

Orality in Osundare's Poetry: "WH-ASK" and "NP-WH-LET" Constructions

Samson Dare¹

Abstract

Two rhetorical structural types, characterised as WH-ASK and NP-WH-LET constructions, derived from the Yoruba praise and incantatory poetic tradition, are identified in Niyi Osundare's poetry. The syntax, though distinct and unique, does not violate the combinatory possibilities of English. Breaking no rules of the syntax of English, the syntagmatic patterns inevitably draw attention to themselves as characteristic habits of thought and modes of expression of the Yoruba people. The syntacto-rhetorical borrowing from Yoruba poetry represents the poet's efforts at "domesticating" English or making it carry the "weight" of his Yoruba experience.

The paper identifies a profound and highly rewarding interaction between the lexical and syntactic arrangements in the poet's creative works, pointing out that no investigation of the oral dimension of his poetry should ignore the structural paradigm.

Introduction

Many writers have commented usefully and perceptively on the metaphors, symbols and images in Osundare's poetry, situating his works within his rich Yoruba cultural heritage (cf, for example, Aiyejina, 1988; Jeyifo, 1988; Osoba, 1985). No doubt, one of the poet's great strengths is his ability to produce streams of lexical items in their enormous variety and richness which enable him to infuse and suffuse his poetry with meanings deriving from both Yoruba and English resources. Impressed by this quality, Biodun Jeyifo (1988: 316-317) observes:

Words and images delight and excite Osundare in the way that a painter in love with his calling delights in colours, and a sculptor who works in molten bronze enthuses in the plasticity of his medium.

¹ Samson Dare is a Lecturer in the Department of English, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria.

Surprisingly, however, little or no scholarly attention has been paid to the poet's syntax, a situation that gives the misleading impression that not much is remarkable about his syntax. This paper claims that Osundare's success as a poet is attributable as much to the uniqueness of his syntax as to any other quality of his style.

Two rhetorical structural types, derived, to be sure, from the Yoruba oral tradition, are identifiable in his poetry. The syntax, though distinct and unique, does not violate the combinatory possibilities of English. Breaking no rules of the syntax of English, the syntagmatic patterns inevitably draw attention to themselves as characteristic habits of thought and modes of expression of the Yoruba people.

I characterize these two syntactic phenomena as: WH-ASK-Constructions and NP-WH-LET-Constructions. The syntacto-rhetorical borrowing from Yoruba poetry represents the poet's efforts at "domesticating" English or making it "carry the weight of [his] African experience" (Achebe 1975: 62). Indeed, the words of Achebe which have almost become canonical on this subject suit Osundare's practice perfectly well:

I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings (ibid, emphasis mine).

Such "domestication by African writers, here represented by Niyi Osundare, can hardly be otherwise since the "interpenetration of literature, language, and culture makes style in the final analysis, a cultural phenomenon" (Spencer et al 1964: 59). This point has also been made quite impressively by Banjo (1982: 3,4):

It is certainly to be expected that a second language does bear the marks of the users' first language, and this is all the more so when the user is a creative artist using the language with a high degree of consciousness.

He continues:

Even an artist creating in his mother tongue has enough difficulty making his medium express his meaning. In such a situation, the metaphorical use of language may come to his aid. When the writer is creating in a second language, however, he has the added problem that he is using his medium to explore a territory unfamiliar to the language. But his difficulty is compensated for by the fact that he has the resources, not of one language, but of two or more, to help him to cope with the task. It is therefore not surprising that, for example, much of African literature in English expression reveals figurative expressions derived not only from English but from African language as well.

The “coping strategies” adopted by Osundare involve not just the use of lexico-semantic items that are loaded with Yoruba cultural values, but the employment of syntactic structures that are peculiarly Yoruba.

The analyzed samples come from *The Eye of the Earth* (1986), *Waiting Laughers* (1988) and *Midlife* (1993). It is interesting that the syntactic features identified, analyzed and discussed are almost exclusively restricted to these three books of poetry which evidently are the most mature, sophisticated and profound of Osundare’s works. While generously drawing from and utilising the Yoruba traditional resources, the poet has adroitly brought those resources under his control, allowing them to straddle, in an aesthetically pleasing manner, two traditions—the oral and the literate. The way he has “managed” these two syntactic structures is a measure of the masterly skills that he brings into his recent poetic creations.

“WH-ASK” and “NP-WH-LET” Constructing and Yoruba Habits of Thought

In claiming that Osundare is indebted to his Yoruba cultural heritage, I do not intend to suggest that the content and form of his poetry are taken lock, stock, and barrel from Yoruba oral poetry. As I have argued elsewhere (see Dare, 2009:286-287; 1989:18-30), it is usually the case that the poet seems to be under compulsion to borrow the linguistic and/or the

generic forms from Yoruba verbal habits, leaving out the content. Even the forms are usually so adroitly appropriated and adopted that readers have no scintilla of doubt that they now belong to Osundare. For example, there is no doubt that the following poem (from *Moonsongs*, pp51-52) owes its form and, to some extent, its nuances to the Yoruba incantatory tradition:

Not a knell, oh not yet a knell
A thousand rains cannot slay the fire of the parrot
Not a knell
A thousand oceans cannot rival the indigo of agbe
Not a knell
A thousand showers cannot rout the camwood of aluko
Not a knell
A thousand moths cannot quench the candle of the moon
No, not yet a knell
We shall not go till we have eaten the elephant of the
moon
We shall not go
till our scrupulous eyes have stitched the broken
tendons of the sky
We shall not go
in the chronicle of stubborn trees.

The repetition of whole phrases, clauses and sentences as well as lexical and semantic repetition gives the poem away as belonging to the tradition of spell-casting in Yoruba poetry. However, the inputs from the oral tradition have remained excellently unobtrusive.

In the specific case of the employment of “WH-ASK” and “NP-WH-LET” constructions, the adaptation of the oral modes has been as subtle as, if not more so than the example above. The structural types here identified do not occur as tidily as I have made them to appear or as Osundare as used them. To be sure, all of them do occur in one mode of expression or the other in Yoruba oral presentations such as proverbs, oral declamations, pithy sayings and riddles. Niyi Osundare, himself a stylistician, has been able to piece them into coherent and significantly attention-getting frameworks, into which he “pours” painstakingly prepared contents. No

reader who is usefully familiar with Yoruba culture will fail to find echoes of Yoruba thought-habits in the syntactic frameworks.

At this point let us consider some examples of those constructions which must have influenced the poet. As has been observed, the data are not as organized as they occur in Osundare's poetry; the tidied forms have been synthesized by the poet. In consequence, the presentations that follow are necessarily random.

1. Agba wa bura b'ewe o ba se o ri. (Yoruba)	Let the elder swear who never exhibited youthful exuberance.
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This proverb contains **NP-WH** and **Let** constructions. It is a proverb usually employed to counsel elderly people not to be too hard on the young when they indulge in excesses.

