Iconicity in Verb Serialisation:
Re-analyzing Akan SVCs

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DEDICATION

To my beloved wife, Evelyn and my mother, Madam Lucy Kyeremaah for their support

ABSTRACT

The extant works on serial verb constructions (SVCs) in the Akan language categorize verb serialization into clause chaining (CC) and integrated serial verb (ISV) constructions based on the notion of the degree of semantic integration. Following these lines of research, this thesis explored the phenomenon and reanalyzed it using iconicity principles. It has been argued in this thesis that iconicity is the motivating factor for SVCs. Iconicity embodies the idea that linguistic form, length and complexity mirrors that of real life experience.

The aim of this thesis was to show that iconicity principles are the motivating factors of SVCs in Akan. This is because with iconicity principles we are able to give a systematic explanation to verb serialization in Akan as compared to the degree of semantic integration.

In the context of the Bono dialect of Akan, we reanalyzed some of the existing data on SVCs. It has been revealed that CC constructions are motivated by iconicity of sequential order while ISV constructions are motivated by iconicity of proximity. It has also been revealed that the two categories differ by their degree of complexity and indeed iconicity of complexity is the fundamental motivating factor. We believe that iconicity principles offer a more systematic explanation to the two categories of serial verb constructions in Akan than the one offered in the literature.

Our findings indicate that when events occur simultaneously their order in CC does not follow temporal precedence. The thesis therefore recommends that further research be conducted to investigate the effect of the verb types that participate in CC constructions on their sequential order, especially in concurrent and intermittent events. This research further recommends language researchers to re-investigate other language phenomena with other theories since it is believed that all language theories play complimentary role to the analysis of language, and without a doubt certain theories explain some phenomena better than others. .

Keywords: Serial Verb Constructions, ISV, CC, Iconicity, Akan, Bono, Iconicity Principles.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASVC   Akan Serial Verb Constructions

AVS   Akan Verb Serialization

CC   Clause Chaining

IVS   Integrated Serial Verb

NNL   Non-Native Linguist

NP   Noun Phrase

NSK   Native Speaker Knowledge

NSL   Native Speaker Linguists

SIL   SIL International (formerly *Summer Institute of Linguistics*)

SVC   Serial Verb Construction

TAM   Tense, Aspect and Mood

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The focus of this thesis is Iconicity in Verb Serialization in Akan language which is spoken in Ghana. Though the language of my investigation is Akan, data is drawn from Bono – one of the non-standardized dialects of Akan.

Verb serialization in Akan is well known and has been cited in the literature by many researchers including Schachter (1974); Hopper and Thompson (1982); Givón (1997); Agyekum 2010; Osam (1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997); Hellan et al (2003); Kroeger (2004); and Boadi (2005) just to mention a few. The syntactic phenomenon dealt with in this thesis has been categorized into Clause Chaining (CC) and Integrated Serial Verbs (ISV) constructions Osam (1994a) and Hellan et al (2003). This categorization is based on the notion of 'the degree of semantic integration reflected in the syntax of such constructions' Givón (1990, 2001b: in Hellan – ibid).

The distinguishing factor of the two types of verb serialization is the issue of this thesis. Is it possible to explain a syntactic phenomenon by looking at only the semantic behavior? I argue in this thesis that the degree of semantic integration as a means to distinguish between Akan verb serialization into clause chaining (CC) and integrated serial verb (ISV) constructions makes the difference vague and arbitrary. The reason is that the degree of semantic integration presupposes that there are levels which can be identified, yet we are not told how it was done. Again, the degree of semantic integration does not offer us any systematic means of grading the two types of constructions. As a result I prefer to rely on the theory of iconicity which explains the two types of serializations by means of iconicity principles which have been used to explain many language phenomena. I argue that the extant basis of the distinction makes the classification uncertain and therefore unacceptable.

And in this thesis I argue that iconicity is the motivating factor for verb serialization. This is because iconicity principles offer more systematic explanation to Akan serial verb constructions by stating the underlying principles that motivate a particular type of serialization.

To illustrate this, data is cited from the Bono dialect of Akan. In the meantime let me briefly review the Bono dialect.

1.2. The Bono Dialect

Bono is one of the major dialects of Akan. It is spoken by the Bono people. According to Osam (2004), Bono is the third largest of all the dialects of Akan, after Asante and Fante. In recent years there have been considerable amounts of literature on Bono, though the schools within the area still use books written in the Asante dialect. In international linguistic circles, Bono is considered as part of the Abron language with index: Abron - abr - ISO 639-3. Its total number of speakers is 1,181,700. In 2003 it had 1,050,000 speakers in Ghana and 131,700 in the Ivory Coast (1993 SIL).

In what follows, I review the scant literature on the Bono dialect. The materials are mainly essays, articles and research papers witten for academic purposes. Even though I have read some of these papers myself, there are others I have not because they are simply inaccessible. So the information I give here concerning such papers is the report I read from other works.
The materials which will be taken into account include: (Aidoo 1971; Ampah 2004; Baah 2005; Bota 2002 and journal articles from Dolphyne 1976, 1979, 1982; Amoah 2009 and Baah 2009).

To start with, Aidoo (1971) compares the subdialect of Bono spoken in Sunyani, the capital of the Brong Ahafo Region with the Asante dialect. The main aim of the researcher was to find the phonological differences between Asante and the Bono subdialect in question. In fact, this research covers only about 1/5 of the Bono dialect as the dialect has been described as 'cluster of dialects', Dolphyne (1979). Again, the focus was on phonology, which is just one level of description of a language. Though Aidoo's research was a good effort to bring the dialect to light, yet it does not cover much and Sunyani, being a cosmopolitan area, the findings cannot reveal much about Bono. For example, the finding that Bono nouns do not have mid vowel preffixes (o, ɔ, ɛ, e) was later challenged by Bota (2002). Besides, Aidoo's research was conducted as part of a bachelor degree and we know that such researches have several challenges such as time and financial constraints. Coupled with these constraints is probably lack of experience in research which can have negative effect on the findings.

In addition Dolphyne also in her journal article of (1979) gives the Bono dialect an extensive analysis. The paper describes some of the features of the dialect clusters in general and compares it with the three standard dialects of Akan: Asante, Akuapem and Fante. The paper also discusses some of the differences between the subdialects of Bono. Dolphyne, for example, observes that

most Bono speakers use a glottal fricative /h/ where other Akan speakers use a labialised or non-labialised alveo-palatal fricative /hw/ or /hy/. In fact, this was probably the first major work conducted on Bono by a renown linguist. Based on her findings she classified Bono into four subdialects. This classification was later challenged by Bota (2002) in that the Techimans, who, according to history, are the indigenous speakers of Bono, was not captured. Notwhithstanding this flaw in her classification, her research in general has inspired other major works to be done on Bono, especially Bota (2002).

Another extensive research conducted on Bono is Bota (2002). This researcher focused on some aspects of Bono phonology. The study uses autosegmental phonology and emphasises three aspects of Bono phonology: its sound system, phonological processes, and its tonal structure. Bota found that both urban dwellers and highly educated Bono speakers use mid vowels before nouns. She also indicates that young Bono speakers use alveo-palatal fricatives instead of the glottal ones .

Again, there are others such as Ampah (2004) and Baah (2005) both being Long essays towards bachelor's degrees. Whilst Ampah looks at the impact of the Asante dialect on the Bono subdialect spoken in Sunyani, Baah compares three subdialects of Bono. Ampah's findings indicate that lexical items have been borrowed from Asante while their equivalents in Bono are either dropped or used alongside the borrowed ones. Baah's essay, on the other hand, shows lexical and phonological differences between Sunyani, Dormaa and Techiman subdialects of Bono.

Lastly, Amoah (2009) and Baah (2009) are the recent works I have come across about Bono. Whilst Amoah looks at the differences between Bono and other dialects of Akan, especially Asante and Fante, Baah looks at the meaning of Bono verbs taking into account homonyms and polysemies, ambiguities resulting from the alternation of ditransitive verbs and some verbs whose meanings are conditioned by certain inflectional forms.

Now in my quest to find systematic explanation and what motivates the serial verb constructions in Akan, I decided to draw data from Bono, the lesser known dialect, to bring out some of its interesting features. The next section deals with the research objectives of this thesis.

1.3. Research aim and objectives

The theory of iconicity has been applied in varieties of ways to the analysis of language phenomena. The 'intuition behind iconicity is that the structure of language reflects in some way the structure of experience' Croft (2003 in Haspelmath 2008). I believe that the theory of iconicity gives us better explanation to a language phenomenon where multi-verbs are juxtaposed to encode a single event. With iconicity manifesting itself in different principles, we are able to explain different trends in verb serialization with different principles, which in a sense, helps us to make precise statements concerning the changes we observe in the phenomenon under consideration.

So in the first place, this thesis examines the two categories of serial verb constructions in Akan by using the principles of iconicity. The aim for doing this is to show that each category has iconic motivation.

Again, the thesis has as an objective to show that the principles of iconicity give systematic explanation to the phenomenon of verb serialization. This helps us to understand why the principles of iconicity offer a better explanation to the two types of verb serialization in Akan as compared to the degree of semantic integration mentioned elsewhere.

Another objective of this thesis is to showcase the Bono dialect, one of non-standard dialect of Akan. By drawing data from it, I want to reveal to linguists and language researchers that there are other dialects of Akan which have features of linguistic interest. This is also a departure from the status quo.

Finally, we hope the findings of this research will bring a new understanding of the SVCs in Akan and other languages that exhibit the phenomenon. It will also draw attention to the fact that there is the need to re-investigate other language phenomena with other theories. As I have mentioned in this thesis, all language theories play complementary role to the analysis of language and certain theories explain some phenomena better than others. It is therefore important for researchers to emphasize the strengths of theories.

1.4. The thesis outline

This section shows how this thesis is organized. The first chapter is the general introduction and touches on the background as well as the overall objectives of this research. Chapter two presents

the theoretical framework. Here, I explain the theory of iconicity and some of its principles. The same chapter briefly touches on the challenges the iconicity principles can pose for language analysis. It ends with the significance of the study.

In chapter three, I discuss the source of data, its extraction and transformation. It also describes how the data is analyzed. The next chapter is where I discuss serial verb constructions in Akan. The chapter mainly discusses the two types of serial verb serialization in Akan and some of the roles they play.

Chapter five presents the data and its analysis. This is where I show how iconicity manifests itself in verb serialization. The last chapter presents the findings and conclusions of the research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This thesis has as its focus Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Akan and the factor(s) that motivate such constructions. SVC is a syntactic phenomenon of multi-verb constructions. These 'are constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions' Foley and Olson (1985:18 in Hellan et al 2003). The phenomenon of verb serialization has been identified in many of the world's languages especially in the languages of West Africa and mainland South Asia and many pidgin and creole languages Kroeger (2004). However, this thesis will focus on SVCs in the Akan language which is spoken in Ghana, West Africa.

The aim of this thesis is to show that iconicity principles are the motivating factors of SVCs in Akan. This is because with iconicity principles we are able to give systematic explanation to the phenomenon.

