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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 *ayo/ayondo* 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*

<i>borá</i> person	a person	N
<i>bor-én hínká</i> people-PL two	two persons	N num
<i>t-a-ráswoy-t zíibit-an</i> F-SG-dress-F.SG be.dirty-ADJZR	dirty dress	N adj
<i>ayá=n feejí</i> 1s=GEN sheep	my sheep	[N/Pro=GEN] N
<i>a-zámar óoda</i> SG-lamb DEM	this lamb	N DEM
<i>ayo bíibi</i> DET black.ADJ	the black (one)	DET adj
<i>í-səls(a) úuray wán-en</i> 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-yázam-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 wání]
 SG-young.camel woman POSS
 a female young camel
- b) *alzimáʕa* [arw-én wání]
 assembly man-PL POSS
 a crowd of men (not of women)
- c) *zayrí* [altanín wání]
 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-náfus-t* ‘story’.

- (5) *t-a-náfus-t* aʔo aʔ=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 *aʔo* DET

and *ayondo* ~ *əndayo* ~ *ənnayo* 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
<i>(a)sénda</i>	away from speaker or other deictic center	'that'	DEM.FAR
<i>óoda</i>	near to the speaker or deictic center, including cataphoric	'this'	DEM.NEAR
<i>áyda</i>	close to the addressee, in the proximity	'this'	DEM.PROX
<i>adí</i>	anaphoric, active	'that'	ANA
<i>o</i>	broader reference than <i>óoda</i>	'this/that'	DEBR
<i>na N</i>	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* *ayáy* [*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-ſſayal* *óoda* *a=b-z-éḍəz* *ayay.*
 SG-work DEM.NEAR 3S-IMPERF-CAUS-be.tired 1s.IO
 This work makes me tired.
- b) *ayá=n* *haw(u)* *óoda* *əndánɡa...*
 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) ánga*
 3s=do thing DEM.NEAR 3s=CAUS-approach 3s.EMP
[éelaw ən t-í-nzar] ...
 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) *f-inf(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-şót-kat áy=n wəl*
 F-SG-bird-F.SG DEM.PROX 3s-FUT-fly-VEN 3s=GEN heart
ka...
 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 mæffin dá*
 RESUME F-SG-story-F.SG 3s=be.finished but INT
aṭṭaalib a-kkás alwalí dæffér [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: *alfájr 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) *...aya-m-húnu-kat ay=n aláaḥit*
 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 *ayo* 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 ayo* ‘this (one)’

- (17) *[ná ayo] a-b-s-éwəl t-ée-laq-q*
 OPP DET 3S=IMPERF-CAUS-sharpen F-SG-knife-F.SG
[ná ayondo] 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) ángu]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 *ayo* 'determiner'

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

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

(21) *Forms of the determiner*

<i>ayo</i>	DET	
<i>ayondo</i>	DET.PL	Talatayt
<i>əndayo</i>	DET.PL	Meneka
<i>ənnayo</i>	DET.PL	Infukaraytan
<i>wənyo</i>	DET.PL	Tamalet

The plural forms may be *ayo* fused with other particles known in the language, i.e. *ənd(a)-ayo* (with-DET) 'those' with the contracted form *ənn-ayo* and *ayo-(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 *ayondo* is also found with the additional morpheme *no* 'there' intervening *ayonda-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.

ayo 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. *Ayo* 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 *ayo + 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 ayondo 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 ay(o) óoda ánga a-dégag*
 throw.VN_i DET DEM.NEAR 3s.EMP_i SG-fear
a-sé-mmay ni=wáni a-dégag 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 *ayo* 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 ayó (a)yda a=ttén enda
 after man DET DEM.PROX 3s=arrive with
t-a-kárdas-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)yo (a)dí wiji hé ay-tə-háaʃi-an ayáy.

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 *ayo* 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)yo (ó)

COMP 3s=say thing DET DEBR

s(a) innazag a=ccí bárr-en se

COMP hyena 3s=say child-PL DAT

'andə-b-déeraw' ayo (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 *ayó* that indicates the presence of another morpheme.

When *ná* 'opposite' co-occurs with *ayo* 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 ayo] 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 *ayo + wani/wan-en*

When *ayo* 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* *ayo* [*áagar* *wáni*]
 F-SG-be.green-F.SG DET tree.sp POSS
 (the) green of the 'aagar'-tree.
- b) *gánd(a)* *ayo* [*Idéeləman wáni*]
 earth DET loc.name POSS
 the region of Indeliman
- c) *mán ayo óoda* [*Áffud* *wáni*]
 name DET DEM.NEAR loc.name POSS
 this name (of) 'Affud' (=Ansongo)

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

- (29) *i-múnas ayo* [*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 *ayo + 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 *ayo* seems to be insensitive to number (c).

- (30) a) [*t-óo-ruf-t* *ayo n* *i-zínn-an*] *á-mmay*
 F-SG-car-F.SG DET GEN PL-sky-PL 3s=have
 áfr-an *hiṅká*.
 wing-PL two
 The airplane (lit: car that of sky) has two wings.
- b) [*zayrí* *ayo n* *jinjiri*]
 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* *ayo n* *agiílal*
 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) *ayo n* *céena* *a-té-ci*
 DET GEN younger.sibling 3s=FUT-say
 ayo 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* *alzímmat* *ayo 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) ...*aya=m-d(á)* *ándi s(e)* [*a-séstən fóo-da*]
 1s=SUBJ-do 2p DAT SG-question one-INT
 ... to ask you one question
- b) [*bor-én* *kaarád*] *ə-b-guŋ(ú)* [*i-múnas* *hiŋká*]
 person-PL three IMPERF-lead PL-camel two
 (here are) three persons leading two camels
- c) *i=mmáy* [*i=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-ébdəd*
 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) *táafinda n zaŋrí*
 twenty GEN day
 twenty days
- b) *ṭáasay-t-ə-mérw-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 ayáy [táafinda 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) *aya-ss-úr ana fammúf-ə-t-ə-mérw-in*
 1s-CAUS-put.on 2s.DAT five-[ə]-F-SG-ten-PL
[a-jím be ənda [t-ə-mməd fammúf]]
 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 [zayr-én be kaarád]*
 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 *ayo*, 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, *ayo* receives 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 |
| <i>ayo yizzár-an</i> | first |
| DET be.ahead-ADJZR | |
| <i>ayó (ə)nda hiŋká</i> | second |

ayó (ə)nd(a) akkóz fourth
ayó (ə)nda maará 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) [*ayó (ə)nda hiŋká*] *a-nə-yée-kat*
 DET with two 3s=NEG.PERF-return-VEN
 the second did not return.
- b) *ciimí [ayó (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) *alhád* [*ay=n táafinda*], *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) *iff-én* *kaaṛáḍ* *kaaraḍ-én iffá*
 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) *táafinda har maará*
 twenty until ten
 ten times twenty
- b) *jammúf har maará (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-ṭər-ṭər ənda hiṇká hiṇká.*
 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) *ayo fáḍḍan a=cc(i) 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 *ayo* 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 ayondo 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)yo 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 gédəm 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-ηη(á)=a, ánga 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)yo óoda kullú]*
 indeed LC thing DET DEM.NEAR each
alfáqi óoda a=sséstən ənd(a)-á....
 teacher DEM.NEAR 3s=ask with=3s
 So indeed, all this the teacher was asking himself....
- b) *[íngi kullú] a=ffárrəd 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 záyri* = *záyri 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 záyr(i)] i-tə-tén sénda...*
 each day 3p=FUT-arrive DEM.FAR
 Each/every day they would arrive there...
- b) *[íttill(a) ágg aádəm] mánn(a) a-tə-ḍáar=a*
 each son.of Adam lack.food 3s=FUT-harm=3s
 Everybody will suffer for lack of food.
- c) *[íttill(a)] a-yyíkti-kat ayáy...*
 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) *məffín* [*t-a-báyor-t* *káaka*] *ní-ddá*
 but F-SG-fortune-F.SG whatever 2s=make
gánda ka (ə)n-sé-mmáy...
 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*] *ní-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-almáŋna 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-bázŋaw-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 *enda* ‘with’ is distributive to convey ‘a little bit here and a little bit there’.

