

Cover Page



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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. Kof'ékóéyĩ.
[Kofi]_{NP} é-kóéyĩ
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. Ányín áshĩ.
á-nyĩ ní á-shĩ
CM-man DEF SM-leave
N DET
'The man left'
- 2b. isí dɪɖama tigéné 'lílín pétée.
i-sí dɪ-ɖama ti-géné ɪ-lílíní pétée
CM.PL-tree RED-tall AM-seven AM-those all
N QUAL QT DET INT
'all those seven tall trees'
- 2c. bukudzɔgě gbɪgblā tugéné úlílín pétée.
bu-kudzɔgě gbɪgblā tu-géné ú-lílíní pétée
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), **bukudzogě** ‘dogs’ occupy the noun slot, the qualifier slot is filled by **dɪdama** ‘tall’ (2b) and **gbɪgblā** ‘big’ (2c), **tigene** and **tugene** ‘seven’ as well as **ɪlɪnɪ** and **ɔlɪnɪ** ‘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 **bukudzogě** ‘dogs’ in (2c) consists of the root **-kudzogě** 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 **dɪdama** ‘tall’ and **gbɪgblā** ‘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 forms³⁴ 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 **bu²-** 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 **ɪ-** and **ɔ-** prefixes attached to the demonstrative **-ɪlɪnɪ** ‘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 **ni** ‘COM’ as exemplified in (3) and (4) below. **ni** ‘COM’ is the same as the comitative preposition and as such Tafi can be viewed as a “WITH-language” following

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

Stassen (2000). In (3a), the names of the animals, **kakudzɔgɛ** ‘dog’ and **gbɔkɔɛ** ‘frog’ just as in (3b), the noun phrases **anɔvɔ ní** ‘the boy’ and **yí ɔbhialí** ‘his friends’ are conjoined with **ni** ‘COM’. In situations where there are more than two noun phrases to be linked together, the linker **ni** ‘COM’ may occur between the last two nouns as shown in (4).

- 3a. Bagan enyí alénũ kakudzɔgɛ ni gbɔkɔɛ.
ba-ga ní e-nyí alí é-nũ ka-kudzɔgɛ
 CM.PL-animal DEF CM.PL-name 3PL.IND SM-COP CM-dog
ni gbɔkɔɛ
 COM frog
 ‘The names of the animals are dog and frog.’ (FS)
- 3b. Anɔvɔn ni y’ɔbhialín áza bupá trúkpóim̃.
a-nɔvɔ ní ni yí ɔ-bhia-alí ní bá-za
 CM-child DEF COM 3SG.IND CM-friend-PL DEF SM-stay
bu-pá tru-kpó kum̃
 CM-house AM-one inside
 ‘The child and his friends were staying in the same house.’ (FS)
4. Blɔ̃, yí ni Kofí, blɔ̃ wúsɛ ’uvũnĩm̃.
blɔ̃ yí ni Kofí blɔ̃ wúsɛ bú-vũ ní
 1PL.IND 3SG.IND COM Kofi 1PL.IND tidy.up CM-house DEF
kum̃
 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

Pínɔ̃ɔ/púnɔ̃ɔ³⁵ ‘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 pínɔ̃ɔ y’eyí ábávi ’edzinĩm̃.
Ámā pínɔ̃ɔ yí e-yí á-bá-vi ke-dzi ní kɪ-m̃
 Ama or 3SG.IND CM-child SM-FUT-go CM-market DEF in
 ‘Ama or her child will go to the market.’

³⁵ **Pínɔ̃ɔ/púnɔ̃ɔ** ‘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. *adzĩ ʔpɔtĩ*
 a-dzĩ **ki-pɔtĩ**
 CM-woman CM-cloth
 ‘A woman’s cloth’
- 6b. *ekusín ísɔ*
 e-kusí **ní** **ɪ-sɔ**
 CM-chief DEF CM-horse
 ‘The chief’s horse’
- 7a. *Máwúto ahɔɪ*
 Máwúto **a-hɔɪ**
 Mawuto CM-hand
 ‘Mawuto’s hand’
- 7b. *Kɔkú ɔtsrí*
 Kɔkú **ɔ-tsɾĩ**
 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 **yĩ** ‘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 **yĩ** ‘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 yʼenídá*
 Máwúli **yĩ** **é-nídá**
 Mawuli 3SG.IND CM-aunt
 ‘Mawuli’s maternal aunt’
- 8b. *Kúmá yʼadzyā*
 Kumá **yĩ** **á-dzyā**
 Kumah 3SG.IND CM-brother

