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Research Article

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Numerals in Akebu

https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2020-0107 received February 26, 2020; accepted April 10, 2020

Abstract: This article presents an overview of the numeral system in Akebu, a Kwa language of Togo. The Akebu numeral system is a decimal one and contains simple numerals from '1' to '9' and decimal bases for '10', '100', and '1,000'. The former have noun class agreement markers, while the latter do not. Only some noun classes are compatible with numerals, but among them there are both plural and singular classes.

Keywords: numerals, noun class, noun phrase, Akebu, Kwa

1 Introduction

This article presents a description of numerals in Akebu. Akebu (Kebu; ISO 639-3 keu) is a Kwa (Niger-Congo) language of the Kebu-Animere group. It is spoken mainly in the prefecture of Akebu of Togo (West Africa) by ca. 70,000 people (Gblem-Poidi and Kantchoa 2012; Eberhard et al. 2019), and there definitely exist different dialect groups, yet the dialects require further research.

The language is underdescribed. At this time, the following literature on Akebu is available. Wolf (1907) published a brief grammar sketch. Some aspects of Akebu phonology and noun class system are briefly described and discussed in a historical perspective by Heine (1968: 70–3, 110, 126, 182–4). Djitovi (2003) made a preliminary description of the phonology. Storch and Koffi (2000) and Amoua (2011) describe the noun systems and noun classes. Adjeoda (2008) describes some elements of the morphosyntax. Koffi wrote a dissertation on the sociolinguistic issues of Akebu (1984) as well as a dictionary (1981) and proposed a description of the pronominal system (2010). M'boma (2012, 2014) developed an original writing system. A different writing system is proposed by Marthe Sossoukpe (2014). Jacques Sossoukpe wrote a dissertation on Akebu ethnolinguistics (2008) and published a paper on phonology (2017). Makeeva described the phonological system (2016) and the system of words expressing qualities (2018). Makeeva and Shluinsky described the noun class system (2018). Muraviev (2015, 2016) addressed some issues of syntax. Shavarina (2018) presented an account of the noun phrase.

The data for this study were collected during a number of field trips to the village of Djon and neighboring villages of Kotora and Djitrame in the prefecture of Akebu of Togo in 2012, 2013, 2016, and 2019. Examples acquired from texts are marked (txt), while the elicited examples are unmarked.

¹ The Kebu-Animere group is as a part of a unity referred to as 'Ghana-Togo Mountain languages', or 'Togo Remnant languages'. Still the internal classification of the Kwa family in general, and in particular the genetic status of this unity is largely debatable (cf. Stewart (1989) vs Blench (2009)). That is why we limit ourselves only with the lowest taxon of Kebu-Animere and with the biggest one of Kwa.

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| Class | Prefix | Suffix | Examples |
|-------|-------------|--------|----------------------------|
| ŊŬ | Ø- | -yā | <i>fūtí-yá</i> 'bird' |
| PƏ | V- | -pē | à-pɔ̄ŋ̄-pə̄ 'oil' |
| | | | <i>ò-fūtí-pá</i> 'birds' |
| бŢ | ø-(voicing) | -ţē | <i>gò-tā</i> 'liver' |
| WƏ | Ø- | -wā | náá-wá 'fire' |
| YƏ | V- | -yā | <i>à-kpờ-yā</i> 'bag' |
| | | | à-náá-yá 'fires' |
| КƏ | ø-(voicing) | -kā | <i>gà-kā</i> 'meat' |
| | Ù- | | <i>à-kāā-k</i> ā 'hand' |
| | kè- | | kà-tōō-kā 'feather' |
| KPƏ | wà- | -kpā | <i>wà-ţàà-kpā</i> 'market' |
| | | | wà-tōō-kpā 'feathers' |
| | ø-(voicing) | | <i>gú-kpá</i> 'room' |

Table 1: Akebu noun classes: markers and examples

Akebu examples are presented in a phonological transcription; some phonemes have variants and allophones that we do not mark separately. Akebu has a rather typical Kwa phoneme inventory (distinguishing, in particular, \pm ATR vowels i vs i and i vs i0) and a tonal system of three-level tones. A number of prefixes and proclitics contain an underspecified vowel i1 and are subject to a regressive vowel harmony with the following rules: i2 v i3 v i4 v i7 v i8 v i9 v i9 v i9 v i9 v i9 v i1.

Like other Kwa languages, Akebu is a subject-verb-object (SVO) language, and oblique constituents normally follow the direct object noun phrase. In a noun phrase, Akebu has Poss N X order; in other words, all noun phrase modifiers other than the possessor noun phrase follow the head noun, while the possessor noun phrase precedes it.

