A Grammar of Tafi

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iv

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W̃ũnɔ́ bhitiibui pópóópó.
Thank you very much.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

A	Transitive subject	NP	Noun phrase
ADD	Addressive particle	O	Object
ALL	Allative	Obj	Object
AM	Agreement Marker	PERF	Perfective
[+ATR]	Advanced tongue root	PERS	Persistive
[-ATR]	Unadvanced tongue root	POSSD	Possessed
C	Consonant	PostPp	Postpositional phrase
CERT	Certainty	PRIV	Privative
CFM	Clause final marker	PROHIB	Prohibitive
CM	Class marker	PROX	Proximal
CM.PL	Class marker (plural)	PRSPROG	Present progressive
COM	Comitative	PST	Past
COMP	Complementiser	PSTPROG	Past progressive
COMPL	Completive	PURP	Purpose
COND	Conditional	QP	Question particle
CONJ	Conjunction	RECIP	Reciprocal
COP	Copula	REFL	Reflexive
D	Dative object	REL	Relative marker
DAT	Dative	REP	Repetitive marker
DEF	Definiteness marker	S	Intransitive subject
DEM	Demonstrative	SFX	Suffix
DEP	Dependent	SM	Subject marker
DESID	Desiderative	TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood
DISJ	Disjunctive	TOP	Topic marker
DIST	Distal	UFP	Utterance final particle
DISTR	Distributive	V	Verb
EXC	Excessive preverb marker	V	Vowel
EXP	Experiential aspect marker	V_1	Initial verb in SVC
FS	Frog Story	V_2	Second verb in SVC
FUT	Future	VENT	Ventive
IDEO	Ideophone	VP	Verb Phrase
IND	Independent	VP_1	Initial Verb Phrase
INDEF	Indefinite	VP_2	Second Verb Phrase
INT	Intensifier	1SG	First person singular
INTJ	Interjection	2SG	Second person singular
LOC	Locative	3SG	Third person singular
MOD	Modal	1PL	First person plural
NEG	Negative	2PL	Second person plural
NEGCL	Negative cleft	3PL	Third person plural
N	Noun		

Map 1: Map of the Ghana Togo Mountain Languages
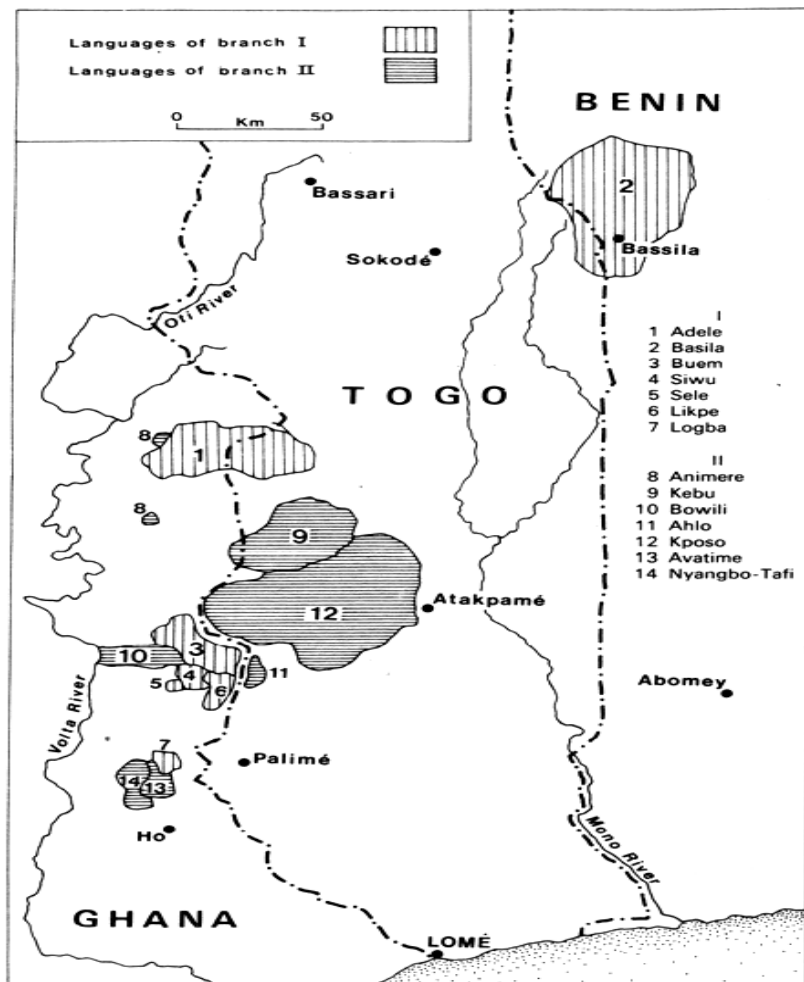
Distribution of the Central Togo Languages
(Source: Bernd Heine, *Verbreitung und Gliederung der Togorestsprachen* Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 1968)

Map 2: Tafi and Surrounding Towns
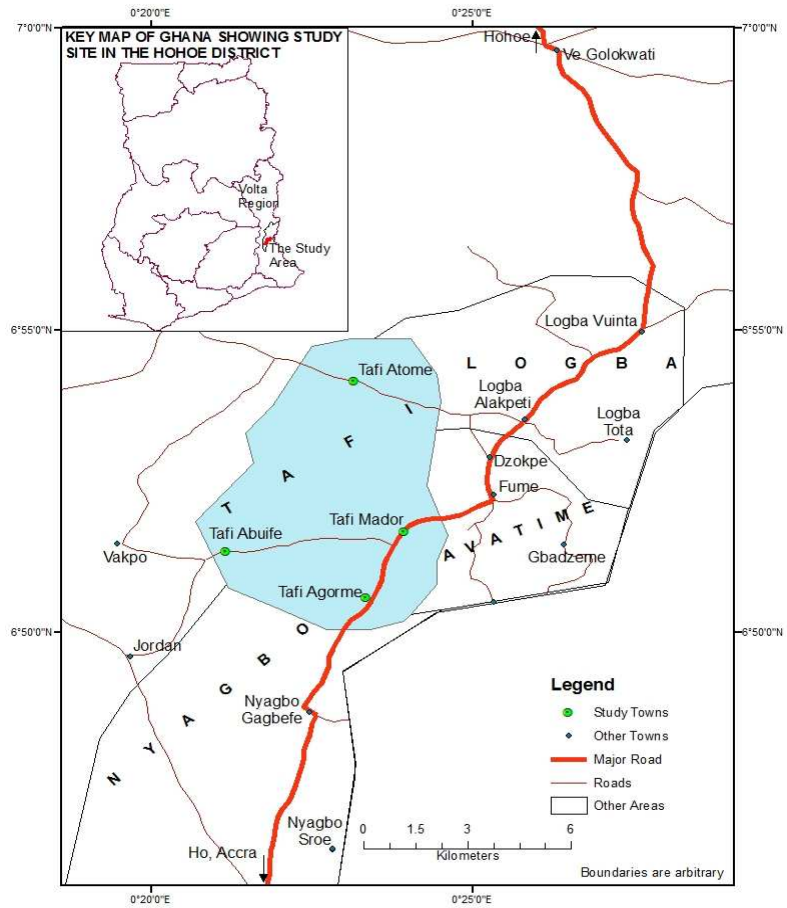
1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Tafi, a hitherto undescribed Ghana-Togo-Mountain (hereafter GTM) language. It is an outcome of a programme of Tafi language and culture documentation. The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in Tafi during two field trips over a period of fifteen months. This chapter presents an introduction to the Tafi people, their language, geographical location and sociolinguistic situation, the genetic classification of the language and the linguistic typological profile of the language. It also describes the fieldwork setting and methodology and the kinds of data upon which the grammar is based.

1.1   The language and its speakers

Tafi is the name used by other people to refer to the place, language and the people. This name which the Tafis claim was given to them by the neighbouring Ewe groups means 'thieves of (human) heads'. They refer to themselves as **Baagbɔ** (sg. **Agbɔ**) and their language as **Tɩgbɔ**. The people live in four communities, namely, Agɔme, Abuife[1], Madɔ and Atome located in the Hohoe District of the Volta Region in the south-eastern part of Ghana. The names of these communities are sometimes used in combination with the area name Tafi, hence the names Tafi Agɔme, Tafi Abuife, Tafi Madɔ and Tafi Atome in Map 2. The 2010 Population and Housing Census figures give the population of Tafi as 16,700 distributed as follows: Madɔ: 3,500; Atome: 6,000; Abuifé: 4,200; and Agɔme: 3,000 (see Map 2 for their geographical location). It must, however, be noted that these figures represent the number of residents during the census period. It does not represent only the speakers of Tafi. Ethnologue (2009) gives 4,400 as the number of speakers of Tafi based on 2003 estimates. This figure possibly excludes Tafi speakers in the diaspora.

1.1.1   Migration history

According to oral tradition, the Tafi people migrated from Assini which some claim is in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. Apparently, they were living together with other ethnic groups but as a result of conflicts, they lost two units of their ethnic group who left earlier, one after the other. The remaining group also migrated from Assini crossing the Kwawu mountains in present day Eastern Region of Ghana. After they left Assini, they regarded that place as a place of bitter memories and a forbidden place so anytime people disagree with what

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[1] **Abuifé** is the Ewe appellation for this community. The Tɩgbɔ name is Ofú. **Abuifé** means Abui's home, **afé** 'home' has been borrowed from Ewe and attached to the name Abui. It appears that the first person who settled in that village is called Abui.

someone is saying or if they want to express disbelief at what the person is saying it is said that 'a**sírí y'áásí**'[2] it means that 's/he is telling lies'. Then they came to a place called Asrabi Gabi. Funke (1909) and Heine (1968) cited in Dakubu (2009) mention "Srabi Gabi"[3]. Again due to conflicts, from Asrabi Gabi they moved on and they met the Volta River. The Tafis refer to the Volta River as **Kɪlɛ** meaning 'air/wind' because their leader and king would not let his subjects live near the river since they do not know how to swim. As such, he did not want them to get drowned and get lost in thin air. He, therefore, led them to cross the river by rafts. After that, they continued their journey until they got to the Dayĩ River. Here unfortunately, there were no materials readily available for building rafts. The people became distressed. However the next morning, they saw a large and a long log across the river which they used to cross it. According to one account, before the last person could cross the river, there was a loud shout of distress and they realised that what they thought was a log was indeed a very big **kítsɔpĩ** 'python' and it had swallowed the last person. Another account also has it that all the people crossed the river successfully. It was later revealed that the python was a messenger of the god(dess) **Abǒ Dayĩ** which helped them to cross the Dayĩ river. The crossing of the river is now commemorated in the festival called **Dayĩ tsútsókĩ** 'crossing of the Dayĩ River'. All this while, the Tafis were led by Tɔgbe Afari. In the course of their migration, the people of Tafi came across some stones (ore) which they smelted and used in making farm implements and weapons. They claim some of their people remained in present day Santrokofi and they form the Bátsyɔná clan. It is reported that a language known as Sɛtafi, whose speakers seem to have been integrated into the Santrokofi people following the destruction of their town has totally vanished (see Dakubu 2009). It is possible that the language of the Bátsyɔná is what has been claimed to be Sɛtafi even though the autonym of the language has never been Tafi. The **sɛ**- prefix is the reflex of the language prefix in some GTM languages such as Sɛlɛɛ, the language of the Santrokofi people or Sɛkpɛle, the language of the Likpe people. So, it is possible that the language those Tafi people who remained in present day Santrokofi spoke was referred to as Sɛtafi in the area.

The Tafis claim that they finally settled at Anatu. The name Anatu, according to them, is derived from the statement **ítíaná 'útú ní 'úwū (ítíbaná butú ní buwū)** 'I can no more climb the mountain.' This statement was made by Tɔgbe Afari, their leader who was then old and weak. So he decided to live at the foot of the mountain. It was from here that the people started spreading out and Madɔ, Atome,

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[2] It is not clear how **assini** became [a**sírí**]. I was informed that the people of Nyagbo still use [asini] whereas the Avatimes use [a**síá**].

[3] Some hints that this place is west of the Volta are offered by Dakubu (2009) who reports that Gabi is another name for Nkami, a Guang language closely related to Nkonya, spoken west of the Volta and a related name Asabi is said to be the name for the old Kwawu capital.

and Abuife were established in that order. Those who remained in Anatu are the people of Agɔme today. After some time, the people of Agɔme moved from Anatu and got settled at their present location, Bediaxwé, where the present Agɔme is. The Tafi people were then many and they were in nine divisions. However, due to fighting of wars, five divisions perished leaving only four.

As part of the oral history, the Tafis claim that they were living at their present location before the Avatimes and Ewes arrived. The Tafis stated that they fought the Ewes because they did not want them to take their land from them. So at night, their warriors who were also hunters will go and clandestinely kill the Ewes by beheading them and since the Ewes did not know those who had been committing those heinous acts they asked "**mewoe ke le tă fi tsŏ le amewó nu lê**?" 'who were the people secretly beheading people and taking the heads away?' Thus, anytime people were beheaded and their heads taken away the Ewes said "The '**tăfilawo**' 'head thieves' have struck again'. It was later when the Ewes sent their people to scout around that they identified the Tafis as the people who had been commiting the crime. This is how the Ewes gave them the ethnonym Tafi. According to the Tafis, some Ewe groups like the Vakpos decided to make peace with them. Later on, the Tafi spies discovered another group of people who were climbing the hills and spreading over the valleys. With time they got to know that these people are speaking a form of their language. They started referring to them as 'bééhū' meaning 'they are speaking [a similar language]'. These are the people referred to as the Avatimes by the Ewes. The Bééhū, the Tafis are speculating, could be one of the groups that left them earlier on before the migration of the whole ethnic group to their present location. After the arrival of the Bééhū, the Batrugbu (Nyagbos) also came to join the Baazɛ̃ (the people of Emli) who were already at their present location.

According to the people of Tafi, the Baagbɔ and Baazɛ̃ had been living in their present settlement long before the arrival of the Ewes from Notsie. It is important to note that when a chief is being installed in Emli, it is the Agɔme chief that administers the oath of office. Some cultural practices observed by both the Baagbɔ and Baazɛ̃, such as marriage and funeral rites, are the same. The Tafis observe Monday as a sacred day or Sabbath day because it is believed that it was on a Monday that the mysterious crossing of the Dayĩ River took place. In Tafi, it is a taboo for a person to die on Monday. If it happens so, "it is believed the person may have wronged the gods of the land. There should be some form of purification with a ram before the soil is dug on Monday for burial."

1.1.2   Geographical location

Tafi is situated within the Hohoe district in the Volta Region of South-eastern Ghana. South of the Tafi area live the Nyagbo people. To the east of Tafi are the Avatime and Logba people (refer to Map 2). As stated earlier, the people of Tafi

live in four (4) communities, namely, Agɔme, Madɔ, Abuifé and Atome. Agɔme and Madɔ are along the Accra-Hohoe trunk road while Abuife and Atome are in the interior, several kilometres from the main road.

The people of Tafi are peasant farmers and the crops they cultivate include maize, yams, groundnuts, and vegetables. Cotton used to be one of the crops cultivated. In those days, the cotton was spinned and woven into cloths and used to make clothings such as hunter's attire, shorts and towels. There are two farms in Abuife where pineapple and mango are grown for commercial purposes and which provide employment opportunities for the youth in Tafi and surrounding towns. Also Abuife is a kente[4]-weaving community where kente is woven in commercial quantities.

Atome has a monkey sanctuary with Mona monkeys in a tropical forest surrounding the community (refer to picture on cover page). According to oral tradition, the Tafi people did not migrate together with the monkeys and neither were they living together with the monkeys before migrating to that place. The claim is that during the migration, the Kágbɔ́ɛ́m̃ clan carried along a fetish of their forefathers. When they got settled in Atome, at a point in time, for a period, the fetish possessed someone and made the people look for a cool place in the bush for it. They found a swampy place and within a short period, all of a sudden, monkeys came to occupy the trees in the swampy place. Nobody knew the place where they came from. Another account claims that even though they did not migrate with the monkeys they were living with them at Assini and that when they arrived at their present location then the monkeys appeared. The Tafi people believe that the monkeys are messengers of the gods. When the monkeys came into contact with people they did not run away. This was surprising. So the chief who was ruling at that time made a law that since the animals do not run away whenever they see human beings, anytime the monkeys enter anybody's dwelling place or they are on trees nobody should shoot them. The chief also gave orders that during the dry season or the harmattan season before fire will be set to bushes, fire belts should be made around that swampy area such that (after a long time,) it became a very thick forest around the town. The monkey sanctuary has become a tourist attraction site where tourists from all over the world come to visit. In the evenings, there is entertainment which includes drumming, dancing or story telling around a bonfire. Revenue from tourism has brought electricity to the village, as well as improvements to the school and a community clinic.

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[4] Kente is a locally woven cloth mostly used on ceremonial occasions. It is made from thin strips woven on narrow looms. The strips are interlaced to form a fabric. The fabric is used to create different kinds of garments.

1.1.3 Some religious and cultural practices

Christianity is practised in Tafi and churches that are in Tafi include Evangelical Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Global Evangelical and Pentecost. There are traditional religion practitioners also. The Tafi people have two fetishes which they worship. One is Ogolokwe which is their god of war. It protects and guides them during wars. It is based in Atome and it is the god that controls the monkeys. The other one is Abodayĩ which is the god(dess) of the river Dayĩ. It was this god(dess), they believe, that helped them to cross river Dayĩ. As a result, the **dayĩ tsútsɔ́kĩ** 'crossing of the Dayĩ River' festival was instituted to commemorate the crossing of the river. This festival used to be celebrated yearly, however, now it is celebrated once in so many years. The most recent was in February 2012. During the celebration of the festival, a goat is sacrificed to Abŏ Dayĩ. There are also certain cultural practices and beliefs in which the people participate. Some of the cultural practices and customary rites include birth, death, marriage, and puberty rites. Libation is poured during most of these ceremonies.

Puberty rites consist of a number of events. The rites are referred to as either **ehuí kpíkpí** or **kɪpɔtí kúkɔ́** meaning 'putting on beads' or 'giving of cloth' respectively. This ceremony is performed to initiate young girls into womanhood. The ritual is usually performed for the girls by elderly women in the community, specifically, the girls' paternal aunts. During the ceremony, the girls are taught the culture and tradition of their people and the art of playing the expected roles of both wife and mother when they get married. It is expected that all girls participating in the puberty rites are virgins. The ceremony begins on Saturday and ends on Monday.[5] On Saturday evening, the ritual begins with a prayer. Formerly, libation is poured but these days, prayers are said by an elderly woman from the clan. Then **kídɔ tsítsá** 'tying of beads' (lit.: tying thing') begins in the house of the girl's paternal uncle. All the beads are tied around various parts of her body including her neck, wrist, and ankles by her paternal aunt. In the evening, after being bedecked with beads, the girl is outdoored and her friends and family will accompany her to go from house to house to invite friends and relatives to accompany her to church on Sunday for thanksgiving. The ritual has thus become syncretised with aspects of traditional lore and Christian practice. After the church service, there is drumming and dancing during which time food and drinks are served to members of the community at large. The ceremony itself is performed on Monday. The climax of the ceremony is on Monday when very early in the morning, a specific cloth, **kíwalɔ (k)ɪpɔtí** 'Monday cloth', is wrapped around the girl's waist by her paternal aunt among other things done on this day. It is only then that the girls can be said to have passed out. She is again accompanied by friends and family to go round the community till the afternoon when the ceremony comes to an end.

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[5] According to another account, the ceremony starts on Friday evening.

1.2   Language

Tafi has, hitherto, been one of the least described Ghana-Togo-Mountain (GTM) languages (Ring 1995) spoken in Ghana. The GTM languages are spoken in Ghana, Togo and Benin. Earlier works on these languages referred to them, in German, as "Togorestsprachen" (Struck 1912) or, in English, as "Togo Remnant Languages". They have also been referred to as "Central-Togo languages" (Kropp Dakubu & Ford 1988).

1.2.1   Genetic classification

The genetic affiliation of these languages within Niger-Congo has been much contested. Westermann and Bryan (1952:96) considered them as constituting an isolate group and observed that they have some similarity to the Kwa languages in terms of vocabulary while their noun class system is reminiscent of Bantu languages. Greenberg (1966) puts them in Kwa. Heine (1968a) surveyed the languages, reconstructed a Proto-GTM and sub-classified the group into two: NA and KA based on the root for 'meat'. These two groups, now called NA-Togo and KA-Togo, are presumed to branch out from Proto-Kwa (Williamson and Blench 2000; Blench 2009). Tafi belongs to the KA-Togo group. Other members of the group are Animere, Kebu, Tuwuli, Igo, Ikposo, Nyagbo (Tutrugbu), and Avatime (Siya). The closely related Nyagbo has together with Tafi, sometimes, been thought of as constituting one group and they show a certain degree of mutual intelligibility. Unlike the other geographically contiguous southern GTM languages – Avatime, Nyagbo and Tafi - Logba stands out as belonging to the NA-Togo group, it is thus genetically not so closely related to them.

1.2.2   Previous studies on the language

Prior to this work, Tafi has been one of the least studied languages, not only among the GTM languages but also in Ghana (Ring 2000). The only available studies exclusively on the language are Funke (1910) which is a short grammatical sketch in German and Casali (2005) which is a concise description of Tafi phonology based on elicitation from one speaker of the 1700 word SIL Comparative African Wordlist (Snider and Roberts 2004). Tafi also receives some attention in Heine (1968a), Ford (1973a) and Dakubu & Ford (1988) where it is treated as a sister dialect to Nyagbo. One of the consequences is that Tafi has been presumed to have a seven vowel system like Nyagbo. The current study reveals that Tafi has a nine vowel system. Ford (1973b) also collected some comparative wordlists, e.g. of verbs which he made available to us. Curently, Nyagbo (Tutrugbu) is being documented by Essegbey and some of the works done on it have been referred to in this book, e.g. Essegbey 2009, 2010a, b, Essegbey et al. 2011, 2012.

1.2.3 Sociolinguistic situation

The Tafi language is endangered and not documented up till now. Speakers are highly multilingual and every Tafi speaker is bilingual in at least Tafi and Ewe (the dominant regional language). Ewe is the language of communication with their immediate neighbours and in commercial transactions in the market. Some speakers also have Akan and English in their repertoire. Tafi is also threatened by the official language policy in the sense that it is not recognised for official use in the classroom. Tafi is also not used in mass media, e.g. radio or television. UNESCO red book rates it as vulnerable. There are five primary schools, one of which is private, and four Junior High Schools in Tafi and there are also kindergartens in all the Tafi communities. English is the official language and Ewe is taught as a school subject and is the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school and in the kindergartens. In addition, though Tafi is spoken at home, most children speak Ewe in school and this is because they have to interact with other children who are not Tafi speakers. Having come in contact with these languages has had an effect on the language itself and linguistic practices. Speakers tend to code-mix a lot such that Tafi has a lot of borrowings from Ewe, Akan, English and Ga (see § 2.6 and also Heine (1968b) and Bobuafor (2007)). Moreover, the chief of Tafi, Tɔgbe Afari who led his subjects to their present settlement was a noble leader and he won several appellations to his honour. These appellations are in Akan and they stemmed from his bravery and courage which made him lead them to fight many wars. Some of the appellations include Afari "**Okukurubɔ**" where he was being likened to a beetle which could lift a stone and yet fly with it easily. Another appellation is "**adikɛse firi suro bɛbɔɔ akyikyideɛ akyi ɛyɛ ɔkɔtɔ anka apae**" meaning 'a heavy object fell from above and hit the back of a tortoise, if it were a crab it would have got broken into pieces'. Furthermore, some dirges used at funerals are in Akan or Ewe.

Speakers of Tafi also speak and understand Nyagbo since both languages are mutually intelligible. Also some speakers understand and communicate in Avatime as a result of slight similarities between Tafi and Avatime; schooling in the Avatime area where schools were located in the early days; and inter-marriages. Nyagbo, Tafi and Avatime have sometimes been considered a language cluster (Dakubu 2009). Even though Logba is a geographical neighbour and a commercial centre, speakers of Tafi do not speak the Logba language. Knowledge of other GTM languages is virtually non-existent.

With the establishment of the monkey sanctuary in Atome, there is a possibility of many people becoming more competent in English because of the tourists visiting the monkey sanctuary. However, the establishment of the monkey sanctuary has also led to the revival of cultural practices such as story telling by the fireside in the evenings.

Dialect differentiation in Tafi seems to be minimal. One difference I have noticed so far is in the use of the postposition **kʊmʊ** 'in(side). In Agɔme and Abuifé, the **kʊ-** prefix is totally elided while in Madɔ and Atome, it is only the initial consonant **k** that is elided. In this study, where the example text is taken from a recording from Agɔme or Abuifé, and the difference is obvious it is pointed out. Also comparing my data with that of a Swadesh GTM Wordlist, collected by Casali (n.d.) in Ring et. al. (n.d.), based on the speech of one speaker from Agɔme, one notices a correspondence between **u/ʊ** and **i/ɪ** vowels which may be attributed to dialect differences. Thus in my data gathered mainly from Madɔ the words for 'child', 'sea' and 'rain' are **anʊvɔ**, **afu** and **sʊbha** respectively whereas they are **anɪvɔ**, **axwi** and **sɪbva**[6] in Casali's data. More systematic investigation is needed to verify the extent of the variation.

1.3 Brief outline of the language

Tafi has five syllable types. These are V/N which is a vowel or nasal; VC, made up of a vowel and a consonant; CV, made up of a consonant and a vowel; CVV which consists of a consonant and a long vowel; CCV which is made up of two consonants and a vowel, the second consonant may be a liquid or a glide. Tafi has consonant phonemes made at these places of articulation: bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. The consonants include /**bh**/ and /**f**/. /**bh**/ is an aspirated voiced labial stop. It has no voiceless counterpart in the language and occurs in some words including **kábhā** 'top' and **bhulí** 'small'. /**f**/ is a voiceless labial fricative which has no voiced counterpart in the language. It appears that this sound was introduced into the language as a result of borrowing from Ewe. It only occurs in two words which are **afu** 'sea' and **Abuifé** 'the name of one of the Tafi communities'. Tafi has double articulated labial velar stops /**kp**/ and /**gb**/ as well as alveolar and palatal affricates /**ts**/, /**dz**/ and /**tʃ**/, /**dʒ**/[7] respectively. Tafi has a nine vowel system. All these vowels except /**o**/ have nasalised counterparts. The vowels participate in ATR vowel harmony. Thus, they are divided into two sets, [+ATR] - / **i, e, o, u** / and [-ATR] - / **ɪ, ɛ, ɔ, ʊ** / as shown in Table 2.2 below. The /**a**/ vowel occurs with vowels from both sets. ATR vowel harmony in Tafi is stem-controlled, in the sense that the vowel of prefixes harmonises with the vowel of the first syllable of the stem. Thus, depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel in the root, the prefix may have varied forms.
In connected speech, Tafi displays both level and contour tones. It has three level tonemes: High, Mid and Low. In addition to the three levels, there are two gliding tones: Falling and Rising which are phonetically realised on the peak of one

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[6] The sound I represent as [**bh**] is represented as [**bv**] by Casali.

[7] The orthographic representation of the IPA symbols /**tʃ**/ and /**dʒ**/ are 'tsy' and 'dzy' respectively.

syllable.[8] There are three falling tones: High-Mid, High-Low and Mid-Low and two rising tones: Low-Mid and Low-High. The contour tones can be lexical or they can be generated in context. Tones are used for lexical contrast and to express grammatical functions. The notational conventions used for marking tones in this book are as follows: a High tone is marked (´); a Low tone is unmarked or marked (`) on nasals; a Mid tone is marked (¯); the rising tones are marked (ˇ) and (ˏ) representing Low-High and Low-Mid respectively and the falling tones are marked (˵), (^), (ˆ) representing High-Mid, High-Low and Mid-Low tones respectively.

Tafi is an active noun class language and nouns are classified into ten classes comprising five singular classes, one non-count class and four plural classes. Tafi is a language whose basic constituent order is SV/AVO/AVDO. Subjects (S/A) are cross-referenced on the verb with markers that agree with the class of the subject NP except for the two **bu**- classes. The classes with prefixes containing the vowel /**i**/, namely **i**-, **ki**- and **ti**- classes, are either cross-referenced with the corresponding subject markers or zero. Some modifiers show agreement with the head noun while others, like the adjective and the ordinal, maintain no concord relationship with the head noun. As regards the cardinal numerals, it is one to nine that show agreement with the head noun. Some modifiers can be nominalised through the addition of nominal prefixes and the pronominal forms of the various noun classes. In double-object (AVDO) constructions, the Goal or Dative precedes the Theme. In locative constructions, the Theme occurs before the Locative. Moreover, adjuncts may occur after the core arguments in the clause.

Tafi has a marked kinship possessive grammar. Singular kinship possession is marked with the 3SG independent pronoun **yí** referring to the possessor placed between the possessor and the kinship term. Plural kinship possession is expressed by juxtaposition (see Chapter 4 on Noun phrases).

Tafi has two bona fide prepositions and others that have verbal sources, some of which are undergoing grammaticalisation and one that has completely grammaticalised. Spatial regions and parts are specified by about a dozen or so postpositions in the language. These postpositions are spatial nominals or body-part nouns which are at different stages in the process of grammaticalisation.

There are about eight question words which are used to ask content questions. Two of which are interrogative modifiers (**ɖúwē** 'which' and **-shī̄** 'how many/much') so they occur after the head noun. Two of the question words (**-shī̄** 'how many/much' and **-nī̄** 'who') show concord with the head noun. When some of the question

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[8] The tone system of Tafi still presents several analytic challenges which require further investigation. For example, the utterance final pitch or intonation in vocatives needs further investigation.

words are in focus, they are followed by the relative marker **gɪ** 'REL' or the connector **pɪ** 'CONN'.

Tafi is a verb serialising language. In serial verb constructions, two or more verbs occur without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. The verbs share at least one argument and same tense and mood which is marked only once on the first verb. The verbs cannot be independently negated. The verbs can be independently focused or questioned. Tense, aspect and mood are mainly marked by preverbs in Tafi and there are about a dozen preverbal markers. Depending on the number of arguments they take, verbs in Tafi are classified as one-place, two-place and three-place predicates and they occur in various argument structure constructions such as one-place, two-place and three-place constructions respectively. Tafi has very few non-derived adjectives. However, derived adjectives are formed through reduplication of property verbs. Relativisation, and the use of nominal property words as complements of predicators, medio-passive constructions as well as the use of other qualifiers are other strategies for expressing adjectival meanings.

Like many other languages in the area, Tafi has ideophonic words – marked words that depict sensory images (Dingemanse 2011). Syntactically, they function as nominal modifiers or verbal modifiers.

Topic is marked by a form **nɪ́** which is also the form of the definiteness marker. In topic constructions, a noun phrase or a postpositional phrase may be fronted to the left periphery as an external argument of the clause, that is, to sentence initial position. An out-of-focus part of focus utterances, especially those where the highlighted elements are marked by intensifiers like **ko** 'just', are marked by another marker **anɪ́** 'TOP'. This form is the same as the proximal demonstrative. Relative clauses are optionally marked off by the topic marker **nɪ́** signalling that they convey background information with respect to the head nominal. Thus, the head noun of the relative clause occurs on the left periphery of the clause and is followed by the relative clause introduced by the marker **gɪ**. Focus is not marked by a particle but a subject argument in focus is referred to by an independent pronoun. If the argument focused is not the subject then there is a gap left in its position after it has been fronted (Schachter 1973). Verbs are focused by nominalising the verb with the class prefix **bu/bu**- of the **bu¹**- class and then placing them before the subject NP of the clause. If the subject NP is a pronoun then it is the dependent form of the pronoun that is used.

1.4   Data collection

The data for this study was collected during two field trips to Tafi amounting to fifteen months in total between 2007 and 2009. I was based in Tafi Madɔ while visiting the other communities regularly. I tried to observe speakers' behaviour and

also learn to speak the language to help enhance my understanding of it. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I elicited data using the Ibadan 400 wordlist as well as the SIL comparative African wordlist which comprises about 1700 words (Snider and Roberts 2004). The data collected using these questionnaires allowed for a preliminary analysis of the phonology and the identification of loan words as well as the nominal class prefixes.

Direct lexical elicitation has an important role in language documentation, however, it also has its limitations (see e.g. Hellwig 2011). Thus, I also recorded spontaneous spoken texts of different genres in the field including folktales, conversations, proverbs, riddles, some procedural discourses etc. in the language. These were supplemented by a Frog Story (FS) narrative description elicited using the wordless picture book *Frog, where are you*? (Mayer 1969) and various standardised picture and video stimuli designed and developed by the Language and Cognition Group at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for the investigation of topological relations and the semantics of positional verbs and for semantics of categories, e.g. 'Cut and Break' (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001), 'Put and Take' (Bowerman et al. 2004) etc. (see fieldmanuals.mpi.nl). Data elicited with these picture and video stimuli are marked as TRPS (Topological Relations Picture Series) (Bowerman & Pederson (1993); PSPV (Picture Series for Positional Verbs) (Ameka et al. 1999) and C&B ('Cut and Break') (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001) etc. Supplementary information was obtained from direct elicitation based on questionnaires for linguistic and cultural fieldwork derived from manuals (e.g. Bouquiaux and Thomas 1992, Comrie and Smith 1977, McKinney 2000, Payne 1997, Shopen 2007 volumes, and other questionnaires available at http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources.php). Informal or structured interviews were also conducted. The data were recorded using a solid state digital audio (Roland Edirol R-09) and video transferred to computer platform for transcription, translation, annotation and interlinearisation. Some phrases, clauses and even full sentences in this grammar have been lifted from the narrative texts as well as from the elicitations.

My principal consultants and assistants in the field were Beatrice Amoadza, Nelson Agbley and Emmanuel Amoadza, all from Tafi Madɔ. Beatrice Amoadza, a retired basic school teacher and Emmanuel Amoadza, an active community member and a farmer, are resident in Tafi Madɔ while Nelson Agbley, a retired secondary school French teacher, is resident in Accra and periodically comes to Tafi Madɔ. Other consultants are Manfred Ocrah, Juliana Ocrah, Johnson Kasu, Wilhemina Sonkro, Michael Agbesi, Tɔgbe Afari VIII and Patricia Amoadza. Apart from my consultants, I also recorded information from children, youth and older people, both men and women. These are people of different statuses, chiefs and elders of the community as well as ordinary members. All these people have different educational backgrounds and different levels of exposure to English and Ewe. Some speak Akan and few, Avatime.

I elicited information from some children using stimuli and I also recorded a frog story narrative discourse from a youth after which these recordings were played to some adults for comments and the comments I received included "if you want to be working with children this is what you get" and "don't work with the children, they are destroying the language". In addition, there is variation among adult speakers. Some speakers tend to simplify the phonological and grammatical processes. This is reflected in the recordings I made of different speakers. It is evident that the noun class system is in the process of decaying in the sense that the agreement system is being simplified, thus for example, it is the subject-verb agreement markers of the **a¹/ba(a)-** classes that are used to cross-reference all subject NPs on the verb, irrespective of their classes. Similarly, the agreement on modifiers within the noun phrase are also being generalised to the **a¹/ba(a)** classes, for instance the agreement form of the indefiniteness marker modifying a noun of the **o-** class such as **ɔ-kɔ́** 'place' should be **tolí**, however, some speakers use **telí**, the agreement form of the **a¹/ba(a)-** classes. I also realised that the phonological process of **ʊ/i-** insertion after the deletion of the initial **k** of the **ka/ke-** prefix (see § 2.5.3) is gradually getting lost from the speech of children so you hear **kplɔ̌ábhā** instead of **kplɔ̌ʊábhā** (**kplɔ̌ kábhā** (table top)) 'on a table'. Moreover, some youth could not enumerate the numerals without mixing them with some Ewe numerals. As regards the adult speakers, most of them condemn the speech of those who make extensive use of Ewe vocabulary however unconsciously some of them indulge in the same practice.

1.5   Methodology and theoretical framework

The methodology adopted in this grammar is a field work based approach to the study of linguistic structures and their use in socio-cultural contexts. I try to describe the Tafi language in its own terms or 'from the inside', rather than imposing on the language concepts whose primary motivation comes from other languages.

The grammatical description is cast in basic linguistic theory which is a cumulative framework in which most descriptive grammars are written and which is informed by structural, functional, formal and typological insights (Dixon 1997, 2010, Dryer 2006). Emphasis will be placed on rigorous descriptive analysis rather than formal implementation. Therefore, every aspect of the language will be analysed and described in as much detail as possible based on how it is used in context. Explanations for phenomena will be sought in contact history and/or cultural practices and the structures cast in cross-linguistic typological perspective. There is a lot of variation in the speech of the speakers due in part to change in progress in the Tafi language. I have endeavoured to give a flavour of this variation by refraining from making too many categorical statements about Tafi grammatical processes. Thus in this grammar, I will attempt to make use of expressions and abbreviations which in my opinion will not be beyond the understanding of

linguists as well as the interested reader to explain each grammatical phenomenon that will be examined or talked about.

1.6 Outline of the grammar and presentation of data

This book is organised as follows: Chapter 2 examines the phonological system of the language. The discussions in Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to nominals. In Chapter 3, I describe the noun class system of the language whereas in Chapter 4, I look at the various types of noun phrases and the structure of the noun phrase. Chapter 5 focuses on adpositions and adpositional phrases while Chapter 6 examines clause structure and clause types. In Chapter 7, I give a description of verbs and verbal modifiers. Sentence types are presented in Chapter 8 and various clause combinations are described in Chapter 9. In Chapter 10, I discuss Serial Verb Constructions. Routine expressions and formulae used in social interactions are presented in Chapter 11. Three types of words: ideophones, interjections and particles, are discussed in Chapter 12. The final chapter contains a transcription and translation of selected texts in Tafi. Table 1.1 lists the various texts in my corpus showing the ones included or not included in Chapter 13. I have indicated the texts from which various examples are taken against them in the grammar whether they are included in Chapter 13 or not.

Table 1.1: Texts in the corpus

Genre	Included in Chapter 13	Not included in Chapter13
Folk tales	Kásālā̄ 'tortoise'	Gbaxálῑ̃ 'striped mouse'
		Sãhwῑ̄ 'spider'
Proverbs	Proverbs	
Riddles	Riddles	
Songs		Songs
Procedural discourse	Palm oil preparation 'Bʊdzɔ tʊtɔ'	Local soap making
	Preparation of red rice balls 'kɪmʊkɔ́ gige'	Yam cultivation
Historical narrative		(History of) the monkeys (Butsé)
		History of kente weaving
		History of the migration of the Tafi.
Descriptions of customs		Saxwí 'funeral rites for parent-in-law'
		Puberty rites
		Marriage custom
		Butsíugū 'funeral rites'
Stimulated narrative		Frog Story (FS)

In the grammar, the texts and their translations are presented in four lines as illustrated below:

1.   Kásãlã adawŏsɔ́'iesí.
        ká-sãlã   a-da-wõsɔ́   ke.sí
        CM-tortoise SM-ITIVE-lie   down
        'Tortoise went and lay down.'   (Kásãlã)

The Tafi data is presented on the first line showing word divisions. The apostrophe sign (') is used to indicate deletions. The data is shown in bold with hyphens (-) representing morpheme breaks in the second line. The morphs in the first line are fully spelt out as morphemes in the second line such that initial consonants and syllables deleted are presented in their recoverable forms. The interlinear English gloss and a free English translation given in single quotes are presented in the third and fourth lines respectively. The source of the example if available in the texts is given in brackets. In the above example, the sentence comes from the folk tale of **Kasãlã** 'tortoise', hence the name in brackets after the free translation.

Class-markers that are fossilised with grammaticalised nominals are separated from the nominal stems by a full stop indicating the form has a single meaning and to distinguish it from the nominals, e.g., **ke.sí** 'under, beneath' and **ke-sí** 'bottom, down part'.

The object forms of pronouns are the same as the independent forms of the pronouns. In the glosses on the third line, however, the object forms are not glossed as IND partly because the initial consonants on the object forms tend to be elided.

The following IPA representations /bʰ/, /ɸ/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /ʧ/, /ʧw/, /ʤ/, /ɦ/, /j/ and /ɲ/ are written as '**bh**', '**f**', '**sh**', '**zh**', '**tsy**', '**tsyw**', '**dzy**', '**h**', '**y**' and '**ny**' respectively. Vowels are written using their IPA symbols. Orthographic vowel sequences where the first vowel is a high front vowel **i** or **ɪ** or a back vowel **o, ɔ, u,** or **ʊ** are phonologically a sequence of a palatal glide and and a labial velar glide respectively. They are written as vowel sequences following the Ewe orthographic convention. Low tones are not marked all other tones are marked with accents.

2   PHONOLOGY

This chapter covers the phonology of Tafi. Section 2.1 looks at the syllable structures of the language. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 present the inventory of the consonant and vowel phonemes of Tafi. The tone system of the language and phonological processes are discussed in sections 2.4 and 2.5 respectively. Loanwords are examined in section 2.6 followed by Tafi orthography in section 2.7.

2.1   Syllable structure

In Tafi, the syllable is a tone bearing unit and it may be made up of an onset and a peak; a peak; or a peak and a coda. The onset includes any consonant that precedes the peak. The peak which always carries a tone consists of a vowel or a syllabic nasal and it is the most sonorous element in the syllable and it is also the one required component of the syllable. Thus, the smallest syllabic unit in the language consists of a vowel or a syllabic nasal. The coda is made up of a consonant. There is a strong preference for open syllables except for two grammatical contexts – pronouns and numerals – where some closed syllables occur as in (1b). The syllable comprising a peak and a coda occurs as a result of (historical) loss of the second vowel in a (C)VCV sequence. The possible syllable types in the language are as follows[9]:

1a.   V/N
1b.   VC
1c.   CV
1d.   CVV
1e.   CCV i.e., CL/GV

2.1.1   The V/N syllable

The V syllable can occur in any position in a word. Syllables consisting of only a vowel element are most often pronouns or prefixes of the stem of a word. The examples in (2) are prefixes of nouns. In the examples given in this section, the syllable boundaries are marked by a dot (.).

2. /i/   i.si.sí   'pestle (pl)'   /ɪ/   ɪ.gɔ.bɔ́   'navel (pl)'
          i.vu.tɔ́   'roof (pl)'   ɪ.mʊ.nɔ́   'cloud (pl)'

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[9] Casali (2005) identifies a CVN syllable type but I treat such structures as consisting of two syllables where the N is syllabic in all the cases. The N always bears a tone. Sometimes, the tone is different from the surrounding ones.

i.dzyi	'heart (pl)'	**ı.kpá̋**	'life'
i.ku.ku	'elbow (pl)'	**ı.tsrǐ**	'leg (pl)'

/e/	**e.ku.sí**	'chief'	/a/	**á.nyí**	'man'
	e.le.té	'owner'		**a.yí̄.sī̄**	'sand'
	e.tsí	'bee'		**a.ga**	'animal'
	é.kū	'yam (pl)'		**a.nú.vɔ̃**	'child'

The 1SG, 2SG and 3SG subject pronouns are also examples of a V syllable, all the plural subject pronouns have an initial consonant. The following are examples:

3. | | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **í.tú** | 'I pound' |
| | **í.kɔ́** | 'I give' |
| | **ó.bú** | 'you remove' |
| | **ɔ́.vı** | 'you go' |
| | **é.yū** | 's/he weaves' |
| | **á.ɖɔ** | 's/he says' |

Nasals can also form syllables by themselves. In Tafi, all the nasals except /ny/ occur as syllabic consonants. The N syllables occur in word-medial or word-final positions in nouns. Whenever they occur in word-medial position, they are homorganic with the following consonant which belongs to the next syllable. The examples in (4) illustrate this point.

4. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| /m/ | **ka.m̀.pé** | 'a pair of scissors' | (CV.N.CV) |
| | **ká-m̀.pi.e.sí** | 'armpit' | (CV.N.CV.V.CV) |
| /n/ | **bú.w̃ũ.ǹ.dɔ** | 'shoulder' | (CV.CV.N.CV) |
| /ŋ/ | **tú.ŋ́.gbá** | 'a type of antelope' | (CV.N.CV) |
| | **kó.ŋ́** | 'very much' | (CV.N) |

Moreover, there are instances where we have /n/ and /m/ occurring as syllabic consonants in word-final position. This is due to the deletion of the vowel that occurs after them during speech. For instance, when the definiteness article **ní** 'the' occurs after a noun, most often, speakers tend to delete its final vowel (see also section 2.5.2). This also happens with the first person object pronoun **mí** 'me'. When these final vowels are deleted, their tones remain and they are shifted leftwards onto the nasals. The examples in (5) are illustrative of this point.

5a. | | | |
|---|---|---|
| **á.nyí.ń** | 'the man' | (V.CV.N) |
| **a.dzı.ń** | 'the woman' | (V.CV.N) |
| **o.sí.ń** | 'the tree' | (V.CV.N) |
| **ki.kū.ń** | 'the yam' | (CV.CV.N) |
| **kı.kpǎ.ń** | 'the fish' | (CV.CV.N) |

5b.   **sí.nɔ.ḿ**   'greet me'   (CV.CV.N)
      kɔ́.ḿ   'give me'   (CV.N)
      plí.nɔ̄.ḿ   'help me'   (CV.CV.N)

2.1.2   The VC syllable

The VC syllable in Tafi comprises a vowel (peak) and a consonant (coda) which occurs as a result of the deletion of the vowel of the second syllable in numerals, i.e., the multiples of ten except for the word for thirty **áfaatá** and fifty **áfeití**, or when the final vowel of **balí** '3PL.IND' occurs as the final word in a clause. As object pronoun, its initial consonant is also elided yielding **al** a VC syllable. Thus, /f/ and /l/ are the only consonants that occur as the coda. The following are examples:

6a.   **áf.ta.lĭ**   'forty'
      áf.te.gé.né   'seventy'
      áf.ta.sūĭ   'eighty'
      áf.te.zhi.tá   'ninety'

6b.   **Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ kɔ́ 'ál'.**
      Ésí   á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   kɔ́   balí
      Ésí   SM-cook CM-thing DAT   3PL
      'Esi cooked for them.'

2.1.3   The CV syllable

CV syllables are the most common. Most of the monosyllabic words have CV syllables and there are no restrictions on the occurrence of such a syllable in polysyllabic words. Examples are:

7.   **wɔ**   'play'   (CV)
      tsú   'dig'   (CV)
      dí   'look'   (CV)
      ɔ.kɔ́   'place'   (V.CV)
      bé.kē   'finish'   (CV.CV)
      a.nú.vɔ̄   'child'   (V.CV.CV)
      bu.tu.tú   'saliva'   (CV.CV.CV)
      bé.gu.gu.dɔ   'mad people'   (CV.CV.CV.CV)

2.1.4   The CVV syllable

The CVV syllable is made up of a consonant and a long vowel. This syllable type is found only in loanwords or in ideophones and they can occur in word-initial,

word-medial and word final positions. Examples of words with the CVV syllable type include:

8.   **ge.lee**   'much'   (CV.CVV)
      pé.téé   'all'   (CV.CVV)
      nyáá   'each, every, any'   (CVV)
      faá.nɔ̃   'too much'   (CVV.CV)
      ri.ɖii.ɖi   'continuously'   (CV.CVV.CV)

2.1.5   The CCV syllable

The CCV syllable comprises a consonant cluster and a peak. The consonant cluster consists of two consonants, the second of which is either a liquid [l] or [r] yielding a CLV subtype as shown in (9); or a glide /w/ or /y/ yielding a CGV subtype as illustrated in (10). This syllable type can occur in any position in a stem. It is significant to note that most often, when a consonant is followed by a [+high] front vowel in a vowel sequence, this vowel is analysed as /y/ and thus it forms a cluster with the consonant onset. Likewise when a consonant is followed by any of the back vowels in a vowel sequence, it is analysed as /w/ which occurs as the second consonant in a consonant cluster.

9.   **gbɪ.gblă**   'big, huge'   (CV.CLV)
      ke.kplĭ.m̃   'palm (of hand)'   (CV.CLV.N)
      kla   'count, read'   (CLV)
      trŏ   'spin (thread)'   (CLV)

10.   **bʊɪa**   /bwɪa/   'pay'   (CGV.V)
      tɪatá[10]   /tya.tá/   'three'   (CGV.CV)
      ɔbhɪa   /ɔ.bhya/   'friend'   (V.CGV)
      kám̀piesí   /ká.m̀.pye.sí/   'armpit'   (CV.N.CGV.CV)

In the phonological system, [l] and [r] are in complementary distribution when they occur as the second C in a CCV syllable. [l] occurs after consonants that are labial, labio-dental, velar and labial velar. These can be characterized as [-coronal]. [r] occurs after alveolar and palatal consonants. One exception to this is the word **frɪɖɪ** 'white'. Some loanwords and ideophones also deviate from this general pattern. Thus, we find [r] after labials and velars as in **prūɖū** 'fly'   and   **ɔbrahíní**[11] 'sugar-cane'. The allophony and distribution of [l] and [r] in Tafi can also be found in neighbouring Ewe and Logba (Dorvlo 2008).

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[10] This is the form the numeral 'two' takes when it modifies a noun from the **ba(a)-** class.
[11] Some speakers also call the sugarcane **ɔbrazhíní.**

2.2   Consonants

The consonant sounds in Tafi are shown in Table 2.1 below. The consonants in the chart are described in terms of:

- Place of articulation
- Manner of articulation and
- Phonation

The eight (8) different places of articulation, which are arranged from left to right are bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar, labio-velar and glottal. The manners of articulation are arranged vertically on the chart. With regard to manner of articulation, consonants may be described as stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, liquids and glides. Pertaining to phonation which is the voice feature, the sounds which occur on the left are voiceless and their voiced counterparts are on the right. On the second line in the rows, we have either aspirated, labialised or nasalised sounds. Phonetically **/y/** represents the palatal approximant [**j**].

Table 2.1   The Tafi Consonant Chart

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stops	p b bʰ		t d	ɖ		k g	kp gb	ʔ
Fricatives	ɸ	f v fw	s z		ʃ ʒ	x xw		h ɦ hw
Affricates			ts dz		tʃ dʒ tʃw			
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ ŋw		
Liquids			l, r					
Glides					y		w w̃	

The representation of some of the sounds in the table deserves to be commented on:

In the table, the representation of the sounds is in IPA symbols. The following IPA representations /bʰ/, /ɸ/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, /tʃw/, /dʒ/, /ɦ/, and /ɲ/ are orthographically represented as 'bh', 'f', 'sh', 'zh', 'tsy', 'tsyw', 'dzy', 'h', and 'ny' respectively and these are the symbols used throughout this work.

As will become evident in the following discussion, some of the sounds represented in the table are allophones of one another. [r] is in complementary distribution with [l] in the second position in the syllable. [h] and [ɦ] are in free variation. Similarly, [ŋw] and [w̃] are in free variation occurring only before nasalised sounds and are both in complementary distribution with [w]. [ɸ] is a loan phoneme.

/f/ is a voiceless labial fricative which has no voiced counterpart. This sound got introduced into the language as a result of borrowing from Ewe. /f/ occurs intervocalically. In my database, /f/ only occurs in two words as shown in example (11a).

11a.   /f/   afu   'sea'
                 Abuifé[12]   'the name of one of the Tafi communities'

[ɦ] is a voiced glottal fricative. It seems that it is in free variation with [h] even in the speech of the same speaker. In this work, the two sounds are not orthographically distinguistished and are represented as 'h'. Examples of words in which [ɦ] occurs include:

11b.   /ɦ/   [o-ɦwi]   ~   [o-hui]   'rope'
                [ka-ɦʊkpɔ́]   ~   [ka-hʊkpɔ́]   'hand'
                [kíw̃ɔ̃ɦũ]   ~   [kíw̃ɔ̃hũ]   'eye'
                [ɦu]   ~   [hu]   'strike, hit'

A number of words in my database contain the sound [w̃]. The sound [w̃] is a nasalised labial velar glide which occurs immediately before nasalised vowels. In this respect, [w̃] and [w] are in complementary distribution. Depending on the speaker, this sound oscillates between [w̃] and the labialised velar nasal [ŋw].[13] Examples of words with [w̃] include:

12.   [w̃]   ɔ̃-w̃ɔ̃mĩ   'thread'
                buw̃á   'in vain'
                w̃ɪ́   'appear'
                kɪ-w̃ɔ̃   'a strip (of cloth)'

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[12] See footnote 1 under Chapter 1.

[13] Words that are pronounced by speakers with either of these consonants are represented as such in this thesis.

2.2.1   Stops

All the stops in Tafi occur in pairs differentiated by voice. /bh/ and /ɖ/ however do not have voiceless counterparts.

The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ mainly occurs in word-initial position in verbs, conjunctions and ideophones. It also occurs in word-medial position. With regard to nouns, it occurs in stem-initial position and intervocalically. Moreover, it occurs in word-initial position of some few nouns which are loanwords. This is exemplified below:

13.   /p/   prūɖū   'fly (v)'   bʊ-pá   'house'
              pó   'wait (for)'   a-pʊtɔ́   'mud'
              pĩ̄   '(be) good'   o-púpú   'door'
              pɔ   'but'   ke-plukpá   'book'
              prítī   'plate' (loanword)   kí-pɔ̄   'wound, sore'
              pʊ̃́i   [pwĩ́]   'roast'

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ can occur in word initial position and intervocalically. In nouns, it occurs as the initial consonant of some noun class prefixes. Below are some examples:

14.   /b/   bá   'come'   ba-pá   'houses'
              bísī   'ask'   bu-lí   'oil palm'
              bālī̄   'spill'   be-blidzyā   'snakes'
              bú   'remove'   ɔ-brazhíní   'sugar-cane'
              bʊbɔ   'bend down'   ki-bui [kibwi] 'case, matter'
              glebe   'roll'

In any consonant clusters in which /p/ or /b/ occurs as the first consonant, the following consonant is [l] or [r] or [w] as illustrated by some of the examples in (13) and (14) above.

/bʰ/ is an aspirated voiced bilabial stop. This sound has no voiceless counterpart in the language. The following are examples with this sound:

15.   /bʰ/   kábhā   'top, on'   o-bhoshi   'sheep'
              bhɪtī̄   'do, make'   ɪ-bha   'two'
              súbha   'rain'   bʊ-bhɪ   'hunger'
              bhulí   'small'   bhui   'cut'

/t/ and /d/ are voiceless and voiced alveolar stops respectively. They occur in word initial position or intervocalically. The following examples illustrate them:

16. /t/   tá   'throw'   bʊ-tɔ́   'ear, potash'
          tú   'pound'   ti-sí   'earth (soil)'

trŏ	'spin, twist'	**é-fleté**	'leopard'
tí-kā	'hair, fur'	**bu-tú**	'mountain'

17. **/d/** **dɩmí**   'like'   **á-dá**   'sister'
     dí   'look'   **ki-dri** 'wall'
     danī 'open'   **o-di**   'line'
     dɩ   'sell'   **ke-de**   'back'

/ɖ/ is a voiced post-alveolar retroflex stop which occurs in stem initial position or intervocalically. This is exemplified in (18) below:

18. **/ɖ/** **ka-ɖɔ**   'speech'   **prūɖū**   'fly'
     o-ɖútsū 'stew'   **ɖɔ**   'say'
     ɔ-ɖá   'iron, metal'   **frɩɖí**   'white'

/k/ and /g/ are velar stops. Both sounds have a wide distribution in the sense that they can occur stem-initially, and also before /l/. /k/ also occurs at the beginning of certain singular noun prefixes in the language. There is an instance where /k/ occurs before [r] in the word /akro/ 'boat' which is borrowed from Ewe even though the Baagbɔ also use the expression **keniabha opúpú** 'boat, canoe' which is a direct translation of the Ewe expression '**tɔdzíʋú**' which literally means 'river-top vehicle'. The following examples illustrate the consonants /k/ and /g/ in different positions in a word:

19. **/k/** **kɩ-pɔtí** 'cloth'   **ke-sisí**   'mortar'
     ka-wī   'axe'   **kí-níkí**   'tongue'
     ɔ-kɔ́   'place'   **kí-kū**   'yam'

20. **/g/** **bú-glebē** 'wing'   **géné**   'seven'
     gɩganɩ   'strong, hard'   **gɔ̄**   'remain'
     áglɔ̄   'each other'   **bú-gū**   'custom'

/kp/ and /gb/ are double articulated labial-velar stops. They have a wide distribution. They can occur before and after any vowel and before /l/ in a cluster as shown in the following examples:

21. **/kp/** **kpí**   'wear'   **ke-plukpá**   'book'
     e-kpú   'corpse'   **ki-kplǐ**   'fist'
     ke-tukpĕ 'hill'   **ke-sukpogunū** 'tree stump'

22. **/gb/** **gbɩgblǎ**   'big'   **gba**   'sweep'
     kí-sígbé 'ring'   **ke-gbu**   'stool'
     gbe   'refuse (v)' (loanword)   **gbɔkɔé**   'toad'

There is a glottal stop /ʔ/ in Tafi which is used to mark negative utterances (see Chapter 7, section 7.3.5 for further details). It is considered as a prosodic clause marker and not a contrastive systemic sound in the language. It is included here for the sake of completeness.

2.2.2   Fricatives

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ and its voiced counterpart /v/ occur in stem-initial and medial positions as well as intervocalically. In consonant clusters, /f/ occurs as the first consonant before [l] and [r] while /v/ only occurs before /l/. These sounds are illustrated in the examples below:

23. /f/	flǎ	'pass (by)'	kí-fɔ̃	'ten'
	fátɪ̄	'carve'	é-fleté	'leopard'
	ki-fú	'light, fire'	frɪɖí	'white'

24. /v/	vɪ	'go'	vu	'catch'
	vunɔ	'hold'	bú-vū	'building'
	ká-vlɔ̃	'towel'	vʊbɔ̃	'bury'

/s/ and /z/ are voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives respectively. They occur in stem-initial and medial positions. They also occur intervocalically. /s/ and /z/ occur in clusters of /sr/ and /zr/. The former only occurs in loanwords such as asrã 'tobacco' and sra 'visit, smear (pomade)'. The latter occurs as a result of syncope in words like zurú which is pronounced in rapid speech as zrǔ. These sounds are exemplified in (25) and (26) below.

25. /s/	ke-sí	'beneath'	a-srã	'tobacco'
	saprâdǎ	'onion'	ká-sālā	'tortoise'
	kpásɪ̄	'learn'	a-yɪ́sɔ̃	'young man'

26. /z/	zi	'(be) bad, spoilt'	e-zi	'thief'
	za	'dwell, stay, sit'	o-lizatɔ̃	'dawn'
	zurú	'steal'	kɪ-zɔ	'housefly'

The palatal fricatives /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ occur stem-initially or intervocalically. /ʃ/ sounds like the initial sound of the English word 'shoe' and the /ʒ/ sounds like the /s/ in the English word 'leisure'. In this work, /ʃ/ is represented by 'sh' and /ʒ/ is represented by 'zh'. Here are some examples:

27. /ʃ/ (sh)	i-shú	'body'	she	'grow'
	ki-shǐ	'stick'	shɪ̌	'leave'
	a-shá̃	'horns'	shūkū	'shake'

28. **/ʒ/ (zh)**   **zhitá** 'nine'   **ká-zhʊě** 'bird'

                zha   'sing'   **bʊ-zhɔ** 'cheek'

                zhi   'descend'   **ki-zhʊě** 'whistle, flute'

/x/ and /h/ are velar and glottal fricatives respectively. Both sounds are voiceless and they occur in word-initial and medial positions as illustrated in (29) and (30).

29. **/x/**   **kpákpáxē** 'duck'   **xogo**   'gather'

          xixā   'choke'   **kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́** 'spoon, laddle'

          xʉ́ń   'as for'   **xátsá**   'bend'

30. **/h/**   **he**   'pull, drag'   **o-hui**   'rope'

          hʊnɔ   'touch'   **ǎ-hě**   'pig'

          ɪ-hě   'knife'   **bú-hihe** 'sweat'

          hɔ   'grind'   **kɪ-halí** 'throat'

2.2.3   Affricates

Affricates which occur in the language are /ts/, /dz/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. /ts/ and /dz/ are voiceless and voiced alveolar affricates respectively and /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are voiceless and voiced palatal affricates respectively. The palatal /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are represented orthographically by '**tsy**' and '**dzy**' respectively. These sounds can occur either in stem-initial position or intervocalically. Here are some examples of words in which they occur:

31. **/ts/**   **ki-tsikpǐ** 'pot'   **kɪ-tsá**   'needle'

          tsú   'dig'   **tsí**   'die'

          tsokú   'enter'   **ɔ-tsrǐ**   'leg'

32. **/dz/**   **dzɪdzá̄** 'red'   **kí-dzē**   'egg'

          dzí   'sit'   **ki-dzõ**   'road'

          dzú   'erect, plant'   **ka-tabʊɪadzɔ̄** 'scorpion'

33. **/tsy/** **tsyínā**   'turn'   **tsyɔ́mɔ̄**   '(be) rotten'

          tsyánɔ̄ 'meet'   **ki-tsyíní** 'louse'

          tsyūrū 'wipe (off)'   **ká-ńtsyótsyóɛ́** 'bladder'

34. **/dzy/** **é-dzyuī** 'mouse'   **dzyíní**   'break'

          é-blidzya 'snake'   **dzyɔ**   'straighten'

          dzyosǔ 'blood'   **á-dzyā**   'brother'

2.2.4   Nasals

The nasals in the language are /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ɲ/. /m/ and /n/ have a wide distribution. They occur as the initial consonants of words or stems, in medial

position or intervocalically. In my database, they occur with all the vowels. /m/ and /n/ also occur in final position in some few words as shown in (35) and (36) respectively. /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ occur in initial, medial, and intervocalic position of a word or stem as in (37) and (38). /ŋ/ occurs in the final position of the loanword **kóŋ** 'very much' and some ideophones such as **kpéŋkpéŋ** and **tsírénkéŋ**. /ɲ/ does not occur word finally.

35. /m/	mɔ́	'suck breast'	kí-pluímēké	'dove'
	kɪ-mɔ̂	'breast'	ká-pamī	'matchet'
	mʊnɔ	'swallow'	o-tumú	'darkness'
	mínī	'taste'	ke-kplím̄	'palm (of hand)'

36. /n/	némī	'bite'	tsyínā	'turn round'
	o-nugbū	'mouth'	ke-ní	'river'
	a-núvɔ̄	'child'	o-bóń	'today'

37. /ɲ/ (ny)	nyínā	'hold'	nyá	'tie'
	ki-nyí	'name'	ɔ-nyɔ́	'smoke'
	ɔ-nyí	'firewood'	bʊ-nyā	'sickness'
	e-nye	'male'	nyúnɔ̄ (aga)	'rear (animal)'

38. /ŋ/	ŋa	'eat'	kóŋ	'very much'
	kí-dɔ̄ŋíŋá	'food'	kɪŋa	'right (side)'
	gbĕŋgbĕ	'praying mantis'	ŋwɪ̃	'drink'

Apart from /ɲ/ all the other nasals occur in a sequence of homorganic nasals plus an obstruent and they are homorganic with the consonant that occurs after them. Consider the following examples:

39.	ká-m̀piesí	'armpit'
	túŋ́gbá	'antelop'
	ká-ńtsyótsyóé	'bladder'

There are certain nouns whose roots begin with the syllable **yɪ̃**.[14] In rapid speech, these syllables get deleted and are replaced by /n/ which is homorganic with the following consonant. The following examples are illustrative of this point:

40. ká-yɪ̃tsĕ	→ ká-ǹtsĕ	'calabash'	ã-yɪ́sɪ̃ → ã-ńsɪ̃	'sand'
á-yɪ̃dzɪ	→ á-ǹdzɪ	'mother-in-law'	o-yɪ̃tsí → o-ǹtsí	'hawk'
kɪ-yɪ̃tɔ́	→ kɪ-ǹtɔ́	'nose'	a-yɪ́sɔ̄ → a-ńsɔ̄	'young man'

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[14] A similar process happens in the plural noun **awɔ̄hū** 'eyes' where the initial syllable of the root **wɔ̄** is elided and the nasalisation docks on the prefix yielding **ãhū**. No further instances of this process have been encountered.

2.2.5   Liquids

/l/ is an alveolar lateral and it has a wide distribution. It occurs in word-initial position and between vowels. It occurs with all the vowels in the language. /l/ also occurs in consonant clusters as the second consonant after non-coronal consonants. In addition, it occurs syllable-finally in expressions like **al** '3SG.IND' (see § 2.1.2). The examples below illustrate the distribution of /l/:

41. /l/ **lɪlā**   'lose (something)'   **bu-lu**   'wine, beer'
         bulē   'take off (cloth)'   **ká-vlɔ̄**   'towel'
         ke-kplír̃   'palm (of hand)'   **bú-glebē**   'wing'
         o-blǒ   'anger'   **kɪ-bhlʊxɔé** 'spoon, ladle'

[r] is a voiced alveolar trill. It is an allophone of /l/. They are in complementary distribution when they occur as the second C in CC sequences. /l/ occurs after [-coronal] sounds whereas [r] occurs after alveolar and palatal consonants. Some loanwords and ideophones do not conform to this pattern. The only occurrence of [r] in word-initial position in my data is in the ideophone **rid̗iid̗iid̗i** 'continuously, for a long time'. [r] occurs word internally. In intervocalic or syllable-initial position, it occurs with the vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /a/ or /u/. During fast speech, one is likely to hear some speakers say, for example, **ririiriiri** instead of **rid̗iid̗iid̗i** 'continuously, for a long time' or **árɔ sí...** in place of **ád̗ɔ sí...** 's/he said that...'. It appears that in this intervocalic position, [r] is historically /d̗/. Thus in this environment, [d̗] and [r] are free alternants. For example,

42. [r] **zurú**   'steal'   **tɪ-rá**   'sleep'
         tsirí   'be.on'   **o-drekekpú**   'corner'
         trǒ   'spin (thread)'   **ɔ-tsrǐ**   'foot'
         frɪd̗í   'white'   **ɔ-brahɪnɪ**   'sugar-cane'
         trɔ̄   'plan (v)'   **ka-tsrʊkpɔ́**   'foot'

2.2.6   Glides

/y/ is a palatal glide and it occurs with all the nine vowels in the language in stem or syllable-initial position as well as intervocalically. This is exemplified below:

43. /y/ **yékē**   'swell'   **yě**   'split, break'
         á-yakpá   'bush'   **yí**   'kill'
         yofoeyi   'a white man'   **yɪkɔ̄**   'take'
         yú   'weave (cloth)'   **yúyɔ́**   'damp, cool'

/w/ is a labial-velar glide. It occurs in stem-initial position and intervocalically as illustrated in (44).

44. /w/ **wɔ́lɪ̄**   'fall'   **tɪ-wá**   'grass'

welě	'moon, month'	**kí-wī**	'day'
wulú	'bathe'	**tɪ-wʊlέ**	'guts, intestines'

/**y**/ and /**w**/ also occur as second consonants in CC clusters (see § 2.1.5).

It is important to note that Tafi has some labialised sounds which occur in the environment of unrounded vowels: /**fw**/ is a labialised voiceless labio-dental fricative; /**tsyw**/ is a labialised voiceless palatal affricate; /**xw**/ is a labialised voiceless velar fricative; [**ŋw**] is a labialised velar nasal and /**hw**/ is a labialised voiced glottal fricative. Each of these sounds is illustrated below.

45.	/**fw**/	**fwě**	'breathe'
		ɔfʊfwě	'spirit'
	/**tʃw**/ (**tsyw**)	**tsywĩ**	'tear (v)'
		otsywí	'clitoris'
	/**xw**/	**kíxwī**	'work (n)'
		xwi	'satisfy'

46.	/**hw**/	**sá́hwī̄**	'spider'
		hwa	'move'
	[**ŋw**]	**ɔŋwã**	'side (of body)'
		ŋwĩ	'drink'

2.3   Vowels

Vowels are sounds produced without obstruction or audible friction in the vocal tract. Tafi has a nine (9) oral vowel system as presented in Table 2.2 below. These vowels are divided into two (2) sets based on the position of the tongue root. That is, the tongue root can either be advanced, [+ATR], in which case, it is pushed forward or unadvanced, [-ATR], that is, it is retracted. Thus, as shown in Table 2.2 below, the vowels / **i, e, o, u** / are [+ATR] while / **ɪ, ε, ɔ, ʊ** / are [-ATR]. In Tafi, the [ATR] value of the (initial) vowel of the noun or verb stem determines the [ATR] value of the vowel of the prefix. A stem-initial /**a**/ vowel triggers a -ATR prefix vowel however a prefix with an /**a**/ vowel can occur with a ±ATR vowel (see examples (65) – (67) under § 2.3.1). This co-occurrence restriction on vowels in words which is referred to as vowel harmony is discussed in detail in §2.3.1.

Table 2.2   Tafi Vowel Phonemes

	Front		Central	Back	
	[+ATR]	[-ATR]		[+ATR]	[-ATR]
High	i	ɪ		u	ʊ
Mid	e	ε		o	ɔ
Low			a		

The vowels are described and exemplified below.

/i/ is an advanced high front unrounded vowel. Examples are:

47.   **e-tsí**   'bee'   **i-nī**   'soups'
      i-lí   'necks'   **ki-wí**   'sun'

/ɪ/ is an unadvanced high front unrounded vowel. Examples are:

48.   **ka-wɪ̄**   'axe'   **fátɪ̄**   'peel'
      ɔ-nyɪ́   'firewood'   **pɪ́**   'want'

/e/ is an advanced mid front unrounded vowel. The following are examples:

49.   **she**   'grow'   **é-kū**   'yams'
      e-lé   'teeth'   **e-kpú**   'corpse'

/ɛ/ is an unadvanced mid front unrounded vowel. Examples are:

50.   **gugɔé**   'last'   **kí-lɛ̄**   'wind'
      yě   'break'   **kɪ-shɔé**   'small basket'

/a/ is a low central unrounded vowel. This vowel is illustrated in (51):

51.   **ká-pā**   'hoe'   **á-dá**   'sister'
      ɔ-ḍá   'metal'   **á-kā**   'father'

/ɔ/ is an unadvanced mid back rounded vowel. Examples are:

52.   **ɔ-tɔmí**   'beard'   **ḍɔ**   'say'
      ɔ-gɔbɔ́   'navel'   **tɔ́**   'cook'

/o/ is an advanced mid back rounded vowel. The examples in (53) illustrate this vowel:

53.   **o-nī**   'soup'   **xogo**   'gather'
      o-lí   'neck'   **o-blǒ**   'anger'

/ʊ/ is an unadvanced high back rounded vowel. Examples are:

54.   **bʊ-tɔ̄**   'ear, potash'   **tɪ-wʊlɛ̄**   'guts, intestines'
      bʊ-wā   'medicine'   **bʊ́-shʊ́shɔ́** 'urine'

/u/ is an advanced high back rounded vowel. Examples are:

55. **dzyosŭ**   'blood'   **bú**   'remove'
     tsú   'dig'   **o-kuku**   'elbow'

The examples in (56) illustrate some near minimal pairs:

56. SOUND   MINIMAL PAIRS
     a. i / ɪ   **yí**   'kill'   **yɪ**   '3SG.IND'
     b. ɪ / e   **ɪ-nyí**   'firewood'   **e-nyí**   'names'
     c. u / i   **tsú**   'dig'   **tsí**   'die'
     d. ʊ / a   **bʊ-ya**   'farm'   **ba-ya**   'farms'
     e. a / u   **tá**   'shoot'   **tú**   'pound'
     f. ɪ / u   **vɪ**   'go'   **vu**   'catch'
     g. ɔ / i   **sɔ́**   'hoe (v)'   **sí**   'run'
     h. a / ɔ   **má**   'divide'   **mɔ́**   'suck breast'
     i. o / i   **o-lí**   'neck'   **i-lí**   'necks'

All these vowels except /**o**/ have counterparts which are inherently nasalised. They
do not necessarily have the nasalised feature because they occur in the vicinity of
nasal consonants. So far, only one instance of /ẽ/ has been found. The nasal vowels
are illustrated in Table 2.3 and exemplified in (57).

Table 2.3. Tafi nasal vowels

	Front		Central	Back	
	[+ATR]	[-ATR]		[+ATR]	[-ATR]
High	ĩ	ɪ̃		ũ	ʊ̃
Mid	ẽ	ɛ̃			ɔ̃
Low			ã		

57a. ĩ   **gbĩĩ** 'heavy'; **kpĩ** 'plenty'
b.   ɪ̃   **ŋwɪ̃** 'drink'; **a-yɪ́sɔ̃** 'a young man'; **ã-yɪ́sɪ̄** 'sand'; **tsywɪ̃** 'tear'
c.   ẽ   **tẽ́** 'slash'
d.   ɛ̃   **ɔ-shɛ̌** 'branch'; **ka-hlɔ̃ɛ́** 'deer'; **ɔkɔ̃ɛ́** 'soap'
e.   ã   **tã** 'chew; burn (intr.)'; **ká-sãlã** 'tortoise'; **kpã́** 'fade'
f.   ɔ̃   **náwɔ̃** 'hasten'; **fɔ̃** 'defecate'; **sɔ̃** 'be equal'; **kɪ́-sɔ̃́** 'maggot'
g.   ʊ̃   **w̃ʊ̃nɔ̃́** 'you (pl.)'; **kɪ́-w̃ʊ́w̃ɪ́** 'star'; **ká-w̃ʊ́w̃ɪ́** 'broom'; **tɪ-wʊ́lɔ̃** 'rubbish
h.   ũ   **w̃ʊ́sē** 'repair'; **xṹń** 'as for'; **kúmũ̄** 'cover'; **lũku** 'smell'

In the next section, I discuss vowel harmony which is important in accounting for
the different types of prefixes that occur with stems of nouns or verbs.

2.3.1   Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony in a language can be stem-controlled in the sense that the initial
vowel of the stem triggers harmony to its left (Clements 2000). The vowel
harmony system of Tafi is stem-controlled and the ATR value of the initial root
vowel spreads to the prefixes of a word and in line with this it is possible to find
polysyllabic words whose vowels do not belong to the same set. Thus, the stem of
words always remains the same but the prefix may have varied forms. Vowels in
prefixes have two forms depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel of the
stem. As already stated, vowels in Tafi are divided into two harmonising sets
(±ATR) as shown in Table 2.2 above such that if the initial vowel in the stem is a
[+ATR] vowel, then one of the following vowels will be chosen as the prefix
vowel: /i/, /e/, /o/, or /u/. On the other hand, if it is [-ATR], then the vowel in the
prefix will either be /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ or /ʊ/. Hence, the vowel harmony system accounts
for the alternate prefixes in (58a) and (58b), (59a) and (59b), (60a) and (60b), (61a)
and (61b), and (62a) and (62b).

58a.	**á-nyí**	'man'
58b.	**e-pí**	'mosquito'
59a.	**kí-níkí**	'tongue'
59b.	**ki-lé**	'tooth'
60a.	**ka-hlɔɛ́**	'deer'
60b.	**ke-sisí**	'mortar'
61a.	**ɔ-tɔmí**	'beard'
61b.	**o-kuku**	'elbow'
62a.	**bu-tsé**	'monkeys'
62b.	**bʊ-pā**	'hoes'

As shown in the vowel chart in Table 2.2, it is obvious that, unlike the other
vowels, /a/ occurs with vowels from either set. Its occurrence with +ATR stem
vowels is illustrated by the examples in (63). (63d) and (63f) are loanwords from
Ewe. (64a) exemplifies the vowel /a/ occurring with -ATR stem vowels.

63a.	**ka-kudzɔgě**	'dog'
63b.	**ká-m̀piesí**	'armpit'
63c.	**a-gudǔ**	'bear'
63d.	**a-bhlendě**	'pineapple'
63e.	**a-zǐ**	'groundnut'
63f.	**a-hosǐ**	'widow'

The vowel /a/ behaves asymmetrically with regard to vowel harmony. Whereas /a/ may precede vowels from either set as shown by the examples in (63) above and (64a) below, it selects only [-ATR] prefixes when it is the (initial) root vowel in the stem as shown in (64b).

64a.	á-nyí	'man'	64b.	bʊ-pá	'house'
	ka-hlɔɛ́	'antelope'		ɔ-zakɔ́	'shelter'
	a-núvɔ̄	'child'		kɪ-kpã́	'knot'
	a-bɔ́	'termite'		ɪ-tã́	'three'

The behaviour of /a/ as shown in the examples above is characteristic of many other vowel harmony systems including Akan (Clements 1981, Dolphyne, 1988). In Tafi, nouns with an /a/ prefix vowel and noun stems with a [-ATR] initial vowel are as common as those with a prefix vowel which is [-ATR] and /a/ occurring as the initial vowel of the noun stem as illustrated in (64a) and (64b) respectively. Nouns which have a [+ATR] stem-initial vowel with /a/ as the prefix vowel are very few, and include loanwords as shown in (63).

The distribution of /a/ in nominal prefixes as well as root-initial syllables in nouns in Tafi is summed up in (65) – (68): In (65), we have a (C)V prefix with /a/ as the prefix vowel and a root-initial CV-syllable with a -ATR vowel. In (66), the vowel of the root-initial (C)V-syllable is [+ATR] and the prefix vowel is /a/. In (67), the prefix vowel is [-ATR] in value while the initial vowel of the root is /a/. Finally, as shown in (68), Tafi does not have nouns whose prefix vowel is [+ATR] with the initial vowel of the root being /a/. It should be noted that in nominal prefixes, subject pronouns and agreement markers, /a/ alternates with /e/ as its +ATR counterpart (see Chapter 3).

65.	(C)a-CV$_{-ATR}$		66.	(C)a-CV$_{+ATR}$	
	á-kā	'father'		a-gudŭ	'bear'
	ka-tsrʊkpɔ́	'foot'		ká-kudzɔgĕ	'dog'
	ká-gbɔ́	'squirrel'		á-feití	'fifty'

67.	(C)V$_{-ATR}$-Ca		68.	*(C)V$_{+ATR}$-Ca	
	ɔ-ma	'town'			
	bʊ-pá	'house'			
	kɪ-plă	'buttocks'			

Subject pronouns also harmonise with the initial vowel of the verb stem. The examples in (69) illustrate this. The vowel in the verb **tú** 'pound' is [+ATR] while that of **tɔ́** 'cook' is [-ATR] so the vowel of the subject pronoun they take is [+ATR] and [-ATR] respectively.

69a.		tú	'pound'	69b.		tɔ́	'cook'
	Sing. 1	í-tú			Sing. 1	ɪ́-tɔ́	

	2	**ó-tú**		2	**ɔ́-tɔ́**
	3	**é-tú**		3	**á-tɔ́**
Plural	1	**bú-tú**	Plural	1	**bú-tɔ́**
	2	**no-tú**		2	**nɔ-tɔ́**
	3	**bé-tú**		3	**bá-tɔ́**

When the initial vowel in the verb stem is any of the following [+ATR] vowels /**i**, **e**, **o**, or **u**/, the vowel of the pronoun is realised as a [+ATR] vowel as in (69a) and when the initial vowel of the verb stem is [-ATR], i.e., /**ɪ**, **ɛ**, **a**, **ɔ**, or **ʊ**/, the vowel of the pronoun is realised as [-ATR] as in (69b).

The forms of the preverb markers are also determined by the ATR feature of the initial syllable of the verb root. The sentences in (70) and (71) exemplify variants of the future marker in Tafi. Moreover, apart from ATR vowel harmony there is also rounding harmony triggered by the 2ⁿᵈ person pronouns – **ɔ́** '2SG' and **nɔ** '2PL' which spreads as far as to the last preverb before the verb stem as illustrated in (71a) and (71b) (see Chapter 7 on preverb markers). Whereas the initial vowels of noun and verb roots trigger harmony to the left, in the sentences in (71a) and (71b), the second person singular subject triggers harmony to the right.

70a.	Ábatɔ́ ásí.	70b.	Ébetú mankaní.
	á-ba-tɔ́ á-sí.		**é-be-tú mankaní.**
	3SG-FUT-cook CM-rice		3SG-FUT-pound cocoyam
	'S/he will cook rice.'		'S/he will pound cocoyam.'

71a.	Ɔ́bɔtã ásí.	71b.	Óbot' ósíŋ.
	ɔ́-bɔ-tã á-sí.		**ó-bo-tḗ o-sí ní.**
	2SG-FUT-eat CM-rice		2SG-FUT-slash CM-tree DEF
	'You will eat rice.'		'You will slash the tree.'

2.4   Tone

Tone plays a significant role in Tafi and many other African languages. Ford observes that "the Central-Togo languages present some of the most complex data in this area of grammar" (Kropp Dakubu and Ford 1988:128). This observation was made after he had worked at length on the area of intonation in different languages belonging to five language families and also after working extensively on the tone system of Avatime to which he devotes several pages in his thesis (Ford 1971). The tone system of Tafi presents several complications but only the essential features of tone are discussed here. The Tafi tone system requires further investigation.

In connected speech in Tafi, both level and contour tones occur. It has three level tones: Low (L), Mid (M) and High (H). In addition to the three levels, there are

gliding tones which are phonetically realised on the peak of one syllable. There are three falling tones: High-Mid (HM), High-Low (HL) and Mid-Low (ML) and two rising tones: Low-Mid (LM) and Low-High (LH). The contour tones are marked as ML, HM etc., indicating their beginning and end points. The notational conventions used for marking tones are as follows:

H	´	(acute accent)
M	‾	(macron)
L	unmarked or ` on nasals	(grave accent)
Rising	LM ` or LH ˘	(grave accent and macron (LM) or hacek (LH))
Falling	HM ˆ or HL ^ or ML ˋ	(acute accent and macron (HM) or circumflex (HL) or macron and grave accent (ML)).

Syllable boundaries are marked by a dot between the two letters used to represent the tones. For instance, L.H is a Low-High sequence on two separate syllables while LH represents a Low-High contour on one syllable.

Tone in Tafi functions both lexically and syntactically. Lexically, differences in tone on a word result in differences in meaning as shown in the examples in (72) and (73). The examples in (72) are verbs whereas those in (73) are nouns.

72. **tú**   'pound'   **tū**   'beat (a person)'
     yí   'kill'   **yī**   'resemble
     yɔ́   'be cold'   **yɔ**   'sharpen (knife)'
     bú   'remove'   **bu**   'respect
     yúkū   '(be) full'   **yūkū**   'vomit'

73. **ki-lέ**   'tooth'   **ki-lě**   'lizard'
     kɪ-mɔ́   'breast'   **kɪ-mɔ̌**   'rubber, gum'
     kí-fū   'fear'   **ki-fú**   'light'
     kɪ-kpǎ 'fish'   **kɪ-kpɛ́** 'knot'

For the syntactic function of tone, see section 2.4.2 for more details.

2.4.1   Tone patterns in verbs and nouns

The tone patterns found on monosyllabic verb stems can be any of the following: L, M, H, LH, LM and HM. The examples in (74) are illustrations of these patterns:

74a. Low tone
     mɔ   'see'   **bho**   'beat (drum)'
     ɖɔ   'say'   **hɔ**   'grind'

ge	'row, drive'	**gba**	'sweep'
shɔ	'stab'	**dzi**	'buy'

74b.   Mid tone

bɔ̄	'crow'	**nī**	'extinguish'
fū	'blow (of wind)'	**hū**	'hit'
nī̄	'enlarge, widen'	**kpū**	'hide'
shī̄	'leave'	**wū**	'climb'

74c.   High tone

ná	'be perfect'	**bú**	'remove'
dé	'come from'	**ká**	'wring clothes'
kú	'arrive'	**tsí**	'die'
tsú	'dig'	**yú**	'weave'

74d.   Low-high Tone

flǎ	'overtake, pass (by)'	**fwě**	'breathe'
srǎ	'smear (pomade)'	**yě**	'break, smash'
trǒ	'spin (thread), twist'	**tsǐ**	'sneeze'

74e.   Low-Mid

nù	'hear (in the present)'
bǎ	'come (in the present)'

74f.   High-Mid tone

pî	'want, desire, look for'
fi	'push'
fî	'throw'
kplâ	'mark out (ground)'

Disyllabic verb stems may carry any of the following tones: L.L, L.M, L.H, M.M,
M.H, and H.M. The following are examples:

75a.   Low-Low

xogo	'gather, accumulate'
vunɔ	'hold'
lūku	'smell (sth)'

75b.   Low-Mid

bhɪtī	'do'
danī	'open'
dzɪkī	'forget'
bhɪsā	'stir'
yekē	'get, receive'

75c.   Low-High
    zurú   'steal'
    tsokú   'enter'
    wanyá   'sprinkle'
    tukú   'carry'

75d.   Mid-Mid
    shūkū   'shake'
    wūlū   'blow with mouth'
    bālī   'spill (liquid)'
    yūkū   'vomit (v)'
    prūḍū   'fly'
    tsyūrū   'wipe off (excreta)'

75e.   High-Mid
    bákā   'remember'
    bísī   'ask'
    dzyínī   'break'
    dzyínɔ 'marry (a man)'
    fátī   'carve, peel'

There are two disyllabic verbs, **w̄lɔ̌mī**[15] 'write' and **xátsá** 'bend', whose tone patterns are HL.M and H.H respectively. **xátsá** 'bend' is a loanword from Ewe.

Tafi has very few trisyllabic verbs. So far, the trisyllabic verb stems that I have come across include:

76.   **shɪḍɪḍɪ**   'be slippery'   (L.L.L)
    kpaplínɔ   'lean against'   (L.H.M)
    kpatɔ́nɔ   'chase away'   (L.H.M)

Shɪḍɪḍɪ 'be slippery' is an ideophone which is used to describe the way a person slips and falls down. The verbs **kpaplínɔ** 'lean against' and **kpatɔ́nɔ** 'chase away' also seem to consist of two morphemes **kpa** and **plínɔ** and **tɔ́nɔ** respectively. **Plínɔ** means 'help, add' and **tɔ́nɔ** means 'follow'. The meaning of **kpa** is not yet clear.

Most nouns have prefixes. These prefixes are made up of either V or CV syllables. Tones on the prefixes of nouns are either High or Low.[16] All the three level tones as well as the contour tones may occur in any position in the noun stem. A noun stem in Tafi is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. This is illustrated in examples in (77) – (79). The examples in (77) illustrate prefix-less nouns, those in (78)

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[15] Some speakers pronounce the word for 'write' as **ŋwlɔ̌mī**.
[16] So far, I have come across only one noun **â-mī** 'face' whose prefix carries a HM tone.

illustrate nouns with V or CV prefixes with monosyllabic stems while the
examples in (79) illustrate nouns with V or CV prefixes with polysyllabic stems. In
(78) and (79), the first letter in the third column indicates the tone on the prefix.

77.	**dɔku**	'turkey'	L.L
	blafī	'pawpaw'	L.M
	wolĕ	'moon'	L.LH
	sɪká	'money'	L.H
	dēkē	'crocodile'	M.M
	Kpáyā	'God'	H.M
	tédzyí	'donkey'	H.H
	kpákpáxē	'duck'	H.H.M
	túŋgbá	'antelope'	H.H.H
	hohlomʊá	'grasshopper'	L.L.L.H
	sāprâdă	'onion'	M.HL.LH

Some loanwords are found among this group of nouns.

The tone on monosyllabic noun roots may be a level or a contour tone as illustrated
in the examples below.

78.	**o-sí**	'tree'	L.H
	e-kle	'thatch'	L.L
	ɔ-shĕ	'branch'	L.LH
	o-gù	'root'	L.ML
	a-nɔ́	'person'	L.HM
	á-kā	'father'	H.M
	á-dá	'sister'	H.H
	tɪ-pī	'excrement'	L.M
	ki-lé	'tooth'	L.H
	kí-kū	'yam'	H.M

The following are examples of tonal patterns found on polysyllabic noun stems.

79.	**o-bhoshi**	'sheep'	L.L.L
	ɔ-tsɪnī	'okra'	L.L.M
	e-kusí	'chief'	L.L.H
	a-núvɔ̄	'child'	L.H.M
	i-shúpí	'skin'	L.H.H
	a-tʊkpĕ	'hill (pl)'	L.L.LH
	á-dɔyū	'weaver'	H.L.M
	é-fūfū	'flower'	H.M.M
	kí-būlí	'snail'	H.M.H
	o-mumʊɛ́	'lemon'	L.L.L.H
	ki-kpĭtsúkū	'owl'	L.LH.H.M

kí-pɔ́súkú	'testicle'	H.H.H.H
o-sumúdúdú	'dust'	L.L.H.H.H
kí-plúímēké	'pigeon'	H.H.H.M.H

2.4.2   Tonal Morphemes

The difference between the present progressive and past progressive markers is indicated by tone. The progressive is formed by copying the vowel of the morpheme to which it is attached. The progressive morphemes are attached to the element that immediately precedes it. The present progressive is indicated by a high tone and the past progressive by a low tone. These tones are linked to the copied vowel. The sentences in (80) and (81) exemplify the present and past progressive markers respectively.

80.   í-í-gā
      í-í-gā
      1SG-PRSPROG-walk
      'I am walking.'

81.   í-ɩ-ga
      í-ɩ-gā
      1SG-PSTPROG-walk
      'I was walking.'

2.4.3   Changes in tone

Tones of words in connected speech may be different from their tones they carry when they are said in isolation. These tones may be influenced by tones of preceding or following words. For instance, in NPs with modifiers, a final high tone on the noun spreads rightwards until the penultimate syllable of a nominal modifier when this modifier is a numeral or the interrogative quantifier as shown in (82b) and (83b) respectively. Concerning the numerals, this may not be a global rule. It works without exception for the spread onto the numeral 'one' but for the plural numbers it appears to be restricted to the **ba(a)-** and **a²-** classes (see Table 3.4 for illustration). In (82a) and (83a), there is no high tone spreading because the final tone of the noun is non-high.

82a. L.L   L.L.H   L.L   L.L.H
      a-ga   +   **teɖikpó** → **a-ga**   **teɖikpó**   'one animal'

82b. H.L.H   L.L.H   H.L.H   H.H.H
      é-fleté   +   **teɖikpó** → **éfleté** **téɖíkpó**   'one leopard'

83a.   L.L.L   L.L.M   L.L.M   L.L.M
       baa-ga   +   **tɪashī̃**   →   **baa-ga**   **tɪashī̃**   'how many animals?'

83b.   H. L.H   L.L.M   H. L.H   H.H.M
       bé-fleté +   **tɪashī̃**   →   **bé-fleté**   **tíáshī̃**   'how many leopards?'

Also, when two vowels, i.e., the final and initial vowels of two words following each other, come together, one of them gets elided and in many cases, it is the first vowel. If the elided vowel has a high tone it spreads to the following vowel. The effect is if the following vowel has a [-high] it becomes high and if it is [+high] it stays high. The examples in (84) illustrate body-part possession while those in (85) illustrate two nouns following each other.

84a.   H   L.H   H.H
       mí + **olí**   →   **m'ólí**   'my neck'

84b.   H   L.M   H.M
       yí + **ɔtsrǐ**   →   **y'ɔ́tsrǐ**   'his/her/its leg'

84c.   H   L.H.H   H.H.H
       yí + **ishúpí**   →   **y'íshúpí**   'his/her/its skin'

85a.   L.L.H   L.H   L.L.H.H
       ɔtsɪní + **oní**   'okra' + 'soup' → **ɔtsɪn'óní**   'okra soup'

85b.   L.L.H   L.H   L.L.H.H
       ɔtsɪní + **eyí**   'okra' + 'seed' → **ɔtsɪn'éyí**   'okra seed'

In pronominal kinship possessive structures, the high-toned final vowel of the pronominal together with its tone are elided. If the prefix tone of the kinship term is high, it becomes low. If the prefix tone is low it stays low. The following examples illustrate this point.

86a.   **mí** + **ákā̄**   '1SG.IND'   + 'father'   → **m'aka**   'my father'

86b.   **yí** + **énī**   '3SG.IND'   + 'mother'   → **y'eni**   'his mother'

86c.   **mí** + **ádzyā̄** '1SG.IND'   + 'brother' → **m'adzyā̄**   'my brother'

86d.   **balí** + **ádá** '3PL.IND'   + 'sister'   → **bal'adá**   'their sister'

Contrary to what happens in the examples in (84) in which low tones on the prefixes of possessed nouns etc. are replaced by high tones of personal pronouns, in the examples in (86), high tones on the prefixes of kinship nouns are lowered when they occur after possessive pronouns.

2.5   Phonological processes

2.5.1   Deletion of consonants

In connected speech, initial consonants of prefixes (/b/ and /k/) or even whole prefixes are deleted. This is a case of simplification or erosion of noun class prefixes. Funke (1910) already observed this about Nyagbo-Tafi. This happens when compound nouns are being formed as illustrated in (87), when nouns occur after possessive pronouns as in (88), or when they occur in object position as in (89) and (90).

87.   **bé-shēulu**[17]   'palm wine'   ← **bé-shē** 'local'   + **bu-lu**   'drink'
      be-tsuní   'honey'   ← **be-tsí** 'bees'   + **bu-ní**   'water'
      bu-nietsukpú 'waterpot'   ← **bu-ní** 'water'   + **ke-tsukpú** 'pot'
      sukū̆uya   'school farm' ← **sukū̆** 'school'   + **bʊ-ya**   'farm'

88.   **m'ʊpá**   'my house'   ← **mí**   '1SG.IND'   + **bu-pá**   'house'
      blɔ 'ɛshǐ   'our stick' ← **blɔ̌** '1PL.IND'   + **ki-shǐ**   'stick'
      kal'ugble   'its kennel' ← **kalí** '3SG.IND'   + **bu-gble** 'kennel'
      y'ʊya   'his farm'   ← **yí**   '3SG.IND'   + **bʊ-ya**   'farm'

89.   **bhui 'ɪtɔkpú** 'behead'   ← **bhui** 'cut'   + **kɪ-tɔkpú** 'head'
      dɪ 'ʊya   'farm (v)' ← **dɪ**   'cultivate' + **bʊ-ya**   'farm'
      vu 'ifú   'be hot'   ← **vu**   'catch'   + **ki-fú**   'fire'

90a.   Ámā átɔ́ 'ʊdzɔ.
       Ámā   á-tɔ́   bʊ-dzɔ
       Ámā   SM-cook CM-palm.oil
       'Ama prepared palm oil.'

90b.   ányín ébúkú 'ulu.
       á-nyí   ní   é-búkú   bu-lu
       CM-man   DEF   SM-be.drunk CM-drink
       'The man is drunk.'

90c.   édzí 'íkū.
       é-dzí   kí-kū
       3SG-buy   CM-yam
       'S/he bought yam.'

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[17] **beshelu** is also used by some speakers. In this case, the whole prefix of **bu-lu** 'drink' is deleted.

As can be seen in the sentences in (90), the initial consonants of the prefixes of the object pronouns are not realised. When I once tried to produce the same sentences with the complete prefix, my consultants reacted saying "if you speak like that, everybody will know you are a learner of the language or a stranger". Moreover, if the full forms of these prefixes are used in such sentences, the native speakers' judgment is that "the sentence is not wrong but that it is not how we say it".

2.5.2   Vowel elision

Whenever two vowels (final and initial vowels of two words following each other) come together, one of the vowel gets elided. However, in careful speech, speakers do not always elide the vowels as is the case in (91d) which is an elicited sentence. In this sentence, neither the final vowel of the verb **némī** 'bite' nor the initial vowel of **áyadɪ** 'farmer' is elided. In the examples in (91a) - (91d), the (final) vowels of **Kofī**, **yí** '3SG', **tá** 'shoot' and **é-blidzya** 'snake' have been deleted because they are followed by another vowel **a-** in (91a) and (91b) and by **o-** and **e-** in (91c) and (91d) respectively.

91a.   Ámā Kof'ágbánɔ̄.
        Ámā   Kofī   á-gbánɔ̄
        Ama   Kofi   SM-marry
        'AMA Kofi married.'

91b.   Ámā y'ágbánɔ̄.
        Ámā   yí   á-gbánɔ̄
        Ama   3SG.IND   SM-marry
        'AMA he married.'

91c.   át'ótúń.
        á-tá   o-tú   ní
        3SG-throw   CM-gun   DEF
        'He shot the gun. '

91d.   éblidzy'enémī áyadɪń.
        é-blidzya   é-némī   á-yadɪ   ní
        CM-snake   SM-bite   CM-farmer   DEF
        'A snake bit the farmer.'

Another example of vowel elision involves the definiteness marker. The full form of the definiteness or topic marker in Tafi is **ní** 'DEF'/'TOP'. Most often, its final vowel is elided in fast speech and the reduced form is attached to the word immediately preceding it. The tone carried by the deleted vowel, however, remains and it moves leftwards on to the alveolar nasal **/n/** as shown in examples (91c) and (91d) above and also in (92) and (93) below.

92.	ba-ga ní	→	ba-gań	'the animals'
	ba-ga gbɩgblǎ ní	→	ba-ga gbɩgblǎń	'the big animals'
	ba-ga gbɩgblǎ tíábhā ní	→	ba-ga gbɩgblǎ tíábhāń	'the two big animals'

93a. ányínʊ́vɔ̄ḗń éféké y'áfʊkpǎń

á-nyínʊ́vɔ̄ē	**ní**	**é-féké**	**yí**	**ba-fʊkpǎ**	**ní**
CM-boy	DEF	SM-lift	3SG.IND	CMPL-shoe	DEF

'The boy lifted his shoes.' (FS)

93b. ɔdʒɔ́ń ɔ́tá.

ɔ-dʒɔ́	**ní**	**ɔ-tá**
CM-bell	DEF	SM-strike

'The bell has sounded.'

Also, most often, when the 1st person singular object pronoun **mí** '1SG.IND' is cliticised to the verb its vowel gets elided and as it is with the definiteness marker, its tone shifts leftwards on to the bilabial nasal. This is illustrated in (94).

94.	tsiré mí	→	tsiréḿ	'tell me'
	bísɩ̄ mí	→	bísɩ̄ḿ	'ask me'
	tu mí	→	tuḿ	'beat me'
	kasɩ̄ mí	→	kasɩ̄ḿ	'teach me'
	kafú mí	→	kafúḿ	'praise me'

2.5.3   i/ɩ-insertion

The process of **i/ɩ**-insertion occurs after the deletion of the initial consonant /**k**/ of the **ka-** class prefix of nouns or postpositions. The choice of /**i**/ or /**ɩ**/ depends on the [ATR] value of the prefix vowel. The examples in (95) are made up of a noun and a postposition. Those in (96a) and (96b) consist of a verb and a postposition while in (96c) - (96e), we have a verb followed by a noun.

95a.	**bu-túíábhā**	'on a mountain'	←	**bu-tú**	'mountain'	+	**kábhā**	'top'
95b.	**kplɔ̌íábhā**	'on a table'	←	**kplɔ̌**	'table'	+	**kábhā**	'top'
95c.	**bú-vūiede**	'behind a house'	←	**bú-vū**	'house'	+	**kede**	'behind'
95d.	**kplɔ̌íésí**	'under a table'	←	**kplɔ̌**	'table'	+	**kesí**	'under'
95e.	**bu-túíédé**	'behind a mountain'	←	**bu-tú**	'mountain'	+	**kede**	'behind'

96a.	**ŋɩabhā**	'defeat'	←	**ŋa**	'eat'	+	**kábhā**	'top'
96b.	**ziesí**	'sit down'	←	**za**	'be.at:NPRES'	+	**kesí**	'down'
96c.	**ŋiedzɩ̄**	'be costly, dear'	←	**ŋa**	'eat'	+	**ke-dzɩ̄**	'market'
96d.	**tieyū**	'fight a war'	←	**tá**	'throw'	+	**ké-yū**	'war'
96e.	**viepí**	'go home'	←	**vɩ**	'go'	+	**ke-pí**	'home'

After the **i/ɪ**-insertion, if the noun preceding a postposition has a final high tone, this high tone spreads rightwards on to the **i/ɪ** vowel that has been inserted and then onto the syllables of the postposition or noun that bear low tones until the penultimate syllable as illustrated in (95a) and (95d). In (96), after the prefix consonant /**k**/ of the postposition or noun is deleted, the vowel of the verb also gets elided before the vowel /i/ or /ɪ/ is inserted. Furthermore, contrary to the high tone spreading in (95a) and (95d), in (96d), the high tone of the deleted vowel of the verb **tá** 'throw' is not maintained. Moreover, the high tone on the first syllable of the postposition in (96a) and of the noun in (96d) is also lowered.

2.5.4   Vowel Rounding

In addition to [+ATR] vowel harmony, there are instances of rounding harmony in the language. Rounding harmony is triggered by the 2nd person subject pronouns and spreads to preverb markers. The morphemes **ba** and **za** in (97) and (98), for example, mark the future and repetitive respectively. The vowels in these markers assimilate the rounding feature of the vowel of the 2SG and 2PL subject pronouns as illustrated in the sentences in (97b), (98b) and (98c). The (a) sentences are examples with these markers occurring with other subject pronouns. In (98c), we have four preverb markers co-occuring. They are the repetitive, persistive, 'again' and future markers.

97a.   Ábavɪ sukū.
       á-ba-vɪ   sukū
       3SG-FUT-go school
       'S/he will go to school.'

97b.   Ɔ́bɔvɪ sukū.
       ɔ́-bɔ-vɪ   sukū
       2SG-FUT-go school
       'You will go to school.'

98a.   Azavɪ sukū.
       a-za-vɪ   sukū
       3SG-REP-go   school
       'S/he went to school again.'

98b.   Ɔ́zɔvɪ sukū.
       ɔ́-zɔ-vɪ   sukū
       2SG-REP-go   school
       'You went to school again.'

98c.   Klǐso, ɔzɔkɔvlɔbɔŋwĩ 'ulu?

klĭso   ɔ-zɔ-kɔ-vlɔ-bɔ-ŋwĩ   bu-lu
so   2SG-REP-PERS-again-FUT-drink   CM-drink
'So, you are going to drink again?'

2.5.5   Changes in vowel height/ quality

When two words follow each other and the first word ends with the vowel /a/
while the second word begins with a prefix whose vowel is /i/ or /ʋ/, both vowels
become /ɛ/ as shown by the examples in (99). With the exception of (99a), in (99b)
– (99e), the prefix consonant, /k/, of the following word is deleted first. After that,
the vowel /a/ lowers the prefix vowel i/ɪ in height to become /ɛ/. Subsequently, the
/ɛ/ vowel of the verb or noun assimilates the /a/ vowel to become /ɛ/.

99a.	ŋɛ 'ɛkpá́	'enjoy life'	←	ŋa	'eat'	+	ɪ-kpá́	'life'
99b.	gɛ 'ɛdzõ̀	'travel'	←	ga	'walk'	+	ki-dzõ̀	'way'
99c.	ŋɛ 'ɛdɔ̃́	'eat'	←	ŋa	'eat'	+	kí-dɔ̃́	'thing'
99d.	ɔ-d̪ɛ́́shĭ	'metal stick'	←	ɔ-d̪á́	'metal'	+	ki-shĭ	'stick'
99e.	ɔ-hɛɛshí	'in a company'	←	ɔ-ha	'group'	+	ki-shí	'midst'

Similarly, when the vowel /ɔ/ occurs in final position of a preceding word and it is
followed by another word whose prefix vowel is ʋ/i, the height of the ʋ/i vowel is
lowered to /ɛ/. In (100a) – (100c), the consonant /k/ of the prefix is, first of all,
elided before the vowel ʋ/i is lowered to /ɛ/.

100a.	a-nɔ̃́ 'ɛvu	'a person's stomach'	←	a-nɔ̃́	'person'	+	ki-vu	'stomach'
100b.	bɔ 'ɛzhuě	'blow a whistle'	←	bɔ	'blow'	+	ki-zhuě	'whistle'
100c.	tɔ́ 'ɛdɔ̃́	'cook'	←	tɔ́	'cook'	+	kí-dɔ̃́	'thing'

2.5.6   [+ATR] feature assimilation

Vowels in a preceding word can assimilate the ATR features of vowels in the
following word. This is illustrated by the example sentences in (101). (101a) is a
proverb in which we have the verb mɔ́ 'give birth, bear' followed by the noun eyí
'child' and in (101b), the verb tɔ́ 'cook, boil' precedes the noun elí 'palmnuts'. The
[-ATR] vowel of these verbs becomes [+ATR] in the environment of the [+ATR]
prefix vowel of the following noun. Also in (101c), we have an independent
pronoun followed by a verb stem whose vowel is +ATR. In (101c), the final
vowel of the independent pronoun is deleted and its initial vowel assimilates the
+ATR feature of the following vowel (i.e., the vowel of the subject marker on the
verb). In (101d), we have a matrix clause comprising a 2SG subject pronoun o and
the verb ti 'know' (óti 'you know') followed by the complementiser sí marked by
the 2SG pronoun ɔ (ɔsí). The vowel of the verb ti 'know' is elided and the 2SG
subject pronoun on this verb then assimilates the -ATR value of the subject marker
on the complementiser.

101a.   Kásãlã 'tímō eyí gɩ edeyī 'íbulíʔ.
        ká-sãlã   ka-tí-mɔ̃   e-yí   gɩ
        CM-tortoise SM-NEG1-bear CM-child   REL
        e-de-yī   kí-bulí
        3SG.DEP-ITIVE-resemble CM-snail
        'The offspring of a tortoise will not resemble a snail.'   (Proverbs #42)

101b.   Ábató élíń ɔwūlago.
        á-ba-tɔ́   e-lí   ní   ɔ-wūlago
        3SG-FUT-cook CMPL-palmnut DEF   CM-evening
        'S/he will boil the palmnuts in the evening.'

101c.   Ogugu tolí ol'óyī ní 'klí ań.
        o-gugu   to-lí   ɔlí   ó-yī   ní   ɩ-klí
        CM-shout   AM-INDEF 3SG.INDEF SM-sound   LOC   CM-there
        aní
        TOP
        'There is a sound coming from there.'

101d.   Klǐso, ɔ́t'ɔsí aní kásãlã …
        klǐso ó-ti   ɔ-sí   aní   ká-sãlã
        so   2SG-know   SM-COMP   NEGCL   CM-tortoise
        'That is why had it not been that tortoise …' (Kásãlã)

2.5.7   Compensatory lengthening

The process of compensatory lengthening occurs in contexts where whole prefixes
or syllables of, for instance, some nouns in the **bu-** classes, other nouns and the
verb **yɩkɔ̃** 'take' get elided in connected speech. Also, when interrogative pronouns
are formed out of the interrogative quantifier **-shĩ̄** 'how many/much' they usually
have two forms, a long and a short form. These interrogative pronouns are formed
by prefixing the independent pronouns of the various noun classes to the
interrogative quantifier together with its agreement prefix. In the short form, the
root of the independent pronoun is elided with the prefix remaining. This deletion
is compensated for by lengthening the prefix vowel as shown in (102a) and (102b)
(see chapter 3, § 3.2.2.4 for further discussion). With regard to the verb **yɩkɔ̃** 'take',
in fast speech, speakers at times elide its first syllable and then the vowel of the
morpheme immediately preceding it may be lengthened as illustrated in (102c).
Similarly, the **bʊ/bu-** prefix of some nouns in the **bu-** classes also gets elided in
rapid speech and then the (final) vowel of the preceding word is lengthened. In the
sentences in (102d) and (102e), the vowel of the verbs has been lengthened after
the deletion of the initial syllable (102d) and the prefix (102e) of the following
word.

102a. **ɪlɪ́ tɪ́ɪ́shī̄**   →   **ɪ́-tɪ́ɪ́shī̄**   'how many (of them)?'   (**i-** class)
102b. **alɪ́ tááshī̄**   →   **aá-tááshī̄**   'how many (of them)?'   (**a²-** class)

102c. … **ká ɔɔ́kɔ 'bal'ɔkpí gazé gbɪgblǎnɪ́m̄.**
     ká   **ɔ-yíkɔ**   **ɔ-balɪ**   **ɔ-kpí**   **gazé**   **gbɪgblǎ**
     then   2SG-take SM-pour SM-put.into metal.pot big
     nɪ́   **kɪmɪ**
     DEF   in
     '… then you pour (it) into the big metal pot.'

102d. **Kof' áŋaafuo.**
     Kofɪ́   **á-ŋa**   **fufuo**
     Kofɪ   SM-eat   fufu
     'Kofi ate fufu.'

102e. **ázaapɛ́m̄ kíwīlílíŋ́.**
     á-za   **bʊ-pá**   **kɪmɪ**   **kí-wī**   **í-lílíní**
     3SG-stay CM-house   inside CM-day AM-DEM
     'He stayed at home on that day.'

2.5.8   Vowel Coalescence

Vowel coalescence is a process in which vowels which were originally distinguishable from each other merge together. In Tafi, this process occurs at morpheme boundaries where two contiguous vowels fuse into a different vowel to which none of the original two are directly related in terms of vowel quality. This can thus be represented as V1 + V2 = V3 where a vowel that ends a preceding word (V1) and a vowel that begins the following word (V2) coalesce into a single vowel (V3) with a different quality. In my corpus, all cases of coalescence involve **a** as V1 and **ʊ/i** as V2 resulting in **ɛ** as V3. V2 could be a prefix vowel or it could result from the deletion of an initial consonant of a CV syllable such as the consonant **k** in **kɪmɪ** 'inside' as in example (103a). Vowel coalescence also occurs when the dimunitive suffix **-ʊ/i** is attached to a noun whose final vowel is **a** yielding **-ɛ** as shown in (103b).

103a. **bʊ-ya**   'farm'   + **kɪmɪ** 'inside' → **bʊ-yɛm**   'in a farm'
103b. **ki-pidzya** 'CM-goat' + **-ʊ**   'DIM'   → **ki-pidzyɛ̌**   'a small goat'

2.6   Loanwords

Loanwords in Tafi are mainly from inland Ewe[18] in particular, with some few from Akan and English. Heine (1968:131) observes that the main source of borrowing for the southern and eastern Togo Remnant languages is Ewe while for their counterparts on the western side it is Twi. In view of the fact that the contact between the Baagbɔ and the Ewes is intense, the flow of borrowing from Ewe seems to be greater than from Akan and English. Heine (ibid) also notes that loanwords from other European languages like Portuguese and Dutch found in these languages entered them through Ewe and Twi which are lingua francae. In Tafi, as in Nyagbo, Logba and Avatime, Ewe and English are used as a means of instruction, in schools, in churches, hospitals, markets as well as mass media - radio, TV, and newspapers.

Usually, when a language borrows from another, the ensuing effect on the borrowing language is that there is either loss of linguistic features, addition of features, or replacement of old native linguistic features by new interference features. In the case of Tafi, for instance, in the phonology, we find that the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ which was previously not in the language got introduced into it as a result of borrowing from Ewe. This is illustrated by the words **aɸu** 'sea' and **Abuiɸé** which is an Ewe appellation for **Ofú** one of the Tafi communities.

Also, some nouns borrowed into the language are allocated to certain noun classes because their prefixes bear phonological resemblance to either the singular or the plural prefix of that class. Some of these prefixes are maintained while others are modified. For example, the prefixes of the borrowed nouns in (104a) – (104c) seem to bear some phonological resemblance to the plural prefixes of the **kɪ-/a²-** singular/plural and **o-/i-** singular/plural classes while the prefixes of those in (104d) and (104e) also sound like the singular prefix of the **o-/i-** class. The singular form of the loanwords in (104a), (104b), and (104c) are assigned the prefixes **kɪ-**, **ɔ-**, and **o-** respectively by backformation whereas the plural forms of those in (104d) and (104e) are assigned the prefix **ɪ-** and **i-**, also by backformation.

	Tafi			Source language		
104a.	**a-kpǎ**	'fish (pl)'	<	Ewe	**akpà**	'fish'
104b.	**ɪ-gla**	'jaw (pl)'	<	Ewe	**e-glã**	'jaw'
104c.	**i-tú**	'gun (pl)'	<	Ewe	**e-tú**	'gun'
104d.	**ɔ-ma**	'town, village'	<	Akan	**ɔmáń**	'state'
104e.	**o-frákaá**	'flag'	<	Akan	**ɔfráŋkaá**	'flag'

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[18] The inland Ewe dialects are the Ewe varieties spoken in Kpando, Anfoega and Ve.

Moreover, when loanwords are adopted into the language, there may be changes in the vowels and consonants of some of these words as exemplified in (105) below. Some oral vowels are nasalised and vice versa as illustrated in (104a) and (104b) above as well as in (105b).

105a.	a-fʊkpǎ	<	a-fɔkpǎ	'shoe'	(Ewe)
105b.	ɪ-hɛ̌	<	e-hɛ̌	'knife'	(Ewe)
105c.	ɪ-sɔ́	<	e-sɔ́	'horse'	(Ewe)
105d.	pĩ́	<	pɛ	'want'	(Akan)
105e.	i-dzyi	<	e-dzi	'heart'	(Ewe)
105f.	agbeɖi[19]	<	a-gbeli	'cassava'	(Ewe)
105g.	gelee	<	geɖee	'many'	(Ewe)

The tones that these loanwords carry may vary or remain the same. As shown by the following examples in (106) and in (105a) – (105e) above, some prefixes with mid tones in the source language carry low tones in Tafi.

106.	Tafi	Ewe	Gloss
	a-yǐ	ā-yi	'beans'
	e-nyí	ē-nyi	'elephant'[20]
	a-zǐ	a-zi	'groundnuts'

Also, low or high tones on some stem syllables in Ewe become either LH or H while some LM tones become LH in Tafi. This is illustrated by the first example in (107) below and also by the examples in (106) above. There is no change in tones on the last two borrowed words in (107).

107.	Tafi	Ewe	Gloss
	trǒ	tró	'twist'
	kúnú	kúnú	'funeral'
	pétéé	pétéé	'all'

Loanwords in Tafi whose source is English are only a handful. These words are modified to conform to the syllable structure of the language. For instance, any loanword with a CVC syllable structure is always pronounced with a vowel added to the final consonant. Thus, instead of a single CVC syllable we have two syllables, CVCV, with each syllable bearing its own tone as shown in (108). Also, diphthongs are reduced to monophthongs as illustrated in (109).

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[19] Some speakers also use the same form of the Ewe word for cassava.
[20] The original meaning of **ē-nyi** in Ewe is 'cow'.

	English		Tafi	Ewe
108.	cup	/kʌp/	kɔ́pʊ	kɔ́pu
	bucket	/bʌkɪt/	bōkiti	bókiti
	cork	/kɔːk/	kɔ̄kɪ	kɔ́ki
	cigarette	/sɪgəret/	sigaréti	sigaréti
109.	trousers	/trauzəz/	trŏza	trŏza
	plate	/pleit/	prĭtĭ	prente
	paint	/peint/	pénti	pénti

As illustrated in (108) and (109) above, the Tafi loanwords and most of the Ewe loanwords are phonologically similar. Therefore, it is not yet clear whether these loanwords entered Tafi through Ewe or not. It could be that these words were borrowed into Tafi directly from English.

2.7   Tafi orthography

As at now, there is no standard orthography available for Tafi. In this section, I present some of the orthographic conventions used in this grammar, some of which are based on the Ewe orthography because Tafi speakers who are literate in Ewe are familiar with the Ewe orthographic conventions. This would facilitate the transition from Ewe writing practices to the Tafi ones.

The consonant sounds in (110) below are represented with the same character and these have more or less the phonetic value of the IPA symbols:

110.   /p, b, f, fw, v, t, d, s, z, k, g, kp, gb, x, xw, h, hw, ts, dz, m, n, ŋ, ŋw, l, r, w, w̃/

The following sounds are represented differently from the IPA symbols:

- The voiced aspirated bilabial stop [bʱ] is written as 'bh'.
- The voiced post-alveolar stop [ɖ] is written as 'ɖ'.
- The voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] is written as 'sh'.
- The voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] is written as 'zh'.
- The voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ] is written as 'tsy'.
- The voiceless labialised palatal affricate [tʃw] is written as 'tsyw'.
- The voiced palatal affricate [dʒ] is written as 'dzy'.
- The palatal nasal [ɲ] is written as 'ny'.
- The glide [j] is written as 'y'.

The vowels /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʊ, u/ are written as i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʊ and u. Nasal and nasalised vowels are written with a tilde (˜) above the vowel symbol: ĩ, ɪ̃, ẽ, ɛ̃, ã, ɔ̃, ʊ̃ and ũ. With respect to tone marks, an acute accent [´] on a tone-bearing

segment, usually, a vowel or a syllabic nasal, represents a high tone, a macron [¯] represents a mid tone and instances where a particular vowel is not tone-marked represents a low tone. However, a grave accent [`] on a syllabic nasal represents a low tone. A rising tone is marked with a haček [ˇ] or a grave accent and a macron [˵] on the segment while a circumflex [^] or an acute accent and a macron [˶] or a macron and a grave accent [˵] on a tone bearing segment represents a falling tone.

Orthographic vowel sequences where the first vowel is a high front vowel **i** or **ɪ** or a back vowel **o**, **ɔ**, **u**, or **ʊ** are phonologically a sequence of a palatal glide and a labial velar glide respectively. They are written as vowel sequences following the Ewe orthographic convention for such sound sequences as shown by the examples in (112) and (113).

111.	**zɪazɪa**	/zyazya/	'often, usually'
	tɪ́áshɪ̄	/tyáshɪ̄/	'how many/ much'
	tietí	/tyeti/	'five'
	kámpiesí	/kámpyesí/	'armpit'

112.	**kóéyɪ̄**	/kwéyɪ̄/	'exit'
	ehoé	/ehwě/	'cowries'
	gʊgɔé	/gʊgwě/	'last'
	kahlɔ̃́é	/kahlwě̃/	'antelope'

113.	**kibúí**	/kibwí/	'word, matter, case'
	bhui	/bhwi/	'cut'
	púɪ̃	/pwɪ̃́/	'roast, bake'
	kázhʊé	/kázhwě/	'bird'
	kɪbʊí	/kɪbwǐ/	'dew'

The verb and its markers – subject markers and preverb markers constitute one phonological word. They are therefore written together as one orthographic word. In sentence (114a), the subject marker /o/ which precedes the verb is written together with it and in (114b), the subject pronoun, the repetitive, persistive, 'again' and ventive preverb markers are attached to the verb.

114a. Osíń odzyínī.
    o-sí   nɪ́   o-dzyínī
    CM-tree   DEF   SM-break
    'The tree broke.'

114b. Ɔzɔkɔvlɔbɔw̃ɪ̃ 'ulu.
    ɔ-zɔ-kɔ-vlɔ-bɔ-w̃ɪ̃   bʊ-lu
    2SG-REP-PERS-again-VENT-drink   CM-drink
    'You are going to drink again.'

An elided initial consonant or syllable of a noun is indicated by an apostrophe sign
('). Where two sounds in a sequence are elided only one apostrophe is used. I do
not show the elision in postpositions where it concerns the elision of their initial
consonants. This is because the elision is a process of their grammaticalisation
from nominals to postpositions. I also do not indicate the elision of the vowel of
the definiteness or topic marker **ní** with an apostrophe because **ní** 'DEF' or 'TOP'
is developing from a particle to a clitic. This also applies to the first person
singular pronoun **mí** which is also developing into a clitic. The examples in (114a)
above and (115) below are illustrations.

Moreover, the noun, the definiteness marker and the reduced form of postpositions
are written together as shown in (115a) and (115b) below.

115a. Okútúń ɔ́kpasí kísúgbáním̄.
     o-kútú   **ní**   **ɔ́-kpasí**   **kí-súgbá** **ní**   **kımı**
     CM-orange   DEF   SM-be.in CM-bowl DEF   inside
     'The orange is in the bowl.'

115b. Keplukpáń 'étsirí kplɔ̌íábhā.
     ke-plukpá ní   **ké-tsirí**   **kplɔ̌** **kábhā**
     CM-book DEF   SM-be.on table   top
     'The book is on a table.'

As illustrated in (115a) and (115b), the definiteness marker is attached to the
subject NP. Also in (115a), the definiteness marker and the postposition following
the object NP have been written together with it. In (115b), the postposition which
directly follows the object NP is written together with it.

Furthermore, there is a liaison between the reduced forms of words that end in a
consonant (e.g. the definiteness marker **ń**) and the following word beginning with a
vowel. See for example, the sentences in (115) above.

3   Nouns and Noun classes

3.1   Nouns

Nouns prototypically express time-stable concepts (Givón 2001:51), for example, ɔda 'metal, iron'. Nouns in the Tafi language typically consist of a nominal prefix and a stem. These prefixes have a (C)V shape. A prefix may have varied forms depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel in the stem. The tone on prefixes is either high or low (see footnote 16 for an exception). Nouns without prefixes in the language are not many and they include loan words.

3.1.1   Noun classes

One of the most distinguished features of Niger-Congo languages is the system of noun classes that they possess. Nouns in these languages are assigned to various classes on the basis of their singular and plural forms that are marked by prefixes or suffixes and their agreement patterns. They may be grouped into genders on the basis of their singular/plural pairings. Zulu, a Bantu language of southern Africa, for example, has nine pairs of singular and plural prefixes (Poulos and Msimang 1998). Tafi and the other GTM languages have an active noun class system of the Niger-Congo type. However, they don't seem to have retained some of the features that go with such a system. For instance, several of these GTM languages do not show agreement between nouns and their qualifiers.

Schuh (1995:130) observes that the term noun class is used in two different ways in the description of African languages, namely, it is used to refer to "a single set of morphological concords which may show up as affixes on noun stems, affixes on modifiers, and pronominal referents to nouns" and "a paired set of [morphological] concords where one member of the pair is a singular referent and the other member is a plural corresponding to that singular." In this grammar, I use the term following the first usage because one can account better for the noun class system if the individual classes are treated separately since this will avoid the complication of many-to-one relation between singular and plural pairings. Moreover, using the singular to plural pairing leaves the **ti-** class which mainly contains non-count nouns an orphan.

Like in all other GTM languages, in the noun class system of Tafi, each noun belongs to a particular class identified by prefixes. Thus, it marks singular/plural alternations with prefixes and often requires concord of other elements in the sentence with the governing noun. In this way, the head noun determines what affix is used for agreement.

In this grammar, the different noun classes will be labelled as **ki-** class, **ka-** class etc. based on the various prefixes. Where we have more than one prefix with the same shape, numbers are added to them, for instance, a^1- class etc.

3.1.2   Noun class prefixes

Tafi has ten individual classes which are made up of five singular classes, four plural classes and one class which mainly contains non-count nouns (Bobuafor 2009a). The singular classes are a^1-, **o-, ki-**, **ka-**, **bu^1-**, and the plural classes are **ba(a)-**, **i-**, a^2-, and **bu^2-**. The **ti-** class is a non-count class and therefore it has no plural counterpart. The **ba(a)-** and **bu^2-** classes contain the plural forms of more than one singular class. In less careful or spontaneous speech, whole prefixes or consonantal onsets of prefixes are dropped, an observation already made by Funke (1910), (see also § 2.5.1). In sentence initial position or in isolation, the full forms of all the CV noun class prefixes, **ki-**, **ka-**, **bu^1-**, **ba(a)-**, **bu^2-** are used but when they occur elsewhere their initial consonant or the whole prefix may be dropped except for the prefix of the **ti**- class whose full form is used in any position. This is one of the signs that the noun class system of Tafi is in the process of decaying as it is in Nyagbo (see Essegbey 2009). Also historically, Logba is reported to have CV prefixes which have eroded to become only V prefixes (Heine 1968, Dorvlo 2008 and Dorvlo 2009). In the subsections that follow, I discuss the singular classes first followed by the plural classes. The nominal prefixes are given in Table 3.1. In the table, the various classes are listed in the second column and the noun class prefixes are given in the third column. In the third column, we have the different forms of the prefixes the nouns in each class take depending on the [ATR] value of the (initial) vowel of the noun stem.

Table 3.1   Nominal Prefixes

NUMBER	CLASS	NOUN PREFIX
I	a^1-	a/e/Ø-
II	ba(a)-	ba/be/Ø-
III	o-	ɔ/o-
IV	i-	ʊ/i-
V	ki-	kʊ/ki-
VI	a^2-	a/e-
VII	ka-	ka/ke-
VIII	bu^1-	bʊ/bu-
IX	bu^2-	bʊ/bu-
X	ti-	tʊ/ti-

3.1.2.1   The a¹- class

With the exception of some borrowed nouns, nouns in the **a¹**- class are characterised by the use of the prefixes **a-** or **e-**, depending on the [ATR] specification of the vowel in the initial syllable of the nominal root. The following are some examples:

1. **á-kā**   'father'   **é-nī**   'mother'
    á-nyɩ́   'man'   **e-kusí**   'chief'
    a-ga   'animal'   **é-blidzya**   'snake'
    a-núvɔ̄   'baby'   **é-fū**   'guest'
    a-bɔ́   'termite'   **é-dzyūī**   'mouse'

Some nouns in this class are prefix-less. These nouns can be said to take a Ø-prefix. They are in this class because they share with the prefixed nouns in this class, the agreement markers. Examples of such nouns are:

2. **Kpáyā**   'God'   **dēkē**   'crocodile'
    gbɔkɔé   'toad'   **túŋgbá**   'a bush cow'
    sáhwɩ̄   'spider'   **gbɛŋgbě**   'praying mantis'
    hohlōmʋá   '(green) grasshopper'   **blafɩ̂**   'pawpaw'

Moreover, there are also certain nouns in this class which do not exhibit any singular/plural distinction. They are in this class because their pronominal form and their subject-verb agreement forms are the same as those of the other nouns in this class. Examples of these nouns are:

3. **súbha**   'rain'
    wolě   'moon'
    dzyosǔ   'blood'
    nikpě   'maize'

Furthermore, most borrowed nouns, mostly from Ewe, also belong to this class. Some loanwords retain the prefixes of the source language while others have their prefixes changed or they do not occur with prefixes at all.[21] Examples given here, except the last two words are all words from Ewe origin:

4. **a-fɔmízī**   'rabbit'
    a-wi   'dress'
    ɩ-sɔ́   'horse'
    e-nyí   'elephant'
    dɔkū   'turkey'

---

[21] Loanwords will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.

tédzyí	'donkey'
vudǒ	'well (n)'
tʊm̀pá	'bottle'
hámā	'hammer'

With regard to the semantics of the nouns in this class, it contains most animate nouns, almost all human nouns, some wild and domestic animals, fluids, meteorological phenomena as well as most borrowed words. The semantics of the borrowed words have no limitations.

3.1.2.2   The o- class

Nouns belonging to the **o-** class take an **o/ɔ-** prefix, distributed in accordance with the ATR harmony requirements as shown in the following examples:

5.   **ɔ-tɔmí** 'beard'   **o-nugbū** 'mouth'
     ɔ-ma 'town'   **o-lí** 'neck'
     ɔ-shě 'branch'   **o-sí** 'tree'
     ɔ-ɖá 'metal, iron' **o-yĩtsí** 'hawk'
     ɔ-bhʊa 'friend'   **o-ní** 'soup'

Among others, nouns in the **o-** class include part-whole relational terms like human and animal body parts, parts of plants and buildings, parts of the day, elements of the environment, some minerals, some animals and some food items.

3.1.2.3   The ki- class

The **ki-** class has nouns which take **kɪ/ki-** prefix. The prefix **kɪ-** occurs with roots with an initial [-ATR] vowel while **ki-** occurs with those that have an initial [+ATR] vowel as shown in the examples in (6).

6.   **kí-gɔ̄** 'year'   **kí-wī** 'day'
     kɪ-tɔkpú 'head'   **kí-kū** 'yam'
     kɪ-zɔ 'housefly'   **ki-dri** 'wall'
     kɪ-kana 'crab'   **ki-lɛ́** 'tooth'

There are certain nouns in this class which do not have plural forms. The following are some examples:

7a. **kí-lē̄** 'wind'   **ki-wí** 'sun'
     kɪ-bʊí 'dew'   **ki-widúdɔ́** 'sunset'
     kí-dɔ̄ 'thing'   **kí-vū** 'yesterday'

The **ki-** class contains semantically diverse nouns including some items whose shape is flat and long like road, lizard, and spear; certain items with a round shape like egg, gourd and stone; some abstract nouns, emotions like fear, most body parts including head, thigh, bone, vagina, testicles; some household items, farm products, some insects and some water-related animals like frogs, among others.