‘Kumah’s brother’

9. Banóvõn akā
ba-nóvõ ní 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 gbugblā tíá-bhā ní bé-yí tédzyí ní.
bé-fleté gbugblā tíá-bhā ní bé-yí tédzyí ní
 CM.PL-leopard big AM-two DEF SM-kill donkey DEF
 ‘The two big leopards killed the donkey.’
- 10b. Adzĩn ébhui ’ipótí vuvõ.
a-dzĩ ní é-bhui kɪ-pótí vuvõ
 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 **gbugblā** ‘big’ and the numeral **tíábhā** ‘two’ whereas in (10b), **kɪpótí** ‘cloth’

is the head noun within the object NP and it is modified by **vuvɔ̃** ‘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. **anɔ̃ 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. **hɔyɔyɔ** ‘fat’ **dzyɔgɔ̃** ‘good’
 bubuɪ ‘cold’ **kɪtɪkɪtɪ** ‘bitter’
 tutu ‘black’ **frɪdʒ** ‘white’
 sísíí ‘slow’ **tsótsó** ‘pointed’
 dzyrodo ‘long’ **gelegelee** ‘many/much’
 gbĩgbĩ ‘heavy’ **gbɔnyɔgbɔnyɔ** ‘fat’
- 12b. **kikutū gbĩgbĩ**
 ki-kutū gbĩgbĩ
 CM-load IDEO.heavy
 ‘a heavy load’
- 12c. **adzĩ hɔyɔyɔ**
 a-dzĩ hɔyɔyɔ
 CM-woman IDEO.fat
 ‘a fat woman’

The head nouns, **kikutū** ‘load’ in (12b) and **adzĩ** ‘woman’ in (12c) are modified by the ideophones **gbĩgbĩ** ‘heavy’ and **hɔyɔyɔ** ‘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.	tsyóm̃	‘be(come).spoilt/rotten’	→	tsútsyóm̃	‘spoilt/bad/rotten’
	dzā	‘be(come).ripe, red’	→	dzúdzā	‘ripe, red’
	vé	‘be(come).bitter’	→	vívé	‘bitter’
	pĩ	‘be(come).good’	→	púpĩ	‘good’
	nĩ	‘be(come).wide’	→	nunĩ	‘wide’
	dama	‘be(come).tall’	→	dídama	‘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.	giganĩ	‘strong, hard’	←	*ganĩ	‘be(come) strong’
	gbugblā	‘big, huge’	←	*gblā	‘become big’
	vuṽ	‘new’	←	*ṽ	‘become new’
	kpkpĩ	‘hot’	←	*kpĩ	‘become hot’
	wuw̃	‘raw, fresh, green’	←	*w̃	‘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.	Apótĩ tutūn átsywĩ.			
	a-pótĩ	tutū	nĩ	á-tsywĩ
	CM.PL-cloth	IDEO.black	DEF	SM-tear
	‘The black cloths are torn.’			

- 15b. Apotín ánó tututū.
a-potí ní á-nó tu-tutū
 CM.PL-cloth DEF SM-be.black RED-IDEO.black
 ‘The cloths are very black.’
- 16a. Ákó éfūn ’úní bubui.
á-kó é-fū ní bu-ní bubui
 3SG-give CM-guest DEF CM-water IDEO.cold
 ‘S/He offered the guest cold water.’
- 16b. Buní ní yó bubuibui.
bu-ní ní yó bu-buibui
 CM-water DEF be.cold RED-IDEO.cold
 ‘The water is very cold.’

As shown in (15a) and (16a) above, **tutū** ‘black’ and **bubui** ‘cold’ are adjectives modifying **apotí** ‘cloths’ and **buní** ‘water’, however, in (15b) and (16b), their reduplicated forms **tututū** and **bubuibui** are used as adverbs modifying the verbs **nó** ‘be(come) black’ and **yó** ‘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 **-yí** to form an adverbial as shown in (17b).

