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A grammar of Tafi

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9 CLAUSE COMBINATIONS: SUBORDINATION AND COORDINATION

Every language has a means of combining clauses into larger units or complex sentences. This chapter describes some of the various means of doing so in Tafi. I first look at the way units of unequal rank are combined (subordination). I examine the three main types of subordinate clauses, relative clauses (§9.1.1), complement clauses (§9.1.2) and adverbial clauses (§9.1.3). In the various sections, I describe the structure of subordinate clauses, the markers that assist in identifying them within constructions and their position in a construction. The mechanism of combining units (clauses or phrases) of equal rank or coordination (Haspelmath 2007) are then described in §9.2. I focus on conjunction (§9.2.1), disjunction (§9.2.2) and adversative coordination (§9.2.3).

9.1 Subordination

Subordinate or dependent clauses in Tafi are typically marked or introduced by specific morphemes: relative clauses by **gɪ**; complement clauses by **sɪ** or **tɪ** or a combination of both. These markers have extended functions which relate to the introduction of adverbial clauses, for example, **tɪ** is also used to mark purpose clauses as we shall see below. Sometimes, the relation of the adverbial clause to the main clause is not overtly marked and has to be inferred as we show below.

Another feature of dependent clauses in Tafi is that the subject marker on the verb tends to be a dependent form of the pronoun (see Chapter 3, Table 3.2).

Relative clauses as well as adverbial clauses that provide background information for the interpretation of the rest of the clause are marked at the end by the topic marker **nɪ**; which is heterosemous with the definiteness marker.⁶¹ The treatment of embedded and dependent clauses as topics is an areal feature (see e.g. Ameka 1990; 2010; Saah 2010; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002; Dakubu 1992).

9.1.1 Relative clauses

Andrews (2007:206) defines a relative clause as “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the NP referent in the situation described by the NP”. Relative clauses in such languages as English and French are commonly divided into “restrictive” and “non-restrictive”. In Tafi, however, there is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive

⁶¹ Because of this, in some traditions, the topic marker at the end of such constructions is labelled Clause Determiner (see Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002; Aboh 2004; Saah 2010).

relative clauses. In English, for instance, non-restrictiveness is indicated prosodically in spoken discourse and set off by comma in written discourse as shown in (1b). Even though the equivalent of the English non-restrictive clause in (1b) is (1a) in Tafi, there is no formal difference between such relative clauses providing non-restrictive information and those providing restrictive information. A relative clause in Tafi is a postnominal modifier introduced by the invariant relative marker **gu** ‘REL’ and most often terminates with the relative clause final particle **ní**. The relative clause together with the noun it modifies (which is referred to as the head noun) form one complex NP, which can perform any of the grammatical functions of an NP in a sentence such as subject as in (2), (4a), (4b), and object as in (3).

- 1a. Septémbe ’ewī gbáántō gu libadzī kípā ní bóamína yí.
Septemba kí-wī gbáántō [gu li-ba-dzi kípā
 September CM-day first REL 3SG.DEF-FUT-be Saturday
ní] bó-ba-mína yí
 TOP 1PL-FUT-bring 3SG
 ‘The first day of September which will be Saturday we will bring him.’
 (Butsiugu)
- 1b. The first day of September, which will be Saturday, we will bring him.
2. Ányín gu áányān étsí ’ívūn.
á-nyí ní [gu á-á-nyā ní] é-tsí
 CM-man DEF REL 3SG.DEF-PRSPROG-be.sick TOP 3SG-die
kí-vūn
 CM-yesterday
 ‘The man who is sick died yesterday.’
3. Ámā étúkú ’ítúkú gu lílí fukuu.
Ámā é-túkú ki-túkú [gu li-lí fukuu]
 Ama SM-carry CM-load REL 3SG.DEF-be.at IDEO.light
 ‘Ama carried a load which is light.’
- 4a. Kipótín g’íbhui ní kípī kodzyo.
kí-potí ní [gu í-bhui ní] kí-pī kodzyo
 CM-cloth DEF REL 1SG.DEF-cut TOP 3SG-be.good very
 ‘The cloth which I bought is very beautiful.’
- 4b. ayí ní gu idzí ní lekpe adí ikotoku tulí.
a-yí ní [gu i-dzí ní] le-kpe
 CM.PL-bean DEF REL 1SG.DEF-buy TOP 3PL-be.plenty
a-dí i-kotoku ti-lí
 SM-surpass CM.PL-sack AM-four
 ‘The beans which I bought are more than 4 sacks.’

These examples demonstrate the general properties of relative clauses in Tafi. In example (2) the subject of the verb **tsí** ‘die’ consists of an initial NP, **ányí ní** ‘the man’ (i.e., the head noun) followed by a clause. This head noun together with the relative clause functions as the subject of the sentence. The head noun **kikutú** ‘hat’ in (3) together with the relative clause functions as the object of the matrix clause. In all the examples above, the head noun which is the head of the relative clause occurs on the left periphery of the clause and is followed by the relative clause marker **gí** and it precedes the relative clause. The relative clause is in turn followed by **ní**, which is the same as the definiteness and topic markers. Here, I gloss this marker as ‘TOP’, i.e. topic. Within the relative clauses in (1a) and (2), the subject position is filled by a dependent pronoun which cross-references the head noun on the verb. This pronoun agrees with the head noun in number and class whereas in (4), where the object of the verb **bhui** ‘cut’ is co-referential with the head of the relative clause, the object is left unexpressed so a gap is left in this position in the relative clause.

Moreover, where the NP head together with its the relative clause functions as subject of the matrix clause, a subject pronominal form, as opposed to the subject marker (SM) form, occurs on the verb of the matrix clause and agrees with it. Evidence that this form on the matrix clause verb is a subject pronominal form rather than a subject marker comes from the classes for which these two forms are different. These classes are the **o-**, **i-**, **a²** and the **bu-** classes. Thus in example (7) and (9) below, where the head noun **bupá** ‘house’ belongs to the **bu¹**- class, the verb of the matrix clause is marked with the **bu-** subject pronominal form. Recall that the **bu-** classes do not have an SM. Similarly, in example (4b), the head noun belongs to the **a²**- class whose subject marker is **a-/e-** but the subject pronominal form is **la-/le-**, and **le-** is the form used to mark the subject on the verb of the matrix clause. Unlike these examples, the form marking the subject on the matrix clause agreeing with the head noun **ányí** ‘man’ is **e-** which belongs to the **a¹**- class. For the **a¹**- class, both the SM and the subject pronominal form have the same realisations **a-/e-**. In conformity with the other classes where a distinction is made between the SM and the subject pronominal form, the **e-** form in example (2) and similar ones such as **ku-** in example (4a) are analysed as subject pronominal forms.

In sum, Tafi relative clauses have the following main features listed in (5):

- 5a. A head/antecedent NP
- 5b. An obligatory relative clause marker **gí**
- 5c. A pronoun in the relativised subject position that agrees with the head noun is used to mark the subject on the verb of the relative clause (see (2)).
- 5d. Objects, be they direct objects, second objects or objects in SVCs can be relativised with a gap strategy (see (4a) and (4b)).
- 5e. The specifier or dependent NP of a postpositional phrase can be relativised but its place in the PostPp is filled by an independent form of the pronoun (see (6) and (7)).

- 5f. Relative clauses are optionally marked off by the topic marker signalling that they convey background information with respect to the head nominal as shown in the examples in (1a), (2) – (4), (6) and (7).
6. Kegbu ní g' talabhā ádokasín áshíló keplukpán édzyíní
ke-gbu ní [gí kálí kabhā á-dokasí ní á-shíló
 CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.IND top CM-teacher DEF SM-leave
ke-plukpá ní] ke-dzyíní
 CM-book DEF 3SG-break
 'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'
7. Bupa ní gí bulínt lamóm ní butsyra.
bu-pa ní [gí bulí kumí la-mó mí ní]
 CM-house DEF REL 3SG.IND inside 3PL.DEF-born 1SG TOP
bu-tsyra
 3SG-collapse
 'The house in which I was born collapsed.'

9.1.1.1 Internal structure of relative clauses

As was earlier mentioned, the relative clause in Tafi consists of the relative clause introducer **gí** and the rest of the clause. The head of the relative clause always occurs outside the relative clause. In this section, I examine the noun phrase (NP) positions which are accessible to relativisation.

One of the major issues in the study of relative clauses relates to the positions within the clause that can undergo relativisation. In view of this, some linguists including Keenan and Comrie (1977), Maxwell (1979) and Comrie (1981) have developed the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). A simpler version of the AH which is represented in Comrie (1981:149) is shown below:

Figure 1. Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy
 Subject > Object > Non-Direct Object > Possessor

Where ">" means "is more accessible than"

Thus, according to the AH, subjects are easier to relativise than the other NP positions and that if a language can relativise positions lower in the Accessibility Hierarchy, it can always relativise positions higher up, but not vice versa. As illustrated in the examples already given in the sub-sections above, it has become evident that the positions within the relative clause that can be relativised are the subject, object and possessor positions. The object positions that can be relativised include object of a two-place predicate, dative object and locative object positions, among others.

9.1.1.1.1 Subject relativisation

When the head of the relative clause is the subject, it is cross-referenced on the verb of the relative clause with the dependent form of the pronoun. Consider the following examples.

8. Ayadɪ ní gɪ ávɪ Igě ní áányā.
a-yadɪ **ní** **[gɪ** **á-vɪ** **Igě** **ní]**
 CM-farmer DEF REL 3SG.DEP-go Accra TOP
á-á-nyā
 3SG-PRSPROG-be.sick
 ‘The farmer who went to Accra is sick.’
9. Bopá ní g’lɔɖama dí sɔlime ’uvū ní botā.
bu-pá **ní** **[gɪ** **lu-ɖama** **dí** **sɔlime**
 CM-house DEF REL 3SG.DEP-be.tall surpass church
bú-vū **ní]** **bu-tā**
 CM-building DEF 3SG-be.burnt
 ‘The house that is taller than the church got burnt.’

As shown in examples (8) and (9), the dependent pronouns **a-** ‘3SG.DEP’ and **lu-** ‘3SG.DEP’ are used to cross-reference the heads of the relative clauses on the verbs **vɪ** ‘go’ and **ɖama** ‘be.tall’ respectively. Thus, as illustrated in the examples so far, a subject position must be marked in the relative clause.

9.1.1.1.2 Object relativisation: objects in transitive and ditransitive constructions

Different kinds of objects can be relativised. The direct object in a transitive clause or two-place construction is relativised using a gap strategy. Similarly, a direct object as well as a dative object in a double object construction also employs a gap strategy. The gap is indicated by the symbol $\emptyset$ in the following examples.

