POSTVERBAL COMPLEMENT PARTICLES IN EMAI[1]

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Linguistic investigation of how clause-level conceptual material is apportioned among major and minor syntactic categories has received steady but limited attention (Talmy 1985, Jackendoff 1990, Dixon 1991, Longacker 1991). A specific direction for typological inquiry is suggested by Talmy's (1991) proposal that languages fall into two basic types based on where they typically locate the schematic core or "upshot" of events of Motion, Change of State, Temporal Contour, Participant Correlation and Realization. Based on cross-language analyses, he hypothesizes that languages typically encode schematic core, the essential relating function in a clause, in either a main verb or a satellite (grammatical morpheme), as illustrated by prepositions in the satellite-framing language English, e.g. *The ball rolled in,* and *She sang along,* and verbs in the verb-framing language Spanish, e.g. *salir* `to exit,' *terminar* `to finish.'

In Emai, a previously undocumented Benue-Congo language of southern Nigeria's Edoid family, schematic core is characteristically expressed across Talmy's (1991) domains by a main verb, e.g. *foo* `finish,' *chian* `become,' *o* `enter, move-into,' or verbs in series, *ba kun* `in vain.' However, Emai also expresses schematic core notions through postverbal particles with no obvious derivational relation to synchronic verb forms. In other words, Emai is not exclusively verb-framing; it manifests some properties of a satellite-framing language. In the following sections we take up the functions of Emai particles in Talmy's five domains.

In the motion domain, Emai verbs encode the schematic core of an event. In addition to pure motion, they convey the directional path of a translational motion event. Forms like *o* `to enter' and *shan* `to move through' occur as the sole verb of a clause (1a-b).

1. a. ólí ómọhe ó   vbi iwe[2]
        the man enter L house
        `the man entered the house'

    b. ólí ómọhe shán   égbóa
        the man   move-through backyard
        `the man moved through the backyard'

In series, these same verbs combine with verbs expressing supporting events such as *la* `to run,' and *sua* `to push.'

2. a. ólí ómọhe lá   ó   vbi iwe
        the man   run enter L house
        `the man ran into the house'

b.   ólí ómohe súá   imáto shán   égbóa
        the man   push car   move-through backyard
        `the man pushed a car through the backyard'

Relative to Emai's motion domain, agentive change in object placement is encoded by the Change of Location (CL) particle _o_ `onto, into.' Position change represents only one of _o_'s functions however. It also expresses bidirectional object transfer, temporal demarcation of an event and existence change of an object. In its position change function, the CL particle occurs with a range of agentive verbs. It conveys causative displacement of the verb's direct object relative to a reference point expressed by the locative phrase of the CL complement.

3.   a.   óli okposo ré évbii   ó   vbí émae
             the woman put palm-oil CL L   food
             `the woman put palm oil on the food'

    b.   ólí ómohe dín úkpui ó   mé vbí óbo
             the man   tie rope   CL my L   arm
             `the man tied a rope onto my arm'

    c.   óli okposo kú   évbii   ó   vbí émae
             the woman pour palm-oil CL L   food
             `the woman poured palm oil on the food'

The CL particle's bidirectional transfer function is found in far fewer constructions. 4a-b reveal events in which two entities, _ináfra_ `naira' (Nigerian currency) and _ogede_ `banana' or _bia_ `work' and _émae_ `food' become part of an exchange agreement.

4.   a.   ólí ómohe háé ináfra evá ó   vbi ogede
             the man   pay naira two CL L   plantain
             `the man paid two naira for the plantains'

    b.   ólí ómohe bíá   ó   vbí émae
             the man   work CL L   food
             `the man worked in exchange for food'

The CL particle also expresses a temporal demarcation function. In 5a the CL constituent expresses the timely eating of food in the past, while in 5b it conveys a temporal frame for a future event.

5.   a.   óli okposo é   émae ó   vbí éghe
             the woman eat food CL L   time
             `the woman ate food on time'

    b.   ójé ísi   oke hí   ókhoin ó   vbi usúmú éena
             Oje ASS Oke schedule war   CL L   9-day today
             `Oke's chief scheduled the war nine-days from today'

The final function associated with the CL particle pertains to change of state. It expresses an existence change in which an object, though not totally lacking in substance, undergoes a change in which its substance becomes more fully present. This existence change function is specified in conjunction with Continuous aspect and a CL complement containing an obligatory anaphoric locative pronoun.

