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Serial Verb Constructions in Krio and Akan

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Abstract

This study focuses on serial verb constructions (SVC) in Krio and a comparison of Krio and Akan serial verb construction types. We present a Krio corpus consisting of recordings such as folktales, narratives, interviews and radio broadcasts as well as transcriptions from textbooks currently used in schools. The material has been partially annotated using the linguistic data management system TypeCraft. The core of this study is a systematic description of the Krio grammar, based on data from our corpus and informed by earlier studies of the language.

Most of our data has been made public online and the corpus examples used in this study are directly linked to our corpus by hyperlinks. In the integrated analysis of our data, we focus on verbal constructions. We compare Krio SVC with Akan SVC and have a closer look at chaining and integrated SVCs in both languages. For Krio we further look at preverbs, light verbs and complex verbal expressions.

We use Lexical Functional Grammar to outline the syntactic and functional structure of Krio chaining and integrated SVCs.

Dedication

To the Nyampong family

Acknowledgements

I owe every appreciation to God Almighty for giving me life and sustaining me. I am grateful for His infinite wisdom and guidance in choosing my topic and making this study a reality.

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Abbreviations¹

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ASP	aspect
CC	Clause chaining
GEND	gender
I ⁰	head of inflectional phrase
INCEPT	inception
IP	inflectional phrase
ISVC	Integrated serial verb construction
L1	first language
L2	second language
LFG	Lexical Functional Grammar
MASC	masculine
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
NUM	number
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PERS	person
PL	plural
PN	pronoun
PRED	predicate
PRO	pronoun
S	sentence
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
SVC	Serial verb construction
TC	TypeCraft

¹ I only include here abbreviations that are part of my text. My glosses and part of speech annotations are documented in TypeCraft at; <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/GlossTags/> and <http://typecraft.org/tc2wiki/Special:TypeCraft/POSTags/>

V'	intermediate verbal node
V ⁰	head of verbal phrase
V1	initial verb
V2	second verb
VCOMP	verbal complement
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Pidgins and Creoles and the Slave Trade

For the purpose of communication among slave masters, their African traders and slaves from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, there was the need for a mutually intelligible language which was hard to come by. No group was willing to learn the language of the other since there was a lack of trust and no close contacts (Holm, 2000:5-6; Singh, 2000:13). Again, slaves were bought from different tribes to reduce communication and the risk of a revolt (Singh, 2000:5). The use of their indigenous languages was not an option for the slaves, but work on the plantations had to go on. So even among the slaves, communication was probably problematic and limited to sign language. The slave masters communicated in their language which is the superstrate language, from which the slaves had to form jargons in order to verbally communicate both with their masters and among themselves. The meaning and forms of these borrowed words were, however, influenced by the native languages (substrate languages) of the slaves due to less contact with the superstrate language. Over the centuries, linguists have studied the developments of these jargons used by speakers of substrate languages with no common language and how they gained stability as pidgins. Holm (2000:5) describes a pidgin as “a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common...” It is simple in structure and not classified as a language on its own. In the next phase of its development, the pidgin gains more structure and is functional among substrate speakers. The continuous use of such an extended pidgin results in the younger generation inheriting it as a native language. Gradually, the once unstructured pidgin becomes a language with phonology, morphology, a well-structured semantic and syntactic form as well as native speakers. When a pidgin has reached this stage, it is often called a creole, but it is noteworthy that some linguists (Lefebvre, 2004:6; Hancock, 1980:64 as cited by Lefebvre) do not differentiate between pidgins and creoles but refer to them as one and the same thing or use them interchangeably. To discuss the basis for their decisions does not fall within the scope of this study.

Languages such as English, Portuguese, French, Dutch and Spanish have served as the superstrate languages from which most pidgins and creoles have evolved whereby the English language has influenced more pidgins and creoles than any other superstrate language. English-

based Atlantic creoles, comprised of pidgins and creoles in West Africa and the Caribbean, form a subgroup of English-based creoles (Holm, 2000:91).

Krio, for instance, shares features with the English-based creole Gullah², which evolved among slaves in the Americas. Both creoles have similar grammar, vocabulary and sound system. For instance, the Krio lexems *bohboh* (boy), *titi* (girl), *enti* (not so?) and *blant* (a verb auxiliary) are realised as *buhbuh*, *tittuh*, *enty* and *blang* in Gullah (Opala, 1987).

In this study, we discuss Krio, a creole spoken in Sierra Leone. We also discuss the influence that West African languages had on the structural development of Krio.

1.2 Krio of Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone, a British colony, became the home for freed slaves who were brought from London, Nova Scotia and Jamaica, and were settled in Freetown (the present-day capital city of Sierra Leone). Around the nineteenth century, other immigrants from the United States as well as other West African countries also settled in and around Freetown, leading to a population that typically was a mixture of people from diverse backgrounds with different languages.

The origin of the Krio language has been variously described by different researchers. Huber (2000: 276-277) gives a description of four groups of settlers in the Sierra Leone peninsula and Freetown whom as a result of their relocation from 1787 to 1850 came to live together. They introduced their different creoles, and as a result gradually formed a common creole, now known as Krio.

The first group he describes is the Original Settlers, 328 Black Poor who originally came from England in 1787 and settled in Granville Town (now Freetown). By early 1791 only 64 of the Original Settlers were found as some were dispersed and others had died. Not much is known about their influence on Krio.

² Gullah emerged from English as its superstrate language and West African substrate languages. It is currently spoken in the Americas: North and South of Carolina, Georgia and Northeast Florida.

The next group is the Nova Scotians. They were black people who had assisted the British in the American War of Independence, later settled in Nova Scotia, Canada, and were relocated by the British to a new colony in the Sierra Leone peninsula because of the epidemics and economic hardships they experienced in their previous settlement. According to Huber (2000: 276), Freetown was founded in 1792 by 1131 Nova Scotians who were later joined by the Original Settlers.

The third group is the Maroons from Jamaica. 556 of the Maroons were deported to Nova Scotia in 1796 after a failed revolt in Jamaica and about 525 of them later moved to Freetown in 1800. These settlers are said to have contributed immensely to present-day Krio with their variety of creole.

The last group is the Liberated Africans. They were also known as Recaptives because they were the recaptured slaves rescued by the British along the West African coast after the slave trade was banned, and were resettled in the Sierra Leone peninsula. They were the most populated group to be settled in this area between 1808 and 1863. A total of 38,375 Liberated Africans and their descendants were recorded in 1860. Huber mentioned that the Liberated Africans were speakers of different African languages, including Yoruba³, Igbo and Gbe. As their settlements were located outside Freetown, there was less communication between them and those in Freetown. As the Liberated Africans started taking up household jobs in Freetown, they started to interact with the Europeans, Nova Scotians and Maroons (who had developed a class hierarchy in that order) leading to the emergence of a new creole, initially thought to be a 'defective' form of English (Huber, 2000). The efforts of the Liberated Africans to communicate with their superiors had a major impact in the development of the grammar of Krio.

The indigenous people of Sierra Leone had their own local languages as described below. In addition, the slave traders of the area before the new settlement started had developed their own pidgin/creole. It was under the influence of all these languages, in their various states of development, that the present-day Krio was formed.

³ Yorubas and Igbos were the dominant African speakers around the 1830s (Huber, 2000:280).

1.2.1 Brief Demographics of Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is divided into four major provinces namely; the Northern Province, Southern Province, Eastern Province and Western Province where the Sierra Leone peninsula and the capital town Freetown are located. The country has an estimated population of 6.2 million as of 2014⁴. Sixteen different ethnic groups and their languages can be found in Sierra Leone. Temne (35%) is the largest group found in the Northern Province and Western areas followed by Mende in the Southern and Eastern Provinces. Other ethnic groups include Limba, Fula, Madingo, Kono, Krio (who form about 2% of the population), Kuranko, Loko, Kissi and Sherbro. Even though the Krios form a small percentage of the population, their language is widely used as a lingua franca in Sierra Leone as a result of their location in and around the capital city of Freetown⁵.

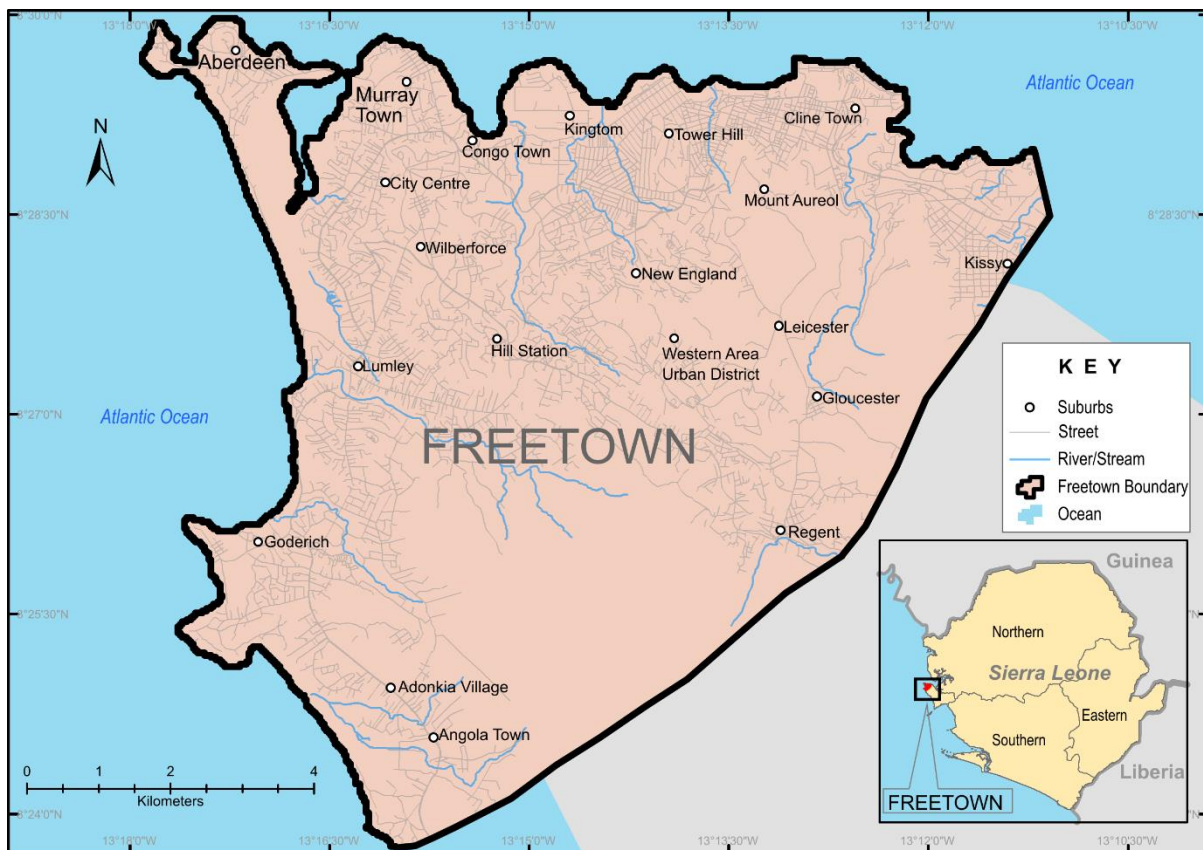


Figure 1: Map of the study area, Freetown (Source: Michael Ogbé, 2015 - NTNU)

⁴ <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/sierra-leone-population/>

⁵ As a result of the influx of immigrants into Freetown most of the towns were named after places in the Americas, Canada and England.



Figure 2: Language Map of Sierra Leone (Source: <http://www.ethnologue.com/map/SL>)

Krio (ISO 639-3 kri) is classified as an English-based Atlantic creole widely spoken in Sierra Leone, and in some parts of Gambia, Guinea and Senegal. It is a lingua franca used for trading purposes and other unofficial communications, while English is the official language of Sierra Leone. Even though Krio is known and widely used by the speech communities in Sierra Leone, it has a limited number of native speakers⁶ with an estimation of about 10% or less (Finney, 2004a:58). A short history of Krio was given in the previous section. It is necessary to mention that Krio in turn became the substrate language from which other pidgins and creoles along the West African coast developed (Holm, 2000:92), including Aku (Gambia), Pichinglis (Bioko, Equatorial Guinea) and the pidgins spoken in Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. The interaction between the Krio speakers and those speaking West African languages continues to shape Krio, and although most of its lexical items are of English origin, additional items were borrowed from Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo (Nigeria), Twi (Ghana), Wolof (Senegal), Kikongo (Congo), Kru (Liberia) and the indigenous languages: Mende, Temne, Limba, Sherbro, Susu-Yalunka and Vai. Krio also has traces from Arabic (Northern and Eastern Africa) according to Wilson (1964:4). However, Yoruba has had much more influence on Krio than any other West African language (Escure & Schwegler, 2004:225; Finney, 2004a:65; Holm, 2000; Wilson, 1964:4).

1.2.2 The Krio People

The native speakers of Krio refer to themselves as Creoles (or Krios). Most of them live in Freetown and the surroundings in the Western area of Sierra Leone. Quite a number of Krios live in Europe and in the United States as a result of normal migration and the Sierra Leone civil war. Others moved to trade and settle in the other West African countries. In Ghana, Sierra Leoneans can be found in Buduburam Camp⁷ (Accra), a settlement for refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone⁸ (majority of the population are Liberians). Since the Sierra Leoneans in the

⁶ There are Creoles who consider Krio as their native language as they may be descendants of Liberated Africans who settled in Freetown and had less contact with the indigenous people. Other immigrants still had their languages but relied on Krio for easy communication and trading purpose.

⁷ Opened by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1990.

⁸ After the civil war in Sierra Leone, most Sierra Leoneans have returned to build their country as well as their lives and what is left of their homes. Some of them moved out of the camp and settled among the Ghanaian people in other communities to work.

camp are from different ethnic groups, Krio remains their lingua franca. It enables them co-exist with the Liberians who communicate using the Liberian pidgin English. Currently, most Sierra Leoneans have returned home or moved and resettled among the Ghanaian communities. They speak English in public and Krio among themselves and their families. Some Creoles have lived for over twenty years in these communities so that the frequent use of English (in the market, among colleagues and Ghanaian friends) rather than Krio has started to affect the structure of their Krio.

As speakers of Krio born in Freetown, my siblings and I were raised with Krio as our mother tongue (L1) and English as a second language (L2). My mother belongs to the Temne ethnic group that originates from Masanga, a town in Port Loko District in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. To my mother, Krio and English are second languages but English doubles as the official language of her country. My father⁹, who was born in the Eastern Region of Ghana, had Akan as a native language, English, Krio and Ga¹⁰ as second languages. He acquired English in school, which is the sole official language of Ghana, and he acquired Krio while he worked in Freetown for twenty years. In as much as I had Krio as an L1, I was raised in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, and acquired Akan and Ga which are the local languages that I was exposed to. Krio is the main language I use in communicating with my family. English being the sole official language of Ghana, I engage in a lot of code switching between English and Krio. However, conversations with other speakers of Krio (especially those who often travel between Sierra Leone and Ghana) is linguistically engaging as I pay attention to their phonological and morphological structures in comparison to what I know and speak. In this thesis I will focus on the semantic and syntactic structures of the language.

During my graduate studies in Norway, I have met quite a number of Krio speakers in the city of Trondheim where I live. Among Krio families and friends, Krio is actively used in their everyday conversations, even though a majority of them have acquired the Norwegian language. Those who have lived in Europe for some years (about ten years) mostly do not complete their sentences in Krio without switching to English. This occurrence is frequent

⁹ Of blessed memory.