The **ki-/kɪ-** prefix is also a dimunitive prefix and it can co-occur with the **-ɪ/i** suffix to form the dimunitives of nouns as in following examples in (7b). The **-ɪ/i** suffix interacts with the final vowel of the noun to which it is attached. It becomes **-ɛ** when it occurs after **ɔ** or coalesces with **a** as shown by the examples in (7b).

7b.   **kɪ-kʊkɔ́ɛ́**   'a small chick'   ←   **ɔ-kʊ́kɔ́**   'fowl'
      ki-pidzyɛ̌   'a small goat'   ←   **e-pidzya**   'goat'
      kɪ-nʊ́vɔ̄ɛ̄   'a very young child' ←   **a-nʊ́vɔ̃**   'child'
      kɪ-shɔɛ̌   'a small basket'   ←   **ka-shɔ́**   'basket'

3.1.2.4   The ka- class

Nouns belonging to this class take a **ka-** or **ke-** prefix. Noun roots with an initial [-ATR] vowel take the **ka-** prefix while those with an initial [+ATR] vowel take the **ke-** prefix. This is illustrated in (8).

8.   **ka-hʊkpɔ́**   'hand'   **ke-sukpá**   'ground, floor'
      ka-tsrʊkpɔ́   'foot'   **ke-sukpogunū**   'tree stump'
      ká-pā   'hoe'   **ke-tsé**   'monkey'
      ka-hlɔ̃ɛ́   'deer'   **ke-húí**   'a kind of deer'
      ka-gbā   'kitchen'   **ké-dunú**   'doorway'
      ka-kudzɔgɛ̌   'dog'   **ke-gbu**   'stool'

Nouns in this class include a few human terms referring to age like **ke-bité** 'young woman', some body parts, some wild and domestic animals, birds, farm implements and other entities such as parts of a tree. The **ka-** class also contains some locative nouns such as 'ground' and 'land'. Some of such nouns have evolved into postpositions and have retained the nominal prefix which has become lexicalized with the root. Examples include **kábhā** 'top', **kesí** 'bottom, underpart', **kɪmɪ** 'inside' and **kenu** 'entrance'.

3.1.2.5   The bu¹- class

The nouns in the **bu¹-** class take a **bʊ-/bu-** prefix. **bʊ-** occurs with nouns with an initial [-ATR] vowel while **bu-** occurs with nouns with a [+ATR] initial vowel. Below are some examples:

9.   **bʊ-pá**   'house'   **bʊ-tú**   'mountain'
     bʊ-ya   'farm'   **bú-glebē**   'wing'
     bʊ-tɔ́   'ear, ash'   **bú-vū**   'building'
     bʊ-wá   'medicine'   **bú-hihē**   'sweat'
     bʊ-zhɔ   'cheek'   **bu-ní**   'water'
     bú-nyínyí   'penis'   **bu-nʊhʊ**   'language'
     bʊ-bɔ́   'oil, fat'   **bu-lí**   'oil palm'

Semantically, the nouns in this class belong to a small set consisting of body-parts including some paired body-parts; non-count nouns, tall and large objects.

This class prefix is prefixed to some verbs to form gerunds. This is exemplified by the examples in (10a) and by **bʊtí** 'crawling' in the proverb in (10b).

10a. **bʊ-yí**   'killing'   ←   **yí**   'kill'
      bʊ-pʊɩ   'scattering'   ←   **pʊɩ**   'scatter'
      bú-gā   'walking'   ←   **ga**   'walk'
      bu-búkú   'intoxicating'   ←   **búkú**   'intoxicate'

10b. Ónúgɩ ɖēkē évu wɔ́ ní, y'eyialí bʊtí látī ní anɔ 'ɛvʊɩabhā.
      Ónú.gɩ   ɖēkē   é-vu   wɔ́   ní   yí   e-yi-alí
      COND   crocodile SM-catch 2SG   TOP   3SG.IND   CM-child-PL
      bʊ-tí   lá-tī   ní   a-nɔ   ki-vu   kábhā
      CM-crawl   3PL.DEP-crawl LOC   CM-person   CM-stomach top
      'When a crocodile has captured you, baby crocodiles will crawl on your belly.'

Such gerunds are used in predicate focus constructions (see Chapter 6).

The **bʊ/bu-** prefix can also be added to adjectives to derive nominals. In some cases, the adjective is fully or partially reduplicated and in other cases, there is no reduplication. For example,

11.   **bú-féléfélé**   'lightness'   ←   **félé́é**   'light'
      bú-kplitakplita 'shortness'   ←   **kplita**   'short'
      bú-tsútsɔ́mɔ̄   'ugliness'   ←   **tsɔ́mɔ̄**   'ugly'
      bú-bhuliyí   'smallness'   ←   **bhuliyí** 'very small'
      bu-gɩganɩ   'strength'   ←   **gɩganɩ**   'strong'

The next group of prefixes to be described is the plural prefixes.

3.1.2.6 The ba(a)- class

The **ba(a)-** class comprises plural forms of nouns in the **a¹-** class as shown in (12a), the **bu¹-** class as illustrated in (12b) and a sub-set of the **kɩ-** and **ka-** classes as shown in (12c). Nouns in this class have the plural prefix **ba(a)-/be(e)-**. As usual, the **ba(a)~be(e)-** alternation is governed by the ATR value of the initial root vowel.

12a.	**báá-kā**	'fathers'	**béé-nī**	'mothers'
	baa-dzɩ̄	'women'	bee-kusí	'chiefs'
	baa-ga	'animals'	bé-blidzya	'snakes'
	ba-bɔ́	'termites'	bé-fū	'guests'
	ba-hɔnī	'doves'	**bé-dzyūī**	'mice'

12b.	**ba-ya**	'farms'	**be-vu**	'buildings'
	ba-pá	'houses'	bee-tú	'mountains'
	bá-wɔfú	'games'	be-pí	'beams, rafters'
	baa-ká	'fences'	**bé-gū**	'customs'

12c.	**ba-zɔ**	'housefly'	**be-ní**	'rivers'
	ba-drɔ̆gá	'bedbug'	be-dzigà	'traders'

3.1.2.7 The i- class

The **i- class** is made up of the plural forms of nouns in the **o-** class. Depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel of the noun root, nouns in this class take **i-/ɩ-** as prefixes. Below are some examples:

13.	**ɩ-tɔmɩ́**	'beards'	**i-nugbù**	'mouths'
	ɩ-ma	'towns'	i-lí	'necks'
	ɩ-shɛ̆	'branches'	i-sí	'trees'
	ɩ-ɖá	'metals, iron'	i-yĭtsí	'hawks'
	ɩ-bhɩa	'friends'	**i-nɩ́**	'soups'

3.1.2.8 The a²- class

The **a²-** class has been identified as a separate class, because it comprises plural nouns whereas the **a¹-** class contains singular nouns. It pairs with the **ki-** class which is a singular class. Noun roots with a [-ATR] initial vowel occur with the **a-** prefix and those with [+ATR] initial vowel with the **e-** prefix as in (14).

14a.	**á-gɔ̄**	'years'	**e-wí**	'days'
	a-tɔkpú	'heads'	é-kū	'yams'
	a-zɔ	'houseflies'	e-dri	'walls'
	a-kana	'crabs'	e-lé	'teeth'

Some collectives with individuated members such as grains also belong to this class. Examples include:

14b. **á-sí**   'rice'
      a-zǐ   'peanuts'
      a-yǐ   'beans'
      a-mɔ́   'unhusked rice'

3.1.2.9   The bu²- class

Nouns in the **bu²-** class take a **bʊ-/bu-** prefix when they occur with a noun root with a [-ATR] or [+ATR] initial vowel respectively. The nouns in this class represent the plural forms of the nouns in the **ka-** class as in (15a) and a subset of nouns in the **ki-** class as in (15b).

15a. **bʊ-hʊkpɔ́**   'hands'   **bu-sukpá**   'grounds'
      bʊ-tsrʊkpɔ   'feet'   **bu-sukpogunu**   'tree stumps'
      bʊ-pa   'hoes'   **bu-tsé**   'monkeys'
      bʊ-hlɔ̃ɛ́   'deers'   **bu-kudzɔgě**   'dogs'
      bʊ-gbà   'kitchens'   **bú-dunú**   'doorways'
      bʊ-gbu   'stools'   **bu-plukpá**   'books'

15b. **bʊ-plá**   'buttocks'   **bu-yísɔé**   'young men'
      bú-kúkóéyí   'chicken'   **bʊ-dzɪmǐ**   'very young girls'

3.1.2.10   The ti- class

The **ti-** class nouns take the **tɪ-/ti-** as prefix depending on the [ATR] value of the initial root vowel. This class is made up of collective nouns which are mainly non-liquid such as:

16.   **ti-sí**   'clay, soil'   **tɪ-sí**   'feather'
      tɪ-wʊlɛ́   'intestines'   **tɪ-pí**   'excrement'
      tɪ-wá   'grass'   **tɪ-wʊlɔ̃**   'rubbish'
      tí-kā   'hair'   **tɪ-rá**   'sleep'

The prefix **tɪ-/ti-** is also used for the nominalisation of verbs as the following examples show:

17.   **tí-yíyékē**   'swelling'   ←   **yékē**   'swell'
      tí-zɪzā   'staying, being' ←   **za**   'stay, be'
      tí-ŋʊŋā   'eating'   ←   **ŋa**   'eat'
      tí-vɪvɪ   'going'   ←   **vɪ**   'go'
      tí-púpó   'waiting'   ←   **pó**   'wait'

tí-tsútsú	'digging'	←	**tsú**	'dig'
tí-tɪtā	'chewing'	←	**tā**	'chew'
tí-fĭfatɪ	'peeling'	←	**fátɪ**	'peel'

As the examples in (17) show, in the process of nominalisation, the initial (or only) syllable of the verb is reduplicated before the prefix is added while the reduplicated part contains a vowel pre-specified as [+high], which adapts its [ATR] value to the [ATR] value of the initial vowel of the verb root.

Moreover, **tɪ-/ti-** is the prefix attached to language names. For example, **Ti-trugbu** 'the language of the people of Nyagbo', **Ti-yĩgbē** 'Ewe', **Ti-múí** 'Akan' and **Tɪ-fraṅsī** 'French'.

3.1.3 Summary of the noun classes

The match between the singular and plural classes in Tafi and how they interrelate is represented by Figure 1. As shown in the figure, the **ba(a)-** class is made up of plurals of nouns in the **a^1-**, **bu^1-** and a subset of the **ka-** and **ki-** classes. Also, the **bu^2-** class comprises most of the plural forms of the **ka-** class and a subset of the **ki-** class. The **ti-** class contains non-count nouns so it has no plural counterpart.
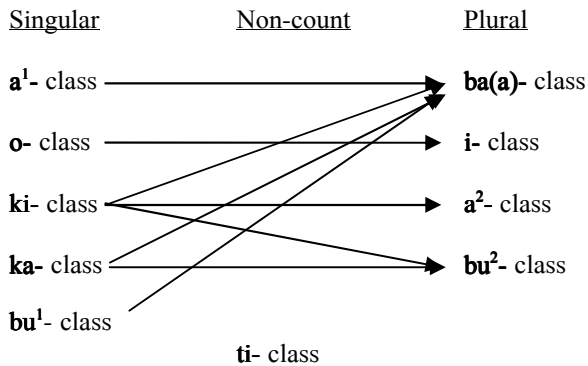
Figure 1. Singular and Plural pairings.

3.2 Loanwords

It is well known that languages in contact influence one another. Most often, a borrowed form or pattern diverges from its shape in the source language. For example, the Tafi words **a-kana** 'crabs' and **ɔ-ma** 'town' are borrowed from Ewe **agalã** 'crab' and Akan **ɔmán** 'town', respectively (see Chapter 2 § 2.6). It is also possible that in the borrowing process a semantic or functional change takes place, for instance **e-nyi** 'cow' in Ewe becomes 'elephant' in Tafi. Other loans are

integrated without modification, as the Ewe words **a-srã** 'tobacco' and **vudŏ** 'well'. Thus, loanwords vary in terms of their degree of phonological and morphological integration into the borrowing language. When formal changes occur, these are usually determined by the structure of the borrowing language. In this section, I will examine the question of how borrowed nouns are incorporated into the noun class system of Tafi.

Heine (1968) mentions three methods of integrating borrowed nouns into noun class systems: (i) automatic, (ii) phonological and (iii) semantic allocations. In Tafi, the first and second methods apply. The third method, the semantic allocation applies in tandem with the phonological.

I.   In many noun class languages, loanwords are put in only one or few of the available classes. In Tafi, for instance, the default class is the a^1- class.

Some of the nouns that Tafi borrowed do not have nominal class prefixes. Examples of such nouns include **sɪká** 'money' borrowed from Akan and **kɔɖú** 'banana' borrowed from Akan (**kwadu**) via Ewe ((**a**)**kɔɖú**). The subject-verb agreement marker these nouns take is **a/e-** depending on the initial vowel of the verb, which signals that they are functioning like a^1- class nouns as illustrated by the examples in (18).

18.   Kɔɖúń ébékē.
        kɔɖú   nɪ́   é-békē
        banana   DEF   SM-finish
        'The banana is finished.'

II.   Some borrowed nouns are allocated to certain noun classes, because their initial syllable bears phonological resemblance to the singular prefix of a particular class, as in (19a) - (19c).

	Singular		Plural				
19a.	**a-gbeɖi**	'cassava'	**ba**-gbeɖi	'cassava'	< Ewe, **agbeli**	'cassava'
19b.	**a-wi**	'dress'	**ba-wi**	'dresses'	< Ewe, **awu**	'dress'
19c.	**o-dotí**	'cotton'	**i-dotí**	'cotton'	< Gã, **odóntí**	'cotton'

The loanwords in examples (19a) – (19c) are interpreted in Tafi as consisting of a prefix and a root. The words in the source languages have petrified prefixes. In Tafi the prefixes of these loanwords are identified with the singular prefix of the a^1- class, as in examples (19a) and (19b) which do not comform to its animate semantics, and of the **o-** class, as in example (19c).

III.   Some loanwords in Tafi are allocated to a given noun class for both semantic and phonological reasons. For example, the words in example (20a) and (20b) are allocated to the a^2- class on the basis of their form and meaning. Their

initial syllable is analysed as an **a**[2]- class prefix and semantically because they denote water-related animals, which belong to this class. As they are countable, their singular forms are assigned to the **ki-** class.

20a.	**kı-kpǎ**	'fish'	**a-kpǎ**	'fishes'	< Ewe,	**akpā**
20b.	**kı-kana**	'crab'	**a-kana**	'crabs'	< Ewe,	**agalā**

Similarly, the examples in (21a) and (21b) are assigned on the basis of their form and meaning. They have an **a-** prefix and the semantics of collectives. Different from the examples in (20), the forms in (21) do not have singular forms.

21a.	**a-yǐ**	'beans'	< Ewe	**āyi**
21b.	**a-zǐ**	'groundnuts/peanuts'	< Ewe	**azi**

3.3   The system of grammatical agreement

Agreement is a purely syntactic phenomenon, in which the grammatical properties of one element in the sentence (the agreeing element, or 'target', in the terminology of Corbett 1991) are determined by those of another element (the 'controller', in this case the noun).

Apart from the fact that the class of a noun is signalled by a pair of prefixes attached to the nominal stem, one for singular and the other one for plural, Tafi also has a characteristic pattern of grammatical agreement whereby demonstratives, numerals, pronouns, and other elements in a sentence which are co-referential with a noun show concord with that noun in which case they are assigned a prefix that co-indexes the class of the noun. Also, subject-verb agreement markers are used to cross-reference nouns on the verbs they occur with. Thus, nouns in the language are grouped into the various classes based on not only the class prefixes they occur with but primarily on the agreement markers. The definition of 'noun class' in Tafi involves reference both to the prefix on the noun (if there is one) and to the pattern of grammatical agreement.

Table 3.2 gives a summary of the noun class prefixes and agreement markers that verbs as well as elements within the noun phrase take. The second column in Table 3.2 contains class prefixes as well as subject-verb agreement markers (SM). The SM for the two **bu-** classes is zero because nouns belonging to these classes are no longer cross-referenced on the verb. Some other classes such as the **ki-**, **i-** and **ti-** classes are also vascilating in agreement marking on the verb. As will become evident throughout this work, they sometimes show agreement overtly with the appropriate subject marker and at other times, the subject marker is zero. Moreover, as indicated against the **a**[1]- class in the second column, nouns in this class either take an **a-**, **e-** or a zero (Ø-) prefix. However, they are all cross-referenced on the verb with an **a-** or **e-** prefix. Furthermore, the SM for the **ti-** class

is **kɪ/ki-**. As the root of the numeral -**ɖikpó** 'one' is [+ATR], the singular classes do not have a [-ATR] counterpart of the numeral prefix.

Table 3.2.   Noun class prefixes, agreement markers and pronouns

Class	Class Pfx	SM	Subj Pron	Obj. Pron/ indep. pron.	Dep. pron.	Poss. Pron.	Dem. Pfx	Indef. mrk. Pfx	Num. Pfx	Int. Qtf.	NP-nyáá-NP
a[1]-	a/e-/ Ø-	a/e-	a/e-	yí	a/e-	a-	a-	te-	te-	-	nyáá/ nyéé
ba (a)-	ba-/ be-	ba-/ be-	ba-/ be-	balí	la/ le-	a-N -alí	a-	te-	tɪa-/ tie-	tɪa-	nyáá/ nyéé
o-	ɔ/o-	ɔ/o-	ɔ/o- lɔ/lo-	ɔlí	lɔ/ lo-	ɔ-	ɔ-	to-	to-	-	nyɔ́ɔ́/ nyóó
i-	ʋ/i-	(ʋ/i-)	ʋ/i- lɪ/li-	ɪlí	lɪ/ li-	ɪ-	ɪ-	ti-	tɪ-/ ti-	tʊ	nyéé/ nyéé
ki-	kɪ-/ ki-	(kɪ-/ ki-)	kɪ-/ ki-	kɪlí	lɪ/ li-	ɪ-	ɪ-	ti-	tri-	-	nyéé/ nyéé
a[2]-	a/e-	a/e-	la-/ le-	alí	la/ le-	a-	a-	te-	ta-/ te-	taa-	nyáá/ nyéé
ka-	ka-/ ke-	ka-/ ke-	ka-/ ke-	kalí	kalí	ɪa-	a-	tie-	tie-	-	nyáá/ nyéé
bu[2]-	bʊ-/ bu-	-	bʊ-/ bu-	bʊlí	lʊ/ lu-	ʊ-	ɔ-/ ʊ-	tu-	tʊ-/ tu-	tʊʊ-	nyɔ́ɔ́/ nyóó
bu[1]-	bʊ-/ bu-	-	bʊ-/ bu-	bʊlí	lʊ/ lu-	ʊ-	ɔ-/ ʊ-	tu-	tru-	-	nyɔ́ɔ́/ nyóó
ti-	tɪ/ti-	(kɪ-/ ki-)	kɪ-/ ki-	kɪlí	lɪ/ li-	ɪ-	ɪ-	ti-	-	taa-	nyéé/ nyéé

3.3.1   Subject-verb agreement markers

The subject-verb agreement markers are the same as the noun class prefixes. Like the noun class prefixes, the subject-verb agreement markers have two forms depending on the ATR value of the initial vowel of the verb root. It should be noted that in fast connected speech, where the subject-verb agreement marker is made up of a CV syllable, the consonantal onset is dropped or the whole agreement marker may be dropped. In the examples, the subject-verb agreement marker is indicated by SM while the prefixes on nouns are glossed as CM for singular prefixes and as CM.PL for plural prefixes. These forms are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Subject-verb agreement markers

CLASS	VERBAL CONCORD
a¹-	a/e-
ba(a)-	ba/be-
o-	o/ɔ-
i-	(i/ɪ-)
ki-	(kɪ/ki-)
a²-	a/e-
ka-	ka/ke-
bu²-	-
bu¹-	-
ti-	(kɪ/ki-)

Depending on the ATR value of the first vowel in the verb, the subject-verb agreement marker used to cross-reference nouns in the **a¹-** class is **a-** or **e-** as exemplified in (22a) and (22b). The examples in (22) are taken from a frog story narration.

22a. Ányínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ́ń ámɔ ozi tolí n'ŏsí gbɪgblănɪ́m̃.
     á-nyínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ̄   ní   á-mɔ   o-zi   to-lí   ní   o-sí
     CM-boy   DEF   SM-see   CM-hole AM-INDEF LOC   CM-tree
     gbɪgblă   ní   kʊmɪ
     big   DEF   in
     'The boy saw a hole in the big tree.' (FS)

22b. Ányínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ́ń éwu osíń.
     á-nyínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ̄   ní   é-wū   o-sí   ní
     CM-boy   DEF   SM-climb CM-tree DEF
     'The boy climbed up the tree.' (FS)

In (22a) and (22b), the subject NP has been cross-referenced on the verb. The alternation between **a-** and **e-** of the SM is explained by ATR assimilation. In (22a) the verb contains a [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/, so it takes as agreement marker **a-** which is also [-ATR] whereas in (22b), the [+ATR] value of the vowel /u/ of the verb attracts **e-** which is also [+ATR].

As stated in section 3.1.2.1, some prefix-less nouns including some borrowed nouns belong to this class. This is because they share with the prefixed nouns in this class the agreement markers, as in (23a) and (23b). Sentence (23a) has as its subject a prefix-less noun while that of (23b) is a prefix-less borrowed word.

23a.   Sǎhwī̃ étsirí bupíním̄.

sǎhwī̃   **nɪ́**   **é-tsirí**   **bu-pí**   **nɪ́**   **kʊmɪ**
Spider   DEF   SM-be.on   CM-ceiling   DEF   in
'The spider is on the ceiling.' (TRPS. 7)

23b.   Bɔ́lun ákpasí kadangóníésí.

bɔ́lu   nɪ́   á-kpasí   kadangó   nɪ́   ke.sí
ball   DEF   SM-be.in chair   DEF   under
'The ball is under the chair.' (TPRS. 16)

Moreover, there are also some nouns in this class such as **dzyosǔ** 'blood', **sʊ́bha** 'rain', and **welě** 'moon' that do not exhibit any singular/plural distinction. They are in this class because their pronominal and subject-verb agreement forms are the same as those of the other nouns in this class as illustrated in the following sentence:

24a.   Dzyosǔ álī y'ɔ́hɔɪníshú.

dzyosǔ   **á-lī**   **yɪ́**   **ɔhɔɪ**   **nɪ́**   **shú**
blood   SM-be.at 3SG.IND   CM-arm   DEF   surface
'He has blood on his arm.'

Some speakers, especially young adults and children, tend to generalise the subject-verb agreement marker or pronominal form of the **a¹-** class for other classes (see §3.5.1 for a discussion of pronouns). Thus, they do not make a distinction between this class and other noun classes such that the subject-verb agreement marker or pronominal form of this class is used to mark other singular and plural noun classes. Some other speakers also do not cross-reference the subject on the verb. All these are indications that the noun class system is gradually decaying. It must however, be noted that the adult speakers do not take lightly to this and are always complaining that the younger ones are 'destroying the language.'

Nouns in the **o-** class are cross-referenced on the verbs of which they are the subject with **ɔ/o-**. Below are some examples:

25a.   Oseyuyuń ɔ́sɔmí osíníshú.

o-seyuyu   **nɪ́**   **ɔ́-sɔmí**   **o-sí**   **nɪ́**   **shú**
CM-fruit   DEF   SM-hang   CM-tree   DEF   surface
'The fruit is hanging on the tree.' (TRPS. 27)

25b.   Ohuiń ótsirí kesukpogununɪabhā.

o-hui   **nɪ́**   **ó-tsirí**   **ke-sukpogunu**   **nɪ́**   **kábhā**
CM-rope   DEF   SM-be.on   CM-tree.stump   DEF   top
'The rope is on the tree stump.' (TRPS. 42)

The subject-verb agreement marker of the **a¹-** prefix tends to be used for the **o-** class as illustrated by the following sentence which I was given during a picture-stimuli elicitation session:

26.   Oseyuyuń ákpasí agbĕnɪ́m̄.
       o-seyuyu   nɪ́   á-kpasí   a-gbĕ   nɪ́   kʊmɪ
       CM-fruit   DEF   SM-be.in CM-bowl DEF inside
       'The fruit is in the bowl.' (TRPS. 2)

The subject-verb agreement marker for the **ki-** class is **kɪ/ki-** as in the instantiation of the +ATR variant in (27a). The subject marker may however be left out as shown in (27b).

27a.   Kiwíń ítsú ányíń.
       ki-wí   nɪ́   ki-tsú   á-nyí   nɪ́
       CM-thorn DEF SM-prick CM-man DEF
       'The thorn pricked the man.'

27b.   Kɪzɔ́ń kpasí 'únínɪ́m̄.
       kɪ-zɔ   nɪ́   kpasí bu-ní   nɪ́   kʊmɪ
       CM-housefly DEF be.in CM-water DEF inside
       'The housefly is in the water.'

The generalisation of the subject-verb agreement marker of the **a¹-** class is exemplified in sentence (27c). This was a report made to one of my consultants by her niece who was asked to cook yam for lunch. In this sentence, the subject-verb agreement marker used is **a-** instead of **kɪ-**.

27c.   Kíkūń átsyɔ́m5̄.
       kí-kū   nɪ́   á-tsyɔ́m5̄
       CM-yam DEF SM-rot
       'The yam is rotten.'

Nouns belonging to the **ka-** class are cross-referenced by **ka/ke-** as verbal concord as shown in (28a) and (28b).

28a.   Kahlɔ̄ɛ́ń étsirí kesukpogunūnɪabhā.
       ka-hlɔ̄ɛ́   nɪ́   ké-tsirí   ke-sukpogunū   nɪ́   kábhā
       CM-deer   DEF SM-be.on CM-tree.stump DEF top
       'The deer is on the tree-stump.'

28b.   Keplukpáń áwɔ́lɪ̄.
       ke-plukpá nɪ́   ka-wɔ́lɪ̄
       CM-book   DEF SM-fall
       'The book fell.'

The sentences in (29) exemplify nouns in the **bu¹**- class. As shown in these sentences, the subject is not cross-referenced on the verbs. It appears that the nouns in this class are not cross-referenced on verbs. This is yet another example that the noun class system of the language is in the process of decaying. In these sentences, the verbs **tã** 'burn', in (29a), and **kú** 'reach', in (29b), occur without any subject-verb agreement marker.

29a. Buvú ní tã pétéé pétéé dzí 'útɔ́.

bu-vú	**ní**	**tã**	**pétéé**	**pétéé**	**dzí**	**bu-tɔ́**
CM-building	DEF	burn	all	all	become	CM-ash

'The building burned down completely into ashes.'

29b. Bʋmwɪ ní kú flá n'oníním̃.

bu-mwɪ	**ní**	**kú**	**flá**	**ní**	**o-ní**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
CM-salt	DEF	reach	pass	LOC	CM-soup	DEF	inside

'There is too much salt in the soup.'

ba- and **be**- are used to cross-reference the nouns in the **ba(a)**- class on the verb. Consider the following examples:

30a. Bawĩ ́ ásɔmí kíhúíníábhā.

ba-wĩ	**ní**	**bá-sɔmí**	**kí-húí**	**ní**	**kábhā**
CM.PL-dress	DEF	SM-hang	CM-drying.line	DEF	top

'The clothes are hanging on the drying line.' (TRPS. 36)

30b. Báányín étsokú 'úpáním̃.

báá-nyí	**ní**	**bé-tsokú**	**bu-pá**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
CM.PL-man	DEF	SM-enter	CM-house	DEF	inside

'The men entered the house.'

As the examples in (30a) and (30b) illustrate the subjects of these sentences are plural nouns, and the agreement markers are **ba-** and **be-**. Sentence (30a) was given during a picture-stimuli elicitation session.

With regard to nouns in the **i-** class, some speakers do not cross-reference the noun on the verb. For those who mark the agreement, these nouns take **ɪ-/i-** as their subject-verb agreement marker as illustrated in (31).

31a. Iseyuyuń ́sɔmí osíníshú.

i-seyuyu	**ní**	**ɪ-sɔmí**	**o-sí**	**ní**	**shú**
CM.PL-fruit	DEF	SM-hang	CM-tree	DEF	surface

'The fruits are hanging on the tree.' (TPRS. 45)

31b.   Ihuiń ítsirí kesukpogunun ɩabhā.
    i-hui   **nɪ́**   **i-tsirí**   **ke-sukpogunu**   **nɪ́**   **kábhā**
    CM.PL-rope   DEF   SM-be.on   CM-tree.stump   DEF   top
    'The ropes are on the tree stump.'

The subject-verb agreement marker of the nouns in the **a²-** class is **a-/e-**. The sentences in (32) illustrate this.

32a.   Ékūń átsyɔ́mɔ̄
    é-kū   **nɪ́**   **á-tsyɔ́mɔ̄**
    CM.PL-yam   DEF   SM-rot
    'The yams are rotten.'

32b.   Akanan etsí.
    a-kana   **nɪ́**   **é-tsí**
    CM.PL-crab   DEF   SM-die
    'The crabs are dead.'

As it is with nouns in the **bu¹-** class, there is no subject-verb agreement marker that is used to cross-reference nouns in the **bu²-** class on verbs. Consider the following examples in (33).

33a.   Butsé nɪ́ zi bʊyɛm 'ɪdɔ̄ń.
    bu-tsé   **nɪ́**   <u>**zi**</u>   **bʊ-ya**   **kɪmɪ**   **kɪ́-dɔ̄**   **nɪ́**
    CM.PL-monkey   DEF   destroy   CM-farm   inside   CM-thing   DEF
    'The monkeys destroyed the crops.'

33b.   Butsukpú nɪ́ tsirí isubhanɪabhā.
    bu-tsukpú   **nɪ́**   <u>**tsirí**</u>   **i-subha**   **nɪ́**   **kábhā**
    CM.PL-pot   DEF   be.on   CM.PL-hearth   DEF   top
    'The pots are on the hearths.'

Finally, **kɪ/ki-** is the subject-verb agreement marker for nouns in the **ti-** class. This is illustrated by the examples in (34). Some speakers do not mark the agreement between **ti-** class nouns and the verb.

34a.   Tɪwáń ííshē vlɔvlɔ.
    tɪ-wá   **nɪ́**   **kɪ́-í-shē**   **vlɔvlɔ**
    CM-weed   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-grow   fast
    'The weed is growing very fast.'

34b.   Tɪwɕ́lɔ̄́ń ítã békē
    tɪ-wɕ́lɔ̄́   **nɪ́**   **kɪ́-tã**   **békē**
    CM-rubbish   DEF   SM-burn   COMPL
    'The rubbish has finished burning.'

In the next section, I will look at agreement within the noun phrase, to support the noun classes so far identified as well as distinguish between the classes that have identical forms but are treated as different classes.

3.3.2   Agreement involving noun modifiers

In Tafi, nominal modifiers follow the noun head. Some modifiers like the quantifiers and demonstratives agree with the head noun. Ordinals, unlike other quantifiers, behave like qualifiers in the sense that they do not show agreement with the head noun (Bobuafor 2012, 2009b). For quantifiers, for example, the agreement prefix is a consonantal prefix **t-** and a concord vowel that agrees with the vowel of the noun prefix. This is a form of vocalic concord (Schuh, 1995).

3.3.2.1   Head noun and numerals

In Tafi, numerals consist of cardinal and ordinal numbers. The cardinal numbers show agreement with the head noun whereas the ordinal numbers do not. The counting forms of cardinal numbers are different from the form they take in attributive position (see Chapter 4, § 3 for details). In attributive position, the numerals, especially 'one' to 'nine', take the consonantal prefix **t-** and a concord vowel that agrees with the vowel of the noun prefix except for the **ka-** class which takes **ie** as the concord vowel. Thus, agreement is shown on the numbers 'one' to 'nine', depending on the noun class as exemplified in the table below. In Table 3.4, there is no indication of plural forms for the **bu**^{1}- class as these plural nouns belong to the **ba(a)-** class.

Table 3.4   Cardinal numerals

Class	Concord	Meaning
a^1-	á-nyí t-é-ḍíkpó	'one man'
ba(a)-	báá-nyí t-íá-bhā	'two men'
	báá-nyí t-íé-tí	'five men'
o-	o-lí t-ó-ḍúkpó	'one neck'
i-	i-lí t-ʊ-bhā	'two necks'
	i-lí t-i-tí	'five necks'
ki-	kɪ-tɔkpú t-ríkpó	'one head'
a^2-	a-tɔkpú t-á-bhā	'two heads'
	a-tɔkpú t-é-tí	'five heads'
ka-	ká-gbɔ́ t-íé-ḍíkpó	'one squirrel'
bu^2-	bú-gbɔ́ t-ʊ-bha	'two squirrels'
	bú-gbɔ́ t-u-tí	'five squirrels'
bu^1-	bʊ-tɔ́ t-rúkpó	'one ear'
ti-	There are no count nouns in this class.	

3.3.2.2 Head noun and indefiniteness marker

The indefiniteness marker in Tafi has the root **-lí** 'a, a certain, some' which is the same form used for 'one' in counting. When this marker and other quantifying numerals modify a noun, they take the quantifier prefix **t-** and a concord vowel which corresponds to the noun class prefix vowel except for the **ka-** class which takes as the concord vowel **ie**. This concord vowel harmonises with the [ATR] value of the stem-initial vowel. The prefix vowel of the indefiniteness marker is illustrated in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 The Indefiniteness Marker

Class	Concord	Meaning
a[1]-	a-nóvɔ̄ t-e-lí	'a, some, a certain child'
ba(a)-	baa-nóvɔ̄ t-e-lí	'some children'
o-	o-sí t-o-lí	'a, some, a certain tree'
i-	i-sí t-i-lí	'some trees'
ki-	kí-kū t-i-lí	'a, some, a certain yam'
a[2]-	é-kū t-e-lí	'some yams'
ka-	ká-gbɔ́ t-ie-lí	'a, some, a certain squirrel'
bu[2]-	bú-gbɔ́ t-u-lí	'some squirrels'
bu[1]-	bʊ-tɔ́ t-u-lí	'an, some, a certain ear'
ti-	tɪ-wʊlé t-i-lí	'some intestines'

3.3.2.3 Head noun and Demonstrative

In Tafi, demonstratives, like the indefiniteness marker, are formed from stems that have to be marked for agreement with the head noun. The demonstrative stems express the relative distance of the referent from the deictic centre. There are two demonstratives, proximal **-nɪ́**[22] 'this' and distal **-lɪ́lɪ́nɪ́**[23] 'that'. They agree with the head noun. The agreement markers are vowel prefixes which correspond to the noun class prefix vowel. These concord vowels are always [-ATR], because the vowels in the roots of the demonstratives also are. However, the agreement markers for the **bu[1]-** and **bu[2]-** classes are more than the concord vowel corresponding to the class prefix vowel. Their choice is also dependent on the

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[22] The proximal demonstrative -**nɪ́** 'this' is identical in form with the definiteness marker **nɪ́** 'the'. However, the former always has to take a prefix to show agreement with the head noun whereas the latter does not require a prefix because it does not show concord with the head noun. This heterosemic relation between definiteness markers and demonstratives is observed in other languages as well such as Akan where the definiteness marker **no** 'the' is identical with the distal demonstrative as well as the 3SG pronoun and the topic marker.

[23] Most often, the final vowel of -**lɪ́lɪ́nɪ́** 'that' is deleted, however, in formal speech it is maintained.

height of the final vowel of the noun root. When the final vowel of the noun root is [+high], the agreement marker of the demonstrative is the [+back], [+high], [-ATR] vowel /ʊ/. When it is [-high], the agreement marker is the [+back], [-high], [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/. The demonstratives are illustrated in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6   Demonstratives

	this	that	Examples with -ní	Examples with -lílíní
a¹-	a-ní	á-lílíní	ekusí a-ní 'this chief'	ekusí á-lílíní 'that chief'
ba(a)-	a-ní	á-lílíní	beekusí a-ní 'these chiefs'	beekusí á-lílíní 'those chiefs'
o-	ɔ-ní	ɔ́-lílíní	onugbū ɔ-ní 'this mouth'	onugbū ɔ́-lílíní 'that mouth'
i-	ɪ-ní	ɪ́-lílíní	inugbū ɪ-ní 'these mouths'	inugbū ɪ́-lílíní 'those mouth'
ki-	ɪ-ní	ɪ́-lílíní	kíkū ɪ-ní 'this yam'	kíkū ɪ́-lílíní 'that yam'
a²-	a-ní	á-lílíní	ékū a-ní 'these yams'	ékū á-lílíní 'those yams'
ka-	a-ní	á-lílíní	kegbu a-ní 'this stool'	kegbu á-lílíní 'that stools'
bu²-	ɔ-ní	ɔ́-lílíní	búgbɔ́ ɔ-ní 'these squirrels'	búgbɔ́ ɔ́-lílíní 'those squirrels'
	ʊ-ní	ʊ́-lílíní	bugbu ʊ-ní 'these stools'	bugbu ʊ́-lílíní 'those stools'
bu¹-	ɔ-ní	ɔ́-lílíní	bʊtɔ́ ɔ-ní 'this ear'	bʊtɔ́ ɔ́-lílíní 'that ear'
	ʊ-ní	ʊ́-lílíní	búvū ʊ-ní 'this building'	búvū ʊ́-lílíní 'that building'
ti-	ɪ-ní	ɪ́-lílíní	tɪsí ɪ-ní 'these feathers'	tɪsí ɪ́-lílíní 'those feathers'

Furthermore, demonstratives can be used substantively when formally marked, as shown in (35b), (35d) and (35f). The demonstrative pronouns are formed by attaching the class prefixes (column 2 on Table 3.2) to the modifying form of the demonstratives, which comprises the prefix and the root. However, the demonstrative pronoun for the **ti-** class is formed by attaching the subject pronoun of this class (**kɪ**) to the demonstrative stems as illustrated in (35h) and (35j). In the case of the proximal demonstrative -**ní** 'this', its root is reduplicated[24]. The initial syllable of the reduplicated root bears a low tone.

35a.   **bee-kusí-a-ní**   'these chiefs'
35b.   **ba-á-nɪní/ ba-á-nĭn**   'these ones'
35c.   **bee-kusí á-lílíní**   'those chiefs'
35d.   **ba-á-lílíní**   'those ones'
35e.   **bú-vū-ʊ-ní**   'this building'
35f.   **bʊ-ʊ́-nɪní/ bʊ-ʊ́-nĭn**   'this one'
35g.   **tɪsí ɪ-ní**   'these feathers'
35h.   **kɪ-ɪ́-nɪní/ kɪ-ɪ́-nĭn**   'these ones'

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[24] In informal speech, the final vowel of the reduplicated form -**nɪní** 'this' is elided. The high tone on the deleted vowel, however, remains and it docks on the preceding consonant /**n**/. The resultant form is -**nĭn.** The full form -**nɪní** is used especially in emphatic speech.

35i. **tɪsí í-lílíní**   'those feathers'
35j. **kɪ-í-lílíní**   'those ones'

3.3.2.4   Head noun and interrogative quantifier -shī̄

The interrogative quantifier **-shī̄** 'how many/ much' agrees with the noun it occurs with. Its agreement prefix has the form **tVV-** where **t-** is the quantifier prefix and the **VV** in the prefix represents the lengthened copy of the prefix vowel of the head noun, except for the **ba(a)-** class prefix. The prefix of the agreement marker for the **ba(a)-** class is the same as the one used for the numerals 'two' to 'nine' when conjoined to 'ten' and its multiples (see Chapter 4, § 4.3.1). For semantic reasons, **-shī̄** 'how many/ much' is used only for plural nouns. When it occurs with countable nouns it is interpreted as 'how many?', and when it occurs with uncountable nouns, as 'how much?' Also, when the head noun ends in a final high tone, this tone spreads rightwards to all but the last syllable of the quantifying word. The interrogative quantifier is illustrated in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 Concord in the interrogative quantifier

Class	Concord	Meaning
ba(a)-	bee-kusí tíá-shī̄?	'how many chiefs?'
i-	i-nugbu tʊ-shī̄?	'how many mouths?'
a²-	a-tɔkpú táá-shī̄?	'how many heads?'
bu²-	bʊ-pa tʊʊ-shī̄?	'how many hoes?'
ti-	tɪ-wűlɔ̄ táá-shī̄?[25]	'how much rubbish?'

Table 3.8 Interrogative pronouns (quantifiers)

Class	Concord	Meaning
ba(a)-	ba-lí tíá-shī̄? / baá-tíá-shī̄?	'how many (of them)?'
i-	ɪ-lí tíí-shī̄? / ʊ́-tíí-shī̄?	'how many (of them)?'
a²-	a-lí táá-shī̄? / aá-táá-shī̄?	'how many (of them)?'
bu²-	bʊ-lí túú-shī̄? / bʊ́-túú-shī̄?	'how many (of them)?'
ti-	a-lí táá-shī̄? / aá-táá-shī̄?	'how much (of it)?'

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[25] According to one of my consultants, **taashī̄** is used for the **ti-** class because nouns in the **ti-** class are uncountable. As can be seen from the Table 3.7, **taashī̄** is used to modify nouns in the **a²-** class which contains some non-count nouns. This can be seen as a case of semantic agreement using the **a²-** class agreement pattern for non-count nouns of the **ti-**class.

Moreover, interrogative pronouns are formed by independent pronouns of the classes modified by the interrogative quantifier. The agreement relation is marked in the same way as between a nominal head and a modifying quantifier. Such interrogatives have two forms – a long form consisting of a prefix and a root and a short form in which the root of the independent pronoun is elided and compensated for by lengthening the vowel of the prefix, as shown in the Table 3.8. According to one of my consultants, the full forms are used more often in formal speech or for emphatic reasons, whereas the reduced forms are used in informal speech. The tone on the prefix of the interrogative quantifier depends on the tone of the final syllable of the pronoun, just as with the nouns.

3.3.2.5   The modifier **ká-nyáá-ká**[26]

Tafi has a modifier **ká-nyáá-ká** 'every, each, any' which occurs in the following frame:

32.   [Head nominal + **ká-nyáá-ká**]

ká-nyáá-ká does not show concord with the noun, but it can be nominalised in the same way as the adjective and the ordinal (see section 3.2.2.6). For instance, **sιká** 'money' belongs to the **a¹**- class, so the **a¹**- class prefix is added to **ká-nyáá-ká** to derive the pronominal form **á-ká-nyáá-ká** 'any'. The third column of Table 3.9 illustrates the pronominal forms for all the classes with **ká-nyáá-ka** 'every, each, any'.

The derivation of the form **ká-nyáá-ká** 'every, each, any' is based on the complex NP structure [NP$_i$ **nyáá** NP$_i$]. This structure is used to express the meaning of 'every, each, any N' when in affirmative sentences, and in negative sentences, it has a reading of 'none, no N, not any N'. Consider the following examples:

36a.   Eyīnyéé'yí ákúlā y'aka.
        e-yí-nyáá-é-yí   á-kúlā   yí   á-kā
        CM-child-DISTR-CM-child   SM-insult   3SG.IND CM-father
        'Any child insults the father.'

36b.   Eyīnyéé'yí átíkúlā y'akaʔ.
        e-yí-nyáá-é-yí   á-tí-kúlā   yí   á-kā
        CM-child-DISTR-CM-child   SM-NEG1-insult 3SG.IND CM-father
        'No child insults the father.'

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[26] In an earlier analysis of the noun class system of the language (Bobuafor 2009), I stated that **kányááká** is a negative modifier. I think that that analysis did not cover all the data and the one presented here is more adequate.

Agreement within this complex NP between **nyáá** and the nouns is indicated by a vocalic concord on **nyáá**, as shown in the second column of Table 3.9. If the vowel of the noun prefix is /a/, the vowels in **nyáá** stay the same. For this reason, all the vowels in the **ká-nyáá-ká** word are /a/. When the vowel in the noun class prefix is [+front], the **nyáá** word is realized with a front mid vowel depending on its [ATR] value. When the vowel in the noun class prefix is a high back vowel then the concord vowel is /ɔ/. Finally, when the noun class prefix vowel is mid back, the agreement marker is the corresponding [ATR] mid back vowel.

A high tone on the final syllable of the first nominal root in the complex NP becomes a mid tone, while the high tone on the last vowel of **nyáá** spreads rightwards onto the following noun.

Table 3.9   Noun_i **nyáá** Noun_i and **ká-nyáá-ká**

Class	Noun_i **nyáá** Noun_i 'every, each, any N'	**ká-nyáá-ká** 'every, each, any'	
a¹-	**e-kusī-nyéé-kúsí** 'every, each chief'	**a-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
ba(a)-	**bee-kusī-nyéé-kúsí** 'any/ all chiefs'	**ba-ká-nyáá-ká**	'any/all of them'
ɔ-	**o-nugbu-nyóó-núgbú** 'every, each mouth'	**ɔ-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
i-	**i-nugbu-nyéé-núgbú** 'any/ all mouth(s)'	**ɪ-ká-nyáá-ká**	'any/all of them'
ki-	**kɪ-tɔkpū-nyéé-tɔ́kpú** 'every, each head'	**kɪ-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
a²-	**a-tɔkpū-nyáá-tɔ́kpú** 'any/ all head(s)'	**a-ká-nyáá-ká**	'any/all of them'
ka-	**ke-de-nyéé-dé** 'every, each back'	**ka-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
bu²-	**bú-gbɔ̄-nyɔ́ɔ́-gbɔ́** 'any/ all squirrel(s)'	**bu-ká-nyáá-ká**	'any/all of them'
bu¹-	**bʊ-tɔ̄-nyɔ́ɔ́-tɔ́** 'every, each ear'	**bʊ-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
	bú-vū-nyóó-vú 'every, each building'	**bu-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'
ti-	**tɪ-wa-nyéé-tí-wá** 'any/ all weed(s)'	**kɪ-ká-nyáá-ká**	'each one'

As shown by the examples in the second column, apart from the **ti-** prefix, the prefix of the second noun is not realised. This may be an indication that we are dealing with compound formation as the nominal roots in compounds tend not to be prefixed. The vowels of the **kɪ-** and **tɪ-** prefixes of the second noun in the **ki-** and **ti-** classes are assimilated to the vowel of **nyáá**.

3.3.2.6   Head noun and other modifiers/ qualifiers

Other modifiers including qualifiers such as attributive adjectives, ordinals and the interrogative qualifier **ɖúwē** 'which' do not show agreement with the head noun. However, these modifiers can be made to function as heads of the noun phrase when they are nominalised by the addition of the nominal prefixes except for the **ti-** prefix which requires the prefixation of its subject pronominal form. When these modifiers are nominalised, they control agreement. The following are examples. As

expected, the [ATR] value of the vowel in the prefixed pronoun depends on the
[ATR] value of the initial vowel in the adjectival base as in the following
examples.

37a.   Báányí dɪd̪ama tɪalɪ̃́ álílíń pétéé báyadɪ lenú.
       báá-nyí   **dɪd̪ama**   **tɪa-lɪ̃́**   **á-lɪ́lɪ́nɪ́**   **pétéé**
       CM.PL-men   tall   AM-four AM-DIST   all
       bá-yadɪ   **le-nú**
       CM.PL-farmer   3PL.DEP-be
       'All those four tall men are farmers.'

37b.   Badɪd̪ama tɪalɪ̃́ álílíń pétéé báyadɪ lenú.
       ba-dɪd̪ama   **tɪa-lɪ̃́**   **á-lɪ́lɪ́nɪ́**   **pétéé**
       CM.PL-tall   AM-four AM-DIST   all
       bá-yadɪ   **le-nú**
       CM.PL-farmer   3PL.DEP-be
       'All those (four) tall ones are farmers.'

38a.   Kɪkpǎ gbɪgblǎń ítsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.
       kɪ-kpǎ   **gbɪgblǎ**   **ní**   **ki-tsirí**   **kplɔ̌**   **ní**   **kábhā**
       CM-fish   big   DEF   SM-be.on   table   DEF   top
       'The big fish is on the table.'

38b.   Kɪgbɪgblǎń ítsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.
       kɪ-gbɪgblǎ   **ní**   **ki-tsirí**   **kplɔ̌**   **ní**   **kábhā**
       CM-big   DEF   SM-be.on   table   DEF   top
       'The big one is on the table.'

39a.   Tɪsí dzyrodoń ídzyíní̄.
       tɪ-sí   **dzyrodo**   **ní**   **ki-dzyíní̄**
       CM-feather   long   DEF   SM-break
       'The long feather is broken.'

39b.   Kidzyrodoń ídzyíní̄.
       ki-dzyrodo   **ní**   **kí-dzyíní̄**
       CM-long   DEF   SM-break
       'The long one is broken.'

In (37b), and (38b), the nominal prefixes of **báá-nyí** 'men' and **kɪ-kpǎ** 'fish' have
been attached to the adjectives **dɪd̪ama** 'tall' and **gbɪgblǎ** 'big', respectively,
whereas in (39b), it is the subject pronoun for the **ti-** class that has been prefixed to
the adjective **dzyrodō** 'long'. The ATR value of the vowel in the prefixes of **kɪ-
gbɪgblǎ** 'big one' in (38b) and **ki-dzyrodō** 'long one' in (39b) are harmonic with the
initial vowel of the adjectives. In these examples, **ba-dɪd̪ama** 'tall ones', **kɪ-gbɪgblǎ**
'big one' and **ki-dzyrodō** 'long one' are pronominals, and can function as nouns.

The following examples illustrate the ordinals. As stated earlier on, in attributive position, ordinals do not take prefixes to mark agreement with the head noun as illustrated in (40a) and (40c). When they are nominalised they control agreement. (40b) and (40d) are nominalised forms of the ordinals in (40a) and (40b) respectively.

40a.   Eyí trămīń áŋa kɔɖú.
        e-yí   tră-mī   nɪ́   á-ŋa   kɔɖú
        CM-child three-ORD   DEF   SM-eat   banana
        'The third child ate banana.'

40b.   Átrămīń áŋa kɔɖú.
        á-tră-mī   nɪ́   á-ŋa   kɔɖú
        CM-three-ORD   DEF   SM-eat   banana
        'The third one ate the banana.' (referring to the child in (40a))

40c.   Obhoshi trămīń ótsí.
        o-bhoshi   tră-mī   nɪ́   ó-tsí
        CM-tree   three-ORD   DEF   SM-die
        'The third sheep died.'

40d.   Ɔtrămīń ótsí.
        ɔ- tră-mī   nɪ́   ó-tsí
        3SG-three-ORD DEF   SM-die
        'The third one died.'

Ɖúwē 'which' is an interrogative qualifier and like the adjective and the ordinal, it does not show concord with the head noun, as is shown in (41) below:

41a.   **a-núvɔ̄ ɖúwè**[27]?   'which child?'
41b.   **ba-núvɔ̄ ɖúwè**?   'which children?'
41c.   **ɔ-ma ɖúwè**?   'which town?'
41d.   **ɪ-ma ɖúwè**?   'which towns?'
41e.   **ka-kudzɔgĕ ɖúwè**?   'which dog?'
41f.   **bu-kudzɔgĕ ɖúwè**?   'which dogs?'

However, it can be used to form an interrogative pronoun by the addition of the nominal prefixes, except for the **ti-** class, which requires the prefixation of the subject pronoun. The vowels in all the prefixes are [+ATR] because the initial vowel in the interrogative qualifier has the same [+ATR] value. The interrogative pronouns are given in Table 3.10. When the interrogative qualifier is nominalised it

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[27] Questions in Tafi end on a low tone that is why the tone on the final syllable of ɖúwē is mid-low (ML) instead of Mid (M).

controls agreement as illustrated in the sentences in (42b) and (43b) below. In these sentences, the subject-verb agreement marker that the nominalised form takes is the same as the subject marker for the subject NP in (42a) and (43a).

42a.   Anʊ́vɔ̄ ɖúwē y'ábá   sukû?
       a-nʊ́vɔ̄   ɖúwɛ̀ yí   á-bá   sukū
       CM-child which 3SG.IND SM-come school
       'Which child came to school?'

42b.   Eɖúwē y'ábá sukû?
       e-ɖúwɛ̀   yí   á-bá   sukū
       CM-which   3SG.IND SM-come school
       'Which one came to school?'

43a.   Osí ɖúwē gɪ ányíń étê?
       o-sí   ɖúwē gɪ   á-nyí   ní   é-tɛ́
       CM-tree   which REL   CM-man DEF   SM-slash
       'Which tree did the man cut?'

43b.   Oɖúwē gɪ ányíń étê?
       o-ɖúwē   gɪ   á-nyí   ní   é-tɛ́
       CM-which   REL   CM-man DEF   SM-slash
       'Which one broke?'

Table 3.10   Interrogative pronouns (qualifiers)

Class	Concord	Meaning
a¹-	e-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which one?'
ba(a)-	be-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which ones?'
o-	o-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which one?'
i-	i-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which ones?'
ki-	ki-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which one?'
a²-	e-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which ones?'
ka-	ke-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which one?'
bu²-	bu-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which ones?'
bu¹-	bu-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which one?'
ti-	ki-ɖúwɛ̀?	'which ones?'

3.4   Compounding

3.4.1   Noun-noun compounds

Noun compounds in Tafi are composed of two noun roots preceded by a single noun class prefix. There are two possible outcomes of this process. The prefix of

the compound is either the same as the prefix of the head (44) or the same as the prefix of the initial noun (45). Usually, it is the second noun that determines the class of the compound. As such, it may be considered as the lexical head of the compound and the initial noun as a modifier. Thus, the compound as a whole expresses a 'kind of X' where X represents the entity referred to by the second noun. The following are examples:

44a. **kɪ-mɔ̃**   **bʋ-ní**   **bʋ-mɔ̃ní**   'milk'
     breast   water

44b. **bʋ-pá**   **e-leté** **á-paleté**   'landlord/master'
     house   owner

44c. **bʋ-dzɔ**   **ké-pluí** **ká-dzɔpluí**   'gourd used for storing palm oil'
     palm oil gourd

44d. **a-dzɪ̄**   **kɪ-pɔtí** **kɪ-dzɪpɔtí**   'cloth (worn by a woman)'
     woman   cloth

44e. **bú-vū**   **ke-de**   **ké-vude**   'backyard'
     house   back

44f. **bʋ-ní**   **o-zɪ̄**   **o-nízɪ̄**   'well' (n)
     water   hole

44g. **bé-shē**   **kɪ-pɔtí** **ki-shē̄pɔtí**   'a locally woven cloth used to tie
     local   cloth   children at the back.'

In the following group of compounds, the prefix of the first noun is maintained. That of the second noun may or may not be maintained. If the second noun has a CV prefix, the whole prefix is either deleted (46b) or only the initial consonant is dropped (45c) except for the **ti**- prefix (45b), the whole of which is always maintained. The final vowel of the first noun is dropped (45c) and (45d) or both vowels undergo assimilation yielding a lengthened vowel as in (45a).

45a. **ɔ-w̃ã**   **kí-xwā** **ɔ-w̃ɛ̃ɛ̃xwā**   'rib bone'
     side (of body) bone

45b. **kɪ-tɔkpú**   **tí-kā**   **kɪ-tɔkputíkā** 'hair (of head)'
     head   hair

45c. **be-tsí**   **bʋ-ní**   **be-tsʋní**   'honey'
     bees   water

45d. **ɔ-tsɪnī**   **e-yí**   **ɔ-tsɪnēyí**   'okra seeds'
      okra   seed (pl)

Interestingly, there are some compounds which have two forms such that in one form, the prefix of the compound is the same as that of the second noun like the examples given in (44) above. The examples in (46) exemplify this. In the other form, the prefix of the second noun is given to the newly formed word however, there still seems to be a trace of this prefix before the second noun root. Thus, when the consonantal onset of the prefix is deleted, the prefix vowel remains as shown in (47). In (47a), the vowel of the prefix of the second noun has undergone assimilation with the final vowel of the first noun and this in turn affects the quality of the final vowel of the first noun yielding a long vowel. In examples (46b) and (47b), both nouns put together to form the compound have the same prefix **kɪ-**.

46a. **ɔ-ɗá**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **kɪ-ɗádɔ̄**   'weapon'
      metal   thing

46b. **kɪ-mɔ̄**   **kɪ-shɔě**   **kɪ-mɔ̄shɔě**   'plastic basket'
      rubber   basket

47a. **ɔ-ɗá**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **kí-ɗɛɛdɔ̄**   'weapon'
      metal   thing

47b. **kɪ-mɔ̄**   **kɪ-shɔě**   **kɪ-mɔ̃ɪshɔě**   'plastic basket'
      rubber   basket

3.4.2   Postpositional phrase + noun compounds

A few compounds in the language consist of a postpositional phrase followed by a noun. The compound word bears the prefix of the first noun. The prefix of the second noun is maintained but as usual, if it is a CV prefix, its consonantal onset is deleted likewise that of the postposition. Depending on the vowel that ends the preceding noun or postposition and the vowel that begins the following noun (whether the prefix is a vowel or is made up of a CV syllable whose consonant is deleted), there may be vowel coalescence as shown in the last three examples. Also, when two vowels follow each other, (one being the final vowel of a first word and the other being the initial vowel of the second) one gets elided as illustrated in the first example.

48a. **ke-ní**   **kábhā**   **o-púpú**   **ke-niabhopúpú**   'canoe'
      river   top   vehicle

48b.	**kɩ-tɔkpú**	**kɩmɩ**	**bʊ-bɔ́**	**kɩ-tɔkpuɩmʊbɔ́**	'brain'
	head	inside	fat		

48c.	**kplɔ̆**	**kábhā**	**kɩ-pɔtí**	**kplɔ̆íábhēpɔtí**	'table-cloth'
	table	top	cloth		

48d.	**bʊ-ya**	**kɩmɩ**	**a-wi**	**bʊ-yɛmawi**	'farm attire'
	farm	inside	garment		

48e.	**á-yakpá**	**kɩmɩ**	**a-ga**	**á-yakpɛ́maga**	'bush animal'
	bush	inside	animal		

3.4.3   Compounding of noun + sex-determining word

Compound nouns can also be formed by combining an animate noun and the root of the sex determining word -**nye** 'male' or -**dzɩ** 'female.' Examples include:

49.	**o-bhoshi**	**-dzɩ**	**o-bhoshidzɩ**	'ewe'
	sheep	female		
	ɩ-sɔ́	**-dzɩ**	**ɩ-sɔ́dzɩ**	'mare'
	horse	female		
	A-gbɔ	**-dzɩ**	**A-gbɔdzɩ**	'a woman from Tafi'
	native of Tafi	female		
	ɔ-kúkɔ́	**-nye**	**ɔ-kúkɔ́nye**	'cock'
	fowl	male		
	ǎ-hɛ̆	**-nye**	**ǎ-hɛ̆nye**	'boar'
	pig	male		

3.4.4   Compounding of noun + **eyí** 'child'

Another way of forming compounds is by adding the noun **e-yí** 'child' to another noun as illustrated in the examples below. This compound is a kind of genitive construction.

50.	**ɔ-kúkɔ́**	**e-yí**	**kɩ-kúkɔ́éyí**	'chick'
	fowl	child		
	o-bhoshi	**e-yí**	**o-bhoshieyí**	'lamb'
	sheep	child		

e-pidzyằ	**e-yí**	**e-pidzeyí**	'small/baby goat'
goat	child		

é-bhī	**e-yí**	**é-bheyí**	'small/baby buffalo'
buffalo	child		

kpósɔ́	**e-yí**	**kpósoeyí**	'small/baby camel'
camel	child		

ǎ-hě	**e-yí**	**a-hieyí**	'piglet'
pig	child		

ka-kudzɔgě	**e-yí**	**ka-kudzɔgieyí**	'puppy'
dog	child		

In the first three examples in (50) above, the prefix of the compound is **ki-/kɪ-** instead of the prefix of the first noun as shown in the rest of the examples. As shown by the second and third examples, speakers also have another name for the lamb and small goat whose prefix is the same as that of the first noun. As regards the last two examples, the vowel **/i/** is introduced between the first noun and the second noun after the final vowel **/ɛ/** of the first noun is elided.

3.4.5   Compounding of noun + **eleté**

Another way of forming compounds is by postposing the word **e-leté** 'owner' to a noun stem to express 'the owner/possessor of something.' The first noun refers to the possessed item. This is illustrated by the examples in (51).

51.	**kí-tsúí**	**e-leté**	**kí-tsúélété**	'pauper/poor person'
	poverty	possessor		

	á-yǐ	**e-leté**	**á-yǐélété**	'lazy person'
	laziness	possessor		

	ká-ɖɔ́	**e-leté**	**ka-ɖoeleté**	'speaker'
	speech	possessor		

	a-kpǎ	**e-leté**	**á-kpěleté**	'fishmonger'
	fishes	possessor		

	e-lishí	**e-leté**	**e-lishíéleté**	'witch'
	night	possessor	(lit. owner of the night)	

a-dzé	**e-leté**		**a-dzéélété**	'witch'	(Ewe-based)
witch	possessor				

3.5 Nominalisation and nominal derivation

There are different processes by which nominals are derived. They can be derived from verbs and their complements, from verbs by prefixation, and by reduplication among others. These processes are discussed below.

3.5.1 Agentive nominalisation

Agentive nouns can be derived from transitive verbs together with an expressed object. They are formed by combining the verb stem, the root of the noun object and the a^1- prefix which is the prefix of the class containing almost all the human nouns. Before the prefix is added, there is a permutation of the VO structure which becomes OV. Semantically, these verbs are action related. The following are examples:

52.	**dɩ**	'cultivate'	**bʊ-ya**	'farm'	→	**á-yaɗɩ**	'farmer'
	kasí	'teach'	**kí-dɔ̃**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔkasí**	'teacher'
	bhɔ	'mould'	**kí-dɔ̃**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔbhɔ̀**	'potter'
	bísī	'ask'	**kí-dɔ̃**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔbísī**	'beggar'
	kámī	'sew'	**kí-dɔ̃**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔkámī**	'tailor'
	sɔ́lī	'catch'	**e-yí**	'child'	→	**e-yisɔ́lī**	'midwife'
	dɩ	'sell'	**kí-dɔ̃**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔdɩ**	'seller'

3.5.2 Nominalisation involving prefix + verb roots

The bu^1- prefix can be added to some verb roots to derive nouns. The examples in (53) illustrate this. The derived nominal either name the action that results from the activity denoted by the verb, as in the first three examples or the result-state of a change of state verb, as in the last three examples.

53.	**ga**	'walk'	→	**bú-gā**	'walk (n)'
	káfú	'praise'	→	**bu-káfú**	'praise (n)'
	sɔlɩ	'worship'	→	**bú-sɔlɩ**	'worship (n)'
	tɔ̃	'be tired'	→	**bú-tɔ̃**	'tiredness'
	xwi	'satisfy'	→	**bú-xwī**	'satisfaction'
	tsí	'die'	→	**bu-tsí**	'death'

3.5.3   Nominalisation involving reduplicated verbs

Nominals can also be derived from transitive verb stems and their object nouns. In the process of deriving these nominals, the noun object is fronted and the verb stem is reduplicated as shown in the examples in (54) below. The permutation of the object and the verb is similar to the process involved in the formation of agentive nominals discussed in § 3.5.1. The reduplicated part of the verb stem contains a pre-specified vowel that is [+high]. If the verb root is disyllabic, it is partially reduplicated and only the first syllable is copied.

54. **dzí**   **a-nɔ̃**   → **a-nɔ̃dzídzí**   'a person who has been bought'
     buy   CM-person

     ŋa   **kí-dɔ̄**   → **kí-dɔ̄ŋíŋá**   'food'
     eat   CM-thing

     ga   **ki-dzo**   → **ki-dzogɩga**   'travel (n)'
     walk   CM-road

     kɔ́   **kí-dɔ̄**   → **kí-dɔ̄kúkɔ́**   'gift'
     give   CM-thing

     xɛ́   **ki-dzo**   → **ki-dzoxíxɛ́**   'obstacle'
     block   CM-road

     he   **bʊ-tɔ́**   → **bʊ-tɔ́hihe**   'punishment'
     pull   CM-ear

     tɪ̄   **ki-búí**   → **ki-búítitɪ̄**   'knowledge/wisdom'
     know   CM-matter

     dɔ   **tɪ-rá**   → **tɪ-radúdɔ́**   'sleep (n)'
     contact   CM-sleep

The addition of prefixes to reduplicated verb stems is one of the ways of forming nominals. This is illustrated in (55). The meaning of the derived noun conforms to the semantics of the class that the prefix marks. For instance, the forms with the a/e- prefix have an agentive noun semantics as in the first three examples. The tɪ/ti- and bʊ/bu- prefixes derive gerundive or manner and stative or dimension nominals as in the last two examples.

55. **bhɪ̃**   'hunt'   →   **á-bhɪbhɪ̃**   'hunter'
     nyɔ́   'wander'   →   **á-nyúnyɔ́**   'traveller'
     nya   '(be) sick'   →   **á-nyɪnya**   'patient'
     fwɛ́   'breathe'   →   **ɔ-fʊfwɛ́**   'spirit/breath'

bhɪtĩ	'do'	→	**kɪ-bhɪbhɪtĩ**	'action'
yinɔ	'surprise'	→	**tí-yiyinɔ**	'surprise (n)'
pĩ	'(be) good'	→	**tí-pɪpĩ**	'goodness'
zi	'(be) bad'	→	**bú-zizi**	'badness'

Moreover, the **tɪ/ti**- prefix can be added to reduplicated verb roots to form nominals which are semantically action-related. These nominals can be glossed as 'the action or act of ...'

56.	**za**	'stay'	→	**tí-zɪza**	'staying'
	ŋa	'eat'	→	**tí-ŋɪŋa**	'eating'
	w̃ũsɔ́	'lie (down)'	→	**tí-w̃ṹw̃ũsɔ́**	'lying (down)'
	tɪ́	'crawl'	→	**tí-tɪ́tɪ́**	'crawling'
	ga	'walk'	→	**tí-gɪga**	'walking'
	sínɔ̃	'greet'	→	**tí-sísínɔ̃**	'greeting'
	xwi	'satisfy'	→	**tí-xuxwi**	'satisfying'
	trɔ̃	'plan'	→	**tɪ-tɪtrɔ̃**	'planning'
	yékē	'swell'	→	**tí-yíyékē**	'swelling'

3.5.4   Compounding of verb + **ɔkɔ́** 'place'

Nominals can also be derived by the combination of a verb stem and the noun **ɔ-kɔ́** 'place.' The prefix of the noun is given to the newly formed word as it is the head. The prefix may be **ɔ-** or **o-** depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel in the verb stem. The following are examples:

57.	**za**	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**ɔ-zakɔ́**	'dwelling place/shelter'
	stay	place			
	fɔ̃	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**ɔ-fɔ̃kɔ́**	'anus'
	defecate	place			
	w̃ũsɔ́	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**ɔ̃-w̃ũsɔ́kɔ́**	'bedroom/sleeping place'
	lie	place			
	kpú	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**o-kpukɔ́**	'refuge/hiding place'
	hide	place			
	vʊbɔ́	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**ɔ-vʊbɔ́kɔ́**	'burial place/ cemetary'
	bury	place			

3.5.5   Instrumental nominals

Certain instrumental nominals are formed by combining the generic noun **kí-dɔ̄**
'thing', a verb and an instrumental noun. The derived nominal signals the
instrument that the kind of activity expressed by the verb stem is specifically used
for.

58.   **ŋa**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **a-gbɛ̌**   **kí-dɔ̄ŋagbɛ̌**   'plate'
      eat   thing   plate

      ŋa   **kí-dɔ̄**   **kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́**   **kí-dɔ̄ŋɛɛbhlʊxɔɛ́** 'spoon'
      eat   thing   spoon

      tɔ́   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ki-tsikpǐ**   **kí-dɔ̄tɔ́ɛtsikpǐ**   'cooking pot'
      cook   thing   pot

3.5.6   Gerunds

Gerunds are formed by the addition of the **bu¹-** prefix to their roots as shown in
(59).

59.   **bʊbɔ**   'bow'   →   **búbʊbɔ**   'bowing'
      balɪ   'pour'   →   **bʊbalɪ**   'pouring'
      bísī   'ask'   →   **búbisī**   'asking'
      tí   'crawl'   →   **bʊtí**   'crawling'
      wu   'increase, ascend' →   **buwu**   'increasing, ascending'

3.5.7   Nominalisation involving adjectives

The **bu¹-** and **ti-** prefixes can also be added to adjectivals to derive nominals.
Examples in (60) are deadjectival nominals based on derived adjectives while the
examples in (61) are based on ideophonic adjectives (see Chapter 4 on adjectives):

60.   **gbʊgblǎ**   'big'   →   **bú-gbʊgblǎ**   'bigness'
      gɪganɪ   'strong, hard' →   **bú-gɪganɪ**   'strength, hardness'
      dɪdama   'tall'   →   **bú-dɪdama**   'tallness'
      kpɪkpã̄   'dried'   →   **bú-kpɪkpã̄**   'dryness'
      kpɪkpã̄   'dried'   →   **tí-kpɪkpã̄**   'dryness'
      nɪnī   'wide'   →   **tí-nɪnī**   'width'
      tsʊtsyɔ́mɔ̄   'ugly'   →   **bú-tsʊtsyɔ́mɔ̄**   'ugliness'

61.   **kplitaa**   'short'   →   **bú-kplitakplitaa** 'shortness'
      félɛ́ɛ́   'light'   →   **bú-félɛ́félɛ́ɛ́**   'lightness'
      fukuu   'light'   →   **bú-fukufuku**   'lightness'

3.5.8   Diminutive nominals

Diminutives are formed by adding the prefix **ki-/kɪ-** and the suffix **-i/-ɛ** depending on the ATR value of the initial or final vowel of the root respectively. Examples of diminutives in the language include the following:

62.   **ke-tsukpú**   'pot'   →   **ki-tsikpǐ**   'small pot'
      kɪ́-súgbá   'bowl'   →   **kɪ́-sígbɛ́**   'small bowl'
      e-pidzya   'goat'   →   **ki-pidzyě**   'small goat'
      ka-shɔ́   'basket'   →   **kɪ-shɔě**   'small basket'
      ke-pidzyaklɔ̄   'he-goat'   →   **ki-pidzyaklɔ̄ɛ̄**   'small he-goat'
      a-núvɔ̄   'child'   →   **kɪ-núvɔ́ɛ̄**   'little child'
      ɔ-kúkɔ́   'fowl'   →   **kɪ́-kúkɔ́ɛ́**   'chick'
      ke-pluí   'gourd'   →   **ki-pluí**   'container'

As shown in the first example, before the suffix **-i** is added to the noun stem, the final vowel is dropped and in the second and third examples, when the suffix **-ɛ** occurs after the vowel /**a**/, the latter gets elided. Also, in the first and second examples, the initial vowel of the noun root has changed from a high back vowel to a high front vowel. In the last example, the nominal ends in **-i** which seems to block the addition of the diminutive suffix.

3.6   Pronouns

Tafi has a rich pronominal system. This system includes the independent, subject and object pronouns as well as possessed pronouns among others. There is a dedicated set of dependent pronouns used for reference tracking in various dependent clauses as well as other information structuring constructions. Tafi also has a set of third person pronouns that match the respective classes. The first and second persons (the speech act participants) are completely independent of noun class.

3.6.1   Personal pronouns

The table below shows the personal pronouns in Tafi. They are the independent, subject and object pronouns.

Table 3.11   Personal pronouns

	INDEPENDENT	SUBJECT PRONOUN	OBJECT PRONOUN	DEPENDENT PRONOUN
1SG	mí	i-/ɩ-	m(í)	i-/ɩ-
2SG	wɔ́	o-/ɔ-	wɔ́	o-/ɔ-
3SG	yí	e-/ a-	yí	e-/ a-
1PL	blɔ̌[28]	bu-/bʊ-	(b)ʊlɔ́	lo-/lɔ-
2PL	w̃ʊ̃nɔ́	no-/nɔ-	(w̃)ʊ̃nɔ́	no-/nɔ-
3PL	balí	be-/ba-	(b)alí	le-/la-

Independent pronouns can be used in elliptical answers. Thus, they could be used in place of an utterance. They are used when emphasis or contrast is to be indicated. They are not bound to the verb. They can function as heads of NPs and can be modified as such. Independent pronouns function in possessive NPs coding the possessor. Example (63b) comprises an independent pronoun which is a response to the question in (63a). The response in (63b) represents a complete utterance (Siewierska 2004:7) which could be rendered as "It is we who beat them" as shown in (63c).

63a.   Báánɪ̄ gɩ étu baanúvɔ̃ñ?
        báá-nɪ̄   gɩ   bé-tu   baa-núvɔ̄   ní
        CM.PL-who   REL   SM-beat   CM.PL-child   DEF
        'Who beat the children?'

63b.   **Blɔ̌**
        1PL.IND
        'We'

63c.   Blɔ̌ tu 'alí.
        blɔ̌   tu   balí
        1PL.IND   beat   3PL
        'We beat them' (Emphatic) or 'it is we who beat them.'

The independent form of the pronoun is used in coordinate NPs. Like in Logba, when a group of individuals are listed in which at least one is a pronoun, it is the independent form of the pronoun that is used. This is illustrated by the example in (64).

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[28] It appears that the full form of the 1PL is **bʊlɔ́**. However, in fast speech, the vowel of the initial syllable gets elided.

64.   Yí, Kofí n'Ǎmā ábá sukū.
        yí   Kofí   nı   Ámā   bá-bá   sukū
        3SG.IND Kofi   COM   Ama   SM-come school
        'He, Kofi and Ama came to school.'

If any of the independent pronouns in the group of individuals occurring in subject position is used emphatically and it is the speaker, the hearer or a non-participant then either the 1PL, 2PL or 3PL independent pronoun respectively is indexed on the verb. Here are some examples.

65a.   Blɔ̌ nı yí blɔ̌ gbá 'úvūnı́m̄.
        blɔ̌   nı   yí   blɔ̌   gba   búvū   ní   kımı
        1PL.IND COM   3SG.IND 1PL.IND sweep CM-house   DEF   inside
        'We and he swept the room.'

65b.   W̃ũnɔ̌ n'alí w̃ũnɔ̌ ŋɛέdɔ̄ń.
        w̃ũnɔ̌   nı   balí   w̃ũnɔ̌   ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   ní
        2PL.IND COM   3PL.IND 2PL.IND eat   CM-thing DEF
        'You and they ate the food.'

However, if the independent pronoun in the group of individuals is not used emphatically, then this group of individuals in subject position is indexed on the verb by the bound form of the pronouns. This is exemplified by the example in (64) above and also by the examples in (66).

66a.   W̃ũnɔ̌ nı yí nɔvı 'υpém̄.
        w̃ũnɔ̌   nı   yí   nɔ-vı   bυ-pa   kımı
        2PL.IND COM   3SG.IND 2PL-go   CM-house   inside
        'You and he (you pl) went home.'

66b.   Blɔ̌ nı y'úkɔ́ 'ũnɔ̌ siká.
        blɔ̌   nı   yí   bυ-kɔ́   w̃ũnɔ̌   siká
        1PL.IND COM   3SG.IND 1PL-give 2PL.IND money
        We and he (we) gave you money.'

Interestingly, when the speaker is included in the group of individuals, the 1SG independent pronoun is usually not used. Rather, it is the 1PL.IND that is used. In this context, the use of the 1SG independent form to talk about the speaker is not pragmatically favoured. This may be for reasons of politenesss. The following examples illustrate this point. The sentence in (67c) is not ungrammatical but pragmatically odd because instead of **blɔ̌** '1PL.IND', **mí** '1SG.IND' has been used. Such sentences, according to my consultants, are uttered only by children or strangers learning the language.

67a.   Blɔ̌ n'Ǎma blɔ̌ plú 'uvunı́m̄.

blɔ̌   nɩ   Ámā blɔ̌   plú   bú-vū   ní   kɩmī
1PL.IND COM Ama 1PL.IND wash CM-house   DEF   inside
'I and Ama (we) scrubbed the room.'

67b.   Ekusíń éklú blɔ̌ nɩ w̃ũnɔ̃́ sí lɔbá tɩtsítséém.
       e-kusí   ní   é-klú   blɔ̌   nɩ   w̃ũnɔ̃́   sí
       CM-chief   DEF   SM-invite   1PL.IND COM 2PL.IND COMP
       lɔ-bá   tɩ-tsɩtséém
       1PL.DEP-come   CM-meeting
       'The chief invited you (pl) and I for a meeting.'

67c.   ?? Mí n'alí blɔ̌ ŋɛédɔ̃́ń.
       mí   nɩ   balí   blɔ̌   ŋa   kí-dɔ̃ ní
       1SG.IND COM 3PL.IND 1PL.IND eat   thing DEF
       'I and they ate the food.'

The independent pronoun can be modified by adjectives and intensifiers, among
others, just like a noun. The adjective **tǐtě** 'alone, only' and the intensifiers **pétéé**
'all' and **kóń** 'in particular, especially' modify the independent pronouns **wɔ́**
'2SG.IND' in (68a) and **w̃ũnɔ̃́** '2PL.IND' and **wɔ́** '2SG.IND' in (68b) respectively.

68a.   Wɔ́ tɩtě wɔ́ bá.
       wɔ́   tɩtě   wɔ́   bá
       2SG.IND alone 2SG.IND come
       'You alone came.'

68b.   Alasí tɩ w̃ũnɔ̃ pétéé nɔbá wɔ kóń.
       a-lí   a-sí   tɩ   w̃ũnɔ̃́   pétéé nɔ-bá
       3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP   2PL.IND all   SM-come
       wɔ́   kóń
       2SG.IND INT
       'You all have to come, especially you.'

Subject pronouns may immediately precede the verb stem. They occur as prefixes
to the verb with their vowels alternating according to ATR vowel harmony. Thus,
depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel of the verb, the subject pronouns
have two forms. The 1SG and 2PL are exemplified in (69) and (70) below. In the
(a) sentences, the subject pronouns contain [-ATR] vowels while in the (b)
sentences they have [+ATR] vowels.

69a.   Íbá.   69b.   Ídzyínī 'ishĭn.
       í-bá   í-dzyínī   ki-shĭ   ní
       1SG-come   1SG-break   CM-stick DEF
       'I came.'   'I broke the stick.'

70a. Bága.
    bá-ga
    3PL-walk
    'They walked.'

70b. Bếtế ósíń.
    bé-tế   **o-sí**   **nɪ́**
    3PL-slash CM-tree DEF
    'They cut the tree.'

The negative, tense and aspectual markers occur between the subject pronoun and the verb as illustrated by the examples in (71).

71a. Nɔdɔɔga.
    nɔ-dɔɔ-ga
    2PL-NEG:PSTPROG-walk
    'You (pl) were not walking.'

71b. Íbadzu 'uvū.
    í-ba-dzu   **bú-vū**
    1SG-FUT-build   CM-house
    'I shall build a house.'

Moreover, the third person plural subject pronoun **ba-/be-** is used as an impersonal pronoun. For example,

72. Bebebhui sá̄hwɪ̄ 'ítɔ́kpú.
    be-be-bhui   **sá̄hwɪ̄**   **kɪ-tɔkpú**
    3PL-FUT-cut   spider   CM-head
    'They will cut off spider's head.' OR 'spider's head will be cut off.'
                                                     (Sá̄hwɪ̄)

The object pronoun occurs in immediate post-verbal position. Their full forms are identical with those of the independent pronouns. Hence, one could say that the independent pronouns are used as object pronouns. In object position, they tend to have a reduced form where the initial consonant or the first syllables of the 1PL, 2PL and 3PL forms are deleted as shown in (73a) and (73b). Also, the vowel of the first person singular object pronoun is usually dropped as illustrated in (73c).

73a. Báŋa lɔɪabhā.
    bá-ŋa   **blɔ̆**   **kábhā**
    3PL-eat   1PL.IND   top
    'They defeated us.'

73b. Blɔ̆ mɔ 'alí.
    blɔ̆   **mɔ**   **balí**
    1PL.IND   see   3PL
    'We saw them.'

73c.   Étuḿ.
        é-tu   mí
        3SG-beat 1SG
        'S/he beat me.'

Each noun class in Tafi has a third person pronoun that occurs in subject or object positions as illustrated in Table 3.12. The independent pronominal forms for the various classes also function as object pronouns. Like the plural independent personal pronouns discussed above, for the object function, in connected speech, a reduced form of the class pronouns can occur, where the initial consonant of disyllabic independent pronouns gets elided. As regards other functions, the full forms of the pronouns are used. (74a) and (74b) are examples. In sentence (74a), we have nouns occurring in both subject and object positions whereas in sentence (74b), we have pronouns referring to these nouns in these positions.

74a.   Ketsukpúń étsirí osubhaɪɪabha.
        ke-tsukpú ní   ke-tsirí   o-subha   ní   kábhā
        CM-pot   DEF   SM-be.on CM-hearth   DEF   top
        'The pot is on the hearth.'

74b.   Ketsirí ɔ́líábhā.
        ke-tsirí   ɔlí   kábhā
        3SG-be.on   3SG.IND top
        'It is on it.'

ketsukpú 'pot' belongs to the **ka-** class so it is replaced by the pronoun **ke-** in subject position in (74b). **osubha** 'hearth', on the other hand, belongs to the **o- class** and the object pronoun for this class is **ɔlí**.

Tafi also has subject dependent pronouns for the various classes which are used in dependent clauses as shown in Table 3.1.2. Usually the subject marker on the verb in the dependent clause tends to be a dependent form of the pronoun. These forms occur in relative, complement and adverbial clauses among others after the subordinate clause introducers such as **gɪ** 'REL', **sí** 'COMP', **pɪ** 'CONN' etc. (see Chapter 9 for further details). I must, however, point out that the dependent pronoun for the **ka-** class has the same form as its independent counterpart. It is important to note that the dependent forms for the 1PL and 3PL personal pronouns which are **la/le** and **lɔ/lo** respectively are distinct from their subject forms in independent clauses. The dependent forms for the other persons remain the same in independent clauses. The following sentences illustrate the dependent pronominal forms of the **ka-** classes as well as the 3PL personal pronoun respectively.

Table 3.12 Third person pronouns for the various noun classes

Class	Subject	Object/ indep. forms	Dependent forms
a[1]-	a/e-	yɪ́	a/e-
ba(a)-	ba/be-	(b)alɪ́	la/le-
o-	ɔ/o/lɔ/lo-[29]	ɔlɪ́	lɔ/lo
i-	ɪ/i/lɪ/li-[30]	ɪlɪ́	lɪ/li-
ki-	kɪ/ki-	(k)ɪlɪ́	lɪ/li-
a[2]-	la/le-	alɪ́	la/le-
ka-	ka/ke-	(k)alɪ́	kalɪ́
bu[2]-	bʊ/bu-	(b)ʊlɪ́	lʊ/lu-
bu[1]-	bʊ/bu-	(b)ʊlɪ́	lʊ/lu-
ti-	kɪ-/ki-	(k)ɪlɪ́[31]	lɪ/li-

75a. Kegbu nɪ́ g' ɪalɪabhā ádɔkasɪ́ń áshĩ̄lɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī.

ke-gbu   nɪ́   gɪ   kalɪ́   kabhā á-dɔkasɪ́   nɪ́   á-shĩ̄lɔ́
CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.DEP top   CM-teacher DEF SM-leave

ke-plukpá nɪ́   ke-dzyínī
CM-book   DEF SM-break

'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'

75b. Kánā gɪ látɔ̄ 'ʊdzɔ nɪ́ Baagbɔ.

ká-nā   gɪ   lá-tɔ̄   bʊ-dzɔ   nɪ́   Baagbɔ
CM-manner REL 3PL.DEP-cook CM-palm.oil   LOC Tafi

'This is how palm oil is prepared in Tafi.'

3.6.2 Possessive pronouns

In Tafi, the possessor precedes the possessee and pronominal possessors are juxtaposed to their possessee. The independent pronominal forms code the possessor in possessive construction. In a possessive construction, the initial consonants of CV prefixes of possessed nouns may be deleted except for nouns in the **ti**- class. Also, sometimes, the vowels of the 1SG, 3SG and the final vowel of the 3PL independent pronouns are deleted when they precede nouns beginning with

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[29] According to one of my consultants who is over 60 years old and others of his age, they heard their parents and grandparents using **ɔ-** and **o-** but their use is not common these days.

[30] The use of **ɪ-** and **i-** are no longer common in recent years.

[31] According to two of my consultants, sometime ago, **tɪlɪ́** was used as the object pronoun of the **ti**- class.

vowels. The following are examples. In (76a), we have a singular noun while (76b) illustrates its plural counterpart.

76a. mɪ́   bʊpá   →   m'ʊpá   'my house'
       wɔ́   bʊpá   →   wɔɔpá   'your house
       yɪ́   bʊpá   →   yɪ'ʊpá   'his/her house'
       blɔ̌   bʊpá   →   blɔɔpá   'our house'
       w̃ũnɔ̋   bʊpá   →   w̃ũnɔ̃ɔpá   'your house'
       balɪ́   bʊpá   →   balɪ'ʊpá   'their house'

76b. mɪ́   bapá   →   mɪ́ bapá/ maapá   'my houses'
       wɔ́   bapá   →   wɔ́ bapá/ wɔapá   'your houses'
       yɪ́   bapá   →   yɪ́ bapá/ yaapá   'his/her houses'
       blɔ̌   bapá   →   blɔ̌ bapá/ blɔ'apá 'our houses'
       w̃ũnɔ̋   bapá   →   w̃ũnɔ̋ bapá/ w̃ũnɔ̃'apá 'your houses'
       balɪ́   bapá   →   balɪ́ bapá/ balaapá 'their houses'

As illustrated in the examples in (76b), the pronominal possessive construction has two plural forms, one in which the full form of the possessed noun is used and the other in which the initial consonant of the plural prefix is deleted. Where the initial consonant of the plural prefix of the possessed noun is deleted, and a vowel of the pronoun expressing the possessor is also deleted, the prefix vowel of the possessed noun is lengthened (as if to compensate for the deletion of these sounds) as shown by the 1SG, 3SG, and 3PL pronominal possessive constructions in (76b).

Another instance in which vowel lengthening occurs is when the vowel of a singular prefix is the same as the vowel of its corresponding CV plural prefix. When the initial consonant of the plural prefix is deleted the remaining vowel is lengthened so as to distinguish between the singular possessed noun and its plural counterpart. This process applies to all the pronouns in the possessive construction even if none of their vowels is deleted as shown below. The examples in (77a) illustrate a singular possessed noun and those in (77b) its plural counterpart.

77a. mɪ́   epidzyà   →   m'epidzyà   'my goat'
       wɔ́   epidzyà   →   w'epidzyà   'your goat'
       yɪ́   epidzyà   →   y'epidzyà   'his/her goat'
       blɔ̌   epidzyà   →   blo epidzyà   'our goat'
       w̃ũnɔ̋   epidzyà   →   w̃ũnõ epidzyà   'your goat'
       balɪ́   epidzyà   →   bal'epidzyà   'their goat'

77b. mɪ́   bepidzyà   →   mɪ́ bepidzyà/ m'eepidzyà   'my goats'
       wɔ́   bepidzyà   →   wɔ́ bepidzyà/ w'eepidzyà   'your goats'
       yɪ́   bepidzyà   →   yɪ́ bepidzyà/ y'eepidzyà   'his/her goats'
       blɔ̌   bepidzyà   →   blɔ̌ bepidzyà/ blo eepidzyà 'our goats'
       w̃ũnɔ̋   bepidzyà   →   w̃ũnɔ̋ bepidzyà/ w̃ũnõ eepidzyà 'your goats'
       balɪ́   bepidzyà   →   balɪ́ bepidzyà/ bal'eepidzyà 'their goats'

Moreover, when **wɔ́**, **blɔ̌** and **w̃ʊ̃nɔ́** are followed by a noun whose prefix vowel is the unadvanced high back vowel, when the initial consonant of the prefix is dropped, the height of this unadvanced high back vowel is lowered to that of the mid back vowel in these pronouns. Thus we have **wɔɔpá** 'your house' instead of **wɔupá** and **blɔɔpá** 'our house' instead of **blɔupá** as shown in (76a) above.

Furthermore, when the prefix vowel of the possessed noun is [+ATR], it may extend its influence to a preceding [-ATR] vowel. Thus, for instance, the [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/ in the 1PL, and 2PL pronouns becomes /o/ which is [+ATR] as shown in (77a) and (77b) above. This feature may apply in fast speech, however, in slow and careful speech the different [ATR] qualities of the two vowels remain clearly perceptible.

The following examples in (78a) and (78b) show the juxtaposition of the pronouns with kinship and body-part nouns respectively.

78a.	**mí**	**ádá**	→	**m'adá**	'my sister'
	wɔ́	**ádá**	→	**w'adá**	'your sister'
	yí	**ádá**	→	**ya'dá**	'his sister'
	blɔ̌	**ádá**	→	**blɔ adá**	'our sister'
	w̃ʊ̃nɔ́	**ádá**	→	**w̃ʊ̃nɔ adá**	'your sister'
	balí	**ádá**	→	**bal'dá**	'their sister'

78b.	**mí**	**olí**	→	**m'ólí**	'my neck'
	wɔ́	**olí**	→	**w'ólí**	'your neck'
	yí	**olí**	→	**y'ólí**	'his/her/its neck'
	blɔ̌	**olí**	→	**bl'ǒlí**	'our neck'
	w̃ʊ̃nɔ́	**olí**	→	**w̃ʊ̃n'ólí**	'your neck'
	balí	**olí**	→	**bal'ólí**	'their neck'

As shown in the examples in (78a) and (78b), there are tonal modifications in the possessive constructions. In (78a), the vowel and in some cases, final vowel of some the pronouns gets elided together with their tones. Even those pronouns whose vowels are not deleted have their high tones replaced by low tones. Moreover, the high tone on the prefix of the kinship term is also replaced by a low tone. On the other hand, as illustrated in (78b), even though the (final) vowel of the pronoun is dropped, its tone is still maintained. This high tone then shifts on to the vowel of the prefix of the body part term if it bears a non-high tone.

Most plural [+human] nouns which occur in the pronominal possessive constructions have -**alí** suffixed to them. They occur with the singular prefix **a/e**- instead of the plural prefix **ba/be**-. It seems that this plural suffix is derived from

the third person plural independent pronoun **balí** with its initial consonant elided[32].
This is exemplified below:

79.   **mí   beyí**   →   **m'eyíálí**   'my fathers'
        wɔ́   beyí   →   **w'eyíálí**   'your fathers'
        yí   beyí   →   **y'eyíálí**   'his fathers'
        blɔ̃   beyí   →   **blo eyíálí**   'our fathers'
        wʊnɔ́   beyí   →   **w̃ʊ̃nõ eyíálí**   'your fathers'
        balí   beyí   →   **bal'eyíálí**   'their fathers'

Tafi has a set of possessed pronouns which establish agreement relations with the
head noun. Therefore, depending on the class of the head noun, these possessed
pronouns take different forms. They are made up of a personal pronoun, a concord
vowel and the 3SG independent pronoun **yí**. The concord vowel added to the 3SG
yí is determined by the class of the possessed noun. Except for the **ka-** class, as is
shown in Table 3.13, the concord vowels correspond to the vowels of the class
prefixes and they agree in ATR value with the vowel of the 3SG independent
pronoun **yí**. The concord vowels for the **ka-** class are the same as those in the
prefix of the numeral 'one' when it modifies nouns in this class.

Table 3.13   Independent possessed pronouns

Class	1SG	Gloss	3SG	Gloss
a¹-	**mayí**	mine	**yayí**	his
ba(a)-	**mayí / may-álí**	mine	**yayí / yay-álí**	his
o-	**mɔyí**	mine	**yɔyí**	his
i-	**mɪyí**	mine	**yɪyí**	his
ki-	**mɪyí**	mine	**yɪyí**	his
a²-	**mayí / may-álí**	mine	**yayí / yay-álí**	his
ka-	**mɪayí**	mine	**yɪayí**	his
bu²-	**mʊyí**	mine	**yʊyí**	his
bu¹-	**mʊyí**	mine	**yʊyí**	his
ti-	**mɪyí**	mine	**yɪyí**	his

Furthermore, the **ba(a)-** and **a²-** classes have a plural form of the possessed
pronoun.[33] It is formed with a double marking on the 3SG independent form **yí**.

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[32] This could be a contact-induced development from Ewe where the 3PL pronoun is in a
heterosemic relation with the nominal clitic **wó** 'PL'. Ameka (2006) has observed a similar
development in Likpe where a 3PL pronoun **mə** has changed into a plural marker on some
kinship terms.

The double marking consists of the plural suffix -**alɪ́** derived as stated above from **balɪ́** '3PL.IND' and the concord vowel of the plural class marker. When the plural suffix -**alɪ́** is attached, the vowel of the 3SG independent pronoun **yɪ́** is deleted. The high tone of the vowel of **yɪ́** '3SG.IND', however, remains and spreads rightward to the initial vowel of the plural suffix. These pronouns function independently as nominal phrases just like in English. The 1SG and 3SG possessed pronoun forms are illustrated in Table 3.13.

3.6.3   Reflexive pronouns

In Tafi, the reflexive pronoun is expressed by the use of the root **shú** 'body.' It seems obvious that the form originates from the noun root **shú** 'body' and has become grammaticalised.

80.	í némī shú	'I bit myself'
	ó némī shú	'you bit yourself'
	é némī shú	's/he/it bit himself/herself/itself'
	bú némī shú	'we bit ourselves'
	no némī shú	'you bit yourselves'
	bé némī shú	'they bit themselves'

Interestingly, there is an emphatic construction in the language which is formed by adding the expression **nɪ ahɔɪ** 'with hand' or X_i **nɪ** X_i **ahɔɪ** 'X_i with X_i hand' to the independent pronouns. The first X slot in the X_i **nɪ** X_i **ahɔɪ** is filled by an independent pronoun while the second X slot is filled by an independent form for the singular pronouns and by a dependent form for the plural pronouns as illustrated in (81a) and (81b) below. The emphatic construction can occur as the subject of a clause as illustrated in (81c).

81a. Mí n'ahɔɪ/ mí nɪ m'áhɔɪ
     mí   nɪ   a-hɔɪ   /   mí   nɪ   mí   a-hɔɪ
     1SG.IND COM CM-hand/   1SG.IND COM 1SG.IND CM-hand
     'I myself' (lit. 'I and hand/ I and my hand')

81b. Balí n'ahɔɪ/ balí nɪ l'áhɔɪ
     balí   nɪ   a-hɔɪ   /   balí   nɪ   la   a-hɔɪ
     3PL.IND COM CM-hand/   3PL.IND COM 3PL.DEP CM-hand
     'They themselves' ('they and hand/ they and their hand')

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[33] Some speakers tend to use this plural suffix for the **a²-** class as well probably because of its phonological shape.

81c.   Mí n'ahɔɪ mí bhítɪ 'ɪlí.

    mí   **nɪ**   **a-hɔɪ**   **mí**   **bhítɪ̄** **kɪlí**

    1SG.IND COM CM-hand 1SG.IND do   3SG

    'I, myself did it.' or 'I did it by myself.'

In order to express the emphatic form of the reflexive, the expression **nɪ ahɔɪ** 'with hand' or **Xᵢ nɪ Xᵢ ahɔɪ** 'Xᵢ with Xᵢ hand' is combined with **shú** 'body' as illustrated in (82) and by the sentence in (83) below. This combination is used to give more emphasis to the subject or object.

82.   **mí nɪ m'áhɔɪ shú**   'my own self'

        wɔ́ nɪ wɔ áhɔɪ shú   'your own self'

        yɪ nɪ y'áhɔɪ shú   'his/ her own self'

        blɔ̌ nɪ lɔ́ áhɔɪ shú   'our own selves'

        w̃ũnɔ̌́ nɪ nɔ́ áhɔɪ shú 'your own selves'

        balí nɪ l'áhɔɪ shú   'their own selves'

83.   Ámɔ yí nɪ y'áhɔɪ shú n'azhʊzhʊɪnɪ́m̃

    Á-mɔ   **yí**   **nɪ**   **yí**   **a-hɔɪ**   **shú**   **ní**   **a-zhʊzhʊ́ɪ**

    3SG-see 3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-hand body LOC CM-mirror

    ní   **kɪmɪ**

    DEF   inside

    'He saw his own self in the mirror.'

The expression **nɪ ahɔɪ** 'with hand' or **Xᵢ nɪ Xᵢ ahɔɪ** 'Xᵢ with Xᵢ hand' can also be used to modify a noun. In this case, it occurs before the noun and it is glossed as 'own.' The following are examples:

84a.   Mí n'áhɔɪ enɪ̄

    mí   **nɪ**   **a-hɔɪ**   **é-nɪ̄**

    1SG.IND COM CM-hand CM-mother

    'My own mother'

84b.   Balí n'áhɔ' ʊpá

    balí   **nɪ**   **a-hɔɪ**   **bʊ-pá**

    3PL.IND COM CM-hand CM-house

    'Their own house'

3.6.4   Reciprocal pronouns

The nouns **áglɔ̌** 'lover, fiancé(e), etc.' and **ɔhaglɔ̌** 'mate, colleague, etc.' are used to express reciprocity as illustrated in (85a) and (85b) respectively. Both nouns are used interchangeably and they occur in postverbal position and always require a plural antecedent as the subject NP. **ɔhaglɔ̌** can also occur with the plural forms of

the independent pronouns as in (85c). When **áglɔ́** is used to express reciprocity it does not occur with any pronoun hence the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (85d).

85a.   Ányínúvɔ̄ēn n'adzɪnúvɔ̄ēn ányínā áglɔ́.

á-nyínúvɔ̄ē	**ní**	**nɪ**	**a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ē**	**ní**	**bá-nyínā**	**áglɔ́**
CM-boy	DEF	COM	CM-girl	DEF	SM-hold	RECIP

'The boy and the girl embraced each other.'

85b.   Bayɪ́̄sɔ́n áákʊlá ɔ́háglɔ́.

ba-yɪ́̄sɔ́	**ní**	**bá-á-kʊlá**	**ɔ́háglɔ́**
CM.PL-young.man	DEF	SM-PRSPROG-insult	RECIP

'The young men are insulting one another.'

85c.   Búplú ídɔ̄ kɔ́ blɔ̌ ɔ́háglɔ́.

bú-plú	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kɔ́**	**blɔ̌**	**ɔ́háglɔ́**
1PL-wash	CM-thing	GIVE	1PL.IND	RECIP

'We washed for one another.'

85d.   *Búplú ídɔ̄ kɔ́ blɔ̌ áglɔ́.

bú-plú	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kɔ́**	**blɔ̌**	**áglɔ́**
1PL-wash	CM-thing	GIVE	1PL.IND	RECIP

'We washed for one another.'

4   NOUN PHRASES AND NOMINAL MODIFIERS

This chapter examines the various types of noun phrases and the structure of the noun phrase. It also looks at nominal modifiers. A noun phrase in Tafi consists minimally of a head nominal. The head nominal which is obligatory may be a common noun, a pronoun or a proper name. As illustrated in sentence (1), **Kofi**, which is a proper noun, constitutes the noun phrase and it is the head noun.

1.   Kofˀékóéyī̄.
       [Kofi]ₙₚ   **é-kóéyī̄**
       Kofi   SM-exit
       'Kofi went out.'

The head noun can be accompanied by modifiers which can be any of the following occurring in a fixed order: qualifier, quantifier, interrogative qualifier, determiner, and intensifier. This chapter is organised as follows: first, I introduce the structure of the noun phrase, I then look at the various types of noun phrases. After that, I go to the modifiers including adjectives, numerals and demonstratives.

4.1   The structure of the noun phrase

The general structure of a simple Noun Phrase (NP) can be summarised as follows:

> **[[NOUN] - (QUALIFIER) - (QUANTIFIER) - (INTERROGATIVE QUALIFIER) -**
> **(DETERMINER) – (INTENSIFIER)]**

This structure is illustrated by the NPs in the following examples.

2a.   Ányíń áshī̄.
       á-nyí   **ní**   **á-shī̄**
       CM-man   DEF   SM-leave
       N   DET
       'The man left'

2b.   isí ḍɩḍama tigéné 'lílíń pétéé.
       i-sí   **ḍɩ-ḍama**   **ti-géné**   **ɩ-lílíní**   **pétéé**
       CM.PL-tree   RED-tall   AM-seven   AM-those   all
       N   QUAL   QT   DET   INT
       'all those seven tall trees'

2c.   bukudzɔgĕ gbɩgblă tugéné úlílíń pétéé.
       bu-kudzɔgĕ   **gbɩgblă**   **tu-géné**   **ú-lílíní**   **pétéé**
       CM.PL-dog   big   AM-seven   AM-those   all
       N   QUAL   QT   DET   INT
       'all those seven big dogs'

The example in (2a) illustrates a simple noun phrase while those in (2b) and (2c), illustrate a fully extended noun phrase. As shown in (2a), the noun slot is occupied by **ányí** 'man' and it is modified by the definiteness marker which is a determiner. In (2b), **isí** 'trees' and in (2c), **bukudzɔgĕ** 'dogs' occupy the noun slot, the qualifier slot is filled by **dıdama** 'tall' (2b) and **gbıgblă** 'big' (2c), **tigene** and **tugene** 'seven' as well as **ílílíní** and **úlílíní** 'those' in (2b) and (2c) fill the quantifier and the determiner slots respectively while **pétéé** 'all' is an intensifier. Each of these categories is further discussed in later sections. All these modifiers are optional elements within the NP.

The noun **isí** 'trees' in (2b) is made up of the root **-sí** and the plural prefix **i-** which belongs to the **i-** class whereas **bukudzɔgĕ** 'dogs' in (2c) consists of the root **-kudzɔgĕ** and the plural prefix **bu-**. The qualifier slot can be filled by an adjective as illustrated in (2) above. Adjectives do not show concord with the head noun so **dıdama** 'tall' and **gbıgblă** 'big' in (2b) and (2c) respectively do not occur with any agreement marker. Quantifiers include numerals and interrogative quantifiers such as 'how many/much?' Numerals, especially cardinal numerals, agree with the head noun, however, it is only their modifying forms[34] which do so as shown in examples (2b) and (2c). Thus, the prefixes **ti-** in **tigéné** 'seven' in (2b) and **tu-** in **tugéné** 'seven' in (2c) are the agreement markers cardinal numerals take when they occur with nouns in the **i-** and **bu**[2]- classes respectively. Ordinals, on the other hand, behave like qualifiers in that they do not show agreement with the head noun. The definiteness marker also does not show agreement. Other determiners however show concord with the head noun. For instance, the **ı-** and **ʊ-** prefixes attached to the demonstrative **-lílíní** 'that' in (2b) and (2c) are the agreement markers that this demonstrative takes when it modifies a noun belonging to the **i-** and **bu-** classes respectively. Intensifiers are the final constituents that occur within the NP. They also do not show concord with the head noun as exemplified in (2) above.

4.2   Types of noun phrases

There are different types of noun phrases. They include conjoined, alternate and possessive noun phrases. In each of the following subsections, I describe them in turn.

4.2.1   Conjoined Noun Phrase

Noun phrases can be conjoined with the connector or linker **nı** 'COM' as exemplified in (3) and (4) below. **nı** 'COM' is the same as the comitative preposition and as such Tafi can be viewed as a "WITH-language" following

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[34] The discussion of the various forms of the numerals is in section 4.3.

Stassen (2000). In (3a), the names of the animals, **kakudzɔgĕ** 'dog' and **gbɔkɔé** 'frog' just as in (3b), the noun phrases **anúvɔ̄ ní** 'the boy' and **yí ɔbhɩalí** 'his friends' are conjoined with **nɩ** 'COM'. In situations where there are more than two noun phrases to be linked together, the linker **nɩ** 'COM' may occur between the last two nouns as shown in (4).

3a. Bagan enyí alénŭ kakudzɔgĕ nɩ gbɔkɔé.

ba-ga		**ní**	**e-nyí**	**alí**	**é-nŭ**	**ka-kudzɔgĕ**
CM.PL-animal		DEF	CM.PL-name	3PL.IND	SM-COP	CM-dog

nɩ	**gbɔkɔé**
COM	frog

'The names of the animals are dog and frog.'   (FS)

3b. Anúvɔ̄ń nɩ y'ɔ́bhɩalíń áza bʊpá trúkpóím̄.

a-núvɔ̄	**ní**	**nɩ**	**yí**	**ɔ-bhɩa-alí**	**ní**	**bá-za**
CM-child	DEF	COM	3SG.IND	CM-friend-PL	DEF	SM-stay

bʊ-pá	**tru-kpó**	**kɩmɩ**
CM-house	**AM**-one	inside

'The child and his friends were staying in the same house.' (FS)

4. Blɔ̆, yí nɩ Kofí, blɔ̆ w̃ű̄sē 'uvūním̄.

blɔ̆	**yí**	**nɩ**	**Kofí**	**blɔ̆**	**w̃ű̄sē**	**bú-vū**	**ní**
1PL.IND	3SG.IND	COM	Kofi	1PL.IND	tidy.up	CM-house	DEF

kɩmɩ
inside

'It is I, him and Kofi who tidied up the room.' (see §3.6.1 on pronouns for further comment).

4.2.2   Alternate Noun Phrase

Pínɔ̄ɔ̄/púnɔ̄ɔ̄[35] 'or' is the linker used to link noun phrases when one wants to give or express other options or choices as illustrated in (5). Both forms are used interchangeably. Speakers also use **aló(ó)** or **lóó** 'or' which is borrowed from Ewe.

5. Ámā pínɔ̄ɔ̄ y'eyí ábávɩ 'edziním̄.

Ámā	**pínɔ̄ɔ̄**	**yí**	**e-yí**	**á-bá-vɩ**	**ke-dzi**	**ní**	**kɩ-mɩ**
Ama	or	3SG.IND	CM-child	SM-FUT-go	CM-market	DEF	in

'Ama or her child will go to the market.'

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[35] **Pínɔ̄ɔ̄/púnɔ̄ɔ̄** 'or' is also used in questions. See Chapter 8, section 8.2.3 for more details.

4.2.3   Possessive Noun Phrase

There are two ways of forming nominal possessive constructions in the language. In both types of possessive noun phrase, the possessor NP precedes the possessed NP which is the head. One way of forming a possessive noun phrase is by simply juxtaposing the two NPs as in (6) and (7). As usual, if the possessed noun has a CV prefix, the consonant is elided.

6a.   adzī 'ɪpɔtí
     a-dzī̀   kɪ-pɔtí
     CM-woman   CM-cloth
     'A woman's cloth'

6b.   ekusíń ísɔ́
     e-kusí   ní   ɪ-sɔ́
     CM-chief DEF   CM-horse
     'The chief's horse'

7a.   Máwútɔ ahɔɪ
     Máwútɔ   a-hɔɪ
     Mawutɔ   CM-hand
     'Mawutɔ's hand'

7b.   Kɔkú ɔ́tsrí
     Kɔkú   ɔ-tsrǐ
     Kɔkú   CM-leg
     'Kɔku's leg'

This strategy applies to pronominal possessors as well (see Section 3.6 for details). Another way of forming the possessive noun phrase is by placing the third singular independent pronoun **yí** '3SG.IND' between the two NPs. In this second type, the possessed NP is a singular kinship term. Thus, for singular kinship possession, the dependent, i.e., the possessor is marked on the head with the independent pronoun **yí** '3SG.IND' as shown in (8a) and (8b). The example in (9) illustrates the plural form of the kinship possession where the possessor and possessed NPs are simply juxtaposed.

8a.   Máwúli y'enídá
     Máwúli   yí   é-nídá
     Mawu**li**   3SG.IND CM-aunt
     'Mawuli's maternal aunt'

8b.   Kúmá y'adzyā
     Kumá   yí   á-dzyā
     Kumah   3SG.IND   CM-brother

'Kumah's brother'

9.   Banʊ́vɔ̄n akā
        ba-nʊ́vɔ̄   **nɪ́**   **á-kā**
        CM.PL-child DEF   CM-father
        'The children's father'

4.3   Nominal Modifiers

In the previous section, it was pointed out that the nominal modifiers include qualifiers, quantifiers, interrogative qualifier, determiners, and intensifiers. In this section, the modifiers are looked at.

4.3.1   Adjectives

There is a general consensus among linguists that all languages seem to have noun and verb classes but there is some controversy about whether all languages have an adjective class. Dixon (2004:1) proposes that for every human language a "distinct" adjective class can be identified. He, however, adds that the criteria for distinguishing adjectives from other word classes are quite subtle because "in some languages, adjectives have similar grammatical properties to nouns, in some to verbs, in some to nouns and verbs and in some to neither of them". For this reason, Welmers (1973:243) advises in relation to African languages that one should "be suspicious of adjectives; some of them are not".

In this section, I examine how property concepts are coded in Tafi. Some property concepts are coded as adjectives which function in an NP. Adjectives in Tafi are a subset of Qualifiers which occur immediately after the head noun and before the Quantifier phrase in an NP. There is no concord between the head noun and the adjective or Qualifier for that matter as illustrated below. The adjective class in the language is relatively small as compared to the noun and verb classes.

10a.   Béfleté gbʊgblǎ tíábhā̄ń eyí tédzyíń.
        bé-fleté   **gbʊgblǎ** **tíá-bhā** **nɪ́**   **bé-yí**   **tédzyí**   **nɪ́**
        CM.PL-leopard big   AM-two DEF   SM-kill   donkey   DEF
        'The two big leopards killed the donkey.'

10b.   Adzīń ébhui 'ɪpɔtí vʊvɔ̄.
        a-dzī   **nɪ́**   **é-bhui**   **kɪ-pɔtí**   **vʊvɔ̄**
        CM-woman   DEF   SM-cut   CM-cloth new
        'The woman has bought a new cloth.'

In (10a), the subject NP is headed by **béfleté** 'leopards' which is modified by the adjective **gbʊgblǎ** 'big' and the numeral **tíábhā** 'two' whereas in (10b), **kɪpɔtí** 'cloth'

is the head noun within the object NP and it is modified by **vʊvɔ** 'new' which is an adjective.

Property concepts may be expressed with non-derived or derived adjectives; ideophonic forms as well as relative clauses containing an expression denoting a property (see Bobuafor to appear).

4.3.1.1   Non-derived adjectives

So far, only three underived adjectives have been identified. These are **kpá** 'bad, evil', **bhulí** 'small' and **gunū** 'short'. **Kpá** 'bad' is exemplified in (11) below. This adjective is a value term used to describe people or items that are bad, evil, out of use or unserviceable.

11a.   **anɔ kpá**   'a bad/evil person'

11b.   **káa kpá**   'an old car that is no longer in use'

4.3.1.2   Ideophonic Adjectives

In Tafi, ideophones are used as qualifiers to modify nouns. Like the non-derived and derived adjectives, the ideophonic forms do not enter any agreement relation with the head noun as shown in (12b) and (12c). Examples include:

12a.   **hɔʏhɔʏ**   'fat'   **dzyɔgǒ**   'good'
       bʊbʊī   'cold'   **kɪtɪkɪtī**   'bitter'
       tutu   'black'   **frɪɖí**   'white'
       sísíí   'slow'   **tsɔ́tsɔ́**   'pointed'
       dzyrodo   'long'   **gelegelee**   'many/much'
       gbĩígbĩí   'heavy'   **gbɔnyɔgbɔnyɔ** 'fat'

12b.   kikutū gbĩígbĩí
       ki-kutū   gbĩígbĩí
       CM-load   IDEO.heavy
       'a heavy load'

12c.   adzǐ hɔʏhɔʏ
       a-dzǐ   hɔʏhɔʏ
       CM-woman   IDEO.fat
       'a fat woman'

The head nouns, **kikutū** 'load' in (12b) and **adzǐ** 'woman' in (12c) are modified by the ideophones **gbĩígbĩí** 'heavy' and **hɔʏhɔʏ** 'fat' respectively and occur in the qualifier slot in the NP.

4.3.1.3 Derived adjectives by reduplication

The principal means by which derived adjectives in Tafi are formed is through the reduplication of intransitive verb stems. The reduplication can be total or partial and the reduplicated part most often contains a pre-specified high vowel which harmonises with the ATR value of the initial stem vowel as in (13) below. If the verb stem has a nasalised vowel, the nasalisation is not copied as shown by the verb **pĩ** 'be(come) good'.

13.
tsyɔ́mɔ̄	'be(come).spoilt/rotten'	→	**tsútsyɔ́mɔ̄**	'spoilt/bad/rotten'
dzã	'be(come).ripe, red'	→	**dzɪdzā̃**	'ripe, red'
vé	'be(come).bitter'	→	**vívé**	'bitter'
pĩ̄	'be(come).good'	→	**pɪpĩ̄**	'good'
nī	'be(come).wide'	→	**nɪnī**	'wide'
dama	'be(come).tall'	→	**dɪdama**	'tall'
she	'grow'	→	**shishe**	'old'

There are also some adjectives with reduplicated structure, however, their root or derivational source is not clear. This is because forms such as those in the right column of (14) to which they could be related do not exist in the language. Thus, it could be possible that the 'non-reduplicated' form of these words may have been used in the past and are no longer part of the lexicon (see also Dorvlo (2008) on Logba, Essegbey (2010a) on Tutrugbu and Ameka (1991) on Ewe).

14.
gɪganɪ	'strong, hard'	←	*ganɪ	'be(come) strong'
gbɪgblǎ	'big, huge'	←	*gblǎ	'become big'
vʊvɔ́	'new'	←	*vɔ́	'become new'
kpɪkpí	'hot'	←	*kpí	'become hot'
wʊwɔ́	'raw, fresh, green'	←	*wɔ́	'become raw'

4.3.1.4 Derivational possibilities of adjectives

4.3.1.4.1 Adverbialisation of adjectives

Some ideophonic adjectives or qualifiers come in two forms: a reduplicated form and a triplicated form. The former functions as adjectives and the latter as adverbials. The triplicated ideophonic forms are used for semantic effects such as intensity. Examples (15a) and (15b) illustrate reduplicated forms functioning as adjectives while (16a) and (16b) are examples of triplicated forms functioning as adverbials.

15a. Apɔtí tutūń átsywī̄.
     a-pɔtí   tutū   ní   á-tsywī̄
     CM.PL-cloth IDEO.black DEF SM-tear
     'The black cloths are torn.'

15b.   Apɔtíń ánɔ́ tututū.
    a-pɔtí   **ní**   **á-nɔ́**   **tu-tutū**
    CM.PL-cloth DEF   SM-be.black RED-IDEO.black
    'The cloths are very black.'

16a.   Ákɔ́ éfūń 'úní bʊbʊ.
    á-kɔ́   **é-fū**   **ní**   **bu-ní**   **bʊbʊ**
    3SG-give CM-guest DEF   CM-water   IDEO.cold
    'S/He offered the guest cold water.'

16b.   Buní ní yɔ́ bʊbʊbʊ.
    bu-ní   **ní**   **yɔ́**   **bʊ-bʊbʊ**
    CM-water   DEF   be.cold   RED-IDEO.cold
    'The water is very cold.'

As shown in (15a) and (16a) above, **tutū** 'black' and **bʊbʊ** 'cold' are adjectives modifying **apɔtí** 'cloths' and **buní** 'water', however, in (15b) and (16b), their reduplicated forms **tututū** and **bʊbʊbʊ** are used as adverbs modifying the verbs **nɔ́** 'be(come) black' and **yɔ́** 'be(come) cold' respectively, yielding an interpretation of intensification.

4.3.1.4.2   Adverbialisation of adjectives by suffixation

One of the non-derived adjectives takes a suffix -**yī** to form an adverbial as shown in (17b).

17a.   adáka bhulí
    a-dáka   **bhulí**
    CM-box   small
    'small box'

17b.   Adákan edzyí bhulíyī.
    a-dáka   **ní**   **e-dzyí**   **bhulí-yī**
    CM-box DEF SM-be   small-SFX
    'The box is small.'

4.3.1.4.3   Nominalisation of adjectives

Adjectives in the language can be made to function as nominals when they are nominalised by the addition of class prefixes with the exception of the **tɪ/ti-** prefix. Nominalised adjectives for the **ti-** class are formed by attaching the subject pronoun of this class to the adjective. When adjectives are nominalised, they can occur as head nouns and thus control agreement.

18a. Aga gbɪgblǎń éféké anúv̄ɔ́ń.

a-ga   **gbɪgblǎ**   **nɪ́**   **é-féké**   **a-núv̄ɔ**   **nɪ́**
CM-animal   big   DEF   SM-lift   CM-child   DEF
'The big animal lifted the child.' (FS)

18b. Ágbɪgblǎń éféké anúv̄ɔ́ń.

á-gbɪgblǎ nɪ́   **é-féké**   **a-núv̄ɔ**   **nɪ́**
CM-big   DEF   SM-lift   CM-child   DEF
'The big one lifted the child.' (referring to the animal)

19a. Tɪsī dzyroɖoń ídzyínī.

tɪsī   **dzyroɖo**   **nɪ́**   **ki-dzyínī**
feather   long   DEF   SM-break
'The long feather is broken.'

19b. Kidzyroɖoń ídzyínī.

ki-dzyroɖo   **nɪ́**   **ki-dzyínī**
CM-long   DEF   SM-break
'The long one is broken.' (referring to the feather)

In (18a) and (19a), **gbɪgblǎ** 'big' and **dzyroɖo** 'long' are adjectives modifying the head nouns **aga** 'animal' and **tɪsī** 'feather' respectively whereas **ágbɪgblǎ** 'big one' in (18b) and **kidzyroɖo** 'long one' in (19b) are the head nouns in subject position. In both (18a) and (18b), the subject-verb agreement marker **é-** is used to cross-reference the head nouns on the verb **feké** 'lift' while **ki-** is used to cross-reference the head nouns in (19a) and (19b) on the verb **dzyínī** 'break'.

4.3.1.5   Non-adjectival means of coding property concepts

4.3.1.5.1   Modification by relative clauses

Adjectival concepts can also be expressed with relative clauses containing property denoting expressions as in (20) - (22). The relative clause is introduced by an invariable relative marker **gɪ** (see section 9.1 on relative clauses).

20. Áfátī ékúń gɪ átsɔ́m̄ɔ́ń pétéé.

á-fátī   **é-kú**   **nɪ́**   **gɪ**   **á-tsyɔ́m̄ɔ**   **nɪ́**   **pétéé**
3SG-peel   CM.PL-yam   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-spoil   TOP   all
'S/he peeled all the rotten yams.' (lit. 'the yams which are rotten')

21. Ádzīn akpí awɪ gɪ átsywī̄.

a-dz̄ɪ   **nɪ́**   **á-kpí**   **a-wi**   **gɪ**   **á-tsywī̄**
CM-woman   DEF   SM-put.on   CM-dress   REL   3SG.DEP-tear

'The woman is wearing a torn dress.' (lit. 'a dress which is torn')

22.   Ébhui osíń nɪ kawíń gɪ édzyínī.
        e-bhui   o-sí   nɪ́   nɪ   ka-wí   nɪ́   gɪ   é-dzyínī
        3SG-cut CM-tree DEF COM CM-axe DEF REL 3SG.DEP-break
        'S/He cut the tree with the broken axe.' (lit. 'the axe which is broken')

4.3.1.5.2   Quality/property concepts expressed with verbs

Some adjectival concepts are coded by property denoting verbs. Such verbs are
primarily intransitive. They denote a property and predicate it of the NP in subject
position in the one-place construction. (23a) and (23b) are illustrations. The verbs
zi 'be(come) bad' in (23a) and **tsyɔ́mɔ̄** 'be(come) rotten' in (23b) state the
properties of the subject NPs.

23a.   Anúvɔ̄ń ézī.
        a-núvɔ̄   nɪ́   é-zī
        CM-child DEF   SM-be.bad
        'The child is bad/spoilt.'

23b.   Okútúń ɔ́tsyɔ́mɔ̄.
        o-kútú   nɪ́   ɔ́-tsyɔ́mɔ̄
        CM-orange   DEF   SM-be.rotten
        'The orange is rotten.'

4.3.1.5.3   Quality/property concepts expressed with verb phrases

Property denoting nouns can be used as complements of verbs in a VP to predicate
qualities on a subject NP in a two-place construction. Consider the following
examples.

24a.   ɪhɛ̌ń ál'ɔ́ŋá.
        ɪ-hɛ̌   nɪ́   á-lɪ́   ɔ-ŋá
        CM-knife DEF   SM-be.at CM-sharpness
        'The knife is sharp.'

24b.   Adzɪnúvɔ̄ēń éyi 'ubhíté.
        a-dzīnúvɔ̄ē   nɪ́   é-yī   bú-bhíté
        CM-girl   DEF SM-resemble   CM-beauty
        'The girl is beautiful.'

24c.   Oníń ɔ́l' ɔ̄dzyɪ.
        o-ní   nɪ́   ɔ-lɪ́   ɔ̄-dzyɪ
        CM-soup DEF SM-be.at CM-sweetness

'The soup is tasty.'

In (24a) - (24c), ɪhɛ̌ 'knife', adzɪnúvɔ̄ɛ̄ 'girl' and oní 'soup' may be said to possess the quality of ɔŋá 'sharpness', búbhíté 'beauty' and ɔ̌dzyɪ 'sweetness' respectively which occur as complements of the verbs in these sentences.

There is another group of VPs used to predicate qualities of entities. The collocation of the verb and the NP together express properties as illustrated by the examples in (25a) - (25d).

25a.   Bawin ádɔ́ 'íbó.
    ba-wi   **ní**   **bá-dɔ́**   **ki-bó**
    CM.PL-dress DEF   SM-contact   CM-dirt
    'The clothes are dirty.'

25b.   Ányíń áákp' ayǐ.
    á-nyí   **ní**   **á-á-kpí**   **á-yǐ**
    CM-man   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-put.on CM-laziness
    'The man is lazy.'

25c.   Ányíń ámɔ oblǒ.
    á-nyí   **ní**   **á-mɔ**   **o-blǒ**
    CM-man   DEF   SM-see   CM-anger
    'The man is angry.'

25d.   Buní ní vu 'ifú.
    bu-ní   **ní**   **vu**   **ki-fú**
    CM-water   DEF   catch   CM-fire
    'The water is hot.'

4.3.1.5.4   Quality/Property concepts expressed by a periphrastic "medio-passive" construction

In Tafi, like in Nyagbo (Essegbey 2010a), Tuwuli (Harley 2005), Likpe and Ewe (Ameka 2005), capability properties can be attributed to an Undergoer entity using a dedicated construction which has been labelled medio-passive by Harley (2005) and as Undergoer Voice Construction by Ameka (2005). In the Tafi construction like in the Nyagbo construction, the operator verb is the verb meaning 'be(come) good': pĩ in Tafi and pɛ̃ in Nyagbo. In Tafi, the construction involves an operator verb and a nominalised verb constituent which functions as a THEME argument to the operator verb. Other features of the construction are:

26a.   It is a mono-clausal two-place (see e.g. 27a), or three-place construction
        (see e.g. 27b)

26b. The operator verb takes at least one complement which is a nominalised
       verb and bears a THEME role to the operator verb. The nominalised verb
       represents the state of affairs being modelled in the clause (see e.g. 27b).
26c. The participants in the state of affairs in the nominalised verb are unified
       with those of the operator verb, for example (27c).
26d. The Undergoer-like argument is linked to the A (subject) function of the
       construction and occurs in subject position in the clause and controls the
       cross-referencing on the operator verb, for example (27d).
26e. The Actor-like argument is either not realised (27a, c, or e) or it is coded as
       a GOAL argument in a three place construction (27b, d, or f)
26f. The construction can be interpreted as 'the Undergoer entity is V-able' (to
       the Goal entity).

The sentences in (27) are illustrations of the 'medio-passive' construction.

27a. Keplukpáń ápʋʋkla.
       ke-plukpá   ní   ka-pĩ   bʋ-kla
       CM-book   DEF   SM-be.good   CM-read
       'The book was easy to read.' (Lit. The book was good to read.')

27b. Keplukpáń ápĩ Kofí 'ʋkla.
       ke-plukpá   ní   ka-pĩ   Kofí   bʋ-kla
       CM-book   DEF   SM-be.good   Kofí   CM-read
       'The book was easy to read for Kofi' OR 'Kofi likes reading the book'

27c. Osíń ópuutɛ́.
       o-sí   ní   ó-pĩ   bu-tɛ́
       CM-tree   DEF   SM-be.good   CM-cut
       'The tree was easy to cut/ cutable .' (Lit. 'The tree was good to cut.')

27d. Osíń ópĩ Kofí 'utɛ́.
       o-sí   ní   ó-pĩ   Kofí   bu-tɛ́
       CM-tree   DEF   SM-be.good   Kofí   CM-cut
       'The tree was easy to cut for Kofi.' (Lit. 'The tree was good to cut.')

27e. Kíxwĩ́ íípʋʋwa.
       kí-xwĩ   ní   kí-í-pĩ   bʋ-wa
       CM-work   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-be.good   CM-do
       'The work is easy to do.' (Lit. 'The work is good to do.')

27f. Kíxwĩ́ ípĩ Kofí 'ʋwa.
       kí-xwĩ   ní   kí-pĩ   Kofí   bʋ-wa
       CM-work   DEF   SM-be.good   Kofí   CM-do
       'The work was easy to do for Kofi.' (Lit. 'The work is good to do.')

4.3.1.5.5   Nominals as Qualifiers

There are certain complex noun structures where a nominal immediately follows another noun. This nominal semantically qualifies the first noun. In such cases, the second nominal tends to be a derived nominal relating to human propensity. It must be noted that though these derived nominal forms may denote property concepts, they are not syntactic adjectives. In Tafi, such nominals could be derived, for instance, by attaching the noun **eleté** 'owner (of)' to a human propensity term as shown in (28) and (29).

28a.   adzɪ ehoélété alílíń
     a-dzɪ̄   **e-hoélété**   **a-lílíń**
     CM-woman   CM-rich.person   AM-DIST
     'that rich woman'

28b.   anyínúvɔɛ̄ áy̌élété
     a-nyínúvɔɛ̄   **á-y̌élété**
     CM-boy   CM-lazy.person
     'a lazy boy'

29a.   badzɪ̄ ehoélété alílíń
     ba-dzɪ̄   **e-hoélété**   **a-lílíń**
     CM.PL-woman   CM-rich.person   AM-DIST
     'those rich women'

29b.   banyínúvɔɛ̄ áy̌élété
     ba-nyínúvɔɛ̄ **á-y̌élété**
     CM.PL-boy   CM-lazy.person
     'lazy boys'

As the examples above show the qualifier noun does not agree with the head noun as predicted from the fact that qualifiers do not show agreement with the head noun. The implication of this is that the nominal property expression occurs in the Qualifier slot in a simple noun phrase. An alternative analysis of the forms above is that the nominal property word forms a phrase with the rest of the NP and this NP (e.g. those rich people) in turn acts as a modifier in apposition to the main head (women).

From the preceding, it is clear that Tafi has very few non-derived adjectives probably not more than three, however, there are various ways through which adjectival concepts are expressed in the language and these are through reduplication of property verbs to form adjectives, relativisation, nominal property words used as complements of predicators, for example, locative or resemble verbs, medio-passive constructions, property verbs as predicates in one or two place-constructions. Moreover, certain ideophonic forms are also used as adjectives

to modify nouns in the language. Furthermore, like other qualifiers in the language, adjectives do not show agreement with the head noun but they can be nominalised and when they are, they control agreement, i.e., they can head the noun phrase. Semantic types of property concepts á la Dixon (1982, 2004) are distributed across various morpho-syntactic strategies. Words for basic colours are either ideophonic (black and white) or reduplicated verbs (red and green). When adjectival words are used predicatively, they undergo category change, for example, ideophonic adjectives become adverbials. Recall that property verbs are an important source of adjectival concepts. It can be said that adjectival in Tafi are only used attributively and not predicatively (see Ameka 2012 for similar claim in Ewe).

4.4   Numerals

The numerals consist of cardinal and ordinal numbers. In a noun phrase, the numerals occur after the adjective and before the interrogative qualifier and the determiner (see Bobuafor (2009b) for an overview).

4.3.1   Cardinal numbers

Tafi has a decimal numeral system. The counting forms of cardinal numbers are different from the form they take in attributive position. In the counting form, the words for six, seven, and nine have a zero prefix while the others have prefixes which are vowels.

