LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN DANGME

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Manuscript received 20 May 2020
Manuscript accepted 5 October 2020
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https://doi.org/10.33736/ils.2283.2020

ABSTRACT

This paper explores locative constructions in Dangme, a language that belongs to the Kwa family of languages. The paper discusses the components of the basic locative construction in Dangme. It also examines the syntax and semantics of verbs of position and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions in Dangme. Data were drawn from mainly primary sources from 14 native speakers of Dangme. I demonstrate that postposition and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme. There are a set of nouns that also function as indicators of location and direction to places. It is to be noted that in locative constructions, the postposition class and the adjunct of location indicate the location of entities in Dangme as in other languages. The postposition class can take the form of a word or a phrase. The phrase is made up of an NP and locative morphemes: mi ‘inside’, se ‘back’, nɔ/hiɔwe ‘top’, kpɛti ‘middle’, he ‘side’ nya ‘edge of, tue ‘edge’ and sisi ‘under’. The data also revealed that in Dangme, a locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an entity at a location.

Keywords: Dangme locative constructions; positional verbs; change of location verbs; postposition

Introduction

Every language has a way of indicating a location for an entity. This could be expressed with a word, or a phrase in a clause or a construction. In some languages, existential, locative and possessive predications are handled by verbs, verbal auxiliaries or copulas with tailored existential, locative or possessive meanings such as “be (at)”, “live”, “have” or “exist”. In other languages, some or all of these functions may be coded by verbs of posture or orientation such as “sit”, “stand” and “lie”, among others (Hellwig, 2003; Newman, 2002). According to Levinson and Meira (2003), a basic locative construction is the prototypical locative construction
in a given language. The prototypical locative construction is understood as a construction used to locate an easily movable inanimate figure with respect to a ground to which it is attached in response to a “where” question (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, p. 15). A locative construction is the construction that occurs in response to a given question of the kind, “where is the X” where X represents the entity the speaker has in mind (Fortis, 2010, p. 1). In Dangme as in other languages, it is common to find out that the locative predications are handled by verbs.

The literature have shown that verbs of position have alternative terms with similar or overlapping semantics in the semantic literature. These include “posture verbs” or “verbs of posture”, “positionals” or “verbs of body position”, and “verbs of spatial configuration” as posited by researchers (Ameka & Levinson, 2007, p. 847; Borneto, 1996, pp. 459-505; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, pp.15-16; Grinevald, 2006, p. 37; Hellwig, 2003, p. 10; Lemmens & Perrez, 2010, pp. 315-325; Levin, 1993, p. 255; Levin & Hovav, 1995, p. 282; Newman, 2002; Rothmayr, 2009, pp. 147-156; Talmy, 1985, 2000a, p. 25; 2007, p. 118 cited in Atintono, 2013, p. 25). According to Atintono (2013, p. 24), the term “positional verbs” is used as a cover term that refers to a class of verbs that semantically code the static assumed body posture or position of animate entities (humans and animals). According to Keegan (2002), posture verbs define a language type in the MPI-based research on basic locative constructions. These verbs can occur in transitive and intransitive constructions.

Newman (2002) uses posture verbs because the contributors focused on human posture while Ameka and Levinson (2007) also use posture and positional verbs as two classes of locative verbs. My use of positional verbs in this paper represents both posture and positional verbs in Dangme. The positional verbs in Dangme as in other Ghanaian languages such as Akan, Ga, Gurene often combine with the postpositions to describe the location of an entity in relation to the ground in a spatial relation.

Dangme is a three-level tone language and it belongs to the Kwa group of Niger-Congo family of languages. It is spoken in two regions of Ghana – Eastern and Greater Accra mainly in South-Eastern Ghana. The people inhabit the coastal area of the Greater Accra Region, east of Accra, and part of the Eastern Region of Ghana. Its closest linguistic neighbours are Ga, Akan and Ewe. Dangme has seven dialects: Ada, Nugo, Kpone, Gbugbla/Prampram, Osudoku, Se, and Krobo (Yilo and Manya). There are several small communities east of the Volta Region that trace their origins to Dangmeland; most of these have shifted to Ewe as the language of daily life, but others have not (Dakubu, 1988; Sprigge, 1969 cited in Ameka and Dakubu, 2008, p. 215). Patches of speakers are also found in Togo- Nyetoe and Gatsi who have been mentioned in Christaller (1888), Rapp (1943), Westermann and Bryan (1952).

The purpose of this paper is to discuss locative constructions in four main categories in Dangme; postpositional class, nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places, positional verbs and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions in Dangme.

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Purpose of study

The aim of this paper is to discuss the formation of locative constructions in Dangme in the following ways:
1) to discuss the simple locative constructions in Dangme;
2) to examine the syntax and the semantics of positional verbs that co-occur with locative elements in Dangme; and
3) to discuss verbs of change of location in basic locative constructions in Dangme.

The findings of the study will add to the relatively limited literature on the grammar of Dangme and also serve as a basis for further research into other areas of the syntax and semantics of Dangme. It is also hoped that the findings of this study will add to the literature on locative constructions universally.

Methodology

The data were collected from 14 native speakers of Dangme. Two from each dialect group in 2019. The primary data were collected through unstructured interviews, overheard spontaneous speech, picture and positional posture discussions, and from texts. Photographs showing various locations of items (Appendix A and B) were also presented for native speakers to describe. The responses of informants were recorded on audio tape and later transcribed. As a native speaker of Dangme, I also provided some of the data for this study. The data elicited and those which were provided by me were however, cross-checked by other native speakers of Dangme.

Locative constructions in Dangme

Locative expressions refer to statements that speakers provide as natural responses to questions demanding the location or whereabouts of people and objects or spontaneous statements that speakers make to draw the attention of the addressee to the location of entities in a discourse context with or without a question posed (Atintono, 2013; Fortis, 2010). Levinson and Wilkins (2006, pp. 1-2) have indicated that basic locative constructions are the expressions that are commonly used in response to a where-question in delivering the basic locative function. Thus, these expressions are the answers one gives to a questioner when a question is posed about the location of an object. In the field of linguistics, a lot of work (Ameka, Witte, & Wilkins, 1999; Bobuafor, 2013; Dorvlo, 2008; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006) has been done in this area.

