

A SURVEY OF AKAN ADVERBS AND ADVERBIALS*

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This paper investigates the different semantic types of adverbs in Akan and the kinds of constituents that they modify. It examines i) the different syntactic positions in which adverbs may occur, ii) the morphological properties of adverbs, and iii) the sequencing of adverbs (where more than one of them are used in the same structure). The study shows that some Akan adverbs modify the verb or VP while others modify the entire sentence or proposition. None of the different types of adverbs can occur in the pre-verbal position (i.e., between the subject NP and the verb, unlike English). The reason for this prohibition is however not readily apparent. Akan, unlike languages such as English and Ewe, has no morphological process that allows it to derive adverbs from other word classes.

Notre étude examine les différents types d'adverbes akan et les éléments phrastiques qu'ils modifient. Elle examine également: i) les différentes positions syntaxiques que peuvent occuper les adverbes, ii) leur ordre d'occurrence dans la phrase (là où plusieurs adverbes modifient la même structure), iii) leurs propriétés morphologiques. Il ressort de notre étude que certains adverbes akan modifient le syntagme verbal alors que d'autres modifient la phrase ou la proposition entière. Aucun des adverbes étudiés n'occupe la position pré-verbale (c'est-à-dire entre le sujet et le verbe, comme c'est le cas en anglais). La raison de cet état de choses n'est pas, pour le moment, très claire. A la différence des langues comme l'anglais et l'ewe, il n'existe pas en akan de procédé permettant la dérivation morphologique des adverbes à partir d'autres catégories du discours.

0. INTRODUCTION

As a lexical category, adverbs appear not have received much attention in the study of West African languages. For example, a search through the index of volumes 1-30 of the JWAL (1964-2003) yielded only two results, both dealing with adverbs in Yoruba. This paper is my attempt at contributing to the general knowledge of adverbs by providing data from Akan, which can help in a cross-linguistic study of this particular word class.

The term 'adverb' has been used to cover quite a wide range of lexical items that perform a variety of functions. According to (Givon, 1993:71), of all the lexical categories, the adverb is one whose membership is 'least homogenous and the hardest to define.' As Payne (1997: 69) observes, 'any word with semantic content (i.e., other than grammatical particles) that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective is often put into this class of adverb'. McCawley (1998:664) asserts that 'the diversity of things that 'adverb' has been applied to is in keeping with traditional definitions of it such as 'modifier of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb', which in effect class as adverbs all modifiers other than adjectives.' Trask (1993: 9) defines the terms *adverb* as 'a lexical category, or a member of this category, whose members are usually grammatical adjuncts of a verb and most typically express such semantic notions as time, manner, place, instrument or circumstance' and *adverbial* as 'any category with a distribution and function similar to a lexical adverb' (p. 10). I will adopt Trask's definitions of the terms *adverb* and *adverbial*. I will use the term *adverb* to refer to single lexical items that belong to the category of words we call 'adverbs' and *adverbial* to refer to any category such as a word, phrase or clause which functions as an adverb. The main focus of this paper, however, will be on lexical adverbs.

I will show that contrary to Trask (ibid.), Akan adverbs modify not only verbs, but other constituents such as verb phrases (VP) and clauses or sentences and that in

terms of scope, some adverbs may be termed ‘verb phrase’ adverbs and others, ‘sentence’ adverbs (Pinker 1995:382). I will discuss the positions that the different classes of adverbs occupy in relation to the constituents that they modify and their scope capabilities. In discussing the position(s) in which adverbs occur, I will investigate their ability or otherwise to occur in the focus position in addition to whether they occur before or after the VP.

The paper is divided into the following sections: In sections 1 to 7, I look at the different semantic classification of adverbs in Akan and discuss their syntactic and semantic properties as well as their scope ¹. In section 8, I discuss the morphological properties of adverbs and in section 9, I comment on the relative ordering of adverbs in Akan.

1. THE SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS

Adverbs are classified semantically according to the kind of meaning they add to the verb or sentence. Some adverbs describe the way in which an action/event is carried out, some the time, frequency and so on. This has given rise to the different semantic classification of adverbs in the literature such as (Givon 1993; 2001; Cinque 1999; Payne 1997; McCawley 1998; Tallerman 1998; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Baker 1995; Larson 1985), to name just a few. Even the number of the different types of adverbs is not a settled issue as it varies from writer to writer. The most common types that occur in the literature are those that indicate *manner*, *time*, *place/location* and *reason*.

In the following sections, I will discuss six types of adverbs in the Akan language, namely: *manner* (Payne 1997: 69; Givon 2001: 88; 1993: 71; Baker 1995: 339), *pace* (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997: 162-171), *time/temporal* (Payne 1997:70; Givon 2001: 91; 1993: 73; Baker 1995: 338; Cinque 1999:87), *frequency* (Givon 1993: 73; Baker 1995: 338; Cinque 1999:91), *epistemic* (Payne 1997:70; Givon 2001: 92; 1993: 74-75; Baker 1995: 339; Cinque 1999:86) and *aspectual* (Givon 2001: 91; 1993: 73-74; Baker 1995: 338). These are mainly made up of single-word elements (lexical adverbs or bare NP adverbs), which I am concerned with here, while others like *locative/place* adverbs and adverbs of *reason* are usually expressed with larger constituents such as clauses and phrases.

In the discussion that follows, I will try to answer the following questions:

- i. Where do these adverbs/adverbials occur in the sentence?
- ii. What kind of meaning do they add to the verb?
- iii. What kinds of structures do they modify?
- iv. What is their scope?
- v. What morphological processes do they undergo?
- vi. If two or more adverbs occur in the same sentence, how are they ordered?

¹ The following abbreviations have been used: DEF = definite determiner; CONS. = consecutive marker; FM = focus marker; FUT = future tense; 1sg = 1st person singular; 3sg = 3rd person singular; 3PL = 3rd person plural; INANIM = inanimate; JWAL = Journal of West African Languages; PRES = present tense; NEG = negative morpheme; PERF = perfect aspect; PROG = progressive aspect; PST = past tense; REL = relative complementizer;

2. MANNER AND IDEOPHONIC ADVERBS

Manner adverbs occur only after the verb or VP, and there is a prohibition on fronting for focus or for any other reason. They can also never occur between the subject NP and the verb. This second prohibition is true of all adverbs in Akan, unlike English and the reasons for this will become clear as we proceed in the paper. It must be mentioned, however, that Akan is not peculiar in not allowing the insertion of adverbs between the subject NP and the verb. This prohibition obtains in Ewe (Saah and Agbedor 2004), Kpelle and many other languages of the world. Welmers (1973:448), writing about the position of adverbs in Kpelle, states among other things that:

It is not common to find a temporal or any other adverb between the subject and predicate of the sentence. For the most part, adverbs appear in sentence-final position, or at least after the major part of the predicate, the verb or the verb and its object. Adverbs may appear in sentence-initial position, even without being topicalized. In this position, they are usually followed by a pause, ...

In the rest of the paper it will be shown that all adverbs that have scope over the verb cannot be fronted without a Focus Marker (FM), whilst those that have scope over the whole sentence, i.e., *time* and *epistemic*, are fronted without the FM, because these are not cases of Focus.

Ideophones are also a kind of *manner* adverb, so will be treated in Section 2.2. What is true for *manner* adverbs seems to be true for ideophones as well.

2.1 MANNER ADVERBS

Manner adverbs typically describe the way in which an action or an event took place or was executed. These adverbs modify structures involving activity verbs. They include: **brɛoo** ‘slowly’/‘softly’, **bɔkɔɔ** ‘softly’, **basaa** ‘haphazardly’, **dennen** ‘loud/loudly’, **hann** ‘brightly’, **hãã** ‘staringly’, ‘fixedly’; **komm** ‘quietly’, **dinn** ‘quietly’/‘silently’/‘calmly’, **ketee/ketekete** ‘brightly’/‘very brightly’; **pefee/petee** ‘openly’/‘plainly’/‘clearly’; **hann** ‘brightly’.