2. Apoosa-mapo Ogun Ara e l'o tan je. (Yoruba)	He who praises other deities but ignores Ogun deceives himself.
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This piece is taken from ijala or the hunters' chants. It is useful to note that Ogun is the patron deity of the hunters, hence his pre-eminence in the scheme of things. Since Ogun is universally worshipped by the Yoruba people, and there are hunters in every community, this saying is familiar among the people. We have an **NP-WH** structure in this example.

3. Ni'bo niyo ti fon, ole to gbe kakaki' Oba... (Yoruba)	Where will he blow it, the thief who stole the King's trumpet?
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In earlier times, there could be only one trumpet in a community, and that would belong to the king. And so, the thief would neither be able to sell it (as there would no buyer) nor blow it (for all would know that it was the property of the king). This saying is also an **NP-WH** construction.

4. Omo to'ni iya ohun ko nii sun, ohun naa ko ni fo'jun le oorun. (Yoruba)	The baby who will not allow his mother to sleep, he himself will not have even a nap.
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It is known that troublesome babies do not sleep at night and therefore deprive their mothers of sleep. The point of the proverb is that anybody that insists on making other people miserable would partake in the misery. This is an example of an **NP-WH** construction.

5. Eniti yo da'so fun'ni, t'orun re la a wo. (Yoruba)	He who promises to give us a gift of a garment, let us (or we should) assess (the quality of) the one he wears.
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The import of the proverb is that before setting any store by a person's promise, we must assess the person's ability to fulfil that promise. Here we have an example of an **NP-WH-LET** construction.

6. Enito mi kukute, ara e lo mi. (Yoruba)	He who shakes the stump, shakes himself
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Being thick and deep-rooted, the stump is difficult to shake, not to mention uproot. It is a proverbial way of saying that anybody who attempts to displace us, or remove us maliciously from our God-ordained vantage position would endanger his/her own life or interest. We have an **NP-WH** structure here.

7. Itakun to'ni k'erin ma g'oke, t'o	The climber that/which stands on the elephant's way will willy-nilly move with the elephant.
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This is another proverb about people who may want to stand in our way or prevent us from making progress. Such people will be destroyed if they prove stubborn. The proverb illustrates an **NP-WH** structure.

8. Adie to su ti ko to, ara e lo wa. (Yoruba)	The hen that/which defecates but does not urinate will bear the discomfort in its body.
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This proverb conveys an observation that the hen, seemingly deliberately, does not urinate. The idea is that defecation is normally accompanied by urination. It means the hen, by its unusual habit, is deliberately hurting itself. In the same vein, nobody should argue with anyone who deliberately insists on hurting him-/herself. It illustrates the **NP-WH** construction.

9. Enit’o nwo iseju akan yo pe leti omi. (Yoruba)	He who seeks to watch the crab blink will stay long by the river side.
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In this proverb, the Yoruba people express the belief that the crab neither blinks nor sleeps, and therefore, anyone who wants to watch it do so will be disappointed. The inference is that anyone who seeks our misfortune will wait in vain. Here we have an **NP-WH** structure.

10. Nkan ti n bini ni o bi won. Kojo paa feni, kojo paa feran eni. N ka ti n bini o bi won. (Yoruba)	That thing that asks questions will question them; it is not clear whether they love us or do not love us; that thing that asks questions will ask them.
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These statements are proverbial extracts from the “voice” of the talking drum (Sotunsa, 2003:104). They are a way of appealing to the conscience of those who have been insincere in their love for us. “That thing that asks questions” is an abstract phenomenon, perhaps the conscience itself. It should be noted that the word “ask” occurs here, although not in the context of the **WH-ASK** construction type.

11. Lamorin lo’wo en roju, e o bere lowo ori; e ti gbagbe akunleyan. (Yoruba)	Because so and so is prosperous, you are unhappy, instead, you should have asked from your head. You have forgotten your predestined fortune.
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This verbal fragment is from the music of Ebenezer Obey, a popular and celebrated Yoruba juju musician. His thoughts are generally regarded as essentially Yoruba. The idea here is about the immutability of predestination. The occurrence of the word ‘ask’ here is also remarkable.

It would seem that the word **ASK** as part of the **WH-ASK** construction is not present in the data provided. The two times it occurs (in numbers 10 and 11), it does so not as clearly as it does in the hypothesized context. First, let us remember the point made earlier that the bringing together of these construction elements in such a tidy manner is due largely to the synthetic efforts of the poet. Second, the word “ask” in the sense in which it is noted in Osundare’s work, is so common in popular speech that it is paradoxical that it does not occur as frequently in the contexts of heightened use of language.

If, for example, someone has caused a problem, and another person who was not present when the problem occurred desires to know how the problem came about, the eye-witnesses would say, “ask so-and-so”, an utterance that also points to the person who caused the problem. The Yoruba would advise anyone who wants to know about the condition of a man to “ask” his wife, vice versa (“Bo ti n se aya, e bere lowo oko”; i.e., “concerning the welfare of the wife, **ask** the husband”). If there is anything to know about a country, the Yoruba people would say, “ask the political leaders”. A popular musician, Ayinla Kollington, says “if you are looking for me and you cannot find me, please ask so-and-so”. The person to ask is obviously his intimate friend.

The more philosophical use of the word “ask” is to be found in example (11) above in which people are expected to “ask” their head or personal spirit about their fortune or misfortune. It is against this background of the pervasive and philosophical use of the word “ask” that we can appreciate its poetic re-contextualization by Osundare.

WH - ASK Constructions

As we have noted, Osundare has a predilection for constructions which begin with WH and end with the imperative construction introduced by the verb “ask”: The WH can be a noun phrase starting with “what”, a relative clause introduced by “who” or an adverbial clause of place introduced by “where”. Invariably, the WH construction conveys a mystery, a riddle or a poser, the resolution of which is to be found in the complement of the verb “ask”. The mystery or riddle can be about time, a place, an incident, a living or non-living entity.

Here are examples from *Waiting Laughters* (p. 38):

where green graves cluster like question marks

Ask Steve

Ask Walter

Ask Nelson

who seed waiting moments with sinews of fleeting
seasons

Ask

the metaphor of our strength

Ask

the strength of our metaphor

Ask

the breaking, broken stones of Robben Island ...

Ask

the bleeding anthem on the lips of wounded kraals

Ask

the dappled darings on billowing banners

The fact that the ‘Ask’ aspects are so many in this excerpt suggests that the answers are to be found not just in one complement, say Steve or Walter or Nelson, but in many complements of the imperative constructions.

