A grammar of Tafi

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10   SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) are widespread in the languages of West Africa and they have been the subject of various studies (e.g. Christaller 1875, Stewart 1963, Osam 2004 on Akan; Westermann 1907, Agbedor 1994, Collins 1997, Ameka 2006 on Ewe; Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002 for Fongbe; Lewis 1993 on Gengbe, Carlson 1994 on Supyire; Bodomo 2002 on Dagaare). There are, nonetheless, difficulties in identifying SVCs which are common to these languages since even within the same language there may be different types (Lord 1993). For instance, it has been suggested that the types of SVCs found in Kwa languages constitute an areal type, however, some variations still exist with regard to the constraints on features of the verbs that combine in these constructions (Ameka 2003, 2005). The goal of this chapter is to examine the properties of serial verb constructions in Tafi. I will explore the constraints on argument sharing among the verbs, and the marking of various categories such as tense-aspect-mood and negation in these constructions. I will also discuss some functional types of SVCs including the benefactive, directional, comparative and instrumental. See Aikhenvald (2006) and Durie (1997) for general overviews of SVCs beyond West Africa.

10.1   Serial Verb Constructions in Tafi

SVCs in Tafi are constructions comprising two or more verbs without any overt marker of coordination or subordination. They share at least one argument and same tense and mood. SVCs in the language can function in various sentence types with different illocutionary forces such as:

I.   Imperatives

1a.   Yíkɔ kesisíń ɔ́mínā!
    yíkɔ   **ke-sisí**   **ní**   **ɔ́-mínā**
    take   CM-mortar   DEF   2SG-bring
    'Bring the mortar!'

1b.   Botsiré úlɔ́ ní 'kĩ ...
    bá   **o-tsiré**   **bʊlɔ́**   **ní**   **ɩ-kĩ**
    come   2SG-tell   1PL   LOC   CM-here
    'Come and tell us here ...'

II.   Declaratives

2a.   Kofĩ áɖɔ kibúíń étsiréḿ.
    Kofĩ   **á-ɖɔ**   **ki-búí**   **ní**   **é-tsiré**   **mí**
    Kofi   SM-say   CM-matter   DEF   SM-tell   1SG
    'Kofi narrated the matter to me.'

2b.   Édzí 'íkū ámínā.
       é-dzí   kí-kū   á-mínā
       3SG-buy   CM-yam   SM-bring
       'He bought yam (and) brought it.'

III.   Questions.

3a.   Ezin es'édékpú xāā?
       e-zi   ní   e-sí   é-dé-kpú   xāā
       CM-thief DEF   SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide   UFP
       'Did the thief run and hid?'

3b.   Akú ábatɔ ɛdɔ̄ áŋa xāā?
       Akú   á-ba-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   á-ŋa   xāā
       Akú   SM-FUT-cook   CM-thing SM-eat   UFP
       'Will Aku cook and eat?'

10.2   Characteristics of Tafi SVCs

The characteristics of SVCs in Tafi are as follows:

4a.   They consist of a series of verbs that function as a single predicate.
4b.   They occur without any overt marker of dependency, i.e., co-ordination or subordination.
4c.   They constitute a single clause.
4d.   The verbs cannot be independently negated.
4e.   They share the same tense and mood, marked only once on the first verb.
4f.   They share at least one argument.
4g.   Each of the verbs can occur independently in a monoverbal clause.
4h.   The verbs can be marked for the same aspect and modality or for different but compatible aspect, modal or directional values.
4i.   The verbs can be independently focused or questioned.

I now elaborate on these characteristics.

SVCs consist of a series of verbs that function as a single predicate as shown in (5c).

They occur without any overt marker of dependency, i.e., co-ordination or subordination. Verbs that occur in SVCs do not occur with any individual conjunction. Thus, if any conjunction should occur between the verbs the construction can no longer be considered as an SVC. Consider the following examples.

5a. Fol' átá bɔ́l' ehú Folitsɛ̌.