Akebu has a noun class system. Table 1 (reproduced from Makeeva and Shluinsky 2018: 5) introduces the list of the seven Akebu noun classes labeled by the form of the corresponding object pronouns. Noun classes are marked by prefixes and suffixes at the same time. In a number of classes, the prefix has no segment exponent, but in some of them it triggers voicing of the stem; for example, the stem for the 'liver' is $k\hat{o}$, but its singular form of the class T_{θ} is $g\hat{o}$ - t_{θ} .

Numeral systems in the languages of the world, including both numerical structure and morphosyntactic features, have been a subject of a number of cross-linguistic studies, in particular by Greenberg (1978), Corbett (1978), Gvozdanović (1999), and Comrie (2013). Yet, there still remains a great deal of incomplete comparative and descriptive work for the languages of sub-Saharan Africa,² and this article contributes to the understanding of the numeral system structure and function in these languages. Moreover, Akebu data fit into the existing cross-linguistic generalizations on numerals.

Simple lists of Akebu numerals are provided by Wolf (1907: 795–6), Amoua (2011: 68–72), Marthe Sossoukpe (2014: 56–7), and Shavarina (2018), but the numeral system has not yet been the subject of a detailed description.

² Of course, there are exceptions, and one can mention a recent comparative study of Mande numeral systems (Perekhvalskaya and Vydrin 2019) and a comparative study of a number of Bantu numeral systems (Ryabova 2014). Pozdniakov (2018) presents a very detailed historical study of Niger-Congo numerals and a reconstruction of Proto-Niger-Congo numeral stems but does not deal with synchronic morphosyntax of numerals and with complex numerals.

The rest of the article is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces the general features of Akebu numerals. Section 3 presents simple numerals referring to single digits, while Section 4 is devoted to simple decimal bases. Sections 5 and 6 speak of complex numerals built by multiplication and of compound numerals built by addition. Section 7 focuses on ordinal numerals. Section 8 draws the conclusion.

2 General features of Akebu numerals

Akebu numerals are based on the decimal numerical system. There are simple numerals from '1' to '9' and for '10', '100', and '1,000'. Other numerals use the three 10ⁿ numerals as bases for multiplication to numbers expressed by the simple numerals; the latter ones also express numerical values added by addition. Ordinal numerals are derived with a suffix from cardinal numerals; henceforth, we use the term 'numerals' for cardinal numerals.

The primary syntactic function of numerals is to modify a noun phrase. Syntactically, all numerals follow the head noun. In the noun phrase, numerals follow determiners, as shown in (1–2), but precede relative clauses (2):

```
(1)
      [ò-kòsòpíí-pā
                                  ţé
                                         è-yí]
                                                     pà-kè-kpí
      рә-lad-рә
                                         PƏ-two
                                                     PƏ-PST-exist<sub>FCT</sub>
      'There were two lads.' (txt)
(2)
      [à-kòláátíá-mōēētì-pō3
                                  wé
                                         à-tā
                                                     [nē-tī]]
      рә-banana-ripe-рә
                                         рә-three
                                                     NO.JNT.PFV-eat
                                  DEM
```

'these three ripe bananas that he has eaten'

