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A grammar of Tadaksahak a northern Songhay language of Mali

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This section aims to give authors with work done on Northern Songhay languages. I am indebted to Maarten Kossmann who completed my sketchy list. In addition there are some references to other Songhay languages and Tamasheq.

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Appendix I

Text 1: A folk tale

The following story was told by Ajafaŋa from Talatayt in the speech variety of that region. The tape was transcribed with the help of Mahamad ag Almaki from Infukaraytan.

The main character of the story is 'Jackal'. He is one of the most clever animals in the folk tales of the Idaksahak. Note that the story teller is using two different terms for 'jackal'. In the beginning it is *intáynawt*. This term is normally used to designate the animal known to kill kids. At the end of the story the other term *abiíji* is used, more normal for tales of this kind.

- (1) *áywa kəl(á) a-zúbara a=mmáy bárr-en*
 well once SG-warthog 3s=have child-PL
 So, Warthog once had children.

- (2) *a=húrru hé ssé-ss-əyr(a) áa-se n i*
 3s=look.for thing CAUS-CAUS-study.BND 3s=DAT SEP 3p
 He was looking for somebody who would teach them for him.

- (3) *ho sénda har á-ggun(a) intáynawt.*
 thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until 3s=see jackal
 (He did) that until he saw Jackal.

- (4) *intáynawt a=cc(i) áa=s(e)*
 jackal 3s=say 3s=DAT
 Jackal said to him:

- (5) *yéw aya=m-sé-ss-əyra ni=n bárr-en*
 come! 1s-SUBJ-CAUS-CAUS-study.BND 2s=GEN child-PL
 "Come, (that) I will teach your children.

- (6) *ayáy s(a) alfáqi*
 1s.EMP COMP teacher
 It's me who is (Koran-)teacher!"

- (7) *a=ddin(i) áy=n bárr-en*
 3s=take 3s=GEN child-PL
 He took his children.

- (8) *ay=n bárr-en íngi ʔaaş(á)*
 3s=GEN child-PL 3p.EMP nine
 His children, they were nine,

- (9) *a=nn(a)=í intáynawt se*
 3s=give=3p jackal DAT
 he gave them to Jackal
- (10) *har á=b-sə-ss-əyr(a) áa=se n i*
 until 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-study.BND 3s=DAT SEP 3p
 that he would teach them (for him).
- (11) *a=cc(i) a=b-sə-ss-əyr(a)=i.*
 3s=say 3s=IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-study.BND=3p
 He₁ thought he₂ would teach them.
- (12) *da h(e) áyd(a) a=ddá*
 INT thing DEM.PROX 3s=do
a-zúbar(a) a=báara n(e) áyda
 SG-warthog 3s=be place DEM.PROX
 When this was done, Warthog was there
- (13) *har á=dd(a) i-wútay*
 until 3s=do PL-year
 until he had spent (some) years.
- (14) *jinjiná a=kkóy-kat*
 first 3s=leave-VEN
 (When) he first came
- (15) *a=ccí a=b-fúggú-kat ay=n bárr-en ka*
 3s=say 3s=IMPERF-look.down-VEN 3s=GEN child-PL LOC
 and wanted to see his children.
- (16) *sá jé intáynawt a=gguná-kat ánga*
 when only jackal 3s=see-VEN 3s.EMP
 As soon as Jackal saw him coming,
- (17) *intaynawt a=mmúqus-an ənd(a) ánga*
 jackal 3s=meet-ALL with 3s.EMP
 Jackal went to meet him.
- (18) *a=cc(i) áa=s(e) yeed-án bárr-en bé*
 3s=say 3s=DAT return-ALL child-PL LOC
káhar i=gguná nín i=té-yixrəm
 when 3p=see 2s.O 3p=FUT-disobey
i=m-wánjin ayáy qaarán
 3p=SUBJ-refuse 1s.IO study.VN
 He said to him: "Turn away from the children. When they see you, they will disobey, they will refuse to study (for me)."
- (19) *a=ggung(ú)-án áa=se báarar fóo-da*
 3s=guide-ALL 3s=DAT child one-INT
 He guided one child to him.

- (20) *a-ggar bárr-en da a-ffóoda nə-goor(á) íi-ka*
 3s=find child-PL INT SG-one FOC-sit 3p=LOC
 It was found that (regarding) the children, one was left of them.
- (21) *a-ggunḡ(ú)-án áa-se n a*
 3s=guide-ALL 3s=DAT SEP 3s
 He guided it to him,
- (22) *a-ss-ékn(a) áa-se n a*
 3s=CAUS-see 3s=DAT SEP 3s
 showed it to him,
- (23) *a-yyée-kat ənd(a)-á*
 3s=return-VEN with=3s
 he came with it,
- (24) *a-yyéed-an ənd(a)-á*
 3s=return-ALL with=3s
 he returned with it
- (25) *har á-dd(a) áa-se n áa-se s-əkn-én ʔaaʂá*
 until 3s=do 3s=DAT SEP 3s=DAT CAUS-show-PL nine
 until he had shown it to him nine times.
- (26) *intáynawt ánga dá bárr-en a-b-dumb(ú)=i*
 jackal 3s.EMP DIC child-PL 3s=IMPERF-cut=3p
je (ə)nd(a) a-ffó a-ffóo-da a-b-ŋ(á)=i
 only with SG-one SG-one-INT 3s=IMPERF-eat=3p
har á-bbeen=í har a-fféddə d(a) a-sén(da)
 until 3s-be.finished=3s until SG-one.only DIC SG-DEM.FAR
 As for Jackal, he had simply killed the children one by one and
 eaten them until they were finished, except for that only one.
- (27) *a-ʒúbara a-yyéd*
 SG-warthog 3s=return
 Warthog returned
- (28) *a-cc(i) áa-s(e) ni-m-d(a)-án a-wátay*
 3s=say 3s=DAT 2s-SUBJ-do-ALL SG-year
 (and) he (Jackal) said to him: "Wait a year."
- (29) *har á-dd(a)-an a-wátay*
 until 3s=do-ALL SG-year
 When he had spent a year (away),
- (30) *a-yyíləs a-yyée-kat ánga*
 3s=repeat 3s=return-VEN 3s.EMP
 he came again to him (Jackal).

- (31) *a=ttén a=cc(i) áa=s(e)*
 3s=arrive 3s=say 3s=DAT
 He (Jackal) arrived and said:
- (32) *bárr-en i=yyíytəm məffīn aya=bbáaya s(a)*
 child-PL 3p=finish but 1s=want COMP
ay=tə-ťaw aarú fo báara nángo se
 1s=FUT-reach man IND be that.place DEM.FAR
har ni=m-d(a) áa=se a-sáafu
 until 2s=SUBJ-do 3s=DAT SG-greeting
 “The children have finished their studies (of the Koran) but
 I want to go to a man who is over there so that you may greet
 him.”
- (33) *áaru ayo sé a=cc(i) áa=se ci na=á?*
 man DET DEM.FAR 3s=say 3s=DAT who be=3S
 “That man, he said to him, who is it?”
- (34) *a=cc(i) áa=s(e) éelaw sa hé (a)=hínjin kuná*
 3s=say 3s=DAT elephant COMP thing 3s=be.much find.VN
 He said to him: “It’s Elephant who is very ill.”
- (35) *báarar ayó nn a=ffóod(a) goorá záyri ayo sén(da) ənd(a)*
 child DET GEN SG-one sit day DET DEM.FAR with
ay=n gá intáynawt a=ddumb(u) ánga
 3s=GEN self jackal 3s=take 3s.EMP
a=ηη(á)=a
 3s=eat=3s
 The only child that was left, that very day Jackal had killed and
 eaten him.
- (36) *a=hang(á) ənd(a) ánga n(e) áyda*
 3s=accompany with 3s.EMP place DEM.PROX
 He (Warthog) accompanied him from there
- (37) *ho sénda har á=ttén éelaw daw*
 thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until 3s=arrive elephant LOC
 until he arrived at Elephant’s (place).
- (38) *s(a) a=ggaar-á he (a)γ(o)óoda Məssiinaγ*
 when 3s=find=3s thing DET DEM God
a=ff-éxlək-kat ay=n i-múdar-an ka
 3s=CAUS.be.created-VEN 3s=GEN PL-animal.PL LOC
káamil i=bb-ékrəm áa=daw.
 all 3s=IMPERF-rest 3s=LOC
 When he found him, all what God created among his animals
 was resting at his place.

- (39) *ínnazag-en i-bb-ékṛəm sé(nda)*
 hyena.PL 3s=IMPERF-rest DEM.FAR
 Hyenas were resting there,
- (40) *t-ə-wəys-in káamululláahi i-bb-ékṛəm sén(da).*
 F-PL-game-PL absolutely.all 3s=IMPERF-rest DEM.FAR
 all kinds of game was resting there.
- (41) *áyw(a) a-kkóy-kaat=i jé*
 well 3s=leave-VEN=3p simply
 Well, he simply approached them.
- (42) *a=cc(i) azúbara se káy-an n(e) áyda har*
 3s=say warthog DAT stand-ALL place DEM.PROX until
áya=m-ṭaaw=i aya=m-d(a) íi-se asáafu jinjiná.
 1s=SUBJ-reach 1s=SUBJ-do 3p=DAT greeting first
 He said to Warthog: "Stay here until I reach them and greet them first.
- (43) *id(da) kár ni-ttén íi=daw*
 because when 2s=arrive 3p=LOC
zam(á) éelaw hé (a)=hínjin áa=s(e) kuná
 after elephant thing 3s=be.much 3s=DAT find.VN
ni=ss-ákəryis
 2s=CAUS-open.teeth
i-gguná ni=n t-a-káryas-t
 3p=see 2s=GEN F-SG-open.teeth-F.SG
i-té-ci górgor ni=b-górgor i=n a-miiran k(a)
 3p=FUT-say laugh 2s=IMPERF-laugh 3p=GEN SG-sick.person LOC
i=m-wí nín
 3p=SUBJ-kill 2s.O
 Because, when you arrive there, after Elephant is very ill and you show your teeth, they see your grimace and will think that you are laughing at their sick person. They will kill you.
- (44) *áyw(a) a-kkóy har á-ṭṭaaw=i.*
 well 3s=leave until 3s=reach=3s.O
 Well, he left until he reached them.
- (45) *a-ggun(á) éelaw*
 3s=see elephant
a-ggáar=a hé (a)=hínjin áa=s(e) kuná.
 3s=find=3s.O thing 3s=be.much 3s=DAT find.VN
 He saw Elephant and found (that) he was very ill.

- (46) *a=cc(i)íí=s(e) éelaw adí za a=cc(i) íí=s(e)*
 3s=say 3p=DAT elephant ANA LC 3s=say 3p=DAT
áy=n saffarí aya=bbáay=a
 3s=GEN medicine 1s=know=3s.O
 He said to them: "So Elephant, he said to them, his medicine, I know it."
- (47) *i=cc(i) áa=s(e) ci n(a) áy=n saffarí?*
 3p=say 3s=DAT who be 3s=GEN medicine
 They said to him: "What is his medicine?"
- (48) *a=cc(i) íí=s(e) a=sé-mmay saffari (ə)nd-áŋga wiji*
 3s=say 3p=DAT 3s=NEG.IMPERF-have medicine with-3s.EMP is.not
a=cc(i) íí=s(e) a-zúbara n éefam ən-tə-húur(u)
 3s=say 3p=DAT SG-warthog GEN grease EXM-FUT-enter
ay=n t-í-nzar kor-korr-í
 3s=GEN F-PL-nostril DUP-be.hot-ADJZR
 He said to them: "There is no medicine except, he said, hot grease of a warthog that enters his trunk."
- (49) *i=cc(i) áa=s(e) a-zúbara za mán né k(a)*
 3p=say 3s=DAT SG-warthog LC whereplace LOC
ar=tə-kun(á)=a?
 1p=FUT-find=3s.O
 They said to him: "So a warthog, where will we find it?"
- (50) *a=cc(i)íí=s(e) a-zúbara lám aya=yyímmər-kat*
 3s=say 3p=DAT SG-warthog EXCL 1s=bring-VEN
a-ffó f-káy nángo ka marad-óoda
 SG-one IMPERF-stand place.that LOC now-DEM
 He said to them: "A warthog, thanks to God, I brought one that stands over there now."
- (51) *aarú a=bbáaya s(a) a=tə-yíydər ná ayo*
 man 3s=want COMP 3s=FUT-betray OPP DET
idd(á) á-bben ay=n bárr-en a-ηη(á)=i
 because 3s=finish 3s=GEN child-PL 3s=eat=3p.O
 He wanted to betray the other one because he had finished his children and eaten them.
- (52) *áywa i=cc(i) áa=se kun(a) áari se n ánga!*
 well 3p=say 3s=DAT find 1p DAT SEP 3s.EMP
 "Well, they said to him, get it for us!"
- (53) *a=yyizzár-an íí=s(e)*
 3s=go.ahead 3p=DAT
 He went ahead of them.

- (54) *a-ṣúbara a-b-guná-kaat(-a) a-bb-əzzár*
 SG-warthog 3s=IMPERF-see-VEN=3s.O 3s=IMPERF-go.ahead
bor-én s(e)
 person-PL DAT
 Warthog saw him coming ahead of the people,
- (55) *a-kkóy-kat i-múdar-an*
 3s=leave-VEN PL-animal-PL
 he came (with the) animals.
- (56) *har j(é) í-múdar-an i-kkáy-kat ənd(a) a-ṣúbara*
 until only PL-animal.PL 3p=stand-VEN towards SG-warthog
 As soon as the animals stopped next Warthog,
- (57) *i-ddin(i) áŋg(a) i-kkóy ənd(a)=á har í-ṭṭaw*
 3p=take 3s.EMP 3p=leave COMP=3s until 3p=reach
 they took him, left with him until they reached (Elephant's place),
- (58) *i-ddumb(ú)=a*
 3p=cut=3s
 they killed him.
- (59) *i-ddin(i) áy=n maan(i)*
 3p=take 3s=GEN grease
 They took his grease,
- (60) *i-kkos-kóos=(a)*
 3p=DUP-cut=3s
 cut it into pieces
- (61) *i-dd(a) áŋga kussu ká*
 3p=do 3s.EMP cooking.pot LOC
 and put it into a cooking pot.
- (62) *ho sénda har a-hínjin wáṣ.*
 thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until 3s-be.much boil.VN
 (They did) this until it was boiling very much.
- (63) *áywa a-cc(i) íi-se wa nn(a) ayáy sa n a*
 well 3s=say 3p=DAT IMP.PL give 1s DAT SEP 3s.O
ayáy nə-b-d(á)=a ay=n t-í-nzar ka
 1s.EMP FOC-IMPERF-do=3s.O 3s=GEN F-PL-nostrilLOC
 "Well, he said to them, give (pl) it to me! It's me who will put it into his trunk."
- (64) *i-nn(a) áa-se n á*
 3p=give 3s=DAT SEP 3s.O
 They gave it to him.