30.   **o-lí**   'one'
       ɩ-bha   'two'
       ɩ-tá   'three'
       ĩ-lĩ́   'four'
       i-tí   'five'
       holo   'six'
       géné   'seven'
       a-suī   'eight'
       hitá or **zhitá** [36]   'nine'
       kɩ́-fɔ   'ten'

The multiples of ten, i.e., twenty, thirty etc. are formed by prefixing either the root or stem of the numbers 'one' to 'nine' with the prefix **áf-**, and the quantifier prefix **t-**, yielding **áf-t-**[37] followed by the vowel /**a**/ or /**e**/ depending on the ATR value of

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[36] **Zhitá** and **hitá** are used interchangeably.

[37] It appears that there used to be a vowel between /**f**/ and /**t**/ which has been elided. A look at other GTM languages that are close to Tafi such as Nyagbo and Avatime, for instance, clearly suggest that there must have been a vowel occurring between the two consonants.

the stem except for the words for 'thirty' and 'fifty'. The word for 'thirty' is formed by prefixing **áf-** followed by two vowels /**aa**/ to the root of 'three' whereas for 'fifty', it is formed by prefixing **áf-** followed by the vowel /**e**/ to the word for 'five', that is, the prefix together with the root. Below are the words for the multiples of 'ten'.

31.   **áf-t-a-bha**   'twenty'
      áf-aa-tá   'thirty'
      áf-t-a-lí   'forty'
      áf-e-ití   'fifty'
      áf-t-e-holo   'sixty'
      áf-t-e-géné   'seventy'
      áf-t-a-sʋī   'eighty'
      áf-t-e-hitā   'ninety'

The counting forms of the numbers 'eleven', 'twenty-one', 'thirty-one', etc., are formed with the words for 'ten' or its multiples, followed by the NP linker **nɪ** 'COM' whose vowel is deleted, and the prefix **t-,** attached to the counting form of 'one' as shown below.

32.   **kí-fɔ n't-o-lí**[38]   'eleven'   (ten and one)
      áf-t-a-bha n't-o-lí   'twenty-one'   (twenty and one)
      áf-aa-tā n't-o-lí   'thirty-one'   (thirty and one) etc.

The numerals 'twelve' to 'nineteen', 'twenty-two' to 'twenty-nine', thirty-two' to 'thirty-nine', etc., are formed in the same way, except that the roots of the numerals 'two' up to 'nine' are prefixed with **tɪa-** or **tie-** depending on the [ATR] value of the vowel in the root. These prefixes are the same as the ones numerals take when they modify nouns belonging to the **ba(a)-** class. For example,

33.   **kí-fɔ n'tɪa-bha**   'twelve'   (ten and two)
      kí-fɔ n'tɪa-tá   'thirteen'   (ten and three)
      kí-fɔ n'tie-tí   'fifteen'   (ten and five)
      áf-t-a-bha n'tɪa-bhā   'twenty-two'   (twenty and two)
      áf-t-a-bha n'tɪa-tá   'twenty-three' (twenty and three)
      áf-t-a-bha n'tie-tí   'twenty-five'   (twenty and five)
      áf-aa-tā n'tɪa-bhā   'thirty-two'   (thirty and two)
      á-f-aa-tā n'tɪa-tá   'thirty-three' (thirty and three)

For example, the word for 'twenty' in these two languages is **afɛtabha** and **avɪtava** respectively.

[38] The mid tone on the final syllable of **kí-fɔ** 'ten' becomes low while the high tone on that of **áf-aa-tá** 'thirty' has become mid. This is because the following word **nɪ** 'and' has a low tone.

á-f-aa-tā n'tie-tí   'thirty-five'   (thirty and five)

The words **alafá** 'hundred' and **akpé** 'thousand' are borrowed words from Ewe whereas that for 'million' **mílió** is borrowed from English. They can be modified by the forms which the numerals 'two' to 'nine' take when they follow 'ten' and its multiples. When the numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' are modified by the numeral 'one', the form it takes is **teɖikpó** which is different from the form it takes when it follows 'ten' and its multiples.[39] The following are examples.

34.   **alafá té-ɖíkpó**   'one hundred'
        akpé té-ɖíkpó   'one thousand'
        mílió te-ɖikpó   'one million'
        alafá tíá-bhā   'two hundred'
        akpé tíá-bhā   'two thousand'
        mílió tɪa-bhā   'two million'

In attributive position, the cardinal numerals, especially 'one' to 'nine', agree with the head noun in that they take a prefix made up of the quantifier prefix, the consonantal prefix **t-** and a concord vowel that agrees with the vowel of the noun prefix.[40] Thus, agreement is shown on the numbers 'one' to 'nine', depending on the noun class (Bobuafor 2012). The number 'ten' has a form different from the counting form also, which is **ló-fó**. However, this functions as a default form, which does not agree with the noun it modifies, so it goes with all the classes. The numbers 'twenty', 'thirty', etc. do not agree with the head noun either. They maintain the same form when they occur with a noun from any of the noun classes. As regards the numbers 'eleven', 'twenty-one', 'thirty-one', etc., their attributive forms are identical to their counting forms, besides 'eleven', which is formed by using **ló-fó**, the modifier form of 'ten', as shown in Table 3 below. Moreover, the attributive forms of the numerals 'twelve' to 'nineteen', 'twenty-two' to 'twenty-nine', thirty-two' to 'thirty-nine', etc., are also formed by using the words for 'ten' or its multiples, the linker **nɪ** 'COM', without its vowel and the attributive forms of 'two' to 'nine'. Thus, for instance, if we have the number 'twenty-five' modifying a noun, it is only the number 'five' that agrees with the head noun whereas the form for 'twenty' remains the same, as illustrated in Table 3. Therefore, it is only the digits that show agreement.

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[39] This is the form the numeral 'one' takes when it modifies nouns belonging to the **a¹-** class which is a default class for loanwords.

[40] For the time being, the distinction between the form the numeral 'one' takes in attributive position (i.e., **teɖikpó, trikpó** etc.) and the form it takes after 'ten' and its multiples (i.e., **t-o-lí**) is not clear. Also, the numeral modifiers of the **ba(a)-** class maintain the counting forms of 'two' to 'nine' which occur after 'ten' and its multiples.

The examples in Table 3 are an illustration of the concord between nouns in the various classes and the numerals they occur with.

Table 4.1   Cardinal numerals

Class	Concord	Meaning
a[1]-	e-kusí té-ɖíkpó	'one chief'
ba(a)-	bee-kusí tíá-bhā	'two chiefs'
	bee-kusí lɔ́-fɔ n't-o-lí	'eleven chiefs'
	bee-kusí áf-t-a-bha n'tie-tí	'twenty-five chiefs'
o-	o-bhoshi to-ɖukpó	'one sheep'
i-	i-bhoshi tʊ-bha	'two sheep'
	i-bhoshi lɔ́-fɔ n't-o-lí	'eleven sheep'
	i-bhoshi af-t-a-bha n'ti-tí	'twenty-five sheep'
ki-	kɪ-tɔkpú tríkpó	'one head'
a[2]-	a-tɔkpú tá-bhā	'two heads'
	a-tɔkpú lɔ́-fɔ n't-o-lí	'eleven heads'
	a-tɔkpú áf-t-a-bha n'te-tí	'twenty-five heads'
ka-	ká-pā tie-ɖikpó	'one hoe'
bu[2]-	bʊ-pa tʊ-bha	'two hoes'
	bʊ-pa lɔ́-fɔ n't-o-lí	'eleven hoes'
	bʊ-pa af-t-a-bha n'tu-tí	'twenty-five hoes'
bu[1]-[41]	bʊ-tɔ́ trúkpó	'one ear'
ti-	There are no count nouns in this class.	

In context, the cardinal numerals which occur in attributive position behave syntactically like pronominal expressions in that they can occur without a noun denoting the enumerated entity; in which case they stand in for the noun as shown in (35b). In this example, the noun head is elided and it is recoverable from the agreement marker on the numeral.

35a.   Ákɔ́ ányíń bʊpā tʊbha.
      á-kɔ́   **á-nyí**   **ní**   **bʊ-pā**   **tʊ-bha**
      3SG-give CM-man DEF CM.PL-hoe AM-two
      'S/he gave the man two hoes.'

35b.   Ákɔ́ ányíń tʊbha.
      á-kɔ́   **á-nyí**   **ní**   **tʊ-bha**
      give   CM-man DEF AM-two

---

[41] The plural forms of nouns in the **bu[1]-** class belong to the **ba(a)-** class.

'S/he gave the man two (hoes).'

Moreover, the attributive cardinal numerals can occur in a form of "syntactic iteration" which is a process involving the repetition of words or phrases (Ameka 1999:82). The type of syntactic iteration these numerals undergo is used among others to express a kind of distributive meaning described as "serial ordering" (Reynolds 1995:53) which can be paraphrased as "units of *X* at a time, one after another" (Ameka, ibid.). Consider the following examples:

36a.   akpǎn étsí trikpo trikpo.
    a-kpǎ   **ní**   **é-tsí**   **tri-kpó**   **tri-kpó**
    CM.PL-fish DEF SM-die   AM-one AM-one
    'The fishes died one by one'

36b.   Báshī̃ ʋabha ʋabha.
    bá-shī̃   **ʋa-bha**   **ʋa-bha**
    3PL-leave   AM-two AM-two
    'They left in pairs.'

The frequency of the occurrence of an event or state of affairs is indicated by nominalising the verb that expresses the state of affairs by prefixing it with /**a-**/. The nominalised form is then modified by the attributive form of a cardinal number to show the number of times an event occurred or someone performed an action. For example,

37a.   Ábá abá tábhā.
    á-bá   **a-bá**   **tá-bhā**
    3SG-come   CM-come   AM-two
    'S/he came twice.'

37b.   Ámínā y'íshǐ amínā tatá.
    á-mínā   **yí**   **ki-shǐ**   **a-mínā**   **ta-tá**
    3SG-whip 3SG CM-stick CM-whip AM-three
    'S/he whipped him/her three times.'

4.4.2   Fractions

The concept 'half' or 'part' is rendered by the nouns **kegunū** 'half' and **kápī** 'a part/piece of a whole'. These nouns can be modified by cardinal numerals and sometimes they are modified by **zɪzī** 'whole' to convey an idea of not more or less than half. **kápī** 'a part/piece of a whole' can also be modified by **bhulí** 'small' and **gbɪgblǎ** 'big' which are adjectives. Moreover, **afǎ** 'half' and **akpá** 'part' which are borrowed from Ewe are also used. The following are examples:

38a.   Bisʼɩápī̄ (gbɩgblǎ)
       bisí   ká-pī̄   (gbɩgblǎ)
       cola.nut   CM-part   (big)
       'A (big) piece of a cola nut'

38b.   Idzyin ʼɩápī̄ tieɖikpó
       i-**dzyi   nɪ́   ká-pī̄   tie-ɖikpó**
       CM-heart DEF   CM-part   AM-one
       'One part of the heart'

38c.   Yɛ̌ abhlendɛ̌nɪ́m̄ bʊpɪ tʊbha!
       yɛ̌   a-bhlendɛ̌   nɪ́   kɪmɪ   bʊ-pɪ   tʊ-bha
       cut   CM-pineapple   DEF   inside   CM.PL-part   AM-two
       'Cut the pineapple into two parts!'

38d.   Átɔ́ ʼɛdɔ̄ nɪ bʊdzɔ tʊmpé ʼegunū zɪzī̄.
       á-tɔ́   kɪ́-dɔ̄   nɪ   bʊ-dzɔ   tʊmpá ke-gunū   zɪzī̄
       3SG-cook   CM-thing COM   CM-palm.oil   bottle CM-half   whole
       'She used half bottle of oil to cook.' (lit. 'she cooked with a whole half
       bottle of oil.')

38e.   Édzyínī̄ nikpɛ̌nɪ́m̄ bugunū tʊbha.
       é-dzyínī̄   nikpɛ̌ nɪ́   kɪmɪ   bu-gunū   tʊ-bha
       3SG-break   maize DEF   inside   CM-half   AM-two
       'He broke the maize into halves.'

38f.   bʊdzɔ tʊmpá ʼfǎ
       bu-dzɔ   tʊmpá   a-fǎ
       CM-palm.oil   bottle   CM-half
       'Half bottle of oil'

38g.   Ámǎ̄ boɖoboɖonɪ́m̄ akpá tíátá.
       á-mǎ̄   boɖoboɖo nɪ́   kɪmɪ a-kpá   tíá-tá
       3SG-divide   bread   DEF   inside CM-part   AM-three
       'S/he divided the bread into three parts.'

It is possible to express fractions with some action verbs denoting the manner in
which the item was separated or divided. These verbs are nominalised by being
reduplicated and adding the class prefix of the noun being referred to, to the
reduplicated stem. The nominalised form is followed by the (reduced form of) the
postposition **kɪmɪ** 'inside' with its initial consonant elided. The derived form is in
turn followed by a cardinal number as in (39). These nominalised forms can occur
after the head noun or they can occur alone as the head noun. When these forms
occur as the head noun they can only be used in context in order for the speaker to
be understood by the addressee(s).

39a.   bʋdzɔ tʋmpá 'míméḿ tɪabha
       bu-dzɔ   tʋmpá   á-mí-má   kɪmɪ   tɪa-bha
       CM-palm.oil bottle   CM-RED-divide inside AM-two
       'half bottle of palm oil' (lit. 'a bottle of oil divided into two parts')

39b.   ébhubhuíḿ tɪabha/tɪatá
       é-bhu-bhuí   kɪmɪ   tɪa-bha / tɪa-tá
       CM-RED-cut   inside AM-two / AM-three
       'two or three parts of something that has been cut into a number of parts'
       (e.g. **bladzyó** 'plantain')

39c.   kibhubhuíḿ trikpo
       ki-bhu-bhuí   kɪmɪ   tri-kpo
       CM-RED-cut   inside AM-one
       'One part of something that has been cut into a number of parts' (e.g. **kishǐ**
       'stick')

39d.   osí ótitéíḿ toɖukpó
       o-sí   ó-ti-té   kɪmɪ   to-ɖukpó
       CM-tree CM-RED-slash   inside AM-one
       'One part of a tree that has been slashed into a number of parts'

39e.   osí ítitéíḿ tɪbha
       o-sí   í-ti-té   kɪmɪ   tɪ-bha
       CM-tree CM-RED-slash   inside AM-two
       'Two parts of a tree (that has been slashed into a number of parts)'

These nouns or nominals used to express the concept of 'half' or 'part' can be
followed by two cardinal numbers as illustrated in (40a) – (40c) or the nominals
can be followed by a cardinal number and then by **kápɪ̄** 'part' or **bʋpɪ** 'parts' and
another cardinal number to express 'half', 'one-third', 'one-fourth' etc. as shown in
(40d) and (40e).

40a.   ébhubhuíḿ tɪabha tieɖikpó
       é-bhu-bhuí   kɪmɪ   tɪa-bha   tie-ɖikpó
       CM-RED-cut   inside AM-two   AM-one
       'Half or one part of something cut into two.' (e.g. **bladzyó** 'plantain')

40b.   ítitéíḿ tɪtá tíbhā
       í-ti-té   kɪmɪ   tɪ-tá   tí-bhā
       CM-RED-slash   inside AM-three   AM-two
       'Two-thirds or two parts of something slashed into three.' (e.g. a tree)

40c.   bʋpɪ tʋlí̄ tíéɖíkpó

bʊ-pɪ   **tʊ-lɩ́**   **tíé-ɖíkpó**
CM.PL-piece AM-four AM-one
'one-fourth'

40d. ébhubhuím̄ tɪabha kápɪ̄ tieɖikpó
      é-bhu-bhuí   **kɪmɪ** **tɪa-bha** **ká-pɪ̄** **tie-ɖikpó**
      CM-RED-cut   inside AM-two CM-part AM-one
      'Half or one part of something cut into two.' (e.g. **bladzyó** 'plantain')

40e. ébhubhuím̄ tɪatá bʊpɪ tʊbha
      é-bhu-bhuí   **kɪmɪ** **tɪa-tá** **bʊ-pɪ**   **tʊ-bha**
      CM-RED-cut   inside AM-three CM.PL-part AM-two
      'Two-thirds of something that has been cut.' (e.g. **bladzyó** 'plantain')

As illustrated in the examples in (40), in the fraction expression the cardinal numeral expressing a part of a whole occurs as the second numeral whereas the one expressing the 'whole' occurs first.

4.4.2   Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers in the language are formed by adding the formative **-mɪ̄** 'ORD' to the roots of numbers, except for **tʊtɔpu**[42] 'first', **bhlā** 'second' and **gʊgɔ́ɛ́**[43] 'last'. To form the ordinal 'tenth', the ordinal suffix is added to the word for 'ten' **kɪ́-fɔ̃**. The root of 'two' has [l] inserted after its initial consonant, while those of 'three' and 'five' have [r] inserted after their initial consonant. The roots of 'four' and 'seven' are reduplicated. The final vowel of the root of 'eight' is elided when the ordinal suffix is added to it. The 'first' to 'tenth', 'twentieth' and 'thirtieth' ordinals are illustrated in (41a). When the ordinals are used in isolation without modifying a noun, the form the tenth ordinal takes is **kɪ́-fɔ̃-mɪ̄** as in (41a), however when it modifies a noun, the form it takes is **lɔ́-fɔ̃-mɪ̄** which comprises the modifier form of 'ten' **lɔ́-fɔ̃** and the ordinal suffix -**mɪ̄** as in (41f). Ordinal numbers in the language do not take prefixes to mark agreement with the head noun, as shown in (41b) and (41d). These ordinals may, however, be nominalised in the same way as the adjectives as shown in (41c) and (41e), in which case, they control agreement as in (41e).

41a. **tʊtɔpū**   - 'first'   **gi-géné-mɪ̄** - 'seventh'
      bhlā   - 'second'   **sʊ-mɪ̄**   - 'eighth'

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[42] **tʊtɔpu** is derived from the verb **pʊtɔ̄** 'lead'. Speakers also use **gbá̃** or **gbã́ntɔ̄** 'first', borrowed from Ewe, when the ordinal is used in isolation or when it modifies a noun respectively.
[43] **gʊgɔ́ɛ́** is derived from the verb **gɔ́** 'remain'. Some speakers also use **gɔgɔ́ɛ́.**

trǎ-mī	-	'third'	**zhitá-mī**	-	'ninth'
lǐ-lǐ́-mī	-	'fourth'	**kí-fɔ̄-mī**	-	'tenth'
trǐ-mī	-	'fifth'	**á-ftabhā-mī**	-	'twentieth'
holō-mī	-	'sixth'	**á-faatá-mī**	-	'thirtieth'

41b. anóvɔ̄ līlǐ́mīń
    a-núvɔ̄   **lǐ-lǐ́-mī**   **ní**
    CM-child RED-four-ORD DEF
    'the fourth child'

41c. álǐlǐ́mīń
    á-lǐ-lǐ́-mī   **ní**
    CM-RED-four-ORD DEF
    'the fourth one'

41d. Osí līlǐ́mīń ódzyínī
    o-sí   **lǐ-lǐ́-mī**   **ní**   **ó-dzyínī**
    CM-tree   RED-four-ORD DEF   SM-break
    'The fourth tree broke.'

41e. Ɔlǐlǐ́mīń ódzyínī
    ɔ-lǐ-lǐ́-mī   **ní**   **ó-dzyínī**
    CM-RED-four-ORD   DEF   SM-break
    'The fourth one broke.'

41f. Ɔlɔ́fɔ̄mīń ódzyínī
    ɔ-lɔ́-fɔ̄-mī   **ní**   **ó-dzyínī**
    CM-MOD-ten-ORD   DEF   SM-break
    'The tenth one broke' (referring to the tree).

To form the ordinals 'eleventh' to 'nineteenth', the modifier form of the numeral 'ten', **lɔ́-fɔ̄**, is used followed by the linker **nɩ** 'COM' and the nominalised forms of the ordinals 'first' to 'ninth' for the various noun classes, as illustrated in example (42a). The ordinals 'twenty-first' to twenty-ninth', thirty-first' to 'thirty-ninth', etc., are formed in the same way by using the words for the multiples of 'ten', as in (42c). Examples (42b) and (42d) are nominalised forms of (42a) and (42c), respectively.

42a. osí lɔ́fɔ̄ n'ɔtrǎmīń
    o-sí   **lɔ́-fɔ̄**   **nɩ**   **ɔ-trǎ-mī**   **ní**
    CM-tree MOD-ten COM AM-three-ORD DEF
    'the thirteenth tree'

42b.   ɔlɔ́fɔ̄ n'ɔtrămɪ́ń

    lɔ́-fɔ̄   **nɪ**   **ɔ-tră-mī**   **nɪ́**

    MOD-ten COM AM-three-ORD   DEF

    'the thirteenth one'

42c.   kakudzɔgĕ áftabha nɪ (k)atʊtɔpuń

    ka-kudzɔgĕ   **áftabha**   **nɪ**   **ka-tʊtɔpu**   **nɪ́**

    CM-dog   twenty   COM AM-first DEF

    'the twenty-first dog'

42d.   áftabha nɪ (k)atʊtɔpuń

    áftabha   **nɪ**   **ka-tʊtɔpu**   **nɪ́**

    twenty   COM AM-first DEF

    'the twenty-first one'

The prefix **bʊ/bu-** can be added to the ordinal numbers to indicate the 'nth time' or frequency time that an event occurred or has been occurring as shown in (43).

43.   Ávɪ Igẽ bʊtrămī.

    á-vɪ   **I-gẽ**   **bʊ-tră-mī**

    3SG-go   CM-Accra   CM-three-ORD

    'S/he went to Accra for the third time.'

The ordinal numbers can occur as complements of some verbs such as **nú** 'be', **dzí** 'become' and **yɪkī** 'receive, get' to predicate an ordered position of the subject referent (with nuances on how the position is perceived to have been attained). This is illustrated in (44).

44a.   Yénū átʊtɔpū.

    yí   **é-nū**   **á-tʊtɔpū**

    3SG.IND SM-be   AM-first

    'S/he is the first.'

44b.   Máwúto edzí átʊtɔpū.

    Máwúto   **e-dzí**   **á-tʊtɔpū**

    Mawuto   SM-become CM-first

    'Mawuto became the first.'

44c.   Áyíkī atrămī

    á-yíkī   **a-tră-mī**

    3SG-get   CM-three-ORD

    'S/he took the third position.'

ɔtɔ́ 'outside' can be added to **bhlā** 'second' to form **bhlatɔ́** to mean 'another/other'. Usually, the initial vowel of ɔtɔ́ is elided. For example,

45a.   Kibuí bhlātɔ́ tilí kalí hãã?
     ki-buí   bhlatɔ́ ti-lí   ka-lɩ́   hãã
     CM-word other   AM-INDEF PERS-be.at UFP
     'Is there any other case (to discuss)?'

Bhlatɔ́ 'another/other' can also be nominalised by adding the class prefixes to mean 'another one' or 'other ones' as shown in (45b).

45b.   **ábhlatɔ́**   'another one'   (**a**[1]- class)
       bábhlatɔ́   'other ones'   (**ba(a)**- class)
       ɔbhlatɔ́   'another one'   (**o**- class)
       ɩbhlatɔ́   'other ones'   (**i**- class)

4.4   The modifier nyáá

Nyáá 'DISTR' occurs in a distributive nominal duplicative construction (see Ameka 1999:91). This is a complex NP structure in which two identical NPs are linked by the modifier **nyáá** as shown in (46a). When this structure is used in affirmative sentences, it means 'every, each, any N'; when used in negative sentences, it takes on a negative meaning such as 'none, no N or not any N' as illustrated in (46b) and (46c) (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.5 for more details).

46a.   [NP$_i$ **nyáá** NP$_i$]

46b.   Ábá éwī tetīnyéé'wī tetí 'édé.
     á-bá   e-wí   te-tí   nyáá   e-wí   te-tí
     3SG-come CM.PL-day AM-five DISTR   CM.PL-day AM-five
     ke.de
     back
     'S/he comes every five days.'

46c.   Onínyóóní ɔ́mā kitsikpǐnɩ́m̄.
     o-ní-nyáá-o-ní   ɔ́-mā   ki-tsikpǐ nɩ́   kɩmī
     CM-soup-DISTR-CM-soup CM-be.at:NEG CM-pot DEF inside
     'There is no soup in the pot.'

The modifier **nyáá** 'DISTR' shows concord with the noun in the form of a vocalic concord such that the vowels are sensitive to the vowels of the prefixes of the head noun as illustrated in (46b) and (46c) above. In (46b), the head of the distributive nominal duplicative construction has **e-** as its prefix so the **nyáá** modifier is realised as **nyéé**. Likewise in (46c), the **o-** prefix of the head noun triggers the same vowels in the distributive modifier.

The modifier **nyáá** 'DISTR' also occurs in the word **ká-nyáá-ká** 'each, every, any' which occurs in the following frame in (47a) and exemplified in (47b):

47a. [Head nominal   **ká-nyáá-ká**]

47b. **buni kányááká**   'any water'
ká-nyáá-ká is a qualifier and it does not show concord with the noun, but it can be nominalised in the same way as the adjective or the ordinal as shown in (47c).

47c. **bukányááká**   'any' (referring to **buní** 'water' in (47b))

The **bʊ-** prefix in **bʊkányááká** 'any' in (47c) is the class prefix of **buní** 'water' that has been attached to **kányááká** 'each, every, any' to nominalise it. The vowel in the prefix of the derived form agrees in ATR harmony with the initial vowel in **kányááká** 'each, every, any'.

4.5   Interrogative quantifier

The interrogative quantifier **-shĩ** 'how many/much?' is used for asking for information about the quantity or amount (in terms of the quantity of uncountable nouns) of an entity. Semantically, it modifies only plural nouns and also uncountable nouns. When it modifies the uncountable nouns, it is interpreted as 'how much?'. The interrogative quantifier occurs after the adjective and there is concord between it and the head noun (a detailed discussion of the interrogative quantifier has been provided under section 3.2.2.4). The following are examples.

48a. Epluí tááshĩ w'ɔmĩnã̄?
    e-pluí   táá-shĩ   wɔ   ɔ-mĩnã̄
    CM.PL-gourd   AM-how.many   2SG.IND   SM-bring
    'How many gourds did you bring?'

48b. Bʊpā tʊʊshĩ wodzî?
    bʊ-pā   tʊʊ-shĩ   wɔ   o-dzí
    CM.PL-hoe   AM-how.many   2SG.IND   SM-buy
    'How many hoes did you buy?'

48c. Tʊwʊ́lɔ̄ taashĩ Kofî áyálĩ?
    tʊ-wʊ́lɔ̄   taa-shĩ   Kofî   á-yálĩ
    CM-rubbish   AM-how.much   Kofi   SM-collect
    'How much rubbish did Kofi collect?'

The following are examples of interrogative proforms of the nouns in (49a) - (49c) which are formed when independent pronouns of the classes are modified by the interrogative quantifier.

49a.   **a-lí táá-shĩ̄/aá-táá-shĩ̄ wɔ́-mĩ́nā̄**?   'How many did you bring?'

49b.   **bʊ-lí tʊ́ʊ́-shĩ̄/bʊʊ́-tʊ́ʊ́-shĩ̄ wo-dzî?**   'How many did you buy?'

49c.   **kɪ-lí táá-shĩ̄/kɪ́-táá-shĩ̄ Kofí áyálî?**   'How much remained?'

As shown in the examples, apart from the full form of the independent pronoun which is modified by the interrogative quantifier, there is also a short form, a bound form, in which the root of the independent pronoun is elided and compensated for by lengthening the vowel of the prefix.

4.6   Determiners

In Tafi noun phrases, determiners occur after the interrogative quantifier and before the intensifiers. The determiners include the definiteness and indefiniteness markers and the demonstratives. These are described in turn in the following subsections.

4.6.1   Definiteness marker

The definiteness marker is used to refer to entities that are identifiable and assumed to be familiar to the participants or in the discourse context. It indicates that the information conveyed by the noun phrase is part of the shared knowledge of the participants in the conversation or discourse (see Lefebvre 1992). In Tafi, the definiteness marker is **ní**. During speech, its vowel is usually dropped and it becomes cliticised on to the preceding word. The tone of the deleted vowel, however, remains and moves leftward and docks on the /**n**/. When the definiteness marker is followed by a postposition, it is sometimes cliticised on to the postposition. The following are examples:

50a.   beekusíń
       bee-kusí   ní
       CM.PL-chief DEF
       'the chief'

50b.   Keplukpáń étsirí kplɔ̌níábhā̄
       ke-plukpá ní   ke-tsirí   kplɔ̌   ní   kábhā̄
       CM-book DEF   SM-be.on   table   DEF   top
       'The book is on the table.'

The NP in (50a) as well as the subject NP of (50b) illustrate the definiteness marker with its vowel deleted and it has been cliticised on to the noun. (50b) contains a postpositional phrase with the definiteness marker cliticised on to the postposition **kábhā̄** 'top' (as represented in the first line of the example).

4.6.2 Indefiniteness marker

In Tafi, specific indefinite nouns can be expressed as bare nouns or they are modified by the indefiniteness marker whose root is -**lí** 'a, a certain, some' (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2.2 for more details). The following are examples. The noun in subject position in sentence (51a) is a bare plural noun while in (51b) it is modified by the indefiniteness marker.

51a. Bádɔkas' átíbá ɔmaním̄.
  bá-dɔkasí   **bá-tí-bá**   **ɔ-ma**   **ní**   **kʊmʊ**
  CM.PL-teacher   SM-PERF-come   CM-town   DEF   inside
  'Teachers have come into the town.'

51b. Bádɔkasí tel' átíbá ɔmaním̄.
  bá-dɔkasí   **te-lí**   **bá-tí-bá**   **ɔ-ma**   **ní**   **kʊmʊ**
  CM.PL-teacher   AM-INDEF   SM-PERF-come   CM-town   DEF   inside
  'Some teachers have come into the town.'

The indefiniteness marker shows agreement with the noun it modifies. Its agreement marker takes the form of an initial consonant /**t**/ and a concord vowel which agrees with the vowel of the prefix of the noun it modifies except for the **ka**-class (see section 3.3.2.2 for a detailed discussion of the agreement patterns of the indefiniteness marker). The following are examples.

52a. Oní tol'ɔgɔ̄.
  o-ní   **to-lí**   **ɔ-gɔ̄**
  CM-soup   AM-INDEF   SM-remain
  'There is some soup left.'

52b. Isí tilí 'kpā.
  i-sí   **ti-lí**   **ɪ-kpā**
  CM.PL-tree   AM-INDEF   SM-fall
  'Some trees fell.'

52c. Búgbɔ́ tulí wu osíń.
  bú-gbɔ́   **tu-lí**   **wu**[44]   **o-sí**   **ní**
  CM.PL-squirrel   AM-INDEF   climb   CM-tree   DEF
  'Some squirrels climbed the tree.'

The nouns, **oní** 'soup', **isí** 'trees' and **bʊgbɔ** 'squirrels' in (52a-c) as well as **bádɔkasí** 'teachers' in (51) above, belong to the **o**-, **i**-, **bu**[1]-, and **ba(a)**- classes

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[44] There is no SM on **wu** 'climb' here because nouns in any of the **bu**- classes are not cross-referenced on the verb.

respectively so the indefiniteness marker modifying them takes as concord vowel /o, i, u and e/. All these vowels are [+ATR] because the vowel in the root of the indefiniteness marker is also [+ATR].

Indefinite pronouns are formed by the addition of the noun class prefixes to the indefiniteness marker except for the singular noun classes and the **ti**- class. It appears that when the indefinite pronouns occur without the singular prefixes, they are understood in context as referring to singular nouns. These pronouns can occur in all the syntactic environments in which nouns occur and they control agreement as shown in (53).

53a.   Betel' ábá.
       be-te-lí   **bá-bá**
       CM.PL-AM-some   SM-come
       'Some have come.' (referring to the teachers in (51b))

53b.   Tol' ɔgɔ̄.
       to-lí   **ɔ-gɔ̄**
       AM-some   SM-remain
       'Some remained.' (referring to the soup in (52a))

53c.   Bʊtulí w'osíń.
       bʊ-tu-lí   **wu**   **o-sí**   **ní**
       CM-AM-some   climb CM-tree DEF
       'Some climbed the tree.' (referring to the squirrels in (52c))

Moreover, the indefiniteness marker can modify the independent form of the pronouns. The following are examples.

54a.   ʊlí til'/iítil' ɪkpā
       ʊlí ti-lí/ií-ti-lí   **ɪ-kpā**
       3PL.IND-AM-INDEF   SM-fall
       'Some fell.'   (referring to the trees in (51b))

54b.   Bʊlí/buútulí wu osíń.
       bʊlí/buú-tu-lí   **wu**   **o-sí**   **ní**
       3PL.IND-AM-INDEF   climb CM-tree DEF
       'Some climbed the tree.'   (referring to the squirrels in (52c))

Just like the interrogative quantifier, the indefiniteness pronoun has both a full form and a short form as shown in the examples in (54).

4.6.3   Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions used to indicate which entities a speaker refers to in order to distinguish those entities from others. Thus, they are used to show whether the entities referred to are close or far, in space or time, from the speaker at the moment of speaking. Tafi distinguishes two forms of demonstratives, proximal **-ní** 'this' and distal **-lílíní** 'that'. The proximal demonstrative **-ní** 'this' is used to indicate referents close to the speaker/deictic centre and it has the same form as the definiteness marker except that the definiteness marker does not take prefixes. The distal demonstrative, **-lílíní** 'that', denotes referents removed or further away from the speaker/deictic centre.[45] The final syllable of the distal demonstrative also has the same form as the definiteness marker. Both demonstratives agree with the head noun. Like the indefiniteness marker, the agreement markers of the demonstratives are vowel prefixes which agree with the noun class prefix vowel. These concord vowels always agree in [-ATR] with the vowels in the roots of theses demonstratives (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2.3 for more details). The forms in (55) exemplify the proximal demonstrative while those in (56) illustrate the distal demonstratives.

55a.   Kíkūiń ítãnyí.
     kí-kū   **ɪ-ní**   **kɪ-tã**   **ɔ-nyí**
     CM-yam AM-PROX SM-burn CM-firewood
     'This yam is burnt.'

55b.   Ékūań átãnyí.
     é-kū   **a-ní**   **á-tã**   **ɔ-nyí**
     CM.PL-yam AM-PROX SM-burn   CM-firewood
     'These yams are burnt.'

55c.   Bʋzhʋěń dɔ́ osíɔnúm̃.
     bu-zhʋě   **ní**   **dɔ́**   **o-sí**   **ɔ-ní**   **kɪmɪ**
     CM.PL-bird DEF land CM-tree AM-PROX inside
     'The birds perch on this tree.'

56a.   Évu kɪkpǎ gbɪgblě ílílíń.
     é-vu   **kɪ-kpǎ**   **gbɪgblǎ**   **í-lílíní**
     3SG-catch CM-fish big   AM-DIST
     'He caught that big fish.'

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[45] Most often, the final vowel of both demonstratives is deleted, however, in formal speech it is maintained.

56b. Otroeleté, ányí alílíń énū.
     o-tro.eleté   **á-nyí**   **a-lílíní**   **é-nū**
     CM-lie.owner   CM-man   AM-DIST   SM-be
     'That man is a liar.'

56c. Os'ɔlílíń ɔ́kpā.
     o-sí   **ɔ-lílíní**   **ɔ́-kpā**
     CM-tree   AM-DIST   SM-fall
     'That tree fell.'

kíkū 'yam' in (55a) and **kɪkpǎ** 'fish' in (56a) belong to the **ki**- class so they take /ɪ-/ as agreement marker for both the proximal and distal demonstratives. In (55b) and (56b), the nouns **ékū** 'yams' and **ányí** 'man' are members of the **a²**- and the **a¹**-classes respectively and they take /a/ as agreement marker. **Osí** 'tree' in both (55c) and (56c) which belongs to the **o**- class triggers /ɔ/ as agreement marker. All these agreement markers are the same as the vowels in the noun class prefixes and they have the same ATR value as the (initial) vowel of the demonstrative roots.

Demonstrative pronouns are formed the same way as the interrogative and indefinite pronouns by attaching the class prefixes to the modifying form of the demonstratives, that is, the prefix together with the root. These pronouns are used to replace nouns which can be understood from context, as shown in (57). As regards the proximal demonstrative **-ní** 'this', its root is reduplicated (see also section 3.3.2.3).

57a.   **kí-kū ɪ-ní**   'this yam'
57b.   **kɪ-í-nɪní/ ki-í-nɪ̌**[46]   'this one'
57c.   **kɪ-í-lílíní**   'that one'
57d.   **é-kū a-ní**   'these yams'
57e.   **a-á-nɪní/a-á-nɪ̌**   'these ones'
57f.   **a-á-lílíní**   'those ones'
57g.   **o-sí ɔ-ní**   'this tree'
57h.   **ɔ-ɔ́-nɪní/ɔ-ɔ́-nɪ̌**   'this one'
57i.   **ɔ-ɔ́-lílíní**   'that one'

Only the proximal demonstrative has both a full and short form as illustrated in the examples in (57b), (57e), (57h).

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[46] See footnote 3 of section 3.3.2.3 concerning the short form of the demonstrative pronoun of the proximal root -**ní**.

4.7   Intensifiers

Intensifiers are words that add emphasis to the meaning of a word or phrase. In Tafi, an intensifier can modify a simple or fully expanded noun phrase and there is no agreement between it and the head noun. The intensifiers include:

58a.   **pétéé**   'all'
       ko   'only, just'
       kóŋ   'very much, particular, specific'
       titě   'only, alone'
       tsyí   'too, also'
       xũ̃ń   'as for'
       kodzyɔ   'very much'

Looking at the forms, it is evident that the intensifiers are made up of various semantic subgroups including quantifying elements such as **pétéé** 'all' and focalising particles such as **ko** 'only, just' and **tsyí** 'too, also'. It appears that **pétéé** 'all', **ko** 'only, just' and **kóŋ** 'particular, specific' are borrowed from Ewe with no change in meaning. Also, **tsyí** 'too, also' is related to **tsyé** 'too, also' which is used in inland Ewe and probably a borrowing, and **titě** 'only, alone' is related to **tete/teti** 'at least, even, only' in Ewe. The examples in (59) illustrate the use of some of the intensifiers.

59a.   Apɔtí dzɪdzắ taatá álílín pétéé áŋiedzi.
       a-pɔtí   dzɪdzắ   taa-tá   á-lílíń   pétéé   á-ŋa   ke-dzi
       CM.PL-cloth red   AM-three AM-DIST   all   SM-eat   CM-price
       'All those three red cloths are expensive.'

59b.   Badɔkasí tíábhań ko bal' ábá.
       ba-dɔkasí   tíá-bha   ní   ko   ba-lí   bá-bá
       CM.PL-teacher AM-two   DEF   only 3PL.IND SM-come
       'Only the two teachers came.'

In example (59a) above, we have a fully expanded noun phrase in subject position in which all the slots have been filled. The head noun, **apɔtí** 'cloths, is modified by **dzɪdzắ** 'red', **taatá** 'three', **álílíń** 'that', and **pétéé** 'all' which occupy the qualifier, quantifier, determiner and intensifier slots respectively within the NP. In (59b), the head noun slot is filled by **badɔkasí** 'teachers', **tíábhā** 'two' is a quantifier, **ní** 'the' is a determiner and **ko** 'only' is an intensifier.

It has been observed that some of the intensifiers such as **pétéé** 'all' and **tsyí** 'too, also' tend to lower the high tone of a preceding syllable as illustrated in (59c) and (60c). In (59c), the 2SG.IND pronoun **wɔ́** is realised as **wɔ** when it is followed by **tsyí** 'too, also' whereas in (60c), the definiteness marker **ní** is realised as **nɪ** as it is followed by **petéé** 'all'.

59c.   Yoo, wɔ tsyí oo.
    yoo   wɔ́   tsyí   oo
    okay   2SG.IND too   UFP
    'Okay, you too.' (Response to a greeting.)

It is worth mentioning that some intensifiers also modify VPs as in (60a) and (60b) or even behave as if they are intensifiers on clauses or connectors such that it is as if they are announcing that there is something coming so they have a connective function as shown in (60b) and (60c).

60a.   Éshe kóŋ́.
    é-she   kóŋ́
    3SG-grow   really
    'S/he is really grown/ very old.'

60b.   ídzyɔ pétéé, ɪkamɔ'ɛl'idi dí.
    í-dzyɔ   pétéé ɪ-ka-mɔ   kɪlí   ki-di   dí
    1SG-happen all   1SG-NEG.PERF-see   3SG   CM-type EXP
    'Ever since I was born, I have never seen any such thing.'

60c.   Baga nɪ petéé ákanyááká bávɪ pétéé, békóéyī.
    ba-ga   ní   petéé á-kanyááká bá-vɪ   pétéé bé-kóéyī
    CM.PL-animal DEF all   AM-each   SM-go   all   SM-exit
    'All the animals, each and every one of them went and came out.' (Gbaxá̄lī)

5.   ADPOSITIONS AND ADPOSITIONAL PHRASES

This chapter presents the forms that are used to express various relational meanings of the kind coded in adpositions (see Hagège 2010 for a recent typological overview). Tafi has two classes of adpositions, like other Kwa languages, prepositions and postpositions. There are two bona fide prepositions, a locative preposition **ní** 'LOC' and a comitative preposition **nɩ** 'COM'. In addition to these, there are a number of verb forms that are in the process of grammaticalising into prepositions. These are **kú** 'reach, arrive' developing into an 'ALLative', **kɔ́** 'give, cause, let, make' developing into a 'DATive' preposition, **ganɔ** 'pass through' developing into a 'PERLative' preposition and **dénɔ̃** 'come from' has fully grammaticalised into an 'ABLative' preposition. Such forms in the Kwa languages have lead to debates about whether they are verbs or verbids (Ansre 1966). A grammaticalisation perspective provides an adequate account (see e.g. Heine et. al. 1991). I assume that they are grammaticalising. The forms and the arguments for grammaticalisation are discussed in §5.1.

The second class of adpositions is the postpositions. These are even more controversial. Some, e.g. Aboh (2005, 2010) argue that they are postnominal elements and not postpositions as they do not behave like typical postpositions, e.g. they do not assign case. Osam et al. (2011) argue with respect to Akan that some of the elements that have been labelled postpositions in Akan should rather be treated as "relator nouns" as they have not been fully grammaticalised yet. They do concede that postposition is the final stage in the grammaticalisation of various spatial and body part nominals. Following Ameka (2003), Ameka and Essegbey (2006), Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002) among others, I assume that the forms that name parts and regions attached to parts of objects and are structurally bound to their dependent nominals are postpositions. They are typically grammaticalised spatial and body part nominals (see Heine 1997, Heine et al. 1991 for the mechanisms involved). Postpositions in Tafi are discussed in §5.2.

5.1   Prepositions

As noted in the introduction, Tafi has two bona fide prepositions which are **ní** 'LOC' and **nɩ** 'COM' (see also §7.4.7). Other prepositions have verbal sources and are undergoing grammaticalisation. The preposition **dénɔ̃** 'from' has completely grammaticalised and no longer occurs as a verb.

5.1.1   The locative preposition **ní**

The preposition **ní** 'LOC' is a general locative preposition which marks ground phrases in locative constructions. It introduces locative adjuncts, i.e. a place where an event takes place as in (1) – (4). It can also introduce temporal adjuncts (5). The

locative preposition **ní** can take as its complement an NP, as illustrated in (1) and (2), or a postpositional phrase as in (3) – (5).

1.   Banúvɔ̃́ áŋɛ 'édɔ̄ ní sukū.
      ba-núvɔ̄   ní   bá-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   [ní   sukū]
      CM.PL-child DEF SM-eat CM-thing   LOC   school
      'The children ate at school.'

2.   Bááótɔ́ 'ɛmʊkɔ́ ní Baagbɔ.
      bá-á-tɔ́   kɪ-mʊkɔ́   [ní   Baagbɔ]
      3PL-PRSPROG-cook   CM-red.rice.porridge   LOC   Baagbɔ
      'They are cooking red rice porridge in Tafi.'

3.   Ányínúvɔ̄ɛń ábʊbɔ n'íégbúníédé.
      á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ   ní   á-bʊbɔ   [ní   ke-gbu   ní   ke.de]
      CM-boy   DEF SM-bend   LOC   CM-chair DEF   back
      'The boy squats behind the chair.'   (TRPS 64)

4.   … kɪlí áv'edékpú ní kidzon'útɔ́.
      kɪlí   yí   á-vɪ   e-dé-kpú   [ní   ki-dzo   ní   bʊ.tɔ́]
      then   3SG.IND SM-go   SM-ITIVE-hide LOC   CM-road DEF   edge
      '… then he went and hid beside the road.'   (Sáhwī)

5.   Bútsú 'íkū ní wolě gʊgɔ́éním̄ kpí kagbaním̄ī.
      bú-tsú   kí-kū   [ní   wolě   gʊgɔ́é   ní   kɪmɪ]   kpí
      1PL-dig   CM-yam LOC   month   last   DEF   inside   put.into
      ka-gba   ní   kɪmɪ
      CM-barn   DEF   inside
      'We harvest the yam in the last month of the year (i.e. December) and put it into the barn.'   (Yam cultivation)

The locative preposition **ní** and its complement can be preposed to the clause and marked by the topic marker **ní** 'TOP' as scene-setting topics.

6.   Ní kedziním̄ ní, Ám'edzí bladzyō
      [ní   ke-dzi   ní   kɪmɪ   ní]   Ámā e-dzí   bladzyō
      LOC   CM-market DEF   inside   TOP   Ámā SM-buy   plantain
      'In the market, Ama bought plantain.'

7.   Ní sukū ní, Agoe átsánī Mensah.
      [ní   sukū   ní]   Agoe á-tsá-nī   Mensah
      LOC   school TOP   Agoe SM-meet-COM Mensah
      'At the school, Agoe met Mensah.'

5.1.2 The comitative preposition nɪ

The comitative preposition **nɪ** 'COM' is used to introduce participants in different roles such as instrument (8) and comitative (9). When its complement is an abstract NP denoting emotion as in (10), or human propensity, e.g. strength, the phrase is interpreted as doing something with the abstract propensity and hence as doing something in a certain manner. It can thus head manner phrases (10). The comitative preposition **nɪ** also has an additive function – it is used to link NPs. These NPs linked by **nɪ** 'COM' are co- or joint participants as shown in (11). However, when **nɪ** 'COM' is used to link pronouns it is the independent forms that are used as illustrated in (12), (see §3.6.1). The sentence in (13) is ungrammatical because **nɪ** 'COM' is used in that example to link pronominal clitics (see §3.6.1).

8. Ɔ́bɔsɔ́ 'ʋyaním̄ nɪ kápā.
   ɔ́-bɔ-sɔ́   bʊ-ya   ní   kɪmɪ [nɪ   ká-pā]
   2SG-FUT-weed CM-farm DEF   inside COM CM-hoe
   'You will weed the farm with a hoe.'

9. Adɪvɪ sukū nɪ y'úplúkpá.
   a-dɪ-vɪ   sukū   [nɪ   yí   bʊ-plukpá]
   3SG-NEG2-go   school   COM 3SG.IND CM.PL-book
   'He did not go to school with his books.'

10. Agoe áshĩ́ ávɪ Igẽ nɪ samɪ.
    Agoe á-shĩ́   á-vɪ   Igẽ   [nɪ   samɪ]
    Agoe SM-leave   SM-go   Accra   COM joy
    'Agoe left for Accra with joy (joyfully).'

11. Ésí nɪ y'eyíálíń éplú bawin pétéé.
    [Ésí   nɪ   yí   e-yí-alí   ní] bé-plú   ba-wi
    Ésí   COM 3SG.IND CM-child-PL   DEF   SM-wash CM.PL-dress
    ní   pétéé
    DEF   all
    'Esi and her children washed all the clothes.'

12. Wɔ́ nɪ yí, nɔbá.
    [wɔ́   nɪ   yí]   nɔ-bá
    2SG.IND COM 3SG.IND 2PL-come
    'You and s/he came.'

13. *Ɔ́ nɪ á nɔbá
    [ɔ́   nɪ   á] nɔ-bá
     2SG COM 3SG   2PL-come
    'You and s/he came.'

The preposition **nɩ** 'COM' becomes **nɔ** when its complement is not adjacent to it, but occurs elsewhere in the clause:
> - as a fronted constituent for purposes of information packaging – topic/focus, i.e. when the preposition is stranded and
> - in a **yɩkɔ** 'take' SVC where the NP with the instrument role occurs as object of V1 – **yɩkɔ** 'take' (see Chapter 10 on SVCs).

14.   Kápā, Kɔkú asɔ 'ɛdɔ ní nɔ.
> **ká-pā   Kɔkú   a-sɔ   kí-dɔ   ní   nɔ**
> CM-hoe   Kɔkú   SM-weed CM-thing   DEF   COM
> 'It is with a hoe Kɔku did the weeding.' (Lit.: 'A hoe Kɔkú weeded with.')

15.   Kɔkú áyíkɔ kápā ásɔ 'ɛdɔ ní nɔ.
> **Kɔkú   á-yíkɔ   ká-pā   á-sɔ   kí-dɔ   ní   nɔ**
> Kɔkú   SM-take   CM-hoe   SM-weed CM-thing   DEF   COM
> 'Kɔku used a hoe to weed.' OR 'Kɔkú used a hoe to do the weeding.'

5.1.3   Other prepositions

Certain verbs in Tafi are in the process of grammaticalising into prepositions. They include **dénɔ** 'come.from'; **kú** 'reach, arrive', **kɔ** 'give, cause, let, make' and **ganɔ** 'pass through'. These verbs are used as ablative, allative, dative and perlative prepositions respectively. When used as prepositions, they do not take agreement markers, i.e. subjects are not marked on them and they have a reduced possibility of co-occurring with preverb markers. These are all signs of grammaticalisation in progress.

5.1.3.1   The preposition **dénɔ** 'from'

The preposition **dénɔ** 'from' can be used to express extent. Thus when its complement is a temporal noun, it translates as 'since' as in (18). When the head of its complement is the postposition **shú** 'surface' it translates as 'about', that is the **dénɔ** prepositional phrase with a **shú** postpositional phrase complement indicates the topic of a speaking event or speech act as in (17). It appears that **dénɔ** consists of the verb **dé** 'come from' and the associative verb extension -**nɔ** 'ASSOC'. Speakers also use the alternate form **dénɩ**. Both forms are used interchangeably without any discernible semantic difference. Even though **dénɔ** 'from' has a verb source it doesn't seem to be used as a verb anymore. It has fully grammaticalised into a preposition. The following are examples:

16.   Bázhɩ́ɑ̃́ típíplínɔ dénɔ ekusíń ɔ́kɔ́.
> **bá-zhɩ́ɑ̃́   tí-pí-plínɔ   [dénɔ e-kusí   ní   ɔ.kɔ́]**
> 3PL-need   CM-RED-help   from CM-chief DEF   place
> 'They need help from the chief.'

17. Ébísī ebúí dénɔ̄ áxwī ní shú.

É-bísī	**e-búí**	**[dénɔ̄**	**á-xwī**	**ní**	**shú]**
3SG-ask	CM.PL-word	from	CM.PL-work	DEF	surface

'He asked questions about the work.'

18. Bényí Mawutɔ dénī kɪnúvɔbe ké.

bé-nyí	**Mawutɔ**	**[dénī**	**kɪ-núvɔbe]**	**ké**
3PL-know	Mawutɔ	from	CM-child.period	INT

'They know Mawutor since (her) childhood.'

19. … dén'ɔtsɔ̄ɔ̄ ní riɖiiɖi ɔ́dɔ́nánī 'ibe nɔ̂ n'íbe gɪ lɔ́ba yɪkɪ sɪkáń

[dénī	**ɔtsɔ̄ɔ̄]**	**ní**	**riɖiiɖi**	**ɔ́-dɔ́-nánī**	**ki-be**	**nɔ̂**
from	now	TOP	continuously	2SG-ITIVE-reach	CM-time	wh.ever

ní	**kí-be**	**gɪ**	**lɔ́-ba-yɪkɪ**	**sɪká**	**ní**
DEF	CM-time	REL	1PL.DEP-VENT-receive	money	DEF

'… from now until whenever we receive the money'

As example (19) shows, a **dénɔ̄** 'from' prepositional phrase, like a locative prepositional phrase, can be topicalised. In that case, it is fronted and marked by the topic marker **ní** 'TOP'. Also, the complement of **dénɔ̄** can either be a (temporal) nominal, as in (19), or a postpositional phrase as in examples (16) and (17).

5.1.3.2   The preposition **kú** 'to, towards'

When **kú** is used as a verb, it means 'reach, arrive' and it takes subject pronominal prefixes or subject markers as illustrated in (20) where it occurs as V2 in an SVC. In its function as a preposition, it translates as 'to' or 'towards'. It is used to indicate direction to or toward a place. As a preposition, the subject is not cross-referenced on it as shown in (21). The sentence in (21) is a monoverbal clause with a prepositional adjunct phrase.

20. Anúvɔ̄ń éwu ekú kitrekpúníábhā.

a-núvɔ̄	**ní**	**é-wu**	**e-kú**	**ki-trekpú**	**ní**	**kábhā**
CM-child	DEF	SM-climb	SM-reach	CM-anthill	DEF	top

'The child climbed onto an anthill.'   (FS)

21. Anúvɔ̄n awɔ́lī kú kením̄.

a-núvɔ̄	**ní**	**á-wɔ́lī**	**kú**	**ke-ní**	**kɪmɪ**
CM-child	DEF	SM-fall	ALL	CM-river	inside

'The child fell into a river.'   (FS)

Because of its allative semantics, a **kú** prepositional phrase does not seem to be able to be fronted for topic.

22.   *Kú keníním ní anúvɔ́ń áwɔ́lī.
       kú   ke-ní   ní   kımı   ní   a-núvɔ̄   ní   á-wɔ́lī
       ALL   CM-river   DEF   inside   TOP   CM-child   DEF   SM-fall
       'Into the river the child fell.'

5.1.3.3   The preposition **kɔ́** 'for'

When **kɔ́** has a prepositional function, it is used to mark dative objects in monoverbal clauses and it does not take an agreement marker as in (23) and (24). However, when **kɔ́** functions as a verb meaning 'give, cause, let, make', it can occur as the main verb in a monoverbal clause or as the second verb in an SVC. In this verbal function, the subject is cross-referenced on it, as in (25).

23.   … so ní ní badıgɔ 'édɔ̄ŋíŋáń kɔ́ gbaxɑ́lī.
       so ní   ní   ba-dı-gɔ   kí-dɔ̄ŋíŋá ní   kɔ́   gbaxɑ́lī
       so   TOP   TOP   3PL-NEG2-leave   CM-food DEF   DAT   striped.mouse
       '… for that reason, they did not leave any food for striped mouse.'
                                                                      (Gbaxɑ́lī)
24.   Kú ko létsi kɔ́ lɔ́ań.
       kú   ko   lé-tsi   kɔ́   blɔ̌   aní
       death just   3PL.DEP-tell   DAT   1PL   TOP
       'It was only the death that was announced to us.'   (Butsiugū)

In (23) and (24), the complement of the dative preposition **kɔ́** is a benefactive and an addressee respectively.

25.   Ádásɔ́ 'édɔ̄ ákɔ́é.
       a-da-sɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   á-kɔ́   yí
       3SG-ITIVE-weed   CM-thing   SM-give   3SG
       'S/he went to weed for her (on her farm).'

A **kɔ́** prepositional phrase does not occur clause initially functioning as a topic. However, when **kɔ́** is used as a verb, its complement can be fronted for focus as shown in (26).

26.   Anúvɔ̄ń Ám'edzí bawin akɔ́.
       a-núvɔ̄ ní   Ámā e-dzí   ba-wi   ní   a-kɔ́
       CM-child DEF   Ámā SM-buy   CM.PL-dress   DEF   SM-give
       'It was the child Ama bought the dress for.'

As the Dative is the non-local relation, the complement of the **kɔ́** preposition tends to be an NP as opposed to a postpositional phrase as is the case with the local relation prepositions like the ablative and allative.

5.1.3.4   The preposition **gaᵑɔ** 'through'

Gaᵑɔ is a verb which means 'keep, walk with, pass through'. It is used as an operator verb in habitual aspect constructions (see § 7.3.10). It is grammaticalising into a perlative preposition, i.e. 'through'. **Gaᵑɔ** has two alternating forms – **gaᵑɔ/gaᵑɪ**. **Gaᵑɔ** appears to be made up of the verb **ga** 'walk' and the associative verb extension **nɔ** 'COM'. The following sentences in (27) and (28) illustrate the use of **gaᵑɔ** as a verb and as the perlative preposition respectively.

27. Ágbánī ányíń ágaᵑɔ áyakpáním̄.
     á-gbánī   á-nyí   ní   á-gaᵑɔ   á-yakpá   ní   kɪmɪ
     3SG-lead   CM-man   DEF   SM-pass.through   CM-bush   DEF   inside
     'S/he led the man through the bush.'

28. Ágbánī ányíń gaᵑɔ áyakpáním̄.
     á-gbánī   á-nyí   ní   [gaᵑɔ   á-yakpá   ní   kɪmɪ]
     3SG-lead   CM-man   DEF   through   CM-bush   DEF   inside
     'S/he led the man through the bush.'

Unlike **kú** 'ALL', and **kɔ́** 'DAT' phrases, **gaᵑɔ** phrases can be fronted for topic as illustrated in (29).

29. Gaᵑɔ kǐlílíní shú ní, ábashǐ obóń.
     [gaᵑɔ   kǐ-lílíní   shú]   ní   á-ba-shǐ   o-bóń
     through   AM-DIST   surface   TOP   3SG-FUT-leave   CM-today
     'As a result of that, s/he will leave today.'

Table 5.1 provides a summary of the prepositional forms, their functions and verbal sources where relevant.

Table 5.1:   Prepositions in Tafi

Preposition	Function	Gloss	Verbal Source	Source Gloss
ní	LOCATIVE	'LOC'		
nɪ	COMITATIVE	'COM'		
dénɔ̄	ABLATIVE	'from'	**dé** + **nɔ**	'come.from + 'COM'
kɔ́	DATIVE	'for'	**kɔ́**	'give'
kú	ALLATIVE	to, towards	**kú**	'reach, arrive'
gaᵑɔ	PERLATIVE	through	**ga** + **nɔ**	'walk' + 'COM'

5.2   Postpositions

Tafi has a closed set of about a dozen or so members of the postposition class which are used to denote the parts and regions of objects. Some of these are spatial nominals or body-part nouns which are at different stages in the process of grammaticalisation. Table 5.2 lists the postpositions in Tafi.

Table 5.2: Postpositions in Tafi

Postposition	Gloss	Putative Noun Source
kábhā	'top'	
kʊmɩ	'inside'	
kesí	'under, beneath'	ke-sí 'bottom, down part'
kede	'back, behind'	ke-de 'back'
otúgba	'in front of'	o-túgba 'front'
ɔbha	'beside, near'	
ɔtɔ	'outside'	
ɔkɔ́	'"chez", place'	ɔ-kɔ́ 'place'
bunú	'opening, endpoint, tip, mouth'	
kishí	'between, among'	
kibe	'side, direction'	
kenú	'entrance'	
shú	'surface'	i-shú 'body'
bʊtɔ́	'edge'	bʊ-tɔ́ 'ear'
kĩw̃ã	'beside', 'at the side of'	
adɛm	'apex, peak'	a-da 'top of head' + kʊmɩ 'inside'

As the postpositions have developed from nominals, they share some form properties with them, especially in relation to class prefixes. The majority of them have retained their class markers. The postposition **shú** has lost it completely as shown in (30). Like nouns, those postpositions with CV prefixes have their C-initial segments deleted in speech as in (31). Moreover, for those that have a **ka/ke**-prefix, the **i/ɩ** insertion rule after the deletion of an initial **k** applies as in (32) (see §2.5.3). The postposition **kʊmɩ** 'inside' has different realisations at different stages of grammaticalisation as in (33) and (34). It seems to have lost its prefix in the varieties of Agorme and Abuifé (Ofu). Thus, as shown in (34), the form of the postposition is **m** which may have resulted from the deletion of the final vowel of **mɩ**. In (33) however, the initial consonant and final vowel of **kʊmɩ** have been elided yielding **ʊm**. Furthermore, the prefix vowel **ɩ** coalesces with the final vowel of the preceding word and the resulting vowel is **ɛ** (see §2.5.5 for further details).

30. Kánā Baagbɔ kɔnúń álɪ ní adzɪ gbígbánɔ̄ shú.

ká-nā	Baa-gbɔ	kɔnú	ní	a-lɪ	ní
CM-manner	CM.PL-Táfī	custom	DEF	SM-be.at	LOC

a-dzɪ̄	gbí-gbánɔ̄	shú
CM-woman	RED-marry	surface

'That is how marriage (of a woman) rites are performed in Tafi.'

31. Anúvɔ̄ń ébélí fésrīń 'útɔ́.

a-núvɔ̄	ní	é-bé-lí	fésrī	ní	bʊ.tɔ́
CM-child	DEF	SM-VENT-be.positioned	window	DEF	edge

'The child went and stood by the window.'   (FS)

32. Ekusí téd̠ɪkpó y'áaŋa lɔ'ɪabhā.

e-kusí	te-d̠ɪkpó	yí	á-a-ŋa	blɔ̌	kábhā
CM-chief	AM-one	3SG.IND	SM-PSTPROG-eat	1PL.IND	top

'One king was ruling over all of us.'

33. Ányíń áshī̄ ávɪ 'ʊpém̄.

á-nyí	ní	á-shī̄	á-vɪ	bʊ-pá	kɪmɪ
CM-man	DEF	SM-leave	SM-go	CM-house	inside

'The man left and went home.'

34. Ányíń áshī̄ ávɪ 'ʊpám̄.

á-nyí	ní	á-shī̄	á-vɪ	bʊ-pá	kɪmɪ
CM-man	DEF	SM-leave	SM-go	CM-house	inside

'The man left and went home.'

Postpositional phrases have the same external properties as NPs. In fact, the grammatical context for the development of the spatial or body part nominals into postpositions is the possessive phrase where the spatial nominal heads it as a possessee. Thus, postpositional phrases function as subjects (36), objects (37) and prepositional objects (39) just like NPs.

35. Sukūním̄ gɪ yímī létu ányínúvɔɛń ní átsyra.

sukū	ní	kɪmɪ	gɪ	yí	kɪmɪ	lé-tu
school	DEF	inside	REL	3SG.IND	inside	3PL.DEP-beat

á-nyínúvɔ̄ē	ní	ní	á-tsyra
CM-boy	DEF	TOP	SM-collapse

'The school in which the boy was beaten collapsed.'

36. Kplɔ̌níábhā 'dó 'ébó.

kplɔ̌	ní	kábhā	á-dɔ́	ki-bó
table	DEF	top	CM-contact	CM-dirt

'The top of the table is dirty.'

37.   Akú étsuru kplɔ̌níábhā.
       Akú   é-tsuru   kplɔ̌   ní   kábhā
       Akú   SM-wipe   table   DEF   top
       'Aku cleaned the top of the table.'

38.   Adıgba 'uvuním̄.
       a-dı-gba   bú-vū   ní   kımı
       3SG-NEG2-sweep   CM-house   DEF   inside
       'S/he did not sweep the room.'

39.   Báŋɛ 'ɛdɔ ní y'úpém̄.
       bá-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   ní   yí   bʋ-pá   kımı
       3PL-eat   CM-thing   LOC   3SG.IND   CM-house   inside
       'They ate in his house.'

40.   Búvūním̄ y'ágbā.
       bú-vū   ní   kımı   yí   á-gbā
       CM-house   DEF   inside 3SG.IND   SM-sweep
       'The room he swept.'

The sentences below exemplify body-part nouns (41, 42) and spatial nouns (43) -
(44) respectively.

41.   Wó íshúím ımítǎ.
       wɔ́   i-shú   kımı   ı-mítǎ
       2SG   CM-body   inside   SM-be.not.good
       'You are sick.' Lit: Your body inside is not good.

42.   Anúvɔ̄ń 'útɔ́ ní yékē.
       a-núvɔ̄   ní   bʋ-tɔ́   ní   yékē
       CM-child   DEF   CM-ear   DEF   swell
       'The child's ear is swollen.'

43.   Gı latrɔ́ 'itsikpǐ ni 'ifúń pı kesín á ...
       gı   la-trɔ́   ki-tsikpǐ   ní   ki-fú   ní   pı
       REL   3PL.DEP-put.on   CM-pot   DEF   CM-fire   DEF   CONN
       ke-sí   ní   á
       CM-bottom   DEF   CFM
       'When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...' (Kásālā)

44.   Ónúgı kihuǐ duya kede lí yī.
       ónú.gı   ki-huǐ   duya   ke-de   lí-yī
       COND   CM-trap   spring CM-back   3SG.DEP-show.up
       'When a trap springs, it moves backwards.'   (Proverbs #9)

Although postpositions denote spatial parts and regions of objects, they can be omitted under certain conditions. For instance, when the Ground where the Figure is located is inherently locative such as **kesukpá** 'land, ground' as illustrated in (45) or when the search domain is inferable from the verb, i.e., the information carried by the postposition is specified by the verb and so it becomes redundant. Thus, there is no mention of the search domain in sentence (43) above (see Chapter 6, § 6.6 for further details).

45. ki-shǐń ílí 'ésúkpá
     ki-shǐ   ní   í-lí   ke-sukpá
     CM-stick   DEF   SM-be.positioned   CM-ground
     'The stick is on the ground.'

Postpositions have evolved from nouns, and they are formally distinct form them. Postpositions cannot be pronominalised, nouns can be. They always occur bound to their dependent NPs as in (46). (47) is ungrammatical because the postposition **shú** has been extracted from its position, i.e., after its dependent NP. However, body part nouns, for example, can occur external to their possessors as illustrated in (48).

46. Fótoń étsirí kidri ní shú.
     fóto   ní   é-tsirí   ki-dri   ní   shú
     picture   DEF   SM-be.on   CM-wall   DEF   surface
     'The picture is on the wall.'   (TRPS 44)

47. *shú fotoń étsirí kidriń.
     shú   foto   ní   é-tsirí   ki-dri   ní
     surface   picture   DEF   SM-be.on CM-wall   DEF
     'The picture is on the wall.'

48. Ishú íítãḿ.
     i-shú   í-í-tã   mí
     CM-body SM-PRSPROG-ache   1SG
     'My body is aching.' (Lit.: 'Body is aching me.')

From a cross-linguistic point of view, Tafi thus belongs to the group of languages that have two classes of adpositions.

6 CLAUSE STRUCTURE AND CLAUSE TYPES

In this chapter, we discuss the structure of a simple clause in Tafi, the order of the constituents in the clause and the grammatical relations arguments hold with the predicate. We then describe various constructions or clause types including predicative possessive, copula, presentational and locative constructions. We draw attention to the roles different constituents receive and the precedence relations that hold between them. The lexical and grammatical factors that determine aspects of their ordering are noted throughout. The semantics of verbs that function in the locative constructions are also examined.

In the second part of the chapter, we look at the positions that are opened up in the left periphery of the clause for information structuring purposes. We argue that as claimed for Kwa languages (Ameka 2010), Tafi also has at least three positions to the immediate left of the subject position in a simple clause. These positions are filled by constituents that are frame or left dislocated topics, contrastive topics and focalised constituents respectively. We describe each of the information structuring clause types noting how they relate to the core of the clause.

6.1 Basic clause structure and grammatical relations

In Chapter 7 on verbs and verbal modifiers, we identify various constructions involving predicates: one-place, two-place and three-place constructions. We describe in the same chapter various constructions involving operator verbs that take nominalised verbs as complements. For all these constructions, the basic constituent order is:

1.	Subject	Verb	Obj1	Obj2	X
			DATIVE/	THEME/	Adjunct
			GOAL		

Tafi is thus an SV (in intransitive clauses) and an AV(D)O (in transitive clauses) language. Grammatical relations are distinguished by position. Subjects (A/S) occur initially in a simple clause and are cross-referenced on the verb. Subjects are also distinguished from objects by distinct pronominal forms. There is a subject object asymmetry in syntactic processes such as relativisation and focus. The objects, both O and D, occur postverbally. D and O occur in a fixed order where D precedes O but they are represented by the same pronominal forms.

In Tafi, the subject is cross-referenced on the predicate as in (2) – (4) but objects are not, as shown in (2) (see Chapter 3). The subject cross-reference markers are the same as the subject pronominal forms (see §3.6 for more details). Two paradigms of subject cross-reference markers can be distinguished. One group is used to cross-reference subjects in independent clauses while the second group which is made up of dependent pronominal forms is used in dependent clauses

such as relative, complement and adverbial clauses (cf. Table 3.2; Chapter 9). In
example (4), the subject of the sentence is an independent pronoun **balí** '3PL.IND'
and it has been cross-referenced on the verb with **bá**. This shows that independent
pronouns in Tafi behave like full nouns.

2.   Anúvɔ́ń átsywĩ bawíń.
         a-núvɔ̃   ní   á-tsywĩ   ba-wi   ní
         CM-child DEF   SM-tear   CM.PL-dress DEF
         'The child tore the dresses.'

3.   Bawɩń átsywĩ.
         ba-wɩ   ní   bá-tsywĩ
         CM.PL-dress DEF   SM-tear
         'The dresses are torn.'

4.   Bal' átsywĩ.
         balí   bá-tsywĩ
         3PL.IND SM-tear
         'THEY are torn.'

As stated above, objects are not cross-referenced on the verb and postverbal objects
are represented with the same pronominal form. With regard to the
pronominalisation of objects in a double object construction, both Object1 which is
the Goal argument and Object2 which is the Theme argument can be
pronominalised. Object1 can undergo pronominalisation without difficulty as
shown in (6) whereas Object2 cannot. The pronominalisation of Object2 has some
restrictions. The clearest is if the Goal argument is not a pronoun then the theme
argument cannot be easily pronominalised in a monoverbal clause. The
pronominalisation of the Theme argument in such a clause renders the sentence
ungrammatical as exemplified by the sentence in (11). Sentence (5) illustrates a
double object construction with both objects being animate. The sentence in (9) is
an example of a double object construction with the Goal argument, (i.e. Object1)
being animate and the Theme (i.e. Object2) being inanimate. In sentence (7), the
Theme argument (i.e. Object2) which is animate is pronominalised. Sentence (8)
shows both animate objects pronominalised while (10) exemplifies a double object
construction in which both the animate and inanimate objects are pronominalised.

5.   Ányíń ákasí badzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ́ń ádɔkasíń.
         á-nyí   ní   á-kasí   ba-dzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ ní   á-dɔkasí   ní
         CM-man DEF   SM-show CM.PL-girl   DEF   CM-teacher DEF
         'The man showed the girls the teacher.'

6.   Ányíń ákas' álí ádɔkasíń.
         á-nyí   ní   á-kasí   balí   á-dɔkasí   ní
         CM-man DEF   SM-show 3PL   CM-teacher DEF

'The man showed them the teacher.'

7. Ányíń ákas' ádɔkasíń 'álí.
    á-nyí   ní   á-kasí   á-dɔkasí   ní   balí
    CM-man   DEF   SM-show   CM-teacher   DEF   3PL
    'The man showed them (to) the teacher.'

8. Ányíń ákas' yí 'álí.
    á-nyí   ní   á-kasí   yí   balí
    CM-man   DEF   SM-show   3SG   3PL
    'The man showed them (to) him.'

It appears that if the Theme and Goal arguments differ in animacy and the Goal is not pronominalised, then the inanimate Theme cannot be pronominalised as in (11). In that case, an SVC with **yɩkɔ** 'take' is used to express the state of affairs as shown in (12). Thus, there is some asymmetry linked to animacy between Object1 and Object2 (apart from the order in which they appear) in Tafi.

9.   Ányíń ákɔ Kofí 'ikutú.
     á-nyí   ní   á-kɔ   Kofí   ki-kutū
     CM-man   DEF   SM-give   Kofi   CM-hat
     'The man gave Kofi a hat.'

10. Ákɔ yí 'ílí.
     á-kɔ   yí   kɩlí
     3SG-give   3SG   3SG
     'He gave it (to) him.'

11. *ányíń ákɔ Kofí 'ɩlí.
     á-nyí   ní   á-kɔ   Kofi   kɩlí
     CM-man   DEF   SM-give   Kofi   3SG
     'The man gave Kofi it.'

12. Ányíń áyíkɔ 'ɛl'akɔ Kofí.
     á-nyí   ní   á-yíkɔ   kɩlí   a-kɔ   Kofí
     CM-man   DEF   SM-take   3SG   SM-give   Kofi
     'The man gave it to Kofi.'

In the rest of this chapter, we look at other clause types beginning with copula clauses and other predicate constructions which express existence, location, and possession.

6.2   Copula clause

Tafi has a copula verb **nu** 'COP' which takes a copula subject and a copula complement. It is used to express identity between two NPs (13a, c), or the role/function (13d) of the subject. It can also express classification (13e). For example,

13a.   Minu Victoria.
        mɪ́   **i-nū**   **victoria**
        1SG.IND SM-COP   Victoria
        'I am Victoria.'

13b.   Bagɪ baláávʊbɔ́ anɔ́ń bal'énū ...
        ba-gɪ   **balɪ́**   **bá-ba-vʊbɔ́**   **a-nɔ̄**   **nɪ́**   **balɪ́**
        3PL-REL 3PL.IND SM-FUT-bury   CM-person DEF 3PL.IND
        bé-nū
        SM-COP
        'Those who will bury the person are...'

13c.   W'onú Kweku Anansɪ kɪlí w'onú áni͂?
        wɔ́   **o-nū**   **Kwekú Ánansɪ**   **kɪlí**   **wɔ́**   **o-nū**   **á-nī**
        2SG.IND SM-COP Kwekú Ánansɪ   CONJ 2SG.IND SM-COP AM-who
        'You are Kweku Ananse therefore who do you think you are?'
        (lit. '...therefore you are who?')   (Sáhwi͂)

13d.   Bányâń enú badɔkasí.
        bá-nyɪ́   **a-nɪ́**   **bé-nū**   **ba-dɔkasí**
        CM.PL-man AM-PROX   SM-COP   CM.PL-teacher
        'These men are teachers.'

13e.   Ányâń énū atʊtɔpuń.
        á-nyɪ́   **a-nɪ́**   **é-nū**   **a-tʊtɔpú**   **nɪ́**
        CM-man AM-PROX   SM-COP AM-first   DEF
        'This man is the first.'

Commonly, the copula complement can be topicalised or questioned in which case it is fronted as shown in:

14a.   Ehoeleté m'inū.
        e-hoeleté   **mɪ́**   **i-nū**
        CM-cowrie.owner   1SG.IND SM-COP
        'A rich person, I am.'

14b. Sǎhwī̄ y'áglɔ̄ y'enū.
     sǎhwī̄ yí   á-glɔ̄   yí   e-nū
     spider 3SG.IND CM-lover   3SG.IND SM-COP
     'Spider's lover she is.'(i.e. 'she is SPIDER'S LOVER')   (Sǎhwī̄)

14c. Ánī̄ y'eyí w'onū?
     á-nī̄   yí   e-yí   wɔ́   o-nū
     AM-who 3SG.IND CM-child 2SG.IND SM-COP
     'Whose child are you?'

14d. Kikutú linū.
     ki-kutú   li-nū
     CM-hat   3SG.DEP-COP
     'A hat, it is.'

6.3   Presentational constructions

The presentational construction is a verbless clause/copula clause made up of a nominal and the proximal or distal demonstrative plus an initial **n-** which presumably could be the copula **nu** 'COP'. However, it does not occur with any subject marker to show agreement with the copula subject. As usual the demonstrative agrees with the class of the noun it is modifying. For example,

15a. M'epidzya n'ǎń.
     mí   e-pidzya   nū   a-ní
     1SG   CM-goat   COP   AM-PROX
     'This is my goat.' (lit. 'my goat is this.')

15b. Kikutú n'ɪ́ń.
     ki-kutú   nū   ɪ-ní
     CM-hat   COP   AM-PROX
     'This is a hat.'

15c. Blɔ̌ nɪ wɔ 'uplukpá n'ʊ́ń.
     blɔ̌   nɪ   wɔ́   bu-plukpá   nū   ʊ-ní
     1SG.IND COM 2SG.IND CM.PL-book COP   AM-PROX
     'These books are mine and yours.'

15d. Ɔkúkɔ́ n'ɔlílíń.
     ɔ-kúkɔ́   nū   ɔ-lílíní
     CM-hen   COP   AM-PROX
     'That is a hen.'

15e.   Bʊmwɪ n'ʊ̄lílíní.
     bʊ-mwɪ   nū   ʊ-lílíní
     CM-salt   COP   AM-DIST
     'That is salt.'

The copula **nu** is only used for present time reference. When a speaker wants to refer to an event that has a past time reference, then the verb **dzi** 'COP.NPRES, become' is used. For example,

16a.   Ídzí ádɔkasí.
     í-dzí   **á-dɔkasí**
     1SG-COP.NPRES   CM-teacher
     'I was a teacher.'

Also, for future time reference it is the verb **dzi** 'COP.NPRES, become' that is used instead of **nu** 'COP' as shown in (16b). When this verb combines with the present progressive it expresses a change of state that is currently on-going as in (16c).

16b.   Kofí ebedzi ádɔkasí.
     Kofí   e-be-dzi   **á-dɔkasí**
     Kofi   SM-FUT-become   CM-teacher
     'Kofi will be/become a teacher.'

16c.   Kofí éédzi ádɔkasí.
     Kofí   é-é-dzi   **á-dɔkasí**
     Kofi   SM-PRSPROG-become   CM-teacher
     'Kofi is becoming a teacher.'

6.4   Existential constructions

Existential constructions make use of the locative/existential verb which has two forms **lɪ** 'be.at, exist' and **za** 'be.at:NPRES'. The former is used in the expression of present existence and the latter is used for non-present existence. In these constructions, the entity whose existence is being predicated on or theme occurs in the subject position as illustrated in (17). The example in (17b) was adapted from a story narration.

17a.   Kpáyā 'lí.
     kpáyā a-lí
     God   SM-be.at
     'There is God.'

17b.   ...kɪlí kásalã abáza.
     kɪlí   **ká-sãlã**   **a-bá-za**
     CONJ CM-tortoise   SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
     '..and tortoise came to exist.'   (Kásalã)

6.5   Predicate possessive constructions

Predicate possession in Tafi is expressed in a construction with the locative verb **lɪ** 'be.at, exist' and **za** 'be.at:NPRES' with the possessed NP occurring as the subject NP while the object NP position is occupied by a possessive NP. The possessive NP consists of a possessor and the body-part **ahɔɪ** 'hand' which are juxtaposed. These sentences literally mean that the possessed item is at the possessor's hand. The verbs **lɪ** 'be.at' and **za** 'be.at:NPRES' are used for present and non-present possession respectively. The following are examples.

18a.   Sɪk' álɪ y'áhɔɪ.
     sɪká   **á-lɪ**   **yí**   **a-hɔɪ**
     money   SM-be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand
     'S/he has money.'

18b.   Ad̦aŋu dzyɔgŏ álɪ Abisí ahɔɪ.
     a-daŋu   **dzyɔgŏ**   **á-lɪ**   **Abisí** **a-hɔɪ**
     CM.PL-idea good   SM-be.at Abisí CM-hand
     'Abisi has very good ideas.'

18c.   Sɪk' áza y'áhɔɪ.
     sɪká   **á-za**   **yí**   **a-hɔɪ**
     money   SM-be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand
     'S/he had money.'

18d.   Ad̦aŋu dzyɔgŏ áza Abisí ahɔɪ.
     a-daŋu   **dzyɔgŏ**   **á-za**   **Abisí** **a-hɔɪ**
     CM.PL-idea good   be.at:NPRES Abisí CM-hand
     'Abisi had very good ideas.'

As shown in the examples in (18), the subject NPs are not definite. When the verbs **lɪ** 'be.at' and **za** 'be.at:NPRES' occur with a possessed item that is definite then the meaning of the construction is likely to be one of temporary and specific possession (Ameka 1991:227). Thus according to Ameka (ibid), such constructions may be glossed as 'the Y is with X' instead of 'X has Y'. Consider the following examples:

19a.   Sɪkáń álɪ m'áhɔɪ.
       sɪká   **ní**   **á-lɪ**   **mí**   **a-hɔɪ**
       money   DEF   SM-be.at 1SG.IND CM-hand
       'I have the money.' or 'the money is with me.'

19b.   Sɪkáń áza m'áhɔɪ.
       sɪká   **ní**   **á-za**   **mí**   **a-hɔɪ**
       money   DEF   SM-be.at 1SG.IND CM-hand
       'I had the money.' or 'the money was with me.'

Predicate possession involving body-parts as the possessed items can be expressed in two ways. One way is through the use of the construction as described above and the other is to use a construction in which the possessor is expressed as some sort of locative; as such the construction literally means the possessed body-part is at the possessor. This is illustrated in (20). In this example, the body-part occurs as the subject NP while the possessor occurs as the object of the verb **lɪ** 'be.at, exist'.

20.   ɪtsrǐ tɪbha ɪlí lɯ́ń.
       ɪ-tsrǐ   **tɪ-bha**   **ɪlí**   **ɪ-lɪ**   **mí**
       CM.PL-foot   AM-two   3PL   SM-be.at 1SG
       'I have two feet.'

The verb **mɔ** 'see' is also used to express possession of material things like **siká** 'money' or **ehoé** 'money (lit. cowries)', as well as abstract attributes and states as shown in (21). In this construction, the possessor occurs as the subject NP while the possessed item occurs as the object NP.

21a.   Adzīń ámɔ sɪká.
       a-dzī̀   **ní**   **á-mɔ**   **sɪká**
       CM-woman   DEF   SM-see   money
       'The woman has got money.'

21b.   Ányínúvɔ̄ēn ámɔ shuim.
       a-nyínúvɔ̄ē   **ní**   **á-mɔ**   **shu**   **kɪmɪ**
       CM-boy   DEF   SM-see   body   inside
       'The boy is fat.'

In fact, the experience (or possession) of certain emotional states such as **samɪ** 'joy, happiness' or **oblǒ** 'anger' are also expressed using this verb with the nominal denoting the emotion as object.

22.   Ádɔkasíń ámɔ oblǒ nɪ wɔ́.
       á-dɔkasí   **ní**   **á-mɔ**   **o-blǒ**   **nɪ**   **wɔ́**
       CM-teacher   DEF   SM-see   CM-anger   COM   2SG
       'The teacher is angry with you.'

As illustrated in examples (21) and (22), the verb **mɔ** 'see' is used as a possessive verb in which case its object is non-definite. When the object is marked for definiteness then the verb takes on the meaning 'find'.

23.   Adzīń ámɔ sɪkáń
a-dzì	**nɪ́**	**á-mɔ**	**sɪká**	**nɪ́**
CM-woman	DEF	SM-see	money	DEF
       'The woman saw or found the money.'

Constructions parallel to the predicative possessive constructions described here for Tafi are also available in Ewe (see Ameka 1991, 2012). Thus Ewe has a [Possessed Subject – **le** 'be.at' Possessor **sí** 'hand'] construction as well as a [Possessed **li** éxist' **ná** 'DAT' Possessor] for expressing body part and kinship possession. Moreover the verb **kpɔ** 'see' is used to express possession of attributes, and emotions with the same constraints on definiteness as in Tafi. This raises the question of whether the grammar of predicate possession in Tafi may have been influenced by Ewe. Ameka 2012b argues that Likpe grammar of possession is influenced by Ewe in some of the same ways, e.g. in the use of the verb for SEE.

6.6   Locative constructions

There are a number of constructions that are used to describe locative situations. These constructions include the Basic Locative Construction (BLC) and two other construction types. The Basic Locative Construction (BLC) is a construction which is commonly used to answer a question about the location of an object, 'Where is X?' (or simply, a "*where* search"-question) (Levinson and Wilkins 2006a). The "*where* search"-question in Tafi consists of an initial question word **fákɔ́** 'where', followed by the Figure which is in turn followed by a locative verb as exemplified in (24a). The BLC in Tafi consists of an NP (i.e. the subject of the clause) which denotes the Figure, a locative verb followed by a postpositional phrase which is made up of an NP which specifies the reference object and a postposition which specifies the Search Domain. The Figure is the entity located, the Ground is the entity with respect to which the Figure is located (Talmy, 1985, 2000) and the Search Domain is the particular region of the Ground where the Figure is located (Ameka, 1995, 1999). The BLC is illustrated by the example in (24b).

24a.   Fákɔ́ kɔ́pʊń álì?
fákɔ́	**kɔ́pʊ**	**nɪ́**	**á-lì**
Where	cup	DEF	SM-be.at
Where	Figure		Locative Verb
       'Where is the cup?'

24b.   Kɔ́pʊń étsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.

kɔ́pʊ	ní	é-tsirí	[(kplɔ̌	ní)	kábhā]
CM-cup	DEF	SM-be.on	table	DEF	top
			Ref. Obj		Search Domain
Figure		Loc. Verb	Ground		

'The cup is on the table.'   (TRPS 1)

In Tafi, different constructions are used to describe where an entity is located. The syntactic frames of these constructions are represented below:

	FIG			RELATION	GROUND REFERENCE OBJECT	SEARCH DOMAIN
I.	NP	$V_{[LOC]}$			[NP	(Postposition)]$_{PostP}$
II.	NP	$V_{[LOC]}$			[NP$_{[Bpart]}$	(Postposition)]$_{PostP}$
III.	NP	V		Prep	[NP	(Postposition)]$_{PostP}$
IV.	NP	V_1	V_2		[NP	(Postposition)]$_{PostP}$

The frames in (I) and (II) constitute the basic locative construction in Tafi. The frames in (III) and (IV) are alternative locative constructions used when there is a deviation from the prototypical basic locative function. In the BLC, the expressions referring to the Figure, the verb and the reference object cannot be absent. However, the postpositions which specify the search domain can be omitted under certain conditions, for instance, when the Ground where the Figure is located is inherently locative such as **kesukpá** 'land, ground' as illustrated in (25a) or when the search domain is inferable from the verb, i.e., the information carried by the postposition is specified by the verb and so it is redundant. Thus, there is no mention of the search domain in sentence (25b) below.

25a.   Kishǐń ílí 'ésúkpá.

ki-shǐ	ní	kí-lí	ke-sukpá
CM-stick	DEF	SM-be.positioned	CM-ground

'The stick is on the ground.'

25b.   Kishǐń íkpaplínɔ̄ osí.

ki-shǐ	ní	kí-kpaplínɔ̄	o-sí
CM-stick	DEF	SM-lean.against	CM-tree

'The stick is leaning against a tree.'   (PSPV 1)

A subconstruction of the basic locative construction, as shown in (II), is used to characterise locative situations in which the reference object is a body part. The Figure occurs as the subject and the Ground is spelt out as a body-part on which it is located. Examples of scenes that are described with this construction include a

'hat on head' (TRPS 5), and a 'ring on finger' (TRPS 10) as exemplified in sentence (26a). In this case, the postposition can be left out. The sentence in (26a) is a reduced form of the BLC because of the absence of a spatial element to denote the specific part of the Ground where the Figure is located (Essegbey 2005, Levinson and Wilkins 2006a, Ameka and Essegbey 2006). The body-part noun may, however, be followed by a postposition when the configuration relation between the Figure and the body-part is one of containment as shown in example (26b).

26a.   Kísígbéń íkpasɪ 'ɪwěń.
       kí-sígbé   ní   kí-kpasí   kɪ-wě   ní
       CM-ring   DEF   SM-be.on CM-finger   DEF
       'The ring is on the finger.' (TRPS 10)

26b.   Tógēń ákpasɪ 'ʊtɔ́ním̄.
       tógē   ní   á-kpasɪ   bʊ-tɔ́   ní   kɪmɪ
       Ear-ring   DEF   SM-be.in CM-ear   DEF   inside
       'The ear-ring is in the ear.' (TRPS 69)

Alternatively, the sentence in (26b) can be expressed as a possessive construction in which the possessor of the body-part is specified as illustrated in (27).

27.   Tógēń ákpasí adzīń 'ʊtɔ́ním̄.
       tógē   ní   á-kpasí   a-dzɪ̀   ní   bʊ-tɔ́   ní   kɪmí
       Ear-ring   DEF   SM-be.in CM-woman   DEF   CM-ear   DEF   inside
       'The ear-ring is in the woman's ear.'

The third type of locative construction has a locative adjunct phrase occurring after the verb. The locative adjunct phrase is a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition as its head and a postpositional phrase as its complement. The sentence in (28) exemplifies this:

28.   Anúvɔ̄ń ábʊbɔ ní kegbuniede.
       a-núvɔ̄   ní   á-bʊbɔ   ní   ke-gbu   ní   ke.de
       CM-child DEF   SM-bend   LOC   CM-chair DEF   behind
       'The child squats behind the chair.'   (TRPS 64)

A subtype of the prepositional construction involves the use of the allative preposition **kú** 'ALL' to introduce the Ground phrase. Situations characterised by such a construction are dynamic or active as in (29) and (30).

29.   Batʊmpáń ákplā kú tisím̄.
       ba-tʊmpá   ní   bá-kplā   kú   ti-sí   kɪmɪ
       CM.PL-bottle   DEF   SM-be.fixed   ALL   CM-earth inside
       'The bottles are fixed in the ground.' (PSPV 28)

30.   Kishǐń íkplá kú kesukpogunuń.
        ki-shǐ   ní   kí-kplá   kú   ke-sukpogunu   ní
        CM-stick DEF SM-be.fixed ALL CM-tree.stump   DEF
        'The stick is fixed into the tree stump.' (PSPV 38)

In this example, a postposition specifying the search domain is omitted as the relation between Figure and Ground and the region where the Figure is located can be inferred from the verb and preposition.

The fourth type of locative construction is a serial verb construction (SVC). The first verb in the serial construction contributes information as to the manner in which a Figure is located on the Ground whereas the second verb describes how the Figure is positioned. The sentence in (31) is an example of an SVC (see chapter 10 on SVCs).

31.   Kishǐń ídzí kpaplínɔ osí.
        ki-shǐ   ní   kí-dzí   kpaplínɔ   o-sí
        CM-stick DEF SM-be.located.on.base lean.against CM-tree
        'The stick is on the ground leaning against a tree.'   (PSPV 1)

In the next section, we describe the meanings that locative verbs take in these constructions.

6.6.1   The meaning and use of the verbs

Tafi makes use of 13 verbs in the BLC (Bobuafor 2008b), and is thus a multiverb language according to the typology of locative predication (Ameka and Levinson 2007). Four language types have been identified on the basis of the verbal components used in the basic types of locative constructions. The first type is made up of languages whose BLC is verbless while the second type has in the BLC a copula verb (e.g. English), a locative or an existential verb (e.g. Ewe). The third type of languages tends to use a small contrastive set of between 3-7 positional verbs in the BLC (e.g. Dutch). Tutrugbu (Nyagbo) the sister dialect of Tafi uses only 4 verbs in its BLC and thus belongs to this type (see Essegbey 2010b). The last type makes use of a large set of between 9-100 dispositional verbs (e.g. Likpe, Logba and Akan). Based on this classification, Tafi belongs to the fourth type. This is because apart from the locative verbs **lí** 'be.at', **tsirí** 'be.on' and **kpasí** 'be.in', Tafi has about 10 dispositional verbs which occur in its BLC.

The 13 verbs used are listed in Table 6.1. They are grouped semantically.

Table 6.1   Locative verbs used in BLC

Semantic classes	Verbs	Gloss
General Topological	ɩ̍	'be.at'
	tsirí	'be.on'
	kpasí	'be.in'
	búnɔ̄	'be.near'
Postural	lí	'be.positioned'
	dzí	'be.located.on.base'
	sɔmí	'hang'
	kpaplínɔ̄	'lean.against'
	bʊbɔ	'bend'
Adhesion	tá	'be.fixed'
Attachment	nyá	'be.tied'
	mɩna	'be.tied.around
	kana	'surround, go.around'
	da	'cover'

6.6.1.1   The general topological verbs

In this section, I focus on three of the verbs. These are verbs which express the general topological meanings of coincidence, **ɩ̍** 'be.at', contact and support, **tsirí** 'be.on', and containment, **kpasí** 'be.in'.

6.6.1.1.1   **ɩ̍** 'be.at'

The verb **ɩ̍** 'be.at' is a general locative verb used to signal the topological relation of coincidence (Ameka 2007). **Lɩ** 'be.at' seems to have been borrowed from Ewe and adapted into the language. There is a strong preference for using **ɩ̍** 'be.at' especially to talk about any location of any entity. Thus, this verb is used by some speakers in the topological relations stimuli task to localise, for instance, 'butter on knife' (TPRS 12) and a 'ball under chair' (TPRS 16) as illustrated in sentences (32a) and (32b) respectively.

32a.   Bʊbɔ́ ní lɩ̄ ɩhɛ̌ ní shú.
      bʊ-bɔ́   **ní**   **lɩ̄**   **ɩ-hɛ̌**   **ní**   **shú**
      CM-fat   DEF   be.at CM-knife DEF surface
      'The butter is on the knife'. (TRPS 12)

32b.   Bɔ́luń alí kadangóníésí.
      bɔ́lu   **ní**   **a-lɩ̄**   **ka-dangó** **ní**   **kesí**
      ball   DEF   SM-be.at CM-chair DEF under
      'The ball is under the chair.' (TRPS 16)

The verb **lɪ** 'be.at' can also be used in a response to a question as to the where-about of a person. The sentence in (33), for instance, is a response to a question about the where-about of God.

33.   Alī ow̃ūsisé.
      a-lī   **o-w̃ūsisé**
      3SG-be.at   CM-heaven
      'He is in heaven.'

The verb **lɪ** 'be.at' can also be used in a two-place predicate possessive construction as in (34) (see section 6.4 for further discussion).

34.   Sik' álī Kofí áhɔɪ.
      siká   **á-lī**   **Kofí** **a-hɔɪ**
      Money   SM-be.at Kofi   CM-hand
      'Kofi has money.'

The verb **lɪ** 'be.at' has two alternate lexemes, **má** 'be.at:NEG' which is used for negation and a non-present locative verb **za** 'be.at:NPRES'. These are illustrated in (35) and (36) respectively. The sentence in (36) is taken from a Frog Story narration (Mayer (1969)).

35.   Kofí ámā 'uvūním̄.
      Kofí   **á-mā**   **bú-vū**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
      Kofi   SM-be.at:NEG CM-room   DEF   inside
      'Kofi is not in the room.'

36.   Anúvɔ̃ń nɪ y'ɔ́bhɪalí baláza bʊpá trúkpóím
      a-núvɔ̃   **ní**   **nɪ**   **yí**   **ɔ-bhɪa-alí**   **balí** **bá-za**
      CM-child DEF CONJ 3SG CM-friend-PL   3PL   SM-be.at:NPRES
      bʊ-pá   **tru-kpó**   **kɪmɪ**
      CM-house   AM-one   inside
      'The child and his friends were in the same house.' (FS)

The verb **lɪ** 'be.at' is thus used to localise a figure be it animate or inanimate where the Figure is subject. The verb has two lexical alternants, one for negative existence and the other for non-present location. The verb is also involved in the expression of existence (see section 6.3) showing that Tafi is another language in which location, possession and existence are intimately linked (Clark 1978). Interestingly, the Ewe verb **le** 'be.at:PRES' also has a non-present locative alternant **nɔ** 'be.at:NPRES' as well as arguably an existential alternant **li** 'exist'.

6.6.1.1.2   **tsirí** 'be.on'

tsirí 'be.on' is a contact support verb which is used to describe situations in which the Figure is in contact with the supporting surface, for instance, a 'cup on a table' (TPRS 1) as in (24b) above, repeated here as (37) for convenience.

37.   Kɔ́pʊń étsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.

kɔ́pʊ	**ní**	**é-tsirí**	**kplɔ̌**	**ní**	**kábhā**
CM-cup	DEF	SM-be.on	table	DEF	top

'The cup is on the table.'   (TRPS 1)

This verb is also used to describe figures firmly attached to the reference object such as a 'stamp on a letter' (TPRS 3), a 'head (embossed) on a stamp' (TRPS 28) as well as a man standing on a roof (TRPS 34). These are illustrated in (38a) - (38c) respectively. Another type of situation in which **tsirí** 'be.on' is used is one in which the Figure is an adornment and the Ground is the body as illustrated in (38d). In each case, the appropriate postposition is used to indicate the place/region of the reference object. In (38c) however, the postposition is omitted as the search domain information can be deduced from the verb.

38a.   Stámpuń étsirí pépa okotokúníábhā.

stámpu	**ní**	**é-tsirí**	**pépa**	**o-kotokú**	**ní**	**kábhā**
stamp	DEF	SM-be.on	paper	CM-pocket	DEF	top

'The stamp is on the envelope.'   (TRPS 3)

38b.   Anɔ́títɑ́ń étsirí stámpuníábhā.

a-nɔ́títɑ́	**ní**	**é-tsirí**	**stámpu**	**ní**	**kabhā**
CM-picture	DEF	SM-be.on	stamp	DEF	top

'The drawing is on the stamp.'   (TRPS 28)

38c.   Ányíń étsirí ovutɔ́.

á-nyí	**ní**	**é-tsirí**	**o-vutɔ́**
CM-man	DEF	SM-be.on	CM-roof

'The man is on a roof.' (TRPS 34)

38d.   Kikutúń ítsirí ányíń ádáním̄.

ki-kutú	**ní**	**kí-tsirí**	**a-nyí**	**ní**	**á-dá**	**ní**	**kʊmʊ**
CM-hat	DEF	SM-be.on	CM-man	DEF	CM-top.of.head	DEF	inside

'The hat is on (top of) the man's head.'   (TRPS 5)

The verb is thus used to talk about spatial situations involving contact and support relation between a figure and a ground.

6.6.1.1.3   **kpasí** 'be.in'

kpasí 'be.in' is used to express containment. This verb is used to localize animate or inanimate entities which are movable or immovable such as a 'fruit in a bowl' (TRPS 2) or 'a house within a fence' (TRPS 60). The sentence in (39) is an answer to the question 'where is the house?' in relation to the spatial scene in TRPS 60 depicting house in fence.

39.   Bʊpá ní kpasí bʊkáním.
       bʊ-pá   ní   kpasí   bʊ-ká   ní   kʊmʊ
       CM-house   DEF   be.in   CM-fence   DEF   inside
       'The house is inside the fence.'   (TRPS 60)

In sentence (39), the Figure, which is the house, is enclosed in the reference object, i.e., the fence, and no part of the house is touching the fence.

kpasí 'be.in' is also used to describe for example, a 'foot in shoe' (TRPS 21) as illustrated in the sentence in (40a).

40a.   Afʊkpǎń ákpasí ɔtsrǐ.
       a-fʊkpǎ   ní   á-kpasí   ɔ-tsrǐ
       CM-shoe   DEF   SM-be.in SM-foot
       'The foot is in a shoe.' (TRPS 21)

The Figure-Ground relation for this scenario can be reversed and interestingly, as **afʊkpǎ** 'shoe' is not a body-part, the postposition **kʊmʊ** 'inside' is used to indicate the part of the reference object where the Figure is located.

40b.   Ɔtsrǐń ɔkpasí afʊkpǎním̄.
       ɔ-tsrǐ   ní   ɔ́-kpasí   a-fʊkpǎ   ní   kʊmʊ
       CM-foot   DEF   SM-be.in CM-shoe   DEF   inside
       'The foot is in the shoe.'

Negative spaces or damages (see Levinson & Wilkins 2006b:516) which are perceived to be contained in the reference object are also described with this verb. For example,

41.   Oziń ɔ́kpasí kávlɔ̄ním̄.
       o-zi   ní   ɔ́-kpasí   ká-vlɔ̄   ní   kʊmʊ
       CM-hole   DEF   SM-be.in CM-towel   DEF   inside
       'The hole is in the towel.' (TRPS 18)

Moreover, animate Figures which are located in contained regions are localised with **kpasí** 'be.in'. Thus, it is used to describe a 'fish in a bowl' (TRPS 32), a dog in a kennel (TRPS 71) or a human being in a room.

42.   Kakudzɔgĕń ákpasí kalı 'uvuním̄.

ka-kudzɔgĕ	ní	ka-kpasí	kalí	bú-vū	ní	kımı
CM-dog	DEF	SM-be.in	3SG.IND	CM-house	DEF	inside

‘The dog is in its house.’   (TRPS 71)

In most of the situations described so far, the locative verb **kpasí** ‘be.in’ is used followed by a postpositional phrase which is made up of an NP referring to the Ground and the postposition **kımı** ‘in/inside’. This postposition specifies the search domain, i.e., the specific part of the Ground where the Figure is located.

This containment verb **kpasí** ‘be.in’ is also used to describe spatial scenes in which the reference object is not a prototypical container such as a ‘ball under chair’ (TRPS 16), a spoon under napkin’ (TRPS 24) and a ‘handle on door’ (TRPS 61) as shown in (43). In situations like those represented in (43), different types of postpositions are employed to show the location where the Figure is contained.

43a.   Bɔ́luń ákpasí kadangóníésí.

bɔ́lu	ní	á-kpasí	ka-dangó	ní	ke.sí
ball	DEF	SM-be.in	CM-chair	DEF	under

‘The ball is under the chair.’   (TRPS 16)

43b.   Kékēń ákpasí opúpúńíshú.

ké-kē	ní	ká-kpasí	o-púpú	ní	shú
CM-handle	DEF	SM-be.in	CM-door	DEF	surface

‘The handle is on the door’.   (TRPS 61)

In (43), for example, the verb **kpasí** ‘be.in’ is used to represent a scene in which a Figure ‘ball’ (43a) or ‘handle’ (43b) is located in an open space or on a door and the postposition **kesí** ‘under’ or **shú** ‘surface’ is, respectively, used to indicate the specific part of the chair or door where the ball or handle is located. Thus, speakers who use **kpasí** ‘be.in’ to describe these spatial scenes construe the space under the chair or the door as a sort of container for the ball or handle whereas those who construed the space under the chair or the door as just a place (as opposed to container) where the ball or handle is located used **lı** ‘be.at’.

Another context in which **kpasí** ‘be.in’ is also used is where the Figure is an adornment and the Ground is a part of the body as in a ‘ring on finger’ (TRPS 10), a ‘shoe on foot’ (TRPS 21) and a ‘necklace on neck’ (TRPS 51). Hence, adornments and clothing on the body are considered as containment i.e., the Figure is presumed as contained. This containment feature of the verb is perceived as signalling the location of the Figure (i.e., ring, shoe or necklace) in relation to the reference object (i.e., finger, foot or neck) (Ameka 2007). Contrary to what happens in Ewe where, for all clothing and adornment scenes, the (human) possessor of a body-part on which the Figure is located needs to be expressed (see Ameka and Essegbey 2006), in Tafi, the possessor may be left unexpressed as

shown in the examples below. If left out it is the general location as characteristic of a thing. Example (40a) is repeated here as (44b).

44a.   Kísígbéń íkpasɩ 'ɩwéń.
       kí-sígbé   ní   kí-kpasí   kɩ-wě   ní
       CM-ring   DEF   SM-be.in CM-finger   DEF
       'The ring is on the finger.' (TRPS 10)

44b.   Afʊkpǎń ákpasí ɔtsrǐ.
       a-fʊkpǎ   ní   á-kpasí   ɔ-tsrǐ
       CM-shoe   DEF   SM-be.in SM-leg
       'The foot is in a shoe.' (lit. 'The shoe is in a leg')   (TRPS 21)

44c.   Oliehuiń ɔ́kpasí (a-dzĩ́ń) ólí.
       o-liehui   ní   ɔ́-kpasí   (a-dzĩ́   ní)   o-lí
       CM-necklace DEF   SM-be.in (CM-woman DEF) CM-neck
       'The necklace is on the (woman's) neck.'   (TRPS 51)

Kpasí 'be.in' is also used in situations involving part-whole relations, that is, relations in which the Figure is part of the Ground such as fruits on a tree. This is illustrated by the example in (45).

45.   Iseyuyuń íkpasí osíním̄.
       i-seyuyu   ní   í-kpasí   o-sí   ní   kɩmɩ
       CM.PL-fruit DEF   SM-be.in CM-tree   DEF   inside
       'The fruits are on the tree.' (lit. 'The fruits are in the tree.')   (TRPS 45)

Kpasí 'be.in' can be used intransitively as in answer to questions asked about the health of people during greetings as in (46b).

46a.   W'adzyaɦ?
       wɔ́   á-dzyā-alí
       2SG   CM-brother-PL
       'How are your brothers?' (lit. 'Your brothers?')

46b.   Bákpasí.[47]
       bá-kpasí
       3PL-be.in
       'They are well.'

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[47] Usually, when **kpasí** 'be.in' is used in a response to questions about someone's health, most speakers drop the subject NP.

In this case, it is perhaps being used as a general locative rather than as a containment verb.

6.6.1.1.4   **búnɔ̄** 'be.near'

búnɔ̄ 'be.near' is a propinquity verb mainly used for human Figures. It is used to describe a locative scene involving a 'boy sitting near fire' (TPRS 38) as illustrated in (47).

47.   Ányínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ̄ń ébúnɔ̄ kifúń.
       á-nyínʊ́vɔ̄ɛ̄   ní   é-búnɔ̄   ki-fú   ní
       CM-boy   DEF   SM-be.near   CM-fire   DEF
       'The boy is near fire.'   (TRPS 38)

Other responses elicited with respect to the scene with a 'boy sitting near fire' have verbs such as **lí** 'be.positioned' and the posture verb **dzí** 'be.located on base'.

6.6.1.2   Positional verbs

Positional verbs code information about the Figure's posture or disposition with respect to the ground, e.g., squat, hang etc.

6.6.1.2.1   The verb **lí** 'be.positioned'

The verb **lí** 'be.positioned' is used to describe both animate and inanimate Figures in a standing, sitting or lying position. Examples of such Figures are human beings, animals, buildings and trees. This verb is used to describe scenes involving a 'dog near its kennel' (TRPS 6), a 'ball under chair' (TRPS 16), a 'cat on mat' (TRPS 40), a 'bottle lying on tree stump' (PSPV 26), a 'ball on ground' (PSPV 7) and 'beans on ground' (PSPV 11) among others.

48a.   Kakudzɔgěń élí kalí 'ugbleń ɔ́bhā.
        ka-kudzɔgě   ní   ké-lí   kalí   bu-gble   ní
        CM-dog   DEF   SM-be.positioned   3SG.IND   CM-kennel DEF
        ɔ́bhā
        near
        'The dog is near its house.'   (TRPS 71)

48b.   Ayǐń élí 'ésúkpá.
        a-yǐ   ní   é-lí   ke-sukpá
        CM.PL-beans   DEF   SM-be.positioned   CM-ground
        'The beans are on the ground.'   (PSPV 11)

6.6.1.2.2   dzí 'be.located.on.base'

The locative verb **dzí** 'be.located.on.base' is used to describe Figures whose base is supported from below by a surface. For instance, it is used to describe humans in sitting posture, trees in standing position, sticks or poles that are erected such as 'poles fixed in the ground' (PSPV 20) and also for animal Figures such as a 'cat (on its hind) under table' (TRPS 31) or a 'cat sitting on mat' (TRPS 40). The following are examples. Sentence (49a) was given as a response in describing a 'cat sitting on a mat' whereas sentence (49b) was used to describe a 'tree in front of church' (TRPS 49).

49a.   Adzyramʋáń édzí opútsóníábhā.
       a-dzyramʋá   ní   é-dzí   o-pútsó   ní   kábhā
       CM-cat   DEF   SM-be.located.on.base   CM-mat   DEF   top
       'The cat is on the mat.' (TRPS 40)

49b.   Osíń ódzí búsɔlɪ 'uvū otúgba.
       o-sí   ní   ó-dzí   bú-sɔlɪ   bú-vū
       CM-tree   DEF   SM-be.located.on.base   CM-worship CM-house
       otúgba
       in.front.of
       'The tree stands in front of a church.' (TRPS 49)

6.6.1.2.3   sɔmí 'hang'

The verb **sɔmí** 'hang' is used to talk about Figures which are attached to their reference objects by suspension. Thus, the Figure is attached at the highest part and lacks support from below. This verb is used to describe a 'coat on a hook' (TRPS 9), 'dresses on a drying line' (TRPS 37), a 'picture on a wall' (TRPS 44), a 'flag hoisted' (TRPS 56), a 'rope hanging from a tree' (TRPS 33) or a 'cloth dangling from a tree' (PSPV 59). The sentence in (50a) is a response to the question 'where is the coat?' in relation to the depiction in TRPS 9. In this sentence, the Figure (**awi**) is attached at a point to the reference object (**ɔɖá**) and this is emphasised by the use of the postposition **shú** 'surface'.

50a.   Awíń ásɔmí ɔɖáníshú.
       a-wi   ní   á-sɔmí   ɔ-ɖá   ní   shú
       CM-garment DEF   SM-hang CM-metal DEF   surface
       'The coat hangs on the metal.' (TRPS 9)

The use of the verb **sɔmí** is not restricted to relations of attachment to a single point nor to dangling objects since it was used for describing a 'telephone fixed to a wall' (TRPS 25) as in (50b). Some speakers chose to use the verb **tsirí** 'be.on' for the same scenario.

50b. Fônń ásɔmí kidrińíshú.
      fôn   ní   á-sɔmí   ki-dri   ní   shú
      Phone DEF SM-hang CM-wall DEF surface
      'The phone hangs on the wall.'   (TRPS 25)

There are instances where the verb **sɔmí** is used but there is no contact between the Figure and the reference object such that the Figure is located above the reference object as shown in (51) which was given as a description of a 'lamp above a table' (TRPS 13). In this case, **ada** 'top.of.head' is used to indicate that the lamp is above the table.

51.   Kifúń ísɔmí kplɔ̌ń ádáním̄.
      ki-fú   ní   kí-sɔmí   kplɔ̌   ní   á-dá   ní   kɪmɪ
      CM-lamp DEF SM-hang table DEF CM-top.of.head DEF inside
      'The lamp is above the table.' (TRPS 13)

6.6.1.2.4   **kpaplínɔ** 'lean.against'

The verb **kpaplínɔ** 'lean.against' is used to characterise locative relations involving a leaning position. In this case, the Figure does not stand straight and it is only in contact with the reference object at the upper part and it is supported at another point external to the reference object but orthogonal to it. Such Figures have to be in a rigid and solid state (Ameka 2007). **kpaplínɔ** 'lean.against' is used during the elicitation for this study to describe locative scenes including a 'ladder against a wall' (TRPS 58), a 'stick against a tree' (PSPV 1) and 'five tubers of cassava against a tree stump' (PSPV 28).

52a. Kédéńgléń ákpaplínɔ kidriń.
      ké-déńglé   ní   ká-kpaplínɔ   ki-dri   ní
      CM-Ladder DEF SM-lean.against   CM-wall DEF
      'The ladder is leaning against the wall.'   (TRPS 58)

52b. Agbeɖiń ákpaplínɔ kesukpogunuń.
      a-gbeɖi   ní   á-kpaplínɔ   ke-sukpogunu   ní
      CM-cassava DEF SM-lean.against CM-tree.stump   DEF
      'The tubers of cassava are leaning against the tree stump.' (PSPV 28)

As illustrated in the sentences in (52), the verb **kpaplínɔ** 'lean.against' does not take a postpositional complement. This is due to the fact that the search domain is inferable from the verb so it is redundant.

6.6.1.2.5   bʊbɔ 'squat'

The verb **bʊbɔ** 'bend, squat', which appears to have been borrowed from Ewe **bɔbɔ** 'bend down', is used to characterise Figures which are in squatting or crouching position. This verb was used to describe a 'boy behind a chair' in a squatting position (TRPS 64) as shown in example (53) which is a repetition of example (28).

53.   Anʊ́vɔ̃́ ábʊbɔ ní kegbuniede.
       a-nʊ́vɔ̃   ní   á-bʊbɔ   ní   ke-gbu   ní   ke.de
       CM-child DEF   SM-bend   LOC   CM-chair DEF   behind
       'The child squats behind the chair.'   (TRPS 64)

6.6.1.3   Verb of adhesion

There is one verb of adhesion which is used to code information about how a Figure is firmly attached to the ground and cannot be easily removed or separated from the Ground.

6.6.1.3.1   tá 'be.fixed, be.pasted'

The verb **tá** 'be.fixed, be.pasted' is used to characterise locative relationships in which the Figure is firmly attached to a reference object such that it cannot be easily removed. This verb is used to describe a 'gum attached under table' (TRPS 53), 'plaster on a leg' (TRPS 35), 'handle on door' (TRPS 61) as well as 'hooks in a wall' (TRPS 50).

54a.   Plǎstań átá katsʊkpɔ́.
        plǎsta ní   á-tá   ka-tsʊkpɔ́
        plaster DEF   SM-be.fixed CM-foot
        'The plaster is fixed on the foot.' (TRPS 35)

54b.   Behúkuń átá kidriń́shú.
        be-huku   ní   á-tá   ki-dri   ní   shú
        CM.PL-hook DEF   SM-be.fixed CM-wall   DEF   surface
        'The hooks are fixed into the wall.'   (TRPS 50)

tá 'be.fixed, be.pasted' can also be used in agentive constructions in which the verb has a caused locative reading as illustrated below.

54c.   Átá keplukpá ní kidriníshú.
        á-tá   ke-plukpá   ní   ki-dri   ní   shú
        3SG-paste   CM-book   LOC   CM-wall   DEF   surface
        'S/he pasted a piece of paper on the wall.'

6.6.1.4   Verbs of attachment

These are verbs which code information about Figures which are loosely attached to the Ground.

6.6.1.4.1   nyá 'be.tied'

The verb **nyá** 'be.tied' is used in situations in which the Figure is tied around the reference object. The Figure has to be in contact with the reference object and it could be a rope, thread, bandage etc. This verb was used in a response with reference to a 'ribbon on a candle' (TRPS 4).

55a.   Ohuiń ɔnyá tsyéńdeń.
      o-hui   ní   ɔ-nyá   tsyéńde   ní
      CM-rope   DEF   SM-be.tied   candle   DEF
      'The rope is tied around the candle.'   (TRPS 4)

The verb **nyá** 'be.tied' can also occur in an agentive transitive construction. This structure has a caused locative reading as shown in (55b).

55b.   Adzīn anyá yɩ 'ɩtɔkputíkā.
      a-dzḭ̄   ní   á-nyá   yí   kɩ-tɔkputíkā
      CM-woman   DEF   SM-tie   3SG   CM-hair
      'The woman has plaited her hair.'

The difference between (55a) and (55b) is that the sentence in (55a) describes the resultant state occurring due to a prior action, namely, the rope having been tied around the candle whereas the construction in (55b) describes the action of the woman.

6.6.1.4.2   mɩna 'be.around'

The verb **mɩna** 'be.around' is used for Figures that are around the reference object such that the Figure is in contact with the reference object. This verb was used to describe a 'rope around a tree stump' (TRPS 55) as shown in (56).

56.   Ohuiń ɔ́mɩna kesukpogunuń.
      o-hui   ní   ɔ́-mɩna   ke-sukpogunu   ní
      CM-rope   DEF   SM-be.around   CM-tree.stump   DEF
      'The rope is around the tree stump.'   (TRPS 55)

6.6.1.4.3   kana 'surround, go.around'

kana 'surround, go.around' is an active verb used to describe situations in which the Figure is around or goes round the reference object. The Figure may or may not be in contact with the reference object such as a 'fence around a house' (TRPS 15), a 'rope around a tree stump' (TRPS 55) or a 'rope around a stone' (PSPV 15). The sentences in (57) are responses to the "where-search" question about a 'rope around a stone' (PSPV 15) and a 'fence around a house' (TRPS 15).

57a.   Ohuiń ɔ́kana kıklangbu.
    o-hui   **nı́**   **ɔ́-kana**   **kı-klangbu**   **nı́**
    CM-rope   DEF   SM-go.around   CM-stone   DEF
    'The rope is around the stone.'   (PSPV 15)

57b.   Bʋká nı́ kana bʋpáń.
    bu-ká   **nı́**   **kana**   **bʋ-pá**   **nı́**
    CM-fence   DEF   go.around   CM-house   DEF
    'The fence is around the house.'   (TRPS 15)

Some speakers also used the verb **kana** as the second verb in an SVC to describe the scene with a 'fence around a house' (TRPS 15).

57c.   Bʋká nı́ lí kana bʋpáń.
    bu-ká   **nı́**   **lí**   **kana**   **bʋ-pá**   **nı́**
    CM-fence   DEF   be.positioned   go.around   CM-house   DEF
    'The fence is around the house.'   (TRPS 15)

6.6.1.4.4   da 'be.covered'

The verb **da** 'be.covered' is used to describe situations in which the Figure is spread over the reference object or attached to the reference object tightly or loosely. In the elicitation task, **da** 'be.covered' is used to describe scenes such as a 'cloth covering a table' (TRPS 29) and a 'cork in a bottle' (TRPS 62) as illustrated below.

58a.   Kplɔ̌íábhε̄pɔtíń 'ída kplɔ̌.
    kplɔ̌   **kábhā**   **kı-pɔtí**   **nı́**   **kí-da**   **kplɔ̌**
    table   top   CM-cloth   DEF   SM-be.covered   table
    'The table-cloth covers the table.'   (TRPS 29)

58b.   Kɔ́kıń áda tʋmpáń 'únú.
    kɔ́kı   **nı́**   **á-da**   **tʋmpá nı́**   **bu.nú**
    cork   DEF   SM-be.covered   bottle DEF   mouth
    'The cork covers the bottle.'   (TRPS 62)

da 'be.covered' can also be used in agentive constructions to give a caused locative meaning. Thus, if someone covers a pot with a lid, it can be described as in (59a) involving a comitative prepositional phrase or with a take-SVC as in (59b).

59a. Áda kitsikpǐ nɩ ádɩda.
  á-da   ki-tsikpǐ nɩ   á-dɩda
  3SG-cover   CM-pot   COM CM-lid
  'S/he covered the pot with a lid.'

59b. Áyíkɔ ádɩdań áda kitsikpǐń.
  á-yíkɔ   á-dɩda   ní   á-da   ki-tsikpǐ ní
  3SG-take CM-lid   DEF   SM-cover   CM-pot   DEF
  S/he took a lid and covered the pot.'

In this section, the use and meaning of 13 verbs available to speakers of Tafi for spatial descriptions have been discussed. Tafi has been shown to be a multiverb language, i.e., a language that uses a comparatively large set of verbs in the Basic Locative Construction (BLC). As we have seen in this section also, in addition to the BLC, there are two other main types of locative constructions that are used in response to the "where-search" question. The verb in all these constructions are obligatory whereas the postposition may be left out under certain conditions such as when the search domain is inherently locative or when it can be deduced from the meaning of the verb or from the noun referring to the reference object. One of the features of multiverb languages is that they tend to have only one (locative) preposition. Tafi also has just one locative preposition.

6.7   Information structuring constructions

The order of constituents in a basic clause can be rearranged for information packaging purposes. In Tafi, this involves preposing elements to the clause and fronting some clause constituents. The effect of these processes is the creation of three positions in the left periphery of the clause. Like in other Kwa languages (Ameka 2010), the leftmost position is filled by scene-setting topic constituents and left dislocated constituents typically marked by the topic marker **ní**. The second leftmost position is for contrastive topics usually modified by intensifiers and the immediate position to the left of the subject is the focus position. While all the positions are not obligatorily present in a clause they can all be filled in one clause. (60a) schematically represents the extended basic clause structure while (60b) is an illustration of a clause with a fully expanded left periphery.

60a. (Frame Topic) (Contrastive Topic) (Focus) Subject Verb (Dative Object)
  (Object1) (Adjunct)

60b.   obóń ní mɩ tsyí fufuo mí baŋá

    [**o-bóń**   **ní**]   [**mí**   **tsyí**]   **fufuó** **mí**   **ba-ŋá**

    CM-today TOP   1SG.IND too   fufu   1SG.IND FUT-eat

    'Today, I too, FUFU I will eat.'

There are distinct morpho-syntactic properties associated with the positions and the constructions in which they are involved. For instance, frame topics are marked by a topic marker and contrastive topics are signalled by intensifiers. These constructions are described in subsequent sections.

6.7.1   Frame topic constructions

Frame or scene-setting topics are the leftmost constituents in the left periphery of the clause. They provide the framework within which the rest of the clause is to be understood. They can be the entities which the clause is about or they may provide the temporal or locative setting for the situation characterised in the clause. The frame topics are optionally marked by the topic marker **ní**. As is the case in Ga and Ewe, the topic marker is in a heterosemic relation with the definiteness marker (see Dakubu 1992, Ameka 1991). The definiteness marker and the topic marker can both occur on the same constituent (see (62b) for an example). A preposed frame topic in a simple sentence can be an NP, an adverbial phrase or a connective (see below). The topic marker is also used to mark preposed clauses in complex sentences that set the scene for the main clause, and it is also used to mark embedded relative clauses as background information to the rest of the clause (see Chapter 9 on Clause combinations). The topic marker can be doubled on a constituent (see 66a) and it can also be lengthened for emphasis (see 61c).

Left dislocated arguments may be marked by the topic marker and referred to in the rest of the clause showing the relationship between the external topic and the rest of the clause. In (61a), the independent pronoun **balí** '3PL.IND' representing the subject argument is left dislocated and it is cross-referenced on the verb with a subject marker in the rest of the clause. In (61b) the numeral **teɖikpó** 'one' which occurs in the object position in the rest of the clause agrees with the external topic, bamboo. Similarly in (61c), the address term 'Madam' is preposed and represented in the rest of the clause with an agreeing pronoun in object position.

61a.   Balɩ xū́ń ní badɩbá butsíníesíʔ.

    balí   **xū́ń**   **ní**   **ba-dɩ-bá**   **bu-tsí**   **ní**   **ke.sí**

    3PL.IND as.for TOP   3PL-NEG2-come   CM-death DEF   under

    'As for them, they did not come to the funeral.'

61b.   Pamprǒ xū́ń ní, óbotéŋúdzú teɖikpó kɔ́ idru tɩtá aloo tɩlī́.

    pamprǒ   **xū́ń**   **ní**   **ó-bo-téŋú-dzú**   **te-ɖikpó** **kɔ́**

    bamboo   as.for TOP   2SG-FUT-can-erect AM-one DAT

> **i-dru** **tɪ-tá** **aloo** **tɪ-lǐ**
> CM.PL-mound AM-three DISJ AM-four
> 'As for the bamboo sticks, you can erect one for about three or four yam mounds.' (Yam cultivation)

61c. Madam níí ímɔɛ́ 'íshūíń. [48]
> **Madam** **ní** **í-mɔ** **yí** **kíshūī** **ní**
> Madam TOP 1SG-see 3SG Friday DEF
> 'Speaking of Madam, I saw her on Friday.'

61d. …so kǐnǐ ní, kɪdaazhɪ̃ā̄ sí bʊdayíkɔ kasí abrewa.
> **so kǐ-nǐ** **ní** **kɪ-daa-zhɪ̃ā̄**   **sí**
> so CM-PROX TOP 3SG-NEG:PSTPROG-need COMP
> **bʊ-da-yíkɔ** **kasí** **a-brewa**
> 1PL-ITIVE-take show CM-old.woman
> '… so concerning this one, it was not necessary to seek counsel with (the) old lady.' (Butsiugu)

Examples (61a), (61c) and (61d) also show that items that are inherently definite such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and address terms can occur as topics and be marked by the form **ní** 'TOP'.

When an adjunct phrase such as a temporal noun phrase or a locative phrase is preposed to the clause, there is no anaphoric relation marker in the rest of the clause to it. There must be a relevance relation between them. Thus a temporal adjunct can occur juxtaposed to the subject of the clause representing the temporal frame for the interpretation of the rest of the clause. Consider the following examples:

62a. Kípā ɔwúlago búkpí ɔkɔníésí.
> **kípā** **ɔwúlago** **bú-kpí** **ɔ-kɔ** **ní** **kesí**
> Saturday evening 1PL-put.in CM-custom DEF under
> 'Saturday evening we start with the ceremony.'

62b. Kípā ní ní búwa kúnú, kwɛsrá búdí kúsɔlimɪ ɔ́nánī 'íwalɔ.
> **[kípā** **ní** **ní** **bú-wa** **kúnú]** **[kwɛsrá** **bú-dí**
> Saturday DEF TOP 1PL-do funeral Sunday 1PL-attend
> **kú.sɔlimɪ** **ɔ́-nánɔ̄** **kíwalɔ]**
> burial.service 2SG-reach Monday
> 'On Saturday, we perform (the) funeral rites, on Sunday, we attend the burial service till Monday.' (Butsiugu)

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[48] The topic marker may sometimes be lengthened as in this sentence.

63.   …dén'ɔtsɔ́ɔ̄ ní riɖiiɖi ɔ́dɔ́nánī 'ibe nɔ̂ n'íbe gɪ lɔ́ba yɪkɪ kitukúń…
    [dénī   ɔtsɔ́ɔ̄]   ní   riɖiiɖi   ɔ́-dɔ́-nánī   ki-be   nɔ̂
    from   now   TOP   continuously   2SG-ITIVE-reach   CM-time   wh.ever

    ní   kí-be   gɪ   lɔ́-ba-yɪkɪ   ki-tukú   ní
    DEF   CM-time REL   1PL.DEP-VENT-receive CM-load   DEF
    '… from now until whenever we receive the load.' (load = corpse)
                                                (Butsiugū)

The frame topic phrases in the examples in (62) are temporal phrases with similar reference; in (62a) the temporal noun phrase is not marked for definiteness nor is the topic marker used. In (62b) however, the temporal noun is definitised and then marked as topic. This example shows that the definiteness marker and the topic marker can co-occur on the same constituent. Example (63) illustrates the preposing of a temporal phrase made up of a preposition and temporal nominal. Note that the preposition is pied-piped with it.

Locative prepositional phrases can also occur in the scene setting topic position. In the examples below, the preposition is pied-piped with its complement and preposed to the clause to indicate the place where the event described in the rest of the clause occurs; in (64a) it is the market and in (64b) it is the school.

64a.   Ní kedziním̄ ní, Ám'edzí bladzyō.
    [ní   ke-dzi   ní   kɪmɪ   ní]   Ámā   e-dzí   bladzyō
    LOC   CM-market   DEF   inside   TOP   Ámā   SM-buy   plantain
    'In the market, Ama bought plantain.'

64b.   Ní sukū ní, Agoé átsánī Mensah.
    [ní   sukū   ní]   Agoé   á-tsá-nī   Mensah
    LOC   school   TOP   Agoé   SM-meet-COM   Mensah
    'At the school, Agoe met Mensah.'

In some cases where the complement of a locative prepositional phrase is preposed, the preposition may be elided. This is the case in the following example where a complex postpositional phrase is preposed to the clause and there is nothing in the rest of the clause referring back to the constituent the utterance is about.

65.   Olizatɔ́ ónúgbúím̄ lúlɔ́nímī ebúítibúí edekóéyī.
    o-lizatɔ́   o-nugbu   kɪmɪ lú-lɔ́   ní   kɪmɪ
    CM-dawn CM-mouth   inside RED-smell   DEF   inside
    e-búítibúí   e-de-kóéyī
    CM.PL-word.of.wisdom   SM-ITIVE-exit
    'Out of the smelly mouth of early dawn good counsel flows.'
                                              (Proverb #12)

Thus when locative prepositional phrases are preposed to the clause, the preposition may either be pied-piped with its complement or it may be elided. There is nothing in the rest of the clause that will be coreferential to this initial phrase.

Connectives can also occur in the frame topic slot. The examples in (66) illustrate this. (66a) also shows that the topic marker can be doubled on one constituent.

66a.   … so ní ní badɪgɔ 'édɔ̄ŋíŋáń kɔ́ gbaxɑ̄́lī̄?.

so ní	ní	ba-dɪ-gɔ	kí-dɔ̄ŋíŋá	ní	kɔ́	gbaxɑ̄́lī̄
so TOP	TOP	3PL-NEG2-leave	CM-food	DEF	DAT	striped.mouse

'… for that reason, they did not leave any food for striped mouse.'

