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A grammar of Tadaksahak a northern Songhay language of Mali

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4 Syntax

This chapter starts with a discussion of the syntax of the noun phrase. This includes NPs with possessors, demonstratives, the determiner *aɣo/aɣondo* and modifiers like numerals and adjectives. In the next section (4.2) the different MAN markers with their uses are presented. Following that is a section about argument structure, i.e., the different types of verbs (4.3), and a special type of clause treated under copular clauses (4.4). In section 4.5 relative clauses are described followed by negations (4.6) and several small chapters about information structure (4.7). Finally the section on complex sentences (4.8) discusses clausal coordination, purpose and causal clauses, conditionals and adverbial subordination.

4.1 Noun phrases and adpositional phrases

4.1.1 Overview

The simplest noun phrases (NP) are independent pronouns, which take no further marking for definiteness or plurality. In this section the other types of NP will be presented, i.e. NPs headed by a lexical noun or any other stem capable of functioning as NP head. Such stems can be numerals (4.1.5), adjectives preceded by the determiner (4.1.4), the demonstrative *na* followed by the determiner and pronoun clitics cliticizing to the postposition *wáni/wán-en*. This postposition is also involved in a special type of NP of the type 'Head [noun *wáni*]' (4.1.8).

All elements except the head are optional for a NP.

Modifiers like *da* 'very (one)', *za* 'so', *jé ~ jén* 'only' are discourse particles and not part of the NP. They may follow a NP.

The maximal structure of a noun phrase is as follows:

possessor – Head – (determiner) – demonstrative – numeral – adjective

The determiner gives the NP a different status on sentence level. See discussion under 4.1.4.

In postpositional phrases, the postposition immediately follows the head+demonstrative. Numerals, other quantifiers and adjectives follow the postposition (4.1.8).

(1) Shapes of NPs

borá person	a person	N
bor-én hiŋká people-PL two	two persons	N num
t-a-ráswoy-t ʒíibit-an F-SG-dress-F.SG be.dirty-ADJZR	dirty dress	N adj
aɣá=n feejí 1S=GEN sheep	my sheep	[N/Pro=GEN] N
a-ʒámar óoda SG-lamb DEM	this lamb	N DEM
aɣo bíibi DET black.ADJ	the black (one)	DET adj
í-səls(a) úuraɣ wán-en PL-clothing gold of-PL	clothes (made) of gold	N [N POSS]

It is rare to find more than two modifiers accompanying a head noun in texts (not counting the determiner). There is no occurrence of a simple NP with both a numeral and a qualifying modifier in our corpus but they can be elicited.

4.1.2 Possessor phrases

There are two possessive constructions. In the first construction the possessor is marked by a postposition *n* (glossed GEN) and precedes the possessed. In the second construction, an element *wáni* (glossed POSS) is used, which follows the possessor. In this construction the possessor phrase follows the possessed.

4.1.2.1 Genitive n

The most common possessor phrases are PPs consisting of a NP followed by the genitive postposition *n* (*ən* if following a C) (glossed

GEN). The postposition assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant (see 2.4.1.1). The possessor PP precedes the head of the NP.

With this construction a much wider range of semantic connections is expressed than possession only. Similar to English 'of', which ranges from ownership of property to part of whole and many other and more abstract relationships, *n* GEN is found in various contexts, among others, noun formations consisting of a concrete noun and a verbal noun such as *a-gáyis ən wí* (SG-bustard GEN kill.VN) 'bustard killing' or locational attributes such as *tugúdu n cidáy* (tree GEN underneath) 'under a/the tree'.

It was shown earlier (3.2.6.4) that the series of possessive pronouns also contains the genitive marker. As expected, the pronoun takes the place of the noun it replaces. The example below shows both a possessive pronoun in the possessor phrase and a genitive postposition joining two NPs.

(2) *[[í=n baba] n] t-a-ɣáʒam-t*
3p=GEN father GEN F-SG-court-F.SG
their father's courtyard

Several possessor phrases can follow each other. Probably the maximal expansion is illustrated by the following example.

(3) *[[[[aɣ=n amənóokal] ən] bundú] n] míya*
1s=GEN chief GEN stick GEN end
the end of the stick of my chief

The allomorphs of the possessive pronouns are discussed under 2.4.2.4.

4.1.2.2 Possessor wáni / wán-en

A possessor phrase formed with the postposition *wáni,* pl. *wán-en* follows the head NP it specifies. The postposition normally agrees in number with the head noun. Semantically an owner relationship is not its first function, most often it specifies the character of the head noun.

(4) a) *a-máagor* *[wáy* *wáni]*
SG-young.camel woman POSS
a female young camel

b) *alʒimáʃa* *[arw-én* *wáni]*
assembly man-PL POSS
a crowd of men (not of women)

c) *zaɣrí* *[altanín* *wáni]*
day Monday POSS
a Monday (not a Tuesday)

d) *i-ssál-an* *[t-á-zdək-k* *wán-en]*
PL-news-PL F-SG-cleanness-F.SG POSS-PL
news of/about cleanness

There are some examples in our corpus which show lack of number agreement with the head noun. In some instances the head noun is so far away from the particle that the speaker may have 'lost count' and then it agrees with the noun next to it. In the example below, a relative clause is inserted between the head noun and the modifier, and number agreement is with plural *bəkáw-yan* 'jinns', rather than with the singular head of the NP *t-a-nə́fus-t* 'story'.

(5) *t-a-nə́fus-t* *aɣo* *aɣ=tə-d(á)* *ándi* *se*
F-SG-deed-F.SG DET 1s=FUT-do 2p DAT
[bəkáw-yan *wán-en]*
jinn-PL of-PL
the story I want to tell you (pl) is of/about spirits.

A possessive element of similar form is found in KS and KCH (/wane, wana/).

4.1.3 Noun phrases with demonstratives

Tadaksahak has six different demonstrative particles that can specify a noun. None of them agrees in number with the head noun and they all follow the noun, with the exception of *na*. The determiner *aɣo* DET

and *aɣondo ~ əndaɣo ~ ənnaɣo* DET.PL are not part of this series of demonstratives since demonstratives can co-occur with this marker. All noun phrases with a demonstrative are definite, whether a DET marker is present or not. The function of the DET will be discussed in 4.1.4.

(6) Demonstratives with their basic meaning

form	meaning	gloss	label
(a)sénda	away from speaker or other deictic center	'that'	DEM.FAR
óoda	near to the speaker or deictic center, including cataphoric	'this'	DEM.NEAR
áyda	close to the addressee, in the proximity	'this'	DEM.PROX
adí	anaphoric, active	'that'	ANA
o	broader reference than *óoda*	'this/that'	DEBR
na N	facing, opposite	'this/that'	OPP

The three first demonstratives on the list are 'true' demonstratives, i.e. they can combine with any type of noun and specify it. They mark a three-way difference in distance, where *óoda* 'this' is close at hand while *sénda* 'that' is far away and *áyda* 'this' is in the proximity, yet not close at hand. *o* DEBR (DEmonstrative with Broad Reference) and *na* OPP (opposite) have a specific use and can therefore not combine with all nouns. *adí* ANA (anaphoric) functions on discourse level only; there is no spatial value linked to it.

The term *né* 'place' can combine with all the demonstratives except *sénda* 'that' and *na* 'opposite'.

The neutral referent *hé* 'thing' can combine with most demonstratives (except *sénda* 'that' and *na* 'opposite') and behaves then almost like a pronoun. Find examples in the appropriate sections below.

4.1.3.1 sénda ~ asénda 'that'

(7) *záw-kat* *aɣáy* *[huur(ú)* *asénda]*
take-VEN 1s fire DEM.FAR
Bring me that fire!

This demonstrative can combine with an NP containing a possessive pronoun.

(8) *ni=n* *haam(ú)* *asénda*
2s=GEN meat DEM.FAR
that your meat / your meat there

In combination with other determiners (see below) *sénda* may be shortened and appear as *sé* 'there', normally carrying stress (not to be confused with *se* DAT).

This demonstrative has its origin in Tamasheq. It can be used adverbially and as modifier of a noun phrase.

4.1.3.2 óoda 'this'

The demonstrative *óoda* combines with location names and can be found together with a possessive pronoun.

(9) *a)* *A-ʃʃaɣal* *óoda* *a=b-z-éḍəẓ* *aɣay.*
SG-work DEM.NEAR 3S-IMPERF-CAUS-be.tired 1s.IO
This work makes me tired.

b) *aɣá=n* *haw(u)* *óoda* *əndáŋga…*
1s=GEN cow DEM.NEAR when
this my cow, when…

c) *a=kkun(a)* *íŋgi* *Assáylal* *óoda* *be.*
3s=find 3p.EMP loc.name DEM.NEAR LOC
he found them in Essaylal here (the closer of two possible places with that name).

d) *…hár jé* *i-múu-dar-an* *óoda* *káamil*
until only PL-ACT-animal-PL DEM.NEAR all
i=hun(u)-án *sénda* *ka.*
3p=leave-ALL DEM.FAR LOC
... as soon as all these animals were dead there.

The combination with *he* 'thing' + *óoda* can be translated with 'this' as in 'he did this:...' and is in this form mostly pointing ahead in time, i.e. has a cataphoric function.

(10) *a=ddá* *[h(e)* *óoda]* *a=ss-og(á)* *áŋga*
3s=do thing DEM.NEAR 3s=CAUS-approach 3s.EMP
[éelaw *ən* *t-í-nʒar] ...*
elephant GEN F-PL-nostril
he did this: he approached it (the hot grease) to Elephant's nostrils…

KCH and KS have a demonstrative /woo/ (Heath 1999a:82; 1999b:97) that can occur together with an emphatic particle /da/ in Gao (Heath 1999b:133, 265). One hypothesis is that *óoda* 'this' consists of /woo/ reduced to /oo/ plus /da/ the discourse function particle (glossed INT 'intensifier') also found in Tadaksahak. Note that several Tamasheq speech varieties also have a particle /da/ to indicate 'here, there, at the place in question' (Prasse et al. 2003:69, also Sudlow 2001:333).

4.1.3.3 áyda 'this'

The deictic use of this determiner indicates closeness to the addressee.

(11) *a)* *ʃ-inʃ(á)=a* *táabəl* *áyda* *be.*
CAUS-put.on.BND=3s table DEM.PROX on
put it on this table (close to you)!

b) *andə=gguná* *gánd(a)* *áyda*
2s=see land DEM.PROX
ande=b-guná(=a?) *n(e)* *áyda* *ka…*
2s=IMPERF-see(=3s?) place DEM.PROX LOC
You(pl) see this land you see (it?) around here…(it is a lot and you think it is worthless)

On discourse level its use is anaphoric.

(12) *t-a-cíḍaw-t áyda a=tə-ṣót-kat áy=n wəl ka...*
F-SG-bird-F.SG DEM.PROX 3S=FUT-fly-VEN 3S=GEN heart LOC
This bird (earlier topic in discourse) flew from her heart…

áyda occurs most frequently with *né* 'place' to indicate a temporal 'now' or a spatial 'here'. Acoustically this is very close to *néeda* 'here' [né:da] while *n(e) áyda* is pronounced [néjda]. In texts the two expressions are sometimes interchangeable but in deictic use they are clearly distinct from each other, i.e., *néeda* gives a very specific place while *n(e) áyda* is close by but not a specific spot (see second line (11)b).

Sometimes when *h(e)* 'thing' *+ áyda* occurs, e.g., 'he did this (action named before)...'. it can be replaced by *h(e) + adí* 'he did this (afore named action)'.

One possibility of an origin of this determiner is a fusion of two morphemes: *a=* '3s' and *da* INT. It has been shown (3.2.6.4) that this clitic has an allomorph *ay=* when it attaches to something other than a verb stem. A semantic paraphrase could then be '(the/a) very him' indicating that 'he' is known and has been mentioned before.

4.1.3.4 adí 'anaphoric'

adí is always anaphoric to an established referent in the discourse, marking a participant or other referent still active in the hearer's mental representation.

It can often be observed together with the neutral noun *he* 'thing' to refer to some past event.

(13) *aywa* *t-a-néfus-t* *a=bbén* *məʃʃin* *dá*
RESUME F-SG-story-F.SG 3S=be.finished but INT
aṭṭáalib *a=kkás* *alwalí* *dəffər* *[h(e)* *adí]*
student 3S=be seer after thing ANA
so, the story is finished, however, the student became a seer after this (the deed told in the story).

In Songhay of Gao there is an anaphoric particle /din/ with a similar function (Heath 1999b:131). Nigerien Tawəlləmmət Tamasheq uses a demonstrative with exactly this shape but with a different function (Prasse et al. 2003:70).

4.1.3.5 o 'broad anaphoric'

The element *o* refers to a broader referent than a particular point in time or place - rather to a period or an area. In the following short exchange this determiner is used. It does not refer to a particular moment during the morning, but rather to the more vague time period 'morning':

(14) *Q:* *c(i)* *agúd* *a=ttén?*
what? time 3S=arrive
when did he arrive?

A: *alfájir* *o.*
morning DEBR
this morning. (of the day the conversation takes place)

o is used most frequently with temporal and spatial nouns. In a temporal context it can stand in opposition to *óoda* which is cataphoric.

Particularly with a perfective aspect on the verb, the particle is used to indicate anteriority in time.

(15) *a)* *t-áa-dwi-t* *o* *i=zzoɣ*
F-SG-afternoon-F.SG DEBR 3P=fight
This (past) afternoon they had a fight.

b) *...aɣa=m-húnu-kat* *aɣ=n* *aláaħit*
1S=SUBJ-leave-VEN 1S=GEN tablet
[t-áa-dwi-t *óoda]*
F-SG-afternoon-F.SG DEM.NEAR
...I (may) finish my (koranic) lesson this (coming) afternoon."

o easily combines with *he* ‘thing’ and then takes almost pronoun-like properties. This combination will be glossed as a single unit *ho* (thing.DEBR) ‘this’. A frequently found NP is *ho sénda* ‘this/that’. Consider the following example. A long explanation is summed up with this final sentence:

(16) *[[ho sénda] be] za i=gguná-katsá…*
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR LOC LC 3p=see-VEN COMP
So, because of this [lit: this thing there] they saw that…

For stylistic reasons, some speakers use *o* after non-temporal nouns instead of *óoda*, e.g. in direct speech, even when elsewhere in the story the long form is used.

The closest relative of this particle is the Songhay demonstrative /woo/ ‘this/that’ which is also used anaphorically in discourse (Heath 1999a:61; Heath 1999b:130). In addition, KS has a definite singular suffix /-oo/ or /-aa/ (Heath 1999b:127) which may be another, less probable, source for this demonstrative in Tadaksahak.

The demonstrative *óoda* ‘this’ could also be a candidate, assuming that *o* could be an abbreviated form of the latter. The demonstrative *o* has a clear preference for combining with temporal nouns, whereas *óoda* is not restricted. In some instances the two may be interchangeable yet in others they have opposing meanings (see above).

4.1.3.6 ná ‘opposite’

This determiner precedes the noun it marks. In combination with *aŋo* DET, which functions as the head, *ná* is a frequently used demonstrative. Any object or person pointed at without being called by its name can be referred to by *ná aŋo* ‘this (one)’

(17) *[ná aɣo] a=b-s-áwəl t-ée-laq-q*
OPP DET 3S=IMPERF-CAUS-sharpen F-SG-knife-F.SG
[ná aɣondo] i=f-kaṭám-kaṭam haamú
OPP DET.PL 3p=IMPERF-cut meat
this (one) sharpens a knife, those are cutting meat.

Syntactically, this conglomerate is treated like a full NP consisting of a noun with determiner.

In texts, *ná* alone is most frequently found determining nouns of location, mostly together with a shortened form of the demonstrative 'that' *sé* and it conveys a location facing ('vis-à-vis') the place from where the action starts.

(18) *a=ffur-an=a [[n(a) áŋgu]sé] ka*
3s=throw-ALL=3s OPP place DEM.FAR LOC
he threw him away over there.

When the particle appears twice in the same sentence, it indicates two opposed possibilities of the same entity, as marked in English with 'this or that'. The following command encodes such an instance.

(19) *wa dá [ná hó] wa dá [ná hó]*
IMP do OPP thing.DEBR IMP do OPP thing.DEBR
do (pl) this (and) do (pl) that!

ná occurs three times in the corpus in the introductory clause to a story, accompanying the future major participant. In all these cases the storyteller may have conveyed that she/he judges the behavior of that particular participant undesirable, not good for the hearer to copy.

(20) *i=ccí kəlá kəlá [na wáy fó]*
3p=say once once OPP woman IND
hó sé
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR
there was once this woman...

Songhay of Gao has a preverbal direct object morpheme /na/ that also precedes the noun (or pronoun) it marks (Heath 1999b:212). Semantically far from determiner, this particle is by its shape and syntactic behavior the closest candidate for an origin of *ná*.

4.1.4 NPs with aɣo *'determiner'*

The determiner *aɣo* follows the noun it modifies and is always followed by an additional element, typically a demonstrative, e.g. *tugúdu aɣo óoda* /tree DET DEM.NEAR/ 'this tree'.

The particle is attested in singular and plural form with dialectal variants.

(21) Forms of the determiner

aɣo	DET	
aɣondo	DET.PL	Talatayt
əndaɣo	DET.PL	Meneka
ənnaɣo	DET.PL	Infukaraytan
waŋɣo	DET.PL	Tamalet

The plural forms may be *aɣo* fused with other particles known in the language, i.e. *ənd(a)-aɣo* (with-DET) 'those' with the contracted form *ənn-aɣo* and *aɣo-(ə)nd(a)-o* (DET-with-DEBR) 'that with those' and a last variant that seems to contain a Tamasheq particle /w-/ that is used in the same environment. Especially the first variant *aɣondo* is also found with the additional morpheme *no* 'there' intervening *aɣonda-no* 'those there (= at question)' where the last element (demonstrative) is dropped in favor of a semantically more locational element.

The particles do not seem to have lexical stress, rather the following element, e.g., an inflected verb, a demonstrative or a postposition, carries the stress.

aɣo can be combined with all demonstratives.

In combination with the determiner an NP has a different status on sentence level. NPs with a head noun and a determiner are always topicalized or constitute an otherwise salient element of the sentence.

The determiner together with *ná* OPP may also function as a pronoun for (con)textually established entities without a noun present. *Aɣo* is also found after NPs that are followed by a relative clause (see 4.5.1).

The origin of the particle is not easy to find. It is attested in the other Northern Songhay languages but not in this shape in Mainstream Songhay.

4.1.4.1 aɣo + demonstratives

These examples are all given with a larger context, sometimes in English, to show the salience of the NP. The examples are given with the demonstratives in the same order as in the previous section.

(22) (when he left his wife, she was washing dishes.)
a=yyed-kat=a *t-oo-lás-t*
3s=return-VEN=3s F-SG-repeat-F.SG
tuw-yén *aɣondo* *sénda* *i=nə-hímay.*
receptacle-PL DET.PL DEM.FAR 3p=NEG.PERF-wash
(when) he came back to her again, those dishes were not (finished) washing.

(23) *fur* *aɣ(o)* *óoda* *áŋga* *a-ḍə́gəg*
throw.VN$_i$ DET DEM.NEAR 3s.EMP$_i$ SG-fear
a=sə́-mmay *ni=wáni* *a-ḍə́gəg* *wáni!*
3s=NEG.IMPERF-own 2s=of SG-fear of
this throw, there is no fear in it, (but) yours was of fear!
(= I was not afraid when I threw, but you were!)

In texts, *óoda* appears more frequently with DET *aɣo* than without it. This seems logical since this particle indicates 'at the center of interest' and this would often be the (re-introduced) topic or the thing that is going to be talked about, i.e., such a noun phrase is also marked for topicality or focus and is salient in its context.

(24) (do you understand this? [speaker addressing hearer])
zama aaru *aɣó* *(a)yda* *a=ttén* *ənda*
after man DET DEM.PROX 3s=arrive with
t-a-kárḍas-t *óoda* *(h(e)* *adí* *za)*
F-SG-letter-F.SG DEM.NEAR thing ANA LC
a=nn(á) *áa=se* *n* *i.*
3s=give 3s=DAT SEP 3p
after this man had arrived with this letter, (so this) he gave them (camels) to him.

(25) (a marabout's wife, after having declared that it was not the food that had brought her to this (other) man but his person, gets the answer:)
kaláakala
no
he (a)ɣo (a)dí wiji hé aɣ=tə-háaṣi-an aɣáy.
thing DET ANA is.not thing 1s=FUT-look-ALL 1s
no, this (that you want to live with me) is not something that I will consider.

The only occurrence of *o* DEBR following *aɣo* is found where the specified referent is an utterance. Later this utterance is used as a name, around which the whole conflict of the story turns. It is here marked as salient for the story.

(26) (Hare heard her…)
s(a) a=ccí he (a)ɣo (ó)
COMP 3s=say thing DET DEBR
s(a) ínnazag a=ccí bárr-en se
COMP hyena 3s=say child-PL DAT
'andə=b-déeraw' aɣo (ó).
2p=IMPERF-share DET DEBR
…that she said this, that Hyena said this "You(pl) share" to the children.

Final vowel shortening does not allow length to mark the particle. It is in fact stress on the last syllable of *aɣó* that indicates the presence of another morpheme.

When *ná* 'opposite' co-occurs with *aɣo* in order to modify a noun, the combination follows the noun and then behaves like all the other demonstratives.

(27) *Arə=háw t-a-bákar-t [[tugúdu nná aɣo] ka]*
1p=attach F-SG-ewe-F.SG tree OPP DET LOC
We attached the sheep at that tree over there. (in front of the speaker at the moment of the report, pointed at)

4.1.4.2 aɣo + wani/wan-en

When *aɣo* occurs together with the possessive element *wani*, it follows the head noun immediately. When a demonstrative is present, it follows DET. Two of the examples have a location name that is referentially definite.

(28) a) *t-a-dáalat-t* *aɣo* *[áagar* *wáni]*
F-SG-be.green-F.SG DET tree.sp POSS
(the) green of the 'aagar'-tree.

b) *gánd(a)* *aɣo* *[Iḍéeləman wáni]*
earth DET loc.name POSS
the region of Indeliman

c) *mán aɣo óoda* *[Áffud* *wáni]*
name DET DEM.NEAR loc.name POSS
this name (of) 'Affud' (=Ansongo)

In constructions with possessive markers, *aɣo* seems to be insensible to number as the following example shows (see also (c) below):

(29) *i-múṇas* *aɣo* *[Áyyar* *wáni]* *i=b-zaryáf.*
PL-camel DET loc.name POSS 3p=IMPERF-be.spots
the camels of the Air have large spots.

4.1.4.3 aɣo + n

This combination is found in a type of compound like words e.g. 'airplane' and 'feast'. Note that the constituent order is different from the regular genitival construction. Here the head precedes the modifier and *aɣo* seems to be insensible to number (c).

(30) a) *[t-óo-ruf-t* *aɣo* *n* *i-ʒínn-an]* *á=mmay*
F-SG-car-F.SG DET GEN PL-sky-PL 3s=have
áfr-an *hiŋká.*
wing-PL two
The airplane (lit: car that of sky) has two wings.

b) *[zaɣrí* *aɣo* *n* *jinjirí]*
day DET GEN prayer
kullú bor(á) *a=dd(á)* *ée-zəl.*
each person 3s=put SG-dress.up
(On) the feast (lit: day that of prayer), everybody dresses up.

c) *í-ŋgur-an* *aɣo* *n* *agíilal*
PL-braid.type-PL DET GEN rear
neck braids (braided in a particular way)

The next example is standard for the terms 'older and younger sibling'. They always occur with a determiner of some kind (often a possessive, e.g., 'my').

(31) *aɣo* *n* *céena* *a=tə́-ci*
DET GEN younger.sibling 3s=FUT-say
aɣo *n* *bér* *se:*
DET GEN older.sibling DAT
The younger (brother) would say to the older (brother):

Temporal expressions are also found with this construction.

(32) *Ar=n* *alzímmət* *aɣo* *n* *bi...*
1p=GEN chat DET GEN yesterday
Our chat (of) yesterday …

4.1.5 NPs with numerals

4.1.5.1 Numerals 'one' to 'ten'

Numerals from 'one' to 'ten' follow a noun like most other modifiers. The noun is in the plural and a demonstrative or a possessive may be present.

(33) a) *...aɣa=m-d(á)* *ándi* *s(e)* *[a-sə́stən* *fóo-da]*
1s=SUBJ-do 2p DAT SG-question one-INT
... to ask you one question

b) *[bor-én* *kaaráḍ]* *ə-b-guŋg(ú)* *[i-múṇas* *hiŋká]*
person-PL three IMPERF-lead PL-camel two
(here are) three persons leading two camels

c) *i=mmáy* *[í=n* *nan-én* *hiŋká]*
3p=have 3p=GEN mother-PL two
They had their two mothers

All numerals from ‘two’ to ‘ten’ can function as the head of an NP.

(34) *[hiŋk(á)]* *i=b-n-əbdəd*
two 3p=IMPERF-RECI-talk.BND
Two are talking with each other.

Postpositions precede modifying numerals. An example is given below in (59).

One occurrence of the plural indefinite marker *cind-én* with a numeral was found in the introductory sentence to a story. The indefinite marker follows the modified noun immediately and the numeral closes the NP.

(35) *[arw-én* *cind-én* *hiŋk(á)]* *í=báara*
man-PL IND-PL two 3p=be
(there) were two certain men

Both men are equally important for the ensuing story and may therefore be introduced this way.

4.1.5.2 Numerals from ‘ten’ to ‘ninety’

Noun phrases with numerals higher than ‘ten’ are formed as a genitive construction. The modified noun, i.e. the head and last element of the clause, is in the singular.

(36) a) *táaʃinda* *n* *zaɣrí*
twenty GEN day
twenty days

b) *ṭáasay-t-ə-méṛw-in* *ən* *borá*
nine-F-PL-ten-PL GEN person
ninety people

This construction can be used to express ‘for X money’ where the numeral gives the amount of money and the head noun is the item paid for. Often the head is a mass noun but it can also be some other item that can be bought. The numeral refers to the smallest monetary unit, ‘one coin’ of 5 Francs CFA.

(37) *záw-kat* *aɣáy* *[táaʃinda* *n* *jí]*
take-VEN 1s 20 GEN butter
Bring me butter for 100FCFA.

4.1.5.3 Numerals higher than 'hundred'

The terms '100' and '1000' and 'million' are nouns that are counted like other entities and then appear in the plural. They are mostly used in connection with money where the numeral '100' designates the 500CFA bill/coin. The examples below illustrates that the postposition follows the noun immediately even if this happens to be a complex numeral.

(38) a) *aɣa=ṣṣ-úr* *ana* *ʃammúʃ-ə-t-ə-mérw-in*
1s=CAUS-put.on 2s.DAT five-[ə]-F-SG-ten-PL
[a-jím *be* *ənda* *[ṭ-á-mmad* *ʃammúʃ]]*
SG-thousand LOC with F-PL-hundred five
I add you fifty on the thousand and five hundred.
= I add you 250CFA on the 7500CFA.

b) *s-ədbəl-an* *miliyón-tan* *[zaɣr-én* *be* *kaaṛáḍ]*
CAUS-heap-ADJZR million-PL day-PL LOC three
heaping up millions (in money) in three days

4.1.5.4 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers are formed as a phrase containing first the determiner *aɣo*, then the comitative *ənda* 'with' and then the numeral. According to regular vowel elision rules /o/ is always heard but the final /a/ of *ənda* is deleted when a vowel initial numeral follows. For some unknown reason, *aɣo* recieves stress in this construction.

The numeral '1' cannot be combined with this paradigm. Instead a noun phrase based on a verb stem comes in place of the numeral.

(39) *Ordinals*

phrase	gloss
aɣo yizzár-an	first
DET be.ahead-ADJZR	
aɣó (ə)nda hiŋká	second

aɣó (ə)nd(a) akkóz	fourth
aɣó (ə)nda maaṛá	tenth

This paradigm can constitute an NP by itself when the referent is known, or it can be a modifier to a noun.

(40) a) *[aɣó (ə)nda hiŋká] a=nə-yée-kat*
DET with two 3S=NEG.PERF-return-VEN
the second did not return.

b) *ciimí [aɣó (ə)nda kaaṛáḍ]...*
truth DET with three
the third truth...

When counting days yet another paradigm is possible. The referent of the possessive pronoun *ay=n* 'its' in the example below is 'this current month'. Thus referring to a definite entity the numeral can be read as an ordinal with a literal rendering 'its (month) twentieth'.

(41) *alɦád [ay=n táaʃinda], wiji?*
Sunday 3S=GEN 20 is.not
Sunday is the twentieth, isn't it?

