

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF PHRASAL VERBS IN NZEMA

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY



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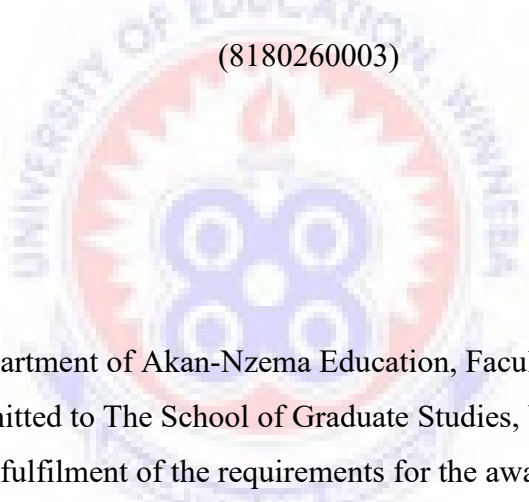
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2020



DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

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

SIGNATURE:.....

DATE:.....

SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION

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

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I dedicate this work to my parents especially my mother, Miss Habibata Moro Eshun through whose prayers and support I have come this far.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First person singular
2PL	Second person plural
3SG	Third person singular
3PL	Third person plural
1SG.OBJ	First person singular object
2SG.OBJ	Second person singular object
ADV	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb phrase
AspP	Aspect phrase
CONJ	Conjunction
CMT	Conceptual metaphor theory
DEF	Definite article
DEM	Demonstrative
FOC	Focus marker
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
IC	Inherent complement
ICV	Inherent complement verb
NEG	Negative
NP	Noun phrase
NSID	Native speaker's introspection data
OBJ	object
PST	Past tense
PERF	Perfective
PROG	Progressive
POSS	Possessive
RD	Recorded data
TP	Tense phrase
VP	Verb phrase

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is to offer an analysis of the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in Nzema, a Kwa language spoken mainly in southwestern Ghana and Ivory Coast, by about 330,000 people. This study demonstrated that the Nzema phrasal verb has two compositional elements: a verb and a postposition. It further showed through the principle of transitivity that Nzema phrasal verb can occur in intransitive, transitive and in both transitive and intransitive constructions. In addition, it demonstrated that the possibility of separating the particle from the verb or otherwise is dependent on whether the phrasal verb is used transitively or intransitively. Whereas the particle can be separated from the verb when used transitively, there cannot be any separation when the phrasal verb is used intransitively. Based on semantics, it showed that Nzema phrasal verbs express literal, metaphorical, idiomatic and polysemic meaning. Data for this thesis are drawn from both primary and secondary sources. I use two theoretical frameworks, the X-bar theory by Chomsky (1969) and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as analytical tools for the syntactic and semantic aspects of the thesis respectively.

Key words: Nzema, phrasal verb, transitivity, idiomatic, polysemy, metaphor, syntax.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The focus of this thesis is to present an account on the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in Nzema. A phrasal verb is a kind of multiword expression, which contains more than one token of word but the whole unit exhibits syntactic and semantic features. Biber, Johnson, Conrad & Finnegan (1999: 58-59) define phrasal verbs as “multi-word units consisting of a verb followed by an adverbial particle that have core spatial or locative meanings and they are commonly used with extended meanings.” Courtney (1990) explains this grammatical phenomenon as a combination of a verb and an adverb, or a verb and preposition (or verb with both adverb and preposition).

This thesis focuses on describing the phrasal verbs in Nzema, concentrating on their syntactic and semantic properties. Syntactically, it investigates the structural composition of phrasal verbs and examines the types of phrasal verbs in relation to transitivity. It examines the semantic properties of Nzema phrasal verbs. This study is important because it will fill the gap on the lack of literature on the phenomenon of phrasal verbs not only in Nzema but also in Ghanaian languages in general.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows: Section 1.2 and 1.3 present the background of the language and the study respectively. Followed by statement of the problem presented as 1.3. Section 1.4 outlines the purpose of the study. Objective of the study is presented in section 1.5, whereas the research questions are presented in 1.6, the significant of the study is also outlined as 1.7. The section 1.8 and 1.9 are limitation and delimitation of the study respectively. 1.10 presents the organization of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the language and people of Nzema

According to Simons & Charles (2018), Nzema is a Volta-Comoe (or Southern Bia) language of the Niger-Congo language Phylum of the Kwa language family. It is spoken mainly in the Western part of Ghana and some parts of the La Côte d'Ivoire, both in West Africa. Nzema in Ghana consists of three politically demarcated districts, namely: Jomoro (Nzema West), Ellembele (Nzema Central) and Evaloe (Nzema East) (Annan, 1980). The language, the people and the geographical area where the language is spoken are all known as Nzema (Annan, 1980). It is bordered to the East by the Ahanta, to the North by Aowin (or Anyi) and Wassa to the South by the Gulf of Guinea.

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2010), the population of Nzema in Ghana totaled 298, 430 with Nzema East Municipal: 60,828, Ellembele District: 87,501 and Jomoro District (currently Municipal):150,101.

Nzema, as it is known today was not called Nzema initially (Annan, 1980; Aboagye, 1992) The history of the origin of Nzema dates back to early 2000 BC (Aboagye, 1992). The Nzema people were only a group without a name. The people, who are today called Nzema, migrated with many other groups to the south of the Sahara in order to survive the many wars that broke out in the Sahara Desert and subsequent wars against the Arabs. During their sojourn in the wilderness, they came to settle at Techiman in the Brong Ahafo region. From Techiman, they moved southward to settle along the River Nzi which is North-East of La Côte d'Ivoire. Other settlers behind the River Nzi, that is the Anyi began referring to them as 'Nzi-ma', in the Anyi language which means 'Nzi people.' Later, the people began identifying themselves as Nzi-ma (Aboagye 1992 & Annan 1980).

Again, historically, after settling along the Nzi River, the Anyi did not know who these settlers were, so they started questioning one another “Who are these people?” and their responses were “Yenzema” literally “We don’t know”. It was through this that the people, the language and place came to be known and called Nzema. Nzema is therefore, said to have emerged from *Nzi-ma*, “People along river Nzi” or *Yenzema* “We do not know” (Annan 1980).

Nzema is divided traditionally into five different “states”: Jomoro, Ellembele, Egila, Ajomoro and Evaloe with each state constituting a unique dialect of the language. Differences among the dialects are at the phonological and morphological levels. For instance, “bridge” is called *twene* in Ellembele, but *twen* in Egila. Jomoro and Ellembele refer to ‘rice’ as *awule* whilst /u/ is lengthened in Ajomoro and Egila as *awuule*.

Lexically, *nzosoba* refers to “garden eggs” in Evaloe, *nwomlenle nyenyia* in Jomoro but *ndɔlera* in Ellembele. *Todɔle* refers to “female genital organ” in both Ellembele and Jomoro but *epinli* in Ajomoro and Evaloe whilst it is referred to as *pinli* in Egila. Soup is *tolo* in Jomoro, *subue* in Ellembele and *erisa* in Evaloe and Ajomoro.

Nzema is studied as a subject at all levels of education in Ghana. Nzema is also used for radio and TV broadcasting programmes, particularly on the three radio stations of Nzema namely: Ankobra FM, West End FM and Hope FM. It is also used in Adult Education programmes in Nzema.

1.2 Background of the study

Phrasal verbs have gained considerable attention among scholars such as Kweon (2007) and Cheon (2000) in Korea while Bolinger (1971), Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999), Olson (2013), Kamarudin (2013), Jackendoff (2002) among others have

researched on English phrasal verbs. Raffaelli & Sojat (2010) researched on some Croatian languages while Aldahesh (2017) researched on Arabic. According to (Thim, 2012; Walkova, 2013, Aldahesh, 2017), phrasal verbs were studied in the eighteenth century. Thim (2012) and Iacobini (2009) further explain that the origin of phrasal verbs can be traced back at least to Proto-Germanic and Indo-European languages. This development has been most notable in American English; “Samuel Johnson was considered the first to describe phrasal verbs in 1755, calling them a “composition,” (McArthur 1992: 775).

According to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), only a limited number of languages possess phrasal verbs. Newmeyer (2005:113) confirms this assertion by saying that “...such constructions are less common in other language families and can therefore be considered typologically unusual.” Thim (2012) argues with this notion and further cites examples of phrasal verbs from Danish, Dutch, Norwegian Nynorsk and Swedish, as well as from Afrikaans, Faroese, Icelandic and Yiddish to support the claim that the phrasal verb is certainly not an isolated language-specific phenomenon. I agree with Thim’s assertion since Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) and Laryea (2015) conducted researches on this phenomenon and established its existence in the Akan and Ga languages respectively.

Just as Johnson (1755) referred to phrasal verbs as a “composition”, some scholars refer to them as separable verb (Francis 1958), two-word verbs (Taha 1960; Meyer 1975; Siyanova and Schmitt 2007) and verb-particle combination (Fraser, 1974). Smith (1925) is credited with first in introducing the term ‘phrasal verb.’ Walkova (2013) establishes that the term phrasal verb is mostly used and deep-rooted in Slovak linguistics and this is

confirmed in works such as (Bolinger 1971, Fraser, 1976, Quirk, Greenbaum, & Svartvik 1985, Celce Murcia & Freeman 1999, Cappelle, 2005). The emergence of these different names such as ‘verb-particle combination’, ‘two-word verbs’ is because of its structure; it is regarded as the combination of a verb and one or more particles which together function as a single verb. The particle may be an adverb, a preposition or a word that can act as either an adverb or a preposition such as *put + up*, *settle+ down*, *take +over* in English (Stephens 2002). This work therefore adopts the term “phrasal verb” in the analysis of this phenomenon in Nzema.

Many studies on phrasal verbs such as (Bolinger, 1971, Quirk et al, 1985, McArthur, 1992, Newmeyer, 2005, Olson, 2013, Kamarudin, 2013, Thim 2012, Ghailan, 2015, Epoge, 2016) investigate the syntactic properties of phrasal verbs such as its structure, transitivity, number of particles and functions. Thus, structurally, phrasal verbs consist of a lexical verb and a particle; the particle could be either one or more. On the semantics, it examines the idiomatic, polysemous, homonymous and metaphorical nature of phrasal verbs in different languages.

The researcher intends to employ X-bar theory by Chomsky (1969) in analyzing the syntactic feature of phrasal verbs. The Conceptual Metaphor theory (CMT), a theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is adopted to account for the empirical facts on the semantic analysis of this study.

1.3 Statement of the problem

There have been significant efforts by many Nzema scholars in the study of the language, these include Essuah (1965) and Kwaw (2008), who worked on some aspects

of Nzema grammar, while Ndako (2010) also investigated the syntax and semantics of possessive structures in Nzema. Tomekyin (2008) entails a spectrographic analysis of Nzema vowels and Nyame (2019) studies the Hiatus resolution in Nzema. No attention has however been given to the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in the language yet. This current study therefore takes into account the discussion of the syntax and semantics of Nzema phrasal verbs as a multi verb phenomenon in Nzema. The Nzema phrasal verbs exhibit interesting syntactic and semantic features, which also need analytical attention. For instance, the phrasal verb *dwu aze*, literally ‘get down’ can be used both transitively and intransitively to mean ‘to relinquish a position’ but can only be used intransitively to mean ‘to deliver a child.’ As in

1. a. *Nrenyia ne ε-dwu aze* (NSID)
 Man DEF PERF-drop down
 ‘The man has relinquished his position.’
- b. *Bε-dwula nrenyia ne aze*
 3PL-drop man DEF down
 ‘They have stripped the man of his position.’

Another interesting semantic feature is their ability to express metaphorical, idiomatic and polysemous meaning which is due to how the Nzema conceptualize these notions. For example, the phrasal verb *bɔ aze* literally, to hit down means ‘to die’, ‘to be embarrassed’ and ‘to backslide.’ The different meanings with ‘*bɔ aze*’ are all associated with the literal meaning ‘to hit down, giving the image of someone moving from an upright posture or a higher position to a declined posture of lying on the ground. The sense can be realized, as a dead person can no longer stand, just like something that falls

down. When one backslides, it means s/he has fallen from his status or rank, which indicates a movement from a higher position to a lower one.

This study therefore intends to fill the gap by describing such syntactic and semantic features of the Nzema phrasal verbs by identifying its syntactic and semantic features through appropriate theoretical frameworks. This phenomenon is not widely studied in Ghanaian linguistics therefore, it will serve as a guide for further studies in other Ghanaian languages.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the syntax and semantics of Nzema phrasal verbs. Although widely studied in other languages, the phenomenon is largely ignored in Ghanaian linguistics, making it a relevant field of investigation.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The following objectives underpin this current research:

1. To examine the structural composition of the Nzema phrasal verbs;
2. to explore the various types of phrasal verb with respect to the principles of transitivity;
3. to investigate how the semantic properties of Nzema phrasal verbs are expressed.

1.6 Research questions

The following questions guided the researcher in carrying out the research:

1. What is the structural composition of Nzema phrasal verbs?

2. What are the various types of phrasal verbs with respect to the principles of transitivity?
3. How are the semantic properties of Nzema phrasal verbs expressed?

1.7 Significance of the study

The findings from this data will be significant in many ways.

Firstly, it will serve as the first major work on the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in the language. Therefore, it will complement the efforts of other bodies who aim at documenting the Nzema language.

Again, it will serve as new data to either confirm or reject older findings. This will serve as a motivation and trigger other researchers to investigate into languages where the phenomenon is not yet studied. It will also encourage the study of other linguistic phenomenon less studied in the Ghanaian languages.

Nzema remains one of the Kwa languages that has not received much attention from linguists compared to other Kwa languages such as Akan, Ewe and Ga.

Finally, it will add to existing literature not only on Nzema in particular but also in other Ghanaian languages as a whole.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Nzema, unlike English and other languages, ha fewer documented works on verbs especially on phrasal verbs. Any researcher who studies phrasal verbs would have to collect much of the data from primary sources. Some consultants might have their personal schedules, which may require repetitive visit resulting in excessive use of capital

resource. To limit this challenge, the researcher collaborated with research expertise in collecting the data to avoid prolonging the time for the study.

1.9 Delimitations of the study

The focus of the researcher is on the two major dialects of Nzema; Ellembele and Jomoro. The researcher has chosen these because she is more familiar with them than the other three thus Evaloe, Ajomoro and Egila. Two towns are chosen from each constituency; a district capital and a remote area community. The district capital selected are Nkroful and Half-Assin whiles Kamgbunli and Kengene are the other communities within the districts. These communities were also selected because of the variations in dialects and their occupations, and their proximity to the researcher.

1.10 Organization of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the general introduction to the study, highlighting on thematic aspects such as the language and the people's background information, research problem, objectives, research questions, and the significance of the research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature relevant to this work as well as the theoretical framework underpinning this study. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology. The syntactic structure of phrasal verbs and its properties with regard to the principle of transitivity are the focus of chapter 4. Chapter 5 discusses the semantics of the phrasal verbs under the following themes: Literal, metaphorical, idiomatic and polysemous nature of the phrasal verbs. The final chapter gives a summary of all the chapters, outlines the findings and conclusions of the research. It further makes recommendations for future research on the language.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of related literature that will enhance the understanding of the research questions underpinning this thesis. The theoretical frameworks are also discussed to make it possible to put the study in its proper perspective. The chapter shall proceed as follows. Section 2.1 reviews some relevant literature on linguistic works on the general description of phrasal verbs, followed by 2.2, which discusses the major syntactic features of phrasal verbs in English and some Ghanaian languages. Section 2.3 provides an overview of the semantics of phrasal verbs in English and some Ghanaian languages while section 2.4 presents a discussion on the notion of X-bar syntax, the syntactic framework within which the syntactic analysis is cast. The section also discusses the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the theoretical framework within which the semantic analysis of this thesis is situated. Finally, Section 2.5 presents the interim summary of the chapter.

2.1. Defining phrasal verbs

Generally, there have not been consensus on the definitions of phrasal verbs within the linguistics literature. More particularly on the grammatical status of the constituents in its construction (thus, whether the lexical verb is conveyed by a preposition, a particle and/or an adverb). A phrasal verb is a combination of two or three elements (a lexical verb with a preposition, a lexical verb with an adverb, or a lexical verb with an adverb with a preposition), which function as a single unit of meaning in the sense that its

meaning cannot be inferred from the total sum of the meanings of its separate elements (Courtney 1990, Biber et al 1990, Seidl 1991, Moon 1997, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Rudzka-Ostyn 2003, Uhlířová 2013 Ghailan 2015, Aldahesh 2017). A number of researchers are of the view that the post-verbal particle is neither a preposition nor an adverb as proposed by the above authors but it is rather homophonous with them. For instance, McArthur (1992), Jackendoff (2010), Thim (2012) describe phrasal verbs as a verb paired with a particle that is homophonous with a preposition or an adverb particle. Thus, phrasal verbs constitute two components: a verb and a particle, which is homonymous with an adverb or a preposition, but differs syntactically and semantically. They maintain that the particles are a distinctive category: that is, they are different from adverbs and prepositions.

Cappelle (2005), Thim (2006), Elenbaas (2007) and Olson (2013) further state that the post verbal particle is semantically fused to the verb, and the meaning of the verb with its particle may be significantly different from the verb when it does not have a particle attached to it. Another school of thought considers phrasal verb as combination of a verb and a preposition construction that functions as a single lexical and semantic unit (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik 1985, Side 1990, Darwin & Gray 1999). Mitchell (1958) cited in Laryea (2015) proposes that it is better to abandon the word class approach. Instead, he suggests that phrasal verbs should be treated as a type of verb formed by two words in which the particle forms one grammatical piece with the verbal component.

This study adopts Sekyi-Baidoo's (2006:154) definition of phrasal verbs as "a verb and adposition element combinations which bear a single semantic significance which is different from the meaning of ordinary verb and adposition combination." His view on

the nature of the particle after the verb agrees with Bolinger (1971), Brady (1991), Inage (1991) and Dehé (2002) who describe the post verbal element in phrasal verb construction as a preposition. He again makes mention of postpositions under the umbrella term of adposition just as Svenonius (2004) and Fortis & Fagard (2010) describe all spatial relations being an adverb (behind, over, upwards inside), a preposition or postposition (in, after, on top of, above, below) as adpositions.

Differentiating between a phrasal verb and an ordinary verb and adposition combination, Sekyi-Baidoo establishes that an adposition element does not admit a complementation of the object unlike in the ordinary verb with position compound in which there is necessarily an object complementation. This is in line with the views of Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, 1992 & Svartvik 1985, Side 1990, Darwin & Gray 1999. Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) further explain that a preposition makes a natural unit with the object whereas a particle in phrasal verb construction makes a natural unit with the verb. We can infer from Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) and Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) that when the second element of the phrasal verb admits a complement, the outcome is likely to be an adposition, and when it does not, it is likely to be a particle. Thus, they see the particle as being different from the adposition. Sekyi-Baidoo and Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman's description and explanation of the phrasal verb are suitable for my study, in that it well describes what pertains in some Ghanaian languages as far as the phrasal verb is concerned.

The adposition element in phrasal verbs is regarded and be used as a particle, following Jespersen's (1927) assumption on 'particle' where he considers adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections as one part of speech under the umbrella name 'particle',

Some scholars consider the particle in phrasal verbs as an adverb or a preposition (Yutaka 2013 as cited in Laryea 2015). Therefore, adposition is adopted as the particle element for this study.

Having discussed the general description of phrasal verb and established a working definition for this study, the next effort is on literatures relating to the syntactic and semantic features of phrasal verbs from English and some Ghanaian languages.

2. 1.1.1 Tests for phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs must be distinguished from free combinations of verb and adposition or adverb. These combinations generally resemble one another, as the same element can function as a particle, preposition, or adverb. Therefore, a number of syntactic tests are proposed by many scholars in the literature to prove that a verb + particle combination is indeed a phrasal verb. Such researchers include Fraser (1965, 1970, 1976) Bolinger (1971), Darwin and Gray (1999). These proposed syntactic tests have often been used as analytical criteria in distinguishing phrasal verbs from other combinations of a verb and an adverb or a preposition. Four most commonly used among these proposed tests will be accounted for in this section.

2.1.1.1 Adverb insertion

This test shows that phrasal verbs do not allow the insertion of adverbs between the verb and the particle (Mitchell 1958, Fraser 1976 & Bolinger 1971). Thus, adverb insertion is possible with free combination but not phrasal verb construction. Therefore, this test separates phrasal verbs from free combination. Bolinger (1971) argues that the possibility

of adverb insertion depends on semantic factors: insertion is possible with compositional but not with non-compositional phrasal verbs. Walkova (2013: 47) states that, “the possibility of adverb insertion does not depend on Phrasal verb-hood but rather on the semantic compositionality of the given combination.” To dispute Bolinger’s assertion on the impossibility of the insertion in non-compositional phrasal verbs, Hoeksema & Napoli (2008) provide an example *I got the heck up, Shut the hell up*.

Bolinger (1971) agrees that although adverb insertion is possible but it indicates the degree of bondage or unity between the verb and the particle. This notion is confirmed in Quirk et, al. (1985) intimation that this insertion helps in distinguishing literal from idiomatic meaning of the same phrasal verb. Palmer (1988) also make it clear by stating that an adverb is more likely to be inserted between the elements of a combination if it is not idiomatic. In those cases, in which insertion is possible, a literal interpretation of the meaning of the phrasal verb seems more appropriate, whereas meanings that are more idiomatic are deduced from those cases in which no adverb is inserted between the verb and the particle. This is illustrated in examples (2a & b) below:

2. a. She *brought* the girls *right up*. (She caused the girls to come up the stairs)
- b. She *brought* the girls *up*. (She raised the girls)

(Quirk et al. 1985: 1154)

In the example (2a) where there is the insertion of the adverb, *right* implies that the interpretation of the verb is literal, whereas that of (2b) without adverb is more idiomatic.

From my observation, the examples by Hoeksema & Napoli (2008) and Walkova (2013) such as ‘*the heck*’, ‘*the hell*’ as possible adverbs for insertion are nominal rather than

adverbial. The insertion of adverbs such as ‘*right*’ and ‘*all*’ as in Quirk et al (1985) are possible where there is the presence of a noun phrase. Considering (**she brought right up*). The absence of a noun phrase before the adverb will render the construction ungrammatical. Therefore, the insertion of adverb depends on the presence of a noun phrase.

Laryea (2015) establishes that there cannot be any adverb between the verb and the particle in Ga phrasal verb constructions as in (3a & b). Just like Ga, the insertion of adverb between the verb and particle renders a construction ungrammatical in Nzema as in (3c & d):

3. a. *Gbeke le je mli oye.*
 Child DEF PST-leave inside ADV
 The child quickly dodged.

b. *Gbeke le je oye mli*
 Child DEF PST -leave ADV inside
 ‘The child quickly dodged.’

(Laryea 2015: 39)

c. *Aka ε-zi edweke ehye azo somaa.* (NSID)
 Aka PERF- hit issue DEM on ADV
 ‘Aka has repeated this issue a lot.’

d. **Aka ε-zi edweke ehye somaa azo.*
 Aka PERF- hit issue DEM ADV on
 ‘Aka has repeated this issue a lot.’

The constructions in examples (3a & c) are grammatical since the phrasal verbs *je mli* ‘to leave in/inside’ in Ga and *si zo* ‘hit on’ in Nzema respectively do not have any adverb inserted between them. The adverb succeeds the phrasal verb. However, (3b & d) where the adverbs *oye* ‘quickly’ in Ga and *somaa* ‘a lot’ in Nzema respectively are inserted

between the phrasal verbs render the construction ungrammatical. From the above illustration, we can assert that insertion of adverbs does not possible in Nzema phrasal verb constructions.

2.1.1.2 Particle placement

Scholars have used particle placement as a reliable criterion to differentiate phrasal verbs from other free verb-preposition combinations due to their different syntactic behaviour in relation to substantival and pronominal objects (see Bolinger 1971: 10–11, Fraser 1976: 2, Dušková et al. 1988: 203, Palmer 1988: 219, Biber et al. 1999: 404, Dehe 2002: 76, Quirk et al. 1985: 1156–1157). According to Rodriguez (2013), these tests help to distinguish phrasal verb particles from prepositions. For instance, particles of phrasal verbs can either precede or follow an object which is a noun proper (V+ P+ NP) or (V+NP+P) as in (4a & b) and they always follow a pronominal (direct) object as in (4c). However, they cannot precede pronominal direct object as in (4d) whereas a preposition always precedes an (indirect) object noun phrase regardless of whether its head is a noun or a pronoun as in (5a & b). An example is provided by the phrasal verb ‘get up’ is used in the following:

4. a. She could not *get* her ring *off*.
- b. She could not *get off* her ring.
- c. She could not *get it off*.
- d. *She could not *get off* it.

As opposed to a simple propositional usage

5. a. She *got off* her bicycle.
- b. She *got off* it.
- c. *She *got* her bicycle *off*.

(Dušková et al 1988: 203)

Nevertheless, Fraser (1976: 16–21) and Bolinger (1971: 40) establish that there are cases in which the particle does not behave this way. For instances where a direct object is realized a long or complex noun phrase, the particle cannot follow the direct object even if it is substantival. (* *I called the man who left up*). Similarly, the particle must precede the direct object in constructions involving phrasal verb + direct object + preposition + indirect object. For example, “*The man gave the money out to the poor.*” (Walkova, 2013: 41).

Scholars also explain that the difference in particle placement is determined by the length and/or complexity of the object (Erades 1961, Fraser 1976, Brinton 1988, Gries 2003). The length of a constituent is usually defined in terms of the number of words and/or syllables it has, whereas its complexity mostly depends on the type of syntactic dependents it takes (Gries 2003 & Cappelle 2005).