This is another set of WH-ASK-Constructions from *Midlife* (p. 52):

What mystery drives the cow to the butcher’s table

ask its hump,

what thunder riles the throat of the barking dog

ask its sturdy teeth

what marvel makes Ifa the cradle of wisdom

ask tooth-eyed cowries of the divining tray

In these constructions, the WH aspect is a noun phrase conveying a riddle or a mystery. In the first WH aspect, the word ‘mystery’ explicitly informs us of the riddle. In the second and third, the nouns of interest are ‘thunder’ and ‘marvel’ respectively. The resolution of the ‘riddles’ and ‘mysteries’ is to be discovered in the Ask-construction.

The observations we have made about those constructions are applicable to the following example from page 105 of *Midlife*:

What burden has shortened the tortoise neck
ask the river, ask the rock
ask the hard, hard tale of its old, old back

What sneaky wrath stole the snake's legs
ask the tree, ask the grass
ask the crispy fruit at the edge of the branch
What red labour provokes the termite
ask the clay, ask the clan
ask the anthills chambers by the long, sad road

What end awaits the foraging fire
ask the patience of water
What fate awaits the brooding shadow
ask the straightening stature of the noontide sun

The WH-ASK constructions lend support to the fact that Osundare's poetry is "a song". The WH aspect serves as the main song, while the "ASK" aspect serves as the refrain. In addition, this type of construction is common in African folklore. So is the riddle-like content of the lyrics. Besides, the "ASK" aspects of the construction help the poet to "distance" himself from the answer. He is saying: "Don't ask me; rather, ask so and so". He directs his reader to the complements of the verb "ask". Not only does the 'strategy' fit into the lyrical mode, but also it is an effective rhetorical strategy. The strategy envisages an audience who are "asked" to do the "asking". It is not the poet who is doing the "asking". Rather, the poet is 'asking' the audience to do it. Thus the poet-rhetorician employs a style that gives him the appearance of an objective speaker or chanter.

NP-WH-LET Constructions

The poet uses another type of construction I have identified as the NP-WH-let structure. A noun phrase is followed by a relative (or adjective) clause (WH) which is in turn followed by an imperative construction introduced by "let". The noun phrase can also be a pronoun. Here is a set of such constructions from *Waiting Laughters* (p. 50-51):

The bison who thinks he is the king of the wild
let him remember raging elephants
with legs of mortar

The hillock which thinks it is the frontier of heights
let it remember the kilimanjaro so hot
with a peak of simmering snow

The streamlet which thinks it is the Zambesi of the lore
let it remember the sea which merges earth
and sky in realms of misty blue

The prophet who thinks he has conquered tomorrow
let him mount galloping mountains and marvel
dodging canters of the horse of time

The shogun who says he is an awesome god
let him take note of burning statues
and streets wild with vengeful spears. . .

In each of these constructions, the focus comes first - the noun phrase: the bison, the hillock, the streamlet, the prophet and the shogun. Each of the relative clauses purveys the vainglorious claim of the subject. The let-imperative aspect calls the attention of each subject to the fact that there is something or somebody greater than it (or him). The verb following each of the relative pronouns is “thinks” (except the last which is followed by “says”). The import of this verb is that the greatness or superiority of the subject is a fact that exists only in his mind or imagination. The verb “remember” occurs in each of the first three let-imperative aspects and the item ‘take note’, which I take as the semantic equivalence of the former, occurs in the last. The verb is used to draw the subject’s attention to the humbling or sobering truth that in spite of its (or his) vaunting, there is something or somebody significantly greater.

In these constructions, the poet is not addressing the subject directly; he is not, in other words, apostrophizing. Each of the subjects is treated like a third person that is not present. It would appear as if the poet, typically, is singing. The ‘song’ is contained in the NP-introduced construction, while the ‘refrain’ is to be found in the ‘let’ aspects of the constructions. There may not be verbal economy in these lines, but there is certainly music, which is to be found in the lexico-syntactic repetitions. For the purposes

of these lines, ‘the bison’ is the foil of ‘raging elephants’, ‘the hillock’, that of ‘Kilimanjaro’, ‘the streamlet’, that of ‘the sea’ and ‘the prophet’, that of ‘dodging chanters of the horse of time’.

Similar constructions are:

They whose ears are close to the earth
Let them take cover in the bunker of their wits
(*Waiting Laughters*, p.49).

Those who marvel the canine fire
in your mouth
let them seek refuge in the fluffy grace
of your restless tail (*The Eye of the Earth*, p.8).

The structures are practically the same as those discussed above but the sentiments expressed are different. It is significant to note that while each of the first set of sentences is introduced by a noun phrase, these two are introduced each by a pronoun: ‘they’ and ‘those’. The two constructions are pieces of advice; the first for those “whose ears are close to the earth”, the second for “those who marvel the canine fire in your (squirrel’s) mouth. The ‘let’ aspect in these cases enables the poet to engage in mere rhapsody.

Conclusion

This paper has noted that even though Osundare’s major strength rests on his ability to evoke a variety of images and symbols through the employment of a wide range of lexical items, the syntactic patterns in his poetry are a crucial aspect of what has come to be identified as the distinctive and robust style of the poet. Indeed, the traditional elements in and oral nature of much of Osundare’s poetry may be accounted for not just in terms of the lexico-semantic patterns, but also, in a very important way, in terms of the syntagmatic relations in the works.

As the analysis has indicated, there is a profound and highly rewarding interaction between the lexical and the syntactic arrangements in the poet’s creative works. It is suggested that any investigation of the oral dimension of his poetry should take into account his syntactic choices,

especially the “WH-ASK” and “NP-WH-LET” constructions. These two structures are not the only remarkable constructions actively involved in the creation of meaning in Osundare’s poetry, but they cannot be ignored in any discussion of most his works.

The interesting fact about these construction types is that they are derived from the Yoruba mode of thinking. Specifically, the structures are “borrowed” from Yoruba praise and incantatory poetry.

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Locative constructions and positional verbs in Logba

Kofi Dorvlo¹

Abstract

*This article discusses the semantics of verbs which are used in basic locative constructions in Logba to code spatial information. I will show that there are twelve verbs in Logba, a Ghana Togo Mountain language. The verb **le** [‘be located’] is the unmarked form and eleven other positional verbs—**kpɔ** ‘lie’ **kɔ** ‘hang’ **tɔ** ‘fix’ **tsi** ‘sit’ **ye** ‘stand’ **gbɛ** ‘lean’ **gbo** ‘fall’ **tsoga** ‘lie across’ **bata** ‘wind round’ **glɛ** ‘tie’ **dzi** ‘tie firmly’—are used in three constructions in reply to a ‘where search’ question (see Dorvlo 2008). In the three constructions that will be presented, the subject NP position is filled by the Figure followed by the locative verb and the postpositional phrase (Ground). In the first construction, the unmarked locative verb is used and is followed by a postpositional phrase. The second construction is slightly different as the ground phrase is marked by a preposition while in the third construction the noun in the postpositional phrase can be analyzed as a body part noun. I will show that serial verb constructions involving two verbs are used to give an accurate description of the manner and position of the figure to the ground.*

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the semantics and use of twelve verbs employed in a basic locative construction in Logba to code spatial information. Logba is one of the fourteen Ghana Togo Mountain (henceforth GTM) languages spoken by about 7,500 people in Ghana. Heine (1968) sub-classified these languages as Ka and Na Togo languages and placed Logba into the Na Togo sub group. By this classification, Logba has her linguistic neighbours like Likpe and Buem in the Northern cluster whereas her geographical neighbours are Avatime, Nyagbo and Tafi which are Ka Togo languages.

