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A grammar of Tagdal: a Northern Songhay language

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Chapter 4

4.0 Clause, Syntax, Paragraph structure

This chapter, will cover primarily phenomena in Tagdal above the morphophonemic and word levels. Sections 4.1 through 4.3 will cover phrase structures, starting with the Noun Phrase, then with the Adpositional Phrase. Sections 4.4 through 4.10 deal with various aspects of the clause and the sentence in Tagdal. Finally, section 4.11 details a number of ways in which sentences are coordinated to form paragraphs.

4.1 Noun Phrases

The only mandatory element in the NP in Tagdal is the head, either a noun, independent pronoun or proper name,. Most NPs contain no more than two additional elements after the head. Figure 4-1 is a list of the most common order of possible elements within a Noun Phrase.

Figure 4-1 Noun Phrase structure

HEAD (Dem/DET) (Numeral) (Dem/DET) (Adj) (Dem/DET)

In general, the default word order in the Tagdal NP has the head, usually a noun, pronoun, Possessor Phrase, Genitive Phrase or Relative Clause, with numerals and adjectives following.¹⁰⁰ The demonstratives or the determiner can either precede or follow the numeral or adjective.

In this section, elements of the Noun Phrase will be described mainly by how they function, rather than from the morpho-phonemic point of view. First, determiners will be described, along with brief discussions of their functions within discourse. Second, numbers and adjectives will be discussed. Finally, the Genitive Phrase and Possessor Phrase will be discussed.

Determiners, demonstratives

Tagdal has a number of demonstratives and determiners, with various functions. *fo* and *aafó* do not have deictic function, and usually occur when a referent is being introduced for the first time, or in cases of indefinite NPs.¹⁰¹ *aafó* may also function as a NP by itself, or as the pronominal head of a relative clause.

¹⁰⁰ In this way, it is similar to the order of constituents in the NP in Tadaksahak (Christiansen-Bolli 2010: 143), although it seems that ordering of determiners is more flexible in Tagdal.

¹⁰¹ However, this is not the whole story, as the absence of a determiner can also signal either definiteness or indefiniteness (see, for example Section 4.8.4 for how this affects relative clauses). Regardless, for the purpose of simplification, it will be referred to in this document as an Indefinite marker.

In contrast, Tagdal has a number of demonstratives with deictic function, which cannot co-occur with *fo* or *aafó*. The most common is the proximal demonstrative *aayó*, which like *aafó* can also function as a NP or as the pronominal head of a relative clause. The presence of *aayó* usually indicates old information or definiteness. *ʒí*, and *fén* also have deictic function, combined with relative distance, either physical or temporal, from the speaker.¹⁰² For the sake of convenience, in this document it will be referred to as a Definite marker.

In addition, Tagdal has a number of other compound demonstratives, *ayʒí*, in effect a combination of *aayó* and *ʒí*; and *ayfén*, a combination of *aayó* and *fén*. In this section, each of these will be discussed, with emphasis placed on their functions within the Noun Phrase. Table 4-1 lists the various determiners in Tagdal, along with their functions.

Table 4-1 Determiners and their functions

determiner	function	gloss
fo / aafó	indefiniteness – introduction of new referents/participants in a discourse	'a certain, some, certain ones'
aayó	proximal distance, anaphoric, increased saliency of NP	'this, these'
ʒí	medial distance, anaphoric, increased saliency	'that, these'
ayʒí	medial distance, anaphoric, possibly stronger saliency than <i>ʒí</i> alone	'that, these'
fén	relatively long distance, anaphoric, increased saliency	'that, those (far away)'
ayfén	relatively long distance, anaphoric, possibly stronger saliency than <i>fén</i> alone	'that, those (far away)'

Indefinite *aafó*, *fo*, *foóda*

The determiner *fo*, derived from *aafó* 'one', matches the noun it modifies in number. When *fo* modifies a plural noun, it takes the plural suffix *-nen* and stress shifts to the final syllable. Adding the CVC suffix *-nen* to *fo* leads to the lengthening of the initial, forming the plural determiner *foonén*.

In its singular form, *fo* can be glossed more or less as 'a certain one' of whatever NP it modifies, while in its plural form, it could be translated more or less

¹⁰² In this way, they seem to follow the general pattern described in Levinson (2004: 26), where deictic systems with more than two terms are “often organized in terms of a binary opposition between proximal and distal, with the distal category permitting finer discrimination between a ‘medial’ and ‘distal’”.

as 'some' or 'a certain number of'. Table 4-2 provides a few examples of nouns with the determiner *fo* in its singular and plural forms.

Table 4-2 Typical singular versus plural occurrences of *fo*

1	anafaráġit fo	'an ignorant person'	inafaráġiitan foonén	'some ignorant people'
2	anárag fo	'a certain neighbour'	ináraagan foonén	'certain neighbours'
3	ániibo fo	'a child born out of wedlock'	inniiban foonén	'certain children born out of wedlock'
4	árkaawal fo	'a promise'	irkáwwaalen foonén	'certain promises'
5	assáyri fo	'a teaching'	isáyraayan foonén	'some teachings'
6	bəndíga fo	'a rifle'	bəndíggaatan foonén	'some rifles'
7	fer fo	'an opening'	feerén foonén	'some openings'
8	fiiġi fo	'a sheep'	fiiġén foonén	'some sheep'
9	gúusu fo	'a hole'	guusén foonén	'some holes'
10	hámboori fo	'a mortar drum'	hamboorén foonén	'some mortar drums'
11	kámba fo	'a hand'	kambén foonén	'certain hands'
12	me fo	'a mouth'	men foonén	'some mouths'
13	táamu fo	'a female slave'	taamén foonén	'certain female slaves'
14	taddágal fo	'a daughter-in-law'	ġidduulen foonén	'some daughters-in- law'
15	way fo	'a woman'	wayyén foonén	'some women'

fóoda, structurally *fo* combined with the emphatic *da*, means 'only one', 'only' or 'alone'. The presence of the CV syllable in *da* causes the short vowel in *fo* to elongate, most likely indicating that the construction forms a single word. For obvious reasons, *fóoda* only occurs with singular nouns. Table 4-3 provides some examples.

Table 4-3 nouns with *fóoda*

1	abágog	'large adult male sheep'	abbágog fóoda	'only one large adult male sheep'
2	abáydag	'a thief'	abbáydag fóoda	'only one thief'
3	ánġa	'he, she, it' (3sg Pronoun)	ánġa fóoda	'he, she, it only'
4	ínġi	'they' (3pl pronoun)	ínġi fóoda	'only them'
5	baġyó	'head'	baġyó fóoda	'putting heads together' ¹⁰³

¹⁰³ *da baġyó fóoda*, literally 'do one head', is a common expression used to indicate something

6	dab	'dress'		dab fóoda	'one dress'
7	yaay	'me'	(1sg	yaay fóoda	'only me'
		Pronoun)			
8	fárka	'donkey'		fárka fóoda	'one donkey'
9	gúusu	'hole'		gúusu fóoda	'one hole'
10	húgg	'dwelling'		húgg fóoda	'one dwelling'
11	tabáarar	'daughter'		tabbáarar fóoda	'only daughter'
12	tállaaqay	'poor person'		tállaaqay fóoda	'one poor person'

One of the most common functions of *fo* or *foonén* is to introduce new participants in a discourse. Once a participant has been introduced into a discourse, it occurs further on with or without a demonstrative with anaphoric function, or as a pronoun or pronominal clitic. Examples 4.1 through 4.3 demonstrate how *fo* functions to introduce new referents or participants.

4.1 sa yaté, **gónfi fo**
 sa ya= te **gonfi fo**
 SBDR 1SG arrive snake IDF
 'When I arrived, a snake

abáara húgg n ámmas.
 a= baara hugg n ammas
 3SG LOC house GEN interior
 was in the middle of the house.'

4.2 záyji kullú, **tállaaqay fo** abhurrú jíkóttawen
 zayji kullu tallaaqay fo a= b- hurru jikóttawen
 day all poor.man IDF 3SG IMP search charity
 'Every day, a certain poor man would beg

boorén aayoonén əbhur yáabu sa.
 booren aayoonén ə- b- hur yaabu sa
 people DEF.PL SUB.REL IMP enter market DAT
 from the people (who were) entering the market.'

4.3 ənguuʒii da, **way fo** até.
 ənguuʒi da way fo a= te
 suddenly a woman 3sg arrive
 'Suddenly, a woman arrived.

along the lines of working together to come up with a solution to a problem.

abzuurú, absáqqərət boorén sa.

a=	b-	zuuru	a=	b-	səqqərət	booren	sa
3sg	imp	run	3sg	IMP	scream	people	DAT

She was running (around), screaming at people.'

So far, all of the examples above are of *fo* or *foonén* introducing subjects. However, *fo* and other determiners can occur with any NP. Examples 4.4 through 4.7 show *fo* occurring with non-subjects.

4.4 sa yahún addúnya, fik yáay
 sa ya= hun addunya fik yaay
 SBDR 1SG leave world bury 1SG.IND
 'When I die, bury me

ənda móota fo əbsáawa
 ənda moota fo ə- b- saawa
 with a car SUB.REL IMP resemble
 with a car

ənda aayóoda!
 ənda aayo da
 with this EMPH
 like this one!' (i.e. place it inside the grave with me)

4.5 asəkna áysa boorén foonén.
 a= səkna ya= sa booren foonen
 3SG demonstrate 1SG DAT certain people
 'He pointed certain people out to me.'

4.6 iiriná iizé fo sa-a.
 iiri= na iizé fo sa =a
 1PL give some.child DAT 3SG
 'We gave it to some (unspecified) child.'