Syntactically, *manner* adverbs are restricted with respect to their position(s) in sentences. Unlike *time/temporal* adverbs, for instance, which can occur sentence-initially and sentence-finally, *manner* adverbs only occur after the verb or VP (i.e., sentence-finally). Consider the examples in (1):

- (1) a. **Amma kasa** **bɔkɔɔ.**
 A. speak.PRES softly
 Amma speaks softly.
- b. ***Bɔkɔɔ** **na Amma** **kasa.**
 Softly FM A. speak.PRES
- c. ***Amma bɔkɔɔ** **kasa.**
 A. softly speak.PST

- d. ***Bɔkɔɔ** **Amma kasa.**
Softly A. speak.PRES
- (2) a. **Kwasi te** **hɔ** **komm.**
Kw. sit.PRES there quietly/silently
Kwasi is sitting there quietly/silently.
- b. ***Komm** **na** **Kwasi te** **hɔ.**
Silently/quietly FM Kw. sit.PRES there
- c. ***Kwasi komm** **te** **hɔ.**
Kw. silently/quietly sit.PRES there.
- d. ***Komm** **Kwasi** **te** **hɔ.**
Silently/quietly Kw. sit.PRES there
- (3) a. **Awia** **re-bɔ** **ketee.**
(The) sun PROG.shine brightly
The sun is shining (very) brightly.
- b. ***Ketee** **na** **awia** **re-bɔ.**
Brightly FM (the) sun PROG.shine
- c. ***Awia** **ketee** **re-bɔ.**
(The) sun brightly PROG.shine
- d. ***Ketee awia rebɔ.**
Brightly sun PROG shine

The examples in (1) - (3) show that *manner* adverbs can only occur on the right-periphery of the sentence (that is, in sentence-final position or immediately after the verb) as in (1a, 2a & 3a). It is not possible for any of them to appear on the left-periphery of the sentence as shown in the ungrammatical/unacceptable (1b,d; 2b,d & 3b,d). In other words, *manner* adverbs cannot be fronted for focus.

The particle **na**, glossed as a focus marker in (1b, 2b, and 3b), is used to focus constituents that appear on its left, thereby contrasting it with other constituents of its kind. I will say more about this and other forms of focus marking in section 4.

The ill-formed sentences in (1c, 2c & 3c) show that these adverbs cannot occur in a pre-verbal position either. As will become evident in this study, the pre-verbal position is one that is not favoured by adverbs in Akan. The reason for this is not readily apparent. It is not permissible in the case of *manner* adverbs or any other kind of adverb, as will be seen in later sections of this paper. In the case of *manner* adverbs, it may be that they could be mistakenly analysed as adjectives qualifying the subject NP. For example, the word **ketee** could be analysed as an adjective modifying the subject NP **awia** 'sun' in (3c). On this reading, the sentence will be perfectly grammatical and it will be interpreted as: 'A *bright sun is shining.*'

Modification in Akan is generally done to the right of the constituent being modified. For example, adjectives used attributively, numerals, determiners and quantifiers follow the nouns they modify. It stands to reason, therefore, that an item modifying a verb should immediately follow the particular verb. Thus if a particular item is to be analysed as modifying the verb, then the natural position for it to occur, especially in the case of those items identified as V/VP adverbs, is after the V/VP. If

this particular item comes between the subject NP and the VP (i.e., in pre-verbal

position), it would create the situation in which the ‘adverb’ would be construed to be an adjective modifying the subject NP, as is the case in (3c)². This is not surprising because there are some words in the language that can be used as adjectives as well as adverbs without a change in form. See section 8 for more about this.

Manner adverbs will be assigned the sub-categorisation frame in (4):

(4) [IP NP V (NP) -], where the dash (-) represents the position of the adverb.

In all the examples, the adverbs describe the manner in which the action is performed and they have scope over the verb or VP, not the entire proposition.

Some nouns may be used as *manner* adverbials. In this use, they combine with postpositions like **so** ‘on’ or **mu** ‘in’ to describe the manner in which the action depicted by the verb was performed. This type of *manner* adverbial occurs as an adjunct to V or VP as in (5) and (6):

- (5) a. **Kofi frɛ-ɛ Kwadwo abufuw so/*abufuw.**
 K. call.PST Kw. anger on/anger
 Kofi called Kwadwo in anger/angrily.
- b. ***Kofi abufuw so frɛ-ɛ Kwadwo.**
 K. anger on call.PST Kw.
- c. **Abufuw so na Kofi frɛ-ɛ Kwadwo.**
 Anger on FM K. call.PST Kw.
 It was in anger that Kofi called Kwadwo.

² An anonymous JWAL reviewer wants an explanation why Akan cannot front manner adverbs, when the following examples from one of the Guang languages fronting is permissible:

- i. **kafwɪ kafwɪ nɪ deekreeke de ɔ dɪ kɪnɪ**
 slowly slowly COMP/FM chameleon has he climbs mountain.

It seems to me that this is a proverb. A similar expression occurs in Akan as follows:

- ii. **Nkakrankakra akoko benom nsu.**
 Little by little chicken FUT.drink water
 Gradually/little by little, the chicken will drink water.

Colleagues I have tried this saying on agree that it is a proverb, and I think it is because of this that it is allowed in the language. Kofi Agyekum (p.c.) tells me that while it is possible to say (iii), (iv) is not permissible:

- iii. **Nkakrankakra obedu.**
 Slowly/gradually 3sg.FUT.arrive
 Slowly/gradually s/he will arrive.
- iv. ***Obedu nkakrankakra.**
 3sg.FUT.arrive slowly/gradually

He suggests that (iii) is a shortened version of:

- v. **ode nkakrankakra saa bedu.**
 3sg.TAKE slow/gradual manner arrive
 Gradually, s/he will eventually arrive.

- (6) a. **Kwame kasa-a nyansa mu/*nyansa.**
K. speak.PAST wisdom in /wisdom
Kwame speaks with wisdom/wisely.

b. ***Kwame nyansa mu kasa-e.**

K. wisdom in speak.PAST

c. **Nyansa mu na Kwame kasa-e.**

Wisdom in FM K. speak.PAST

It was in/with wisdom that Kwame spoke.

(5a) and (6a) show that the bare NP, i.e. a single noun, cannot be used as a *manner* adverb; it must always occur with a postposition to form a Postpositional Phrase (PP), and that this type of construction can only occur to the right of the VP. The reason for the impossibility of the bare NPs like **abufuw** ‘anger’, **nyansa** ‘wisdom’ to occur immediately after the verb is not surprising. Such an occurrence will create a situation where the verb will appear to be selecting a double object in violation of its selectional restrictions. For the same reason a bare NP cannot be fronted. The postpositional phrase, however, is legitimate in such structures because it is adjoined to the verb and its complement. Unlike the lexical or bare NP adverbs, these phrasal adverbials can be fronted and focused as in (5c) and (6c).