Although, Gries (2003) has argued that the effect of length and complexity must be analyzed separately, what is true is that both can be said to contribute to the weight of the constituent (see also Cappelle, 2005). The principle of end-weight, according Quirk, et al. (1985) is that, a long object is normally placed after the particle, whereas short ones (such as pronouns) typically occur before it. This criterion would well account for the fact that

usually long or heavy nominal objects as well as participial clauses tend to cause the particle to precede them.

Again, Erades (1961) establishes that what actually seems to condition the position of the object is its news value. That is, the construction with the particle preceding the direct object is preferred in cases where the direct object requires much processing effort on the part of the speaker or hearer (Gries, 2003). Consequently, pronouns which refer to a previously mentioned entity, as well as empty nouns such as things, matter, business, stuff, subject tend to appear before the particle, whereas other noun phrase show variability in terms of whether the referent in them is familiar or not. Eg. *We'll make up a parcel for them ... On the morning of Christmas Eve together we made the parcel up* (Dehé 2002:122-7; Bolinger, 1971; Gries, 2003). Walkavo (2013) explains that this is why particles usually take the post-pronoun position, as pronouns normally represent given information. Focus-receiving pronouns, in contrast, represent new information and therefore appear at the end of a sentence.

It is therefore, necessary to admit that though the majority of phrasal verbs in English admit both *verb + particle + object* and the *verb + object + particle* distribution, the particle placement test cannot be used as an absolute criterion for these constructions. This is because the choice between the two orders depends on complex factors, rather than just the intrinsic characteristics of the combinations themselves. This test too will not be considered in the current study because from all indications, it seems not to be an absolute criterion for distinguishing between phrasal verbs and other verb combinations.

2.1.1.3 Formation of action nominal

Another test for phrasal verbs proposed by Fraser (1976), Bolinger, (1971) and Claridge (2000) is the ability to be nominalized; this implies that true phrasal verbs can be transformed into an action nominal, whereas adpositional phrases cannot. According to Bolinger (1971; 8), it is only transitive phrasal verbs that can transform into nominals given the example in (6) below:

6. He *looked up* the information. → His *looking up* of the information.

The difference between the particle in a phrasal verb construction and the particle in a free combination is that in action nominalization of phrasal verbs, the particle cannot follow the direct object. This is illustrated in (7) below

7. a. His *throwing* of the ball *up* was stupid. (throw up ‘send up in the air’, free combination of verb and adverb)
- b. *His *throwing* of his dinner *up* was stupid. (throw up ‘vomit’, phrasal verb)

(Fraser 1976: 3)

Darwin and Gray (1999:72) also argue that “some transitive combinations that most people would consider phrasal verbs do not form acceptable action nominals.” They illustrate using the following example:

- 8 a. I *came across* an old photograph.
- b. *the *coming across* of an old photograph.

(Darwin and Gray 1999: 72)

Bolinger (1971) states that the possibility of occurrence or non-occurrence of such nominalizations is apparently determined by the nature of the actions involved, rather than by the structure of the phrases. Fraser (1976) then further refines the action nominalization test and adds that the test can be used to separate idiomatic from literal phrasal verbs. Rodriguez (2013) argues that the action nominalization test proposed by Fraser (1974, 1976) works neither for the distinction of phrasal verbs from prepositional verbs, nor for separating idiomatic from literal meanings of phrasal verbs.

Though Rodriguez (2013) disagrees with Fraser's notion in (9a &b), from Fraser (1976), the difference between the particle in a phrasal verb construction and the adverb in a free combination is that in action nominalization of phrasal verbs, the particle can follow the direct object when it is used literally, but cannot when it is metaphorically used.

Declerck (1976) and Lindner (1983) discuss the problematic nature of this test establishing that there is much disagreement among native speakers as to the acceptability of this type of transformations. For some speakers, a transformation such as *His bringing the dinner in* is completely acceptable, whereas others consider it inappropriate. Though there are setbacks to this criterion, it will be considered in the present research to discover the effectiveness of this test.

2.1.1.4 Listing

Another proposed test is that of Bolinger (1971) which defines phrasal verbs by simply listing them. Darwin and Gray (1999) propose that is, it might be better to 'throw out' from the phrasal verb category rather than 'throw in', so following this approach every combination is worth considered a phrasal verb until proven otherwise. Darwin and Gray (1999: 75-76) put it thus:

Rather than excluding a verb + particle combination from the phrasal verb category until it is proven to belong, linguists should consider all verb + particle combination to be potential phrasal verbs until they can be proven otherwise. That is, linguists should make it their business to throw out rather than to throw in.

Therefore, it would rather be useful to group potential phrasal verbs before doing any kind of analysis on them. Bolinger (1971) suggests that the most practical way would be to list the particles, as they are a relatively closed class of words. This means phrasal verbs should be grouped together according to the particle rather than the verb because “the particle is integral to the meaning of the phrasal verb and in some cases carries more weight of meaning than the verb” (Side 1990: 146). Nevertheless, this method has two shortcomings. Firstly, phrasal verbs are very productive with respect to lexical innovations in English. Therefore, the list would not be exhaustive, as new phrasal verbs could be continually added to it. The second problem is that “it would vary according to dialect” (Bolinger 1971: 17). Therefore, the various dialects may find many of each other’s phrasal verbs odd (Darwin and Gray 1999: 74)

Fraser’s (1976) analysis shows that only 16 words act as particles. Gardner and Davies (2007) also listed 16 adverbial particles in their study of frequent phrasal verbs in a native speaker corpus. Kamarudin (2013) also stated that *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* has however, compiled a much longer and comprehensive list of about 48 particles, which include both adverbial particles and prepositional particles. However, Darwin and Gray (1999: 75) who argue that the listing is not a test because “some words can appear

to be particles and at the same time belong to other parts of speech” criticize this suggestion.

Kamarudin (2013) further adds that the listing test neither helps to differentiate between phrasal verbs and other verb combinations nor checks the degree of cohesion between the verb and the particle in a phrasal combination. Listing will be employed to identify the phrasal verbs in the data analysis section of the current study, but not as one of the tests for the analysis.

Four tests used to characterize these combinations and distinguish them from related constructions were discussed. The only test which proved satisfactory to identifying phrasal verbs in English, is adverb insertion, a test according to which an adverb phrase cannot be inserted between the verb and the particle. Where we distinguish possible insertion as only *all, clean, right, and straight, the heck and the hell*. Even with the insertions, some are more of nouns than adverbs and the possibility of insertion is determined by the presence of a noun. This test is supported by the test of particle placement with object pronouns, which application requires extra attention, since it is influenced by a number of factors, such as length and/or weight of the object and the idiomaticity of the compound.

The listing test is not employed as a test for identification in the present study; rather it will be reliable for grouping phrasal verbs. Having reviewed the tests for phrasal verbs in this section, the syntactic characteristics are discussed in the next section.

2.2 Syntax of phrasal verbs

This section focuses on the review of literature on the syntactic features of phrasal verbs. Thus, discussing the types of phrasal verbs with respect to transitivity and separability. It

is sub-sectioned into four. The first labeled 2.2.1 discusses the elements that constitute phrasal verbs. Followed by the types of phrasal verbs in English in 2.2.2. Section 2.2.3 discusses the syntax of phrasal verbs in Akan, whereas 2.2.4 assesses Ga phrasal verbs.

2.2.1 Constituents of phrasal verbs

Traditional grammarians (Courtney 1990, Biber et al 1990, Seidl 1991, Shovel 1992, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Moon 1997, Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003, Uhlířová 2013, Ghailan 2015, Aldahesh 2017) consider the structure of phrasal verbs as made up of verb followed by a particle mostly described as prepositions (such as *with, across, from, for into, etc*), an adverb (*in up, down, out,*) or some combination of the two. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Structural elements of phrasal verbs in English

Lexical verb	Particles	
	Adverb	Preposition
put	up	-
come	-	across
look	down	-
go/get	away	with
talk	-	into
come	up	against/with

(Seidl 1991: 13-20)

With respect to the verb, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and McArthur (1992) propose that verbs of motion are normally used in phrasal verb constructions. For instance, Rudzka-Ostyn (2003:2) states:

Apart from a few static verbs such as *be, sit, hold*, almost all verbs used with particles are verbs of motion. The motion can be physical and can be performed, for example, with one's hands and legs (*wipe, drag, break, throw, walk, run, jump, climb*) or abstract (*think, sell, buy, refer*).

Thus, in order to understand a phrasal verb, one has to understand the meaning of the verb (the action it denotes) to be able to relate it to the meaning of the construction. The concrete action makes it easier to create a mental picture, which serves as a link to understanding the meaning of the phrasal verb. When the meaning of the verb is known even if the meaning of the particle is spatial, the phrasal verb will be generally easy to understand as in:

9. a. Do you know there is petrol *leaking out* of your tank? 'coming, flowing out'
- b. *Wipe* the dirt *off* your face. 'remove', 'take away'
- c. He *ran up* a heavy bill. 'accumulated.'

(Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 2)

The verbs *leak, wipe* and *run*, which refer to a physical action like *to pour, to erase* and *to move at a fast pace* respectively are what give clues to the understanding of the phrasal

verbs in the sentences as in to come, to remove and to accumulate since the particles are spatial.

2.2.2 Types of phrasal verbs in English

One relevant feature that calls for discussion with respect to phrasal verbs is the principle of transitivity (Bolinger 1971, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985, Brady 1991, McArthur 1991 and Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999). Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) and Laryea (2015) argue that transitivity in the study of phrasal verbs is not used in the general sense of participant relationships in clauses as in Halliday (1967). According to them transitivity is used in the traditional sense to mean the number of arguments a verb requires in a given instance, which according to Quirk et al (1985) is ‘agent’, ‘the sufferer’ or ‘the recipient’ of the verb. Cobuild (1990: 137-138) cited in Laryea (2015) makes the distinction:

If an action or event involves only one person or thing, you mention only the performer of the action (the subject) and the action (the verb) ... Clauses of this kind are called intransitive verbs... If the action or event involves another person or thing, which the action affects, relates to, or produces, you put a noun group referring to them after the verb group. This is called the object of the verb or clause... Clauses which have direct objects are called transitive clauses, and the verbs which occur in transitive clauses are called transitive verbs... a small number of transitive verbs also allow you to mention who benefits from an action or receives something as a result... verbs which can take an indirect object, as well as a direct object are called ditransitive verbs.

It can be deduced from Cobuild's assertion above that in English, transitivity can be sub-classified into three types: intransitive, transitive and ditransitive.

Syntactically, English Grammarians have always categorized phrasal verbs into transitive and intransitive. Bolinger 1971, Brady 1991, McArthur 1991, Fraser 1976, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Kamarudin, 2013 confirm this assertion by stating that, "Just as some regular change-of-state verbs 'eg *open, close, increase, decrease*' may be both transitive and intransitive, there are some phrasal verbs that can perform this dual function". To elaborate this assertion, they explain further by stating that, when a phrasal verb is used transitively its meaning differs completely from been used intransitively.

On the notion of separability, most transitive phrasal verbs are said to be separable and that they allow particle movement either before or after the object noun (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Kamarudin 2013). McArthur (1991) confirms this by adding that in transitive phrasal verbs, the object can go before or after the particle without affecting the meaning. Consider the following examples (10):

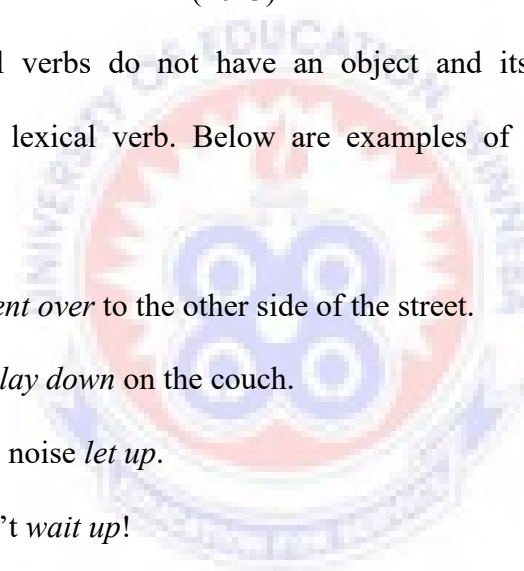
10. a. She *put down* the book.
- b. She *put* the book *down*.

Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) establish that separation is obligatory when the direct object is a pronoun. Thus, the pronoun object comes between the verb and the particle.

11. a. Bill *threw it away*.
- b. He *locked it up*.

Uhlířová (2013) also observes regarding the movement of the particle that the position of the particle is not fixed, if the object is long, the particle tends to precede the object as in:
She puts on her new blue coat.

Crystal (2003) remarks that traditionally, verbs, which can be used without an object have long been called *intransitive verbs*, thus *intransitive phrasal verbs* do not require objects as well. To be more specific, intransitive phrasal verbs in English consist of a verb and a particle. Heaton (1965) claims that normally, the particle in intransitive phrasal verbs cannot be separated from its verb and that they always stay together. Kamarudin (2013) and Olson (2013) confirm this assertion by establishing that intransitive phrasal verbs do not have an object and its particle cannot usually be separated from its lexical verb. Below are examples of intransitive phrasal verbs in English:

- 
12. a. I *went over* to the other side of the street.
 - b. She *lay down* on the couch.
 - c. The noise *let up*.
 - d. Don't *wait up*!

(Olson 2013: 20)

From the above examples, it is realized that the intransitive phrasal verb can only be followed by either a prepositional phrase or no complement at all. These phrasal verbs '*went over, lay down, let up, wait up*' cannot be separated as illustrated in (13) below:

13. a. *I *went* to the other side of the street *over*.
- b. ? She *lay* on the couch *down*.

c. *The *let* noise *up*.

2.2.3 Syntax of phrasal verbs in some Ghanaian languages

Although enough attention has not been given to the phrasal verbs in the linguistic literature in Ghana, a few researches have been conducted on this phenomenon in Akan and Ga by Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) and Laryea (2015) respectively. This section seeks to discuss the syntactic features of phrasal verbs in these languages to serve as a guide to the current study.

2.2.3.1 The syntax of Akan phrasal verbs

Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) discusses the phrasal verb in Akan establishing its basic constituents, types and syntactic functions. Under the constituent structure of Akan phrasal verbs, Sekyi-Baidoo explains that the Akan phrasal verbs constitute a verb and adposition element.

2.2.3.2 Types of phrasal verbs in Akan

Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) uses the principle of transitivity in discussing the types of phrasal verbs in Akan. He categorically states that the transitivity used in his work concerns the traditional sense; that is the capability or necessity of a verb to take an object. According to Quirk et al. (1985) object is ‘the sufferer’ or the recipient of the verb. They adopt this question of ‘involvement’ and ‘possibility’ because of the semantic barrier sometimes associated with the use of ‘sufferer’ and ‘recipient.’ Based on the principles of transitivity phrasal verbs in Akan he identifies; the *intransitive* and *transitive*.

2.2.3.3 Intransitive phrasal verbs in Akan

Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) establishes that there are a number of intransitive phrasal verbs in Akan. These intransitive phrasal verbs, according to him, can be grouped into the copulative and the active. Examples include those in (14):

14. a *ba mu*

come in

‘to manifest as expected’

b. *gyina so*

stand on

‘to be in top form’

(Sekyi-Baidoo 2006:158)

Other intransitive phrasal verbs found in his study are *ergative*. These are the phrasal verbs that have meaning rather like passive or reflexive. Some of the ergative phrasal verbs in Akan he presents include; *firi ase/hye ase* ‘come from below/be under’ meaning ‘to start’ as used in (15):

15. a. *Adwuma no ahye ase/afiri ase.*

Work DEF PERF BE under/come from below.

‘The work has started.’

- b. *Mbra no atwa mu.*
Law DEF PERFpass/cut between
'The law is no longer in force.'

(Sekyi-Baidoo 2006:158)

2.2.3.4 Mono-transitive phrasal verbs in Akan

The Akan *mono-transitive* phrasal verbs, as verbal compounds take single objects. According to him, there are two kinds of the mono-transitive phrasal verbs; those, which take nouns as objects and those which take verb phrases as objects.

With nouns as objects. Sekyi- Baidoo (2006) establishes that the transitive phrasal verbs with nouns as object usually have the structure Verb + NP +Adposition, where the NP is a noun or nominal. Consider examples (16):

16. a. *Kɔ NP so*
go on NP
'to attack NP / to continue with NP.'
- b. *Firi/ hyɛ NP ase*
come from/to begin NP
'to work under NP'

(Sekyi-Baidoo 2006: 159)

Concerning verbs as objects according to him, phrasal verbs in this category may be also used in the previous category. They differ in terms of their constituents. The structure for this group of phrasal verbs is Verb + adposition + object (verbal) and he provides the following examples in (17):

17. a. *Hyε ase yε dwuma no*
 BE under do work DEF
 ‘Begin working/begin doing the work.’
- b. *Firi ase sa*
 come under dance. PRES
 ‘Begin dancing.’
- c. *Kɔ so didi*
 go on eating
 ‘Go on eating.’

(Sekyi-Baidoo 2006: 159)

2.2.3.5 Di-transitive phrasal verbs

“Di-transitive verbs in general exhibit a three-person relationship between the subject and a direct object whose involvement makes the action of the verb possible and an indirect object who receives or benefits from the action” (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2006:164). According to Sekyi-Baidoo (2006), di-transitive phrasal verbs in Akan are realized in two clause structures. These are S + Verb + NP (DO) + NP (IO) + Particle.

18. *Kwame kyerεε me asem ase.*
 Kwame explain.PAST 1SG matter under¹
 ‘Kwame explained the matter to me.’

He states that the direct object is associated neither with the verb stem nor the adposition element but the two as a whole constitute a single semantic unit as a ditransitive verb. Sometimes, however, a position element (postposition) is used to introduce the indirect

¹ I have slightly modified the interlinear glossary.

object such that the preposition and the indirect object constitute a postpositional phrase.

The structure is S + V + NP (DO) + Post + Pre + NP (IO).²

19. *Hye adwuma no ase ma me*
 start work DEF down give me
 ‘Commence the work for me.’

(Sekyi-Baidoo 2006: 164)

This work served as a guide to the analysis of the phrasal verbs in Nzema, since they also exhibit the same forms of transitivity.

2.2.4 Syntax of Ga phrasal verbs

In this section, I examine the syntax of Ga phrasal verbs as discussed in Laryea (2015). In her work, Laryea analyses Ga phrasal verb based on transitivity. She identifies three types of phrasal verbs: intransitive, transitive and finally, the blend of both intransitive and transitive.

2.2.4.1 Intransitive phrasal verbs in Ga

Laryea (2015) establishes that there are a number of intransitive phrasal verbs in Ga. These are copulative, ergative and active phrasal verbs. These verbs do not carry or take any object. Structurally, she identifies that the intransitive phrasal verbs in Ga are realized as Subject + Verb + Particle (Adjunct).

² Note that DO refers to the direct object whereas IO refers to the indirect object.

Under the Ga intransitive phrasal verbs, Laryea identifies three features. First, the phrasal verbs have fixed expressions, where the unit meaning is different from the meaning of the individual words. Secondly, the particles in all the intransitive phrasal verbs are not mobile with the exception of few ergative verbs. An in example (20)

20. a. Kaa lε e-je shishi.
 Examination DEF PERF-leave under
 ‘The examination has started.’

2.2.4.2 Transitive phrasal verbs in Ga

Laryea establishes that the Ga transitive phrasal verbs can be mono-transitive, where they take on a single object as a verbal complement or ditransitive, when the verbs take two objects. She therefore identifies transitive structure as *Subject + Verb + Object + Particle*.

Laryea (2015) further opines that sometimes transitive phrasal verbs in Ga can take clauses as their objects. Another observed feature by her is that whenever the object is a noun and it is animate, it can be replaced by a pronoun and vice versa. Nevertheless, nouns do not replace some pronouns in Ga. Although these pronouns make anaphoric references to their subject referents, they cannot be replaced by the actual nouns in the construction. These pronouns according to Laryea (2015) are normally referred to as anaphors. An object always separates the verbs and the particle. Example (21)

21. a. Lɔyafonyo lɛ bote sane lɛ mli
 Lawyer DEF PST- enter case DEF inside
 ‘The lawyer investigated the case’

Di-transitive phrasal verbs in Ga also exhibit this three-argument relationship, just as Sekyi-Baidoo establishes in Akan. According to Laryea (2015), the clause structure in Ga is realized as Subject + Verb + NP (OI) + NP (OD) + Particle.

It is therefore evident that Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) and Laryea’s (2015) study reviewed above is very essential to my present study, especially on the structure of phrasal verb and the notion of transitivity. Since the present study, just as Sekyi-Baidoo (ibid) and Laryea (ibid) also focus on Ghanaian languages, precisely on Kwa (Niger-Congo) languages, it was interesting to find out that the phrasal verbs in Nzema also exhibit such features.

2.3 Semantic properties of phrasal verbs

This section discusses the semantics properties of both the verbs and the particles in phrasal verbs. Other issues reviewed in this section include semantic types of phrasal verbs, the polysemous and the idiomatic nature of phrasal verbs in English and some Ghanaian languages (Akan and Ga). The section is sub-grouped under the following headings: 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 present the semantics of verbs and particles of English phrasal verbs, followed by the English classification of the phrasal verbs in 2.3.3. Whereas 2.3.4 assesses the semantics of Akan particles, 2.3.5 focuses on semantics of Ga particles. The

polysemous and homonymous nature of the phrasal verb is discussed under 2.3.6. Finally, 2.3.7 presents the discussion on idiomaticity of phrasal verbs.

2.3.1 Semantics of verbs in English phrasal verbs

Generally, in order to understand or name a phrase, there is the need to identify its components. Aldahesh (2008) remarks that there are two important points to be considered with respect to phrasal verb. The first step is the types of verbs that can be phrasalised, and the second is the types of particles that may co-occur with these verbs. Although any kind of lexical verb can be regarded a potential verbal element in a phrasal verb combination however, certain trends have been noticed; thus, the verbs are most commonly verbs of movement, which are usually monosyllabic and Anglo-Saxon origin, such as *go, come, run, work, hope, and skip* Aldahesh (2008).

Again, verbs formed with or without the suffix-en, from simple monosyllabic adjective like *brighten, slacken, flatten smoothen, stricken, etc* also form verbal component of phrasal verbs. One root verb can underlie a range of phrasal verbs, for example, *get* underlies *get away, get back, get out, get off, get on, get in and get up*, are used in phrasal verbs constructions (McArthur & Atkins 1974).

Another observation is on the productive nature of some lexical verbs. There have been many attempts by grammarians to list the most productive verbs for the formation of phrasal verb combinations. Biber et al. (1999) note that, the most productive lexical verbs in present day English are *take, get, come, put, go, set, turn, bring*. Fraser (1976), for example, mentions *take, put, go, get, turn, lay, set, make and fall* as the commonest verbal bases.

However, not all verbs can occur with particles in phrasal construction as Fraser (1976: 11) hints which is emphasized in Aldahesh (2008: 29) that “stative verbs like *know, want, see, hear, hope, resemble*, etc. practically never combine with a particle. It is therefore; clear that the set of verbs to form English phrasal verbs are in principle, diverse, though certain trends can be observed.

2.3.2 Semantics of particles in English phrasal verbs

The meaning of the particles in phrasal verbs on the other hand, requires an intensive discussion, since they are also crucial in the construction of phrasal verb. For instance, the verb proper is unable to express the same meaning when its particle is deleted or replaced.

Elenbaas (2007:2) also establishes “one particle may have more than one meaning, and the meaning it carries depends on the verb it combines with”. For instance, Kamarudin (2013) gives the example using *touch down*, as in *the plane touched down* is not the same as *the plane touched* (the particle is deleted) or the *plane touched downward* (the particle is replaced). Scholars establish that the particles occurring in phrasal verbs are normally used to denote location or direction (Bolinger, 1971, Denison, 1985, Gries, 2003, Rodriguez, 2013, Olson, 2013, Kamarudin, 2013). A point worth noting is the three distinguishing features of the particles, namely literal, aspectual and metaphorical (Quirk et al. 1985).

The meaning of a particle is literal when the particles indicate the direction of movement and location (eg *up, away, down*). As *up* indicates upward motion as in *throw up the ball*, *away* shows movement from as in *run away from him*, and *down* exhibits downward

direction as in *cut down the tree*. According to Cappelle (2002: 56) cited in Laryea (2015) a particle is considered literal “if its meaning is constant across different verb particle constructions. In other words, if the meaning is not dependent on the particular verb it combines with (e.g. *Up he climbed*) and can appear in a verbless pattern (e.g. *Hands up*).

A particle is *aspectual* when it serves as marker for perfectivity (completeness). According to Comrie (1976:3), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." He defines perfectivity as an aspectual category which "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phrases that make up the situation" and imperfectivity as an aspectual category which "looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation." The particle marking aspect does not deal with aspectual information marked by affixes on the verb, but the lexical aspect, as opposed to grammatical aspect. This is what is referred to as *aktionsart* or *actionality* (Gločović, 2016). *Aktionsart* is a German word meaning “kind of action” (Brinton, 1988:3), a term first coined by Karl Brugmann in 1885 (Kortmann, 1991) and which generally refers to “a distinction of aspect which is lexically, rather than grammatically expressed. In other words, *aktionsart*, lexical aspect, situational aspect or inherent aspect, refers to “lexically expressed aspectual distinctions” (Guerrero-Medina, 2000: 1 cited in Laryea 2015).