Another syntactic function attested for Akebu numerals is one of a copula complement, as shown in (3-4):

```
(3)
       рā
                     lá
                                   kpùlò
                                               wé
                                                       pà-kà-là
                                                                         tà
                                                                                 wá
                                                                                         pà-kà-là
                                                                                                            à-kừtāỳ
                                   all
                     POSS
                                               DEM
                                                       PƏ-PST-COP<sub>FCT</sub>
                                                                         ten
                                                                                 and
                                                                                         PƏ-PST-COP<sub>FCT</sub>
                                                                                                           PƏ-SİX
       'All of them – maybe they are ten, maybe they are six.' (txt)
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(4) $t\dot{u}$ - $w\bar{\partial}$ $w\dot{\partial}$ - $l\dot{\partial}$ $y\dot{t}$ thing-wə wə.cop_{FCT} wə.two

'There are two things (lit. The things are two).'

As shown in (1-2) and (3-4), when used both as modifiers of noun phrases and as copula complements, Akebu numerals have a morphological prefixal slot of agreement by noun class controlled by the head noun and by the subject correspondingly.

Numeral stems may be substantivized and get prefixal and suffixal noun class markers in the same way as nouns do, see (5).

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(5) p\bar{\partial} l\hat{\partial} \hat{\alpha}-t\bar{\alpha}-p\bar{\partial} w\hat{e} p\hat{\partial}-k\hat{e}-t\hat{i}\hat{i} \hat{o}-p\hat{u}\hat{e}t\hat{a}\hat{a}-p\hat{\partial}
PD-O POSS PO-three-PD DEM PD-PST-COPFCT PD-friend-PD

'These three were friends.' (txt)
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³ In Akebu, stems of the words expressing qualities are incorporated between the stem of the noun and the noun class suffix; see Makeeva (2018) for more details.

3 Simple numerals '1'-'9'

Simple numerals of this group agree with the head noun in noun class and take agreement prefixes, although in many cases the prefixes are zero. Noun class agreement prefixes are presented in Table 3. Table 3 also shows that the numeral $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ '1', on the one hand, and the numerals from '2' to '9', on the other hand, have different forms of the noun class agreement prefix.

The numeral $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ '1' is compatible with nouns of any noun class, since all Akebu noun classes refer to singular objects (see Makeeva and Shluinsky 2018: 9–12). In (6a–g), examples of all the agreement forms are presented. With the T ∂ class, the agreement prefix is nonsegmental, since in the absence of any segmental material it triggers an alternation of a voiceless initial consonant with a corresponding voiced one, as shown in (6c):

| (6) | a. | píí-yá | сёђсёђ | b. | à-рɔ̄ŋ-рə̄ | сёђсёђ | c. | záá-tá | _ј е̄ŋсē̄ŋ |
|-----|----|--------------|--------------------|----|-------------------------|---------|----|----------------------|----------------------|
| | | child-ทุบ | งบ .one | | рә- oil -рә | Pə.one | | chair-тә | ga.one |
| | | 'one child' | | | 'one (sort of) oil | ľ | | 'one chair' | |
| | d. | tù-wā | сē̄ŋсē̄ŋ | e. | à-kpàtàpàŋ-ȳə | сēŋсēŋ | f. | à-tέέ-kớ | kà-cēŋcēŋ |
| | | thing-wə | wə.one | | үә- trousers -үә | yə.one | | кә- field -кә | кә-опе |
| | | 'one thing' | | | 'one (pair of) tro | ousers' | | 'one field' | |
| | g. | wà-ţàà-kpā | wə-сē <i></i> ŋсēŋ | | | | | | |
| | | wə-market-wə | wə-one | | | | | | |
| | | 'one market' | | | | | | | |

Apart from the unique noun class compatibility, the lexeme $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ '1' has further distinct features in contrast to other simple numerals '2'-'9'.

First, a different lexical entry $t\bar{\epsilon}\dot{\eta} \sim t\bar{\epsilon}y\dot{\delta}$ 'one' is used for counting, while with other numerical values the same words are used both as noun phrase numerals and for counting, cf. a naturalistic example (7):

```
(7) \bar{a}-\etai\dot{\eta} t\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\eta}, y\dot{\imath}, t\bar{a} 2s<sub>G</sub>-see one two three 'This means: one, two, three.' (txt)
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Table 2: Akebu simple numerals from '1' to '9'

| '1' | сēņсēņ | ' 6' | kờţāŋ |
|-------------|--------|-------------|-------------|
| '2' | yí | '7' | pīţìmàtā |
| '3' | tā | '8' | nè'n |
| '4' | nìàà | '9' | fàŋ̀cēŋ̄cēŋ |
| ' 5' | tōờ | | |

⁴ Therefore, the $f \hat{a} \hat{n}$ part can be assumed to have a meaning of subtraction. Still no corresponding lexical data are attested so far neither in our data nor in the dictionary (Koffi 1981). As an anonymous reviewer pointed out, Snider (1989) provides data on some lexical entries of Guang languages that can be related to this morpheme, especially pan 'lose' from Chumburung (Snider 1989: 71). But still there is no reliable etymology so far, especially directly based on Akebu data.

Table 3: Noun class agreement prefixes of Akebu simple numerals from '1' to '9'

| Noun class | Agreement markers for '1' | Agreement markers for '2'-'9 | | |
|------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|--|
| ŊŬ | Ø- | * | | |
| PƏ | Ø- | Ù- | | |
| б | ø-(voicing the initial consonant) | * | | |
| WƏ | Ø- | Ø- | | |
| ΥƏ | Ø- | ν- | | |
| кә | k à - | * | | |
| KPƏ | wà- | wà- | | |

Second, $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ '1' has a number of secondary quantifying meanings and related morphosyntactic options.