The idea of this investigation was born out of a term paper I presented as part of the requirement of my master's degree in which I tested some iconicity principles on SVCs. As I read the literature on Akan verb serialization, it became imperative to find out what actually motivates the sequence of verbs to encode a single event. For as until then, there had not been any systematic explanation of the phenomenon. For example, Osam (1994a) and Hellan et al (2003) use semantic notion of the degree of event integration Givón (1990, 2001b) as the basis of the typology of serial verb constructions which states:

> The semantic foundation of serialization has to do with the integration of the subatomic events that are conceived as representing a single event. In other words, the reason why multiple verbs in a construction are treated as conceptually coding a single event is that even though those verbs originally code separate events, these events, through the process of cognitivization, come to be integrated as a single event ... the degree of semantic integration is reflected in the syntax of such constructions and it enables us to identify different levels of integration. Osam (1994a:193)

However since what makes SVCs unique is the way and manner the multi-verbs are concatenated devoid of coordinators, any explanation which does not emphasize syntactic notion

raises questions. And because I was working with the theory of iconicity, I decided to examine serial verb constructions with the principles of iconicity. This was done to find out whether: (1) SVCs are motivated by iconicity and (2) iconicity principles offer systematic explanation to verb serialization.

Though I sought to investigate these issues in that paper, yet due to the constraints of time and the length of such examination paper, only little was done regarding my investigation. However, it became apparent that iconicity principles offer a more systematic explanation than the semantic notion of the degree of event integration Givón (1990, 2001b) as the basis for serial verb constructions in Akan.

In light of that this thesis seeks to explore these issues further. In doing this, iconicity principles will be used to examine the two types of SVCs in Akan. The purpose of this examination is to find out whether iconicity is the fundamental motivation for the two categories of SVCs. Again, this study will point out that Clause Chaining (CC) serialization is 'a type' of verb serialization even though such verb serialization may not meet the characteristic requirements of a prototypical serial verb construction mentioned by Kroeger (2004). Some of these characteristics are mentioned in chapter 4.

This current chapter discusses the theory of iconicity. We shall look at its background and the major proponents of the theory. We shall also consider part(s) of the theory which are applicable to verb serialization. Finally, we shall as well examine the limitations of iconicity as has been pointed by other researchers.

The rest of this chapter is organized into five main sections: the next section looks at iconicity in general, 2.3 considers diagrammatic iconicity, 2.4 talks about principles of iconicity while 2.5 looks at the challenges that iconicity poses for our analyses. Finally, 2.6 touch on the relevance of this study.

2.2. The Theory of Iconicity

Iconicity has been applied in various fields of Linguistic research over the years and it has become evident that there are iconic tendencies in the world's languages. Iconicity embodies the idea that linguistic form, length and complexity mirrors that of real life experience Newmeyer (1992). The idea of iconicity was introduced into linguistics after Charles Peirce's three-way

relationship between a sign and its referent. Peirce postulated in his theory of signs that a sign stands in a three different relation to its referent: iconic, indexical and symbolic relationships. Even though Whiteney (1874) and Klima & Belllugi (1979) downplayed the notion of iconicity in language, Peirce later 'identified a type of iconic relation which has been claimed to be manifested widely in language:

> Those [icons] which represent the relation ... of the parts of one thing by analogous relations
> in their parts, are DIAGRAMS" Peirce (1932:157 in Newmeyer 1992:758).

It was this notion of 'diagram' that gave birth to diagrammatic iconicity 'in which relations among linguistic structures are paralleled by relations among concepts or elements of discourse' (ibid). There has been ample evidence in linguistic literature which supports the claim of diagrammatic iconicity in the world's languages.

For the purpose of this thesis the concept of iconicity will be limited to diagrammatic iconicity; other types of iconicity will not be discussed here. My goal is to demonstrate that serial verb constructions in the Akan language are motivated by the principles of iconicity and that iconicity gives a systematic explanation to verb serialisation.

Now the notion of (diagrammatic) iconicity is so broad and has been used in many ways. We take a closer look at diagrammatic iconicity in the section below.

2.3. Diagrammatic iconicity

Diagrammatic iconicity is defined as diagrams which

> Represent the relations, mainly dyadic, or so regarded, of the parts of one thing by
> analogous relation in their own parts' Peirce (1932: 157 in Marcus & Calude 2010).

Iconicity can be viewed in terms of 'isomorphism' or 'motivation' (ibid).

Isomorphic iconicity is explained as 'the natural condition of language is to preserve [sic] one form for one meaning' Bolinger (1977 in Newmeyer 1992). Isomorphism therefore predicts that there is one-to-one correspondence between a linguistic form and its meaning. This entails the idea that there are neither synonyms (The relation between two lexical units with a shared meaning) nor homonyms (same form corresponding to different meanings).

Motivation, on the other hand, 'posits that the relations among structural elements in a linguistic description diagrammatically reflect analogous relations in the structure of meaning' (ibid). This structure-concept iconicity has been widely discussed in the literature in the form of iconicity principles, and their two major supporters are Haiman (1983, 1985b) and Givón (1984).

In the next section we will look at some of the iconicity principles discussed in the literature.

2.4. Principles of iconicity

This section considers some of the iconicity principles that have been discussed in the linguistic literature for the analysis of language. These include: 1) iconicity of distance, 2) iconicity of Sequential order, 3) iconicity of complexity, 4) iconicity of categorization, 5) iconicity of cohesion, 6) iconicity of quantity, 7) iconicity of proximity, and 8) iconicity of contiguity. These are just *some* of the iconicity principles discussed in the literature.

2.4.1. Iconicity of distance

Haiman (1983, 1985b) presents and defends the idea that 'The linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them' (in Newmeyer 1992:761). This is illustrated as lexical causatives [e.g kill] tend to convey a more causation than periphrastic [e.g cause to die] causatives. This means that where cause and effect are formally separated we should expect greater conceptual distance than when they are not (Newmeyer 1992). The distance principle is further explained by Haspelmath (2008:13) in cohesion scale taken from Haiman (1983:782) in figure (1) below.

a. X word Y   (function-word expression)

b. X Y   (juxtaposition)

c. X-Y   (bound expression)

d. Z   (portmanteau expression)

Figure 1: Linguistic Cohesion Scale

One problem observable in the literature is that different iconicity principles are used to describe the same iconic phenomenon. For example what Haiman refers to as distance, Givón (1985)

explains with 'proximity principle' while Haspelmath refers to it as 'cohesion'. This different use of terms somewhat creates confusion so there is the need for a kind of 'isomorphism' in the iconicity principles. Though these three principles deal basically with same phenomenon, they are mentioned as different principles.

2.4.2. Iconicity of Sequential order

The sequential order principle refers to the sequential ordering of linguistic elements in discourse and complex sentences Diessel (2008). 'There are a number of studies suggesting that clause order in complex sentences is usually iconic. For instance, Lehmann (1974) and Haiman (1978, 1983) argued that conditional clauses tend to precede the main clause because conditional clauses refer to an event that is conceptually prior to the one expressed in the main clause' (ibid). Greenberg (1963b) posits that 'the order of elements in language parallel that in physical experience or the order of knowledge' Newmeyer (1992). To illustrate this, Greenberg further mentions that conditional statements precede their conclusions, and this is the normal order in all languages. In other words 'the temporal order of events in the conceived world is mirrored in the order of the clauses describing them,' Radden and Dirven (2007 in Marcus & Calude 2010). However, there are others who think that in real life situations events can be reversed. This means that there are times that, as a result of what have already happened, we look for the causes. In that case language can be patterned in that order to reflect our experience.

2.4.3. Iconicity of complexity

Iconicity of complexity suggests that linguistic complexity reflects conceptual complexity. This means 'more complex meanings are expressed by more complex forms' Haspelmath (2008:5). The complexity principle is stated differently by other linguists in the literature as follows: Givón (1991:§2.2) states that "A larger chunk of information will be given a larger chunk of code." Haiman (2000:283) says "The more abstract the concept, the more reduced its morphological expression will tend to be. Morphological bulk corresponds directly and iconically to conceptual intension." (in Haspelmath (2008:5).

The complexity principle is illustrated by lexical causatives and periphrastic causatives in English as in, for example, [drop/make to fall; kill/cause to die]. Again, tenses, plurality and gradable adjectives in certain languages depict these tendencies of complexity.

2.4.4. Iconicity of categorization

The categorization principle states that 'concepts that fall into the same grammatical category tend to be cognitively similar' (Newmeyer 1992:763). Thus grammatical roles tend to correlate with thematic roles; subjects correlate with agents while objects correlate with patients.

In the literature we find a lot of studies that show that lexical categories tend to have semantic and pragmatic correlates. These include Bolinger (1966), Dixon (1977), Givón (1979b, 1984), Hopper & Thompson (1984, 1985). For example categorization principle is shown in Hopper and Thompson (1985) in their paper 'The Iconicity of the Universal Categories of 'Noun' and 'Verb'. It states 'The more a form refers to a discrete discourse entity or reports a discrete discourse event, the more distinct will its linguistic form be from neighbouring forms, both paradigmatically and syntagmatically'(ibid 151).

2.4.5. Iconicity of cohesion

Iconicity of cohesion is defined as 'Meanings that belong more closely are expressed by more cohesive forms.' Haspelmath (2008: 13). The cohesion principle has been referred to by different names: For example, Haiman (1983) discusses it under the label 'iconic expression of conceptual distance' which states that 'The linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them'. Givón (1985), on the other hand, discusses a similar phenomenon under the 'proximity principle, whereas Haspelmath refers to it as 'cohesion' Haspelmath (2008).

The iconicity of cohesion is illustrated by possessive constructions in the literature. It has shown that inalienable possession (kinship and body part terms) and alienable possession show same degree of cohesion. In simple terms semantic cohesion is reflected in structural cohesion. For example, body-part nouns are closer in their possessor/possessee relation compared to non-body parts nouns (in some languages).

2.4.6. Iconicity of quantity

The quantity principle is described as: 'Greater quantities in meaning are expressed by greater quantity in form'. It seems iconicity of quantity was first mentioned by Jakobson (1965 in Haspelmath 2008).

Here, gradable adjectives and plurality in nouns are cited as examples to illustrate the phenomenon. For example, in English positive, comparative and superlative degrees of

adjectives, there are always additional morphemes added as in [small, smaller, and smallest] respectively. The quantity principle is again described as:

> (a) a larger chunk of information, (b) less predictable information, and (c) more important information are given more code Givón (1985: 49 in Lange 2013: 94).

In Akan for example, intensity is shown by reduplication: *tenten* "tall"; *tententen* "very tall"; *tentententen…*"extremely tall".

2.4.7. Iconicity of proximity
The proximity principle states that:

> Entities that are closer together functionally, conceptually, or cognitively will be placed closer together at the code level, i.e., temporally or spatially. Functional operators will be placed closest, temporally or spatially at the code level, to the conceptual unit to which they are most relevant, Givón (1984: 970 in Marcus & Calude 2010).

The explanation given to iconicity of proximity seems to coincide with other iconicity principles such as iconicity of cohesion Haspelmath (2008) and iconicity of distance Haiman (1983) as I mentioned above. This, in a sense makes the three iconicity principles conceptually similar, especially the distance and proximity principles.

The proximity principle is illustrated as follows in example (1) taken from Marcus & Calude (2010: 6).

(1) Simon went home, then Paul, but she caught sight of him [*him* = Paul, not Simon]

2.4.8. Iconicity of contiguity
The final iconicity principle to be discussed in this chapter is the contiguity principle mentioned in Haspelmath (2008). It is simply described as 'semantically associated elements tend to occur adjacent to each other'. Croft (2008) however argues that contiguity and cohesion principles are subsumed by Haiman's distance principle. 'Haspelmath divides Haiman's iconicity of distance into two, contiguity...and cohesion'.

