Ferraz (1979) convincingly shows the impact of two typologically distinct African strata in the making of Santome: Èdó and Kikongo. In this paper, it will be shown that the extensive verb serialisation found in Santome shows a significant amount of typological overlap with Èdó multi-event and compound verb constructions. Since the impact of Èdó on Santome goes clearly beyond verb serialisation and is also found in the other Gulf of Guinea creoles, the findings strongly suggest an early Èdó founder impact in detriment of Kikongo or Bantu in general.

Key words: Èdó, Santome, verb serialisation, typological transfer.

1. Introduction

Santome (São-Tomense) is a Portuguese-related creole language spoken on the island of São Tomé, in the Gulf of Guinea, and the short name for Lungwa Santome (language of São Tomé). Locally, the language is also known as Fôlô or its Portuguese counterpart Forro, as well as Dialecto (dialect). The social group associated with the language is the so-called Forros, which is arguably etymologically derived from Portuguese (carta de) alforria ‘(letter of) manumission’. According to the 2001 census, 72.4% of the total population older than 5 of the country São Tomé and Príncipe (137,599 inhabitants in the same census) speaks Santome, but no
distinction is made between native and non-native use. The census suggests that the rate of Santome speakers is dropping considerably among young people.

Santome is the diachronic continuation in space and time of the proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole (PGGC) whose formative period starts at the end of the fifteenth century, in 1493, when the northeast of the island of S. Tomé was permanently settled. In addition to Santome, three other creoles are offshoots of this PGGC, namely Lung’ie (Principe, spoken on the island of Príncipe), Fa d’Ambô (Annobonense, spoken on the island of Annobón) and Lunga Ngola or, in short, Ngola (Angolar).¹ In the former two cases, the PGGC or a variety thereof was exported to the islands of Príncipe and Annobón, whereas Ngola is nowadays generally considered a maroon creole that was formed by slaves who constantly escaped from the plantations from the very early stages on (Lorenzino 1998). While Ngola was long thought of as a Bantu language that was becoming creolised (Valkhoff 1966, among others), at least as far back as the nineteenth century, writers have noted that there are considerable similarities between Santome, Lung’ie and Fa d’Ambô (Matos 1842, among others).

Notwithstanding the earliest brief descriptions of Santome by Schuchardt (1882), Coelho (1880-1886) and Negreiros (1895), Ferraz’ (1979) *The Creole of São Tomé* is the first monograph on Santome and still an important reference work for scholars working on the GGCs. Other work mostly focuses on the morphosyntax of Santome (Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2002, 2007; Hagemeijer 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2007), on several GGCs at the same time (Lorenzino 1998; Schang 2000) or on the lexicon (Fontes 2007; Rougé 2004). Ferraz’ (1979) study also stands out because of its discussion on the historical and linguistic relevance of two African strata for Santome: Èdó and Kikongo. The present paper focuses primarily on so-called serial
verb constructions (SVCs), which constitute a core feature of Santome’s grammar where particularly strong impact from the Niger Delta typology, and Èdó in particular, is felt.2

1.1. Historical background

Between 1487 and 1507, the period that coincides with the settlement of the island of S. Tomé, a Portuguese trading post functioned intermittently in Ughoton (Gwato), a village on a side arm of the Benin River (Rio Formoso) (Mota 1976; Ryder 1977) from where intensive contact was established by land with the Èdó speaking Kingdom of Benin.

The first permanent settlers of S. Tomé were granted trade privileges in the Niger Delta. Ryder (1977: 35) writes that “[King] John II had given the captain of the island a licence to import 1.080 slaves from the ‘slave rivers’ [which includes Benin River] over a period of five years. By July 1499 about 920 of this number had been landed.” Many of the slaves imported to S. Tomé were traded for gold at the fortress of São Jorge da Mina (Ghana).

In the will of Álvaro de Caminha’s, the first donatory captain of the island, dating back to 1499, several references are made to “Bini” (Èdó) slaves. In what is probably the most reliable historical descriptive source on slave areas from the early sixteenth century, Esmeraldo Situ Orbis (ca. 1505), written by eyewitness Duarte Pacheco Pereira (ca.1506), it is mentioned that most slaves were from the Kingdom of Benin and few from the area between Rio Real (eastern Nigeria) and the Congo. Therefore, there is a small but important time lapse between the settlement stage (société d’habitation) and the shift towards a plantation economy (société de plantation), around 1520, which coincides roughly with the shift of the slave trade
from the Niger Delta towards the Congo and, slightly later, Angola (Almeida Mendes 2008a, b).

The island of Príncipe was permanently settled around 1500, from S. Tomé. At least 1514 to 1518 slaves were directly imported from the Kingdom of Benin during the period known as Carneiro’s contract (Ladhams 2003). As for Annobón, permanent settlement occurred in the mid-sixteenth century (Caldeira 2006).

1.2. Èdó and Santome in a typological perspective

This subsection provides a brief overview of a few typological features of Èdó and Santome. Èdó is a north-central Edoid language. It exhibits seven oral vowels and five nasal vowels, tones (high and low), strictly consonant-initial verbs and strictly vowel-initial nouns, and absence of consonant clusters (Agheyisi 1990; Elugbe 1989). Èdó exhibits preverbal TMA-marking and uses suffixes and tone for temporal distinctions and is further quite productive in derivational processes and verbal and nominal compounding (Agheyisi 1990). Èdó is a SVO language exhibiting widespread verb serialisation and allows for Double Object Constructions. The DP is strongly head-initial. Only determiners precede the head noun, whereas modifiers (possessives, adjectives, nominals, quantifiers and demonstratives, clauses) are post-nominal (Agheyisi 1990).

