Complex sentences in Avatime

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research questions

- What different types of subordinate clauses does Avatime have?
- How does Avatime coordinate clauses?
- Can all clause-linkage constructions be classified within the subordination-coordination dichotomy?
  - Focus on constructions with *xé* and *gì* which seem to have properties of both subordinate and coordinate clauses.

1.2 Subordination and coordination

Subordination

- Syntactic definition: the subordinate clause is a constituent in the matrix clause.
- Functional definition: the subordinate clause is non-asserted (see e.g. Cristofaro, 2003).
- Three major types:
  - Complement clauses: subordinate clause is argument of main verb
  - Relative clauses: subordinate clause modifies noun
  - Adverbial clauses: subordinate clause modifies predicate or entire main clause

Coordination

- Two linked clauses have equal status, neither is dependent on the other.

Cosubordination

- Third type suggested by some (see e.g. Foley & Van Valin, 1984; Van Valin, 2005) with properties of both coordination and subordination.
- Two linked clauses have equal syntactic status (one is not a constituent of the other) but one is in some way semantically dependent on the other.

1.3 Avatime

Background

- Niger-Congo : Kwa : Ghana-Togo Mountain : Ka
- Spoken in 7 villages in South-Eastern Ghana
- ± 15,000 speakers
- Neighbouring languages: Ewe, Tafi/Nyangbo (Ka-GTM), Logba (Na-GTM)
- All speakers also speak Ewe

Linguistic properties

- 9 vowels with ATR-based root-controlled vowel harmony.
- Three tones: low (marked à), high (unmarked) and extra-high (marked á).
- The extra-high tone has a limited distribution and occurs mostly on function words and affixes or as a result of tone-raising.
- Noun class system with 7 genders, genders 1-6 consist of a sg-pl pair, 7 is for mass nouns (numbering follows Heine (1968)).
- Noun class marked with prefix on the noun; there is agreement on numerals, determiners and subject marking on the verb.
- Subject-marking on the verb is obligatory; there is no object agreement.
- Aspect, modality and negation are marked with prefixes on the verb, no tense-marking.
- When the verb is unmarked for aspect/modality, it has a perfective interpretation (or ongoing state with stative verbs).
- Canonical SVO word order (rather strict).
- Focus-marking by fronting + extra-high tone on the last syllable of the focused constituent.
- Frequent use of serial verb constructions (sequence of 2 or more finite verbs within one clause, with only the first verb fully inflected).

2 Subordination

2.1 Complement clauses

- Avatime uses the complementizer *sị̀* to link complement clauses.
- When the third person singular subject of the main clause is identical in reference to the subject of the subordinate clause, the subject prefix on the subordinate verb is marked as logophoric (2).

(1) *ma-mɔ̀ **[sị̀** yɛ nì ɔ-nụ̀vɔ̀ ɔ́-tɔ bɛ̀ɛ́-za]*
1s.SBJ-see **COMP** C_{1s} and C_{1s}-child C_{1s}-INDF C_{1p}.SBJ.PROG-pass
'I saw that he and a certain child were passing.' (famprob_110409_DQ-KX_story)

(2) *ɔ́-pɛ **[sị̀** **yí**-pe]*
C_{1s}.SBJ.NEG-want **COMP** **C_{1s}.LOG.SBJ**.SBJV-tire
'She doesn't want to get tired.' (conv-greenhouse_110408_SO-ViA)

- The complementizer seems to have originated from the verb *sị* 'say/tell'.
- Verb and complementizer are frequently used together, especially when a recipient argument is expressed.

(3) *ɔ́niyɛ èɛ́-**sị**=mɛ **[sị̀** mí-zě-di=ye]*
someone C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-**tell**=1s.OBJ **COMP** 1s.SBJ.SBJV-IT-look.at=C_{1s}.OBJ
'Someone was telling me that I should go and see her.' (conv-funeral_100528_7)

(4) *be-zě-**do** **[sị̀** be-dzì-nì=ye kivòde]*
C_{1p}.SBJ-REC-**say** **COMP** C_{1p}.SBJ-return-COM=C_{1s}.OBJ day.before.yesterday
'They were saying that they brought her back the day before yesterday.'
(conv-funeral_100528_7)

- There are complement clauses without a complementizer.
- Found in my corpus only with two verbs: *sị* 'say/tell' and *pɛ* 'want'

(5) *a-sị [mí-gà]*
C_{1s}.SBJ-say 1s.SBJ.SBJV-move
'She said I should come.' (conv-funeral_100528_7-1)

(6) *a-pɛ [yi-trɛ ní níyà nì níyà petee]*
C_{1s}.SBJ-want C_{1s}.LOG.SBJ.SBJV-go LOC here and here all
'He wanted to go to both here and here.' (kadzidzia_110409_AB_1)

- Complement clauses can also be linked to the main clause with *xé* 'if/when/and', when the event described in the complement is uncertain.

