Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

Leiden University
Repository

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20916 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Bobuafor, Mercy
Title: A grammar of Tafi
Issue Date: 2013-05-30

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 **nɪ́**; which is heterosemous with the definiteness marker.[61] The treatment of embedded and dependent clauses as topics is an areal feature (see e.g. Ameka 1990; 2010; Saah 2010; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002; Dakubu 1992).

9.1.1 Relative clauses

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

---

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

relative clauses. In English, for instance, non-restrictiveness is indicated prosodically in spoken discourse and set off by comma in written discourse as shown in (1b). Even though the equivalent of the English non-restrictive clause in (1b) is (1a) in Tafi, there is no formal difference between such relative clauses providing non-restrictive information and those providing restrictive information. A relative clause in Tafi is a postnominal modifier introduced by the invariant relative marker **gɪ** 'REL' and most often terminates with the relative clause final particle **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.   Sɛptémbɛ 'ɛwī gbáántɔ̄ gɪ lɪbadzī kípā ní búamína yí.
        Sɛptemba   kí-wī   gbáántɔ̄   [gɪ   lɪ-ba-dzī   kípā
        September   CM-day   first   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-be   Saturday
        ní]   bú-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.   Ányíń gɪ áányāń étsí 'ívūń.
        á-nyí   ní   [gɪ   á-á-nyā   ní]   é-tsí
        CM-man   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick   TOP   3SG-die
        kí-vūń
        CM-yesterday
        'The man who is sick died yesterday.'

3.   Ámā étúkú 'ítúkú gɪ lɪlí fukuu.
        Ámā   é-túkú   ki-túkú   [gɪ   lɪ-lí   fukuu]
        Ama   SM-carry   CM-load   REL   3SG.DEP-be.at   IDEO.light
        'Ama carried a load which is light.'

4a.   Kɪpɔtíń g'íbhui ní kɪpĩ kodzyɔ.
        kɪ-pɔtí   ní   [gɪ   í-bhui   ní]   kɪ-pĩ   kodzyɔ
        CM-cloth   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-cut   TOP   3SG-be.good   very
        'The cloth which I bought is very beautiful.'

4b.   ayǐ ní gɪ idzí ní lekpe adí ikotoku tɪlī́.
        a-yǐ   ní   [gɪ   i-dzí   ní]   le-kpe
        CM.PL-bean   DEF   REL   1SG.DEP-buy   TOP   3PL-be.plenty
        a-dí   i-kotoku   tɪ-lī́
        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 **gɪ** and it precedes the relative clause. The relative clause is in turn followed by **ní**, which is the same as the definiteness and topic markers. Here, I gloss this marker as 'TOP', i.e. topic. Within the relative clauses in (1a) and (2), the subject position is filled by a dependent pronoun which cross-references the head noun on the verb. This pronoun agrees with the head noun in number and class whereas in (4), where the object of the verb **bhui** 'cut' is co-referential with the head of the relative clause, the object is left unexpressed so a gap is left in this position in the relative clause.

Moreover, where the NP head together with its the relative clause functions as subject of the matrix clause, a subject pronominal form, as opposed to the subject marker (SM) form, occurs on the verb of the matrix clause and agrees with it. Evidence that this form on the matrix clause verb is a subject pronominal form rather than a subject marker comes from the classes for which these two forms are different. These classes are the **o-**, **i-**, a^2 and the **bu-** classes. Thus in example (7) and (9) below, where the head noun **bupá** 'house' belongs to the bu^1- class, the verb of the matrix clause is marked with the **bu-** subject pronominal form. Recall that the **bu-** classes do not have an SM. Similarly, in example (4b), the head noun belongs to the a^2- class whose subject marker is **a-/e-** but the subject pronominal form is **la-/le-**, and **le-** is the form used to mark the subject on the verb of the matrix clause. Unlike these examples, the form marking the subject on the matrix clause agreeing with the head noun **ányí** 'man' is **e-** which belongs to the a^1- class. For the a^1- class, both the SM and the subject pronominal form have the same realisations **a-/e-**. In conformity with the other classes where a distinction is made between the SM and the subject pronominal form, the **e-** form in example (2) and similar ones such as **kɪ-** 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 **gɪ**
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' ɪalɪabhā ádɔkasíń áshīlɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī
        ke-gbu ní [gɪ kalí kabhā á-dɔkasí ní á-shīlɔ́
        CM-chair DEF REL 3SG.IND top   CM-teacher DEF SM-leave
        ke-plukpá ní] ke-dzyínī
        CM-book DEF 3SG-break
        'The chair on which the teacher left the book is broken.'

7.   Bʊpa ní gɪ bʊlímɪ lamɔ́ḿ ní bʊtsyra.
        bu-pa   ní   [gɪ bʊlí kɪmɪ la-mɔ́   mí ní]
        CM-house   DEF REL 3SG.IND inside 3PL.DEP-born 1SG TOP
        bʊ-tsyra
        3SG-collapse
        'The house in which I was born collapsed.'

9.1.1.1   Internal structure of relative clauses

As was earlier mentioned, the relative clause in Tafi consists of the relative clause
introducer **gɪ** 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:

      <u>Figure 1.   Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy</u>
      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.   Ayadı ní gı ávı Igẽ ní áányā.

a-yadı	**ní**	**[gı**	**á-vı**		**Igẽ**	**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.   Bʋpá ní g'lʋɗama dí sɔlime 'uvū ní bʋtā.

bʋ-pá	**ní**	**[gı**	**lʋ-ɗama**	**dí**	**sɔlime**
CM-house	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-be.tall	surpass	church

bú-vū	**ní]**	**bʋ-tã**
CM-building	DEF	3SG-be.burnt

'The house that is taller than the church got burnt.'

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

9.1.1.1.2   Object relativisation: objects in transitive and ditransitive constructions

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

10.   Awi ní gı adzınúvɔ̄ɛ̃ń ákpí ní átsywῑ̄.

a-wi	**ní**	**[gı**	**a-dzınúvɔ̄ɛ̃**	**ní**	**á-kpí**	**Ø**	**ní]**	**á-tsywῑ̄**
CM-dress	DEF	REL	CM-girl	DEF	SM-wear		TOP	3SG-tear

'The dress the girl is wearing is torn.'

11.   Bʋpáń gı évudzuń ákasí ányíń mʋyí lunū.

bʋ-pá	**ní**	**[gı**	**é-vudzu**	**ní**	**á-kasí**	**á-nyí**
CM-house	DEF	REL	CM-mason	DEF	SM-show	CM-man

ní	**Ø]**	**mʋyí**	**lu-nū**
DEF		1SG.POSS	3SG.DEP-COP

'The house which the mason showed the man is mine.'

12.   Ányíń gɪ évudzuń ákasí bʊpáń áshī̄.
       á-nyí   ní   [gɪ   é-vudzu   ní   á-kasí   Ø   bʊ-pá
       CM-man   DEF   REL   CM-mason   DEF   SM-show   CM-house
       ní]   á-shī̄
       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 **kpí** 'wear' in the relative clause is null whereas the Theme object position in (11) and the Dative object position in (12) after the verb **kasí** 'show' are also empty. These objects are co-referential with the heads of their respective relative clauses.

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

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

13.   Bafʊkpǎ ní gɪ m'en'edzí ákɔ́ m'adzya ní bézi.
       ba-fʊkpǎ   ní   [gɪ   mí   é-nī   e-dzí   [Ø]
       CM.PL-shoe   DEF   REL   1SG.IND   CM-mother   SM-buy
       á-kɔ́   mí   á-dzya   ní]   bé-zi
       SM-give   1SG.IND   CM-brother   TOP   3PL-spoil
       'The shoes which my mother bought for my brother are spoilt.'

14.   Ádɔkasíń gɪ yí Ámā áákɔ sɪkáń ákɔ́ ní, ádɔ así sɪkań álílá.
       á-dɔkasí   ní   [gɪ   yí   Ámā   á-yíkɔ   sɪká   ní
       CM-teacher   DEF   REL   3SG.IND   Ámā   SM-take   money   DEF
       á-kɔ́   Ø   ní]   á-dɔ   a-sí   sɪka   ní   á-lílá
       SM-give   TOP   3SG-say   SM-COMP   money   DEF   SM-be.lost
       'The teacher who Ama gave the money to said that the money is missing.'