Santome exhibits seven oral and five nasal vowels and is a pitch-accent language (Ferraz 1979). Maurer (2008), however, argues that Santome is a tone language, a claim he also makes for Ngola and Lung’ie (Maurer 1995, 2009). All verbs are strictly consonant-initial. While Santome exhibits consonant clusters (Ferraz 1979), these are absent in the three sister creoles, which means that they were
arguably missing in the proto-creole of the Gulf of Guinea. Santome is a strongly isolating SVO language exhibiting preverbal TMA-marking, widespread verb serialisation and Double Object Constructions. With respect to the DP, determiners and quantifiers precede the nouns whereas other modifiers (demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, nominals, clauses) are postnominal (Alexandre & Hagemeijer 2004; 2007). Note that in sister creoles Lung’ie and Fa d’Ambô, quantifiers are postnominal and therefore possibly constituted a feature of the proto-creole of the Gulf of Guinea.

1.3. A few specific Èdó features in the Gulf of Guinea creoles

Lexicon
The first study of the African lexicon in Santome was carried out by Ferraz (1979: 90-97), who provides a Bantu etymology, mostly from Kikongo, for 60 items, and a Niger Delta etymology, almost without exception from Èdó, for 36 items. Rougé (2004) lists 381 items which he considered to be of non-Portuguese origin (African, other, unknown, in his classification). Ladhams (forthcoming) presents an appendix of slightly more than 100 African lexical items, based on Ferraz (1979) and Rougé (2004), and concludes that 37% of the etymologies can be assigned to Èdó and 63% to Bantu. In closely related Lung’ie, Ladham’s calculated that these percentages are 76% and 24% respectively. In the introduction to his Lung’ie glossary, Maurer (2009: 211) mentions that 14% of this creole’s is Nigerian (mostly Edoid-related), whereas only 1% can be assigned to Kikongo. These percentages are consistent with a few phonological features that are exclusively found in Lung’ie and refer to the Niger Delta, such as labiovelars and trills (Günther 1973; Ferraz 1975; Maurer 2009).
Since several Edoid items in Santome are also found in the other GGCs, whereas shared Kikongo items are clearly less common, this is a strong indication that Èdò constitutes an older lexical layer.

**Interrogation**

The GGCs exhibit a specific interrogative structure with a final interrogation marker of place that questions DPs only:

1. Lomba è, moto bò bò? SANTOME
   Lomba VOC motorbike POS INT
   ‘Oh Lomba, where is your motorbike?’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

2. Èlè bò? SANTOME
   3SG INT
   ‘Where is he?’ (Hagemeijer 2007: 25)

This structure and the interrogative marker itself are calque d on Èdò vbò [vòó], where this marker also questions the locus of DPs and, similarly to ST, requires the use of strong pronouns:

3. Òwá rè vbò? ÈDÒ
   house 2SG INT
   ‘Where is your house?’ (Agheyisi 1986: 160)

4. Rèn vbò? ÈDÒ
   3SG INT
   ‘Where is he?’ (Melzian 1937: 218)

Furthermore, with respect to the paradigm of regularly fronted interrogatives, ST and Èdò follow basically the same Wh-formation strategy, which consists of a question word and a noun. However, Èdò exhibits one simplex Wh-word, namely ghá ‘who’,
in alternative to *dòmwàn* (from: dè+òmwàn = Q+ person) (Agheyisi 1990). ST also exhibits a simplex and a complex forms for ‘who’, namely *ken* and *kê ngê* (lit. Q+ person), as well as for ‘where’ (*andji–kê xitu–kê kamya*) and ‘how’ (*kuma–kê modu*).

**Reflexivisation**

Like many other creole languages (Muysken & Smith 1994), ST exhibits so-called body-part reflexives. The four GGCs are exceptional among creole languages in the sense that not only the reflexive strategy can be assigned to Èdó but also the word for ‘body’, *ubwê* in ST and *igbe* in Lung’ie, both from Èdó ègbé.

(5) a. È *mat’ubwê dê buta.*

3SG kill-body POS throw
‘S/he committed suicide.’

(SANTOME)

(Hagemeijer’s field notes)

b. Ò *gbé-ègbé êré ruà.*

Èdó
3SG kill-body 3SG particle
‘S/he committed suicide.’

(Èdó)

(5) a. È *toma ubwê dê da n’budu.*

3SG take body POS give PREP-stone
‘S/he bumped against a stone.’

(SANTOME)

(Hagemeijer’s field notes)

b. Ò *mu-ègbé gbè ókúáá.*

Èdó
3SG carry-body against stone
‘S/he bumped against a stone.’

(Èdó)

(6) a. È *toma ubwê dê da n’budu.*

3SG take body POS give PREP-stone
‘S/he bumped against a stone.’

(SANTOME)

(Hagemeijer’s field notes)

b. Ò *mu-ègbé gbè ókúáá.*

Èdó
3SG carry-body against stone
‘S/he bumped against a stone.’

(Èdó)

So far, we have argued that Èdó was both historically and linguistically important for the formation of the GGCs. In the remainder of this paper, it will be shown that evidence from verb serialisation in Santome reinforces this claim.
2. Verb serialisation

So-called serial verb constructions (SVCs) constitute a distinctive areal feature essentially restricted to the Kwa area (Watters 2000) and a number of Nigerian language clusters, such as Yoruboid (Awoyale 1988; Bamgbose 1982), Edoid (Agheyisi 1990; Melzian 1942; Ogie 2004; Stewart 1998) and Ijoid (Williamson 1965), but are atypical of Bantu languages. Assuming McWhorter’s (1992) typological claim that SVCs occur in creole languages with serialising substrates, it follows that widespread verb serialisation found in the GGCs (Günther 1973; Hagemeijer 2000, 2001; Maurer 1995, 1999, 2009; Post 1992) ought to be related to the oldest slave trade area, namely the Niger Delta.