(7) *mó-te **[xé** e-tse]*
1s.SBJ.NEG-know **CON** C_{1s}.SBJ-die
'I don't know if he died.' (famprob_110401_MeD-BeK_story)

2.2 Relative clauses

- The relative clause follows the head noun and is linked to it with the particle *gì*.
- It optionally ends with clause marker *E* (in about 50% of the cases)
  - *E* assimilates in both ATR value and vowel height to the preceding vowel
  - *E* follows relative, conditional and some temporal clauses; some types of main clauses and left-dislocated elements
- With relativized subjects, objects and adjuncts there is usually a gap in the regular position of the relativized element.
- There may also be a focus-marked resumptive pronoun within the relative clause.
- With relativized possessors and objects of adpositions, there is always a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause.

Relativized subject:

(8) *èɛ́-pɛ ɔ́-nɔ **[gì** e-feke dɔ̀mɛ nì ka-sɔi-à=**ɛ]***
C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-want C_{1s}-person **REL** C_{1s}.SBJ-lift.up thing and C_{6s}-basket-DEF=**CM**
'He is looking for the person who has taken the basket with the things.'
(pear_100624_ElD-JA)

Relativized object:

(9) *èɛ́-kɔ bɛ́-lɔ̀ **[gì** a-zɛ̌-gụ]*
C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-take C_{1p}-DIST **REL** C_{1s}.SBJ-REC-pick
'He was taking those (fruits) that he had been picking.' (pear_100719_PhA-DQ)

Adjunct of place:

(10) *lɛ̌ kíà-kɔ lụlɔ nílɔ̀ **[gì** kį́-ŋa li-wè-le]*
and 1p.SBJ.POT-take clean there **REL** 1p.SBJ-eat C_{3s}-day-DEF
'And we will clean up the place where we celebrated the festival (literally: ate the day).' (chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

Adjunct of time (=temporal adverbial clause):

(11) *kɔ li-pó lɛ́-lɔ̀ **[gì** ba-nùvɔ̀-a bɛ-ná lɔ̀]*
so C_{3s}-time C_{3s}-DIST **REL** C_{1p}-child-DEF C_{1p}.SBJ-reach:LOC there
ɔ́-sị=ba li-boeboe
C_{1s}.SBJ.NEG-tell=C_{1p}.OBJ C_{3s}-anything
'So that time when the children reached there, he didn't say anything to them?'
(pear_100709_MiA-DQ)

Relativized object and adjunct with focus-marked resumptive pronoun:

(12) *e-gbo-là* ***[gì lá*** *kui-manɔ̀ = **ɛ],*** *kíà-dzì-nì* *la*
C_{3p}-chair-DEF **REL** **C_{3p}**:FOC 1p.SBJ-bring = CM 1p.SBJ.POT-return-COM C_{3p}
tsinì ní níklɔ̀
take LOC there
'The chairs that we brought, we will take them back there.'
(chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

(13) *xé* *àbleke* *kíà-trɔ* *li-wè-le* ***[gì lɛ*** *kóŋ* *ki-tá-tu*
then now 1p.SBJ-put.on C_{3s}-day-DEF **REL** **C_{3s}** exactly:FOC 1p.SBJ-INT-uproot
ba]
C_{1p}
'Then we will set the exact day at which we will uproot them.'
(conv-ablorme_100715_SO-AS)

Object of postposition/possessor: always resumptive pronoun in relative clause (focused or non-focused).

(14) *bá-nɔ̀* *tsìtsì = a* ***[gì ba*** *sʊ́* *ɔ́-nɔ̀-ɛ* *e-tsé = e]***
C_{1p}-person old = DEF **REL** **C_{1p}** beside:FOC C_{1s}-person-DEF S_{1s}.SBJ-die = **CM**
'the old people who are near to the person who died (literally: the old people beside whom the person died)' (funeral_100531_MM-EM)

(15) *mà-panị̀* *ó-nyimé* *líye* ***[gì ye****-nèmi-ye* *e-tsé = e]*
1s.SBJ-greet C_{1s}-man PROX.C_{1s} **REL** **C_{1s}.POSS**-sibling-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-die = CM
'I greeted the man whose brother died.' (elic-SIS_100626_AB)

2.3 Adverbial clauses

2.3.1 Temporal clauses with *gì*

- Temporal clauses can be formed by relative clauses with a head noun such as 'time' (see example (11)).
- More often, there is no head noun and the temporal clause simply starts with *gì* (the relative clause linker).
- Like relative clauses, these clauses frequently end in the clause marker *E*.
- A temporal clause with *gì* usually precedes the main clause.
- The events in the two clauses happen simultaneously, or sequentially (subordinate event before main event).
- The event in the subordinate clause is presented as something that has actually happened.