9.1.1.1.4   Prepositional objects: locative and comitative

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

15.   … blɔakāl'óbúdí gɩ la yíko evunɔ dénɔ̄ blema ké ní bʊpá gɩ leklǔ sí
          Kágbɔ́ém̄.
blɔ̌	a-ka-alɪ́	ó-búdí	gɩ	la-yíko	be-vunɔ
1PL.IND	CM-father-PL	CM-fetish	REL	3PL.DEP-take	SM-hold

dénɔ̄	blema	ké	ní	bʊ-pá	[gɩ	le-klǔ	Ø
from	olden.days	INT	LOC	CM-house	REL	3PL.DEP-call	

sí	Kágbɔ́ém̄]
COMP	Kagbɔɛm
          '… The fetish of our forefathers which they had from the olden days in the clan known as Kagbɔɛm.'   (Butse)

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

16a.   Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ ní osubhanɪabhā.
Ésí	á-tɔ	kɪ́-dɔ̄	ní	o-subha	ní	kábhā
Esi	SM-cook	CM-thing	LOC	CM-hearth	DEF	top
          'Esi cooked on the hearth.'

16b.   Osubha ní gɩ ɔlɪabhā Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ ní lɔyɛ̌.
o-subha	ní	[gɩ	ɔlí	kábhā	Ésí	á-tɔ́	kɪ́-dɔ̄
CM-hearth	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	top	Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing

ní	]	lɔ-yɛ̌
TOP		3SG-break
          'The hearth on which Esi cooked is broken.'

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

an alternative of this preposition **nɔ** is used. This happens also in Ewe and Fon where when the object of the prepositions **ɖé** 'ALL' in Ewe and **nú** 'for/on behalf of' in Fon are extracted from their original positions through relativisation their counterparts **ɖó** and **ná** respectively replace them.

17.   Ɔ́kā tɪnɔ nɪ pétéé, bʊdzɔ úlílíń ɔ́kɔtsyáká nɪ bʊdzɔ nɪ pétéé g'lú kpasí gazéním.

ɔ́-ká	**tɪ-nɔ́**	**ní**	**pétéé**	**bʊ-dzɔ**	**ú-lílíní**
2SG-squeeze	CM-chaff	DEF	all	CM-palm.oil	AM-DIST

ɔ́-yíkɔ	**ɔ-tsyáká**	**nɪ**	**[bʊ-dzɔ**	**ní**	**pétéé**	**gɪ**
2SG-take	2SG-mix	COM	CM-palm.oil	DEF	all	REL

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

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

18.   Kawíń gɪ áyadɪń étɛ́ ósíń nɔ̄ ní kédzyínī

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

nɔ̄	**ní]**	**ké-dzyínī**
COM	TOP	3SG-break

'The axe which the farmer cut the tree with is broken.'

19.   Áyadɪń étɛ́ osíń nɪ kawíń.

á-yadɪ	**ní**	**é-tɛ́**	**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.   Báanyíń gɪ balɪ'ʊpá bʊlí ɖama dí sɔlime 'ʊvu ní bábá.

báá-nyí	**ní**	**[gɪ**	**balí**	**bʊ-pá**	**bʊlí**	**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. Ímɔ ányíń gɩ y'ádzyramʋáń étsíń.

í-mɔ	á-nyí	ní	[gɩ	yí	á-dzyramʋá	ní
1SG-see	CM-man	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	CM-cat	DEF

é-tsí	ní]
SM-die	TOP

'I saw the man whose cat died.' (Lit.: I saw the man who his cat died.')

22. Anúvɔ̄ń gɩ y'ídɔń wɔ́yíkɔ 'ŋań éébi yiyo.

a-núvɔ̄	ní	[gɩ	yí	kí-dɔ	ní	wɔ́	ɔ́-yíkɔ
CM-child	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	CM-thing	DEF	2SG.IND	SM-take

ɔ́-ŋa	ní]	é-é-bi.yiyo
SM-eat	TOP	3SG-PRSPROG-cry

'The child whose food you ate is crying.' (Lit.: 'The child who his thing you take eat …')

In (20) and (21), the possessed NPs as heads of possessive phrases functioning as subjects of the relative clauses are marked by the independent pronouns **bʋlí** '3SG.IND' and **yí** '3SG.IND' respectively. In (20), the possessed NP belongs to the **bu¹-** class so it is not cross-referenced on the verb in the relative clause. The possessed NP in (21) is cross-referenced on the verb **tsí** 'die' with **e-**. In (22), however, the possessive NP is the shared object of V1 and V2 so it is marked with a gap in the relative clause. The subject of the relative clause is the independent form of the 2SG pronoun **wɔ́** and it is crossed-referenced on both V1 and V2.

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

23. Kegbu ní g'ɩalɩabhā ádɔkasíń áshῑlɔ́ keplukpáń édzyínī.

ke-gbu	ní	[gɩ	kalí	kabhā	á-dɔkasí	ní	á-shῑlɔ́
CM-chair	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	top	CM-teacher	DEF	SM-leave

ke-plukpá	ní]	ke-dzyínī
CM-book	DEF	3SG-break

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

24. Bʋpa ní gɩ bʋlímɩ Esí ámɔ́ y'eyíálí ní bʋtsyra.

bʋ-pa	ní	[gɩ	bʋlí	kɩmɩ	Esí	a-mɔ́	yí
CM-house	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	inside	Esi	SM-bear	1SG.IND

e-yí-alí	ní]	bʋ-tsyra
CM-child-PL	TOP	3SG-collapse

'The house in which Esi gave birth to her children collapsed.'

9.1.1.2   Types of phrases that can head the relative clause

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

25.   Obúdī ní lonú obúdī tolí gɪ lonú blɔ akal'óbúdī.
        o-búdī   ní   lo-nú   o-búdī   to-lí   [gɪ
        CM-fetish   DEF   3SG-COP   CM-fetish   AM-INDEF   REL
        lo-nú   blɔ̌   á-kā-alí   o-búdī]
        3SG.DEP-COP   1PL.IND   CM-father-PL   CM-fetish
        'This fetish is a fetish which is for our fore-fathers.'   (Butsé)

26.   Ényí ídɔ̄nɔ́ń gɪ ábabhítí.
        é-nyí   kí-dɔ̄   nɔ̂   ní   [gɪ   á-ba-bhítí]
        3SG-know   CM-thing   wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-do
        'He knows what he will do.'

27.   Bétínyí ɔ́kɔ́nɔ́ń gɪ lu dé.
        bé-tí-nyí   ɔ-kɔ́   nɔ̂   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.   Ănɔ̂ ní g'ebedzi anɔ̂ tutɔpuń …
        ǎ.nɔ̂   ní   [gí   e-be-dzi   a-nɔ̂   tutɔpu
        3SG.wh.ever   DEF   REL   3SG.DEP-FUT-become   CM-person   first
        ní   ]
        TOP
        'Whoever will be the first person …'   (Kásālā)

29.   Ányínyáányí gɪ anyáápɪ̄ ekus'edzeyíń ásí tɪ agbanɔ ko nía …
        á-nyí-nyáá-á-nyí   [gɪ   á-nyá-á-pɪ̄
        CM-man-DISTR-CM-man   REL   3SG.DEP-CERT-PRSPROG-want
        ekusi.edzeyí   ní   a-sí   tɪ   a-gbanɔ
        CM-king.female.child   DEF   SM-COMP   COMP   3SG.DEP-marry
        ko   ní   a   ]
        just   TOP   CFM
        'Any man who really wants to marry the princess …'   (Kásālā)

30. Kɪkányááká gɪ nɔɔnyɔ́yíkɔ̄ ko kɪbadzí tʊbha tʊbha ní nɔ ahɔɪmɪ oo.

kɪ-kányááká	[gɪ	nɔ-bɔ-nyɔ́-yíkɔ	ko]	kɪ-ba-dzí
CM-every	REL	2PL.**DEP**-FUT-CERT-take	just	3SG-FUT-become

tɪ-bha	tɪ-bha	ní	nɔ	a-hɔɪ	kɪmɪ	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. Oḓotí 'ʊyań gɪ láadí ní…

o-ḓotí	bʊ-ya	nɪ́	[gɪ	lá-a-dí	nɪ́]
CM-cotton	CM-farm	DEF	REL	3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-cultivate	TOP

'The cotton farm they were cultivating ...'

32. Ámā étúkú 'ítúkú gɪ lɪlí fukuu.

Ámā	é-túkú	ki-túkú	[gɪ	lɪ-lí	fukuu]
Ama	SM-carry	CM-load	REL	3SG.DEP-be.at	IDEO.light

'Ama carried a load which is light.'

33. Wɔ́ gɪ ɔtɔ́ɔ́ga tsyí

wɔ́	[gɪ	ɔ-tɔ́ɔ́-ga	tsyí]
2SG.IND	REL	2SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-walk	even

'You who cannot even walk.' (Kásālā̃)

34. Kofi ní gɪ y'ébúkú 'ulu 'ivuń áshɪ̄̃

Kofi	ní	[gɪ	yí	é-búkú	bʊ-lu	ki-vu
Kofi	DEF	REL	3SG.IND	SM-be.drunk	CM-drink	CM-yesterday

ní]	á-shɪ̄̃
DEF	3SG-leave

'Kofi who got drunk yesterday has left.'