10. Awi ní gɪ adzínóvɔ́ɛ́n ákpí ní átsywĩ.
a-wi **ní** **[gɪ** **a-dzínóvɔ́ɛ́n** **ní** **á-kpí** **∅** **ní]** **á-tsywĩ**
 CM-dress DEF REL CM-girl DEF SM-wear TOP 3SG-tear
 ‘The dress the girl is wearing is torn.’
11. Bopán gɪ évudzuń ákasí ányín moyí lunū.
bu-pá **ní** **[gɪ** **é-vudzu** **ní** **á-kasí** **á-nyí**
 CM-house DEF REL CM-mason DEF SM-show CM-man
ní **∅]** **moyí** **lu-nū**
 DEF 1SG.POSS 3SG.DEP-COP
 ‘The house which the mason showed the man is mine.’

12. Ányín gi évudzuń ákasí bopán áshĩ.
á-nyí ní [gi é-vudzu ní á-kasí Ø bu-pá
 CM-man DEF REL CM-mason DEF SM-show CM-house
ní] á-shĩ
 DEF 3SG-leave
 ‘The man who the mason showed the house left.’

The relative clause in (10) exemplifies a two-place construction while those in (11) and (12) also exemplify a double object or three-place construction. In (11), the direct object position after the verb **kpt** ‘wear’ in the relative clause is null whereas the Theme object position in (11) and the Dative object position in (12) after the verb **kasí** ‘show’ are also empty. These objects are co-referential with the heads of their respective relative clauses.

9.1.1.1.3 Dative Objects in ditransitive and SVCs with three place predicate in V2 position

Different types of objects in an SVC employ different strategies. Patient and theme objects in an SVC are also relativised using a gap strategy (see (13)). The Dative object of a three place predicate in V2 position in SVCs, however, is referred to within the relative clause with the independent form of the pronoun (see (14)). This pronoun occurs ex-situ in that it immediately follows the REL and occurs before the verb. In that sense the structure of such a relative clause resembles a focus structure, (see chapter 6 on topic and focus) where the focused NP is represented by an NP and a co-referring independent pronominal.

13. Bafukpă ní gi m'en'edzí ákó m'adzya ní bézi.
ba-fukpă ní [gi mí é-nĩ e-dzí [Ø]
 CM.PL-shoe DEF REL 1SG.IND CM-mother SM-buy
á-kó mí á-dzya ní] bé-zi
 SM-give 1SG.IND CM-brother TOP 3PL-spoil
 ‘The shoes which my mother bought for my brother are spoilt.’
14. Ádɔkasín gi yí Ámā áákɔ sɔkán ákó ní, áqɔ así sɔkán álílá.
á-dɔkasí ní [gi yí Ámā á-yíko sɔká ní
 CM-teacher DEF REL 3SG.IND Ámā SM-take money DEF
á-kó Ø ní] á-qɔ a-sí sɔka ní á-lílá
 SM-give TOP 3SG-say SM-COMP money DEF SM-be.lost
 ‘The teacher who Ama gave the money to said that the money is missing.’

9.1.1.1.4 Prepositional objects: locative and comitative

Objects of prepositional phrases can also be relativised. In (15), **bupá** ‘house’, the object of the locative preposition **ní** ‘LOC’ in the matrix clause which is also the object of **klũ** ‘call’ in the relative clause has been relativised with a gap strategy.

15. ... blakāl’óbúdí gɪ la yíko evuno dénɔ blema ké ní bupá gɪ leklũ sí Kágbóém̃.
blɔ̃ **a-ka-alf** **ó-búdí** **gɪ** **la-yíko** **be-vuno**
 1PL.IND CM-father-PL CM-fetish REL 3PL.DEP-take SM-hold
dénɔ **blema** **ké** **ní** **bu-pá** [**gɪ** **le-klũ** **Ø**
 from olden.days INT LOC CM-house REL 3PL.DEP-call
sí **Kágbóém̃]**
 COMP Kágbɔ̃em̃
 ‘... The fetish of our forefathers which they had from the olden days in the clan known as Kágbɔ̃em̃.’ (Butse)

A postpositional object complement of the locative preposition can also be extracted for relativisation. In that case, the dependent NP of the postpositional phrase occurs to the left of the relative marker **gɪ** and a co-referential independent pronominal form occurs as the immediate specifier of the postposition. A gap is left in the position of the postpositional phrase in the rest of the clause. The postposition is not stranded or pied-piped with its complement. It is rather elided. Compare (16a) and (16b).

- 16a. Ésí átɔ́ ’édɔ́ ní osubhantabhā.
Ésí **á-tɔ** **kí-dɔ́** **ní** **o-subha** **ní** **kábhā**
 Esi SM-cook CM-thing LOC CM-hearth DEF top
 ‘Esi cooked on the hearth.’
- 16b. Osubha ní gɪ ɔlabhā Ésí átɔ́ ’édɔ́ ní loyě.
o-subha **ní** [**gɪ** **ɔlí** **kábhā** **Ésí** **á-tɔ** **kí-dɔ́**
 CM-hearth DEF REL 3SG.IND top Ésí SM-cook CM-thing
ní] lo-yě
 TOP 3SG-break
 ‘The hearth on which Esi cooked is broken.’

The object of the comitative preposition can also be relativised. Thus in (17), **budzo ní** ‘the palm oil’ and **kawí ní** ‘the axe’ in (18) which are both objects of the comitative preposition **nɪ** ‘COM’ have been relativised. In (17), though **budzo ní** ‘the palm oil’ is an object of the preposition, it is also the subject of the relative clause so it is relativised with a dependent pronoun **lu** ‘3SG.DEP’ after the relative marker **gɪ** whereas in (18), **kawí ní** ‘the axe’ which is an instrument has been relativised with a gap. Since it has been extracted from its position after the comitative preposition **nɪ** as shown in (19), this leaves the preposition stranded so

an alternative of this preposition **no** is used. This happens also in Ewe and Fon where when the object of the prepositions **dé** ‘ALL’ in Ewe and **nú** ‘for/on behalf of’ in Fon are extracted from their original positions through relativisation their counterparts **dó** and **ná** respectively replace them.

17. Ókã tũnɔ nɪ pɛtɛɛ, budzo ʉlɪlɪn ɔ́kɔtsyáká nɪ budzo nɪ pɛtɛɛ g’lú kpasí gazéním.

ɔ́-ká **ti-nó** **ní** **pɛtɛɛ** **bu-dzo** **ʉ-lɪlɪnɪ**
2SG-squeeze CM-chaff DEF all CM-palm.oil AM-DIST

ɔ́-yíko **ɔ́-tsyáká** **nɪ** [**bu-dzo** **ní** **pɛtɛɛ** **gɪ**
2SG-take 2SG-mix COM CM-palm.oil DEF all REL

lu-kpasí **gazé** **ní** **kɪmɪ**]
3SG.DEF metal.pot DEF inside

‘(After) you squeeze all the chaff you will mix that palm oil (from the chaff) with all the palm oil in the metal pot.’ (Palm Oil)

18. Kawín gɪ áyadún été ʉsín nɔ́ ní kédzyíní

ka-wí **ní** [**gɪ** **á-yadɪ** **ní** **é-té** **o-sí** **ní**
CM-axe DEF REL CM-farmer DEF SM-slash CM-tree DEF

nɔ́ **ní**] **ké-dzyíní**
COM TOP 3SG-break

‘The axe which the farmer cut the tree with is broken.’

19. Áyadún été ʉsín nɪ kawín.

á-yadɪ **ní** **é-té** **o-sí** **ní** **nɪ** **ka-wí** **ní**
CM-farmer DEF SM-slash CM-tree DEF COM CM-axe DEF

‘The farmer cut the tree with the axe.’

9.1.1.1.5 Possessors and specifiers/dependent NPs of Postpositional Phrases

When a possessor NP is relativised, the place of the relativised possessor which immediately follows the relative marker **gɪ** is filled by an independent pronoun that agrees with it in number and class. This is consistent with the use of the independent pronoun forms in pronominal possessive constructions. The subject of the relative clause is also marked with an independent pronoun and it controls agreement on the verb.

20. Báanyín gɪ balí’opá bolí ɖama dí sɔlime ’uvu ní bábá.

báá-nyí **ní** [**gɪ** **balí** **bu-pá** **bolí** **ɖama**
CM.PL-man DEF REL 3PL.IND CM-house 3SG.IND be.tall

dí **sɔlime** **bú-vū** **ní**] **bá-bá**
surpass church CM-building DEF 3PL-come

‘The men whose building is taller than the church have come.’ (Lit.:The

men who their building ...)

21. Ímo ányín gu y'ádzýramuáń étsín.
í-mo á-nyí ní [gu yí á-dzýramuá ní
 1SG-see CM-man DEF REL 3SG.IND CM-cat DEF
é-tsí ní]
 SM-die TOP
 'I saw the man whose cat died.' (Lit.: I saw the man who his cat died.)
22. Anúvōń gu y'ídōń wóyíko 'ńań éébi yiyo.
a-núvō ní [gu yí kí-dō ní wó ó-yíko
 CM-child DEF REL 3SG.IND CM-thing DEF 2SG.IND SM-take
ó-ńa ní] é-é-bi.yiyo
 SM-eat TOP 3SG-PRSPROG-cry
 'The child whose food you ate is crying.' (Lit.: 'The child who his thing you take eat ...')

In (20) and (21), the possessed NPs as heads of possessive phrases functioning as subjects of the relative clauses are marked by the independent pronouns **bulí** '3SG.IND' and **yí** '3SG.IND' respectively. In (20), the possessed NP belongs to the **bu**¹- class so it is not cross-referenced on the verb in the relative clause. The possessed NP in (21) is cross-referenced on the verb **tsí** 'die' with **e-**. In (22), however, the possessive NP is the shared object of V1 and V2 so it is marked with a gap in the relative clause. The subject of the relative clause is the independent form of the 2SG pronoun **wó** and it is crossed-referenced on both V1 and V2.

Furthermore, the specifier or dependent NP of a postpositional phrase can be relativised but its place in the PostPp is filled by an independent form of the pronoun. Examples (6) and (7) are repeated here as (23) and (24).

23. Kegbu ní g'ualabhā ádōkasín áshíló keplukpáń édzyíní.
ke-gbu ní [gu kalí kabhā á-dōkasí ní á-shíló
 CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.IND top CM-teacher DEF SM-leave
ke-plukpá ní] ke-dzyíní
 CM-book DEF 3SG-break
 'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'
24. Bupa ní gu bolúmi Esí ámó y'eyíalí ní butsyra.
bu-pa ní [gu bulí kumi Esí a-mó yí
 CM-house DEF REL 3SG.IND inside Esi SM-bear 1SG.IND
e-yí-alí ní] bu-tsyra
 CM-child-PL TOP 3SG-collapse
 'The house in which Esi gave birth to her children collapsed.'

9.1.1.2 Types of phrases that can head the relative clause

Various kinds of phrases can head the relative clause in Tafi. These phrases include definite or specific NPs as shown by several of the examples already given. Postpositional Phrases (see (16) above); possessor NPs (see (20) – (22) above); indefinite NPs (25) and (27); quantified distributed NPs (28) – (30); compound nouns (31); cognate NP (32); independent pronouns (33); definite NPs with unique reference (34); locative and temporal NPs (35) and (36) respectively and manner NPs (37).