The classification of SVCs and even the label itself is not uncontroversial. For comparative purposes, we will adopt mostly traditional labels such as ‘give’-serials, ‘take’-serials, locative serials, which are mostly based on the meaning of the fixed or most grammaticalised verb in the construction. It should be noted, however, that in the Èdó tradition the label multi-verb has now often been adopted as a means to distinguish between different types of constructions according to certain morphosyntactic properties (Baker & Stewart 2002; Ogie 2004). Moreover, Èdó exhibits so-called compound verbs, which do not pertain to the class of multi-verb constructions. Agheyisi (1990: 42) defines them as the set of derived verbs forming a tight semantic unit which are made up of either two basic verbs, or a verb plus an adverbial particle. In sum, the label “serial verb construction” ranges over both multi-verb and compound verb constructions. In fact, any typology of verb sequences relies heavily on the degree of grammaticalisation of one of the verbs in the series, as
mentioned by Lord (1993) for SVCs in general, Melzian (1942) and later authors for Èdó, and by Hagemeijer (2000, 2001) for Santome.

We assume the following basic criteria for the constructions under discussion:

- two (or more) verbs expressing a single event;
- a single overt subject;
- one specification for tense and negation;
- one negation marker on V1;
- no subordinate or coordinate conjunctions;
- no discursive pauses;
- objects can be extracted from both VP1 and VP2.

In addition, it is illustrated in (7) that both Èdó and Santome allow for verb clefting with a verb copy, which is a property common to many other serialising languages, with the difference that the clefted verb in Èdó is overtly nominalised.

(7) a. Kôlê so inen kôlê lentla ke.  
run FOC 3PL run enter house  

b. Í-rhùlå  îrê  îran rhùlå làá  îwá.  
NOM-run FOC 3PL run enter house  
Both: ‘It is running they ran into the house.’ (Hagemeijer/Ogie’s field notes)

The possibility of verb clefting from serial verb constructions depends on the type of construction and the status of the verb in verb series, since V2s typically tend to be grammaticalised to some extent. This also follows from the fact that some V2s can
take an aspect marker. Table 3 (section 3) summarises how the different serial verb constructions in Èdó and Santome behave with respect to clefting and aspect marking.

2.1. ‘Give’-construction

In Santome, *da* functions both as a main verb (‘to give’) and as a prepositional element with the meaning ‘for, to, from’, introducing benefactive, goal, experiencer and recipient, as in (8) to (11) respectively:

(8) *Sela pa n toma zawa pa n ba pya da bò.*

must for 1SG take urine for 1SG go look for 2SG ‘I must take urine to go check you out.’ (Hagemeijer 2000: 25)

(9) *Po se kyê da son.*

tree SP fall give ground ‘The tree in question fell down.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(10) *Fogon sa këntxi da non.*

kitchen be hot for 1PL ‘The kitchen is hot for us.’ (Hagemeijer 2000: 101)

(11) *N gôgô da san ô.*

1SG please for you CTP ‘I’m pleased for you.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

A number of syntactic tests, such as subject drop, null VPs or predicate cleft, show that prepositional *da* exhibits the same properties as the limited number of prepositions proper in Santome (Hagemeijer 2000). In this sense, these constructions are not true SVCs. There is, however, one property that distinguishes prepositional *da* above from prepositions proper, namely preposition stranding. In Santome, prepositions proper are obligatorily stranded with an invariable element corresponding to the third person singular, also labelled spelled-out trace in the literature (Veenstra & den Besten 1994). This is illustrated in (12), where the interrogative construction
leaves the preposition proper stranded with spelled-out trace ê (ku ê), but in (13), da has to be stranded without this trace.

(12) Kê kwa ku ê va nha ku ê/*ku? SANTOMÉ
    what thing COMP 3SG cut wood with-3SG/with
    ‘What did he cut the wood with?’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(13) Kê ngê ku ê tlabæ da/*d’e? SANTOMÉ
    what person COMP 3SG work for/for-3SG
    ‘Who does he work for?’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

In this respect, da behaves like the second verb in SVCs, which can readily be stranded, showing that this is not a case of covert coordination.

(14) a. Saní so ê ligi mina tlega [-]. SANTOMÉ
    lady FOC 3SG lift-up child give
    ‘It was the lady she handed the child to.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

b. *Saní so ê ligi mina tleg’ê.
    lady FOC 3SG lift-up child give-3SG (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

With respect to Èdó, Melzian (1942: 33) argues that ná is a verb that always occurs in the second position of verb combinations. However, Èdó linguists nowadays agree that nè/ná is a preposition (Agheyisi 1986: 99, 1990: 63; Baker & Stewart 2002: 26, 36; Ogie 2002: 85; Stewart 1998: 169) which always occurs in second positions in compound verb constructions. In addition, Èdó uses both dà(á) and gbé for Goal arguments. The following examples illustrate the uses of these items in Èdó

Nè/Ná ‘for, to, from’

(15) Ì rhié ëré nùén.6 (Benefactive) ÈDÓ
    1SG take.PST 3SG PREP-2SG.OBL
    ‘I gave it to you.’ (Melzian 1937: 127)
(16) *mwiná ná*  (Recipient)  ÈDÓ
    work for
    ‘To work for’  
    (Melzian 1942: 103)

(17) *lèrè ná*  (Source)  ÈDÓ
    to hide from’  
    (Melzian 1942: 103)

Dàá ‘stretch out toward’, ‘toward’

(18) *Mù árò dàá mwén.*  (Goal)  ÈDÓ
    take eye toward 1SG
    ‘Turn (your) face towards me.’  
    (Agheyisi 1986: 16)

(19) *giè dàá mwén*  (Goal)  ÈDÓ
    laugh towards 1SG
    ‘Laugh towards me.’  
    (Melzian 1937: 22)

Gbè ‘against’

(20) *Èrhán dé gbè èkèn.*  (Goal)  ÈDÓ
    tree fall.PST against wall
    ‘A tree fell against the wall.’  
    (=34) in Agheyisi 1990: 66

Similarly to ST *da*, ÈDÓ *nè* can also be stranded in final position, where it has to be obligatorily realised as *ná*, as illustrated in the following focus construction.