Certain nouns may be used as *manner* adverbials. They include: **abufuw** ‘anger’, **nyansa** ‘wisdom’, **ahooden** ‘strength’, **anigye** ‘happiness’, **aniwu** ‘shame’, **patapaa** ‘aggression’, **anioden** ‘audacity’, **anibere** ‘covetousness’, **fere** ‘shyness’, **nnaadaa** ‘trickery’, **mmodenbo** ‘diligence’. In their use as adverbials, they occur in complex syntactic constructions involving the ‘defective verb **de** ‘take’ (Osam, 1994). This creates serial verb constructions (SVCs) in the sentences in which they appear³:

- (7) a. **Kofi de abufuw pia-a Kwadwo.**
 K TAKE anger push.PST Kw.
 Kofi pushed Kwadwo in anger

³ The type of construction exemplified in (7) – (9) is the same as that employed in expressing ‘instruments’ in Akan. They give credence to Givon’s (1993:73) assertion that some manner adverbs may shade their meaning ever closer to ‘instruments’ with information about the instrument used in performing the action and that one may in fact argue that manner is an ‘abstract metaphor’ for ‘instrument’.

Compare the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|------------|
| (i) | a. | Kofi de safe buee dan no. | Instrument |
| | | K. TAKE key open.PST door DEF | |
| | | Kofi opened the door with the key. | |
| | b. | Kofi de abufuw buee dan no. | Manner |
| | | K. TAKE anger open.PST door DEF | |
| | | Kofi opened the door with anger. | |

The examples in (i) reveal that the same type of syntactic construction is used to express the manner in which or the instrument with which an action is performed in Akan. If we accept Givon’s idea of manner being an ‘abstract metaphor’ for ‘instrument’ then this similarity is not surprising. While ‘manner’ may indicate the state of mind in or with which something is done, ‘instrument’ indicates the physical object used to accomplish it. In effect, both amplify the meaning of the verb by providing information about how the action was undertaken.

- b. **Abufuw na Kofi de pia-a Kwadwo.**
 Anger FM K. TAKE push.PST Kw.
 It was with anger that Kofi pushed Kwadwo.
- c. ***Kofi pia-a Kwadwo de abufuw.**
 K. push.PST Kw. TAKE anger
- (8) a. **Amma de anigye be-hyia Kofi kwan.**
 A. TAKE happiness FUT.meet K. road
 Amma will meet Kofi with joy/happiness.
- b. **Anigye na Amma de be-hyia Kofi kwan.**
 Happiness FM A. TAKE FUT.meet K. road.
 It is with joy that Amma will meet Kofi.
- c. ***Amma be-hyia Kofi kwan de anigye.**
 A. FUT.meet K. road TAKE happiness
- (9) a. **ɔ- de anibere fa-a sika no nyinaa.**
 3sg.TAKE covetousness take.PST money DEF all
 S/he greedily kept/took all the money.
- b. **Anibere na ɔ-de fa-a sika no nyinaa.**
 Covetousness (FM) 3sg.TAKE take.PST money DEF all
 It was out of greed/covetousness that s/he kept/took all the money.
- c. ***ɔ-faa sika no nyinaa de anibere.**
 3sg.take.PST money DEF all TAKE covetousness

The **de** + noun *manner* adverbials, as the examples in (7a, 8a & 9a) indicate, can occur after the subject NP and before the main verb. It can be fronted for focus (7b, 8b & 9b) but it cannot occur after the V or VP (cf. 7c, 8c, 9c). As an anonymous JWAL reviewer rightly points out, the reason why the examples in (7c, 8c, & 9c) are not grammatical is that 'the time sequence is out of order. In all SVCs the action of the first verb must take place before that of the second.' In (9c) for example, it is not possible for the subject to take the money before using covetousness to do so. In other words, s/he was in this psychological state before s/he performed the action described by the predicate.

2.2 IDEOPHONIC ADVERBS

A lot of *manner* adverbs in Akan are ideophones. The term 'ideophone', according to Welmers (1973:461) 'seems to have been first suggested by C. M. Doke' who defined it as 'a vivid representation of an idea in sound. A word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, smell, action, state or intensity.' Akan ideophones include the following: **kitikiti/gidigidi/putuputu/butubutu** 'vigourously', **girigara** 'sound caused by something falling down', **fredefrede** 'in a revolving manner', **framfram** 'brazenly'/ 'flickeringly', **wɛɛwɛɛwɛɛ** 'sound of sweeping/or dragging something over the surface of water', **wirododo** 'in a gushing manner' (Christaller 1933, passim), **fukafuka** 'in a greedy manner'.

These ideophones are used to describe how an action is performed by imitating

the sound, movement and/or other qualities associated with the action. They almost always occur in their reduplicated forms. For example:

- (10) a. **Kofi tu-u mirika kitikiti/gidigidi**
 K. run.PST race vigorously
 Kofi ran vigorously.
- b. **O-twa ne ho fredrefrede.**
 3sg.turn.PRES 3sg.self in a revolving manner
 S/he turned around (repeatedly) in a revolving manner.
- c. **Abofra no didi fukafuka**
 Child DEF. Eat.PRES greedily
 The child eats greedily.
- d. ***Kitikiti Kofi tuu mirika**
 Vigourously K. run.PST race
- e. ***Frefrede o-twa ne ho**
 In a revolving manner 3sg.turn.PRES 3sg.self
- f. ***Fukafuka abofra no didi.**
 Greedily child DEF eat.PRES

(10 a-c) show that ideophonic adverbs occur after the VP; they cannot be fronted as shown in the unacceptable (10 d, e & f).

Akan is not unique in the adverbial use of ideophones. Stewart (2001) shows that ideophones are used as adverbs in Edo while Maduka-Durunze (2001) reports the use of ideophones as adverbs in languages like Yoruba, Igbo, and Zulu. And according to Welmers (1973:459),

In virtually every Niger-Congo language, as well as typically in Nilo-Saharan languages and at least in languages of the Chadic branch of Afro-Asiatic ... there is a fairly large group of words now generally known as 'ideophones'. Many of these have some some kind of adverbial use ...

Because of their nature, it is possible for a speaker to come up with an ideophone on the spur of the moment to describe the manner in which an action is being performed.

There are no restrictions on the tense/aspect of the verbs that occur in sentences that contain *manner* adverbs because these adverbs are not coded for temporal reference.

3. PACE ADVERBS

These adverbs may be subsumed under *manner* adverbs. They describe the manner in which a particular action took place in terms of the pace/speed of movement. The pace may be slow, gradual, or swift. Adverbs in this group include: **ntem** 'fast'/'quick', **ntemntem** 'very fast'/'very quickly', **hyehyehye** 'very fast',

nyaa ‘slowly’, **harehare/haahar** ‘swiftly’. They combine mostly with verbs that depict activity of some kind. In other words, they can modify any verb that depicts an activity of ‘durative or dynamic’ nature (Van Valin, Jr. & LaPolla, 1997:164). Pace adverbs may be used in the following examples:

- (11) a. **Amma didi-i ntɛm.**
A. eat.PST quickly
Amma ate quickly.
- b. ***Ntɛm na Amma didi-e.**
Quickly FM A. eat.PST
- c. ***Amma ntɛm didi-e.**
A. quickly eat.PST
- (12) a. **Aberante no re-tu mirika hɛhɛhɛhɛ.**
Young man DEF PROG.run race very fast
The young man is running very fast.
- b. ***Hɛhɛhɛhɛ na aberante no re-tu mirika.**
Very fast FM young man DEF PROG.run race
- c. ***Aberante no hɛhɛhɛhɛ re-tu mirika.**
Young man DEF very fast PROG.run race
- (13) a. **Aberewa no nante-e nyaa ko-du-u fie.**
Old woman DEF walk.PST slowly GO.reach.PST home
The old woman walked slowly home.
- b. ***Nyaa na aberewa no nante-e ko-du-u fie.**
Slowly FM old woman DEF walk.PST GO.reach.PST home
- c. ***Aberewa no nyaa nante-e ko-du-u fie.**
Old woman DEF slowly walk.PST GO.reach.PST home

The sentences in (11a, 12a & 13a) show that *pace* adverbs occur post-verbally. They cannot be fronted and focused as the ill-formed sentences in (11b, 12b & 13b) show, nor can they occur in a pre-verbal position as in (11c, 12c, & 13c). They can therefore be analysed as being VP –modifiers. They have scope over the VP and may be assigned the subcategorization frame in (14):

- (14) [_{IP} NP V (NP) -]

Pace adverbs (like *manner* adverbs under which they may be subsumed) do not impose any restrictions on the tense/aspect of the verbs they occur with.