25. Obúdi ní lonú obúdi tolí gɪ lonú blɔ akal'óbúdi.
o-búdi ní lo-nú o-búdi to-lí [gɪ
 CM-fetish DEF 3SG-COP CM-fetish AM-INDEF REL
lo-nú blɔ á-kā-alí o-búdi]
 3SG.DEP-COP 1PL.IND CM-father-PL CM-fetish
 'This fetish is a fetish which is for our fore-fathers.' (Butsé)
26. Ényí ídɔ́nón gɪ ábabhítí.
é-nyí kí-dɔ́ nɔ ní [gɪ á-ba-bhítí]
 3SG-know CM-thing wh.ever DEF REL 3SG.DEP-FUT-do
 'He knows what he will do.'
27. Bétíní íkónón gɪ lu dé.
bé-tí-nyí ɔ-kó nɔ ní [gɪ
 3PL-NEG1-know CM-place wh.ever DEF REL
lu-dé]
 3PL.DEP-come.from
 'They do not know the place where they (the monkeys) came from.' (Butsé)
28. Ǻnɔ ní g'ebedzi anɔ tutɔpuń ...
Ǻ.nɔ ní [gɪ e-be-dzi a-nɔ tutɔpu
 3SG.wh.ever DEF REL 3SG.DEP-FUT-become CM-person first
ní]
 TOP
 'Whoever will be the first person ...' (Kásālā)
29. Ányínyáányí gɪ anyáápì ekus'edzeyín ásí tɪ agbano ko nía ...
á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí [gɪ á-nyá-á-pì
 CM-man-DISTR-CM-man REL 3SG.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-want
ekusi.edzeyí ní a-sí tɪ a-gbano
 CM-king.female.child DEF SM-COMP COMP 3SG.DEP-marry
ko ní a]
 just TOP CFM
 'Any man who really wants to marry the princess ...' (Kásālā)

30. Kikányááká gu nɔɔnyɔ́yíkɔ ko kɪbadzí tubha tubha ní nɔ ahɔ́mɪ oo.
ki-kányááká [gu nɔ-bɔ-nyɔ́-yíkɔ ko] ki-ba-dzí
 CM-every REL 2PL.DEF-FUT-CERT-take just 3SG-FUT-become
ti-bha ti-bha ní nɔ a-hɔ́ kumɪ oo
 AM-two AM-two LOC 2PL.IND CM-hand inside UFP
 ‘May you have a double portion of everything that you will touch.’
 (Saxwí)
31. Oɔtí ’uyań gu láadí ní...
o-ɔtí bu-ya ní [gu lá-a-dí ní]
 CM-cotton CM-farm DEF REL 3PL.DEF-PSTPROG-cultivate TOP
 ‘The cotton farm they were cultivating ...’
32. Ámā étúkú ’ítúkú gu lɪ́ fukuu.
Ámā é-túkú ki-túkú [gu lɪ-lí fukuu]
 Ama SM-carry CM-load REL 3SG.DEF-be.at IDEO.light
 ‘Ama carried a load which is light.’
33. Wɔ́ gu ɔ́tɔ́ga tsyí
wɔ́ [gu ɔ-tɔ́-ga tsyí]
 2SG.IND REL 2SG.DEF-NEG:PRSPROG-walk even
 ‘You who cannot even walk.’ (Kásālā)
34. Kofi ní gu y’ébúkú ’ulu ’ivuń áshĩ
Kofi ní [gu yí é-búkú bu-lu ki-vu
 Kofi DEF REL 3SG.IND SM-be.drunk CM-drink CM-yesterday
ní] á-shĩ
 DEF 3SG-leave
 ‘Kofi who got drunk yesterday has left.’
35. Báába ’klí gu kásālā éébho ’ivun
bá-á-ba ɪ-klí [gu ká-sālā
 3PL-PRSPROG-come CM-there REL CM-tortoise
é-é-bho ki-vu ní]
 SM-PRSPROG-beat CM-drum DEF
 ‘They are coming where tortoise is beating the drum.’ (Kásālā)
36. ... ɔ́nánĩ kibe nɔ́ ’ibe gu bubaziyabá...
ɔ-nánĩ ki-be nɔ́ ki-be [gu bu-ba-zɪ-yabá]
 2SG-reach CM-time wh.ever CM-time REL 3SG-FUT-REP-boil
 ‘... until whatever time that it will boil again ...’ (Palm oil)
37. Kánā gu látɔ́ udzɔ́ ní Baagbɔ́.
ká-nā [gu lá-tɔ́ bu-dzɔ́ ní Baagbɔ́]
 CM-manner REL 3PL.DEF-cook CM-palm.oil LOC Tafi
 ‘This is how palm oil is prepared in Tafi.’ (Palm oil)

Relative clauses function generally as modifiers of the head of the clause. Thus far, the examples illustrate the modifying function of relative clauses in Tafi. The relative clause restricts the identification of the head nominal. They are also used to attribute qualities to the head NP as illustrated in (32) above.

9.1.1.3 Other functions of the relative marker

The relative marker is used to introduce a number of clauses with various functions in discourse. In such clauses, the relative marker occurs without an NP head similar to free relative clauses (Andrews 2007:213). One of these is “addition”, that is, a clause that provides additional information for the development of the plot, especially in a narrative.

38. Kásālā edéwu ekú osínūm gɪ y'ázha 'dzuń ...
ká-sālā e-dé-wu e-kú o-sí ní kumɪ
 CM-tortoise SM-ITIVE-climb SM-reach CM-tree DEF inside
gɪ yí á-zha ɔ-dzu ní
 REL 3SG.IND SM-sing CM-song DEF
 ‘Tortoise went and climbed into the tree and he sang the song...’ (Kásālā)

39. ... gɪ banḡań báló átónḡ kásālā.
gɪ ba-nḡ a-ní bá-ló bá-tónḡ ká-sālā
 REL CM.PL-person AM-PROX SM-get.upSM-follow CM-tortoise
 ‘... then all these people rose up against tortoise.’ (Kásālā)

In example (38), the relative clause talks about what tortoise did after the main event of climbing a tree. In example (39), the relative clause talks about what the people did to tortoise after they realised what has happened.

Moreover, the relative clause marker has become lexicalised with the form **ónú**, i.e., **ónú.gɪ** to introduce conditional clauses (see section 9.3.1 below).

40. Ónúgɪ léétén' 'ulón k'óshu' un'əkp'álí 'ábhā.
Ónú.gɪ lé-é-ténḡ bu-ló ní ka
 COND 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start CM-rise TOP then
ó-shui bu-ní ó-kpí alí kábhā
 2SG.DEP-fetch CM-water SM-put.in 3PL top
 ‘When/ if it starts rising then you add water.’ (Palm oil)

Perhaps the relative marker is developing into a clause linker.

A second function of the relative marker is to introduce clauses that provide the temporal setting or background to a main clause.

41. Gɪ latrɔ kitsikpɪ ni 'ifún pɪ kesín aá ...
gɪ la-trɔ ki-tsikpɪ ní ki-fú ní pɪ
 REL 3PL.DEP-put.on CM-pot DEF CM-fire DEF CONN
ke-sí ní aá
 CM-down.part DEF CFM
 'When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...' (Kásālā)

A third function of the relative marker is that it is used to introduce reason clauses as in (42).

42. Gɪ ekusí ní gɪ áza ɔman unú kibe ílílín ní así nǎǎ.
Gɪ e-ku-sí ní gɪ á-za ɔ-ma ní
 REL CM-chief DEF REL 3SG.DEP-be.at:NPRES CM-town DEF
bu.nú ki-be í-lílín ní a-sí nǎǎ
 mouth CM-time AM-DIST TOP SM-say no
 'So the chief who was ruling at that time said "no".' (Butsé)

The relative marker combines with an appropriate pronoun to form a relative pronoun. For instance, **bagɪ** (43); **agɪ** (44); and **bugɪ** (45).

43. Bag' aplónǎé, bag'adzé éǎǎ, ébeklū álí.
ba-gɪ bá-plónǎ yí ba-gɪ bá-dza kí-dǎ ní
 3PL-REL SM-help 3SG 3PL-REL SM-cut CM-thing TOP
é-be-klu balí
 3SG-FUT-call 3PL
 'Those who helped him, those who cleared the bush, he would call them.'

44. W'áɪ ɔbá, w'áɪ ɔdubá wɔ tsyí ɔbohu ivū ɔó.
wɔ a-gɪ ɔ-bá wɔ a-gɪ ɔ-du-bá
 2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-come 2SG.IND 3SG-REL SM-NEG2-come
wɔ tsyí ɔ-bo-hu kí-vū ɔó
 2SG.IND too SM-FUT-hit CM-tomorrow UFP
 'You who come, you who do not come you will also dehusk (yours) in the future.' (Kásālā)

45. Óyɪ budzɔn tsy' ɔkpí bug' ɔtýíñíábhā.
ɔ-yɪ bu-dzɔ ní tsyí ɔ-kpí bu-gɪ
 2SG-scrape CM-palm.oil DEF too SM-put.in 3SG-REL
ɔ-tí-yí ní kabhā
 SM-PERF-scrape TOP top
 'You scrape the palm oil also and add to that which you have already scraped.' (Palm oil)

9.1.2 Complement clauses

Complementation is described as ‘the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate’ (Noonan, 2007:52; see also Dixon 2010). In Tafi, like in most languages, certain verbs can take a clause as an argument in place of a noun phrase. These clauses referred to as “complement” clauses are introduced by the complementiser (COMP) **sí**⁶² and they occur as arguments of complement-taking predicates. Complement-taking verbs in Tafi are categorised into four semantic classes, namely, utterance, perception-cognitive, manipulative and modality predicates. Examples of these predicates are listed in (46). At times, the complementiser **sí** can be followed by the irrealis complementiser **ti**. The subject of the complement taking predicates is optionally cross-referenced on the complementiser **sí** as shown in the sentences in (47) – (49).

