

**A FORMAL SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF COMPLEX-PATH MOTION  
PREDICATES IN GHANAIAN STUDENT PIDGIN (GSP)**

by

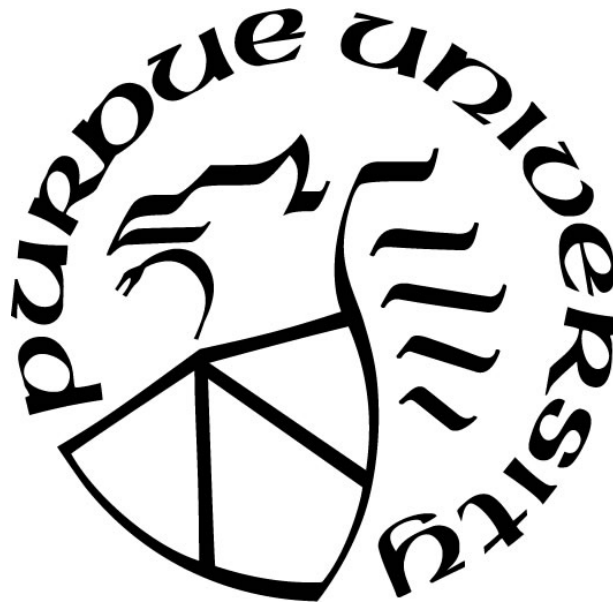
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*Dedication*

*To Araba, Ewurabena and Kwabena... thank you!!*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I was an undergrad, one of our professors, while telling us about his experiences as a PhD student, said that writing a dissertation is very lonely. I have to admit that there are many times along this journey when I have felt this loneliness. However, without everyone I'm going to mention below, this process would have been much worse.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1.....	1 <sup>st</sup> person
2.....	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
3.....	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
C.....	Complementizer
CAU.....	Causative
CONJ.....	Conjunction
D.....	Determiner
FUT.....	Future
INDF.....	Indefinite
LOC.....	Locative
NEG.....	Negator
NPU.....	Non-Punctual
OBJ.....	Object
PD.....	Possessive Determiner
PFV.....	Perfective
PL.....	Plural
PROG.....	Progressive
PST.....	Past tense
SBJ.....	Subject
SG.....	Singular

## ABSTRACT

Author: Osei-Tutu, Kwaku, O. A. PhD

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Title: A Formal Syntactic Analysis of Complex-Path Motion Predicates in Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP)

Committee Chair: Elena Benedicto

This dissertation provides a formal syntactic analysis of complex-path motion predicates in Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP) – an English-lexified expanded pidgin spoken by (mostly male) students in Ghanaian high schools and universities – within the Generative Constructivist framework. The data for the study was collected from three speakers with an instrument consisting of a battery of animated video-clips designed to elicit and contrast the following set of parameters that correspond to the various subcomponents of a motion event – path, telicity, result and agentivity. With regard to the path subcomponent, the dissertation found that GSP is able to express the 3-D vectorization of the path in motion predicates via verbal morphology in Serial Verb Constructions – a proposal which had already been argued by some earlier researchers (Benedicto, Cvejanov, & Quer, 2008; Benedicto & Salomon, 2014; Zheng, 2012). On the issue of the Telicity subcomponent, this dissertation follows in the footsteps of Borer (2005) who argues (among other things) that an event is telic when the functional projection,  $Asp_Q$ , is assigned range by a subject-of-quantity internal constituent. However, where this dissertation forges new ground is in proposing that, in motion predicates, it is not the internal constituent that assigns range to  $Asp_Q$ , as usually assumed, but rather the reaching of an endpoint (which obtains in GSP as the REACH substructure). Additionally, the dissertation also shows that this is only compatible with a reachable (i.e. non-projective)  $XP_{LOC}$  – a connection made possible by analyzing the internal structure of the  $XP_{LOC}$  along the lines of Svenonius, 2008, 2010). The chapter on the Resultative

subcomponent shows that the Resultative substructure (unlike some prevailing analysis, e.g. Ramchand, 2008) is independent of Telicity. Finally, with regard to agentivity, the dissertation makes a crucial discovery about the structural difference between initial contact and continuous contact agentives – i.e. the additional functional projection of a grammaticalized *make* (present in initial contact agentives, but absent from continuous contact agentives) which signals the separation of the figure from the agent.



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This dissertation contributes to current scholarship on the structure and nature of motion predicates by looking at Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP), an English-lexified expanded<sup>1</sup> pidgin spoken by (mostly male) students in Ghanaian high schools and universities. Though there have been previous studies on the typology of motion predicates (Talmy, 2000, 2007) and on some of the theoretical issues about the subeventive complexity of predicates (Borer, 2005; Harley, 2013; Kratzer, 1996; Pylkkänen, 2008; Ramchand, 2008) that will end up bearing on the representation of their structure, very few of them have considered languages that use Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) to express motion. Additionally, among the very few studies on SVC in Motion Predicates (Benedicto & Salomon, 2014 on Mayangna and Zheng, 2012 on SwaTawWe), there is none that focuses on pidgins/creoles. This is rather unfortunate because, by virtue of how they are formed, pidgins/creoles are uniquely positioned to address the contrasting (and, often incompatible) systems of their lexifier (in the case of GSP, English) and substrate (which is, in the case of GSP, largely the major Kwa languages of Ghana – Akan, Ga and Ewe). Consequently, this study is significant because it provides a formal analysis that will contribute to assessing how this underlying conflict is negotiated (or even resolved) within an understudied pidgin and, thus, contributes to scholarship on the subject and (also) to the Minimalist Program (in as much as it sheds light on the parametrization of the structure of Human Language).

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<sup>1</sup> I am aware that (for some readers) labels such as ‘pidgin’, ‘expanded pidgin’, etc. call into question the status of GSP as a language and I address this question exhaustively in Chapter 2 (§2.3) where I discuss GSP as a linguistic system.

## 1.2 Goals

The primary goal of this dissertation is to provide a formal syntactic analysis of motion predicates as they present in GSP and, in so doing, contribute answers to the bigger question of how motion is represented structurally in Language. Additionally, considering that pidgins are generally stigmatized because they are non-standard varieties, especially, in Ghana, where many people (speakers and non-speakers; linguists and non-linguists, alike) are of the view that GSP is just a makeshift code that does not meet the requirements to be a fully-fledged language, a secondary goal of this study is to dispel this myth and show that GSP has all the structural complexities of any natural language.

## 1.3 A Brief Background to the Study

Various languages across the world would express motion events differently and there have been various studies to try to formalize ways in which this is done. Many typological studies (Talmy, 1985, 2000 and many others in subsequent work) have proposed that motion events are encoded in the lexicon so it is part of the lexico-semantic information in a verb. Talmy (2000), for example, describes motion events in terms of semantic elements such as **figure**, **ground**, **manner** and **cause** and argues that these are expressed by a surface element (i.e. the verb root or satellite, which he defines as “any constituent other than a nominal or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (222)) in a relationship that is not necessarily “one-to-one”, leading to his grouping of languages into two typological classes (Verb-Framed and Satellite-Framed).

Before Talmy (2000) proposed his Verb/Satellite-Framed typological classes, Dowty (1979) had begun to address a different topic – that of the (inner) aspectual properties of predicates and their relation with morphological (outer) aspect, and eventive types. He took on the work of previous

researchers (Ryle, 1949; Kenny, 1963; Vendler, 1967) who expanded on an old tradition going back all the way to Aristotle's pioneering work on the link between events and the aspectual class of verbs (i.e. since aspect refers to whether an event is still in progress or complete and it is marked on verbs). Vendler's (1967) had identified a four-way distinction for predicates – i.e. States (e.g. *know*, *believe*); Activities (e.g. *run*, *walk*), Accomplishments (e.g. *paint a picture*) and Achievements (e.g. *find*) – which responded to a variety of tests (including the famous contrast in/for XP-time) systematized by Dowty (1979). Though the careful reader will discover that those earlier works talked about predicates, the linguistic tradition that ensued took it up as identifying verb classes, whereby a verb in their lexical entry inherently encoded its event type so that a verb by its very nature belongs to a particular class.

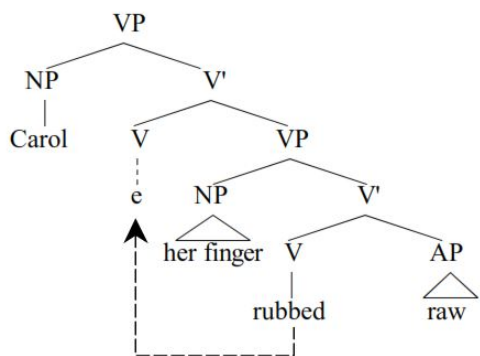
The syntactic view of these verb classifications, however, is that the various semantic properties associated with the verb (i.e. state, activity, accomplishment and achievement) are a factor of the syntactic configuration that underlies the predicate and not necessarily inherent to the verb. However, these semantic classifications are still useful to this study because they correspond to the various components of the motion predicates under discussion. That is, the activity will be derived from the syntactic configuration that houses the process subcomponent; the accomplishment part, the telic subcomponent and the achievement part, the resultative subcomponent. This division of labor underlies a view of predicates as complex syntactic units that encode sub-eventive structure (e.g. Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008; Benedicto & Salomon, 2014).



## 1.4 Background to the Hypothesis

Structurally speaking, Larson, (1991) groups the prevailing proposals for analyzing SVCs into three: **coordination** (Schachter, 1974a, 1974b; Bamgbose, 1974; Collins, 1987); **modification/adjunction** (Stahlke, 1974; Schachter, 1974b) and **complementation** (Stahlke, 1970; Larson, 1991). As previously mentioned in §1.3, this dissertation adopts Larson's (1991) analysis of SVCs. He points out the similarity between SVCs and secondary predication in languages (without SVCs) like English and then argues that the structures are fundamentally the same and proposes the same analysis to account for them. In (2), below, taken from Larson (1991), he proposes that the AP *raw* forms a much closer constituent with V *rubbed* than the NP *her finger*, even though, at the surface structure, the direct object *her finger* appears closer to V.

(2)

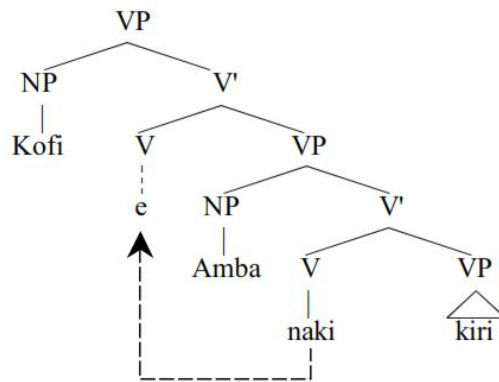


The structure above, therefore, proposes a VP-shell with an empty V category which serves as a landing place for the verb when it rises to assign objective case to the NP, *her finger*. This complementation structure makes it possible for the NP *her finger* to c-command the AP *raw*, but not vice versa. Larson (1991) then extends this structure to SVCs by arguing that, as far as parameterization in secondary predication is concerned, there are two possible directions for languages and one of the choices is SVCs. Thus, whereas languages (such as English) can form secondary predicates with NPs (subsuming PPs and APs, but not VPs), SVC languages do the

same thing with VPs (subsuming PPs and APs, but not NPs). Thus, he applies his analysis to (3) (which he takes from Baker, 1991) and yields (4) (Larson, 1991:201):

- (3) Kofi naki Amba kiri  
 Kofi hit Amba kill  
 ‘Kofi struck Amba dead.’

(4)



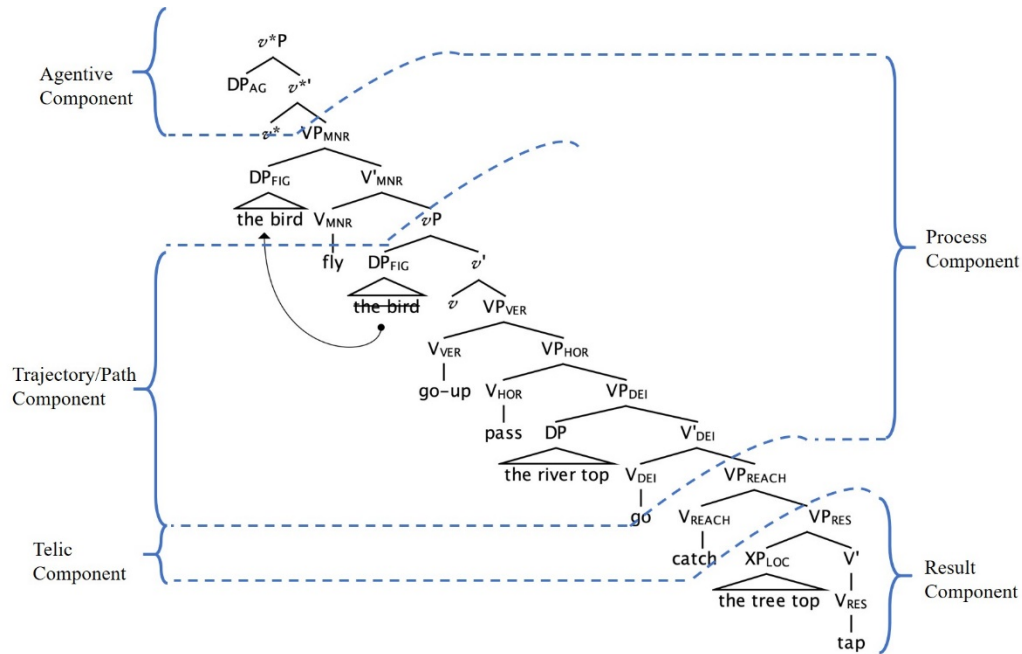
As (4) shows, Larson (1991) treats *kiri* the same way he treats *raw* in (2) as combining with V to form a VP within the larger VP-shell headed by the empty V (later developed into little *v* by Chomsky, 1995) which eventually receives the verb *naki* and, thus, yields the appropriate (linear) surface structure.

## 1.5 Hypothesis

In the same vein as the analysis above, this dissertation argues that motion predicates in GSP are expressed using SVCs with an underlying complement structure along the lines of Larson (1991) which in turn represent the sub-eventive decomposition of the VP that can be found in

constructivist approaches to predicate structure (Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008; Benedicto & Salomon, 2014) and puts it all together in the tree in (5) below:

(5)



In (5) above, the various subevents of the motion predicate in GSP are constructed in a layered complementation structure formed by a series of recursively merged VPs<sup>2</sup>; thus, predicting that the subcomponents higher up in the structure c-command those that are lower in the structure (which will prove that this complementation structure, à la Larson, is indeed correct and rule out both adjunction and co-ordination). I proceed below to test this prediction of the hypothesis with a Bound Variable Test, a Negative Polarity Test and a WH-Extraction Test .

<sup>2</sup> Some of the verbs are (semi) grammaticalized

### 1.5.1 Bound Variable Test

The bound variable test relies on the c-command relationship between an operator and a variable – i.e. on the premise that an operator is able to bind a variable as long as the variable is within the operator's c-command domain. Thus, based on this premise, we would expect that in sentence (6), below, the variable *its* is bound by the operator *every* (as a result of c-command) and yields the reading that each individual dog has its own day (which, indeed, is the interpretation).

(6) Every dog has its day

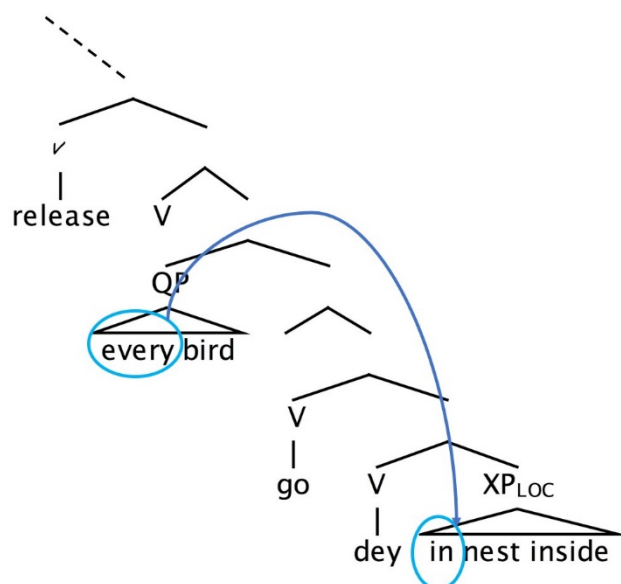
In the same vein, if we take an SVC example from GSP which has an operator (e.g. *every*) and a variable (e.g. *in* 'its'), the operator should be able to bind the variable *in* if (and only if) it is within the c-command domain of *every* (i.e. in the same clause) and this is exactly the case in (7) and (8), below:

(7) The boy release every<sub>i</sub> bird go dey in<sub>i</sub> nest inside

D boy release every bird go be.at 3SGPD nest inside

'the boy released every bird into its nest'

(8)





The grammaticality of the structure (8) shows, therefore, that the operator *every* is able to bind the variable *in*, which is in the  $XP_{LOC}$ , and confirms that the position of the operator does indeed c-command the position of the  $XP_{LOC}$  in accordance with the premise of the test. This, thus, proves the hypothesis that the series of verbs is in a layered complementation structure à la Larson (1991) as opposed to the other alternative proposals (adjunction and coordination) mentioned above in §1.4. Furthermore, the structure also predicts (conversely) that if the complementation structure is broken or interrupted (for e.g. with a coordinator), the operator will not be able to bind the variable because the variable will no longer be within the operator's c-command domain. If we modify (7) to include a coordinator (*wey* 'and then'), it will result in (9) which can serve as an illustration for our purposes:

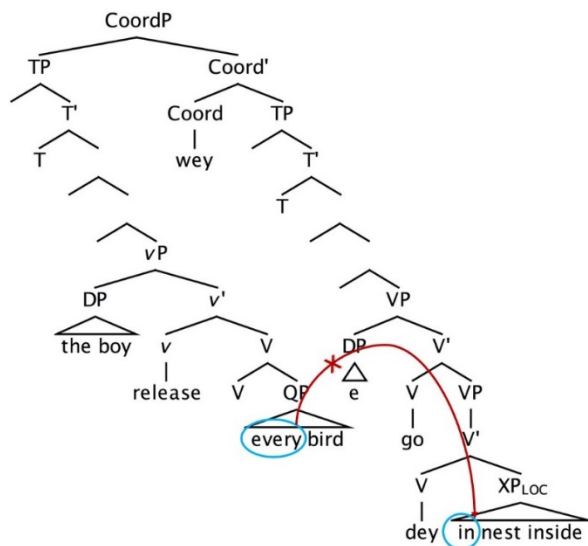
(9) The boy release *every<sub>i</sub>* bird wey *e<sub>j</sub>* go dey *in<sub>j</sub>* nest inside

D boy release every bird C 3SGSUB go be.at 3SGPD nest inside

‘\*the boy released *every<sub>i</sub>* bird (and then) it<sub>i</sub> went and stayed inside its<sub>i</sub> own nest’

‘the boy released *every<sub>i</sub>* bird and then he<sub>j</sub> went and stayed inside his<sub>j</sub> own nest’

(10)



Sentence (9) and the corresponding structure in (10) show that, as predicted, operator-variable binding is impossible because the variable is no longer within the c-command domain of the operator due to the introduction of the coordinator *wey*, which splits the initial sentence into two independent clauses. This, consequently, reaffirms the earlier conclusion and proves that the series of verbs do indeed constitute an SVC because, despite the appearance of more than one verb and the lack of overt co-ordination, it is not a simple case of parataxis<sup>3</sup> – indeed, co-ordination breaks the seriality of the verbs and prevents a mono-eventive reading (Benedicto, Cvejanov, & Quer, 2008).

### 1.5.2 Negative Polarity Test

The Negative Polarity Test, like the Bound Variable Test, is based on the premise that an item in the upper part of our structure (in (5)) can bind another item only if that second item is within its c-command domain. In the case of negative polarity, a negator (e.g. *no*) is able to license a Negative Polarity Item (NPI) as long as the item is within its c-command domain, as is illustrated with the example in (11), below:

- (11) You    no    take anything give Kofi  
       2SGSBJ NEG take anything give Kofi  
       ‘you didn’t give Kofi anything’

In (11), above, the NPI *anything* is possible because it is licensed by the negator *no* because it (i.e. *anything*) is within its c-command domain; whereas, (12), shows that the NPI *anything* cannot occur in the absence of the negator *no*:

---

<sup>3</sup> Parataxis can be understood as a case of coordination without an over coordinator (i.e. with a  $\emptyset$  in the position of *wey* in (10))

(12) You take anything give Kofi

2SGSBJ take anything give Kofi

\*‘you gave Kofi something’

‘you gave Kofi whatever (you wanted)’<sup>4</sup>

In order to express that the speaker gave something to Kofi and not that the speaker did not give anything to Kofi, GSP will use:

(13) You take something give Kofi

2SGSBJ take something give Kofi

‘you gave Kofi something’

It is important to note here (as Huber (1999:203) points out for Town Pidgin), that in GSP it is possible for *nothing* to appear in a sentence like (11) above without the polarity being affected.

This is demonstrated below in (14):

(14) You no take nothing give Kofi

2SGSBJ NEG take nothing give Kofi

‘you didn’t give Kofi anything’

Here (i.e. in (14)), the appearance of both *no* and *nothing* is just a case of negative concord which is well-attested to in various non-standard varieties of English. Regardless of this, negative polarity still holds in GSP because as demonstrated above in (11) and (12), the NPI *anything* still needs to be licensed by the negator *no*.

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<sup>4</sup> This meaning arises from the variant of *any* which expresses free choice (i.e. ‘free-choice’ any)

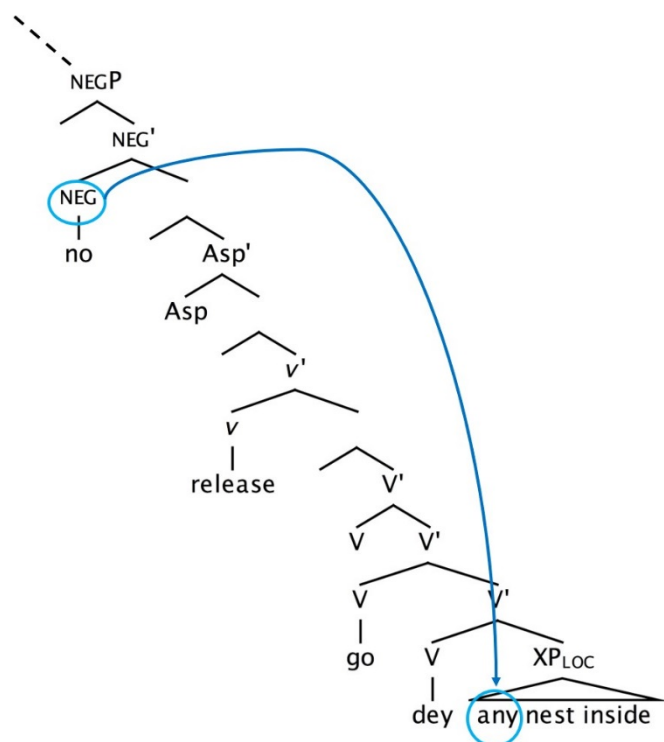
With the above point established, we can now apply the same principle to the hypothesis in (5) to find out if it exhibits the same c-command relationships. As with the case of the Bound Variable test, the tree predicts that if the negator *no* is introduced higher up in the structure it should be able to license an NPI (e.g. *any*) which is lower in the structure (i.e. its c-command domain) . Sentence (15) and the corresponding tree diagram (16) illustrate this:

(15) The boy *no* release the bird go dey *any* nest inside

D boy NEG release D bird go be.at any nest inside

‘the boy didn’t release the bird into any nest’

(16)



The grammaticality of (15) under the intended reading indicates that the negator *no* does indeed bind the NPI *any*, which in turn indicates that *no* c-commands *any*, as we intended to prove. This

c-command based relationship between *no* and *any* in (16), in turn, proves that the series of verbs (i.e. *release*, *go* and *dey*) stand in a Larsonian complementation structure. Additionally, as with the above, using *any* without *no* will not yield the intended negative-polarity meaning (as illustrated in (17) below):

(17) The boy release the bird go dey any nest inside

D boy release D bird go be.at any nest inside

‘#the boy released the bird into a nest’<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the above, our hypothesis in (5) predicts (as was the case in §1.5.1) that if a coordinator is introduced, it will break the complementation structure (i.e. between the negator and the NPI), as in (19), and the intended negative-polarity relationship will not be achieved because the NPI will no longer be c-commanded by the negator.

(19) The boy no release the bird wey e go dey any nest inside

D boy NEG release D bird C 3SGSBJ go be.at any nest inside

‘#the boy didn’t release the bird (and then) he/it went into a/some nest’<sup>6</sup>

‘the boy didn’t release the bird (and then) (\*it) he went into any nest’

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<sup>5</sup> To express the gloss in (17) (i.e. that after the boy released the bird it went into a nest other than what he intended), GSP will substitute *some* for *any*, as in (20) below:

(20) The boy release the bird go dey some nest inside

D boy release D bird go be.at some nest inside

‘the boy released the bird (which then) went into a nest’

<sup>6</sup> As the gloss for (19) shows, it is impossible for *any* to mean ‘some’; however, if *any* is taken to be the ‘free-choice’ variant, it will be glossed as *the boy didn’t release the bird and then he (not the bird) went into any nest* (i.e. the only meaning available will be that the boy himself went into a nest which, though possible, is highly unusual). Once again, these results are exactly what is predicted by structure (5); namely, that the verbal series stands in Larsonian complement structure, where the first (higher) elements c-command the lower ones.

### 1.5.3 WH-Extraction Test

The final piece of evidence in support of the proposed complementation structure of the hypothesis is the WH-Extraction Test, which relies on the principle that extraction of an element (in this case, a WH-constituent) out of one conjunct of a coordinate structure should be ungrammatical due to the Coordinate Structure Constraint. Consequently, if the proposed structure which is our hypothesis is truly a complementation structure, a WH-Extraction should yield a grammatical result and, conversely, a coordinate structure should yield an ungrammatical result. Thus, we return to our test sentence in (21) below with the slight modification of adding the WH-constituent *wey nest* ‘which nest:

(21) The boy release the bird go dey wey nest inside?

D boy release D bird go BE.AT which nest inside

‘the boy released the bird into which nest?’

Now consider (22) below:

(22) Wey nest the boy release the bird go dey *t* inside?

Which nest D boy release D bird go BE.AT inside

‘which nest did the boy release the bird into?’

As (22) shows, the extraction of the WH-constituent *wey nest* yields a grammatical sentence in GSP, which, in turn, proves that the proposed structure is indeed a complementation structure. Again, as with the other two tests above, attempting the same process with a coordination structure results in ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (23) and (24), below:

(23) The boy release the bird den e go dey wey nest inside?

D boy release D bird CONJ 3SGSBJ go BE.AT which nest inside

‘the boy released the bird and then it (the bird) went into which nest?’

(24) \*wey nest the boy release the bird den e go dey t inside?

Which nest D boy release D bird CONJ 3SGSBJ go BE.AT inside

‘which nest did the boy release the bird and then it (the bird) went into?’

#### 1.5.4 Other (Descriptive) Evidence

In the three subsections above, we have provided evidence for the complementation structure hypothesized in (5) on the basis of c-command based tests. However, c-command is a structural relation that may hold across clausal boundaries. Therefore, the monoeventivity of the SVCs we are dealing with in this dissertation still needs to be addressed. Monoeventivity can be linked to a subset of descriptive properties commonly associated with SVCs. Among them, Muysken & Veenstra (2006:238) identify the following (which they point out support the monoeventive reading of SVCs):

- i. one grammatical subject and at most one grammatical object
- ii. one specification for tense/aspect (often only on the first verb; sometimes on both verbs, but agreeing in the specification given; sometimes only on the second verb)
- iii. and only one possible negator

In addition to the features above, the following from Benedicto et al. (2008:2&3) can be added:

- iv. no overt coordinating or subordinating element appears between the verbs, but it is not a simple case of parataxis, either

Thus, if we assume that monoeventivity is (structurally) linked to the existence of a single inflectional spine (Benedicto et al., 2008), it would capture the descriptive properties above; in other words, we would find only one tense/aspect specification and one negation, as well as the presence of one single common subject (especially, if we link the presence of the subject to the

Spec-*vp*, as is commonly assumed). In order to prove monoeventivity, therefore, I will show that these SVCs correlate with the presence of a single inflectional spine (IP) as is manifested by the presence of the properties in (i)-(iii) above<sup>7</sup>.

The first two of the descriptive features (i.e. one grammatical subject and one grammatical object) are exemplified by the GSP sentence below:

(25) The bird *de* fly go *dey* the nest inside

D bird NPU-PROG fly go be.at D nest inside

‘the bird is flying into the nest’

As the gloss shows, all the verbs (*fly*, *go* and *dey*) share the same grammatical subject (i.e. it is the bird which is flying, going and ‘being at’ the nest), which fulfills property (i) as stated by Muysken & Veenstra (2006). Additionally, property (ii) above is also satisfied by sentence (25) since all the verbs in the series are interpreted in the progressive (i.e. flying, going, being at) which indicates that though the progressive aspect is marked only on *fly* (i.e. *de fly*), it is interpreted as having scope over all the verbs that follow. The third property (only one possible negator) is also manifested in GSP as evidenced by sentence (26) below:

(26) The bird no fly go *dey* the nest inside

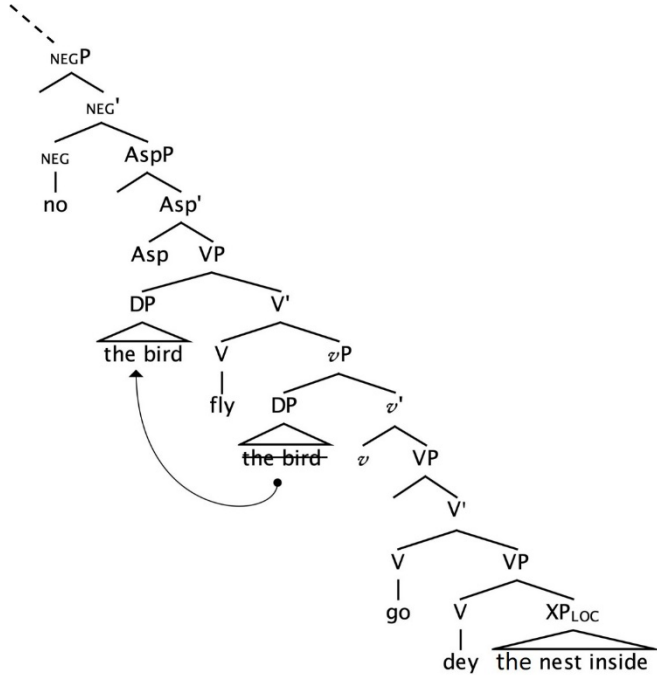
D bird NEG fly go be.at D nest inside

‘the bird didn’t fly into the nest’

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<sup>7</sup> Evidence is provided for only (i)-(iii) because (iv) has already been shown in the Bound Variable and Negative Polarity Tests.



(27)<sup>8</sup>

The interpretation of (26) is possible because the structure in (27) has one inflectional spine, which is what the hypothesis (in (5)) predicts.

## 1.6 Concluding Remarks and Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter presented the motivation and rationale for this dissertation, as well as its goals. The chapter also proposed and tested the hypothesis for the underlying structure of GSP motion predicates. The evidence presented in this chapter confirmed that GSP motion predicates are expressed through SVCs and that these SVCs do indeed express a single event. Additionally, the tests performed on the hypothesis have proved that it accurately represents the underlying structure of GSP motion predicates.

<sup>8</sup> There is further movement of the  $DP_{FIG}$ , *the bird*, to  $Spec,TP$  for case.

The dissertation is organized into 8 chapters. Chapter 1 outlines the hypothesis and goals of the study, as well as, how the dissertation is organized. Chapter 2 provides context for the study by discussing the origins of GSP and summarizing some of its distinctive phonological, lexical, semantic and syntactic characteristics. Next, Chapter 3, which is the methodology section, lays out the data collection procedures, participants (and their backgrounds), as well as how the data were transcribed and coded for the study. The next four chapters each propose an analysis for the various components of motion predicates – i.e. the Process (specifically, the vectorization of the Path) component (in Chapter 4), the Telicity component (in Chapter 5), the Result component (Chapter 6) and the Agentive component (Chapter 7). The concluding chapter, Chapter 8, summarizes the main points of the dissertation and provides suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 2. BACKGROUND OF THE LANGUAGE

Various portions of this chapter have appeared in the following publications:

- Osei-Tutu, K. O. A. (2018). I get maf wey you get mɔf: pronunciation and identity in Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP). *American Language Journal*, 2(3), 8–25.
- Osei-Tutu, K. O. A. (2016b). The vocabulary of Ghanaian Student Pidgin: A preliminary survey. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, C. Weijer, E. Echteld, W. Rutgers, & R. Dupey (Eds.), *Celebrating Multiple Identities: Opting out of neolcolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean* (Vol. 2, pp. 163–178). Willemstad: University of Curaçao and Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.
- Osei-Tutu, K. O. A. (2016a). Lexical borrowing in Ghanaian Student Pidgin – The case of Akan loan words and loan translations. In N. Faraclas, R. Severing, C. Weijer, W. Rutgers, R. Dupey, & E. Echteld (Eds.), *Celebrating Multiple Identities: Opting out of neolcolonial monolingualism, monoculturalism and mono-identification in the Greater Caribbean* (Vol. 2, pp. 47–54). Willemstad: University of Curaçao and Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma.

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background to the language of focus – Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP) – and provides some of its distinguishing features that set it apart as a (sub)variety of Ghanaian Pidgin in its own right. The chapter will first provide some historical evidence for the development of the variety (§2.2) and then proceed (in §2.3) to outline some of its distinctive phonological, lexical and syntactic properties.

### 2.2 What is GSP?

According to Simons & Fennig (2017), Ghana has 83 mutually unintelligible indigenous languages belonging to three different language families – Kwa, Gur and Mande, with the Kwa group having the largest number of languages. In addition to these indigenous languages, English was introduced via British colonization (Adika, 2012) and this has led to an indigenous variety of English

(henceforth, Ghanaian English), which is used widely in Ghana both in official and domestic domains. Alongside the languages mentioned so far, Ghana is also home to two varieties of pidgin/creoles: what Huber (1999) refers to as “uneducated” or “non-institutionalized” Ghanaian Pidgin English (which this dissertation refers to as Town Pidgin, following Dako (2002b)) and what Huber (1999) refers to as “educated” or “institutionalized” Ghanaian Pidgin English (which this dissertation calls Ghanaian Student Pidgin<sup>9</sup> and which is the focus of this study).

Even though Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP) is generally considered an off-shoot of Town Pidgin (TP), it is still unclear how pidgin made the leap from the uneducated to the educated and from older people to youngsters in school. However, Dadzie (1985) dates the origins of GSP to the mid-1960s when, according to him, school boys in coastal towns like Cape Coast started to use pidgin because it was being used by sailors, who (due to their travels overseas) were considered trendsetters. In other words, the sailors came back from their overseas trips with knowledge of the newest trends and, consequently, these impressionable kids copied them from the way they walked to the way they talked. Dako (2002a), on the other hand, dates pidgin in high schools to the early 1970s and she says it started in the multilingual coastal schools, perhaps, as the students’ way of protesting against the rule enforcing the use of only English in school. According to her:

It would appear that [GSP] started out as an “anti-language” spoken by trend-setting urban boys. Interviews with men who were in school in those days reinforce the impression of “protest” in that quite a few associated the emergence of pidgin with the ban on speaking any Ghanaian language in school. A pidgin sound-alike was used instead of SE<sup>10</sup> with the argument, “You say we should speak English, but not what type of English we should speak.” (Dako, 2002a)

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<sup>9</sup> I have added *Ghanaian* to Dako's (2002b, 2013) term “Student Pidgin” in order to make it more distinctive.

<sup>10</sup> Standard (Ghanaian) English

My own interviews with some participants who belong to the generation that were in high school in the early 1970s appear to corroborate what both Dadzie (1985) and (Dako, 2002a) say. One of the respondents, for example, who went to high school in the Volta Region<sup>11</sup> of Ghana reports that only one person in their school spoke pidgin and that student came from Cape Coast<sup>12</sup> (which is further evidence that seems to confirm the earlier research that suggests that pidgin spread from the coast to the other high schools in Ghana). He also mentioned that this individual was looked upon as a trendsetter or pacesetter and, before long, many of the students had learned pidgin from him. The same respondent also adds that speaking pidgin was a sort of fashion that made (male) students appear to be ‘in-the-know’:

*Saa time-no, na wo ka pidgin-a, ekyere se wo no... wo feel se w’ahye. Ahaa... ehe, wo ye guy! Aye se fashion bi. Ye nfa no se obi firi Takoradi na o-ko school wɔ Cape Coast, na ɔ-ba na ɔ-ka pidgin no, na w’ahu se ɔ-no w’ahye. Ehe... efiri that area no na ebae.*

<sup>13</sup>During that time, if you spoke pidgin, it showed that you... you felt that you were hip... yeah, you were a guy! It was some sort of fashion. Let say, for example, if someone came from Takoradi<sup>14</sup> and went to school in Cape Coast, when he came and he spoke the pidgin, you could see that he was hip. Yeah... it came from that area. (Osei-Tutu, 2018:5)

Another possibility that both Dadzie (1985) and (Dako, 2002a) mention is that, shortly after achieving independence from Great Britain (in 1957), Ghana had a series of military coups and for long periods, soldiers were at the helm of affairs in the country. Consequently, since pidgin was the language of the military and police service, once they came into prominence, the language also changed position to one of power. In addition to this new language-power dynamic for the speakers

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<sup>11</sup> Refer to map in Appendix A for the location of the Volta Region in relation to the coastal areas

<sup>12</sup> It is worthy of note here that both Dadzie (1985) and Dako (2002a & 2000b) mention Cape Coast as one of the first places students started to speak pidgin.

<sup>13</sup> My translation

<sup>14</sup> Another coastal town, Takoradi (approximately 50 miles west of Cape Coast) was the location of Ghana’s first harbor

of the pidgin, Dadzie (1985) points out that military/police-student/civilian clashes went back to the period just before independence when there was heightened political agitation and this continual contact between the two groups led to some transfer because of the need for communication:

At the beginning [,] imitation of the language of these people – usually uneducated or semi-literate – was derisive, but it was discovered that, to be understood by them, the students had to speak the same language. (Dadzie, 1985:118)

We can infer from the discussion so far that (in its incipient stages) the pidgin used by students (what is now GSP) was not different from what was spoken in town (Town Pidgin). This is supported by the fact that though the respondents in this age range<sup>15</sup> agree that pidgin was already being used in their high schools, they unanimously confirmed that there was no difference between the pidgin they spoke and what was used in town and also mentioned that the pidgin students speak today is very different from what they (the respondents) spoke and that it took more effort on their part to understand. As one member of that generation put it “that pidgin [i.e. GSP] is an entirely different animal” (Kofi Anyidoho, personal communication, July 2015).

Even though it is difficult to place exactly when these changes started to take place, it can be assumed with some measure of confidence that the changes are fairly recent (in the mid to late 1990s). The evidence for this assumption comes from looking at earlier research on Ghanaian pidgin. Dadzie's (1985) paper does not mention any differences between the pidgin that students were speaking and what was spoken in town. Indeed, Dadzie (1985) does not even mention the possibility of two varieties of pidgin in Ghana – he just talks about students imitating an already existing pidgin. Amoako's dissertation (written in 1992 and published in 2011) is the first to

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<sup>15</sup> Those who were in high school in the late 1960s and early 1970s

mention that there appeared to be two varieties of pidgin in Ghana (one spoken by the uneducated and the other by the educated). However, he shows virtually no difference between the two and mentions only some peculiar vocabulary (such as *plas*<sup>16</sup> meaning ‘with’) favored by the students. The next researcher on the continuum is Huber (1999:276) who identifies a few differences (largely in choice of vocabulary) between the two varieties. (Dako, 2002b), which is the most recent work that tries to differentiate Town Pidgin from GSP, expands Huber's (1999) list by adding a few features that reveal how heavily GSP borrows from two of Ghana's indigenous languages – Akan and Ga. One of the differences noted by both Huber (1999) and (Dako, 2002b) is worthy of note. They both acknowledge that, unlike TP, GSP retains what (Dako, 2002b) calls the negative-completive ‘never’ (as in, *I never talk that* ‘I didn’t ever say that’). This is important because it shows the historical link between GSP and the other West African pidgins/creoles; since Huber (1999:216) states that NigPE and CamPE retain this feature.

Despite the various differences they point, all of the researchers above consider the major difference between Town Pidgin and GSP to be its (social) function. As Huber (2013:168) puts it:

The difference between the two Ghanaian Pidgin English varieties is not so much their linguistic structure (the main differences are lexical, and the two are largely mutually intelligible) but, rather, the functions they serve. Basilectal Ghanaian Pidgin English [Town Pidgin] is used as a lingua franca in highly multilingual contexts... The more acrolectal varieties [Ghanaian Student Pidgin], however, are better characterized as male in-group languages whose main function is to express group solidarity rather than to fulfil basic communication needs.

Though I agree with Huber (1999) that GSP functions as an in-group language and its primary function is not to serve as a means of basic communication, my own research (Osei-Tutu, 2018) has shown that it is increasingly becoming less intelligible to non-speakers (even speakers of TP).

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<sup>16</sup> Huber (1999) uses the spelling *plus*; however, I prefer my spelling because it stays truer to how it is pronounced.

Consequently, I proceed in §2.2 (below) to outline some of the major features of GSP that differentiate it from TP and lead to loss of intelligibility for those who are not members of its linguistic community. It is also my belief that focusing this dissertation on GSP will help address this deficiency in our knowledge of the language and probably yield more evidence supporting its status as a variety in its own right and not just an imitation of an already existing pidgin.