6.   a.   ólí óvbekhan o̩ ó̩ dá o̩ vbi o̩
            the youth   SC C be-tall CL L it
            `the youth is getting taller'

    b.   ólí úkpóde̩ o̩ ó̩ vbé̩ o̩ vbi o̩
            the road   SC C be-wide CL L it
            `the road is getting wider'

        Verbs, verbs in series and particles encode change of state. Uniformly, the schematic core conveyed by these forms involves a change in an object's existence from absence to presence. The verb *chian* conveys a change in the existence state of its direct object in which the latter proceeds from an absent state to a present state.

7.   ólí úkpe chián ódodó
        the seed become flower
        `the seed became a flower'

Verbs in series express a similar change in existence from absence to presence. In series, *re* expresses existence change in which a state previously non-existent comes into being; the incipient maturational stage of a developing coconut is identified through use of *re* in 8a. This sense contrasts with 8b, where the Factitive (F) verbal suffix indicates maturational completion. As the sole clausal verb (8c), *re* conveys achievement of a terminal endpoint.

8.   a.   ólí údúkpu zé̩ ré
            the coconut grow arrive
            `the coconut sprouted out/developed first shoots'

    b.   ólí údúkpu zé̩i
            the coconut grow-F
            `the coconut has sprouted'

    c.   ólí e̩vbóó ré eguai
            the village arrive court
            `the village arrived at court'

        The change of state domain also exhibits a postverbal particle with distinct functions. Two of these bear on the state change domain; the third refers to the realization domain. Relative to state change, the postverbal particle *a* expresses a change of condition and one type of existence change. The *a* particle obligatorily combines with verbs where a change of condition or a change in the material integrity of an affected object is expressed.

9.   a.   óĺí óvbekhan gbé   óĺí ákhe á
             the youth   break the pot CS
             `the youth broke the pot'

      b.   * óĺí óvbekhan gbé   óĺí ákhe
             the youth   break the pot

This same particle designates a change in the existence state of an entity, although its directionality is restricted. As shown in 10, verb complements with *a* express a state change in which an entity previously present becomes absent or non-existent.

10. a.   óĺí ómohe fúnǫ́   óĺí éráín áin á
             the man   extinguish the fire that CS
     ...   `the man put out/extinguished that fire'

      b.   * óĺí ómohe fúnǫ́   óĺí éráín áin
             the man   extinguish the fire that

       The CS particle *a* performs another function relative to event realization. It confirms a lexical implicature of the clausal verb, explicitly recognizing fulfillment of an intention implied by a verb. The CS particle is not obligatory in its realization function, since the intention implicature can be inferred from the interplay of the verb and its context. In this function, the CS particle overtly registers realization of intended result; it is an aspect of meaning to which the speaker is committed. Particle absence is consistent with presumption of either attainment or non-attainment of intended result, while particle presence correlates with certainty of the intended result.

11. a.   óĺi okposo kpé   óĺi itása
             the woman wash the plate
             `the woman washed the plate'

      b.   óĺi okposo kpé óĺi itása á
             the woman wash the plate CS
             `the woman washed off the plate'

      c.   óĺí ómohe hĺán oę
             the man   cut   foot
             `the man cut his foot'

      d.   óĺí ómohe hĺán oę á
             the man   cut foot CS
             `the man cut off his foot'

       Talmy's third domain is participant correlation. It is essentially concerned with expression of participant role as event "upshot." In Emai this domain relies on verbs and verbs

in series to express schematic core notions as well as a single particle. The main verb *sume* establishes an accompaniment relation between an event's human participants.

12. élí ímo̱he o̱ ó sume̱ éami
    the men SC C struggle-for meat
    `the men are struggling for meat'

In series, other verbs identify relations among human participants, either as the standard of comparison, *lee* in 13a, or the addressee of a nonverbal act of communication, *vbiee* in 13b.