Folí á-tá bɔ́lu é-hú Folitsɛ̌
Folí SM-strike ball SM-hit Folitsɛ̌
'Folí struck the ball and hit Folitsɛ̌.'

5b. Fol' átá bɔ́lu kɪlí éhú Folitsɛ̌.

Folí á-tá bɔ́lu kɪlí é-hú Folitsɛ̌
Folí SM-strike ball CONJ 3SG-hit Folitsɛ̌
'Folí struck the ball and it hit Folitsɛ̌.'

5c. Ésí és'étsokú 'uvuním̄.

Ésí é-sí é-tsokú bú-vū ní kɪmɪ
Ésí SM-run SM-enter CM-house DEF inside
'Esi ran into the room.'

5d. Ésí ésí kɪlí étsokú 'uvuním̄.

Ésí é-sí kɪlí é-tsokú bú-vū ní kɪmɪ
Ésí SM-run CONJ 3SG-enter CM-house DEF inside
'Esi ran and entered the room.'

The sentences in (5a) and (5c) are SVCs whereas those in (5b) and (5d) both consist of two clauses which are conjoined by **kɪlí** 'CONJ'.

SVCs constitute a single clause. They can function in a place where a clause can function. For instance, one part of a complex sentence which is a clause can be realised as an SVC. Moreover, since they have the properties of a single verb clause, there cannot be a sentence pause between the component verbs. For example,

6. Kɪlí y'áv'edékpú ní kidzoń 'útɔ́ gɪ badzīń abáága aflá áv'iením̄.

kɪlí [yí á-vɪ é-dé-kpú ní ki-dzo ní
CONJ 3SG.IND SM-go SM-ITIVE-hide LOC CM-road DEF
bʋ.tɔ́] [gɪ ba-dzī ní bá-bá-á-ga
edge REL CM.PL-woman DEF SM-VENT-PRSPROG-walk
bá-flá bá-vɪ ke-ní kɪmɪ]
SM-pass SM-go CM-river inside
'Then he went and hid himself beside the road where the women usually pass to the riverside.' (Sɑ̃́hwī)

The verbs in an SVC cannot be independently negated as shown in (7). The negative marker occurs once per SVC.

7. Agbalʊgba átísa adzī ohui ákɔ́ ánɔ́ʔ.

a-gbalʊgba á-tí-sa a-dzī o-hui á-kɔ́
CM-bachelor SM-NEG1-tie CM-woman CM-charm SM-give

a-nɔ́
CM-person
'A bachelor does not make a credible seller of love charms.' (Proverb #14)

In example (7) the negative marker is expressed with VP₁ however, it has scope over the whole clause. Thus this sentence can be interpreted as a bachelor does not make love charms and does not give love charms to people.

SVCs share the same tense and mood and they are marked only once on the first verb. That is the verbs in the series have the same temporal frame and are in the scope of the same temporal operators. It is thus not possible, for example, for the verbs to take different temporal operators as shown in (8b). Thus while (8a) is an SVC, (8b) where there are different operators is not. By sharing the same tense entails that they express one macro-event (see Bohnemeyer et al. 2007 on Macro-Event Property (MEP)).

8a.   Kɔkú ábatɔ 'ɛdɔ̄ áŋa.
     Kɔkú   á-ba-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   á-ŋa
     Kɔkú   SM-FUT-cook   CM-thing SM-eat
     'Kɔkú will cook and eat.'

8b.   *Kofí átɔ 'ɛdɔ̄ obón ábaŋa 'ɛvū.
     Kofí á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ̄   o-bón   á-ba-ŋa   kí-vū
     Kofi SM-cook CM-thing CM-today   SM-FUT-eat CM-tomorrow
     *'Kofi cooked today and will eat tomorrow.'

The verbs in an SVC share their subject argument which is expressed on each verb as in (9a) (except when it is the 1SG/PL pronoun or a noun from any of the **bʊ**-classes as in (9b)).

9a.   Lɔ́lɪn es' ékú osíním.
     lɔ́lɪ   ní   é-sí   é-kú   o-sí   ní   kɪmɪ
     lorry DEF   SM-run   SM-reach CM-tree DEF   inside
     'The car ran into the tree.'