¹⁰ Ga is the native language of the people of Accra in Ghana.

among Krio speakers who interact mostly in English. However, this sociolinguistic phenomenon does not fall within the scope of this study.

With knowledge of the extensive studies and research conducted on the influence of the Yoruba language and culture on Krio (Fyle, 1998), I believe other influences from other substrate languages like Akan, if studied, can still trace and mark the roots of Krio in West Africa. Using the Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) framework the study seeks to analyse and describe the semantic and syntactic structures of serializing verbs in Krio and Akan.

1.2.3 Akan Language

The Akan language (ISO 639-3 aka) of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family is widely spoken in Ghana by a majority of the population. It has a total of about 8,300,000 speakers out of a population of about 26,428,000¹¹ in Ghana. It is used in most schools as the language of instruction at the very basic levels and taught as a subject at the secondary level and in the university. The name ‘Akan’ is a big umbrella under which various dialects of the language can be found. Out of the ten regions of Ghana, Akan is spoken in five namely; Ashanti Region, Brong Ahafo Region, Central Region, Eastern and Western Regions. There are Akan speakers also found in some parts of the Volta Region. Osam (2003) lists some of the dialects in Akan as Akuapem, Asante, Akyem, Agona, Akwamu, Assin, Bono or Brong, Fante, Kwahu, Dankyira and Wassa. These dialects are sub-classified under Twi and Fante. The sub-dialects of Fante consist of Gomua, Breman, Iguae, Nkusukum, Ekumfi, Anomabo and Agona. Every other sub-dialect falls under Twi. For this study, I rely on the Akan data in TypeCraft to which I also added in the course of my studies¹². I generally refer to them as Akan in the course of the study. Figure 3 shows the various languages spoken in Ghana.

¹¹ 2013 UNDESA - <http://www.ethnologue.com/country/gh>

¹² My Akan data in TypeCraft can be found searching the database for Akan texts and for my name in the search for the owner of the text.

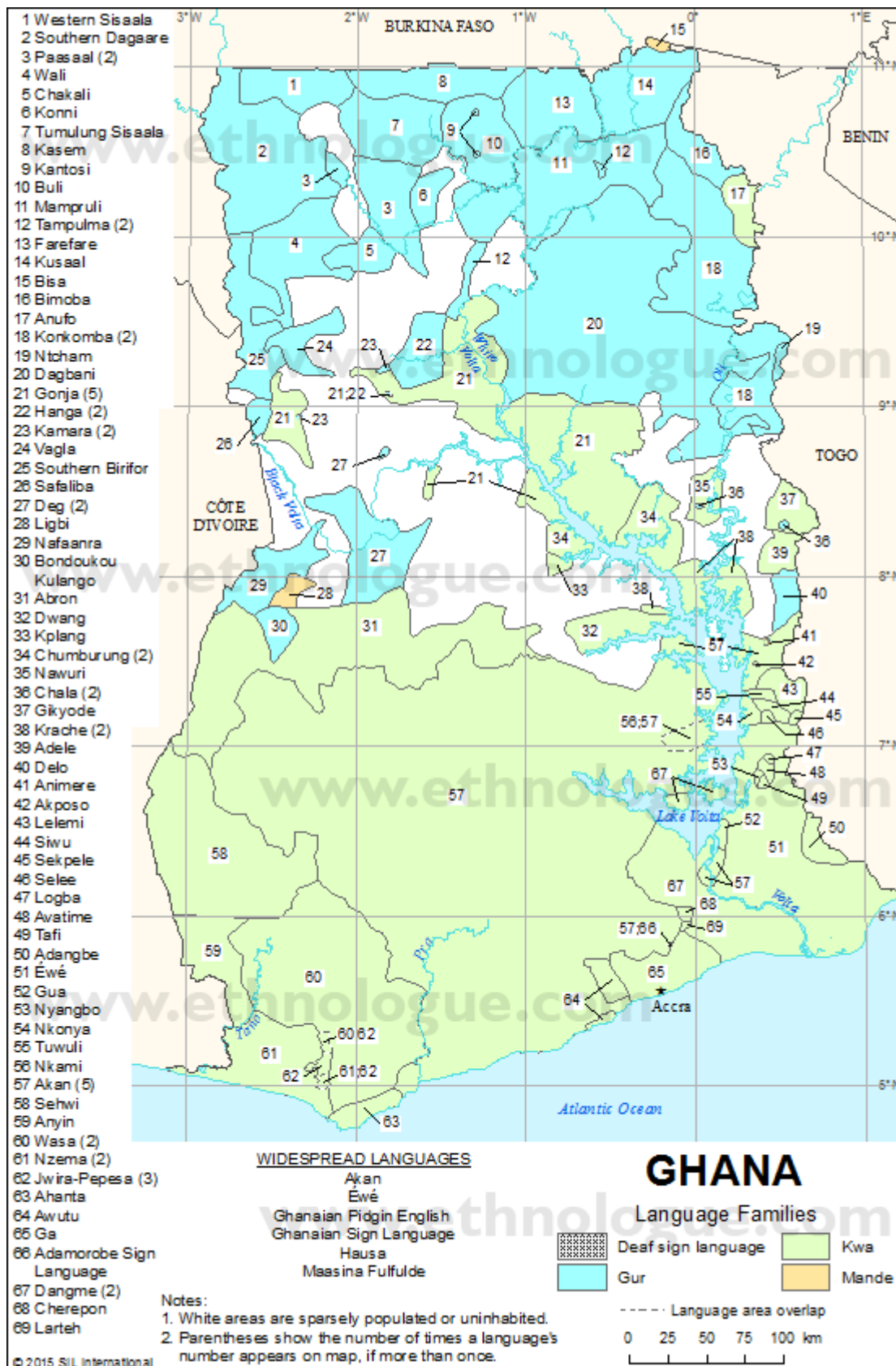


Figure 3: Language Map of Ghana (Source: <http://www.ethnologue.com/map/GH>)

1.3 Purpose of the Study

While Krio developed from English, it also was heavily influenced by some West African languages. This means that certain linguistic features represented in these West African languages will have mixed with English to form the grammar of Krio. Interesting in this contexts are constructions that are prominent in the West African languages but absent from English. One such phenomenon is verb serialising. Serial verb construction (SVC) occurs when several verbal predicates form a single sentence without any open marking of coordination or subordination between them. Serialised verbs must share a subject and may share an object.

The present study aims to describe and analyse verbal structures, including SVCs in Krio and to compare Krio SVCs with those in Akan. In order to achieve the study's purpose, the following research questions will be pursued:

1. What are the basic properties of Krio grammar and especially the VP?
2. What are the salient properties of SVCs in both Krio and Akan?

1.4 Motivation for the Study

It is a well-known fact that the emergence of a creole involves a number of substrate languages and a major superstrate language (Lefebvre, 2004:4). In the case of Krio, the substrate languages of West Africa have strongly influenced the culture and language of the Krio people of Freetown. On the lexical level, for instance, *kushe* (greetings), *kaboh* (welcome), *awojɔ* (traditional feast), *akara* (bean cakes), *yawo* (bride), *agbada* (a male attire), *lapa* (wrapper for women) among others are borrowed from Yoruba, *waala* (trouble) from Hausa, *butu* (bow down) from Akan, *banga* (palm nut) from Wolof (Senegal), and from the indigenous Sierra Leone languages we have; *pata* (washing stick) from Mende, *behl* (to sweet talk) from Temne, *titi* (girl) from Vai, *chuk* (pierce,stab) from Fula and *mampana* (palm wine) from Limba. Next to lexical items, other language properties have been incorporated into Krio and serialisation is one of these properties. While prominent characteristics of SVCs such as subject sharing are well manifested in Krio, Kouwenberg and Singler (2009) as well as Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 289) stress that more specific studies are needed to understand the nature of the influence that West African languages had and still have on the development of Krio.

Thus as a Krio speaker with knowledge of a serialising substrate language, I set out to find out what similarities exist between the SVCs in Krio and serialising constructions in Akan.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The chapters in the thesis are structured as follows. Chapter 1 gives a brief history of the development of pidgins and creoles, and how Krio, as a language, was established. Chapter 2 discusses my data and methodology, as well as the theoretical framework. I give a short description of SVCs and the literature review. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the Krio grammar. Chapter 4 compares Akan and Krio SVCs and presents LFG structures for clause chaining and integrated Krio SVCs.

The thesis ends with a conclusion.

Chapter 2 Theory and Methodology

In this chapter, I will introduce my methodology. I will also provide a short description of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) which I use to systematise my findings. I give a brief definition of SVCs and a literature review.

2.1 Methodology

The present work is a corpus based study with data acquired from both spoken and written sources in Krio as well as in Akan. An annotated Krio corpus has been created by transcribing recorded folktales, interviews and radio broadcasts. My interviews were recorded with a Roland audio recorder¹³. Participants were asked to narrate any folktale of their choice. Interviews were conducted in the informants' homes or work places. I did not specify a time frame as not to cause any tension or obstruction during the recording session.

Table 1 contains categorised Krio data in TypeCraft. Written data in Krio was gathered from Junior High textbooks (Cline-Cole, 1996; Pearce & Pearce, 1996a, 1996b) currently used in schools. I gathered 28 Krio texts from these textbooks and 3 personal narrations (ID 8, 32, 33) (already existent in TypeCraft¹⁴, an online linguistic tool and database), including sentence collections (ID 21). Also included in this data set is a recorded folktale (ID 22) (09:35 mins) from an elderly man in his early 50s who is a native Krio speaker, currently living in Ghana and working at the Sierra Leone High Commission in Accra. I also have in my data the Krio version of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1996 - 2009)¹⁵ (ID 13). In total, the Krio corpus in Typecraft has 33 texts consisting of 940 phrases corresponding to 7657 words. Below is a table of the texts used.

¹³ The model of the recorder is a R-09HR Dictaphone.

¹⁴ <http://typecraft.org>

¹⁵ http://www.unicode.org/udhr/d/udhr_kri.txt, the text in TypeCraft can be found in <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2855>

Table 1: Krio texts in TypeCraft

ID	Title	Size of corpus
1	Advatiment	28 phrases, 27 annotated
2	Dis na aw fɔ mek kol.	10 phrases, 10 annotated
3	Di we fɔ klin yad	10 phrases, 9 annotated
4	Dowu go ɔlide	26 phrases, 26 annotated
5	Draisizin	19 phrases, 19 annotated
6	Elifant	13 phrases, 13 annotated
7	Fama dem waala	7 phrases, 7 annotated
8	Fɔ di bɔd dem	21 phrases, 21 annotated
9	Lɔfti en Lili	31 phrases, 31 annotated
10	Mami Maria en in fambul	65 phrases, 49 annotated
11	Olu en Balogun	30 phrases, 9 annotated
12	Rensizin	40 phrases, 5 annotated
13	Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Krio	114 phrases, 22 annotated
14	Bɔdu en Bisi	8 phrases, 4 annotated
15	Omɔtunde	29 phrases, 2 annotated
16	Fɔ gi speshal tɔk	31 phrases, 11 annotated
17	Luk som nyuzpepa	4 phrases, 1 annotated
18	Pasej dem	21 phrases, 1 annotated
19	motoka dem	7 phrases, 0 annotated
20	Aw Spaida get smɔl wes	35 phrases, 35 annotated
21	Sentence collection	24 phrases, 24 annotated
22	Nɔto ɔltin we fain na fain	124 phrases, 43 annotated
23	Jɔk bin grap rɔn	26 phrases, 24 annotated
24	stori	42 phrases, 2 annotated
25	Sami en Sera	18 phrases, 18 annotated
26	Fawe kɔtrintri nɔ get chukchuk	20 phrases, 2 annotated
27	Onkul Bolaje	9 phrases, 2 annotated
28	Fama dem	18 phrases, 2 annotated
29	Jokoje en Mista Kotbe	27 phrases, 6 annotated
30	Shɔt stori	22 phrases, 8 annotated
31	Aw kɔmiel de chenj in kɔla	15 phrases, 15 annotated
32	Simon in Pus	32 phrases, 32 annotated
33	Di dog en in riflekshon	12 phrases, 12 annotated

In Table 2, I present unpublished Krio data existing in TypeCraft. Two recorded folktales (ID 2 and 3) and an interview (ID 1) from an elderly woman in her late 50s, a Krio speaker (but a Temne native) at her residence in Accra.

Table 2: Private Krio data in TypeCraft

ID	Title	Size of corpus
1	An interview about a festival in Sierra Leone.	59 phrases, 0 annotated (19:56 mins)
2	Krəkodal en mənki.	46 phrases, 0 annotated (06:26 mins)
3	Slo bət shə win di res.	71 phrases, 0 annotated (08:15 mins)

Table 3 lists uncategorised data not found in TypeCraft. (ID1) is a recorded folktale, (ID2 and 3) are short interviews from Krio speakers at the Sierra Leone High Commission in Accra. (ID 4, 5 and 6) are recorded radio talk shows.

Table 3: Uncategorised Krio data

ID	Title	Size of corpus
1	Aw bad at nɔ gud so tranga yes nɔ gud	07:40 mins
2	Interview 1	09:32 mins
3	Interview 2	01:46 mins
4	Talk show 1	27:50 mins
5	Talk show 2	25:26 mins
6	Talk show 3	44:43 mins

In my data I annotated for morpho-syntactic properties, including tense, aspect and polarity. I also annotated for the various parts of speech categorised as N, V, ADJ, ADV, etc. Different verbal categories were annotated in order to distinguish V1 from V2, and preverbs from light verbs.

For my data management and for annotation of my data, I used TypeCraft (TC) which is a multilingual online database and language management system developed by Beermann and Mihaylov (2013, 2014).

TypeCraft features a linguistic editor which I used to assign the morpho-syntactic properties to my data.

I made use of the TypeCraft Akan corpus which at the time of writing of this thesis consists of 59 texts consisting of 1644 sentences with 8016 annotated words.

Other data in these languages were acquired from other linguistic articles with interlinear gloss texts containing SVCs. For my work with my data, I relied on my native speaker ability in both Krio and Akan.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) was developed in the 1970s by Joan Bresnan and Ronald Kaplan (Bresnan, 2001; Dalrymple, 2001). LFG is a generative theory which analyses language in terms of its argument structure (a-structure), constituent structure (c-structure) and functional structure (f-structure).

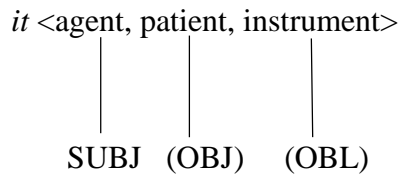
2.2.1 Argument structure

The argument structure represents the number and type of arguments of a given predicate. It forms the lexico-semantic aspect of the sentence which signals the various roles of the arguments. Roles such as agent, patient, theme, beneficiary, instrument, just to mention a few, are assigned to various arguments. These roles are assigned according to the valence of the verb so that the transitive Krio verb *it* ‘eat’ in Krio will require two arguments, an agent and a patient as in (2). The verb *it* ‘eat’ is not strictly transitive as the object is optional and not always realised as in (1). The act of eating can also demand a third argument which involves an instrument as in (3). The a-structure for the verb *it* ‘eat’ is given in (4).