(Gbaxɑ̄́lī̄)

66b.   Alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutɔ́ ní ní bétítsú ɔlí 'ífú bʊpʊɪ lápʊɪ ɔlí?.

alasí	ní	élē	o-tro.eleté	o-vutɔ́	ní	ní
because	TOP	CFM	CM-lie.owner	CM-roof	DEF	TOP

bé-tí-tsú	ɔlí	kí-fú	bʊ-pʊɪ	lá-pʊɪ	ɔlí
3PL-NEG1-set	3SG	CM-fire	CM-scatter	3PL.DEP-scatter	3SG

'The reason is that the roof of a dishonest man's hut is never burnt, it is dismantled piece by piece.'   (Gbaxɑ̄́lī̄)

6.7.2   Contrastive topic constructions

The second position in the left periphery is the contrastive topic position. In examples (61a) and (61b) we have contrastive topics marked by the intensifier **xɑ̋ń** 'as for' and marked by the frame topic marker. We also saw in (60b) that a frame topic constituent and a contrastive topic constituent can be different. The main thing about the contrastive topics is that the dimension of the contrast is signalled by an intensifier (see Chapter 4 on noun phrases and nominal modifiers). Typically, the discourse elements that are so marked are presupposed. Examine the following discourse fragments.

67a.   Balí xɑ̋ń étínyí ásí ní kánā sɑ̋hwī̄ édékpú kɔ́ álí énú bal'enyí gɪ le klú?.

balí	xɑ̋ń	bé-tí-nyí	bá-sí	ní	ká-nā
3PL.IND	as.for	3PL-NEG1-know	SM-COMP	TOP	CM-manner

sɑ̋hwī̄	é-dé-kpu	kɔ́	balí	é-nú	balí
CM-spider	SM-ITIVE-hide	DAT	3PL	3SG-hear	3PL.IND

e-nyí	gɪ	le-klú
CM.PL-name	REL	3PL.DEP-call

'As for them, they did not know that spider was hiding from them and had heard the names they mentioned.' (Sɑ̋hwī̄)

67b.   Kásãlã bǒŋ́ ébuso aábá o.
    ká-sãlã   bǒŋ́   é-buso   a-á-bá   o
    CM-tortoise rather SM-do.first   3SG-PRSPROG-come UFP
    'Tortoise is rather the one who is arriving first.' (Kásãlã)

67c.   Balɩ tsy'etsiré lɔ sí ní ɔwashui bavʊbɔ́ anɔ́ békē ko ní ká báwa kúnú zi ḍeká.
    balí   tsyí   be-tsiré   blǒ   sí   ní   ɔwashui ba-vʊbɔ́
    3PL.IND too   SM-tell   1PL   COMP   TOP   tuesday   3PL-bury
    a-nɔ́   békē   ko   ní   ká   bá-wa   kúnú
    CM-person COMPL just   TOP   then   3PL-do   funeral.rites
    zi   ḍeká
    times one
    'They too said that on Tuesday after burying the person, they will perform the funeral rites at once.'

67d.   … sã́hwĩ̄ tsyí évu alɔ́ ádákpasí kɩmanɩmɩ ééyu 'ívú plínɔ́ bekusi edziniń.
    [sã́hwĩ̄ tsyí   é-vu   a-lɔ́   á-dá-kpasí   kɩ-ma
    spider too   SM-catch SM-get.up   SM-ITIVE-be.in CM-dancing.ring
    ní   kɩmɩ   é-é-yú   ki-vu   plínɔ́   be-kusí
    DEF   inside 3SG-PRSPROG-dance CM-dance   add   CM.PL-chief
    e-dzini   ní]
    CM-wife DEF
    '… spider also got up he went inside the dancing ring dancing with the queens.' (Sã́hwĩ̄)

In the examples in (67) the contrastive topics marked by various intensifiers are used. It appears that the contrastive topic tends to be the subject of the clause and it is cross referenced on the verb. When some of the intensifiers that are more focal in their semantics, e.g. **ko** 'only', are used to mark the preposed contrastive topic, they are treated morpho-syntactically like focus constructions. Thus, in (68a) the contrastive topic item is the subject argument in the clause. Because of this, there is an independent pronoun referring back to it and it is further cross-referenced on the verb by the appropriate subject marker. In (68b) also the contrastive topic **kú** 'death' bears an object relation in the clause and as it has been fronted and marked with **ko** 'only', the subject pronoun is realised as the dependent form. In this example also, a postverbal topic marker occurs to mark an out-of-focus part of the clause (see §6.7.4 for further details). These patterns are the same as those for subject focus and object focus constructions (see §6.7.3).

68a.   édzyúĩ ko y'ébékóéyĩ ní oziníḿ ...
    é-dzyúĩ   ko   yí   é-bé-kóéyĩ   ní   o-zi   ní
    CM-rat   just   3SG.IND SM-VENT-exit LOC CM-hole DEF
    kɩmɩ   ...
    inside
    'A MOUSE just popped/came out of the hole ... .'   (FS)

68b.   Kú ko létsi kɔ́ lɔ́ań.

kú	ko	lé-tsi	kɔ́	blɔ̆	aní
death	just	3PL.DEP-tell	DAT	1PL	TOP

'Only the DEATH was announced to us.' (Butsiugū)

6.7.3   Focus constructions

Any of the constituents in a clause can be highlighted for focus. Focusing involves fronting of the constituent to a position immediately adjacent to the subject and applying further measures depending on the role of the constituent in the clause. Unlike neighbouring Kwa languages like Ewe, Ga, Akan and Logba, Tafi does not employ a particle to mark such a fronted constituent for focus. The focus subconstructions are discussed in the subsequent sections below.

6.7.3.1   Subject focus constructions

When a subject argument is focused, it occurs clause initially in the immediate pre-subject position. It is marked as being in focus by an independent pronoun that agrees with it in class and number. This subject form is cross referenced on the verb by an appropriate subject marker. There is thus a marker in the rest of the clause that refers to the subject argument in focus. Consider the following examples.

69a.   Ɔtsrí kɔkʊlɔ̃ ɔl'ɔ́vɔ aput' otiti ɔdzyʊdzyɔ ní.

ɔ-tsrí	kɔkʊlɔ̃	ɔlí	ɔ́-vɔ	a-putɔ́	o-titi
CM-foot	crooked	3SG.IND	SM-besmeared.with	CM.PL-mud	SM-smear

ɔ-dzyʊ-dzyɔ	ní
CM-RED-straight	DEF

'THE CROOKED LEG besmears the straight one with mud.' (Proverbs #1)

69b.   Agɛ 'ɛtukú kɪlí d'iepí.

a-ga	ki-tukú	kɪlí	dɪ	ke-pí
CM-animal	CM-load	3SG.IND	go	CM-home

'A FOOL'S LOAD reaches home.' (Proverbs #56)

69c.   Ámā y'ésí édékpú.

Ámā	yí	é-sí	é-dé-kpú
Ama	3SG.IND	SM-run	SM-ITIVE-hide

'AMA ran and hid.'

69d.   Ekusí téɖíkpó y'áaŋa bal'íabhā.

e-kusí	te-ɖikpó	yí	á-a-ŋa	balí	kábhā
CM-chief	AM-one	3SG.IND	SM-PSTPROG-eat	3PL.IND	top

'ONE CHIEF was ruling over them.' (Kásālā)

In example (69d), for instance, the focused NP belongs to the **a¹** class, the independent pronoun that is used to mark it belongs to that class. It is also cross-referenced on the verb by the appropriate subject form. In (69b), the focused NP is a possessive phrase whose head belongs to the **ki-** class and is therefore marked by the independent pronoun **kılı́** that agrees with it in class and number. In this case, it is not cross referenced on the verb with the **kı-** subject marker because agreement between a **ki-** class noun subject and the verb is no longer robustly marked. The strategy for signalling subject focus is different from that of non-subject arguments. Thus Tafi also manifests the crosslinguistic tendency of asymmetry between subject focus and non-subject focus (see e.g. Lambrecht 1994).

6.7.3.2   Object focus constructions

When an object is in focus, it is fronted and placed immediately adjacent to the subject position. A gap is left in the object position in the rest of the clause. If the subject argument is expressed as a pronoun it is realised as the dependent form as the examples in (70) illustrate. In (70a), the object of the second verb in the SVC **ɔkɔ́ toɖikpó** 'one place' is focused and the subject pronoun of the SVC is realised as the dependent form on the first verb. Similarly, the object of the first verb in the SVC in (70b) is in focus and the subject of the SVC is expressed as the subject dependent form on the first verb. Note, however, that in (70c) even though the object is in focus, because the subject is realised as the independent form of the pronoun and cross referenced on the verb, there is no dependent form used.

70a.   Ɔkɔ́ tóɖukpó lá-shɔ̄ 'elú g'lʊbɛ 'ɛfɔ́.
    [ɔ-kɔ́   tó-ɖukpó lá-shɔ̄   be-lú]   gı
    CM-place   AM-one 3PL.DEP-urinate   SM-put.down   REL
    lʊ-bá   kı-fɔ́
    3SG.DEP-come CM-lather
    'It is by urinating at ONE PLACE that lather is formed.' (Proverbs #7)

70b.   Osí ní gı lɔlí anɔ̄ ahɔıń ɔlí layíko 'ehu éblidzya.
    o-sí   ní   gı   lɔ-lí   a-nɔ̄   a-hɔı   ní
    CM-stick DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-be.at CM-person CM-hand TOP
    [ɔlí   la-yíkɔ   be-hu   é-blidzya]
    3SG.IND 3PL.DEP-take   SM-hit   CM-snake
    'It is THE STICK one has in hand that one uses to hit a snake.'
                                           (Proverbs #23)

70c.   Kokɔ̄ y'anyáɖɛ 'ɛgbā.
    kokɔ̄ yí   a-nya-ɖa   kí-gbā
    cocoa 3SG.IND SM-CERT-plant   CM-truth
    'COCOA, he truly did plant (it).'

70d.   Anɔ́ shishe átínyɩnyā 'mī kɩbhɩ̄m y'ányɩnyāʔ.

a-nɔ́   **shi-she**   **á-tí-nyɩnyā**   **ā̃-mī**   **[kɩ-bhɩ̃m**
CM-person   RED-grow   SM-NEG1-frown   CM-face   CM-anus
yí   **á-nyɩnyā]**
3SG.IND SM-frown
'An elder does not frown his face; he contorts his ANUS'. (Proverbs #44)

A postpositional phrase can also be focused as shown in (71). In this example, the postpositional phrase represents the object of the clause and so it is fronted. The subject argument of the clause is expressed as an independent pronoun and cross referenced on the verb.

71.   Búvūnɩ́m̃ y'ágbā.

bú-vū   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**   **yí**   **á-gbā**
CM-house   DEF   inside 3SG.IND SM-sweep
'THE ROOM he swept.'

A Dative object of a V2 in an SVC can also be focused like any other object as illustrated in (72).

72.   Anúvɔ́ń Ám'edzí bawin akɔ́.

a-núvɔ́ **ní**   **Ámā**   **e-dzí**   **ba-wi**   **ní**   **á-kɔ́**
CM-child DEF   Ámā   SM-buy   CM.PL-dress   DEF   SM-give
'THE CHILD Ama bought the dress for.'

Similarly, a copula complement constituent can also be focused. Like other objects, a focused copula complement is also fronted and there is nothing left in its original site. In the examples in (73) the copula subject is realised as an independent pronoun and cross-referenced on the copula.

73a.   Sā́hwɩ̄ y'áglɔ̄ y'enū.

sā́hwɩ̄ **yí**   **á-glɔ̄**   **yí**   **e-nū**
spider 3SG.IND CM-lover   3SG.IND SM-COP
'SPIDER'S LOVER she is.'   (i.e. 'she is SPIDER'S LOVER')   (Sā́hwɩ̄)

73b.   Kofɩ́ ádɩmɩ́ Doxwě 'íbúí alasí adzɩnúvɔ̄ē dzyɔgǒ y'enú.

Kofɩ́ **á-dɩmɩ́**   **Doxwě**   **ki-búí**   **[alasí**   **a-dzɩnúvɔ̄ē**   **dzyɔgǒ**
Kofi   SM-like   Doxwě   CM-matter   because   CM-girl   good
yí   **e-nú]**
3SG.IND SM-COP
'Kofi loves Doxwě because she is A GOOD GIRL.'

6.7.3.3   Verb focus constructions

Verbs can also be focused. Tafi employs a strategy in which the verb is nominalised and fronted with the original verb left in situ. The verb is nominalised by prefixing the class marker **bu-/bʊ-** to it. The examples in (74) illustrate verb focus. As is evident from the examples the subject in such clauses can be expressed as the independent form and cross- referenced with an appropriate subject marker on the verb, as in (74a) or as a dependent pronoun marked on the verb as in (74b) and (74c).

74a.   Bʊshĩ y'áshĩ̄ ãv'ʊyɛm.
        bʊ-shĩ   **yí**   **á-shĩ̄**   **a-vɪ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɪmɪ**
        CM-leave 3SG.IND SM-leave SM-go   CM-farm inside
        'LEAVE s/he DID leave for the farm.'

74b.   Bétítsū oturoeleté ovutɔ́ 'ɛ́fú bʊpʊɪ lápʊɪ ɔlím̃ʔ.
        bé-tí-tsū   **o-turo**   **e-leté**   **o-vutɔ́**   **ki-fú**
        3PL-NEG1-set   CM-lie   CM-owner   CM-roof CM-fire
        [bʊ-pʊɪ   **lá-pʊɪ**   **ɔlí**   **kɪmɪ]**
        CM-scatter   3PL.DEP-scatter 3SG.IND inside
        'We do not set fire to the dishonest person's roof, we TEAR it apart.'
                                              (Proverbs #32)

74c.   Ónúgɪ ḓeke évuwɔ́ ní y'eyíálí bʊtĩ́ látĩ́ ní anɔ́ 'ɛvuɪabhā.
        ónú.gɪ   **ḓeke**   **é-vu-wɔ́**   **ní**   **yí**   **e-yí-alí**
        COND   crocodile SM-catch-2SG TOP   3SG.IND CM-child-PL
        [bʊtĩ́   **lá-tĩ́**   **ní**   **a-nɔ́**   **ki-vu**   **kabhā]**
        CM-crawl   3PL.DEP-crawl LOC   CM-person   CM-stomach top
        'When a crocodile has captured you (even) baby crocs will CRAWL on
        your belly.' (Proverbs #33)

Any constituent in a basic clause in Tafi can be focused. The strategies for focusing subjects and other term constituents are different. Verbs are also focused using a slightly different strategy. These devices afford Tafi speakers to structure information they wish to communicate effectively.

6.7.4   Post-verbal topic marker **aní**

In example (68b), repeated for convenience here as (75a), there is a form **aní** glossed as 'TOP' which occurs in the predicate part of a clause. It can occur immediately after the verb as in (75b) and (75c), or after a prepositional phrase as in (75a). It seems to mark the part of the clause to its left as a kind of topic. In example (75b), for instance, the form seems to mark 'what you are doing' as topic to what follows 'in vain'.

75a. Kú ko létsi kɔ́ lɔ́ań.
kú   ko   lé-tsi   kɔ́   blɔ̌   aní
death just 3PL.DEP-tell   DAT   1PL   TOP
'Only the death was announced to us.' (Butsiugū)

75b. Kɪgɪ w'ɔ́ɔ́bhɪtíań bʋw̃ɑ̃́/ tɪw̃ɑ̃́.
kɪ-gɪ   wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ́-bhɪtí   aní   bʋw̃ɑ̃́/ tɪw̃ɑ̃́
3SG-REL   2SG.IND   SM-PRSPROG-do   TOP   in.vain
'What you are doing is in vain.'

75c. Kílɛ̄ɛm 'iyo w'ɔ́ɔ́bīań.
kí-lɛ̄   kɪmɪ   yiyo   wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ́-bī   aní
CM-air   inside   cry   2SG.IND   SM-PRSPROG-cry   TOP
'In vain you are WEEPING.'

The form **aní** 'TOP' is similar to the proximal demonstrative form **aní** 'PROX', that modifies nouns belonging to the **a¹-, ba(a)-, a²-** and **ka-** classes (see § 4.6.3), and the negative cleft **aní** 'NEGCL' (see § 7.3.5.1). These forms must be related as they have related functions. However, the nature of the relationship is not clear. Further investigation is needed to clarify it.

6.7.5   Topic-comment only constructions

Topic-comment only constructions in Tafi are verbless predications. They have the structure [NP$_{TOPIC}$ NP$_{COMMENT}$] where the two NPs are simply juxtaposed. Some of these structures are used to express simile-like propositions where the topic NP is likened to the comment NP. For example,

76a. Adzǐ kɪgba.
a-dzǐ   kɪ-gba
CM-woman   CM-falling.trap
'A woman is a trap.'

76b. Banɔ́dzyrámī telí 'ídī ozi oo.
ba-nɔ́dzyrámī   te-lí   kí-dī   o-zi   oo
CM.PL-human.being   AM-INDEF   CM-type   CM-hole   UFP
'Some human beings are deep pits.'

Some tautologies are expressed using such structures but in this case the first NP contains an intensifier as shown in 77 - 79.

77. Kibenyee'be tsyí kibe.
ki-be-nyáá-ki-be   tsyí   ki-be
CM-time-DISTR-CM-time   also   CM-time

'Any time is (good) time.'

78a. Kepí ko kepí.
      ke-pí   **ko**   **ke-pí**
      CM-home   only   CM-home
      'Home is home.' (i.e. There is no place like home)

78b. Butsí ko butsí.
      bu-tsí   **ko**   **bu-tsí**
      CM-death   only   CM-death
      'Death is death.'

79a. Anúvɔ̄ ko anúvɔ̄ kwã.
      a-núvɔ̄   **ko**   **a-núvɔ̄**   **kwã**
      CM-child only   CM-child INT
      'A child is always a child.'

79b. Adzɪ̄/ányí ko adzɪ̄/ányí kwã.
      a-dzɪ̄/á-nyí   **ko**   **a-dzɪ̄/á-nyí**   **kwã**
      CM-woman/CM-man   only   CM-woman/CM-man   INT
      'A woman/man is only a woman/man.'

In (77), the first NP is marked by the additive intensifier **tsyí** 'too, also' and the second NP made up of a noun with the same referential meaning as the head of the first NP. In (78a) and (78b), the intensifier used is the focusing one **ko** 'only' and the head noun is as it were repeated. (79a) and (79b) are similar to (78a) and (78b) where the topic NP is modified by **ko** but different from them in that the comment NP is modified by **kwã**. Interestingly, the nouns involved in this subconstruction are all human category nouns.

The verbless predications discussed in this section are used to drive home a point. They are used to state general truths. For instance, the statement in (76b) can be made to emphasise the fact that one cannot understand human beings or see through their motives while (78a) stresses the point that there is no place like one's home and that no matter where a person travels to s/he will always come back home.[49]

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[49] This is comparable to a pop song, parts of which go like: There is no place like home, home sweet home; when I go south, west, east and north I will always come back home.

7. VERBS AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

Verbs and verbal modifiers are the main focus of this chapter. Verbs differ with regard to the number of arguments they take. This chapter, therefore, looks at the argument structure of Tafi verbs. The verbs are classified as one-place, two-place and three-place predicates depending on the number of arguments they require semantically. Verbs also participate in different argument structure constructions. Hence, various argument structure constructions are also discussed. In addition, the verbs are classified according to their inherent semantics. Tense, aspect and mood as categories for which verbs can be modified are also discussed and finally, adverbs and adverbial phrases are examined.

7.1 The structure of verb forms

The following positions or slots can be distinguished in verb forms:

1. **SM   NEG TAM STEM-SUFFIX**

In (1), the initial position is filled by the subject marker (SM). The SM slot is filled by a pronominal which can serve to cross-reference the lexical subject on the verb. When the subject is represented by a noun belonging to any of the **bu**- classes it is not cross-referenced on the verb. The subject marker is followed by a negative marker (NEG) which is in turn followed by the tense, aspect and mood (TAM) markers. The verb stem (STEM) follows the TAM markers and the final slot is occupied by a verb extension such as **-nɔ** 'COM' suffix. The underlined parts in sentences in (2) - (4) illustrate the structure of the verb forms. The vowels of the forms that fill any of the slots before the verb stem agree with the (initial) vowel of the stem in ATR value.

2. Kofi átíwɛ 'éxwī elishí.
   Kofi   á-tí-wa   kí-xwī   e-lishí
   Kofi   SM-NEG1-work CM-work CM-night
   'Kofi does not work at night.'

3. Éébho 'ivuń.
   é-é-bho   ki-vu   ní
   3SG-PRSPROG-beat   CM-drum DEF
   'He is beating the drum.'

4. Búbav' iedzīm obóń.
   bú-ba-vɪ   ke-dʑī   kɪmɪ   o-bóń
   1PL-FUT-go CM-market   in   CM-today
   'We will go to the market today.'

5.   Ésí áyíkɔ agběń ávɪnɔ adzɪań.
        Ésí   á-yíkɔ   a-gbě   ní   á-vɪ-nɔ   a-dzɪ̄   a-ní
        Esi   SM-take   CM-bowl DEF   SM-go-COM   CM-woman   AM-PROX
        'Esi took the bowl to this woman.'

The verb cluster in the sentence in (2) consists of a subject marker (SM) **a-**, the negative marker **tí-** and the verb stem **wa** 'work'. In (3), the verb stem **bho** 'beat' is preceded by the 3SG pronoun and the form **é-** which signals the present progressive aspect in this context. In (4), the future marker **ba-** occurs before the verb stem **vɪ** 'go'. Here too, the subject marker slot is filled by a pronominal form. In example (5), the second verb in the serial verb construction (SVC) has been suffixed with **-nɔ** 'COM', the comitative extension.

7.2   Verbs and their argument structure

In communication, speakers construct sentences which represent the states of affairs they wish to express to their interlocutor(s). A clause may comprise a predicate which is often a verb and its arguments. Verbs and other predicating elements are usually used to code the type of states of affairs whereas their arguments denote the participants in these states of affairs. In this section, I classify verbs as one-place, two-place and three-place predicates depending on the number of core arguments they occur with.

7.2.1   One-place predicates

One-place predicates occur with only one argument in intransitive clauses or one-place constructions. The single argument occurs before the verb and it is coded as the subject of the clause. The following are examples.

6.   Ohuin ɔpɔ́.
        o-hui   ní   ɔ-pɔ́
        CM-rope   DEF   SM-snap
        'The rope snapped.'

7.   Ádɔkasíń áshɪ̄̄.
        á-dɔkasí   ní   á-shɪ̄̄
        CM-teacher   DEF   SM-leave
        'The teacher left.'

8.   Ɔkúkɔ́nyēń ɔ́ɔbɔ̄.
        ɔ-kúkɔ́nyē ní   ɔ́-ɔ́-bɔ̄
        CM-cock   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-crow
        'The cock is crowing.'

In sentences (6) - (8) above, the verbs **pɔ́** 'snap', **shī̃** 'leave' and **bɔ̄** 'crow' occur with a single argument in subject position and are thus one-place verbs.

Essegbey (1999:63-64) identifies three classes of intransitive verbs/one-place predicates for Ewe based on the type of constructions in which they occur. The first and second groups comprise verbs that can occur intransitively as well as transitively. What distinguishes verbs in Group 1 from those in Group 2 is that the expression with the subject function in the intransitive construction in the first group functions as the object NP in its transitive variant whereas the referent with the subject function in the transitive construction in the second group still remains the subject NP of its intransitive counterpart. The two groups of verbs participate in transitivity alternations. These are alternations involving the transitive and intransitive uses of a verb. The transitive use of verbs in Group 1 may be paraphrased as 'cause to V-intransitive' (Levin 1993). The third class of intransitive verbs (Group 3) may be described as canonical intransitive verbs. They can only occur intransitively. Intransitive/one place predicates in Tafi also fall into three groups like in Ewe. Examples of verbs in the various groups in Tafi are:

Group 1:

> **lɪlá** 'lose, get lost'; **yɪlɪ́** 'dissolve, melt, liquefy'; **nɪ** 'become wide'; **dzyínɪ** 'fulcrum-break'; **yě** 'break'; **pɔ́** 'snap'; **tsywĩ** 'tear'; **nɪ́** 'extinguish'; **da** 'close, cover'; **danɪ** 'open'; **zi** 'spoil'; **xá̃** 'be(come) bent'; and **dzyɔ** 'be(come) straight'

Group 2:

> **bá** 'come'; **vɪ** 'go'; **bukú** 'get/be drunk', **kú** 'reach, arrive'

Group 3:

> **kóéyī** 'go out, exit'; **prūdū̄** 'fly'; **tri** 'get/become big'; **kpe**, 'be plentiful'; **pĩ** 'be good', **dzɔ** 'bark'; **fū** 'blossom (flower)'; **dze** 'be(come) long'; **dzú** 'be(come) deep'; **sí** 'run, flee'; **tã̄** 'burn'; **tɔ̄** 'get/become tired', **tsɪ̌** 'sneeze' and **vɛ́** 'be(come) bitter'

The sentences in (9) and (10) illustrate the verb **zi** 'spoil' from Group 1 while those in (11) and (12) exemplify the verb **bá** 'come' from Group 2. The verb **sí** 'run' in sentence (13) belongs to Group 3.

9.   Gasɔ́ń ézi.
       gasɔ́   nɪ́   é-zi
       Bicycle   DEF   SM-spoil
       'The bicycle is spoilt.'

10.   Ézi gasɔ́ń.
       é-zi   gasɔ́   nɪ́
       3SG-spoil   bicycle   DEF

'He spoilt the bicycle.'

11.   Ádɔkasíń ábá.
        á-dɔkasí   **ní**   **á-bá**
        CM-teacher   DEF   SM-come
        'The teacher came.'

12.   Ádɔkasíń ábá sukū.
        á-dɔkasí   **ní**   **á-bá**   **sukū**
        CM-teacher   DEF   SM-come school
        'The teacher came to school.'

13.   Aga gbʊgblǎń ésí riɖiiɖi.
        a-ga   **gbʊgblǎ**   **ní**   **é-sí**   **riɖiiɖi**
        CM-animal   big   DEF   SM-run   IDEO
        'The big animal ran continuously.'   (FS)

The sentence in (9) is a one-place construction in which the verb occurs with only
one argument which functions as the subject. The verb **zi** 'spoil' can occur in a
two-place construction as shown in (10). Sentence (10) is the causative alternative
of (9). Here, the causer of the state of affairs coded by the verb is introduced in
subject position. Thus, the referent with the subject function, **gasɔ́ ní** 'the bicycle',
in the intransitive clause in (9) functions as the object of the transitive clause in
(10). As illustrated in (11) and (12), the verb **bá** 'come' occurs in both one-place
and two-place constructions. However, unlike the verb **zi** 'spoil', the expression
with the subject function, **ádɔkasí ní** 'the teacher', in the one-place construction in
(11) is the same as that of the two-place construction in (12) and **sukū** 'school'
functions as the object of **bá** 'come' in (12). The verb **sí** 'run' only occurs in a one-
place construction as illustrated in sentence (13).

Verbs which occur in one-place constructions fall into various semantic classes.
They include directed motion verbs, non-agentive manner of motion verbs, verbs
of emission, property verbs, verbs of bodily processes, and achievement verbs (as
defined by Levin 1993 and Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 2005).

7.2.1.1   Directed motion verbs

Directed motion verbs denote movement of an entity to or from a particular place.
Examples of directed motion verbs include:

14.   **bá**   'come'
        vʊ   'go'
        kóéyī   'exit, come/go out'
        tsī   'crawl'

ĺ	'rise (up), get up'
wɔ́lɪ̄	'fall'
sí	'run, escape'
nyɔ́	'roam about, wander'

The examples in (15) and (16) illustrate the verbs **nyɔ́** 'roam about' and **kóéyī** 'go out'.

15.   BááByɔ̄.
       bá-á-nyɔ̄
       3PL-PRSPROG-roam.about
       'They are roaming about.' (FS)

16.   … kɪlí betsi ekóéyī n'ôsíním̄.

kɪlí	**be-tsí**	**e-kóéyī**	**ní**	**o-sí**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
CONJ	CM.PL-bee	SM-exit	LOC	CM-tree	DEF	in

       '… and then bees came out of the tree.' (FS)

Bá '3PL' in (15) and **betsí** 'bees' in (16) are moving entities which occur as the subjects of the verbs **nyɔ́** 'enter' and **kóéyī** 'exit' respectively. In these sentences, the subjects are cross-referenced on these verbs and in (16), the verb occurs with an adpositional phrase complement introduced by the locative preposition **ní** 'LOC'.

As illustrated by the examples in (12) above, some of the directed motion verbs can occur in two-place constructions. When they are used in two-place constructions, they take locative nouns as complements.

7.2.1.2   Non-agentive manner of motion

There are two intransitive verbs in my corpus which encode manner of motion and they have alternating transitive and intransitive uses. That is, they undergo the causative alternation. The verbs in question are **trǒ** 'twist' (borrowed from Ewe **tró** 'twist') and **glebē** 'roll'. These verbs can be predicated of both animate and inanimate entities. The use of **glebē** 'roll' in the two types of constructions is illustrated below. Example (17) illustrates the intransitive use of the verb **glebē** 'roll' and (18) exemplifies its transitive use.

17.   Kepluíń églébē ní kplɔ̌níábhā.

ke-pluí	**ní**	**é-glébē**	**ní**	**kplɔ̌**	**ní**	**kábhā**
CM-gourd	DEF	SM-roll	LOC	table	DEF	on

       'The gourd rolled on the table.'

18.   Ányíń églébē kepluíń.
           á-nyí   ní   é-glébē   ke-pluí   ní
           CM-man   DEF   SM-roll   CM-gourd   DEF
           'The man rolled the gourd.'

In the examples above, the entity that occurs in the subject position in the one-place construction in (17) is the one which occurs in the object position of the two-place construction in (18).

7.2.1.3   Verbs of emission

Verbs of emission in Tafi include verbs denoting the emission of sounds, substances, light as well as smell. The verbs listed in (19) and (20) are examples of verbs of sound and substance emission respectively. Light and smell emission verbs are exemplified in (23a) and (23b) below.

19.   **yi**   'sound'
      dzɔ   'bark'
      bɔ̄   'crow'

20.   **wi**   'leak'
      sísī   'drip'
      wanyá   'sprinkle'
      pí   'spurt'

The verbs of sound emission **dzɔ** 'bark' and **bɔ̄** 'crow' take animate entities as their single participant, whereas **yi** 'sound' takes an inanimate entity. The single participant is coded as the subject. These verbs do not undergo the causative alternation. The sentences below illustrate the use of the verb **yi** 'sound'.

21.   Ɔɖáń óyi.
           ɔ-ɖá   ní   ó-yi
           CM-metal   DEF   SM-sound
           'The bell has sounded.'

22.   Bákɔ́ ɔɖáń óyi.
           bá-kɔ́   ɔ-ɖá   ní   ó-yi
           3PL-cause   CM-metal   DEF   SM-sound
           'They caused the bell to sound.'

In the sentence in (21), **ɔɖá ní** 'the metal', the single participant of the verb **yi** 'sound' occurs in subject position. In (22), however, this verb occurs in a bi-clausal construction in which the entity supposed to emit the sound occurs in object

position of the causative verb **kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make'. This verb is used to introduce the causer of the state of affairs designated by the verb **yi** 'sound'.

So far, only one light emission verb and one smell emission verb have been encountered. They are **tã̄** 'shine' (of the sun, light bulbs, etc.) and **lɔ̄** 'smell, stink'. **Tã̄** 'shine' is illustrated in (23).

23a. Áw̃ű̃w̃í̃ń átáátã̄.
    á-w̃ű̃w̃í̃   ní   á-táá-tã̄
    CM.PL-star   DEF   SM-NEG:PRSPROG-shine
    'The stars are not shining.'

23b. Ónúg' ónyí ɔ́sí ɔ́ɔ́lɔ̄ ní bátífɔ̄ otshutshúí ní ɔhɛɛshíʔ.
    ónú.gɪ   ó-nyí   ɔ́-sí   ɔ́-ɔ́-lɔ̄
    COND   2SG.DEP-know   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell
    ní   bá-tí-fɔ̄   o-tshutshúí   ní   ɔ-ha   ki.shí
    TOP   3PL-NEG1-exude   CM-fart   LOC   CM-group   midst
    'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'
                                           (Proverbs #52)

The verbs of substance emission **sísī** 'drip, strain', **wanyá** 'sprinkle' and **pí** 'spurt' occur with liquid substances while **wi** 'leak' occurs with liquid, powdery and grainy substances. The verbs **sísī** 'drip', **wanyá** 'sprinkle' and **pí** 'spurt' but not **wi** 'leak' can undergo the causative alternation, thus, they occur in two-place constructions as illustrated by the verb **sísī** 'drip' in (25). Example (24) shows the occurrence of this same verb in a one-place construction.

24. Bʋbɔ́ ní sísī.
    bʋ-bɔ́   ní   sísī
    CM-oil   DEF   drip
    'The oil dripped.'

25. Máwútɔ asísī bʋbɔ́ń.
    Máwútɔ   a-sísī   bʋ-bɔ́   ní
    Máwútɔ   CM-drip   CM-oil   DEF
    'Mawutɔ drained the oil.'

The sentence in (24) expresses the manner in which the oil comes out of the container. Here, **bʋbɔ́ ní** 'the oil' occurs as the subject whereas in (25), the oil occurs as the object of the two-place construction. Thus, the transitive variants of these verbs are causative. Sentence (25) encodes the notion of cause in that the entity that occurs in the subject position does something to cause the oil to drip.

7.2.1.4 Property verbs

Property verbs are used to encode inherent properties or qualities of the entities they are predicated of. Most property verbs in Tafi are primarily intransitive. Depending on the context, these verbs can receive a change of state (inchoative) or stative interpretation. Some examples of property verbs are given in (26) while the sentences in (27) and (28) illustrate two of these verbs.

26.   **dzã**   'be(come) red/ripe'   **dze**   'be(come) long'
        tsɔ́mɔ̄   'be(come) rotten/ugly'   **gɪganɪ**   'be(come) strong/hard'
        dzú   'be(come) deep'   **yɔ́**   'be(come) cold'
        bubɔ   'be(come) soft'   **vē**   'be(come) bitter'
        dzyɔ   'be(come) straight'   **nɪ**   'be(come) wide'
        tutúrū   'be(come) dirty'   **ḍama**   'be(come) tall/high'
        shɪrɪḍɪ   'be(come) slippery'   **sɔ̃nɔ**   'be(come) equal with'
        tri   'be(come) big'   **tɔ̃**   'be(come) tired'

27.   Osíń ɔ́ḍama.
        o-sí   **ní**   **ɔ́-ḍama**
        CM-tree   DEF   SM-become.tall
        'The tree is tall.'

28.   Buní ní yɔ́.
        bu-ní   **ní**   **yɔ́**
        CM-water   DEF   become.cold
        'The water is cold.'

Osí ní 'the tree' and **buní ní** 'the water' which are the single participants of the verbs **ḍama** 'be(come) tall' and **yɔ́** 'be(come) cold' in (27) and (28) respectively are coded as the subject argument and they can be said to possess the qualities or properties described by these verbs.

Some property verbs including **nɪ** 'be(come) wide', **dzyɔ** 'be(come) straight', and **xá̃** 'be(come) bent' can participate in the causative alternation. Thus, they occur in two-place constructions in which the referent with the subject function in the intransitive clause functions as the object of the transitive clause, as shown in (29) – (32).

29.   Kidzoń ínī.
        ki-dzo   **ní**   **kí-nī**
        CM-road   DEF   SM-become.wide
        'The path is wide.'

30. Ɔɖáń ɔ́xá̃.

ɔ-ɖá   ní   ɔ́-xá̃
CM-rod   DEF   SM-become.bent
'The rod is bent.'

31. Ánī̄ kidzoń.

á-nī̄   ki-dzo   ní
3SG-become.wide   CM-road DEF
'S/he widened the path.'

32. Áxá̃ ɔɖáń.

á-xá̃   ɔ-ɖá   ní
3SG-become.bent   CM-rod DEF
'S/he bent the rod.'

I stated earlier on that some property verbs are intrinsically monovalent. These verbs do not undergo the causative alternation and for such verbs, the causer of the change of state can only be introduced in a bi-clausal construction in which the causer of the change of state occurs as the subject of the verb **kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make' which occurs as the first verb of the construction as shown in (33).

33. Ámā̄ ákɔ́ oseyuyuń ɔ́bʋbɔ

Ámā̄   á-kɔ́   o-seyuyu ní   ɔ́-bʋbɔ
Ámā̄   SM-cause CM-fruit DEF   SM-become.soften
'Ama caused the fruit to soften/become soft.'

In (33), **Ama**, an agent and the causer of the state of affairs expressed by the second verb in the bi-clausal construction occurs as the subject of the first verb **kɔ́** 'cause' whereas **oseyuyu** 'fruit' occurs as the subject of the property verb **bʋbɔ** 'be(come) soft'.

7.2.1.5   Verbs of (involuntary) bodily processes

The verbs which belong to this class encode bodily processes of humans and in some cases higher animals. Some of these verbs such as **fwɛ̌** 'breathe'; **tsǐ** 'sneeze'; **kɔ́lī̄** 'cough' and **yaká** 'yawn' do not involve voluntary participants and as such they do not control the state of affairs denoted by these verbs. Others like **mwí** 'laugh/smile' involve participants who exercise some control over the state of affairs expressed by such verbs. The sentence below illustrates the verb **fwɛ̌** 'breathe'.

34. Ányʋnyã́ń ááfwɛ̌ pēēpēēpēē.

á-nyʋnyã̄   ní   á-á-fwɛ̌   pēēpēēpēē
CM-patient   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-breathe IDEO

'The patient is breathing rapidly.'

As shown in sentence (34), the single participant occurs in subject position and it does not assert any control over the state of affairs indicated by the verb **fwě** 'breathe'.

7.2.1.5   Achievement verbs

Another group of one-place predicates consists of achievement verbs. The single participant of these verbs is coded as the subject argument and it undergoes a change of state. Examples of achievement verbs include:

35.   **zi**   'spoil'
      tsí   'die'
      tsyrɔ̋   'destroy'   < Ewe
      tsī   'dry up'

The sentence in (36) exemplifies the verb **tsyrɔ̋** 'destroy'.

36.   Bʊpán pétéé tsyrɔ̋.
       bʊ-pá   ní   pétéé tsyrɔ̋
       CM-house   DEF   all   destroy
       'The whole household perished.'

As shown in (36), the verb occurs with a single argument, **bʊpá ní** 'the house(hold)', in subject position. The verb **tsyrɔ̋** 'destroy' in this sentence simply denotes a state of affairs in which the single participant undergoes a change of state without specifying how the change of state occurred.

Some of the achievement verbs such as **tsyrɔ̋** 'destroy' undergo the causative alternation whereas others like **tsí** 'die' do not as illustrated in the examples below:

37.   Obúdīn ɔtsyrɔ̋ bʊpán pétéé.
       o-búdī   ní   ɔ-tsyrɔ̋   bʊ-pá   ní   pétéé
       CM-fetish   DEF   SM-destroy   CM-household   DEF   all
       'The fetish destroyed the whole household.'

38.   *Bʊwá ní tsí epidzyań.
       ***bʊ-wá   ní   tsí e-pidzya ní**
        CM-medicine   DEF   die CM-goat   DEF
       *'The medicine died the goat.'

39.   Bʋwá ní kɔ́ epidzyan etsí.
       bʋ-wá   **ní**   **kɔ́**   **e-pidzya**   **ní**   **e-tsí**
       CM-medicine DEF   cause   CM-goat   DEF   SM-die
       'The medicine caused the goat to die.'

Sentence (37) is a two-place construction in which **bʋpá ní** 'the house(hold)' which is the participant in the subject position in the one-place construction in (36) occurs in the object position in (37). **Obúdī ní** 'the fetish' occurs in the subject position in (37) and is an agent. It is responsible for the state of affairs expressed by the verb which results in the change in state of the object NP, the patient. The sentence in (38), on the other hand, is ungrammatical as the verb **tsí** 'die' does not participate in a two-place construction. In (39), the causer or the participant responsible for the state of affairs designated by the verb **tsí** 'die' is introduced through a bi-clausal construction with the verb **kɔ́** 'cause, give, let, make' as the first verb in the series.

7.2.2   Two-place predicates

Two-place predicates are bivalent verbs used to describe states of affairs which involve two arguments. One of these arguments is mapped on to the subject role and the other to the object role. Mostly, the argument in the subject position is the one which essentially determines the success of the state of affairs designated by the verb. Depending on the semantics of the verb, the role assigned to the subject NP by the verb may be an agent, an effector or an experiencer whereas the role assigned to the object NP could, among others, be a patient, theme, or location. Consider the following examples:

40.   Ányíń áyɔ́ 'ιapamιń.
       á-nyí   **ní**   **á-yɔ́**   **ká-pamī**   **ní**
       CM-man   DEF   SM-sharpen   CM-matchete DEF
       'The man sharpened the matchete.'

41.   Sóbhan etsī awʋlakpáń.
       sóbha **ní**   **é-tsī**   **a-wʋlakpá**   **ní**
       rain   DEF   SM-wash CM.PL-leaf   DEF
       'The rain washes the leaves.'

42.   Ímɔ adz'alílíń y'adzyā.
       í-mɔ   **a-dzì**   **á-lílíní**   **yí**   **á-dzyā**
       1SG-see   CM-woman   AM-DIST 3SG.IND   CM-brother
       'I saw that woman's brother.'

In (40), the subject and object slots are filled by an agent and a patient respectively. The agent does something which results in a change of state of the patient. In (41), the subject role is filled by an effector whereas the object role is

also filled by a patient. Thus, the rain carries out the state of affairs expressed by the transitive verb which has an effect on the leaves. The subject position in (42) is occupied by an experiencer and the object is a patient.

Two-place predicates in the language are of various semantic kinds. They include verbs of perception and cognition, speech act verbs, verbs of creation, 'do' verbs, verbs of planting, body-grooming verbs, verbs of caused change of location and verbs of cutting.

7.2.2.1   Verbs of Perception

Perception verbs are bivalent with the perceiver occurring in subject position in the clause and the entity that is perceived occurring in object position. Verbs of perception in Tafi include the following:

43.   **mɔ**   'see'
       nú   'hear'
       dí   'look'
       lūku 'smell (something)'

The following sentences illustrate some of these verbs.

44.   Ekénú 'íbúínyéébúí.
       e-ké-nú   **ki-búí-nyáá-ki-búí**
       3SG-NEG.PERF-hear   CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter
       'S/he has not heard anything yet.'

45.   Anúvɔ̄n eféké y'áfʊkpǎń éd'álữm̄.
       a-núvɔ̄   **ní**   **é-féké**   **yí**   **bá-fʊkpǎ**   **ní**   **é-dí**   **balí**
       CM-child   DEF   SM-lift   3SG.IND   CM.PL-shoe   DEF   SM-look   3PL
       kʊmʊ
       inside
       'The child lifted his shoe and looked inside.' (FS)

Some of these verbs also take sentential complements. As illustrated in (46), the verb **dí** 'look' occurs with a sentential complement which is introduced by the complementiser **sí** (see Chapter 9, § 9.2).

46.   Élūku asrǎn édí sí abɔ́ dza.
       é-lūku   **a-srǎ**   **ní**   **é-dí**   **sí**
       3SG-smell   CM-tobacco   DEF   SM-look   COMP
       a-bɔ́   **dza**
       3SG.DEP-be.good   UFP
       'He smelled the tobacco to see if it is good.'

7.2.2.2   Verbs of Cognition

Verbs of cognition in Tafi include **nyí** 'know', **tī** 'know, be aware', **bákā** 'remember', and **dzɪkɪ** 'forget'. **Nyí** 'know' is exemplified in the sentence below.

47.   Ínyí banɔn pétéé n'ɔmaním̃.
      Í-nyí   **ba-nɔ̄**   **ní**   **pétéé** **ní**   **ɔ-ma**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
      1SG-know   CM.PL-person   DEF   all   LOC   CM-town   DEF   in
      'I know all the people in the town.'

As the sentence in (47) illustrates, the pre-verbal subject position is filled by a cognizer **í** '1SG' and the object position is also filled by **banɔ̄ ní pétéé** 'all the people' which is the content (i.e. the thing that is known).

Some verbs of cognition can take sentential complements. Example (23) is repeated here as (48). This sentence is a proverb.

48.   Ónúgɪ óny' ɔsí ɔ́ɔlɔ̄ ní bátí fɔ̄ otsyutsyúí ní ɔhɛɛshí.
      Ónú.gɪ   **ó-nyí**   **ɔ́-sí**   **ɔ́-ɔ́-lɔ̄**
      COND   2SG.DEP-know   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell
      ní   **bá-tí-fɔ̄**   **o-tsyutsyúí**   **ní**   **ɔ-ha**   **ki.shí**
      TOP   3PL-NEG1-exude   CM-fart   LOC   CM-group   midst
      'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'
                                                                    (Proverb #52)

7.2.2.3   Speech act verbs

There are speech act verbs which also take two arguments, that is, a subject and an object. The argument that occupies the subject slot is the speaker and the addressee or topic occurs in the object position. Some speech act verbs in Tafi are listed in (49) below and the verbs **tsiré** 'tell' and **klǔ** 'call' are exemplified in (50):

49.   **dɔ**   'say'   **tsiré**   'tell'
      kúlā   'insult'   **dó gbe dá**[50] 'pray'
      kulú   'call'   **bísī**   'ask'

50.   B'otsiré 'ʊlɔ́ n' ɪkĩn kánā le klúí!
      bá   **o-tsiré**   **bʊlɔ́**   **ní**   **ɪ-kĩ**   **ká-nā**   **le-klú**   **yí**
      come   2SG-tell   1PL   LOC   CM-here   CM-manner   3PL.DEP-call 3SG
      'Come and tell us here what she is called!'   (Sá̃hwī)

---

[50] **dó gbe dá** 'pray' is borrowed from Ewe where it literally means 'send voice in(to) the distance'.

Some of the speech act verbs have multiple argument realisation. For instance, **tsiré** 'tell' and **bísɪ̄** 'ask' can also be used as three-place predicates (see section 7.2.4.1 on three-place predicates). **Bísɪ̄** 'ask' can also be used in a one-place construction with an unexpressed object as illustrated below:

51.   Íbísɪ̄.
       í-bísɪ̄
       1SG-ask
       'I asked.'

7.2.2.4   Verbs of creation

Verbs of creation denote states of affairs in which an agent performs an activity which results in the creation of another entity. They include:

52.   **kámɪ̄**   'sew'   **yú**   'weave'
       nyá   'tie'   **tsā**   'tie, bind'
       tá   'draw'   **dzu**   'build'
       bhɔ   'mould'   **gba**   'fry'
       tɔ́   'cook'   **bú**   'create'

The sentences in (53), (54) and (55) exemplify the verbs **bhɔ** 'mould', **yú** 'weave' and **bú** 'create' respectively.

53.   Áábh'owúlēn.
       á-á-bhɔ   **o-wúlē**   **nɪ́**
       3SG-PRSPROG-mould   CM-rice.storage.bin DEF
       'He is moulding the rice storage bin.'   (Kásālā)

54.   Bééyu 'ípɔtí n'Ofú.
       bé-é-yu   **kɪ-pɔtí**   **nɪ́**   **Ofú**
       3PL-PRSPROG-weave   CM-cloth   LOC   Ofu
       'They are weaving cloth at Ofú.'

55.   Wóbú tɪgbɔ nɪ tsyí.
       wɔ́   **ó-bú**   **tɪ-gbɔ**   **nɪ́**   **tsyí**
       2SG.IND   SM-create   CM-Tafi.language   DEF   also
       'You (God) created the Tafi language also.'   (Spontaneous Prayer)

In the above examples, the agent, **á** '3SG' in (53), **bé** '3PL' in (54) and **wɔ́** '2SG.IND' in (55), is expressed as the subject of the sentence and the created entity/product, **owúlē nɪ́** 'the rice storage bin' in (53), **kɪpɔtí** 'cloth' in (54) and **Tɪgbɔ nɪ́** 'the Tafi language' in (55), is expressed as its direct object.

It must be noted that in the cases where some material is involved in the creation of the entity, it can occur as the subject of the sentence as shown in (56).

56.   Ihuin iyú apɔtí tabha ko.
      i-hui   **ní**   **i-yú**   **a-pɔtí**   **ta-bha**   **ko**
      CM.PL-rope DEF   SM-weave   CM.PL-cloth AM-two   only
      'The yarns wove only two cloths.'

In sentence (56) above, the material, **ihui ní** 'the rope', in subject position is understood as being of a measure that was able to be used in weaving two cloths.

7.2.2.5   'Do' verbs

There are two 'do' verbs in Tafi which are both used as two-place predicates. One is borrowed. They are:

57.   **wa**   'do' (borrowed from inland Ewe **wa** 'do')
      bhɪtī   'do, make'

Wa 'do' collocates with certain nominals to express verbal meanings as listed in (58) and illustrated in (59).

58.   **wa** 'do' + **kíxwī**   'work'   [**wɛ 'ɛxwī**]   'work'
      wa 'do' + **kúnú**   'funeral'   [**wa kúnú**]   'perform a funeral'
      wa 'do' + **bʊya**   'farm'   [**wa aya**]   'cultivate a farm'
      wa 'do' + **kídɔ̄**   'thing'   [**wɛ 'ɛdɔ̄**]   'weed'
      wa 'do' + **X shu kíxwī** 'X body work' [**wa X shú 'íxwī**] 'make use of X'

59.   Kásālā ɛ̃ɛ̃ awá amɔ́ gbɪgblǎ telí.
      ka-sālā   **ɛ̃ɛ̃**   **a-wá**   **a-mɔ́**   **gbɪgblǎ**   **te-lí**
      CM-tortoise INTJ   SM-do   CM-rice   big   AM-INDEF
      'Tortoise made a very big rice farm.' (Kásālā)

The following sentences in (60) and (61) illustrate the verb **bhɪtī** 'do'.

60.   Kídɔ̄ nɔ̂ń gɪ ɔs'ɔbhɪtī ko, bhɪtɪ 'ɪlí tɪ lɪ nā óó.
      kí-dɔ̄   **nɔ̂**   **ní**   **gɪ**   **ɔ-sí**   **ɔ-bhɪtī**   **ko**   **bhɪtɪ**
      CM-thing wh.ever DEF   REL   2SG.DEP-say   SM-do   just   do
      kɪlí   **tɪ**   **lɪ-nā**   **óó**
      3SG   COMP   3SG.DEP-reach   UFP
      'Whatever you want to do, do it the right way.' (Kásālā)

61.   Ɔ́bhítɪ 'ɪdzyɔgǒ o, ɔ́bhíti 'izizi o, wɔ́ n'áhɔɪ.
      ɔ́-bhítɪ   kɪ-dzyɔgǒ o   ɔ́-bhíti   ki-zizi   o   wɔ́   nɪ
      2SG-do   CM-good DISJ   2SG-do   CM-bad   DISJ   2SG.IND COM
      a-hɔɪ
      CM-hand
      'Whether you do good or you do bad, you do it for yourself.'

Bhɪtɪ̄ 'do, make' is also used in an idiomatic expression **bhɪtɪ̄ (k)ibúí**, literally, 'do case/matter' to express the predicate meaning 'thank' as in:

62.   W'ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí popoopó.
      wɔ́   ɔ́-bhɪtɪ́   ki-búí   popoopó
      2SG.IND SM-do   CM-matter   IDEO.very.much
      'Thank you very much.'

7.2.2.6   Verbs of planting

Planting activities involve at least two participants, an agent who plants and a theme which is the seed or seedling that is planted. Other participants may also be involved such as the location where the theme/seed is planted and at times the instrument used. The different types of planting are referred to by verbs which emphasise the manner in which the seed or seedling is planted. Verbs that name planting activities in Tafi include the following:

63.   **dzù**   'plant seedling'   **ɖá**   'sow/plant'
      bēlī   'plant (rice)'   **xwɪ**   'broadcast'

64.   Sukúeyíń édzú belí ní sukú 'ʋyanɪ́m̄.
      sukū-be-yí   ní   bé-dzù   be-lí   ní   sukū
      school-CM.PL-child   DEF   SM-plant CM.PL-oil.palm LOC   school
      bʋ-ya   ní   kɪmɪ
      CM-farm   DEF   inside
      'The students planted palm trees in the school farm.'

65.   Ásɔ́ 'ʋyanɪ́m̄ kɪlí y'aɖa nikpě.
      á-sɔ́   bʋ-ya   ní   kɪmɪ kɪlí yí   á-ɖá   nikpě
      3SG-weed   CM-farm   DEF   inside CONJ 3SG.IND SM-sow   corn
      'S/he weeded the farm and then planted corn.'

66.   Áyadɪ́ń ébeli amɔ́.
      á-yadɪ   ní   é-beli   a-mɔ́
      CM-farmer   DEF   SM-plant CM-rice
      'The farmer planted rice.'

The verb **dzū̀** 'plant' is used to describe the planting of seedlings such as oil-palm, cocoyam, cocoa, coconut, plantain or cassava cuttings. These are planted by placing a part of the plant in the ground. The method of planting grains and seeds including maize, okra, cocoa, groundnut and beans by putting them just beneath the soil is described using the verb **ɖá** 'sow'. **Bēlī** 'plant' is used to describe the planting of rice whereas **xwɩ** 'broadcast' is used to describe the broadcasting of seeds such as pepper, okra, tomatoes or garden eggs. In situations where seedlings are transplanted the term **kpě dzū̀** 'transplant' is used. This term comprises two verbs, **kpě** 'uproot (plants, grass, etc.) and **dzū̀** 'plant'. Thus when seedlings are transplanted, they are said to be 'uprooted and planted'.

7.2.2.7   'Peel' verbs

Peeling events in Tafi are described by different verbs depending on the type of outer covering the item being peeled/pared has and the kind of instrument used. These peel verbs require at least two arguments. Examples of these verbs include:

67.   **fátī**   'peel, pare, carve'
        w̃ū́sē   'peel'

The instrument may be one with a sharp edge as is the case for **fátī** 'peel, pare, carve' or it may be the hand as is the case for **w̃ū́sē** 'peel'. If the outer covering is too hard to be removed with the hand then **fátī** 'peel, pare' is used otherwise **w̃ū́sē** 'peel' is used. Thus, **fátī** 'pare or peel' is used for the removal of the outer covering of foods or fruits such as yam, cocoyam, cassava and orange. **W̃ū́sē** 'peel', on the other hand, is used for the removal of the outer covering of food items including plantain, banana, maize, onions, beans and groundnuts. Here, the hand is used for the removal of the outer covering of these food items. **W̃ū́sē** 'peel', can also be used for an orange when its outer covering is removed using the hand. Both **fátī** 'peel, pare' and **w̃ū́sē** 'peel' are illustrated in the following examples:

68.   Adzɩn afáti 'ikūń.
        a-dzɪ̄   **nɪ́**   **á-fátī**   **kí-kū**   **nɪ́**
        CM-woman   DEF   SM-pare   CM-yam   DEF
        'The woman pared the yam.'

69.   Adzɩn eéw̃ū́sē bladzyó tɩ apúī.
        a-dzɪ̄   **nɪ́**   **e-é-w̃ū́sé**   **bladzyó**   **tɩ**   **a-púī**
        CM-woman   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-peel   plantain   PURP   3SG.DEP-roast
        'The woman is peeling plantains to roast.'

These two verbs can also have the creation interpretation in the sense that **fátī** 'peel, pare, carve' is used to describe the carving of something, e.g., a statue

whereas w̃ǔsē 'peel' is also used to mean 'mend' or 'decorate'. Thus, fátī has the
readings 'peel, pare, carve' while w̃ǔsē has the readings 'peel, mend or decorate'.

7.2.2.8   Body-grooming verbs

There are some verbs of shaving and barbering in my corpus which co-lexicalise
instruments and are primarily transitive in that they take an agent as the subject and
the part of the body that is shaved or barbered occurs as the object. These verbs are
listed in (70) and they are illustrated in (71) and (72).

70.   **xlɔ̌**   'shave'
       shī   'shave'
       zhi   'shave'
       tsí   'barber'

71.   Kofi áxlɔ́ / ashí / ézhí ɔtɔmí / 'ɪampiesí.
       Kofi   á-xlɔ́ / a-shí / é-zhí   ɔ-tɔmí / ká-mpiesí
       Kofi   SM-shave   CM-beard/ CM-armpit
       'Kofi shaved his beard/ armpit.'

The verb **tsí** 'barber' is used to describe the process of using a pair of scissors to
cut a person's hair. The sentence in (72) exemplifies the use of **tsí** 'barber'.

72.   Bátsí 'ítɔ́kpú kɔ́ anúvɔ̄ń.
       bá-tsí   kɪ-tɔkpú   kɔ́   a-núvɔ̄   ní
       3PL-barber   CM-head   DAT   CM-child DEF
       'The child's hair was cut.' (Lit: They barbered head for the child')

The verbs **shī** 'shave' and **zhi** 'shave' can be used intransitively and in this use they
take an instrument as the subject.

73.   Ihěn ááshī / éézhi.
       i-hě   ní   á-á-shī / é-é-zhi
       CM-knife DEF   SM-PRSPROG-shave
       'The knife shaves.'

When some of these verbs are used intransitively, it is also possible for the agent to
occur as the subject and the object is left unexpressed. Here, even though the
object is not expressed, it is understood. Sentence (74) is an example involving **shī**
'shave'.

74.   Bááshɪ.
      bá-á-shī
      3PL-PRSPROG-shave
      'They are shaving.'

7.2.2.9   Verbs of caused change of location

Caused change of location verbs also occur in two-place constructions in that they allow the agent to be expressed as the subject of the verb and the theme as the object. Examples of these verbs are in (75).

75.   **he**   'pull, drag'
      fɪ   'push'

76.   Kofi ééhe kakudzɔgě ń.
      Kofi   é-é-he   ka-kudzɔgě   ń
      Kofi   SM-PRSPROG-drag   CM-dog   DEF
      'Kofi is dragging the dog.'

As shown in (76), **Kofi,** the subject of the verb causes a change in location of **kakudzɔgě ń** 'the dog' which is the object.

7.2.2.10   Verbs of cutting

The verbs of cutting are used to describe separation events which predicate an agent acting on a patient that brings about a change in the material integrity of a patient and they focus on instrument or manner.[51] Cutting verbs[52] in the language include:

77.   **tɛ́**   'slash'
      bhui   'cut'
      yá   'cut'

Tɛ́ 'slash' is a highly agentive verb which cannot occur without an agent performing the action expressed by the verb (see Bobuafor 2008a on Tafi and Ameka & Essegbey 2007 on Ewe). The verb **tɛ́** 'slash' lexicalises a specific manner and/or instrument. It is used to describe cutting events which are done in a

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[51] For a more elaborate discussion on "cut" and "break" verbs, see Bobuafor (2008).

[52] These are verbs elicited using "cut" and "break" video clips designed by Juergen Bohnemeyer, Melissa Bowerman and Penelope Brown (2001) at the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands (see fieldmanuals.mpi.nl).

slashing manner. Such events entail the use of prototypical instruments like axes, machetes and big knives which are heavy by nature.

78.   Ányíń été os'ɔ́shɛ̌ń (n'ɩápamí).
       á-nyí   nɩ́   é-tɛ́   o-sí   ɔ́-shɛ̌   nɩ́
       CM-man DEF SM-slash CM-tree CM-branch DEF
       (nɩ   ká-pamí)
       COM CM-cutlass
       'The man slashed the tree branch (with a cutlass).' (C&B 3)

79.   *Os'ɔshɛ̌ń óté.
       ***o-sí   ɔ-shɛ̌   nɩ́   ó-tɛ́**
         CM-tree CM-branch   DEF SM-slash
       *'The branch slashed.'

Sentence (79) is unacceptable because **tɛ́** 'slash' only has a transitive use. Any activity expressed by **tɛ́** 'slash' requires an agent to perform it, possibly with the use of an instrument and therefore, this verb cannot occur intransitively.

Bhui 'cut' is used to describe most cutting events involving a sharp instrument such as a pair of scissors or a knife and like **tɛ́** 'slash', it expresses activities performed by an agent as illustrated by the sentence in (80). This verb is used to describe scenarios in which clothes designers cut textiles to make garments as well as the process of chopping vegetables for the preparation of sauce. It is also used in contexts such as **bhui (k)ɩtɔkpú** 'behead' (lit. 'cut head') and **bhui (b)únyínyí** 'circumcise' (lit. 'cut penis').

80.   Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ̄ń ébhui kishɩ̌ń nɩ sâ.
       á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ̄   nɩ́   é-bhui   ki-shɩ̌   nɩ́   nɩ   sâ
       CM-boy   DEF SM-cut CM-stick DEF COM saw
       'The boy cut the stick with a saw.' (C&B 15)

It is interesting to note that the verb **bhui** 'cut' occurs in intransitive constructions in restricted contexts such as formula for ending one's speech as in (81), the cessation of flow of water in a river as in (82) or tap as in (83) and cuts in the body as in (84).

81.   Ibhui.
       i-bhui
       1SG-cut
       'I am done.'

82.   Kenɩ́ń ebhui.
       ke-ní   nɩ́   ke-bhui
       CM-river DEF SM-cut

'The river has stopped flowing.' (Lit. the river has cut.)

83.   Buní ní bhui.
         bu-ní   **ní**   **bhui**
         CM-water   DEF   cut
         'The water has ceased flowing (from the tap)'.

84.   Y'ítsrĭń íbhui.
         yí   **kɪ-tsrĭ**   **ní**   **kí-bhui**
         3SG.IND CM-toe   DEF   SM-cut
         'His toe got cut.' (Lit.: 'His toe cut.')

The sentence in (81) has an agentive argument and the verb has been routinised. Thus, in ending one's speech the sentence in (81) can be uttered. The sentences in (82) and (83) have the patient NPs in subject position in which case, the causer of the state of affairs specified by the verb **bhui** 'cut' is not stated. In (84), we have the possessed body-part affected by the state of affairs denoted by the verb **bhui** 'cut' in subject position. The sentences in (82) – (84) give a resultative reading. That is, the state of affairs expressed by the verb may have come about as a result of a previous one. Thus, the toe that got cut in sentence (84), for instance, could be as a result of stumbling or even the result of the use of an instrument. The agent/effector (the causer) of the change of state in the patients in (82) and (83) can be introduced through the use of **kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make' which occurs as the first verb in a bi-clausal construction as illustrated by the example in (85). With regard to (84), the possessor of the body-part can also be expressed in the clause in which case, it will occur as the subject of the sentence with the possessed body-part occurring as the object as shown in (86). In addition, if the cut was caused by an instrument, the instrument can also be introduced as the subject of the sentence. In such a case, either the possessor together with the possessed body-part or only the possessed body-part will occur as the object of the sentence as in (87). Additionally, the instrument can be introduced through a take-SVC as in (88) or in a **nɪ** 'COM' prepositional phrase.

85.   Ekpéń ákɔ́ keníń ébhui.
         e-kpé   **ní**   **á-kɔ́**   **ke-ní**   **ní**   **ké-bhui**
         CM-dry weather DEF   SM-cause CM-river   DEF   SM-cut
         'The dry weather caused the river to stop flowing.'

86.   Kofí ébhui y'ítsrĭ.
         Kofí   **é-bhui**   **yí**   **kɪ-tsrĭ**
         Kofí   SM-cut   3SG.IND   CM-toe
         'Kofi cut his toe' or 'Kofi hurt his toe.'

87.   Kápamíń ébhui y'ítsrĭ.

> **ká-pamí**   **ní**   **ké-bhui**   **yí**   **kɩ-tsrǐ**
> CM-cutlass   DEF   SM-cut   3SG.IND   CM-toe
> 'The cutlass cut his toe.'

88.   Áyíkɔ kápamíń ébhui y'ítsrǐ.
> **á-yíkɔ**   **ká-pamí**   **ní**   **é-bhui**   **yí**   **kɩ-tsrǐ**
> 3SG-take   CM-cutlass   DEF   SM-cut   3SG.IND   CM-toe
> 'He used the cutlass to cut his toe.'

Yá 'cut' is used to describe cuts made on the human body and it involves the use of sharp instruments such as knives and razor blades. For instance, in the 'cut & break' video elicitation, this verb was used to describe a woman cutting her finger with a knife (clip 18).

89.   Adzɩ̄ń éébhui okútú kɩlí ɩhěń áyé y'íwě.
> **a-dzɩ̄**   **ní**   **é-é-bhui**   **o-kútú**   **kɩlí**   **ɩ-hě**
> CM-woman   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-cut   CM-orange   CONJ   CM-knife
> **ní**   **á-yá**   **yí**   **kɩ-wě**
> DEF   SM-cut   3SG.IND   CM-finger
> 'The woman is cutting an orange and the knife cut her finger.'

The verb **yá** 'cut' can also be used in certain contexts to mean 'bite-off/break-off a piece of something' and 'branch-off (a road).'

7.2.2.10.1   Instruments of verbs of cutting

Typically, cut verbs co-lexicalise instruments (see Bohnemeyer 2007, Guerssel et al 1985, and Majid et al. 2007). This is true of Tafi verbs of cutting also. For example, all the verbs in (90) co-lexicalise instruments.

90. | **bhui** | 'cut, shred, slice' | **té** | 'slash, cut' |
      |---|---|---|---|
      | **fátɩ̄** | 'carve, peel, pare' | **tsí** | 'cut (hair)' |
      | **shɩ̄** | 'shave' | **yá** | 'cut' |

There are other two-place predicates in Tafi which are inherently associated with the instrument role even if no instrument is overtly expressed (see Amuzu 1993, Bobuafor 2001 on Ewe). Examples of such verbs include:

91. | **nyá** | 'tie, bind' |
      |---|---|
      | **gba** | 'sweep' |
      | **tsú** | 'dig' |
      | **kámɩ̄** | 'sew' |
      | **sɔ́** | 'hoe' (v) |

Most often the semantic role of instrument is not given an overt expression if the instrument involved in the state of affairs described by the verb is the typical one associated with such action and is therefore predictable from the semantics of the verb (Givón 1984). Thus, the expression of such instruments becomes redundant. These instruments may be overtly expressed for certain reasons like:

92a.   when verbs such as those listed above in (91) involve an instrument other than the typical one they presuppose (see example (94) below);
b.   when it must be specified for reasons of emphasis (illustrated in (93) and (95)) or
c.   when a speaker needs to supply some additional information with regard to the instrument (as in (93)).

In this regard, Fillmore (1968: 39) states with reference to the English verb 'slap' that "what is at issue here is not whether SLAP obligatorily refers to hands — one can after all slap someone with a fish — but whether there is some typically understood Instrument which need not be made explicit." In the following Tafi sentences, there are different motivations for spelling out the instrument participant.

93.   Ányín été ósíń n'ɪápamɪ ŋáŋáń.
       á-nyí   ní   é-té   o-sí   ní   nɪ   ká-pamí
       CM-man   DEF   SM-slash   CM-tree   DEF   COM   CM-cutlass
       ŋáŋá   ní
       sharp   DEF
       'The man slashed the tree with the sharp cutlass.'

94.   Ányínʊ́vɔ̄ēń ébhui kepútakpáním̄ n'ahɔɪ.
       á-nyínʊ́vɔ̄ē   ní   é-bhui   ke-pútakpá   ní   kɪmɪ   nɪ
       CM-boy   DEF   SM-cut   CM-piece.of.cloth   DEF   in   COM
       a-hɔɪ
       CM-hand
       'The boy cut the piece of cloth with his hand.'

95.   Ányíń été ósíń (n'ɪápamɪ).
       á-nyí   ní   é-té   o-sí   ní   (nɪ   ká-pamî)
       CM-man   DEF   SM-slash   CM-tree   DEF   (COM   CM-cutlass)
       'The man slashed the tree (with a cutlass).'

In (93), there is additional information which has been provided concerning the instrument NP. However, in (94), the instrument NP is one that specifies a non-typical instrument in connection with the activity designated by the verb. In (95), the instrumental object is in brackets because it is optional. So even if reference is not explicitly made to this instrument it is perceived that inherently, a sharp-edged instrument was used to perform the state of affairs specified by the verb.

As each of the examples in (93) – (95) above illustrate, in Tafi, the argument specifying the instrument is introduced by the preposition **nɩ** 'COM'. Another way of overtly expressing the semantically inherent instrument is through the serial verb construction with the first verb being **yɩkɔ** 'take' and the second verb being a verb associated with an inherent instrument. For example,

96.   Ányíń áyíkɔ 'ɩapamí étẽ osíń nɔ.
       á-nyí   ní   á-yíkɔ   ká-pamí   é-tẽ   o-sí   ní
       CM-man   DEF   SM-take   CM-cutlass   SM-slash   CM-tree   DEF
       nɔ
       COM
       'The man used a cutlass to slash the tree.' (Lit.: 'The man took the cutlass and slashed the tree.')

In (96), the overtly specified instrument occurs as the direct object of the verb **yíkɔ** 'took'. In a 'take' SVC where the participant with instrument role is realised as object of the first verb, i.e., 'take', a comitative instrumental preposition variant **nɔ** 'COM' usually occurs at the end of the clause. This is as if the instrument NP has been moved from its prepositional object position (see also §5.1.2).

7.2.3   Obligatory complement verbs

A class of verbs in Tafi take obligatory complements. These complements may be generic, cognate or those that have been traditionally referred to as inherent complements. I will first discuss verbs that take the generic complements **anɔ̄** 'person' or **kídɔ̄** 'thing'. Secondly, I will look at those that take cognate objects and finally, I will discuss verbs that take inherent complements.

7.2.3.1   Two-place predicates with generic complements

The generic complements in Tafi are **anɔ̄** 'person' and **kídɔ̄** 'thing'. Examples of verbs that take **anɔ̄** 'person' include:

97.   **ɖɔ́**   'love'   **tsyiri**   'hate'
       bu   'respect'   **kúlā**   'insult'

Among verbs which take **kídɔ̄** 'thing' as their obligatory complement are:

98.   **sínɔ̄**   'greet'   **gba**   'sweep, fry'
       ɖa   'plant'   **tɔ́**   'cook'
       plŭ   'wash'

Consider the following examples.

99.   Étíbū ánɔ́.
      é-tí-bū   a-nɔ́
      3SG-NEG1-respect   CM-person
      'S/he does not respect.'

100. Ámā atɔ́ 'édɔ̄.
      Ámā   a-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄
      Ámā   SM-cook   CM-thing
      'Ama cooked.'

In the above sentences, the subject of the sentence is an agent whereas the object is a patient. In (99) and (100), the generic complements may be said to be umbrella terms. In (100), for instance, **kídɔ̄** 'thing' is an umbrella term covering everything edible. As shown in (101) and (102) below, specific nouns may be used to replace the generic complements these verbs take. The object NPs in these sentences name a specific person in (101) and a specific food in (102).

101. Étíbū y'akā.
      é-tí-bū   yí   á-kā
      3SG-NEG1-respect   3SG.IND   CM-father
      'S/he does not respect his/her father.'

102. Ámā átɔ́ ásí.
      Ámā   á-tɔ́   á-sí
      Ama   SM-cook   CM-rice
      'Ama cooked rice.'

Some of these verbs can take both generic complements, i.e., both **anɔ́** 'person' and **kídɔ̄** 'thing'. They include:

103a. **sínɔ̄ anɔ̄**   [sínɔ̄ ánɔ̄]   'greet a person/ someone'
103b. **sínɔ̄ kídɔ̄**   [sínī ídɔ̄]   'greet'

104a. **kúlā anɔ̄**   [kúlā ánɔ̄]   'insult a person/ someone'
104b. **kúlā kídɔ̄**   [kúlē édɔ̄]   'throw insults about' (not specifically insulting any
                                          particular person'
105a. **sí anɔ̄**   [si anɔ̄]   'fear a person/people'
105b. **sí kídɔ̄**   [si idɔ̄]   'have regard for people or be cautious'

For these verbs, it appears the act of the verb event takes the generic 'thing' complement **kídɔ̄**. The generic 'person' complement, **anɔ̄,** functions as object in situations where there is a target of the action.

7.2.3.2   Two-place predicates with cognate objects

Tafi has a number of cognate object taking verbs. Some of these are listed below with their cognate objects. Their use in sentences is illustrated in (107) – (109).

106.   **mwí kɪmwí**   'laugh'
       mɔ́ kɪmɔ̃́   'suck breast'
       ɖɔ kaɖɔ   'speak, talk'

107.   G'itsoku 'uvuním̄ ní Kwamɪ áaɖɔ 'ɪaɖɔ.
       gɪ   i-tsokú   bú-vū   ní   kɪmɪ   ní   Kwamɪ
       REL   1SG.DEP-enter   CM-house   DEF   inside TOP   Kwamɪ
       á-a-ɖɔ   ka-ɖɔ
       SM-PSTPROG-say CM-speech
       'When I entered the room Kwami was talking.'

108.   Kofí áámwɪ ɪmwí.
       Kofí   á-á-mwɪ   kɪ-mwí
       Kofi   SM-PRSPROG-laugh   CM-laughter
       'Kofi is laughing.'

109.   Anúvɔ̄n akaámɔ́ 'émɔ̃́.
       a-núvɔ̃   ní   a-ka-á-mɔ́   kɪ-mɔ̃̄
       CM-child DEF   SM-still-PRSPROG-suck   CM-breast
       'The child is still sucking breast.'

The verbs that take cognate objects can also occur with non-cognate objects. Thus, **ɖɔ** 'say, speak' illustrated in (107) above with a cognate object can also take a specific object as in (110).

110.   Kodzó áɖɔ 'ɛbúí tilí.
       Kodzó á-ɖɔ   ki-búí   ti-lí
       Kodzo SM-say   CM-word   AM-INDEF
       'Kodzo said something.'

I should perhaps point out that the cognate objects of some verbs can be omitted as shown in (111) below.

111.   Kwámi ámwī.
       Kwámi   á-mwī
       Kwami   SM-laugh
       'Kwami laughed.'

As the sentence in (111) illustrates, the omission of these cognate objects does not result in a change in meaning. Their omission makes the verbs function in one-place constructions. With some other verbs, the cognate objects seem to complete or further specify their meaning (Chafe 1970:156). The cognate object of the verb

mɔ 'suck', for instance, cannot be omitted. The omission of this object renders the sentence meaningless or ungrammatical in Tafi. This is illustrated below.

112. *Anúvɔ̄n ámɔ́
      *a-núvɔ̄   ní   á-mɔ́
       CM-child   DEF   SM-suck
      *'The child sucked.'

7.2.4   Three-place predicates

A three-place predicate occurs in a three-place construction and it involves three participants. The first, second and third arguments are mapped on to the subject, object1 (Dative) and object2 functions respectively. I will begin with a discussion of verbs in Tafi which are considered canonical three-place predicates and subsequently, I will discuss three-place predicates which have an inherent complement in their frame.

7.2.4.1   Canonical three-place predicates

Verbs in Tafi which are considered as canonical three-place predicates include:

114. **kɔ́**   'give'   **kasī̄**   'teach/show'
      bísī̄   'ask'   **sísī̄**   'send (for)'
      tsiré   'tell'   **tsyé**[53] 'give as a gift, forgive'

Kɔ́ 'give', **kasī̄** 'teach/show', **tsyé** 'give as a gift' and **tsiré** 'tell' are illustrated below:

115. Ámā ákɔ́ Ákú sɩká.
      Ámā   á-kɔ́   Ákú   sɩká
      Ama   SM-give   Ákú   money
      'Ama gave Aku money.'

116. Ámā ákasī̄ Akú kídɔ̄
      Ámā   á-kasī̄   Akú   kí-dɔ̄
      Ama   SM-teach   Aku   CM-thing
      'Ama taught Aku.'

117. Kristo étsyé 'úlɔ́ blo ebúí zizin.
      Kristo   é-tsyé   bʊlɔ́   bʊlɔ́   e-búí   zizi   ní
      Christ   SM-forgive   1PL   1PL.IND   CM.PL-matter   bad   DEF

---

[53] This verb seems to have been borrowed from Akan via Inland Ewe.

'Christ forgave us our sins.'

118.   Anı 'ʊw̃ã míítsiré wo 'ebúîn.

    aní   **bʊw̃ɑ́**   **mí-í-tsiré**   **wɔ́**   **ki-búí**

    NEG.FOC   in.vain   1SG.IND-PRSPROG-tell   2SG   CM-matter

    ı-ní

    AM-PROX

    'I am not telling you this in vain.' (Lit. 'It is not in vain I am telling you this matter.')

The sentences above have an agent as the subject NP, a goal or dative argument occurs in immediate post-verbal position as object1 and a theme following the goal as object2. The order of the post-verbal complements is fixed, unlike in Ewe (see e.g. Bobuafor 2001). It is not reversible. In the sentence in (119), the strict order of occurrence of the post-verbal complements has been reversed so the theme precedes the goal. Thus, the sentence is ungrammatical.

119.   *Ámā ákɔ́ sɪká Ákú.

    ***Ámā á-kɔ́**   **sɪká**   **Akú**

     Ama SM-give   money   Akú

    'Ama gave money Aku.'

For most of the verbs, if the emphasis is on the theme and it has to be mentioned before the goal, then it has to be introduced by the verb **yɪkɔ́** 'take' in a serial verb construction as shown in (120).

120.   Ámā áyíkɔ sɪká ákɔ́ Ákú.

    Ámā á-yíkɔ   **sɪká**   **á-kɔ́**   **Akú**

    Ama SM-take   money   SM-give   Aku

    'Ama gave money to Aku.'

Some of the three-place predicates like **kasɪ̄** 'teach, show' and **bísɪ̄** 'ask' can also occur in two-place constructions (see section 7.2.2.3 for a discussion on **bísɪ̄** 'ask'). **Kasɪ̄** 'teach, show' is exemplified in (121) below:

121.   M'adzya ákasɪ̄ akwíntā.

    mí   **á-dzyā**   **á-kasɪ̄**   **a-kwíntā**

    1SG   CM-brother   SM-teach   CM-mathematics

    'My brother teaches mathematics.'

As shown in the sentence in (121), **mí ádzyā** 'my brother' which is the subject NP is an agent whereas **akwíntā** 'mathematics', the object NP occurs as the object of the sentence and is the theme.

Certain verbal meanings are expressed mainly by various collocations of a verb plus a nominal complement. These can occur in either two-place or three-place constructions. For instance, the way that the Tafi people express the 'thank' idea is by using the verb **hu** 'hit' in collocation with the body-part term **ahɔ̀** 'hand', i.e., **hu ahɔ̀** 'strike/hit hand' expresses 'to thank'. Other examples include:

122.	**sí**	'run, escape'	**kífū**	'fear'	'be afraid'
	tá	'throw'	**otú**	'gun'	'shoot/ fire a gun'
	tá	'throw'	**kikplǐ**	'fist'	'fight'
	tá	'throw'	**kéyū**	'war'	'fight a battle'
	tī	'know'	**kibúí**	'word'	'be wise/ intelligent'
	bɔ́	'relate, report'	**amanié**	'message/mission'	'give a report; recount a mission'

Some of the verbs in these collocations can occur in three-place constructions when the goal or target argument is introduced into the frame. These do not differ from their canonical double object constructions in the sense that the positions of their post-verbal arguments are fixed and cannot be changed with each other. Thus, in every construction with this kind of collocation, it is the goal that immediately follows the verb and the theme (or the restricted collocant) that occurs after the goal.

Consider the following examples:

122. Ábhɪbhʋ́ń átá ăhěń ótú.

á-bhɪbhɪ	**ní**	**á-tá**	**ă-hě**	**ní**	**o-tú**
CM-hunter	DEF	SM-throw	CM-pig	DEF	CM-gun

'The hunter shot the pig.' or 'The hunter fired at the pig.'

123. Kofí átá Kúdzo 'ikplí.

Kofí	**á-tá**	**Kúdzo**	**ki-kplí**
Kofi	SM-throw	Kudzo	CM-fist

'Kofi gave Kudzo a blow.'

124. Ábɔ́ Kwami amanié.

á-bɔ́	**Kwami**	**a-manié**
3SG-give	Kwami	CM-message

S/he gave Kwami a report.'

There are different constructions for varying the order of the theme and the goal for some of these three-place constructions. With regard to **tá otú** 'shoot/ fire a gun', **otú** can occur as the complement of **yɪkɔ́** 'take' as the first verb in an SVC as shown in (125). For **tá kikplǐ** 'fight' the goal can be expressed as a **nɪ** 'COM' prepositional complement as in (126). For **bɔ́ amanié** 'give a report, recount a

mission', the goal is expressed as an object of **kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make' which occurs as the second verb in an SVC as in (127).

125. Ábhɪbhʉ́ áyɪ́kɔ otú átá ăhɛ̌ń.
      á-bhɪbhɪ   nɪ́   á-yɪ́kɔ   o-tú   á-tá   ă-hɛ̌   nɪ́
      CM-hunter   DEF   SM-take   CM-gun   SM-throw   CM-pig   DEF
      'The hunter shot the pig.' (Lit. 'The hunter took a gun and shot the pig.')

126. Kofí átɛ 'ɛkplí nɪ Kúdzo.
      Kofí   á-tá   ki-kplí   nɪ   Kúdzo
      Kofi   SM-throw   CM-fist   COM   Kudzo
      'Kofi fought with Kudzo.'

127. Ábɔ́ amanié́ ákɔ́ Kwami.
      á-bɔ́   a-manié́   nɪ́   á-kɔ́   Kwami
      3SG-give CM-message DEF   SM-give   Kwami
      S/he gave a report to Kwami.'

7.2.5   Summary

In this section, I have classified Tafi verbs as one-place, two-place, and three-place predicates depending on the number of arguments they take. The semantic roles that a verb assigns to its arguments are determined by the state of affairs this verb codes. Verbs classified as one-place predicates occur in one-place constructions and they take only one argument. Following Essegbey (1999), I identified three groups of one-place predicates based on the constructions in which they occur. They were also categorised into various semantic groups such as verbs of directed motion, non-agentive manner of motion verbs, verbs of emission, property verbs, verbs of bodily processes, and achievement verbs. Some of these verbs can also function in two-place constructions.

As regards two-place predicates, they occur in two-place constructions and they take two arguments. These verbs occur with an agent/effector/experiencer as subject argument. Also, I looked at verbs which take obligatory complements such as generic and cognate objects. Semantically, two-place predicates in the language include verbs of perception and cognition, speech act verbs, verbs of creation, verbs of planting, body-grooming verbs, verbs of caused change of location and verbs of cutting.

The discussion on the canonical three-place predicates shows that the post-verbal arguments that these verbs take have a fixed order of occurrence. The goal always precedes the theme.

Moreover, I also examined verbs which together with nominal complements are used to express verbal meanings. Some of these verbs can occur in both two-place and three-place constructions. Like the canonical three-place predicates when these verbs occur in three-place constructions, they do not have a variable constituent order. The nominal collocant of the verb in the two-place construction, which is the theme, occurs as object2 in the three-place construction with the goal occurring as object1 in immediate post-verbal position. It was also shown that the positions of the goal and the theme can be varied through the use of different constructions such as serial verb constructions.

7.3 Tense, aspect and mood

In this section, I examine tense, aspect and mood in Tafi. These are marked largely by preverbs. In Tafi, there is a basic tense distinction between future and non-future and a basic aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective. The non-future is the unmarked form of the verb whereas the future is overtly marked by a preverb **ba-**. However, in the imperfective, there is a distinction between present progressive and past progressive marked by tone. The former is marked by a high tone and the latter by a low tone.

7.3.1 Future

The future is marked by the morpheme **ba-**. This preverb is used to indicate that the state of affairs described by the verb has not happened, but is expected to happen at a time posterior to the time of speaking. The form of the future marker changes depending on the ATR value of the initial vowel of the verb root as illustrated in (128) and (129). Moreover, when the future marker is preceded by a subject marker (SM) for the **o-** class, or a 2SG/PL subject pronoun which has a rounded vowel its vowel takes on the [+round] as in (130) and (131). Thus, the vowel of the future marker becomes **ɔ/o** depending on the ATR specifications of the initial vowel of verb. Sometimes, in rapid speech, some speakers tend to delete the initial consonant of the future marker and some others replace its initial consonant with a palatal glide especially when this marker occurs after the 1PL subject pronoun **bʊ/bu** as shown in (132) and (133) respectively.

128. Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ́ń ábawɛɛ́xwī kɔ́ ekusíń.
      á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ̄   ní   á-ba-wa   kí-xwī   kɔ́   e-kusí   ní
      CM-boy   DEF   SM-FUT-do   CM-work   DAT   CM-chief   DEF
      'The boy will work for the chief.'

129. Ádɔkasíń ébetu sukúeyíń.
      á-dɔkasí   ní   é-be-tu   sukúeyí   ní
      CM-teacher   DEF   SM-FUT-beat   pupil   DEF
      'The teacher will beat the pupil.'

130.   Óbokú obóń.
       ó-bo-kú   o-bóń
       2SG-FUT-reach CM-today
       'You will arrive today.'

131.   Nɔbɔtɔ así.
       nɔ-bɔ-tɔ́   á-sí
       2PL-FUT-cook   CM-rice
       'You will cook rice.'

132.   Búatsyá.
       bú-ba-tsyá
       1PL-FUT-meet
       'We will meet.'

133.   Búyatsyá.
       bú-ba-tsyá
       1PL-FUT-meet
       'We will meet.'

As indicated in (128), the future marker is **ba-** and this is because it precedes a verb that contains a [-ATR] vowel and in (129) it is **be**- because the vowel of the verb stem is [+ATR]. In (130) and (131), the vowel of the future marker is rounded because it harmonises with the [+round] feature of the 2SG and 2PL subject pronouns. Its vowel is /o/ in (130) and /ɔ/ in (131) because the vowels in the verb stems in these sentences are [+ATR] and [-ATR] respectively. In (132), the future marker occurs without its initial consonant and in (133), we have a palatal glide in place of the initial consonant of the future marker.

Alternatively, one could analyse this form as a potential marker especially given its uses in conditional clauses and procedural discourse. However, the temporal feature cannot be defeated, hence it seems better to analyse it as tense rather than a mood marker (cf. Essegbey 2008 on Ewe, Essegbey 2012 on Nyagbo).

In Tafi, as it is in Logba (Dorvlo 2008), the future marker is used in the description of procedural discourse, or in the apodosis of a conditional clause as illustrated in the sentences in (134) and (135) respectively. The sentence in (134) is about palm oil preparation whereas (135) was also given during the description of local soap preparation.

134.   Ɔ́bɔká tɪnɔ́n pétéé óbú ní buníním̄.
       ɔ́-bɔ-ká   tɪ-nɔ́   ní   pétéé   ó-bú   ní
       2SG-FUT-squeeze   CM-chaff DEF   all   SM-remove   LOC
       bu-ní   ní   kɪmɪ
       CM-water DEF   inside

'You will squeeze all the chaff out of the water.'   (Palm oil)

135.   Ɔsí ɔtɔ́ béshɔkɔ̃̌ɛ̃, ɔ́bɔpʊ́ɪ̄ kokɔ́ aklɔ̂.
    ɔ-sí   ɔ-tɔ́   bé-sh(e).ɔkɔ̃̌ɛ̃   ɔ́-bɔ-pʊ́ɪ̄   kokɔ́ a-klɔ̂
    2SG-say   SM-cook CM-local.soap   2SG-FUT-burn cocoa CM.PL-pod
    'If you want to prepare local soap, you will burn cocoa pods.' (Local soap)

As the above examples illustrate, the future marker is used to talk about one's intention to do something or an event which is not actual.

The future marker can occur with some other TAM markers in a construction. Consider the following example:

136.   Átáábabashɪ̃.
    á-táá-ba-ba-shɪ̃
    3SG-NEG:PRSGROG-FUT-VENT-leave
    'S/he will not be leaving.'

In (136), the future combines with the negative and progressive markers as well as the ventive to indicate that the state of affairs expressed by the verb will not be on-going at a future time.

7.3.2   Non-future and the aorist

The non-future form of the verb is unmarked. This unmarked form is the same as the aorist (aspectual) form. In the non-future, either there is a tone to indicate the present and past or for some verbs, both the present and past forms are the same. However, the full details of this are not yet completely understood. Further research is necessary to fully establish the patterns.

The aorist or factative is an aspectual category commonly described for West African languages (see Welmers 1973, Ameka & Dakubu 2008). The aorist aspectual form tends to have a past or present interpretation depending on the lexical aspect of the verb. In general, dynamic or action verbs have past interpretation and inchoative or stative verbs get a present interpretation. This is the case in Tafi as well (see (141) below for stative/inchoative verbs). However, some dynamic verbs in the aorist can have a past or present interpretation signalled by tone in context (see 138 below). There are some dynamic or action verbs where the tone does not vary with the present or past interpretation, as illustrated in (137).

137a.   Ányɪ́ń ébhui 'ɪdzyań.
    á-nyɪ́   nɪ́   é-bhuɪ̃   kɪ-dzya nɪ́
    CM-man DEF SM-cut   CM-meat DEF
    'The man cuts (up) the meat.'   (Present interpretation)

'The man cut (up) the meat.'   (Past interpretation)

Other dynamic or action verbs show tonal differences with respect to present or past interpretation. They include:

	Present		Past	
138.	nṵ̀		nú	'hear'
	bằ		bá	'come'
	tễ		té̂	'cut/ slash'
	hu		hú	'hit'
	bakā		bákā	'remember'

There are also suppletive sets for some verbs: one form for the present and one for past/ non-present. For example,

	Present		Past/non-present	
139.	lḯ		za	'be.at'
	dzí		za	'sit'
	nyí		tī	'know'
	nú		dzí	'be'

The forms that have present interpretation are sometimes used to render a habitual situation as shown below:

140.   Kiwinyééwi adzīń átɔ 'ɛdɔ̃.
        ki-wi-nyáá-ki-wi   **a-dzī̀**   **ní**   **a-tɔ́**   **kí-dɔ̃**
        CM-day-DISTR-CM-day   CM-woman   DEF   SM-sweep   CM-thing
        'Everyday the woman cooks.'

Inchoative or stative verbs in the unmarked form have present interpretation. Examples include:

141.   **dzã**   'be(come) ripe'
        ḑama   'be(come) tall'
        tri   'be(come) big, thick'
        dze   'be(come) long'
        nɔ́   'be(come) black'
        nɪ   'be(come) wide'
        dzyɔ   'be(come) straight'

The idea is that the change of state has occured before the reference time and hence interpreted as the state occurring now. Thus, it is translated with the present tense into English.

In terms of tense interpretation, the unmarked form of the verb is a non-future and

this reading is reinforced by tonal changes. In terms of aspect such forms are aorist and their temporal interpretation depends on the lexical aspect of the verb.

7.3.3   The Perfective

Perfective aspect in Tafi is marked by **tí-/tí-**. The choice of either form is based on vowel harmony rules. The perfective aspect marker indicates a completed situation at a time prior to the moment of speaking. This morpheme has an 'already' sense. Temporal nouns and adverbials that locate the state of affairs at a time relative to the time the utterance was made can be used to indicate the time of occurrence of an action/event (e.g., morning, last year, etc.)

142.   Ítíhú anúvɔ́ń.
       í-tí-hú   a-núvɔ̄   ní
       1SG-PERF-hit   CM-child DEF
       'I have hit the child (already).'

143.   Bétítɛ́ isíń 'ívūń.
       bé-tí-tɛ́   i-sí   ní   kí-vūń
       3PL-PERF-cut   CM.PL-tree DEF   CM-yesterday
       'They have (already) cut the trees yesterday.'

144.   Kásālā átínyá y'oklebhɔ́ ní pétéé.
       ká-sālā   á-tí-nyá   yí   o-klebhɔ́   ní   pétéé
       CM-tortoise   SM-PERF-tie 3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch   DEF   all
       'Tortoise had (already) tied completely his bundle of thatch.' (Kásālā)

7.3.4   The Progressive

The progressive aspect in Tafi distinguishes the present progressive, marked by a high tone vowel (V́) and the past progressive which is marked by a low tone vowel (V̀). Thus, the difference between the present progressive and the past progressive is indicated by tone. The progressive in the affirmative/positive is marked by a copy of the immediately preceding vowel.

7.3.4.1   The Present Progressive

The present progressive, as I indicated earlier on, is marked by a high tone. It indicates situations/states of affairs taking place simultaneously to the moment of speech. (145) and (146) are conjugations of the verbs **ga** 'walk' and **tú** 'pound' in the present progressive.

145.   **íí-gā**   'I am walking'

ɔ́ɔ́-gā   'You are walking'
áá-gā   'S/he is walking'
búú-gā   'We are walking'
nɔɔ́-gā   'You are walking'
báá-gā   'They are walking'

146.   **íí-tǔ fufuo**   'I am pounding fufu'
      ɔ́ɔ́-tǔ fufuo   'You are pounding fufu'
      éé-tǔ fufuo   'S/he is pounding fufu'
      búú-tǔ fufuo   'We are pounding fufu'
      noó-tǔ fufuo   'You are pounding fufu'
      béé-tǔ fufuo   'They are pounding fufu'

The present progressive can also be used to describe a state of affairs that is planned to occur at a point in time in the future and there is the likelihood that the intended state of affairs being described will surely take place. The example in (147) illustrates this:

147.   M'en' ááshĭ av'iédzím̄.

mí	**é-nī**	**á-á-shĭ**	**a-vɪ**	**ke-dzi**
1SG.IND	CM-mother	SM-PRSPROG-leave	SM-go	market

kɪmɪ
inside
'My mother is going to the market.'

The statement in (147) above, according to one of my consultants can, for instance, be given as a response by a child whose mother's whereabouts is asked for even though the mother is yet to depart for the market. It can also be said as an announcement of plans.

7.3.4.2   The Past Progressive

The past progressive is marked by a low tone. It is used to describe situations which went on during a stretch of time in the past and has ended, or a customary action which used to take place in the past. (148) and (149) exemplify the same verbs **ga** 'walk' and **tú** 'pound' in (145) and (146) in the past progressive.

148.   **ɪ́ɪ-ga**   'I was walking' or 'I used to walk'
      ɔ́ɔ-ga   'You were walking' or 'you used to walk'
      áa-ga   'S/he was walking' or 'S/he used to walk'
      búʋ-ga   'We were walking' or 'we used to walk'
      nɔ́ɔ-ga   'You were walking' or 'you used to walk'
      báa-ga   'They were walking' or 'they used to walk'

149. **íi-tú fufuo**   'I was pounding fufu'
      óo-tú fufuo   'You were pounding fufu'
      ée-tú fufuo   'S/he was pounding fufu'
      búu-tú fufuo   'We were pounding fufu'
      nóo-tú fufuo   'You were pounding fufu'
      bée-tú fufuo   'They were pounding fufu'

The tone indicating the past progressive marker is a polar tone because the tone on all the pronouns except the 2PL pronoun is high and that of the past progressive marker is low. However, in the past progressive, the tone on the 2PL pronoun changes to high to maintain the polarity.[54]

7.3.5   Negation

Negation in Tafi is expressed by a verbal prefix **tí-/tí-** in the present and **dı-/di-** in the non-present depending on the ATR value of the initial vowel in the verb. The form of the present negative marker is homophonous with the perfective aspect marker **tí-/tí-**. However, negative constructions end with a glottal stop producing a sharp or abrupt end of the clause. The present (glossed NEG1) and the non-present (glossed NEG2) negative morphemes are illustrated in the conjugations in (150a) and (150b) and the sentences in (150c) and (150d) respectively.

150a. **í-tí-bhıtī ʔ**   'I don't do'   150b. **í-tí-hu ʔ**   'I don't hit'
       ɔ́-tí-bhıtī ʔ   'You don't do'   **ó-tí-hu ʔ**   'You don't hit'
       á-tí-bhıtī ʔ   'S/he doesn't do'   **é-tí-hu ʔ**   'S/he doesn't hit'
       bú-tí-bhıtī ʔ 'We don't do'   **bú-tí-hu ʔ** 'We don't hit'
       nɔ-tí-bhıtī ʔ 'You don't do'   **no-tí-hu ʔ** 'You don't hit'
       bá-tí-bhıtī ʔ 'They don't do'   **bé-tí-hu ʔ** 'They don't hit'

150c. Ányíń átíbáʔ.
       á-nyí   ní   á-tí-bá
       CM-man   DEF   SM-NEG1-come
       'The man does not come.'

150d. Osíń ɔ́dıɖamaʔ.
       o-sí   ní   ɔ-dı-ɖama
       CM-tree   DEF   SM-NEG2-become.tall
       'The tree is not tall.'

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[54] The tones on the verb root in the present progressive and the past progressive may also be different. Compare the forms of the verb in (145) and (148) as well as (146) and (149).

The negative morphemes **tí-/ti-** and **dɪ-/di-** are selected on the basis of the temporal as well as the aktionsart features of the predicates they negate. With "active" and "stative" predicates, **tí-/tí-** expresses present negation, while **dɪ-/di-** indicates past negation. For example,

151. **ítíbáʔ**   'I do not come'   **ɪdɪbáʔ**   'I did not come'
      ítíwaʔ   'I do not do'   **ɪdɪwaʔ**   'I did not do'
      ítíshī̄ʔ   'I do not leave'   **ɪdɪshī̄ʔ**   'I did not leave'
      ítísī̄ʔ   'I do not run'   **idisíʔ**   'I did not run'

Stative verbs tend to be negated with **tí-/tí-** and yield a present negation reading as illustrated in (152a). (152b) is the past form of the sentence in (152a). In the past, the verb **nyí** 'know' becomes **tī**.

152a. **Ítínyíʔ**   'I do not know.'

152b. **Iditiʔ**   'I did not know.'

When inchoative/stative property predicates are negated, they select **dɪ-/di-** indicating the non-realisation of the change of state. For example,

153a. **di tsobúnɔ̃**   'be not near'
       di tri   'be not big'
       di kpe   'be not plenty'
       dɪ nɪ   'be not wide'

Some closely related lexical predicates distinguished only by aktionsart confirm this. Thus, **za** 'sit, stay (past)' is negated by **dɪ-** while the stative **dzi** 'be seated' is negated by **tí-**.

Thus **tí-/tí-** always has a present negation reading and **dɪ-/di-** has a present or past negation reading depending on the aktionsart of the verb.

Another negative marker in Tafi is **gɪ** which is glossed as 'NEG3'. In fact, the occurrence of this morpheme in my corpus is very limited and it occurs after the verb **sí** 'say' and it expresses a meaning such as 'not intend to do something'. It appears the use of this negative marker is no longer common. The following are examples illustrating its use.

153b. Eyí nɔ̂ ní gɪ así y'ení atɪdɔ trǎ elishí yɪ tsyí agɪsí abadɔʔ.
       e-yí   nɔ̂   ní   gɪ   a-sí   yí   é-nī
       CM-child   wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-say   3SG.IND   CM-mother
       á-tí-dɔ   tɪ-rá   e-lishí   yí   tsyí   a-gɪ-sí
       SM-NEG1-contact   CM-sleep   CM-night 3SG.IND   too   3SG-NEG3-say

á-ba-dɔ
SM-FUT-contact
'The child who would not let its mother sleep will also not sleep.'
(Proverbs #39)

153c. Ékéwulú ní nía agɩsɩ así tɩ abá banɔ 'éshí.
é-ké-wulú   ní   ní   a   a-gɩ-sɩ
3SG-PERF-bath TOP   TOP   CFM 3SG-NEG3-say
a-sí   tɩ   a-bá   ba-nɔ   ki.shí
SM-COMP   COMP   3SG.DEP-come   CM.PL-person   midst
'If he has not taken his bath, he does not intend to come among people.'
(Gbaxálɩ̄)

The future is negated by the negative marker co-occuring with the future marker ba/be- as in (153d).

153d. Atíbabá.
a-tí-ba-bá
3SG-NEG1-FUT-come
'S/he will not come.'

Negation interacts with some aspectual categories in Tafi. When the negative and present progressive markers co-occur, vowels of the resultant form are the same as the vowel of the personal pronouns and the subject pronominal forms they occur with, except for the 1PL subject pronoun and nouns in the two **bu-** classes both of which contain the same vowel **u/ʊ** (see Table 3.2). For these, the vowels of the negative present progressive marker are **ɩ/i** which agrees in height with the vowel **u/ʊ** of these forms. As usual, the vowel representing the negative present progressive aspect bears a high tone and that of the negative past progressive also bears a low tone. Example (153d) below is a conjugation of the verb **ga** 'walk' in the negative present progressive.

When the negative past progressive aspect marker occurs with the 2SG/PL subject pronominal forms as well as with nouns in the **o-** class, its vowels are /oo/ or /ɔɔ/ depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel of the verb root. However, when it occurs after the 1SG/PL and 3SG/PL pronouns or nouns belonging to the remaining classes, its vowels are /**aa**/. The example in (153e) is also a conjugation of the verb **ga** 'walk' in the past progressive. Compare (153d) and (153e).

153d. **í-tíí-gā**ʔ   'I am not walking'
    ɔ́-tɔ́ɔ́-gāʔ   'You are not walking'
    á-táá-gāʔ   'S/he is not walking'
    bú-tíí-gāʔ   'We are not walking'
    nɔ-tɔ́ɔ́-gāʔ   'You are not walking'
    bá-táá-gāʔ   'They are not walking'

153e. **ɪ-daa-gāʔ**   'I was not walking'
       ɔ-dɔɔ-gāʔ   'You were not walking'
       a-daa-gāʔ   'S/he was not walking'
       bʊ-daa-gāʔ   'We were not walking'
       nɔ-dɔɔ-gāʔ   'You were not walking'
       ba-daa-gāʔ   'They were not walking'

7.3.5.1   Negative clefts

Negative clefts are introduced by **aní**[55] 'NEGCL' with the negated constituent in its scope. In example (154a), a negative cleft is used to show contrast and the example in (154b) is a proverb in which the information in the scope of the negative cleft is something that is not done.

154a. Kofí abavɪ anɪ wɔ́.
       Kofí   a-ba-vɪ   aní   wɔ́
       Kofi   SM-FUT-go NEGCL   2SG.IND
       'Kofi will go, not you.'

154b. Anɪ 'ɪtsá láyɪko epú ɔwɪsí nɔ̄.
       aní   kɪ-tsá   lá-yɪkɔ   be-pú   ɔ-wɪsí
       NEGCL   CM-needle   3PL.DEP-take   SM-punch   CM-axe.handle
       nɔ̄
       COM
       'We do not punch a hole into an axe handle with a needle.' (Proverb #17)

7.3.5.2   Prohibitive

The prohibitive construction uses the negative marker **tʊ/ti** to mark an imperative (singular) or (plural) (cf. Chapter 8, § 8.3.2). For example,

155.   Tiklŭ w'enī y'enyínē edzini ɔsí w'enī …
       ti-klŭ   wɔ́   é-nī   yí   e-nyínē   e-dzini
       NEG1-call   2SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND CM-husband CM-wife
       ɔ-sí   wɔ́   é-nī
       SM-COMP   2SG.IND CM-mother
       'Do not call your mother's co-wife your mother, …' (Proverbs #28)

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[55] The form **aní**, the negative cleft, is similar to the proximal demonstrative form **aní** which modifies nouns in the **a¹-** , **ba(a)-**, **ka-** and **a²-** classes, and to **aní**, a post verbal or clausal topic marker. At this stage, these three entities are considered to be similar in form and probably related in function. Further analysis could determine the exact relationship, e.g., whether one developed from the other.

7.3.5.3   Privative negation

Tafi, like Ewe, has a way of forming privative negation. The privative negative is derived by prefixing the verb root with **ma-** and then the resulting stem is totally reduplicated. This form appears to have been borrowed from Ewe. Some examples of such privative negative forms are listed in (156a) and their use in sentences is illustrated in (156b).

156a. **mɔ**   'see, get'   **mamɔmamɔ**   'unseen, not getting'
       yɔ́   'be(come) cold'   **mayɔ́mayɔ́**   'not cool'
       kla   'read, count'   **maklamakla**   'uncountable'
       ti   'know, be aware'   **matīmatī**   'ignorance'

156b. Tɪ kɔ láshī̄ ekusí ní mamɔmamɔ.
       tɪ   **kɔ́**   **lá-shī̄**   **e-kusí**   **ní**   **ma-mɔ-ma-mɔ**
       NEG1 cause 3PL.DEP-leave   CM-chief DEF   PRIV-see-PRIV-see
       'Don't let them leave without seeing the chief.'

7.3.5.4   Negative existential

Tafi also makes use of a negative predicate of existence, **má** 'be.at:NEG' which is used to negate existential propositions as is shown in (157).

157. Buninyɔ́ɔ́uní má bunietsukpúním̃.
       bu-ni-nyaa-bu-ni   **má**   **bu-ní**   **ke-tsukpú ní**
       CM-water-DISTR-CM-water   be.at:NEG   CM-water CM-pot   DEF
       kɪmɪ
       inside
       'There is no water in the water-pot.'

This verb **má** is the negative of the locative-existential verb **lɪ́** 'be.at' (see Chapter 6, § 6.6.1.1.1 for further details).

7.3.5.5   Negative perfective

The negative perfective aspect marker in Tafi is **ká**. It is realised as **ká/ké or kɔ́/kó**. The choice of either of these realisations is based on vowel harmony rules. Thus, depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel of the verb root, the negative perfective marker is realised as **ká/ké**. If the subject argument is 2SG/PL or a noun belonging to the o- class, this preverb is realised as the rounded counterparts **kɔ́/kó**. The **ká** morpheme indicates that the state of affairs expressed in the rest of the clause has not yet occurred. This is exemplified in the following sentences in (158a) and (158b). The example in (158c) is a proverb.

158a. Akábá.
    a-ká-bá
    3SG-NEG.PERF-come
    'S/he has not yet come.'

158b. Ekénú íbúínyéébúí.
    e-ké-nú   **ki-búí-nyáá-ki-búí**
    3SG-NEG.PERF-hear   CM-word-DISTR-CM-word
    'S/he has not heard anything yet.'

158c. Anúvɔ̄ ní gɪ ákányɔ́ edí ní y'áɖɔ así y'eni y'ényí 'ítɔ́ dí.
    a-núvɔ̄   **ní**   **gɪ**   **á-ká-nyɔ́**   **e-dí**   **ní**
    CM-child DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-NEG.PERF-roam   SM-look   TOP
    yí   **á-ɖɔ**   **a-sí**   **yí**   **é-nī**   **yí**
    3SG.IND SM-say   SM-COMP   3SG.IND CM-mother   3SG.IND
    é-nyí   **kɪ-tɔ́**   **dí**
    SM-know   CM-cook surpass
    'The child who has never travelled says that his mother is the best cook.'
                                                       (Proverbs #49)

7.3.6   The persistive aspect

The persistive aspect is expressed by **ka**. This morpheme is realised as **ka, ke, kɔ** or **ko** depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel of the verb root as well as the person or class of the subject argument. **Kɔ/ko** is chosen if the subject argument is 2SG/PL or a noun belonging to the **o-** class. The persistive marker can co-occur with any of the other elements in the verbal cluster. It has two main uses: (i) persistive and (ii) repetitive. In its persistive use, it indicates that a state of affairs is or was still on-going over a period of time. For example,

159a. Akalí 'klí.
    a-ka-lí   **ɪ-klí**
    3SG-PERS-be.at CM-there
    'S/he is still there.'

159b. Ekelí 'klɪ.
    e-ke-lí   **ɪ-klɪ**
    3SG-PERS-be.positioned   CM-there
    'He is still lying there.'

Ka combines with the progressive marker to reinforce the persistive reading as in (160).

160.   Akaábá.
    a-ka-á-bá
    3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-come
    'He is still coming.'

When the persistive marker **ka** combines with the negative marker, they together express the idea of 'no longer, anymore' as illustrated in (161).

161.   Bátíkaágban' áglɔ̄.
    bá-tí-ka-á-gbanɔ   **á-glɔ̄**
    3PL-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG   CM-RECIP
    'They no longer marry each other.'

In some contexts, the **ka** morpheme can have an 'again' or repetitive reading. This is exemplified in (162).

162.   Akaábʊbɔ tɪ ebu 'ɪdzya tilí ko…
    a-ka-á-bʊbɔ   **tɪ**   **e-bú**   **kɪ-dzya**
    3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend   PURP 3SG.DEP-remove CM-meat
    ti-lí   **ko**
    AM-INDEF   just
    'Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat…'

The repetitive reading of the **ka** morpheme is reinforced by the addition of the morpheme **vla** 'again' as in (see section 7.3.8 for a discussion of **vla**):

163.   ɪkavlehu anúvɔ̄ń.
    ɪ-ka-vle-hu   **a-núvɔ̄**   **ní**
    1SG-PERS-again-hit   CM-child DEF
    'I hit the child again.'

7.3.7   The repetitive marker

The repetitive marker is **za**. It can co-occur with any of the other elements in the verbal cluster. It is used to indicate the repetition or iteration of a state of affairs. It can thus be interpreted as 'again'. Depending on vowel harmony rules, person and the class of the subject NP, the repetitive marker **za** is realised as **za**, **ze**, **zɪ**, **zi**, **zɔ** or **zo**. If the subject NP is the 1SG or IPL pronoun or any noun from the **i-**, **ki-** or any of the **bu-** classes or their pronominal forms then the choice is **zɪ/zi** and if it occurs with the 2SG or 2PL pronoun or with nouns belonging to the **o-** class or their pronominal forms then it is realised as **zɔ/zo**. Moreover, when it occurs with any of the remaining pronouns or nouns from any of the remaining noun classes or

their pronominal forms, then the choice is **za/ze**. The examples in (167) are taken from the text on palm oil preparation.

167a. Ɔ́bɔzɔnyʊnyɔ ɔbɔnánī …
     ɔ́-bɔ-zɔ-nyʊnyɔ   **ɔ-bɔ-nánī**
     2SG-FUT-REP-knead   SM-FUT-reach
     'You will continue kneading until …'   (Palm oil)

167b. … gɪ bʊbazɪyabá g'lǔ babí.
     gɪ   **bʊ-ba-zɪ-yabá**   **gɪ**   **lǔ-ba-bí**
     REL   3SG-FUT-REP-boil   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-be.cooked
     '…while it continues boiling until it is done.'   (Palm oil)

7.3.8   The marker **vla** 'again'

Vla 'again' like **za** 'REP' is a preverb marker which is used to express the repetition of a state of affairs. It is realised as **vla**, **vle**, **vlɔ**, or **vlo**[56] depending on the person, class of the subject argument as well as ATR harmony. Like for other preverbs such as **za**, **ka**, or **gbla**, **vlɔ/vlo** is used if the subject argument is 2SG/PL. It can co-occur with any of the preverb markers in the verb cluster including the repetitive marker **za** and the persistive marker **ka**. Consider the following examples:

168a. Kásālā abhɪti 'ibuinyéébúí 'ídī sí tí kevlékóéyī ní ketsukpúním̄.
     ká-sālā   **á-bhítī**   **ki-bui-nyáá-ki-búí**   **kí-dī**   **sí**
     CM-tortoise SM-make CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter CM-type COMP
     tɪ   **ké-vlé-kóéyī**   **ní**   **ke-tsukpú** **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
     COMP   3SG.DEP-again-exit LOC   CM-pot   DEF   in
     'Tortoise did every kind of thing to get out of the pot again.' (Kásālā)

168b. Klǐso, ɔzɔkɔvlɔbɔwĩ́ 'ulu obóń tsyí áē?
     klǐso   **ɔ-zɔ-kɔ-vlɔ-bɔ-wĩ́**   **bu-lu**
     so   2SG.DEP-REP-PERS-again-VENT-drink   CM-drink
     o-bóń   **tsyí** **aē**
     CM-today too   UFP
     'So, you are going to drink again today too?'

In (168a), **vle** 'again' occurs as the only preverb whereas in (168b), it co-occurs with the repetitive, persistive and future markers.

7.3.9   The excessive marker **gbla**

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[56] Some speakers also use **fla**, **fle** etc.

The preverb **gbla** is used to express excessiveness of an action or state. It is realised as **gbla** or **gble**, (as in (169a), (169b) and (169d)), depending on the ATR value of the (initial) vowel of the verb root. If the subject argument is the 2SG/PL or a noun belonging to the **o-** class the preverb is realised as the rounded counterparts **gblɔ** or **gblo** as shown in (169c).

169a. Égbléyi 'ubhíté.
   é-gblé-yi   bu-bhíté
   3SG-EXC-resemble CM-maiden
   'She is extremely beautiful.'

169b. Ágbláp̄ĩ.
   á-gblá-pĩ̄
   3SG-EXC-be.good
   'S/he is extremely good.'

169c. Ógblótóónu 'ɩkanyááká.
   ó-gbló-tóó-nu   kɩ-kányááká
   2SG-EXC-NEG:PRSPROG-hear   CM-any
   'You are very uncompromising.' (Lit.: You are not hearing anything at all.')

169d. Sam' egblekuḿ 'ívʋl'ɛ́n.
   samɩ   e-gble-kú   mí   kí-vʋlɔ̄   ɩ-ní
   happiness SM-EXC-reach   1SG   CM-morning AM-PROX
   'I am extremely happy this morning.' (Lit.: 'Happiness excessively reach me this morning.')

7.3.10   Habitual

The habitual expresses a customary or generic action which used to take place in the past, or still takes place at a time overlapping with the moment of speech, and predicts that it could take place in the future as well. The habitual in Tafi can relate to present or past time reference. In Tafi, the habitual is expressed by a construction in which the verb **ganɔ/ ganɩ** 'keep, walk with, pass through' acts as the operator and its complement is either a VP as shown in (170a), (170b) and (171a) or a nominalised event as illustrated in (170c), (170d) and (171b). If the verb in the VP or event nominal is transitive, the object precedes it, thus the VO order is permuted (see (170b) and (170d), for example). The citation form of the operator is **ganɔ** but in context it is **ganɩ**. It seems this verb stem is made up of the root **ga** 'walk' and the comitative suffix -**nɔ** 'COM'.

7.3.10.1   Present habitual

In the present habitual, the operator verb occurs after the subject as shown in (170). The present habitual is used to express states of affairs that occur regularly with the prediction that they can always occur.

170a. ágan'abá.
      á-ganɪ   **a-bá**
      3SG-HAB   SM-come
      'S/he usually comes.'

170b. Ágan' iegbuanɪabhā aza.
      á-ganɪ   **ke-gbu** **a-nɪ**   **kábhā**   **a-za**
      3SG-HAB   CM-chair AM-PROX   top   SM-sit
      'S/he sits on this chair.'

170c. Ágan'ʊbá
      á-ganɪ   **bʊ-bá**
      3SG-HAB   CM-come
      'S/he usually comes.'

170d. Ágan' epidzya 'uyí ní blúnyɛɛm.
      á-ganɪ   **e-pidzya** **bu-yí**   **ní**   **blúnya**   **kɪmɪ**
      3SG-HAB   CM-goat CM-kill   LOC   christmas inside
      'S/he usually kills a goat during Christmas.'

7.3.10.2   Past habitual

The past habitual aspect is formed the same way as the present habitual except that **ganɪ** is marked for the past progressive. The past habitual is used to characterise states of affairs that occurred regularly in the past with the implication that they no longer occur. For example,

171a. Áagan' iegbuanɪabhā aza.
      á-a-ganɪ   **ke-gbu** **a-ní**   **kábhā**   **a-za**
      3SG-PSTPROG-HAB CM-chair AM-PROX   top   SM-sit
      'S/he used to sit on this chair.'

171b. Áagan' epidzya 'uyí ní blúnyɛɛm.
      á-a-ganɪ   **e-pidzya** **bu-yí**   **ní**   **blúnya**   **kɪmɪ**
      3SG-PSTPROG-HAB CM-goat CM-kill   LOC Christmas inside
      'S/he used to kill a goat at Christmas.'

Utterances with verbs that have a present or non-future interpretation can be understood as expressing habitual situations. This habitual interpretation is reinforced by the use of temporal nouns and adverbials such as **kíwinyééwi** 'everyday' and **kibenyéébe** 'always' etc. (see § 7.3.2).

172. Kíwinyééwī adzīn agbɛ 'ɛdɔ̄.

kí-wī-nyáá-kí-wī	a-dzī̀	ní	á-gba	kí-dɔ̄
CM-day-DISTR-CM-day	CM-woman	DEF	SM-sweep	CM-thing

'Everyday the woman sweeps.'

The sentence in (172) shows that the action referred to is habitual and that it is practised everyday.

7.3.11   Phasal Aspect

It is assumed that situations or states of affairs (i.e. events, processes, actions and states, cf. Comrie (1976) and Mourelatos (1981)) are temporally divisible into an *onset* - a first moment, which is a necessary and an obligatory preparatory stage in the development of every situation, a *nucleus* - a main part, and a *coda* - a final temporal phase (Freed (1979:30ff). The nucleus can be further divided into an *initial* period, a *middle*, and a *final* part. As Ameka (2008) explains languages tend to provide linguistic forms for the description of these stages. Hence English, for example, has the aspectual verb *start* and *begin* which are used to refer to the *onset* and the *initial* period of the nucleus of situations respectively (Freed 1979, Wierzbicka 1988). Similarly the verbs *finish* and *end* are used to code the final part of the nucleus and the coda respectively (Wierzbicka 1988:77-78, Dixon 2005). The markers of the *onset*, *nucleus*, and *coda* phases of a situation may be described as ingressive/inceptive, progressive/continuative, and egressive respectively. In the following subsections, I describe the various phasal aspect constructions in Tafi and I use the term 'completive' instead of 'egressive' to describe the coda phase.

7.3.11.1   The inceptive

The inceptive aspect refers to the beginning of a state of affairs. The beginning stage of the states of affairs may be referred to as the onset (Ameka 2008). There are two ways of expressing the inceptive. One is through the use of the verb **ténɔ̄** 'start' and the other involves a construction with **kpí X kesí**[57]. Both the verb **kpɪ** 'put in' together with the postposition **kesí** 'under' co-lexicalise the inceptive aspectual meaning. The specifier (NP) of the postposition **kesí** codes the situation about to begin. **Ténɔ̄** 'start' is a phasal verb which is followed by event nominals or nominalised verbs. If the event expression to be nominalised is represented by a transitive verb and its complement, e.g., **té ekle** 'cut thatch', the nominalisation

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[57] This is an areal pattern used across many of the languages in the Volta Basin, eg., **dze X gɔme** 'contact X bottom'; Akan **shɛ X asi** 'put on X bottom'; Ga **je X shishi** 'set out X bottom'; Likpe **kpé X ká.sɔ** 'put X bottom/under'.

involves the permutation of the VO order plus the marking of the V as a nominalised verb. This creates a double object construction with **ténɔ̄** as the verb and the O as object1 and the nominalised verb as object2. The following are examples:

173a. Étén' ekleń 'úté̂.
    é-ténɔ̄   **e-kle**   **ní**   **bʊ-té̂**
    3SG-start CM-thatch   DEF   CM-slash
    'He started cutting the thatch.'

173b. Gɪ étén' oklebhɔ́ń 'únyá ko…
    gɪ   **é-ténɔ̄**   **o-klebhɔ́**   **ní**   **bʊ-nyá**   **ko**
    REL   3SG.DEP-start   CM-bundle.of.thatch   DEF   CM-tie   just
    'Just as he started tying the bundle of thatch…'   (Kásalã)

173c. Flôgo tɪ búbakp'ibúíníésí ní…
    flôgo **tɪ**   **bú-ba-kpí**   **ki-búí**   **ní**   **ke.sí**   **ní**
    before COMP   1PL-FUT-put.in   CM-matter   DEF   under   TOP
    'Before we start with the proceedings…'   (Saxwí)

173d. Búbakpí ɔkɔníésí.
    bú-ba-kpí   **ɔ-kɔ**   **ní**   **ke.sí**
    1PL-FUT-put.in   CM-custom   DEF   under
    'We will start with the ceremony.'

7.3.11.2   The continuative aspect construction

The expression **vɪ X kábhā** 'continue, go on' (lit. 'go X top') is used to express the continuity of a situation, the nucleus phase of the states of affairs. The verb **vɪ** 'go' is a motion verb which takes a postpositional phrase headed by **kábhā** 'on, top' as complement. Consider the following examples:

174a. Nɔkɔ́ 'úlɔ́ ídzó tɪ búv' ibúíníábhā.
    nɔ-kɔ́   **bʊlɔ́**   **ki-dzo**   **tɪ**   **bú-vɪ**   **ki-búí**   **ní**
    2PL-give   1PL   CM-way   COMP   1PL-go   CM-matter   DEF
    kábhā
    top
    'Allow us to continue with the proceedings.'   (Saxwí)

174b. Kíxwīn íívɪ 'ílíábhā.
    kí-xwī   **ní**   **kí-í-vɪ**   **kɪlí**   **kábhā**
    CM-work DEF   SM-PRSPROG-go   3SG.IND top
    'The work is continuing.'

This is similar to the Ewe continuative construction **yi X dzí** 'go X top' (Ameka 2008).

7.3.11.3 The durative aspect construction

The durative aspect is expressed by the construction **tsirí X kábhā** 'be.on X top' which is an instantiation of the basic locative construction. In this context, it is extended to the temporal domain for the expression of the durative aspect. The verb takes a complement headed by the postposition **kábhā** 'on, top'. For example,

175a. Blɔ̃ kúnúníábhā lótsirí.
  bʊlɔ́ **kúnú** **ní** **kábhā** **ló-tsirí**
  1PL funeral DEF top 1PL.DEP-be.on
  'We are going on with our funeral rites.'

175b. W̃ũnótsirí ílíábhā.
  w̃ũnɔ́ **no-tsirí** **kʊlí** **kábhā**
  2PL.IND SM-be.on 3SG.IND top
  'You keep working.' Or 'You are on it' i.e. Courage!

The sentence in (175b) is a routine expression used in Tafi in acknowledging people doing some work and urging them to work harder. The 3SG pronoun **kʊlí** 'it' stands for **kíxwī** 'work'.

7.3.11.4 The completive aspect

The completive aspect is indicated by the grammaticalised verb **békē** 'finish'. This form is used to signal that a situation or event has ended. When **békē** 'finish' is used to mark the completive aspect, it occurs after another verb and the subject argument is not cross-referenced on it as shown in the examples in (176b) and (176c). Thus, it appears to have become grammaticalised (see also Ameka 2008, 2006 for a discussion on Ewe). The example in (176a) shows the verb **békē** 'finish' occurring as a fully inflected verb.

176a. Onɨ́ń óbékē.
  o-ní **ní** **ó-békē**
  CM-soup DEF SM-finish
  'The soup got finished.'

176b. Ámā akáŋɛ 'ɛdɔ̄ békē.
  Ámā **a-ká-ŋa** **kí-dɔ̄** **békē**
  Ama SM-NEG.PERF-eat CM-thing COMPL
  'Ama has not yet finished eating.'

176c. Gʊ ámɔ sí la flǎ békē…

gɩ   á-mɔ   sí   lá-flǎ   békē
REL   3SG.DEP-see COMP   3PL.DEP-pass   COMPL
'When he saw that they have passed…'

In (176a) above, **békē** 'finish' occurs as a main verb and the subject is cross-referenced on it whereas in (176b) and (176c), **békē** 'COMPL' occurs as a postverbal modifier and functions as a completive aspectual adverbial.

7.3.11.5   The cessative/ terminative aspect

Yílɔ/ yúlɔ is an aspectual verb meaning 'cease, stop'. Both **yílɔ/ yúlɔ** are used interchangeably. It is used as the operator verb where it takes a nominalised complement denoting the main event that has ceased or the speaker wants to be stopped as shown in (177). It thus codes a cessative or termination aspect.

177a. Áyílɔ 'ulu 'ʊw̃ĩ.
      á-yílɔ   bʊ-lu   bʊ-w̃ĩ
      3SG-stop CM-drink   CM-drink
      'He does not drink anymore.'

177b. Yílɔ ɩdɔŋɩŋan 'ʊŋa!
      yílɔ   kɩ-dɔŋɩŋa   ní   bʊ-ŋa
      stop   CM-food   DEF   CM-eat
      'Don't eat anymore!'

Phasal aspectual meanings are periphrastically expressed involving verbs that code the deictic or temporal dimension of events as operators. Some of the verbs, e.g., **békē** 'finish' have become grammaticalised. Similar structures are involved in the coding of modality which we survey in the next subsections.

7.3.12   Modality

Modality is mainly expressed by periphrastic constructions usually involving operator verbs and a nominalised event expression.

7.3.12.1   The ability and possibility markers

There are two ability and possibility markers in Tafi. They are **téŋú** 'can, be able' and **nā** 'can, be able'. Both markers occur in different constructions. **Téŋú** 'can, be able' is a borrowing from Ewe and in both languages it functions as a preverb as well as a verb as illustrated by the Tafi examples in (178a) and (178b) respectively. **Nā** 'can, be able' on the other hand, takes an event nominal or a nominalised verb as a complement and if it is used in a three-place construction, the event nominal occurs as the second object as shown in (178c).

178a. Pamprŏ xū́ń ní, óbotéŋúdzú teɖikpó kɔ́ idru tɪtá aloo tɪlī́.

pamprŏ   xū́ń   ní   ó-bo-téŋú-dzú   te-ɖikpó   kɔ́
bamboo   as.for   TOP   2SG-FUT-can-erect   AM-one   DAT

i-dru   tɪ-tá   aloo   tɪ-lī́
CM.PL-mound   AM-three DISJ   AM-four

'As for the bamboo sticks, you can erect one for about three or four yam
mounds.' (Yam cultivation)

178b. Étíbetéŋú awɛ 'éxwɪ̄ń?.

é-tí-be-téŋú   á-wa   kí-xwɪ̄   ní
3SG-NEG1-FUT-can   SM-do   CM-work   DEF

'S/he cannot do the work.'

178c. Átíbanɛ̄ 'éxwɪń 'úwa.

á-tí-ba-nā   kí-xwɪ̄   ní   bʊ-wa
3SG-NEG1-FUT-can   CM-work   DEF   CM-do

'S/he cannot do the work.'

As the examples in (178a) – (178c) show, **téŋú** 'can, be able' and **nā** 'can, be able'
can occur with other preverb markers, and in these examples, they occur with the
negative marker (178b) and (178c) and the future marker (178a) – (178c).

7.3.12.2   Nyá 'certainly, really'

Nyá 'certainly, really' has the following realisations: **nyá**, **nyé**, **nyɔ́** or **nyó**
depending on ATR harmony of the verb root. **nyɔ́** or **nyó** is trigerred by the
2SG/PL subject pronoun or a subject argument which belongs to the **o-** class . The
form has a vague epistemic sense which in context, can be interpreted as epistemic
certainty as in (179a) and (179b). In some other contexts, it can be interpreted as
probability as in (179c) and (179d).

179a. Máwútɔ́ ényété̄ osíń.

Máwútɔ   é-nyé-té̄   o-sí   ní
Mawutɔ   SM-CERT-slash   CM-tree   DEF

'Mawutɔ certainly/did cut the tree.'

179b. Kofí ányááwɛ 'ɛxwɪ̄ń.

Kofí   á-nyá-á-wa   kí-xwɪ̄   ní
Kofi   SM-CERT-PRSPROG-do   CM-work   DEF

'Kofi is really doing the work.'

179c. Bal' ényézúrú 'ídɔ̄n sí tɪ ladádɪ.

balí   bé-nyé-zúrú   kí-dɔ̄   ní   sí   tɪ

      3PL.IND SM-CERT-steal CM-thing DEF   COMP   COMP
      la-dá-dɩ
      3PL.DEP-ITIVE-sell
      'Perhaps, THEY stole the things (in order) to sell (them).'

179d. Kibúí gɩganɩ tilí kɩlí nyábá.
      ki-búí   **gɩganɩ**   **tɩ-lí**   **kɪlí**   **nyá-bá**
      CM-matter   difficult   AM-INDEF 3SG.IND CERT-come
      'Something serious has probably happened.'

To avoid ambiguity in contexts, speakers choose an adverbial or modal expression to re-enforce the interpretation they intend, for example, **kígbā** 'truth' as in (179e) is used to reinforce the veracity of the proposition.

