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A grammar of Tafi

Bobuafor, M.

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Author: Bobuafor, Mercy
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3 Nouns and Noun classes

3.1 Nouns

Nouns prototypically express time-stable concepts (Givón 2001:51), for example, **ɔɖa** '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-**	**ɪ/i-**
V	**ki-**	**kɪ/ki-**
VI	**a^{2}-**	**a/e-**
VII	**ka-**	**ka/ke-**
VIII	**bu^{1}-**	**bʊ/bu-**
IX	**bu^{2}-**	**bʊ/bu-**
X	**ti-**	**tɪ/ti-**

3.1.2.1 The a[1]- class

With the exception of some borrowed nouns, nouns in the **a[1]**- 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-nyí	'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'	**ɖ̄ēkē**	'crocodile'
	gbɔkɔ́é	'toad'	**túŋ́gbá**	'a bush cow'
	sā́hwī̄	'spider'	**gbɛŋgbě**	'praying mantis'
	hohlōmʊá	'(green) grasshopper'	**blafī**	'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.	**sʊ́bha**	'rain'
	wolě	'moon'
	dzyosŭ	'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'
	ɪ-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-nugbû**	'mouth'
	ɔ-ma	'town'	**o-lí**	'neck'
	ɔ-shɛ̌	'branch'	**o-sí**	'tree'
	ɔ-ɖá	'metal, iron'	**o-yĩtsí**	'hawk'
	ɔ-bhɪa	'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-lé**	'tooth'

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

7a.	**kí-lɛ̄**	'wind'	**ki-wí**	'sun'
	kɪ-bʊí	'dew'	**ki-widʊ́dɔ́**	'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-kʊkɔ́é**	'a small chick'	←	**ɔ-kúkɔ́**	'fowl'
	ki-pidzyɛ̌	'a small goat'	←	**e-pidzya**	'goat'
	kɪ-núvɔ̃ɛ̄	'a very young child'	←	**a-núvɔ̃**	'child'
	kɪ-shɔ̌ɛ̌	'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-hlɔ̃ɛ́̄	'deer'	**ke-húí**	'a kind of deer'
	ka-gbā̀	'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 bu[1]- class

The nouns in the **bu[1]-** 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.	**bu-pá**	‘house’	**bu-tú**	‘mountain’
	bu-ya	‘farm’	**bú-glebē**	‘wing’
	bu-tɔ́	‘ear, ash’	**bú-vū**	‘building’
	bu-wá	‘medicine’	**bú-hihē**	‘sweat’
	bu-zhɔ	‘cheek’	**bu-ní**	‘water’
	bú-nyínyí	‘penis’	**bu-nuhu**	‘language’
	bu-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.	**bu-yí**	‘killing’	←	**yí**	‘kill’
	bu-pʊɪ	‘scattering’	←	**pʊɪ**	‘scatter’
	bú-gā	‘walking’	←	**ga**	‘walk’
	bu-búkú	‘intoxicating’	←	**búkú**	‘intoxicate’

10b. Ónúgɪ ɖ̣ēkē évu wɔ́ ní, y’eyialí bʊtí látī ní anɔ̄ ’ɛvuɪabhā.

Ónú.gɪ	**ɖ̣ēkē**	**é-vu**	**wɔ́**	**ní**	**yí**	**e-yi-alí**
COND	crocodile	SM-catch	2SG	TOP	3SG.IND	CM-child-PL
bu-tí	**lá-tī**		**ní**	**a-nɔ̄**	**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’	←	**féléé**	‘light’
	bú-kplitakplita	‘shortness’	←	**kplita**	‘short’
	bú-tsútsɔ́mɔ̄	‘ugliness’	←	**tsɔ́mɔ̄**	‘ugly’
	bú-bhuliyí	‘smallness’	←	**bhuliyí**	‘very small’
	bu-gɪganɪ	‘strength’	←	**gɪganɪ**	‘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 **a[1]-** class as shown in (12a), the **bu[1]-** class as illustrated in (12b) and a sub-set of the **kɪ-** 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-dzì	'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-drǒgá	'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-/ɪ-** as prefixes. Below are some examples:

13.	**ɪ-tɔmí**	'beards'	**i-nugbù**	'mouths'
	ɪ-ma	'towns'	**i-lí**	'necks'
	ɪ-shě	'branches'	**i-sí**	'trees'
	ɪ-ɖá	'metals, iron'	**i-yītsí**	'hawks'
	ɪ-bhɪa	'friends'	**i-ní**	'soups'

3.1.2.8 The a[2]- class

The **a[2]-** class has been identified as a separate class, because it comprises plural nouns whereas the **a[1]-** 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-zĭ	'peanuts'
	a-yĭ	'beans'
	a-mɔ́	'unhusked rice'