The simple locative construction in Dangme consists of adpositions. According to Van Valin Jr. & LaPola (1997, p. 52), adpositions consist of prepositions and postpositions (see also Ameka, 1995; Boadi, 1992; Dorvlo, 2008, p. 117; Tallerman, 2014, p. 45). Ameka (1995, p. 145) asserts that some African languages such as Hausa and Maa have both verb-like and noun-like prepositions. In Kwa languages such as Akan, Ewe and Ga, however, the verbal adpositional elements tend to be prepositions and the nominal adpositions tend to be postpositions. The
prepositional phrase in English consists of a preposition which is followed by a prepositional complement normally a noun phrase or a \textit{wh}-clause or a \textit{V}-ing clause (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). Quirk and Greenbaum (1973, p. 143) posit further that “a preposition expresses the relationship between two entities, one being that it is represented by the prepositional complement”. According to Dakubu (1987, p. 83), there is often a relationship between the NP and the VP required in a postposition in Dangme. That is a word is included in the NP that serves in some sense to “locate” the NP in question. Consider the examples of adpositional phrases in italics in (1a-c).

1. (a) The boy is \textit{in} the classroom.
   (b) The stick is \textit{on} the table.
   (c) The dress is \textit{under} the bed.

   From the English examples in (1a-c), we observe that the preposition \textit{in}, \textit{on}, \textit{under} occur at the initial position of the prepositional phrases. Thus, this makes English a prepositional language. By contrast, Dangme is a postpositional language because the adposition occurs usually after the noun phrase or the content question which is referred to as \textit{Wh}-clause in English, it follows. The locative construction in Dangme is made up of a verb, \textit{ngे “is”}, a postpositional phrase which consists of a noun phrase and a postposition. The postposition occurs after the NP (the object), to which the speaker draws the addressee’s attention to. The NP is what Aarts (2001, p. 44) refers to as prepositional object or complement in English. Consider samples of locative constructions in (2a-c) that attest to the claim that Dangme is one of the postpositional languages. Postpositions form a closed class of grammatical class in Dangme as in some other Ghanaian languages.

2. (a) \textit{Gbé ɔ ngè tsō ɔ sìsi.}  
Dog DEF at tree DEF under  
“The dog is under the tree.” \hspace{1cm} (LOCP1)

(b) \textit{Jíjé à ngè ni ɔ yèé ngé?}  
QP 3PL at food DEF eat.PROG at?  
“Where are they eating the food?”

(c) \textit{À ngè ni ɔ yèé ngè kpókú ɔ nyà.}  
They are food DEF eat.PROG at entrance DEF edge  
“They are eating the food at the edge of the entrance.” \hspace{1cm} (LOCP2)

(d) \textit{Jíjé wà màá nà lò ɔ èkò ngé?}  
OP IP FUT see fish DEF some at  
“Where will we get some of the fish to buy?”

(e) \textit{Nyè màá nà èkò ngè jùà à mi.}  
2PL FUT get some at market DEF inside  
“You will get some in the market.”

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We observe in example (2a) that the postposition sísí “under” in the adpositional phrase occurs clause finally. The postposition nyà “edge of” in (2c) points to the position of the postpositional object, kpókú “the entrance”. Similarly, construction (2e) is the response to the question in (2d). Ngè juá à mì “in the market” is the postpositional phrase indicating the location where the object lo “fish/meat” could be bought from.

3. (a) Bùé bágì ɔ’ ngè dákà à mì.
    Bùé. POSS  bag  DEF  COP  box  DEF  inside
    “Bùé’s bag is in the box.” (LOCP3)

(b) Tsɔsɔ̀ló ɔ’ ngè pà à nyà.
    Teacher  DEF  at  river  DEF  mouth.
    “The teacher is at the river bank.” (LOCP4)

(c) Àtí ɔ’ ngè tsū ɔ yī na.
    Cat  DEF  at  room  DEF  head  top.
    “The cat is on top of the roof.” (LOCP5)

(d) Àdétà ngè sùkùù tsū ɔ’ hè.
    Adétà at  school  building  DEF  side
    “Àdétà is by the school building.”

(e) Slèmì tsū ɔ’ ngè mà à kpètí.
    Church  building  DEF  at  town  DEF  middle
    “The chapel is at the centre of the town.”

(f) Kɔɔpɔ̀ ɔ’ ngè nyū ɔ’ hé.
    Cup  DEF  at  water  DEF  face
    “The cup is on the surface of the water.” (LOCP6)

(g) Tòkòtà à ngè ɔkplɔɔ ɔ sísí.
    Foot wear  DEF  at  table  DEF  under
    “The foot wear is under the table.” (LOCP7)

(h) Safie ɔ’ ngè tànki ɔ tūé.
    Key  DEF  at  tank  DEF  edge
    “The key is at the edge of the tank.”

In (3a-h), the verb ngè “at” is a be-located verb that takes arguments that express the location of the object. From the data available, ngè is used in reference to the position or the location of an entity which can be animate (human and animal) and inanimate. Ngè also has the meaning “be.at” or can be interpreted as X, the subject, is at a certain location as discussed in positional verbs and verbs of change of location in section 3 and 4 of this paper. In (3a), Bùé bágì ɔ is the subject of the clause. “Bùé’s bag” is at a certain location dákà à mì “in the box” mì “inside” is the
portion of the box where the subject, \( \text{Bùé bágì ɔ} \), “Bùé’s bag” can be found or located at the time of speech. In (3b), \( \text{tsɔ̀lɔ ɔ} \) “the teacher”, is at a particular point, \( \text{nyà “edge of” of pà à “the river”}. \) In (3c), \( \text{tsù ɔ̀ yì nɔ “at the top of the building” is where the subject, \( \text{àtì ɔ “the cat” is situated at the time of speech. \( \text{Adétà in (3d) can be located by hè “side of” the object of the phrase, sùkùú tsù ɔ “the school building”}. \) In (3e), \( \text{slēmì tsù ɔ “the chapel” is situated at a location, kpētì “middle” of mà à “the town”}. \) In (3f-h), \( \text{kɔ̀pòó ɔ “the cup” is at the surface, hè of nyù ɔ “the water”, tókɔtɔ à “foot wear” is at a point, sìsì under of the object òkplɔɔ ɔ “the table” and safie ɔ “the key” is at a location, tànki ɔ tūé “at the edge of the tank” respectively.}

I discuss locative pronouns that point to places in (4a-5b).