179e. Kokó y'anyádɛ 'égbā.
      kokó **yí**   **a-nya-ɖa**   **kí-gbā**
      cocoa 3SG.IND SM-CERT-plant   CM-truth
      'Cocoa, he truly did plant (it).'

The form **nyá** is probably borrowed from Ewe where there is an epistemic certainty preverb modal **nyá** which evolved from the verb **nyá** 'know' (see eg. Ameka 2008).

7.3.12.3   Necessity and other modal meanings

Several modal meanings such as necessity and obligation are expressed in constructions in which the matrix clause consists of an impersonal pronoun which is the subject, and a sentential complement introduced by **sí** (which is a quotative or complement clause introducer) for the factual and the realis situations and for the irrealis, a **tɩ** complementiser combining with the **sí** complementiser (see Chapter 9, § 9.2 on complement clauses). These matrix clauses include those listed in (180a) and exemplified in (180b) and (180c).

180a. **alasí (tɩ)**   'It is necessary that'
      kɪtɔ́ sí   'It is necessary that'
      kɩzhɩ̃ã sí   'It is necessary that' (lit. 'it is needed that')
      kiw̃í sí   'It is obvious that/ obviously' (lit. 'it appears that')
      kɩlí 'mɩ dánī sí 'it is obvious/ apparent that (lit. 'its inside open that')
      kɩlí 'mɩ bhui sí 'it is obvious/ apparent that (lit. 'its inside cut that')
      kɩlí 'mɩ tsá sí   'it is obvious/ apparent that (lit. 'its inside clear that')

180b. Alasí (tɩ) Kofí ávi idzoɩm.
      a-lí   **a-sí**   **(tɩ)**   **Kofí** **á-vɩ**   **ki-dzo**   **kɩmɩ**
      3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   (COMP) Kofi   SM-go   CM-road   inside
      'Kofi must travel.'

180c.   …so kı̂ní ní, kıdaazhı̃ã̄ sí bʋdayíkɔ kasí abrewa.

so kı̂-ní   ní   kı-daa-zhı̃ã̄   sí
so AM-PROX   TOP   3SG-NEG:PSTPROG-need COMP

bʋ-da-yíkɔ   kasí   a-brewa
1PL-ITIVE-take   show   CM-old.woman
'… so concerning this one, it was not necessary to seek counsel with (the) old lady.'[58]

Other constructions which express modal meanings include those listed in (180d). They indicate epistemic modality and are used to express the speaker's doubts about the reality of the reported event. **Ébedzi** and **ɛ́edzi** as well as **óbhi** and **ɛ́bhi** are variants of the same modal expressions respectively.

180d. **ébedzi/ ɛ́edzi**   'maybe, perhaps' (lit. 'it will be')
       óbhi/ ɛ́bhi   'maybe/ perhaps'
       ádɪpĩ̄   'maybe/ perhaps' (lit. 'it not be good')

These expressions are lexicalised from the kinds of matrix clause structures we have seen above.

7.3.12.4   The desiderative

The preverb **ti/tɪ** 'want, desiderative' is related in form and meaning to the clause introducer **tɪ** 'PURP'. It is used to indicate that the participant in the subject role wants to carry out an action represented by the main verb as shown in the following examples.

181a. Kofí ávɪ etibu idru.

Kofí   á-vɪ   e-ti-bu   i-dru
Kofí   SM-go   SM-DESID-create   CM.PL-yam.mound
'Kofi went to make yam mounds.'

181b. … so ótimínī ɔlí ní ɔg'ɔkpasí kıbhlʋxɔénímī bʋbalı lɔ́balı kú anɔ̄ ãmĩʔ.

so ó-ti-mínī   ɔlí   ní   ɔ-gɪ   ɔ-kpasí   kı-bhlʋxɔé
so 2SG.DEP-DESID-lick   3SG   TOP   3SG.REL SM-be.in   CM-ladle

ní   kımı   bʋ-balı   lɔ́-balı   kú   a-nɔ̄   ã-mĩ
DEF   inside CM-pour   3SG.DEP-pour   ALL   CM-person   CM-face

'… and you want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.'   (Proverbs #27)

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[58] It is a common practice in Southern-Ghana cultures when elders retire to consult among themselves during an arbitration to say that they go to consult an old lady or grandma.

181c. Ítɩyíkɔ 'ɛdɔ̄ŋíŋá ko, ítíívɩ tɩ 'wɔ 'ɔyaním̃ʔ.
    í-tɩ-yíkɔ   **kí-dɔ̄ŋíŋá ko**   **í-tíí-vɩ**
    1SG-DESID-take   CM-food just   1SG-NEG:PRSPROG-go
    tɩ   **í-wɔ**   **bʊ-ya**   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**
    PURP   1SG.DEP-delay   CM-farm DEF in
    'I am just going to take food stuff, I am not going to keep long in the farm.'

In example (181c) for instance, there are three instances of the segmental form **tɩ**. The first is the desiderative in **í-tɩ-yíkɔ** which we are concerned about in this section and the second is in the negative progressive form in **ɩ-tʊ-vɩ** and the third is the purposive **tɩ** introducing the dependent clause 'I keep long in the farm'.

7.3.13   The directional preverbs

There are two directional preverbs in Tafi. They are the itive and the ventive. They are described in turn in the subsections below.

7.3.13.1   The itive

The itive in Tafi is expressed by the directional preverb **dá** 'ITIVE'. It is realised as **dá/dé** and **dɔ́/dó** depending on the person of the subject argument and the ATR value of the verb root. As usual, if the subject is 2SG/PL, the forms with the rounded vowels, **dɔ́** and **dó** are used. The itive expresses the idea of a state of affairs occurring away from the deictic centre. From a semantic point of view and considering the forms, the itive could have evolved from the verb **dɩ** 'go'. The examples in (182a) - (182d) are illustrations of the use of **dá** 'ITIVE'.

182a. Ávɩdékpú ní áyakpáním̃.
    á-vɩ-dé-kpú   **ní**   **á-yakpá**   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**
    3SG-go-ITIVE-hide LOC CM-bush   DEF inside
    'S/he went and hid in the bush.'

182b. Ádáw̃ũsɔ́ɩésí.
    á-dá-w̃ũsɔ́   **ke.sí**
    3SG-ITIVE-lie   down
    'S/he went to lie down.'

182c. Ká ɔ́dɔ́kɔ́ adzīń sɩká.
    ká   **ɔ́-dó-kɔ́**   **a-dzɩ̄**   **ní**   **sɩká**
    then   2SG.DEP-ITIVE-give   CM-woman DEF money
    'Then you go and give the woman money.'

182d. Ádɩdédzí akpǎ.

á-dɪ-dé-dzí   **a-kpǎ**
3SG-go-ITIVE-buy CM.PL-fish
'S/he went and bought fish.'

7.3.13.2   The ventive

The ventive in Tafi is **bá**. It is realized as **bá/bé** and **bɔ́/bó**. Like for the itive, the choice between these forms is based on person of the subject and vowel harmony rules governed by the initial vowel of the verb. **Bá** 'VENT' is a directional preverb that is used to indicate that a state of affairs eventually occurs at the deictic centre. It can co-occur with other preverb markers and if it does it occurs in the slot immediately before the verb. It also co-occurs with the verb **bá** 'come' from which it grammaticalised as well as with the future marker **ba** which also grammaticalised from the verb **bá** 'come'. In fact, the three forms can co-occur as in (183c). It seems that when the ventive occurs with the future marker its tone becomes low as shown in (183c).

183a. Bébékú.
    bé-bé-ku
    3PL-VENT-reach
    'They arrived.'

183b. Ábádɔ́ 'ʊnya kpata.
    á-bá-dɔ́   **bʊ-nya**   **kpata**
    3SG-VENT-contact CM-sickness suddenly
    'S/he suddenly fell sick.'

183c. Ábababá kívū.
    Á-ba-ba-bá   **kívū**
    3SG-FUT-VENT-come tomorrow
    'S/he is going to come tomorrow.'

7.3.14   Operator verbs with "adverbial" meanings

7.3.14.1 **Tiklěnɔ́** 'be susceptible to, be prone to, have a high propensity to do something'

The verb **tiklěnɔ́** is used to indicate that a state of affairs occurs very often. It signals that the referent of the subject argument has a high propensity to be engaged in the state of affairs. **Tiklěnɔ** takes an event nominal or a nominalised verb as complement, as shown in (184a). If the event is represented by a transitive verb with its complement, there is a permutation of the VO order, as in (184b) which is a proverb.

184a. Adzɪnóv5ɛ̆áń étíklĕn5 ʼʊnya.

    a-dzɪnóv5ɛ̄   **a-ní**   **é-tíklĕn5**   **bʊ-nya**

    CM-girl   AM-PROX   SM-be.prone.to CM-sick

    'This girl easily falls sick.'

184b. Ban5 tɪabhe ʼeshí épídzyá étíklĕn5 ɔtɔ ʼʊzā.

    ba-n5   **tɪa-bha**   **ki.shí** **e-pidzya** **é-tíklĕn5**

    CM.PL-person   AM-two   midst CM-goat SM-be.prone.to

    ɔ-tɔ   **bʊ-za**

    CM-outside   CM-stay

    'A goat that is reared between two keepers apart strays very often.' i.e., is prone to straying.   (Proverb #26)

7.3.14.2   **tsyɪ** 'do something in vain'

Tsyɪ 'do something in vain' is a verb with an adverbial meaning. It is used to express a frustrative meaning. Like other TAM operator verbs, it occurs with an event nominal or a nominalised verb as complement. The sentences in (185) illustrate this verb.

185a. Bátsyɪ ʼʊga.

    bá-tsyɪ   **bʊ-ga**

    3PL-do.in.vain   CM-walk

    'They walked in vain.'

185b. Wʼɔtsyɪ̃ ʼʊbhítī oo.

    wɔ́   **ɔ́-tsyɪ̃**   **bʊ-bhítī** **oo**

    2SG.IND SM-do.in.vain CM-do   UFP

    'You have tried or worked in vain.'

7.3.14.3   **buso** 'do first'

Buso 'do first' is a verb with a temporal sequence meaning. It can occur with an event nominal as a complement as illustrated in (186a) or in a bi-clausal construction as shown in (186b). The examples in (186a) and (186b) are adapted from a riddle and a story respectively.

186a. Íkpʼan5 sí edeklŭ Tsĕ ákɔ́ḿ, Tsĕ ebuso ʼʊ́bá.

    í-kpí   **a-n5**   **sí**   **e-dé-klŭ**   **Tsĕ**   **á-kɔ́**

    1SG-send CM-person COMP   3SG.DEP-ITIVE-call Tsĕ   SM-give

    mí **Tsĕ** **e-buso**   **bʊ-bá**

    1SG Tsĕ SM-do.first CM-come

    'I sent someone to call me Tsĕ but Tsĕ arrived before the person.'

                                        (Riddle #7)

186b. Kásā̃lā̃ bǒ́ŋ́ ébuso aábá o.

    ká-sā̃lā̃   **bǒ́ŋ́**   **é-buso**   **a-á-bá**   **o**

    CM-tortoise   rather   SM-do.first   SM-PRSPROG-come   UFP

    'Tortoise is rather the one who is arriving first.'   (Kásā̃lā̃)

7.3.14.4   tsɔ 'do early'

Tsɔ́ 'early' is a verb with an adverbial meaning of speed. It takes a nominalised verb as its complement. The following examples in (187a) and (187b) show the use of **tsɔ́** 'do early'.

187a. M'eni ápĩ sí nɔtsɔ́ 'ɔvι tι nɔtsɔ́ 'ɔbá.

    mí   **é-nĩ**   **á-pĩ**   **sí**   **nɔ-tsɔ́**   **bυ-vι**

    1SG   CM-mother   SM-want COMP   2PL.DEP-do.early   CM-go

    tι   **nɔ-tsɔ́**   **bυ-bá**

    COMP   2PL.DEP-do.early   CM-come

    'My mother wants you to leave early so that you come back early.'

187b. T'ɔtsɔ́ 'ɔbá.

    tι   **ɔ-tsɔ́**   **bυ-bá**

    COMP   2SG.DEP-do.early   CM-come

    'May you come back early.'

The sentence in (169b) is a parting expression said to someone going somewhere for a short time, for instance, to the farm, on a day's journey etc. (see chapter on routine expressions).

7.4   Adverbs and adverbial phrases

The adjunct slot in a clause can be filled by expressions from several categories such as adverbs, adverbial phrases, nouns and noun phrases as well as postpositional phrases. All these can be used to modify verbal expressions. Tafi has a limited number of basic adverbs. Semantically, adverbs in the language are classified into the following groups: manner, degree, time, place and modality.

7.4.1   Manner

Manner is mostly expressed by ideophones and adverbs. Examples include:

188a. **mǒ**   'well'

       zιa   'fast, quickly, hurriedly, often'

       grɔdzyυ   'reluctantly'

       pē̃pē̃pē̃pē̃   'out of breath (sound)'

kídzéé	'quietly'
bhadaa	'murky, slimy, grimy'
dɔdɔɔdɔ	'slowly'

188b. Anúvɔn ááfwě pēpēpēpē.

a-núvɔ ní á-á-fwě pēpēpēpē
CM-child DEF SM-PRSPROG-breathe IDEO.out.of.breath
'The child is breathing like someone out of breath.'

188c. Ezin ékpu étsokú uvunúm̃ kídzéé.

e-zi ní é-kpu é-tsokú bú-vū ní kımı kídzéé
CM-thief DEF SM-hide SM-enter CM-house DEF in quietly
'The thief hid and sneaked into the room.'

Some of these ideophones can be repeated for intensity as shown in (188d). The number of times an ideophone is repeated is iconic with the degree of intensity as exemplified in (188e) below.

188d. **mɔ̌ → mɔ̌ mɔ̌**   'very well'
       zıa → zıazıa   'very fast, quickly, often'

188e. Ékpu 'ídɔ̄ń zıazıazıazıa.
       é-kpu kí-dɔ̄ ní zıazıazıazıa
       3SG-hide CM-thing DEF IDEO.fast
       'S/he hid the thing very very quickly.'

7.4.2 Degree adverbs

Degree is expressed by some basic adverbial words as well as ideophonic words. They include:

189a.			
ko	'just, only'	< Ewe
klóé	'almost'	< Ewe
tso	'completely'	
kıbɔ́é	'a little, nearly'	
kodzɔ	'very well/ much, a lot'	
wéé	'completely'	
tẽyī	'completely'	
taɣɛɛ	'completely'	
fɔ́ɔ̃ɔ́	'very much'	
faánɔ̄	'too much'	
kpá̃w̃ṹ kpá̃w̃ṹ	'too much'	< Ewe

> **tútúútú**   'exactly'   <   Akan via Ewe
> **pópóópó**   'very much'

The adverbs **ko** 'just, only', **klóé** 'almost', **kpáw̃ú kpáw̃ú** 'too much' and **tútúútú** 'exactly' look like borrowed words from Ewe. The examples in (189b) - (189d) illustrate the adverbs **faánɔ̄** 'too much', **kodzɔ** 'very well/much' and **wéé** 'completely' respectively.

189b. Nɔɔ́w̄ɔ faánɔ̄.
   nɔ-ɔ́-w̄ɔ   **faánɔ̄**
   2PL-PRSPROG-stay   too.much
   'You are delaying too much.'

189c. Kakudzɔgěań évu ídɔ̄ kodzɔ.
   ka-kudzɔgě   a-ní   é-vu   kí-dɔ̄   kodzɔ
   CM-dog   AM-PROX   SM-catch   CM-thing   very.well
   'This dog hunts very well.'

189d. Ébékē ídɔ̄ń wéé.
   é-békē   kí-dɔ̄   ní   wéé
   3SG-finish   CM-thing   DEF   completely
   'S/he finished it completely.'

7.4.3   Temporal expressions

There are some basic adverbs that have temporal senses. Some of these are listed in (190a). The first adverb seems to have been borrowed from Ewe.

190a. **gbɔ**   'in a moment, in the meantime'
      pútɔnɔ   'previously'
      otsígo/otsúgo   'now'

Other time words belong to different word classes but function in the same slot as adverbs. Some of these words are nouns as shown in (190b). Others are ideophones as in (190c). The forms listed in (190d) are adverbs and they may have been borrowed from Ewe.

190b. **kívū**   'tomorrow'
      kemúzē   'afternoon'
      kíwinyééwī   'everyday'
      kibenyéébe   'every time, always'
      ɔwúlago   'evening'

190c. **kúkúúkú**   'already'

ridididi	'continuously, for a long time'
ɔtsɔ́ɔ̃	'now'
tsĩɔ̃	'in a moment'
ɔtsɔ́tsĩɔ̃	'just now'

190d.	**kpata(a)**	'suddenly'	< **kpata**, Ewe
	katsyáá	'as soon as'	< **kasia**, Ewe
	ɖáá	'always'	< **ɖáá**, Ewe from Akan

The examples below illustrate the use of the temporal adverbs **pútɔnɔ** 'previously' and **kpata** 'suddenly' in (190d) as well as **gbɔ** 'in the meantime' in (190e). The example in (190d) was adapted from a recording in which the elders of a clan were informing the chief and elders of the town about the death of a member of the clan and the chief and elders trying to find out what sickness caused his death; whereas the example in (190e) was adapted from a story about how the striped mouse got its stripes.

190d. Bátíɖɔ pútɔnɔ sí ábádɔ ʊnya kpata.

| **bá-tí-ɖɔ** | **pútɔnɔ** | **sí** | **á-bá-dɔ** |
| 3PL-PERF-say | previously | COMP | 3SG.DEP-VENT-contact |

| **bʊ-nya** | **kpata** |
| CM-sickness | suddenly |

'They said earlier on that he fell sick suddenly...'   (Butsiugu)

190e. Bʊbhɪ káyí yí gbɔ.

| **bu-bhɪ** | **ká-yí** | **yí** | **gbɔ** |
| CM-hunger | NEG.PERF-kill | 3SG | in.the.meantime |

'He is not yet hungry in the meantime.'   (Gbaxálĩ̄)

7.4.4   Days of the week

Days of the week can also function as adverbials.

191a.	**kíwalɔ**	'Monday'
	ɔwashʊɪ	'Tuesday'
	ɔwashʊɪ ɔza	'Wednesday'
	ehlowi	'Thursday'
	kíshũī	'Friday'
	kípā	'Saturday'
	kípadzíwī	'Sunday'

It is worth noting that many of the young speakers do not know much about the Tafi names for the days of the week. Generally, the Tafi names for the days of the week are used interchangeably with the Ewe ones especially for Sunday (kwɛsra),

as illustrated in the example below. Ewe names for the days of the week themselves are ultimately borrowed from Akan. The sentence in (191b) like the one in (190d) was adapted from a recording of a meeting between the elders of a clan and a regent and council of elders of a community.

191b. Kípā ní ní búwa kúnú, kwɛsrá búdí kúsɔlimɪ ɔ́nánī ꞌíwalɔ.

kípā	**ní**	**ní**	**bú-wa**	**kúnú**	**kwɛsrá**	**bú-dí**
Saturday	DEF	TOP	1PL-do	funeral	Sunday	1PL-attend

kú.sɔlimɪ	**ɔ́-nánɔ**	**kíwalɔ**
burial.service	2SG-reach	Monday

'On Saturday, we perform (the) funeral rites, on Sunday, we attend the burial service till Monday.'   (Butsiugu)

7.4.5   Adverbs of place

Deictic expressions in Tafi which are used to indicate direction or as adverbs of place include ɪkĩ́/ ɔkĩ́ 'here' and ɪklí 'there'. The following are examples:

192a. Ɩklí, ekusín áká ꞌtabu sí...

ɪ-klí	**e-kusí**	**ní**	**á-ká**	**a-tábú**	**sí**
CM-there	CM-chief	DEF	SM-say	CM-oath	COMP

'There and then, the chief swore an oath that...'   (Butsé)

192b. Átíbā ꞌkĩʔ.

á-tí-bā	**ɪ-kĩ**
3SG-NEG1-come	CM-here

'He does not come here.'

7.4.6   Modal adverbials

Modal adverbials in the language include those listed in (191a) below.

193a.	**buw̃ɑ́**	'in vain'	
	tɪw̃ɑ́	'in vain'	
	kɪgbɪágbā	'truly'	
	kokooko	'certainly, surely'	(borrowed from Ewe)
	dewomahĩ/ domahĩ	'perhaps, maybe'	(borrowed from Ewe)

The following are illustrative sentences of modal adverbials:

193b. Kɪgɪ w'ɔ́ɔbhɪtíań buw̃ɑ́/ tɪw̃ɑ́.

kɪ-gɪ	**wɔ́**	**ɔ́-ɔ́-bhɪtí**	**aní**	**buw̃ɑ́/ tɪw̃ɑ́**
3SG-REL	2SG.IND	SM-PRSPROG-do	TOP	in.vain

'What you are doing is in vain.'

193c. Adzīń ébepo wɔ́ kokooko.

 a-dzī̀   **nɪ́**   **é-be-po**   **wɔ́**   **kokooko**
 CM-woman   DEF   SM-FUT-wait   2SG   surely
 'The woman will surely wait for you.'

7.4.7   Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases introduced by the comitative **nɪ** 'COM' and **nɪ́** 'LOC' can also be used to express adverbial meanings. If the complement of the comitative preposition **nɪ** is an abstract noun denoting an emotion, for instance, it can be interpreted as manner of performing the action in the clause. The locative preposition **nɪ́** is used to introduce the location of an event. It is also used to mark the ground in the basic locative construction. The use of prepositional phrases as adverbials is illustrated below. The sentence in (194a) is adapted from a Frog Story narration while (194b) is taken from another story. (194c) exemplifies the locative preposition **nɪ́**. In these sentences, the prepositional phrases **nɪ samɪ** 'with joy' in (194a) and **nɪ kiw̃ǐ** 'with shame' in (194b) are used in adjunct position and are interpreted adverbially.

194a. Anúvɔ̄n ézhi áv' édebú yí gbɔkɔéń nɪ samɪ.

 a-núvɔ̄   **nɪ́**   **é-zhi**   **á-vɪ**   **é-de-bú**   **yí**
 CM-child DEF   SM-descend   SM-go   SM-ITIVE-remove   3SG.IND
 gbɔkɔé   **nɪ́**   **nɪ**   **samɪ**
 toad   DEF   COM   joy
 'The child got down and fetched his toad with joy (joyfully).'   (FS)

194b. ... kɪlí adzɪnúvɔ̄n ălɔ́ n'iw̃í gɪ etsódzi avɪ y'eni nɪ y'aka 'kɔ́.

 kɪlí   **a-dzɪnúvɔ̄** **nɪ́**   **á-lɔ́**   **nɪ**   **ki-w̃ǐ**   **gɪ**
 CONJ CM-girl   DEF   SM-get.up   COM   CM-shame   REL
 e-tsódzi   **a-vɪ**   **yí**   **é-nī**   **nɪ**   **yí**
 2SG.DEP-return   SM-go   3SG.IND CM-mother   COM   3SG.IND
 á-kā   **ɔ.kɔ́**
 CM-father   place
 '… and then the girl got up with shame and returned to her parents.'

194c. Bázha 'dzɪ nɪ́ sukū.

 bá-zha   **ɔ-dzɪ**   **nɪ́**   **suku**
 3PL-sing   CM-song   LOC   school
 'They sang in school.'

7.4.8   Postpositional phrases

Some postpositional phrases can also be used to express adverbial concepts. The sentence in (195) below exemplifies this. In this sentence, the postpositional phrase

kílɛ̄ kʋmɩ '(lit. in air)' is used to express the modal adverbial meaning of 'in vain'. It is topicalised.

195. Kílɛ̄ɛm 'iyo w'óóbīań.

kí-lɛ̄	kʋmɩ	yiyo	wɔ́	ó-ó-bī	aní
CM-air	inside	cry	2SG.IND	SM-PRSPROG-cry	TOP

'In vain you are WEEPING.'

7.4.9   Clause positions for adverbials

The unmarked position of most adverbs or adverbials in Tafi is clause final. Few of them can occur in focus or topic position only, i.e., clause initial position whereas there are some that can occur in both initial and final positions of a clause. Below are examples. (196a) consists of examples of adverbs that can occur only clause-initially, in (196b), we have examples of adverbs that occur only in clause final position while (196c) comprises examples of those adverbials which can occur in both initial and final positions in the clause.

The clause initial adverbs and adverbials include:

196a.	**otsígo/otsúgo**	'now'
	kátsyáá	'as soon as'

The clause final adverbs and adverbials include:

196b.	**tso**	'completely'
	wéé	'completely'
	kodzɔ	'very much, well'
	faánɔ	'too much'
	zɩa	'quickly'
	gbɔ	'in a moment, in a meantime'
	tútúútú	'exactly'

Clause initial and clause final adverbs and adverbials include the following:

196c.	**ɔtsɔ́ɔ̃**	'now'
	bʋw̃ɑ́	'in vain'
	tɩw̃ã	'in vain'
	kɩlɛ̆ɛm	'in vain'
	ádɩpī	'perhaps, maybe'
	ébhī/ óbhī	'perhaps, maybe'
	kokooko	'certainly, surely'

Typically, when these occur clause initially, they function as scene-setting topics.

8 SENTENCE TYPES: DECLARATIVES, INTERROGATIVES AND IMPERATIVES

This chapter deals with sentence types. Sentences may be classified according to the meanings or illocutionary force they are used to express or convey in discourse. The main sentence types discussed in this chapter are:

- declaratives
- interrogatives
- imperatives

The chapter is divided into three major parts. The first part discusses declarative sentences and the second part looks at various types of interrogative sentences. Imperative sentences are examined in the final part of the chapter.

8.1 Declaratives

Declarative sentences are used to convey information or to make statements. In its most basic sense, a declarative states an idea or a proposition for the sheer purpose of transferring information to the receiver. Declarative sentences are by far the most common type and are thus considered the unmarked clause type (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985:165, Payne 1997:294). Declarative sentences may consist of simple or complex sentences as shown in (1) – (5).

1. Ekusí tédị́kpó y'áaŋa bal'íabhā
   e-kusí   te-dị̣kpó   yí   á-a-ŋa   balí   kábhā
   CM-chief AM-one   3SG.IND SM-PSTPROG-eat   3PL.IND top
   'ONE CHIEF was ruling over them.'   (Kásālā)

2. Ákányááká ádzíkī y'oklebhɔ́ ní 'íbúí.
   á-kányááká   á-dzíkī   yí   o-klebhɔ́   ní
   CM-every   SM-forget   3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch   DEF
   ki-búí
   CM-matter
   'Everybody forgot about his bundle of thatch.'   (Kásālā)

3. Kof' épídzyáń étsí.
   Kofí   e-pidzya   ní   é-tsí
   Kofi   CM-goat   DEF   SM-die
   'Kofi's goat has died.'

4. lmɔ sukúeyíń g'ezúrú 'éplúkpáń.
   ι-mɔ   sukúeyí   ní   gι   e-zúrú   ke-plukpá ní
   1SG-see   student   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-steal   CM-book DEF
   'I saw the student who stole the book.'

5.   M'ak' enú ásí ɔ́tíshī̄.

mí	á-kā	e-nú	a-sí	ɔ́-tí-shī̄
1SG.IND	CM-father	SM-hear	SM-COMP	2SG-PERF-leave

'My father heard that you have left.'

The examples in (1) – (3) illustrate declarative sentences made up of simple sentences whereas those in (4) and (5) are complex sentences consisting of a main clause and a dependent clause.

8.2   Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are mainly used, among others, for requesting and asking questions. In Tafi, various strategies are employed for the formation of various types of questions. They include:

6a.   Prosody or intonation.
6b.   The use of particles
6c.   The use of question words

8.2.1   Propositional or polar questions

Propositional or polar questions are used to elicit a response as to whether the proposition they express is true or not. According to Watters (2000:204), "most African languages use their basic word order to form yes/no questions". In Tafi, there is no difference in structure and segmental form between a propositional or polar question and a declarative statement. There is only a difference in pitch. The propositional or polar question ends in a slightly lower pitch than its counterpart statement. This is contrary to what happens in Logba and Tuwuli where the difference between a declarative statement and a polar question is a raised pitch over the latter (see Dorvlo 2008, Harley 2005 and Dakubu to appear for a typological overview of interrogative prosody in Kwa and Gur languages). Compare the pitch traces of a declarative statement and a propositional or polar question in Tafi in Figure 1 below.

In Figure 1, the left hand trace is the statement, as in (7) and the right hand trace is the propositional question based on it, as in (8).

7.   W'en' edzú 'úvū.

wɔ́	é-nī	e-dzú	bú-vū
2SG.IND	CM-mother	SM-build	CM-house

'Your mother has built a house.'

8.   W'en' edzú 'úvū?
       wɔ́   é-nī   e-dzú   bú-vū
       2SG.IND CM-mother   SM-build CM-house
       'Has your mother built a house?'

Figure 1: Statement and propositional or polar question compared
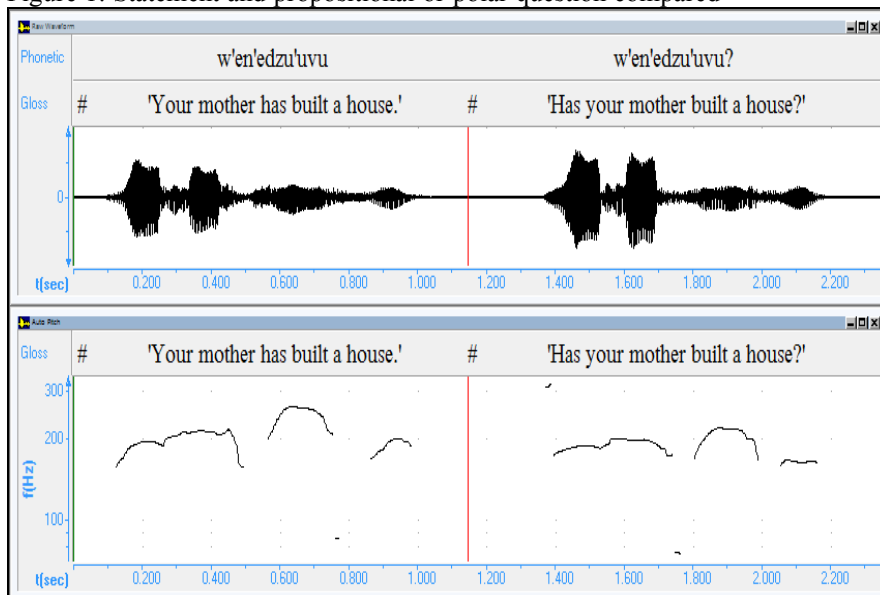
Many languages that use intonation to signal propositional questions tend to use rising intonation, e.g. English and Dutch, Tafi is like Sesotho, for example, in using lowered pitch on the end of the question (Dryer 2011).

The illocutionary force of a propositional question can be reinforced by the addition of one of a set of utterance final particles which occur in questions. These utterance final particles include **dza**, **xãã**/ **hãã**, **lo(o)**, and **a**. The intensifying or emotive particles **xãã** and **hãã** are used interchangeably and probably adapted from Ewe **hâ** 'UFP' (see Ameka 1998). The vowels of some of the particles such as **lo(o)** and **a** can be lengthened. It is striking that the particle **a** is similar to the Ewe question particle or clitic **a**. All these particles bear low tones and are used to express attitudinal meanings such as impatience, urgency and mild irritation. Consider the following examples:

9.   Ɔ́mɔ m'eyíń dza/hãã?
       ɔ́-mɔ   mí   e-yí   ní   dza / hãã
       2SG-see   1SG.IND CM-child DEF   UFP
       'Did you see my child? (I want to know now)'

10.   Ányín ááshī̃ xãã/ hãã?
       á-nyí   ní   á-á-shī̃   xãã/ hãã
       CM-man   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-leave   UFP
       'Is the man leaving?'

11.   Báákā ní tsyɩámī alí lo?
       báá-kā   ní   tsyɩámī   a-lí   lo
       CM.PL-father   DEF   spokesperson   SM-be.at UFP
       Is the elders' spokesperson there?'

12.   Ónyí a?
       ó-nyí   a
       2SG-know   UFP
       'Did/do you know?'

The response to propositional or polar questions could be simply **xee/ ee** 'yes' or
hōwo/ ōo 'no' or an elaborate response could be provided after the 'yes' or 'no'
word. For instance, as an elaborate response to (9), one could say:

13.   Xee, ímɔ 'alí.
       xee   í-mɔ   balí
       yes   1SG-see   3PL
       'Yes, I saw them.'

Propositional or polar questions can also be introduced by **sí** 'QP' which is similar
to **sí** 'COMP'. It is used to introduce propositional or polar questions for which the
questioner knows the answer but is seeking confirmation from the addressee(s). So
it is used to ask conducive questions. There is a similar resemblance in Akan
between a question introducer **sé** and a 'COMP' **sé** (Saah 1988).

14.   Aa! sí nɔɔ́mɔ ɔlishí tɩbhañ?
       aa   sí   nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   ɔlí   kishí   tɩ-bha   ní
       INTJ   QP   2PL-PRSPROG-see   3SG.IND   midst   AM-two   DEF
       'Ah! Do you see the centre of it (it = circle)?'   (Kásālā)

15.   Sí nɔɔ́mɔ ekle ní g'etsirí kɩtʊkpɛ̆ níábhā?
       sí   nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   e-kle   ní   gɩ   e-tsirí
       QP   2PL-PRSPROG-see   CM-thatch   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-be.on
       kɩ-tʊkpɛ̆   ní   kábhā
       CM-hillock   DEF   top
       'You see the thatch that is on the hillock, don't you?'   (Kásālā)

16.   Sí buní ní békē̃?
       sí   bu-ní   ní   békē̃
       QP   CM-water   DEF   finish

'The water is finished, isn't it?'

8.2.2   Alternative questions

Alternative questions are used to present the addressee(s) with alternative choices to choose from to complete the proposition. Alternative questions in Tafi consist of two or more phrases or clauses conjoined by a disjunctive marker **púnɔ̄ɔ̄/lóó/aló(ó)** 'or'. The form **aló(ó)** 'or' appears to be borrowed from Ewe **alóó** 'or'. As demonstrated in the examples in (17) – (20), the disjunctive marker occurs between the different choices available. In (17) and (18), for example, the choice is between two NPs in alternation whereas in (19) and (20), it is between two clauses.

17.   Ɔ́ɔ́vɪ Ɔgɔmɪ púnɔ̄ɔ̄ Atoem?
       ɔ́-ɔ́-vɪ   **Ɔgɔmɪ**   **púnɔ̄ɔ̄ Atoem**
       2SG-PRSPROG-go   Agorme   DISJ   Atome
       'Are you going to Agorme or to Atome?'

18.   Anúvɔ̄ń ábatã ásí púnɔ̄ɔ̄ 'ukupĩ?
       a-núvɔ̄   **ní**   **á-ba-tã**   **á-sí**   **púnɔ̄ɔ̄ bu-kupĩ**
       CM-child DEF   SM-FUT-chew   CM-rice   DISJ   CM.PL-yam.slice
       'Will the child eat rice or yam slices?'

19.   Ɔ́bɔtɔ 'ɛdɔ̄ń lóó ɔ́bɔvɪ tɪ shui 'uní?
       ɔ́-bɔ-tɔ́   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**   **lóó**   **ɔ́-bɔ-vɪ**   **tɪ**   **shui**
       2SG-FUT-cook   CM-thing DEF   DISJ   2SG-FUT-go   PURP   fetch
       bu-ní
       CM-water
       'Will you cook the food or you will go to fetch water (from the riverside)?'

20.   Adzɪ̄ń ábato ekūń alóó ábad'alɪ́?
       a-dzɪ̀   **ní**   **á-ba-tɔ́**   **é-kū**   **ní**   **alóó**
       CM-woman DEF   SM-FUT-cook   CM.PL-yam DEF   DISJ
       á-ba-dɪ   **alɪ́**
       SM-FUT-sell   3PL
       'Will the woman cook the yams or she will sell them?'

8.2.3   Tag questions

Tag questions are those immediately following a statement and they serve to seek confirmation or rejection of the statement (cf. Payne 1997). In my corpus, tag questions in Tafi can be formed from propositional questions introduced by **sí** 'QP' as in example (21) or by using a negative cleft construction as in (22). **Púnɔ̄ɔ̄** 'or' can also be used as a disjunctive tag without offering an alternative as illustrated in (23). We have already seen the use of **púnɔ̄ɔ̄** 'or' in alternative questions (§ 8.2.2).

21.   Kakʋdzɔgěń énémi wɔ́, s'ɔ̂mɔ?
        ka-kʋdzɔgě   ní   ké-némi   wɔ́   sí   ɔ-mɔ
        CM-dog   DEF   SM-bite   2SG   QP   2SG-see
        'The dog bit you, you see?'

22.   Buní ní békē, anι 'ana?
        bu-ní   ní   békē   aní   ká-nā
        CM-water DEF   finish   NEGCL   CM-manner
        'The water is finished, is it not so?'

23.   Áába pɔ́nɔ̄ɔ̄?
        á-á-ba   pɔ́nɔ̄ɔ̄
        3SG-PRSPROG-come   DISJ
        'S/he is coming, isn't he?'

8.2.4   Topic only questions

Topic only questions seek information about a topic entity. In Tafi, they are
marked by the UFP **hɔ̃(ɔ̃)**. This particle occurs on NPs. This information can
concern the whereabouts or any aspect of the person or thing. It is thus translated
into English as 'where', 'how about', etc. Consider the following examples:

24a.   Tsyιámī ní hɔ̃ɔ̃?
        tsyιámī   ní   hɔ̃ɔ̃
        spokesperson   DEF   UFP
        'Where is the spokesperson (= "linguist")?'

24b.   Oni ní hɔ̃?
        o-ni   ní   hɔ̃
        CM-soup DEF   UFP
        'Where is the soup?'

8.2.5   Content questions

Content questions, also referred to as wh-questions in English, are used to ask for
particular information specified through question words. They require more than a
yes/no answer. The following question words are used in Tafi:

25.   **-nῑ**   'who/whom/whose'
        kídē   'what'
        fákɔ́   'where'
        kιlí   'how'
        kídēso   'why'
        ɖúwē   'which'

kibeḑúwē̄(be)   'when', and
-shī̄   'how many/ much'.

Generally, questions with these question words end on a low tone and the effect of this is only realised when the preceding tone is non-low yielding a falling contour tone at the end of these questions. They may occur ex-situ, i.e., fronted and placed in clause-initial position, where they are in focus, or they may occur in-situ, i.e., where they occupy the position in the clause where the constituent being questioned would occur in an otherwise unmarked clause. The question forms **ḑúwē** 'which' and **-shī̄** 'how many/much' are interrogative modifiers so they occur after the head noun. Among the content question forms, only **-shī̄** 'how many/much' and **-nī** 'who' show concord with the head noun. **-shī̄** 'how many/much' has corresponding forms for the various classes of nouns it modifies. Thus, it behaves like other quantifiers. The question form **-nī** 'who', on its part, gets agreement for human nouns. In the singular, it takes the prefix **a-** whereas in the plural, it takes the **baa-** prefix. These prefixes correspond with the noun-class prefixes of the **a¹-/ba(a)-** classes which are typically made up of animate nouns. **ḑúwē** 'which' does not show concord with the head noun it modifies. However, it can be nominalised by the addition of nominal prefixes. As such, it does behave like qualifiers (see Chapter 3 on noun classes for more discussions on **-shī̄** 'how many/much?' and **ḑúwē** 'which?'). When the content question forms, **-nī** 'who', **kídē** 'what' and **kídēso** 'why' are in focus, they occur with **gɩ/pɩ** 'REL'/'CONN' in a kind of cleft construction. All the content question forms except **ḑúwē** 'which' can be used in elliptical questions. For **ḑúwē** 'which' to be used elliptically it has to be nominalised.

The subject pronominal form in an ex-situ question in which a non-subject role is questioned is realised in one of the following ways:
- If it is the 1SG, 2SG, 3SG or 2PL pronoun it is realised as an independent form.
- If it is the 1PL or 3PL pronoun it is realised as a dependent form.

This is illustrated by the following examples where (26) and (27) show the question word ex-situ in clause-initial position and (28) shows the question word in situ:

26.   Kídē wɔ́ɔ́hɔ?
        kídē   wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ́-hɔ
        what   2SG.IND   2SG-PRSPROG-grind
        'What are you grinding?'

27.   Kídē lááhɔ?
        kídē   lá-á-hɔ
        what   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-grind
        'What are they grinding?'

28.   Bááhɔ kídḕ?
        bá-á-hɔ   **kídḕ**
        3PL-PRSPROG-grind   what
        'They are grinding what?'

In the following subsections, the content question words are discussed in turn.

8.2.4.1   **-nī̄** 'who'

This question word is used to ask about the identity of a person. It can occur in
clause-initial position as illustrated in (29) - (31) as well as in clause-final position
as in (32). The questioned constituent can fulfill different grammatical roles in the
clause. For instance, it can have a subject function, as in (29) and (31), or object
function, as in (30), or a copula complement function, as in (32).

29.   Ánī y'ábáyíkɔ̄ anúvɔ̄ń 'ufuōń áŋa?
        á-nī   **yí**   **á-bá-yíkɔ̄**   **a-núvɔ̄**   **ní**   **fufuō**   **ní**
        AM-who   3SG.IND   SM-VENT-take   CM-child   DEF   fufu   DEF
        á-ŋa
        SM-eat
        'Who came and ate the baby's fufu?' (Gbaxáli̋)

30.   Bááni̋ És' édzí bawin ákɔ̂?
        báá-nī   **Ésí**   **é-dzí**   **ba-wi**   **ní**   **á-kɔ́**
        AM-who   Esi   SM-buy   CM.PL-dress   DEF   SM-give
        'Who (pl) did Esi buy the dresses for?'

31.   Ánī gɩ atsyánɔ Ésí ní kedziní̋m?
        á-nī   **gɩ**   **a-tsyánɔ**   **Ésí**   **ní**   **ke-dzi**   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**
        AM-who   REL   3SG.DEP-meet   Ésí   LOC   CM-market   DEF   inside
        'Who met Esi in the market?'

32.   W'ónū áni̋?
        wɔ́   **ó-nū**   **á-ni̋**
        2SG.IND   SM-COP   AM-who
        'Who are you?' (lit. 'You are who?')

-ni̋ can also be used to ask about a possessor. This is when it is followed by a
possessed noun. This is demonstrated in (33).

33.   Án' epidzya átɛ̃ ɛ́kūñ?

á-nī   e-pidzya   á-tã   kí-kū   ní
AM-who CM-goat SM-chew CM-yam DEF
'Whose goat ate the yam?'

8.2.4.2   **Kídē** 'what'

The content question word **kídē** 'what' is used to ask about non-human entities or situations. The following examples show the use of this question word.

34.   Kídē w'oyí obóñ?

kídē   wɔ   o-yí   o-bóń
what   2SG.IND SM-kill   CM-today
'What did you kill today?'

35.   Kídē gι bhítι Ésî?

kídē   gι   bhítι   Ésí
what   REL   do   Esi
'What happened to Esi?'

36.   Kídē Kofî ámɔ?

kídē   Kofî   á-mɔ
what   Kofi   SM-see
'What did Kofi see?'

37.   Kídē kιlí tá Kofî?

kídē   kιlí   tá   Kofî
what   3SG.IND sting   Kofi
'What stung Kofi?'

Example (37) follows the structure of a subject focus construction where the subject NP is placed in clause-initial position but is followed by an independent form of the pronoun that refers to it. (35) is also a subject question where the question word is followed by **gι** 'REL' and the rest of the clause (see also example (29) for **ánī** 'who' subject question). It must also be pointed out that the question word in (37) can be followed by **gι** 'REL' instead of the independent pronoun as shown in (35). For ex-situ object questions, the question word appears clause-initially and there is a gap in its normal position in the rest of the clause (see examples (30), (34) and (36) above).

We turn now to adjunct content question words.

8.2.4.3   Fákɔ́ 'where'

Fákɔ́ 'where' is the content question word used to ask about a location which the questioner has no idea about, as exemplified in (38) – (41). It appears that **fákɔ́** 'where' is a compound made up of two constituents **fá**, the meaning of which is not quite clear and the noun root **-kɔ́** 'place'. At times, instead of the full form **fákɔ́**, speakers use only **fá** to mean 'where' as illustrated in (39). It is also interesting to note that the locative preposition **ní** may be pied piped with the **fákɔ́** 'where' question word in clause-initial position as in (40). However, the occurrence of the locative preposition is obligatory when **fákɔ́** 'where' occurs in situ as in (41) (cf. Harley 2005 on Tuwuli).

38.   Fákɔ́ adzɩ́ń áávɪ?
        fákɔ́   a-dzɩ̀   ní   a-á-vɪ
        where CM-woman   DEF   SM-PRPSPROG-go
        'Where is the woman going?'

39.   Fá w'odê?
        fá   wɔ́   o-dé
        where 2SG.IND SM-come.from
        'Where are you from?'

40.   (Ní) fákɔ́ adzɩ́ń áávɪ?
        (ní)   fákɔ́   a-dzɩ̀   ní   a-á-vɪ
        (LOC) where CM-woman   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-go
        'Where is the woman going?'

41.   Ámā átsán' ányíń ní fákɔ̂?
        Ámā   á-tsánɔ̄   á-nyí   ní   ní   fákɔ́
        Ama   SM-meet   CM-man DEF   LOC   where
        'Ama met the man where?' OR 'Where did Ama meet the man?'

8.2.4.4   Kɪlɩ́ 'how'

The content question word which is used to ask for information about the condition of someone or something such as health condition or about the performance of an action is **kɪlɩ́** 'how'. The following examples in (42) - (44) exemplify the use of **kɪlɩ̀** 'how'. The examples in (40) and (41) are questions which are normally addressed to a sick person.

42.   Kɪlɩ́ w'odzí oo?
        kɪlɩ́   wɔ́   o-dzí   oo
        how   2SG.IND SM-be   UFP
        'How are you?'

43.   Kɪlí ishúním̄ ííbhítɪ wɔ̂?
       kɪlí   i-shú   ní   kɪmɪ   í-í-bhítɪ   wɔ́
       how   CM-body DEF inside   SM-PRSPROG-do   2SG
       'How are you?' OR 'how do you feel in your body?' (lit.: 'how is your
       body inside doing you?')

44.   Kɪlí lábhɪtí 'ʋdzɔ?
       kɪlí   lá-bhɪtí   bʋ-dzɔ
       how   3PL.DEP-make   CM-palm.oil
       'How is palm oil prepared?'

Kɪlí 'how' is also used to ask about the name of an entity or place as in (45) and it
may occur elliptically in greetings to mean 'how are things?'

45.   Kɪlí leklǔ anúvɔ̃ñ?
       kɪlí   le-klǔ   a-núvɔ̃   ní
       how   3PL.DEP-call   CM-child DEF
       'How is the child called?' OR 'What is the name of the child?'

8.2.4.5   **Kídēso** 'why'

To ask for information concerning the reason for an action or event, the question
word **kídēso** 'why' is used as shown in (46) - (48). (48) shows an elliptical use of
kídēso 'why'. This word is made up of the question word **kídē** 'what' and **so** 'so,
thus'. In my corpus, **kídēso** 'why' is obligatorily followed by the relativiser **gɪ**
'REL' or the connector **pɪ** when it occurs clause-initially.[59]

46.   Kídēso pɪ óboyú 'ívú nɪ bekus'edziniñ?
       kídēso   pɪ   ó-bo-yú   ki-vu   nɪ
       why   CONN   2SG.DEP-VENT-dance   CM-dance   COM
       be-kusi   e-dzini   ní
       CM.PL-chief CM-wife DEF
       'Why did you come and dance with the queens?' (Sáhwɪ̄)

47.   Ɔdɪbá sukū obóń, kídēso?
       ɔ-dɪ-bá   suku o-bóń   kídēso
       2SG-NEG2-come   school CM-today   why
       'You did not come to school today, why?'

_____

[59] The **gɪ** 'REL' and **pɪ** 'CONN' alternate in a number of environments e.g. **onu.gɪ** and **onu.pɪ**
'if' and this is one context where such alternation takes place.

48.   Kídēso, Yayra?
       kídēso Yayra
       why   Yayra
       'Why, Yayra?'

In (47), **kídēso** 'why' occurs as if it were a tag attached to a proposition and asking for the reason why the proposition is true.

8.2.4.6   -shī̄ 'how many/much'

The question word which is used to seek information with regard to quantity or amount in Tafi is -**shī̄** 'how many/much'. -**shī̄** 'how many/much' is an interrogative modifier and it takes prefixes to show agreement with the head noun it modifies. The form of the agreement prefix is **tVV-**. **t-** is a quantifier prefix while the double vowel represents a lengthened copy of the prefix vowel of the head noun, except for the **ba(a)-** class prefix (see Chapter 3, § 3.3.2.4 for further discussion). The referent of the question word -**shī̄** 'how many/much' may either be human or non-human. When it is used to question count nouns, it is interpreted as 'how many' as in (49) whereas when used with non-count nouns, it is interpreted as 'how much' as shown in (50). To ask about a sum of money or the price of an item on sale, the noun **ehoí** 'cowries' is used modified by the question word **tááshī̄** 'how many' as in (51). **Ehoí** 'cowries' is used apparently because in the olden days, cowries were used as a form of payment/ in place of money. Also to ask about a person's age, the noun **ágɔ̄** 'years' is used and it is modified by **tááshī̄** 'how many' as illustrated in (52).

49.   Isí tííshī̄ ányíń étê?
       I-sí   tíí-shī̄   á-nyí   ní   é-tế
       CM.PL-tree   AM-how.many   CM-man   DEF   SM-slash
       'How many trees did the man cut?'

50.   Tɩwúlɔ̄ tááshī̄ Kofí áyáɫ?
       tɩ-wúlɔ̄   táá-shī̄   Kofí   á-yáɫ
       CM-rubbish   AM-how.many   Kofí   SM-collect
       'How much rubbish did Kofi collect?'

51.   Ehoí tááshī̄ Ám' edzí akanañ?
       e-hoí   táá-shī̄   Ámā   e-dzí   a-kana   ní
       CM.PL-cowrie   AM-how.many   Ámā   SM-buy   CM.PL-crab   DEF
       'How much did Ama buy the crabs?'

52.   Ágɔ̄ tááshī̃ Kɔ́ku áyíkì?
      á-gɔ̄   táá-shī̃   Kɔ́ku á-yíkì
      CM.PL-year AM-how.many Kɔ́ku SM-get
      'How old is Kɔku?' (lit. 'how many years has Kɔ́ku got?')

8.2.4.7   **ḍúweḍú/ ḍúwē** 'which'

ḍúwē 'which', like **-shī̃** 'how many/much' is an interrogative modifier of nouns. It is used to ask for information about a particular referent from a number of possible ones as shown in (53) – (55). The full form of this question word is **ḍúweḍú**, however, most often, speakers drop the final syllable.

53.   Adzī̄ ḍúwe(ḍú) Ésí ámɔ?
      a-dzī̄   ḍúwe(ḍú) Ésí   á-mɔ
      CM-woman which   Ésí   SM-see
      'Which woman did Esi see?'

54.   Kɪpɔtí ḍúwe(ḍú) Kofʼ ébhui?
      kɪ-pɔtí   ḍúwe(ḍú) Kofí   é-bhui
      CM-cloth   which   Kofí   SM-cut
      'Which cloth did Kofi buy?'

55.   Búnya ḍúwe(ḍú) bʊlí téŋú yí yí kpata 'anā dza?
      bú-nya   ḍúwe(ḍú) bʊlí   téŋú   yí   yí   kpata
      CM-sickness which   3SG.IND be.able   kill   3SG   suddenly
      ká-nā   dza
      CM-manner UFP
      'Which sickness was able to kill him so suddenly?'

As stated earlier on, **ḍúwe(ḍú)** 'which' does not show agreement with the head noun it modifies and this is attested in examples (53) – (55) above. This question word can be nominalised by prefixing it with the noun class prefix except for the **ti-** class (see discussion under Chapter 3, § 3.3.2.6). The nominalised forms are used as interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns in examples (56) – (58) represent the nouns modified by **ḍúwe(ḍú)** in (53) – (55) above.

56.   Eḍúwe(ḍú) Ésí ámɔ?
      e-ḍúwe(ḍú)   Ésí   ámɔ
      CM-which   Ésí   SM-see
      'Which one did Esi see?'

57.   Kiḍúwe(ḍú) Kofʼ ébhui?
      ki-ḍúwe(ḍú)   Kofí   é-bhui
      CM-which   Kofí   SM-cut

'Which one did Kofi buy?'

58.   Buɖúwe(ɖú) bʊlí téŋú yí yí kpata anā dza?
       buɖúwe(ɖú)   bʊlí   téŋú   yí   yí   kpata   kánā   dza
       CM-which   3SG.IND be.able   kill   3SG   suddenly   thus   UFP
       'Which one was able to kill him so suddenly?'

These interrogative pronouns can only be used in a context where both the
questioner and the addressee(s) already know what the referents are.

8.2.4.8   Kibeɖúweɖúibe/ kibeɖúwebe 'when'

Kibeɖúweɖúibe/ kibeɖúwebe 'when' is used to inquire about time. It is a complex
NP structure which is made up of the noun **kibe** 'time' followed by the question
word 'which' which is in turn followed by a copy of the initial noun. Thus this
complex NP can be interpreted as 'time which time'. **Kibeɖúwebe** appears to be a
short form of **kibeɖúweɖúibe**. With regard to **kibeɖúweɖúibe**, the initial consonant
of the second noun **kibe** 'time' has been elided whereas with **kibeɖúwebe**, the final
syllable of the 'which' question word has been elided together with the prefix of
kibe 'time' Both **kibeɖúweɖúibe/ kibeɖúwebe** 'when' are used interchangeably.
Most often in fast speech both are shortened to **kibeɖúwē.** The following sentences
in (59) – (61) are examples.

59.   Ábabá kibeɖúwebe?
       á-ba-bá   kibeɖúwebe
       3SG-FUT-come when
       'When will s/he come?'

60.   Kibeɖúwē lámɔ́ɛ́?
       kibeɖúwē lá-mɔ́   yí
       when   3PL.DEP-born   3SG
       'When was she born?'

61.   kibeɖúweɖúibe laɖɛ 'ékū?
       kibeɖúweɖúibe   la-ɖa   kí-kū
       when   3PL.DEP-plant CM-yam
       'When is yam planted?

Another question word used to ask about time is **kibredzyifã** 'when' as shown in
(62). This word has become archaic, it used to be more common and now it is
seldom used and is unknown to the younger speakers.

62.   Kibredzyifā Ákú áshī̄?
       kibredzyifā   Ákú   á-shī̄
       when   Ákú   SM-leave
       'When did Aku leave?'

At times, interrogative sentences may contain more than one content question word as demonstrated in (63) and (64). This usually happens especially when the questioner misses out on information given by the addressee(s) or speech participants.

63.   Kídē gı Kof' áákɔ ákɔ́ ánī̄ kibredzyifā?
       kídē   gı   Kofí   á-yíkɔ   á-kɔ́   á-nī̄   kibredzyifā
       what REL   Kofi   SM-take SM-give AM-who when
       'What did Kofi give to whom and when?'

64.   Ánī̄ Ákú édzí kídē ákɔ̂?
       á-nī̄   Ákú   é-dzí   kídē   á-kɔ́
       AM-who Ákú   SM-buy what   SM-give
       'Who did Aku buy what for?'

8.2.5   Some uses of questions

The two main types of questions: polar or propositional and content questions can be used in discourse to serve different functions. Two of such uses are described here, namely, the rhetorical use of questions (§ 8.2.5.1) and the use of questions in the enactment of greeting routines (§ 8.2.5.2).

8.2.5.1   Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions are questions asked but for which the questioner does not, in fact, expect the addressee(s) to answer because the answer is known; or because the answer is obvious. In Tafi, rhetorical questions can be in the form of a propositional or a content question. The question in (65) was asked in the context where a woman calls her child to come and another child follows him so she asked that other child whether she has called him to come too. The question in (66), on the other hand, was asked by a parent who had not seen his son the whole of the morning and when they finally met and the child made no attempt to greet, he asks him whether he has seen him (the father) since morning.

65.   Íklú wɔ́ s'ɔ́bâ?
       í-klú   wɔ́   sí   ɔ́-bá
       1SG-call 2SG COMP   2SG.DEP-come
       'Did I call you to come?'

66.   G'oyī ókóéyī obóń 'iélizιzáń ɔ́tímɔ m'amι xãã?
       gι   o-yī   ó-kóéyī   o-bóń   ke-lizιzá
       REL   2SG.DEP-show.up   2SG.DEP-exit   CM-today   CM-daybreak
       ní   ɔ́-tí-mɔ   mí   ã̂-mι   xãã
       TOP   2SG-PERF-see   1SG.IND   CM-face   UFP
       'When you woke up and went out today, have you seen my face?'

Sometimes, when something unfortunate happens, one may ask the rhetorical
question as in (67).

67.   Kibúí ɖúwē nĩń dza?
       ki-búí   ɖúwē   nū   ι-ní   dza
       CM-case   which   COP   AM-PROX   UFP
       'What is this?' OR 'What a scandal or problem is this?' (Sã́hwĩ̄)

8.2.5.2   Greeting questions

During the exchange of greetings, participants in the speech situation ask a lot of
questions about their own health, about the health of members of their various
households and also about places where they stay or are returning from (i.e. from a
journey, farm, market, etc.). The following are examples of greetings recorded
from Mador. Example (43) is repeated here as (70).

68.   W'ɔ́kɔ́ níe?
       wɔ́   ɔ-kɔ́   ní   e
       2SG.IND   CM-place   DEF   UFP
       'How is your place?'

69.   Banúvɔ̄n alí mǒ`?
       ba-núvɔ̄   ní   ba-lí   mǒ
       CM.PL-child   DEF   SM-be.at   well
       'Are the kids well?' OR 'How are the kids?'

70.   Kιlí ishúnĩ́m̄ ííbhítι wɔ̂?
       kιlí   i-shú   ní   kιmι   í-í-bhítι   wɔ́
       how   CM-body   DEF   inside   SM-PRSPROG-do   2SG
       'How are you?' OR 'how do you feel in your body?' (lit.: 'how is your
       body inside doing you?')

   As the examples show, such questions can be propositional ones as in (68) and
   (69) or content questions as in (70).

8.3   Imperative utterances

8.3.1   Imperatives

Imperative sentences are used by speakers to ask or get someone to perform an action or get into a particular state. The imperative in Tafi is expressed in different ways depending on the person and the number of addressees involved. When the command is directed at the second person singular, the bare form of the verb is employed and the 2SG subject remains unexpressed as illustrated in (71) and (72).

71.   Kóéyī   72.   Bá
       kóéyī   **ba**
       exit   come
       'Go out!'   'Come!'

However, for plural addressees, the 2PL pronoun precedes the bare form of the verb as shown in (73) and (74). The different vowels in the 2PL pronoun in these examples are due to the ATR values of the vowels in the verb. Thus in Tafi, the subject of the 2SG imperative is unexpressed but the plural subject is expressed.

73.   Nɔbá!   74.   Notsú!
       nɔ-bá   **no-tsú**
       2PL-come   2PL-dig
       'Come!' (You plural)   'Dig!' (You plural)

The following sentences in (75) and (76) are examples of a main clause which comprise an imperative construction and a purpose clause introduced by the irrealis complementiser **tɩ**.

75.   Bá tɩ lɔ ŋɛ 'édɔ̄!
       bá   tɩ   lɔ   ŋa kí-dɔ̄
       come   COMP   1PL.DEP eat CM-thing
       'Come and let's eat!' (Lit.: 'Come in order that we eat!')

76.   Klu al' enyí tɩ lonú é!
       klǔ   balí   e-nyí   tɩ   lo-nú   é
       call   3PL   CM.PL-name COMP   1PL.DEP-hear   UFP
       'Mention their names so we hear!' (Sāhwĩ̄)

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) also occur as imperative clauses. In such constructions, when the addressee is the 2SG the first verb occurs in the imperative, that is the bare form of the verb and the second verb is marked with a pronominal subject as in (77) and (78). As regards the 2PL imperative, as should be expected, the 2PL pronoun occurs with both verbs as in (79) - (81).

77.   D'ɔŋa   78.   D'owu
       dɪ ɔ-ŋa   dɪ o-wu
       go 2SG-eat   go 2SG-climb
       'Go eat'.   'Go climb'.

79.   Nɔd'ɔz'iésí   80.   Nɔd'oplŭ
       nɔ-dɪ   nɔ-za   kesí   nɔ-dɪ   no-plŭ
       2PL-go   2PL-sit down   2PL-go   2PL-wash
       'Go sit down (You plural)'.   'Go wash (You plural)'.

81.   Nɔyíkɔ 'ɛbúíń ɔ́kɔ́ adzīń!
       Nɔ-yíkɔ ki-búí ní   nɔ-kɔ́ a-dzì̀   ní
       2PL-take CM-case DEF SM-give CM-woman   DEF
       'Put the case before the woman'.
       (Lit.: You (pl) take the case and give to the woman'.) (Saxwí)

The force of imperatives can be attenuated or modified by the use of the routine
expression **í ɖe kukú**[60] 'I beg' or 'please' which literally means 'I take off (my) hat'
which occurs before the imperative construction as in (82). Alternatively,
adverbials such as **kɪbɔ́ɛ́** 'a little' and even certain address terms may be used as in
(83).

82.   Íɖe kúkú nɔkɔ́ 'ʊlɔ́ 'ɛ́dzó!
       í-ɖe   kúkú nɔ-kɔ́   bʊlɔ́ ki-dzo
       1SG-take.off hat 2PL-give 1PL   CM-way
       'Please, allow us!' (lit. I take off (my) hat, you (pl) give us way.')

83.   M'adá, tsobúnɔ̄ mí 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́!
       mí   ádá   tsí   o-búnɔ̄   mí   kɪbɔ́ɛ́
       1SG.IND CM-sister draw 2SG-be.near 1SG a.little
       'My sister, draw near me a little!'

8.3.2   Prohibitives

Prohibitives or negative imperatives are used when a speaker does not want the
addressee(s) to carry out an activity etc. In such a case, the negative marker **tɪ́/tí**
'NEG1' is used. The choice of any of the variants of the negative marker depends
on the ATR status of the initial vowel of the verb stem. Thus, for singular, the
negative occurs initially followed by the verb. For plural prohibitive, the 2PL
subject pronoun occurs followed by the negative marker as shown in (86).

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[60] The phrasal verb **de kúkú** 'beg' or 'please' is borrowed from Ewe and it means 'remove
one's hat'.

84.   Tiklú 'álíʔ!
       ti-klú   balí
       NEG1-call   3PL
       'Don't call them!'

85.   Tʊŋɛ 'édɔ́ńʔ!
       tʊ-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   ní
       NEG1-eat CM-thing DEF
       'Don't eat the food!'

86.   Nɔtʊtá ótúńʔ!
       nɔ-tʊ-tá   o-tú   ní
       2PL-NEG1-throw   CM-gun   DEF
       'Don't fire the gun!' (You plural)

Another prohibitive construction with the form **tɔ̌** followed by the verb is used to ask someone who is in the process of doing something not to continue doing it. It tends to be translated as 'don't do X again'. This is illustrated below.

87.   Tɔ̌ŋé 'ɛdɔ̄ʔ.
       tɔ̌-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄
       PROHIB-eat CM-thing
       'Don't eat again!'

88.   Nɔtɔ̌vīʔ.
       nɔ-tɔ̌-vī
       2PL-PROHIB-go
       'Don't go again!' (You pl)

Where it involves the prohibition of an action performed prior to the time of speaking, the prohibitive construction is reinforced by the marker **vlá** 'again' (see § 7.3.8 for a discussion on **vla**).

89.   Tɔ̌vlɔ́ŋé 'ɛdɔ̄ʔ.
       tɔ̌-vlɔ́-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄
       PROHIB-again-eat   CM-thing
       'Don't eat anymore!'

90.   Nɔtɔ̌vlɔ́vīʔ.
       nɔ-tɔ̌-vlɔ́-vī
       2PL-PROHIB-again-go
       'Don't go anymore!' (You pl)

8.3.3   Optative

The optative is a type of imperative which expresses a wish. The optative in Tafi is expressed by the use of the causative verb **kɔ́** 'give, let, cause, make'. The causative verb **kɔ́** 'give, cause, let, make' is used to introduce the 1st and 3rd person imperatives. The following are examples:

91.   Kɔḿ bá!   92.   Kɔ y'ázhā!
       kɔ́ mí   bá   **kɔ́ yí   á-zhā**
       let 1SG   come   let 3SG   SM-sing
       'Let me come!'   'Let him sing!'

93.   Kɔ lɔ́shḯ!   94.   Kɔ lázhā!
       kɔ́ lɔ́-shḯ   **kɔ́ lá-zhā**
       let 1PL.DEP-leave   let 3PL.DEP-sing
       'Let us leave!'   'Let them sing!'

Also, when a prayer is said one of the responses is as shown in the sentence in (95).

95.   Kɔ ʊlí bɛ́ɛ́lɪ́m̄!
       kɔ́ kʊlí   bá   kʊlí   kʊmɪ
       let 3SG   come 3SG.IND inside
       'Let/ May it be so' or 'let/ may it come to pass!' (Lit.: 'let/ may it come inside!')

9 CLAUSE COMBINATIONS: SUBORDINATION AND COORDINATION

Every language has a means of combining clauses into larger units or complex sentences. This chapter describes some of the various means of doing so in Tafi. I first look at the way units of unequal rank are combined (subordination). I examine the three main types of subordinate clauses, relative clauses (§9.1.1), complement clauses (§9.1.2) and adverbial clauses (§9.1.3). In the various sections, I describe the structure of subordinate clauses, the markers that assist in identifying them within constructions and their position in a construction. The mechanism of combining units (clauses or phrases) of equal rank or coordination (Haspelmath 2007) are then described in §9.2. I focus on conjunction (§9.2.1), disjunction (§9.2.2) and adversative coordination (§9.2.3).

9.1 Subordination

Subordinate or dependent clauses in Tafi are typically marked or introduced by specific morphemes: relative clauses by **gɩ**; complement clauses by **sɪ** or **tɪ** or a combination of both. These markers have extended functions which relate to the introduction of adverbial clauses, for example, **tɪ** is also used to mark purpose clauses as we shall see below. Sometimes, the relation of the adverbial clause to the main clause is not overtly marked and has to be inferred as we show below.

Another feature of dependent clauses in Tafi is that the subject marker on the verb tends to be a dependent form of the pronoun (see Chapter 3, Table 3.2).

Relative clauses as well as adverbial clauses that provide background information for the interpretation of the rest of the clause are marked at the end by the topic marker **nɪ́**; which is heterosemous with the definiteness marker.[61] The treatment of embedded and dependent clauses as topics is an areal feature (see e.g. Ameka 1990; 2010; Saah 2010; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002; Dakubu 1992).

9.1.1 Relative clauses

Andrews (2007:206) defines a relative clause as "a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the NP referent in the situation described by the NP". Relative clauses in such languages as English and French are commonly divided into "restrictive" and "non-restrictive". In Tafi, however, there is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive

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[61] Because of this, in some traditions, the topic marker at the end of such constructions is labelled Clause Determiner (see Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002; Aboh 2004; Saah 2010).

relative clauses. In English, for instance, non-restrictiveness is indicated prosodically in spoken discourse and set off by comma in written discourse as shown in (1b). Even though the equivalent of the English non-restrictive clause in (1b) is (1a) in Tafi, there is no formal difference between such relative clauses providing non-restrictive information and those providing restrictive information. A relative clause in Tafi is a postnominal modifier introduced by the invariant relative marker **gɪ** 'REL' and most often terminates with the relative clause final particle **nɪ́**. The relative clause together with the noun it modifies (which is referred to as the head noun) form one complex NP, which can perform any of the grammatical functions of an NP in a sentence such as subject as in (2), (4a), (4b), and object as in (3).

1a.   Sɛptémbɛ 'ɛwī gbáā́ntɔ̄ gɪ lɪbadzī kípā nɪ́ búamína yɪ́.
       Sɛptemba   kí-wī   gbáā́ntɔ̄   [gɪ   lɪ-ba-dzī   kípā
       September   CM-day   first   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-be   Saturday
       nɪ́]   bú-ba-mína   yɪ́
       TOP   1PL-FUT-bring   3SG
       'The first day of September which will be Saturday we will bring him.'
                                                                    (Butsiugu)

1b.   The first day of September, which will be Saturday, we will bring him.

2.   Ányɪ́ń gɪ áányāń étsí 'ívūń.
       á-nyɪ́   nɪ́   [gɪ   á-á-nyā   nɪ́]   é-tsí
       CM-man   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick   TOP   3SG-die
       kí-vūń
       CM-yesterday
       'The man who is sick died yesterday.'

3.   Ámā étúkú 'ítúkú gɪ lɪlɪ́ fukuu.
       Ámā   é-túkú   ki-tukú   [gɪ   lɪ-lɪ́   fukuu]
       Ama   SM-carry   CM-load   REL   3SG.DEP-be.at   IDEO.light
       'Ama carried a load which is light.'

4a.   Kɪpɔtɪ́ń g'íbhui nɪ́ kɪpɪ̃́ kodzyɔ.
       kɪ-pɔtɪ́   nɪ́   [gɪ   í-bhui   nɪ́]   kɪ-pɪ̃́   kodzyɔ
       CM-cloth   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-cut   TOP   3SG-be.good   very
       'The cloth which I bought is very beautiful.'

4b.   ayǐ nɪ́ gɪ idzí nɪ́ lekpe adɪ́ ikotoku tɪlɪ̃́.
       a-yǐ   nɪ́   [gɪ   i-dzí   nɪ́]   le-kpe
       CM.PL-bean   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-buy   TOP   3PL-be.plenty
       a-dɪ́   i-kotoku   tɪ-lɪ̃́
       SM-surpass   CM.PL-sack   AM-four
       'The beans which I bought are more than 4 sacks.'

These examples demonstrate the general properties of relative clauses in Tafi. In example (2) the subject of the verb **tsí** 'die' consists of an initial NP, **ányí ní** 'the man' (i.e., the head noun) followed by a clause. This head noun together with the relative clause functions as the subject of the sentence. The head noun **kikutú** 'hat' in (3) together with the relative clause functions as the object of the matrix clause. In all the examples above, the head noun which is the head of the relative clause occurs on the left periphery of the clause and is followed by the relative clause marker **gɩ** and it precedes the relative clause. The relative clause is in turn followed by **ní**, which is the same as the definiteness and topic markers. Here, I gloss this marker as 'TOP', i.e. topic. Within the relative clauses in (1a) and (2), the subject position is filled by a dependent pronoun which cross-references the head noun on the verb. This pronoun agrees with the head noun in number and class whereas in (4), where the object of the verb **bhui** 'cut' is co-referential with the head of the relative clause, the object is left unexpressed so a gap is left in this position in the relative clause.

Moreover, where the NP head together with its the relative clause functions as subject of the matrix clause, a subject pronominal form, as opposed to the subject marker (SM) form, occurs on the verb of the matrix clause and agrees with it. Evidence that this form on the matrix clause verb is a subject pronominal form rather than a subject marker comes from the classes for which these two forms are different. These classes are the **o-**, **i-**, a^2 and the **bu-** classes. Thus in example (7) and (9) below, where the head noun **bupá** 'house' belongs to the bu^1- class, the verb of the matrix clause is marked with the **bu-** subject pronominal form. Recall that the **bu-** classes do not have an SM. Similarly, in example (4b), the head noun belongs to the a^2- class whose subject marker is **a-/e-** but the subject pronominal form is **la-/le-**, and **le-** is the form used to mark the subject on the verb of the matrix clause. Unlike these examples, the form marking the subject on the matrix clause agreeing with the head noun **ányí** 'man' is **e-** which belongs to the a^1- class. For the a^1- class, both the SM and the subject pronominal form have the same realisations **a-/e-**. In conformity with the other classes where a distinction is made between the SM and the subject pronominal form, the **e-** form in example (2) and similar ones such as **kɩ-** in example (4a) are analysed as subject pronominal forms.

In sum, Tafi relative clauses have the following main features listed in (5):
5a.   A head/antecedent NP
5b.   An obligatory relative clause marker **gɩ**
5c.   A pronoun in the relativised subject position that agrees with the head noun is used to mark the subject on the verb of the relative clause (see (2)).
5d.   Objects, be they direct objects, second objects or objects in SVCs can be relativised with a gap strategy (see (4a) and (4b)).
5e.   The specifier or dependent NP of a postpositional phrase can be relativised but its place in the PostPp is filled by an independent form of the pronoun (see (6) and (7)).

5f.   Relative clauses are optionally marked off by the topic marker signalling
       that they convey background information with respect to the head nominal
       as shown in the examples in (1a), (2) – (4), (6) and (7).

6.   Kegbu ní g' ιalιabhā ádɔkasíń áshīlɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī
       ke-gbu   ní   [gι   kalí   kabhā á-dɔkasí   ní   á-shīlɔ́
       CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.IND top   CM-teacher DEF SM-leave
       ke-plukpá ní]   ke-dzyínī
       CM-book DEF   3SG-break
       'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'

7.   Bʊpa ní gι bʊlímι lamɔ́ḿ ní bʊtsyra.
       bʊ-pa   ní   [gι   bʊlí   kιmι la-mɔ́   mí   ní]
       CM-house   DEF REL 3SG.IND inside 3PL.DEP-born 1SG   TOP
       bʊ-tsyra
       3SG-collapse
       'The house in which I was born collapsed.'

9.1.1.1   Internal structure of relative clauses

As was earlier mentioned, the relative clause in Tafi consists of the relative clause
introducer **gι** and the rest of the clause. The head of the relative clause always
occurs outside the relative clause. In this section, I examine the noun phrase (NP)
positions which are accessible to relativisation.

One of the major issues in the study of relative clauses relates to the positions
within the clause that can undergo relativisation. In view of this, some linguists
including Keenan and Comrie (1977), Maxwell (1979) and Comrie (1981) have
developed the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). A simpler version of the AH which is
represented in Comrie (1981:149) is shown below:

       Figure 1.   Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy
       Subject > Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

       Where " **>** " means "is more accessible than"

Thus, according to the AH, subjects are easier to relativise than the other NP
positions and that if a language can relativise positions lower in the Accessibility
Hierarchy, it can always relativise positions higher up, but not vice versa. As
illustrated in the examples already given in the sub-sections above, it has become
evident that the positions within the relative clause that can be relativised are the
subject, object and possessor positions. The object positions that can be relativised
include object of a two-place predicate, dative object and locative object positions,
among others.

9.1.1.1.1   Subject relativisation

When the head of the relative clause is the subject, it is cross-referenced on the verb of the relative clause with the dependent form of the pronoun. Consider the following examples.

8.   Ayadɪ ní gɪ ávɪ Igẽ ní ááɲā.

a-yadɪ	**ní**	**[gɪ**	**á-vɪ**	**Igẽ**	**ní]**
CM-farmer	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-go	Accra	TOP

á-á-ɲā
3SG-PRSPROG-be.sick

'The farmer who went to Accra is sick.'

9.   Bʊpá ní g'lʊɖama dí sɔlime 'uvū ní bʊtã.

bʊ-pá	**ní**	**[gɪ**	**lʊ-ɖama**	**dí**	**sɔlime**
CM-house	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-be.tall	surpass	church

bú-vū	**ní]**	**bʊ-tã**
CM-building	DEF	3SG-be.burnt

'The house that is taller than the church got burnt.'

As shown in examples (8) and (9), the dependent pronouns **a-** '3SG.DEP' and **lʊ-** '3SG.DEP' are used to cross-reference the heads of the relative clauses on the verbs **vɪ** 'go' and **ɖama** 'be.tall' respectively. Thus, as illustrated in the examples so far, a subject position must be marked in the relative clause.

9.1.1.1.2   Object relativisation: objects in transitive and ditransitive constructions

Different kinds of objects can be relativised. The direct object in a transitive clause or two-place construction is relativised using a gap strategy. Similarly, a direct object as well as a dative object in a double object construction also employs a gap strategy. The gap is indicated by the symbol **Ø** in the following examples.

10.   Awi ní gɪ adzɪnúvɔ̄ẽ́ ákpí ní átsywɪ̃̄.

a-wi	**ní**	**[gɪ**	**a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ẽ**	**ní**	**á-kpí**	**Ø**	**ní]**	**á-tsywɪ̃̄**
CM-dress	DEF	REL	CM-girl	DEF	SM-wear		TOP	3SG-tear

'The dress the girl is wearing is torn.'

11.   Bʊpáɲ́ gɪ évudzuɲ́ ákasí áɲíɲ́ mʊyí lunū.

bʊ-pá	**ní**	**[gɪ**	**é-vudzu**	**ní**	**á-kasí**	**á-ɲí**
CM-house	DEF	REL	CM-mason	DEF	SM-show	CM-man

ní	**Ø]**	**mʊyí**	**lu-nū**
DEF		1SG.POSS	3SG.DEP-COP

'The house which the mason showed the man is mine.'

12.   Ányíń gɩ évudzuń ákasí bʊpáń áshῑ̄.
       á-nyí   ní   [gɩ   é-vudzu   ní   á-kasí   Ø   bʊ-pá
       CM-man   DEF   REL   CM-mason   DEF   SM-show   CM-house
       ní]   á-shῑ̄
       DEF   3SG-leave
       'The man who the mason showed the house left.'

The relative clause in (10) exemplifies a two-place construction while those in (11)
and (12) also exemplify a double object or three-place construction. In (11), the
direct object position after the verb **kpɩ́** 'wear' in the relative clause is null whereas
the Theme object position in (11) and the Dative object position in (12) after the
verb **kasí** 'show' are also empty. These objects are co-referential with the heads of
their respective relative clauses.

9.1.1.1.3   Dative Objects in ditransitive and SVCs with three place predicate in V2 position

Different types of objects in an SVC employ different strategies. Patient and theme
objects in an SVC are also relativised using a gap strategy (see (13)). The Dative
object of a three place predicate in V2 position in SVCs, however, is referred to
within the relative clause with the independent form of the pronoun (see (14)). This
pronoun occurs ex-situ in that it immediately follows the REL and occurs before
the verb. In that sense the structure of such a relative clause resembles a focus
structure, (see chapter 6 on topic and focus) where the focused NP is represented
by an NP and a co-referring independent pronominal.

13.   Bafʊkpǎ ní gɩ m'en'edzí ákɔ́ m'adzya ní bézi.
       ba-fʊkpǎ   ní   [gɩ   mí   é-nī   e-dzí   [Ø]
       CM.PL-shoe DEF   REL   1SG.IND CM-mother   SM-buy
       á-kɔ́   mí   á-dzya   ní]   bé-zi
       SM-give   1SG.IND CM-brother   TOP   3PL-spoil
       'The shoes which my mother bought for my brother are spoilt.'

14.   Ádɔkasíń gɩ yí Ámā ááko sɩkáń ákɔ́ ní, áɖɔ así sɩkań álílá.
       á-dɔkasí   ní   [gɩ   yí   Ámā   á-yíkɔ   sɩká   ní
       CM-teacher   DEF   REL   3SG.IND Ámā   SM-take   money   DEF
       á-kɔ́   Ø   ní]   á-ɖɔ   a-sí   sɩka   ní   á-lílá
       SM-give   TOP   3SG-say   SM-COMP   money   DEF   SM-be.lost
       'The teacher who Ama gave the money to said that the money is missing.'

9.1.1.1.4   Prepositional objects: locative and comitative

Objects of prepositional phrases can also be relativised. In (15), **bʊpá** 'house', the object of the locative preposition **ní** 'LOC' in the matrix clause which is also the object of **klǔ** 'call' in the relative clause has been relativised with a gap strategy.

15.   … blɔakāl'óbúdí gɪ la yíko evunɔ dénɔ̄ blema ké ní bʊpá gɪ leklǔ sí Kágbɔ́ɛ́m̄.

blɔ̌	a-ka-alí	ó-búdí	gɪ	la-yíko	be-vunɔ
1PL.IND	CM-father-PL	CM-fetish	REL	3PL.DEP-take	SM-hold

dénɔ̄	blema	ké	ní	bʊ-pá	[gɪ	le-klǔ	Ø
from	olden.days	INT	LOC	CM-house	REL	3PL.DEP-call	

sí	Kágbɔ́ɛ́m̄]
COMP	Kagbɔɛm

'… The fetish of our forefathers which they had from the olden days in the clan known as Kagbɔɛm.'   (Butse)

A postpositional object complement of the locative preposition can also be extracted for relativisation. In that case, the dependent NP of the postpositional phrase occurs to the left of the relative marker gɪ and a co-referential independent pronominal form occurs as the immediate specifier of the postposition. A gap is left in the position of the postpositional phrase in the rest of the clause. The postposition is not stranded or pied-piped with its complement. It is rather elided. Compare (16a) and (16b).

16a.   Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ ní osubhanɪabhā.

Ésí	á-tɔ	kí-dɔ̄	ní	o-subha	ní	kábhā
Esi	SM-cook	CM-thing	LOC	CM-hearth	DEF	top

'Esi cooked on the hearth.'

16b.   Osubha ní gɪ ɔlɪabhā Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ ní lɔyě.

o-subha	ní	[gɪ	ɔlí	kábhā	Ésí	á-tɔ́	kí-dɔ̄
CM-hearth	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	top	Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing

ní]	lɔ-yě
TOP	3SG-break

'The hearth on which Esi cooked is broken.'

The object of the comitative preposition can also be relativised. Thus in (17), **bʊdzɔ ní** 'the palm oil' and **kawí ní** 'the axe' in (18) which are both objects of the comitative preposition **nɪ** 'COM' have been relativised. In (17), though **bʊdzɔ ní** 'the palm oil' is an object of the preposition, it is also the subject of the relative clause so it is relativised with a dependent pronoun **lʊ** '3SG.DEP' after the relative marker **gɪ** whereas in (18), **kawí ní** 'the axe' which is an instrument has been relativised with a gap. Since it has been extracted from its position after the comitative preposition **nɪ** as shown in (19), this leaves the preposition stranded so

an alternative of this preposition **nɔ** is used. This happens also in Ewe and Fon where when the object of the prepositions **ɖé** 'ALL' in Ewe and **nú** 'for/on behalf of' in Fon are extracted from their original positions through relativisation their counterparts **ɖó** and **ná** respectively replace them.

17.   Ɔ́kā tɩnɔ nɩ pétéé, bʊdzɔ úlílíń ɔ́kɔtsyáká nɩ bʊdzɔ nɩ pétéé g'lú kpasí gazéním.

    ɔ́-ká   **tɩ-nɔ́**   **nɩ́**   **pétéé** **bʊ-dzɔ**   **ú-lílíní**
    2SG-squeeze CM-chaff   DEF   all   CM-palm.oil AM-DIST
    ɔ́-yíkɔ   **ɔ-tsyáká** **nɩ**   **[bʊ-dzɔ**   **nɩ́**   **pétéé** **gɩ**
    2SG-take   2SG-mix   COM CM-palm.oil DEF   all   REL
    lʊ-kpasí   **gazé**   **nɩ́**   **kɩmɩ]**
    3SG.DEP   metal.pot DEF   inside
    '(After) you squeeze all the chaff you will mix that palm oil (from the chaff) with all the palm oil in the metal pot.'   (Palm Oil)

18.   Kawíń gɩ áyadʊ́ étɛ́ ósíń nɔ̄ nɩ kédzyínī

    ka-wí   **nɩ́**   **[gɩ**   **á-yadɩ**   **nɩ́**   **é-tɛ́**   **o-sí**   **nɩ́**
    CM-axe   DEF   REL   CM-farmer   DEF   SM-slash CM-tree DEF
    nɔ̄   **nɩ́]** **ké-dzyínī**
    COM TOP   3SG-break
    'The axe which the farmer cut the tree with is broken.'

19.   Áyadʊ́ étɛ́ osíń nɩ kawíń.

    á-yadɩ   **nɩ́**   **é-tɛ́**   **o-sí**   **nɩ́**   **nɩ**   **ka-wí**   **nɩ́**
    CM-farmer   DEF   SM-slash CM-tree DEF   COM CM-axe   DEF
    'The farmer cut the tree with the axe.'

9.1.1.1.5   Possessors and specifiers/dependent NPs of Postpositional Phrases

When a possessor NP is relativised, the place of the relativised possessor which immediately follows the relative marker **gɩ** is filled by an independent pronoun that agrees with it in number and class. This is consistent with the use of the independent pronoun forms in pronominal possessive constructions. The subject of the relative clause is also marked with an independent pronoun and it controls agreement on the verb.

20.   Báanyíń gɩ balɩ'ʊpá bʊlí ɖama dí sɔlime 'ʊvu nɩ bábá.

    báá-nyí   **nɩ́**   **[gɩ**   **balí**   **bʊ-pá**   **bʊlí**   **ɖama**
    CM.PL-man DEF   REL   3PL.IND CM-house   3SG.IND be.tall
    dí   **sɔlime**   **bú-vū**   **nɩ́]** **bá-bá**
    surpass   church   CM-building DEF   3PL-come
    'The men whose building is taller than the church have come.' (Lit.:The

men who their building …)

21. Ímɔ ányíń gɩ y'ádzyramʋáń étsíń.

í-mɔ	á-nyí	ní	[gɩ	yí	á-dzyramʋá	ní
1SG-see	CM-man	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	CM-cat	DEF

é-tsí	ní]
SM-die	TOP

'I saw the man whose cat died.' (Lit.: I saw the man who his cat died.')

22. Anúvɔ̄ń gɩ y'ídɔń wɔ́yíkɔ 'ŋań éébi yiyo.

a-núvɔ̄	ní	[gɩ	yí	kí-dɔ	ní	wɔ́	ɔ́-yíkɔ
CM-child	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	CM-thing	DEF	2SG.IND	SM-take

ɔ́-ŋa	ní]	é-é-bi.yiyo
SM-eat	TOP	3SG-PRSPROG-cry

'The child whose food you ate is crying.' (Lit.: 'The child who his thing you take eat …')

In (20) and (21), the possessed NPs as heads of possessive phrases functioning as subjects of the relative clauses are marked by the independent pronouns **bʋlí** '3SG.IND' and **yí** '3SG.IND' respectively. In (20), the possessed NP belongs to the **bʋ¹-** class so it is not cross-referenced on the verb in the relative clause. The possessed NP in (21) is cross-referenced on the verb **tsí** 'die' with **e-**. In (22), however, the possessive NP is the shared object of V1 and V2 so it is marked with a gap in the relative clause. The subject of the relative clause is the independent form of the 2SG pronoun **wɔ́** and it is crossed-referenced on both V1 and V2.

Furthermore, the specifier or dependent NP of a postpositional phrase can be relativised but its place in the PostPp is filled by an independent form of the pronoun. Examples (6) and (7) are repeated here as (23) and (24).

23. Kegbu ní g'ɩalɩabhā ádɔkasíń áshī̃lɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī.

ke-gbu	ní	[gɩ	kalí	kabhā	á-dɔkasí	ní	á-shī̃lɔ́
CM-chair	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	top	CM-teacher	DEF	SM-leave

ke-plukpá	ní]	ke-dzyínī
CM-book	DEF	3SG-break

'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'

24. Bʋpa ní gɩ bʋlímɩ Esí ámɔ́ y'eyíálí ní bʋtsyra.

bʋ-pa	ní	[gɩ	bʋlí	kɩmɩ	Esí	a-mɔ́	yí
CM-house	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	inside	Esi	SM-bear	1SG.IND

e-yí-alí	ní]	bʋ-tsyra
CM-child-PL	TOP	3SG-collapse

'The house in which Esi gave birth to her children collapsed.'

9.1.1.2   Types of phrases that can head the relative clause

Various kinds of phrases can head the relative clause in Tafi. These phrases include definite or specific NPs as shown by several of the examples already given. Postpositional Phrases (see (16) above); possessor NPs (see (20) – (22) above); indefinite NPs (25) and (27); quantified distributed NPs (28) – (30); compound nouns (31); cognate NP (32); independent pronouns (33); definite NPs with unique reference (34); locative and temporal NPs (35) and (36) respectively and manner NPs (37).

25.   Obúdī ní lonú obúdī tolí gɩ lonú blɔ akal'óbúdī.
         o-búdī   ní   lo-nú   o-búdī   to-lí   [gɩ
         CM-fetish   DEF   3SG-COP   CM-fetish   AM-INDEF   REL
         lo-nú   blɔ̌   á-kā-alɩ́   o-búdī]
         3SG.DEP-COP   1PL.IND   CM-father-PL   CM-fetish
         'This fetish is a fetish which is for our fore-fathers.'   (Butsé)

26.   Ényí ídɔ̄nɔ́ń gɩ ábabhítí.
         é-nyí   kí-dɔ̄   nɔ̂   ní   [gɩ   á-ba-bhítí]
         3SG-know   CM-thing   wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-do
         'He knows what he will do.'

27.   Bétínyí ɔ́kɔ́nɔ́ń gɩ lu dé.
         bé-tí-nyí   ɔ-kɔ́   nɔ̂   ní   [gɩ   REL
         3PL-NEG1-know   CM-place   wh.ever   DEF   REL
         lu-dé]
         3PL.DEP-come.from
         'They do not know the place where they (the monkeys) came from.'
                                                                                                     (Butsé)

28.   Ǎnɔ̂ ní g'ebedzi anɔ̂ tutɔpuń …
         ǎ.nɔ̂   ní   [gí   e-be-dzi   a-nɔ̂   tutɔpu
         3SG.wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-become   CM-person   first
         ní]
         TOP
         'Whoever will be the first person …'   (Kásālā)

29.   Ányínyáányí gɩ anyáápɩ̄ ekus'edzeyíń ásí tɩ agbanɔ ko nía …
         á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí   [gɩ   á-nyá-á-pɩ̄
         CM-man-DISTR-CM-man   REL   3SG.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-want
         ekusi.edzeyí   ní   a-sí   tɩ   a-gbanɔ
         CM-king.female.child   DEF   SM-COMP   COMP   3SG.DEP-marry
         ko   ní   a]
         just   TOP   CFM
         'Any man who really wants to marry the princess …'   (Kásālā)

30. Kıkányááká gı nɔɔnyɔ́yíkɔ̄ ko kıbadzí tʋbha tʋbha ní nɔ ahɔımı oo.

kı-kányááká	[gı	nɔ-bɔ-nyɔ́-yíkɔ	ko]	kı-ba-dzí
CM-every	REL	2PL.**DEP**-FUT-CERT-take	just	3SG-FUT-become

tı-bha	tı-bha	ní	nɔ	a-hɔı	kımı	oo
AM-two	AM-two	LOC	2PL.IND	CM-hand	inside	UFP

'May you have a double portion of everything that you will touch.'

(Saxwí)

31. Odotí 'ʋyań gı láadí ní…

o-dotí	bʋ-ya	ní	[gı	lá-a-dí	ní]
CM-cotton	CM-farm	DEF	REL	3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-cultivate	TOP

'The cotton farm they were cultivating ...'

32. Ámā étúkú 'ítúkú gı lılí fukuu.

Ámā	é-túkú	ki-tukú	[gı	lı-lí	fukuu]
Ama	SM-carry	CM-load	REL	3SG.DEP-be.at	IDEO.light

'Ama carried a load which is light.'

33. Wɔ́ gı ɔtɔ́ɔ́ga tsyí

wɔ́	[gı	ɔ-tɔ́ɔ́-ga	tsyí]
2SG.IND	REL	2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk	even

'You who cannot even walk.'   (Kásālā̃)

34. Kofi ní gı y'ébúkú 'ulu 'ivuń áshī̃

Kofi	ní	[gı	yí	é-búkú	bu-lu	ki-vu
Kofi	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	SM-be.drunk	CM-drink	CM-yesterday

ní]	á-shī̃
DEF	3SG-leave

'Kofi who got drunk yesterday has left.'

35. Báába 'klí gı kásālā́ éébho 'ivun

bá-á-ba	ı-klí	[gı	ká-sālā
3PL-PRSPROG-come	CM-there	REL	CM-tortoise

é-é-bho	ki-vu	ní]
SM-PRSPROG-beat	CM-drum	DEF

'They are coming where tortoise is beating the drum.'   (Kásālā̃)

36. … ɔnánī̃ kibe nɔ̂ 'ibe gı bʋbazıyabá….

ɔ-nánī̃	ki-be	nɔ̂	ki-be	[gı	bʋ-ba-zı-yabá]
2SG-reach	CM-time	wh.ever	CM-time	REL	3SG-FUT-REP-boil

'… until whatever time that it will boil again ...'   (Palm oil)

37. Kánā gı látɔ̄ ʋdzɔ ní Baagbɔ.

ká-nā	[gı	lá-tɔ̄	bʋ-dzɔ	ní	Baagbɔ]
CM-manner	REL	3PL.DEP-cook	CM-palm.oil	LOC	Tafi

'This is how palm oil is prepared in Tafi.'   (Palm oil)

Relative clauses function generally as modifiers of the head of the clause. Thus far, the examples illustrate the modifying function of relative clauses in Tafi. The relative clause restricts the identification of the head nominal. They are also used to attribute qualities to the head NP as illustrated in (32) above.

9.1.1.3   Other functions of the relative marker

The relative marker is used to introduce a number of clauses with various functions in discourse. In such clauses, the relative marker occurs without an NP head similar to free relative clauses (Andrews 2007:213). One of these is "addition", that is, a clause that provides additional information for the development of the plot, especially in a narrative.

38.   Kásālā edéwu ekú osíním̃ gɪ y'ázha 'dzɪń …
        ká-sālā   **e-dé-wu**   **e-kú**   **o-sí**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
        CM-tortoise   SM-ITIVE-climb   SM-reach CM-tree   DEF   inside
        gɪ   **yí**   **á-zha**   **ɔ-dzɪ**   **ní**
        REL   3SG.IND   SM-sing   CM-song   DEF
        'Tortoise went and climbed into the tree and he sang the song...' (Kásālā)

39.   … gɪ banɔ̃ań bálɔ̃ átɔ́nɔ̄ kásālā.
        gɪ   **ba-nɔ̄**   **a-ní**   **bá-lɔ̃**   **bá-tɔ́nɔ̄**   **ká-sālā**
        REL   CM.PL-person   AM-PROX   SM-get.up SM-follow   CM-tortoise
        '… then all these people rose up against tortoise.' (Kásālā)

In example (38), the relative clause talks about what tortoise did after the main event of climbing a tree. In example (39), the relative clause talks about what the people did to tortoise after they realised what has happened.

Moreover, the relative clause marker has become lexicalised with the form **ónú**, i.e., **ónú.gɪ** to introduce conditional clauses (see section 9.3.1 below).

40.   Ónúgɪ léétén' 'ʋlɔ́ń k'óshu' un'ɔkp'álí 'ábhā.
        Ónú.gɪ   **lé-é-ténɔ̄**   **bʋ-lɔ́**   **ní**   **ka**
        COND   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start   CM-rise   TOP   then
        ó-shui   **bʋ-ní**   **ɔ́-kpí**   **alí**   **kábhā**
        2SG.DEP-fetch   CM-water   SM-put.in   3PL   top
        'When/ if it starts rising then you add water.'   (Palm oil)

Perhaps the relative marker is developing into a clause linker.

A second function of the relative marker is to introduce clauses that provide the temporal setting or background to a main clause.

41. Gɩ latrɔ́ kitsikpǐ ni 'ifúń pɩ kesín aá ...

    gɩ   **la-trɔ́**   **ki-tsikpǐ**   **ní**   **ki-fú**   **ní**   **pɩ**
    REL   3PL.DEP-put.on CM-pot   DEF   CM-fire DEF   CONN

    ke-sí   **ní**   **aá**
    CM-down.part DEF   CFM

    'When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...'   (Kásālā)

A third function of the relative marker is that it is used to introduce reason clauses as in (42).

42. Gɩ ekusí ní gɩ áza ɔman unú kibe ílílíń ní así nɔ̌ɔ̃.

    Gɩ   **e-kusí**   **ní**   **gɩ**   **á-za**   **ɔ-ma**   **ní**
    REL   CM-chief DEF REL   3SG.DEP-be.at:NPRES CM-town DEF

    bu.nú   **ki-be**   **í-lílíń**   **ní**   **a-sí**   **nɔ̌ɔ̃**
    mouth   CM-time AM-DIST   TOP   SM-say   no

    'So the chief who was ruling at that time said "no".' (Butsé)

The relative marker combines with an appropriate pronoun to form a relative pronoun. For instance, **bagɩ** (43); **agɩ** (44); and **bʊgɩ** (45).

43. Bag' aplúnɔ̃ɛ́, bag'adzɛ́ édɔ̃ń, ébeklǔ álí.

    ba-gɩ   **bá-plúnɔ̃**   **yí**   **ba-gɩ**   **bá-dza**   **kí-dɔ̃**   **ní**
    3PL-REL SM-help   3SG   3PL-REL SM-cut   CM-thing TOP

    é-be-klu   **balí**
    3SG-FUT-call   3PL

    'Those who helped him, those who cleared the bush, he would call them.'

44. W'ágɩ ɔ́bá, w'ágɩ ɔdɩbá wɔ tsyí óbohu ivū óó.

    wɔ́   **a-gɩ**   **ɔ́-bá**   **wɔ́**   **a-gɩ**   **ɔ-dɩ-bá**
    2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-come   2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-NEG2-come

    wɔ́   **tsyí**   **ó-bo-hu**   **kí-vū**   **óó**
    2SG.IND too   SM-FUT-hit   CM-tomorrow UFP

    'You who come, you who do not come you will also dehusk (yours) in the future.'   (Kásālā)

45. Ɔ́yɩ bʊdzɔn tsy' ɔ́kpí bʊg' ɔ̌tíyīníábhā.

    ɔ́-yɩ   **bʊ-dzɔ**   **ní**   **tsyí**   **ɔ́-kpí**   **bʊ-gɩ**
    2SG-scrape CM-palm.oil DEF   too   SM-put.in   3SG-REL

    ɔ́-tí-yī   **ní**   **kabhā**
    SM-PERF-scrape TOP   top

    'You scrape the palm oil also and add to that which you have already scraped.'   (Palm oil)

9.1.2   Complement clauses

Complementation is described as 'the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate' (Noonan, 2007:52; see also Dixon 2010). In Tafi, like in most languages, certain verbs can take a clause as an argument in place of a noun phrase. These clauses referred to as "complement" clauses are introduced by the complementiser (COMP) **sí**[62] and they occur as arguments of complement-taking predicates. Complement-taking verbs in Tafi are categorised into four semantic classes, namely, utterance, perception-cognitive, manipulative and modality predicates. Examples of these predicates are listed in (46). At times, the complementiser **sí** can be followed by the irrealis complementiser **tɪ**. The subject of the complement taking predicates is optionally cross-referenced on the complementiser **sí** as shown in the sentences in (47) – (49).

46.   Utterance: **ɖɔ** 'say'; **sí** 'say'; **tsiré** 'tell'; **klǔ** 'call'; **bísī** 'ask';
                               dá 'deny'; **ɖo.ŋgbe** 'promise'; **ká otú** (lit. 'say by
                               the gun') 'promise'; **kpí kifú** (lit. 'put.in fear')
                               'threaten'; **ká atábú** (lit. 'say oath') 'swear an oath,
                               pledge'; **bú … kʊmɪ** (lit. 'remove … inside')
                               'explain'; **bú … kesí** (lit. remove … under)
                               'explain'

       Perception-cognitive: **mɔ** 'see'; **dí** 'look' **nú** 'hear'; **bákā** 'remember';
                               dzíkī 'forget'; **susu** 'think'; **nyí** 'know', **tī** 'know,
                               be aware'; **yíkī ŋa** (lit. 'receive eat') 'believe'; **mɔ
                               dzesi** (lit. see recognise) 'recognise'

       Manipulative: **kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make'; **bhɪtī** 'make'

       Desiderative: **pí** 'want', 'desire'; **dí kidzoʊm** (lit.: 'look road
                               inside') 'hope'

       Modality expressions: **alasí (tɪ)**   'it is necessary that'
                               kɪlí sí   'it is necessary that'
                               kɪtɔ́   'it is necessary'
                               kɪzhɪā̄   'it is necessary'
                               kɪw̃í   'it appears'
                               kɪlí 'mɪ dánī 'it is obvious' (lit. 'its inside open')
                               kɪlí 'mɪ bhui 'it is apparent' (lit. 'its inside cut')
                               kɪlí 'mɪ tsá   'it is obvious' (lit. 'its inside clear')

---

[62] The **sí** complementiser resembles very much the Akan form **se** which is a complementiser (Boadi 2005; Osam 1994).

47. Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukûnímˉ.

e-di-súsú	a-sí	bá-ba-kíka	yí	ní	sukû
3SG-NEG2-think	SM-COMP	3PL-FUT-sack	3SG	LOC	school

ní	kʊmʊ
DEF	inside

'He did not think that they will sack him from the school.'

48. Ɔ́dɔ 'sí w'adzy' áshīˉ ávʊ Igẽ.

ɔ́-dɔ	ɔ-sí	wɔ́	á-dzyā	á-shīˉ	á-vʊ
2SG-say	SM-COMP	2SG.IND	CM-brother	SM-leave	SM-go

I-gẽ
CM-Accra

'You said that your brother left for Accra.'

49. Kof' ényí s'ɔ́ɔshĩ

Kofí	é-nyí	sí	ɔ́-ɔ́-shĩ
Kofí	SM-know	COMP	2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-leave

'Kofi knows that you are leaving.'

As the examples in (47) – (49) illustrate, the complement clause functions as the object of the verbs **súsú** 'think', **dɔ** 'say', and **nyí** 'know' respectively. In (47), the subject of the main clause is cross-referenced on the complementiser **sí.** In (48), the complement clause is an SVC which consists of the verbs **shīˉ** 'leave' and **vʊ** 'go'. The subject of the main clause is cross-referenced on the complementiser while that of the complement clause is cross-referenced on both verbs. In (49), however, there is no cross-reference of the subject of the main clause on the COMP.

The complement clause can co-occur with another object of the verb in which case it occurs as the second complement as in (50) and (51). In narrative discourses, the complement clause may also occur with other clauses as in (52) and (53) and it may contain a relative clause as in (54).

50. Ádɔkasíń ákasí banúvɔ̄n así lebu banɔ́ shishe.

á-dɔkasí	ní	á-kasí	ba-núvɔ̄	ní	a-sí
CM-teacher	DEF	SM-teach	CM.PL-child	DEF	SM-COMP

le-bu	ba-nɔ́	shi-she
3PL.DEP-respect	CM.PL-person	RED-grow

'The teacher taught the children that they should respect elderly people.'

51. M'en' étsire Agoe así átʊvʊ.

mí	é-nī	é-tsire	Agoe	a-sí
1SG.IND	CM-mother	SM-tell	Agoe	SM-COMP

á-tʊ-vʊ
3SG.DEP-NEG1-go

'My mother told Agoe that she should not go.'

52.   Kibe ílílíní ɔs' ɔgbanɔ ádzíń al'así tɪ w'andz' eklú wɔ́ sí ɔdɔwa 'ʊya kɔé
      flôgo tɪ akɔ w'adzɪn t'ɔgbanɔ.

      ki-be   í-lílíní   ɔ-sí   ɔ-gbanɔ   a-dzì̄   ní
      CM-time   AM-DIST   2SG-say   2SG.DEP-marry   CM-woman   TOP

      [a-lí   a-sí   tɪ   wɔ́   á-yĩ̀ndzɪ   é-klú]
      3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP   2SG.IND   CM-mother.in.law   SM-call

      wɔ́   [sí   ɔ-dɔ-wa   bʊ-ya   kɔ́   yí]   flôgo
      2SG.IND   COMP   2SG.DEP-ITIVE-do   CM-farm   DAT   3SG   before

      [tɪ   á-kɔ́   wɔ́   a-dzì̄   ní]   tɪ
      COMP   3SG.DEP-give   2SG.IND   CM-woman   DEF   PURP

      ɔ-gbanɔ]
      2SG.DEP-marry

      'In those days if you want to marry a wife, your mother-in-law must call
      you to go and work on her farm before she gave you the woman to marry.'

                                                                       (Gbaxǎ́lĩ̄)

53.   Bakpí y'íw̃ǐ alasí bádɔ sí y'éyí y'akā.

      ba-kpí   yí   kɪ-w̃ǐ   alasí   bá-dɔ
      3PL-put.on   3SG   CM-shame   because   3PL-say

      sí   yí   e-yí   yí   á-kā
      COMP   3SG.IND   SM-kill   3SG   CM-father

      'He was disgraced because he was said to have killed his father'.

54.   Ábhítɪ sí kidzi nukúnú kɔ́ anʊɪááno g' édé ɔma bhlatɔ́ém̃ tsyí gɪ ábámɔ

      á-bhítɪ   sí   ki-dzí   nukúnú   kɔ́
      3SG-make   COMP   3SG-become   wonder   DAT

      a-nɔ́-nyáá-á-nɔ́   gɪ   é-dé
      CM-person-DISTR-CM-person   REL   3SG.DEP-come.from

      ɔ-ma   bhlatɔ́   kɪmɪ   tsyí   gɪ   á-bá-mɔ
      CM-town   second   inside too   REL   3SG.DEP-VENT-see

      'It made it that it became a wonder for people from other places as well
      who visit the place.'   (Butse)

Complement clauses function mainly in object positions. They can also function as
copula complements as in (55).

55.   Kɪmʊkɔ́ gige ní Baagbɔ kɪlínū sí ɔ́ɔpí amɔ́ …

      kɪ-mʊkɔ́   gi-ge   ní   Baagbɔ   ní   kɪlí-nū
      CM-rice.dish   RED-drive   LOC   Tafi   TOP   3SG.IND-COP

      sí   ɔ́-bɔ-pí̄   a-mɔ́
      COMP   2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for   CM-rice

      'Red rice porridge preparation in Tafi is that you will look for rice …'

                                                                       (Kɪmʊkɔ́)

Complement clauses have, however, not been attested in subject function in Tafi.

9.1.2.1   Complement of 'want'

The complement of **p̃ĩ** 'want' is typically introduced by **sí** followed by the irrealis complementiser **tɪ** as in (56).

56.   …gaké ɔman ɔɔ́p̃ĩ sí tɪ ti sí pɔ búnya d̠úwē bʊlí téŋú yí yí kpata anā dza?

gaké	**ɔ-ma**	**ní**	**ɔ-ɔ́-p̃ĩ**		**sí**	**tɪ**	**ti**
but	CM-town	DEF	SM-PRSPROG-want		COMP	COMP	know

sí	**pɔ**	**bú-nya**	**d̠úwē**	**bʊlí**	**téŋú**	**yí**	**yí**
COMP	but	CM-sickness	which	3PL.IND	be.able	kill	3SG

kpata	**ká-nā**	**dza**
suddenly	CM-manner	UFP

'… however the elders want to know which sickness caused his sudden death?'

In this example, the subject of the 'want' clause is identical to the subject of its complement clause. It appears that because of this there is no subject marked on the complement clause verb. This appears to be a tendency – there are a couple of instances in my database where even though the subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the matrix clause, it is marked on the verb as shown in (57).

57.   Ɔ́p̃ĩ ɔsí ɔvɪ 'ʊyɛm púnɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔza apɛ́m̃?

ɔ́-p̃ĩ	**ɔ-sí**	**ɔ-vɪ**	**bu-ya**	**kɪmɪ**	**púnɔ̄ɔ̄**
2SG-want	SM-COMP	2SG.DEP-go	CM-farm	inside	DISJ

ɔ-za	**bʊ-pá**	**kɪmɪ**
2SG.DEP-stay	CM-house	inside

'Do you want to go to the farm or to stay at home?'

If the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the matrix 'want' clause it is expressed as in (58).

58.   Kibúí nɔ̂ ní so gɪ noóklǔ 'lɔ́ ní bʊp̃ĩ sí tɪ nɔwɔ́l'ɪl'olú.

ki-búí	**nɔ̂**	**ní**	**so**	**gɪ**	**no-ó-klǔ**		**blɔ̌**
CM-matter	wh.ever	DEF	so	REL	2PL.DEP-PRSPROG-call		1PL

ní	**[bʊ-p̃ĩ]**	**sí**	**tɪ**	**nɔ-wɔ́lɪ**	**kɪlí**
TOP	1PL-want	COMP	COMP	2PL.DEP-drop	3SG

no-lú   ]]
2PL.DEP-put

'The matter because of which you called us we would like you to tell us.'

There is variation as to whether the irrealis complementiser **tɪ** always follows the **sí** complementiser after a 'want' matrix verb. Some speakers tend to omit it without any discernible semantic difference implicated.

9.1.2.2   Complements of the modal expressions

As pointed out in Chapter 7, modality expressions such as those in (46) take a complement clause expressing the state of affairs which is being modalised. The matrix clause of these expressions has a 3SG impersonal subject followed by a verb. The complement clauses are all introduced by **sí** 'COMP'. The ones involving the verb **lɪ** 'be.at' – **alasí** and **kɪlɪ sí** – can optionally be followed by the irrealis complementiser **tɪ**.

59.   Así ní alasí (tɪ) ɔ́bá
       a-sí   ní   a-lí   a-sí   (tɪ)   ɔ́-bá
       3SG-say TOP   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   (COMP)   2SG.DEP-come
       'S/he said that you should come.'

The negative existential verb **má** 'be.at:NEG' is used in negating the expressions involving the verb **lɪ** 'be.at'. For example,

60.   Am'as'ɔ́bá
       a-má   a-sí   ɔ-bá
       3SG-be.at:NEG   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-come
       'You should not come.'

9.1.2.3   Functions of **sí**: main verb, quotative and complementiser

Sí can be used as a main verb of speaking as used in the proverbs in (61) and (62). As a verb, it can co-occur with preverbs such as the negative and future markers as in (63a) and (63b) respectively. Unlike Akan where the complementiser **sɛ** cannot co-occur with the verb **se** 'say' from which it has grammaticalised, the Tafi complementiser **sí** coccurs with the verb **sí** 'say' from which it grammaticalised as shown in (64). Similar to Akan but unlike Tafi, the Ewe complementiser **bé** cannot coccour with the verb **bé** 'say' from which it grammaticalised. **Sí** can also be used as a quotative to introduce a direct speech after a verb of saying as illustrated in (65a) and (65b).

61.   Enyī así y'ikutú tídɪ yí.
       e-nyī   a-sí   yí   ki-kutú   tí-dɪ   yí
       CM-elephant SM-say   3SG.IND   CM-load   NEG1-surpass   3SG
       'The elephant said its load is not too heavy for it.'   (Proverb #53)

62.   Ónúgɪ ɔsí átítanyí ní étíbebíʔ.
       ónú.gɪ   ɔ-sí   á-tí-tanyí   ní
       COND   2SG.DEP-say   3SG-NEG1-burn   TOP
       é-tí-be-bí
       3SG-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked
       'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or

well-cooked.'   (Proverb #25)

63a.   Adɩsí ábabɛ 'ɛvū.
  a-dɩ-sí   **á-ba-bá**   **kí-vū**
  3SG-NEG2-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-come CM-tomorrow
  'He did not say he will come tomorrow.'

63b.   Ayadɩń ábas'abadɛ 'ɛkū kokooko.
  a-yadɩ   **ní** **á-ba-sí** **á-ba-ɖa**   **kí-kū**
  CM-farmer DEF SM-FUT-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-plant CM-yam
  kokooko
  by.all.means
  'The farmer will say he will plant yam by all means.'

64.   Ɛ́ɛ, kásãlã y'ahɩ̃ɩm áásɩ̄ s'adzã.
  ɛ́ɛ **ká-sãlã** **yɩ́** **á-w̃ɔ̃hu** **kɩmɩ** **á-á-sí**
  INTJ CM-tortoise 3SG.IND CM.PL-eye in SM-PRSPROG-say
  sí   **a-dzã**
  COMP 3PL.DEP-become.red
  'Tortoise is becoming desperate.'

65a.   Ɩ́ɖɔ sí "bá!"
  í-ɖɔ   **sí**   **bá**
  1SG-say COMP come
  'I said come!'

65b.   Ekusíń ásí "bʋɩa bepidzya lɔ́fɔ̄ kɔ́ḿ!"
  e-kusí **ní** **a-sí** **bʋɩa** **be-pidzya** **lɔ́-fɔ̄** **kɔ́** **mí**
  CM-chief DEF SM-say pay CM.PL-goat MOD-ten DAT 1SG
  'The chief says "pay me 10 goats!"'.

Sí can also be used to introduce the object complement of "call" or naming predicates. This is similar to what happens in Ewe and Akan where such objects are introduced by the quotative.

66.   Tiklŭ woenī y'enyínē edzini ɔsí w'enī …
  ti-klú   **wɔ́** **é-nī**   **yɩ́**   **e-nyínē** **e-dzini**
  NEG1-call 2SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND CM-husband CM-wife
  ɔ-sí   **wɔ́** **é-nī**
  SM-COMP 2SG.IND CM-mother
  'Do not call your mother's co-wife your mother …'   (Proverb #28)

As a complementiser, **sí** sometimes takes an agreement marker which cross-references the subject of the matrix clause as shown in most of the examples, reflecting change in progress.

The complementiser **sí** is in some contexts followed by the topic marker **ní** or topic marker and reinforcing particles. This is similar to the particles that occur after the complementiser **bé** in Ewe such as **bé ɖé** (COMP TOP) or its dialect variants such as the Tɔŋu **bé sé**, **bé sé tae**. The structure of these is not fully understood yet.

67.   Balɪ tsy' etsiré lɔ sí ní ɔwashui bávʊbɔ́ anɔ̃ békē ko ní ká báwa kúnú zi
       ɖeká.

balɪ́	**tsyí**	**be-tsiré**	**blɔ̌**	**sí**	**ní**	**ɔwashui**	**bá-vʊbɔ́**
3PL.IND	too	SM-tell	1PL	COMP	TOP	tuesday	3PL-bury

a-nɔ̃	**békē**	**ko**	**ní**	**ká**	**bá-wa**	**kúnú**
CM-person	COMPL	just	TOP	then	3PL-do	funeral

zi	**ɖeká**
times	one

'They too said that on Tuesday after burying the person, they will perform the funeral rites at once.'

68.   Ítsire wɔ sí ní élē kídɔ̄ ní gɪ edzi nɪ w'áhɔɪ ní adɪsɪ ababʊɪa.

i-tsiré	**wɔ́**	**sí**	**ní**	**élē**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**ní**	**gɪ**
1SG-tell	2SG	COMP	TOP	CFM	CM-thing	DEF	REL

é-é-dzi	**ní**	**wɔ́**	**a-hɔɪ**	**ní**
3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-buy	LOC	2SG.IND	CM-hand	TOP

a-dɪ-sí	**á-ba-bʊɪa**
3SG-NEG2-say	3SG.DEP-FUT-pay

'I told you that the thing that he is buying from you he will not pay.'

If the matrix clause is negated as in (69) and (70), its scope goes over the whole complex sentence including the complement clause. The complement clause alone can be negated. In that case the NEG preverb occurs before the verb in the complement clause as in (71) and (72).

69.   Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukūním̄.

e-di-súsú	**á-sí**	**bá-ba-kíka**	**yí**
3SG-NEG2-think	SM-COMP	3PL-FUT-sack	3SG

ní	**sukū**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
LOC	school	DEF	inside

'He did not think that they will sack him from school.'

70.   Adɪyík'aŋa 'sí bábakíka yí ní sukū.

a-dɪ-yíkɪ	**á-ŋa**	**a-sí**	**bá-ba-kíka**	**yí**
3SG-NEG2-receive	SM-eat	SM-COMP	3PL-FUT-sack	3SG

ní	**sukū**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
LOC	school	DEF	inside

'He did not believe that they will sack him from the school.'

71. M'enī áɖɔ sí átáányā áyǐ ko al'ékúí.

mí	é-nī	á-ɖɔ	sí
1SG.IND	CM-mother	SM-say	COMP

á-táá-nyā		á-yǐ	ko	alí
3SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-be.sick		CM.PL-laziness	just	3PL.IND

é-kú	yí
SM-reach	3SG

'My mother says that he is not ill but just lazy.' (Lit. 'My mother says he is not ill, laziness just reached him.')

72. M'adá áɖɔ así edizurú kɪdzya ní pɔ kakudzɔgě ní kal' áyíkɔ 'ɛlí.

mí	á-dá	á-ɖɔ	a-sí	e-dɪ-zurú
1SG.IND	CM-sister	SM-say	SM-COMP	3SG.DEP-NEG2-steal

kɪ-dzya	ní	pɔ	ka-kudzɔgě	ní	kalí	ka-yíkɔ	kɪlí
CM-meat	DEF	but	CM-dog	DEF	3SG.IND	SM-take	3SG

'My sister says that she did not steal the meat but that it was taken by the dog.'

9.1.3   Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses in that they add extra information to the main clause in terms of expressing the time, location, manner, reason etc., of the event of the main clause. In this section, the types of adverbial clauses discussed are conditional clauses (9.1.3.1), temporal clauses (9.1.3.2), purpose clauses (9.1.3.3), manner clauses (9.1.3.4) and reason clauses (9.1.3.5).

9.1.3.1   Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by combining the form **ónú** and the relative marker **gɪ** or the connector **pɪ**. The meaning of the form **ónú** is not yet clear however it seems that the form consists of the 2SG impersonal subject pronoun **ó** and the copula verb **nu** 'COP'. Thus perhaps **ónú.gɪ** literally means 'it is that'. The sentences in (73) – (77) are illustrations of conditional clauses. The form **ónú.pɪ** is used in (76). Examples (73) (repeated from (62) and (74) illustrate the use of conditional clauses in proverbs while (75) is a riddle.

73. Ónúgɪ ɔsí atɪtanyí ní étíbebíʔ.

ónú.gɪ	ɔ-sí	a-tɪ-tanyí	ní
COND	2SG.DEP-say	3SG-NEG1-burn	TOP

é-tí-be-bí			
SM-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked			

'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or well-cooked.'   (Proverb #25)

74.   Ónúgɪ ónyí ɔ́sí ɔ́ɔ́lɔ̄ ní bátífɔ̃ otshutshúí ní ɔhɛ'ɛshíʔ.

ónú.gɪ	ó-nyí	ɔ́-sí	ɔ́-ɔ́-lɔ̄
COND	2SG.DEP-know	SM-COMP	2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell

ní	bá-tí-fɔ̃	o-tshutshúí	ní	ɔ-ha	kishí
TOP	3PL-NEG1-exude	CM-fart	LOC	CM-group	midst

      'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'
                                                              (Proverb #52)

75.   Ekusí tel'aza ónúgɪ étsí ní y'ísígbé wɔ̄ y'odziré 'íábhā kibenyéébe.

e-kusí	te-lí	á-za	ónú.gɪ	é-tsí	ní
CM-king	AM-INDEF	3SG-be.at:NPRES	COND	3SG.DEP-die	TOP

yí	kí-sígbé	wɔ̄	yí	ó-dziré	kábhā
3SG.IND	CM-ring	remain	3SG.IND	CM-grave	top

ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
CM-time-DISTR-CM-time

      'There was a king, when he died his ring remained on his grave.'
                                                              (Riddle # 12)

76.   Ônú tɪ báákān̄ enú sí onupɪ bávʋbɔ́ anɔ̃ ko kibékē dza?

ó-nú	tɪ	báá-kā	ní	be-nú	sí	onu.pɪ
2SG-hear	PURP	CM.PL-father	DEF	SM-hear	COMP	COND

bá-vʋbɔ́	a-nɔ̃	ní	ko	ki-békē	dza
3PL-bury	CM-person	DEF	just	3SG-finish	UFP

      'You hear (it) so that the elders hear: if the person is buried, is that
       the end?'

77.   Kofí ásí ábashī̄ ónúgɪ súbha adɪdɔʔ.

Kofí	á-sí	á-ba-shī̄
Kofi	SM-say	3SG.DEP-FUT-leave

ónú.gɪ	súbha	a-dɪ-dɔ
COND	rain	SM-NEG2-land

      'Kofi said he will leave if it did not rain.'

As shown in the examples in (73) – (77), the conditional clause may occur before
the main clause (73) – (76) or after it (77). However, there seems to be a
preference for the conditional clause preceding the main clause. When they precede
the main clause, they tend to be marked by the topic marker **ní**. Its occurrence in
proverbs, riddles or narratives attests to this.

The conditional clause can contain a negative cleft as in (78).

78.   Ɔtsɔ́lī̄, gɪ ibú láá w̃ĩnɔ so ní ónúgɪ anɪ wɔ́ ótsokú klí óbokoéyī …

ɔtsɔ́lī̄	gɪ	i-bú	lá-á-w̃ĩ-nɔ	so
now	REL	CM-trial.by.ordeal	3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-drink-COM	so

ní	[ónú.gɪ	aní	wɔ́	ó-tsokú	ɪ-klí	ó-bo-koéyĩ]
TOP	COND	NEGCL	2SG.IND	2SG-enter	CM-there	SM-FUT-exit

'But now, as it is for the purpose of a trial by ordeal, if it is not you if you enter in there you will get out…'   (Gbaxálĩ̄)

At times, there is ambiguity between a conditional and a temporal meaning as it happens also in Fon and several other languages (see Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002 and references cited therein). This is illustrated in (79) – (81), see also (75).

79. Ónúgɪ léétén' 'ʋlɔ́n k'oshu' 'un' ɔkp' ál'íábhā.

ónú.gɪ	lé-é-ténɔ̄		bʊ-lɔ́	ní
COND	3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start		CM-rise	TOP

ka	o-shui	bʊ-ní	ɔ-kpí	alí	kábhā
then	2SG.DEP-fetch	CM-water	SM-put.in	3PL.IND	top

'When it starts rising then you add water.'   (Palm oil)

80. Ónúgɪ kihuǐ duya kedē líyĩ.

Ónú.gɪ	ki-huǐ	duya	ke-ɖe	lí-yɪ̄
COND	CM-trap	spring	CM-back	3SG.DEP-show.up

'When a trap springs, it moves backwards.'   (Proverb #9)

81. Ónúgɪ ɖeke évu wɔ́ ní y'eyíálí bʊtī látī ní anɔ́ 'ɛvʊɪabhā.

ónú.gɪ	ɖeke	é-vu	wɔ́	ní	yí	e-yí-alí
COND	crocodile	SM-catch	2SG	TOP	3SG.IND	CM-child-PL

bʊ-tī	lá-tī	ní	a-nɔ́	ki-vu	kabhā
CM-crawl	3PL.DEP-crawl	LOC	CM-person	CM-stomach	top

'When a crocodile captures you (even) baby crocodiles will crawl on your belly.'   (Proverb #33)

In some contexts, especially of proverbs and sayings the conditional marker can be omitted. Thus, the conditional relation is expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses as in (82) which is a proverb (Proverb #27).

82. Ɔ́sí oní ní g'ɔ́sísí ní kɪbhlʋxɔéníésí lɔtɪsɪ́sɪ̄ ɔdo 'iesí so ótimín'ɔlí ní ɔg'ɔkpasí kɪbhlʋxɔénɪmɪ bʊbalɪ lɔ́balɪ kú anɔ́ ãmɪ̃ʔ.

ɔ́-sí	o-ní	ní	gɪ	ɔ́-sísí	ní	kɪ-bhlʋxɔéní
2SG-say	CM-soup	DEF	REL	3SG-drip	LOC	CM-ladle	DEF

ke.sí	lɔ-tɪ-sísɪ̄	ɔ-dɔ́	ke.sí	so	ó-ti-mínī	ɔlí
down	3SG.DEP-NEG1-drip	SM-land	down	so	2SG-DESID-lick	3SG

ní	ɔ-gɪ	ɔ-kpasí	kɪ-bhlʋxɔéní	kɪmɪ	bʊ-balɪ
TOP	3SG.REL	SM-be.in	CM-ladle	DEF	inside	CM-pour

lɔ́-balɪ	kú	a-nɔ́	ã-mɪ̄
3SG.DEP-pour	ALL	CM-person	CM-face

‘If you insist that drops of soup under the ladle should not drop and so you
want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.’

9.1.3.2   Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be expressed by means of the relative marker **gɩ** or the
connector **pɩ**. Consider the following examples:

83.   Gɩ latrɔ́ ’itsikpǐ ni ’ifúń pɩ kesín á ...
        gɩ   la-trɔ́   ki-tsikpǐ   nɩ́   ki-fú   nɩ́   pɩ
        REL   3PL.DEP-put.on CM-pot   DEF   CM-fire   DEF   CONN
        ke-sí   nɩ́   á
        CM-bottom   DEF   CFM
        ‘When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...’   (Kásālā)

84.   Kɩtɔkpú tíza ákpíkpá pɩ layíkɔ kikutú ekumú ’íkuísíʔ.
        kɩ-tɔkpú   tí-za   ákpíkpá   pɩ   la-yíkɔ   ki-kutú
        CM-head   NEG1-stay   empty   CONN   3PL.DEP-take   CM-hat
        be-kumú   kí-kuísí
        SM-cover   CM-knee
        ‘We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.’
                                                                    (Proverbs #21)

85.   Gɩ odun ɔbá nɩ́ kokoko w̃ũn’ónū bámaní alasí tɩ bútsi kú kɔ́ nɔ́ sí kána
        lídzyɔ nɩ́ lɔ́íábhā.
        gɩ   o-du   nɩ́   ɔ-bá   nɩ́   kokoko   w̃ũnɔ́
        REL   CM-message DEF   SM-come TOP   by.all.means 2PL.IND
        no-nū   bá-maní   a-lɩ́   a-sí   tɩ
        SM-COP CM-town.people   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP
        bú-tsi   kú   kɔ́   nɔ́   sí   ká-nā
        1PL-announce death   DAT   2PL   COMP   CM-manner
        lí-dzyɔ   nɩ́   blɔ̌   kábhā
        3SG.DEP-happen   LOC   1PL.IND top
        ‘As soon as the message came, you being the elders of the town, it is
        necessary that we inform you about the death.’   (Butsíugū)

86.   Pɩ latsí ’itsikpǐ nɩ́ pɩ ’al’ááhwa hlohlohlo p’itsikpǐń íwɔ́lɩ̄ nɩ́... agboyaa
        pɩ   la-tsí   ki-tsikpǐ   nɩ́   pɩ   kalɩ́
        CONN   3PL.DEP-take.off CM-pot   DEF   CONN   3SG.IND
        ká-á-hwa   hlohlohlo   nɩ́   pɩ   ki-tsikpǐ   nɩ́
        SM-PRSPROG-move IDEO   TOP   CONN   CM-pot   DEF
        kɩ-wɔ́lɩ̄   nɩ́   agboyaa
        SM-fall   TOP   IDEO.sound

'When they took the pot from the fire with him moving restlessly in it then the pot fell… (with a loud noise).'   (Kásālā)

87. Así oo ko gɩ lédékú anʊ́íánɔ́ amáʔ.

a-sí	oo	ko	gɩ	lé-dé-kú
3SG-say	INTJ	INTJ	REL	3PL.DEP-ITIVE-reach

a-nɔ́-nyáá-a-nɔ́			a-má
CM-person-DISTR-CM-person			SM-be.at:NEG

'They said when they reached there is nobody there'   (Kásālā)

The temporal clause can occur as the complement of a complement-taking verb as shown in (87). As can be seen in the examples, temporal clauses can precede or follow the main clause. When temporal clauses precede the main clause, they are usually marked by the topic marker **ní** 'TOP'. At times, there is a double marking of the topic marker on the temporal clause for more emphasis as shown in (88).