With the meaning 'the only, unique' $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ is incorporated between the noun stem and the noun class suffix; this is a standard process for Akebu adjectives (see example (2) and Makeeva 2018), but it is not possible for other numerals. In (8) a contrast between the numerical meaning '1' when $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ follows the head noun (8a, c) and the quantifying meaning 'the only, unique' when it is incorporated (8b, d) is presented. (9) shows a real example of such use:

(8) a.
$$t\grave{u}-w\bar{\partial}$$
 $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ b. $t\grave{u}-c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}-w\bar{\partial}$ thing-wə wə.one thing-one-wə 'one thing'

c. $z\acute{a}\acute{a}-t\acute{\partial}$ $y\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ d. $z\acute{a}\acute{a}-c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}-t\bar{\partial}$ chair-tə tə.one chair' 'the only chair'

(9) $w\grave{\partial}$ $n\grave{e}\acute{e}$ $p\~{u}-c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}-y\bar{\partial}$ $p\grave{\partial}-l\bar{\partial}-m\grave{\partial}$ $w\grave{\partial}$... and NU.POSS child-one-yə Pə-3.PFV-bear PRT 'And her only child that they have born...' (txt)

With the meaning 'only' $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ follows the head noun, similarly as with the meaning 'one' but takes no agreement marking. (10) presents the contrast between the numerical meaning '1' when $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ takes the agreement (10a, c) and the quantifying meaning 'only' when it takes no agreement marking (10b, d):

Finally, $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ can be used with personal pronouns with the meaning 'only, alone'. The entire construction functions as a copula complement (11a) or a floating quantifier (11b):

Numerals from '2' to '9' are compatible only with the PƏ, WƏ, YƏ, and KPƏ noun classes; the ungrammatical combinations are marked in Table 3 with an asterisk. Interestingly, this list is not a list of Akebu plural noun classes. WƏ is a singular noun class that only refers to single objects. The KPƏ class is ambinumeral and can refer to both single and plural objects. The PƏ and YƏ classes are mainly plural but also contain nouns referring to noncount entities and names of paired objects. With number correlations in which the singular class is not compatible with numerals from '2' to '9', only the plural class can be used, as in the pairs (12a-b), (12c-d), and (12e-f) with the numeral yi 'two'. If the singular class allows the use of a numeral from '2' to '9', it normally is used like in (12g) and (12i), although our consultants only consider grammatical the examples in which the plural class is used, such as (12h) and (12j). In the real data from texts, only examples with singular classes WƏ and KPƏ are attested, such as (13) where the singular KPƏ class form $yijn-kp\bar{p}$ of the noun stem yijn 'mouth, ball of fufu' is used, not the plural YƏ class form $\partial_-yijn-y\bar{p}$. In naturalistic examples with nouns that take singular classes NU, TƏ, or KƏ, the corresponding plural class forms are used, as expected, as in (14) in which the plural class YƏ form $\partial_-yijn-y\bar{p}$ of the noun stem tijn 'stone' is employed, the singular form being dijn-tijn.

| (12) | a. | *píí-yá | yí | b. | è-píí-pá | è-yí |
|--|-------|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| | | child-งบ | two | | рә-child-рә | PƏ-two |
| | | exp. 'two children' | | | 'two children' | |
| | с. | *dū-tā | yí | d. | ò-ţū-yā | è-yí |
| | | stone- _T ə | two | | үә- stone -үә | yə-two |
| | | exp. 'two stones' | | | 'two stones' | |
| | e. | *gúú-kớ | yí | f. | wà-kúú-kpá | wà-yí |
| | | spoon-ĸə | two | | крә- spoon -крә | крә- two |
| | | exp. 'two spoons' | | | 'two spoons' | |
| | g. | tù-wō | yí | h. | ^{OK} ò-tù-yā | è-yí |
| | | thing-wə | wə.two | | үә thing -үә | yə-two |
| | | 'two things' | | | 'two things' | |
| | i. | wà-ţàà-kpā | wà-yí | j. | ^{OK} à-ţàà-ȳə | è-yí |
| | | крә-market-крә | крә-two | | үә- market -үә | yə-two |
| | | 'two markets' | | | 'two markets' | |
| (13) | ká | nā-ɲέὲ | ทนิทิ-kpอิ | wà -yí, | wà -tā | wé |
| | when | ŊU.JNT.PFV-take_out | mouth-крә | крә-two | крә-three | DEM |
| | 'When | he took two ot three b | alls (of fufu) | ' (txt) | | |
| (14) | wà | pà-t í n í | ò-tū-yā | è -yí | | |
| | and | рә- $install_{FCT}$ | үә- stone -үә | yə-two | | |
| 'And they installed two stones.' (txt) | | | | | | |

In (15), we provide an additional example of the possible noun class forms of another numeral, $k \partial t \bar{a} \dot{\eta}$ 'six'.

