1. Socio-linguistic and historical context of Logba

Logba is one of the fourteen languages concentrated in the hills of the Ghana-Togo frontier which have been referred to as Togo Restsprachen (Struck 1912), Togo Remnant Languages, or the Central Togo Languages (Dakubu and Ford 1988). These languages are now commonly referred to as Ghana Togo Mountain (henceforth GTM) Languages (Ring 1995).

There are still differences in opinion on the classification of GTM languages. Westermann and Bryan (1952) consider these languages as an isolated group because they have vocabulary items which show a relationship to Kwa and a noun class system that is similar to Bantu languages. Greenberg (1963a) classifies them among the Kwa sub-group B of the Niger-Congo family. Based on a comprehensive linguistic comparison, Heine (1968) sub-classified them into KA and NA. Stewart (1989) submits that the two groups belong to two branches of Kwa: The KA group belongs to the Left Bank branch together with Gbe including Ewe and the NA group to which Logba belongs is in the Nyo branch including Tano which includes Akan and Ga-Adangbe. Williamson and Blench (2000) suggest that the KA and the NA sub-groups branch out from Proto Kwa. Blench (2001:5) points out the difficulty in establishing the GTM languages as a group in relation to Kwa, and suggests that these languages may be given a more comprehensive analysis if they are said to be a mixture of a single branch of languages and small clusters.

Logba is one of the least studied of the fourteen GTM languages. The only published material exclusively on the Logba language is Westermann (1903) which is a concise grammatical sketch in German. Other works, Bertho (1952), Heine (1968), Greenberg (1966), Egblewogbe (1992) and Dakubu and Ford (1988) are studies on the Central Togo Languages, which make observations on Logba.

1.1. Adjective class

Dixon (2004), writing on adjectives from a typological perspective, notes that languages differ in respect to the number of members they have in the adjective class. According to him, some like European languages have an open class membership and others like Igbo and Yoruba have a closed class of less than ten members. He also states that languages distinguish easily between verbs and nouns but in some languages the non-derived adjectives are small in number. This means that in such languages words which express adjectival concepts are either derived words or belong to a different class. In addition to this, many adjectival concepts are expressed with verbs. In Ewe, for example, Ameka (1991:78) identifies five non derived adjectives and quite a large number of adjectives derived from verbs and nouns. This situation possibly informs Welmers (1973) to warn that one should be
circumspect in making judgements about words which are adjectives and those which are not because according to him “what one may consider an adjective may not be an adjective after all.” Logba, like Ewe, has a small group of non-derived adjectives and additionally processes through which adjectives are derived from verbs and nouns.

Dixon (2004) proposes that the members of the adjective class include four core semantic types. These are: Dimension (big, small), Age (new, old), Value (good, bad), and Colour (red, white, black). He also points out that there are three additional semantic types associated with medium size and large size adjective classes. These are: Physical property (hard, soft) Human propensity (happy, kind) and Speed (fast, slow). He argues that both the small and the large size adjective class have adjectives that belong to the four core semantic types.

1.2. Typological features of the language

Logba has a seven vowel system. These vowels are in two sets distinguished by the feature ATR. They occur as the nuclei of syllables. They are shown in (1) below:

(1) Advanced Tongue Root [+ATR] i e u o
   CENTRAL a
   Un-advanced Tongue Root [-ATR] e o

All seven vowels are phonemic. This is shown in (2) with some of the near minimal pairs of words. Examples of near minimal pairs are shown in (2).

(2) VOWEL MINIMAL PAIRS
    a / ə / nà ‘walk’ nɔ ‘drink’
    u / ɔ / dù ‘extinguish’ dɔ ‘follow’
    u / o / ûkù ‘drum’ ðkù ‘place’
    e / a / të COMPL tá ‘shoot’
    e / i / mè ‘here’ mĩ ‘take’
    i / a / ṣínyɔ ‘two’ ṣínyɔ ‘louse’

Logba has two tones H and L. Tone is realised on vowels and syllabic nasals. Monosyllabic words can be Low tone or High tone. This is exemplified in (3a).