88. Ko badzī̃ ákpasí 'ɩmɛm ko gɩ léeyú 'ívú ko ní ní sɑ́hwī̃ tsyí évu alɔ́ ádákpasí kɩmanɩmɩ ééyu 'ívú plínɔ bekus'edziniń.

ko	ba-dzī̃	ní	bá-kpasí	kɩ-ma		kɩmɩ	gɩ
just	CM.PL-woman	DEF	SM-be.in	CM-dancing.ring		inside	REL

lé-e-yú			ki-vu	ko	ní	ní	sɑ́hwī̃
3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-dance			CM-dance	just	TOP	TOP	spider

tsyí	é-vu	a-lɔ́	á-dá-kpasí	kɩ-ma		ní
too	SM-catch	SM-get.up	SM-ITIVE-be.in	CM-dancing.ring		DEF

kɩmɩ	é-é-yū		ki-vu	plínɔ	be-kusí
inside	3SG-PRSPROG-dance		CM-dance	add	CM.PL-chief

e-dzini	ní
CM-wife	DEF

'Suddenly, just as the women were in the dancing ring, as they were dancing, spider also got up he went inside the dancing ring dancing with the queens.'   (Sɑ́hwī̃)

9.1.3.2.1   'Before' clauses

'Before' clauses in Tafi are introduced by **flɔ̂(go)** 'before'. **It** can occur alone or it may be followed by the relative marker **gɩ** 'REL', the connector **pɩ** 'CONN' or the irrealis complementiser **tɩ** 'COMP'. Temporal clauses introduced by **flɔ̂(go)** 'before' are used to express situations in which the state of affairs indicated in the 'before' clause has not yet occurred by the time of the state of affairs specified in the main clause. These clauses can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before it, they tend to be marked by or terminate in the topic marker **ní** 'TOP'. The following are examples:

89.   Flôgo tɪ ɔ́bɔgbánɪ́ ní ɔkɔn 'unú tútúútú ní alasɪ tɪ ɔ́mɔ aḍaká téḍíkpó …
         [flôgo   tɪ   ɔ́-bɔ-gbánɪ̄   yí   ní   ɔ-kɔ
         before   COMP   2SG.DEP-FUT-marry   3SG   LOC   CM-custom
         ní   bu.nú   tútúútú   ní]   a-lɪ́   a-sɪ́   tɪ
         DEF   mouth   exactly   TOP   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP
         ɔ́-mɔ   a-ḍaká   te-ḍikpó
         2SG.DEP-see   CM-box   AM-one
         'Before you marry her according to the exact custom, you must get one
         suitcase …'

90.   Flôgo g'ŏbotsyínā 'lí ní óbotsódzī nɪ tɪnɔ́ élílíní ɔ́ka pétéé
         [flôgo gɪ   ó-bo-tsyínā   bulí   ní]   ó-bo-tsódzī-nɪ
         before REL   2SG.DEP-FUT-turn   3SG   TOP   2SG-FUT-return-COM
         tɪ-nɔ́   í-lílíní   ɔ́-ká   pétéé
         CM-chaff   AM-DIST   SM-squeeze   all
         'Before you will pour it (the water) out, you will have to completely
         squeeze that chaff again.'   (Palm oil)

91.   ɪmɔsa tɪtá ɪlí láayíkɔ agbá kikpekpenɪ́m̄ flôgo pɪ abahɔ asrá vʊvɔ akpí.
         ɪ-mɔsa   tɪ-tá   ɪlí   lá-ba-yíkɔ
         CM-handful.of.rice.stalk   AM-three 3PL.IND 3PL.DEP-FUT-take
         ba-gbá   ki-kpekpe   ní   kɪmɪ   [flôgo pɪ
         SM-sweep   CM-snuff.box   DEF   inside   before CONN
         a-ba-hɔ   a-srá   vʊvɔ a-kpí]
         3SG.DEP-grind   CM-tobacco   new   SM-put
         'It is three handfuls of rice stalks that will be used to clean the inside of the
         snuff-box before she will grind new tobacco to put into it.'   (Sáhwɪ̄)

92.   Ɔ́tíflá Tamale flô' p'obokū Asanti Dadzyra beditsyáń.
         ɔ́-tí-flá   Tamale   flôgo pɪ   o-bo-kú   Asanti
         2SG-PERF-pass   Tamale   before CONN   2SG-VENT-reach   Asanti
         Dadzyra   be-ditsyá   ní
         Dadzyra   CM.PL-outskirts   DEF
         'you would have already passed Tamale before you reach Asanti Dadzyra.'
                                                                      (Kásālā)

9.1.3.3   Purpose clauses

As we have seen in §9.1.2 there is an irrealis complementiser **tɪ** 'COMP' which
doubles with the **sí** complementiser to introduce complements of 'want' predicates.
Some purpose clauses are also introduced by both complementisers **sɪ tɪ** as
illustrated in (97) below. A form identical to the complementiser **tɪ** is also used to
introduce purpose clauses in Tafi. Where it clearly introduces a purpose clause, I

gloss it as 'PURP' and everywhere else I gloss it as 'COMP'. The following sentences exemplify the purpose clause.

93. Áába tɩ abayíkɔ̄ anúvɔ̄ń 'ufuo tɩ akɔé.

á-á-ba	[tɩ	a-ba-yíkɔ	a-núvɔ̄	ní
3SG-PRSPROG-come	PURP	3SG.DEP-VENT-take	CM-child	DEF

fufuo]	[tɩ	a-kɔ	yí]
fufu	PURP	3SG.DEP-give	3SG

'She is coming to take the child's fufu to give to him.' (Gbaxálĩ̄)

94. Tɩ efek' ónúgbú tɩ aɖɔ así "duya" kɩgbań ítizhí ííbā.

[tɩ	efeké	o-nugbu]	[tɩ	a-ɖɔ
PURP	3SG.DEP-lift	CM-mouth	PURP	3SG.DEP-say

a-sí	"duya"]	kɩ-gba	ní	ki-ti-zhí
SM-COMP	"spring"	CM-falling.trap	DEF	SM-PERF-descend

kí-í-bā
SM-PRSPROG-come

'At the opening of his mouth to say "spring" the trap was already coming down.' (Gbaxálĩ̄)

95. Dan' onugbu t'ɔɖɔ ɩaɖɔ tɩ lenú.

danɩ	o-nugbu	[tɩ	ɔ-ɖɔ	ka-ɖɔ]	[tɩ
open	CM-mouth	PURP	2SG.DEP-speak	CM-speech	PURP

le-nú]
3PL.DEP-hear

'Open your mouth and speak for them to hear.' (Sáhwĩ̄)

96. Akaábʊbɔ tɩ ebu 'ɩdzya tilí ko kásālā kplǒ kawɔ́lī kū ketsukpúním̄.

a-ka-á-bʊbɔ	tɩ	e-bú	kɩ-dzya
3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend	PURP	3SG.DEP-remove	CM-meat

ti-lí	ko	ká-sālā	kplǒ	ka-wɔ́lī	kú
AM-INDEF	just	CM-tortoise	IDEO.sound.of.falling	SM-fall	ALL

ke-tsukpú ní	kɩmɩ
CM-pot DEF	inside

'Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat, tortoise fell inside the pot.' (Kásālā)

97. Kɩlí y'áv'ɩazań sí tɩ adayɔ ɩapamíń.

kɩlí	yí	á-vɩ	ka-za	ní	sí	tɩ
CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-go	CM-camp	DEF	COMP	COMP

a-da-yɔ́	ká-pamí	ní
3SG.DEP-ITIVE-sharpen	CM-cutlass	DEF

'So he went to the camp to/ in order to whet his cutlass.' (Gbaxálĩ̄)

The sentences in (93) – (96) show that the **tı** complementiser can occur before or after the main clause and that a purpose clause can be followed by another purpose clause (93) –(95). Moreover, the main clause can contain an imperative as in (95).

It has become evident from the discussions so far that the form **tı** has different functions, viz, the complementiser, purpose and desiderative. The contexts in which the **tı** complementiser occurs can all be characterised as irrealis: it introduces the complements of WANT predicates, complement clauses expressing obligation or necessity. As shown in this section, **tı** also introduces clauses with a purpose function which expresses someone doing something in order that something else occurs. The **tı** form is also used as a preverb marker to express the desiderative, i.e., a wanting of the subject to do something. These three functions are syntactically distinguished in Tafi: the irrealis complement clauses are arguments of the matrix clause verb; the purpose clauses are adverbial or adjuncts to the main clauses; and the desiderative function is expressed by a preverb. The conceptual relations between unrealised events, desired situations and intentions (purpose) are cross-linguistically manifested in the functions being expressed in the same form as in Tafi. These functions are also known to be connected in a grammaticalisation chain (e.g. Heine et al. 1991).

9.1.3.4   Reason clauses

As is the case with other subordinate clause types, the relative marker **gı** and the connector **pı** are also used as subordinators to introduce reason clauses. When **gı** 'REL' introduces a reason clause it precedes the main clause while reason clauses introduced by **pı** 'CONN' follow the main clause, as shown in (98) and (99).

98.   Gı Doxwě enú adzınúvɔ̄ɛ̄ dzyɔgǒ so Folí ádımí y'ibúí kóɲ́.

gı	**Doxwě**	**e-nú**	**a-dzınúvɔ̄ɛ̄**	**dzyɔgǒ**	**so**	**Folí**	**á-dımí**
REL	Doxwě	SM-COP	CM-girl	good	so	Foli	SM-like

yí	**ki-búí**	**kóɲ́**
3SG	CM-matter	INT

       'Because Doxwě is a good girl Foli loves her so much.'

99.   Bhʊbhī̄ tíyī anɔ̄ pı lakpí kíkūgbɛ 'ɛfú.

bhʊbhī	**ti-yī**	**a-nɔ̄**	**pı**	**la-kpí**
CM-hunger	NEG1-kill	CM-person	CONN	3PL.DEP-set

kí-kūgba	**ki-fú**
CM-yam.barn	CM-fire

       'You don't set fire to your yam barn because you are hungry.'

                                                                (Proverbs #54)

Reason clauses can also be introduced by the subordinator **alasí** 'because'. The sentences in (100) and (101) show that reason clauses introduced by **alasí** 'because'

can precede or follow the main clause and that the reason clause can be (doubly) marked by the topic marker **ní**. Even the subordinator **alasí** 'because' can also be marked by the topic marker as in (100).

100.   …alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutɔ́ ní ní bétítsú ɔlí 'ífú bʊpʊɪ lápʊɪ ɔlíʔ.

alasí	**ní**	**élē**	**o-tro.eleté**	**o-vutɔ́**	**ní**	**ní**
because	TOP	CFM	CM-lie.owner	CM-roof	DEF	TOP

bé-tí-tsú	**ɔlí**	**kí-fú**	**bʊ-pʊɪ**	**lá-pʊɪ**	**ɔlí**
3PL-NEG1-set	3SG	CM-fire	CM-scatter	3PL.DEP-scatter	3SG

'…the reason is that the roof of a dishonest man's hut is never burnt, it is dismantled piece by piece.'   (Gbaxál ̄ɪ)

101.   Kofí ádɪmí Doxwě 'íbúí alasí adzɪnúvɔ̄ē dzyɔgǒ y'enú.

Kofí	**á-dɪmí**	**Doxwě**	**ki-búí**	**alasí**	**a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ē**	**dzyɔgǒ**
Kofi	SM-like	Doxwě	CM-matter	because	CM-girl	good

yí	**e-nú**
3SG.IND	SM-COP

'Kofi loves Doxwě because she is a good girl.'

9.1.3.5   Result clauses

The subordinator **klǐso** or **so** 'so, as a result' is used to introduce result clauses. The use of **so** is exemplified in (78), (82), (98) above and (102) below and **klǐso** is illustrated in (103) and (104). (102) – (104) are taken from stories.

102.   Átáábā ɔmanímɪ zɪazɪa so banɔ́ átíkaámɔ y'édzyesi.

á-táá-bā	**ɔ-ma**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**	**zɪazɪa**	**so**
3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-come	CM-town	DEF	inside	IDEO.fast	so

ba-nɔ́	**bá-tí-ka-á-mɔ**	**yí**	**be-dzyesi**
CM.PL-person	SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-see	3SG	SM-recognise

'He has not been coming to town often so people did not recognise him.'
                                                    (Sáhwɪ̄)

103.   Klǐso gɪ anɔ́dzyrámī n'aga bátíkaázanɪ áglɔ̄.

klǐso	**gɪ**	**a-nɔ́dzyrámī**	**nɪ**	**a-ga**
so	REL	CM-human.being	COM	CM-animal

bá-tí-ka-á-zanɪ	**á-glɔ̄**
SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-marry	RECIP

'As a result, human beings and animals do not marry each other anymore.'
                                                    (Kásãlã)

104.   Áɖɔ sí ní a ɔtsɔ̂ ní ébeklú 'ál'enyí klǐso ní a ónúgɪ ázakp' ɔ́dzɪñíésí ní a baɖɔ sí ní ní a …

á-dɔ   sí   ní   a   ɔtsɔ̌   ní   é-be-klú   balí
3SG-say   COMP   TOP   CFM   now   TOP   3SG-FUT-call   3PL
e-nyí   klǐso   ní   a   ónú.gɪ   á-za-kpí
CM.PL-name   so   TOP   CFM   COND   3SG.DEP-REP-put.in
ɔ-dzɪ   ní   ke.sí   ní   a   ba-dɔ   sí   ní   ní
CM-song   DEF   under   TOP   CFM   3PL-say   COMP   TOP   TOP
a
CFM

'He said that from now he will be calling the names, therefore whenever he
starts the song again, they should say…'   (Sáhwĩ̄)

It is obvious from the sentences illustrating result clauses given so far that the
subordinator **klǐso** or **so** 'so, as a result' can be followed directly by the relative
marker **gɪ** 'REL' (103) or the topic marker **ní** 'TOP' (104). The topic marker, at
times, occurs after the reason clause. Also, the result subordinator can be followed
by the conditional clause introducer **ónú.gɪ** 'COND' (104).

Moreover, a result clause can be introduced by the relative marker **gɪ** as shown in
(105).

105.   Gɪ ekusí ní gɪ áza ɔman unú kibe ílílíń ní así nɔ̂ɔ̌.
       gɪ   e-kusí   ní   gɪ   á-za   ɔ-ma   ní
       REL   CM-chief   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-be.at:NPRES   CM-town   DEF
       bu.nú   ki-be   í-lílíń   ní   a-sí   nɔ̂ɔ̌
       mouth   CM-time   AM-DIST   TOP   SM-say   no
       'So the chief who was ruling at that time said "no".'   (Butse)

9.1.3.6   Simultaneous Clauses

In Tafi two events can be marked as having occurred simultaneously. The relative
marker **gɪ** is used to signal simultaneity and at the same time the verb in the **gɪ**
clause is marked by the progressive marker. Examples of such clauses are given in
(106) and (107).

106.   Gɪ éetsi 'utsikpǐnímī ní Akú áatɔ 'ɛdɔ̄.
       gɪ   é-e-tsí   bu-tsikpǐ   ní   kɪmɪ ní   Akú
       REL   3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-clean   CM.PL-pot   DEF   inside TOP   Akú
       á-a-tɔ   kí-dɔ̄
       SM-PRSPROG-cook   CM-thing
       'While she was cleaning the pots Aku was cooking.'

107.   Gɪ láabáń bábálɪlɛ́ 'édzó.
       gɪ   lá-a-bá   ní   bá-bá-lɪlá   ki-dzo
       REL   3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-come   TOP   3PL-VENT-lose   CM-road

'While they were coming they got lost.'

The position of the main clause and the subordinate clause can vary. Hence, the conditional clause can either precede or follow the main clause as shown in (108).

108.   Bábálılɛ́ 'édzó gı láabáń.

bá-bá-lılá	ki-dzo	gı	lá-a-bá	ní
3PL-VENT-lose	CM-road	REL	3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-come	TOP

'They got lost while they were coming.'

9.1.3.7   Manner clauses

Manner clauses are introduced by **kánā** 'manner'. They express the way the situation in the main clause is carried out. They can precede or follow the main clause as is illustrated in (109) – (111).

109.   Kánī lagbáá, bagbáá, adzyatā ávı ékóéyī, kehúí ávı kekóéyī.

ká-nā	la-gbáá	ba-gbáá	a-dzyatā	á-vı	é-kóéyī
CM-manner	3PL.DEP-IDEO	3PL-IDEO	CM-lion	SM-go	3SG-exit

ke-húí	ká-vı	ke-kóéyī
CM-antelop	SM-go	3SG-exit

'That was how they went on and on and on, lion went he came out, antelope went he came out.'   (Gbaxáɭ̄ı)

110.   B'otsiré 'úlɔ́ ní 'kῖń kánā leklui.

ba	o-tsiré	bʊlɔ́	ní	ı-kῖ	ní	ká-nā	le-klu
come	2SG-tell	1PL	LOC	here	TOP	CM-manner	3PL.DEP-call

yí
3SG

'Come and tell us here how she is called.'   (Sắhwῖ̄)

111.   Balí xɷ́ń étínyí ásí ní kánā sắhwῖ̄ édékpú kɔ́ álí, énú bal'enyí gı le klú

balí	xɷ́n	bé-tí-nyí	bá-sí	ní	ká-nā
3PL.IND	as.for	3PL-NEG1-know	SM-COMP	TOP	CM-manner

sắhwῖ̄	é-dé-kpú	kɔ́	balí	é-nú	balí
CM-spider	SM-ITIVE-hide	DAT	3PL	SM-hear	3PL.IND

e-nyí	gı	le-klú
CM.PL-name	REL	3PL.DEP-call

'As for them, they did not know that spider was hiding from them and had heard the names they mentioned.' (Sắhwῖ̄)

9.1.3.8   Concessive clauses

Like conditional clauses, concessive clauses are introduced by **ónú.gɩ** or **ónú.pɩ** 'COND' and they end with the adverbs **kóráá** 'even' followed by **tsyɩ́** 'also, too'. For example,

112. Ónúgɩ Nání étínyí klí kóráá tsyí ábavɩ?.
      ónú.gɩ   Nání é-tí-nyí   ɩ-klí   kóráá tsyɩ́   á-ba-vɩ
      COND   Naní SM-NEG1-know CM-there even   too   3SG-FUT-go
      'Even if Nani does not know the place he will go.'

113. Ónúgɩ áányā kóráá tsyí ábagba 'uvuním̄.
      ónú.gɩ   á-á-nyā   kóráá tsyɩ́   á-ba-gba
      COND   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick even   too   3SG-FUT-sweep
      bú-vū   ní   kɩmɩ
      CM-house   DEF   inside
      'Even if s/he is sick s/he will sweep the room.'

9.1.3.9   Sequential clauses

Sequential clauses in Tafi are introduced by **ká** 'then'. They express states of affairs that occur after the state of affairs represented in a preceding clause. For example, the apodosis of a conditional sentence can be introduced by **ká** 'then'. Similarly, sequential clauses in procedural and narrative discourses that occur in sequence may be linked in discourse through **ká** 'then'. A clause final **ɛ́** particle may terminate such **ká** clauses. This is exemplified in (114) - (116).

114. Ónúg' óféké kitukúń ɔ́trɔ̄ kíkuísí ní ká ɔ́pʊʊyíkɔ é.
      ónú.gɩ   ó-féké   ki-tukú ní   ɔ́-trɔ̄   kí-kuísí   ní
      COND   2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF   SM-put.on   CM-knee DEF
      [ká   ɔ́-pɩ̄   bʊ-yíkɔ   ɛ́   ]
      then   2SG.DEP-be.good   CM-take   CFM
      'When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.'   (Proverb #30)

115. Óny' ɔ́sí bubí ko ká ɔtsí 'úlí é.
      ó-nyí   ɔ́-sí   bu-bí   ko
      2SG-know   SM-COMP 3SG-cooked just
      [ká   ɔ-tsí   bʊlí   ɛ́   ]
      then   2SG.DEP-take.off   3SG   CFM
      'You get to know that it is well-cooked and then you take it off (the fire).'
                                                                                  (Palm oil)

116. Bʊayabɛ 'ɛbɔɛ́ ko ká ótsyínā 'lí.
  bʊ-ba-yabá   **kɪbɔɛ́ ko**   **[ká**   **ó-tsyínā**   **bʊlí]**
  3SG-PRSPROG-boil   little just   then   2SG.DEP-turn   3SG
  'It will boil a little, then you pour it out.'   (Palm oil)

9.2   Coordination

This section looks at coordination in Tafi. I discuss how constituents are conjoined into larger units. In Tafi, coordination is expressed by overt coordinators, i.e. it is usually syndetic (see e.g. Haspelmath 2007 for types). Coordinators in the language include **nɪ** 'COM', the comitative preposition which is used as conjunction to link NPs (§9.2.1), **kɪlí** 'CONJ' which is another conjunctive marker used to connect clauses (§9.2.2), the disjunctive markers **pínɔ̄ɔ̄/alo(o)/lo(o)** 'or' (§9.2.3) and the adversative markers **pɔ/gake**[63] 'but' (§9.2.4).

9.2.1   The NP coordinator **nɪ** 'COM'

As already indicated in Chapter 4, **nɪ** 'COM' is used to link NPs. The sentences in (117) and (118) illustrate the conjoining of simple NPs while (119) exemplifies the conjoining of a simple NP and a complex NP.

117. Áv'iedzinɪ́m̄ édédzí bawi nɪ bafʊkpǎ.
  á-vɪ   **ke-dzi**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ é-dé-dzí**   **ba-wi**   **nɪ**
  2SG-go   CM-market   DEF   inside SM-ITIVE-buy   CM.PL-dress COM
  ba-fʊkpǎ
  CM.PL-shoe
  'S/he went to the market and bought dresses and shoes.'

118. Béyí shú n'atrɔé n'akplɔ.
  bé-yí   **shú**   **nɪ**   **a-trɔé**   **nɪ**   **a-kplɔ**
  3PL-kill   REFL   COM   CM.PL-arrow   COM   CM.PL-spear
  'They killed themselves with arrows and spears.'

119. Adzɪ̄ń gɪ áányāń nɪ y'eyíń ábá m'ʊpánɪ́m̄.
  a-dzɪ̄   **ní**   **gɪ**   **á-á-nyā**   **ní**
  CM-woman   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick   TOP
  nɪ   **yí**   **e-yí**   **ní**   **bá-bá**   **mí**   **bʊ-pá**
  COM   3SG.IND   CM-child DEF   SM-come 1SG.IND   CM-house
  ní   **kɪmɪ**
  DEF   inside
  'The woman who is sick and her child came to my house.'

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[63] **gaké** is a loanword from Ewe.

The comitative **nɪ** has an additive meaning in (117) and (118). In (119) it yields a comitative reading.

9.2.2   The conjunctive marker **kɪlí** 'CONJ'

The conjunctive marker **kɪlí** is the most frequently used connector in Tafi. It is used to link two different types of clauses. In one case, it is used to link clauses of equal rank as shown in (120) and in the other case, it introduces a main clause linked to a dependent clause as in (121).

120.   Akú étsi butsikpǐń kɪlí Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̃ń.

Akú	**é-tsi**	**bu-tsikpǐ**	**ní**	**kɪlí**	**Ésí**	**á-tɔ́**	**kí-dɔ̄**
Akú	SM-wash	CM.PL-pot	DEF	CONJ	Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing

ní
DEF
'Aku cleaned the pots and Esi cooked the food.'

121.   Gɪ áashĩ adzɪ̄ń 'úpáním̃ ní kɪlí y'átsánī y'edzini.

gɪ	**á-a-shĩ**	**a-dzɪ̄**	**ní**	**bʊ-pá**
REL	3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-leave	CM-woman	DEF	CM-house

ní	**kʊmɪ**	**ní**	**kɪlí**	**yí**	**á-tsánī**	**yí**	**e-dzini**
DEF	inside	TOP	CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-meet	3SG.IND	CM-wife

'As he was leaving the woman's house he met his wife.'

The conjunction **kɪlí** 'CONJ' cannot be used to link VPs within a sentence. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (122).

122.   *Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ kɪlɪ ŋa.

Ésí	**á-tɔ́**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kɪlí**	**ŋa**
Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing	CONJ	eat

'Esi cooked and ate.'

9.2.3   The disjunctive markers **pín͡ɔ̄ɔ̄**/ **pún͡ɔ̄ɔ̄**/**aló(ó)**/**ló(ó)** 'or'

As already stated in § 4.2.2, **pín͡ɔ̄ɔ̄/pún͡ɔ̄ɔ̄** 'or' is the linker used to connect noun phrases when one wants to give or express other options or choices. Both forms are used interchangeably. Speakers also use **aló(ó)** or **ló(ó)** 'or' which are borrowed from Ewe. The disjunctive markers are also used to link sentences as in (125) and (126). (123) and (124) illustrate NPs linked by the disjunctive marker. (126) is an example of a yes/no question in which two alternative clauses are present linked by **pún͡ɔ̄ɔ̄**.

123.   Máwútɔ ábaŋa fufuo pínɔ̄ɔ kɪmʊkɔ́.
     Máwútɔ   á-ba-ŋa   fufuo pínɔ̄ɔ kɪ-mʊkɔ́
     Máwútɔ   SM-FUT-eat fufu   DISJ   CM-red.rice.porridge
     'Mawutor will eat fufu or red rice porridge.'

124.   Kofi pínɔ̄ɔ Ámā ábavɪ.
     Kofi   pínɔ̄ɔ Ámā á-ba-vɪ
     Kofi   DISJ   Ama   SM-FUT-go
     'Kofi or Ama will go.'

125.   Ítínyí tɪ al'ɔ̃dzyí púnɔ̄ɔ tɪ evē?.
     í-tí-nyí   tɪ   a-lí   ɔ̃-dzyí   púnɔ̄ɔ
     1SG-NEG1-know COMP   3SG.DEP-be.at SM-sweetness DISJ
     tɪ   e-vē
     COMP   3SG.DEP-be.bitter
     'I don't know whether it is sweet or bitter.'

126.   Ápĩ sí ávɪ 'ʊyɛm púnɔ̄ɔ aza apém̃?
     á-pĩ   sí   á-vɪ   bʊ-ya   kɪmɪ púnɔ̄ɔ
     3SG-want   COMP   3SG.DEP-go CM-farm inside DISJ
     a-za   bʊ-pá   kɪmɪ
     3SG.DEP-stay CM-house   inside
     'Does he want to go to the farm or to stay at home?'

Like **kɪlí** 'CONJ', the disjunctive markers do not seem to be used to conjoin VPs.

127.   *Ɔ́pĩ ɔsí ɔshĩ púnɔ̄ɔ za apém̃?
     ɔ́-pĩ   ɔ-sí   ɔ-shĩ   púnɔ̄ɔ za   bú-pá
     2SG-want   SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-leave   DISJ stay CM-house
     kɪmɪ
     inside
     'Do you want to leave or stay at home?'

The disjunctive markers can be used in alternative and tag questions (see §8.2.2 and §8.2.3 for further details).

9.2.4   The adversative markers **pɔ**/**gaké** 'but'

Adversative co-ordination is expressed by **pɔ** or **gaké**. **Gaké** is a loanword from Ewe.

128.   Ídzí ékū telí pɔ étíbékē.
     í-dzí   é-kū   te-lí   pɔ   é-tí-békē
     1SG-buy CM.PL-yam AM-INDEF but   3PL-PERF-finish

'I bought some yams but they got finished.'

129.   … ónúgɪ aní wɔ́, ótsokú klí óbokoéyī gaké ónúgɪ w'ódózúrú fufuóń ɔ́ŋa,
       ótsokú kɪgban'iesí ko kɪgbań ímʊnɔ wɔ́ zũũ k'ótsí.

     ónú.gɪ   aní   wɔ́   ó-tsokú   ɪ-klí   ó-bo-koéyī
     COND   NEGCL   2SG.IND   2SG-enter   CM-there   SM-FUT-exit

     gaké   ónú.gɪ   wɔ́   ó-dó-zúrú   fufuó   ní   ɔ́-ŋa
     but   COND   2SG.IND   SM-ITIVE-steal   fufu   DEF   SM-eat

     ó-tsokú   kɪ-gba   ní   ke.sí   ko   kɪ-gba   ní
     2SG-enter   CM-falling.trap   DEF   under   just   CM-falling.trap   DEF

     kí-mʊnɔ   wɔ́   zũũ   ká   ó-tsí
     SM-swallow   2SG   IDEO.sound   then   2SG.DEP-die

     '… if it is not you, if you enter in there you will get out but if it is you who
     went and ate the stolen fufu if you went under the falling trap it will fall on
     you then you die.' (Gbaxálĩ̄)

In (129), the adversative marker **gaké** links two complex sentences both involving
conditionals.

9.2.5   The correlative disjunctive marker o(o)…(o(o))

The correlative disjunctive marker is used to conjoin clauses that are opposites as
exemplified below. At times, the second part of this marker is left out as shown in
(132).

130.   Áŋɛ 'édɔ̄ oo adɪŋɛ 'édɔ̄ oo ábamɔ shúím̄ʔ.

     á-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   oo   a-dɪ-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   oo
     3SG-eat   CM-thing   DISJ   3SG-NEG2-eat   CM-thing   DISJ

     á-ba-mɔ   shú   kɪmɪ
     3SG-FUT-see   body   inside
     'Whether she eats or not she will grow fat.'

131.   Ɔ́bhítɪ 'ɪdzyɔgǒ o, ɔ́bhíti 'izizi o, wɔ́ n'áhɔɪ.

     ɔ́-bhítɪ   kɪ-dzyɔgǒ   o   ɔ́-bhítɪ   ki-zizi   o   wɔ́   nɪ
     2SG-do   CM-good   DISJ   2SG-do   CM-bad   DISJ   2SG.IND   COM

     a-hɔɪ
     CM-hand
     'Whether you do good or you do bad, you do it for yourself.'

132.   Ésí ábav'idzoem ónúgɪ ámɔ sɪká oo ádɪmɔɛ tsyíʔ.

Ésí	**á-ba-vɪ**	**ki-dzo**	**kɪmɪ**	**ónú.gɪ**	**á-mɔ**	**sɪká**
Ésí	SM-FUT-go	CM-road	inside	COND	3SG.DEP-see	money

oo	**á-dɪ-mɔ**	**yí**	**tsyí**
DISJ	3SG.DEP-NEG2-see	3SG	also

'Whether Esi has money or not she will travel.'

The chapter has presented various means deployed in Tafi to form multi-clausal units. These involve embedding clauses in other units (relativisation and complementation) as well as strategies for connecting clauses to other clauses to form larger units in discourse coordination and the linking of adverbial clauses. In the next chapter, we look at the way in which verbs are integrated in mono-clauses.

10   SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are widespread in the languages of West Africa and they have been the subject of various studies (e.g. Christaller 1875, Stewart 1963, Osam 2004 on Akan; Westermann 1907, Agbedor 1994, Collins 1997, Ameka 2006 on Ewe; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 for Fongbe; Lewis 1993 on Gengbe, Carlson 1994 on Supyire; Bodomo 2002 on Dagaare). There are, nonetheless, difficulties in identifying SVCs which are common to these languages since even within the same language there may be different types (Lord 1993). For instance, it has been suggested that the types of SVCs found in Kwa languages constitute an areal type, however, some variations still exist with regard to the constraints on features of the verbs that combine in these constructions (Ameka 2003, 2005). The goal of this chapter is to examine the properties of serial verb constructions in Tafi. I will explore the constraints on argument sharing among the verbs, and the marking of various categories such as tense-aspect-mood and negation in these constructions. I will also discuss some functional types of SVCs including the benefactive, directional, comparative and instrumental. See Aikhenvald (2006) and Durie (1997) for general overviews of SVCs beyond West Africa.

10.1   Serial Verb Constructions in Tafi

SVCs in Tafi are constructions comprising two or more verbs without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. They share at least one argument and same tense and mood. SVCs in the language can function in various sentence types with different illocutionary forces such as:

I.   Imperatives

1a.   Yíkɔ kesisíń ómínā!
   yíkɔ   ke-sisí   ní   ó-mínā
   take   CM-mortar   DEF   2SG-bring
   'Bring the mortar!'

1b.   Botsiré úló ní ʼkĩ ...
   bá   o-tsiré   bʊló   ní   ι-kĩ
   come   2SG-tell   1PL   LOC   CM-here
   'Come and tell us here ...'

II.   Declaratives

2a.   Kofĩ áɖɔ kibúíń étsiréḿ.
   Kofĩ   á-ɖɔ   ki-búí   ní   é-tsiré   mí
   Kofi   SM-say   CM-matter   DEF   SM-tell   1SG
   'Kofi narrated the matter to me.'

2b.   Édzí 'íkū ámínā.
      é-dzí   kí-kū   á-mínā
      3SG-buy CM-yam SM-bring
      'He bought yam (and) brought it.'

III.   Questions.

3a.   Ezin es'édékpú xãã?
      e-zi   ní   e-sí   é-dé-kpú   xãã
      CM-thief DEF SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide UFP
      'Did the thief run and hid?'

3b.   Akú ábatɔ ɛdɔ̄ áŋa xãã?
      Akú   á-ba-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   á-ŋa   xãã
      Akú   SM-FUT-cook   CM-thing SM-eat   UFP
      'Will Aku cook and eat?'

10.2   Characteristics of Tafi SVCs

The characteristics of SVCs in Tafi are as follows:

    4a.   They consist of a series of verbs that function as a single predicate.
    4b.   They occur without any overt marker of dependency, i.e., co-ordination or subordination.
    4c.   They constitute a single clause.
    4d.   The verbs cannot be independently negated.
    4e.   They share the same tense and mood, marked only once on the first verb.
    4f.   They share at least one argument.
    4g.   Each of the verbs can occur independently in a monoverbal clause.
    4h.   The verbs can be marked for the same aspect and modality or for different but compatible aspect, modal or directional values.
    4i.   The verbs can be independently focused or questioned.

I now elaborate on these characteristics.

SVCs consist of a series of verbs that function as a single predicate as shown in (5c).

They occur without any overt marker of dependency, i.e., co-ordination or subordination. Verbs that occur in SVCs do not occur with any individual conjunction. Thus, if any conjunction should occur between the verbs the construction can no longer be considered as an SVC. Consider the following examples.

5a. Fol' átá bɔ́l' ehú Folitsĕ.

Folí	**á-tá**	**bɔ́lu**	**é-hú**	**Folitsĕ**
Folí	SM-strike	ball	SM-hit	Folitsĕ

'Folí struck the ball and hit Folitsĕ.'

5b. Fol' átá bɔ́lu kɪlí éhú Folitsĕ.

Folí	**á-tá**	**bɔ́lu**	**kɪlí**	**é-hú**	**Folitsĕ**
Folí	SM-strike	ball	CONJ	3SG-hit	Folitsĕ

'Folí struck the ball and it hit Folitsĕ.'

5c. Ésí és'étsokú 'uvuním̄.

Ésí	**é-sí**	**é-tsokú**	**bú-vū**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
Ésí	SM-run	SM-enter	CM-house	DEF	inside

'Esi ran into the room.'

5d. Ésí ésí kɪlí étsokú 'uvuním̄.

Ésí	**é-sí**	**kɪlí**	**é-tsokú**	**bú-vū**	**ní**	**kɪmɪ**
Ésí	SM-run	CONJ	3SG-enter	CM-house	DEF	inside

'Esi ran and entered the room.'

The sentences in (5a) and (5c) are SVCs whereas those in (5b) and (5d) both consist of two clauses which are conjoined by **kɪlí** 'CONJ'.

SVCs constitute a single clause. They can function in a place where a clause can function. For instance, one part of a complex sentence which is a clause can be realised as an SVC. Moreover, since they have the properties of a single verb clause, there cannot be a sentence pause between the component verbs. For example,

6. Kɪlí y'áv'edékpú ní kidzoń 'útɔ́ gɪ badzīń abáága aflá áv'iením̄.

kɪlí	**[yí**	**á-vɪ**	**é-dé-kpú**	**ní**	**ki-dzo**	**ní**
CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-go	SM-ITIVE-hide	LOC	CM-road	DEF

bʋ.tɔ́]	**[gɪ**	**ba-dzī**	**ní**	**bá-bá-á-ga**
edge	REL	CM.PL-woman	DEF	SM-VENT-PRSPROG-walk

bá-flá	**bá-vɪ**	**ke-ní**	**kɪmɪ]**
SM-pass	SM-go	CM-river	inside

'Then he went and hid himself beside the road where the women usually pass to the riverside.'   (Sǎhwī)

The verbs in an SVC cannot be independently negated as shown in (7). The negative marker occurs once per SVC.

7. Agbalɪgba átísa adzī ohui ákɔ́ ánɔ̃ʔ.

a-gbalɪgba	**á-tí-sa**	**a-dzī**	**o-hui**	**á-kɔ́**
CM-bachelor	SM-NEG1-tie	CM-woman	CM-charm	SM-give

a-nɔ̃
CM-person
'A bachelor does not make a credible seller of love charms.' (Proverb #14)

In example (7) the negative marker is expressed with VP$_1$ however, it has scope over the whole clause. Thus this sentence can be interpreted as a bachelor does not make love charms and does not give love charms to people.

SVCs share the same tense and mood and they are marked only once on the first verb. That is the verbs in the series have the same temporal frame and are in the scope of the same temporal operators. It is thus not possible, for example, for the verbs to take different temporal operators as shown in (8b). Thus while (8a) is an SVC, (8b) where there are different operators is not. By sharing the same tense entails that they express one macro-event (see Bohnemeyer et al. 2007 on Macro-Event Property (MEP)).

8a.   Kɔkú ábatɔ ʼɛdɔ̄ áŋa.
    Kɔkú   á-ba-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   á-ŋa
    Kɔkú   SM-FUT-cook   CM-thing SM-eat
    'Kɔkú will cook and eat.'

8b.   *Kofí átɔ ʼɛdɔ̄ obóń ábaŋa ʼɛvū.
    Kofí á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   o-bóń   á-ba-ŋa   kí-vū
     Kofi SM-cook CM-thing CM-today   SM-FUT-eat   CM-tomorrow
    *'Kofi cooked today and will eat tomorrow.'

The verbs in an SVC share their subject argument which is expressed on each verb as in (9a) (except when it is the 1SG/PL pronoun or a noun from any of the **bʋ**-classes as in (9b)).

9a.   Lɔ́lɪn esʼ ékú osíním.
    lɔ́lɪ   ní   é-sí   é-kú   o-sí   ní   kɪmɪ
    lorry   DEF   SM-run   SM-reach CM-tree   DEF   inside
    'The car ran into the tree.'

9b.   Búvū ní tri dí Ofolí úyíń.
    bú-vū   ní   tri   dí   Ofolí   bʋ-yí   ní
    CM-house   DEF   be.big surpass   Ofolí   AM-POSSD   DEF
    'The house is bigger than Ofoli's own.'

9c.   Ɔtsrí kɔkʋlɔ̄ ɔlʼɔ́vɔ aputɔ́ otiti ɔdzyʋdzyɔń.
    ɔ-tsrí   kɔkʋlɔ̄   ɔlí   ɔ́-vɔ   a-putɔ́
    CM-foot   crooked   3SG.IND SM-besmeared.with   CM.PL-mud
    o-titi   ɔ-dzyʋdzyɔ   ní
    SM-smear   CM-straight   DEF

'It is the crooked leg that besmears the straight one with mud.' (Proverb #1)

In example (9a), the lexical subject **lɔ́lɪ** 'car' of the SVC is cross-referenced on the two verbs in the SVC by the subject marker **e-**. However, in (9b), the two verbs are unmarked as the lexical subject **búvū ní** 'the house' belongs to the **bu¹-** class. Example (9c) shows that the subject cross-reference on the subsequent verbs in an SVC is a subject marker (SM) as opposed to a subject pronoun form. Here, the subject of the SVC belongs to the **o-** class where the SM and subject pronoun forms are distinguished. If it were the subject pronoun form the cross-reference marker would have been **lo-**.

Also, shared objects are expressed once with the first verb. As illustrated in (10), all the four verbs share the same object which is **kɪlí** '3SG' expressed only once with the first verb **yɪkɔ́** 'take'.

10.   ... kɪlí áákɔ 'ɛlɪ pétéé áákɔ́ ábal'akpí ketsukpúním̄.
          kɪlí   á-yíkɔ   kɪlí   pétéé   á-yíkɔ   á-balɪ   a-kpí
          CONJ   3SG-take 3SG   all   SM-take SM-pour SM-put.into
          ke-tsukpú   ní   kɪmɪ
          CM-pot   DEF   inside
          '... and then she put it all into the pot.'   (Kásālā)

Each verb in an SVC can occur with its own complement (when it is not shared) as in (11). These are multiple object SVCs.

11.   Shui 'uní óplŭ ãmɪ.
          Shui   bu-ní   o-plŭ   ã-mɪ
          Fetch   CM-water   2SG-wash   CM-face
          'Fetch water and wash your face.'

Another feature of SVCs in Tafi is that each of the verbs can occur independently in a mono-verbal clause as shown in (12b) and (12c).

12a.   És'ekóéyī.
          é-sî   e-kóéyī
          3SG-run   SM-exit
          'S/he ran out.'

12b.   Ésí.
          é-sî
          3SG-run
          'S/he ran.'

12c.   Ekóéyī.
     e-kóéyī
     SM-exit
     'S/he went/came out.'

The example in (12a) and similar utterances satisfy all other conditions for SVC that the verbs should be able to occur in a mono-verbal clause.

Moreover, the verbs can be marked for the same aspect and modality or for different but compatible aspect, modal or directional values as shown in (13a) – (13c).

13a.   Kalí y'áákɔ avɩnɔ átísɔ 'édɔ̄ nɔ̄.
     kalí   **yí**   **á-yɩ́kɔ**   **a-vɩ-nɔ**   **á-tí-sɔ́**   **kí-dɔ̄**
     3SG.IND 3SG.IND SM-take   SM-go-COM SM-PERF-weed CM-thing
     nɔ̄
     COM
     'That (= cutlass) he took along to do the weeding/to weed with.'

13b.   Kofí ésí édékpú.
     Kofí   **é-sí**   **é-dé-kpú**
     Kofi   SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide
     'Kofi ran away to hide.'

13c.   Ányínóvɔ̄ɛ́ń áásh'ãv'ʊyɛm.
     á-nyínóvɔ̄ɛ̄   **ní**   **á-á-shɛ̄**   **á-vɩ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɩmɩ**
     CM-boy   DEF SM-PRSPROG-leave SM-go   CM-farm inside
     'The boy is leaving for the farm.'

In (13a), the first two verbs are in the aorist and the third verb is marked for the perfective whereas in (13b), the first verb is in the aorist and the second verb is modified by the itive. In (13c), the first verb is marked for the progressive and the second verb is in the aorist. In example (12a) above, the first and second verbs are both in the aorist.

One of the verbs in an SVC can be independently focused or questioned, as illustrated in (14a) – (14c).

14a.   Bʊshĩ y'áshɩ̄ ãv'ʊyɛm.
     bʊ-shĩ   **yí**   **á-shɩ̄**   **a-vɩ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɩmɩ**
     CM-leave 3SG.IND SM-leave SM-go   CM-farm inside
     'LEAVE s/he DID leave for the farm.'

14b. Kídē Ámā ébhui 'ıpɔtíń ábhítı nɔ?
    kídē   Ámā   é-bhui   kı-pɔtí   ní   á-bhítı   nɔ
    What   Ama   SM-cut   CM-cloth   DEF   SM-do   COM
    'What did Ama do with the cloth she bought?'   (Lit.: 'What did Ama buy
    the cloth and do (with it)?'

14c. Ébhui 'ıpɔtí ááko abhítī 'ídē nɔ?
    é-bhui   kı-pɔtí   á-yíkɔ   a-bhítī   kídē   nɔ
    3SG-cut   CM-cloth   SM-take   SM-do   what   COM
    'She bought the cloth and did what with it?'

In (14a), the first verb in the SVC is focused. In Tafi, VP focus is done by preposing a copy of the verb which is prefixed with **bʊ-/bu-** depending on the ATR value of the stem vowel. The verb remains in its normal position and any other relevant marking of focus such as the use of the independent pronoun form if the subject of the clause is realised as a pronominal (see Chapter 6 on topic and focus). In (14b) and (14c) the second VP in each of the SVCs is questioned. In the former, the question word complement of the 'do' verb is fronted for focus while in the latter the question word remains in situ.

Subjects as well as objects of SVCs can also be focused or questioned as the following question-answer pairs illustrate:

15a. Ánī y'ésí édékpû?
    á-nī   yí   é-sí   é-dé-kpú
    AM-who   3SG.IND   SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide
    'Who ran and hid?'

15b. Ámā y'ésí édékpú.
    Ámā   yí   é-sí   é-dé-kpú
    Ama   3SG.IND   SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide
    'AMA ran and hid.'

15c. Kídē Ámā ákámī ákpî?
    kídē   Ámā   á-kámī   á-kpí
    What   Ama   SM-sew   SM-wear
    'What did Ama sew to wear?'

15d. Awı y'ákámī ákpí.
    a-wı   yı   á-kámī   á-kpí
    CM-dress   3SG.IND   SM-sew   SM-wear
    'A dress she sewed and wore.'

(15a) and (15c) are examples in which the subject and object arguments have been questioned respectively whereas (15b) and (15d) illustrate focusing of subject and

object arguments respectively. (15b) and (15d) can be given as answers to the questions in (15a) and (15c).

10.3   Some functional types of SVCs in Tafi

In this section, I look at some functional types of SVCs that occur in Tafi. They include manipulative/handling, directional, dative, comparative, resultative and posture SVCs.

10.3.1   Manipulative/handling SVCs

Manipulative/handling SVCs involve the handling verb **yɩkɔ** 'take' as VP$_1$.[64] Most often, in this type of SVC, VP$_1$ describes the means by which the state of affairs expressed by VP$_2$ is carried out. The NP complement of the verb 'take', usually the first verb in the series, could be an instrument as in (16a) and (16b) or a theme which undergoes a change of location as in the two SVCs in (16c) and in (16d). For example,

16a.   Áyíkɔ kawí adzyá osíń.
         á-yíkɔ   ka-wí   a-dzyá   o-sí   ní
         3SG-take CM-axe   SM-hack CM-tree DEF
         'He used an axe and hacked the tree.'

16b.   Anɩ 'ɩtsá láyɩko 'epú ɔwɩsí nɔ.
         aní   kɩ-tsá   lá-yɩkɔ   be-pú   ɔ-wɩsí   nɔ
         NEG.FOC   CM-needle 3PL-take 3PL-punch CM-axe.handle COM
         'It is not a needle that one uses to punch a hole in the handle of an axe.'
                                                                            (Proverb #17)

16c.   …kɩlí ááko 'ɛlɩ pétéé ááko abal'akpí ketsukpú gbʊgblǎ tielí 'mɩ kɩlí ayíkɔ
         'édɔ̄ ada.
         kɩlí   á-yíkɔ   kɩlí   pétéé   á-yíkɔ   a-balɩ   a-kpí
         CONJ 3SG-take 3SG   all   SM-take SM-pour SM-put.into

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[64] The 'take' SVCs involving instrument have two structures, one in which there is a comitative preposition **nɔ** optionally at the end of the sentence as in (16b) and another where there is no preposition as in (16a), for example. The exact conditions under which the preposition appears in such SVCs is not clear at this stage. A tendency that is observed in the Tafi case is that if the internal argument of the 'take' verb is in focus, and therefore extracted from its object position, the **nɔ** comitative preposition appears at the end. A similar phenomenon has been observed by Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002:308) for Fon. There too, there is inconclusive evidence for the appearance or not of a preposition at the end of such SVCs. Further research might reveal the motivation.

ke-tsukpú gbʊgblǎ tie-lí   kʊmɪ kʊlí á-yíkɔ kí-dɔ̃
CM-pot   big   AM-INDEF   inside CONJ SM-take CM-thing
á-da
SM-cover
'... and then she put it all into a big bowl and covered it.' (Kásālā)

16d. Gɪ áŋa békēń kʊlí y'ayíkɔ aklɔ̃n afɪ.

      gɪ   á-ŋa   békē   ní   kʊlí   yí   a-yíkɔ   a-klɔ̃
      REL   3SG-eat   COMPL   TOP   CONJ   3SG.IND   3SG-take   CM.PL-peel
      ní   a-fɪ
      DEF   SM-throw
      'When he finishes eating he throws the peels away.'

In (16a), the verb **yɪkɔ̃** 'take' takes as object an instrument, **kawí** 'axe', which is used to perform the action expressed by VP$_2$. In (16b), the instrument, **kɪtsá** 'needle' is in focus and the comitative preposition **nɔ** occurs at the end of the sentence. In examples (16a) and (16b), the subject argument is shared by both VP$_1$ and VP$_2$. Example (16c) consists of conjoined SVCs in which the first SVC contains four verbs two of which are 'take' and all the verbs share the same subject and object which are expressed only once with the first verb. The object argument **kʊlí** '3SG' which is the Theme undergoes a change of location. The second SVC, however, is a multiple object SVC. The object of VP$_1$ **yɪkɔ̃** 'take' is **kídɔ̃** 'thing' which is a Theme also undergoes a change of location whereas the object of VP$_2$ **da** 'cover' is **ketsukpú** 'pot'. This object has been elided in the sentence because reference has been made to it earlier on in the conversation so it is recoverable from context. In (16d), the object of the 'take' verb, **aklɔ̃** 'peels', undergoes a change of location.

10.3.2.   Directional SVCs

In directional SVCs, the last verb in the series is a motion verb used to denote the direction of the movement or more generally, the state of affairs being carried out as represented in the rest of the clause. In example (17a), VP$_1$ expresses manner, VP$_2$ and VP$_3$ indicate path and the final verb indicates direction. In (17b), VP$_1$ expresses manner and VP$_2$ is a 'reach' verb which indicates that the car has reached an end goal. The example in (17c) consists of two SVCs and in both, VP$_1$ expresses manner of motion and VP$_2$ expresses direction. In the second SVC, the object argument of V$_1$ which is an instrument is in focus so the comitative **nɔ** occurs at the end of the sentence. Example (9a) is repeated here as (17b).

17a. Bʊnúvɔ̄ē káa bhulín ág' akana étsódzi ábá y'ɔzakɔ́.

      bʊ-núvɔ̄ē   káa   bhulí   ní   á-ga   á-kana   é-tsódzi
      CM.PL-child   car   small   DEF   SM-walk   SM-go.round   SM-return

á-bá   yí   ɔ-zakɔ́
SM-come 3SG.IND CM-dwelling.place
'The toy car went round and came back to its place.'

17b.   Lɔ́lιn es' ékú osínίm̄.
       lɔ́lι   nί   é-sí   é-kú   o-sí   nί   kιmι
       lorry DEF   SM-run   SM-reach CM-tree DEF   inside
       'The car ran into the tree.'

17c.   Kof' adιg'avι sukū, gasɔ́ y'edo ávι nɔʔ.
       [Kofí a-dι-ga   a-vι   sukū] [gasɔ́   yí   e-do
       Kofi   SM-NEG2-walk SM-go   school   bicycle 3SG.IND SM-ride
       á-vι   nɔ]
       SM-go   COM
       'Kofi did not walk to school, a bicycle he rode.'

10.3.3   Dative SVCs

Like in other serialising languages, dative SVCs in Tafi are used to indicate that a state of affairs occurs with respect to an intended target either for their benefit or their sake (see e.g., Margetts and Austin 2007). The last verb in the series in a dative SVC is always **kɔ́** 'give'. The verb 'give' is used to introduce the role of recipient or beneficiary. VP$_1$ could be any verb including **yιkɔ́** 'take', in that case, the SVC codes a transfer situation. As shown in (18a) and (18b), the state of affairs expressed by VP$_1$ and VP$_2$ are performed for the sake/benefit of the object argument of the verb **kɔ́** 'give'.

18a.   Agoé ébhui 'ipɔtí ákám' ákɔ́ y'eyíálí.
       Agoé   é-bhui   kι-potí   á-kámī   á-kɔ́   yí   é-yí-álí
       Agoé   SM-cut   CM-cloth   SM-sew SM-give 3SG.IND CM-child-PL
       Agoe bought cloth and sewed for her children.'

18b.   Agoéxwě édz'ásí ám'ákɔ́ banúvɔ̄ń.
       Agoéxwě é-dzí   á-sí   á-má   á-kɔ́   ba-núvɔ̄   nί
       Agoéxwě SM-buy SM-rice SM-divide SM-give CM.PL-child DEF
       'Agoexwě bought rice and shared for the kids.'

10.3.4   Comparative SVCs

Comparative constructions also involve SVCs. The verb **dī** 'surpass' is used to express comparison and it occurs as VP$_2$ as shown in the following examples.

19a.   Adιḍama adīm̄ʔ.

a-dɪ-ɖama   **a-dɪ̄**   **mɪ́**
3SG-NEG-be.tall   SM-surpass   1SG
'S/he is not taller than me.'

19b.   Ányínúvɔ̃ɛ̃ń ési adɪ̄ Kofí nɪ Ésí.
       á-nyínúvɔ̃ɛ̃   **nɪ́**   **é-sɪ́**   **a-dɪ̄**   **Kofí**   **nɪ**   **Ésí**
       CM-boy   DEF   SM-run   SM-surpass   Kofí   COM   Esi
       'The boy runs faster than Kofi and Esi.' (i.e., the boy is the fastest in
        running.)

In these comparative SVCs, V_1 denotes the property with respect to which the
entities are being compared. The standard of comparison is the object of V_2. The
comparee functions as the subject of the SVC. A superlative reading is derived
when the standard of comparison contains more than one entity as in (19b).

The verb **sɔ̃** 'be equal' is used in SVCs to express equality. It occurs as VP_2. The
verb **sɔ̃** is adapted from Ewe **sɔ** 'be equal'. In my corpus, all the examples of **sɔ̃**
equality comparison involve plural subjects where two or more entities being
equated occur together. Consider the following examples.

20a.   Bésh'asɔ̃.
       bé-she   **bá-sɔ̃**
       3PL-grow   SM-be.equal
       'They are of the same age.'

20b.   Bétri asɔ̃.
       bé-tri   **bá-sɔ̃**
       3PL-become.big   SM-be.equal
       'They are of the same size'

10.3.5   Aspectual SVCs

Some verbs are used in SVCs to convey aspectual meanings. Such verbs occur as
the final verb in the series. For instance, the form **dí** 'look' can be used as a final
verb in an SVC as in (21a) to signal that a situation has existed before or will have
happened prior to the time of speech or as an adverbial particle as in (21b). It thus
marks experiential aspect.

21a.   Ámā ádí ɪgɛ̃ edí.
       Ámā   **á-dí**   **ɪ-gɛ̃**   **e-dí**
       Ama   SM-go   CM-Accra   SM-look
       'Ama has (ever) been to Accra.'

21b.   Kibúíiń ídi kabá dí.

ki-búí	ı-ní	kí-di	ká-bá	dí
CM-matter	AM-PROX	CM-type	NEG.PERF-come	EXP

'This has never happened.'

In (21a), **dí** 'look' is used to express a situation that has occurred before the moment of speech and it can be interpreted as 'ever' or 'once' whereas in (21b), it can be interpreted as 'never' or 'never as yet' because of the negative perfective marker. In this sentence, **dí** 'look' is used to indicate that a situation has never occurred and may never occur. The example in (21b), however, is not an SVC because **dí** 'look' has fully grammaticalised so it is not marked for subject. The difference between (21a) and (21b) shows the stages of grammaticalisation of the verb **dí** 'look'.

10.3.6   Resultative SVCs

Resultative SVCs involve situations where the state of affairs expressed by VP_1 involves a kind of causation which results in the state of affairs denoted by VP_2. The resultative SVCs involve same subjects. Here, the object expressed with VP_1 is shared as an object with VP_2.

22a.   Doxwě éfi Kɔkú éhúíésí.

Doxwě	é-fi	Kɔkú	é-hú	ke-sí
Doxwě	SM-push	Kɔkú	SM-hit	CM-downpart

'Doxwě pushed Kɔku down.'

22b.   Adzīń étū prítuń áyě nı haḿa.

adzì	ní	é-tū	prítu	ní	a-yě	nı	háma
CM-woman	DEF	SM-beat	plate	DEF	SM-break	COM	hammer

'The woman smashed the plate with a hammer.' (Cut & Break 40)

The actions expressed in examples (22a) and (22b) by VP_1 result in the falling down of **Kɔkú** (22a) and the plate being smashed (22b).

10.3.7   Posture SVCs

Some SVCs are used to describe the position of entities. For instance, an upside down position of an entity like a pot is expressed by the verbs 'turn' and 'cover' as in (23a).

23a.   Ketsukpúń étsyínē ékúmū kesukpogunu.

ke-tsukpú ní	ke-tsyínā	ke-kúmū	ke-sukpogunu
CM-pot DEF	SM-turn	SM-cover	CM-tree.stump

'The pot is (turned) upside down on the tree stump'. (PSPV. 12)

23b. Tʊmpáń ákp'elí kashɔ́níɱ́.

tʊmpá	ní	á-kpa	é-lí	ka-shɔ́	ní	kʊmʊ
bottle	DEF	SM-tilt	SM-be.positioned	CM-basket	DEF	inside

'The bottle is lying in the basket.'   (PSPV. 22)

10.3.8   Causative multiverb constructions

Clauses containing multiple verbs in which the first verb is **kɔ́** 'give, let, cause, make' resemble SVCs in a number of ways: the verbs in such a clause share the same tense; they may share one argument; they do not have an overt marker of coordination or subordination. However, the verbs do not have the same subject and as such, such structures are not mono-clausal. In such clauses, the verb **kɔ́** 'give, let, cause, make' always precedes VP$_2$ which refers to its effect or result. The sentences below illustrate how the object of the causative verb is understood as the subject of VP$_2$. This is clearly visible in example (24a) where the subject and object NPs of VP$_1$ belong to different classes. Observe that the SM on VP$_2$ refers to the object of VP$_1$ which belongs to the **ka-** class.

24a. Ekpéń ákɔ́ keníń 'ébhui.

e-kpé	ní	á-kɔ́	ke-ní	ní	ké-bhui
CM-dry.weather	DEF	SM-cause	CM-river	DEF	SM-cut

'The dry weather caused the river to stop flowing.'

24b. Ámā ákɔ́ Kofî ánáwɔ̃ abá.

Ámā	á-kɔ́	Kofî	á-náwɔ̃	a-bá
Ama	SM-cause	Kofi	SM-hasten	SM-come

'Ama made Kofi come in a rush.'

24c. Ákɔ́ lapʊ́ī kɪdzyań.

á-kɔ́	la-pʊ́ī	kɪ-dzya	ní
3SG-cause	3PL.DEP-roast	CM-meat	DEF

'S/he made them roast the meat.'

Where the shared argument is realised as a pronoun, it is expressed only once and its form is the dependent form of the pronoun, overtly signalling dependence. This further shows the difference between these clauses and SVCs as the dependent form of the pronoun does not occur on the VP$_2$ in SVCs. It is possible to paraphrase such a clause as a complex sentence in which the matrix clause predicate is **kɔ́** and it takes a dependent complement clause introduced by **sí** 'COMP' as shown in (24d).

24d. Ákɔ́ sí lapʊ́ī kɪdzyań.

á-kɔ́	sí	la-pʊ́ī	kɪ-dzya	ní
3SG-cause	COMP	3PL.DEP-roast	CM-meat	DEF

'S/he caused them to roast the meat.'

These causative verb constructions are thus treated as multiverb constructions (see Ameka 2005 on multiverb constructions).

10.4   SVCs and grammaticalisation

A number of verbs in Tafi have grammaticalised or are in the process of grammaticalising into aspectual, modal and directional markers. When these verbs are fully grammaticalised they are not marked for subject or any other verbal markers. For instance, the adverbial particles **békē** 'completive', **dí** 'experiential', **kɔ́** 'dative', and **kú** 'allative' have grammaticalised from the verbs 'finish', 'look', 'give' and 'reach' respectively (see Chapter 5 on allative and dative). Consider the following examples. In the sentences in (25a) and (26a), the verbs function as full verbs and are therefore marked for subject but in (25b) and (26b), because they are fully grammaticalised they are not marked for subject.

25a.   Oɖutsúń óbékē.
    o-ɖutsú   ní   o-békē
    CM-stew DEF   SM-finish
    'The stew got finished.'

25b.   Ámā átɔ́ 'édɔ́ń békē.
    Ámā   á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ́   ní   békē
    Ámā   SM-cook CM-thing DEF   COMPL
    'Ama has finished cooking.'

26a.   Anúvɔ́ń éwu ekú kitrekpúníábhā.
    a-núvɔ́   ní   é-wu   é-kú   ki-trekpú   ní   kábhā
    CM-child DEF   SM-climb SM-reach CM-anthill   DEF   top
    'The child climbed onto the anthill.'   (FS)

26b.   Anúvɔ́ń áwɔ́lɪ̄ kú kením̄.
    a-núvɔ́   ní   á-wɔ́lɪ̄   kú   ke-ní   kɪmɪ
    CM-child DEF   SM-fall   ALL   CM-river inside
    The child fell into a river.'   (FS)

It is well known that SVCs are an important channel for the development of grammatical markers from verbs (see Lord 1993).

11. ROUTINE EXPRESSIONS

In every speech community, interaction and communication among members is a daily affair. As such, words and expressions used during those interactions become conventionalised routines. These routine expressions are specific to the speech community in which they are used and they are performed according to the socio-cultural norms, but they can diffuse across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Routine expressions include greetings, expressions used for congratulating and welcoming people, consoling or sympathising with a bereaved person or a family, inviting people to join in a meal, showing gratitude or appreciation. This chapter deals with routine expressions in Tafi. Attention is drawn to the structure and context within which some of these expressions are used.

11.1   Social encounters and their act sequences

In the context of communal life in the small villages of Tafi, members of the community encounter each other in different situations and for different purposes. Thus, someone may just decide to visit another person be it a relative or a neighbour just to greet or say hello to him/her, to express condolences to a bereaved person or family, to congratulate or thank him/her, to wish a sick person a speedy recovery among others. Depending on the purpose of the visit, it could be short or lengthy. Ameka 1991:385 with reference to Ewe states that

> These social visits could be of varying length. They could be 'flying' visits in the sense that the visitor comes around to say hello and departs after that; or they could be 'sitting' visits, where the visitor accepts a seat from the host and spends some time with him/her.

The sitting visits include formal ceremonies like marriages, funerals, announcement of death (by the bereaved family to the chief and elders of a community), arbitration etc. Usually, if the visit is formal, the exchanges are done through an intermediary referred to as **tsyɩámí** 'spokesperson' or a 'linguist' in Ghanaian English (see also Ameka 1991).

In the following sections, I describe what goes on during a ceremony or a visit to someone. When one pays a visit to somebody, the sequences of acts involved are as follows: attention calling, response to attention, welcome, seat offer, offer of water, exchange of greetings, inquiry about purpose of visit, leave-taking and departure. I must state that the discussion in this section draws heavily on a similar description of Ewe in Ameka (1991).

11.1.1   Attention calling

During a visit, attention calling is used by a speaker or visitor to announce his/her approach to a place and also to find out whether the host is present or not. Expressions used for attention calling include those in (1) and some of the responses to attention calling include those given in (2).

1a.	Agoo ((mɔ) lō)!	1b.	kɔ́kɔ́kɔ́!
	agoo mɔ lō		**kɔ́kɔ́kɔ́**
	agoo ADD ADD		sound of knocking
	'Attention, please!'		'Knocking'
2a.	Amee!	2b.	Tsokú!
	amee		**tsokú**
	response		enter
	'Come in!'		'Enter!'
2c.	Búkpasí.	2d.	Ga bá!
	bú-kpasí		**ga bá**
	1PL-be.in		walk come
	'We are in(side).'		'Come in!'

Agoo, as used in Tafi and other languages spoken in southern Ghana, is used to announce the approach or arrival of the speaker or visitor to a place be it a compound of a house, a room etc. As shown in (1a), **agoo** can be used with the addressive and attention getting particle **mɔ** and the addressive advisory particle **lō** which means 'I advise you'. The particle **mɔ** is used only when there is more than one addressee. One could also use the expression **kɔ́kɔ́kɔ́** 'knocking' or physically knock to ask for entry into a place. Also **agoo** can be accompanied by knocking. Two other contexts of use of **agoo** are (i) to call for the attention of a group of people at a public gathering before addressing them and (ii) to ask for the right of way.

The response to **agoo** is **amee.** It is used to permit people to enter a place. It is also used to give people the go-ahead to do something. The use of **agoo** to ask for the right of way does not call for a verbal response but a physical action of the addressee moving out of the way.

11.1.2   Welcome

The act of welcoming a visitor is determined by whether the visitor is a traveler from another village or town (in which case, there may be an elaborate welcome) or whether the person is from the same village. The following expressions in (3) are used to welcome a visitor from another village or town. The responses to the expressions in (3a) and (3c) are given in (3d) and (3e) respectively.

3a. Wɔ́ wʊlaa!
     wɔ́   wʊlaa
     2SG.IND hail
     'Hail!'

3b. Atúu!
     atúu
     'I embrace you.'[65]

3c. W'ɔ́ga (ée)!
     wɔ́   ɔ́-ga   (ée)
     2SG.IND SM-walk   UFP
     'You are welcome.' (Lit. 'you walked.')

3d. ookpéŋ́.
     ookpéŋ́
     response
     'Response'

3e. Yoo.
     yoo
     okay
     'Okay'

Wʊlaa 'hail' is used when both the visitor and the host have not seen each other for a long time. Thus, just as the host sees the visitor coming s/he says **wʊlaa** 'hail' prefaced by the 2SG/PL independent pronoun. According to one of my consultants, 'it's like the host is acknowledging that s/he has seen the visitor coming and s/he is happy to see him/her coming' and that 'it's like embracing verbally'. Moreover, a visitor can be welcomed by just mentioning his/her personal name as in (4a) or by using an address term as in (4b) accompanied by the vocative particle **oo** 'UFP'.

4a. Ámā oo!
     Ámā   oo
     Ámā   UFP
     'Ama!'

4b. Ákɪdzyá oo!
     á-kɪdzyá   oo
     CM-uncle   UFP
     'Uncle!'

11.1.3   Offer of seat

Usually, the visitor is offered a seat immediately s/he enters the compound. The host offers the visitor a seat by using any of the following verbal routines in (5). When the encounter is formal or ceremonial such as marriages, funerals etc., sitting down is an important aspect of it.

5a. Kegbu 'alí!
     ke-gbu   ka-lí
     CM-chair SM-be.at
     'There is a chair/seat.'

5b. Ziesí!
     za   ke.sí
     sit   down
     'Sit down!'

---

[65] Following Ameka (1991), I gloss **atúu** as 'I embrace you' since it is said by both the host and the arriving person and it is said while both people are embracing.

11.1.4   Offer of water

Like it is done by the Ewes, after the visitor is seated, if s/he is from another town or village, s/he is offered water. If the visitor is someone who believes in libation, then s/he will pour some of the water on the ground before drinking it. At times, the person may sip some of the water before pouring the rest on the ground. Pouring some water on the ground is a sign of goodwill. Thus, the visitor by so doing is praying for blessings, peace, long life, good luck among others for the host. After the visitor has been offered water, then either s/he or the host initiates the greeting exchange.

11.1.5   Greeting sequences

For details about the importance of greetings and the different types of greetings see § 11.2.

11.1.5.1   Pre-greetings

The greeting exchange may begin with pre-greetings. A pre-greeting initiated by the visitor is meant to seek permission to greet the host and it goes like this:

6a.   (Íɖé kúkú) íbasínɪ wɔ́ é lo.
      Í-ɖé   **kúkú** **í-ba-sínɪ**   **wɔ́**   **é**   **lo**
      1SG-take.off   hat   1SG-FUT-greet   2SG   UFP   UFP
      '(Please), may I greet you.'

The host may give any of the responses in (7) indicating his or her readiness to receive the greetings.

7a.   Vɪ 'ɪlɪabhā!   7b.   Sínɔ̄ fāā!
      vɪ kɪlí   kábhā   **sínɔ̄   fāā**
      go 3SG   top   greet   freely
      '(You) go on!'   'You are free to greet.'

7c.   Kɔ 'ɛlíbá!
      kɔ kɪlí   bá
      let 3SG   come
      'Let it = greeting come!'

If the host is not ready, s/he will indicate that to the visitor with any of the following expressions:

8a.   Dzrɔ̌ 'ɛbɔ́ɛ́/ gbɔ!
       dzrɔ̌   kɪbɔ́ɛ́/ gbɔ
       stop   little/ a.while
       'Wait a little/a while!'

8b.   Dzu ahɔɪ 'ɪlɪabhɛ 'ɛbɔ́ɛ́!
       dzu   a-hɔɪ   kɪlɪ́   kábhā kɪbɔ́ɛ́
       put.down CM-hand 3SG.IND top   little
       'Hold on a little!'

Depending on the occasion, both the visitor and the host may communicate with
each other through a **tsyɪ́ámɪ̄** 'spokesperson'. The spokesperson usually relays the
speaker's message by paraphrasing it.

11.1.5.2   The greeting exchange

When the pre-greeting sequence is done with, then the greeting exchanges begin.
As it is in Ewe, the greeting exchange is made up of greetings and the 'how are
you?' sequence which could be very simple or elaborate (see Ameka 1991). During
the greeting sequence, if the host is not sure of where exactly the visitor is coming
from and s/he wants to know s/he may ask:

8a.   Fá lɔ́babísɪ̀?   8b.   Ní fákɔ́ lɔ́babísɪ̀?
       fá   lɔ́-ba-bísɪ̀   **ní   fákɔ́   lɔ́-ba-bísɪ̀**
       where 1PL.DEP-FUT-ask   LOC   where 1PL.DEP-FUT-ask
       'Where should we ask of?'   'Where should we ask of?'

The visitor answers the question by mentioning the name of the town or village
where s/he is arriving from. The host may then ask about the people staying there
as in (9) or if s/he knows any particular people s/he will mention their names and
ask of them.

9a.   Wɔ Kádjébí ɔ́kɔ́ áyɪ́?
       wɔ́   Kádjébí   ɔ.kɔ́   a-yɪ́
       2SG.IND Kadjebi   place   AM-POSSD
       'How are the people at (your) Kadjebi?'

The host may then ask the visitor about the health of the visitor and his/her people
as in (9b) and (9c).

9b.   Nɔlɪ́ mɔ̌mɔ̌?
       nɔ-lɪ́   mɔ̌-mɔ̌
       2PL-be.at   RED-well
       'How are you (pl).' (Lit.: 'Are you well?')

9c.   Ee, nɔtsyɔ'líá?
        ee   w̃ũnɔ́   tsyí   nɔ-lí   a
        yes   2PL.IND   too   SM-be.at   UFP
        'Yes, how are you too?'

11.1.6   Inquiry about the purpose of visit

After the exchange of greetings, the host initiates the inquiry about the purpose of
visit. This act is referred to as **amanié bubɔ** 'recounting of one's mission'. The term
amanié like the Ewe and Ga **amanié** is borrowed from Akan. The host may enquire
about the purpose of visit from the visitor directly as exemplified in (10) or
through a **tsyɩámī** 'spokesperson' as in (11). In (11c), X represents visitor(s).

10a.   Blɔ 'kĩń ɔyɔ́ /bubʊɩbʊɩ /bɔkɔɔ.
        blɔ̌   ɔ-kĩ   ní   ɔ́-yɔ́ /bʊ-bʊɩbʊɩ /bɔkɔɔ
        1PL.IND   CM-here   DEF   SM-be.cold/RED-cool/cool
        'Our place is cool.'

10b.   Blɔ 'kĩ ní kizizi kányááká 'mā (obóń)ʔ.
        blɔ̌   ɔ-kĩ   ní   ki-zi-zi   kányááká mā
        1PL.IND   CM-here   DEF   CM-RED-bad   any   be.at:NEG
        o-bóń
        CM-today
        'There is no bad news here (today).'

11a.   A: Tsyɩámī alí 'klî?
        tsyɩámī   a-lí   ɩ-klí
        spokesperson SM-be.at CM-there
        'Is the spokesperson there?'

11b.   B: Alí
        a-lí
        3SG-be.at
        'He is.'

11c.   A: Nú 'gbeń tɩ anánɔ X sí balága.
        nú   i-gbe   ní   tɩ   a-nánɔ   X sí
        hear   CM.PL-message DEF   COMP   3SG.DEP-reach   X COMP
        balí   bá-ga
        3PL.IND SM-walk
        'Hear it and let it reach X that they are welcome.'

11d.   A: Blɔ̌ 'kǐń ɔ́yɔ́.
            blɔ̌   ɔ-kǐ   ní   ɔ́-yɔ́
            1PL.IND CM-here   DEF   SM-be.cold
            'Our place is cool.'

11e.   A: Bal'idzoɩm amanié/ bal'ɔ́tsɩríábhā amanié
            balí   ki-dzo   kɩmɩ   a-manié
            3PL.IND CM-road   inside CM-mission

            OR

            balí   ɔ́-tsɩrí   kábhā a-manié
            3PL.IND CM-leg   top   CM-mission
            'What is the purpose of their visit?'

11f.   B: Yoo, ayí, makalímɔ̄, nonú 'gbe ní á?
            yoo   ayí   mí   a-ka-alí   mɔ̄ no-nú
            Okay ??   1SG.IND CM-father-PL   ADD 2SG-hear
            i-gbe   ní   á
            CM.PL-message DEF   UFP
            'Okay, my fathers, have you heard the message?'

If there is bad news, for instance, the death of somebody or a funeral, the host
would state that there is bad news at their end as illustrated in (12).

12a.   Blɔ̌ 'kĩ ní kɩkpɩkpíníábhā lotsrirí.
       blɔ̌   ɔ-kĩ   ní   kɩ-kpɩkpí ní   kábhā lo-tsirí
       1PL.IND CM-here   DEF   CM-hot   DEF   top   1PL.DEP-be.on
       'Our place is hot.'

12b.   Blɔ̌ 'kĩ ní vu 'ifú.
       blɔ̌   ɩ-kĩ[66]   ní   i-vu   ki-fú
       1PL.IND CM-here   DEF   SM-catch CM-fire
       'Our place is on fire.'

12c.   Blɔ̌ xű̃n ní kúnúníábhā lótsirí.
       blɔ̌   xű̃n   ní   kúnú   ní   kábhā ló-tsirí
       1PL.DEF as.for   TOP   funeral DEF   top   1PL.DEP-be.on
       'As for us, we are performing the funeral rites.'

---

[66] **ɔkĩ** and **ɩkĩ** 'here' are used interchangeably.

12d.   Kɩgɩ nonú kɩlɩabhā lótsirí.

    kɩ-gɩ   **no-nú**   **kɩlɩ́**   **kabhā**   **ló-tsirí**

    3SG-REL   2PL-hear 3SG.IND top   1PL.DEP-be.on

    'What you heard, that's what we are on.'

Like in Ewe, Tafi also has a 'stereotyped phrase used as a pre-question or disclaimer in the inquiry turn' (Ameka 1991:392) which is '**bényí tsyí bébísɩ̄/ bekeebísɩ̄** 'even if one knows one (still) asks'. This phrase is used even when the host already knows the reason for the visitor being there or when the mission of the visitor is obvious. On such occasions, the meetings have been pre-arranged.

Any of these statements, in (12), from the host informs the visitor or addressee about the state of affairs in which the host finds him/herself. By so doing, the host expects the visitor to recount the purpose of his/her visit. The visitor then starts stating his/her mission/purpose of visit as shown by the examples in (13). In (13a), this is done through a spokesperson.

13a.   Wɔ tsyí óbonú tɩ anán' alɩ́ sí blɔ tsyí divunɔ kizizi kányááká dí kɩgɩ lɩ́ kɩ̃ nɩ́ʔ.

    wɔ́   **tsyí**   **ó-bo-nú**   **tɩ**   **a-nánɔ**   **balɩ́**

    2SG.IND too   SM-FUT-hear   COMP   3SG.DEP-reach 3PL

    sí   **blɔ̌**   **tsyí**   **di-vunɔ**   **ki-zizi**   **kányááká**

    COMP   1PL.IND too   NEG2-hold CM-RED-bad   any

    dí   **kɩ-gɩ**   **lɩ́**   **ɩ-kɩ̃**   **nɩ́**

    surpass 3SG-REL be.at CM-here DEF

    'You too you will hear and let it reach them that we too are not on any bad mission other than that which is here.'

13b.   Blɔ tsyí kɩgɩ kɩlɩ bá nɩ́ kɩ̃ nɩ́ kɩlɩ́ blɔ tsyí nɩ́ kɩl' idzo lótɔ́nɩ̄.

    blɔ̌   **tsyí**   **kɩ-gɩ**   **kɩlɩ́**   **bá**   **nɩ́**   **ɩ-kɩ̃**   **nɩ́**

    1PL.IND too   3SG-REL 3SG.IND come LOC   CM-here DEF

    kɩlɩ́   **blɔ̌**   **tsyí**   **nɩ́**   **kɩlɩ́**   **ki-dzo**   **ló-tɔ́nɩ̄**

    3SG.IND 1PL.IND too   TOP   3SG.IND CM-way 1PL.DEP-follow

    'We too, what happened here that is what has brought us here'. (Lit. 'we too, what happened here, it's its way we are following'.)

13c.   Blɔ tsyí divunɔ kizizi kányááká, blɔ̌ 'kɔ tsy'ɔ́yɔ́ʔ.

    blɔ̌   **tsyí**   **di-vunɔ**   **ki-zi-zi**   **kányááká**

    1PL.IND too   NEG2-hold CM-RED-bad   any

    blɔ̌   **ɔ.kɔ́**   **tsyí**   **ɔ-yɔ́**

    1PL.IND place too   SM-be.cool

    'We too are not on any bad mission, our place too is cool.'

After the visitor states his/her mission, the host again welcomes him/her. If the visitor is from another village/town, the host may then give an account of things going on, about to happen or that have happened including deaths etc.

11.1.7   Leave-taking

At the end of the meeting/ceremony, the visitor then seeks permission to leave by using the expression **bísī (k)idzo** 'ask permission' (lit.: 'ask way') as shown in (14). The host may grant or deny the request. Thus the visitor can only leave after the permission has been granted by the host. The granting of the permission may involve several turns depending on whether the encounter is a ceremony or an ordinary visit. When the permission to leave is granted by the host, s/he then adds a leave-taking expression and both parties may part with a handshake. The leave-taking expression added by the host after granting the visitor the permission to leave is meant to extend good wishes to the visitor and the visitor also responds to it.

14a.   A: Tsyιámī alí lo?

tsyιámī   a-lí   lo
spokesperson SM-be.at ADD
'Is the spokesperson there?'

14b.   B: Ee, tsyιámī alí.

ee   tsyιámī   a-lí
yes   spokesperson SM-be.at
Yes, the spokesperson is (here).

14c.   A: Óbonú kιbanánī bákāń sí kιgι kιlí ní so lóbáń, búɖɔ 'ɛlι békē. Ónúgι kibuinyéébúí vámā búúbisí 'ídzó oo.

Ó-bo-nú   kι-ba-nánī   bá-kā   ní   sí
2SG-FUT-hear   3SG-FUT-reach   CM.PL-father   DEF   COMP
kι-gι   kιlí   ní   so   ló-bá   ní   bú-ɖɔ   kιlí
3SG-REL 3SG.IND TOP   so   1PL.DEP-come   TOP   1PL-say   3SG
békē   ónúgι ki-bui-nyáá-ki-búí   va⁶⁷-mā
COMPL   if   CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter   again-be.at:NEG
bú-ú-bisí   ki-dzo   oo
1PL-PRSPROG-ask CM-way   UFP
'You will hear and let it reach the elders that what we have come to do we've accomplished it so in the absence of any other matter we are asking permission to return to our place.'

14d.   B: Yoo, makalí nonú gbe ní á? Basí éébisí 'ídzó oo.

yoo   mí   á-kā-alí   no-nú   i-gbe   ní
okay   1SG.IND CM-father-PL   2PL-hear   CM.PL-message DEF

_____

⁶⁷ This form could have resulted from a simplification of the consonant cluster of the preverb marker **vla** 'again'.

a
UFP
ba-sí   bé-é-bisí   kí-dzó   oo
3PL-say   SM-PRSPROG-ask   CM-way   UFP
'Okay, my elders, have you heard the message? They said they are
asking for permission (to leave).'

14e.   C: Búkɔ́ 'ál'ídzó oo.
          Bú-kɔ́   balí   ki-dzo   oo
          1PL-give 3PL   CM-way UFP
          'We have granted the permission.'

14f.   B: Bákāń así kidzó lı so w̃ũnɔ́ bhitííbúí óbón ní oo.
          bá-kā   ní   ba-sí   ki-dzo   lı   so
          CM.PL-father   DEF   3PL-say   CM-road be.at   so
          w̃ũnɔ́ bhıtí   ki-búí   ó-bón   ní   oo
          2PL   do   CM-matter   CM-today DEF   UFP
          'The elders say that permission is granted, thanks for today.'

If the encounter is just a flying visit and not a planned visit, when parting the
visitor may use any of the expressions in (15) and the host may see the visitor off.
The host may also use any of the expressions in (16).

15a.   Íbaba srá nɔ́ dí.
          í-ba-ba   srá   w̃ũnɔ́   dí
          1SG-VENT-come   visit   2PL   EXP
          'I have come to visit you (pl).'

15b.   Íbaba mɔ nɔ́ dí.
          í-ba-ba   mɔ   w̃ũnɔ́   dí
          1SG-VENT-come   see   2PL   EXP
          'I have come to see you (pl).'

15c.   Íbaba sínı nɔ́ dí.
          í-ba-ba   sínɔ   w̃ũnɔ́   dí
          1SG-VENT-come   greet   2PL   EXP
          'I have come to greet you (pl).'

15d.   Íbaba kpí áŋ́hũ dí nɔ́.
          í-ba-ba   kpí   á-wɔ̃hũ   dí   w̃ũnɔ́
          1SG-VENT-come   put.in   CM-eye   look   2PL
          'I have come to see you (pl)/ how you (pl) are doing.'

16a. Ɔ́vɪ íísín' alɪ́.

ɔ́-vɪ   í-í-sínɪ   balɪ́
2SG-go   1SG-PRSPROG-greet   3PL
'if you go I greet them.'

16b. ɔ́vɪ íísɪnɪ 'panímī oo.

ɔ́-vɪ   í-í-sɪnɪ   bʊ-pá   nɪ́   kɪmɪ   oo
2SG-go   1SG-PRSPROG-greet   CM-house   DEF   inside   UFP
'If you go I greet those in the house.' (lit.: you go I greet the household.')

16c. Kpáyā ágbánɪ wɔ́ é lō.

Kpáyā á-gbánɪ   wɔ́   e   lō
God   SM-lead   2SG   UFP   ADD
'May God lead you.'

11.2   Greetings

The act of greetings is a very important gesture in Tafi as it is in all other African communities in general and Ghana in particular. There are several social encounters that require greetings. Every speech community or social group has its own set of greetings that is appropriate in the speech event. Thus, exchange of greetings may vary in terms of their purpose, level of formality, length of time and content.

In Tafi, greetings are required even among people living in the same house or compound when they wake up in the morning; among neighbours; people in the market; traders and customers; people whose paths cross as they go about their daily or individual activities like going to the riverside to fetch water, to the farm or market. Greetings are also exchanged between strangers. When people regularly greet each other it is a sign of showing concern and familiarity toward one another. Even though greetings are important, there are instances where people are prohibited from greeting. It is prohibited to greet when going to the toilet or the refuse dump. Greeting someone during such occasions is deemed as a sign of disrespect or an insult. This is also reported for Logba, Ewe and Ga (see Dorvlo 2008, Ameka 1991 and Dakubu 1981).

Greeting exchanges in Tafi are accompanied by certain non-verbal gestures. For instance, when someone is in a hat and wants to exchange greetings with elders, he has to take off the hat to show respect. It is culturally unacceptable to keep the hat on. Also, if one is in cloth, the cloth has to be lowered and held with the left arm. If the person in cloth is a linguist, he is expected to bring the cloth to waist level. This is referred to as 'étsú 'ɪpɔt'íáshī' meaning 'he wraps a cloth around the waist' or 'he lowers the cloth to waist level'. Also, when greeting an elderly person, the greeting is accompanied by slightly bending the upper part of one's body when

standing or slightly raising one's body and bending it when one is seated. The greeting may be accompanied by a handshake.

In Tafi, like in Nyagbo and Logba, the day has been divided into two parts with respect to greetings. The first part is made up of the morning and the second part spans from the afternoon to the evening.

11.2.1   Morning greetings

The following greetings questions and their response pairs are used only in the morning. The greetings in (17) and (19) are formal whereas those in (21) and (23) are informal. (17) and (21) are used for a single addressee whereas (19) and (23) are used when there is more than one addressee.

17. A: Óyi oo?
    Ó-yi   oo
    2SG-get.up   UFP
    'Have you woken up?

18. B: Óshíí/ yawɛɛ
    óshíí/ yawɛɛ
    response
    'Response'

19. A: Óyi mɔ oo?
    ó-yi   mɔ   oo
    2SG-get.up   ADD   UFP
    'Have you (pl) woken up?'

20. B: Óshíí/ yawɛɛ
    óshíí/ yawɛɛ
    response
    'Response'

21. A: Ótíyi á e?
    ó-tí-yi   á   e
    2SG-PERF-get.up   UFP   UFP
    'Have you already woken up?'

22. B: Ee, wɔ tsy'óyi á?
    ee   wɔ́   tsyí   ó-yi   á
    yes   2SG.IND   too   SM-get.up   UFP
    'Yes, have you too woken up?'

23. A: Notíyi á e?
    no-tí-yi   **á**   **e**
    2PL-PERF-get.up   UFP   UFP
    'Have you (pl) already woken up?'

As shown in the examples, any of the following particles **á, oo, e** can be used as illustrated in (21) and (23), or more than one can be used.

These greeting questions and response pair may be accompanied by either a 'how-are-you' question, e.g. (26) or a 'topic-only' greeting question as in (24) or both in different turns of the greeting exchange as illustrated below.

24. A: Bʊpánɪ́mi e?
    bʊ-pá   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**   **e**
    CM-house   DEF   inside   UFP
    'How is the home?'

25. B: Kpasɪ́.
    kpasɪ́   **oo**
    be.in   UFP
    'Fine'   (Lit.: 'It is in.')

26. A: Nɔlɪ́ á?
    nɔ-lɪ́   **á**
    2PL-be.at   UFP
    'How are you?'   (Lit.: 'Are you there?')

27. B: Ee, nɔ tsy' ɔ́lɪ́ á?
    ee   **w̃ʊ̃nɔ́**   **tsyɪ́**   **nɔ-lɪ́**   **á**
    yes   2PL.IND   too   SM-be.at   UFP
    'Yes, how are you too?   (Lit.: 'Are you too there?')

28. A: Banʊ́vɔ̄n alɪ́ mɜ̌?
    ba-nʊ́vɔ̄   **ní**   **ba-lɪ́**   **mɜ̌**
    CM.PL-child   DEF   SM-be.at   well
    'Are the children fine?'

29. B: Balɪ́ oo! Básɪ́nɪ wɔ́/w̃ʊ̃nɔ́.
    ba-lɪ́   **oo**   **bá-sɪ́nɪ**   **wɔ́/w̃ʊ̃nɔ́**
    3PL-be.at   UFP   3PL-greet   2SG/PL
    'They are there. They greet you.'

    W'ayán tsyí álɪ̄ loo?
    wɔ́   **a-yɪ́**   **a-ní**   **tsyɪ́**   **ba-lɪ́**   **loo**
    2SG.IND   AM-POSSD   AM-PROX   too   SM-be.at   ADD

'Are yours too fine?'   (Lit.: 'Are yours too there?')

30. A: Ee, w'ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí.
        ee   wɔ́   ɔ́-bhɪtí   ki-buí
        yes   2SG.IND SM-do   CM-matter
        'Yes, thank you.'

31. B: Nɔ tsy' ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí oo.
        w̃ũnɔ́   tsyí   nɔ-bhɪtí   ki-búí   oo
        2PL.IND too   SM-do   CM-matter UFP
        'Thank you (pl) too.'

        Nod'anɔ́ɪ́ábhā oo.
        no-dí   a-nɔ́   kábhā oo
        2PL-look CM-person   top   UFP
        'You (pl) are taking care of them.'

32. A: Yoo, wɔ tsyí oo.
        yoo   wɔ́   tsyí   oo
        okay 2SG.IND too   UFP
        'Okay, you too.'

33. B: Yoo
        yoo
        'Okay'

During greetings if the visitor is from another town, after the visitor responds to the greetings the host will ask the 'how-are-you' question in (34a) instead of the one in (24).

34a.   W'epí ní e?
        wɔ́   ke-pí   ní   e
        2SG.IND CM-home   DEF   UFP
        'How is your hometown?'

The 'how-are-you' questions and the topic-only questions can be asked during any part of the day.

The following expressions in (34b) – (34d) can be used by a sick person as responses to 'how-are-you' questions.

34b.   Ábhítɪ akɔ́ḿ 'íbɔ́ɛ́.
        á-bhítɪ   a-kɔ́   mí   kɪbɔ́ɛ́
        3SG-do   SM-give   1SG   little
        'I am getting better.'

34c.   Ábɔ́.
    á-bɔ́
    3SG-be.good
    'I am/feel well.' (Lit.: 'it is good.')

34d.   Ídzí 'íbɔ́ɛ́.
    í-dzí   kɪbɔ́ɛ́
    1SG-become little
    'It is getting better.'

11.2.2   Midday to evening greetings

The greeting and response pairs that are appropriate from midday to the evening are given below in (35), (36) and (37). They are usually followed by the 'how-are you?' and topic-only questions as illustrated in (38) and (39). (35) illustrates the greeting involving one addressee while (37) is used when there is more than one addressee. The responses to the greeting, topic-only and 'how-are-you?' questions in (36) and (37) are the same when greeting more than one addressee as in (38). The only difference is that the 2SG pronoun is replaced by the 2PL pronoun.

35. A: Ayī oo
    ayī   oo
    greeting   UFP
    'Greetings'

36. B: Yawɛɛ, w'ɔ́kɔ́ ní e?
    yawɛɛ   wɔ́   ɔ.kɔ́   ní   e
    response 2SG.IND place   DEF   UFP
    'Response, how is your place?'

37. A: Kpasí oo! Nɔlíá?
    kpasí   oo   nɔ-lí   á
    be.in   UFP   2PL-be.at   UFP
    'Fine, are you there?'

38. A: Ayī mɔ̌ oo
    ayī   mɔ̌   oo
    greeting   ADD   UFP
    'Greetings'

When the people to be greeted are engaged in a discussion or conversation, one has to politely seek permission from them with the expression in (39) in order to greet them. The responses are given in (40).

39. A: W̃ũnɔ̃́ káfra, idibhui 'ibúí kpí w̃ũnɔ̃́ 'unúʔ.

  w̃ũnɔ̃́   **káfra**   **i-di-bhui**   **ki-búí**   **kpí**   **w̃ũnɔ̃́**
  2PL.IND   excuse   1SG-NEG2-cut   CM-matter   put.in   2PL.IND
  bu.nú
  mouth
  'Excuse me, I don't mean to interrupt you.' (Lit.: 'I did not cut a matter into
  your mouth.')

The permission may be granted with the expression in (40) or the person may be
asked to defer the greeting if they are not yet ready, as shown in (41) and (42).

40.   Kɔ 'ɛ́lí bá oo!
  kɔ́   **kɪlí**   **bá**   **oo**
  let   3SG   come   UFP
  'Let it come!'

41.   Dzyrɔ̌ gbɔ / 'ɛ́bɔ́ɛ́!
  dzyrɔ̌   **gbɔ**   **/**   **kɪbɔ́ɛ́**
  stop   a.while   /   a.little
  'Wait a while/ a little!'

42.   Dí 'úlɔ́ ã̄mɪ 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́!
  dí   **bulɔ́**   **ã̄-mɪ**   **kɪbɔ́ɛ́**
  look   1PL.IND   CM-face   a.little
  'Wait a while/ a little!' (Lit.: 'look into our face a little').

11.2.3   Greeting people when they are eating

In Tafi, usually, when you go and meet people eating, they consider you a well-
wisher. However, if you arrive when they had just finished eating, it is considered
that you don't wish them well and that is why the gods did not bring you there
while they were eating.

When a visitor meets someone having a meal, s/he would have to salute him/her
using the expression in (43) and by so doing s/he admits the fact that s/he has seen
the person eating. The one eating responds to the salutation as is shown in (44a)
and (44b) and in turn invites the visitor to join in the meal with any of the
expressions illustrated in (45a) – (45d).

43.   Kp'áhɔɪ odí oo!
  kpí   **a-hɔɪ**   **o-dí**   **oo**
  put.in   CM-hand   SM-look   UFP
  'Bon apétit!' or 'enjoy your meal!' (Lit.: 'Put your hand in and see.')

44a.   Yoo, ɔga mɔ̌.
       yoo   ɔ-ga   mɔ̌
       okay 2SG-walk   well
       'Okay, you have walked well.' Or 'You have come at a good time.'

44b.   Yoo, ɔ́nā 'aga.
       yoo   ɔ́-nā   bʊ-ga
       okay 2SG-be.able CM-walk
       'Okay, you know how to walk.' Or 'You have come at a good time.'

45a.   Bɔkp'ahɔɪ odí ee.
       bá   ɔ-kpí   a-hɔɪ   o-dí   ee
       come 2SG-put   CM-hand 2SG-look UFP
       'Come and join us.' (Lit.: 'Come and put your hand in and see.')

45b.   Bodí 'ʊ́lɔ́!
       bá   o-dí   bʊlɔ́
       come 2SG-look 1PL
       'Come and join us!' (Lit.: 'Come and look at us.')

45c.   Ga ba oo!
       ga   ba   oo
       walk   come   UFP
       'Come and join us!' (Lit.: 'Walk and come.')

45d.   Bá tɪ lɔŋɛ 'ɛ́dɔ̄ oo!
       bá   tɪ   lɔ-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄   oo
       come COMP   1PL.DEP-eat CM-thing UFP
       'Come and let's eat the meal!'

According to one of my consultants, the expression in (45d) is used to invite people who are close by and not necessarily those passing by. (45a) – (45c) are used among friends and people who know each other very well.

Any of the responses such as those in (46a) – (46f) may be used to respond to any of the expressions in (45).

46a.   Abɔ́.
       a-bɔ́
       3SG-be.good
       'It is okay.'

46b.   Yoo, w'ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí.
       yoo   wɔ́   ɔ́-bhɪtí   ki-búí
       okay 2SG.IND   SM-do   CM-matter

'Okay, thank you.'

46c.   Oo, laa mı tsyí ítíkp'áhɔı.
    oo   laa   mí   tsyí   í-tí-kpí   a-hɔı
    INTJ   just.now 1SG.IND too   SM-PERF-put.in CM-hand
    'Oh, I have just eaten.' (Lit.: I have just put my hand in.')

46d.   Oo, kɔ y'átsɔ̄.
    Oo   kɔ́   yí   á-tsɔ̄
    INTJ   let 3SG   SM-be.quick
    'Oh, go ahead.'   (Lit.: 'Let it go quickly.')

46e.   Kɔ 'ɛlı vı mɔ̌mɔ̌.
    kɔ́ kılí   vı   mɔ̌-mɔ̌
    let 3SG   go   RED-well
    'Enjoy your meal.' (Lit.: 'Let it go very well')

46f.   M'áhɔı akpasí ('ísúgbém̄ aplúnɔ nɔ́).
    mí   a-hɔı   a-kpasí   kí-súgbá   kımı   a-plúnɔ   w̃ũnɔ̃́
    1SG.IND CM-hand SM-be.in CM-pot   inside   SM-add   2PL
    'My hand is in (the bowl together with yours).'

When the person invited decides to join in the meal and after sometime the host notices that s/he is not eating enough of the meat or fish, the host draws his/her attention to the meat/fish by saying:

47.   Oo, d'óníním̄ ló
    oo   dí   o-ní   ní   kımı   ló
    INTJ   look   CM-soup DEF   inside ADD
    'Feel free to take some of the meat/fish.' (Lit.: 'Look inside the soup.')

11.3   Gratitude expressions

In Tafi, as in all other communities in Ghana, expressing or showing gratitude for something good someone has done for you is very important. Thus, if someone does something for another person it is expected that the beneficiary or recipient and at times his/her family show appreciation for that good deed. Gratitude is expressed by means of the expressions in (48a) - (48e). (48a) and (48b) are expressions addressed to someone who has done something good for the speaker. (48c) and (48d) are expressions used to express thanks to God for something good that has happened to an addressee. Depending on the number of speakers expressing their appreciation or the number of addressees being thanked the appropriate pronouns are used. Also, depending on the individual's spiritual or cultural inclination, s/he may express gratitude to God as exemplified in (48c) and

(48d). For instance, (48d) was used in a context where a sick person responded to a question about his health that he was feeling better and then the visitor says 'we thank God'. The responses to the gratitude expressions in (48a) and (48b) are given in (49a) and (49b) respectively. The gratitude expression in (48a) and (48c) can be modified by the ideophonic intensifier **popoopó/pópóópó** to demonstrate the intensity of gratitude being expressed by the speaker.

48a.   W'ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí (popoopó).
       wɔ́   ɔ́-bhɪtí   ki-búí   popoopó
       2SG.IND SM-do   CM-matter   IDEO.very.much
       'Thank you (very much).' (Lit.: You have worked.')

48b.   Íhú w'áhɔɪ.
       í-hú   wɔ́   a-hɔɪ
       1SG-hit   2SG   CM-hand
       'I thank you.' ('I hit you hand.')

48c.   Máwú[68]/ Kpáyā y'ábhɪtííbúí lo!/ (popoopó)
       Máwú/ Kpáyā   yí   á-bhɪtí   ki-búí   lo /   popoopó
       God   3SG.IND   SM-do   CM-matter   ADD   IDEO.very.much
       'God has worked (so much).' i.e. 'we thank God.'

48d.   Buhú Máwú/ Kpáyā ahɔɪ ló!
       bu-hú   Máwú/ Kpáyā   a-hɔɪ   ló
       1PL-hit   God   CM-hand ADD
       'We thank God.'

49a.   Wɔ tsyí oo.
       wɔ́   tsyí   oo
       2SG.IND too   UFP
       '(I thank) you too.'

49b.   Yoo.
       yoo
       'Okay.'

Moreover, depending on the individual's spiritual or cultural inclination, the interaction may include a turn or two which conveys a speaker's well-wishes for the addressee by praying for God's blessing upon the addressee for what s/he has done for him/her as illustrated in (50).

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[68] **Máwú** 'God' is a borrowing from Ewe.

50.   Ebúín pétéé g'ɔbhítúń w'ɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí. Ɛɛ, Kpáyāń élú álí ɔ́zakɔ́ kɔ́ wɔ́ oo.

e-búí	ní	pétéé	gɪ	ɔ́-bhítɪ	ní	wɔ́	ɔ́-bhɪtí
CM-matter	DEF	all	REL	2SG-do	TOP	2SG.IND	SM-do

ki-búí							
CM-matter							

ɛɛ	Kpáyā ní	é-lú	alí	ɔ-zakɔ́	kɔ́	wɔ́	oo
INTJ	God DEF	SM-put	3PL	CM-place	DAT	2PL	UFP

'Thank you very much for all what you have done. May God bless you in return.'

11.4   Expressing congratulations

When good things (such as marriage, child birth, passing of exams or any successful events) happen to people, they are praised or congratulated. In Tafi, some of the expressions used on such occasions are not different from those used for expressing gratitude. With expressions for congratulations, apart from humans being regarded as having worked hard, it is also believed that God or other supernatural beings are responsible for making good things happen, as illustrated in (51a) - (51e). Traditionally, it is believed that everybody has **budɔkpábĭ** as used in (51b) which are little little beings around him/her which are his/her spiritual guardians. They do things to support, defend and protect him/her. So when they do a good job then something good happens to the person and then when people come to the person they congratulate him/her on their success. The expression in (51e), for instance, can be said to someone who has passed an exam and the same expression can also be used without the ITIVE preverb marker to congratulate someone who has built a house. All the other expressions in (51a) – (51d) can be used to congratulate people on any happy occasion.

51a.   Wɔ Máwú/ Kpáyā y'ábhɪtí 'íbúí lo!

wɔ́	Máwú/ Kpáyā	yí	á-bhɪtí	ki-búí	lo
2SG.IND	God	3SG.IND	SM-do	CM-matter	ADD

'YOUR GOD has worked.'

51b.   Wɔ́ 'ɔdɔkpábĭ bhɪtí 'íbúí oo.

wɔ́	bʊ-dɔkpábĭ	bhɪtí	ki-búí	oo
2SG.IND	CM.PL-spirit.being	do	CM-matter	UFP

'Your personal spirit beings have worked.'

51c.   W'éábhē̄ 'ɛ́dɔ̄ bhɪtí 'íbúí oo.

wɔ́	kábhā	kí-dɔ̄	bhɪtí	ki-búí	oo
2SG.IND	top	CM-thing	do	CM-matter	UFP

'Your personal spirit beings have worked.' (Lit.: Your thing above has worked.')

51d.   W'έábhē̄ 'έdɔ̄ yī kɔ́ wɔ́.
      wɔ́   **kábhā** **kɪ́-dɔ̄**   **yī**   **kɔ́**   **wɔ́**
      2SG.IND top   CM-thing   show.up DAT 2SG
      'Your personal spirit beings have showed up for you.'

51e.   W'ɔ́dɔbhɪtí 'íbúí oo.
      wɔ́   **ɔ́-dɔ-bhɪtí**   **ki-búí**   **oo**
      2SG.IND SM-ITIVE-do   CM-matter UFP
      'Congratulations' (Lit.: You have gone to work.')

The responses to all these expressions are:

52a.   Yoo, w̃ũnɔ́ yúla (kɔ́ mí) oo.
      yoo   **w̃ũnɔ́**   **nɔ-yúla**   **kɔ́**   **mí**   **oo**
      okay   2PL.IND SM-bless DAT 1SG UFP
      'Okay, you gave your blessing (to me).'

52b.   Yoo, w̃ũnɔ́ dó gbe ɖá.[69]
      yoo   **w̃ũnɔ́**   **no-dó**   **gbe**   **ɖá**
      okay   2PL.IND SM-send voice up
      'Okay, YOU have prayed.'

11.5   Expressions addressed to someone at work

To salute people who are engaged in some kind of work, be it physical or mental, the following expressions in (53a) and (53b) are used. Depending on the number of people involved, the 2SG or 2PL pronoun is used. The reply to these expressions is given in (53c).

53a.   W'ótsirí 'ílíábhā oo.
      wɔ́   **o-tsirí**   **kɪlí**   **kábhā** **oo**
      2SG.IND SM-be.on 3SG.IND top   UFP
      'You are on its top.'   (i.e. 'You are on it.')

53b.   D'áhɔɪ oo.
      dí   **a-hɔɪ**   **oo**
      look   CM-hand UFP
      'Watch your hand.'

53c.   Yoo.
      yoo

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[69] **dó gbe ɖá** 'pray' is borrowed from Ewe.

'Okay.'

The expression in (53a) is addressed to someone who is engaged in any type of work be it physical or mental while (53b) is used for someone who is engaged in a physical or manual work like farming, fishing, carpentry etc. Another expression used is **áyíkóō** and its response is **yaaye**. This expression is used for someone who is engaged in a physical or manual work. A similar expression **ayikóó** (with a different tone) with its response also used in Ewe, Nyagbo and Logba appear to have been borrowed from Ga. In Tafi, **áyíkóō** when used is preceded by the 2SG/PL independent pronoun with their (final) vowel elided as in **w'áyíkóō** and **w̃ũn'áyíkóō** 'ayikoo to you (sg/pl)'. These expressions, when used, indicate to the addressee that the work they are doing is being appreciated.

Also, if someone meets another person already at work, e.g. on his/her farm or office, the interaction goes like this:

54a.   A: W'ótúgba ní e?
       wɔ́   o-túgba   ní   e
       2SG.IND CM-front DEF   UFP
       'How is the front?' (i.e., 'What things have happened before I arrived?')

54b.   B: Kpasí, kide[70] ní e?
       kpasí ki-de   ní   e
       be.in CM-back DEF   UFP
       'Fine, how's the back?' (i.e. how are things behind?)

54c.   A: Kpasí oo! W'ótsirí 'ílíábhā oo.
       kpasí oo   wɔ́   o-tsirí   kɪlɪ́   kábhā   oo
       be.in UFP   2SG.IND SM-be.on 3SG.IND top   UFP
       'Fine, you are on it.' (Lit.: 'you are on its top')

54d.   B: Yoo, otsí w'ɔ́ɔbǎ?
       yoo otsí wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ-bǎ
       okay now   2SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-come
       'Okay, are you now coming?'

54e.   A: Ee
       ee
       'Yes'

In the above interaction, person A meets person B at work and enquires about the things that happened at the workplace before the time that they are meeting.

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[70] It appears **kide** is derived from **kede** 'back'.

Similar expressions are used in exchanges that occur when people are welcomed from their workplace. These are described in the next section.

11.5.1   Welcoming people from work

Greetings are also exchanged to indicate the order in which the speaker and addressee arrived at home from work etc. Usually, the interactants ask about things that have happened in their absence. The following is an illustration of a greeting exchange between two interactants, one of whom arrived home before the other.

55a.   A: W'ɔ́di oo!
        wɔ́   **ɔ́-dɪ**   **oo**
        2SG.IND SM-go   UFP
        'Welcome!' (Lit.: 'You have been somewhere and back.')

55b.   B: Yoo, w'ótúgba ní e?
        yoo   **wɔ́**   **o-túgba** **ní**   **e**
        okay   2SG.IND CM-front DEF   UFP
        'Okay, how is the front?' (i.e., 'What things have happened before I arrived?')

55c.   A: Kpasí, w'ede ní[71] e?
        kpasí **wɔ́**   **ke-de**   **ní**   **e**
        be.in   2SG.IND CM-back DEF   UFP
        'Fine, how's the back?' (i.e. how are things behind?)

55d.   B: Kpasí.
        kpasí
        be.in
        'Fine.'

The turns may continue with the interactants enquiring about the places of work or where B is returning from, i.e. farm, office, market etc. For instance, if the person just returned from his/her farm, the speaker can ask the question in (55e). The response to this question is the same as (55d).

55e.   Wɔ́ 'ɔ́yanímɪ oo?
        wɔ́   **bʊ-ya**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**   **oo**
        2SG.IND CM-farm DEF   inside   UFP
        'How is your farm?'

---

[71] One could also use the expression **kide ní e**? 'How's the back' as in (54b).

When a person is back from the farm, etc., the people in the house who stayed behind may use the same expressions stated above to welcome him/her except the one in (55b) as shown in the turns below.

56a.   A: W'ɔdi oo!
          wɔ́   ɔ-dɪ   oo
          2SG.IND SM-go   UFP
          'Welcome!' (Lit.: 'You have been somewhere and back.')

56b.   B: Yoo, w'ede ní e?
          yoo   wɔ́   ke-de   ní   e
          be.in 2SG.IND CM-back DEF   UFP
          'Fine, how's the back?' (i.e. how are things behind?)

56c.   A: Kpasí, wɔ́ 'ɔyanímɪ oo?
          kpasí wɔ́   bʋ-ya   ní   kɪmɪ   oo
          be.in 2SG   CM-farm   DEF   inside   UFP
          'Fine, how is your farm?'

The response to (56c) is the same as the one in (55d).

11.6   Expressing sympathy

When tragedy such as an accident or death befalls someone or when someone falls sick, the person's friends, family or members of the community visit him/her to console or symphathise with him/her. One of the expressions used to express sympathy in Tafi is **babaa** which is borrowed from Ewe. Just as it is used in Ewe, **babaa** is used in Tafi to sympathise with or to apologise to the addressee for any problem or inconvenience caused. For instance, if someone lifts a chair and it hits another person, s/he has to say **babaa** to that person to express regret. However, in Tafi, **babaa** can be prefixed with either the 2SG/PL independent pronoun depending on the number of addressees involved as shown in (57a). Another expression used is **káfra** which is borrowed from Ewe as in (57b).

57a.   Wɔ́ babaa (oo)!
          wɔ́   babaa   oo
          2SG.IND sorry   UFP
          'Sorry to you (sg)!'

57b.   Ô, káfra!
          Ô   káfra
          INTJ   excuse
          'Oh, sorry!'

The expression **babaa** 'sorry' is also used to express sympathy when someone is bereaved. Other expressions used on such an occasion are:

58a. W'ɔ́tsyánī 'ibúí oo.
  wɔ́   ɔ́-tsyánī   ki-búí   oo
  2SG.IND SM-meet   CM-matter   UFP
  'You have suffered it.'   (Lit.: 'You have met it.')

58b. W'ónú 'íbúí zizi oo.
  wɔ́   ó-nú   ki-búí   zi-zi   oo
  2SG.IND SM-hear CM-matter RED-bad UFP
  'You have heard bad news.'

If the death occurred as a result of the person being sick for some time and all attempts to cure him/her proved futile, then the expression in (58c) may be said to the bereaved family.

58c. W'ɔtsyɪ 'ʊbhɪtí oo.
  wɔ́   ɔ́-tsyɪ   bʊ-bhɪtí   oo
  2SG.IND SM-do.in.vain   CM-do   UFP
  'You have tried or worked in vain.'

When one pays a visit to a sick person, the following expressions in (59) could be used to express sympathy. (59d) and (59e) are used for those who are bedridden and could not move about.

59a. W'ɔ́ɔ́mɔ zhɪ̃ã́ oo.
  wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ́-mɔ   zhɪ̃ã́   oo
  2SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-see   problem   UFP
  'You are having problems.'

59b. W'óódi wɔ́ shúíábhā oo.
  wɔ́   ó-ó-di   wɔ́   shú   kábhā   oo
  2SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-look   2SG.IND REFL   top   UFP
  'You are looking after yourself.'

59c. W'ɔ́ɔ́nyína wɔ́ shú oo.
  wɔ́   ɔ́-ɔ́-nyína   wɔ́   shú   oo
  2SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-hold   2SG.IND REFL   UFP
  'You are taking care of yourself.'   (Lit.: 'You are holding yourself.')

59d. W'ólí ɔkɔ́ tóɖúkpó oo.
  wɔ́   ó-lí   ɔ-kɔ́   to-ɖukpó oo
  2SG.IND SM-be.positioned   CM-place   AM-one   UFP
  'You are at one place.'

59e.   W'ódzí ɔkɔ́ tódu̶kpó
        wɔ́   ó-dzí   ɔ-kɔ́   to-d̶ukpó
        2SG.IND SM-be.located.on.base   CM-place AM-one
        'You are at one place.'

The response to all the expressions used when sympathising with a sick or a
bereaved person is **yoo** 'okay'. The formulae in (59f) – (59h) can be used to wish a
sick person speedy recovery.

59f.   Ábakád̶éme akɔ́ wɔ́ oo.
        á-ba-kád̶éme   a-kɔ́   wɔ́   oo
        3SG-FUT-improve   SM-give   2SG   UFP
        'It will be better.' Or 'Your condition will improve.'

59g.   Ábabhíti̶ kɔ́ wɔ́ oo.
        á-ba-bhíti̶   kɔ́   wɔ́   oo
        3SG-FUT-do   DAT   2SG   UFP
        'It will be better.' Or 'Your condition will improve.'

59h.   Ɔ́bɔhayá oo.
        ɔ́-bɔ-hayá   oo
        2SG-FUT-recover   UFP
        'You will recover.'

When the visitor asks for permission to depart, the host expresses his/her
appreciation by using any of the expressions below. (60a) can also be said anytime
to anybody who pays someone a visit.

60a.   W'ɔ́srá ánɔ́ odí oo.
        wɔ́   ɔ́-srá   a-nɔ́   o-dí   oo
        2SG.IND SM-visit CM-person 2SG-look   UFP
        'You came and visited a person.'

60b.   W'ɔbáka anɔ́ 'ɛbúí.
        wɔ́   ɔ́-báka   a-nɔ́   ki-búí
        2SG.IND SM-remember   CM-person   CM-matter
        'You remembered a person's case.'

60c.   W'óvé ánɔ́ 'únú oo.
        wɔ́   o-ve   a-nɔ́   bu.nú   oo
        2SG.IND SM-V   CM-person mouth   UFP
        'You have been gracious.'

60d.   W'óbí ɔ́plúnɔ̄ anɔ́ oo.

wɔ́	ó-bí	ɔ́-plʊ́nɔ̌	a-nɔ̌	oo
2SG.IND	SM-weep	SM-help	CM-person	UFP

'You have wept with a person.'

11.7   Disclaimers

Agoo as stated earlier in § 11.1.1 is used to get the attention of others when one is entering a building. It is also used to capture the attention of people and get them to be silent and attentive when someone wants to take the floor to say something and when someone wants the right of way to pass through, for instance, a crowded place. In the last instance, the response to **agoo**, which is **amee**, may not be given. The people or person may just move out of the speaker's way for him to pass.

Káfra, **tafrátsyǐ** and **sébio** 'excuse me, I beg your pardon' as used in other Ghanaian languages are used to excuse oneself and show respect to one's addressee(s) especially when what one is about to do or say is indecent or not pleasant. By so doing, these expressions are used to forestall any form of anger on the part of the addressee(s). For instance, when one wants to talk about the departed or any taboo word such as sex, a speaker has to preface it with any of these words.

Tafrátsyǐ and **káfra** could also be used to preface apologies as illustrated in (61a) and (61b). The expression in (61a) for instance, can be used if one steps on another person and (61b) could be used when one has said something unpleasant.

61a.   Wɔ káfra lo, ɪdɪtsɔ wɔ́ 'ɔmɔʔ.

wɔ́	káfra	lo	ɪ-dɪ-tsɔ	wɔ́	bʊ-mɔ
2SG.IND	excuse	ADD	1SG-NEG2-do.early	2SG	CM-see

'Sorry (to you), I did not see you early.'

61b.   Ô káfra, ɪdɪnāɖɔʔ.

ô	káfra	ɪ-dɪ-nā-ɖɔ
INTJ	excuse	1SG-NEG2-be.able-say

'Oh sorry, I did not say it well' (i.e., I am sorry for saying the wrong thing).

The use of the left hand when communicating with someone is culturally unacceptable. This is because the use of the left hand is considered more insulting than using insulting words and it is deemed a dishonourable act. However, if it should become necessary to use the left hand one must excuse one's self by using the expression in (62a). Its response is given in (62b).

62a.   Káfra, kɪbɪtɪkpě lo.

káfra	kɪ-bɪtɪkpě	lo
excuse me	CM-left.hand	ADD

'Excuse me, (it is) the left hand.'

62b.   (Kɪlɪ tsyí) ɔhɔɪ.
    kɪlí   tsyí   ɔ-hɔɪ
    3SG   too   CM-arm
    'It is also a hand.'

To show politeness or courtesy when communicating with an addressee who is
older or who has a higher social status or when requesting for something, a speaker
ought to preface his/her speech or request with the expression **íɖe kúkú** 'I beg',
literally, 'I take off (my) hat'. This expression is also used to apologise for any
rude behavior. The verb phrase **ɖe kúkú** 'beg' is a borrowing from Ewe and as
stated in § 8.3.1, it is also used to mitigate the effect of the violation of any social
norm or "the illocutionary force of [any] act that may inconvenience the
addressee" (Ameka 1991:619).

11.8   Expressing farewell

Farewell expressions are used when people are parting from each other after a
ceremony or visit or when someone is going on a journey either for a long time or
a short time. Some of the expressions are (i) used to convey blessings and good
wishes for the addressee; (ii) requests to the addressee to convey the speaker's
greetings to people where the addressee is going; and (iii) used to convey the
speaker's desire to see the addressee again (see also § 11.1.7). The following is a
recording in which a nephew is parting from a paternal aunt after a visit.

63. A: Ɛɛ, m'akɪdá, m'ɪkɪ̃ tíbíbá ní, kɪw̃ɪ̃ɪm dɔ́ so íbashɪ̃̄, ípɪ sí tɪ ɪbakrá wɔ́.
    ɛɛ   mí   á-kɪdá   mí   ɪ-kɪ̃   tí-bí-bá   ní
    INTJ   1SG.IND CM-aunt 1SG.IND CM-here   CM-RED-come   TOP
    kɪw̃ɪ̃ɪm   dɔ́   so   í-ba-shɪ̃̄
    ??   land   so   1SG-FUT-leave
    í-pɪ   sí   tɪ   í-ba-krá   wɔ́
    1SG-want   COMP   COMP   1SG.DEP-VENT-notify   2SG
    'My aunt, it's quite sometime now since I came so I would like to leave and
    I have come to bid you farewell.'

64. B: Ao, ɔ́gblɔ́bɔshɪ̃ tsyí á?
    ao   ɔ́-gblɔ́-bɔ-shɪ̃   tsyí   á
    INTJ   2SG-EXC-FUT-leave   too   UFP
    'Oh! Are you leaving us so soon?'

65. A: Ee, eyíyǐń aná kɔ́ḿ sí tɪ ɪshɪ̃.
    ee   e-yíyǐ   ní   a-ná   kɔ́   mí   sí   tɪ
    Yes   CM-time   DEF   SM-reach DAT   1SG   COMP   COMP
    í-shɪ̃
    1SG.DEP-leave
    'Yes, it is time for me to leave.'

66. B: Yoo, ɔ́vɪ íísɪn 'alí oo.
    yoo ɔ́-vɪ   í-í-sɪnɔ   balí   oo
    okay 2SG-go   1SG-PRSPROG-greet   3PL   UFP
    'Okay, when you go, I greet them.'

67. A: Yoo, w'ɔ́bɔ́bhɪtí 'íbúí popoopó.
    Yoo   wɔ́   ɔ́-bɔ́-bhɪtí   ki-búí   popoopó
    Okay 2SG.IND SM-VENT-do   CM-matter   IDEO.very.much
    'Okay, thank you very much.'

68. B: Ɔ́zazaa t'ɔflɔ́bɔsrǎ l'ódí oo.
    ɔ́-za   zaa   tɪ   ɔ́-flɔ́-bɔ-srǎ   blɔ̌   ó-dí
    2SG-stay short.time COMP   2SG.DEP-again-FUT-visit   1PL   2SG-look
    oo
    UFP
    'After a short time come and visit us again.'

69. A: Yoo.
    yoo
    okay
    'Okay.'

70. B: Ákan agbánɪ wɔ́ t'odokú ní ishu yúyɔ́émī oo.
    á-kā   ní   a-gbánɪ   wɔ́   tɪ   o-do-kú
    CM-father   DEF   SM-lead   2SG   PURP   2SG.DEP-ITIVE-reach
    ní   i-shú   yú-yɔ́   kɪmɪ   oo
    LOC   CM-body   RED-be.cold inside UFP
    'May God lead you to get there in peace.' (i.e. 'safe journey')

71. A: Yoo, w̃ũnɔ́ tsyí w̃ũn'ód'ánɔ́íábhā oo.
    yoo w̃ũnɔ́   tsyí   w̃ũnɔ́   no-dí   a-nɔ́   kábhā oo
    okay 2PL.IND   too   2PL.IND   SM-look   CM-person   top   UFP
    'Okay. You too, you have been hospitable.'

72. B: Yoo.
    yoo
    okay
    'Okay.'

73. A: Ebúín pétéé gɪ nɔbhɪtíń w̃ũnɔ́ 'bhɪtííbúí.
    e-búí   ní   pétéé gɪ   nɔ-bhɪtí   ní   w̃ũnɔ́   nɔ-bhɪtí
    CM-matter   DEF   all   REL   2PL.DEP-do TOP   2PL.IND   SM-do
    ki-búí
    CM-matter
    'Thank you very much for all what you have done.'

74.   Ɛɛ, Kpáyā n'élú álí ɔ́zakɔ́ kɔ́ nɔ́ oo.
        ɛɛ   Kpáyā ní   é-lú   álí   ɔ-zakɔ́   kɔ́   w̃ũnɔ̃́   oo
        INTJ   God   DEF   SM-put 3PL   CM-place DAT   2PL   UFP
        'May God bless you in return.'

75. B: Yoo.
        yoo
        okay
        'Okay.'

In (63), the speaker notifies his aunt about his desire to leave after paying her a
visit for sometime. In (66), his aunt requests the addressee to extend her greetings
to the people where he is going while in (68), the speaker expresses desire for the
addressee to visit again. (70) and (74) are expressions for blessing and good wishes
to the addressee. (70) expresses the wish of the speaker that the addressee gets to
his destination safely. The response to all the farewell expressions is **yoo** 'okay'.
Other farewell expressions include:

76a.   (Nɔ) ga mǒ oo!
        nɔ   ga   mǒ   oo
        2PL   walk well UFP
        'Travel well/ safe journey!'

76b.   (Nɔ)dɔtsɔ 'okú!
        nɔ- dɔ-tsɔ   bʊ-kú
        2PL-ITIVE-do.early   CM-reach
        'May you reach early.'

76c.   Máwú ágamí 'ídzó kɔ́ wɔ́/'ũnɔ̃́.
        Máwú á-gamí   ki-dzo   kɔ́   wɔ́/w̃ũnɔ̃́
        God   SM-clear CM-way   DAT   2SG/2PL
        'May God clear the path for you (sg/pl).'

76d.   Ákan agbánɪ wɔ́/w̃ũnɔ̃́ ɖɔɖɔɔɖɔ.
        á-kā   ní   á-gbánɪ   wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ̃́ ɖɔɖɔɔɖɔ
        CM-father   DEF   SM-lead   2SG/2PL slowly
        'May God lead you calmly.'

The expressions in (77) are used in situations where the person is going to a place
nearby and will be back after a short time. Thus, they could be said to someone
going to the farm, market, school, riverside etc.

77a.   Ɔvɪ t'ɔtsɔ́ 'ɔ́bá oo!
        ɔ-vɪ   tɪ   ɔ́-tsɔ   bʊ-bá   oo
        2SG-go COMP   2SG.DEP-do.early   CM-come   UFP

"If you go, come (back) early!'

77b.   Tsɔ 'ɔbá oo!
    tsɔ   **bʊ-bá**   **oo**
    do.early   CM-come   UFP
    'Come (back) early!'

11.9   Goodnight expressions

At night when people are retiring to bed or are parting, they wish that each other will sleep well. Some of the expressions used are given in (78). The responses are given in (79). The expression in (78b) can also be used as a response.

78a.   (Wɔ) káagǒ oo!
    wɔ́   **káagǒ**   **oo**
    2SG.IND good.night   UFP
    'Good night (to you)!'

78b.   Kaza tɪ lɔtsyá oo.
    ka-za   **tɪ**   **lɔ-tsyá**   **oo**
    3SG-V   COMP   1PL.DEP-meet UFP
    'Let's meet when day breaks.'

79a.   Yoo, t'ɔnáw̃ʊ́sɔ́ oo.
    yoo   **tɪ**   **ɔ́-ná-w̃ʊ́sɔ́**   **oo**
    okay   COMP   2SG.DEP-be.able-sleep UFP
    'Okay, may you sleep well.' (Lit.: 'May you be able to sleep.')

79b.   Yoo, t'ɔza mǒ oo.
    yoo   **tɪ**   **ɔ́-za**   **mǒ**   **oo**
    okay   COMP   2SG.DEP-spend.the.night   well   UFP
    'May you spend the night well.'

79c.   Yoo, ákan/ Máwú álɔ́ ní 'ʊ́lɔ́.
    yoo   **á-kā**   **ní**   **/**   **Máwú**   **á-lɔ́**   **nɪ**   **bʊlɔ́**
    okay   CM-father   DEF   /   God   SM-get.up   COM 1PL
    'Okay, may the Lord/ God wake us up.'

11.10   Other salutations

The Tafi people have salutations for different occasions. These include the expressions in (80) and (81). (80b) is a response to the salutation in (80a) and the responses in (82) are used for the formulae in (81). The expression in (80) is used

to express one's wish for another person to have a nice day while those in (81) are
used at the beginning of a new year to express one's best wishes for others.

80a.   Kíwīnɪ́m̃, (kɪ)pɪ̃ kɔ wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ́ oo.
       kí-wī   nɪ́   kʊmɪ   (kɪ-)pɪ̃   kɔ   wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ́ oo
       CM-day   DEF   inside 3SG-be.good DAT   2SG/ 2PL UFP
       'Have a nice day.'   (Lit.: 'The day inside be good for you (sg/pl).')

80b.   Yoo, kɔ́ wɔ/w̃ũnɔ̄ tsyɪ́ oo.
       yoo   kɔ́   wɔ́/w̃ũnɔ́   tsyɪ́   oo
       ok   DAT   2SG/2PL   too   UFP
       'You (sg/pl) too'

81a.   Kɪ́gɔ̄ vʊvɔ kɔ wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ́ oo.
       kɪ́-gɔ̄   vʊvɔ   kɔ́   wɔ́/w̃ũnɔ́ oo
       CM-year   new   DAT   2SG/ 2PL UFP
       'Happy new year'   (Lit.: 'A new year to you.')

81b.   Wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ́ 'égɔ̄ vʊvɔ oo.
       wɔ́/ w̃ũnɔ́   kɪ́-gɔ̄   vʊvɔ   oo
       2SG.IND/ 2PL.IND   CM-year   new   UFP
       'Happy new year'   (Lit.: 'Your new year')

82a.   Yoo, (tɪ) kɪvlabatɔ́nɔ̄ lɔ́ oo.
       yoo   (tɪ)   kɪ-vla-ba-tɔ́nɔ̄   blɔ̌   oo
       ok   COMP   3SG-again-VENT-catch.up.with   1PL   UFP
       'Okay, may it come to meet us again.'

82b.   Yoo, kɔ́ wɔ/w̃ũnɔ̄ tsyɪ́ oo
       yoo   kɔ́   wɔ́/w̃ũnɔ́   tsyɪ́   oo
       ok   DAT   2SG/2PL   too   UFP
       'You (sg/pl) too'

82c.   Yoo, (tɪ) kɪvlábhui[72] lɔkpí
       yoo   (tɪ)   kɪ-vlá-bhui   lɔ-kpí
       ok   COMP   3SG-again-cut   1PL.DEP put.in
       'Okay, may it come to meet us again.'

_____

[72] There is disharmony in the vowels in the verb phrase. One would have expected the
vowels to be +ATR because of the ATR value of the vowel in the verb. This might be due
to the routinised nature of the expression.

12   IDEOPHONES, INTERJECTIONS AND PARTICLES

This chapter is concerned with three types of words that are commonly used in everyday discourse: ideophones, interjections and particles. These word types share some properties. They are all expressive in nature. They are used to express a speaker's perception, mental state and attitudes. Nevertheless, there are differences between them. Ideophones and particles cannot be used by themselves non-elliptically while interjections can be used by themselves as non-elliptical utterances.

12.1   Ideophones

Ideophones are widespread crosslinguistically (Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz 2001). Westermann described them for several West African languages and observed that they are "picture words" (Westermann 1930: 107). They have also been defined after Doke (1935) as words that are "a vivid representation of an idea in sound" (see also Welmers 1973). Following Dingemanse (2011:25), we assume that ideophones are "marked words that depict sensory imagery". That is, they stand out formally, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. They are depictions rather than descriptions that invite the audience to perceive with their senses what they represent in sound and they represent images perceived by the speaker.

In Tafi, ideophones are phonologically marked in a number of ways:

Some ideophones have a CVV syllable structure which is not found in other parts of the language except in some loanwords. Examples of such ideophones include:

1. **gũí**   'IDEO.sound.of swallowing.food'
    táwéé   **'**IDEO.completely'
    gbáá   'IDEO.vanished'
    vĩĩ   'IDEO.disappear'

Some ideophones also defy phonotactic constraints. For instance, in a CGV syllable where the initial C is a [-coronal] sound, the G that follows should be the liquid. However in some ideophones we find the trill in such a context as shown in (2).

2.   Kılí y'ayıkɔ y'áhúdzyǎ ní kesukpóń kılí y'áákɔ́ átsya odi gridididi aflánɔ̄.
         kılí   yí   á-yíkɔ̄   yí   á-húdzyǎ   ní   ke-sukpó
         CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG.IND CM-horsetail LOC   CM-handle
         ní   kılí   yí   á-yíkɔ̄   á-tsya   o-di   gridididi
         DEF   CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take   SM-draw   CM-line   IDEO

a-flá-nɔ̄
SM-pass-COM
'Then he took the handle of his horsetail and drew a circle.'   (Kásālā)

Morphologically too, ideophones stand out in a number of ways. First, as the ideophone in example (2) shows, several ideophones have an inherently repetitive structure. Some have a basic reduplicative structure, i.e. two repetitions, e.g. **kpãw̃ʊkpãw̃ʊ** 'IDEO.plenty', **gid̢igidị** 'IDEO.tumult', **hɔyɪhɔyɪ** 'IDEO.fat'. Several also have an inherent triplicative structure like the ideophones illustrated in (3a) and (3b).