4.1.5.5 Multiplication and distributive clauses

Multiplication can also be expressed with a simple NP. The head is a numeral in the plural and the modifier numeral expresses 'how many times'.

(42) *iʃʃ-én kaaṛáḍ* *kaaṛaḍ-én iʃʃá*
seven-PL 3 three-PL 7
3 times seven 7 times three

Numerals above 'ten' use a different paradigm that can also be used for numerals below 'ten'.

(43) a) *táaʃinda har maaṛá*
twenty until ten
ten times twenty

b) *ʃammúʃ har maaṛá (ə)dn(a) a-ffó*
five until ten with SG-one
eleven times five.

Distributive clauses reduplicate the numeral. ‘one’ appears first in a shortened form and then as the full count noun. The other numerals do not change shape when used in this paradigm.

(44) a) *a=b-dumb(u)-i* *je* *(ə)nd(a)* *a-ffó* *a-ffóo-da*
3s=IMPERF-cut-3p only with SG-one SG-one-INT
He had simply killed them one by one.

b) *wa* *mə-ṭə́ṛ-ṭəṛ* *ənda hiŋká hiŋká.*
IMP RECI-DUP-line.up with two two
Line (yourself.pl) up two by two!

4.1.5.5.1 One and the other

Several strategies exist to express ‘one and the other’. When both referents are established and equally important for the ongoing action, the following construction can be used:

(45) *a-ffó* *(a)=cc(i)* *a-ffó* *se...*
SG-one 3s=say SG-one DAT
One said to the other:...

However, there exists also the expression *fáḍḍan ~ fáaḍan* that denotes ‘other’, ‘different from another known X’ in all contexts.

(46) *aɣo* *fáḍḍan* *a=cc(í)* *áy=n* *caráy* *se:...*
DET other 3s=say 3s=GEN friend DAT
The other said to his friend:...

When the additional feature ‘antagonist’ of an ongoing story needs to be conveyed, yet another way is possible to express ‘the other(s)’: The demonstrative *na* ‘opposite’ together with the determiner *aɣo* encode ‘the other (opponent)’. This is exemplified in example (47).

The text material preceding the following example informs the listener that the first son, the antagonist of the other sons, had received a limping horse. Then follows the clause:

(47) *a=nná* *ná* *aɣondo* *se* *baar-én*
3s=give OPP DET.PL DAT horse-PL
(and) He (father) gave (good) horses to the other ones.

4.1.6 NPs with other quantifying modifiers

Several modifiers are found that indicate the whole group of a given set. *káamil* 'all' (from Arabic /kaamil/ 'entire') always follows the noun it modifies and does not agree in number.

Examples of *káamil* 'all'

(48) *a)* *[i-mənóokal-an* *káamil]* *i=kkəsán* *i-múnsuw-an.*
PL-chief-PL all 3p=refuse PL-meal-PL
All the chiefs refused to eat.

b) *[[hé* *(a)ɣo* *sénda]* *káamil]* *nín* *a=f-keedí*
thing DET DEM.FAR all 2s 3s=IMPERF-be.on
All that is your responsibility (Lit: lays on you).

c) *ba* *gə́dəm* *áa=be,* *[ándi* *káamil]*
IMP lay 3s=LOC 2p.EMP all
Lay(pl) on him, you all!

In some instances with a singular noun it can be read as 'every one of a given entity' as in *ənd(a) a-hándag káamil* 'towards every place'. In other instances a reading is also 'entirely' or paraphrased differently 'all of X' as in *a=ŋŋ(á)=a, áŋga káamil* 'he ate him entirely'.

kullú 'each' can be read as 'each one of a given entity' and so also indicates 'all' in some instances. Again, this modifier does not agree in number with the head noun which it follows.

Examples of *kullú* 'each'

(49) *a)* *ún* *za* *[hé* *(a)ɣo óoda* *kullú]*
indeed LC thing DET DEM.NEAR each
alfáqi *óoda* *a=ssə́stən* *ənd(a)=á....*
teacher DEM.NEAR 3S=ask with=3s
So indeed, all this the teacher was asking himself....

b) *[íŋgi* *kullú]* *a=ffáṛṛaḍ* *áy=n* *ga* *se*
3p.EMP each 3s=neglect 3s=GEN self DAT
Each one of them (preventions) he neglected for himself.

kullú is rarely found with plural entities and the second example above could be analyzed as an equational clause and then read 'they

(preventions) are each (something) ...' so insisting on each single action yet still including all of them.

A dialectal variant is *hák* 'each' (from Tamasheq) used in the southern region, as found in *hak borá* 'each person' or *hak a-ffo* 'each one'. It precedes the noun it modifies.

Another expression for 'each/every' is *íttilla* (from Tamasheq). Like *hák* this modifier precedes the noun it modifies. It is only used with singular nouns. When combined with countable time expressions like 'day' each single entity is evoked. In that context *káamil* and *íttilla* are synonyms: *íttilla záɣri = záɣri káamil* 'every day'. Less countable time expressions like 'moment' convey 'every moment = whenever'. When *íttilla* stands by itself a time referent is evoked 'each time/whenever'. 'person'-type words may be perceived as uncountable since the modification encodes 'everybody'.

(50) a) *[íttilla zaɣr(í)]* *i=tə-tén* *sénda...*
each day 3p=FUT-arrive DEM.FAR
Each/every day they would arrive there...

b) *[íttill(a) ágg* *aádəm]* *máṇṇ(a)* *a=tə-ḍáaɾ=a*
each son.of Adam lack.food 3s=FUT-harm=3s
Everybody will suffer for lack of food.

c) *[íttill(a)]* *a=yyíkti-kat* *aɣáy...*
each 3s=remember-VEN 1s
Each time (=whenever) he remembers me...

Different from Mainstream Songhay, where /kul/ has the above functions as well as some others, Tadaksahak has different quantifiers, which all tend to have their specific function but sometimes overlap. *kullú* is mainly used with singular entities to evoke 'each of X' underlining the single unity of a set, where as *káamil* mostly modifies countable plural nouns and then denotes 'all Xs'. This can be very generic as in *bor-en káamil* 'all people = everybody' where it is equivalent with *íttilla bora* 'everybody'.

An expression for a non-specified ‘every one of a group’ is *káaka*. This form may be related to the postposition *ka* LOC that can in some contexts be read as ‘from among’. A possible analysis is then *X k(a) áa=ka* ‘from among X he/she/it in (it) = whoever/whatever’. However, the term is invariable even when used with plural nouns (example d) below).

(51) a) *məʃʃín* *[t-a-báɣor-t* *káaka]* *ni=ddá*
but F-SG-fortune-F.SG whatever 2s=make
gánda *ka* *(ə)n=sə́-mmay...*
land LOC 2s=NEG.IMPERF-have
But whatever fortune you make in a country that is not yours...

b) *wala [he* *káak(a)]* *a=ddá...*
or thing whatever 3s=do
or whatever he did...

c) *[bora* *káak(a)]* *a=f-kéeni*
person whatever 3s=IMPERF-sleep
ayn *á-dagar* *dá* *a=tə-kéeni.*
3s-GEN SG-share INT 3s=FUT-sleep
Whoever is sleeping, his share is laying (down), too.

d) *[ary-en* *káaka]* *ni-b-nín…*
water-PL whatever 2s-IMPERF-drink
whatever water you drink…

‘Many’ or ‘much’ is expressed with the verbal root ‘be much/many’ *babó* derived as adjective and then following the noun, e.g. *ay=n almán babó-(a)n* (3s=GEN herd be.numerous-ADJZR) ‘his big/ numerous herd’ or *id-almáʃna babó-(a)nən* (PL-meaning be.numerous-ADJZR.PL) ‘many meanings’.

A genitive construction with *íccet* ‘quantity’ expresses ‘a lot of’, with pejorative connotations. *íccet ən t-a-báʒnaw-t* (quantity GEN F-SG-old.donkey-F.SG) ‘(what) quantity of old donkey’ is said about a person that works slowly or moves inelegantly.

‘Few’ or ‘little (bit) of’ is expressed in a genitive construction. The reported way to say ‘a little bit of X’ is *X n hé* (X GEN thing) or *árat ən X* (thing GEN X). The latter is imported from Tamasheq together with the syntax with a reversal of head and dependant from the Tadaksahak point of view. In our texts a conglomerate of both is used in all but one case, e.g., *árat ən yél ən hé* (thing GEN green.grass GEN

thing) ‘a little bit of green grass’. The double expression may be a way to insist on the really very small amount.

‘not much of an action’ or an otherwise more abstract entity is expressed with a clause. The clause can be repeated to convey an intensified ‘small amount’ as it is done to answer “Do you know French?” *h(e) á=cceená, h(e) á=cceená* (thing 3s=be.small) ‘very little’. In the second example given below, however, the repetition with the preceding *ənda* ‘with’ is distributive to convey ‘a little bit here and a little bit there’.

(52) a) *aɣ=tə-də́wwənn-ət* *áa=ka* *h(e) a=cceená*
1s=FUT-speak 3s=LOC thing 3s=be.small
I will speak a little bit about it.

b) *alxér a=f-tén*
peace 3s=IMPERF-arrive
ənda h(e) á=cceená *h(e) á=cceená*
with thing 3s=be.small thing 3s=be.small
Peace arrives little by little...

4.1.7 NPs with adjectives

In a simple NP of the type ‘a beautiful girl’ the pattern is the same as with the other modifiers. The adjective follows the modified noun and agrees in number with the noun. Simple NPs with an adjective occur most frequently in the introductory clause of a new participant, e.g., ‘they had a black goat’. A demonstrative and/or the determiner may intervene and then precedes the adjective.

(53) a) *t-á-ŋgud* *giŋ-gimán*
F-SG-girl DUP-be.good
(a) beautiful girl

b) *aarú bum-bun-án*
man DUP-be.dead-ADJZR
(a) dead man

c) *bi-yén* *giŋ-gimán-ən*
shade-PL DUP-be.good-ADJZR.PL
pleasant shades

d) *i-wútay* *yibrár-anən*
PL-year be.bad-ADJZR.PL
bad years

e) *ay-n* *míya sə-sməd-án*
3s-GEN beak CAUS-be.pointed-ADJZR
its pointed beak (of a bird)

f) *íizac(e)* *asénda* *gin-gimán*
youngster DEM.FAR DUP-be.good
that handsome young man

g) *diní* *baarí* *aɣo* *n-áfrən-ən...*
take horse DET RECI-be.chosen-ADJZR
take the best horse... (Lit: horse that is chosen...)

h) *hé* *(a)ɣo duuw(a)-án ...*
thing DET be.better-ADJZR
it is better... (Lit: the better thing is...)

i) *aaru* *ná* *aɣo* *ceen(á)-an*
man OPP DET be.small-ADJZR
that other young man

There are no occurrences of a noun modified by two adjectives. Numerals can occur together with adjectives. The following example is elicited.

(54) *aɣa=gguná* *surgó-(e)n* *kaaṛád* *giŋ-giman-én*
1s=see woman-PL three DUP-be.good-ADJZR.PL
I saw three beautiful women.

Adjectives preceded by *aɣo* as the head can serve as NPs. An indefinite referent formed by an adjective is preceded by *a-ffó* 'one'.

(55) a) *aɣo* *yaynáay-an* *a=nə-gíman.*
DET be.new-ADJZR 3s=NEG-PERF-be.good
the new (one) is not good.

b) *a-ffó* *yaynáay-an* *a=dduwá*
SG-one be.new-ADJZR 3S=be.better
a new (one) is better.

4.1.8 Postpositional Phrases

Postpositional phrases contain a postposition and a NP. The postposition follows the head of the NP and some modifying phrases or elements, but precedes other modifiers. This behavior is shown below.

The postposition follows the modifying element when the head is followed by a possessive phrase with *wáni/wán-en* and when the head is followed by a demonstrative, e.g.

(56) a) *[zaɣr(í)* *áltanín* *wáni]* *ka*
day Monday of LOC
on a Monday

b) *[í-ɣərm-an* *óoda]* *ka*
PL-town-PL DEM.NEAR LOC
in these towns

c) *[Tassárəst* *óoda]* *be*
loc.name DEM.NEAR LOC
in this T.

d) *[[ho* *sénda]* *be]* *za...*
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR LOC LC
so because of that... (Lit: so on that...)

e) *[íi-zəŋg(a)* *adí]* *daw*
PL-enemy ANA LOC
(arrived) at the enemy's (place)

f) *[surgóy* *káaka]* *daw*
woman whatever LOC
at whatever woman('s place)

g) *[íizac(e)* *aɣo* *sénda]* *se*
youngster DET DEM.FAR DAT
to that young man

Other modifiers follow the postposition. This is the case of adjectives and quantifying modifiers. The verb 'to look for' in the following example has an obligatory DAT argument. The dative postposition *se* is placed before the adjective.

(57) *aɣa=bb-ə́mmaɣ aɣ=n almán se ʃi-ʃʃiy-án*
1S=IMPERF-search 1S=GEN herd DAT DUP-not.be-ADJZR
I am looking for my lost herd.

Likewise in the following PP the postposition immediately follows the noun:

(58) *tuw-yén ka zadíg-ənən*
bowl-PL LOC be.clean-ADJZR.PL
in clean bowls

This is different from KCH and KS where the postposition is always the last element of a NP even when an adjective is present (Heath 1999a:83 and Heath 1999b:114).

Numerals modifying nouns behave the same way as adjectives. The same is true of *káamil* 'all'.

Examples:

(59) *a)* *s-ədbəl-an miliyón-tan [zaɣr-én be kaaṛáḍ]*
CAUS-heap-ADJZR million-PL day-PL LOC three
heaping up millions (of money) in three days

b) *áy=n saffarí a=yyába-kat [id-áddəwəl ka káamil]*
3S=GEN medicine 3S=lack-VEN PL-country LOC all
there is no medicine (against it) in any country.

4.1.9 NP Coordination

4.1.9.1 Conjoining ənda *'with, and'*

ənda 'with, and' has several functions and meanings, as discussed in 3.2.7.8 (instrument preposition), and 4.8.3.1 (conditional). Between NPs, *ənda* is used as a coordinative element.

(60) *a)* *á=mmay haw-yén ənd(a) i-mə́ṇas.*
3S=own cow-PL with PL-camels
he owns cattle and camels.

b) *surgó-(e)n ənd(a) arw-én ənda bárr-en i=ttén*
woman- PL with man-PL with child-PL 3p=arrive
women, men and children arrived.

In enumerations, the verb may break up the series, and one item appears before the verb. In anticipation of the further items, pronominal reference on the verb is plural.

(61) *mammaní i=báara ənda fatílla n ṭónd-en*
perfume 3p=exist with torch GEN stone-PL
ənd(a) id-aṣṣáabu-tan ənda takúla-tan.
with PL-soap-PL with bread-PL
there are perfume, and torch batteries, and (pieces of) soap and (loaves of) bread.

4.1.9.2 Disjunctive meɣ, mádaɣ *and* wala *'or'*

There are a number of disjunctive particles, the most common being *meɣ* 'or' (from Tamasheq), which does not seem to have lexical stress. This particle is part of the following NP and is unaccented as long as there are less than two unaccented syllables following.

In the second example below the noun is not repeated and so *meɣ* comes to stand between two numerals. Even without the noun, the numerals do not need additional morphology to occur in this kind of phrase.

(62) a) *jí ák dílwil meɣ almán wáni?*
butter QST oil or herd of
butter, is it (vegetable) oil or of the animals?

b) *ni=f-kuná [katíbi-tan ʃammú∫] meɣ maaṛá*
2s=IMPERF-find coin-PL five or ten
you earn five or ten coins.

In addition some speakers use *mádaɣ*, another disjunctive particle taken over from Tamasheq.

(63) *a=zz-ázrəg* *ay=n* *t-á-ŋgud*
3s=CAUS-go.water 3s=GEN F-SG-girl
a-ɣázar *máday* *baŋgú*
SG-pond or well
She sends her daughter to the pond or to the well for water.

Yet another particle, *wala*, is sometimes used as a disjunctive device. This particle is originally from Arabic. In Tadaksahak texts, *wala* is relatively infrequent as a disjunctive particle for noun phrases. It is more commonly used in phrases translatable as '(not) even' or 'without'.

(64) *a=sə-húuru* *t-ə-kuṛúkaḍ* *na* *aɣonda* *no*
3s=NEG.IMPERF-enter F-PL-shame OPP DET.PL there
i-bə́ḷbad *wán-en* *wal(a)* *i=n* *i-sə́stən-an*
PL-plastic.bag of-PL or 3p=GEN PL-question-PL
wal(a) *i=n* *almuʃáqa-tan*
or 3p=GEN matter-PL
he shouldn't begin with these shameful things of the condoms, or their questions, or their matters.

In Songhay of Gao and Timbuktu this is the only disjunctive particle available and it exists also in Tamasheq.

4.2 Uses of MAN morphemes

The following sections describe the uses of the Mood-Aspect-Negation (MAN) morphemes. The shapes and basic meanings are given in 3.1.4.2. All MAN morphemes are mutually exclusive, i.e. they cannot be combined. They are prefixed to the verb stem and are themselves preceded by a subject clitic.

Different from Mainstream Songhay languages where the subjunctive has a unique form for negation, Tadaksahak has only two forms in the negative. The negative perfective is opposed to the negative imperfective, that is also used in the negation of subjunctive and future clauses. An opposition of 'terminated' and 'not (yet) terminated' seems to be the distinction. Only from the context can it be decided whether the positive correlate would have a subjunctive, an imperfective or future MAN morpheme.

4.2.1 Aspect: Perfective vs. Imperfective

The basic aspectual opposition is between perfective (unmarked) and imperfective IMPERF (*b- / f- / bə-)*.

The imperfective aspect is used to convey habitual events (65), statements about general knowledge (66), and simultaneity of an event with a temporal reference point. When the reference point is the moment of utterance, the imperfective is used to indicate present time (67). In past tense narratives, the imperfective is used to express simultaneity to the (past) time reference set by the main event (e.g. “he was reading when she entered”) (68).

(65) *aɣa=bb-ágməm.*
1S=IMPERF-chew
I (habitually) chew (tobacco).

(66) *a-rgán* *a=b-ŋá* *bor-én.*
SG-camel 3S=IMPERF-eat person-PL
an/any adult male camel bites people.

(67) *bora* *fóod(a)* *a=b-guŋg(ú)* *i-múṇas akkóz.*
person one 3S=IMPERF-lead PL-camels four
(only) one person leads four camels (while we talk).

(68) *a-ɣárɣar* *a=jjéw* *bor-én*
SG-bare.plain 3S=help person-PL
s(a) *i=b-wí* *éeqad.*
when 3P=IMPERF-kill bush.fire
the barren plain helped the people when they were putting out the bush fire.

The imperfective is obligatory with a subgroup of adjectival verbs that indicate durable quality. This group includes all color verbs and qualities of fur.

(69) a) *aɣa=n* *hinciní* *a=f-kooráy.*
1S=GEN goat 3S=IMPERF-be.white
my goat is white.

b) *a-zóolaɣ* *a=b-ʃaɣár.*
SG-male.goat 3s=IMPERF-have.small.white.spots
(the) male goat has small white spots.

Some perception verbs (‘hear’ ‘see’) can take a complement in the IMPERF (4.3.10.2).

The perfective is used with foregrounded, simple sequential events in narratives (70). In the speech situation it indicates that the event is closed (71).

(70) *U.* *a=ffúur-a*
pro.name 3s=throw-3s
ay=n *kəmbərí* *a=nə-yáʃad* *áa=ka*
3s=GEN spear 3s=NEG.PERF-go.straight 3S=loc
a=dd(á) *áa=k(a)* *á-triʃ* *ceen-án*
3s=make 3s=LOC SG-wound be.small-ADJZR
U. threw it, his spear did not reach it (lion) straight, it made it a small wound.

(71) *ni=zzáy* *bitígi ka.*
2s=steal shop LOC
you have stolen from the shop.

4.2.2 Mood: Indicative vs. Subjunctive m-

Subjunctive mood is semantically connected with intention, desire, planned events, i.e. with events which are not yet realized. It is not firmly attached to a time frame. It is often found in (subordinate) purpose clauses (see 4.8.2.1) and hypothetical acts as described in instructions (72). The subjunctive is used in orders in reported speech (73) and in order sequences (4.2.5).

(72) *ni=m-diní* *t-é-bzaz* *ni=m-d(á)*
2s=SUBJ-take F-PL-seed.kind 2s=SUBJ-put
íi=ka *ary-én* *ni=m-ʒí-lliʒit=i*
3p=LOC water-PL 2s=SUBJ-CAUS-clean=3p
ni=m-káw-kat *íi=ka* *tond-én.*
2s=SUBJ-take.out-VEN 3p=LOC pebble-PL
you take the seeds, put them in water, clean them (by stirring the water) (and) take the pebbles out (from them).

The following sequence shows first a subjunctive encoding an order (bring) and then a purpose clause (may do).

(73) *wiji hé faṛúur-an*
is.not thing be.important-ADJZR
maʃʃín ni=m-záw aɣáy t-áa-har-t ən
but 2s=SUBJ-bring 1s F-SG-lion-F.SG GEN
huuwá aɣa=m-d(á)-an áa=k(a) alqurán
milk 1s=SUBJ-do-ALL 3s=LOC Koran
ní=n aaru sé.
2s=GEN man DAT
(Marabout said:) this is not difficult but bring me the milk of a lioness so that I may do a spell for your husband in it.

The following instance has two possible readings: a second order or a purpose clause.

(74) *səkélələf ní=nn aarú ni=mm-éɦkəm áa=ka!*
caress 2s=GEN man 2s=SUBJ-reign 3s=LOC
caress your husband (and you will/may) reign over him!

Blessings and good wishes for the future are also expressed with the subjunctive.

(75) a) *Məssíinaɣ a=mm-árəz ana*
God 3s=SUBJ-reward 2s.DAT
may God reward you.

b) *a=m-sá-kkabar ándi se.*
3s=SUBJ-CAUS-succeed 2p DAT
may He make you(pl) succeed (in your project).

Some story tellers mark the peak in a narrative with subjunctive. This can be observed in the Text 1 (lines 80-83) in Appendix I.

4.2.3 Future tə-

The future is used with events that follow the reference time. This is often the moment of speaking, but sometimes displaced into the past as in English expressed as ‘would’, ‘was going to’. An instance of this is found in narratives, where habitual behavior is marked with FUT.

In answers to questions about events not yet realized, in a short or long time span, the future is normal.

(76) a) *aɣ=tə-kó* *táffak*
1s=FUT-leave tomorrow
I will leave tomorrow.

b) *a=tə-yée-kat* *ɣáarat* *ka.*
3=FUT-return-VEN season.kind LOC
he will return in harvest season.

Habitual is marked with future in narratives, but the imperfective is used in habituals otherwise.

(77) *íttill(a)* *alfájir* *a=tə-sə́kkədi*
each morning 3s=FUT-gather.food
Every morning she (mother Hyena) would gather food.

a=tə-sə́kkədi *har* *hé* *(a)ɣo* *a=tə-kuná-kat*
3s=FUT-gather.food until thing DET 3s=FUT-find-VEN
She gathered food and what she found

a=tə-záw-kaat=a
3s=FUT-bring-VEN=3s
she brought it

a=m-fúr-an *íi=se* *n* *i*
3s=SUBJ-throw-ALL 3p=DAT SEP 3p
(in order) to throw it to them (in the hole).

The future marker is very frequent in subordinate clauses after verbs that can take the complementizer *sa* COMP, indicating that the intended action is not yet terminated. Songhay of Gao uses SUBJ for this kind of construction (Heath 1999b:325ff).

(78) *aɣa=bbáaɣa* *s(a)* *aɣ=tə-didá.*
1s=want COMP 1s=FUT-walk
I want to go.

The following example shows the subordinate clause after the COMP *sa* with the FUT marker. As the whole sequence is part of a series of instructions the following clauses are in SUBJ mood.

(79) *hé (a)d=dúuwa sa*
thing 3s=be.better COMP
(ə)n=tə-hímay ní=n kambá
2s=FUT-wash 2s=GEN hand
ni=m-ʒə́rrəʒəm ni=n míya,
2s=SUBJ-rinse 2s=GEN mouth
t-izzár-t ni=m-sənt(á) a-múnsu.
before 2s=SUBJ-begin SG-meal
it is better that you wash your hand (and) rinse your mouth before you begin to eat

The apodosis of many conditional clauses is marked with FUT.

(80) a) *əs-kábahar árat-an i=yyíli alfájir*
maybe-when herd-PL 3p=leave morning
a=tə-t-ə́ləm.
3s=FUT-PASS-open
when the herds left in the morning, it (gate) was opened.

b) *əs-káhar ni=bb-éfṛəd í-ʃʃib-an á-ɣaatir*
maybe-when 2s-IMPERF-broom PL-grain.kind-PL SG-riverbed
ka t-á-blaq-q a=tə-yírti-kat ənd(a)=í.
LOC F-SG-dust-F.SG 3s-FUT-mix-VEN with=3p
when you sweep grains together in a riverbed, dust gets mixed with them.

4.2.4 *Negation: perfective* nə- *and elsewhere* sə-

Positive perfective events are negated with the negative perfective.

(81) a) *a=nə-kun(á) ay=n á-ẓṛəf.*
3s=NEG.PERF-find 3s=GEN SG-silver
he didn't find his money.

b) *hawú a=bbán a=nə-yíkfəṛ*
cow 3s=be.soft 3s=NEG.PERF-be.wild
cows are docile, they are not wild.

All other negated events are marked with *sə-* NEG.IMPERF.

(82) a) *aɣ=sə-báay=a*
1s=NEG.IMPERF-know=3s
I don't know it.

b) *alfájir* *a=sə́-kas* *zaɣrí n* *a-mənóokal.*
morning 3s=NEG.IMPERF-be day GEN SG-king
morning is not a day's ruler.

c) *ar=sə-dáy-kat* *a-mánana* *báar(a)* *ary-én.*
1p=NEG.IMPERF-deal-VEN SG-fish be.in water-PL
we don't buy a pig in a poke (Lit: a fish that is in the water).

d) *a-ɣáɾɣar* *a=sə-ss-ə́gməḍ.*
SG-dry.plain 3s=NEG.IMPERF-CAUS-sprout
a dry plain does not sprout (greenery).

The following negation is found in a purpose clause.

(83) *yírzəm* *a-gádod* *sallánda*
attach SG-old.water.bag carefully
ay=n *áɣr-an* *i=sə-kós.*
3s=GEN rope-PL 3p=NEG.IMPERF-cut
attach the old water bag carefully so as not to cut its ropes.

Prohibitives show a remarkable mix of *sə-* with the imperative markers (see below 4.2.5.3).

A number of particles are used together with negation on the verb and when a 'negating' verb occurs. Find the discussion and examples under 4.6.

4.2.5 Imperatives

Orders are normally marked by using the imperative form. One may note that similar functions can be covered by the subjunctive; in reported speech, imperatives are systematically substituted by SUBJ.

The positive imperative for a single addressee is the verb stem without any additional morpheme. In other cases, the imperative marker *ba ~ wa* IMP is used. This is the case in plural imperatives, where *ba ~ wa* IMP takes the place of the 2p clitic *andə-*. It is also the case in prohibitives and in third person injunctions, where the order

may be addressed to one or more persons. Note that it is impossible to use the marker *ba ~ wa* in positive singular imperatives.

ba and *wa* may be dialectal variants. *ba* is more frequent in texts from Talatayt, the most northern part of the area, and *wa* is found in texts from around Menaka in the southern part of the region. Examples:

(84) a) *tunú!*
get.up
get up! (singular addressee)

b) *ba* *tunú*
IMP get.up
get up! (plural addressee)

c) *n(a)* *aɣáy* *sa* *n* *a*
give 1s DAT SEP 3s
give it to me!

d) *wa* *n(á)* *íi=s(e)* *i=n* *karáy*
IMP give 3p=DAT 3p=GEN ball
give them their ball! (plural addressee)

Imperatives following each other are not grammatical with the exception of a few movement verbs (see below). Any second imperative in a following clause is marked with a second person subjunctive. A subjunctive will also allow a reading as purpose clause, i.e. ‘in order to’. Consider the following two examples where this reading would result in the following translations: ‘Give them to me (in order) to marry me.’ and ‘Go to that other (one) to make him rest.’ For the first example (a) an interpretation as a purpose clause is not possible considering the course of the narrative before this exchange. For the second example no absolute indications are given to exclude a reading as a purpose clause.