## 2.3 GSP as a Linguistic System

As mentioned above, this section outlines some unique features of GSP. The features are grouped into Phonological Properties, Lexicological Properties and Syntactic Properties.

### 2.3.1 Phonological Properties

Because of its status as primarily a youth language, the aspects of phonology that are discussed here are reflections of the desire of the speakers to differentiate themselves (and their variety) from the other Englishes (i.e. the formal variety and Town Pidgin) spoken in Ghana. The speakers, therefore, employ a number of phonological processes that lead to variation in the phonology of GSP. These processes can be divided into two – segmental phonological processes (Deletion and Vowel Change) and supra-segmental phonological processes (Stress and Tone).

#### 2.3.1.1 Vowel Change

Vowel Change is, perhaps, one of the most productive phonological processes used by GSP to mark itself as different from Ghanaian English and TP. The process involves some sort of vocalic change within how a word is pronounced in Ghanaian English or TP and creates a variant counterpart in GSP. *Table 2.1* below provides examples:



Table 2.1. Examples of Vowel Change

Word	Ghanaian English	Town Pidgin	GSP
Rush	/raʃ/	/raʃ/	/ra ʃ~ /r ʃ/
Crush	/kraʃ/	/kraʃ/	/kraʃ/ ~ /kr ʃ/
Catch <sup>17</sup>	/katʃ/	/katʃ/	/katʃ/ ~ /k tʃ/
Mansion	/manʃ n/	/manʃ n/	/manʃ n/ ~ /m nʃ n/
Happy	/hapi/	/hapi/	/hapi/ ~ /h pi/
House	/haus/	/haus/	/haus/~ /hos/
Make	/mek/	/mek/	/mek/ ~ /mok/
Self	/s lf/	/s f/	/s f/ ~ /saf/
Ground	/graund/	/graund/	/graund/ ~ /grS/
Mouth	/maʊθ/	/m f/	/maf/ ~ /m f/

The examples in Table 2.1 above, show that though TP speakers pronounce the words in the same manner as GhEng, GSP speakers change a vowel leading to a different pronunciation of the same word. Even more interesting is the fact that the ‘original’ pronunciation and the new pronunciation are acceptable in GSP; however, the new pronunciation is preferred among speakers because it is considered more proficient. Additionally, there does not appear to be any underlying (phonological) systematicity to the vowel change that occurs. The first five words, for example, have the same vowel /a/ that becomes /ɔ/ or /ɛ/. Let us, therefore, briefly examine the phonological environment to see if we can determine a phonological motivation for the vowel change. /raʃ/ and /kraʃ/ are near minimal pairs in that the only difference between them is the /k/ in /kraʃ/. Consequently, since the /a/ in both words is followed by the same phoneme /ʃ/, that can be discarded as a possible influence for the vowel change. This then leaves the possibility that the initial /k/ of /kraʃ/ is responsible for the change from /a/ to /ɛ/ in /krɛʃ/. However, this is difficult to claim because it would raise the

<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the /kɛʃ/ pronunciation of *catch* is influenced by American English, since there is evidence of this type of influence in mainstream Ghanaian English producing an accent that is referred to (both popularly and in research) as LAFA – Locally Acquired Foreign Accent (Shoba, Dako, & Orfson-Offei, 2013).

question of why Ghanaian English *crash* /kraʃ/ is pronounced /kraʃ/ in GSP and not /krɔʃ/. The evidence, therefore, does not seem to support the analysis that the phonological environment conditions the change from /a/ to either /ɔ/ or /ɛ/.

With regard to the vowel change from /au/ to /ɔ̃/, it is quite plausible that the nasalization effect on the vowel is caused by the /n/ in /graund/. However, it is not as clear why the vowel change itself occurs in the first place. This is because there are other words with a similar environment in which no vowel change occurs. **Round**, for example, is pronounced in GSP exactly the same way it is pronounced in Ghanaian English – /raund/, not /rɔ̃/. In addition to this counter example, it is not clear how phonological environment can explain how /hapi/ becomes /hɔpi/, /mauθ/ becomes /mɔf/<sup>18</sup> or /haus/ becomes /hos/. The same can be said of **make** and **self**; in that, there are several counter examples that show that not all words with the same (or similar) phonetic structure undergo sound change. Based on these examples, therefore, it can be argued that, in the absence of more specific and relevant evidence, the choice of which words undergo vowel change and which do not is purely arbitrary. This goes to support the point made at the beginning of this section that the currently available evidence suggests that these changes are motivated by the desire of the speakers of GSP to create a code distinct from TP.

#### 2.3.1.2 Deletion

In GSP, this process is applied both to English words and those borrowed from Ghanaian languages. For example, in GSP, Ghanaian English *strong* /stɪŋg/ is pronounced either as /t S/ and Akan *bisa* /bisa/ (meaning ‘to ask’), is pronounced /bia/ or /biz/. In the first example, the initial

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<sup>18</sup> /maf/ and /mɔf/ have the additional process of TH-fronting

phoneme in the onset, /s/, and the coda /ŋg/ are deleted to create the GSP variant. In the Akan example, however, the variant is created by applying either by deletion (i.e. /s/ is removed from /bisa/ to create /bia/) or by deletion + voicing assimilation (i.e. /a/ is deleted from /bisa/ to create /bis/ and /s/ is voiced<sup>19</sup>). Consequently, in GSP the forms *bia* and *biz* are in free variation and either one can be used by speakers to mean ‘ask’ (in addition to the word *ask* itself).

As with the vowel changes in §2.3.1.1 above, it is difficult to determine a (purely phonological) system that motivates the set of words that undergo these processes. The case of *biz* is particularly interesting because, as Huber (2004) notes, there is the tendency for speakers of Ghanaian English to devoice word-final obstruents. Consequently, one would expect *bis* as a more likely outcome after /a/ is deleted from *bisa* and, even if, voicing were to have occurred first (i.e. /bisa/ → /biza/), one would still expect word-final devoicing to apply to /s/. As things stand, there is not enough evidence to explain the process, as there are no other words in the data to which this happens<sup>20</sup>. It can, therefore, be argued that (like the vowel changes above) this particular deletion process targets words arbitrarily<sup>21</sup>.

### 2.3.1.3 Suprasegmental Processes

The other processes that create variation in GSP are the combined supra-segmental features of tone and stress. According to Huber (2004):

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<sup>19</sup> The order in which this is written is purely descriptive and should not be taken to imply that deletion happens before or is a conditioning factor for voicing assimilation as this paper does not provide any evidence for that assumption.

<sup>20</sup> Osei-Tutu (2016) discusses phonological processes that are applied to words borrowed into GSP from Akan, but has no other examples that behave like *bisa*

<sup>21</sup> Of course, with the possible exception of special cases like *catch*.

Like other West African Englishes, GhE is syllable-timed, resulting in the characteristic up and down of sentence intonation. A corollary of syllable-timing is that, unlike BrE, GhE does not show vowel reduction in unaccented syllables. Thus, unaccented vowels generally retain their full quality and schwa is hardly ever heard... In contrast to accent languages like English, these languages show prominence of an individual syllable by realizing it at a higher pitch than neighbouring, non-prominent syllables. (862)

What this means is that, in GhE, the word *photographer* will be pronounced /fòtògráfà/ (with the high tone placed on the third syllable<sup>22</sup>) instead of RP /fə'tɒgrəfə/. The phenomenon described here is taken a step further in GSP, where in some cases, the syllable that receives the high tone (in GhE) is reversed leading to the creation of a different-sounding word. For example, the word *matter*, RP /mætə/, is pronounced in Ghanaian English as /mátà/; however, when it is used in GSP, it is pronounced /màtá/. Consequently, for the same word (*matter*), speakers of GSP have the choice of /mátà/ or /màtá/, which are in free variation; however, the choice a speaker makes has sociolinguistic implications, as mentioned in §2.3.1.1. Other words which undergo the same process are *body* (<sup>23</sup>/bódì/ ~ /bòdí/), *money* (/mánì/ ~ /mòní/), *happy* (/hápì/ ~ /hòpí/), and *cousin* (/kázìn/ or /kùzón/)<sup>24</sup>. Apart from the words provided as examples, there are many others which appear to undergo this process. What cuts across all of them is that they are disyllabic and that they end up with a low-high prosody. An additional case in support of this is the word *sati* (/sàtí/) 'satisfied', which is borrowed into GSP by first clipping the English word to two syllables. Here, even though the clipped form is never used in GhE and, therefore, there is no high-low version (i.e. /sátì/<sup>25</sup>), GSP still uses low-high prosody suggesting that this is the rhythm<sup>26</sup> speakers prefer.

<sup>22</sup> Huber (2004) also mentions that GhE generally has a different prominent syllable than BrE.

<sup>23</sup> In both of these examples, the first pronunciation in the series is the GhE version and the second is the GSP version.

<sup>24</sup> The last three examples show that the process can be combined with vowel change.

<sup>25</sup> Of course, one could argue that since *satisfied* in GhE is /sàtísfáid/, the clipped form still provides the high-low conditioning that could trigger the GSP reversal.

<sup>26</sup> This issue of 'rhythm' will be revisited in the section on sociolinguistic implications.

Nevertheless, though all the examples here have a change in tone from high-low to low-high, it is difficult to say for certain that this is the only direction of change allowed in GSP (in the absence of a more in-depth study of the process). What can be said now is what was said above – that GhE tones are reversed in GSP and that the reversal leads to free variants in the language (and that this does not happen in TP).

### 2.3.2 Lexicological Properties

As noted above (at the beginning of §2.2), Huber (1999) points out that the major distinguishing feature of GSP is its lexicon. This section discusses the following: Borrowing (i.e. loan words and loan translations), Word Formation (and other morphological processes) and Lexico-Semantic processes. All these are processes that have made (and continue to make) GSP distinct linguistic system from both TP and GhE.

#### 2.3.2.1 Lexical Borrowing (Ghanaian Language Loan Words and Calques)

One of the commonest results of language contact is borrowing and the situation is no different for GSP and other languages in the Ghanaian context. Borrowing by GSP from Ghanaian languages takes two forms – Loan Words (discussed in §2.3.2.1.1) and Calques (discussed in §2.3.2.1.2)

##### 2.3.2.1.1 Ghanaian Language Loan Words

By and large, the relationship between Ghanaian languages and GSP as far as loan words are concerned seems to be that the predominant Ghanaian language within a geographical area supplies the loan words. Consequently, since (as previously mentioned) GSP began and developed around the coastal areas of Ghana, the languages that have been the most influential are Akan and Ga. The examples in Table 2.2 below, however, are all from Akan.

Table 2.2. Akan Loan Words Used in GSP

Word class	Words
1. Determiners/Quantifiers	<i>no</i> ‘the’; <i>bi</i> ‘some’
2. Intensifiers	<i>paa</i> ‘a lot’; <i>aaa</i> ‘for a long time’; <i>papa</i> ‘very well’
3. Adverbs	<i>pɛ</i> ‘only’; <i>keke</i> ‘completely’; <i>ampa</i> ‘truly’; <i>san</i> ‘again’; <i>shɛda</i> ‘intentionally’
5. Verbs	<i>tease</i> ‘understand’; <i>kae</i> ‘remember’
6. Numerals	<i>ɔha</i> ‘a hundred’

As Table 2.2 above shows, Akan loan words in GSP can come from virtually all the word classes. A few general observations are worthy of note. In the first place, though many of these words are used alongside their English semantic equivalents, some have replaced their GhE equivalents in GSP. The determiner *no* and the quantifier *bi*, for example, usually co-occur with their English equivalents, as illustrated in sentences (28) and (29), below.

(28) Some paddi bi come search you

INDF guy INDF come search 2SGOBJ

‘someone came searching for you’ (Osei-Tutu, 2016a:61)

(29) The paddi no come search you

D guy D come search 2SGOBJ

‘the guy came searching for you’ (Osei-Tutu, 2016a:61)

Akan adverbs, on the other hand, appear to have totally replaced their English equivalents in GSP. This is not to say that these are the only adverbs used in the pidgin, but that these particular Akan adverbs have displaced their English counterparts. Therefore, even though *pɛ* ‘only’, *keke* ‘completely’ and *ampa* ‘truly’ have English equivalents, these are rarely (if ever) used. As a result, one is more likely to hear (30) among speakers of GSP than (31) or (32).

(30) The girlie fine ampa

D girl beautiful truly

‘the girl is truly beautiful’

(31) The girlie fine truly

D girl beautiful truly

‘the girl is truly beautiful’

(32) The girlie truly fine

D girl truly beautiful

‘the girl is truly beautiful’

In fact, speakers who produce (31) or (32) are likely to be seen as incompetent or non-proficient.

#### 2.3.2.1.2 Ghanaian Language Calques

A Calque (or loan translation) is a type of borrowing in which one language borrows a word-for-word translation of a vocabulary item from another language (e.g., like the German *wolkenkratzer* ‘cloud scraper’ which comes from the English *skyscraper*<sup>27</sup>). This type of borrowing is rare and as such, examples of calques are not as common as direct loan words. GSP, however, has quite a number of loan translations and, in many instances, not just words but entire phrases can be borrowed from Ghanaian languages. Table 2.3, below, provides a list of some Akan loan translations in GSP.

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<sup>27</sup> The example is taken from Yule (2010:55)

Table 2.3. Akan Loan Translations Used in GSP

Ghanaian Language (Akan)			Ghanaian Student Pidgin	
Word/Phrase	Literal translation	Meaning	Word/Phrase	Meaning
1. Ani-gye	Eye-get	Joy/happiness	Eye-get	To be happy
2. Ani-bre	Eye-ripe/redden	Jealousy/envy/anger	Eye-red	Anger
3. Ani-wuo	Eye-die/death	Shame/disgrace	Eye-die	Shame, disgrace
4. Ani-bue	Eye-open	Wisdom,	Eye-open	Wise
5. Ani-ate	Eye-has-torn	Clever/cunning	Eye-tear	Cunning
6. Ahohyehye	Self/body-arrange	Curry favor	Self-arrangement	Curry favor
7. Ahoɔ-yaa	Self/body-pain	Jealousy/envy	Skin-pain	Jealousy
8. Bɔ	Hit/kick/wear/play	Hit/kick/wear/play	Kick	wear
10. Ti-wui	Head-dead	Dunce	Head-die	Dunce
11. Twa	Cut/take a picture	Cut/take a picture	Cut	Take a picture

Table 2.3 above shows that GSP normally borrows the literal translations of the Akan words and uses them (mostly) to mean the same things that the Akan words mean in usage, as sentences (33) and (34) illustrate:

(33) Sake-of      the thing    dem      do,    dema   eye die

because-of   D    thing   3PLSBJ   do   3PLPD   eye die

‘because of the thing they did, they were ashamed’ (Osei-Tutu, 2016a:58)

(34) Skin-pain   go    kill    you

Skin-pain   FUT   kill   2SGOBJ

‘Jealousy will kill you’ (Osei-Tutu, 2016a:59)

Despite cases like those above in which the loan translations are used in a transparent manner, there are others in which the relationship between the GSP calque and the Akan word it was borrowed from is not as simple. *Bɔ* is particularly interesting, case which shows that these relationships can involve multiple layers of obfuscation. As Table 2.3 shows, *bɔ* has multiple meanings ‘hit, play, wear and kick’, so GSP is able to use *kick* (as in (35) below):



(35) The paddi de kick some fine shadda  
 D guy NPU-PROG wear INDF fine clothes  
 ‘the guy is wearing some fine clothes’

However, though the lexical item *kick* in (35) is from English, the semantic content (i.e. ‘to wear’) comes from an translation equivalent of the Akan word *bɔ*. This relationship is explained with the diagram in below:

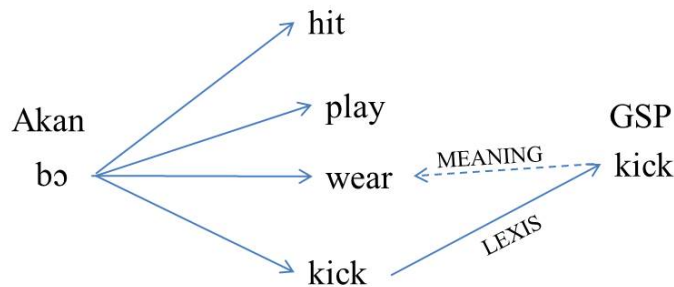


Figure 2.1. The relationship between GSP 'kick' and Akan 'bɔ'

To further complicate this already convoluted relationship, GSP uses the ‘wear’ meaning of *bɔ* differently than Akan. Akan has different words which mean ‘wear’ and the verb used depends on what is being worn. So Akan will use *hyɛ* ‘wear’ with a dress or a pair of socks; *fra* ‘wear’ with a cloth; and *bɔ* ‘wear’ with a watch or tie. Thus, *hyɛ* is used when the article which worn is a sort of *receptacle* into which (a part of) the body is *inserted*; *fra* is used when the article is something that *wraps* around the body; and *bɔ* is used when the article is something that is *tied* to (a part of) the body. Consequently, Akan, unlike GSP, cannot say *bɔataadeɛ* ‘kick clothes’ (to mean wear clothes) as the GSP sentence does in (35). In other words, not only does GSP borrow a different sense of the word *bɔ*, it also applies different rules to how it is used. This sort of masking of or opacity in the borrowed item leads us back the motivations for borrowing and makes a compelling argument for the argument that there is a desire to make GSP a distinctly unique and uninterpretable code to non-members of its speech community.

### 2.3.2.2 Word Formation and other Morphological Processes

In many cases, GSP applies morphological processes to change the form of a pre-existing word and, thus, create a new word. In this section, I discuss affixation and clipping, which are two of the more productive processes employed by GSP speakers. Affixation occurs when a derivational morpheme is attached to a word to create a new word. In the sentence (36) below, for example, the suffix *-ie* is attached to the noun *kid* to create a new word, which is a synonym for ‘kid/child’<sup>28</sup>.

(36) The thing the kiddie do no fine

D thing D child do NEG fine

‘what the child did was not good’

In some cases, the word and the affix attached to it come from different languages (as illustrated by below).

(37) I go through some nibiis

1SGSBJ go through INDF things

‘I went through some things’

In (37) above, the word *nibiis* ‘things’ is created from the Ga word *nibii* and the English plural marker *-s*. What makes this even more interesting is that the Ga word is already in the plural form and, therefore, the English *-s* is redundant; however, GSP users do not even realize this because the word is now part of the language. Another word which falls into this category is *gbeketi* ‘evening time’. ‘Gbẹke’, meaning ‘evening’ comes from Ga and ‘T’ is all that is left of the word ‘time’ after GSP is done clipping it. Once again, the word is so much a part of GSP that students who do not speak Ga have no idea what it means (in Ga) but are still capable of using it in GSP.

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<sup>28</sup> Here too, as was the case of many of the variants/synonyms mentioned above, the expression which is less like the English word (in this case, *girlie*) is the preferred term among proficient speakers.

Another example of clipping in GSP that is more representative of the process is presented in example (38) below, where the word *respect* loses its first syllable:

(38) *menes go pect you*

*menes FUT pect 2SGOBJ*

‘people will respect you’

The word *menes* in (38) above is itself has an interesting origin. It appears to be a double pluralization of *man* (i.e. *men* + *-es*). Once again it is very difficult to ascribe any underlining structural explanation for a change like this and the only option left is the sociolinguistic factor already mentioned in preceding sections.

### 2.3.2.3 Lexical Semantic Processes

The words under focus here already exist in (Ghanaian) English but have undergone some semantic processes which make them incomprehensible to non-speakers of GSP. A few examples of some of these processes are discussed below<sup>29</sup>.

#### 2.3.2.3.1 Semantic Shift

Products of this process include words such as *queer* ‘small or tiny’, *pop* ‘look/see’, *tap* ‘sit’, *bed* ‘sleep’, *bell* ‘phone (v)’ and *boot* ‘run away’, which have undergone a shift in meaning, as their GSP translations show. Thus, non-speakers of GSP who hear these words find it difficult to understand what is being said. Some of the examples, like *bell* and *bed*, retain some sort of metonymic relationship between their English meanings and their GSP meanings (as pointed out by Osei-Tutu & Corum, 2014), but these are only a few out of the many words used by the speakers.

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<sup>29</sup> For a more exhaustive description, see Osei-Tutu (2016)

### 2.3.2.3.2 Semantic Widening/Extension

Another important process in GSP is one in which the meaning of a word is widened in semantic scope. Examples of these words in GSP are *peep* and *spy* both of which in GSP mean to ‘look/see/watch’. *Peep* in English denotes looking through a small opening for a short time and like *spy*, implies that the one doing the looking is not noticed by the one being watched. However, in GSP, both words are unrestricted in their meaning – so they can be used to refer to any type of looking action.

### 2.3.2.3.3 Semantic Weakening

Semantic Weakening refers to a word losing some of its referential force. In GSP, for example, the word used to describe the meeting of two people is *crush* (pronounced [kɹʊʃ]). So, while *crush* in English typically has destructive effect on the item crushed, in GSP, the meaning is a lot weaker and does not even imply (necessarily) any actual physical contact (as the translation of (39), below, shows).

- (39) We        go        crush    moro  
       1SBSBJ   FUT   crush   tomorrow  
       ‘we will meet tomorrow/we will see each other tomorrow’

## 2.3.3 Syntactic Properties

As previously mentioned, GSP shares many aspects of the syntactic structure of Town Pidgin (and West African Pidgins in general). However, there are aspects of its syntax which are peculiar to the variety. With the exception of §2.3.3.1, the features below are a summary of what previous authors (Huber, 1999 and Dako, 2000) have already pointed out.

### 2.3.3.1 The Conditional Clause

Amoako (2011) provides a list of conditional clauses in pidgin, for example:

- (40) If you no go, I go tell am  
 If 2SGSBJ NEG go 1SGSUB FUT tell 3SGOBJ  
 ‘if you don’t go, I will tell him/her’ (113)

In (40), the head of the subordinate clause is *if*, which is similar to what Huber (1999) reports.

However, my data show that current speakers of GSP render the same sentences as follows:

- (41) (if) you no go-a, I go tell am  
 (if) 2SGSBJ NEG go-COMP 1SGSBJ FUT tell 3SGOBJ  
 ‘if you don’t go, I will tell him/her’

The construction in (41) above is interesting because it is patterned after Akan subordinating constructions and, in fact, borrows one of the subordinating elements, *-a*, from Akan. This is illustrated with a translation of the same sentence into Akan in (42) below:

- (42) (sɛ) wo an-kɔ-a, m-e-ka kyere no  
 (If) 2SGSBJ NEG-go-COMP 1SGSBJ-FUT-tell show 3SGOBJ  
 ‘if you don’t go, I will tell him/her’

It is important to note here that, though Akan can make use of the two-part construction *sɛ...-a* to form the subordinate clause, *sɛ* is optional, whereas *-a* is obligatory. As mentioned above, this syntactic structure seems to have been borrowed completely into GSP, since some speakers will precede the construction in sentence (41) with the Akan equivalent of ‘if’, *sɛ*. That GSP uses an underlying Akan syntactic structure to express these types of adverbial conditional clauses is significant because neither Huber (1999) nor Amoako (2011) seems to have observed this in their data. Huber (1999:180) clearly states that “[a]dverbial phrases can be introduced by *if* of *laik* ‘if’,

*bikəs* ‘because’, *wen* ‘when’, etc....” and goes on to add that “[t]he use of all subordinators is optional.” In effect, what Huber (1999) is saying is that it is possible to say *you no go, I go tell am*. However, it is clear from my data that current speakers of GSP find such a construction ungrammatical and require some marker of subordination.

### 2.3.3.2 The Possessive Phrase

As Huber (1999:276) notes, unlike TP, GSP forms possessive phrases with the construction “possessor + pronoun + possessed”. Examples (43) and (44), below, illustrate this:

(43) The man in<sup>30</sup> car (GSP)

D man 3SPD car

‘the man his car’

‘the man’s car’

(44) The man car (TP)

D man car

‘the man’s car’

### 2.3.3.3 Postposed elements

Huber (1999:276) also points out that GSP uses locative constructions in which the prepositions follow the noun phrase, whereas TP has the prepositions before the noun phrase (as is typical of English). This is illustrated with the following examples, (45) from GSP and (46) from TP.

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<sup>30</sup> The final consonant of the possessive determiner is variably pronounced (in/im) as a result of regressive assimilation. In this dissertation, I follow the informally accepted writing system among speakers of GSP and write it using the actual allophonic values.

(45)e        go    the   house   inside  
              3SGSBJ go    D    house   inside  
              ‘s/he went inside the house’

(46)e        go    inside the house  
              3SGSBJ go    inside D   house  
              ‘s/he went inside the house’

It is important to note that though Huber (1999) only lists *inside* and *outside* as the prepositions that are postposed in this manner, this construction is fairly common in GSP locative constructions (even where locative prepositions are not involved) as pointed out by Corum (2015). This is illustrated with (47) below:

(47)comot    your    mind   for   in    heart   top<sup>31</sup>  
              come.out   2SGPD   mind   FOR   3SGPD heart   top  
              ‘remove your mind from off the top of her heart’  
              ‘forget about her heart (love)’

In the example above, the location is *the top of her heart* which is rendered in GSP with *top* postposed. Constructions like these, as Corum (2015) also points out, appear to be patterned after some of the major languages spoken in Ghana (particularly Akan and Ga – the languages GSP is constantly in contact with). For example, the sentence in examples 0 and (46) above will be rendered in Akan as:

(48)ɔ        k -        daẽ    no   mu  
              3SGSBJ go-PST   house D   inside  
              ‘s/he went inside the house’

---

<sup>31</sup> I first heard this sentence spoken by a character in a Ghanaian TV show, *Things We Do For Love*, which aired in the mid-2000s and I recently discovered the specific episode on youtube.

#### 2.3.3.4 Prevalence of Akan Constructions

As the section above (2.3.3.3) shows, GSP has the tendency to borrow or pattern itself after some of the Ghanaian languages. This a point which is made by (Dako, 2002a), especially, with regard to GSP's borrowing of Akan determiners and degree adverbs. She points out that constructions involving these Akan borrowings are not as common in TP, GSP's parent language. Furthermore, in certain cases, GSP constructions show a double-marking where both an English functional item and an Akan grammatical item are used to mark the same lexical item (as illustrated in §2.3.2.1.1 with sentences (28) and (29)).

Additionally, as mentioned above, GSP prefers Akan intensifiers to those from English. A possible reason for the large number of intensifier borrowings could be emotional attachment. What is meant here is that, in GSP, intensifiers are used to express a greater degree of emotion or feeling about the activity or action being described by the verb and some speakers have reported that Ghanaian language intensifiers seem better able to do that. A more scientific reason might lie in the fact that Ghanaian languages can increase (or decrease) the effect (or intensity) of an intensifier by controlling the length of the vowels. For example:

(49) Asem no hye-e me paa

matter D burn-PST 1SGOBJ a.lot/very

'The matter pained me a lot/was very painful'

(50) Asem no hye-e me paaaaa

matter D burn-PST 1SGOBJ a-whole-lot/very.very

'The matter pained me a WHOLE lot/was very, very painful'



Any speaker of Akan will interpret (50) as having more of an effect (than (49)) on the person who made the utterance. In other words, the longer the vowel in the intensifier is held, the greater the degree of intensification. This rule that governs this manipulation of degree words in Akan also applies in GSP (as illustrated in (51) and (52) below):

(51) The   matter   pain       me       paa

D       matter   pain   1SGOBJ a.lot/very

‘the matter pained me a lot/was very painful’

(52) The   matter   pain   me       paaaaa

D       matter   pain   1SGOBJ a.lot/very.very

‘the matter pained me a whole lot/was very, very painful’

Therefore, it is possible that this phenomenon makes speakers feel that Akan intensifiers are better able to express degree than their English equivalents.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided some background for the language under discussion – GSP. It situated the variety within the context of pidgins in Ghana and West Africa by tracing its origins to TP (what Huber, 1999 refers to as the uneducated variety of Ghanaian Pidgin English). Additionally, the chapter provided evidence for GSP as a variety distinct from TP by outlining some of its unique characteristic features. The chapter also shows that, though previous authors, Huber (1999), Dako (2002a) and Amoako (2011) have concentrated largely on the lexical uniqueness of GSP, there is also something to be said about the phonological, semantic and syntactic uniqueness of the variety. The chapter further argues (in agreement with Huber, 1999) that these unique features of GSP stem from the population that makes up its speakers, but goes further, in agreement with Osei-Tutu &

Corum (2014) and Osei-Tutu (2016a, 2016b), that the speakers have a desire to make GSP distinct from TP and uninterpretable to non-speakers.

## CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth description of the data used for the dissertation. Section 3.2 describes the data collection instrument and provides a breakdown of the various items elicited from the participants. Section 3.3 gives background information on the participants and Section 3.4 describes the data processing stage of the methodology.

### 3.2 Data Collection Instrument

The Instrument used in collecting the data was designed at Purdue University by Elena Benedicto in collaboration with the Envision Center (Benedicto, 2017). The instrument consists of a battery of 175 animated video-clips designed to elicit and contrast the set of parameters relevant to the study. The video-clips, which are organized around a variety of 19 themes (e.g. a goose, a plane, etc.), were administered to the participants by means of a randomized self-paced application. In effect, the entire set of animations was bundled into an app which could be self-administered by the participant. The interface for the application was relatively simple so that not much technical expertise was needed to run it. Once the executable file was run, the main window of the application presented the participant with a choice of the seven movie blocks as shown below in Figure 3.1:

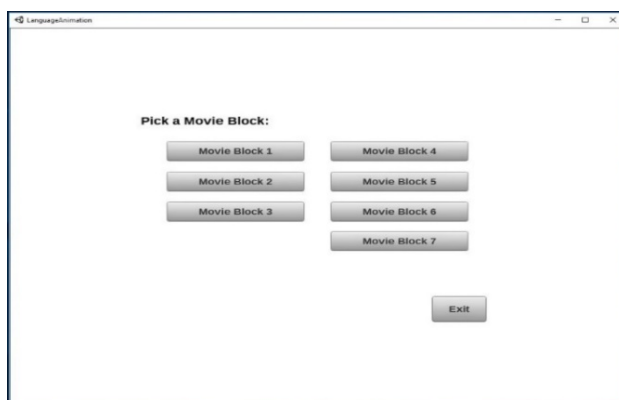


Figure 3.1: Main Window of Animation Application

Once a choice was of movie block was made, another window would open in place of the main window. This is shown below in Figure 3.2:

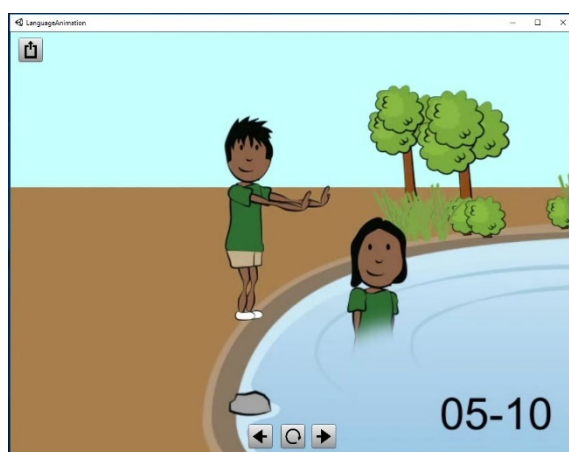






Figure 3.2. Clip 05-10

As can be seen in Figure 3.2, the navigation buttons in the application are kept to a minimum. At the top left corner is the home button  which returns the participant to the main window (Figure 3.1); at the bottom of the screen, in the middle, there is the left arrow  (which takes the participant back to the previous video), the repeat button  (which replays the current video) and the right arrow  (which takes the participant to the next video). Also, the bottom right of the screen has the ID number of the video which is currently being displayed to the participant so that each elicited utterance could be matched with the proper video stimulus. In order to make such identification even easier, participants were asked to say the ID number before and after their

utterance. This greatly aided the processing of the data with regard to clipping the recordings later on for annotation in ELAN.

### 3.2.1 Parameters and Contrasts

As mentioned above, the video clips were organised around 19 themes and were designed to elicit data on various parameters of the motion predicate (which are discussed in detail later in this section and summarized in *Table 3.1*). Also, the clips were organized in minimally contrasting pairs according to the relevant parameter. This subsection provides examples of the type of pairings within the video clips and the contrasts they were meant to draw out. In other words, each pair of items below is a minimal pair for a specific parameter (e.g. telicity)

#### 3.2.1.1 Trajectory/Path

With regard to the **Trajectory** of motion, a contrast was made between the figure moving ‘up away’ and ‘down towards’. Figure 3.3 (clip 01-22) and Figure 3.4 (clip 01-24) below illustrate this:



Figure 3.3. Clip 01-22



Figure 3.4. Clip 01-24

As Figure 3.3 shows, in clip 01-22, the girl releases the bird and it flies upward and away from her to go and land on a fence which is on top of a hill; whereas in Figure 3.4 (clip 01-24) the girl releases a bird which then flies to go and land on a fence. These two are a minimal pair because the event they encode is similar in all respects apart from the trajectory (up-away versus down-towards). In other words, in both cases, a girl releases a bird, which then flies to land on fence. However, in 01-22 (Figure 3.3), the girl is standing on the ground with the fence higher up on a hill which is away from the participant (or the viewer of the video); while in 01-24 (Figure 3.4), the girl is standing on the hill (i.e. higher ground) and the fence is lower on the ground and towards the participant (or the viewer of the animation). These contrasts made it possible to elicit data on the three planes of the complex-path (as proposed by Benedicto & Salomon, 2014) – i.e. the Vertical, Horizontal and Deictic (or Midsagittal).

### 3.2.1.2 Telicity

The **Telicity** parameter conceptualized the reaching of an endpoint for the vector. In this regard, a distinction was made between Telic events (i.e. ones in which the figure traveling along the vector reaches an endpoint) and Atelic events (i.e. those in which the figure does not reach an endpoint). For the Atelic events, a further distinction was made between Underspecified Atelics (i.e. those which had a potential goal or a location which could be reasonably assumed as the endpoint for the figure) and Unspecified Atelics (i.e. those which had no such potential goal). Thus, for the parameter of Telicity there were three possible outcomes – Telic (i.e. having an endpoint), Atelic Underspecified (i.e. no endpoint, but with a potential goal) and Atelic Unspecified (with no endpoint and no potential goal). Figure 3.5, Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7, below, illustrate this:

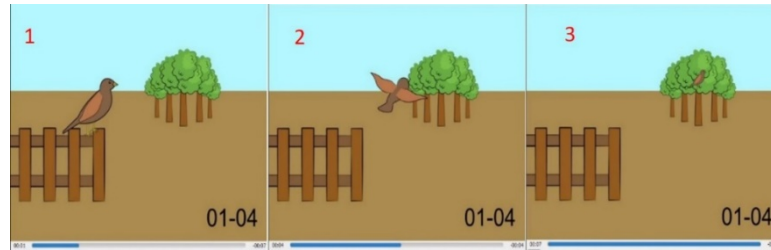


Figure 3.5. Clip 01-04

In Figure 3.5 above, we can see that clip 01-04 has a bird which flies from a fence to go and land on a tree top (i.e. a telic event). This clip is contrasted with clip 01-01 (Figure 3.6) which shows a bird flying from a fence into the distance (i.e. an atelic event).

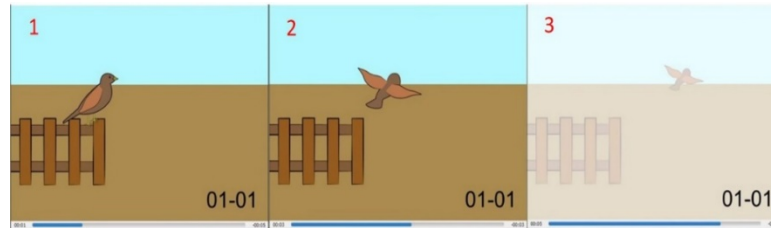


Figure 3.6. Clip 01-01

Consequently, the two clips (01-04 and 01-01) are minimal pairs with respect to the telic and atelic binary because the only difference between the two events are that in one (01-04) the bird arrives at an endpoint (the tree) and in the other (01-01) there is no endpoint for the bird to arrive at. However, as previously mentioned, a further contrast can be made between two types of atelic – what is shown in clip 01-01 (i.e. Figure 3.6) and what is shown in clip 01-02 (Figure 3.7) below.

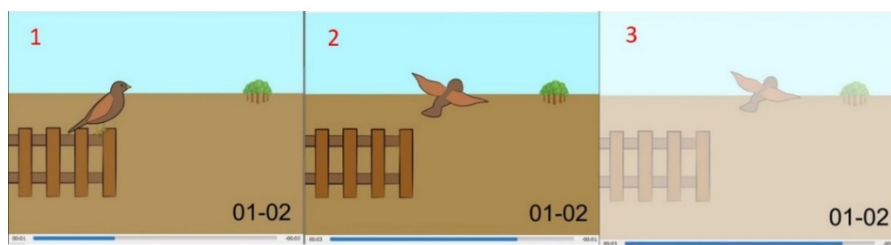


Figure 3.7. Clip 01-02

In Figure 3.7, we see that the bird flies from the fence towards the trees in the distance but the participant never sees it get to the trees. Therefore, this is a case of an atelic-underspecified, where the participant sees what they may presume to be a destination for the bird, but the clip ends before the bird gets to the tree, so they never know if that was the bird's destination. The event in Figure 3.7, thus, contrasts nicely with the event in Figure 3.6, in which (as we have seen above) there is no destination (actual or presumed) for the bird (i.e. an atelic-unspecified event). In this sense, clip 01-01 (Figure 3.6) and clip 01-02 (Figure 3.7) form a minimal pair with regard to the type of atelic event they encode (i.e. unspecified versus underspecified)<sup>32</sup>. As will be shown in Chapter 5 (where Telicity will be addressed in detail) this additional contrast proved very useful for the study.

### 3.2.1.3 Agentivity

With regard to Agentivity, a contrast was made between an **Agentive** event (i.e. one in which there was an agent) and a **Non-Agentive** event (i.e. one in which there was no agent). This distinction is illustrated below with Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9.

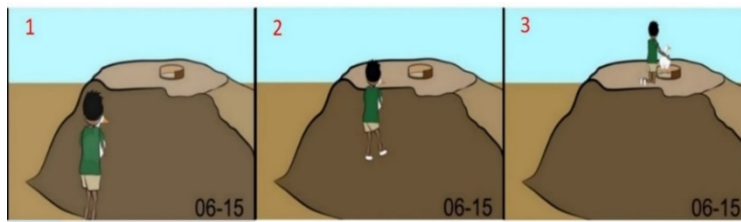


Figure 3.8. Clip 06-06

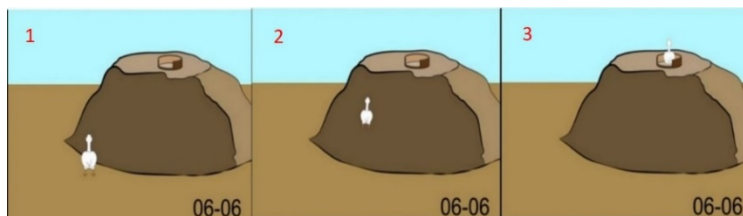


Figure 3.9. Clip 06-15

<sup>32</sup> Of course, it is also valid for one to argue that clips 01-04 and 01-02 also form a minimal pair since they are the same except for the presence/absence of the tree as an endpoint. Thus, the three clips (01-01, 01-02 and 01-04) are, in actuality, a minimal set and make it possible to achieve the three-way distinction made under the telicity parameter



In Figure 3.8, above, the goose walks up the hill and goes to sit in the coop. In other words, the clip depicts the figure (i.e. the goose) undergoing a motion on its own without any external actor (i.e. an agent). In Figure 3.9 however, the goose is carried up the hill and placed in the coop by the boy, while the other parameters (i.e. vectorization and telicity) remain the same. Consequently, the only difference between the two events depicted in Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9 is that the boy acts as an agent in the latter, which is why the two clips (i.e. 06-06 and 06-15) are minimal pairs with regard to the parameter of Agentivity.

Additionally, within those agentive events, a further contrast was made with respect to the type of contact between the agent and the figure. Thus, the prompts were designed to distinguish between **Initial Contact** (i.e. the agent made contact with the figure and then did not partake in the motion of the figure) and **Continuous Contact** (i.e. the agent made contact with the figure and maintained that contact with the figure as they went through the motion event). This distinction is exemplified below in Figure 3.10 and Figure 3.11.



Figure 3.10. Clip 12-03

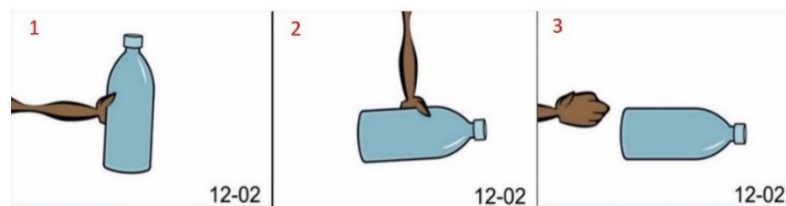


Figure 3.11. Clip 12-02

Figure 3.10 depicts a bottle which is knocked over by a hand, causing it to fall down, whereas in Figure 3.11 the bottle is picked up by the hand and placed on the floor. Though both events depicted in the two figures are agentic, they are different with regard to the type of contact the agent (i.e. the person whose hand we see) has with the bottles. In Figure 3.10, the agent has just one (initial) contact with the bottle which then undergoes the motion of falling to the floor alone and by itself; while in Figure 3.11, the agent has continuous contact with the bottle as it goes on to assume its new position (i.e. lying on the floor). Hence, these two clips (i.e. 12-02 and 12-03) are minimal pairs with regard to the type of contact (i.e. initial or continuous) the agent (the person's hand) has with the figure (i.e. the bottle), since every other aspect of the event is the same.

