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Intragenetic typology and serial verb constructions in Kwa as a case study

Outline

- “Theory”: methodological issues of intragenetic typology
- “Practice”: some patterns of serial verb constructions in Kwa
- General perspective

Intragenetic typology

Linguistic (extragenetic) typology

- Generalization over linguistic diversity as a whole
- Genealogical and geographical relationship between languages is not relevant
  - a language sample
  - a balanced language sample
- Results of a study refer to the genegal population of the languages of the world / Human Language

Intragenetic typology / Microtypology

- genealogical relationship is relevant
- comparing genealogically related languages not aiming at a protolanguage reconstruction
- no direct evidence for properties of the whole population of languages
- evidence for properties of a language family / language group
- in fact, always typical for studies of particular language groups or families, but now as a part of linguistic typology
- a general trend of crossing the borders of typology

Cf. Areal typology

- geographical relationship is relevant
- comparing geographically related languages
- no direct evidence for properties of the population
- evidence for properties of a linguistic area
- in fact, always typical for studies of particular areas, but now as a part of linguistic typology
- not always so easily distinguishable from intragenetic typology

Intragenetic typology

- a response to the problem of overlooking actual linguistic diversity:
  - extragenetic linguistic typology is always based on a relatively small language sample (even if this is a sample of hundreds of languages)
  - “by chance”, the sample typically includes more or less the same representatives of a genealogical unity (the languages with the most detailed accessible data)
  - diversity of the genealogical unity itself is not taken into account

Intragenetic typology

Aleksandr Kibrik (1939-2012)

2nd Conference on Typology and Grammar for Young Scholars, 2005, St. Petersburg

It is clear that these properties of linguistic phenomena influence the strategies for selecting a representative sample needed in a typological investigation. The investigation of certain phenomena in a typological perspective crucially demands reference to languages from a variety of areas and genetic groupings, otherwise we expect trivial or degenerate generalizations. At the same time, many parameters may be successfully investigated within the limits of a single linguistic family. It is the latter case that will be discussed below.

It is the diverse rather than the stable parameters which are most favourable for typological investigation within related languages, as it is more likely that related languages have not preserved the original status of the protolanguage, but rather show various stages of its variation.

(Kibrik 1998: 64)

Intragenetic typology

Kibrik (1993, 1998, 2003):

Parameters for which intragenetic typology is favorable:

- Diachronic instability
  - diversity inside a genealogical unity
- (Relative) rarity and representedness in a specific language family
- Complexity
- Scalar continuum

Intragenetic typology

In other words:

Complex, rare and unstable parameters are to be compared in genealogically related languages, similar to one another, not in an abstract sample

Cf. Greenberg (1978: 83)

> The value of the intragenetic method is that given a common base, we have the closest that we can get to a laboratory situation. History manipulates our variables.

Methodological issues

For typology:

- Possibility at all
  - Can so different languages be adequately compared?
- Language population
- Language sample
- Explaining similarities
- Explanatory power of the result of a taxonomic comparative study

Possibility at all

Extragenetic typology:

- at all (cf. comparability, Evans 2020)
- what parts of the language system
- comparative concepts

Intragenetic typology:

- never justified
- but never doubted
- taken for granted in its traditional form
  - e.g. Slavic studies

Population

- extragenetic typology: all the existing and documented extinct languages;
- intragenetic typology: all the languages (lects?!) of the genealogical unity
  - genealogical unity is expected to be more or less well-established
  - genealogical unity is not too deep
  - details of internal genealogical classification are not relevant
    - taking into account only clear low-level subgroups
  - typological homo-/heterogeneity of the genealogical unity is relevant

Sample

- Extragenetic typology:
  - (genealogical) independency (probability) strategy (Perkins 1989) – 1 representative per language family
  - areal independency
  - variety strategy (Rijkhoff & Bakker 1998) – including rare types
  - random sample
  - “maximum coverage” sample: including as many languages as one can
- Intragenetic typology?