(16) ***[gì*** *ó-dí* *dzɛ̀=**ɛ**]* *ɛ̀ɛ́-sa* *à-kpɛ-là*
REL C_{1s}.SBJ-sit again=**CM** C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-hit C_{3p}-hand-DEF
'When he sat down again, he was clapping his hands.'
(maus-drum_100709_Mia-DQ)

(17) *mɔ* *me-zè* *ɔ-nùvɔ̀* *kporokporo* *ɔ́-tɔ* *kò* ***[gì*** *ma-zɛ̌-ŋà*
1s.CTR 1s.SBJ-be C_{1s}-child round C_{1s}-INDF just **REL** 1s.SBJ-REC-eat
ì-klipò-le *ɛ-kɪ́* *ba=**ɛ**]*
C_{3s}-witness-DEF SVM-give C_{1p}=**CM**
'I was only a small child when I functioned as a witness to them.'
(ablabe_AD-YD)

2.3.2 Temporal/conditional clauses with *xé (gì)*

- *Xé* or the combination *xé gì* is used to form conditional clauses or temporal clauses that describe events that have not (yet) happened.
- These clauses usualy precede the main clause.
- These clauses often end in the clause-marker *E*.

(18) The speaker is giving a day-by-day description of what they have planned for a festival later in the year.

[xé *kí-ŋa* *li-wè-le* *li-pà-le* *pɔ́=**ɛ**],* *li-pàdzùwè-le*
CON 1p.SBJ-eat C_{3s}-day-DEF C_{3s}-Saturday-DEF finish=**CM** C_{3s}-Sunday-DEF
kíà-do *máwu-yè* *dasè*
1p.SBJ.POT-say God thanks
'When we finish celebrating (literally: eating) the festival on Saturday, on Sunday we will thank God.' (chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

(19) From a story about a man who goes to prison and has to hand in his clothes and wear prison clothes.

[xé *wò-nyime* *ki-dítɔ]* *bɛ-tá-bu=bé* *wɔ*
CON 2s.SBJ.PROG-wear C_{4s}-thing:INDF C_{1p}.SBJ-INT-remove=C_{4p}.OBJ:LOC 2s
sụ
side
'If you are wearing something they will take it off you.'
(famprob_110401_MeD-BeK_story)

(20) ***[xé gì*** *a-zɛ̌-bàsị́=blɔ* *bà-li-à=**ɛ**]* *kɔ* *ki-bu*
CON REL C_{1s}.SBJ-IT-show=1p.OBJ C_{5p}-palm.tree-DEF=**CM** then 1p.SBJ-remove
wa *sụ=i*
C_{5p} side=CM
'If he shows us the palm trees, then we'll clear (the bush) around them.'
(conv-ablorme_100715_SO-AS)

Exception where the xé-clause describes an event that has happened.

(21) ***[xé*** *e-tsyi* *sì* *yi-di]* *kɔ* *ɔ-gblaga* *ɔ-lí́* *ní*
CON C_{1s}-turn COMP C_{1s}.LOG.SBJ-look then C_{1s}-snake C_{1s}-be.at LOC
yoòde
C_{1s}.POSS:back
'When she turned to look, she saw that a snake was following her.'
(kadzidzia_110406_AuA)

2.3.3 Purpose clauses

- **Purpose clauses** can be marked with the complementizer *sì* or with the purposive particle *(a)tɔ*.