Elenbaas (2007) indicates that the telicity of particle is determined by its ability to denote an *endpoint* or *change of state* of the activity or *process* expressed by the verb, given the example [*the bookstore gingered up its shop-window*]. The addition of the particle ‘up’ not only contributes perfectivity in the sense that the work on shop-window

is finished; it also indicates a change of state. Thus, a phrasal verb particle may indicate telic aktionsart thus *completion, goal, accomplishment* in a sentence when the verbal tense does not indicate completion of the action that has been achieved (Brinton, 1988). Finally, some particles in phrasal verb constructions normally denote *metaphorical or figurative* meanings from their original connotations of movement. According to Rodriguez (2013: 48), this kind of metaphor, which usually affects phrasal verb particles is what Lakoff & Johnson (1980) refer to as “orientational metaphor.” In this kind of metaphorical concept, human mind does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) consider these orientational metaphors, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in, out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) illustrate this in English, for example, health and life are perceived as *up* while sickness and death are *down*. As in *he is up already* means he is *well* or *healthy* and *he is still down* indicating that he is *sick* or *dead*. This kind of metaphorical expression can be found in the particles combinations such as *reason up* become smarter, *grow up*, ‘to be mature’, *get down* ‘depress’

The above discussion on the semantic status of the verbs and particle in English phrasal verbs is of outmost important to the current study, as I try to find what pertains in Nzema with regards to semantic status of verbs and particle.

2.3.3 Semantic classification of phrasal verbs in English

Phrasal verbs have received varied semantic classification from scholars such as Fraser (1976) identifies two semantic classes *figurative* and *systematic*. Quirk et al. (1985) has

three classifications; *non-idiomatic*, *semi-idiomatic* and *highly idiomatic*. Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) also identify three: *literal*, *aspectual* and *idiomatic*. Thim (2012) presents *literal*, *aspectual* and *non-compositional*.

Though scholars have labeled the types of phrasal verbs different semantically, traditionally fall under three broad categories namely, *literal*, *semi-idiomatic* and *idiomatic* (Laryea, 2015). For instance, what Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) and Thim (2012) refer to as *literal*, are those whose meanings can be inferred from the meanings of the parts, which is named *non-idiomatic* in Quirk et al. (1985). This work therefore classifies phrasal verbs semantically according to what Laryea (2015) calls traditional, that is literal, semi-idiomatic and idiomatic.

A phrasal verb is *non-idiomatic* when both the verb and the particle retain their literal meaning thus, when the constituent elements maintain their meanings. In this sense, “the verb combines with a directional particle and the whole construction is transparent from the meaning of its constituents” (Thim 2012:15). Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) give examples of literal phrasal verbs as (*sit + down*, *stand + up*, *climb + up*, *pass + through* and *fall + down*). Here the combination of verb and particle allows an interpretation of motion through space, with the particle expressing the direction and the verb expressing the kind of the verbal action.

Semi-idiomatic phrasal verbs which Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) refer to as *aspectual*, *second-level metaphor* by Bolinger (1971) and *systematic* by Fraser (1976) are those whose meaning are not transparent, but are not completely idiomatic either, (Celce-Murcia & Larsen Freeman, 1999). Under this category, the verb retains its literal meaning

and the particle has an idiomatic meaning (e.g. *labour away*), the particles used mark various kinds of aspect, (Cappelle, 2005 Downing & Locke 2006).

Finally, *idiomatic* phrasal verbs, labeled as highly idiomatic by Quirk et al. (1985), second-level stereotype by Bolinger (1971) and *non-compositional* by Thim (2012). These phrasal verbs which seem to lose their meanings completely, thus the two elements do not retain their regular meanings. Here, “there is no possibility of contrastive substitution: *bring up/down; come by/past/through; turn up/down; etc*” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1163). As in the examples such as *turn down* ‘be rejected’, the usual meanings of *turn* and *down* seem to be lost and the two elements (*turn* and *down*) do not retain their regular meanings. However, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), establish that idiomatic phrasal verbs are the easiest to identify, as the meaning of the whole verb is not related to its idiomatic meaning.

The above discussion gives insight on the semantic classification of phrasal verb, it is semantically categorized as: literal, semi-idiomatic and idiomatic. In addition, the literal phrasal verbs seem not to have received much acceptance yet. This discussion served as a guide in classifying the Nzema phrasal verbs semantically.

2.3.4 The semantics of Akan adposition elements (particles)

Just as scholars have investigated the semantic of particle in English phrasal verbs and discovered that it has *literal, aspectual and metaphorical meaning*, Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) has also investigated the semantics of particles in Akan. In his work, he lists three particles thus: *ase* ‘under’, *so* ‘on’ and *mu* ‘inside’ as the most recurring particles in Akan

phrasal verb constructions. He states categorically that this is not a rule but a loose generalization.

He explains that *ase* as an adverbial particle denoting place, location or position, which has the basic interpretation as ‘at the bottom of’ or ‘at the hind part of’ as the inferred meanings in phrasal verbs. He further points out that *ase* does not make a separate independent contribution to the phrasal verb but add a varying degree of metaphorical transfer to the meaning of the phrasal verbs.

He illustrates this with the phrasal verb *fi ase* ‘to come from the bottom’, which depicts an instance in which some action occurs at ‘the bottom’ of a phenomenon. In ordinary latitudinal growth, the bottom is associated with the beginning, as in *fi ase* ‘to come from the bottom’ which means ‘to begin an activity.’ He further explains that *ase* is emotively associated with the ‘core’ the ‘crux’ or ‘where the real or the basic thing is.’ This sense is evident in such phrasal verbs as *te ase* literally ‘to hear the bottom’ or ‘to hear the under part.’ Thus, *te ase* means to ‘hear’ or ‘know’ not just the topic or focus, but the foundations of that information, and this precisely is what constitutes ‘understanding.’ Similarly, *kyeré ase* means to show the depths or foundations of an issue or phenomenon; and to do so is actually ‘to explain’ (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2008: 9).

The above illustrations indicate that the Akan adverbial particle *ase* provides a metaphorical conception which enables the understanding of idiomatic meanings that underpin the phrasal verbs.

Again ‘*mu*’ is sometimes associated with intensity or completeness. The action or description denoted by the phrasal verb depicts the idea of most intense form of an

endeavour as is evidenced in the following phrasal verbs: *ka mu* ‘scream’ and *bɔ mu* ‘tell exhaustively’ as against ‘speaking’ and ‘just mentioning’ (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2008: 9-10).

From the above discussion, we see that the Akan particle denotes directional and metaphorical meaning to the component meaning of the phrasal verbs. Although Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) does not categorize these particles like English scholars have done, a similar sense can be drawn from Sekyi-Baidoo’s (2008) discussion. When the meaning deviates from its constituent thus no more referring to spatial meaning then it is metaphorical. Having found the semantics of Akan particles, we now turn to find what pertains in Ga.

2.3.5 Semantics of Ga particles

According to Laryea (2015), unlike English, Ga has no literal or aspectual or aktionsart particles in the language, rather, all the particles are metaphorical and idiomatic. In addition, in terms of productivity, the most common particle is *mli* ‘in’, as it combines with as many as thirty (30) root verbs to form phrasal verbs. Laryea establishes that Ga has nine particles, but only four out of the nine have metaphorical meanings; thus *shishi* ‘to start’, *mli* ‘inside’, *nɔ* ‘on’ and *sɛɛ* ‘back or behind.’ Some of her illustrations including *shishi* which has the literal meaning ‘to start’ is emotively associated with the ‘core’ the ‘crux’ or ‘where the real or the basic thing is’, similar to *ase* in Akan in Sekyi-Baidoo (2008). This sense is evident in such phrasal verbs as *nu shishi* literally ‘to hear the bottom’ or ‘to hear the under part.’ Thus, *nu shishi* means to hear or know not just the topic or focus, but the crux of that information, and this precisely is what constitutes understanding. Similarly, *tɛɛ shishi* means to show the depths or core of an issue or phenomenon; and to do so is actually ‘to explain.’

From all the discussions on the semantics of particles from English, Akan and Ga, English and Akan particles seems to exhibit almost the same semantic features. Ga shares just one common feature with the two languages, that is the metaphorical nature of the particles. This discussion is of much help to the current study. It serves as a guide to the researcher to find any relation between these languages and Nzema on the semantics of the particles in phrasal verbs constructions.

2.3.6 Polysemous and homonymous nature of phrasal verbs

In an attempt to discuss polysemy, scholars have always differentiated it from homonymy as both are considered lexical ambiguity (Kroeger, 2018 & Lyons, 1979). Both involve an ambiguous word form; the difference being that homonymy refers to the relation between different lexical items, which have unrelated meanings but exhibit some identical linguistic properties (phonological and graphic). Moreover, the semantic relationship between the two senses is similar to what is between any two words selected at random (Cruse 2000; Ravin & Leacock, 2000 & Kroeger 2018). Polysemy on the other hand is one single lexical item, which has different related senses. These senses are invariable applications of the main sense of a word in different conditions and contexts (Lyons, 1979; Ravin & Leacock. 2000; Cruse 2000; Thakur, 2007 & Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002).

Linguists hint on the polysemous nature of phrasal verbs in their works but do not expatiate much on it (Celce-Murica & Laresn-Freeman, 199; Wild, 2010; Aldukhayel, 2014; Lu 2015; Consigny 2015). Consigny (2015:2) only notes that, a phrasal verb is considered “polysemous if it is possible to define different meanings using different synonyms and/or paraphrases for those meanings.” Wild (2010) cited in Laryea (2015)

establishes that phrasal verbs represent two kinds of polysemy: the polysemy of individual phrasal verb forms (e.g the many meanings of *take up* ‘in to start something new’, ‘to use time’ and ‘to accept an offer’) and the polysemy of the verbs which produces phrasal verbs (the meanings of *take up* can be seen as contributing to the polysemy of take, as well as deriving from it). Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) and Laryea (2015) in Akan and Ga respectively, give much attention to the polysemy of phrasal verbs in their work. Sekyi-Baidoo (2008: 12) explains, “phrasal verbs are considered polysemous when they relate one another physically and semantically, and when they collectively differ from the aggregate meaning of the constituent. He further explains that though the degree of relativity between them produces their polysemy, their collective deviation from their constituent meaning is what makes them phrasal verbs, hence idiomatic. Just as Lyon (1979) intimates the distinction between polysemy and homonymy as relatedness vs unrelatedness, in an attempt to differentiate them in terms of phrasal verbs, Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) makes a similar assertion establishing that phrasal verbs that relate to one another are polysemous whilst those that share only a formal realization but no semantic relationship are regarded homonymous. In his work, he further explains that in spite of the need for some deviation in the establishment of phrasal verbs, there is also the need for some recognizable degree of relativity between the meanings of the verb or adposition element as used in the phrasal verb. This relativity is what is regarded polysemous.

Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) exemplifies polysemy by using the Akan word *gyina so* ‘to stand on an object.’ The phrasal verb *gyina so* which expresses the following notion: ‘to be on top, to persist’, ‘using something to serve as the basics for an action’ and ‘to be impertune.’ All the meanings are associated with the original, non-idiomatic meaning of ‘to stand’ arising from the image of one keeping an upright posture and all derived associations,

which has been applied to different contextual environments. 'To be on top' presents the picture in which one stands and therefore shows a greater height than others and therefore can be regarded as 'superior' or 'in top form.' Also, the meaning 'to persist', denotes 'standing' which involves maintaining an erect, upright posture in spite of the difficulty associated with it.

Finally, the meaning 'to be importune' also denotes an image of using the active posture of standing and its continuity to influence the activity of others.

It could be seen from the above illustration that the meanings of the phrasal verb *gyina so* relate to one another since they are all associated with the original, non-idiomatic meaning 'to stand'; this therefore indicates their polysemous relation.

Concerning homonymous phrasal verbs, Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) explains that they are identical in their phonology, both in their verb stem and their adposition elements. Homonymous phrasal verbs, like all other phrasal verbs, may also exhibit different degrees of opacity or transparency as far as the relationship between the meaning of the compound and the constituents are concerned. Where there is semantic relativity, it means the semantic dissimilarity between the transparent phrasal verbs in a homonymous relationship is not because of any arbitrary or idiomatic meaning imposed on any of the compounds. Rather, it means that the two or more phrasal verbs in the homonymy are related to different verbs that are themselves homonymous. In such instances, the phrasal verbs inherit the homonymy of their constituent. Cases in point are *bɔ adze* 'to begin' *bɔ adze* 'to come to an end.' In the example, the two semi-transparent phrasal verbs are related to *bɔ* 'to create, to make' and *bɔ* 'to fall, or to hit strongly' respectively. Similarly, the meanings as of the constituents of the different semantic manifestations of *bɔ* show

that they are connected to different verbs, which happen to be homonymous (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2008: 17).

Another interesting observation by Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) is that, the polysemic phrasal verbs do lose their polysemy because of their continual application to different circumstances, which eventually results in homonym. He further illustrates this assertion using the phrasal verb *tia so* ‘literally ‘step on’ which means ‘to speed off’ and ‘to squander’ or ‘consume something unlawfully’, which are in homonymous relation. The primary meaning of this phrasal verb *tia so* is associated with a driver stepping on the accelerator pad to increase the speed. The idea began exhibiting idiomatic features when the expression was used in cases to mean ‘to eat faster’ or ‘to run away’ which do not involve any vehicle or pressing, resulting in non-transparency. As time goes on, the word gained its polysemic meaning when *tia so* came to mean ‘to run away/ escape) exploiting the idea of speeding and its result which is creating of distance. The original idea ‘to speeding’ and ‘to escape’ gradually gain the sense ‘to consume something illegal’ or ‘to squander something’ which is traced from the idea of ‘escaping due to some offense. These meanings now deviate totally from the original, non-idiomatic meaning of pressing the accelerator rendering the various meanings homonymous.

The above illustrations establish that there are polysemous and homonymous phrasal verbs in Akan. This is relevant to the current study because using it as a reference point the researcher was able to find out that there are polysemous phrasal verbs in Nzema as well.

2.3.7 Idiomaticity of phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs have received different labels in the linguistic literature to describe its idiomatic feature. These include, ‘non-literal’, ‘non-compositional’, ‘figurative’, ‘opaque’ and ‘idiomatic.’ This work has adopted the term ‘idiomatic’ in describing phrasal verbs. According to Sekyi-Baidoo (2002), idiomaticity is the level of deviation between the surface meaning of an utterance and the actual meaning or intention it is supposed to convey. Such instances of deviation may be because of some sociolinguistic or historical significance a word attracts over time, resulting in different levels of semantic change. With phrasal verb idiomaticity is when the meaning of the phrasal verb as a single semantic unit is different from the meaning of the combination of the verb item and adposition element. Note that as a syntactic unit a phrasal verb is composed of independent semantic entities, which have separate, independent meanings in or outside the combination, which are factored into the meaning of the resulting phrase (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2008). Thus, when it becomes difficult or impossible to figure out the new meaning of the verb and the particle, which has resulted from metaphorical shift of the meaning and the semantic fusion of the individual components, then the phrasal verb is considered idiomatic.

There is consensus among linguists in considering idiomaticity as a continuum, with idiomatic units at one end, and the literal, transparent ones at the other while those with at least one element as transparent occupy the middle area (Kamarudin, 2013). Palmer (1988; 227-228) also establishes that ‘idiomaticity is a matter of degree.’ In addition, classifies idiomatic phrasal verbs into two groups; thus, it could be used to refer to all combinations that are not literal in sense of being directional

Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) puts Akan phrasal verbs on the cline of idiomaticity and relativity. He explains that this is essentially equal to the transparency and opacity of words established by Ullman (1962). This notion is similar to Palmer's (1988) matter of degree. Sekyi-Baidoo further classifies Akan phrasal verbs into two distinct groups *total* and *partial* idioms. Explaining that, in Akan, there exists phrasal verbs with a high degree of deviation from the component meaning and the meaning of the individual units, and those with appreciable degree of relativity between the meaning of the phrasal verbs and the aggregate meaning of the component elements.

Having, discussed the syntax and semantic features of phrasal verbs in English and some Ghanaian languages (Akan and Ga), the next section focuses on the theoretical frameworks underpinning this current study.

2.4 Theoretical framework

This section presents the theoretical frameworks adopted for this study. It is sub-divided into two sections. Section 2.4.1 discusses the review on the X-bar theory for the syntactic analysis, whilst 2.4.2 presents the review of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) which I employ for the semantic analysis of phrasal verbs.

2.4.1 The X-bar theory

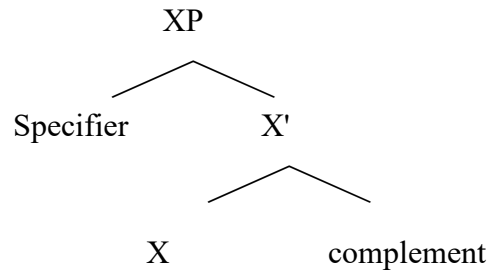
Generative grammar is intended to develop a system of rules that in some explicit and well-defined way assigns structural descriptions to sentences, in order to characterize languages in the most neutral possible way that provides the basis for actual use of language by a speaker-hearer (Chomsky, 1969). By assigning structural description to the sentence, the various categories need a cross-linguistic identification. To this, X-bar

theory, a theory proposed by Chomsky in 1969, which was later modified by other scholars, came into play. The theory serves as the general basis to all syntactic structures, in that, it avers that every single phrase in a given sentence has a core categorization.

Jacobsen (1993) asserts that, the essence of this theory is in two folds first, for identifying the multi-layered structure between lexical categories such as noun 'N', verb 'V', adjective 'A' and preposition 'P.' Secondly as a replacement of category-specific by category-neutral rules to achieve a cross-linguistic category such as noun phrase 'NP', verb phrase 'VP', adjective phrase 'AP' and preposition phrase 'PP.' Thus, the theory enables the achievement of cross-linguistic identification of the various lexical categories in syntactic structures. These categories form the constituent in a given sentence with its structure.

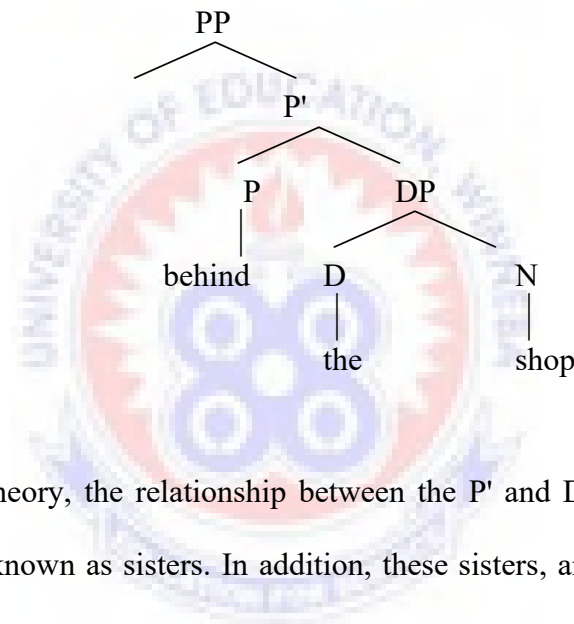
According to Sun (2015), the main tenet of X-bar theory is that all phrase structure can be reduced to a recursive head-driven category. He states further that syntactic headship is defined and phrases are viewed in terms of heads, thus, the head is the terminal node of the phrase. Whatever category the head is determines the name of the phrase. For instance, if the head is a Noun, then the phrase is known as a NP, if it is a verb then the phrase is a VP. Therefore, preposition is PP and AP for where adjective is the head. The theory propose that the phrase could be more than just a head, which indicates that it may have optional components that recur with the head; these components are labeled as the complements and specifiers. Below is its conventionally represented and labeled diagram.

22.



Representing the prepositional phrase, ‘behind the shop’ on the structure tree will be as in (23):

23.



According to the theory, the relationship between the P' and DP is considered siblings therefore they are known as sisters. In addition, these sisters, are considered daughters to the P.'

Currently, there is no literature available on the application of X-bar theory in the analysis of phrasal verb in Nzema. I therefore, intend to fill this gap by applying this theory to give a structural analysis to the phrasal verbs in Nzema syntactically.

2.4.2 Conceptual metaphor theory (CMT)

Since my work embodies both the syntactic and semantic component of the Nzema phrasal verbs, I also employ the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as an analytical tool in analyzing the semantic component of this thesis. Researchers within the field of cognitive linguistics developed Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), also known as Cognitive Metaphor Theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) proposed the theory. The theory asserts that, our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, thus, the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor. Thus, the concept that governs our thought and act, are not just a matter of our intellect but are fundamentally metaphorical and that metaphor plays a central role in defining our everyday realities (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Ponterotto (2014) accepts this fact and explains further that human conceptualization is based on analogical processes, which use more readily accessible experiential knowledge to understand, represent and express complex abstract concept. These connections are achieved by general mappings across conceptual domains. Moreover, these general principles, which take the form of conceptual mappings, apply to our ordinary everyday language.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 5) describe metaphor in cognitive linguistics, as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” We act according to the way we conceive things (Imre 2010). This also confirms Kövecses (2005) assertion that, metaphor is based on similarity, that is based on cross-domain correlations in our experience, which give rise to the perceived similarities between the two domains within the metaphor. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such cross-

domain mappings. Moreover, in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation, and purpose turn out to be metaphorical.

Therefore, the center of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way, we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. For instance, a complex emotional experience like love is often represented through a simpler, physical experience like journey. Lakoff and Johnson's (1980: 140) set the example 'love is a journey' even though love and journey are two different things, since "the essence of metaphor is in understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another." The mental picture of people in relationship is conceptualized to be similar to travelers. This is because various expressions and concepts commonly related to a journey are used when discussing love, for example, 'We're stuck' and 'We're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love'(Lakoff, 1993).

To understand conceptual metaphors, the most important thing is being able to apprehend the concept of mapping. Mapping is the most fundamental notion of CMT. According to Grady (2007: 190) "it refers to a systematic correspondence between closely linked ideas". According to Lakoff (1993), mapping is conventional and is a fixed part of our conceptual system; this is systematic correspondences, which exists between the constituent elements of the source and target domain. By this, mapping gives rise to two main types of conceptual domains: the source domain and the target domain. Croft & Cruse (2004: 195), define the source domain as "the domain supporting the literal meaning of the expression" and the target domain as "the domain the sentence is actually about". For example, in the expression, "We have used up all our ideas", idea is the target domain because it expresses an abstract notion in the sentence. Correspondingly,

‘resource’ is the source domain because it is the literal word employed in describing an abstract object. Since resources are used up physically.

Source domains, according to (Ponterotto, 2014; Imre, 2010; Forcevilla, 2002, Kövecses, 2002; Coft & Cruse, 2004; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), are typically concrete and physical concepts while target domains are usually abstract. Moreover, the source domain serves as a background for structuring and understanding the target domain. Considering ‘ideas and resources’ *resources* are physical and concrete. Thus, we can touch them, whereas *ideas* are abstract concepts, that cannot be seen and touched. Consider the following pairs of examples in (24).

24. a. The dog dug up an old bone. We dug up some interesting facts.
b. Two planes were shot down. Each proposal was shot down.

(Laryea, 2015:65)

In each pair, the first phrasal verb, the literal meaning refers to a physical action, while the second is metaphorical and describes an action that is similar in some way to the first. For example, when someone digs up information, they discover it, and the process seems similar to the way in which dogs find bones that have been buried in the ground. Therefore, the first scenario serves as background to understanding of the phrasal verb.

The principles underlining this framework, are relevant to this study because this study intends to examine the semantics of phrasal verbs, which also involves a mapping from the concrete or literal to the abstract or literary, and metaphors serve as a link between these elements.

2.5 Interim Summary

This chapter presented the review of literature on some literature considered relevant to the current work. It outlined the theoretical framework within which the thesis is cast. The headings reviewed included; definition of phrasal verb, tests for identifying phrasal verbs, syntax of phrasal verbs, semantics of phrasal verbs and the theoretical frameworks of the study. In the next chapter, the methodology is discussed



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods and procedures that were adopted in gathering the data for this study. The chapter proceeds as follows: Section 3.1 spells out the research design, whereas section 3.2 discusses the sampled population. Section 3.3 provides the characteristics of the research consultants, while 3.4 focuses on the sampling technique and section 3.5 discusses the sources of data. Section 3.6 is dedicated to the discussion on the data collection tools and procedures. Section 3.7 discusses the data analysis procedure while section 3.8 focuses on the discussion of some ethical issues concerning the research. Finally, section 3.9 concludes the chapter.

3.1 Research design

This thesis investigates the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in Nzema. I adopt a qualitative approach, since the thesis seeks to describe a phenomenon scientifically without making any use of numerical data (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2009). With this approach, I was able to explore and discover the perceptions and cultural experiences of the native speakers of Nzema which aided in assigning meanings to the phrasal verbs. This provided me with an opportunity to come up with adequate description of the structure and constituents that make up the Nzema phrasal verbs. I was able to interrogate native speakers and linguistically competent individuals of the Nzema language in their various settings to understand the context and meanings assigned to the various phrasal

verbs and in making interpretations of their responses that are significant to the current study.

3.2 Sampled population

Natives Nzema speakers were those of interest to this study. Although the research revolves around all the five dialects of Nzema (Jomoro, Ellembele, Egila, Ajomoro and Evaloe), the sampled population for this current research was Jomoro and Ellembele. Two towns were chosen from each constituency a district capital and a community. The district capitals selected were Nkroful and Half Assini whilst Kamgbunli and Kengene were the other chosen communities within the district. I selected these communities because of the variations in dialects, their occupations, and their proximity to me. The Jomoro communities, selected represented the Nzema along the coast for coastline dialect variation and the Ellembele communities selected represent the inland dialects.