35. Báába 'klí gɪ kásālā̃ éébho 'ivun

bá-á-ba	ɪ-klí	[gɪ	ká-sālā̃
3PL-PRSPROG-come	CM-there	REL	CM-tortoise

é-é-bho	ki-vu	ní]
SM-PRSPROG-beat	CM-drum	DEF

'They are coming where tortoise is beating the drum.' (Kásālā̃)

36. … ɔnánɪ̄ kibe nɔ̂ 'ibe gɪ bʊbazɪyabá….

ɔ-nánɪ̄	ki-be	nɔ̂	ki-be	[gɪ	bʊ-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 gɪ látɔ̄ ʊdzɔ ní Baagbɔ.

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

'This is how palm oil is prepared in Tafi.' (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 osíním̄ gı y'ázha 'dzıń …
       ká-sālā   **e-dé-wu**   **e-kú**   **o-sí**   **ní**   **kımı**
       CM-tortoise SM-ITIVE-climb   SM-reach CM-tree DEF   inside
       gı   **yí**   **á-zha**   **ɔ-dzı**   **ní**
       REL   3SG.IND SM-sing   CM-song DEF
       'Tortoise went and climbed into the tree and he sang the song...' (Kásālā)

39.   … gı banɔ́ań bálɔ́ átɔ́nɔ̄ kásālā.
       gı   **ba-nɔ́**   **a-ní**   **bá-lɔ́**   **bá-tɔ́nɔ̄**   **ká-sālā**
       REL   CM.PL-person   AM-PROX   SM-get.up SM-follow   CM-tortoise
       '… then all these people rose up against tortoise.' (Kásālā)

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

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

40.   Ónúgı léétén' 'ʋlɔ́ń k'óshu' un'ɔkp'álí 'ábhā.
       Ónú.gı   **lé-é-ténɔ̄**   **bʋ-lɔ́**   **ní**   **ka**
       COND   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start   CM-rise   TOP   then
       ó-shui   **bʋ-ní**   **ɔ́-kpí**   **alí**   **kábhā**
       2SG.DEP-fetch   CM-water   SM-put.in   3PL   top
       'When/ if it starts rising then you add water.'   (Palm oil)

Perhaps the relative marker is developing into a clause linker.

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

41. Gɩ latrɔ́ kitsikpǐ ni 'ifúń pɩ kesín aá ...

gɩ	la-trɔ́	ki-tsikpǐ	ní	ki-fú	ní	pɩ
REL	3PL.DEP-put.on	CM-pot	DEF	CM-fire	DEF	CONN

ke-sí	ní	aá
CM-down.part	DEF	CFM

'When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...'   (Kásālā)

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

42. Gɩ ekusí ní gɩ áza ɔman unú kibe ílílíń ní así nɔ̌ɔ̃.

Gɩ	e-kusí	ní	gɩ	á-za	ɔ-ma	ní
REL	CM-chief	DEF	REL	3SG.DEP-be.at:NPRES	CM-town	DEF

bu.nú	ki-be	í-lílíń	ní	a-sí	nɔ̌ɔ̃
mouth	CM-time	AM-DIST	TOP	SM-say	no

'So the chief who was ruling at that time said "no".' (Butsé)

The relative marker combines with an appropriate pronoun to form a relative pronoun. For instance, **bagɩ** (43); **agɩ** (44); and **bugɩ** (45).

43. Bag' aplúnɔ̌ɛ́, bag'adzɛ́ édɔ́ń, ébeklǔ álí.

ba-gɩ	bá-plúnɔ̌	yí	ba-gɩ	bá-dza	kí-dɔ́	ní
3PL-REL	SM-help	3SG	3PL-REL	SM-cut	CM-thing	TOP

é-be-klu	balí
3SG-FUT-call	3PL

'Those who helped him, those who cleared the bush, he would call them.'

44. W'ágɩ ɔ́bá, w'ágɩ ɔdɩbá wɔ tsyí óbohu ivū óó.

wɔ́	a-gɩ	ɔ́-bá	wɔ́	a-gɩ	ɔ-dɩ-bá
2SG.IND	3SG-REL	SM-come	2SG.IND	3SG-REL	SM-NEG2-come

wɔ́	tsyí	ó-bo-hu	kí-vū	óó
2SG.IND	too	SM-FUT-hit	CM-tomorrow	UFP

'You who come, you who do not come you will also dehusk (yours) in the future.'   (Kásālā)

45. Ɔ́yɩ bʊdzɔn tsy' ɔ́kpí bʊg' ɔ̌tíyĩ́íábhā.

ɔ́-yɩ	bʊ-dzɔ	ní	tsyí	ɔ́-kpí	bʊ-gɩ
2SG-scrape	CM-palm.oil	DEF	too	SM-put.in	3SG-REL

ɔ́-tí-yī	ní	kabhā
SM-PERF-scrape	TOP	top

'You scrape the palm oil also and add to that which you have already scraped.'   (Palm oil)

9.1.2   Complement clauses

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

46.	Utterance:	**ɖɔ** 'say'; **sí** 'say'; **tsiré** 'tell'; **klǔ** 'call'; **bísī** 'ask'; **dá** 'deny'; **ɖo.ŋgbe** 'promise'; **ká otú** (lit. 'say by the gun') 'promise'; **kpí kifú** (lit. 'put.in fear') 'threaten'; **ká atábú** (lit. 'say oath') 'swear an oath, pledge'; **bú … kʊmɪ** (lit. 'remove … inside') 'explain'; **bú … kesí** (lit. remove … under) 'explain'
	Perception-cognitive:	**mɔ** 'see'; **dí** 'look' **nú** 'hear'; **bákā** 'remember'; **dzíkī** 'forget'; **susu** 'think'; **nyí** 'know', **tī** 'know, be aware'; **yíkī ŋa** (lit. 'receive eat') 'believe'; **mɔ dzesi** (lit. see recognise) 'recognise'
	Manipulative:	**kɔ́** 'give; cause; let; make'; **bhɪtī** 'make'
	Desiderative:	**pí** 'want', 'desire'; **dí kidzoɪm** (lit.: 'look road inside') 'hope'

	Modality expressions:		
	alasí (tɪ)	'it is necessary that'
	kɪlí sí	'it is necessary that'
	kɪtɔ́	'it is necessary'
	kɪzhɪā̄	'it is necessary'
	kɪw̃í	'it appears'
	kɪlí ’mɪ dánī	'it is obvious' (lit. 'its inside open')
	kɪlí ’mɪ bhui	'it is apparent' (lit. 'its inside cut')
	kɪlí ’mɪ tsá	'it is obvious' (lit. 'its inside clear')

---

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

47. Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukūním̄.

e-di-súsú	a-sí	bá-ba-kíka	yí	ní	sukū
3SG-NEG2-think	SM-COMP	3PL-FUT-sack	3SG	LOC	school

ní	kʋmʋ
DEF	inside

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

48. Ɔ́dɔ 'sí w'adzy' áshī̄ ávʋ Igɛ̃.

ɔ́-dɔ	ɔ-sí	wɔ́	á-dzyā	á-shī̄	á-vʋ
2SG-say	SM-COMP	2SG.IND	CM-brother	SM-leave	SM-go

I-gɛ̃
CM-Accra

'You said that your brother left for Accra.'

49. Kof' ényí s'ɔ́ɔshī̃

Kofí	é-nyí	sí	ɔ́-ɔ́-shī̃
Kofí	SM-know	COMP	2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-leave

'Kofi knows that you are leaving.'

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

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

50. Ádɔkasíń ákasí banʋ́vɔ̃n así lebu banɔ́ shishe.

á-dɔkasí	ní	á-kasí	ba-nʋ́vɔ̃	ní	a-sí
CM-teacher	DEF	SM-teach	CM.PL-child	DEF	SM-COMP

le-bu	ba-nɔ́	shi-she
3PL.DEP-respect	CM.PL-person	RED-grow

'The teacher taught the children that they should respect elderly people.'

51. M'en' étsire Agoe así átʋvʋ.

mí	é-nī	é-tsire	Agoe	a-sí
1SG.IND	CM-mother	SM-tell	Agoe	SM-COMP

á-tʋ-vʋ
3SG.DEP-NEG1-go

'My mother told Agoe that she should not go.'