(3a) bà ‘kill’
    bù ‘ask’
    mì ‘take’
    ñ-tá ‘hand’
    ñ-gbɔ ‘rashes’

Noun roots can also have Low or High tone. The noun prefix is either Low tone vowel prefix or nasal prefix. This is shown in (3b).

(3b) i-sò ‘faeces’
    n-wù ‘dresses’
    ñè-và ‘thing’
    mè-và ‘medicines’
    ù-kú ‘bone’
    ð-tú ‘gun’

All possible tonal patterns (LL, LH, HH, HL) are attested in disyllabic roots in (3c).

(3c) LL dàsè ‘thank’ fìfì ‘break’
    LH tólé ‘send’ gànú ‘greet’
    HH dòfì ‘love’ hùhù ‘wave hand’
    HL dònù ‘shrink’ dzùbà ‘return’

Tone combinations in disyllabic noun roots are shown in (3d).
In Logba, tone has both lexical and grammatical functions. Tone is used to indicate the difference between the Habitual aspect and the Past progressive aspect. The former is said with a low pitch and the latter with a high pitch. (4a) and (4b) illustrate Habitual aspect and Past Progressive aspects respectively.

(4a) Ọtọkpè 'dzò
 ọ-tọ-kpè ọ-dzò
3SG-HAB-eat CM-yam
‘He/She eats yam’

(4b) Ọtọkpè 'dzò
 ọ-tọ-kpè ọ-dzò
SG-PSTPROG-eat CM-yam
‘He/She was eating yam’

High tone is henceforth marked with an acute accent and Low tone is left unmarked.

Logba has a strict constituent order. The subject is followed by the verb and in a transitive clause; the verb is followed by a direct object. In a double object construction, the Goal comes before the Theme. In locative constructions, the first post-verbal object is the Theme followed by a second object which is the Locative. The adjunct occurs after the core arguments in the clause. The linear order of constituents in the clause is shown in (5).

(5) SUBJ VERB OBJ 1 OBJ 2 ADJUNCT

However, the basic constituent order is modulated for topicalisation and focalisation. In topic constructions, a noun phrase may be fronted to the left periphery of the clause. Also, in focus constructions the constituent that is focused is preposed.

The verb usually has a vowel or a nasal prefixed to it. It is a marker that shows the class of the noun and the vowel harmony in the verb stem. This vowel pronominal prefix therefore signals the agreement between the subject and the verb. In (6a) and (6b) the /o/- and /n/ refer to ọsà ‘man’ and Selorm respectively. In (7a) ndú ‘water’ a liquid noun triggers /n/ on the verb tọ ‘pour’ whilst in (7b) inọ ‘meat’ a mass noun marks /i/- on the verb tsi ‘be.in’.

(6a) ọsà á ozi
 ọ-sa =á o-zi
CM-man =DEF SM.SG-be.good
‘The man is good’

(6b) Selorm ọné bladzo
Selorm ọ-né bladzo
Selorm SM.SG-buy plantain
‘Selorm bought plantain’

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4 The examples in this paper are in four lines. The first line is the Logba data showing word divisions. In the second line, the Logba data is presented in italics with morpheme breaks indicated by hyphens (-) and clitics indicated by the equal to sign (=). The interlinear English gloss is in the third line and a free English translation is provided enclosed in single quotes.
Apart from the vowel pronominal prefix the verb is able to host aspectual markers. All these occur as prefixes to the verb root. For example in (8) the following markers: /o/ pronominal prefix, /lo/ progressive aspect marker and /mo/ negative marker are attached to the verb ḍu ‘be’.

This feature of the verb differentiates it from other categories: Nouns have prefixes to mark the class they belong to but cannot be a host of aspect and negative markers.

The next section describes the Noun Phrase (NP) where the adjective occurs as a modifier to the head noun and distinguishes adjectives from nouns and verbs.