#### 3.2.1.4 Boundary Crossing

Another parameter which the data instrument was designed to elicit data for is **Boundary Crossing**. Here, a contrast was made between clips that showed the figure (e.g. a bird, paper plane, etc.) going from one point to another across some sort of boundary (e.g. a fence, river, etc.) or not. In Figure 3.12 (clip 01-17) below, for example, we see a girl release a bird which then flies across a river to go and land on a fence.



Figure 3.12. Clip 01-17



Figure 3.13. Clip 01-41

The contrasting clip (01-41) to this is shown in Figure 3.13 below, which depicts an event with the same parameters (vectorization, agentivity and telicity) apart from one (boundary crossing, i.e. there is no river for the bird to cross). This thus makes the two clips a minimal pair which contrast solely in the parameter of Boundary Crossing (i.e. the river which the bird crosses). As the discussion on **Path** (in Chapter 4) will show, this parameter proved particularly significant for the GSP because of its implications for the horizontal component of the 3-D path.

### 3.3 Participants and Data Collection

This section provides detailed information on the participants in the study, the data collection conventions and procedures that were followed, as well as specifics on the data that was collected.

#### 3.3.1 Participants

In all data were collected from five participants; however, only data from three<sup>33</sup> of them were used for this dissertation. Of the three selected participants, one was a sophomore at the University of Ghana, Legon; another was a recent graduate of the same university who was doing his National Service<sup>34</sup> at the Department of English at the time the data was collected; while the third one was also a graduate of the same university but had completed a couple of years prior to the data collection. Even though unintentional, this selection of respondents provides a good spread of speakers of GSP at various stages of the cycle. Since all three speakers reported that they acquired GSP in high school and continued to speak it once they went to the university, the spread across various levels of the university provides a snapshot of GSP at three levels of use (i.e. a current

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<sup>33</sup> These three participants were the easiest to reach for follow-ups during the transcription and analysis stages of writing the dissertation.

<sup>34</sup> A year (typically, right after graduating from college) during which graduates of public universities in Ghana work for a government organization without a salary but are paid a modest allowance. This is seen as service to the nation because public universities are heavily subsidized by the government.

college student, a recent graduate who still spends the majority of his working day on campus and a less recent graduate who is now in the ‘real’ world and has little or no contact with the university campus). Additionally, though all three speakers attended high school (where they learned GSP) in Accra, they went to different parts of the city and, as mentioned in Chapter 1, a speaker’s high school background plays an influential role on how they speak GSP (mainly, with regard to lexis).

In addition to speaking GSP, all the respondents spoke Ghanaian English as well as Akan. Also, one of the respondents spoke Ga and another spoke both Ga and Ewe (which are also Ghanaian languages). It is relevant to note that the three Ghanaian languages spoken by the participants all belong to the Kwa language family, which researchers (Dadzie, 1985; Dako, 2002a, 2002b) believe to be the substrate of GSP.

### 3.3.2 Data Collection Process

It is important to mention that the data collection process was not designed to be experimental but to facilitate collection or elicitation of qualitative data. Thus, during elicitation sessions (which were audio recorded) participants would sometimes be prompted for more information if it was deemed necessary. For example, in the clips where there is a bird flying to/towards a tree, some participants would assume that the bird reached the tree (i.e. a telic reading), when the clip shows that the bird did not arrive at the tree (i.e. an atelic reading). In such cases, in order to confirm the participant’s response, they would be asked a follow up question such as *did the bird get to the tree?* This would then prompt participant to replay the clip and, typically, provide another utterance which would reflect what the clip was actually depicting (in this case, the telic reading). In some of the cases, the mismatch between the produced utterances and the expected interpretation was noticed long after the elicitation session had been conducted. For those

situations, the participants were contacted via phone and the individual clips were sent to them through the messaging app *WhatsApp* and they recorded their responses as voice messages. In order to avoid influencing their response, participants were not made aware of their previous responses – which were still useful because (together with the target responses) they formed minimal pairs. Unfortunately, however, there were a number of such non-target responses<sup>35</sup> (32 in all) that could not be cross-checked with the participants because they could not be reached at the time of analyzing the data, and the section below provides a detailed account of these responses.

### 3.3.3 Data Collected

In all, a total of 541 utterances were elicited from the three participants. This number exceeds the total expected, 525 (i.e. 175 animations x 3 participants), because, as mentioned above, some participants provided more than one response per animation. Out of the 541 utterances, 32 of them could not be used for their expected purpose because they did not accurately describe or represent what the animation was trying to elicit and attempts to follow up with the participants proved unsuccessful. Of these 32, the majority (30) were provided for the prompts which were seeking to elicit the Telic/Atelic contrast. Twenty-four out of the thirty were produced by the participants as atelic structures even though the prompt showed a telic event; while six were produced by the participants as telic whereas the prompt showed an atelic event. It is important to note, that even though these utterances were the opposite of what was expected, as mentioned above, they were still useful because they provided an excellent contrast in the telic/atelic pairings. The final two of the thirty-two were completely discarded because they did not provide any information relevant to the study. These two were both provided (by the same participant) in response to stimuli from the ‘Train Series’, which showed a child pushing a toy train up/down a small mound of earth into a

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<sup>35</sup> A complete list of these prompts is provided in Appendix D

tunnel. In these two responses, however, the participant simply referred to the event in the animation as a child playing with a (toy) train. Consequently, since he could not be contacted for a follow-up session, none of the parameters that were being studied could be extracted from these two responses.

Furthermore, out of the 541 utterances elicited, 221 were telic and 303 were atelic. Out of the 303 atelic utterances, 87 were underspecified while 216 were unspecified. Also, with regard to the Agentive parameter, 278 of the utterances were agentive and 264 were non-agentive. Out of the agentive utterances, 166 were initial contact agentives and 111 were continuous contact agentives. Finally, 16 of the utterances were completive while 12 were stative. Table 3.1, below, provides the various parameters for which data was elicited, the number of expected responses and the number of target responses elicited from the participants.

Table 3.1 Breakdown of Elicited Data<sup>36</sup>

Parameters			No. of items/stimuli	No. of Expected Responses	No. of Target Responses
a. Process	Vectorization				
		1 spatial plane:	Horizontal: 19 items	57	11
			Vertical: 24 items	72	12
		2 spatial planes	Deictic + Horizontal: 54 (49) items	162	14
			Vertical + Horizontal: 7	21	0
		3 spatial planes:	Vertical + Horizontal + Deictic: 47 (44) items	141	0
	Ingressiveness		Ingressive: 30 items	90	90
	Orientation		8 items	24	24
b. Telicity	Telic		78 items	234	221
	Atelic items		84 items	252	303
c. Compleitive			8 items (to contrast with telicity)	24	16
d. Stative			5 items (to contrast with result(ing)-states)	15	12
e. Agentivity	Agentive		87 items	261	277
	Non-Agentive		88 items	264	264

### 3.4 Data Processing

This section describes how the data collected for the study was processed.

#### 3.4.1 Naming Conventions

There are two naming conventions used in the data processing. For the raw ELAN files, each one is named according to the ID number, the date of transcription (MMDDYYYY) and the name of the respondent – for example, 01-01\_02192016\_Name.eaf. All the respondents whose data were used

<sup>36</sup> Data from the shaded portions were not used in this study.

for the dissertation gave their consent to their identity being revealed as part of the publishing process.

Another naming convention is maintained for the utterances used as examples in the dissertation. For these, the name is also in three parts, but representing different things. The first part is the name of the video prompt used to elicit the utterance (e.g. 0101), the second part is the initials of the language under study (i.e. GSP – Ghanaian Student Pidgin) and the third part is a three-letter pseudonym for the participant who produced the utterance (e.g. DLP). This will yield the name 0101GSPDLP. In some cases, participants produced more than one utterance for a specific prompt. These cases could be grouped into two – those that were treated as false-starts and those where it could be clearly determined that the participant was providing more than one way of saying the same thing. False-starts were determined in two ways: by verifying with the participant and (where that was not possible) by the researcher’s discretion. An example of a false-start will be if the participant produced the following utterances in response to a specific stimulus:

(53) the bird de fly go dey the tree (...) the tree inside

(54) the bird de fly go dey the tree (...) e de fly go dey the tree inside

In many cases, when a participant was asked to repeat the utterance for the stimulus, they combined utterance (53) and utterance (54) into one utterance:

(55) the bird de fly go dey the tree inside

This is not surprising since it is clear that the word ‘inside’ is added as additional (more specific) information. Consequently, in cases where it was not possible to get back to the participant to cross-check, the same pattern was followed.



On the other hand, as mentioned above, there were some cases where the participants' responses were counted as two separate utterances. In many of these cases, the participant himself would signal that he was producing more than one utterance for the same stimulus by saying something in the form of "you can also say it this way...". In other cases, however, the participant would simply produce two or more utterances (without indicating overtly that they were separate ways of saying the same thing) but would coordinate them with 'or'. The researcher took the word 'or' as an indicator that the two utterances (in such cases) were alternative ways of saying the same thing. For example, a participant may have produced utterance (56) below:

(56) the bird de fly go the tree inside (...) or the bird de fly towards the tree

Here, the elicited utterance was treated as two separate responses for the same stimulus because the word 'or' was taken as the participant signaling that he was providing another way of saying the same thing. In cases such as these, where two responses were given realized for the same stimulus, an additional descriptor (alphabetical for the ELAN files and numerical for the utterances) was added to the both the ELAN file name and the utterance name (in the dissertation). For example, if a participant (say DLP) was deemed to have produced two utterances for stimulus 0101, the ELAN file names would be 01-01a\_DATE\_NAME.eaf and 01-01b\_DATE\_NAME.eaf; while the utterance names used in the dissertation would be 0101GSPDLP1 and 0101GSPDLP2<sup>37</sup>.

### 3.4.2 ELAN Files

As mentioned above, the language data processing software ELAN was used for annotating the utterances that were elicited from participants for use in the dissertation. ELAN was useful for this because it allowed each utterance to be linked to the stimulus that elicited it. Furthermore, in order

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<sup>37</sup> All the data elicited from the participants is provided in Appendix C. In addition, the entire dataset and accompanying documentation is published in Osei-Tutu (2019)

to make sure that the annotation and coding captured all the parameters and dimensions that the data instrument was meant to elicit, the ELAN template used was organized into 28 tiers. The first tier is the **Utterance** tier which has the utterance (as it was produced by the participant); for example, Figure 3.15 below, shows that the participant produced the utterance '*the bird dey the tree top e de fly over the river go another tree top*'. The next tier, **Perspective**, provides a slot for the perspective taken by the participant to be indicated (i.e. whether the participant takes his own perspective, the perspective of the figure – the bird – or the perspective of the trees). The next tier, **Clause**, contained the utterance broken down into the number clauses it contains; so, as Figure 3.15 shows, the sentence in the utterance tier has two clauses '*the bird dey the tree top*' and '*e de fly over the river go another tree top*'. The next five tiers are coding tiers in that they provide information on the main parameters that were encoded in the data collection instrument. Under the first of the five, Telicity, the coder could pick between one of two options – Telic or Atelic. Under Compleitive, the options were +/-COMPL (i.e. plus/minus Compleitive); under State, +/-STAT (i.e. plus/minus Stative) and for Agent, +/-AG (i.e. plus/minus Agentive). Additionally, if +AG was selected, another parameter (+/-CONT, i.e. plus or minus continuous contact) had to be indicated.

The **Word Level** which is next, contains the break down of the clause into the words that it is composed of. The four tiers that follow deal with annotation at the word level of analysis. The first, **Morpheme**, allows each individual word to be broken down further into its component morphemes (where applicable). In GSP, this tier is often similar to the **Word** tier because the language is quite analytic in nature. The tier was still necessary, though, since there were a few cases where a word contained more than one morpheme (usually, an inflectional morpheme) as is the case with *trees* in Figure 3.14, below:

word level [10]	the	bird	fly	from	the	tree s	go	the	fence	top
morpheme [11]	the	bird	fly	from	the	tree s	go	the	fence	top
inflection [11]	def				def	pl		def		
category [11]	D	N	V	P	D	N	Infl	V	D	N
lexical	the	bird	flew	from	the	tree s	went	the	fence	top

Figure 3.14. An Example of Morpheme Level Annotation

Next, the inflectional information for each (inflectional) morpheme is provided on the Inflection tier – for example, in Figure 3.15, the morpheme *de* is glossed as a ‘npu-prog’ (i.e. non-punctual progressive marker). The **Category** tier provides the word class of each word and the Lexical meaning tier provides a word-level translation for each word. Typically, since GSP is English-based, this tier is similar to the **Word Level** tier. However, there are cases where an English translation needs to be provided for a word – as is the case for *dey* (glossed as ‘be.at’) in Figure 3.15 below. The next tier is the **Sentence Level** tier which provides a translation of the GSP sentence (as a semantic unit) into English. In addition to the tiers discussed above, there are a few others which are not shown in Figure 3.15 and these contain the metadata for each file – i.e. the name of the participant, the name of the interviewer, the date of the elicitation, the date of the transcription, the name of the person who provided the English translations and the title of the stimulus used in that ELAN file (e.g. 0101).

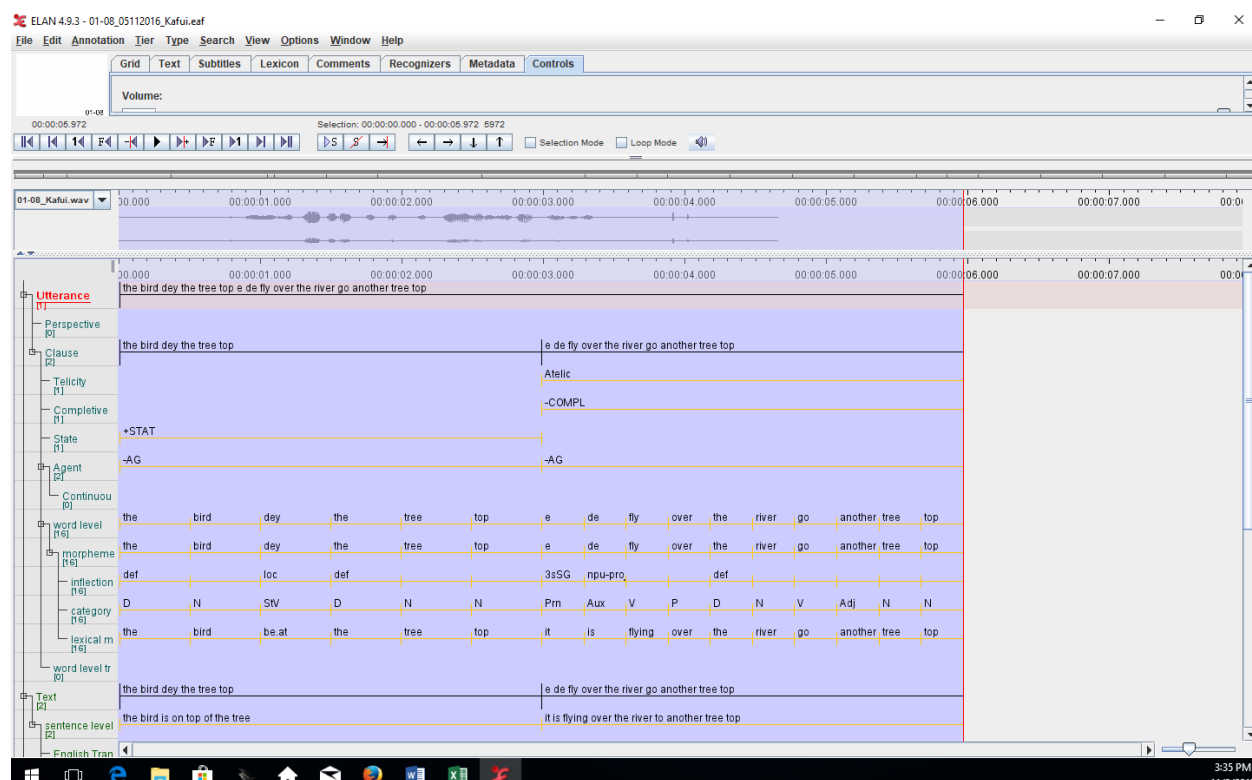


Figure 3.15. An Annotated Sentence in ELAN

### 3.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter provided the details of how data was collected and analyzed for the dissertation – i.e. the data collection instrument, the participants, a breakdown of the type of data collected and their relevance to the study.

## CHAPTER 4. THE PROCESS SUBCOMPONENT

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the process subcomponent of motion predicates in Ghanaian Student Pidgin. The subsection of the structure (5) in §1.5 – marked Process – depicting the ongoing part of the event and which has, in the past, been semantically categorized as *activities* (Dowty, 1979). The key factor in an *activity/process* type event is homogeneity in the series of subevents that it consists of. For example, the activity of ‘eating’ is made up of a series of *eating*-subevents which (taken together) form the *process* of eating. Following previous studies on event structure (Talmy, 2007; Ramchand, 2008 and, particularly, Benedicto & Salomon, 2014), the process subcomponent of a motion predicate is analyzed into three parts – the trajectory (i.e. the path along which the figure travels or moves), which is the core component; the orientation (i.e. whether the figure travels forwards or backwards as it moves along the path); and the ingressive/egressive parameter (i.e. whether the figure enters or exits a location). This dissertation deals only with the core part of the process – the trajectory (path).

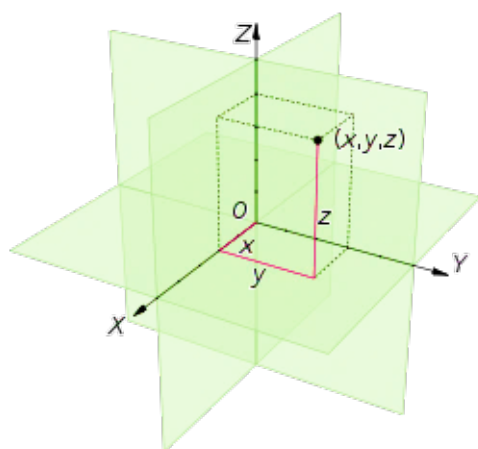
The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: I begin by first addressing (in §4.2) the notion of complex path by discussing the vectorization of the trajectory along the lines of the 3-D complex path structure proposed by (Benedicto & Salomon, 2014), which was adopted for this dissertation. Next, in §4.3, I present evidence in support of the hierarchical order (Vertical-Horizontal-Deictic) of the three planes that combine to form the vector of the 3-D complex-path subcomponent of the structure (5) proposed in the hypothesis subsection (§1.5). Then in subsequent subsections, I show how GSP computes 2-D (§4.3.1) and 1-D (§4.3.2) paths, with the added aim of determining which

of the planes is/are obligatory or optional, or how much or how little is necessary and/or sufficient for trajectory to be properly represented in the language. Finally, I conclude (in 4.4) by discussing an unexpected outcome of the data elicited which raises some interesting questions.

#### 4.2 Complex Path: The Morpho-Syntax of 3-D Vectorization

The notion of path referred to here is dependent on a conceptualization of the motion vector along the lines of the Cartesian Coordinate System in which space is presented as the intersection of three dimensions. This is captured in the model in (57) below proposed by (Benedicto & Salomon, 2014) for analyzing complex-path motion predicates. A complex path (motion predicate), therefore, is one in which the figure moves along a path which incorporates more than one plane in its vector.

(57)

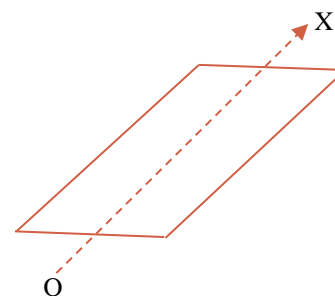
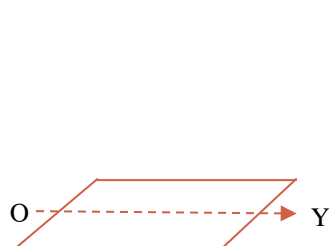


The model (which is adopted for the study) incorporates the following planes:

a. Horizontal Plane

b. Vertical/Horizontal

c. Midsagittal/Deictic



As (57) shows, the horizontal plane involves movement cutting across (i.e. from right-to-left or left-to-right) the view of the speaker. This is illustrated below in sentence (58), which was in response to clip 02-11 (presented below as a series of stills in Figure 4.1)

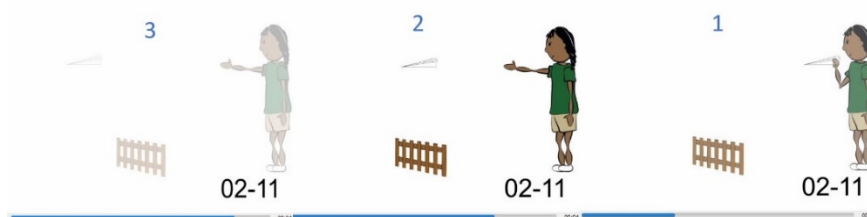


Figure 4.1. Clip 02-11

(58)

[0211GSPBOW2]

The shoddy throw the thing pass the fence top

D girl throw D thing pass D fence top

‘the girl threw the thing across the fence’

In the sentence above, the girl throws a paper plane across the horizontal plane (i.e. moving right-to-left) and this is captured with the verb *pass*.

Movement along the vertical plane (57) is illustrated below with sentence (59) which was elicited in response to clip 13-06 (also presented below as a series of stills in Figure 4.2).

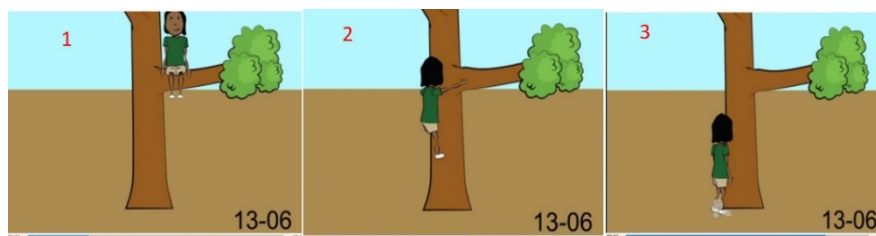


Figure 4.2. Clip 13-06

(59)

[1306GSPISA]

The girl giddon for the tree

D girl get.down LOC D tree

‘the girl got down from the tree’

The motion event encoded in (59) is on the vertical plane because the figure (*the girl*) changes location by moving *downward* from a branch on the upper part of the tree to the ground.

Movement along the midsaggital/deictic plane (57)c) is illustrated below with sentence (60), which was elicited in response to clip 02-10 (also presented below in Figure 4.3 as a series of stills).



Figure 4.3. Clip 02-10

(60)

[0210GSPISA]

The girl fly the paper plane go the dustbin top

D girl throw D paper plane go D dustbin top

‘the girl threw the paper plane (all the way) to the top of the dustbin’

Here, the path the figure (i.e. the paper plane) follows has a depth to it; in other words, it is an andative vector (i.e. moving away from the girl who is the deictic center) with its head towards the bucket in the distance. A closer examination of the clip in Figure 4.3 reveals that, in addition to the deictic plane, the bucket into which the plane lands is placed higher than the girl (i.e. on a hill) and this indicates that the plane has to travel up (i.e. on the vertical plane). In reality, therefore, the



clip contains more than one plane (i.e. deictic and vertical and, hence, it constitutes a complex path which is a 2-D vector (combining an upward value for the vertical and an andative value for the deictic). Thus, to reiterate, a complex-path motion predicate is one in which the trajectory of the figure involves more than one plane. Clip 06-15 (presented below as a series of stills in Figure 4.4) and the corresponding sentence (61) provide an example of a complex-path comprising of three planes.



Figure 4.4. Clip 06-15

(61)

[0615GSPBOW]

E galley go put the duck for the thing inside  
 3sSBJ walk.PST go.PST put.PST D duck LOC D thing inside  
 ‘(s)he walked (all the way) to put the duck inside the thing’

In Figure 4.4, in addition to the left to right movement (i.e. the horizontal plane) and the depth (movement to the coop – i.e. the deictic plane), there is also the upward movement of climbing the hill (i.e. the vertical plane) which completes the 3-D nature of the path (as shown below in Figure 4.5). In other words, the path shown in Figure 4.5 is a 3-D vector comprising of an upward value for the vertical, a rightward value for the horizontal and an andative value for the deictic.

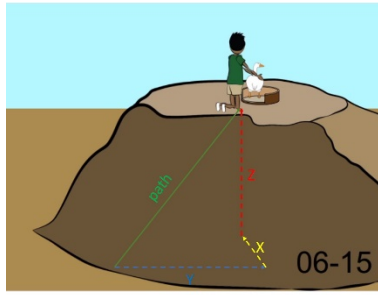


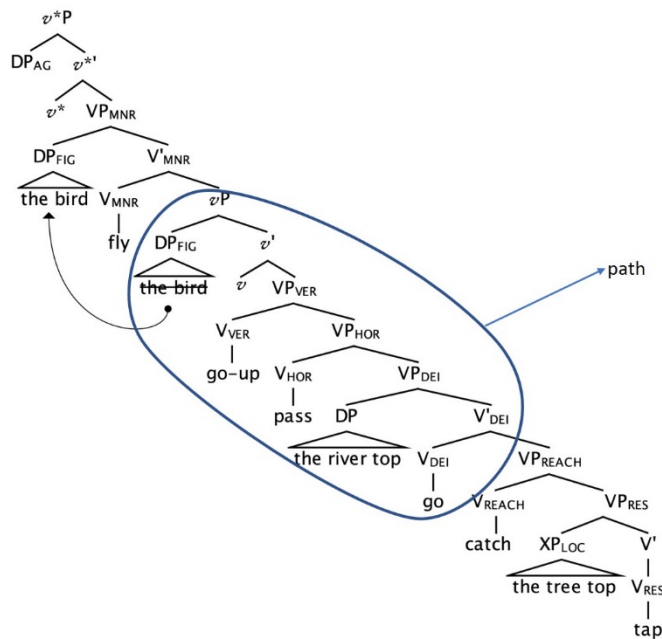
Figure 4.5. diagram of a 3-D path

The subsection that follows (4.3) takes a more detailed look at how (or whether) GSP expresses each of these three planes (when they are encoded in the prompt) and what morphological elements are used.

#### 4.3 Vectorization of the Path in GSP

Repeated below (in (62)) is the structure hypothesized (in §1.5) as the structure for the GSP and the circled portion is the path subcomponent under discussion in this chapter.

(62)



The structure above makes predicts that GSP can express a path that has a vector which encodes all three planes discussed above (i.e. the 3-D path) and that the path is expressed with VPs in the hierarchical order Vertical-Horizontal-Deictic. This is exemplified by (63) below:

(63) [0109GSPBOW2]

The bird fly *go up pass* the water top *come* stand the fence top

D bird fly go up pass D water top come stand D fence top

‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

In (63), above, the order of the three planes that constitute the complex path is vertical (*go up*), horizontal (*pass*) and deictic (*come*), which confirms the hierarchical structure predicted by the hypothesis.

Another consequence of the structure predicted by the hypothesis (in (62)) is what I call the Deictic-Final Constraint (DFC) in GSP, which requires that the deictic plane *must* be the final component of the 3-D path *if* the path takes a complement predicate-XP which is an Endpoint or a Goal (i.e. potential Endpoint). As illustration, (63) is repeated below as (64) with the necessary changes:

(64) [0109GSPBOW2]

a. The bird fly *go up pass* the water top *come* stand the fence top

D bird fly go up pass D water top come stand D fence top

‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

b. \*The bird fly *go up come pass* the water top stand the fence top  
 D bird fly go up come pass D water top stand D fence top  
 ‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

c. \*The bird fly *come go up pass* the water top stand the fence top  
 D bird fly come go up pass D water top stand D fence top  
 ‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

d. \*The bird fly *come pass* the water top *go up* stand the fence top  
 D bird fly come pass D water top go up stand D fence top  
 ‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

e. \*The bird fly *pass* the water top *come go up* stand the fence top  
 D bird fly pass D water top come go up stand D fence top  
 ‘the bird flew up across the water (all the way) coming to stand on top of the fence’

All the sentences in (64) have a 3-D path which takes as its complement a predicate-VP (*stand the fence top*) which is telic (i.e. indicates an Endpoint), and, thus, as predicted by the Deictic-final constraint, the only grammatical sentence is (64) because it is the only one which has the deictic component of the 3-D path in final position – and contributes further evidence for the proposed structure.

It is important to mention, here, that sentences like (63) (i.e. those with the 3-D path) were elicited from participants in follow-up meetings since none were provided during the initial data elicitation. Nevertheless, as I proceed to show, the data collected during the initial elicitation still provides evidence in support of the hypothesis. There were a total 44 prompts designed to elicit data on the 3-D path and the 3 participants provided a total of 132 sentences, none of which, as stated above, included a 3-D path. Before I discuss their reasons for not providing the 3-D path during the initial elicitation, I will first provide the distribution of the data they provided and show how it is still useful in proving my hypothesis; for now, however, suffice it say that the absence of the 3-D path in the 132 responses was not a result of any grammatical constraint on its production. Table 4.1 below provides the distribution of the data provided by the participants for the 3-D prompts:

*Table 4.1. Distribution of Responses to 3-D Path Prompts*

Path	Hierarchy	No. of Items	Total
2-Dimensional	Horizontal + Deictic	14	21
	Vertical + Deictic	7	
1-Dimensional	Deictic	76	91
	Vertical	12	
	Horizontal	3	
No Path	-	20	20
Total			132

As above shows, the participants provided 91 sentences in which only a 1-D path was used (as in (65)), 21 sentences in which a 2-D path was used (as in (66)) and 20 sentences in which there was no path at all (as in (67)).

(65) [0104GSPISA]

The bird for the fence top fly **go** one tree top

D bird LOC D fence top fly go one tree top

‘the bird which was on top of the fence flew all the way to the top of one tree’

(66)

[0111GSPBOW]

The bird fly from there *pass* the water top *come* land for here

D bird fly from there pass D water top come land LOC here

‘the bird flew from there across the water to come and land here’

(67)

[0125GSPISA]

The girl release the bird

D girl release D bird

‘the girl released the bird’

Examples with 2-D paths (such as (66)) also provide evidence of the Deictic-Final Constraint, since in all 21 cases, the deictic plane was the final component of the encoded path (because, in each of them, the path is followed by a predicate which is a Goal or Endpoint). Additionally, a further breakdown of the distribution, provided in Figure 4.6 below, shows that an overwhelming majority (84%) of the utterances (with a 1-D path) provided by the participants encoded only the deictic plane, while the vertical (with 13%) and horizontal (with 3%) planes were only marginally encoded.

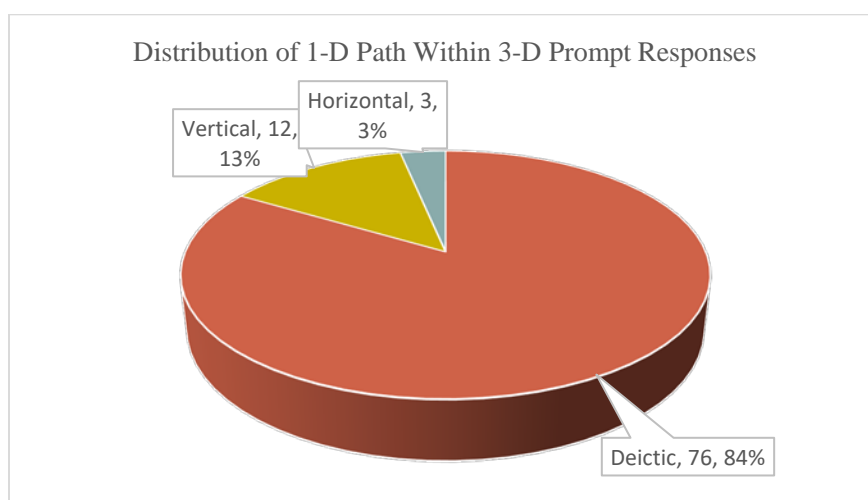


Figure 4.6. Distribution of 1-D Path With 3-D Prompt Responses

So, if as we showed earlier, GSP can express the 3-D path, why did the participants not provide any such sentences in the initial data elicitation? During post-elicitation discussions, when it was explained to the participants that prompts they had been shown contained paths that encoded all three planes, they indicated that part of the appeal of GSP is its conciseness. In other words, speakers of GSP pride themselves on using the least amount of words to express themselves and, as such, in each of the cases they tended to focus on the component of the path which seemed the most relevant to them and in the majority of the cases (for all 3 participants<sup>38</sup>) this was the deictic plane. Again, it is important to emphasize that when requested to provide utterances which encoded the 3-D path, the participants were able to do so without any grammatical difficulty. This goes to show that though there are no grammatical constraints in GSP that prevent the expression of the 3-D path, speakers prefer to concentrate just on the deictic as the most prominent element – which, in turn, suggests that it is the bare minimum required for path to be expressed in GSP. This (i.e. that GSP speakers select the deictic as core component of path) is interesting because it tends to differ crosslinguistically – it has been discovered, for example, that P'orhépecha speakers select the vertical plane as the core component<sup>39</sup>. Though the reason for this crosslinguistic variation is not yet known, for GSP, the analysis so far certainly suggests that the *deictic-final constraint* might be a contributing factor – but that requires further investigation which is not within the scope of this study.

Another reason for the absence of 3-D path has to do with what I call the Boundary-Crossing Trigger, which is that GSP encodes the horizontal plane as part of the path-vector only when the

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<sup>38</sup> As a native speaker of GSP, I have the same intuitions

<sup>39</sup> This was reported in a personal conversation with Elena Benedicto who makes reference to Capistrán (2015)

figure crosses a boundary. In other words, the presence of a boundary (which is crossed by the figure) triggers the encoding of the horizontal plane. Thus, speakers tend to ignore the horizontal (i.e. left-right/right-left) component of the path unless the figure crosses some boundary during the motion event. More will be said about this in section 4.3.2 where the 1-D path consisting of only the horizontal plane is discussed in detail.

#### 4.3.1 The 2-Dimensional Path

As we have already seen above (§4.3), GSP can express a 2-D path (i.e. a path consisting of a single vector that encodes two planes – for example, horizontal and deictic (68) or vertical and deictic (69)).

(68) [0111GSPVAF]

The bird fly from there *pass* the water top *come* land for here

D bird fly from there pass D water top come land LOC here

‘the bird flew from there across the water to come and land here’

(69) [0901GSPVAF]

The train de *come down* from the rock *go* enter the tunnel

D train NPU-PROG come down from D rock go enter D tunnel

‘the train is coming down from the rock to go and enter the tunnel’

It is important to note that the two principles (i.e. the Deictic-Final Constraint and the Boundary Crossing Trigger) stated in the previous section on the 3-D path also hold true in the case of the 2-D path. In both examples above, the final component encoded in the path is the deictic plane (because the path is followed by an Endpoint (68) and a Goal (69)) and, additionally, in (68) the



horizontal plane is encoded because of the presence of the boundary (i.e. *the water top*) which is crossed by the figure.

Another trend which was already identified in the section on the 3-D path which also pertains here was the tendency of the participants for preferring to provide sentences that encoded a simple (i.e. 1-D) path instead of the complex (i.e. 2-D) path that the prompts were designed to elicit. Figure 4.7, below, provides the distribution of the data collected from the participants with the 61 prompts designed to elicit sentences containing a 2-D path.

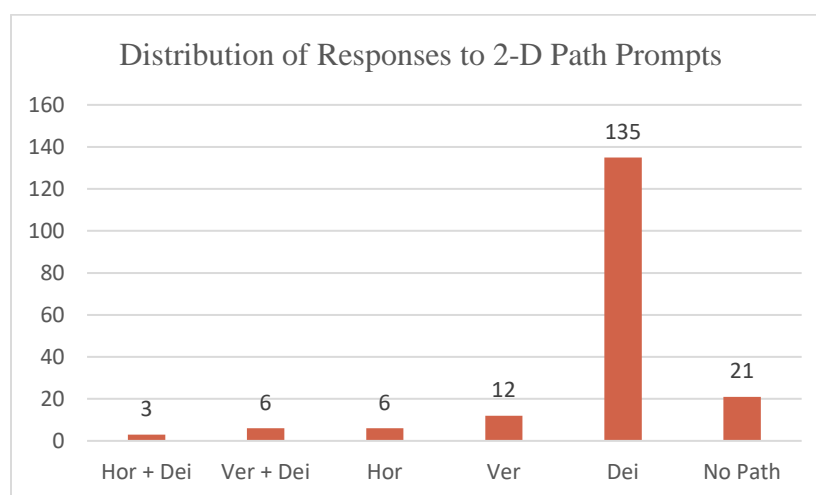


Figure 4.7. Distribution of Responses to 2-D Path Prompts

As Figure 4.7 shows, only 9 (i.e. 3 + 6) out of the 183 items provided by the participants contained a 2-D path. Here again, participants gave the same reason as before for providing only 1-D paths – i.e. GSP favors succinct communication, which translated to them concentrating on expressing what they perceived to be the most salient part of the event. As with the prompts for the 3-D path, in the majority of cases (135), participants chose the deictic plane – thus, providing even more evidence of how much of a core component the deictic is to the expression of path in the GSP

motion predicate. Additionally, the Boundary Crossing Trigger was responsible for all the cases in which a 2-D path containing the horizontal plane was reduced to a 1-D path. That is, for all such prompts, the horizontal plane was not encoded as part of the path unless there was a boundary crossing.

#### 4.3.2 The 1-Dimensional Path

The only 1-D path which GSP is able to express without any restrictions is the 1-D path encoding the deictic plane. As has already been pointed out, the evidence suggests strongly that speakers see the deictic as the core component of the path and, in cases where the path is followed by an  $XP_{LOC}$ , the deictic is **required** (i.e. the DFC). What this means is that many of the prompts designed to show events with 1-D paths (horizontal or vertical) were represented as containing 2-D paths because of the presence of an  $XP_{LOC}$  which was a Goal or Endpoint for the figure. This is exemplified below with Figure 4.8 and the corresponding sentence (70).

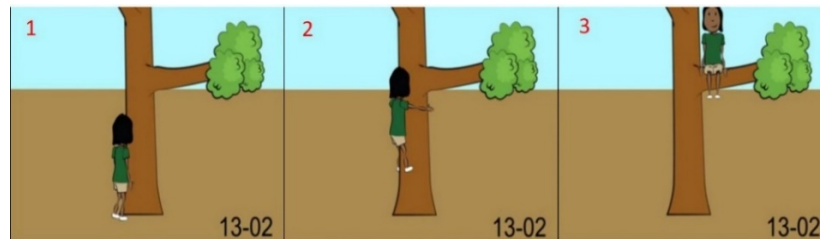


Figure 4.8. Clip 13-02

(70)

[1302GSPISA]

The girl climb go tap tree top

D girl climb go tap tree top

‘the girl climbed to sit on top of the tree’

The clip in Figure 4.8 above shows a girl who climbs (upward) to go and sit on the branch of a tree. The path of the girl’s motion is designed to comprise of only the vertical plane. However, as

sentence (70) shows, for GSP speakers, the presence of the  $XP_{Loc}$  (i.e. *the tree top*) which marks the Endpoint of the event makes it necessary for the deictic plane (expressed with *go*) to be encoded as part of the path – thus, making it a 2-D path (i.e. vertical ‘climb<sup>40</sup>’ + deictic). What this means, therefore, is that this deictic requirement places a serious restriction on the expression of the 1-D vertical path within an event which has a Goal or an Endpoint (such as (70), above). In other words, in such cases, not encoding the deictic as part of the path will cause the sentence to become ungrammatical, as in (71), below:

(71) \*The girl climb tap the tree top  
       D girl climb sit D tree top  
       ‘the girl climbed to sit on top of the tree’

The veracity of this restriction is reflected in and reinforced by the data collected on the 1-D vertical prompts, which showed that the only cases in which GSP expresses a path encoding only a vertical plane were in cases involving a change in orientation of the figure (from horizontal to vertical – i.e. standing up from a sitting position (72) or vice versa – i.e. sitting down from a standing position ()) and not an actual motion event (i.e. movement involving displacement from one place to another).

(72) [1104GSPISA]

The boy giddup  
       D boy get.up  
       ‘the boy stood up’

---

<sup>40</sup> ‘climb’ (i.e. moving oneself upward/downward by gripping...) encodes both the manner of motion and the vertical component of the path.

(73)

[1107GSPVAF]

The kiddie kneel down for ground<sup>41</sup>

D child kneel down LOC ground

‘the child knelt down on the ground’

It is important to note that this restriction also applies to cases involving a 1-D horizontal path. In other words, GSP will require that as long as there is a Goal or an Endpoint, the deictic plane would need to be encoded as part of the path (as in (74) which was elicited from clip 01-08 in Figure 4.9).

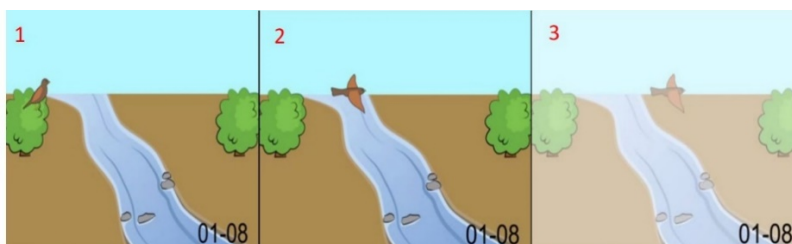


Figure 4.9. Clip 01-08

(74)

[0108GSPVAF2]

E de fly pass the river go another tree top

3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly cross D river go another tree top

‘it is flying across the river (all the way) to another tree top’

The clip in Figure 4.9 is designed to show that the figure (i.e. *the bird*) travels along a horizontal trajectory (left-to-right) and does not encode any of the other planes (vertical or deictic). However, as (74) shows, in order to achieve a grammatical sentence, GSP *has to* include the deictic because

<sup>41</sup> It is important to point out that, though sentence (73) does have a locative (i.e. *ground*) it does not require the deictic because it is not a Goal or an Endpoint, it is simply the place where the change in orientation took place and, thus, the sentence is still grammatical.

of the presence of the  $XP_{LOC}$  (i.e. *another tree top*) which is perceived as the Goal of the figure (and this was the case for all items in the dataset which were elicited from similar prompts).

