

Modality in Ewe: A Functional Exploration of Epistemic Adverbs

Gbegble Nada
University of Antwerp

1. Introduction

The linguistic concept of modality can be defined in terms of the “qualifications of states of affairs” (Nuyts, 2006, p.1). The concept is traditionally divided into three basic types, i.e., epistemic, deontic and dynamic modalities (Palmer 1986, 2001). These are indicated in some languages by the modal auxiliaries as used in the following English sentences:

- 1) a. John *may/might* sing tomorrow in the concert. [Epistemic]
- b. John *must* sing tomorrow in the concert. [Deontic]
- c. John *can* sing. [Dynamic]

Other languages may express modality by a wide range of linguistic items such as modal adverbs, predicative adjectives and mental state verbs. This paper is a descriptive analysis of epistemic modality adverbs in Ewe, a Kwa language spoken in parts of Ghana, Togo and Benin. The paper is an effort to contribute to the recent attempts to survey the modality system of Ewe (cf. Ameka 2008 and Essegbey 2008). The discussion is purely semantic, providing an exploratory survey of epistemic adverbs and showing their functions in the Ewe language. In line with this, the paper is expected to shed some lights on:

- a. Adverbs that serve as carriers of epistemic modality in Ewe.
- b. Different meanings present in the use of the adverbs, considering all the reinforcing elements in the sentential or discourse environment.

I will first make a brief comment on what is meant by epistemic modality in the current paper in section (1.1) and then I will describe the data and present the individual epistemic adverbs in the Ewe language along the lines of the current objective in the rest of the paper. The last section gives a summary and a conclusion.

1.1. Epistemic Modality

Generally, the conceptual domain of modality is not easy to delimit (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 176; Palmer, 1986, p. 1; Van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998:80) but most linguists have similar opinions about what constitute the semantic foundations of epistemic modality. There is a consensus that epistemic modality involves knowledge, belief, or opinion about the factual status of propositions, i.e.,

* **Acknowledgements:** This research was supported by the University of Education, Winneba. I thank Prof. Jan Nuyts from the University of Antwerp for his invaluable comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to the reviewers of this paper as well as the volume’s editor (s) for the time and efforts they invested in making the volume a success.

the speaker's judgement of the truth value of the proposition (cf. Lyons, 1977, p. 681-2, 785-6, 793). In a more specific way, epistemic modality involves an indication of "the degree of likelihood of the state of affairs" (Nuyts, 2001, p. xv; 2009, p. 144). The degree/strength can range from weak (epistemic possibility) via medium (probability) to strong (certainty) (Nuyts 2001a, p. 22; 2006, p. 6; see also Salkie, 2009, p. 87).

- 2) a. John *might* be home. [weak]
- b. John is *probably* home by now. [medium]
- c. John *will* be home by now. [strong]

A category usually not labeled 'modal' in the literature, but which is nevertheless closely related to the modal categories, and especially to epistemic modality is evidentiality: an indication of the source of the information about the state of affairs. Especially close to epistemic modality is the category of 'inference', indicating that the (hypothetical) state of affairs is inferred from other, known or perceived, facts as in (3).

- 3) Someone is knocking at the door, that *must* be John.

In spite of the close relationship, I do consider (inferential) evidentiality to be different from epistemic modality. Therefore this exploration of epistemic adverbs in Ewe will exclude their relationship with inferentials and other evidential forms.

2. The data

This study is based on the analysis of naturally occurring data in combination with the native intuitions of the author of this paper. As is the case for most African languages, however, there are no existing (more or less substantial) databases/corpora, electronic, for spoken and/or written Ewe. So I had to compile the corpus from scratch. Doing so was not easy, though, and the result is far from optimal from a purely methodological, corpus linguistic perspective – but it is the best one could achieve given the practical circumstances.

Within the confines of what is available, then, I have tried to achieve some degree of representativity by collecting texts belonging to a few different text types. The data is composed of some didactic materials, including a few (printed) instructional manuals by teachers from the Ghana Education Service and the University of Education at Winneba, as well as a series of essays written (by hand, in 2007) by third year students of Ewe at the University of Education at Winneba. It includes some pseudo/popular scientific materials, including popular history books and descriptions of folklore, customs and traditions published by the Bureau of Ghana languages. There are moreover newspaper texts, including articles drawn from a few copies (dated between 1992 and 2002) of the Ghana local periodicals *Atupani* and *Midim*, and a full year's daily editorial section *Mia Denyigba* ('Our Native land') of the newspaper *Togo Presse*, dated January to December 2007. Finally, I have included a number of pseudo-literary plays and narratives. A complete overview, with full references, of the published works which were included in the corpus is provided in the 'Sources' section at the end of the paper.