(85) a) *n(á)* *aɣáy* *se* *n* *i* *ni=m-zaw* *aɣáy.*
give 1s DAT SEP 3p 2s=SUBJ-marry 1s
give them to me and marry me!

b) *kóy ná ayo ni=m-s-ənf(u) áa=se*
leave OPP DET 2s=SUBJ-CAUS-be.at.rest 3s=DAT
go to that other (one) and make him rest (or: in order to make him rest)

Following a few movement verbs like *kóy* 'leave', *tunú* 'get up', *yéw* 'come' and *zurú* 'run', a second imperative form is allowed when no other than imperative marking constituents intervene.

(86) a) *zurú yíbə(t)-kaat=a*
run snatch-VEN=3s
run and snatch it (to here)!

b) *ba tunú ba nám-aŋɣ(a)ənda bəkáw-yan*
IMP get.up IMP RECI-kill with jinn-PL
get up (pl) and fight (pl) with the jinns!

Some verb roots only occur as imperatives:

(87) *Suppletive imperatives*

imperative	gloss	inflected root
yéw!	come!	*kóy-kat*
ahún!	hold (it)!	*yíddər*
ándə!	pass (it)!	*yíci*
əndén!	pass (it)!	*yíci*

The first imperative is from Tamasheq. The next form is connected to Songhay of Gao /hũũ!/ 'here, take!' *ándə / əndén* could be related with *ənda* 'in the direction of'. *ándə* is used in situations where the giver and taker are in close reach and need not move themselves to pass on the object in question. *əndén* expects the addressee to get up to get the item.

4.2.5.1 Injunction

Third person injunctions are given in the following examples. With a simple pronoun clitic present, the subjunctive mood is understood as an injunction (a). When a subject is present as a noun, the imperative particle precedes the noun that is followed by a verb inflected in the perfective (b). In this construction, *ba ~ wa* IMP may be followed by an NP in the singular or in the plural.

(88) a) *a=m-ko* *ay=n* *á-ʃʃaɣal*
3s=SUBJ-leave 3s=GEN SG-work
that he leave for his work.

b) *wa* *báarar* *a=húuru* *húgu.*
IMP child 3s=enter house
that the child enter the house!

4.2.5.2 Hortative

It is possible to utter an order addressed to a number of people including the speaker, similar to 'let's go!' in English. In his grammar of Tamasheq, Heath describes a special morpheme for 'hortative' and an 'alternative 1Pl hortative construction' (Heath 2005:323). Tadaksahak has no particular hortative morpheme but it has a hortative construction that shows similar components as the alternative form in Tamasheq. An uninflected verb is followed by the 1p dative pronoun (DAT *se* is omitted when no pronominalized constituent follows). The IMP particle preceding the verb indicates the number of addressees without counting the speaker. With IMP, the addressees are more than one person, without it, a single person is addressed.

(89) a) *wa* *kó-(a)n* *áari* *(se* *n* *a)*
IMP leave-ALL 1p (DAT SEP 3s)
let's go (to it)! (several persons + speaker)

b) *ʃíikəl áari!*
travel 1p
let's travel! (one person + speaker)

4.2.5.3 Prohibitive

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is normally expressed with the *ba ~ wa* IMP particle followed by an inflected verb with NEG.IMPERF *sə-*. This construction is used for all kinds of orders, including hortatives.

The particle *ba ~ wa* is used with singular and plural person marking on the inflected verb.

Prohibitives

(90) a) *ba* *(ə)n=sə-hurrú* *sa...*
IMP 2S=NEG.IMPERF-look.for COMP
don't try to...

b) *b(a)* *a=sə-ʃíggid* *sa...*
IMP 3s=NEG.IMPERF-wait COMP
s/he may/should not wait that....

c) *...w(a)* *ar=sə-dá(=a)* *zaróoda*
IMP 1p=NEG.IMPERF-do(=3s) today
(the kind of returning we did yesterday), don't let us do it today!

d) *w(a)* *andə=sə́-gor* *andə=f-c(i)* *aɣáy*
IMP 2p=NEG.IMPERF-must 2p=IMPERF-say 1s
mán *aɣ(o)* *óoda.*
name DET DEM.NEAR
you should not say this name to me!

When a subject is present as a noun / NP, the imperative particle precedes.

(91) a) *b(a)* *aɣa=n* *t-a-ŋgud* *a=sə-yíli* *húgu ka*
IMP 1S=GEN F-SG-girl 3s=NEG.IMPERF-leave house LOC
that my girl not leave the house!

b) *w(a)* *ágg* *áadəm* *a=sə-dóos=i*
IMP son.of Adam 3s=NEG.IMPERF-touch=3p
that nobody touches them!

c) *ba* *bárr-en* *i=sə-húuru-kat*
IMP child-PL 3p=NEG.IMPERF-enter-VEN
that the children not enter.

4.3 Argument structure

In the following sections verb types will be presented. We distinguish between 'unmarked complement' without any postposition, 'dative complement' with the dative marker *se* DAT, and 'adpositional complement' with the postpositions *ka, be, daw,* all with a locational meaning.

4.3.1 Intransitives

Underived intransitive verbs include a subgroup of motion verbs (examples under (92)), verbs of position (93) used as active verbs or in a descriptive way as stative verbs. Some experienced states like 'I am hungry' are expressed with stative verbs (94) while others are not, and need to be expressed as in 'thirst found me' (95). Many functions of the body are expressed with intransitive verbs (96).

(92) a) *a=b-didá [tárra ka].*
3s=IMPERF-walk bush LOC
he walks in the bush/deserted location

b) *a=mmə́ṭṭəkwi [néeda ka].*
3s=move.on here LOC
he moved on from here

c) *a=yyíʃʃif [a-ɣázar ka].*
3s=swim SG-pond LOC
he swam in the pond

(93) a) *a=b-gorá [gánda ka].*
3s=IMPERF-sit ground LOC
he sits on the ground

b) *a=yyíniʃtaga[gánda ka].*
3s=lie.on.side ground LOC
he lay on his side on the ground

c) *arw-én i=b-zaɣáɣ.*
man-PL 3p=IMPERF-lay.on.back
(the) men are lying on their backs

(94) a) *aɣa=bb-ə́gləkˀ.*
1s=IMPERF-be.hungry
I am hungry

b) *aɣa=yyidáẓ.*
1s=be.tired
I am tired

(95) a) *fád* *a=kkun(a)* *aɣáy.*
thirst 3s=find 1s
I am thirsty

b) *t-í-ysas* *i=kkun(a)* *aɣáy.*
F-PL-shiver 3p=find 1s
I am shivering

(96) a) *a=f-tíʃʃit.*
3s=IMPERF-cough
he coughs

b) *báarar* *a=f-tínʒit.*
child 3s=IMPERF-sneeze
the/a child sneezes

c) *a=wwínʒir.*
3s=bleed.nose
she bled from the nose

4.3.2 Labile verbs

There are quite a number of verbs that can describe a state, but can also be used in an active sense of achieving the state described. These will be called labile verbs. There are about 150 verbs of this type in our corpus. The majority is of Songhay origin (listed under (99)) but there are also some verbs which have Tamasheq cognates (see (100)).

Labile verb of Songhay origin

(97) a) *ay=n* *t-a-rásway-t* *a=bə-bíibi.*
3s=GEN F-SG-dress-F.SG 3s=IMPERF-be.black
his/her dress is black.

b) *waynί* *a=bə-bíibi* *bor-én.*
sun 3s=IMPERF-blacken person-PL
the sun makes people black. (=gives people a dark tan)

Labile verb of Tamasheq origin

(98) a) *farc-én* *i=bb-əssaɣ*
donkey-PL 3p=IMPERF-tie.two
the donkeys are tied together.

b) *a=bb-əssaɣ* *áy=n* *farc-én.*
3s=IMPERF-tie.two 3s=GEN donkey-PL
she ties her donkeys together.

This double valency of basic verbs seems to be quite different from Mainstream Songhay. Many of the verbs that need a causative morpheme in Mainstream Songhay have both an intransitive and a transitive use in Tadaksahak – actually most descriptive verbs of Songhay origin have this behavior (see 3.1.3.1 and list in Appendix II).

(99) *Songhay cognates*

verb	intransitive gloss	transitive gloss
kukú	to be long	to make long
babó	to be many	to increase
ʒén	to be old	to make old
ceená	to be small	to make small
bán	to be soft	to soften
fér	to be opened	to open
dudú	to flow	to pour
hínjin	to be repaired	to repair
kunkún	to be rolled up (mat)	to roll up (mat)

(100) *Tamasheq cognates*

verb	intransitive gloss	transitive gloss
yídraɣ	to be decorated with metal	to decorate with metal
yíɣʃid	to be out of use / destroyed	to destroy
yíɣfəl	to be locked	to lock
yíləm	to be open	to open
yílkəḍ	to be braided	to braid

yíssaɣ	to be tied two together	to tie two together
yíṣbəṛ	to be spread out (to dry)	to spread out (to dry)
díydi	to be level	to level sth.
ḍə́ṇay	to be filled	to fill (narrow opening)
yiská	to be combed	to comb
yiɣmá	to be colored (leather)	to color (leather)
yiḷzá	to be shaved	to shave
yinkáḍ	to be circumcised	to circumcise
jeejí	to hang on side	to attach (to side)

4.3.3 Transitive only (underived)

The group of transitive only verbs includes verbs of production ('make', but not 'repair' or 'arrange'), and verbs of physical impact ('hit', but not 'cut' or 'break'). The following list gives examples of transitive verbs that have no intransitive use. The etymology is given using Timbuktu Songhay (S) and Tuareg tawəlləmmət (T) examples.

(101) Transitive only verbs

verb	gloss	etymology
diní	to take sth.	S: din
kár	to hit sb/sth.	S: kar
gôn	to swallow sth.	S: goon
ḍarór	to need sth.	T: dărăr
déeraw	to have sth. in common	T: ədrəw
ḍə́ləm	to treat sb. wrongly / accuse unjustly	T: əḍləm
fəlás	to believe sth.	T: əfləs
hóorat	to follow sb. (by his footprints)	
darjéd	to chase after sth./sb.	

A number of movement and location verbs take a direct object to express the location, i.e., a semantically locational element that is not marked with the appropriate postposition *ka* ‘to, in, from’. Examples:

(102) a) *a=húuru hugu.*
3s=enter house
s/he entered the house.

b) *a=ṭṭaaw=a*
3s=reach=3s
s/he reached it (town).

The direct object of such verbs need not be a location like ‘market’ or ‘town’. Other semantically less locative complements, can be found, e.g. ‘cows’, ‘name-giving ceremony’, ‘work’ and ‘spirit’.

(103) *Movement verbs with direct object complement.*

syntax	gloss	Etymology
kóy X	go to X	S
húuru X	enter X	S
hunú X	depart from X	S
ṣót X	jump over X	S
ṭaw X	reach X	S
haŋgá X	pass by/over X	S
yéd X	return to X	S
yímmər X	pass by X	T
yífṭən X	climb X	T
yíṣkən X	stretch up in X	T
ṭə́rṭəṛ X	go along X	T
hə́ll-ət X	climb X	T

The verbs listed below are not movement verbs, yet all have 'location' as part of their semantics, they all designate 'to be somewhere'.

(104) Locational verbs with a direct object complement

syntax	gloss	Etymology
báara X	be in X	S
keedí X	be up on X	S
yíŋgər X	be behind X	T
yígdəl X	be under X	T
yízdaɣ X	live in X	T

With other verbs, movement and location are expressed by an adpositional complement, e.g. *X zurú [Y ka]* 'X ran in Y' and *X keení [Y ka]* 'X lie on Y'.

In Mainstream Songhay movement verbs always have a post-positional complement marked with the locative postposition /la ~ ra/.

In his grammar of Tamasheq, Heath mentions a number of movement and location verbs ('go to', 'leave, go from', 'be on sth.', 'be in', 'exist', 'lose') that take direct objects. Some of them correspond with verbs also found with this feature in Tadaksahak. Apparently, for this syntactical characteristic, Tadaksahak copies Tamasheq.

4.3.3.1 Verbs taking a verbal noun complement

A large number of verbs take a verbal noun as their complement. Verbs of duration as well as verbs of cognition, manipulation and ability are found in this group. An additional oblique complement can be present. Verbal nouns easily take possessors to refer to the referent on which the action is to be performed. Consider the examples.

'begin' *s-əntá*

(105) *əs-káhar* *a=ss-ənt(á)* *áa=ka* *nín...*
maybe-when 3S=CAUS-begin.BND 3S=LOC drink.VN
when he (lion) began to drink from it...

'enter into' *huurú* is interpreted as 'begin' when followed by an abstract noun.

(106) *a=húur(u)* *á-ʃʃaɣal.*
3s=go.into SG-work
he began to work.

'be at the point of' *yabúk*

(107) *əs-kár* *a=yyabúk* *arə=n* *kár...*
maybe-when 3s=be.at.point.of 1p=GEN hit.VN
when he is at the point of hitting us....

So far only *yabúk* 'be at the point of (doing)' has been found with a verbal noun complement marked with dative. Compare the examples below with (107) above, where the same matrix verb has a verbal noun complement from an action verb and then does not mark it with dative *se*.

(108) a) *i=yyabúk* *bun* *sé.*
3p=be.at.point.of die.VN DAT
they were at the point of dying.

b) *a=yyabúk* *hay* *sé.*
3s=be.at.point.of give.birth.VN DAT
she (female camel) was at the point of giving birth.

'be close to' *mán*

(109) *hawú* *a=mmán* *háy*
cow 3s=be.close give.birth.VN
the cow is close to giving birth.

'learn' *yílməd*

(110) *a=yyílməd* *didá.*
3s=learn walk.VN
he learned to walk.

'be able to' *dəbət*

(111) *a=ddábət* *ay=n* *gôn*
3s=be.able 3s=GEN swallow.VN
he is able to swallow it.

'know' *báy*

(112) a) *báarar* *a=sə-báy* *á-bbaṣ* *ceddí.*
child 3s=NEG.IMPERF-know SG-chew yet
the child cannot yet chew.

b) *a=bbáy* *t-óo-ruf-t* *ən* *z-ázəl.*
3s=know F-SG-car-F.SG GEN CAUS-run.BND.VN
she knows how to drive a car / she can drive a car.

'want, love' *báaɣa*

The verb 'want' *báaɣa* has a different stem in the negation, *kúl*. It is only attested with NEG.IMPERF. The verbal noun can be fronted for focus just as any other nominal complement of a verb.

(113) a) *didá* *aɣa=bbáaɣa.*
walk.VN 1s=want
leaving [focus] is what I want.

b) *aɣ=sə-kúl* *ay=n* *m-áʃʃaq-at*
1s=NEG.IMPERF-want 3s=GEN RECI-disturb.VN
I don't want to disturb him.

'look for, seek, want' *hurrú*

(114) *aɣáy* *dabés* *aɣa=b-hurrú*
1s.EMP raise.VN 1s=IMPERF-look.for
as for me, it's an increase (in price) that I seek.

'regret' *m-ágrəz*

(115) *aɣa=mm-ágrəz* *didá.*
1s=RECI-regret walk.VN
I regret leaving.

'intend' *yíɣəl*

The verb 'have the intention to (do)' *yíɣəl* is always used when the action didn't materialize. An explanatory second clause is expected beginning with 'but'.

(116) *aɣa=yyíɣəl* *Ménəka* *n* *kó* *bí*
1s=intend name.LOC GEN go.VN yesterday
məʃʃín *cinjí* *a=ggang(á)* *aɣáy* *didá.*
but rain 3s=hinder 1s walk.VN
I intended to go to Menaka yesterday but rain kept me from leaving.

'hinder' *gangá*

This verb of manipulation takes a dative complement for the entity that is manipulated. In example (116) above the first person pronoun is not marked for the dative because a nominal complement is present (3.2.7.11.2.1).

'try' *yírəm*

In the example below the verbal noun 'walking' *didá* is modified by the possessor construction 'of vanity' to express 'show off with nice clothes'.

(117) *kəlá* *a=nə-yírəm* *did(á) i-bárag-an wáni...*
ever 3s=NEG.PERF-try walk.VN PL-vanity-PL of
he had never tried to show off with his clothes...

'refuse' *wánjin*

This verb of manipulation marks the person manipulated with the dative (c).

(118) a) *a=wwánjin* *ŋá*
3s=refuse eat.VN
he refused to eat.

b) *a=wwánjin* *ay=n* *diní.*
3s=refuse 3s=GEN take.VN
she refused to take it.

c) *a=wwánjin* *áa=se* *didá*
3s=refuse 3s=DAT walk.VN
he didn't allow him (= refused him) to leave.

'ought to' *máy-ənda* '

This verb is composed of 'have', *máy*, and the fused preposition *ənda* 'with'. A nominal complement as well as a *sa* clause are possible. It is also found in the negative 'ought not to'.

(119) a) *nín* *nə-máy-ənd(a)* *ay=n* *t-á-ggas-t*
2s.EMP FOC-have-with 3s=GEN F-SG-take.care-F.SG
it's you who ought to take care of it (land).

b) *surgóy* *a=sə́-may-ənda*
woman 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have-with
s(a) *a=tə-d(á)* *ay=n* *áaru* *sé* *hé* *yibrár-an.*
COMP 3s=FUT-do 3s=GEN man DAT thing be.bad-ADJZR
a woman ought not to do anything bad to her husband.

The verbal noun complements can be pronominalized for all verbs in the examples above.

Two verbs that intensify or qualify an action are found with this construction. The complement is the verbal noun of the action or of the state qualified. These verbal noun complements cannot be pronominalized.

'do/be very much' *s-ínnihil*

The first examples (a-c) illustrate *s-ínnihil* with stative verbs while the next two (d-e) are with action verbs and (f) shows a construction that is the intensified version of *álham a-húur(u) aɣáy* (anger 3s=enter.into 1s) 'I am angry.'

Examples with *s-ínnihil* 'do/be very much'

(120) a) *t-a-záɣan-t* *s-ínnihil* *kukú*
F-SG-mast-F.SG CAUS-be.much be.long.VN
a very long mast (Lit: a mast that is very long)

b) *i=b-s-ínnihil* *t-úu-la-t.*
3p=IMPERF-CAUS-be.much F-SG-look.alike-F.SG
they look very much alike.

c) *i=nə-s-ínnihil* *yáy* *ceddí*
3p=NEG.PERF-CAUS-do.much be.cool.VN yet
it (water) is not very cool yet.

d) *aɣa=ss-ínnihil* *áa=se* *a-búbbugu*
1s=CAUS-do.much 3s=DAT SG-burn.off
I burned it (sheep head's hair) off very well.

e) *bárr-en* *andə=m-s-ínnihil* *t-á-nzi-t*
child-PL 2p=SUBJ-CAUS-do.much F-SG-leave.early-F.SG
təffak *á-ʃʃaɣal* *se*
tomorrow SG-work DAT
children, you should leave very early tomorrow morning for work.

f) *álham* *a=ss-ínnihil* *aɣáy* *húuru.*
anger 3s=CAUS-be.much 1s enter.VN
I was very angry.

'do/be very much' *hínjin*

Among the following examples, remark that (d) intensifies the idiom *hé (a)=kkun(á)=a* (thing 3s=find=3s) 'he is ill.' Example (f) exposes some additional syntactic intricacies. The verb *z-álləzləz*, 'shake', is used in a nominal form complementing *hínjin*. The reflexive phrase takes the slot of the indirect object that is marked with DAT.

(121) a) *har* *intáynawt* *a=hínjin* *t-ée-wan-t.*
until jackal 3s=be.much F-SG-be.fed-F.SG
until Jackal had eaten very well.

b) *har* *a=hínjin* *áa=k(a)* *a-ṇágaḍ*
until 3s=be.much 3s=LOC SG-be.turbaned
until he was very well turbaned in it (kind of turban).

c) *ay=n* *a-másli* *a=hínjin* *áa=se* *gə́ṛṛaẓ-at.*
3s-GEN SG-voice 3s=do.much 3s=DAT please.VN
his voice pleased her very much.

d) *zamá* *éelaw* *hé* *(a)=hínjin* *áa=se* *kuná...*
after elephant thing 3s=do.much 3s=DAT find.VN
after Elephant is very ill...

e) *s(a)* *aɣa=hínjin* *báaɣa.*
COMP 1s=do.much want.VN
that I want very much.

f) *a-nyíl* *a=tə-hínjin* *ay=n* *gá* *se*
SG-ostrich 3s$_i$=FUT-do.much 3s$_i$=GEN self DAT
a-z-əlázləz *t-a-ʒáyin-t* *be*
SG-CAUS-shake F-SG-jujube.tree-F.SG LOC
Ostrich was shaking himself very much up in the jujube tree.

An alternative to this intensification is the adverb *húllən* 'much' that can be added to the verbal word.

4.3.4 Verbs with obligatory adpositional complement

A small number of verbs obligatorily take an adpositional complement that expresses a location.

An example of a verb that always takes a complement with a locative postposition is 'to look down on'.

(122) *a=b-ʃúgu* *ay=n* *a-kátab* *ka.*
3s=IMPERF-look.down 3s=GEN SG-writing LOC
he looks down on his writing.

Some verbs take a different meaning with an adpositional complement.

(123) *Verbs with different interpretation*

verb	gloss	verb + LOC	gloss
káy	to stop	*káy X ka*	to trample
		káy X be	to withhold
fúl-ət	to reinforce (well)	*fúl-ət X be*	to support X (person)

4.3.5 Verbs with dative complement (se)

Some verbs have an obligatory dative complement without an unmarked complement. Some examples are:

(124) *Verbs with dative complement*

syntax	gloss
yilkám X se	follow sb.
yímmaɣ X se	search for sth.
góoday X se	thank (God)

mo X se	hear sth.
ʃ-íʃʃim X se	listen to sth.
ʃ-íggid X se	wait for sb./sth.

Some verbs can be used with and without a dative complement. This may considerably change their interpretation.

(125) *Verb with different interpretation*

verb	gloss	syntax	gloss
yírəz	be let down	*yírəz X se*	(God) bless X

Verb stems that contain a causative mark pronominalized human causees as a dative complement.

(126) a) *a=ʃʃí-hiʃʃil* *áa=se hawru* *n* *bén*
3S=CAUS-oblige 3S=DAT meal GEN finish.VN
she made him finish the meal.

b) *a=ss-ágmi* *áa=s(e)* *a-mámel*
3S=CAUS-look.for.BND 3S=DAT SG-burning.coal
he sent him for a burning coal.

Examples of non-human pronominalized complements and other details on the causative construction are found under 4.3.7.

4.3.6 Verbs with instrumental-comitative complement (ənda)

The instrumental-comitative preposition *ənda* appears with two semantically different kinds of verbs. There is one class of verbs that has either an instrumental-comitative complement or is used without a complement. In the latter case, these verbs are interpreted as reciprocals.

(127) *Reciprocal verbs*

verb	gloss	syntax	gloss

haŋgá	pass	*haŋg(á) ənda X*	accompany X
sáawa	look alike	*sáaw(a) ənda X*	look like X
m-áqqəs	meet	*m-áqqəs ənda X*	meet X
s-əgdá	be equal	*s-əgd(á) ənda X*	equal X
ẓəláy	be different	*ẓəláy ənda X*	be different from X

As a complement of certain movement verbs, *ənda* serves as a directional preposition and can then be translated with 'in the direction of'. (See 3.2.7.8)

A special case is the verb *dá* 'make' with an *ənda*-complement. The direct object is maintained and the complement encodes the outcome of the action: 'to make sb./sth. towards/into something else' is expressed as *dá X (ə)nda Y* 'make X into Y'. This may be semantically connected to the directional meaning of *ənda*.

4.3.7 Verbs with two complements

Some verbs can take both an unmarked and a dative complement. The list below shows the syntax of such verbs. When both complements are present, whether nominal or pronominal, one is marked with *se* as the dative complement and one is unmarked. The verbs are underived with the exception of 'show' that has a causative prefix. The two examples below show that the complement order is not rigidly fixed when the complements are nominal.

(128) a) *a=nn(á)* *ay=n* *t-ə-sə́sira* *alfáqi* *se.*
3s=give 3s-GEN F-PL-key teacher DAT
she gave its keys (of the crate) to the teacher.

b) *i-ḍúulin* *i=nná* *t-á-ŋgud* *ən* *naná* *se*
PL-in.law 3p=give F-SG-girl GEN mother DAT
i-gíitan.
PL-gift.kind
the in-law family gave skins to the mother of the bride.

(129) *Verbs with two complements*

verb	gloss	syntax	gloss
ná	give	*na X [Y se]*	give X to Y
záw	take	*zaw X [Y se]*	take X to Y

hár	tell	*har X [Y se]*	tell X to Y
dá	do	*da X [Y se]*	do X to Y
cí	say	*ci [Y se] "..."*	say to Y "..."
gaŋgá	keep from	*gaŋgá X [Y se]*	keep X from Y
s-ə́kən	show	*s-ə́kən X [Y se]*	show X to Y

Verbs with a causative often have two complements, one of which is marked by the dative, i.e., the human causee, the entity with an assumed will, e.g., *a=b-sá-mməllət Fáti s(e) ay=n báarar*. (3s=IMPERF-CAUS-kiss F. DAT 3s=GEN child) 'He makes Fati kiss her baby.'.

In a sentence like 'She made the taxi bring the children to her aunt.' the taxi has no will and can therefore not be marked with the dative. Animals fall in the same category. They are not considered to have a will of their own. Above sentence is rendered as *a=ss-əglá barrén táksi ka ənd(a) áy=n nana céena*. (3s=CAUS-go.BND child-PL taxi LOC with 3s=GEN mother small) 'She sent the children in a taxi to her aunt.'

4.3.8 Verbs taking two unmarked complements

This group of verbs consists of stems with a causative morpheme. Semantically they are all movement related. They can have two unmarked complements, one that expresses a location and one a causee/item that is acted upon. In a typical causative construction this role is marked as a dative complement, see (126) and examples above. The complements are both unmarked as long as they are present in nominal form. When one complement is pronominalized, the appropriate postposition appears.

When no humans are involved, the pronominalized location gets marked as the dative (benefactor) and the causee takes the place of an unmarked patient.

(130) a) *a=ṣṣ-áwər* *ée-ɣar* *i-kád-en*
3s=CAUS-put.on.BND SG-pot PL-fireplace-PL
she put the pot on the fireplace.

b) *a=ṣṣ-áwər* *íi=s(e)* *ée-ɣar*
3s=CAUS-put.on.BND 3p=DAT SG-pot
she put the pot on it.

c) *a=ṣṣ-áwər=a* *i-kád-en*
3s=CAUS-put.on.BND=3s PL-fireplace-PL
she put it on the fireplace.

(131) a) *a=b-s-álal* *kuur-én* *gánda*
3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow skin-PL earth
he puts a fine coat of earth on the skins. (Lit: he makes the earth follow the skins.)

b) *a=b-s-álal* *íi=se* *gánda*
3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow 3p=DAT earth
he puts a fine coat of earth on them.

c) *a=b-s-álal=a* *kuur-én*
3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow=3s skin-PL
he puts it on the skins.

d) *a=b-s-álal* *íi=se* *n* *a*
3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow 3p=DAT SEP 3s
he puts it on them.

When humans are involved the location remains unmarked and the pronominalized human causee is marked with the dative. (see above).

(132) a) *a=ss-áwəṇ* *bárr-en* *farká*
3s=CAUS-mount.BND child-PL donkey
she made the children mount the donkey.

b) *a=ss-áwəṇ* *íi=se* *farká*
3s=CAUS-mount.BND 3p=DAT donkey
she made them mount the donkey.

c) *a=ss-áwəṇ=a* *bárr-en*
3s=CAUS-mount.BND child-PL
she made the children mount it.

d) *a=ss-áwəṇ* *íi=se* *n* *a*
3s=CAUS-mount.BND 3p=DAT SEP 3S
she made them mount it.

(133) *Verbs with two unmarked nominal complements*

ṣ-áwər	to put on
s-álal	to put finely on
s-áwəṇ	to make mount
ʃ-ínək	to make mount
s-íci	to make go past
ṣ-áṛəṣ	to make ford
s-áss-əgəd	to make jump over
s-áŋgər	to put behind
sá-nnahal	to make reach straight

In contrast, the verb ‘make enter’ marks the location with the appropriate adposition *ka*.

(134) *aɣa=zz-úguz* *a-fígnaw* *a-ná-ẓmay* *ən* *fún* *ka.*
1s=CAUS-enter.BND SG-thread SG-ACT-sew GEN hole LOC
I threaded the thread in the hole of the needle.

The verb 'to prefer' *yasáf* has no causative marker but behaves like the verbs described above when it occurs with nominal complements. Two nouns follow the verb to express preference of the one item over the other. The item immediately following the verb is the preferred one while the second unmarked noun encodes the less liked item.

(135) *aɣa-yyasáf* *fufú* *t-aa-dás-t*
1s-prefer cold.VN F-SG-mosquito-F.SG
I prefer the cold (season) to mosquitoes (in hot season).