- 17a. aḍáka bhulí
a-ḍáka bhulí
 CM-box small
 ‘small box’
- 17b. Aḍákan edzyí bhulíyí.
a-ḍáka ní e-dzyí bhulí-yí
 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 **tu/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 gbɪgblān éféké anóvɔ́n.
a-ga gbɪgblā ní é-féké a-nóvɔ́ ní
 CM-animal big DEF SM-lift CM-child DEF
 ‘The big animal lifted the child.’ (FS)
- 18b. Ágbɪgblān éféké anóvɔ́n.
á-gbɪgblā ní é-féké a-nóvɔ́ ní
 CM-big DEF SM-lift CM-child DEF
 ‘The big one lifted the child.’ (referring to the animal)
- 19a. Tɪsɪ dzyroɔ́n ídzyíní.
tɪsɪ dzyroɔ́ ní ki-dzyíní
 feather long DEF SM-break
 ‘The long feather is broken.’
- 19b. Kidzyroɔ́n ídzyíní.
ki-dzyroɔ́ ní ki-dzyíní
 CM-long DEF SM-break
 ‘The long one is broken.’ (referring to the feather)

In (18a) and (19a), **gbɪgblā** ‘big’ and **dzyroɔ́** ‘long’ are adjectives modifying the head nouns **aga** ‘animal’ and **tɪsɪ** ‘feather’ respectively whereas **ágbɪgblā** ‘big one’ in (18b) and **kidzyroɔ́** ‘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 **féké** ‘lift’ while **ki-** is used to cross-reference the head nouns in (19a) and (19b) on the verb **dzyíní** ‘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. Áfátí ékúń gɪ átsómɔ́n pétéé.
á-fátí é-kú ní gɪ á-tsyómɔ́ ní 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. Ádzín akpí awí gɪ átsywĩ.
a-dzín ní á-kpí a-wi gɪ á-tsywĩ
 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 osín nt kawín gt édzyíní.
e-bhui o-sí ní nt ka-wí ní gt é-dzyíní
 3SG-cut CM-tree DEF COM CM-axe DEF REL 3SG.DEF-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 **tsyómō** ‘be(come) rotten’ in (23b) state the properties of the subject NPs.

- 23a. Anúvōń ézĩ.
a-núvōń ní é-zi
 CM-child DEF SM-be.bad
 ‘The child is bad/spoilt.’
- 23b. Okútún ótsyómō.
o-kútú ní ó-tsyómō
 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. lhěń ál’óńá.
ɿ-hě ní á-lí ɔ-ńá
 CM-knife DEF SM-be.at CM-sharpness
 ‘The knife is sharp.’
- 24b. Adzúnúvōń éyi ’ubhíté.
a-dzúnúvōń ní é-yí bú-bhíté
 CM-girl DEF SM-resemble CM-beauty
 ‘The girl is beautiful.’
- 24c. Onín ól’ ǎdzyɿ.
o-ní ní ɔ-lí ǎ-dzyɿ
 CM-soup DEF SM-be.at CM-sweetness

‘The soup is tasty.’