(22) *lóso* *a-ba* ***[sì*** *yi-bé-di=blo* *lị-vlɛ́*
so C_{1s}.SBJ-come **COMP** C_{1s}.LOG.SBJ.SBJV-VEN-look=1p.OBJ C_{3s}-morning
lɛ́-yà *tete]*
C_{3s}-PROX like.that
'So she has come to see us this morning.' (avopa_100512_1)

(23) *wɔ̀-tá-nya* *ɔ̀-klị-lɔ̀* *ní* *níyà* ***[tɔ*** *dzèsi-e* *o-kí-mu]*
2s.SBJ-INT-tie C_{2s}-leg-DEF LOC here **PURP** blood-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-PROH-ascend
'You will tie the leg here so that the blood will not flow up.'
(illness_100616_SO-DS)

3 Coordination

3.1 The connector *lɛ̌*

- *Lɛ̌* 'and/then' is used for conjunction of clauses that have actually happened or are ongoing.
- The events described by the two clauses can simultaneously or sequentially.
- Clauses that are linked with *lɛ̌* are often followed by the clause marker *E*.
- *Lɛ̌* often conjoins at text level, indicating continuation of a story (first *lɛ̌* in (24)).

(24) Previous: 'Then Atrodze sent his son to Lulu's place to fetch fire. To see what is happening there.'

lɛ̌ *ɔ-nùvɔ̀-ɛ* *a-trɛ* ***lɛ̌*** *bɛ-vɔ* *lị̀-fi̱flị̀-nɛ* *xé*
and C_{1s}-child-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-go **and** C_{1p}.SBJ-mold C_{3s}-t.o.porridge-DEF and
bɛ́-kɔ *ɛ-kí́=yɛ*
C_{1p}.SBJ-take SVM-give=C_{1s}.OBJ
'And the child went, and they made some porridge and gave it to him.'
(kadzidzia_110406_QM)

(25) Description of a video in which two events happen at the same time.

ɔ-nụ̀vɔ̀-ɛ *èé-se* ***lɛ̌*** *ɔ-kàtsì-e* *èɛ́-gà=**ɛ***
C_{1s}-child-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-run **and** C_{1s}-old.man-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-move=**CM**
'The child is running and the old man is walking.' (expsg06 05run-b)

- *Lɛ̌* may also link a main clause to a preceding temporal subordinate clause.

(26) *gì* *á-kɔ* *trɔ=ɛ* ***lɛ̌*** *e-mu* *kú* *yɛ* *gàsɔ-yɛ̀*
REL C_{1s}.SBJ-take put.on=CM **and** C_{1s}.SBJ-ascend arrive:LOC C_{1s} bicycle-DEF
abà=ɛ *xé* *á-sɛ́=ɛ*
on=CM CON C_{1s}.SBJ-leave=CM
'When he put it on, then he climbed on his bicycle and left.'
(pear_100709_MiA-DQ)

3.2 The connector *kɔ*

- *Kɔ* conjoins clauses that describe events which are not known to have happened or generic.
- The two events may happen simultaneously or sequentially (second clause after first).
- Clauses linked with kɔ frequently end in the clause marker *E*.
- *Kɔ* can also be used with events that have happened to indicate the start of a new episode or topic of discourse.

(27) The speaker is explaining what will happen at an event they are planning later that year.

kui-tè *sị̀* *bíà-kpese* *dɔ̀mɛ* *ní* *gbàdzɛmɛ̀* ***kɔ***
1p.SBJ-know COMP 1p.SBJ.POT-start thing LOC Gbadzeme **and**
bɛ-bá *babiakpa=**ɛ***
C_{1p}.SBJ-come:LOC Biakpa=**CM**
'We know that they will start the thing in Gbadzeme and then they will come to Biakpa.' (chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

(28) 1 *lɛ̌ kà-tʊ̀kpa-a a-wɔ̀ lị̀-ŋwàfù-nɛ mɛ̀ xé*
and C_{6s}-male.goat-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-remain C_{3s}-forest-DEF inside and
ɛ̀ɛ́-sɔ́ yɛ ɔ̀-nyɔ-nɔ mɛ̀
C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-hoe C_{1s} C_{2s}-farm-DEF inside
'And the goat was left in the forest and he was hoeing his farm.'

2 ***kɔ*** *e-wè-la gì bɛ-trɔ kɨ́ ɔ-kàtsì-e kunu-yè*
and C_{3p}-day-DEF REL C_{1p}.SBJ-put give C_{1s}-old.man-DEF funeral-DEF
e-wè-la ɛ-na-ɛ
C_{3p}-day-DEF C_{3p}.SBJ-reach-CM
'So the day they set for the funeral of the old man, the day has arrived.'
(kadzidzia_110406_QM)

• *Kɔ* also links main clauses to preceding temporal or conditional clauses.