46. Utterance: **dɔ** ‘say’; **sí** ‘say’; **tsiré** ‘tell’; **klũ** ‘call’; **bísí** ‘ask’; **dá** ‘deny’; **dɔ.ngbe** ‘promise’; **ká otú** (lit. ‘say by the gun’) ‘promise’; **kɛ́ kífú** (lit. ‘put.in fear’) ‘threaten’; **ká atábú** (lit. ‘say oath’) ‘swear an oath, pledge’; **bú ... kumi** (lit. ‘remove ... inside’) ‘explain’; **bú ... kesí** (lit. remove ... under) ‘explain’
- Perception-cognitive: **mɔ** ‘see’; **dí** ‘look’ **nú** ‘hear’; **bákā** ‘remember’; **dzíkí** ‘forget’; **susu** ‘think’; **nyí** ‘know’, **tí** ‘know, be aware’; **yíkí ɲa** (lit. ‘receive eat’) ‘believe’; **mɔ dzezi** (lit. see recognise) ‘recognise’
- Manipulative: **kɔ** ‘give; cause; let; make’; **bhutí** ‘make’
- Desiderative: **pí** ‘want’, ‘desire’; **dí kidzoum** (lit.: ‘look road inside’) ‘hope’
- Modality expressions: **alasí (ti)** ‘it is necessary that’
kílí sí ‘it is necessary that’
kítɔ ‘it is necessary’
kizhiã ‘it is necessary’
kíwí ‘it appears’
kílí ’mɔ dání ‘it is obvious’ (lit. ‘its inside open’)
kílí ’mɔ bhui ‘it is apparent’ (lit. ‘its inside cut’)
kílí ’mɔ tsá ‘it is obvious’ (lit. ‘its inside clear’)

⁶² The **sí** complementiser resembles very much the Akan form **se** which is a complementiser (Boadi 2005; Osam 1994).

47. Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukūnīm.
e-di-súsú **a-sí** **bá-ba-kíka** **yí** **ní** **sukū**
 3SG-NEG2-think SM-COMP 3PL-FUT-sack 3SG LOC school
ní kum
 DEF inside
 ‘He did not think that they will sack him from the school.’
48. Óɔɔ ’sí w’adzy’ áshĩ ávɪ Igẽ.
ó-ɔɔ **ɔ-sí** **wó** **á-dzyā** **á-shĩ** **á-vɪ**
 2SG-say SM-COMP 2SG.IND CM-brother SM-leave SM-go
I-gẽ
 CM-Accra
 ‘You said that your brother left for Accra.’
49. Kof’ ényí s’óóshĩ
Kofí **é-nyí** **sí** **ó-ó-shĩ**
 Kofí SM-know COMP 2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-leave
 ‘Kofi knows that you are leaving.’

As the examples in (47) – (49) illustrate, the complement clause functions as the object of the verbs **súsú** ‘think’, **ɔɔ** ‘say’, and **nyí** ‘know’ respectively. In (47), the subject of the main clause is cross-referenced on the complementiser **sí**. In (48), the complement clause is an SVC which consists of the verbs **shĩ** ‘leave’ and **vɪ** ‘go’. The subject of the main clause is cross-referenced on the complementiser while that of the complement clause is cross-referenced on both verbs. In (49), however, there is no cross-reference of the subject of the main clause on the COMP.

The complement clause can co-occur with another object of the verb in which case it occurs as the second complement as in (50) and (51). In narrative discourses, the complement clause may also occur with other clauses as in (52) and (53) and it may contain a relative clause as in (54).

50. Ádɔkasín ákasí banóvɔn así lebu banɔ shishe.
á-dɔkasí **ní** **á-kasí** **ba-nóvɔ** **ní** **a-sí**
 CM-teacher DEF SM-teach CM.PL-child DEF SM-COMP
le-bu **ba-nɔ** **shi-she**
 3PL.DEP-respect CM.PL-person RED-grow
 ‘The teacher taught the children that they should respect elderly people.’
51. M’en’ étsire Agoe así áttvɪ.
mí **é-nĩ** **é-tsire** **Agoe** **a-sí**
 1SG.IND CM-mother SM-tell Agoe SM-COMP
á-tt-vɪ
 3SG.DEP-NEG1-go
 ‘My mother told Agoe that she should not go.’

52. Kibe ílílíní ́s' ́gban' ́dzín al'así t' w'andz' eklú w'ó sí ́d'owa 'uya k'óe fl'ogo t' ako w'adzín t' ́gban'.
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| ki-be | í-ílílíní | ́-sí | ́-gban' | a-dzì | ní |
| CM-time | AM-DIST | 2SG-say | 2SG.DEP-marry | CM-woman | TOP |
| [a-lí | a-sí | tí | w'ó | á-yíndzì | é-klú] |
| 3SG-be.at | SM-COMP | COMP | 2SG.IND | CM-mother.in.law | SM-call |
| w'ó | [sí | ́-do-wa | bu-ya | k'ó | yí] fl'ogo |
| 2SG.IND | COMP | 2SG.DEP-ITIVE-do | CM-farm | DAT | 3SG before |
| [tí | á-k'ó | w'ó | a-dzì | ní] | tí |
| COMP | 3SG.DEP-give | 2SG.IND | CM-woman | DEF | PURP |
- ́-gban']**
2SG.DEP-marry
'In those days if you want to marry a wife, your mother-in-law must call you to go and work on her farm before she gave you the woman to marry.'
(Gbaxálí)

53. Bakpí y'íwǐ alásí báḍo sí y'éyí y'akā.
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| ba-kpí | yí | ki-wǐ | alásí | bá-ḍo |
| 3PL-put.on | 3SG | CM-shame | because | 3PL-say |
| sí | yí | e-yí | yí | á-kā |
| COMP | 3SG.IND | SM-kill | 3SG | CM-father |
- 'He was disgraced because he was said to have killed his father'.
54. Ábhítu sí kidzi nukúnú k'ó an'óááno g' édé ́ma bhlat'ém tsyí g'í ábám'.
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| á-bhítu | sí | ki-dzì | nukúnú | k'ó |
| 3SG-make | COMP | 3SG-become | wonder | DAT |
| a-n'nyáá-á-n'nyá | | g'í | é-dé | |
| CM-person-DISTR-CM-person | | REL | 3SG.DEP-come.from | |
| ́-ma | bhlat' | kumí | tsyí | g'í á-bá-m' |
| CM-town | second | inside | too | REL 3SG.DEP-VENT-see |
- 'It made it that it became a wonder for people from other places as well who visit the place.'
(Butse)

Complement clauses function mainly in object positions. They can also function as copula complements as in (55).

55. Kumuk'ó gige ní Baagbo kulínú sí ́p'í am'ó ...
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|----------------|
| ki-muk'ó | gi-ge | ní | Baagbo | ní | kulí-nú |
| CM-rice.dish | RED-drive | LOC | Tafi | TOP | 3SG.IND-COP |
| sí | ́-bo-pí | | a-m'ó | | |
| COMP | 2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for | | CM-rice | | |
- 'Red rice porridge preparation in Tafi is that you will look for rice ...'
(Kumuk'ó)

Complement clauses have, however, not been attested in subject function in Tafi.

9.1.2.1 Complement of ‘want’

The complement of **pĩ** ‘want’ is typically introduced by **sí** followed by the irrealis complementiser **ti** as in (56).

56. ...gaké ɔman ɔɔpĩ sí ti ti sí pɔ búnya dúwē bulí ténú yí yí kpata anā dza?
gaké **ɔ-ma** **ní** **ɔ-ɔ-pĩ** **sí** **ti** **ti**
 but CM-town DEF SM-PRSPROG-want COMP COMP know
sí **pɔ** **bú-nya** **dúwē** **bulí** **ténú** **yí** **yí**
 COMP but CM-sickness which 3PL.IND be.able kill 3SG
kpata **ká-nā** **dza**
 suddenly CM-manner UFP
 ‘... however the elders want to know which sickness caused his sudden death?’

In this example, the subject of the ‘want’ clause is identical to the subject of its complement clause. It appears that because of this there is no subject marked on the complement clause verb. This appears to be a tendency – there are a couple of instances in my database where even though the subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the matrix clause, it is marked on the verb as shown in (57).

57. Ópĩ ɔsí ɔvi ’uyem púnɔɔ ɔza apém?
ɔ-pĩ **ɔ-sí** **ɔ-vi** **bu-ya** **kumi** **púnɔɔ**
 2SG-want SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-go CM-farm inside DISJ
ɔ-za **bu-pá** **kumi**
 2SG.DEP-stay CM-house inside
 ‘Do you want to go to the farm or to stay at home?’

If the subject of the complement clause is different from that of the matrix ‘want’ clause it is expressed as in (58).

58. Kibúí nê ní so gɛ noóklǔ ’lɔ ní bopĩ sí ti nɔwól’ul’olú.
ki-búí **nê** **ní** **so** **gɛ** **no-ó-klǔ** **blɔ**
 CM-matter wh.ever DEF so REL 2PL.DEP-PRSPROG-call 1PL
ní **[bu-pĩ]** **sí** **ti** **nɔ-wól** **kɛlɛ**
 TOP 1PL-want COMP COMP 2PL.DEP-drop 3SG
no-lú]]
 2PL.DEP-put
 ‘The matter because of which you called us we would like you to tell us.’

There is variation as to whether the irrealis complementiser **ti** always follows the **sí** complementiser after a ‘want’ matrix verb. Some speakers tend to omit it without any discernible semantic difference implicated.

9.1.2.2 Complements of the modal expressions

As pointed out in Chapter 7, modality expressions such as those in (46) take a complement clause expressing the state of affairs which is being modalised. The matrix clause of these expressions has a 3SG impersonal subject followed by a verb. The complement clauses are all introduced by **sí** ‘COMP’. The ones involving the verb **h** ‘be.at’ – **alasí** and **kulí sí** – can optionally be followed by the irrealis complementiser **ti**.

59. Así ní alasí (ti) óbá
a-sí ní a-lí a-sí (ti) ó-bá
 3SG-say TOP 3SG-be.at SM-COMP (COMP) 2SG.DEP-come
 ‘S/he said that you should come.’

The negative existential verb **má** ‘be.at:NEG’ is used in negating the expressions involving the verb **h** ‘be.at’. For example,

60. Am’as’óbá
a-má a-sí o-bá
 3SG-be.at:NEG SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-come
 ‘You should not come.’

9.1.2.3 Functions of **sí**: main verb, quotative and complementiser

Sí can be used as a main verb of speaking as used in the proverbs in (61) and (62). As a verb, it can co-occur with preverbs such as the negative and future markers as in (63a) and (63b) respectively. Unlike Akan where the complementiser **se** cannot co-occur with the verb **se** ‘say’ from which it has grammaticalised, the Tafi complementiser **sí** co-occurs with the verb **sí** ‘say’ from which it grammaticalised as shown in (64). Similar to Akan but unlike Tafi, the Ewe complementiser **bé** cannot co-occur with the verb **bé** ‘say’ from which it grammaticalised. **Sí** can also be used as a quotative to introduce a direct speech after a verb of saying as illustrated in (65a) and (65b).