9b.   Búvū ní tri dí Ofolí úyíń.
     bú-vū   ní   tri   dí   Ofolí   bʊ-yí   ní
     CM-house   DEF   be.big surpass Ofolí   AM-POSSD DEF
     'The house is bigger than Ofoli's own.'

9c.   Ɔtsrí kɔkʊlɔ̄ ɔl'ɔ́vɔ aputɔ́ otiti ɔdzyʊdzyɔń.
     ɔ-tsrí   kɔkʊlɔ̄   ɔlí   ɔ́-vɔ   a-putɔ́
     CM-foot   crooked   3SG.IND SM-besmeared.with   CM.PL-mud
     o-titi   ɔ-dzyʊdzyɔ   ní
     SM-smear   CM-straight DEF

'It is the crooked leg that besmears the straight one with mud.' (Proverb #1)

In example (9a), the lexical subject **lɔ́lɩ** 'car' of the SVC is cross-referenced on the two verbs in the SVC by the subject marker **e-**. However, in (9b), the two verbs are unmarked as the lexical subject **búvū ní** 'the house' belongs to the **bu¹-** class. Example (9c) shows that the subject cross-reference on the subsequent verbs in an SVC is a subject marker (SM) as opposed to a subject pronoun form. Here, the subject of the SVC belongs to the **o-** class where the SM and subject pronoun forms are distinguished. If it were the subject pronoun form the cross-reference marker would have been **lo-**.

Also, shared objects are expressed once with the first verb. As illustrated in (10), all the four verbs share the same object which is **kɩlí** '3SG' expressed only once with the first verb **yɩkɔ́** 'take'.

10.   ... kɩlí áákɔ 'ɛlɩ pétéé áákɔ́ ábal'akpí ketsukpúním̄.
        kɩlí   á-yíkɔ   kɩlí   pétéé   á-yíkɔ   á-balɩ   a-kpí
        CONJ   3SG-take   3SG   all   SM-take   SM-pour   SM-put.into
        ke-tsukpú   ní   kɩmɩ
        CM-pot   DEF   inside
        '... and then she put it all into the pot.'   (Kásālā)

Each verb in an SVC can occur with its own complement (when it is not shared) as in (11). These are multiple object SVCs.

11.   Shui 'uní óplǔ ām̄ɩ.
        Shui   bu-ní   o-plǔ   ā-mɩ
        Fetch   CM-water   2SG-wash   CM-face
        'Fetch water and wash your face.'

Another feature of SVCs in Tafi is that each of the verbs can occur independently in a mono-verbal clause as shown in (12b) and (12c).

12a.   És'ekóéyī.
        é-sî   e-kóéyī
        3SG-run   SM-exit
        'S/he ran out.'

12b.   Ésí.
        é-sî
        3SG-run
        'S/he ran.'

12c.   Ekóéyī.
      e-kóéyī
      SM-exit
      'S/he went/came out.'

The example in (12a) and similar utterances satisfy all other conditions for SVC that the verbs should be able to occur in a mono-verbal clause.

Moreover, the verbs can be marked for the same aspect and modality or for different but compatible aspect, modal or directional values as shown in (13a) – (13c).

13a.   Kalí y'áákɔ avɪnɔ átísɔ 'édɔ̄ nɔ̄.
      kalí   **yí**   **á-yíkɔ**   **a-vɪ-nɔ**   **á-tí-sɔ́**   **kí-dɔ̄**
      3SG.IND 3SG.IND SM-take   SM-go-COM SM-PERF-weed CM-thing
      nɔ̄
      COM
      'That (= cutlass) he took along to do the weeding/to weed with.'

13b.   Kofí ésí édékpú.
      Kofí   **é-sí**   **é-dé-kpú**
      Kofi   SM-run   SM-ITIVE-hide
      'Kofi ran away to hide.'

13c.   Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ́ń áásh'ãv'ʊyɛm.
      á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ   **ní**   **á-á-shī̃**   **á-vɪ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɪmɪ**
      CM-boy   DEF   SM-PRSPROG-leave   SM-go   CM-farm inside
      'The boy is leaving for the farm.'