4.7 ifur tonzén foonén guusuu kan.
 i= fur tonzen foonen guusu kan
 3PL throw some.rocks hole in
 'They threw some stones into the hole.'

Definite *aayó*, *zi*, *fen*

The demonstratives, *aayó*, *zi* and *fen* each have a similar anaphoric and exophoric

function, to bring into temporary prominence a previously-introduced referent.¹⁰⁴ The main difference between them has to do with proximity of the noun from the speaker, either in physical distance or in time, relative to the event. In general, *aayó*, *zí* and *jén* function to mark an NP as definite. However, since an NP lacking the demonstrative can also be definite,¹⁰⁵ *aayó*, *zí* and *jén* also raise the relative prominence of their NP, relative to the rest of the clause.

Demonstratives and determiners typically match the NP they modify in number, either singular or plural. In its plural form, *aayó* takes the suffix *-nen* and stress shifts to the final syllable. In addition, just as with *fo*, the vowel in the penultimate syllable is lengthened before *-nen*, making the plural *aayoonén*. Table 4-4 shows the modifier *aayó* in its singular and plural forms.

Table 4-4 singular versus plural occurrences of *aayó*

1	abbákad aayó	'this sin'	ibákkaadan aayoonén	'these sins'
2	abárkaw aayó	'this male calf'	ibárkaawan aayoonén	'these male calves'
3	abáykor aayó	'this dog'	ibíkar aayoonén	'these dogs'
4	abóbaz aayó	'this (male) cousin'	ibóbbaazan aayoonén	'these (male) cousins'
5	bangú aayó	'this well'	bangén aayoonén	'these wells'
6	dátaazal aayó	'this dawn'	datázzaalen aayoonén	'these dawns'
7	duudú aayó	'this strong rain'	duudén aayoonén	'these strong rains'
8	hangá aayó	'this ear'	hangén aayoonén	'these ears'
9	zayzi aayó	'this day'	zayzén aayoonén	'these days'
10	kúusu aayó	'this cooking pot'	kuusén aayoonén	'these cooking pots'
11	mállaaayat aayó	'this race'	imaláyyaaten aayoonén	'these races'
12	saarás aayó	'this spider'	saaraasén aayoonén	'these spiders'
13	sárho aayó	'this favour' (i.e. good will)	sarhén aayoonén	'these favours'
14	táffaayda aayó	'this wound from carrying heavy loads'	jíffaaydan aayoonén	'these wounds from carrying heavy loads'

Since anaphoric deixis is not obligatory, the presence of *aayó* or *aayoonén* (or *zí* or *jén*) in their anaphoric function raises the prominence of the NP, relative to other elements in the clause. In Examples 4.8 through 4.12, *aayó* and *aayoonén* are anaphoric, whereas 4.13 through 4.15 are exophoric.

¹⁰⁴ What Grimes (1975) calls a "thematic participant".

¹⁰⁵ See Section 4.8 for a discussion of relative clauses with no demonstrative and their function.

4.8 kaalá ʔanəguuná **boorén aayoonén!**
 kaala ʔa= nə- guuna booren aayoonen
 never 1SG NEG.PRF see people DEF.PL
 'I have never seen these people!'

4.9 **báarar aayó** atəwwəqəs har wa afaaná.
baarar aayo a= təwəqqəs har wa a= ʃaana
 boy DEF 3SG kicked out until moment 3SG little
 'This boy was kicked out (of his family) when he was still little.'

4.10 ʔasəbwá **ha aayó**.
 ʔa= sə- b- wa ha aayo
 1SG NEG.IMP IMP eat thing DEF
 'I don't eat that.'

4.11 sa ahár **ha aayó**, təzár agiʃ iiri.
 sa a= har ha aayo təzar a= giʃ iiri
 SBDR 3SG say thing DEF then 3SG leave 1PL
 'After declaring that, he left us (standing there).'

4.12 **aaró aayó**, an yáahu da ayíbdan.
 aaro aayo a= n yaahu da a= əbdan
 man DEF 3SG GEN birth EMPH 3SG crippled
 'This man was crippled from birth.'

4.13 insəbáaya, maʃʃán
 ni= sə- bay =a maʃʃán
 2SG NEG know 3SG.OBJ but
 'You don't know it, but

aaró aayó asərmay ʔaay.
 aaro aayo a= sərmay ʔaay
 man DEF 3SG scare 1SG.IND
 that man scares me.'

4.14 **ha aayó** atəzaw áʔsa wúllen!
 ha aayo a= tə- ʔaw ʔa= sa wullen
 thing DEF 3SG FUT help 1SG DAT much
 'This will help me a lot!'

In Example 4.15, **aayó** is functioning as a pronominal subject of the clause.

- 4.15 **aayonén** itədə iirisa jīməyutar.
 aayoonen i= tə- da iiri= sa jīməyutar
 DEF.PL 3PL FUT do 1PL DAT difficulties
 'Those (people) are going to cause us problems.'

zi occurs less frequently than *fo* or *aayó*, and does not seem to occur pronominally or as the head of a NP. Otherwise, it functions in a similar way to *aayó*, to mark an NP as definite and bring the NP into temporary prominence within a discourse, relative to other elements in the clause. The main difference is relative spatial or temporal distance, with *zi* indicating medial distance, relative to *aayó*, but not as long a distance as *fen*.

zi matches the noun it modifies in number. In its plural form, the plural suffix *-nen* is added and stress shifts to the final syllable. In addition, the initial vowel in *zi* is lengthened when *-nen* is added, forming the plural determiner *ziinén*. Table 4-5 demonstrates some examples.

Table 4-5 Typical singular versus plural occurrences of *zi*

1	aaró zí	'that man'	aarén ziinén	'those men'
2	álwaq zí	'that time'	álwaaqen ziinén	'those times'
3	baarí zí	'that horse'	baarén ziinén	'those horses'
4	gungú zí	'that belly'	gungén ziinén	'those bellies'
5	haar zí	'that speech'	haarén ziinén	'those (political) speeches'
6	nas zí	'that animal fat'	naasén ziinén	'those (types of) animal fat'
7	qaarán ¹⁰⁶ zí	'that class'	qáaran ziinén	'those studies'
8	tabbárad zí	'this young woman'	jíbáraaden ziinén	'those young women'

The following examples demonstrate how *zi* functions. Examples 4.16 and 4.17 are exophoric.

- 4.16 **álwaq zi**, boorén buuboonén
 alwaq zi booren buuboonen
 time MED people many
 'In that time (period), lots of people

ibəbáy qaarán.
 i= b- bay qaaran
 3PL IMP know study
 knew how to read.'

¹⁰⁶ The noun *qaarán* 'study' has the same form regardless of whether it is singular or plural..

4.17 iiribda-á **aaró ʒi** sa.
 iiri= b- da -a aaro ʒi sa
 1PL IMP do 3SG man MED DAT
 'We were doing it for that man (over there).'

In Example 4.18, adding the Emphatic marker *da* to *ʒi* shifts the stress to the final syllable and causes the initial vowel to elongate. Therefore, I treat it as a single unit. The resulting word, *ʒiidá*, is somewhat unusual.

4.18 **baarí ʒiidá** afúr ʔan ʔaaráy.
 baari ʒiida a= fur ʔa= n ʔaaray
 horse MED.EMPH 3SG throw 1SG GEN friend
 'That particular horse threw off my friend.'

In Example 4.19, the speaker mentions a certain mountain that had evil spirits (literally 'people of the desert') associated with it.

4.19 **akáʔwar ʒi** amay
 akaʔwar ʒi a= may
 mountain MED 3SG have
 'That mountain has

boorén aayoonén teneré wánen wullen.
 booren aayoonen tenere wanen wullen
 people DEF.PL desert POSS many
 many evil spirits.'

4.20 **tabárar ʒi** adá ʔismiitan ʔas da.
 tabarar ʒi a= da ʔismiitan ʔas da
 girl MED 3SG do jealousy only
 'That girl is just jealous.'

The demonstrative *ʔen* functions anaphorically to refer to old information within a discourse, while also raising the relative prominence of the NP it modifies and creates farther distance than that created by *aayó* or *ʒi*. When combined with the emphatic marker *da*, it retains its original stress. Unlike the other demonstratives, *ʔen* does not have different forms for the singular and the plural. In addition, it can occur in the beginning of the sentence as adverbial information, indicating a specific location which has already been introduced. Below are a few examples of how Tagdal uses *ʔen*. Examples 4.23 and 4.24 are exophoric.

4.21 məʔi ʔatəda meerá da?
 məʔi ʔa= tə- da meera da
 what? 1SG FUT do now EMPH
 'NOW what am I going to do?'

anatakme fén aĩ!
 anatakme fén a= ĩi
 brat DIS 3SG not. be
 'That brat isn't (there)!'

4.22 **iwəysan fén da,**
 iwəysan fén da
 wild.animals DIS EMPH
 'Those wild animals,

ingi itəttəwwiia bəssəba.
 ingi i= tə- tətwwiia bəssəba
 3PL.IND 3PL FUT release tomorrow
 'those are the ones that will be released tomorrow.'

4.23 **húggū fén anəmór wúllen.**
 huggu fén a= nə- mor wullen
 building DIS 3SG NEG.PRF far very
 'That building isn't very far.'

In Example 4.24, *fén* functions to introduce Location as adverbial information. In this case, it refers to a mythical distant country that the speaker was jokingly calling *gánda aayó annasára wáni* 'white people's country'.

4.24 **fén da, boorén igərgəs.**
 fén da boorén i= gərgəs
 DIS EMPH people 3PL be.rich
 'Over there, people are rich.'