I would like to mention here that though it is generally agreed by linguists that there is ample evidence of iconic manifestations in the languages of the world, it is not the same with the terms and principles that describe the iconic phenomena present in the languages of the world.

2.5. Challenges of Iconicity

Notwithstanding the wide acceptability and usage of iconicity for the analysis of language, it is without challenges. In this section I will briefly point out some of the issues raised against iconicity in the literature. In doing this I will examine some of the critiques cited as challenges to diagrammatic iconicity and the principles which describe them.

In the first place, in the paper entitled 'Frequency vs. iconicity in explaining grammatical asymmetries', Haspelmath

> argues that the three widely accepted motivating factors subsumed under the broad heading of iconicity, namely iconicity of quantity, iconicity of complexity and iconicity of cohesion, in fact have no role in explaining grammatical asymmetries and should be discarded. …I argue that these linguists did not sufficiently consider alternative usage-based explanations in terms of frequency of use.' Haspelmath (2008:1).

Here we can see that Haspelmath's concern is that there is an alternative and a better explanation to frequency asymmetries than iconicity principles mentioned above. In fact, whether Haspelmath's claim is true or false is beyond the scope of this thesis, but for more on that see Croft (2008). I want to point out that Haspelmath does not deny (1) the reality of iconicity in language and (2) its usefulness for the analysis of language. The concern he raises is context specific which in his opinion, an alternative theory can give better explanation. Haspelmath further states that:

> For most of these iconicity types, frequency is clearly not a relevant factor, and I have no reason to doubt the conventional view that the relevant phenomena are motivated by functional factors that can be conveniently subsumed under the label 'iconicity' (ibid: 2).

Does this suggest that iconicity is 'too powerful?' It is reported in the literature that iconicity has been used in interesting and at times, unexpected ways:

> Outside the core theoretical branches of linguistics, iconicity also makes its mark in interesting and at times, unexpected ways. For example, working in the area of second language acquisition, a recent paper by Karrebæk (2003) argues that code-switching – a controversial practice, bearing much linguistic and cultural ideology – has iconic tendencies, Marcus & Calude (2010).

Again, there have been inconsistencies in the usage of iconicity principles. As I have pointed out earlier, similar phenomena are labeled with different iconicity principles. And by the way, who determines what qualifies a language phenomenon to constitute an iconic principle? Iconicity seems too powerful and a theory like that may lead to extremes.

What is more, iconicity as a natural theory looks at situations at their default way. But as it happens sometimes, there are exceptional cases. That is, it is not always the case that every situation will follow their natural pattern.

Finally, iconicity, just as any theory of language, does not exclusively account for all language phenomena. There are always exceptional cases where some theories are unable to explain while others do. There are aspects of language that can be explained better by some theories than others. So, in conclusion, I want to say that language theories somewhat play complementary roles to account for the behavior of languages. There is therefore the need to emphasize the strength of language theories.

2.6. The Relevance of this Study

The theory of iconicity presented here as our theoretical framework gives a clearer and systematic explanation to the analysis of the serial verb constructions in the Bono dialect of Akan. We argue that the classification of SVCs in Akan into integrated serial verb (ISV) and clause chaining (CC) constructions based on semantic integration is unacceptable since the verbs that participate in the CC are not bound semantically. The reason is that the only factor that binds them is their sequence; there are no internal constraints, and the clauses that form CC are subjective and arbitrary. Many different verbs can participate in such constructions.

Though it seems a lot has already been written about the SVCs in Akan, we believe that the principles of iconicity offer a better alternative analysis to the phenomenon. And this thesis will add to our knowledge on verb serialization particularly in Akan, and SVCs in general. We hope our findings will challenge researchers to take a second look at Akan verb serialization (AVS).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approaches adopted for this thesis. It particularly focuses on different kinds of data, their sources, and methods of elicitation. Again the chapter touches on how data were analyzed. The methodologies adopted here are simple since the thesis uses pre-existing data in the literature. The phenomenon this thesis analyses (SVCs) and the theoretical framework used here (Iconicity) are already well known in linguistic circles and much has been said regarding them. As a result, this thesis re-analyzes some of the existing data on Akan serial verb constructions using iconicity principles as the motivating factor.

This, we believe, will broaden our perspective of understanding SVCs on one hand, and the Akan language on the other. Again, using the Bono dialect data is a departure from the status quo of relying on only the standard dialects of Akan.

The rest of this chapter considers the sources of the data (3.2); method of data extraction (3.3); Inter-dialectal translation of the data (3.4), and how the data was analyzed (3.5).

3.2. Source of Data

This section explains where the data for this thesis were obtained and the motivation for its selection. As I have mentioned earlier, the bulk of the data for this thesis were taken from the existing literature on the Akan language. The data were then inter-dialectally translated from the standardised dialect of Akan to the Bono dialect. The reason is that, though Akan SVCs have been discussed in the literature, almost all examples have been cited from the standardised dialects: Akuapem, Asante and Fante. Therefore in order to obtain credible data on SVCs, it was imperative to rely on such data since they are based on credible research conducted by renowned and experienced linguists. However, there were few cases where I had to generate other sentences in support of the existing ones. In such cases the sentences followed the pattern of the extant data guided by my native speaker knowledge and judgement.

Again, taken into consideration the limited time I had to complete this research, coupled with the financial constraints I faced, I was left with no better option than to rely on the said data. However the issue that remains to be clarified is how the data were selected. This will be explained in the next subsection.

3.2.1. Data selection criteria

Here I explain how the data for this project were selected from the literature. In fact, there are many Akan serial verb examples cited in the literature by native speaker linguists (NSL) and non-native linguists (NNL). And in order to obtain credible and generally accepted data I took data from both sources. I was also careful in the selection especially with the data from NNL because I observed from the literature that some examples have been either glossed or translated wrongly. As a result I was guided by my native speaker knowledge and judgement (NSK). Let us consider this example which was taken from Hopper and Thompson (1985 in 2004:275), example 97a. The wrong glossing and wrong meaning are indicated by asterisks.

(2) Wo-didi nom
   * 3pl.-eat   drink
  *'They are eating and drinking'

Now, this example as it stands in the literature is a perfect SVC in Akan but wrong in its glossing and interpretation. As a result, if I have to use such an example as part of my data for this project I only use its correct form as the one below:

(3) Wo-didi   nom
  2SG-eat.HAB.PRES drink.HAB.PRES
 'You eat and drink'

The error in glossing occurred as a result of the change of the vowel 'ɔ' in the personal pronoun. However such errors are not sufficient bases to rule out all the examples cited by NNL as wrong, but one ought to be careful and judge by native speaker knowledge.

Therefore I used three basic criteria for the selection of my data from the literature. I picked out data from:

i. Work written by native speaker linguists

ii. Work written by non-native linguists, and

iii. Native speaker knowledge and judgment

3.2.2. Kinds of Source Documents

In this subsection, I describe the document types from which data for this thesis were taken. It is important to identify the source documents in order to show both the authenticity and originality of this project. This means that the SVCs examples were extracted from these documents after which they were transformed to suit this thesis.

The documents include books, research papers, Journal articles and lecture notes. In fact there are more research papers and articles on Akan SVCs than there are books. But for the sake of credibility I chose SVCs examples cited in books as priority. These books include 'Syntactic Structures in Akan', (L.A. Boadi), *Akan Kasa Nhyehyeε,* (Kofi Agyekum) and 'Analyzing Syntax', (Paul R. Kroeger). These authors are renowned linguists and the data they cite are meant to be credible and authoritative. Apart from the above, data was also taken from the journal papers and articles of Kweku Osam, particularly his Verbal and Multi-verbal System of Akan which was edited by Hellan et al. As I have mentioned earlier, there were cases where I had to generate supporting data during the analyses.

But by what means were the data elicited? The next subsection discusses the method adopted for the extraction of the data from the literature.

3.3. Methods of data extraction

This section explains how the data were extracted from the literature. As I observed during this project, the literature often gives cross-linguistic examples of SVCs which makes it difficult sometimes to obtain many examples on a particular language. They therefore come in bits and pieces – little here, little there.

So when I decided the kind of data to use for my project, I made a plan to gather the data by manually copying them from my reading materials, especially those from the books. In fact, I hand-wrote some whilst others were typed.

On the other hand, since I read most of the online articles on electronic equipment, the example data were copied to a file I created for that purpose. After obtaining the data, there was the need for it to be processed to suit this project.

What kind of processing is being talked about here? The data needed to be rendered in the Bono dialect which is the 'language' of this thesis. As I have mentioned earlier, almost all examples on

Akan SVCs which we find in the literature feature the three standard dialects of Akan: Akuapem, Asante and Fante. So in order to obtain the Bono equivalent there needed to be inter-dialectal translation of all the data. This is explained in the next section.

3.4. Inter-dialectal translation of Data

In this section I explain the term inter-dialectal translation and how it was applied in this thesis. For the purpose of this thesis, I explain 'Inter-dialectal translation' as rendering a written or spoken utterance, sentence or a phrase in a sister dialect. In other words, saying the same expression in another dialect of the same language. Here, since the examples were written in the standardised dialects of Akan, there was the need to rewrite all of them in the Bono dialect.

The inter-dialectal translations were necessary because in Akan there are different levels of intelligibility between the different dialects. Though some dialects are mutually intelligible, others have skewed intelligibility. And Bono seems to have skewed intelligibility towards the other dialects of Akan. One reason for this is that, Bono is described as a 'cluster of dialects' Dolphyne (1979). As one travels within the Bono speaking communities it does not take long for one to observe the different variants of the dialect. As a native speaker of the Bono dialect, there were times that I found it difficult to understand some of my schoolmates at the university who also hailed from different parts of the Bono speaking community.

Now, in order to render all my data into the Bono dialect, I needed the help of informants. So during my field trip in Ghana, I met four different groups of informants in four different Bono speaking communities – Techiman, Sunyani, Berekum and Dormaa. Each group was made up of five informants, a number I chose at random. I chose these communities because I have done a research there before. So looking at time and financial constraints that I faced during my research, it was only wise to choose those communities to make matters simpler.

Since the sentences had already been prepared in a kind of 'sentence-list' and I needed only their equivalent in the Bono dialect, my meetings with the informants took the form of a discussion. So in these discussion groups we considered how the sentences could be accurately and naturally expressed in the Bono dialect. Anytime we settled on a translation, I wrote it under the original sentence on the data sheet I carried.

However, there were other times I also had to call some native speaker linguists to clarify the translations and some new data I found. Even though I am a native speaker myself, I thought it important to seek the opinion of others who are knowledgeable about the dialect.

3.4.1. The Challenge of Informants

As expected, one major challenge all the informant groups faced was the nominal differences between Fante (one of the standardized dialects) and Bono. However, since the main focus was on the verbal meaning and structure, I read the English equivalent of the nouns to make matters easier. For example, the name for 'spoon' is *atser* in Fante whereas it is called *ateɛ/atere* in Bono.

Now we turn to how the data were analyzed.

3.5. Framework for data analysis

This section explains how the data for this thesis were analysed. The analysis style adopted here tackles the issues straight away. First, the issue regarding SVC is raised. Secondly, I present the type of iconicity principle that gives the theoretical insight of that issue. This is followed by the data and explanation.