In (13a), the first two verbs are in the aorist and the third verb is marked for the perfective whereas in (13b), the first verb is in the aorist and the second verb is modified by the itive. In (13c), the first verb is marked for the progressive and the second verb is in the aorist. In example (12a) above, the first and second verbs are both in the aorist.

One of the verbs in an SVC can be independently focused or questioned, as illustrated in (14a) – (14c).

14a.   Bʊshĩ y'áshĩ̄ ãv'ʊyɛm.
      bʊ-shĩ   **yí**   **á-shĩ̄**   **a-vɪ**   **bʊ-ya**   **kɪmɪ**
      CM-leave 3SG.IND SM-leave SM-go   CM-farm inside
      'LEAVE s/he DID leave for the farm.'

14b. Kídē Ámā ébhui 'ıpɔtíń ábhítı nɔ?

    kídē Ámā é-bhui kı-pɔtí ní á-bhítı nɔ

    What Ama SM-cut CM-cloth DEF SM-do COM

    'What did Ama do with the cloth she bought?' (Lit.: 'What did Ama buy the cloth and do (with it)?'

14c. Ébhui 'ıpɔtí áákɔ abhítī 'ídē nɔ?

    é-bhui kı-pɔtí á-yíkɔ a-bhítī kídē nɔ

    3SG-cut CM-cloth SM-take SM-do what COM

    'She bought the cloth and did what with it?'

In (14a), the first verb in the SVC is focused. In Tafi, VP focus is done by preposing a copy of the verb which is prefixed with **bʊ-/bu-** depending on the ATR value of the stem vowel. The verb remains in its normal position and any other relevant marking of focus such as the use of the independent pronoun form if the subject of the clause is realised as a pronominal (see Chapter 6 on topic and focus). In (14b) and (14c) the second VP in each of the SVCs is questioned. In the former, the question word complement of the 'do' verb is fronted for focus while in the latter the question word remains in situ.

Subjects as well as objects of SVCs can also be focused or questioned as the following question-answer pairs illustrate:

15a. Ánī y'ésí édékpû?

    á-nī yí é-sí é-dé-kpú

    AM-who 3SG.IND SM-run SM-ITIVE-hide

    'Who ran and hid?'

15b. Ámā y'ésí édékpú.

    Ámā yí é-sí é-dé-kpú

    Ama 3SG.IND SM-run SM-ITIVE-hide

    'AMA ran and hid.'

15c. Kídē Ámā ákámī ákpî?

    kídē Ámā á-kámī á-kpí

    What Ama SM-sew SM-wear

    'What did Ama sew to wear?'

15d. Awı y'ákámī ákpí.

    a-wı yı á-kámī á-kpí

    CM-dress 3SG.IND SM-sew SM-wear

    'A dress she sewed and wore.'

(15a) and (15c) are examples in which the subject and object arguments have been questioned respectively whereas (15b) and (15d) illustrate focusing of subject and

object arguments respectively. (15b) and (15d) can be given as answers to the
questions in (15a) and (15c).

10.3   Some functional types of SVCs in Tafi

In this section, I look at some functional types of SVCs that occur in Tafi. They
include manipulative/handling, directional, dative, comparative, resultative and
posture SVCs.

10.3.1   Manipulative/handling SVCs

Manipulative/handling SVCs involve the handling verb **yιkɔ́** 'take' as VP$_1$.[64] Most
often, in this type of SVC, VP$_1$ describes the means by which the state of affairs
expressed by VP$_2$ is carried out. The NP complement of the verb 'take', usually the
first verb in the series, could be an instrument as in (16a) and (16b) or a theme
which undergoes a change of location as in the two SVCs in (16c) and in (16d).
For example,

16a.   Áyíkɔ kawí adzyá osíń.
        á-yíkɔ   ka-wí   a-dzyá   o-sí   ní
        3SG-take   CM-axe   SM-hack   CM-tree   DEF
        'He used an axe and hacked the tree.'