52. Kibe ílílíní ɔs' ɔgbanɔ ádzíń al'así tɪ w'andz' eklú wɔ sí ɔdɔwa 'ʊya kɔé
     flôgo tɪ akɔ w'adzɪn t'ɔgbanɔ.

ki-be	í-lílíní	ɔ-sí	ɔ-gbanɔ	a-dzɪ̀	ní
CM-time	AM-DIST	2SG-say	2SG.DEP-marry	CM-woman	TOP

[a-lí	a-sí	tɪ	wɔ	á-yĩ̌ndzɪ	é-klú]
3SG-be.at	SM-COMP	COMP	2SG.IND	CM-mother.in.law	SM-call

wɔ	[sí	ɔ-dɔ-wa	bʊ-ya	kɔ	yí]	flôgo
2SG.IND	COMP	2SG.DEP-ITIVE-do	CM-farm	DAT	3SG	before

[tɪ	á-kɔ	wɔ	a-dzɪ̀	ní]	tɪ
COMP	3SG.DEP-give	2SG.IND	CM-woman	DEF	PURP

ɔ-gbanɔ]
2SG.DEP-marry

'In those days if you want to marry a wife, your mother-in-law must call
you to go and work on her farm before she gave you the woman to marry.'

(Gbaxálĩ̄)

53. Bakpí y'íw̃ǐ alasí bádɔ sí y'éyí y'akā.

ba-kpí	yí	kɪ-w̃ǐ	alasí	bá-dɔ
3PL-put.on	3SG	CM-shame	because	3PL-say

sí	yí	e-yí	yí	á-kā
COMP	3SG.IND	SM-kill	3SG	CM-father

'He was disgraced because he was said to have killed his father'.

54. Ábhítɪ sí kidzi nukúnú kɔ anʊɪáánɔ g' édé ɔma bhlatɔ́éɱ̃ tsyí gɪ ábámɔ

á-bhítɪ	sí	ki-dzí	nukúnú	kɔ
3SG-make	COMP	3SG-become	wonder	DAT

a-nɔ́-nyáá-á-nɔ́	gɪ	é-dé
CM-person-DISTR-CM-person	REL	3SG.DEP-come.from

ɔ-ma	bhlatɔ́	kɪmɪ	tsyí	gɪ	á-bá-mɔ
CM-town	second	inside	too	REL	3SG.DEP-VENT-see

'It made it that it became a wonder for people from other places as well
who visit the place.'   (Butse)

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

55. Kɪmʊkɔ́ gige ní Baagbɔ kɪlínū sí ɔɔpí amɔ́ …

kɪ-mʊkɔ́	gi-ge	ní	Baagbɔ	ní	kɪlí-nū
CM-rice.dish	RED-drive	LOC	Tafi	TOP	3SG.IND-COP

sí	ɔ́-bɔ-pí	a-mɔ́
COMP	2SG.DEP-FUT-look.for	CM-rice

'Red rice porridge preparation in Tafi is that you will look for rice …'

(Kɪmʊkɔ́)

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

9.1.2.1 Complement of 'want'

The complement of p͡ɪ 'want' is typically introduced by sɪ́ followed by the irrealis complementiser tɪ as in (56).

56. …gaké ɔman ɔɔ́p͡ɪ sɪ́ tɪ ti sɪ́ pɔ bʊ́nya ɖʊ́wē bʊlɪ́ téŋú yí yí kpata anā dza?

gaké	ɔ-ma	nɪ́	ɔ-ɔ́-p͡ɪ		sɪ́	tɪ	ti
but	CM-town	DEF	SM-PRSPROG-want		COMP	COMP	know

sɪ́	pɔ	bú-nya	ɖʊ́wē	bʊlɪ́	téŋú	yí	yí
COMP	but	CM-sickness	which	3PL.IND	be.able	kill	3SG

kpata	ká-nā	dza
suddenly	CM-manner	UFP

'… however the elders want to know which sickness caused his sudden death?'

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

57. Ɔ́p͡ɪ ɔsɪ́ ɔvɪ 'ʊyɛm pʊ́nɔ̄ɔ̄ ɔza apɛ́m̄?

ɔ́-p͡ɪ	ɔ-sɪ́	ɔ-vɪ	bʊ-ya	kɪmɪ	pʊ́nɔ̄ɔ̄
2SG-want	SM-COMP	2SG.DEP-go	CM-farm	inside	DISJ

ɔ-za	bʊ-pá	kɪmɪ
2SG.DEP-stay	CM-house	inside

'Do you want to go to the farm or to stay at home?'

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

58. Kibúí nɔ̂ nɪ́ so gɪ noóklŭ 'lɔ́ nɪ́ bʊp͡ɪ sɪ́ tɪ nɔwɔ́l'ɪl'olú.

ki-búí	nɔ̂	nɪ́	so	gɪ	no-ɔ́-klŭ	blɔ̌
CM-matter	wh.ever	DEF	so	REL	2PL.DEP-PRSPROG-call	1PL

nɪ́	[bʊ-p͡ɪ]	sɪ́	tɪ	nɔ-wɔ́lɪ	kɪlɪ́
TOP	1PL-want	COMP	COMP	2PL.DEP-drop	3SG

no-lú]]
2PL.DEP-put

'The matter because of which you called us we would like you to tell us.'

There is variation as to whether the irrealis complementiser tɪ always follows the sɪ́ 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 **lι** 'be.at' – **alasí** and **kιlι sí** – can optionally be followed by the irrealis complementiser **tι**.

59.   Así ní alasí (tι) ɔ́bá

     a-sí   **ní**   **a-lí**   **a-sí**   **(tι)**   **ɔ́-bá**

     3SG-say   TOP   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   (COMP)   2SG.DEP-come

     'S/he said that you should come.'

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

60.   Am'as'ɔ́bá

     a-má   **a-sí**   **ɔ-bá**

     3SG-be.at:NEG   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-come

     'You should not come.'

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

Sí can be used as a main verb of speaking as used in the proverbs in (61) and (62). As a verb, it can co-occur with preverbs such as the negative and future markers as in (63a) and (63b) respectively. Unlike Akan where the complementiser **sɛ** cannot co-occur with the verb **se** 'say' from which it has grammaticalised, the Tafi complementiser **sí** coccurs with the verb **sí** 'say' from which it grammaticalised as shown in (64). Similar to Akan but unlike Tafi, the Ewe complementiser **bé** cannot coccoour 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 tídι yí.

     e-nyī   **a-sí**   **yí**   **ki-kutú**   **tí-dι**   **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.   Ónúgι ɔsí átítanyí ní étíbebíʔ.

     ónú.gι   **ɔ-sí**   **á-tí-tanyí**   **ní**

     COND   2SG.DEP-say   3SG-NEG1-burn   TOP

     é-tí-be-bí

     3SG-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked

     'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or

well-cooked.'   (Proverb #25)

63a. Adısí ábabɛ 'ɛvū.
     a-dı-sí   **á-ba-bá**   **kí-vū**
     3SG-NEG2-say   3SG.DEP-FUT-come   CM-tomorrow
     'He did not say he will come tomorrow.'

63b. Ayadıń ábas'abadɛ 'ɛkū kokooko.
     a-yadı   **ní**   **á-ba-sí**   **á-ba-ɖa**   **kí-kū**
     CM-farmer   DEF   SM-FUT-say 3SG.DEP-FUT-plant   CM-yam
     kokooko
     by.all.means
     'The farmer will say he will plant yam by all means.'

64. Έɛ, kásālā y'ahũım áásī s'adzā.
     éɛ   **ká-sālā**   **yí**   **á-w̃õhu**   **kımı** **á-á-sí**
     INTJ CM-tortoise 3SG.IND CM.PL-eye   in   SM-PRSPROG-say
     sí   **a-dzā**
     COMP   3PL.DEP-become.red
     'Tortoise is becoming desperate.'

65a. Íɖɔ sí "bá!"
     í-ɖɔ   **sí**   **bá**
     1SG-say COMP   come
     'I said come!'

65b. Ekusíń ásí "bʋıa bepidzya lɔ́fɔ̃ kɔɱ́!"
     e-kusí   **ní**   **a-sí**   **bʋıa** **be-pidzya** **lɔ́-fɔ̃**   **kɔ́**   **mí**
     CM-chief DEF   SM-say   pay   CM.PL-goat MOD-ten DAT   1SG
     'The chief says "pay me 10 goats!"'.