¹ Kofi Dorvlo is a Research Fellow at the Language Centre, University of Ghana, Legon.

Westermann and Bryan (1952) consider the GTM languages as an isolated group because they have vocabulary items which show a relationship to Kwa and a noun class system that is similar to Bantu languages. Greenberg (1963a) classifies them among the Kwa sub-group B of the Niger-Congo family. Logba has however not shown any grammatical feature of locative noun classes as Bantu languages are known to have done. Rather, it has an unmarked locative verb in addition to eleven other positional verbs which are used in the Basic Locative Construction (henceforth BLC).

BLC is the construction that is used as an answer when a question is posed to find out the location of an entity. When the question *where is x?* is posed, the answer is a construction in which there is a locative verb and an NP–Postposition indicating the location. The elicitation tool employed in this research is the Topological Relation Picture Series (henceforth TPRS) (Bowerman and Pederson, 1993). This tool is designed to help researchers identify the resources that languages have for encoding static topological relations between *Figure* and *Ground* (Talmy 1983). *Figure* is the entity whose location is at stake and *Ground* is where the *Figure* is located. Another elicitation tool used is the Picture Series for Positional Verbs (Ameka et al., 1999). In demonstrating this tool, different pictures of objects in different positions were made available to consultants, to whom was posed the question: *where is x?* The respondents had to provide full clause answers to describe the pictures they saw, especially the position of the *Figure* to the *Ground*. The data from the elicitation tools and those from what I will refer to as semi-natural responses are used as a basis for the discussion in this paper.

The BLC is made up of a reference object and a search domain or part of the reference object where the *Figure* is located. Based on these criteria, Levinson and Wilkins (2006) identify four language types using the verbal component in the BLC. In the first group, there is no verb in the BLC. In the second group are languages that use a copula in the BLC as in English or a locative verb as in Ewe. There is also a third group which has a large set of dispositional verbs, of which Akan and Likpe are examples. In addition, Dutch is cited as belonging to a group that has a small contrastive set of positional verbs (see Levinson and Wilkins 2006). Judging from this grouping, I propose that Logba belongs to the same group as Akan and Likpe. This is because, in addition to the locative verb

le [‘be located’] which is the unmarked form, there are about eleven other positional verbs used in the BLC.

In the next section, I describe the topological profile of Logba, after which I present the BLC in section 3. In section 4, the uses and meanings of the individual verbs are described, with attention paid to their other uses in the language. Section 5 is the summary. The data used in the paper comprise spontaneous spoken texts I collected during fieldwork in 2004. In addition, I use responses from stimulated data designed by members of the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands for the investigation of topological relations and the semantics of posture verbs.

1.0 Typological profile of Logba

There are three syllable types in Logba: peak only, which can be a vowel or nasal, onset and peak, and an onset made up of two consonants plus peak. Logba is a tone language with two basic tones. These are High and Low, with falling and rising tones generated phonetically. Each syllable bears a tone of its own. Tone is realized on vowels and syllabic nasals. Logba has twenty-two consonant phonemes and seven vowels. There are no phonemically nasalized vowels in the language; the nasalized vowels are a result of assimilation. It has a stem controlled Advanced Tongue Root [ATR] vowel harmony system where the stem determines the [ATR] value of the affixes.

Logba is an SVO language. The subject is cross-referenced on the verb in the form which agrees with the subject in class. In (1) *ɔsa* [‘man’] the subject of the sentence is a singular noun with the prefix /ɔ-/. This noun triggers /o-/, a [+ATR] vowel as agreement marker on **ye** [‘stand’] because the verb stem has a [+ATR] vowel /e/. Example (2) has as subject **afúta** [‘cloth’]. The class marker of **afúta** is /a-/ and this noun belongs to a class of artifacts that cross references /a-/ on the verb to signal agreement. **iva** [‘thing’] in example (3) belongs to a class of mass nouns and triggers /i-/ on the verb **to** [‘fix’].

1. **ɔsa á ó-ye u-tsa á zugbo**
man=DET SM.SG-stand CM-building=DET head
‘The man stands on top of the hill’ [TPRS34]
2. **a-fúta á á-tsi bagi é nu**
CM-cloth SM.SG sit bag=DET containing region
‘A cloth is in the bag’ [TPRS 14]
3. **i-va í-tò u-hi é tsú**
CM-thing SM-fix CM-knife=DET upper surface
‘Something is on the knife’ [TPRS 12]

In the NP, the noun modifiers follow the head and there is agreement between the demonstrative and interrogative and the head noun. Among the numerals, it is the numbers one to six that show agreement with the head noun. The verb roots take prefixes which are subject pronominal or aspect markers. In three place constructions with a single verbal element, the Recipient precedes the Theme.

In sentences (4) and (5), **tá** [‘teach’] is used as a three place verb with a pre-verbal NP, **Gameli** (Agent) and two post verbal arguments. In sentence (4), the Recipient, **Kofi** precedes the Theme, **ida** [‘money’]. Sentence (5) is however ungrammatical because the Theme, **ida** precedes **Kofi**, the Recipient.

4. **Gameli o-tá Kofi i- dá**
Gameli CM-give Kofi CM-money
‘Gameli gave Kofi money’
5. ***Gameli o-tá i- dá Kofi**
Gameli CM-give CM-money Kofi
‘Gameli gave Kofi money’

To express possession, the possessor and the possessed item are juxtaposed, maintaining the determiner of the possessed item. Nouns in Logba are prefixed by a class marker which is either a vowel or a nasal. The class marker of the possessed noun is maintained for non-human nouns but elided when the possessed item is a kinship term. The possessed items in (6), **aklɔ** [‘goat’] and (7), **otu** [‘gun’] are non-human nouns, so

the class markers, /a/ and /o/, are maintained. Each of the class markers of the possessed item in the possessive expressions in (8) and (9), **uma** [‘mother’] and **utsi** [‘father’], however, is elided.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>6. ‘Kɔdzo a-klɔ=a
 Kɔ dzo CM-goat=DET
 ‘Kɔdzo’s goat’</p> | <p>7. i-vanuvo o-tu=é
 CM-hunter CM-gun=DET
 ‘The hunter’s gun’</p> |
| <p>8. Kofi ma a
 Kofi mother=DET
 ‘Kofi’s mother’</p> | <p>9. Esi tsi=e
 Kofi father=DET
 Esi’s father’</p> |