(29) ***xé*** ***gì*** *a-zɛ̌-bàsị́=blɔ bà-li-à=**ɛ*** ***kɔ***
CON **REL** C_{1s}.SBJ-IT-show=1p.OBJ C_{5p}-palm.tree-DEF=**CM** **then**
ki-bu wa sʊ̀=i
1p.SBJ-remove C_{5p} side=CM
'If he shows us the palm trees, then we'll clear (the bush) around them.'
(conv-ablorme_100715_SO-AS)

3.3 Other coordinators

• The marker *pɔ̀* 'but' is used to indicate an adversative relation.

(30) 1 *ńtepɔ̀ bredzima-ɛ ɔ-kpàsị́ ní sị̀-wlàwlà-sɛ mɛ̀*
so t.o.snake-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-be.in LOC C_7-palm.branch-DEF inside
'There was a snake in those palm branches.'

2 ***pɔ̀*** *bá-mɔ̀=ɛ*
but C_{1p}.SBJ.NEG-see=C_{1s}.OBJ
'But they didn't see it.' (Avatime-history_BB_20110905)

• Disjunction is marked with *putɔ*, or more frequently *àló* (borrowed from Ewe).

• These markers can also be used for disjoint noun phrases.

(31) *kị́-hɔ́ bɛ-tá-hɔ=lɔ* ***àló*** *bíà-to=lo*
C_{4s}-grind:FOC C_{1p}.SBJ-INT-grind=C_{2s}.OBJ **or** C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-pound=C_{2s}.OBJ
ní kí-dɛ mɛ̀
LOC C_{4s}-mortar inside
'Do they grind it or pound it in a mortar?' (illness_100616_SO-DS)

(32) One speaker mentions that to cure a certain disease, you can use the leaves from a certain plant. Another speaker interrupts and asks:

à-wɔ̀wɔ̀-la ***putɔ̀*** *à-kpa-kpa-là*
C_{3p}-green-DEF **or** C_{3p}-RED-dry-DEF
'Fresh ones or dry ones?' (illness_100616_SO-DS)

4 Coordination or subordination?

4.1 *xé*-clauses following 'main clause'

- Second clause linked with *xé*: can be interpreted as a subordinate clause.
- Usually a 'before'-interpretation, but may also be purpose-like.

(33) *blɔ kedana kú-tá-tanì kunu-yè ɔ-wa* ***xé***
1p Avatime.people 1p.SBJ.NEG-INT-be.able funeral-DEF INF-do **CON**
kíà-ŋà à-mu-nà
1p.SBJ.POT-eat C_{3p}-rice-DEF
'We Avatime people cannot perform the funeral rites before we celebrate the rice-festival.' (chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

(34) *bà-wá bá-lɔ̀ gì bɛ-zɛ̌-bìtɛ kɨ́ ɔ́-niyɛ* ***xé*** *ɔ́-niyɛ*
C_{1p}-medicine C_{1p}-DIST REL C_{1p}.SBJ-REC-make give C_{1s}-person **CON** C_{1s}-person
áà-zɛ̀ lɨ̀-gba
C_{1s}.SBJ.POT-receive C_{3s}-life
'that medicine that they used to give to a person before/so that the person will get better (literally: receive life)' (illness_100616_SO-DS)

(35) *kɔ kítɛ a-tá-bɨ̀tɛ* ***xé*** *a-ba lɔ̀ na*
and how C_{1s}-INT-do **CON** C_{1s}-come there Q
'So what can he do to come there?' (kadzidzi_turtle_110924_PKD)

(36) *sɨ̀-kpàkpà-sɛ sɨ́-ma* ***xé*** *áà-prùdù*
C_7-wings-DEF C_7.NEG-not.be **CON** C_{1s}.SBJ.POT-fly
'There are no wings for him to fly.' (kadzidzi_turtle_110924_PKD)

- More often, a second clause starting with *xé* is more like a coordinate clause.
- The events in the two clause can be sequential or simultaneous.
- Clauses conjoined with *xé* seem semantically more tightly related than those conjoined with *lɛ̌*.

• *Xé* can be used to coordinate two clauses within a larger subordinate clause.