Table 1 offers an overview of the composition of the corpus and the approximate number of words in each category.¹

¹ The word count for all categories is a rough estimate: since all the materials, are exclusively 'on paper' the counting had to be done manually, and inevitably had to involve extrapolation from the word counts in samples of the different texts.

<i>Text type</i>	<i>Number of words</i>
Didactic	192,000
Pseudo/popular scientific	186,000
Newspapers	105,000
Pseudo-literary	437,000
Total	920,000

Table 1: Text types in the corpus

The actual search for and selection of the adverbs from the corpus then also had to be done manually, by carefully reading through all of them (often even several times, in view of accumulating insights). All instances of the adverbs were extracted, always together with some surrounding context so as to allow for a correct interpretation in the analyses (context is often crucial for a correct semantic analysis of modal forms). The frequencies of the adverbs in the data will be given in table 2 below.

In the examples provided in this paper, all indications of tone diacritics in the Ewe data, interlinear glosses² and free translations are mine, except in instances adopted from grammars and other linguistic works.

Examples cited from the corpus data are coded (between brackets after the free translation) by an abbreviation marking its origins. If this concerns a published source work the abbreviation codes the title of the work plus the page in it on which the instance occurs. For example, an instance cited from page 30 of a book titled *Amedzro Etɔ̃lia* ('The third Visitor') is coded as '(AE 30)'. Which publication corresponds to the code, and its full reference, can be found in the 'Sources' section at the end of this paper. Since the hand written parts of the corpus are not publicly retraceable, however, we only code them by rough categories (not listed in the 'Sources' section) and without a page reference. Specifically, examples from the student essays (as part of the 'didactic' corpus) are coded by '(STES)'.

3. Epistemic Adverbs: The Inventory

Table 2 offers an overview of the adverbs found in the data. In all, 318 occurrences of epistemic adverbs were extracted from different types of written text (cf. table 1). I will first present the list, i.e. all the epistemic adverbs extracted from the current data in table 1. They are presented together with their English lexical paraphrases and the frequency of each adverb.

Form	Gloss	Frequency
dɛ̀wóhĩ	perhaps, maybe	130
Gódóó	certainly	86
Kòkòkò	certainly	99
Tànyóá	perhaps, maybe	3

Table 2: Epistemic expression in Ewe

There are four adverbs in the current data and they are grouped here according to their semantics as certainty and possibility adverbs. Separate sections are devoted to each group according to their epistemic meanings.

² **Abbreviations** : AUX-auxiliary, COP-copula, DAT-dative, DEF-definite, DIST-distal, FOC-focus, HAB-habitual, INDEF-indefinite, LOC-locative, LOG-logophoric pronoun, MOD-modal, NEG-negative, NP-noun phrase, PRS-present, NPRS-non-present, OBJ-object, POSS-possessive, POT-potential, PROG-progressive, PROSP-prospective, RED-reduplication, SBJV-subjunctive, TOP-topic, 1SG-first person singular, 2SG-second person singular, 3PL-third person plural.

Also in instances in which *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* (in clause final position, but also elsewhere in the clause actually) co-occur with another modal marker in the same clause (which happens fairly frequently in our data), as in those in (6), they usually serve as a strengthener, and not as an epistemic marker. This other modal marker can be of any strength, and expressing any type of modality, e.g., in (6a) epistemic probability (high), in (6b) dynamic modal (potential) and in (6c) epistemic possibility (low). But even in cases of combination with a weaker epistemic marker (expressing possibility or probability), this does not lead to a semantic conflict, because the two forms serve different functions alongside each other, in (6a) and (6c) e.g., the other modal forms maintain their epistemic meaning of high probability and possibility respectively, but *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* each time strengthen (some aspect of) the statement, leaving the (real) epistemic marker ‘untouched’ (at least as far as its epistemic value is concerned).