- (65) *a=yyíftən tugúdu*
 3s=climb tree
 He climbed a tree,
- (66) *a=kkeedí tugúdu n beená*
 3s=be.up tree GEN top
 he was up in the tree.
- (67) *aywa a=cc(i) íi=se wa ggédəm áa=b(e) ándi káamil*
 well 3s=say 3p=DAT IMP.PL lay 3s=LOC 2p all
andə=mm-ədbul áa=be n(e) áyda jé har
 2p=SUBJ-heap.up 3s=LOC place DEM.PROX only until
ándə=m-fugu áa=ka
 2p=SUBJ-look.down 3s=LOC
ba fér ayáy ay=n t-í-nzar
 IMP.PL open 1s.IO 3s=GEN F-PL-nostrils
 “Well, he said to them, lay(pl) on him, you(pl) all! Heap simply
 up on him here so that you look down on him. Open(pl) his
 trunk for me!”
- (68) *a=ddiní maaní hínjin korr(á)*
 3s=take fat be.much hot.VN
 He took the very hot fat,
- (69) *a=ddá h(e) óoda*
 3s=do thing DEM
 he did this,
- (70) *a=ss-og(á)=a éelaw ən t-í-nzar se*
 3s=CAUS-be.near=3s elephant GEN F-PL-nostrils DAT
 he approached it to the nostrils of Elephant,
- (71) *a=mmún áa=ka n a jé*
 3s=pour 3s=LOC SEP 3s only
 he poured it simply into them.
- (72) *éelaw korr(á) a=zzur(ú) áy=n bangú ka*
 elephant heat 3s=run 3s=GEN head LOC
marád-d(a) ənd(a) áy=n jinjí
 now-DIC with 3s=GEN neck
 As for Elephant, heat was immediately racing through his head
 and his throat.
- (73) *éelaw a=ddá h(e) óoda*
 elephant 3s=do thing DEM
 Elephant did this:

- (74) *a=yyírşək ənd(a) áy=n kamb-én harkíd áy=n c-en*
 3s=shake with 3s=GEN arm-PL too 3s=GEN leg-PL
 he shook his arms and also his legs.
- (75) *he (a)γ(o) óoda b-γəlíy-γəli=a i-múdar-an ka*
 thing DET DEM IMPERF-circle-DUP=3s.OPL-animal.PL LOC
 This (made) him turn around among the animals.
- (76) *káamululláh(i) ii-m-an i=hun(ú)=i*
 absolutely.all PL-soul-PL 3p=leave=3p
 Everybody died,
- (77) *i-kkás t-ə-lágaz-an sən(da) ka*
 3p=be F-PL-melon-PL DEM.FAR LOC
 they died there. (Lit: they became melons there.)
- (78) *a-bíji a=ss-əwəl c-én a-ttérəggə(t)-kat*
 SG-jackal 3s=CAUS-be.sharp leg-PL 3s=jump.down-VEN
 Jackal stretched his legs and jumped down.
- (79) *éelaw ənd(a) áy=n g(a) a=bbún*
 elephant with 3s=GEN self 3s=be.dead
 Elephant himself was dead.
- (80) *a-bíji a=mm-éntəz ná ayo k(a)*
 SG-jackal 3s=SUBJ-pull OPP DET LOC
 Jackal pulled on this one
- (81) *a=m-ci γ(á) áya-kkuna háamu zəróoda!*
 3s=SUBJ-say EXCL 1s=find meat today
 and said: "Hey, I found meat today!"
- (82) *a=m-górgor a=mm-éntəz ná ayo k(a)*
 3s=SUBJ-laugh 3s=SUBJ-pull OPP DET LOC
 He laughed, pulled on another one
- (83) *a=m-ci γ(á) áya-kkuna háamu zəróoda!*
 3s=SUBJ-say EXCL 1s=find meat today
 and said: "Hey, I found meat today!"
- (84) *aγa=b-górgor*
 1s=IMPERF-laugh
 I am laughing,
- (85) *All(a) a=sə-sə-ss-əyra ni=n bárr-en*
 Allah 3s=NEG.IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-study.BND 2s=GEN child-PL
a-zúbara
 SG-warthog
 because God is not teaching your children, Warthog!"

- (86) *ho sénda har jé i-múdar-an óoda káamil*
 thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until only PL-animal-PLDEM all
i-hun(u)-án sénda k(a).
 3p=leave-ALL DEM.FAR LOC
 It was (like) that as soon as all these animals had died there.

- (87) *a-dd(á) azzamán áng(a) a-bb-ée(d)-kat jé sénda*
 3s=do period 3s.EMP 3s=IMPERF-return-VEN only DEM.FAR
a=b-ŋá j(e) í=n haam-én
 3s=IMPERF-eat only 3p=GEN meat-PL
a=b-górgor íi-ka.
 3s=IMPERF-laugh 3p=LOC
 For quite some time, he simply returned there and ate their
 meat and laughed about them.

Text 2: Part of a Radio emmission

The following communication was given at the 'Radio rurale de Menaka' on 10th November 2001. The speaker is Hadmahamed ag Mohamed from Inkiringiya, a location some kilometers south-east of Menaka.

It is part three of a speech lasting about one hour interspersed with music. The topic is mostly about 'Decentralization', a new organisational policy of the government.

- (1) *Igmattajak ho senda*
 doubt.taken thing.DEBR DEM.FAR
 You can be sure
- (2) *ay=n t-a-damil-t be komin-tan*
 3s=GEN F-SG-profit-F.SG LOC community-PL
əndayo ooda andə-b-gun(a)-a Maali a-dd(a)=i
 DET.PL DEM 2p=IMPERF-see-3s M. 3s=make-3p
 it is for its (Mali) benefit (that) the communities you(pl) see are
 made. (/it: Mali makes them.)
- (3) *wiji bananda a-dda desātralisasiō*
 is.not in.vain 3s=do decentralization
 It is not for nothing that it installed the decentralization.
- (4) *wiji he be a-dd(a)=i*
 is.not thing LOC 3s=do=3p
 It is done for no other reason

har almital ay(o) ooda ay=tə-har andi se
 until example DET DEM 1s=FUT-tell 2p DAT
 than this example I am telling you(pl):

- (5) *əs bora a=tə-may ay=n alman babo-(a)n*
 COMP person 3s=FUT-own 3s=GEN herd be.much-ADJZR
 (Suppose) somebody has his numerous herd,
- (6) *a=m-zi-mmizi marad-ood(a) ay=n barr-en se*
 3s=SUBJ-CAUS.separate now-DEM 3s=GEN child-PL DAT
 he divides (it) between his children,
- (7) *a=m-d(a) ənda t-ə-səgar t-ə-səgar*
 3s=SUBJ-do with F-PL-part F-PL-part
 he makes several small herds out of them,
- (8) *bora kullu a=m-n(a) aa=se ay=n a-dagar*
 person each 3s=SUBJ-give 3s=DAT 3s=GEN SG-part
ayo f-kuḍ
 DET IMPERF-keep
 he gives to each person his part to keep.
- (9) *bora kaaka s(a) a=f-kuḍ ay=n alman*
 person whatever COMP 3s=IMPERF-keep 3s=GEN herd
 Anybody who keeps his herd
- (10) *a=ss-əḥsəl-kaat-a*
 3s=CAUS-win-VEN=3s
 makes it win (be more numerous)
- (11) *a=m-d(a) aa=se kuḍ giṇ-giman*
 3s=SUBJ-do 3s=DAT tend.flock.VN DUP-be.good.ADJZR
 and keeps it well.
- (12) *ay=n ga s(e) a=kkuuḍ=a*
 3s=GEN self DAT 3s=tend.flock=3s
 It's for himself he tends it.
- (13) *a=yyirsəy aa=se a=yyirsəy aa=se*
 3s=enlarge 3s=DAT 3s=enlarge 3s=DAT
 It gets bigger and bigger for him.
- (14) *bora da ay=wani agar kuḍ*
 person INT 3s=of bad tend.flock.VN
 (But) the person who is tending it badly,
- (15) *a=hun(u)-an*
 3s=leave-all
 it (herd) will disappear.

- (16) *anga se a-dda ho se*
 3s.EMP DAT 3s=do thing.DEF DEM.FAR
 It's to him(self) he did that.
- (17) *He (a)yo senda ay=n almital*
 thing DET DEM.FAR 3s=GEN example
 That is the parable.
- (18) *anga ne (a)yda:*
 3s.EMP place DEM.PROX
 Here it is:
- (19) *Maali ay=n ga se addəwəl.*
 M 3s=GEN self DAT country
 Mali is a country for its on right.
- (20) *He (a)=kkas addəwəl bə-beer-i*
 thing 3s=be country dup-be.big-ADJR
 It is a large country.
- (21) *wərtilla s(a) alḥakumat a=kko(ə)nda a-handag*
 there.is.not COMP government 3s=go with place
kaamil ənd-anga wiji ənda ay=n ko-(e)n.
 all with-3S.EMP is.not with 3s=GEN owner-PL
 It does not happen that the government goes to every place
 except with its owners.
- (22) *Ho senda be a-dda komin-tan*
 thing.DET DEM.FAR LOC 3s=make commune-PL
 Because of that, it made communities.
- (23) *ganda kullu anga nə=wwaqay gand(a) ayo*
 land each 3s.EMP FOC-sign land DET
s(a) a=mmay
 COMP 3s=own
 Every region has signed (=received responsibility) for the land
 that it owns.
- (24) *bora kullu a=wwakal ganda ayo*
 person each 3s=be.entrusted land DET
s(a) ang(a) a-baara
 COMP 3S.EMP 3s=be
 (To) each person was entrusted the land on which he is.
- (25) *he (a)yo senda be*
 thing DEF DEM.FAR LOC
anga be komin-tan i=dda
 3s.EMP LOC commune-PL 3p=make
 Because of that matter, because of this, communities are made,

- (26) *anga be desəntralisasyon a-dda*
 3s.EMP LOC decentralization 3s=make
 (and) because of this, decentralization is made,
- (27) *anga be sekte-tan i-dda.*
 3s.EMP LOC sector-PL 3p=make
 (and) because of this, sectors are made.
- (28) *Ittill(a) a-handag a=mmay bor(a) ayo*
 every SG-place 3s=own person DEF
yyışkəd-an ənd(a)-a
 originate-ALL with-3s
s(a) anga ay=n t-a-ggas-t a=f-keedi
 COMP 3s.EMP 3s=GEN F-SG-keep-F.SG 3s-IMPERF-be.on
 Every place has somebody who originates from it, on whom its
 (land) protection lies.
- (29) *anga ay=n i-yaƣad-an i-yyed*
 3s.EMP 3s=GEN PL-ruin-PL 3p=return
 It is to him that its disaster returns,
- (30) *anga i=n t-ə-ŋfa i-yyed*
 3s.EMP 3p=GEN F-SG-be.usefull 3s=return
 It is to him that its profit returns.
- (31) *Bora da ayo sa ay=n ganda*
 person INT DEF COMP 3s=GEN land
a=b-d(a) agar kuɖ
 3s=IMPERF-make bad tend.flock.VN
 (Now) the person that takes bad care of his land,
- (32) *ayo (a)di ay=n ga s(e) a-dd(a) a-yaƣad.*
 DEF ANA 3s=GEN self DAT 3s=do SG-ruin
 that one, it is to himself he did a ruinous thing.
- (33) *Day adi ittill(a) agg aadəm a-ŋgu kaak(a)*
 too ANA every son.of Adam SG-place whatever
a=baara
 3s=be
a=mmay a-dagar ganda n t-a-ggas-t ka
 3s=own SG-share land GEN F-SG-keep-F.SG LOC
 Also this: every human being, wherever he is, has a share in
 the protection of the land.

- (34) *ittill(a) agg aadəm kud day sa (ə)n-tə-yigəz*
 each son.of Adam if too COMP 2s=FUT-guard
aḍḍəkəd ayo ka ni=nn alman a=bb-əḍən-kat
 measure DEF LOC 2s=GEN herd 3s=IMPERF-graze-VEN
har a=mm-ee-kat
 until 3s=SUBJ-return-VEN

ay=n t-a-ggas-t a=f-keedi nin.

3s=GEN F-SG-guard-F.SG 3s=IMPERF-be.on 2s

Every man, even if you only guard in the measure (=area) where your herd grazes and returns, its protection is your responsibility.

- (35) *l-manokal-an ingi da a-handag ayo i-wani*
 PL-rule-PL 3p.EMP INT SP-place DEF 3p=of
ka i=n dini a=kay-kat ganda ka
 LOC 3p=GEN take.VN 3s=stop-VEN land LOC
ay=n t-a-ggas-t a=f-keedi=i
 3s=GEN F-SG-guard-F.SG 3s=IMPERF-be.on=3p

As for the chiefs (=authorities), the area that is theirs from where they stop taking from the land, its protection is their responsibility.

- (36) *a-yiiwan ən koy anga da*
 SG-camp GEN owner 3s.EMP INT
ne k(a) ay=n t-ə-buuyar i=yyee-kat
 here LOC 3s=GEN F-PL-female.camel 3p=return-VEN
ganda ka anga da
 land LOC 3s.EMP INT
ay=n t-a-ggas-t a=f-keed(i)=a.
 3s=GEN F-SG-guard-F.SG 3s=IMPERF-de.on=3s

As for the head of the camp, there where his female camels (go out to graze and) return on the land, he too, its protection is his responsibility.