- (1) Di pikin de it.
The child PROG eat
‘The child is eating’
- (2) Di pikin de it di res.
The child PROG eat the rice
‘The child is eating the rice’
- (3) Di pikin de it di res wit in an.
The child PROG eat the rice with POSS hand
‘The child is eating the rice with his hand’

(4) a-structure $\rightarrow it \langle \text{agent, patient, instrument} \rangle$

These semantic roles can be linked to their corresponding grammatical relations of subject, object and oblique.

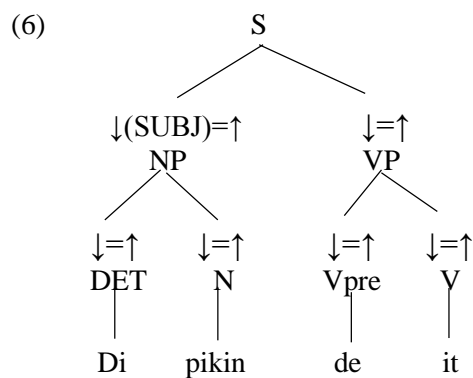


2.2.2 Constituent structure

C-structure models syntactic information, that is, constituent structure, linear order and syntactic categories (parts of speech). Phrase structure rules derive syntactic trees which serve to represent relations of the constituents in hierarchical form as in (6).

$[_{NP} [\text{Di pikin}] _{VP} [\text{de it}]]$

- (5)
- $S \rightarrow NP VP$
 - $NP \rightarrow DET N$
 - $VP \rightarrow V_{pre} V$



2.2.3 Functional structure

The grammatical relations of the verb such as the subject ‘SUBJ’, object ‘OBJ’ and oblique ‘OBL’ arguments are expressed in the functional structure. The SUBJ and OBJ are directly involved in the action of the verb unlike the OBL. In the f-structure, additional linguistic

features such as person, case, number and tense are represented. Below is the f-structure of the sentence represented in the c-structure above.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'child'} \\ \text{DET} & \text{DEF} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{PRED 'eat < fSUBJ >'} \\ \text{TENSE PROG} \end{array} \right]$$

2.3 Serial Verb Constructions

2.3.1 Definition

Verb serialization has been defined by a number of linguists in various languages, such as the Kwa languages of West Africa, the Sino-Tibetan language family, the languages of Cambodia, Austronesian languages of New Guinea, Malagasy, and in the creoles of the Atlantic and Pacific areas (Muysken & Veenstra, 1995).

Osam (2003) discusses some of these definitions; for example, Schachter (1974), Foley and Olson (1985), and Durie (1988, 1997). SVCs are defined as a sequences of verbs with the same subject and possibly a shared object. Lord (1993) discusses how easy it is to exclude certain languages from the category of serializing languages when a particular definition is given and aspects of the language does not fall in line with the definition. He calls it a ‘sticky business’ to define SVCs and claims that:

“Verb sequences, then, come in a variety of surface forms and carry a range of interpretations, and some of these form/meaning correspondences have been called serial verbs constructions.” (Lord, 1993:2)

A sample definition is Aikhenvald’s (2006):

“A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event.” (Aikhenvald, 2006)

2.3.2 Functions of SVCs

SVCs are used to express a series of grammatical meanings. In example (7) a benefactive meaning is expressed when V2 *gi*, the beneficiary is the NP *di pikin dɛm*. In (8) an instrument *kɔtlas* ‘cutlass’ is introduced by V1 *tek* ‘take’. As Aikhenvald (2006) stated, a single meaning or event is more often than not interpreted by an SVC so that in (7) the intransitive verb *kuk* ‘cook’ and ditransitive verb *gi* ‘give’ express the single act of ‘cooking for’ a person.

(7) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,55220>

I kuk gi di pikin dɛm.

“She cooked for the children.”

I	kuk	gi	di	pikin	dɛm.
3SG	<i>cook</i>	<i>give</i>	DEF	<i>child</i>	PL
PN	V1	V2	DET	N	PRT

(8) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,55221>

I tek kɔtlas kil di snek.

“He killed the snake with a cutlass.”

I	tek	kɔtlas	kil	di	Snek.
3SG	<i>take</i>	<i>cutlass</i>	<i>kill</i>	DEF	<i>snake</i>
PN	V1	N	V2	DET	N

Generated in TypeCraft

Recognizable among SVCs is the use of directional and motion verbs to signal movement either from or towards a goal. The directional verbs *go* and *come* are commonly used in a majority of serializing languages as listed below:

(9a) **Krio** (Generated in TypeCraft; 2014)

Di big bɔd flai **kam** sidɔn na den midul
the big bird fly come sit LOC 3PL.poss middle
“the big bird flew and sat in between them”

- (b) **Saramaccan** (Suriname; Muysken & Veenstra, 1995)

mi kai di daata **ko** kii di sindeki

ISG call the doctor come kill the snake

“I called for the doctor to come and kill the snake”

- (c) **Akan** (W. Africa; Osam, 2003)

Araba **kɔ́** tɔ́ ɔ́ nyena

Araba go buy COMPL firewood

“Araba went to buy firewood”

- (d) **Yoruba** (W. Africa; Lawal, 1989)

Màmá rán Bólá **lọ** ojàob

Mother sent Bola go market

“Mother sent Bola to the market”

- (e) **Dâw** (Makú, Northern Amazonia; Aikhenvald, 2006)

yõ:h bæ:-**hām**-yɔw

medicine spill-go-happen.straight.away

“The medicine spilt straight away”

Resultative acts may also be expressed by SVCs (Kroeger, 2004) as in (10a) in Krio and (10b) in Akan.

- (10a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,55364>

John bit di dog kil am.

“John beat the dog to death.”

John bit di dog kil am.

John beat DEF dog kill 3SG

Npname V1 DET N V2 PN

Generated in TypeCraft.

(b) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2878,55365>

John bɔɔ ɔkraman no kuu no.

“John beat the dog to death.”

John	bɔ	ɔ	ɔ	kraman	nó	ku	u	nó
John	<i>hit</i>	PAST	SG	<i>dog</i>	DEF	<i>kill</i>	PAST	3SG
Npname	V1		N		DET	V2		PN

Generated in TypeCraft.

It has been argued that prepositions do not occur in Creoles because SVCs take over their functions. It has been argued by (Muysken, 1988; Van de Vate, 2006) on the basis of Krio which has a range of prepositions that this is wrong. Consider (11a-c):

(11a) **...i nɔ wan tək to am.**

“...he didn't want to talk to him.”

...I	nɔ	wan	tək	to	am.
3SG	NEG	<i>want</i>	<i>talk</i>		3SG
PN	PRT	V1	V2	PREP	PN

Generated in TypeCraft

(b) **I go tinap pan wan lamp.**

“It goes to stand on a lamp.”

I	go	tinap	pan	wan	lamp
3SG		<i>stand</i>		INDEF	<i>lamp</i>
PN	V1	V2	PREP	DET	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(c) ... pak di tik dɛm insai.

“... park the wood inside.”

...pak	di	tik	dɛm	Insai.
<i>park</i>	DEF	<i>tree</i>	PL	LOC
V	DET	N	PRT	PREP

Generated in TypeCraft.

2.3.3 Characteristic features of SVCs

Let us finally outline what Muysken and Veenstra (1995) list as the core properties of SVCs:

- a. only one expressed subject
- b. at most one expressed direct object
- c. one specification for tense/aspect
 - often only on the first verb
 - sometimes on both verbs, but semantically one specification
 - sometimes only on the second verb
- d. only one possible negator
- e. no intervening coordinating conjunction
- f. no intervening subordinating conjunction
- g. no intervening pause possible.

2.4 Literature Review

In this section I discuss the literature on SVCs in Krio and SVCs in Akan, bringing out various issues, arguments and views.

Williams (1971) describes sets of verbs in Krio which are likely to occur with a conjunction or complementizer. He posits that deletion of these coordinate and complement markers may result in SVCs, a hypothesis he terms Connective-Deletion as presented below (12-14). The meaning of the sentences with or without the connectives (conjunction and complementizer) remains the same or changes slightly. According to Williams, the pairs in (12-14) have the same meaning and I agree with (13-14) but not with (12). (12), (i) and (ii) may have the same translation but different interpretations. In (12.i) which is an SVC there is subject sharing and the verb *tek* ‘take’ has a comitative meaning that is ‘he is going to school with the book’. In

(12.ii) the conjunction creates a sequential flow of events so that cognitively a reader processes the event of ‘the book being taken’ then the next event of the subject ‘going to school’. In (13) and (14) the argument sharing type is object-subject where the object of the initial verb becomes the subject of the non-initial verb. The SVCs in (13) and (14) have their meanings preserved in their respective (ii). Williams (1971) makes no distinction between these types of argument sharing but I discuss their differences in this study.

- (12) i. i de tek di buk go na skul.
 ii. i de tek di buk **en** go na skul.
‘He is taking the book to school’

- (13) i. tɛl di man go.
 ii. tɛl di man **fɔ** go.
‘Send the man away’

- (14) i. a de kɔl di dɔkta kam.
‘I am sending for the doctor’
 ii. a de kɔl di dɔkta **fɔ** kam.
‘I am requesting the doctor to come’ (Williams, 1971)

Williams discusses focus constructions in SVCs, which he refers to as emphatic transformation (T-Emph). The initial verb in an SVC can be focused by copying the verb to the beginning of the sentence and introducing it by the focus marker *na* as in (15.ii) below. The non-initial verb cannot be focused as in (15.iii) unless it takes the place of the initial verb.

- (15) i. I de tek di buk go na skul.
 ii. Na tek i de tek di buk go na skul.
‘he is taking the book to school’
 iii. *Na go i de tek di buk go na skul.

On the basis of the examples above, using the focus constructions and the comparative construction with the verb ‘pass’ which I will not discuss here, Williams shows the parallel constructions in several African languages (e-h) and concludes that the syntactic structure of Krio is more ‘African-based’ than ‘English-based’.

- (16) (Nupe) ū lá d̀̀k̀̀ b̀̀
 He take pot come
'he brought the pot'
- (17) (Igbo) ó j̄́ òm̀̀a beé aǹ̀
 He hold knife cut meat
'he cut the meat with a knife'
- (18) (Nupe) u lá ták̀̀ là d̀̀k̀̀
 He take stone shatter pot
'he shattered the pot with a stone'
- (19) (Yoruba) nẁ̀n gbé e lo
 They carry it go
'they took it away'

In addition, Williams also mentions a similarity on the lexical (ideophones and the locative preposition 'na') and morphological (reduplication) level. This means that the Kwa influence on Krio does not only affect the syntactic structures but does affect the lexico-morphological structures as well.

We saw that according to Williams, serialisation constructions and coordinate constructions are similar. Considering his first examples, one needs to observe that the semantics of the serialising constructions is slightly different from those of the coordinate construction. For instance, where an SVC has an embedded comitative meaning and its coordination form has a sequential ordering of events.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss in detail clause chaining SVCs and integrated SVCs and their distinction.

Finney (2004) describes how substrate influences have affected the morphosyntactic features of focused constructions, SVCs and complementation in Krio. He deliberates over the various views of superstratist, substratal, universalist and other accounts of the influences on Krio. And even though the origin of Krio is somewhat unclear, there is an agreement that substrate properties are dominant in the language.

As important for serialisation, Finney mentions The Projection Principle by Noam Chomsky (1986) which requires that the subcategorization properties of lexical items are observed on every syntactic level and the Theta Criterion which demands that arguments are mapped onto their individual thematic roles. Violations of these theories or constraint occur when the verbs in sequence have the same internal argument and as a result the verbs share a thematic role as

in (20) where *tek* ‘take’ and *trowe* ‘throw-away’ assign the role of theme to *sus* ‘shoes’. Also in (21) *tek* ‘take’ is used but here it assigns the role of instrument while the verb *kɔt* ‘cut’ assigns a theme to its argument. Finney then proposes that where there is a shared argument as in (20) so that each verb assigns a thematic role, which in this case is identical, then this is obligatory argument sharing. What remains unclear is how Finney’s obligatory argument sharing deals with the Theta Criterion which requires that each argument bears one and only one theta-role, and that each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument (Chomsky 1981: 35).

(20) Di bɔbɔ tek di sus trowe.
 The boy take the shoes throw-away
‘the boy took the shoes and threw them away!’

(21) A tek nɛf kɔt di bred.
 I take knife cut the bread
‘I cut the bread with a knife’

In LFG, argument mapping links each assigned theta-role to a grammatical relation, so that in the case of (20) we have a defined argument structure for both predicates as demonstrated below. In order to account for argument sharing, the feature of subject and object control is applied in order to have the same argument function as argument for both verbs. As a result, (20) satisfies the principle of coherence and consistency which states that a verb in order to be grammatical has to realise its thematic potential, which for the two verbs in (20) are:

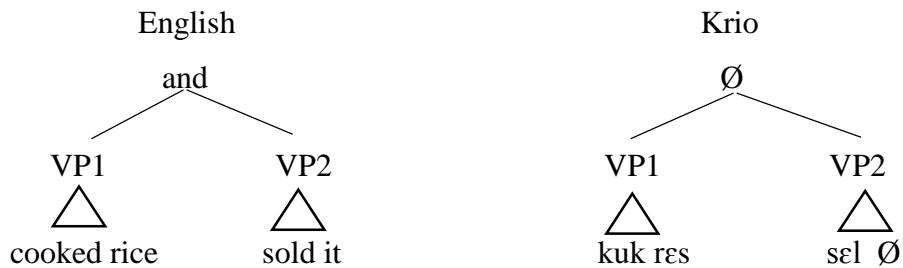
PRED ‘tek <agent, theme>’

PRED ‘trowe <agent, theme>’

Another study by Johnson (2006) analyses three structures in Krio namely; coordination, subordination and adjunction. Similar to the proposition by Williams (1971), Johnson parallels clause chaining SVCs in Krio with their coordinated translations in English as in (22):

(22) Di uman kuk res sɛl.
 The woman cook rice sell
‘The woman cooked some rice and sold it.’ (Johnson, 2006)

He presents a diagram of the English gloss with the conjunction ‘and’ in comparison to that of Krio with a null conjunction and an empty pronominal category below.



He argues that null elements occur in syntax; therefore the case of null conjunction in Krio is no different. So SVCs are possible coordination structures.

According to Johnson, the Principles and Parameters framework view SVCs as subordinating structures with the support of Baker (1989) who sees subordination as a characteristic of SVCs. On the other hand, Law and Veenstra (1992) as cited by Johnson, opt for adjunction structures in SVCs. So in order to find evidence for the support of either adjunction or subordination, Johnson uses the Empty Category Principle (Chomsky, 1981) which states that ‘an empty category must be properly governed’. Johnson’s study is unclear as he leaves a lot of unanswered questions on coordination and adjunction structures. Although I will not further go into Johnson’s discussion which is based on theory internal assumptions, we again have to look at the difference between adjunction and subordination structures and which role they play for the analysis of SVCs.

Turning to Akan, Osam (2003) also looks at multi-verbal structures and serialisation. He described agreement between the verbs in an Akan SVC. In Akan, verbs inflect for aspect as well as tense and polarity. A detailed description of agreement in Akan SVC is given in chapter 4.

Osam presents two types of SVCs; Clause-Chaining Serialization (CC) where independent events occur in a sequence as in (23), and Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISVC) which describes ‘tightly integrated events’ as in (24).