- (52) a) *ay-tə-déwwənn-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
enda 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-ηgud giη-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* *giŋ-gimán*
 youngster DEM.FAR DUP-be.good
 that handsome young man
- g) *diní baarí* *aŋo n-éfrən-ən...*
 take horse DET RECI-be.chosen-ADJZR
 take the best horse... (Lit: horse that is chosen...)
- h) *hé (a)ŋo duuw(a)-án ...*
 thing DET be.better-ADJZR
 it is better... (Lit: the better thing is...)
- i) *aaru ná aŋo 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) *aŋa-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 *aŋo* as the head can serve as NPs. An indefinite referent formed by an adjective is preceded by *a-ffó* 'one'.

- (55) a) *aŋo 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) *[zayr(i) áltanín wáni] ka*
 day Monday of LOC
 on a Monday
- b) *[í-yərm-an óoda] ka*
 PL-town-PL DEM.NEAR LOC
 in these towns
- c) *[Tassérəst 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-zəng(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) ayo 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) *aya-bb-əmmay ay=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 [zayr-én be kaarád]*
 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-mənas.*
 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 tónd-en*
 perfume 3p-exist with torch GEN stone-PL
ənd(a) id-aşşáabu-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 *mey*, *máday* and *wala* 'or'

There are a number of disjunctive particles, the most common being *mey* '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 *mey* 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 mey almán wání?*
 butter QST oil or herd of
 butter, is it (vegetable) oil or of the animals?
- b) *ni-f-kuná [katibi-tan fammú] mey maará*
 2s-IMPERF-find coin-PL five or ten
 you earn five or ten coins.

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

- (63) *a=zz-éʒrəg* *ay=n t-á-ŋgud*
 3s=CAUS-go.water 3s=GEN F-SG-girl
a-yázar máday bangú
 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-kurúkaɖ* *na* *aɣonda* *no*
 3s=NEG.IMPERF-enter F-PL-shame OPP DET.PL there
i-béɭbad wán-en wal(a) i=n *i-séstən-an*
 PL-plastic.bag of-PL or 3p=GEN PL-question-PL
wal(a) i=n almufáqa-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) *aʎa-bb-əgməm.*

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 fód(a) a=b-guŋ(ú) i-múŋas akkóz.*

person one 3s=IMPERF-lead PL-camels four

(only) one person leads four camels (while we talk).

(68) *a-ɣáɣar 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) *aʎa=n hinciní a=f-kooráy.*

1s=GEN goat 3s=IMPERF-be.white

my goat is white.

- b) *a-zóolay* *a-b-fayár.*
 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 *kəmbəri* *a-nə-yáʃad* *áa=ka*
 3s=GEN spear 3s=NEG.PERF-go.straight 3s=loc
a-dd(á) *áa=k(a)* *á-trif* *ceen-án*
 3s=make 3s=LOC SG-wound be.small-ADJR
 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-ə-bzaz* *ni-m-d(á)*
 2s=SUBJ-take F-PL-seed.kind 2s=SUBJ-put
íi-ka *ary-én* *ni-m-zí-llizit-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
maffín ni-m-záw aḡáy t-áa-har-t ən
 but 2s=SUBJ-bring 1s F-SG-lion-F.SG GEN
huuwá aḡa-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) *səkálələf ní=nn aarú ni=mm-əḥkəm 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) *Məssiínay a=mm-érəz 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 tǝffak*
 1s=FUT-leave tomorrow
 I will leave tomorrow.
- b) *a=tə-yée-kat yáarat 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) alǝájir a=tə-sákkædi*
 each morning 3s=FUT-gather.food
 Every morning she (mother Hyena) would gather food.
- a=tə-sákkædi har hé (a)yo 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-bbáaya 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-žérrəžəm ní=n míya,
 2s=SUBJ-rinse 2s=GEN mouth
t-izzár-t ní=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 í=yyíli alfájir*
 maybe-when herd-PL 3p=leave morning
a=tə-t-éləm.
 3s=FUT-PASS-open
 when the herds left in the morning, it (gate) was opened.
- b) *əs-káhar ni=bb-əfřəd í=ffib-an á-yaatir*
 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-zřəf.*
 3s=NEG.PERF-find 3s=GEN SG-silver
 he didn't find his money.
- b) *hawú a=bbán a=nə-yíkfəř*
 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-sé-kas zayrí 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-yáryar a-sə-ss-égməd.*
 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 áyr-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) ayáy sa n a*
give 1s DAT SEP 3s
give it to me!
- d) *wa n(á) í=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) ayáy se n i ní=m-zaw ayáy.*
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-aŋ(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 |
|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>yéw!</i> | come! | <i>kóy-kat</i> |
| <i>ahún!</i> | hold (it)! | <i>yíddər</i> |
| <i>əndə!</i> | pass (it)! | <i>yíci</i> |
| <i>əndén!</i> | pass (it)! | <i>yíci</i> |

The first imperative is from Tamasheq. The next form is connected to Songhay of Gao /hũũ!/ 'here, take!' *əndə* / *əndén* could be related with *ənda* 'in the direction of'. *əndə* 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-ffaʔal*
 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 1PI hortative construction' (Heath 2005:323). Tadakshak 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) *ʃiikəl 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-ſiggid 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=sə-gor andə=f-c(i) ayáy*
 IMP 2p=NEG.IMPERF-must 2p=IMPERF-say 1s
mán ay(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) aya=n t-a-ŋgud a=sə-yili 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 *sə* 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=mməttəkwi* [néeda ka].
 3s=move.on here LOC
 he moved on from here

c) *a=yyíjif* [a-yázar 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=yyíniftaga*[gánda ka].
 3s=lie.on.side ground LOC
 he lay on his side on the ground

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

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

b) *aya=yyidáz.*
 1s=be.tired
 I am tired

- (95) a) *fád a-kkun(a) aḡáy.*
 thirst 3s=find 1s
 I am thirsty
- b) *t-í-ysas i-kkun(a) aḡáy.*
 F-PL-shiver 3p=find 1s
 I am shivering
- (96) a) *a=f-tíffít.*
 3s=IMPERF-cough
 he coughs
- b) *báarar a=f-tínzít.*
 child 3s=IMPERF-sneeze
 the/a child sneezes
- c) *a=wwínzír.*
 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) *wayní 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-éssay*
 donkey-PL 3p=IMPERF-tie.two
 the donkeys are tied together.
- b) *a-bb-éssay 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 Tadakshak – 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
<i>kukú</i>	to be long	to make long
<i>babó</i>	to be many	to increase
<i>zén</i>	to be old	to make old
<i>ceená</i>	to be small	to make small
<i>bán</i>	to be soft	to soften
<i>fér</i>	to be opened	to open
<i>dudú</i>	to flow	to pour
<i>hínjin</i>	to be repaired	to repair
<i>kunkún</i>	to be rolled up (mat)	to roll up (mat)

(100) *Tamasheq cognates*

verb	intransitive gloss	transitive gloss
<i>yídray</i>	to be decorated with metal	to decorate with metal
<i>yíyfid</i>	to be out of use / destroyed	to destroy
<i>yíyfel</i>	to be locked	to lock
<i>yíləm</i>	to be open	to open
<i>yílkəḍ</i>	to be braided	to braid