Sample

- All the languages of the genealogical unity? Dialects, subdialects…
  - Data accessibility problem: is there a family where all the dialects of all the languages are perfectly documented?

$\Rightarrow$ Intragenetic typology also needs sampling, BUT the ratio of the sample and the population is different

Sample

- Independency sample with a different scaling – e.g. 1 dialect per language (cf. Kibrik 1979-1981)
- Variety sample – including more languages with structural variation (of the parameter in focus) (cf. Konoshenko 2014)
- “Maximum coverage” sample
  - doing as much as one can in hope to include all the genealogical unity
  - more right to exist in intragenetic typology
- Anyway, a sample should be declared explicitly

Differences and similarities

- Differences between related languages are of interest on their own
- Still, dealing with clusters based in similarity
- Extragenetic typology: clusters are linguistic types that should be explained by general factors
- Intragenetic typology: similarities may have different explanations

Similarities

- Common inheritance from the protolanguage
- Contact-induced
  - Genealogically related languages are spoken in the same area
  - Interference is easier between related languages
- Typological similarity as a result of independent evolution
  - Initially similar languages have prerequisites for limited variation in their evolution

Distinguishing the three options is not so trivial in the case of intragenetic typology.

Explanatory power

- Typology deals with universals or strong trends that say something about the human language in general
- Extragenetic typology does it directly, as it is based on a sample from the population of all the linguistic diversity
- Intragenetic typology can make claims on the population of the genealogical unity
  - But such claims have no interest for typology
- Extrapolation on the protolanguage and on the process of evolution
- Other ways to work for typology in general

Explanatory power

- Intragenetic typology as a pilot typology of languages with specific structural features (cf. rarity of the parameter in focus)
- Explaining intragenetic tendencies of individual features through many more general universal factors
  - The task of distinguishing what is influenced by universal factors and what is influenced by specific peculiarities of the genealogical unity in focus

Serial verb constructions in Kwa

Serial verb constructions (SVCs)

Akan (Twi)

Araba tɔ-ɔ nam kyew-w

Araba buy-PST fish fry-PST

'Araba bought fish and fried it.' (Osam 1994a: 17)

- Two (or more) finite verbs
- A single clause / a common subject
- A single (macro)event
- Sharing TAM and negation
- Widely discussed (Aikhenvald 2006, Haspelmath 2016 among others)

Kwa (West Africa)

- Niger-Congo
  - Benue-Kwa
    - Kwa

- SVO, accusative, no overt nom/acc case marking, typically neutral ditransitives, poor non-finite forms
- About 80 languages
  - For 28 of them I have got accessible data for the study

Kwa: classification & sampling

- “Old Kwa” > “New Kwa” since Bennett & Sterk (1977)
  - No further significant discussion of this genealogical unity, although e.g. the Gbe group is disputable as a part of Kwa
  - Taken for granted in a typological study
- Internal classification is disputable, the most popular now being the “cautious” one by Blench (2009)

Kwa: classification & sampling

Low-level Kwa classification:

- Avatime-Nyangbo
- Gbe
- Kebu-Animere
- Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili
- Abé
- Adioukrou
- Attié
- Avikam-Alladian
- Ga-Dangme
- Lelemi-Likpe
- Logba
- Central Tano
  - Akan
  - Bia
- Guang
  - North Guang
  - South Guang

Kwa: classification & sampling

- The parameter is present throughout the family
  - No reason for variation sample
- Accessibility of data does not correlate even with clear low-level genealogical unities
  - No chance for independency sample

Kwa: classification & sampling

- => “maximun coverage” sample as the only accessible option
- Details presented in accessible data are not the same for all languages
- If I do not take into account languages with low-detailed data, my sample would be too poor
  - In fact, a different sample for every particular part of the study
  - No sense in making any quantitative claims

Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area	Data sources
Avatime	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana	Funke (1909); van Putten (2009, 2014)
Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana	Bobuafor (2013)
Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana	Westermann (1907); Agbodžo (1986); Collins (1993); Essegbey (1999); Fenuku & Šluinskij (2015); personal data
Fon	Gbe	Central Benin	Lefebvre (1991); da Cruz (1992a, b); Brousseau (1998); Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002); Lambert-Brétière (2005)
Gen	Gbe	SE coast of Togo	Bole-Richard (1978); Lewis (1992)
Gun	Gbe	SE Benin	Aboh (2003, 2009)
Aja	Gbe	SE Benin	Tchitchi (1984); Morley (2010)
Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo	Wolf (1907); personal data
Igo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo	Gblem (1995)
Ikposo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo	Eklo (1987); Soubrier (2013); Wolf (1909)
Tuwuli	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Western Ghana	Harley (2005,2009)
Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire	Gbery (1987)
Adioukrou	Adioukrou	Southern Côte d'Ivoire	Hérault (1978)
Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire	Kouadio N'Guessan (1996)
Avikam	Avikam-Alladian	Southern Côte d'Ivoire	Rongier (2002)
Ga	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana	Zimmermann (1858); Kropp Dakubu (2006); Kropp Dakubu et al. (2007)
Dangme	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana	Kropp Dakubu (1987)
Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana	Allan (1973)
Logba	Logba	SE Ghana	Dorvlo (2007, 2008)
Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana	Christaller (1875); Osam (1994a, b, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2003); Ofori (2009); personal data
Anufo	Central Tano > Bia	NW Ghana	Smye (2004)
Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	Western and SW Côte d'Ivoire	Quaireau (1987); Van Leynseele (1975); Brousseau (1998)
Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire	Creissels & Kouadio N'Guessan (1977); Kouadio N'Guessan (2000); Larson (2003a, b)
Nzema	Central Tano > Bia	SW coast of Ghana	Welman (1926)
Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana	Hansford (1990)
Gonja	Guang > South Guang	Central Ghana	Painter (1970)
Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana	Sherwood (1982)
Awutu	Guang > South Guang	Southern Ghana	Obeng (2008)

Kwa: sample

Methodological issues

- Comparing a parameter of Kwa SVCs
- In the languages of the sample where the data are accessible on this parameter
- Comparing results with low-level genealogical affiliation of the language
- Comparing results with geographical position of the language

SVCs in Kwa

- Relatively rare parameter (not all language families have widespread SVCs)
- Widespread throughout the family (in a sense, is its hallmark)
- Other relevant parameters are fixed (such as word order)
- A number of typical functions in addition to purely lexical SVCs

SVCs in Kwa

- Lexical

Ewe

ɖevi la tso dzo

child DEF stand leave

'The child stood up and left.'

- Idiomatic

Ewe

e-dɔ alɔ̃ tra

3SG.S-sleep sleep get.lost

'He overslept [lit., he slept got lost].' (Westermann 1907: 96)

SVCs in Kwa

- Grammaticalized

Ewe

me-trɔ *ɖu* *akɔɖu*
1SG.S-turn eat banana
'I ate a banana again.'

- Especially, take-SVCs and give-SVCs

Ewe

a. *nyɔnu* *la* *tsɔ* *awu* *ɣi* *la* *do*
woman DEF take dress white DEF put.on
'The woman put on the white dress.'

b. *ŋutsu* *la* *dzra* *xɔ* *la* *na* *amedzro* *la*
man DEF sell house DEF give stranger DEF
'The man sold the house to the stranger.'

Parameters in focus

- Structural issues:
  - **Expressing subject**
  - Expressing TAM
  - **Expressing negation**
- Uses:
  - **Take-SVCs**
  - Give-SVCs

Expressing subject

- Single expression of subject:

Abé

Alate šu mɔrɔ nɔ̂

Alate pour drink drink

'Alate poured the drink (and) drank it.' (Gbery 1987: 142)

Ikposo

á-mì àwɔ́ kɷ́ nɔ́ɔ̄

3SG.PFV-sew dress give 1SG

'She has sewn a dress for me.' (Eklo 1987: 125)

Expressing subject

- Single expression of subject, but multiple subject cross-reference

Akebu

tìè-yə	*lā-sɔ́*	*fūé-yə́*	*lō-kūŋ̄*	*nòó*	*nùŋ̀*
woman-CL	3.PFV-pound	fufu-CL	3.PFV-give	3.POSS	husband

'The woman has pounded fufu for her husband.'