- (23) Gyasiba nyá-à sika sí-i dan tón-èè.¹⁶
 Gyasiba get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL
 ‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it’

¹⁶ The Akan examples from Osam (2003) are from the Fante dialect as he uses both the Twi and Fante dialects in his examples.

- (24) Aba yé-è asɔr má-à Kofi.
 Aba do-COMPL prayer give-COMPL Kofi
 ‘Aba prayed for Kofi’ (Osam, 2003)

These types of SVCs are also evident in Krio (25 – 26), however, while *pray* is a phrasal verb in Akan, that is not the case in Krio (26).

- (25) Gyasiba get moni bil os sɛl.
 Gyasiba get money build house sell
 ‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it’

- (26) Aba pre gi Kofi.
 Aba pray give Kofi
 ‘Aba prayed for Kofi’

Osam also discusses argument sharing, including subject sharing, where the actions of the verbs is performed by one subject as in (27), switch subject, where the object of the initial verb is realised as the subject of the non-initial verb as in (28), complex subject sharing as in (29) where more than one subject is involved. And multiple object serialisation where each verb has its direct object as in (30).

- (27) Esi tɔ-ò paanoo dzí-ì.
 Esi buy-COMPL bread eat-COMPL
 ‘Esi bought bread and ate it’

- (28) Papa no má-à abofra no sú-ì.
 man DEF make-COMPL child DEF cry-COMPL
 ‘the man made the child cry’

- (29) Araba nyé ne maame kɔ-ò fie.
 Araba be with 3SG POSS mother go-COMPL home
 ‘Araba went home with her mother’

- (30) Gyasiba nyá-à sika sí-ì dan tón-èè.
 Gyasiba get-COMPL money build-COMPL house sell-COMPL
 ‘Gyasiba got money, built a house and sold it’ (Osam, 2003)

(5). Where a mid tone is supposed to occur on a disyllabic or trisyllabic word, a high tone is used, and as Nylander suggested, the mid tone is a ‘phonetic variant’ of the high tone.

- (5) i. būk ‘book’
- ii. gō ‘go’
- iii. ōs ‘house’

Jones (1983) also recognises three tones in Krio but they are different from that of Nylander: high, falling (F) and low tones. According to Jones, monosyllabic words have a falling tone, for instance, the full verb ‘go’ /gô/. Jones posits that the falling tone becomes a high tone on words in sentence final position, which is contrary to Nylander’s proposition that the mid tone is maintained in sentence final position as in (6) and (7).

It is established that high and low tones exist in Krio, but the mid and falling tones are underspecified. A phonetic study of the tonal description on monosyllabic words will be necessary to show which other tone, whether mid or falling or both, exist in Krio. This is, however, an area for further research.

- (6) ì bìn dē.
he PAST be
‘he was present’

- (7) ì bìn dé yā.
he PAST be here
‘he was here’ (Nylander, 1984)

Generally, tone in Krio is assumed to be parallel to primary or secondary stress in English and low tones are unstressed. Finney (2004b) disputed this assumption and claimed that tone assignment on English loanwords in Krio is unpredictable because in English stress is assigned to a syllable based on its weight so that the heavy syllable (one with a higher number of morae) carries the primary stress. This is not the case in Krio since a polysyllabic loanword may contain two or more H tones. So it is not certain which H tone is parallel to the English cognate. Again, unstressed syllables do not necessarily correspond to low tones. Examples (8) and (9) from Finney are polysyllabic loanwords whose stress on their initial syllables are converted

into a H tone in Krio and copied onto the unstressed middle syllable in (8) and the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables in (9), and the final syllables are assigned a L tone.

(8) 'medicine méré̀sìn

(9) 'necessary nésísé̀rì (Finney, 2004b)

In my work, I will mark grammatical tone, that is, high or low and lexical tone if the unmarked word would otherwise lead to misunderstandings. A consistent annotation of tone in my Krio corpus is desirable, but due to the time frame given for this study, this has to be left for future work.

3.2 Word classes

Krio has in addition to the typical word classes, such as noun, verb, adjective, adverb, pronoun, demonstrative, numerals and adposition preverbs and light verbs. In my corpus nouns and verbs are the most frequent. A summary of the Krio word classes is represented in Table 4 below which lists next to the verbs and nouns other classes that I found in my corpus. It also list for each part of speech an example and its meaning in English. Word classes are identified by their location in the sentence, their syntactic functions, their morphosyntactic specifications, as well as their derivations.

Table 4: Krio word classes

Part of speech	Examples in Krio	English gloss
noun	os	'house'
verb	krai	'cry'
pronoun	una	'you' (3PL)
preposition	pan	'on'
adjective	fain	'nice/fine'
adverb	pasmak	'too much' (intensity)
conjunction	en	'and'

demonstrative	dis	‘this’
determiner	di	‘the’
complementizer	se	‘that’
relative pronoun	we	‘who’
possessive pronoun	in	‘his’
cardinal	wan	‘one’
ordinal	fɔs	‘first’
modal verb	fɔ	‘should’
light verb	dɔn (after a V)	completive aspect
preverb	go	future tense

3.2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Krio are derived by borrowing from superstrate and substrate languages, and by word formation processes such as compounding where commonly two lexical items are combined to create a new noun or by derivation whereby nouns are formed from members of other grammatical classes. Nouns in Krio can function as arguments of verbs as in (10) where the proper noun *Abi* is the subject of the verb *sheb* ‘share’. The noun can also function as object as *klos* ‘clothes’ does in (10), or as *ɔlide* ‘holiday’ in (11) or as an object of a preposition as the proper noun *Welintin* and *Grani Batis* in (11).

(10) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2822,53832>

Abi sheb di klos dɛm dɔn i bigin bruk.
 “Abi took the clothes out and begun to wash.”

Abi sheb di **klos** dɛm dɔn I bigin Bruk.
share DEF *clothes* PL *finish* 3SG *begin* wash
 Np V DET N PRT V PN V1 V2

Generated in TypeCraft.

(11) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2822,53817>

Dowu go ɔlide na Welintin to Grani Batis.
 “Dowu went to Wellington for holidays at grandma Batis.”

Dowu	go	ɔlide	na	Welintin	to	Grani	Batis.
	<i>go</i>	<i>holiday</i>			DIR	<i>grandmother</i>	
Np	V	N	PREP	Np	PREPdir	N	Np

Generated in TypeCraft.

Nouns in Krio inflect with the help of independent lexical items. For instance, nouns are marked for plural by the free morpheme *dem* which occurs after the noun, so that *tik* ‘tree’ becomes *tik dem* ‘trees’ and *pikin* ‘child’ becomes *pikin dem* ‘children’.

3.2.2 Pronouns

Krio has three series of pronouns as it distinguishes between subject and object pronouns; in addition, Krio features possessive pronouns. Table 5 reflects Krio's pronominal system.

Table 5: Pronouns in Krio

Number/ Person	Subject pronouns	Object pronouns	Possessive pronouns
1.SG	a	mi	mi
2.SG	yu	yu	yu
3.SG	i	am	in
1.PL	wi	wi	wi
2.PL	una	una	una
3.PL	den/dem	den/dem	den/dem

Pronouns (marked in bold in Table 5) are only for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person singular marked as morphological distinct. For the 1st person pronoun, the object and possessive pronoun differ morphologically from the subject pronoun but not from each other. For the 3rd person singular, all three forms are distinct from each other.

Krio pronouns are mainly used in a prototypical way, a notable exception is illustrated in (13) where the subject of a predicate nominal is realised using the object form of the pronoun. The use of the 1SG subject form, that is, **A na big titi* is ungrammatical. In comparative constructions such as (14), the subject and the object form of the 1.SG pronoun are in free distribution. Next to (14) also *A sen am əp rich yu?* is grammatical.

(12) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,53973>

A de go na skul.

“I am going to school.”

a	de	go	na	skul
1SG	PROG	go	LOC	school
PN	Vpre	V	PREP	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(13) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,53975>

Mi na big titi.

“I am a big girl.”

mi	na	big	titi
1SG		big	girl
PN	COP	ADJ	N

Generated in TypeCraft.

(14) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2853,54278>

‘Mi sen am əp rich yu?’

“Did i throw it higher than you?”

mi	sen	am	əp	rich	yu	?
1SG	send	3SG		reach	2SG	
PN	V1	PN	PREP	V2	PN	PUN

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3.2.3 Determiners and Quantifiers

The noun phrase in Krio can be simple or complex in structure depending on the elements modifying the noun while determiners are used to specify the noun.

Di refers to a specific entity either present at speech time or absent but always known to both the speaker and hearer as the case is in (15):

(15) <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2606/42188/>

Di flai de dai.

“The fly is dying.”

di	flai	de	dai
DEF	<i>fly</i>	<i>be.PROG</i>	<i>die</i>
DET	N	Vpre	V

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Wan, on the other hand, introduces an indefinite noun phrase. The main function of the indefinite determiner is to introduce entities for which the speaker has no particular referent in mind. Table 6 illustrates the use of *wan*. In (ID1), *wan* precedes a modified noun phrase. In (ID2) it follows a preposition where *wan lamp* is the object of the preposition. It specifies the head noun of a relative clause in (ID3) and marks indefinite time in (ID4).

Table 6: *wan* as an indefinite determiner¹⁷

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	Mek wan wayd ol, pak di tik dem insai.	Make a wide hole and park the wood inside.
2	I go tinap pan wan lamp.	It goes to stand on a lamp.
3	Wan strenja we bin kɔmɔt ovasi kam na dis kɔntri krismes tɛm bin tɛl in klɔb bɔt wetin en wetin i si.	A stranger who came from overseas to this country during christmas told his club about what he saw.
4	Wan de di fama tek am en tɛl am se, ' Igul, yu nɔ fɔ de na grɔn lɛk fɔl, flay go ɔp usay yu fɔ de '.	One day the farmer took it and said, 'eagle, you shouldn't be on the ground like a fowl, fly into the sky where you belong'.

¹⁷ The column 'Phrase' in Table 3 consists of hyperlinks that lead the reader directly to the annotated sentence in the TypeCraft database.

Table 7 illustrates some other functions associated with the lexical item *wan*: it may be a numeral (ID1 and ID5). In the case of (ID5) it forms a partitive construction together with the preposition *pan* which is parallel to ‘one of’ in English. It also occurs as a particle in a multi-word expression, such as: *Wan de ya* in (ID3). In (ID2) *wan* is a numeral that occurs as an adposition to a pronoun. This can be verified by replacing *I wan* ‘he alone/one’ with another numeral for instance, *den tri kin it ɔltin* ‘the three of them usually eat everything’. In (ID4) *wan* occurs in a focus construction.

Table 7: Other functions of *wan*

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	<i>Di tikit na wan tawzin lion nɔmɔ fɔ big pɔsin ɛn jɛs fayv ɔndrɛd lion fɔ pikin.</i>	The ticket is one thousand leones only for adults and just five hundred leones for children.
2	<i>I wan kin it ɔltin ɛn natin nɔ fɔ pas am.</i>	He alone eats everything and nothing should pass him by.
3	<i>Wan de ya, na Bra Spaida bin de.</i>	Once upon a time, there lived Bro. Spider.
4	<i>Na wan pɔsin na wan pan di vilej dem jɔs tink se Bra Spaida nɔ kin dile so, sɔntin mɔs dɔn apin.</i>	One person from one of the villages realised that brother spider never delays so something must have happened.
5	<i>Bai di tɛm we i wan lus wan pan di rop dem di ɔda tu jak am.</i>	By the time he tried to loosen one of the ropes the other two jacked him.

Finally, *wan* may also function as a pronominal. This is the case when it replaces a noun, as in (16) below.

(16) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2830,53951>

Da wan de lek enjoyment.

“That one likes to enjoy.”

da wan de lek enjoyment .
 DEF *there* *like* *enjoyment*
 DEM PN ADV V N PUN

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Turning now to quantifiers, we would like to illustrate the use of *sɔm* ‘some’ which is usually used to refer to an unspecified quantity, but not a large amount.

Table 8: The use of *sɔm* in Krio

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	Ɔnda di skin, i get sɔm gel we na yala blak en rɛd kɔla.	Under the skin, it has some gel which is grey and red in colour.
2	Kɔba di ol wit rɔ lif den en sɔm dɔti en layt di faya.	Cover the hole with fresh leaves and some sand then light the fire.
3	Sɔm man kin get sɔm bad bad sik so, we i pit na grɔn so, if i drai en di briz blo am pan yu, wɛl na in dat.	Some people become so sick that when they spit on the ground and it dries up and the wind blows it up on you, well then that's it.
4	I siɲ sɔm siɲ dem we i bin lɛk we i bin de go skul.	He sang some songs which he liked when he was in school.

In Table 8 *sɔm* occurs in the determiner position and is used to quantify the mass nouns *gel* ‘gel’ and *dɔti* ‘sand’ in (ID 1-2), as well as count nouns; *man* ‘people’ and *siɲ dem* ‘songs’ in (ID 3-4) are examples.

Sɔm also functions as a pronominal.

Table 9: *sɔm* as a pronominal

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	Sɔm sidɔn pantap di ayenston den we de nia.	Some are sitting on the rocks that are close by.
2	Sɔm de bruk.	Some are washing.
3	Sɔm de get wata.	Some are fetching water.

3.2.4 Demonstratives

Krio makes use of demonstratives; *dis* ‘this’ indicates that the specified element is proximate, that is, close to the speaker while *da/dat* ‘that’ expresses that something is remote from the speaker. The plural form of the demonstrative is *den* ‘these’/‘those’. Demonstratives may occur with the lexical items *ya* ‘here’ or *yanda/de* ‘there’ which also adds additional information about the proximity or remoteness of the element.

Demonstratives can also function as pronominals as in (ID1) where *den...ya* ‘these’ is again expressing proximity. In (ID2), *dis* ‘this’ stands in for a noun phrase (the reason why Jok was

running¹⁸). In this sentence a focus marker precedes the demonstrative. In (ID3), *dat* ‘that’ describes a distal event.

In (ID4), the demonstrative *dis* ‘this’ precedes the noun *motoka* ‘car’ signalling proximity and specificity of the element in a focus construction.

Table 10: Demonstratives

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	Rid den wan ya.	Read these ones.
2	Na dis Jøk bin de røn tranga tranga wan fò go mit.	This is what Jøk was running so hard to go and meet.
3	Dat mek in sɔriat padi fala am go Kɔnɔt Ɔspitul.	That made his sympathetic friend follow him to Connaught Hospital.
4	Na dis motoka dem wan tek rɔnawe.	They want to run away with this car.

The definite determiners as well as demonstratives introduce a definite noun phrase, but while the definite determiner indicates that the noun it specifies is uniquely identifiable by the speaker without giving further context, a demonstrative provides spatial identification to introduce a particular entity.

Proper nouns do not occur with determiners and demonstratives in Krio unless the noun is modified by an adjective. For instance;

Jon kam na ya.
John came here.

Di yala Jon kam na ya.
The light-skinned John came here.

Maria lek fò fet.
Maria likes to fight.

Da trangayes Maria lek fò fet.
That stubborn Maria likes to fight.

¹⁸ According to the text from which this phrase is taken Jøk was trying to catch up with a getaway car.

The noun phrase becomes complex when nominal attributes such as adjectives, numerals, number markers, adverbs, focus markers and relative clauses are pre-modifying or post-modifying it.

We further notice that Krio noun phrases are right-headed as the specifiers and modifiers precede the nominal head with the exception of the relative clause that follows it. Consider (17):

(17) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,54626>

Na di tu fain titi dem we de lan French...