<i>yíssay</i>	to be tied two together	to tie two together
<i>yíṣbər</i>	to be spread out (to dry)	to spread out (to dry)
<i>díydi</i>	to be level	to level sth.
<i>ḍəṇay</i>	to be filled	to fill (narrow opening)
<i>yiská</i>	to be combed	to comb
<i>yíymá</i>	to be colored (leather)	to color (leather)
<i>yilzá</i>	to be shaved	to shave
<i>yinkáḍ</i>	to be circumcised	to circumcise
<i>jeejí</i>	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)	<i>Transitive only verbs</i>		
	verb	gloss	etymology
	<i>diní</i>	to take sth.	S: <i>din</i>
	<i>kár</i>	to hit sb/sth.	S: <i>kar</i>
	<i>gôn</i>	to swallow sth.	S: <i>goon</i>
	<i>ḍarór</i>	to need sth.	T: <i>dăřăr</i>
	<i>déeraw</i>	to have sth. in common	T: <i>ədrəw</i>
	<i>ḍələm</i>	to treat sb. wrongly / accuse unjustly	T: <i>əḍləm</i>
	<i>fəlás</i>	to believe sth.	T: <i>əfləs</i>
	<i>hóorat</i>	to follow sb. (by his footprints)	
	<i>darjéd</i>	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
<i>kóy X</i>	go to X	S
<i>húuru X</i>	enter X	S
<i>hunú X</i>	depart from X	S
<i>şót X</i>	jump over X	S
<i>ṭaw X</i>	reach X	S
<i>haŋgá X</i>	pass by/over X	S
<i>yéd X</i>	return to X	S
<i>yímmər X</i>	pass by X	T
<i>yíṭṭən X</i>	climb X	T
<i>yíşkən X</i>	stretch up in X	T
<i>ṭérṭər X</i>	go along X	T
<i>háll-ət X</i>	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
<i>báara X</i>	be in X	S
<i>keedí X</i>	be up on X	S
<i>yíngər X</i>	be behind X	T
<i>yígdəl X</i>	be under X	T
<i>yízday X</i>	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 postpositional 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)	<i>əs-káhar</i>	<i>a=ss-ənt(á)</i>	<i>áa=ka</i>	<i>nín...</i>
	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-ffayal.*
 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=yílməd didá.*
 3s-learn walk.VN
 he learned to walk.

‘be able to’ *débət*

- (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-bbaş ceddí.*
 child 3s=NEG.IMPERF-know SG-chew yet
 the child cannot yet chew.
- b) *a=bbáy t-óo-ruf-t ən z-ézəl.*
 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’ *báaya*

The verb ‘want’ *báaya* 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 aya=bbáaya.*
 walk.VN 1s=want
 leaving [focus] is what I want.
- b) *ay=sə-kúl ay=n m-éjfaq-at*
 1s=NEG.IMPERF-want 3s=GEN RECI-disturb.VN
 I don’t want to disturb him.

‘look for, seek, want’ *hurrú*

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

‘regret’ *m-égrəz*

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

‘intend’ *yíyəl*

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

- (116) *aɣa=yyíɣəl* *Mənəka* *n* *kó* *bí*
 1s=intend name.LOC GEN go.VN yesterday
məffín *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* *ɲá*
 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=sé-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) ayáy* (anger 3s=enter.into 1s) ‘I am angry.’

Examples with *s-ínnihil* ‘do/be very much’

- (120) a) *t-a-záyan-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) *aya=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
téffak á-ffayal se
 tomorrow SG-work DAT
 children, you should leave very early tomorrow morning
 for work.
- f) *álham a-ss-ínnihil ayáy 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-məsli a=hínjin áa-se gérɾaz-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) aya=hínjin báaya.*
 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-ələzləz *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-júgu* *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 |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>káy</i> | to stop | <i>káy X ka</i> | to trample |
| | | <i>káy X be</i> | to withhold |
| <i>fúl-ət</i> | to reinforce (well) | <i>fúl-ət X be</i> | 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 |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>yilkám X se</i> | follow sb. |
| <i>yímmay X se</i> | search for sth. |
| <i>góoday X se</i> | thank (God) |

<i>mo X se</i>	hear sth.
<i>f-íffim X se</i>	listen to sth.
<i>f-íggid X se</i>	wait for sb./sth.

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

(125)	<i>Verb with different interpretation</i>			
	verb	gloss	syntax	gloss
	<i>yírəz</i>	be let down	<i>yírəz X se</i>	(God) bless X

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

(126) a)	<i>a=íffí-híffil</i>	<i>áa=se hawru</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>bén</i>
	3s=CAUS-oblige	3s=DAT meal	GEN	finish.VN
	she made him finish the meal.			
b)	<i>a=ss-égmi</i>	<i>áa=s(e)</i>	<i>a-mámel</i>	
	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)	<i>Reciprocal verbs</i>			
	verb	gloss	syntax	gloss

<i>hangá</i>	pass	<i>hang(á) ənda X</i>	accompany X
<i>sáawa</i>	look alike	<i>sáaw(a) ənda X</i>	look like X
<i>m-éqqəs</i>	meet	<i>m-éqqəs ənda X</i>	meet X
<i>s-əgdá</i>	be equal	<i>s-əgd(á) ənda X</i>	equal X
<i>zəláy</i>	be different	<i>zəláy ənda X</i>	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-səsira* *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-ṅgud* *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
<i>ná</i>	give	<i>na X [Y se]</i>	give X to Y
<i>záw</i>	take	<i>zaw X [Y se]</i>	take X to Y

<i>hár</i>	tell	<i>har X [Y se]</i>	tell X to Y
<i>dá</i>	do	<i>da X [Y se]</i>	do X to Y
<i>cí</i>	say	<i>ci [Y se] "..."</i>	say to Y "..."
<i>gangá</i>	keep from	<i>gangá X [Y se]</i>	keep X from Y
<i>s-ékən</i>	show	<i>s-ékən X [Y se]</i>	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-sé-mməllət Fāti 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) ay=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-ss-éwər* *ée-ɣar* *i-kád-en*
 3s=CAUS-put.on.BND SG-pot PL-fireplace-PL
 she put the pot on the fireplace.
- b) *a-ss-éwər* *íi-s(e)* *ée-ɣar*
 3s=CAUS-put.on.BND 3p=DAT SG-pot
 she put the pot on it.
- c) *a-ss-éwər=a* *i-kád-en*
 3s=CAUS-put.on.BND=3s PL-fireplace-PL
 she put it on the fireplace.
- (131) a) *a-b-s-éləl* *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-éləl* *íi-se* *gánda*
 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow 3p=DAT earth
 he puts a fine coat of earth on them.
- c) *a-b-s-éləl=a* *kuur-én*
 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-follow=3s skin-PL
 he puts it on the skins.
- d) *a-b-s-éləl* *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-éwəŋ* *bárr-en* *farká*
 3s=CAUS-mount.BND child-PL donkey
 she made the children mount the donkey.
- b) *a=ss-éwəŋ* *íi-se* *farká*
 3s=CAUS-mount.BND 3p=DAT donkey
 she made them mount the donkey.
- c) *a=ss-éwəŋ=a* *bárr-en*
 3s=CAUS-mount.BND child-PL
 she made the children mount it.
- d) *a=ss-éwəŋ* *íi-se* *n* *a*
 3s=CAUS-mount.BND 3p=DAT SEP 3s
 she made them mount it.

(133) *Verbs with two unmarked nominal complements*

<i>ʃ-éwər</i>	to put on
<i>s-é/əl</i>	to put finely on
<i>s-éwəŋ</i>	to make mount
<i>f-ínək</i>	to make mount
<i>s-íci</i>	to make go past
<i>ʃ-érəʃ</i>	to make ford
<i>s-éss-əgəd</i>	to make jump over
<i>s-əŋgər</i>	to put behind
<i>sá-nnahal</i>	to make reach straight

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

- (134) *aʎa-zz-úguz a-ʃignaw a-ná-zmay 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) *aʎa-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 [aʎa=n gá].*
 3s₁=attach 3s₁=GEN self
 s/he attached her/himself.
- b) *i=háw [i=n j-én].*
 3p₁=attach 3p₁=GEN self-PL
 they attached themselves.
- c) *aʎa=háw [aʎa=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=kkúuɖ=a*
 3s_i=GEN self DAT 3s_i=tend.flock=3s
 it's for his own (benefit) he tends it (flock).
- c) *ʔ-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 alístaylal*
 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) *ayá=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=yyílmən áa=ka
 3p-guarantee 3s=LOC
 the car owners themselves guarantee it.
- e) *...ayáy (ə)nd(a) ayá=n gá ayá=yyahór*
 1s.EMP with 1s=GEN self 1s=be.worth
t-a-féngəl-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-ṅgud a=hímay tuw-yén.*
 F-SG-girl 3s=wash eating.bowl-PL
 a/the girl washed the bowls.
- b) *t-a-ṅgud 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* *ayáy.*
 charcoal 3s=burn-DUP 1s
 a/the charcoal burnt me.
- b) *aya-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.

$$V_{DO} + DO_{\text{referential}}-S^{V_{cc}}$$

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.