16b.   Anι 'ιtsá láyιko 'epú ɔwιsí nɔ̄.
        aní   kι-tsá   lá-yιkɔ̄   be-pú   ɔ-wιsí   nɔ
        NEG.FOC   CM-needle   3PL-take   3PL-punch   CM-axe.handle   COM
        'It is not a needle that one uses to punch a hole in the handle of an axe.'
                                                                            (Proverb #17)

16c.   …kιlí áákɔ 'ɛlι pétéé áákɔ abal'akpí ketsukpú gbʊgblǎ tielí 'mι kιlí ayíkɔ
        'éd̄ɔ ada.
        kιlí   á-yíkɔ   kιlí   pétéé á-yíkɔ   a-balι   a-kpí
        CONJ 3SG-take 3SG   all   SM-take SM-pour SM-put.into

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[64] The 'take' SVCs involving instrument have two structures, one in which there is a
comitative preposition **nɔ** optionally at the end of the sentence as in (16b) and another where
there is no preposition as in (16a), for example. The exact conditions under which the
preposition appears in such SVCs is not clear at this stage. A tendency that is observed in
the Tafi case is that if the internal argument of the 'take' verb is in focus, and therefore
extracted from its object position, the **nɔ** comitative preposition appears at the end. A similar
phenomenon has been observed by Lefebvre and Brousseau (2002:308) for Fon. There too,
there is inconclusive evidence for the appearance or not of a preposition at the end of such
SVCs. Further research might reveal the motivation.

ke-tsukpú gbʊgblă tie-lí   kʊmʊ kʊlí á-yíkɔ kí-dɔ̄
CM-pot   big   AM-INDEF inside CONJ SM-take CM-thing
á-da
SM-cover
'... and then she put it all into a big bowl and covered it.'   (Kásālā)

16d.   Gʊ áŋa békēń kʊlí y'ayíkɔ aklɔ̄n afʊ.

gʊ	**á-ŋa**	**békē**	**ní**	**kʊlí**	**yí**	**a-yíkɔ**	**a-klɔ̄**
REL	3SG-eat	COMPL	TOP	CONJ	3SG.IND	3SG-take	CM.PL-peel

ní   a-fʊ
DEF   SM-throw
'When he finishes eating he throws the peels away.'

In (16a), the verb **yɪkɔ̄** 'take' takes as object an instrument, **kawí** 'axe', which is used to perform the action expressed by VP$_2$. In (16b), the instrument, **kɪtsá** 'needle' is in focus and the comitative preposition **nɔ** occurs at the end of the sentence. In examples (16a) and (16b), the subject argument is shared by both VP$_1$ and VP$_2$. Example (16c) consists of conjoined SVCs in which the first SVC contains four verbs two of which are 'take' and all the verbs share the same subject and object which are expressed only once with the first verb. The object argument **kʊlí** '3SG' which is the Theme undergoes a change of location. The second SVC, however, is a multiple object SVC. The object of VP$_1$ **yɪkɔ̄** 'take' is **kídɔ̄** 'thing' which is a Theme also undergoes a change of location whereas the object of VP$_2$ **da** 'cover' is **ketsukpú** 'pot'. This object has been elided in the sentence because reference has been made to it earlier on in the conversation so it is recoverable from context. In (16d), the object of the 'take' verb, **aklɔ̄** 'peels', undergoes a change of location.

10.3.2.   Directional SVCs

In directional SVCs, the last verb in the series is a motion verb used to denote the direction of the movement or more generally, the state of affairs being carried out as represented in the rest of the clause. In example (17a), VP$_1$ expresses manner, VP$_2$ and VP$_3$ indicate path and the final verb indicates direction. In (17b), VP$_1$ expresses manner and VP$_2$ is a 'reach' verb which indicates that the car has reached an end goal. The example in (17c) consists of two SVCs and in both, VP$_1$ expresses manner of motion and VP$_2$ expresses direction. In the second SVC, the object argument of V$_1$ which is an instrument is in focus so the comitative **nɔ** occurs at the end of the sentence. Example (9a) is repeated here as (17b).