(21) [Ọzọ], *èrè ó rhié tíghó ná [-].*  ÈDÓ
    Ozọ FOC 3SG take.PST money to
    ‘It was Ozo s/he gave money to.’  
    (Agheyisi 1986: 99)

But, as in Santome, true prepositions—i.e. elements that lack verbal features—cannot be stranded in ÈDÓ, as follows from the case of *vbè* in (22)a and (22)b.

(22) a. *Ọ rré vbè òwìé.*  ÈDÓ
    3SG came in morning
    ‘He came in the morning.’  
    (=30) in Agheyisi 1990: 65
It was in the morning that he came.' (=(32) in Agheyisi 1990: 65)

Upon extraction of the object of a preposition proper, \textit{òwié} 'morning', the preposition \textit{vbè} in Èdó is deleted and replaced by an adverbial clitic particle. In order to formalise this distinction, we will adopt the label “dynamic preposition” for cases like Èdó \textit{nè/hà} and “prepositions proper” for cases like \textit{vbè}. It is highly suggestive that dynamic prepositions are derived from verbs.

Note further that Wescott (1962: 151) claims that of all Èdó verbs, \textit{nan} ‘to give’ is “phonically the most affix-like” with the behaviour of a lexicalised compound verb construction, as in:

(23) \textit{mu-na}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{take/carry-to} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{to give (something big or bulky) to}' \\
\end{tabular}

In fact, this also applies to \textit{da} in ST, where at least the following two items are fully lexicalised:

(24) a. \textit{fa-da} \hspace{1cm} \textit{to tell} (lit. speak-give)

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{SANTOME} \\
\end{tabular}

b. \textit{tan-da} \hspace{1cm} \textit{to hand over} (lit. take-give)

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{SANTOME} \\
\end{tabular}

Note finally that Èdó \textit{nà} also means ‘to narrate’, a meaning also associated to ST \textit{da}—e.g., \textit{da ùà soya} ‘narrate a story’. In sum, ST \textit{da} conflates a number of functions that are expressed by different items, typically dynamic prepositions, in Èdó. The exclusive use of ST \textit{da}, derived from Portuguese \textit{dar} ‘to give’, is not surprising, since
not only is it the prototypical verb of transfer, but it also has the secondary meaning ‘to hit’ (cf. (9), Èdó gbe).

2.2. Locative constructions

To express the endpoint of movement, the GGCs use a highly productive construction with the partly grammaticalised verb pê ‘to put’ (from Old Ptg. poer ‘to put’) in the second position (Hagemeijer 2000, 2001; Maurer 1999)

(25) *N ga zuga kupi pê son.*  
*S* ANTO M I ASP throw saliva put ground  
‘I spit on the ground.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(26) *Sun ka vumba pê boka-poto se.*  
*S* he ASP introduce put mouth-door SP  
‘He put (it) in the keyhole.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

In Hagemeijer (2000, 2001), it is shown that pê as V2 in an SVC exhibits properties of verbs and prepositions with respect to a number of syntactic tests. One of the tests shows that pê patterns with verbs with respect to stranding (cf. da).

(27) *[Djêlu], so ê tufu jibêla pê [-].*  
*S* money FOC 3SG stick pocket put  
‘It was money that he stacked in his pocket.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

Note further that locatives that do not imply movement typically make use of multi-functional preposition ni ‘in, at, on, from’, which is briefly addressed in section 3.

ST locative pê above corresponds to Èdó yè/yì. Melzian (1937, 1942) argues that yì is a verb, because it is tonally marked for imperfective and perfective, indicating the direction in which an action is performed. However, as in the case of
Èdó ndá, nowadays the prepositional status of ùê/yê is generally accepted (Agheyisi 1990: 64, Baker & Stewart 2002: 36, Stewart 1998: 169). Agheyisi (1990: 64) further states that ùê is a preposition that expresses location, which takes on the form yê when it occurs in sentence-final position. Differently from Santome pê, Èdó ùê/yê does not operate as a main verb.

(28) Í  rhiê  ërë  ùê  ëvbá.  Èdó
1SG take.PST 3SG on there
‘I put it there.’ (Melzian 1937: 228)

Extraction of the object leaves ùê stranded with the extraction being marked by vowel and tonal changes, yielding yê in the final position, as exemplified by the following sentences.

(29) a. Ìgàn   òrë  Òzô  rhiê  ùê  ìjôkôrô.  Èdó
feather  FOC  Ozo  take  on  small.chair
‘It’s a feather that Ozo put on the small chair.’ (=(41b) in Stewart 1998: 169)

b. Ìjôkôrô  òrë  Òzô  rhiê  ìgàn  yê.  Èdó
small.chair  FOC  Ozo  take  feather  on
‘It’s on a small chair that Ozo put the feather.’ (=(41c) in Stewart 1998: 169)

However, as shown above, prepositions proper do not strand in Èdó which shows that ùê/yê still has properties that are reminiscent of a former verbal status.⁸

In sum, both languages exhibit locative construction with substantial overlap of semantic and syntactic properties, but to which applies a different degree of grammaticalisation.

2.3. Resultative constructions
As illustrated in examples (30) to (32), Èdó and ST both exhibit resultative constructions, where VP2 indicates the resultative state of the event expressed by VP1.

(30) a. *Budu da kopu kebla.*
   b. *Ọkútá gbé úkpù guòghó.*
   stone hit cup break
   ‘The stone broke the cup.’