4. (a) Wà bā hìe ɔ lingmî nè ɔ’.
1PL come.AOR here recently this
“We came here recently.”

(b) Sùkùú bímè ngè hìe ɔ.
school children at here
“School children are here.”

5. (a) À hō lēj ɔ̀ yà pìɔ’.
3PL go there PRT now.
“They have just gone there.”

(b) Tɔ ɔ̀ ngè lēj ɔ kpāmisá.
Bottle DEF at there
“The bottle is still there.”

In (4a) and (4b), hìe ɔ “here” is the object of the clause that points to a location. Hìe ɔ “here” in (4a) is followed by an adverbial phrase, lingmî nè ɔ “recently”. In (5a), the locative NP lēj ɔ “there” is preposed in the construction. That is, it has occurred in between the verb phrase hō …yà “have gone”. Lēj ɔ “there” in (5b) has occurred after the verb of be-located ngè as in (4a). According to Van Staden (2007), the ground space indicating verbs are classified into two classes; those encoding location “be prox/ dist/ media-Generic/ down/ up/ seaward/ landward); those encoding direction (same semantic distinction). When an NP with postposition is an adjunct filling the role of an adverbial phrase, it clearly indicates direction or location (Dakubu, 1987:84). Dangme has a set of nouns that function to indicate location and direction to the cardinal points. Consider examples (6a-d).

6. (a) Yo’ ɔ̀ jè bōkà blo kè ma’.
Woman DEF leave east way AUX come.
“The woman is coming from the eastward.”

(b) Kṣhĩ̀ṣ’ nè fià à jè ḋné bɔɔ.
Wind that blow PRT leave westward way.
“The wind that blew was from the west.”
(c) ṭóplèé ɔ jè wò mì blɔ.
Airplane DEF leave sea inside way.
“The airplane appeared from the southern part.”

(d) Sàlífü jè Ghana mà ā è yìtí màjè.
Sàlífü leave Ghana country DEF 3SG.POSS top area
“Sàlífü comes from the northern part of Ghana.”

The locative nouns böká “east”, àné “west” and the descriptive nouns, wò mì blɔ” south” and yìtí màjè “north” locate the cardinal points in Dangme.

**Positional verbs of Dangme**

Positional verbs are those verbs which, in combination with one of several locational preverbs, may appear in the basic construction that functions as an answer to a “where” question, the so called basic locative construction (Kutscher & Genc, 2007). According to Ameka and Levinson (2007), in addition to the prepositions and postpositions used in expressing locative statements, there are many more languages that have a set of alternative verbs or verbal affixes such as verb of “sitting”, “standing” and “lying”. The verbs, “sit”, “stand” and “hang”, etc. are classified according to which verbs they take in both existential and locative statements (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, p. 173). The use of postural verbs to code basic locative functions on Goemai, dates back to the 2003 (Ameka & Levinson, 2007; Hellwig, 2003).

Dangme positional verbs express the posture of an animate (human or animal) in a construction. The posture can be dàá sì “standing”, hìí sì “sitting”, hwɔɔ sì “lying down”, kplàà sì “hanging” or “dangling”, sɔɔ sì “squatting”, kplàa sì “kneeling down” and kpásà sì “leaning”. These states, according to Keegan (2002), are typically entered into through relatively brief movements. They code a static position of animate and inanimate entities. Posture verbs according to Fortis (2010, p. 4) and Atintono (2013, p. 183), constitute a small set, often with an anthropomorphic source such as “sit”, “stand”, “lie” though not exclusively “hang” which often have causative counterparts. They have a “sortal” character, i.e. they classify their subject nominal concepts by semantic criteria (Ameka & Levinson, 2007, p. 859). Position verbs indicate the positions that verbs assume (move to) and the positions such verbs currently occupied (Atintono, 2013). It is to be noted that these verbs strictly mean "come to be in X position" where “X” can be "sitting", "lying", "standing", "leaning against" or "hanging". That is, to be: at---, on---, in---, by--- position and become "sitting", "lying", "standing", "leaning against" or "hanging" that are used in expressing locative function (Ameka, 1999; Dakubu & Ford, 1988). Dangme positional verbs denote the posture of animate and inanimate entities and have causative meaning. They are in the form of phrasal verbs.

In Dangme as in English, phrasal verbs are made of two parts: a base verb and a word that is either a postposition or an adverb particle. These phrasal verbs occur as a V + Particle. It is not always possible to guess the meaning of a phrasal

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verb from the individual morphemes that constitute the word as indicated above. They occur as postpositions. These postpositions denote change of positions. They include:

7. (a) *hìí sì*  “sitting”
   (b) *kpláá sì*  “at kneeling position”
       sit down  kneel down
   (c) *dàá sì*  “standing”
   (d) *tà sì*  “get up/stand up”
       stand down  rise down
   (e) *hwɔ̀ sì*  “lying down”
   (f) *kpásà sì*  “lean against”
       lie down  lean down
   (g) *ngɔ̀ fɔ̀ sì*  “put (lying down)”
   (h) *wó da sì*  “put (standing)”
       take put down  take stand down
   (i) *bèlé sì/ kpláá sì*  “hanging”
   (j) *bile sì/fìá sì*  “lie prostrate”
       hang down  lie down straight