The fact that either the plural form or the singular form of a noun can be used in a language with cardinal numerals is well-known crosslinguistically. Examples of languages in which the choice of number depends on a particular group of numerals are also well attested, see e.g., Corbett (2000: 211–3) for both statements; it is more surprising that the split is driven by particular noun classes. For Niger-Congo noun class systems, it is typical that singular noun classes are used and agree with '1' and plural noun classes

are used and agree with other numerals. In particular, this is the case of almost all other well-documented Ghana-Togo Mountain languages with prominent noun class systems, such as Logba (Dorvlo 2008: 80–5), Avatime (Schuh 1995; van Putten 2014: 38–40), Nyangbo (Essegbey 2009), Lelemi (Allan 1973: 181–6), and Tafi (Bobuafor 2013: 112–6). In this context, the feature of using singular noun class forms with numerals attested in Akebu is different and therefore noteworthy. Still, Akebu is not a unique Niger-Congo language in this respect: for example, a noun class pair in which the singular class is used with numerals starting from '2' and triggers agreement is attested in a Bantoid language Ejagham (Watters 1980).

4 Simple numerals '10', '100', '1,000'

Apart from the simple numerals from '1' to '9', Akebu has three more simple numerals: $t\dot{a}$ '10', $t\dot{u}\dot{u}t\dot{u}$ '100', and $l\dot{a}f\bar{a}\bar{a}$ '1,000'. These three numerals have the same pattern of compatibility with noun classes as the ones from '2' to '9' and are only compatible with noun classes P \dot{a} , W \dot{a} , Y \dot{a} , and KP \dot{a} . Again, within the number correlations in which the singular class is not compatible with the numerals, only the plural class can be used, as in pairs (16b, d, f) and (17b, d, f). If the singular class permits the use of a numeral, normally it is used, as in (16g, i) and (17g, i), but our consultants consider grammatical the examples in which the plural class is used, see (16h, j) and (17h, j).

In contrast to simple numerals from '1' to '9', numerals '10', '100', and '1,000' do not take agreement markers, as seen from (16) and (17). With the numeral $t\hat{a}$ '10' speakers allow the agreement form with the KP \hat{a} class (see 16f, i), but not with other classes, and only as a grammaticality judgment of a form constructed by the linguist. With the numerals $t\hat{a}$ '100' and $t\hat{a}$ '1,000', even this option is not possible.

| (16) | a. | *píí-yá | tà | b. | è-píí-pá | tà |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|--|----|------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | child-งบ | ten | | рә-child-рә | ten |
| | exp. 'ten children' | | dren' | | 'ten children' | |
| | c. | *dū-tā | tà | d. | ò-ţū-yā | tà |
| | | stone- _T ə | ten | | үә-stone-үә | ten |
| | | exp. 'ten stor | ies' | | 'ten stones' | |
| | e. | *kà-fʊ̄ɛ̄ɛ-kā | tà | f. | wà-fʊ̄ɛ̄ɛ̄-kpā | tà ∼ ^{OK} wà-tà |
| | | кә- paper -кә | ten | | крә- paper -крә | ten ∼ крә-ten |
| | | exp. 'ten boo | ks' | | 'ten books' | |
| | g. | tù-wā | tà | h. | ^{OK} ò-tù-yā | tà |
| | | thing-wə | ten | | үә- thing -үә | ten |
| | | 'ten things' | | | 'ten things' | |
| | i. | gú-kpá | $t \partial \sim {}^{\mathrm{OK}} w \partial - t \partial$ | j. | ^{OK} ò-kú-yā | tà |
| | | room-крә | ten ∼ крә-ten | | room-yə | ten |
| | | 'ten rooms' | | | 'ten rooms' | |
| (17) | a. | *píí-yá | tùùţù | b. | è-píí-pá | tùùţù |
| | | child-งบ | hundred | | рә-child-рә | hundred |
| | | exp. 'hundred | d children' | | 'hundred child | ren' |
| | c. | *dū-tā | tùùţù | d. | ò-ţū-yā | tùùţù |
| | | stone- _T ə | hundred | | үә-stone-үә | hundred |
| | | exp. 'hundred | d stones' | | 'hundred stone | s' |
| | e. | *kà-fʊ̄ɛ̄ɛ-kā | tùùţù | f. | wà-fʊ̄ɛ̄ɛ-kpā | tùùţù |
| | | кә- paper -кә | hundred | | крә- paper -крә | hundred |
| | | exp. 'hundred | d books' | | 'hundred book | s' |
| | | | | | | |

⁵ In Sekpele, plural noun classes are used with cardinal numerals starting from '2', as well, but such numerals have no class agreement and only contain 'frozen' noun class markers; see Delalorm (2016: 130–4).