Expressing subject

- Multiple subject

Nzema

ɔ-va-lɪ	*kolonvia*	*ɔ-man-lɪ*	*ɔ-ʁan'*
3SG-take-PST	egg	3SG-give-PST	3SG-son

'He gave an egg to his son.' (Welman 1926: 91)

Expressing subject

- Variation of single and multiple subject

Baule

a. *ɔ̄ fā-lì tānní ɔ̄ mān-nī Kuàjō*
3SG take-PST cloth 3SG give-PST Kuadio
'He has given cloth to Kuadio.' (Creissels & Kouadio N'Guessan 1977: 419)

b. *ɔ̄ fā-lì tānní mān-nī Kuàjō*
3SG take-PST cloth give-PST Kuadio
'He has given cloth to Kuadio.' (Creissels & Kouadio N'Guessan 1977: 421)

Expressing subject

- Single / multiple subject depending on TAM

Tuwuli

a. *okpete a aa-pi bakobi ɛ-ba*
dog DEF FUT-catch chick.PL 3SG-chew
'The dog will catch chicks and eat them.' (Harley 2005: 434)

b. *okpete a a-pi bakobi ka-ba*
dog DEF PRS.IPFV-catch chick.PL IPFV-chew
'The dog catches chicks and eats them.' (Harley 2005: 434)