'prefer' can take a complement clause when preference of actions needs to be expressed (see (158))

4.3.9 Reflexive constructions

There is no particular reflexive pronoun but overt reflexives are expressed by a noun phrase with an expression for 'self'.

4.3.9.1 Reflexive constructions

Tadaksahak has a reflexive construction, using the noun *ga* (plural: *j-en*), which is only used in this construction, determined by a pronominal genitival construction.

(136) a) *a=háw* *[ay=n* *gá].*
3s$_1$=attach 3s$_1$=GEN self
s/he attached her/himself.

b) *i=háw* *[i=n* *j-én].*
3p$_1$=attach 3p$_1$=GEN self-PL
they attached themselves.

c) *aɣa=háw* *[aɣa=n* *gá]* *[(ə)nda* *karfú].*
1s=attach 1s=GEN self with rope
I attached myself with a rope.

The reflexive noun phrase is attested with postpositions, particularly with *se* DAT 'for'

(137) a) *a=mm-égəz* *ay=n* *gá* *se*
3s$_i$=SUBJ-keep 3s$_i$=GEN self DAT
wiji *borá* *fó* *se*
is.not person IND DAT
may he look after (it [land]) for himself, not for someone else.

b) *ay=n* *gá* *se* *a=kkúuḍ=a*
3s$_i$=GEN self DAT 3s$_i$=tend.flock=3s
it's for his own (benefit) he tends it (flock).

c) *ṭ-ə-kmát-in* *hiŋká* *andə=ddá* *andə=n* *j-én* *se*
F-SG-harm-PL two 2p$_i$=do 2p$_i$=GEN self-PL DAT
it's two bad things you(pl) did to yourselves.

The reflexive construction is also found in genitive constructions. This is mainly used for underlining, rather than for an expression of reflexiveness.

(138) a) *i=ddá* *i=n* *j-én* *ən* *didá*
3p=do 3p=GEN self-PL GEN walk.VN
they went about their own business.
(lit: they did walking of their own.)

b) *i=kkun(á)* *i=n* *j-én* *ən* *alístaɣlal*
3p=find 3p=GEN self-PL GEN freedom
they got their own independence.

When the noun phrase with *ga* is preceded by the preposition *ənd(a)*, it emphasizes the noun it refers to.

Some examples.

(139) a) *surgóy* *ənd(a)* *ay=n* *gá*
woman with 3s=GEN self
a=húuru *ássunduq* *adí*
3s=enter crate ANA
the woman herself entered in the crate.

b) *aɣá=n* *babá* *(ə)nd(a)* *ay=n* *gá*
1s=GEN father with 3s=GEN self
a=sə-yíkti=a.
3s=NEG.IMPERF-remember=3s
my father himself does not remember it.
= not even my father remembers it.

c) *..s(a) áari* *(ə)nd(a)* *arə=n* *j-én*
COMP 1p.EMP with 1p=GEN self-PL
arə=m-káy....
1p=SUBJ-stop
...that we ourselves, we stop...

d) *...t-órf-in* *n* *kó-(e)n* *ənd(a)* *i=n* *j-én*
F-car-PL GEN owner-PL with 3p=GEN self-PL
i=yyíḷmən *áa=ka*
3p=guarantee 3s=LOC
the car owners themselves guarantee it.

e) *...aɣáy* *(ə)nd(a)* *aɣa=n* *gá* *aɣa=yyahór*
1s.EMP with 1s=GEN self 1s=be.worth
t-a-ʃə́ŋgəl-t.
F-SG-make.up-F.SG
...(but) really, I myself, I am worth (more than) makeup.

The word *ga* (glossed here as 'self') is a cognate of the KCH word for '(living) body, organism' /gaa/ (Heath 1998c:96). The construction is more akin to Tamasheq, where reflexives are formed with /iṃan/ 'soul, life' and the corresponding possessive suffix (Heath 2006:708), than to KCH, which has 3rd person reflexive pronouns (Heath 1999a:331ff.)

4.3.9.2 Reflexive verbs

Some verbs may denote a reflexive event when used without an overt direct object. A typical case is 'wash'.

(140) a) *t-á-ŋgud* *a=hímay* *tuw-yén.*
F-SG-girl 3s=wash eating.bowl-PL
a/the girl washed the bowls.

b) *t-a-ŋgud* *a=hímay.*
F-SG-girl 3s=wash
a/the girl washed herself.

Similar (but less commonly used in reflexive contexts) is 'burn'.

(141) a) *danjí* *a=kkurú-kuru* *aɣáy.*
charcoal 3s=burn-DUP 1s
a/the charcoal burnt me.

b) *aɣa=kkurú-kuru.*
3s=burn-DUP
I burnt myself.

4.3.10 Verbs with a Clausal Complement

There are four basic strategies observed that can be treated as verbal complementation.

In this section the different strategies are summarized and characterized in a simple formula. The details are given in the subsequent sections.

Strategy I: Verbal noun complement

This is the most integrated way to complement a verb. There is no complementizer present, and the finite verb (V) is followed by a verbal noun. The verbal noun is identified by its shape. Syntactically this is a simple clause with nominal complement. This strategy is observed with a large number of verbs.

V + Verbal Noun

For details see 4.3.3.1 above.

Strategy II: subordinate clause in subjunctive mood

This strategy is only used by the verbs *cí* 'say' and *dís* 'let' The subject (S) of the complement taking verb (V) is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause. The MAN marker of the verb in the complement clause (Vcc) is typically restricted to SUBJUNCTIVE (*m-*).

$_{S}V$ + co-referential $_{S}Vcc$

The examples are in 4.3.10.1 below.

Strategy III: (in)direct object reference in subordinate clause with (im)perfective aspect

There is no complementizer but the direct object (DO) of the main clause is always the subject of the complement clause. Only IMPERFECTIVE and PERFECTIVE can be observed on the verb in the complement clause.

$$V_{DO} + DO.referential\text{-}S\,V_{cc}$$

A subtype of this strategy involves a 3rd person subject in the main clause that is interpreted as 'impersonal'. There may or may not be a direct object. If one is present, the subject of the subordinate clause refers to it.

$$S{:}impersonal\,V_{(DO)} + (DO.referential\text{-})S\,V_{cc}$$

The examples are in 4.3.10.2 below.

Strategy IV: with complementizer sa

This strategy is widely used with many different types of verbs. It involves the complementizer (COMP) *sa* between the finite verb and the complement clause. The verb in the complement clause is typically marked with FUTURE. The subjects of the verbs may be co-referential or not. Most finite verbs that are observed with strategy IV can also be found with strategy I.

$$S\,V\ COMP\ (co\text{-}referential)S\,V_{cc}$$

A subtype of this strategy concerns verbs with a 3rd person subject in the main clause that is interpreted as 'impersonal'.

Find the examples in section 4.3.10.3

4.3.10.1 Complement clauses with subjunctive

There are two verbs that are regularly followed by a subjunctive complement clause. The verb *dís* 'let (alone)' allows for a direct object followed by a subjunctive clausal complement. The subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the direct object of the verb, e.g.

(142) a) *díis=a a=m-kó*
let=3s$_1$ 3s$_1$=SUBJ-leave
let him leave!

b) *andə=tə-dís* *aɣáy*
2p=FUT-let 1s
aɣa=m-d(á) ándi s(e) a-sə́stən fóoda
1s=SUBJ-do 2p DAT SG-ask one
will you (pl) allow me to ask you (pl) one question?

Another verb which may be followed by a subjunctive complement clause is the verb *ci* 'think, say'. When used with a dative complement this verb is translated as 'say' and is followed by a complement clause citing the speech act. Without a dative complement, it takes the more vague meaning of 'thinking'. In this construction it is often followed by a subjunctive clause with a coreferent subject, which expresses an intention. The verb then translates into English as 'want', e.g.

(143) a) *a=ccí* *a=m-tén*
3s=say 3s=SUBJ-arrive
he wanted to come. (Lit: he_1 said he_1 would arrive)

b) *a=ccí* *a=m-haŋgá* *t-a-bákar-t* *ən* *mó*
3s=say 3s=SUBJ-go.over F-SG-sheep-F.SG GEN face
a=mm-əzzár *áari.*
3s=SUBJ-be.ahead 1p
he wanted to go around in front of the sheep to be ahead of us.

c) *a=ccí* *a=sə-bóy* *t-ə-míʒar* *ka.*
3s=say 3s=NEG.IMPERF-move F-PL-old.camp LOC
she didn't want to move from the old campsite.
or: she said she will not move...

When the subjects are not co-referential, other MAN markers are allowed on the verb in the subordinate clause.

(144) *a=ccí* *a=b-sə́-ss-əɣr(a)=i.*
$3s_1$=think $3s_2$=IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-learn=$3p_3$
he_1 thought he_2 would teach $them_3$.

This sentence can also be interpreted as indirect speech and thus be translated ‘he said he was teaching them’.

4.3.10.2 Complement clauses where PERF *and* IMPERF *are allowed*

There are a number of verbs that regularly take an imperfective or a perfective complement without any overt complementizer. In these constructions, complement clauses with an imperfective express simultaneity with the action in the matrix clause and that in the complement clause. The perfective appears in the complement clause when the action in the complement clause is already closed by the time the action of the matrix clause takes place.

‘hear sth.’ *mó (hé se)*

The pronominal complement of the verb ‘hear’ is always marked with a dative.

(145) a) *aɣa=mm(o) i=s(e) i=f-tén.*
1s=hear 3p=DAT 3p=IMPERF-arrive
I heard them arrive.

b) *aɣa=b-m(o) i=s(e) i=f-tén.*
1s=IMPERF-hear 3p=DAT 3p=IMPERF-arrive
I hear them, they are arriving. (as we speak)

c) *aɣa=b-m(o) i=s(e) i=ttén.*
1s=IMPERF-hear 3p=DAT 3p=arrive
I hear them (they have) arrive(d).

‘see’ *guná*

(146) *aɣa=ggun(á)=i i=b-didá.*
1s=see=3p 3p=IMPERF-walk
I saw them leave.

‘perceive’ *yogá*

(147) *aɣa=bb-óg(a)=í i=ddidá*
1s=IMPERF-perceive=3p 3p=walk
I see that they have left.

The verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’ are also used with the complementizer *sa*. Find examples under (152) and (153).

The verb *gár* ‘find; come upon’ is found with the same construction.

(148) a) *aɣa=ggár almán a=f-keedí bangú.*
1s=find herd 3p=IMPERF-be.on well
I found the herd at the well.

b) *a=ggár=i i=kkós íŋgi káamil.*
3s=find=3p 3p=cut 3p.EMP all
He found them (ears) all cut.

c) *i=ṣṣ-əwən i=n táyni*
3p=CAUS-share 3p=GEN date
i=ggár=a ḍáalib a=báara.
3p=find=3s uneven.number 3s=be
They distributed their dates and found there was an uneven number.

The verb *gór* 'must' has an impersonal 3s subject clitic *a=*, while the subject is only specified in the complement clause. The NP in the third example can be analysed as a preposed topic since it is not allowed to have nominal constituents between the matrix and the complement verb. In all cases the complement clause is in the imperfective.

(149) a) *a=gor i=b-ʃíkʃ(a) áŋga har...*
3s=must 3p=IMPERF-CAUS.eat 3s.EMP until
they had to feed her until...

b) *a=gor ni=b-dúwənn-ət ənd(a) aɣáy.*
3s=must 2s=IMPERF-talk with 1s
you must talk with me.

c) *aɣa=n t-á-ŋgud a=sə́-gor a=b-dút*
1s=GEN F-SG-girl 3s=NEG.IMPERF-must 3s=IMPERF-pound
ana ni=wáni a=b-gorá.
2s.DAT 2s=of 3s=IMPERF-sit
as for my girl she does not have to pound for you (while) yours is sitting.

tə́gor ‘begin’ is marked with the same referent as the verb of the complement clause. The last example shows that a nominal constituent can precede the verb of the complement clause. This verb is always in the imperfective, e.g.

(150) a) *bor-en* *cind-en* *i=ttə́gor* *i=b-nín* *i=ka*
person-PL some-PL 3p=begin 3p=IMPERF-drink 3p=LOC
some begin to drink from it.

b) *…ən=ttə́gor* *ni=bb-eerí*
2s=begin 2p=IMPERF-vomit
…you begin to vomit.

c) *igdá* *a=ttə́gor* *a-múnsu* *a=b-díydi*
because 3s=begin SG-food 3s=IMPERF-get.into
bor-én *ən* *í-ʃʃan-an* *ka* *har...*
person-PL GEN PL-tooth-PL LOC until
because the food begins to get into the teeth of the people until...

The verb *ko* ‘can’ (also ‘leave’) has the choice between personal and impersonal syntax. This verb has different aspectual uses in positive and negative sentences. In positive sentences, the verbs in the matrix clause and in the complement clause are both in the perfective. In negative sentences, the verbs in matrix and complement clause are in the imperfective.

(151) a) *ni=kkó* *ni=dd(á)=i*
2s=can 2s=make=3p
you can make them.

b) *ay=n* *naná* *a=kkó* *a=yyiɣm(á)* *áa=se*
3s=GEN mother 3s=can 3s=color 3s=DAT
a-báktaw
SG-cushion
her mother can color a/the cushion for her (daughter).

c) *a=sə-kó* *a=b-fún=a.*
$3s_{1}$=NEG.IMPERF-can $3s_{1}$=IMPERF-pierce=$3s_{2}$
it_{1} (tool) cannot pierce it_{2} (stick).

d) *gánd(a)* *a=sə-kó* *ni=b-léem=a*
earth 3s=NEG.IMPERF-can 2s=IMPERF-twine=3s
earth, it is not possible that you twine it (to a thread).

There are a number of verbs that always have a 3s pronoun clitic that is used in an impersonal way. Structurally they always have a complementizer *sa* and will be treated in the following section.

4.3.10.3 Verbs with complementizer sa

Verbs of various semantic domains are found with a complement clause that is linked by *sa* COMP. The same particle is used for non-restrictive relative clauses (4.5.4) and to link the topic to non-verbal clauses (4.7.1.1).

The following verbs may take the complementizer *sa*:

'see' *guná*

The complement clause may be a verbal or a non-verbal clause as example (152) shows.

(152) *i=gguná-kat* *sá* *t-á-zdək-k*
3p=see-VEN COMP F-SG-be.clean-F.SG
áŋga *saffarí.*
3s.EMP medicine
they saw that cleanliness is medicine.

'hear sb.' *mó (hé se)*

(153) a) *arw-én* *ooda* *ámməs-kábahar* *i=mmó* *sa*
man-PL DEM.NEAT maybe-when 3P=hear COMP
t-a-bállen-t *ni=b-hurrú* *i=tə-wí* *nín.*
F-SG-fight-F.SG 2s=IMPERF-look.for 3p=FUT-kill 2s
these men, when they hear that it is a fighting match you seek, they will kill you.

b) *nín* *íizac(e)* *ooda* *a=b-mó* *(a)=se*
2s.EMP young.man DEM.NEAR 3s=IMPERF-hear 3s=DAT
s(a) *a=ddá* *aṇṇúdr(a)* *aɣo* *n* *əŋgám*
COMP 3s=make promise DET GEN instant
you need to know, this young man heard her make this promise mentioned before.

The interpretation of the complement in the last example is ambiguous. It could also be read as 'when she made…' with the clause initial particle *sa* 'when'.

See the use of 'see' and 'hear' with a verbal noun complement under 4.3.10.2.

'want' *báaɣa*

(154) a) *aɣa=bbáaɣa* *sa* *aɣ=tə-d(á)* *ana* *t-a-nəfus-t.*
1s=want COMP 1s=FUT-do 2s.DAT F-SG-story-F.SG
I want to tell you a story.

b) *a=bbáaɣa* *sa* *(ə)n=tə-n(á)áa=s(e)* *a-ɣáanib.*
3s=want COMP 2s=FUT-give 3s=DAT SG-pencil
he wants you to give him a pencil.

c) *aɣa=bbáaɣa* *sa* *(ə)n=sə-kó*
3s=want COMP 2s=NEG.IMPERF-leave
I would like you not to leave.

d) *aɣ=sə-kúl* *sa* *(ə)n=tə-kó*
1s-NEG.IMPERF-want COMP 2s-FUT-leave
I don't want you to leave (*very impolite formula*).

'be necessary' *yilzəm* is a verb of light obligation, that takes a direct object. The direct object is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause.

(155) *aséeħat* *a=yyílzəm* *borá* *t-oo-lás-t*
health 3s=be.necessary person F-SG-do.again-F.SG
s(a) *a=tə-z-ázdəg* *ay=n* *t-áa-ɣəssa*
COMP 3s=FUT-CAUS-be.clean 3s=GEN F-SG-body
(to stay in good) health it is also necessary for somebody that s/he cleans his/her body.

'wish' *yasák*

(156) *aɣa=yyasák* *s(a)* *a=tə́-kas* *tangar-én*
1s=wish COMP 3s=FUT-be lie-PL
I wish that it would (turn out to) be lies.

The following example illustrates a parallel use of a complement clause with *sa* and of a verbal noun complement.

(157) *c(i)* *andə=yyasák* *s(a)* *andə=tə-dáy* *aɣáy*
what 2p=wish COMP 2p=FUT-buy 1s
daw *n* *a* *meɣ* *bún?*
LOC SEP 3s or die.VN
what do you wish, that you buy it with me or death?

'prefer' *yasáf*

(158) *barr-én* *i=yyasáf* *s(a)* *i=tə-keen(í)*
child-PL 3p=prefer COMP 3p=FUT-sleep
i=n *nan-én* *ən* *áaṣi-tan* *ka.*
3p=GEN mother-PL GEN belly.side-PL LOC
children prefer to sleep against the belly of their mothers.

'be sure' *káw aʃʃak* (lit: 'to take out doubt')

(159) a) *əndánga* *wiji* *sa* *(ə)n=tə-káw* *aʃʃak*
if is.not COMP 2s=FUT-take.out doubt
sa *ni=ss-áɣrəd* *ni=n* *t-ə-káṛḍaw*
COMP 2S=CAUS-be.complete 2s=GEN F-PL-letter
except when you are sure that you have assembled your papers

b) *káw* *aʃʃak* *s(a)* *a=ttén*
take.out doubt COMP 3S=arrive
be assured that he has arrived!

c) *wa* *(ə)n=sə-káw* *aʃʃak* *sa* *ni=wáni*
IMP 2S=NEG.IMPERF-take.out doubt COMP 2s=of
don't be sure that it (money) is yours!

The last example has a non-verbal complement.

'lose hope' *kaw áṭṭama*

(160) *har* *i=kkaw* *áṭṭama*
until 3p=take.out hope
s(a) *i-séftar* *i=tə-tén* *íi=daw*
COMP PL-put.on 3p=FUT-arrive 3p=LOC
until they lost hope that bedding would arrive at their place.

'begin' *s-əntá*

(161) a) *a=ss-əntá* *s(a)* *á=b-ŋa*
3s=CAUS-begin COMP 3S=IMPERF-eat
she began to eat (*first time or again after e.g. sickness*).

b) *a=ss-əntá* *s(a)* *a=ŋŋá*
3s=CAUS-begin COMP 3S=eat
she began to eat.

'be at the point of' *yabúk*

(162) *gə́ləkk* *a=yyabúk* *s(a)* *a=tə-wí=i*
hunger 3s=be.at.point.of COMP 3S=FUT-kill=3p
hunger was at the point of killing them.

The verb *hurrú*, 'look for', can be translated 'try' when it is followed by a complement clause.

(163) *aɣa=b-hurrú* *s(a)* *aɣ=tə-kár* *a=ka* *huurú.*
1s=IMPERF-look.for COMP 1s=FUT-hit 3s=LOC fire
I try to make fire on it (wooden stick).

'think' ~ 'believe' *yordá*

(164) a) *aywa* *aɣa=yyordá* *s(a)* *aɣa=n*
RESUME 1S=think COMP 1S=GEN
t-a-náfus-t *ánga* *n(e)* *áyda*
F-SG-story-F.SG 3S.EMP place DEM.PROX
well, I think that this was my story.

b) *aɣa=yyordá* *s(a)* *a=tə-tén* *zárooda*
1s=think COMP 3S=FUT-arrive today
I believe/think he arrives today.

'ought to' *may-ənda*

(165) a) *á=mmay-ənda* *s(a)* *a=tə-wi=á*
$3s_1$=have-with COMP $3s_1$=FUT-kill=$3s_2$
s/he ought to kill it.

b) *ar=sə́-may-ənda s(a)*
1p=NEG.IMPERF-have-with COMP
ar=tə-din(í) ana a-sáafu.
1p=FUT-take 2s.DAT SG-greet
we ought not to respond to your greeting.

'have the means to' *kun-ənda* (lit: 'find with')

(166) a) *aɣa=kkun-ə́nda s(a) aɣ=tə-kóy-kat nin.*
1s=find-with COMP 1s=FUT-go-VEN 2s
I have the means (time) to come to you.

b) *ar=nə-kun-ə́nda*
1p=NEG.PERF-find-with
s(a) ar=tə-ʃ-íʃu borá.
COMP 1p=FUT-CAUS-drink.BND person
we do not have the means to give a drink to somebody.

The following verbs all have a 3s subject clitic that needs to be read as impersonal.

The intransitive verb *yahór* 'need to (do)' is used in an impersonal construction.

(167) a) *əs-káhar ni=n karfú a=kkós*
maybe-when 2s=GEN rope 3s=cut
a=bb-ahór sa (ə)n=tə-s-ə́mm-ərkəs=a
3s=IMPERF-need COMP 2s=FUT-CAUS-RECI-tie=3s
when your rope is broken you need to retie it together.

b) *a=bb-ahór sa borá kullú a=m-báy*
3s=IMPERF-need COMP person each 3s=SUBJ-know
s(a) íʒy-en...
COMP fly-PL
it is necessary that everybody knows that flies...

The verb *yába* 'lack' is used in an impersonal construction. It is used in sentences which translate into English as 'no more, no longer'

(168) a) *a=yyába* *s(a)* *aɣa=ddəbət*
3s=lack COMP 1s=be.able
I can't any more.

b) *a=yyíɾɣəd* *a=yyába* *s(a)* *a=f-cí* *hé*
3s=be.silent 3s=lack COMP 3S=IMPERF-say thing
he is silent, he no longer says anything.

The verb *híʃʃil* 'be obliged to' is always used in an impersonal construction. The person who is obliged is either a direct object of the verb (a, b), or, implying an obligation which is less strong, an oblique object (c).

(169) a) *a=híʃʃil* *aɣáy* *s(a)* *aɣ=tə-kó* *á-ɣrəm.*
3s=oblige 1s COMP 1s=FUT-go SG-town
I must go to town.

b) *a=híʃʃil=a* *s(a)* *a=tə-kó* *á-ɣrəm.*
3s=oblige=3s COMP 3s=FUT-go SG-town
he must go to town.

c) *a=híʃʃil* *áa=ka* *dá* *s(a)* *ánga* *dá*
3s=oblige 3s=LOC INT COMP 3s.EMP INT
a=tə-da *hé* *(a)ɣo bor-én* *i=ddá.*
3s=FUT-do thing DET person-PL 3p=do
it is expected of him that he, too, does what the people do.

4.3.10.4 *Complement clause with* kúd *and* kud da

Kúd 'if' introduces a subordinate clause after certain verbs of intellectual activities, such as *báy* 'to know', *s-ə́stən* 'to ask' and *sə́-mm-ədrən* 'to reflect on'. *kud dá* 'if (at all)' rarely occurs in the same context.

(170) a) *aɣa=b-sə́-mm-ədrən* *kúd* *a=ttén* *meɣ*
1s=IMPERF-CAUS-RECI-turn.around if 3s=arrive or
a=nə-tén.
3s=NEG.PERF-arrive
I am asking myself if he has arrived or not.

b) *a=sə-báy* *ʃeddí* *kúd* *a=f-kó*
3s=NEG.IMPERF-know yet if 3s=IMPERF-leave
wal(a) *a=b-gorá-kat.*
or 3s=IMPERF-sit-VEN
he doesn't know yet if he'll leave or stay.

The verb in the following example is a complex idiom, *ay=n i-m-ádr-an i=kkun(á) aɣáy* (3s=GEN PL-RECI-turn.around-PL 3p=find 1s.O) literally 'its/his thoughts found me' which can be read as 'I am worried about' and can take a *kúd*-complement.

(171) *i-má-dran-an* *i=kkun(á)-a*
PL-RECI-turn.around-PL 3p=find-3s
íizac(e) *óoda* *wán-en*
youth DEM of-PL
kud *a=tə-yiddár-kat* *wal(a)* *a=tə-hang(á)*
if 3s=FUT-live-VEN ou 3s=FUT-pass.over
ənda *he* *n* *kun(á)* *óoda.*
with thing GEN find.VN DEM
she was worried about this boy, if he would live or pass away with this sickness.

The next example is an instance with the verb 'look' and *kúd*.

(172) *bora* *ámməs-kábahar* *ni=m-hurr(ú)* *áa=ka*
person perhaps-when 2s=SUB-look.for 3s=LOC
t-a-rásway-t *háaṣi* *kud* *(dá)*
F-SG-clothing-F.SG look if (INT)
áŋg(a) *ənd(a)* *ay=n* *gá*
3s.EMP with 3s=GEN self

aɣo *báar(a)* *ay=n* *jinji*
DET be 3S=GEN neck
kud *á=mmay* *t-a-rásway-t* *wal(a)*
if 3S=own F-SG-clothing-F.SG or
a=sə́-mmay *t-i-zzár-t* *ni=bb-ə́ṇsi.*
3S=NEG.IMPERF-own F-SG-be.before-F.SG 2S=IMPERF-beg
when you try to get a piece of clothing from somebody, look if he himself, the one (shirt) on his body, if he has a shirt (worth being called a shirt) or not before you beg (of him).

This same particle is used in Tamasheq with the same function but also for other uses. Find more about *kud daɣ* 'even if' under conditionals in 4.8.3.4.

4.4 Copular clauses

In this chapter clause types are discussed that show no inflected verb. Such a construction is used to encode the identity of an entity (4.4.1). Presentative expressions are also found in this chapter (4.4.2). To posit the existence of something, the copula *báara* is used and non-existence is encoded with *ʃi* (4.4.3). In section 4.4.4 locational predication is discussed, and the last section (4.4.5) presents possessive predication.

4.4.1 Equational clauses and 'be', 'become', 'not be'

Positive unfocused equational predication ('X is a teacher') is expressed without a verb or any other kind of grammatical morpheme. A noun is followed by a noun or an NP. A pronominal referent is expressed by an independent pronoun. A single noun can form a predication, see (174). Any time reference is given by situational or textual context.

Equational clause

(173) a) *t-a-buɣán-t* *[feejí ʒen-ʒen-án]*
F-SG-old.sheep-F.SG sheep be.old-DUP-ADJZR
'tabuɣant' is an old sheep.

b) *[aɣa=n* *bér]* *mooʃí*
1S=GEN older.sibling teacher
my older brother is a teacher.

c) *áari* *ʃammúʃ*
1p.EMP five
we are/were five (people).

d) *íŋgi* *i-bororóji-tan*
3p.EMP PL-ethnic.name-PL
they are/were Fulbe.

The equational clause can be used for identification. For negation of identity the particle *wiji* 'is not' is used, which only occurs in this context, as a tag in tag questions (4.7.3.2), and in combination with one of the 'if' markers (4.8.3.1). The particle immediately precedes the noun it negates.

(174) a) *aɣa=n* *báarar* *íizace* *wiji* *t-á-ŋgud*
1s=GEN child boy is.not F-SG-girl
my child is a boy, not a girl.

b) *wiji* *t-á-ŋgud* *íizace*
is.not F-SG-girl boy
it's not a girl, (it's) a boy.

The verb *kas*, 'be / become', is used when one of the elements is in focus. It may or may not set the timeframe before the speech act. In the following example the object 'slave' is fronted before the verb for focalization.

(175) a) *igán* *ṭaamú* *aɣa=kkás?*
QST slave 1s=become
am I a slave? / have I become a slave?

b) *aɣ=n* *a-sə́stan* *za* *hé* *(a)=káas=a ...*
1s=GEN SG-ask LC thing 3s=become=3s
so my question, this is it: ...