4. TIME/TEMPORAL ADVERBS

Time/temporal adverbs provide information about the time of an event or action and they have scope over the ‘entire event-clause, i.e. the whole proposition’ (Givon, 1993:73, 2001:91-92). These adverbs have scope over the entire proposition because they situate the proposition within a particular time frame.

They may be single-words like: **enne** 'today', **ɔkyena** 'tomorrow', **nɛra**

'yesterday', **awia** 'afternoon', **anɔpa**, 'morning', **mprempren/seesei** 'now', **nnansa** 'three days', **nnawɔtwe** '(one) week', **afe** 'year', **bosome** 'month'. They may combine with other elements such as nouns, numerals, determiners and other qualifiers to form complex phrases such as: **ɔkyena anɔpa** 'tomorrow morning', **nne ne nnansa** 'three days ago', **seesei ara** 'right now', **anɔpa tutuutu** 'very early in the morning', **awia yi**, 'this afternoon', **anɔpa yi** 'this morning', **dɔnhwere baako** 'one hour'. It must be noted here that all the words listed here are basically nouns or NPs that are used as adverbs of time.

The examples in (15) and (16) show the syntactic positions in which time adverbs occur:

- (15) a. **Kofi ba-a ha nɛra.**
K. come.PST here yesterday
Kofi came here yesterday
- b. **Nɛra na Kofi ba-a ha.**
Yesterday FM K. come.PST here
It was only yesterday that Kofi came here.
- c. **Nɛra de(ɛ) Kofi ba-a ha.**
Yesterday FM K. come.PST here
As for yesterday, Kofi came here.
- d. **Nɛra, Kofi ba-a ha.**
Yesterday K. come.PST here
Yesterday, Kofi came here.
- e. ***Kofi Nɛra ba-a ha.**
K. yesterday come.PST here.
- (16) a. **Mɛ-kɔ Takoradi ɔkyena anɔpa.**
1sg.FUT.go T. tomorrow morning
I'll go to Takoradi tomorrow morning.
- b. **ɔkyena anɔpa na mɛ-kɔ Takoradi.**
Tomorrow morning FM 1sg.FUT.go T.
It is tomorrow morning that I'll go to Takoradi.
- c. **ɔkyena anɔpa de(ɛ) mɛ-kɔ Takoradi.**
Tomorrow morning FM 1sg.FUT.go T.
As for tomorrow morning, I'll go to Takoradi.
- d. **ɔkyena anɔpa mɛ-kɔ Takoradi.**
Tomorrow morning 1sg.FUT.go T.
Tomorrow morning, I'll go to Takoradi.
- e. ***Mɛ ɔkyena anɔpa bɛ-kɔ Takoradi.**
1sg tomorrow morning FUT.go Takoradi

These examples show that *time* adverbs/adverbials generally occur both in sentence-final and sentence-initial positions. In (15a) and (16a), they are in sentence-final position while in (15b,c, d) and (16b,c,d) they are in sentence-initial position (in other words, they are fronted for focus).

As an anonymous JWAL reviewer suggests, we may distinguish three categories of focus in these examples. First, there is 'Unmarked Focus' in which the fronted adverb/adverbial is not morphologically coded with a focus marker (it has zero FM). Then there are two types of 'Marked Focus' where the fronted adverb/adverbials are morphologically coded with the FM **na** and the FM **de(ɛ)** as shown in (15b, c), (16b, c) above, as well as (18b, c, and d) below.

When the temporal adverb is in marked focus, a variation in interpretation results depending on the type of focus marker⁴ used. The **na**-focus marker is an 'exclusive focus marker' that '... narrows down the referential range of the constituent to which it is attached and places it in an exclusive class by itself, thus bringing this constituent into sharp contrast with all other members of the paradigm to which it belongs' (Boadi 1974:7). See also Saah (1994, 1998). The presence of this focus marker in (16b) implies that the speaker is contrasting *tomorrow morning* with any other time. The sentence can be paraphrased as: '*It is tomorrow morning, (not any other time) that I will go to Takoradi.* The **de**-focus marker, on the other hand, singles out an entity from a set of entities for emphasis and predication. Comparing **na** with **de**, (Boadi, op.cit. p. 8) describes the latter as 'non-exclusive or potentially inclusive' because in using it, 'the speaker does not commit himself to saying that the referent of the constituent brought into focus is placed in a unique class by itself'. We can, therefore, refer to **de** as a non-contrastive focus morpheme in the language. The utterance in (15c) can be paraphrased as: '*As for tomorrow morning, I'll go to Takoradi*'⁵. In saying this, the speaker is not ruling out the possibility of going to Takoradi at any other time; but he is asserting that he has made up his mind to go tomorrow. This utterance will be felicitous especially when the speaker had been meaning to go to Takoradi but had not found the time to do so yet.

There is a difference in interpretation when (16d) whose adverbial is in unmarked focus is compared with (16b) whose adverbial is in marked focus. In (16d) the speaker makes an assertion as to the time s/he will go to Takoradi. The sentence could also be an answer to the question: **Wobekɔ Takoradi da ben?** 'When will you go to Takoradi?' (16b) with the FM **na**, on the other hand, contrasts the temporal adverbial with other temporal adverbial. The sentence can be paraphrased as: *It is tomorrow morning (and no other time) that I'll go to Takoradi.* This utterance will be felicitous in a situation where the speaker, in the words of the JWAL reviewer, 'is contrasting or confirming the listener's query or counter-proposition'.

The examples in (15e) and (16e) show that temporal adverbials cannot occur in pre-verbal position, (between the subject and the verb). The reason is that they are inherently nouns or noun phrases. It is not possible for two nouns/noun phrases to occur in subject position of a single verb. Even for a language like English, which

⁴ In the generative literature, this is referred to as a focus complementizer, but I will continue to use the term focus marker here.

⁵ It is interesting to note that time adverbials are the only ones that can occur with the two main focus markers in Akan **na** and **de(ɛ)**. The others occur with **na** only.

allows adverbs in pre-verbal position, a sentence like: **Kofi yesterday came here*, is

unacceptable.

In all the examples discussed above, the *time/temporal* adverbial places the action/event within particular time frame and it has to agree with the verb with regards to temporal reference. For example, in (15), the adverb **nmera** ‘yesterday’ refers to past time and the verb **baa** ‘came’ is also in the past tense; and in (16) the adverb **ɔkyena anɔpa** ‘tomorrow morning’, refers to future time and the verb also is in the future tense. There is, therefore, agreement between the verb form and the adverbial with regards to temporal reference.

