SOME PROBLEMS IN THE

CASE GRAMMAR OF AWUTU

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ABSTRACT

The framework of Case Grammar is used to analyze surface structure constructions of the type NP-nè-NP in Awutu, a Guang language from Southern Ghana. Agentive, objective, locative, and comitative cases are postulated. Surface structures are derived from deep structures containing two or more of the above cases. It is shown that the phrase NP-nè-NP has two different sources. It may be the realization of two different cases as well as the result of reduction of conjoined sentences.

-1-

The aim of this paper is to account for the structures of the form NP nɛ̀ NP and NP nɛ̀ Ø in one of the Guang languages.

The types of structure which are the subject of this paper are illustrated by the following examples:

1. àfúà nɛ̀ àjúà sí fúfúì

   lit. 'Afua nɛ Ajua pound fufu'

   'Afua and Ajua pound fufu'

2. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ ànf ɔ́défɛ̀è cà

   lit. 'He nɛ̀ our chief Def. quarreled'

   'He quarreled with our chief'

3. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ fírɔ̀ ʄíkɛ́ flɔ́ytɛ̀ sɔ̀

   lit. 'he/she nɛ̀ oil is adding stew Postp. (on)'

   'She is adding oil to the stew'

4. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ éyìbì ʄwɛ́ mì

   lit. 'he nɛ̀ stick hit me'

   'He hit me with a stick'

5. nɛ́ mɔ̀ ánnà nɛ̂ gɔ̀ nɛ̀ šìkáà pìì

   lit. 'and he Subord. Past give him room nɛ̀ money Def. plenty'

   'And when he gave him room and plenty of money...'

6. ɔ̀ nɛ̀ bùtù sɛ̀nká sɔ̀

   lit. 'You nɛ̀ cover sɛ̀nká Postp. (on)'

   'Cover sɛ̀nká with it (sɛ̀nká - a kind of a pot)

In 1 both NPs are Agents. In 2 the first NP / mɔ̀ / is Agentive, the second, however, is Comitative. The reversed order of these two NPs would not yield a paraphrase of 2. In 3 the first NP is Agent and the second NP is Object[2]. In 4 the first NP is Agent

-2-

and the second one is Instrumental. In 5 the structure NP nὲ NP

represents two Objects. In 6 the missing NP is Instrumental, but,

as will be shown later in this paper, it could be any of the other

cases mentioned except Agentive.

When a native speaker is asked to translate these sentences

literally, the morpheme nὲ is usually translated as 'and'. In

the above examples it has also been translated as the preposition

'with', or not translated at all. There is a possibility that the

phonological form   nὲ   actually represents at least two mor-

phemes, viz. a conjunction and a preposition, but this kind of

analysis obviously would be motivated only by the problems of trans-

lation into English.

It seems therefore that Fillmore's statement: 'Only noun

phrases representing the same case may be conjoined' (1968,22)

applies only to the deep structure, at least in languages in

which the phonological form of the conjunction has more than one

function.

In the following analysis, which aims among other things at

an explanation of this multifunctional nὲ, the framework of Case

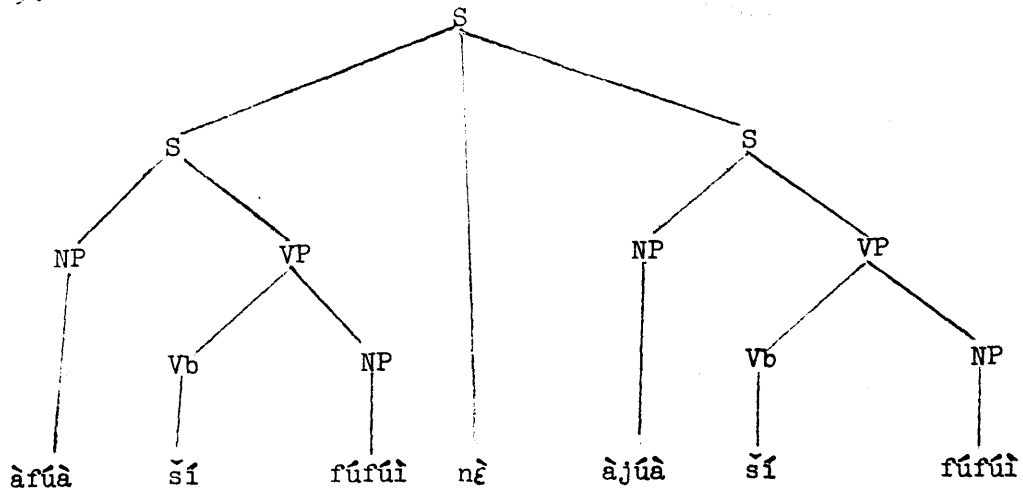Grammar, as proposed by Fillmore and elaborated by others, will

be used.

Sentence 1 could be generated by 'conjunction reduction' from

the following underlying sentences:

7. àfúà sí fúfúì   'Afua pounds fufu'

8. àjúà sí fúfúì   'Ajua pounds fufu'

In the process, the VP of the first sentence is reduced, according to the following diagram:

9.

```
                              S
                 ┌────────────┼────────────┐
                 S            │            S
            ┌────┴────┐       │       ┌────┴────┐
           NP        VP       │      NP        VP
            │      ┌──┴──┐     │       │      ┌──┴──┐
            │     Vb     NP    │       │     Vb     NP
            │      │      │     │       │      │      │
          àfúà    ší    fúfúì  nέ     àjúà    ší    fúfúì
```

10.

```
                         S
            ┌────────────┼────────────┐
           NP           NP            VP
            │            │         ┌───┴───┐
            │            │        Vb       NP
            │            │         │        │
          àfúà    nέ   àjúà       ší      fúfúì
```
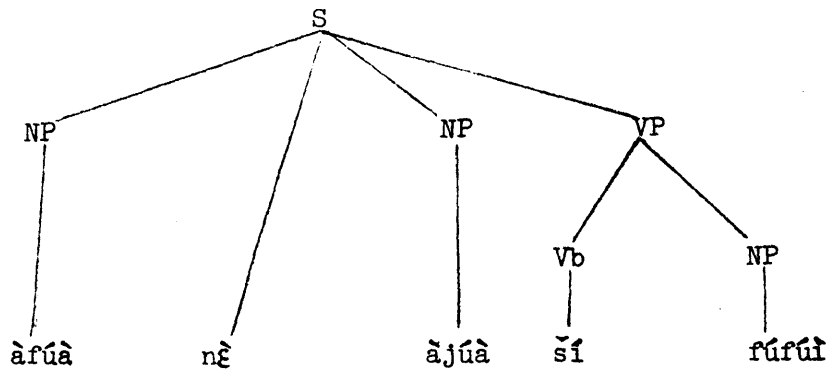
This derivation is very similar to the 'derived conjunction' proposed by Stockwell et al. 1973. Essentially the same process was already proposed for one of the Kwa languages, Twi, by Christaller in 1875.

The same derivation accounts for sentences such as 5, which

-4-

likewise have two underlying sentences, approximately of the following form:

11. mɔ̀ ná nɛ́ gò   'he gave him room'

12. mɔ̀ ná nɛ́ sĭkáà pĭĭ   'he gave him plenty of money'

After the reduction of identical elements, 5 is obtained. The reduction in this sentence applies both to the Agentive NP and to the verb.

Sentence 2 has a surface structure very similar to that of 1. It cannot, however, be derived from two underlying sentences by 'derived conjunction', since only the first NP is Agentive while the second can but does not have to be Agentive as well.

In order to account for the sentences containing the structure NP nɛ̀ NP in preverbal position, the heads of both NPs having the feature [+ Human], it is necessary to postulate a deep structure Comitative Case, abbreviated C. If a sentence contains only two Cases, viz. A and C, adapting Fillmore's[3] framework, we can postulate the following underlying structure:

13.
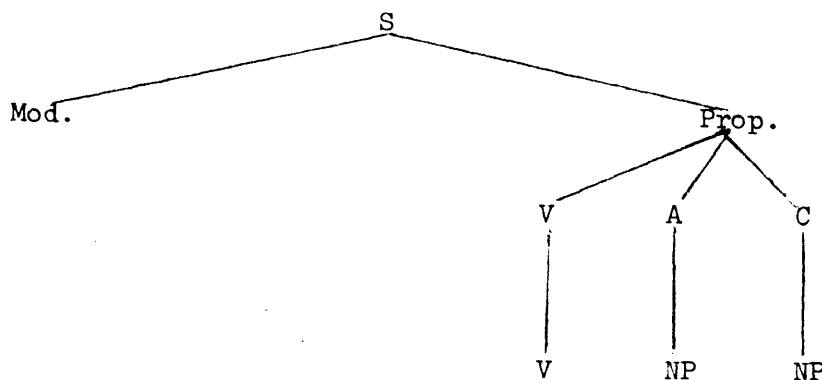
In the surface structure of 2 there occurs the morpheme nὲ which is obviously translated as 'with'. There are at least two possible derivations of this morpheme. One, as proposed by Fillmore for the English 'with', is to consider nὲ to be a realization of the underlying element which is inherent in a given Case, the element marked K in Fillmore (1968). If this solution is chosen, then the structure of 2 would be:
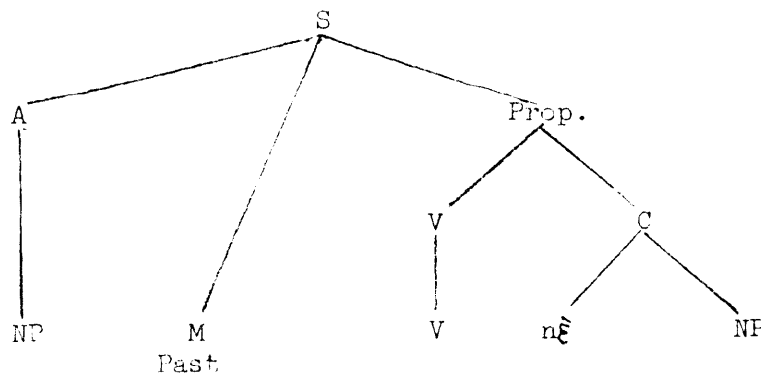
14.
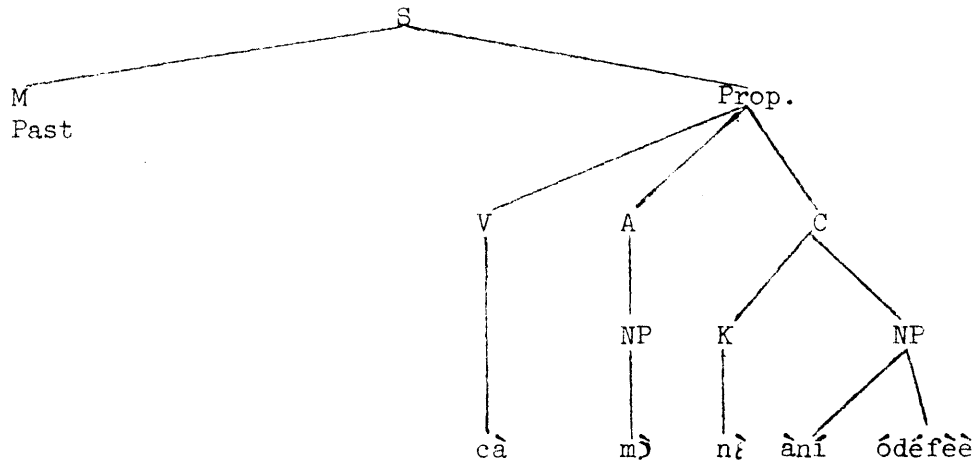
In order to obtain the surface structure, at least two movement transformations are necessary. The first one moves the Agentive NP into the beginning of the sentence, and the second moves the Comitative NP into the position right after the Agentive NP, producing the following structures:
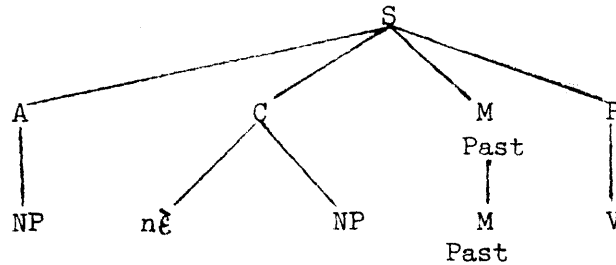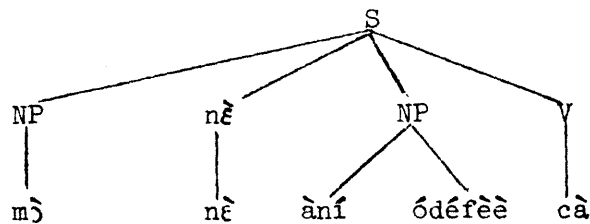
After the Agentive movement:

15.

After the Comitative movement:

16.

After the deletion of the Case nodes and the incorporation of the

Modality with V, the surface structure of this sentence is obtained:
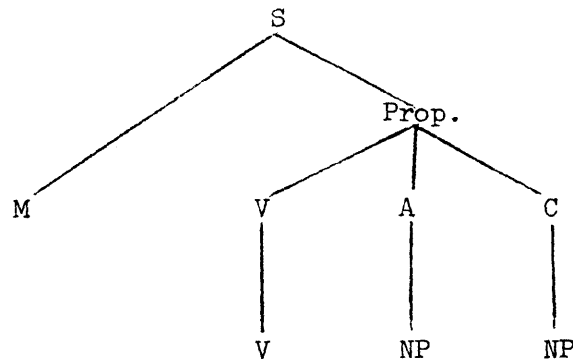
17.

However, the above solution seems unsatisfactory for Awutu.

Sentences 2, 3, 4 and 6 all have the morpheme nɛ̀. If nɛ̀ is postu-

lated to be a Case exponent, it would have to be an exponent of

at least three cases. Furthermore, this exponent would have to

be deleted in most instances and retained only when the NP

realizing a given deep structure case occurs in the preverbal

position following the Agentive Case. The Instrumental Case

marker is retained in all position except for sentence initial.

In view of the fact that the Comitative NP, Instrumental NP

and Objective NP are preceded by nɛ̀ when they are in a A_____V

position, it seems necessary to postulate a transformation by which

nɛ̀ is inserted whenever an NP which is a surface realization of a

-7-
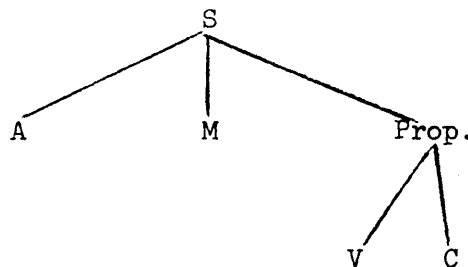
non-Agentive Case is moved into the position right after the Agentive NP. The reformulated derivation of 2 would have the following form:

18.

```
                            S
                          /   \
                         /     \
                        /    Prop.
                       /    /  |  \
                      /    /   |   \
                     M    V    A    C
                          |    |    |
                          |    |    |
                          V    NP   NP
```
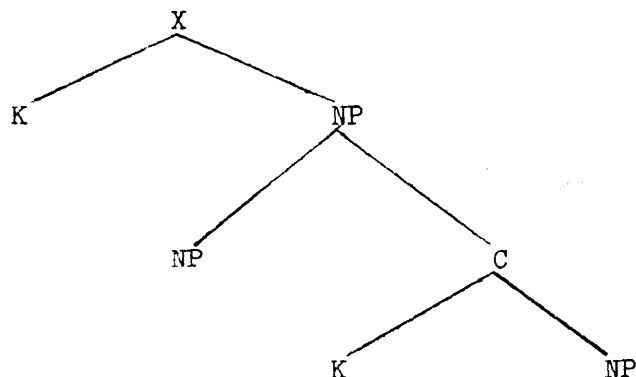
After the Agentive movement:

19.

```
                        S
                      / | \
                     /  |  \
                    A   M   Prop.
                            /  \
                           /    \
                          V      C
```

The movement of C to the right of A causes the insertion of nɛ̀, and structure 17 is obtained. Both of those transformations, viz. A movement and C movement, are obligatory.

The above solution differs from the solution for the Comitative Case, as proposed by Fillmore (1968), in one more, probably more important, respect. He postulates the rule: NP $\longrightarrow$ NP + C, i.e. C is dominated by another NP which in turn is dominated by a Case node marked X in the following diagram (Fillmore 1968, 82):

-8-

```
                        X
                      /   \
                    K      NP
                          /   \
                        NP      C
                               /  \
                              K    NP
```

For the type of the sentence under discussion X would be A.
This solution might even look simpler. Since C is never separated
from the Agentive NP, the movement of A automatically trigers the
movement of C to the front of the Proposition. The statement that
the selectional constraints on nouns under C are those of the
superordinate NP can be restated, viz. one can postulate that those
constraints are the same as those of the Agentive NP. In Awutu
both the Agentive and Comitative NPs have to have the feature
[+ Animate]. It seems necessary, however, to differentiate
in terms of features the Agentive NP from the Comitative NP by an
additional feature, which would specify the principal actor or just
the 'agent'. While Fillmore's approach could account for such
sentences as

20. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ nɛ́ bà cìná sɛ̀ɛ̀

lit. 'he nɛ̀ he Fut. live Postp.'

'He will live with her'[5]

21. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ nɛ́ cà ǹdɛ́

lit. 'he nɛ̀ he quarreled today'

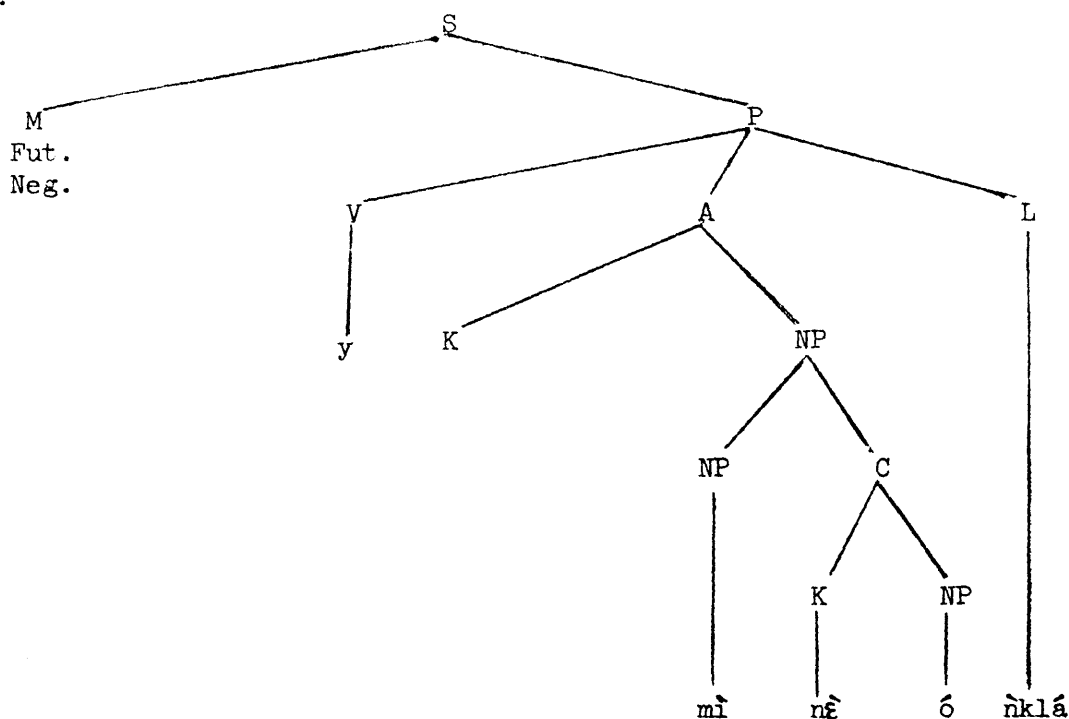'He quarreled with him today '

-9-

it seems, unsatisfactory for 22:

22. mì nɛ̀ ò mááyɔ̀ ǹklá

lit. 'I nɛ̀ you Neg. Fut. go Accra'

'I will not go with you to Accra'

If Fillmore's (1968) proposal is applied, the structure of this sentence would be the following:

23.

which implies that both of the terminal NPs are Agents. In this sentence, however, it is implied that one NP (1.p.sg., mì) will not perform the action, while the second NP might. One thing about the scope of the Neg. in this sentence is certain, viz. that it does not apply to both of the NPs in the subject position. The Agent is only the first NP, and therefore it seems justified to postulate the deep structure Comitative Case independent of other Cases in the language.