The last example is almost presentative in character. This use is often found with abstract entities like 'a story'. Objects that are presented ('Here is X') use a different strategy (see below).

kas 'be/become' is a full verb and can occur with all MAN markers

(176) a) *...cedd(i) arə=f-kás barr-en ceená-nanən.*
still 1p=IMPERF-be child-PL be.small-ADJZR.PL
... when we were still small children.

b) *áŋga dá a=nə-kás ar=n á-ʃʃaɣal.*
3s.EMP INT 3s=NEG.PERF-be 3p=GEN SG-work
As for that, it is not our work.

c) *...har h(e) óoda a=m-kás a=se*
until thing DEM.NEAR 3s=SUBJ-become 3s=DAT
he n kuná
thing GEN find.VN
...until this (may) becomes a sickness for him.

d) *t-a-baráŋɣaw-t aɣó (a)yda a=tə́-kas*
F-SG-left.over-F.SG DET DEM.PROX 3s=FUT-become
t-á-gnaw-t....
F-SG-sickness.kind-F.SG
This same leftover will become sickness (kind)...

4.4.2 Presentative expressions

Two kinds of presentative clauses are found. Both have a singular and a plural form. One kind presents an item/items close to the speaker and the other presents an item/items at a further distance. A third, neutral shape is reported to encode 'availability' and does not stress location.

(177) *Presentative surface shapes*

	single item	several items
neutral	*né*	
proximal	*náani*	*níina*
distal	*nóo-se*	*níi-se*

All expressions contain a /n/ element that is possibly the part that encodes 'location', compare the elements *né* 'here/there (where)' that encodes location in some way and *no* 'there' used in some other contexts to encode remoteness (see below). Both terms are also present in Mainstream Songhay with similar semantics. Both *ne* and *no* end in a vowel that can be deleted when another vowel follows.

These considerations should be kept in mind as we look at the details of the presentative expressions.

4.4.2.1 né / náani / níina *'… is/are here'*

The following construction occurs only once in the corpus.

(178) *á-lkas* *né.*
(tea)glass here
here is a glass (available).

This form is reported to carry very low stress on location. The term could be read as 'available'.

The other presentative marker seems to consist of three elements. Assuming that the question 'where is…?' (*maaná*) contains the same elements as the answer 'here is…', the first element *na* is a 'be'-copula followed by a clitic (singular or plural) and a third element encoding 'here/place/location'. Consider the examples:

(179) a) *[ni=n* *fatílla]* *[n(a)=áa-ni]*
2S=GEN torch be=3S-LOC
here (is) your torch.

b) *[fatílla-tan]* *[n(a)=íi-na]*
torch-PL be=3p-LOC
here (are) the torches.

There is no good explanation for the difference in the last element and informants consistently deny a possible connection with *né* 'here'. The expression as a whole is very much focusing on 'location', the precise place where the item in question is.

The above examples could also be analyzed as containing the demonstrative *na* OPP that precedes the noun it accompanies, followed by a plural clitic *-i.* The final vowel is deleted and shows as *n(a)-í* 'that(pl)'. This analysis is less attractive, though, because *na*

OPP is not attested followed by any other element than *aɣo* DET or a full noun.

4.4.2.2 nóose / níise *'… is/are there'*

The location indicated with these expressions is not very precisely identified. The location is still within sight but no longer within reach of an arm.

The form has the following structure. First comes an element *no* (see below). This is followed by a 3d person pronoun. According to regular vowel assimilation rules, the vowel /a/ of the singular is deleted after /o/ while the vowel /i/ of the plural is maintained. Last comes the element *se*.

For the element /no/ there are several possible identifications. It appears only in two other contexts in Tadaksahak.

In the first context it can be interpreted as a fusion of the elements *né + o* (place + DEBR) 'location with a broad reference' = 'there (non-specific)'. Find examples under 4.5.1.

The other context points in the same direction. *no* is found after plural determiners to point to the past or 'distant from here' (ex. *aɣónda-no béer-ənən* DET.PL-there be.big-ADJZ.PL 'those big ones there' (see 4.1.4, also Ex (64)), and it appears following the noun *əŋgám* 'instant' and indicates 'past in time' (e.g. *əŋgám-ə-no* /instant-[ə]-there/ 'mentioned before'). These meanings can be seen as temporal interpretations of 'there, away in space'.

A typical presentational expression for an item in the distance has the following structure.

(180) a) *aɣa=n* *húgu* *nóo-(a-)se*
1S=GEN house there-3S-there
my house is (over) there.

b) *ni=n* *t-á-mgad-an* *íŋgi* *n(óo)-íi-se,*
2S=GEN F-PL-girl-PL 3P.EMP there-3P-there
your girls, they are (over) there.

A relationship to the KCH Songhay term /nono/ 'it is' (identificational copula) and KS /no/ 'it is' cannot entirely be excluded, even though they are syntactically different. *no* could then be read as a 'be'-copula followed by a singular (not audible) or a plural (íi) pronoun with the adverbial 'there' i.e. /be-3s-there/ and /be-3p-there/ respectively.

KS also has a particle /no/ which can at times be glossed as 'there' (Heath 1999b:86) with very low stress on a semantic 'location'. This particle joins our initial approach of a not very specific locational expression that points in the distance.

4.4.3 Existential predications

Existential predication is expressed with the intransitive verb *báara* 'be/exist'.

(181) a) *assakúr* *a=báara.*
sugar 3s=exist
there is sugar.

b) *ary-én* *i=báara.*
water-PL 3p=exist
there is water.

A special case is illustrated in the example below.

(182) *..sa (ə)n=sə-káw* *ə́mmək* *aɣo* *bé* *ni=báara*
COMP 2s-NEG.IMPERF-take manner DET on 2s=exist
...that you will not change the way you are (now)

In this example the stative quality of this verb is addressed. *kas* 'be/become' would not fit here since this verb has a semantic component of 'change' and here the state at the moment of the speech is in focus.

In order to negate the existence of an item the verb *ʃí* 'not to be' is used. This verb may be related to the NEG.IMPERF prefix *sə-*. Mainstream Songhay has similar elements to express the negation of 'exist', i.e., /sii/ in KCH (Heath 1999a:148), and /sii ~ ʃii/ in KS (Heath 1999b:179ff).

(183) a) *assakúr* *a=ʃʃí*
sugar 3s=not.be
there is no sugar.

b) *ary-én* *i=ʃʃí*
water-PL 3p=not.be
there is no water.

If the referent is known, the negative copula with a 3rd person clitic is sufficient to express 'there is none', *a=ʃʃí*.

Both *báara* and *ʃí* can be used without overt MAN marking in present or future context.

Both expressions are also part of the locational predications described in the paragraph below (4.4.4).

A different way to express the non-existence of something is the particle *wə́rtilla* 'there is not'. This particle has been taken over unanalyzed from Tamasheq /wær=t i-lla/ 'there is not' (Heath 2006:588). The syntax of *wə́rtilla* is different from that of phrases with *ʃí*. The particle precedes the negated noun similar to the negation of identity shown above (example (174)).

(184) *iddá* *əmməs-kábahar* *wə́rtilla* *alxér*
because maybe-when there.is.not peace
wə́rtilla *kúḍ,* *wə́rtilla* *habá*
there.is.not pasture.VN there.is.not harvest.VN
wə́rtilla *assóq* *ən* *kóy*
there.is.not market GEN leave.VN
because, if there is no peace, (as consequence) there is no leading the animals to pasture, no harvesting, no going to the market.

4.4.4 Locational predications

Locational predicates are based on *báara* 'be in' and *keedí* 'be high on'. For both of them the location can be expressed by a nominal direct object (unmarked complement), a locative adverbial or a locative postpositional phrase with *daw*. The third locational verb is *keení* 'lie' which is used for items that do not stand. This same root means 'sleep' when the subject is a human referent. The verb *keení* needs an adpositional complement with the postposition *ka* to express the location.

Locational verbs

(185) a) *a=báara* *sénda*
3s=be there
she is/was there.

b) *a=báara* *néeda*
3s=be here
he is/was here.

c) *a=báara* *[t-ə-míʒar* *asénda]*
3S=be F-PL-old.camp DEM.FAR
she is/was in that old camp.

d) *a-másloɣ* *a=f-keed(í)=a*
SG-sattle.blanket 3s=IMPERF-be.on=3s
the/a saddle blanket is on it (camel).

e) *ceed(í)* *á=f-keeni* *[gánda* *ka]*
spoon 3s=IMPERF-lie earth LOC
the/a spoon lies on the ground.

báara is also used in sentences with the postposition *daw* ‘at (somebody’s)’ *a=báar(a) aɣáy daw* (3S=be 1s LOC) ‘She is at my place.’

báara can also be used to attribute a quality to an entity. The quality in a nominal form is the subject and the referent having the quality is the direct object.

(186) a) *diŋg(á)* *á=báar(a)* *aɣay*
forgetfulness 3s=be.in 1s
I am forgetful (Lit: forgetfulness is in me).

b) *gorgor-én* *i=báar(a)* *áŋga*
laughter-PL 3p=be.in 3s.EMP
it is amusing. (Lit: laughters are in it, e.g. a story)

When the quality is attributed to a tall animal, like a camel, one can also use the verb *keedí* with the same meaning.

(187) *á-mn̪əs* *aɣ(o) óoda* *a-xə́rrəm* *a=f-keed(í)=á*
SG-camel DET DEM.NEAR SG-disobedience 3s=IMPERF-be.on=3s
this camel, it is disobedient.

The absence of an item in a certain location is expressed with the verb *ʃi* 'not to be' that takes an adverbial (a) or an unmarked complement (b) to express the location. The fronted NP in ((188)b) encodes the location where the presence of 'water' is negated

(188) a) *a=ʃʃi* *néeda* *da* *sénda.*
3s=not.be here INT there.
it is neither here nor there.

b) *T-óoruf-t* *ary-én* *i=ʃʃí=a*
loc.name water-PL 3p=not.be=3s
In T., there is no water.

The verb 'to lose' is expressed with the verb 'not exist' with an adpositional complement. Syntactically the 'lost item' is the subject and the person who lost something is expressed by the complement. A very literal reading could give 'Y does not exist in X'.

(189) *á-ẓ̣rəf* *a=ʃʃ(í)* *aɣáy* *ka.*
SG-silver 3s=not.exist 1s LOC
I lost (some) money.

4.4.5 Possessive predication

The verb *máy* 'have' expresses ownership. The owned item is the object of the clause.

(190) a) *á=mmay* *haw-yén*
3s=have cow-PL
he owns cows.

b) *áa-nibo* *a=sə́-mmay* *baabá.*
SG-bastard 3s=IMPERF.NEG-have father
an illegitimate child has no father.

In some instances it can also be translated as 'belong to', e.g. when the identity of a person is questioned.

(191) a) *cí* *mmáay=a?*
who have=3s
who is he? (Lit: who owns him = to whom does he belong?)

b) *i-dogíri-tan* *nə-mmáy* *aɣáy*
PL-clan.name-PL FOC-have 1sO
I belong to the Idogiritan. (Lit: It's the I. who own me)

In order to topicalize the possessum, a non-verbal identificational construction is used.

(192) *[huur(ú)* *aséND(a)]* *[alfáqi* *wáni]*
fire DEM.FAR teacher of
that fire is the teacher's = belongs to the teacher.

This same construction is used to identify the owner.

(193) Q: *cí* *mmáy* *feej(í)* *aɣ(o)* *óoda?*
who have sheep DET DEM.NEAR
who owns this sheep?

A: *aɣ=wáni*
1s=of
(it's) mine.

The verb *máy* is also found together with attributive nouns like stubbornness and wisdom. It then expresses 'being of that quality'. The subject is the entity exposing the quality.

(194) *á=mmay* *táyta*
3s=have wisdom
he is intelligent.

Summary

In the table below 'N' stands for the entity about which further information (existence) is given. 'L' designates the place where a location name is expected to express a location.

	positive		negative
identity	no marker		*wiji* + N
existence	N + *báara*	‘be’	N + *ʃí / wə́rtilla* + N
location	*báara* + L	‘be in’	*ʃí* + L
	keedí + L	‘be (high) on’	
	keení + L *ka*	‘lie on’	
possessive	*máy*	‘have’	NEG-*may*

4.5 Relative Clauses

Tadaksahak has two different types of relative clauses (RC). The formal difference is the presence or absence of the complementizer *sa*, that typically introduces a non-restrictive relative clause that gives additional information about the referent. Restrictive RCs, i.e., RCs with identificational information about the referent, show a different construction for subjects and when other parts (object, oblique objects) are relativized. Only subject relatives ('a man who eats') can be marked by the presence of *nə-/ən-*, a demonstrative-like particle, which occurs when the MAN marker (Mood-Aspect-Negation) on the verb has the shape CV-.

The RC normally follows the noun it modifies immediately and so may be placed in the middle of the main clause. The end of such a RC is typically marked with a short pause that prevents vowel contraction.

Possessors ('my mother whose house…') can only be relativized by means of the *sa* complementizer. This is discussed below (4.5.4.2). When the head NP is an independent pronoun ('you who…') the marker *nó(o-da)* 'there' must follow the pronoun. Find the discussion in 4.5.3 below.

4.5.1 Restrictive relative clause

Mainstream Songhay has a single strategy using the invariable relative morpheme /kaa/ in Timbuktu (Heath 1999a: 186) or /kaŋ ~ kan ~ ka/ in Gao (Heath 1999b: 241). Under certain circumstances a resumptive pronoun is found in relative clauses (Heath 1999b:244) and adpositional RCs may remain in situ with a corresponding pronoun. Heath analyzes Songhay RCs as consisting of a head NP connected with the REL /kaa ~ kaŋ/ to the embedded clause. In contrast to Songhay languages, Tamasheq is considered to have RCs with an internal head, a demonstrative, and differentiates between definite and indefinite RCs, while a resumptive pronoun does not normally occur (Heath 2005:624ff). In addition, subject relativization is marked on the verb by means of special inflection. Tadaksahak RCs show many features that can also be observed in Tamasheq: a) subject RCs have a different inflection from other relativized relations (object, oblique objects). b) there are no resumptive pronouns. When the head has been extracted from a

postpositional phrase, the bare (4.5.1.3, see below) postposition is put at the left edge of the relative clause.

The analysis of the linking of the relative clause to the head is somewhat complicated. Relative clauses with a definite head always have the element *aɣo* 'DET'. Outside relative syntax, this element may accompany different kinds of NPs and gives them salience in their context (4.1.4). It also functions as a pronominal head of relative clauses which have no NP head. Its function is very much like that of the demonstratives /w-a, w-i, t-a, t-i/ of Tamasheq, minus the gender distinction. Dialectally different plural forms are attested. In a NP that is relativized, *aɣo* can be accompanied by a demonstrative, e.g. *i=tə-húur(u) a-múnsu aɣ(o) óoda ni=ŋŋá…* (3s=FUT-enter SG-food DET DEM 2s=eat) 'it (left over food) will enter into the food (that) you eat…'.

When the head noun is indefinite, *aɣo* 'DET' does not appear.

Two analyses come to one's mind here. In the first analysis, *aɣo* 'DET' is simply a determiner of the head noun; the main difference with normal determination is that the head noun, when definite, is obligatorily marked by *aɣo* 'DET', while this is not the case in other contexts. Definite-head and indefinite-head restrictive relative clauses would then have the same structure, being marked by the use of *nə-/ən-* in subject relatives and by the left-edge position of the pronoun-less postposition in prepositional relatives.

As *aɣo* 'DET' also may function as the sole pronominal head of a relative clause ('the one that'), a different analysis is also possible. In this analysis, definite-head relative clauses would have a clause-internal pronominal head, while indefinite-head relative clauses would have to do without. This analysis would be similar to that by Heath (2005) for Tamasheq; however, one should note that the Tamashek structure is not entirely identical to the Tadaksahak structure, as Tamashek also allows for indefinite pronominal heads.

When adpositional complements are relativized, the PPs are fronted to the clause and follow the (definite) NP with *aɣo* as the last element or the head noun immediately when it is indefinite.

The two analyses can be schematicized as follows:

(196) Definite and indefinite RC: two analyses

analysis 1	definite	head noun *aɣo* [RC]
	indefinite	head noun [RC]
analysis 2	definite	head noun [*aɣo* RC]
	indefinite	head noun [RC]

The following scheme lists the different particles that can follow *aɣo* when it is part of a relativized NP.

nə-/ən-
DET demonstratives
DET.PL postpositions
sa

The more economic analysis of the two possibilities presented above seems to be the option where there is one kind of RC and a relativized definite NP contains obligatorily *aɣo*.

4.5.1.1 Subject relatives

In subject relatives, the verb is preceded by the extraction marker *nə-/ən* (glossed EXM) when *se-* 'NEG.IMPERF' *nə-* 'NEG.PERF' or *tə-* 'FUT' are the MAN markers (Mood-Aspect-Negation) on the verb and takes the place of the subject clitic in the RC. It is indifferent to number. Before the other MAN-markers (perfective *b-/f-* and unmarked imperfective), EXM is dropped for some unknown reason, or possibly fully assimilated to the following consonant. EXM has the same shape and appears in the same place (when it is present) as the focus marker for subject focus (see 4.7.2.1).

Examples under (197) show subject RCs where the MAN markers allow no 'extraction marker' EXM, while (198) gives examples with *nə-/ən-*.

(197) a) *bor(á)* *aɣo* *[ṭṭáw-kat* *néeda]*
person DET reach-VEN here
the person who arrived here

b) *i-múṇas-kon* *aɣondo* *[zzumbu* *ʕáali* *daw]*
PL-camel-owner.PL DET.PL go.down prop.name LOC
the camel riders who dismounted at Rhali's (place)

c) *bor(á)* *aɣo* *[f-keedí* *t-á-ɣlam-t]*
person DET IMPERF-be.up F-SG-riding.camel-F.SG
the person who is riding the camel

d) *a-ʒáaʒib* *[dá* *ʃ-íkʃíḍ]*
SG-phantom put CAUS-fear.VN
a phantom that frightens

e) *hé* *[b-s-əgd(á)* *ənda* *ni₌n*
thing IMPERF-CAUS-be.equal with 2s₌GEN
á-ʃkar *ən* *ʒíibi]*
SG-nail GEN dirt
something that is the size of the dirt under your nail

(198) a) *aarú* *aɣo* *[nə-nə-hunú* *húgu* *daw]*
man DET EXM-NEG.PERF-leave house LOC
the man who did not leave from home.

b) *aaru* *aɣo* *[n-sə-húuru* *ay₌n* *car-én]*
man DET EXM-NEG.IMPERF-enter 3s₌GEN friend-PL
the man who is not together with his (boy)friends
(…becomes a girl.)

c) *he* *(a)ɣo* *[n-tə-nin₌i]*
thing DET EXM-FUT-drink₌3p
the thing (human/animal) that will drink it (water)

d) *tú* *[ən-sə-yáhar]*
bowl EXM-NEG.IMPERF-be.covered
(it sees) a bowl that is not covered

e) *tuw-yén* *[ən-sə-yáhar]*
bowl-PL EXM-NEG.IMPERF-be.covered
pots that are not covered...

f) *[a-ẓúbara* *nn* *éeʃam]*
SG-warthog GEN fat
[ən-tə-huur(ú) *áy₌n* *t-í-nʒar]* *kor-korr-í*
EXM-FUT-enter 3s₌GEN F-PL-nostril DUP-be.hot-ADJZR
(except) hot warthog fat that enters his trunk

g) *hawrú* *[nə-nə́-hina* *húllən]*
meat EXM-NEG.PERF-cook much
(he eats) meat that is not well cooked.

h) *Iyyá* *[cíidaw ən* *hé* *fó]* *[nə-nə́-faṛəṛ]*
yes bird GEN thing IND EXM-NEG.PERF-be.important
yes, a little bird that is not important.

4.5.1.2 Object relatives

The scheme below is valid for all non-subject RCs.

(199) Structure of restrictive non-subject RC

Direct object	noun (DET) (DEM)	[(NP) verb]
Adposition	noun (DET) (DEM)	[adposition (NP) verb]

Tadaksahak does not leave any pronominal trace in an object RC. This is the same behavior as observed in CHK (Heath 1999a:191) and Tamasheq, but different from KS where a resumptive 3rd person pronoun is left in the place of the extracted noun (Heath 1999b:244). In the examples below, the place where a direct object would appear if the clause had been a main clause is marked with Ø.

(200) a) *áʃʃaɣal aɣo [aɣa=mmáy nín ka Ø] a=bbén*
work DET 1s=have 2s LOC 3s=be.finished
the work I have for you is finished.

b) *i-múnsuw-an aɣondó*
PL-meal-PL DET.PL
[aɣa=b-fúr-an ándi se Ø]
1s=IMPERF-throw-ALL 2p DAT
the food that I threw to you

c) *almitál aɣ(o) óoda [aɣ=tə-har andi se Ø]*
example DET DEM.NEAR 1s=FUT-tell 2p DAT
this example that I will tell you

d) *he (a)ɣ(o) óod(a) [a=b-da Ø]*
thing DET DEM 3s=IMPERF-do
what he did (lit: this thing that he did)

e) *t-a-náfus-t [[aɣá=n bab(a)*
F-SG-deed-F.SG 1s=GEN father
aɣo ʒéen-i] a=ddá Ø].
DET be.old-ADJZR 3s=do
a courageous deed that my grandfather did...

f) *a-kárʃay [a=kkun(á) áa=ka Ø] a=ʃʃí aa=ka*
SG-cloth 3s=find 3s=LOC 3s=not.be 3s=LOC
a scarf she got from her is lost.

4.5.1.3 Postpositional relatives

In postpositional relatives the postposition is put to the left edge of the RC.

(201) a) *ni=n* *hinciní* *aɣo* *[se* *ni=f-kós=i]*
2s=GEN goat DET DAT 2s=IMPERF-cut=3p
your goat for which you cut them (branches)

b) *a=yyéd* *i=n* *áŋgu* *aɣo*
3s=return 3p=GEN place DET
[k(a) *i=yyízdaɣ].*
LOC 3p=live
he returned to the(ir) place in which they live.

c) *záɣri* *aɣo* *[ká* *ni=ss-əbdəd=i* *aɣá=n* *mo* *ka]*
day DET LOC 2s=CAUS-stop.BND=3p 1s=GEN face LOC
the day (on which) you bring them before me...

d) *agúd* *aɣ(o)* *óoda* *[ka* *a=bbáaɣa* *s(a)*
moment DET DEM.NEAR LOC 3s=want COMP
a=tə-məṭṭəkwi]
3s=FUT-move.on
the (precise) moment (when) he wanted to move on…

e) *bídaw* *aɣo* *sénda* *[k(a)*
canister DET DEM.FAR LOC
ary-én *i=f-t-əwi-yan* *íi=se]*
water-PL 3p=IMPERF-PASS-bring.BND-ALL 3p=DAT
(he brought) that canister in which water had been brought to them

f) *áy=n* *baŋgú* *aɣo* *[b(e)* *a=zzumbú]*
3s=GEN head DET LOC 3s=descend
her head on which it (bird) landed

g) *a-ɣázar* *aɣo*
SG-pond DET
[daw *áy=n* *ary-én* *i=tə-káy]*
LOC 3S=GEN water-PL 3p=FUT-stop
the pond at which (rain wash) water stops

h) *ée-dag* *[ka* *t-áa-har-t* *a=háy]*
SG-place LOC F-SG-lion-F.SG 3s=give.birth
(until she saw) a place where a lioness had given birth.

i) *hé [b(e) id-ádduwul i=b-zóɣ]*
thing LOC PL-country 3p=IMPERF-fight
a thing about which countries fight

j) *t-á-ŋgud [s(e) a=ddá hé]*
F-SG-girl DAT 3s=do thing
a girl for which he did something

4.5.1.4 Prepositional relatives

The instrumental marker is a preposition when it accompanies nouns. In relative clauses, the preposition is put to the left edge of the RC, exactly like the postpositions. In RC with the *ənda*, *aɣo* is always present.

(202) a) *ə́mmək aɣó [(ə)nda aɣ=tə-dá=a].*
manner DET with 1s=FUT-do=3s
how I am going to do it. (Lit: manner with which...)

b) *ṭ-á-ṣṣuḍ aɣó [(ə)nda ni=kkóos=a]*
F-SG-ax DET with 1s=cut=3s
the ax with which you cut it.

For possessor relativization see 4.5.4.2 below.

4.5.2 Relativization of generic terms

This type of RC is formally not different from the restrictive type. One such generic term is *hé* 'thing' that can designate humans as well as animals in certain contexts. This is shown in the example below.

(203) *íttilla hé [nín aa=ka] yeer-án ənd(a)*
each thing drink 3s=LOC vomiting-PL and
a-ʃíbuku a=tə-kun(a)=a.
SG-diarrhea 3s=FUT-find=3s
whoever (humans/animals) drinks from it, will get vomiting and diarrhea.

4.5.2.1 Existential expressions with relativization

The RC of an existential expression uses the same construction as shown in the previous sections. Expressions like 'nothing' and 'nobody' are based on the existential verb *ʃí* 'not be'. Relativization of such terms typically has the RC separate from the head noun by the existential verb:

(204) *[bor(a)* *a=ʃʃí]* *[máy* *i-múṇas]*
person 3s=be.not own PL-camels
əndáŋga *wij(i)* *I-dáksahak.*
if not.be PL-ethn.name
there is nobody who has camels except the Idaksahak.
(Lit: a person does not exist who owns camels…).

Likewise, with the noun *he* 'thing' the construction is the same.

(205) *[h(e)* *a=ʃʃí]* *[yáhal* *s(a)* *a=tə-mán-kaat=a]...*
thing 3s=be.not dare COMP 3S=FUT-appoach-VEN=3s
nobody dared to approach it.... (Lit: a thing is not that dared...)

The Tamasheq negative existential *wə́rtilla* 'there is not' behaves differently. The term behaves like an unanalyzable particle in Tadaksahak. It precedes the noun whose non-existence it posits (4.4.3). In relative clauses with *wə́rtilla*, the determiner *aɣo* is present, even though the referent is indefinite. Note that EXM is present under the same conditions as discussed above.

(206) a) *aɣa=bbáy* *sa* *wə́rtill(a)* *á-mṇəs* *aɣo*
1s=know COMP there.is.not SG-camel DET
[bb-azúurag *t-ə-séeɣaɣ-an* *ka].*
IMPERF-be.free F-PL-season.kind-PL LOC
I know that there is no camel that is left free during hot season.

b) *wə́rtilla* *bor(á)* *aɣo* *[(ə)n-sə́=bun]*
there.is.not person DET EXM-NEG.IMPERF=die
Nobody is immortal.

c) *wə́rtill(a)* *aɣo* *[bbáaɣa* *s(a)* *aɣ=n*
there.is.not DET want COMP 3s=GEN
t-a-múṣek-k *a=tə-n(á)* *a-ffó* *se.]*
F-SG-milking.animal-F.SG 3s=FUT-give SG-one DAT
there is no one who wants to give his livelihood to someone else.

The last example shows no head noun.

4.5.2.2 Relativization with ho *'this thing' and* né *'here'*

The noun *ho* 'this thing' consists of the neutral noun *he* 'thing' and the determiner *o*, so it is a definite entity (4.1.3.5). However, *aɣo* never

occurs following *hó*, any RC follows *hó* immediately unless a demonstrative (*sé*) is present. Likewise, *né* is never followed by *aɣo*.

(207) a) *əndár a=bbáy hó [báar(a) a=se*
if 3s=know thing.DEBR be.in 3s=DAT
aláxar] a=sə-d(á) áa=se he yibrár-an.
next.world 3s=NEG.IMPERF-do 3s=DAT thing be.bad-ADJZR
if she had known what was in the next world for her, she would not have done anything bad to him (her husband).

b) *Ci na hó [ni=bbáaɣa]?*
QST be thing.DEBR 2s=want
what do you want? *(lit.* What is the thing you want?)

c) *a=nə-dá hó (sé) [a=ccí].*
3s=NEG.PERF-do thing.DEBR (DEM.FAR) 3s=say
he did not do what *(lit.* the thing that) he said.

Example (c) above was not accepted by all informants without the presence of *sé* DEM.FAR.

The locative adverb *né* 'here' can also be relativized.

(208) a) *ay=n biid-én ne [k(a) i=ddumb(ú) áŋga].*
3s=GEN bone-PL here LOC 3p=cut 3s.EMP
its bones were there where they had killed it.

b) *...har né [k(a) i=hóoɣay].*
until here LOC 3p=spend.day
...until there where they spent the day.

c) *né [k(a) ary-én i=kkáy] waʃ-én i=báara*
here LOC water-PL 3p=stop dirt-PL 3p=be
there where the water stops (running) is dirt.

For other uses of *né* 'here' see (4.4.2.1).

4.5.3 Pronominal human referents

In the relativization of pronominal human referents (including speech-act participants) a linking marker is used. In this case, the particle *nó(o-da)* 'there(-INT)' is used. Constructions with *aɣo* are considered ungrammatical, i.e., **nin aɣo dáryal ni=mmó (a)-se* (2s.EMP DET be.blind 2s=hear 3s-DAT) 'you who are blind, heard him.' is not a possible sentence.