“These two pretty girls who are studying French...”

na	di	tu	fain	titi	dem	we	de	lan	French...
FOC	DEF	<i>two</i>	<i>fine</i>	<i>girl</i>	PL	who	PROG	<i>learn</i>	<i>French...</i>
PRT	DET	NUM	ADJ	N	PRT	PNrel	Vpre	V	N

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3.3 The Verb Phrase

Krio has subject-verb-object (SVO) word order. The verb and its inflectional satellites expressing tense, aspect and mood form the core of the clause. Krio's superstrate language as well as most of its substrate languages are SVO languages. But opposed to Krio its superstrate as well as its substrate languages use predominantly affixation to express tense, aspect and mood while Krio makes use of free morphemes.

3.3.1 Tense and Aspect

3.3.1.1 Aspect

The progressive aspect which indicates that events are in progress at the time of speech is expressed by the free morph *de* as shown in (18) where a conversation *is ongoing* while a person *is cooking*.

De has another function that signals a recurring event or state as in (19) where *de* occurs with the adverbial *ɔltɛm* to show that *cooking* is an activity he often performs, and in (20) where Abiono always avoids the *eating* of fufu.

Since *de* can function on its own as an existential copula, I categorised it in my corpus as a preverb only when it occurs as a progressive or imperfective marker before a main verb.

The habitual marker in Krio is *kin* which marks the frequency of an event or occurrence as in (21).

(18) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,61342>

I de kuk we wi de tək.

“He is cooking as we speak/chat.”

i **de** kuk we wi **de** tək .
3SG **PROG** *cook when* 1PL **PROG** *talk*
PN **Vpre** V Wh PN **Vpre** V PUN

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(19) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,61343>

I de kuk ɔltəm.

“He cooks all the time.”

i **de** kuk ɔl təm .
3SG **IPFV** *cook all time*
PN **Vpre** V ADV PUN

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(20) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2852,54247>

Abiɔnɔ in nɔ de it fufu...

“Abiono does not eat fufu...”

Abiɔnɔ in nɔ **de** it Fufu...
Abiono 3SG NEG **IPFV** *eat fufu*
Npname PN PRT **Vpre** V N

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(21) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2854,54301>

Dis na di ren we kin kɛr os go.

“This is the type of rain which usually washes away a house.”

dis na di ren we **kin** kɛr os go
 COP DEF *rain which* **HAB** *carry house go*
DEM V DET N PNrel **ADV** V1 N V2

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Dɔn marks the completive in Krio. Diachkov (1976) states that *dɔn* is a cognate to the English past participle *done*. *Dɔn* expresses an outcome when it follows the verb. In my data, I gloss *dɔn* in this function as completive (CMPL) and categorise it as a light verb as shown in (22). *Dɔn* may also precede the verb in which case it needs to be interpreted as a past perfect marker and functions as a preverb as shown in (23). The event expressed in (23) has occurred in the past but is of immediate relevance to another event in the immediate context. *Dɔn* can also occur as a full verb in which case it means ‘finish’ as in (24).

(22) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2852,54238>

Wɛn dɛn kuk dɔn, dɛn kɔlɔ tan lɛk gold.

“when they are done cooking they have a golden colour.”

wɛn dɛn kuk **dɔn** , dɛn kɔlɔ tan lɛk gold .

when 3PL cook **CMPL** 3PL colour be like

Wh PN V **Vlight** PUN PN N V PREP N PUN

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(23) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2853,54271>

‘ɛn-ɛn, yu go no mama, enti yu dɔn kil di pus.

“Eh-eh mother will deal with you since you have killed the cat’.”

‘ɛn ɛn , yu go no mama , enti yu **dɔn** kil

EXCL REDP 2SG FUT *know mother* 2SG **PFV**

PRT PN Vpre V N PUN CONJ PN **Vpre** V

di pus .

DEF *cat*

DET N PUN

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(24) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2903,59037>

Bifo a set mi yai en opin am a go dɔn dɔn.

“Before i close my eyes and open them i would have finished.”

bifo a set mi yai en opin am a go dɔn dɔn .
before 1SG *set/close* 1SG *eye* *open* 3SG 1SG FUT PFV *finish*
PREP PN V PNposs N CONJC V PN PN Vpre Vpre V PUN

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When *dɔn* precedes the progressive marker *de* a perfect progressive aspect is formed which accentuates a resultative event in progress as in (25).

(25) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,61359>

Di pikin si se in mama dɔn de vɛks nain i rɔnawe.

“The child realised that his mother was getting angry so he runaway.”

di pikin si se in mama dɔn de vɛks nain i
DEF *child see* 3SG *mother* PFV PROG *vex* 3SG
DET N V COMP PNposs N Vpre Vpre V ADV PN

rɔn awe .
run away
V PUN

The occurrence of *bin* and *dɔn* together also forms a past perfect tense which is an event in the past that is seen as a whole that has been performed at some point in time in the past as in (26).

(26) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2822,53824>

Pipul dɛm bin dɔn rich de bifo Dowu dɛm.

“Others were already there before they got there.”

pipul dɛm bin dɔn rich de bifo Dowu dɛm
people PL PAST PFV *reach there* *before* PL
N PRT Vpre Vpre V ADVplc PREP Npname PRT

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3.3.1.2 Tense

The simple past is marked with *bin* as in (27a). It is a cognate of the English past participle *been*. For certain verbs, *bin* is optional (Jones, 1990: 847), that is, when they occur in a sentence without *bin* they can still be interpreted as acts in the past as in (27b-c) from Jones (1990) and (27d) from Diachkov (1976). In general, Krio sentences may be interpreted as occurring in the present or past depending on the context.

(27a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2869,55102>

Jɔk bin grap rɔn.

‘Jok stood up and run.’

Jɔk	bin	grap	rɔn	.
	PAST	<i>stand</i>	<i>run</i>	
Npname	Vpre	V1	V2	PUN

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(b) A (bin) go chɔch sɔnde.
 I (PAST) go church sunday
‘I went to church on Sunday.’ (Jones, 1990)

(c) Olu (bin) it ɔl in res?
 Olu (PAST) eat all POSS rice
‘Did Olu eat all his rice?’ (Jones, 1990)

(d) i. Rabit bin get smɔl fam.
 Rabbit PAST has small farm
‘The Rabbit had a small farm.’

ii. Rabit get smɔl fam.
 Rabbit has small farm
‘The Rabbit had a small farm.’ (Diachkov, 1976)

In (27b) the adverbial *sɔnde* ‘Sunday’, located the event relative to a day of the week that is interpreted in the past without *bin*.

Also, in a sentence like: *a go chɔch we a bin ebul* which means ‘I **went** to church when I **was** able to’ refers to an event in the past. The past interpretation here is forced by the *bin* in the second part of the sentence.

It should be mentioned that the motion verb *go* in (27b) carries a high tone to distinguish it from the future time marker discussed below.

The future time in Krio is marked by *go* with a low tone as in (28), which is a homonym of the verb *go* 'to go'.

(28) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856,54562>

I go kam kil yu.
“He will come and kill you.”

i	gò	kam	kil	yu
3SG	FUT	<i>come</i>	<i>kill</i>	2SG
PN	Vpre	V1	V2	PN

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The tonal variation on *go* occurs when a sentence like (29a) is uttered, where a high tone on the motion verb *gó* makes it an event in the past (which occurs without *bin*) but (29b) expresses the future with a low tone on the preverb *gò*.

(29a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,61344>

I go bruk na watasai.
“He went to do laundry at the riverside.”

I	gó	bruk	na	wata	sai	.
3SG.SBJ		<i>wash</i>		<i>water</i>	<i>side</i>	
PN	V1	V2	PREP	N		PUN

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(b) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,73798>

I g bruk na watasai.

“He will do laundry at the riverside.”

I	gò	bruk	na	wata	sai	.
3SG.SBJ	FUT	<i>wash</i>		<i>water</i>	<i>side</i>	
PN	Vpre	V	PREP	N		PUN

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Table 11 summarises the above.

Table 11: Tense and aspect markers in Krio

de + V	aspect	progressive
bin + V	tense	past
gò + V	tense	future
V + dɔn	aspect	completive
dɔn + V	tense/aspect	perfect
gò de + V	tense/aspect	future progressive
dɔn de + V	tense/aspect	perfect progressive
bin dɔn + V	tense/aspect	past perfect
kin	aspect	habitual

3.3.2 Reduplication

Reduplication in Krio, according to Finney (2002) could either be iterative, where the base word is reduplicated for emphatic purposes and the original meaning of the base word is maintained, or the result of compounding, where a new meaning which is different from that of the base word is assigned to the reduplicated compound. The difference between iterative and compound reduplication is in the tonal changes that occur only on the latter, as illustrated with examples from Finney in the table below.

Table 12: Iterative and compound reduplication

base word	gloss	iterative	gloss	compound	gloss
wákà	(N)‘walk’; (V) ‘to walk’	wákà-wákà	(V) ‘to walk continuously’	wákà-wákà	(Adj)‘promiscuous’; (V)‘living promiscuously’
álà	(N) ‘shout’, ‘scream’; (V) ‘to shout or scream’	álà-álà	(V) ‘to shout intensively’	álà- álà	(N) ‘a quarrel’; (Adj) ‘quarrelsome’

Reduplication is one of the core grammatical features of Akan and to express iteration or intensification is only one of its many functions. Just like in Krio, Akan reduplication can change the meaning of the base, and the word class as we see below:

(30) da (V) ‘sleep’ deda (V) ‘to put to sleep’

(31) nsuo (N) ‘water’ nsuosuo (Adj) ‘watery’

This is not the place to discuss reduplication in detail. It should, however, be mentioned since it illustrates that also Krio makes use of word internal processes to derive new meanings and express grammatical information.

The feature of reduplication is well analysed in Krio and in Akan as far as its phonological features are concerned (Finney, 2002; Nordlander & Shrimpton, 2003; Nylander, 2003; Owusu-Ansah, 1995).

3.3.3 The Multi-functional verb *fɔ*

The origin of the Krio verb *fɔ* is controversial (Jones, 1990):

Edwards (1974) and Washabaugh (1975) identify it as West African, pointing to Twi *fi*, Ewe *fě*, and Yoruba *fun*¹⁹. Byrne (1984), Bickerton (for example, 1984), and Bakker (1987) argue that its origin is English. Fyle and Jones (1980: 109) derive the prepositional uses of Krio *fɔ* from English and its preinfinitival and modal auxiliary uses from Twi. (Jones, 1990:863)

¹⁹ According to Edwards (1974) the meaning of *fi* in Twi is directional as in ‘come out, go out’, the Ewe *fě* is a possessive particle and the Yoruba *fun* is a dative particle.

Fɔ has three main functions: a prepositional, a modal and a purposive function.

3.3.3.1 Prepositional *fɔ*

Fɔ as a preposition only occurs before noun phrases as shown in Table 13 where it occurs before the determiner phrase in (ID1), the 3rd person plural object form in (ID2) and the adjectival and noun phrase in (ID3).

Table 13: *fɔ* as a preposition

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	Bra Spaida tai di <i>fɔ</i> rop rawnd in bɔdi de wet <i>fɔ</i> di tɛm we di <i>fɔs</i> vilej go kuk dɔn.	Brother Spider tied the four ropes round his body waiting for the time the first village will finish cooking.
2	Mami ɔse we de neba na in kam mek di ginjabia <i>fɔ</i> den.	Madam Ose who is their neighbour came to make the ginger drink for them.
3	Di tikit na wan tawzin lion nɔmɔ <i>fɔ</i> big pɔsin ɛn jes fayv ɔndrɛd lion <i>fɔ</i> pikin.	The ticket is one thousand leones only for adults and just five hundred leones for children.

3.3.3.2 Purposive *fɔ*

In the latter function, *fɔ* signals purpose, the reason for which something has been done or is done. Purposive *fɔ* has been classified as a complementizer (Jones, 1990; Van de Vate, 2006; Williams, 1971) or glossed as an associate preposition (Yakpo, 2009). As a purposive marker, *fɔ* occurs before the verb. Purposive *fɔ* in pre-verbal position is hard to distinguish from cases where it seems to function more like an English infinitive marker; (ID2) and (ID3) in Table 14 seems to be such cases.

Table 14: Possible cases of purposive *fɔ*

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	I de naknak di flai <i>fɔ</i> si se i dɔn dai.	He is hitting the fly to see that it is dead.
2	ɔl nyuzpepa get wɔd we rayt big big wan pantap di nyuz den <i>fɔ</i> kech pɔsin yay <i>fɔ</i> mek pɔsin wan <i>fɔ</i> rid wetin di nyuz se.	All newspapers have headlines that attract viewers and make them want to read the news.

3	Sòm advatishment kin mek p̄sin ankrin f̄o go si o bay s̄ontin bik̄os i tan lek i imp̄otant.	Some advertisements make people crave to go and see or buy something because it looks important.
4	B̄ot i bin te bifo in sef bigin r̄ob di ston d̄em f̄o mek faya.	But it took time before he started rubbing the stones against each other to make fire.
5	Onkul B̄olaj̄e in wan trawzlin sef d̄on du f̄o bai Banki in wanol b̄oks en chen̄j go lef.	One of Uncle Bolage's trousers is enough to buy Banki's whole wardrobe and there will still be change.
6	Abion̄o in n̄o de it fufu so in kin go bai in agidi, b̄ot s̄ontem de I kin kuk r̄es f̄o it di sup.	Abiono does not eat fufu so she usually goes to buy her agidi, but sometimes she cooks rice to eat with the soup.
7	D̄on d̄en go bw̄el di r̄es f̄o it am.	After they will boil the rice to eat with it.

An initial purposive marker *f̄o* is obligatory while *f̄o* before subsequent verbs in the same sentence is optional. (ID 2) is repeated below as (32) where *f̄o* is deleted with the exception of the initial purposive marker.

(32) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,74298>

**Ol nyuzpepa get w̄od we rayt big big wan pantap di nyuz d̄en f̄o kech p̄sin yay mek p̄sin
wan rid wetin di nyuz se.**

“All newspapers have headlines which attract viewers and make them want to read the news.”

ol nyuzpepa get w̄od we rayt big big wan pan tap
newspaper get word which write INDEF on top.DIR
ADJ N V N Wh V ADJ ADJ DET PREP

di nyuz d̄en f̄o kech p̄sin yay mek p̄sin wan rid
DEF news then PURP catch person eye make person want read
DET N ADV PRT V1 N N V2 N V3 V4

wetin di nyuz se .

what DEF news say

Wh DET N V PUN

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Fɔ, in its purposive function is hard to classify, and we therefore have tried to restrain from calling it a conjunction, a preposition or an infinitive marker.

3.3.3.3 Modality

As a modal verb, *fɔ* has a sense of obligation that is parallel to the English modal verb *should*. This is evident in the sentences below.

Table 15: *fɔ* as a modal verb

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	We pɔsin wan gi speshal tɔk, i fɔ tek tem tink bɔt wetin i wan tɔk bɔt, di pipul we i de go tɔk to, en aw i wan den fɔ tek am.	Before a person gives a speech he should take time to think of what to say, his audience and how he wants them to receive his message.
2	Wan de di fama tek am en tɛl am se, 'Igul, yu nɔ fɔ de na grɔn lek fɔl, flay go ɔp usay yu fɔ de '.	One day the farmer took it and said, 'eagle, you shouldn't be on the ground like a fowl, fly into the sky where you belong'.
3	Sef dis na wan we fɔ ol pɔsin at, mek i lisin wetin pɔsin de tɔk bɔt sɔntin we go bi, lek tiata, ɔ kɔnsat, ɔ spɔts ɔ jɔmp ɔ munlayt piknik en den kayn tin de.	This is even one which should capture a person's heart to make him listen to what a person is saying about what is going to happen, like theatre or a concert or sports or school entertainment or moonlight picnic and others.