(31) a. *Zon kyê môle.*
   b. *Ọzó dé wú.*
   Zon/Ozo fall die
   ‘Zon/ Ṣózó fell to his death.’

   to raise stand/stop
   ‘Get up.’ / ‘Pull yourself together.’

   b. *Kpàá mùdiá.*
   to raise stand/stop
   ‘Get up.’ / ‘Put in upright position.’

Note that in (32)a, *mundja* not only occurs in an identical Èdó construction, it is also a lexical item borrowed from Èdó. Interestingly, *mùdiá* is a compound form in Èdó (*mu+dia*), which was integrally borrowed into Santome. Therefore, it can be concluded that the resultative type of serial verb construction is available in both languages.

2.4. Directed motion
As in most serialising languages, combinations of directed motion and manner of motion are highly productive in Santome and Èdò where the following types can be found:

**Direction away/towards**

(33) a. Ê nda be nda bi. SANTOME
    b. Ò khián yo’ khián rré. ÈDÓ
       3SG walk go walk come
       ST: ‘He walked to and fro.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)
       ÈDÓ: ‘He is walking to and fro.’ (Melzian 1937: 228)

(34) a. Inen kôlê lentla ke. SANTOME
    b. Íran rhùlé làá òwá. ÈDÓ
       3PL ran enter house
       ‘They ran into the house.’ (=(36) in Agheyisi 1990: 66;
       Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(35) a. Inen xê ka ba poson.9 SANTOME
    b. Írán kpàg a rríe Èkó. ÈDÓ
       3PL leave TMA go town/Lagos
       ‘They left and went to town/Lagos.’ (Agheyisi 1986: 90;
       Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(36) a. Zon sata vala ubwa. SANTOME
    b. Òzó sàán rrá ógbà. ÈDÓ
       ‘Zon/ Ôzó jumped over the fence.’ (Hagemeijer/Ogie’s field notes)

**Circumvention (V+modifier)**

(37) a. Ê fe ubwa loja ke dê. SANTOME
    b. Ò gbá ógbá lègàá òwá ré. ÈDÓ
       3SG build fence go-around house his/her
       ‘S/he built a fence around his/her house.’ (Agheyisi 1986: 90;
       Hagemeijer’ field notes)

**Accompaniment (V+modifier)**

(38) a. lema lélè awa. SANTOME
    b. guá lélè èzé. ÈDÓ
       row follow river
‘to row alongside the river’  (Hagemeijer’s field notes; Melzian 1942: 98)

Not only do accompaniment constructions in ST and Èdó exhibit identical syntax, this SVC is yet another case where ST uses a lexical item, lêlê, drawn from Èdó in the second position, which was also the case of mundja, in (32)a above.

**Overtaking (V+modifier)**

(39) a. *Ome se nda vala mu ni lwa.*  
    man SP walk surpass me on street  
    ‘The man (in question) overtook me on the street.’  
    (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

    b. *Èkpiá niń khán gbèrráá mvén vbé ńkpó.*  
    man DEM walk.PST pass 1SG on street  
    ‘The man overtook me on the street.’  
    (Ogie’s field notes)

**Origin**

(40) *È vwa xè matu.*  
    he fly leave bushes  
    ‘He rushed out of the bushes.’  
    (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(41) *N ga fò tluvisu ba ke.*  
    1SG ASP come-out work go home  
    ‘I go home from work.’  
    (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(42) *N bi fò tluvisu.*  
    I come from work  
    ‘I came from work.’  
    (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

*Fô* is interesting because it is arguably derived from a nominal item, namely Portuguese *fora* ‘outside’ (Maurer 2005). However, the possibility of aspect marking on *fô* (*ka fô*) shows that this item exhibits verbal properties.
Although Èdó also exhibits origin constructions, the origin (ké) precedes the motion verb. Similarly to nà/né and yè/yí, Melzian (1937) considers ké a verb, but recent work on Èdó (Agheyisi 1986, among others) assumes that we are dealing with a preposition. Word order shows that it is likely that ké was originally a verb, since PPs in Èdó typically follow the V(P).

(43) ̀ké ̀ìwìnnà ̀yó òwá.  
1SG from work go house
‘I go home from work.’

(44) Èdó ̀i ké dèé  
Edo 1SG from come.PROG
‘From Benin I am coming.’

Èdó ké is further used as a verb meaning ‘to be next to/near’, which is expressed by (nominal) preposition bodo in ST.

Although serialisation involving directed motion is one of the most common types cross-linguistically, several of its subtypes, such as accompaniment or origin, are much less rare and show that there is a significant amount of overlap between the full range of constructions.

### 2.5. Comitatives

ST may use a SVC with the verb zunta ‘to join’ to express togetherness:

(45) *Bamu zunta kopla minjan.*  
let’s join buy remedy
‘Let’s buy the remedy together.’

(46) *Nen zunta kume.*  
3PL join eat
‘They ate together.’  
(Hagemeijer’s field notes)

More often, however, adverb *zungu* ‘together’ expresses togetherness—e.g., *zunga bọla*
zungu ‘play (foot) ball together’.

In Èdọ this construction (V+infinitival complement) appears to be far more prolific, to the extent that it can be expressed by three different verbs that can be found in free variation: *ghá, kòkó* and *kùgbé* ‘to join’.

(47) Ìràn kùgbé-rè   rrí izè.  
they  join.together.PST-rV  eat rice
‘They eat the rice together.’ (= (10) in Ogie 2004: 5)

Despite this difference between ST and Èdọ, the base line is once more that both languages exhibit a typologically less common type of serial verb construction.

2.6. Degree constructions

ST has two verbs that can be used in comparative constructions: *pasa* and *vala*. The latter is also used for overtaking constructions (section 2.4).