The following table lists the attested forms with *nó(o-da)*

(209) Human referent markers

	singular	plural
1st	*aɣay nóo-da*	*áari nóo-da*
2nd	*nín nó(o-da)*	*ándi nó(o-da)*
3rd	*áŋga nó(o-da)*	*íŋgi nó*

According to our informants, the presence of the optional parts would insist either on the presence on the scene of the person (3rd person) or insistence (2nd persons). The RC following this marker has the same structure as other restrictive RC types.

Examples

(210) a) *aɣáy* *nóo-da* *[jáw* *ana]*
1s.EMP there-INT help 2s.DAT
aɣa=bbáaɣa ní=n *jáw* *t-oo-las-t.*
1s=want 2s=GEN help.VN F-SG-do.again-F.SG
I who helped you, I want your help in return.

b) *nín* *nó* *[kár* *aɣáy]* *ən=tə-kó* *kássaw*
2s.EMP there hit 1s.O 2s=FUT-go prison
you who hit me will go to prison.

c) *áŋga* *nó* *[b-záy]*
3s.EMP there IMPERF-steal
áŋga *záy* *a=kkeedí.*
3s.EMP steal.VN 3s=be.on
he who steals, he is accused of stealing.

d) *áari* *nóo-da* *[bb-éʃɣəl]* *ar=sə-ŋá.*
1p.EMP there-INT IMPERF-work 1p=NEG.IMPERF-eat
we who are working don't eat.

e) *ándi* *nó* *[b-ŋá]* *andə=sə-yíʃɣəl.*
2p.EMP there IMPERF-eat 2p=NEG.IMPERF-work
(and) you who eat are not working.

f) *íŋgi* *nó* *[kun(á)* *á-ʃʃaɣal]*
3p.EMP there find SG-work
íŋgi *nə-ddéww-ət*
3p.EMP FOC-be.glad
they who found work, it's them who are happy.

In the corpus another use (topicalization) of independent pronouns referring to human referents with *nóo-da* is found (see 4.7.1.2 ex (240)).

Songhay of Gao has an optional /no/ particle followed by /ka/ for subject focus (or /no ma/), while /no/ is obligatory for non-subject fronted constituents followed by a clause (Heath 1999b:132). This focus marker may be at the origin of this particular form when pronominal human referents are relativized.

4.5.4 *Non-restrictive relativization with* sa

A non-restrictive relative clause typically adds new information to the head noun. The RC itself is structurally a complete clause that is preceded by *sa* COMP (complementizer). *sa* is also used in complement clauses of verbs (4.3.10.3) and as topic marker in equational clauses (4.7.1.1). The RC follows the noun it modifies immediately unless there is a postposition following it or a restrictive RC modifying the same head noun. This construction is the only possible way to relativize possessors.

4.5.4.1 Subject and object

In the first example, the subject of a transitive clause is relativized. The function of the relative clause is not to identify which woman he married, but to give additional information about her:

(211) *a=zzáw* *surgóy* *fo*
3s=take woman IND
sa *[íttilla záɣri* *a=tə-ŋá* *i-múṇas* *iʃʃá].*
COMP each day 3s=FUT-eat PL-camel seven
he married a certain woman, who (once they were married) used to eat seven camels a day.

The following example also shows the subject of a transitive clause that is relativized. The relative clause gives additional information about the specific place called ‘Indeliman’:

(212) *Iḍéeləman* *dáɣ* *ka* *s(a)*
loc.name too LOC COMP
[a=yyagór *t-ə-mə́-zdaɣ].*
3p=be.bigger F-PL-RECI-dwell
(they live) also in Indeliman, which is bigger than the (named) dwelling places.

In the following example, the relative clause introduced with *sa* has embedded another relative clause that modifies the quantifier 'one' from which it is separated by the negative existential *-ʃí* (see more examples in4.5.2.1).

(213) *a=mmáy* *ay=n* *izacén-an* *kaaṛáḍ*
3=own 3s=GEN young.man-PL three
sa *[a-ffó* *a=ʃʃí=i*
COMP SG-one 3s=be.not=3p
[b-déeraw *a-ffó* *(ə)nda* *nanáʃ]].*
IMPERF-have.in.common SG-one with mother
he had three sons, of whom there was not one who had the same mother. (Lit: one was not that had in common the mother with another)

The next examples illustrate the regular structure when the non-restrictive RC contains a focalized subject. Generally it is the object of the main clause that is relativized on but a shift of focus happens inside the RC. The object of the main clause is always marked with *aɣo* DET that is followed by *sa*. This resembles the regular restrictive RC construction where a demonstrative-like marker follows the head. However, this type of *sa* RC always adds new information to the NP. The pragmatic effect of this kind of RC is to direct the hearers' attention from the subject of the main clause to the subject of the relative clause, i.e. 'young man' or 'people' in the examples below.

(214) a) *a=háaṣi-an* *íizac(e)* *aɣo*
3s=look-ALL young.man DET
s(a) *[áŋga* *nə=mmáy* *t-a-bákar-t]...*
COMP 3s.EMPH FOC=own F-SG-ewe-F.SG
he looked towards the young man, that who owned the ewe...

b) *a=tə-yídhəl* *bor-én* *əndaɣo*
3s=FUT-help person-PL DET.PL
s(a) *[íŋgi* *nə-b-húrr(u)* *alxér]*
COMP 3p.EMP FOC-IMPERF-take peace
he will help the people, those that seek peace.

The relativized constituent in the following example is an unmarked indirect object (see 4.3.8). The relative clause introduced with *sa* gives additional information about the woman who has already been identified earlier in the story. (For the irregular behavior of *ná* OPP see 4.1.3.6):

(215) *wáy* *ná* *aɣo*
woman OPP DET
sa *[t-a-cídaw-t* *a=b-s-əkn(á)* *aṛmə́ṇi]*
COMP F-SG-bird-F.SG 3S=IMPERF-CAUS-show suffering
a=ccí...
3S=say
the other woman, to whom the small bird was showing suffering, said...

4.5.4.2 Possessor relativization

Possessors cannot be relativized by means of the regular restrictive strategy described above. Instead, relativization with *sa* COMP is used. Although most examples of this type in the corpus contain non restrictive clauses, it may also appear with restrictive clauses. It thus constitutes an exception to the generally non restrictive semantics of RC constructions with *sa.*

In the first example, the RC consists of an equational clause. The possessive pronoun *ay=n* 'her' is correlative with the head noun that is an indirect object of the main clause.

(216) *a=b-ʃ-íʃkən-an* *áy=n* *nana* *se*
3S=IMPERF-CAUS-greet-ALL 3S=GEN mother DAT
s(a) *[ay=n* *mán* *Amínata].*
COMP 3S=GEN name prop.name
he greets his mother, whose name is Aminata.

In the following example, the *sa* strategy is found with an indefinite but established referent to which the possessor refers. In this case, *sa* introduces a restrictive RC.

(217) *baŋgú* *[s(a)* *ay=n* *míy(a)* *a=yyibrár]*
well COMP 3S=GEN mouth 3S=be.bad
waʃ-én *i=bb-éd* *áa=ka*
dirt.kind-PL 3P=IMPERF-return 3S=LOC
a well that has a bad opening (without wall), dirt falls in it.

In the following example, the subject of the non restrictive RC ('her house') contains the possessive pronoun that correlates with the head noun. A restrictive RC follows the same head noun immediately.

(218) *maan(á)* *ə́mmək* *aɣó* *(ə)nda* *ar₌tə-guná*
where manner DET with 1p₌FUT-see
[wáy *báar(a)* *i-ʒínn-an],*
woman be.in PL-sky-PL
s(a) *[ay₌n* *húgu* *a₌f-keedí* *t-a-záɣan-t* *ən*
COMP 3s₌GEN house 3s₌IMPERF-be.up F-SG-mast-F.SG GEN
míya *kuk(ú)-an]?*
end be.long-ADJZR
how are we going to see the woman in the sky, whose house is up at the end of a long mast?

The constituent that contains the possessive pronoun that correlates with the head noun may be fronted. When this happens, a resumptive pronoun appears in the relative clause in the normal position of the constituent. In the following example, 'his eyes' is fronted and immediately follows *sa*. The resumptive pronoun clitic *ii₌* occurs in its normal place, immediately preceding the postposition *ka*.

(219) *aɣa₌ggun(a)* *a-ʒáaʒib* *s(a)*
1s₌see SG-phantom COMP
[ay₌n *mó-(e)n* *húur(u)* *a₌b-d(á)* *íi₌ka]*
3s₌GEN eye-PL fire 3s₌IMPERF-do 3p₌LOC
I saw a phantom, in whose eyes fire was burning.

Contrast the following examples, in which the constituent that contains the co-indexed possessive pronoun occurs in its normal position in the relative clause:

(220) *aɣa₌ggun(a)* *[a-ʒáaʒib* *dá* *ʃ-íkʃíḍ]* *sa*
1s₌see SG-phantom do CAUS-fear.VN COMP
[huur(ú) *á₌b-d(á)* *áy₌n* *mó-(e)n* *ka]*
fire 3s₌IMPERF-do 3s₌GEN eye-PL LOC
I saw a phantom that causes fear, which had fire in his eyes...

In the following example the object of 'you want', present as a verbal noun, is relativized. The idiom *da tanəfust bora se* 'to tell somebody a story' (do story person DAT) can only be relativized on this way. The verb (to do) is nominalized and with the possessor refers to the story.

(221) *aywa, d(a) aɣáy t-á-nəfus-t aɣo*
well do 1s.IO F-SG-story-F.SG DET
sa [ni=bbáaɣ(a) ay=n dá]]!
COMP 2s=want 3s=GEN do.VN]
so, tell me the story [on tape], that which you wanted to tell (me)!

4.6 Negation particles

In the chapter on the MAN (Mood-Aspect-Negation) markers the basic negations on the verb were presented (4.2.4). This section is dedicated to complex negations that are formed with a MAN marker negation on the verb and an additional particle in the clause. There are no structural similarities that link them all to one particular class, it is more the semantic feature of 'negation + X' that groups them together. 'never' 'not at all' and 'except' are concepts found with this construction. 'Nobody' and 'nothing' can be traced to negative clauses that are now used in the nominal slot of the clause. Some of the particles need some other kind of negated form in the clause to be interpreted correctly.

4.6.1 kəlá ... nə- *'never'*

The particle *kəlá* 'once' together with the negation on the verb, results in the reading 'not once' with the free translation 'never'.

The examples in the corpus are all combined with the NEG.PERF *nə-*.

(222) a) *...kəlá aɣ=nə-mó*
once 1s=NEG.IMPERF-hear
t-a-sə́wəl-t ən ṭáatab se.
F-SG-whet-F.SG GEN sew.NV DAT
(since I live) ... I have never heard that one sews with a stone.

b) *kəl(á)a=nə-hun(ú) ay=n húgu daw*
once 3s=NEG.PERF-leave.from 3s=GEN tent LOC
he has never left (the area) around his tent.

Without the negation it is frequently used in the introductory sentence to a folktale with a free translation 'There was once...'

(223) *i=ccí* *kəlá* *wáy* *fó* *n(e)* *adí…*
3p=say once woman IND place ANA
there was once this woman... (lit: it is said once a certain woman there ...

The particle may be repeated in this position.

4.6.2 nə- ... fow *'not at all'*

The particle *fow* is always at the end of a negated clause and set off with a short pause from the rest of the utterance. It intensifies the negated fact of the utterance. It is also found with other negations on the verb (e.g. 'never') and can intensify them. In context, even by itself, the particle can intensify a negated fact. This use is illustrated further down in example (227).

(224) a) *aɣ=nə-fəlás=a* *fów!*
1s=NEG.PERF-believe=3s at.all
I don't believe it at all!

b) *kəlá* *bor-én* *i=nə-gun(á)* *áy=n* *ci* *fów!*
once person-PL 3p=NEG.PERF-see 3s=GEN likeness at.all
never ever have people seen its (Hare's intelligence) likeness.

4.6.3 NEG + har *'except'*

A semantically weak exception is encoded with *je* 'only' discussed below (4.7.4.4). The preposition *har* 'until', together with a negation on the verb or a verb with a negative meaning, conveys the exception that could also be translated as 'not but'. The first example below is with the plain negation on the verb (for the inversion of *PRN=ənda* followed by a nominal constituent see 3.2.7.11.2.2). The second example shows the use with *yába* 'lack'. This verb can be read as a negation for the subordinate finite verb. *yába* is interpreted with an impersonal 3s clitic. The last example shows *har* 'until' between clauses and *har* 'except' preceding a noun.

(225) a) *a=nə-yíkkəl-kat* *í=(ə)nda* *jé* *har*
3s=NEG.PERF-lift-VEN 3p=with only until
i-méẓẓur-an.
PL-horse.dropping-PL
he served them nothing but droppings.

b) *a=yyába* *s(a)* *aɣa=b-guná* *har*
3s=lack COMP 1S=IMPERF-see until
í=n *hanj-én* *ənd(a)* *i=n* *t-ə́-lank-an*
3p=GEN ear-PL and 3p=GEN F-PL-tail-PL
I cannot see but their ears and their tails = I can only see their...

c) *a=b-ŋ(a)=í* *har* *á=bbeen=i*
3s=IMPERF-eat=3p until 3s=finish=3p
har *a-fə́dda* *d(a)* *asénda.*
until SG-one.only INT DEM.FAR
he (Jackal) was eating them (young warthogs) until he had finished them except for only that one.

Also consider the examples (231)c and (234)b below.

When the exception is an action the complement clause particle *sa* has to be present after *har*.

(226) a) *hímay* *ən* *íigət* *a=sə́-mmay* *alʕib* *ká*
wash.VN GEN excess 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have fault LOC
har *sa* *(ə)n=tə-hímay* *héw* *ká.*
until COMP 2s=FUT-wash wind LOC
there is no danger in washing a lot except that you wash (yourself) in the wind.

b) *a=ccí* *wə́rtilla* *jé* *hár* *s(a)*
3s=say there.is.not only until COMP
a=tə-yíñkəm *áy=n* *aru* *ká.*
3s=FUT-reign 3s=GEN man LOC
she wanted absolutely nothing but reign over her husband.

The following dialogue illustrates several of the negations discussed above in a short exchange.

(227) Q: *ák* *kəlá* *ni=gguná* *Bamakoy?*
QST once 2s=see loc.name
Have you ever seen Bamako?

A: *kəláakəla!*
no
No!

Q: *ənda Gawgaw?*
and loc.name
And Gao?

A: *kəláakəla kəlá ay=nə-guná hár Mánəka.*
no once 1s=NEG.PERF-see until loc.name
No, I never saw (anything else) but Menaka.

Q: *Yamay?*
loc.name
Niamey?

A: *fów fów Mánəka jé*
at.all at.all loc.name only
Not at all, not at all, only Menaka

4.6.4 NEG + wala *'not even'*

The preposition *wala* together with a negation on the verb can be translated as 'not even'. The negation is crucial for this reading.

(228) a) *a=nə-guná wal(a) á-ffooda*
3s=NEG.IMPERF-see without SG-one
he didn't even see one.

b) *a=sá-bay t-a-wál-an ka wala*
3s=NEG.IMPERF-know F-SG-language-PL LOC without
h(e) a=ccéena
thing 3s=be.small
he doesn't even know a little bit of (other) languages.

4.6.5 NEG- .... ʃeddí ~ ceddí *'not yet'*

The particle *ʃeddí ~ ceddí* has several functions, all of them related to time. Examples for preverbal 'yet' are found in 4.8.4.7. When following a negated verb, the construction NEG-verb *ʃeddí* is translated into English by 'not yet', e.g.

(229) a) *a=nə-tén ʃeddí*
3s=NEG.PERF-arrive yet
he hasn't arrived yet.

b) *ay=n a-lámad a=nə-yimád ʃeddí.*
1s=GEN SG-learn 3s=NEG.PERF-be.complete yet
I have not yet finished learning.

c) *báarar a=sə-báy á-bbaṣ ceddí.*
child 3s=NEG.IMPERF-know SG-chew yet
the child cannot yet chew.

4.6.6 Negative constructions with ʃí *and* wə́rtilla

Both particles were introduced in the section about existential expressions (4.4.3). In this section we will discuss how they are used on clause level to negate items or actions.

4.6.6.1 h(e) a=ʃʃí / bor(a) a=ʃʃí 'nothing/nobody'

To understand the functioning of the negation we need to understand the positive statement first. A non-specified entity is often represented by the word *hé* 'thing'. This may refer to a human, animate or inanimate entity. In the following example the positive and negative statement are given.

(230) a) *a=ccí* *hé*
3s=say thing
he said something.

b) *a=nə-cí* *hé*
3s=NEG.PERF-say thing
he said nothing

However, when the part 'nothing' is emphasized a different construction is used. The negative existential copula *ʃí* together with *hé* 'thing' is fronted as a unit.

(231) a) *h(e) a=ʃʃí*
thing 3s=not.be
there is no thing = nothing

b) *[h(e) a=ʃʃí]* *a=cc(i)* *áa=se*
thing 3s=not.be 3s=say 3s=DAT
she said nothing to him.

c) *[h(e) a=ʃʃí]* *b-əli-kat* *íi=ka* *har…*
thing 3s=not.be IMPERF-go.out-VEN 3p=LOC until
nothing sticks out of them except… [Lit: nothing there is that sticks out of them except…

The whole clause behaves like a noun that can be preposed to a clause (b) when functioning as a direct object, or be followed by a relative clause (c).

Parallel to the construction with *hé* 'thing' the noun *borá* 'person' can express 'somebody' or 'nobody'.

(232) a) *aɣa=gguná borá*
3s=see person
I saw somebody.

b) *aɣ=nə-guná borá*
1s=NEG.PERF-see person
I didn't see anybody. = I saw nobody.

When 'nobody' is the topic, it must be expressed with the existential copula *ʃí*. Any comment following 'nobody' is a relative clause modifying 'person'.

(233) a) *bor(á) a=ʃʃi*
person 3s=be.not
there is no person = nobody

b) *[bor(á) a=ʃʃí] máy i-múṇas*
person 3s=be.not own PL-camel
ənd-áŋga wij(i) I-dáksahak.
with-3s.EMP is.not PL-ethnic.name
nobody owns camels except the Idaksahak. (Lit: a person does not exist who owns camels if it is not the Idaksahak).

c) *[bor(á) a=ʃʃí] léelaw ənd(a)=á.*
person 3s=be.not talk with=3s
nobody talks with him.

4.6.6.2 wə́rtilla *'there is not'*

This particle was introduced in 4.4.3. Here some special uses are examined. Together with *hé* 'thing' and *borá* 'person', the particle *wə́rtilla* conveys 'nothing' and 'nobody', respectively. As with the *ʃí* copula, these are pragmatically strongly marked entities.

(234) a) *wə́rtilla he b-máazal...*
there.is.not thing IMPERF-be.sent
there is nothing that happens...

b) *wə́rtilla borá nə=mmáay=a har*
there.is.not person FOC=own=3s until
ándi nó báara(=a?) yízdaɣ áa=ka
2pO there exist(=3s?) live 3s=LOC
there is nobody [focus] who owns it (land) except you there who are (in it?), live in it.

wə́rtilla sometimes takes a complement clause.

(235) *wə́rtilla s(a) alḥakúmat a=kkó*
there.is.not COMP government 3S=go
(ə)nd(a) a-hándag káamil
with SG-place all
ənd-áŋga wij(í) ənd(a) áy=n kó-(e)n
with-3S.EMP is.not with 3S=GEN owner-PL
it does not happen (exist) that the government goes to every place except with its owners.

The logical parallel to this construction with the negative copula *ʃí*, *a=ʃʃí sa* 'it is not that', does not seem to exist.

4.7 Information Structure

In this chapter the strategies for topicalization, focalization and interrogatives are described. In addition some particles are presented that have emphasizing or other discourse functions.

4.7.1 Topicalization

There are two different strategies for topicalization on clause level. One is used for non-verbal constructions and the other for clauses with verbs.

4.7.1.1 Equational constructions

The constituent that is topicalized in an equational construction is marked with the COMP *sa* when it is an independent (EMP) pronoun. When it is a noun it is followed by the corresponding (sg or pl) independent pronoun and the *sa* COMP marker.

The following examples show different contexts: a) plain equational clause, b) with a question particle, c) with additive, d) with additional information to the complement and e) with a plural referent. The bar / indicates that a pause in the flow of the utterance happens at that point.

(236) a) *áŋga s(a) a-mənóokal.*
3S.EMP COMP SG-ruler
it was him who was the chief.

b) *áa-har / ák áŋga sa tárra nn ízzay*
SG-lion QST 3S.EMP COMP bush GEN son
the lion [topic], is it him who is the 'son of the bush'?

c) *áŋga* *dáɣ* / *áŋga* *s(a)* *íizace*
3s.EMP too 3s.EMP COMP youth
he too, he was also a young man (of good qualities).

d) *áŋga* *s(a)* *ay=wáni* *t-a-báɣor-t*
3S.EMP COMP 3s=of F-SG-wealth-F.SG
hé *yíɣləl-an*
thing be.eternal-ADJZR
(earth) it's this its very own wealth, (it is) a thing that lasts.

e) *Iḍéeləman* / *íŋgi* *s(a)* *ay=n* *gánda*
loc.name 3p.EMP COMP 3S=GEN land
(other place names...) I., it's them that are his land.

4.7.1.2 Nominal constituents

Constituents that are topicalized in clauses containing a verb have no special marker. They are preposed to the clause and set off with a short pause (marked as /) before the clause itself is uttered.

When topicalized subjects are pronouns, they are preposed to the clause in the independent form.

(237) *nín* / *ni=ddiní-kat* *árə-n* *ṭaamú.*
2s.EMP 2s=take-VEN 1p-GEN slave
áari / *arə=ssə́-nnə-frən-kat* *arw-én.*
1p.EMP 1p=CAUS-RECI-be.chosen-VEN man-PL
(as for) you, you took our slave, (but) we, we have chosen (real) men.

When objects are fronted an in situ resumptive pronoun appears.

(238) a) *báarar* / *bukáari* *n* *sə́gni* *a=f-keed(i)=á*
child$_i$ turban.kind GEN indigo 3s=IMPERF-be.on=3s$_i$
the child, there is indigo of the turban on it.

b) *aɣá=n* *cay* / *t-aa-ḍás-t* *a=kkaar=á*
1s=GEN leg$_i$ F-SG-tire-F.SG 3s=hit=3s$_i$
my leg, it went to sleep. (*Lit:* fatigue hit it)

c) *bor-én* *áyda* / *ən=sə-kó*
person-PL$_i$ DEM.PROX 2s=NEG.IMPERF-can
ni=b-ʒí-mmiʒ(i)=i
2s=IMPERF-CAUS-be.separated=3p$_i$
these people, you cannot separate them.

The topicalized constituent may be reinforced by an emphatic pronoun followed by the intensifier *dá* 'precisely, exactly' (239), *nóo-da* 'there-precisely' (240)a-c) or the shorter form *nó* 'there' (240)d) mostly with plural referents.

(239) a) *i-s-úudar / íŋgi dá / h(e) a=ʃʃí*
PL-INST-live$_i$ 3p.EMP$_i$ INT thing 2s=not.be
(ə)n-tə-s-ə́sħ(a)=i har t-á-zdək-k.
EXM-FUT-CAUS-be.strong=3p$_i$ until F-SG-be.clean-F.SG
food, as for it, there is nothing that makes it strong except cleanliness.

b) *alíkaf / áŋga dá / a=báar(a) addə́wəl fó.*
horse.saddle$_i$ 3s.EMP$_i$ INT 3s$_i$=be country one
As for the saddle, it was in another country.

c) *t-ə́-mgad-an / íŋgi dá / íŋgi kaaṛád*
F-PL-girl-PL$_i$ 3p.EMP$_i$ INT 3p.EMP$_i$ three
As for the girls, they were three.

(240) a) *aɣáy nóo-da aɣa=bb-ogá huurú...*
1s.EMP there-INT 1S=IMPERF-perceive fire
I here, I see a fire (in the distance)...

b) *aɣá=n nana nin nóo-da ni=n mó…*
1s=GEN mother 2s.EMP there-INT 2s=GEN face
my mother, you there, your face …

c) *s(a) áŋga nóo-da a=ddiŋg(á)-an*
COMP 3s.EMP there-INT 3s=forget-ALL
áy=n kərtə́ba baŋgu bé
3s=GEN trousers well LOC
(he remembered) that, he there, he (had) forgot(ten) his trousers at the well.

d) *i-kúufaṛ íŋgi nó i=ddá hó sé*
PL-European 3p.EMP there 3p=make thing.DEBR DAT
aníyat
attention
Europeans, they there (as for them), they pay attention to this.

4.7.1.3 Verbal nouns

Verbs can be topicalized by preposing the corresponding verbal noun to the beginning of the clause and substituting the main verb with the light verb, *kás* 'to be' or *dá* 'to do'.

(241) a) *a-ṇágad /*
SG-put.turban
a=kkás *Idáksahak* *ən* *t-á-ggas-t.*
3s=be name GEN F-SG-guard-F.SG
putting on a turban is a custom of the Idaksahak.

b) *a-ṣáṭək* *ar=n* *i-bíyaɣ* *i=ddá*
SG-be.dried.up 1p=GEN PL-water.skin 3p=do
zérooda *a=ss-ármaɣ* *áari.*
today 3s=CAUS-have.fear 1p.O
our water skins are so empty today that this makes us afraid. (*Lit:* the drying up our water skins do ...)

c) *á-hoora* *a=dd(a)* *íi=se* *har* *a=ṭṭáaw=i*
SG-pursue 3s=do 3p=DAT until 3s=reach=3p
baŋgu *bé.*
well LOC
he pursued them (by following their footprints) until he reached them at the well.

In comparative constructions the quality is given as a verbal noun and so constitutes the topic of the clause. Structurally this is the same as the above clauses except for the use of 'be more' instead of the 'be' and 'do' verbs.

(242) *ay=n* *a-fəlcə́qu* *a=yyagór* *ná* *aɣo* *wáni*
3s=GEN SG-be.flat 3s=be.more OPP DET of
this (receptacle) is flatter than that one (*Lit:* its flatness is more than...)

4.7.2 Focalization

Under focalization we understand that one constituent of a clause is highlighted and marked by syntactic means as the important information in this clause.

Syntactic focalization in Tadaksahak is attested for NPs (including adverbials), PPs and verbs.

The focalized constituent is fronted to the position immediately before the verbal word. There is no special marker for this constituent except for the subject. In addition to the left movement the constituent is uttered with a higher pitch than an undisplaced constituent.

(243) *aɣ=sə-hurrú* *taɣm-én*
1s=NEG.IMPERF-look.for sandal-PL
í-səlsa *aɣa=b-hurrú*
PL-clothe 1s=IMPERF-look.for
I am not looking for sandals, it's clothes I am looking for.

4.7.2.1 Subject focalization

When a subject is focalized a particle *nə-* FOC (focus) (*ən-* before CV-shaped MAN markers) replaces the regular subject clitic. While similar to the extraction marker in relative clauses (see 4.5.1), its syntactic behavior is not identical. The extraction marker only occurs in subject relative clauses that contain a verb form with a MAN marker of the shape CV-. The focus marker, on the other hand, also appears with unmarked perfectives (e.g. (244)b).

Subject pronouns that are focalized take the independent form of the pronoun. As with focalized nouns, in such cases the FOC particle is inserted before the verb. Examples of pronouns in focus are given in (244) and examples of nouns in focus are given in (245)

(244) a) *aɣáy* *nə=b-d(á)=a* *ay=n* *t-í-nʒar* *ka.*
1s.EMP FOC=IMPERF-do=3s 3s=GEN F-PL-nostril LOC
it's me who puts it in his nostrils.

b) *nín* *nə=yyíḷmən=a.*
2s.EMP FOC=promise=3s
it's you who promised it.

c) *áŋga* *nə=hun(ú)* *adínit* *jinjiná*
3s.EMP FOC=leave.from world first
it's him who died first.

d) *áŋga* *nə=f-káw* *haamú* *biid-én* *be*
3s.EMP FOC=IMPERF-take.from meat bone-PL LOC
it's him (dog) who takes meat from (on) the bones.

e) *áŋga* *nə=dduwá.*
3s.EMP FOC=be.better
it's this (action) that is good/better.

f) *áari* *nə=zzáw-kaat=a.*
1p.EMP FOC=take-VEN=3s
it's us who brought it.

g) *ándi* *nə=dd(á)* *áa=se* *h(e)* *adí*
2p.EMP FOC=do 3s=DAT thing ANA
it's you (pl) who did this to him.

h) *íŋgi* *nə=ssúr=a* *mán* *aɣo* *óod(a)* *Áffud wáni.*
3p.EMP FOC=put.on=3s name DET DEM.NEAR loc.name of
it's them who gave it this name of Affud.

i) *áŋga* *(ə)n=tə-soorá* *cígooda.*
3s.EMP FOC=FUT-milk tonight
it's her who will milk tonight.