3.1.2.9 The bu^2- class

Nouns in the **bu^2-** 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-hlɔ̃ɛ̃	'deers'	**bu-kudzɔgɛ̆**	'dogs'
	bʊ-gbà	'kitchens'	**bú-dunú**	'doorways'
	bu-gbu	'stools'	**bʊ-plukpá**	'books'
15b.	**bʊ-plá**	'buttocks'	**bʊ-yĭsɔɛ́**	'young men'
	bú-kúkóéyí	'chicken'	**bʊ-dzɪmĭ**	'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-ŋɪŋā	'eating'	←	**ŋa**	'eat'
	tí-vɪvɪ	'going'	←	**vɪ**	'go'
	tí-púpó	'waiting'	←	**pó**	'wait'

tí-tsútsú	'digging'	←	**tsú**	'dig'
tí-tɪtã̄	'chewing'	←	**tã**	'chew'
tí-fífatī	'peeling'	←	**fátī**	'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-mű́ĭ́** 'Akan' and **Tɪ-frańsī̄** '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.

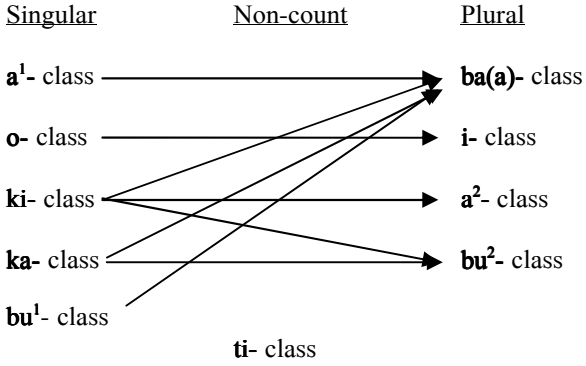

Figure 1. Singular and Plural pairings.

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-srã̀** 'tobacco' and **vudǒ** '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 **sɪkấ** '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 **ní** **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.	**kɪ-kpǎ**	'fish'	**a-kpǎ**	'fishes'	< Ewe,	**akpā**
20b.	**kɪ-kana**	**'**crab'	**a-kana**	**'**crabs'	< Ewe,	**agalã**

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-yĭ**	'beans'	< Ewe	**āyi**
21b.	**a-zĭ**	'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-	**ɪ/i-**	**(ɪ/i-)**	**ɪ/i- lɪ/li-**	**ɪlí**	**lɪ/ li-**	**ɪ-**	**ɪ-**	**ti-**	**tɪ-/ ti-**	**tɪɪ**	**nyɛ́ɛ́/ nyéé**
ki-	**kɪ-/ ki-**	**(kɪ-/ ki-)**	**kɪ-/ ki-**	**kɪlí**	**lɪ/ li-**	**ɪ-**	**ɪ-**	**ti-**	**tri-**	**-**	**nyɛ́ɛ́/ 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-**	**nyɛ́ɛ́/ 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
a[1]-	**a/e-**
ba(a)-	**ba/be-**
o-	**o/ɔ-**
i-	**(i/ɪ-)**
ki-	**(kɪ/ki-)**
a[2]-	**a/e-**
ka-	**ka/ke-**
bu[2]-	**-**
bu[1]-	**-**
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 **a[1]-** class is **a-** or **e-** as exemplified in (22a) and (22b). The examples in (22) are taken from a frog story narration.

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

22b. Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ̄ń éwu osíń.
á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ̄ **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. Sā́hwī̃ń étsirí bupíníḿ.
sā́hwī̃ **ní** **é-tsirí** **bu-pí** **ní** **kɪmɪ**
Spider DEF SM-be.on CM-ceiling DEF in
'The spider is on the ceiling.' (TRPS. 7)

23b. Bólun ákpasí kadangóníési.
bólu ní á-kpasí kadangó ní 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 **dzyosŭ** 'blood', **súbha** 'rain', and **welĕ** '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. Dzyosŭ álī y'ɔ́hɔɪníshú.
dzyosŭ **á-lī** **yí** **ɔhɔɪ** **ní** **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 **a^{1}-** 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 **ní** **ɔ́-sɔmí** **o-sí** **ní** **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 **ní** **ó-tsirí** **ke-sukpogunu** **ní** **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 **a^{1}-** 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 agbĕníḿ.
o-seyuyu ní á-kpasí a-gbĕ ní kɪmɪ
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 ní ki-tsú á-nyí ní
CM-thorn DEF SM-prick CM-man DEF
'The thorn pricked the man.'

27b. Kɪzɔń kpasí 'únínímɔ̄.
kɪ-zɔ ní kpasí bu-ní ní kɪmɪ
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 **a^{1}-** 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 átsyɔ́mɔ̄.
kí-kū ní á-tsyɔ́mɔ̄
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. Kahlɔɛ́ń étsirí kesukpogunūnɪabhā.
ka-hlɔɛ́ ní ké-tsirí ke-sukpogunū ní kábhā
CM-deer DEF SM-be.on CM-tree.stump DEF top
'The deer is on the tree-stump.'

28b. Keplukpáń áwólī.
ke-plukpá ní ka-wólī
CM-book DEF SM-fall
'The book fell.'