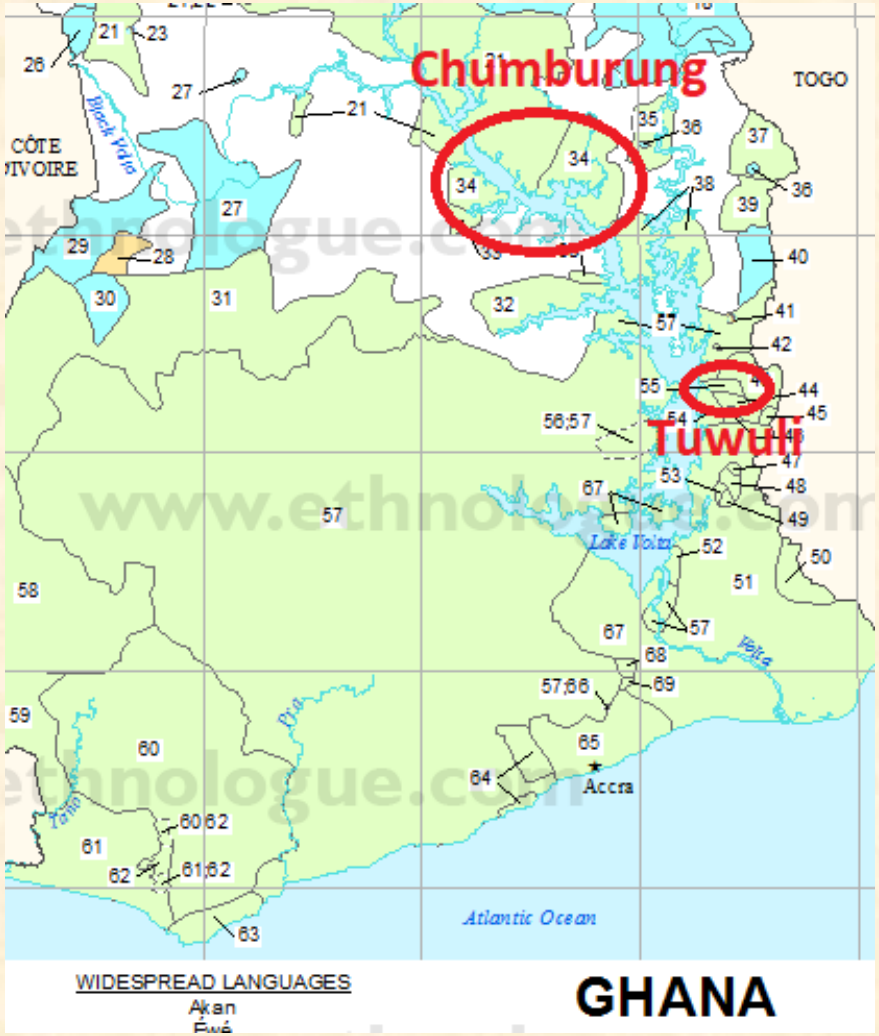
Expressing subject

Type of subject expression	Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
Single subject	Avatime	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
	Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana
	Fon	Gbe	Central Benin
	Gen	Gbe	SE coast of Togo
	Gun	Gbe	SE Benin
	Aja	Gbe	SE Benin
	Igo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
	Ikposo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
	Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire
	Adioukrou	Adioukrou	Southern Côte d'Ivoire
	Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire
	Avikam	Avikam-Alladian	Southern Côte d'Ivoire
	Dangme	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana
	Logba	Logba	SE Ghana
	Gonja	Guang > South Guang	Central Ghana
	Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana
	Awutu	Guang > South Guang	Southern Ghana
	Anufo	Central Tano > Bia	NW Ghana
	Twi Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana>
Single subject with multiple subject cross-reference	Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
	Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo
	Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
Multiple subject	Nzema	Central Tano > Bia	SW coast of Ghana
Variation of single and multiple subject	Fante Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana
	Ga	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana
	Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	Western and SW Côte d'Ivoire
	Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire
Single or multiple subject depending on TAM	Tuwuli	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Western Ghana
	Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana

Expressing subject

Type of subject expression	Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
Single subject with	Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
multiple subject	Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo
cross-reference	Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana

Expressing subject



Type of subject expression	Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
Single or multiple subject	Tuwuli	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Western Ghana
depending on TAM	Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana

Expressing subject

- A significant variation (in fact, no logical possibilities not attested)
- No correlation of rare possibilities both with genealogical and areal factors
  - Even when languages belong roughly to the same area, they are not closest neighbours
- Tentatively, an example of a purely typological similarity driven by an independent evolution

Expressing negation

- Symmetric

Lelemi

Kòfi	*ú-té-ye*	*lɛna*	*ú-tá-ku*
Kofi	3SG.PST-NEG-buy	meat	3SG.PST-NEG-chew

'Kofi didn't buy any meat and eat it.' (Allan 1973: 381)

- Zero

Logba

mɛ-ɛ́-gɔ	*m-mua*	*dovu*	*e-tsí*
NEG-3PL-grind	CL-flour	pour.out	CL-ground

'One does not grind flour and pour it on the ground.' (Dorvlo 2008: 295)

Expressing negation

- Frame

Ewe

Kofi	*me-fle*	*agbalẽ*	*na*	*Ama*	*o*
Kofi	NEG-buy	paper	give	Ama	NEG

'Kofi did not buy a book for Ama.'

- Consecutive

Akebu

nòò-fú	*kēēʈī-wā*	*ŋ́-kùŋ̀*	*má*	*à-ɲàʈā-tá-pá*
1SG.PFV.NEG-buy	food-CL	1SG.SBJV-give	1SG.POSS	CL-house-ADJ-CL

'I did not buy foodstuff for my family.'