(245) a) *baarí n* *í-ʃkar-an* *nə=ṣṣ-áŋkəṛ-kat*
horse GEN PL-nail-PL FOC=CAUS-get.up-VEN
í=(ə)nda *n* *á...*
3p=with SEP 3s
it was the horse's hooves that made it (storm) come up towards them.

b) *har* *a-ffóo-da* *nə=ggorá-kat* *íi=ka* *t-a-wíddi-t*
until SG-one-INT FOC=sit-VEN 3p=LOC F-SG-foal-F.SG
except one that was left of them, a foal.

c) *h(e)* *áyda* *nə=yyízl(a)=i*
thing DEM.PROX FOC= occupy=3p
it was this (an action) that occupied them

d) *wij(i)* *i-múnsuw-an* *nə=zzáw-kat* *aɣáy*
is.not PL-food-PL FOC=take-VEN 1s
it is not (the existence of [good]) food that took me here

The particle may be cognate with the Songhay focus marker /na/ (Timbuktu). In Mainstream Songhay, this particle is found marking non-subject elements (Timbuktu), or is optional with subjects (Gao).

4.7.2.2 Object focalization

When an object is focalized, it is extracted from its original place and put before the verbal word. There is no focus marker following the constituent and after the inflected verb no resumptive object clitic marks the place of the extracted NP.

(246) a) *áŋga* *aɣa=kkár.*
3s.EMP 1s=hit
it's him I hit.

b) *nín* *aɣa=gguná*
2s.EMP 1s=see
it's you I saw.

c) *taɣm-én* *aɣa=bbáaɣa*
sandal-PL 1s=want
it's sandals I want.

4.7.2.3 Focalization of adpositional complements

Adpositional phrases are fronted as a whole. The independent series of pronouns is used in these constructions.

Focus of dative complements

(247) a) *aɣáy /* *nín* *s(e)* *aɣa=kkóy-kat.*
1s.EMP 2s.EMP DAT 1s=leave-VEN
as for me [topic], it's for you [focus] that I came here.

b) *wiji* *nín* *se* *aɣa=f-cí*
is.not 2s.EMP DAT 1s=IMPERF-say
bor-én *aɣonda-nó* *yóṛu* *wán-en* *se*
person-PL DET.PL-there old.VN of-PL DAT
it is not to you [focus] I speak, (but) to those people of old times.

Note the syntax of the last example and compare it with (245)d) above where the particle *wiji* is posing the non-existence of the focalized constituent.

Focus of locative postpositions

(248) a) *húgu* *k(a)* *a=ʃʃ-inʃ(á)=a*
house LOC 3s=CAUS-put.down=3s
it's in the house [focus] that s/he put it down.

b) *áŋga* *k(a)* *a=ss-ə́kkələl* *har...*
3s.EMP LOC 3s=CAUS-cry until
in it (moment) [focus] it (bird) cried until...

c) *ni=n* *a-hácet* *b(e)* *a=zzumbú*
2s=GEN SG-tent LOC 3s=descend
it's on your tent [focus] that it (bird) landed.

d) *áŋga be komín-tan i=ddá*
3s.EMP LOC commune-PL 3p=make
because of that [focus] communes are made.

f) *ándi daw aɣ-tə-zumbú*
2p LOC 1s-FUT-go.down
it's at your place [focus] that I will stay.

Instrument focalization follows a different path. The expected fronting of a bare noun with preposition **ənda bundú* 'with a stick' is ungrammatical. Instead, a strategy similar to relative clause formation is used: the focused element is followed by the DET marker *aɣo* and the preposition switches place and follows the noun and the DET marker. This is found both with focused definite and with focused indefinite nouns. When the focused item is an independent pronoun, DET is absent and *ənda* follows the pronoun.

Focus of instrumental *ənda*

(249) a) *a-ná-ẓ-may aɣó (ə)nda bor-én i=f-ṭáaṭab*
SG-ACT-CAUS-sew DET with person-PL 3p=IMPERF-sew
it's with a needle [focus] that people sew.

b) *he (a)ɣo sénd(a) ənda*
thing DET DEM.FAR with
bor-én i=b-wí áa-har
person-PL 3p=IMPERF-kill SG-lion
it's with that thing (a spear) [focus] people used to kill a lion.

c) *éndal / áŋg(a) ənda*
pricker 3s.EMP with
bor-én i=bb-əʒwál almán.
person-PL 3p=IMPERF-brand.mark herd
a pricker [topic], it's with it [focus] that people brand the animals (of the herd).

4.7.2.4 Verb focalization

Verbs can be focalized when the need arises to insist that a different action than the one uttered is at the center of attention, e.g. A: "has she left?" B: "(No), she sleeps". When stative verbs are focalized, this expresses an intensification of the state.

Syntactically the bare verb stem is preposed to the inflected verb. Since verbs with Songhay cognates take no morphology when

nominalized they do not indicate if the verbal noun or the verb stem is fronted. However, stems of Tamasheq origin clearly show that the verb stem itself, and not a nominal form, is pre-posed to the inflected verb. The verbal noun of the first example is *á-ʃʃaɣal* 'work' < *yiʃɣəl* 'to work'. From (c) onwards the examples are from texts. The translation line shows the verb in capitals in order to indicate the focused element in the translation.

(250) a) *yíʃɣəl* *aɣa=bb-áʃɣəl*
work 1s=IMPERF-work
I am WORKING.

b) *t-á-ŋgud* *ná* *aɣo* *dút* *a=b-dút*
F-SG-girl OPP DET pound 3s=IMPERF-pound
that girl is POUNDING.

c) *gun(á)* *i=gguná* *íizac(e)* *asénda* *n*
see 3p=see youth DEM.FAR GEN
a-mázgol...
SG-beauty
they SAW that young man's beauty... (and stayed)

d) *h(e)* *a=ʃʃí* *kun(á)* *áari* *ŋá* *ar=sə-ŋá*
thing 3s=not.be find 1p eat 1p=NEG.IMPERF-eat
we are not ill, (but) we do not EAT.

e) *ak* *nín* *dáryal* *ní=ddaryal?*
QST 2s.EMP be.blind 2s=be.blind
as for you, are you totally blind?

f) *t-á-mgad-ən* *asénda*
F-PL-girl-PL DEM.FAR
káḍəkəḍ *i=sə-káḍəkəḍ.*
have.shame 3p=NEG.IMPERF-have.shame
those girls, they have no shame at all.

g) *báy* *ḷam* *aɣ-sə-báy* *ámmək* *aɣó (ə)nda…*
know EXCL 1s-NEG.IMPERF-know manner DET with
I really don't know how…

The verb *báy* 'know' is also used with this structure to express the opposite of the expected 'really know/know very well'. This particular expression must be an idiomatic use: *báy aɣa=bbáy!* 'How can I know!'

4.7.2.5 Focalization of adverbial NPs

Like all the other constituents, adverbials are preposed to the verbal word when focalized. See examples below.

(251) a) *tə́ffak* *ar=tə-mə́qqəs* *néeda.*
tomorrow 1p=FUT-meet here
it's tomorrow (that) we will meet here.

b) *álməz* *a=ttén*
dusk 3s= arrive
it's at dusk (that) he arrived.

4.7.3 Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions) are either declarative clauses with interrogative intonation or an optional yes/no question particle is present.

For another type of yes/no question, a tag question particle is used, that implies that the polar interrogative is answered by a confirmation.

WH interrogatives (content questions) are formed on the basis of two question words that are combined with other elements to form the whole array of needed question words.

4.7.3.1 Yes/no interrogatives

A polar interrogative may simply be an indicative clause with interrogative intonation, i.e. a raising tone contour towards the end of the utterance.

(252) a) *nín* *bəkáw* *méɣ* *aŋgálos?*
2s jinn or angel
are you a jinn or an angel?

b) *i-bóraɣ-an* *i=kkán* *ənda* *nín?*
PL-wild.date-PL 3p=be.sweet towards 2s
do you like (to eat) wild dates?

Otherwise, one can use an interrogative particle that precedes the clause. Two forms are attested, both have cognates in Tamasheq. *ák* is used around Menaka and in the east while *igán* is found in texts from Talatayt.

(253) a) *ák* *i-bíyaɣ* *i=ttén*
QST PL-water.skin 3p=arrive
have the (donkeys with the) water skins arrived?

b) *ák* *t-ée-laq-q* *nə=ŋŋá* *nín*
QST F-SG-knife-F.SG FOC=eat 2s
is it a knife that cut you?

c) *igán* *ṭaamú* *aɣa=kkás*
QST slave 1s=be
am I a slave?

4.7.3.2 Tag questions

This type of yes/no question presupposes that the statement with the added tag is true and will be confirmed. The tag element is *wiji* 'it is not', which is added at the end of a statement with rising question intonation.

(254) *Muss(a)* *a=ttén* *wiji?*
M. 3s=arrive is.not
M. has arrived, isn't it?

A very strong 'tag' is sometimes used to indicate the wish of the speaker to evaluate the truth of a statement.

(255) *ciimí wala* *tangar-én?*
truth or lie-PL
is it true or false?

4.7.3.3 WH questions

There are only three basic question words that are used in combination with different nouns and 'be' connectors to express the usual expected array of information questions.

(256) *WH-question words*

ci	who/what
man (+ ná)	'where' (< Songhay)
man + N	'which' + noun (< Tamasheq)

ci is found with a 'be'-connector or a full verb as well as a temporal noun. The locative question is formed with elements from Songhay, while the second *man* is a loan from Tamasheq and is always followed by a noun.

4.7.3.3.1. ci *'who?/what?'*

This question word is the first element of the sentence unless it is preceded by a topicalized constituent. It can replace the subject clitic on a verb or must be followed by the 'be'-connector *na. Na* is always followed by a (pro-)nominal element that may be a clitiziced 3s pronoun *=a* (or rarely *aŋga*, the independent pronoun), or the DET marker *aɣo* to refer to a human referent or *ho* (thing.DEBR) to a non-human referent. Subject and object positions can be questioned depending on the validity of the verb in the cleft sentence. When other complements are questioned, the corresponding PP is fronted. Examples and discussion to the different types are below.

When *ci* replaces the subject clitic it asks for the identity of a person (257) and is a subject question.

(257) a) *cí* *mmáay=a*
what own=3s
to whom does he belong? (Lit: who owns him?)
= who is he?

b) *cí* *bb-áddər=a*
what IMPERF-hold=3s
who is married to her?

c) *cí* *(ə)b-zurú*
what IMPERF-run
who is running (close by)? [addressed to the person running who is not visible but heard]

The following examples show uses with the 'be'-connector *na*. This particle is not used elsewhere in the language. It is homophonous with the demonstrative that marks opposition (4.1.3.6). In this cleft construction, still asking for the subject position, a topic can be preposed to the question formula (258)b-c), and other discourse particles can intervene (259)(b). In the last examples (259)(e) a relative clause modifying the nominal element *didá* 'walking', changes the subject question to a 'manner' question.

(258) a) *cí* *n(á)=a*
what be=3s
what's wrong? (lit: what is it?)

b) *aséeɲat* *cí* *n(á)(=a?)*
health what be(=3s?)
health, what is it?

c) *aaru aɣo sé ... cí n(á)=a*
man DET DEM.FAR what be=3s
that man ... who is he?

(259) a) *cí ná ay=n mân*
what be 3s=GEN name
what is his name?

b) *t-ée-far-t*
F-SG-reward-F.SG
cí ná zá ní=n t-ée-far-t
what be LC 2s=GEN F-SG-reward-F.SG
reward, so what is your reward?

c) *cí ná ay=n saffarí*
what be 3s=GEN medicine
what is the remedy against it? (Lit: what is its medicine)

d) *cí ná hé (a)ɣ(o) óoda?*
what be thing DET DEM.NEAR
what is this (thing)?

e) *cí ná didá aɣo a=ddə́bət?*
what be walk.VN DET 3s=can
what (kind of) walking can it (tick) (do)?

cí ná with *aɣo* as the pronominal element always asks for a human referent. This conglomerate *ná aɣo* (OPP DET) 'that one' is widely used in other contexts (4.1.3.6) and is understood as having a human referent. Different grammatical roles are found with this construction: a) subject, b) direct object, and with the fronted *ənda* COMV a comitative complement in c).

(260) a) *cí ná aɣo ss-ə́gmi-kat ana*
what be/OPP DET CAUS-send.BND-VEN 2s.DAT
cíidaw aɣ(o) óoda?
bird DET DEM.NEAR
who sent you to get this bird?

b) *ci ná aɣo ni=gguná sénda ka*
what be/OPP DET 2s=see DEM.FAR LOC
whom did you see there?

c) *cí ná aɣo (ə)nd(a) i=b-haŋgá*
what be/OPP DET COMV 3s=IMPERF-accompany
who are they accompanying? (= with whom are they 'walking')

Another object question is built by adding *hó* to the question formula followed by a cleft sentence. This question form assumes a non-human referent.

(261) a) *cí* *ná* *hó* *ni=b-hurrú*
what be thing.DEBR 2s=IMPERF-look.for
what are you looking for (lit: what is the thing you are looking for)?

b) *cí* *ná* *hó* *d(a)* *áa=ka*
what be thing.DEBR do 3s=LOC
what is wrong with him? (lit: what is the thing that was put in him?)

Another question type adds a PP directly after the question formula to express 'from among'. Direct (a) and indirect object (b) can be questions this way. Again, *hó* refers to a non-human entity while *aɣo* stands for a human referent.

(262) a) *cí* *n(a)* *íi=ka* *hó* *ni=bbáaɣa*
what be 3p=LOC thing.DEBR 2s=want
which one of them do you want (lit: what is among them that you want)

b) *cí* *n(a)* *íi=k(a)* *aɣo* *se* *ni=nn(á)* *á-ẓṛəf*
what be 3p=LOC DET DAT 2s=give SG-silver
to which one of them did you give money?

There is one occurrence in the corpus where *ci* precedes the inflected verb immediately. This seems to be an abbreviated version of *cí ná hó* 'what'.

(263) *c(i)* *ándə=yyasák* *baŋgú* *méɣ* *sa...*
what 2p=wish head or COMP
what do you wish, the head or that...

4.7.3.3.2. cí (ná hó) be *'why?'*

The 'why?' question is expressed as a subtype of the 'what?' question. In a literal sense it means 'on what', (that thing on) which may imply a more abstract meaning 'on what grounds' and then conveys 'why?'. The first example below illustrates the physical meaning ('on what place') and the next examples are 'why?' questions. A long form (b, c) and an abridged form (d) are used.

(264) a) *cí ná hó be ar=tə-ɟ-inʃá...*
what be thing.DEBR LOC 1p=FUT-CAUS-lay.down.BND...
on what will we lay down ... (our child)

b) *cí ná hó be ni=b-zóɣ*
what be thing.DEBR LOC 2S=IMPERF-fight
ənda ní=n baba
with 2S=GEN father
why are you arguing with your father?

c) *cí ná hó be*
what be thing.DEBR LOC
hó sé a=ddá?
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR 3S=PERF-do
why is that done?

d) *cí bé*
what LOC
why?

A different construction is also found to express a similar meaning.

(265) *cí ná áy=n addalíl*
what be 3s=GEN reason
for what reason? (= why?)

4.7.3.3.3. c(í) agúd *'when?'*

'When?' is made up of two elements, *cí* 'what' and *agúd* 'time'. *agúd* 'time' is also used by itself in the language in temporal adverbial clauses, e.g. *agúd aɣo k(a) a=yyúhu*... (time DET LOC 3s=be.born) 'when/at the time when he was born....'). Note that both nominal and verbal constituents can follow the expression.

(266) a) *c(i) agúd ay=n mán ən dá*
what time 3s=GEN name GEN do.NV
when is his/her name giving ceremony?

b) *c(i) agúd a=ddidá*
what time 3s=walk
when did he leave?

4.7.3.3.4. maana *'where (close by)?'*

Interrogative *maana* 'where' is used when asking for an item in the close vicinity of the speaker, in contrast to the second 'where?' question word (see below 4.7.3.3.5) which implies that the speaker

has no idea about the whereabouts of the item s/he is asking for. This question word is probably a fusion of the two parts *man* 'where' and *na*, the 'be'-connector. This analysis is corroborated by the fact that only nouns and pronouns can follow it. When an object of a di-transitive verb is questioned, *ho* 'this thing' follows the frozen 'be'-connector (see (267)c). The examples d) to f) show uses of this question word that go beyond the spatial meaning.

(267) a) *maaná* *ni=n* *húgu*
where.close 2s=GEN tent
where (around here) is your tent?

b) *maaná* *nín*
where.close 2s
where are you?

c) *maaná* *hó* *aɣa=b-záw-kat* *ándi* *se*
where.close thing.DEBR 1s-IMPERF-take-VEN 2p DAT
where is what I bring you (regularly)?

d) *maaná* *ni=n* *á-ʃʃaɣal* *ən* *ṭ-ə́-nfa*
where.close 2s=GEN SG-work GEN F-SG-use
what is the usefulness of your work?

e) *aɣ(o)* *óoda* *za* *t-a-nə́fus-t*
DET DEM.NEAR LC F-SG-story-F.SG
maan(á) *áy=n* *almáʕna*
where.close 3s=GEN meaning
so this story, what is its meaning?

f) *maan(á)* *áddabaara*
where.close decision
what shall we do? (= where is the decision?)

4.7.3.3.5. man ne *'where?'*

This construction asks for a location unknown to the person and at a further distance than the question word described above. The formula is directly followed by an (NP with) inflected verb. This is valid for verbs with a semantically locational complement (see 4.3.3). Example (c) with the verb *báara* 'be in' shows an additional oblique complement that is marked with PP *ka*. *man ne* can be followed by a fronted LOC postposition to express a starting point (from where), an aim (to where) or other oblique locations that must be marked with

the postposition *ka* LOC. This particular use is illustrated in example (e) and (f). Also the preposition *ənda* 'in the direction of' is found in this place with another type of movement verbs (g).

(268) a) *mán n(e) i=f-kó*
where place 3p=IMPERF-leave
where are they going?

b) *mán ne ni=n bor-én i=bb-ázdaɣ*
where place 2s=GEN person-PL 3s=IMPERF-settle
where do your parents live?

c) *mán n(e) í=baara gánda ka*
where place 3p=be land LOC
where are they in the country?

d) *mán ne k(a) ikkeení (Bámakoy ka)*
where place LOC 3p=sleep loc.name LOC
where (in B.) did they sleep?

e) *mán ne k(a) aɣa=ttáŋga-kat=í*
where place LOC 1s=push-VEN=3p
from where did I push them (camels) to here?

f) *mán ne k(a) andə=b-dá*
where place LOC 2p=IMPERF-put
andə=n mó-(e)n
2p=GEN eye-PL
where do you(pl) put your(pl) eyes? (in what…)

g) *mán ne (ə)nda ni-bə́-boy*
where place LOC 2s-IMPERF-move
to(wards) where are you moving (camp)?

4.7.3.3.6. man ícet *'how much/many?'*

The entire phrase *man ícet* has been imported from Tamasheq. The term *ícet* 'quantity, measure' not only occurs in questions, but is also found in an 'augmentative' type construction with pejorative connotation (e.g. *ícet ən t-a-báʒnaw-t* /measure GEN F-SG-old.donkey-SG.F/ 'what a clumsy person'). *man ícet* is either used as a modifyer to a noun (b), or independently (a, c). When used in a market situation, *man ícet* 'how much?' is used to ask for the price and not for the quantity of the items on sale. This use is illustrated in a).

(269) a) *man ícet (tamáati)*
which quantity (tomato)
how much does it (tomato) cost?

b) *man ícet feej-án a=ddáy-an*
which quantity sheep-PL 3S=deal-ALL
how many sheep did he sell?

c) *man ícet ay=n i-wútay*
which quantity 3S=GEN PL-year
how old is s/he? (Lit: how many (are) his/her years)

4.7.3.3.7. man ə́mmək aɣo (ə)nda *'how?'*

The first two elements of this construction are from Tamasheq. In Tadaksahak *man ə́mmək* is obligatorily followed by the definite marker and *ənda* 'with'. This is syntactically a relative clause with *ə́mmək* as the modified head. Literally this means 'where is the manner with which...' followed by a fully inflected verb.

(270) a) *man ə́mmək aɣó (ə)nda*
which manner DET with
ar=tə-nə́-m-aŋɣa ənda bəkáw-yan?
1P=FUT-RECI-RECI-kill.BND with jinn-PL
how are we going to fight the jinns?

b) *man ə́mmək aɣó (ə)nda*
which manner DET with
aɣ=tə-dá h(e) áyda
1S=FUT-do thing DEM.PROX
how will I do this?

4.7.4 Other particles

There are a number of particles that are used for emphasis and other discourse functions.

4.7.4.1 ya *exclamation / surprise*

The particle *ya* expresses surprise or general emphasis. The particle is normally set off with a pause from the following material and does not need to be at the very beginning of a clause.

(271) a) *...ya a=yyéd áy=n naná*
EXCL 3s=return 3s=GEN mother
(Jackal killed Hyena and) ...indeed, he returned to his mother (from where he came).

b) *ya maan(a) áy=n surgóy*
EXCL where.close 3s=GEN woman
really, where was his wife?

c) *Aɣo ya hé gánda n cidáy ka?*
DET EXCL thing earth GEN under.N LOC
this, (astonishment: does it really exist), is something under the earth?

d) *ya gánda n caráy gánda n caráy!*
EXCL ground GEN friend ground GEN friend
watch out! a snake! a snake!"

e) *a=ddíis=a (ə)nd(a) áa-har*
3s=let=3s with SG-lion
məʃʃín ya áa-har a=bbún.
but EXCL SG-lion 3s=be.dead
he left him (alone) with the lion, but, fact is, the lion was dead.

4.7.4.2 za *'so' logical consequence*

Another clause level particle is *za* labeled LC for 'logical consequence', often translatable as 'so'. It occurs frequently in the nominal clause *h(e) adí za* (thing ANA LC) 'so' or shortened to [(h)adíz].

(272) a) *Aɣa=n t-a-nəfus-t za / əs-káhar*
1s=GEN F-SG-story-F.SG LC maybe-when
aɣa=dd(á)=á ana...
1s=do=3s 2s.DAT
So my story, if I tell it to you...

b) *dəffər za hó sé…*
after LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR
So after that...

c) *...a=ttén* *ənda t-a-káṛḍaṣ-t* *óoda*
3S=arrive with F-SG-letter-F.SG DEM.NEAR
h(e) adí *za* *a=nn(á)* *áa=se* *n* *i.*
thing ANA LC 3S=give 3S=DAT SEP 3p
...he arrived with this letter, so this, he gave them to him.

4.7.4.3 da *'really, exactely' intensification*

In order to emphasize in a positive way, *da* INT can be cliticized to NPs, independent pronouns, verbs, the conjunction *məʃʃín* 'but' and the intensifier *húllən* 'much'. It is frequent in topicalisation constructions (4.7.1.2.). Below are some examples.

(273) a) *he [(a)ɣo-f-túwaɣr(a)* *ənda Taláatayt]* *da*
thing DET-IMPERF-PAS-call.BND with loc.name DIC
káamil...
all
really all that is called T. ...

b) *iŋgí* *káamil* *d(a)* *ékn-an*
3p.EMP all DIC twin-PL
izácen-an *asénd(a)* *iʃʃá*
youth-PL DEM.FAR seven
they were really all born at the same time (*Lit:* twins), these seven young men.

c) *húllən* *d(a)* *aɣ=tə-d(á)=á* *ana.*
much DIC 1S=FUT-DO=3s 2s.DAT
I very much (like to) tell it (story) to you.

d) *məʃʃín dá* *aṭṭáalib* *a=kkás* *alwalí*
but DIC student 3S=become seer
dəffár h(e) adí.
after thing ANA
but really, the student became a seer after this.

Songhay of Timbuktu has a phrase final particle /daa/ 'exactly, precisely, exclusively, right (here)' (Heath1999a:64) that conveys the same 'intensifying' semantics as this particle does in Tadaksahak. Also Tamasheq has a particle /da/ to indicate 'here, there, at the place in question' (Prasse et al. 2003:69, also Sudlow 2001:333).

4.7.4.4 je ~ jen *'only'*

This particle is often found after the verbal word to emphasize the action described. It is less frequently found after NPs or the conjunction *har* 'until'.

(274) a) *íizace* *a=háaṣi=a* *jé*
youth 3s=look=3s only
the young man simply looked at her.

b) *arkássaway* *ən* *hé* *fó* *jé*
mishap GEN thing IND only
tén *a-rəzeg* *óod(a)* *əŋgám* *no* *daw*
arrive SG-herd DEM.NEAR instant there LOC
only a small mishap that arrives at the herd mentioned before

c) *...ho* *sén* *har* *jé* *a=m-zəray*
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until only 3s=SUBJ-pass.after
ənda sa...
with COMP
... that (action) until it simply follows that...

d) *...agár* *didá* *jén* *a=b-dá.*
bad walk.N only 3s=IMPERF-do
(know that) his behavior was only bad.
(*lit:* he only did bad walking)

In a subordinate clause *je* 'only' can be preceded by a temporal element *har* 'until' or *sa* 'when' and then encodes immediateness, 'as soon as'.

(275) a) *har* *jé* *a-záɣan* *a=ss-oɣtá...*
until only SG-ray 3s=CAUS-upright.BND
as soon as it was dawn...

b) *sa* *jé* *intáynawt* *a=gguná-kat* *áŋga...*
when only jackal 3s=see-VEN 3s.EMP
as soon as Jackal saw him coming...

4.7.4.5 daɣ, harkíd *'in addition, too'*

The particle *daɣ* 'too' can follow a verbal word or a noun. It should not be confused with *da* INT, which has a different function and also a different origin. /daɣ/ (Prasse et al. 2003:89) is found in Tamasheq with the same meaning as it has in Tadaksahak. Below is an example

where it appears next to a verb. The second example below is a special use (also found in Tamasheq), which seems to be idiolectal, to introduce either the next argument in the reasoning or give a conclusion to previous material.

(276) a) *a=báara* *daɣ* *t-órf-in* *ən* *kó-(e)n*
3S=be too FE-car-PL GEN owner-PL
there are also the car owners.

b) *daɣ* *adí* *ándi* *ay=n* *t-á-ggas-t*
too ANA 2p.EMP 3S=GEN F-SG-gard-F.SG
a=f-keení.
3S=IMPERF-be.on
also this, it's on you that its (land) protection is. (= you are responsible for its protection)

Another particle that adds to already present material is *harkíd* 'also'. It is only found adding NPs to an already known entity. It precedes the noun that is added. Syntactically it is often at the end of a clause but it can also precede the verb as shown in example (c) below.

(277) a) *a=yyírṣək* *ənd(a)* *áy=n* *kamb-én*
3S=sweep with 3S=GEN arm-PL
harkíd *ay=n* *c-en.*
also 3S=GEN leg-PL
he made sweeping movements with his arms and also his legs.

b) *a=yyéd* *áa=ka* *áŋga* *harkíd* *áy=n* *baarí.*
3S=return 3S=LOC 3S.EMP also 3S=GEN horse
he fell into it (well), he and his horse.

c) *ándi* *ay=n* *t-á́-kma* *harkíd* *ay=n*
2p.EMP 3S=GEN F-PL-evil also 3S=GEN
t-á́ṇfa *a=f-ṭáw.*
F-useful 3S=IMPERF-reach
it's you (pl) that its (of the land) disaster and its usefulness reaches.

4.7.4.6 inʒín *'like'*

This particle can stand between two NPs or an NP and a verbal phrase.

(278) a) *feeji aɣ(o) óoda inʒín aɣ=wáni...*
sheep DET DEM.NEAR like 2s=of
this sheep is like mine...

b) *a=ddá gíman aɣ(o) óoda k(a) inʒín hé fó.*
3s=do good.VN DET DEM.NEAR LOC like thing IND
she was absolutely beautiful.
(Lit: she was (put) in that beauty like something.)

c) *ée-dag aɣo sénda inʒín ni=yyíkkəl=a*
SG-place DET DEM.FAR like 2s=lift.up=3s
ni=dd(á)=a suubú ka.
2s=put=3s hay LOC
this matter is like (as if) you take it (fire) up and put it to the hay.

Example (b) shows an idiomatic use for an absolute superlative. It has the same construction as the first example with ‘something’. (c) also illustrates that clauses can follow *inʒín* which is then better translated with ‘as if’.