The sentences in (29) exemplify nouns in the **bu[1]-** 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** **bʊ-tɔ́**
CM-building DEF burn all all become CM-ash
'The building burned down completely into ashes.'

29b. Bʊmwɪ ní kú flá n'onínɪ̃m.
bʊ-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. Bawĩ́ ásɔmí kíhúíníábhā.
ba-wī **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 'úpánɪ́m̃.
báá-nyí **ní** **bé-tsokú** **bʊ-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 ísɔmí 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 kesukpogununıabhā.
i-hui **ní** **i-tsirí** **ke-sukpogunu** **ní** **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 **ní** **á-tsyɔ́mɔ̄**
CM.PL-yam DEF SM-rot
'The yams are rotten.'

32b. Akanan etsí.
a-kana **ní** **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 ní zi bʊyɛm 'ıdɔ̄ń.
bu-tsé **ní** **zi** **bʊ-ya** **kɪmɪ** **kí-dɔ̄** **ní**
CM.PL-monkey DEF destroy CM-farm inside CM-thing DEF
'The monkeys destroyed the crops.'

33b. Butsukpú ní tsirí isubhanıabhā.
bu-tsukpú **ní** **tsirí** **i-subha** **ní** **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 **ní** **kí-í-shē** **vlɔvlɔ**
CM-weed DEF SM-PRSPROG-grow fast
'The weed is growing very fast.'

34b. Tɪwő̄lɔ̄ń ítã békē
tɪ-wő̄lɔ̄ **ní** **kí-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** **báá-nyí t-íé-tí**	'two men' 'five men'
o-	**o-lí t-ó-ḍúkpó**	'one neck'
i-	**i-lí t-ɪ-bhā** **i-lí t-i-tí**	'two necks' 'five necks'
ki-	**kɪ-tɔkpú t-ríkpó**	'one head'
a[2]-	**a-tɔkpú t-á-bhā** **a-tɔkpú t-é-tí**	'two heads' 'five heads'
ka-	**ká-gbɔ́ t-íé-ḍíkpó**	'one squirrel'
bu[2]-	**bú-gbɔ́ t-ʊ-bha** **bú-gbɔ́ t-u-tí**	'two squirrels' '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-núvɔ̄ t-e-lí**	'a, some, a certain child'
ba(a)-	**baa-núvɔ̄ 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-wʊlɛ́ 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 **-lílínɪ́**[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

[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 **-lílínɪ́** '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
a[1]-	**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**	**í-lílíní**	**inugbū ɪ-ní** 'these mouths'	**inugbū í-lílíní** 'those mouth'
ki-	**ɪ-ní**	**í-lílíní**	**kíkū ɪ-ní** 'this yam'	**kíkū í-lílíní** 'that yam'
a[2]-	**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'
bu[2]-	**ɔ-ní** **ʊ-ní**	**ɔ́-lílíní** **ʊ́-lílíní**	**búgbɔ́ ɔ-ní** 'these squirrels' **bugbu ʊ-ní** 'these stools'	**búgbɔ́ ɔ́-lílíní** 'those squirrels' **bugbu ʊ́-lílíní** 'those stools'
bu[1]-	**ɔ-ní** **ʊ-ní**	**ɔ́-lílíní** **ʊ́-lílíní**	**bʊtɔ́ ɔ-ní** 'this ear' **búvū ʊ-ní** 'this building'	**bʊtɔ́ ɔ́-lílíní** 'that ear' **búvū ʊ́-lílíní** 'that building'
ti-	**ɪ-ní**	**í-lílíní**	**tɪsí ɪ-ní** 'these feathers'	**tɪsí í-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-ú-nɪní/ bʊ-ú-nĭn** 'this one'
35g. **tɪsí ɪ-ní** 'these feathers'
35h. **kɪ-í-nɪní/ kɪ-í-nĭn** 'these ones'

[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 -**shɪ̄**

The interrogative quantifier **-shɪ̄** ‘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, **-shɪ̄** ‘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-shɪ̄?**	‘how many chiefs?’
i-	**i-nugbu tɪ-shɪ̄?**	‘how many mouths?’
a²-	**a-tɔkpú táá-shɪ̄?**	‘how many heads?’
bu²-	**bʊ-pa tʊʊ-shɪ̄?**	‘how many hoes?’
ti-	**tɪ-wɔ́lɔ̃̄ táá-shɪ̄?**[25]	‘how much rubbish?’

Table 3.8 Interrogative pronouns (quantifiers)

Class	Concord	Meaning
ba(a)-	**ba-lí tíá-shɪ̄? / baá-tíá-shɪ̄?**	‘how many (of them)?’
i-	**ɪ-lí tíí-shɪ̄? / ɪ́-tíí-shɪ̄?**	‘how many (of them)?’
a²-	**a-lí táá-shɪ̄? / aá-táá-shɪ̄?**	‘how many (of them)?’
bu²-	**bʊ-lí túú-shɪ̄? / bʊ́-túú-shɪ̄?**	‘how many (of them)?’
ti-	**a-lí táá-shɪ̄? / aá-táá-shɪ̄?**	‘how much (of it)?’