- (37) *day adi ittill(a) agg aadəm əb-dida*
 too ANA each son.of Adam IMPERF-walk
a=baara gand(a) ayo Maali wani
 3s=be land DEF M. of
a=mmay aa=ka t-a-dagar-t t-a-ggas-t wani.
 3s=have 3s=LOC F-SG-part-F.SG F-SG-guard-F.SG of

So, every human being walking, being in the country of Mali has in it a little share of its protection.

- (38) *ni-b-d(a) aniyat bora s(e) ayo n-tə-ɖar*
 2s=IMPERF-do mind person DAT DEF EXM-FUT-harm
ganda
 land
 You pay attention to a person that may harm the land.
- (39) *ni-b-d(a) aniyat a-na-z-gaafa se*
 2s=IMPERF-do mind SG-ACT-CAUS-evil DAT
ən-tə-huuru-kat ganda
 EXM=FUT-harm-VEN land
 You pay attention to an evildoer that may enter the country.
- (40) *ni-b-da aniyat a-baydog se ə-b-dida tarra ka*
 2s=IMPERF-do mind SG-thief DAT IMPERF-walk bush LOC
 You pay attention to a thief who walks in the bush.
- (41) *ni-b-da aniyat eeqad se*
 2s=IMPERF-do mind SG-bush.fire DAT
 You pay attention to a bush fire.
- (42) *ni-b-da aniyat bora se ən-tə-kos tugud-en*
 2s=IMPERF-do mind person DAT EXM=FUT-cut tree-PL
 You pay attention to a person that may cut trees.
- (43) *i-n tugud-en kaamil andə-wan-en*
 3p=GEN tree-PL all 2p=of-PL
 Its (land) trees are all yours,
- (44) *i-mmay t-ə-ɳfa bə-beer-i*
 3p=have F-SG-be.useful DUP-be.big-ADJZR
 they have great use.
- (45) *day adi bor(a) ayo gguna bora*
 too ANA person DET see person
b-d(a) eeqad
 IMPERF-make bush.fire
wala f-kos tugud-en
 or IMPERF-cut tree-PL
a-nə-c(i) aa-se he
 3s=NEG.PERF-say 3s=DAT thing
 So, the person who sees somebody putting a fire or cutting
 trees (and) does not say anything to him,

- (46) *a=m-bay* *ganda* *se*
 3s=SUBJ-know land DEM.FAR
i=nn *alman* *jen* *h(e)* *ayda* *k(a)* *a=kkar*
 3p=GEN herd only thing DEM.PROX LOC 3s=fall
har *a=ddumbu=i* *a=nə-yiryəm* *aa=se.*
 until 3s=cut=3p 3s=NEG.PERF-warn 3s=DET
 he should know that (this is like) somebody who fell on their
 herd and slaughtered them and he did not warn him.

- (47) *Day* *adi* *ee-dag* *ayo* *senda* *ittilla* *agg* *aadəm*
 too ANA SG-place DET DEN.FAR each son.of Adam
ayo *f-keedi* *Maali* *n* *ganda* *kaamil*
 DEF IMPERF-be.on M. GEN land all
a=mmay *dərwa,* *a=mmay* *alħaq*
 3s=have right 3s=have right
a=tə-yigəz *ee-dag* *ayo* *a=baara* *ganda* *ka*
 3s=FUT-guard SG-place DET 3s=be land LOC
ittill(a) *aḍḍəkəd* *ayo* *(ə)nda* *ni=ddəbət* *ay=n*
 each measure DET with 2s=can 3s=GEN
t-a-ggas-t
 F-SG-guard-F.SG

So, at this occasion, each human being anywhere in the
 country of Mali has the right, has the responsibility to look after
 the place where he is in the land with every measure you can
 protect it.

- (48) *ənd-anga* *ni=ddəbət* *sa*
 with-3S.EMP 2s=can COMP
(ə)n=tə-maazal *ənda* *ni=n* *kamba* *n* *maazal*
 2s=FUT-send with 2s=GEN hand GEN send.VN
 If you can, you act with the act of your hand

- (49) *nanga* *t-a-raqim-t* *ni=n* *iiləs* *wani*
 if F-SG-warn-F.SG 2s=GEN tongue of
ni=mm-əryəm
 2s=SUBJ-warn
 or you warn (with) a warning of your tongue.

- (50) *nanga* *he* *ni=kkəssan* *ni=m-koy-kat*
 if thing 2s=refuse 2s=SUBJ-leave-VEN
ni=m-har *alħakumat* *se*
 2s=SUBJ-tell government DAT
 If he (the warned person) refuses, you come and tell the
 authorities.

- (51) *an̄ga n̄=dd̄əbət s(a)*
 3s.EMP FOC=can COMP
a=t̄ə-yir̄əm bora ayo (a)yda se.
 3s=FUT-warn person DET DEM.PROX DAT
 It is this (government) that can warn that same person.
- (52) *day adi ganda bora fooda*
 too ANA land person one
a=n̄ə-yixl̄ək-kat ayo dd̄əbət s(a)
 3s=NEG.PERF-creat-VEN DEF can COMP
a=t̄ə-yiḡəz andi se and̄ə=n gand-en.
 3s=FUT-guard 2p DAT 2p=GEN land-PL
 Also this, the land, one person does not exist that can look after your (pl) countryside for you (pl).
- (53) *ni=n ganda ittill(a) agg aad̄əm ayo ni-gguna*
 2s=GEN land each son.of Adam DET 2s=see
a=kk̄əmət̄ət ənda he kaamil
 3s=harm with thing all
 (As for) your land, every human being you see (on it), who harms with whatever,
- (54) *ni=m-bay ganda se*
 2s=SUBJ-know land DEM.FAR
 you really need to know
- (55) *a=tten ənd(a) a-yaʃad*
 3s=arrive with SG-ruin
nin ənda ni=n ga a=t̄ə-yizzar-kat
 2s.EMP with 2s=GEN self 3s=FUT-be.ahead-VEN
 it arrives with ruin, it is you yourself it will reach first.
- (56) *idda ganda əs-kabahar a=b-maṇṇa*
 because land maybe-when 3s=IMPERF-be.without.grazing
wiji bora fooda ənd(a) ay=n maṇṇ(a)
 is.not person one with 3s=GEN lack.food.VN
a=t̄ə-dar
 3s=FUT-harm
 Because the land, when it is without grazing, it is not (only) one person the lack of food will harm.
- (57) *ittill(a) agg aad̄əm maṇṇa a=t̄ə-dar*
 each son.of Adam lack.food.VN 3s=FUT-harm
kud day a=s̄ə-mmay alman ənd(a) ay=n ga
 if too 3s=NEG.IMPERF-own herd with 3s=GEN self
 Everybody will suffer by lack of food, even if he owns no herd himself.

- (58) *maṇṇa ayo (a)yda a-tə-ṭaw nin.*
 lack.food.VN DET DEM.PROX 3s=FUT-reach 2s
 This same lack of food will reach you.

- (59) *əs-kar cinj-en i-sə-kar ittilla agg aadəm*
 maybe-when rain-PL 3p=NEG.IMPERF-hit each son.of Adam
h(e) ad(i) a-tə-daṛ.
 thing ANA 3s=FUT-harm
 If the rains do not fall, everybody will eventually suffer.

- (60) *day adi ee-dag ayo senda anḡa be*
 too ANA SG-place DET DEM.FAR 3s=EMP LOC
ittill(a) agg aadəm
 each son.of Adam
a=m-nahad a-handag ayo a-baara ganda ka.
 3s=SUBJ-guard SG-location DET 3s=be land LOC
 Also this, at that occasion, because of this, may everybody take
 care of the land where in the region he is.

- (61) *a=mm-əgəz ay=n ga se*
 3s=SUBJ-guard 3s=GEN self DAT
wiji bora fo se
 is.not person IND DAT
 May he look after (it) for himself, not for someone else.

Appendix II

2. Verbs with their causative and passive forms

The following lists give a number of verbs that are Songhay cognates that take a root from Tamasheq when they are causativized or passivized.

A presentation of causative and passive morphemes is found in 3.1.3.2 and 3.1.3.4 respectively. Double causatives are discussed in 3.1.3.2.3

2.1. One Argument Verbs

One argument verbs are discussed in 4.3.1

gloss	root	causative
to cry	<i>héw</i>	<i>s-əlhá</i>
to eat enough	<i>kungú</i>	<i>s-íywən</i>
to fall	<i>káŋ</i>	<i>f-édǝdər</i>
to fly	<i>şót</i>	<i>sə-ss-əgəd</i>
to get up	<i>tunú</i>	<i>s-əŋkər</i>
to go down	<i>zumbú</i>	<i>zə-zəb-ət</i>
to inter in	<i>húuru</i>	<i>z-úguz</i>
to leave	<i>kóy</i>	<i>s-églə</i>
to depart	<i>hunú</i>	<i>s-éfəl</i>
to be placed	<i>keení</i>	<i>f-infá</i>
to run	<i>zurú</i>	<i>z-ézəl</i>
to sit	<i>gorá</i>	<i>f-áyam</i>
to spend the day	<i>hóoyay</i>	<i>s-əklá</i>
to stop	<i>káy</i>	<i>s-əbdəd</i>

gloss	root	causative
to suckle	<i>káŋkam</i>	<i>s-əŋkəs</i>
to be upright	<i>káy</i>	<i>s-oytá</i>
to walk	<i>didá</i>	<i>ʒi-ʒəwəŋk-ət</i>

2.2 Two Argument Verbs

Verbs with two arguments are discussed in 4.3.3.

The form of the Songhay root corresponds to the singular imperative.

gloss	IMP	causative	passive	gloss (passive)
to bring	<i>záw</i>	<i>ʃí-ʃf-iwi</i>	<i>t-əwi</i>	
to call somebody	<i>céw</i>	<i>s-əyɾət</i>	<i>tuw-ayra</i>	
to climb/ride	<i>keedí</i>	<i>ʃ-əwəŋ</i>	<i>t-əwəŋ</i>	
to cut/slaughter	<i>dumbú</i>	<i>z-əgzəm</i>	<i>t-əgzəm</i>	
to do	<i>dá</i>	<i>ʃ-íga</i>	<i>t-əga</i>	
to drink	<i>nín</i>	<i>ʃ-íʃu</i>	<i>t-íʃu</i>	
to eat	<i>ŋá</i>	<i>ʃ-íkfa</i>	<i>t-əkfa</i>	
to fight (also verbally)	<i>zóɣ</i>	<i>s-ək(ə)nəs</i>	<i>t-əknəs</i>	be shunned
to gather (food)	<i>habá</i>	<i>s-əfɾəd</i>	<i>t-əfɾəd</i>	
to give	<i>ná</i>		<i>t-əkfa</i>	
to hear	<i>mó</i>	<i>s-əslá</i>	<i>túw-əsla</i>	
to hit	<i>kár</i>	<i>ʃ-əwwət</i>	<i>t-əwwət</i>	lead (animals)
to jump over	<i>ʃót</i>	<i>sə-ss-əgəd</i>	<i>túw-əgəd</i>	
to kill/hit	<i>wí</i>	<i>sə-ssúw-anyə</i>	<i>túw-anyə</i>	
to know	<i>báy</i>	<i>ʃí-ʃfin</i>	<i>túw-əsan</i>	
to lead pulling	<i>gungú</i>	<i>sə-ss-əlwi</i>		

gloss	IMP	causative	passive	gloss (passive)
to leave alone	<i>dís</i>		<i>túw-iyá</i>	
to look at	<i>háaʃi</i>	<i>s-úswuḍ</i>	<i>t-úswuḍ</i>	
to look for	<i>hurrú</i>	<i>s-égmi</i>	<i>t-égmi</i>	
to love/want	<i>báaya</i>	<i>f-éera</i>	<i>túw-əra</i>	
to read/study	<i>qaarán</i>	<i>sə-ss-əyra</i>	<i>túw-ayra</i>	
to say	<i>cí</i>	<i>sə-ssuw-an ~ f-ə-ssuw-an</i>	<i>túw-əḥḥa</i>	
to see	<i>guná</i>	<i>s-əkná</i>	<i>túwəni ~ túwəna</i>	
to steal	<i>záy</i>	<i>fí-ff-əkəṛ</i>	<i>t-əkəṛ</i>	
to swallow	<i>gôn</i>	<i>z-əlməz</i>	<i>t-əlməz</i>	
to take	<i>díní</i>	<i>z-əbəz</i>	<i>t-əbəz</i>	be arrested
to take out	<i>káw</i>	<i>f-úkuf</i>	<i>t-úkuf</i>	
to taste sth.	<i>tabá</i>	<i>s-əndək</i>	<i>t-əndək</i>	
to tell	<i>hár</i>		<i>t-əməl</i>	
to throw	<i>fúr</i>	<i>sə-ss-əgər</i>		
to hinder	<i>gaṅgá</i>	<i>s-əgdəl</i>		
to buy	<i>dáy-kat</i>	<i>z-ənza-kat</i>		
to sell	<i>dáy-an</i>	<i>z-ənz-án</i>		
to guard	<i>gár</i>	<i>z-əgəz</i>	<i>t-əgəz</i>	
to accompany	<i>haṅgá</i>	<i>fí-ff-idu</i>	<i>túwa-fí-ff-idu</i>	
to wash	<i>hímay</i>	<i>fí-ff-ərəḍ</i>	<i>túwa-fí-ff-ərəḍ</i>	
to guide pushing	<i>taṅgá</i>	<i>f-əwwət</i>	<i>t-əwwət</i>	

2.3 Labile Verbs

Labile verbs are discussed in 3.1.3.1 and 4.3.2.