-10-

If the Neg. had to apply to both of the NPs, the surface structure
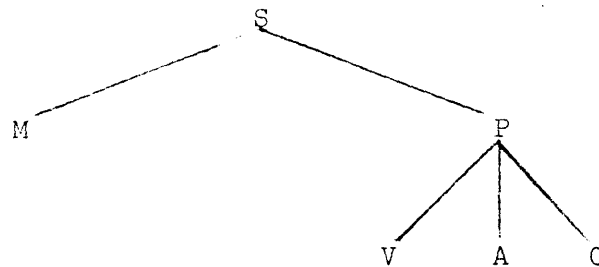of the sentence would be 24:

24. mì nɛ̀ ò ànɪ́ mááyɔ̀ ǹklá

   lit. 'I and you we will not go to Accra'

Sentence 24, however, is derived from two underlying sen-
tences by a process similar to that described in 10.

If the deep structure of an Awutu sentence contains only the
Agentive and Objective Cases, i.e. if it has the following structure:

25.

then, in the surface structure, the Agentive NP precedes the Verb
becoming the surface structure subject, and the Objective NP follows
the Verb becoming the surface structure object. The surface
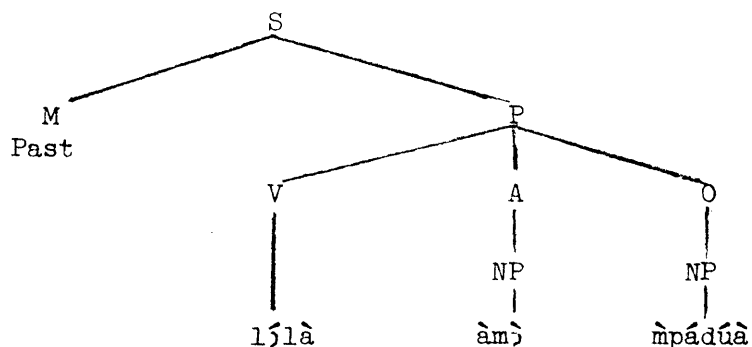structure is therefore the following:
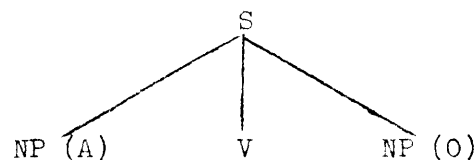
The terms 'subject' and 'object' are used in this paper only when
referring to the surface structure phenomena, viz. the relative
order of the NPs and verbs, to the person and number agreements
for the subject-verb relationship and to the number agreement for
the verb-object relationship.

For the sentence

    26. àmɔ̀ lɔ́là m̀pádúà   'they repaired the bed'

the deep structure would be:

```
                         S
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
              M                     P
            Past         ┌──────────┼──────────┐
                         V          A           O
                         │          │           │
                         │          NP          NP
                         │          │           │
                       lɔ́là        àmɔ̀        m̀pádúà
```
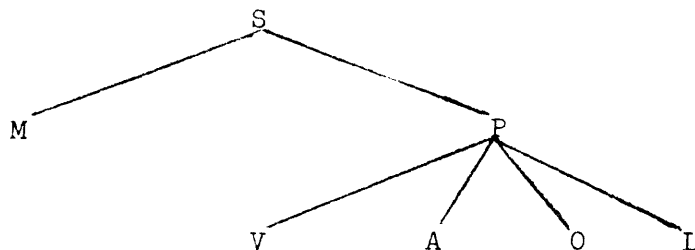
    The surface structure of this sentence is obtained by a transformation which shifts the Agentive NP before the verb, and later by a transformation which provides for the realization of modality.

    Sentence 3, however, is an example of a surface structure in which the Objective NP follows the Agentive NP in the subject position, i.e. it precedes V.

    The deep structure of this and similar sentences can be represented as:

    27.

```
                    S
           ┌────────┴────────┐
           M                 P
                    ┌────┬───┼───┬────┐
                    V    A       O    L
```
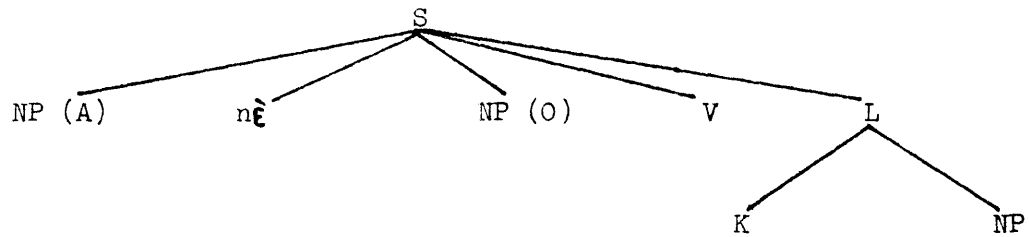
L in this structure stands for Locative.

    The presence of Locative in the deep structure of these sentences is crucial for the derivation of the surface structures.

-12-

If there is a Locative in the deep structure, then the Objective NP is moved before the verb, directly after the Agentive NP which is the surface structure subject. The movement involves the insertion of nɛ̀, the same as postulated for the movement of Comitative. Structure 28 is thus obtained from structure 27.

28.

```
                              S
          _____/ / | \ _____
         /          /        |       \             \
      NP (A)      nɛ̀      NP (O)      V             L
                                                   / \
                                                  /   \
                                                 K     NP
```
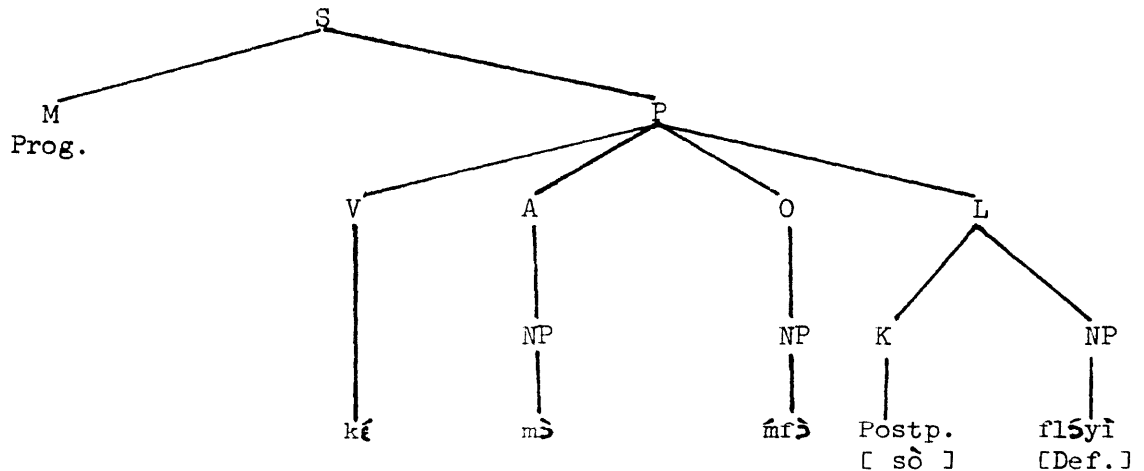
The case marker K for the Locative is deleted if NP dominated by L already has the semantic feature [+ Locative][6].

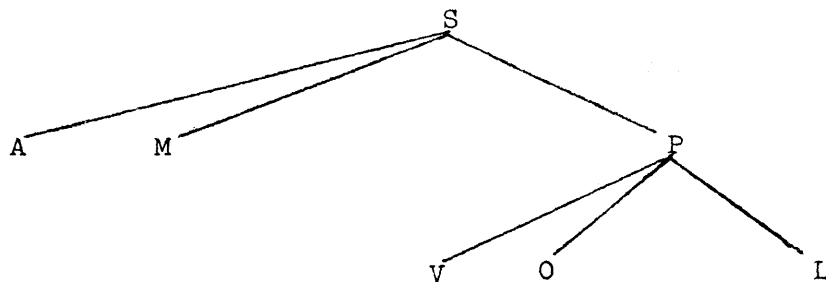As an example, the following is a derivation of the sentence 3

    mɔ̀ nɛ̀ m̀fɔ̀ ɛ́ɛ́!kɛ̀ flɔ́yìɛ̀ sò   'He/she is adding oil
                                    to the stew'.