[25] According to one of my consultants, **taashɪ̄** is used for the **ti-** class because nouns in the **ti-** class are uncountable. As can be seen from the Table 3.7, **taashɪ̄** 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, **sɪ́ká** 'money' belongs to the **a^{1}-** class, so the **a^{1}-** 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.'

[26] In an earlier analysis of the noun class system of the language (Bobuafor 2009), I stated that **kányáákà** 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'
a[1]-	**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'
o-	**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'
a[2]-	**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'
bu[2]-	**bú-gbɔ̄-nyɔ́ɔ́-gbɔ́** 'any/ all squirrel(s)'	**bʊ-ká-nyáá-ká** 'any/all of them'
bu[1]-	**bʊ-tɔ̄-nyɔ́ɔ́-tɔ́** 'every, each ear' **bú-vū-nyóó-vú** 'every, each building'	**bʊ-ká-nyáá-ká** 'each one' **bʊ-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 ɖɪɖama tɪalḯ álílíń pétéé báyadɪ lenú.
báá-nyí **ɖɪɖama** **tɪa-lḯ** **á-líllíní** **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. Baɖɪɖama tɪalḯ álílín pétéé báyadɪ lenú.
ba-ɖɪɖama **tɪa-lḯ** **á-líllíní** **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. Kɪkpă̌ gbɪgblă̌ń ítsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.
kɪ-kpă̌ **gbɪgblă̌** **ní** **ki-tsirí** **kplɔ̌** **ní** **kábhā**
CM-fish big DEF SM-be.on table DEF top
'The big fish is on the table.'

38b. Kɪgbɪgblă̌ń ítsirí kplɔ̌níábhā.
kɪ-gbɪgblă̌ **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 ídzyínī.
tɪ-sí **dzyrodo** **ní** **ki-dzyínī**
CM-feather long DEF SM-break
'The long feather is broken.'

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

In (37b), and (38b), the nominal prefixes of **báá-nyí** 'men' and **kɪ-kpă̌** 'fish' have been attached to the adjectives **ɖɪɖama** 'tall' and **gbɪgblă̌** '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-gbɪgblă̌** 'big one' in (38b) and **ki-dzyrodō** 'long one' in (39b) are harmonic with the initial vowel of the adjectives. In these examples, **ba-ɖɪɖama** 'tall ones', **kɪ-gbɪgblă̌** '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** **ní** **á-ŋa** **kɔɖú**
CM-child three-ORD DEF SM-eat banana
'The third child ate banana.'

40b. Átrămīń áŋa kɔɖú.
á-tră-mī **ní** **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** **ní** **ó-tsí**
CM-tree three-ORD DEF SM-die
'The third sheep died.'

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

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

[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. Anúvɔ̄ ɖúwē y'ábá sukû?
a-núvɔ̄ ɖúwē yí á-bá sukū
CM-child which 3SG.IND SM-come school
'Which child came to school?'

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

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

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

Table 3.10 Interrogative pronouns (qualifiers)

Class	Concord	Meaning
a^{1}-	**e-ɖúwē?**	'which one?'
ba(a)-	**be-ɖúwē?**	'which ones?'
o-	**o-ɖúwē?**	'which one?'
i-	**i-ɖúwē?**	'which ones?'
ki-	**ki-ɖúwē?**	'which one?'
a^{2}-	**e-ɖúwē?**	'which ones?'
ka-	**ke-ɖúwē?**	'which one?'
bu^{2}-	**bu-ɖúwē?**	'which ones?'
bu^{1}-	**bu-ɖúwē?**	'which one?'
ti-	**ki-ɖúwē?**	'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-mɔ́**	**bu-ní**	**bʊ-mɔ̃ní**	'milk'
	breast	water		
44b.	**bʊ-pá**	**e-leté**	**á-paleté**	'landlord/master'
	house	owner		
44c.	**bʊ-dzɔ**	**ké-pluí**	**ká-dzɔpluí**	'gourd used for storing palm oil'
	palm oil	gourd		
44d.	**a-dzì**	**kɪ-pɔtí**	**kɪ-dzɪpɔtí**	'cloth (worn by a woman)'
	woman	cloth		
44e.	**bú-vū**	**ke-de**	**ké-vude**	'backyard'
	house	back		
44f.	**bu-ní**	**o-zì**	**o-nízī**	'well' (n)
	water	hole		
44g.	**bé-shē**	**kɪ-pɔtí**	**ki-shɛ̄pɔtí**	'a locally woven cloth used to tie children at the back.'
	local	cloth		