61. Enyī así y’ikutú tídú yí.
e-nyí a-sí yí ki-kutú tí-dí yí
 CM-elephant SM-say 3SG.IND CM-load NEG1-surpass 3SG
 ‘The elephant said its load is not too heavy for it.’ (Proverb #53)
62. Ónúgú así átítanyí ní étíbebí?
ónú.gú o-sí á-tí-tanyí ní
 COND 2SG.DEP-say 3SG-NEG1-burn TOP
é-tí-be-bí
 3SG-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked
 ‘If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or

well-cooked.’ (Proverb #25)

- 63a. Adísí ábabe ’evū.
a-dí-sí **á-ba-bá** **kí-vū**
 3SG-NEG2-say 3SG.DEF-FUT-come CM-tomorrow
 ‘He did not say he will come tomorrow.’
- 63b. Ayadú ábas’abaḡe ’ekū kokooko.
a-yadú **ní** **á-ba-sí** **á-ba-ḡa** **kí-kū**
 CM-farmer DEF SM-FUT-say 3SG.DEF-FUT-plant CM-yam
kokooko
 by.all.means
 ‘The farmer will say he will plant yam by all means.’
64. Éε, kásālā y’ahūm áásī s’adzā.
éε **ká-sālā** **yí** **á-wǝhu** **kum** **á-á-sí**
 INTJ CM-tortoise 3SG.IND CM.PL-eye in SM-PRSPROG-say
sí **a-dzā**
 COMP 3PL.DEF-become.red
 ‘Tortoise is becoming desperate.’
- 65a. Íḡp sí “bá!”
í-ḡp **sí** **bá**
 1SG-say COMP come
 ‘I said come!’
- 65b. Ekusín ásí “buia bepidzya lófǝ kóm!”
e-kusí **ní** **a-sí** **buia** **be-pidzya** **lófǝ** **kó** **mí**
 CM-chief DEF SM-say pay CM.PL-goat MOD-ten DAT 1SG
 ‘The chief says “pay me 10 goats!”’.

Sí can also be used to introduce the object complement of “call” or naming predicates. This is similar to what happens in Ewe and Akan where such objects are introduced by the quotative.

66. Tiklǝ woení y’enyínē edzini ǝsí w’enī ...
ti-klǝ **wó** **é-nī** **yí** **e-nyínē** **e-dzini**
 NEG1-call 2SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND CM-husband CM-wife
ǝ-sí **wó** **é-nī**
 SM-COMP 2SG.IND CM-mother
 ‘Do not call your mother’s co-wife your mother ...’ (Proverb #28)

As a complementiser, **sí** sometimes takes an agreement marker which cross-references the subject of the matrix clause as shown in most of the examples, reflecting change in progress.

The complementiser **sí** is in some contexts followed by the topic marker **ní** or topic marker and reinforcing particles. This is similar to the particles that occur after the complementiser **bé** in Ewe such as **bé dɛ** (COMP TOP) or its dialect variants such as the Tɔŋu **bé sé, bé sé tae**. The structure of these is not fully understood yet.

67. Balɔ tsy' ɛtsiré lɔ sí ní ɔwashui bávubó anɔ́ békɛ ko ní ká báwa kúnú zi dɛká.

balɔ **tsyí** **be-tsiré** **blɔ́** **sí** **ní** **ɔwashui** **bá-vubó**
 3PL.IND too SM-tell 1PL COMP TOP tuesday 3PL-bury
a-nɔ́ **békɛ** **ko** **ní** **ká** **bá-wa** **kúnú**
 CM-person COMPL just TOP then 3PL-do funeral
zi **dɛká**
 times one

'They too said that on Tuesday after burying the person, they will perform the funeral rites at once.'

68. Ítsire wɔ́ sí ní élɛ́ kí-dɔ́ ní gɪ edzi nɪ w'áhɔ́ ní adɪstɪ ababuia.

i-tsiré **wɔ́** **sí** **ní** **élɛ́** **kí-dɔ́** **ní** **gɪ**
 1SG-tell 2SG COMP TOP CFM CM-thing DEF REL
é-é-dzi **ní** **wɔ́** **a-hɔ́** **ní**
 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-buy LOC 2SG.IND CM-hand TOP
a-dɪ-sí **á-ba-buia**
 3SG-NEG2-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-pay

'I told you that the thing that he is buying from you he will not pay.'

If the matrix clause is negated as in (69) and (70), its scope goes over the whole complex sentence including the complement clause. The complement clause alone can be negated. In that case the NEG preverb occurs before the verb in the complement clause as in (71) and (72).

69. Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukúním.

e-di-súsú **á-sí** **bá-ba-kíka** **yí**
 3SG-NEG2-think SM-COMP 3PL-FUT-sack 3SG
ní **sukú** **ní** **kɪmɪ**
 LOC school DEF inside

'He did not think that they will sack him from school.'

70. Adtyík'anya 'sí bábakíka yí ní sukú.

a-dɪ-yíki **á-ŋa** **a-sí** **bá-ba-kíka** **yí**
 3SG-NEG2-receive SM-eat SM-COMP 3PL-FUT-sack 3SG
ní **sukú** **ní** **kɪmɪ**
 LOC school DEF inside

'He did not believe that they will sack him from the school.'

71. M'enī áḍḥ sí átáányā áyĩ ko al'ékúí.
mí é-nī á-ḍḥ sí
 1SG.IND CM-mother SM-say COMP
á-táá-nyā á-yĩ ko alí
 3SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-be.sick CM.PL-laziness just 3PL.IND
é-kú yĩ
 SM-reach 3SG
 'My mother says that he is not ill but just lazy.' (Lit. 'My mother says he is not ill, laziness just reached him.')
72. M'adá áḍḥ así edizurú kudzya ní pḥ kakudzogě ní kal' áyĩkḥ 'elí.
mí á-dá á-ḍḥ a-sí e-di-zurú
 1SG.IND CM-sister SM-say SM-COMP 3SG.DEP-NEG2-steal
ki-dzya ní pḥ ka-kudzogě ní kalí ka-yĩkḥ kulí
 CM-meat DEF but CM-dog DEF 3SG.IND SM-take 3SG
 'My sister says that she did not steal the meat but that it was taken by the dog.'

9.1.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses in that they add extra information to the main clause in terms of expressing the time, location, manner, reason etc., of the event of the main clause. In this section, the types of adverbial clauses discussed are conditional clauses (9.1.3.1), temporal clauses (9.1.3.2), purpose clauses (9.1.3.3), manner clauses (9.1.3.4) and reason clauses (9.1.3.5).

9.1.3.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by combining the form **ónú** and the relative marker **gi** or the connector **pi**. The meaning of the form **ónú** is not yet clear however it seems that the form consists of the 2SG impersonal subject pronoun **ó** and the copula verb **nu** 'COP'. Thus perhaps **ónú.gi** literally means 'it is that'. The sentences in (73) – (77) are illustrations of conditional clauses. The form **ónú.pi** is used in (76). Examples (73) (repeated from (62)) and (74) illustrate the use of conditional clauses in proverbs while (75) is a riddle.

73. Ónúgi ɔsí atitanyí ní étíbebí?
ónú.gi ɔ-sí a-ti-tanyí ní
 COND 2SG.DEP-say 3SG-NEG1-burn TOP
é-tí-be-bí
 SM-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked
 'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or well-cooked.' (Proverb #25)

74. Ónúgí ónyí ńsí ńńlĩ ní bítíĩ otshutshúí ní ńhe'eshí?
ónú.gí ó-nyí ń-sí ń-ńlĩ
 COND 2SG.DEP-know SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell
ńí bá-tí-ńĩ o-tshutshúí ní ń-ha kishí
 TOP 3PL-NEG1-exude CM-fart LOC CM-group midst
 'If you know that you have bad body odours you do not fart in public.'
 (Proverb #52)
75. Ekusí tel'aza ónúgí ńtsí ní y'ńsígbe wĩ y'odziré 'ńábhā kibenyéébe.
e-kusí te-lí á-za ónú.gí ń-tsí ńí
 CM-king AM-INDEF 3SG-be.at:NPRES COND 3SG.DEP-die TOP
yí kí-sígbe wĩ yí ń-dziré kábhā
 3SG.IND CM-ring remain 3SG.IND CM-grave top
ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
 CM-time-DISTR-CM-time
 'There was a king, when he died his ring remained on his grave.'
 (Riddle # 12)
76. Ónú tí báákāń enú sí onupĩ bāvubó anńń ko kibékē dza?
ń-nú tí báá-kā ńí be-ńú sí onu.pĩ
 2SG-hear PURP CM.PL-father DEF SM-hear COMP COND
bá-vubó a-ńń ńí ko ki-békē dza
 3PL-bury CM-person DEF just 3SG-finish UFP
 'You hear (it) so that the elders hear: if the person is buried, is that the end?'
77. Kofí ńsí ábashĩ ónúgí súbha adũdũ?
Kofí ń-sí á-ba-shĩ
 Kofí SM-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-leave
ónú.gí súbha a-dũ-dũ
 COND rain SM-NEG2-land
 'Kofi said he will leave if it did not rain.'

As shown in the examples in (73) – (77), the conditional clause may occur before the main clause (73) – (76) or after it (77). However, there seems to be a preference for the conditional clause preceding the main clause. When they precede the main clause, they tend to be marked by the topic marker **ńí**. Its occurrence in proverbs, riddles or narratives attests to this.

The conditional clause can contain a negative cleft as in (78).

78. Otsóńĩ, gu ibú lááwĩńso ńí ónúgí anĩ wĩ ótsokú kílí óbokoéyĩ ...
otsóńĩ gu i-bú lá-á-wĩ-ńso so
 now REL CM-trial.by.ordeal 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-drink-COM so

ní [ónú.gɪ aní wɔ́ ó-tsokú ɪ-klí ó-bo-koéyí]
 TOP COND NEGCL 2SG.IND 2SG-enter CM-there SM-FUT-exit
 ‘But now, as it is for the purpose of a trial by ordeal, if it is not you if you enter in there you will get out...’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)

At times, there is ambiguity between a conditional and a temporal meaning as it happens also in Fon and several other languages (see Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002 and references cited therein). This is illustrated in (79) – (81), see also (75).

79. Ónúgɪ léétén’ ’ulón k’oshu’ ’un’ ɔkp’ ál’íábhā.
ónú.gɪ lé-é-ténɔ́ bu-lɔ́ ní
 COND 3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start CM-rise TOP
ka o-shui bu-ní ɔ-kpí alí kábhā
 then 2SG.DEP-fetch CM-water SM-put.in 3PL.IND top
 ‘When it starts rising then you add water.’ (Palm oil)
80. Ónúgɪ kihuí duya kedē líyí.
Ónú.gɪ ki-huí duya ke-de lí-yí
 COND CM-trap spring CM-back 3SG.DEP-show.up
 ‘When a trap springs, it moves backwards.’ (Proverb #9)
81. Ónúgɪ ɖeke évu wɔ́ ní y’eyíálí butí látí ní anɔ́ ’evutabhā.
ónú.gɪ ɖeke é-vu wɔ́ ní yí e-yí-alí
 COND crocodile SM-catch 2SG TOP 3SG.IND CM-child-PL
bu-tí lá-tí ní a-nɔ́ ki-vu kabhā
 CM-crawl 3PL.DEP-crawl LOC CM-person CM-stomach top
 ‘When a crocodile captures you (even) baby crocodiles will crawl on your belly.’ (Proverb #33)

In some contexts, especially of proverbs and sayings the conditional marker can be omitted. Thus, the conditional relation is expressed by the juxtaposition of clauses as in (82) which is a proverb (Proverb #27).