*Dàá sì* “standing” is a posture verb that indicates that the reference is supported from the ground and points vertically upwards. *Dàá sì* “standing”, applies both to animate and inanimate entities. For instance: *Tawiah dàá sì*. “Tawiah, is at a standing position” (on or in or by or under something, or at a location). *Hìí sì* “sitting” is used to denote a stable position for animate and inanimate entities on the surface of an object. For example, *Gad hìí sì*. “Gad is at a sitting position” (on or in or by or under something or at a location). *Kpláà sì* “hanging” or “dangling” is used to refer to an object tied to one end upwards and pulling down vertically from the point of the attachment, that is, a “hang” verb describes an entity suspending on the surface of the ground as in *kpà à kpláà sì* “the rope is hanging” (on or in or by or under something or against something, from a direction or at a location). *Sɔɔ̀ sì “squatting” refers to a postural shape. It is a verb used to denote entities that are at the lowering position of the body with reference to folding of the legs at the knee level. *Nàkí sɔɔ̀ sì*. “Nàkí is at a squatting position” (on or in something, or at a location).

*Kpásà sì* “lean against” is used for entities that are positioned diagonally with their tips against the edge of the upper part of the entity receiving support as exemplified in *Tsàátsé kpásà sì ngɛ̀ gli ɔ he*. “Father is leaning against the wall”. *Hwɔɔ̀ sì* “lie down” is a positional verb mostly predicated the posture of an animate
entity on a ground surface. The verb, ɛɔɔ sì “lie down” is, however, used for inanimate entities to express the same meaning as hwɔɔ sì. These verbs of position can occur with postpositions to indicate the location of the postures expressed by the verbs as exemplified in (7-8).

8. (a) Tɛɛ hwɔɔ sì ngɛ mǎngòó tsō c sisi.  
Teye lying down at mango tree DEF under  
“Teye is lying down under the mango tree.”

(b) Tsō ɔɔ sì ngɛ blɔ c mì.  
Tree DEF lie down at path DEF inside  
“The stick is lying in the middle of the path.”

Hwɔɔ sì and ɔɔ sì express the posture of the entities at a location, ngɛ mǎngòó tsō c sisi, “under the mango tree” and ngɛ blɔ c mì, “in the middle of the path” in (7a-b). The objects of the postpositional phrases in (8a & b), mǎngòó tsō c “the mango tree” and blɔ c “the path” are preposed. That is the postpositions ɛɔɔ sì and f ɔɔ sì have become ngɛ... sisi “at... under” and ngɛ... mì “at...inside”. The positional verbs in Dangme often combine with postpositional phrases to describe the location of an entity in relation to a ground in a spatial relation. The entity designates the object that is located (Talmy, 1985, pp. 60-61; 2000a, pp. 311-315, 2007, p. 70; Levinson, 1992, p. 11). The ground acts as the reference point or the place where the figure is located (Talmy, 2000a, p. 312; 2000b, p. 25). Consider these examples (9):

9. (a) Nyumu c hii si ngɛ se c mì.  
Man DEF sit.PROG down be.at chair DEF inside. (PPOS1)  
“The man is sitting in the chair.”

(b) Bímwoyo c hwɔɔ sì ngɛ sà à nɔ.  
Baby DEF lie.PROG down be.at mat DEF on.  
(PPOS2)

(c) Nàkí kpláá sì ngɛ zugba.  
Nàkí kneel.PROG down be.at ground.  
“Nàkí is at a kneeling position on the ground.” (PPOS3)

(d) Sìàde′ sø c ngɛ əgbɔ c nyà.  
Sìàde squat.PROG down be.at gate DEF mouth.  
“Sìàde′ is at a squatting position at the entrance of the gate.” (PPOS4)

(e) Àdò kpásà sì ngɛ gli c hê.  
Àdò lean.PERF down be.at wall DEF side.  
“Àdò has leaned against the wall.” (PPOS5)
The positional verbs in the constructions in (9a-e) express stative locative relations. The entities that have assumed the varied positions and postures in sentences (9a-e) are represented by the nouns in the subject positions: Nyúmû ‘the man’ in (9a), bimwọyo ‘the baby’ in (9b), Nákí ‘a personal name’ in (9c), Siáde ‘a personal name’ in (8d) and Àdó ‘a personal name’. The subject NPs are human nouns whose body positions are described by the posture predicates híi sì “be sitting”, hwo ɔ sì “be lying”, kpáá ɔ sì “be kneeling” sáɔ sì “be squatting” and kpásà sì “be leaning against”. As in (8a-b), the objects of (9a-b) and (9d-e): se’ɛ ‘the chair’, sà ɔ “the mat”, àɠbọ ɔ “the gate” and gli ɔ “the wall” - have occurred in between the locative markers: ngé ᵐí “is inside”, ngé ⁿọ “is on top”, ngé ⁿyá “at the entrance” and ngé ʰé “by the side”. (9c) however, points to a location represented by zuɡba “ground”.

10. (a) Ngmòngmlòkí hí nyúmû ɔ sì ngé tsṳ ɔ sè. 
Ngmòngmlòkí sit man DEF down at house DEF POSTPOS
‘Ngmòngmlòkí put the man at a sitting position at the back of the house.’

(b) Núɛ j kpáá jokùsɛ ɔ sì ngé yálɛ ɔ mì nè ɛb, jé ɛlɛ,
Núɛ kneel child DEF down at yard DEF inside when 3SG insult
SG.OBJ
‘Núɛ, put the child to a kneeling position in the yard when he/she insulted him.’