2. Distinguishing adjectives from nouns and verbs

The head noun occurs in initial position of the NP. This position can be filled by a noun or an independent pronoun. The adjective slot occurs after the head noun and it is the position for the adjective, nominal qualifiers and ideophones. Nominal qualifiers and ideophones that occur in this slot are those that can be used to modify nouns. The structure of a simple NP is shown in (9):

(9) [NOUN]– ADJECTIVE – QUANTIFIER – DETERMINER - INTENSIFIER [PRO]

The quantifier slot can be filled by cardinal numbers like /i-kpe/ ‘one’ /n-nyɔ/ ‘two’ ordinals and other quantity words. The determiner slot is filled by elements which include the demonstratives /i-me/ ‘this’ and /m-мо/ ‘these’. There is an agreement relation between the determiner and the head noun, but with quantifiers it is only numbers one to six that show agreement with the head noun. Each of the lexical items in /m-fúta n-nyɔ/ ‘two clothes’, have /N-/ prefix that signals agreement with the plural noun. /m-me/ ‘these’ in (8a) and /i-me/ in (8b) occur in the determiner slot and show agreement with /mfúta/ ‘cloth’ and the mass noun /iva/ ‘thing’ respectively. The intensifier slot is filled by /pétée/ ‘all’.

The syntactic position the adjective occupies in the NP is immediately after the head noun. The position in the NP structure for an adjective is an indication that there is an adjective class in Logba but one should look further for the morphological properties of the individual members of the adjective class and to see how the individual adjectives function in the clause. In (10a) /kəŋkə/ ‘old’ and (10b) /gba/ ‘bad’ are adjectives and they appear after /m-fúta/ ‘cloth’ and /iva/ ‘thing’ which are the head of the respective NPs. Unlike the determiner which has number agreement with the head noun, the adjective does not take prefixes that mark agreement. This distinguishes adjectives from verbs and nouns in Logba; unlike verbs, adjectives cannot host subject agreement markers and unlike nouns they cannot have a prefix to signal the class to which they belong.
3. Non-derived and derived adjectives

In this section, I discuss non-derived adjective and derived adjectives.

3.1. Non-derived adjective and its semantic type

Logba has only one non-derived adjective. It is shown in (11) specifying its semantic class. It can neither occur as a noun nor as a verb.

\[(11) \text{VALUE } gba \text{ ‘bad’} \]

3.2. Derived adjectives and the processes of their derivation

There are words expressing adjectival concepts which are derived from other categories. Three processes are identified by which lexical adjectives are derived. The derived adjectives occupy the same syntactic position in the NP as their non derived counterparts. The categories that are used in the derivation of these adjectives are verbs and nouns. The derivation processes are discussed in the following subsections.

3.2.1. Suffixation of \(-yi\) to value property verbs

Adjectives are formed by the suffixation of \(-yi\) to verbs. (12) shows that adjectives derived by using the suffix \(-yi\) are adjectives of colour and dimension. The stem \(k\) does not exist. It is possible that either this might have been used in the past or \(k\) ‘small’ is borrowed into Logba and that it is not derived by using the suffix \(-yi\).

\[(12) \text{COLOUR } drui \text{ ‘become red’ } -yi \text{ drui-}yi \text{ ‘red’} \\
\text{fli ‘become white’ } -yi \text{ fli-}yi \text{ ‘white’} \\
\text{DIMENSION } kisa \text{ ‘become long’ } -yi \text{ kisa-}yi \text{ ‘long’} \\
*kl \text{ ‘become small’ } -yi \text{ kl-}yi \text{ ‘small’} \]

(13a) and (14a) illustrate the use of such derived adjectives in phrases. In (13a) \(drui\) ‘red’ qualifies \(memgba\) ‘bowl’ and in (14a) \(kisa\) ‘long’ qualifies the noun \(gb\) ‘road’. These nouns are the heads of the NP, \(memgba\) ‘that red bowl’ and \(gb\) ‘the long road’ respectively. (13b) and (14b) show that the verbs \(drui\) ‘become red’ and \(kisa\) ‘become long’ unlike the adjectives have a vowel prefix to show agreement with the respective head noun.

\[(13a) \text{Memgba } druiyi \text{ omé obli} \\
[memgba \text{ druiyi } o-mé]_{NP} \text{ o-bli} \\
bowl \text{ red AM-that SM.SG-break} \]

‘That red bowl broke.’
3.2.2. Compounding of an intransitive verb root and a noun

Adjectives are also derived from the compounding of an intransitive verb root and a noun. In (15), kpi ‘go’ forms a compound with nouns like etsi ‘ground’, otsi ‘down’, and agu ‘top’.