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

66. Tiklǔ woenī y'enyínē edzini ɔsí w'enī …
     ti-klú   **wɔ́**   **é-nī**   **yí**   **e-nyínē**   **e-dzini**
     NEG1-call 2SG.IND CM-mother 3SG.IND CM-husband CM-wife
     ɔ-sí   **wɔ́**   **é-nī**
     SM-COMP 2SG.IND CM-mother
     'Do not call your mother's co-wife your mother …'   (Proverb #28)

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

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

67.   Balɪ tsy' etsiré lɔ sí ní ɔwashui bávʊbɔ́ anɔ̄ békē ko ní ká báwa kúnú zi
       ɖeká.

       balɪ́   **tsyí**   **be-tsiré** **blɔ̌**   **sí**   **ní**   **ɔwashui** **bá-vʊbɔ́**
       3PL.IND   too   SM-tell   1PL   COMP   TOP   tuesday   3PL-bury

       a-nɔ̄   **békē**   **ko**   **ní**   **ká**   **bá-wa**   **kúnú**
       CM-person   COMPL   just   TOP   then   3PL-do   funeral

       zi   **ɖeká**
       times   one

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

68.   Ítsire wɔ sí ní élē kídɔ̄ ní gɪ edzi nɪ w'áhɔɪ ní adɪsɪ ababʊɪa.

       i-tsiré   **wɔ́**   **sí**   **ní**   **élē**   **kí-dɔ̄**   **ní**   **gɪ**
       1SG-tell   2SG   COMP   TOP   CFM   CM-thing DEF   REL

       é-é-dzi   **ní**   **wɔ́**   **a-hɔɪ**   **ní**
       3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-buy   LOC   2SG.IND   CM-hand   TOP

       a-dɪ-sí   **á-ba-bʊɪa**
       3SG-NEG2-say   3SG.DEP-FUT-pay

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

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

69.   Edisúsú ásí bábakíka yí ní sukūním̄.

       e-di-súsú   **á-sí**   **bá-ba-kíka**   **yí**
       3SG-NEG2-think   SM-COMP   3PL-FUT-sack   3SG

       ní   **sukū**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
       LOC   school   DEF   inside

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

70.   Adɪyík'aŋa 'sí bábakíka yí ní sukū.

       a-dɪ-yíkɪ   **á-ŋa**   **a-sí**   **bá-ba-kíka**   **yí**
       3SG-NEG2-receive   SM-eat   SM-COMP   3PL-FUT-sack   3SG

       ní   **sukū**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
       LOC   school   DEF   inside

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

71. M'enī áɖɔ sí átáányā áyǐ ko al'ékúí.

mí   é-nī   á-ɖɔ   sí
1SG.IND CM-mother   SM-say   COMP

á-táá-nyā   á-yǐ   ko   alí
3SG.DEP-NEG:PRSPROG-be.sick   CM.PL-laziness   just   3PL.IND

é-kú   yí
SM-reach   3SG

'My mother says that he is not ill but just lazy.' (Lit. 'My mother says he is not ill, laziness just reached him.')

72. M'adá áɖɔ así edizurú kɪdzya ní pɔ kakudzɔgĕ ní kal' áyíkɔ 'ɛlí.

mí   á-dá   á-ɖɔ   a-sí   e-di-zurú
1SG.IND CM-sister SM-say   SM-COMP   3SG.DEP-NEG2-steal

kɪ-dzya   ní   pɔ   ka-kudzɔgĕ   ní   kalí   ka-yíkɔ   kɪlí
CM-meat DEF   but   CM-dog   DEF   3SG.IND SM-take   3SG

'My sister says that she did not steal the meat but that it was taken by the dog.'

9.1.3   Adverbial clauses

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

9.1.3.1   Conditional clauses

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

73. Ónúgɪ ɔsí atɪtanyí ní étíbebíʔ.

ónú.gɪ   ɔ-sí   a-tɪ-tanyí   ní
COND   2SG.DEP-say   3SG-NEG1-burn TOP

é-tí-be-bí
SM-NEG1-FUT-be.cooked

'If you do not want what you want to roast to burn it will not be done or well-cooked.'   (Proverb #25)

74. Ónúgɩ ónyí ɔ́sí ɔ́ɔ́lɔ̄ ní bátífɔ̄ otshutshúí ní ɔhɛ'eshíʔ.
     ónú.gɩ   **ó-nyí**   **ɔ́-sí**   **ɔ́-ɔ́-lɔ̄**
     COND   2SG.DEP-know   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-PRSPROG-smell
     ní   **bá-tí-fɔ̄**   **o-tshutshúí**   **ní**   **ɔ-ha**   **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 ónúgɩ étsí ní y'ísígbé wɔ̄ y'odziré 'íábhā kibenyéébe.
     e-kusí   **te-lí**   **á-za**   **ónú.gɩ**   **é-tsí**   **ní**
     CM-king   AM-INDEF   3SG-be.at:NPRES   COND   3SG.DEP-die TOP
     yí   **kí-sígbé**   **wɔ̄**   **yí**   **ó-dziré**   **kábhā**
     3SG.IND   CM-ring   remain   3SG.IND   CM-grave   top
     ki-be-nyáá-ki-be
     CM-time-DISTR-CM-time
     'There was a king, when he died his ring remained on his grave.'
                                          (Riddle # 12)

76. Ônú tɩ báákān enú sí onupɩ bávʊbɔ́ anɔ́n ko kibékē dza?
     ó-nú   **tɩ**   **báá-kā**   **ní**   **be-nú**   **sí**   **onu.pɩ**
     2SG-hear   PURP CM.PL-father   DEF   SM-hear   COMP   COND
     bá-vʊbɔ́   **a-nɔ̄**   **ní**   **ko**   **ki-békē**   **dza**
     3PL-bury   CM-person   DEF   just   3SG-finish   UFP
     'You hear (it) so that the elders hear: if the person is buried, is that
     the end?'

77. Kofí ásí ábashī́ ónúgɩ súbha adɩdɔʔ.
     Kofí   **á-sí**   **á-ba-shī́**
     Kofi   SM-say   3SG.DEP-FUT-leave
     ónú.gɩ   **súbha**   **a-dɩ-dɔ**
     COND   rain   SM-NEG2-land
     'Kofi said he will leave if it did not rain.'

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

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

78. Ɔtsɔ́lī̄, gɩ ibú lááw̃ĩnɔ so ní ónúgɩ anɩ wɔ́ ótsokú klí óbokoéyī ...
     ɔtsɔ́lī̄   **gɩ**   **i-bú**   **lá-á-w̃ĩ-nɔ**   **so**
     now   REL   CM-trial.by.ordeal   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-drink-COM   so

ní   [ónú.gɪ   aní   wɔ́   ó-tsokú   ɪ-klí   ó-bo-koéyī]
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…'   (Gbaxálī̃)

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' 'ʊlɔ́n k'oshu' 'un' ɔkp' ál'íábhā.
     ónú.gɪ   lé-é-ténɔ́   bʊ-lɔ́   ní
     COND   3PL.DEP-PRSPROG-start   CM-rise   TOP
     ka   o-shui   bʊ-ní   ɔ-kpí   alí   kábhā
     then   2SG.DEP-fetch   CM-water   SM-put.in   3PL.IND   top
     'When it starts rising then you add water.'   (Palm oil)

80. Ónúgɪ kihuǐ duya kedē líyī.
     Ónú.gɪ   ki-huǐ   duya   ke-de   lí-yī
     COND   CM-trap   spring   CM-back   3SG.DEP-show.up
     'When a trap springs, it moves backwards.'   (Proverb #9)

81. Ónúgɪ ɖeke évu wɔ́ ní y'eyíálí bʊtī látī ní anɔ́ 'ɛvʊɪabhā.
     ónú.gɪ   ɖeke   é-vu   wɔ́   ní   yí   e-yí-alí
     COND   crocodile   SM-catch   2SG   TOP   3SG.IND   CM-child-PL
     bʊ-tī   lá-tī   ní   a-nɔ́   ki-vu   kabhā
     CM-crawl   3PL.DEP-crawl   LOC   CM-person   CM-stomach   top
     'When a crocodile captures you (even) baby crocodiles will crawl on your
     belly.'   (Proverb #33)

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

82. Ɔ́sí oní ní g'ɔ́sísí ní kɪbhlʊxɔéníésí lɔtɪsísī ɔdo 'iesí so ótimín'ɔlí ní
     ɔg'ɔkpasí kɪbhlʊxɔénɪmɪ bʊbalɪ lɔ́balɪ kú anɔ́ āmīʔ.
     ɔ́-sí   o-ní   ní   gɪ   ɔ́-sísí   ní   kɪ-bhlʊxɔéní
     2SG-say   CM-soup   DEF   REL   3SG-drip   LOC   CM-ladle   DEF
     ke.sí   lɔ-tɪ-sísī   ɔ-dɔ́   ke.sí   so   ó-ti-mínī   ɔlí
     down   3SG.DEP-NEG1-drip   SM-land   down   so   2SG-DESID-lick   3SG
     ní   ɔ-gɪ   ɔ-kpasí   kɪ-bhlʊxɔéní   kɪmɪ   bʊ-balɪ
     TOP   3SG.REL   SM-be.in   CM-ladle   inside   CM-pour
     lɔ́-balɪ   kú   a-nɔ́   ā-mī
     3SG.DEP-pour   ALL   CM-person   CM-face

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

9.1.3.2   Temporal clauses

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

83.   Gɩ latrɔ́ 'itsikpǐ ni 'ifúń pɩ kesín á ...

gɩ	**la-trɔ́**	**ki-tsikpǐ**	**nɩ́**	**ki-fú**	**nɩ́**	**pɩ**
REL	3PL.DEP-put.on	CM-pot	DEF	CM-fire	DEF	CONN

ke-sí	**nɩ́**	**á**
CM-bottom	DEF	CFM

'When they put the pot on the fire and the down part...'   (Kásãlã)

84.   Kɩtɔkpú tíza ákpíkpá pɩ layíkɔ kikutú ekumú 'íkuísíʔ.

kɩ-tɔkpú	**tí-za**	**ákpíkpá**	**pɩ**	**la-yíkɔ**	**ki-kutú**
CM-head	NEG1-stay	empty	CONN	3PL.DEP-take	CM-hat

be-kumú	**kí-kuísí**
SM-cover	CM-knee

'We do not put the cap on the knee while the bare head lies waiting.'