The form of the Songhay root corresponds to the singular imperative, which implies that the translation of the transitive use is given.

gloss	IMP	causative	passive	gloss (passive)
to break (leg)	<i>dígdig</i>	<i>z-ərzá</i>		
to break (thing)	<i>báq</i>	<i>z-ərzá</i>	<i>t-ərzá</i>	
to approach	<i>mán</i>	<i>z-əhəz(-kat)</i>		
to construct	<i>cén</i>	<i>ʃ-əkɾəʃ</i>	<i>t-əkɾəʃ</i>	
to cook	<i>hiná</i>	<i>sé-ss-əŋŋa</i>		
to cut	<i>kós</i>	<i>ʃ-əɣdəʃ</i>	<i>t-əɣdəʃ</i>	
to dig	<i>fás</i>	<i>z-əɣəz</i>	<i>t-əɣəz</i>	
to distance from	<i>mór</i>	<i>ʃ-əgəg</i>		
to dress	<i>dáb</i>	<i>s-əlsá</i>		
to fill	<i>ton</i>	<i>s-ətkər</i>	<i>t-ətkər</i>	
to give birth	<i>háy</i>	<i>ʃi-ʃ-əru</i>		
to pour	<i>dudú</i>	<i>sé-ss-ənyəl</i>		
to pound	<i>dút</i>	<i>z-íidiz</i>	<i>t-ədiz</i>	
to untie	<i>fer</i>	<i>ʃi-ʃúw-əra</i>		
to reach	<i>ṭáw</i>	<i>ʃé-ʃ-əwəḍ</i>	<i>t-əwəḍ</i>	have caught up with
to sow	<i>ṭáatab</i>	<i>z-əzmi</i>	<i>t-əzmi</i>	
to moisten	<i>ṭáy</i>	<i>s-əbdəg</i>		caus: make wet
to throw out	<i>mún</i>	<i>sé-ss-ənyəl</i>	<i>túw-ənyəl</i>	
to tie up	<i>háv</i>	<i>sə-súw-aqan</i> ~ <i>ʃi-ʃúw-aqan</i>	<i>túw-aqan</i>	
to enlarge	<i>bér</i>	<i>s-əmyər</i> ~ <i>ʃ-əmyər</i>	<i>t-əmyər</i>	be honoured

gloss	IMP	causative	passive	gloss (passive)
		<i>f-ámɣar</i>		
to dry	<i>qóq</i>	<i>s-éɣər</i>		
to hide	<i>túk</i>	<i>z-égəz</i>	<i>t-égəz</i>	

2.4 Verbs of Songhay origin taking a derivational prefix

This list contains all verbs of this type that were found in texts and confirmed with informants. Some more came up by elicitation, which are not listed here because the informants did not always agree on the correctness of the form.

gloss	IMP	causative	passive	gloss (passive)
to be dirty	<i>ɣíibit</i>	<i>ɣí-ɣibit</i>		
to vomit	<i>yeerí</i>	<i>s-éeri</i>		
to return	<i>yéd</i>	<i>s-eedí</i>		
to be red	<i>cidáy</i>	<i>sí-ciday</i>		
to be long	<i>kukú</i>	<i>sú-kuku</i>		
to sow/dig	<i>fík</i>	<i>sé-ffík</i>	<i>túwa-fík</i>	
to throw out	<i>mún</i>		<i>túwa-mun</i>	
to prick	<i>tím</i>	<i>sé-ttim</i>	<i>túwa-tim</i>	to be/get injected

Appendix III

Wordlist: English - Tadaksahak

In appendix III, an English-Tadaksahak wordlist is given based on the Swadesh 200 item list. Some of the words on the list do not exist in the language (e.g. 'flower', 'snow'). Other words appear twice because of double meanings or idiomatic uses in connection with other words.

The following abbreviations are used:

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
ind.	independent (pronoun)
n.	noun
npl	noun only found in plural
num.	number
pl.	plural
postp.	postposition
prep.	preposition
pron.	pronoun
vi.	intransitive verb
vt.	transitive verb

A - a

able, to be	vt. báy	and (between noun phrases)	
alive, to be	vi. yiddár		prep. ənda
all	quantifier káamil	animal	n. a-múuder
among	postp. ka	approach, to	vt. mán
amuse oneself, to	vi. hór	arm / hand	n. kambá
ancestor (paternal)	n. baabá	ashes	n. boofí

at (somebody's) *postp.* **daw**

B - b

back (bodypart) *n.* **a-rúuru**
 bad *adj.* **agar**
 bad, to be *vi.* **yibrár**
 bark *n.* **barjí**
 battery *n.* **tóndí**
 because *conj.* **igdá ~ iddá ~ íd**
 before s.b. *noun phrase.* **mo ka.**
 beginning *n.* **bangú**
 belly *n.* **gunú**
 big, to be *vi.* **bêr**
 big, to make *vt.* **bêr**
 bird (general) *n.* **cíidaw**

bite (animal), to *vt.* **ŋá**
 bite, to *vt.* **ŋám**
 black *adj.* **bíibí**
 black (color) *n.* **bíibí**
 black, to be *vi.* **bíibí**
 blacken, to *vt.* **bíibí**
 blood *npl.* **kud-én**
 blow (wind), to *vi.* **fúr**
 bone (general) *n.* **biidí**
 breathe, to *vi.* **f-énfəf**
 burn, to *vt.* **kurú-kuru**
 burned, to be *vi.* **kurú-kuru**

C - c

carve (wooden spoon), to *vt.* **kár**
 child *n.* **báarar**
 cloud *npl.* **nuun-én**
 cold (weather) *n.* **fufú**
 come, to *vi.* **kóy-kat**
 count, to *vt.* **f-idən**

counting *n.* **f-idən**
 country *n.* **gánda**
 cut, to *vt.* **dumbú**
vt. **kós**
 cut, to be *vi.* **kós**
 cutting *n.* **kós**

D - d

day *n.* **zayrí**
 dead, to be *vi.* **bún**
 death *n.* **bún**
 deep, to be *vi.* **kukú**
 deepen, to *vt.* **kukú**
 die, to *vi.* **bún**
 dig, to *vt.* **fás**
 digging *n.* **fás**
 dirt (excrement) *n.* **lés**

dirty, to be *vi.* **lés**
vi. **zíbít**
 dirty, to make *vt.* **lés**
 distance from, to *vt.* **mór**
 dive, to *vi.* **yífəf**
 dog (general) *n.* **hánjī**
 dream *n.* **keení ŋ guná**
 drink, to *vt.* **nín**
 dry, to be *vi.* **qóq**

dug, to be *vi. fás*
dull (knife), to be *vi. bún*

dust *n. a-báaleq*

E - e

ear *n. hangá*
earth *n. gánda*
eat, to *vt. ḡá*
eating *n. ḡá*
egg *n. t-áa-fult*

end *n. bún*
n. míya
exhausted (battery), to be *vi. bún*
extinguish (fire, light), to *vt. wí*
eye *n. mó*

F - f

face *n. mó*
fall (rain), to *vi. kár*
fall, to *vi. kán*
familiar with, to be *vt. báy*
far away, to be *vi. mór*
fat (on meat) *n. maaní*
fat, to make *vt. nás*
father *n. baabá*
fear *n. hambará*
fear, to *vt. hambará*
feather *n. áfraw*
fiber (plant) *n. barjí*

fight, to *vi. zóy*
fire *n. huurú*
(fire)wood *n. tugúdu*
fish *n. a-mánana*
five *num. fammúf*
flow, to *vi. dudú*
fly, to *vi. šót*
foot / leg *n. cáy*
four *num. akkóz*
from *postp. ka*
fruit *n. ízzay*
fur *npl. haab-én*

G - g

game (play) *n. hór*
give, to *vt. ná*
giving *n. ná*
good *adj. giṇ-gimán*
grandmother *n. nana béeri*
grandfather *n. baba béeri*

grass (green) *n. yél*
green (grass), to be *vi. tay*
green solution *n. garúura*
ground *n. gánda*
guts *npl. áadan-an*

H - h

hair	<i>npl. haab-én</i>	he/she/it	<i>ind. pron. ánga</i>
hand / arm	<i>n. kambá</i>	hit, to	<i>vt. kár</i>
head	<i>n. bangú</i>	hold, to	<i>vt. yíddər</i>
hear (news), to	<i>vt. mó</i>	hot, to be (warm)	<i>vi. korrá</i>
hear (noise), to	<i>vi. mó</i>	hot, to make	<i>vt. korrá</i>
heart	<i>n. wál</i>	how? <i>question phrase.</i>	
heat	<i>n. korrá</i>		<i>man émmək ayó ənda</i>
heavy, to be (T)	<i>vi. tíŋ</i>	hunt (game), to	<i>vi. gimár</i>
heavy, to be	<i>vi. yiltág</i>	husband	<i>n. aarú</i>
here	<i>n. néeda</i>		

I - i

I	<i>ind. pron. ayay</i>	important, to be	<i>vi. bêr</i>
if/when	<i>clause initial particle</i>	impure (religiously), to be	<i>vi. lés</i>
	<i>ənda</i>		
if (hypothetical)	<i>conj. əndár</i>	in	<i>postp. ka</i>
if/when	<i>conj. əs-kábahar</i>		

J - j

jackal	<i>n. a-bíji</i>	jump (n)	<i>n. şót</i>
	<i>n. intáynawt</i>	jump over, to	<i>vt. şót</i>
	<i>n. mó céena</i>		

K - k

kill (animal), to	<i>vt. dumbú</i>	killing	<i>n. wí</i>
kill, to	<i>vt. wí</i>	know, to	<i>vt. báy</i>

L - l

laid down, to be	<i>vi. keení</i>	lean, to be	<i>vi. yilbák</i>
lake	<i>n. a-yázar</i>	leather	<i>n. kuurú</i>
land	<i>n. gánda</i>	leave a rest, to	<i>vi. cindí</i>
laugh, to	<i>vi. górgor</i>	leave for, to	<i>vt. kóy</i>
laughter	<i>n. górgor</i>	left (side)	<i>n. zálgat</i>
leaf	<i>n. áa-la</i>	leg / foot	<i>n. cáy</i>

length *n. kukú*
 lie on side, to *vi. yíniftaga*
 lion *n. tárra nn ízzay*
n. áa-har

live, to *vi. yiddár*
 liver *n. taafá*
 long, to be *vi. kukú*
 louse (head) *n. geení*

M - m

male *n. aarú*
 man *n. aarú*
 measure *n. míya*
 meat *n. háamu*
 month *n. a-yyár*

moon *n. a-yyár*
 mosquito *n. míya kukú*
n. t-aa-dás-t
 mother *n. naaná*
 mouth *n. míya*

N - n

name *n. mân*
 narrow, to be *vi. karrós*
 near to, to be *vi. mán*
 neck *n. jinjí*
 new, to be *vi. yaynáy*
 nice *adj. giñ-gimán*

night *n. cijí*
 nose *npl. t-í-nzar*
 nostrils *npl. t-í-nzar*
 numerous, to be *vi. babó*
 numerous, to make *vt. babó*

O - o

odor *n. mammaní*
 old, to be *vi. zén*
 old, to make *vt. zén*
 older sibling *n. bér*

one *n. a-ffóoda*
 one *num. fóoda*
 opening *n. míya*

P - p

peak (bird) *n. míya*
 person *n. borá*
 play (football), to *vt. kár*
 play (instrument), to *vt. kár*
 play, to *vi. hór*
 pond (temporary) *n. a-yázar*

pour, to *vt. dudú*
 pull sth. heavy, to *vt. húbut*
 pull, to *vt. yírkəb*
 push sth./sb., to
vt. yíntəg ~ yíntay

R - r

red	<i>adj.</i> cidáy
red, to be	<i>vi.</i> cidáy
rest	<i>n.</i> cindí
right (side)	<i>n.</i> áayil
rise (sun), to	<i>vi.</i> fúr
river (Niger)	<i>n.</i> a-jəráw

road	<i>n.</i> t-a-dáqat-t
root (plant)	<i>n.</i> ée-caw
rope (general)	<i>n.</i> karfú
rot, to make	<i>vt.</i> fumbú
rotten, to be	<i>vi.</i> fumbú

S - s

salt	<i>n.</i> ciidí
sand	<i>n.</i> t-a-záazul-t
say, to	<i>vt.</i> cl
scratch, to	<i>vt.</i> z-ékməz
scratch, to	<i>vi.</i> kúkkuz-it
see, to	<i>vt.</i> guná
seed	<i>n.</i> áadəm
sew, to	<i>vt.</i> taatab
sewing	<i>n.</i> taatab
sharp (knife), to be	<i>vi.</i> yiwál
short, to be	<i>vi.</i> gazúl
sight	<i>n.</i> guná
sing, to	<i>idiom</i> d(a) á-şşak
sit, to	<i>vi.</i> goorá
sitting	<i>n.</i> goorá
skin	<i>n.</i> kuurú
sky	<i>npl.</i> i-3ínn-an
sleep	<i>n.</i> keení
sleep, to	<i>vi.</i> keení
small size	<i>n.</i> ceená
small, to be	<i>vi.</i> ceená
small, to make	<i>vt.</i> ceená
smell sth., to	<i>idiom</i> mammaní kár borá

smoke	<i>npl.</i> nuun-én
smooth, to be	<i>vi.</i> səlál
snake (general)	<i>n.</i> gónfi
snake, sp	<i>n.</i> gánda η karfú
sneeze, to	<i>vi.</i> tínzít
some	<i>n.</i> cindí
(some)thing	<i>n.</i> hé
son	<i>n.</i> ízzay
spit, to	<i>vi.</i> s-étəf
split (wood), to	<i>vt.</i> yíftək
stand up, to	<i>idiom</i> káy béena
stay, to	<i>vi.</i> goorá
stepfather	<i>n.</i> babá fumbú
stepmother	<i>n.</i> naná fumbú
stick sth. into, to	<i>vt.</i> yírzi
stick (wooden)	<i>n.</i> bundú
stone	<i>n.</i> ṭóndi
stony elevation	<i>n.</i> ṭóndi
stop, to	<i>vi.</i> káy
straight, to be	<i>vi.</i> yáʕad
suck, to	<i>vt.</i> séməṃ
sun	<i>n.</i> waynı́
swim, to	<i>vi.</i> yíjəf
swollen, to be	<i>vi.</i> héḏədi

