Phasal Polarity in Ewe: Diversity of constructions and dialect differences
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In this presentation, I show that the expressions for the phasal polarity concepts related to persistence or non-persistence of a situation (STILL, NO LONGER) and the realization or not of an expected situation (ALREADY, NOT YET) do not constitute a grammatical paradigm in Ewe. Thus, Ewe is different from several European languages where these notions are encoded in terms in one grammatical class (cf. Van der Auwera 1998). STILL is expressed by a periphrastic construction involving the repetitive preverb marker ga ‘again’ reinforced by the intensifier ko ‘only, just’. This construction can also be combined with an alternative continuative phasal aspect construction involving the suppletive locative verb le ~ no ‘be.at:PRES~NPRES’ and a complement headed by the postposition dzi ‘upper surface’. NO LONGER is also expressed using the repetitive preverb ga ‘again’ but, in this case, together with the clausal negator. ALREADY is expressed by an adverbial xoxo ‘already’ while NOT YET is coded in negative clauses by either the preverb auxiliary kpɔ ‘COUNTEREXPECTATION’, grammaticalised from the verb kpɔ ‘see’ (cf. Heine et al. 1991), or the negative polarity adverbial haɖe(ke) ‘yet’. Both NOT YET constructions can be combined and they also manifest dialectal variation. The former is predominant in Southern dialects like Anlo and Tɔŋu, the latter is used in the Inland dialects. The ways in which these structures interact with phasal aspect, imperfective and habitual constructions as well as focussing intensifiers will be discussed.

References