A temporal noun functioning as an adverb may be qualified by a relative clause, for example, **afe a etwaa mu yi** ‘the past year/the year that just passed’, **Kwasida a ereba yi** ‘this coming Sunday’. These may be found in examples like:

- (17) a. **Kofi be- ware Amma Kwasida a e- re- ba yi.**
 K. FUT.marry A Sunday REL 3sg.INANIM.PROG.come.DEF
 Kofi will marry Amma this coming Sunday.
- b. **Kwasida a e- re- ba yi, Kofi be-ware Amma.**
 Sunday REL 3sg.INANIM.PROG. come DEF K. FUT.marry A.
 This coming Sunday, Kofi will marry Amma.
- c. **Kwasida a e- re- ba yi na Kofi be-ware Amma.**
 Sunday REL 3sg.INANIM.PROG.come DEF FM K. FUT.marry A.
 It is this coming Sunday that Kofi will marry Amma
- d. **Kwasida a e- re- ba yi de(ɛ) Kofi be-ware Amma.**
 S unday REL 3sg.INANIM.PROG.come DEF FM K. FUT.marry A.
 As for this coming Sunday, Kofi will marry Amma.
- (18) a. **M- a- n- tu kwan afe a e- twaa mu yi.**
 1sg.PERF.NEG.travel year REL 3sg.INANIM.pass.PST DEF
 I didn’t travel last year/in the past year.
- b. **Afe a e- twaa mu yi, m- a- n- tu kwan.**
 Year REL 3sg.INANIM pass.PST DEF 1sg.PERF.NEG.travel
 Last year/in the past year, I didn’t travel.
- c. **Afe a e- twaa mu yi na m- a- n- tu kwan.**
 Year REL 3sg.INANIM pass.PST DEF FM 1sg.PERF.NEG.travel
 It was in the past year that I didn’t travel.
- d. **Afe a e- twaa mu yi de(ɛ) m- a- n- tu kwan.**
 Year REL 3sg.INANIM pass.PST DEF FM 1sg.PERF.NEG.travel
 As for past year, I didn’t travel.

These *time* adverbials have wider distribution as they can occur after the VP and on the left-periphery of the sentence (that is, they can be fronted for focus). There is no difference in the interpretation of the (a) and (b) sentences in (17) and (18). By virtue

of appearing on the left periphery of the sentence in (17b) and (18b), the adverbial is in Unmarked Focus. In the (c) examples, the presence of the **na**-focus marker causes the time stated in temporal adverbial to be contrasted with any other time in which the action described by the predicate can be undertaken. For example, (17c) can be paraphrased as: *It is only next Sunday (and no other day/time) that Kofi will marry Amma.* (17d), on the other hand can be paraphrased as: *As for this coming Sunday, Kofi will marry Amma.* This will be a felicitous statement in a situation where the wedding has been postponed or delayed for some reason. In making such an utterance the speaker is making the assertion that all obstacles have been removed and that the marriage will definitely take place coming Sunday. The differences in the interpretation results from the presence of the focus markers **na** and **de(e)** in the (c) and (d) examples.

The discussion so far has shown that *time/temporal* adverbs/adverbials occur in the sub-categorisation frame in (19):

(19) [_{IP} (-) (**na/dee**) NP V (NP) (-)]

This means that they occur on the left periphery of the sentence as well as after the VP.

Those temporal adverbs that indicate specific temporal points or periods of time exhibit certain characteristics in their semantics depending on whether they occur immediately after the verb or in a **de** + adverb construction before the verb. Compare the following examples:

- (20) a. **Kwasi yee adwuma no nnansa.**
K. do.PST work DEF three days
Kwasi worked for three days
- b. **Nnansa na Kwasi de yee adwuma no.**
Three days FM Kw TAKE do.PST work DEF
It took Kwasi three days to do the work.
- c. **Kwasi de nnansa yee adwuma no.**
K. TAKE three days do.PST work DEF
Kwasi took three days to do the work.
- d. ***Kwasi nnansa yee adwuma no.**
K. three days do.PST work DEF
- (21) a. **Me-ba-a anɔpa.**
1sg.come.PST morning
I came in the morning.
- b. **Anɔpa na me-ba-e.**
Morning FM 1sg.come.PST
It was in the morning that I came.
- c. ***Me-de anɔpa ba-e**
1sg. TAKE morning come.PST
- d. ***Me anɔpa ba-e**

1sg. morning come.PST

- (22) a. **Kwame sua-a ade dɔnhwere baako.**
 Kw. learn.PST thing hour one
 Kwame studied for one hour.
- b. **Dɔnhwere baako na Kwame sua-a ade.**
 Hour one FM Kw. learn.PST thing
- c. **Kwame de dɔnhwere baako sua-a ade.**
 Kw. TAKE hour one learn.PST thing
 Kwame used one hour to study./Kwame spent one hour studying.
- d. ***Kwame dɔnhwere baako sua-a ade.**
 Kw. hour one learn.PST thing

The sentences in (20) – (22) reveal the following facts about those *time* adverbs/adverbials under consideration here. First, all of them can occur after the verb/VP. Second, only those that indicate a specific period of time, (e.g., **nansa** ‘three days’, **dɔnhwere baako** ‘one hour’) can occur in a construction with the **de** verb as shown in (20c & 22c). Such sentences have a completive reading. They imply that the event/action was completed within a specific time frame. Third, those that name a specific period of the day such as **anɔpa** ‘morning’ can be fronted and focused as in (21b) but cannot be used with the **de** verb as the ungrammatical (21c) shows. The reason for the unacceptability of (21c) is that **anɔpa** ‘morning’ is an, indefinite, non-specific period of time whereas **anɔpa no** ‘the morning’ is specific⁶.

⁶ The adverbial in (20c) cannot be qualified by a quantifier to give the reading, ‘I took all morning to come’, as the JWAL reviewer wants to know. Though it is possible to say:

- i. a. **Me-de anɔpa no nyinaa yɛɛ adwuma.**
 1sg TAKE morning DEF all do.PST work
 I worked all morning / I worked the whole of the morning.
- b. **Me-yɛɛ adwuma anɔpa no nyinaa.**
 1sg do.PST work morning DEF all
 I worked all morning / I worked the whole of the morning.

it is not possible to say:

- ii. a. ***Me-de anɔpa nyinaa baa-e.**
 1sg TAKE morning all come.PST
 I took the whole of the morning to come.
- b. ***Me-baa anɔpa no nyinaa.**
 1sg.come.PST morning DEF all
 I took the whole morning to come.

Contrary to the JWAL reviewer’s suggestion, I stand by my assertion in an earlier version of the draft that the ungrammaticality of (21c) is due in part to the nature of the verb. It appears that **yɛ adwuma** ‘to work’ is something that can be done over an extended period of time and therefore it is possible to have the Akan expression in (i. a, b). But coming to/or arriving at a place is something that is done at a particular point in time and therefore it is not possible to have the utterances in (ii).

The different positions these adverbs/adverbials take have some implications for their interpretation. When the adverb/adverbial occurs after the verb/VP as in (20a, 21a, 22a) it implies that the activity was carried out for the period mentioned. The sentence in (20a) implies that Kofi worked for three days. It does not necessarily indicate that he finished the work during that time, he could have quit before completing the task or he might have completed it. (20b) has a completive reading, that is, Kofi completed the work in three days. (20c) implies that Kwasi used three days to complete the work. The positioning of the adverbs and the presence or absence of the **de** verb in the construction determine these different interpretations. The two acceptable sentences in (21) also have different interpretations as a result of the positioning of the adverb/adverbial. The speaker asserts in both (21a) and (21b) that s/he came in the morning. But (21b), said with the **na** focus marker, contrasts the time stated by the adverbial with any other time s/he could have come. The speaker asserts that it was in the morning, not any other time that s/he came. (22a) and (22b) differ in their interpretation due to the variation in the position of the adverb/adverbial and the presence of the **de** + adverb structure in the latter. These facts imply that time adverbs/adverbials have different scope depending on where they occur in the sentence.