29a.

```
                    S
          _____/ _____
         /                                      \
        M                                         P
      Prog.                          _____/ | \ _____
                                    /        /       \            \
                                   V        A         O            L
                                   |        |         |           / \
                                   |       NP        NP          K   NP
                                   |        |         |          |    |
                                  kɛ́       mɔ̀       m̀fɔ̀      Postp. flɔ́yì
                                                                [ sò ] [Def.]
```
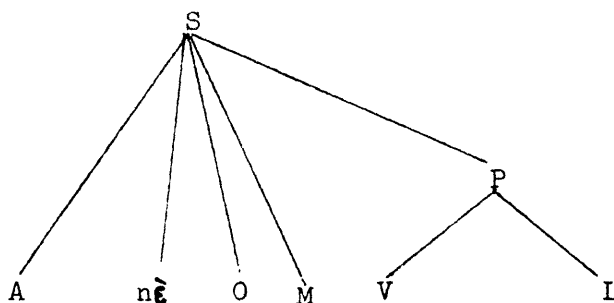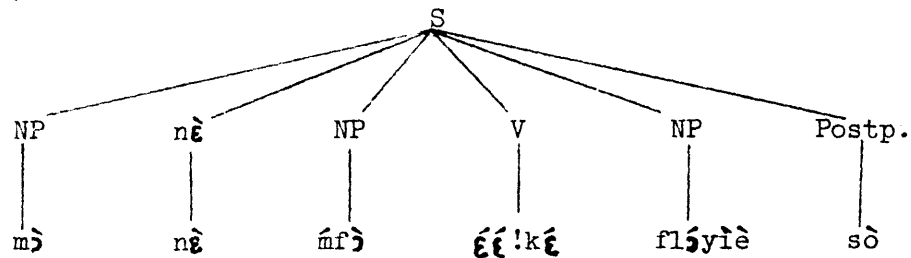
After the Agentive movement:

29b.

After Objective movement and nὲ insertion:

29c.

After the incorporation of M into V and the placement of the Postposition after the Locative NP, the surface structure of 3 is obtained.
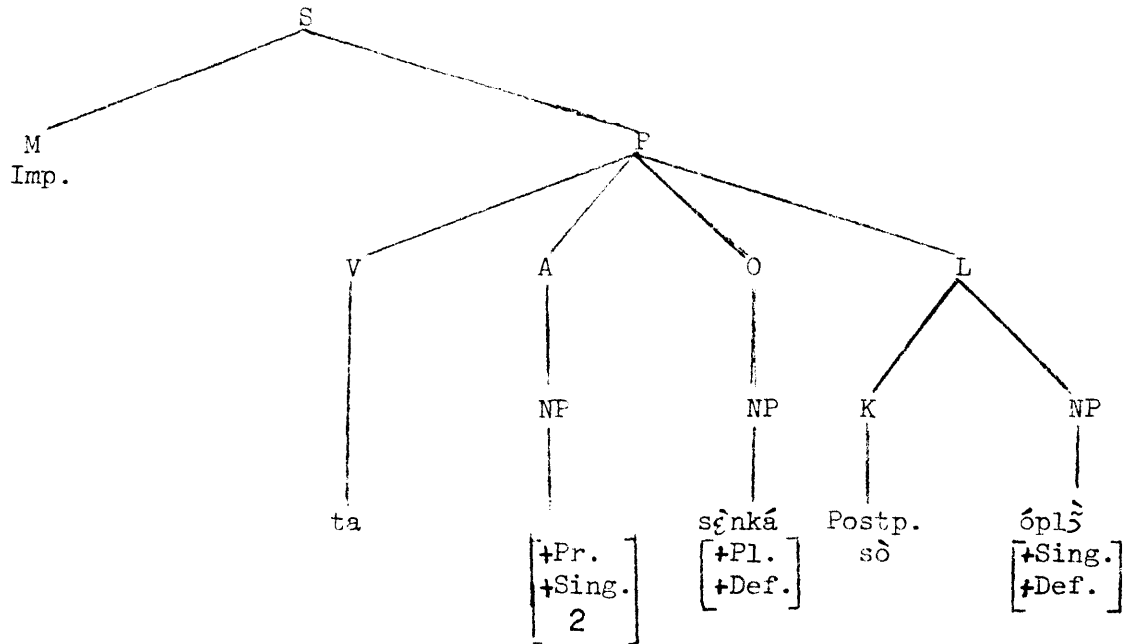
29d.

The following sentence provides an example of both the subject-verb and verb-object agreement in Awutu.

30. ó nɛ̀ ǹsɛ̀nkáà tábè ópljé sò   'Put the dishes on the table.'

The deep structure of this sentence is 30a.

30a.

Since the noun dominated by O has the feature [+ Pl], the verb

has the same feature, which in the case of this verb and others

belonging to the same class is the suffix bè.

Compare this sentence with 31.
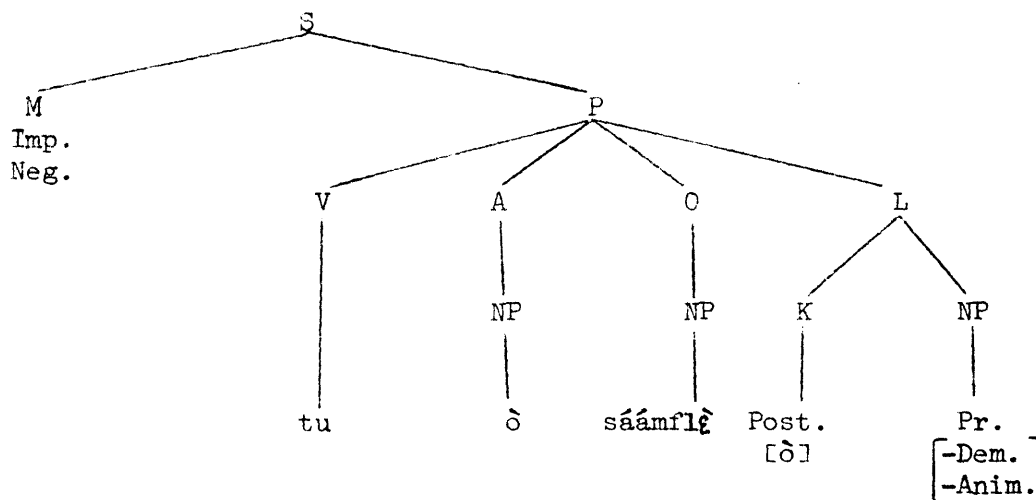
31. ó nɛ̀ sɛ̀nkáà tá ópljè sò 'put the dish on the table'.

Since the noun dominated by O is [+ Sing.], the surface structure

of the verb is ta.

Sentence 32 ó nɛ̀ sáámflɛ̀ mítù ò 'do not put the window on it'

does not contain the Locative NP in its surface structure but re-

tains the Locative case marker. The following is proposed as

the deep structure of this sentence:

-15-

Transformations 29a through 29d are applied to this deep
structure. The segment Pr. is realized in Awutu as

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Dem} \\ -\text{Anim} \end{bmatrix}$$

in a number of Kwa languages, e. g. Akan (Christaller 1875,
Stewart 1963) as ∅. Hence in the surface structure the post-
position ò follows the verb tu, thus being the only phonological
realization of the deep structure Locative Case.

There are, however, sentences in Awutu in which Objective
follows Agentive in the surface structure, but without any trace
of Locative. The verbs in those sentences are: ba 'to come', yɔ
'to go'. The 'case frame' for those verbs is [_____ A (O) (L)].
If the Objective Case is present, then the meaning of the verb
is 'to bring' or 'to take', i. e. 'to come with..' or 'to go
with..'. The Awutu constructions nɛ̀ ba correspond thus to the
English constructions 'to come with' and 'to go with'.

-16-

The sentence

33. ńšà kòánî bánsrá mɔ̀ nɛ̀ àmɔ̀ nɛ̀ ńtà tùmpáɲ kòmɛ̀ bà

'Some people came to visit him and they brought a bottle
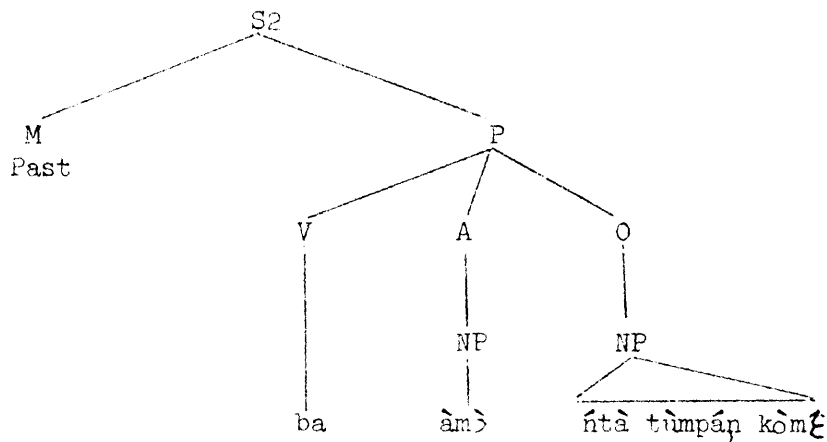
of liquor'

is a conjoined sentence, which could be represented as

33a.
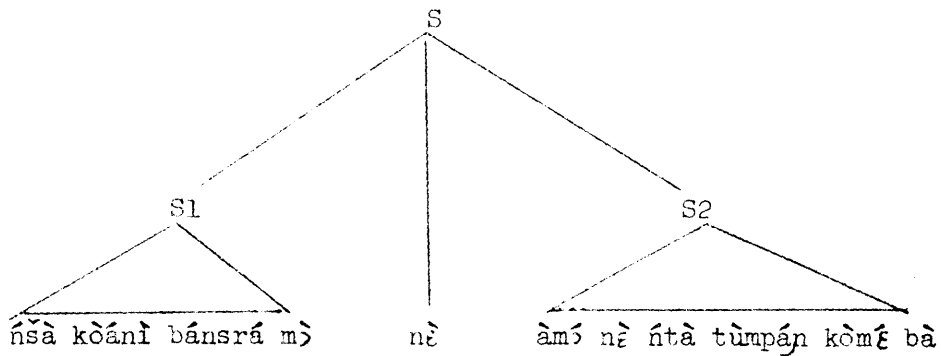
The deep structure of S2 is 33b.