- 6) a. *nyà sésé ádé á-nyá dzò kòkòkò*
 matter strong INDF POT-AUX happen certainly
 ‘Something probably did happen.’ (KLM 15)
- b. *màté nyú yi kòkòkò; éyá fé àdzògbè mè-dè*
 1SG.AUX go certainly; 3SG POSS vow 1SG-remove
 ‘I definitely can go; that is what I promised.’ (VKB 12)
- c. *dèwóhí tòtró ádé à-vá kòkòkò*
 maybe change INDF POT-come certainly
 ‘Surely, things might change.’ (KU 2)

In clause initial position an epistemic reading of *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* appears to be excluded – in any case, there is not a single clear case in the data. All the instances of *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* in that position are followed by the topic marker *lá*, and also intuitively it is impossible to use them without this topic marker present. The topic marker can either follow the adverb immediately, as in (7a), or there can be one constituent (and no more than one) interfering between the adverb and the topic marker, as in (7b) and (7c). In (7a), the adverb affects the entire clause but in (7b) and (7c), they only affect the constituent immediately following them.

- 7) a. *gódóó lá, wó-ná-á nú-dùdù-m zì ètṣ*
 certainly TOP, 3PL-give-HAB thing-RED.eat-1SG time three
gbè dèká.
 day one
 ‘Surely/I assure you that they give me food three times a day.’ (AME 3)
- b. *gódóó né zā dó lá, míé-kpó-á núdzòdzòè gǎ*
 certainly when night fall TOP, 1PL-see-HAB insect big
ádé sì lè àmàgbàmú lá, lè gli
 INDF REL be.atPRS green TOP LOC wall
nyú lè xò mè.
 on LOC building in
 ‘Certainly/especially when night falls (implied: more than at other times), we see big green insects on the walls in buildings.’ (XL 87)
- c. *kòkòkò lè tsì-dzà-ηḍlí lá, mówó gblé-ná.*
 certainly be.atPRS water-fall-season TOP, roads spoil-HAB
 ‘Certainly during the rainy season (implied: more than at other times), roads get damaged.’
 (XL 69 adapted)

The necessary presence of this topic marker in the clause initial uses reminds of Hoye's (1997:149) characterization of modal adverbs in this position as 'theme-setting devices'.⁵ Such a characterization is problematic for an epistemic adverb, however (which does not usually 'thematize' anything at all – see Nuyts and Vonk 1999, Nuyts 2001a on the information structural position of epistemic modality) – and so the fact that the adverb does appear to function as such here is probably symptomatic for the fact that both adverbs in this position systematically trigger an interpretation as a strengthener. In cases of the type in (7), the adverb serves to highlight the element mentioned in the 'thematized' or 'topicalized' constituent immediately following it (in both examples: the particular temporal circumstance of the state of affairs) as being particularly relevant (as compared to other circumstances) for the state of affairs. And the example in (7a) nicely illustrates the 'discursive' or 'interactive' use of the adverbs as strengtheners, viz. their use to 'enforce' the speaker's statement vis-a-vis the hearer, e.g. in cases of disagreement between the interlocutors. The statement in (7a), for example, is uttered in a context in which the speaker has been recounting to his family members at home how he is being treated by his hosts elsewhere, but he has noticed disbelief on the part of his family and is reacting to this by means of this statement. Clearly, this has nothing to do with the speaker assessing the degree of likelihood of the fact that he is receiving three meals a day – he simply knows that. What he is doing is enforcing his (renewed) statement about this vis-a-vis his interlocutor(s).

It is actually striking that in all the clause initial instances of *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* in the data the main verb is marked for the habitual. (In fact, comparably to what was the case in the examples in (7a), above, often the strengthening effect of the adverb seems to focus especially on the element of habituality of the state of affairs.) Yet one can easily imagine instances without habitual marking, such as those in (8) – and the above discussion would seem to be fully applicable to them as well.

- 8) a. *kòkòkò* *lá*, *kpòvítwó* *à-vá* *bíá* *gbè-è*
 certainly TOP, police POT-come ask voice-3SG
 'The police will certainly question him.'
- b. *gódóó* *lá*, *é-dzè* *bé* *nà-kpó* *dókità*
 certainly TOP, 3SG-proper COMP SBJV.POT-see doctor
 'You must certainly see a doctor.'

Also instances of *gódóó* and *kòkòkò* in clause internal position often clearly involve strengthening uses rather than epistemic ones, but sometimes an epistemic reading cannot be ruled out entirely – this is e.g. the case in the examples in (9).