Prepositions in Logba comprise a closed class of five members. They are **fɔ** [‘at’], **na** [‘on’], **kpɔ** [‘with’], **gu** [‘about’] and **dzigu** [‘from’]. There are nine postpositions in the language. They are **nu** [‘containing region’], **etsi** [‘under’], **tsú** [‘on’], **amá** [‘back, behind’], **ité** [‘front’], **zugbo** [‘head’], **yó** [‘skin, surface contact’], **anu** [‘mouth, tip, edge’] and **otsoe** [‘ear, side’]. While prepositions are diachronically derived from verbs, postpositions are body part terms that have grammaticalised. The preposition is preceded by a finite verb while the postposition forms a constituent with the preceding NP. The two are used to delimit the space that an object occupies. In sentences (10) and (11), **fɛ** [‘at’] and **na** [‘on’] are used as prepositions while **amá** [‘back’] and **yó** [‘skin’] are functioning as postpositions. Both help to show the location of the noun that they are referring to.

- | |
|---|
| <p>10. i-naɔ́-klá fɛ a-bia=á a-má
 CM-person SMSG-hide at CM-chair=DET CM-back
 ‘The person hides behind the chair’ [TPRS.64]</p> |
| <p>11. a-klá pepa na a-gli=é yó
 3PLU-paste pape on CM-wall=DET skin
 ‘They paste paper on the wall’ [TRPS.44]</p> |

In Logba, the question word has two forms, **mé** [‘what’] and **mó** [‘which’/‘who’]. Apart from these, there is another question word, **bé** [‘how many/how much’], used to form question expressions to ask content questions. In (12), **mé** [‘what’] is used to seek information and in (13), **bé** [‘how much’] is used to find out the amount.

12. **mé** **Kofi ɔ- nɛ?**
 what Kofi SM.SG-buy
 ‘What did Kofi buy?’

13. **o-vi** **á-bé**
 CM-amount AM-Q
 ‘How much?’

Logba is a verb serializing language. In serial verb constructions, the subject is cross-referenced on the initial verb but the subsequent verbs are not marked. In (14) the two verbs used in the sentence are **mi** [‘take’] and **glé** [‘tie’]. The subject is cross-referenced on the initial verb **mi** [‘take’] with the vowel /o/ but not on **glé** [‘tie’], the V₂.

14. **U-dzi é** **ó-mi tanko glé** **u-zugbo**
 CM-woman=DET SM.SG-take scarf tie CM-head
 ‘The woman takes scarf to tie head’ [TPRS 46]

Sentences are not overtly marked for tense. The bare form of the verb indicates the simple past tense when dynamic verbs including achievement verbs like **dónu** [‘shrink’] in (15) are used. However, inchoative verbs and verbs that express quality concepts, for example, **kísá** [‘long’] have present time interpretation.

15. **a-vudago=é** **ó-dónu**
 CM-leaf=DET SM. SG-shrink
 ‘The leaf shrank.’

16. **ɔ-gbá=á** **ó-kísá**
 CM-road=DET SM.SG-be.long
 ‘The road is long.’

Four morphological preverbal markers are identified in Logba. They are

present progressive, past progressive, habitual and future markers. There is one underived adjective in Logba. The rest are derived from verbs and nouns. Some intransitive verbs have adjectival meanings in addition to other derived adjectives and ideophones. Negation is expressed using a bipartite negative marker; the first which is obligatory occurs before the initial verb and the second after it. Where a lexical noun is used, the subject marker comes in between the verb and the first negative morpheme. In (17), the verb **kpé** [‘eat’] is marked with **mo** NEG which occurs before the verb and the subject marker and **nu** NEG occurs immediately after it.

17. **Iyé** **blɔ -wo é** **mo-ó-kpé-nu-é**
 3SGIND make-owner-DET NEG-SM.SG-eatNEG 3SGOBJ
 ‘He who owns it does not benefit from it.’[Proverb]

The term focus marker is **ka** and immediately follows the constituent that is focused. Focusing the verb is done by placing the bare form of the copy of the verb immediately before the verb word. Speakers of the Tota dialect use another strategy: for term focus, the prominent NP is fronted and is recapitulated by the independent pronoun followed by the rest of the clause. The BLC and other related constructions are presented in the next section.

3.0 **The BLC and other related constructions**

3.1 **The Where search question**

The *Where search* question is used to elicit the location of entities. In Logba, this question is formed by using the interrogative **menu** [‘where’]. This is a question expression which is a compound comprising **me** [‘question word’] and **nu** [‘containing region’]. This occurs clause initially and is followed by the NP that represents the *Figure* and then **le**, the unmarked locative verb on which the subject is cross referenced. The interrogative word may be optionally followed by **ka**, the focus marker. The *where search* question for a cup on a table [TPRS1] is given in (18) below:

18. **Me-nu** **ka kɔpu é** **ó-le**
 Q-where FOC cup=DET SM.SG-be located
 ‘Where is the cup?’ [TPRS 1]

3.2 The Basic Locative Construction

The BLC in Logba is made up of the NP which is the figure and the subject of the sentence. This is followed either by **le**, the unmarked locative verb or any of the eleven selected locative verbs and a postpositional phrase as exemplified in sentences (19) and (20) below:

19. NP V[LOC] [NP Post] PostP

20. **Kɔpu é ó-le u-kplɔ á tsú**
 cup=DET SM.SG-be.located CM-table=DET tsú upper. surface
 ‘The cup is on the table’ [TPRS 1]

In some cases, the prepositional phrase is preceded by a locative preposition as shown in (21) and (22):

21. NP V[LOC] Prep [NP Post] PostP

22. **Tumpa ó-gbe na e-gbi é tsú**
 Bottle SM.SG-lie on CM-stone=DET upper surface
 ‘A bottle lies on the stone’ [PV 26]

In (10) the postpositional phrase **egbi é tsú** [‘on the stone’] is preceded by the locative preposition **na** [‘on’] which contributes to specifying the location of the *Figure*- bottle on the stone, which is the *Ground*.

It is also possible for the postposition to be a grammaticalised body part noun. In (23) **yó** is a grammaticalised form of **iyó** [‘skin’] and in (24) **zugbo** is a grammaticalised form of **uzugbo** [‘head’].