Compound demonstratives *ayzĩ*, *ayfén*

Tagdal has two distal demonstratives, *ayzĩ* and *ayfén*, based on *aayó*. Both will be discussed in this section.

First, *ayzĩ* is composed of the two determiners *aayó* and *zĩ*. It matches the NP it modifies in number, with the resulting plural expression being *ayziinén*.¹⁰⁷ I treat *ayzĩ* as a single unit, rather than as a combination of two demonstratives, for several reasons. First, only the second part of the demonstrative, *zĩ*, is ever pluralised

¹⁰⁷ In Tabarog, the plural is *ayzén*.

– *ayziinén* rather than **aayoonén ziinén*. Second, the elision of the final stress-bearing vowel in the initial part, *aayó*, also most likely indicates a single unit.

One further note: *ayzí* in the singular sometimes co-occurs with the emphatic marker *da*. When they co-occur, stress shifts to the emphatic *da*, forming *ayziidá*; the plural form is *ayziinendá*. Most likely the presence of *da* makes emphasis even stronger.¹⁰⁸

ayzí and *ayziinén* occur relatively rarely, and they raise the referent or participant to even greater prominence than a single determiner *aayó* or *zí* would offer. For obvious reasons, constructions with *ayzí* and *ayziinén* are highly marked.

4.25 Meerá da, **aaró ayziidá**
 meera da **aaro** **ayzi** da
 now man COMP.MED EMPH
 'Today, *that* man

afí íirin amanókal.
 a= íi iiri= n amanokal
 3SG is 1PL GEN chief
 is our chief.'

4.26 **zayzén ayziinén,**
zayzen **ayziinen** iiri= gíj
 days COMP.MED.PL 1PL leave
 'It was during those days (that)

íirin gánda.
 iiri= n ganda
 1PL GEN land
 we left our country.'

4.27 zaw ása **ayziidá,**
 zaw a= sa **ayzi** da
 deliver 3SG DAT COMP.MED EMPH
 'Take *this one* to him,

¹⁰⁸ However, my Tagdal-speaking colleagues generally have difficulties explaining the differences between *ayzí* and *ayziidá* (or the plural form), often using them interchangeably.

nimsəzaw **ayzi**.¹⁰⁹
 ni= m- sə- zaw **ayzi**
 2SG SBJ NEG deliver COMP.MED
 not *that one*.'

The demonstrative *ayfén*, which sometimes occurs with the Emphatic marker *da*, is a compound comprised of *aayó* and *fén*. Like *fén*, *ayfén* has both an anaphoric or exophoric function, and also raises the relative prominence of the NP it modifies. It also creates distance from the narration place or event, greater than *ayzi*. It does not have any kind of plural form. Mother-tongue speakers have a difficult time explaining the difference between *fén* and *ayfén*. However, *ayfén* seems to give greater prominence to its NP than simply *fén*, especially when combined with the emphatic marker *da*. 4.28 through 4.30 are some examples. 4.30 is exophoric.

4.28 boorén **ayfén da**,
 booren ayfen da
 people COMP.DIS EMPH
 'Those people (currently not present)

isəbay amnəs.
 i= sə- bay amnəs
 3PL NEG.IMP know camel
 don't know (anything about) camels.'

4.29 álwaqqen **ayfén**, boorén ən táyte
 alwaqqen ayfen booren n tayte
 times COMP.DIS people GEN intelligence
 'In those days, people were more clever

abis írri-wáni.
 a= bis iiri= wani
 3SG pass 1PL POSS
 than we are'

4.30 móota aayó, aaró **ayfén** wáni.
 moota aayó aaró ayfén wani
 car this man COMP.DIS POSS
 'This car (belongs to) that man (in the distance).'

¹⁰⁹ This is also an example of *ayzi* functioning as a pronoun, replacing a full NP.

4.2 Noun Phrase coordination

When coordinating NPs, the connectors *nda* 'and' or 'with' and *meeda* 'or' are used. A connector is mandatory between each coordinated NP.

nda 'and'

nda 'and' is the most common coordinating connector for NPs in Tagdal. Examples 4.31 through 4.33 demonstrate how it is used.

- 4.31 **yu nda tawárat,**
 yu nda tawarat
 female.camel and female.baby.camel
 'A (female) camel and (her) baby

ibgóora tárray n ámmas.
 i= b- goora tárray n ammas
 3PL IMP sit road GEN middle
 were sitting in the middle of the road.'

- 4.32 **tármát ikóy imkəmmá**
 tármát i= koy i= m- kəmma
 quickly 3PL go 3PL SBJ find
 'Quickly, they went to find the

aaró nda way.
 aaro nda way
 husband and wife
 husband and wife.'

- 4.33 **sa ayédkat abhánga nda**
 sa a= yed -kat a= b- hanga nda
 SBDR 3SG return VEN 3SG IMP accompany with
 'When he returned, he was accompanied by

alqáli nda almúwwaṭkil nda amanókal
 alqali nda almuwwaṭkil nda anamokal
 judge and lawyer and king
 the judge, the lawyer, the king

nda soozútan mǎraw nda ahínka.
 nda sozitan maraw nda ahínka
 and soldiers 10 and 2
 and twelve soldiers.'

***meeda* 'or'**

Examples 4.34 through 4.36 demonstrate how the coordinator *meeda* 'or' is used in Tagdal.

- 4.34 nibáaya **kafé meeda affáhi?**
 ni= baaya kafe meeda affáhi
 2SG want coffee or tea
 'Would you like coffee or tea?'

- 4.35 yamkóy nda
 ya= m- koy nda
 1SG SBJ go with
 'Should I go with

- yán kayna meeda yán nabóbaz?**
 ya= n kayna meeda ya= n abobaz
 1SG GEN younger.sibling or 1SG GEN cousin
 'my little brother or my cousin?'

- 4.36 yamdá ayəl **meeda** zəlgət.
 ya= m- da ayəl meeda zəlgət
 1SG SBJ do right or left
 'I should turn right or left.'

Examples 4.37 through 4.39 are either coordinated NPs or coordinated clauses where the each clause shares the same VP¹¹⁰ and, therefore, the second occurrence is elided.

- 4.37 **nikəmmá** máraw **meeda** támmerwen?
 ni= kəmma maraw meeda támmerwen
 2sg find 10 or 20
 'Did you find ten or twenty (of them)?'

- 4.38 **itəgda** nda boorén aayoonén ne,
 i= tə- əgda nda booren aayoonen ne
 3pl FUT equal with people those here
 'Will they be equal to these people here

¹¹⁰ The question requires more study.

meeda aayoonén fáydaanen?
 meeda aayoonen faydaanen
 or DEF.PL others
 or to those others?'

4.39 **yamdá** ayəl **meeda** zəlgət.
 ya= m- da ayəl meeda zəlgət
 1sg SBJ do right or left
 'I should turn right or left.'

4.3 Adpositional phrases

Tagdal has only one preposition, the instrumental or accompaniment marker *nda*, while all others are postpositions. Adpositions are usually preceded by either a Noun Phrase, pronoun or proclitic. Or in the case of *nda*, the NP follows. In cases where the NP does not need to be mentioned overtly, a proclitic or pronoun will be present either before or after.

Table 4-6 lists the possible adpositions, along with their glosses and functions.

Table 4-6 list of adpositions in Tagdal

Preposition	gloss	function	postposition	gloss	function
nda (NP)	'with'	Instrumental, Accompaniment	(NP) sa	'for'	Dative
			(NP) kan	'in', 'at'	Locative
			(NP) daayó	'at' ('chez')	Locative
			(NP) ga	'on'	Locative
			(NP) n béena	'on', 'over'	Locative
			(NP) n jǐdáy	'under'	Locative
			(NP) n agánna	'beside'	Locative
			(NP) n aláqqam	'behind'	Locative

Each adposition is preceded (or followed, in the case of *nda*) by a Noun Phrase. The only exception is *béena* 'on, over', which requires the Genitive *n* after the NP. Examples 4.40 through 4.45 demonstrate some examples of each adposition.

4.40 **nda** aaró aayó
 nda aaro aayo
 with man DEF
 'with that man'

4.41 **yan faaráy sa**
 ya= n faaray sa
 1SG GEN friend DAT
 'for my friend'

4.42 móota **kan**
 moota kan
 car in
 'in the car'

4.43 yaay **daayó**
 yaay daayo
 1SG.IND place
 'my place'

4.44 banyó **ga**
 banyo ga
 head on
 'on top of the head'

4.45 húggu m béena
 huggu n beena
 house GEN over
 'over the house'

4.4 Word order in verbal clauses

The default word order in Tagdal is SVO, with an Indirect Object, introduced by the Dative *sa*, occurring before the Direct Object. Most of the following examples were taken from various other places in this document. In Examples 4.18 and 4.20, repeated from previous sections, both the Subject and Direct Object are full NPs.

4.18 **baarí ziidá** afúr **yan faaráy**.
 baari ziiida a= fur ya= n faaray
 horse MED.EMPH 3SG throw 1SG GEN friend
 'That particular horse threw off my friend.'

4.20 **tabárar ʒi adá fismiitan ʔas da.**
 tabarar ʒi a= da fismiitan ʔas da
 girl MED 3SG do jealousy only
 'That girl is just jealous.'

In Example 4.46, the Direct Object is a relative clause.

4.46 **ikəmmá mus aayó nikar tárray kan.**
 i= kəmma mus aayó ni= kar tárray kan
 3PL find cat DEF 2SG hit road in
 'They found the cat you ran over (with your car) on the road.'

In examples 3.79, 4.5, repeated from earlier, and 4.47 the Direct Object follows the Indirect Object.