3.3 Research consultants

A total number of ten native speakers with the age ranging from 38- 72 were selected for the study. Their various occupations were lecturing, trading, farming and fishing. Among the ten consultants were four males and six females. They included two lecturers from the College of Languages Education at Ajumako and two people from Half Assini. At Kengene, a fisherman and a fishmonger were consulted. At Nkroful, two farmers were consulted. At Kamgbunli, two retired teachers were consulted on the data for this research. Considering the fact that bilingualism can affect one's language, I ensured that my language consultants consisted of both monolinguals and bilinguals. This was also to

ascertain if bilingualism might have had any effect on the phenomenon under investigation.

3.4 Sampling technique

I used purposive sampling technique, also called judgment sampling (Owu-ewie, 2015) as the sampling technique. This enabled me to select Half Assini and Kengene from Jomoro district and Nkroful and Kamgbunli from Ellembelle. These selections were done because I found out that these people possess the knowledge required for the study on both the syntax and semantic aspects of the language.

The consultants were interviewed on the data gathered; the selection benchmarks were because they are native speakers of Nzema who are very competent in the language. This catalyzed their understanding of the processes and procedures used to collect the data. I interviewed two lecturers from the College of Languages Education, University of Education, Winneba, one in active service and the other on retirement. The two retired teachers from Kamgbunli were those who have been teaching the language over twenty years. They therefore, possessed good level of grammatical competence of the language as native speakers who have been working on the language. It was imperative for me to involve not only lecturers but also farmers, fishermen, teachers and students to arrive at an appropriate description for the study.

3.5 Sources of data

Data for this study were collected from two main sources: primary and secondary. The primary data constituted recordings of folktales, folksongs, spontaneous expressions on

phrasal verb through one-on-one conversation with people around, and my intuition in generating some of the data for the analysis. Two published works from the Bureau of Ghana Languages in Nzema; *Duma nee mgbayele* (Asilijoe, 1992) and *Nzema anee ne anwo mgbanyidwεke* (Aboagye, 1992) comprised the secondary sources. Other native speakers of Nzema crosschecked the data elicited for correctness.

3.6 Data collection tools and procedure

According to Creswell (2008), the data collection strategies often used in qualitative research are open-ended observations, interviews, documents and audiovisual materials. Kabir (2016) also make mention of methods such as focus group discussions and interviews. Among these methods, interviews, documents as well as recording were employed to collect data for the present study. The successive section discusses how data were collected using these methods.

3.6.1 Recording

I set three groups with different sittings for the narration and recording of folktales and folksongs. Each group composed of two people from the same community. I had protocols at the various communities who were my former colleagues. Before meeting the consultants, I arranged with my contact person in all the three communities to communicate with the consultants for time of their conveniences. I did not need a contact person in Kamgbunli because it is my community. The meeting with consultants at Half Assini was scheduled on Tuesday 22nd October 2019. Others from Kengene were met on Friday 15 November, 2019. At Nkroful, it was scheduled on 17 December. Before each group began, I prompted them of the purpose of the study. I also explained the

procedures and assured them of my confidentiality. I gave them permission to alert me on any inconveniences regarding the data collection procedures. On the first meeting at Half Assini, it was observed that consultants seemed nervous which had an effect on their contributions. I thus exchanged information about myself with the consultants to establish rapport and gain their trust. This won me some trust and they gave in their full participation. I repeated this at all the subsequent meetings. The data was recorded on a 16 gigabyte Tecno spark K7 phone. The recorded tapes were placed into individually labeled folders on a computer for easy identification whenever they were required. The audio tapes were later transcribed and the phrasal verbs used were sorted out for verifications and authenticity from other language consultants.

3.6.2 Data from existing Nzema literature

Some phrasal verbs were gathered from two Nzema books: *Duma nee mgbayele* 'Names and appellations by Asilijoe (1992) and *Nzema anee ne anwo mgbanyidweke* 'History of the Nzema language' by Aboagye (1992). These books were very useful in the sense that they provided contexts in which the verbs and adposition constructions were used, thus helping in the analysis of the phrasal verbs. These two books were chosen because they were very simple to read and comprehend. The sentences that contained verbs and adpositions in their basic usage were separated from those that represented figurative usage in order to make it easier to select specific examples during the analysis. The sentences that contained verb and adposition constructions from these books were initially handwritten on paper while reading and later typed out. The sentences that contain verb and adposition were typed under the title and author of the books from

which they were elicited. These books, served as a good and reliable source of data. About fifty verbs and adposition constructions were elicited from the two.

3.6.3 Interview

Interview was another way of soliciting for the data as mentioned earlier on. Some data for this thesis was also collected through unstructured interviews and consultation sessions with four native speakers who have intensive knowledge on the syntax and semantics of the language; two were lecturers at the College of Languages Education, Ajumako. I held four separate meetings, two for each of the interviewees in order to exhaust all the verb and adposition combinations compiled. They were interviewed on the acceptability of some of the elicited words and sentences.

I also gathered data from stories shared by these consultants. The consultants' permission was sought to record their interview session. The audio data were then transcribed. In order to ensure transcript accuracy; each transcript was reviewed while listening to the audiotapes. The transcribed data and the examples used were assigned their various inter-linear glosses during translation. There was also notes taking during the interview sessions. The notes included the metadata of the consultants, name and information on the location. Notes were also taken during each group discussions to help in the verification and confirmation.

3.6.4 Data based on native speaker introspection

As a native speaker of Nzema, I also relied on my intuition to generate some of the data for this study. The data provided by me and other native speakers of Nzema through spontaneous conversation were crosschecked.

3.7 Data analysis procedure

The data for this study were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Having obtained enough data on verbs and adposition combination just as prescribed by Darwin & Gray (1999) that it might be better to ‘throw in’ from the phrasal verb category rather than ‘throw out’, following this approach, every combination was considered until proven otherwise; this was considered the first step for the analysis. Sorting out the phrasal verbs from those ordinary verbs and adposition element was based on Sekyi-Baidoo (2006) and Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999) method for identifying phrasal verbs.

I grouped the phrasal verbs for easy identification for the discussion. Phrasal verbs that have the same verbal element such as *gyinla nu* ‘stand inside’, *gyinla zo* ‘stand on’, *gyinla foa* ‘stand aside’ were put in one group while those with same adposition element such as *fa zo* ‘pass on’ *tia zo* ‘step on’ and *to zo* ‘throw on’ also under one group. Again, those combinations that have different forms but the same meaning such as *tenla zo*, *fia zo*, *koto zo*, ‘to hide a secret’ also formed one group and those single combinations that have more meanings formed a group.

Since the data were gathered from different sources, there was the need to give them encoding features to indicate their sources. Below is the encoding that is assigned the data.

- Recorded Data (RD)
- Textual Data (TD), the author is cited with page number from which the data is taken.
- Native Speaker Introspection Data (NSID)

These groupings are used in discussions on the phrasal verbs in the succeeding chapters.

3.8 Ethical issues

In developing a trusting relationship, I adhered to a number of ethical principles during my data collection, which included autonomy and veracity.

Since the consultants' autonomy was necessary, I made sure the people agreed to take part in this study through my informants. I allowed them to be prepared before beginning and they were also given the right to withdraw at any point in time they wanted, to avoid any form of coercion.

To ensure veracity, I provided comprehensive and accurate information about myself and the study and this enhanced their confidence in my identity. This enabled me to win their trust. I was always honest with my consultants and kept promises made especially on time, to avoid any inconvenience.

I assured them that they had the right to decline to talk about certain issues or to answer specific questions if they did not want to do so. With all these, they felt at ease and provided the needed information for the analysis.

3.9 Interim summary

This chapter outlined the methodology for this study. The thesis adopted the qualitative research approach. It presented the number of research consultants, sampling techniques and their roles. The tools used in the data collection and procedure were also discussed. It also covered the data interpretation and analysis procedures and finally, some ethical

issues guiding the data collection process on the study were considered. The next chapter focuses on the data analysis.



CHAPTER FOUR

THE SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF NZEMA PHRASAL VERBS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussions of the data on the syntactic characteristics of Nzema phrasal verbs. The chapter is structured into seven sections. Sections 4.1 presents an overview of the Nzema verb phrase. 4.2 and 4.3 discuss the types of verbs and adpositional element that form phrasal verbs in Nzema. Section 4.4 focuses on the constituent structure of Nzema phrasal verb. Whereas section 4.5 is devoted to a discussion on the classification of Nzema phrasal verbs based on transitivity. Section 4.6, presents the syntactic distinction between phrasal verbs and other verbal compounds. The concluding section is presented in 4.7.

4.1 An overview of the Nzema verb phrase system

This section provides a brief discussion on the grammar of Nzema with particular reference to its verbal system. This will be of relevant, as it presents an insight into some grammatical characteristics of the Nzema verb phrase including tense, aspect and negation. These grammatical features of the verb will be relevant in section 4.6.1, in the discussion of the constraints on serial verbs. The types of verbs in Nzema are also presented.

4.1.2 Nzema basic clause structure

Nzema has subject verb object as its predominant word order in clausal constituents. In the canonical clause structure, the verb precedes the indirect and direct object as well as the adverbials. This is illustrated in example (25) below:

25. a. *Aka hu-nle³ kusu ne.*
 Aka kill-PST cat DEF
 ‘Aka killed the cat.’
- b. *Aka maa-nle kusu ne alee*
 Aka give- PST cat DEF food
 ‘Aka feed the cat with food.’
- c. *Nda li-le alee ne ndende nu.*
 Nda eat-PST food DEF quickly in
 ‘Nda quickly ate the food.’

Tense is marked in Nzema by suffixation. Tense relates to the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking (Comrie 1976). Nzema has two forms, the present and the past. The present tense has no overt marker as in example (26a) whereas the past is marked by the suffix *-le* as in (26b).

26. a. *Aka kɔ gyima.*
 Aka go.PRES work
 ‘Aka goes to work.’
- b. *Aka hɔ-le gyima.*
 Aka go-PST work
 ‘Aka went to work.’

The Nzema verb also marks for aspect, Comrie (1976: 3) defines aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Nzema has two aspectual forms, the perfective and imperfective. The perfective refers to a completed action (27a), while the imperfective realized in progressive form, refers to an ongoing

³ The Nzema past marker *-le* becomes *-nle* due some phonological processes.

action (27b). In Nzema, the aspect is marked with the prefix (ε -) and ($\varepsilon l \varepsilon$ -) for perfective and progressive respectively as in (27b).

27. a. *Yaba* ε -*lo* *nzule*.

Yaba PERF-drink water

‘Yaba has drunk water.’

b. *Yaba* $\varepsilon l \varepsilon$ -*no* *nzule*.

Yaba PROG-drink water

‘Yaba is drinking water.’

This means that whereas tense is marked via suffixation, aspect is coded by prefixation.

Another verbal category that is discussed is negation. This is marked by the use of negation morphemes. The negative morphemes in Nzema include (*n-*, *nre*, *te-le*), ‘n’ changes to (*m-*, *n-*, *am-* *an-*) due to homorganic assimilation and aspect. This is illustrated in (28) below.

28. a. *Aka* *am-kpoa* *ewula* $\varepsilon n \varepsilon$.

Aka NEG-sweep dirt today

‘Aka did not sweep today.’

b. *Kofi* ε -*te-kpoa-le* *ewula*.

Kofi PERF- NEG-break-NEG

‘Kofi has not swept.’

c. *Kofi* ε -*m-kpoa* *ewula* $\varepsilon n \varepsilon$.

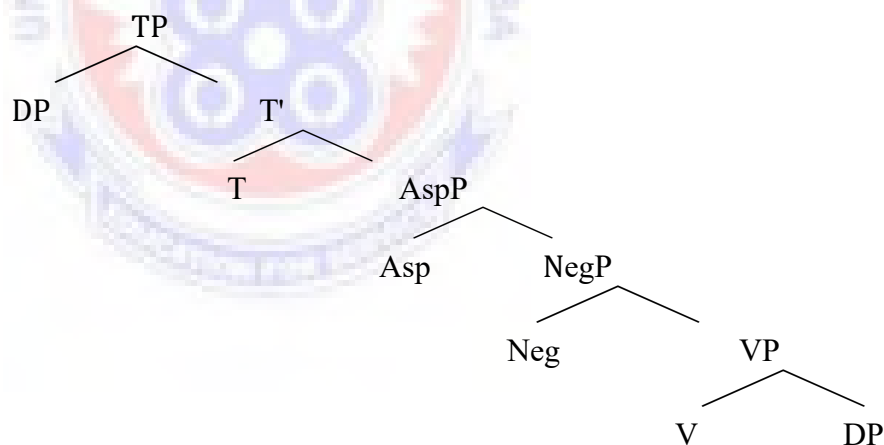
Kofi PROG-NEG- sweep dirt today

‘Kofi is not sweeping today.’

- d. *ehyema* *Kofi* *nre-kpoa* *ewule.*
 Tomorrow Kofi NEG-sweep dirt
 ‘Kofi will not sweep tomorrow.’

In this analysis, it is shown that tense projects a functional T head which is headed by the tense morpheme whereas the aspect morphemes are also heads of a projected Aspectual Phrase AspP. Finally, the negation morphemes also head a proposed functional layer argued to be Negative Phrase, NegP. All these are higher up in the structure than the VP layer. Based on the account, we propose that the clause structure of Nzema is as in the structure in (29). Projecting tense as a functional category on the tree diagram in Nzema, the TP is presented as the terminal node, the subject NP at the TP Spec. Nzema has the past tense marker suffixed to the verb; therefore, a movement from T to V takes place.

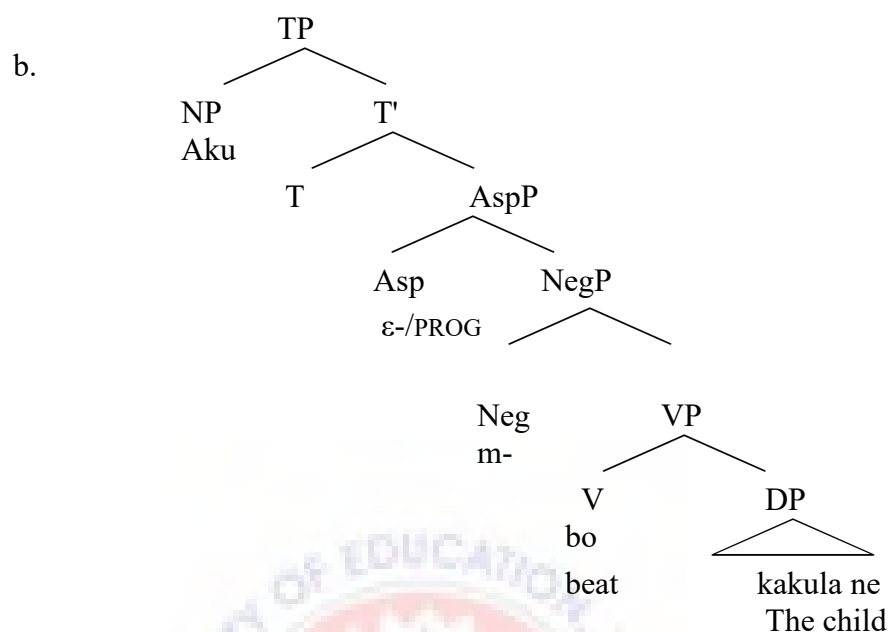
29.



Given the functional projections for tense, aspect and negation, we illustrate with the sentence in (30a) which structural representation is presented in (30b).

30. a. *Aku* *ε-m-bo* *Kakula* *ne.*
 Aku PROG-NEG-beat child DEF

‘Aku is not beating the child.’



This section focused on providing an overview of the basic clause structures that will be important for later discussion in this thesis. The next section gives an account of the types of verbs in Nzema.

4.1.3 Types of verbs in Nzema

In Nzema, four types of verb classes can be identified based on their argument structures. These classes consist of verbs that are intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and those verbs that have varying expressions of arguments.

4.1.3.1 The intransitive

Some Nzema verbs strictly require a single argument in their construction, which is the subject. Examples of such verbs in Nzema include *fifi* ‘to germinate’ *kpɔlɔ* ‘to rot’ *sesa* ‘to drain’ *bolo* ‘ripe’, *hu* ‘boil’ as in (31).

31. a. *Abɛɛ ne ɛ-fiɸi.*
Maize DEF PERF-germinate
'The maize has germinated.'
- b. *Konwo ne ɛ-bolo.*
Banana DEF PERF-ripe
'The banana has ripened.'

4.1.3.2 Transitive

Nzema verbs such as *bo* 'beat', *ka* 'bite', *pɛ* 'cut', *kɛ* 'catch', *dua* 'to plant' strictly require two arguments, i.e. the subject and the object arguments. Verbs under this category are considered transitive in Nzema.

32. a. *Kaku bo-le kakula ne.*
Kaku beat-PST child DEF
'Kaku beat the child.'
- b. *Bɛ-pɛ-le baka ne.*
3PL-cut-PAST tree DEF
'They cut the tree.'

4.1.3.3 Ditransitive

Verbs under this category require three arguments, the subject, the direct and the indirect object. Examples of such verbs include *maa* 'to give', *kɛ* 'to gift', *kile* 'to teach.' Let us consider examples (33) below:

33. a. *Mieza hyɛ-le me baage.*
Mieza gift-PST 1SG.OBJ bag
Mieza gifted me a bag.’
- b. *Me-kile bɛ edwene.*
1SG-teach.HAB 3SG.OBJ song
‘I teach them music.’

4.1.3.4 Those that are both transitive and intransitive

Verbs under this category do not have any strict number of arguments required. Examples of such verbs includes *kakye* ‘remember’ *ze* ‘to know.’

34. a. *me-ze*
1SG-know
‘I know.’
- b. *Me-ze ye.*
1SG-know 3SG
‘I know him/her.’

4.2 Characteristics of the verbal element in Nzema phrasal verbs

Though any kind of lexical verb can function as a verbal component in a phrasal verb, there are some peculiar properties of verbs that partake in the derivation of phrasal verbs. Based on the data gathered for this analysis, we observed that just like other languages, the verbal elements in Nzema phrasal verb construction exhibit some characteristics.

Most of the verbs used in Nzema phrasal verbs are normally dynamic. Examples of these verbs include; *nriandi* ‘run’, *su* ‘cry’, *so* ‘hold’, *pe* ‘cut’, *tia* ‘step’, *tea* ‘scream’, *biza* ‘ask’, *tende* ‘speak’, *gyinla* ‘stand’, *dwu* ‘descend’, *bɛɛ* ‘stumble.’ This characteristic is

not different from English as Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) explains that almost all verbs used with adposition elements are verbs of motion, apart from a few static verbs. In that both motion and dynamic verbs, present a physical change of state. Nzema has a few stative verbs that can also form the verbal element of phrasal verb. These include, *nwu* ‘see’, *tenla* ‘sit’ *te* ‘hear.’ Aside these, there are some stative verbs that have their dynamic counterparts which express the same notion. Such verbs have their dynamic counterparts, which are also used as verbal elements in phrasal verbs examples of such verbs are presented in the table below:

Table 2: List of stative/dynamic verbs in Nzema

Stative form	Dynamic	Glossary
<i>dε</i>	<i>sɔ</i>	to hold
<i>zɔ</i>	<i>soa</i>	to carry
<i>lε</i>	<i>nyia</i>	to get
<i>fɔ</i>	<i>doa</i>	to wet
<i>sie</i>	<i>fea</i>	to hide

In terms of phonological characterization, although Nzema has monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, only monosyllabic and disyllabic verbs function as the root in the phrasal verb construction. Moreover, between these two types, the monosyllabic roots dominate the disyllabic roots. The disyllabic verbs observed are seven in number, including; *gyinla* ‘stand’, *tenla* ‘sit’, *sonye* ‘sieve’, *fede* ‘scratch’, *bukue* ‘open’, *boka* ‘add’, *wula* ‘wear.’ Just as Laryea (2015) and Dixon (1991) assert in Ga and English respectively, the vast majority of phrasal verbs in these languages are monosyllabic root verbs.

Another characteristic of Nzema phrasal verb is that a single root verb could trigger a range of phrasal verbs in Nzema. This is to say that it is possible for one root verb to co-

occur with more than one adposition element to form different phrasal verbs in Nzema. This was particularly identified in six verbs, which are illustrated in the data under table 3 below

Table 3: List of verbs that co-occur with different adpositions in Nzema

N/S	Verb	Combination with adposition		
<i>a</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da zo</i> ‘be aware of’	<i>da nwo</i> ‘to delay	<i>da foa</i> ‘to assist’
<i>b</i>	<i>tenla</i>	<i>tenla nu</i> ‘to part take’	<i>tenla aze</i> ‘to be stable’	<i>tenla zo</i> ‘to seize’
<i>c</i>	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>tɔ aze</i> ‘to be defeated’	<i>tɔ zo</i> ‘to be next in line’	<i>tɔ nu</i> ‘to be odd’
<i>d</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te nu</i> ‘to be informed with’	<i>te zo</i> ‘to reduce’	<i>Te bo</i> ‘to understand’
<i>e</i>	<i>nea</i>	<i>nea zo</i> ‘to imitate’	<i>nea nu</i> ‘to focus’	<i>nea nwo</i> ‘to protect’
<i>f</i>	<i>gyinla</i>	<i>gyinla nu</i> ‘to intercede’	<i>gyinla zo</i> ‘to be used as a basis’	<i>gyinla nwo</i> ‘to persevere’

4.3 The post-verbal element in Nzema phrasal verbs

In Chapter Two, Section 2.1, it was realized that there are many controversies on the grammatical status of the post-verbal element in English phrasal verb constructions. Some scholars consider the post-verbal element a preposition; while others see it as an adverb whilst another school of thought sees it as belonging to none of these categories.

Our data shows that in Nzema, adverbs cannot co-occur with a verb to form a different category. We have an interesting paradigm in Nzema where there is evidence to show that whenever a verb and an adverb co-occur in a construction, the adverb serves as

modifier to the verb. In this regard, the status of the post-verbal element in Nzema phrasal verb construction is an adposition rather than an adverb; this is illustrated in example (35):

35. a. *Bε-vunva-nle edwεke ne nu.* (NSID)
 3PL-sniff-PST incident DEF in
 ‘They investigated into the incident.’
- b. *Bε-vunva-nle ayile bie* (NSID)
 3PL-sniff-PST medicine ADV
 ‘They sniffed some medicine.’

Whilst the verb and adposition element in (35a) form a new phrase functioning as one constituent, the (35b) presents two different constituents.

Some adposition elements in Nzema normally capture movement through a certain direction, where a noun or nominal complement serves as their destination or endpoint as indicated in example (36a) where the *nyunlu* ‘front’ indicates the destination of the verb *kɔ* ‘go.’ In (36b), *nzi* ‘behind’ also serves as a reference point to the verb *fa* ‘pass.’ The construction in (36b) indicates a direction using the NP as a landmark.

36. a. *Kɔ ε nyunlu.*
 Go 2SG. POSS front
 ‘Progress.’
- b. *Fa Aka anzi.*
 pass Aka behind
 ‘To double cross Aka.’

In terms of source, it appears that these adposition elements are derived from the names given to parts of the body, for example *foa* ‘one’s side’ is used to indicate ‘beside’, *nyunlu* ‘face’ is used to locate ‘in front’, *bo* the lower part of human’ denotes ‘under’, *nzi* ‘back’ as ‘behind’, *kunlu* ‘within the stomach’ indicates ‘inside.’ This scenario identified in Nzema coincides with Cascad (1982), Heine, and Ren’s (1984) assertion that many adposition elements can be derived from body-part nouns. For example, the word for the body-part ‘back’ is used for locational adposition ‘behind’ and that for ‘face’ for the locational adposition ‘front.’

Finally, four adposition elements were mostly used, thus *zo* ‘on’, *nu* ‘in’, *aze* ‘down’ and *nwo* ‘over.’ But the most frequently used adposition among these is *zo* ‘on’ followed by *nu* ‘in.’ Some of these adpositions are shown in the table 4 below.

Table 4: List of the four most productive adpositions in Nzema

<i>zo</i> ‘on to of’	<i>nu</i> ‘in/ inside of’	<i>nwo</i> ‘over/ around’	<i>aze</i> ‘down’
<i>die zo</i> ‘to respond’	<i>wula nu</i> ‘to amplify’	<i>nyia nwo</i> ‘to be ready’	<i>to aze</i> ‘to be defeated’
<i>dwu zo</i> ‘current trend’	<i>pε nu</i> ‘to cancel’	<i>nea nwo</i> ‘to guard’	<i>tenla aze</i> ‘to be stable’
<i>nea zo</i> ‘to guard’	<i>ba nu</i> ‘to manifest’	<i>su nwo</i> ‘to nag’	<i>dwu aze</i> ‘to deliver’
<i>gyinla zo</i> ‘to be firm’	<i>nea nu</i> ‘to monitor’	<i>bodo nwo</i> ‘to plead’	<i>bo aze</i> ‘to backslide’
<i>kponle zo</i> ‘to agree’	<i>se nu</i> ‘to be aware of’	<i>tende nwo</i> ‘to complain’	<i>bele aze</i> ‘to be calm’

4.4 The constituent structure of the Nzema phrasal verbs

The literature reviewed showed that English phrasal verbs have three difference structural forms, that is, a lexical verb with preposition, a lexical verb with adverb and a lexical verb with preposition and an adverb. Unlike English where a phrasal verb has three structural forms, phrasal verbs in Nzema have a single structure. That is a verb and adpositional elements. Examples (37a-b), are used for the illustration in (38) on the phrase structure tree.

37. a. *bε-pe zo.* (ISND)

3PL-drop on
‘They follow a step.’