Let me mention here that other modal markers in Krio are *mɔs* and *wan*. *Mɔs* 'must' was described by Jones (1990) as a means to express necessity, determination, obligation and supposition. Examples from my data are listed below.

Table 16: *mɔs* as a modal verb

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	ɔltem na pamayn den mɔs tek kuk di plasas sup.	They always have to cook the palava sause with palmoil.
2	In nos so big if i blo tranga nia panlamp i mɔs ɔt.	His nose is so big that if he blows it very hard near a lantern it must go off.
3	If yu tek tik nak am na in chest di tik mɔs brok.	If you hit him on the chest with a stick, the stick must break.

4	Na wan p̄sin na wan pan di vilej dem j̄s tink se Bra Spaida n̄ kin dile so, s̄ntin m̄s d̄n apin.	One person from one of the villages realised that brother spider never delays so something must have happened.
---	--	--

The verb *wan* ‘want’ expresses a desire or wish for something, below are some examples:

Table 17: *wan* as a modal verb

ID	Phrase	Translation
1	I bin wan kil mi.	He wanted to kill me.
2	Mi a wan go, a wan go to mi mama, yaso n̄ fit mi.	I want to go, i want to go to my mother, this place does not suit me.
3	A n̄ wan mek yu kam dist̄b mi na mi mared oo.	I don't want you to come and disturb me in my marriage oo.

3.3.4 Valency

When accounting for the valency of a verb, we are interested in the semantic nature and the number of arguments a verb selects. Let us take the verb *come*. It selects one argument which is a Mover. The grammatical function of that argument is that of a subject. In Krio nouns are not marked for their grammatical function but pronouns partially are, as we saw in Table 5.

Krio has a range of verbs that can be grouped according to their transitivity. Representative in my data are intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs. Frequently encountered verbs in my data (irrespective of their transitivity) are listed in Table 18.

It is not surprising that the verbs *go* and *d̄n* occur most frequent because they occur also as preverbs, and as far as *d̄n* is concerned also as a light verb. As discussed, the motion verb *go* functions as tense marker, and additionally indicates the onset of an action that is discussed in chapter 4.

Lef and *bigin* function as aspectualizers, signalling the end or commerce of an action. The function of *d̄n* was discussed in section 3.3.1.

Table 18: Frequency of verbs in a 7657 word corpus of Krio

Word	Absolute work frequency	Absolute frequency of phrases per word	Relative frequency
go	186	154	2.4%
dɔn	100	83	1.3%
get	76	64	1.0%
mek	69	67	0.9%
kam	60	54	0.8%
lɛk	50	43	0.7%
tek	25	24	0.3%
bigin	24	22	0.3%
lɛf	21	21	0.3%
kɔmɔt	12	12	0.2%

Before I turn to copula constructions, let me point out that the multi-functional ability of verbs, including copulas and adpositions is a common feature for Kwa languages. Krio is similar in this respect. We have seen this with respect to the alternation between full verbs and preverbs for Krio, but also element like *na* in Krio is multi-functional. It functions as a preposition (at, from, on, to, in) before an NP, as a focus marker when in sentence initial position preceding a noun and as a copula. *De* functions as a progressive tense marker before a full verb and a copula ‘to be’. In addition, it is homophonic with the noun ‘day’.

3.3.5 Copula Constructions

Na and *de* are copulas, as shown in (33) and (34). If both elements occur in the same clause, only one of them can be the copula, and in such a case mostly *de* functions as the copula, as in *I de na os* ‘he is at home’ where *na* functions as a preposition.

(33) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,53975>

Mi na big titi.
“I am a big girl.”

mi	na	big	titi.
1SG		<i>big</i>	<i>girl</i>
PN	COP	ADJ	N

(34) <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2606/42171/>

...in pus de pan in lap.
“...his cat is on his lap.”

...in	pus	de	pan	in	lap
3SG	cat	be	LOC	3SG	lap
PNposs	N	COP	PREP	PNposs	N

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It has been claimed that *na* is a locative copula and it can be compared with *wɔ* ‘be-at’ in Twi, *le* ‘be-at’ in Ewe, and *yè* ‘be-at’ in Ga (Lord, 1993).

For **Twi**, it is assumed that *wɔ* is a verb in (35a) and a preposition in (b).

(35a) Papa no **wɔ** fie.

Man DET **be-at** house
‘the man is at home’

(b) ɔ-baa bi tɔn n-neema **wɔ** ha.
3SG-woman DET sell PL-thing **LOC** here
‘A woman sells things here’

(Generated in TypeCraft)

For **Ewe**, one assumes that *le* is a locative verb in (36a) and a preposition. However, Ansre (1966) characterises element like *le* as verbids which means that they have prepositional values but verbal qualities.

(36a) Agba la **le** aba dzi.

Plate DET **be-at** mat top
‘the plate is on the mat’

(b) Wo nɔ dzudzɔm **le** wo fe xɔ me.
They PAST rest **LOC** they POSS room in

‘they were resting in their room’

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In Ga, the locative verb *yè* occurs in (37a) as a copula and in (b) in a prepositional function.

(37a) tètè **yè** ʃíà.

Tete **be-at** house
‘Tete is at home’

- (b) tètè bàá-hé wòlò yè òsú.
 Tete FUT-buy book **be-at** Osu
'Tete will buy a book at Osu' (Lord, 1993:12)

The verbal features of these formatives become clear when considering inflection. In (38a/b) the copula takes on a negative form. However, notice that in (38b) *yè*, is not negated, as it would have to be if it were a verb and a V2 in (38b). *Yè* therefore, must be a preposition in (38b).

- (38a) tètè **bé** jíà.
 Tete **NEG.be-at** house
'Tete is not at home'

- (b) tètè hééé wòlò yè òsú.
 Tete NEG-buy book **LOC** Osu
'Tete will not buy a book at Osu'

The same pattern is found in Krio, as shown in (39) where the copula *na* in (a) is negated and becomes *nɔto*, but in (b) *na* is not negated (it remains *na* instead of *nɔto*). One probably can safely say that *na* functions here as a preposition.

- (39a) Mi nɔto big titi.
 I NEG-be big girl
'I am not a big girl'
- (b) Wi nɔ go na makit.
 We NEG go to market
'we didn't go to market'

3.4 Prepositions

Van de Vate (2006: 234-235) mentions that Creoles have been described as languages without prepositions and that Creoles have replaced this part of speech with serial verb constructions. Muysken (1988) claims that prepositions exist in Creoles, even those with extensive use of serial verbs from which we can conclude that the existence of serial verb constructions is not due to the lack of prepositions. In this section we look at the prepositions in Krio.

Fyle and Jones (1980) as cited in Van de Vate (2006) in their Krio-English dictionary categorise prepositions into two groups; i) true prepositions, and ii) prepositional locatives, (Van de Vate, 2006:235).

I make no attempt to classify Krio preposition. For ease of presentation, however, I list topological prepositions separately from the other prepositions. Table 19 gives an overview of the prepositions in Krio.

Table 19: Krio prepositions

prepositions		topological prepositions	
fɔ	‘for’	ɔnda	‘under’
bai	‘by’	pantap	‘on/above/in addition’
to	‘to’	op	‘up’
ɔf	‘of’	dɔŋ	‘down’
fɾɔm	‘from’	nia	‘near’
wit	‘with’	insai	‘in/inside’
bɔt	‘about’	bien	‘behind’
na	‘in/on/at/to/from’	bifo	‘before’
		pan	‘on’

3.5 Complementizer

A common conjunction in Krio is *se* ‘that’. In Akan conjunction *sɛ* is derived from the verb *sɛ* which means ‘say’. According to Lord (1993), the verb has undergone a process of grammaticalisation to now function as complementizer and subordinating conjunction. This might mean that the Krio word *se* is not derived from English *say*, but rather from the Akan *sɛ*.

Se is also found in Pichi (an English-based creole with substrate influence from Krio and some superstrate influence from Spanish) and classified as a quotative marker introducing finite complement clauses (Yakpo, 2009).

In (40a), *se* joins the complement clause *i dɔn dai* to the matrix clause and in (b) *sɛ* is the complementizer introducing the interrogative statement in Akan.

(40a) <http://typecraft.org/TCEditor/2606/42190/>

I de naknak di flai fə si se i dən dai.

“He is hitting the fly to see that it is dead.”

I de naknak di flai fə si se I dən dai
3SG PROG hit REDP DEF fly see 3SG PFV die
PN Vpre V DET N Vmod V **COMPL** PN PRT V

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(b) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2890,58716>

Nkurahene sɔre bisaa wɔn sɛ hwan na ɔde adɔma no bɛkɔ akɔsɛn ɔkra kɔn mu?

“The chief stood up and asked that who will go and hung the bell on the neck of the cat?”

n kura hene sɔre bisa a wɔn sɛ , hwan na
PL mouse king stand ask PAST 3PL who FOC
N V1 V2 PN **CONJS** PN PRT

ɔ de adɔma nɔ bɛ kɔ a kɔ sɛn ɔkra kɔn
3SG.SBJ take bell DEF FUT go PRF go hang cat neck
Vtr N DET V V N N

mu

inside.LOC

Nrel

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3.6 Direct and Indirect Speech

Direct speech when written is placed in inverted commas. When the same speech is being repeated or quoted as it was spoken, it is introduced by either the speaker's name or a pronoun and the verb 'say' as in (41). The same speech can be indirectly reported without necessarily quoting what was said. The sentence in (41) can therefore be indirectly reported as (41b) and (41c) where the latter uses the reporting verb *tɔk* 'talk' and the complementizer *se* 'that' to introduce the reported speech.

(41a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856>

I se ‘mama mama a wan go wit sista’.

“He said ‘mother mother i want to go with my sister’.”

i se mama mama a wan go wit sista’.
3SG say mother mother 1SG want go sister
PN V N N PN V1 V2 PREP N

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(b) **I se i wan go wit sista.**

“He said he wants to go with his sister.”

I se I wan go wit sista.
3SG say 3SG want go sister
PN V PN V1 V2 PREP N

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(c) **I tɔk se i wan go wit sista.**

“He said that he wants to go with his sister.”

I tɔk se I wan go wit sista.
3SG talk that 3SG want go sister
PN V COMP PN V1 V2 PREP N

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3.7 Question Sentences

Interrogative statements in Krio are usually introduced by the interrogative pronouns listed in Table 20 which are characteristic of its superstrate language, English. In Akan, however, declarative statements are marked with high tones to serve as interrogative statements, a feature possibly borrowed into Krio.

Table 20: Interrogative pronouns

Krio	gloss
wetin	‘what’
usai	‘where’
udat	‘who’
uswan/uskain	‘which’
ustem	‘when’
aw	‘how’
wetin mek	‘why’
ɔmɔs	‘how much’

Krio is a tonal language, sharing a core feature of West African languages, interrogative statements can thus be realised as declarative statements depending on the tone used. The sentence in (42) is an example of such a statement.

(42a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2853,54278>

‘Mi sɛn am əp rɪch yu?’
“Did i throw it higher than you?”

‘Mi	sɛn	am	əp	rɪch	yu?’
	<i>send</i>	3SG		<i>reach</i>	
PN	V1	PN	PREP	V2	PN

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In this statement (written in the declarative and interrogative below), the lexical item which brings about the contrast is the pronoun *yu* in sentence final position. Even though each syllable in the sentence may possess its own tone, in the interrogative statement, *yu* is topicalized and a high tone is used to distinguish it from its counterpart (which will have a low tone) in a declarative statement.

(b) Mi sɛn àm əp rɪch yù. declarative

‘I threw it higher than you’

(c) Mi sɛn àm əp rɪch yú? interrogative

‘did I throw it higher than you?’

Chapter 4 – Part 1

4.1 Verb Serialization in Akan

Akan grammar is well studied, see for example Amfo (2005, 2007, 2010), Balmer & Grant (1929), Berry (1957), Boadi (1966), Bodomo (1996), Christaller (1875, 1881), Hellan, Beermann & Andenes (2003), Lord (1993), Obeng (1997), Osam (1997, 2003, 2008) and Schachter & Fromkin (1868).

For my comparative study of Krio and Akan SVCs, I will look at established types of Akan SVCs (Osam, 2003; Beermann, 2015 and references therein), and compare them with Krio SVCs.

An SVC in Akan is a construction of juxtaposed verbs that are not connected by any type of conjunction. The verbs share a subject and optionally an object. In addition, tense and aspect markers and verbal negation are shared throughout the series.

I will now outline the main characteristics of SVCs in Akan. We will look at subject as well as object sharing and also TAM agreement and negation. We will then distinguish clause chaining from integrated SVCs.

4.1.1 Argument Sharing

4.1.1.1 Subject Sharing

Verbs in a serializing construction share a subject. In (1) *Ata Kakra* is the subject and precedes the serialised verbs *fa* and *tua*. *Fa*, when part of an SVC, is called verb 1 and glossed as V1, all subsequent verbs are then numbered in a sequence, so that in (1) *tua* is V2. All verb(s) in the sequence, whether in close proximity to the initial verb or with other lexical items between them share the sentence initial subject. That is, in (1) *Ata Kakra* is subject to both verbs even though the direct object *bɔne* intervenes between the subject and the V2.

(1) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2889,58703>

Ata Kakra amfa bɔne antua bɔne ka.

“Ata Kakra did not re-pay evil with evil.”

Ata	kakra	a	m	fa	bɔne	a	n	tua	bɔne	ka
		PRF	NEG	<i>take</i>	<i>bad</i>	PRF	NEG	<i>pay</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>debt</i>
Np	Np	V1		N	V2			N	N	

The same observation can be made for (2) where *Kofi* is the subject of the complex verbal expression *kɔ-tɔ-ɔ* and the verb *di-i*.

- (2) Kofi kɔ-tɔ-ɔ eduane di-i.
 Kofi go-buy-PAST food eat-PAST
 “*Kofi went to buy food to eat*”

4.1.1.2 Switch Subject

There are also instances in Akan serialising constructions where it is not the subject but the object of the V1 that becomes the subject of V2. This has been referred to as Switch Subject by Osam (1994) as cited in Agyeman (2002) and Osam (2003). Causative constructions headed by the verb *ma* are well-known to bring about a switch subject sharing as shown in (3).

In this sentence, *Kwame* is the subject of *ma*, thus the causer, and *asukuufɔɔ* ‘students’ is the causee and the object of *ma*, and it also functions as the subject of *sere* ‘laugh’.

- (3) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#495,6465>

Kwame maa asukuufɔɔ no sereε.

“*Kwame made the students laugh.*”

Kwame ma a asukuu foɔ no sere e ε

K. give.CAUS PAST *students* PL DEF *laugh* PAST AFFMT

N V N DET V

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4.1.1.3 Object Sharing

Agyeman (2002) discusses object sharing in Akan. In (4) the object of the initial verb is the same as that of the subsequent verbs. We observe that the object pronoun occurs after each of the verbs. In (4) the object *adanko* ‘rabbit’ is animate, so the 3rd person singular pronoun *no* occurs after all verbs in the series, that is, the object is openly and repeatedly expressed instead of shared in the sense that subjects are shared. In (5) the subsequent verbs are not followed by a pronoun since the referent is animate, as it is a general rule of Akan that inanimate objects are not expressed pronominally.