Another restriction on GSP's expression of the 1-D path is the Boundary-Crossing Trigger which applies only to the horizontal plane. As previously stated (in §4.3), the horizontal component of the path is not expressed unless there is a boundary which is crossed by the figure during the event under description. As evidence, compare Figure 4.10 and its corresponding elicited sentence (75) with Figure 4.11 and its corresponding elicited sentence (76).



Figure 4.10. Clip 02-04

(75)

[0204GSPBOW2]

She throw the plane go the bɔɔla inside  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane go D trashcan inside  
 'she threw the plane into the trashcan'

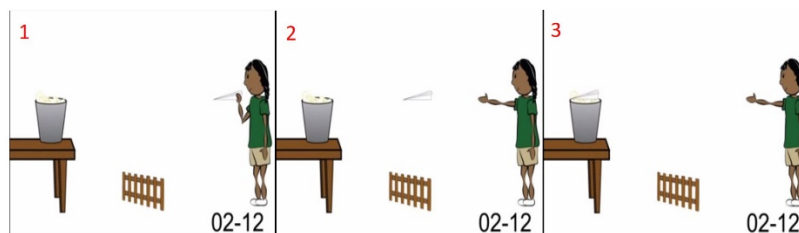


Figure 4.11. Clip 02-12

(76) [0212GSPBOW]

E        throw the plane *pass* the fence top... go land for the bucket inside  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane cross D fence top... go land LOC D bucket inside  
 ‘she threw the plane across the fence to go and land inside the bucket’

The only difference between the two clips above is the fence which is present only in Clip 02-12 (Figure 4.11). Accordingly, as the Boundary-Crossing Trigger predicts, in sentence (76) the horizontal component of the path is expressed (with *pass*), whereas it is not expressed in (75). We can conclude with a fair degree of certainty, therefore, that *pass* in (76), is triggered by the boundary (*the fence top*) and even more so, since that is the XP it takes as its complement. Additionally, all the cases of the expression of the horizontal plane (in the path) were all elicited from prompts with a boundary crossing and, conversely, no horizontal plane was expressed when there was no boundary crossing. Thus, the evidence strongly points to the fact that GSP cannot express the horizontal plane unless a boundary is crossed by the figure.

#### 4.4 Unexpected Outcome

The structure of the path (so far) has assumed that the point of reference taken by the speaker in relation to the vector is either at the beginning or the end. In other words, if speakers see themselves as the point of reference for the motion event being undertaken by the figure, they view vector of the path as either going away from or coming towards them; and when speakers take the figure as the point of reference, they put the figure at the beginning or end of the path. However, some of the data elicited shows that it is possible for the point of reference to be in the mid-point of the vector (as in (77), below, which was elicited from clip 02-01, in Figure 4.12).

(77)

[0201GSPVAF]

The paper plane fly come pass

D paper plane fly come pass

‘the paper plane came flying past’

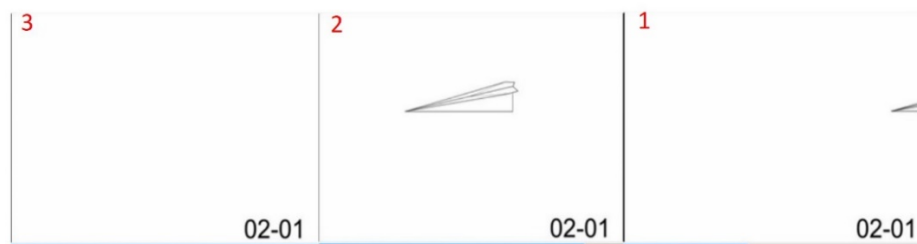


Figure 4.12. Clip 02-01

In (77), the speaker uses themselves as the boundary which makes it possible for the expression of the horizontal component of the path. What this means, also, is that they are the point of reference for the vector and that that point of reference is midway between the beginning and the end of the vector. The wider implications of this discovery are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it will be an interesting point of exploration for future research.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

This section discussed the Process subcomponent of the motion predicate structure in GSP, particularly examining the PathVP. I argued that the PathVP is comprised of a 3-D vectorization of the Horizontal, Vertical and Deictic planes and that, in GSP, each of these planes is expressed with a verb (root) in the SVC-type structure proposed in Chapter 1. Additionally, I established that the only constraint on the hierarchical structure of these three planes of the complex path is that the deictic element must be the final component so long as the PathVP takes a complement.

## CHAPTER 5. TELICITY

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter lays out the structure of the telic component in the GSP motion predicate. It argues that telicity in GSP motion predicates is characterized by two concomitant properties: the projection of  $Asp_Q$  and an endpoint VP substructure ( $VP_{REACH}$ ), that a referential  $XP_{LOC}$  as its complement.

### 5.2 What is Telicity

Telicity refers to that subeventive component which brings an event to its endpoint. As mentioned in Chapter 4, a process event is one formed by a series of subevents which is homogenous (citation); however, in a telic predicate, a telic subevent (which provides an endpoint) is introduced and, thus, breaks this homogeneity (Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008). For example, the event of a person running on a treadmill will not be considered telic by this definition because the event is homogenous (i.e., all the subevents are the same and there is no endpoint); nor will a person running around a track (endlessly) be considered as telic because there is no reaching of an endpoint (i.e. the entire event remains a *process* because all the subevents are the homogenous – *running*). However, a 100-meter dash event will be considered telic because the homogeneity (of the running event) is broken when the subevent of reaching/crossing the finish line (the endpoint) is introduced into the structure.



### 5.3 Conditions for Telicity in GSP Motion Predicates

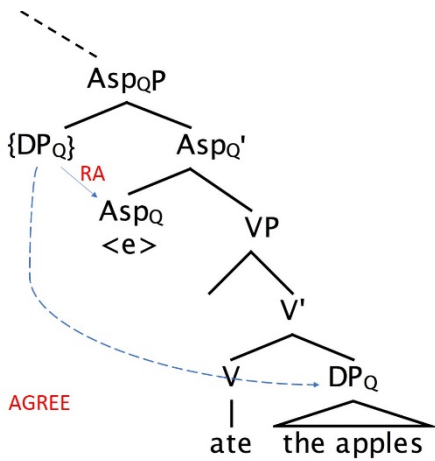
Much of the previous work (Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008; etc.) on events and event structure has mentioned the role of aspect, usually acknowledging the link between perfective aspect and telic events. However, as Bertinetto (2001) points out, though perfective aspect may indicate that an event is bound, boundedness does not necessarily correspond to telicity. Borer (2005), argues that verbs are inherently atelic and as such in order for them to refer to a telic event an additional structure is needed. It is her contention that this additional structure is built around an (internal) aspect head or *aktionsart* –  $Asp_Q$  (where ‘Q’ stands for quantity) – which has an open value <e> that requires range assignment and it is when this range assignment is successful that a telic reading for the event is also successful. She further argues that range can only be assigned by the internal argument of the verb if it is a Subject-of-Quantity (s-o-q); in other words, only an s-o-q can provide that subevent which breaks the homogeneity of an otherwise homogeneous event. She argues, for example, that in (78) below, (a) is telic while (b) is not:

(78) a. John ate the apples

b. John ate apples

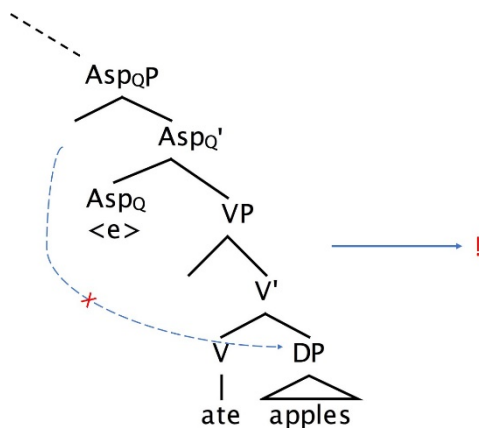
According to Borer (2005), a sentence like *John ate the apples* is telic because of the projection of  $Asp_Q$  which is then assigned range by the definite DP (*the apples*), whose definiteness gives it quantity and, thus, makes it a Subject-of-quantity. This structure is provided below:

(79)



On the other hand, in *John ate apples*, even if  $Asp_Q$  is projected, it is unable to find a range assigner in the VP because there is no Subject-of-quantity and the structure therefore crashes (as shown in (80), below).

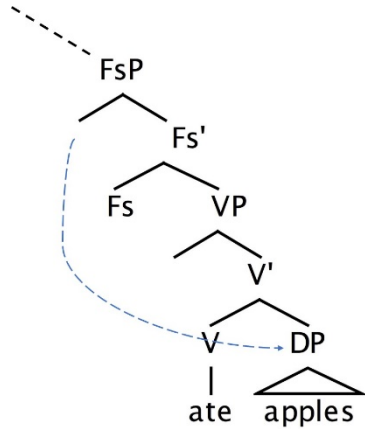
(80)



The only way a grammatical structure is possible, therefore, is if there is no projection of  $Asp_Q$  (as shown in (81), below), which then will mean that the event (of eating apples) is atelic. However, since the DP *apples* still has to receive case, in the absence of  $Asp_Q$ , Borer (2005:109) proposes a

shell functional projection ( $F^sP$ )<sup>42</sup> which is projected in place of  $Asp_Q$  and assigns case to the DP (81).

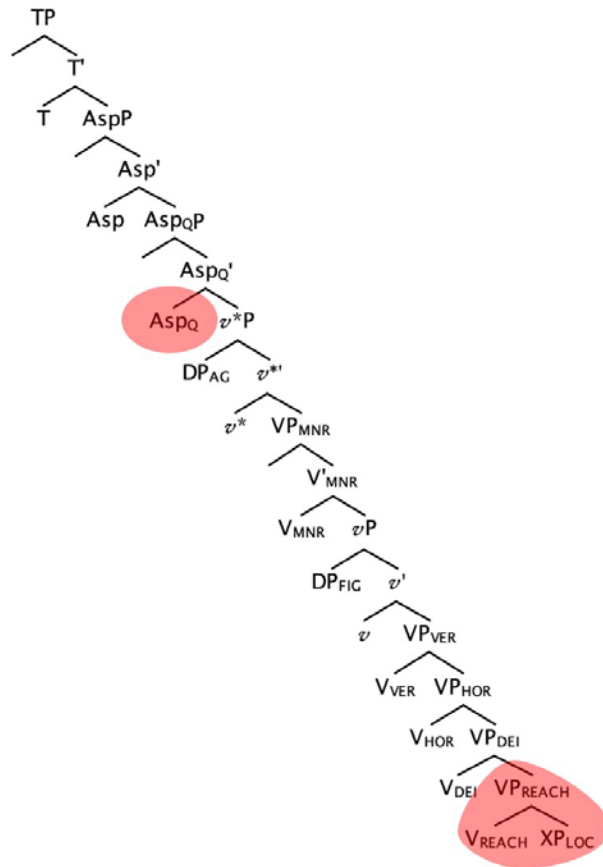
(81)



This dissertation agrees with Borer (2005) that telicity is indeed an added on structure and that  $Asp_Q$  is the projection responsible for achieving telic interpretations. However, I argue that the case for motion events is different with regard to the element that assigns range to the  $Asp_Q$ . I propose that, instead of the internal argument of the verb, range is assigned by the head of VP-REACH, which takes an  $XP_{LOC}$  as its complement. This structure is presented, below, in (82):

<sup>42</sup> She provides evidence from languages which assign accusative case to the direct objects of telic predicates (such as *ate the apples*), but partitive case for atelic predicates (such as *ate apples*). So, FP assigns partitive case (which is consistent with the atelic readings of such structures), while  $Asp_Q$  assigns accusative case to DP in addition to being responsible for telicity.

(82)



The circled portions of the structure in (82), above, indicate the two pieces that work together in order for a telic reading to be achieved in GSP motion predicates – i.e.  $Asp_Q$  and V-REACH. The structure (i.e. (82)) also shows that range-assignment occurs as a result of an LF-movement (or Agree Operation) between VP-REACH (in Spec,  $Asp_QP$ ) and the empty value  $\langle e \rangle$  of  $Asp_Q^0$ . The subsections below (§5.3.1 and §5.3.2.1) discuss the evidence for the structure above and show that the circled components work in tandem to yield a telic reading in GSP – in other words, each of them is **necessary**, but neither is individually **sufficient** for telicity.

### 5.3.1 The Asp<sub>Q</sub> Projection

As already noted, (82) predicts (in agreement with Borer) the Asp<sub>Q</sub> projection and the subsequent range assignment by the s-o-q (VP-REACH) is responsible for a telic reading in GSP motion predicates. Let us consider (83) below which is interpreted as telic in GSP:

(83) [0104GSPKOT1]

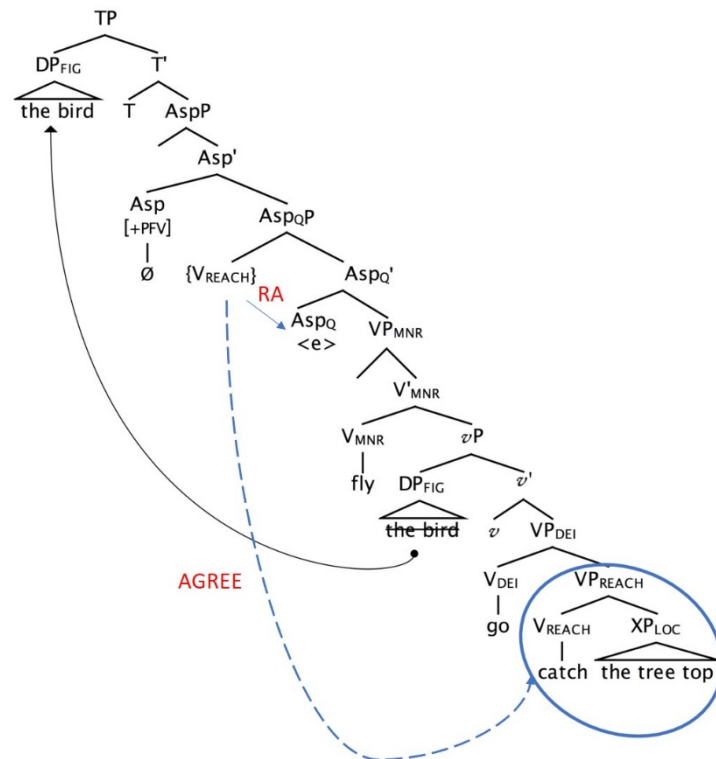
The bird fly go catch the tree top

D bird fly go reach D tree top

‘the bird flew (and) arrived at the tree top’

The sentence above was elicited in response to a telic prompt in which the figure (a bird) flies and goes to land on a tree in the distance, and, as the gloss shows, that is the interpretation assigned to the sentence in GSP. Consequently, our proposal in (82) predicts the structure below:

(84)



As can be seen from (84), the projected  $Asp_Q$  motivates an AGREE operation between its specifier and the head of VP-reach<sup>43</sup> (which is phonologically spelled out as *catch* in GSP) to Spec,  $ASP_QP$  in order for Range Assignment (RA) to occur and produce the (correct) telic interpretation of the resulting sentence. In other words, sentence (83) can only be interpreted as ‘the bird arrived at the top of the tree’ and, consequently, confirms the predicted outcome of the proposed structure.

### 5.3.2 $VP_{REACH}$

The second structural element that needs to be present for motion events in GSP to be telic is VP-reach, whose head ( $V_{REACH}$ ) takes as a complement a referential  $XP_{LOC}$  (§5.3.2.1) that refers to the location reached by the figure. As already stated above (§5.3.1),  $V_{REACH}$  typically has the phonological output *catch* in GSP (85), however, in some cases, it is phonologically null (86)).

(85) The bird fly go catch the tree top  
       D bird fly go reach D tree top  
       ‘the bird flew (and) arrived at the tree top’

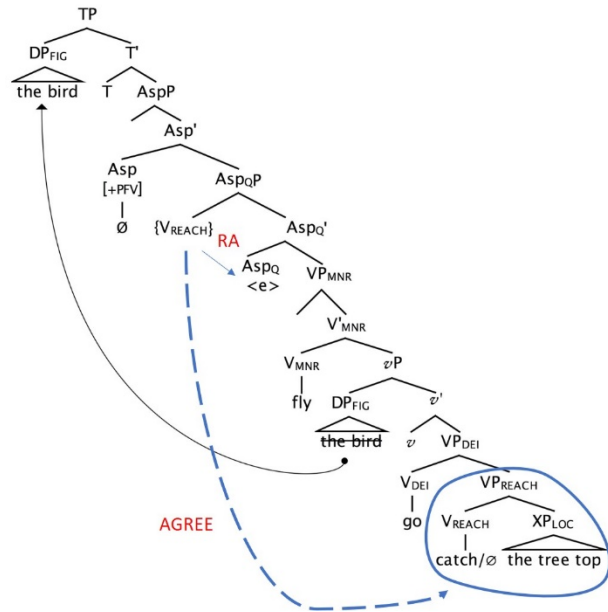
(86) The bird fly go the tree top  
       D bird fly go D tree top  
       ‘the bird flew to the tree top’

The bird in both sentences ((85) and (86)) above is interpreted as having arrived at the tree top, despite the null  $V_{REACH}$  in (86); thus, the two sentences can be represented with structure (87) below:

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<sup>43</sup> When the range is assigned by AGREE and not movement, the targeted element is the feature in *catch* and not the entire  $VP_{REACH}$

(87)



Here also, the structure and the interpretation of its output sentences prove that  $VP_{REACH}$  (whether the head is null,  $\emptyset$  or phonologically spelled out, *catch*) combines with  $Asp_Q$  to create a telic reading of a GSP motion predicate. Furthermore, the crucial interaction of these two factors is confirmed below with (88) which does not have the  $V_{REACH}$ :

(88)

[0116GSPISA]

... the bird fly go (\*catch) the fence in direction

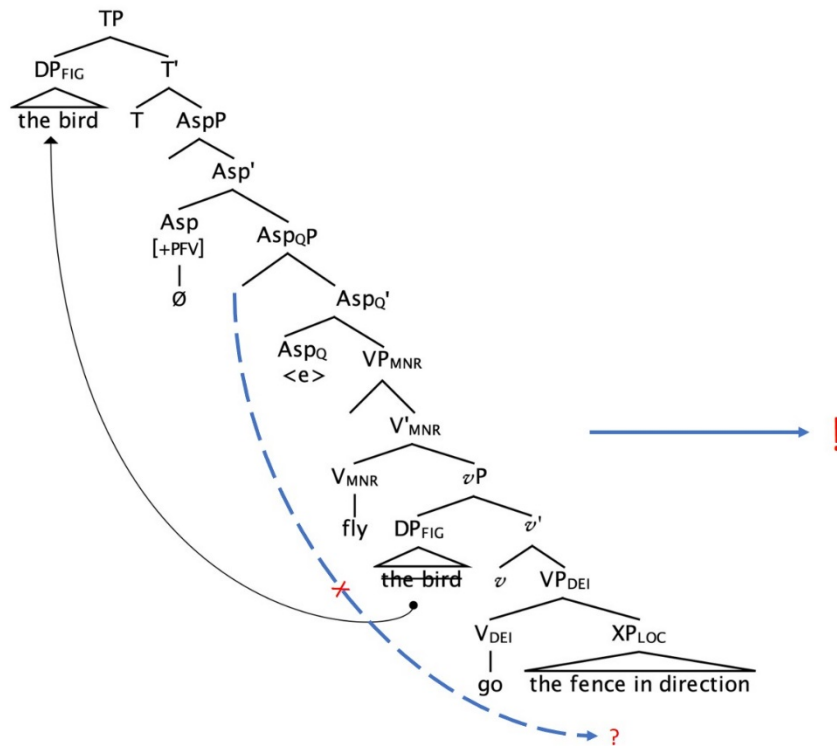
... D bird fly go (\*reach) D fence 3SGPD direction

‘the bird flew in the direction of the fence/flew towards the fence’

As (88) shows, not only is there no  $V_{REACH}$ , but its presence will actually make the sentence ungrammatical. So, what happens when  $Asp_Q$  is projected in such a case? As shown below (100), when  $Asp_Q$  is projected, it starts looking for a range assigner and since  $V_{REACH}$  (i.e. *catch*) is not

present to satisfy that requirement, the structure crashes (as expected) and a telic reading cannot be achieved.

(89)



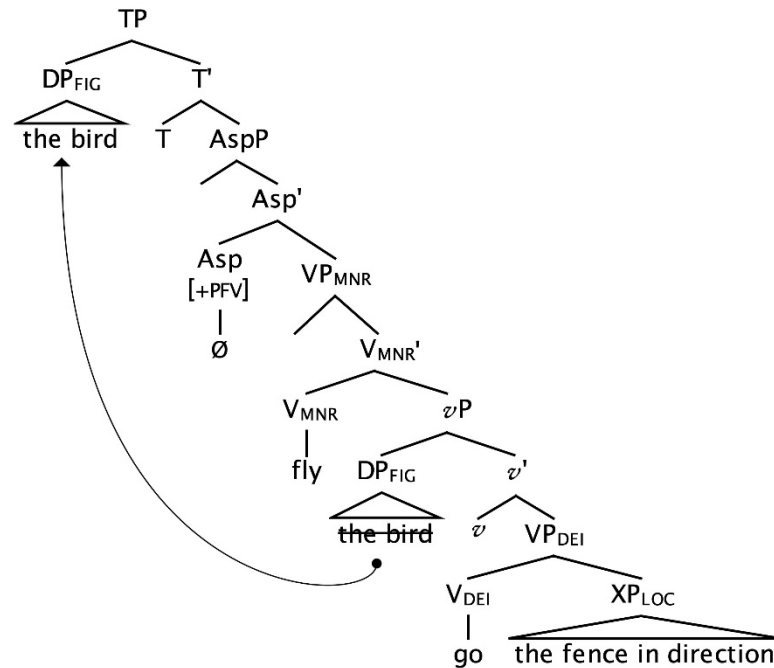
As a side note, what this ungrammaticality of (89) also confirms is that the projection of  $VP_{REACH}$  is obligatory to achieve a telic reading because *catch* is required to provide an endpoint for the path vector, which otherwise, is pure process. In other words, whereas the path by itself (i.e. pure process) is compatible with an  $XP_{LOC}$  that is not reachable (i.e. *the fence in direction* (88)), the element (i.e.  $V_{REACH}$ , which is phonologically spelled out as *catch*) that serves at the connector for a reachable location (e.g. *the tree*) is (as expected) incompatible with a non-reachable location. Thus, the only conclusion available is that even when there is no overt *catch* in the surface structure of the sentence (e.g. (88)), the projection is still there in the deep structure, but with a null (or



unpronounced) *catch*. More is said about the nature of the  $XP_{LOC}$  which interacts with *catch*/ $\phi$ -*catch* in the next section (5.3.2.1), but, for now, let us return to the main point being made.

In order to have a grammatical structure (since the sentence is grammatical without  $V_{REACH}$ ) no  $Asp_Q$  is projected<sup>44</sup> (as shown below in (90)) and, thus, a telic reading cannot be achieved – the resulting interpretation is atelic – which indeed is the correct reading of the sentence.

(90)



That said, an additional question that might be raised by (88) is why  $V_{REACH}$  is not allowed. In other words, what prevents  $V_{REACH}$  from being projected and taking the XP *the tree in direction* as a complement when it is able to take the XP *the tree top*? The next section answers this question.

<sup>44</sup> A Functional Shell Projection might be necessary in transitive sentences to provide Case to the object, as proposed in Borer (2005).

### 5.3.2.1 XP<sub>LOC</sub>

Following from the above, I proposed that V<sub>REACH</sub> can only take as its complement an XP<sub>LOC</sub> that is referential in nature (as per Svenonius, 2010). In other words, in order for a GSP motion event to achieve a telic reading (i.e. V<sub>REACH</sub> assigning range to Asp<sub>Q</sub>) V<sub>REACH</sub> needs an XP<sub>LOC</sub> which denotes a Region and not a Projection. Consider (91) and (92) below:

(91) The bird fly go catch *the house top*

D bird fly go reach D house top

‘the bird flew (and) arrived at the top of the house’

(92) \*The bird fly go catch *the house in direction*

D bird fly go reach D house 3SPD direction

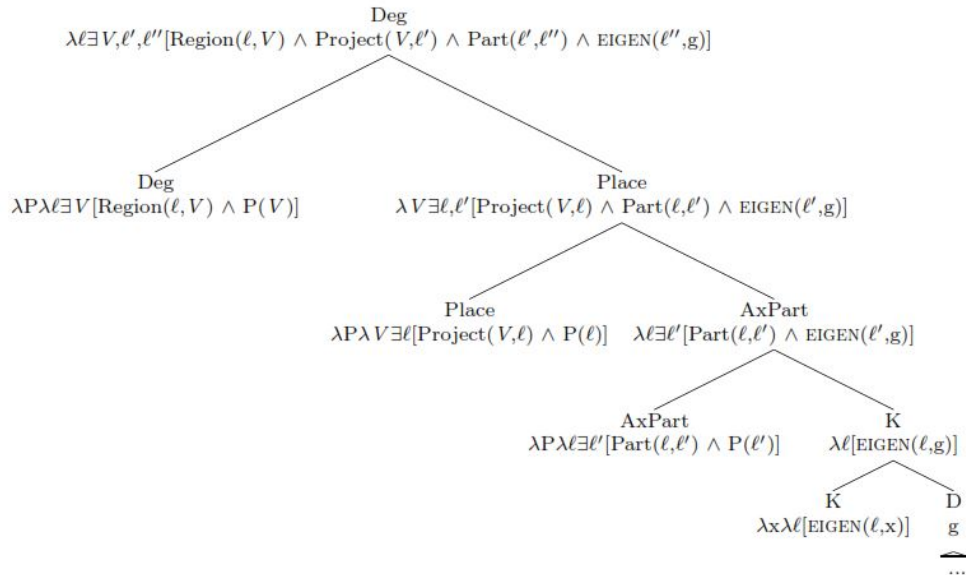
‘the bird flew in the direction of the house/the bird flew towards the house’

As the glosses show (and previously demonstrated), (91) is interpreted as telic (i.e. the bird arrives at an endpoint – the top of the house) whereas (92) is ungrammatical (because *catch* is incompatible with *the house in direction*). I argue in the following section (along the lines of Svenonius, 2010 that locative XPs (such as *the house top*) are **Regions** (i.e. reachable locations) hence, their compatibility with V-REACH, while locative XPs (such as *the house in direction*) are **Projections** (i.e. unreachable), hence their incompatibility with V<sub>REACH</sub>. The subsection (5.3.2.1.1) that follows looks at the XP<sub>LOC</sub> in more detail and lays out the difference between Regions and Projections.

#### 5.3.2.1.1 Things and Parts of Things

Svenonius (2010) argues that a locative phrase has a complex internal structure which accounts for the various facets and projections. The structure in (93) below is what he proposes:

(93) Svenonius 2008:74



In the structure above, the DP-ground (e.g. *the house*) merges with K (which is typically a genitive case marker<sup>45</sup>) to form a KP or what Svenonius (2008) refers to as eigenplace – the space the object occupies. This KP can then merge with an Axial Part head (AxPart) which then creates an Axial Part Phrase (AxPartP) which refers to a facet of the DP-ground (e.g. *the top of house*). This AxPartP can then be merged with a projection which creates what Svenonius refers to as PlaceP (i.e. all the possible directions towards which vectors can be projected by the facet; for example, *above the top of the house*). Finally, the PlaceP can be limited or made more specific by a merger with a Degree head (e.g. *3 meters above the top of the house*). In short, an XP<sub>LOC</sub> consists of a DP-ground (e.g. *the house*) as well as its various facets (as in Figure 5.1, below) and the projections of the facets (as in Figure 5.2, below).

<sup>45</sup> Technically speaking, ‘K’ genitive marker, it’s Eigen.

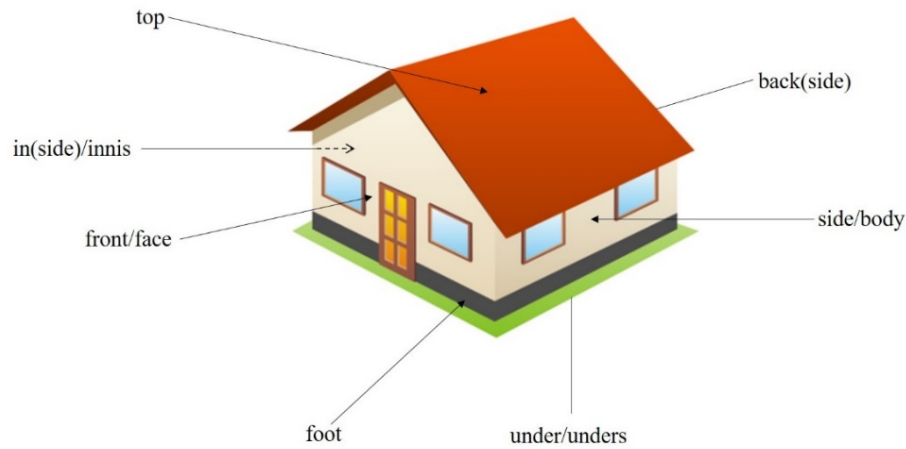


Figure 5.1. The Facets of a House (Chen, Osei-Tutu, & Taherkhani, In Press)

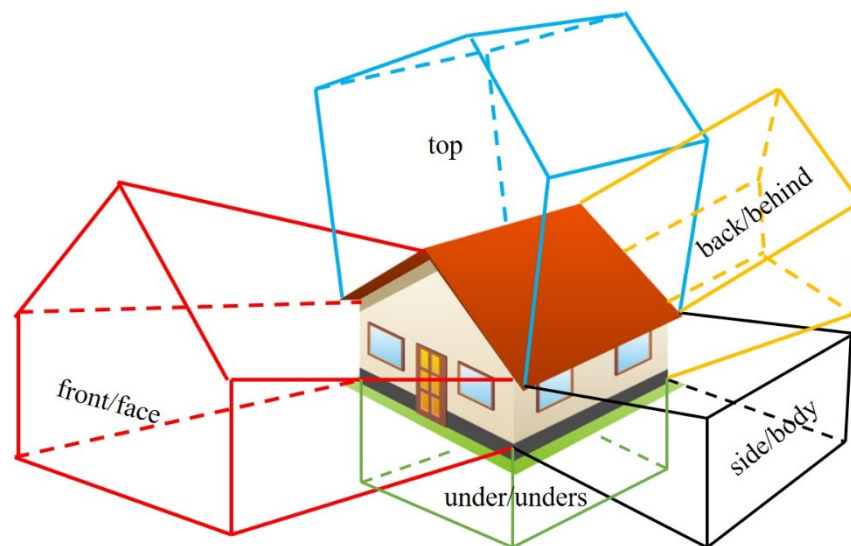


Figure 5.2. Projections of the Facets of a House (Chen et al., In Press)

The relevance of Svenonius' (2008) analysis is that it enables us to categorize the results of the various merges into Regions (AxPartP, DegreeP) or Projections (PlaceP) and, as proposed at the beginning of the previous section (§5.3.2.1) only  $XP_{Locs}$  that are Regions are compatible with V-reach and a telic reading. The difficulty with this, however, is that GSP makes very few lexical distinctions between words that refer to Axial Parts and those that refer only to Projections (as

shown in Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2). The only expression that captures the projective readings of DP-grounds in GSP is *in direction* (as in (94))

- (94) The bird fly go the house (im) top in direction  
 D bird fly go D house (3SGPD) top 3SGPD direction  
 ‘the bird flew towards the top of the house’

In (94), the addition of *in direction* creates vectors projecting out of the top of the house into the sky, which is why the interpretation is that the bird flew ‘towards’ and not ‘to’ the top of the house. Consequently, since, *in direction* creates a projection and not a region, it is not reachable as a location and, therefore, not compatible with  $V_{\text{REACH}}$  (95).

- (95)\*The bird fly go catch the house (im) top in direction  
 D bird fly go reach D house 3SGPD top 3SGPD direction  
 ‘the bird flew all the way reaching the top of the house’

This, therefore, confirms that  $V_{\text{REACH}}$  requires an  $XP_{\text{LOC}}$  which is a Region (i.e. reachable) in order for a telic reading to be computed by the structure. It is important to note here that the  $XP_{\text{LOC}}$  (that is a complement to the  $V_{\text{REACH}}$ ) can also be recovered from context. Consider (96) below:

- (96) Kofi go catch  
 Kofi go reach  
 ‘Kofi arrived’

Since (96) has a telic interpretation, it (on the surface) appears to violate the requirement of a reachable  $XP_{\text{LOC}}$ . However, placed in context, it becomes clear why it is grammatically well-formed and is able to achieve its telic reading. A sentence such as (96) can only be uttered and properly understood as telic in situation where the interlocutors involved in the communication situation both know *where* the figure (i.e. Kofi) arrived. Thus, it is assumed by the utterer of the

sentence that the listener can recover the (reachable)  $XP_{LOC}$  context of the conversation. Failing that, more information (on the  $XP_{LOC}$ ) will be sought by the listener in order for the sentence to be interpretable as telic. Consequently, (96) does not in fact violate any of the requirements necessary for telic computation by the structure proposed.

That said, it is possible for a telic reading to be reversed even when all the components of the telic machinery (i.e.  $Asp_Q$ ,  $V_{REACH}$  and  $XP_{LOC}$ ) are present. Consider (97) below:

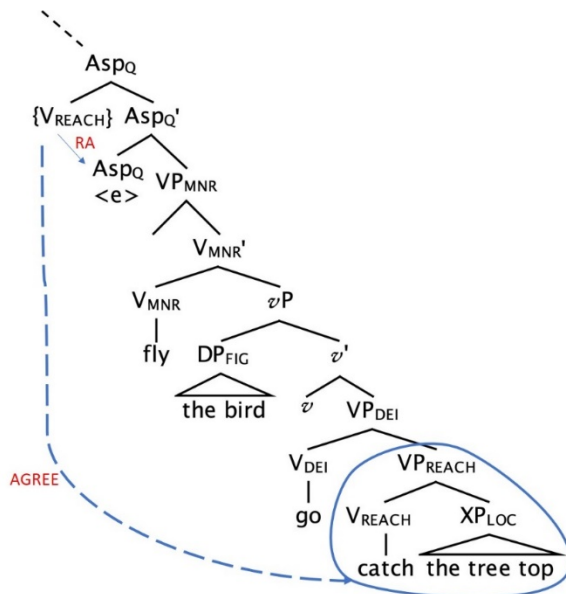
(97) The bird de fly go catch the tree top

D bird NPU-PROG fly go reach D tree top

‘the bird is flying with the intention of reaching the tree top’

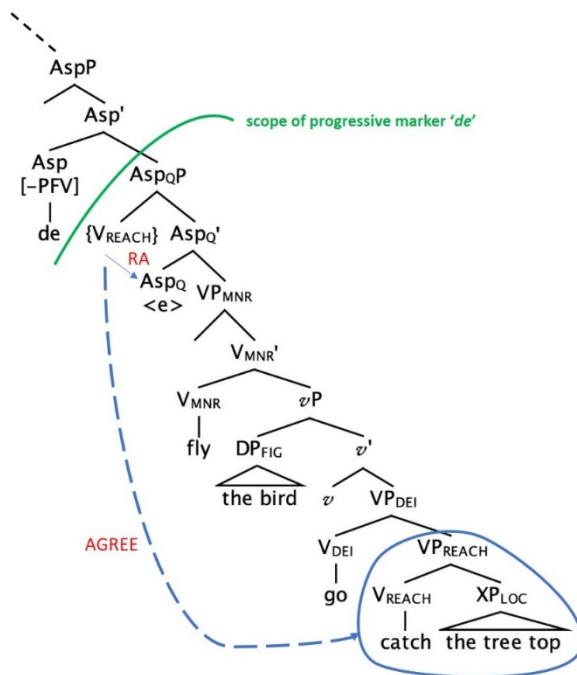
The sentence above has an atelic reading because the figure (i.e. *the bird*) does not actually reach the tree top, even though (as far as the speaker is concerned), the bird has every intention of doing so. Additionally, since the sentence has the  $V_{REACH}$  with the appropriate  $XP_{LOC}$  (i.e. one that is reachable) we must assume that  $Asp_Q$  is projected and assigned range (as in (98), below):

(98)



As argued so far, if the structure in (98) holds, we expect to have a telic reading; however, as we have already seen that is not the case. Far from being a violation of the proposal, the atelicity of (97) is due to recursive merge – in other words, the otherwise telic structure in (98) is then merged with an imperfective (progressive) outer aspect (as shown in (99) below) which then (due to its higher position in the structure) takes scope over the entirety of the event and yields a progressive (and, thus, atelic) interpretation.

(99)



#### 5.4 Problematic Case

A case that appears to present some challenge to the analysis proposed so far is provided in (100) below:

(100)

[0101GSPVAF]

The bird dey the fence top wey *e* fly go

D bird be.at d fence top C 3SGSBJ fly go

‘the bird was on top of the fence and then it flew off/away’

The main issue here is with the second clause (i.e. *e fly go*) which is a motion predicate that has no V-REACH (and  $XP_{Loc}$ ), thus (as per the proposal so far) has no  $Asp_Q$  projection and, thus, should have an atelic reading. However, as the gloss shows, the interpretation seems to suggest some sort of ‘end’ to the event; in other words, the event (i.e. flying away/off) has ended as far as the speaker is concerned. Before proceeding further, it is important to note here that the prompts that elicited sentences such as (100) were designed to depict an atelic event (e.g. clip 01-01 provided in Figure 5.3, below).

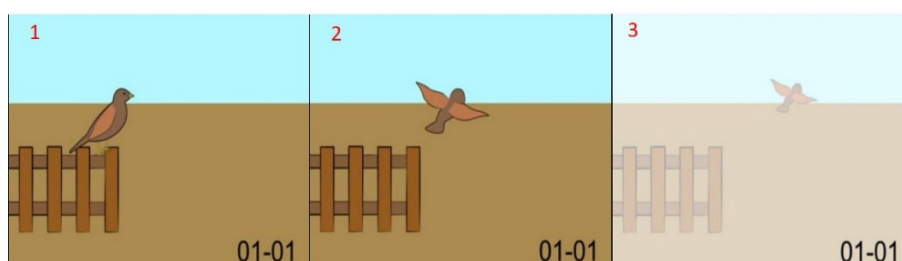


Figure 5.3. Clip 01-01

Clip 0101, above, is designed to elicit an atelic sentence because it depicts an event in which the figure (i.e. *the bird*) flies off a fence in to the distance without reaching any endpoint which the participant can see. Accordingly, such responses were provided by some of the participants (as illustrated below with (101))

(101) [0101GSPBOW]

Then the bird de fly go

Then D bird NPU-PROG fly go

‘at the time, the bird was flying away’

Cases like (101) are atelic because of the progressive aspect which fills the head of the outer aspect (as already argued) and thus do not present a problem for us. Nevertheless, these cases still provide information that is crucial to analyzing the problematic ones (like 111), particularly with regard to



the aspectual specification of the outer aspect (Asp). This is because, in sentences like (100), the speakers were concentrating on the starting point of the event which is why in many of those instances they make reference to *where the bird was* before it took flight. In other words, these utterances describe the completion of an *initial* (or starting point) of the event and not necessarily that the entire event has come to an end. Consider the following (non-motion event) sentence (102), for example:

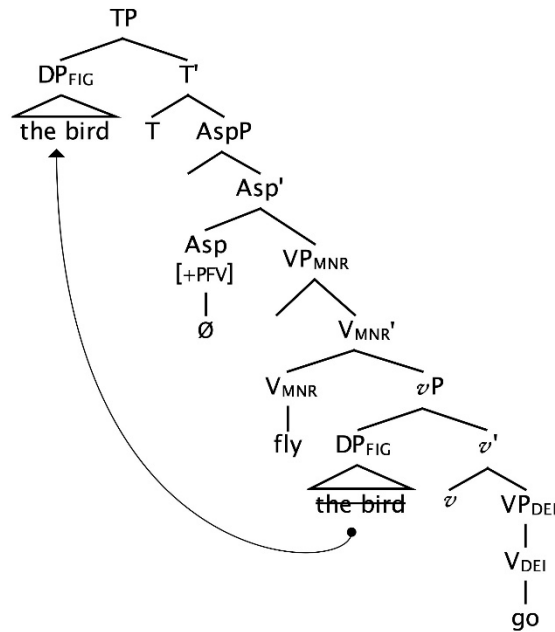
(102) The baby sleep

D baby sleep

‘the baby is (already) sleeping/has fallen asleep (already)’

The gloss of (102) above is from the context of a scenario in which one parent has been trying for a long time to put a baby to sleep, while waiting for another parent to take over. If the second parent shows up just after the baby has drifted off to sleep, the first parent can utter the sentence in (102), to mean that the baby has already *begun* the process of sleeping. In a similar vein, I argue that sentences such as (102), specify the *completion* of the initial part of the motion event (i.e. that of going from the fence to another location) without specifying an endpoint. Furthermore, since no endpoint is specified,  $V_{\text{REACH}}$  is absent and, consequently, AspQ is not projected, which in turn means that the utterance is atelic. However, the completive nature of the reading comes from the outer aspect (i.e. Asp), which is perfective. Thus, the structure of the ‘offending’ part (i.e. the second clause ... *e fly go*) of the original problematic case (102) is:

(103)



As (103) shows, no AspQ is projected (which yields atelicity), and, additionally, the outer aspect (which has scope over the VP) is +PFV – thus, making the entire predicate completive (not telic). This analysis, therefore, shows that such cases contrary to being problematic cases are actually supported by the argument so far and, in fact, even provide proof for the existence of Borer’s (2005) AspQ projection and its function as determining telicity and not outer aspect.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter took a closer look at the telic component of the GSP motion predicate and presented an analysis of its structure. I argued that the machinery needed to provide a telic reading in GSP motion predicates comprise of the projection of AspQ which is assigned range (through AGREE) by  $V_{REACH}$  which in turn takes as its complement a quantized (i.e. reachable)  $XP_{LOC}$ . Additionally, I argued that quantization of the  $XP_{LOC}$  depends on an internal structure (based on Svenonius 2008, 2010) that translates to whether the  $XP_{LOC}$  is a region (i.e. quantized) or a projection (non-

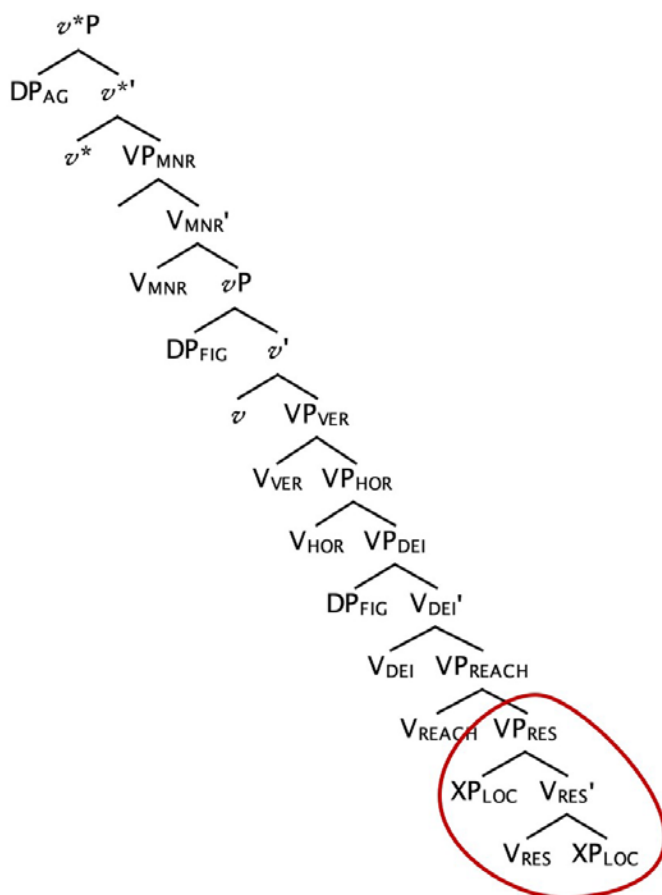
quantized). Finally, I ended the chapter by making an argument for breaking homogeneity at the beginning of the event – in other words, telicity at the left-edge.