23. **Ivatago é í-k’ a-gli é yó**
 CM-picture-DET SM-hang CM-wall=DET skin
 ‘The picture hangs on the wall’ [TPRS44]

24. **ɔyɔ á ó-le u-kpo é zugbo**
 CM-tree=DET SM.SG-be.located CM-mountain=DET head
 ‘The tree is on the top of the mountain.’ [TPRS 65]

The postposition contributes greatly in showing the location of the figure. In (23) **Ivatego** é [‘the picture’] is the *Figure* and **agli** é [‘the wall’] is the *Ground*. **yó** [‘skin’] suggests that the *Ground* is a vertical surface on which the *Figure* is located. In (24) the *Ground* is **ukpo** é [‘the mountain’] and the grammaticalised body part noun **zugbo** [‘head’] shows that the *Figure* is positioned above the view of the speaker. As a result of the grammaticalization, these body part nouns have lost their prefixes which make them nouns. They can therefore not be modified by changing the prefix to form the plural.

Serial Verb Construction (henceforth SVC) is also used to describe the location of a *Figure* in relation to the *Ground*. This was observed when some consultants were asked to respond to the *where search question*. SVC was used to describe the location of the *Figure* to the *Ground* in the TPRS. The SVCs in question describe more than the basic location. A two verb SVC was used in which the initial verb helps V_2 , the locative verb by providing information about the manner in which the *Figure* is located, as shown in (25) and (26). In (25), the initial verb, **gbo** [‘be placed’] describes the manner of the location and the V_2 , **gbe** [‘lean’], concentrates on the position of the *Figure*. In (26), while the initial verb **dzo** [‘be straight’] denotes the manner of the location, the V_2 **kpó** [‘lie’] describes the position of **ɔyɔtsigbo** é [‘the stump’].

25. ɔ-yótsi é ó-gbo gbe ɔ-yó á yó
 CM-stick=DET SM.SG-be placed lean CM-tree=DET skin
 ‘The stick leans against the tree’ [PV1]

26. ɔ-yó á ɔ-dzo kpó ɔ-yó tsigbo é tsú
 CM-tree=DET. SM.SG-be.straight lie CM-stump=DET upper surface
 ‘The tree lies straight on the stump’ [PV 61]

Other constructions were encountered in the course of the elicitation. In TPRS 39, which shows a cigarette on the mouth of a person, the structure $NP_1 V NP_2$ is used in which NP_2 is the *Figure* as in (27). The *Ground* is however not stated in this response.

27. **ɔ-sa á ó-ló-nɔ** sigaret
 CM-man=DET SM.SG-PRSPROG- smoke cigarette
 ‘The man is smoking cigarette’

Another example is the response to TPRS 26 which shows a picture of a crack on a cup. Two structurally different responses came up. One is NP₁ V as in (28). NP₁ is the *Ground* and the V is a property verb. This is an intransitive verb which encodes inherent properties of the entity of which it is predicated. (see Dorvlo 2008). The other one as shown in (29) is NP V[LOC] [NP Post] PostP. In this construction, the subject NP is a –go nominalization of **fashi** [‘crack’]. This becomes **ɔfashigo é** [‘the crack’]. Both the *Figure* and the *Ground* are captured in this construction. However, some native speakers argue that this is marginally grammatical because the crack is part of the cup and can not be detached from it as with other *Figures*.

28. **Kɔ pu é ó-fashi**
 cup=DET SM.SG-crack
 ‘The cup is cracked’

29. **ɔfashigo é ó-le kɔpu é yó**
 CM-crack-NOM=DET SM.SG-be.located cup=DET skin
 ‘The crack is on the cup’

The next section describes the meaning and uses of the individual verbs in relation to the constructions we have discussed in section 3.

Meaning and uses of the individual locative verbs

4.1 **le** [‘be located’]— *unmarked locative verb*

The focus of this section is on **le**, the unmarked locative verb. It appears Logba has borrowed this verb from Ewe. This is because the same form is in Ewe, as can be seen in (30) in Ewe and (31) in Logba.

Ewe

30. **kɔpu á le kplɔ á dzi**
 up=DET be.located table=DET upper surface
 ‘The cup is on the table.’ Logba

- | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 31. | kɔpu é | ó-le | u-kplɔ á | tsú |
| | cup=DET | SM.SG-be.located | CM-table=DET | upper. surface |
| | ‘The cup is on the table.’ | | | |

It can be observed that since it is a grammatical requirement for the subject to be cross-referenced on the verb in Logba, /**o**/, a singular subject marker, is prefixed on the verb as shown in (31). One other remarkable feature is that **kplɔ** [‘the table’] in Ewe as shown in example (30) is **ukplɔ á** [‘the table’] in Logba in example (31). This is because Logba has a noun class system in which this noun belongs to the group of singular nouns with the /**u**/ class prefix.

le is able to collocate with a wide number of postpositions. This is shown in (32), (33), (34) and (35). For example, in (32) below, **zugbó** refers metaphorically to a body part and implies that the person wears the hat. In (33), it refers to the *Ground*, the top of the **ukpo é** [‘mountain’]. This is used when the speaker does not want to specify anything about the portion of the *Ground* but only the general location. In (35) **yó** [‘skin’] denotes that the spider is lying vertically on the wall.

- | | | | | |
|------------|--|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 32. | kutó | ó-le | ɔ-sá á | zugbó |
| | hat | SM.SG-be.located | CM-man=DET | head |
| | ‘The hat is on the man’s head.’ [TRPS 05] | | | |
| 33. | udzutsuklo é | ó-le | ndú=é | tsú |
| | boat=DET | SM. SG-be located | water=DET | on |
| | ‘The boat is on the water.’ [TRPS 11] | | | |
| 34. | ɔ-yɔ | ó-le | u-kpo é | zugbó |
| | CM-tree | SM.SG-be located | CM-mountain=DET | head |
| | ‘The tree is on the top of the hill.’ [TRPS 65] | | | |
| 35. | agbí=é | ó-le | a-gli=é | yó |
| | spider=DET | SM.SG-be located | CM-wall=DET | skin |
| | ‘The spider is on the wall.’ [TRPS 07]4.2 kpo ‘lie’ | | | |

4.2. Positional verbs

Logba has eleven positional or spatial configurational verbs which are used in the predicate slot of the BLC. This section describes the semantics of these verbs.

4.2.1 kpɔ [‘lie’]

kpɔ is used to signal that an item is located somewhere in a horizontal position with its whole body touching the ground. **kpɔ** is used when reference is made to a human being lying on a mat as in (36). It is also used for a bottle that is not on its base but is in a lying position. Other flexible objects and objects without a base for sitting or standing (eg. pot) are also described as lying in relation to the ground. **kpɔ** [‘lie’] is also used in greetings. **ite íkpɔ** loo? [‘You are in front?’], as in (39), is used as a form of greeting to find out whether the person addressed is in good condition. (36), (37), (38) and (39) are examples:

36. **ɔ-sá a** **ɔ-kpɔ́** **ɔ-klá á** **tsú**
 CM-man=DET SM.SG-lie CM-mat=DET on
 ‘The man lies on the mat.’
37. **a-gbi é** **ɔ-kpɔ́** **u-tsa á** **yó**
 CM-dog=DETSM. SG-lie CM-house=DET skin
 ‘The dog lies near the house.’ [TRPS.06/2]
38. **bɔ ló** **-kpɔ́** **a-bia-á** **etsi**
 ball SM.SG- lie CM-chair under
 ‘The ball is under the chair.’ [TRPS.16]
39. **i-té** **i-kpɔ́** **loo**
 CM-front SM.SG-be.lie ADR
 ‘You are in front?’ Lit: The front lies there.