3.79 **zawkat áysa affáhi.**
 zaw -kat ʔa= sa affáhi
 take VEN 1SG DAT tea
 'Bring me some tea.'

4.5 **asəkna áysa boorén foonén.**
 a= səkna ʔa= sa booren foonen
 3SG demonstrate 1SG DAT certain people
 'He pointed certain people out to me.'

4.47 **amasəyri amsəkná báaraaran sa qáaran.**
 amasəyri a= m- səkna baraaran sa qaran
 teacher 1SG SBJ show children DAT study
 'The teacher should teach the children how to read.'

In Examples 3.48 and 3.85, repeated from the previous chapter, the Subject, Direct Object and Indirect Object are all pronominal clitics.

3.48 **ʔabfáw ísa-a.**
 ʔa= b- faw i= sa =a
 1SG IMP show 3SG DAT 3SG
 'I was showing it to them.'

3.85 **an íns-i.**
 a= na ni= sa =i
 3SG give 2SG DAT 3PL
 'He gave them to you.'

Therefore, to summarise, with some exceptions (see Section 4.11), basic word order in Tagdal is SVO, with the Indirect Object occurring before the Direct Object.

4.5 Non-verbal clauses

It is possible to leave the copula verb *fi* out of the predicate without changing the general meaning of the sentence. For example, *aarén aayoonen, soozíitan* 'those men are soldiers' and *aarén aayoonen, soozíitan ifi* 'those men are soldiers' refer to the same situation. However, by leaving out the verb, relative emphasis is put upon the qualities of the NP, usually communicated with an adjective. Examples 4.48 through 4.51 demonstrate this.

4.48 *aarén aayoonen, soozíitan.*
 aaren aayoonen soozíitan
 men DEF.PL soldiers
 'Those men are soldiers.'

4.49 *íiri, kárad.*
 iiri karad
 1PL three
 'We are three (people).'

4.50 *án̄ga, way zaanúunan.*
 aŋga way zaanuunan
 3SG.IND woman old
 'She (emph) is an old woman.'

4.51 *yan káyna marabóut.*¹¹¹
 ya= n kayna marabout
 1SG GEN younger.singling marabout
 'My younger sibling is a marabout.'

4.6 Clause coordination

Coordination in complex sentences, defined here as sentences with more than one clause, can occur in one of two manners. First, by means of combining the Tense,

¹¹¹ This is actually a term borrowed into French from the Arabic *almurábiṭ*. However, since *murábiṭ* is not a word in any nigérien language that I am aware of – the default word throughout seems to be *marabout* – it is likely that this word entered into Tagdal vocabulary as a borrowing from French. Therefore, I represent it here with italics.

Aspect or Mood markers of the VPs in each clause, with no connector (Section 4.6.1). Second, by means of connectors (Section 4.6.2). These include adversatives and disjunctives.

4.6.1 Clausal coordination without a connector

All clauses coordinated without connectors in Tagdal must share the same Tense-Aspect-Mode in their VPs. Most coordinate clauses without a connector express a simple conjunctive relationship, more or less translated as 'and'. Examples 4.52 through 4.56 illustrate this.

4.52 **aguun-í, azuurú tarmát.**

a= gun =i a= zuuru tarmat
3SG see 3PL.OBJ 3PL run quickly
'He saw them and ran away quickly.'

4.53 **nimzáwnaan-a húžen,**

ni= m- zaw -nan =a húžen
2SG SBJ take ALL 3SG.OBJ home
'You need to take it home'

nimsókna-a ni-niiná sa.

ni= m- sökna =a ni= n niina sa
2SG SBJ show 3SG.OBJ 2SG GEN mother DAT
'and show it to your mother.'

4.54 **aʃín írisa iirimwá, iirimnin**

a= ʃín iiri= sa iiri= m- wa iiri= m- nin
3SG say 1PL DAT 1PL SBJ eat 1PL SBJ drink
'He told us to eat and drink'

báaraan imtəwsəlyəd.

baraaran i= m- təw- s- əlyəd
children 3PL SBJ PASS CAUS be.comfortable
'and the children should be made comfortable.'

4.55 **ibáaya sa itəkóy, itúk káyyaatan kan.**

i= baaya sa i= tə- koy i= tuk káyyaatan kan
3PL want SBDR 3PL FUT go 3PL hide baggage in
'They wanted to go, so they hid among the baggage.'

4.56 **asəkúula íiri, iirigáar-a.**

a= səkúula =iiri iiri= gar =a
3SG not.like 1PL.OBJ 1PL guard 3SG.OBJ
'He didn't like us so we kept an eye on him (lit. 'guarded').'

In Example 4.57 the final clause has a Resultative kind of relation.

- 4.57 aaró aayó **abzínziiri**, **abná** zákkat,
 aaro aayo a= b- zinziiri a= b- na zakkat
 man DEF 3SG IMP pray 3SG IMP give alms
 'Such a man prays, gives alms (to the poor),

Yán Koy **abtúba**-a.
 Yán Koy a= b- tuba =a
 God 3SG IMP accept 3SG.OBJ
 and therefore God accepts him.'

In Example 4.58, both of the coordinated VPs are subordinate, introduced with *sa*. The principal clause is introduced with *təzzár* (also see section 4.11), which in this case contrasts with the coordinated clauses to indicate the nuance 'only then'.

- 4.58 sa **até**, **awá**,
 sa a= te a= wa
 SBDR 3SG arrive 3SG eat
 'After he arrived and ate,

təzzár ahur ám ba daayó.
 təzzar a= hur a= n ba daayo
 then 3SG enter 3SG GEN father place
 only then did he go to where his father was.'

In Example 4.59 the effect of the coordinated clauses seems to be a kind of marked contrast between those who were waiting and those who had left without them.

- 4.59 iiri**bbəqəl**, i**bjíkəl**.
 iiri= b- əqəl i= b- jíkəl
 1PL IMP wait 3PL IMP travel
 'We were waiting, (while) they were traveling.'

4.6.2 Clause coordination with connector

The most common connectors used for coordination of clauses are *maffán*, *míffan* 'but', *meeda* 'or' and sometimes *waalá* 'or'. All three are discussed below.

Adversatives *maffán, míffan* 'but'

The connector *maffán* 'but' is the most common way to express adversative relationships between clauses. It typically precedes the second clause, as shown in Examples 4.60 through 4.63.

4.60 ha kullú **nin** iiri*yífræg*,
 ha kullu nin iiri= əfræg
 thing all drink 1PL able
 Everything is permissible for us to drink,

maffán aməswəd harám inəsləmin sa.
 maffan aməswəd haram inəsləmin sa
 but alcoholic.drink forbidden Muslims DAT
 but alcohol is forbidden for Muslims.

4.61 yabáaya-a,
 ya= baaya =a
 1SG love 3SG.OBJ
 'I love her,

maffán am boorén iwánzin.
 maffan a= n booren i= wanzin
 but 3SG GEN people 3PL refuse
 but her parents won't accept (me).'

4.62 **nimáy** túraagat sa nimkóy in-húzen
 ni= may turaagat sa ni= m- koy i= n húzen
 2SG have authorisation that 2SG SBJ go 3PL GEN house
 'You have permission to go to their house,

maffán nimsəməw im báatuutan.
 maffan ni= m- sə- maw i= n baatuutan
 but 2SG SBJ NEG.IMP hear 2PL GEN discourses
 but you shouldn't listen to their words.'

4.63 **ahurrú** sa atəzáy ɣan ábbaawen
 a= hurru sa a= tə- zay ɣa= n abbaawen
 3SG seek SBDR 3SG FUT steal 1SG GEN leather.sack
 'He tried to steal my purse

maffán ʔasórrawraw ágga, azúuru.

maffán ʔa= se- ərɔrawraw a= ga a= zuuru
 but 1SG CAUS scream 3SG on 3SG run
 'but I screamed at him and he ran.'

In Example 4.64, *maffán* introduces the sentence and, therefore, the connection is to the previous discourse. It is from a story where various other characters forgot about the victims in a village, but the hero is says that he will not abandon them.

4.64 **maffán** ʔaay da, ʔasəkóy dáʔna-anʒi!

maffán ʔaay da ʔa= səkoy dáʔna =anʒi
 but 1SG.IND EMPH 1SG NEG.FUT forget 2PL.OBJ
 'But as for me, I will not forget you (pl)!'

Tagdal has another rarely-occurring Adversative connector, *míffan* 'but'. It has the same syntactic distribution as *maffán*. While *míffan* is also used for adversative coordination, it expresses a stronger opposition than *maffán*.

4.65 ahurrú iirin íman, **míffan** iiridórræg.

a= hurru iiri= n iman míffan iiri= dærræg
 3SG seek 1PL GEN life but.FOC 1PL flee
 'He tried to kill us, but we escaped.'

In Example 4.66 *míffan* introduces a sentence, and the coordination takes place between the previous discourse and the main clause.

4.66 **míffan**, sa álwaq ató,

míffan sa alwaq a= to
 but.FOC SBRD moment 3SG achieve
 'But when the time came,

harwá inəté.

harwa i= nə- te
 still 3PL NEG.PRF arrive
 'they had not arrived yet.'

Disjunctive, *meeda* and *waalá* 'or'

Another common connector for disjunctive coordination in Tagdal is *meeda* 'or', which does not carry stress and can also coordinate NPs (see Section 4.2), as shown in Examples 4.67 and 4.68.

4.67 **nimkóy meeda nimgoorá,**
 ni= m koy meeda ni= m- goora
 2SG SBJ go or 2SG SBJ stay
 '(Whether) you go or stay,

ha kullú fóoda.
 ha kullu fóoda
 thing all one.only
 'it's all the same.'