For the analysis of the data, I examined the two types of SVCs of Akan using iconicity principles. It is worth noting here that it has always been thought that verb serialisation is as a result of 'the degree of semantic integration ... reflected in the syntax of such constructions, and it enables us to identify different levels of integration' Osam (1994a). On the basis semantic of integration Akan SVCs have been classified as: Clause Chaining (CC) and Integrated Serial Verb (ISV) constructions. The ISV constructions are perceived to be tightly integrated while CCs which are explained by their temporal precedence are said to be loosely integrated.

So I argued in the analysis that semantic integration alone could not explain verb serialisation in Akan, rather iconicity principles had proper bases for such explanation. I therefore illustrated with examples from the Bono dialect data.

Three iconicity principles played a central role in the analysis. These include iconicity of complexity, iconicity of sequential order, and the iconicity of proximity.

And since the events participating in clause chaining constructions are said to follow their sequential order or temporal precedence; they were examined under the lenses tenses. This is because the period of time in which an event takes place matters in the CC constructions. I chose three tenses – past, present, and future. On the other hand, the integrated serial verb constructions were analyzed under the lenses of functional roles they play. I argued that such roles are motivated by iconicity principles.

CHAPTER 4: SERIAL VERBS IN AKAN

4.1. Introduction

Different languages have different way to pattern their language materials in order to express meaning. One of such ways is verb serialization. This is a syntactic phenomenon of multi-verb construction often referred to as Serial Verb Construction (SVC).

Beside Akan, verb serialisation has also been reported in the literature of many other West African languages such as Ewe, Yaruba, and Anyi. The phenomenon is also found in mainland Southeast Asian languages like Chinese, Thai, Khmer etc, Kroeger (2004).

Even though serialisation is no more a new phenomenon to linguists, there is disagreement as to what kind of construction should be included, therefore making it difficult to have 'universally' acceptable definition among linguists. As a result different researchers have attempted to define the phenomenon variously as follows:

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

2) Serial verb constructions . . . . are constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions . . . . Serial verbs constructions always contain two or more predicates. Furthermore . . . while they may require the same actor for both predicates, each verb in the series may have arguments not shared by other verbs' Foley and Olson (1985:18).

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

In order to deal with these uncertainties surrounding SVCs, Kroeger (2004) proposes eight characteristics or properties that a prototypical SVC should possess. These include the following:

(a) SVC contains two or more morphologically independent verbs within the same clause, neither of which is an auxiliary. (b) There are no conjunctions or other overt markers of

subordination or coordination separating the two verbs. (c) The serial verbs belong to single intonation contour, with no pause separating them. (d) The entire SVC refers to a single (possibly complex) event. (e) A true SVC may contain only one specification for TAM and negation. (f) The verbs in SVC share a least one semantic argument. (g) A true SVC will not contain two overt NPs which refer to the same argument. (h) A prototypical SVC contains only one grammatical subject.

In Hellan et al (2003) the SVCs in Akan are grouped into two: Clause Chaining (CC) and Integrated Serial Verb (ISV) constructions. However, as to whether each of the two types of Akan SVCs meets the requirements of the specifications above is another issue that will be dealt with later.

4.2. Types of Serialization in Akan

Akan SVCs are grouped into two broad types: Clause Chaining (CC) and Integrated Serial Verb (ISV) constructions. This categorisation is based on the notion of 'the degree of semantic integration reflected in the syntax of such construction' Givón (1990, 2001b: in Hellan – ibid). In the following two subsections (4.2.1) and (4.2.2), I will explain these two types of SVCs.

4.2.1. Clause Chaining (CC)

In Akan there is a type of verb serialization which is referred to as 'clause chaining'. As the name suggests, they are separate and independent events which are chained together in a complex construction due to their order of happening. So the main binding force is said to be their 'temporal precedence' Hellan et al (2003) and the fact that they are seriatim. In fact, unrelated events can still be chained together to form this kind of serial verb constructions. As I will explain later, there are no proper internal restraints in their occurrence. They are very productive and the little restriction one can, perhaps, impose on them is acceptability judgement. This is illustrated by the following examples taken from Hellan et al (2003:16)

(4a). Gyasiba nya-a   sika.

     Gyasiba get-PAST money

     Gyasiba got money.

(4b). Gyasiba si-i   dane.

     Gyasiba build-PAST house

     Gyasiba built a house.

(4c). Gyasiba tɔno-o   dane no.

     Gyasiba sell-PAST house DEF

     Gyasiba sold the house.

Now the three clauses above can be chained in one complex sentence in (5) as:

(5). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   si-i   dane tɔno-oyɛ.

   Gyasiba get-PAST money build-PAST house sell-PAST (it)

   'Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.'

As we can see from the three events chained together in (5), they are series of events that was taken by a particular person in a certain order, and that makes it possible for the speakers of the language to chain them in one complex construction. In actual sense the events are not related per se but their sequence is what binds them in this construction. Another significant thing about (5) is that all the events are controlled by one semantic agent (Gyasiba) which doubles as the grammatical subject of the sentence. And as I have mentioned earlier, the verbs that partake in this kind of construction cannot be said to be prototypical serial verbs because the clauses can alternatively be joined by coordinators. In that case the subject recurs in some of the other clauses as well. This means there is subject marking on at least some non-initial verbs as shown in the Bono example below.

(6). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   ne   ɔ-si-i   dane   ne   ɔ-tɔno-yɛ.

   Gyasiba get-PAST money and 3SG -build-PAST house and 3SG-sell-PAST

   Literally: Gyasiba got money and he built a house and he sold it.

   'Gyasiba got money to build a house and sold it.'

But one question that came up during the analysis was: Do events always have to happen one after the other? What about events that happen concurrently or intermittently? This question is dealt with in chapter five, under the analysis of CC constructions. The other type of SVC however has a different feature and that is considered below.

4.2.2. Integrated Serial Verb Construction

The integrated serial verb (ISV) construction, which is referred to as prototypical SVC by Kroeger, represents a 'tightly integrated events' which cannot be separated into constituent parts. This means that you either put them together or leave them. Let us consider example (7) below: (This is taken from Kroeger (2004:236), originally example 40a.).

(7). M-yɔ-ɔ   adwuma ma-a   Ama

  1SG.SUBJ-do-PAST work give-PAST Ama

  "I worked for Ama"

In fact, from my observation, the second verb 'ma' is required in this construction for the event to be complete. The reason is that the agent transfers the event to the benefactive, Ama. However in Akan there seems to be no word which corresponds to the English preposition 'for' or Norwegian preposition 'til' to help in such transfer. As a result another verb *ma* 'give' becomes one of the major obligatory paths to complete the event. This observation is supported by the fact that in most ISV constructions *ma* forms part of it. Let us consider the following examples: (Examples are taken from Hellan et al (2003).

(8a). Kwesi yi-i   atere   no   ma-a   Ato.

  Kwesi take-PAST spoon DEF give-PAST Ato

  'Kwesi took the spoon for Ato.'

(8b). Araba tɔ-ɔ   pɛtia ma-a   akoraa no.

  Araba buy-PAST ring give-PAST child DEF

  ' Araba bought a ring for the child.'

Kroeger (2004) describes some of the functions of serial verb constructions and it is mentioned that: (a) one very common use of the serial verb pattern is to add an additional argument, such as an instrument and beneficiary. (b) Another common function of SVC is to express the goal or

direction of motion. (c) Serialisation may also be used to express the result or extent of an action. The functions of SVCs are explained further below.

4.3. Functions of Serial Verbs

This section explains some of the roles that serial verbs play in the Akan language as a whole. It is important to point out here that the multi-verb construction, as a language phenomenon, is one of the many natural ways languages employ to suit the communicative purpose of their users. This helps to compensate for the lack of other elements employed by other languages. The following are some of the notable functions of Akan serial verb constructions (ASVCs):

(a) A very common function of ASVCs is to add an instrument. Let us consider the example below:

(9). Afia de   safoa to-o   pono   no-m.

   Afia take-PAST key put-PAST door DEF-POSTP.

  'Afia used the key to lock the door'

In Akan, the verb *de* plays a very important role when one wants to add instrument. Though it has different meanings and plays different roles, its function to add instrument is very vital. Without this verb it becomes difficult to indicate which instrument has been used in a certain event. English, for example, uses prepositions for this purpose, but Akan uses a verb and supports it with a postposition.

(b) Another common role that ASVCs play is to add a beneficiary. In most cases, for the initial verb to transfer the event to a beneficiary, another verb *ma* 'give' is needed. This verb plays other roles as well. It has a causative and ditransitive functions, but aside those roles it is often used functionally as follows:

(10a). Ama yi-i   ntoma ma-a   Kofi

   Ama take-PAST cloth give-PAST Kofi

  'Ama took a cloth for Kofi'

(10b). Ama yɔ-ɔ   adwuma ma-a   Kofi.

   Ama do-PAST work give-PAST Kofi

  'Ama worked for Kofi.'

From (10a) and (10b) we can see that the initial verbs encode certain events which need to be transferred and the only possible way to do that in Akan is to rely on another verb whose meaning is closely connected to the context, but not necessarily the initial verb.

(c) SVCs are also used to express the goal or direction of motion. In Akan, to indicate the goal or direction of an action, another verb is needed as in (11a) and (11b) below:

(11a). Kofi to-o   bɔɔl bɔ-ɔ   dane   no-m.
    Kofi throw-PAST ball hit-PAST building DEF-POSPT
    'Kofi threw a ball at the building.'

(11b). Kofi de   akoraa no   kɔ-ɔ   fie.
    Kofi take.PAST child DEF go-PAST home
    'Kofi took the child home.'

(d) SVCs can be used to express causation in Akan, especially what is referred to as periphrastic causative. (12a) and (12b) are examples.

(12a). Papa no hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi ma-a   ne yɔ-ɔ   adwuma no.
    Man DEF force-PAST Kofi make-PAST him do-PAST work DEF
    'The man forced Kofi to do the work.'

(12b). Kra no ma-a   akoraa no   su-uyɛ.
    Cat DEF make-PAST child DEF cry-PAST
    'The cat made the child cry.'

 (e) In Akan certain serial verb combinations often take on idiomatic meaning. Some of such verbs have become incorporated nouns whereas others are in the process of incorporation. This is illustrated in examples (13a-c) below:

(13a). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.
    Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST
    'Kofi believed Ama.'
[*Gye+di* > *gyedie* meaning 'belief']

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(13b). Kofi di-i   asɛm no ma-a   Ama.

      Kofi eat-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.

     ' Kofi judged the case for Ama' or (Kofi judged in favour of Ama.)

[*Di+ma >dima*+nominal affixes >*<u>dimafoɔ</u>* or *O<u>dimafoɔ</u>* which means 'a judge/an intercessor']

(13c). Kofi ka-a asɛm no ma-a Ama.

    Kofi tell-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.

     'Kofi pleaded for Ama.'

[*Ka+ma > kama*+nominal affixes becomes *kamafoɔ* or *ɔkamafoɔ* meaning 'an advocate']

As the examples (13a-c) show, the base forms of the verbs have become incorporated noun roots. Therefore the serialization of such verbs serves idiomatic purposes.

(f) SVCs are used to express a complex meaning. Generally speaking the expressions that result from the seriatim verbs are semantically more complex than the meanings expressed by the individual component verbs.

From these functions, and many others that SVCs may be used for in other languages, we cannot overemphasize the functional roles they play in Akan. And I have argued in this thesis that these functions have iconic motivation.