- g. tù-wā tùùtù thing-wə hundred 'hundred things'
- i. gú-kpó tùùtù room-ĸpə hundred 'hundred rooms'
- h. OK ò-tù-yā tùùtù
 yə-thing-yə hundred
 'hundred things'
- j. OKô-kú-yā tùùţù
 yə-room-yə hundred
 'hundred rooms'

5 Complex numerals '20'-'90', '100'-'900', and '1,000'+

Complex numerals are formed by a juxtaposition of a decimal base, namely, $t\hat{a}$ '10', $t\hat{u}\hat{u}t\hat{u}$ '100', and $l\hat{a}f\bar{a}\bar{a}$ '1,000' and a multiplicand, expressed by a simple numeral from '2' to '10', or, for the numerical meanings starting from '20,000', by a complex numeral. The list of complex numerals from '20' to '9,000' and examples of complex numerals for tens of thousands are presented in Table 4. The numeral $t\hat{i}y\hat{i}$ '20' is a special case, since it is a transparent result of an irregular assimilation of the regular complex numeral structure * $t\hat{a}$ $y\hat{i}$ that can be retraced by modern Akebu speakers but is not used anymore. For meanings '100' and '1,000' complex numerals are optional, since the bases, as shown in 4, may be used on their own; $t\hat{u}\hat{u}t\hat{u} \sim t\hat{u}\hat{u}t\hat{u}$ $c\bar{e}\eta c\bar{e}\eta$ '100' and, correspondingly, $l\hat{a}f\bar{a}\bar{a} \sim l\hat{a}f\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $c\bar{e}\eta c\bar{e}\eta$ '1,000' are free variants, the simple one seeming to be the default option.

The complex numeral laga lee '1,000,000' is formed by a juxtaposition of the numeral laga '1,000' with a special marker lee for which we have no etymology so far. Numerals for tens of millions and, presumably, higher numerical values can be built by a juxtaposition of the complex base laga lee '1,000,000' with a multiplicand, for example, laga lee '3,000,000'.

Complex numerals discussed in this section have no agreement markers; see (18) with examples of compatible noun classes:

(18)è-píí-pá tà tā a. tà tā b. tù-wā рә-child-рә ten three thing-wa ten three 'thirty children' 'thirty things' ò-tū-yā tà d. gú-kpá tà c. tā tā үә-stone-үә three room-крә three ten ten 'thirty stones' 'thirty rooms'

Table 4: Akebu complex numerals

| | | '100' | tùùţù cēŋcēŋ | '1,000' | làfāā cēŋcēŋ |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| '20' | tìyí | '200' | tùùţù yí | '2,000' | làfāā yí |
| ' 30' | tà tā | '300' | tùùţù tā | '3,000' | làfāā tā |
| '40' | tà nìàà | '400' | tùùţù nìàà | '4,000' | làfāā nìèè |
| ' 50' | tà tōờ | '500' | tùùţù tōờ | '5,000' | làfāā tōờ |
| '60' | tà kờtāỳ | '600' | tùùtù kờtāŋ | '6,000' | làfāā kờtāŋ |
| '70' | tà pīţìmàtā | '700' | tùùtù pītìmàtā | '7,000' | làfāā pīţìmàtā |
| ' 80' | tà nὲὴ | '800' | tùùţù nèŋ | '8,000' | làfāā nèŋ |
| ' 90' | tà fàṅcēṇcēṇ | '900' | tùùţù fàṅcēṇcēṇ | '9,000' | làfāā fàṅcēṇcēṇ |
| | | | | '10,000' | làfāā tà |
| | | | | '20,000' | làfāā tìyí |
| | | | | '30,000' | làfāā tà tā |
| | | | | '100,000' | làfāā tùùtù |

6 Compound numerals

Compound numerals are formed with the conjunction $m\bar{\rho}$ 'and' that combines the positions of the decimal numerical system that go in decreasing order.6 A compound numeral can itself be a multiplicand in a complex numeral. In (19a and b), two examples of such structures are presented; they illustrate the difference between multiplication expressed by plain juxtaposition and addition expressed by $m\bar{o}$. If a compound numeral lacks one or more position, and the higher position has a filled multiplicand, $m\bar{a}$ is omitted, as in (19c):⁷

(19) a. *làfāā* tà tā b. làfāā тā tà tā νí тā νí mā thousand ten three and two thousand and ten three and two 'thirty two thousand, 32,000' 'one thousand thirty two, 1,032' c. làfāā tà tā νí thousand ten three two 'thirty thousand and two, 30,002'

If a compound numeral contains a single digit that is expressed by a simple numeral from '1' to '9', this simple numeral takes a noun class agreement marker. With simple numerals from '2' to '9', the agreement pattern is the same as in their independent use and directly follows the noun class of the head noun, the agreement markers being the ones presented in Table 3. (20)–(22) contain illustrations of this pattern:

- (20) è-píí-pá tà тō **è**-yí рә-child-рә ten and PƏ-two 'twelve children'
- (21)è-píí-pá tùùtù nìàà тā tà \hat{a} - $t\bar{v}\hat{v}$ tā mā рә-child-рә hundred four and ten three and Pə-five 'four hundred thirty five children'
- (22) *wà-fōē-kpā* làfāā nìàà wà-ví tùùtù t⊽ờ тō tà тā крә-рарег-крә thousand and hundred five and ten four and крә-two 'one thousand five hundred fourty two books'