In (24a) - (24c), **ihě** ‘knife’, **adzinóvɔ̃ɛ** ‘girl’ and **oní** ‘soup’ may be said to possess the quality of **ɔ̃há** ‘sharpness’, **búbhíté** ‘beauty’ and **ɔ̃dzyi** ‘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 ádó ’íbó.
ba-wi ní bá-dó ki-bó
 CM.PL-dress DEF SM-contact CM-dirt
 ‘The clothes are dirty.’
- 25b. Ányín áákp’ ayí.
á-nyí ní á-á-kpí á-yí
 CM-man DEF SM-PRSPROG-put.on CM-laziness
 ‘The man is lazy.’
- 25c. Ányín ámo oblö.
á-nyí ní á-mo o-blö
 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 **pě** 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. Keplukpán ápuokla.
ke-plukpá ní ka-pĩ bu-kla
 CM-book DEF SM-be.good CM-read
 ‘The book was easy to read.’ (Lit. The book was good to read.)
- 27b. Keplukpán ápĩ Kofi ’okla.
ke-plukpá ní ka-pĩ Kofi bu-kla
 CM-book DEF SM-be.good Kofi CM-read
 ‘The book was easy to read for Kofi’ OR ‘Kofi likes reading the book’
- 27c. Osín ópuuté.
o-sí ní ó-pĩ bu-té
 CM-tree DEF SM-be.good CM-cut
 ‘The tree was easy to cut/ cutable.’ (Lit. ‘The tree was good to cut.’)
- 27d. Osín ópĩ Kofi ’uté.
o-sí ní ó-pĩ Kofi bu-té
 CM-tree DEF SM-be.good Kofi CM-cut
 ‘The tree was easy to cut for Kofi.’ (Lit. ‘The tree was good to cut.’)
- 27e. Kíxwĩn ípuuwa.
kí-xwĩ ní kí-í-pĩ bu-wa
 CM-work DEF SM-PRSPROG-be.good CM-do
 ‘The work is easy to do.’ (Lit. ‘The work is good to do.’)
- 27f. Kíxwĩn ípĩ Kofi ’owa.
kí-xwĩ ní kí-pĩ Kofi bu-wa
 CM-work DEF SM-be.good Kofi 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 alílín
a-dzɪ **e-hoélété** **a-lílín**
 CM-woman CM-rich.person AM-DIST
 ‘that rich woman’
- 28b. anyínóvɔ̃ē áyíélété
a-nyínóvɔ̃ē **á-yíélété**
 CM-boy CM-lazy.person
 ‘a lazy boy’
- 29a. badzɪ ehoélété alílín
ba-dzɪ **e-hoélété** **a-lílín**
 CM.PL-woman CM-rich.person AM-DIST
 ‘those rich women’
- 29b. banyínóvɔ̃ē áyíélété
ba-nyínóvɔ̃ē **á-yíélété**
 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’
	ɪ-bha	‘two’
	ɪ-tá	‘three’
	ĩ-lí	‘four’
	i-tí	‘five’
	holo	‘six’
	géné	‘seven’
	a-suĩ	‘eight’
	hitá or zhítá ³⁶	‘nine’
	kí-fɔ̃	‘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

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-suī	‘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 **ni** ‘COM’ whose vowel is deleted, and the prefix **t-**, attached to the counting form of ‘one’ as shown below.

32.	kí-fō 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 **tua-** 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-fō n’tua-bha	‘twelve’	(ten and two)
	kí-fō n’tua-tá	‘thirteen’	(ten and three)
	kí-fō n’tie-tí	‘fifteen’	(ten and five)
	áf-t-a-bha n’tua-bhā	‘twenty-two’	(twenty and two)
	áf-t-a-bha n’tua-tá	‘twenty-three’	(twenty and three)
	áf-t-a-bha n’tie-tí	‘twenty-five’	(twenty and five)
	áf-aa-tā n’tua-bhā	‘thirty-two’	(thirty and two)
	áf-aa-tā n’tua-tá	‘thirty-three’	(thirty and three)

For example, the word for ‘twenty’ in these two languages is **afetabha** and **avitaua** respectively.

³⁸ The mid tone on the final syllable of **kí-fō** ‘ten’ becomes low while the high tone on that of **áf-aa-tá** ‘thirty’ has become mid. This is because the following word **ni** ‘and’ has a low tone.

á-f-aa-tā n'tie-tí 'thirty-five' (thirty and five)

The words **alafā** 'hundred' and **akpé** 'thousand' are borrowed words from Ewe whereas that for 'million' **míliṣ** 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 **tedjipó** which is different from the form it takes when it follows 'ten' and its multiples.³⁹ The following are examples.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------|
| 34. | alafā té-djipó | 'one hundred' |
| | akpé té-djipó | 'one thousand' |
| | míliṣ te-djipó | 'one million' |
| | alafā tíá-bhā | 'two hundred' |
| | akpé tíá-bhā | 'two thousand' |
| | míliṣ tua-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 **lṣ-fṣ**. 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 **lṣ-fṣ**, 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 **ni** '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.