4.2.2 kɔ [‘hang’]

This verb is used for figures which are attached to their referenced objects by suspension, rendering the lower part of the figures loose and possibly dangling. It could be a dress on a hook (TPRS 9) or drying line (TPRS

37), a picture on a wall (TPRS 44) or a light on a ceiling (TPRS 52). A cloud above a mountain is perceived as hanging there. In an answer to a question with respect to a hoisted flag, two different responses are offered to the *where search* question by consultants: a locative construction without a postpositional phrase as in (43) and a non locative impersonal construction involving the verb **kɔ** [‘hang’] but which does not specify *the Ground* on which it is hanged, as in (44). In (40) and (41) the verb is used with the postposition **yó** [‘skin’] which refers to only part of the *Ground*. **agu** [‘top’] in (42) and (43) is a landmark term (Ameka and Essegbey 2006) and refers to a location meaning ‘above’.

40. **a-wu é** **a-kɔ** **ivakuiva á** **yó**
 CM-dress=DET SM.SG-be-hang thing.hang.thing=DET skin
 ‘The dress hangs on the hanger.’ [TRPS.09]

41. **i-vatago é** **í-kɔ** **a-gli é** **yó**
 CM-picture=DET SM.SG-hang CM-wall=DET skin
 ‘The picture hangs on the wall.’ [TRPS.44]

42. **debleku** **ɔ́-kɔ** **a-gu**
 cloud SM.SG-hang CM-top
 ‘Cloud is above.’ [TRPS 36]

43. **flagi é** **ɔ́-kɔ** **a-gu**
 Flag=DET SM.SG-hang CM-top
 ‘The flag hangs up.’

44. **á-kɔ** **flagi é**
 3PLU-hang flag=DET
 ‘They hang the flag.’

4.2.3 **tɔ** [‘fix’]

tɔ is used to describe situations in which a figure is attached to a referent object so firmly that it will be difficult to remove. ‘A handle on a door’

and ‘writing on a dress’ are typical examples of situations for which **tó** is used. **tó** suggests that the figure is pasted on the entity by someone. For example, some speakers describe a fruit on a tree with the verb **tó**, signaling that the fruit is somehow fixed on the tree, as shown in (46). Some speakers use **kó** [‘hang’] with a focus on the suspended nature of the fruit on the tree. (45), (46) and (47) exemplify the use of **tó**:

45. **u-rime é** **ó-tó** **bagi=é** **yó**
 CM-handle=DET SM.SG-fix bag=DET skin
 ‘The handle is on the bag.’[TRPS.66]
46. **ɔyɔebinyigo e** **ó-tó** **ɔ-yɔ a** **yó**
 CM-fruit=DET SM.SG-fix CM-tree=DET skin
 ‘The fruit is in the tree’ [TPRS 27]
47. **u-zi-da-iva** **ó-tó** **u-zi é** **yó**
 CM-door-open-thing SM.SG-fix CM-door=DET skin
 ‘The handle is fixed on the door.’[TRPS.61]

4.2.4 tsi [‘sit’]

The locative verb **tsi** [‘sit’] is used for figures on their base supported from below. A good example of figures for which **tsi** is used is those that are able to support themselves, like humans and animals. (48), (49) and (50) illustrate this:

48. **ɔ-satsibi e** **o-tsi** **ɔ-dza** **yó**
 CM-man.young=DET SM.SG-sit CM-fire skin
 ‘The young man sits near the fire’ [TPRS 38]
49. **A-ndɔ a** **ó-tsí** **u-kplɔ á** **etsi**
 CM-cat=DET SM.SG-sit CM-table=DET under
 ‘The cat sits under the table.’ [TRPS.31]
50. **A-dzexi e ó-tsí ɔ-yɔ vutsi e** **nu**
 CM-owl=DET SM.SG-sit CM-tree.hole=DET nu containing region
 ‘The owl is in the hole in the tree trunk.’ [TRPS.67]

4.2.5 yé [‘stand’]

yé [‘stand’] is used for living things that have to support themselves on a horizontal surface because they are designed or naturally made to be able to stay in a vertical position. Human beings and some animals stand in a vertical position. Inanimate nouns that have vertical dimension, for example, houses and trees, are also perceived to be ‘standing’ when they are in a vertical position. In the case of a pole, yé [‘stand’] is used to describe it when it is upright on a horizontal surface. The sentences (51), (52), and (53) are illustrations of the use of these expressions.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|-----------------|-------|
| 51. | ɔ-yó a | ó-yé | u-kpo é | yó |
| | CM-tree=DET | SM.SG-stand | CM-mountain=DET | skin |
| | ‘The tree stands on the hill.’ [TRPS.17] | | | |
| 52. | u-tsá á | ó-yé | ɔ-fáfegu é | nu |
| | CM-house=DET | SM.SG –stand | CM-fence=DET | in |
| | ‘The house is inside the fence’[TRPS.60] | | | |
| 53. | ɔ-sá á | ó-yé | u-tsá á | zugbó |
| | CM-man=DET | SM.SG-stand | CM-building=DET | head |
| | ‘The man stands on the top of the building.’ [TRPS.34] | | | |

4.2.6 gbɛ [‘lean’]

gbɛ [‘lean’] is used for *Figures* that do not stand straight but rather touch the upper part of the reference object while also being supported at the base. A ladder is a classic example because it can not stand without resting part of its body on a wall or a fence. Yó [‘skin’] is the postposition that is usually selected when gbɛ [‘lean’] is used. (54) and (55) attest to this:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|-------------|------|
| 54. | n-tso di | ɔ-gbɛ | a-gli=e | yó |
| | CM-ladder | SM.SG –lean | CM-wall=DET | skin |
| | ‘The ladder leans against the wall.’ [TRPS.58] | | | |
| 55. | ɔ-yó á | ɔ-gbɛ | fesri é | yó |
| | CM-stick=DET | SM.SG-lean | window=DET | skin |
| | ‘The stick leans on the window.’ | | | |

4.2.7 gbó ['be placed']

When a *Figure* is partially on its base and it does not lean on anything, the verb **gbó** is used. This verb is sometimes used for the *Figure*, for example a bottle, when it makes an acute angle with the *Ground* as if it were lying on the ground. (56) is an example.