With the numeral '1' noun class agreement also follows the pattern of the head noun but takes its own agreement markers from Table 3.8 This means that an overt agreement marker is present only with the KPO noun class, as in (23a), but with other noun classes compatible with numerals higher than '1', namely, Pə, WƏ, and YƏ, there is no overt agreement marker, as in (23b). Neither agreement by the corresponding singular class (24b) nor using the singular noun class with the head nouns (24c) is possible, if the plural class is used with numerals higher than '1' (see 3 for the discussion of the choice of noun class):

(23)a. gú-kpá tìyí тō **wà**-cēŋcēŋ room-крә twenty and крә-опе 'twenty one room' b. ò-tù-yā tìyí тō сёпсёп үә-thing-үә twenty and yə.one 'twenty one thing' (24)ò-ţū-yā tìyí тō a. сепсеп үә-stone-үә twenty and yə.one 'twenty one stone'

⁶ The same conjunction is used as a noun phrase coordination marker; cf. kòjó mā kòfí 'Kodjo and Kofi'.

⁷ Still, such structures are not widely attested and are even disputable among the speakers themselves.

⁸ The pattern of numeral '1' in compound numerals may be different; cf. a survey of European languages (Stolz 2002).

- b. *ò-tū-yō tìyí mō yēŋcēŋ yə-stone-yə twenty and tə.one exp. 'twenty one stone'
- c. * $d\bar{u}$ - $t\bar{v}$ tiyí $m\bar{v}$ $t\bar{v}$ e \bar{n} \bar{v} e \bar{n} \bar{v} e \bar{v} \bar{v} ce \bar{v} \bar{v}

Aside from the general model of compound numerals presented above in this section, an alternative one is attested in our elicited data. The single digit may be expressed not only by a corresponding numeral from '1' to '9' with the corresponding agreement marker (25a) but also by a substantivized ordinal numeral (see 7). In this case, both plural (25b) and singular (25c) noun class forms may be used, cf. the plural form $\partial t = t \bar{t}$ 'stones' with the singular form $d\bar{u} = t \bar{t}$ 'stone'.

- (25) a. ∂ - $t\bar{u}$ - $y\bar{\partial}$ $t\bar{\partial}$ $m\bar{\partial}$ a- $t\bar{a}$ yə-stone-yə ten and yə-three 'thirteen stones'
 - b. ò-tū-yā tà mā à-tā-tá-yá yə-stone-yə ten and yə-three-ord-yə
 - 'thirteen stones (lit. the stones ten and the third ones)'
 - c. *ò-tū-yā tà mā dā-tá-tá* yə-stone-yə ten and тə.three-огд-тә
 - 'thirteen stones (lit. the stones ten and the third one)'

7 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal meaning 'first' is expressed by a suppletive lexeme $s\bar{t}s\bar{\partial}\bar{\eta}$ (26) that is a reduplicated deverbal noun of the verb $s\bar{\partial}\bar{\eta}$ 'begin':

(26) *à-kpàà-kā lá tīŋtàà-sīsāŋ-wā* кә-Akebu-кә poss village-first-wə 'the first Akebu village' (txt)

Other ordinal numerals are formed from the corresponding cardinal numerals by the suffix $-t\hat{a}$ (27). If a cardinal numeral is complex or compound, the suffix is added to its last part, as in (27c-g):

- b. tà-tá (27) a. yí-tá c. tà-mā-yí-tá d. tìyí-tá two-ord ten-ord ten-and-two-ord twenty-ord 'twelfth' 'second' 'tenth' 'twentieth' f. tà-tā-mā-cēņcēņ-tá tùùtù-mā-tà-tá e. tà-tā-tá g.
 - ten-three-ord ten-three-and-one-ord hundred-and-ten-ord thirtieth' thirty firsrt' hundred and tenth'

If an ordinal numeral is derived from a compound cardinal numeral that contains a single digit '1', the stem $c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}c\bar{e}\bar{\eta}$ is used, not the suppletive stem $s\bar{s}s\bar{\partial}\bar{\eta}$. This stem takes an agreement marker, as in (28a), (29a), while with other single digits there is no agreement, see (29c):

(28) a. gú-tà-mā-wà-cē̄ŋcē̄ŋ-tá-kpá b. *gú-tà-mā-cē̄ŋcē̄ŋ-tá-kpá room-ten-and-крә-one-окр-крә 'eleventh room'