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., **tedjipó**, **trikpó** etc.) and the form it takes after 'ten' and its multiples (i.e., **t-o-lṣ**) 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-ḍḍkpó	‘one chief’
ba(a)-	bee-kusí tíá-bhā	‘two chiefs’
	bee-kusí ló-fó n’t-o-lí	‘eleven chiefs’
	bee-kusí áf-t-a-bha n’tie-tí	‘twenty-five chiefs’
o-	o-bhoshi to-ḍḍkpó	‘one sheep’
i-	i-bhoshi tu-bha	‘two sheep’
	i-bhoshi ló-fó n’t-o-lí	‘eleven sheep’
	i-bhoshi af-t-a-bha n’ti-tí	‘twenty-five sheep’
ki-	ki-tókpú tríkpo	‘one head’
a ² -	a-tókpú tá-bhā	‘two heads’
	a-tókpú ló-fó n’t-o-lí	‘eleven heads’
	a-tókpú áf-t-a-bha n’ti-tí	‘twenty-five heads’
ka-	ká-pā tie-ḍḍkpó	‘one hoe’
bu ² -	bu-pa tu-bha	‘two hoes’
	bu-pa ló-fó n’t-o-lí	‘eleven hoes’
	bu-pa af-t-a-bha n’tu-tí	‘twenty-five hoes’
bu ¹⁻⁴¹	bu-tó trúkpo	‘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. Ákó ányín bupā tubha.
 á-kó á-nyí ní bu-pā tu-bha
 3SG-give CM-man DEF CM.PL-hoe AM-two
 ‘S/he gave the man two hoes.’

- 35b. Ákó ányín tubha.
 á-kó á-nyí ní tu-bha
 give CM-man DEF AM-two

⁴¹ The plural forms of nouns in the bu¹- 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. Báshĩ tiabha tiabha.
bá-shĩ tua-bha tua-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’ishĩ amínā tatá.
á-mínā yí ki-shĩ 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 **kápĩ** ‘a part/piece of a whole’. These nouns can be modified by cardinal numerals and sometimes they are modified by **zizĩ** ‘whole’ to convey an idea of not more or less than half. **kápĩ** ‘a part/piece of a whole’ can also be modified by **bhulĩ** ‘small’ and **gbigblā** ‘big’ which are adjectives. Moreover, **afǎ** ‘half’ and **akpá** ‘part’ which are borrowed from Ewe are also used. The following are examples:

- 38a. Bis'íápī (gbɪgbɪlǎ)
bisí ká-pī (gbɪgbɪlǎ)
 cola.nut CM-part (big)
 'A (big) piece of a cola nut'
- 38b. Idzyin 'íápī tiedjipó
i-dzyi ní ká-pī tie-djipó
 CM-heart DEF CM-part AM-one
 'One part of the heart'
- 38c. Yě abhlenděním bupɪ tobha!
yě a-bhlendě ní kumu bu-pɪ tu-bha
 cut CM-pineapple DEF inside CM.PL-part AM-two
 'Cut the pineapple into two parts!'
- 38d. Átɔ́ 'edɔ́ nɪ budzo tumpé 'egunū zɪzɪ.
á-tɔ́ kí-dɔ́ nɪ bu-dzo tumpá ke-gunū zɪzɪ
 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. Édzyíní nikpěním bugunū tobha.
é-dzyíní nikpě ní kumu bu-gunū tu-bha
 3SG-break maize DEF inside CM-half AM-two
 'He broke the maize into halves.'
- 38f. budzo tumpá 'fǎ
bu-dzo tumpá a-fǎ
 CM-palm.oil bottle CM-half
 'Half bottle of oil'
- 38g. Ámǎ́ boḍoboḍoním akpá tíátá.
á-mǎ́ boḍoboḍo ní kumu 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 **kumu** '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. bodzo tompá 'mímém tiabha
bu-dzo tumpá á-mí-má kumi tia-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. ébhubhuím tiabha/tatá
é-bhu-bhuí kumi tia-bha / tia-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. kibhubhuím trikpo
ki-bhu-bhuí kumi tri-kpo
 CM-RED-cut inside AM-one
 'One part of something that has been cut into a number of parts' (e.g. **kishĩ**
 'stick')
- 39d. osí ótitéím tođukpó
o-sí ó-ti-té kumi to-đukpó
 CM-tree CM-RED-slash inside AM-one
 'One part of a tree that has been slashed into a number of parts'
- 39e. osí ítitéím tībha
o-sí í-ti-té kumi ti-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 **kápĩ** 'part' or **bupĩ** 'parts' and another cardinal number to express 'half', 'one-third', 'one-fourth' etc. as shown in (40d) and (40e).