(48) *Mwala sa glavi pasa/vala*  
woman  be  pretty  surpass
‘The woman is prettier than the man.’  
(Hagemeijer’s field notes)

Degree constructions are also attested in Èdọ, where the verb is different from the verb used in the overtaking construction.
(49) Òzó mòsè sèè Azàrí. Èdó
Ozo be-beautiful surpass Azari
‘Ozo is more beautiful than Azari.’ (=21 in Ogie 2004: 7)

An interesting property of comparative constructions is that they allow Wh-
movement, as illustrated in the following example:

(50) Kê kali inen mina mosu Zon sa maxi tamen pas’è? Santome
what which 3PL little boy Zon be more big surpass-3SG
‘Zon is taller than which boys?’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)
(lit: *‘Which boys is Zon taller than them?’)

Èdó also allows this type of Wh-movement but, unlike in Santome, there is no
invariable spelled-out trace (Veenstra & den Besten 1994) in the locus of extraction.

(51) Dè ìbiòkà ikpiá nè Òzó tán-rèn sèè? Èdó
INT.PRON little boy.PL COMP Ozo tall.PST-rV surpass
‘Ozo is taller than which boys?’ (Ogie’s field notes)

In ST, pasa ‘surpass’ is also used in excessive constructions, a use not found in Èdó:

(52) Maya sa glavi pasa. Santome
Maya be pretty surpass
‘Maya is very pretty.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

These constructions in Èdó and ST do not exhibit the properties of true SVCs because
pasa, vala, on the one hand, and sèè on the other, fail to respond to tests that
determine their verbal status, such as the possibility of aspect marking or verb
clefting. It also follows that Èdó and ST do not fully overlap with respect to these
constructions. In fact, the broad typological overlap observed in general is not a warranty for overlap of fine-grained details of each construction.

2.7. Completive constructions

The items *kaba* in ST and *fóó* in Êdó both modify predicates and have the meaning ‘to finish’ as main verbs. The emphasis of the construction lies in the completion of the event.

(53) a. Zon fla kaba.  
   "Zon/Ozo spoke once and for all/had finished talking.’  
   (Hagemeijer/Ogie’s field notes)

Thus, both Santome and Êdó use the verb meaning ‘to finish’ in the second slot but, as in the case of *pasa/vala* in the previous section, in neither language does the respective item exhibit verbal properties.

2.8. ‘Particle’-constructions

Êdó exhibits compound verbs in which typically a ‘launch’-verb is followed by the adverbs/particles *fùá/kùá* ‘away, off’ (Agheyisi 1986; Melzian 1942; Stewart 1997). According to Stewart (1997), the choice depends on the plurality of the object (count versus mass). In ST, this function is rendered exclusively by *buta* ‘away, off’—from Portuguese *botar* ‘to throw’—which also behaves like a particle in the sense that it is intransitive and lacks verbal properties overall.

(54) a. Zon bloka awa buta.  
   b. Ózó tué àmè kùá.
Ozo pour water away
'Ozo poured water away.' (Hagemeijer’s field notes; (26a) in Stewart 1997: 164)

(55) a. Zon zuga buta. SANTOME
b. Ózó fi ügbé fiúá. ÈDÓ

Ozo throw stone away
'Ozo threw the stone away.' (Hagemeijer’s field notes; (29a) in Stewart 1997: 165)

(56) a. kota buta. SANTOME
b. fián fiúá. ÈDÓ

‘to cut off’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes; Melzian 1937: 60)

It follows from the descriptions that ÈDÓ fiúá and kùá and ST buta are unable to select for objects. If the location of the ‘launch’-verb is indicated, the transitive locative construction (section 2.2) is typically used:

(57) Omali klaga lodoma zuga pê ple. SANTOME
sea/river carry bottle throw put beach
‘The sea threw the bottle on the beach/near the river.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

(58) Ójè súá ólí údò fi ò vbí úkpódè. EMAI
Oje push the stone throw CL LOC road
‘Oje pushed the stone onto the road.’ (Schaefer & Egbokhare 2002: 67)

There are also cases where movement is expressed differently in ÈDÓ and ST. In fact, it follows that ST buta is used more restrictively than ÈDÓ fiúá/kùá.

(59) Élíkhùkhù tìn fiúá. ÈDÓ
pigeon fly.PST away
‘The pigeon flew away.’ (Agheyisi 1986: 143)

(60) Bisu vwa be. SANTOME
bird fly go
In sum, both languages exhibit similar constructions, but Èdó exhibits a semantically more fine-grained system to distinguish between mass and count nouns. On the other hand, ST uses, for instance, a directed motion verb to indicate movement away from the deictic centre, whereas Èdó uses a particle for this meaning.

2.9. ‘Take’-serials

ST and Èdó exhibit all types of what is sometimes labelled in the literature as ‘take’-serials. Depending on the type of taking/carrying, a significant number of other verbs fulfills the ‘take’-function in ST: *ligi* ‘lift up’, *pega* ‘to take, to grab’, *klaga* ‘to carry’, etc. These are all syntactically full-fledged verbs in and outside SVCs and essentially vary with respect to their semantics. In Èdó, these constructions are extremely productive, with the difference that some of the ‘take’-verbs, such as *mù* and *yà*, exhibit clear signs of grammaticalisation and are better accounted for as light verbs (Grimshaw & Mester 1988), forming lexical chunks with other verbs.

(61) a. *Zon tóm’e bi.*
Zon take-3SG com
‘Zon brought her/him/it’.

(62) a. *Zon toma basola bali.*
Zon take broom sweep
‘Zon swept with a broom.’

b. *Àtìtì yá ówé kpòlò.*
Atiti use.PST broom sweep
‘Atiti swept with a broom.’
Both: ‘Zon/Atiti swept with a broom.’ (=25 in Agheyisi 1990: 94)

(63) a. Zon toma faka kota lanz.  
Zon take knife cut orange  
‘Zon cut the orange with a knife.’ (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

b. Òzó rhié éhò fián àlímói.  
Ozo take.PST knife cut orange  
Both: ‘Ozo cut the orange with a knife.’ (=14 in Ogie 2004: 5)

Although both languages exhibit the same range of ‘take’-constructions, none of the ‘take’-verbs in ST shows the signs of grammaticalisation found in Èdó.