- 9) ... *é-nyá* *bé* *yè* *há* *yè-à-kpò* *gòmè* *ádé* *kòkòkò*
 ... he-know COMP LOG too he-POT-see share INDF certainly
lè *gà-á* *mè*
 LOC money-DEF in
 'He knows he will certainly have a share in the money too.' (HL 22)

The context of (9) is that 'he' has been hiding stolen money from/for a friend and did not report the theft to the police – and the speaker is here saying why he assumes 'he' did (not do) so. Although a reading as 'it is certain/I am sure that he will have his share in the money' cannot be ruled out entirely, a more likely reading is that the speaker is underscoring/enforcing the assumption, as an (or the only possible) explanation for 'his' behavior.

Also clearly strengthening or emphasizing is the special use of *kòkòkò* in combination with the focus marker *è*, as in the examples in 10). (*Gódóó* cannot be used this way though.)

⁵ It is actually a standard procedure in Ewe that if one wants to thematize or make particularly prominent a specific element in a clause, this element is placed in the clause initial position, in which case it must obligatorily be followed by the topic marker *lá* (cf. Westermann 1930:143).

- 10) a. ... *nú* *sì* *mè-gblò* *lá* ***kòkòkò-é*** *vá-á* *mè*
 ... thing REL 1SG-say TOP certainly-FOC come-HAB in
 ‘Whatever I say happens.’ (AGBE 121)
- b. *wò* ***kòkòkò-é*** *à-qè* *vì-nyè* *lá* *nà-ń*
 2SG certainly-FOC POT-marry child-1SG.POSS DEF DAT-1SG
 ‘You (in particular) will marry my child for me.’ (AGBE 9)
- c. *amè* *áqé* ***kòkòkò-é*** *ányá* *wù-ì*
 person INDF certainly-FOC AUX kill-3SG
 ‘Probably, someone (in particular) has killed him.’ (KLM 16)

We are not dealing here with a clause internal use of the adverb. The adverb here serves to highlight the subject constituents, and to draw the listeners’ attention to its special relevance.

3.2. Possibility adverbs: *Ḑèwómáhĩ* and *Tànyóá*

The clausal adverbs *Ḑèwó(má)hĩ* and *tànyóá* express epistemic possibility, i.e. they are more or less equivalent to *maybe* or *perhaps* in English. Neither of them has any other (non-epistemic) meanings or uses. And there does not appear to be any meaning difference between them, they are fully interchangeable. But while *Ḑèwó(má)hĩ* is very frequent, *tànyóá* is rare in the data (see table 2 above). The former adverb actually occurs both in its full form, *Ḑèwómáhĩ*, and, more frequently, in a reduced form (no doubt a further grammaticalized one, see below), *Ḑèwóhĩ*. Examples for *Ḑèwó(má)hĩ*, both in its full form and in its reduced form, are given in (11), and (12) features a few instances of *tànyóá*. They occur in a fixed sentence/clause initial position and/or they immediately precede the clause element they modify:

- 11) a. ***Ḑèwóhĩ*** *á-wú-ń* *élabéna* *nyè-mé-qè* *mó*
 maybe POT-kill-1SG because 1SG-NEG-allow way
é-fé *dòlá* *wò-yi* *Kùmási* *ò*
 3SG-POSS messenger 3SG-yi Kumasi NEG
 ‘Maybe he will kill me because I didn’t allow his messenger to go to Kumasi.’ (XL 65)
- b. ***Ḑèwómáhĩ*** *ányígbá* *nyàhèhè-é* *xò* *qé* *àwàwòwò* *tèfé*
 maybe land dispute-FOC receive in war place
 ‘Maybe land dispute replaced war.’ (AHK 15)
- c. ***Ḑèwómáhĩ*** X. *à-vásè-è*; *né* *é-sè-è* *lá*,
 maybe X. POT-come hear-3SG; if 3SG-hear-it TOP,
 A. *yé* *má* *sè-è*
 A. LOG DEM hear-it
 ‘Maybe X. will come to hear about it; if he does hear about it, A. will also hear about it.’ (AGBE 73)
- 12) a. ***tànyóá*** *sùsú* *má* *à-kpé* *qé* *míá* *ńú*
 maybe mind that POT-help ALL 1PL skin
 ‘Maybe that idea will help us.’ (STES)

