerning the argument structure of Etulo verbs, the study, using RRG lexical decomposition approach, revealed the argument structure of the verbs via their logical structure. For instance, it was illustrated that the semelfactive verb class is largely intransitive while the activity verb class demonstrates evidence of transitivity

The study, based on the macrorole assignment principles stipulated in RRG, shows that the

verb classes were largely coherent. For instance, the state verbs were all assigned the UNDERGOER macrorole that do not volitionally direct the state of affairs. The ACTORS of the activity verb class were shown to be high on the agentivity scale and the participants in the activity verb class volitionally direct state of affairs.

In order to describe co-occurrence restriction in Etulo verbs and further account for correlationbetween Etulo verbs withinspecific semantic classes, four semantic verb classes were examined. On this issue, it was observed that verbs that appear to have the same meaning could be restricted by their object complements; they result in semantic deviance when employed arbirarily. On the other hand, the semantic verb classes displayed logical structures that revealed a combination of at least two verb classes.

In the course of this study, some residual issues arose. Future researchers can explore these issues. For instance, the study revealed that tense is not marked on Etulo verb but rather some particles are employed by the language speakers to relate events to the time of speech. The form *zika*, which translates to English 'earlier' is used if the past action was carried out or indulged-in the same day and at an earlier time before the speech time. The form *zika* could be a case of remoteness which may have existed in the language or which is still evident in the language. Further studies will however clarify this issue.

Certain observations with respect to verbs that cannot be categorized as 'sets' but show evidence of deriving their meanings from their rightmost complements verb were also encountered in the course of this work. For instance *yi ùmì* rendered *yimi* 'steal' and *tsɛ ɔnyà* pronounced *tsɛnyà*'run race' derive their meanings from their rightmost elements.Researchers may wish to explore further to ascertain the true status of such verbs.

In conclusion, the classification of Etulo verbs based on their inherent properties brings to bear, the semantic knowledge of the Etulo native speaker.In addition, this work is a contribution to the development of an aspect of a minority language. It is therefore, a reference material for researchers interested in other aspects of the Etulo language. Furthermore, the assumption and the framework of this study have cross-linguistic validity

(Van Valin and La Polla 1997, Van Valin 2005). It therefore follows that this work is a contribution to cross-linguistic findings on verbs in African languages.

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