17a.   Bʊnúvɔ̄ɛ̄ káa bhulín ág' akana étsódzi ábá y'ɔ́zakɔ́.

bʊ-núvɔ̄ɛ̄	**káa**	**bhulí**	**ní**	**á-ga**	**á-kana**	**é-tsódzi**
CM.PL-child	car	small	DEF	SM-walk	SM-go.round	SM-return

       á-bá   **yí**   **ɔ-zakɔ́**
       SM-come 3SG.IND CM-dwelling.place
       'The toy car went round and came back to its place.'

17b.   Lɔ́lɪn es' ékú osíním̃.
       lɔ́lɪ   **ní**   **é-sí**   **é-kú**   **o-sí**   **ní**   **kɪmɪ**
       lorry   DEF   SM-run   SM-reach CM-tree   DEF   inside
       'The car ran into the tree.'

17c.   Kof' adɪg'avɪ sukú, gasɔ́ y'edo ávɪ nɔʔ.
       [**Kofí**   **a-dɪ-ga**   **a-vɪ**   **sukú**] [**gasɔ́**   **yí**   **e-do**
       Kofi   SM-NEG2-walk   SM-go   school   bicycle   3SG.IND SM-ride
       á-vɪ   **nɔ**]
       SM-go   COM
       'Kofi did not walk to school, a bicycle he rode.'

10.3.3   Dative SVCs

Like in other serialising languages, dative SVCs in Tafi are used to indicate that a state of affairs occurs with respect to an intended target either for their benefit or their sake (see e.g., Margetts and Austin 2007). The last verb in the series in a dative SVC is always **kɔ́** 'give'. The verb 'give' is used to introduce the role of recipient or beneficiary. VP$_1$ could be any verb including **yɪkɔ́** 'take', in that case, the SVC codes a transfer situation. As shown in (18a) and (18b), the state of affairs expressed by VP$_1$ and VP$_2$ are performed for the sake/benefit of the object argument of the verb **kɔ́** 'give'.

18a.   Agoé ébhui 'ipɔtí ákám' ákɔ́ y'eyíálí.
       Agoé   **é-bhui**   **kɪ-pɔtí**   **á-kámī**   **á-kɔ́**   **yí**   **é-yí-álí**
       Agoé   SM-cut   CM-cloth   SM-sew   SM-give   3SG.IND CM-child-PL
       Agoe bought cloth and sewed for her children.'

18b.   Agoéxwě édz'ásí ám'ákɔ́ banúvɔ̄ń.
       Agoéxwě   **é-dzí**   **á-sí**   **á-má**   **á-kɔ́**   **ba-núvɔ**   **ní**
       Agoéxwě SM-buy   SM-rice   SM-divide   SM-give CM.PL-child DEF
       'Agoexwě bought rice and shared for the kids.'

10.3.4   Comparative SVCs

Comparative constructions also involve SVCs. The verb **dī** 'surpass' is used to express comparison and it occurs as VP$_2$ as shown in the following examples.

19a.   Adɪḍama adīḿʔ.

a-dɪ-ɖama   **a-dɪ̄**   **mɪ́**
3SG-NEG-be.tall   SM-surpass   1SG
'S/he is not taller than me.'

19b.   Ányínúvɔ̄ɛ́ń ési adɪ̄ Kofɪ́ nɪ Ésí.
      á-nyínúvɔ̄ɛ̄   **nɪ́**   **é-sɪ́**   **a-dɪ̄**   **Kofɪ́**   **nɪ**   **Ésí**
      CM-boy   DEF   SM-run   SM-surpass   Kofi   COM   Esi
      'The boy runs faster than Kofi and Esi.' (i.e., the boy is the fastest in
      running.)

In these comparative SVCs, V_1 denotes the property with respect to which the entities are being compared. The standard of comparison is the object of V_2. The comparee functions as the subject of the SVC. A superlative reading is derived when the standard of comparison contains more than one entity as in (19b).