- 40a. ébhubhuím tiabha tiedjipó
é-bhu-bhuí kumi tia-bha tie-djipó
 CM-RED-cut inside AM-two AM-one
 'Half or one part of something cut into two.' (e.g. **bladzyó** 'plantain')
- 40b. ítitéím tutá tībā
í-ti-té kumi ti-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. bupĩ tolí tiédjipó

bu-pɪ **tu-lí** **tíé-djɪkpó**
 CM.PL-piece AM-four AM-one
 ‘one-fourth’

- 40d. ébhubhuím̄ tabha káp̄ tiedjɪkpó
é-bhu-bhuí **kɪmɪ** **tua-bha** **ká-p̄** **tíé-djɪkpó**
 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 tātá bupɪ tubha
é-bhu-bhuí **kɪmɪ** **tua-tá** **bu-pɪ** **tu-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 **-m̄** ‘ORD’ to the roots of numbers, except for **tutɔpu**⁴² ‘first’, **bhlā** ‘second’ and **gugóé**⁴³ ‘last’. To form the ordinal ‘tenth’, the ordinal suffix is added to the word for ‘ten’ **kí-f̄s**. 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 **kí-f̄s-m̄** as in (41a), however when it modifies a noun, the form it takes is **l̄s-f̄s-m̄** which comprises the modifier form of ‘ten’ **l̄s-f̄s** and the ordinal suffix **-m̄** 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. **tutɔpū** - ‘first’ **gi-géné-m̄** - ‘seventh’
 bhlā - ‘second’ **su-m̄** - ‘eighth’

⁴² **tutɔpu** is derived from the verb **put̄** ‘lead’. Speakers also use **gbá** or **gbánt̄** ‘first’, borrowed from Ewe, when the ordinal is used in isolation or when it modifies a noun respectively.

⁴³ **gugóé** is derived from the verb **gó** ‘remain’. Some speakers also use **gogóé**.

tră-mī	-	‘third’	zhitá-mī	-	‘ninth’
lī-lī-mī	-	‘fourth’	kí-fṣ-mī	-	‘tenth’
trī-mī	-	‘fifth’	á-ftabhā-mī	-	‘twentieth’
holō-mī	-	‘sixth’	á-faatá-mī	-	‘thirtieth’

- 41b. anóvṣ līlīmūn
a-nóvṣ lī-lī-mī ní
 CM-child RED-four-ORD DEF
 ‘the fourth child’
- 41c. álīlīmūn
á-lī-lī-mī ní
 CM-RED-four-ORD DEF
 ‘the fourth one’
- 41d. Osí līlīmūn ódzyínī
o-sí lī-lī-mī ní ó-dzyínī
 CM-tree RED-four-ORD DEF SM-break
 ‘The fourth tree broke.’
- 41e. Olīlīmūn ódzyínī
o-lī-lī-mī ní ó-dzyínī
 CM-RED-four-ORD DEF SM-break
 ‘The fourth one broke.’
- 41f. Olófṣmūn ódzyínī
o-ló-fṣ-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’, **lṣ-fṣ**, is used followed by the linker **ni** ‘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 lṣfṣ n’otrāmūn
o-sí lṣ-fṣ ni o-trā-mī ní
 CM-tree MOD-ten COM AM-three-ORD DEF
 ‘the thirteenth tree’