33b.

In order to account for the surface structure of this sentence,

an obligatory rule is postulated:

Whenever the deep structure of a sentence contains A and O,

and the verb is ba 'come', yɔ 'go', cu 'leave', kina 'return'

(and possibly a few others), then the Objective NP is moved before the verb.

Since the movement of Agentive precedes the movement of Objective, nɛ̌ is inserted between the Agentive and Objective NPs.

33c.
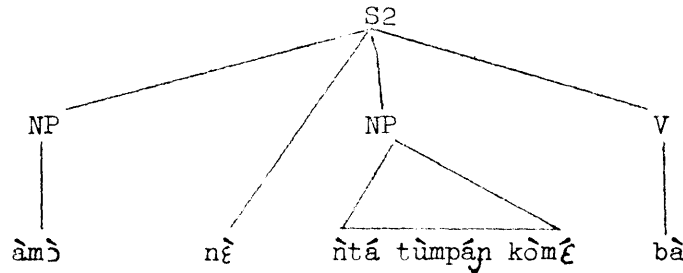
This rule operates as well when there is a Locative Case in the deep structure, e. g.

34. àdó nɛ̀ mɔ̀níntírì mba tɔ̀

    lit. 'monkey nɛ̀ its head came Postp. (in)'

    'Monkey put its head inside it'

The Locative Case marker tɔ̀ 'inside' follows the verb because the Locative NP is an inanimate pronoun, just as in 32.

The rule that has been established for the movement of Objective related to the occurence of the verbs ba and yɔ̀ is similar to the rule that postulated the movement of Objective related to the presence of Locative in the deep structure.

The surface structure of 33 is, on the other hand, similar to the surface structure of 2, i. e. the sentence with the Comitative Case. It can be argued that 33 contains a deep structure Comitative Case as well.

-18-

The difference between 2 and 33 stems from the fact that
the Comitative NP has the feature [+ Animate], while the
Objective NP can be either [+ Animate] or [- Animate].

In order to account for 4, a deep structure Instrumental
Case is postulated. Although the surface structure of 4 is sim-
ilar to the structures of the preceding sentences which had Com-
itative and Objective Cases in the preverbal position, it seems
necessary to derive nὲ in the sentence through   somewhat dif-
ferent transformations. It is postulated that the deep structure
Instrumental has a case marker nὲ. For a sentence which has an
Agentive, Objective and an Instrumental Case, the following
structure is proposed:

```
                    S
           /                \
          M                   P
                  /    |    |      \
                 V     A    O        I
                       |    |       /   \
                      NP   NP      K     NP
                                   |      |
                                   nὲ    NP
```
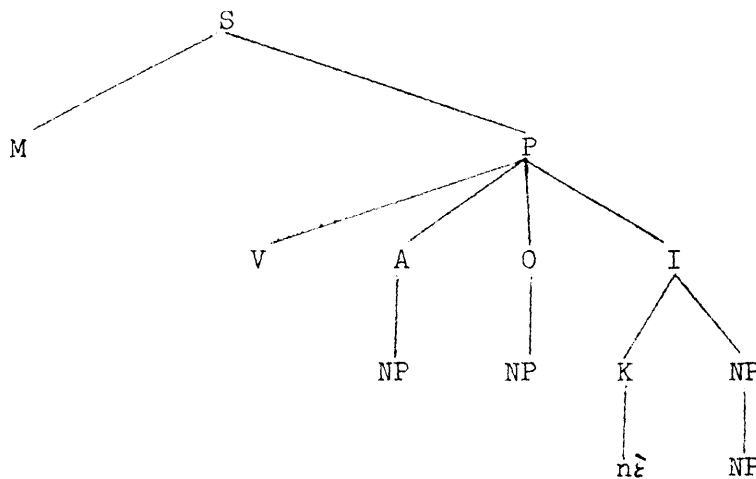
When a Proposition consists only of those cases, then, after the
movement of Agentive, there is an obligatory movement of Instru-
mental to the right of Agentive. Since this transformation
requires that nὲ be inserted between the Agentive NP and any
other NP that follows it, the following intermediate structure
is obtained:

```
                    S
        _____/__|_____
       A          I       V         O
       |        / |\      |         |
       NP      nɛ̀ nɛ̀ NP   V        NP
```
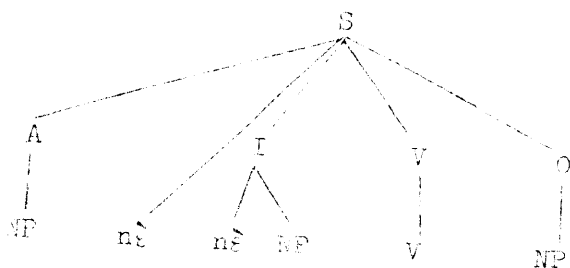
In order to obtain the surface structure, a reduction transfor-
mation must delete one nɛ̀, producing the following surface
structure:

```
                         S
       _____/___|_____
      NP      nɛ̀     NP      V      NP
```

The following is the derivation of 4:

mɔ̀ nɛ̀ éyìbí ɲwɛ̃́ mì   'he hit me with a stick'

```
              S
        ____/  _____
       M                               P
       Past              ___/__|_____
                        V    A    O           I
                        |    |    |         /   \
                       ɲwɛ̃  NP   NP        K     NP
                            |    |         |      |
                            mɔ̀   mì        nɛ̀    éyìbí
```
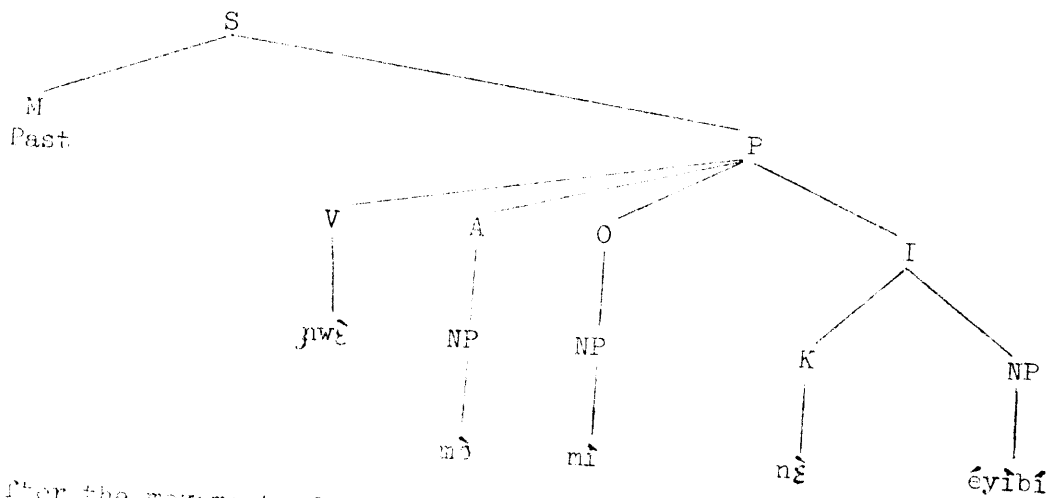
After the movement of A, the movement of I and the incorporation
of M, it produces:

```
                    S
        ____/____|_____
       A        I          V        O
       |      / | \        |        |
       NP    nɛ̀  NP        V        NP
       |         |         |        |
       mɔ̀    nɛ̀ éyìbí     ɲwɛ̃      mì
```

-20-

After the reduction of nɛ̀ and the deletion of case labels, the
following surface structure is obtained:

mɔ̀ nɛ̀ éyìbí pwɛ́ mì

One might argue that it was not necessary to postulate a case
marker for Instrumental and that it could have been derived
similarly to the other cases just by the insertion of nɛ̀, which
is required when this movement occurs. Such a proposal will
not account for all realizations of Instrumental, however.

If the deep structure of a sentence contains the Comitative
Case, or if a sentence is derived through a conjunction reduc-
tion from two underlying sentences, so that in the surface struc-
ture in the subject position the sequence NP nɛ̀ NP occurs, then
there is no movement of Instrumental to the right of A. The
Instrumental NP occurs after the Objective NP and retains its case
marker nɛ̀. The following is a proposed derivation of the sentence:

35.   àtɛ́ nɛ̀ àbúsúà kata èhwíníɛ̀ sò nɛ̀ m̀bàmá àkúkù pɔ̀

      'Father and the abusua (family) cover the deceased

      with two pieces of cloth'
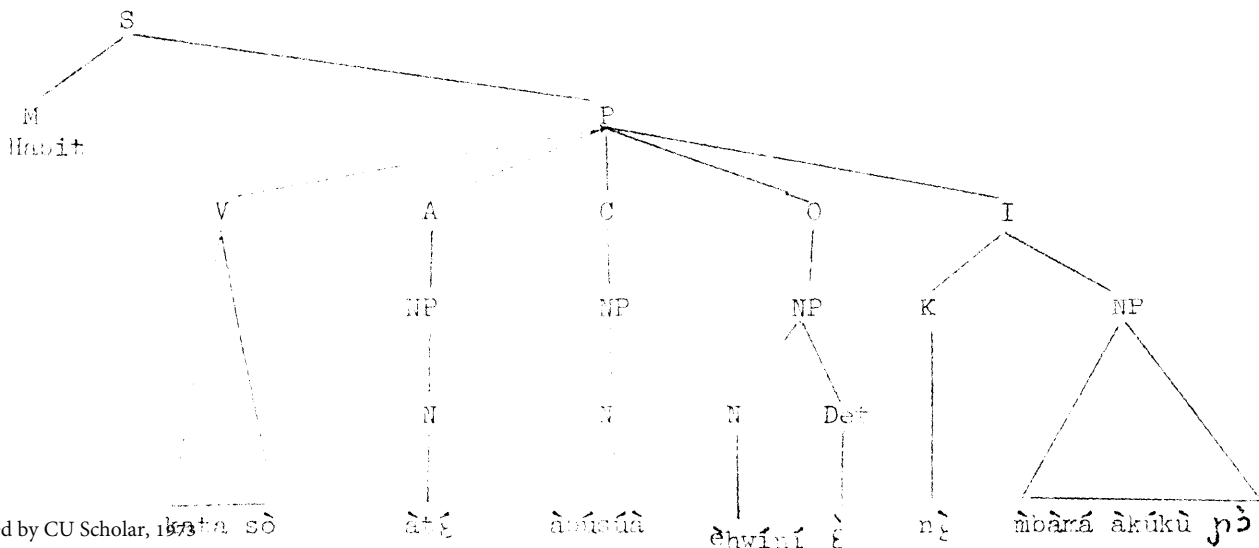
The following transformations have to occur in order to obtain the surface structure of this sentence.