In (10a), Ngmòngmlòkí caused nyúmû ɔ “the man” to be at a sitting position at a location, ngé tsṳ ɔ sè “at the back of the house”. In (10b), the subject, Núɛ, moved the object jokùsɛ ɔ “the child” from an unspecified position at time one (t₁) to kpáá ɔ sì “a kneeling position” at a subsequent time two (t₂) at a location, ngé yálɛ ɔ mì “in the yard” for insulting him. In the syntax, this form of verbs involves a separate rule which shifts complements one step to the left of the main verb in a transitive construction. For instance, hí sì “sit down”, kpáá ɔ sì “kneel down” with the objects nyúmû ɔ “the man” and jokùsɛ ɔ “the child” in (10a) and (10b) respectively, will become hí nyúmû ɔ sì “sit the man down” and kpáá jokùsɛ ɔ sì “put the child at a kneeling position”. Also in (11), a verb like kpásà ɔ sì “lean against” plus an object pàmplọɔ “bamboo” will become kpásà pàmplọɔ sì “lean the bamboo against something” as in the transitive example in (11a). Thus, kpásà ɔ sì + object → kpásà + object + sì.

Position verbs can be expressed transitively and intransitively in Dangme as in other languages. The transitive verbs of change of position are causative. They are verbs of motion that indicate the position in which the direct object is placed. Thus, position verbs express the meaning that an entity is causing another entity (the object) to be placed in a certain position with respect to the ground which can be “be in a position” of sitting, standing, lying, hanging, etc. That is the stative locative constructions are used to code “be in a position”.

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11. (a) Jàbàté kpásà pàmplòó sì ngé gbògbò hè.
Jàbàté lean bamboo down by wall DEF side
‘Jàbàté lean bamboo against a wall.’ (PPOS6)

(b) Pàmplòó kpásà sì ngé gbògbò hè.
Bamboo lean down by wall side
‘A bamboo is leaned against a wall.’

12. (a) Kúmá bèlè kpà à sì ngé tsō ó nà.
Kúmá hang.PERF rope DEF down by tree.POSS DEF top
‘Kúmá hanged the rope to the tree.’

(b) Kpà à bèlè sì ngé tsō ó nà.
rope DEF hang.IPFT down by tree.POSS DEF to
‘The rope hangs on the tree.’

Thus, in (11a) the direct object, pàmplòó “bamboo” moved to be at a leaning position at a location, gbògbò hè “by the wall” by Jabate. The intransitive verbs distinguish between verbs of motion, which indicate the position where the subject currently occupies. Thus, "come to be in a standing position" only if the previous position is lying or sitting and from a standing position in one place to another standing position. The original position of the theme is not expressed, but, the new position is denoted by postposition. In the intransitive example in (11b), the new position of the subject, pàmplòó is indicated by the position kpásà sì “lean down” at a location, gbògbò hè “by the wall”. In (11b), a resultative state of the new position pàmplòó “bamboo” has assumed, is presented. Thus, the subject for the new position is covert or not expressed.

The example in (12a) indicates a change of position of the object kpà à “the rope”, from a lower level to a hanging position. This change of position came about as a result of an action initiated by the subject, Kúmá. The phrasal verb, bèlè sì “hang down” means “come to be in a hanging position” ngé tsō ó nà “on the tree” is the location goal of the object. The phrasal verb, bèlè sì “hang down” has become discontinuous in the transitive sentence of (12a); the object kpà à “the rope” appears in between the verb bèlè “hang” and its postposition sì “down”. Hang is used to indicate that the object, kpà à “the rope” is supported from above. This means that the rope is attached only to one point of the tree. The result of the action of the subject, Kúmá, is the current position the object kpà à has assumed. In other words, X brought it about that Y had to change position and became placed up high at location two, on the tree. In (12b) on the other hand, the object, kpà à “the rope” fills in the subject position since the subject position of the clause was vacant. The verb bèlè sì “hang down” is not discontinuous as in (12a) simply because, the use of bèlè sì in (12b) does not require a complement as in (12a). Sentence (12a) implies that (x), Kúmá did something that brought it about that (y), kpà à “the rope” has come to be at a hanging position at a location on the tree. The semantics of sentence (12b) is that (y) has come to be in a hanging position at a location.
Consider other verbs of change of position in (13a-14b).

13. (a) Dèdé hwo sì è bì sì ngé tsù sì mì.
Dèdè lay.PERF 3SG.POSS child. DEF down in room DEF inside
“Dèdè put her child to bed in the room.”

(b) Dèdé bì sì hwo sì ngé tsù sì mì.
Dèdè.POSS child. DEF lie down in room DEF inside
“Dèdè’s child is lying in the room.”

14. (a) Amúzù kpásà àtsilé sì ngé gbógòbò sì hè.
Amúzù lean ladder DEF against at wall DEF side
“Amúzù leaned the ladder against the wall.
“Amúzù caused the ladder to be by the wall.”

(b) Àtsilé sì kpásà sì ngé gbógòbò sì hè.
ladder DEF lean against at wall DEF side
“The ladder leans against the wall.” (PPOS7)

In (13a), Dèdè and è bì sì “her child” are the NPs of the sentence. Hwo sì “lying” is a verb of posture. Dèdè is the subject of the clause and è bì sì “her child” is the object-undergoer of the action of move designated by hwo sì “be in a lying position”. As in (13a), the phrasal verb of (13a) is also discontinuous with its object intervening. This action of change of position initiated by the subject is expressed by the verb phrase hwo sì “lying down” which co-occurs with the postpositional phrase, ngé tsù sì mì “in the room”. The postpositional phrase indicates the location where Dèdè bì sì “Dede’s child” currently lies. The verb, hwo sì “lying down” implies that Dèdè bì sì is being supported from the ground. The result of the action of the subject, Dèdè, is the current position the object, è bì sì, has assumed at a location. Clause (13b) as in (12b) has the object of hwo sì “be in a lying position” as the subject of the intransitive clause. By contrast, the verb phrase, hwo sì is not discontinuous as in (13b). The semantics of clause (13a) is that (x), Dèdè, brought it about that è bì sì “her child” became at a lying position in a room. While clause (13b) means that (y) has come to be in a lying position in a room.