- b. *é-nyó, ékémá mǎ-gblò nyà sì tò-m nè-lè*
 3SG-good, then 1SG.POT-tell word REL report-PROG 2SG-be.atPRS
lá á-dó dé Asante-fiá, éye né dzògbènyúì lè nyú-wò lá,
 TOP POT-send ALL Asante-chief, and if luck be.atPRS side-2SG TOP
ékémá tànyóá â-dó é-nyú nyúíé à-dó dá
 then perhaps 3SG.POT-reply 3SG-skin good POT-sent DIST
 ‘Ok, I will tell A. what you are saying and if you are lucky he may send a good response.’
 (XL 63 adapted)

Regarding their grammatical behavior, unlike the strong epistemic adverbs, both *dèwó(má)hĩ* and *tànyóá* are highly inflexible in terms of word order: as illustrated in the examples above, they exclusively occur in clause initial position (or immediately following the clause connector if there is one (cf. 12b). Also intuitively they cannot appear anywhere else in the clause. Moreover, unlike the strong epistemic adverbs, *dèwó(má)hĩ* and *tànyóá* in our data are never followed by the topic marker *lá*, and also intuitively this appears impossible. Interestingly, though, *tànyóá* probably derives (through reduction and compounding – i.e., grammaticalization) from a full clausal phrase *tá ményá nú ò lá*, typically used as an adverbial phrase in a main clause, which literally means ‘the head does not know’ and is actually interpreted as ‘maybe’, and which does feature the topic marker *lá* (the morpheme final *a* in *tànyóá* is the relic of it). We have no instances of the full phrase in our data, but a constructed example is given in 13).⁶

- 13) *tá mé-nyá nú ò lá núfialá-é fò dèvi-á*
 head NEG-know thing NEG TOP teacher-FOC beat child-DEF
 ‘Maybe it is the teacher who beat the child.’ (constructed)

Also *dèwó(má)hĩ* probably derives (through reduction/grammaticalization) from a very similar full clausal phrase (which however does not feature the topic marker), viz. *àmè ádé ményá nú ò* (cf. Westermann 1930:186), used as an adverbial phrase in a main clause, which literally means ‘nobody knows a thing’, but which is again default interpreted as meaning ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’. Again we have no example in our data but Westermann (1930:186) offers the example in 14) (interlinear glosses added):

- 14) *àmè ádé mé-nyá nú ò wó-vá xóxó*
 person INDF NEG-know thing NEG 3PL-come already
 ‘Perhaps they have already come.’

These phrasal origins of *dèwó(má)hĩ* and *tànyóá* may also explain their inflexible behavior in terms of word order: the phrases also occur at a fixed clause initial position.

4. Conclusion

This paper has offered a descriptive overview of the different epistemic adverb in the Ewe language. As an aside, what this study may also have shown is the importance, when studying a subtle semantic domain such as (epistemic) modality in a language, of using natural data (a corpus, no matter how imperfect) in addition to native intuitions. It is very difficult if not impossible to detect fine distinctions (such as those between the epistemic and strengthening uses of *gódóó* and *kòkòkò*, e.g.) on the basis of intuitions alone, or through questioning native informants.

⁶ An informant suggests that another possible source construction might be *tá mé-nyó ò lá* ‘head NEG-good NEG TOP’, which actually means ‘there is no luck’ – but semantically, the phrase in 13) would seem a more likely candidate (and cf. also the very comparable phrase from which *dèwó(má)hĩ* has been derived – see below).