4.68 **fáarad meeda fik?**
 farad meeda fik
 sweep or dig
 '(Are you) sweeping or digging?'

A second disjunctive marker in Tagdal is *waalá* 'or'. This connector occurs much less frequently than *meeda* and seems to have an inherent negative 'not even' or perhaps 'or not' kind of sense. It is also used in tag questions (see Section 4.10.2). Example 4.69 demonstrates.

4.69 **nimsəkóy nimháfikat nin aláqqam,**
 ni= m- səkoy ni= m- hafī -kat ni= n aláqqam
 2SG SBJ NEG.FUT 2SG SBJ look VEN 2SG GEN back
 'You are not to look backward,

waalá nimgoorá dáayo fo kan!
 waala ni= m- goora daayo fo kan
 nor 2SG SBJ stay place IDF in
 'nor even to stop anyplace!'

In Example 4.70, the presence of the interrogative *ənta* indicates a strong question (see Section 4.10), in this case indicating a certain degree of frustration.

4.70 **ənta anzimáy diezél, waalá?**
 ənta anzi= may diezél waala
 INT 2PL have diesel or
 'Do you(pl) have diesel or not?'

4.7 Subordination

Relative clauses (Section 4.8) have a different structure from that of principal clauses, especially the Subject Relative. Other types of subordinate clauses, however, have

similar structures as their principle clause. Adverbial (Section 4.7.1) and complement clauses (Section 4.7.2), for example, are only distinguishable because they are introduced with the subordinator *sa*, or some other subordinating connector, or combination of connectors.

4.7.1 Adverbial clauses

Most commonly, adverbial clauses precede the main clause and are introduced with a connector, the most frequent being *sa* 'when'; *sa harwá* 'while' or 'before', and *harwá* 'in addition' or 'while', depending on its collocates; *ámmaaka* 'if'; *nda anǎŋi* 'unless'; and *ha aayó nda* 'in the manner of'. The use of the Subjunctive or Future marker to describe purpose is also possible. This section will discuss each of these.

Time relation, *sa* 'when'

The subordinator *sa* always introduces subordinate clauses.¹¹² When introducing an adverbial clause, it has a temporal element, translating more or less as 'when'. In places where the next word after *sa* begins with a vowel, the *a* in *sa* is elided.

4.71 **sa yaté**, yaguuná way fo
 sa ya= te ya= guuna way fo
 SBDR 1SG arrive 1SG see woman IDF
 When I arrived, I saw a woman

əbhurrú yān káyyaatan kan.
 ə- b- hurru ya= n kayyaatan kan
 SUB.REL IMP search 1SG GEN stuff in
 (who was) looking through my things.

4.72 **sa yakóy**, igoorá ibhár yáay ga.
 sa ya= koy i= goora i= b- har yaay ga
 SBDR 1SG go 3PL sit 3PL IMP say 1SG.IND on
 When I left, they started to talk about me.

4.73 **sa hánfi azín biizí**, azuurú
 sa hanfi a= zin biizí a= zuuru
 SBDR dog 3SG grab bone 3SG run
 After the dog took the bone, he ran

¹¹² Where a clause is introduced with *sa* following the main clause, it is usually a complement clause.

afáas-a gúusu kan.
 a= fas =a guusu kan
 3SG dig 3SG hole in
 and buried it in a hole.

4.74 **sa yabkóy lakól**, yabəbáy qáaran.
 sa ya= b- koy lakol ya= b- bay qaran
 SBDR 1SG IMP go school 1SG IMP know read
 'When I was going to school, I knew how to read.'

4.75 **sa iyédkat**
 sa i= yed -kat
 SBDR 3PL return VEN
 As they returned,

álman ibhúr in afárag.
 alman i= b- hur i= n afarag
 animals 3PL IMP enter 3PL GEN enclosure
 the animals were going into their enclosure.

Example 4.76 begins with *təzzár* 'then', which increases the relative prominence of the sentence, signals a peak episode in the discourse and connects temporally to previous sentences (see Section 4.11). The adverbial clause, introduced with *sa*, follows *təzzár* and is preceded by a brief pause between the two connectors, represented here with a comma.

4.76 *təzzár*, **sa kéeni ahúur-a** wúllen,
 təzzar sa keeni a= hur =a wullen
 then SBDR sleep 3SG enter 3SG.OBJ very
 Then, when he got very sleepy,

akánkat gánda.
 a= kan -kat ganda
 3SG fall VEN ground
 he fell to the ground.

***sa harwá* 'while', 'before', 'not yet'**

The combination of the two connectors *sa* and *harwá* introducing an adverbial clause can function in one of two ways. If the VP has the Imperfective marker *b-*, it indicates that the action was still in process when the action in the principal clause took place. The resulting construction could be translated more or less as 'while X was happening'.

It is similar to the 'while' relation communicated below, except that when *sa harwá* is used, emphasis seems to be placed upon the simultaneity of the actions in question, rather than upon the actions themselves. Examples 4.77 through 4.80 combine *sa harwá* with the Imperfective *b-*.

4.77 **sa harwá amanókal abhár** ikóy húdjen.

sa	harwa	amanokal	a=	b-	har	i=	koy	hudjen
SBDR	still	chief	3SG	IMP	speak	3PL	go	home

Meanwhile, as the chief was (still) speaking, they went home.

4.78 **sa harwá iiribjikəl,**

sa	harwa	iiri=	b-	jikəl
SBDR	still	1PL	IMP	travel

'While we were still traveling,

bóora fo azáy am móota.

boora	fo	a=	zay	a=	n	moota
person	IDF	3SG	steal	3SG	GEN	car

someone stole his car.'

4.79 **sa harwá abəbáara** húzen,

sa	harwa	a=	b-	baara	huzen
SBDR	still	3SG	IMP	LOC	home

While he was still home,

ikóy tármāt a-daayó.

i=	koy	tarmat	a=	daayo
3PL	go	quickly	3SG	place

they went quickly to his place.

4.80 **sa harwá abəgməm,**

sa	harwa	a=	b-	əgməm
SBDR	still	3SG	IMP	chew.tobacco

'While he was still chewing the tobacco,

iiriyoggá jiwúkkaawen áala kan.

iiri=	yogga	jiwukkaawen	aala	kan
1PL	see.distance	worms	leaves	in

we spied worms in the leaves.'

On the other hand, *sa harwá* with a Perfective Negation in the VP of the adverbial clause indicates that the action did not take place, giving it the nuance of 'before' or in some cases 'not yet'. Examples 4.81 through 4.83 demonstrate.

4.81 **sa harwá anəbén nda je,**

sa harwa a= nə- ben nda je
 SBDR still 3SG NEG.PRF finish with speech
 'Before he was finished with his speech,

folíssaatan ite, iziin-á.
 folíssaatan i= te i= zin =a
 policemen 3PL arrive 3PL grab 3SG.OBJ
 'the police came and arrested him.'

4.82 **sa harwá inətó Táhoua,**

sa harwa i= nə- to Táhoua
 SBDR still 3PL NEG.PRF arrive Táhoua
 'They not arrived in Táhoua yet, when

esáns abén.
 esans a= ben
 gasoline 3SG finish
 '(their) gasoline ran out.'

4.83 **sa harwá inəytəf-i,**

sa harwa i= nə- əytəf =i
 SBDR still 3PL NEG.PRF ambush 3PL.OBJ
 'Before they could ambush them,

taməntəka awəzlət, ha kullú ayíxfəd.
 taməntəka a= wəzlət ha kullu a= əxfəd
 army 3SG tour everything 3SG ruin
 'the army patrol came around and everything was ruined.'

In summary, when *sa harwá* introduces an adverbial clause, if the VP has the Imperfective marker *b-*, it indicates that the action was still taking place as the action(s) in the principal clause, more or less translated as 'while'. On the other hand, if the VP in the adverbial clause has the Perfective Negation *nə-*, it indicates that the action did not take place, or had not taken place, relative to the action(s) in the principal clause. The resulting clause could be translated more or less as 'before' or 'not yet'.

Additive *harwá* 'in addition', 'while'

When *harwá* introduces a subordinate clause, it has either an additive 'in addition' or 'moreover' kind of relation, or a continuing kind of relation, translated more or less as 'while', as in Examples 4.84 and 4.85.

4.84 *yatəná ínsa takáʃit*
 ya= tə- na ni= sa takáʃit
 1SG FUT give 2SG DAT inheritance
 'I will give you (your) inheritance'

bóora kullú m mó kan,
 boora kullu n mo kan
 everyone GEN eye in
 in front of everyone

harwá yayíddər.
 harwa ya= əddər
 while 1SG live
 while I am still alive.'

4.85 *iirimkóy tármət, harwá anəgra!*
 iiri= m- yed tármət harwa a= nə- əgra
 1PL SBJ return fast while 3SG NEG.PRF understand
 'Let's get out of here quickly, while he still doesn't understand!'

In Examples 4.86 through 4.88, *harwá* adds or clarifies information in the main clause and could be translated as 'furthermore'.

4.86 *yanəguuna ha,*
 ya= nə- guuna ha
 1SG NEG.PRF see thing
 'I didn't see anything,

harwá yaʃi ne!
 harwa ya= ʃi ne
 furthermore 1SG not.be there
 furthermore I wasn't there!'