3a.   Ákān edí pópóópó sí, ókě, ɛɛɛ ényí ídɔ̄nɔ́n gɪ ababhítī.
     á-kā   **ní**   **é-dí**   **pópóópó**   **sí**   **ókě**
     CM-father   DEF   SM-look   IDEO.very.much   COMP   okay
     ɛɛɛ   **é-nyí**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **nɔ̂**   **ní**   **gɪ**   **á-ba-bhítī**
     INTJ   SM-know CM-thing wh.ever   DEF REL SM-FUT-do
     'The father considered (the situation) for a long time and said okay, he knows what to do.' (Kásālā)

3b.   Mí za 'klí tútúútú kɪlí gbaxā́lī̃ ábáyíkɔ̄ y'ɪapamí.
     mí   **ɪ-za**   **ɪ-klí**   **tútúútú**   **kɪlí**   **gbaxā́lī̃**
     1SG.IND 1SG-be.PST CM-there IDEO.exactly CONJ   striped.mouse
     á-bá-yíkɔ̄   **yí**   **ká-pamí**
     SM-VENT-take 3SG   CM-cutlass
     'In fact, I was there when striped mouse came and took his cutlass.'
                                      (Gbaxā́lī̃)

Other ideophones have a basic quadruplicate structure as the one in (2) above and as the one in (4).

4.   Gigigigigi, anʊ́ɪánɔ̄ abáyíkɔ̄ y'oklebhɔ́.
     gigigigigi   **a-nɔ̄-nyáá-a-nɔ̄**   **á-bá-yíkɔ̄**   **yí**
     IDEO   CM-person-DISTR-CM-person   SM-VENT-take 3SG.IND
     o-klebhɔ́
     CM-bundle.of.thatch
     'Hustling and bustling, everybody came and took his bundle of thatch.' OR
     'In confusion, everybody came for his bundle of thatch.'   (Kásālā)

For some ideophones with an inherent structure the number of repetitions does not seem to be limited. The ideophone in example (5) is one such example.

5.   Bétúkú ámɔ́ń pétéé ámínā bakpí n'owúlēním̃, owúlē ní tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́.
     bé-túkú   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**   **pétéé** **bá-mínā** **ba-kpí**   **ní**
     3PL-carry   CM-rice DEF   all   SM-bring SM-put.in   LOC

o-wúlē	ní	kımı	o-wúlē	ní	tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́
CM-storage.bin	DEF	inside	CM-storage.bin	DEF	IDEO

'They carried all the rice and they put it in the storage bin, it was filled to the brim.'   (Kásãlã)

In addition, most ideophones stand out in discourse as they are repeated several times to give them prominence or to express intensity. In (6a), the ideophone **gʊra** is repeated two times to iconically depict the sound of boiling water. In (6b), the mode of the swarming of the men around the girl is imagistically reflected in the repetition of the ideophone that describes the manner three times. Similarly, in (6c) and (6d), the ideophones are repeated four times each to signal a high degree of the ideas expressed: the full degree of completeness in (6c) and the high degree of speed with which the thing was hidden in (6d).

6a.   Buní ní yábā gʊra gʊra búshúí dzú.

bu-ní	ní	yábā	gʊra	gʊra	bú-shúí	dzú
CM-water	DEF	boil	IDEO	IDEO	1PL-fetch	put.down

'When the water boils we fetch (some) and put down.'   (Kımʊkɔ́)

6b.   Báányí ní pétéé áaséé bodo bodo bodo.

báá-nyí	ní	pétéé	bá-a-sá	yí	bodo	bodo
CM.PL-man	DEF	all	SM-PSTPROG-swarm	3SG	IDEO	IDEO

bodo
IDEO

'All the men were swarming around her like flies.'   (Kásãlã)

6c.   Banɔ́n eyúkū 'klí kpéŋ kpéŋ kpéŋ kpéŋ.

ba-nɔ́	ní	bé-yúkū	ı-klí	kpéŋ	kpéŋ	kpéŋ	kpéŋ
CM.PL-person	DEF	SM-be.full	CM-there	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO

'The people filled there completely.'   (Kásãlã)

6d.   Ékpú 'ídɔ̄ ní zıa zıa zıa zıa.

é-kpu	kí-dɔ̄	ní	zıa	zıa
3SG-hide	CM-thing	DEF	IDEO.quickly	IDEO.quickly

zıa	zıa
IDEO.quickly	IDEO.quickly

'He quickly hid the things.'   (Kásãlã)

It was noted above that some ideophones with inherent repetitive structure do not seem to have any limit on the number of repetitions. Similarly, the number of iterations of ideophones does not seem to be constrained. The repetitions are dependent on the speaker's meaning and on the oratorical skills of the performer. In (7), the speaker repeats the ideophone **giɖigiɖi** 'IDEO.tumult' six times to create the image of a lot of commotion taking place.

(7)   Banɔ́n enú ní ho! giḍigiḍi giḍigiḍi giḍigiḍi giḍigiḍi giḍigiḍi giḍigiḍi.

ba-nɔ́	ní	bé-nú	ní	ho	giḍigiḍi
CM.PL-person	DEF	SM-hear	TOP	INTJ	IDEO.hustle.and.bustle

giḍigiḍi	giḍigiḍi	giḍigiḍi
IDEO.hustle.and.bustle	IDEO.hustle.and.bustle	IDEO.hustle.and.bustle

giḍigiḍi	giḍigiḍi
IDEO.hustle.and.bustle	IDEO.hustle.and.bustle

‘When people heard it, oh, there was commotion .’ (Kásã̄lã̄)

In examples (8a) and (8b), the ideophone is repeated several times, but the number of iterations is different. What is significant is that the sentences are produced by the same narrator in the same story. This confirms the point that the number of iterations is dependent on meaning and the speaker. Compare (8a) and (8b).

8a.   Kápamíń 'ál'ɔŋa shíshíshíshí

ká-pamí	ní	ka-lí	ɔ-ŋa	shíshíshíshí
CM-cutlass	DEF	SM-be.at	SM-sharpness	IDEO

‘The cutlass is extremely sharp.’   (Gbaxã́lĩ̄)

8b.   Ákányááká áyɔ y'ιapamι shíshíshíshíshíshíshí.

á-kányááká	á-yɔ	yí	ká-pamí	shíshíshíshíshíshíshí
CM-every	SM-whet	3SG.IND	CM-cutlass	IDEO.sharp

‘Each one (of them) whetted his cutlass very sharp.’   (Gbaxã́lĩ̄)

Another aspect of the expressive morphology of ideophones which is used to draw attention to them and to express intensity or degree is that part of the ideophonic root is repeated. It can be argued that it is the last syllable of the root that gets extended. In example (9a), the ideophone **ridiḍiḍi** ‘IDEO.continuously’ is used in its basic form with an inherent repetitive structure. In (9b), however, the last syllable of the ideophone is repeated several times to iconically depict the length of time and the continuous nature of the dancing. A similar process is at play in (9c).

9a.   Íyu riḍiḍiḍi ítɔ̄.

í-yu	riḍiḍiḍi	í-tɔ̄
1SG-dance	IDEO	1SG-be.tired

‘I danced continuously for a long time till I was tired.’   (Kásã̄lã̄)

9b.   Ɔ́tɔ́ɔ́mɔ g'ιlííyu riḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍi??

ɔ́-tɔ́ɔ́-mɔ	gι	í	lí-í-yu
2SG-NEG.PRSPROG	REL	1SG.DEP	3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-dance

riḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍi
IDEO

‘Can you not see how I have been dancing continuously for a very looooooooong time?’   (Kásã̄lã̄)

9c.   Flôgo tɩ kiwi békóéyī ní bátíwɛ 'ɛdo 'elú gblálálálálálálá.

flôgo   tɩ   ki-wí   bé-kóéyĭ   ní   bá-tí-wa
before   COMP   CM-sun   VENT-exit   TOP   3PL-PERF-do
kí-dɔ   be-lú   gblálálálálálálá
CM-thing SM-place IDEO
'Before the sun appeared they had cleared a huuuuuuge portion of the land.'
(Gbaxálī̃)

Syntactically too, ideophones display some characteristics. We saw in Chapter 4 that several ideophones have an adjectival function where they are used to represent properties of a head noun in a noun phrase. Similarly, in (10) the noun 'woman' is qualified by the ideophone glossed as 'fat'.

10.   Adzɩ hɔyɩhɔyɩ am'ágbánɔ̄

a-dzī̃   hɔyɩhɔyɩ a-má   á-gbánɔ̄
CM-woman   IDEO.fat SM-be.at:NEG   SM-marry
'A fat woman cannot be married.'

Several ideophones function as adverbs. In this function they may characterise degree as in (6d) and (8a) above or they may express the manner in which a state of affairs unfolds, as in (11).

11.   Pɩ latsí 'itsikpĭ ní p'ɩal'ááhwā hlohlohlo pɩ kitsikpĭn ɩwɔ́lĩ̃... agboyaa.

pɩ   la-tsí   ki-tsikpĭ ní   pɩ   kalí
CONN   3PL.DEP-take.off   CM-pot   DEF   CONN   3SG.IND
ka-á-hwā   hlohlohlo pɩ   ki-tsikpĭ ní   kɩ-wɔ́lī̃
SM-PRSPROG-move   IDEO   CONN   CM-pot   DEF   SM-fall
ní   agboyaa
TOP   IDEO.sound
'When they took the pot from the fire with him moving in it (then) the pot fell... (with a loud noise).' (Kásālā̃)

Some ideophones are also used as depictive secondary predicates where they denote the condition or state of one of the arguments of the clause. This is the case with the use of **gbadzaa** 'IDEO.wide' in example (12). The second ideophone in this example is used adverbially.

12.   Bábhítɩ 'ɩlí gbadzaa, kɩnɩ bhlɛdɩ

bá-bhítɩ   kɩlí   gbadzaa   kɩ-nɩ   bhlɛdɩ
3PL-make   3SG   IDEO.wide   3SG-be.wide IDEO
'They made it wide, it is extensively broad.'   (Gbaxálī̃)

Some ideophones are used as the main predicate in clauses. In such clauses they function as verbs. In example (13), the two ideophones **gbáá́** 'IDEO' and **vĩ̃** 'IDEO' are used as the main predicates in the clauses in which they occur. These

ideophones are not too well integrated into the grammatical system as they do not take any verbal markers like the subject cross-reference markers.

13.   Bápɨ̄ fufuo pétéé fufuó gbáá̃. Béd' ɔ́kɔ́nyɔ́ɔ́kɔ́, fufuó vɨ̄ɨ.
       bá-pɨ̄   fufuó pétéé fufuo gbáá̃
       3PL-look.for fufu all   fufu IDEO
       bé-dí   ɔ́-kɔ-nyáá-ɔkɔ́   fufuó   vɨ̄ɨ
       3PL-look CM-place-DISTR-CM-place   fufu   IDEO
       'They looked for fufu everywhere, fufu was nowhere to be found. They looked everywhere, fufu had vanished.'   (Gbaxáĺɨ̄)

Similarly, in (14) the ideophone **kikikiki** is used as the main predicate in the first clause and the second clause as it were paraphrases the predicative meaning that it expresses.

14.   Ákányááká kikikiki, akanyááká ésí áv'ʊpéɱ̄.
       á-kányááká   kikikiki   a-kanyááká   é-sí   á-vɩ   bʊ-pá
       CM-every   IDEO   CM-every   SM-run   SM-go   CM-house
       kɩmɩ
       inside
       'Every one of them ran home kikikiki.'   (Kásālā)

Unlike the ideophones in (13) and (14), some ideophones that function as verbs are quite well integrated into the grammatical system, e.g., they can take verbal markers. As illustrated in (15), the ideophone **gbáá** can take subject pronouns.

15.   Kánā lagbáá, bagbáá, lagbáá, bagbáá
       ká-nā   la-gbáá   ba-gbáá   la-gbáá   ba-gbáá
       CM-manner 3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO   3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO
       'So they went on and on and on.'   (Gbaxáĺɨ̄)

Some ideophones are multi-categorial. The ideophone **bʊbʊɩbʊɩ̄** 'IDEO.cold' functions as an adverbial in (16a) whereas in (16b), it functions as the main predicate, i.e. as a verb. It is however not marked for subject cross-reference, hence it is not very well integrated into the system.

16a.   Bʊní ní yɔ́ bʊbʊɩbʊɩ.
       bʊ-ní   ní   yɔ́   bʊbʊɩbʊɩ
       CM-water   DEF   be.cold   IDEO.cold
       'The water is very cold.'

16b.   Blɔ 'kɨ̄ ní bʊbʊɩbʊɩ.
       blɔ   ɩ-kɨ̄   ní   bʊbʊɩbʊɩ
       1PL.IND CM-here DEF   IDEO.cold

'Our place is cool, i.e. peaceful.'

Ideophones are also marked in the sense that they can be performatively foregrounded in discourse. In Tafi the main strategy applied to achieve this is to use the ideophones in sequence. Further modulations may be applied to the ideophone sequences. For instance in (17), the ideophones in sequence are each repeated to emphasise the degree of strength exerted in the weeding.

(17) Otsígo kóŋ, kɪlɪ́ y'aza gbla ní kídɔ́sʊ́sɔ́ ní shú, ahʊmá ahʊmá ahʊmá ahʊmá azhúá azhúá atsyíréŋkéŋ atsyíréŋkéŋ.

Otsígo kóŋ	**kɪlɪ́**	**yí**	**a-za**	**gbla**	**ní**	**kí-dɔ́**
now	INT	CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-be.PST	IDEO	LOC	CM-thing

sú-sɔ́	**ní**	**shú**	**ahʊmá**	**ahʊmá**	**ahʊmá**	**ahʊmá**
RED-weed	DEF	surface	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO

azhúá	**azhúá**	**atsyíréŋkéŋ**	**atsyíréŋkéŋ**
IDEO	IDEO	IDEO	IDEO

'It was now that he applied a new zeal to his weeding.'   (Gbaxálɪ̃́)

In some cases the sequence of ideophones appears to be alliterated as the example in (18) illustrates.

(18) Kásālā tsyí évu alɔ́ hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú.[73]

ká-sālā	**tsyí**	**é-vu**	**a-lɔ́**	**hulu kpúlú**
tortoise	too	SM-catch	SM-get.up	IDEO.manner.of.walking

hulu kpúlú
IDEO.manner.of.walking

'Tortoise too got himself up (with some zeal) walking clumsily.' (Kásālā)

The ideophones in sequence may represent subcomponents of the same event. In (19), for instance, the first ideophone and the second in sequence talk about different parts of putting food in the mouth and swallowing it. The third ideophone in the sequence provides a temporal structure for the event segments. The sequencing of these words foregrounds the event segment in the narration.

19. Ébhui fufuóŋ, atɔ̄ gűí riḍiḍiḍi áŋa 'fuóŋ pétéé táwéé ní kísígbé nɪ̃́m.

é-bhui	**fufuó**	**ní**	**atɔ̄**
3SG-cut	fufu	DEF	IDEO.sound.of.putting.food.in.the.mouth

gűí	**riḍiḍiḍi**	**á-ŋa**	**fufuó**	**ní**
IDEO.sound.of swallowing.food	continuously	3SG-eat	fufu	DEF

pétéé	**táwéé**	**ní**	**kí-sígbé**	**ní**	**kʊmʊ**
all	IDEO.completely	LOC	CM-bowl	DEF	inside

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[73] In narratives, animals are personified so the subject-verb agreement is most often that of the **a¹/ba(a)-** class.

'He cuts the fufu, he drops it into his mouth, he swallows it till he ate all the
fufu to the last little bit from the bowl.'   (Gbaxáĺĩ)

In (20), the first ideophone in the sequence is iterated to indicate the temporal
duration of the subevent of whetting the cutlass and to provide the temporal
backdrop for the occurrence of the subcomponents of the event represented by the
other ideophones in the sequence.

20.   Gbaxáĺĩ álɔ́ ko kɪlí ayíkɔ̄ fufuóń kɪlí y'étsobúnɔ kɪyɔ́ń, kplaxlá kplaxlá
        kplaxlá, atɔ̄ gũí.

gbaxáĺĩ	á-lɔ́	ko	kɪlí	a-yíkɔ̄	fufuó	ní	kɪlí
striped.mouse	SM-get.up	just	CONJ	3SG-take	fufu	DEF	CONJ

yí	é-tsobúnɔ	kɪ-yɔ́	ní
3SG.IND	SM-draw.near	CM-whetstone	DEF

kplaxlá	kplaxlá
IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass	IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass

kplaxlá	atɔ̄
IDEO.sound.of.whetting.cutlass	IDEO.sound.of.putting.food.in.the.mouth

gũí
IDEO.sound.of swallowing.food

'Striped mouse just got up and took the fufu then he went near the
whetstone. While he was whetting his cutlass, he cuts the fufu, he drops it
into his mouth and swallows it.'

Ideophones are marked words. In Tafi, they are marked phonologically,
morphologically, syntactically and stylistically. They are an important ingredient of
the rhetorical style of the language. However, as the glosses and translations show,
they are very difficult, though not impossible, to characterise semantically. Future
research should apply the methods deployed by Dingemanse (2011) for the study
of Siwu ideophones to Tafi ideophones to get a richer picture.

12.2   Interjections

Interjections are defined as words which conventionally constitute non-elliptical
utterances by themselves and express a speaker's current mental state or reaction
towards an element in the linguistic or extralinguistic context (Ameka 1992).
Interjections are tied to particular situations hence their meanings relate to the
situational, discourse and social context in which they are produced. Interjections
have an intimate relationship with gestures and may be accompanied by them or a
gesture can be used in place of some of them.

Interjections, like ideophones, may also be marked phonologically, morpho-
logically and syntactically. In Tafi, some interjections have syllable structures that
are extra systematic such as a VV syllable where it can be a long vowel as in **ee**

'yes', **ãã** 'something bad has happened, one cannot do anything about it'; or a diphthong as in **áo** 'I feel pain'. Some interjections also have a CVV syllable structure, like ideophones, for example **xee** 'yes' and **wuũ** 'shame'. In addition, some interjections in Tafi are made up of only consonants, for instance, **shhh** 'silence' and **ḿm̀** 'disapproval' and **ḿhm** 'I feel pain'. Some interjections also use sounds that are otherwise extra systematic. For example the bilabial click, as an interjection, is used as a call to fowls. Moreover, interjections like ideophones, can have extra lengthening as in **shhhhhhhhh** 'sileeeence!' or **eeeeeeeee** 'yeeessss'.

Interjections also manifest expressive morphological features: some have an inherent repetitive structure such as **klǔklǔklǔklǔ** 'a call to fowls'. The repetitive structure can also be partial, as in **dzyalélé** 'I am shocked'. Some interjections can also be iterated for expressivity. Thus the bilabial click interjection for calling fowls can be repeated several times.

Syntactically, interjections in Tafi can occur as free standing non-elliptical utterances. For instance, a speaker on seeing a child cross the road without paying attention to traffic exclaims **ei!** 'I am shocked!'. In such a context the interjection stands for a whole proposition or turn in conversation. Interjections are also used as co-text where they are part of a turn with other propositions in discourse. When they occur as co-text they constitute prosodic units and fall within the utterance intonation.

In Tafi when interjections occur as co-text they occur either utterance initially or utterance medially and can occur with different utterance types. Thus in (21a) the interjection **ô** 'I feel sympathy' occurs utterance initially and as co-text of a routine expression. In (21b), the interjection **oo** 'well' occurs as a co-text to an imperative, and in (21c) the interjection **ɛhɛ̃** 'INTJ' occurs utterance initially and as co-text to a question.

21a.   Ô, káfra!
      ô   **káfra**
      INTJ   excuse
      'Oh, sorry!'

21b.   Oo, kɔ y'átsɔ̄.
      oo   **kɔ́ yí**   **á-tsɔ̄**
      INTJ   let 3SG   SM-be.quick
      'Oh, go ahead.'   (Lit.: 'Let it go quickly.')

21c.   Ɛhɛ̃, kásãlã wɔ tsyí ɔ́bɔgbanɔ adzaní dza?

    ɛhɛ̃   ká-sãlã   wɔ́   tsyí   ɔ́-bɔ-gbanɔ   a-dzɪ̃̀
    INTJ CM-tortoise 2SG.IND too   2SG-FUT-marry   CM-woman
    a-ní   dza
    AM-PROX   UFP
    'So, tortoise do you also want to marry this woman?'   (Kásãlã)

Interjections also occur intra-sententially. In my corpus there are two positions where they occur within the sentence. One position is after a topic constituent as in (22a) and (22b). The other position is after the verb or complementiser **sí** as illustrated in (23).

22a. Tɪ kásãlã abálɔ́ ní áo wɔ́ gɪ ɔtɔ́ɔ́ga tsyí, bátíshĩ́ álɔɛ́.
      tɪ   ká-sãlã   a-bá-lɔ́   ní   áo   wɔ́   gɪ
      COMP CM-tortoise SM-VENT-get.up TOP INTJ 2SG.IND REL
      ɔ-tɔ́ɔ́-ga   tsyí bá-tí-shĩ   bá-lɔ
      2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk too   3PL-PERF-leave 3PL-??
      yí
      3SG.IND
      'By the time he woke up, oh, you who cannot even walk, they had already left him behind.' (Kásãlã)

22b. Yɪ tsyí ekusi edzeyí ní ní ɛɛ ekusi eyiadz' ebitéń, kééku yɪ tsyí 'úlí sí tɪ agbanɔ.
      yí   tsyí   e-kusi   e-dzeyí   ní   ní   ɛɛ   e-kusi
      3SG.IND too   CM-king CM-daughter   DEF TOP INTJ CM-king
      e-yiadzɪ   ke-bité   ní   ké-é-ku[74]   yí
      CM-daughter CM-young.woman DEF SM-PRSPROG-V 3SG.IND
      tsyí bu-lí   sí   tɪ   a-gbanɔ
      too   CM-N   COMP COMP 3SG-marry
      'Er, he too is desirous of marrying the princess.'   (Kásãlã)

23a. kɪlí y'abaká 'sí ahã kídɔ̄ tili lɪ y'áhɔɪ.
      kɪlí   yí   a-baká   a-sí   ahã   kí-dɔ̄
      CONJ 3SG.IND SM-remember   SM-COMP INTJ CM-thing
      ti-lí   lí   yí   a-hɔɪ
      AM-INDEF be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand
      'and he remembered that, ah, he had got something.'   (Kásãlã)

23b. Así óo kivuń lááɖɔ lo?
      a-sí   óo   ki-vu   ní   lá-á-ɖɔ   lo
      3SG-say INTJ CM-drum   DEF 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-say ADD
      'He said, oh, were they talking of the drumming?'   (Kásãlã)

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[74] The phrase **kú X bulí** means 'to lust, feel, or have appetite (for something)'.

From a semantic and pragmatic point of view, interjections can be classified along various dimensions. One of these is in terms of the functions they serve in discourse (see Ameka 1992). From this perspective there are expressive interjections which signal the current mental state of a speaker. They are of two kinds: emotive interjections express the feelings of a speaker, for example, **áo** 'I feel pain', **ei** 'I am shocked'; and cognitive interjections which express the thoughts of the speaker, for example, **ɛhɛ̃** 'now I know' **ahã** 'I remember'. Another functional type is conative interjections. They are directed at an interlocutor to get them to do something. In Tafi, such interjections include **shhh** 'I want you to be silent!', **he** 'hey' and **kái** 'I want you (goat) to move from here'. Phatic interjections are those used for interactional purposes and for maintaining contact, for example **ago** 'I want you to say I can do what I want to do', **thɛ̃** 'I am paying attention'.

Another dimension for the classification of interjections proposed by Ameka and Wilkins (2006) relates to whether the interjection is directed at an interlocutor or whether it requires a response. In the rest of this section, Tafi interjections are classified according to these parameters.

First, there are the interjections that are not directed at any interlocutor or require any response from an interlocutor. Expressive interjections that signal the speaker's current mental state and actions belong to this category. Interjections of this type in Tafi include those listed in (24).

24.   **éi**   'I am pleasantly surprised'
       dzyalélée 'I am shocked'
       ḿhm   'I feel a lot of pain'
       áɪ   'I feel pain'
       ádzyéi   'I feel pain'
       áo   'I feel pain'
       ó   'I am surprised'
       ô   'I feel something bad because of what I now know'
       kɔ̂   'I am surprised'
       å   'I remember something bad'
       ɪhɛ̃   'I now remember'

Second, there are interjections directed at an interlocutor requiring a behavioural response. These are largely conative interjections. Some of the Tafi interjections that belong to this group are listed in (25).

25.   **wuû**   'shame on you'
       hê/hê   impolite way of calling people
                    (e.g. **hê bá!** 'hey come!'; **hê dí mɔ̌** 'hey, be careful')
       shhh   'I want you to be quiet!'
       súi   'I want you (fowl) to go away from here'

kátɪ	'I want you (goat) to go away from here'
pûús	'I want you (cat) to come here'
⊙ (bilabial click)	'I want you (fowl) to come here'
klŭklŭklŭklŭ	'I want you (fowl) to come here'

The third group of interjections is those that are used by a speaker in an addressee role to signal that they are paying attention and to ask for clarification. Some examples are given in (26).

26. | ɛhɛ̂/ɪhɛ̂ | 'I agree and I want you to say more' |
|---|---|
| ahã̂ | appreciation or approval |
| mhḿ | 'I am paying attention' |

A fourth class of interjections is those that are standardly used by an addressee to respond to something an interactional participant has said. Tafi response signals listed in (27) belong to this category. In (28) a conversational fragment is given to illustrate the use of one of these response words.

27. | ee | 'yes, I agree' |
|---|---|
| xee | 'yes, I agree' |
| ḿm̀ | 'no' |
| óo | 'no' |
| hówō | 'no' |

28. A: Tsyɪámī alí lo?
   tsyɪámī   a-lí   lo
   spokesperson SM-be.at ADD
   'Is the spokesperson there?'

   B. Ee, tsyɪámī alí.
   ee   tsyɪámī   a-lí
   yes   spokesperson SM-be.at
   'Yes, the spokesperson is (here).'

Another class of interjections is those that belong to a ritual pair from which speakers may select. This class comprises one word conversational routines such as those given in (29).

29. | atúu | 'I embrace you.' |
|---|---|
| agoo! | 'call for attention' |

Some of the interjections discussed for Tafi are also used in Ewe and other surrounding languages. These include:

30. | atúu | 'I embrace you.' |
|---|---|

agoo!	'call for attention'
ee	'yes, I agree'
ḿm̀	'no'
óo	'no'
wuû	'shame on you'
hê	impolite way of calling people
shhh	'I want you to be quiet!'
súi	'I want you (fowl) to go away from here'
káι	'I want you (goat) to go away from here'
pûús	'I want you (cat) to come here'
éi	'I am pleasantly surprised'
dzyalélée	'I am shocked'
ḿhm	'I feel a lot of pain'
áι	'I feel pain'
ádzyéi	'I feel pain'
áo	'I feel pain'

This shows that interjections spread across language boundaries and can also be borrowed. Some of these interjections can be thought of as areal interjections.

12.3 Particles

Particles are little words used in everyday talk to achieve different discourse goals. They cannot stand on their own as utterances without being elliptical. This is one feature in which they differ from interjections. They also differ from interjections in being more integrated in the syntax of the clause. The Tafi particles mainly occur on the right edge of clauses and sentences and are of two functional types: (i) those that are used in discourse information structuring and which occur at the end of phrases or clauses (see (31a)), and (ii) those that are used to modify illocutionary forces of utterances and which occur utterance finally (utterance final particles, see (31b)).

31a. **ní**   'topic marker'
     e   'clause final marker'
     a   'clause final marker'
     élē̃   'clause final marker, reinforeces topic marker on complementiser'

31b. **oo**   'I want you to pay attention'
     mɔ   'addressive particle'
     lo   'I advise you'
     dza   'insistive utterance final particle'
     xã̃ã   'insistive utterance final particle'
     a   'reinforcer of propositional questions'
     e   'illocutionary force modifier'

These particles are expressive in nature. Thus they can be lengthened, as illustrated in (32) for the topic marker and in (33) for the utterance final particle **oo**.

32.   Madam níí ímɔ yí 'ishuin
       Madam   ní   í-mɔ   yí   kíshūī   ní
       Madam   TOP   1SG-see   3SG.IND   Friday   DEF
       'Speaking of Madam, I saw her on Friday.'

33.   "kibúí tilí 'lɪ m'áhɔɪ", kibúí tilí 'lɪ y'áhɔɪ t'etsiré 'ɵ̃nɔ̃́ oooooo.
       ki-búí   ti-li   kɪ-lɪ   mí   a-hɔɪ   ki-búí
       CM-word   AM-INDEF   SM-be.at   1SG.IND   CM-hand   CM-word
       ti-lí   kɪ-lɪ   yí   a-hɔɪ   tɪ   e-tsiré   w̃ṹnɔ̃́
       AM-INDEF   SM-be.at   3SG.IND   CM-hand   COMP   3SG-tell   2PL
       oooooo
       UFP
       '"I have something", he has something to tell you oooo.'

Another expressive feature, especially of the utterance final particles, is that they do not seem to have a constant tone. Rather their tones vary depending on the emotional and attitudinal meaning the speaker wants to convey. The tones marked on them, in this work, are tied to the tone produced in the particular context. One can thus find the particle **lo** 'ADD' represented as **ló**, **lō** and **lo.**

Additionally, the particles can be stacked as illustrated in (34).

34a.   Ɔdzɪdzí mɔ oo
       ɔ-dzɪdzí   mɔ   oo
       CM-story   ADD   UFP
       'Story story' or 'A tale to you'

34b.   … kɪlí así ní a …
       kɪlí   a-sí   ní   a
       CONJ   3SG-say   TOP   CFM
       '…and he spoke as follows: ...'

12.3.1   Clause final particles

As noted above the clause final particles occur at the end of phrases or clauses and contribute to the information packaging in the clause. The clause final particles, repeated from 31a above, occur sentence internally.

35.   **ní**   'topic marker'
       e   'clause final marker'
       a   'clause final marker'

élɛ̄   'clause final marker, reinforeces topic marker on complementiser'

The uses of the topic marker have been discussed in §6.7.1 and its use in complex sentences has also been described in Chapter 9. As demonstrated immediately above, the topic marker can be lengthened, and it can co-occur with another clause final marker (see (34b)).

The clause final particles **e** and **a** are used to mark clause boundaries as is the case in (34b) above for **a**. The particle **a** tends to occur in narratives at the end of topic constituents marked by the topic marker as if to reinforce the topic marker and marking a break. Examples (36a) and (36b) contain several instances of the clause final marker **a**.

36a.   ányínyáányí gɪ anyááp̃ ekus'edzeyíń ekus'edzeyíń ásí tɪ agbanɔ ko ní a…
       á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí   **gɪ**   **a-nyá-á-pĩ**
       CM-man-DISTR-CM-man   REL   3SG.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-want
       e-kusí   **e-dzeyí**   **ní**   **a-sí**   **tɪ**
       CM-king CM-female.child   DEF   3SG-COMP   COMP
       a-gbánɔ̃   **ko**   **ní**   **a**
       3SG.DEP-marry just   TOP   CFM
       'whichever man desires the princess to marry…'   (Kásãlã̃)

36b.   Ádɔ sí ní a ɔtsɔ̂ ní ébeklú 'ál'enyí klǐso ní a ónúgɪ ázakp' ɔ́dzɪ́ńíésí ní a badɔ sí ní ní a …
       á-dɔ   **sí**   **ní**   **a**   **ɔtsɔ̂**   **ní**   **é-be-klú**   **balí**
       3SG-say COMP   TOP   CFM   now   TOP   3SG-FUT-call   3PL
       e-nyí   **klǐso** **ní**   **a**   **ónú.gɪ**   **á-za-kpí**
       CM.PL-name so   TOP   CFM   COND   3SG.DEP-REP-put.in
       ɔ-dzɪ   **ní**   **ke.sí** **ní**   **a**   **ba-dɔ**   **sí**   **ní**   **ní**
       CM-song DEF   under TOP   CFM   3PL-say COMP   TOP   TOP
       a
       CFM
       'He said that from now he will be calling the names, therefore whenever he starts the song again, they should say…'   (Sã́hwĩ̄)

The particle **e** is used to optionally mark the end of sequential clauses introduced by **ká**. The examples in (37) are repeated from §9.1.3.9.

37a.   Ónúg' óféké kitukúń ɔ́trɔ́ kíkuísí ní ká ɔ́p'ʊyíkɔ é.
       ónú.gɪ   **ó-féké**   **ki-tukú** **ní**   **ɔ́-trɔ**   **kí-kuísí**   **ní**
       COND   2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF   SM-put.on   CM-knee   DEF
       [ká   **ɔ́-pĩ**   **bʊ-yíkɔ**   **é]**
       then   2SG.DEP-be.good CM-take   CFM
       'When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.'   (Proverb #30)

37b.   Óny' ɔ́sí bubí ko ká ɔtsí 'úlí é.
        ó-nyí   ɔ́-sí   bu-bí   ko
        2SG-know   SM-COMP   3SG-cooked   just
        [ká   ɔ-tsí   bʊlí   é]
        then   2SG.DEP-take.off   3SG   CFM
        'You get to know that it is well-cooked and then you take it off (the fire).'
                                                                (Palm oil)

The clause final particle **élē** is used to reinforce a topic marked phrase or clause as
illustrated in (38a) - (38c). In (38a) and (38b), it is used to reinforce a topic marked
complementiser. It looks like this particle is a combination of two particles, an **é**
'CFM' and another particle **lē**, but my database does not contain any instance of
such a particle.

38a.   Ítsire wɔ sí ní élē kídɔ̄ ní gɪ edzi nɪ w'áhɔɪ ní adɪsɪ ababʊɪa.
        i-tsiré   wɔ́   sí   ní   élē   kí-dɔ̄   ní   gɪ
        1SG-tell   2SG   COMP   TOP   CFM   CM-thing DEF   REL
        é-é-dzi   ní   wɔ́   a-hɔɪ   ní
        3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-buy   LOC   2SG.IND   CM-hand   TOP
        a-dɪ-sí   á-ba-bʊɪa
        3SG-NEG2-say   3SG.DEP-FUT-pay
        'I told you that the thing that he is buying from you he will not pay.'

38b.   Alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutɔ́ ní ní bétítsú ɔlí 'ífú bʊpʊɪ lápʊɪ ɔlíʔ.
        alasí   ní   élē   o-tro.eleté   o-vutɔ́   ní   ní
        because   TOP   CFM   CM-lie.owner   CM-roof   DEF   TOP
        bé-tí-tsú   ɔlí   kí-fú   bʊ-pʊɪ   lá-pʊɪ   ɔlí
        3PL-NEG1-set   3SG   CM-fire   CM-scatter   3PL.DEP-scatter   3SG
        'The reason is that the roof of a dishonest man's hut is never burnt, it is
        dismantled piece by piece.'   (Gbaxáɫ̄)

38c.   Isí, wɔ sáhwī́ ní élē, odikó lénú ní élē g'ínú…
        i-sí   wɔ́   sáhwī́   ní   élē
        1SG-say   2SG.IND   spider   TOP   CFM
        ɔ-dɪ-kɔ́   lé-nú   ní   élē   gí   í-nú
        2SG-NEG2-let   3PL.DEP-hear   TOP   CFM   REL   1SG.DEP-hear
        'I say YOU spider, if you do not shut up over there and I hear you…'

12.3.2   Utterance final particles

In this section, the use and significance of the particles used at the end of
utterances to modify the illocutionary force they have. The particles discussed are
those listed in (31b) above, repeated in (39).

39.   **oo**   'I want you to pay attention'
      mɔ   'addressive particle'
      lo(o)   'I advise you'
      dza   'intensifying utterance final particle'
      xãã   'intensifying utterance final particle'

12.3.2.1   The particle **oo**

One common context for the occurrence of this particle is at the end of routine expressions addressed to an interlocutor inviting them to respond, as in (40a) and (40b). The example in (40b) shows that these particles are not obligatory elements. In (34b) above, the particle is used at the end of a formula that is used to introduce stories during story telling performances. It is used to draw attention to what one is saying.

40a.   W'ótsirí 'ílíábhā oo.
       wɔ́   o-tsirí   kɪlɪ́   kábhā oo
       2SG.IND SM-be.on 3SG.IND top   UFP
       'You are on its top.'   (i.e. 'You are on it.')

40b.   Wɔ́ babaa (oo)!
       wɔ́   babaa   (oo)
       2SG.IND sorry   UFP
       'Sorry to you (sg)!'

It also occurs at the end of address terms and names like a vocative particle.

41.   Ámā oo!
       Ámā   oo
       Ámā   UFP
       'Ama!'

The particle can also occur in a propositional question as in (42).

42.   Óyi mɔ oo?
       ó-yi   mɔ   oo
       2SG-show.up   ADD UFP
       'Have you (pl) woken up?'

This example also shows that the particle **oo** can co-occur with other particles. It was already noted above that the particle **oo** can have extra lengthening for expressive purposes. An utterance final **o** particle is rather widespread in West African languages but the functions and significance vary from language to language (see Singler 1988 for an overview).

12.3.2.2   The particle **lo(o)**

The particle **lo** is an addressive particle in the sense that it is addressed to an interlocutor and occurs at the end of utterances. Its significance seems to be similar to that of the Ewe particle **lo(o)** 'ADD' which Ameka (1998) characterises as an advisory particle. The particle occurs at the end of routine expressions as in (43a) and (43b).

43a. Wɔ káfra lo, ɪdɪtsɔ wɔ́ 'ɔmɔʔ.
      wɔ́   káfra   lo   ɪ-dɪ-tsɔ   wɔ́   bʊ-mɔ
      2SG.IND   excuse   ADD   1SG-NEG2-do.early   2SG   CM-see
      'Sorry (to you), I did not see you early.'

43b. Agoo ((mɔ) lō)!
      agoo   (mɔ)   (lō)
      agoo   ADD   ADD
      'Attention, please!'

The particle also occurs on statements as in (44a) and in propositional questions, as shown in (44b).

44a. Así óo kivuń lááɖɔ lo?
      a-sí   óo   ki-vu   ní   lá-á-ɖɔ   lo
      3SG-say   INTJ   CM-drum   DEF   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-say   ADD
      'He said, oh, were they talking of the drumming?'

44b. Tsyɪámī̄ alí lo?
      tsyɪámī̄   a-lí   lo
      spokesperson   SM-be.at   ADD
      'Is the spokesperson there?'

As illustrated in (43b), the particle **lo** can co-occur with another addressive particle **mɔ** which is talked about in the next section.

12.3.2.3   The particle **mɔ**

In examples (42) and (43b) above, repeated as (45a) and (45b) respectively below, the particle **mɔ** 'ADD' occurs with other utterance final particles. The unique thing about the particle **mɔ** 'ADD' is that it is only used for plural addressees.

45a   Óyi mɔ oo?
      ó-yi   mɔ   oo
      2SG-get.up   ADD   UFP
      'Have you (pl) woken up?'

45b.   Agoo ((mɔ) lō)!
       agoo   mɔ   lō
       agoo   ADD   ADD
       'Attention, please!'

When the particle occurs with other particles it is the one that occurs as the inner particle as is evident from the examples given.

12.3.2.4   The particles **dza** and **xãã**

The particles **dza** and **xãã** are alternants as shown in (46a). As pointed out in Chapter 8 the particle **xãã** is probably borrowed from Ewe **hã**. Because of this the particle is also sometimes realised as **hãã** as shown in (46b).

46a.   Ɔ́mɔ m'eyíń dza/hãã?
       ɔ́-mɔ   mí   e-yí   ní   dza / hãã
       2SG-see   1SG.IND CM-child DEF   UFP
       'Did you see my child? (I want to know now)'

46b.   Ányín ááshī̃ xãã/ hãã?
       á-nyí   ní   á-á-shī̃   xãã/ hãã
       CM-man   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-leave   UFP
       'Is the man leaving?'

46c.   Ô! kibúí ɖúwē n'în dza?
       ô   ki-búí   ɖúwē nú   ɩní   dza
       INTJ   CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX   UFP
       'Oh! What is this?'

As the examples show, the particles are intensifying particles. They are used in propositional (46a, b) as well as content questions (46c) to signal the urgency and importance the speaker attaches to the question. They convey a kind of insistence on a response from the addressee.

12.3.2.5   The utterance final particle **a**

This particle is used in propositional questions to reinforce its illocutionary force. In §8.2.1, it was noted that propositional questions end on a lower pitch than their counterpart statements. It was also stated that some particles are used to reinforce the illocutionary force of questions. One of these particles is **a** 'UFP'. This particle seems to be added to disambiguate between a statement and a question. Some contexts in which the particle occurs are illustrated in (47) and (48).

47a.   … klĭso nonú a?
         klĭso   no-nú   a
         so   2PL-hear CFM
         '… therefore, do you hear?'

47b.   Ee, nɔtsy'ɔ́líá?
         ee   w̃ũnɔ̃́   tsyí   nɔ-lí   á
         yes   2PL.IND too   2SG-be.at UFP
         'Yes, how are you too?'

48a.   Yoo, makalí nonú gbe ní á? Basí éébisí 'ídzó oo.
         yoo   mí   á-kā-alí   no-nú   i-gbe   ní
         okay   1SG.IND CM-father-PL   2PL-hear   CM.PL-message   DEF
         á
         UFP
         ba-sí   bé-é-bisí   ki-dzó   oo
         3PL-say   SM-PRSPROG-ask CM-way   UFP
         'Okay, my elders, have you heard the message? They said they are
         asking for permission (to leave).'

48b.   B: Ee, wɔ tsy'óyi á?
         ee   wɔ́   tsyí   ó-yi   á
         yes   2SG.IND too   SM-get.up   PTCL
         'Yes, have you too woken up?'

12.3.2.6   The utterance final particle e(e)

The particle **e(e)** is used to, as it were, strengthen the illocutionary force of an
utterance in which it occurs. It occurs on invitations as in (49). It also occurs on
questions which ask about specific entities as in the examples in (50). In this usage,
its function is similar to the topic only question particle **hɔ̃(ɔ̃)** (see § 8.2.4).

49.   Bɔkp'ahɔɪ odí ee.
         bá   ɔ-kpí   a-hɔɪ   o-dí   ee
         come   2SG-put   CM-hand   2SG-look UFP
         'Come and join us.' (Lit.: 'Come and put your hand in and see.')

50a.   W'epí ní e?
         wɔ́   ke-pí   ní   e
         2SG.IND CM-home   DEF   UFP
         'How is your hometown?'

50b.　... w'ɔ́kɔ́ ní e?

wɔ́　　ɔ.kɔ́　　ní　　e
2SG.IND place　　DEF　UFP

'... how is your place?'

In the following adjacency pair of exchange of salutations between two people one who comes to meet another at home, the particle is used in the questions.

51a.　A: W'ótúgba ní e?

wɔ́　　o-túgba　ní　　e
2SG.IND CM-front　DEF　UFP

'How is the front?' (i.e., 'What things have happened before I arrived?')

51b.　B: Kpasí, kide[75] ní e?

kpasí　ki-de　ní　　e
be.in　CM-back　DEF　UFP

'Fine, how's the back?' (i.e. how are things behind?)

This particle **e** co-occurs with other utterance final particles . For instance it co-occurs with the particle **a** as in (52a) and with the addressive particle **lɔ́** as in (52b)

52a.　A: Ótíyi á e?

ó-tí-yi　　　　á　　e
2SG-PERF-get.up　PTCL　UFP

'Have you already woken up?'

52b.　Kpáyā ágbánɪ wɔ́ é lō.

Kpáyā á-gbánɪ　wɔ́　e　　lō
God　SM-lead　2SG　UFP　ADD

'May God lead you.'

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[75] It appears **kide** is derived from **kede** 'back'.

13   TAFI TEXTS

This chapter contains a selection of texts collected during my field trips to Tafi. They include a story, proverbs, riddles and procedural discourses. The texts are presented as follows: each segment consists of four lines. The first line is the transcription, the second presents the underlying forms of the surface forms in line one, line three provides the interlinear gloss of each of the underlying forms in line two and line four gives the free translation in English.

13.1   Kásãlã agbaní ekusí ní y'eyiadzì 'Tortoise marries the king's daughter'

Nelson Agbley (Age 66), a native of Tafi Mador told this story on the 2nd of January, 2008 at Tafi Mador.

There was a king who had a very beautiful daughter. She wouldn't agree to marry anybody although swarms of suitors came after her hand in marriage. Finally, the king decides that all the suitors should go up the hill on an appointed day at dawn at a given signal. The first to arrive with a bundle of thatch will be the winner of the princess' hand. So by a very clever strategy, tortoise managed to win the princess' hand. They got married and lived happily until tortoise became too greedy and wanted to play another trick which landed him in trouble. The trick he played was that, first of all, he thought he was not getting enough food from his wife's kitchen so he lied to his wife that he had a lot of guests to entertain with food. The woman prepared a lot of food for the next morning. In the night, when they were all asleep tortoise got up stealthily and crept into the kitchen. He climbed the pot and started eating the food and as he was eating he fell into the pot. He ate and ate and all attempts he made to get out of the pot proved futile. So, he couldn't get out of the pot. The next morning, when the woman woke up and the guests arrived, she tried to dish out some of the food but the ladle was not going into the food. Any time she puts in a ladle, it gets broken. It was then suggested that the pot should be put on fire, so people helped the woman to put it on fire. Tortoise was so filled with food that he was fast asleep in the pot so when the bottom of the pot was becoming hot he did not know it. He shouted when the heat started reaching him. He started moving in the pot so when they were taking the pot quickly off the fire it fell and broke. There tortoise was, disgraced. His trick was discovered so when you look at tortoise's back, you will see patches where the ladle hit. That was how he came by those marks on his shell.

01.   Ɔdzɪdzí mɔ oo
        ɔ-dzɪdzí   mɔ   oo
        CM-story   ADD   UFP
        'Story story' (Lit.: 'A tale to you.')

02.   ɔdzɪdzí pá
ɔ-dzɪdzí   pá
CM-story   good
'Truly so' (Lit.: 'A good tale')

03.   Mí zǎ e,
mí   za   e
1SG.IND be.at:NPRES   UFP
'I was (there)'

04.   kɪlí kásālā abáza
kɪlí   ká-sālā   a-bá-za
CONJ CM-tortoise   SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
'and then tortoise happened to be there.'

05.   AUDIENCE:
          mhɱ́
          mhɱ́
          INTJ
          'mhm'

06.   baga nɪ pétéé bábáza,
ba-ga   ní   pétéé bá-bá-za
CM.PL-animal   DEF   all   SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
'All the animals were (there).'

07   AUDIENCE:
          Mhɱ̂
          Mhɱ̂
          INTJ
          'mhm'

08   Banɔ́dzyrámī pétéé bábáza.
ba-nɔ́dzyrámī   pétéé bá-bá-za
CM.PL-human.being   all   SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
'All the people were (there).'

09   AUDIENCE:
          mhɱ́[76],
          mhɱ́
          INTJ
          'mhm'

---

[76] Henceforth audience response of **mhm** will no longer be glossed.

10.   Balı pétéé báza ɔma toɖukpoím̄.
       balí   pétéé bá-za   ɔ-ma   to-ɖukpó kımı
       3PL.IND all   SM-be.at:NPRES   CM-town AM-one   inside
       'They all lived in the same town.'

11.   Baganyáága,
       ba-ga-nyáá-ba-ga
       CM.PL-animal-DISTR-CM.PL-animal
       'All animals,'

12.   banɔ́dzyrámīnyáánɔ́dzyrámī,
       ba-nɔ́dzyrámī-nyáá-ba-nɔ́dzyrámī
       CM.PL-human.being-DISTR-CM.PL-human.being
       'all human beings,'

13.   AUDIENCE: **mhm̄**

14.   kílĕ,
       kí-lĕ
       CM-wind
       'wind,'

15.   AUDIENCE: **mhm̄**

16.   kifú,
       ki-fú
       CM-fire
       'fire',

17.   AUDIENCE: **mhm̄**

18.   kídıéńdɔ̄, balı pétéé ɔma toɖukpoím̄ láza
       kí-dɔ̄-nyáá-kí-dɔ̄   balí   pétéé ɔ-ma   to-ɖukpó kımı
       CM-thing-DISTR-CM-thing   3PL.IND all   CM-town AM-one   inside
       lá-za
       3PL.DEP-be.at:NPRES
       'everything, all of them lived in the same town.'

19.   Ekusí téɖíkpó y'áaŋa balıabhā.
       e-kusí   te-ɖikpó yí   á-a-ŋa   balí   kábhā
       CM-chief AM-one   3SG.IND SM-PSTPROG-eat   3PL.IND top
       'One king was ruling over all of them.'

20   AUDIENCE: **mhm̄**

21.   Ó! Ekusí aní eyiadzī yuyunɔ́ telí áza y'áhɔɩ.
       ó   e-kusí   a-ní   e-yiadzī   yu-yunɔ́
       INTJ   CM-chief AM-PROX   CM-daughter   RED-be.beautiful
       te-lí   á-za   yí   a-hɔɩ
       AM-INDEF   SM-be.at:NPRES   3SG.IND   CM-hand
       'O! This king had a beautiful daughter.'

22.   AUDIENCE: **ɾ́hɾ̂**

23.   Adzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ́ɲ́ éyi'únɔ́ kpā tsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩ [laughter]
       a-dzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ́   ní   é-yi   bú-nɔ́   kpā   tsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩtsɩ
       CM-girl   DEF   SM-resemble CM-beauty   IDEO   IDEO
       'The girl was beautiful to such an unusual degree.'

24.   Bányí ní pétéɛ́ áaséɛ́ bodo bodo bodo
       bá-nyí   ní   pétéɛ́   á-a-sá
       CM.PL-man   DEF   all   SM-PSTPROG-swarm
       yí   bodo bodo bodo
       3SG   IDEO IDEO IDEO
       'All the men were swarming around her like flies.'

25.   Y'ál'así ábagbanɩí, y'ál'así ábagbanɩí, y'al'así ábagbanɩí.
       yí   á-lílíní   a-sí   á-ba-gbanɩ   yí
       3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-say   SM-FUT-marry 3SG
       yí   á-lílíní   a-sí   á-ba-gbanɩ   yí
       3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-say   SM-FUT-marry 3SG
       yí   á-lílíní   a-sí   á-ba-gbanɩ   yí
       3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-say   SM-FUT-marry 3SG
       'That one said he will marry her, this one said he will marry her, that one said he will marry her.'

26.   Adzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ̄ nɩ tsy'égbé, étéédī ákányááká āmī, tɩ adɔ sí ní ní
       a-dzɩnúvɔ̄ɛ̄   ní   tsyí   é-gbé   é-téé-dī
       CM-girl   DEF   too   SM-refuse   3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-look
       á-kányááká   ā-mī   tɩ   a-dɔ   sí   ní   ní
       CM-any   CM-face PURP 3SG.DEP-say   COMP   TOP   TOP
       'The girl too refused, she is not looking at any in the face that'

27.   y'âní yí y'ádɩmɩ akɔ́ sí y'ábazanɔ.
       yí   a-ní   yí   yí   á-dɩmí   a-kɔ́   sí
       3SG.IND AM-PROX   3SG.IND 3SG.IND SM-agree SM-give COMP
       yí   á-ba-zanɔ
       3SG.IND SM-FUT-marry
       'it is this one (or that one) she wishes to marry.'

28. Ákan edí pópóópó sí ókě, εεε ényí 'ídɔ̄nɔ̂n gı ábabhıtí.

á-kā	ní	e-di	pópóópó	sí	ókě
CM-father	DEF	SM-look	IDEO.very.much	COMP	okay

εεε	é-nyí	kí-dɔ̄	nɔ̂	ní
INTJ	3SG.DEP-know	CM-thing	wh.ever	DEF

gı	á-ba-bhıtí
REL	3SG.DEP-FUT-do

'The father considered the situation for a long time and said, okay, he knows what to do.'

29. Ɔwúlago toɖukpó kō, kılí y'akɔ́ lebhó

ɔ-wúlago	to-ɖukpó	ko	kılí	yí	a-kɔ́	le-bhó
CM-evening	AM-one	just	CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-let	3PL.DEP-beat

'Then one evening, he let them beat (the gong gong[77]),'

30. bébhó ɔ́gá gógóŋ gógóŋ gógóŋ gógóŋ, eeee ká nonú é lō.

bé-bhó	ɔ́-gá	gógóŋ	gógóŋ	gógóŋ	gógɔóŋ
3PL-beat	CM-gong	IDEO.sound	IDEO.sound	IDEO.sound	IDEO.sound

eeee	ká	no-nú	é	lō
INTJ	then	2PL.DEP-hear	UFP	ADD

'they beat a gong, gogong, gogong, gogong, gogong. This is for your information.'

31. Ekusín ásí ítsíré 'ŭnɔ̄́, w'ányí, w'adzī, w'anúvɔ̄, w'ayı̃́sɔ̄, w'iebité,

e-kusí	ní	á-sí	í-tsiré	w̃ŭnɔ̄́	wɔ́	á-nyí
CM-king	DEF	SM-say	1SG.DEP-tell	2PL	2SG.IND	CM-man

wɔ́	a-dzı	wɔ́	a-núvɔ̄	wɔ́	a-yı̃́sɔ̄
2SG.IND	CM-woman	2SG.IND	CM-child	2SG.IND	CM-young.man

wɔ́	ke-bité
2SG.IND	young.woman

'The king said I should tell you that you, a man; you, a woman; you, a child; you, a young man; you, a young woman,'

32. kívū 'ívʋlɔ́, kelí g'ébeyī aza ko anɔ́nyáánɔ́ abâ abrɔ́nímī ooo,

kí-vū	kí-vʋlɔ́	ke-lí	gı	ké-be-yī
CM-tomorrow	CM-morning	CM-day	REL	SM-FUT-show.up

ka-za	ko	a-nɔ́-nyáá-a-nɔ́	a-bá
3SG-be.at:NPRES	just	CM-person-DISTR-CM-person	SM-come

a-brɔ́	ní	kımı	ooo
CM-market.square	DEF	inside	UFP

'early tomorrow morning, immediately the day breaks everybody should come to the marketsquare,'

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[77] A bell that is used by the town crier in making announcements.

33.   "kibúí tili 'lɪ m'áhɔɪ", kibúí tili lɪ y'áhɔɪ t'etsiré 'ʊ́nɔ̃́ oooooo.
      ki-búí   ti-lí   kɪ-lɪ   mí   a-hɔɪ   ki-búí
      CM-word AM-INDEF SM-be.at 1SG.IND CM-hand CM-word
      ti-lí   kɪ-lɪ   yí   a-hɔɪ   tɪ   e-tsiré
      AM-INDEF   SM-be.at 3SG.IND CM-hand COMP   3SG.DEF-tell
      w̃ʊ̃nɔ̃́   oooooo
      2PL   UFP
      '"I have something", he has something to tell you oooo.'

34.   AUDIENCE: **mhɩ́ɩ́**

35.   gógóŋ́ gógóŋ́
      gógóŋ́   gógóŋ́
      sound.IDEO   sound.IDEO
      'gogong, gogong'
      (End of message)

36.   O, ɔmanímī otu ozi dī
      o   ɔ-ma   ní   kɪmɪ   o-tu   o-zi   dí
      INTJ CM-village   DEF   inside SM-??   CM-uproar   EXP
      'Oh! there was a great stir in the town!'

37.   Kelíŋ́ ábázá, kelíŋ́ ázá ko, banɔ̃n pétéé bébéyī abrɔ́níɩ̃́.
      ke-lí   ní   á-bá-zá   ke-lí   ní
      CM-day   DEF   SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES   CM-day   DEF
      á-zá   ko   ba-nɔ̃   ní   pétéé
      SM-be.at:NPRES   just   CM.PL-person   DEF   all
      bé-bé-yī   a-brɔ́   ní   kɪmɪ
      3PL-VENT-show.up   CM-market.square   DEF   in
      'The day finally broke. Just as it was day, all the people showed up at the
      marketplace.'

38.   Bébéyī kɪtsáníɩ̃́.
      bé-bé-yī   kɪ-tsání   ní   kɪmɪ
      3PL-VENT-show.up   CM-market.square   DEF   in
      'They showed up at the marketplace.'

39.   AUDIENCE: **mhɩ́ɩ́**

40.   Banɔ̃n eyúkū 'klí kpeŋ kpeŋ kpeŋ kpeŋ.
      ba-nɔ̃   ní   be-yúkū   ɪ-klí   kpeŋ   kpeŋ   kpeŋ   kpeŋ
      CM.PL-person   DEF   SM-be.full   CM-there   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO   IDEO
      'The people filled there entirely.'

41.   Kɩlí ekusíń ábá,
       kɩlí   e-kusí   ní   á-bá
       CONJ CM-king DEF   SM-come
       'Then the king came.'

42.   AUDIENCE: **mhḿ**

43.   yí nɩ y'eyiadzīń, yí nɩ y'edziniń,
       yí   nɩ   yí   e-yiadzī̄
       3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-daughter
       ní   yí   nɩ   yí   e-dzini   ní
       DEF   3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-wife   DEF
       'He and his daughter, he and his wife,'

44.   y'eyianyálí, banɔ̄n pétéé nɩ ɛ́ɛ banɔ̄ shishě. Bábáziesí
       yí   e-yianyí-alí   ba-nɔ̄   ní   pétéé
       3SG.IND CM-son-PL   CM.PL-person   DEF   all
       nɩ   ɛ́ɛ   ba-nɔ̄   shi-she   bá-bá-za   ke.sí
       COM INTJ CM.PL-person   RED-grow   3PL-VENT-sit   down
       'his sons, all the people and his elders. They took their seats'

45.   kɩlí ekusíń ásí aa tsyɩámī̄ alí klí lo?
       kɩlí   e-kusí   ní   a-sí   aa   tsyɩámī̄   a-lí
       CONJ CM-king DEF   SM-say INTJ spokesperson   SM-be.at
       ɩ-klí   lo
       CM-there ADD
       'and then the king said, ah, is the chief's spokesman there?'

46.   Tsyɩámī̄ alí.
       tsyɩámī̄   a-lí
       spokesperson   SM-be.at
       'Yes, the chief's spokesman is there.'

47.   Aa, tsyɩám' ebenú kɩbanánī̄ ɔman pétéé sɩ benú,
       aa   tsyɩámī̄   e-be-nú   kɩ-ba-nánī̄   ɔ-ma   ní
       INTJ spokesperson   SM-FUT-hear   3SG-FUT-reach CM-town DEF
       pétéé sí   be-nú
       all   COMP   3PL-hear
       'The chief's spokesman will hear and it will reach the entire town that they
       should hear'

48.   TSYɩAMÍ̄: Akɔ́ 'ɛ́líbá
                 a-kɔ́   kɩ́lí   bá
                 3SG-let   3SG   come
                 'He should let it come.'

49.   s'áa ɛɛ y'eyiadzī ní yí so gɪ ééklǔ álí,
       sí   **aa**   **ɛɛ**   **yí**   **e-yiadzī̀**   **ní**   **yí**   **so**
       COMP   INTJ   INTJ   3SG.IND CM-daughter DEF   3SG.IND so
       gɪ   **é-é-klǔ**   **balí**
       REL   3SG-PRSPROG-call   3PL
       'that er, his daughter, because of whom he is calling them,'

50.   Hɪ̃ hɪ̃ hɪ́ hɪ́
       hɪ̃   **hɪ̃**   **hɪ́**   **hɪ́**
       INTJ   INTJ   INTJ   INTJ
       [Murmurs from the crowd]

51.   ɛ̃̆ɛ̂ y'eyiadzī ní
       ɛ̃̆ɛ̂   **yí**   **e-yiadzī̀**   **ní**
       INTJ   3SG.IND CM-daughter DEF
       'Oh! His daughter'

52.   ahã, otsɔ́lī ábakɔ yɪ anyí e ló, ábakɔ́ yɪ anyí e ló, ábakɔ yɪ anyí e ló.
       ahã   **otsɔ́lī** **á-ba-kɔ́**   **yí**   **á-nyí**   **e**   **ló**
       INTJ   now   3SG-FUT-give   3SG   CM-man   UFP   ADD
       á-ba-kɔ́   **yí**   **á-nyí**   **e**   **ló**
       3SG-FUT-give   3SG   CM-man   UFP   ADD
       á-ba-kɔ́   **yí**   **á-nyí**   **e**   **ló**
       3SG-FUT-give   3SG   CM-man   UFP   ADD
       'Aha, finally, he is about to give her a husband now.'

53.   Ányínyáányí édí shú,
       á-nyí-nyáá-ányí   **é-dí**   **shú**
       CM-man-DISTR-CM-man SM-look   REFL
       'Every man looked at himself,'

54.   Ao Máwú éyī tɪ kidzi mí lō,
       ao   **Máwú é-yī**   **tɪ**   **ki-dzi**   **mí**   **lō**
       INTJ   God   SM-show.up   COMP   3SG-COP.NPRES   1SG   ADD
       'Oh! May it please God that it be me,'

55.   Máwú éyī tɪ edzi mí lō,
       Máwú é-yī   **tɪ**   **e-dzi**   **mí**   **lō**
       God   SM-show.up   COMP   3SG-COP.NPRES   1SG   ADD
       'May it please God that it be me,'

56.   Máwú éyī tɪ edzi mí lō.
       Máwú é-yī   **tɪ**   **e-ʤi**   **mí**   **lō**
       God   SM-show.up   COMP   3SG-COP.NPRES   1SG   ADD
       'May it please God that it be me.'

57.   Balɪ pétéé bááhwā hlohlohlohlo, mɱ́m.
      balɪ́   **pétéé**   **bá-á-hwā**   **hlohlohlohlo**   **mɱ́m**
      3PL.IND all   SM-PRSPROG-move   IDEO   INTJ
      'They are all moving within themselves *hlohlohlohlo*. [Pause filler]'

58.   Obo ɔlī, bábakɔ́ adzīn anyí oo.
      o-bo   **ɔlī**   **bá-ba-kɔ́**   **a-dzɪ̀**   **ní**   **a-nyí**   **oo**
      CM-today 3SG.IND 3PL-FUT-give   CM-woman   DEF   CM-man   UFP
      'As for today, this woman will be given a husband.'

59.   Bábakɔ́ adzīnúvɔ̄ēn anyí oo.
      bá-ba-kɔ́   **a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ē**   **ní**   **a-nyí**   **oo**
      3PL-FUT-give   CM-girl   DEF   CM-man   UFP
      'This girl will be given a husband,'

60.   Bábakɔ́ adz'iebitéáń anyí oo.
      bá-ba-kɔ́   **a-dzɪ̀**   **ke-bité**   **a-ní**   **a-nyí**
      3PL-FUT-give   CM-woman   CM-young.woman   AM-PROX   CM-man
      oo
      UFP
      'This woman, young woman will be given a husband.'

61   AUDIENCE: **mhɱ́**

62.   Balɪ pétéé báta atɔ́ béénū.
      balɪ́   **pétéé**   **bá-ta**   **ba-tɔ́**   **bé-é-nū**
      3PL.IND all   SM-be.fixed   CM.PL-ear   SM-PRSPROG-hear
      'All of them are listening, they are all ears.'

63.   Ɛhɛ̄́, ekusín ásí ãã̄́, w̃ŭnɔ̄ pétéé nɔɔ́mɔ m'eyiadzī,
      ɛhɛ̄́   **e-kusí**   **ní**   **á-sí**   **ãã̄́**   **w̃ŭnɔ̄́**   **pétéé**
      INTJ CM-king   DEF   SM-say   INTJ 2PL.IND all
      nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   **mí**   **e-yiadzɪ̀**
      SM-PRSPROG-see   1SG.IND CM-daughter
      'Oh! The chief said "well, you all see my daughter,'

64.   anʊ́tánɔ̄ áábā.
      a-nɔ̄-nyáá-a-nɔ̄   **á-á-bā**
      CM-person-DISTR-CM-person   SM-PRSPROG-come
      'everybody has been coming.'

65.   Y'ál'áábā, y'ál'áábā, y'ál'áábā
      yí   **á-lílíní**   **á-á-bā**
      3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-PRSPROG-come

yí   á-lílíní   á-á-bā
3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-PRSPROG-come
yí   á-lílíní   á-á-bā
3SG.IND AM-DIST   SM-PRSPROG-come
'This one is coming, that one is coming, this one is coming'

66.   Ítínyí ănɔ̌n gɩ íbaákɔ m'eyiadzīn ííkɔ kɔ́ klǐso nonú a?
      í-tí-nyí   ă-nɔ̌   ní   gɩ   í-ba-yíkɔ
      1SG-NEG1-know CM-wh.ever   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-FUT-take
      mí   e-yiadzῑ   ní   í-yíkɔ   kɔ́   klǐso   no-nú   a
      1SG.IND CM-daughter   DEF   1SG-take give   so   2PL-hear UFP
      'I do not know who I should give my daughter to, therefore, do you hear?'

67.   Ɛɛ, íbakɔ́ nɔ́ kídɔ̄ trikpó tɩ nɔbhɩtī.
      ɛɛ   í-ba-kɔ́   wũnɔ́ kí-dɔ̄   tri-kpó   tɩ   nɔ-bhɩtī
      INTJ 1SG-FUT-give 2PL   CM-thing AM-one   COMP   2PL.DEP-do
      'Er, I will give you one assignment to do.'"

68.   Kɩlí y'áyíkɔ y'áhúdzya ní kesukpóń kɩlí y'ákɔ́ átsya odi,
      kɩlí   yí   á-yíkɔ   yí   a-húdzyă   ní   ke-sukpó
      then 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG.IND CM-horsetail DEF   CM-handle
      ní   kɩlí   yí   á-yíkɔ   á-tsya   o-di
      DEF   CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take SM-draw CM-line
      'Then he took the handle of his horsetail and drew a line,'

69.   átsya odi gridididi aflánɔ̄,
      á-tsya   o-di   gridididi   a-flá-nɔ̄
      3SG-draw CM-line   round.IDEO SM-pass-COM
      'he drew a circle,'

70.   AUDIENCE: **mhɩ́n**

71.   kɩlí así ní a "nɔɔ́mɔ odi ɔní gɩ ítsya gridididi flánɔ̄ ní dza?"
      kɩlí   a-sí   ní   a   nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   o-di
      CONJ 3SG-say TOP   CFM 2PL.DEP-PRSPROG-see   CM-line
      ɔ-ní   gɩ   í-tsya   gridididi   flá-nɔ̄
      AM-PROX   REL   1SG.DEP-draw round.IDEO pass-COM
      ní   dza
      TOP   UFP
      'and he spoke as follows: "do you see this circle that I have drawn?"'

72.   AUDIENCE: **mhɩ́n**

73.   Basí "xee".

ba-sí   xee
3PL-say   yes
'They said they do.'

74.   "Aa, sí nɔɔ́mɔ ɔ́lishí tɪbhan?"
       aa   sí   nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   ɔlí   kishí   tɪ-bha   ní
       INTJ   QP   2PL-PRSPROG-see   3SG.IND   midst   AM-two   DEF
       "'Ah! Do you see the centre of it?'"

75.   Basí "xee".
       ba-sí   xee
       3PL-say   yes
       'They said "yes".'

76.   "Nɔɔ́mɔ kɪtʊkpě ní gɪ líw̄ĩ nî ɪkĩ ní dza?"
       nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   kɪ-tʊkpě   ní   gɪ   lí-w̄ĩ
       2PL-PRSPROG-see   CM-hill   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-appear
       ní   í-kĩ   ní   dza
       LOC   CM-here   TOP   UFP
       "'You see the hill which appears from here, don't you?'"

77.   Basí xee.
       ba-sí   xee
       3PL-say   yes
       'They said "we do".'

78.   "Ãã, sí nɔɔ́mɔ̄ ekle ní g'etsirí kɪtʊkpěníábhāń?"
       ãã   sí   nɔ-ɔ́-mɔ   e-kle   ní
       INTJ   QP   2PL-PRSPROG-see   CM-thatch   DEF
       gɪ   e-tsirí   kɪ-tʊkpě   ní   kábhā ní
       REL   3SG.DEP-be.on   CM-hillock DEF   top   TOP
       "'Ah! You see the thatch that is on the hillock, don't you?'"

79.   Basí "xee".
       ba-sí   xee
       3PL-say   yes
       'They said "yes".'

80.   "Aa, kívū 'ívʊlɔ̄ olizatɔ̄ mɔ́ɔnɪ, olizatɔ tswyí,
       aa   kí-vū   kí-vʊlɔ̄   o-lizatɔ̄   mɔ́ɔnɪ[78]   olizatɔ   tswyí
       INTJ   CM-tomorrow   CM-morning   CM-dawn   very.early   CM-dawn   IDEO

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[78] The term **mɔ́ɔni** is borrowed from English 'morning' but it is used in Tafi to mean 'very early'.

'"Ah! Tomorrow morning at early dawn, very early at dawn,'

81.   ányínyáányí gɩ anyápɩ́ ekus'edzeyíń ásí tɩ agbanɔ ko ní a
       á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí   **gɩ**   **a-nyá-pɩ́**
       CM-man-DISTR-CM-man   REL   3SG.DEP-CERT-want
       e-kusí   **e-dzeyí**   **ní**   **a-sí**   **tɩ**
       CM-king   CM-female.child   DEF   3SG-COMP   COMP
       a-gbánɔ̄   **ko**   **ní**   **a**
       3SG.DEP-marry   just   TOP   CFM
       'whichever man desires the princess to marry'

82.   alɔ́ nɩ y'ɩapamí tɩ avɩ butúnádáním̄,
       a-lɔ́   **nɩ**   **yí**   **ká-pamí**   **tɩ**   **a-vɩ**
       3SG-get.up   COM   3SG.IND   CM-cutlass   PURP   3SG.DEP-go
       bu-tú   **ní**   **a-da**   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**
       CM-mountain   DEF   top.of.head   DEF   in
       'should get up with his cutlass and go to the top of the mountain,'

83.   AUDIENCE: **mhm̄**

84.   kɩtʋkpěníábhā badakp'ekle."
       kɩ-tʋkpě   **ní**   **kábhā**   **ba-da-kpa**   **e-kle**
       CM-hill   DEF   top   VENT-ITIVE-uproot   CM-thatch
       'the hill top to go and cut thatch.'"

85.   "Anɔ́nyáánɔ̄ adakp'ekle tɩ anya y'óklebɔ́ tɩ babá."
       a-nɔ̄-nyáá-a-nɔ̄   **a-da-kpa**   **e-kle**   **tɩ**
       CM-person-DISTR-CM-person   SM-ITIVE-uproot   CM-thatch   PURP
       á-nyá   **yí**   **o-klebhɔ́**   **tɩ**   **ba-bá**
       3SG.DEP-tie   3SG.IND   CM-bundle.of.thatch   PURP   3PL-come
       'Each person should go and cut thatch and tie into a bundle and come.'

86.   Ănɔ̄ ní g'ebedzi anɔ̄ tʋtɔpu tʋtɔpu tʋtɔpu gɩ abayíkɔ y'oklebhɔ́ń ébedzú
       ă-nɔ̄   **ní**   **gɩ**   **e-be-dzi**   **a-nɔ̄**   **tʋtɔpu**
       CM-wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-become   CM-person   first
       tʋtɔpu tʋtɔpu   **gɩ**   **a-ba-yíkɔ**   **yí**   **o-klebhɔ́**
       first   first   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-take   3SG.IND   CM-bundle.of.thatch
       ní   **é-be-dzú**
       DEF   3SG-FUT-put.down
       'The one who will be the very first person who will deposit his bundle of
       thatch'

87.   odí ní gɩ atsya gridị̄dị̄dị̄ flánɔ̄ ní ɔlishí tɩbha ní a y'ábagbanɩ adzɩnúvɔ̄ ní é
       oo.
       o-dí   **ní**   **gɩ**   **a-tsya**

CM-line   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-draw
gridịdịdị   flá-nɔ̃   ní   ɔlí   kishí   tɪ-bha
round.IDEO   pass-COM   LOC   3SG.IND   midst   AM-two
ní   a   yí   a-ba-gbanɪ   a-dzɪnúvɔ ní   é   oo
DEF   CFM   3SG.IND   SM-FUT-marry   CM-girl   DEF   UFP   UFP
'in the centre of the circle, HE will marry the girl.'

88.   Héhehéhe, ozi ɔtɔ̃.
      héhehéhe   o-zi   ɔ-tɔ̃
      IDEO   CM-uproar   SM-??
      'An uproar ensued.'

89.   Banyɪ pétéé, akanyááká kikikiki akanyááká és'ávʊpém̃, áv'atɪyɔ 'íápamí.
      bá-nyí   pétéé a-kanyááká   kikikiki   a-kanyááká   é-sí
      CM.PL-man   all   CM-every   IDEO.run   CM-every   SM-run
      á-vɪ   bʊ-pá   kɪmɪ   á-vɪ   á-tɪ-yɔ   ká-pamí
      SM-go   CM-house   in   SM-go   SM-DESID-sharpen   CM-cutlass
      'All the men, every one of them run away home to sharpen each his
      cutlass.'

90.   Kásã̄lã̄ tsyí évu alɔ́,
      ká-sã̄lã̄   tsyí   é-vu   a-lɔ́
      CM-tortoise   too   SM-hold   SM-get.up
      'Tortoise too got himself up (with some zeal),'

91.   hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú.
      hulu kpúlú   hulu kpúlú
      IDEO.manner.of.walking   IDEO.manner.of.walking
      'walking clumsily.'

92.   Kásã̄lã̄ tsyí édzí 'ígbá.
      ká-sã̄lã̄   tsyí   é-dzí   kɪ-gbá
      CM-tortoise   too   SM-become   CM-bachelor
      'Tortoise too is unmarried.'

93.   Yɪ tsyí áápí ádzíń ás'agbanɔ.
      yí   tsyí   á-á-pí   a-dzì̄   ní   a-sí
      3SG.IND   too   SM-PRSPROG-want   CM-woman   DEF   SM-COMP
      a-gbanɔ
      3SG.DEP-marry
      'He, too, desires to marry the princess.'

94.   Akámɔ adzì̄.
      a-ká-mɔ   a-dzì̄
      3SG-NEG.PERF-see   CM-woman

'He has not yet gotten a wife.'

95.   Yı tsyí ekus'edzeyí ní ní ɛɛ ekus'eyiadz' 'iebitéń, kééku yı tsyí 'úlí sí tı
       agbanɔ.

yı́	tsyı́	e-kusı́	e-dzeyı́	nı́	nı́	ɛɛ	e-kusı́
3SG.IND	too	CM-king	CM-daughter	DEF	TOP	INTJ	CM-king

e-yiadzı	ke-bité	nı́	ké-é-ku[79]	yı́
CM-daughter	CM-young.woman	DEF	SM-PRSPROG-V	3SG.IND

tsyı́	bu-lı́	sı́	tı	a-gbanɔ
too	CM-N	COMP	COMP	3SG.DEP-marry

'He too is desirous of marrying the princess.'

96.   Ɛhɛ́, kásãlã wɔ tsy'ɔ́bɔgban' ádz'ǎní dza?

ɛhɛ́	ká-sãlã	wɔ́	tsyı́	ɔ́-bɔ-gbanɔ	a-dzı̄
INTJ	CM-tortoise	2SG.IND	too	2SG-FUT-marry	CM-woman

a-nı́	dza
AM-PROX	UFP

'So, tortoise do you also want to marry this woman?'

97.   Hoð, kɔ̃ɔ

hoð	kɔ̃ɔ
INTJ	INTJ

'Oh! why not?'

98.   Fákɔ́ wɔ tsy'ɔ́ɔvı?

fákɔ́	wɔ́	tsyı́	ɔ́-ɔ́-vı
where	2SG.IND	too	2SG-PRSPROG-go

'Where are you too going?'

99.   Kɔ̃ɔ, flá n'ıklí tı banɔ́dzyrámī abaflá.

kɔ̃ɔ	flá	nı́	ı-klı́	tı	ba-nɔ́dzyrámī
INTJ	pass	LOC	CM-there	COMP	CM.PL-human.being

bá-ba-flá
SM-VENT-pass

'Give way for human beings to pass.'

100.   Anɔ́nyáánɔ̃ és'áflá, kahlɔ̃ɛ́ és'áflá, kehuí és'áflá, banɔ́dzyrámī és'áflá.

a-nɔ̃-nyáá-a-nɔ̃	é-sı́	á-flá
CM-person-DISTR-CM-person	SM-run	SM-pass

ka-hlɔ̃ɛ́	é-sı́	á-flá	ke-huí	é-sı́	á-flá
CM-deer	SM-run	SM-pass	CM-bog	SM-run	SM-pass

ba-nɔ́dzyrámī	é-sı́	á-flá

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[79] The phrase **kú X bulí** means 'to lust, feel, or have appetite (for something)'.

CM.PL-human.being   SM-run   SM-pass

'Everyone ran past, the deer ran past, the bog ran past, human beings ran past.'

101.   Ho, kásālā

Ho   ká-sālā

INTJ   CM-tortoise

'Oh! Tortoise …'

102.   hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú,

hulu kpúlú   hulu kpúlú

IDEO.manner.of.walking   IDEO.manner.of.walking

hulu kpúlú

IDEO.manner.of.walking

'walking clumsily,'

103.   yι tsy'áv'ádásókí y'ásandzyá.

yí   tsyí   ávι   á-dá-sókī   yí   a-sandzyá

3SG.IND too   SM-go   SM-ITIVE-bring.down 3SG.IND CM-matchete

'he too went and brought down his matchete.'

104.   Adáza kιyɔ shú, áyɔ 'ιalí shíshíshíshíshíshí.

a-dá-za   kι-yɔ́   shú   á-yɔ   kalí

3SG-ITIVE-sit CM-whetstone surface 3SG-sharpen 3SG

shíshíshíshíshíshí

IDEO.sharp

'He went and sat by a whetstone, he whetted it very sharp.'

105.   Áyɔ 'ιalí, 'ιal'aza'ŋá sí ní élē ónúgι kιzɔ báfla tsyí tsyréŋkéŋ

á-yɔ́   kalí   kalí   ka-za   ɔ-ŋá

3SG-sharpen 3SG   3SG.IND SM-be.at:NPRES   CM-sharpness

sí   ní   élē   ónú.gι   kι-zɔ   bá-flă   tsyí

COMP TOP CFM COND   CM-housefly VENT-pass too

tsyréŋkéŋ

IDEO

'He whetted it so sharp that if a housefly as much as passed near the cutlass, it is cut into two.'

106.   Epúlī ábáflă tsyréŋkéŋ, ŏ épī ábáfla tsyí tsyreŋkeŋ.

e-púlī   á-bá-flă   tsyréŋkéŋ

CM-yellow.ant SM-VENT-pass IDEO

ŏ   é-pī   á-bá-flă   tsyí   tsyréŋkéŋ

INTJ CM-mosquito SM-VENT-pass too   IDEO

'When a yellow ant is walking past, it is cut into two. Oh! When a mosquito is passing by it is cut into two.'

107.   Épī ní amɛ 'ɛlím̃ akpí bʊpɪ tʊbha, kɪmá tilí.

é-pī	ní	ka-má	kɪlí	kɪmɪ	a-kpí
CM-mosquito	DEF	3SG-divide	3SG	in	SM-put.in

bʊpɪ	tʊ-bha	kɪ-má	ti-lí
CM.PL-part	AM-two	CM-divide	AM-INDEF

'As for the mosquito, it cuts it into two halves at once.'

108.   Ɔtsɔ́lɪ̄, kel' ebélē kásālā adáw̃ʊ̃sɔ́ 'íésí.

ɔtsɔ́lɪ̄	ke-lí	ke-bélē[80]	ká-sālā	a-dá-w̃ʊ̃sɔ́	ke.sí
now	CM-day	SM-finish	CM-tortoise	SM-ITIVE-lie	down

'Now, night fell, tortoise went to lie down.'

109.   Kásālā ááza 'lílá sí ô ás'adákp' ekle ní oo átííkɔ ebédzu ɪklí.

ká-sālā	á-á-za	bʊ-lílá	a-sí
CM-tortoise	SM-PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES	CM-dream	SM-COMP

ô	a-sí	a-dá-kpa	e-kle	ní
INTJ	SM-COMP	3SG.DEP-ITIVE-uproot	CM-thatch	DEF

oo	á-tí-yíkɔ	e-bé-dzu	ɪ-klí
INTJ	3SG-PERF-take	SM-VENT-put.down	CM-there

'Tortoise is dreaming that, oh, that he has gone to cut the thatch, oh, that he has already deposited his thatch.'

110.   Ô! kivu ní gɪ lííyī,

ô	ki-vu	ní	gɪ	lí-í-yī
INTJ	CM-drum	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-sound

'Oh! The drum that is sounding,'

111.   maboo kivu ní gɪ líí-yī béébho así tɪ kɪnyím' alí

maboo	ki-vu	ní	gɪ	lí-í-yī
unknowingly	CM-drum	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-sound

bé-é-bho	ba-sí	tɪ	kɪ-nyímɪ	balí
3PL-PRSPROG-beat	SM-COMP	COMP	3SG-wake.up	3PL

'rather it is the drum that is being beaten to wake them up'

112.   tɪ baavɪ, y'ânɪ́, kɪlí y'éénū.

tɪ	bá-á-vɪ	yí	a-ní
PURP	3PL-PRSPROG-go	3SG.IND	AM-PROX

kɪlí	yí	é-é-nū
3SG.IND	3SG.IND	SM-PRSPROG-hear

'to go there that is the one he is hearing.'

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[80] **bélē** 'finish' is a borrowing from Nyagbo and this is the only context where is it is used. The Tafi equivalent is **békē**.

113.   Akal'áádɔ trǎ.
       a-ka-lí   **á-á-dɔ**   **tɪ-rá**
       3SG-PERS-be.at   3SG-PRSPROG-contact   CM-sleep
       'He is still sleeping.'

114.   Tɪ kásālā abálɔ́ ní áo wɔ́ gɪ ɔtɔ́ɔ́ga tsyí bátíshĩ́ álɔé.
       tɪ   **ká-sālā**   **a-bá-lɔ́**   **ní**   **áo**   **wɔ́**   **gɪ**
       COMP   CM-tortoise   SM-VENT-get.up   TOP   INTJ   2SG.IND   REL

       ɔ-tɔ́ɔ́-ga   **tsyí**   **bá-tí-shĩ**
       2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk   too   3PL-PERF-leave

       bá-lɔ   **yí**
       3PL-leave.behind   3SG
       'By the time he woke up, oh, you who cannot even walk, they had already
       left him behind.'

115.   Gaké yɪ tsy' évu alɔ́ yɪ tsyí áákɔ́ yí okotokú
       gaké   **yí**   **tsyí**   **é-vu**   **a-lɔ́**
       but   3SG.IND   too   SM-hold   SM-get.up
       yí   **tsyí**   **á-yɪkɔ́**   **yí**   **o-kotokú**
       3SG.IND   too   SM-take   3SG.IND   CM-sack
       'But he also got up and took his bag'

116.   kɪlí y'abaká 'sí ahã kídɔ̄ tili lɪ y'áhɔɪ.
       kɪlí   **yí**   **a-baká**   **a-sí**   **ahã**   **kí-dɔ**
       CONJ   3SG.IND   SM-remember   SM-COMP   INTJ   CM-thing
       ti-lí   **lí**   **yí**   **a-hɔɪ**
       AM-INDEF   be.at   3SG.IND   CM-hand
       'and he remembered that, ah, he had got something.'

117.   Kɪlí ásɔ́kī y'ívu, kivukpuí bhulíyī
       kɪlí   **á-sɔ́kī**   **yí**   **ki-vu**   **ki-vukpuí**   **bhulíyī**
       CONJ   3SG-bring.down   3SG.IND   CM-drum   CM-drum   small
       'He then brought down his drum, a little drum'

118.   kɪlí y'ásɔ́kī yî kizhuě kɪlí áákɔ́ 'kpí okotokúním̄, áákɔ́ 'kpí ɔkpɪtɪním̄
       kɪlí   **yí**   **á-sɔ́kī**   **yí**   **ki-zhuě**   **kɪlí**   **á-yíkɔ**
       CONJ   3SG.IND   SM-bring.down   3SG.IND   CM-flute   CONJ   SM-take
       á-kpí   **o-kotokú**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**   **á-yíkɔ**   **á-kpí**   **ɔ-kpɪtɪ**
       SM-put.in   CM-sack   DEF   inside   SM-take   SM-put.in   CM-bag
       ní   **kɪmɪ**
       DEF   inside
       'and he also brought down his flute and he put them into the bag'

119.   kılí áyíkɔ 'tá ɔw̃ã.
    kılí   **yí**   **á-yíkɔ**   **a-tá**   **ɔ-w̃ã**
    CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take   3SG-be.fixed   CM-side
    'and he hang it on his side.'

120.   Kılí ááko 'tá ɔŋwã ko, kılí yı tsyí hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú hulu kpúlú.
    kılí   **yí**   **á-yíkɔ**   **a-tá**   **ɔ-w̃ã**   **ko**
    CONJ 3SG.IND SM-take   3SG-be.fixed   CM-side   just
    kılí   **yí**   **tsyí**   **hulu kpúlú**
    CONJ 3SG.IND too   IDEO.manner.of.walking
    hulu kpúlú   **hulu kpúlú**
    IDEO.manner.of.walking   IDEO.manner.of.walking
    'Just as he hung it on his side, he too, then walks off clumsily.'

121.   G'enyékú kıtʊkpĕníésí g'eten' uwu ko
    gı   **e-nyé-kú**   **kı-tʊkpĕ**   **ní**   **ke.sí**
    REL   3SG.DEP-CERT-reach   CM-hill   DEF   under
    gı   **e-ténɔ̄**   **bu-wu**   **ko**
    REL   3SG.DEP-start   CM-climb   just
    'Just as he arrived at the foot of the hill and started climbing,'

122.   ɔmɔ bal' ɔkɔ́ ání, gı bagı beputɔ́n!
    ɔ-mɔ   **balí**   **ɔ.kɔ́**   **a-ní**   **gı**   **ba-gı**   **be-putɔ**   **ní**
    2SG-see   3PL   place   CM-people   REL   3PL-REL   SM-lead   TOP
    'see the people of his village, those who had left earlier!'

123.   Oo! bátínyá bal' iklebhɔ́ bétízhí áábā.
    oo   **bá-tí-nyá**   **balí**   **i-klebhɔ́**
    INTJ   3PL-PERF-tie   3PL.IND   CM.PL-bundle.of.thatch
    bé-tí-zhí   **bá-á-bā**
    3PL-PERF-descend   SM-PRSPROG-come
    'Oh! they had already tied their bundles of thatch, they had started
    descending.'

124.   Ô! kibúí d̩úwē nîn dza?
    ô   **ki-búí**   **d̩úwē**   **nú**   **ı-ní**   **dza**
    INTJ   CM-matter   which   COP   AM-PROX   UFP
    'Oh! What is this?'

125.   Ɛ́ɛ, kásãlã y'ahʊ̄m áásı s'adzã.
    ɛ́ɛ   **ká-sãlã**   **yí**   **á-w̃ɔ̃hu**   **kımı**   **á-á-sí**
    INTJ   CM-tortoise   3SG.IND   CM.PL-eye   in   SM-PRSPROG-say
    sí   **a-dzã**
    COMP   3PL.DEP-become.red
    'Tortoise is becoming desperate.'

126. Bábááflǎ, betel'ábáfléɛ́, betel'ábáfléɛ́, betel'ábáfléɛ́.
bá-bá-á-flǎ
3PL-VENT-PRSPROG-pass

be-telí	**bá-bá-flá**	**yí**
CM.PL-INDEF	SM-VENT-pass	3SG
be-telí	**bá-bá-flá**	**yí**
CM.PL-INDEF	SM-VENT-pass	3SG
be-telí	**bá-bá-flá**	**yí**
CM.PL-INDEF	SM-VENT-pass	3SG

'They are passing, some passed him, some passed him, some still passed him.'

127. Gɪ ámɔ sɪ laflǎ békē, gɪ lányáávɪ 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́ ko, kɪlí edéwu ekú kitrekpú til'ɪabhā ebú y'íáhlɔ́ɛ́, y'ivukpuí.

gɪ	**á-mɔ**	**sí**	**la-flǎ**	**békē**
REL	3SG.DEP-see	COMP	3PL.DEP-pass	COMPL

gɪ	**lá-nyá-á-vɪ**	**kɪbɔ́ɛ́**	**ko**
REL	3PL.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-go	little	just

kɪlí	**e-dé-wu**	**e-kú**	**ki-trekpú**	**ti-lí**	**kábhā**
CONJ	3SG-ITIVE-climb	SM-reach	CM-anthill	AM-INDEF	top

e-bú	**yí**	**ká-hlɔ́ɛ́**	**yí**	**ki-vukpuí**
3SG-remove	3SG.IND	CM-little.trumpet	3SG.IND	CM-drum

'Just when he saw that they have passed and were a little distance from him, he then went on top of an anthill, took out his flute and his little drum.'

[Song]

128. Oo, kɔ, kɪgɪ kɪlí m'íídɔ aní nânsí ɪdɔ́ ní g'íídɔ ní akányááká átítsí y'oklebhɔ́ édzú pupupu.

oo	**kɔ**	**kɪ-gɪ**	**kɪlí**	**mí**	**í-í-dɔ**	**aní**
INTJ	INTJ	3SG-REL	3SG.IND	1SG.IND	1SG-PRSPROG-say	TOP

nânsí	**ɪ-dɔ́**	**ní**	**gí**	**í-í-dɔ**	**aní**
as	CM-time	DEF	REL	1SG.DEP-PRSPROG-say	TOP

á-kányááká	**á-tí-tsí**	**yí**	**o-klebhɔ́**
CM-each	SM-PERF-take.off	3SG.IND	CM-bundle.of.thatch

é-dzú	**pupupu**
3SG-put.down	IDEO.sound

'Oh! What I am saying, in the instant that I am saying it, each and everyone has put his bundle of thatch down.'

129. Ákanyááka átsí y'oklebhɔ́ ehú 'iesí.

á-kanyááka	**á-tsí**	**yí**	**o-klebhɔ́**
CM-every	SM-take.off	3SG.IND	CM-bundle.of.thatch

        e-hú   **ke.sí**
        3SG-hit   down
        'Every one of them dropped his bundle of thatch.'

130.   Béténī 'ivu 'uyu glibí hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́.
        bé-ténī   **ki-vu**   **bu-yu**   **glibí**   **hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́ hɔbɔ́**
        3PL-start CM-dance   CM-dance   IDEO   IDEO.rhythmically
        'They started dancing, spellbound.'

131.   Báába 'klí gɩ kásālā éébho 'ivun pɩ áábɔ 'ɛzhwéń.
        bá-á-ba   **ɩ-klí**   **gɩ**   **ká-sālā**   **é-é-bho**
        3PL-PRSPROG-come CM-there REL   CM-tortoise   SM-PRSPROG-beat
        ki-vu   **ní**   **pɩ**   **á-á-bɔ**   **ki-zhwé** **ní**
        CM-drum   DEF   CONN 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-blow CM-flute DEF
        'They are coming towards where tortoise was drumming and blowing his
        flute.'

132.   Óo, ákányááká ádzíkī y'óklebhɔ́ń'ibúí.
        Óo   **á-kányááká**   **á-dzíkī**   **yí**   **o-klebhɔ́**   **ní**
        INTJ CM-every   SM-forget   3SG.IND CM-bundle.of.thatch   DEF
        ki-búí
        CM-matter
        'Oh! Every one of them forgot all about his bundle of thatch.'

133.   Kivu ní ko léeyū; kivun ifék'álí.
        ki-vu   **ní**   **ko**   **lé-e-yū**
        CM-dance   DEF   just   3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-dance
        ki-vu   **ní**   **ki-féké**   **balí**
        CM-drum   DEF   SM-lift   3PL
        'They were only dancing; the drumming had lifted them up.'

        [Song]

134.   Oo, gɩ lányáába ko áákɔ́ 'édɔ̄ń ékpu zi d̩eká,
        Oo   **gɩ**   **lá-nyá-á-ba**   **ko**
        INTJ REL   3PL.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-come   just
        á-yíkɔ   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**   **é-kpu**   **zi**   **d̩eká**
        3SG-take CM-thing DEF   SM-hide   times one
        'Oh! Just as they approached he hid the things at once.'

135.   Áákɔ 'édɔ́ń ékpu kikpu tilí, ékpu 'ídɔ́ń zɩa zɩa zɩa zɩa zɩa zɩa.
        á-yíkɔ   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**   **é-kpu**   **ki-kpu**   **ti-lí**
        3SG-take CM-thing DEF   SM-hide   CM-hide   AM-INDEF
        é-kpu   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**   **zɩa**   **zɩa**
        3SG-hide CM-thing DEF   IDEO.quickly   IDEO.quickly

zıa zıa zıa zıa
IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly IDEO.quickly
'He hid the things one time, he hid the things quickly.'

136. Gı labá así "kibroè̀?"
gı la-bá a-sí ki-búí ɖúwē
REL 3PL.DEP-come 3SG-say CM-matter which
'When they came he said "what's up?"'

137. Kásālā̃ así fákɔ́ láávı?
ká-sālā̃ a-sí fákɔ́ lá-á-vı
CM-tortoise SM-say where 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go
'Tortoise said where are they going?'

138. Sí atsán' alí labáflâ, así o fákɔ́ kivuń ííyī?
sí a-tsánī balí la-bá-flá
COMP 3SG-meet 3PL 3PL.DEP-VENT-pass
ba-sí o fákɔ́ ki-vu ní kí-í-yī
3PL-say INTJ where CM-drum DEF SM-PRSPROG-sound
'Surely, he had already met them passing and they asked where the
drumming is coming from?'

139. Así óo ã̃ã kivuń lááɖɔ lo?
a-sí óo ã̃ã ki-vu ní lá-á-ɖɔ
3SG-say INTJ INTJ CM-drum DEF 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-say
lo
ADD
'He said, oh, are they talking of the drumming?'

140. Ô! As'eyu riɖiɖiɖiɖi as'atɔ̄.
ô a-sí e-yu riɖiɖiɖiɖi a-sí a-tɔ̄
INTJ 3SG-say 3SG.DEP-dance IDEO 3SG-say SM-be.tired
'Oh! He said he had danced continuously until he was tired.'

141. S'ónū̃, así banɔ̄ telí bal'édê Sásámangó pı léébho 'ivuń bábáfl'ézhí
Tamlâgu 'ibén?
sí ó-nū̃ á-sí ba-nɔ̄ te-lí
QT 2SG-hear 3SG-say CM.PL-person AM-INDEF
balí bé-dé Sásámangó
3PL.IND 3PL-come.from Sásámangó
pı lé-é-bho ki-vu ní
CONN 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum DEF
bá-bá-flă bé-zhí Tamlâgu ki-bé ní
3PL-VENT-pass SM-descend Tamlâgu CM-side DEF

'Do you hear? He said some people from Sasamango drumming have passed and descended towards Tamlagu'

142. Oô, banɔ́ń kikikikikiki bes'avɩ Tamlâgu.
    oo   **ba-nɔ́**   **nɩ́**   **kikikikikiki**   **be-si**
    INTJ   CM.PL-person   DEF   IDEO.sound.of.running   SM-run
    a-vɩ   **Tamlâgu**
    SM-go   Tamlâgu
    'Wow, the people run *kikikikikiki* to Tamlago.'

143. Bááv'etiyú 'ívúń[81].
    bá-á-vɩ   **bé-tí-yú**   **ki-vu**   **nɩ́**
    3PL-PRSPROG-go SM-DESID-dance   CM-dance   DEF
    'They are going to dance to the drum.'

144. Así lasí Tamlâgu léébebho 'ivun oboń, ɩklí láábabhɩtī 'ívú óbóń.
    a-sí   **la-sí**   **Tamlâgu** **lé-é-be-bho**
    3SG-say   3PL.DEP-say   Tamlâgu 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-FUT-beat
    ki-vu   **nɩ́**   **o-bóń**
    CM-drum   DEF   CM-today
    ɩ-klí   **lá-á-ba-bhɩtí**   **ki-vu**   **o-bóń**
    CM-there 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-FUT-make   CM-dance   CM-today
    'He said it is being rumoured that it is at Tamlagu that they will be beating the drum today, they will be making music.'

145. Bádzíkī 'ibuinyéébúí.
    bá-dzɩkī   **ki-búí-nyáá-ki-búí**
    3PL-forget   CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter
    'They forgot about everything.'

146. Bésí átɔ́nī Tamlâgu 'idzo, bávɩ.
    bé-sí   **ba-tɔ́nī**   **Tamlâgu** **ki-dzo**   **bá-vɩ**
    3PL-run   SM-follow   Tamlâgu CM-road   3PL-go
    'They ran following the Tamlago road, they went.'

147. Gɩ lávɩ ko, kásālā édz'agbagbá[82] riḍiḍiḍiḍi oo ákp'ów̃űsé,
    gɩ   **lá-vɩ**   **ko**   **ká-sālā**   **é-dze a-gbagbá** **riḍiḍiḍiḍi**
    REL   3PL.DEP-go   just   CM-tortoise   SM-V CM-N   IDEO
    oo   **á-kpí**   **o-w̃űsé**
    INTJ   SM-put.in   CM-strength

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[81] During the spontaneous production, the performer used the form **béév'etiyú 'ívúń** but during the transcription he corrected himself.

[82] **Dze agbagbá** 'try' is a Verb + Noun collocation borrowed from Ewe.

'Just as they went away, Tortoise endeavoured continuously, oh, he put in effort.'

148. Áávɪ, áávɪ, áávɪ ádádɔ́ y'ékle, étén'utē̄[7x].

á-á-vɪ	á-á-vɪ	á-á-vɪ
3SG-PRSPROG-go	3SG-PRSPROG-go	3SG-PRSPROG-go

á-dá-dɔ́	yí	e-kle	é-ténɔ̄	bu-tē̄
SM-ITIVE-contact	3SG.IND	CM-thatch	3SG-start	CM-cut

'he went and went and took up his thatch-cutting and started cutting, cutting, cutting, cutting, cutting, cutting, and cutting.'

149. Ko oo gɪ éténɔ̄ oklebhɔ́n 'ʊnyá ko ɔ́mɔ 'alɪ gɪ ledé Tamlâgu gɪ láábā

ko	oo	gɪ	é-ténɔ̄	o-klebhɔ́	ní
just	INTJ	REL	3SG.DEP-start	CM-bundle.of.thatch	DEF

bʊ-nyá	ko	ɔ́-mɔ	balí	gɪ	le-dé	Tamlâgu
CM-tie	just	2SG-see	3PL	REL	3PL.DEP-come.from	Tamlâgu

gɪ	lá-á-bā
REL	3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-come

'As soon as he started tying the bundle of thatch, there they were returning from Tamlagu.'

150. Gigigigigi, anʊ́íánɔ́ ábayíkɔ y'oklebhɔ́.

gigigigigi	a-nɔ́-nyáá-a-nɔ̄	á-ba-yíkɔ	yí
IDEO	CM-person-DISTR-CM-person	SM-VENT-take	3SG.IND

o-klebhɔ́
CM-bundle.of.thatch

'Everyone, hustling and bustling, came and took his bundle of thatch.'

151. Así, oo, kɪlɪ́, badɪdámɔ alí dza?

a-sí	oo	kɪlɪ́	ba-dɪ-dá-mɔ	balí	dza?
3SG-say	INTJ	how	3PL-NEG2-ITIVE-see	3PL	UFP

'He asked didn't they see them?'

152. Así oo ko gɪ lédékú anʊ́íánɔ́ amá?

a-sí	oo	ko	gɪ	lé-dé-kú
3SG-say	INTJ	INTJ	REL	3PL.DEP-ITIVE-reach

a-nɔ́-nyáá-a-nɔ̄	a-má
CM-person-DISTR-CM-person	SM-be.at:NEG

'They said when they reached (there), there was nobody there'

153. oo kɪlɪ́ áyíkī áŋa sɪ bága kidzo bhlatɔ́.

Oo	kɪlɪ́	bá-yíkī	bá-ŋa	sí	bá-ga	ki-dzo	bhlatɔ́
INTJ	CONJ	3SG-receive	SM-eat	COMP	3PL-walk	CM-road	other

'and that, oh! they believed that they had taken another road.'

154. Gɩ lááko iklebhɔ́ɲ gɩ láávɩ ní eketsirí butúníábhā so nɩ nɩ áámɔ al'ásɪ́sɪ̄
      n'ɔ́dɩda nɪ́m̄.

gɩ	lá-yɩ́ko	i-klebhɔ́		ní
REL	3PL.DEP-take	CM.PL-bundle.of.thatch		DEF

gɩ	lá-á-vɩ		ní	e-ke-tsirí
REL	3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go		TOP	3SG-PERS-be.on

bu-tú		ní	kábhā	so	ní	ní	á-á-mɔ
CM-mountain		DEF	top	so	TOP	TOP	3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-see

balɪ́	asɪ́sɪ̄		ní	ɔ-dɩda		ní	kɩmɩ
3PL	at.a.distance		LOC	CM-valley		DEF	inside

'When they took their bundles of thatch and they were going, he was still on
top of the thatch hill so he is able to see them in the thatch valley.'

155. Gɩ lebekú ɔma ní beditsá ní,

gɩ	le-be-kú		ɔ-ma	ní	be-ditsá	ní
REL	3PL.DEP-VENT-reach		CM-town	DEF	CM.PL-outskirts	DEF

'Just as they were about to arrive at the outskirts of the town,'

156. y'ânɪ́ oo lebekú ɔma n'ɔgbɔtóɲ ko, ezebú yɪ́ izhué, ezebú y'ívú.

yɪ́	a-ní		oo	le-be-kú		ɔ-ma	ní
3SG.IND	AM-PROX		INTJ	3PL.DEP-VENT-reach		CM-town	DEF

ɔ-gbɔtó	ní	ko	e-ze-bú		yɪ́	ki-zhué
CM-edge	DEF	just	3SG-REP-remove		3SG.IND	CM-flute

e-ze-bú		yɪ́	ki-vu
3SG-REP-remove		3SG.IND	CM-drum

'oh!, just as they reached the edge of the village, he took out his flute, he
took out his drum again.'

      [Song]

157. Ákányááká azatsɩ oklebhɔ́ ní hú íésí.

Á-kányááká	a-za-tsɩ		yɪ́	o-klebhɔ́		ní
CM-each	SM-REP-take.off		3SG.IND	CM-bundle.of. thatch		DEF

é-hú	ke.sí
SM-hit	down

'Each one dropped his bundle of thatch onto the ground again.'

158. Ô! bazebésí áábā kásālā 'bha.

ô	ba-ze-bé-sí		bá-á-bā		ká-sālā	ɔbha
INTJ	3PL-REP-VENT-run		SM-PRSPROG-come		CM-tortoise	side

'O! they began running again to the side of tortoise.'

159. Gɩ lebékú, así ô ko, así â banɔ́ aní koŋ pɔ, kídē noósusû?

gɩ	le-bé-kú		a-sí	ô	ko	a-sí	â
REL	3PL.DEP-VENT-reach		3SG-say	INTJ	INTJ	3SG-say	INTJ

ba-nɔ́   a-nɪ́   kóŋ́   pɔ   kídē no-ó-susú
CM.PL-person AM-PROX INT   but   what 2PL-PRSPROG-think
'When they got there, he said oh! these people at all, what are you
thinking?'

160. Laa ko banɔ̄aŋ́……
      Laa   ko   ba-nɔ́   a-nɪ́
      just.then just   CM.PL-person AM-PROX
      'Just then these people…'

161. ɔ́tɔ́ɔ́mɔ g'ilííyu riḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍi.
      ɔ́tɔ́ɔ́mɔ   **gɪ**   **i-lí-í-yu**
      2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-see   REL   1SG.DEP-3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-dance
      riḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍiḍi
      IDEO
      'Can't you see how I have been dancing so much.'

162. Iyu riḍiḍiḍi ítɔ̄.
      i-yu   riḍiḍiḍi   í-tɔ̄
      1SG-dance   IDEO   1SG-be.tired
      'I danced till I was tired.'

163. Ázafwɛ pēpēpēpē.
      á-za-fwɛ   pēpēpēpē
      3SG-REP-breath   IDEO
      'He was breathing like one out of breath.'

164. O! kɪlɪ dza?
      o   kɪlɪ́   dza
      INTJ how   UFP
      'Oh! What's up?'

165. Así laa ledé Tamlâgu, azasí kô
      a-sí   laa   le-dé   Tamlâgu
      3SG-say   just.now 3PL.DEP-come.from   Tamlâgu
      a-za-sí   kô
      3SG-REP-say   INTJ
      'He said just now they were returning from Tamlagu and he again said
      what?'

166. Basí gɪ láávɪ Tamlâgu ní ní a
      ba-sí   gɪ   lá-á-vɪ   Tamlâgu ní   ní   a
      3PL-say   REL   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-go   Tamlâgu TOP   TOP   CFM
      'They said it was while they were going to the Tamlagu place,'

167. kɪlɪ anɔ̃ tel'édétsódzin' alí nɪ idzonɩ́m̃

    kɪlí   **a-nɔ̃**   **te-lí**   **é-dé-tsódzi-nɔ**   **balí**
    CONJ CM-person AM-INDEF SM-ITIVE-return-COM 3PL
    ní   **ki-dzo**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
    LOC CM-road DEF in
    'it was then that somebody on the way turned them back'

168. así ní nía Asantí Dadzrya ɪklí bṍŋ laavɪ atɪgba tíw̃ũlɔ́ ní obóń,

    a-sí   **ní**   **ní**   **a**   **Asantí**   **Dadzrya**   **ɪ-klí**   **bṍŋ**
    3SG-say TOP TOP CFM Asanti Dadzrya CM-there rather
    la-a-vɪ   **ba-tɪ-gba**   **tí-w̃ũlɔ́**   **ní**   **o-bóń**
    3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-go SM-DESID-keep CM-wake DEF CM-today
    'saying that it was rather Asanti Dadzyra that they were going to keep wake tonight,'

169. así abrɛwá shishe tel'etsí n'ɪklí

    a-sí   **a-brɛwá**   **shi-she**   **te-lí**   **e-tsí**   **ní**
    3SG-say CM-old.woman RED-grow AM-INDEF SM-die LOC
    ɪ-klí
    CM-there
    '(and) that an old woman had died there.'

170. So ní ní a baávɪ atɪgba tíw̃ũlɔ́ ní 'klí obóń ridɪdɪdɪ kel'abazɛ 'ɛvu flôgo pɪ bebetéŋú ábáflǎ 'vɪ Tamlâgu ní dzí.

    so ní   **ní**   **a**   **ba-á-vɪ**   **ba-tɪ-gba**   **tí-w̃ũlɔ́**
    so TOP TOP CFM 3PL-PRSPROG-go SM-DESID-keep CM-wake
    ní   **ɪ-klí**   **o-bóń**   **ridɪdɪdɪ**   **ke-li**   **ka-ba-za**
    LOC CM-there CM-today IDEO CM-day SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
    kí-vū   **flôgo**   **pɪ**   **be-be-téŋú**   **bá-bá-flǎ**
    CM-tomorrow before CONN 3PL-FUT-be.able SM-FUT-pass
    ba-vɪ   **Tamlâgu**   **ní**   **dzí**
    SM-go Tamlâgu DEF COP.NPRES
    'For that reason, they are going to keep wake until daybreak tomorrow before which they will be able to come and pass to the Tamlagu (already spoken of).'

171. Ô, kibróenîn?

    ô   **ki-búí**   **dɪ́uwē**   **nú**   **ɪ-ní**
    INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX
    'Oh! What is this?'

172. As'ao!

    a-sí   **ao**
    3SG-say INTJ
    'He said oh!'

173. Ɔtsɔ́tsĩɔ́ ní ô ɔ́tɔ́ɔ́vı t'ɔkɔm íflá, ɔ́tɔ́ɔ́vı t'ɔkɔm íflá oo.

ɔtsɔ́tsĩɔ́	ní	ô	ɔ́-tɔ́ɔ́-vı
just.now	TOP	INTJ	2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-go

tı	ɔ-kɔ	mí	í-flá	ɔ́-tɔ́ɔ́-vı
COMP	2SG-let	1SG	1SG-pass	2SG-NEG:PRSPROG-go

tı	ɔ-kɔ	mí	í-flá	oo
COMP	2SG-let	1SG	1SG-pass	UFP

'Suddenly, (there was a stampede), "if you won't go let me pass, if you won't go let me pass, oo!'

174. Balı pétéé bááflá ridịdịdịdị.

balí	pétéé	bá-á-flá	ridịdịdịdị
3PL.IND	all	3PL-PRSPROG-pass	IDEO

'All of them passed noisily.'

175. Bávı Asantí Dadzyra.

bá-vı	Asantí	Dadzyra
3PL-go	Asanti	Dadzyra

'To Asanti Dadzyra they went.'

176. Asantí Dadzyra pɔ ní ní ɔ́ɔfl'Óguá

Asantí	Dadzyra	pɔ	ní	ní	ɔ-bɔ-flá	Oguá
Asantí	Dadzyra	but	TOP	TOP	2SG-FUT-pass	Ogua

'Whereas to get to Asanti Dadzyra you will pass Ogua,'

177. ɔ́tíflá Tamale flô' p'obokū Asanti Dadzyra beditsyáń, balí nı [laughs] balí nı Oguá ání ɔgamıtsyákɔ́

ɔ́-tí-flá	Tamale	flôgo	pı	o-bo-kú	Asanti
2SG-PERF-pass	Tamale	before	CONN	2SG-VENT-reach	Asanti

Dadzyra	be-ditsyá	ní	balí	nı	balí	nı
Dadzyra	CM.PL-outskirts	DEF	3PL.IND	COM	3PL.IND	COM

Oguá	ba-ní	ki	dzo	ɔ-gamı.tsyá.kɔ́
Ogua	CM.PL-native	CM-path	CM-clear.meet.place

'you would have already passed Tamale before you reach halfway to Asanti Dadzyra.' (i.e. Tamale is between Asanti Dadzyra and Ogua).

178. An'óbóń ní!

ání	ó-bón	ní
NEG.CL	CM-today	TOP

'It's not today!'

179. Kátsyáá tı bedekū ıklí tı bebebísī enú tı bababhítı kídɔ̄ nɔ̂ ıní,

kátsyáá	tı	be-de-kú	ı-klí	tı
by.the.time	COMP	3PL-ITIVE-reach	CM-there	PURP

be-be-bísī   **be-nú**   **tɪ**   **ba-ba-bhítɪ**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **nɔ̂**
3PL-VENT-ask   SM-hear   PURP   3PL-FUT-do   CM-thing   wh-ever
ɪ-nɪ́
AM-PROX
'Before they could get there to make enquiries and accomplish one thing or another,'

180. kásā̃lā átínyá y'oklebhɔ́ ní pétéé, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú, hulu
      kpúlú, hulu kpúlú, hulu kpúlú.
      ká-sā̃lā   **á-tí-nyá**   **yí**   **o-klebhɔ́**
      CM-tortoise   SM-PERF-tie   3SG.IND   CM-bundle.of.thatch
      ní   **pétéé**   **hulu kpúlú**   **hulu kpúlú**
      DEF   all   IDEO.manner.of.walking   IDEO.manner.of.walking
      hulu kpúlú   **hulu kpúlú**
      IDEO.manner.of.walking   IDEO.manner.of.walking
      hulu kpúlú
      IDEO.manner.of.walking
      'tortoise had already tied all his bundle of thatch and set off clumsily.'

181. Kátsyáá tɪ agɔ 'ɛbɔɪ 'yíyī tɪ kásā̃lā kū ɪgbɔtó ní ní,
      kátsyáá   **tɪ**   **a-gɔ**   **kɪbɔ́í**   **é-yíyī**   **tɪ**
      by.the.time   COMP   3SG-remain   little   CM-time   COMP
      ká-sā̃lā   **é-kú**   **ɪ-gbɔtó**   **ní**   **ní**
      CM-tortoise   SM-reach   CM.PL-outskirt   DEF   TOP
      'Suddenly, when it was left with a little time for him to reach the outskirts
      of the town,'

182. kásā̃lā efékē yí a…
      ká-sā̃lā   **é-féké**   **yí**
      CM-tortoise   SM-lift   3SG.IND
      'tortoise lifted (his trumpet).'

183. Bavɪ tɪ ledí oo!
      ba-vɪ   **tɪ**   **le-dí**   **oo**
      3PL-go   PURP   3PL.DEP-look   UFP
      'Let them go and see!'

184. Banɔ̄ń… Nobodí mɔ oó!
      ba-nɔ̄   **ní**   **no-bo-dí**   **mɔ**   **oó**
      CM.PL-person   DEF   2PL-VENT-look   ADD   UFP
      'The people… Come and look!'

185. Kásā̃lā bṍń kal' ábuso 'ʋbá oo!
      ká-sā̃lā   **bṍń**   **kalí**   **ké-buso**   **bʋ-bá**   **oo!**
      CM-tortoise   rather   3SG.IND   SM-do.first   CM-come   UFP

'It is rather tortoise who arrived first!'

186. Kásãlã bõŋ́ ébusó áábā oo!
    ká-sãlã   **bõŋ́**   **é-busó**   **á-á-bā**   **oo**
    CM-tortoise rather SM-do.first SM-PRSPROG-come UFP
    'It is rather tortoise who is arriving first!'

187. Kásãlã bõŋ́ ébusó áábā oo!
    ká-sãlã   **bõŋ́**   **é-busó**   **á-á-bā**   **oo**
    CM-tortoise rather SM-do.first SM-PRSPROG-come UFP
    'It is rather tortoise who is arriving first!'

188. Óó! kibroe nîní dza?
    óó   **ki-búí**   **dúwē nú**   **ı-ní**   **dza**
    INTJ CM-matter which COP AM-PROX UFP
    'Oh! What is this?'

189. G'ebú y'ívú,
    gı   **é-bú**   **yí**   **ki-vu**
    REL 3SG.DEP-remove 3SG.IND CM-drum
    'When he took out his drum,'

190. g'ebú y'íáhlɔ̃́ɛ̃́,
    gı   **é-bú**   **yí**   **ka-hlɔ̃́ɛ̃́**
    REL 3SG.DEP-remove 3SG.IND CM-trumpet
    'when he took out his trumpet,'

[Song]

191. Kátsyáá ní balí ní betídékū Asanti Dadzyra ní ní,
    kátsyáá   **ní**   **balí**   **ní**   **be-tí-dé-kú**   **Asanti**
    by.the.time TOP 3PL.IND DEF SM-PERF-ITIVE-reach Asanti
    Dadzyra   **ní**   **ní**
    Dadzyra TOP TOP
    'In the meantime, those ones, having reached Asanti Dadzyra,'

192. oo! bédékú 'klí ní, oo, anóıánɔ̄ amá 'klí éébho 'ivu.
    oo   **bé-dé-kú**   **ı-klí**   **ní**
    INTJ 3PL-VENT-reach CM-there TOP
    oo   **a-nɔ̄-nyáá-anɔ̄**   **a-má**   **ı-klí**
    INTJ CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-be.at:NEG CM-there
    é-é-bho   **ki-vu**
    SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum
    'oh, they arrived there and oh, nobody is making music!'

193. Ɛɛ, basí abrɛwá kányááká tsyí editsí ní 'klí.
     ɛɛ   ba-sí   a-brɛwá   kányááká tsyí   e-di-tsí   ní
     INTJ   3PL-say   CM-old.lady   any   too   SM-NEG2-die   LOC
     ɩ-klí
     CM-there
     'Er, even it is said no old lady had died in that place.'

194. Bekeédz'esí gigigigi gɩ labá ní ní,
     be-ke-é-tsódzi   be-sí   gigigigi
     3PL-PERS-PRSPROG-return   SM-run   IDEO.sound
     gɩ   la-bá   ní   ní
     REL   3PL.DEP-come   TOP   TOP
     'As they run back *gigigigi* in return,'

195. Áo, atíflá klí.
     áo   a-tí-flá   ɩ-klí
     INTJ   3SG-PERF-pass   CM-there
     'Oh! It has become late.' (i.e. The harm has already been done.)

196. Kásālā g'éébho 'ivu ní ní…
     ká-sālā   gɩ   é-é-bho   ki-vu   ní   ní
     CM-tortoise   REL   SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum   TOP   TOP
     'Tortoise who is beating the drum…'

197. Ákányááká áyíkɔ y'óklebhɔ́, bétíkeétéŋú áflá kásālā,
     á-kányááká   á-yíkɔ   yí   o-klebhɔ́
     AM-every   SM-take   3SG-IND   CM-bundle.of.thatch
     be-ti-ke-é-téŋú   á-flá   ká-sālā
     3PL-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-be.able   SM-pass   CM-tortoise
     'Everybody took his load of thatch, they were unable to bypass tortoise.'

198. Balɩ pétéé, kánā babátsa odi nɪ̃́ y'ede.
     balí   pétéé ká-nā   ba-bá-tsa   o-di   ní
     3PL.IND   all   CM-manner   3PL-VENT-draw   CM-line   LOC
     yí   ke.de
     3SG.IND   back
     'All of them, so they formed a single file behind him.'

199. Ákányááká étúkú yí oklebhɔ́
     á-kányááká   é-túkú   yí   o-klebhɔ́
     CM-every   SM-carry   3SG.IND   CM-bundle.of.thatch
     'Each and every one of them carried his bundle of thatch,'

200. pɩ̀ bebeéyú 'ívúń, pɩ̀ kásãlã 'kpasí álí ótúgbáń.

pɩ	be-be-é-yú	ki-vu	ní
CONN	3PL-VENT-PRSPROG-dance	CM-dance	DEF

pɩ	ká-sãlã	kpasí	balí	ótúgbá	ní
CONN	CM-tortoise	be.in	3PL.IND	CM-front	DEF

'as they are dancing, tortoise is in the lead before them.'

[Song]

201. Riḍiḍiḍi ko nâní, kɩlí y'áákɔ y'oklebhɔ́ ko nâń, azhɔyɩ,

riḍiḍiḍi	ko	ní	a-ní	kɩlí	yí	á-yɩ́kɔ	yí
IDEO	just	TOP	AM-PROX	CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-take	3SG.IND

o-klebhɔ́	ko	ní	a-ní
CM-bundle.of.thatch	just	TOP	AM-PROX

ázhɔyí
IDEO.sound.of.dropping.the.bundle.of.thatch

'Until at last, he took his bundle of thatch'

202. kɩlí y'áákɔ dzū kídɔ̄ ní…

kɩlí	yí	á-yɩ́kɔ	é-dzu	kí-dɔ̄	ní
CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-take	SM-put.down	CM-thing	DEF

'and then he puts it down [in] the thing.'

203. Oo! kásãlã y'ágbánī ádzí ní óó.

oo	ká-sãlã	yí	á-gbánī	a-dzɪ̀	ní	óó
INTJ	CM-tortoise	3SG.IND	SM-marry	CM-woman	DEF	INTJ

'Oh! TORTOISE marries the woman oooo.'

204. Kásãlã y'ágbánī adzɩ nɩ oo! Kásãlã y'ágbánī ádzí ní óó!

ká-sãlã	yí	á-gbánī	a-dzɪ̀	ní	oo
CM-tortoise	3SG.IND	SM-marry	CM-woman	DEF	INTJ

ká-sãlã	yí	á-gbánī	a-dzɪ̀	ní	óó
CM-tortoise	3SG.IND	SM-marry	CM-woman	DEF	INTJ

'TORTOISE marries the woman oooo, TORTOISE marries the woman oooo.'

205. Ɔtsɔ́lɩ, kɩlí bábhítɩ bakɔnú gugɔé ákɔ́ álɩ pétéé, bakpí ehuí ní ákɔ́ ádzí ní pétéé.

ɔtsɔ́lɩ	kɩlí	bá-bhítɩ	ba-kɔnú	gugɔé	bá-kɔ́	balí	pétéé
finally	CONJ	3PL-do	CM.PL-custom	last	SM-give	3PL	all

ba-kpí	e-huí	ní	bá-kɔ́	a-dzɪ̀	ní	pétéé
3PL-wear	CM.PL-bead	DEF	SM-give	CM-woman	DEF	all

'Finally, they did the rest of the rites for them and they adorned the woman with beads all over.'

206. Bekpé ádzíń ákɔ́ yí pétéé, kásãlã agbánɔ̄ adzīn pɪ lávɪ y'úpém̃.
      be-kpé   a-dzì̃   ní   bá-kɔ́   yí   pétéé
      3PL-wed CM-woman DEF   SM-give   3SG.IND all
      ká-sãlã   a-gbánɔ̄   a-dzì̃   ní   pɪ   lá-vɪ
      CM-tortoise SM-lead   CM-woman DEF   CONN   3PL.DEP-go
      yí   bʊ-pá   kɪmɪ
      3SG.IND CM-home in
      'They performed all the bridal customs for the woman for him and tortoise
      took the woman to his home.'

207. Gɪ lávɪ y'ʊpém̃.
      gɪ   lá-vɪ   yí   bʊ-pá   kɪmɪ
      REL   3PL.DEP-go 3SG.IND CM-home in
      'And they went to his house.'

208. Kásãlã ɛ̃̄ɛ̃̄ awá amɔ́ gbɪgblă telí.
      ká-sãlã   ɛ̃̄ɛ̃̄   a-wá   a-mɔ́   gbɪgblă   te-lí
      CM-tortoise INTJ SM-cultivate CM-rice.farm big   AM-INDEF
      'Tortoise made a very big rice farm.'

209. Áákp'ʊká, adzīn áákpě amɔ́ním̃.
      á-á-kpí   bʊ-ká   a-dzì̃   ní
      3SG-PRSPROG-put.in CM-fence CM-woman DEF
      á-á-kpě   a-mɔ́   ní   kɪmɪ
      SM-PRSPROG-pull.out.weeds   CM-rice.farm DEF   in
      'While he is making a fence, the woman is pulling out the weeds from the
      farm.'

210. Áákp'ʊká, adzīn áákpě amɔ́ním̃.
      á-á-kpí   bʊ-ká   a-dzì̃   ní
      3SG-PRSPROG-put.in CM-fence CM-woman DEF
      á-á-kpě   a-mɔ́   ní   kɪmɪ
      SM-PRSPROG-pull.out.weeds CM-rice.farm DEF   in
      He is making the fence and the woman is pulling out the weeds from the
      farm.'

211. Gɪ akp'ʊká ní békē pétéé kɪlí y'ávɪ owúlēn ɔbhɔkɔ́.
      gɪ   a-kpí   bʊ-ká   ní   békē   pétéé kɪlí yí
      REL   3SG-put.in CM-fence DEF   COMPL   all   CONJ 3SG.IND
      á-vɪ   o-wúlē   ní   ɔ-bhɔkɔ́
      SM-go   CM-storage.bin DEF   CM-mould.place
      When he finished making the fence, he went to mould the (rice) storage
      bin.'

212. Áábh'owúlēn, adzīn aápúī amɔ́ń,
     á-á-bhɔ   **o-wúlē**   **ní**   **a-dz̄ì**   **ní**
     3SG-PRSPROG-mould   CM-storage.bin   DEF   CM-woman   DEF
     á-á-púī   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**
     SM-PRSPROG-harvest   CM-rice   DEF
     'While he is moulding the (rice) storage bin, the woman is harvesting the
     rice.'

213. Áábh'owúlēn, adzīn aápúī amɔ́ń.
     á-á-bhɔ   **o-wúlē**   **ní**   **a-dz̄ì**   **ní**
     3SG-PRSPROG-mould   CM-storage.bin   DEF   CM-woman   DEF
     á-á-púī   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**
     SM-PRSPROG-harvest   CM-rice   DEF
     'While he is moulding the (rice) storage bin, the woman is harvesting the
     rice.'

214. Riḍiḍiḍi, tɪ abapɔ̂ amɔ́…
     riḍiḍiḍi   **tɪ**   **a-ba-pɔ́**   **a-mɔ́**
     IDEO   COMP   3SG.DEP-VENT-snap   CM-rice
     'By the time she could finish harvesting (the) rice…'

215. ô! amɔ́ń ébí kɔ́ 'álí.
     ô   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**   **é-bí**   **kɔ́**   **balí**
     INTJ   CM-rice   DEF   SM-do.well   DAT   3PL
     'oh! the harvest was very good for them.'

216. Kígɔ̄ élíń kánā leklú banɔ́n bebéhú ámɔ́ń ákɔ́ álí.
     kí-gɔ̄   **í-lílíní**   **ká-nā**   **le-klú**   **ba-nɔ̄**
     CM-year   AM-DIST   CM-manner   3PL.DEP-call   CM.PL-person
     ní   **be-bé-hú**   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**   **bá-kɔ́**   **balí**
     DEF   3PL-VENT-beat   CM-rice   DEF   SM-give   3PL
     'That year, so they called the people to come and thresh the rice for them.'

217. G'lehú ámɔ́ ní kɔ̀ ipúpú pétéé békē n'íépí.
     gɪ   **le-hú**   **á-mɔ́**   **ní**   **kɔ̀**   **i-púpú**   **pétéé**   **békē**
     REL   3PL.DEP-beat   CM-rice   DEF   INTJ   CM.PL-door   all   finish
     ní   **ke-pí**
     LOC   CM-home
     'When they threshed the rice, oh! all doors were finished in the village.'[83]

218. Gɪ lehú ámɔ́ ní békē 'íwī 'líń, hm!
     gɪ   **le-hú**   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**   **békē**   **kí-wī**   **í-lílíní**

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[83] Doors are used as planks against which the rice plant is hit to thresh the rice.

REL   3PL.DEP-beat   CM-rice   DEF   COMPL   CM-day   AM-DIST
hm
INTJ
'When they finished beating the rice that day, come and see!

219.   Gɩ leéfū amɔ́ń,
gɩ   le-é-fū   a-mɔ́   ní
REL   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-winnow   CM-rice   DEF
'As they are winnowing the rice, (they are singing)'

[Song]
220.   Kíkpákpō bɔŋa, kɩbʋlí bɔŋa[3x]
kí-kpákpō   bá   ɔ-ŋa   kɩ-bʋlí   bá   ɔ-ŋa
CM-a.kind.of.bird   come 2SG-eat   CM-a.kind.of.bird   come 2SG-eat
'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'

221.   avrugú[4x]
avrugú
IDEO.sound made by winnowing fans made from palm fronds
'Sounds from winnowing fans made from palm fronds'

222.   Kíkpákpō bɔŋa, kɩbʋlí bɔŋa[2x]
kí-kpákpō   bá   ɔ-ŋa   kɩ-bʋlí   bá   ɔ-ŋa
CM-a.kind.of.bird   come 2SG-eat   CM-a.kind.of.bird   come 2SG-eat
'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'

223.   Hó! tsyí ní bétééhū amɔ́ ní lééhū[84] békē.
hó   tsyí   ní   bé-téé-hū   a-mɔ́   ní
INTJ   too   TOP   3PL-NEG:PRSPROG-beat   CM-rice   DEF
lé-é-hū   békē
3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-beat   COMPL
'Even then, they are not about finishing the threshing of the rice.'

224.   Kásālā edéwu ekú osíníᵐ, gɩ y'ázha 'dzɩń
ká-sālā   e-dé-wu   e-kú   o-sí   ní   kɩmɩ
CM-tortoise   SM-ITIVE-climb   SM-reach CM-tree   DEF   inside
gɩ   yí   á-zha   ɔ-dzɩ   ní
REL   3SG.IND   SM-sing   CM-song   DEF
'Tortoise went and climbed into a tree.'

[Song]

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[84] The narrator used **yí** '3SG.IND' instead of **lé** '3PL.DEP'.

225. Amɔ́ éé éé, amɔ́ ee ee! w'agɪ ɔ́bá w'agɪ ɔ́dɪbá, wɔ tsyí óbohu 'ivu oo.[2x]
      a-mɔ́   **éé**   **éé**   **a-mɔ́**   **ee**   **ee**
      CM-rice   INTJ   INTJ   CM-rice   INTJ   INTJ
      wɔ́   **a-gɪ**   **ɔ́-bá**   **wɔ́**   **a-gɪ**   **ɔ́-dɪ-bá**
      2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-come 2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-NEG-come
      wɔ   **tsyí**   **ó-bo-hu**   **kí-vū**   **oo**
      '2SG.IND   too   SM-FUT-beat   CM-tomorrow   UFP
      'Rice oo! rice oo! You who come, you who do not come, you too will
      thresh yours tomorrow.'(i.e. if you don't help me today, tomorrow you will
      also need help.')