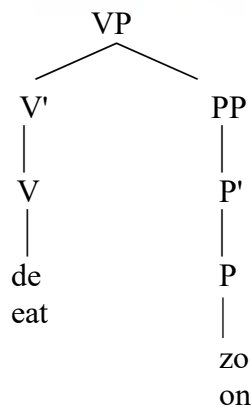
b. *bε-di zo*

3PL-eat on.
‘they obey.’

c. *Adwo de boka zo.*

Adwo sit. HAB tree top
‘Adwo is sitting of top of a tree.’

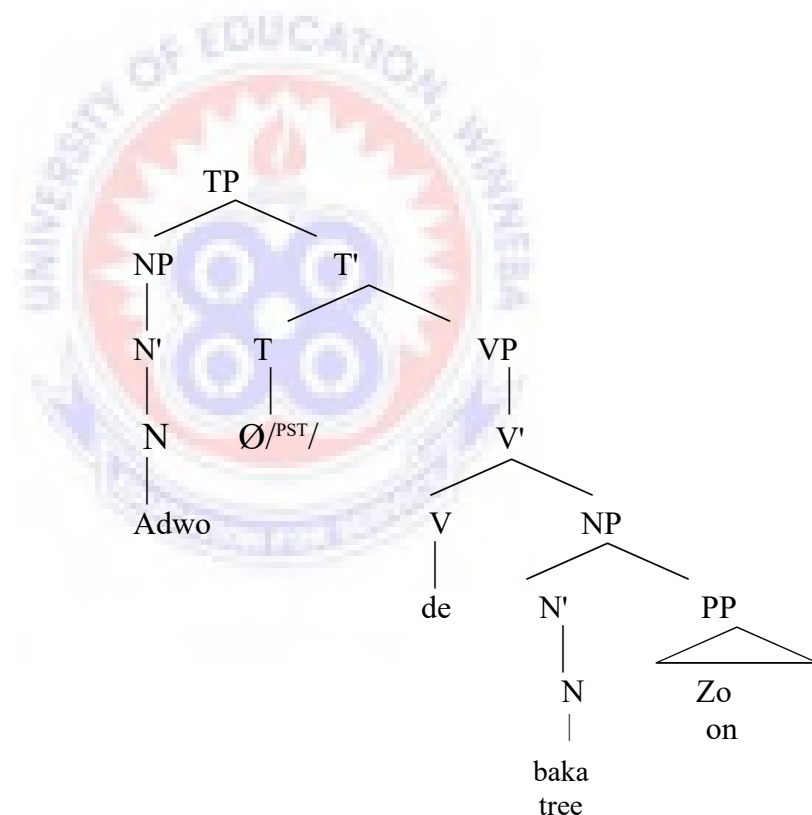
38.



The above is the representation of the structure of the phrasal verb in the tree diagram; we assume that the VP branches onto V' and PP. Here the PP is a sister to the V.' In that, the two categories together present the phrasal verb interpretation. therefore, we consider the two categories to be of the same grammatical status on the bar. The adposition element does not act as an ordinary postposition complementing the verb.

Comparing the above structure of a lexical verb and a postposition with *zo* 'on' of the phrasal verb with verb and position element in (37c) used in (39), it is evident that the PP has NP as its complement under the V head. However, the phrasal verb has PP as a sister to the V.'

39.



Again, the Nzema phrasal verb can function properly as a lexical verb does. Thus, they can also take adverbials. The adverbs here do not form part of the phrasal verb composition as it pertains in English rather, the adverb serves as a modifier or

complement to the phrasal verb as in (40a&b). Which is presented on the structure in (40d) below:

40. a. *Manye ε-nwu nu kpale.* (NSID)

Manye PERF-see in well
 ‘Manye understood better.’

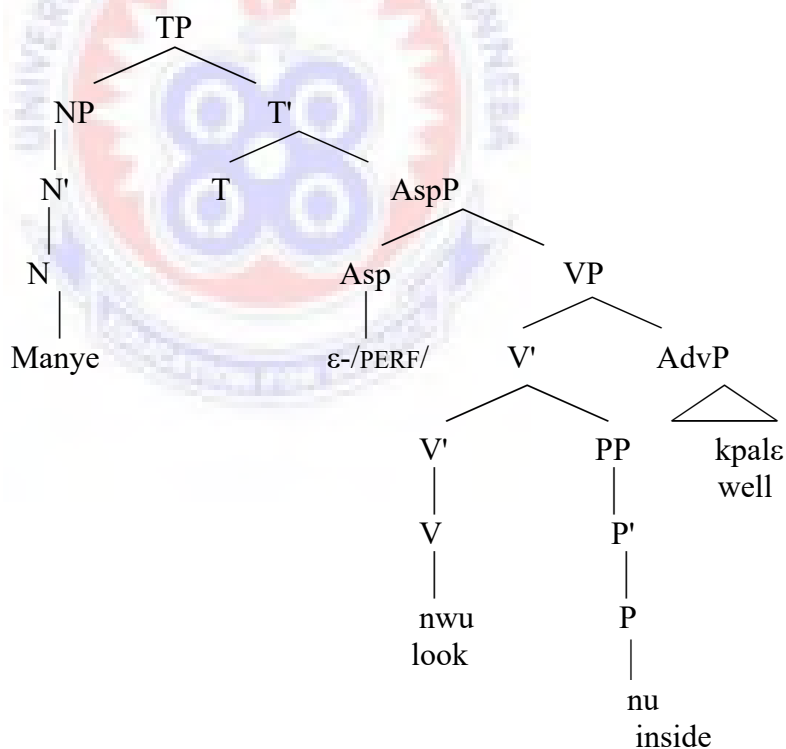
b. *Ye-ze nu kpole*

1PL-know in very well
 ‘We understand very well.’

c. *Me-tia ndende*

1SG-walk faster
 ‘I walk faster.’

41.



4.5 Syntactic classification of Nzema phrasal verbs

This sub-section focuses on the syntactic classification of Nzema phrasal verbs. I showed in chapter two that languages such as English, Akan and Ga classified their phrasal verbs based on transitivity. (see Sekyi-Baidoo 2006, Laryea 2015 & Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999). English has two types intransitive and transitive whilst Akan and Ga has three transitive, intransitive and a type that merges both transitive and intransitive.

The data indicated that Nzema phrasal verb also has three forms intransitive, transitive and a combination of a transitive and intransitive constructions. It showed that in certain context the adposition element is separated from the lexical verb. In such a situation, a noun proper or nominal object is placed between the lexical verb and the adposition element resulting in a separation of the adposition from the lexical verb. Below is the discussion of the various types of phrasal verbs identified in Nzema.

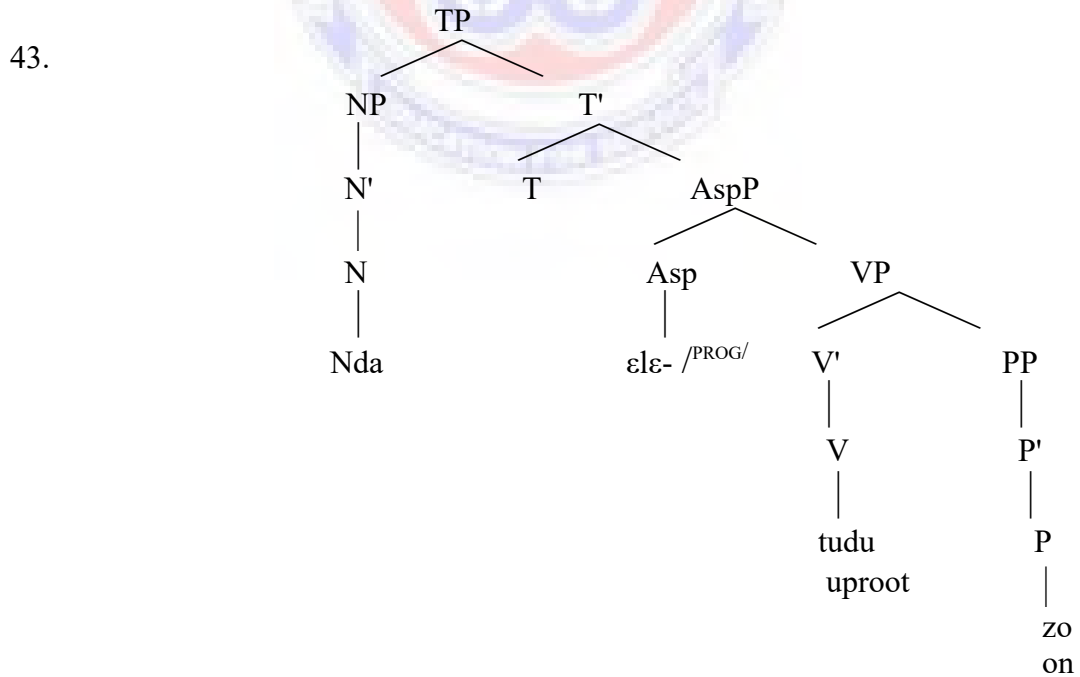
4.5.1 Intransitive phrasal verbs in Nzema

Just as with the VP, Nzema phrasal verbs also have many intransitives. These phrasal verbs have only a single argument. For instance, the phrasal verbs ⁴*ba zo* ‘come on’ and *tutu zo* ‘open on’ in examples (42a&b) respectively require a single argument, which is the subject. Both examples (42a&b) below contain intransitive phrasal verbs since they do not require object argument. The construction becomes a normal verb and adposition element combination as in (42c) and becomes ungrammatical as in (42d) in an attempt to give it an object.

⁴ The initial sound of the verb normally changes when the verb gets inflected to indicate tense due to some phonological reason. Example *ba* ‘come’ becomes *ra-le* ‘came’ *di* ‘eat’ become *li-le* ‘ate’.

42. a. *Kakula ne ε-ra zo.* (RD)
 child DEF PERF-come on
 ‘The child has become proud.’
- b. *Nda εε-tutu zo.* (NSID)
 Nda PROG-open on
 ‘Nda is leaving.’
- c. *?*Bε-lε-tutu toba ne azo.* (NSID)
 3PL-PROG-open bottle DEF on
 Intended: ‘They are opening the bottle.’
- d. **Aka ε-gyinla edwεkε ne anu.* (RD)
 Aka PERF-stand case DEF inside

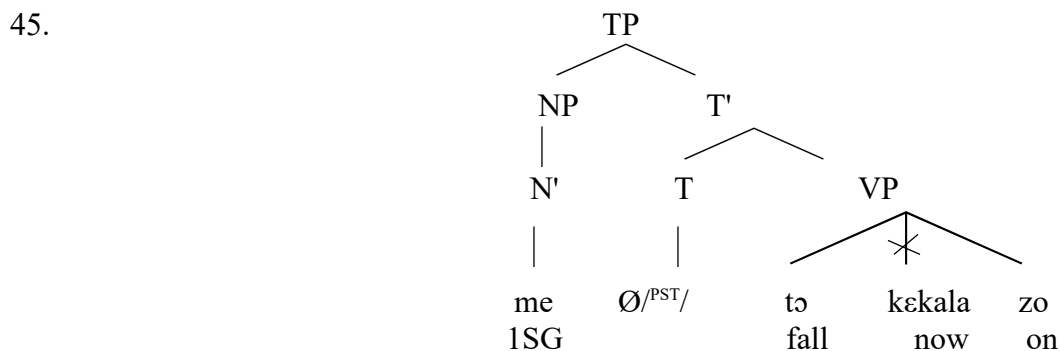
The various categories in the intransitive phrasal verb constructions are identified using the phrase structure tree. The example (42a) is used for the structural illustration of the intransitive phrasal verb in (43).



Based on the X-bar theory, it is realized that the verb is inflected in the intransitive phrasal verb construction. Therefore, the functional phrase TP serves as the projector on the terminal node. As stated, adopting Issah & Hartman (2018), the AspP is considered higher than the VP but lower than the TP. Here the NP sits as specifier to TP. T' has AspP as complement. The VP under the AspP, which is the phrasal verb under focus, introduces the V' and the PP as was explained under the structure; the V and P are sisters since the two categories have the equal grammatical status in achieving the phrasal verb construction. None serves as a complement or specifier to the other.

Although the adposition element in phrasal verb constructions can be separated from the verb by an object. The adposition element in Nzema intransitive phrasal verbs cannot be separated from the lexical verb by an adverb or any kind of modifiers. This is illustrated in the examples (44a & b) below, the insertion of the pronominal object *bε* '3PL' in (44a) and the adverb *kekala* 'now' respectively render the two sentences ungrammatical. Example (45) is an illustration of such a construction on a phrase structure tree.

44. a. **Nda dɔ-le bε nu.* (NSID)
 Nda fall-PST 3PL.OBJ in
- b. **Me-tɔ kekala zo*
 1SG-fall now on



The intransitive phrasal verbs exhibit two distinct features. That is, the phrasal verbs act as complements which give more information about the subject just as a copulative verb does. Examples are illustrated in examples (46).

46. a. *Teladeε ne ε-la zo.* (NSID)
 Dress DEF PERF-sleep on
 ‘The dress is well ironed.’
- b. *εbelabole εn-la aze.* (RD)
 life NEG-sleep down
 ‘Life is difficult.’

Below are other examples of such copulative intransitive phrasal verbs in Nzema with their meaning without context.

47. a. *ba nu* (RD)
 come in
 ‘to manifest as anticipated’
- b. *gyinla zo* (RD)
 stand on
 ‘to be in top form’
- c. *di nu* (Asilijoe 1992: 20)
 eat in
 ‘to be elegantly dressed’
- d. *ba zo* (RD)
 come on
 to become new fashion

Another kind of intransitive phrasal verbs found in the data are phrasal verbs that focus on the thing affected by the action of the verb than the doer. In examples (48a&b) below,

the grammatical subjects *nwɔho* ‘game’ and *gyima* ‘work’ for the phrasal verbs *bɔ bo* ‘to start’ and *toa zo* ‘continue’ respectively are rather the logical objects since they suffer the action of the verb by the logical subject. This means that the actual object, thus, the noun features syntactically as the subject. Annan (2014) refers to this kind of intransitives as ergative and explains that ergative verbs give passive or reflexive meaning.

48. a. *Nwɔho ne ɛ-bɔ ɔ bo.* (NSID)
 Game DEF PERF-hit 3SG. REF under
 ‘The game has begun.’
- b. *Gyima ne doa-le zo.* (NSID)
 work DEF join-PAST on
 ‘The work continued.’
- c. *Konle ne azo pɛ.* (RD)
 fight DEF top cut
 ‘The fight has ended.’

Other kinds of such intransitive phrasal verbs include:

- 49 a. *kɔ zo* (Aboagye 1992:20)
 go on
 ‘to progress’
- b. *tɔ nu* (RD)
 fall in
 ‘to be disgrace’

The above section discusses the intransitive phrasal verbs in Nzema. The first observed characteristic is that, this kind of phrasal verbs do not take objects. Therefore, they always have a single argument which is the subject. The verb and the adposition element that form this kind of phrasal verb are not separable, resulting in an inseparable

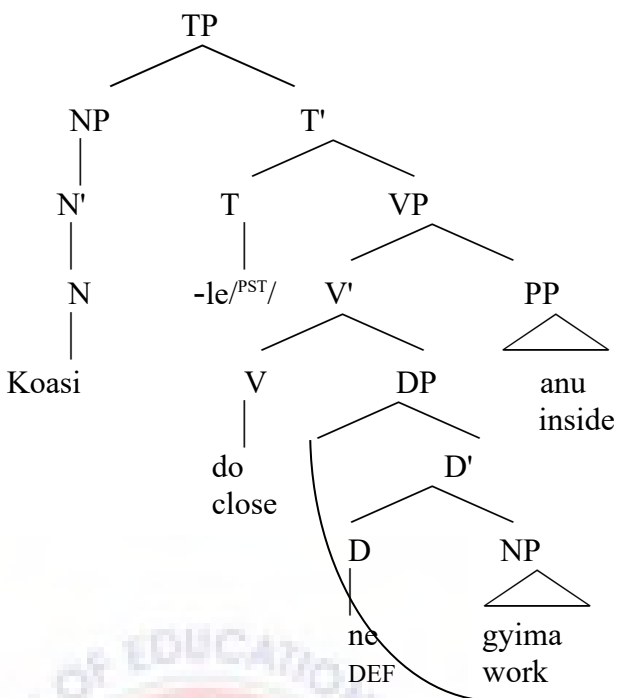
constituent. The structure of the Nzema intransitive phrasal verbs presented on the phrase structure tree.

4.5.2 Mono-transitive phrasal verbs in Nzema

The Nzema phrasal verbs have transitive forms, where more than one argument is required to achieve grammatical correctness. These transitive phrasal verbs can be mono-transitive which requires two argument; a subject and a direct object as in (50a & b) below. The phrasal verb *to nu* ‘to discontinue’ has the subject *Koasi* and *gyima* ‘work’ as its object. In (50b) the phrasal verb *fefe nu* ‘to investigate’ has *Afiba* as its subject and *edwεke* as its object.

50. a. *Koasi do-le gyima ne anu* (NSID)
 Koasi close-PST work DEF inside
 ‘Koasi discontinued the work.’
- b. *Afiba fefe-nle edwεke ne anu* (Aboagye 1992:19)
 Afiba calculate-PST case DEF inside
 ‘Afiba investigated the case.’

51.



The constituent elements in the Nzema mono-transitive phrasal verbs construction is captured on the phrase structure tree in (51). Through the X-bar, the sentence is considered a TP due to the presence of the tense inflection on the verb with NP at its Spec. T' has VP as complement. Based on the structure of the phrasal verb, VP extends to V' and PP since they are grammatically ranked equal. It is therefore appropriate to expand the V' to cater for NP since the V forms the core component of the phrasal verb. Here the V' is extended to have V and DP. DP extends to D head with NP complement. NP to Spec-DP movement takes places. This is to generate the right word order in the syntax and to ensure that the strong uninterpretable definiteness feature on D are checked.

As mentioned earlier, just as any lexical verb, the phrasal verbs also portray the features of verbs proper. With this, mono-transitive phrasal verbs Nzema are found to exhibit two kinds of such features, which are reciprocal and reflexive. Reciprocal verbs indicate that an action or a process is being performed on two groups of people or nouns, and they

include verbs such as ‘fight’ ‘compete’ and ‘date.’ However, in English the subjects can be joined by a coordinator at the subject slot, one of these nouns can be brought in post verbal position in active constructions occupying object slot.

Example, *Peter embraced Paul or Paul embraced Peter.*

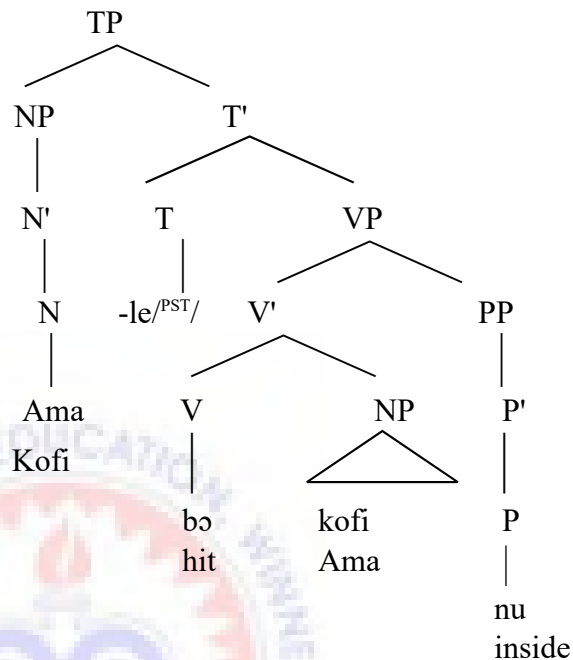
Each can be subject and object at the same time. Nzema phrasal verbs also exhibit this feature expressing the same notion but differ structurally. In Nzema, this transposition is not possible. The reciprocal phrasal verbs always have to take plural or compound subjects, which are joined by a coordinator; and always precede the phrasal verbs. In the examples (52a), the phrasal verbs *bɔ nu* ‘to unite’ and *yia nu* ‘to meet’ are functioning as reciprocal phrasal verbs, in that, both nouns *Ama and Kofi* in (52a) and *Nda and Aku* in (52c) are subject and object to the phrasal verbs respectively. An attempt to bring one of the nouns after the verb will produce a different meaning as in (52b) or render it ungrammatical as in (52d). The (52a) is presented on the structure tree in (53) below:

52. a. *Ama nee Kofi bɔ-le nu.* (RD)
 Ama CONJ Kofi hit-PAST in
 ‘Ama united with Kofi.’
- b. **?⁵ Ama bɔ-le Kofi nu.*
 Ama hit-PST Kofi in
- c. *Nda nee Aku yia-le nu.* (NSID)
 Nda CONJ Aku guide-PAST in
 ‘Nda met Aku.’

⁵ *? is used to indicate that the construction may be grammatically correct but not with regard to the present study.

- d. *Nda yia-le Aku nu
Nda guide-PST nu

53.



Representing the mono-transitive reciprocal phrasal verb on X-bar gives you the above structure. The agents of the reciprocal phrasal verb are the sufferer or benefactor of phrasal verbs. Both nouns fall under the Spec of the TP and as a complement to the VP, which is expanded under the V' since the V is considered the core element of the phrasal verb. Sometimes, the object of phrasal verbs becomes a reflexive pronoun, which is an anaphor to the subject. Mono-transitive phrasal verbs that take reflexive pronouns as its object are considered reflexive phrasal verbs (see Sekyi-Baidoo, 2006). Sekyi-Baidoo further explains that reflexive phrasal verbs are transitive phrasal verbs in which the subject and the object are referentially identical. This suggests that the subject did the action to it/him/herself. Transitive phrasal verbs in Nzema display this characteristic. In Nzema, these reflexive phrasal verbs always require reflexive pronouns as their objects.

Note that any form of DP object argument, other than the reflexive alters the meaning they carry.

54. a. *Ama nea-nle* ɔ *nwo zo.* (RD)

Ama look. PST 3SG self on
‘Ama cared for herself.’

b. ?* *Ama nea* *bε nwo zo.*

Ama look.HAB 3PL self on
‘Ama supervises them.’

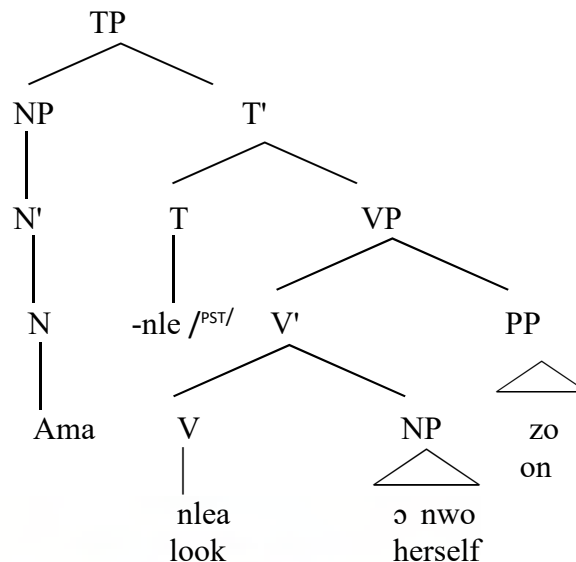
c. *Kua bεle* ɔ *nwo aze.* (RD)

Kua lower.HAB 3SG self down
‘Kua is humble.’

Comparing examples (54a and b), it can be observed that in example (54a), the meaning of the phrasal verb is ‘to be careful’ since the object is reflexive, but when the reflexive object was replaced by a pronoun which is not anaphoric to the subject, it resulted in change in meaning hence ‘to supervise.’ The alteration on the reflexive pronoun resulted in the meaning change. This notwithstanding, it is not always that the replacement of a reflexive object by a non-reflexive one results in another phrasal verb. Other kinds of such reflexives include *me nwo* ‘myself’, ɔ nwo ‘it/him/herself’, *bε nwo* ‘themselves’, *yε nwo* ‘ourselves.’ They combine with verbs such as *sɔ* hold, *bu* ‘break’, *nu* ‘turn off.’ For example, *sɔ.... now* ‘to restrain’, *bunwo* ‘to be arrogant’, *nu.....nwo* ‘repent.’

Using the X-bar theory, below is the structural representation of the reflective mono-transitive phrasal verb on the phrase structure tree. With this type, the nominal NP (reflective pronoun) which is a complement to the V' and P' is the same as the NP, which is a Spec to the TP, the subject of the sentence. The head of the T' marks the tense.

55.



4.5.3 Di-transitive phrasal verbs in Nzema

The transitive phrasal verbs discussed above involve only two arguments, that is, a subject and direct object. They are therefore considered mono-transitive. However, there is evidence to show that Nzema also has di-transitive phrasal verbs. Di-transitive verbs in general exhibit a three-person relationship between the subject, a direct object whose involvement makes the action of the verb possible and an indirect object who receives or benefits from the action. This is illustrated in examples (56a & b). It is observed in the example (56a) that the phrasal verb *te zo* ‘to reduce’ has *bε* ‘they’ as subject, *bole* ‘price’ as the direct object and *me* ‘me’ as the indirect object. Sometimes achieving such construction involves a serial verb, where *maa* ‘give’ is introduced as the second verb in the sentence. This is traced in (56 a & d) where the second verb, which precedes the pronouns, are both *maa* ‘give.’

56. a. *Bε-de-le bole ne azo bε-maa me.* (Aboaye 1992, 20)
 3PL-tie-PAST price DEF on 3PL-give1 SG.OB

‘They reduced the price for me.’

b. *Afo hile-le bε edwekε ne abo.* (RD)

Afo show-PST 3PL.OBJ issue DEF under

‘Afo explained the issue to them.’

c. *Yε-zie-le bε ezukoa ne anu.*

1PL-place-PAST 3PL money DEF inside

‘We replaced the money for them.’