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

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.

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

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) *dís=a a=m-kó*
 let=3s₁ 3s₁=SUBJ-leave
 let him leave!

- b) *andə=tə-dís* *ayáy*
 2p=FUT-let 1s
aya=m-d(á) ándi s(e) a-səstən 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: he₁ said he₁ would arrive)
- b) *a=ccí* *a=m-hangá* *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-mízar* *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-sə-ss-əyr(a)=i.*
 3s₁=think 3s₂=IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-learn=3p₃
 he₁ thought he₂ would teach them₃.

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) *aʎa=mm(o) i=s(e) i=f-tén.*
 1s=hear 3p=DAT 3p=IMPERF-arrive
 I heard them arrive.
- b) *aʎa=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) *aʎa=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) *aʎa=ggun(á)=i i=b-didá.*
 1s=see=3p 3p=IMPERF-walk
 I saw them leave.

'perceive' *yogá*

- (147) *aʎa=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 íngi káamil.*
 3s=find=3p 3p=cut 3p.EMP all
 He found them (ears) all cut.
- c) *i-ss-əwən i=n táyni*
 3p=CAUS-share 3p=GEN date
i-ggár=a dáalib 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-fík(a) ánga 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-ɲgud a=sə-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.

tégor '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-ttégor i-b-nín i-ka*
 person-PL some-PL 3p=begin 3p=IMPERF-drink 3p=LOC
 some begin to drink from it.
- b) *...ən-ttégor ni-bb-eerí*
 2s=begin 2p=IMPERF-vomit
 ...you begin to vomit.
- c) *igdá a-ttégor a-múnsu a-b-díydi*
 because 3s=begin SG-food 3s=IMPERF-get.into
bor-én ən í-ffan-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=yyiym(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.*
 3s₁=NEG.IMPERF-can 3s₁=IMPERF-pierce=3s₂
 it₁ (tool) cannot pierce it₂ (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* *émməs-kábahar* *i-mmó* *sa*
 man-PL DEM.NEAT 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.

- 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) ayo n əṇgám
 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’ *báaya*

- (154) a) *aya=bbáaya sa aḡ=tə-d(á) ana t-a-néfus-t.*
 1s=want COMP 1s=FUT-do 2s.DAT F-SG-story-F.SG
 I want to tell you a story.
- b) *a=bbáaya sa (ə)n=tə-n(á)áa-s(e) a-ḡáanib.*
 3s=want COMP 2s=FUT-give 3s=DAT SG-pencil
 he wants you to give him a pencil.
- c) *aya=bbáaya sa (ə)n=sə-kó*
 3s=want COMP 2s=NEG.IMPERF-leave
 I would like you not to leave.
- d) *aḡ=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’ *yílzəm* 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) *aséeñat a=yyílzəm borá t-oo-lás-t*
 health 3s=be.necessary person F-SG-do.again-F.SG
s(a) a=tə-z-əzdəḡ ay=n t-áa-ḡəssa
 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) *aya=yyasák s(a) a-tə-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(i)*
 child-PL 3p=prefer COMP 3p=FUT-sleep
i=n nan-én ən áasi-tan ka.
 3p=GEN mother-PL GEN belly.side-PL LOC
 children prefer to sleep against the belly of their mothers.

‘be sure’ *káw affak* (lit: ‘to take out doubt’)

- (159) a) *əndánga wiji sa (ə)n=tə-káw affak*
 if is.not COMP 2s=FUT-take.out doubt
sa ni=ss-əýrəd ni=n t-ə-kəɖdaw
 COMP 2s=CAUS-be.complete 2s=GEN F-PL-letter
 except when you are sure that you have assembled your
 papers
- b) *káw affak s(a) a=ttén*
 take.out doubt COMP 3s=arrive
 be assured that he has arrived!
- c) *wa (ə)n=sə-káw affak 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 áttama*

- (160) *har i=kkaw áttama*
 until 3p=take.out hope
s(a) i-séftar i=tə-tén í=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) *gélək 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 *hurru*, 'look for', can be translated 'try' when it is followed by a complement clause.

- (163) *aya=b-hurru s(a) ay=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 aya=yyordá s(a) aya=n*
 RESUME 1s=think COMP 1s=GEN
t-a-nəfus-t ánga n(e) áyda
 F-SG-story-F.SG 3S.EMP place DEM.PROX
 well, I think that this was my story.
 b) *aya=yyordá s(a) a=tə-tén zérooda*
 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*
 3s₁=have-with COMP 3s₁=FUT-kill=3s₂
 s/he ought to kill it.

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

‘have the means to’ *kun-enda* (lit: ‘find with’)

- (166) a) *aya=kkun-enda s(a) ay=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-enda*
 1p=NEG.PERF-find-with
s(a) ar=tə-f-ífu 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-əmm-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) ízy-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) aya-ddébət*
 3s=lack COMP 1s=be.able
 I can't any more.
- b) *a=yyíryəd 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 *híffil* '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=híffil ayáy s(a) ay=tə-kó á-yrəm.*
 3s=oblige 1s COMP 1s=FUT-go SG-town
 I must go to town.
- b) *a=híffil=a s(a) a=tə-kó á-yrəm.*
 3s=oblige=3s COMP 3s=FUT-go SG-town
 he must go to town.
- c) *a=híffil áa-ka dá s(a) ánga dá*
 3s=oblige 3s=LOC INT COMP 3s.EMP INT
a=tə-da hé (a)yo 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-éstən* 'to ask' and *sé-mm-ədrən* 'to reflect on'. *kud dá* 'if (at all)' rarely occurs in the same context.

- (170) a) *aya=b-sé-mm-ədrən kúd a=ttén mey*
 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* *feddí 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) ayáy* (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* *əmməs-kábahar* *ni=m-hurr(ú)* *áa=ka*
 person perhaps-when 2s=SUB-look.for 3s=LOC
t-a-rásway-t háaʃi kud (dá)
 F-SG-clothing-F.SG look if (INT)
áng(a) ənd(a) ay=n gá
 3s.EMP with 3s=GEN self

ay *báar(a)* *ay=n* *jínjì*
 DET be 3s=GEN neck
kud *á=mmay* *t-a-rásway-t* *wal(a)*
 if 3s=own F-SG-clothing-F.SG or
a=sé=mmay *t-i-zzár-t* *nì=bb-éñsi.*
 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* *day* ‘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 *ji* (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-buyán-t* *[feejì zen-zen-án]*
 F-SG-old.sheep-F.SG sheep be.old-DUP-ADJZR
 ‘*tabuyant*’ is an old sheep.
- b) *[aya=n bér] moofí*
 1s=GEN older.sibling teacher
 my older brother is a teacher.

- c) *áari* *ɟammúf*
 1p.EMP five
 we are/were five (people).
- d) *íngi* *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) *aya=n* *báarar* *íizace* *wiji t-á-ɲgud*
 1s=GEN child boy is.not F-SG-girl
 my child is a boy, not a girl.
- b) *wiji t-á-ɲgud* *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 ɟaamú* *aya=kkás?*
 QST slave 1s=become
 am I a slave? / have I become a slave?
- b) *ay=n* *a-séstan* *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) *ánɡa dá a=nə-kás ar=n á-ffayal.*
 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-barányaw-t ayó (a)yda a=tə-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	<i>né</i>	
proximal	<i>náani</i>	<i>níina</i>
distal	<i>nóo-se</i>	<i>níi-se</i>

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...?' (*maana*) 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 *ayo* 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. *ayónda-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 *əngám* ‘instant’ and indicates ‘past in time’ (e.g. *əngám-a-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) *aya=n húgu nóo-(a-)se*
 1s=GEN house there-3s-there
 my house is (over) there.
- b) *ni=n t-é-mgad-an íngi 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 (ii) 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 émmək ayo 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=ʃí*
 sugar 3s=not.be
 there is no sugar.