The verb **sɔ̃** 'be equal' is used in SVCs to express equality. It occurs as VP_2. The verb **sɔ̃** is adapted from Ewe **sɔ** 'be equal'. In my corpus, all the examples of **sɔ̃** equality comparison involve plural subjects where two or more entities being equated occur together. Consider the following examples.

20a.   Bésh'asɔ̃.
      bé-she   **bá-sɔ̃**
      3PL-grow   SM-be.equal
      'They are of the same age.'

20b.   Bétri asɔ̃.
      bé-tri   **bá-sɔ̃**
      3PL-become.big   SM-be.equal
      'They are of the same size'

10.3.5   Aspectual SVCs

Some verbs are used in SVCs to convey aspectual meanings. Such verbs occur as the final verb in the series. For instance, the form **dí** 'look' can be used as a final verb in an SVC as in (21a) to signal that a situation has existed before or will have happened prior to the time of speech or as an adverbial particle as in (21b). It thus marks experiential aspect.

21a.   Ámā ádí ʟgɛ̃ edí.
      Ámā   **á-dí**   **ʟ-gɛ̃**   **e-dí**
      Ama   SM-go   CM-Accra   SM-look
      'Ama has (ever) been to Accra.'

21b.   Kibúíiń ídi kabá dí.
       ki-búí   ι-ní   kí-di   ká-bá   dí
       CM-matter   AM-PROX   CM-type   NEG.PERF-come   EXP
       'This has never happened.'

In (21a), **dí** 'look' is used to express a situation that has occurred before the moment of speech and it can be interpreted as 'ever' or 'once' whereas in (21b), it can be interpreted as 'never' or 'never as yet' because of the negative perfective marker. In this sentence, **dí** 'look' is used to indicate that a situation has never occurred and may never occur. The example in (21b), however, is not an SVC because **dí** 'look' has fully grammaticalised so it is not marked for subject. The difference between (21a) and (21b) shows the stages of grammaticalisation of the verb **dí** 'look'.

10.3.6   Resultative SVCs

Resultative SVCs involve situations where the state of affairs expressed by VP$_1$ involves a kind of causation which results in the state of affairs denoted by VP$_2$. The resultative SVCs involve same subjects. Here, the object expressed with VP$_1$ is shared as an object with VP$_2$.

22a.   Doxwě éfi Kɔkú éhúíésí.
       Doxwě   é-fi   Kɔkú é-hú   ke-sí
       Doxwě   SM-push   Kɔkú SM-hit   CM-downpart
       'Doxwě pushed Kɔku down.'

22b.   Adzīń étū prítɩń áyě nɩ haḿa.
       adzɪ̀   ní   é-tū   prítɩ   ní   a-yě   nɩ   háma
       CM-woman   DEF   SM-beat   plate   DEF   SM-break COM   hammer
       'The woman smashed the plate with a hammer.' (Cut & Break 40)

The actions expressed in examples (22a) and (22b) by VP$_1$ result in the falling down of **Kɔkú** (22a) and the plate being smashed (22b).

10.3.7   Posture SVCs

Some SVCs are used to describe the position of entities. For instance, an upside down position of an entity like a pot is expressed by the verbs 'turn' and 'cover' as in (23a).

23a.   Ketsukpúń étsyínē ékúmū kesukpogunu.
       ke-tsukpú ní   ke-tsyínā ke-kúmū ke-sukpogunu
       CM-pot   DEF   SM-turn   SM-cover CM-tree.stump
       'The pot is (turned) upside down on the tree stump'. (PSPV. 12)

23b.   Tʊmpáń ákp'elí kashɔ́ níɱ̃.

tʊmpá	ní	á-kpa	é-lí	ka-shɔ́	ní	kʊmɪ
bottle	DEF	SM-tilt	SM-be.positioned	CM-basket	DEF	inside

'The bottle is lying in the basket.'   (PSPV. 22)

10.3.8   Causative multiverb constructions

Clauses containing multiple verbs in which the first verb is **kɔ́** 'give, let, cause, make' resemble SVCs in a number of ways: the verbs in such a clause share the same tense; they may share one argument; they do not have an overt marker of coordination or subordination. However, the verbs do not have the same subject and as such, such structures are not mono-clausal. In such clauses, the verb **kɔ́** 'give, let, cause, make' always precedes VP$_2$ which refers to its effect or result. The sentences below illustrate how the object of the causative verb is understood as the subject of VP$_2$. This is clearly visible in example (24a) where the subject and object NPs of VP$_1$ belong to different classes. Observe that the SM on VP$_2$ refers to the object of VP$_1$ which belongs to the **ka-** class.