56. **tumpa ó-gbó na e-gbi=é tsú**
 bottle SM.SG-be. placed on CM-stone=DET upper surface
 'A bottle lies on the stone.' [PV.26]

If the figure is neither standing nor leaning a Serial Verb Construction is used in order to give an accurate description of the situation. The Serial Verb Construction comprises mainly two verbs; the initial verb takes the agreement marker and no word comes in between the two verbs. The initial verb, **gbo** ['be placed'], describes the manner of the location and the second verb, **gbε** ['lean'], concentrates on the position in (57) and (58), as **kpa** ['lie'] does in (59).

57. **ɔ-yó tsi' é ó-gbó gbε ɔ-yó=á yó**
 CM-Stick=DET SM.SG-be. placed lean CM-tree=DET skin
 'The stick leans against the tree.' [PV.01]

58. **a-fúta druiyi ó-gbó gbε**
 CM-Cloth red SM.SG-be.placed lean
a-kɔntsi=é nu
 CM-basket=DET in
 'red cloth is leaning in the basket.' [PV 02]

59. **tumpa ɔ-kpε ó-gbó kpɔ**
 bottle AM-one SM.SG-be.placed lie
o-yó tsi gbo= é tsú
 CM-stump=DET on
 'One bottle lies on the stump.' [PV.26]

A figure may lie down in a straight line or across a horizontal surface. When it lies straight, a compound **dzɔ kpɔ** [‘straight lie’], which comprises a word borrowed from Ewe **dzɔ** [‘straight’] and the Logba word **kpɔ** [‘lie’], is used to describe the position of the figure. **dzu yé** [‘straight stand’] is used when the figure is standing straight. The vowel in **dzu** should be a half open back vowel /ɔ/ but I suggest that this has changed to /u/ partly because of the [ATR] vowel harmony in Logba. Example (60) shows the use of **dzu yé**.

60. **ɔ-yɔ́tsi-bí é** **o-dzu-yé** **i-tite**
 CM-stick-small=DET SM.SG-straight 3SG-stand
ɔ-yɔ́tsigbo-é **tsú**
 CM-stump=DET on
 ‘The small stick is standing straight on the stump.’ [PV.38]

4.2.8 tsoga [‘lie across’]

The expression **tsoga** [‘lie across’] is borrowed from Ewe and used to describe a figure that is stretched or situated over the ground or some other surface from one side to the other. It may be a stick lying over the mouth of the basket or a log on a path or a road stretching from one side to the other. (61) is an example,

61. **i-dat a** **ó-tsoga** **memgba**
 CM-spoon=DET SM.SG-lie.across bowl
nu
 containing.region
 ‘The spoon lies across the bowl.’

4.2.9 glé [‘tie’]

The verb **glé** [‘tie’] is used to describe a situation in which a rope or any rope-like figure, e.g., thread or twine, is used around an object, including a human being, as in TRPS 42 **glé belet** [‘wear belt’] demonstrated in (62).

62. **u-dzi é** **ɔ-glé** **belet**
 CM-girl=DET SM.SG-tie belt
 ‘The girl ‘ties’ belt.’ [TPRS 42]

In contexts involving things worn on the body the locative verb is at times not used. Instead, a verb meaning ‘to wear’ is used. Examples are (63) and (64):

63. **i-na a** **ǎ-f é** **i-shikpe**
 CM-person=DET SM.SG-wear CM-ring
 ‘The person wears a ring.’

64. **ǎ-sá a** **ó-bua** **kuto**
 CM-man=DET SM.SG-put.on hat
 ‘The man put on a hat.’

As these are part of a common cultural knowledge, I suggest that native speakers feel it is redundant using a locative construction in which the *Ground* will be specified. So in (63) where the ring is worn, the *Ground* is not stated and in (64) **kuto** [‘head’] is not in the sentence as the location of the hat. Things worn on the body are therefore described with a verb **fe** [‘to wear’] or **bua** [‘put on’].

4.2.10 **bata** [‘wind round’]

The verb **bata** [‘wind round’] denotes a situation in which a rope or thread is passed round an object repeatedly. Example (65) describes a rope around a stump.

65. **ǎ-ɲkpa** **ǎ-bata** **fɛ**
 CM-rope SM.SG-wind.round on
ǎ-yɔtsigbo e **yó**
 CM-stump=DET skin
 ‘The rope is wound round the stump’ [PV 3]

4.2.11 **dzi** [‘tie firmly’]

When a *Figure* is fastened firmly with a rope or a string so that it cannot be easily removed **dzi** [‘tie firmly’] is used. In (66) **dzi** is used in a BLC but the adpositional phrase is without a postposition.

66. **ǎ-ɲkpa** **o-dzi** **fɛ** **ǎ-yɔtsigbo e**
 CM-rope SM.SG-tie.firmly on CM-stump=DET
 ‘A rope is tied round the stump’ [TPRS 55]

1. Summary

The paper presents Basic Locative Constructions in Logba. The subject NP in the locative construction refers to the *Figure*. Either **le** ['be located verb'] or the eleven positional verbs in this construction express the relation of the *Figure* to the *Ground*. The postpositional phrase which follows the locative verb immediately refers to the *Ground* and the postposition itself contributes greatly by showing how the *Figure* is located on the *Ground*. It is noted that the locative and the positional verbs are obligatory in the BLC. It is however possible to omit prepositions and postpositions. One observation is that for culturally loaded events, the structure given is either a reduced version of the BLC or a subject NP followed immediately by a property verb. In some expressions referring to adornment of the body, **fɛ** ['to wear'] or **bua** ['put on'] is the verb to which most native speakers readily resort. In the reduced version of the BLC the *Ground* is omitted because it is redundant. For example, the answers that the *where search* question elicited for TPRS 10, a ring on a finger, TPRS 5, a hat on the head and TPRS 69, a ring in the ear are not locative constructions. Also, a locative construction involving a two-verb SVC was used as response to the *where search* question in which the initial verb helps the second verb, V_2 , which is also the locative verb, by providing information about the manner in which the *Figure* is located. In addition, the semantics of the twelve verbs that are used in locative constructions are discussed.

Abbreviations

ADR	Addressive	AM	Agreement marker
[+ATR]	Advanced Tongue root	[-ATR]	Unadvanced Tongue root
CM	Class marker	DET	Determiner
FOC	Focus marker	FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual	IND	Independent
NEG	Negative	PLU	Plural
PRSPROG	Present progressive	PV	Positional verbs
SG	Singular	SM	Subject marker
TRPS	Topological relation picture series	V ₁	Initial verb in SVC
V ₂	Second verb in SVC	1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular	3SG	Third person singular
1PLU	First person plural	2PLU	Second person plural
3PLU	Third person plural		

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