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-wã**	**kí-xwā**	**ɔ-wɛ̃ɛ̃xwā**	'rib bone'
	side (of body)	bone		
45b.	**kɪ-tɔkpú**	**tí-kā**	**kɪ-tɔkputíkā**	'hair (of head)'
	head	hair		
45c.	**be-tsí**	**bu-ní**	**be-tsuní**	'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-ɖá**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kɪ-ɖádɔ̄**	'weapon'
	metal	thing		
46b.	**kɪ-mɔ̃**	**kɪ-shɔ̌**	**kɪ-mɔ̃shɔ̌**	'plastic basket'
	rubber	basket		
47a.	**ɔ-ɖá**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kí-ɖɛɛdɔ̄**	'weapon'
	metal	thing		
47b.	**kɪ-mɔ̃**	**kɪ-shɔ̌**	**kɪ-mɔ̃ɪshɔ̌**	'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.	**kɪ-tɔkpú**	**kɪmɪ**	**bʊ-bɔ́**	**kɪ-tɔkpuɪmʊbɔ́**	‘brain’
	head	inside	fat		
48c.	**kplɔ̃̀**	**kábhā**	**kɪ-pɔtí**	**kplɔ̃̀íábhēpɔtí**	‘table-cloth’
	table	top	cloth		
48d.	**bʊ-ya**	**kɪmɪ**	**a-wi**	**bʊ-yɛmawi**	‘farm attire’
	farm	inside	garment		
48e.	**á-yakpá**	**kɪmɪ**	**a-ga**	**á-yakpémaga**	‘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 -**dzɪ** ‘female.’ Examples include:

49.	**o-bhoshi**	**-dzɪ**	**o-bhoshidzɪ**	‘ewe’	
	sheep	female			
	ɪ-sɔ́	**-dzɪ**	**ɪ-sɔ́dzɪ**	‘mare’	
	horse	female			
	A-gbɔ	**-dzɪ**	**A-gbɔdzɪ**	‘a woman from Tafi’	
	native of Tafi	female			
	ɔ-kúkɔ́	**-nye**	**ɔ-kúkɔ́nye**	‘cock’	
	fowl	male			
	ă-hɛ̆	**-nye**	**ă-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**	**kɪ-kúkóéyí**	‘chick’
	fowl	child		
	o-bhoshi	**e-yí**	**o-bhoshieyí**	‘lamb’
	sheep	child		

e-pidzyà goat	**e-yí** child	**e-pidzeyí**	‘small/baby goat’
é-bhī buffalo	**e-yí** child	**é-bheyí**	‘small/baby buffalo’
kpósɔ́ camel	**e-yí** child	**kpósoeyí**	‘small/baby camel’
ă-hɛ̆ pig	**e-yí** child	**a-hieyí**	‘piglet’
ka-kudzɔgɛ̆ dog	**e-yí** child	**ka-kudzɔgieyí**	‘puppy’

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 poverty	**e-leté** possessor	**kí-tsúélété**	‘pauper/poor person’
á-yĭ laziness	**e-leté** possessor	**á-yĭélété**	‘lazy person’
ká-ɖɔ̄ speech	**e-leté** possessor	**ka-ɖoeleté**	‘speaker’
a-kpă̆ fishes	**e-leté** possessor	**á-kpĕ̆leté**	‘fishmonger’
e-lishí night	**e-leté** possessor	**e-lishíéleté** (lit. owner of the night)	‘witch’

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.	**dɪ**	'cultivate'	**bʊ-ya**	'farm'	→	**á-yadî**	'farmer'
	kasí	'teach'	**kí-dɔ̄**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔkasí**	'teacher'
	bhɔ	'mould'	**kí-dɔ̄**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔbhɔ̀**	'potter'
	bísī	'ask'	**kí-dɔ̄**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔbísī**	'beggar'
	kámī	'sew'	**kí-dɔ̄**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔkámī**	'tailor'
	sɔ́lī	'catch'	**e-yí**	'child'	→	**e-yisɔ́lī**	'midwife'
	dɪ	'sell'	**kí-dɔ̄**	'thing'	→	**á-dɔdɪ**	'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'	→	**bʊ-káfú**	'praise (n)'
	sɔlɪ	'worship'	→	**bú-sɔlɪ**	'worship (n)'
	tɔ̄	'be tired'	→	**bú-tɔ̄**	'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-dɔ̃** → **kí-dɔ̃ŋíŋá** 'food'
eat CM-thing

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

kɔ́ **kí-dɔ̃** → **kí-dɔ̃kúkɔ́** 'gift'
give CM-thing

xé **ki-dzo** → **ki-dzoxíxé** 'obstacle'
block CM-road

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

tī **ki-búí** → **ki-búítitī** '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. **bhɪ̀** 'hunt' → **á-bhɪbhɪ̀** 'hunter'
nyɔ́ 'wander' → **á-nyúnyɔ́** 'traveller'
nya '(be) sick' → **á-nyɪnya** 'patient'
fwɛ́ 'breathe' → **ɔ-fʊfwɛ́** 'spirit/breath'