(15) kpi ‘go’ etsi ‘ground’  kpietsi ‘deep’
kpi ‘go’ otsi ‘down’  kpóntsi ‘short’
kpi ‘go’ agu ‘top’  kpiagu ‘tall’

(16a), (16b) and (16c) show the use of such verb-noun adjectival forms. In (16a) kpóntsi ‘short’ is used to qualify the head noun ina ‘person’, kpiagu ‘tall’ qualifies ñsá ‘man’ in (16b) and kpietsi ‘deep’ qualifies vuti ‘hole’ in (16c). As usual, these qualifiers do not exhibit any agreement relation with the head nouns. These derived adjectives are used attributively and not predicatively.

(16a) Udzé xé ñbá oðú ina kpóntsi
u-dzé xé ñbá [i-na kpóntsi]\NPNP
CM-woman RP SM.SG-come be CM-person short
‘The woman who came is a short person’

(16b) ñsá kpiagu ñbóbá ñúm
[ñ-sá kpiagu]\NPNP ñbóbá ñú-m
CM-man tall 3SG-FUT-come see-1SGOBJ
‘A tall man will come to see me’

(16c) Vuti kpietsi ole unansa ubo é nu
[vuti kpietsi]\NPNP o-le u-nansa u-bo =é nu
hole deep SM.SG-be(located) CM-chief CM-farm =DET in
‘A deep hole is in the chief’s farm’

3.2.3. Derivation via reduplication

There are a few instances in which adjectives are derived via reduplication. It can either be full reduplication of the stem of a noun as with u-bi ‘small child’ or a partial reduplication of a property verb, bli ‘black’.

(17) bli ‘become black’ → bì-bli – black u-bi ‘small child’ → bì-bì – small

The forms in (18) are likely to be reduplicated but vó ‘become spoil’ and vó ‘become new’ do not exist in Logba. It is possible that these words were used in the past in Logba but have lost their
position in the lexicon to other words. věvé 'important' is likely to be a borrowing from Ewe. Interestingly, the base form of the Ewe verb vě ‘become scarce’ which yields věvé ‘important’ does not seem to have been borrowed into Logba. Essizewa (2007) in a conference paper reports similar borrowing from Ewe into Kabye.

(18) *vɔ ‘become new’ vuvɔ ‘new’ veve ‘important’
*a:v ‘become spoilt’ vůvů ‘spoilt’

In (19a) bìbbi ‘black’ the derived adjective qualifies the head noun afūta ‘cloth’ and in (19b) bìbbi ‘small’ qualifies ʰidż ‘yam’.

(19a) Afūta bìbbi ʰafū
a-fūta bìbbi a-fūi
CM-cloth black AM-lost
‘The black cloth is lost’

(19b) ʰidż bìbbi obo umutsi nu
i-ᵈʒ bìbbi o-bo u-mutsi nu
CM-yam small SM.SG-stay CM-barn in
‘The small yam is in the barn’

4. Derived nominals

In this section, I discuss derived nominals. Derived nominals are words that can be used to qualify another noun in an NP structure. They therefore occupy the slot for adjectives. They can also occur by themselves as nouns and maintain a class prefix. These words are not in the real sense lexical adjectives.

4.1. Adding nominalising suffix -go to a verb

The -go qualifiers are derived by adding a nominalising suffix -go to a verb. This is shown in (20).

(20) to-ŋ-go ‘thick one’
tsé-ŋ-go ‘old one’
bugo ‘rotten one’
ná-ŋ-go ‘big one’

The qualifier tongo ‘thick one’ in (20) is derived from to ‘thick and slimy’ which is borrowed from Ewe. tse ‘become old’ is a verb to which -go is suffixed, thereby becoming a noun. bu ‘become rotten’ is in the data collected but there is no word na that is related semantically to nángo ‘big one’. This suggests that nángo ‘is a form and its structure looks like a deverbal nominal. It is possible that the syllabic nasal which is homorganic in the words only acts to bind the two morphemes together. In (21a), bugo ‘rotten one’ qualifies avúdágo ‘leaf’ and in (21b) tséngo ‘old one’ qualifies amígunedzé ‘my sister’.