82. Ósɪ oní ní g’ɖsísɪ ní kɪbhluxɔ́éníésɪ lɔ́tɪsísɪ ɔdo ’iesɪ so ótimín’ɔlɪ ní ɔg’ɔkpasí kɪbhluxɔ́énúmɪ bɔbɔlɪ lɔ́balɪ kú anɔ́ ámɪʔ.
ɖ-sí o-ní ní gɪ ɖ-sísɪ ní kɪ-bhluxɔ́ení
 2SG-say CM-soup DEF REL 3SG-drip LOC CM-ladle DEF
ke.sí lɔ-tɪ-sísɪ ɔ-dɔ́ ke.sí so ó-ti-míní ɔlɪ
 down 3SG.DEP-NEG1-drip SM-land down so 2SG-DESID-lick 3SG
ní ɔ-gɪ ɔ-kpasí kɪ-bhluxɔ́ení kumɪ bu-balɪ
 TOP 3SG.REL SM-be.in CM-ladle DEF inside CM-pour
lɔ́-balɪ kú a-nɔ́ á-mɪ
 3SG.DEP-pour ALL CM-person CM-face

‘If you insist that drops of soup under the ladle should not drop and so you want to lick it as well, the soup in the ladle will spill into your eyes.’

9.1.3.2 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses can be expressed by means of the relative marker **gi** or the connector **pi**. Consider the following examples:

83. Gi latr5 'itsikpĩ ní 'ifún pi kesín á ...
gi la-tr5 ki-tsikpĩ ní ki-fú ní pi
 REL 3PL.DEP-put.on CM-pot DEF CM-fire DEF CONN
ke-sí ní á
 CM-bottom DEF CFM
 ‘When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...’ (Kásālā)
84. Kutokpú tíza ákpíkpa pi layíko kikutú ekumú 'íkuísí?
ki-tokpú tí-za ákpíkpa pi la-yíko ki-kutú
 CM-head NEG1-stay empty CONN 3PL.DEP-take CM-hat
be-kumú kí-kuísí
 SM-cover CM-knee
 ‘We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.’
 (Proverbs #21)
85. Gi odun obá ní kokoko wũn'ónũ bámaní alásí ti bútsi kú kó nó sí kána
 lídzyo ní lóíábhā.
gi o-du ní o-bá ní kokoko wũnó
 REL CM-message DEF SM-come TOP by.all.means 2PL.IND
no-nũ bá-maní a-lí a-sí ti
 SM-COP CM-town.people 3SG-be.at SM-COMP COMP
bú-tsi kú kó nó sí ká-nā
 1PL-announce death DAT 2PL COMP CM-manner
lí-dzyo ní bíš kábhā
 3SG.DEP-happen LOC 1PL.IND top
 ‘As soon as the message came, you being the elders of the town, it is necessary that we inform you about the death.’ (Butsígũ)
86. Pi latsí 'itsikpĩ ní pi 'al'ááhwa hlohlohlo p'itsikpĩn íwólí ní... agboyaa
pi la-tsí ki-tsikpĩ ní pi kalí
 CONN 3PL.DEP-take.off CM-pot DEF CONN 3SG.IND
ká-á-hwa hlohlohlo ní pi ki-tsikpĩ ní
 SM-PRSPROG-move IDEO TOP CONN CM-pot DEF
ki-wólí ní agboyaa
 SM-fall TOP IDEO.sound

‘When they took the pot from the fire with him moving restlessly in it then the pot fell... (with a loud noise).’ (Kásālā)

87. Así oo ko gɪ lé-dé-kú anóíánó amá?
a-sí oo ko gɪ lé-dé-kú
 3SG-say INTJ INTJ REL 3PL.DEP-ITIVE-reach
a-nɔ̃-nyáá-a-nɔ̃ a-má
 CM-person-DISTR-CM-person SM-be.at:NEG
 ‘They said when they reached there is nobody there’ (Kásālā)

The temporal clause can occur as the complement of a complement-taking verb as shown in (87). As can be seen in the examples, temporal clauses can precede or follow the main clause. When temporal clauses precede the main clause, they are usually marked by the topic marker **ní** ‘TOP’. At times, there is a double marking of the topic marker on the temporal clause for more emphasis as shown in (88).

88. Ko badzĩn ákpasí ’umem ko gɪ léeyú ’ívú ko ní ní sáhwĩ tsyí évu aló
 ádákpasí kumanumí ééyu ’ívú plínɔ̃ bekus’edziniín.
ko ba-dzĩ ní bá-kpasí kɪ-ma kumi gɪ
 just CM.PL-woman DEF SM-be.in CM-dancing.ring inside REL
lé-e-yú ki-vu ko ní ní sáhwĩ
 3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-dance CM-dance just TOP TOP spider
tsyí é-vu a-ló á-dá-kpasí kɪ-ma ní
 too SM-catch SM-get.up SM-ITIVE-be.in CM-dancing.ring DEF
kumi é-é-yú ki-vu plínɔ̃ be-kusí
 inside 3SG-PRSPROG-dance CM-dance add CM.PL-chief
e-dzini ní
 CM-wife DEF
 ‘Suddenly, just as the women were in the dancing ring, as they were dancing, spider also got up he went inside the dancing ring dancing with the queens.’ (Sáhwĩ)

9.1.3.2.1 ‘Before’ clauses

‘Before’ clauses in Tafi are introduced by **fló(go)** ‘before’. It can occur alone or it may be followed by the relative marker **gɪ** ‘REL’, the connector **pɪ** ‘CONN’ or the irrealis complementiser **tu** ‘COMP’. Temporal clauses introduced by **fló(go)** ‘before’ are used to express situations in which the state of affairs indicated in the ‘before’ clause has not yet occurred by the time of the state of affairs specified in the main clause. These clauses can occur before or after the main clause. When they occur before it, they tend to be marked by or terminate in the topic marker **ní** ‘TOP’. The following are examples:

89. Flôgo ti ɔ̀bɔgbánu ní ɔ̀kɔn 'unú tútúútú ní alasi ti ɔ̀mɔ aɔ́aká tédjípó ...
 [flôgo ti ɔ̀bo-ɡbáɲí yí ní ɔ̀ko
 before COMP 2SG.DEP-FUT-marry 3SG LOC CM-custom
 ní bu.nú tútúútú ní] a-lí a-sí ti
 DEF mouth exactly TOP 3SG-be.at SM-COMP COMP
 ɔ̀mɔ a-ɔ́aká te-djípó
 2SG.DEP-see CM-box AM-one
 'Before you marry her according to the exact custom, you must get one
 suitcase ...'
90. Flôgo g'ɔ̀botsyíṇā 'lí ní ɔ̀botsódzī nɪ tɪnɔ́ élílí ní ɔ̀ka pétée
 [flôgo gi ɔ̀bo-tyíṇā bulí ní] ɔ̀bo-tsódzī-nɪ
 before REL 2SG.DEP-FUT-turn 3SG TOP 2SG-FUT-return-COM
 ti-nɔ́ í-lílí ní ɔ̀ká pétée
 CM-chaff AM-DIST SM-squeeze all
 'Before you will pour it (the water) out, you will have to completely
 squeeze that chaff again.' (Palm oil)
91. lɪmɔsa títá ulí lááyíko agbá kikpekpením flôgo pɪ abaho asrá vovo akpí.
 t-mɔsa ti-tá ulí lá-ba-yíko
 CM-handful.of.rice.stalk AM-three 3PL.IND 3PL.DEP-FUT-take
 ba-ɡbá ki-kpekpe ní kumí [flôgo pɪ
 SM-sweep CM-snuff.box DEF inside before CONN
 a-ba-ho a-srá vovo a-kpí]
 3SG.DEP-grind CM-tobacco new SM-put
 'It is three handfuls of rice stalks that will be used to clean the inside of the
 snuff-box before she will grind new tobacco to put into it.' (Sáhwĩ)
92. ɔ̀tíflā Tamale flô' p'obokú Asanti Dadzyra beditsyá.
 ɔ̀tí-flā Tamale flôgo pɪ ɔ̀bo-kú Asanti
 2SG-PERF-pass Tamale before CONN 2SG-VENT-reach Asanti
 Dadzyra be-ditsyá ní
 Dadzyra CM.PL-outskirts DEF
 'you would have already passed Tamale before you reach Asanti Dadzyra.'
 (Kásālā)

9.1.3.3 Purpose clauses

As we have seen in §9.1.2 there is an irrealis complementiser **ti** 'COMP' which doubles with the **sí** complementiser to introduce complements of 'want' predicates. Some purpose clauses are also introduced by both complementisers **si** **ti** as illustrated in (97) below. A form identical to the complementiser **ti** is also used to introduce purpose clauses in Tafi. Where it clearly introduces a purpose clause, I

gloss it as ‘PURP’ and everywhere else I gloss it as ‘COMP’. The following sentences exemplify the purpose clause.

93. Áába ti abayíkō anóvōń ’ufuo ti akōé.
á-á-ba [ti **a-ba-yíkō** **a-nóvō** ní
 3SG-PRSPROG-come PURP 3SG.DEP-VENT-take CM-child DEF
fufuo] [ti **a-kō** **yí**]
 fufu PURP 3SG.DEP-give 3SG
 ‘She is coming to take the child’s fufu to give to him.’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)
94. Tí efek’ ónúgbú ti aḍo así “duya” kígbāń ítizhí íbā.
 [ti **efeké** **o-nugbu**] [ti **a-ḍo**
 PURP 3SG.DEP-lift CM-mouth PURP 3SG.DEP-say
a-sí “duya”] **kí-gba** **ní** **kí-ti-zhí**
 SM-COMP “spring” CM-falling.trap DEF SM-PERF-descend
kí-í-bā
 SM-PRSPROG-come
 ‘At the opening of his mouth to say “spring” the trap was already coming down.’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)
95. Dan’ onugbu t’ḍo iḍo ti lenú.
dan **o-nugbu** [ti **ḍo** **ka-ḍo**] [ti
 open CM-mouth PURP 2SG.DEP-speak CM-speech PURP
le-nú]
 3PL.DEP-hear
 ‘Open your mouth and speak for them to hear.’ (Sáhwĩ)
96. Akaábubō ti ebu ’idzya tilí ko kásālā kplō kawólí kú ketsukpúním.
a-ka-á-bubō ti **e-bú** **kí-dzya**
 3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend PURP 3SG.DEP-remove CM-meat
ti-lí **ko** **ká-sālā** **kplō** **ka-wólí** **kú**
 AM-INDEF just CM-tortoise IDEO.sound.of.falling SM-fall ALL
ke-tsukpú ní **kumí**
 CM-pot DEF inside
 ‘Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat, tortoise fell inside the pot.’ (Kásālā)
97. Kulí y’áv’ízań sí ti adayo íapamín.
kulí **yí** **á-ví** **ka-za** **ní** **sí** **ti**
 CONJ 3SG.IND SM-go CM-camp DEF COMP COMP
a-da-yó **ká-pamí** **ní**
 3SG.DEP-ITIVE-sharpen CM-cutlass DEF
 ‘So he went to the camp to/ in order to whet his cutlass.’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)

The sentences in (93) – (96) show that the **ti** complementiser can occur before or after the main clause and that a purpose clause can be followed by another purpose clause (93) –(95). Moreover, the main clause can contain an imperative as in (95).