bhɪtī	'do'	→	**kɪ-bhɪbhɪtī**	'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'
	w̃ʊ̃sɔ́	'lie (down)'	→	**tí-w̃ʊ́w̃ʊ́sɔ́**	'lying (down)'
	tí	'crawl'	→	**tí-títí**	'crawling'
	ga	'walk'	→	**tí-gɪga**	'walking'
	sínɔ̃	'greet'	→	**tí-sísínɔ̃**	'greeting'
	xwi	'satisfy'	→	**tí-xuxwi**	'satisfying'
	trɔ̃	'plan'	→	**tɪ-tɪtrɔ̃**	'planning'
	yékɛ̄	'swell'	→	**tí-yíyékɛ̄**	'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			
	w̃ʊ̃sɔ́	**ɔ-kɔ́**	→	**ɔ̃-w̃ʊ̃sɔ́kɔ́**	'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-bhluxɔ́ɛ**	**kí-dɔ̄ŋɛɛbhluxɔ́ɛ**	'spoon'
	eat	thing	spoon		
	tɔ́	**kí-dɔ̄**	**ki-tsikpɪ̌**	**kí-dɔ̄tɔ́ɛtsikpɪ̌**	'cooking pot'
	cook	thing	pot		

3.5.6 Gerunds

Gerunds are formed by the addition of the **bu[1]-** 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 **bu[1]-** 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.	**gbʊgblă**	'big'	→	**bú-gbʊgblă**	'bigness'
	gɪganɪ	'strong, hard'	→	**bú-gɪganɪ**	'strength, hardness'
	ɖɪɖama	'tall'	→	**bú-ɖɪɖama**	'tallness'
	kpɪkpā	'dried'	→	**bú-kpɪkpā**	'dryness'
	kpɪkpā	'dried'	→	**tí-kpɪkpā**	'dryness'
	nɪnī	'wide'	→	**tí-nɪnī**	'width'
	tsʊtsyɔ́mɔ̄	'ugly'	→	**bú-tsʊtsyɔ́mɔ̄**	'ugliness'
61.	**kplitaa**	'short'	→	**bú-kplitakplitaa**	'shortness'
	féléé	'light'	→	**bú-féléféléé**	'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'
	kí-súgbá	'bowl'	→	**kí-sígbɛ́**	'small bowl'
	e-pidzya	'goat'	→	**ki-pidzyě**	'small goat'
	ka-shɔ́	'basket'	→	**kɪ-shɔ̌ɛ̌**	'small basket'
	ke-pidzyaklɔ̃	'he-goat'	→	**ki-pidzyaklɔ́ɛ̃**	'small he-goat'
	a-núvɔ̃	'child'	→	**kɪ-núvɔ́ɛ́**	'little child'
	ɔ-kúkɔ́	'fowl'	→	**kí-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-/ɪ-**	**m(í)**	**i-/ɪ-**
2SG	**wɔ́**	**o-/ɔ-**	**wɔ́**	**o-/ɔ-**
3SG	**yí**	**e-/ a-**	**yí**	**e-/ a-**
1PL	**blɔ̌**[28]	**bu-/bʊ-**	**(b)ʊlɔ́**	**lo-/lɔ-**
2PL	**w̃ʊ̃nɔ̃́**	**no-/nɔ-**	**(w̃)ʊ̃nɔ̃́**	**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. Báánī gɪ étu baanóvɔ̄ɲ̂?
báá-nī **gɪ** **bé-tu** **baa-nóvɔ̄** **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).

[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, Kofĩ n'Ămā ábá sukū.
yí **Kofĩ** **nɪ** **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. Blŏ nɪ yí blŏ gbá 'úvūnímm̃.
blŏ **nɪ** **yí** **blŏ** **gba** **búvū** **ní** **kɪmɪ**
1PL.IND COM 3SG.IND 1PL.IND sweep CM-house DEF inside
'We and he swept the room.'

65b. W̃ūnm̃ n'alí w̃ūnm̃ ŋɛɛ́dɔ̄ń.
w̃ūnm̃ **nɪ** **balí** **w̃ūnm̃** **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. W̃ūnm̃ nɪ yí nɔvɪ 'ʊpɛ́mm̃.
w̃ūnm̃ **nɪ** **yí** **nɔ-vɪ** **bʊ-pa** **kɪmɪ**
2PL.IND COM 3SG.IND 2PL-go CM-house inside
'You and he (you pl) went home.'

66b. Blŏ nɪ y'úkɔ́ 'ūnm̃ siká.
blŏ **nɪ** **yí** **bʊ-kɔ́** **w̃ūnm̃** **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 **blŏ** '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. Blŏ n'Ăma blŏ plú 'uvunímm̃.

blɔ̌	**nɪ**	**Ámā**	**blɔ̌**	**plú**	**bú-vū**	**ní**	**kɪmī**
1PL.IND	COM	Ama	1PL.IND	wash	CM-house	DEF	inside

'I and Ama (we) scrubbed the room.'