4.8 Complex Sentences

4.8.1 Clause coordination

4.8.1.1 Clausal 'and'

There is no clausal 'and' conjunction. Main clauses are conjoined without explicit marker.

4.8.1.2 Clausal 'or' meɣ, mádaɣ*, and* wala

The same markers that are used for disjunction of noun phrases (4.1.9.2) are also found between clauses. *meɣ* and *mádaɣ* only encode 'or' and are therefore unambiguous. They are often found between larger text blocks including several clauses.

(279) *n(e) áyda k(a) a=dd(á) áy=n maamála*
place DEM.PROX LOC 3s=do 3s=GEN commerce
meɣ n(e) áyda k(a) a=kkúḍ áy=n almán
or place DEM.PROX LOC 3s=herd 3s=GEN herd
har á=dda t-a-báɣor-t.
until 3s=do F-SG-wealth-F.SG
it's here he was a merchant, or it's here he kept his herd until he was wealthy.

(280) *a-ʃíbuk(u) a=kkun(á)=a mádaɣ lúmmut a=kkun(á)=a*
SG-diarrhea 3s=find=3s or measles 3s=find=3s
he has diarrhea or measles...

wala is also found between clauses.

(281) *ə́mməs-kábahar ni=bbáaɣa ní=n caráy*
maybe-when 2s=love 2s=GEN friend
wala ni=bbáaɣa ni=n céena
or 2s=love 2s=GEN younger.sibling
wala ní=n a-ʃáqaɣ...
or 2s=GEN SG-brother
if you care about your friend or you care about your younger relative or your brother....

All the examples above show parallel clauses. There are examples of larger chunks of text material between the 'or' particles in our corpus.

The following example with *meɣ* includes a large piece of text about 'harming oneself by bad behavior'. After a concluding clause the speaker takes off again:

(282) *meɣ* *ni=b-fárrad* *huurú* *se* *a=húur(u)=a....*
or 2S=IMPERF-neglect fire DAT 3S=enter=3S
or you neglect the fire and it enters it (hay)....

4.8.2 Purpose and causal clauses

4.8.2.1 Purpose 'in order to' marked with subjunctive mood

A purpose clause is often only marked by the subjunctive mood without any other overt morpheme.

(283) a) *aɣ=tə-dáy-an* *aɣa=n* *t-óoruf-t*
1S=FUT-deal-ALL 1S=GEN F-car-F.SG
aɣa=m-dáy-kat *áa=k(a)* *almán.*
1S=SUBJ-deal-VEN 3S=LOC herd
I will sell my car in order to buy a herd (of animals).

b) *…i=tə-dá-kat* *daaʒí* *i=mm-əfṛəḍ=i.*
3P=FUT-make-VEN broom.kind 3P=SUBJ-broom=3P
(when the seeds have fallen) they make a broom in order to sweep them (seeds) together.

At times the subjunctive mood is preceded by the conjunction *har* 'until' that can have a purpose component in its semantics. (cf. 4.8.4.5 example (305))

(284) a) *yíddər* *aɣay* *áa-har* *har* *aɣa=m-wí=a*
hold 1S.IO SG-lion until 1S=SUBJ-kill=3S
hold the lion for me in order that I kill it.

b) *aɣa=kkár* *nín* *har* *ni=n* *ée-mat* *a=m-dudú.*
1S=hit 2S until 2S=GEN SG-small.tear 3S=SUBJ-flow
I hit you to make you cry a bit.

4.8.2.2 Causal clauses

There are several ways to indicate cause. One possibility is the clause initial particle *iddá* 'because' with variants, and there are two postpositional constructions that mark cause and reason.

The clause-initial particle has two dialectal variants which are *igdá* 'because' in the Talatayt area and *iddá* or short *íd* in the rest of the

area. Sudlow (2001:331) lists the shape /id/ for a Tuareg dialect in northern Burkina Faso with the meaning ‘since, if, when’ and Heath (2005:674) gives examples with /ed/ meaning ‘because’.

iddá is followed and preceded by a full clause and there may also be complex sentences like conditionals (see an example in story 1 line 43). Find other examples below.

(285) a) *igdá* *a=ttə́gor* *a-munsu* *a=b-díydi*
because 3s=begin SG-meal 3s=IMPERF-penetrate
bor-én *ən* *í-ʃʃan-an* *ká*
person-PL GEN PL-tooth-PL LOC
(not rinsing your mouth after the meal destroys them (teeth)), because the food begins to penetrate in people’s teeth.

b) *áaru* *a=bbáaɣa* *s(a)* *a=tə-yíɣdər* *ná* *aɣo*
man 3s=want COMP 3s=FUT-betray OPP DET
idd(á) *á=bben* *ay=n* *bárr-en*
because 3s=finish 3s=GEN child-PL
a=ŋŋ(á)=í
3s=eat=3p
he wanted to betray the other one because he had finished his children and eaten them.

c) *i=ssə́-nn-əḷbəḍ=a* *iddá* *ná* *aɣo* *n*
3p=CAUS-RECI-be.added=3s because OPP DET GEN
kud-én *i=ddá* *ná* *aɣo* *ka*
blood-PL 3p=do OPP DET LOC
they (health agents) contaminated him (patient) because the blood of one (patient) was put in another one.

The prepositional phrase *hé bé* ‘on (some)thing’ can be used to introduce a reason clause. This construction is similar to the interrogative ‘why?’ (4.7.3.3.2)

(286) a) *tanə́fust* *aɣ(o)* *óoda* *áŋga* *néeda*
F-SG-story-F.SG DET DEM.NEAR 3S.EMP here
hé *bé* *(a)=ttén* *sa*
thing LOC 3s-arrive COMP
surgóy *a=ssə́-may-ənda* *s(a)* *a=tə-dá...*
woman 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have-with COMP 3S=FUT-do
this story, here is why it is such that a woman ought not to do...

b) *wiji hé bé (a)=dd(a)=í*
is.not thing LOC 3s=do=3p
har almítal aɣ(o) óoda aɣ=tə-hár ándi se
until example DET DEM.NEAR 1S=FUT-tell 2p DAT
it (decentralization) is done for no [other] reason than the example I am going to tell you... (lit: it is not on anything it (government) makes them (decentralized places) until for the example...)

Cause and reason can also be expressed by means of a postpositional phrase with the postposition *ka* 'from'. The nominal entity is normally *he* 'thing' but may be semantically more specific, as in example (c) below.

(287) a) *ni=m-jeej(í)=á tugúdu ka hé ká*
2s=SUBJ-hang=3s tree LOC thing LOC
hánʃi (a)=sə-ṭáaw=a
dog 3s=NEG.IMPERF-reach=3s
you should hang it (eating bowl) in a tree, because a dog cannot reach it.

b) *ən=tə-méɣitər hé ká ni=ddá*
2s=FUT-lack.money thing LOC 2s=put
tə́lla ka ni=n aʃággar
good LOC 2s=GEN destiny
you will have (money) problems, because it's in goods you put your destiny/trust.

c) *a=ddá háamu tugúdu n bí ká*
3s=put meat tree GEN shadow LOC
hambará n ná ká sa
fear GEN give.VN LOC COMP
korr(á) á=tə-yíɣʃid=a.
heat.N 3s=FUT-destroy=3s.
she put the meat in the shade of a tree because she was afraid that the heat might ruin it.

4.8.3 Conditionals

There exist a vast number of conditional markers in Tadaksahak. Some can be traced to cognates in Songhay, while others have cognates in Tamasheq. Some of them are dialectal variants of each other, e.g. *ənda* 'with' (in the meaning 'when/if') is not used in the south, where *kar* 'when/if' is used. The clause with the conditional

marker can be marked with any Mood-Aspect-Negation marker except the SUBJ. There is no element that separates the condition (the 'if-clause') from the consequent ('then...'). The main clause may be a question (289) or an imperative.

4.8.3.1 ənda *'with' and similar forms*

Clauses with *ənda* normally state a general condition that causes the event (or state) described in the main clause to happen (or be true). The MAN marker of the main clause depends on the wider context, e.g. in an instructional text SUBJ is used ((288)c), for a condition to be considered 'general knowledge' IMPERF can be found (a). The subordinate 'ənda'-clause is always in perfective aspect.

(288) a) *ənd(a)* *aɣá=n* *cáy* *a=ddígdig*
with 1s=GEN leg 3s=be.broken
a=bb-aṣór *aɣáy.*
3s=IMPERF-hurt 1s
when my leg is broken, it hurts (me).

b) *íttilla* *ənd(a)* *a=mmáṇṇa*
each with 3s=be.without.grass
ándi *h(e)* *ad(í)* *a=tə-dáṛ*
2p thing ANA 3s=FUT-suffer
ənda *suub(ú)* *a=dd(a)* *áa=ka*
with straw 3s=put 3s=LOC
ándi *h(e)* *ad(í)* *a=tə-yinfá*
2p chose ANA 3s=FUT-be.useful
each time when it (land) is without grazing, it is you whom this makes suffer (and) when there is straw, it's you to whom this is useful.

c) *i=ccí* *t-oo-lás-t* *ənd(a)* *átrij* *a=húuru*
3p=say F-SG-do.again-F.SG with wound 3s=enter
borá *a=m-mún* *áa=be* *gánda.*
person 3s=SUBJ-pour 3s=LOC earth
it is also said when somebody has a wound he may pour earth on it.

Most occurrences of *ənda*-clauses are preposed but it is possible to have the conditional follow the main clause.

(289) *cí* *ná* *hó* *bé* *ar=tə-ʃiŋ(á)*
what be thing.DEBR LOC 1p=FUT-CAUS.lay.down
arə=n *báarar* *ənd(a)* *á=yyuhu?*
1p=GEN child when 3s=be.born
on what will we lay our child when it is born?

Semantically, the temporal aspect of *ənda* 'when/if' seems to be more important than the conditional component.

Songhay of Gao and Timbuktu use the particle *nda* 'if' for several kinds of conditional clauses, such as hypothetical and counterfactual (Heath 1999:303ff; 1998:263ff). In Tadaksahak it is only found with generally known and accepted states.

In Tadaksahak, there exists a similar marker, which occurs in two forms, *əndáŋga* and *náŋga*. According to our informants, the first is used in slow speech, while the second belongs to fast speech. Our corpus shows that the short form is considerably more frequent in sentence initial position than the other variant.

əndáŋga is composed of the morphemes *ənda áŋga*, i.e. /with + 3s.EMP/ 'with it'. Similar to the *ənda* clauses treated above, the *əndáŋga* clause states a condition, now not very general but more specific, that allows the event described in the main clause to happen. The subordinate clause with *ənda áŋga* is not attested in the perfective aspect but imperfect and future are found.

(290) *aɣa=n* *haw(ú)* *óoda*
1s=GEN cow DEM.NEAR
əndáŋga *aarú* *a=tə-háy* *aɣ=tə-dumb(ú)=a*
if man 3s=FUT-give.birth 1s=FUT-cut=3s
əndáŋga *wáy* *aɣ=tə-díis=a.*
if woman 1s=FUT-let=3s
my cow here, if it gives birth to a male (calf), I will kill it, if (it is a) female, I will let it (live).

əndáŋga is often used together with the particle *wiji* '(it) is not' and then introduces the exceptional condition that could bring about the desired effect. Typically the verb of the main clause is put in the negation to underline the exception. In most cases this can be translated into English as 'nothing but…'. When the exception is expressed by a noun, the noun follows *wiji* immediately. If it is a

clause, the complementizer *sa* is used before this clause. Example (b) below has the shortened form *naŋga* with *wiji*.

(291) a) *...hé (a)=sə-káaw=i ay=n kámba ka*
thing 3S=NEG.IMPERF-take=3p 3S=GEN hand LOC
əndáŋga wiji t-a-káṛḍaṣ-t.
if is.not F-SG-letter-F.SG
(He told him that) nothing (could) take them from him except (Lit: if it is not) a letter (of authorization written by a marabout).

b) (If you leave it (land) to your children, it is not possible that it dies or gets lost [like animals])...
...náŋga wiji s(a) i=tə-dáy-an.
if is.not COMP 3p-FUT-deal-ALL
...except that they sell [and so get the money].

In the next example a pair of conditional markers shows two opposite possibilities.

(292) (hey, young man, you (should) know that I suggest a price for an animal only once!)
náŋga ni=b-diní ni=n á-ẓṛəf dá
if 2S=IMPERF-take 2S=GEN SG-money DIC
din(í)=á náŋga ən=sə-din(í)=a dá
take=3s if 2S=NEG.IMPERF-take=3s DIC
sa ni=m-hár aɣáy aɣa=mm-íci…
COMP 2S=SUBJ-say 1s 1S=SUBJ-move.on
if you take the money, take it! If you don't take it, (at least) tell me (so) that I may move on…

This condition marker was only found in spontaneous speech and not used when conditional clauses were translated. This seems to indicate that it needs to be embedded in a larger context while the marker *(əmm)əs-ká(ba)(ha)r* (see below) is used when no context is given.

4.8.3.2 (əmm)əs-ká(ba)(ha)r

This conditional marker contains two morphemes. *(ə́mm)əs* which, according to our informants, is an abbreviated form of *hə́mnəz ~ hə́mməz* 'maybe'. The form *ə́mməs* is rare in the corpus and may be a dialectal variant. The short form *əs* is widely used around Menaka and in the south. The second morpheme, *kábahar* 'when', seems to be linked etymologically with /har/ 'until, when'. It appears in its full

form or as *kahar* or *kar*. Different MAN markers are found in the subordinate clause with *əs-kábahar*.

(293) a) *əs-kábahar* *á-ɣaatir* *a=qqóq*
maybe-when SG-clay.ground 3s=be.dry
a=ttə́gor *a=b-s-ə́ssərr-ət.*
3s=begin 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-tear.apart
when ground with clay (on it) is dry, it gets torn apart.

b) *əs-káhar* *Máadiḍ* *a=b-s-əgdá* *i-ʒínn-an*
maybe-when Milky.way 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-be.equal PL-sky-PL
arə=f-kuŋgú *huwá ka.*
1p=IMPERF-be.full milk LOC
when the Milky Way is in the zenith, we can drink our fill of milk.

c) *əs-kár* *cinj-én* *i=sə-kár*
maybe-when rain-PL 3p=NEG.IMPERF-hit
íttill(a) agg áadəm *h(e)* *ad(í) a=tə-dáṛ.*
each son.of Adam thing ANA 3s=FUT-suffer
when it does not rain, everybody will suffer.

d) *əs-káhar* *aɣa=ddá* *ṣót* *aɣo* *yizzár-an*
maybe-when 1s=do jump.VN DET be.ahead-ADJZR
ni=mm-élbi *ni=n* *t-á-kooba…*
2s=SUBJ-pull.out 2s=GEN F-SG-sword
when I make the first jump, you pull out your sword…

e) *əs-káhar* *ni=bbén* *ənd(a)* *a-múnsu*
maybe-when 2s=finish with SG-meal
ni=m-hímay *ni=n* *kámb-en.*
2s=SUBJ-wash 2s=GEN hand-PL
when you finish the meal, you wash your hands.

c) *əs-káhar* *ni=nə-ʒ-ə́rrəʒəm* *ni=n* *míya,*
maybe-when 2s=NEG.PERF-CAUS-rinse 2s=GEN mouth
a-múnsu *aɣo* *(á)yda* *a=tə́-gor(a)-an* *ni=n*
SG-meal DET DEM.PROX 3s=FUT-sit-ALL 2s=GEN
í-ʃʃan-an *ka…*
PL-tooth-PL LOC
when you don't rinse your mouth, this same meal will stay in your teeth…

d) *arw-én* *óoda* *əmməs-kábahar* *i=mmó* *sa*
man-PL DEM.NEAR maybe-when 3p=hear COMP
t-a-béllen-t *ni=b-hurrú* *i=tə-wí* *nín.*
F-SG-fight-F.SG 2s=IMPERF-look.for 3p=FUT-kill 2s
these men, when they hear that it is a fighting match you seek, they will kill you.

The first element, *émməs* or *əs*, can be omitted when thematically related material precedes and already contains a full condition marker.

(294) a) *əs-kábahar* *árat-an* *i=yyíli alfájir*
maybe-when herd-PL 3p=leave morning
a=tə-t-éləm.
3s=FUT-PASS-open
káhar i=húuru-kat *álməz* *i=tə-yáhar-kaat=a*
when 3s=enter-VEN evening 3p=FUT-cover-VEN=3s
i=m-hállət-kat *t-a-ssáhar-t...*
3p=SUBJ-mount-VEN F-SG-cover-F.SG
When the herds left in the morning, it was opened. When they entered in the evening, they covered it (cistern) so that they could mount over the lid.

b) *əs-kár* *aɣ=nə-yée-kat* *ni=wáni.*
maybe-when 1s=NEG.PERF-return-VEN 2s=of
kár *aɣa=yyée-kat* *aɣ=wáni.*
when 1s=return-VEN 1s=of
if I don't return, it (horse) is yours, if I return it is mine.

4.8.3.3 əndár

This marker posits a hypothetical condition. The subordinate clause is in perfective with this marker.

(295) a) *əndár aɣa=bbáy* *sa* *Táḥa a=ʃʃí* *n(e)* *áyda*
if 1s=know COMP T. 3s=not.be place DEM.PROX
aɣ=sə-kóy-kat.
1s=NEG.IMPERF-leave-VEN
if I had known that T. is not here, I wouldn't have come.

b) *igdá / əndár a=bbáy hó báara*
because if 3s=know thing.DEBR be.in
áa=se aláxar
3s=DAT other.world
a=sə-d(á) áa=se hé yibrár-an.
3s=NEG.IMPERF-do 3s=BEN thing be.bad-ADJZR
because if she knew what was for her in the other world she would not do anything bad to him.

c) *ciimí aɣo (ə)nda hinká (a=cc(i) áa=se)*
truth DET with two 3s=say 3s=DAT
sa t-a-dáqqa-t óoda əndár aɣa=bbáy
COMP F-SG-road-F.SG DEM.NEAR if 1s=know
sa (ə)n=tə-záw-kat=a aɣ=sə-dá-kat=a.
COMP 2s=FUT-take-VEN=3s 1s=NEG.IMPERF-make-VEN=3s
the second truth (she said to him) is that if I had known that it is this road you were going to take, I would not have taken it.

In Tamasheq, the same particle /əndǎr/ənnár/ marks a counterfactual condition (Heath 2006:698).

4.8.3.4 kud daɣ *'even if'*

kud dáɣ literally means 'if too'. It can be read as 'even if'.

(296) *íttill(a) ágg áadəm máṇṇ(a) a=tə-ḍáṛ*
each son.of.Adam without.grazing.VN 3s=FUT-harm
kud dáɣ a=sə́-mmay almán ənda aɣ=n gá.
if also 3s=NEG.IMPERF-own herd with 3s=GEN self
each person suffers from lack of grazing even if he does not own animals himself.

This same conjunction /kud-dǎɣ/ 'even if' (même si) is used in Tamasheq with the same function but also for a variety of other uses. Find further discussion of *kud* under 4.3.10.4.

4.8.4 Temporal subordination

4.8.4.1 sa 'when...'

The simplest clause of temporal subordination is marked by the element *sa* which translates as 'when'. The subordinate clause is

always in the perfective. *sa* translated as 'when' could very well be the same element as the complementizer *sa* and the relativizer *sa*.

(297) a) *sa Múss(a) a=ttén*
when M. 3S=arrive
arə=bbén ənd(a) a-múnsu.
1P=finish with SG-meal
when Mussa arrived we had finished the meal.

b) *s(a) a=ʃʃ-inʃá téɣsa*
when 3S=CAUS.put.down.BND animal
t-á-har-t a=ddá h(e) óoda...
F-SG-lion-F.SG 3S=do thing DEM.NEAR
when she put the sheep/goat down the lioness did this...

c) *s(a) arw-én aɣondo sénda i=ttén*
when man-PL DET.PL DEM.FAR 3P=arrive
i=nn(á) áaru s(e) a-lákat
3P=give man DAT SG-twig
when those men arrived, they gave the twig to the man.

d) *s(a) i=ggun(á) á-mṇəs [da takúduŋkut] ən*
when 3P-PERF-see SG-camel do cut.tail GEN
a-dərəz aɣo n bér a=ccí...
SG-trace DET GEN older.sibling 3S=say
when they saw the trace of a camel with cut tail, the oldest said...

e) *s(a) a=ggár-an t-áa-har-t wərtilla*
when 3S=find-ALL F-SG-lion-F.SG there.is.not
when she found (it), the lioness was not there.

sa followed by *je* 'only' encodes immediateness, 'as soon as'.

(298) *sa jé intáynawt a=gguná-kat áŋga...*
when only jackal 3S=see-VEN 3S.EMP
as soon as Jackal saw him coming...

4.8.4.2 Temporal use of dá *'intensifier'*

Another way to express a temporal subordination is by means of the intensifier *dá* INT in conjunction with an anaphoric NP.

(299) *dá hé (a)yd(a) a=ddá....*
INT thing DEM.PROX 3S=do
when this was done....

4.8.4.3 Temporal clauses based on temporal nouns

Other strategies to achieve temporal subordination include temporal nouns that are set in a complete postpositional relative clause. The term *agúd* '(point in) time' is regularly found in such constructions.

(300) *agúd aɣo k(a) arə=kkéed(i) ay=n béena*
time DET LOC 1p=be.up 3s=GEN top
aɣa=b-gun(á) ay=n i-məḍḍ-an i=b-zə-lénzəl-ət.
1s=IMPERF-see 3s=GEN PL-tear-PL 3p=IMPERF-CAUS-roll
when we were up on the top, I saw (that) his tears were rolling down.

Other time expressions can be found like *assáʃat* 'time'.

(301) *assáʃat aɣo ka ni=n a-múnsu a=kkeení*
time DET LOC 2s=GEN SG-meal 3s=lay.down
he (a)=ddúuwa sa...
thing 3s=be.better COMP
when your meal is put down, it is better that...

4.8.4.4 t-izzár-t *'before...'*

t-izzár-t 'before' is a cognate of a similar element in Tamasheq derived from the verb *yizzár* 'precede'. *t-izzár-t* is usually followed by a verb in SUBJ mood.

(302) a) *...bor(á) a=b-hímay áy=n kamba*
person 3s=IMPERF-wash 3s=GEN hand
t-izzár-t a=m-huur(ú) a-múnsu
F-precede-F.SG 3s=SUBJ-enter SG-meal
(it is better that) somebody washes his hand before he begins to eat.

b) *...aɣ=tə-d(a) áa=ka hé*
1s=FUT-do 3s=LOC thing
t-izzár-t aɣa=m-ṭáw-an a-hándag aɣo
F-precede-F.SG 1s=SUBJ-reach-ALL SG-place DET
t-ə-skán-in wán-i.
F-PL-greeting-PL of-PL
(it's about them I want) to talk a bit before I reach the moment of the greetings.

The following example has the verb of the adverbial clause in the IMPERF aspect.

(303) *...kud á=mmay t-a-rásway-t wal(a) a=sə́-mmay*
if 3s=have F-SG-clothe-F.SG or 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have
t-izzár-t ni=bb-áṇṣi.
F-precede-F.SG 2s=IMPERF-beg
(when you try to get a piece of clothing from somebody, look if the one (shirt) that is on his body) if he has (proper) clothes or not before you beg (of him).

4.8.4.5 har *'until...'*

'until...' clauses are expressed with the adverbial conjunction *har* 'until/when'.

(304) *a=b-húrru áy=n yíddər n(e) áyda*
3s=IMPERF-look.for 3s=GEN hold.VN place DEM.PROX
ka har a=yyiḍáz
LOC until 3s=be.tired
he (Jackal) was trying to hold him (Hyena) there until he was tired (= gave up).

Some occurrences indicate 'purpose' for the subordinate clause.

(305) *i=ʃʃíikəl har i=ddáy-kat hayní*
3p=travel until 3p=deal-VEN millet
they traveled until (=in order to) they bought millet.

har 'until' is identical with the particle translatable as 'except' (see 4.6.3).

4.8.4.6 zamá *'after...'*

The conjunction *zamá* 'after' precedes a clause, while *déffər* 'after' is followed by a non-verbal element.

(306) a) *Zam(á) arə=ddə́wənn-ət andi s(e) alxér k(a)*
after 1p=speak 2p DAT peace LOC
aɣo gánda wani ar-tə-yée-kat alxér aɣo…
DET earth of 1p-FUT-return-VEN peace DET
after we spoke to you(pl) about the wellbeing of the earth we will return to the wellbeing of (the body)

b) *dəffər za hó sé zam(á) aɣa=ss-íli=a*
after LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR after 1s=CAUS-leave=3s
a=ccí marád-da a=m-ŋ(á) aɣáy
3s=say now-INT 3s=SUBJ-eat 1s
so after that, after I (Monkey) had made him (Hyena) leave it (the well), he now wanted to eat me.

zamá is found together with the conjunction 'until' in the following example.

(307) *a=nə-yéd-kat har zam(á) aɣa=ttén áa=daw.*
3s=NEG.PERF-return-VEN until after 1s=arrive 3s=LOC
he didn't return until after I arrived at his (place).

The conjunction *zamá* 'after' originally comes from Arabic. It is also known in Tamasheq and no doubt has found its way to Tadaksahak through that language.

4.8.4.7 Simple juxtaposition of a temporal clause

There are a number of temporal expressions that are syntactically complete clauses. However, they do not stand alone but accompany a main clause for which they set the temporal frame.

(308) a) *záɣr(i) a=ddá t-á-mɣar-t a=ṣṣót-kat.*
day 3s=do F-SG-old.person-F.SG 3s=jump-VEN
(when) it was day, the old woman jumped.

b) *t-áa-dwi-t a=ddá a=húur(u)*
F-SG-afternoon-F.SG 3s=do 3s=enter
á-ɣalla
SG-wall
in the afternoon he entered the yard.

The particle *ʃeddí ~ ceddí* 'yet' can be found preceding a verb in the IMPERF aspect and is then read as 'while'. The *ʃeddí* clause is usually the second clause in this juxtaposition.

(309) a) *ni=m-hímay=a ʃedd(í) á=f-ṭay*
2s=SUBJ-wash=3s yet 3s=IMPERF-be.wet
you wash it (pot) while it is (yet) moist.

b) *i=f-t-əg(a)* *áari*
3p=IMPERF-PASS-do.BND 1p.IO
cedd(í) *arə=f-kás* *barr-én* *ceená-nənən*
yet 1p=IMPERF-be child-PL be.small-ADJZR.PL
they (stories) were told us while we were (yet) small children.

The following example has *ʃeddí* 'yet' preceding a verb in the NEG.PERF to express 'before'.

(310) *ən=tə-yáhar=a* *ənd(a)* *ay=n* *t-a-ss-áhar-t*
2s=FUT-cover=3s with 3s=GEN F-SG-INST-cover-F.SG
ʃeddí gánd(a) *a=nə-huur(ú)-á*
yet earth 3s=NEG.PERF-enter-3s
cover it with its lid before earth has entered it.
(Lit: (when) earth has not yet entered it)

In the region around Menaka the form *ʃeddí* 'yet' is mostly used while *ceddí* is used in Talatayt area.

4.8.5 Spatial adverbial clauses

The spatial adverbial clause (where...) is by its syntactic shape a relative clause modifying *né* 'here/location'.

(311) *né* *k(a)* *áy=n* *t-ə-búuɣar* *i=yyée-kat*
here LOC 3s=GEN F-PL-camel 3p=return-VEN
gánda ka
earth LOC
there where his camels go round in the area...

A similar construction is found with other locational nouns. The two examples below illustrate an indefinite (a) and definite (b) noun modified.

(312) a) *ar=tə-hurr(ú)* *áa=se* *aŋgú k(a)* *a=yyíḍən*
1p=FUT-look.for 3s=DAT place LOC 3s=graze
we look for a place for it (herd) where it (can) graze.

b) *a=yyéd* *i=n* *áŋgu aɣo*
3s=return 3p=GEN place DET
k(a) *i=yyízdaɣ*
LOC 3p=live
he returned to the (their) place where they live.

With the word *né* ‘here’ the interpretation of the clauses is strictly spatial. However *aŋgú* ‘place’, *ée-dag* ‘place’ and *a-hándag* ‘place’ can also be found with temporal meanings (see example (302)b)).

4.8.6 Manner adverbial clauses

A relative clause with instrumental preposition and the noun *ə́mmək* ‘manner, method’ serves as an adverbial clause.

(313) a) *ə́mmək* *aɣó* *(ə)nda* *aɣ=tə-d(á)-a*
manner DET with 1s=FUT-do-3s
the manner (with which) I will do it.

b) *…ə́mmək* *aɣó* *(ə)nda* *ni=ssoorá* *t-áa-har-t*
manner DET with 3s=milk F-SG-lion-F.SG
(tell me) how you milked the lioness.