T - t

tail	<i>n.</i> t-a-lánkaw-t	throw, to	<i>vt.</i> fúr
tall, to be	<i>idiom</i> may kay	tie, to	<i>vt.</i> háv
	<i>vi.</i> kukú	to	<i>postp.</i> ka
tea (leaves)	<i>n.</i> áa-la	tongue	<i>n.</i> íiləs
tether, to	<i>vt.</i> háv	tooth	<i>n.</i> ée-fan
tethered, to be	<i>vi.</i> háv	towards	<i>locative prep.</i> ənda
that (one)	<i>dem.</i> (a)sénda		<i>postp.</i> kámba
them	<i>pron.</i> íngi	trample on sth., to	
there	<i>adv.</i> sénda		<i>idiom</i> káy he ka
they	<i>ind. pron.</i> íngi	tree (general)	<i>n.</i> tugúdu
thin (person/livestock), to be		true, to be	<i>vi.</i> dəttət
	<i>vi.</i> yilbák	turn off (radio, TV), to	<i>vt.</i> wí
thin, to be	<i>vi.</i> jadíd	turn, to	<i>vt.</i> yístay
think (that)	<i>vi.</i> yordá	twine (rope), to	<i>vt.</i> kár
this	<i>dem.</i> óoda	two	<i>num.</i> hiŋká
this	<i>dem.</i> áyda	tying	<i>n.</i> háv
three	<i>num.</i> kaarəḍ		

U - u

ugly, to be	<i>vi.</i> yibrár	use (money) fraudulently, to	
upright, to be	<i>vi.</i> káy		<i>vt.</i> ŋá
upright, being	<i>n.</i> káy		

V - v

vomit, to	<i>vi.</i> yéeri	vomiting	<i>n.</i> yéeri
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W - w

walk	<i>n.</i> didá	washed, to be	<i>vi.</i> hímay
walk, to	<i>vi.</i> didá	washing	<i>n.</i> hímay
want, to	<i>v.</i> cí	water	<i>npl.</i> aryén
warn (from danger), to	<i>vt.</i> kár	we	<i>ind. pron.</i> áari
wash, to	<i>vt.</i> hímay	well fed, to be	<i>vi.</i> ŋás

wet, to be	<i>vi.</i> ṭay	why?	<i>interrogative phrase.</i>
wet, to make	<i>vt.</i> ṭay		ci ná hó be
wetness	<i>n.</i> ṭay	wide, to be	<i>vi.</i> yilwá
what is it?	<i>interrogative phrase.</i>	wife	<i>n.</i> surgóy
	ci ná-a	wind	<i>n.</i> héw
when?	<i>interrogative phrase.</i>	wing	<i>n.</i> áfraw
	c(i) agúd	wipe out, to	<i>vt.</i> tús
where? (+action)	<i>interrogative phrase.</i>	wiped out, to be	<i>vi.</i> tús
	mán n(e)	wiping out	<i>n.</i> tús
where? (+noun)	<i>interrogative</i>	with (company)	<i>comitative prep.</i>
	<i>adv.</i> maaná		ənda
white	<i>adj.</i> kóoray	with (instrument)	<i>(instrumental)</i>
white (color)	<i>n.</i> kóoray		<i>prep.</i> ənda
white, to be	<i>vi.</i> kóoray	withhold sth., to	
who?/what?	<i>interrogative pron.</i>		<i>idiom</i> káy he be
	ci	woman	<i>n.</i> surgóy

Y - y

year	<i>n.</i> a-wátay	you (sg)	<i>ind. pron.</i> nín
yellow, to be	<i>vi.</i> yaráy	young one	<i>n.</i> ízzay
you (pl)	<i>ind. pron.</i> ándi		

Appendix IV

Wordlist: Songhay cognates in Tadaksahak

The following word list gives Tadaksahak words which have cognates in Songhay. The list contains 290 items. The words are alphabetically ordered. Pharyngealized consonants follow the non-pharyngealized ones. Signs not used in English follow a similar sign, e.g. /ə/ follows /e/, /ʃ/ follows /s/. After the sign ‘◄’ the cognate is listed with the reference referring to the dictionaries by Heath, KCH for Koyra Chiini (Heath 1998a), KS for Koroboro Senni (Heath 1998b) and DN92 the ‘Lexique Sonay – Français’ by Youssouf Mohamed Haïdara et al., DNAFLA 1992. When the closest cognate is from another than these central speech varieties, the name of the location is given, e.g. Bamba, Labbazanga. A few words are only found in the other Northern Songhay languages. They are listed phonetically with the corresponding language, e.g. Tagdal [...]. Tagdal and Tabarog cognates are taken from Rueck & Christiansen (1999); Tasawaq cognates were provided by Maarten Kossmann (Leiden).

The abbreviations are the same as those in the previous list

A

-a *pron.* him, her, it; 3s direct object clitic ◄ a ‘he, she, it’ KCH:19

a- *pron.* he, she, it; 3s subject clitic ◄ a ‘he, she, it’ KCH:19

aarú *n.* man, husband; male ◄ ar; har KCH:118; aru ‘man; male’ KS:30
pl. **arw-én**

addá *n.* long blade, machete ◄ adda ‘machete-like blade’ KCH:19; KS:15
pl. **addá-tin**

a-ffó *n.* one (and the other) ◄ a-foo ‘one’ KCH:20

a-ffóo-da *n.* one; one by one, in distributive phrase ◄ a-foo ‘one’
KCH:20

ayay *pron.* I, me; independent 1s pronoun ◄ agey ‘I, full 1s pronoun’
KS:17; Bamba: ayey

ahún *v* take it! only used in imperative ◄ hūū! ‘here! take!’ KS:168

ánga *pron.* he, she, it; him, her, it; independent 3s pronoun ◄ nga - nga

'he, him, she, her, it' KCH:96

áari *pron.* we, us; independent 1p pronoun ◀ ir - iri 'we, us' KS:171

ary-én *npl.* water ◀ hari 'water' KCH:119; KS:148

B

baabá *n.* father; brother of the father; ancestor ◀ baaba 'father; father's brother' KCH:35; KS:34 *pl.* **baab-én**

baba béeri *n.* grand-father ◀ baaba-beer 'father's elder brother' KCH:36; baaba-beeri 'father's elder brother' KS:34.

pl. **babá beer-án**

babá fumbú *n.* stepfather ◀ baba-fumb-o 'stepfather' KCH:36; KS:34 *pl.* **babá fumb-én**

baaní *n.* pod of *Acacia nilotica* containing tannic acid used to tan skins; by extension also tannic acid ◀ baani 'pod of acacia tree' KCH:39

baarí *n.* horse (general) ◀ bari 'horse' KCH:41; KS:41 *pl.* **baar-én**

baafí *n.* water bag ◀ baas(u)-ije (lit: well-child) 'recipient and cord for drawing water from well' KCH:42; baasu '(water) well' KCH:42.

pl. **baaf-én**

babó *vi.* to be many, to be numerous ◀ bobo 'much, many' adj KCH:49
— *vt.* make numerous

báaya *vt.* to love; to want ◀ baa 'want' KCH:35; KS:33
— *n.* love *pl.* **báay-en**

bán *vi.* to be soft; to be fragile; to be docile ◀ baan 'be soft' KCH:38; ban 'be soft, tender' KS:37
— *vt.* make soft; make tender

bána *n.* salary ◀ bana 'wages, fee' KCH:28; 'pay' KS:37 *pl.* **bána-tan**

bangáw *n.* hippopotamus ◀ baŋa 'hippopotamus' KCH:38

bangú *n.* head; beginning; front ◀ bomo 'head; top, front' KCH: 49; bon (bona) 'head, top part' KS:52 *pl.* **banj-én**

bangú *n.* well; waterhole ◀ bangu 'seasonally flooded ground, seasonal swamp' KCH:39; KS:39 *pl.* **banj-én**

báara *vi.* to exist; to be available ◀ bara 'exist' KCH:40 KS:40
— *vt.* to be in

barjí *n.* bark; fiber (plant) ◀ abirjan 'fibre des arbres' DN92; Cf. Tagdal [bar'gi]; Tabarog [bar'gi]; Zarma bàrjì 'lien en écorce d'arbre' *pl.* **barj-én**

barmáy *n.* change money for payment ◀ barmey 'change for payment'

KCH:41

báy *vt.* to know; to be able to ◀ bey 'know, be familiar with (sth, sb)
KCH:45; KS:45

be *postp.* on; above; about ◀ beene 'sky; upper area, upstairs' *postp*
'above, on top' KCH:43

bén *vi.* to be finished
— *vt.* to finish ◀ ben (*intr*) 'finish, end, be used up' KCH:43; KS:44

beená *n.* top; upper part ◀ beene 'sky; upper area' KCH: 43; beena 'top, topmost part of area; sky' KS:44

bér *vi.* to be big, important; to be grown up ◀ beer 'be big in size; be grown up, old' KCH:44; beeri KS:44
— *vt.* to make big, to enlarge
— *n.* older sibling ◀ beere 'older sibling' (*esp.* of same sex) KCH:44
pl. **béer-an**

bəbbá *vt.* to carry (baby) on back wrapped in a piece of cloth ◀ babba 'carry baby in a bundle on one's back' KCH:36; KS:40

bi *n.* yesterday; also adverbial use ◀ bii 'yesterday' KCH:46; KS:46

bi *n.* shadow, visual representation of sth./sb., photo ◀ bii 'shadow; image' KCH:46; KS:46 *pl.* **biy-én**

biibi *vi.* to be black ◀ bibi 'be black, dark' KCH:46
— *vt.* to make black, to blacken
— *n.* blackness
— *adj.* black

biidí *n.* bone (general) ◀ biiri 'bone' KCH:48; biri KS:48 *pl.* **biid-én**

bíngí *n.* male donkey ◀ binji 'âne mâle' DN92 *pl.* **bíngi-tan**

bitá ~ biitá *n.* kind of cereal meal ◀ bita 'millet porridge' KCH:49; KS:49

booff *n.* white ashes; left after cooking fire ◀ boosi 'ashes' KCH:51
pl. **boof-én**

borá *n.* person ◀ boro 'person' KCH:51; KS:55 *pl.* **bor-én**

bóy *vi.* to move (camp) ◀ boy 'drag; herd, drive (animals ahead of oneself)' KCH:52; KS:56

bún *vi.* to be dead, to die; (fire, light) go out; (battery) be exhausted
◀ bun 'die' KCH:54
— *n.* death; end (of month) *pl.* **bun-én**

bundú *n.* (wooden) stick ◀ bundu 'stick (of wood); walking stick, cane' KCH:55; KS:59 *pl.* **bund-én**

C

- caráy** *n.* friend, comrade; another of the same kind ◀ cere 'friend, peer, agemate' KCH:58; KS:66 *pl.* **car-én**
- cáw** *vt.* to call sb ◀ cow 'call sb, summon, send for sb' KCH:63
— *n.* call *pl.* **caw-én**
- cáy** *n.* leg, foot; (car) wheel ◀ cee 'foot, leg' KCH:56; KS:63 *pl.* **c-en**
- caycáy** *vt.* to weave (mat) ◀ key 'weave' KCH:163
- cén** *vi.* to be pitched (tent), to be constructed (house)
— *vt.* to pitch (tent), to construct (house) ◀ cen 'build, erect (housing)' KCH:57; cin 'build (house)' KS:69
- ceená** *vi.* to be small, young ◀ ciina 'be small, young, infrequent, rare, sparse' KCH:60
— *vt.* to make small
— *n.* small size
mó céena *n.* jackal
- ci** *interrogative pron.* who/what? interrogative word asking for the identity of a person/item ◀ cin 'what?' KS:69; mey 'who?' KCH:194
ci ná-a *interrogative phrase.* what is it?
ci ná hó be *interrogative phrase.* why?
- cí** *n.* similar thing, kind ◀ sii 'kind, type' KCH:219; cine adj 'semblable' KS:70
- cí** *vt.* to say sth. to sb.; also used before quotation ◀ cii 'speak' KCH:59
— *vi.* to want to
- ciidaw** *n.* bird (general) ◀ cirow 'bird' KCH:62 *pl.* **ciid-an**
- cíday** *n.* underneath ◀ cire postp. 'under' KCH:62; KS:70
- cidáy** *vi.* to be red ◀ cirey 'be red' KCH:62
— *adj.* red
- cidí-cidi** *vi.* to be very red ◀ cirey 'be read' KCH:62
- cigóoda** *n.* this (coming) night; tonight ◀ cigoo 'tonight' KCH:59 Bamba: cij-oo da 'tonight' KS:69
- ciidí** *n.* salt ◀ ciiri 'salt' KCH:62 *pl.* **ciid-én**
- ciimí** *n.* truth ◀ ciimi 'truth' KCH:60 *pl.* **ciim-én**
- cijí** *n.* night ◀ ciji 'night' KCH:59 *pl.* **cij-én**
- cijín** *n.* last night ◀ cijin 'night' KS:69
- cindí** *vi.* to leave a rest ◀ cindi 'remain' KCH:60
— *n.* rest, part ◀ cindi 'remainder, rest' KCH:60 *pl.* **cind-én**

cin-f-cina *vi.* to be very small ◀ ciina 'be small' KCH:60

D

da *phrase final particle.* exactly, precisely ◀ daa 'exactly, precisely, exclusively, right (here)' KCH:64

dá *vi.* to be done; do be made (in material); to put (somewhere) ◀ dam (dan) 'be done; make, do; put (somewhere)' KCH:65
 — *vt.* to make sth
 — *n.* making

daamá *n.* improvement ◀ daame/a 'well being, happiness' KS:77

daanay *n.* seeds of cram-cram ◀ daaney 'burrgrass/cram-cram' KCH:66

dáb *vi.* to be covered; to be dressed (clothes)
 — *vt.* to cover (recipient); to put (clothes) ◀ daabu 'cover, enclose; shut; look' KCH:64
 — *n.* covering; dressing (clothes)

danfú *n.* cooking pot for couscous with holes in the bottom; only used in towns ◀ dōfo 'couscous or rice steamer' KCH:74 denfu KS:83

danjé *vi.* to be silent, to shut up ◀ dangey 'shut up, be quiet; silence' KCH:67; KS:67
 — *vt.* to make quite, to silence

danj-én *npl.* charcoal ◀ denji '(hot or cold) charcoal, ember(s)' KCH:69.
 Sg: **danjī**

dár *vi.* to be spread out ◀ daar 'prepare the bedding' KCH:67
 — *vt.* to spread out ◀ daar 'spread out, lay out' KCH:67
 — *n.* mat (cover) put on the ground to sit on *pl.* **daar-én**

daw *postp.* at (somebody's place); with /ten/ 'arrive' in a noun phrase
 ◀ doo 'at (the place of)' KCH:72

dáy *vt.* to deal; to cost ◀ dey 'buy' KCH:70

dáy-kat *vt.* to buy

dáy-an *vt.* to sell

dáy-day *n.* groceries (spices, meat) for sauce ◀ dayday 'daily groceries (spices, meat) for sauce' KCH:70

deedí *n.* gum arabica ◀ deeli 'gum arabic, tree resin' KCH:68 *pl.* **deed-án**

didá *vi.* to walk ◀ dira 'walk, go for a walk, set off on foot' KCH:72
 — *n.* walk, departure

dílwil *n.* vegetal oil ◀ dilwil 'cooking oil' KCH:71 < French /de l'huile/

diní *vt.* to take, to catch ◀ din 'take, pick up, catch, arrest, get' KCH:71

— *n.* taking

dingá *n.* forgetfulness ◀ dinaa ‘forget’ KCH:71

ding(á)-an *vt.* to forget ◀ dinaa ‘forget’ KCH:71 dirɲa KS:87

dis *vt.* to let go, to leave alone; to allow to (with subjunctive clause).