- b) *ary-én* *i=ʃʃi*
 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=ʃʃi*.

Both *báara* and *ʃi* 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 *wértilla* '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 *wértilla* is different from that of phrases with *ʃi*. The particle precedes the negated noun similar to the negation of identity shown above (example (174)).

- (184) *iddá əmməs-kábahar* *wértilla* *alxér*
 because maybe-when there.is.not peace
 wértilla *kúd,* *wértilla* *habá*
 there.is.not pasture.VN there.is.not harvest.VN
 wértilla *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-mízar asénda]*
 3S=be F-PL-old.camp DEM.FAR
 she is/was in that old camp.
- d) *a-másloy a=f-keed(i)=a*
 SG-saddle.blanket 3s=IMPERF-be.on=3s
 the/a saddle blanket is on it (camel).
- e) *ceed(i) 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) ayáy 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) *díng(á) á=báar(a) ayay*
 forgetfulness 3s=be.in 1s
 I am forgetful (Lit: forgetfulness is in me).
- b) *gorgor-én i=báar(a) ánga*
 laughter-PL 3p=be.in 3s.EMP
 it is amusing. (Lit: laughs 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-mṇəs ay(o) óoda a-xérrəm a=f-keed(i)=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 *fi* '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=ffi néeda da sénda.*
 3s=not.be here INT there.
 it is neither here nor there.
- b) *T-óoruf-t ary-én i=ffi=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-zrəf a=ffi(i) ayáy 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=sé-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 ayáy*
 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(i) ay(o) óoda?*
 who have sheep DET DEM.NEAR
 who owns this sheep?

A: *ay=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	<i>wiji</i> + N
existence	N + <i>báara</i> 'be'	N + <i>ʃí</i> / <i>wártilla</i> + N
location	<i>báara</i> + L 'be in' <i>keedí</i> + L 'be (high) on' <i>keení</i> + L <i>ka</i> 'lie on'	<i>ʃí</i> + L
possessive	<i>máy</i> 'have'	NEG- <i>may</i>

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 *ayo* '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, *ayo* can be accompanied by a demonstrative, e.g. *i-tə-húur(u) a-múnsu ay(o) óoda ni-ηηá...* (3s=FUT-enter SG-food DET DEM 2s=eat) 'it (left over food) will enter into the food (that) you eat...'.¹

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

Two analyses come to one's mind here. In the first analysis, *ayo* '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 *ayo* '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 *ayo* '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 *ayo* 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 <i>ayo</i> [RC]
	indefinite	head noun [RC]
analysis 2	definite	head noun [<i>ayo</i> RC]
	indefinite	head noun [RC]

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

	<i>nə-/ən-</i>
DET	demonstratives
DET.PL	postpositions
	<i>sa</i>

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 *ayo*.

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) ayo [tṭáw-kat néeda]*
 person DET reach-VEN here
 the person who arrived here
- b) *i-múnas-kon ayondo [zzumbu řáli daw]*
 PL-camel-owner.PL DET.PL go.down prop.name LOC
 the camel riders who dismounted at Rhali's (place)

- c) *bor(á) ayo [f-keedí t-á-ylam-t]*
 person DET IMPERF-be.up F-SG-riding.camel-F.SG
 the person who is riding the camel
- d) *a-3áazib [dá f-íkfid]*
 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-fkar ən 3íibi]
 SG-nail GEN dirt
 something that is the size of the dirt under your nail
- (198) a) *aarú ayo [nə-nə-hunú húgu daw]*
 man DET EXM-NEG.PERF-leave house LOC
 the man who did not leave from home.
- b) *aaru ayo [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)yo [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-zúbara nn éejam]*
 SG-warthog GEN fat
[ən-tə-huur(ú) ay=n t-í-nzar] 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-nə-hina húllən]*
 meat EXM-NEG.PERF-cook much
 (he eats) meat that is not well cooked.
- h) *lyyá [cíidaw ən hé fó] [nə-nə-faʔər]*
 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) *ájjayal ayo [aya=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 ayondó*
 PL-meal-PL DET.PL
[aya=b-fúr-an ándi se Ø]
 1s=IMPERF-throw-ALL 2p DAT
 the food that I threw to you
- c) *almitál ay(o) óoda [ay=tə-har andi se Ø]*
 example DET DEM.NEAR 1s=FUT-tell 2p DAT
 this example that I will tell you
- d) *he (a)γ(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-néfus-t [[ayá-n bab(a)*
 F-SG-deed-F.SG 1s=GEN father
ayo zéen-i] a-ddá Ø].
 DET be.old-ADJZR 3s=do
 a courageous deed that my grandfather did...
- f) *a-kárfay [a=kkun(á) áa=ka Ø] a=jjí 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 ayo [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 ángu ayo*
 3s=return 3p=GEN place DET
[k(a) i=yyízday].
 LOC 3p=live
 he returned to the(ir) place in which they live.
- c) *záyri ayo [ká ni=ss-ábdəd=i ayá=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 ay(o) óoda [ka a=bbáaya s(a)*
 moment DET DEM.NEAR LOC 3s=want COMP
a=tə-məʔtəkwi]
 3s=FUT-move.on
 the (precise) moment (when) he wanted to move on...
- e) *bídaw ayo sénda [k(a)*
 canister DET DEM.FAR LOC
ary-én i=f-t-éwi-yan ii=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 banjú ayo [b(e) a=zzumbú]*
 3s=GEN head DET LOC 3s=descend
 her head on which it (bird) landed
- g) *a-ɣázar ayo*
 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-zóχ*]
 thing LOC PL-country 3p=IMPERF-fight
 a thing about which countries fight
- j) *t-á-ηgud* [*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*, *ayo* is always present.

- (202) a) *əmmək* *ayo* [*(ə)nda* *ay=tə-dá=a*].
 manner DET with 1s=FUT-do=3s
 how I am going to do it. (Lit: manner with which...)
- b) *t-á-şşuð* *ayo* [*(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) *ittilla hé* [*nín aa=ka*] *yeer-án* *ənd(a)*
 each thing drink 3s=LOC vomiting-PL and
a-fíbuku *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 *ji* 'not be'. Relativization of such terms typically has the RC separate from the head noun by the existential verb:

- (204) *[bor(a) a=ffí] [má y i-múnas]*
 person 3s=be.not own PL-camels
əndáŋga wíj(i) l-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=ffí] [yáhal s(a) a-tə-mán-kaat=a]...*
 thing 3s=be.not dare COMP 3s=FUT-approach-VEN=3s
 nobody dared to approach it.... (Lit: a thing is not that
 dared...)

The Tamasheq negative existential *wértilla* '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 *wértilla*, the determiner *ayo* is present, even though the referent is indefinite. Note that EXM is present under the same conditions as discussed above.