5. FREQUENCY/REPETITIVE ADVERBS

This type of adverb is known variously as ‘repetitive’ or ‘frequentative’ adverbs in the literature (c.f. Cinque, 1999:104). Frequency adverbs modify the meaning of the verb by indicating the number of times the action took place or will take place or has taken place and as Givon (1993:73) points out, their semantic scope is over the ‘entire event-clause, i.e. the whole proposition.’ In Akan, they may be single-word adverbs like **daa** ‘everyday/always’, **da** ‘once/before’, **pen** ‘once/before’, **mprenu** ‘twice’, **mprensa** ‘three times’. They may also be noun phrases such as **da biara** ‘everyday’, **anopa biara** ‘every morning’, **bere biara** ‘every time’, **daa awia** ‘every afternoon’. Consider the following examples:

- (23) a. **Yaw a-kɔ America da.**
 Y. PERF.go America once/before
 Yaw has gone to America once/before.
- b. ***Da na Yaw a-kɔ America.**
 Once/before FM Yaw PERF.go A.
 Yaw has gone to America before.
- c. ***enyɛ da na Yaw a-kɔ America.**
 It.NEG.be once/before FM Yaw PERF.go America
 *It is not the case that Yaw has been to America before.
- d. ***Yaw da a-kɔ America.**
 Y. once/before PERF.go America.
 Yaw has been to America before.
- (24) a. **Kwame di fufu daa awia.**
-

K. eat.PRES fufu every afternoon

Kwame eats fufu every afternoon.

- b. **Daa awia, Kwame di fufu.**
 Every afternoon K. eat.PRES fufu.
 Every afternoon, Kwame eats fufu.
- c. **?Daa awia na Kwame di fufu.**
 Every afternoon FM K. eat.PRES fufu.
 It is every afternoon that Kwame eats fufu.
- d. ***Kwame daa awia di fufu.**
 Kw. every afternoon eat.PRES fufu
- e. **enye daa awia na Kwame di fufu.**
 It.NEG.be every afternoon FM Kwame eat.PRES fufu
 It is not every afternoon that Kwame eats fufu.
- (25) a. **Kofi a-ba ha mprensa.**
 K. PERF.come here three times
 Kofi has come here three times.
- b. ***Mpresa, Kofi a-ba ha.⁷**
 Three times K. PERF.come here
- c. ***Mpresa na Kofi a-ba ha.**
 Three times FM Kofi PERF.come here
 It is three times that Kofi has come here.
- d. ***Kofi mprensa a-ba ha.**
 K. three times PERF.come here
- e. **?enye mprensa na Kofi a-ba ha.**
 It.NEG.be three times FM Kofi PERF.come here
 It is not three times that Kofi has come here.
- (26) a. **Me-hu no bere biara.**
 1sg.see.PRES 3sg.time every
 I see him/her all the time/every time.
- b. **Bere biara me-hu no.**
 Time every 1sg.see.PRES 3sg.
 All the time/Every time I see her.
- c. ***Bere biara na me-hu no.**

⁷ In answer to the JWAL reviewer, I want to state that the reason why (25b) is not permissible but (15d) is permissible has to do with the nature of the adverbs. **Nnera** 'yesterday' in (15d) is a *temporal* adverb, thus it can be fronted for focus as shown in section 4. **Mpresa** 'three times' in (25b) is a *frequency* adverb and these adverbs have been shown not to occur in the focus position.

Time every FM 1sg.see.PRES 3sg.
All the time/Every time I see her.

- d. **enye** **bere biara** **na me-hu** **no.**
It.NEG.be time every FM 1sg.see.PRES 3sg.
It is not very time that I see him/her.

- (27) a. **Me-hu no** **daa**
1sg.see.PRES 3sg always/everyday
I see him/her everyday.

- b. **Daa** **me-hu** **no.**
Always/everyday 1sg.see.PRES 3sg
Always/everyday, I see him/her.

- c. ***Daa** na me-hu no.

Always/everyday FM 1sg.see.PRES 3sg
 Always/everyday, I see him/her.

- d. **enye daa** na me-hu no.
 It.NEG.be always/everyday FM 1sg.see.PRES 3sg
 It is not always/everyday that I see him/her.

Frequency adverbials that are made up of multiple word phrases can occur directly after the verb or VP and in sentence-initial position as indicated in (24a,b) and (26a,b). In sentence-initial position, they cannot occur with the focus marker. In other words, they can only occur in unmarked focus. They can, however, occur in negative cleft constructions as in (24e) and (26d).

The single-word *frequency* adverbs are however, a mixed bag. Some behave like the phrasal frequency adverbs, others do not. For example, **da/ pen** ‘once/before’ and **mprensa** ‘three times’ can only occur after the VP as indicated in ((23a) and (25a). But **daa** ‘always’ can occur either sentence-initially or after the VP. This means that those *frequency* adverbs/adverbials that behave like **daa** ‘always’ have the sub-categorisation frame in (28a) and those that behave like **da/ pen** ‘once/before’ and **mprensa** ‘three times’ have the one in (28b):

- (28) a. [IP (-) NP V (NP) (-)]
 b. [IP NP V (NP) -]

Some frequency adverbs are selective of the tense or aspect of the verbs they occur with and this has to do with their semantics. None of them appears to occur with the progressive aspect for example. **Da** ‘once’/‘before’ and **pen** ‘once’/‘before’ seem to always occur with the perfect aspect as in (23a). The reason for this is that they indicate an action/event completed in the past – something done once and for all. The other adverbs in this category do not behave that way and they occur with most of the different tense and aspect forms in Akan.

Consider the following examples:

- (29) a. **Kofi be -hu no daa/ awia biara/ mprensa.**
 K. FUT.see 3sg always/every afternoon/three times
 Kofi will see him/her always/every afternoon/three times.
- b. **Kofi hu-u no daa/ awia biara/ mprensa.**
 K. see.PST 3sg always/every afternoon/three times
 Kofi saw him/her always/every afternoon/three times.
- c. **Kofi a-hu no *daa/ *awia biara/ mprensa.**
 K. PERF.see.3sg always/every afternoon/three times
 Kofi has seen him/her *always/*every afternoon/three times.
- d. ***Kofi re-hu no daa/ awia biara/ mprensa.**
 K. PROG.see 3sg always/every afternoon/three times

- e. **Kofi hu no daa/awia biara/mprensa.**
 K. see.PRES 3sg always/every afternoon/three times
 Kofi sees him/her always/every afternoon/three times

(29a,b,e) show that the frequency adverbs like **daa** ‘always’, **awia biara** ‘every afternoon’, **mprensa** ‘three times’ can occur with the future, past and present tenses respectively. They cannot occur with the perfect and progressive aspects. When used with the past tense morpheme as in (29b), it implies that the action/event was something that took place frequently during a certain period of time anterior to the time of the utterance. The sentence can be paraphrased as: *Kofi saw him/her everyday/every afternoon/ three times (in the past)*. (29c) is unacceptable in Akan with the adverbs **daa** ‘always’, **awia biara** ‘every afternoon’, because the perfect aspect is not compatible with them. The adverb **mprensa** ‘three times’ is however acceptable here because it indicates that the act of seeing the person was completed in the past. The sentence can be paraphrased as: *S/he has seen him/her three times already*.

6. EPISTEMIC OR ‘SPEAKER-ORIENTED’ ADVERBS

Epistemic adverbs ‘convey the speaker’s attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of the proposition’ (Givon, 1993: 74, 2001:92) or as Cinque 1999: 86) puts it, they express the speaker’s ‘degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition (based on the kind of information he/she has.’ In Akan they include such single-word expressions as **ebia** ‘maybe’, **ampa** ‘true/truly’, **nokware** ‘truly’, **gyama** ‘perhaps’, **sese/sesee** ‘perhaps’/ ‘probably’, **gyangyanbiara** ‘perhaps’/ ‘probably’.