2.10 Consequential constructions

Both Èdó and Santome exhibit consequential constructions. Irrespective of the analysis for these constructions, these structures are characterized by the absence of a pronominal object following V2 co-referent with the object of V1. Neither Èdó nor Santome exhibit object drop.

(64) a. Toma mpon va. 11  
SANTOME

b. Mà èbrédì fián.  
Èdó

take bread cut  
‘Slice the bread.’ / ‘Take and slice the bread.’ (Hagemeijer/Ogie’s field notes)

(65) a. Zon ka kujì lòsò kume.  
SANTOME

b. Òzó lè iżè rè.  
Èdó

Ozo ASP cook rice eat  
‘Ozo cooks rice and eats it.’ (Hagemeijer/Ogie’s field notes)

In Èdó, consequential constructions are considered true SVCs (Baker & Stewart 1999, 2002; Ogie 2008; Stewart 1998).
3. Summary

It follows from the previous sections that there is a significant amount of typological overlap between SVCs in ST and Edoid. Although SVCs constitute an areal feature that goes far beyond Èdó historical and other linguistic evidence pinpoint Edoid as the crucial stratum where these structures were transferred from. In fact, in a few constructions the verb in V2, the most grammaticalised slot, was directly borrowed from Èdó (lélé, mundja).

Since the prepositional function in strongly serialising languages is typically rendered by verbs and not by a special class of prepositions, inclusion of the following table summarily shows how Èdó and ST behave in this respect and comparatively to each other. It follows that both languages typically use nominals and verbs for the prepositional function, exhibiting a low number of prepositions proper, [-N,-V]. Although it was argued that some verbs in the second slot of SVCs do not exhibit verbal properties or only vestiges of verbal behaviour, we have included these items in the class of elements with the specification [-N,+V].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[-N, -V] (prepositions/particles)</th>
<th>[+N, -V] (nominals)</th>
<th>[-N, +V] (V2/dynamic preposition in serialising structures)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Èdó</td>
<td>Santome</td>
<td>Èdó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di ‘of’</td>
<td>arò ‘in front of, the eye’</td>
<td>wè ‘in front of, the eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>òdárò ‘in front, forward direction, ahead’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vbè ‘in, from, at’</td>
<td>ni ‘in, from, on, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yàdàn ‘on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The prepositional function in Èdó and Santome
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>antè</em></td>
<td>‘until, to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>úwú</em></td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>glèntu</em></td>
<td>‘inside, the inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yó/rrié</em></td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>be/ba</em></td>
<td>‘to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jina</em></td>
<td>‘from, since’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òkhùnmwùn</em></td>
<td>‘on top, above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ùhùnmwùn</em></td>
<td>‘head, upside, upward, on top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ddákhùnmwùn</em></td>
<td>‘top(side), up, skies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liba</em></td>
<td>‘on top of, upper part’ (e.g., ST <em>liba oke</em>, Èdó <em>ùhùnmwùn</em> òké (‘up-hill’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rré</em></td>
<td>‘from’ (to come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bi</em></td>
<td>‘from’ (to come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sè</em></td>
<td>‘without’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òtótò</em></td>
<td>‘under, bottom of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òrù</em></td>
<td>‘bottom of, floor, ground’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òbòlkán</em></td>
<td>‘without’ (usually with some type of food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>basu</em></td>
<td>‘beneath, under(neath), lower part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hín</em></td>
<td>‘up, go up, from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>subli</em></td>
<td>‘up’ (to go up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vbé</em></td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ku</em></td>
<td>‘with, and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>àdèsè</em></td>
<td>‘centre, middle, between, core, kernel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ômè</em></td>
<td>‘centre, middle, between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuòré</em></td>
<td>‘to hang low, ‘descend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dèsè</em></td>
<td>‘down’ (to go down)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kùá/fùá</em></td>
<td>‘away, off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>buta</em></td>
<td>‘away, off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ègbé</em></td>
<td>‘side, body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>òkpén</em></td>
<td>‘side of, edge of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bodo</em></td>
<td>‘next to, side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lègàá</em></td>
<td>‘around’ to surround, to go around</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sìkè</em></td>
<td>‘next to, by side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>loja</em></td>
<td>‘around’ (to encircle, to go around)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pla</em></td>
<td>‘for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>làlè</em></td>
<td>‘along, with, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lèlè</em></td>
<td>‘alongside’ (to follow, to accompany)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kè</em></td>
<td>‘from, since’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fò</em></td>
<td>‘from, since’ (to come from)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gbèrràá, rrá</em></td>
<td>‘to pass, to cross, to go through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vala</em></td>
<td>‘across’ (to pass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dé</em></td>
<td>‘to fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kyè</em></td>
<td>‘in(side), on’ (to fall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kpàá</em></td>
<td>‘away from’ (to leave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>xè</em></td>
<td>‘away from, out of’ (to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Edo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-ùwú}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-ùwú}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-èmwán}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-èmwán}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-èvbá}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-èvbá}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-àrò, vbè-ódárò}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-àrò, vbè-ódárò}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-ùyèkè}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-ùyèkè}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-òbò}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-òbò}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-ùkhùnmwùn}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-ùkhùnmwùn}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-òkpèn}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-òkpèn}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{vbè-ùdègè}</td>
<td>\text{vbè-ùdègè}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the prepositional function represented in Table 1, ST and Edo also exhibit a number of common complex elements with the structure Prep+Noun that function as complex prepositions.