- (206) a) *aya=bbáy sa wértill(a) á-mṇəs ayo*
 1s-know COMP there.is.not SG-camel DET
[bb-azúurag t-ə-séeyay-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) *wértilla bor(á) ayo [(ə)n-sə=bun]*
 there.is.not person DET EXM-NEG.IMPERF=die
 Nobody is immortal.
- c) *wértill(a) ayo [bbáaya s(a) ay=n*
 there.is.not DET want COMP 3s=GEN
t-a-músek-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, *ayo* never

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

- (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-bbáaya]?*
 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) ánga].*
 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-hóoyay].*
 until here LOC 3p=spend.day
 ...until there where they spent the day.
- c) *né [k(a) ary-én i-kkáy] waf-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 *ayo* are considered ungrammatical, i.e., **nin ayo 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
1 st	<i>ayay nóo-da</i>	<i>áari nóo-da</i>
2 nd	<i>nín nó(o-da)</i>	<i>ándi nó(o-da)</i>
3 rd	<i>ánga nó(o-da)</i>	<i>íngi nó</i>

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) *ayáy nóo-da [jáy ana]*
 1s.EMP there-INT help 2s.DAT
aya-bbáaya ní=n jáy 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 ayáy]ən-tə-kó kássaw*
 2s.EMP there hit 1s.O 2s-FUT-go prison
 you who hit me will go to prison.
- c) *ánga nó [b-záy]*
 3s.EMP there IMPERF-steal
ánga záy a=kkeedí.
 3s.EMP steal.VN 3s-be.on
 he who steals, he is accused of stealing.
- d) *áari nóo-da [bb-éfyəl] ar=sə-ηá.*
 1p.EMP there-INT IMPERF-work 1p-NEG.IMPERF-eat
 we who are working don't eat.
- e) *ándi nó [b-ηá] andə-sə-yífyəl.*
 2p.EMP there IMPERF-eat 2p-NEG.IMPERF-work
 (and) you who eat are not working.
- f) *íngi nó [kun(á) á-ŋaŋal]*
 3p.EMP there find SG-work
íngi 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 záyri a=tə-ŋá i-múŋas ijjá].
 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) *Idéeləman dáy ka s(a)*
 loc.name too LOC COMP
[a=yyagór t-ə-mə-zday].
 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 *-fi* (see more examples in 4.5.2.1).

- (213) *a=mmáy ay=n izacén-an kaaṛáḍ*
 3=own 3s=GEN young.man-PL three
sa [a-ffó a=fi=i
 COMP SG-one 3s=be.not=3p
[b-déeraw a-ffó (ə)nda naná]].
 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 *ayo* 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 iizac(e) ayo*
 3s=look-ALL young.man DET
s(a) [ánga 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 əndayo*
 3s=FUT-help person-PL DET.PL
s(a) [íngi 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 ayo*
 woman OPP DET
sa [t-a-cídaw-t a=b-s-əkn(á) aṛméni]
 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-f-íjken-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) *banjú [s(a) ay=n míy(a) a=yyibrár]*
 well COMP 3s=GEN mouth 3s=be.bad
waf-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) émmək ayó (ə)nda ar=tə-guná*
 where manner DET with 1p=FUT-see
[wáy báar(a) i-3ínn-an],
 woman be.in PL-sky-PL
s(a) [ay=n húgu a=f-keedí t-a-záyan-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) *aya-ggun(a) a-3áazib s(a)*
 1s=see SG-phantom COMP
[ay=n mó-(e)n húur(u) a=b-d(á) ii=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) *aya-ggun(a) [a-3áazib dá f-ík|d] 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) ayáy t-á-nəfus-t ayə*
 well do 1s.IO F-SG-story-F.SG DET
sa [ni-bbáay(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 ay=nə-mó*
 once 1s=NEG.IMPERF-hear
t-a-səwəl-t ən táatab 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) *áy=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-məzzur-an.
 PL-horse.dropping-PL
 he served them nothing but droppings.

- b) *a=yyába s(a) aya=b-guná har*
 3s=lack COMP 1S=IMPERF-see until
í=n hanj-én ənd(a) i=n t-ə-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-fédda 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 íiget a-sé-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 wértilla jé hár s(a)*
 3s=say there.is.not only until COMP
a=tə-yíŋkəm 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 aɣ=nə-guná hár Mənəka.*
 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 Mənəka 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=sə-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- *jeddí* ~ *ceddí* 'not yet'

The particle *jeddí* ~ *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 *jeddí* is translated into English by 'not yet', e.g.

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

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

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

4.6.6 Negative constructions with *jí* and *wértilla*

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 *ʃʃ* 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-éli-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) *aya-gguná borá*
 3s=see person
 I saw somebody.
- b) *ay=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 *ʃi*. Any comment following 'nobody' is a relative clause modifying 'person'.

- (233) a) *bor(á) a=ʃi*
 person 3s=be.not
 there is no person = nobody
- b) *[bor(á) a=ʃi] máy i-múnas*
 person 3s=be.not own PL-camel
ənd-ánga wij(i) l-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=ʃi] léelaw ənd(a)=á.*
 person 3s=be.not talk with=3s
 nobody talks with him.

4.6.6.2 wértilla '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 *wértilla* conveys 'nothing' and 'nobody', respectively. As with the *ʃi* copula, these are pragmatically strongly marked entities.

- (234) a) *wértilla he b-máazal...*
 there.is.not thing IMPERF-be.sent
 there is nothing that happens...
- b) *wértilla borá nə=mmáay=a har*
 there.is.not person FOC=OWN=3s until
ándi nó báara(=a?) yízday 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.

wértilla sometimes takes a complement clause.

- (235) *wértilla s(a) alhakúmat a-kkó*
 there.is.not COMP government 3s-go
(ə)nd(a) a-hándag káamil
 with SG-place all
ənd-ánga wij(i) 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 *jí, a=jjí* *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) *ánga s(a) a-mənóokal.*
 3S.EMP COMP SG-ruler
 it was him who was the chief.
- b) *áa-har / ák ánga 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* *dáy* / *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-báyor-t*
 3s.EMP COMP 3s=of F-SG-wealth-F.SG
hé yíyləl-an
 thing be.eternal-ADJR
 (earth) it's this its very own wealth, (it is) a thing that lasts.
- e) *lǝéeləman* / *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=ssə-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 sǝgni 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) *ayá=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-mmiz(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 / íngi dá / h(e) a=ffí*
 PL-INST-live_i 3p.EMP_i INT thing 2s=not.be
(ə)n-tə-s-ésñ(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 / ánga dá / a-báar(a) addéwəl fó.*
 horse.saddle_i 3s.EMP_i INT 3s_i=be country one
 As for the saddle, it was in another country.
- c) *t-é-mgad-an / íngi dá / íngi kaarád*
 F-PL-girl-PL_i 3p.EMP_i INT 3p.EMP_i three
 As for the girls, they were three.
- (240) a) *ayáy nóo-da aya-bb-ogá huurú...*
 1s.EMP there-INT 1s=IMPERF-perceive fire
 I here, I see a fire (in the distance)...
- b) *ayá=n nana nin nóo-da ní=n mó...*
 1s=GEN mother 2s.EMP there-INT 2s=GEN face
 my mother, you there, your face ...
- c) *s(a) ánga nóo-da a-dding(á)-an*
 COMP 3s.EMP there-INT 3s=forget-ALL
áy=n kərtəba banqu bé
 3s=GEN trousers well LOC
 (he remembered) that, he there, he (had) forgot(ten) his trousers at the well.
- d) *i-kúufar íngi 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-ŋágad* /
 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-šátək* *ar=n* *i-bíyaɣ* *i-ddá*
 SG-be.dried.up 1p=GEN PL-water.skin 3p-do
zérooda *a=ss-érmaɣ* *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=ttáaw=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-fəlcéqu* *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) *ay=sə-hurrú* *taym-én*
 1s=NEG.IMPERF-look.for sandal-PL
 í-səlsa *aya=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) *ayáy nə=b-d(á)-a* *ay=n* *t-í-nzar* *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=yyílmən=a*.
 2s.EMP FOC=promise=3s
 it's you who promised it.
- c) *ánga* *nə=hun(ú)* *adínit* *jinjiná*
 3s.EMP FOC=leave.from world first
 it's him who died first.
- d) *ánga 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) *ánga* *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) *íngi nə-ssúr=a mán ayo 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) *ánga (ə)n-tə-soorá cígooda.*
 3s.EMP FOC=FUT-milk tonight
 it's her who will milk tonight.
- (245) a) *baarí n í-fkar-an nə-şş-əŋkəṛ-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 ayáy*
 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* *aya-kkár.*
 3s.EMP 1s=hit
 it's him I hit.
- b) *nín* *aya-gguná*
 2s.EMP 1s=see
 it's you I saw.
- c) *taym-én* *aya-bbáaya*
 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) *ayáy /* *nín* *s(e)* *aya-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* *aya-f-cí*
 is.not 2s.EMP DAT 1s=IMPERF-say
bor-én *ayonda-nó yóru* *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=ŋf-ínf(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-ékkələl* *har...*
 3s.EMP LOC 3s=CAUS-cry until
 in it (moment) [focus] it (bird) cried until...
- c) *ní=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) *ánga be komín-tan i-ddá*
 3s.EMP LOC commune-PL 3p=make
 because of that [focus] communes are made.
- f) *ándi daw ay-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 *ayo* 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-ṣ-may ayó (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)yo 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 / áng(a) ənda*
 pricker 3s.EMP with
bor-én i-bb-əṣwál 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-ǰǰaɣal* 'work' < *yíɣɣəl* '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) *yíɣɣəl* *aya=bb-éɣɣəl*
 work 1s=IMPERF-work
 I am WORKING.
- b) *t-á-ngud* *ná* *ayo* *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=ǰǰí* *kun(á)* *áari* *ɲá* *ar-sə-ɲá*
 thing 3s=not.be find 1p eat 1p=NEG.IMPERF-eat
 we are not ill, (but) we do not EAT.
- e) *ak* *nín* *dáɣal* *ní=ddaryal?*
 QST 2s.EMP be.blind 2s=be.blind
 as for you, are you totally blind?
- f) *t-é-mgad-ən* *asénda*
 F-PL-girl-PL DEM.FAR
kəɣəkəɖ *i-sə-kəɣəkəɖ.*
 have.shame 3p=NEG.IMPERF-have.shame
 those girls, they have no shame at all.
- g) *báy* *lam* *ay-sə-báy* *émmək* *ayó(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 aya=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) *təffak ar-tə-məqqəs 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 méy anǵálos?*
 2s jinn or angel
 are you a jinn or an angel?
- b) *i-bóray-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=ηηá nín*
 QST F-SG-knife-F.SG FOC=eat 2s
 is it a knife that cut you?
- c) *igán taamú 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*
- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ci</i> | who/what |
| <i>man (+ ná)</i> | 'where' (< Songhay) |
| <i>man + N</i> | '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 cliticized 3s pronoun *=a* (or rarely *an̄ga*, the independent pronoun), or the DET marker *ayo* 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) *ci mmáay=a*
 what own=3s
 to whom does he belong? (Lit: who owns him?)
 = who is he?
- b) *ci bb-éddar=a*
 what IMPERF-hold=3s
 who is married to her?
- c) *ci (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) *ci n(á)=a*
 what be=3s
 what's wrong? (lit: what is it?)
- b) *aséeñat ci n(á)(=a?)*
 health what be(=3s?)
 health, what is it?