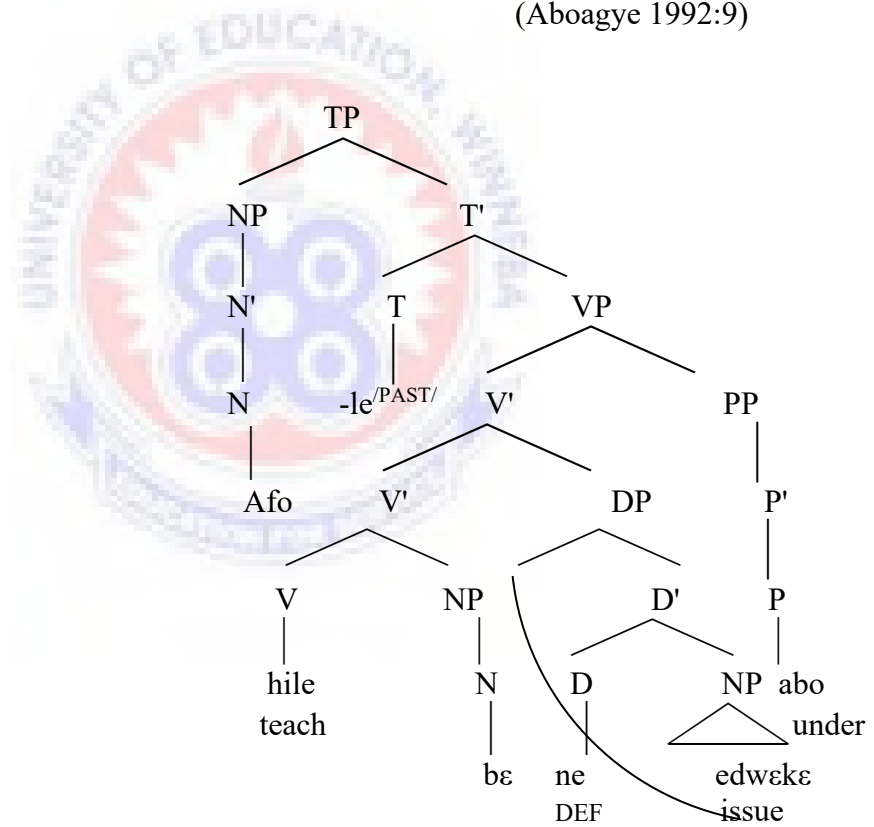
d. *ɔ-du-le ngyegyε ne abo ɔ-maa-nle Yaba.*

3SG-uproot-PAST problem DEF under 3SG-give-PST Yaba

‘He solved the problem for Yaba.’

(Aboagye 1992:9)

57.



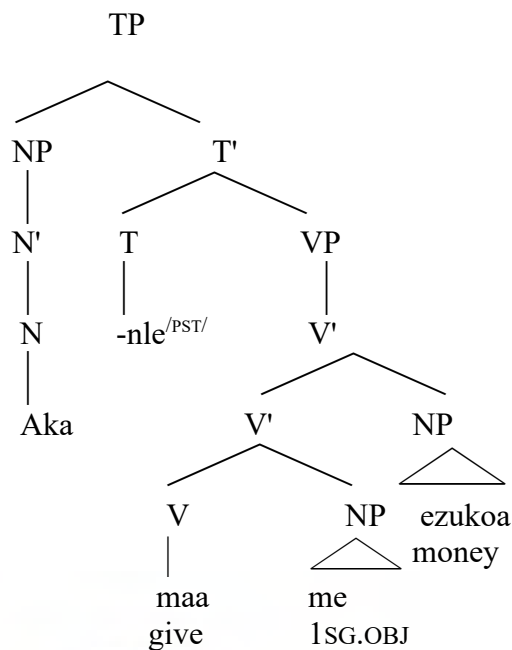
Above is a structural representation of the ditransitive phrasal verb on the phrase structure tree, which identifies all the three arguments involved in this construction.

The subject forms the NP, which is a Spec to the TP. VP falls under the complement of the T head. V' and PP are sisters and daughters to VP since both are considered equal under phrasal verb, just as has been stated earlier. To cater for the object, the V', which is the core component of the phrasal verb, is expanded resulting in an introduction of second V' with a DP as a complement. This DP has NP, which is the direct object of sentence as its complement. A connection line is drawn to indicate the NP to DP Spec movement. The second V' is again expanded to the V and another NP as its complement, the NP maps to N' and to N (indirect object). Let us compare the above structure of the di-transitive Phrasal verbs to the lexical verb in di-transitive using the construction.

58. *Aka maa-nle me ezukoa.*
 Aka give-PST 1SG money
 'Aka gave me money/ Aka gave money to me.'

The lexical verb in di-transitive construction the VP maps to V.' The V' further expands to V' and NP. This NP, which is a sister to the second V', represents the direct object. To achieve the indirect object, the second V' is expanded to have V and NP. This NP maps to N' to N.

59.



The above discussion uncovered some characteristics of the transitive phrasal verbs in Nzema. The first observed feature is the two types of transitive phrasal verb mono-transitive phrasal verb with two arguments and di-transitive phrasal verbs with three arguments. The mono-transitive can be reciprocal where the phrasal verb has two nouns and each could be the subject and object at the same time. In addition, reflexive phrasal verbs where the subject and the object of the phrasal verbs are referentially identical was also identified.

Again, on the issue of separability, an object always separates the verb and the adposition element in this category. There was no instance where the object was found after the adposition element.

4.5.5 Phrasal verbs that are used both transitively and intransitively⁶

Aside the two broad categories of transitivity, which includes transitive and intransitive, there exists verbs that perform dual functions. Dixon (2005) refers to such verbs as ambitransitives. Some of the Nzema phrasal verbs can be both transitive and intransitive with regard to the context in which they are used. Examples (60a & b) below, with phrasal verb *dwu aze* ‘to arrive’/ ‘to be dethroned’ has a single argument as the subject in (60a) and two arguments in (60b); that is subject and object. The same applies to the phrasal verb *mia zo* ‘to intensify’/ ‘strengthen’, which has a single argument in (60c) whilst (60d) has two arguments, the subject, and object. The difference in argument required by the same phrasal verb stands for the fact that the action or meanings differ with regard to context. Example *mia nu* ‘to intensify’/ ‘to straighten’ as in (60c & d). The intensity of rain is strictly intransitive. While for a security to be tight it requires a subject, resulting in a transitive construction.

60. a. *Ama ε-dwu aze.* (Aboagye 1992:6)
 Ama PERF-drop down
 ‘Ama has arrived.’
- b. *Bε-dwu-la nrenyia ne aze.* (Aboagye 1992:6)
 3PL-drop-PERF man DEF down
 ‘They have dethroned the man.’
- c. *Ezule ne ε-mia nu.* (NSID)
 Rain DEF PERF- tighten. inside
 ‘The rain has intensified.’

⁶ There is no illustration of this type on the phrase structure since it falls under the two types already discussed above 4.5.1 and 4.5.2

- d. *Nda ε-mia banebole ne anu.*
 Nda PERF- tighten security DEF in
 ‘Nda has strengthen the security.’

4.6 Distinguishing phrasal verbs from other verbal compounds in Nzema

In organizing the data for the study, other verbal compounds were discovered in Nzema. These compounds highlighted some features which are similar to that of phrasal verbs, for which it is beneficial to distinguish them from phrasal verbs. These other structures are serial verbs and inherent complement verbs.

4.6.1 Overview of the syntax of serial verb constructions

Syntactically, serialized verbs refer to a type of construction in which a series of verbs act together as a single predicate, or a single-clausal construction made up of multiple independent verbs without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, Haspelmath 2016). This multi-word phenomenon which exist in majority of languages was found in the Nzema data. In Nzema, the serialized verbs tend to indicate a process involving a given event or certain direction involving a given action or event. An illustration of such serialized verb construction is presented in (61). From the constructions, it could be observed that each construction has verbs in sequences. Example (61a) has *kye* ‘catch’, *tone* ‘sell’ *maa* ‘give’ forming the serialization. Moreover, in (61b & c) *bia* ‘bath’, and *kɔ* ‘go’, surface in a single construction without any coordination just as the description of serial verb construction postulates.

61. a. *Aka hye-le fɛɛ ne dɔne-nle maa-nle bɛ.* (RD)
 Aka catch-PST fish DEF sell- PST give- PST 3PL.OBJ
 ‘Aka caught fish and sold to them.’
- b. *ɔ-bia ndende ɔ-kɔ dahuu.* (RD)
 3SG-bath.HAB quickly 3SG-go. HAB always
 ‘He quickly baths and leave always.’
- c. **ɔ-bia ndende kɔ dahuu.*
 3SG-bath. HAB quickly go. HAB always

It is observed in all cases that the verbs share the same subject. Nevertheless, whilst the noun subject appears once as in example (61a), the pronominal subject is repeated on the second verb, as has been used in (61b) instead of the noun. The construction becomes ungrammatical if the pronominal subject is not repeated with the second verb as in (61c).

Although there exists uniformity in terms of tense-aspect marking across the verbs as (62a & b) there is a possible situation where tense-aspect may differ. That is, if the initial verb is marked by the perfective, then the progressive would mark the second verb as in (62c) below. Negation in such construction is marked on all the verbs as in (62d). On the principle of transitivity, serial verb construction can be both transitive as in (62a) and intransitive, as in (62d).

62. a. *ɔ-wua-le aɛɛ ne ɔ-li-le.* (RD)
 3SG-steal-PST food DEF 3SG-eat-PST
 ‘He stole the food and ate it.’
- b. **Nda ɛ-wua aɛɛ ne li-le.*
 Nda PERF-steal food DEF eat-PAST

- c. *Aka ε-wua alee ne ελε-di.*
 Aka PERF-steal food DEF eat-PROG
 ‘Aka is eating the food he stole.’
- d. *Aka an-wua alee an-gye am-maa be.*
 Aka NEG-steal food NEG-supply NEG-give them
 ‘Aka did not steal food for them.’

Another characteristic of the serialized verbs that is worth mentioning involves the *process* and the *direction types*. The process type is exemplified by verbs such as *fa kɔ* ‘take go meaning ‘send’ and *fa di* ‘take eat’ meaning ‘eat.’ These verbs tend to capture the two component actions involved in a single strive. *Fa kɔ* ‘take go’ meaning ‘send’ such action comprises *fa* ‘take’ and *kɔ* ‘go’ thus “sending” which evidently involves taking something and moving towards a destination. Similarly, *fa di* ‘take eat’ captures the sequence of taking *fa* and eating *di*. Before eating, the hand needs to pick the food to the mouth for eating to take place.

The verbs *ba* ‘come’ and *kɔ* ‘go’ sometimes suffix other verbs in a serialized construction. In such circumstance, they turn to indicate direction of the activity of the verb to which it is attached. For instance, *tende kɔ* ‘talk go’ and *su bela* ‘cry come; meaning ‘go on talking’ and ‘approach with the crying’ respectively.

The discussion on serial verbs in Nzema, highlighted seven characteristics thus; they have more than one verb, the verbs in the construction have the same subject, the pronominal subject must be repeated on the second verb, and the verbs do not have a conjunction between them and they express uniformity in terms of tense-aspect. Negation is marked on all the verbs; they can be transitive and intransitive. Finally, they indicate

process and direction. With this, we can establish the difference, thus the constituents of serial verbs differ from the phrasal verbs in that SVCs consist of only verb, whereas in phrasal verb construction, there is the presence of an adposition element, which is a necessity.

4.6.2 Overview of the syntax of inherent complement verb (ICV)

Inherent Complement verbs are verbs, which require a complement in their citation form. According to Nwachukwu (1984), inherent complement verb is a morphological subset of verbs, which in its citation form consists of root verb followed by a free noun. He says further “...the root (i.e. the verb) and its nominal complement form one semantic unit, and any dictionary entry which excludes the complement is so ambiguous as to be meaningless. (Nwachukwu 1984:109) This indicates that the meaning of the verb is tied with its nominal complement; an attempt to disassociate its complement will render it meaningless. According to him, this property motivates the term ‘inherent’ in the name ‘inherent-complement verb.’ Just as Korsah (2015) asserts ICV exist in Kwa languages, Korsah (2018) establishes a similar case for the Ga ICV that different verbs with the same inherent complement have different meanings. He provides the examples in Ga below:

- 63 a. *wo ho* (pregnancy) ‘to impregnate’
 b. *wo naa* (advice) ‘to advise’

(Korsah 2018:54)

Examples of ICV in Nzema are as presented below, Changing the verbs in *di nyane* ‘eat pain’ to **tu nyane* ‘uproot pain’ or *bɔ mɔdenle* ‘play effort’ to **di mɔdenle* ‘eat effort’ will distort the meaning since each verb has its ideal collocation.

64	Verb +	noun-complement	-	ICV meaning
	a.	<i>bɔ</i> ‘play’	<i>adale</i> ‘liar’	‘to lie’
			<i>ɛkpa</i> ‘labourer’	‘to hire a labour’
			<i>mɔdenle</i> ‘effort’	‘to try’
			<i>akpo</i> ‘threat’	‘to frighten’
	b.	<i>di</i> ‘eat’	<i>nyane</i> ‘pain’	‘to suffer’
			<i>ngoame</i> ‘insult’	‘to cast insinuation’
			<i>anloma</i> ‘defender’	‘to defend’
			<i>ahɔne</i> ‘chanting’	‘to chant’

It can be realized that the meaning of an ICV does not seem to be fully compositional. The meaning of the two together usually comes closer to the inherent complement. There is thus, the tendency to consider the verb as meaningless. However, the verbs are fixed with the inherent complement in order to achieve its appropriate meaning

Therefore, the inherent complement is not the sole determinant to the meaning of the ICV. In Nzema, although ICVs have their complements as in (65a), some ICV constructions can admit an additional complement as in (65b). The ICV constructions show the same range of transitivity variation observed in purely lexical verbs, thus, example (65b) has two arguments, the subject and the object.

65. a. *Nda tu folɛ* (RD)

Nda v IC

‘Nda counsels.’

b. *Nda tu sukoavoma folɛ.*

Nda v students IC

‘Nda counsels students.’

Though the verbs in ICVs do not have independent meaning most of them can function independently as lexical verbs and select argument to which they assign a thematic role. This is shown in examples (66a) and (66b) where the verbs are used lexically. No ICV meaning arises here. Moreover, (66c) also indicates that ICV can be inflected to indicate tense and aspect.

66. a. *Bɛ-tu bɛɛ ɛvolɛ biala.* (RD)

3PL-uproot. HAB cassava yera every

‘They harvest cassava annually.’

b. *Ye-va aleɛ ne ye-maa Kakula ne.*

3SG. PERF-take food DEF 3SG.PERF-give child DEF

‘He has given food to the child.’

c. *Ye-va ekolɛ.*

3SG. PERF- take stomach

‘She is pregnant.’

d. *ɔ-li-le nyane.*

3sg-eat-PAST pain

‘He suffered.’

From the above examples (65 & 66), I contend that Nzema ICVs are verbs whose citation form is followed by an obligatory complement, which is an indication that many verbs in Nzema have ambivalent properties. They can be used lexically in which case they take various complements including other arguments and they can be used in ICVs in which the V and N form a complex unit. Their constituent elements can be separated when used transitively. They differ syntactically from phrasal verbs in terms of their constituent elements. Whereas the phrasal verb consists of a verb and adposition element, ICV consists of verb and noun.

4.7 Interim summary

The chapter dealt with both empirical and theoretical issues on the phrasal verbs of Nzema. In the light of the empirical, the chapter has examined the syntax of the Nzema verb phrase, the verbal and post verbal elements of Nzema phrasal verbs, the constituent structure of the Nzema phrasal verb was presented as well as the types of phrasal verbs in Nzema with respect to the issue of transitivity. In addition, it also focused on differentiating phrasal verbs from other verbal compound constructions such as ICVs and SVCs. The X-bar syntactic was used to cater for the various categories in constructions of the Nzema phrasal verb. The next chapter presents the semantic analysis of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SEMANTICS OF NZEMA PHRASAL VERBS

5.0 Introduction

This present chapter presents a semantic analysis of Nzema phrasal verbs. The analysis provided is within the theoretical framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The chapter has been thematically categorized under five sub-headings. Section 5.1 outlines the semantic features of the adposition. Section 5.2 examines how metaphor underlies the meanings of phrasal verbs. The idiomatic properties of the phrasal verbs are discussed under section 5.3. Section 5.4 provides a semantic distinction between phrasal verbs and other verbal constructions. Section 5.5 focuses on the polysemous nature of the phrasal verb and finally section 5.6 provides an interim summary.

5.1 The semantic characteristics of the adposition in Nzema phrasal verbs

Section 2.3.1 presented different arguments on the semantic status of the adposition. Some scholars such as Fraser (1976) and Wierszyck (2013) argue that adpositions do not contribute to the meaning of the phrasal verb. Others presents an opposing view. The Nzema data presented in this study through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory buttress the point that adpositions in the phrasal verb constructions have a close association with the meaning of phrasal verbs.

In Nzema, some adpositions (not in all situations) present complete and incomplete notions to the phrasal verb. For instance, *zo* 'on'/ 'on top of' is normally associated with incompleteness or continuation. Example, *toa zo* 'to continue after a break' indicates that an activity, wich had begun needs to be completed, therefore demands a continuation.

Example for *da zo* ‘to persist’, which suggests further prosecution of action. In (67a), it is realized that there was an incomplete action ‘schooling’, which was later, resumed. Therefore, in (67b) *so zo* ‘to continue’ codes the idea that the work started and needs a continuation. For instance, (67a & b) show a progressive action. The illustrations below indicate that the adposition *zo* ‘on/ on top of’ sometimes presents an atelic⁷ meaning to the phrasal verb.

67. a. *Asua nyia-nle ezukoa doa-le ye sukulu ne azo.*
 Asua get-PST money follow-PST 3SG.POSS school DEF on
 ‘Asua furthered her education after she had money.’

(Asilijoe 1992:9)

b. *So gyima ne azo maa me.* (Aboagye 1992:19)
 hold work DEF on give 1SG.OBJ
 ‘Continue the work for me.’

c. *Bε-la ayile zo.* (NSID)
 3PL-sleep medicine on
 ‘They are under treatment.’

d. *Me-va me now me-do edweke nu.* (Asilijoe 1992:17)
 1SG-take 1G.POSS self 1SG-throw matter inside
 ‘I am in trouble.’

Contrary to this, are the phrasal verbs, which sometimes capture the image of completeness when associated with the use of *nu* ‘in’/ ‘inside of.’ Let us consider the sentences in examples (68). In (68a), *ba nu* indicates that ‘their plan manifested in its fullness as expected’, with no need for further action. (68b & c) *tia nu* and *pε nu* ‘to stop

⁷ Atelic means presenting an action or event as being incomplete, for instance the progressive morpheme ‘-ing’ is said to be atelic since it indicates incompleteness of the verb.

with immediate effect’ respectively capture the idea that the performer is through; that the action which has seized happening, and therefore is completed. (68d) *te nu* ‘to hear something completely’ indicates that the action happened in its completeness or in totality without the need for further action. This indicates that the adposition *nu* ‘in/inside of’ can present telic⁸ meaning to the phrasal verb.

68. a. *Bε ngyehyεlee ne ε-ra nu.* (RD)
 3PL plan DEF PERF-come in
 ‘Their plan has been successful.’
- b. *Egya tia-le edwεke ne anu.* (Aboagye 1992:9)
 Father step-PST matter DEF inside
 ‘Father stopped the matter.’
- c. *Yε-pe konle ne anu.* (RD)
 1PL-cut fight DEF inside
 ‘We have seized the grudge.’
- d. *Ama de-le bε adwulie ne anu.* (RD)
 Ama hear-PAST 2PL conversation DEF inside
 Ama heard your conversation.’

Just as Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) stated for Akan, that some adpositions help in showing contrasting semantic property of intense activity and lack of intense activity, Nzema seems to exhibit the same pattern. In Nzema *zo* ‘on’/’on top of’ and *nu* ‘in/inside of’ present contrasting semantic properties. Let us consider examples (69).

69. a. *Ɔ-bɔ-le me adawu ne azo.* (NSID)
 3SG-hit-PST 1SG story DEF on
 ‘He/she gave me a hint on the story.’

⁸ Telicity, a property of a verb that presents an action or event as being complete in the same sense.

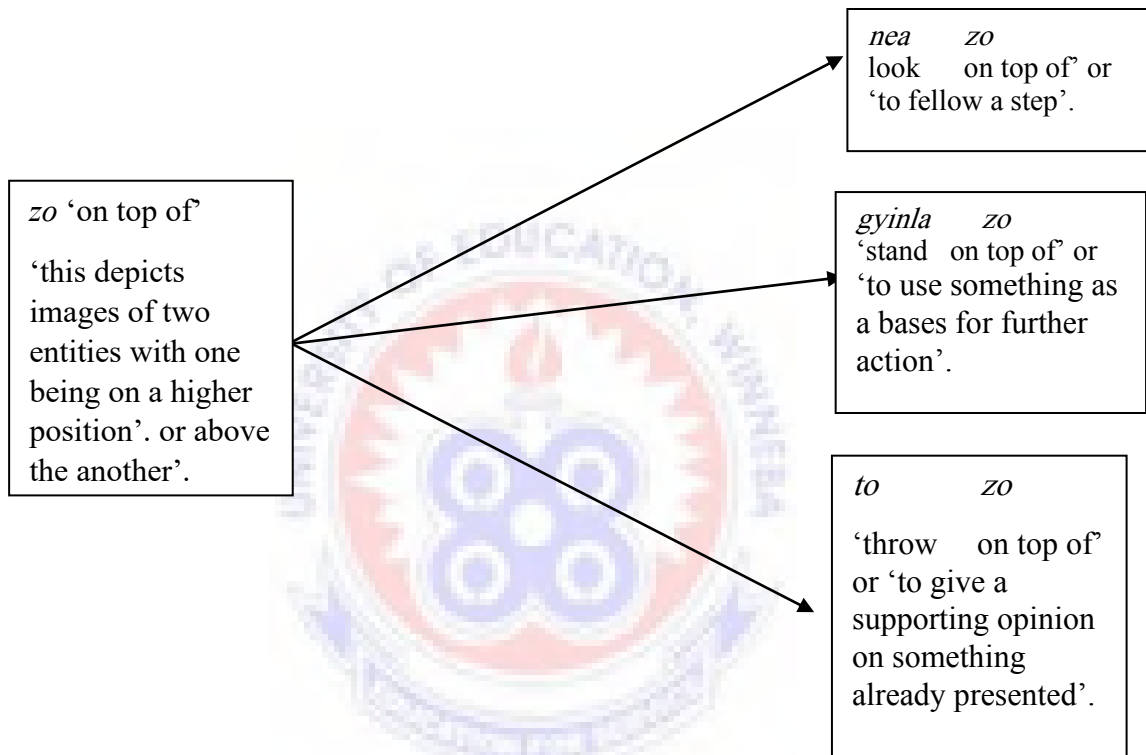
- b. *Ɔ-bɔ-le* *me* *adawu* *ne* *anu.* (NSID)
 3SG-hit-PAST 1SG story DEF in
 ‘He/she narrated the story to me.’
- c. *Me-nva-le* *me* *nye* *me-nva-le* *zo.* (RD)
 1SG-take-PAST 1SG.POSS eye pass-PST on
 ‘I glanced through.’
- d. *Me-nva-le* *me* *nye* *me-nva-le* *nu.* (RD)
 1SG-take-PST 1SG.POSS eye 1SG pass-PST inside
 ‘I spied through.’

From the examples (69a & b), *bɔ zo* ‘hit on’ and *bɔ nu* ‘hit in’ both are associated with giving information about an event or happening. *Bɔ zo* ‘to make mention of’ does not require ‘giving the whole narration’ but refers to the idea of just stating the subject. This suggests lack of intensity or exhaustiveness in dealing with the subject of making information about something known as described. *Bɔ nu* ‘to tell or to recount’, on the other hand, suggests completion or exhaustiveness in the sense that as much information as necessary would be given about the subject or the entire narration. In (69c & d) *fa zo* ‘pass on’ and *fa nu* ‘pass in’ are both associated with taking a look at something, whilst *fa zo* as in (69c) implies just witnessing without much detail, *fa nu* as used in (69d) requires a view with intensity in order to know everything. Similarly, *ba zo* ‘to come off’ also denotes just the occurrence of something and *ba nu* ‘to manifest as expected’ presents the occurrence of a happening in full or the complete manifestation of an anticipation or a prediction.

A single adposition combined with different verbs often creates a unique meaning to the phrasal verb as a whole in Nzema. For instance, the adposition *zo* meaning ‘up’ or ‘on top

of' in Nzema depicts an image of someone or something being in a higher position or above the another. The combination of this adposition with verbs like *nea* 'look' *gyinla* 'stand', and *to* 'throw' presents a different meaning to each of the composition as in figure 1.

Figure 1: Metaphorical meaning of Nzema adpositions in phrasal verbs



According to CMT the literal meaning, thus the source domain serves as link to the understanding of the target. The idea of two different entities where one is above the other in *zo* 'on/ on top of' is captured in all the three interpretations in examples (70a).

70. a. *Nda nlea-nle me kale ne azo do-le bie.*
 Nda look-pst 1SG.POSS car DEF on buy-pst some
 'Nda purchased a similar car as mine.'

(Aboagye 1992:18)

- b. *Ɔmɔ gyinla-nle edwekɛ ne azo bɔ-le ewole.* (NSID)
 Mother stand-PST matter DEF on break-PST divorce
 ‘Mother got divorce over the issue.’
- c. *Ɔ-do-le mɔɔ me-nga-nle la azo.* (NSID)
 3SG-throw-PST DEM 1SG-say-PAST FOC on
 ‘He/she seconded my point.’