Expressing negation

Type of negation marking	Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
Zero	Avatime	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
	Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
	Fon	Gbe	Central Benin
	Aja	Gbe	SE Benin
	Logba	Logba	SE Ghana
	Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana
	Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana
Symmetric	Adioukrou	Adioukrou	Southern Côte d'Ivoire
	Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
	Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana
	Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire
Frame	Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana
Consecutive	Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo

Expressing negation

- Correlation of the two main strategies with genealogical affiliation
- More rare strategies are individual features of separate languages
- No cases of typological similarity so far, dealing with single cases of language evolution
- This does **not** mean that it is always the case of expressing negation in SVCs and even in Kwa SVCs

Take-SVCs

Lative vs. Instrumental vs. Objectal

Gen

a. *Ayí sɔ́ agban-a vá asíme*
   Ayi take package-DEF come market
   'Ayi brought the package to market.' (Lewis 1992: 110)

b. *amejró-á sɔ́ klo gban kpé-á*
   stranger-DEF take knee break stone-DEF
   'The stranger used his knee to break the rock.' (Lewis 1992: 138)

c. *Ayí sɔ́ wómá-á ŋlɔ*
   Ayi take book-DEF write
   'Ayi wrote the book.' (Lewis 1992: 143)

Lative take-SVCs

- With inanimate objects

Baule

ɔ̄	*fā-lì*	*dwō*	*bà-lī*
3SG	take-PST	yam	come-PST

'He has brought yam.' (Kouadio N'Guessan 2000: 83)

- With animate objects

Igo

ù-tū	*úbī*	*lɔ̄*	*wā*	*nì-à*
3SG-take.PFV	child	DEF	come.PFV	with-3SG

'He has taken the child along.' (Gblem 1995: 190)

Lative take-SVCs

Uses of lative take SVCs		Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
with animates	with inanimates			
–	–	Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
		Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana
–	+	Avatime	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
		Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
		Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana
		Gen	Gbe	SE coast of Togo
		Aja	Gbe	SE Benin
		Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire
		Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire
		Logba	Logba	SE Ghana
		Anufo	Central Tano > Bia	NW Ghana
		Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire
		Nzema	Central Tano > Bia	SW coast of Ghana
		Gonja	Guang > South Guang	Central Ghana
		Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana
+	+	Fon	Gbe	Central Benin
		Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo
		Igo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
		Ikposo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
		Ga	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana
		Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana
		Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	Western and SW Côte d'Ivoire

Lative take-SVCs

- Inanimates < animates
- No correlation with areal factors
- No total correlation with genealogical factors
- Example of a purely typological similarity driven by an independent evolution
- The pattern of lative SVCs seems to be areal and/or genealogical
- The expansion from inanimate objects to animate objects seems to be a universal pattern of lative constructions

Instrumental take-SVCs

- Instrument proper

Nawuri

è	*tá*	*k͡pát͡ʃà*	*ŋɛ́*	*éjù*
3SG	take	axe	chop	tree

'He felled the tree with an axe.' (Sherwood 1982: 229)

- Manner

Abé

Ako	*bə*	*aɛ̂hɔ*	*baba*	*tomobi-nə*	*jɛ*
Ako	take	cleverness	repair	car-DEF	nice

'Ako repaired the car cleverly.' (Gbery 1987: 140)

Instrumental take-SVCs

- Consumable

Gen

Ayí	*sɔ́*	*atí*	*tu*	*xɔ*
Ayi	take	wood	build	house

'Ayi built a house with wood.' (Lewis 1992: 128)

- Comitative

Akan (Twi)

ɔ-de	*ne*	*n-nipa*	*foro*	*bepɔw*
3SG.S-< take	3SG.POSS	PL-person	ascend.CONT	mountain

'He ascends a mountain with his men.' (Christaller 1875: 71)