67b. Ekusíń éklú blɔ̌ nɪ w̃ũnɔ̃́ sí lɔbá tɪtsítsɛ́ɛ́m.

e-kusí	**ní**	**é-klú**	**blɔ̌**	**nɪ**	**w̃ũnɔ̃́**	**sí**
CM-chief	DEF	SM-invite	1PL.IND	COM	2PL.IND	COMP
lɔ-bá		**tɪ-tsɪtsɛ́ɛ́m**				
1PL.DEP-come		CM-meeting				

'The chief invited you (pl) and I for a meeting.'

67c. ?? Mí n'alí blɔ̌ ŋɛ́ɛ́dɔ̃ń.

mí	**nɪ**	**balí**	**blɔ̌**	**ŋa**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**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 **titě** 'alone, only' and the intensifiers **pétéé** 'all' and **kóŋ́** '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 titě wɔ́ bá.

wɔ́	**titě**	**wɔ́**	**bá**
2SG.IND	alone	2SG.IND	come

'You alone came.'

68b. Alasí tɪ w̃ũnɔ̃ pétéé nɔbá wɔ kóŋ́.

a-lí	**a-sí**	**tɪ**	**w̃ũnɔ̃́**	**pétéé**	**nɔ-bá**
3SG-be.at	SM-COMP	COMP	2PL.IND	all	SM-come
wɔ́	**kóŋ́**				
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.

í-bá
1SG-come

'I came.'

69b. Ídzyínī 'ishĭn.

í-dzyínī	**ki-shĭ**	**ní**
1SG-break	CM-stick	DEF

'I broke the stick.'

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

70b. Bété́ ósíń.
bé-té́ o-sí ní
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 sā́hwī̄ 'ítɔ́kpú.
be-be-bhui sā́hwī̄ kɪ-tɔkpú
3PL-FUT-cut spider CM-head
'They will cut off spider's head.' OR 'spider's head will be cut off.'
(Sā́hwī̄)

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 blɔ̌ kábhā
3PL-eat 1PL.IND top
'They defeated us.'

73b. Blɔ̌ mɔ 'alí.
blɔ̌ 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 osubhanıabha.
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 ɔlíábhā.
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 **gı** 'REL', **sí** 'COMP', **pı** '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-**	**yí**	**a/e-**
ba(a)-	**ba/be-**	**(b)alí**	**la/le-**
o-	**ɔ/o/lɔ/lo-**[29]	**ɔlí**	**lɔ/lo**
i-	**ɪ/i/lʊ/li-**[30]	**ɪlí**	**lɪ/li-**
ki-	**kɪ/ki-**	**(k)ɪlí**	**lɪ/li-**
a[2]-	**la/le-**	**alí**	**la/le-**
ka-	**ka/ke-**	**(k)alí**	**kalí**
bu[2]-	**bʊ/bu-**	**(b)ʊlí**	**lʊ/lu-**
bu[1]-	**bʊ/bu-**	**(b)ʊlí**	**lʊ/lu-**
ti-	**kɪ-/ki-**	**(k)ɪlí**[31]	**lɪ/li-**

75a. Kegbu ní g' ɪalɪabhā ádɔkasíń áshĩlɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī.
ke-gbu ní gɪ kalí kabhā á-dɔkasí ní á-shĩlɔ́
CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.DEP top CM-teacher DEF SM-leave
ke-plukpá ní ke-dzyínī
CM-book DEF SM-break
'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'

75b. Kánā gɪ látɔ̄ 'ʊdzɔ ní Baagbɔ.
ká-nā gɪ lá-tɔ̄ bʊ-dzɔ ní 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

[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, **ʊlí** 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.	**mí**	**bʊpá**	→	**m'ʊpá**	'my house'
	wɔ́	**bʊpá**	→	**wɔɔpá**	'your house
	yí	**bʊpá**	→	**yɪ'ʊpá**	'his/her house'
	blɔ̃	**bʊpá**	→	**blɔɔpá**	'our house'
	wũnɔ̃́	**bʊpá**	→	**wũnɔ̃ɔpá**	'your house'
	balí	**bʊpá**	→	**balɪ'ʊpá**	'their house'
76b.	**mí**	**bapá**	→	**mí bapá/ maapá**	'my houses'
	wɔ́	**bapá**	→	**wɔ́ bapá/ wɔapá**	'your houses'
	yí	**bapá**	→	**yí bapá/ yaapá**	'his/her houses'
	blɔ̃	**bapá**	→	**blɔ̃ bapá/ blɔ'apá**	'our houses'
	wũnɔ̃́	**bapá**	→	**wũnɔ̃́ bapá/ wũnɔ̃'apá**	'your houses'
	balí	**bapá**	→	**balí 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.	**mí**	**epidzyà**	→	**m'epidzyà**	'my goat'
	wɔ́	**epidzyà**	→	**w'epidzyà**	'your goat'
	yí	**epidzyà**	→	**y'epidzyà**	'his/her goat'
	blɔ̃	**epidzyà**	→	**blo epidzyà**	'our goat'
	wũnɔ̃́	**epidzyà**	→	**wũnõ epidzyà**	'your goat'
	balí	**epidzyà**	→	**bal'epidzyà**	'their goat'
77b.	**mí**	**bepidzyà**	→	**mí bepidzyà/ m'eepidzyà**	'my goats'
	wɔ́	**bepidzyà**	→	**wɔ́ bepidzyà/ w'eepidzyà**	'your goats'
	yí	**bepidzyà**	→	**yí bepidzyà/ y'eepidzyà**	'his/her goats'
	blɔ̃	**bepidzyà**	→	**blɔ̃ bepidzyà/ blo eepidzyà**	'our goats'
	wũnɔ̃́	**bepidzyà**	→	**wũnɔ̃́ bepidzyà/ wũnõ eepidzyà**	'your goats'
	balí	**bepidzyà**	→	**balí bepidzyà/ bal'eepidzyà**	'their goats'