## CHAPTER 6. THE RESULTATIVE SUBCOMPONENT

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of the Resultative component and its contribution to the GSP motion predicate. The resultative phrase expresses the final resting state (or posture) of the figure that undergoes the motion event and, in GSP, the result head (much like the various subcomponents discussed in the preceding chapters) is represented by verbs. The chapter will provide evidence to support the complementation structure hypothesis proposed in Chapter 1 (and repeated in (104) below, for purposes of convenience), show what types of elements make up the resultative subcomponent and, finally, how it interacts with the telic subcomponent.

(104)



The structure in (104) predicts that the resultative (the circled portion) will appear as the complement of the telic structure as the final subcomponent of the motion predicate – and, as shown in sentence (105) and its corresponding tree (106) below, this is indeed the case:

(105)

[0104GSPKOT2]

The bird fly come catch the tree tap im branch

D bird fly come reach D tree sit 3SGPD branch

‘the bird flew (all the way) to reach the tree and sat on its branch’

(106)



In (105) and (106) above, *tap* ‘sit’ is the verb which is realized as the head of the VP<sub>RES</sub> and, thus, indicates the resulting state of the figure. Like *tap*, many of the verbs that can head the result phrase are postural – in other words, they mark the resulting state of the figure by indicating the posture of the figure as it comes to a rest from its motion. The sentences in (107) below provide examples of other GSP postural verbs as heads of Result Phrases.

(107)

- a. The bat fly come catch the tree ***hang*** im branch  
D bat fly come reach D tree hang 3SGPD branch  
‘the bat flew, came to reach the tree and hung on its branch’
  
- b. The squirrel climb come catch the tree ***crouch*** im branch  
D squirrel climb come reach D tree crouch 3SGPD branch  
‘the squirrel climbed, came to reach the tree and crouched on its branch’
  
- c. The cat climb come catch the tree ***bed*** im branch  
D cat climb come reach D tree lie 3SGPD branch  
‘the cat climbed, came to reach the tree and lay (down) on its branch’
  
- d. The kiddie climb come catch the tree ***kneel*** im branch  
D child climb come reach D tree kneel 3SGPD branch  
‘the child climbed, came to reach the tree and kneeled on its branch’

- e. The kiddie walk come catch the room *stand* in corner  
 D child walk come reach D room stand 3SGPD corner  
 ‘the child walked, came to reach the room and stood in its corner’

In all the sentences in (107) above, the verbs in italics are the head of VP<sub>RES</sub> and indicate the position assumed by the figure at the end of the motion event. Having provided examples to support the sentence structure predicted by the hypothesis, I will proceed (in §6.2) to discuss those sentence types which still express the resultative but appear to fall outside the prediction of the hypothesis. Before I do that, however, I would like to make a point about the internal structure of the resultative phrase especially regarding the relationship between the XP<sub>LOCS</sub> are in its specifier and complement

#### 6.1.1 The Internal Structure of VP<sub>RES</sub>

The interpretations of the (resultative) sentences we have seen above (§6.1) show that the two XP<sub>LOCS</sub> in VP<sub>RES</sub> are in a ‘possessor-possessee’ relationship, with the XP<sub>LOC</sub> in the specifier of VP<sub>RES</sub> possessing the XP<sub>LOC</sub> in the complement (e.g. in *the tree im branch*, the ‘branch’ belongs to the ‘tree’). Additionally, this restriction on the structure of VP<sub>RES</sub> is fairly binding since any attempt to break this ‘possessor-possessee’ relationship between the two XP<sub>LOCS</sub> yields an uninterpretable sentence (as illustrated in (108), below):

- (108) #The bird fly come catch the tree tap the fence  
 D bird fly come reach D tree sit D fence  
 ‘the bird flew, came to reach the tree and sat on the fence’

The difficulty in interpreting (108) comes from the lack of a possessor-possessee relationship between *the tree* and *the fence*. In other words, it makes no sense for the bird to fly to the tree but sit on a fence. In this regard, the structure of my VP<sub>RES</sub> is very much akin to earlier proposals by

for the structure of possessive constructions by Freeze (1992) who points out the underlying similarity of locative and existential structures and draws a connection between them and the structure of possessives, as well as Den Dikken (1995) who takes that further by arguing that all possessive structures are derived from an underlying locative structure.

## 6.2 Alternative Expression of the Resultative

That said, I will now return to what the data have to say about other ways of expressing the resultative in GSP. The data show that the resultative can also be expressed with sentences such as (109), below:

(109) [0105GSPKOT1]

The bird fly come tap the tree top

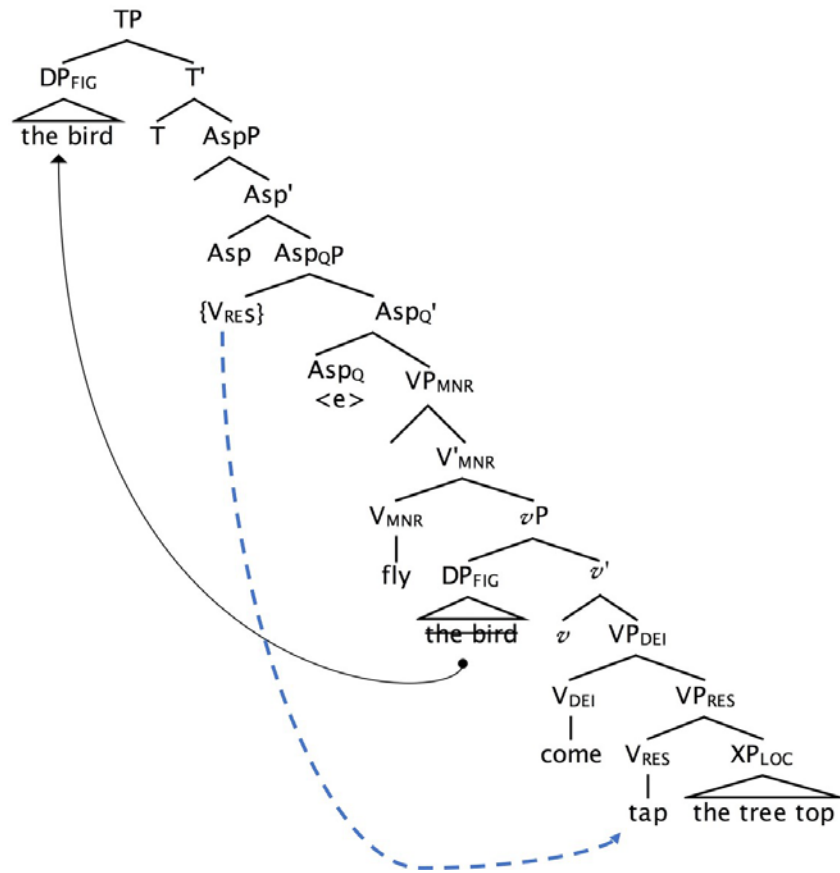
D bird fly come sit D tree top

‘the bird flew (all the way) to sit on the tree top’

At first glance, this sentence appears to contradict the hypothesis (104) because of the absence of the telic subcomponent which I have argued takes  $VP_{RES}$  as its complement. Since the sentence is interpreted as both telic (i.e. the bird arrived at the tree) and resultative (i.e. sat on the fence top), it is reasonable to present an analysis that accounts for both. One way of approaching this is by following the line of thinking in current literature (e.g. Ramchand, 2008) and arguing that the resultative (by its very nature) entails a telic reading and, thus, is responsible for telicity – the structure for this analysis (within the framework used in this dissertation) is presented in (110), below:



(110)



As (110) shows, the Telic Phrase is not projected at all and  $ASP^Q$  (the projection responsible for telicity) is assigned range by  $V_{RES}$ . As attractive as this option may seem, it is unsatisfactory for two reasons. In the first place, it cannot account for cases such as (111), below where there is clearly a  $VP_{TELIC}$  before the  $VP_{RES}$ :

(111) The bird fly come the tree tap in branch

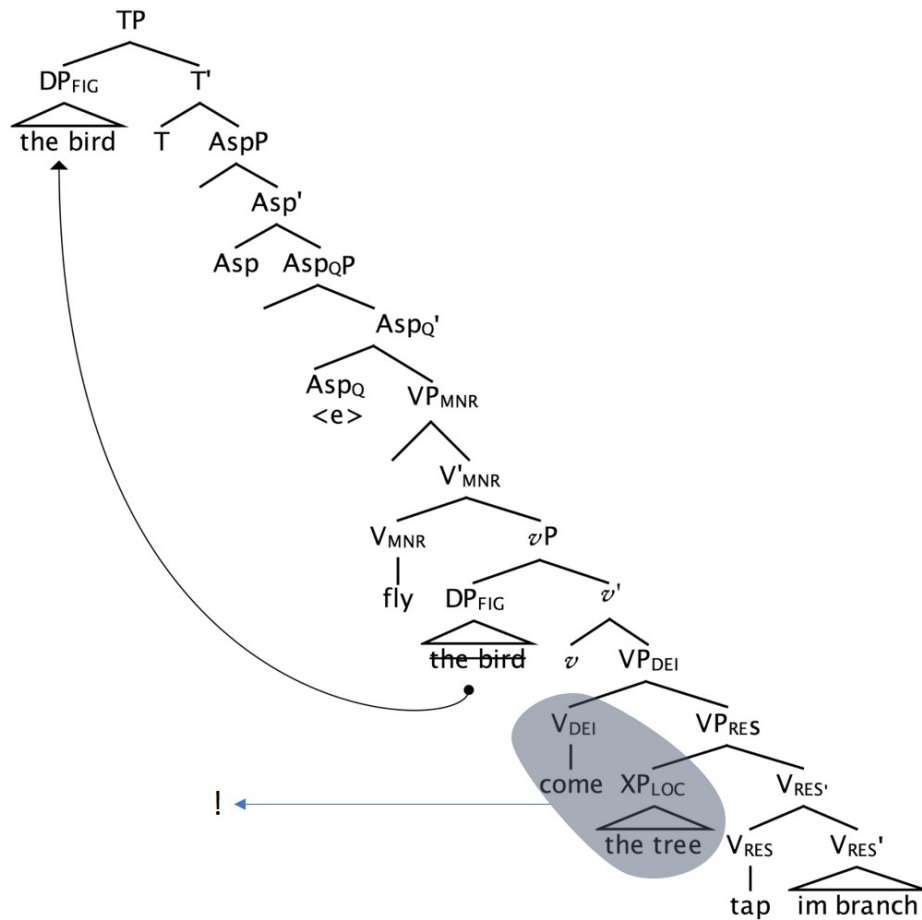
D bird fly come D tree tap 3SGPD branch

‘the bird flew, came to (reach) the tree and sat on its branch’

As I have argued in Chapter 5,  $VP_{REACH}$  is sometimes headed by null-catch because the *catch* (whether phonologically spelled out or not) is responsible for providing a head to the path vector, since, in its absence, the path just remains a process without a head that can interact with a non-

projective or referential  $XP_{LOC}$  (like *the tree* in (111)). Based on this, it is obvious that any underlying structure for (111) that does not include  $VP_{REACH}$  (in this case with a null-catch) will be ungrammatical (as shown below in (112)):

(112)



This leads us to the second reason which makes the proposal under discussion unattractive – that is, this analysis does not do justice to the hypothesis so far that enables us to show the fine distinctions among the various subcomponents of event structure. Consequently, I propose the structure in (113) below as a better solution:



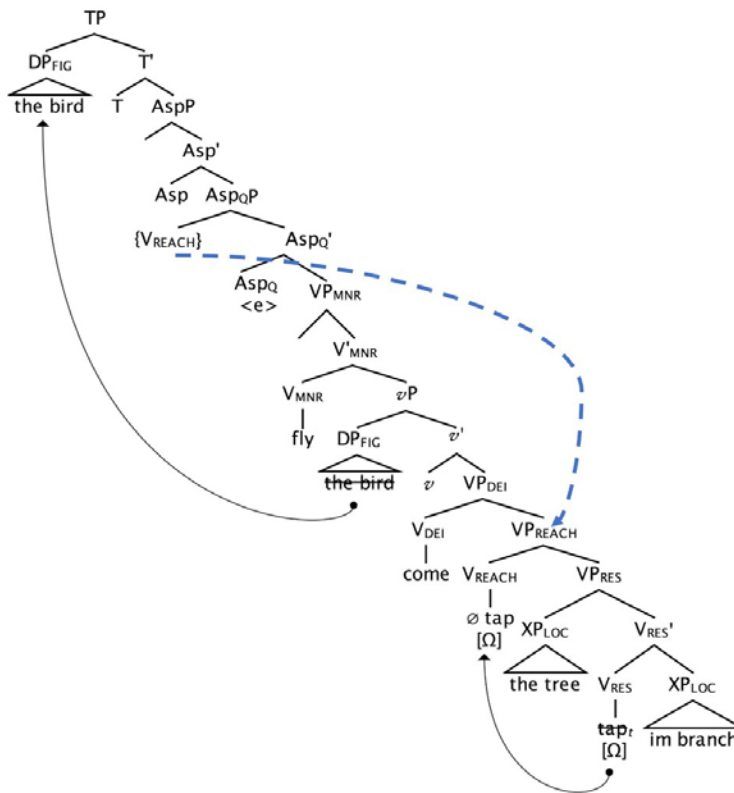
(114) The bird fly come tap the tree im branch

D bird fly come sit D tree 3SGPD branch

‘the bird flew, came to (reach) the tree and sat on its branch’

The challenge posed by (114) to our present solution is with regard to the internal structure of  $VP_{RES}$ . In the current analysis, the internal structure of  $VP_{RES}$  is such that the head (in this case *tap*) takes one of the two  $XP_{LOC}$ s as its specifier and the other as its complement. However, based on the word order, the  $VP_{RES}$  in (114) appears to take both  $XP_{LOC}$ s (i.e. *the tree* and *im branch*) as its complements. My proposed solution to this challenge is presented in the structure (115) below:

(115)



The structure in (113) shows that the null-head of the projected  $VP_{REACH}$  has a feature (say  $\Omega$ ) that is satisfied by the head of  $VP_{RES}$  (in this case, *tap*) which causes it to move to  $V_{REACH}$ . One might

argue that in order for the verb in  $V_{RES}$  (in this case, *tap*) to be able to move to  $V_{REACH}$ , it must share some features with *catch*, which is usually the phonological spell-out of  $V_{REACH}$  – this is true and is also exactly the reason for the ungrammaticality of (116):

(116)

\*The bird fly go catch tap the tree im branch

D bird fly go reach sit D tree 3SGPD branch

‘the bird flew (all the way) reaching the tree to sit on its branch’

The ungrammaticality of (116) arises from the fact that the phonologically spelled out telic head (i.e. *catch*) is in competition with *tap*. Thus, the only available resort to create a grammatical structure in such events is either have a null telic head (and move *tap* – as we see in (115)) or spell out *catch* and leave *tap* in  $V_{RES}$  (as in (117) and its corresponding structure (118), below).

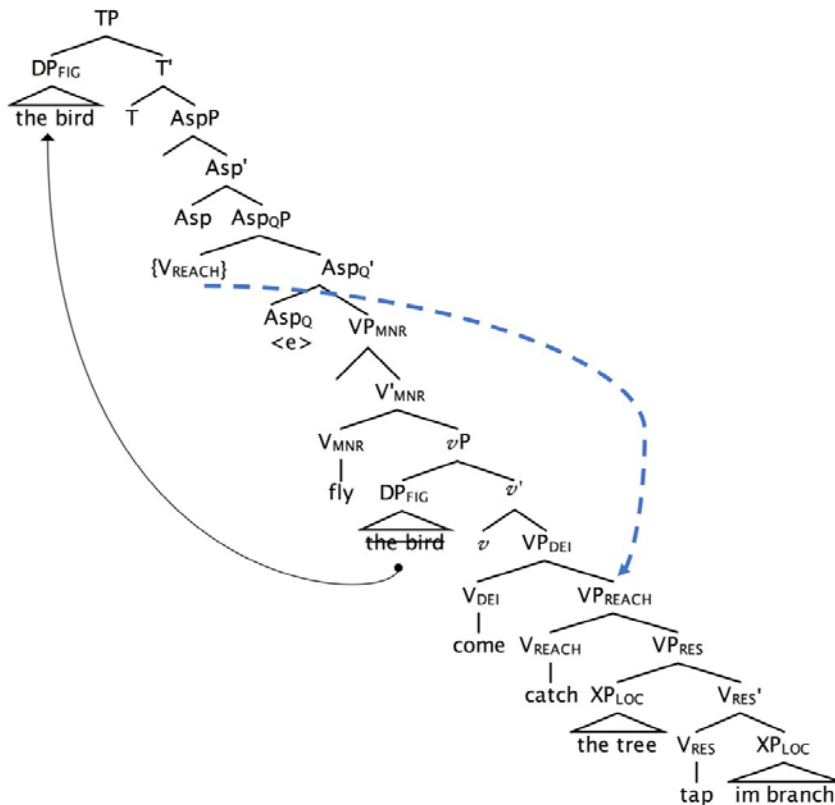
(117)

The bird fly come catch the tree tap im branch

D bird fly come reach D tree sit 3SGPD branch

‘the bird flew (all the way) reaching the tree to sit on its branch’

(118)



Another objection that might be raised to this structure is how the null-catch is licensed when there is no VP<sub>RES</sub> projected as in the telic cases already presented in Chapter 5 and illustrated with (119), below:

(119) The bird fly go  $\emptyset$  the tree

D bird fly go REACH D tree

‘the bird flew (all the way) to reach the tree’

The response to this objection is fairly simple. As already stated earlier, the feature required by  $\emptyset$ -catch is necessary to provide a head to the path vector and as already shown in the preceding chapter (§5.3.2.1) and reiterated in this chapter, the telic head is only compatible with a very specific set of XP<sub>LOC</sub>s (i.e. those that define regions and not projections) because they are capable of being reached and thus providing a head (i.e. endpoint) for the path vector. The argument here

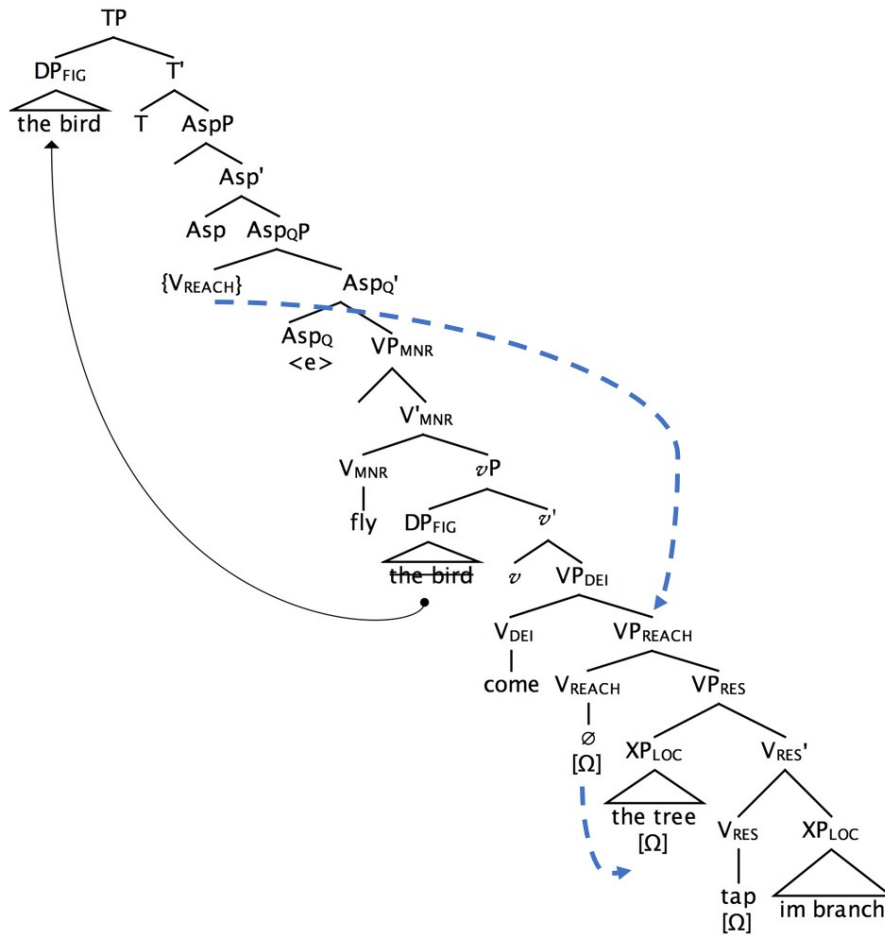
then is that these  $XP_{LOC}$ s are compatible with the telic head because they are able to satisfy the same feature (i.e.  $\Omega$ ) that  $V_{RES}$  satisfies in (115) above; in other words, this means that (when such an  $XP_{LOC}$  is available) a  $V_{RES}$  is neither obligatory nor necessary. In fact, even when both  $XP_{LOC}$  and  $VP_{RES}$  are present, the feature in  $\emptyset$  can be satisfied by either and there is no restriction on which one is selected – which is what makes (120) and (121), which have exactly the same meaning, both possible and grammatical.

(120) The    bird   fly   come    $\emptyset$    tap   the   tree   im   branch  
           D       bird   fly   come         sit   D       tree   3SGPD   branch  
           ‘the bird flew, came to (reach) the tree top and sat on its branch’

(121) The    bird   fly   come    $\emptyset$    the   tree   tap   im   branch  
           D       bird   fly   come         the   tree   sit   3SGPD   branch  
           ‘the bird flew, came to (reach) the tree top and sat on its branch’

In (120), the  $\emptyset$  selects the head of  $VP_{RES}$  to satisfy the feature and thus *tap* moves to  $V_{REACH}$  (shown in (115)); whereas in (121), the  $\emptyset$  selects the  $XP_{loc}$  in spec, $VP_{RES}$  to satisfy the feature and thus *tap* stays in-situ (shown in (123)).

(122)



### 6.3 Conclusion

Of all the subcomponents of the motion predicate, the resultative is the least expressed in GSP and thus a lot of the data used in this chapter was first provided by me (and then crosschecked with the participants). The main reason given by participants for not expressing the resultative that often is similar to that given by them for preferring a simple path (i.e. 1-D) to a complex path (i.e. 2-D or 3-D) – i.e. the attraction of GSP is that it is simple and straight to the point. The important thing to note is that it *is* possible to express the resultative, even if speakers typically do not express it.



## CHAPTER 7. THE AGENTIVE SUBCOMPONENT

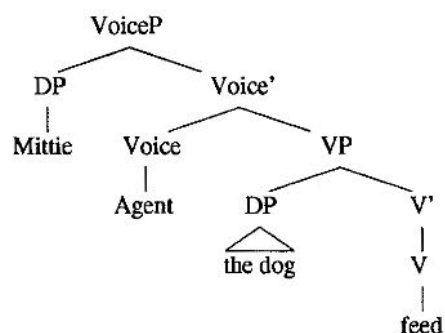
### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of the Agentive component and its contribution to the GSP motion predicate. The chapter argues, based on previous analysis (Kratzer, 1996; Pylkkänen, 2008; Harley, 2013) that, the Agentive structure is an add-on to the intransitive (non-agentive) structure and that this add-on is introduced by the functional projection ‘little *v*’. As noted in Chapter 3 (methodology), data was collected on two types of agentive motion predicates – those with initial contact (where the agent acts on the figure and then the figure alone goes through the motion) and those with continuous contact (i.e. those in which the agent maintains contact with the figure throughout the duration of the motion event). The rest of the chapter is organized as follows: I will summarize arguments for the agent being introduced in spec, *v*P (in §7.2), next, I will present the general structure of agentives in GSP (§7.3) and then in §7.4, present the argument for the embedded *make*-clause structure which differentiates Initial Contact Agentives from Continuous Contact Agentives. Finally, before concluding in §7.5, I outline further fine-grained distinctions within Continuous Contact Agentives (in §7.4.1) and provide some thoughts on how they might be analyzed in future studies.

### 7.2 The External Argument

As stated in the introduction, many scholars have argued that the agent is the external argument of the predicate. Kratzer (1996) proposes that the agent is generated in specifier of VoiceP as is illustrated in the diagram (taken from Kratzer, 1996:121) below:

(123)



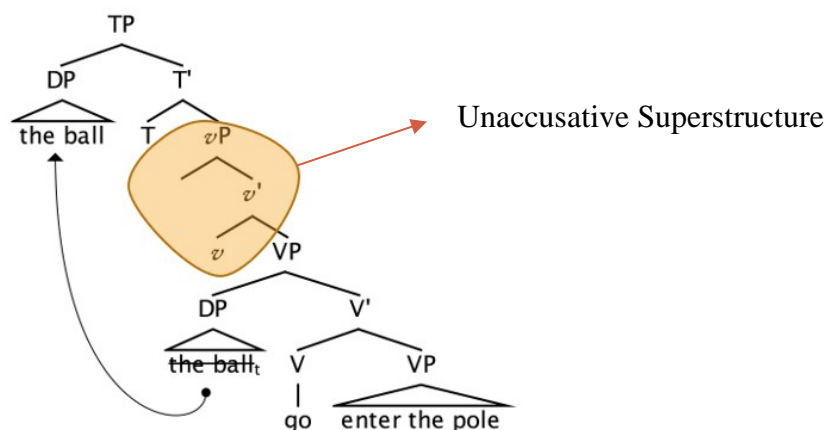
The VoiceP of Krazter's (1996) proposal is now considered the same as Chomsky's (1995) Little  $v$  and is generally accepted as the functional projection that introduces the external argument of the verb. Later work (particularly, Arad, 1999) have argued for different flavors of little  $v$ , to the effect that non-agentive sentences (such as (124), below) have an unaccusative little  $v$ , which does not introduce an agent; whereas agentive sentences (such as those in §7.3) have a different little  $v^{*46}$  which introduces the agent.

(124)

[1002GSPBOW]

The ball go enter the pole  
 D ball go enter D goalposts  
 'the ball went into the goalposts'

(125)

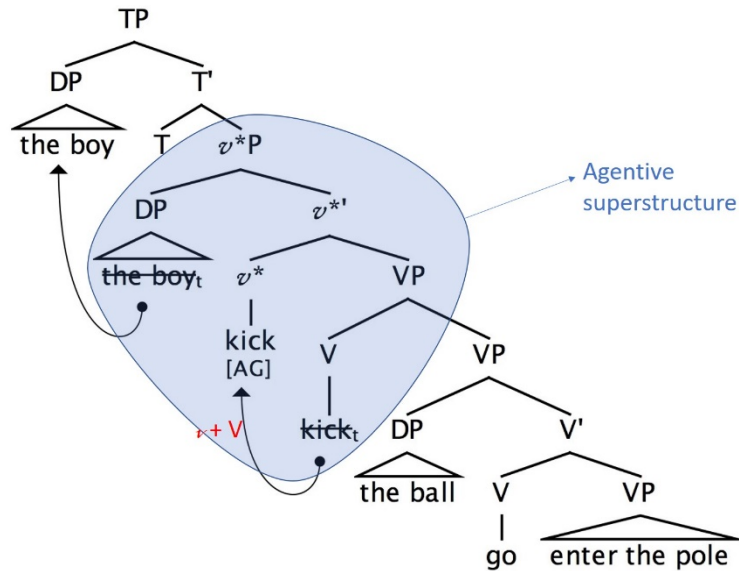


<sup>46</sup> The \* is used to differentiate the agentive little  $v$  and from the non-agentive little  $v$ .

### 7.3 Agentive Structure in GSP

Following the structure above, I propose that the agentive verb results from a  $v^*+V$  combination (with  $v^*$  providing the agentivity and  $V$  providing the manner of action). Thus, if we revisit (124), above and provide an agent (for e.g. *the boy*), (126) will be the resulting structure:

(126) *the boy kick the ball go enter the pole*



The structure above shows that the agentive verb *kick* is generated in  $V$  where it takes the VP (i.e. the event of the ball going to enter the goalposts) as its complement. The VP it forms is then merged with the agentive little  $v^*$ , which introduces the agent *the boy* in its specifier and triggers V-to- $v$  movement (i.e. *kick* moves from  $V$  to  $v$  and assigns accusative case to the DP *the ball*). The evidence for this is even clearer when we consider (127) below, in which the figure *the ball* is replaced with a pronoun:

(127) *The boy kick am/\*e go enter the pole*

D boy kick 3SGOBJ/3SGSBJ go enter D goalposts

‘the boy kicked it into the goalposts’

As (127) shows, the pronoun which replaces *the ball* must receive accusative case otherwise the sentence will be ungrammatical. This structure is also applicable to events in which the agent has continuous contact (i.e. the agent maintains contact) with the figure throughout the duration of the event. This is illustrated in (128) and (129) below:

(128)

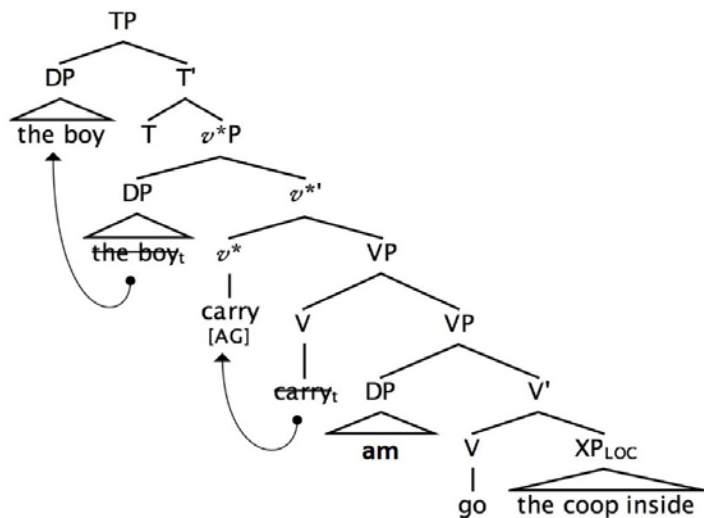
[0611GSPISA]

The boy carry am/\*e go the coop inside

D boy carry 3SGOBJ/3SGSBJ go D coop inside

‘the boy carried the duck into the coop’

(129)



As (129) shows, the manner verb *carry* is also generated within a VP-shell that has the agentive *v* and subsequently moves to *v* to assign accusative case to the figure *am*.

#### 7.4 Initial vs. Continuous Contact

The analysis so far suggests that Initial Contact and Continuous Contact sentences yield the same results as far as interpretation is concerned. However, as already stated above, in initial contact events, the agent acts on the figure and the figure undergoes an event (as in (126)); whereas, in

continuous contact events, contact is maintained between the agent and the figure while the latter undergoes the motion event (as in (128)). This suggests, therefore, that there is additional structure which leads to the difference interpretation. Consider (130) and (131) below, both using the verb *push*:

(130) [0505GSPVAF]

The boy push the girl make she enter the water

D boy push D girl MAKE 3SGSBJ enter D water

‘The boy pushed the girl into the water’ [one initial contact]

#‘The boy pushed the girl into the water’ [one continuous contact]

(131) [0908GSPISA2]

The small girl push the toy train enter the tunnel inside

D small girl push D toy train enter D tunnel inside

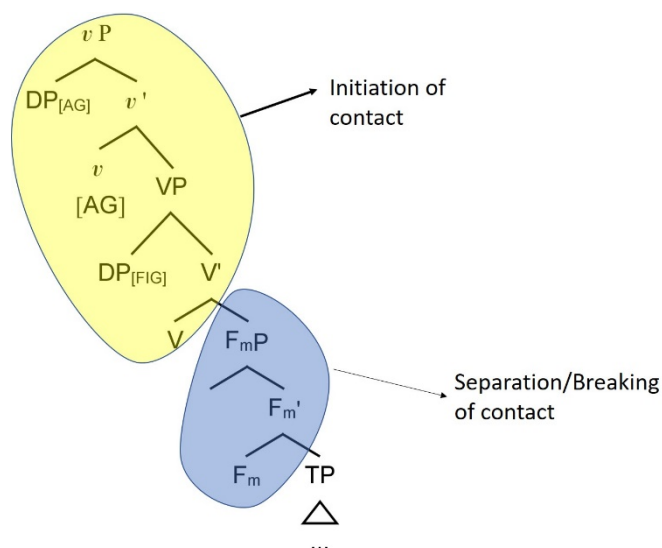
#?‘the little girl pushed the train into the tunnel’ [one initial contact]

‘the little girl pushed the train into the tunnel’ [one continuous contact]

The interpretations of sentences (130) and (131) show that, in (130), *push* is used to mean that contact is established and broken by the agent (i.e. *the boy*) before the figure (i.e. *the girl*) undergoes the motion event; while *push* in (131) is a continuous contact with the train which begins when the girl first touches the train and does not stop until the train enters the tunnel. When the interpretations are switched, they become ungrammatical or questionable (depending on the speaker). Since this ‘break of contact’ in Initial Contact Agentives is clear from the interpretation, it follows that it is encoded in the syntax as well. I propose that this ‘break of contact’ reading arises from a functional projection that *separates* the initiation (of contact) phase of the motion

event from the rest of the event. I further propose that the head of this aforementioned functional projection is either null or spelled out as *make* – hence, I label it  $F_mP$ . The tree in (132) below presents the proposal and I proceed after that to provide evidence in support of it:

(132)



The structure in (132), above, proposes that in Initial Contact Agentives the initiator of the motion event undertaken by the figure (i.e. the agent) is separated from the figure by the functional projection ( $F_mP$ ) whose head,  $F_m$ , is spelled out as *make* (a grammaticalized form of the lexical *make*) and which then takes as a complement the TP which is the effect of the initiation (i.e. the motion event that the figure undergoes). This is illustrated, below, with (133) and the corresponding structure in (134):

(133)

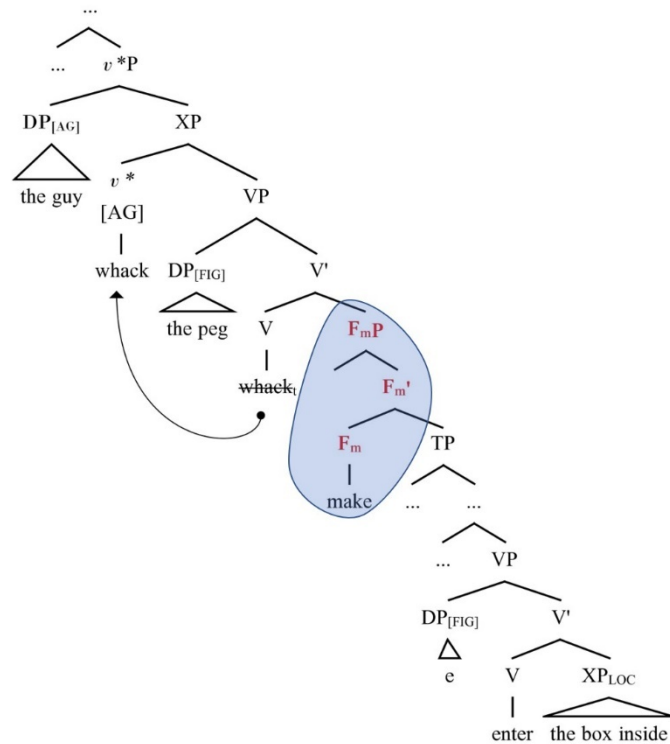
[1507GSPVAF]

The guy whack the peg make e enter the block inside

D guy whack D peg MAKE 3SGSBJ enter D block inside

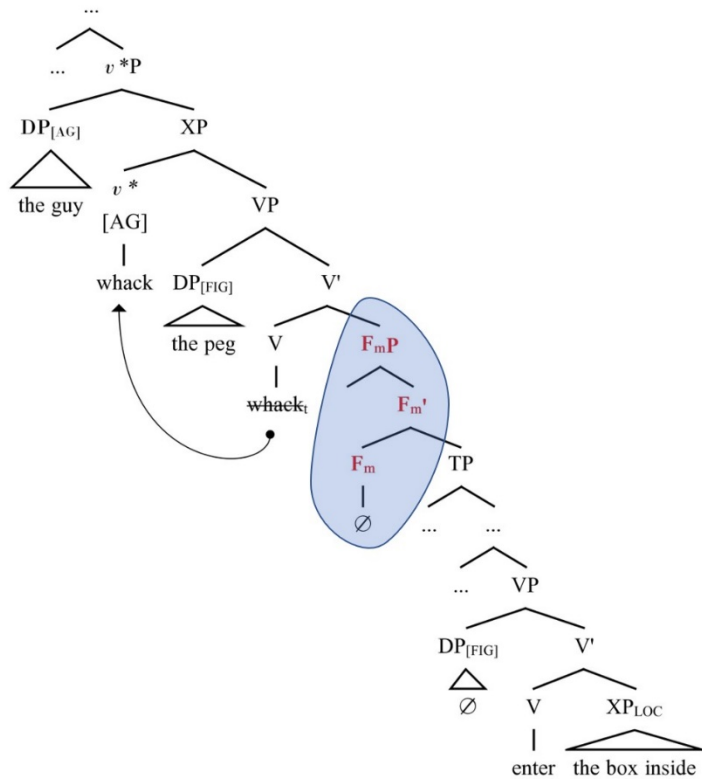
‘the guy whacked the peg so that it went into the block’

(134)



In essence, I argue that *make* is used to express some sort of relationship (i.e. either *causation* or the creation of *an enabling environment*) between the clause that contains the agent and the one that contains the process. This relationship is very much like what Ramchand (2008:44) refers to as the “*leads to* relation” in event composition; that is, that the interpretation of a part of the event is causal due to its position in the structural hierarchy. Thus, even in the cases where the *make* is not overtly stated (as in (135)), it is still represented in the underlying structure which is why it yields the initial contact interpretation:

(135) The guy whack the peg enter the box inside



It is important to point out, here, that this additional intervening structure (i.e. the circled portion in (135)) which is responsible for *breaking the contact* is added to the existing structure via complementation. This is easily verified with two tests for c-command: a Bound Variable Test ((136) and (137)) and a WH-Extraction test .

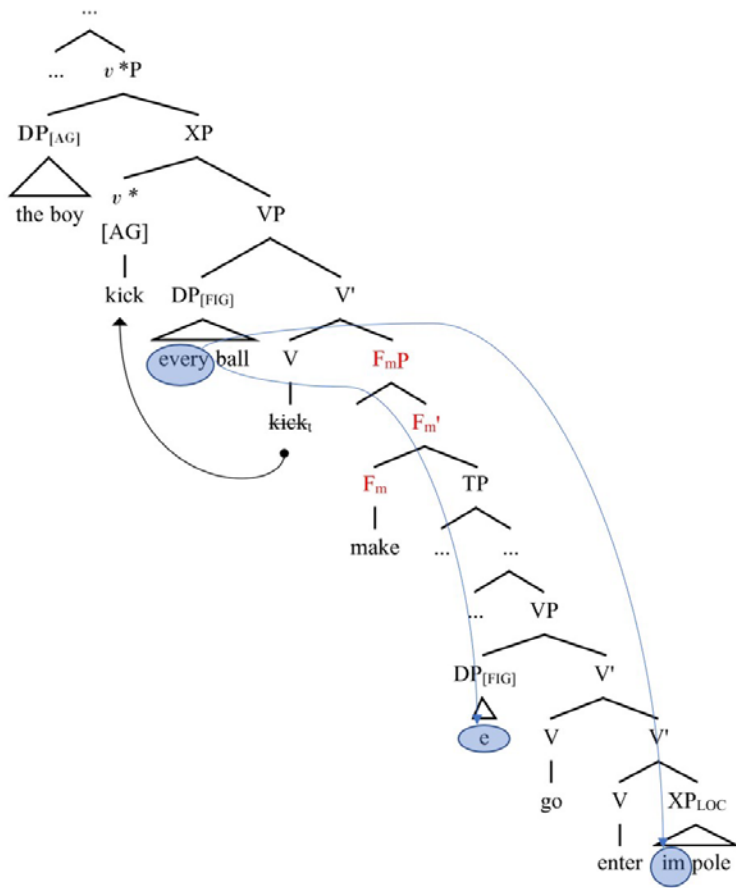
(136) The boy kick every ball make e go enter im pole inside

D boy kick every ball MAKE 3SGSBJ go enter 3SGSBJ pole inside

‘the boy kicked every ball into its own (individual) goal’



(137)



The principles underlying this Bound Variable Test are the same presented earlier in (§1.5.1) where the complementation structure of the hypothesis was proven – and here, as there, c-command of lower elements by higher elements is crucial. Consequently, the operator *every* would not be able to bind the two variables *e* and *im* if it did not c-command them and the only reason a c-command relationship is possible is because the added on is a complement of the higher structure. A similar principle is responsible for the grammaticality of (138), where it is possible to extract the interrogative pronoun *weytin* ‘what’ from its in-situ position and form a WH-question only because the phrase within which it is contained is joined to the rest of the structure via complementation.