◀ deesi ‘fly, fly away, soar’ KCH:69

dudú *vi.* to flow (water)

— *vt.* to pour (liquide) ◀ door ‘flow (out); pour (on) KCH:75 doori ‘flow; pour’ KS:91

dumbú *vt.* to cut, to kill an animal by cutting the jugular ◀ dumbu ‘cut, sever, cut down, cut off’ KCH:78

dút *vi.* to be pounded

— *vt.* to pound (general) ◀ dur ‘pound (grain, with mortar and pestle) KCH:79

D

dâr *vi.* (body part) to ache, to be painful ◀ door ‘(body part) ache, be painful’ KCH:75

— *vt.* to harm, hurt, make sore ◀ door ‘harm, hurt, make sore’ KCH:75

— *n.* sickness, epidemic, suffering *pl.* **dâar-en**

E

endororó *n.* gutter for rain water along the roof ◀ ndorro ‘roof gutter, rain pipe’ KCH:76 *pl.* **endororóo-tan**.

enda *conjoining NPs.* and; *instrumental prep.* with; *comitative prep.* in the company of, with; *directional prep.* towards; *clause initial particle* if/when ◀ nda ‘with; and; if’ KCH:64

F

farká *n.* donkey (general) ◀ farka ‘donkey’ KCH:84 *pl.* **farc-én**

fás *vi.* to be dug

— *vt.* to dig ◀ faani ‘dig’ KCH:82 fanɲi ‘dig (hole, pit)’ KS:101

Labbezanga: fansi

— *n.* digging

fáy *vi.* to be separated ◀ fey ‘diverge, be separate, be distinct, be of

more than one type' KCH:87

— *vt.* to separate ◀ fey 'separate, keep apart' KCH:87

feeji *n.* sheep (general) ◀ feeji 'sheep' KCH:85 *pl.* **feej-án**

fendí *n.* winnowing van ◀ fendu 'winnowing van' KCH:86 *pl.* **fend-án**

fér *vi.* to be opened

— *vt.* to open, to undo ◀ feeri/feri 'open, stretch out (limbs); uncover (jar)' KCH:86

fik *vi.* to be sown; to be buried

— *vt.* to put sth. under the earth (corps, seeds) ◀ fiji 'bury' KCH:88

— *n.* burying

fo *dem.* a certain, indefinite particle; another of the same kind; some (body); some (thing) ◀ a-foo 'one' KCH:20

fóo-da *num.* one (numeral accompanying noun) ◀ a-foo 'one' KCH:20

fufú *n.* cold weather ◀ fufu 'intense cold; bitter cold weather' KCH:92.

pl. **fuf-én**

fumbú *vi.* to be rotten ◀ fumbu 'rot, decay, decompose; smell rotten, foul' KCH:93

— *vt.* to make rott

fûn *vi.* to be pierced

— *vt.* to pierce ◀ fun 'pierce, puncture' KCH:93

— *n.* hole; piercing *pl.* **fûun-en**

fúr *vi.* (wind) to blow; (sun) to rise

— *vt.* to throw sth.; to throw (sth.) at sb ◀ fur 'abandon, avoid, get rid off, release, dump' KCH:94 'throw, drop, let go off' KS:116

fur-án *vi.* to be lost (item), to have dropped ◀ fur 'be abandoned, released, dumped' KCH:94

G

gá *n.* self ◀ gaa '(living) body, organism' KCH:96 *pl.* **j-én**

gánda *n.* earth, ground; region, land, country ◀ ganda 'ground; land, territory, country' KCH:99 *pl.* **gánd-en**

gangá *vt.* to prevent from ◀ ganga 'prevent, block, hold up, delay' KCH:100

gár *vt.* to find, to come upon ◀ gar 'find, encounter' KCH:102

gár *vt.* to look after ◀ gardi 'guard, stand watch over' < Fr garder KCH:102

garúura *n.* green solution used to color leather items ◀ garura 'green'

(Hombori) *pl. garúura-tan*

geení *n.* head louse ◀ gani 'louse' KCH:100 *pl. geen-án*

gíman *vi.* to be good, nice, useful ◀ gomni 'good fortune (health, prosperity)' KCH:107

giŋ-gimán *adj.* nice, good

gísmá *n.* roselle used in sauce and for medicine ◀ jisima 'roselle (bitter spice)' KCH:148

gôn *vt.* to swallow ◀ goon 'swallow' KCH:107

— *n.* swallowing *pl. gôn-en*

gónfi *n.* snake (general) ◀ gondi 'snake (general)' KCH:107; specimen KS:131 *pl. gónf-en*

goorá *vi.* to sit; to stay ◀ goro 'sit, stay, dwell' KCH:108

— *n.* sitting

góora *n.* cola nut; this nut is not chewed in the nomadic society.

◀ gooro 'cola nut' KCH:108 *pl. góora-tan*

gór-gor *vi.* to laugh, to laugh about sb ◀ gogor 'smile, laugh' KCH:106

— *n.* laughter; laughing *pl. gorgor-én*

guná *vt.* to see ◀ guna 'see' KCH:111

— *n.* seeing; sight ◀ guna 'view, sight' KCH:111 *pl. gun-én*

gungú *vt.* to guide (animal) holding, lead sb. by holding ◀ gurgey 'wrestle, struggle, get into showing match' KS:138; gurje 'come to blows, get into a fight' KCH:112

gungú *n.* belly ◀ gungu 'belly' KCH:111 *pl. gung-én*

gúr *vt.* to shovel up (from ground) ◀ gur 'draw water from well' KCH:112

gussú *n.* hole in the ground; borrow of animals ◀ guusu 'pit, hole (concave excavation)' KCH:113 *pl. guss-én*

guurú *n.* metal ◀ guuru 'metal; metal object (bar, hoe, spear etc.)' KCH:112 *pl. guur-én*

H

haab-én *npl.* hair; fur ◀ haabu 'cotton' KCH:113. Sg: **haabú**

habá *vt.* to harvest (wild grass seeds) by brooming them to heaps.

◀ haabu 'gather up (object)' KCH:113; haab-a 'to sweep (into a pile)' KS:140

hambará *vt.* to fear ◀ hambur 'be afraid of, fear' KCH:115

— *n.* fear ◀ hamburey 'fear' KCH:115

- hamborí** *n.* mortar; drum (made out of a mortar by spanning a skin over the opening). humbur ‘mortar’ KS:168; Cf. Tagdal [hambo’ri]; Tabarog [hambo’ri]; Tasawaq hâmbùrù *pl.* **hambor-én**
- háamu** *n.* meat; animal raised for meat ◀ ham ‘meat, flesh; fish’ KCH:115 *pl.* **háam-en**
- handí** *n.* calf ◀ handey ‘heifer’ KS::146 *pl.* **hand-én**
- hánji** *n.* dog ◀ hâyji ‘dog’ KCH:124 hãji Goundam; hanji KS:147 *pl.* **hánj-en**
- hangá** *vi.* to accompany ◀ hanga ‘run alongside, stick close to’ KCH:117; ‘follow’ KS:146
— *vt.* to pass by
- hangá** *n.* ear ◀ haŋa ‘ear’ KCH:117; KS:145 *pl.* **hanj-én**
- hangar-én** *npl.* urine ◀ hanjeri ‘déchet de vache’ DN92
- hár** *vt.* to tell ◀ har ‘say, tell’ KCH:118
- háasi** *vt.* to look. Cf. Tagdal [‘ha:ʃi]; Tabarog [‘ha:ʃi]; Tasawaq háásà, háàsà
— *n.* look
- háv** *vi.* to be tied up (animal) ◀ haw ‘be tied’ KCH:121
— *vt.* to tie up (animal); to tie (saddle) on (animal); to put (sandals) ◀ haw ‘tie (up), bind’ KCH:121
— *n.* tying
- hawrú** *n.* prepared cereal meal ◀ hawru ‘supper’ KCH:122 *pl.* **hawr-én**
- hawú** *n.* cow, cattle ◀ haw ‘cow, cattle’ KCH:121 *pl.* **haw-yén**
- háy** *vi.* to give birth
— *vt.* to give birth to; to sire ◀ hay ‘give birth to; (plant) produce (fruit, grain)’ KCH:123
- hayní** *n.* millet ◀ hayni ‘millet’ KCH:123
- hé** *n.* thing; something; somebody ◀ haya ‘thing, something’ KCH:123 *pl.* **h-én; hé-tan**
- héw** *vi.* to cry ◀ hěě ‘weep, whine’ KCH:124 Gundam: heŵ
- héw** *n.* wind ◀ hew ‘wind, air current’ KCH:125 *pl.* **heew-én**
- hijí** *n.* pestle ◀ hinje ‘pestle’ hinje-yje ‘small pestle’ KCH:127 *pl.* **hijj-én**
- hillí** *n.* horn ◀ hilli ‘horn’ KCH:126 *pl.* **hill-én**
- hímay** *vi.* to be washed
— *vt.* to wash, to develop (photos) ◀ himey ‘take a bath; wash (e.g. hands)’ KCH:126
— *n.* washing
- hín** *vi.* to excel in sth ◀ hin ‘be competent, master, be able to do’ KCH:126

- hiná** *vi.* to be cooked, grilled, prepared; to ripen (fruit)
 — *vt.* to cook, to prepare (meal) ◀ hina ‘cook; be cooked’ KCH:126
 — *n.* cooking
- hinciní** *n.* goat (general) ◀ hancin ‘goat’ KCH:117; Bamba: hincin.
 pl. **hincin-én**
- hínjin** *vi.* to be repaired; to be winnowed
 — *vt.* to winnow; to repair, to fix ◀ hanse ‘fix, repara; fix up (food)’
 KS:147 Bamba: hinse
- hínká** *num.* two ◀ hínka ‘two’ KCH:127
 — *n.* (the) two pl. **hínk-én**
- hóoyay** *vi.* spend the midday hours ◀ hoy ‘spend the midday hours’
 KCH:132
- hór** *vi.* to play; to amuse oneself ◀ hoorey ‘have fun, play’ KCH:165
 — *n.* game (children) pl. **hoor-én**
- horrá** *vi.* to be bitter; to be hot (spice); to be hard (situation); to be
 angry, nervous, coleric (person) ◀ hottu ‘be hotly spiced’ KCH:132;
 KS:166 Labbezanga: hortu
 — *vt.* to make bitter; to make spicy
 — *n.* bitterness (taste)
- húbut** *vt.* to pull sth. heavy ◀ hibi ‘move over (for), make room (for)’
 KS:157
- húgu** *n.* tent, house, living quarters; household, family; home,
 marriage ◀ huu ‘house; household, family’ KCH:132; hiiji ‘get married;
 wed’ KCH:125 pl. **híj-en**
- hunú** *vt.* to leave, to depart from ◀ hun ‘leave, depart (from)’ KCH:134
 — *n.* direction; place of departure
hun(u) adínit *idiom* euphemism for ‘to die’ (Lit: ‘leave the earth’)
- hurru** *vt.* to look for; to try ◀ wir ‘seek, try to get’ KCH:253 huri ‘seek, look
 for’ Bourem/Ansongo KS:170
 — *n.* trial, looking for
- húuru** *vt.* to enter in; to begin ◀ huru (hura) ‘enter (place)’ KS:170
 — *n.* beginning; entering
- huurú** *n.* fire. Cf. Tagdal [hu:’ru]; Tabarog [hu:’ru]; Tasawaq hùrú, pl.
huur-én

I

-i *pron.* them; 3p direct object clitic ◀ i ‘they, them’ KCH:134

- i-* *pron.* they; 3p subject clitic ◀ i 'they, them' KCH:134
iifi *n.* place protected from wind ◀ iifi 'tree, sp.' KCH:135 *pl.* ***iifi-tan***
ingi *pron.* they; them; independent 3p pronoun ◀ ingi-yo 'they, them' KCH:96; ηgey ~ ingi 'they, them' KS:129
izace *n.* adolescent, son of noble descendance; courageous young man [< /izzay/ 'son' + /ceena/ 'small'] ◀ ije-keyna 'small child' KCH:135; iza-keyna 'small child' KS:172 *pl.* ***izácen-an***
izzay *n.* son, child, young animal, fruit (of plant) ◀ ije 'young person, child, offspring, young animal, fruit' KCH:135 *pl.* ***izz-en***
tarra nn izzay *n.* lion (Lit: 'son of the bush')