In (14a), Amúzù is the subject of change of position and àtsilé sì “the ladder” is the complement of the verb phrase kpásà sì “lean against”. Àtsilé sì “the ladder” is the object of the clause which change of position is attributed to Amúzù, the subject. The new position of the ladder has been indicated by the predicate, kpásà sì “lean against” at a location, ngé gbógòbò sì hè “by the wall”. Kpásà sì in (14a) is discontinuous as in (12a & 13a). “Lean against” is used to indicate that the object, àtsilé sì “the ladder”, is supported from the side of the wall. This means that the ladder is attached to one side of the wall. The result of the action of Amúzù, is the current position the object, àtsilé sì, has occupied. In other words, X causes Y to change position at time one (t₁) and become placed by the side of the wall at a subsequent time two (t₂). Ngé gbógòbò sì hè “by the wall” is an adjunct of location. Example (14a) denotes that (x), Amúzù did something that resulted in (y), àtsilé coming to be at a position of leaning at a location, ngé gbógòbò sì hè “by the wall”.

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The semantics of sentence (14b) is that (y) has come to be in a leaning position by the wall.

**Verbs of change of location**

In the previous section, I dealt with phrasal verbs of change of position. In this section, I discuss lexical causative verbs that denote a change of location in an entity at locations expressed by the postposition class or adjunct of location. They express the notion of “be.on”, “be.at”, “be.in”, “be.by” and “hang” (see Essegbey as cited in Ameka & Levinson, 2007; Ameka, de Witte, & Wilkins, 1999).

Positional and locational verbs employ almost the same postpositions to express change of position or location, but in change of position, the postpositional phrase focusses on the positioning of the object. Change of location however, has more to do with a place. Some postpositions and adverbs especially of place used to denote a change of location in Dangme include:

15. hè “side” nɔ̀ “on” mì “in/inside” zùgbá “(on the)ground” sìsi “down/downstairs” wɛ mì “in the house” hɛ mì “in front of” hɛ “place”

These postpositions co-occur with lexical verbs to denote the change of location in objects. A verb of this nature requires an actor/causer (initiator of the process of change of location), object-patient-theme and a location where the patient-theme is deposited as expressed by the locative complement. In addition, the lexical verb with an adverb of place can also be used to express location in Dangme. Verbs made complete by postpositional phrases to illustrate change of location include:

16. fá “order” plé/kpá “pour” kè “take” fɔ̀ “put” tsì  nyà “detain” bú nyà “cover”

These verbs can be used transitively and intransitively. I now examine transitive sentences that express cause-and-effect relation only in locative constructions in Dangme. Consider sentences (17-23):

17. Dóósi fá ɛkùafɔ̀ kè ɛ jì hì tsù sìsis. Dóósi ordered Àkùafò to sit at the ground floor of the building.

18. Batsá plé/kpá nyù ɔ kè neat zùgbá à nɔ̀. Batsá poured the water into ground.OBLQ DEF on “Batsá poured the water on to the ground.”


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In (17), Dôôsì is the subject and Àkùàfò is the grammatical object of the clause. The verb of the predicate, yàò “go sit” is made complete in causation with the locative phrase tsù ɔ̀ sìsì “under the tree”. Tsù ɔ̀ sìsì is an adverb of place that indicates the new location of Àkùàfò. This means that Dôôsì causes Àkùàfò to change location and be at the ground floor of the building. Thus, the cause is in fá “order”. This implies that but for the order from Dôôsì at an earlier time one (t₁), Àkùàfò would not have been sitting at that new location tsù ɔ̀ sìsì at that particular time which is at a subsequent time two (t₂).

The verb plé/kpá “pour” takes two NPs: Bâtsá is the subject and nyù ɔ̀ “the water” is the complement of the action of plé/kpá. Nyù ɔ̀ “the water” is the object whose position has been changed. It is said that Bâtsá, the subject is responsible for the new location of the object nyù ɔ̀. This change in location has been expressed by the discontinuous VP in the predicate, plé ... püé “poured on to”. On the floor, zügbà à nỳù is therefore the new location of the theme, nyù. This means that the water would not have been at that new location zügbà à nỳù “on the floor” at that subsequent time (t₂) if Bâtsá has not, at an earlier time (t₁), caused it to happen.

Sentence (19) has kòjól ɔ̀ “the judge” as the subject and jùl ɔ̀ “the thief” is the theme whose position is assigned by the verb wò “put”. The subject, kòjól ɔ̀ “the judge” is construed as being responsible for the action of change of location from an unexpressed location of the theme, jùl ɔ̀ “the thief” into a prison’s cells. This action of the subject is expressed by the lexical causative verb wò “put” and the postpositional phrase, tsu mi “in cells” at (t₁). The object would not have been at his current location tsu mi “in to prison cell”, if the subject, kòjól ɔ̀ has not, at an earlier time (t₁), caused him to move from the unexpressed position.

I now examine another group of verbs of location constructions in (20-22) which become discontinuous as in the transitive constructions discussed in (11a, 12a & 13a).

20. Sâbúkí kē pléêtè ṣ̣ fō sē ṣ̣ nō. Sâbúkí. take plate DEF put chair OBLQ, DEF on. “Sâbúkí put the plate on the chair.”

There are two participants in (20) as in (11a), (12a), (13a), (14) and (17). These are Sâbúkí and pléêtè ɔ̀ “the plate”. Sâbúkí is the subject for the phrasal verb kē fō “take put”. The postpositional phrase sē ɔ̀ nō “on the chair” indicates the new location of the theme. The subject is responsible for the change of location of the object, pléêtè ɔ̀ “the plate”. This change of position would not have happened at (t₁) if Sâbúkí has not initiated an action which moves the object at an earlier time (t₁). The sentence denotes that (x), Sâbúkí in (17) changed the location of (y), pléêtè “plate” by placing it not at its original point but on the chair, sē ɔ̀ nō.