Finally, Table 3 contrastively sums up the properties of the different serial constructions in Edo and Santome considered throughout this paper for the features aspect marking on V2, verb clefting and stranding.
Table 3. Properties of verbs in verb serialisation.

| V2 give-    | V1 aspect  | verb cleft | stranding |
| construction | marking    |            |           |
|             | Dynamic    | V1         | V2         |
|             | prep/V2    |            |            |
| V2          | Êdó        | ná (nè)    | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | dáá        | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | gbè        | ✓           | ✓           |
| ST          | da         | ✓           | ✓           |            |
| V2          | Êdó        | yè (yì)    | ✓           | ✓           |
| ST          | pé         | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | fòó        | ✓           | ✓           |
| ST          | kaba       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | gbèrràá    | ✓           | ✓           |
| ST          | vala       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| Degree      | Êdó        | sèé        | ✓           | ?           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | fô          | ✓           | ✓           |
| Directional | Êdó        | lèlè       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | gbèrràá    | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | gbèrràá    | ✓           | ✓           |
| ST          | kaba       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2          | Êdó        | lèlè       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V2 particle | Êdó        | kókó       | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
| V1 comitative | Êdó | gbá        | ✓           | ✓           | ✓           |
The most striking contrast between serialising constructions in Èdó and Santome arises within the class of directional constructions. In Èdó, these constructions are typically Verb+Modifier constructions, with a grammaticalised item in the V2 slot, as follows from the impossibility of aspect marking and verb cleft; in Santome, however, it can be concluded that, according to the same tests, V2 in directional constructions exhibit verbal properties, despite signs of grammaticalisation. It also follows that resultative serial constructions do not exhibit the same behaviour in Santome and Èdó:

In the latter language, none of the verbs in resultative constructions can be clefted (Baker & Stewart 1999: 24) nor is possible to license an aspect marker before V2; in Santome, these restrictions do not apply.

4. Conclusions

The linguistic impact of Èdó (Bini) on Santome and the Gulf of Guinea creoles in general was first proposed by Ferraz (1979), especially for the lexicon, but also with respect to a few grammatical properties. In this paper, we have shown that Santome verb serialisation (in a broad sense), the categories used for the prepositional function (Tables 1 and 2) and several other features briefly addressed in section 1.3 underscore
the typological impact of Èdó and possibly other, generally less well described languages from the Edoid cluster. These findings are consistent with a founder effect that brought in contact Èdó and Portuguese-speaking people in the early settlement. In fact, it was shown that pretty much the full range of types of SVCs in Èdó can also be found in Santome. Nevertheless, the languages often differ with respect to the more fine-grained properties of SVCs, which is expected from many centuries of independent development and, foremost, due to the creolisation process itself. It can be noted that Èdó exhibits a richer variety within several types of constructions, for instance ‘take’-serials, comitatives and particle constructions. But not only does Èdó use a greater number of verbs to the same end, it is also more prolific with respect to compound verb constructions (not studied in this paper), which have lexicalised and therefore become semantically opaque. Thus, our contribution intends to show that partial substrate transfer of, or calquing on, the substrate typology played an important role in the making of a new language.

1 Ferraz (1979: 9): “This first Creole, the original São Tomense, later changed into four Creoles through geographical separation, and possibly also because of differences which might have existed to some extent in the substratum.”

2 Note that in the past, Edoid belonged to the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo. Although Edoid is now considered an independent branch, it shares many features with the Kwa languages (Ethnologue).

3 Labiovelars are typologically rare phonemes that constitute an areal feature of Kwa and Niger Delta languages. Considering the common etymologies, the Proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole on the island of S. Tomé must have exhibited labiovelars as well at some stage. This phonological feature survived in Lung’ie, but not in the other creoles arguably because of later massive contact with Bantu slaves. In Santome, in particular, /gb/ became labial /kw/ or /bw/—e.g., Lung’ie [igbe] ‘body’, ST [ukwe], from Èdó ikpe ‘seed, grain’.
4 The term multi-verb constructions is defined as consisting of verbs in series that can function as independent verbs in simple sentences, with at least one shared argument and no marking of syntactic dependency (Ameka 2005: 2).

5 Note that da can be preceded by aspect marker ka, but this implies a change in meaning, as follows from the contrast between (i) and (ii):

(i) ̀E ka tlaba da mu.  
   SANTOME
   3SG ASP work give me
   ‘He (habitually) works for me.’

(ii) ̀E ka tlaba ka da mu.  
     SANTOME
     ‘As he works, he gives me (his earnings).’
* ‘He (habitually) works for me.’

Crucially, then, repeated ka triggers a proportional reading, which does not qualify as a unitary syntactic event.

6 Nüé is composed of the following morphemes nè(prep) + rùé(second person direct object pronoun).

7 Note that tan ‘to take’ is the reduced form of toma ‘to take’.

8 A monosyllabic transitive verb (or preposition) subcategorising for an extracted direct object, adopts the tonal (morphological) signature of an intransitive predicate (Beermann, Hellan & Ogie 2002: 1)

9 Unlike other motion verbs, the verb kpa ’to leave’ does not take a direct locative object but an object preceded by preposition vbè. A similar restriction can be found in ST:

(i) N xè ni ke  
   SANTOME, Hagemeijer’s field notes
   1SG leave PREP house
   ‘I left the house.’

10 Emai is a North-Central Edoid language.

11 The difference between Èdó and ST is that mú is a more grammaticalised item than toma (cf. Table 3). Yet, Santome also exhibits a more grammaticalised use of toma, as illustrated in the following example:

(i) Toma ope be.  
    SANTOME
    take foot go
    ‘Go on foot.’
    (Hagemeijer’s field notes)

References


———. 2002. A serial verb construction without constructions. Rutgers University, ms.


List of Abbreviations

ASP=aspectmarker; CL=clitic; COMP=complementiser; CTP=clause-typing particle; DEM=demonstrative; DET=determiner; FOC=focus particle; INT=interrogative