1. Movement of Agentive to the left of the verb.

2. Movement of Comitative to the right of Agentive and before the verb. Part of this transformation involves the insertion of nĝ.

3. Movement of the postposition sò 'on' to the right of the Objective NP (see Frajzyngier 1971 for the discussion of postpositions).

4. Incorporation of M into the verb and deletion of case labels.

Walmsley 1971 argues that in English Comitative and Instrumental should be considered as sub-parts of the same deep structure case relation. This argument is based on the fact that we do not have both Comitative and Instrumental in the surface structure of an English sentence, i.e. we cannot say [*]'She killed her husband with her sister with a hammer', instead we have to say 'She and her sister killed her husband with a hammer' (Both sentences from Walmsley 1971, 499). The second sentence, according to Walmsley, is derived from two underlying sentences. This argument may be valid for English but certainly is not valid for all languages, e.g. Slavic, in which both Comitative and Instrumental can occur in the same surface structure with their respective case markers.

One can argue that 35 is derived from two underlying sentences:

-22-

36. àtɛ́ nɛ̀ m̀bàmá àkúkù ɲɔ̀ kata éhwínìè

'Father covers the deceased with two pieces of cloth'

37. àbúsúà nɛ̀ m̀bàmá àkúkù ɲɔ̀ kata éhwínìè

'Abusua (family) covers the deceased with two pieces

of cloth'

Provided that we postulate the same referent to the phrase
m̀bàmá àkúkù ɲɔ̀, lit. 'cloths piece two', 'two pieces of cloth',
we could derive the surface structure through a reduction trans-
formation. It seems that such a derivation is possible and it
will result in exactly the same surface structure. This surface
structure is therefore ambiguous. In the text from which the
sentence is taken the ambiguity is solved by the next sentence
which says that 'one piece belongs to the father and one piece
belongs to the abusua (family)'. This seems to be a convincing
argument for postulating a deep structure Comitative Case,
rather than a conjunction reduction, as the source for this
sentence. If one would like to account for the semantic inter-
pretation of this sentence and still use the conjunction reduc-
tion, the following two sentences would have to be postulated:

38. àtɛ́ nɛ̀ bàmá àkúkù kómɛ̀ kata éhwínìè

'Father covers the deceased with one piece of cloth'

39. àbúsúà nɛ̀ bàmá àkúkù kómɛ̀ kata éhwínìè

'the abusua (family) covers the deceased with one

piece of cloth'

The referents for bàmá àkúkù kómɛ̀ 'one piece of cloth' have to
be specified as different. In order to derive the surface

structure of 35, we would have to postulate two rules related to

the conjunction reduction:

a. rule which will account for the change bàmá ⟶ m̀bàmá,

   i.e. from sing. to pl., as a result of bàmá + bàmá

   (similar rules have been attempted for some languages, see

   Stockwell et al. 1973, Eulenberg 1971).

b. rule which will specify that kómɛ̀ – kómɛ̀ ⟶ èɲɔ́, i.e.

   one + one ⟶ two. Although this rule seems to be true,

   it is not a linguistic rule. Therefore the argument for a

   deep structure Comitative and Instrumental Cases in 35 is

   stronger than the argument for the conjunction reduction as

   the source of this sentence.

   If a sentence contains only Instrumental and Objective

Cases in its deep structure, then in the surface structure

Instrumental occupies the subject position and the case marker

nɛ̀ is deleted, e.g.

   40. kɛ̀ntɛ́ɲ bútú sò   'a basket covered it'

The Proposition of this sentence has the following structure:
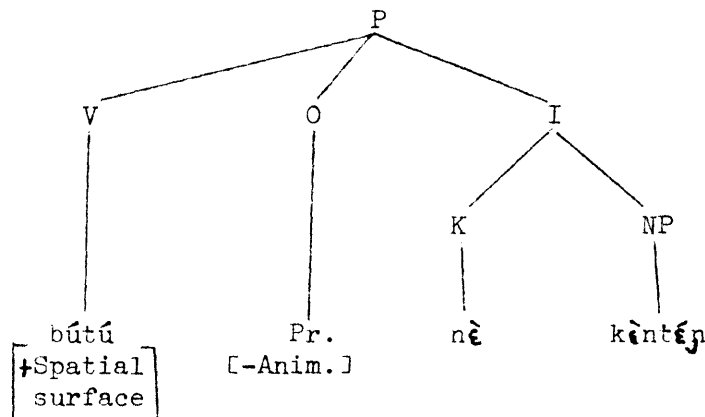
-24-

The Instrumental case marker is deleted after the movement of Instrumental into the subject position, and Objective is realized as ∅, since it is an inanimate pronoun. The feature $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Spatial} \\ \text{surface} \end{bmatrix}$ is realized as postposition sǒ.

In one type of sentence the movement of Objective to the right of Agentive seems to be optional (this is similar to the situation in Twi, described by Stewart 1963). These sentences contain Dative in their deep structure and a verb which has the case frame [―― ADO] such as na 'give', ka 'show', and possibly a few others.

If a Proposition has the structure:

P
V   A   D   O
give
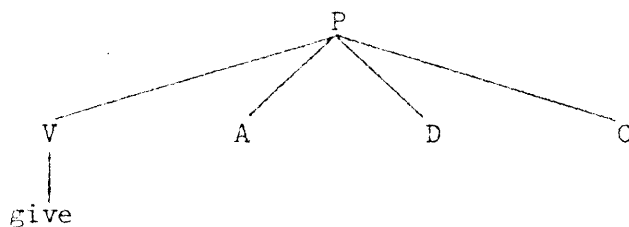
it may yield the surface structure A V D O by the Agentive movement transformation, or the structure A nɛ̃ O V D by the Agentive and Objective movement transformations.

The sentence 41 can be derived by the Agentive movement.