Agyeman then claims that in constructions like (6) the animate object, *Kofi*, is truly shared, since there is no pronominal marking after the V2 which in a single predicate sentence would trigger the occurrence of a pronominal object, or in the chaining construction in (4) where the animate object is repeated. The example in (6) is different. The object is only expressed for V1, but as *Kofi* must also be interpreted as the object of the verb *hwε*, we here have a true case of object sharing.

(4) Ama tɔ-ɔ adanko dware-e no yɛn-n no.
 Ama buy-PAST rabbit bath-PAST 3SG rear-PAST 3SG
 ‘Ama bought a rabbit, bathed it and reared it’

(5) Ama tu-u bayere twitwa-a Ø noa-a Ø di-i Ø.
 Ama uproot-PAST yam cut-PAST 3SG cook-PAST 3SG eat-PAST 3SG
 ‘Ama uprooted yam, cut it, cooked it and ate it’

(6) Ama sɔ-ɔ Kofi hwε-i.
 Ama test-PAST Kofi look-PAST
 ‘Ama tested Kofi’

4.1.2 Tense and Aspect in SVC

In Akan, verbs in a series need to agree in their TAM features. In (7) and (8) we show tense agreement:

(7) <http://typcraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2891,58740>

ɔhyɛ aseɛ taneɛ mmoa yi ani.
 “he started hating the other animals”

ɔ	hyɛ	ε	aseɛ	tane	e	m	moa	yi	ani
3SG	wear	PAST	under	hate	PAST	PL	animal	the.DEF	eye
V1			REL	V2		N		DET	Nrel

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(8) Ama **a**-tu bayere **a**-twitwa **a**-noa **a**-di.
 Ama Perf-uproot yam Perf-cut Perf-cook Perf-eat
 ‘Ama has uprooted yam, cut it, cooked it and eaten it’

- (13) Ama **re-noa** aduane **a-di**
 Ama PROG-cook food CONS-eat
'Ama is cooking some food to eat (it)' (Agyeman, 2002)

In the TAM system of Akan, there is agreement throughout the series even though the written and spoken form of the past tense differ. Again, SVC with an initial future and progressive verb are followed by verbs marked by an initial *a-*. Akan scholars differ in their analysis of the consecutive marking. While Osam (2003) claims it to be an aspect marker, Boadi (2008) analyses it as an infinitive marker while Beermann (2015) suggest that it is a form of dependent verb marking.

We also observed that verbs in their habitual form remain unmarked.

4.1.3 Negation in SVC

In Akan serialization, negation is marked on each serial verb in the construction as the “scope of the negator in Akan is over a VP and not over the whole clause” (Ameka, 2001). Negation is marked close to the verb stem when the verb is marked by a tense or aspect marker as in (14) and (15) below.

- (14) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#38,372>

Yaa rentɔ brodeɛ nnoa ndi nda

“Yaa will not buy food, cook, eat or sleep.”

Yaa re n tɔ brodeɛ n noa n di n da
 PROG NEG *buy plantain* NEG *cook* NEG *eat* NEG *sleep*
 Np Vtr CN Vitr Vitr Vitr

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- (15) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2878,178218>

Kofi ankɔtɔ eduane andi.

“Kofi did not buy food to eat”

Kofi a n kɔ tɔ eduane a n di
 PAST NEG *go buy food* PAST NEG *eat*
 Npname V1 N V2 PUN

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In (15), what the sentence negates is that “Kofi bought food”. It does not really mean that “He did not buy food in order to NOT eat it”, but it means that “He did not buy food to eat”! So what is negated is only the first verb, and the negative marker in *a-n-di* is there only for agreement. It is morphological required not semantically.

4.1.4 Further Characteristics of Akan SVCs

There is a semantic wholeness projected from the verbs of an Akan SVC. Aikhenvald (2006) and Durie’s (1988)²¹ talk about verbs forming a single predicate which refers to a single state or event. Also, Lord (1993: 2) acknowledges semantic integration as salient for West African SVCs when he writes:

In a number of West African languages, verb phrases in an unmarked sequence all refer to subparts or aspects of a single overall event. The action or state denoted by the second (or non-initial) verb phrase is an outgrowth of the action denoted by the first verb phrase; the following verb phrase represents a further development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the previous verb (Lord, 1993).

Consider (16), an example we discussed earlier. *Fa* means ‘take’ and *tua* mean ‘pay’ which is also their meaning when used as single predicates of a main clause.

(16) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2889,58703>

Ata Kakra amfa bɔne antua bɔne ka.

“Ata Kakra did not re-pay evil with evil.”

Ata	kakra	a	m	fa	bɔne	a	n	tua	bɔne	ka
		PRF	NEG	<i>take</i>	<i>bad</i>	PRF	NEG	<i>pay</i>	<i>bad</i>	<i>debt</i>
Np	Np	V1			N	V2			N	N

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(16) states that you *take bad* and *pay bad*. This meaning expressed in English, however, requires the use of a prepositional phrase. What Lord tries to express as exemplified with (16), is that *fa* and *tua* here combine to create the meaning *repay* which we perceive as a single event.

²¹ as cited in Osam, (2003: 15)

This also shows that for two verbs expressing a single event, it does not necessarily mean that they lose or at least alter their own meaning, although that too is often the case.

Verbs that together express aspects of a single event may also undergo semantic change when entering into an SVC, or take the form of idiomatic expressions as in (17).

- (17) Kofi gye-e Ama di-i.
 Kofi collect-PAST Ama eat-PAST
“Kofi believed Ama”

4.1.5 Types of SVC structures in Akan

Scholars working on serialisation in the Kwa languages standardly distinguish Clause Chaining Serialization (CC) and Integrated Serial Verb Construction (ISVC).

4.1.5.1 Clause Chaining

CC constructions usually consist of chronological events as in (18) where the subject first buys the plantain then cooks it, eats it and goes to sleep.

At first glance, it looks as though clause chaining can also be used to express simultaneous events such as (19a) where a drummer sings and plays the drums at the same time.

- (18) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2878,178219>

Yaa bɛtɔ brodeɛ anoa adi ada.

“Yaa will buy plantain, cook, eat and sleep.”

Yaa	bɛ	tɔ	brodeɛ	a	noa	a	di	a	da	.
	FUT	buy	plantain	CONS	cook	CONS	eat	CONS	sleep	
Npname	V1		CN		V2		V3		V4	PUN

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(19a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2116,41197>

ɔkyerɛma no bɔ twenee to nnwom

“The drummer plays the drum and sings”

ɔkyerɛma	no	bɔ	twenee	to	nnwom	
	DEF	<i>play</i>	<i>drum</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>song</i> .OBJ	
N	DET	V1	N	V2	N	

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While in (19a) the verbs in series remain unmarked, the same event is expressed in the progressive which shows that while the initial verb occurs with the progressive marker *re-*, the non-initial verb remains in its unmarked form. (19b) thus differs from clause chaining constructions in that it does not require verb agreement for the verbs in series.

(b) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2878,178220>

ɔkyerɛma no rebɔ twenee to nnwom.

“The drummer is playing the drum and singing”

ɔkyerɛma	nó	re	bɔ	twenee	to	nnwom	
<i>drummer</i>	DEF	PROG	<i>play</i>	<i>drum</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>song</i>	
N	DET	V1		N	V2	N	PUN

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4.1.5.2 Integrated Serial Verb Construction

As already shown above in an ISVC, verbs in the series express a complex event whereby each verb expresses a part of this event. This is again illustrated in (20). Semantically, the meaning of *soma* ‘send’ includes directionality where an element or entity is expected to move in a certain direction. The path leading to the endpoint is described by the verb *kɔ* ‘go’ while the setting in motion aspect is expressed by the verb *soma*. Thus, *setting-in-motion* and *direction* are the meaning facets in (20) expressed by two serialised verbs.

(20) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#873,10431>

Ɔsoma a ne ba no kɔ ɔ mukaasi

“She/he sent her/his child to the kitchen”

ɔ	soma	a	nè	ba	no	kɔ	ɔ	mukaasi
SBJ.3SG	send	PAST	SG	child.OBJ	DEF	go	PAST	kitchen
PN	V1		PNposs	N	DET	V2		N

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We thus may conclude that verb serializations agree with respect to their main grammatical properties, which is, subject sharing and optional object sharing as well as TAM and polarity agreement but that they differ in their semantics. Chaining constructions express sequential events while integrated SVCs express single events.

4.2 Verbs in Series in Krio

Not all verbs in series in Krio are necessarily SVC. Unlike Akan, Krio does not require TAM agreement to occur throughout the sequence of serialised verbs which makes it harder to distinguish SVCs from other related constructions such as verbal complexes where preverbs serve to express tense or aspect of the following main verb. In (21), the verbs *traɪ* and *mared* occur in a series. Neither *traɪ* nor *mared* is a dependent verb. As opposed to English where “*married*” is a participle form, “*mared*” in Krio is a finite verb form able to head a main clause as in (22).

(21) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856,54472>

I se ‘So duya traɪ mared we wi sɛf gò ebul fɔ ɣɛt smɔl tɪn’.

“She said ‘So please get married so we can also benefit from it!’”

i	se	so	duya	traɪ mared	we	wi	sɛf	gò	ebul	fɔ	ɣɛt	
3SG	say		please	try marry		1PL		FUT	ADJ>V		get	
PN	V	CONJ	ADV	V1 V2	ADV	PN	ADV	Vpre	V		CONJ	V

smɔl tɪn .

small thing

ADJ N PUN

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(22) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,178221>

I mared tide.

“He got married today.”

I	mared	tide	.
3SG	marry	today	
PN	V	ADV	PUN

4.2.1 Argument Sharing

4.2.1.1 Subject Sharing

Subject sharing is predominant in Krio SVCs as it is a major characteristic of SVCs as in (23) and (24) where Sammy and Jok perform both actions in the sentence.

(23) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2903,59043>

...Sami tɔn bak go na klas.

“...Sammy came back to the class.”

Sami	tɔn	bak	go	na	klas
	turn		go		class
Npname	V1	ADV	V2	PREP	N

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(24) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2869,55102>

Jɔk bin grap rɔn.

“Jok stood up and run.”

Jɔk	bin	grap	rɔn	.
	PAST	stand	run	
Npname	Vpre	V1	V2	PUN

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4.2.1.2 Switch Subject

In Krio, the verb *mek* ‘make/cause’ can be described as a causative marker just like *ma* ‘give/cause’ in Akan. In (25), the subject is not shared, but the object of V1 *Flɔsi* is shared as it becomes the subject of V2:

(25) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2853,54259>

‘Lɛ wi si udat gò mek Flɔsi fɔdɔm wit in said’.

“Let us see who will cause Flosy to fall on his side’.”

Lɛ	wi	si	udat	gò	mek	flɔsi	fɔdɔm	wit	in	said
	1PL	see	who	FUT	<i>make</i>		<i>fall</i>		3SG	<i>side</i>
COMP	PN	V	Wh	Vpre	V1	Np	V2	PREP	PNposs	N

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In (25), the verbs do not occur as verbal compounds because of V1 *mek* ‘make/cause’ which functions as a causative marker and demands two arguments; a subject (causer) and an object (causee). The object is either asked, manipulated or forced (based on the context) to cause the action of the V2.

This structure is a complex predicate because semantically *mek* can occur by itself heading a main clause as in (26) where *mek* is causing there to be a cake. Therefore, in (25) there are two main predicates: *mek* and *fɔdɔm* that form a complex predicate even though *mek* signals causativity.

(26) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,153820>

A de mek kek.

“I am making cake.”

a	de	mek	kek	.
1SG	PROG	<i>make</i>	<i>cake</i>	
PN	Vpre	V	N	PUN

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4.2.1.3 Pronominal Objects

There is no evidence of object sharing in my corpus. Unlike Akan, Krio expresses both animate and inanimate objects under serialisation. This can be seen in (27) and (28) below.

(27) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,151855>

Di bɔbɔ kech di titi bit am.

“the boy caught the girl and beat her up.”

di	bɔbɔ	kech	di	titi	bit	am	.
DEF	<i>boy</i>	<i>catch</i>	DEF	<i>girl</i>	<i>beat</i>	3SG	
DET	N	V1	DET	N	V2	PN	PUN

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(28) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2867,55074>

...i jɛs tek karozin tɔn am pan wan big wayt kak...

“...nobody knows what triggered a certain man to pour kerozene on a big white cock...”

I	jɛs	tek	karozin	tɔn	am	pan	wan	big	wayt	kak
3SG		<i>take</i>	<i>kerosine</i>	<i>pour</i>	3SG		INDEF		<i>white</i>	<i>cock</i>
PN	ADV	V1	N	V2	PN	PREP	DET	ADJ	ADJ	N

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4.2.2 Tense and Aspect in Krio SVCs

As we saw in chapter 3, TAM is expressed by preverbs in Krio. *De*, the progressive marker, for example, precedes a verb. In (29a), which is a Krio integrated SVC, it can be observed that the preverb marks V1 while V2 occurs without a preverb. Alternatively, it is also possible that *de* precedes each of the two verbs in the series. The meaning of (29a) and (29b) is the same.

(29a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,61340>

I de waka kam.

“He is approaching.”

i	de	waka	kam	.
3SG	PROG	<i>walk</i>	<i>come</i>	
PN	Vpre	V1	V2	PUN

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(b) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856,54482>

I de waka de kam.

“He is approaching.”

i	de	waka	de	kam	.
3SG	PROG	walk	PROG	come	
PN	Vpre	V1	Vpre	V2	PUN

Generated in TypeCraft.

Not all preverbs behave alike. Past tense is only marked for V1 as in (30a) while the pattern we observed for the progressive marker is ungrammatical (30b). The future tense go follows the same pattern as the past tense marker: *I go waka kam* ‘he will come’ is grammatical while **I go waka go kam* is not.

(30a) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,178222>

I bin waka kam.

“He came.”

i	bin	waka	kam	.
3SG	PAST	walk	come	
PN	Vpre	V1	V2	PUN

Generated in TypeCraft.

(b) **I bin waka bin kam.*

3SG PAST walk PAST come

‘He came’

From the above discussion, we conclude that in the TAM system of Krio SVCs, the tense or aspect marker precedes the initial verb but influences the verb(s) in the sequence, unlike in Akan where the TAM is marked on each verb. An exception in Krio is the progressive marker which can precede each of the verbs in a series.

4.2.3 Negation in Krio SVCs

When an SVC is negated in Krio, the negative marker *nɔ* precedes the initial verb, that is, Krio does not allow negative concord under serialisation. This is illustrated in (31) – (33).

- (31) Kofi nɔ bai fud it.
 Kofi NEG buy food eat
 ‘Kofi did not buy food to eat’ (SVC)
- (32) *Kofi nɔ bai fud nɔ it.
 Kofi NEG buy food NEG eat
 ‘Kofi did not buy food to eat’ (ungrammatical)
- (33) Kofi nɔ bai fud ɛn i nɔ it.
 Kofi NEG buy food and he NEG eat
 ‘Kofi did not buy food and he did not eat’ (coordination)

4.2.4 Types of Serializations in Krio

4.2.4.1 Clause Chaining

Krio has clause chaining constructions, as in (34) where the serialising verbs *grap rɔn* ‘stand up run’ are two independent events occurring one after the other and both are able to head a main clause. This is illustrated in a tree diagram in (35). Notice that *bin*, the past tense marker takes scope over the upper VP.