(138) Weytin the boy kick the ball make e go enter inside ~~weytin~~<sub>t</sub>

What D boy kick D ball MAKE 3SGSBJ go enter inside

‘what did the boy kick the ball into?’<sup>47</sup>

The argument so far points to the fact that the two realizations of the initial contact agentive (i.e. with and without *make*) in GSP are one and the same. In other words, I am arguing that *all* initial contact agentives in GSP have the F<sub>m</sub>P and that the two different surface realizations are a result of whether the *make* is spelled out or not<sup>48</sup>. That said, we can now return to our original discussion on how this agentive type differs structurally from the Continuous Contact agentive type.

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<sup>47</sup> As a side-note, it is important to mention here that GSP has another grammaticalized *make* that can be used in constructions that are not dissimilar to what we have here (but which describe a sequence of consecutive events). Let us take, for example, a game of pool in which a player uses the cue stick to hit the white ball which then goes on to knock another ball into one of the pockets. It is possible to use the sentence in (139), below to describe this scenario where the pronoun *e* does not refer to the white ball but to the second ball:

(139) The paddi whack the ball make e go the pocket inside  
D guy hit the ball MAKE 3SGSBJ go D pocket inside

‘the guy hit the (white) ball so that it (i.e. the other ball) went into the pocket’

Though (139) appears to be similar to the other initial contact sentences we have seen so far, there are some crucial differences. In the first place, both the Bound Variable test and the WH-extraction test that were successfully applied to (136) will yield ungrammatical results when applied to (139). In the interest of brevity, allow me to demonstrate with just one of them (the WH-extraction test) in (140) below:

(140) Weytin the paddi whack the ball make e go the pocket inside ~~weytin~~<sub>t</sub>  
What D guy hit the ball MAKE 3SGSBJ go D pocket inside

‘what did the guy hit the (white) ball so that it (the white ball) went into?’

#‘what did the guy hit the (white) ball so that it (i.e. the other ball) went into?’

As the interpretation shows, it is not possible for (140) to be interpreted as another ball going into the pocket, which, in effect means that WH-extraction in such a case is ungrammatical. The second crucial difference is that, unlike the other Initial Contact examples for which I have proposed the F<sub>m</sub>P functional projection, the sentence in (136) cannot be expressed without the *make*. This is illustrated in (141) below:

(141) The paddi whack the ball go the pocket inside  
D guy hit D ball go D pocket inside

‘the guy hit the (white) ball into the pocket’

#‘the guy hit the (white) ball so that it (i.e. another ball) went into the pocket’

As (141), the absence of an overt *make* forces the interpretation that it is the same ball that was hit which enters the pocket – which, indeed, is the initial contact interpretation we have shown already BUT is not the interpretation of (what we can call) the *consecutive make* illustrated in (139). These differences outlined here suggest strongly that we are dealing with a different underlying structure for sentences like (139) – what the nature of this structure is, however, lies outside the scope of this study and, for now, will be set aside for further study.

<sup>48</sup> I am aware that the fact that the null *make* always triggers a null subject in its TP complement is something that must be addressed but, though the reason for that is not obvious at the moment, I am confident that it poses no harm to my proposal.

As already noted, the underlying difference between the agent and the figure in Continuous Contact agentives is that contact is maintained throughout the motion event. In other words, the *separation* or *break of contact* element, which we have argued the *make* is responsible for, is absent in the deep structure of Continuous Contact agentives. Thus, when you have a verb like *push* (142), which can be interpreted as either initial or continuous contact – the choice of one interpretation or the other is dependent on the underlying structure.

(142)

[0505GSPKOT1]

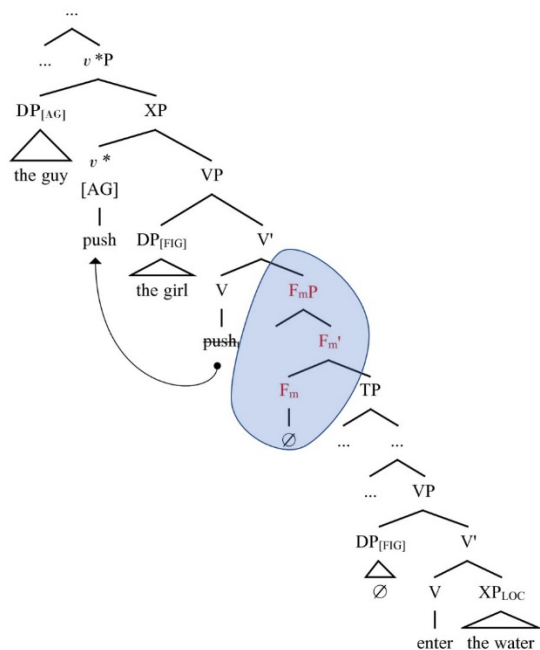
The guy push the girl enter the water

D guy push D girl enter D water

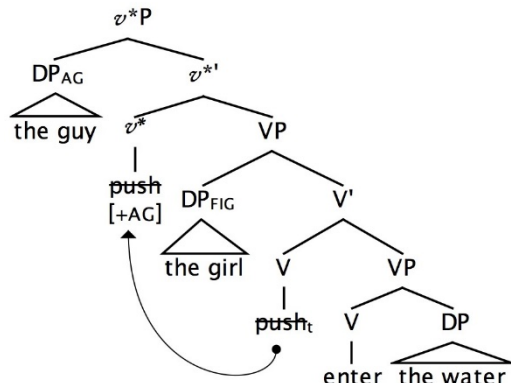
‘the guy pushed the girl into the water (initial contact)’

‘the guy pushed the girl into the water (continuous contact)’

(143) Structure for initial contact interpretation in (142)



(144) Structure for continuous contact interpretation in (142)



This is not to say that speakers of GSP have a preference for the surface structure with the overt *make* in Initial Contact sentences, since the difference is in the deep structure and, as far as the grammar is concerned, both realizations of the structure (i.e. overt *make* and null *make*) yield the same meaning. Where we should expect a difference (and indeed we do see one) is in the cases of Continuous Contact sentences where using a *make*-type construction should not be possible as per the analysis laid out above. Consequently, it was a bit problematic when an initial examination of the data showed that 18 of the 112 (i.e., approximately, 16%) responses elicited with the Continuous Contact prompts had the *make* construction. However, when these responses were played back to the participants who produced them and they were asked to say what sort of event they depicted, they described initial contact situations. What this means is that these 18 *make*-type responses in the Continuous Contact data were produced in error and this, thus, supports the analysis that the *make*-type construction leads to an Initial Contact interpretation.

#### 7.4.1 Different ‘Flavors’ of Continuous Contact Agentives

The video prompts used to elicit data on Continuous Contact Agentives were also designed to tease apart the fine-grained distinctions among four subtypes of these agentives. This subsection discusses the data elicited and their implications for the analysis so far.

##### 7.4.1.1 Subtype I: Dual Displacement Along Single Path (‘At-the-Mercy-of’)

This subtype describes a continuous contact agentive motion event in which the undergoer has no control over its progress or movement along the path; in other words, the undergoer is completely ‘at-the-mercy’ of the agent who travels along the path and brings the undergoer with them. Consider one of the earlier sentences (repeated below as (145)):

(145) [0611GSPISA]

The boy carry the duck go the coop inside

D boy carry D duck go D coop inside

‘the boy carried the duck into the coop’

Here, the undergoer (i.e. *the duck*) is indeed displaced along the same path taken by the agent (i.e. *the boy*). However, though by the end of the event, both the agent and undergoer have undergone displacement via the same path, in reality, it is only the agent that actually travels along the path, the undergoer really does not have a choice. Though this distinction might appear trivial, it becomes significant when compared with the next subtype.

##### 7.4.1.2 Subtype II: Dual Displacement Along Parallel Paths

Like Subtype I above, the agent and the undergoer both undergo displacement in Subtype II; however, the crucial difference is with regard to the path as illustrated in (146), below:

(146)

[0803GSPVAF]

The girl de carry the kite go

D girl NPU-PROG carry D kite go

‘the girl is walking while flying the kite’

The scene described in (146) above is one in which the girl walks while holding on to a string with a kite attached (shown in Figure 7.1, below)

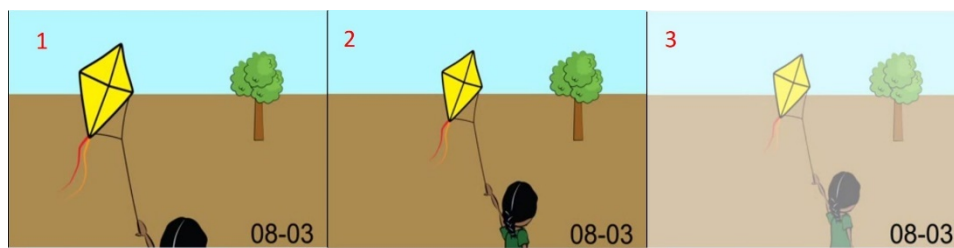


Figure 7.1 Clip 08-03

Thus, unlike in Subtype I, the undergoer here (i.e. *the kite*) has some freedom in the path it takes with the only constraint being that its path is parallel to that of the agent. A similar situation might be a scenario in which a parent walks their child to the school bus (by holding their hand).

#### 7.4.1.3 Subtype III: Single Displacement (of Undergoer)

This Subtype describes the type of continuous contact agentivity in which the agent displaces the undergoer without partaking of the path. This is exemplified by (147), which was elicited with the clip in Figure 7.2.

(147)

[1103GSPKOT]

The man take the kiddie put the table top

D man take D child put D table top

‘the man picked up the child (and) put him on top of the table’



Figure 7.2 Clip 11-03

As Figure 7.2 shows, only the undergoer (i.e. *the child*) is displaced even though the agent (i.e. *the man*) is in contact with the undergoer as he travels along the path. In other words, only the part of the agent in direct contact with the undergoer travels along the same path as the undergoer.

#### 7.4.1.4 Subtype IV: Change of Orientation (of Undergoer)

In the final subtype, the action of the agent on the undergoer does not lead to a displacement as such, but rather a change in orientation of the undergoer. Consider, for example, sentence (148), which was elicited with the clip in Figure 7.3.

(148)

[1202GSPBOW]

She turn the bottle put floor

3SGSBJ turn D bottle put floor

‘she put the bottle on the floor (by turning it onto its side)’



Figure 7.3 Clip 12-02

As Figure 7.3 shows, the undergoer (i.e. *the bottle*) was upright and then the agent (i.e. the person to whom the arm belongs) turns it onto its side.

## 7.4.2 Implications of the different ‘Flavors’ of Continuous Contact

It is clear that all four subtypes of continuous contact do indeed involve the agent maintaining contact with the undergoer throughout the duration of the event. It is also clear that there are (as mentioned previously) fine-grained distinctions among how these various subtypes are interpreted. However, since one structure has been proposed so far for continuous contact agentives in general, what do these subtypes mean for the analysis? Though I have not been able to come up with a unified structure that will account for these four subtypes, I believe that the ‘den/plas coordination’ structure which is also available to speakers of GSP offers some insight into how a solution might be approached. I, therefore, briefly discuss the salient points below and leave the actual solution for future research.

### 7.4.2.1 *Den/Plas* Coordination

Sentence (149), below is an example of *den/plas* coordination:

(149) The woman den/plas in kiddie go school

D woman CONJ 3SGPD child go school

‘the woman and her child went to school’ or ‘the woman took her child to school’

As the gloss of sentence above shows, *den* and *plas*<sup>49</sup> are conjunctions which roughly translate to ‘and’. The significance of this structure (i.e. *den/plas* coordination) is that it can be used to show that there is more to the structure of these continuous contact subtypes. The structure is mainly useful for showing that subtypes I & II pattern together more closely than subtypes III & IV. To illustrate this, let us revisit the examples from above – both (145) (repeated below as (150)), which belongs to subtype I and (146) (repeated below as (151)), which belongs to subtype II, can be expressed using *den/plas* coordination (152) and (153), respectively:

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<sup>49</sup> *plas* is also (depending on context) translated as ‘with’



(150) [0611GSPISA]

The boy carry the duck go the coop inside

D boy carry D duck go D coop inside

‘the boy carried the duck into the coop’

(151) [0803GSPVAF]

The girl de carry the kite go

D girl NPU-PROG carry D kite go

‘the girl is walking while flying the kite’

(152) [0611GSPKOT1]

The boy den/plas the duck go the coop inside

D boy CONJ D duck go D coop inside

‘the boy and the duck went into the coop’ or ‘the boy took the duck into the coop’

(153) [0803GSPKOT]

The girl den/plas the kite de go

D girl CONJ D kite NPU-PROG go

‘the girl and the kite are going’ or ‘the girl is going with the kite’

It is not surprising that the coordination structure is able to express subtypes I & II because they both involve some form of *conjoining* – i.e. the agent and the undergoer sharing the same path (in type I) and the agent and the undergoer moving on *different* paths but in the *same direction on parallel paths*. There is, however, some finer distinction that can be made between the two types. In the first place, if we use the same coordination structure and we express the manner of motion explicitly, we notice different implications for subtype I and II. Sentences (154) and (155), illustrate the point:

(154) The woman den/plas im kiddie go the room inside

D woman CONJ D child go D room inside

‘the woman and the child went into the room (each walking) [Type II]

‘the woman took the child into the room (the woman walked carrying the child) [Type I]

(155) The woman den/plas the **kiddie galley** go the room inside

D woman CONJ D child walk go D room inside

‘the woman and the child went into the room (each walking)’ [Type II]

#‘the woman took the child into the room (the woman walked carrying the child) [Type I]

In (154) we are able to achieve both subtype I and II interpretations because the manner of motion is not explicitly stated; however, the interpretation for subtype I becomes impossible in (155) precisely for the same reason (i.e. because the manner of motion is explicitly stated) – suggesting, therefore, that a coordination structure is perhaps not suitable for all subtype I cases. Even stronger evidence for this is provided when we change the animacy of the figure (from animate to inanimate), as shown in sentence (156) below:

(156) The woman go the room inside plas im purse

D woman go D room inside plas 3SGPD purse

‘the woman went inside the room with her purse’

(157) ?The woman den/plas im purse go the room inside

D woman CONJ 3SGPD purse go D room inside

‘the woman and her purse went into the room’

‘?the woman went inside the room with her purse’

As the interpretations of the sentences above show, it will be weird to describe the scenario in (156) with the sentence in (157). Thus, what these two sentences show is that where the figure is clearly not able to engage in motion on its own (i.e. it is at the mercy of the agent) – which is easiest to see when the figure is inanimate – the *den/plas* coordination cannot be used and it is preferred that the figure is added to the structure via adjunction with *plas*. Whereas, if both the agent and the figure undergo the motion event under their own power along parallel paths, it is fine to use *den/plas* coordination<sup>50</sup>.

Finally, with regard to subtypes III & IV, as already stated, they are not compatible with *den/plas* coordination – which is not surprising since the agent and undergoer in those two groups neither share a path or displacement. Examples

(158)

[1103GSPKOT2]

The man den/plas the kiddie go the table top

D man CONJ D child go D table top

#‘the man put the child on top of the table’

‘the man and the child went to the top of the table’

---

<sup>50</sup> Though GSP does not show this, additional evidence for this distinction between subtype I and II can be seen in languages with a high degree of inflection morphology. Taherkhani (2019), for example, reports that in the Takestani dialect of Southern Tati (a highly inflectional Indo-European language) subtype II cases with animate figures have all their verbs inflected for both the agent and the figure; whereas in subtype I cases, the verbs are inflected only for the agent. This inflectional distinction between the two reflects the meaning difference we have shown between the figure being at-the-mercy of the agent (i.e. subtype I) and the figure having equal control of its own path (subtype II).

(159)

[1202GSPKOT]

She den/plas the bottle lie floor

3SGSBJ CONJ D bottle lie floor

#‘she lay the bottle on the floor’

‘she and the bottle lay on the floor’

## 7.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter examined agentive constructions in Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP) with the aim of providing a formal analysis of how they are structured. I argued that the agent is introduced above  $VP_{MNR}$  with a little *v* as is traditionally agreed. Additionally, I presented evidence for the argument that the difference between initial and continuous contact agentives lies in the internal structures – i.e. that in initial contact agentives there is an embedded *make*-clause which is sometimes null, whereas this clause is absent in continuous contact agentives. Finally, I have pointed out certain finer distinctions within the contact agentives that also need to be structurally addressed and have provided some initial data to serve as a starting point.

## CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

### 8.1 Wrapping Up

This dissertation set out to provide a formal syntactic analysis for motion predicates in Ghanaian Student Pidgin (GSP) and, in doing so, expand our knowledge of how language encodes motion events. The contributions this study makes to current scholarship are significant on two fronts – firstly, due to its input to syntactic theory in the area of motion predicates and, secondly (as by-product of the first), the evidence it supplies against the misconception that GSP is a substandard or underdeveloped language.

With regard to the first point, this dissertation addresses the gap in the theoretical analyses of event structure which has hitherto not accounted for motion predicates. The findings of this dissertation, thus, provide evidence for the structural representation of subeventive architecture which are more visible because the language of focus is an SVC language and each of these subevents is typically represented with a VP. One area in which this theoretical contribution is evident is in the chapter on the 3-D vectorization of the path in motion predicates and how it aligns with the conceptualization of space in the human mind – a proposal which had already been argued by some earlier researchers (Benedicto et al., 2008; Benedicto & Salomon, 2014; Zheng, 2012). Here, also, the SVC structures in GSP enabled us to see how each spatial plane got to be encoded in the subparts of that SVC to feed into the path component of the motion event structure and thus support the arguments of the researchers (Benedicto et al., 2008; Benedicto & Salomon, 2014; Zheng, 2012) already mentioned above. Another area in which this study adds to current theory is with regard to the telicity subcomponent of event structure. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Borer (2005) argues that telic event structures arise as a result of the projection of  $Asp_0$ , which may be assigned range by

either a morpheme in its head or a constituent (usually the internal argument of the predicate) in its Specifier, which will become the ‘subject-of-quantity’ (s-o-q). Though Borer (2005:127-143) does point out that motion predicates behave differently – in that, the presence of a s-o-q internal argument of the verb does not necessarily lead to a telic interpretation – she leaves the problem for future research. This dissertation addresses this unanswered question and proves that, in motion predicates, it is indeed not the internal argument that assigns range to  $Asp_Q$ , but rather the reaching of an endpoint (which obtains in GSP as the REACH substructure). Additionally, the dissertation also showed that this is only compatible with a reachable (i.e. non-projective)  $XP_{LOC}$  – a connection made possible by analyzing the internal structure of the  $XP_{LOC}$  along the lines of Svenonius, 2008, 2010). The findings on telicity are, thus, particularly significant since they provide answers to fill a theoretical gap. Finally, with regard to agentivity, a crucial discovery was made about the structural difference between initial contact and continuous contact agentives – i.e. the additional projection of *make* (which is present in initial contact agentives, but absent from continuous contact agentives) which signals the separation of the figure from the agent.

All the structural theoretical contributions mentioned above feed into the second point of significance of this dissertation – i.e. what it brings to the debate on the linguistic status of GSP. As already touched upon in the introductory chapter, GSP (like many pidgins and creoles) is stigmatized, mainly because of the misguided belief that it is some substandard imitation of English. In fact, throughout the period I conducted the research leading to this dissertation, the reactions of participants and other speakers (to whom I explained my research) have ranged from shock (stemming from the belief that GSP is not a language) to incredulity (that someone would waste their time on studying what amounts to nothing but a failed attempt at English). In addition

to Chapter 2, which outlines some of the distinctive phonological, semantic, lexical and syntactic properties of GSP, one of the major ways in which the dissertation has contributed to arguing against these misconceptions is by providing evidence for its structural complexity and integrity, and showing that the theoretical analysis proposed for other (so-called established) natural languages also work for its structures (of course, accounting for language-specific variation). Additionally, the argument sometimes presented by some detractors (of GSP) that it is broken English (on the one hand) or merely English words superimposed on the syntax of (some) Ghanaian language (on the other hand) is dismantled by some of the structures already discussed above. The *make*-construction in the initial contact agentive structure, for example, cannot be attributed to either English or the Ghanaian languages typically supplied as the substrates of GSP (i.e. Akan, Ga and/or Ewe), showing that GSP is a distinctive language in its own right.

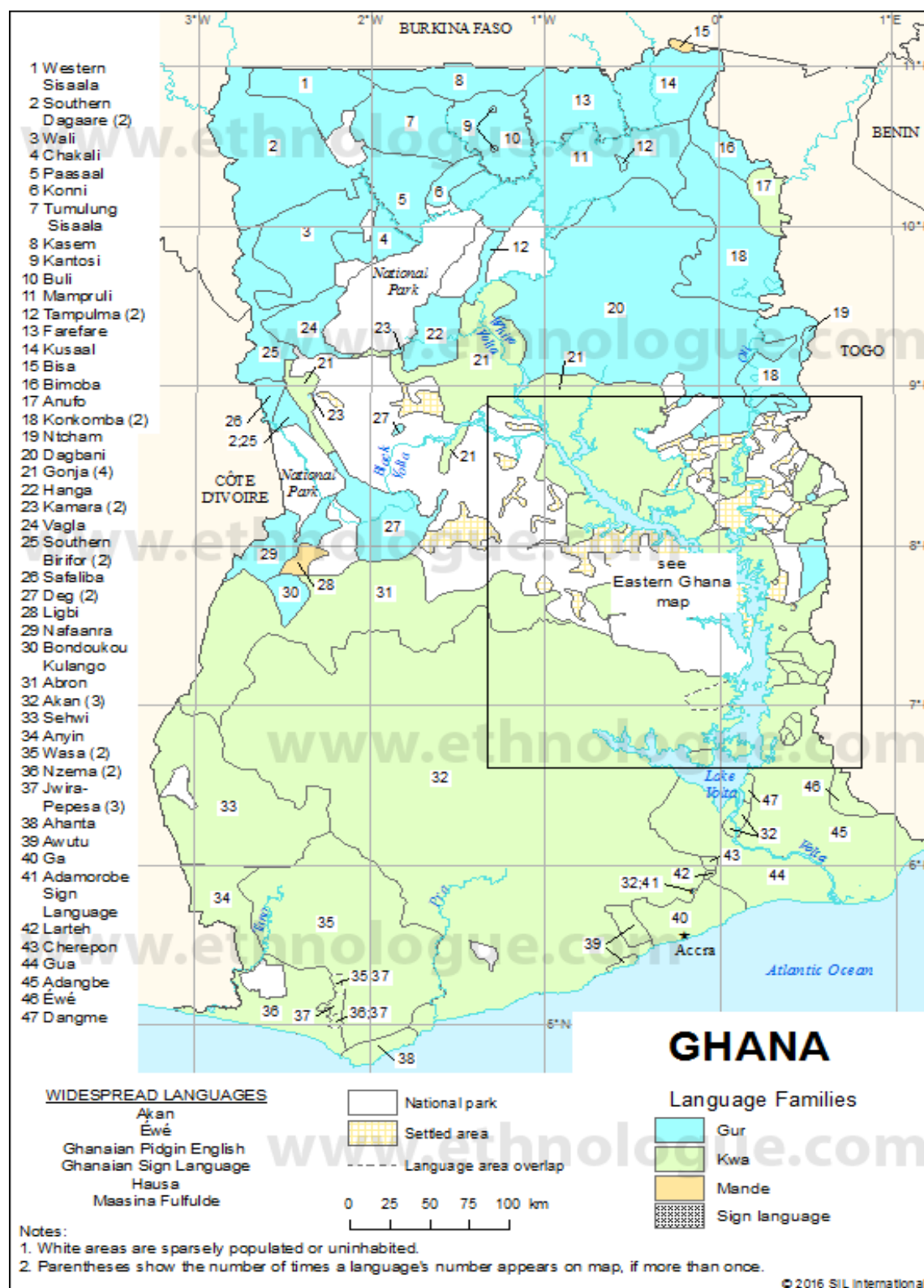
## 8.2 Areas for Future Research

In addition to the contributions outlined in the previous section, it is expected that a work like this will discover other interesting questions that (due to time and/or scope constraints) will be left answered, and this dissertation is no different. One of the areas that merit further research is the vectorization of the 3-D path and particularly with regard to what implications the sentences that have the point of reference in the middle of the path (§4.4) have for the structure proposed. Additionally, the data collected also showed some interesting patterns regarding the ingressive (i.e. *enter* +  $XP_{LOC}$ ) component of the motion predicate, which can also sometimes lead to a telic interpretation and, therefore, opens up new areas of research regarding how it fits into the current analysis – particularly, its interaction with  $V_{REACH}$ . Finally, though the dissertation proves a structural difference between initial contact agentivity and continuous contact agentivity, it does not provide a unified structure for the four subtypes of continuous contact agentives identified. As

already stated in (§7.4.1), I believe that the answer to that question (for GSP) lies in the variety of ways the *den/plas* coordination and *plas* adjunction structures interact with the four subtypes and it is my hope that future researchers will take up the question and provide new insight.

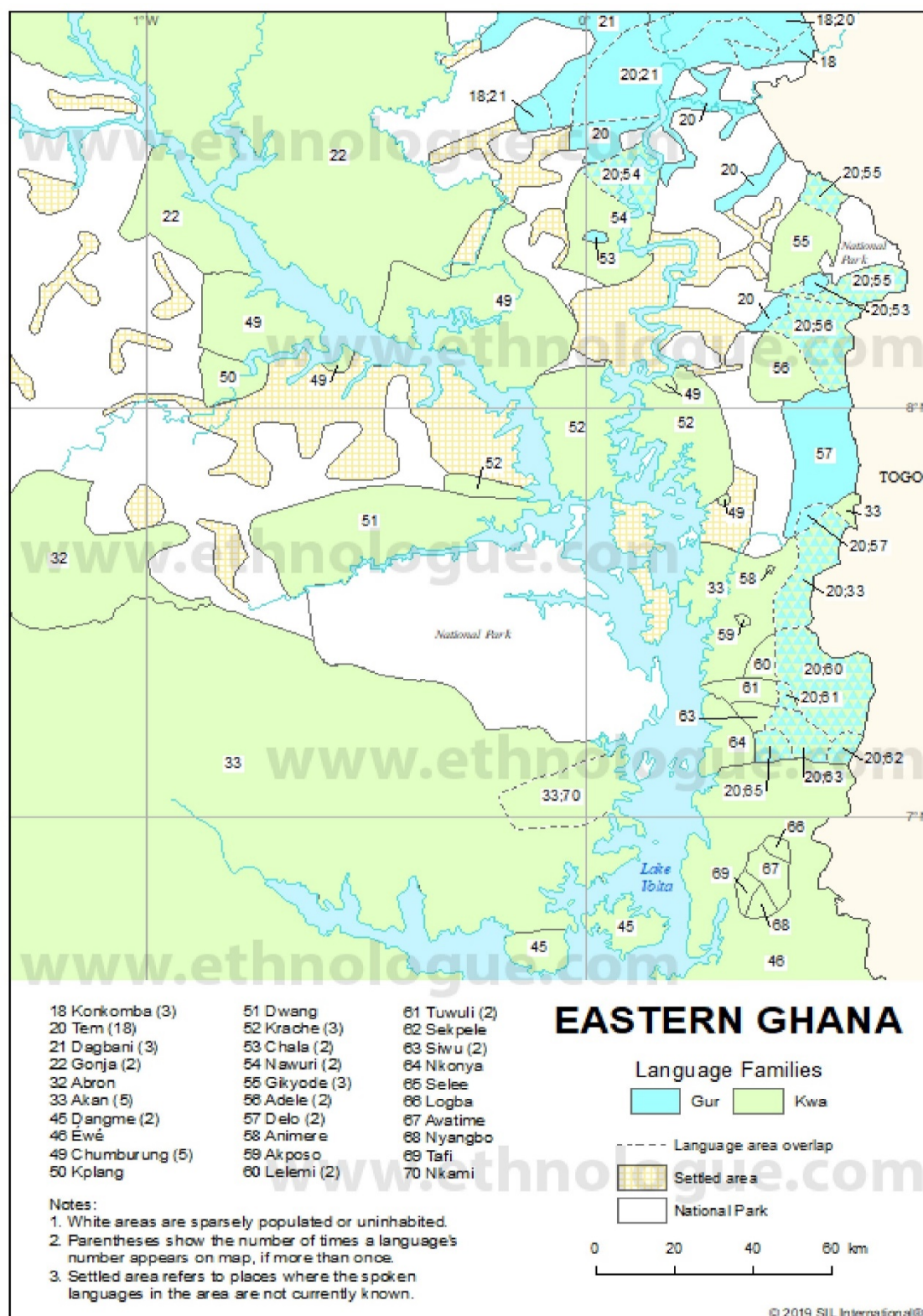


# APPENDIX A. LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA<sup>51</sup>



<sup>51</sup> Used by Permission (Simons, 2017)

## APPENDIX B. LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA CONT'D<sup>52</sup>



<sup>52</sup> Used by Permission (Simons, 2017)

## APPENDIX C. DATA

(1) 0101GSPVAF

The bird dey the fence top wey e fly go  
 D bird be.at D fence top CONJ 3SGSBJ fly go  
 ‘the bird was on top of the fence and then it flew away’

(2) 0101GSPBOW

Then the bird de fly go  
 Then D bird NPU-PROG fly go  
 ‘then the bird was flying away’

(3) 0101GSPISA

The bird wey e dey the fence top fly  
 D bird REL 3SGSBJ be.at D fence top fly  
 ‘the bird which was on top of the fence flew (away)’

(4) 0102GSPVAF

The bird fly from the top of the fence de go the tree top  
 D bird fly from D top of D fence NPU-PROG go D tree top  
 ‘the bird flew from the top of the fence and is going to the tree top’

(5) 0102GSPBOW

Then the bird de fly go  
 Then D bird NPU-PROG fly go  
 ‘then the bird was flying away’

(6) 0102GSPISA

the bird e dey the fence top de fly  
 D bird 3SGSBJ be.at D fence top NPU-PROG fly  
 ‘the bird which was on top of the fence is flying (away)’

(7) 0103GSPVAF

the bird de fly from the tree go the fence top  
 D bird NPU-PROG fly from D tree go D fence top  
 ‘the bird is flying from the tree to the fence top’

(8) 0103GSPBOW

the bird fly from the tree de come  
 D bird fly from D tree NPU-PROG come  
 ‘the bird flew from the tree (and is) coming’

## (9) 0103GSPISA

the bird for the trees top de fly towards the fence  
 D bird LOC D tree.PL top NPU-PROG fly towards D fence  
 'the bird (which was) on top of the trees is flying towards the fence'

## (10) 0104GSPVAF

the bird dey the fence top wey e fly go the other trees top  
 D bird be.at D fence top C 3SGSBJ fly go D other tree.PL top  
 'the bird was on the fence top and then it flew to the top of the other trees'

## (11) 0104GSPBOW1

e fly go the tree top/inside  
 3SGSBJ fly go D tree top/inside  
 'it flew (all the way) to the tree top/into the tree'

## (12) 0104GSPBOW2

the bird de fly go the tree inside  
 D bird NPU-PROG fly go D tree inside  
 'the bird is flying (all the way) into the tree'

## (13) 0104GSPISA

the bird for the fence top fly go one tree top  
 D bird LOC D fence top fly go one tree top  
 'the bird (which was) on top of the fence flew (all the way) to the top of one tree'

## (14) 0105GSPVAF

the bird fly from the tree wey e come dey the fence top  
 D bird fly from D tree C 3SGSBJ come be.at D fence top  
 'the bird flew from the tree and then came to rest on top of the fence'

## (15) 0105GSPBOW

the bird fly from the tree come land for the fence top  
 D bird fly from D tree come land LOC D fence top  
 'the bird flew from the tree and came to land on top of the fence top'

## (16)0105GSPISA

the bird fly from the trees go the fence top

D bird fly from D tree.PL go D fence top

‘the bird flew from trees and went to the top of the fence’

## (17)0106GSPVAF

the bird de fly from the fence go the tree top

D bird NPU-PROG fly from D fence go D tree top

‘the bird is flying from the fence (all the way) to the tree top’

## (18)0106GSPBOW

the bird de fly come the tree im body

D bird NPU-PROG fly come D tree 3SGPD body

‘the bird is flying towards the tree/to (the area near) the tree’

## (19)0106GSPISA

the bird e de stand the fence top de fly away

D bird 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG stand D fence top NPU-PROG fly away

‘the bird (which was) standing on top of the fence is flying away’

## (20)0107GSPVAF

the bird dey the tree top wey e de fly go the fence

D bird be.at D tree top C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly go D fence

‘the bird was on the tree top and then it was flying towards the fence’

## (21)0107GSPBOW

then the bird de fly go

then D bird NPU-PROG fly go

‘at the time, the bird was flying away’

## (22)0107GSPISA

the bird for the tree inside de fly away

D bird LOC D tree inside NPU-PROG fly away

‘the bird (which was) inside the tree is flying away’

## (23)0108GSPVAF

the bird dey the tree top. E de fly over the river go another tree top

D bird be.at D tree top. 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly over D river go another tree top

‘the bird is on top of the tree. It is flying over the river (all the way) to the top of another tree’

## (24)0108GSPBOW

then the bird de fly go

then D bird NPU-PROG fly go

‘at the time, the bird was flying away’

## (25)0108GSPISA

the bird fly from one tree pass the river top de go

D bird fly from one tree pass D river top NPU-PROG go

‘the bird flew from one tree across the river and is going’

## (26)0109GSPVAF

the bird dey one shrub top wey e de fly over the river

D bird be.at one shrub top C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly over D river

‘the bird was on top of one shrub and then it flew over the river’

## (27)0109GSPBOW

the bird de fly come

D bird NPU-PROG fly come

‘the bird is flying to/towards (me)’

## (28)0109GSPISA

Two trees dey the compound top wey stream dey dema middle. Then this bird de  
Two tree.PL be.at D compound top C stream be.at 3PLPD middle. Then DEM bird NPU-PROG  
stand one tree top the tree e dey for my right side wey e fly go the tree e  
stand one tree top D tree 3SGSBJ be.at LOC 1SGPD right side C 3SGSBJ fly go D tree 3SGSBJ  
dey the left side that be me my left  
be.at D left side DEM COP 1SGOBJ 1SGPD left

‘there are two trees on the compound with a stream between them. Then a bird which was on top of one of the trees which is on my right side flew to the tree which is on the left side, that is my right side.’