As it has been demonstrated in chapter 6 of this thesis, the verbs that participate in any of the categories of verb serialization can occur in seriatim with other verbs as well. This means that there are no collocations restrictions placed on the verbs which participate in serialization. **The verbs are called upon to play a role when they are needed**. The verb *ma* 'give', as has been mentioned earlier, plays a functional role since there are no functional elements, such as prepositions in Indo-European languages. This same verb has a causative function and in such context it is translated as 'make'. In this context it collocates with many other verbs. Again, *ma* has ditransitive function where it occurs with many other verbs.

Also the verb *di* which has the primary meaning 'eat' is perhaps one of the most versatile verbs in Akan. The Akan dictionary (2006) records sixty contexts where it appears. When such a verb occurs in serialization with other verbs, we cannot say that it is as a result of semantic integration at all the sixty contexts. We need to look at it from the role it is playing and what motivates such a role.

In fact, the functional roles of Akan verbs cannot be overemphasised. In my previous work, *Meaning of Bono Verbs*, in which I discussed *Inherent Complement Verbs,* I mentioned that many Akan verbs are ambiguous in their citation forms. Therefore to properly interpret verbs in Akan, they need contexts. This means that the specific role of such verbs in a particular context is what disambiguates it from the several other interpretations it may have. For example, the verb *bɔ,* when it occurs with certain NPs, changes the grammatical categories of those NPs from nouns to verbs. This is shown below. The meaning of the NP is put in brackets next to it, followed by a dash and the new meaning, which has been italicised.

bɔ + nkɔmɔ (conversation) – *to converse*

bɔ + dam (madness) – *to be mad*

bɔ + wa (cough) – *to cough*

bɔ + paa (a piece of job) – *to hire*

bɔ + hu (fear) – *to frighten*

bɔ + abaa (stick/cane) – *to cane*

bɔ + pɔ (knot) – *to tie*

Figure 1: Different Contexts of the Verb 'bɔ'

It is due to this behaviour of Akan verbs that I have argued here that the difference between CC and ISV constructions is not as a result of the degree of semantic integration. Rather the verbs in the so-called integrated serializations play functional roles. Again, since it is said that, it is the sequential order of the events which participate in CC constructions, which bind them, and they are not related per se, I have argued that iconicity is the main motivation behind it. In the next chapter I will demonstrate with examples how iconicity manifests itself in the two types of serial verb constructions: clause chaining and integrated serial verb constructions.

CHAPTER 5: ICONICITY IN SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter three main issues are discussed using different iconicity principles. First, I examined clause chaining serialization discussed above with two iconicity principles, iconicity of complexity and iconicity of sequential order mentioned in Haspelmath (2008). I argued that these iconicity principles are the main motivations for CC serialization in Akan. I illustrated this with the examples from the data obtained for this research. Secondly, I examined the integrated serial verb (ISV) constructions, also under the spotlight of iconicity, particularly iconicity of proximity. Finally, I delved into some other general issues concerning CC constructions.

It is important to recall now that the categorization of the two types of verb serializations discussed here is based on the notion of semantic integration. However, I argued that since verb serialization is a syntactic phenomenon, semantic integration does not offer sufficient basis and systematic explanation to the two categories. As a result, I re-analyzed the phenomenon using iconicity. And there has been sufficient evidence to support the claim that iconicity is the motivation behind Akan verb serialization. Again, iconicity principles offer more systematic explanation to the phenomenon as compared to semantic integration.

5.2. Iconicity in Clause Chaining Serialization

Givón argues that 'iconicity principles may manifest themselves at different levels of generality and transparency' (1985:212) and based on this I argued that it is not out of order to explain CC serialization in the light of iconicity. As has been mentioned throughout this thesis, it has been thought that the category CC is as a result of 'the degree of semantic integration ... reflected in the syntax of such constructions and it enables us to identify different levels of integration' (Osam 1994a).

The clause chaining (CC) serialization is a syntactic phenomenon in Akan in which series of independent events are expressed in one complex utterance or sentence. The order of the events follows the sequence of their occurrence or temporal precedence.

In what follows, I argue that semantic integration alone cannot explain CC serialization but rather there are iconic principles that explain why the separate events are serialized.

5.2.1. Complexity

In fact the complexity of the meaning and the structure of SVCs in general cannot be underestimated. This notion of complexity is supported by Kroeger's observation when analyzing verb serialization:

> As noted in the preceding section ... the event named by an SVC may be semantically complex' (2004:233).

The issue of complexity in meaning and structure is exactly what the iconicity of complexity predicts:

'More complex meanings are expressed by more complex forms'
<div align="center">Or</div>
'A larger chunk of information will be given a larger chunk of code'

So I argue here that complexity is the fundamental principle for SVCs in general and CC in particular but not semantic integration. As we can see from the distinction between the two types of SVCs in Akan, one can tell that they are not mainly distinguished by their semantic integration but their nature of complexity. Many events can be chained together in CC serialization while it is not so with ISV construction. This observation is illustrated by the following examples (14 – 17).

(14). Bɛ-noa   didi nom boro   tea-team daa.

   They-cook eat drink booze shout-shout daily

   'They cook, eat, drink, become boozed and shout daily.'

(15). M-ɛ-fa   a-tɔno   a-gye   sika   a-to hɔ.

   I-FUT-take CONS-sell CONS-receive money CONS-put there

   'I will take it and sell to get money and save it'

(16). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.

        Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST

         'Kofi believed Ama'

(17). Kofi yɔ-ɔ   adwuma ma-a   Ama.

        Kofi do-PAST work give-PAST Ama

        'Kofi worked for Ama.

In the examples above, (14 and 15) shows CC serialization while (16 and 17) shows ISV serialization. From these examples we can see that CC can have more complex structure in terms of length and the information content than ISV constructions. And without doubt, they also differ in the complexity of meaning. So this degree of complexity which is manifested by their structure and meaning is a fundamental difference between CC and ISV construction.

In fact, I am not saying here that all CC constructions are necessarily longer, but rather what I mean is that they have the potential to be longer if the speaker wants them to be. On the contrary, ISV constructions are constrained since particular verbs need to form part of such constructions. Let us consider the following examples:

(18a). N-kɔ m-ba-ayɛ

          I-go I-come-PAST

        'I returned' (Literally: I went and I came)

(18b). N-kɔ m-ba-ayɛ   m-bɛ-noa-a   aduane n-di n-da-ayɛ

          I-go I-come-PAST I-ING.come-cook-PAST food I- eat I-sleep-PAST

        ' I returned, cooked, ate and slept'

(19a). Ama bɔ-ɔ   mpae ma-a   Kofi.

        Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi

        'Ama prayed for Kofi'

(19b). Ama bɔ-ɔ mpae ma-a Kofi   ma-a   ne nya-a sika.

          Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi make-PAST him get-PAST money

         (Literally: Ama prayed for Kofi and that made Kofi get money)

         'Ama prayed for Kofi to get money'

In the above examples, (18b) and (19b) are extensions of (18a) and (19a) respectively. As we can see, the events that can be added to (18b) are unlimited. However, in (19b) there was a need for the causative *ma* to turn the construction to a causative one. There are limited verbs which can partake in ISV constructions.

I reiterate here that iconicity of complexity is the fundamental motivation for serial verb constructions in general, and also a distinguishing factor between CC and ISV constructions regarding their degree of complexities. This claim is further supported by Kroeger's assertion that 'the crucial difference between serial verbs and clause chaining is the size of the unit involved', (2004:242).

5.2.2. Sequential Order

This section considers the sequence of the events forming CC. If we closely consider clause chaining we can clearly see that the concatenated events in such constructions may not relate to one another in the real world, but their sequence of occurrence whether according temporal precedence or as they are perceived, is the binding force. So it is proper to explain it with *iconicity of sequence* which says that:

Sequence of form matches sequence of experience.

This 'iconicity principle predicts that the linear ordering of main and subordinate clauses mirrors the sequential ordering of the events they describe' (Diessel H. 2008). Stated differently, the sequential order of the events partaking in CC constructions, follow the trajectory of the events taken or to be taken. The example below shows separate events that have been seriated.

(20). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   si-i   dane   tɔno-oyɛ.

Gyasiba get-PAST   money build-PAST house sell-PAST

'Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.'

Now, let us examine the three events taking place in their infinitive forms:

a. Nya sika   'to get money'

b. Si dane   'to build house '

c. Tɔno (dane)   'to sell a house'

To the best of my knowledge none of the three events entails or directly implies the other. It will therefore be difficult to explain that it is semantic integration that binds them. On the contrary, the only possible explanation one can give is the sequence in which the events occurred and that is exactly what iconicity of sequence predicts. For example, supposing hundred people are given a million dollar each today to spend, there is no reason to think that each of them will buy or build a house because each of them may have different priorities in their lives. However whatever they engage in with their money creates a path or sequence of events which can be pieced together in CC constructions regarding the order those events happened. As a native speaker of Akan, I often hear the following utterances in connection with 'getting money':

(21a). Kofi nya-a   sika   nom-mnsa   boro-oyɛ.

    Kofi get-PAST money drink-PAST wine booze-PAST
    'Kofi got money, drank (a lot of) wine and became boozed.'

(21b). Kofi nya-a   sika   tɔ-ɔ   asaase si-i   dane

     Kofi get-PAST money buy-PAST land   build-PAST house.
     'Kofi got money, bought (a parcel of) land and built a house.'

 (21c). Kofi nya-a   sika   tɔ-ɔ   kaa ka-ayɛ.

     Kofi get-PAST money buy-PAST car drive-PAST
     'Kofi got money, bought a car and drove it.'

To sum up, since the CC involves chaining of separate events, the order of the verbs reflects the sequential order of the events as occurring in the real world. So each event has "temporal precedence'' (Hellan et al 2003: 16). It therefore sounds logical for us to explain clause chaining serialization with iconicity of sequence. And I want to emphasize here that even the expression 'Temporal Precedence' is only applicable when the events in clause chaining serialization occurred one after the other. As I found out in this research, when the events

occurred concurrently or intermittently we cannot talk about their temporal precedence as we can see below.

Clause chaining construction can express non-past events as well. In the literature, most of the CC construction examples I have come across express past events, creating the impression that it cannot express events in the present and future. In what follows, I will give examples of future events and present, particularly events taking place concurrently. As we know it is not the case that we always finish one event before we start another. Sometimes we carry out certain events simultaneously or intermittently. So in fact, I was curious about how two or three events happening simultaneously are expressed in the clause chaining serialization. For example, singing and dancing, eating while reading, walking and talking, working and singing; standing, looking and laughing at the same time etc. And the following data was collected from my informants.

(22a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom sa.

      Afia 3SG-PROG-sing song dance

      'Afia is singing and dancing.'

(22b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom ne ɔ-ɔ-sa

      Afia 3SG-PROG-sing song and 3SG-PROG-dance

      'Afia is singing and dancing'

(23a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-nante   kasa

      Afia 3SG-PGOG-walk talk

      'Afia is walking and talking.'

(23b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-nante   ne ɔ-ɔ-kasa.

      Afia 3SG-PROG-walk and 3SG-PROG-talk

      'Afia is walking and (she) talking.'

(24a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-noa   aduane to ndwom.

      Afia 3SG-PROG-cook food sing song

      'Afia is cooking and sing.' Or 'Afia is singing while cooking.'

(24b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-noa   aduane ne ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom.