41. mɔ̀ nɑ́ nɛ́ sɑ́mfɛ́ɛ̀   'he gave him the key'

```
                        S
              _____/ _____
             /                    \
            M                      P
          Past              ____/ |  \____
                           /     |   |     \
                          V      A   D      O
                          |      |   |      |
                          |     NP  NP     NP
                          |      |   |      |
                          |      |   |      N
                          |      |   |      |
                         ná     Pr. Pr.   sɑ́mfɛ́
                              ┌─ ─┐ ┌─ ─┐
                              │ 3 │ │ 3 │  [ +Def.]
                              │+Anim│ │+Anim│
                              └─ ─┘ └─ ─┘
```
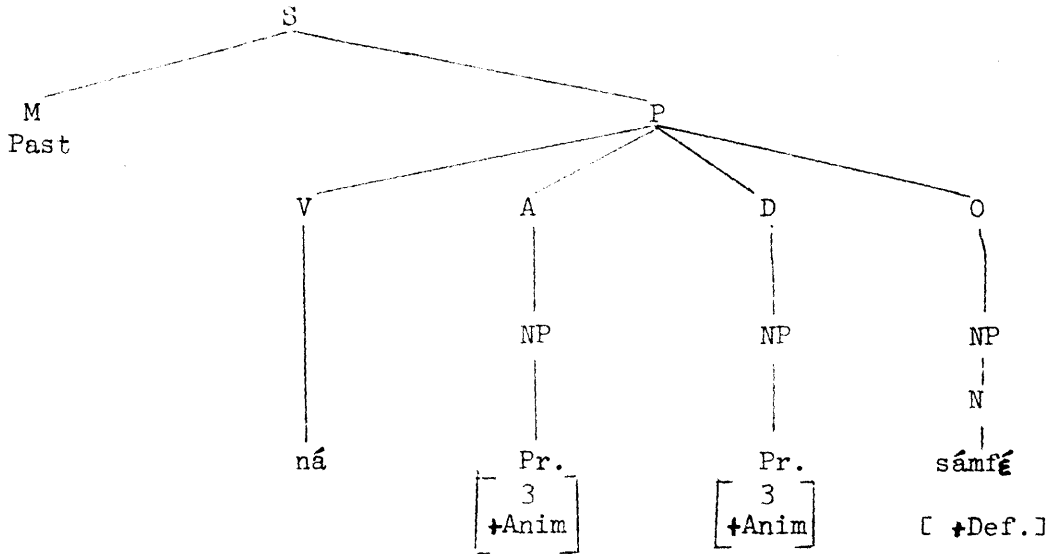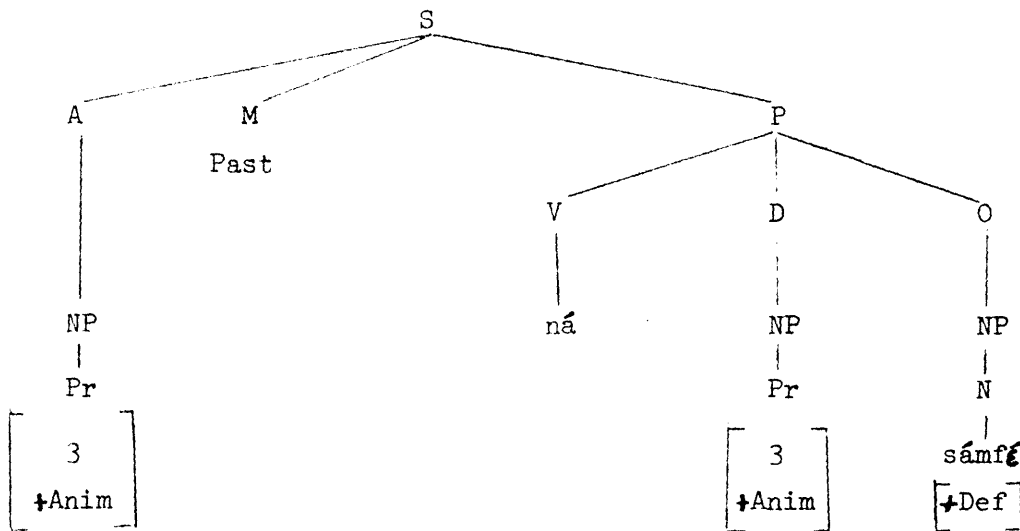
After the A movement the following structure is obtained:

```
                         S
          _____/ |  _____
         /           |            \
        A            M             P
        |          Past        __/ |  \__
       NP                      /   |     \
        |                     V    D      O
       Pr                     |    |      |
    ┌─ ─┐                    |   NP     NP
    │ 3 │                    ná    |      |
    │+Anim│                        Pr      N
    └─ ─┘                          |       |
                                ┌─ ─┐   sɑ́mfɛ́
                                │ 3 │   ┌─ ─┐
                                │+Anim│ │+Def│
                                └─ ─┘   └─ ─┘
```
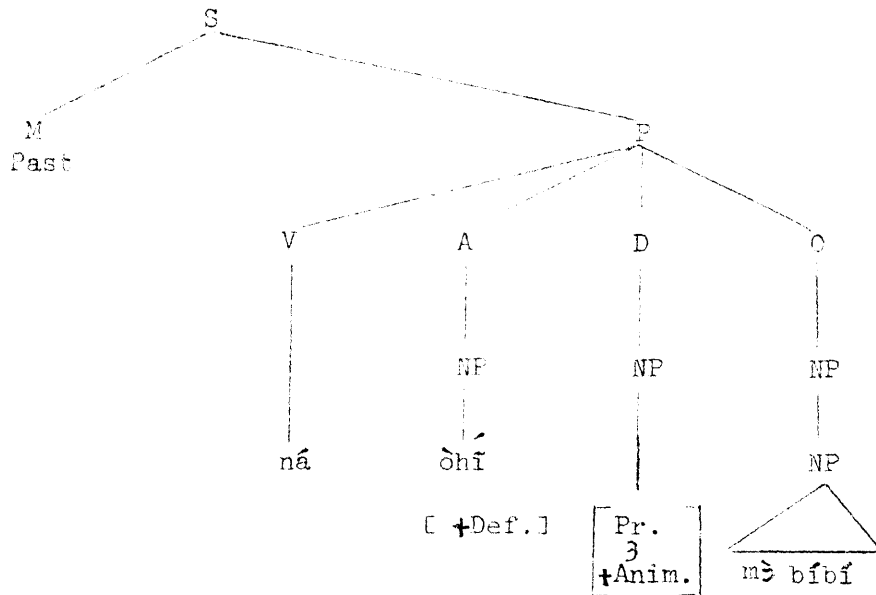
The surface structure is obtained after the incorporation of M

and the deletion of case labels. (The Dative NP is realized as

nɛ̀, cf. footnote 5).

The following sentence is derived through 1. movement of

Agentive and 2. movement of Objective which requires the inser-

tion of nɛ̀.

-26-

42. ɔ̀nɪ̀ nɛ̀ mɔ̀ bíbí ná mɔ̀   'the man gave his child to him'

```
                              S
               ┌──────────────┴──────────────────────┐
            M                                          P
          Past                          ┌──────┬───────┬────────┐
                                        V      A       D        O
                                        │      │       │        │
                                        │     NP      NP       NP
                                        │      │       │        │
                                       ná     ɔ̀nɪ́     │        NP
                                                                 │
                                           [ +Def.]   ┌─────┐   /\
                                                      │ Pr. │  /  \
                                                      │  3  │ mɔ̀ bíbí
                                                      │+Anim.│
                                                      └─────┘
```

The reason for the application of the second transformation
may be that there is special emphasis on Objective when it is moved
to the front. Awutu has several devices for emphasis, among them
the movement of the emphasized NP to the beginning of the sentence.
But the availability of other devices argues against the treat-
ment of 42 as being derived through such a transformation.
Nevertheless, one might argue that several degrees of emphasis
are possible, and the movement of Objective to the right of Agen-
tive provides for the weakest non-neutral emphasis available. I
am in favor of this solution, rather than claiming the existence
of two different and optional surface structures resulting
from the same semantic deep structure. If the last point of view
is accepted, then, if the deep structure contains A, D and O,
Objective would have to be marked somehow to indicate the exis-
tence or non-existence of emphasis.

In order to account for the structure of 6, the same deep structure and the same transformations are postulated as for the sentence with the deep structure Instrumental Case. The surface structure of the form NP nɛ̀ V (NP) can be derived not only from deep structures with Instrumental, but also from deep structures containing both Objective and Locative Cases, and from deep structures with Dative and Objective Cases as well.

This surface structure is obtained when the NP dominated by a Case which undergoes the fronting transformation is represented as an inanimate non-demonstrative pronoun. Here are some examples.
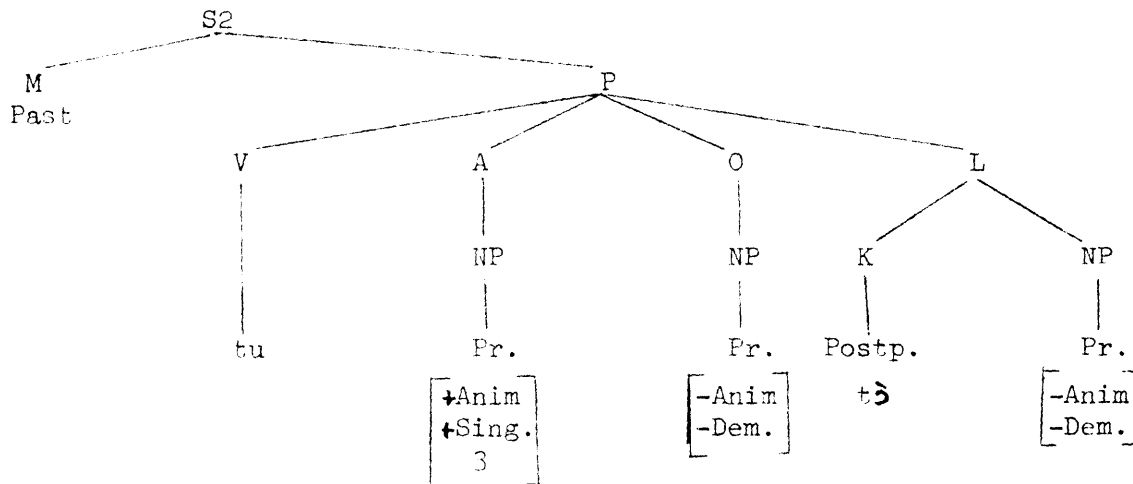
43. àjínámɔ́à bà sɔ̀ nûè nɛ̀ mɔ̀ nɛ̀ tù tɔ̀

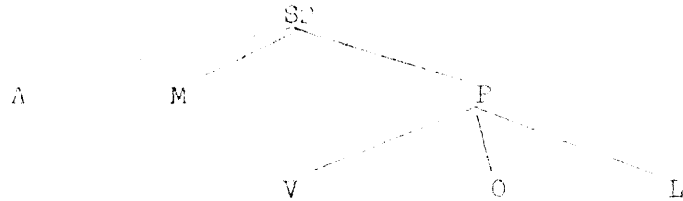'Cat came took the meat and put it in'

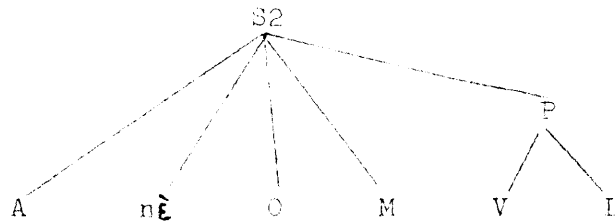This sentence has the following structure:
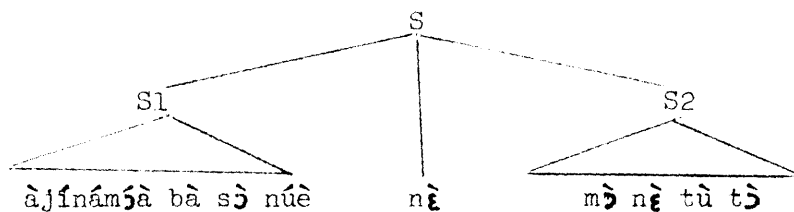
It is the structure of S2 that is of interest here:

-28-

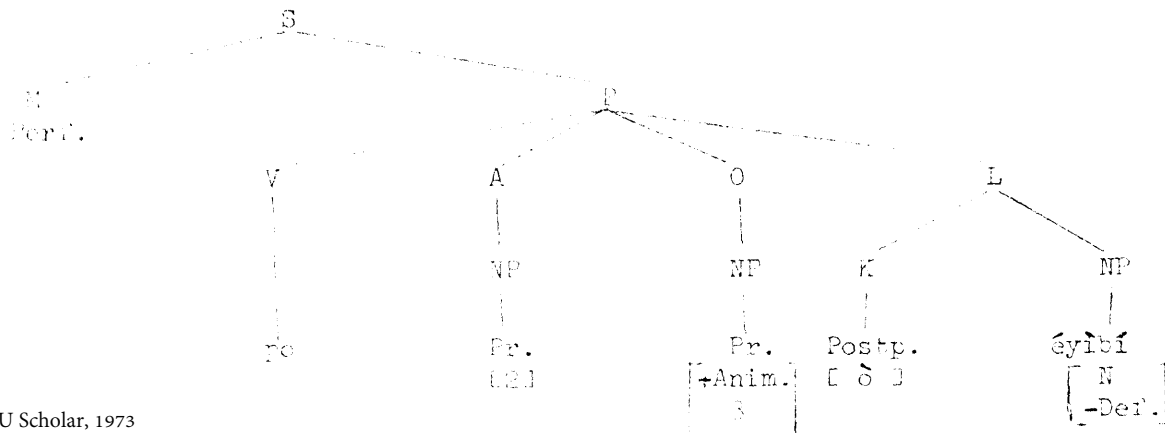After the Agentive movement this structure yields:

```
                S2
         /‚              \
   A        M             P
                    /     |     \
                  V       O       L
```

After the Objective movement, which is obligatory because of
the presence of Locative and requires the insertion of nɛ̀,
it results in:

```
                    S2
        /      /    |    \        \
      A      nɛ̀    O     M      V     L
```

Since the segment   Pr.   is realized as ∅ in the surface struc-

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Anim.} \\ -\text{Dem.} \end{bmatrix}$$

ture, the sequence A O is realized as NP nɛ̀. For the same reason

the postposition tɔ̀ follows the verb.

If Objective dominates the segment   Pr.   , then it has a
                                     [+Anim.]
phonological realization, e.g.

44.   ó nɛ̀ mɔ̀ mpɔ̀ éyìbí ò   'you have hanged it [+animate]
                                 on the tree'

```
                S
    A                       P
   Perf.          /      |      \       \
      V          A        O       L
      |          |        |        |
      |          NP       NP   P    NP
      |          |        |    |     |
     ro         Pr.      Pr.  Postp. éyìbí
                (2)    [+Anim.] [ ò ]  [ N    ]
                          ɔ            [ -Def.]
```

-29-

The first transformation is Agentive movement; the second transformation is Objective movement and the insertion of nɛ̀; the third transformation is the realization of Modality, which can be incorporated after the realization of objective pronoun.

The derivation of 6 can be explained on the same principle. The Instrumental NP is an inanimate pronoun, hence the sequence NP nɛ̀ in the subject position of 6.

6. ó nɛ̀ bùtṳ̀ sɛ̀nká sò   'cover the sɛ̀nká with it'

Since the movement of Objective is optional if a sentence contains Dative and Objective in its deep structure, two surface structures are possible if the Objective NP is an inanimate pronoun, e.g.

no movement of Objective:

45. mɔ̀ ká ò   'he showed it to you'

with the movement of Objective:

46. mɔ̀ nɛ̀ ká ò

It seems that 46 puts more emphasis on Objective than does 45.

In Akan the function of the Awutu nɛ̀ is performed by the morpheme de in affirmative sentences and fa in the negative sentences. Both of those morphemes have the gloss 'to take' but in the simple sentences de occurs only in idiomatic expressions (Stewart 1963, 146).

A great part of Stewart 1963 is devoted to the analysis of sentences containing de in Akan. In discussing the sentence:

-30-

Ɔde sé!kán twaa nám nó 'He cut the meat with a knife' (lit. he

take knife cut meat that), Stewart proposes the derivation of this

sentence 'from the underlying simple sentences':

Ɔfaa sé!kán   'He took a knife'   and

Otwaa nám nó   'He cut the meat'.

This analysis doubtless results from the treatment of de as a

verb, which in turn forces him to treat the sentence under dis-

cussion as a complex one. It seems that an analysis within the

framework of Case Grammar could provide a more adequate descrip-

tion, even though an embedding might still be necessary in order

to account for the presence of the verbs de and fa in the surface

structure.

The solutions proposed in this paper seem to apply to other

sentences analyzed in Stewart 1963. The sentence Ɔde kané!á bí

sii pónó nó só 'He stood a lamp on the table' (lit. he-take

lamp certain stood table that top) is derived by Stewart from

the simple sentence Osii kané!a bí !pónó nó só (lit. 'he-stood

lamp certain table that top') and 'the usual semantically empty

preceding sentence with fa 'take'.' While the first of these

sentences is impossible in Akan, the second is postulated only in

order to account for the occurence of de in the sentence under

discussion. Now, this sentence is analogous to the Awutu

sentences with the deep structure Agentive, Objective and

Locative Cases. Such a deep structure requires the movement of

Objective to the right of Agentive, and the insertion of nɛ̀. Other sentences analyzed by Stewart, viz. Kofí de atadéɛ́ nó sɛnn dadewá só 'Kofi hung the dress on the nail' and Kofí de ntomá nó gun adá!kɛ́ nó mú 'Kofi put the cloth in the box' could be explained by the same derivation. Both of those sentences contain Objective and Locative.

The close similarities of function between the Akan de and the Awutu nɛ̀ extend as well to the phenomena linked with Dative. In both languages the movement of Objective is optional, with the difference that in Akan it is obligatory when the Objective NP is definite. Both the Akan de and the Awutu nɛ̀ share the same function when Objective occurs with the verb ba, providing for the meaning 'to bring'.

Boadi 1968, in order to account for sentences containing de in Akan, proposes the following base rule:

$$VP \longrightarrow PREV \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \text{de VP NP} \\ \text{V complement} \end{Bmatrix}$$

which 'provides for recursive self-embedded agentivized verb phrases,' as in the following (Boadi 1968,36).
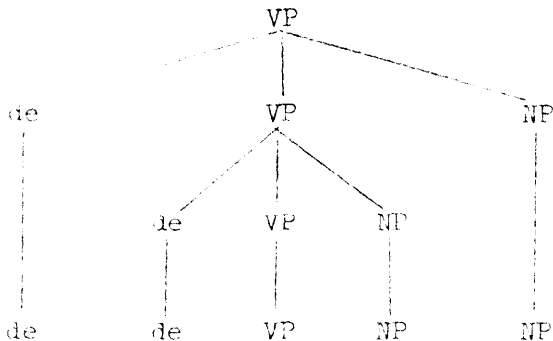
-32-

The sentence with Instrumental:

Ɔ de sika tɔɔ ntoma   'he with money bought a cloth, i.e.
he bought a cloth with money' (note the translation of de by
'with'), has, according to Boadi, the deep structure

        Ɔ de tɔɔ ntoma sika.

It seems to me that a semantically based model such as one applied
in this paper accounts better for the occurence of nɛ̀ in Awutu,
and possibly would account better for the serial verbal con-
structions with de in Akan, than does the Aspects model utilized
by Boadi.

The following is a summary of rules involved in the derivation
of the surface structure of some of the Awutu sentences.

If the deep structure contains:	The following movement transfor-mations apply:
V A C	Fronting of A (applies whenever A occurs) b. fronting of C
V A O L	Fronting of O
V A O I	Fronting of I
V /ba/ A O	Fronting of O
V A D O	Optional fronting of O

The fronting transformation of any Case, except for Agentive,
involves the insertion of nɛ̀. Since Instrumental already has the
case marker nɛ̀, the 'nɛ̀ reduction' transformation must also apply
to a fronted Instrumental.

-33-

It should be added that dɛ occurs in Awutu in the same
function as in Akan. Its use is favored in a sentence in which
there is already one nɛ introduced by another deep case. Use of
dɛ instead of nɛ is always optional, e.g.

47. Agyeman nɛ mɔ bibi ohi dɛ ecɔ ku ebue

48. Agyeman nɛ mɔ bibi ohi nɛ ecɔ ku ebue[7]

   lit. 'Agyeman with his son with the spade dig the well'
It seems that in Awutu use of dɛ instead of nɛ can be accounted
for by a surface structure rule which allows for the replacement
of nɛ by dɛ whenever there is already one nɛ in the surface
structure.

-34-

Notes

1. Awutu belongs to the Guang subgroup of the Volta-Comoe (Stewart 1971), or Greenberg's Western Kwa languages of the Kwa group of Niger-Congo languages.

The paper is based on material collected during the years 1964-1965 and in the Summer of 1970. The 1970 trip was made possible for me by a grant-in-aid from the West African Language Society. The language data were obtained from more than a dozen native speakers. Two of them, however, devoted much time and energy to work on Awutu, Mr. F. B. Armah Agyeman and Mr. Paul Kwao Orleanspobee. Without their patience and devotion this work would hardly have been possible. I would like to thank Professors Alan Bell and David S. Rood for the valuable remarks they made upon reading the final version of this paper. For any mistakes which remain I alone am responsible.

2. For the terminology used see Fillmore 1968 and 1971.

3. I am aware that this type of approach has several short-comings, some of which are mentioned in Fillmore 1971. I cannot, however, find a more satisfactory way for representing the Case Category in the deep structure.

4. The Objective Case is the one entity, following Fillmore 1971, 'which moves or which undergoes change'.

5. As in most of other Kwa languages, there is no gender dis-tinction in Awutu. mɔ́ and nɛ́ are both 3rd p. sing. pronouns. nɛ́ is used only when the preceding pronoun in the surface struc-ture is mɔ́ , i.e. when there are two 3rd p. sing. references in

one sentence, each of them referring to a different person.

6. For the analysis of the function of postpositions in Awutu see Frajzyngier 1971.

7. The two examples were obtained from Mr. Orleanspobee in writing, hence no tonal notation.

-36-

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