13. a. ólí ómo̱he ón ame lé̱é̱ me̱
    the man drink water surpass me
    `the man drank more water than I'

    b. óli okposo kpé itan vbíé̱é̱ ólí ómo̱he
    the woman narrate saying show the man
    `the woman narrated a saying to the man'

Each of these verbs can serve as the principal verb of a transitive clause, either a single object clause in the case of *lee* (14a) or a double object clause in the case of *vbiee* (14b).

14. a. ólí ómo̱he lé̱é̱ ohí
    the man surpass Ohi
    `the man surpassed Ohi'

    b. ólí ómo̱he vbíé̱é̱ ólí ókpó̱só̱ émi
    the man show the woman thing
    `the man taught the woman something'

In addition to verbs, Emai exhibits a postverbal particle conveying four functions relative to the participant correlation domain. The Applicative particle *li* accompanied by a noun phrase expresses four functions with respect to this larger domain: change of ownership; beneficiary; negative beneficiary or excluded participant; and addressee for verbal communication events. It occurs with a range of verbs like *nwu* to convey English `to give,' i.e. permanent dispossession. Many of these same verbs appear in series with the verb *ye* to convey temporary transfer or nonpermanent object possession, unless they express only permanent dispossession, i.e. *she̱n* in 15d.

15. a. óli okposo nwú éma lí o̱nwime
    the woman take-hold yam APP farmer
    `the woman gave yam to a farmer'

    b. óli okposo nwú éma yé o̱nwime
    the woman take-hold yam move-toward farmer
    `the woman took yam to a farmer'

c. óli okposo shén éma lí   onwime
    the woman sell yam APP farmer
    `the woman sold yam to a farmer'

d. * óli okposo shén éma yé   onwime
    the woman sell yam move-toward farmer

A second function of *li* concerns event beneficiary. In 16, the phrase headed by *li* marks the participant on whose behalf the event occurred or was done.

16. a. ólí ómohe nwú éma móé lí   óli okposo
         the man   take yam have APP the woman
         `the man held yam for the woman'

     b. óli okposo hóó   úkpun lí   óli onwime
         the woman wash cloth   APP the farmer
         `the woman washed clothes for the farmer'

Applicative *li* also designates a negative beneficiary function. The *li* marked participant is excluded from perceiving the subject referent in 17a and the direct object referent in 17b.

17. a. ólí ómóhé láhee lí   óli onwime
         the man   hide APP the farmer
         `the man hid from the farmer'

     b. ólí ókpósó ló   nwu olí éma láhee lí   óli onwime
         the woman PRED take the yam hide APP the farmer
         `the woman will hide the yam from the farmer'

Lastly, *li* designates event addressee in constructions with an obligatory verb *hon* `to hear' and a verb of vocal communication. In 18, the noun phrase *ólí ómohe* marked by *li* serves as the one to whom a speech or narration event is addressed.

18. a. óli okposo tá   éta   lí   ólí ómóhé hon
         the woman spoke word APP the man   hear
         `the woman spoke to the man'

     b. * óli okposo tá   éta   lí   ólí ómohe
         the woman spoke word APP the man

     c. óli okposo kpé   itan   lí   ólí ómóhé hon
         the woman narrate saying APP the man   hear
         `the woman narrated the saying to the man'

     b. * óli okposo kpé   itan   lí   ólí ómóhé
         the woman narrate saying APP the man

The temporal contour domain employs verbs, verbs in series and a single complement particle to express temporal phase as schematic core or event "upshot." The verbs *bee* `to start' and *foo* `to finish' incorporate contrasting temporal phases of events, their onset and endpoint, respectively.

19. a. ólí óvbekhan bé̱é̱   vbí émá úemí
         the youth   start L yam eating
         `the youth started eating yam'

     b. ólí okposo fóó   ó̱li obia
         the woman finish the work
         `the woman finished the work'

Erstwhile verbs in series characterize contrasting temporal boundaries of an event. In 20a, *se̱* registers that the activity of drinking wine has achieved a boundary where it is deemed sufficient. As the sole verb of a clause, *se̱* conveys the meaning `be sufficient' (20b). In 20c, *gbe* registers the implication that a drinking activity has exceeded a normative boundary. As the only clausal verb in 20d, *gbe*'s meaning is `to beat, to perform a hitting action repeatedly.'