(21a) Avúdágo bugo móózi
a-vúdágo bugo mó-ó-zi
CM-leaf rotten one NEG-SM.SG-be.good
‘rotten leaf is not good’

(21b) Nkpé bé amígunedzé tséngo olé?
n-kpé bé amú-gunedzé tséngo o-lé
CM-year Q 1SGPOSS-sister old.one SM.SG-be.located
‘What is the age of my old sister?’
The -go derived forms can occur by themselves as nouns. They usually take the /i-/ prefix. In the example sentences below ibugo école ‘rotten one’, itséngé école ‘the old one’, is used as a noun head in sentences (22a) and (22b).

(22a) Íbügo école akolikpo école tsú
\[ i-bugo = é \quad i-likpo = é \quad tsú \]
CM-rotten = DET SM-be.located CM-refuse-hill = DET upper.surface
‘The rotten one is on the refuse dump’

(22b) Itséngo ié Setor éblé
\[ i-tséngó = é \quad i-dú Setor é-blé \]
CM-old = DET SM-be Setor 3SG-own
‘The old one is Setor’s own’

When the derived nominal is used as a noun, it maintains the class prefix.

4.2. Compounding the stem wasa to a noun

In this section, I discuss nominals which occur as appositional nouns. These are human property terms derived by compounding the noun wasa ‘owner’. Unlike the nominals discussed in the previous section these nouns occur in apposition to the head noun. In this section, the nominals maintain their nominal prefixes. These nouns can function as qualifiers to the head noun.

(23) kúfi ɘ ‘lazy’ wasa ‘owner’ → kúfiwasa ‘lazy one’
\[ aŋkpá Ɂ ‘juju’ wasa ‘owner’ \rightarrow aŋkpáwasa ‘jujuman’ \]
\[ adzé ‘witch’ wasa ‘owner’ \rightarrow adzéwasa ‘witch’ \]

Each of these property nouns given above takes a class marker except kúfiwasá ɘ ‘lazy owner’ which is without a class marker. This is possibly because it is based on a borrowed word kuvia ‘lazy’ from Ewe.

In (24a) aŋkpáwasa ‘jujuman’ is in apposition to the noun ɘsá ‘man’ and in (24b) kúfiwasa ‘lazy owner’ and ebitwó ‘children form an N-N structure.

(24a) ɘsá aŋkpáwasa a ɘbá
\[ ø-sá \quad a-ŋkpá-wasa = ø \quad ø-bá \]
CM-man CM-juju-owner = DET AM-come
‘The jujuman came’

(24b) Ebitwó kúfiwasa anú abo e nu
\[ e-bit-wó \quad kuńiwasa \quad a-nú \quad a-bo = e \quad nu \]
CM-child-PLU lazy-owner AM-five AM-stay CM-farm = DET in
‘Five lazy children are in the farm’

These property terms derived by suffixing wasa can occur as noun head. For example, the noun head in both (24a) øsá ‘man’ and (24b) ebitwó ‘children’ can be removed and the sentences will be acceptable. This is shown in (25a) and (25b).

(25a) Aŋkpáwasa á øbá
\[ a-ŋkpá-wasa = á \quad ø-bá \]
CM-juju-owner = DET SM.SG-come
‘The jujuman came’

5 The southern Ewe speakers say kuvia, The form in Logba kuńi is the same as how the inland Ewe speakers pronounce it.
It is noted that these human property terms can be modified by other qualifiers. In (26a) *kpiagu* ‘tall’ qualifies *ŋkpawasa* ‘jujuman’ and in (26b) *kuvia wasa* ‘lazy one’ is qualified by *kpontsi* ‘short’.

(26a) Aŋkpwasa kpiagu ě òbá
    a-ŋkpa-wasa    kpiagu = ě    ò-bá
    CM-juju-owner    tall = DET    SM.SG-come
    ‘The tall jujuman came’

(26b) Kufíwasa kpontsi ě òsa
    kufi-wasa    kpontsi = ě    ò-sa
    lazy.owner    short = DET    SM.SG-leave
    ‘The short lazy man left’

This clearly shows that nominal qualifiers are not in the real sense adjectives. Rather, they only function as adjectives when they modify a head noun.