It has become evident from the discussions so far that the form **ti** has different functions, viz, the complementiser, purpose and desiderative. The contexts in which the **ti** complementiser occurs can all be characterised as irrealis: it introduces the complements of WANT predicates, complement clauses expressing obligation or necessity. As shown in this section, **ti** also introduces clauses with a purpose function which expresses someone doing something in order that something else occurs. The **ti** form is also used as a preverb marker to express the desiderative, i.e., a wanting of the subject to do something. These three functions are syntactically distinguished in Tafi: the irrealis complement clauses are arguments of the matrix clause verb; the purpose clauses are adverbial or adjuncts to the main clauses; and the desiderative function is expressed by a preverb. The conceptual relations between unrealised events, desired situations and intentions (purpose) are cross-linguistically manifested in the functions being expressed in the same form as in Tafi. These functions are also known to be connected in a grammaticalisation chain (e.g. Heine et al. 1991).

9.1.3.4 Reason clauses

As is the case with other subordinate clause types, the relative marker **gi** and the connector **pi** are also used as subordinators to introduce reason clauses. When **gi** ‘REL’ introduces a reason clause it precedes the main clause while reason clauses introduced by **pi** ‘CONN’ follow the main clause, as shown in (98) and (99).

98. **Gi** Doxwě enú adzinóvǝē dzyɔgǝ so Folí ádumí y’ibúí kóǵ.
gi **Doxwě** **e-nú** **a-dzinóvǝē** **dzyɔgǝ** **so Folí** **á-dumí**
REL Doxwě SM-COP CM-girl good so Foli SM-like
yí **ki-búí** **kóǵ**
3SG CM-matter INT
‘Because Doxwě is a good girl Foli loves her so much.’
99. Bhubhī tīyī anǝ pi lakpí kíkūgbe ’efú.
bhubhī **ti-yī** **a-nǝ** **pi** **la-kpí**
CM-hunger NEG1-kill CM-person CONN 3PL.DEP-set
kí-kūgba **ki-fú**
CM-yam.barn CM-fire
‘You don’t set fire to your yam barn because you are hungry.’
(Proverbs #54)

Reason clauses can also be introduced by the subordinator **alasí** ‘because’. The sentences in (100) and (101) show that reason clauses introduced by **alasí** ‘because’

can precede or follow the main clause and that the reason clause can be (doubly) marked by the topic marker **ní**. Even the subordinator **alasí** ‘because’ can also be marked by the topic marker as in (100).

100. ...alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutó ní ní bétítsú olí ’ífú bopui lápoi olí?
alasí ní élē o-tro.eleté o-vutó ní ní
 because TOP CFM CM-lie.owner CM-roof DEF TOP
bé-tí-tsú olí kí-fú bu-pui lá-pui olí
 3PL-NEG1-set 3SG CM-fire CM-scatter 3PL.DEF-scatter 3SG
 ‘...the reason is that the roof of a dishonest man’s hut is never burnt, it is dismantled piece by piece.’ (Gbaxáĩĩ)
101. Kofi ádimí Doxwě ’íbúi alasí adzinóvōē dzyogō y’enú.
Kofi á-dimí Doxwě ki-búi alasí a-dzinóvōē dzyogō
 Kofi SM-like Doxwě CM-matter because CM-girl good
yí e-nú
 3SG.IND SM-COP
 ‘Kofi loves Doxwě because she is a good girl.’

9.1.3.5 Result clauses

The subordinator **klíso** or **so** ‘so, as a result’ is used to introduce result clauses. The use of **so** is exemplified in (78), (82), (98) above and (102) below and **klíso** is illustrated in (103) and (104). (102) – (104) are taken from stories.

102. Átáábā ɔmaními ziazia so banō átíkaámō y’édzyesi.
á-táá-bā ɔ-ma ní kumi ziazia so
 3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-come CM-town DEF inside IDEO.fast so
ba-nō bá-tí-ka-á-mō yí be-dzyesi
 CM.PL-person SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-see 3SG SM-recognise
 ‘He has not been coming to town often so people did not recognise him.’
 (Sáhwĩ)
103. Klíso gu anódzyrámí n’aga bátíkaázani áglō.
klíso gu a-nódzyrámí ni a-ga
 so REL CM-human.being COM CM-animal
bá-tí-ka-á-zani á-glō
 SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-marry RECIP
 ‘As a result, human beings and animals do not marry each other anymore.’
 (Kásālā)
104. Ádɔ sí ní a ɔtsō ní ébeklú ’ál’enyí klíso ní a ónúgu ázakp’ ódzińíésí ní a
 baɔɔ sí ní ní a ...

á-dɔ **sí** **ní** **a** **ɔtsɔ̃** **ní** **é-be-klú** **balí**
 3SG-say COMP TOP CFM now TOP 3SG-FUT-call 3PL
e-nyí **klíso** **ní** **a** **ónú.gɪ** **á-za-kpí**
 CM.PL-name so TOP CFM COND 3SG.DEP-REP-put.in
ɔ-dzu **ní** **ke.sí** **ní** **a** **ba-dɔ** **sí** **ní** **ní**
 CM-song DEF under TOP CFM 3PL-say COMP TOP TOP
a
 CFM

‘He said that from now he will be calling the names, therefore whenever he starts the song again, they should say...’ (Sáhwĩ)

It is obvious from the sentences illustrating result clauses given so far that the subordinator **klíso** or **so** ‘so, as a result’ can be followed directly by the relative marker **gɪ** ‘REL’ (103) or the topic marker **ní** ‘TOP’ (104). The topic marker, at times, occurs after the reason clause. Also, the result subordinator can be followed by the conditional clause introducer **ónú.gɪ** ‘COND’ (104).

Moreover, a result clause can be introduced by the relative marker **gɪ** as shown in (105).

105. **Gɪ** **ekusí** **ní** **gɪ** **á-za** **ɔ-ma** **ní**
 REL CM-chief DEF REL 3SG.DEP-be.at:NPRES CM-town DEF
bu.nú **ki-be** **í-lílín** **ní** **a-sí** **nɔ̃**
 mouth CM-time AM-DIST TOP SM-say no
 ‘So the chief who was ruling at that time said “no”.’ (Butse)

9.1.3.6 Simultaneous Clauses

In Tafi two events can be marked as having occurred simultaneously. The relative marker **gɪ** is used to signal simultaneity and at the same time the verb in the **gɪ** clause is marked by the progressive marker. Examples of such clauses are given in (106) and (107).

106. **Gɪ** **éetsi** ‘utsikpínímí **ní** **Akú** **áato** ‘édɔ̃.
gɪ **é-e-tsí** **bu-tsikpí** **ní** **kumí** **ní** **Akú**
 REL 3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-clean CM.PL-pot DEF inside TOP Akú
á-a-to **kí-dɔ̃**
 SM-PRSPROG-cook CM-thing
 ‘While she was cleaning the pots Aku was cooking.’

107. **Gɪ** **láabán** **bábátlé** ‘édzɔ̃.
gɪ **lá-a-bá** **ní** **bá-bá-lulá** **ki-dzo**
 REL 3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-come TOP 3PL-VENT-lose CM-road

‘While they were coming they got lost.’

The position of the main clause and the subordinate clause can vary. Hence, the conditional clause can either precede or follow the main clause as shown in (108).

108. Bábálúlé ’édzó gɪ láabán.
bá-bá-lúá **ki-dzo** **gɪ** **lá-a-bá** **ní**
 3PL-VENT-lose CM-road REL 3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-come TOP
 ‘They got lost while they were coming.’

9.1.3.7 Manner clauses

Manner clauses are introduced by **kánā** ‘manner’. They express the way the situation in the main clause is carried out. They can precede or follow the main clause as is illustrated in (109) – (111).

109. Kánā lagbáá, bagbáá, adzyatā ávɪ ékóéyɪ, kehúí ávɪ kekóéyɪ.
ká-nā **la-gbáá** **ba-gbáá** **a-dzyatā** **á-vɪ** **é-kóéyɪ**
 CM-manner 3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO CM-lion SM-go 3SG-exit
ke-húí **ká-vɪ** **ke-kóéyɪ**
 CM-antelop SM-go 3SG-exit
 ‘That was how they went on and on and on, lion went he came out, antelope went he came out.’ (Gbaxáǎĩ)
110. B’otsiré ’óló ní ’kǐn kánā leklui.
ba **o-tsiré** **buló** **ní** **ɪ-kǐ** **ní** **ká-nā** **le-klu**
 come 2SG-tell 1PL LOC here TOP CM-manner 3PL.DEP-call
yí
 3SG
 ‘Come and tell us here how she is called.’ (Sáhwĩ)
111. Balí xǔn étínyí ásí ní kánā sáhwĩ édékpú kó álí, énú bal’enyí gɪ le klú
balí **xǔn** **bé-tí-nyí** **bá-sí** **ní** **ká-nā**
 3PL.IND as.for 3PL-NEG1-know SM-COMP TOP CM-manner
sáhwĩ **é-dé-kpú** **kó** **balí** **é-nú** **balí**
 CM-spider SM-ITIVE-hide DAT 3PL SM-hear 3PL.IND
e-nyí **gɪ** **le-klú**
 CM.PL-name REL 3PL.DEP-call
 ‘As for them, they did not know that spider was hiding from them and had heard the names they mentioned.’ (Sáhwĩ)

9.1.3.8 Concessive clauses

Like conditional clauses, concessive clauses are introduced by **ónú.gi** or **ónú.pi** ‘COND’ and they end with the adverbs **kóráá** ‘even’ followed by **tsyí** ‘also, too’. For example,

112. Ónúgi Nání étínyí klí kóráá tsyí ábaví?
ónú.gi Nání é-tí-nyí ɿ-klí kóráá tsyí á-ba-ví
 COND Nání SM-NEG1-know CM-there even too 3SG-FUT-go
 ‘Even if Nani does not know the place he will go.’
113. Ónúgi áányā kóráá tsyí ábagba ’uvunúm.
ónú.gi á-á-nyā kóráá tsyí á-ba-gba
 COND 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick even too 3SG-FUT-sweep
bú-vū ní kum
 CM-house DEF inside
 ‘Even if s/he is sick s/he will sweep the room.’