4.87 *anəgóora iiri-daayó,*
 a= nə- goora iiri= daayo
 3SG NEG.PRF stay 1PL place
 'He didn't stay with us, '

harwá ayíyrəs.

harwa a= əyrəs
 furthermore 3SG pass.through
 furthermore he passed through.' (i.e. without stopping)

4.88 ayɪŋkəd daayó aayó kan,
 a= əŋkəd daayó aayó kan
 3SG be.careful place DEF in
 'He was careful (while he was) at that place,

harwá ayíyrəf boora kullú.

harwa a= əyrəf boora kullu
 furthermore 3SG encourage everyone
 furthermore he encouraged everyone (there).'

In Example 4.89, the subordinate clause introduced with *harwá* is pre-posed, placing relative focus of the sentence on the pre-posed adverbial clause.

4.89 **harwá i-niina akéeni,**
 harwa i= niina a= keeni
 while 3PL mother 3SG sleep
 'While their mother slept,

iyíydər, ikoy zínziiri aayó áyrəm wáni.
 i= əydər i= koy zínziiri aayó áyrəm wani
 3PL sneak 3PL go celebration DEF town POSS
 they snuck out and went to the town fair.'

Conditional ámmaaka 'if'

The conditional marker *ámmaaka* 'if' introduces adverbial clauses before the principal clause. Examples 4.90 and 4.91 demonstrate.

4.90 **ámmaaka niyárda,** nimélkəmkat íirisa
 ammaaka ni= yarda ni= m- əlkəm -kat iiri= sa
 if 2sg agree 2sg SBJ follow VEN 1PL DAT
 If you're willing, you should follow us

ar íiritó Agádez.
 ar iiri= to Agadez
 til 1PL achieve Agadez
 until we reach Agadez.

4.91 **ámmaaka iiriguuna-á,**
 tazzar ammaaka iiri= guuna =a
 then if 1SG see 3SG.OBJ
 So then if we see him,

nimdá nin tagólmus.
 ni= m- da ni= n tagólmus
 3SG SBJ place 2SG GEN turban
 you should put on your turban.

Example 4.92 begins with *təzzár*, which is connected to previous discourse and increases its relative prominence. In this case, it forms part of the conclusion to an entire discourse.

4.92 **təzzár, ámmaaka niyízraay-a nda bóora fo,**
 tazzar ammaaka ni= əzray =a nda boora fo
 then if 2SG replace 3SG.OBJ with person IDF
 Then if you replace him with someone else,

intəmay jíməyútar əjilláanan.
 ni= tə- may jíməyutar ə- jillan -an
 2SG FUT have difficulties SUB.REL same ADJR
 you will have the same problems.

Conditionals with *kud* 'if'

The connector *kud*, which does not have stress, introduces a second conditional relation 'if'. Unlike conditional clauses introduced with *ámmaaka*, those introduced with *kud* are limited to asking or wondering whether something might be true or not. Therefore, there seems to be a definite, but subtle, difference in modality between conditional clauses introduced with *ámmaaka* and those introduced with *kud*. Clauses introduced with *kud* follow the main clause. Examples 4.93 through 4.96 demonstrate.

4.93 har áysa
 har ay= sa
 declare 1SG.OBJ DAT
 'Let me know

kud nibáaya sa záyzi aayó
 kud ni= baaya sa záyzi aayó
 if 2SG want SBDR day DEF
 if you want me

yamte nin daayó.

ya= m- te ni= n daayo
 1SG SBJ arrive 2SG GEN place
 to arrive at your place today.'

4.94 **yaśəstən ɣan íman kan kud ite, waalá.**

ya= səstən ɣa= n iman kan kud i= te waala
 1SG ask 1SG GEN soul in if 3PL arrive none
 'I wonder whether they have arrived or not.'

4.95 **iritəgún kud eerán ibén.**

iiri= tə- gun kud eeran i= ben
 1PL FUT see if waters 3PL finish
 'We'll see if the flooding is over.'

4.96 **wa har áysa kud anjitórəz**

wa har ɣa= sa kud anʒi= tə- ərəz
 COMM declare 1SG DAT if 2PL FUT pay
 'Tell me whether you will pay'

ɣan amúzar sa, waalá!

ɣa= n amuzar waala
 1SG GEN master nothing
 my master or not!'

In Example 4.97 *harwá* 'still' occurs after the Verb. Perhaps it is post-posed in order to reduce the relative importance of its VP, though the matter requires more study.

4.97 **iirisəbáy kud nim móota**

iiri= sə- bay kud ni= n moota
 1PL NEG.IMP know if 2SG GEN car
 'We don't know if your car'

adá harwá.

a= da harwa
 3SG do still
 still works.'

Tagdal also has a compound construction, combining *kud*, the emphatic marker *da* and the subordinator *sa*, resulting in *kud da sa*, with no stress on any of the syllables. This translates as 'even if'. Each of these constructions will be described below in Examples 4.98 through 4.100.

4.98 Ḡasəkóy iləs ḡamkóy a-daayó,
 ḡa= səkoy iləs ḡa= m- koy a= daayó
 1SG NEG.FUT ever 1SG SBJ go 3SG place
 'I'm never going to his place again

kud da sa am ber ahóssay.

kud da sa a= n ber a= hossay
 even.if 2SG GEN older.sibling 3SG beautiful
 'even though his older sister is beautiful.'

4.99 áḡga atəkəmmá takáḡit,
 aḡga a= tə- kəmma takaḡit
 3SG.IND 3SG FUT find inheritance
 'She (emphatic) is going to receive an inheritance,

kud da sa aḡi káyna.

kud da sa a= ḡi kayna
 even.if 3SG be younger.sibling
 'even though she is (the) younger sibling.'

4.100 ḡasəkóy koy,
 ḡa= səkoy koy
 1SG NEG.FUT go
 'I won't go,

kud da sa annábi

kud da sa annabi
 even.if prophet
 'even if a prophet

əḡamar áḡsa-a!

ə- yamar ḡa= sa =a
 SUB.REL command 1SG DAT 3SG.OBJ
 'were to order me to (go)!'

Negative conditional, counterfactual *nda anəḡi* 'unless'

Tagdal has a relatively uncommon construction, *nda anəḡi*, also pronounced *nda anəḡi* in the Abargan and kəl Amdid varieties and *nda anəsi* in Tabarog. In cases where it

occurs in the beginning of the sentence, or where the previous word ends in a consonant, an epenthetic *ə* appears, making the construction *ənda anəfi*.

nda anəfi functions primarily as the negative conditional 'unless' and can occur either before or after the main clause in a complex sentence. For obvious reasons, with this kind of relation the verb in the principal clause is often negated. In Examples 4.101 and 4.102 the clause with the negative conditional occurs after the principal clause.

4.101 *ɣasəkóy wa waalá ha fo,*
 $\gamma a =$ *səkoy* *wa* *waalá ha fo*
 1SG NEG.FUT eat absolutely.nothing
 'I am not going to eat absolutely anything,

nda anəfi ɣagún ɣam báraaran.

nda anəfi $\gamma a =$ *gun* $\gamma a =$ *n* *baraaran*
 unless 1SG see 1SG GEN children
 'unless I see my children.'

4.102 *wáyyen isəkuulá huunú,*
 $wayyen$ *i =* *səkuula* *huunu*
 women 3PL not.want exit
 'The women don't want to come out

nda anəfi aarén isəddərgən isa.

nda anəfi *aaren* *i =* *səddərgən* *i =* *sa*
 unless men 3PL listen 3PL DAT
 'unless the men listen to them.'

On the other hand, in Example 4.103 the subordinate clause occurs before the principal clause. What specific effect placing the clause with the negative conditional before or after the main clause requires more study, though it is likely that it has at least something to do with relative prominence.

4.103 ***nda anəfi ázzərəf,***
 $nda anəfi$ *azzərəf*
 unless money
 'Unless (he pays with) cash,

ɣawánɜ́in sa ɣatədaynaan-a.

$\gamma a =$ *wanɜ́in* *sa* $\gamma a =$ *tə-* *daynan* *=a*
 1SG refuse SBDR 1SG FUT sell 3SG
 'I refuse to sell it.'

nda anəfi also functions to introduce counterfactuals. The main clause follows the condition and must have either a Future or a Subjunctive marker in the verb. Examples 4.104 and 4.105 demonstrate.

- 4.104 **nda anəfi** akóoy-a,
 nda anəfi a= koy =a
 if.not 3SG go 3SG.OBJ
 'If he had (not) gone,

 yaay da yambáara-a.
 yaay da ya= m- baara =a
 1SG.IND EMPH 1SG SBJ LOC 3SG.OBJ
 'I also would have been there.'

- 4.105 **nda anəfi** jaanúunan, yasəkóy dáynaan-a.
 nda anəfi jaanuunan ya= səkoy daynan =a
 if.not old 1SG NEG.FUT sell 3SG.OBJ
 'If it weren't old, I wouldn't be selling it.'

In Example 4.106, the clause containing the condition is introduced with the subordinator *sa*.

- 4.106 **nda anəfi** sa yasəkúula-a, ánga ambáaya-a.
 nda anəfi sa ya= səkuula =a a= m- baaya =a
 if.not SBDR 3SG not.want 3SG 3SG SBJ want 3SG.OBJ
 'if it weren't that I don't want it, he would want it.'

***ha aayó nda* 'just as', 'how'**

Manner in Tagdal is communicated via the construction *ha aayó nda* 'just as' or 'in the manner of'. Clauses introduced with *ha aayó nda* can appear either before or after the principal clause in a complex sentence. In Examples 4.107 and 4.108, it occurs after.

- 4.107 intədə **ha aayó nda** yasəlməd nin.
 ni= tə- da ha aayo nda ya= səlməd nin
 2SG FUT do just.as 1SG demonstrate 2SG.IND
 'You will do just as I showed you.'
- 4.108 aaró ahar áysa **ha aayó nda** ha aayó.
 aaro a= har ya= sa ha aayo nda ha aayo
 man 3SG declare 1SG.OBJ DAT just.as thing DEF
 'The man spoke to me just like that.'