5. Ideophones

In this section, I discuss ideophones which are used as qualifiers to nouns. Ideophones are another group of words used in Logba as qualifiers to nouns. They are also not marked for agreement. Some of these ideophonic words are listed in (27).

(27) gblele ‘many’
xatsaxla ‘rough’
gbángbáŋ ‘strong’
miśmiśiś ‘cold’

Out of the five ideophonic words above, the last two are common forms used in both Ewe and Logba. *gbángbáŋ* is used in Ewe to describe extreme hotness. In Logba it means ‘strong’. *miśmiśiś* on the other hand, has the same meaning in Ewe as in Logba. In fact, these words are used widely in most languages in Southern Ghana.

*gblele* is used as an adjective to qualify *ínà* in (28)

(28) Inà gblele aɗaŋu ìzi ìfiè inà ọkpe
    [i-na    gblele]    a-ɗaŋu    i-zi    ìfiè    i-na    ọkpe
    CM-person    many    CM-advice    AM-good    exceed    CM-person    one
    ‘The advice of many people is better than the advice of one person.’ (proverb)

It is possible to find some of these ideophonic words used as verbs or adverbs in a sentence in addition to their use as qualifiers. The examples in (29a) and (29b) attest to this:

*miśmiśiś* used as an adjective to qualify *nërë*

(29a) Mba Ṉo nërë miśmiśiś
    m-ba    Ṉo    [n-ërë    miśmiśiś]
    1SG-come    drink    CM-water    cold
    ‘I drank fresh and cold water’
mi-mi-mi used an adverb to modify the verb ná ‘walk’

(29b) Aho intsá mi-mi-mi
a-hoinsts [2-ná mi-mi-mi]
CM-chameleon SM.SG-walk cold
‘Chameleon walks slowly’

6. Verb phrase used for the expression of quality concepts

In this section, I discuss a peculiar verb phrase used for expression of quality concept. Unlike the previous cases where lexical items are used, a verb bo ‘stay’ and a complement which is an abstract noun is used to show that an abstract quality is located with the referent of the subject NP. In the example sentences below, the possessed quality is marked with /i/, a class marker noted for abstract nouns. In (30a) intsé ‘strength’ is the quality that the cup possesses, and (30b) iló ‘bitterness’ is located with the medicine. The translations show a predicative use of adjective but in the Logba sentences these words are mass nouns as their class markers indicate.

(30a) Kópu obo intsé
kópu-e o-bo i-ntsé
cup-DET SM.SG-stay CM-strength
‘The cup is strong’

(30b) Avaá obo iló
ava-á o-bo i-lobó
medicine-DET 3SG-stay CM-bitterness
‘The medicine is bitter’

7. Conclusion

This paper argues that there is an adjective class in Logba. Items in this class are distinguished from nouns and verbs by the fact that they do not have any prefix. They are composed of a single non-derived item and several derived lexical words formed by the following processes.

a. -yi suffixation to a property verb.

b. reduplication of a verb.

c. compounding of a verb and its complement.

There is only one adjective gbáli ‘bad’ that is possibly non-ideophonic. In addition, there are ideophonic words used to qualify nouns in an NP. Significantly, there are two nominalisation processes which yield words that can qualify a noun. Those in the first group lose their nominal prefix and are used as modifiers of other nouns within a simple NP structure. Others that occur in apposition to the head noun do not lose their nominal prefix. The adjectives are used attributively and not predicatively. There is a peculiar verb phrase used to express quality concept which translates as a predicative use of adjective. Logba therefore belongs to a class of languages that have few non-derived adjectives.

Abbreviations
ADR = Addressive AM = Agreement marker ATR = Advance tongue root
CM = Class marker COND = Conditional DEF = Definite DEM = Demonstrative
DET = Determiner FUT = Future HAB = Habitual
H = High tone NEG = Negative 1PLU = 1 person plural
PRSPROG = Present progressive 1SGOBJ = 1 Person singular object
2SG = 2 Person singular 3SGIND = 3 Person singular independent
3PLU = 3 person plural RP = Relative particle SM = Subject marker
References