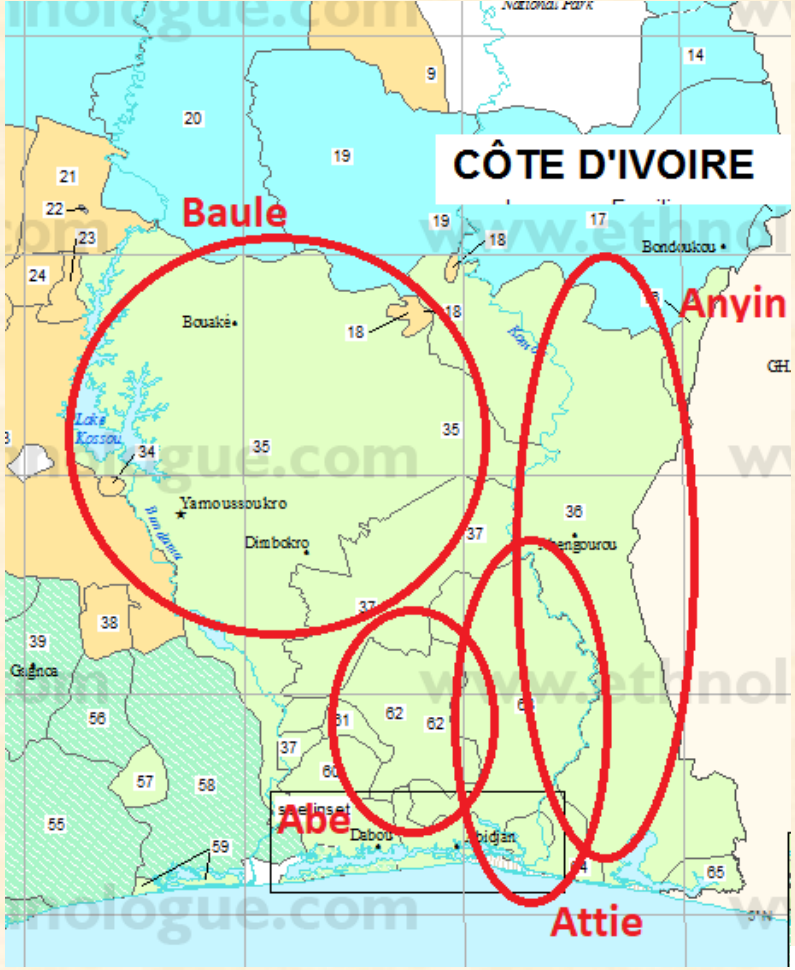
Instrumental take-SVCs

Uses of instrumental take SVCs				Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
instrument	manner	consumable	comitative			
+	–	–	–	Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
				Aja	Gbe	SE Benin
				Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo
				Igo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
				Ikposo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo
				Ga	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana
				Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
				Anufo	Central Tano > Bia	NW Ghana
				Gonja	Guang > South Guang	Central Ghana
				Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana
+	+	–	–	Logba	Logba	SE Ghana
+	+	+	–	Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana
				Fon	Gbe	Central Benin
				Gen	Gbe	SE coast of Togo
				Tuwuli	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Western Ghana

Instrumental take-SVCs

Uses of instrumental take SVCs				Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
instrument	manner	consumable	comitative			
+	+	–	+	Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire
				Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	Western and SW Côte d'Ivoire
+	+	+	+	Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana
+	–	–	+	Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire
				Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire

Instrumental take-SVCs



instrument	manner	consumable	comitative			
+	+	–	+	Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire
				Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	Western and SW Côte d'Ivoire
+	–	–	+	Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire
				Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire

Instrumental take-SVCs

- instrument < manner < consumable
- instrument < comitative
  - comitative develops independently from manner and consumable
- Both paths of semantic development seem to be universal
- Still, areal pattern is clear in the comitative use for most 4 languages of 5 instrumental take-SVCs

Objectal take-SVCs

(Theme or Patient of the lexical verb)

- Ditransitive lexical verb

Anyin

ɔ̀-fà	*ɪ́-sá*	*klè*	*dɔ̀ktɛ́*	*sʊ̃́l̃ã*
3SG-take.HAB	3SG-hand	show.HAB	doctor	man

'He shows his hand to the doctor.' (Van Leynseele 1975: 205)

- Lexical verb with a locative valency

Logba

a-mi	*u-kplɔ-tsuziva*	*zi*	*u-kplɔ-a*	*tsu*
3PL-take	CL-table-cloth	cover	CL-table-DEF	on

'They lay the table cloth on the table.' (Dorvlo 2007: 6)