(Proverbs #21)

85.   Gɩ odun ɔbá nɩ́ kokoko w̃ũn'ónū bámanɩ́ alasí tɩ bútsi kú kɔ́ nɔ́ sí kána lídzyɔ nɩ́ lɔ́íábhā.

gɩ	**o-du**	**nɩ́**	**ɔ-bá**	**nɩ́**	**kokoko**	**w̃ũnɔ́**
REL	CM-message	DEF	SM-come	TOP	by.all.means	2PL.IND

no-nū	**bá-manɩ́**	**a-lɩ́**	**a-sí**	**tɩ**
SM-COP	CM-town.people	3SG-be.at	SM-COMP	COMP

bú-tsi	**kú**	**kɔ́**	**nɔ́**	**sí**	**ká-nā**
1PL-announce	death	DAT	2PL	COMP	CM-manner

lí-dzyɔ	**nɩ́**	**blɔ̌**	**kábhā**
3SG.DEP-happen	LOC	1PL.IND	top

'As soon as the message came, you being the elders of the town, it is necessary that we inform you about the death.'   (Butsíugū)

86.   Pɩ latsí 'itsikpǐ nɩ́ pɩ 'al'ááhwa hlohlohlo p'itsikpíń íwɔ́lɩ̄ nɩ́… agboyaa

pɩ	**la-tsí**	**ki-tsikpǐ**	**nɩ́**	**pɩ**	**kalɩ́**
CONN	3PL.DEP-take.off	CM-pot	DEF	CONN	3SG.IND

ká-á-hwa	**hlohlohlo**	**nɩ́**	**pɩ**	**ki-tsikpǐ**	**nɩ́**
SM-PRSPROG-move	IDEO	TOP	CONN	CM-pot	DEF

kɩ-wɔ́lɩ̄	**nɩ́**	**agboyaa**
SM-fall	TOP	IDEO.sound

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

87.   Así oo ko gı lédékú anʊ́íánɔ́ amáʔ.
a-sí   oo   ko   gı   lé-dé-kú
3SG-say   INTJ   INTJ   REL   3PL.DEP-ITIVE-reach
a-nɔ́-nyáá-a-nɔ́   a-má
CM-person-DISTR-CM-person   SM-be.at:NEG
'They said when they reached there is nobody there'   (Kásālā)

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

88.   Ko badzīń ákpasí 'ımɛm ko gı léeyú 'ívú ko ní ní sā́hwĩ̄ tsyí évu alɔ́ ádákpasí kımanımı ééyu 'ívú plínɔ bekus'edziniń.
ko   ba-dzī̄   ní   bá-kpasí kı-ma   kımı   gı
just   CM.PL-woman   DEF   SM-be.in CM-dancing.ring   inside REL
lé-e-yú   ki-vu   ko   ní   ní   sā́hwĩ̄
3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-dance   CM-dance   just   TOP   TOP   spider
tsyí   é-vu   a-lɔ́   á-dá-kpasí   kı-ma   ní
too   SM-catch SM-get.up   SM-ITIVE-be.in CM-dancing.ring   DEF
kımı   é-é-yū   ki-vu   plínɔ   be-kusí
inside 3SG-PRSPROG-dance CM-dance   add   CM.PL-chief
e-dzini   ní
CM-wife   DEF
'Suddenly, just as the women were in the dancing ring, as they were dancing, spider also got up he went inside the dancing ring dancing with the queens.'   (Sā́hwĩ̄)

9.1.3.2.1   'Before' clauses

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

89.   Flôgo tɪ ɔ́bɔgbánɪ́ ní ɔkɔn 'unú tútúútú ní alasɪ tɪ ɔ́mɔ aɖaká téɖíkpó …
       [flôgo   tɪ   ɔ́-bɔ-gbánɪ̄   yí   ní   ɔ-kɔ
       before   COMP   2SG.DEP-FUT-marry   3SG   LOC   CM-custom
       ní   bu.nú   tútúútú   ní]   a-lɪ́   a-sɪ́   tɪ
       DEF   mouth   exactly   TOP   3SG-be.at   SM-COMP   COMP
       ɔ́-mɔ   a-ɖaká   te-ɖikpó
       2SG.DEP-see   CM-box   AM-one
       'Before you marry her according to the exact custom, you must get one
       suitcase …'

90.   Flôgo g'ŏbotsyínā 'lí ní óbotsódzī nɪ tɪnɔ́ élílíní ɔ́ka pétéé
       [flôgo gɪ   ó-bo-tsyínā   bulí   ní]   ó-bo-tsódzī-nɪ
       before REL   2SG.DEP-FUT-turn   3SG   TOP   2SG-FUT-return-COM
       tɪ-nɔ́   í-lílíní   ɔ́-ká   pétéé
       CM-chaff   AM-DIST   SM-squeeze   all
       'Before you will pour it (the water) out, you will have to completely
       squeeze that chaff again.'   (Palm oil)

91.   ɪmɔsa tɪtá ɪlí láayíkɔ agbá kikpekpením̄ flôgo pɪ abahɔ asrá vʊvɔ akpí.
       ɪ-mɔsa   tɪ-tá   ɪlí   lá-ba-yíkɔ
       CM-handful.of.rice.stalk   AM-three   3PL.IND   3PL.DEP-FUT-take
       ba-gbá   ki-kpekpe   ní   kɪmɪ   [flôgo pɪ
       SM-sweep   CM-snuff.box   DEF   inside   before CONN
       a-ba-hɔ   a-srá   vʊvɔ   a-kpí]
       3SG.DEP-grind   CM-tobacco   new   SM-put
       'It is three handfuls of rice stalks that will be used to clean the inside of the
       snuff-box before she will grind new tobacco to put into it.'   (Sáhwĩ̄)

92.   Ɔ́tíflá Tamale flô' p'obokū Asanti Dadzyra beditsyáń.
       ɔ́-tí-flá   Tamale   flôgo pɪ   o-bo-kú   Asanti
       2SG-PERF-pass   Tamale   before CONN   2SG-VENT-reach   Asanti
       Dadzyra   be-ditsyá   ní
       Dadzyra   CM.PL-outskirts   DEF
       'you would have already passed Tamale before you reach Asanti Dadzyra.'
                                                                              (Kásālā)

9.1.3.3   Purpose clauses

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

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

93. Áába tɩ abayíkɔ̄ anúvɔ̄ń 'ufuo tɩ akɔé.

á-á-ba	[tɩ	a-ba-yíkɔ	a-núvɔ̄	ní
3SG-PRSPROG-come	PURP	3SG.DEP-VENT-take	CM-child	DEF

fufuo]	[tɩ	a-kɔ	yɩ́]
fufu	PURP	3SG.DEP-give	3SG

'She is coming to take the child's fufu to give to him.'   (Gbaxálῑ̃)

94. Tɩ efek' ónúgbú tɩ aɖɔ así "duya" kɩgbań ítizhí ííbā.

[tɩ	efeké	o-nugbu]	[tɩ	a-ɖɔ
PURP	3SG.DEP-lift	CM-mouth	PURP	3SG.DEP-say

a-sí	"duya"]	kɩ-gba	ní	ki-ti-zhí
SM-COMP	"spring"	CM-falling.trap	DEF	SM-PERF-descend

kí-í-bā
SM-PRSPROG-come

'At the opening of his mouth to say "spring" the trap was already coming down.'   (Gbaxálῑ̃)

95. Dan' onugbu t'ɔɖɔ ɩaɖɔ tɩ lenú.

danɩ	o-nugbu	[tɩ	ɔ-ɖɔ	ka-ɖɔ]	[tɩ
open	CM-mouth	PURP	2SG.DEP-speak	CM-speech	PURP

le-nú]
3PL.DEP-hear

'Open your mouth and speak for them to hear.'   (Sáhwῑ̃)