They occur in examples like (30) and (31):

- (30) a. **Kofi ye osikani ampa/*nokware.**
 K. be.PRES rich person truly
 Kofi is rich/a rich person truly.
- b. **Ampa/nokware, Kofi ye osikani.**
 Truly K. be.PRES rich person
 Truly Kofi is rich/a rich person.
- c. ***Ampa/nokware na Kofi ye osikani.**
 Truly FM K. be.PRES rich person
 Truly Kofi is rich/a rich person.
- d. ***Ampa/nokware de(ε) Kofi ye osikani.**
 Truly FM K. be.PRES rich person
 Truly Kofi is rich/a rich person.
- e. ***Kofi ampa/nokware ye osikani.**
 K. truly be.PRES rich
- (31) a. **Ebia, Amma wɔ fie.**
 Maybe A. be.PRES home.
 Maybe Amma is home.

- b. ?Ebia na Amma wɔ fie.
 Maybe FM A. be.PRES home
- c. *Ebia de(ɛ) Amma wɔ fie.
 Maybe FM A. be.PRES home
- d. *Amma wɔ fie ebia.
 A be.PRES home maybe
- e. *Amma ebia wɔ fie.
 A. maybe be.PRES home

Syntactically, epistemic adverb/adverbials are a mixed bag. Some like **ampa** ‘true’/ ‘truly’ can occur after the VP as in (30a) and on the left-periphery of the sentence as in (30b). When they occur on the left-periphery, the focus marker is not allowed as in (30c). As the J WAL reviewer rightly points out, this shows that the focus marker is only appropriate to examples of Focus, and therefore not relevant to *epistemic* adverbs.’ Other epistemic adverbs like **ebia** ‘maybe/perhaps’ and **nokware** ‘true’/‘truly’ can only occur on the left-periphery of the sentence as the examples in (30b) and (31a) show. The utterance in (31b), however, presents an interesting case. If the particle **na** is said with a falling intonation, it ceases to be a focus marker, but rather the particle **nâ** that is employed in Akan to indicate ‘temporal switch-reference’ (Clements, 1982). The sentence is acceptable if it is interpreted as: *Maybe Ama was at home*, where the presence of the **nâ** causes the state/event to be interpreted as being in the past.

It is interesting to note that though **ampa** and **nokware** are synonymous, they differ in their syntax. The latter can only occur in sentence-initial position while the former can occur in both sentence-initial and post verbal positions. The **ampa** type has the sub-categorisation frame in (32a) while the **ebia** type has the one in (32b):

- (32) a. [_{IP} (-) NP V (NP) (-)]
 b. [_{IP} - NP V (NP)]

Ampa ‘true/truly’, and **nokware** ‘true/truly’ especially, can be used in cleft constructions with or without the complementizer **sɛ** as:

- (33) a. ɛyɛ ampa (sɛ) Kofi yɛ osikani
 It be.PRES true that K. be.PRES rich person
 It is true that Kofi is rich/a rich person.
- b. ɛyɛ nokware (sɛ) Kofi yɛ osikani
 It be.PRES true that K. be.PRES rich person
 It is true that Kofi is rich/a rich person.

Epistemic adverbs/adverbials (no matter their syntactic position) have scope over the entire proposition as they express the speaker’s impression or attitude about the truth condition of the proposition. They are therefore sentence/IP-modifying adverbs/adverbials.

These adverbs do not impose any restrictions on the tense/aspect of the verb in the sentence. Consider the following examples:

- (34) a. **Ampa, Kofi kɔ-ɔ Kumase.**
True K. go.PST Kumase
It is true Kofi went to Kumasi.
- b. **Ampa, Kofi bɛ-kɔ Kumase.**
True K. FUT.go Kumase
It is true Kofi will go to Kumasi.
- c. **Ampa, Kofi re-kɔ Kumase.**
True K. PROG.go. Kumase
It is true Kofi is going to Kumasi.
- d. **Ampa, Kofi a-kɔ Kumase.**
True K. PERF.go Kumase
It is true Kofi has been to Kumasi.

As the examples in (34) show the epistemic adverbs do not need to be linked to any particular tense or aspect marker in the sentence. This is because the epistemic adverbs are not coded for temporal reference and therefore need not agree with the verb in that respect.

7. ASPECTUAL ADVERBS

These adverbs can be subsumed under *manner* adverbs. They supply information about the ‘temporal aspects’ (Givon 1993: 74) of the event or activity depicted by the predicate in the sense that they indicate whether the event/activity is recurring, continuing or has been completed. They have scope over the VP. They include **bio** ‘again’, **dwɛɛ** ‘totally’/ ‘completely’, **dwɛɛbee** ‘totally’/ ‘entirely’/‘completely’, **koraa/korakora** ‘totally’/‘completely’:

- (35) a. **Kwame didi-i bio.**
K. eat.PST again
Kwame ate again.
- b. ***Bio, Kwame didi-e.**
Again K. eat.PST
- c. ***Bio na Kwame didi-e.**
Again FM K. eat.PST
- d. ***Kwame bio didi-i.**
K. again eat.PST
- (36) a. **Kwae no a-hye dwɛɛbee.**
Forest DEF PERF.burn completely
The forest has burned completely/
the forest has been completely burned.
- b. ***Dwɛɛbee, kwae no a-hye.**

Completely forest DEF PERF.burn

- c. ***Dwereɛbee na kwae no a-hye.**
 Completely FM forest DEF PERF.burn
- d. ***Kwae no dwereɛbee a-hye.**
 Forest DEF completely PERF. burn

The lexical *aspectual* adverbs occur only after the verb or VP and have scope over it. They cannot occur in sentence-initial position with a pause or with the focus marker as shown in (35b,c) and (36b,c); nor can they occur in a pre-verbal position as in (35d) and (36d). They may, therefore, be assigned the sub-categorisation frame in (37):

(37) [_{IP} NP V (NP) -]

Aspectual adverbs can combine with almost all the tense/aspect in Akan, except the progressive aspect. For example:

- (38) a. **Nsu no a-we koraa.**
 Water DEF PERF.dry completely
 The river is completely dry.
- b. **Nsu no we-e koraa.**
 Water DEF dry.PST completely
 The river dried up completely.
- c. **Nsu no be-we koraa.**
 Water DEF FUT.dry completely
 The will dry up completely.
- d. **Nsu no we koraa afe biara.**
 Water DEF dry.PRES completely year every
 The river dries up completely every year.
- e. ***Nsu no re-we koraa.**
 Water DEF PROG.dry completely

In these examples, the *aspectual* adverb occurs with the perfect aspect, the past, future and the present tenses respectively. It cannot occur with the progressive aspect. This is to be expected because the semantics of the adverb **koraa** ‘completely’ is not compatible with the progressive aspect which indicates an event that is still going on.

8. MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF ADVERBS

In a language like English, an adverb can be derived from an adjective by the addition of the derivational suffix *-ly*. For example: *quick – quickly; slow – slowly; bright – brightly* and *loud – loudly*. Saah and Agbedor (2004) report that Ewe, a Kwa language spoken in Ghana, has a way of deriving adverbs from nouns and adjectives. It has a derivational suffix **-tɔɛ** that is used to create adverbs from some nouns. For

example: **nunya-tɔɛ** ‘wisely’, **kuvia-tɔɛ** ‘lazily’, **kale-tɔɛ** ‘bravely’. There is another affix **-e**, which is suffixed to adjectives to turn them into adverbs. For example, the adjective **nyui** ‘good’ can be turned into an adverb by suffixing the **-e** morpheme to derive **nyuie** ‘well’.