24a.   Ekpéń ákɔ́ keníń 'ébhui.

e-kpé	ní	á-kɔ́	ke-ní	ní	ké-bhui
CM-dry.weather	DEF	SM-cause	CM-river	DEF	SM-cut

'The dry weather caused the river to stop flowing.'

24b.   Ámā ákɔ́ Kofí ánáwɔ̃ abá.

Ámā	á-kɔ́	Kofí	á-náwɔ̃	a-bá
Ama	SM-cause	Kofi	SM-hasten	SM-come

'Ama made Kofi come in a rush.'

24c.   Ákɔ́ lapʊ́ī́ kɪdzyań.

á-kɔ́	la-pʊ́ī́	kɪ-dzya	ní
3SG-cause	3PL.DEP-roast	CM-meat	DEF

'S/he made them roast the meat.'

Where the shared argument is realised as a pronoun, it is expressed only once and its form is the dependent form of the pronoun, overtly signalling dependence. This further shows the difference between these clauses and SVCs as the dependent form of the pronoun does not occur on the VP$_2$ in SVCs. It is possible to paraphrase such a clause as a complex sentence in which the matrix clause predicate is **kɔ́** and it takes a dependent complement clause introduced by **sí** 'COMP' as shown in (24d).

24d.   Ákɔ́ sí lapʊ́ī́ kɪdzyań.

á-kɔ́	sí	la-pʊ́ī́	kɪ-dzya	ní
3SG-cause	COMP	3PL.DEP-roast	CM-meat	DEF

'S/he caused them to roast the meat.'

These causative verb constructions are thus treated as multiverb constructions (see Ameka 2005 on multiverb constructions).

10.4   SVCs and grammaticalisation

A number of verbs in Tafi have grammaticalised or are in the process of grammaticalising into aspectual, modal and directional markers. When these verbs are fully grammaticalised they are not marked for subject or any other verbal markers. For instance, the adverbial particles **békē** 'completive', **dí** 'experiential', **kɔ́** 'dative', and **kú** 'allative' have grammaticalised from the verbs 'finish', 'look', 'give' and 'reach' respectively (see Chapter 5 on allative and dative). Consider the following examples. In the sentences in (25a) and (26a), the verbs function as full verbs and are therefore marked for subject but in (25b) and (26b), because they are fully grammaticalised they are not marked for subject.

25a.   Oḍutsúń óbékē.
    o-ḍutsú   ní   o-békē
    CM-stew DEF   SM-finish
    'The stew got finished.'

25b.   Ámā átɔ́ 'édɔ́ń békē.
    Ámā   á-tɔ́   kí-dɔ́   ní   békē
    Ámā   SM-cook CM-thing DEF   COMPL
    'Ama has finished cooking.'

26a.   Anúvɔ́ń éwu ekú kitrekpúníábhā.
    a-núvɔ́   ní   é-wu   é-kú   ki-trekpú   ní   kábhā
    CM-child DEF   SM-climb SM-reach CM-anthill   DEF   top
    'The child climbed onto the anthill.'   (FS)

26b.   Anúvɔ́ń áwɔ́lɪ̄ kú kením̄.
    a-núvɔ́   ní   á-wɔ́lɪ̄   kú   ke-ní   kɪmɪ
    CM-child DEF   SM-fall   ALL   CM-river inside
    The child fell into a river.'   (FS)

It is well known that SVCs are an important channel for the development of grammatical markers from verbs (see Lord 1993).