20. a. ólí ó̱mo̱he dá   é̱nyo̱ sé̱
         the man   drink wine sufficient/enough
         `the man drank enough wine'

     b. ólí omi í   i   se̱
         the soup SC NEG be-sufficient
         `the soup is not sufficient'

     c. ólí ó̱mo̱he dá   é̱nyo̱ gbé
         the man   drink wine much
         `the man drank too much wine'

     d. ólí ó̱mo̱he gbé ólí óvbekhan
         the man   beat the youth
         `the man beat the youth'

The temporal contour domain employs the postverbal Terminative particle *lee*. It conveys actualization of event endpoint when combined with perfective aspect and of event onset with Continuous aspect. In conjunction with a verb like *e* `to eat,' it carries the meaning `to finish Ving' in the perfective (21a) and the meaning `Ving already' in the Continuous (21b).

21. a. ólí ó̱mo̱he é   ólí émae lé̱é̱
         the man   eat the food TER
         `the man finished eating all the food'
         `the man has eaten all the food already'

b.   ólí ómohe o ó e olí émae leé
the man   SC C eat the food TER
`the man is eating the food already'

The realization domain employs verbs in series and, as previously mentioned, the CS particle from the state change domain. Having shown the confirming implicature function of the CS satellite, we turn to verbs in series. A point of note is the difficulty encountered in identifying verbs which incorporate realization in the absence of another verb or particle. In series, the verb *fuan* confirms an implicature of fulfillment generated by the preceding verb in series, confirming the clean state of the washed cloth (22a-b). Independent of this series, *fuan* asserts a state of cleanliness (22c).

22.   a.   ólí óvbekhan hóó   ólí úkpun fúán
the youth   wash the cloth clean
`the youth washed the cloth clean'

     b.   ólí óvbekhan hóó   ólí úkpun
the youth   wash the cloth
`the youth washed the cloth'

     c.   ólí úkpun fúáni
the cloth be-clean-F
`the cloth is clean'

Also in the realization domain, the split verb *ba kun* in series suspends an implicature of fulfillment posited by the preceding verb. In other words, *ba kun* conveys a failure to realize the endstate implied but not asserted by a verb. In 23a the implied end state or result, finding the cloth, is suspended without affecting the assertion that a search has occurred. Independent of this series, *ba kun* asserts failure to realize the grammatical subject's intention (23b).

23.   a.   ólí ómohe hóó   ólí úkpun bá kun
the man   search-for the cloth   pursue in-vain
`the man searched for the cloth in vain'

     b.   ólí ómohe bá   óli okposo kun
the man pursue the woman in-vain
`the man desired/pursued the woman in vain'

Having reviewed Emai particles encoding Talmy's five domains, we now turn to their distributional characteristics. Two classes become apparent. One class consists of particles which are mutually exclusive in their prototypic function: CL *o*, CS *a* and APP *li*.

24.   a.   * ólí ómohe nwú   ólí éma ó   vbí úkpóde á
the man   take-hold the yam CL L road   CS

b. * ólí ómohe nwú   ólí éma lí   óli okposo á
      the man   take-hold the yam APP the woman CS

The second class consists of the Terminative particle *lee*; it combines with the CS, CL and APP particles in their prototypic functions. The latter precede, never follow, the Terminative particle.

25. a. ólí ómohe gbé   ólí ákhe á   léé
         the man   break the pot CS TER
         `the man broke the pot already'

     b. óli okposo fí   úkpihíákpa ó vbí óbo léé
         the woman insert ring   CL L   hand TER
         `the woman inserted a ring onto her finger already'

     c. óli okposo shén úkpihíákpa lí   ólí óvbekhan léé
         the woman sell   ring   APP the youth   TER
         `the woman sold a ring to the youth already'

Further support for this classification of Emai's four postverbal particles comes from question-answer pairs. Relative to simple DO questions (*émé ójé úí?* `what did Oje do?'), the event-change particles CL, CS and APP are grammatical. The Terminative particle *lee*, however, is not acceptable (!) in response to DO questions (26d). Thus, the former particles fall within the scope of assertion assumed by the DO question, while the latter does not.