96. Akaábʊbɔ tɩ ebu 'ɩdzya tilí ko kásãlã kplǒ kawɔ́lῑ kῦ ketsukpúníṁ.

a-ka-á-bʊbɔ	tɩ	e-bú	kɩ-dzya
3SG-PERS-PRSPROG-bend	PURP	3SG.DEP-remove	CM-meat

ti-lí	ko	ká-sãlã	kplǒ	ka-wɔ́lῑ	kú
AM-INDEF	just	CM-tortoise	IDEO.sound.of.falling	SM-fall	ALL

ke-tsukpú ní	kɩmɩ
CM-pot DEF	inside

'Just as he bent again to pick another piece of meat, tortoise fell inside the pot.'   (Kásãlã)

97. Kɩlí y'áv'ɩazań sí tɩ adayɔ ɩapamíń.

kɩlí	yɩ́	á-vɩ	ka-za	ní	sí	tɩ
CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-go	CM-camp	DEF	COMP	COMP

a-da-yɔ́	ká-pamí	ní
3SG.DEP-ITIVE-sharpen	CM-cutlass	DEF

'So he went to the camp to/ in order to whet his cutlass.'   (Gbaxálῑ̃)

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

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

9.1.3.4 Reason clauses

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

98. Gı Doxwě enú adzınúvɔ̄ɛ̄ dzyɔgǒ so Folí ádımí y'ibúí kóŋ́.

gı	**Doxwě**	**e-nú**	**a-dzınúvɔ̄ɛ̄**	**dzyɔgǒ**	**so**	**Folí**	**á-dımí**
REL	Doxwě	SM-COP	CM-girl	good	so	Foli	SM-like

yí	**ki-búí**	**kóŋ́**
3SG	CM-matter	INT

'Because Doxwě is a good girl Foli loves her so much.'

99. Bhʊbhī̄ tíyī anɔ́ pı lakpí kíkūgbɛ 'ɛfú.

bhʊbhī̄	**ti-yī**	**a-nɔ́**	**pı**	**la-kpí**
CM-hunger	NEG1-kill	CM-person	CONN	3PL.DEP-set

kí-kūgba	**ki-fú**
CM-yam.barn	CM-fire

'You don't set fire to your yam barn because you are hungry.'

(Proverbs #54)

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

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

100. …alasí ní élē otroeleté ovutɔ́ ní ní bétítsú ɔlí 'ífú bʋpʋɪ lápʋɪ ɔlíʔ.
      alasí   ní   élē   o-tro.eleté   o-vutɔ́   ní   ní
      because   TOP   CFM   CM-lie.owner   CM-roof   DEF   TOP
      bé-tí-tsú   ɔlí   kí-fú   bʋ-pʋɪ   lá-pʋɪ   ɔlí
      3PL-NEG1-set 3SG CM-fire CM-scatter 3PL.DEP-scatter 3SG
      '…the reason is that the roof of a dishonest man's hut is never burnt, it is dismantled piece by piece.'   (Gbaxálī̄)

101. Kofí ádɪmí Doxwě 'íbúí alasí adzɪnúvɔ̄ē dzyɔgǒ y'enú.
      Kofí   á-dɪmí   Doxwě   ki-búí   alasí   a-dzɪnúvɔ̄ē   dzyɔgǒ
      Kofi   SM-like   Doxwě   CM-matter   because   CM-girl   good
      yí   e-nú
      3SG.IND SM-COP
      'Kofi loves Doxwě because she is a good girl.'

9.1.3.5   Result clauses

The subordinator **klĭso** 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 **klĭso** is illustrated in (103) and (104). (102) – (104) are taken from stories.

102. Átáábā ɔmanímɪ zɪazɪa so banɔ́ átíkaámɔ y'édzyesi.
      á-táá-bā   ɔ-ma   ní   kɪmɪ   zɪazɪa   so
      3SG-NEG:PRSPROG-come   CM-town DEF   inside IDEO.fast   so
      ba-nɔ̂   bá-tí-ka-á-mɔ   yí   be-dzyesi
      CM.PL-person SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-see 3SG   SM-recognise
      'He has not been coming to town often so people did not recognise him.'
                                                                    (Sáhwĩ̄)

103. Klĭso gɪ anɔ́dzyrámī n'aga bátíkaázanɪ áglɔ̄.
      klĭso   gɪ   a-nɔ́dzyrámī   nɪ   a-ga
      so   REL   CM-human.being   COM   CM-animal
      bá-tí-ka-á-zanɪ   á-glɔ̄
      SM-NEG1-PERS-PRSPROG-marry   RECIP
      'As a result, human beings and animals do not marry each other anymore.'
                                                                    (Kásālā)

104. Ádɔ sí ní a ɔtsɔ̂ ní ébeklú 'ál'enyí klĭso ní a ónúgɪ ázakp' ɔ́dzɪñíésí ní a badɔ sí ní ní a …

á-ɖɔ   sí   ní   a   ɔtsɔ̂   ní   é-be-klú   balí
3SG-say   COMP   TOP   CFM   now   TOP   3SG-FUT-call   3PL

e-nyí   klǐso   ní   a   ónú.gɪ   á-za-kpí
CM.PL-name   so   TOP   CFM   COND   3SG.DEP-REP-put.in

ɔ-dzɪ   ní   ke.sí   ní   a   ba-ɖɔ   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…'   (Sáhwĩ́)

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

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

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

9.1.3.6   Simultaneous Clauses

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

106.   Gɪ éetsi 'utsikpǐnímī ní Akú áatɔ 'ɛdɔ̃.
       gɪ   é-e-tsí   bu-tsikpǐ   ní   kɪmɪ   ní   Akú
       REL   3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-clean   CM.PL-pot   DEF   inside TOP   Akú
       á-a-tɔ   kí-dɔ̃
       SM-PRSPROG-cook   CM-thing
       'While she was cleaning the pots Aku was cooking.'

107.   Gɪ láabáń bábálɪlɛ́ 'édzó.
       gɪ   lá-a-bá   ní   bá-bá-lɪlá   ki-dzo
       REL   3PL.DEP-PSTPROG-come   TOP   3PL-VENT-lose   CM-road

'While they were coming they got lost.'

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

108. Bábálɪlɛ́ 'édzó gɪ láabáń.
  bá-bá-lɪlá   **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. Kánī lagbáá, bagbáá, adzyatā ávɪ ékóéyī, kehúí ávɪ kekóéyī.
  ká-nā   **la-gbáá**   **ba-gbáá**   **a-dzyatā**   **á-vɪ**   **é-kóéyī**
  CM-manner   3PL.DEP-IDEO 3PL-IDEO   CM-lion   SM-go   3SG-exit
  ke-húí   **ká-vɪ**   **ke-kóéyī**
  CM-antelop SM-go   3SG-exit
  'That was how they went on and on and on, lion went he came out, antelope went he came out.'   (Gbaxál̄ɪ̃)

110. B'otsiré 'úlɔ́ ní 'k̃ɪ́ń kánā leklui.
  ba   **o-tsiré**   **bʊlɔ́**   **ní**   **ɪ-k̃ɪ**   **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.'   (Sáhwī̄)

111. Balí xū́ń étínyí ásí ní kánā sáhwī̄ édékpú kɔ́ álí, énú bal'enyí gɪ le klú
  balí   **xū́n**   **bé-tí-nyí**   **bá-sí**   **ní**   **ká-nā**
  3PL.IND as.for 3PL-NEG1-know   SM-COMP   TOP   CM-manner
  sáhwī̄   **é-dé-kpú**   **kɔ́**   **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.' (Sáhwī̄)

9.1.3.8   Concessive clauses

Like conditional clauses, concessive clauses are introduced by **ónú.gɩ** or **ónú.pɩ**
'COND' and they end with the adverbs **kóráá** 'even' followed by **tsyí** 'also, too'.
For example,

112.   Ónúgɩ Nání étínyí klí kóráá tsyí ábavɩʔ.
      ónú.gɩ   **Nání** **é-tí-nyí**   **ɩ-klí**   **kóráá tsyí**   **á-ba-vɩ**
      COND   Naní SM-NEG1-know CM-there even   too   3SG-FUT-go
      'Even if Nani does not know the place he will go.'

113.   Ónúgɩ áányā kóráá tsyí ábagba 'uvunɩ́m̄.
      ónú.gɩ   **á-á-nyā**   **kóráá tsyí**   **á-ba-gba**
      COND   3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick even   too   3SG-FUT-sweep
      bú-vū   **ní**   **kɩmɩ**
      CM-house   DEF inside
      'Even if s/he is sick s/he will sweep the room.'