- c) *aaru ayo 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)γ(o) óoda?*
 what be thing DET DEM.NEAR
 what is this (thing)?
- e) *cí ná didá ayo a-ddébət?*
 what be walk.VN DET 3s=can
 what (kind of) walking can it (tick) (do)?

cí ná with *ayo* as the pronominal element always asks for a human referent. This conglomerate *ná ayo* (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 ayo ss-égmi-kat ana*
 what be/OPP DET CAUS-send.BND-VEN 2s.DAT
cíidaw ay(o) óoda?
 bird DET DEM.NEAR
 who sent you to get this bird?
- b) *ci ná ayo ni-gguná sénda ka*
 what be/OPP DET 2s=see DEM.FAR LOC
 whom did you see there?
- c) *cí ná ayo (ə)nd(a) i-b-hangá*
 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 *ayo* stands for a human referent.

- (262) a) *cí n(a) íi=ka hó ni=bbáaya*
 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) ayo se ni=nn(á) á-zrəf*
 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 *cí* precedes the inflected verb immediately. This seems to be an abbreviated version of *cí ná hó* 'what'.

- (263) *c(i) ándə=yyasák bangú méy 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-f-injá...*
 what be thing.DEBR LOC 1p=FUT-CAUS-lay.down.BND...
 on what will we lay down ... (our child)
- b) *cí ná hó be ní=b-zóγ*
 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(i) 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 ayo 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 ní-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 aya=b-záw-kat ándi se*
 where.close thing.DEBR 1s-IMPERF-take-VEN 2p DAT
 where is what I bring you (regularly)?
- d) *maaná ní-n á-ʃʃayal ən t-ə-nfa*
 where.close 2s=GEN SG-work GEN F-SG-use
 what is the usefulness of your work?
- e) *ay(o) óoda za t-a-náfus-t*
 DET DEM.NEAR LC F-SG-story-F.SG
maan(á) áy=n almáʃna
 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-əzday*
 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) aya=ttánga-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-bé-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-báɣnaw-t* /measure GEN F-SG-old.donkey-SG.F/ ‘what a clumsy person’). *man ícet* is either used as a modifier 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 émmək ayo (ə)nda 'how?'*

The first two elements of this construction are from Tamasheq. In Tadaksahak *man émmək* is obligatorily followed by the definite marker and *ənda* 'with'. This is syntactically a relative clause with *émmək* as the modified head. Literally this means 'where is the manner with which...' followed by a fully inflected verb.

- (270) a) *man émmək ayó (ə)nda*
 which manner DET with
ar-tə-nə-m-anya ənda bəkáw-yan?
 1p=FUT-RECI-RECI-kill.BND with jinn-PL
 how are we going to fight the jinns?
- b) *man émmək ayó (ə)nda*
 which manner DET with
ay-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) *Ayo 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=ddiis=a (ə)nd(a) áa-har*
 3s=let=3s with SG-lion
məffín 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) *Aya=n t-a-nəfus-t za / əs-káhar*
 1s=GEN F-SG-story-F.SG LC maybe-when
aya=dd(á)-á ana...
 1s=do=3s 2s.DAT
 So my story, if I tell it to you...
- b) *dəffér za hó sé...*
 after LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR
 So after that...

- c) ...*a-ttén* *ənda t-a-kárɗaʃ-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, exactly’ intensification

In order to emphasize in a positive way, *da* INT can be cliticized to NPs, independent pronouns, verbs, the conjunction *məffín* ‘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-túwayr(a) ənda Taláatayt] da*
 thing DET-IMPERF-PAS-call.BND with loc.name DIC
 káamil...
 all
 really all that is called T. ...
- b) *ingí káamil d(a) ékn-an*
 3p.EMP all DIC twin-PL
 izácen-an asénd(a) iffá
 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) *məffín dá aṭṭaalib a-kkás alwalí*
 but DIC student 3s=become seer
 dəffér 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 Tadasahak. 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=háaši=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-rézeg 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-zéray*
 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-záyan a=ss-oytá...*
 until only SG-ray 3s=CAUS-upright.BND
 as soon as it was dawn...
- b) *sa jé intáynawt a=gguná-kat ánga...*
 when only jackal 3s=see-VEN 3s.EMP
 as soon as Jackal saw him coming...