LOOKING ON IS IMITATING. As indicated, *nea zo* ‘to follow a step’ shows a mental picture of something being readily available to be imitated which implies the presence of two different entities where the one beneath needs to imitate the higher one. In (70a), the sentence depicts the fact that the person will look up to a particular car in purchasing a new one.

STANDING ON IS FORMING A BASIS (for an action or a decision) metaphor. In *gyinla zo* ‘using something as a basis for further action, also captures the idea of something already available (beneath) which will project the new situation. Example (70b) indicates that mother got her divorce for some reason. Obviously there exists two separate entities (the issue that resulted in divorce), with the former projecting the latter. Similarly, *to zo* ‘presenting a supporting opinion’ THROWING ON IS SUPPORTING/AGREEING WITH. (70c) implies an already existing fact, which the current will lay on. It is therefore evident that such an interpretation of *zo* ‘on top of’ is associated with the totality of the sense of the phrasal verb.

The data showed that the literal meaning of the adposition provides a varying degree of metaphorical conception that underpins the composite meaning of the phrasal verb. For

instance, *bo* ‘below/ at the bottom of/ at the hint part of’ can be captured from the meanings of the phrasal verbs. In all instances *bo* ‘beneath’ depicts a situation in which some action occurs at ‘the bottom’ of a phenomenon. Sekyi-Baidoo (2006:9), explains that such adposition signals, “ordinary latitudinal growth, the bottom is associated with the beginning” of an activity.

However, *bo* is normally associated with the ‘root’ or the ‘source’ or ‘where the real or the basic thing is initiated.’ As in HEARING UNDER IS UNDERSTANDING metaphor. In phrasal verbs such as *te NP bo* literally meaning ‘to hear the bottom of an NP’ or ‘to hear the under part of an NP.’ Thus, *te* means to ‘hear’ or ‘know’ just the topic or focus. But the addition of *bo* ‘the bottom of’ implies that not just the topic or focus but the foundations ‘source’ of that information. This apparently means ‘understanding’ that is knowing something from the foundation, as illustrated in examples (71a). The same applies to SHOWING IN IS EXPLAINING metaphor. *Kile NP bo* ‘to show the depths or foundations of an issue or something’ thus explaining something in detail.

71. a. *Kofi kile erele bo maa n-gakula (RD)*
 Kofi show.HAB proverb under give. HAB PL-child
 ‘Kofi explains proverbs to children.’

BURNING UNDER IS ELIMINATING OR DESTROYING. The concept *bo* denotes ‘root or foundation’ is also captured in the phrasal verbs *yela NP bo* ‘to burn the foundation or root of an NP.’ The imagery of sentence (72b) captures the practice of eradicating something in totality, meaning ‘to be destroyed completely.’ This idea is transferred from an Nzema practice where normally fire is set under a tree to burn up a root in order to

prevent the tree from blooming further. Burning up the root of a family is to prevent a regeneration or possible continuity of the family's lineage.

EATING UNDER IS DESTROYING. To eat the foundation or root of an NP as used in examples (72c) depicts literally a situation in which the foundation of someone's posture is eaten away resulting in his/her downfall.

72. b. *Bε-yela abusua ne abo.* (RD)

3PL-burn family DEF under

'They have gotten rid of the family.'

c. *Me-didi nrenyia ne abo.* (RD)

1SG-eat man DEF bottom

'I have destroyed the man.'

d. *Ɔ-nwu-nle raale ne abo.* (NSID)

3SG-see-PST woman DEF under

'He/she discovered the woman's secret.'

SEEING UNDER IS DISCOVERING SECRET. This also reflects the idea of meddling with NP foundation or roots. This idea is manifested in the example (72d). This expression for instance, depicts a situation in which someone is situated under another person as in a master and subordinate relationship. In such a situation, the person gets to discover what the master is made of, which forms the foundation of that person's posture or position. With that, the secrets of that person become known and as a result, this secret can be used against him/her. Using this person's secrets against him/her will result in destroying the foundation of such a person and consequently cause a total downfall.

It is therefore obvious from these instances that the presence of the adposition presents a varying degree of metaphorical transfer to the meaning of the phrasal verb. As in English

and Akan, adpositions in Nzema phrasal verbs present metaphorical meaning to the phrasal verbs. This is discussed in the next section.

5.2 Metaphorical meaning underlining Nzema phrasal verbs

Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman (1999), Sekyi-Baidoo (2008), Rodriguez (2013) and Laryea (2015) make mention of metaphor under the semantic study of phrasal verbs discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis. Phrasal verbs present an abstract concept often made more explicit via the use of concrete entities. In addition, this is what metaphor is all about. When speaking of metaphors, cognitive linguists such as Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Kovecses (2002, 2005) and Imre (2010) assert that metaphor is based on understanding one thing in terms of another through cross-domain correlation. Where the source domain serves as a background for structuring and understanding the target domain. Through this, the nonconcrete notion presented by the phrasal verb becomes visible and understandable. The data gathered for this study was found to have such metaphorical properties. This section therefore gives an analysis of the metaphorical meaning of some Nzema phrasal verbs to buttress the fact that metaphor underlies the meaning of Nzema phrasal verbs.

To begin with, let us consider the STANDING IN IS INTERCEDING (FOR/ ON BEHALF OF) metaphor. The phrasal verb *gyinla nu* ‘to intercede’ literally ‘stand in.’ Considering the surface meaning, there is no semantic connection between the composite and the literal meaning as illustrated in sentences (73a&b) below:

73. a. *Ayile ne gyi buakɛ ne anu* (NSID)
 Medicine DEF stand pot DEF inside
 ‘The medicine is in the pot.’

- b. *ɔ-gyinla-nle* *nu* *ɔ-maa-nle* *me.* (NSID)
 3SG-stand-PST in 3SG-give-PST 1SG.POSS
 ‘He/she interceded on my behalf.’

However, through conceptualization, the literal meaning, thus, the concrete interpretation of *gyinla nu* presents the imagery of someone standing in between two things or a toxic substance placed in a container to prevent it from spilling or pouring out something to cause havoc as in (73a) where a medicine is kept in a pot to prevent it from spilling. This image is captured in interceding, in that it also requires someone to act as a mediator between two or more people to prevent them from causing trouble or harm as substance is put into a container to avoid future harm. It is in this context that *gyinla nu* ‘standing in’ is metaphorically presented as interceding as in (73b). The source domain which is the medicine that is kept in a pot to avoid causing havoc in (73a) is mapped on to the problem which its resolution requires a mediator. The pot, which prevents the havoc, is mapped onto the mediator.

Considering TIGHTING IN IS INTENSIFYING/ DEEPENING metaphor in (74 a & b) below:

74. a. *Aka* *mia-nle* *kpɔkɛ* *ne* *anu.* (Asilijoe 1992:7)
 Aka tighten-PST knot DEF in
 ‘Aka tightened the knot.’
- b. *Nrenyia* *ne* *mia-nle* *banebɔɛ* *ne* *anu.*
 Man DEF tighten-past security DEF inside
 ‘The man intensified the security.’
- c. *Aka nee Akasi* *mia-nle* *bɛ* *manzonle* *ne* *anu.*
 Aka CONJ Akasi tighten-PST 3PL.POSS grudge DEF inside
 ‘Aka and Akasi deepened their grudge.’

When a person tightens an object, it means the person uses a kind of energy to do the tightening. As seen in sentence (74a), to have a knot tightened requires the application or use of strength. In the same vein when a person intensifies something it means that, the person puts in a lot of emotional discomfort and energy as in sentences (74b). In (74c) holding on to a grudge also requires some amount of emotional discomfort. Based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory the energy exhausted in tightening an object like a knot, which is physical, is mapped on to the stress one needs to go through to have a perfect security and also hold on to a grudge, which are abstract. Moreover, WALKING ON IS IRONING/ KEEPING TO PLAN. The phrasal verb *fa zo* ‘to iron/ to follow a step’, which literally means to ‘pass / walk on’, is used in the

75. a. *Kakula ne va-le baka ne azo pɛ-le azia ne.* (NSID)
 Child DEF walk-PST tree DEF on cross-PST mud DEF
 ‘The child walked on the tree to cross the mud.’
- b. *Ɔ-va-le me teladeɛ ne azo.*
 3SG-walk-PST 1SG-POSS dress DEF on
 ‘He/she ironed my dress.’
- c. *Bɛ-va-le ngyehyeleɛ ne azo.*
 3PL-walk-PST plan DEF on
 ‘They did exactly as plan.’

In the data presented in (75a), *fa zo* is used literally to refer to a physical action whereby a child makes a movement by walking on a tree as a kind of bridge. The (75 b & c) are metaphorical and they describe an action that is similar in some way to that of example (75a). One can physically walk on a tree cut down to cross mud but cannot walk on a

dress to cross. Metaphorically, walking on the tree is mapped on to the situation where someone moves an iron back and forth on a piece of cloth to achieve a straightened surface. In (75c), just as walking on the tree to cross the mud physically indicates a successful endeavour, so is being able to put a plan into an action to succeed. The plan, which is abstract concept, is mapped onto the tree to serve as the bridge. The solved problem is then mapped onto the mud that was crossed.

SIEVING ON IS RETAINING THE BEST. Another phrasal verb with a metaphorical meaning worth illustrating is *sonye zo* ‘to select the best’, which literally means ‘to sieve on.’ This phrasal verb which literally depicts the removal of chaff or other waste from the main substance as in construction (76a), is used to compare to how people are chosen over others due to some qualities. With this, their required qualities become the strainer as in sentence (76b). In classroom situations, in the course of selecting competent students for a particular task, the teacher uses examinations as a strainer to remove the less befitting separating the chaff from the best. The non-performing students who are separated from the best are mapped on to the chaff that is sieved out of the main substance. In (76c), the lawyer uses the law as a strainer to sieve the case brought before him in order to find out the best case to work on.

76. a. *Raale* *ne* *ε-zonye* *ayile* *ne* *azo.* (NSID)
 Woman DEF PERF-sieve medicine DEF on
 ‘The woman has strained the medicine.’

b. *Kilehilevole* *ne* *ε-zonye* *m-bɛda* *ne* *azo.*
 Teacher DEF PERF-sieve PL-student DEF on
 ‘The teacher has chosen the best students.’

- c. *Lɔya zɔhane ne ɔ-sonye edweke zo kpale.*
 Lawyer DEM DEF 3SG-sieve.HAB case zo very
 ‘That lawyer is very careful in taking up a case.’

Finally, SCRATCHING ON IS GIVEN A HINT metaphor. *Fede nwo* ‘to give a hint of’ literally means ‘to scratch surface.’ There is, on the surface, no semantic connection between ‘scrapping and hinting.’ However, there is a metaphorical perception of an event or story as a solid substance with scales or layers of skin. As in example (77a).

77. a. *Fede bɛde ne anwo maa ye-nlea.* (NSID)
 Scratch cassava DEF on let 3PL.OBJ-see
 ‘Scratch the cassava for us to see.’

In this connection, the nature of the activity capturing the removal of the skin or layers determines the details of the message, as in example (77b).

- b. *Fede adawu ne anwo ekyi kile me.*
 Scratch issue DEF on small show 1SG.OBJ
 ‘Give me a hint on the issue.’

It is in this context that transparency exist between literal and metaphorical interpretation: *fede nwo* denotes a minimal tampering with the scales or layers of the metaphorical message, which captures the idea of ‘giving a hint’ rather than ‘telling the whole story.’ The abstract concept or target domain, which is scratching on the issue, is actualized through a conceptual mapping with the concrete object, which is scratching on the cassava serves as the source domain. Though only five of such phrasal verbs were discussed, there are many of such types, a few amongst them are presented in table 6 below:

Table 5: Metaphorical phrasal verbs of Nzema

Phrasal verb	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
<i>tia zo</i>	‘to step on NP’	‘to hide something’
<i>tenla zo</i>	‘to sit on NP’	‘to rule’
<i>twi NP nyunlu</i>	‘to scratch NP face’	‘To embarrass someone’
<i>gugua now</i>	‘to pour around’	‘to worsen situation’
<i>koa nu</i>	‘to draw a line through’	‘to cancel’
<i>ko nyunlu</i>	‘to go forward’	‘to progress’
<i>tenla aze</i>	‘to stay behind’	‘to be left out’
<i>ko nzi</i>	‘to go back’	‘to retract’

Nevertheless, not all phrasal verbs have such metaphorical meaning relation with its literal counterpart. There are some phrasal verbs in Nzema whose compositional meaning deviates completely from their isolated meanings leaving no trace for transparency. Examples of such phrasal verbs of Nzema are presented in table 6:

Table 6: Non-metaphorical phrasal verb of Nzema

Phrasal verb	Meaning
<i>Si</i> ‘sleep aside’	‘to die’
<i>Gyinla zo</i> ‘stand aside’	‘to aid’
<i>Sa nu</i>	‘to be selective’

'fetch in'	
<i>da zo</i> sleep on	'to be well dress', 'to look dirty'
<i>dwu aze</i> descend on	'current fashion'

The above discussions buttress the fact that the abstract meaning of a phrasal verb is effectively understood through metaphorical understanding using a cross-domain mapping between the literal (source/concrete) to the idiomatic (target/abstract). In addition, most of the phrasal verbs have metaphorical meanings.

5.3 Idiomaticity of Nzema phrasal verbs

A verb and adposition combination are not a phrasal verb construction until their meaning is said to have deviated from the literal meaning resulting in a completely different meaning. The deviation between the literal and composite meaning is what Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) refers to as phrasal verb's idiomaticity. Idiomaticity is the level of deviation between the surface meaning of an utterance and the actual meaning or intention it is supposed to convey (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2008). Obviously, the idiomaticity of the phrasal verb is motivated by the fact that the meaning of the phrasal verb as a single semantic unit is different from the meaning of the combination of the verb item and its adposition element as a syntactic unit through socio-cultural effect. According to Palmer (1988:227), "idiomaticity is a matter of degree." With this, he establishes two types of

idioms; total and partial. This distinction serves as the foundation for this discussion under the scale of transparency and opacity in Nzema as used by Sekyi-Baidoo (2008).⁹

The Nzema data clearly show that the meaning of the phrasal verb totally deviates from the literal meaning, resulting in an idiomatic meaning. For example, the meaning of *bela zo* ‘come top’ as illustrated in the examples (78a & b) below are considered as non-idiomatic. In *bela zo* in (78a & b) the words in the construction maintaining their various meanings in both construction, there is no degree of opacity in the meaning they denote. Whereas the interpretations of *bela zo* in (78c & d) are considered idiomatic. In that, there exists no meaning relation between ‘come top’, and ‘to grow arrogant’ or ‘to be a current fashion.’ Undoubtedly, there is no connection between the aggregate meaning of the constituents and the meaning of the phrasal verb in (78c & d). This is what idiomaticity is all about, a deviation from the surface meaning.

78. a. *Fa kyεse ne bela zo.* (RD)
 Take bowl DEF come top
 ‘Place the bowl on top.’
- b. *Bε-va-le aλε ne bε-ra-le gua ne azo.*
 3PL-take-PST food DEF 3PL-come-PST market DEF top
 ‘They brought the food to the market.’
- c. *Ezukoa ε-maa Ama ε-ra zo.*
 money PERF- make-PST Ama PERF-come top
 ‘Ama has grown arrogant due to money.’

⁹ For details on this, readers should consult Sekyi-Baidoo (2008) and references cited therein.

- d. Tɛladeɛ ɛhye a ɛ-ra zo a.
 dress DEM FOC PERF-come on FOC
 ‘This dress is a current fashion.’

Just as Palmer (1988) establishes in English, some idiomatic meanings of the Nzema phrasal verbs have a high degree of deviation from the constituent elements resulting in opaque constructions. This lack of relativity, with no iota of transparency. That is, none of the elements gives a clue as to what will be the meaning of the phrasal verb. These kinds of phrasal verbs are considered total idioms. Examples of Nzema total idioms are presented in table 7 below:

Table 7: Nzema phrasal verbs that are total idioms

Constituent element	Idiomatic Meaning
<i>da zo</i> ‘sleep on’	‘to be well-cooked’, ‘to be stained’, ‘well ironed’
<i>fa za</i> ‘take on’	‘oversight’, ‘to follow a step’
<i>fa aze</i> ‘take down’	‘to use unknown means’
<i>dwu aze</i> ‘drop down’	to deliver’, ‘to be dethrone’
<i>bɛla zo</i> ‘come top’	‘to grow arrogant’, ‘to be current trend’
<i>bɔ zo</i> ‘hit on’	‘to make mention of’

Others deviate but there is transparency between the constituents and the idiomatic meanings they denote. That is, with these kinds of idiomatic phrasal verbs, there exist some level of transparency, given a bit of trace from the constituent meaning. Phrasal verbs under this category are known as partial idioms. Let us consider the examples in table 8 below:

Table 8: Nzema phrasal verbs that are partial idioms

Constituent element	Idiomatic meaning
<i>nea nu</i> look in	‘to investigate’
<i>fea zo</i> hide on	‘to conceal’
<i>mia nu</i> squeeze in	‘to intensify’
<i>te nu</i> hear in	‘to be aware of’
<i>to zo</i> throw on	‘to add to or to second’
<i>pε zo</i> cut on	‘to terminate’

From the above meaning relation that there is transparency between the non-idiomatic and the idiomatic meaning. Evidently, this transparency is observed to be associated with the verb stem, which becomes the pivot for the meaning of the compound as a whole. With the adpositions also give the semantic deviation or the idiomaticity. This is illustrated the examples in (79a & b). In (79a) *fea zo* ‘to hide on’ idiomatically means ‘to conceal’ there is the idea of something to be kept, in order to prevent it from coming out or being made open. That is, the truth is kept from being exposed. This idea is associated with the verb item *fea* ‘hide’ in (79b) where the money is kept from someone. The addition of the adposition *zo* ‘on’ as in (79a) is what presents a meaning deeper than just hiding.

79. a. *Aka ε-vea nɔhale ne azo.* (NSID)
 Aka PERF-hide truth DEF on
 ‘Aka has concealed the truth.’
- b. *Aka ε-va ezukoa ne ε-vea me.* (TD)
 Aka PERF-take money DEF PERF-hide 1SG.OBJ
 ‘Aka has hidden the money from me.’

Here the adposition adopts a different meaning from its denotational one. Considering example (80a) where, for instance, *pɛ zo* ‘to terminate’ presents the notion of preventing the business from further progressing, which can be seen in *pɛ* ‘to cut’ since a business cut results in non-progression or development. Just as in (80b) the tree being cut cannot progress, the addition of *zo* ‘on’ becomes the source of deviation.

80. a *Yɛ-pɛ-le* *gualile* *ne* *azo*.
 1PL-cut-PST market DEF on
 ‘We terminated the business.’

b. *Yɛ-pɛ-le* *baka* *ne*.
 1PL-cut-PST tree DEF
 ‘We cut the tree.’

5.4 The semantic distinction between phrasal verbs and other verbal construction

As has been stated earlier in chapter four, some verbal compounds were discovered during the data gathering which exhibit some common syntactic and semantic features with the phrasal verb. The syntactic aspect was discussed in chapter four. This section presents their semantic properties. These include Serial Verbs Construction (SVC) and Inherent Complement Verbs (ICV). Having established their syntactic difference, there is therefore the need to differentiate them semantically.

5.4.1 The semantics of serial verb constructions (SVCs)

Serial verb constructions just as phrasal verbs, sometimes present aggregate meaning that cannot be made transparent by considering the meanings of the individual verbs. They are therefore regarded as idiomatic. This is illustrated in the serial verb in (81a & b).

81. a. *fa kye* (RD)
pick share 'to forgive'
- b. *die di* (RD)
take eat 'to believe'
- c. *fa maa* (RD)
take give 'to gift'

Examples (81 a-c) show that the meanings assigned to the verbal constructions differ from the meaning of the individual verbs that form them. Though such serial verbs show idiomaticity (see section 5.3) which is similar to phrasal verbs, they differ from phrasal verb. A serial verb always denotes just a single idiomatic meaning, as illustrated in section 5.3, whereas phrasal verbs can express more than one idiomatic meaning (see table 8).

5.4.2 The semantics of inherent complement verbs (ICVs)

Inherent complement verbs, just like the phrasal verb, gives an aggregate meaning, example *bɔ adale* 'to lie' *bɔ ekpa* 'to hire a labour' *di anloma* 'to defend.' The meaning derived from such combinations is normally not idiomatic (see section 5.3) and this is what distinguishes the ICV from phrasal verbs semantically. Verb and adposition combinations are not considered phrasal verbs until they denote meanings unrelated to

that of their isolated meaning. Comparing the illustration of the ICV in (82a & b) with phrasal verbs in (82 c & d). The meaning of the compositions *bɔ adalɛ* ‘play lie’ and *di nwɔhoɔ* ‘eat play’ in (82a & b) do not deviate from the constituent meanings ‘to lie’ and to play respectively. Whereas it is apparent from examples (82c & d), that the meanings of the compositions *da zo* ‘sleep on’ and *fi nu* ‘leave in’ which are phrasal verbs deviate completely from the constituent meanings ‘smooth skinned’ and ‘to resign.’

82. a *Kaku ze adalɛ bɔ kpalɛ.* (RD)
 Kaku know. HAB lie play well
 ‘Kaku can really tell lies.’

b. *Kakula ɛhye kulo nwɔhoɔ ɛlilɛ.* (NSID)
 Child DEM like.HAB play eating
 This child likes playing.’

c. *Tayeba anwo nane ɛ-la zo.* (RD)
 Tayeba body skin PERF-sleep on
 Tayeba has gained a smooth skin.

d. *Akasi vi-le gyima ne anu.* (TD)
 Akasi leave-PST work DEF inside
 ‘Akasi resigned from the job.’

5.5 Polysemous nature of Nzema phrasal verbs

The semantic relation polysemy is the capacity of a word or phrase to have multiple related senses. Scholars such as Celce-Murcia (1999), Sekyi-Baidoo (2008), Wild (2010), Aldukhayel (2014), Lu (2015), Laryea (2015) and Consigny (2015) assert that some

phrasal verbs have such semantic relations. According to Sekyi-Baidoo (2006), phrasal verbs are considered polysemous when they relate one another physically and semantically, and when they collectively differ from the meaning derived from the aggregate meaning of their constituent words. Though their capacity to deviate from the literal meaning is what makes them idioms, there exists a degree of relativity or transparency, as was mentioned under the types of idiom under Section 5.3. This relativity between them is what produces their polysemy. This section presents an illustration of polysemic relation in Nzema phrasal verbs.

The phrasal verb *dwu aze* has the idiomatic interpretation ‘to dethrone’, ‘to deliver a baby’, or ‘to arrive.’ All these meanings are associated with the non-idiomatic meaning ‘to get down’ giving an imagery of someone or an object in a higher position touching the ground, giving GETTING DOWN AS CHANGE OF STATE metaphor as in (83a) where the cat gets down from the tree. It expresses the idea of change of position or state.

83. a. *Kusu ne vi baka ne azo ε-dwu aze.* (NSID)
 Cat DEF from tree DEF on top of PERF-descend down
 ‘The cat has descended from the tree.’
- b. *Bε-dwula belemgbunli ne aze ɔlua ye subane.*
 3PL-descend. PERF king DEF down due to 3SG.POSS character
 ‘The king has been dethroned due to his character.’
- c. *Anoma Akuba dwu-le aze.*
 Yesterday Akuba descend-PAST down
 ‘Akuba delivered a baby yesterday.’

- d. *Nwoanle ne ε-dwu aze.*
 Parcel DEF PERF-drop down
 ‘The parcel has arrived.’

The first idiomatic meaning of *dwu aze*, ‘dethronement’ in (83b), is motivated by the fact that Nzema symbolizes kingship with throne. Therefore, dethroning presents the image of someone who was seated on a throne and having no connection with the ground, who has now descended from the throne (above) onto the ground: indicating a change of position from the top to a lower position are (ground). This metaphorically indicates a change in social status. In the same vein, the phrasal verb in (83c) meaning ‘to deliver a baby’, also paints a picture of someone who has been carried in the stomach and has now descended onto the ground (earth).

In addition, ‘to arrive’ as used in (83d) also depicts the image of someone or something, who/which has been relocated or presented, resulting in a change of place. When someone returns from a journey, there is the idea that he/she used some kind of transport either a car, canoe and getting home requires the person to descend from the object of transport onto the ground: capturing the image of change of position or getting onto the ground just as it is with ‘being dethroned.’ Therefore, we can trace the various idiomatic meanings and the literal interpretation from the phrasal verb.

The phrasal verb *so zo* which literally means ‘join on’ as illustrated in example (84a) implies that there is a table readily available, has a trace in the various idiomatic meanings such as ‘to respond to’, ‘to add to’, and ‘to continue’ all resulting as used in (84b, c & d) below:

85. a. *Fa wɔ ekponle ne sɔ me edee ne zo.* (RD)
 Take 2SG.POSS table DEF join 1SG.POSS own DEF on
 ‘Join your table with mine.’
- b. *Raalɛ ne zɔ-le ngoame ne azo.*
 Woman DEF hold-PST insinuation DEF on
 ‘The woman responded to the insinuation.’
- c. *Me-maa-nle ɔ-zɔ-le ezukoa ne azo.*
 1SG-make-PAST 3SG-join-PST money DEF on
 ‘I made him add up to the money.’
- d. *Konle ne anzi ye-zɔ-le nwomazukoale ne azo.*
 Fight DEF behind 1PL-join-PST learning DEF on
 ‘We continued the studies after the fight.’