26. a. ó gbé   ólí ákhe á
         he break the pot CS
         `he broke the pot'

     b. ó nwú   ólí éma ó   vbi itébu
         he take-hold the yam CL L   table
         `he put the yam on the table'

     c. ó shén ólí ákhe lí   óli okposo
         he sell the pot APP the woman
         `he sold the pot to the woman'

     d. !   ó é   ólí émae léé
         he eat the food TER
         `he finished eating all the food'

        Let us now turn to Talmy's claim that postverbal particles such as we have found in Emai express an event's essential "upshot" and, therefore, represent a single structural type. Given the data in the preceding section, it appears that Emai's schematic core particles reflect two general classes. One, represented by the CS, CL and APP particles, reflects situation type

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vis-à-vis event change, either change of position, change of state (condition or existence) or change of possession. The remaining particle does not expressly convey event change. Instead, it bears on the temporal, in particular aspectual character, of an event: an event's viewpoint or perspective. In fact, Talmy's domains not encoded by Emai change particles, temporal contour and realization, appear concerned with the boundedness of an event, whether it is temporally bounded either at its onset or endpoint, or whether it is intentionally bounded so that an implication of potential result raised by a verb is indeed realized. The distributional behavior of Emai's postverbal particles suggests, therefore, that internal structural relations obtain within the set of domains proposed by Talmy. Some domains are bound more closely to one another. It may be, therefore, that "upshot" is a more complex structural notion than initially considered. At the very least, Talmy's domains do not all appear to be of the same structural type.

Lastly, we turn to how grammatical resources are related to domains. As we saw in the preceding section, verbs, satellites and verbs in series are utilized to encode schematic core across domains. When this material is summarized, one fact stands out. Emai verbs express schematic core concepts except in the realization domain. Of Talmy's five domains, it is only realization where main verbs are not active. This may reflect the problem one has in translating the meaning of some Emai verbs. For instance, the verb *gbe* is often translated with English `to kill,' concomitantly entailing that an individual has died. This verb, however, could as well generate this resultant state meaning via lexical implicature rather than entailment. If so, then the meaning `to die' should be defeasible, cancelable via clause delimited grammatical resources encoding the realization domain. Indeed, this is the case. The form *gbe* as the initial verb in series occurs with *ba kun* from the realization domain to cancel the implication that an individual has died.

27. a.   ólí ómọhe gbé ólí éwe
           the man   kill   the goat
           `the man killed the goat'

     b.   ólí ómọhe gbé ólí éwe bá kun
           the man   kill   the goat pursue in-vain
           `the man had difficulty trying to kill the goat'
           `the man tried in vain to kill the goat'

Assuming that *gbe* does not mean `to kill, to cause someone to be in a state of death,' might also account for why this verb accepts the State Change particle when it means `to kill.' In such cases the CS particle *a* appears to confirm achievement of the agent's intention. In other words, it indicates that the state resulting from an agent's action was realized; it confirms a lexical implicature (28b).

28. a.   ólí ómọhe gbé ólí okposo
           the man   kill   the woman
           `the man killed the woman'

b. ólí ómohe gbé ólí okposo á
    the man   kill the woman CS
    `the man killed the woman'

This paper has attempted to delineate functions associated with postverbal particles in Emai. The particles express the schematic core of events in five distinct conceptual domains. We found that these particles reflect an internal structure grounded to situation type, the change particles *a, o* and *li*, and perspective or viewpoint, *lee*. Lastly, we found that meanings established by these particles reveal distinctions between asserted and implied aspects of verb meaning. The extent to which such distinctions are characteristic of other languages in Emai's Edoid family or, indeed, within West Africa remains for future exploration.

ENDNOTES

2. Orthographic conventions for Emai are consistent with those in Schaefer (1987), where *o* represents a lax mid back vowel, *e* a lax mid front vowel and *vb* a voiced bilabial approximant. Abbreviations used throughout this study are the following: APP Applicative, ASS Associative, C Continuous, CL Change of Location, CS Change of State, F Factitive, L Locative, NEG Negative, PRED Predictive, SC Subject Concord, and TER Terminative.

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