9.1.3.9   Sequential clauses

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

114.   Ónúg' óféké kitukúń ɔ́trɔ kíkuísí ní ká ɔ́pʊʊyíkɔ é.
      ónú.gɩ   **ó-féké**   **ki-tukú** **ní**   **ɔ́-trɔ**   **kí-kuísí** **ní**
      COND   2SG.DEP-lift CM-load DEF   SM-put.on   CM-knee DEF
      [**ká**   **ɔ́-pĩ**   **bu-yíkɔ** **é**]
      then   2SG.DEP-be.good CM-take CFM
      'When you lift the load onto your knee it becomes easier to help you put it
      on your head.'   (Proverb #30)

115.   Óny' ɔ́sí bubí ko ká ɔtsí 'úlí é.
      ó-nyí   **ɔ́-sí**   **bu-bí**   **ko**
      2SG-know   SM-COMP 3SG-cooked just
      [**ká**   **ɔ-tsí**   **bʊlí** **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. Bʋayabɛ 'ɛbɔ́ɛ́ ko ká ótsyínā 'lí.
       bʋ-ba-yabá   **kɪbɔ́ɛ́ ko [ká ó-tsyínā   bʋlí]**
       3SG-PRSPROG-boil   little   just   then 2SG.DEP-turn   3SG
       'It will boil a little, then you pour it out.'   (Palm oil)

9.2   Coordination

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

9.2.1   The NP coordinator **nɪ** 'COM'

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

117. Áv'iedziním̄ édédzí bawi nɪ bafʋkpǎ.
       á-vɪ   ke-dzi   ní   kɪmɪ é-dé-dzí   ba-wi   nɪ
       2SG-go   CM-market   DEF   inside SM-ITIVE-buy   CM.PL-dress COM
       ba-fʋkpǎ
       CM.PL-shoe
       'S/he went to the market and bought dresses and shoes.'

118. Béyí shú n'atrɔɛ́ n'akplɔ.
       bé-yí   shú   nɪ   a-trɔɛ́   nɪ   a-kplɔ
       3PL-kill REFL COM CM.PL-arrow   COM CM.PL-spear
       'They killed themselves with arrows and spears.'

119. Adzīń gɪ áányāń nɪ y'eyíń ábá m'ʋpáním̄.
       a-dzī̀   ní   gɪ   á-á-nyā   ní
       CM-woman   DEF   REL 3SG.DEP-PRSPROG-be.sick   TOP
       nɪ   yí   e-yí   ní   bá-bá   mí   bʋ-pá
       COM 3SG.IND CM-child DEF   SM-come 1SG.IND CM-house
       ní   kɪmɪ
       DEF   inside
       'The woman who is sick and her child came to my house.'

---

[63] **gaké** is a loanword from Ewe.

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

9.2.2   The conjunctive marker **kılí** 'CONJ'

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

120.   Akú étsi butsikpǐń kılí Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ń.
Akú	**é-tsi**	**bu-tsikpǐ**	**ní**	**kılí**	**Ésí**	**á-tɔ́**	**kí-dɔ̄**
Akú	SM-wash	CM.PL-pot	DEF	CONJ	Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing

ní
DEF
'Aku cleaned the pots and Esi cooked the food.'

121.   Gı áashǐ adzīń 'úpáním̄ ní kılí y'átsánī y'edzini.
gı	**á-a-shǐ**		**a-dzì**	**ní**	**bu-pá**
REL	3SG.DEP-PSTPROG-leave		CM-woman	DEF	CM-house

ní	**kımı**	**ní**	**kılí**	**yí**	**á-tsánī**	**yí**	**e-dzini**
DEF	inside	TOP	CONJ	3SG.IND	SM-meet	3SG.IND	CM-wife

'As he was leaving the woman's house he met his wife.'

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

122.   *Ésí átɔ́ 'édɔ̄ kılı ŋa.
Ésí	**á-tɔ́**	**kí-dɔ̄**	**kılí**	**ŋa**
Ésí	SM-cook	CM-thing	CONJ	eat

'Esi cooked and ate.'

9.2.3   The disjunctive markers **pínɔ̄ɔ̄/ púnɔ̄ɔ̄/aló(ó)/ló(ó)** 'or'

As already stated in § 4.2.2, **pínɔ̄ɔ̄/púnɔ̄ɔ̄** '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 **púnɔ̄ɔ̄**.

123. Máwútɔ ábaŋa fufuo pínɔ̄ɔ̄ kɪmʊkɔ́.
    Máwútɔ   **á-ba-ŋa**   **fufuo**   **pínɔ̄ɔ̄**   **kɪ-mʊkɔ́**
    Máwútɔ   SM-FUT-eat   fufu   DISJ   CM-red.rice.porridge
    'Mawutor will eat fufu or red rice porridge.'

124. Kofi pínɔ̄ɔ̄ Ámā ábavɪ.
    Kofi   **pínɔ̄ɔ̄**   **Ámā**   **á-ba-vɪ**
    Kofi   DISJ   Ama   SM-FUT-go
    'Kofi or Ama will go.'

125. Ítínyí tɪ al'ɔ́dzyí púnɔ̄ɔ̄ tɪ evē?.
    í-tí-nyí   **tɪ**   **a-lí**   **ɔ̄-dzyí**   **púnɔ̄ɔ̄**
    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. Ápɪ̄ sí ávɪ 'ʊyɛm púnɔ̄ɔ̄ aza apém̄?
    á-pɪ̄   **sí**   **á-vɪ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɪmɪ**   **púnɔ̄ɔ̄**
    3SG-want   COMP   3SG.DEP-go   CM-farm   inside   DISJ
    a-za   **bʊ-pá**   **kɪmɪ**
    3SG.DEP-stay   CM-house   inside
    'Does he want to go to the farm or to stay at home?'

Like **kɪlí** 'CONJ', the disjunctive markers do not seem to be used to conjoin VPs.

127. *Ɔ́pɪ̄ ɔsí ɔshɪ̄ púnɔ̄ɔ̄ za apém̄?
    ɔ́-pɪ̄   **ɔ-sí**   **ɔ-shɪ̄**   **púnɔ̄ɔ̄**   **za**   **bú-pá**
    2SG-want   SM-COMP   2SG.DEP-leave   DISJ   stay   CM-house
    kɪmɪ
    inside
    'Do you want to leave or stay at home?'

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

9.2.4   The adversative markers **pɔ**/**gaké** 'but'

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

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

'I bought some yams but they got finished.'

129. … ónúgɪ aní wɔ́, ótsokú klí óbokoéyī gaké ónúgɪ w'ódózúrú fufuóń ɔ́ŋa,
      ótsokú kɪgban'iesí ko kɪgbań ímʊnɔ wɔ́ zũũ k'ótsí.

ónú.gɪ	aní	wɔ́	ó-tsokú	ɪ-klí	ó-bo-koéyī
COND	NEGCL	2SG.IND	2SG-enter	CM-there	SM-FUT-exit

gaké	ónú.gɪ	wɔ́	ó-dó-zúrú	fufuó	ní	ɔ́-ŋa
but	COND	2SG.IND	SM-ITIVE-steal	fufu	DEF	SM-eat

ó-tsokú	kɪ-gba	ní	ke.sí	ko	kɪ-gba	ní
2SG-enter	CM-falling.trap	DEF	under	just	CM-falling.trap	DEF

kí-mʊnɔ	wɔ́	zũũ	ká	ó-tsí
SM-swallow	2SG	IDEO.sound	then	2SG.DEP-die

'… if it is not you, if you enter in there you will get out but if it is you who
went and ate the stolen fufu if you went under the falling trap it will fall on
you then you die.' (Gbaxálĩ̄)

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

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

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

130. Áŋɛ 'édɔ̄ oo adɪŋɛ 'édɔ̄ oo ábamɔ shúím̄ʔ.

á-ŋa	kí-dɔ̄	oo	a-dɪ-ŋa	kí-dɔ̄	oo
3SG-eat	CM-thing	DISJ	3SG-NEG2-eat	CM-thing	DISJ

á-ba-mɔ	shú	kɪmɪ
3SG-FUT-see	body	inside

'Whether she eats or not she will grow fat.'

131. Ɔ́bhítɪ 'ɪdzyɔgǒ o, ɔ́bhíti 'izizi o, wɔ́ n'áhɔɪ.

ɔ́-bhítɪ	kɪ-dzyɔgǒ	o	ɔ́-bhítɪ	ki-zizi	o	wɔ́	nɪ
2SG-do	CM-good	DISJ	2SG-do	CM-bad	DISJ	2SG.IND	COM

a-hɔɪ
CM-hand

'Whether you do good or you do bad, you do it for yourself.'

132. Ésí ábav'idzoem ónúgɪ ámɔ sɪká oo ádɪmɔɛ tsyíʔ.

Ésí	á-ba-vɪ	ki-dzo	kɪmɪ	ónú.gɪ	á-mɔ	sɪká
Ésí	SM-FUT-go	CM-road	inside	COND	3SG.DEP-see	money

oo	á-dɪ-mɔ	yí	tsyí
DISJ	3SG.DEP-NEG2-see	3SG	also

'Whether Esi has money or not she will travel.'

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