- 42b. ɔlɔfɔ̃ n'ɔtrāmĩ
lɔ-fɔ̃ **nɪ** **ɔ-trā-mĩ** **nĩ**
 MOD-ten COM AM-three-ORD DEF
 'the thirteenth one'
- 42c. kakudzɔgɛ̃ áftabha nɪ (k)atutɔpuń
ka-kudzɔgɛ̃ **áftabha** **nɪ** **ka-tutɔpu** **nĩ**
 CM-dog twenty COM AM-first DEF
 'the twenty-first dog'
- 42d. áftabha nɪ (k)atutɔpuń
áftabha **nɪ** **ka-tutɔpu** **nĩ**
 twenty COM AM-first DEF
 'the twenty-first one'

The prefix **bu/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 Igɛ̃ butrāmĩ.
á-vɪ **I-gɛ̃** **bu-trā-mĩ**
 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 **yíkĩ** '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 átutɔpū.
yí **é-nū** **á-tutɔpū**
 3SG.IND SM-be AM-first
 'S/he is the first.'
- 44b. Máwúto edzí átutɔpū.
Máwúto **e-dzí** **á-tutɔpū**
 Mawuto SM-become CM-first
 'Mawuto became the first.'
- 44c. Áyíkĩ atrāmĩ
á-yíkĩ **a-trā-mĩ**
 3SG-get CM-three-ORD
 'S/he took the third position.'

ɔtɔ 'outside' can be added to **bhlā** 'second' to form **bhlátɔ** to mean 'another/other'. Usually, the initial vowel of **ɔtɔ** is elided. For example,

- 45a. Kibuí bhlátó tilí kalí hãã?
ki-buí **bhlátó** **ti-lí** **ka-lí** **hãã**
 CM-word other AM-INDEF PERS-be.at UFP
 ‘Is there any other case (to discuss)?’

Bhlátó ‘another/other’ can also be nominalised by adding the class prefixes to mean ‘another one’ or ‘other ones’ as shown in (45b).

- 45b. **ábhlátó** ‘another one’ (**a¹**- class)
bábhlátó ‘other ones’ (**ba(a)**- class)
óbhlátó ‘another one’ (**o**- class)
ibhlátó ‘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 tetinyéé’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 ómā kitsikpǐnǐm.
o-ní-nyáá-o-ní **ó-mā** **ki-tsikpǐ** **ní** **kumī**
 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 **bu-** prefix in **bukányááká** ‘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’ómínā?
e-pluí táá-shĩ wó ó-mínā
 CM.PL-gourd AM-how.many 2SG.IND SM-bring
 ‘How many gourds did you bring?’

48b. Bupā tuushĩ wodzĩ?
bu-pā tuu-shĩ wó o-dzĩ
 CM.PL-hoe AM-how.many 2SG.IND SM-buy
 ‘How many hoes did you buy?’

48c. Tíwúlĩ taashĩ Kofĩ áyáĩ?
ti-wúlĩ taa-shĩ Kofĩ á-yáĩ
 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-shĩ/áá-táá-shĩ wó-mínā?** ‘How many did you bring?’
 49b. **bu-lí tóó-shĩ/buú-tóó-shĩ wo-dzí?** ‘How many did you buy?’
 49c. **ki-lí táá-shĩ/kií-táá-shĩ Kofi áyáŋ?** ‘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. beekusín
bee-kusí ní
 CM.PL-chief DEF
 ‘the chief’
- 50b. Keplukpán étsirí kplǎníábhā
ke-plukpá ní ke-tsirí kplǎ ní kábhā
 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 **kábhā** ‘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. Bádokas’ átfbá ɔmaníṁ.

bá-dɔkasí **bá-tí-bá** **ɔ-ma** **ní** **kum**
 CM.PL-teacher SM-PERF-come CM-town DEF inside
 ‘Teachers have come into the town.’

- 51b. Bádokasí tel’ átfbá ɔmaníṁ.

bá-dɔkasí **te-lí** **bá-tí-bá** **ɔ-ma** **ní** **kum**
 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’ ɔgɔ̃.

o-ní **to-lí** **ɔ-gɔ̃**
 CM-soup AM-INDEF SM-remain
 ‘There is some soup left.’

- 52b. Isí tilí ’kpā.

i-sí **ti-lí** **t-kpā**
 CM.PL-tree AM-INDEF SM-fall
 ‘Some trees fell.’