## (29)0110GSPVAF

the bird de fly from the tree over the river make e go the other tree inside

D bird NPU-PROG fly from D tree over D river C 3SGSBJ go D other tree inside

‘the bird is flying from the tree across the river in order to go inside the other tree’

## (30)0110GSPBOW

then the bird de fly go put the tree top  
 then D bird NPU-PROG fly go put D tree top  
 'at the time, the bird was flying to go and land on top of the tree'

## (31)0110GSPISA

the bird for one tree top move/fly pass the river de head towards another tree  
 D bird LOC one tree top move/fly pass D river NPU-PROG head towards another tree  
 'the bird (which was) on the top of one tree moved/flew across the river and is heading towards another tree'

## (32)0111GSPVAF

the bird dey one tree top wey e just fly over the river come another tree top  
 D bird be.at one tree top C 3SGSBJ just fly over D river come another tree top  
 'the bird was on top of one tree when it just flew over the river and came to the top of another tree'

## (33)0111GSPBOW

the bird fly from there pass the water top come land for here  
 D bird fly from there pass D water top come land LOC here  
 'the bird flew from there across the water to come and land here'

## (34)0111GSPISA

so this bird move from the first tree wey e fly pass the river wey e go  
 so DEM bird move from D first tree C 3SGSBJ fly pass D river C 3SGSBJ go  
 another tree  
 another tree  
 'so this bird moved from the first tree and then it flew across the river and went to another tree'

## (35)0112GSPVAF

the bird fly from one tree over the river go the other tree top  
 D bird flew from one tree over D river go D other tree top  
 'the bird flew from one tree across the river and went to the top of the other tree'

## (36)0112GSPBOW

e fly from here go land for the other tree top  
 3SGSBJ fly from here go land LOC D other tree top  
 'it flew from here and went to land on top of the other tree'

(37)0112GSPISA

the bird move from one tree wey e fly pass the river go dey another one top  
 D bird move from one tree C 3SGSBJ fly pass D river go be.at another one top  
 'the bird moved from one tree and then it flew across the river to go and rest on top of another tree'

(38)0113GSPVAF

the bird dey wey the girl fly the bird over the river  
 D bird be.at C D girl throw D bird over D river  
 'the bird was there when the girl threw the bird over the river'

(39)0113GSPBOW

the bird fly from in hand  
 D bird fly from 3SGPD hand  
 'the bird flew from his/her hand'

(40)0113GSPISA

the girl let the bird go  
 D girl let D bird go  
 'the girl let the bird go'

(41)0114GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl fly D bird over D river C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw the bird over the river so that it went to be on top of the fence'

(42)0114GSPBOW

e lef the bird wey e fly come land the fence top  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ fly come land D fence top  
 'he/she left the bird and then it flew to come and land on top of the fence'

(43)0114GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e fly pass the river go stand the fence top  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ fly pass D river go stand D fence top  
 'the girl released the bird so that it flew across the river to go and stand on top of the fence'



(44)0115GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river make e de go the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird over D river C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go D fence top  
 'the girl threw the bird over the river so that it was going to the top of the fence'

(45)0115GSPBOW

then the bird de fly come the fence top  
 then D bird NPU-PROG fly come D fence top  
 'at the time, the bird was flying towards the fence top (in my direction)'

(46)0115GSPISA

the girl make the bird fly pass the river top  
 D girl CAU D bird fly pass D river top  
 'the girl made the bird fly across the river'

(47)0116GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river  
 D girl throw D bird over D river  
 the threw the bird over the river'

(48)0116GSPBOW

then the bird de fly go over the water  
 then D bird NPU-PROG fly go over D water  
 'at the time, the bird was flying (all the way) across the water'

(49)0116GSPISA

e make the bird fly go the fence in direction  
 3SGSBJ CAU D bird fly go D fence 3SGPD direction  
 'he/she made the bird fly in the direction of the fence/towards the fence'

(50)0117GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl fly D bird over D river C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw the bird over the river so that it went to rest on top of the fence'

## (51)0117GSPBOW

as she lef am then the bird de fly come  
 as 3SGSBJ leave 3SGOBJ then D bird NPU-PROG fly come  
 ‘as she released the it, then the bird was flying towards (me)’

## (52)0117GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e go stand the fence top  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ go stand D fence top  
 ‘the girl released the bird so that it went to stand on top of the fence’

## (53)0118GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl fly D bird C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 ‘the girl threw/released the bird so that it went to rest on top of the fence’

## (54)0118GSPBOW

she lef the bird wey e go fly go put the fence top  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ go fly go put D fence top  
 ‘she left the bird and then it flew and went to stand on top of the fence’

## (55)0118GSPISA

the girl fly the bird go the fence top  
 D girl threw D bird go D fence top  
 ‘the girl threw/released the bird (and it flew) to the fence’

## (56)0119GSPVAF

she fly the bird over the river make e de go the fence top  
 3SGSBJ throw D bird over D river C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go D fence top  
 ‘she threw/released the bird across the river so that it was going to the top of the fence’

## (57)0119GSPBOW

e lef the bird wey in naa de fly go  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGPD EMP NPU-PROG fly go  
 ‘he/she left/released and then it was flying away (by itself)’

(58)0119GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e de go  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go  
 'the girl released the bird so that it was going'

(59)0120GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird make the bird go dey the fence top  
 D girl fly D bird C D bird go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird so that the bird went to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(60)0120GSPBOW

e lef the bird make e go land for the fence top  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ go land LOC D fence top  
 'she/he left/released the bird so that it went to land on top of the fence'

(61)0120GSPISA

the girl release the bird wey the bird go stand the fence top  
 D girl release D bird C D bird go stand D fence top  
 'the girl released the bird and then the bird went to stand on top of the fence'

(62)0121GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river  
 D girl throw D bird over D river  
 'the girl threw/released the bird across the river'

(63)0121GSPBOW

she lef the bird wey e fly over the water go land for the fence  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ fly over D water go land LOC D fence  
 'she left/released the bird and then it flew across the water to land on the fence'

(64)0121GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e fly  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ fly  
 'the girl released the bird so that it flew (off)'

(65)0122GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird over D river C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird across the river so that it went to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(66)0122GSPBOW

e lef the bird wey e go land for the rock top  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ go land LOC D rock top  
 'he/she left/released the bird and then it went to land on top of the rock'

(67)0122GSPISA

the girl just release the bird wey the bird fly go the fence top  
 D girl just release D bird C D bird fly go D fence top  
 'the girl just released the bird and then the bird flew to the top of the fence'

(68)0123GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird over the river  
 D girl fly D bird over D river  
 'the girl threw/released the bird across the river'

(69)0123GSPBOW

she lef am for the hill top wey the bird de fly come  
 3SGSBJ leave 3SGOBJ LOC D hill top C D bird NPU-PROG fly come  
 'she left/released it (while standing) on top of the hill and the bird was flying towards (me)'

(70)0123GSPISA

e release the bird make e go stand the fence top  
 3SGSBJ release D bird C 3SGSBJ go stand D fence top  
 'he/she released the bird so that it went to stand on top of the fence'

(71)0124GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird make e go over the river make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl fly D bird C 3SGSBJ go over D river C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird so that it went across the river to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(72)0124GSPBOW

e        lef    the bird for    the rock top wey e        come land for    the fence top  
 3SGSBJ leave D    bird LOC D    rock top C    3SGSBJ come land LOC D    fence top  
 'she/he left/released the bird (while standing) on top of the rock and then it came to land on top of the fence'

(73)0124GSPISA

e        san    release the bird go    the fence top  
 3SGSBJ again release D    bird go D    fence top  
 'he/she released the bird again (so that it went) to the top of the fence'

(74)0125GSPVAF

the girl fly    the bird again over the river make e        de        go the fence top  
 D    girl throw D    bird again over D    river C    3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go D    fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird again across the river so that it went to the top of the fence'

(75)0125GSPBOW

the woman lef the bird wey e de fly come  
 D    woman leave D    bird C    3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly come  
 'the woman left/released the bird and then it was flying towards (me)'

(76)0125GSPISA

the girl release the bird  
 D    girl release D    bird  
 'the girl released the bird'

(77)0126GSPVAF

the girl fly    the bird over the river make e        go dey    the fence top  
 D    girl throw D    bird over D    river C    3SGSBJ go be.at D    fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird across the river so that it went to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(78)0126GSPBOW

as she        lef    the bird e        fly come land the fence top  
 as 3SGSBJ leave D    bird 3SGSBJ fly come land D    fence top  
 'as she left/released the bird, it flew to come and land on top of the fence'

(79)0126GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e fly over the river make e come stand the fence top  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ fly over D river C 3SGSBJ come stand D fence top  
 'the girl released the bird so that it flew across the river and came to stand on top of the fence'

(80)0127GSPVAF

the bird dey the tree top wey e fly from the tree  
 D bird be.at D tree top C 3SGSBJ fly from D tree  
 'the bird was on top of the tree and then it flew from the tree'

(81)0127GSPBOW

the bird fly come  
 D bird fly come  
 'the bird flew (to me)'

(82)0127GSPISA

the bird move from the trees  
 D bird move from D tree.PL  
 'the bird moved from the trees'

(83)0139GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird go the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird go D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird (and it went) to the top of the fence'

(84)0139GSPBOW

the bird de fly come  
 D bird NPU-PROG fly come  
 'the bird is flying (towards me)'

(85)0139GSPISA

the girl release the bird  
 D girl release D bird  
 'the girl released the bird'

(86)0140GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird wey e de go dey the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird and then it went to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(87)0140GSPBOW

as she lef the bird then the bird de fly come the fence in top  
 as 3SGSBJ leave D bird then D bird NPU-PROG fly come D fence 3SGPD top  
 'as she left/released the bird, then the bird was flying towards the top of the fence (near me)'

(88)0140GSPISA

the girl release the bird make e de fly  
 D girl release D bird C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG fly  
 'the girl released the bird so that it was flying (away)'

(89)0141GSPVAF

the girl fly the bird make e go dey the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird C 3SGSBJ go be.at D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird so that it went to rest/stay on top of the fence'

(90)0141GSPBOW

she lef the bird wey e come land for the fence top  
 3SGSBJ leave D bird C 3SGSBJ come land LOC D fence top  
 'she left/released the bird and then it came to land on top of the fence'

(91)0141GSPISA

the girl fly the bird go stand the fence top  
 D girl throw D bird go stand D fence top  
 'the girl threw/released the bird and it went to go and stand on top of the fence'

(92)0201GSPVAF

the paper plane fly come pass  
 D paper plane fly come pass  
 'the paper plane came to fly past'

(93)0201GSPBOW

the plane come pass

D plane come pass

'the plane came to pass'

(94)0201GSPISA

the kite de move straight de go

D kite NPU-PROG move straight NPU-PROG go

'the kite is moving away (in a straight line)'

(95)0202GSPVAF

the plane fly come enter the bucket inside

D plane fly come enter D bucket inside

'the plane flew and came to enter the bucket'

(96)0202GSPBOW

the plane come enter the bōōla

D plane come enter D trashcan

'the plane came to enter the trashcan'

(97)0202GSPISA

the paper plane move straight go the dustbin top

D paper plane move straight go D dustbin top

'the paper plane moved straight onto the top of the dustbin'

(98)0203GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane

D girl threw D paper plane

'the girl threw/released the paper plane'

(99)0203GSPBOW

then she de throw the paper plane

then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG throw D paper plane

'at the time, she was throwing the paper plane'



(100) 0203GSPISA

the girl throw the paper plane straight  
 D girl throw D paper plane straight  
 'the girl threw the paper plane straight'

(101) 0204GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane straight make e enter the bucket inside  
 D girl throw D plane straight C 3SGSBJ enter D bucket inside  
 'the girl threw the plane straight so that it entered the bucket'

(102) 0204GSPBOW

she throw the plane enter the bɔɔla as e dey the table top  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane enter D trashcan as 3SGSBJ be.at D table top  
 'she threw the plane in the trashcan while standing on top of the table'

(103) 0204GSPISA1

the girl fly/throw the paper plane make e go fall the dustbin top  
 D girl fly/throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ go fall D dustbin top  
 'the girl threw the paper plane so that it went to fall on top of the dustbin'

(104) 0204GSPISA2

the girl fly the paper plane go the dustbin top  
 D girl throw D paper plane go D dustbin top  
 'the girl threw the paper plane unto the dustbin'

(105) 0205GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane go up  
 D girl throw D paper plane go up  
 'the girl threw the paper plane up'

(106) 0205GSPBOW

then she de throw the plane go up  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG throw D plane go up  
 'at the time, she was throwing the plane up'

(107) 0205GSPISA

the girl throw the paper plane go the air inside  
 D girl throw D paper plane go D air inside  
 'the girl threw the paper plane into the air'

(108) 0206GSPVAF

the girl de fly the plane come down  
 D girl NPU-PROG throw D plane come down  
 'the girl is throwing the plane downward'

(109) 0206GSPBOW

e throw the plane from the table top  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane from D table top  
 'he/she threw the plane while standing on top of the table'

(110) 0206GSPISA

the girl she de stand the table top throw the paper plane  
 D girl 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG stand D table top throw D paper plane  
 'the girl who is standing on top of the table threw the paper plane'

(111) 0207GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane go up  
 D girl throw D plane go up  
 'the girl throw the plane up'

(112) 0207GSPBOW

she throw the paper plane  
 3SGSBJ throw D paper plane  
 'she threw the paper plane'

(113) 0207GSPISA

the girl fly the kite go up  
 D girl throw D kite go up  
 'the girl threw the kite up'

(114) 0208GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane  
 D girl fly D plane  
 'the girl threw the plane'

(115) 0208GSPBOW

she de throw the plane come  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG D plane come  
 'she is throwing the plane towards me'

(116) 0208GSPISA

the girl just fly the paper plane. E check like e de go fall ground  
 D girl just throw D paper plane. 3SGSBJ check like 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go fall ground  
 'the girl just threw the paper plane. It seems like it is going to fall on the ground'

(117) 0209GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane make e enter the bucket inside  
 D girl throw D plane C 3SGSBJ enter D bucket inside  
 'the girl threw the plane so that it entered the bucket'

(118) 0209GSPBOW

she throw the plane make e come fall the boola inside  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane C 3SGSBJ come fall D trashcan inside  
 'she threw the plane so that it came to fall inside the trashcan'

(119) 0209GSPISA

e fly the paper plane make e enter the dustbin e dey below the rock  
 3SGSBJ throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ enter D dustbin 3SGSBJ be.at below D rock  
 'he/she threw the paper plane so that it entered the dustbin which is below the rock'

(120) 0210GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane make e enter the bucket inside  
 D girl throw D plane C 3SGSBJ enter D bucket inside  
 'the girl threw the plane so that it entered the bucket'

(121) 0210GSPBOW

as she throw the plane e go enter the bɔɔla  
 as 3SGSBJ throw D plane 3SGSBJ go enter D trashcan  
 ‘as she threw the plane it entered the trashcan’

(122) 0210GSPISA

the girl fly the paper plane go the dustbin top  
 D girl throw D paper plane go D dustbin top  
 ‘the girl threw the paper plane onto the top of the dustbin’

(123) 0211GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane over the fence  
 D girl throw D plane over D fence  
 ‘the girl threw the plane over the fence’

(124) 0211GSPBOW

the woman throw the plane for the fence top  
 D woman throw D plane LOC D fence top  
 ‘the woman threw the plane on top of the fence’

(125) 0211GSPISA

the girl release the paper plane over the fence  
 D girl release D paper plane over D fence  
 ‘the girl released the paper plane over the fence’

(126) 0212GSPVAF

the girl fly the plane make e enter the bucket inside  
 D girl throw D plane C 3SGSBJ enter D bucket inside  
 ‘the girl threw the plane so that it entered the bucket’

(127) 0212GSPBOW

e throw the plane pass the fence top wey e go land for the bucket inside  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane pass D fence top C 3SGSBJ go land LOC D bucket inside  
 ‘he/she threw the plane across the top of the fence and it went to land inside the bucket’

(128) 0212GSPISA

the girl fly the paper plane straight go the dustbin top  
 D girl threw D paper plane straight go D dustbin top  
 'the girl threw the paper plane straight onto the top of the dustbin'

(129) 0213GSPVAF1

the girl de fly the paper plane  
 D girl NPU-PROG fly D paper plane  
 'the girl is throwing the paper plane'

(130) 0213GSPVAF2

she fly the paper plane over the fence  
 3SGSBJ throw D paper plane over D fence  
 'she threw the paper plane over the fence'

(131) 0213GSPBOW

she de throw the plane over the fence  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG throw D plane over D fence  
 'she is throwing the plane over the fence'

(132) 0213GSPISA

the small girl fly the paper plane over the fence  
 D small girl throw D paper plane over D fence  
 'the small girl threw the paper plane over the fence'

(133) 0214GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane over the fence make e enter the bucket inside  
 D girl throw D paper plane over D fence C 3SGSBJ enter D bucket inside  
 'the girl threw the paper plane over the fence so that it entered the bucket'

(134) 0214GSPBOW

she throw the paper plane make e pass the fence top wey e go fall the boola  
 3SGSBJ throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ pass D fence top C 3SGSBJ go fall D trashcan  
 inside  
 inside  
 'she threw the paper plane so that it crossed the top of the fence and went to fall inside the trashcan'

(135) 0214GSPISA

the girl throw the paper plane make e pass the fence top come enter the dustbin

D girl throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ pass D fence top come enter D dustbin

‘the threw the paper plane so that it crossed the fence top and came to enter the dustbin’

(136) 0215GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane

D girl throw D paper plane

‘the girl threw the paper plane’

(137) 0215GSPBOW

she throw the plane from the rock

3SGSBJ throw D plane from D rock

‘she threw the plane from the rock’

(138) 0215GSPISA

the girl... release the paper plane

D girl... release D paper plane

‘the girl released the paper plane’

(139) 0216GSPVAF

the girl de fly the plane towards the rock

D girl NPU-PROG fly D plane towards D rock

‘the girl is throwing the plane towards the rock’

(140) 0216GSPBOW

then she de throw the plane make e go enter the rock

then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG throw D plane C 3SGSBJ go enter D rock

‘at the time she was throwing the plane so that it would go and enter the rock’

(141) 0216GSPISA

the girl just fly the kite... e check like the kite de go towards the rock

D girl just fly D kite... 3SGSBJ check like D kite NPU-PROG go towards D rock

‘the girl just flew the kite... it looks like the kite is going towards the rock’

(142) 0217GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane make e enter the small shrub  
 D girl throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ enter D small shrub  
 'the girl threw the paper plane so that it entered the small shrub'

(143) 0217GSPBOW

she throw the plane make e go enter the tree inside  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane C 3SGSBJ go enter D tree inside  
 'she threw the plane so that it went to enter the tree'

(144) 0217GSPISA

e throw the paper plane go the tree for the down there  
 3SGSBJ throw D paper plane go D tree LOC D down there  
 'he/she threw the paper plane to the tree which was down there'

(145) 0218GSPVAF

the girl fly the paper plane make e go dey the tree inside  
 D girl throw D paper plane C 3SGSBJ go be.at D tree inside  
 'the girl threw the paper plane so that it went to stay/be inside the tree'

(146) 0218GSPBOW

e de throw the plane come hit the tree inside  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG throw D plane come hit D tree inside  
 'he/she is throwing the plane to come and hit the inside of the tree'

(147) 0218GSPISA

the girl fly the kite go the tree e dey the mountain top  
 D girl fly D kite go D tree 3SGSBJ be.at D mountain top  
 'the girl flew the kite to the tree which is on top of the mountain'

(148) 0219GSPVAF

the paper plane de fly towards the bucket  
 D paper plane NPU-PROG fly towards D bucket  
 'the paper plane is flying towards the bucket'

(149) 0219GSPBOW

the paper plane de come  
 D paper plane NPU-PROG come  
 'the paper plane is coming'

(150) 0219GSPISA

the paper plane fly go the dustbin inside  
 D paper plane fly go D dustbin inside  
 'the paper plane flew into the dustbin'

(151) 0220GSPVAF

the boy fly the paper plane put the bucket  
 D boy throw D paper plane put D bucket  
 'the boy threw the paper plane into the bucket'

(152) 0220GSPBOW

she throw the plane towards the bucket  
 3SGSBJ throw D plane towards D bucket  
 'she threw the plane towards the bucket'

(153) 0220GSPISA

the girl de fly the kite enter the bucket inside  
 D girl NPU-PROG throw D kite enter D bucket inside  
 'the girl is throwing the kite into the bucket'

(154) 0301GSPVAF

the canoe de come down the river  
 D canoe NPU-PROG come down D river  
 'the canoe is coming down the river'

(155) 0301GSPBOW

nobody dey the boat inside wey e de ride for the water inside  
 nobody be.at D boat inside C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG ride LOC D water inside  
 'nobody is inside the boat and it is riding inside the water'



## (156) 0301GSPISA

the canoe de move for the river top... from the top side de come down

D canoe NPU-PROG move LOC D river top... from D top side NPU-PROG come down

'the canoe is moving on the river... coming down from the upper part'

## (157) 0302GSPVAF

the canoe de come down the river

D canoe NPU-PROG come down D river

'the canoe is coming down the river'

## (158) 0302GSPBOW

then the boat pɛ de ride come

then D boat only NPU-PROG ride come

'at the time, only the boat was coming'

## (159) 0302GSPISA

the canoe move from the top river come the down side

D canoe move from D top river come D down side

'the canoe moved from the top part of the river and came to the down side'

## (160) 0303GSPVAF

the man dey the canoe inside wey e de come down the river

D man be.at D canoe inside C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG come down D river

'the man was in the canoe and he was coming down the river'

## (161) 0303GSPBOW

the guy de ride for the boat inside

D guy NPU-PROG ride LOC D boat inside

'the guy is riding inside the boat'

## (162) 0303GSPISA

the man wey e dey the canoe inside row the canoe catch the down side for the river top

D man C 3SGSBJ be.at D canoe inside row D canoe reach D down side LOC D river top

'the man inside the canoe rowed the canoe to reach the down side of the river'

## (163) 0304GSPVAF

the guy dey the canoe inside... e de come down the river  
 D guy be.at D canoe inside... 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG come down D river  
 'the guy is inside the canoe... he/it is coming down the river'

## (164) 0304GSPBOW

then the guy de stand the boat inside as e de ride come for the water inside  
 then D guy NPU-PROG stand D boat inside as 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG ride come LOC D water inside  
 'at the time, the guy was standing inside the boat as it was coming down the water'

## (165) 0304GSPISA

the man move the boat from the top come the down side... that be the down side of the river  
 D man move D boat from D top come D down side... D COP D down side of D river  
 'the man moved the boat from the top to the down side... that is the down side of the river'

## (166) 0401GSPVAF

the guy for the crutches inside de cross the street  
 D guy LOC D crutch.PL inside NPU-PROG cross D street  
 'the guy with the crutches is crossing the street'

## (167) 0401GSPBOW

then the guy wey in leg de pain am no, cross the road  
 then D guy C 3SGPD leg NPU-PROG pain 3SGOBJ D cross D road  
 'at the time, the guy with the hurt leg crossed the road'

## (168) 0401GSPISA

the kiddie wey in leg de bash am, e san so de hold crutches  
 D child C 3SGPD leg NPU-PROG pain 3SGOBJ 3SGSBJ again also NPU-PROG hold crutch.PL  
 de galley for the road top  
 NPU-PROG walk LOC D road top  
 'the child whose leg hurts and is also holding crutches is walking on the road'

## (169) 0402GSPVAF

the guy de cross from one side of the road come the other side  
 D guy NPU-PROG cross from one side of D road come D other side  
 'the guy is crossing from one side of the road to the other side'

## (170) 0402GSPBOW

the guy e de hold the crutches de come buy ice cream  
 D guy 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG hold D crutch.PL NPU-PROG come buy ice cream  
 'the guy holding the crutches is coming to buy ice cream'

## (171) 0402GSPISA

the kiddie in leg de bash am wey e de use crutches de  
 D child 3SGSBJ leg NPU-PROG pain 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG use crutch.PL NPU-PROG  
 walk move from in house in front come the ice cream car e park for the road top  
 walk move from 3SGPD house 3SGPD front come D ice cream car 3SGSBJ park LOC D road top  
 'the child with the hurt leg who is using crutches is walking from the front of his house to the ice cream car which  
 is parked on the road'

## (172) 0501GSPVAF

the girl galley enter the water inside  
 D girl walk enter D water inside  
 'the girl walked into the water'

## (173) 0501GSPBOW

then she de galley enter the water  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk enter D water  
 'at the time, she was walking into the water'

## (174) 0501GSPISA

the girl de walk enter the water inside  
 D girl NPU-PROG walk enter D water inside  
 'the girl is walking into the water'

## (175) 0502GSPVAF

the girl just galley enter the water  
 D girl just walk enter D water  
 'the girl just walked into the water'

## (176) 0502GSPBOW

the chick galley enter the water  
 D girl walk enter D water  
 'the girl walked into the water'

(177) 0502GSPISA

the girl walk straight enter the water inside  
 D girl walk straight enter D water inside  
 'the girl walked straight into the water'

(178) 0503GSPVAF

the girl de bubble for the water inside  
 D girl NPU-PROG bobbing LOC D water inside  
 'the girl is bobbing inside the water'

(179) 0503GSPBOW

them de jump-jump for the pool inside  
 3PLSBJ NPU-PROG jump-jump LOC D pool inside  
 'they are jumping (repeatedly) inside the pool'

(180) 0503GSPISA

the girl de jump up and down for the water inside  
 D girl NPU-PROG jump up CONJ down LOC D water inside  
 'the girl is jumping up and down inside the water'

(181) 0504GSPVAF

the boy push the girl go the water inside  
 D boy push D girl go D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(182) 0504GSPBOW

then e de push am enter the water  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG push 3SGOBJ enter the water  
 'at the time he/she was pushing him/her into the water'

(183) 0504GSPISA

the boy de push the girl enter the water  
 D boy NPU-PROG push D girl enter D water  
 'the boy is pushing the girl into the water'

(184) 0505GSPVAF

the boy push the girl make e enter the water inside  
 D boy push D girl C 3SGSBJ enter D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl so that she entered the water'

(185) 0505GSPBOW

the guy push the girl for the water inside  
 D guy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the guy pushed the girl into the water'

(186) 0505GSPISA

the boy push the girl again enter the water inside  
 D boy push D girl again enter D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water again'

(187) 0506GSPVAF

the boy push the girl for the water inside  
 D boy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(188) 0506GSPBOW

then the guy de push the lady put the water inside  
 then D guy NPU-PROG push D lady put D water inside  
 'at the time, the guy was pushing the lady into the water'

(189) 0506GSPISA

the boy de stand the girl im back wey e just push am enter the water inside  
 D boy NPU-PROG stand D girl 3SGPD back C 3SGSBJ just push 3SGOBJ enter D water inside  
 'the boy was standing behind the girl when he just pushed her into the water'

(190) 0507GSPVAF

the boy push the girl make she enter the water  
 D boy push D girl C 3SGSBJ enter D water  
 'the boy pushed the girl so that she entered the water'

(191) 0507GSPBOW

then the guy de push the girl put the water inside  
 then D guy NPU-PROG push D girl put D water inside  
 'at the time, the guy was pushing the girl inside the water'

(192) 0507GSPISA

the boy de push the girl go the water inside  
 D boy NPU-PROG push D girl go D water inside  
 'the boy is pushing the girl into the water'

(193) 0508GSPVAF

the boy push the girl for the water inside  
 D boy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(194) 0508GSPBOW

the guy push the girl for the rock top enter the water  
 D guy push D girl LOC D rock top enter D water  
 'the guy pushed the girl (who on top of the rock) into the water'

(195) 0508GSPISA

the boy den the girl de stand some rock top wey the boy push the girl for the water inside  
 D boy CONJ D girl NPU-PROG stand INDF rock top C D boy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the boy and the girl were standing on top of a rock when the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(196) 0509GSPVAF

the boy push the girl go the river inside again  
 D boy push D girl go D river inside again  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the river again'

(197) 0509GSPBOW

e push the woman go fall the water inside  
 3SGSBJ push D woman go fall D water inside  
 'he/she pushed the woman into the water'

(198) 0509GSPISA

the boy push the girl for the water inside again  
 D boy push D girl LOC D water inside again  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(199) 0510GSPVAF

the girl just dey there nɔɔ the boy come push am for the river inside  
 D girl just be.at there suddenly D boy come push 3SGOBJ LOC D river inside  
 'the girl was there when suddenly the boy came to push her into the river'

(200) 0510GSPBOW

the guy push the woman for the water inside  
 D guy push D woman LOC D water inside  
 'the guy pushed the woman into the water'

(201) 0510GSPISA

the boy push the girl for the water inside  
 D boy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(202) 0511GSPVAF

the girl push the boy for the water inside  
 D girl push D boy LOC D water inside  
 'the girl pushed the boy into the water'

(203) 0511GSPTED

she push am enter the water  
 3SGSBJ push 3SGOBJ enter D water  
 'she push him/her into the water'

(204) 0511GSPISA

the boy push the girl hard make e enter the water inside  
 D boy push D girl hard C 3SGSBJ enter D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl hard so that she entered the water'

(205) 0512GSPVAF

the boy push the girl for the water inside  
 D boy push D girl LOC D water inside  
 'the boy pushed the girl into the water'

(206) 0512GSPBOW

e push am enter the water  
 3SGSBJ push 3SGOBJ enter D water  
 'he/she pushed him/her into the water'

(207) 0512GSPISA

the boy push the girl again into the water  
 D boy push D girl again into D water  
 'the boy pushed the girl again into the water'

(208) 0513GSPVAF

the boy push the girl make she enter the water  
 D boy push D girl C 3SGSBJ enter D water  
 'the boy pushed the girl so that she entered the water'

(209) 0513GSPBOW

the guy push am enter the water  
 D guy push 3SGOBJ enter D water  
 'the guy pushed him/her into the water'

(210) 0513GSPISA

e push am waa go the water inside  
 3SGSBJ push 3SGOBJ hard go D water inside  
 'he/she pushed him/her hard into the water'

(211) 0601GSPVAF

the duck de waddle/galley go  
 D duck NPU-PROG waddle/walk go  
 'the duck is waddling/walking away'



(212) 0601GSPBOW

the duck de galley go  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk go  
 'the duck is walking away'

(213) 0601GSPISA

the duck de walk go  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk go  
 'the duck is walking away'

(214) 0602GSPVAF

the duck galley go enter the pen... go tap for the pen inside  
 D duck walk go enter D pen... go sit LOC D pen inside  
 'the duck walked into the pen... went to sit inside the pen'

(215) 0602GSPBOW

the duck galley go enter the thing  
 D duck walk go enter D thing  
 'the duck walked into the thing'

(216) 0602GSPISA

the duck galley go the coop inside  
 D duck walk go D coop inside  
 'the duck walked inside the coop'

(217) 0603GSPVAF

the duck de galley come  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk come  
 'the duck is walking (towards me)'

(218) 0603GSPBOW

the duck de galley come  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk come  
 'the duck is waking (towards me)'

(219) 0603GSPISA

the duck de galley come  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk come  
 'the duck is walking (towards me)'

(220) 0604GSPVAF

the duck de galley enter the pen  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk enter D pen  
 'the duck is walking into the pen'

(221) 0604GSPBOW

the duck galley enter the thing  
 D duck walk enter D thing  
 'the duck walked into the thing'

(222) 0604GSPISA

the duck galley come catch in coop  
 D duck walk come reach 3SGPD coop  
 'the duck walked (and) came to reach its coop'

(223) 0605GSPVAF

the duck de climb the rock go the pen inside  
 D duck NPU-PROG climb D rock go D pen inside  
 'the duck is climbing the rock (to go) into the pen'

(224) 0605GSPBOW

then the duck de galley go enter the thing  
 then D duck NPU-PROG walk go enter D thing  
 'at the time, the duck was walking (to go) into the thing'

(225) 0605GSPISA

the duck de move go the coop inside  
 D duck NPU-PROG move go D coop inside  
 'the duck is moving (to go) into the coop'

(226) 0606GSPVAF

the duck climb the rock go enter the pen  
 D duck climb D rock go enter D pen  
 'the duck climbed the rock in the pen'

(227) 0606GSPBOW

the duck galley go enter the thing  
 D duck walk go enter D thing  
 'the duck walked into the thing'

(228) 0606GSPISA

the duck go for the rock top enter in coop  
 D duck go LOC D rock top enter 3SGPD coop  
 'the duck went to the top of the rock and entered the coop'

(229) 0607GSPVAF

the duck de come down from the rock make e enter the pen  
 D duck NPU-PROG come down from D rock C 3SGSBJ enter D pen  
 'the duck is coming down from the rock so that it will enter the pen'

(230) 0607GSPBOW

then the duck de galley come  
 then D duck NPU-PROG walk come  
 'at the time, the duck was walking (towards me)'

(231) 0607GSPISA

the duck wey e dey the rock top de move towards the coop  
 D duck C 3SGSBJ be.at D rock top NPU-PROG move towards D coop  
 'the duck which was on top of the rock is moving towards the coop'

(232) 0608GSPVAF

the duck come down from the rock wey e go enter the pen inside  
 D duck come down from D rock C 3SGSBJ go enter D pen inside  
 'the duck came down from the rock and then went to enter the pen'

(233) 0608GSPBOW

the duck galley come enter the thing  
 D duck walk come enter D thing  
 'the duck walk into the thing'

(234) 0608GSPISA

the duck lef the rock top come the coop inside  
 D duck leave.PST D rock top come D coop inside  
 'the duck left the top of the rock and came into the coop'

(235) 0609GSPVAF1

the boy carry the duck go  
 D boy carry D duck go  
 'the boy carried the duck away'

(236) 0609GSPVAF2

the duck dey wey the boy carry am wey e take go  
 D duck be.at C D boy carry 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ take go  
 'the duck was there when the boy carried it and took it way'

(237) 0609GSPBOW

e pick the duck for floor wey dem lef  
 3SGSBJ pick D duck LOC floor C 3PLSBJ leave.PST  
 'he picked the duck up from the floor and they left'

(238) 0609GSPISA

the boy take the duck slowly  
 D boy take D duck slowly  
 'the boy slowly picked the duck up'

(239) 0610GSPVAF

the boy de galley plas the duck go  
 D boy NPU-PROG walk with D duck go  
 'the boy is walking away with the duck'

(240) 0610GSPBOW

e            de            take the duck galley go  
 3SGSBJ    NPU-PROG   take D    duck   walk   go  
 'he/she is walking away with the duck'

(241) 6010GSPISA

the boy de            hold the duck wey dem    de            move  
 D boy NPU-PROG hold D    duck C    3SGSBJ NPU-PROG move  
 'the boy is holding the duck and they are moving'

(242) 0611GSPVAF

the boy galley plas the duck wey e            take the duck put the pen inside  
 D boy walk with D    duck C    3SGSBJ take D    duck put D    pen inside  
 'the boy waked with the duck and then he put the duck inside the pen'

(243) 0611GSPBOW

e            de            galley go put am            for    down/there  
 3SGSBJ    NPU-PROG   walk go put 3SGOBJ LOC    down/there  
 'he/she is walking to go and put it down there'

(244) 0611GSPISA

the boy carry the duck go the coop inside  
 D boy carry D    duck go D    coop inside  
 'the boy carried the duck into the coop'

(245) 0612GSPVAF

the boy de            galley plas the duck  
 D boy NPU-PROG walk with D    duck  
 'the boy is walking with the duck'

(246) 0612GSPBOW

the guy de            galley come plas the duck  
 D guy NPU-PROG walk come with D    duck  
 'the guy is walking (towards me) with the duck'

(247) 0612GSPISA

the boy carry the duck slowly go the coop inside  
 D boy carry D duck slowly go D coop inside  
 'the boy slowly carried the duck into the coop'

(248) 0613GSPVAF

the boy galley come put the duck for the something inside  
 D boy walk come put D duck LOC D something inside  
 'the boy came to put the duck into something'

(249) 0613GSPBOW1

in den the duck de come wey e drop am for there  
 3SGPD and D duck NPU-PROG come C 3SGSBJ drop 3SGOBJ LOC there  
 'he/she and the duck were coming when he dropped it there'

(250) 0613GSPBOW2

in den the duck de come. E drop am for the thing inside  
 3SGPD and D duck NPU-PROG come. 3SGSBJ drop 3SGOBJ LOC D thing inside  
 'he/she and the duck are coming. He/she dropped it inside the thing'

(251) 0613GSPISA

the boy carry the duck slowly go the coop inside  
 D boy carry D duck slowly go D coop inside  
 'the boy slowly carried the duck into the coop'

(252) 0614GSPVAF

the boy de climb the rock plas the duck  
 D boy NPU-PROG climb D rock with D duck  
 'the boy is climbing the rock with the duck'

(253) 0614GSPBOW

the guy de galley go plas the duck  
 D guy NPU-PROG walk go with D duck  
 'the guy is walking away with the duck'

(254) 0614GSPISA

e take am climb the rock take am go in coop  
 3SGSBJ take 3SGOBJ climb D rock take 3SGOBJ go 3SGPD coop  
 'he/she climbed the rock with it taking it to the coop'

(255) 0615GSPVAF

the boy climb the rock plas the duck wey e lef the duck for the pen inside  
 D boy climb D rock with D duck C 3SGSBJ leave.PST D duck LOC D pen inside  
 'the boy climbed the rock with the duck and he left the duck inside the pen'

(256) 0615GSPBOW

e galley go put the duck for the thing inside  
 3SGSBJ walk go put D duck LOC D thing inside  
 'he/she went to put the duck inside the thing'

(257) 0615GSPISA

e just place the duck for in coop  
 3SGSBJ just place D duck LOC 3SGPD coop  
 'he/she just placed the duck in the coop'

(258) 0616GSPVAF

the boy de carry the duck come down  
 D boy NPU-PROG carry D duck come down  
 'the boy is carrying the duck down (towards me)'

(259) 0616GSPBOW

she de galley come for the thing top but the duck dey in hand inside  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk come LOC D thing top but D duck be.at 3SGPD hand inside  
 'he/she is walking on top of the thing but the duck is in his/her hand'

(260) 0616GSPISA

the boy hold the duck wey e de carry am go the coop  
 D boy hold D duck C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG carry 3SGOBJ go D coop  
 'the boy held the duck and was carrying it to the coop'

(261) 0617GSPVAF

the boy de           zook the duck for the top of the rock wey e           giddon plas  
 D boy NPU-PROG hold D duck LOC D top of D rock C 3SGSBJ get.down with  
 the duck, come down take the duck put the pen inside  
 D duck come down take D duck put D pen inside

‘the boy was holding the duck on top of the rock and he got down with the duck and came down to put it inside the pen’

(262) 0617GSPBOW

she galley plas the duck wey e           come put am for the thing inside  
 3SGSBJ walk with D duck C 3SGSBJ come put 3SGOBJ LOC D thing inside

‘she walked with the duck and came to put it inside the thing’

(263) 0617GSPISA

e put the duck for in coop  
 3SGSBJ put D duck LOC 3SGPD coop

‘he/she put the duck inside its coop’

(264) 0618GSPVAF

the duck de           galley go the pen inside  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk go D pen inside

‘the duck is walking into the pen’

(265) 0618GSPBOW

then the duck de           galley enter the thing  
 then D duck NPU-PROG walk enter D thing

‘at the time, the duck was walking into the thing’

(266) 0618GSPISA

the duck de galley go the coop inside/towards the coop  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk go D coop inside/towards D coop

‘the duck is going inside the coop/towards the coop’



(267) 0619GSPVAF

the duck de waddle  
 D duck NPU-PROG waddle  
 'the duck is waddling'

(268) 0619GSPBOW

the duck de galley come  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk come  
 'the duck is walking (towards me)'

(269) 0619GSPISA

the duck de galley go the coop inside  
 D duck NPU-PROG walk go D coop inside  
 'the duck is walking into the coop'

(270) 0620GSPVAF

the boy de carry the duck go the thing inside  
 D boy NPU-PROG carry D duck go D think inside  
 'the boy is carrying the duck into the thing'

(271) 0620GSPBOW

the guy den the duck de go  
 D guy CONJ D duck NPU-PROG go  
 'the guy and the duck are going'

(272) 0620GSPISA

the boy de carry the duck wey e de move towards the coop  
 D boy D carry D duck C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG move towards D coop  
 'the boy is carrying the duck and he is moving towards the coop'

(273) 0621GSPVAF

the boy de zook the duck wey e de galley go the pen  
 D boy NPU-PROG hold D duck C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk go D pen  
 'the boy is holding the duck and he is walking to the pen'

## (274) 0621GSPBOW

then e de galley plas the duck de come  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk with D duck NPU-PROG come  
 ‘at the time, he/she was coming with the duck’

## (275) 0621GSPISA

the kiddie hold the duck wey dem de walk go  
 D child hold D duck C 3PLSBJ NPU-PROG walk go  
 ‘the child held the duck and they were walking away’

## (276) 0701GSPVAF

the boy de slide from the top of the slide come down  
 D boy NPU-PROG slide from D top of D slide come down  
 ‘the boy is sliding down from the top of the slide’

## (277) 0701GSPBOW

then e de slide for the thing top  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG slide LOC D thing top  
 ‘at the time, he/she was sliding on top of the thing’

## (278) 0701GSPISA

the kiddie de slide for the slide top  
 D child NPU-PROG slide LOC D slide top  
 ‘the child is sliding on top of the slide’

## (279) 0702GSPVAF

the boy come/slide down the slide  
 D boy come/slide down D slide  
 ‘the boy came/slid down the slide’

## (280) 0702GSPBOW

the kiddie slide for the thing top wey e come fall ground  
 D child slide LOC D thing top C 3SGSBJ come fall ground  
 ‘the child slid on top of the thing and then he came to fall on the ground’

(281) 0702GSPISA

the kiddie slide for the slide top go whack ground  
 D child slide LOC D slide top go hit ground  
 'the child slid from the top of the slide to hit the ground'

(282) 0703GSPVAF

the boy de slide come down the slide  
 D boy NPU-PROG slide come down D slide  
 'the boy is sliding down the slide'

(283) 0703GSPBOW

the kiddie slide for the thing inside roun-roun-roun wey e come fall ground  
 D child slide LOC D thing inside round-round-round C 3SGSBJ come fall ground  
 'the child slid inside the thing around-and-around and came to fall on the ground'

(284) 0703GSPISA

the kiddie de slide/move for the slide inside  
 D child NPU-PROG slide/move LOC D slide inside  
 'the child is sliding/moving inside the slide'

(285) 0704GSPVAF

the man de push the kiddie come down the slide  
 D man NPU-PROG push D child come down D slide  
 'the man is pushing the child down the slide'

(286) 0704GSPBOW

then in poppy de push am for the slide top  
 then 3SGPD father NPU-PROG push 3SGOBJ LOC D slide top  
 'at the time, his/her father was pushing him/her on top of the slide'

(287) 0704GSPISA

the man push the kiddie for the slide top  
 D man push D child LOC D slide top  
 'the man pushed the child on top of the slide'

(288) 0705GSPVAF

the man push the kiddie make e come down the slide  
 D man push D child C 3SGSBJ come down D slide  
 'the man pushed the child so that he/she came down the slide'

(289) 0705GSPBOW

In poppy push am for the slide top  
 3SGPD father push 3SGSBJ LOC D slide top  
 'his/her father pushed him/her on top of the slide'

(290) 0705GSPISA

the man push the kiddie very hard for the slide top so the kiddie come land for ground  
 D man push D child very hard LOC D slide top so D child come land LOC ground  
 'the man pushed the child very hard on top of the slide so that the child came to land on the ground'

(291) 0706GSPVAF

then the guy de push the kiddie for the slide top make e come down the slide  
 then D guy NPU-PROG push D child LOC D slide top C 3SGSBJ come down D slide  
 'at the time, the guy was pushing the child on top of the slide so that he/she would come down the slide'

(292) 0706GSPBOW

then e de help in kiddie slide for the thing top  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG help 3SGPD child slide LOC D thing top  
 'at the time, he/she was helping his/her child slide on top of the thing'

(293) 0706GSPISA

the man de push the kiddie for the slide top  
 D man NPU-PROG push D child LOC D slide top  
 'the man is pushing the child on top of the slide'

(294) 0707GSPVAF

the man de carry the kiddie come down the slide  
 D man NPU-PROG carry D child come down D slide  
 'the man is carrying the child down the slide'

(295) 0707GSPBOW

In poppy de help am make e slide for the thing top  
 3SGPD father NPU-PROG help 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ slide LOC D thing top  
 'his/her father is helping him/her to slide on top of the thing'

(296) 0707GSPISA

the man de support the kiddie make e slide come down  
 D man NPU-PROG support D child C 3SGSBJ slide come down  
 'the man is supporting the child so that he will slide down'

(297) 0801GSPVAF

the kite de fly go  
 D kite NPU-PROG fly go  
 'the kite is flying away'

(298) 0801GSPBOW

the kite de fly go  
 D kite NPU-PROG fly go  
 'the kite is flying away'

(299) 0801GSPISA

the yellow kite de fly on in own  
 D yellow kite NPU-PROG fly on 3SGPD own  
 'the yellow kite is flying by itself'

(300) 0802GSPVAF

the kite fly go enter the tree inside/go the tree top  
 D kite fly go enter D tree inside/go D tree top  
 'the kite fly into/to the top of the tree'

(301) 0802GSPBOW

the kite fly go enter the tree  
 D kite fly go enter D tree  
 'the kite fly into the tree'

(302) 0802GSPISA

the kite move-a go kaa for the tree top

D kite move-INT go stick LOC D tree top

‘the kite moved (a long distance) going to get stuck on top of the tree’

(303) 0803GSPVAF

the girl de carry the kite go

D girl NPU-PROG carry D kite go

‘the girl is carrying the kite away’

(304) 0803GSPBOW

then she de hold the kite de go

then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG hold D kite NPU-PROG go

‘at the time, she was going with the kite’

(305) 0803GSPISA

the girl de hold in kite de galley towards the tree

D girl NPU-PROG hold 3SGPD kite NPU-PROG walk towards D tree

‘the girl walking towards the tree with her kite’

(306) 0804GSPVAF

the girl de zook a kite wey she fly am go... throw dey the tree inside

D girl NPU-PROG hold D kite C 3SGSBJ throw 3SGOBJ go... throw be.at D tree inside

‘the girl was holding the kite when she threw it into the tree’

(307) 0804GSPBOW

she de galley go plas the kite wey e go enter the tree inside

3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk go with D kite C 3SGSBJ go enter D tree inside

‘she/he was walking away with the kite when it went to enter the tree’

(308) 0804GSPISA

the small girl de hold in kite wey e de galley but the kite go kaa

D small girl NPU-PROG hold 3SGPD kite C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG walk but D kite go stick

for tree top

LOC tree top

‘the small girl was holding her kite and walking but the kite went to get stuck on top of the tree’

(309) 0805GSPVAF

the kite de fly go the tree  
 D kite NPU-PROG fly go D tree  
 'the kite is flying to the tree'

(310) 0805GSPBOW

the kite de go  
 D kite NPU-PROG go  
 'the kite is going'

(311) 0805GSPISA

the kite de fly towards/move go the tree  
 D kite NPU-PROG fly towards/move go D tree  
 'the kite is flying towards the tree'

(312) 0806GSPVAF

the girl de fly the kite go  
 D girl NPU-PROG fly D kite go  
 'the girl is going with the kite'

(313) 0806GSPBOW

she de carry the flight go  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG carry D kite go  
 'she is walking away with the kite'

(314) 0806GSPISA

the girl de hold the kite wey dem de walk  
 D girl NPU-PROG hold D kite C 3PLSBJ NPU-PROG walk  
 'the girl is holding the kite and they are going'

(315) 0901GSPVAF

the train de come down from the rock go enter the tunnel  
 D train NPU-PROG come down from D rock go enter D tunnel  
 'the train is coming down the rock to enter the tunnel'

(316) 0901GSPBOW

then the train de move go the tunnel inside  
 then D train NPU-PROG move go D tunnel inside  
 'at the time, the train was going into the tunnel'