All these idiomatic meanings are related because they are associated with the idea of ‘resuming or going on with an activity.’ They all arise from a single sense: the general sense ‘to join on’ which is the non-idiomatic meaning of the phrasal verb. The non-idiomatic meaning gives the image of someone keeping on a certain activity. For instance, the idiomatic meaning ‘to respond to an insinuation’ in (85b) presents the image of someone casting insult on another and the victim decides to take an action in the form of self-defense or retaliation. It is to be noted that there is an already existing activity, which is to be kept on. In this sense, the person going to respond will progress with the activity. The phrasal verb *sɔ zo* meaning ‘to add to’ and ‘to continue’ as indicated in (85c & d) also captures the image of someone doing or giving out something, which is considered not enough and demands further action. For instance, someone counts money

and gives it out and is asked to give more to complement what was given. Here it depicts the progression of a certain activity.

Finally, the phrasal verb *bɔ aze* has the following idiomatic meanings, ‘to be embarrassed’, ‘to die or cease to exist’ and ‘to backslide’ FALLING DOWN IS LOSING VALUE metaphor. These different meanings are all associated with the basic, non-idiomatic meaning of ‘to fall down’, giving the image of someone moving from an upright posture or a higher position to a declined posture of lying on the ground. This is illustrated in examples (86a) below, where the falling of the bottle eventually deteriorated the original state of the bottle. They express the idea of movement from a higher position to a lower position resulting in a negative posture or status just as a falling bottle.

86. a. *Toba ne ε-bɔ aze.*
 Bottle DEF PERF-hit down
 ‘The bottle has fallen down.’
- b. *Ɔ-wua-le nvutuke ne la ɔ nyunlu bɔ-le aze.*
 3SG-steal-PST gold DEF FOC 3SG.POSS face hit-PAST down
 ‘He was embarrassed after stealing the gold.’
- c. *Mieza gyima ne ε-bɔ aze.*
 Mieza. POSS work DEF PERF-hit down
 ‘Mieza’s job has backslided.’
- d. *Anoma nrenyia ne ati bɔ-le aze.*
 Yesterday man DEF head hit-PAST down
 ‘The man died yesterday.’

The first meaning of *bɔ aze* in (86b) meaning ‘to lose respect or status’ presents the picture of someone who at first was held in high esteem but has lost that respect due to something he or she did, that is the theft committed. Similarly, the phrasal verb meaning in (86c) ‘to backslide’ also paints the picture of someone who used to be an active or a businessman who has climbed the social ladder of fame and suddenly losses everything, just like the bottle falling down from a roof and everything gets spoil as in an object dropping from above.

Finally, the meaning ‘to die’ in (86d) portrays the picture of someone or something that used to be alive but does not exist any longer; a person who is dead and seen lying on the ground and cannot function again just like an object that has been dropped on the ground. Therefore, it is imperative that this meaning is derived from the non-idiomatic meaning of the phrasal verb.

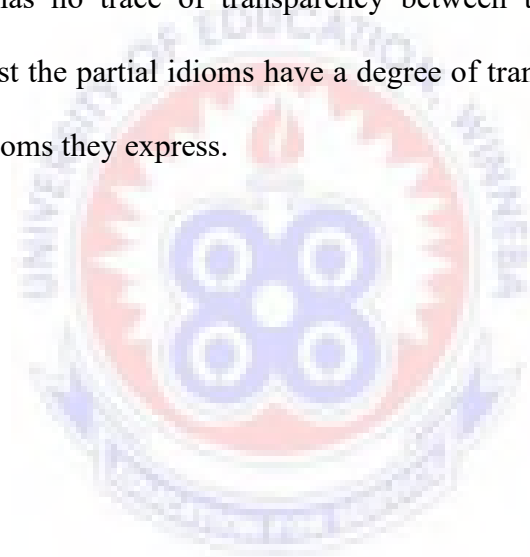
Considering the illustrations on *dwu aze*, *sɔ zo* and *bɔ aze*, it is therefore evident that the degree of transparency between the meanings is what fosters their polysemic relations. Aside the three discussed above, others of this kind are presented in table 9 below:

Table 9: Polysemous phrasal verbs in Nzema

Phrasal verb	Related meaning
<i>te zo</i> ‘tear on’	‘to reduce something’, ‘to cut someone’s word while talking’
<i>tɔ aze</i> ‘fall down’	‘to be sick’, ‘to be defeated’
<i>wula NP bo</i> ‘add NP down’	to influence someone’, ‘to endorse’, ‘to encourage someone’
<i>twe nwo</i> ‘pull on’	‘to separate’, ‘to get away from’,
<i>gugua NP nwo</i> ‘pour NP on’	‘to fertilize’, ‘to make matter worse’, ‘to flourish’
<i>Fi nu</i> ‘leave in’	‘to vacate a place’, to remove something’, ‘to die’, ‘to withdraw’, ‘to resign’

5.6 Interim summary

This chapter presented an analysis of the semantics of phrasal verbs in Nzema. The chapter employed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as a theoretical tool. The data showed in this chapter that Nzema phrasal verbs express literal, metaphorical, idiomatic and polysemic meanings. The metaphoric notion of postposition in phrasal verbs alone in some cases provide meaning to the entire phrasal verb. On the idiomatic meanings of the Nzema phrasal verbs, two kinds were discovered total and partial. The total has no trace of transparency between the literal meaning and the idiomatic one, whilst the partial idioms have a degree of transparency between the literal meaning and the idioms they express.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION

6.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings as well as recommendation for further studies. The chapter proceeds as follows. Section 6.1 presents a general summary of the work. Section 6.2 highlights the findings of the study while section 6.3 presents the contribution of the study. Section 6.4 outlines recommendations for further research, finally, the conclusion of the chapter is presented in Section 6.5.

6.1 Summary of the Study

This thesis set out to identify and explore the syntax and semantics of phrasal verbs in Nzema. The empirical and theoretical analysis on the Nzema phrasal verbs was presented in the X-bar theory propounded by Chomsky (1969) to cater for the structural elements in phrasal verb constructions, in addition to providing structural accounts of the syntax of phrasal verbs. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was employed in the analysis of meanings assigned to the phrasal verbs. This theoretical framework is grounded on the assumption that our understanding of concepts is purely metaphorical. The research questions that guided this study are:

- ❖ What is the structural composition of the Nzema phrasal verbs?
- ❖ What are the various types of phrasal verbs with respect to the principles of transitivity?

- ❖ How are the semantic properties of Nzema phrasal verbs expressed?

These questions were addressed in the preceding discussions in chapters four and five. Aside the two theories stated Sekyi-Baidoo (2006, 2008) and Laryea's (2015) assumption on Akan and Ga phrasal verbs respectively shed light on the phrasal verbs in Nzema. In the subsequent paragraphs, we present a summary of the various chapters.

Chapter one served as the general introduction to the research. It provided the background of the people and the study, followed by the statement of the problem. In addition, the chapter examined the purpose of the work. It also spelt out the main objectives of the studies, which were guided by the research questions. The significance of the study, the limitations and delimitations were catered for in this chapter. The last section outlined how the thesis was organized.

Related literature was reviewed in chapter two. The first section presented an overview of definitions of phrasal verbs. This was followed by a review on some proposed tests for phrasal verbs by scholars. Among those are Darwin & Gray (1999), Bolinger (1971) & Fraser (1965, 1970, 1976). The chapter further provided a review on the syntactic properties of phrasal verbs in English, Akan and Ga. The semantic characteristics of the phrasal verbs which included the metaphorical, polysemic and idiomatic meanings, were also captured. The last sections of the chapter presented an overview on the X-bar theory and Conceptual metaphor theory, which guided the analysis.

The focus of chapter three was on the methodology used for this research. It discussed the sources of data and the techniques used in data collection. The primary data for the study were generated from recordings of folktales and folksongs, spontaneous speeches, through face-to-face discussions with consultants and native speaker's introspection.

Others were collected from Nzema books. The instruments used in the data collection process such as data elicitation and documentation were also discussed. The chapter then focused on the data interpretation and analysis procedures and finally underline some ethical issues that guided the research.

Chapter four provided the syntactic analysis of the work. The chapter established the syntactic characteristics of the verb and the post verbal elements that form the constituent elements of the phrasal verb. The discussion on the structure and types of phrasal verb under the principles of transitivity followed this. Finally, the distinction between phrasal verbs and other verbal compounds/complex verb constructions such as Serial Verb Construction and Inherent Complement Verb was brought to light.

The semantic analysis is in chapter five. It begun with the semantic features of the verb and post verbal elements of the phrasal verbs. Using the CMT, it established the semantic relations of phrasal verbs in Nzema such as idiomatic, polysemic and metaphorical meaning.

6.3 Findings of the study

The analysis of phrasal verbs in Nzema showed that, Nzema phrasal verbs are made up of verbs that denote actions more especially motion verbs such as *nriandi* ‘run’, *su* ‘cry’, *so* ‘hold’, *pe* ‘cut’, *tia* ‘step’, *tea* scream, *biza* ‘ask’, *tende* ‘speak’, *gyinla* ‘stand’, *dwu* ‘descend’, *bεle* ‘stumble, with only a few been stative verbs. The adpositions are predominantly postpositions in Nzema as in other Ghanaian languages. The most commonly used postpositions in Nzema phrasal verb constructions are *zo* on, *nu* ‘in’, *aze* ‘down’ and *nwo* ‘over. It was also discovered that most of these adpositions were derived

from body part nouns such as *foa* 'one's side', is used to indicate 'beside' *nyunlu* 'face' is used to locate 'in front', *bo* 'the lower part of human' denotes 'under' *nzi* 'back' as 'behind', and *kunlu* 'within the stomach' indicates 'inside.'

The data showed that not all verbs and adpositioned element are considered phrasal verbs in Nzema. Syntactically, the adposition needs to form a unit with the verb making complementation optional. Semantically, their constituent meanings must deviate from the literal meanings of the individual components.

The data also showed that the Nzema phrasal verb has three syntactic structures: intransitive, transitive and another type, which can be transitive and intransitive. The data further demonstrated that intransitive phrasal verbs have a single argument, which is the subject. The intransitive phrasal verbs in Nzema exhibit two grammatical functions. They are copulative and ergative.

It was evident from the study that transitive phrasal verbs have two broad categories: mono and di-transitivity. Unlike the intransitive phrasal verbs, the mono-transitive phrasal verb has two arguments the subject and the object. The object can be a noun or a pronoun. In these constructions, the object occurs between the verb and post-verbal element which results in their separation. The mono transitive phrasal verb in Nzema also showed two forms, the reflexive and reciprocal phrasal verbs. Some phrasal verbs can be used both transitively and intransitively.

Semantically, it was revealed through the lens of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that phrasal verbs in Nzema have additional meanings aside their literal interpretations. Just as CMT posits, the study revealed that metaphor indeed underlies the meaning of most phrasal verbs in Nzema. By understanding these metaphors, the overall

meaning of the phrasal verbs can be accurately interpreted. However, it was further noticed that not all meanings of phrasal verbs have a link with their underlining interpretation.

The metaphoric notion of a postposition in a phrasal verb alone in some cases provide meaning to the entire phrasal verb. Other meanings unearthed were idiomatic and polysemic. On the idiomatic meanings of the Nzema phrasal verbs, two kinds were discovered total and partial. The total has no trace of transparency between the literal meaning and the idiomatic one, whilst partial idioms have a degree of transparency between the literal meaning and the idioms they express. The study also established that a single phrasal verb can have two or more meanings and all these meanings are metaphorically linked with each other resulting in a polysemic relation.

6.3 Major contributions of this study

This thesis serves as the first comprehensive study on the syntax and semantics of Nzema grammar. It therefore adds to previous studies on various aspects of Nzema. It serves as a rich resource for future crosslinguistic research on syntax and semantics in general. The thesis has also provided an in-depth description and analysis of many phrasal verbs in Nzema. Considering the fact that Nzema is a less-studied language, the findings of the study stand to be useful in the study of similar phenomenon in Ghanaian languages and linguistics in general. The findings of this work will therefore be a relevant guide to linguists of genetically related languages to examine the semantic and syntactic characteristics of phrasal verbs in their languages. This is especially important since this phenomenon is less studied in the Ghanaian languages.

The present study goes a step further to analyse the structure and meaning of phrasal verbs in Nzema using two theoretical approaches. The features of the X-bar theory and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory were discussed and applied to the discussion on phrasal verbs in Nzema which has not received much attention. This making the findings of the study not only interesting but also relevant.

6.3 Recommendation

This study focused mainly on phrasal verbs in Nzema, examining their syntactic and semantic properties in the X-bar theory and Conceptual Metaphor Theory respectively. Although the work attempted an exhaustive discussion of the topic, some areas could be not covered. I therefore, see such issues as potential areas of research in the future.

In the first place, I recommend further research on multi-word constructions such as serial verb constructions and inherent complement verbs in Nzema. In addition, I also suggest a comprehensive study of Nzema verbs, which have many semantic implications. This when studied, will enrich the scope of linguistics in Nzema.

6.4 Conclusions

This thesis studied the compositional elements that form the Nzema phrasal verbs and their structure. It demonstrated that Nzema phrasal verbs have two compositional elements: a verb and a postposition as in other Ghanaian languages such as Akan and Ga. It further showed that Nzema phrasal verbs can be intransitive, transitive and some can be both transitive and intransitive. The data showed that Nzema phrasal verbs have semantic properties such as literal, metaphorical, idiomatic and polysemic meaning using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as an analytical tool.

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APPENDIX A

Textual data

Aboagye (1992) Nzema anee ne anwo mgbayidweke

Page	Verb +adpostion	Context
6	<i>da aze</i> sleep down	<i>Anee nwo mgbayidweke nwo buluku ehelēle ye esesebe; ye ehelēle enla aze fee ze</i> Documentation of language history is a difficult work
6	<i>bɔ bo</i> tap under	<i>Yebɔle mgbayidweke ne abo wɔ eleka mɔɔ Nzema ne vi la.</i> The history started from where the Nzema migrated from
6	<i>wula nu</i> under in	<i>Saa bewie buluku ehye tɔ na yeye fofole a yeava wɔ adwenle mɔɔ wɔzuzu la yeawula nu.</i> We will factor your comment in our next publication
7	<i>tenla nu</i> sit in	<i>Menli mɔɔ ene befēle be nzemama la nee be gɔnwo mɔ dɔɔnwo denlanle sahala esele ne anu.</i> The people now known Nzema and others settled at Sahala desert
7	<i>tɔ zo</i> fall on	<i>Mɔɔ doa ye la a le Mali yee mɔɔ tɔ zo nsa la a le Songhai.</i> Mali follows suit and next is Songhai
9	<i>tu bo</i> uproot under	<i>Bie bizale ke, na ye menli dɔɔnwo ne mɔɔ yedule ye bo wɔ Takyima la bie wɔ ni?</i> Other asked, where are people we set off from Takyiman with?
9	<i>tia nu</i> step in	<i>Nzema ne vi sahara esele ne anu dule la bevele dɔɔnwo wɔ ediale nu.</i> The Nzema walked a long distance after the left from the Sahara dessert
9	<i>sɔ nu</i> hold in	<i>Beradwule Takyima la enee evele ngome emmaa bengola be nu sɔ.</i> They were terribly tired when they got to Takyiman
	<i>tɔ aze</i> fall down	<i>enee ɔkile ke bedɔ aze bɔkɔɔ.</i> Meaning they have been defeated

12	<i>ka nzi</i> bit behind	<i>ɛbadwu sanwoma a enee Nzema aneɛ ne ehe ɛ nzi nehane.</i> Arriving at Ankobra indicates that Nzema is left
13	<i>ba nu</i> come in	<i>Gualile maa ngakyile dɔɔnwo ba aneɛ nu.</i> Business brings change in language
16	<i>dwu zo</i> descend on	<i>Mele bie dwule zo la enee Nzema mbɔɔba anye ebolo aneɛ ne ehelele.</i> At some point Nzema scholars put more effort into documenting the language
	<i>fi nu</i> leave in	<i>ehye maanle beyeyele bie bevile nu.</i> This resulted in taking out some part
18	<i>nyia now</i> get on	<i>Meke ne mɔɔ Nzema mbɔɔba nyianle ehulole wɔ Nzema aneɛ ne anwo la.</i> When the Nzema developed interest in the language.
18	<i>nea zo</i> look on	<i>Sɛlevole Acka mɔɔ enee nea SDA asɔne mɔɔ wɔ Kekame la azo la.</i> When it was under the supervision of Rev. Ackah of Kikam SDA
19	<i>nea nu</i> look in	<i>Beyele menli ke benleenlea Nzema mbulukulu ne anu.</i> People were chosen to guard the Nzema books
19	<i>fefe now</i> calculate on	<i>Benfafenle Gana aneɛ ne anwo ngelelera agbɔke ne mɔ.</i> They inspected the various alphabets used in Ghanaian languages
20	<i>ko zo</i> go on	<i>Nzema maanle nu bennyia awie mɔɔ yeye be nloa zo a, ɔti ɔmmaa gyima ne engɔ zo.</i> It failed since Nzema had no representative.
20	<i>te zo</i> tear on	<i>Behwenle be ti anwo ehelera dedee, amaa beade evele ne azo</i> They worked hard to reduce the workload
	<i>wula bo</i> enter under	<i>ɔvale ɔ sa ɔ wulale ɔ bo</i> He/she signed
	<i>gyinla nu</i> stand in	<i>Mɔɔ enee gyinla nu amaa Nzema ne la.</i> Who to represent the Nzema.
23		<i>ɔle kpale ke bɛte Nzema aneɛ nee maandeɛ nwo fane.</i>

	<i>te now</i> tear around	There was the need to form an association for the language
23	<i>pε bo</i> cut under	<i>enee edanle sinli ko ala kunli ne anzee yeε ne fa pε ε bo a</i> Either the husband or wife had to used piece of cloth
23	<i>gyinla nyunlu</i> stand infront	<i>Mεε gyi Nzema anee fane anyunlu la a le ke.</i> Nzema's main objective was
26	<i>boka now</i> add on	<i>Selevole Essuah εdaye εrabokale Nzema anee maandeε fane ne anwo wε 1938.</i> Rev. Essuah joined language association in 1938
30	<i>to nu</i> throw in	<i>ehye kile ke, Arane εrado ye εhatuale ne anu.</i> It indicated that Government had increase their salary.
33	<i>kε nyunlu</i> go front	<i>Eza saa anee biala bahε ε nyunlu a εnee εvi ye εzukoale.</i> The development of every language depends on how it is studied.
37	<i>dua zo</i> walk on	<i>εlua mbuluku nsa ne azo, Nzemama dεεnwo mεε angε sukulu la nwunle Nzema kenga a.</i> Many Nzema learned to read due to those three books
40	<i>finde zo</i> come on	<i>1956 yeε adwelie kalata ne mεε befele ye kakyevole la vindele gua zo a.</i> The first news paper known as Kakyevole was published in 1956
41	<i>di zo</i> eat on	<i>εwεke awie biala di mela zo.</i> We all need to respect the law
59	<i>gugua zo</i> pour on	<i>Yeεva mbaka ne yeεgugua ngelelera ne mεε ati zo.</i> Tone marking was added to the sounds

Asilijoe (1992) Duma nee mgbayele

Page	Verb+adposition	Context
5	<i>wula nu</i> enter in	<i>Wεε buluku ye fofole εyele nu yava yeawula nu.</i> We will factor that in our next publication
5	<i>da zo</i> sleep on	<i>Duma nee mgbayele εkpondεle enla aze.</i> It is difficult to collect data on names and appellations

6	<i>boa NP nloa</i> gather NP front	<i>Yeboɔboa Nzema aluma ehye mɔ nee be mgbayele ne mɔ anloa.</i> We collect data on the following names and appellations
6	<i>dwu aze</i> descend down	<i>Mo ne bie dwu edawɔ noko wɔ eke wɔ wɔ moale aze.</i> This is your portion of gratitude for your support
7	<i>meta now</i> glue on	<i>Saa ɔle Kakula bɔbɔ a mɛfa enilile anzenye anyezɔle bie bebɛta nwole dahuu.</i> Even kids are also given appellstion
7	<i>bɔ nwo</i> hit on	<i>Duma nzekyele maa menli dɔɔnwo ne ala bɔ be nwo akɔnvo.</i> People commit suicide due to bad names
8	<i>ze nu</i> know in	<i>Saa enze a enee biza maa behile wɔ na bizavole emminli kpɔke nu.</i> Asked and you will be taught, for this will guide you
8	<i>tɔ aze</i> fall down	<i>Ke Kakula ne tɔ aze la enee yemɔ awolɛdievo ne yenwu ye sonla hole dɛbadɛba.</i> The midwife is the first to know the sex of the baby after bith
9	<i>toa zo</i> follow on	<i>Mɔɔ doa zo nwiɔ ne la la kile mrale mrenyia aluma mɔɔ befa bɛmaa be.</i> What follows consist of male names
11	<i>tenla aze</i> sit down	<i>ɔta ɔtenla aze a</i> he/she normally lives longer
12	<i>tɔ aze</i> fall down	<i>Nuhua me mɔɔ ati kelimoa kedɔ aze la befele ye Ndakpanyi.</i> The first to be born is named Ndakpanyi
13	<i>pe aze</i> point down	<i>Befuovua be bie bɛmaa ɔpe be aze.</i> They apply it even to their private part
15	<i>tenla aze</i> sit down	<i>Nyɔnra anwo zo la kɛdenla aze kenyi keboa abusua ne wɔ adenle biala anu.</i> The ninth born lives longer to take care of the family
16	<i>sɔ nu</i> hold in	<i>Debie biala mɔɔ yekɛzɔ nu la bɛmaa ɔye ezukoa.</i> Whatever he lays his hand should be a blessing

17	<i>fi nu</i> leave in	<i>Aako mɔɔ ɔ ze anwo amra vi nu la</i> His/her patrilineal home
17	<i>Fa zo</i> Take on	<i>Amaa awie biala ava zo bie.</i> So that no one follows the step
20	<i>di zo</i> eat zo	<i>ɔdwule mɔɔ awie biala di zo a</i> we the time was due to follow



APPENDIX B

Elicited data

Data from folktales and folksongs

<i>bua zo</i> cover on	<i>senza nu</i> change in	<i>da bo</i> sleep under	<i>gyinla zo</i> stand on
<i>da nwo</i> sleep on	<i>te bo</i> hear under	<i>sa zo</i> fetch on	<i>sonye zo</i> sieve on
<i>dwu aze</i> descend down	<i>tenla aze</i> sit down	<i>da aze</i> sleep down	<i>tia zo</i> step on
<i>dwu zo</i> descend on	<i>gyinla foa</i> stand aside	<i>da foa</i> sleep aside	<i>tɔ aze</i> fall down
<i>fa aze</i> take down	<i>pɛ nu</i> cut in	<i>moa zo</i> seal on	<i>to nu</i> throw in
<i>fea zo</i> hide on	<i>bɔ bo</i> hit under	<i>toa zo</i> follow on	<i>fua zo</i> touch on
<i>fefe nu</i> study in	<i>fete zo</i> scratch on	<i>bɔ zo</i> knock on	<i>bila zo</i> hit on
<i>kponle zo</i> sigh on	<i>kponle bo</i> sigh under	<i>koto zo</i> squat on	<i>mia zo</i> squeeze on
<i>mia nu</i> squeeze in	<i>bu nu</i> break in	<i>bu zo</i> break on	<i>bɔ nu</i> tap in

<i>te zo</i> tear on	<i>pɛ zo</i> cut on	<i>pe zo</i> drop on	<i>fa zo</i> take on
<i>tie nu</i> step in on	<i>tɛnla zo</i> sit on	<i>nea zo</i> look on	<i>sie zo</i> place

Data from native speaker's introspection and spontaneous conversations

<i>fede zo</i> scratch on	<i>ye nu</i> remove in	<i>to zo</i> throw on	<i>su nwo</i> cry over
<i>koa nu</i> cancel in	<i>kua nu</i> add in	<i>nea nu</i> look in	<i>bea nu</i> lay in
<i>nea nwo</i> look on	<i>tenda nu</i> speak in	<i>tenda nwo</i> speak on	<i>beta zo</i> glue on
<i>sɔ zo</i> hold on	<i>fea nu</i> hide in	<i>fea nwo</i> hide over	<i>sua nu</i> tear in
<i>sie nu</i> place in	<i>fa nu</i> take in	<i>pe nyunlu</i> pass front	<i>fa nzi</i> take down
<i>tete nu</i> tear in	<i>gugua nwo</i> pour around	<i>bodo nwo</i> pity on	<i>ku nwo</i> dirty on
<i>to zo</i> throw on	<i>nwu nu</i> see in	<i>si zo</i> pound on	<i>die nu</i> collect in
<i>tudu zo</i> uproot on	<i>kɔ zo</i> squat on	<i>di zo</i> eat on	<i>toa zo</i> follow on
<i>twe nyunlu</i> scratch front	<i>nea azi</i> look down		

APPENDIX C

Some unstructured questions that guided the data collection

1. The name of the consultant.
2. The consultant's age.
3. Where the consultant comes from.
4. The dialect of the consultant
5. Educational background and occupation
6. Consultant familiarity with phrasal verbs
7. What it means.
8. Researcher explains situation for the consultant to provide the appropriate expression.
9. Researcher will proceed to main questions on phrasal verbs. Below will be some of the questions that will be asked:
 - a. If you meet an expression like *fi nu* 'leave in' what meanings can you associate with it?
 - b. Apart from these expressions discussed, is there any that you have in mind which has not been mentioned?
 - c. What context is the expression used?
10. Does the consultant know of any folktale/folksong?
11. If yes what can he/she narrate or sing?