21. Yâw kē sîká à fō okplōs ṣ̣ nō. Yâw take money DEF put table DEF top “Yâw put the money on top of the table.”
In (21), Yàò, the subject of the clause changed the position of sìká à “the money” by moving it from an unexpressed location to on to the table. Yàò is therefore the agent of kὲ fɔ̀ “put” and sìká à “the money” is the undergoer of the action initiated by Yàò. The original location of the sìká à “the money” in sentence (21), has been changed by the action of the subject. Yàò’s action is expressed by the phrasal verb kὲ...fɔ̀ “put” and the postpositional phrase òkplọ̀ à nà “on the top of the table.”

It is observed that sentences (19-21) make use of the lexical verb wò and the phrasal verb kὲ fɔ̀ both translating as “put” and tsi nyà “detain” in (21) and (22) to express cause which move objects from one location to another. The structure of the verb kὲ fɔ̀ “put” and tsi nyà “detain” have an order in the syntax where the object is moved in between the two locative verbs (pre-posed) as discussed earlier in this paper. Each of the actions expressed are triggered off by subjects whose earlier actions resulted in relocating the objects.

22. Dákità à tsi Màámlé nyà ngé tsámi hé à.  
Doctor DET detain Màámlé body-part at hospital.OBLQ place DET  
“The doctor detained Màámlé at the hospital.”

Change of location verbs also expresses various degrees in direct and indirect causative. These verbs typically express movement, manner and path or goal. Path or goal information is expressed by locative nouns. The kind of change this type of verbs denotes is physical. Verbs of change of location in Dangme can be in the form of phrasal verbs. These include:

23. (a) mà fo kὲ jè  
"run race move leave”  
(b) tè kὲ jè  
“fly move leave”

(c) tè sì kὲ jè  
“get up/wake up move leave”

(d) nyëë kὲ hò  
“walk move go”

(e) tìòó kὲ bè (kὲ hò)  
“carry move pass (move go”)  
(f) wo zí  
“vanish”

(g) lá kὲ jè/bà/hò  
“sing move leave/com/e/go”  
(h) jè kὲ bà/yà  
“leave move come/go”

Consider the basic sentences and causative sentences that express a change of location in Dangme. The basic sentences are non-causative.

24. (a) Dèdé mà fo kὲ jè Sékésùá.  
Dèdé run.AOR race move away from Sékésùá.  
“Dèdé ran away from Sékésùá.”

(b) Tsájr jà hà Dèdé mà fo kὲ jè Sékésùá.  
Teacher DET make.AOR Dèdé run race move from Sékésùá.  
“The teacher caused Dèdé to run away from Sékésùá.”

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25. (a) Òkó tè sì kὲ jè è máhé ɔ̀ mì. Òkó wake.AOR up move from 3SG.OBJ.POSS sleep DEF inside “Òkó woke up.”

(b) Ngmlàá à há Òkó j tè sì kὲ jè è máhé ɔ̀ mì. Noise DEF make.AOR Okoj wake up move from 3SGi.OBJ.POSS sleep DEF inside “The noise caused Oko to wake up from his sleep.”

In examples (24a) Dèdé is the subject of the predicate, mà fo “run”. The intransitive sentence in (24a) though declarative, does not express any causative meaning. Thus, it has not pointed out any cause of the action of mà fo “run” undergone by the subject, Dèdé in the syntax.

Example (24b) however, has two clauses. A cause clause, (i) tsšślɔ́ ɔ́ hà “the teacher make” and the result clause, (ii) Dèdé mà fo kὲ jè Sékésùá “Dèdé run away from Sékésùá”. Tsšślɔ́ ɔ́ is the subject and actor of the predicate, hà and Dèdé is the subject-Undergoer of mà fo “run race” expressed in the second clause of result in (ii). The verb phrase mà fo designates a change of position initiated by the subject-agent, tsšślɔ́ ɔ́. This sentence expresses two actions in a process. Firstly, the object “run” mà fo from a place, Sékésùá and then “moved away” kὲ jè “move from” to a second position not expressed by the syntax. Sékésùá is a locative noun that indicates the location of the object at (t1). This verb of motion in (24b) implies volition, energy exertion and control. Change of position indicated in (24a) has not expressed any causer but (24b) falls in the domain of direct causation.

Sentence (25a), just as (24a), is a simple declarative one that has the phrasal verb tè sì “wake up” which designates a change of position. On the other hand, (25b) is bi-clausal, a cause clause, (i) ngmlàá à hà “the noise cause” and a result clause, (ii) Òkọ́ tè sì kὲ jè è máhé ɔ̀ mì an expressed causer ngmlàá à “the noise” as the subject of the sentence. Òkọ́ is the patient of cause of hà and the subject of the result clause. The verb phrase, tè sì kὲ jè “woke up from” expresses two actions involved in a process. Firstly, the object “woke up” tè sì from a position of lying and then “moved from” kὲ jè, máhé ɔ̀ mì “from sleep” the second position. Máhé ɔ̀ mì is a postpositional phrase denoting the location of object at (t1). Ngmlàá à in the cause clause of (i), is responsible for the change in the position express by tè sì kὲ jè “woke up, moved from”. The result clause in (ii) is the sentential complement of hà. Constructions (26a-27b) give us examples of specified new locations of the objects.

26. Àdú há nè dákità ko jè Akosombo ba tsá Àdú make COMP doctor INDEF from Akosombo come heal è huno à. 3SG.POSS husband DEF Àdú made a doctor move from Akosombo to heal her husband
“Àdú caused a doctor to move from Akosombo to heal her husband.”
(Asante 1972, p.33)

27. (a) Ehìmó há Nàtë tló mádàá kè jè Òbényëmí
Ehimó make Nàtë carry plantain move from Òbényëmí
kè yā Mányàkpöngúnɔ.
move to Mányàkpöngúnɔ
“Ehimó made Nàtë carried plantain from Òbényëmí to Mányàkpöngúnɔ.”

(b) Akrobettoo mane kénámí kè jè Asésèwà yà há Tèè ngè Àdàá.
Akrobettoo send fried fish move from Asésèwà go give Tèè at Àdàá
“Akrobettoo sent some fried fish from Asésèwà to Teye at Ada.”