Xé indicating a tight relation between events:

(37) *a-dra* *lị-gba-lɛ̀* ***xé*** *e-dɔ̀* = ***e***
C_{1s}.SBJ-open C_{3s}-room-DEF **and** C_{1s}.SBJ-move.out = **CM**
'He opened the door and came out.' (FinSto_100517_AB)

(38) *ba* *tieglòele* *be-vù* *ì-wlà-lɛ* ***xé*** *ba-lɛɛ*
C_{1p} C_{1p}.seven C_{1p}.SBJ-hold C_{2p}-hand-DEF **CON** C_{1p}.SBJ-stand
'The seven of them were holding hands and standing.' (FinSto_100517_AB)

Xé used to connect clauses that are not in a tight relation - similar to *lɛ̌* (rare):

(39) 1 *ɔ́-dzɛ* *tsyɛ* *ó-gbe* *kóŋ* *lɛ̌* *a-dị̀mɛ* *sị̀*
C_{1s}-woman ADD C_{1s}.SBJ.NEG-refuse at.all and C_{1s}.SBJ-agree COMP
áà-zè *nì* *yɛ*
C_{1s}.SBJ.POT-be with C_{1s}
'The woman did not refuse at all and she agreed to marry him.'

2 ***xé*** *yɛ* *nì* *yɛ* *bɛ-bị̀tɛ* *ba-trɔtrɔ-à* *petee*
CON C_{1s} and C_{1s} C_{1p}.SBJ-make C_{1p}-plan-DEF all
'And he and she made all the plans' (kadzidzia_110406_AuA)

Xé coordinating two clauses within a subordinate clause (compare also (34) above):

(40) *kɔ* *[gì* *ɔ-nụ̀vɔ̀-ɛ* *e-mu* *kú* *ò-se-lo* *mè* ***xé***
so REL C_{1s}-child-DEF C_{1s}.SBJ-ascend arrive:LOC C_{2s}-tree-DEF inside **CON**
adze *ka-dzɔ̀i-a* *ke-dó* *ò-se-lo* *mè],* *ki-plé*
witch C_{6s}-bird-DEF C_{6s}-move.out:LOC C_{2s}-tree-DEF inside C_{4s}-descend:FOC
e-ple *àló* *a-pị*
C_{1s}.SBJ-descend or C_{1s}.SBJ-jump
'So when the child climbed into the tree and the owl came out of the tree, did he climb down or did he jump?' (frog_100719_DQ-PhA)

(41) *níwlɔ̀* *gì* *[bíà-gà* ***xé*** *bíà-dò],* *kị-fụ-yɛ̀*
there REL C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-move **CON** C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-move.out C_{4s}-fire-DEF
kìí-sɔ̀ *nílɔ̀*
C_{4s}.SBJ.PROG-burn there
'There where they can go and get out (of the building), the fire is burning there.'
(FinSto_100524_SO)

Cosubordination?

- Foley & Van Valin (1984) propose the notion cosubordination for some constructions that seem to be in between subordination and coordination - especially cause chaining and serial verb constructions.
- In clausal cosubordination, the linked units share illocutionary force, tense and negation (Van Valin, 2005).
- In Avatime, negation does not scope over both clauses.
- The scope of question markers can be over both clauses in Avatime, but can also be restricted to one (for similar examples in other languages, see also Bickel, 2010).
- In cosubordination, one of the verbs typically has limited inflection possibilities - this is not the case for the Avatime *xé*-construction.
- Prelimilary conclusion: *xé*-construction is different from what is usually called cosubordination.

Second clause negated but first clause not:

(42) *ɔ́-nɨ̀yɛ* *ɛ̀ɛ́-pɛ* *kù-da* *kɨ̀-ŋwɛ̀-bɔ̀-ɛ* ***xé***
C_{1s}-person C_{1s}.SBJ.PROG-want C_{5s}-drink C_{4s}-drink-money-DEF **CON**
ɔ́-lí-mɔ = ɛ
C_{1s}.SBJ.NEG-PROG-see = CM
'The person wants drinking money and he doesn't have it.'
(conv-ablorme_100715_SO-AS)

Scope of question over first conjunct only - subordination-like reading:

(43) *ba-dzidzi* *tiá-sɛ* *bíà-zɨ̀* ***xé*** *bíà-ya* *ŋu*
C_{1p}-month C_{1p}-how.many C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-receive **CON** C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-flower ?
'How many months does it take (literally: do they receive) before they (banana trees) flower?' (conv-amedzofe_110330_WE-friends_2)

Scope of question on second conjunct (only one example, needs to be checked):

(44) *kítɛ́* *mè-dzi* *t-shirt* *mà-tsa* ***xé*** *máà-zɔ-tsa* *o-dzedze*
how 1s.SBJ-buy t-shirt 1s.SBJ-pay **CON** 1s.SBJ.POT-REC-pay C_{1s}-other
'I bought a t-shirt and paid and how can I be paying for another one?' or more literally: 'How did I buy a t-shirt and pay and I will be paying for another one?'
(conv-funeral_100528_8)

Scope of question over both conjuncts:

(45) *a-wlakpa wɔ́lí wáà-tanị̀ plaŋù **xé** wáà-do sị̀ blɔ*
C_{3p}-leave which 2s.SBJ.POT-be.able remember **CON** 2s.SBJ.POT-say COMP 1p
gì bíà-hɔ sra
REL C_{1p}.SBJ.POT-grind smear
'Which leaves can you remember and will you tell us which they will grind and smear. (illness_100616_SO-DS)

Sometimes both interpretations seem equally possible:

(46) *nífɔ ɔ̀-za ɔ-nị̀vɔ̀-ɛ e-zè **xé** a-mɔ̀ ke-dze-à tsisì*
where C_{2s}-direction C_{1s}-child-DEF C_{1s}-sit **CON** C_{1s}.SBJ-see C_{6s}-rat take.away
'Where was the child sitting when he saw the rat?' / 'Where was the child sitting and saw the rat?' (frog_100719_DQ-PhA)

4.2 Coordination with *gì*

- The relative clause marker *gì* can also be used to conjoin clauses.
- Some cases can be analysed as extraposed non-restrictive relative clauses.
- In other cases, *gì* looks more like a conjunction.
- Further investigation into the use of this construction as opposed to constructions with *xé* and *lɛ̌* is necessary.

Extraposed relative clause:

(47) *bá-nítɔ ba-lí̤ ya **[gì** bɛ-plaŋù lɛ abà]*
C_{1p}-person:INDF C_{1p}.SBJ-be.at here **REL** C_{1p}-remember C_{3s} on
'Are there people here who remember it?' (chiefs-meeting_100619_03)

Extraposed non-restrictive relative clause:

(48) *be-tá-kpɛ ba-sa-vá ke-pimia mɛ kí̤ yɛ **[agì***
C_{1p}.SBJ-INT-put C_{5p}-cloth-DEF:LOC C_{6s}-basket-DEF inside give C_{1s} **REL**
a-trá-zě-tu]
C_{1s}-INT-REC-carry
'They would put the cloths in a basket for her, which she would carry / and she would carry it.' (ablabe_AD-YD)

(49) *ba-nụ̀vɔ̀ tia-ta á-tɔ bɛ̀ɛ́-za **[gì** bɛ̀ɛ́-waì]*
C_{1p}-child C_{1p}-three C_{1p}-INDF C_{1p}.SBJ.PROG-pass **REL** C_{1p}.SBJ.PROG-play
'Three children were passing and playing' / 'Three children were passing who were playing.' / 'Three children were passing while playing'
(pear_100709_MiA-DQ)

'Resumptive' pronoun in 'relative clause' –> coordination?

(50) *bɛ-zɛ̌-tsa sị-wlà-sɛ tsyɛ **[gì** bɛ-xɔnụ̀ sɛ] kɔ*
C_{1p}.SBJ-REC-cut C_7-palm.frond-DEF ADD **REL** C_{1p}.SBJ-clear C_7 and
bɛ-gɔ tàe
C_{1p}.SBJ-remain a.bit
'They were cutting palm fronds too and they were clearing them (or: which they were clearing) and they left some.'

No potential head noun for 'relative clause'

(51) *áà-gu kpɛ **[gì** lí́-lá-bụbɔ]*
C_{1s}.POT-talk put.in **REL** C_{3s}.SBJ.NEG-INT-be.easy
'She will be talking into it (the microphone), which will not be easy / and it will not be easy.' (conv-street_100720_1)

Clearly coordination (?)

(52) *e-ble=be ní lị-klụ̀ị-lɛ mɛ̀ **[gì** á-kɔ*
C_{1s}.SBJ-unwrap=C_{4p}.OBJ LOC C_{3s}-package-DEF inside **REL** C_{1s}.SBJ-take
a-kpɛ́ ò-nugu-lo mè]
SVM-put:LOC C_{2s}-mouth-DEF inside
'He unwrapped it and put it in his mouth.' (contrexp09_s2_120906)

5 Summary

- Avatime has distinct constructions for complement clauses, relative clauses and different types of adverbial clauses.
- There are several conjunctions that are used to coordinate clauses.
- Both in adverbial clauses and in coordinate clauses, a difference is made between clauses that describe events that have happened and clauses that describe events that are hypothetical or haven't happened yet.
- Clauses that start with *xé* and follow a main clause can be interpreted both as subordinate and as coordinate - they may be instances of an in-between category like cosubordination.
- The relative clause marker gì can also be used to conjoin coordinate clauses, but more research into its function is needed.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
ADD	additive
$C_{number+s/p}$	noun class
CM	clause marker
COM	comitative
CON	connector
COMP	complementizer
CTR	contrastive
DEF	definite
DIST	distal demonstrative
FOC	focus
FP	final particle
HAB	habitual
ID	ideophone
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INT	intentive
IT	itive
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
p	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PURP	purposive
Q	question marker
REC	recurrent
REL	relative
s	singular
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SVM	serial verb marker
VEN	ventive