     Afia 3SG-PROG-cook food and 3SG-PROG-sing song

     'Afia is cooking and singing' (at the same time)

For events taking place concurrently or intermittently, it is sometimes the speaker who determines their order based on how the separate events are perceived. For examples (22a, 23a and 24a) are CC constructions but the events involved are taking place at the same time and there is no case for temporal precedence, especially when the events are involved dynamic verbs as in the examples above. (22b, 23b and 24b) are alternative coordinated forms of the CC constructions.

On the other hand, in concurrent events involving stative and dynamic verbs, the stative verbs will be placed first as though the other event(s) are happening in that condition or state. For example, in (25a), Afia is looking at the birds and that causes her to laugh. These two events are taking place in a certain state, standing, as opposed to sitting or leaning against a wall etc.

(25a). Afia gynina hɔ   ɔ-ɔ-hwɛ   nnomaa he sere.

     Afia stand there 3SG-PROG-look birds DEF laugh

     'Afia is standing there looking at the birds and laughing.'

(25b) Afia gyina hɔ   ne   ɔ-ɔ-hwɛ   nnomaa he sere.

     Afia stand there and 3SG-PROG-look birds DEF laugh

     'Afia is standing there looking at the birds and laughing.'

     (Literally: Afia is standing there and looking at the birds and laughing.)

Finally, let us see how CC works with future events. When CC is used to express future events, such events will be patterned according to the order they will occur, as has been discussed earlier. Let us consider examples (26 and 27) below. Note that in Akan the future tense marker *bɛ* appears on only the initial verb while all the remaining verbs take consecutive marker – a. For detail on Akan TAM see Osam (1994a) and Hellan et al (2003).

(26). Bɛ-bɛ-noa   a-didi   a-nom   a-dware   a-da.

     They-FUT-cook CONS-eat CONS-drink CONS-bath CONS-sleep

     'They will cook (food) eat, drink, take shower and sleep.'

(27). Yɛ- bɛ-fa   a-tɔno   a-gye sika   a-to   hɔ.

    We-FUT-take CONS-sell CONS-receive money CONS-put there

    'We will take it and sell to get money and save it' (money)

5.2.3. Conclusion

In the first part of the analysis, I focused on the clause chaining serialization. I examined this construction type from two main perspectives: its complexity and sequential ordering of the events. Regarding its sequential ordering, I looked at past events, present progressive and concurrent, and future events.

There has been a clear indication that the degree of complexity is a fundamental feature that distinguishes CC from ISV constructions in that the former has somehow unlimited potential in its generation, while the latter (ISV) is retrained internally by the verbs that participate in it. Iconicity of complexity is therefore the motivating factor for such a condition. Finally, regarding sequential ordering of the events that partake in CC constructions, it was shown that temporal precedence is violated when dealing with concurrent events. However, since whatever way the speaker orders such events reflects his/her experience, iconicity of sequence captures it. As a result I conclude that CC serialization has iconic motivation but not semantic integration.

5.3. Iconicity in Integrated Serial Verbs

In this section I examine the second type of SVCs in Akan, ISV construction under the spotlight of iconicity of proximity. I believe that this type of serial verb construction plays different roles in Akan. As I have mentioned earlier, the second verb in the so-called integrated serial verb construction plays a functional role. And these roles have iconic motivation as explained by the *proximity principle* in the section below.

5.3.1. Proximity

The proximity principle is summed up by Givón (1985:202) as:

> The closer together two concepts are semantically or functionally, the more likely
> they are to be put adjacent to each other lexically, morpho-tactically or syntactically.

The notion of semantic integration as a reason for the integrated serial verb construction is quite fuzzy since we cannot pinpoint at what particular point the verbs become so integrated.

However the iconicity of proximity shows that the closer functional or semantic roles make it possible for the verbs to be brought together. As a result we are able to explain why the verbs are connected since the role of the second verb is more functional than semantic.

(A) Oblique Object

I observed from example (28) below that the role of the second verb in the ISV constructions corresponds to the function of a preposition in English. It appears that the focused event (initial verb) needs a kind of oblique object but since the Akan language does not have functional elements, such as prepositions, the only possible means to transfer the event is to rely on another verb whose meaning is closely connected to the context, but not necessarily to the initial verb. And this is exactly what iconicity of proximity predicts. Let us consider (28a-f).

(28a). Ama hwie-e   nsuo gu-u   ankorɛ no-m.
      Ama pour-PAST water put PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP.
      'Ama poured water **into** the barrel.'

(28b). Ama yi-i   ntoma no fri-i   pono no so.
      Ama take-PAST cloth DEF leave-PAST table DEF on
      'Ama took the cloth **off** the table.'

(28c). Ama yi-i   atere no ma-a   Ato.
      Ama take-PAST spoon DEF give-PAST Ato
      'Ama took the spoon **for** Ato.'

 (28d). Ama tɔ-ɔ   mpaboa kyɛ-ɛ   Kofi
      Ama buy-PAST shoes   give-PAST Kofi.
      'Ama bought a pair of shoes **for** Kofi.'

(28e). Ama bɔ-ɔ   mpaeɛ ma-a   Kofi
      Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi
      'Ama prayed **for** Kofi.'

(28f). Ama tɔ-ɔ   pɛtia ma-a   akoraa no.
      Ama buy-PAST ring   give-PAST child DEF
      Ama bought a ring **for** the child.
       (The emphases are mine.)

(B) Idiomatic Function

Again, as I have mentioned earlier, some combinations of the integrated serial verbs are for the purpose of idiomatic meaning. And some of such verbs have become incorporated nouns or noun stems, while others are in the process of incorporation. In example (13) repeated here as (29), we observe that the roots of the verbs involved in the ISV constructions are incorporated to form noun stems in the language.

(29a). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.

      Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST

      'Kofi believed Ama.'

[*Gye+di > gyedie* meaning 'belief']

(29b). Kofi di-i   asɛm no   ma-a   Ama.

       Kofi eat-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.

       ' Kofi judged the case for Ama' or (Kofi judged in favour of Ama.)

[*Di+ma > dima*+nominal affixes >*Odimafoɔ* or *Odimafoɔ* which means 'a judge/an intercessor']

(29c). Kofi ka-a   asɛm no   ma-a   Ama.

       Kofi tell-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.

       'Kofi pleaded for Ama.'

[*Ka+ma > kama*+nominal affixes becomes *kamafoɔ* or *ɔkamafoɔ* meaning 'an advocate']

Another thing worth noting about (29) is that the order of the verbs cannot be changed. If we do the sentences become ungrammatical. And this claim is supported by Kroeger's quote from Durie (1997) that:

> In order for SVC of this type to be grammatical, it must be possible for speakers of the language to interpret the various actions as comprising a single coherent event. It appears that different languages impose different restrictions as to which specific combinations of verbs are permissible, and that these restrictions are sometimes due to cultural factors (2004:234)

In Akan there are restrictions imposed on the two verbs as to the order of their combination. The two verbs cannot swap positions. If they do, the construction becomes ungrammatical. To the best of my knowledge as a native speaker, and also from the examples I have seen cited in the literature, it seems there is a strict co-occurrence restriction on these verbs in this prototypical SVC, such that the first verb in the construction selects a particular verb based on the context. However the verb *ma* can occur in various positions due to its variant causative function as mentioned earlier. But for its function as the one above, it can only occur as the second verb.

(C) Causative Function

Finally, some ISV combinations are for the purpose of causation. In such a case the integrated serial verb constructions function as a periphrastic causative construction. In such constructions, the verb *ma* often occurs as the initial verb where it is translated as 'make'. This is illustrated by the following examples (30a-d).

(30a). Papa no   ma-a   Kofi   yɔ-ɔ   adwuma no.
    Man DEF force-PAST Kofi make-PAST him do-PAST work DEF
    'The man made Kofi to do the work.'

(30b). Kra no ma-a   akoraa no su-uyɛ.
    Cat DEF make-PAST child DEF cry-PAST
    'The cat made the child cry.'

(30c). Sunoo no   ma-a   fam   yɛ-ɛ   toro
       Snow DEF make-PAST ground do-PAST slippery
       'The snow made the ground slippery.'

(30d). Dono no   ma-a-m   nyane-eyɛ.
        Bell DEF make-PAST-1SG.OBJ wake-PAST
        'The bell woke me up'

5.3.2. Conclusion

From the analysis of the data I have shown that integrated serial verb (ISV) construction which is referred to as prototypical serial verb construction (Kroeger), plays functional

roles. And that the non-initial verbs are selected contextually. In such a context the verbs form an inseparable constituent. This, I argued, has iconic motivation because iconicity of proximity predicts that when two concepts are closer semantically or functionally they are more likely to be placed adjacent each other syntactically. So the contextual closeness we see from the data is as a result of their functions not meaning. This is why I believe the principles of iconicity offer a better and more systematic explanation as compared to semantic integration, whereby we are not able to pin down the exact semantic features which integrate them.

5.4. Some Issues with CCs in Akan

Akan clause chaining serialization is a type of SVC which has some interesting features. Even though the events forming the CC serialization can be expressed in a coordinated sentence, in most cases the speakers of Bono and Akan in general prefer the CC. I argue that perhaps there are certain features that make such constructions favorable.

In this section, I examine some features of clause chaining serialization which may motivate its users. In fact, CC constructions do not encode a single event, but what brings them together is that they are the actions taken by one agent. When such events are chained together we cannot, as a matter of fact, talk about a single event. Perhaps, we can call it an experience. This is because whatever line of actions an individual decides to take in their life can be chained in a CC construction. Now because it is the temporal precedence or how the individual perceives the events that matters, there are no proper constraints on which verbs should or should not occur in such constructions. It is therefore subjective and arbitrary. For me, the interesting things about CC constructions in Akan are that they are economical to use in rapid utterances, flexible and productive.

Also, I suspect that perhaps CC constructions are possible in Akan because coordination is not a default syntactic phenomenon in Akan. This is because the coordinated counterparts of CC constructions introduce further complications as shown in examples (31 and 32) below.

(31a). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   fira-ayɛ   kɔ-ɔ asɔre.
       They-buy-PAST cloth clad-PAST go-PAST church
       'They bought cloths and clothe in for church.'

(31b). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   ne bɛ-fira-ayɛ   kɔ-ɔ   asɔre.
       They-buy-PAST cloths and they-clad-PAST go-PAST church
       'They bought cloths and (they) clothe in for church.'

(31c). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   ne bɛ-fira-ayɛ   de kɔ-ɔ   asɔre.
       They-buy-PAST cloths and they-clad-PAST take go-PAST church
       'They bought cloths and (they) clothe in for church.'

(32a). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ didi-iyɛ
        Kofi rise-PAST eat-PAST
        'Kofi got up and ate.'

(32b). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ   ne ɔ-didi-iyɛ
         Kofi rise-PAST and 3SG-eat-PAST
          'Kofi got up and ate.'

In the above sentences, (31b and 32b) are coordinated counterparts of (31a and 32a) respectively. The coordinated sentences introduce obligatory subject marking of non-initial verbs. Let me point out here that the Bono dialect is noted for subject-marking non-initial verbs in SVCs. However, the subject-markings of the second verbs above are required. The verb *de* in (31c) shows another variant of (31b).

I believe, perhaps, the default structure is the clause chaining which is relatively simpler, but not the coordinated structure.

Again, the CC serialization is flexible in the way the events are concatenated. As a result there is nothing like grammaticality concerning clause chaining. Most events can be reordered and still be grammatical and acceptable as in example (20) used here as (33).

(33a). Gyasiba nya-a   sika si-i   dane tɔno-oyɛ.
       Gyasiba get-PAST money build-PAST house sell-PAST
       'Gyasiba got money to built a house and sold it.'