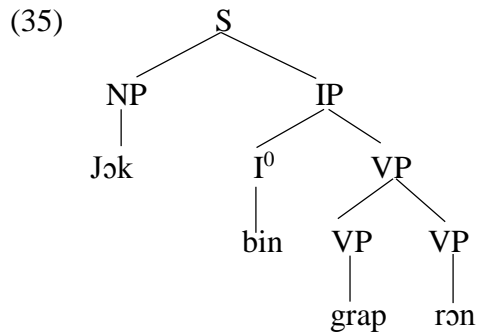
(34) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2869,55102>

Jɔk bin grap rɔn.

“Jok stood up and run.”

Jɔk	bin	grap	rɔn	.
	PAST	stand	run	
Npname	Vpre	V1	V2	PUN

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4.2.4.2 Purposive Serialization

The following construction in (36) is an SVC: V1 occurs in a series with a verbal complex consisting of the preverb “go” which here expresses the onset of the *take* event which is V2 of the serialisation. The verbs in series express an action and its purpose: “he run in order to pick up...” and this is illustrated in a diagram in (37).

An alternative purposive construction contains the purposive marker *fɔ* such as: *Dowu rɔn fɔ go tek di pata...* “Dowu run to take the laundry stick...”

(36) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2822,53820>

Dowu rɔn go tek di pata so dat inɕɛf go tot sɔntin.

“Dowu run to take the laundry stick so that he can also carry something.”

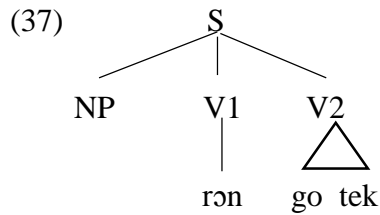
dowu	rɔn	go	tek	di	pata	so	dat	inɕɛf	go
	<i>run</i>		<i>take</i>	DEF	<i>laundrystick</i>			3SG	MOD
Np	V1	Vpre	V2	DET	N		CONJ	CONJ	PNrefl Vpre

tot sɔntin .

carry something

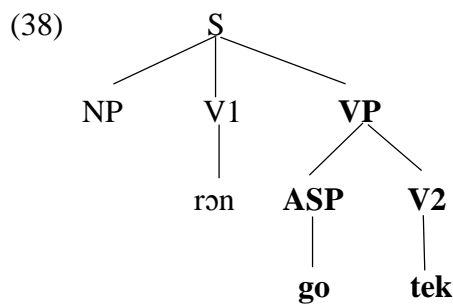
V N PUN

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4.2.4.3 Complex Verbal Phrases

As noted in (36), the word *go* is also a preverb. Consequently, *go* functions grammatically as an aspect marker which here modifies V2 *tek* ‘take’ by signalling the onset of the action. The result is a verbal complex which consists of a main predicate preceded by a grammatical tense or aspect marker. This structure can be illustrated as in (38). We reckon that the formation of verbal complexes is one of the main differences between Akan and Krio.



Let me also mention the aspectual verbs *bigin* ‘begin’ and *dɔn* ‘finish’ which mark the inception (39) and completion (40) of an event. While the former is a preverb, the latter tends to follow the verb. In my annotations, I call the latter a light verb.

(39) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2853,54265>

So dɛn bigin sɛn Flɔsi ɔp ɛn dɔŋ.

“So they started throwing Flosy up and down.”

so	dɛn	bigin	sɛn	flɔsi	ɔp	ɛn	dɔŋ	.
	3PL	INCEP	<i>send</i>				DIR	
CONJ	PN	Vpre	V	Np	PREP	CONJC	ADVplc	PUN

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(40) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2852,54248>

Dən frai dəm ol insai granatɔyl dən dən mek grevi tu sai.

“They fried all in groundnut oil, after they prepared gravy on two sides.”

dən frai dən ol insai granat ɔyl **dən** dən mek grevi
3PL fry 3PL inside.DIR groundnut oil **CMPL** 3PL make gravy
PN V PN ADJ PREPdir N **Vlight** PN V N

tu sai .

two side

NUM N PUN

Generated in TypeCraft.

4.2.4.4 Complex Predicates

It is not always easy to decide when having verbs in a series which type of construction it represents. Consider (41) which can either be perceived as a single event, namely that of *fetching water*, or as a series of subsequent events as in *he went, fetched water and came back*, or even as a purpose clause, as in *he went in order to fetch some water*. If we perceive the event as a single event, it is an integrated SVC; otherwise it might also be a chaining construction, which means each event is perceived as occurring one after the other. Finally, we might also perceive (41) as a complex predicate, as none of the verbs is subordinated and they together describe an event that might be perceived as a single event. Yet not all integrated SVCs are necessarily complex predicates which would presuppose that all verbs involved are full predicates.

(41) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856,54555>

Duya una go briŋ wata kam le una kam was mi.

“Please go and get some water to bathe me.”

duya una go briŋ wata kam le una kam was mi .
please 2PL *go bring water come* 2PL *come wash* 1SG
ADV PN V1 V2 N V3 COMP PN V1 V2 PN PUN

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4.2.4.5 Modal Verbs in Krio

The verb *wan* ‘want’ expresses modality of the event in (42). *Wan* cannot be classified as a preverb which for us are grammaticalised verbs which serve to express tense and aspect of a main verb, but which cannot occur as such in isolation. *Wan*, however, can occur in isolation, and also then expresses a desire or a wish as shown in (43), where it heads a main clause.

(42) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2856,54587>

I wan kil mi.

“He wants to kill me.”

i	wan	kil	mi	.
3SG	MOD	kill	1SG	
PN	V1	V2	PN	PUN

Generated in TypeCraft.

(43) <http://typecraft.org/tc2/ntceditor.html#2835,153819>

I wan wata.

“He wants water.”

i	wan	wata	.
3SG	want	water	
PN	V	N	PUN

Generated in TypeCraft.

In summary, Krio also distinguishes between CC and ISVCs. Additionally, we discussed other constructions such as purposive and modal serialisations as well as complex verbal expressions. The latter cannot be classified as SVCs since they consist of only one predicate and a grammatical marker.

Chapter 4 - Part 2

4.3 Theoretical Application

In the previous chapter, we have compared Akan and Krio SVCs. In this chapter, we make an attempt so systemise our findings for Krio by using Lexical Functional Grammar to compare different serialising structures. Constituent structures (c-structure) and functional structures (f-structure) are used in this comparison. While we understand clause chaining constructions as a form of adjunction of VP, we consider integrated SVCs as a form of verbal complementation. In both cases, we represent subject sharing as a form of functional control.

In these structures, we show that what will otherwise occur as one word in Akan may occur as two words in Krio so that if one word is a future or past marker, that word will be an inflectional marker.

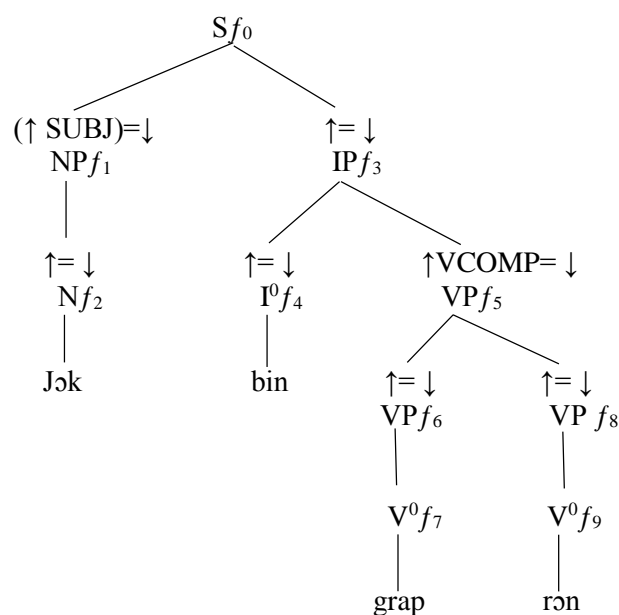
The arrows ($\uparrow = \downarrow$) signal similar relations between the terminal and non-terminal nodes. The numbering of the nodes also shows the consistency of the c-structure to the f-structure.

1) Krio Clause Chaining

The CC tree diagram has a verbal complement (VCOMP) projected from the IP node. The VCOMP also projects two sister VPs dominated by the past inflection *bin*.

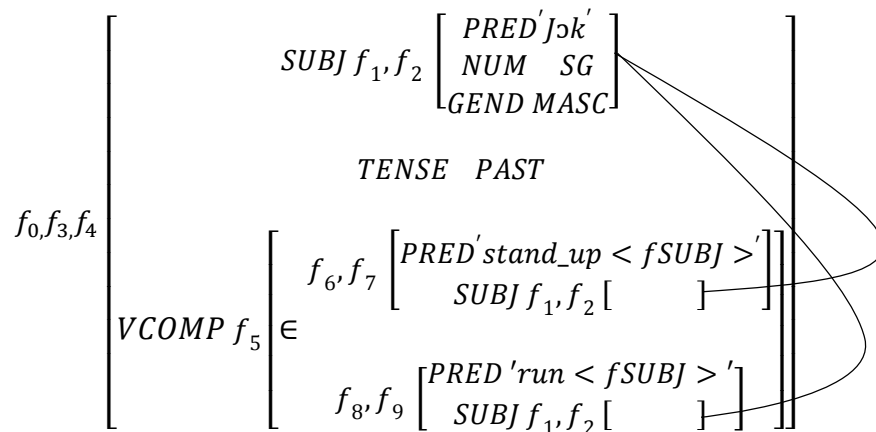
Jɔk bin grap rɔn
'Jok stood up and run'

C-structure



F-structure

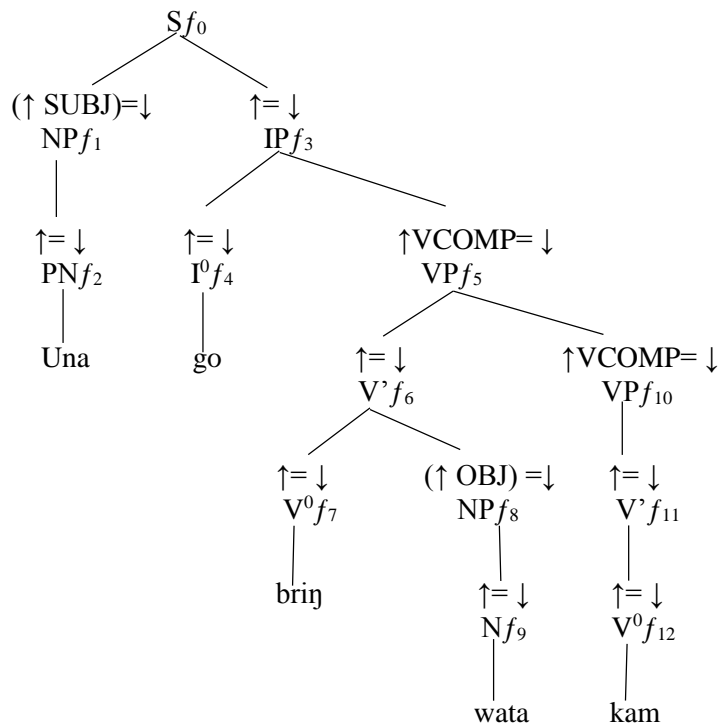
In the f-structure, the main subject controls the subjects of both the embedded predicates. The subject of the clause is shared into the VP so that the verbs in each of the two adjuncts can have their subject requirements fulfilled. The element sign (\in) here indicates that the two verbs are elements of the larger VP.



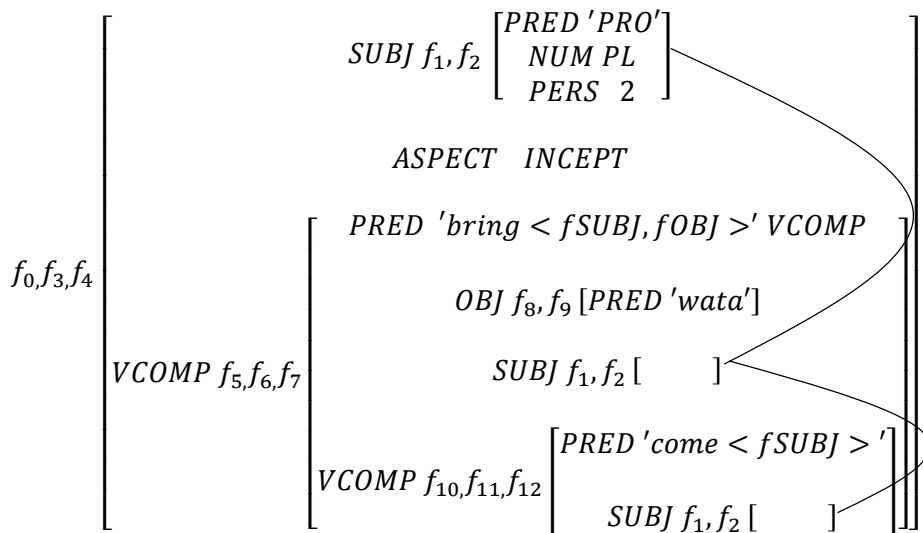
Integrated serial verb constructions in Krio is presented below. In Krio, a single event such as *'fetch water'* is represented by more than one verb *'go briŋ wata kam'* which shows that in this structure *briŋ* requires another verbal complement *kam* to complete the notion of movement. So in the f-structure the PRED *bring* takes a subject, an object and a VCOMP.

Una go briŋ wata kam.
 'Go and bring some water'

C-structure



F-structure



Conclusion

In this study, our focus was on SVCs in Krio as well as on their comparative analysis with SVCs in Akan.

We presented a systematic grammar overview of Krio, based on a corpus that we created from recordings of folktales and narratives, interviews and radio broadcasts, as well as texts from school books.

The data has been digitalised and catalogued using the linguistic application TypeCraft²². A substantial amount of our data has been made public and can be searched online by other researchers, or serve for pedagogical purposes. Our corpus is in part richly annotated, and can now be used to support further studies of the Krio grammar.

In our analytic work we have compared SVC types in Akan with those in Krio whereby the clause chaining and integrated serial verb types were discussed for Krio as well as for Akan. We in addition presented other verbal expressions from Krio, such as preverbs, light verbs and complex verbal units.

One of the salient differences between Krio and Akan is that Akan uses inflectional means to express tense, aspect and mood as well as polarity while Krio forms verbal complexes consisting of pre and light verbs in addition to the main predicate. This also affects SVC formation where preverbs may take scope over the serialised verbs rather than to be shared in an agreement pattern across the serialised verbs, as it is the case in Akan.

For further studies, materials which have not yet been catalogued will be integrated into our Krio corpus and also be made public in order to spark more research of Krio language.

Our corpus can also support future theoretical work on Krio, for example on the particle *na*, which again would allow interesting comparisons with Akan, and on the use of tone which unfortunately was not covered in this study due to time constraints.

This study is the first integrated systematic comparison of Krio and Akan SVCs and although the study was not as comprehensive as expected, I believe that it will be able to contribute to providing a better empirical foundation to the claim that a lot of features of Krio are influenced by other West African languages.

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