226. Banɔ́n enú ní ho! giɖigiɖi giɖigiɖi giɖigiɖi giɖigiɖi
      ba-nɔ́   **ní**   **bé-nú**   **ní**   **ho**
      CM.PL-person   DEF   SM-hear   TOP   INTJ
      giɖigiɖi   **giɖigiɖi**   **giɖigiɖi**
      IDEO.hustle.and.bustle   IDEO.hustle.and.bustle   IDEO.hustle.and.bustle
      giɖigiɖi
      IDEO.hustle.and.bustle
      'When people heard it, oh! (they rushed to go).'

227. Betel' eéhū, betel' áápíí, betel' eehusí, betel' abhɪtɪ ídɔ̄ ní.
      be-te-lí   **be-é-hū**   **be-te-lí**
      CM-AM-INDEF   SM-PRSPROG-beat   CM-AM-INDEF
      bá-á-pí   **be-te-lí**   **be-husí**
      SM-PRSPROG-winnow   CM-AM-INDEF   SM-sift
      be-te-lí   **a-bhɪtɪ**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**
      CM-AM-INDEF   SM-do   CM-thing   DEF
      'Some are beating, some are winnowing, some are sifting, and some are
      doing this or that.'

      [All this while they are singing:]

      [Song]

228. Kíkpákpō bɔŋa, kɪbʊlí bɔŋa.
      kí-kpákpō   **bá**   **ɔ-ŋa**   **kɪ-bʊlí**   **bá**   **ɔ-ŋa**
      CM-a.kind.of.bird   come   2SG-eat   CM-a.kind.of.bird   come   2SG-eat
      'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'

229. Kíkpákpō bɔŋa, kɪbʊlí bɔŋa oo.
      kí-kpákpō   **bá**   **ɔ-ŋa**   **kɪ-bʊlí**   **bá**   **ɔ-ŋa**
      CM-a.kind.of.bird   come   2SG-eat   CM-a.kind.of.bird   come   2SG-eat
      oo
      UFP
      'Bird, come and eat, bird come and eat.'

230.   Béhú ámɔ́n pétéé.
      bé-hú   a-mɔ́   ní   pétéé
      3PL-beat CM-rice DEF   all
      'They threshed all the rice.'

231.   Bétúkú ámɔ́n pétéé ámínā, bakpí n'owúlēním̄.
      bé-túkú   a-mɔ́ń   pétéé   bá-mínā
      3PL-carry   CM-rice   all   SM-bring
      ba-kpí   ní   o-wúlē   ní   kɪmɪ
      SM-put.in   LOC   CM-storage.bin DEF   in
      'They carried all the rice and they put it into the rice storage bin.'

232.   Owúlēn tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́.
      o-wúlē   ní   tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́tɔ́
      CM-storage.bin DEF   IDEO
      'The rice storage bin was filled to the brim.'

233.   Bábaŋe 'éwī nī́ kásālā 'pém̄.
      bá-ba-ŋa   kí-wī   ní   ká-sālā   bʊ-pá   kɪmɪ
      3PL-FUT-eat CM-day LOC CM-tortoise CM-house   in
      'There will be a feast in tortoise's house.'

234.   Anokwáré, kɪlí lasí ní a kásālā evu alɔ́ así ní nía
      anokwáré kɪlí   la-sí   ní   a
      truly   CONJ 3PL.DEP-say   TOP   CFM
      ká-sālā   e-vu   a-lɔ́   a-sí   ní   ní   a
      CM-tortoise SM-catch SM-get.up   SM-say   TOP   TOP   CFM
      Truly, and it was said that tortoise rose up to declare that'

235.   ɛɛ kívū ní a kɪlí lábaŋa kíwī ní, ébeklu y'ɔbhɪalín pétéé.
      ɛɛ   kí-vū   ní   a   kɪlí   lá-ba-ŋa   kí-wī   ní
      INTJ CM-tomorrow DEF CFM CONJ 3PL-FUT-eat CM-day DEF
      é-be-klŭ   yí   ɔ-bhɪa-alí   ní   pétéé
      3SG-FUT-call 3SG.IND CM-friend-PL DEF all
      'tomorrow will be the day of the feast. He will call all his friends.'

236.   Ééé, bag'aplúnɔ̄ɛ́ gɪ bebeli amɔ́ ní pétéé ní a,
      ééé   ba-gɪ   bá-plúnɔ̄   yí   gɪ   be-be-li   a-mɔ́   ní
      INTJ 3PL-REL SM-help 3SG REL 3PL-VENT-sow CM-rice DEF
      pétéé ní   a
      all   TOP   CFM
      'Ee, those who helped him to sow the rice,'

237. bag'adzɛ́ 'ɛdɔ́ń,

ba-gɪ́	ba-dzá	kɪ́-dɔ̄	nɪ́
3PL-REL	SM-clear	CM-thing	DEF

'those who cleared the bushes,'

238. gɪ ladzɛ́ ɛdɔ́ń, gɪ lébeli amɔ́ nɪ́ pɛ́téé nɪ́ nɪ́ a,

gɪ	la-dzá	kɪ́-dɔ̄	nɪ́	gɪ	lé-beli	a-mɔ́
REL	3PL.DEP-clear	CM-thing	DEF	REL	3PL.DEP-sow	CM-rice

nɪ́	pɛ́téé	nɪ́	nɪ́	a
DEF	all	TOP	TOP	CFM

'those who cleared the bushes and those who sowed all the rice,'

239. ébeklǔ 'álí, ébekp'álí pɛ́téé dínā tɪ labá tɪ laŋɛ 'ɛdɔ̄ nɪ́ y'úpɛ́m̄ tɪ lamɔ samɪ.

é-be-klǔ	balí	é-be-kpé	balí	pɛ́téé	dínā	tɪ
3SG-FUT-call	3PL	SM-FUT-invite	3PL	all	dinner	PURP

la-bá	tɪ	la-ŋa	kɪ́-dɔ̄	nɪ́	yí
3PL.DEP-come	PURP	3PL.DEP-eat	CM-thing	LOC	3SG.IND

bʊ-pá	kɪmɪ	tɪ	la-mɔ	samɪ
CM-house	in	PURP	3PL.DEP-see	happiness

'he would call them, he would invite them all to dinner that they should come and eat in his house for them to rejoice.'

240. Kásālā evu yɪ̄ epidzya degb'aní, kɪpɪdzyaklɔ̂ aní kɪlí eyí 'íálí, átɔ́ 'ɛdɔ̄.

ká-sālā	e-vu	yɪ̄	e-pidzya	degbe	a-ní
CM-tortoise	SM-catch	3SG.IND	CM-goat	huge	AM-PROX

kɪ-pɪdzyaklɔ̂	a-ní	kɪlí	e-yí	kalí	á-tɔ́	kɪ́-dɔ̄
CM-he.goat	AM-PROX	CONJ	SM-kill	3SG	SM-cook	CM-thing

'Tortoise caught his very big and fat he-goat, slaughtered it and prepared food.'

241. Évu y'ɔ́kúkɔ́ny'ɔní eyí, átɔ́ 'ɛdɔ̄.

é-vu	yí	ɔ-kúkɔ́nye	ɔ-ní	e-yí	a-tɔ́
3SG-catch	3SG.IND	CM-rooster	AM-PROX	SM-kill	SM-cook

kɪ́-dɔ̄
CM-thing

'He caught this rooster of his, killed it and prepared food.'

242. Hm! adzɪ̄ń ágbɛ ɛɖútsū ɪní.

hm	a-dzɪ̀	nɪ́	á-gba	i-ɖútsū	ɪ-ní
INTJ	CM-woman	DEF	CM-fry	CM.PL-stew	AM-PROX

'The woman made these stews.'

243. Át'ôn'ɔ̂ní kɪlí y'átɔ́ ás'âní kɪlí áákɔ 'ɛlí pɛ́téé áákɔ́ abal'akpī ketsukpú gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ gbʊgblǎ tielímī kɪlí áákɔ̄ ɛdɔ́ń áda.

á-tɔ́   o-ní   ɔ-ní   kɪlí yí   á-tɔ́   á-sí
3SG-cook CM-soup AM-PROX   CONJ 3SG.IND SM-cook CM-rice
a-ní   kɪlí á-yíkɔ kɪlí pétéé á-yíkɔ́ a-balɪ a-kpí
AM-PROX   CONJ SM-take 3SG all   SM-take SM-pour SM-put.in
ke-tsukpú gbʊgblă gbʊgblă gbʊgblă gbʊgblă gbʊgblă tie-lí
CM-pot big   big   big   big   big   AM-INDEF
kɪmɪ kɪlí á-yíkɔ kí-dɔ̄ ní   á-da
in   CONJ SM-take CM-thing DEF SM-cover
'She prepared this soup and cooked this rice and she put it all into a very
big pot and covered it.'

244. Kásālā, ḿhm! kídɔ̄ ziilɔ̄ flăflăflăflăflăflăflăflá kú yí.
ká-sālā   ḿhm kí-dɔ̄ zi-í-lɔ̄   flăflăflálăflăflălăflá
CM-tortoise INTJ CM-thing REP-PRSPROG-smell IDEO
kú   yí
reach 3SG
'Oh, tortoise, the thing (food) is smelling so good to him.'

245. Gɪ kel'abazá pɪ bebeklú banɔ̄ń pɪ lababaŋɛ 'édɔ̄ ní, ḿhm, kidiku kásālā áwɔ̄.
gɪ   ke-lí   ka-ba-za
REL CM-day SM-VENT-be.at:NPRES
pɪ   be-be-klú   ba-nɔ̄   ní
CONN 3PL-FUT-call CM.PL-person DEF
pɪ   la-ba-ba-ŋa   kí-dɔ̄ ní
CONN 3PL.DEP-FUT-VENT-eat CM-thing DEF
ḿhm ki-di-kú   ká-sālā   á-wɔ̄
INTJ 3SG-NEG2-reach CM-tortoise CM-??
'That it should be daybreak for them to call the people in to come and eat
the food, oh, no! He couldn't endure it.'

246. Kelíń átááza kɔé y'aáza.
ke-lí   ní   ká-táá-za   kɔ́ yí
CM-day DEF SM-NEG:PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES DAT 3SG
yí   a-á-za
3SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-be.at:NPRES
'Daybreak was not approaching fast enough for him.' (i.e. He couldn't
wait till the next morning.)

247. Kásālā 'kla padíésí, riḍiḍiḍi akl'atɔ̄,
ká-sālā   a-kla   padíésí riḍiḍiḍi a-kla   a-tɔ̄
CM-tortoise SM-count beams   IDEO   SM-count SM-become.tired
'Tortoise counted the beams again and again until he became tired'

248. kɪlí y'así o mm, áávɪ tɪ adátā así ní 'íbɔ́é, edemín'edí

kɪlí yí a-sí o ḿm á-á-vɪ tɪ
CONJ 3SG.IND SM-say INTJ INTJ SM-PRSPROG-go PURP
a-dá-tã a-sí ní kɪbɔ́ɛ́
3SG.DEP-ITIVE-chew CM-rice DEF little
e-de-mínī é-dí
3SG-ITIVE-taste SM-look
'and he said mm, he is going to eat a little of the rice, to go and have a taste.'

249. Gɪ ávɪ g'édémín'edí ní mm, tsɪtsɪtsɪtsɪtsɪ.
gɪ á-vɪ gɪ é-dé-mínī é-dí ní
REL 3SG-go REL SM-ITIVE-taste SM-look TOP
ḿm tsɪtsɪtsɪtsɪtsɪ
INTJ IDEO
'When he went and tasted it, mm, no, no, no.' (i.e. 'it is so tasty').

250. Ágblá mítɛ̃́ kɔ́ 'ɛbúí.
á-gblá-mítɛ̃́ kɔ́ ki-búí
3SG-EXC-be.not.good DAT CM-matter
'It is overwhelmingly good.'(So he couldn't resist the temptation to eat some.)

251. Ô! áts'áhɔɪn akpí, áátã áátã áátã.
ô á-tsí a-hɔɪ ní á-kpí
INTJ 3SG-take.off CM-hand DEF SM-put.in
á-á-tã á-á-tã á-á-tã
SM-PRSPROG-chew SM-PRSPROG-chew SM-PRSPROG-chew
'He dipped his hand into it, eating, eating, and eating.

252. Ô! di ɪasālɛ̃ 'ɛvu
ô dí ká-sālā ki-vu
INTJ look CM-tortoise CM-stomach
'Oh! Look at tortoise's stomach.'

253. Akaábʊbɔ tɪ ebu 'ɪdzya tilí ko, kásālā kplǒ kawɔ́lī kū ketsukpúníḿ.
a-ka-á-bʊbɔ tɪ e-bú kɪ-dzya
3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend PURP 3SG.DEP-remove CM-meat
ti-lí ko ká-sālā kplǒ
AM-INDEF just CM-tortoise IDEO.sound.of.falling
ka-wɔ́lī kú ke-tsʊkpú ní kɪmɪ
SM-fall ALL CM-pot DEF inside
'Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat, tortoise fell inside the pot.'

254.   Ô! kibroe nînî? Kibroe nînî?
       ô   ki-búí   ɖúwē nú   ɪ-ní
       INTJ CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX
       ki-búí   ɖúwē nú   ɪ-ní
       CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX
       'Oh! What problem is this? What problem is this?'

255.   Kásālā edze agbagbá sí tɪ …
       ká-sālā   e-dze.agbagbá   sí   tɪ
       CM-tortoise SM-try   COMP   COMP
       'Tortoise tried to …'

256.   Kásālā 'bhítī 'ibuinyéébúí 'ídī sí tɪ kevlekóéyī ní ketsukpúnír̃ pétéé
       ketéétéŋú ékóéyī.
       ká-sālā   a-bhítī   ki-búí-nyáá-ki-búí   kí-dī   sí
       CM-tortoise SM-do   CM-matter-DISTR-CM-matter CM-type COMP
       tɪ   ke-vle-kóéyī   ní   ke-tsukpú ní   kɪmɪ pétéé
       COMP   3SG.DEP-again-exit LOC   CM-pot   DEF   inside all
       ke-téé-téŋú   ké-kóéyī
       3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-be.able SM-exit
       'Tortoise tried every kind of thing in a bid to get out of the pot again (but)
       he was not able to get out.'

257.   Kelíń ázé 'évʊlóń, kásālā, bápī 'ɪásālā pétéé badɪmɔ.
       ke-lí   ní   ka-za   kí-vʊló   ní
       CM-day   DEF SM-be.at:NPRES   CM-morning DEF
       ká-sālā   bá-pī   ká-sālā   pétéé ba-dɪ-mɔ
       CM-tortoise 3PL-look.for CM-tortoise all   3PL-NEG2-see
       'Day broke, in the morning, they looked for tortoise all over, they did not
       find (him).'

258.   Banɔ́ ní, bánɔ́ń gɪ lekpé, bánɔ̄n abá pétéé.
       ba-nɔ̄   ní   bá-nɔ̄   ní   gɪ   le-kpé
       CM.PL-person DEF CM.PL-person DEF REL 3PL.DEP-invite
       bá-nɔ̄   ní   ba-bá   pétéé
       CM.PL-person DEF SM-come all
       'The people, the invited guests, all the people came.'

259.   Bátáámɔ kásālā.
       bá-táá-mɔ   ká-sālā
       3PL-NEG:PRSPROG-see CM-tortoise
       'They cannot find tortoise.'

260. "Ã! ee d'ɔmín'ɩdɔ̄ nɪ ɔɔ́kɔ 'mínā tɪ lɔdí[85] oo".

ã	ee	dɪ	ɔ-mínɪ	kí-dɔ̄	ní
INTJ	INTJ	go	2SG-do.as.a.last.resort	CM-thing	DEF

ɔ́-yíkɔ	ɔ-mínā	tɪ	lo-dí	oo
SM-take	SM-bring	COMP	1PL.DEP-look	UFP

"'Ah! As it is, bring the food for us to look at!'" (i.e. since the host is no
where to be found, there was nothing to do than for the food to be served).

261. Kɪlí adzɪn alɔ́ gɪ avʊnɔ agbě, avʊnɔ 'ɛsígbé, avʊnɔ 'ɛdɔnyɔ́ɔ́ sí tɪ ayɛ 'édɔ̄n
akpí ákɔ́ banɔ̄n.

kɪlí	a-dzɪ̀	ní	á-lɔ́	gɪ	á-vʊnɔ̄
CONJ	CM-woman	DEF	SM-get.up	REL	3SG.DEP-take.with

a-gbě	á-vʊnɔ̄	kí-sígbé	á-vʊnɔ	kí-dɔ
CM-bowl	SM-take.with	CM-earthen.bowl	SM-take.with	CM-thing

nyɔ́ɔ́	sí	tɪ	á-ya	kí-dɔ̄	ní
all	COMP	COMP	3SG.DEP-cut.off	CM-thing	DEF

a-kpí	á-kɔ́	ba-nɔ̄	ní
SM-put.in	SM-give	CM.PL-person	DEF

'Then the woman got up and she took a pan, she took earthenware bowls,
she took other things in order to serve the people.'

262. Gɪ áyíkɔ 'ɛbhlʊxɔɛ́, ákpí, ákpí, ákpí.

gɪ	á-yíkɔ	kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́	á-kpí	á-kpí	á-kpí
REL	3SG.DEP-take	CM-spoon	SM-put.in	SM-put.in	SM-put.in

'When she took a ladle, she dipped it in, dipped it in, and dipped it in.'

263. Ákpí 'ɪbhlʊxɔɛ́ń, étū, ákpí ɪbhlʊxɔɛ́n, étū.

á-kpí	kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́	ní	é-tū
SM-put.in	CM-spoon	DEF	SM-hit

á-kpí	kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́	ní	é-tū
SM-put.in	CM-spoon	DEF	SM-hit

'She put in the ladle and it hit (something) she put in the ladle and it hit
(something).'

264. Ɛɛ, ásíń étééḱóéyī.

ɛɛ	á-sí	ní	é-téé-kóéyī
INTJ	CM-rice	DEF	SM-NEG:PRSPROG-exit

'Er, the rice is not coming out.'

265. Ákpí 'ɪbhlʊxɔɛ́ń, étū, ákpí 'ɪbhlʊxɔɛ́ń, étū.

á-kpí	kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́	ní	é-tū
SM-put.in	CM-spoon	DEF	SM-hit

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[85] The form of the dependent pronoun should have been **lo** with a +ATR vowel.

á-kpí   kɪ-bhlʊxɔɛ́   ní   é-tū
SM-put.in   CM-spoon   DEF   SM-hit
'She put in the ladle and it hit (something), she put in the ladle and it hit (something).'

266. Odͅútsū otóókóéyī.
     o-dͅútsū   o-tóó-kóéyī
     CM-stew   SM-NEG:PRSPROG-exit
     'No stew is coming out.'

267. O! kibúí dͅúwē nîń dza?
     o   ki-búí   dͅúwē   nú   ɪ-ní   dza
     INTJ   CM-matter   which   COP   AM-PROX   UFP
     'Oh! What is this?'

268. Bétu 'kĩ́ń, bétu 'kĩ́ń, bétu 'kĩ́ń, bétu 'kĩ́ń, â!
     bé-tu   ɪ-kĩ́   ní   bé-tu   ɪ-kĩ́   ní   bé-tu   ɪ-kĩ́
     3PL-hit   CM-here   DEF   3PL-hit   CM-here   DEF   3PL-hit   CM-here
     ní   bé-tu   ɪ-kĩ́   â
     DEF   3PL-hit   CM-here   INTJ
     'They hit here, they hit there, they hit here, they hit there, ah!'

269. Kɪlí lasí ô! kibúí ɪní, alasí tɪ lefekê kitsikpǐ tɪ bááko adatrɔ̄ 'ɛfú tɪ lahɪh'alí 'ɪbɔ́é ádɪpĩ́ elishí ní a kɪlí levu aglɔ̄.
     kɪlí   la-sí   ô   ki-búí   ɪ-ní
     CONJ   3PL.DEP-say   INTJ   CM-matter   AM-PROX
     a-lí   a-sí   tɪ   le-féké   ki-tsikpǐ   tɪ
     3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP   3PL.DEP-lift   CM-pot   PURP
     ba-yíkɔ   á-dá-trɔ̄   ki-fú   tɪ   la-hɪha   alí
     3PL-take   AM-ITIVE-put.on   CM-fire   PURP   3PL.DEP-heat   3PL
     kɪbɔ́é ádɪpĩ́ e-lishí   ní   a   kɪlí   le-vu   áglɔ̄
     little   perhaps   CM-night   DEF   CFM   CONJ   3PL.DEP-catch   RECIP
     'Then they said as for this, they should carry (the) pot and put it on fire to warm it a bit, perhaps in the night the rice solidified.'

270. Klǐso babhɪtí 'ídɔ̄ ní.
     klǐso   bá-bhɪtí   kí-dɔ̄   ní
     so   3PL-do   CM-thing   DEF
     'Therefore they must do this.'

271. Kɩlí ledéfékē kídɔ̄ ní[86] mambo kásãlã avɩn' trǎ.

kɩlí   le-de-féké   kí-dɔ̄   ní
CONJ 3PL.DEP-ITIVE-lift CM-thing DEF

mambo   ká-sãlã   á-vɩ-nɔ   tɩ-rá
not.knowing CM-tortoise SM-go-COM CM-sleep

'Then they lifted the thing (i.e. the pot), not knowing, tortoise was asleep.'

272. Gɩ latrɔ̄ 'itsikpǐń 'ifúń pɩ kesíń á ...

gɩ   la-trɔ̄   ki-tsikpǐ   ní   ki-fú   ní   pɩ
REL   3PL.DEP CM-pot   DEF   CM-fire DEF   CONN

ke-sí   ní   á
CM-bottom DEF   CFM

'When they put the pot on fire and the down part… (was beginning to heat up),'

273. ô! íkpas'ítsikpǐnúm̄, íkpas'ítsikpǐnímī oo, íkpas'ítsikpǐnímī oo, nɔts'ítsikpǐ ní oo.

ô   í-kpasí   ki-tsikpǐ   ní   kɩmɩ   oo
INTJ 1SG-be.in CM-pot   DEF   inside INTJ

í-kpasí   ki-tsikpǐ   ní   kɩmɩ   oo
1SG-be.in CM-pot   DEF   inside INTJ

nɔ-tsí   kí-tsikpǐ   ní   oo
2PL-take.off CM-pot   DEF   INTJ

'oh! I am in the pot, I am in the pot, I am in the pot, take the pot off the fire'

274. Pɩ lats'itsikpǐ ní p'íál'ááhwa hlohlohlo p'itsikpǐń íwɔ́lī n'ɩal'ahwa ní… agboyaa.

pɩ   la-tsí   ki-tsikpǐ   ní
CONN   3PL.DEP-take.off   CM-pot   DEF

pɩ   kalí   ká-á-hwā   hlohlohlo
CONN   3SG.IND SM-PRSPROG-move   IDEO

pɩ   ki-tsikpǐ   ní   kí-wɔ́lī   nɩ   kalí   ka-hwa   ní
CONN   CM-pot   DEF   SM-fall   COM 3SG.IND SM-move   TOP

agboyaa
IDEO.sound

'When they took the pot from the fire with him moving in it (then) the pot fell… (with a loud noise).'

275. Kitsikpǐ yě, béédī ɩásãlã.

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ki-tsikpǐ   yě   bé-é-dī   ká-sālā
CM-pot   break   3PL-PRSPROG-look   CM-tortoise
'The pot breaks, they are looking at tortoise.'

276.   Ô! kásālā, w'ɔbhɪtí 'íbúí ɪnííí!
ô   ká-sālā   wɔ́   ɔ-bhɪtí   ki-búí   ɪ-ní
INTJ   CM-tortoise 2SG.IND   SM-do   CM-matter   AM-PROX
'Oh! Tortoise, you did this thing?'

277.   Kɪlí adzɪnúvɔ̄n álɔ́ n'íw̃ǐ gɪ etsódz'avɪ y'enī nɪ y'akā 'kɔ.
kɪlí   a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ ní   á-lɔ́   nɪ   ki-w̃ǐ
CONJ   CM-girl   DEF   SM-get.up   COM   CM-shame
gɪ   é-tsódzi   a-vɪ   yí   e-nī   nɪ
REL   3SG.DEP-return   SM-go   3SG-IND   CM-mother   COM
yí   á-kā   ɔ.kɔ
3SG-IND CM-father   place
'And the girl got up with shame and went back to her parents place.'

274.   Gɪ banɔ̄ań bálɔ́ átɔ́nɔ̄ kásālā.
gɪ   ba-nɔ̄   a-ní   bá-lɔ́   bá-tɔ́nɔ̄
REL   CM.PL-person   AM-PROX   SM-get.up   SM-follow
ká-sālā
CM-tortoise
'Then these people rose up upon him.'

275.   Ô, kibroe nı̂ní, kibroe nı̂ní, kibroe nı̂ní!
ô   ki-búí   d̦úwē   nú   ɪ-ní
INTJ   CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX
ô   ki-búí   d̦úwē   nú   ɪ-ní
INTJ   CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX
ô   ki-búí   d̦úwē   nú   ɪ-ní
INTJ   CM-matter   which COP   AM-PROX
'Oh! what is this?, What is this?, What is this?'

276.   Kɪlí kásālā etú 'kóéyī nı̂ ɔmaním̄.
kɪlí   ká-sālā   e-tú   e-kóéyī   ní   ɔ-ma
CONJ   CM-tortoise   SM-pack.out   SM-exit   LOC   CM-town
ní   kɪmɪ
DEF   in
'And tortoise packed out of town.'

277.   Kɪlí ɔ́mɔ kásālē̄ 'ē̃klɔ̂ obóń ní ní,
kɪlí   ɔ́-mɔ   ká-sālā   kɪ-klɔ̂   o-bóń   ní   ní
CONJ   2SG-see   CM-tortoise   CM-shell   CM-today   DEF   TOP
Therefore, when you see tortoise's shell today,'

278. ɪklí gɪ kɪblʊxɔé nî gɪ betu yɪ pétéé,

ɪ-klí	gɪ	kɪ-bhlʊxɔé	ní	gɪ	be-tu	yí	pétéé
CM-there	REL	CM-ladle	DEF	REL	3PL-hit	3SG	all

'where the ladle hit,'

279. kɪl'ebi nɪ pétéé al'álɪ kásál'ĩede ooo.

kɪlí	é-bĩ	ní	pétéé	alí	a-lí	ká-sãlã
3SG.IND	CM.PL-scar	DEF	all	3SG.IND	SM-be.at	CM-tortoise

ke-de	ooo
CM-back	UFP

'all the marks are on his back.'

280. Kɪlí kɔ́ sí ní kásál'ĩede katsa idi nɪ pétéé oo ɔ́bɔ́tɔ́n'obɔ́n.

kɪlí	kɔ́	sí	ní	ká-sãlã	ke-de	ka-tsa
3SG.IND	cause	COMP	TOP	CM-tortoise	CM-back	SM-draw

i-di	ní	pétéé	oo	ɔ́-bɔ́-tɔ́nɔ̃	o-bɔ́ń
CM.PL-line	DEF	all	CFM	2SG-VENT-follow	CM-today

'That is why the back of tortoise has lines up till today.'

281. Klĭso, ɔ́t'ɔsí aní kásãlã bʊyíkɔ̃ y'aáko kídɔ̃ gbɪgblă pɪpí, ɛɛ, kídɔ̃ gbɪgblă ŋɪŋa aáko ehú ahɔɪ 'ɪté ní,

klĭso	ó-ti	ɔ-sí	aní	ká-sãlã	bʊ-yíkɔ̃
so	2SG-know	SM-COMP	NEGCL	CM-tortoise	CM-take

yí	a-yíkɔ	kí-dɔ̃	gbɪgblă	pɪ-pí
3SG.IND	SM-take	CM-thing	big	RED-want

ɛɛ	kí-dɔ̃	gbɪgblă	ŋɪ-ŋa	á-yíkɔ	e-hú	a-hɔɪ
INTJ	CM-thing	big	RED-eat	SM-take	SM-hit	CM-hand

kɪ-té	ní
CM-chest	DEF

'That is why had it not been that tortoise was given in to greed and gluttony,'

282. tsyínã lóó kásãlã y'ʊyísɔ̃ 'ha lɔdɔɔtsyáĩ.

tsyínã	lóó	ká-sãlã	yí	bʊ-yísɔ̃	ɔ-ha
otherwise	ADD	CM-tortoise	3SG.IND	CM-handsomeness	CM-group

lɔ-dɔ-tsyáĩ
3SG-ITIVE-be.left.over

'his good looks would have been hard to beat.'

283. Tsyínã lóó akagbánĩ ekus'edzini, ekus'edzin'éyí, ekus'edzĕyí.

tsyínã	lóó	a-ka-gbánĩ	e-kusí	e-dzini
otherwise	ADD	3SG-PERS-marry	CM-king	CM-wife

e-kusí	e-dzini	e-yí	e-kusí	e-dzeyí
CM-king	CM-wife	CM-chlid	CM-king	CM-daughter

'Otherwise, he would still have been married to the king's daughter, the
princess.'

284.   Tsyínā lóó bakalí obóń ní é óó.
       tsyínā   lóó   ba-ka-lí   o-bóń   ní   é   óó
       otherwise ADD   3PL-PERS-be.at CM-today   DEF   UFP UFP
       'Otherwise, they would still have been there today.'

285.   Klĭso ní a, wɔ anɔ́ ɔ́lī, kídɔ̄ nɔ̂ń gɪ lásɪ latɪbhɪtɪ ko ní ní tɪbhɪtɪ̄ʔ.
       klĭso   ní   a   wɔ́   a-nɔ́   ɔ́-lī   kí-dɔ̄   nɔ̂
       so   TOP   CFM   2SG.IND CM.person   SM-be.at   CM-thing   wh.ever
       ní   gɪ   la-sí   la-tɪ-bhɪtī̄   ko   ní   ní
       DEF   REL   3PL.DEP-say 3PL.DEP-NEG1-do   just   TOP   TOP
       tɪ-bhɪtī̄
       NEG1-do
       'Therefore, as a person, if you are there and there is something forbidden,
       do not do it.'

286.   Básí ɔdɪza kívū t'ɔbɔŋa ko ní ní gɪ latɪtɔ́ 'edɔ̄n elú ko
       bá-sí   ɔ-dɪ-za   kí-vū   tɪ
       3PL-say   2SG-ITIVE-be.at.NPRES   CM-tomorrow   COMP
       ɔ-bɔ-ŋa   ko   ní   ní   gɪ   la-tɪ-tɔ́
       2SG-FUT-eat   just   TOP   TOP   REL   3PL.DEP-PERF-cook
       kí-dɔ̄   ní   be-lú   ko
       CM-thing   DEF   3PL-put   just
       As the food has already been prepared if they say wait and eat
       it tomorrow (just wait).'

287.   Kídɔ̄ nɔ̂ń gɪ ɔs'ɔbhɪtí ko, bhɪtɪ 'ɪlí tɪ lɪ ná óó.
       kí-dɔ̄   nɔ̂   ní   gɪ   ɔ-sí   ɔ-bhɪtí   ko
       CM-thing   wh.ever   DEF   REL   2SG-say   SM-do   just
       bhɪtɪ   kɪlí   tɪ   lɪ-ná   óó
       do   3SG   COMP   3SG.DEP-be.sufficient   UFP
       Whatever you want to do, do it the right way.'

288.   M'ɔdzídzíésí, m'ɔdzídzíábhā,
       mí   ɔ-dzɪdzɪ ke.sí   mí   ɔ-dzɪdzɪ kábhā
       1SG.IND   CM-story under   1SG.IND   CM-story top
       'This is the head and tail of my story.'

289.   ɔfɪ́tí klɪmí, ɔza klɪmí, okpókpó 'ʊbɔnɔ, ɔbɔnɔ tséń.
       ɔfɪ́tí   klɪmí   ɔza   klɪmí   okpókpó   bʊbɔnɔ   ɔbɔnɔ   tséń
       ???   ???   ???   ???   ???   ???   ???   IDEO
       [A formula for ending a story]

290. Ayígoo.
       ayígoo
       'well.done'

291. Yagoo.
       Yagoo
       'Response'

13.2   Tɪgbɔɛmɪ akpalí telí 'Some proverbs in Tafi'

Proverbs are wise sayings which are used to give advice or to tell people something about human life and problems in general. The proverbs were provided by Nelson Agbley who is about 66 years old and Beatrice Amoadza who is about 78.

01.   Ɔtsrí kɔkʊlɔ̃ ɔl'ɔ́vɔ aput'otiti ɔdzyʊdzyɔ ní.
       ɔ-tsrí   kɔkʊlɔ̃   ɔlí   ɔ́-vɔ   a-putɔ́
       CM-foot   crooked   3SG.IND SM-besmeared.with   CM.PL-mud
       o-titi   ɔ-dzyʊdzyɔ   ní
       SM-smear   CM-straight   DEF
       'It is the crooked leg that besmears the straight one with mud.'

       Interpretation: The misdeeds of a bad relation will have an adverse effect on an innocent one.

02.   Ɔtsrɪ tsyí ishú ɔhɔɪ tsyí ishú.
       ɔ-tsrí   tsyí   i-shú   ɔ-hɔɪ   tsyí   i-shú
       CM-leg   also   CM-body   CM-arm   also   CM-body
       'The leg is a part of the body equally so is the arm.'

       Interpretation: Every member of the community deserves due regard.
       OR All members of the community should be treated equally.

03.   Aní nyɔé kú nɪ bɔé gú.
       aní   nyɔé   kú   nɪ   bɔé   gú
       NEGCL   nose   develop   COM   tobacco   sniff
       OR
       aní kánā gɪ lekú 'íyĩ́ntɔ́ nɪ légu asrã̄n.
       aní   ká-nā   gɪ   le-kú   kɪ-yĩ́ntɔ́   nɪ
       NEGCL   CM-manner   REL   3PL.DEP-develop   CM-nose   COM
       lé-gu   a-srã̄   ní
       3PL.DEP-sniff   CM-tobacco   DEF
       'The size of the nose does not determine the amount of snuff to be sniffed.'

-A normal pinch of snuff is sufficient even if one has a nose of prodigious size.

Interpretation: We must exercise moderation in all things.

04.   Agudǔ ágıganı tsyí áfɔ̄ ɖɔɔɖɔ.
       a-gudǔ   á-gıganı   tsyí   á-fɔ̄   ɖɔɔɖɔ
       CM-bear SM-be.strong   also   SM-defecate slowly
       'Even though the bear is a powerful animal it is known to defecate slowly.'

Interpretation: We should not overdo things.

05.   Elishī até 'ɛ́kpá̃.
       e-lishī   a-tá   kí-kpá̃
       CM-night SM-swell CM-knot
       'The night has a lumpy knot to it.'

Interpretation: We should be careful about saying secret things in the night as the dark may be hiding an eavesdropper.
OR
Walls have ears, so be careful when saying secret things in the night.

06.   Anúvɔ̄ ámɔ tsyí bésī éshishe amɔ tsyí bésī.
       a-núvɔ̄   á-mɔ   tsyí   bé-sī   é-shishe   á-mɔ   tsyí
       CM-child SM-see   also   3PL-run CM-RED.old SM-see   also
       bé-sī
       3PL-run
       'Even if the one who spotted the approaching danger and alerts others is a child we may all run for our lives.'

Interpretation: We may run for our lives even if the one who spotted the danger is a mere child.

07.   Ɔkɔ́ tóɖúkpó láshɔ̄ 'elú g'lʊbɛ 'ɛfɔ́.
       ɔ-kɔ́   to-ɖukpó lá-shɔ̄   be-lú   gı
       CM-place   AM-one 3PL.DEP-urinate   3PL-put.down REL
       lʊ-bá   kı-fɔ́
       3SG.DEP-come CM-lather
       'It is by urinating at one place that lather is formed.'

Interpretation: We get the desired result when we concentrate on one activity.

08.   Kepi 'ibúí 'tídı anɔ́ 'unúʔ.
       ke-pí   ki-búí   kı-tí-dı   a-nɔ́   bu-nú
       CM-home   CM-matter   SM-NEG1-surpass   CM-person   CM-limit
       'A home problem does not defy all solutions.'

       Interpretation: In the comfort of (the) home, one has the leisure to try
       many more alternatives or solutions.

09.   Ónúgı kihuǐ duya kede líyī.
       ónú.gı   ki-huǐ   duya   ke-de   lí-yī
       COND   CM-trap   spring CM-back   3SG.DEP-show.up
       'If a trap springs, it moves backwards.'

       Interpretation: Win or lose, one always comes back home.

10.   Itúkpé ılí kasí 'úbʋbɔ.
       i-túkpé   ılí   í-kasí   bú-bʋbɔ
       CM-bullet   3PL.IND   SM-show   CM-bow
       'It is the level of the flying bullets that determines how low one must bow.'
       Interpretation: Every problem provides a suggested solution.

11.   Kedzi kal' ádɔ́ ákpí 'ítrékpú.
       ke-dzi   kalí   ká-dɔ́   ká-kpí   ki-trekpú
       CM-rat   3SG.IND   SM-cause SM-put.in CM-anthill
       'It is the rat that gets an anthill involved.'
       'When a rat makes an anthill its abode, it gets hunters to demolish the
       anthill.'

       Interpretation: A mischief-maker will involve his family or community in
       reprisal action.

12.   Olizatɔ́ ónúgbúím̄ lúlɔ́nímī ebúítibúí edekóéyī.
       o-lizatɔ́ o-nugbu   kımı lú.lɔ́   ní   kımı
       CM-dawn CM-mouth   inside RED.smell   DEF   inside
       e-búítibúí   e-de-kóéyī
       CM.PL-word.of.wisdom   SM-ITIVE-exit
       'Out of the smelly mouth of early dawn good counsel flows.'

       Interpretation: Much wisdom is heard in discourses at early dawn.

13.   I-shú xúxwé so gı liyi 'ínflɔ̌.
       i-shú   xú.xwé   so   gı   li-yi   kı-yínflɔ̌
       CM-body RED.scratch   because   REL   3SG.DEP-grow   CM-fingernail
       'It is for scratching the body that one grows fingernails.'
       Interpretation: Everything we must possess is for a purpose.

14. Ágbalıgba átísā adzı ohui ákɔ́ anɔ́ʔ.

á-gbalıgba	á-tí-sā	a-dzı̀	o-hui	á-kɔ́
CM-bachelor	SM-NEG1-tie	CM-woman	CM-charm	SM-give

a-nɔ́
CM-person

'A bachelor does not make a credible seller of love charms.'

Interpretation: One cannot be trusted to give what one does not have.

15. Anúvɔ̄ éyí kázhʋé gı etínyí átísɔ́ 'íálí flôgo gı áyıkɔ́ ákásí y'akā sí eklú kal'inyí kɔ́ɛ́ʔ.

a-núvɔ̄	é-yí	ká-zhʋé	gı	e-tí-nyí
CM-child	SM-kill	CM-bird	REL	3SG.DEP-NEG1-know

á-tí-sɔ́		kalí	flôgo	gı	á-yıkɔ́	á-kásí
3SG-NEG1-pluck		3SG	before	REL	3SG.DEP-take	SM-show

yí	á-kā	a-sí	e-klú	kalí	ki-nyí
3SG.IND	CM-father	SM-COMP	3SG.DEP-call	3SG.IND	CM-name

kɔ́   yí
DAT   3SG

'When a child shoots an unknown bird he must not pluck it before asking his father to tell him what bird it is.'

Interpretation: It is unwise to tamper with a matter when one requires a better informed opinion on it.

16. Áka shishe etítsiré éshúī kelí'íbē 'ibúí pı edebísī ákā 'sí kíígba dzaʔ.

á-kā	shi.she	e-tí-tsiré	é-shúī	kelí.kibē
CM-father	RED.old	SM-NEG1-tell	CM-grandchild	CM-olden.time

ki-búí	pı	e-de-bísī	á-kā	a-sí
CM-matter	CONN	3SG.DEP-ITIVE-ask	CM-father	SM-COMP

kíígba   dza
CM-truth UFP

'A wise grandchild does not seek to verify from his father what his grandfather has told him about things that happened long ago.'

Interpretation: We must have respect for authority when it comes to information.

17. Anı 'ıtsá láyıko 'epú ɔwısí nɔ̄.

aní	kı-tsá	lá-yıkɔ̄	be-pú	ɔ-wısí
NEGCL	CM-needle	3PL.DEP-take	SM-punch	CM-axe.handle

nɔ̄
COM

'We do not punch a hole into an axe handle with a needle.'

Interpretation: To every operation, (there is) an instrument that is appropriate.

18. Bétíkū 'íkpɔ̄tsɔ́ pɪ láyɪkɔ̄ ekpú kewulútsúkpúʔ.

bé-tí-kū   **kí-kpɔ̄tsɔ́**   **pɪ**   **lá-yɪkɔ̄**
3PL-NEG1-develop CM-inflated.scrotum CONN   3PL.DEP-take

be-kpú   **ke-wulútsúkpú**
SM-hide   CM-bath.pot

'A man cannot hide from the bath tub an inflated scrotum he has developed.'

Interpretation: There is a limit to all secrecy.

19. Onugbu odinú kíkuísíʔ.

o-nugbu   **o-di-nú**   **kí-kuísí**
CM-mouth   SM-NEG2-COP   CM-knee

'The mouth is not a knee.'

Interpretation: People will always say what is on their minds, no matter what.

20. Kitíkplǐ ní gɪ anɔ̄n edzí ní tídɔ sí áfɔ̄ otshutshuī gɪ laákɔ 'ɛlí oturoʔ.

ki-tíkplǐ   **ní**   **gɪ**   **a-nɔ̄**   **ní**   **e-dzí**   **ní**   **tí-dɔ**
CM-stool DEF REL CM-person DEF SM-sit   TOP NEG1-say

sí   **á-fɔ̄**   **o-tshutshuī**   **gɪ**   **la-yíkɔ**   **kɪlí**
COMP   3SG.DEP-exude CM-fart   REL   3PL.DEP-take   3SG

o-turo
CM-lie

'We do not doubt the stool one is seated on when it declares that the person has just farted.'

Interpretation: There is always an authoritative source to every piece of information.

21. Kɪtɔkpú tíza ákpíkpá pɪ layíkɔ kikutú ekumú 'íkuísíʔ.

kɪ-tɔkpú   **tí-za**   **ákpíkpá**   **pɪ**   **la-yíkɔ**   **ki-kutú**
CM-head NEG1-stay   empty   CONN   3PL.DEP-take   CM-hat

be-kumú   **kí-kuísí**
SM-cover   CM-knee

'We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.'

Interpretation: It is wise to give to everyone his/her due place in society.

22.   Tsyá̀ǹví nɪ y'áyakpá.
       tsyá̀ǹví   nɪ   yí   á-yakpá
       orphan   COM 3SG.IND CM-bush
       'To the orphan, his bush.'

       Interpretation: A person deprived of a provider is always in the field and
       abroad trying to fend for himself.

23.   Osí ní gɪ lɔlí anɔ̃ ahɔɪ́ɲ ɔlí layíko 'ehū éblidzya.
       o-sí   ní   gɪ   lɔ-lí   a-nɔ̃   a-hɔɪ   ní
       CM-stick DEF   REL 3SG.DEP-be.at CM-person   CM-hand TOP
       ɔlí   la-yíkɔ   be-hū   é-blidzya
       3SG.IND 3PL.DEP-take   SM-hi t CM-snake
       'It is the stick one has in hand that one uses to hit a snake.'

       Interpretation: We work with the means and tools we have at our
       disposal.

24.   Tshá̀ǹví étíxwī kívʊlɔ́ 'úxwī ko gɪ amɔ samɪʔ.
       tshá̀ǹví   é-tí-xwī   kí-vʊlɔ́   bú-xwī   ko
       orphan   SM-NEG1-be.satisfied CM-morning CM-satisfaction only
       gɪ   a-mɔ   samɪ
       REL   3SG.DEP-see   happiness
       'The orphaned child does not rejoice over an early morning full belly.'

       Interpretation: Uncertain is the condition of a motherless child.

25.   Ónúgɪ ɔsí atɪtanyí ní étíbebíʔ.
       ónú.gɪ   ɔ-sí   a-tɪ-tanyí   ní
       COND   2SG.DEP-say   3SG-NEG1-burn TOP
       é-tí-be-bí
       3SG-NEG1-FUT-be.well.cooked
       'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or
       well-cooked.'

       Interpretation: To gain anything, one must be prepared to make some
       sacrifice.

26.   Banɔ̃ tɪabhē 'eshí épídzyá étíklĕnɔ̃ ɔtɔ 'ʊza.
       ba-nɔ̃   tɪa-bhā   ki.shí   e-pidzya   é-tíklĕnɔ̃
       CM.PL-person   AM-two   midst   CM-goat   SM-be.prone.to
       ɔ-tɔ   bʊ-za
       CM-outside   CM-stay
       'A goat that is reared between two keepers apart strays very often.'

Interpretation: Anybody's responsibility is nobody's job.

27. Ɔ́sí oní ní g'ɔ̌sísí ní kɪbhlʊxɔéníésí lɔtɪsísī ɔdo 'iesí so ótimínī ɔlí ní
ɔg'ɔkpasí kɪbhlʊxɔénímī bʊbalɪ lɔ́balɪ kú anɔ̄ ãmī́?.

ɔ́-sí	o-ní	ní	gɪ	ɔ́-sísí		ní	kɪ-bhlʊxɔé
2SG-say	CM-soup	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-drip		LOC	CM-ladle

ní	ke.sí	lɔ-tɪ-sísī		ɔ-dɔ́	ke.sí	so
DEF	under	3SG.DEP-NEG1-drip		SM-fall	under	so

ɔ́-ti-mínī		ɔlí	ní	ɔ-gɪ	ɔ-kpasí	kɪ-bhlʊxɔé
2SG.DEP-DESID-lick		3SG	TOP	3SG.REL	SM-be.in	CM-ladle

ní	kɪmɪ	bʊ-balɪ	lɔ́-balɪ		kú	a-nɔ̄	ã-mī́
DEF	inside	CM-pour	3SG.DEP-pour		ALL	CM-person	CM-face

'If you insist that drips of soup under the ladle should not drop and you
want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.'

Interpretation: We should not be greedy.

28. Tikulú w'enī y'enyínē edziní ɔsí w'enī, buni gɪ lasísī ní ekle ovutɔ́ésí dɪsɔ̃nɔ
kením'uní?.

ti-klú	wɔ́	é-nī	yí	e-nyínē	e-dziní
NEG1-call	2SG.IND	CM-mother	3SG.IND	CM-husband	CM-wife

ɔ-sí	wɔ́	é-nī	bu-ní	gɪ	la-sísī
SM-COMP	2SG.IND	CM-mother	CM-water	REL	3PL.DEP-harvest

ní	e-kle	o-vutɔ́	ke.sí	dɪ-sɔ̃-nɔ
LOC	CM-thatch	CM-roof	under	NEG2-be.equal-COM

ke-ní	kɪmɪ	bu-ní
CM-river	inside	CM-water

'Do not call your mother's co-wife your mother, water collected from the
eaves of the thatched hut is not the same as that from a river.'

Interpretation: However good a substitute may be, we may still miss the
original or it cannot be compared to the original.

29. Ɔtsrǐ kuusū nɪ ɔlí tíyíyékē.

ɔ-tsrǐ	kuusū	nɪ	ɔlí	tí-yí-yékē
CM-leg	small	COM	3SG.IND	CM-RED.swell

'The small foot too has its swelling.'

Interpretation: To everything, the standard by which people measure it.

30. Ónúg' óféké kitukúń ɔ́trɔ̄ kíkuísí ní ká ɔ́pʊʊyíkɔ é.

ónú.gɪ	ó-féké	ki-tukú	ní	ɔ́-trɔ̄	kí-kuísí	ní
COND	2SG.DEP-lift	CM-load	DEF	SM-put.on	CM-knee	DEF

ká	ɔ́-pĩ	bʊ-yíkɔ	é
then	2SG.DEP-be.good	CM-take	CFM

'When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.'

Interpretation: When one has the self-help spirit, assistance comes easily.

31.   Kíwɔ̃hṹń ípu tsyí trǎ kpasí 'ɩlɪ́m̃.
       kí-wɔ̃hṹ   ní   ki-pú   tsyí   tɪ-rá   kpasí kɪlí   kɪmɪ
       CM-eye   DEF   SM-pierce   also   CM-sleep be.in 3SG.IND inside
       'A blind eye still has sleep in it.'

Interpretation: Nature is quick to adopt to conditions.

32.   Bétítsū oturoeleté ovutɔ́ 'ɛ́fú bʋpʋɪ lápʋɪ ɔlɪ́m̃?
       bé-tí-tsū   o-turo   e-leté   o-vutɔ́   ki-fú
       3PL-NEG1-set   CM-lie   CM-owner   CM-roof   CM-fire
       bʋ-pʋɪ   lá-pʋɪ   ɔlɪ́   kɪmɪ
       CM-scatter   3PL.DEP-scatter 3SG.IND inside
       'We do not set fire to a dishonest person's roof, we tear it apart.'
       (He must be having some valuables hidden away in the roof.)

Interpretation: When you thoroughly investigate a case involving a dishonest person, you end up discovering more hidden facts.

33.   Ónúgɪ ɖeke évu wɔ́ ní y'eyíálí bʋtī látī ní anɔ́ 'ɛvuɪabhā.
       ónú.gɪ   ɖeke   é-vu   wɔ́   ní   yí   e-yí-alí
       COND   crocodile SM-catch 2SG   TOP   3SG.IND CM-child-PL
       bʋ-tī   lá-tī   ní   a-nɔ́   ki-vu   kabhā
       CM-crawl   3PL.DEP-crawl   LOC   CM-person   CM-stomach   top
       'When a crocodile has captured you (even) baby crocs will crawl on your belly.'

Interpretation: If you are in someone's power even the one's children tend to treat you with scorn.

34.   Bátíyɪkɔ́ ɔhɔɪ kuusuń 'adaatsrakī ɔgbʋgbláʔ.
       bá-tí-yɪkɔ́   ɔ-hɔɪ   kuusu ní   bá-dá-á-tsrakī
       3PL-NEG1-take   CM-arm   small DEF   SM-ITIVE-PRSPROG-exchange
       ɔ-gbʋgblá
       SM-big
       'We do not exchange a smaller arm with a bigger one.'

Interpretation: We are advised against attacking one that is clearly more powerful than we are.

35.   Kɪgɪ anɔ́ áŋa ní kɪlí bʋbɔ́ y'élū.

kɪ-gɪ	a-nɔ́	á-ŋa	ní	kɪlí	bʊ-bɔ́	yí
3SG-REL	CM-person	SM-eat	TOP	3SG.IND	CM-fat	3SG.IND

é-lū
SM-form

'What you eat, it is that whose fat will form in your body.'

Interpretation: What we put in determines the end result we should expect.

36. Otúgba búgā lí.

o-túgba	bú-gā	lí
CM-front	CM-walk	be.at

'The journey lies in the moving forward.'

Interpretation: Progress comes in pressing on.

37. Anɔ́ ní gɪ átáánā kitukúń y'adɔ así kɪga ní kɪlí 'mítáʔ.

a-nɔ́	ní	gɪ	á-táá-nā	ki-tukú
CM-person	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-be.able	CM-load

ní	yí	a-dɔ	a-sí	kɪ-ga	ní	kɪlí
DEF	3SG.IND	SM-say	SM-COMP	CM-head.pad	DEF	3SG.IND

kɪ-mítá̄
SM-be.not.good

'The one who cannot carry the load says that it is the head-pad that is not good.'

Interpretation: An unskilled artisan usually puts the blame on the tools he has to work with.
OR
A bad workman quarrels with his tools.

38. Onugbu tolí lɔ́tízɔŋɛ 'édɔ̄ gɪ onugbu bhlatɔ́ p'ɔzɔkpasāʔ.

o-nugbu	to-lí	lɔ́-tí-zɔ-ŋa	kí-dɔ̄	gɪ
CM-mouth	AM-INDEF	3SG.DEP-NEG1-REP-eat	CM-thing	REL

o-nugbu	bhlatɔ́	pɪ	o-zɔ-kpasā
CM-mouth	other	CONN	3SG.DEP-REP-move

'One mouth should not be eating while another mouth should be seen moving.'

Interpretation: The real beneficiary ought to be identified.

39. Eyí nɔ̂ ní gɪ así y'ení atɪdɔ tră elishí yɪ tsyí agɪsí abadɔʔ.

e-yí	nɔ̂	ní	gɪ	a-sí	yí	é-nī
CM-child	wh.ever	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-say	3SG.IND	CM-mother

á-tí-dɔ   **tɪ-rá**   **e-lishí**   **yí**   **tsyí**   **a-gɪ-sí**
SM-NEG1-sleep   CM-sleep   CM-night   3SG.IND   too   SM-NEG3-say
á-ba-dɔ
SM-FUT-sleep
'The child who would not let its mother sleep will also not sleep.'

Interpretation: When we do good or bad we are also affected by the
result.

40.   Anɔ́ ní gɪ w'ɛwě kpasí y'ónúgbúímī bátítá y' ákɔɛ́?.
       a-nɔ́   **ní**   **gɪ**   **wɔ**   **kɪ-wě**   **kɪ-kpasí**   **yí**
       CM-person   DEF   REL   2SG.IND   CM-finger   SM-be.in   3SG.IND
       o-nugbu   **kɪmɪ**   **bá-tí-tá**   **yí**   **á-kɔé**
       CM-mouth   inside   3PL-NEG1-throw   3SG   CM-fist
       'You do not knock a person on the head when your finger is in his mouth.'

Interpretation: We should always beware of our points of vulnerability.

41.   Ɔ́mɔ́ tɪabh'eyí bátíw̃ũsɔ́ ɔw̃ã todukpóíábhā etité láw̃ũsɔ́?.
       ɔ́-mɔ́   **tɪa-bha**   **e-yí**   **bá-tí-w̃ũsɔ́**   **ɔ-w̃ã**
       2SG-bear   AM-two   CM-child   3PL-NEG1-sleep CM-side
       to-dukpó   **kábhā**   **e-tité**   **lá-w̃ũsɔ́**
       AM-one   top   CM-back   3PL.DEP-sleep
       'When you give birth to twins you must not lie down on one side you   must
       lie on your back.'

Interpretation: We must be fair in matters of divided responsibility.

42.   Kásãlã 'tímɔ̄ eyí gɪ edéyī kíbulí?.
       ká-sãlã   **ka-tí-mɔ̄**   **e-yí**   **gɪ**   **e-dé-yī**
       CM-tortoise   SM-NEG1-bear CM-child   REL   3SG.DEP-ITIVE-resemble
       kí-bulí
       CM-snail
       'The offspring of a tortoise will not resemble a snail.'

Interpretation: It is always a thing of pride to maintain one's identity.

43.   Ekus'éyí átínáw̃ɔ̄ akɔ́ éfleté 'éplúkpá?.
       e-kusí   **e-yí**   **á-tí-náw̃ɔ̄**   **a-kɔ́**   **é-fleté**
       CM-chief CM-child SM-NEG1-hurry   SM-give   CM-leopard
       ke-plukpá
       CM-skin
       'The chief's child should not be in a hurry to see the leopard's skin.'
       Interpretation: Man should not hasten in life.

44. Anɔ shishe átínyɩnyā 'mī kɪbhɪm y'ányɩnyā?.

a-nɔ	shi-she	á-tí-nyɩnyā	ã̄-mī	kɪ-bhɪm
CM-person	RED-grow	SM-NEG1-frown	CM-face	CM-anus

yí	á-nyɩnyā
3SG.IND	SM-frown

'An elder does not frown his face; he contorts his anus.'

Interpretation: At a certain age, we are no longer expected to show our emotions that openly.

45. Anɔ tedikpó átíŋā exwī ko gɪ ládɔ̄ así ɔman ɔpĩ?.

a-nɔ	te-dikpó	á-tí-ŋā	e-xwī	ko	gɪ
CM-person	AM-one	SM-NEG1-eat	SM-satisfy	just	REL

lá-dɔ	a-sí	ɔ-ma	ní	ɔ-pĩ
3PL.DEP-say	SM-COMP	CM-town	DEF	SM-be.good

'One man's filled belly is not an indication that there is progress in town.'

Interpretation: Progress must be seen in the well-being of all.

46. Kɪtsɪntɔé tíédíkpó ayadɪ átídā̠ kipluí eyí ní yí 'ʋyēm?.

kɪ-tsɪntɔé	tíé-díkpó[87]	a-yadɪ	á-tí-dā̠
CM-row.of.yam.mound	AM-one	CM-farmer	SM-NEG1-plant

ki-pluí	e-yí	ní	yí	bʋ-ya	kɪmɪ
CM-gourd	CM.PL-seed	LOC	3SG.IND	CM-farm	inside

'A farmer whose plot has only one row of yam mounds should not plant the seed of a calabash.'
(If he does the tendrils will creep into neighbouring farms.)

47. Ekpú etíyukū odziré?.

e-kpú	e-tí-yúkū	o-dziré
CM-corpse	SM-NEG1-be.full	CM-grave

'A corpse does not fill its grave.'

Interpretation: Everything has its limits.

48. Ényínē 'dzíní ní gɪ ádí anɔ 'unú neenī léklŭ yí.

é-nyínē	é-dzíní	ní	gɪ	á-dí	a-nɔ
CM-husband	CM-wife	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-surpass	CM-person

bu-nú	neenī	lé-klŭ	yí
CM-limit	mother	3PL.DEP-call	3SG

'A co-wife who is too powerful for you, you address her as your mother.'

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[87] The expected form of the numeral 'one' for the **ki**- class is **trikpo** however this was the form produced spontaneously.

Interpretation: Certain constraints do impose on us things we would not
do in better circumstances.

49.   Anúv3 ní gɩ ákányɔ́ edí ní y'áɖɔ ásí y'eni y'ényí 'ítɔ́ dí.
      a-núv3   ní   gɩ   á-ká-nyɔ́   e-dí   ní
      CM-child   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-NEG.PERF-roam   SM-look   TOP
      yí   á-ɖɔ   á-sí   yí   é-nɪ   yí
      3SG.IND SM-say   SM-COMP   3SG.IND CM-mother   3SG.IND
      é-nyí   kɪ-tɔ́   dí
      SM-know CM-cook surpass
      'The child who has never travelled says that his mother is the best cook.'

      Interpretation: Lack of travel does limit a person's outlook on life.

50.   ɩklí g' ɔ̌mɔ kásālã́ɲ ɩklí womún3 'ɩalí.
      ɩ-klí   gɩ   ɔ-mɔ   ká-sālã   ní   ɩ-klí   wɔ́
      CM-there   REL   2SG.DEP-see CM-tortoise   DEF   CM-there   2SG.IND
      o-mún3   kalí
      SM-find   3SG
      'It is where you saw the tortoise that you can be said to have found it.'
      Interpretation: It is where an opportunity presents itself that we should
      avail ourselves of it.

51.   Bátíkpī kifú ávʊvɔ gɩ layíkɔ kíbulī akp'ílímī?.
      bá-tí-kpī   ki-fú   ávʊvɔ gɩ   la-yíkɔ   kí-bulī
      3PL-NEG1-set   CM-fire   new   REL   3PL.DEP-take   CM-snail
      ba-kpí   kɪlí   kɪmɪ
      SM-put.in 3SG.IND inside
      'You do not light a new fire and put a snail into it.'
      (The juice from a roasting snail will quench a newly-lit fire.)

      Interpretation: There is a right moment for every operation.

52.   Ónúg' ónyí ɔ́sí ɔ́ɔ́lɔ̃ ní bátíf'õtshutshúí ní ɔhɛ 'ɛshí?.
      ónú.gɩ   ó-nyí   ɔ́-sí   ɔ́-ɔ́-lɔ̃   ní
      COND   2SG.DEP-know SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell TOP
      bá-tí-fɔ̃   o-tshutshúí   ní   ɔ-ha   ki.shí
      3PL-NEG1-exude   CM-fart   LOC   CM-group   midst
      'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'

      Interpretation: We need self-realisation.

53.   Enyī así y'ikutú tídɪ yí?.
      e-nyī   a-sí   yí   ki-tukú   tí-dɪ   yí
      CM-elephant SM-say   3SG.IND CM-load   NEG1-surpass   3SG

'The elephant said its load is not too heavy for it.'

Interpretation: One has to bear every responsibility he is faced with.

54.   Bʊ-bhɪ tíyī anɔ̃ pɪ lákpɪ kíkūgbɛ 'ɛfúʔ.
        bu-bhɪ   **tí-yī**   **a-nɔ̃**   **pɪ**   **lá-kpí**
        CM-hunger   NEG1-kill   CM-person   CONN   3PL.DEP-set
        kí-kūgba   **ki-fú**
        CM-yam.barn   CM-fire
        'You don't set fire to your yam barn because you are hungry.'

55.   Sʊ́bhɛ 'ɛhlɔ̃mɪ ɔ́ŋɛ 'ɛlɪ́ń égū ká óshuku é.
        súbha kɪ-hlɔ̃mɪ[88] **ɔ́-ŋa**   **kɪlɪ́**   **ní**   **é-gū**   **ká**
        rain   CM-plant 2SG-eat   3SG   TOP   3SG-thunder then
        ó-shuku   **é**
        2SG.DEP-shiver   CFM
        'When you eat the rain's cocoyam when it thunders you will shiver.'

        Interpretation: A lawless person always has a guilty conscience.

56.   Agɛ̃ 'ɛtukú kɪlí d'iepí.
        a-gɛ̃   **ki-tukú**   **kɪlí**   **dɪ**   **ke-pí**
        CM-fool   CM-load   3SG.IND   go   CM-home
        'A fool's load reaches home.'

        Interpretation: He who is wise in his own eyes never succeeds.

57.   Éfū étínyí 'ívɔɛmʔ.
        é-fū   **é-tí-nyí**   **kɪ-vɔ**   **kɪmɪ**
        CM-stranger   SM-NEG1-know CM-swampy.place   inside
        'A stranger does not know a swampy area during the dry season.'

        Interpretation: A stranger does not know all the secrets of the community
        he is in so he should not take the lead in making decisions.

58.   Éfū átíbɔ kizhuéʔ.
        é-fū   **á-tí-bɔ**   **ki-zhué**
        CM-stranger   SM-NEG1-blow   CM-whistle
        'A stranger does not blow a whistle.'

        For the interpretation of this proverb, see (57).

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[88]   **Sóbha kɪhlɔ̃mī** is a type of plant like the cocoyam plant.

13.3   Adzyo   'Riddles'

Riddles are verbal puzzles or word games (which are not straightforward) in which statements are put forward in challenge and responses are offered. When one is presented with a riddle, s/he is required to think deep in order to figure out what is being described. Thus, children learn a lot through the telling of riddles even though they are used primarily for entertainment.

In Tafi, during a riddle telling session, the people do not necessarily need to divide themselves into groups. The riddle is given and whoever knows the answer gives it. The expression in (A) illustrates how riddles are started and (B) is the response. **Adzyo** is a loan word from Ewe.

A: Adzyo kɔ́ ꞌűnɔ́ oo
        a-dzyo   kɔ́   wűnɔ́ oo
        CM-riddle   DAT   2PL   UFP
        'A riddle to you.'

B: Kɔ y'ábá.
        kɔ́   yí   á-bá
        let 3SG.IND SM-come
        'Let it come.'

When a correct answer is given, the person who posed the riddle responds with the statement in either (C) or (D). However, when the answer is not correct, the response is as shown in (E). When the person responding to the riddle does the give the correct answer, others are also given the opportunity to respond.

C.   Óvu yí.   D.   Ɔ́yíkɪ yí.
        ó-vu   yí   **ɔ́-yíkɪ   yí**
        2SG-catch   3SG   2SG-get   3SG
        'You've got it.'   'You have got it.)
        (Lit.:'You have caught it.')

E: Anɪ ꞌana.
        aní   ká-nā
        NEGCL   CM-manner
        'That is not it.'

The following are the riddles collected.

01.   Ɔma tol' ɔlí, kidzo má ɔ́lí shú.
        ɔ-ma   to-lí   ɔ-lí   ki-dzo   má   ɔ́lí
        CM-town AM-INDEF   SM-be.at   CM-road   be.at:NEG   3SG.IND

shú
surface
'There is a town, there is no road leading to it.'

Answer: **Kídzē**
'Egg.'

02. Ányí tel' alí, bákákp' ohui ní yí shú átítɔní 'ídzó.

á-nyí	**te-lí**	**a-lí**	**bá-ká-kpí**	**o-hui**
CM-man	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	3PL-NEG.PERF-put.on	CM-rope

ní	**yí**	**shú**	**á-tí-tɔ́nɔ̄**	**ki-dzo**
LOC	3SG.IND	surface	3SG-NEG1-start	CM-road

'There is a man unless a rope is attached to him he cannot embark on a journey.'

Answer: **Kɪtsá**
'Needle'

03. M'akā áfátí 'égbu ákɔ́m̄, ízɛɪalɪabhā kō kadzyá.

Mí	**á-kā**	**á-fátī**	**ke-gbu**	**á-kɔ́**	**mí**
1SG.IND	CM-father	SM-carve	CM-stool	SM-give	1SG

í-za	**kalí**	**kábhā**	**ko**	**ka-dzyá**
1SG-sit	3SG.IND	top	just	3SG-break.off

'My father made a stool for me when I sit on it then it breaks off.'

Answer: **Ɔgblɔdɔ̌/ Otúhlŏ**
'Mushroom'

04. Anɔ̄ tel' alí, áhū tatá y'éyi pɔ trikpóímī ko y'ébī yiyo aganɔ.

a-nɔ̄	**te-lí**	**a-lí**	**á-wɔ̄hū**	**ta-tá**	**yí**
CM-person	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	CM.PL-eye	AM-three	3SG.IND

é-yi	**pɔ**	**tri-kpó**	**kɪmɪ**	**ko**	**yí**	**é-bī.yiyo**
SM-germinate	but	AM-one	in	just	3SG.IND	SM-cry

a-ganɔ
SM-pass.through

'There is someone who has three eyes but sheds tears through only one eye.'

Answer: **Kihu**
'Palm kernel'

05. Ánɔ̄ tel' alí, ényéwulú ko ká éébī yiyo é.

á-nɔ̄	**te-lí**	**a-lí**	**é-nyé-wulú**	**ko**	**ká**
CM-person	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	3SG-CERT-bath	just	then

ó-é-bī.yiyo   **é**
3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-cry   CFM
'There is someone, whenever s/he takes a bath then s/he is weeping.'

Answer: **Ɔkwěnsá**
              'Bathing sponge'

06.   Kídɔ̄ til' ɪlí, óóbū n'ɪlíshú ká kiíkpe é, ɔ́ɔ́yɪkɔ 'plíno 'ɛlí ká kiíbéke é.
kí-dɔ̄   ti-lí   kɪ-lí   ó-ó-bū   ní
CM-thing   AM-INDEF   SM-be.at   2SG-PRSPROG-remove   LOC
kɪlí   shú   ká   ki-í-kpe   é
3SG.IND surface   then   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-become.plenty   CFM
ó-ɔ́-yɪkɔ   ɔ-plíno   kɪlí
2SG-PRSPROG-take   SM-add   3SG
ká   ki-í-béke   é
then   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-finish   CFM
'There is something, if you take part from it then it enlarges but if you add
to it then it diminishes.'

Answer: **Ozi**
              'Hole'

07.   Íkp'ánɔ sí édeklú Tsě ákɔ́ḿ, Tsě ébuso anɔ ní g'ɪkpíń 'úbá.
í-kpí   a-nɔ   sí   é-de-klú   Tsě   á-kɔ
1SG-send CM-person   COMP   3SG.DEP-ITIVE-call   Tsě   SM-give
mí   Tsě   é-buso   a-nɔ   ní   gɪ   ɪ-kpí
1SG   Tsě   SM-do.first   CM-person   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-send
ní   bʊ-bá
TOP   CM-come
'I sent someone to call me Tsě but Tsě arrived before the person.'

Answer: **Ɔgɔdí**
              'Coconut'

08.   Kení tiel' alí, kídɔ̄ bhulí til' ínyáwɔ́lī kú 'íálíḿ ko ká keyí é.
ke-ní   tie-lí   ka-lí   kí-dɔ̄   bhulí ti-lí
CM-river   AM-INDEF   SM-be.at   CM-thing small   AM-INDEF
kɪ-nyá-wɔ́lī   kú   kalí   kɪmɪ ko   ká   ke-yí
SM-CERT-fall   ALL   3SG.IND   in   just   then   3SG.DEP-overflow
é
CFM
'There is a river, whenever something small falls into it then it overflows.'

Answer: **Kíwɔ́hū**
              'Eye'

09. Ɔma tol' ɔlí, kidzo bhulí tríkpó ko kɩlí l'ɔ́líshú.

ɔ-ma	to-lí	ɔ-lí	ki-dzo	bhulí	tri-kpó	ko
CM-town	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	CM-road	small	AM-one	just

kɩlí	lɩ̄	ɔlí	shú
3SG.IND	be.at	3SG.IND	surface

'There is a town, it has only one narrow road leading to it.'

Answer: **Kipluí aló tʊmpá**
          'Gourd or bottle'

10. Adzɩ̄ tel'alí, átíd'ieníɱ̃ pɔ buni za y'íétsúkpúíɱ̃ 'ibenyéébe.

a-dzɩ̄	te-lí	a-lí	á-tí-dɪ	ke-ní	kʊmɪ	pɔ
CM-woman	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	3SG-NEG1-go	CM-river	in	but

bu-ní	za	yí	ke-tsukpú	kʊmɪ
CM-water	be.at:NPRES	3SG.IND	CM-pot	in

ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
CM-time-DISTR-CM-time

'There is a woman, she never goes to fetch water (at the riverside) but she always has water in her pot.'

Answer: **Ɔgɔdí**
          'Coconut'

11. Adzɩ̄ tel' alí, átíd'ieníɱ̃ pɔ éwulú 'ibenyéébe.

a-dzɩ̄	te-lí	a-lí	á-tí-dɪ	ke-ní	kʊmɪ	pɔ
CM-woman	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	3SG-NEG1-go	CM-river	in	but

é-wulú	ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
3SG-bath	CM-time-DISTR-CM-time

'There is a woman, she does not go to fetch water (at the riverside) but she always takes her bath.'

Answer: **Osubha**
          'Hearth'

12. Ekusí tel' aza, ónúgɪ etsí ní y'ísígbé wɔ̄ y'ódzir'íábhā kibenyéébe.

e-kusí	te-lí	á-za	ónú.gɪ	e-tsí	ní
CM-king	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at:NPRES	COND	3SG.DEP-die	TOP

yí	kí-sígbé	wɔ̄	yí	o-dziré	kábhā
3SG.IND	CM-ring	remain	3SG.IND	CM-grave	top

ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
CM-time-DISTR-CM-time

'There was a king, when he died his ring remained on his grave.'

Answer: **Kísragbugbu**
          'Millipede'

13.   Ánɔ́ tel'alí, gɩ lamɔ́ɛ́ ko ékúmū 'ikutú édzí kegbunɩabhā.

á-nɔ́	te-lí	a-lí	gɩ	la-mɔ́	yɩ́
CM-person	AM-INDEF	SM-be.at	REL	3PL.DEP-bear	3SG

ko	é-kúmū	ki-kutú	é-dzí	ke-gbu	ní	kábhā
just	3SG-wear	CM-hat	SM-sit	CM-chair	DEF	top

'There is someone who was born with a hat on his head and is sitting on a chair.'

Answer: **Ablendě**
         'Pineapple'

13.4   Bʊdzɔ tʊ́tɔ́ 'Preparation of palm oil'

Palm oil plays an important role in the everyday life of the Tafi people. It is produced for both domestic and commercial purposes. Palm nuts are very useful to every family because of its advantages. The juice extracted from the flesh of palm nuts can be used to prepare soup or palm oil. To prepare palm oil, the palm nuts are boiled, allowed to cool , pounded, and mixed with water. The mixture is kneaded gradually until the oil starts rising to the surface of the water. The oil is then removed from the surface of the water into a pot and put on fire until is well cooked. It is then removed from the fire and allowed to cool. Beatrice Amoadza (Age 78) describes how palm oil is prepared. The recording was made in her home on the13th of October, 2009.

01.   Kánā gɩ látɔ̄ bʊdzɔ ní Baagbɔ

ká-nā	gɩ	lá-tɔ̄	bʊ-dzɔ	ní	Baagbɔ
CM-manner	REL	3PL.DEP-cook	CM-palm.oil	LOC	Tafi

'(This is) how palm oil is prepared by the Tafis.'

02.   ɔ́bɔpɩ́ elí, buní, ɩnyɩ́, osʊbha, agbě, kesisí, osisí, ɔsɔ̃ɛ́, aló kɩshɔɛ́, ɔɖɛ́ɛbhlʊxɔé, bʊmʊɩ, gazé nɩ ɔnyʊnyɔsí.

ɔ-bɔ-pɩ́	e-lí	bʊ-ní	ɩ-nyɩ́
2SG-FUT-look.for	CM.PL-palm.nut	CM-water	CM-firewood

o-subha	a-gbě	ke-sisí	o-sisí	ɔ-sɔ̃ɛ́	aló
CM-hearth	CM-bowl	CM-mortar	CM-pestle	CM-strainer	DISJ

kɩ-shɔ-ɛ́	ɔ-ɖɛ́ɛbhlʊxɔé	bʊ-mwɩ	gazé	nɩ
CM-basket-DIM	CM-metal.ladle	CM-salt	metal.bowl	COM

ɔ-nyʊnyɔ.sí
CM-kneading.stick

You will look for palm nuts, water, firewood, hearth, a pan, a mortar, pestle, colander or a small basket, metal ladle, salt, metal pot and a kneading stick.'

03.   Kɩlɩ sɩ t'ɔto elíń odzu layɔ pétéé flôgo t'otú álí.

kɩ-lɩ   sí   tɩ   ɔ-tɔ́   e-lí
3SG-be.at   COMP   COMP   2SG.DEP-cook   CM.PL-palm.fruit
ní   o-dzu   la-yɔ́   pétéé flôgo
DEF   SM-put.down   3PL.DEP-cool   all   before
tɩ   o-tú   alí
COMP   2SG.DEP-pound   3PL
'You will have to boil the palm fruit, put it down to cool before pounding it.'

04.   Klĭso óbotéŋú ɔ́tó élíń kívʊlɔ́ ɔwʊlágo ká ótú álí é
klĭso   ɔ́-bo-téŋú   ɔ́-tɔ́   e-lí   ní
so   2SG.DEP-FUT-be.able   SM-cook   CM.PL-palm.fruit   DEF
kí-vʊlɔ́   ɔ-wulágo   ká   ɔ́-tú   alí   é
CM-morning   CM-evening   then   2SG.DEP-pound   3PL   CFM
'So you can boil the palm fruit in the morning then you pound it in the evening'

05.   alóó ɔ́bɔtó élíń ɔwúlago ɔl' ólizatɔ píníí otú álí
alóó   ɔ́-bɔ-tɔ́   e-lí   ní   ɔ-wúlago
DISJ   2SG-FUT-cook   CM.PL-palm.fruit   DEF   CM-evening
ɔ-lɔ́   o-lizatɔ   píníí   o-tú   alí
SM-get.up   CM-dawn   IDEO   SM-pound   3PL
'or you will boil the palm fruit in the evening (and) you rise up very early at dawn to pound it.'

06.   Ótú álí békē ko óbú álí kp' ágbĕm̄.
ɔ́-tú   alí   békē   ko   ɔ́-bú   alí   kpí   a-gbĕ
2SG-pound   3PL   COMPL   just   2SG-remove   3PL   put.in   CM-bowl
kɩmɩ
inside
'After pounding it, you pour it into a pan.'

07.   Óshúí 'úní 'ɩbɔɛ ɔkpí ká ɔ́ɔ́k'ɔnyʊnyɔsí k'ɔ́nyʊnyɔ é.
ɔ́-shúí   bu-ní   kɩbɔ́ɛ   ɔ-kpí   ká
2SG-fetch   CM-water   little   SM-put.in   then
ɔ́-yíkɔ   ɔ-nyʊnyɔ-sí   ká   ɔ́-nyʊnyɔ   é
2SG.DEP-take   CM-kneading-stick   then   2SG.DEP-knead   CFM
'You add a little water then you use a kneading stick to knead it.'

08.   Ɔ́bɔzɔnyʊnyɔ ɔbɔnánī kibe nɔ̂ n'íbe g'ɔ̌mɔ 'sí elíń étén 'ʊlɔ́.
ɔ́-bɔ-zɔ-nyʊnyɔ   ɔ-bɔ-nánī   ki-be   nɔ̂
2SG-FUT-REP-knead   2SG-FUT-reach   CM-time   wh.ever
ní   ki-be   gɩ   ɔ́-mɔ   ɔ-sí   e-lí
DEF   CM-time   REL   2SG.DEP-see   SM-COMP   CM.PL-palm.fruit

ní   é-ténɔ̄   bʊ-lɔ́
DEF   SM-start   CM-rise
'You will knead it again and again until the time that the stuff starts rising.'

09.   Ónúgɪ léétén 'ʊlɔ́n k'óshui 'un'ɔkp' ál'ɪ́ábhā.

ónú.gɪ   lé-é-ténɔ̄   bʊ-lɔ́   ní   ká
COND   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start CM-rise   TOP   then

ó-shui   bu-ní   ɔ́-kpɪ́   alɪ́   kábhā
2SG.DEP-fetch   CM-water   SM-put.in   3PL   top
'When it starts rising you then add water.'

10.   Ɔ́bɔbalɪ 'un' ɔkp'ál'ɪ́ábhā, ɔzɔnyʊnyɔ 'ɛbɔ́ɛ́, 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́, 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́, 'ɪbɔ́ɛ́.

ɔ́-bɔ-balɪ   bu-ní   ɔ́-kpɪ́   alɪ́   kábhā
2SG-FUT-pour   CM-water   SM-put.in   3PL   top

o-zɔ-nyʊnyɔ   kɪbɔ́ɛ́   kɪbɔ́ɛ́   kɪbɔ́ɛ́   kɪbɔ́ɛ́
2SG-REP-knead   little   little   little   little
'You will pour water on it and knead (it) gradually again and again.'

11.   G'ɔmɔ 'sí buní ní tsyáká nɪ elíń pétéé ko

gɪ   ɔ-mɔ   ɔ-sí   bu-ní   ní   tsyáká
REL   2SG.DEP-see   SM-COMP   CM-water   DEF   mix

nɪ   e-lí   ní   pétéé   ko
COM   CM.PL-palm.fruit   DEF   all   just
'When the water is well mixed with the stuff'

12.   ɔmɔ 'sí bʊdzɔ ní lɔ́ bá buníń āmīním̄.

o-mɔ   ɔ-sí   bu-dzɔ   ní   lɔ́   bá
2SG-see   SM-COMP   CM-palm.oil DEF   rise   come

bu-ní   ní   āmī   ní   kɪmɪ
CM-water   DEF   CM-face   DEF   inside
'you see that the oil rises on top of the water.'

13.   Ká oténī 'ʊdzɔn 'ʊyɪ kpí gazéímī é.

ká   o-ténī   bu-dzɔ   ní   bu-yɪ   kpí
then   2SG.DEP-start   CM-palm.oil DEF   CM-scrape   put.in

gazé   kɪmɪ   é
metal.pot   inside   CFM
'Then you start removing the oil into a metal pot.'

14.   Ɔ́bɔyɪ ʊdzɔn pétéé ɔ́kpí gazéɪm̄ békē ní,

ɔ́-bɔ-yɪ   bu-dzɔ   ní   pétéé   ɔ́-kpɪ́
2SG-FUT-scrape   CM-palm.oil DEF   all   SM-put.in

gazé   kɪmɪ   békē   ní
metal.pot   inside   COMPL   TOP
'After removing the oil into a metal pot,'

15. buníním̄ ɔ́bɔmɔ 'sí ehu nɪ tɪnɔ kpasí

bu-ní	ní	kɪmī	ɔ́-bɔ-mɔ	ɔ-sí
CM-water	DEF	inside	2SG-FUT-see	SM-COMP

e-hu	nɪ	tɪ-nɔ́	kpasɪ
CM.PL-palm.kernel	COM	CM-chaff	be.in

'you will see that palm kernel and chaff are in the water.'

16. Ɔ́bɔká tɪnɔ́n pétéé óbú ní buníím̄

ɔ́-bɔ-ká	tɪ-nɔ́	ní	pétéé	ó-bú	ní
2SG-FUT-squeeze	CM-chaff	DEF	all	SM-remove	LOC

bu-ní	ní	kɪmɪ
CM-water	DEF	inside

'You will squeeze all the chaff out of the water.'

17. Óbobu ehu nɪ tsyí pétéé ní buníím̄ k'ɔkpí kashɔ́ém̄

ó-bo-bú	e-hu	ní	tsyí	pétéé	ní
2SG-FUT-remove	CM.PL-palm.kernel	DEF	too	all	LOC

bu-ní	ní	kɪmɪ	ká	ɔ-kpí	ka-shɔ́	kɪmɪ
CM-water	DEF	inside	then	2SG.DEP-put.in	CM-basket	inside

'You will remove all the palm kernels also from the water into a basket.'

18. Otsyínā buní úlílín tsyí.

o-tsyínā	bu-ní	ú-lílíní	tsyí
2SG-turn	CM-water	AM-DIST	also

'You pour out that water also.'

19. Flôgo g'ŏbotsyínā 'lí ní óbotsódzī nɪ tɪnɔ́ élílíní ɔka pétéé.

flôgo	gɪ	ó-bo-tsyínā	bʊlí	ní	ó-bo-tsódzī-nɪ
before	REL	2SG.DEP-FUT-turn	3SG	TOP	2SG-FUT-return-COM

tɪ-nɔ́	í-lílíní	ɔ-ká	pétéé
CM-chaff	AM-DIST	SM-squeeze	all

'Before you will pour out that water, you will have to re-squeeze that chaff.'

20. Ɔ́ɔmɔ 'sí bʊdzɔ 'ɛbɔɛ zibá buníń ām̄íním̄.

ɔ́-bɔ-mɔ	ɔ-sí	bʊ-dzɔ	kɪbɔ́é	zɪ-bá
2SG-FUT-see	SM-COMP	CM-palm.oil	little	REP-come

bu-ní	ní	ā-mī	ní	kɪmɪ
CM-water	DEF	CM-face	DEF	inside

'You will see that there is still some oil on top of the water.'

21. Ɔ́yɪ bʊdzɔn tsy' ɔ́kpí bʊg'ɔ̌tíyī níábhā,

ɔ́-yɪ	bʊ-dzɔ	ní	tsyí	ɔ́-kpí
2SG-scrape	CM-palm.oil	DEF	also	SM-put.in

bʊ-gɪ	ɔ́-tí-yī	ní	kábhā
3SG-REL	SM-PERF-scrape	DEF	top

'You remove that oil also and add (it) to that which you have removed,'

22.   K'otsí otsyínā buní ní é.
ká	**otsí**	**o-tsyínā**	**bu-ní**	**ní**	**é**
then	now	2SG.DEP-turn	CM-water	DEF	CFM

'it's now that you pour out the water.'

23.   Bʊdzɔ ní gɪ ɔyɪ odzu gazéním̄ ní, otsódzīn' ʊl'ɔkpí agbĕém̄
bʊ-dzɔ	**ní**	**gɪ**	**ɔ-yɪ**	**o-dzu**	**gazé**
CM-oil	DEF	REL	2SG.DEP-scrape	SM-put.down	metal.pot

ní	**kʊmɪ**	**ní**
DEF	inside	TOP

o-tsódzī-nʊ	**bʊlí**	**ɔ-kpí**	**a-gbĕ**	**kʊmɪ**
2SG-return-COM	3SG	SM-put.in	CM-bowl	inside

'The oil that you removed and put in the metal pot, you pour it into a pan again'

24.   k'ɔzɔbalɪ bun' ɔkpí é.
ká	**ɔ-zɔ-balɪ**	**bu-ní**	**ɔ-kpí**	**é**
then	2SG.DEP-REP-pour	CM-water	SM-put.in	CFM

'then you add water again.'

25.   Bun'ʊlílíń wɔɔk'oplú bʊdzɔń
bu-ní	**ʊ-lílíní**	**wɔ**	**ɔ-yíkɔ**	**o-plú**	**bʊ-dzɔ**	**ní**
CM-water	AM-DIST	2SG.IND	SM-take	SM-wash	CM-palm.oil	DEF

'You will use that water to wash the oil (i.e. clear it of all the dirt)'

26.   k'ôtsí ɔyɪ 'ʊlɪ pétéé ɔɔk' ɔkpí gazéím,
ká	**otsí**	**ɔ-yɪ**	**bʊlí**	**pétéé**	**ɔ-yíkɔ**	**ɔ-kpí**
then	now	2SG.DEP-scrape	3SG	all	SM-take	SM-put.in

gazé	**kʊmɪ**
metal.pot	inside

'you now remove it and pour it back into the metal pot,'

27.   ká óféké ɔtrɔ 'ɛfú é
ká	**ó-féké**	**ɔ-trɔ**	**ki-fú**	**é**
then	2SG.DEP-lift	SM-put.on	CM-fire	CFM

'then you lift (it) and put (it) on fire.'

28.   Ɔtrɔ 'ʊlí ni 'ifúń ɔbɔza 'ʊl'ɔbhā.
ɔ-trɔ	**bʊlí**	**ní**	**ki-fú**	**ní**	**ɔ-bɔ-za**	**bʊlí**	**ɔbha**
2SG-put.on	3SG	LOC	CM-fire	TOP	2SG-FUT-stay	3SG	side

'When you put it on fire you'll have to be by it.'

29.   Bʊóyabɛ 'ɛbɔé ko ká ótsyínā 'lí

bʊ-ʊ́-yaba   kɪbɔ́ɛ́ ko   ká   ɔ́-tsyínā   bʊlí
3SG-PRSPROG-boil   little just then 2SG.DEP-turn   3SG
'When it boils a little, you then pour it out'

30. ká ɔ́sís 'ʊlí ní kɪshɔémī alóó ɔsɔ́ɛ́m̄.
     ká   ɔ́-sísī   bʊlí ní   kɪ-shɔé   kɪmɪ   alóó
     then 2SG.DEP-strain 3SG   LOC   CM-basket   inside   DISJ
     ɔ-sɔ́ɛ́   kɪmɪ
     CM-strainer   inside
     'Then you will strain it with a small basket or a strainer.'

31. Ɔ́bɔsísī 'ʊl' odzú bʊʊ́yɔ́ ká ɔ́kā tɪnɔ́n pétéé.
     ɔ́-bɔ-sísī   bʊlí o-dzú   bʊ-ʊ́-yɔ́
     2SG-FUT-strain   3SG   SM-put.down   3SG-PRSPROG-become.cool
     ká   ɔ́-ká   tɪ-nɔ́   ní   pétéé
     then 2SG.DEP-squeeze CM-chaff   DEF   all
     'You'll strain it to let it stand for a while, when it is getting cold, then you
     squeeze all the chaff.'

32. Bʊdzɔ úlílíń ɔɔ́kɔ 'tsyáká nɪ bʊdzɔ́ń g'lʊ kpasí gazéním̄
     bʊ-dzɔ   ʊ́-lílíní   ɔ-yíkɔ   ɔ́-tsyáká nɪ   bʊ-dzɔ   ní
     CM-palm.oil   AM-DIST   2SG-take   SM-mix   COM   CM-palm.oil   DEF
     gɪ   lʊ-kpasí   gazé   ní   kɪmɪ
     REL   3SG.DEP.be.in   metal.pot   DEF   inside
     'You will mix that oil (you get from squeezing the chaff) with that (oil) in
     the metal pot'

33. k'otsí óféké trɔ̄ éfú é.
     ká   otsi ó-féké   trɔ̄   ki-fú   é
     then now   2SG.DEP-lift   put.on   CM-fire   CFM
     'then now, you lift it and put (it) on fire.'

34. Gɪ óféké ʊ́l' ɔ́trɔ̄ ánā, kɪlɪ sí tɪ w'ɔ́hū aza 'ʊlíshú
     gɪ   ó-féké   bʊlí ɔ́-trɔ̄   ká-nā
     REL   2SG.DEP-lift   3SG   SM-put.on   CM-manner
     kɪ-lɪ   sí   tɪ   wɔ   á-wɔ̄hū   a-za
     3SG-be.at   COMP   COMP   2SG.IND   CM.PL-eye   SM-be.at:NPRES
     bʊlí   shú
     3SG   surface
     'As you put it on fire, you've got to be watching it'

35. ɔnánī kibe nɔ̂'ibe gɪ bʊbazɪyabá g'lʊ̌ babí.
     ɔ-nánī   ki-be   nɔ̂   ki-be
     2SG-reach   CM-time   wh.ever   CM-time
     gɪ   bʊ-ba-zɪ-yabá   gɪ   lʊ́-ba-bí

REL   3SG-FUT-REP-boil REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-be.cooked
'while it is boiling until it is done.'

36. Buúv' obikɔ́ ko buúbī
    bu-ú-vɪ   o-bikɔ́   ko   bu-ú-bī
    3SG-PRSPROG-go CM-cook.place just   SM-PRSPROG-be.cooked
    'If it is about to be well-cooked and it is ready,'

37. k'ɔ́mɔ 'sí bʊdzɔń, ɔfɔ́ ní gɪ lótsirí 'ʊlíabhāń ótén 'ʊdzǎ.
    ká   ɔ́-mɔ   ɔ-sí   bʊ-dzɔ   ní   ɔ-fɔ́   ní
    then   2SG-see   SM-COMP   CM-palm.oil DEF   CM-lather   DEF
    gɪ   lɔ́-tsirí   bʊlí   kábhā ní   ɔ́-tén̄   bʊ-dzǎ
    REL   3SG.DEP-be.on 3SG   top   TOP   SM-start   CM-become.red
    'you'll then see that the foam on the surface of the oil starts to turn red.'

38. Bʊdzɔ ní tsyí tén̄ 'ʊlɔ́ huuhu
    bu-dzɔ   ní   tsyí   tén̄   bʊ-lɔ́   huuhu
    CM-palm.oil DEF   also   start   CM-smell   IDEO
    'The oil also starts giving a pleasant smell.'

39. Óny' ɔ́sí bubí ko ká ɔtsí 'úli é.
    ɔ́-nyí   ɔ-sí   bu-bí   ko   ká
    2SG-know   SM-COMP   3SG-be.cooked just   then
    ɔ-tsí   bʊlí   é
    2SG.DEP-take.off   3SG   CFM
    'Then you know that it is ready and it is then that you take it off the fire.'

40. Ɔ́ts' úl' ódzu p'lʊ̌dɔ́ ní, ká ɔ́sísī 'ʊdzɔ ní é.
    ɔ́-tsí   bʊlí ɔ́-dzu   pɪ   lʊ́-dɔ́
    2SG-take.off 3SG   SM-put.down CONN   3SG.DEP-land
    ní   ká   ɔ́-sísī   bu-dzɔ   ní   é
    TOP   then   2SG.DEP-strain CM-palm.oil DEF   CFM
    'As you take it off the fire and put it down and it settles, then you strain the oil.'

41. Bʊdzɔ ní g'ɔ̌sísī odzú ní, apʊtɔ́ alóó kibó ní gɪ lɪlí bʊdzɔniesí ní
    bu-dzɔ   ní   gɪ   ɔ́-sísī   o-dzú   ní
    CM-palm.oil DEF   REL   2SG.DEP-strain SM-put.down TOP
    a-pʊtɔ́   alóó   ki-bó   ní   gɪ   lɪ-lí
    CM.PL-dregs DISJ   CM-sediment DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-be.at
    bu-dzɔ   ní   ke.sí   ní
    CM-palm.oil DEF   under   TOP
    'The sediment under the oil you pour out,'

42.   kılímī ɔ́bɔkpí bʊmʊı

kılí	kımı	ɔ́-bɔ-kpí	bʊ-mʊı
3SG.IND	inside	2SG-FUT-put.in	CM-salt

'it is in it that you put salt'

43.   k' ótsódzīn' ɔtrɔ́ 'ɛ̄fú.

ká	ó-tsódzī-nɔ	ɔ-trɔ́	ki-fú
then	2SG.DEP-return-COM	SM-put.on	CM-fire

'and then you put it on fire again.'

44.   Yí léklu así beku.

yí	lé-klǔ	ba-sí	beku
3SG.IND	3PL.DEP-call	SM-COMP	beku

'That is what is called **beku**.'

45.   Yı tsy' ébí ko ní, bʊmʊı ní ítsyáká kúím̄

yí	tsyí	é-bí	ko	ní	bʊ-mʊı
3SG.IND	also	SM-be.cooked	just	TOP	CM-salt

ní	í-tsyáká	kú	yí	kımı
DEF	PRSPROG-mix	ALL	3SG.IND	inside

'If it is also well cooked and mixed with the salt,

46.   ká ɔ́ts' ódzú é

ká	ɔ́-tsí	ó-dzú	é
then	2SG.DEP-take.off	SM-put.down	CFM

'then you take it off (the fire) and put (it) down.'

47.   Ká y'enū bʊdzɔ títútɔ́ ní blɔ̌ Baagbɔ.

ká	yí	e-nū	bʊ-dzɔ	tí-tú-tɔ́	ní	blɔ̌
then	3SG.IND	SM-COP	CM-palm.oil	CM-RED-cook	LOC	1PL.IND

baagbɔ
Tafi

'That is palm oil preparation in our Tafiland.'

48.   Yoo, w'ɔ́bhitííbúí oo

yoo	wɔ́	ɔ́-bhıtí	ki-búí	oo
okay	2SG.IND	SM-do	CM-matter	UFP

'Okay, thank you.'

49.   yoo wɔ tsyí w'ɔ́bhitííbúí oo

yoo	wɔ́	tsyí	wɔ́	ɔ́-bhıtí	ki-búí	oo
ok	2SG.IND	also	2SG.IND	SM-do	CM-matter	UFP

'Ok, thank you too.'

13.5   Kɪmʊkɔ́ gige   'Preparation of red rice porridge'

Kɪmʊkɔ́ 'red rice porridge' is a traditional dish of the Tafi people. Formerly, it used to be prepared very often but now it is prepared mainly during ceremonies such as puberty rites and marriages. The preparation of **kɪmʊkɔ́** is described by Euphelia Avorklai who is about 50 years old. This was recoreded on the 14th of October, 2009.

Kɪmʊkɔ́ is prepared from red rice also known as hilly rice. The red rice is roasted and milled. The texture of the flour will not be very fine. To prepare this dish, water is boiled to the boiling point and then you add the riced flour at different stages. While adding the flour, you stir the mixture with a wooden ladle until you achieve the right consistency and it becomes well cooked. It is then moulded into balls and served. It is served with beans palm nut soup containing fish and vegetables. It has to be eaten right away because when it is cold it becomes very hard.

01.   Kɪmʊkɔ́ gige ní Baagbɔ kil'ínū
       kɪ-mʊkɔ́   **gi-ge**   **ní**   **Baagbɔ**   **kɪlí**   **ki-nū**
       CM-red.rice.porridge   RED-drive   LOC   Tafi   3SG.IND   SM-COP
       'Preparation of red rice porridge in Tafi is'

02.   s'ɔ́ɔpī amɔ́, ɔ́mɔ amɔ́ ní,
       sí   **ɔ́-bɔ-pī**   **a-mɔ́**
       COMP   2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for   CM-unpolished.red.rice
       ɔ́-mɔ   **a-mɔ́**   **ní**
       2SG-see   CM-unpolished.red.rice   DEF
       'that you will look for unpolished red rice, if you get the rice,'

03.   ká ɔ́pí ádɔyí, ɔpī elí
       ká   **ɔ́-pī**   **á-dɔyí**
       then   2SG.DEP- look.for   CM.PL-bean
       ɔ-pī   **e-lí**
       2SG-look.for   CM.PL-palm.nut
       'then you look for beans and palm nuts.'

04.   Plúnɔ̄ ní ɔ́bɔɔ́kɔ̄ akpǎ ɔ́bɔɔ́k' ɔt'óní nɔ̄
       plúnɔ̄   **ní**   **ɔ́-bɔ-yīkɔ̄**   **a-kpǎ**   **ɔ́-bɔ-yīkɔ̄**
       add   TOP   2SG-FUT-take   CM.PL-fish   SM-FUT-take
       ɔ́-tɔ́   **o-ní**   **nɔ̄**
       SM-cook   SM-soup   COM
       in addition, you will use fish in preparing soup.'

05.   Blɔ̄ ní, bútú ká lɔgba é.
       blɔ̄   **ní**   **bú-tú**   **ká**   **lɔ-gba**   **é**

1PL.IND TOP 1PL-pound then 1PL.DEP-roast CFM
'As for us, we pound (the rice) and then roast it.'

06. Búagbá n'ɔgbadzéém̃ ká lɔdɔhɔ é.

bú-ba-gbá	ní	ɔ-gbadza	kɪmɪ
1PL-FUT-roast	LOC	CM-roasting.pan	in

ká	lɔ-dɔ-hɔ	é
then	1PL.DEP-ITIVE-grind	CFM

'We will roast (it) in a roasting pan then we go and grind (it).'

07. Bʊnáń tíbapé faánɔ̌ʔ.

bʊ-ná	ní	tɪ-ba-pé	faánɔ̄
CM-flour	DEF	NEG1-FUT-be.well.ground	too.much

'The flour will not be very fine.' (i.e. the rice will not be well-ground)

08. Búhɔ́ 'ʊlí békē ko ká búbát'óníń,

bú-hɔ́	bʊlí	békē	ko	ká	bú-bá-tɔ́	ó-ní
1PL-grind	3SG	COMPL	just	then	1PL-VENT-cook	CM-soup

ní
DEF

'After grinding it, we then prepare the soup.'

09. Bútɔ́ ádɔy' óni pétéé n'elí lo.

bú-tɔ́	á-dɔyí	ó-ní	pétéé	nɪ	e-lí	lo
1PL-cook	CM.PL-bean	CM-soup	all	COM	CM.PL-palmnut	ADD

'We prepare peas soup using palm nuts.'

10. Bʊkpí ákpǎ, kídʊéndō 'ídī gɪ lɔ́bakpí g'lɔ́bɔzɔ̄dzyɪ ko bútɔ́ békē.

bu-kpí	á-kpǎ	kí-dɔ̄-nyáá-kídɔ̄	kí-dī	gɪ
1PL-put.in	CM.PL-fish	CM-thing-DISTR-CM-thing	CM-type	REL

lɔ́-ba-kpí	gɪ	lɔ́-bɔ-za	ɔ̄-dzyɪ
1PL.DEP-put.in	REL	3SG.DEP-FUT-be.at:NPRES	CM-sweetness

ko	bú-tɔ́	békē
just	1PL-cook	COMPL

'We put in fish and whatever thing that we will put in it to make it tasty then we finish preparing it'

11. Ká lɔtr' okóní.[89]

ká	lɔ-trɔ́	o-kóní
then	1PL.DEP-put.on	CM-water

'then we put the water for preparing the porridge on fire.'

---

[89] **Okóní** is the term used to refer to the water used for cooking the porridge.

12.   Bʊtrɔ okóníń ní,
       bʊ-trɔ   **o-kóní**   **ní**   **ní**
       1PL-put.on   CM-water   DEF   TOP
       'When we put the water on fire,'

13.   okóníń ɔyabā gʊragʊra búshúí dzú.
       o-kóní   **ní**   **ɔ-yabā**   **gʊragʊra** **bú-shúí**   **dzú**
       CM-water   DEF   SM-boil   IDEO   1PL-fetch   put.down
       '(and) the water boils we fetch some and put down.'

14.   Bʊatsí 'ʊnáń kpí okóníním̃.
       bʊ-ba-tsí   **bʊ-ná**   **ní**   **kpí**   **o-kóní**   **ní**   **kʊmʊ**
       1PL-FUT-pour   CM-flour DEF   put.in   CM-water   DEF   in
       'We will pour (some of) the flour into the water.'

15.   Okóníń bʊtɪbatsɪ kpí ko gɪ lóogeʔ.
       o-kóní   **ní**   **bʊ-tɪ-ba-tsɪ**   **kpí**   **ko**   **gɪ**
       CM-water   DEF   1PL-NEG1-FUT-pour   put.in   just   REL
       ló-bo-ge
       1PL.DEP-FUT-drive
       'We don't just add the flour to the water and start stirring (it).'

16.   Bútsí kpí ní búakɔ yí yabá mínití lɔfɔ.
       bú-tsí   **kpí**   **ní**   **bú-ba-kɔ**   **yí**   **yabá**   **nânsí**   **mínití**
       1PL-pour   put.in   TOP   1PL-FUT-let 3SG   boil   like.say   minute
       lɔfɔ
       ten
       'When we add the flour we will let it boil for about ten minutes.'

17.   Otsúgo lɔkpí ogige ko loge 'ʊlí pétéé.
       otsúgo   **lɔ-kpí**   **o-gige**   **ko**   **lo-ge**
       now   1PL.DEP-put.in   CM-wooden.ladle   just   1PL.DEP-drive
       bʊlí   **pétéé**
       3SG   all
       'It is now that we put in the wooden ladle then we stir it.'

18.   Kɪígɪganɪ búkpí 'úní,
       kɪ-í-gɪganɪ   **bú-kpí**   **bu-ní**
       3SG-PRSPROG-be.hard   1PL-put.in   CM-water
       'If it is too hard, we add water,'

19.   kɪíbʊbɔ faánɔ alasí budí 'lɔkɔ sí kɪpĩ.
       kɪ-í-bʊbɔ   **faánɔ**   **a-lí**   **a-sí**   **bu-dí**
       3SG-PRSPROG-be.soft   too.much   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   1PL-look

kɪlí   ɔ.kɔ   sí   kɪ-pĩ
3SG.IND place   COMP   3SG-be.good
'if it is too soft, we must see to it that it has the desired texture.'

20.   Kibí ko búbú.
       ki-bí   ko   bú-bú
       3SG-be.cooked   just   1PL-remove
       'When it is ready then we dish it out.'

21.   Búbú ko ní ká bútén' 'ʊŋa é.[90]
       bú-bú   ko   ní   ká   bú-ténɔ̄   bʊ-ŋa   é
       1PL-remove   just   TOP   then   1PL-start CM-eat   CFM
       'When we dish it out then we start eating it right away.'

22.   Yénū kɪmʊkɔ́ gige ní Baagbɔ.
       yí   é-nū   kɪ-kɔ   gi-ge   ní   Baagbɔ
       3SG.IND SM-COP CM-porridge RED-drive   LOC   Tafi
       así amɔ 'ɪkɔ́ n'ĭlílín.
       a-sí   a-mɔ́   kɪ-kɔ́   nu   í-lílín
       SM-COMP   CM-unpolished.rice   CM-porridge   COP   AM-DIST
       'That is porridge (unpolished red rice porridge) preparation in Tafi.'

23.   Yoo, w'ɔ́bhití 'íbúí oo.
       yoo   wɔ́   ɔ́-bhɪtí   ki-búí   oo
       okay   2SG.IND SM-do   CM-matter   UFP
       'Ok, thank you.'

24.   Yoo.
       yoo
       Okay
       'Okay'

---

[90] The **kɪmʊkɔ́** 'red rice porridge' has to be eaten immediately after it has been dished out because after sometime it becomes cold and very hard.

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448

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452

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454

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Summary

This book presents a description of Tafi, one of the fourteen Ghana-Togo Mountain languages spoken in the south-eastern part of Ghana, across into Togo and with an outlier in Benin. The description consists of thirteen chapters and is based on a corpus gathered during two fieldwork periods in Tafi over a period of fifteen months.

Chapter One provides an introduction to the Tafi people, their language, geographical location and sociolinguistic situation, as well as the genetic classification and linguistic typological profile of the language. It also gives background information on previous studies of the language and describes the methodology of the research that was carried out.

Chapter Two examines the phonological system of the language. Tafi has five syllable types comprising a V/N syllable which is a vowel or nasal; a VC and CV syllables, made up of a vowel and a consonant and a consonant and a vowel respectively; a CVV syllable which consists of a consonant and a long vowel and a CCV which is made up of two consonants and a vowel, the second consonant may be a liquid or a glide. Tafi has consonant phonemes made at these places of articulation: bilabial, labio-dental, alveolar, post-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. The consonants include /bh/ and /f/. /bh/ is an aspirated voiced labial stop. It has no voiceless counterpart in the language and /f/ is a voiceless labial fricative which has no voiced counterpart. It was introduced into the language as a result of borrowing from Ewe. Tafi has double articulated labial velar stops /kp/ and /gb/ as well as alveolar and palatal affricates /ts/, /dz/ and /tʃ/, /dʒ/ respectively. Tafi has a nine vowel system. All these vowels except /o/ have nasalised counterparts. The vowels participate in ATR vowel harmony. So, they are divided into two sets, [+ATR] and [-ATR]. ATR vowel harmony in Tafi is stem-controlled, thus the vowel of prefixes harmonises with the vowel of the first syllable of the stem. Therefore, depending on the [ATR] value of the initial vowel in the root, a prefix may have varied forms. The /a/ vowel in prefixes occurs with vowels from both sets. Tafi is a tone language with three level tonemes: High, Mid and Low and two gliding tones: Falling and Rising which are phonetically realised on the peak of one syllable. There are three falling tones: High-Mid, High-Low and Mid-Low and two rising tones: Low-Mid and Low-High. The contour tones can be lexical or they can be generated in context.

Chapter Three looks at the noun class system of the language. Nouns in Tafi are classified into ten classes made up of five singular, four plural and one non-count classes on the basis of the prefixes, subject-verb agreement pattern, the pronominal forms of the classes and agreement within the noun phrase. Therefore, it is possible to find a plural noun class which contains the plural forms of nouns belonging to more than one singular class.

The discussion in Chapter Four is devoted to the Noun Phrase. The types and its internal structure are looked at. It became obvious that some modifiers (e.g. quantifiers) show agreement with the head noun while others (e.g. qualifiers), like the adjective, maintain no concord relationship with the head noun. As regards the numerals which consist of both cardinals and ordinals, it became obvious that only the cardinal numerals show concord, and it is numbers one to nine that show agreement with the head noun. The ordinal numerals, on their part, do not show concord with the head noun. Some modifiers can be nominalised through the addition of nominal prefixes and the pronominal forms of the various noun classes. Tafi has, maybe, one non-derived non-ideophonic adjective. However, derived adjectives are formed through reduplication of property verbs. Other strategies for expressing adjectival meanings include relativisation, the use of nominal property words as complements of predicators, and medio-passive constructions. The determiners include the definiteness and indefiniteness markers and the demonstratives. The definiteness marker does not show agreement with the noun head, however, the indefiniteness marker and the demonstratives do. Tafi has a marked kinship possessive grammar. Singular kinship possession is marked with the 3SG independent pronoun **yí** referring to the possessor placed between the possessor and the kinship term. Plural kinship possession is expressed by juxtaposition.

Chapter Five concentrates on adpositions in Tafi. There are two classes of adpositions: prepositions and postpositions. There are two bona fide prepositions, a locative preposition **ní** 'LOC' and a comitative preposition **nɩ** 'COM'. In addition to these, there are a number of verb forms that are in the process of grammaticalising into prepositions. Tafi has a set of a dozen or so members of the postposition class which are used to denote the parts and regions of objects. Some of these are spatial nominals or body-part nouns which are at different stages in the process of grammaticalisation.

The structure of a simple clause in Tafi, the order of the constituents in the clause and the grammatical relations arguments hold with the predicate are the main focus of Chapter Six. Tafi is a language whose basic constituent order is SV/AVO/AVDO. In double-object (AVDO) constructions, the Goal or Dative precedes the Theme. In locative constructions, the Theme occurs before the Locative. Furthermore, adjuncts may occur after the core arguments in the clause. The subject (S/A) is cross-referenced on the predicate with markers that agree with the class of the subject NP except for the two **bu**- classes. Objects are, however, not cross-referenced on the verb. The subject cross-reference markers are the same as the subject pronominal forms. Two paradigms of subject cross-reference markers can be distinguished. One group is used to cross-reference subjects in independent clauses while the second group which is made up of dependent pronominal forms is used in dependent clauses such as relative, complement and adverbial clauses. The order of constituents in a basic clause can be rearranged for information packaging purposes. In Tafi, this involves preposing elements to the

clause and fronting some clause constituents. The effect of these processes is the creation of three positions in the left periphery of the clause. These positions are filled by constituents that are frame or left dislocated topics, contrastive topics and focalised constituents respectively. This chapter also looks at the structure and function of these constituents. In topic constructions, a fronted noun or postpositional phrase is optionally marked by a form **ní** which is identical in form with the definiteness marker. An out-of-focus part of some focus sentences, are marked by another marker **aní** 'TOP'. This form is the same as the proximal demonstrative. Focus is not marked by a particle but there is a subject vs. non-subject focus asymmetry: a subject argument in focus is referred to by an independent pronoun. The position of a non-subject constituent in focus is marked by a gap. Verbs are focused by nominalising the verb with the class prefix **bʊ/bu-** of the **bu¹-** class and then placing them before the subject NP of the clause.

Verbs and verbal modifiers are discussed in Chapter Seven. This chapter looks at the grammar of the argument structure of Tafi verbs in terms of the number of arguments they require semantically, and the argument structure constructions in which they participate. The verbs are classified as one-place, two-place and three-place predicates. Verbs classified as one-place predicates occur in one-place constructions and they take only one argument while two-place predicates occur in two-place constructions and they take two arguments. Three-place predicates are very few. They occur in three-place constructions and they require three arguments. Some verbs can occur in more than one construction thereby participating in various verbal alternations or occur in constructions which add arguments to their frame. In addition, the verbs are classified according to their inherent semantics. Tense, aspect and mood as categories for which verbs can be modified as well as adverbs and adverbial phrases are also examined. Tense, aspect and mood are mainly marked by preverbs in Tafi and there are about a dozen preverbal markers.

Chapter Eight deals with sentence types. Sentences may be classified according to the illocutionary force they are used to express in discourse. The main sentence types discussed are declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. In Tafi, there is no difference in structure and segmental form between a propositional or polar question and a statement. There is only a difference in pitch. The propositional question ends on a slightly lower pitch than its counterpart statement. There are about eight question words which are used to pose content questions. Two of which are interrogative modifiers (**ɖúwē** 'which' and **-shĩ́** 'how many/much') so they occur after the head noun. Two of the question words (**-shĩ́** 'how many/much' and **-nĩ̄** 'who') show concord with the head noun. When some of the question words are in focus, they are followed by the relative marker **gɪ** 'REL' or the connector **pɪ** 'CONN'.

Chapter Nine presents the way in which clauses are combined to form complex sentences. The structure of three main types of subordinate clauses: relative

clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses, the markers that assist in identifying them within constructions and their position in a construction are examined. Relative clauses are introduced by the marker **gɪ** and are optionally marked off by the topic marker **ní** signalling that they convey background information with respect to the head nominal. Complement clauses are introduced by **sɪ** or **tɪ** or a combination of both. These markers have extended functions which relate to the introduction of adverbial clauses, for example, **tɪ** is also used to mark purpose clauses. Sometimes, the relation of the adverbial clause to the main clause is not overtly marked and has to be inferred. In dependent clauses in Tafi the subject marker on the verb tends to be a dependent form of the pronoun. The mechanism of combining units (clauses or phrases) of equal rank or coordination is also looked at. Coordination is expressed by overt coordinators and they include **nɪ** 'COM', the comitative preposition which is used as a conjunction to link NPs, **kʊlí** 'CONJ' which is another conjunctive marker used to connect clauses, the disjunctive markers **pínɔ̃ɔ̃/alo(o)/lo(o)** 'or' and the adversative markers **pɔ/gake** 'but'. Moreover, the correlative disjunctive marker **o(o)…(o(o))** is used to conjoin clauses that are opposites.

In Chapter Ten, the way in which verbs are integrated in mono-clauses through verb serialization is considered. In Tafi serial verb constructions, two or more verbs occur without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. The verbs share at least one argument and same tense and mood which is marked only once on the first verb. The verbs cannot be independently negated. The verbs can be independently focused or questioned.

The next two chapters are about routine expressions and ideophones, interjections and particles respectively. These topics are aspects of pragmatics and are usually considered marginal to grammar, however, they are essential for communication. Routine expressions as described in Chapter Eleven are expressions used in social interactions and they include greetings, expressions used for congratulating and welcoming people, consoling or sympathising with a bereaved person or a family, inviting people to join in a meal, showing gratitude or appreciation. Furthermore, attention is also drawn to the structure and context within which some of these expressions are used. Chapter Twelve focuses on ideophones, interjections and particles. These word types share some properties. They are all expressive in nature. They are used to express a speaker's perception, mental state and attitudes. Nevertheless, there are differences between them. Ideophones and particles cannot be used by themselves non-elliptically while interjections can be used by themselves as non-elliptical utterances. The final chapter, Chapter Thirteen, comprises transcriptions, interlinear glosses and translations of some recorded texts collected during the fieldwork periods in Tafi from native speakers of the language. The texts include a folktale, proverbs, riddles and procedural descriptions.

Samenvatting

Dit boek geeft een beschrijving van het Tafi, een van de veertien Ghana-Togo-Mountain-talen, die in het zuidoosten van Ghana gesproken worden, alsmede in Togo en voor een deel ook in Benin. De beschrijving bestaat uit dertien hoofdstukken en is gebaseerd op een corpus dat verzameld is tijdens twee periodes van veldwerk in Tafi van in totaal vijftien maanden.

Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding op de Tafi, hun taal, geografische locatie en sociolinguïstische situatie, evenals de genetische classificatie en het taalkundige typologische profiel van de taal. Het geeft ook achtergrondinformatie over eerdere studies van de taal en beschrijft de methodologie van het onderzoek dat werd uitgevoerd.

Hoofdstuk twee onderzoekt het fonologische systeem van de taal. Tafi heeft vijf lettergreep typen waaronder een V/N lettergreep die uit een klinker of een nasaal bestaat; VC en CV lettergrepen, samengesteld uit een klinker en een medeklinker en een medeklinker en een klinker respectievelijk; een CVV lettergreep die bestaat uit een medeklinker en een lange klinker en een CCV die is samengesteld uit twee medeklinkers en een klinker, de tweede medeklinker kan een liquida worden of een glijklank. Tafi onderkent fonemische medeklinkers op de volgende plaatsen van articulatie: bilabiaal, labio-dentaal, alveolair, post-alveolair, palataal, velair en glottaal. De medeklinker /bh/ is een geaspireerde, stemhebbende labiale stop. Het heeft geen stemloze tegenhanger in de taal en /ʄ/ is een stemloze, labiale fricatief die geen stemhebbende tegenhanger heeft. Hij werd geïntroduceerd in de taal als gevolg van ontlening uit het Ewe. Het Tafi heeft dubbel gearticuleerde labiaal-velaire stops, /kp/ en /gb/, alsmede alveolaire en palatale affricaten, /ts /, /dz/ en /tʃ/, /dʒ/.

Tafi heeft een systeem met negen klinkers. Deze klinkers hebben genasaliseerde tegenhangers met uitzondering van /o/. De klinkers zijn onderhevig aan ATR klinkerharmonie. Ze zijn verdeeld in twee verzamelingen, [+ATR] en [-ATR]. ATR klinkerharmonie wordt door de stam bepaald in het Tafi, dus de klinker van een voorvoegsel harmoniseert met de klinker van de eerste lettergreep van de stam. Een prefix kan dus afhankelijk van de [ATR] waarde van de eerste klinker in de wortel verschillende vormen hebben. De klinker /a/ in voorvoegsels treedt op met klinkers uit beide verzamelingen.

Tafi is een toontaal met drie toonniveaus: Hoog, Midden en Laag. Bovendien zijn er glijdende tonen die fonetisch worden gerealiseerd op de nucleus van een lettergreep. Er zijn drie vallende tonen: Hoog-Midden, Hoog/Laag- en Miden-Laag en twee stijgende tonen: Laag-Midden en Laag-Hoog. De contourtonen kunnen lexicaal zijn of door de context worden gegenereerd.

Hoofdstuk drie behelst het klassensysteem met betrekking tot het zelfstandig naamwoord van de taal. Nomina worden in het Tafi ingedeeld in tien klassen samengesteld uit vijf enkelvoudklassen, vier meervoudklassen en een niet-telbare klasse op basis van de voorvoegsels, onderwerp-werkwoord agreement patroon, de pronominale vormen van de klassen en agreement binnen de nominale constituent. Een naamwoordklasse voor meervoud kan dus combineren met verschillende enkelvoudklassen.

De discussie in het vierde hoofdstuk is gewijd aan de nominale constituent; de typen en de interne structuur ervan. Sommige modificeerders (bijvoorbeeld kwantoren) vertonen overeenkomst met het hoofdnomen terwijl anderen (bijvoorbeeld die van kwalificatie, zoals het bijvoeglijk naamwoord), geen overeenkomst met het hoofdnomen vertonen. Onder de telwoorden vertonen alleen de hoofdtelwoorden 1-9 overeenkomst met het hoofdnomen. De rangtelwoorden congrueren niet met het hoofdnomen. Sommige modificeerders kunnen worden genominaliseerd door de toevoeging van nominale voorvoegsels. Het Tafi heeft, misschien, één niet-afgeleid, niet-ideofonisch bijvoeglijk naamwoord. Afgeleide bijvoeglijke naamwoorden worden gevormd door reduplicatie van werkwoorden die een eigenschap uitdrukken. Andere strategieën voor het uitdrukken van bijvoegelijke betekenissen omvatten relativering, het gebruik van eigenschapsnomina als complementen van predicatoren, en medio-passieve constructies. De determinatoren omvatten de markeringen voor (on)bepaaldheid en de demonstratieven. De markering van bepaaldheid congrueert niet met het hoofdnomen, de markering voor onbepaaldheid en de demonstratieven doen dit wel. Verwantschapsbezit wordt grammaticaal uitgedrukt in het Tafi. Verwantschapsbezit is in het enkelvoud gemarkeerd met het derde persoon enkelvoud onafhankelijke voornaamwoord **yɩ́**, dat verwijst naar de bezitter en dat wordt geplaatst tussen de bezitter en de verwantschapsterm. Meervoudig verwantschapsbezit wordt uitgedrukt door nevenschikking.

Hoofdstuk vijf concentreert zich op adposities in het Tafi. Er zijn twee klassen van adposities: preposities en postposities. Er zijn twee bonafide preposities, een locatief voorzetsel *nɩ́* en een comitatief voorzetsel *nɩ*. Daarnaast is er een aantal werkwoorden dat zich in de richting van voorzetsels aan het grammaticaliseren is. Het Tafi heeft een tiental voorzetsels die worden gebruikt voor de onderdelen van objecten. Sommige van deze zijn ruimtelijke nomina of woorden voor lichaamsdelen die in verschillende fasen zijn in het proces van grammaticalisatie.

Hoofdstuk zes behandelt de structuur van de eenvoudige zin, de volgorde van de constituenten en grammaticale relatie. De basiswoordvolgorde is subject – werkwoord – object. Als er twee objecten zijn dan in de volgorde meewerkend voorwerp en dan lijdend voorwerp. Locatieve constituenten komen na het lijdend voorwerp. Bijwoorden komen ook na de kernargumenten van het werkwoord. Naar het onderwerp wordt verwezen op het predicaat met markeringen die met de klasse van het hoofdnaamwoord van het onderwerp overeenstemmen, met uitzondering

van de twee *bu*- klassen. Er is geen overeenkomst met het object op het werkwoord.

De markeringen voor overeenkomst met het onderwerp zijn hetzelfde als de pronominale vormen van het onderwerp. Hierbinnen kunnen twee paradigma's worden onderscheiden. Eén groep wordt gebruikt overeenkomst met onderwerpen in zelfstandige zinnen, terwijl de tweede groep, die is opgebouwd uit afhankelijke pronominale vormen, in afhankelijke constituenten zoals relatieve, complement en bijwoordelijke zinnen wordt gebruikt.

De volgorde van onderdelen in een eenvoudige zin kan worden herschikt voor het aangeven van informatiestruktuur. In het Tafi houdt dit in dat elementen en zinsdelen naar voren schuiven in de zin. Het effect van deze processen is het creëren van drie posities in de linker periferie van de zin. Deze posities worden gevuld door constituenten die respectievelijk topics, contrastieve topics en constituenten in focus zijn.

In topic constructies, wordt een naar voren verplaatst zelfstandig naamwoord of postpositionele frase optioneel gekenmerkt door **ní** dat in vorm identiek is aan de markering voor bepaaldheid. Het niet-gefocuste deel van een zin met focus wordt gemarkeerd door een andere markering; **aní** TOP. Deze vorm is hetzelfde als de demonstratief voor dichtbij.

Focus wordt niet gemarkeerd door een partikel, maar er is een asymmetrie in onderwerp vs. niet-onderwerp focus: een subjectargument in focus wordt aangeduid door een onafhankelijke voornaamwoord. De positie van een niet-subject constituent in focus wordt gekenmerkt door een *gap*. Werkwoorden worden gemarkeerd voor focus door nominalisering van het werkwoord met het klasse voorvoegsel **bʊ/bu-** van de **bu**[1]- klasse, waarna ze vóór het subject van de zin geplaatst worden.

Werkwoorden en verbale modificeerders worden besproken in Hoofdstuk 7. Dit hoofdstuk behandelt de grammatica van argumentenstructuur van Tafi werkwoorden in termen van het aantal argumenten dat ze semantisch gezien vereisen, en de argumentstructuurconstructies waarin ze participeren. De werkwoorden worden geclassificeerd als één-plaats, twee-plaats of drie-plaats predikaten. Werkwoorden geclassificeerd als één-plaats predikaten komen voor in één-plaats constructies en nemen slechts één argument, terwijl twee-plaats predikaten voorkomen in twee-plaats constructies en zij nemen twee argumenten. Er zijn maar een paar drie-plaats-predikaten.

Sommige werkwoorden kunnen in meer dan één constructie voorkomen, waardoor ze participeren in verschillende werkwoordsalternanties of in constructies die argumenten toevoegen tot hun frame. Daar komt bij dat werkwoorden worden geclassificeerd op basis van hun inherente semantiek. *Tense*, *aspect* en *mood* zijn

categorieën waar werkwoorden zich op kunnen aanpassen, evenals bijwoorden en bijwoordelijk bijzinnen. *Tense*, *aspect* en *mood* worden voornamelijk gemarkeerd door *preverbs* in het Tafi en er is ongeveer een dozijn pre-verbale markeerders.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat over zinstypen. Zinnen kunnen geclassificeerd worden op basis van de illocutionaire kracht die ze uitdrukken in *discourse*. De belangrijkste zinstypen die besproken worden zijn declaratieven, interrogatieven en imperatieven. In het Tafi is er geen verschil in structuur en segmentele vorm tussen een polaire vraag en een mededelende zin. Er is alleen een verschil in toon. De polaire vraag eindigt op een ietwat lagere toon dan de dezelfde zin als mededeling. Er zijn ongeveer acht vraagwoorden die gebruikt worden om inhoudsvragen te stellen. Twee daarvan zijn modificeerders. (**ɖúwē** 'welke' en **-shī́** 'hoeveel') en komen dus achter het hoofdnomen. Twee van de vraagwoorden (**-shī́** 'hoeveel' en **-nī́** 'wie') concorderen met het hoofdnomen. Sommige vraagwoorden worden in focus gevolgd door de relatieve markeerder **gɪ** of de connector **pɪ**.

Hoofdstuk negen laat zien hoe zinnen worden gecombineerd tot complexe zinnen. De structuur van relatieve zinnen, complementzinnen en bijwoordelijke zinnen komen aan bod. Relatieve zinnen worden geïntroduceerd door de markeerder **gɪ** en worden optioneel gemarkeerd door de topicmarkeerder **nɪ́** die aangeeft dat ze achtergrondinformatie bevatten met betrekking tot het hoofdnomen. Complementzinnen worden geïntroduceerd door **sɪ** of **tɪ** of een combinatie hiervan. Deze markeerders kunnen ook adverbiale zinnen introduceren; **tɪ** wordt bijvoorbeeld ook gebruikt om doelzinnen aan te geven. Soms is de relatie tussen de adverbiale zin en de hoofdzin niet gemarkeerd en moet zij geïnfereerd worden. In afhankelijke zinnen is de subjectmarkeerder op het werkwoord vaak een gebonden vorm van het pronomen. Het mechanisme om gelijkwaardige eenheden (zinnen of zinsdelen) te combineren wordt eveneens behandeld. Coördinatie wordt uitgedrukt door coördinatoren, waaronder comitatief **nɪ** die gebruikt wordt als een conjunctie om NPs aan elkaar te verbinden; de conjunctie **kɪlɪ́**; de disjunctieve markeerder **pínɔ̃ɔ̃/alo(o)/lo(o)** 'of' en de adversatieve markeerder **pɔ/gake** 'maar'. Bovendien wordt **o(o)…(o(o))** gebruikt om zinnen samen te voegen die tegengesteld zijn.

In hoofdstuk tien wordt de manier besproken waarop werkwoorden geïntegreerd worden in zogenaamde *mono-clauses*. In seriële werkwoordsconstructies komen twee of meer werkwoorden voor zonder een overte markering van coördinatie of subordinatie. De werkwoorden delen minstens een argument, alsmede *tense* en *mood*. Deze worden slechts eenmalig gemarkeerd, en wel op het eerste werkwoord. De werkwoorden kunnen niet afzonderlijk genegeerd worden. Ze kunnen wel onafhankelijk in focus staan of bevraagd worden.

De volgende twee hoofdstukken gaan over routine uitdrukkingen, en ideofonen, interjecties en partikels. Deze onderwerpen behoren tot het domein van de pragmatiek en worden doorgaans beschouwd als marginaal voor de grammatica. Ze zijn echter essentieel voor communicatie. Routineuitdrukkingen, zoals beschreven

in hoofdstuk elf, worden gebruikt in sociale interactie, waaronder begroetingen, uitdrukkingen die gebruikt worden om mensen te feliciteren of te verwelkomen, het troosten of condoleren, het uitnodigen aan de dis, en het tonen van dank of waardering. Verder wordt aandacht geschonken aan de context waarin deze uitdrukkingen worden gebruikt. Hoofdstuk twaalf richt zich op ideofonen, interjecties en partikels. Deze woordtypes hebben een aantal eigenschappen gemeen. Ze zijn alle expressief van aard. Ze worden gebruikt om de perceptie, mentale staat en houding van de spreker weer te geven. Toch zijn er ook verschillen. Ideofonen en partikels kunnen niet op zichzelf staan en niet elliptisch gebruikt worden, terwijl interjecties dat wel kunnen.

Curriculum Vitae

Mercy Bobuafor was born on 15th September 1970 in Accra, Ghana. She attended Sogakope Secondary School obtaining her School Certificate/General Certificate of Education (SC/GCE) "Ordinary" level in 1987. She then entered sixth form in La Bone Secondary School, Accra, and obtained her GCE "Advanced" level certificate in 1989. After working as a teacher at the Dansoman Junior High School to fulfil her national service requirements, she entered the University of Ghana in 1990 and graduated in 1994 with a BA combined honours degree in French and Linguistics. She was a year-abroad French student at the University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in the 1992-93 academic year. After serving for three years as a Teaching Assistant/Tutor in the Linguistics Department of the University of Ghana, she was admitted to the MPhil Linguistics programme. She was awarded the degree in 2001. Her thesis was on verbal alternations in Ewe, one of her first languages. She was recruited into the Public Service of Ghana in 1998 and has been working with the Electoral Commission of Ghana where she is a Senior Electoral Officer (since 2003). From August 2006 until January 2012 she was on leave without pay from the Electoral Commission. This enabled her to take up a position as a PhD Researcher (August 2006-December 2010) at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics working on the project "The documentation and description of Tafi, a Ghana-Togo Mountain language". The project was funded under the Endangered Languages Project of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).