(33b). Gyasiba tɔno-o dane nya-a   sika   si-i   dane.
        Gyasiba sell-PAST house get-PAST money build-PAST house
        Gyasiba sold a house to get money and built a house.

(33c). Gyasiba si-i   dane   tɔno-oyɛ   nya-a   sika
        Gyasiba build-PAST house sell-PAST get-PAST money.
        Gyasiba built a house, sold it and got money.

On the contrary, when the order of the verbs in ISVCs is changed, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (34b). The reason is that the direct object of the initial verb undergoes transformation through the second verb. So any change in the order of the verbs disrupts the transformational process. Again the initial verb selects the second verb depending on the context as I have mentioned earlier. This context-selection is demonstrated by (34c & 34d), showing animacy restriction.

(34a). Ama hwie-e   nsuo gu-u   ankorɛ   no-m.
     Ama pour-PAST water put-PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP.
     'Ama poured water into the barrel.'

(34b). * Ama gu-u   ankora   no-m   hwie-e   nsuo
      Ama put-PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP. pour-PAST water
      * Ama into the barrel poured water.

(34c). *Ama hwie-e   nsuo ma-a   ankorɛ no.
     Ama pour-PAST water give-PAST barrel DEF.
     * Ama poured water for the barrel.

(34d). Ama hwie-e nsuo   ma-a   maame no.
     Ama pour-PAST water give-PAST woman DEF
     'Ama poured water for the woman'.

In a nutshell, the flexibility of clause chaining serialization makes it productive since it does not have any proper constraints regarding which events can or cannot be seriated. This makes it 'a type' of serialization different from the ISV, which, as a result of the functional role of the non-initial verbs, forms inseparable constituent.

5.4.1. Is CC in Akan a Serial Verb Construction?

It has been argued that clause chaining constructions are not serial verb constructions, and therefore to be considered as such is a mistake. It is asserted that 'clause chaining is a complex sentence pattern which is sometimes mistakenly identified as a serial verb construction (SVC)' Kroeger (2004:242). It has been further argued that serial verb constructions may involve

sequence of verbs whereas clause chaining involves sequence of clauses where each clause may potentially contain its own subject NP.

I argue here that CC serialization in Akan is a serial verb construction of its own kind. This is because in most dialects of Akan, subject-marking occurs on only the initial clause. Even though the Bono dialect allows multiple subjects marking yet that is optional. Again, clause chaining constructions involving intransitive verbs are very difficult to distinguish from ISV constructions. Here are examples.

(35). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ   didi-iyɛ
      Kofi rise-PAST eat-PAST
     'Kofi **got up** and **ate**.'

(36). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ   kyia-a papa no.
        Kofi rise-PAST greet-PAST man DEF
       'Kofi **rose up** and **greeted** the man.'

(37). Araba sɔre-eyɛ   gyina-ayɛ.
      Araba rise-PAST stand-PAST
      'Araba stood **up**.'

(38). Papa no wea-ayɛ   kɔ-ɔyɛ.
       man DEF crawl-PAST go-PAST
      'The man crawled **away.**'

In these examples, (35) and (36) are CC while (37) and (38) are ISV constructions but they look similar and have the same structures. The only difference is that in the CC both verbs correspond to two verbs in English while in the ISV the second verb is translated as a functional element.

Again, I argue that both CC and ISV constructions are 'clear cases' of verb serialization even though one may be more prototypical than the other. In every category there is more of a central characteristic and if ISV is more prototypical SVC, we are not mistaken if we classify CC also as a serial verb construction. It is just a matter of degree of prototype of serialization. This claim is supported by prototype theory:

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By prototypes of categories we have generally meant the clearest cases of category membership defined operationally by people's judgment of goodness of membership in the category. Aarts et al (2004:98)

And in the judgment of the speakers of Akan, CC serialization is a type of serial verb construction.

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The main objective of this research was to show that Akan serial verb constructions are motivated by iconicity. And that the theory of iconicity gives a better explanation to the phenomenon as compared to semantic integration. With iconicity manifesting itself in different principles, we are able to explain different trends in verb serialization with different principles, which in a sense, helps us to make precise statements concerning the changes we observe in the phenomenon under consideration. This, in effect, helps us to give systematic explanation to the two types SVCs in Akan.

In this chapter, I summarize the objectives and the key findings of this research. The chapter also captures the conclusions and the last words on the issues which were raised in this thesis. The final part recommends new areas for future work regarding Akan verbs.

6.2. Summary of Findings

The overall aim of this thesis was to investigate Akan serial verb constructions and find out its motivating factor. The assumption was that the phenomenon was motivated by iconicity, and that the principles of iconicity would present more systematic explanation than the extant basis of categorization. It is important to recall that the categorization of the two types of verb serializations discussed in this thesis: clause chaining (CC) and integrated serial verb (ISV) constructions, is based on the notion of semantic integration. In what follows I summarize the research objectives, findings and conclusions pertaining to the issues raised in this thesis.

The theory of iconicity has lived to its expectation by proven to be relevant for this research. The three principles of iconicity used for the analysis have given us a reason to stand by our claim since iconicity has shown to pervade every aspect of the phenomenon we investigated.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to find out the underlying motivation for SVCs in Akan. By this we were seeking to unearth what makes it possible for series of verbs or clauses to be strung together in such constructions. The analyses of our data indicate that iconicity is the fundamental motivation for verb serialization in Akan. And that iconicity of complexity reveals that 'more complex meanings are expressed by more complex forms'

Haspelmath (2008:5). So this principle helps us to make predictions that when there is the need to put out a larger chunk of information, then we need larger chunk of linguistic code.

This complexity principle further helps to distinguish between the two types of SVCs. The data presented in this thesis revealed that CC constructions can be more complex than ISV constructions. The reason is that the events that can be strung together in CC constructions are unlimited while the internal constraints in ISV constructions do not allow for such longer constructions. This allows us to claim that the degree of their complexities is the fundamental distinguishing factor. Kroeger made similar observation that 'the crucial difference between serial verbs and clause chaining is the size of the unit involved', (2004:242).

The thesis also sought to find out whether iconicity principles give more systematic explanation to SVCs. The purpose for this was to offer systematic explanation to each of the two categories. This was done by applying different iconicity principles to analyse CC and ISV constructions separately. It was revealed that the sequential order of the events in CC is motivated by iconicity of sequence. This principle posits that 'sequence of forms matches sequence of experience'. This means that sequence of one's experience can be seriatim linguistically.

We further probed this principle because events do not always occur one after the other; two or three events can occur concurrently or even intermittently. Our data revealed that when events happen concurrently, the kind of verbs involved place a role as to which order the events should be arranged. With dynamic verbs, it is the semantic agent who determines their order depending on how the events are perceived. On the other hand, when the events involve stative and dynamic verbs, the stative verb takes the initial position. In that case the other events occur in the state or condition of the stative verb. We however could not explore further to look into situations where two or more events involving stative verbs occurring simultaneously.

Our finding with CC indicates that when the events happen concurrently, their order does not follow their temporal precedence. On the contrary, we can argue that whatever order the events take reflects one's experience and that iconicity of sequence captures it.

Concerning ISV constructions, we applied iconicity of proximity for its analysis. From the analysis of the data we found that integrated serial verb (ISV) construction plays functional roles. The reason is that the non-initial verbs are selected contextually. In such a

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context the verbs form an inseparable constituent. This, I argued, has iconic motivation because iconicity of proximity predicts that when two concepts are closer semantically or functionally they are more likely to be placed adjacent each other syntactically. So the contextual closeness we see from the data is a result of their functions, not meaning.

At this point, on the basis of the evidence provided in this research we claim that principles of iconicity offer a better and more systematic explanation to SVCs in Akan as compared to semantic integration, whereby we are not able to pin down the exact semantic features which integrate the event partaking in such constructions.

Finally, there were two more issues which came up during this research, though they were not part of the initial objectives. First, I was wondering why CC constructions could have alternative coordinated constructions. I briefly explained that, perhaps, CC is the default constructions since they look simpler and more frequent in Akan. In contrast, the coordinated constructions seem more complex than CC, and this reflects the idea that 'less marked forms are more frequent, and more marked forms are less frequent across languages', Greenberg (1966 in Haspelmath 2008). Secondly, Kroeger (2004) has argued that CC constructions are not SVCs and that it is a mistake to call them as such. But the findings of this research have revealed that CC constructions in Akan are 'a type' of SVCs. Though CC constructions may not possess all the central characteristics of prototypical SVCs, yet they are part of the 'clearest case' of SVCs (Aarts et al 2004).

6.3. Recommendations

In this thesis we have demonstrated that the SVCs in the Akan language are motivated by iconicity. The findings have also shown that iconicity principles help us to explain clause chaining and integrated serial verb constructions in a more systematic way than the existing explanation of the phenomenon.

However, due to time and financial constraints, there are other issues that this research could not capture. One such issue is the verb types that participate in the clause chaining constructions. Particularly, in dealing with concurrent events, we could not examine different categories of verbs to show how such verbs could influence the order of the events in CC constructions. Again, we could not examine how intermittent events would behave in CC constructions. Finally

clause chaining and coordination in Akan is another area we thought if we had the power, we would have delved into.

The findings of this research bring a new understanding of the SVCs in Akan. It draws attention to the fact that there is the need to re-investigate other language phenomena with other theories. As it has been mentioned in this thesis, all language theories play complimentary role to the analysis of language, and certain theories explain some phenomena better than others.

We hope that this research will inspire other research work in Akan SVCs. We also recommend that the uncovered issues mentioned here are all open grounds for future research into the Akan verbal systems.

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APPENDIX

This appendix comprises all the examples I have cited in this thesis. They are provided in the same order they occur in the thesis. I have compiled them for easier perusal. Sometimes after reading a book you want to go back and take a second look at one or two examples and how they were either used or glossed. In that case you don't need to stress; you only have to look at this appendix.

***

(1) Simon went home, then Paul, but she caught sight of him [*him* = Paul, not Simon]

(2) Wo-didi nom
  * 3pl.-eat   drink
 *'They are eating and drinking'

(3) Wo-didi   nom
   2SG-eat.HAB.PRES drink.HAB.PRES
  'You eat and drink'

(4a). Gyasiba nya-a sika
   Gyasiba get-PAST money
   'Gyasiba got money'

(4b). Gyasiba si-i   dane.
    Gyasiba build-PAST house
   'Gyasiba built a house'

(4c). Gyasiba tɔno-o dane no.
   Gyasiba sell-PAST house DEF
   'Gyasiba sold the house.'

(5). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   si-i   dane tɔno-oyɛ.
  Gyasiba get-PAST money build-PAST house sell-PAST
  'Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.'

(6). Gyasiba nya-a   sika ne ɔ-si-i   dane ne ɔ-tɔno-yɛ.
  Gyasiba get-PAST money and 3SG -build-PAST house and 3SG-sell-PAST
  Literally: Gyasiba got money and he built a house and he sold it.
  'Gyasiba got money to build a house and sold it.'

(7). M-yɔ-ɔ   adwuma ma-a   Ama
    1SG.SUBJ-do-PAST work give-PAST Ama
    "I worked for Ama"

(8a). Kwesi yi-i   atere   no   ma-a   Ato.
      Kwesi take-PAST spoon DEF give-PAST Ato
      'Kwesi took the spoon for Ato.'