(317) 0901GSPISA

the toy train for the rock top de move towards the tunnel  
 D toy train LOC D rock top NPU-PROG move towards D tunnel  
 'the toy train on top of the rock is moving towards the tunnel'

(318) 0902GSPVAF

the train de come down from the rock de go enter the tunnel inside  
 D train NPU-PROG come down from D rock NPU-PROG go enter D tunnel inside  
 'the train is coming down the rock to enter the tunnel'

(319) 0902GSPBOW

the train move come enter the tunnel  
 D train move come enter D tunnel  
 'the train came to enter the tunnel'

(320) 0902GSPISA

the toy train wey e dey the rock top move slowly enter the tunnel inside  
 D toy train C 3SGSBJ be.at D rock top move slowly enter D tunnel inside  
 'the toy train on top of the rock moved slowly into the tunnel'

(321) 0903GSPVAF

the toy train de go enter the tunnel inside  
 D toy train NPU-PROG go enter D tunnel inside  
 'the toy train is going to enter the tunnel'

(322) 0903GSPBOW

then the train de move go enter the tunnel  
 then D train NPU-PROG move go enter D tunnel  
 'at the time, the train was moving into the tunnel'



(323) 0903GSPISA

the toy train de move inside the tunnel... e no enter yet... e just de  
 D toy train NPU-PROG move inside D tunnel... 3SGSBJ NEG enter yet... 3SGSBJ just NPU-PROG  
 move go the tunnel inside  
 move go D tunnel inside  
 'the toy train is moving inside the tunnel... it hasn't entered yet... it is moving into the tunnel'

(324) 0904GSPVAF

the train de climb enter the tunnel inside  
 D train NPU-PROG climb enter D tunnel inside  
 'the train is climbing into the tunnel'

(325) 0904GSPBOW

the train move enter the tunnel  
 D train move enter D tunnel  
 'the train moved into the tunnel'

(326) 0904GSPISA

the toy train in-naa just move go the tunnel inside...  
 D toy train 3SGPD-self just move go D tunnel inside...  
 'the toy train move by itself into the tunnel'

(327) 0905GSPVAF

the girl de push the train make e come down... enter the tunnel inside  
 D girl NPU-PROG push D train C 3SGSBJ come down... enter D tunnel inside  
 'the girl is push the train so that it will come down (and) enter the tunnel'

(328) 0905GSPBOW

then she de push the train come enter the tunnel  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG push D train come enter D tunnel  
 'at the time, she was pushing the train into the tunnel'

(329) 0905GSPISA

the girl de push the toy train for some rock top wey e check like e  
 D girl NPU-PROG push D toy train LOC some rock top C 3SGSBJ seem like 3SGSBJ  
 de head towards the tunnel  
 NPU-PROG head towards D tunnel  
 'the girl is pushing the toy train on top of a rock and it seems like it is heading towards the tunnel'

(330) 0906GSPVAF

the girl de play plas the train make e enter the tunnel  
 D girl NPU-PROG play with D train C 3SGSBJ enter D tunnel  
 'the girl is playing with the train so that it will enter the tunnel'

(331) 0906GSPBOW

the kiddie de play plas the train wey e de push am for the tunnel  
 D child NPU-PROG play with D train C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG push 3SGOBJ LOC D tunnel  
 inside  
 inside  
 'the child is playing with the train and she is pushing it into the tunnel'

(332) 0906GSPISA

the girl push the toy train straight from the rock to the tunnel inside  
 D girl push D toy train straight from D rock to D tunnel inside  
 'the girl pushed the toy train straight from the rock into the tunnel'

(333) 0907GSPVAF

the girl de play plas the train  
 D girl NPU-PROG play with D train  
 'the girl is playing with the train'

(334) 0907GSPBOW

e de push the train go the tunnel inside for the sand inside  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG push D train go D tunnel inside LOC D sand inside  
 'he/she is pushing the train into the tunnel in the sand'

(335) 0907GSPISA

the girl de push the toy train go the tunnel  
 D girl NPU-PROG push D toy train go D tunnel  
 'the girl is pushing the toy train into the tunnel'

(336) 0908GSPVAF

the girl de play plas the toy train  
 D girl NPU-PROG play with D toy train  
 'the girl is playing with the toy train'

(337) 0908GSPBOW

she de play plas the car wey she push am for the tunnel inside  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG play with D car C 3SGSBJ push 3SGOBJ LOC D tunnel inside  
 ‘she was playing with the car when she pushed it into the tunnel’

(338) 0908GSPISA

the small girl de push the toy train enter the tunnel inside  
 D small girl NPU-PROG push D toy train enter D tunnel inside  
 ‘the small girl is pushing the toy train into the tunnel’

(339) 1001GSPVAF

the ball de fly go enter the net inside  
 D ball NPU-PROG fly go enter D net inside  
 ‘the ball is flying into the net’

(340) 1001GSPBOW

na the ball de go enter the pole  
 FOC D ball NPU-PROG go enter D pole  
 ‘at the time, the ball was going into the pole’

(341) 1001GSPISA

the ball de move go the net inside  
 D ball NPU-PROG move go D net inside  
 ‘the ball is moving into the net’

(342) 1002GSPVAF

somebody fly/kick the ball make e enter the net  
 somebody fly/kick D ball C 3SGSBJ enter D net  
 ‘somebody threw/kicked the ball so that it entered the net’

(343) 1002GSPBOW

the ball go enter the pole  
 D ball go enter D pole  
 ‘the ball went into the pole’

(344) 1002GSPISA

the ball move go enter the net inside  
 D ball move go enter D net inside  
 'the ball moved into the net'

(345) 1003GSPVAF

the ball dey the net inside  
 D ball be.at D net inside  
 'the ball is inside the net'

(346) 1003GSPBOW

the ball dey the pole inside  
 D ball be.at D pole inside  
 'the ball is inside the pole'

(347) 1003GSPISA

the ball dey the net inside  
 D ball be.at D net inside  
 'the ball is inside the net'

(348) 1004GSPVAF

the boy kick the ball make e de go enter the net inside  
 D boy kick D ball C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG go enter D net inside  
 'the boy kicked the ball so that it entered the net'

(349) 1004GSPBOW

then e de kick the ball enter the pole  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG kick D ball enter D pole  
 'at the time, he/she was kicking the ball into the pole'

(350) 1004GSPISA

the kiddie whack the ball  
 D child hit D ball  
 'the child hit the ball'

(351) 1005GSPVAF

the boy kick the ball enter the net inside  
 D boy kick D ball enter D net inside  
 'the boy kicked the ball into the net'

(352) 1005GSPBOW

e knock the ball enter the pole  
 3SGSBJ kick D ball enter D pole  
 'he/she kicked the ball into the pole'

(353) 1005GSPISA

the boy whack the ball enter the net  
 D boy kick D ball enter D net  
 'the boy kicked the ball into the net'

(354) 1006GSPVAF

the ball fly im body wey e de come enter the net inside  
 D ball throw 3SGPD body C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG come enter D net inside  
 'the ball threw itself and came to enter the net'

(355) 1006GSPBOW

then the ball de come the basket im body  
 then D ball NPU-PROG come D basket 3SGPD body  
 'at the time, the ball was coming towards the basket'

(356) 1006GSPISA

the ball just move towards the b-ball net no  
 D ball just move towards D b-ball net D  
 'the ball just moved towards the basket ball net'

(357) 1007GSPVAF1

the ball enter the net  
 D ball enter D net  
 'the ball entered the net'

(358) 1007GSPVAF2

the ball fly im body enter the net  
 D ball throw 3SGPD body enter D net  
 'the ball threw itself into the net'

(359) 1007GSPBOW

the ball come enter the basket  
 D ball come enter D basket  
 'the ball entered the basket'

(360) 1007GSPISA

the ball just move straight into the b-ball net  
 D ball just move straight into D b-ball net  
 'the ball just moved straight into the basketball net'

(361) 1008GSPVAF1

the boy fly the ball towards the basket  
 D boy throw D ball towards D basket  
 'the boy threw the ball towards the basket'

(362) 1008GSPVAF2

the boy de fly the ball towards the basket  
 D boy NPU-PROG throw D ball towards D basket  
 'the boy is throwing the ball towards the basket'

(363) 1008GSPVAF3

the boy de fly the ball go the basket inside  
 D boy NPU-PROG fly D ball go D basket inside  
 'the boy is throwing the ball into the basket'

(364) 1008GSPBOW

the guy de throw the ball enter the basket  
 D guy NPU-PROG throw D ball enter D basket  
 'the guy is throwing the ball into the basket'

(365) 1008GSPISA

the boy throw the b-ball... but this one nothing de show say the b-ball enter  
 D boy throw D b-ball... but D one nothing NPU-PROG show C D b-ball enter  
 the net inside but e check like e go enter  
 D net inside but 3SGSBJ seem like 3SGSBJ go enter  
 'the boy threw the basketball... though nothing shows that it entered the net, it seems like it will'

(366) 1009GSPVAF

the boy fly the ball make e enter the basket  
 D boy throw D ball C 3SGSBJ enter D basket  
 'the boy threw the ball so that it entered the basket'

(367) 1009GSPBOW

the guy throw the ball enter the basket  
 D guy throw D ball enter D basket  
 'the guy threw the ball into the net'

(368) 1009GSPISA

the boy throw the b-ball enter the net inside  
 D boy throw D b-ball enter D net inside  
 'the boy threw the basketball into the net'

(369) 1010GSPVAF

the ball dey the container inside  
 D ball be.at D container inside  
 'the ball is lying inside the container'

(370) 1010GSPBOW

the ball dey the thing inside  
 D ball be.at D thing inside  
 'the ball is lying inside the thing'

(371) 1010GSPISA

the ball dey there wey e check like all of a sudden some container come dey under  
 D ball be.at there C 3SGSBJ seem like all of D sudden INDF container come be.at under  
 'the ball was there when it seems like, all of a sudden, a container appeared under it'

(372) 1011GSPVAF

the ball roll from the top of the rock come down come dey the something inside  
 D ball roll from D top of D rock come down come be.at D something inside  
 ‘the ball rolled down the rock into the thing’

(373) 1011GSPBOW

the ball roll come enter the thing  
 D ball roll come enter D thing  
 ‘the ball rolled into the thing’

(374) 1011GSPISA

the ball roll from the rock top go whack the barrier  
 D ball roll from D rock top go hit D barrier  
 ‘the ball rolled down the rock to hit the barrier’

(375) 1012GSPVAF

the boy de zook ball wey e go down  
 D boy NPU-PROG hold ball C 3SGSBJ go down  
 ‘the boy was holding a ball and going down’

(376) 1012GSPBOW

the guy de drop the ball for the floor  
 D guy NPU-PROG drop D ball LOC D floor  
 ‘the guy is dropping the ball to the floor’

(377) 1012GSPISA

the boy de take the ball put the coop  
 D boy NPU-PROG take D ball put D coop  
 ‘the boy is putting the ball in the coop’

(378) 1013GSPVAF

the boy de zook the ball wey e take the ball put the container inside  
 D boy NPU-PROG hold D ball C 3SGSBJ take D ball put D container inside  
 ‘the boy was holding the ball and then he put it inside the container’



(379) 1013GSPBOW

e        put the ball for the thing inside  
 3SGSBJ put D ball LOC D thing inside  
 'he/she put the ball inside the thing'

(380) 1013GSPISA

the boy take the ball put down  
 D boy take D ball put down  
 'the boy put the ball down'

(381) 1014GSPVAF

the ball roll come down from the rock  
 D ball roll come down from D rock  
 'the ball rolled down the rock'

(382) 1014GSPBOW

the ball roll for the rock top wey e come down  
 D ball roll LOC D rock top C 3SGSBJ come down  
 'the ball rolled down off of the top of the rock'

(383) 1014GSPISA

the ball move from the rock top  
 D ball move from D rock top  
 'the ball moved off of the top of the rock'

(384) 1015GSPVAF

the ball de        roll from the rock come down make e        enter the pen or the container  
 D ball NPU-PROG roll from D rock come down C 3SGSBJ enter D pen or D container  
 'the ball is rolling down the rock to enter the pen or container'

(385) 1015GSPBOW

then the ball roll for the rock top but na e        de        come enter the thing  
 then D ball roll LOC D rock top C FOC 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG come enter D thing  
 'at the time, the ball rolled from the rock but was coming to enter the thing'

(386) 1015GSPISA

the ball move from the rock top  
 D ball move from D rock top  
 'the ball moved from the top of the rock'

(387) 1101GSPVAF

the boy de tap the table top  
 D boy NPU-PROG sit D table top  
 'the boy is sitting on top of the table'

(388) 1101GSPBOW

e de tap the table top  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG sit D table top  
 'he/she is sitting on top of the table'

(389) 1101GSPISA

the kiddie de tap the table top  
 D child NPU-PROG sit D table top  
 'the child is sitting on top of the table'

(390) 1102GSPVAF

the girl de kneel for the ground, giddup, raise in hand wey e climb go  
 D girl NPU-PROG kneel LOC D ground get.up raise 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ climb go  
 tap the table top  
 sit D table top  
 'the girl was kneeling on the ground, got up, raised her hand and climbed onto the top of the table'

(391) 1102GSPBOW

the kiddie jump put the table top  
 D child jump put D table top  
 'the child jumped onto the top of the table'

(392) 1102GSPISA

the kiddie just jump go tap the table top  
 D child just jump go sit D table top  
 'the child just jumped to sit on top of the table'

(393) 1103GSPVAF

the man throw the kiddie make e tap the table top  
 D man throw D child C 3SGSBJ sit D table top  
 'the man threw the child so that he/she went to sit on top of the table'

(394) 1103GSPBOW

im poppy pick am from floor wey e put am for the table top  
 3SGPD father pick 3SGOBJ from floor C 3SGSBJ put 3SGOBJ LOC D table top  
 'his/her father picked him up from the floor and then put him/her on top of the table'

(395) 1103GSPISA

the man raise the kiddie wey e dey the table under tap the table top  
 D man raise D child C 3SGSBJ be.at D table under sit D table top  
 'the man raised the child which was under the table placing him/her on top of it'

(396) 1104GSPVAF

the boy rise  
 D boy rise  
 'the boy rose'

(397) 1104GSPBOW

the guy de tinup  
 D guy NPU-PROG stand.up  
 'the guy stood up'

(398) 1104GSPISA

the boy giddup  
 D boy get.up  
 'the boy got up'

(399) 1105GSPVAF

the kiddie dey ground wey the man help am make e stand  
 D child be.at ground C D man help 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ stand  
 'the child was on the ground when the man helped him/her to stand'

(400) 1105GSPBOW

im poppy carry am from floor  
 3SGPD father carry 3SGOBJ from floor  
 'his/her father carried him/her from the floor'

(401) 1105GSPISA

the man raise the kiddie from the ground  
 D man raise D child from D ground  
 'the man raised the child from the ground'

(402) 1106GSPVAF1

the boy tap for ground  
 D boy sit LOC ground  
 'the boy sat on the ground'

(403) 1106GSPVAF2

the boy de stand wey e tap for ground  
 D boy NPU-PROG stand C 3SGSBJ tap LOC ground  
 'the boy was standing and then he sat on the ground'

(404) 1106GSPBOW

the kiddie tap ground  
 D child sit ground  
 'the child sat on the ground'

(405) 1106GSPISA

the boy tap ground  
 D boy sit ground  
 'the boy sat on the ground'

(406) 1107GSPVAF

the man de zook the kiddie wey the kiddie kneel down for groun  
 D man NPU-PROG hold D child C D child kneel down LOC ground  
 'the man was holding the child when the child knelt on the ground'

(407) 1107GSPBOW

im poppy push am make e kneel down  
 3SGPD father push 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ kneel down  
 'his/her father pushed him/her so that he kneeled down'

(408) 1107GSPISA

the man hold the kiddie in hand make the kiddie kneeley down  
 D man hold D child 3SGPD hand C D child kneel down  
 'the man held the child's hand so that he kneeled down'

(409) 1108GSPVAF

the guy de zook the kiddie in hand wey e de help am tap ground top  
 D guy D hold D child 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG help 3SGOBJ sit ground top  
 'the guy was holding the child's hand and helping him sit down'

(410) 1108GSPBOW

the man make in kiddie sit ground  
 D man C 3SGPD child sit ground  
 'the man made his child sit down'

(411) 1108GSPISA

the man hold the small boy in hand make e tap  
 D man hold D small boy 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ sit  
 'the man held the small boy's hand so that he sat down'

(412) 1109GSPVAF

the man whack the kiddie make the kiddie kneel for ground  
 D man hit D child C D child kneel LOC ground  
 'the man hit the child so that the child kneeled down'

(413) 1109GSPBOW

im poppy push am make e kneel down  
 3SGPD father push 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ kneel down  
 'his/her father pushed her so that he/she kneeled down'

(414) 1109GSPISA

the man tap the boy in shoulder make e kneel down  
 D man tap D boy 3SGPD shoulder C 3SGSBJ kneel down  
 'the man tapped the boy's shoulder so that he knelt down'

(415) 1110GSPVAF

the man whack the kiddie make the kiddie fall down  
 D man hit D child C D child fall down  
 'the man hit the child so that the child fell down'

(416) 1110GSPBOW

im poppy push am make e fall down  
 3SGPD father push 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 'his/her father pushed him/her so that he/she fell down'

(417) 1110GSPISA

the man push the kiddie make e tap ground  
 D man push D child C 3SGSBJ sit ground  
 'the man pushed the child so that he/she sat down'

(418) 1201GSPVAF

the bottle de stand wey e fall down  
 D bottle NPU-PROG stand C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 'the bottle was standing when it fell down'

(419) 1201GSPBOW

the bottle fall ground  
 D bottle fall ground  
 'the bottle fell down'

(420) 1201GSPISA1

the bottle just fall down  
 D bottle just fall down  
 'the bottle just fell down'

(421) 1201GSPISA2

the bottle whack ground  
 D bottle hit ground  
 'the bottle hit the ground/fell down'

(422) 1202GSPVAF1

the bottle dey wey the hand carry am make e lie down  
 D bottle be.at C D hand carry 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ lie down  
 'the bottle was there when the hand lifted it and put it down'

(423) 1202GSPVAF2

the person make the bottle lie down  
 D person C D bottle lie down  
 'the person made the bottle lie down'

(424) 1202GSPBOW

she turn the bottle put floor  
 3SGSBJ turn D bottle put floor  
 'she turned the bottle onto the floor'

(425) 1202GSPISA

the hand take the bottle put down  
 D hand take D bottle put down  
 'the hand put the bottle down'

(426) 1203GSPVAF

somebody take in hand whack the bottle make e fall down  
 somebody take 3SGPD hand hit D bottle C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 'somebody used his/her had to hit the bottle so that it fell down'

(427) 1203GSPBOW

e push the bottle down  
 3SGSBJ push D bottle down  
 'he/she pushed the bottle down'

(428) 1203GSPISA

the hand whack the bottle put down  
 D hand hit D bottle put down  
 'the hand hit the bottle down'

(429) 1301GSPVAF

the girl de climb the tree wey e bend  
 D girl NPU-PROG climb D tree C 3SGSBJ bend  
 'the girl was climbing the bent tree'

(430) 1301GSPBOW

then e de climb the tree de go  
 then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG climb D tree NPU-PROG go  
 'at the time he/she was climbing the tree'

(431) 1301GSPISA

the kiddie climb the coconut tree  
 D child climb D coconut tree  
 'the child climbed the coconut tree'

(432) 1302GSPVAF

the girl dey the ground top. She climb the tree go tap top  
 D girl be.at D ground top. 3SGSBJ climb D tree go tap top  
 'the girl was on the ground. She climbed the tree to sit on the top'

(433) 1302GSPBOW

she climb the tree wey she go tap the branch top  
 3SGSBJ climb D tree C 3SGSBJ go sit D branch top  
 'she climbed the tree and went to sit on top of the branch'

(434) 1302GSPISA

the girl climb go tap the tree top  
 D girl climb go sit D tree top  
 'the girl climbed to sit on top of the tree'



(435) 1303GSPVAF

the boy dey the ground wey the girl bend, zook in hand make e de  
 D boy be.at D ground C D girl bend hold 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG  
 come the tree top  
 come D tree top

‘the boy was on the ground when the girl bent (down) and held his hand in order to help him come to the tree top’

(436) 1303GSPBOW

then in mommy de carry am from floor go put the tree top  
 then 3SGSBJ mother NPU-PROG carry 3SGOBJ from floor go put D tree top

‘at the time his/her mother was carrying him from the floor’

(437) 1303GSPISA

the girl de hold the kiddie in hand. E check like e de  
 D girl NPU-PROG hold D child 3SGPD hand. 3SGSBJ seem like 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG  
 move am come the top or e de raise am come the tree top  
 move 3SGOBJ COME D top or 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG raise 3SGOBJ come D tree top

‘the girl is holding the child in her hand. It seems like she is moving him/her to the top or raising her to the tree top’

(438) 1304GSPVAF

the girl bend zook the kiddie in hand wey she de help am make e  
 D girl bend hold D child 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG help 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ  
 come dey the tree top  
 come be.at D tree top

‘the girl bent (down), held the child’s hand and then she helped him come to the top of the tree’

(439) 1304GSPBOW

e carry the kiddie go tap the tree top  
 3SGSBJ carry D child go tap D tree top

‘he/she carried the child to sit on top of the tree’

(440) 1304GSPISA

the girl hold the kiddie in hand wey e raise am come the tree top  
 D girl hold D child 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ raise 3SGOBJ come D tree top

‘the girl held the child’s hand and then raised him/her to the tree top’

(441) 1305GSPVAF

the girl dey the tree top, she slide come down wey she galley go  
 D girl be.at D tree top 3SGSBJ slide come down C 3SGSBJ walk go  
 ‘the girl was on the tree top, slid down and then she walked (away)’

(442) 1305GSPBOW

she drop for the tree inside  
 3SGSBJ drop LOC D tree inside  
 ‘she dropped from the tree’

(443) 1305GSPISA

the girl giddon for the coconut tree  
 D girl get.down LOC D coconut tree  
 ‘the girl got down from the tree’

(444) 1306GSPVAF

na the girl de tap the tree top wey she come down  
 FOC D girl NPU-PROG sit D tree top C 3SGSBJ come down  
 ‘at the time, the girl was sitting on the tree top and then she came down’

(445) 1306GSPBOW

she de drop for the tree inside  
 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG drop LOC D tree inside  
 ‘she is dropping from the tree’

(446) 1306GSPISA

the girl giddon for the tree  
 D girl get.down LOC D tree  
 ‘the girl got down from the tree’

(447) 1307GSPVAF

the girl de zook the kiddie in hand make e giddon from the tree  
 D girl NPU-PROG hold D child 3SGPD hand C 3SGSBJ get.down from D tree  
 ‘the girl was holding the child’s hand in order for him/her to get down from the tree’

(448) 1307GSPBOW

in mommy de drop am from the tree  
 3SGPD mother NPU-PROG drop 3SGOBJ from D tree  
 'his/her mother is dropping him from the tree'

(449) 1307GSPISA

the girl den the small boy de tap the tree branch top wey e help the kiddie  
 D girl C D small boy NPU-PROG sit D tree branch top C 3SGSBJ help D child  
 giddon for the tree top  
 get.down LOC D tree top  
 'the girl and the small boy were sitting on the tree branch when she helped the child get down from the tree top'

(450) 1308GSPVAF

the girl zook the kiddie in hand make the kiddie giddon from the tree make e  
 D girl hold D child 3SGPD hand C D child get.down from D tree C 3SGSBJ  
 come on the floor top  
 come on D floor top  
 'the girl held the child's hand in order to help the child get down from the tree to the floor'

(451) 1308GSPBOW

she drop the kiddie for floor  
 3SGSBJ drop D child LOC floor  
 'she dropped the child onto the floor'

(452) 1308GSPISA

the boy den girl de tap the tree top wey the girl help make the boy giddon  
 D boy C girl NPU-PROG sit D tree top C D girl help C D boy get.down  
 'the boy and girl were sitting on top of the tree when the girl helped the boy get down'

(453) 1401GSPVAF

water de boil for the fire top  
 water NPU-PROG boil LOC D fire top  
 'water is boiling on top of the fire'

(454) 1401GSPBOW

the water de boil for the fire top  
 D water NPU-PROG boil LOC D fire top  
 'the water is boiling on top of the fire'

(455) 1401GSPISA

the water de burn for the fire top  
 D water NPU-PROG burn LOC D fire top  
 'the water is burning on top of the fire'

(456) 1402GSPVAF

na the guy de zook some pan wey water dey inside  
 FOC D guy NPU-PROG hold INDF pan C water be.at inside  
 'at the time, the guy was holding a pan with water in it'

(457) 1402GSPBOW

the guy light fire for the water under wey then e de boil  
 D guy light fire LOC D water under C then 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG boil  
 'the guy lit a fire under the water and then it was boiling'

(458) 1402GSPISA

the man light fire for the water under so the water boil ridee  
 D man light fire LOC D water under so D water boil right.now  
 'the man lit a fire under the water so that the water started boiling immediately'

(459) 1501GSPVAF

the peg dey the block inside  
 D peg be.at D block inside  
 'the ped is inside the block'

(460) 1501GSPBOW

the thing dey the cube inside  
 D thing be.at D cube inside  
 'the thing is inside the cube'

(461) 1501GSPISA

e check like the block come cover the small wood  
 3SGSBJ seem like D block come cover D small wood  
 'it seems like the block came to cover the small (piece of) wood'

(462) 1502GSPVAF

the peg just enter the block inside  
 D peg just enter D block inside  
 'the peg just entered the block'

(463) 1502GSPBOW

the thing enter the block  
 D thing enter D block  
 'the thing entered the block'

(464) 1502GSPISA

the small wood enter the block inside  
 D small wood enter D block inside  
 'the small (piece of) wood entered the block'

(465) 1503GSPVAF

the hammer whack the peg make e enter the block inside  
 D hammer hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block inside  
 'the hammer hit the peg so that it entered the block'

(466) 1503GSPBOW

e whack am make e enter  
 3SGSBJ hit 3SGOBJ C 3SGSBJ enter  
 'it hit it so that it entered'

(467) 1503GSPISA

the hammer whack the wood one time make e enter the block  
 D hammer hit D wood one time C 3SGSBJ enter D block  
 'the hammer hit the wood once to make it enter the block'

(468) 1504GSPVAF

the hammer de whack-whack the peg go the block inside  
 D hammer NPU-PROG hit-hit D peg go D block inside  
 'the hammer is (repeatedly) hitting the peg into the block'

(469) 1504GSPBOW

the hammer whack the thing enter the block  
 D hammer hit D thing enter D block  
 'the hammer hit the thing into the block'

(470) 1504GSPISA

the hammer de try whack some slim wood make e enter the block inside  
 D hammer NPU-PROG try hit INDF slim wood C 3SGSBJ enter D block inside  
 'the hammer is trying to hit a slim (piece of) wood into the block'

(471) 1505GSPVAF1

the hammer de whack the peg  
 D hammer NPU-PROG hit D peg  
 'the hammer is hitting the peg'

(472) 1505GSPVAF2

the hammer de whack the peg for the block inside  
 D hammer NPU-PROG hit D peg LOC D block inside  
 'the hammer is hitting the peg into the block'

(473) 1505GSPBOW

the hammer whack the thing enter the block  
 D hammer hit D thing enter D block  
 'the hammer hit the thing into the block'

(474) 1505GSPISA

the hammer whack the wood enter the block  
 D hammer hit D wood enter D block  
 'the hammer hit the wood into the block'

(475) 1506GSPVAF

the hammer de whack-whack the peg make e enter the block  
 D hammer NPU-PROG hit-hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block  
 'the hammer is (repeatedly) hitting the peg for it to enter the block'

(476) 1506GSPBOW

the hammer whack the thing top saa make e enter  
 D hammer hit D thing top continuously C 3SGSBJ enter  
 'the hammer hit the top of the thing continuously to make it enter'

(477) 1506GSPISA

the hammer de whack the wood slowly into the block  
 D hammer NPU-PROG hit D wood slowly into D block  
 'the hammer is hitting the wood slowly into the block'

(478) 1507GSPVAF

the guy whack the peg make e enter the block inside  
 D guy hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block inside  
 'the guy hit the peg so that it entered the block'

(479) 1507GSPBOW

the guy whack the thing enter the cube  
 D guy hit D thing enter D cube  
 'the guy hit the thing into the cube'

(480) 1507GSPISA

the boy hit the wood one time pe make e enter the block inside  
 D boy hit D wood one time only C 3SGSBJ enter D block inside  
 'the boy hit the wood only once and it entered the block'

(481) 1508GSPVAF

the boy de take the hammer whack-whack the peg make e enter the block  
 D boy NPU-PROG take D hammer hit-hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block  
 'the boy is using the hammer to hit the peg (repeatedly) so that it will enter the block'

(482) 1508GSPBOW

the guy knock the thing enter the cube  
 D guy hit D thing enter D cube  
 'the guy hit the thing into the cube'

(483) 1508GSPISA

the boy whack the small wood four times make e enter the block

D boy hit D small wood four time.PL C 3SGSBJ enter D block

‘the boy hit the small (piece of) wood four times so that it entered the block’

(484) 1509GSPVAF

the boy take the hammer whack the peg make e enter the block

D boy take D hammer hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block

‘the boy used the hammer to hit the peg so that it entered the block’

(485) 1509GSPBOW

the guy whack the thing enter the block

D guy hit D thing enter D block

‘the guy hit the thing into the block’

(486) 1509GSPISA

e hammer the small wood make e enter the block inside

3SGSBJ hammer D small wood C 3SGSBJ enter D block inside

‘he/she hammered the small (piece of) wood into the block’

(487) 1510GSPVAF

the guy take the hammer whack-whack the peg make e enter the block

D guy take D hammer hit-hit D peg C 3SGSBJ enter D block

‘the guy used the hammer to hit the peg (repeatedly) so that it entered the block’

(488) 1510GSPBOW

the guy take the hammer whack the thing make e enter the cube

D guy take D hammer hit D thing C 3SGSBJ enter D cube

‘the guy used the hammer to hit the ting into the cube’

(489) 1510GSPISA

the boy de hammer the wood go the block

D boy NPU-PROG hammer D wood go D block

‘the boy is hammering the wood into the block’



(490) 1601GSPVAF

the fan start de blow  
 D fan start NPU-PROG blow  
 'the fan started to blow'

(491) 1601GSPBOW

the fan just start de move  
 D fan just start NPU-PROG move  
 'the fan just started to move'

(492) 1601GSPISA1

the fan start de work  
 D fan start NPU-PROG work  
 'the fan started to work'

(493) 1601GSPISA2

the fan de work  
 D fan NPU-PROG work  
 'the fan is working'

(494) 1601GSPISA3

the fan de move  
 D fan NPU-PROG move  
 'the fan is moving'

(495) 1602GSPVAF

so the fan dey wey e start de blow wey e shun  
 so D fan be.at C 3SGSBJ start NPU-PROG blow C 3SGSBJ stop  
 'so the fan was there when it just started to blow and then it stopped'

(496) 1602GSPBOW

the fan start de blow wey e stop  
 D fan start NPU-PROG blow C 3SGSBJ stop  
 'the fan started to blow and then it stopped'

(497) 1602GSPISA

the fan start de blow wey e stop again  
 D fan start NPU-PROG blow C 3SGSBJ stop again  
 ‘the fan started to blow and then it stopped again’

(498) 1603GSPVAF

the fan de blow  
 D fan NPU-PROG blow  
 ‘the fan is blowing’

(499) 1603GSPBOW

then the fan de blow  
 then D fan NPU-PROG blow  
 ‘at the time, the fan was blowing’

(500) 1603GSPISA

the fan de blow aa  
 D fan NPU-PROG blow continuously  
 the fan is blowing continuously’

(501) 1604GSPVAF

the fan de blow  
 D fan NPU-PROG blow  
 ‘the fan is blowing’

(502) 1604GSPBOW

the fan de blow wey e quench  
 D fan NPU-PROG blow C 3SGSBJ quench  
 ‘the fan was blowing when it stopped’

(503) 1604GSPISA

the fan blow aa wey e shun  
 D fan blow continuously C 3SGSBJ shun  
 ‘the fan blew for a long time and then it stopped’

(504) 1701GSPVAF1

the washing machine de spin  
 D washing machine NPU-PROG spin  
 'the washing machine is spinning'

(505) 1701GSPVAF2

things dey the washing machine inside; den de spin  
 thing.PL be.at D washing machine inside 3PLSBJ NPU-PROG spin  
 'there are things inside the washing machine; they are spinning'

(506) 1701GSPBOW

the machine de turn-turn  
 D machine NPU-PROG turn-turn  
 'the machine is turning (continuously/repeatedly)'

(507) 1701GSPISA

the clothes for the washing machine inside de move round  
 D clothes LOC D washing machine inside NPU-PROG move round  
 'the clothes inside the washing machine are moving around'

(508) 1702GSPVAF

the washing machine start wey e start de spin the shudders for inside wey  
 D washing machine start C 3SGSBJ start NPU-PROG spin D clothes LOC inside C  
 e shun  
 3SGSBJ stop  
 'the washing machine started and then it started to spin the clothes inside and then it stopped'

(509) 1702GSPBOW

then the thing de turn-turn wey e stop  
 then D thing NPU-PROG turn-turn C 3SGSBJ stop  
 'at the time, the thing was turning (repeatedly) and then it stopped'

(510) 1702GSPISA

the clothes wey e dey the washing machine inside de go up and down...  
 D clothes C 3SGSBJ be.at D washing machine inside NPU-PROG go up and down  
 round, round, round  
 round round round  
 'the clothes which are inside the washing machine'

(511) 1703GSPVAF

the shudders still de spin for the washing machine inside  
 D clothes still NPU-PROG spin LOC D washing machine inside  
 ‘the clothes are still spinning inside the washing machine’

(512) 1703GSPBOW

the thing de turn-turn  
 D thing NPU-PROG turn-turn  
 ‘the thing is turning (repeatedly)’

(513) 1703GSPISA

the washing machine wey some clothes dey inside de work...  
 D washing machine C INDF clothes be.at inside NPU-PROG work  
 de go up and down... round, round, round  
 NPU-PROG go up and down round round round  
 ‘the washing machine with some clothes inside it is working, it’s going up and down, around and around’

(514) 1704GSPVAF

the shudders de spin for the washing machine inside  
 D clothes NPU-PROG spin LOC D washing machine inside  
 ‘the clothes are spinning inside the washing machine’

(515) 1704GSPBOW

as the machine de turn e stop  
 as D machine NPU-PROG turn 3SGSBJ stop  
 ‘as the machine was turning, it stopped’

(516) 1704GSPISA

the washing machine just stop  
 D washing machine just stop  
 ‘the washing machine just stop’

(517) 1801GSPVAF

the tornado make the trees fall down  
 D tornado C D tree.PL fall down  
 ‘the tornado made the trees fall down’

## (518) 1801GSPBOW

the alikoto wind de spoil the tree  
 D spinning.top wind NPU-PROG spoil D tree  
 ‘the whirlwind is spoiling the tree’

## (519) 1801GSPISA

the hurricane spoil the trees  
 D hurricane spoil D tree.PL  
 ‘the hurricane spoiled the trees’

## (520) 1802GSPVAF

the tornado comot wey e start de spin-spin wey e go round the tree  
 D tornado come.out C 3SGSBJ start NPU-PROG spin-spin C 3SGSBJ go round D tree  
 make the tree fall down wey the tornado go back to where e come from  
 C D tree fall down C D tornado go back to where 3SGSBJ come from  
 ‘the tornade appeared, started to spin (repeatedly) and then it went round the tree, made it fall down and returned to where it came from’

## (521) 1802GSPBOW

the wind blow wey e break the trees  
 D wind blow C 3SGSBJ break D tree.PL  
 ‘the wind blew and broke the trees’

## (522) 1802GSPISA

the tornado destroy the trees  
 D tornado destroy D tree.PL  
 ‘the tornado destroyed the trees’

## (523) 1803GSPVAF1

the tornado make the trees fall down  
 D tornado C D tree.PL fall down  
 ‘the tornado made the trees fall down’

## (524) 1803GSPVAF2

the tornado whack the trees make dem fall down  
 D tornado hit D tree.PL C 3PSBJ fall down  
 ‘the tornado hit the trees so that they fell down’

(525) 1803GSPBOW

then the wind de blow wey e break the tree  
 then D wind NPU-PROG blow C 3SGSBJ break D tree  
 ‘at the time, the wind was blowing and then it broke the tree’

(526) 1803GSPISA

the tornado go destroy some trees  
 D tornado go destroy INDF tree.PL  
 ‘the tornado went to destroy some trees’

(527) 1804GSPVAF

the tornado make the tree fall down  
 D tornado C D tree fall down  
 ‘the tornado made the tree fall down’

(528) 1804GSPBOW

the wind break the trees for ground  
 D wind break D tree.PL LOC ground  
 ‘the wind broke the trees on the ground’

(529) 1804GSPISA

the tornado just move go clear three trees... e just clear them make them  
 D tornado just move go clear three tree.PL 3SGSBJ just clear 3PLOBJ C 3PLOBJ  
 fall ground  
 fall ground  
 ‘the tornado just went to clear the three trees... it just cleared them making them fall on the ground’

(530) 1901GSPVAF

the top de spin-spin near the table  
 D top NPU-PROG spin-spin near D table  
 ‘the top is spinning (repeatedly) near the table’

(531) 1901GSPBOW

then the alikoto de spin for floor  
 then D spinning.top NPU-PROG spin LOC floor  
 ‘at the time, the whirlwind was spinning on the floor’

(532) 1901GSPISA

the alikoto de spin for the table in side  
 D spinning.top NPU-PROG spin LOC D table 3SGPD side  
 'the whirlwind is spinning beside the table'

(533) 1902GSPVAF

the top de spin-spin for the floor top near the table wey e fall down  
 D top NPU-PROG spin-spin LOC D floor top near D table C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 'the top was spinning (continuously) on the floor near the table when it fell down'

(534) 1902GSPBOW

the alikoto roll for the table in body wey e fall down  
 D spinning.top roll LOC D table 3SGPD body C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 'the spinning top rolled near the table and then fell down'

(535) 1902GSPISA

the alikoto go round-aa wey e fall... wey e check like e de  
 D spinning.top go round-continously C 3SGSBJ fall C 3SGSBJ seem like 3SGSBJ NPU-PROG  
 gbenke some table bi  
 near INDF table INDF  
 'the spinning top went round (continuously) and then it fell... and it seems like it is near a table'

(536) 1903GSPVAF

the top de spin  
 D top NPU-PROG spin  
 'the top is spinning'

(537) 1903GSPBOW

the alikoto de roll for ground  
 D spinning.top NPU-PROG roll LOC ground  
 'the spinning top is rolling on the ground'

(538) 1903GSPISA

alikota de spin  
 alikota NPU-PROG spin  
 'the spinning top is spinning'

(539) 1904GSPVAF

the top de spin wey e shun wey e fall down  
 D top NPU-PROG spin C 3SGSBJ shun C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 ‘the top was spinning when it stopped and fell down’

(540) 1904GSPBOW

then the alikoto de spin wey e fall down  
 then D spinning.top NPU-PROG spin C 3SGSBJ fall down  
 ‘at the time, the spinning top was spinning when it fell down’

(541) 1904GSPISA

the alikoto spin-aa wey e just shun  
 D spinning.top spin-continuously C 3SGSBJ just shun  
 ‘the spinning top spun continuously and it just stopped’



## APPENDIX D. NON-TARGET RESPONSES

1	0117GSPETD
2	0121GSPETD
3	0127GSPETD
4	0139GSPETD
5	0218GSPETD
6	0302GSPEKO
7	0302GSPETD
8	0304GSPEKO
9	0304GSPETD
10	0401GSPETD
11	0402GSPEKO
12	0402GSPETD
13	0402GSPMOD
14	0604GSPEKO
15	0703GSPETD
16	0704GSPMOD
17	0902GSPEKO
18	0904GSPEKO
19	0906GSPEKO
20	0906GSPETD
21	0907GSPEKO
22	0908GSPEKO
23	0908GSPMOD
24	1104GSPETD
25	1504GSPEKO
26	1504GSPMOD
27	1506GSPEKO
28	1508GSPEKO
29	1510GSPMOD
30	1515GSPEKO1
31	1515GSPEKO2
32	1704GSPEKO

## APPENDIX E. SELF-PROVIDED RESPONSES

(1) 0104GSPKOT1

the bird fly go catch the tree top  
 D bird fly go reach D tree top  
 ‘the bird flew (and) arrived at the tree top’

(2) 0104GSPKOT2

the bird fly come catch the tree tap im branch  
 D bird fly come reach D tree sit 3SGPD branch  
 ‘the bird flew (all the way) to reach the tree [and] sat on its branch’

(3) 0105GSPKOT1

the bird fly come tap the tree top  
 D bird fly come tap D tree top  
 ‘the bird flew (all the way) to sit on the tree top’

(4) 0505GSPKOT1

the guy push the girl enter the water  
 D guy push D girl enter D water  
 ‘the guy pushed the girl into the water (initial contact)  
 ‘the guy pushed the girl into the water (continuous contact)

(5) 0611GSPKOT1

the boy den/plas the duck go the coop inside  
 D boy CONJ D duck go D coop inside  
 ‘the boy and the duck went into the coop’ or ‘the boy took the duck into the coop’

(6) 0803GSPKOT

the girl den/plas the kite de go  
 D girl CONJ D kite NPU-PROG go  
 ‘the girl and the kite are going’ or ‘the girl is going with the kite’

## (7) 1103GSPKOT1

the man take the kiddie put the table top

D man take D child put D table top

‘the man picked up the child [and] put him on top of the table’

## (8) 1202GSPKOT

she den/plas the bottle lie floor

3SGSBJ CONJ D bottle lie floor

‘she and the bottle lay on the floor’

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