In Example 4.109 the clause introduced with *ha aayó nda* appears before the main clause.

- 4.109 **ha aayó ɛnda nibdáynan ása kanzín,**
 ha aayó nda ni= b- daynan a= sa kanzín
 just.as 2SG IMP sell 3SG DAT before
 'Just as you used to sell to him before,

 intədá da.
 ni= tə- da da
 2SG FUT do EMPH
 you will do again.'

In Example 4.110 the word *kullú* 'all' occurs in the middle of *ha aayó nda*, giving the construction the additional nuance of 'exactly as'.

- 4.110 ɣan káyna adá
 ɣa= n kayna a= da
 1SG GEN younger.sibling 3SG do
 'My little brother did everything

ha kullú aayó nda ɣayamaar-a
 ha kullu aayó nda ɣa= yamar =a
 exactly.as 1SG order 3SG.OBJ
 exactly as I told him.'

A second kind of relation that occurs with *ha aayó nda* involves adding the interrogative marker *man* in front, making the construction *man ha aayó nda*, which appears in the beginning of the sentence, before the principal clause, and translates more or less as 'how?'. Since the verb in the corresponding clause has not taken place, it normally has either a Subjunctive *m-* or Future *tə-* marker, as in Examples 4.111 and 4.112.

- 4.111 **man ha ayó nda irimgár**
 man ha aayó nda iiri= m- gar
 how 1PL SBJ guard
 'How are we supposed to protect

írim ba n takáʃit?
 iiri= n ba n takaʃit
 1PL GEN father GEN inheritance
 our father's inheritance?'

4.112 **man ha ayo nda yatabay**

man ha ayo nda ya= tə- bay
 how 1SG FUT know
 'How can I know

sa ha ayo nihar, jiimi aji?
 sa ha ayo ni= har jiimi a= ji
 SBDR thing 2SG say truth 3SG be
 that what you say is true?'

Purpose, by means of Subjunctive Mood, Future

Tagdal presents the purpose relation by means of a subordinate clause following the main clause, almost always with a Subjunctive *m-*, sometimes with the Future *tə-*, marker in its VP. No connector is necessary to introduce a purpose clause. Examples 4.113 through 4.116 demonstrate.

4.113 asəqqərət, bóora kullú
 a= s- əqqərət boora kullu
 3SG CAUS scream peron all
 'She screamed so that everyone

ambay baatu ayo.

a= m- bay baatu ayo
 3SG SBJ know matter DEF
 would know the issue.'

4.114 aji iirisa ha ayo iiribaaya,
 a= jin iiri= sa ha ayo iiri= baaya
 3SG say 1PL DAT thing DEF 1PL want
 'He told us whatever we wanted (to hear)

iirimkoy.

iiri= m- koy
 1PL SBJ go
 so that we would leave.'

4.115 asəffərəz aayoonén əbzəq,
 a= s- əffərəz aayoonen ə- b- zəq
 3SG CAUS separate DEF.PL SUB.REL IMP fight
 'He had those who were fighting separated,

kəbáy ambén.

kəbay a= m- ben
 gathering 3SG SBJ finish
 so that the meeting would end.'

4.116 abáaya sa atəzómiiɣi nda

a= b- hurru sa a= tə- ɣə- miɣi
 3SG IMP search SBDR 3SG FUT CAUS separate
 'He is trying to divorce

án way aayó karad wani,
 nda way aayo karad wani
 with woman DEF three POSS
 his third wife

aməmarya nda aafó əfáydan.

a= m- marya nda aafó ə- faydan
 3SG SBJ marry with INDEF SUB.REL other
 so that he can marry another.'

Here, Example 4.55 from above is repeated. It also has a subordinate clause marked with a Future marker.

4.55 ibáaya sa itəkóy, itúk káyyaatan kan.

i= baaya sa i= tə- koy i= tuk kayyaatan kan
 3PL want SBDR 3PL FUT go 3PL hide baggage in
 'They wanted to go, so they hid among the baggage.'

Reason *felás* 'because'

The connector *felás* 'because', *fəllás* in the varieties spoken by the Tarbun, Kəl Illókod and *fallás* in Tabarog, functions to introduce background information relating the reason why something occurred. It can occur either before or after the main clause in a complex sentence. The reason relation differs semantically from the purpose clauses introduced by means of the Subjunctive or Future in that, whereas the action in a purpose clause has not occurred, in prototypical reason clauses it has already been realised, as in Examples 4.117 and 4.118.

4.117 iirigiɣ-á **felás** azén.

iiri= giɣ =a felas a= ɣen
 1PL leave 3SG.OBJ because 3SG be old
 'We left him alone because he is old.'

4.118 **felás harwa**

felas harwa

because yet

'Because still

anəzəwkat iirisa-a,

a= nə- zaw -kat iiri= sa =a
 3SG NEG.PRF bring VEN 1PL DAT 3SG.OBJ
 he hadn't brought it to us

iirigoorá ne.

iiri= goora ne

1PL stay here

we stayed here.'

Examples 4.119 and 4.120 are exceptional in that the action in the clauses introduced with *felás* has not been realised.

4.119 Ayidrər-a **felás ambén**

a= ədrər =a felas a= m- ben
 3SG need 3SG.OBJ because 3SG SBJ finish

'He needs it because he has to finish

jáyji aayóoda.

jáyji aayo da

day DEF EMPH

this very day.

4.120 áŋga akəd án way nda an izzén

aŋga akəd a= n way ənda i= n izzén
 3SG.IND along.with 3SG GEN wife and 3PL GEN children

'Both he and his wife and their children

idərrəg, felas aməggər

i= dərrəg felas aməggər

3PL flee because war

fled, so that the war

amsəkoy aməhlək-i.

a= m- səkoy a= m- əhlək =i
 3SG SBJ FUT.NEG 3SG SBJ destroy 3PL.OBJ

wouldn't destroy them.'

To summarise, Tagdal has a number of connectors and combinations of connectors that it uses to indicate the presence of adverbial clauses. These include the temporal subordinate marker *sa*; *sa harwá* 'while' or 'before', and *harwá* 'in addition' or 'while', depending on its collocates; *ámmaaka* 'if'; *nda anəfi* 'unless'; and *ha aayó nda* 'in the manner of'. It also uses TAM markers, usually the subjunctive *m-*, for the purpose relation, which differs from reason in that clauses with *felás* prototypically have actions which have been realised in their VP.

4.7.2 Complement clauses with *sa*

Complement clauses introduced with the subordinator *sa* most commonly occur with certain verbs. Among these are *báaya* 'want'; *yédma* 'think' or 'believe'; *əhor* 'be normal' or 'be necessary'; *hiŋfi* 'need'; and *hurru*, which usually means 'seek', but when co-occurring with a complement introduced with *sa* actually means 'try'; and *siufa* 'prefer'. In all of these cases, the VP in the complement either has the Subjunctive *m-* or Future *tə-* marker. Two additional verbs, *əffək* 'doubt' and *bay* 'know' also take complements introduced with *sa*. However, in the latter two cases, TAM in the VP is not restricted to the Subjunctive and Future. *fin* 'say' and *har* 'declare' are also common, especially when *sa* introduces indirect speech. Each of these verbs and their complements will be discussed in turn below.

One of the most common verbs that take complement clauses introduced by *sa* is *báaya* 'want', as in Examples 4.121 - 4.123.

- 4.121 *yabáaya sa yatəda insa*
 ya= baaya sa ya= tə- da ni= sa
 1SG want SBDP 1SG FUT do 2SG DAT
 'I would like to tell you'

arat n immaayan.
 arat n immaayan
 part GEN folk.tales
 a little story (i.e. folk tale).'

- 4.122 *iiribáaya*
 iiri= baaya
 1PL want
 'We would like'

sa nimənsay iirisa-a.
 sa ni= m- ənsay iiri= sa =a
 SBDP 2SG SBJ supplicate 1PL DAT 3SG.OBJ
 you to ask it for us.'

4.123 abəbáaya
 a= b- baaya
 3SG IMP want
 'He wanted

sa intəzawkat ása-a.

sa ni= tə- zaw -kat a= sa =a
 SBDR 2SG FUT take VEN 3SG DAT 3SG.OBJ
 you to bring it for him.'

In Example 4.124, *səkiula* 'not want' is the negative of *báaya* in both Tagdal and in a number of mainstream Songhay languages.

4.124 iirisəkiula **sa nimkoy nin fóoda.**
 iiri= səkuula sa ni= m- koy nin fooda
 1PL not.want SBDR 2SG SBJ go 2SG.IND alone
 'We don't want you to go (there) alone.'

Another verb that often precedes complement clauses introduced with *sa* is *yédma* 'think' or 'believe', as in Examples 4.125 through 4.127.

4.125 záynin, niyédma
 zaɣnin ni= yedma
 INTERJ 2SG think
 'No way, you think

sa intəhkəm nda-íiri?

sa ni= tə- əhkəm nda =iiri
 SBDR 2SG FUT reign with 1PL.OBJ
 that you're going to rule over us?'

4.126 kaalá ɣanəyédma
 kaala ɣa= nə- yedma
 never 1SG NEG.PRF think
 'I never believed

sa ɣatəgún nim mo.

sa ɣa= tə- gun ni= n mo
 SBDR 1SG FUT see 2SG GEN eye
 that I would see your face (again).'