Objectal take-SVCs

- Agentive monotransitive lexical verb

Nawuri
è *tá* *kálá* *bʊ̀ŋ*
3SG take shirt close
'He fastened (his) shirt.' (Sherwood 1982: 225)

- Volitive non-agentive monotransitive lexical verb

Fon
Kɔ̀kú *sɔ́* *tú* *ɔ́* *hɛ̀n*
Koku take gun DEF hold
'Koku holded the gun.' (da Cruz 1992: 122)

Objectal take-SVCs

- Non-volitive monotransitive lexical verb

Gen

Ayí sɔ́ Kofí ɖi

Ayi take Kofi resemble

'Ayi resembled Kofi.' (Lewis 1992: 143)

Objectal take-SVCs

Uses of objectal take SVCs					Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
ditr.	locat.	agent.telic monotr.	volit. monotr.	other monotr.			
+	–	–	–	–	Abé	Abé	SW Côte d'Ivoire
					Ga	Ga-Dangme	SE Ghana
					Nzema	Central Tano > Bia	SW coast of Ghana
+	+	–	–	–	Akan	Central Tano > Akan	Central, Southern, and SE Ghana
					Anufo	Central Tano > Bia	NW Ghana
					Chumburung	Guang > North Guang	Western Ghana

Uses of objectal take SVCs					Language	Genetic affiliation	(Main) area
ditr.	locat.	agent.telic monotr.	volit. monotr.	other monotr.			
+	+	+	–	–	Avatime	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
					Tafi	Avatime-Nyangbo	SE Ghana
					Tuwuli	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Western Ghana
					Attié	Attié	SW Côte d'Ivoire
					Lelemi	Lelemi-Likpe	SE Ghana
					Logba	Logba	SE Ghana
					Anyin	Central Tano > Bia	West and SW Côte d'Ivoire
					Baule	Central Tano > Bia	SW Côte d'Ivoire
					Gonja	Guang > South Guang	Central Ghana
					Nawuri	Guang > South Guang	Western Ghana
+	+	+	+	–	Fon	Gbe	Central Benin
+	+	+	+	+	Ewe	Gbe	SE Ghana
					Gen	Gbe	SE coast of Togo
					Akebu	Kebu-Animere	Central Togo
					Ikposo	Kposo-Ahlo-Bowili	Central Togo

Objectal take-SVCs

- Genealogical and areal factors maybe influence, but only partially
  - Crucial differences between closely related languages
- Typological diversity
- Attested options form a hierarchy

Objectal take-SVCs

ditransitives

< locatives

< agentive telic monotransitives

< volitive monotransitives

< other monotransitives

- Where the hierarchy does come from?

Objectal take-SVCs

Factors triggering the hierarchy:

- Basic grammaticalization metaphor related to the lexical meaning of ‘take’
  - agentive verbs are closer to the meaning of manual manipulation
- Distinctiveness
  - ditransitives are neutral, locative are sometimes neutral
- Transitivity in the sense of (Hopper & Thompson 1980)
  - the more semantically transitive is the verb, the more relevant is marking its object

Concluding remarks

The case study shows that

- “Maximum coverage” sample works
- Squeezing out everything you can from the existing data on the linguistic family is possible
- One can distinguish between inheritance, contact influence and independent evolution
  - At least tentatively, even based on existing classification and existing geographic data
- One can connect family-specific results of an intragenetic cross-linguistic study with a general perspective
  - At least tentatively

What next to this case study

- Studying the same parameters in other genealogical unities
- Testing the expectation that what is based on universal patterns, also works
  - E.g. preliminary study of take-SVCs also in Gur and Benue-Congo (including “Old Kwa”)
- Testing the expectation that what is based on family-specific patterns, would differ

Intragenetic typology

- Combining typological tradition and tradions dealing with specific language families happens anyway
  - A tendency existing in all research communities
- Conceptualizing traditional comparison of related languages as a part of linguistic typology helps both
- A way of real introducing of linguistic diversity into linguistic typology

If interested for details

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THANK YOU!