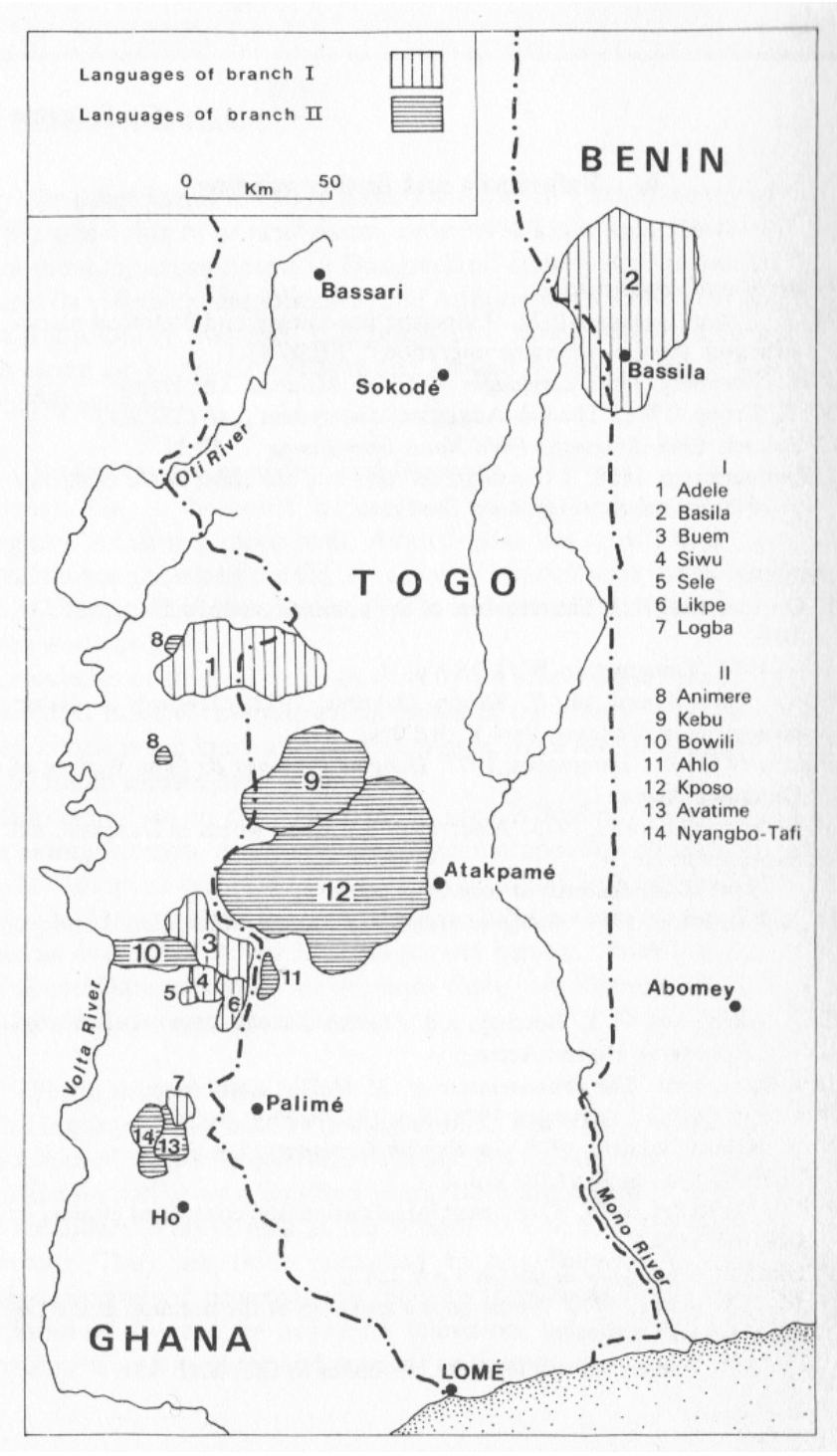

Figure 1: Map of the Ghana-Togo Mountain languages, from Kropp Dakubu & Ford (1988), original source Heine (1968).