(8b). Araba tɔ-ɔ   pɛtia ma-a   akoraa no.
      Araba buy-PAST ring give-PAST child DEF
      ' Araba bought a ring for the child.'

(9). Afia de   safoa to-o   pono no-m.

    Afia take-PAST key put-PAST door DEF-POSTP.

    'Afia used the key to lock the door'

(10a). Ama yi-i ntoma ma-a Kofi
       Ama take-PAST cloth give-PAST Kofi
       'Ama took a cloth for Kofi'

(10b). Ama yɔ-ɔ adwuma ma-a Kofi.
       Ama do-PAST work give-PAST Kofi
       'Ama worked for Kofi.'

(11a). Kofi to-o bɔɔl bɔ-ɔ dane no-m.
       Kofi throw-PAST ball hit-PAST building DEF-POSPT
       'Kofi threw a ball at the building.'

(11b). Kofi de akoraa no kɔɔ fie.
       Kofi take.PAST child DEF go-PAST home
       'Kofi took the child home.'

(12a). Papa no hyɛ-ɛ   Kofi ma-a   ne yɔ-ɔ   adwuma no.
       Man DEF force-PAST Kofi make-PAST him do-PAST work DEF
       'The man forced Kofi to do the work.'

(12b). Kra no ma-a   akoraa no su-uyɛ.
       Cat DEF make-PAST child DEF cry-PAST
       'The cat made the child cry.'

(13a). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.
        Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST
      'Kofi believed Ama.'
[*Gye+di > gyedie* meaning 'belief']

(13b). Kofi di-i asɛm no ma-a Ama.
        Kofi eat-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.
       ' Kofi judged the case for Ama' or (Kofi judged in favour of Ama.)
[*Di+ma >dima*+nominal affixes >*<u>dimafoɔ</u>* or *O<u>dimafoɔ</u>* which means 'a judge/an intercessor']

(13c). Kofi ka-a asɛm no ma-a Ama.
        Kofi tell-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.
         'Kofi pleaded for Ama.'
[*Ka+ma > kama*+nominal affixes becomes *kamafoɔ* or *ɔkamafoɔ* meaning 'an advocate']

(14). Bɛ-noa   didi nom boro   tea-team daa.
      They-cook eat drink booze shout-shout daily
       'They cook, eat, drink, become boozed and shout daily.'

(15). M-ɛ-fa   a-tɔno   a-gye   sika   a-to hɔ.
       I-FUT-take CONS-sell CONS-receive money CONS-put there
        'I will take it and sell to get money and save it'

(16). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.
       Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST
        'Kofi believed Ama'

(17). Kofi yɔ-ɔ   adwuma ma-a   Ama.
       Kofi do-PAST work give-PAST Ama
       'Kofi worked for Ama.

(18a). N-kɔ m-ba-ayɛ
        I-go I-come-PAST
       'I returned' (Literally: I went and I came)

(18b). N-kɔ m-ba-ayɛ   m-bɛ-noa-a   aduane n-di n-da-ayɛ
        I-go I-come-PAST I-ING.come-cook-PAST food I- eat I-sleep-PAST
        ' I returned, cooked, ate and slept'

(19a). Ama bɔ-ɔ   mpae ma-a   Kofi.
       Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi
       'Ama prayed for Kofi'

(19b). Ama bɔ-ɔ   mpae ma-a   Kofi ma-a   ne nya-a   sika.
       Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi make-PAST him get-PAST money
       (Literally: Ama prayed for Kofi and that made Kofi get money)
       'Ama prayed for Kofi to get money'

(20). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   si-i   dane   tɔno-oyɛ.
      Gyasiba get-PAST   money build-PAST house sell-PAST
      'Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it.'

(21a). Kofi nya-a   sika   nom-mnsa   boro-oyɛ.
       Kofi get-PAST money drink-PAST wine booze-PAST
       'Kofi got money, drank (a lot of) wine and became boozed.'

(21b). Kofi nya-a   sika   tɔ-ɔ   asaase si-i   dane
       Kofi get-PAST money buy-PAST land   build-PAST house.
       'Kofi got money, bought (a parcel of) land and built a house.'

 (21c). Kofi nya-a   sika   tɔ-ɔ   kaa ka-ayɛ.
        Kofi get-PAST money buy-PAST car drive-PAST
        'Kofi got money, bought a car and drove it.'

(22a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom sa.
       Afia 3SG-PROG-sing song dance
       'Afia is singing and dancing.'

(22b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom ne ɔ-ɔ-sa
       Afia 3SG-PROG-sing song and 3SG-PROG-dance
       'Afia is singing and dancing'

(23a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-nante   kasa
       Afia 3SG-PGOG-walk talk
       'Afia is walking and talking.'

(23b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-nante   ne ɔ-ɔ-kasa.
       Afia 3SG-PROG-walk and 3SG-PROG-talk
       'Afia is walking and (she) talking.'

(24a). Afia ɔ-ɔ-noa   aduane to ndwom.
       Afia 3SG-PROG-cook food sing song
       'Afia is cooking and sing.' Or 'Afia is singing while cooking.'
(24b). Afia ɔ-ɔ-noa   aduane ne ɔ-ɔ-to   ndwom.
       Afia 3SG-PROG-cook food and 3SG-PROG-sing song
       'Afia is cooking and singing' (at the same time)

(25a). Afia gynina hɔ   ɔ-ɔ-hwɛ   nnomaa he sere.
       Afia stand there 3SG-PROG-look birds DEF laugh
       'Afia is standing there looking at the birds and laughing.'

(25b) Afia gyina hɔ   ne   ɔ-ɔ-hwɛ   nnomaa he sere.
       Afia stand there and 3SG-PROG-look birds DEF laugh
       'Afia is standing there looking at the birds and laughing.'
        (Literally: Afia is standing there and looking at the birds and laughing.)

(26). Bɛ-bɛ-noa   a-didi   a-nom   a-dware   a-da.
       They-FUT-cook CONS-eat CONS-drink CONS-bath CONS-sleep
       'They will cook (food) eat, drink, take shower and sleep.'

(27). Yɛ- bɛ-fa   a-tɔno   a-gye sika   a-to   hɔ.
       We-FUT-take CONS-sell CONS-receive money CONS-put there
       'We will take it and sell to get money and save it' (money)

(28a). Ama hwie-e   nsuo gu-u   ankorɛ no-m.
       Ama pour-PAST water put PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP.
       'Ama poured water **into** the barrel.'

(28b). Ama yi-i   ntoma no   fri-i   pono no so.
       Ama take-PAST cloth DEF leave-PAST table DEF on
       'Ama took the cloth **off** the table.'

(28c). Ama yi-i   atere   no ma-a   Ato.
       Ama take-PAST spoon DEF give-PAST Ato
       'Ama took the spoon **for** Ato.'

(28d). Ama tɔ-ɔ   mpaboa kyɛ-ɛ   Kofi
       Ama buy-PAST shoes   give-PAST Kofi.
       'Ama bought a pair of shoes **for** Kofi.'

(28e). Ama bɔ-ɔ   mpaeɛ ma-a   Kofi
    Ama hit-PAST prayer give-PAST Kofi
    'Ama prayed **for** Kofi.'

(28f). Ama tɔ-ɔ   pɛtia ma-a   akoraa no.
    Ama buy-PAST ring   give-PAST child DEF
    Ama bought a ring **for** the child.
     (The emphases are mine.)

(29a). Kofi gye-e   Ama di-iyɛ.
    Kofi receive-PAST Ama eat-PAST
  'Kofi believed Ama.'
[*Gye+di > gyedie* meaning 'belief']

(29b). Kofi di-i   asɛm no   ma-a   Ama.
    Kofi eat-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.
   ' Kofi judged the case for Ama' or (Kofi judged in favour of Ama.)
[*Di+ma > dima*+nominal affixes >*dimafoɔ* or *Odimafoɔ* which means 'a judge/an intercessor']

(29c). Kofi ka-a   asɛm no   ma-a   Ama.
    Kofi tell-PAST matter DEF give-PAST Ama.
    'Kofi pleaded for Ama.'
[*Ka+ma > kama*+nominal affixes becomes *kamafoɔ* or *ɔkamafoɔ* meaning 'an advocate']

(30b). Kra no ma-a   akoraa no su-uyɛ.
    Cat DEF make-PAST child DEF cry-PAST
    'The cat made the child cry.'

(30c). Sunoo no   ma-a   fam yɛ-ɛ   toro
    Snow DEF make-PAST ground do-PAST slippery
    'The snow made the ground slippery.'

(30d). Dono no   ma-a-m   nyane-eyɛ.
    Bell DEF make-PAST-1SG.OBJ wake-PAST
    'The bell woke me up'

(31a). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   fira-ayɛ   kɔ-ɔ asɔre.
    They-buy-PAST cloth clad-PAST go-PAST church
    'They bought cloths and clothe in for church.'

(31b). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   ne bɛ-fira-ayɛ   kɔ-ɔ   asɔre.
     They-buy-PAST cloths and they-clad-PAST go-PAST church
     'They bought cloths and (they) clothe in for church.'

(31c). Bɛ-tɔ-ɔ ntoma   ne bɛ-fira-ayɛ   de kɔ-ɔ   asɔre.
     They-buy-PAST cloths and they-clad-PAST take go-PAST church
     'They bought cloths and (they) clothe in for church.'

(32a). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ didi-iyɛ
     Kofi rise-PAST eat-PAST
     'Kofi got up and ate.'

(32b). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ   ne ɔ-didi-iyɛ
      Kofi rise-PAST and 3SG-eat-PAST
      'Kofi got up and ate.'

(33a). Gyasiba nya-a   sika   si-i   dane tɔno-oyɛ.
     Gyasiba get-PAST money build-PAST house sell-PAST
     'Gyasiba got money to built a house and sold it.'

(33b). Gyasiba tɔno-o dane nya-a   sika   si-i   dane.
      Gyasiba sell-PAST house get-PAST money build-PAST house
      Gyasiba sold a house to get money and built a house.

(33c). Gyasiba si-i   dane tɔno-oyɛ nya-a   sika
      Gyasiba build-PAST house sell-PAST get-PAST money.
      Gyasiba built a house, sold it and got money.

(34a). Ama hwie-e   nsuo gu-u   ankorɛ no-m.
     Ama pour-PAST water put-PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP.
     'Ama poured water into the barrel.'

(34b). * Ama gu-u   ankora no-m   hwie-e   nsuo
      Ama put-PAST barrel   DEF-POSTP. pour-PAST water
      * Ama into the barrel poured water. [Ama poured water into the barrel.]

(34c). *Ama hwie-e   nsuo ma-a   ankorɛ no.
     Ama pour-PAST water give-PAST barrel DEF.
      * Ama poured water for the barrel.

(34d). Ama hwie-e nsuo   ma-a   maame no.
      Ama pour-PAST water give-PAST woman DEF
      'Ama poured water for the woman'.

(35). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ didi-iyɛ
     Kofi rise-PAST eat-PAST
     'Kofi **got up** and **ate**.'

(36). Kofi sɔre-eyɛ kyia-a papa no.
     Kofi rise-PAST greet-PAST man DEF
     'Kofi **rose up** and **greeted** the man.'

(37). Araba sɔre-eyɛ gyina-ayɛ.
     Araba rise-PAST stand-PAST
     'Araba stood **up**.'

(38). Papa no wea-ayɛ kɔ-ɔyɛ.
     man DEF crawl-PAST go-PAST
     'The man crawled **away.**'