J

- jáw* *vi.* to help sb ◀ gaa 'help' KS:118
 — *n.* help *pl.* ***jaaw-én***
jeej *vi.* to be hanging (on side)
 — *vt.* to hang (on side) ◀ deej 'hang, suspend' KCH:68
jí *n.* butter ◀ jii 'butter, (milk) cream, grease' KCH:144
jídóda *n.* this year [jido-da 'this very year'] ◀ jiir 'this year' KCH:148
 Bamba: jiir-oo woo 'this year' KS:181
jidoṇád *n.* year before last year [jido-ṇaḍ 'this year-passed'] /ṇaḍ/ is of Tamasheq origin PAM:589 ◀ jiir 'this year' KCH:148
jídose *n.* next year [jido-se 'this year-there'] /se/ is of Tamasheq origin ◀ jiir 'this year' KCH:148
jíifa *vi.* to die without rite
 — *n.* carcase, carrion ◀ jifa 'carrion, unslaughtered dead animal' KCH:144 < arabe *pl.* ***jíifa-tan***
jinjí *n.* neck ◀ jinde 'neck' KCH:145 *pl.* ***jinj-én***
jinjiná *adv.* before; first ◀ jina 'first (before anything else); at first' KCH:145
jinjirí *vi.* (person) to pray; to feast ◀ jingar '(person) pray, perform (prayer)' KCH:146
 — *n.* prayer; religious holiday ◀ jingar 'prayer; religious (muslim) holiday' KCH:146 *pl.* ***jinjir-én***

K

- ka* *postp.* to, from, in; among ◀ kuna compound postp. 'inside X, in the

interior of X' KS:220

kambá *n.* hand, arm ◀ kamba 'hand; arm' KCH:155 *pl.* **kamb-én**
— *postp.* towards

kán *vi.* to be sweet, to be good ◀ kaan 'be sweet, delicious; be good, pleasing' KCH:157
— *vt.* to sweeten

kánj *vi.* to fall; (money) to be devaluated ◀ kanj 'fall' KS:191

kánkam *vt.* to suckle ◀ kanjam 'suckle' KCH:158

kár *vi.* (rain) to fall
— *vt.* to hit, strike; to play (instrument); to play (football); to twine (rope); to carve (wooden spoon); to warn (from a danger) ◀ kar 'hit, strike, beat, tap, knock, thresh' KCH:159

kár mammaní *idiom* to smell (odor) ◀ mani 'to smell' KCH:190

karfú *n.* rope (general) ◀ korfo 'rope, string; wire' KCH:171 karfu 'rope; bundle (of rice)' KS:196 *pl.* **karf-én**

gánda η karfú *n.* grass snake, sp

karjí *n.* thorn ◀ karji 'thorn' KCH:160 *pl.* **karj-én**

káw *vi.* to be taken out/away
— *vt.* to take out/away ◀ kow 'remove, take out, take off; get rid off' KCH:173

káy *vi.* to be upright, to stop ◀ key 'stop, halt, cease; stand, stand up' KCH:163

— *n.* being upright

máy káy *idiom* to be tall

káy he ka *idiom* to trample on sth

káy he be *idiom* to withhold sth

káy béena *idiom* to stand up

káy-kay *vi.* to stroll ◀ key 'stop, halt; stand' KCH:163

keedí *vt.* to be on sth ◀ kaar 'mount on (animal)' KCH:159
— *n.* riding

keení *vi.* to be laid down; to sleep ◀ kani 'lay down, go to sleep, spend the night' KCH:157
— *n.* sleep

keení η guná *n.* dream

kóoray *vi.* to be white ◀ korey 'be white' KCH:170
— *n.* white (color)
— *adj.* white

kor-ó-koray *vi.* to be very white ◀ korey 'be white' KCH:170

korrá *vi.* to be hot ◀ koron 'be hot' KCH:171

- *vt.* to heat (up), to make hot
- *n.* heat ◀ koron 'heat' KCH:171

kós *vi.* to be cut

- *vt.* to cut ◀ kosu 'trim (bush); pluck out feathers of' KCH:173
- *n.* cut, cutting

kóy *vt.* to leave for; to go to ◀ koy 'go, go away' KCH:173

kóy-kat *vi.* to come

kóy *n.* master, owner ◀ koy 'owner, master' KCH:173 *pl.* **kó-n**

kud-én *npl.* blood ◀ kuri 'blood' KCH:179

kúd *vi.* to be lead to pasture

- *vt.* to lead (herd) to pasture; to tend (flock) ◀ kur '(animals) go to pasture; tend, herd (animals) KCH:179; KS:221
- *n.* leading to pasture

kukú *vi.* to be long (stick/rod), deep (well), tall (person) ◀ kuu 'be long or tall' KCH:174 Niafunké: kuku

- *vt.* to make deep
- *n.* length

kuná *vt.* to find, to get; to have (thirst); ◀ kumna 'gather up, pick up (e.g. firewood)' KCH:177; kuuna KS:219

- *n.* finding *pl.* **kun-én**

hé η kuna *n.* sickness

he (a)kuna bora *idiom* to be sick (person)

kungú *vi.* to have well eaten ◀ kungu 'be sated, be full (after meal)' KCH:178

kurú-kuru *vi.* to be burned (meal)

- *vt.* to burn sb ◀ kukur 'burn' KCH:175

kussú *n.* jar; pot ◀ kusu 'baking dish (earthenware or modern)' KCH:180

pl. **kuss-én**

kuurú *n.* skin; hide, leather ◀ kuuru 'skin; pelt, hide, leather' KCH:179 *pl.*

kuur-én

kwondí *n.* ant ◀ nkondo 'large black ant' KCH:169 *pl.* **kwond-én**

L

laytór *n.* medical doctor; health agent ◀ lokotor, 'agent de santé'

< French *pl.* **laytor-én**

langáy *n.* salt sown in a mat ◀ ?

lés *vi.* to be (religiously) impure; to be dirty (from excrements) ◀ leesi

- ‘dung’ KCH:185
 — *vt.* to make dirty
 — *n.* dirt from excrements

 L

- laabú** *n.* loam, clay ◀ laabu ‘earth, soil, dirt; mud-gravel mix for bricks’ KCH:181 *pl.* **laab-en**

 M

- maaná** *interrogative adv.* where; used for an item in close vicinity.
 ◀ man ‘where?’ KCH:189
- maaní** *n.* fat on meat ◀ maani ‘fat (in meat)’ KCH:190
- mammaní** *n.* smell, perfume ◀ mani ‘to smell’ KCH:190
- mán** *vi.* to be near ◀ maan ‘be or come near, approach’ KCH:190
 — *vt.* to approach
- mân** *n.* name ◀ maa ‘name, designation; reputation, fame’ KCH:188 *pl.* **máan-en**
- maatíga** *n.* peanuts ◀ maatige ‘(common) peanut’ KCH:192 < bambara
- máy** *vt.* to have, to own ◀ mey ‘have, own’ KCH:195
- miya** *n.* mouth, peak, muzzle; opening; end, side; measurement of something e.g. a glass ◀ mee ‘mouth; entrance, edge’ KCH:193 *pl.* **miy-en**
- miyá kukú** *n.* mosquito *pl.* **miyá kuk-én**
- mó** *vi.* to hear (noise) ◀ mom ‘hear’ KCH:198
 — *vt.* to have news about s.th
- mó** *n.* eye; face ◀ moo ‘eye, pair of eyes’ KCH:196 *pl.* **mó-n**
- mó ka** *noun phrase.* before sb.
- dá mó** *idiom* to be blind on one eye
- mór** *vi.* to be far away ◀ moor ‘be or go far, go deep, be distant’ KCH:198
 — *vt.* to distance from
- mún** *vi.* to be thrown out
 — *vt.* to throw out ◀ mun ‘spill, dump, pour’ KCH:200; KS:249
 — *n.* pouring *pl.* **muun-én**
- musáy** *vi.* to be soft
 — *vt.* to soften sth. by hitting on it ◀ musey ‘rub, massage; tan (hide)’ KCH:201

N

ná *vt.* to give ◀ noo 'give; gift' KCH:205
— *n.* giving

naaná *n.* mother, sister of mother; maternal ancestor ◀ naa 'mother, mother's sister' KCH:206; KS:258 *pl.* **naan-én**

nana béeri *n.* grand mother ◀ naa-beeri 'mother's younger sister' KCH:259

naná fumbú *n.* stepmother ◀ naa-fumb-o 'co-wife of one's mother; stepmother' KCH:207; KS:259

ne *n.* location; very low nominal property, in combination with demonstratives and question 'what location'; where, in combination with a relative clause. ◀ nee 'here' KCH:204
— *adv.* here; rarely used form to indicate location

néeda *n.* here; also used in postpositional phrase [< /ne/ 'place' + /da/ 'exactly'] ◀ nee daa 'right here' KCH:204

ni- ~ ən- *pron.* you; 2s subject clitic ◀ ni 'you' KCH:204

nín *vt.* to drink ◀ jin 'drink' KCH:208

nín *pron.* you, independent 2s pronoun ◀ ni 'you' KCH:204

nuun-én *npl.* smoke; vapor, steam; cloud ◀ nuune 'fire; brand (on animal)' KCH:206; KS:258

N

nam *vt.* to bite; (insect) sting ◀ nam 'bite (teeth), (insect) sting, bite' KCH:202

nas *vi.* to be fat; opposite of skinny ◀ naasu '(livestock) be plump, well fed, fattened' KCH: 204
— *vt.* to make fat

ŋ

ŋá *vt.* to eat; (animal) to bite; to use (money) fraudulently; to cost ◀ ŋaa 'eat; spend (money); ' KCH:202
— *n.* eating

O

óoda *dem.* this, cataphoric in texts ◀ woo ‘this, that’ KCH:254 + da ‘exactly’ KCH:64

Q

qóq *vi.* to be dry ◀ koo ‘(wet object) become dry; (water) dry up, evaporate’ KCH:164; koog-o ‘dry, brittle’ KCH:166

S

salánga *n.* toilet and shower place ◀ salanga ‘toilet, septic tank’ KCH:213
pl. salanga-tan

sáawa *vi.* to resemble ◀ sawa ‘be equal’ KCH:216 < Arabic

se (*dative*) *postp.* for, to ◀ se ‘for, to’ KCH:216

sóoro *n.* upper floor of a building ◀ sooro ‘upper floor of house (roof terrace)’ KCH:244 < perhaps Hausa ‘soro’ *pl. sóoro-tan*

surgóy *n.* woman ◀ soog-a ‘young adult’ KS:281 *pl. surgó-(e)n*

zaw surgóy *idiom* to get married

surgóy may aníyat *idiom* pregnant woman

suubú *n.* hay; grass dried on the root ◀ subu ‘grass, straw, herb’ KCH:226 *pl. suub-én*

Ş

şót *vi.* to fly (bird)

— *vt.* to jump over ◀ sar ‘jump, hop, dance’ KCH:214

— *n.* jump

J

jaakú *n.* bag (for cereal) ◀ caaku ‘large sack (for grain)’ KCH:55 perhaps < French ‘sac’ *pl. jaakúu-tan*

T

- taafá** *n.* liver ◀ tasa 'liver' KCH:235 KS:298
- tabá** *vt.* to taste sth ◀ taba 'taste' KCH:229
— *n.* taste ◀ taba 'taste' KCH:229
- taymú** *n.* sandal ◀ taam 'pair of shoes' KCH:232 Goundam, Niafouké:
taamu *pl.* **taym-én**
- tangá** *vt.* to make (animal) go forward ◀ tanj 'push' (Hombori)
- tárra** *n.* bush; longing; loneliness. ◀ terey 'outside' KCH:238; tarey 'area outside' KS:297; Cf. Tagdal [tarra]; Tasawaq táára
- tínj** *vi.* to be heavy (most eastern dialect) ◀ tin 'be heavy' KCH:240 tinj 'be heavy' KS:304
- tên** *vi.* to arrive ◀ tenje 'go towards, head for' KCH:237
— *n.* arrival *pl.* **téen-en**
- tú** *n.* large (wooden) eating bowl ◀ tuu '(wooden) eating bowl' KCH:244
pl. **tuw-yén**
- tudú** *vi.* to respond to a call by giving an audible noise ◀ tuuru 'answer, give a reply, respond (to a summons)' KCH:247
- tugúdu** *n.* ◀ tuuri 'tree, wood' KCH:246 *pl.* **tugúd-en**
- túk** *vt.* to hide ◀ tugu 'hide; conceal' KCH:245
— *n.* hiding
- tunú** *vi.* to get up ◀ tun 'get up, arise' KCH:246
— *n.* getting up
- tungú** *n.* kind of turban ◀ tungu 'veil' KCH:246 *pl.* **tung-én**
- tús** *vi.* to be erased, to be wiped out
— *vt.* to wipe out, to erase ◀ tuusu 'erase, wipe ' KCH:247; KS:312
— *n.* wiping out

T

- táaba** *n.* tobacco ◀ taaba ~ taabaa 'tobacco' KCH:229 *pl.* **táab-en**
- taabáy** *n.* turban ◀ tabey 'turban' KCH:230 *pl.* **taab-én**
- taamú** *n.* (former) slave, male of sub-saharan origin with nomadic culture ◀ tam 'slave, subject' KCH:232 *pl.* **taam-én**
- taatab** *vt.* sew ◀ taa (derbe) 'sew (clothing)' KCH:229+69 daabu 'cover, dress' KCH:64
— *n.* sewing

- ṭáace** *n.* (former) slave girl [taa(m) + cee(ná)?] ◀ tam 'slave, subject'
KCH:232 *pl.* **ṭáacen-án**
- ṭámce** *n.* (former) slave boy [ṭaamu + cee(ná)?] ◀ tam 'slave, subject'
KCH:232 *pl.* **ṭámcen-án**
- ṭáw** *vi.* (time of day, date, season) to have arrived
— *vt.* to arrive (at destination), to reach, to attain ◀ too 'arrive (at destination), reach, attain; be equal to, be worth; (time of day, date, season) arrive; be enough for' KCH:241
- ṭáwway** *n.* (former) female slave [taa(m) + way?] ◀ tam 'slave, subject'
KCH:232 *pl.* **ṭáww-an**
- ṭay** *vi.* to be wet; to be green (grass) ◀ tey 'get wet' KCH:238
— *vt.* to make wet
— *n.* wetness
- ṭón** *vi.* to be full ◀ ton 'be full; fill; fullness' KCH:242
— *vt.* to fill
— *n.* filling *pl.* **ṭon-én**
- ṭóndi** *n.* stone, rock, stony elevation; battery ◀ tondi 'rock, stone'
KCH:242 *pl.* **tónd-en**