4.7.4.5 *day, harkíd* 'in addition, too'

The particle *day* '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. /day/ (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 day t-órf-in ən kó-(e)n*
 3s=be too FE-car-PL GEN owner-PL
 there are also the car owners.
- b) *day 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=yyírşək 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 ánga 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-é-kma harkíd ay=n*
 2p.EMP 3s=GEN F-PL-evil also 3s=GEN
t-éñfa a=f-táw.
 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 inɣín aɣ=wáni...*
 sheep DET DEM.NEAR like 2s=of
 this sheep is like mine...
- b) *a-ddá gíman aɣ(o) óoda k(a) inɣín 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 inɣín 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 *inɣín* 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=kkúɖ áy=n almán
 or place DEM.PROX LOC 3s=herd 3s=GEN herd
har á=dda t-a-báyor-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-fíbuk(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) *émməs-kábahar ni=bbáaya ní=n caráy*
 maybe-when 2s=love 2s=GEN friend
wala ni=bbáaya ní=n céena
 or 2s=love 2s=GEN younger.sibling
wala ní=n a-fáqay...
 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 *mey* includes a large piece of text about 'harming oneself by bad behavior'. After a concluding clause the speaker takes off again:

- (282) *mey 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) *ay=tə-dáy-an aya=n t-óoruf-t*
 1s=FUT-deal-ALL 1s=GEN F-car-F.SG
 aya=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 daazí i=mm-éfrəd=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 ayay áa-har har aya=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) *aya=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-ttégor a-munsu a-b-díydi*
 because 3s=begin SG-meal 3s=IMPERF-penetrate
bor-én ən í-ffan-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-bbáaya s(a) a-tə-yíyder ná ayo*
 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-ηη(á)-í
 3s=eat-3p
 he wanted to betray the other one because he had
 finished his children and eaten them.
- c) *i-ssá-nn-əlbəḍ-a iddá ná ayo n*
 3p=CAUS-RECI-be.added=3s because OPP DET GEN
kud-én i-ddá ná ayo 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) *tanéfust ay(o) óoda ánga néeda*
 F-SG-story-F.SG DET DEM.NEAR 3S.EMP here
hé bé (a)-ttén sa
 thing LOC 3s=arrive COMP
surgóy a-ssə-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 ay(o) óoda ay=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(i)=á tugúdu ka hé ká*
 2s=SUBJ-hang=3s tree LOC thing LOC
hánfi (a)=sə-táaw=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-méyiter hé ká ni=ddá*
 2s=FUT-lack.money thing LOC 2s=put
tállá ka ni=n afággar
 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-yíyfid=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)* *ayá=n* *cáy* *a=ddígdig*
 with 1s=GEN leg 3s=be.broken
a=bb-aşór *ayáy.*
 3s=IMPERF-hurt 1s
 when my leg is broken, it hurts (me).

b) *íttilla ənd(a)* *a=mmán̄na*
 each with 3s=be.without.grass
ándi h(e) ad(i) a=tə-dár
 2p thing ANA 3s=FUT-suffer
ənda suub(ú) *a=dd(a)* *áa=ka*
 with straw 3s=put 3s=LOC
ándi h(e) ad(i) 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)* *átrif* *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-ŋɪŋ(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, *əndánga* and *nánga*. 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.

əndánga is composed of the morphemes *ənda ánga*, i.e. /with + 3s.EMPL/ 'with it'. Similar to the *ənda* clauses treated above, the *əndánga* 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 ánga* is not attested in the perfective aspect but imperfect and future are found.

- (290) *aya=n haw(ú) óoda*
 1s=GEN COW DEM.NEAR
əndánga aarú a=tə-háy ay=tə-dumb(ú)=a
 if man 3s=FUT-give.birth 1s=FUT-cut=3s
əndánga wáy ay=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).

əndánga 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 *nánga* with *wiji*.

- (291) a) ...*hé* (*a*)=*sə-káaw=i* *ay=n* *kám̐ba* *ka*
 thing 3s=NEG.IMPERF-take=3p 3s=GEN hand LOC
əndán̐ga wiji t-a-kár̐das-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])...
 ...*nán̐ga 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!)
nán̐ga ní-b-díní ní=n á-z̐rəf dá
 if 2s=IMPERF-take 2s=GEN SG-money DIC
dín(i)=á nán̐ga ən=sə-dín(i)=a dá
 take=3s if 2s=NEG.IMPERF-take=3s DIC
sa ní=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. *(əmm)əs* which, according to our informants, is an abbreviated form of *həmməz* ~ *həmməz* 'maybe'. The form *əmməs* 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-yaatir* *a-qqóq*
 maybe-when SG-clay.ground 3s=be.dry
a-ttégor *a=b-s-ésserr-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-ḡínn-an*
 maybe-when Milky.way 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-be.equal PL-sky-PL
arə-f-kunḡú *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(i) a=tə-dár.*
 each son.of Adam thing ANA 3s=FUT-suffer
 when it does not rain, everybody will suffer.
- d) *əs-káhar* *aya-ddá* *ṣót* *ayo* *yízzár-an*
 maybe-when 1s=do jump.VN DET be.ahead-ADJZR
ni=mm-əlbi *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-ḡ-ərrəḡəm* *ni=n* *míya,*
 maybe-when 2s=NEG.PERF-CAUS-rinse 2s=GEN mouth
a-múnsu *ayo* *(á)yda* *a=tə-ḡor(a)-an* *ni=n*
 SG-meal DET DEM.PROX 3s=FUT-sit-ALL 2s=GEN
í-ḡfan-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 émməs-kábahar i=mmó sa*
 man-PL DEM.NEAR 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.

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 alfájr*
 maybe-when herd-PL 3p=leave morning
a=tə-t-ələm.
 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 Táha a=jjí 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 ayo (ə)nda* *hinká (a=cc(i))* *áa=se)*
 truth DET with two 3s=say 3s=DAT
sa t-a-dáqqa-t *óoda* *əndár* *aya=bbáy*
 COMP F-SG-road-F.SG DEM.NEAR if 1s=know
sa (ə)n-tə-záw-kat=a *ay=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 /əndár/ənnár/ marks a counterfactual condition (Heath 2006:698).

4.8.3.4 kud day ‘even if’

kud dáy literally means ‘if too’. It can be read as ‘even if’.

- (296) *íttill(a)* *ágg áadəm* *mánn(a)* *a=tə-dár*
 each son.of Adam without.grazing.VN 3s=FUT-harm
kud dáy a=sə-mmáy *almán* *ənda ay=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-dáy/ ‘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=ff-injá téysa*
 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 ayondo 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 takúduṇkut] ən*
 when 3p-PERF-see SG-camel do cut.tail GEN
a-dérəz ayo 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=ggar-an t-áa-har-t wértilla*
 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 je intáynawt a=gguná-kat ánga...*
 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 ayo k(a) arə=kkéed(i) ay=n béena*
time DET LOC 1p=be.up 3s=GEN top
aya=b-gun(á) ay=n i-médd-an i=b-zə-lənzəl-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 *assáfat* 'time'.

- (301) *assáfat ayo 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) *...ay=tə-d(a) áa=ka hé*
1s=FUT-do 3s=LOC thing
t-izzár-t aya=m-ťaw-an a-hándag ayo
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=sé=mmay*
 if 3s=have F-SG-clothe-F.SG or 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have
t-izzár-t ni=bb-éñsi.
 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=yyidáz
 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=ffíikəl 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=ddəwənn-ət andi s(e) alxér k(a)*
 after 1p=speak 2p DAT peaceLOC
ayo gánda wani ar-tə-yée-kat alxér ayo...
 DET earth of 1p-FUT-return-VEN peaceDET
 after we spoke to you(pl) about the wellbeing of the earth
 we will return to the wellbeing of (the body)

- b) *dáffer za hó sé zam(á) aya=ss-ili-a*
 after LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR after 1s=CAUS-leave=3s
a=ccí marád-da a=m-η(á) ayáy
 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) aya=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) *záyr(i) a-ddá t-á-myar-t a=şşót-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-yalla
 SG-wall
 in the afternoon he entered the yard.

The particle *jeddí* ~ *ceddí* 'yet' can be found preceding a verb in the IMPERF aspect and is then read as 'while'. The *jeddí* clause is usually the second clause in this juxtaposition.

- (309) a) *ni=m-hímay=a jedd(i) 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(i) *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 *jeddí* '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
jeddí 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 *jeddí* '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-búuyar* *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* *aŋgu ayo*
 3s=return 3p=GEN place DET
k(a) i=yyíḍday
 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 *émmək* 'manner, method' serves as an adverbial clause.

(313) a) *émmək aŋó (ə)nda aŋ-tə-d(á)-a*
 manner DET with 1s=FUT-do-3s
 the manner (with which) I will do it.

b) *...émmək aŋó (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.