9.1.3.9 Sequential clauses

Sequential clauses in Tafi are introduced by **ká** ‘then’. They express states of affairs that occur after the state of affairs represented in a preceding clause. For example, the apodosis of a conditional sentence can be introduced by **ká** ‘then’. Similarly, sequential clauses in procedural and narrative discourses that occur in sequence may be linked in discourse through **ká** ‘then’. A clause final **é** particle may terminate such **ká** clauses. This is exemplified in (114) - (116).

114. Ónúg’ óféké kitukún ótrō kíkúísí ní ká ópuoyíko é.
ónú.gi ó-féké ki-tukú ní ó-trō kíkúísí ní
 COND 2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF SM-put.on CM-knee DEF
[ká ó-pĩ bu-yíko é]
 then 2SG.DEP-be.good CM-take CFM
 ‘When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it on your head.’ (Proverb #30)
115. Óny’ ósí bubí ko ká ótsí ’ólí é.
ó-nyí ó-sí bu-bí ko
 2SG-know SM-COMP 3SG-cooked just
[ká ó-tsí bulí é]
 then 2SG.DEP-take.off 3SG CFM
 ‘You get to know that it is well-cooked and then you take it off (the fire).’
 (Palm oil)

116. Buayabe 'ebóé ko ká ótsyínā 'lí.
bu-ba-yabá **kibóé** **ko** [**ká** **ó-tsyínā** **bulí**]
 3SG-PRSPROG-boil little just then 2SG.DEP-turn 3SG
 'It will boil a little, then you pour it out.' (Palm oil)

9.2 Coordination

This section looks at coordination in Tafi. I discuss how constituents are conjoined into larger units. In Tafi, coordination is expressed by overt coordinators, i.e. it is usually syndetic (see e.g. Haspelmath 2007 for types). Coordinators in the language include **ni** 'COM', the comitative preposition which is used as conjunction to link NPs (§9.2.1), **kúf** 'CONJ' which is another conjunctive marker used to connect clauses (§9.2.2), the disjunctive markers **pín33/alo(o)/lo(o)** 'or' (§9.2.3) and the adversative markers **pə/gaké**⁶³ 'but' (§9.2.4).

9.2.1 The NP coordinator **ni** 'COM'

As already indicated in Chapter 4, **ni** 'COM' is used to link NPs. The sentences in (117) and (118) illustrate the conjoining of simple NPs while (119) exemplifies the conjoining of a simple NP and a complex NP.

117. Áv'iedziním édédzí bawi ni bafókpa.
á-vi **ke-dzi** **ní** **kumu** **é-dé-dzí** **ba-wi** **ni**
 2SG-go CM-market DEF inside SM-ITIVE-buy CM.PL-dress COM
ba-fókpa
 CM.PL-shoe
 'S/he went to the market and bought dresses and shoes.'
118. Béyí shú n'atróé n'akpló.
bé-yí **shú** **ni** **a-tróé** **ni** **a-kpló**
 3PL-kill REFL COM CM.PL-arrow COM CM.PL-spear
 'They killed themselves with arrows and spears.'
119. Adzín gi áányān ni y'eyín ábá m'upáním.
a-dzĩ **ní** **gi** **á-á-nyā** **ní**
 CM-woman DEF REL 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick TOP
ni **yí** **e-yí** **ní** **bá-bá** **mí** **bu-pá**
 COM 3SG.IND CM-child DEF SM-come 1SG.IND CM-house
ní **kumu**
 DEF inside
 'The woman who is sick and her child came to my house.'

⁶³ **gaké** is a loanword from Ewe.

The comitative **ni** has an additive meaning in (117) and (118). In (119) it yields a comitative reading.

9.2.2 The conjunctive marker **kuł** ‘CONJ’

The conjunctive marker **kuł** is the most frequently used connector in Tafi. It is used to link two different types of clauses. In one case, it is used to link clauses of equal rank as shown in (120) and in the other case, it introduces a main clause linked to a dependent clause as in (121).

120. Akú étsi butsikpín kuł Ésí átó ’éd5ń.
Akú é-tsi bu-tsikpĩ ní kuł Ésí á-t5 kí-d5
 Akú SM-wash CM.PL-pot DEF CONJ Ésí SM-cook CM-thing
nĩ
 DEF
 ‘Aku cleaned the pots and Esi cooked the food.’
121. Gı áashĩ adzĩń ’úpánĩm ní kuł y’átsánĩ y’edzini.
gı á-a-shĩ a-dzĩ ní bu-pá
 REL 3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-leave CM-woman DEF CM-house
nĩ kumi ní kuł yĩ á-tsánĩ yĩ e-dzini
 DEF inside TOP CONJ 3SG.IND SM-meet 3SG.IND CM-wife
 ‘As he was leaving the woman’s house he met his wife.’

The conjunction **kuł** ‘CONJ’ cannot be used to link VPs within a sentence. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (122).

122. *Ésí átó ’éd5 kuł ŋa.
Ésí á-t5 kí-d5 kuł ŋa
 Ésí SM-cook CM-thing CONJ eat
 ‘Esi cooked and ate.’

9.2.3 The disjunctive markers **pín55/ pún55/aló(ó)/ló(ó)** ‘or’

As already stated in § 4.2.2, **pín55/pún55** ‘or’ is the linker used to connect noun phrases when one wants to give or express other options or choices. Both forms are used interchangeably. Speakers also use **aló(ó)** or **ló(ó)** ‘or’ which are borrowed from Ewe. The disjunctive markers are also used to link sentences as in (125) and (126). (123) and (124) illustrate NPs linked by the disjunctive marker. (126) is an example of a yes/no question in which two alternative clauses are present linked by **pún55**.

123. Máwúto ábaŋa fufuo pín55 kumukó.
Máwúto á-ba-ŋa fufuo pín55 kú-mukó
 Máwúto SM-FUT-eat fufu DISJ CM-red.rice.porridge
 ‘Mawutor will eat fufu or red rice porridge.’
124. Kofi pín55 Ámā ábavi.
Kofi pín55 Ámā á-ba-vi
 Kofi DISJ Ama SM-FUT-go
 ‘Kofi or Ama will go.’
125. Ítínýí tɪ al’ódzyí pún55 tɪ evē?
í-tí-nyí tɪ a-lí ɔ-dzyí pún55
 1SG-NEG1-know COMP 3SG.DEP-be.at SM-sweetness DISJ
tɪ e-vē
 COMP 3SG.DEP-be.bitter
 ‘I don’t know whether it is sweet or bitter.’
126. Ápí sí ávi ’uyem pún55 aza apém?
á-pí sí á-vi bu-ya kum pún55
 3SG-want COMP 3SG.DEP-go CM-farm inside DISJ
a-za bu-pá kum
 3SG.DEP-stay CM-house inside
 ‘Does he want to go to the farm or to stay at home?’

Like **kulí** ‘CONJ’, the disjunctive markers do not seem to be used to conjoin VPs.

127. *Ópí ɔsí ɔshí pún55 za apém?
ó-pí ɔ-sí ɔ-shí pún55 za bú-pá
 2SG-want SM-COMP 2SG.DEP-leave DISJ stay CM-house
kum
 inside
 ‘Do you want to leave or stay at home?’

The disjunctive markers can be used in alternative and tag questions (see §8.2.2 and §8.2.3 for further details).

9.2.4 The adversative markers **po/gaké** ‘but’

Adversative co-ordination is expressed by **po** or **gaké**. **Gaké** is a loanword from Ewe.

128. Ídzí ékū telí po étíbékē.
í-dzí é-kū te-lí po é-tí-békē
 1SG-buy CM.PL-yam AM-INDEF but 3PL-PERF-finish

‘I bought some yams but they got finished.’

129. ... ónúgɪ aní wɔ́, ótsokú klí óbokoéyí gaké ónúgɪ w'ódózúré fufuón óɲa,
 ótsokú kígbán'iesí ko kígbán ímunɔ́ wɔ́ zũũ k'ótsí.
ónú.gɪ **aní** **wɔ́** **ó-tsokú** **ɪ-klí** **ó-bo-koéyí**
 COND NEGCL 2SG.IND 2SG-enter CM-there SM-FUT-exit
gaké **ónú.gɪ** **wɔ́** **ó-dó-zúré** **fufuó** **ní** **ó-ɲa**
 but COND 2SG.IND SM-ITIVE-steal fufu DEF SM-eat
ó-tsokú **kí-gba** **ní** **ke.sí** **ko** **kí-gba** **ní**
 2SG-enter CM-falling.trap DEF under just CM-falling.trap DEF
kí-munɔ́ **wɔ́** **zũũ** **ká** **ó-tsí**
 SM-swallow 2SG IDEO.sound then 2SG.DEP-die
 ‘... if it is not you, if you enter in there you will get out but if it is you who
 went and ate the stolen fufu if you went under the falling trap it will fall on
 you then you die.’ (Gbaxálí)

In (129), the adversative marker **gaké** links two complex sentences both involving conditionals.

9.2.5 The correlative disjunctive marker **o(o)...**(**o(o)**)

The correlative disjunctive marker is used to conjoin clauses that are opposites as exemplified below. At times, the second part of this marker is left out as shown in (132).

130. Áɲe 'édɔ́ oo adɲe 'édɔ́ oo ábamɔ́ shuím?
á-ɲa **kí-dɔ́** **oo** **a-dɪ-ɲa** **kí-dɔ́** **oo**
 3SG-eat CM-thing DISJ 3SG-NEG2-eat CM-thing DISJ
á-ba-mɔ́ **shú** **kɪmɪ**
 3SG-FUT-see body inside
 ‘Whether she eats or not she will grow fat.’
131. Óbhíti 'idzyɔ́gɔ́ o, óbhíti 'izizi o, wɔ́ n'áhɔɪ.
ó-bhíti **kɪ-dzyɔ́gɔ́ o** **ó-bhíti** **kɪ-zizi** **o** **wɔ́** **mɪ**
 2SG-do CM-good DISJ 2SG-do CM-bad DISJ 2SG.IND COM
a-hɔɪ
 CM-hand
 ‘Whether you do good or you do bad, you do it for yourself.’

132. Ésí ábav'idzoem ónúgɪ ámɔ sɪká oo ádɪmɔɛ tsyɪʔ.
 Ésí **á-ba-vɪ** **ki-dzo** **kumɪ** **ónú.gɪ** **á-mɔ** **sɪká**
 Ésí SM-FUT-go CM-road inside COND 3SG.DEP-see money
oo **á-dɪ-mɔ** **yí** **tsyí**
 DISJ 3SG.DEP-NEG2-see 3SG also
 'Whether Esi has money or not she will travel.'

The chapter has presented various means deployed in Tafi to form multi-clausal units. These involve embedding clauses in other units (relativisation and complementation) as well as strategies for connecting clauses to other clauses to form larger units in discourse coordination and the linking of adverbial clauses. In the next chapter, we look at the way in which verbs are integrated in mono-clauses.