In Akan, however, there is no such morphological process for deriving adverbs from other word classes. Instead, as has been pointed out in section 2, some nouns may be combined with the postpositions **so** ‘on’ and **mu** ‘in’ and used as *manner* adverbials. Again some nouns are used as adverbs without any change in form. This is especially the case with time/temporal adverbs, which are basically nouns in the language. Besides this, there are certain words which may be used both as adjectives and as adverbs/adverbials. They include words like: **fɛ** ‘beautiful’/ ‘beautifully’; **fɛfɛ/fɛfɛfɛ** ‘very beautiful(ly)’, **kāmā** ‘fine’/ ‘nice(ly)’; **kāmākāmā** ‘very fine’/ ‘very nice(ly)’; **basaa** ‘haphazard(ly)’/ ‘disordered’/ ‘disorderly’; **nyaa** ‘slow(ly)’/ **nyaanyaa** ‘very slow(ly)’.

As adverbs, these words occur immediately after the verb or the verb and its complement. For example:

- (39) a. **Kwame a-pra dan no mu kāmā/kāmākāmā.**
 K. PERF.sweep room DEF inside nicely/very nicely
 Kwame has swept the room nicely/very nicely.
- b. **Akɔkora no nante nyaa/nyaanyaa.**
 Old man DEF walk.PRES slowly/very slowly
 The old man walks slowly/very slowly.

As adjectives, these words may be used both attributively and predicatively. In their attributive use, they occur immediately after the nouns they modify and in their predicative use, they occur as the complements of the copula verb **ye** ‘to be’. For example:

- (40) a. **Amma tɔɔ ataade kāmākāmā bi.** (ATTRIBUTIVE)
 A. buy.PST dress very nice/beautiful INDEF
 Amma bought a very nice/ beautiful dress.
- b. **Amma ataade no ye kāmākāmā** (PREDICATIVE)
 Amma.POSS dress DEF be.PRES very nice/beautiful
 Amma’s dress is very nice/beautiful.

In (40a) **kāmākāmā** ‘very nice/beautiful’ is used as an attributive adjective and it occurs after the noun it modifies, but in (40b), it is used predicatively, occurring as the complement of the verb **ye** ‘is’.

The only morphological process that adverbs are subject to is reduplication. Adverbs, like adjectives, can be reduplicated to indicate the degree/intensity of the quality being depicted by the adverb or adjective. Most *manner*, *pace*, and *aspectual* adverbs can be reduplicated. For example:

- (41) a. **Abofra no didi-i ntem.**
 Child DEF eat.PST quickly
 The child ate quickly.

b. **Abofra no didi-i ntemntem.**

Child DEF eat.PST very quickly
The child ate very quickly.

In (41a) the adverb **ntem** ‘quickly’ is not reduplicated but in (41b) it is used in its reduplicated form to give an idea of how fast the child ate. Ideophonic adverbs, as mentioned in section 2.2, always occur in their reduplicated forms. Temporal and epistemic adverbs do not normally lend themselves to reduplication.

9. RELATIVE ORDER OF ADVERBS

It is possible for two or more adverbs from the different semantic classes to be used in the same sentence. When this happens, the adverbs occur in a certain order. Consider the following examples in (42) in which a *manner* and a *temporal* adverbs have been used and (43) in which an *epistemic*, a *manner* and a *temporal* adverbs have been used:

- (42) a. **Kofi tu-u mirika gidigidi nnera.**
K. run.PST race vigorously yesterday
Kofi ran vigorously yesterday.
- b. **Nnera, Kofi tu-u mirika gidigidi.**
Yesterday K. run.PST race vigorously
Yesterday, Kofi ran vigorously.
- c. ***Kofi tu-u mirika nnera gidigidi.**
K. run.PST race yesterday vigorously
- d. ***Gidigidi Kofi tu-u mirika nnera.**
Vigorously K. run.PST race yesterday
- (43) a. **Ampa Kofi tu-u mirika gidigidi nnera.**
Truly K. run.PST race vigorously yesterday
Truly, Kofi ran vigorously yesterday.
- b. **Kofi tu-u mirika gidigidi nnera ampa.**
K. run.PST race vigorously yesterday truly
Truly, Kofi ran vigorously yesterday.
- c. ***Kofi tu-u mirika gidigidi ampa nnera.**
K. run.PST race vigorously truly yesterday
- d. ***Kofi tu-u mirika ampa gidigidi nnera.**
K. run.PST race truly vigorously yesterday

These examples show that:

- i. When *manner* and *temporal* adverbs co-occur in the same sentence, the *manner* adverbs precede the *temporal* adverbs as in (42a). The reverse ordering is not acceptable as (42c) shows.
- ii. When *epistemic*, *manner* and *temporal* adverbs occur in the same sentence, the *epistemic* adverbs occur after *manner* and *temporal* adverbs as in (43b); but not between them (43c), neither can it precede them (43d). The *epistemic* adverb can occur sentence-initially while the *manner* and *temporal* adverbs follow the VP as in (43a). This ordering follows from the fact that *epistemic* adverbs, by their nature, can only occur in sentence-initial or sentence-final position (43a) and (43b).

The reason for this ordering has to do with the scope capabilities of the different types of adverbs. *Manner* adverbs occur after the verb or verb and its complement and have scope over it, while *temporal* adverbs occur on the fringes of the sentence and have scope over the entire proposition. Though both *epistemic* and *temporal* adverbs are sentence-modifying adverbs and have scope over the entire proposition, the former must come after the latter when both occur in the same sentence. This shows that the nature of the adverb and its scope capabilities determine how it can be ordered in relation to other adverbs in the same sentence.

10. CONCLUSION

This preliminary survey has looked at some aspects of the syntactic, semantic and morphological properties of some Akan adverbs. *Manner*, *pace* and *aspectual* adverbs are of the same kind and have been shown to typically occur after the verb or VP. They can therefore be termed as V or VP adverbs, (what McCawley, 1998: 664, calls 'V or V'-modifying adverbs'). They have scope over the verb or VP. Others like the *temporal*, *frequency* and *epistemic* adverbs have scope over the entire proposition and can therefore be termed 'S-modifying adverbs' (McCawley, *ibid.*). In terms of position, *Temporal* adverbs may occur immediately after the verb or VP or on the left-periphery of the sentence, that is, they can be fronted for focus. While some *frequency* adverbs may occur after the verb or VP and in sentence-initial position, others can only occur after the verb/VP. Some *epistemic* adverbs can occur both after the verb/VP and in sentence-initial position; but others occur in sentence-initial position.

Table 1 below summarises the foregoing facts about the placement of the different types of Akan adverbs in sentences:

Type of Adverb	S-initial	Unmarked Focus (zero FM)	Marked Focus (FM na/dee)	Pre-verbal (between subject and verb)	S-final (after verb or VP)
Manner/ideophonic	no	no	no	no	yes
Pace	no	no	no	no	yes
Time/Temporal	no	yes	yes	no	yes
Frequency: i.					
daa type	no	yes	no	no	yes
ii. da/pen type	no	no	no	no	yes
Epistemic:					
i. ampa type	yes	no	no	no	yes
ii. ebia type	yes	no	no	no	no

Aspectual	no	no	no	no	yes
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Table 1: Placement of Akan Adverbs within a Sentence

As already discussed in this paper, unlike a language like English where adverbs can occur in pre-verbal position, Akan adverbs cannot be inserted between the subject NP and the verb. The reason for this, as hinted at in section 2, is not readily apparent. One plausible explanation is that most of the words used as adverbs are nouns or adjectives. As nouns, if they appear between the subject NP and the predicate, they would create a situation where the sentence would appear to be carrying two subject NPs. Those that are adjectives or can be used as adjectives may be construed erroneously to be modifying the subject NP. As it has been mentioned already, Akan lacks the kind of morphology that creates adverbs from other word classes.

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