Moreover, when **wɔ́**, **blɔ̃** and **w̃ũnɔ̃́** 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'
	blɔ̃	**ádá**	→	**blɔ adá**	'our sister'
	w̃ũnɔ̃́	**ádá**	→	**w̃ũnɔ̃ 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'
	blɔ̃	**olí**	→	**bl'ɔ̃lí**	'our neck'
	w̃ũnɔ̃́	**olí**	→	**w̃ũn'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**	→	**w̃ũnõ 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
a^1-	**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
a^2-	**mayí / may-álí**	mine	**yayí / yay-álí**	his
ka-	**mɪayí**	mine	**yɪayí**	his
bu^2-	**mʊyí**	mine	**yʊyí**	his
bu^1-	**mʊyí**	mine	**yʊyí**	his
ti-	**mɪyí**	mine	**yɪyí**	his

Furthermore, the **ba(a)-** and **a^2-** classes have a plural form of the possessed pronoun.[33] It is formed with a double marking on the 3SG independent form **yí**.

[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 -**alí** derived as stated above from **balí** '3PL.IND' and the concord vowel of the plural class marker. When the plural suffix -**alí** is attached, the vowel of the 3SG independent pronoun **yí** is deleted. The high tone of the vowel of **yí** '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 **a^2-** class as well probably because of its phonological shape.

81c. Mí n'ahɔı mí bhítı 'ılí.
mí **nı** **a-hɔı** **mí** **bhítī** **kılí**
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 **nı ahɔı** 'with hand' or **X_i nı X_i ahɔı** 'X_i with X_i 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 nı m'áhɔı shú** 'my own self'
wɔ́ nı wɔ áhɔı shú 'your own self'
yı nı y'áhɔı shú 'his/ her own self'
blɔ̃ nı lɔ́ áhɔı shú 'our own selves'
w̃ũnɔ̃́ nı nɔ́ áhɔı shú 'your own selves'
balí nı l'áhɔı shú 'their own selves'

83. Ámɔ yí nı y'áhɔı shú n'azhʊzhʊnímm̄
Á-mɔ **yí** **nı** **yí** **a-hɔı** **shú** **ní** **a-zhʊzhúí**
3SG-see 3SG.IND COM 3SG.IND CM-hand body LOC CM-mirror
ní **kʊmı**
DEF inside
'He saw his own self in the mirror.'

The expression **nı ahɔı** 'with hand' or **X_i nı X_i ahɔı** 'X_i with X_i 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'áhɔı enī
mí **nı** **a-hɔı** **é-nī**
1SG.IND COM CM-hand CM-mother
'My own mother'

84b. Balí n'áhɔ' ʊpá
balí **nı** **a-hɔı** **bʊ-pá**
3PL.IND COM CM-hand CM-house
'Their own house'

3.6.4 Reciprocal pronouns

The nouns **áglɔ̃** 'lover, fiancé(e), etc.' and **ɔhaglɔ̃** '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. **ɔhaglɔ̃** can also occur with the plural forms of

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

85a. Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ̄n n'adzɪnúvɔ̄ɛ̄n ányínā áglɔ̃.
á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ̄ ní nɪ a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ɛ̄ ní bá-nyínā áglɔ̃
CM-boy DEF COM CM-girl DEF SM-hold RECIP
'The boy and the girl embraced each other.'

85b. Bayḭ́sɔ́ń áákʊlá ɔ́hágl̃ɔ̃.
ba-yḭ́sɔ́ ní bá-á-kʊlá ɔ́hágl̃ɔ̃
CM.PL-young.man DEF SM-PRSPROG-insult RECIP
'The young men are insulting one another.'

85c. Búplú ídɔ̃ kɔ́ blɔ̃ ɔ́hágl̃ɔ̃.
bú-plú kí-dɔ̃ kɔ́ blɔ̃ ɔ́hágl̃ɔ̃
1PL-wash CM-thing GIVE 1PL.IND RECIP
'We washed for one another.'

85d. *Búplú ídɔ̃ kɔ́ blɔ̃ áglɔ̃.
bú-plú kí-dɔ̃ kɔ́ blɔ̃ áglɔ̃
1PL-wash CM-thing GIVE 1PL.IND RECIP
'We washed for one another.'