- 52c. Búgbó tulí wu osín.

bú-gbó **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 **bugbo** ‘squirrels’ in (52a-c) as well as **bádokasí** ‘teachers’ in (51) above, belong to the **o-**, **i-**, **bu¹-**, and **ba(a)-** classes

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' ɔgɔ̃.
to-lí **ɔ-gɔ̃**
 AM-some SM-remain
 'Some remained.' (referring to the soup in (52a))

- 53c. Butulí w'osín.
bu-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. Ulí til'/íítil' ukpā
ulí ti-lí/íí-ti-lí **ɪ-kpā**
 3PL.IND-AM-INDEF SM-fall
 'Some fell.' (referring to the trees in (51b))

- 54b. Bolí/buútulí wu osín.
bolí/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 these 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. Kíkūín ítānyí.

kí-kū	ɪ-ní	kɪ-tā	ɔ-nyí
CM-yam	AM-PROX	SM-burn	CM-firewood

‘This yam is burnt.’

55b. Ékūān átānyí.

é-kū	a-ní	á-tā	ɔ-nyí
CM.PL-yam	AM-PROX	SM-burn	CM-firewood

‘These yams are burnt.’

55c. Buzhuěń dó osíóním.

bu-zhuě	ní	dó	o-sí	ɔ-ní	kum
CM.PL-bird	DEF	land	CM-tree	AM-PROX	inside

‘The birds perch on this tree.’

56a. Évu kɪkpǎ gbɪgbɪě ílílíní.

é-vu	kɪ-kpǎ	gbɪgbɪě	í-lílíní
3SG-catch	CM-fish	big	AM-DIST

‘He caught that big fish.’

⁴⁵ Most often, the final vowel of both demonstratives is deleted, however, in formal speech it is maintained.

- 56b. Otroeleté, ányí alílín éñū.

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’ólílín ókpā.

o-sí **ó-lílíní** **ó-kpā**
 CM-tree AM-DIST SM-fall
 ‘That tree fell.’

kíkū ‘yam’ in (55a) and **kukpā** ‘fish’ in (56a) belong to the **ki-** class so they take /t-/ 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 t-ní | ‘this yam’ |
| 57b. | kí-í-nuní/ ki-í-ní⁴⁶ | ‘this one’ |
| 57c. | kí-í-lílíní | ‘that one’ |
| 57d. | é-kū a-ní | ‘these yams’ |
| 57e. | a-á-nuní/a-á-ní | ‘these ones’ |
| 57f. | a-á-lílíní | ‘those ones’ |
| 57g. | o-sí ɔ-ní | ‘this tree’ |
| 57h. | ɔ-ó-nuní/ɔ-ó-ní | ‘this one’ |
| 57i. | ɔ-ó-lílíní | ‘that one’ |

Only the proximal demonstrative has both a full and short form as illustrated in the examples in (57b), (57e), (57h).

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’
	xúń	‘as for’
	kodzɔ	‘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. Apotí dzidzá taatá álílín pétée ánjedzi.
a-potí **dzidzá** **taa-tá** **á-lílíní** **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. Badokasí tíábhań ko bal’ ábá.
ba-dokasí **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, **apotí** ‘cloths’, is modified by **dzidzá** ‘red’, **taatá** ‘three’, **álílín** ‘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 **badokasí** ‘teachers’, **tíábha** ‘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 **wó** is realised as **wɔ** when it is followed by **tsyí** ‘too, also’ whereas in (60c), the definiteness marker **ní** is realised as **ɲ** as it is followed by **pétéé** ‘all’.

- 59c. Yoo, wɔ tsyí oo.
yoo wɔ 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 kój.
é-she kój
 3SG-grow really
 ‘S/he is really grown/ very old.’
- 60b. ídzyɔ pétée, ɪkamɔ’el’idi dí.
í-dzyɔ pétée ɪ-ka-mɔ kúlí 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 petée ákanyááká bávi pétée, békóéyĩ.
ba-ga ní petée á-kanyááká bá-vɪ pétée bé-kóéyĩ
 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.’ (Gbaxáĩt)