W

- wá** *vi.* to be healed
— *vt.* to heal ◀ wow '(wound) heal' KCH:254
- wa ~ ba** *particle.* 2p imperative preceding verb; prohibitive preceding all pronoun clitics ◀ wo '2p imperative, directly preceding verb'
KCH:254
- wáni** *postp.* of ◀ wane 'possessive postposition' KS:316 *pl.* **wán-en**
- wánjin** *vt.* to refuse ◀ wangu 'refuse, say no' KCH:250
- wâw** *vt.* to insult ◀ wow 'insult' KCH:254
— *n.* insult *pl.* **wáaw-en**
- wáy** *n.* woman, female ◀ woy 'woman, female' KCH:254 *pl.* **waay-én**
- wayní** *n.* sun ◀ woyné 'sun' KCH:256
- wí** *vt.* to kill; to extinguish (fire, light), to turn off (radio/TV) ◀ wii 'kill; extinguish (fire, light)' KCH:253
— *n.* killing

Y

- yáw** *n.* female camel of all ages ◀ yoo 'camel' KCH:262 *pl.* **yaaw-én**
- yáy** *vi.* to be cool; to be calm ◀ yey 'be cold, cool; be calm' KCH:261
 — *vt.* to make cool
 — *n.* coolness *pl.* **yaay-én**
- yéd** *vi.* to return ◀ yee 'return, go back' KCH:260
- yén** *vi.* to be rubbed in with butter/oil
 — *vt.* to rub in with butter/oil ◀ yoon 'rub (ointment) on or in, anoint; anointment' KCH:263
- yéeri** *vi.* to vomit ◀ yeer 'vomit' KCH:261; yeeri KS:239
 — *n.* vomiting *pl.* **yeer-án**

Z

- zayrí** *n.* day; daytime ◀ jaari 'day, daytime' KCH:139; zaari KS:336.
pl. **zayr-én**
- zaróoda** *n.* today ◀ zaar-oo da (Bamba) 'today' KS:336
- záw** *vt.* to take; to take (wife), to marry; ◀ jow 'take, take possession of; take (a wife), marry' KCH:150; zaa KS:332
- záy** *vt.* to steal ◀ jey 'steal, rob' KCH:144
 — *n.* theft
- záy** *vi.* to swear ◀ jee 'swear, take an oath' KCH:140
 — *n.* swearword *pl.* **zay-én**
- zumbú** *vi.* to go down; to land (bird); to stay with; to settle for a certain time ◀ jumbu 'descend, go or come down; (bird) land, alight' KCH:151
 zumbu KS:343
- zurú** *vi.* to run ◀ jur (juru) 'run, move fast, speed, race, flee; (liquid) flow' KCH:151 zuru KS:344
 — *n.* running

3

- zeemí** *n.* blacksmith, craftsman ◀ jam 'jeweler (gold- and silversmith); blacksmith' KCH:137 *pl.* **zeem-án**
- zén** *vi.* to be old ◀ jeen 'be or get old, ancient' KCH:141
 — *vt.* to make old

3f *vt.* to kick ◀ *jii* 'push' KCH:144 *zii* KS:338 DN92 'donner un coup de pied'

— *n.* kick

3iibí *n.* dirt ◀ *jiibi* 'filth, garbage' KCH:144 *pl.* **3iib-én; 3iibí-tan**

3iibit *vi.* to be dirty ◀ *jiibi* 'filth, garbage' KCH:144

Morpheme Index

The following list gives affixes, other grammatical morphemes, determiners and a few stems with their labels or meanings. In the alphabetical order vowel length is ignored, the velar fricative *ɣ* follows *g*, and schwa follows *e*. *ʃ* and *ʒ* follow the non-palatalized sibilant respectively.

morpheme	gloss/label with paragraph
<i>a-</i>	3s subject clitic 3.1.4.1; 3.2.6.2
<i>aa-</i>	3s indirect object clitic 3.2.6.3
<i>a-</i>	number (singular) prefix 3.2.1
<i>=a</i>	3s direct object clitic 3.1.4.3; 3.2.6.2
<i>adí</i>	anaphoric demonstrative 4.1.3.4
<i>agar</i>	'bad' in compound like expressions with nouns 3.2.5
<i>aɣ(a)-</i>	1s subject clitic 3.1.4.1; 3.2.6.2
<i>aɣáy</i>	1s direct/indirect object pronoun 3.2.6.2; 3.2.6.3 independent 1s pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>ayo / ayondo</i>	determiner 4.1.4
<i>ak</i>	question particle 4.7.3.1
<i>-an</i>	plural suffix (Tamasheq cognates) 3.2.3.1.4 plural suffix (Songhay cognates) allomorph 3.2.3.1.1
<i>-an</i>	adjectivizer suffix 3.2.8.2
<i>-an</i>	'towards there' allative suffix on verb 3.1.3.6
<i>ana</i>	2s.DAT 3.2.7.11.2.1.1
<i>andə-</i>	2p subject clitic 3.1.4.1; 3.2.6.2
<i>ándi</i>	2p direct/indirect object pronoun 3.2.6.2 independent 2p pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>anga</i>	3s independent pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>ar(ə)-</i>	1p subject clitic 3.1.4.1; 3.2.6.2
<i>ári</i>	1p direct/indirect object pronoun 3.2.6.2

	independent 1p pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>(a)senda</i>	'there' deictic distant 3.1.5.2 'that' demonstrative 4.1.3.1
<i>ay=</i>	allomorph of <i>a=</i> 3.2.6.4
<i>ayda</i>	'this' deictic close to addressee 4.1.3.3 'this' demonstrative 4.1.3.3; 4.1.4.1
<i>b-/bə-/f-</i>	imperfective prefix 3.1.4.2; 4.2.1
<i>ba ~ wa</i>	2p imperative particle 4.2.5 with 1p imperative 4.2.5.2 in negation of imperatives 4.2.5.3
<i>báara</i>	'is' existence/availability 4.4.1 'be somewhere' 4.4.4
<i>be</i>	'on', 'about' locative postposition 3.2.7.3
<i>bor(a) a=ffĩ</i>	'nobody' 4.6.6.1; in relative clause 4.5.2.1
<i>da</i>	'right, exactly' intensifying discourse particle 4.7.4.3
<i>daw</i>	'at somebody's (place)' locative postposition 3.2.7.4
<i>-en</i>	plural suffix (Songhay cognates) 3.2.3.1.1
<i>-en/-ən</i>	plural suffix (Tamasheq cognates) allomorph 3.2.3.2.1
<i>ənda</i>	'with' instrumental preposition 3.2.7.8 'with' combined with pronouns 3.2.7.11.2.2 'with' comitative 4.3.6 'in the direction of' locative 3.2.7.8 'and' conjoining NPs 4.1.9.1 'when' conditional 4.8.3.1
<i>ənd-ayō</i>	determiner (pl) dialectal variant 4.1.4
<i>ənd-anga</i>	'when/if' conditional marker 4.8.3.1
<i>əndár</i>	'if' hypothetical condition 4.8.3.3
<i>fo</i>	'a certain' indefinite marker 3.2.9.1
<i>h(e) a=ffĩ</i>	'nothing' 4.6.6.1; in relative clause 4.5.2.1
<i>hak</i>	'each' dialectal variant 4.1.6
<i>har</i>	'until' before verb 4.8.4.5 'except' following negation 4.6.3

<i>hínjin</i>	'be/do very much' intensifier verb 4.3.3.1
<i>ho</i>	'this' (replacing actions) 4.1.3.5 'what' introducing relative clause 4.5.2.2
<i>i-</i>	number (plural) prefix 3.2.3.2
<i>-i/-u</i>	adjectivizer suffix 3.2.8.1
<i>i=</i>	3p subject clitic 3.1.4.1; 3.2.6.2 3p indirect object clitic 3.2.6.3
<i>=i</i>	3p direct object clitic 3.2.6.2
<i>id-</i>	plural prefix 3.2.3.1.3
<i>igan</i>	question particle 4.7.3.1
<i>-in</i>	plural suffix (Tamasheq cognates) allomorph 3.2.3.3
<i>ínzin</i>	'like' comparison 3.2.7.10; 4.7.4.6
<i>íngi</i>	3p independent pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>íttilla</i>	'each' in NP syntax 4.1.6
<i>ka</i>	'to', 'in', 'from', 'among' locative postposition 3.2.7.2
<i>káaka</i>	'whatever' 4.1.6
<i>káamil</i>	'all' in NP syntax 4.1.6
<i>kar ~ kahar</i> <i>~ kabahar</i>	'if' part of conditional marker 4.8.3.2
<i>-kat</i>	'towards here' ventive suffix on verbs 3.1.3.6
<i>kəlá</i>	'never' with negation on verb 4.6.1. 'once' preverbal 4.6.1.
<i>-koy</i>	'owner' minor compound suffix 3.2.5
<i>kud</i>	'if' after verbs of cognition 4.3.10.4
<i>kullú</i>	'each' 4.1.6
<i>m-</i>	subjunctive prefix 3.1.4.2; 4.2.2
<i>m(ə)-/n(ə)-</i>	middle/reciprocal prefix 3.1.3.3.2
<i>ma-/na-</i>	actor nominalizer prefix 3.2.4.2
<i>man</i>	'which' 4.7.3.3; 4.7.3.3.5-7

<i>maana</i>	'where' 4.7.3.3.4
<i>n</i>	'(N)'s' genitive postposition 3.2.7.6 in possessive pronoun 3.2.6.4
<i>n</i>	pronoun separator 3.2.7.11.2
<i>na</i>	'over there' demonstrative 4.1.3.6
<i>na</i>	'be' copula in interrogative 4.7.4.3.1
<i>na-</i>	actor nominalizer prefix (allomorph) 3.2.4.2
<i>nanga</i>	'when/if' conditional marker 4.8.3.1
<i>(ə)n=</i>	2s subject clitic (allomorph) 3.1.4.1
<i>n(ə)-</i>	middle/reciprocal prefix (allomorph) 3.1.3.3.2
<i>ne</i>	'here' availability 4.4.2 'there (where)' introducing relative clause 4.5.2.2
<i>needa</i>	'here' deictic closeness 3.1.5.2
<i>nə-</i>	perfective negation prefix 3.1.4.2; 4.2.4
<i>nə-/ən-</i>	subject focus prefix 4.7.2.1
<i>nə-/ən-</i>	extraction marker in subject relative clauses 4.5.1.1
<i>ni=</i>	2s subject clitic 3.1.4.1
<i>nín</i>	2s direct/indirect object pronoun 3.2.6.2 independent 2s pronoun 3.2.6.2
<i>no</i>	'there' low stress demonstrative 4.4.2.2; 4.5.1
<i>o</i>	'this' demonstrative with broad reference 4.1.3.5
<i>ooda</i>	'this' demonstrative 4.1.3.2
<i>s(ə)- / ʃ(ə)- z(ə)- / ʒ(ə)-</i>	causative prefixes 3.1.3.2
<i>sa</i>	complementizer for complement clauses 4.3.10.3 'that' in relative clause 4.5.4 topic marker in non-verbal clauses 4.7.1.1 'when' simultaneity 4.8.4.1
<i>se</i>	dative postposition 3.2.7.1
<i>sə-</i>	non-perfective negation prefix 3.1.4.2; 4.2.4

<i>s(ə)-</i>	instrument nominalizer prefix 3.2.4.3.1
<i>əs- ~ əmməs-</i>	'maybe' part of conditional marker 4.8.3.2
<i>sínnihil</i>	'be/do very much' intensifier verb 4.3.3.2
<i>ʃ(ə)-</i>	causative prefix (allomorph) 3.1.3.2
<i>ʃeddí ~ ceddí</i>	'yet' preverbal 4.8.4.7 'not yet' with negation on verb 4.6.5
<i>-ʃí</i>	'is not' non-existence of item 4.4.1
<i>t(ə)-</i>	passive prefix 3.1.3.4
<i>t-...-t</i>	assimilation rules 3.2.2.1 feminine (gender) affixes 3.2.2.2 diminutive affixes 3.2.3.3 nominalization affixes 3.2.4.3
<i>-tan</i>	plural suffix 3.2.3.1.2; 3.2.3.2.2
<i>tə-</i>	future prefix 3.1.4.2; 4.2.3
<i>tuw- / tuwa-</i>	passive prefix 3.1.3.4
<i>-u</i>	nominalization suffix (verb class final /-ət/) 3.2.4.1.2
<i>-u/-i</i>	adjectivizer suffix 3.2.8.1
<i>wa ~ ba</i>	2p imperative particle 4.2.5 with 1p imperative 4.2.5.2 in negation of imperatives 4.2.5.3
<i>wala</i>	'without' preposition 3.2.7.9 'or' disjoining NPs 4.1.9.2 and clauses 4.8.1.2 'not even' with negation on verb 4.6.4
<i>-wan</i>	minor plural suffix (Tamasheq cognates) 3.2.3.2.5
<i>wáni</i> <i>wán-en</i>	'of' possessive postposition 3.2.6.4; 3.2.7.7 with <i>ayó</i> 4.1.4.2
<i>wərtilla</i>	'there is not' non-existence 4.4.1; 4.6.6.2
<i>wiji</i>	'is not' negation of identification 4.4.1 tag in tag question 4.7.3.2
<i>-yen/-yan</i>	minor plural suffix (Songhay cognates) 3.2.3.1.1

$z(\vartheta)$ - causative prefix (allomorph) (3.1.3.2)
 $ʒ(\vartheta)$ - causative prefix (allomorph) (3.1.3.2)