- (29) a. záá-tà-mā-jēņcēņ-tá-tá chair-ten-and-Tə.one-ORD-Tə 'eleventh chair'
 - c. záá-tà-mā-tā-tá-tá
 chair-ten-and-three-ord-tə
 'thirteenth chair'
- b. *záá-tè-mē-cēŋcēŋ-té-té chair-ten-and-one-ord-tə
- d. *záá-tà-mā-**d**ā-tá-tá chair-ten-and-тa.three-ord-тa

Morphosyntactic features of ordinal numerals are close to those of adjectives (see Makeeva 2018 for details). Like Akebu adjectives, in their attributive use Akebu ordinal numerals are incorporated into the morphological structure of the head noun after the nominal stem before the noun class suffix, as in (30) or (28) and (29). Another possible structure of Akebu ordinal numerals are substantivized forms with prefixal and suffixal noun class marking, as in (31), which also follows the adjectival pattern. Still, in contrast to Akebu adjectives, Akebu ordinal numerals cannot be used as copula complements, see ungrammatical structure in (32b):

| (30) | рā | lá | púétáá- t é | ī-tə -yə́ | wé | | | |
|------|----------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | Pə.O | POSS | friend-th | ree-ord-nu | DEM | | | |
| | 'this th | ird friend of theirs' | (txt) | | | | | |
| (31) | wá | yí-tá-yá | wá | ŋ̀-m̄ən ī | 1 | nàá | nέŋ | è-píí-pá |
| | and | two-ord-nu | FOC | งูบ.jnt-bea | ır _{FCT} 1 | NU.POSS | own | рә- child -рә |
| | 'And th | ne second one gave | birth to h | er own chi | ldren.' (tx | t) | | |
| (32) | a. | píí-yí-tá-yá | | b. | *píí-yá | sā | Ø-là | yí-tớ |
| | | child-two-ord-ทูบ | | | child-ทูบ | DEM | ŊŬ-COP _I | FCT two-ORD |
| | | 'second child' | | | exp. 'Th | is child is | the second | one.' |

8 Conclusion

An overview of the Akebu numeral system is presented in this article. Akebu numerals are based on the decimal numerical system and follow the head noun in the linear order of the noun phrase. The numeral '1' is compatible with any noun class, since all Akebu noun classes can refer to single objects. Other numerals are possible only with four noun classes, some of them being singular, some of them being plural; if for a given noun both its singular and plural class can go with numerals, the singular class is normally used.

There are simple numerals from '1' to '9' that have noun class agreement prefixes and simple numerals for '10', '100', and '1,000' that have no inflection. Complex numerals are formed from decimal bases by multiplication, the multiplicand being expressed by a postposed simple numeral. In compound numerals, digits are joined by a conjunction and go in descending order; the single digit from '1' to '9' gets its agreement marking.

Ordinal numerals mostly exhibit an adjective-like syntactic behavior, and, with the exception of the lexeme 'first', are built from cardinal numerals with a special marker.

Abbreviations

| NU, PƏ, TƏ, WƏ, YƏ, | noun class or noun class agreement markers of corresponding classes |
|---------------------|---|
| кә, крә | |
| 2sg | 2nd person singular |
| COP | copula |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| FCT | factative |

FOC focus marker INDF indefinite

INDP independent pronoun

JNT conjoint verbal agreement marker

o **object pronoun**

ORD ordinal numeral marker

PFV perfective

Poss possessive marker or possessive pronoun

PRT particle pst past

Acknowledgments: The research was conducted in terms of the project supported by the Russian Science Foundation, Grant No. 17-78-20071, fulfilled in the Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences. We express our sincere gratitude to the community of Akebu speakers in the villages of Djon and Kotora for our possibility to conduct a fruitful field research there in 2012, 2013, 2016, and 2019. We are especially grateful to our main consultants, namely, Yao Lolonyo Akossu, Sena-Kwami Sentibili, Kokou Mawuwodo (Honoré) Kokoroko, Yaovi Modeste Tchitche, Mawuli Yawovi (Victor) Ayeto, Kokouvi Kpoliatowou (Martin) Kodjovi, and Achille Djenou. Ablavi Nata (Nathalie) Degblo, Sena-Kwami Sentibili, Kokou Mawuwodo (Honoré) Kokoroko, and Yaovi Modeste Tchitche helped us a lot in organizing our stay and work. Our stays in Togo and trips inside the country became possible due to the great efforts of Svetlana Roubailo-Koudolo. We are grateful to Pasha Koval, Nikita Muraviev, and Dasha Shavarina who participated in our field trips, who collected some of the examples relevant for this paper and with whom we have discussed Akebu a lot. Earlier versions of this article were commented by Dasha Shavarina and by the audience of the conference 'XXX International Congress on historiography and source studies of Asia and Africa' (St. Petersburg, 2019). We also thank Galina Sim for a discussion of Ekoid noun class systems.

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