References

- Ameke, Felix. (2008). Aspect and Modality in Ewe. A survey. In Ameke, F. K. and Kropp Dakobu, M. E. (ed.) *Aspect and Modality in Kwa languages* (pp. 137-194). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Byloo, Pieter., Kastein, Richard., and Nuyts, Jan. (2006). 'On *certainly* and *zeker*'. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 20:45-72.
- Bybee, Joan L. and Fleischman, Suzanne. (1995). *Modality in Grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Clements, George N. (1975). *The Logophoric Pronoun in Ewe: Its Role in Discourse*. Harvard University.
- Duthie, Allan. (1996). *Ewe Linguistic Patterns*. Accra, Ghana: University of Ghana Press.
- Essegbey, James. (1999). *Inherent Complement Verbs Revisited. Toward an understanding of Argument structure in Ewe*. Germany: Max-Planck Institute.
- Essegbey, James. (2008). The Potential Morpheme in Ewe. In Ameke, F. K. and Kropp Dakobu, M. E. (ed.) *Aspect and Modality in Kwa languages* (p: 195-215). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gbegble, N. (In prep). *The Expression of Modality in Ewe (Evegbe)*. PhD dissertation, University of Antwerp, Antwerp.
- Hoye, Leo. (1997). *Adverbs and modality in English*. London: Longman.
- Lyons, John. (1995). *Linguistic Semantics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nuyts, Jan. (2001b). *Epistemic Modality, Language, and Conceptualization. A cognitive-Pragmatic Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nuyts, Jan. and Vonk, W. (1999). 'Epistemic modality and focus in Dutch'. *Linguistics* 37:699-737.
- Nuyts, Jan. (2005). Brothers in Arms? On the relations between Cognitive-Functional Linguistics. In F. Ruiz De Mendoza & S. Refia (eds.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Internal dynamics and interdisciplinary interaction* (pp. 69-100). Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Nuyts, Jan. (2006). Modality: Overview and linguistic issues. In W. Frawley (ed.) *The Expression of modality* (pp. 1-26). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nuyts, Jan. (2009). The "one-commitment-per-clause" principle and the cognitive status of qualificational categories. In Johan van der Auwera (ed.) *Linguistics: interdisciplinary journal of the language sciences* (Vol 47-1[419], 141-17). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. (1986). *Mood and modality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. (1990). *Modality and the English Modals, second edition*. London and New York: Longman.
- Westermann, Diedrich. (1930). *A Study of the Ewe language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Text Sources

- Akafia, Y. Seth. (1993). *Ku Le Xome* (There is death in the chamber) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (KUL).
- Akotey, Klu. (1988). *Ku Di Fo Na Wo* (Death has Satisfied Them) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (KU).
- Akpatsi, Robert Sammy. (1974). *Ame Aɔke Menya Etsɔ Me o* (Nobody knows tomorrow). Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (AME).
- Akuɔ, B.K.Victor. (1993). *Mina Miyi Uɔnudrɔ̄fe* (Let us go to Court) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (MMU)
- Ayeke, Kodzo. (1998). *Asitsu Atɔawo* (The Five Rivals) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (AA).
- Ayeke, Kodzo. (1989). *Hlɔ̄biabia* (Vengeance). Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (HL).
- Baeta C. G. (1962). *Xlɛm kpɔ-Agbalɛ enelia* (Read me and see-book 4) Ho Ghana: E.P Book Depot. (XL).
- Baeta C. G. (1954). *Za Akpe Deka kple Deka* (A thousand and One Nights). Accra: Scottish Mission Book Depot. (ZA).
- Biɔɔ, H.K. Setsoafia. (1989). *Tɔgbui Kpeglo II*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (TK).
- Biɔɔ, H.K. Setsoafia. (1994). *Fia Tsatsala* (The Roaming Chief). Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (FT).
- Fiawo F. K. (1981). *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* (The fifth landing stage). Accra: Sedco Pub. Limited. (TAF).
- Obianim S.J. (1990). *Agbezuge fe ɔtunya* (The history of Agbezuge). Accra: Sedco Pub. Limited. (AGBE).
- Obianim S.J. (1998) *Eve Kɔnuwo* (Ewe Traditional Customs). Accra: Sedco Pub. Limited. (EK).
- Kpodzo, L.K.W. (1991). *Aleke Mahe Vinyee* (How should I bring-up my child) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (AM)
- Kovey, Yaovi. (1998). *Tɔgbui Evemegã Akpa Gbãtɔ:Evegbe Numenyadu* (Ewe Traditional Literature) Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages. (TEA).

Selected Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics: African Languages in Context

edited by Michael R. Marlo,
Nikki B. Adams, Christopher R. Green,
Michelle Morrison, and Tristan M. Purvis

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2012

Copyright information

Selected Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics:
African Languages in Context

© 2012 Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Somerville, MA. All rights reserved

ISBN 978-1-57473-453-9 library binding

A copyright notice for each paper is located at the bottom of the first page of the paper.
Reprints for course packs can be authorized by Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Ordering information

Orders for the library binding edition are handled by Cascadilla Press.
To place an order, go to www.lingref.com or contact:

Cascadilla Press, P.O. Box 440355, Somerville, MA 02144, USA
phone: 1-617-776-2370, fax: 1-617-776-2271, sales@cascadilla.com

Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at www.lingref.com. Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

Gbegble, Nada. 2012. Modality in Ewe: A Functional Exploration of Epistemic Adverbs. In *Selected Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Michael R. Marlo et al., 231-239. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #2772.