As in (25), example (26) has two clauses, a cause clause and a result clause. Àdú is the subject and the initiator of the discontinuous VP jè... ba tsá “leave...come heal” in the embedded clause of result. The verb phrase of the embedded clause, jè... ba tsá entails movement from one location to another location, that is, from Akosombo to an unspecified destination. Dskítà ko “a doctor”, is the subject of the second clause and the entity that Àdú has caused to relocate. È huno ɔ “her husband” is the object of tsá “heal”, the new state of the object-patient, and the result of há “make”, while Akosombo is the adverb of place. This implies that, Àdú huno ɔ “Adu’s husband” would not have been healed at that particular time (t₂) if the intermediary subject, dskítà ko “a doctor” has not at an earlier time (t₁) moved from the said location, Akosombo to the new location (not specified in the syntax) to treat him.

We observe that examples (27a-b) entail movement of the direct objects mádàá “plantain” in (27a) and kénámí “fried fish” in (27b) from one location to the other. In (27a), the direct object, mádàá “plantain” changes location from Òbényëmí, the original base to a new location, Mányàkpöngûnɔ as a result of Nàtë carrying it from its original location at an earlier time one (t₁). Similarly, kénámí “fried fish”; the direct object of construction (27b) is relocated from Asésèwà to Àdàá, the new location.

Conclusion

This paper explored the formation of locative constructions in four categories in Dangme; the use of the postpositional class, nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places, positional verbs and verbs of change of location that occur with postpositions and adverbs of location in locative constructions in Dangme. The data showed that postpositions and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme.

The paper revealed that locative constructions in Dangme can take the form of postpositions which are made up of an NP and locative morphemes: mi “inside”, se “back”, nɔ/ hìwɛ “top”, kpeti “middle”, he “side”, nya “edge of, tue “edge”, sisi “down”; and locative nouns such as zügbà “ground”, hiɛɛ “here”, lɛjɛɛ “there”,
bōká “east”, ànɛ́ “west”, wò mì blɔ “south” and yìtí màjè “north”. The data have shown that bōká “east”, ànɛ́ “west”, wò mì blɔ “south” and yìtí màjè “north” can be used to mark cardinal relations in locative constructions as exemplified in (6). In dealing with the locative NP hiɛ́ “here” and lējɛ́ “there”, it is observed that each of these NPs can occur with adverb of time as an object of a locative construction as in (4a-4b) and (5a-5b).

In dealing with verbs, it has been shown that in Dangme, there are quite a number of locative predicates used to express causation. They specify the positions or locations assumed by entities. Some of these verbs could however, refer to a number of postures such as sitting, hiɛ́ sì, standing dǎά sì, lying, hwɔɔ sì, hanging, leaning against something kpɔsɔ sì, kneeling, kpɔlàà sì, squatting, sɔɔ sì that the object may have assumed. These posture verbs signal the relationship between the objects and the ground which is expressed in Dangme by sì “down”. It is to be noted that in Dangme, a locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an animate or an inanimate entity at a location. Positional or locative causative verbs indicate re-location of the object in a sentence. In other words, they are characterised by motion.

It is also observed that the verbs of change of location: kɛ̀ fɔ̀ “put”, wò “put” tsì nɔ̀ “detain” are used to indicate a re-location of the object in a sentence. Each of these transitive verbs indicates various positions assumed by the object of the clause. The said positions are complemented by postpositions such as zuɔgbɔ “on the ground”, mwɔ ꙸ “into prison cell”, nɔ̀ “on”, ngɛ́ tsɔmɔ hɛ̀ “at the hospital”, gbɔgbɔ ꙸ hɛ̀ “by the wall”. In the intransitive clauses, the themes assume the subject’s positions of their respective clauses because the subject positions are not filled. They result in the change of location in the objects.

In conclusion, the Dangme locative constructions are composed from the basic locative construction, a construction with a set of nouns that function to indicate location and direction to places and verbs of position and verbs of change of location that function in the basic locative constructions to indicate the location of entities. It is to be noted that postposition and locative nouns mainly express location in Dangme. The postposition class can take the form of a word or a phrase. The phrase is made up of an NP and locative morphemes: mi “inside”, se “back”, nɔ/hiɔwe “top”, kpeti “middle”, he “side” nɔ “edge of, tue “edge” and sisi “down”. A locative morpheme or phrase can co-occur with a positional verb in a construction to express the position of an entity at a location. The findings of the paper will add up to the limited literature on the language and to the study of locative constructions universally.

Abbreviations

| ADJ | ADJective |
| ADV | ADeverb |
| AOR | Aorist |
| CAUSE | Causative |
| DEF | Definite Article |
| FOC | Focus |

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APPENDIX A

Pictures in Appendix A represents photos pointing at some locative positions in Dangme discussed in the paper. They are labeled as LOCP.

1. A dog under a tree. (LOCP1)

2. Some people eating at an entrance of a door. (LOCP2)

3. A bag in a box. (LOCP3)

4. A teacher at the river bank. (LOCP4)
5. A cat on a roof top. (LOCP5)

6. A cup on the surface of water. (LOCP6)

7. A pair of sandals under a table. (LOCP7)
8. A nice car parked in front of a house. (LOCP8)

https://www.bing.com/images/search/
APPENDIX B

Pictures under this section represent various positions and postures of entities discussed in Dangme. Each of these photos is prefixed with PPOS...

1. A man sitting on a chair. (PPOS1)

![A man sitting on a chair.](image1)

2. A baby lying down on a mat. (PPOS2)

![A baby lying down on a mat.](image2)

3. Someone at a kneeling position. (PPOS3)

![Someone at a kneeling position.](image3)

4. A man at a squatting position. (PPOS4)

![A man at a squatting position.](image4)

5. A man leaning against a wall. (PPOS5)

![A man leaning against a wall.](image5)
6. A rope hanging on something. (PPOS6)

7. A ladder leaning against a wall. (PPOS7)

8. A lady at a standing position. (PPOS8)