4.127 harwá, iiriyédma
 harwa iiri= yedma
 furthermore 1PL believe
 'Furthermore, we think

sa nin da, nimkóy iiri-daayó.

sa nin da ni= m- koy iiri= daayo
 SBD R 2SG.IND EMPH 2SG SBJ go 1PL place
 'it should be you who goes in our place.'

The verb root *əhor* 'be normal', 'be necessary' also takes a complement clause introduced with *sa*. The subject of the principal clause is the third person singular *a=*, which in this case translates as 'it is normal, necessary', as Examples 4.128 and 4.129 demonstrate.

4.128 anəhor **sa ɜayɜi aayó márya wáni,**

a= nə- əhor sa ɜayɜi aayo marya wani
 3SG NEG.PRF normal SBD R day DEF wedding POSS
 'It is not normal that, on the day of the wedding,

aaró amkóy way daayó ánga fóoda.

aaro a= m- koy way daayo anga fóoda
 man 3SG SBJ go woman place 3SG.IND alone
 'the man should go to the woman's place alone.'

4.129 ayíhor **sa bóora kullú ambáy isálan.**

a= əhor sa boora kullu a= m- bay isalan
 3SG normal SBD R person all 3SG SBJ know news
 'It is necessary that everyone should know the news.'

Like *əhor*, the verb *hiɟɟil* 'need' or 'must' when combined with a complement clause introduced with *sa* normally has the third person singular subject clitic *a=*. The AGENT or ACTOR will appear in the direct object position. Examples 4.130 through 4.132 demonstrate.

4.130 ahíɟɟil-a **sa amkóy Táhoua.**

a= hiɟɟil =a sa a= m- koy Tahoua
 3SG must 3SG.OBJ SBD R 3SG SBJ go Tahoua
 'He needs to go to (the town of) Tahoua.'

4.131 ahíɟɟil **yáy sa yatəɟikəl Faarása.**

a= hiɟɟil yáy sa ya= tə- ɟikəl Faaransa
 3SG must 1SG.IND SBD R 1SG FUT travel France
 'I must travel to France.'

- 4.132 ahíjǵil iiri **sa alhókum**
 a= híjǵil iiri sa alhókum
 3SG must 1PL.IND SBDR government
 'We need for the government'

amd-í kásaw kan.
 a= m- da =i kasaw kan
 3SG SBJ put 3PL.OBJ prison in
 to put them in prison.'

The verb root of Songhay origin *hurru* 'seek', when combined with a complement clause introduced with *sa*, translates as 'try', as in Examples 4.133 and 4.134.

- 4.133 ahurru **sa atəwí nin.**
 a= hurru sa a= tə- wi nin
 3SG seek SBDR 3SG FUT kill 2SG.IND
 'He tried to kill you.'

- 4.134 iirihurru
 iiri= hurru
 1PL seek
 'We tried'

sa iirimsəlmədkat insa-a,
 sa iiri= m- s- əlməd -kat ni= sa =a
 SBDR 1PL SBJ CAUS demonstrate VEN 2SG DAT 3SG.OBJ
 to show it to you,
 maǵǵan niwánzin.
 maǵǵan ni= wanzin
 but 2SG refuse
 but you refused.'

Up to this point, all of the verb roots that take a complement introduced with *sa* require either a Subjunctive *m-* or a Future *tə-* in the VP of the complement clause. However, two verb roots, *ǵǵək* 'doubt' and *bay* 'know' take complements introduced with *sa*, but the VP in the complement is not restricted to any particular TAM marker. Both of these verb roots are described below.

The verb root *ǵǵək* 'doubt' is of Tuareg origin and takes a complement introduced with *sa*. Examples 4.135 and 4.136 demonstrate.

- 4.135 iiriyǵǵək **sa ibhurru**
 iiri= ǵǵək sa i= b- hurru
 1PL doubt SBDR 3PL IMP seek
 'We doubt that they're'

alxér aayó jiimi wáni.

alxer aayo jiimi wani
 peace DEF truth POSS
 truly seeking peace.'

4.136 **ɣayíʃʃək wúllen sa áŋga**

ɣa= əʃʃək wullen sa aŋga
 1SG doubt much SBDR 3SG.IND
 'I seriously doubt that person'

abáy ha kullú aayó əyédma.

a= bay ha kullu aayo ə- yédma
 3SG know thing all DEF SUB.REL think
 knows all that he thinks (he knows).'

The verb root *bay* 'know' also takes a complement clause introduced with *sa*, but does not require a Subjunctive *m-* or a Future *tə-* in the VP, as in Examples 4.137 through 4.139.

4.137 **iiribáy sa nin da, nizáay-a!**

iiri= bay sa nin da ni= zay =a
 1PL know SBDR 2SG.IND EMPH 2SG steal 3SG
 'We know that it was you who stole it!'

4.138 **ɣabáy wúllen sa abáaya ɣaay.**

ɣa= bay wullen sa a= baaya ɣaay
 1SG know much SBDR 3SG want 1SG.IND
 'I know very well that he loves me.'

4.139 **meerá da abay**

meera da a= bay
 moment EMPH 3SG know
 'Now he knows'

sa nin haŋgén ifér.

sa ni= n haŋgén i= fer
 SBDR 2SG GEN ears 3PL open
 that your ears are open (i.e. are listening).'

In Example 4.140 *təwwəsən* 'be known' is the suppletive Passive voice of *bay* 'know'.

4.140 **atəwwəsən bóora kullú sa**

a= təwwəsən boora kullu sa
 3SG known person all DAT
 'It is known to everyone'

sa iiritəmárya.

sa iiri= tə- marya
 SBDR 1PL FUT marry
 'that we are getting married.'

When the verb root *súufa* 'prefer' takes a complement clause, the default TAM in the complement is typically either the Subjunctive or Future, as in Example 4.141.

4.141 yaay da, yasúufa
 yaay da ya= suufa
 1SG.IND EMPH 1SG prefer
 'I personally would prefer'

sa amtówwəssəs wúllen.

sa a= m- təw- əssəs wúllen
 SBDR 3SG SBJ PASS tie.tightly much
 'that he be tied up very tightly.'

A complement clause introduced with the subordinator *sa* following the verbs *jin* 'say' or *har* 'declare' is the most common way to indicate indirect speech in Tagdal, as in Examples 4.142 and 4.143.

4.142 ajin ísa sa asəkóy goorá
 a= jin i= sa sa a= səkoy goora
 3SG say 3PL DAT SBDR 3SG NEG.FUT sit
 'He said to them that he will not sit'

nda akáfar waalá aafó.

nda akafar waala aafó
 with infidel none INDEF
 'with any infidel.'

4.143 meerá da, iirihar ánzisa
 meera da iiri= har anzi= sa
 now EMPH 1PL declare 2PL DAT
 'Now, we declare to you(pl)'

sa anga kaalá anəyédkat ne.

sa kaala a= nə- yed -kat ne
 SBDR never 3SG NEG.PRF return VEN here
 'that he (emphatic) never came back here.'

To summarise, complement clauses are typically introduced with the subordinator *sa*.

Unlike adverbial clauses, which precede the principal clause of the sentence, complement clauses follow it. There are a number of verbs that take complements introduced with *sa*. Most of these will require the VP in the complement to have either a Subjunctive *m*- or a Future *tə*- TAM marker. However, two verb roots, *əffək* 'doubt' and *bay* 'know' may have any TAM in the VP of the complement clause. Other verb roots also take complements introduced with *sa*. When combined with *fin* 'say' and *har* 'declare', it is the default way for Tagdal to code indirect speech.

4.8 Relative clauses

The normal Subject or Object relative clause in Tagdal has the following structure:

Figure 4-2 Subject Relative Clause

NP	(DEM / DET)	V	(AP)
NP	<i>aayó / fo</i>	<i>ə</i> - / subject clitic	Adpos+NP+Adpos
		+ verb root	

The head NP occurs first, followed by an optional demonstrative *aayó* or determiner *fo*, depending on whether the head NP is definite or indefinite. These elements are followed by the verb. If the relativised position is the Subject, the verb usually begins with *ə*-likely the same *ə*- which occurs in adjectives of Tuareg origin (see section 3.3.1) and in *wh*- content questions (see section 4.10.3). *ə*- occupies the place where the Subject clitic would normally go in the verb. The exception to the presence of the Subject Relative *ə*- in the Subject Relative position is if the verb in the modifying clause has the Future marker *tə*- and/or a Negation, *sə*- or *nə*-. In those cases, the verb begins with the Future or Negation prefix. Finally, two verb roots¹¹³ that begin with the phoneme *b*, the locative *báara* 'be' and *báaya* 'love, want' do not co-occur with *ə*-. When these are present, if the head noun is the Subject of the relative clause, the verb does not start with *ə*-. If the verb contains the Future prefix *tə*- or a Negation *sə*- or *nə*-, it starts with the respective prefix. Section 4.8.1 discusses Subject relative clauses, followed by Object (Section 4.8.2) and Adpositional relative clauses (Section 4.8.3). Section 4.8.4 discusses a number of unusual constructions with similar functions to those of the relative clause.

4.8.1 Subject relatives clauses

Most relative clauses in Tagdal are Subject Relatives, where the head corresponds to the subject of the Relative Clause. The most common construction is for an NP with a determiner *aayó(nen)* or *fo(onen)*, followed by a verb that begins with the Subject Relative marker *ə*-, as in Examples 4.144 through 4.147.

¹¹³ As far as I can tell, no other verb roots, including those that begin with *b*, behave in this manner.

4.144 **ḡibáraaren aayoonén əwárya,**
 ḡibaraaren aayoonen ə- wárya
 girls DEF.PL SUB.REL be.big
 'Those girls who are nobles'

imsəhuunú húžen.
 i= m- sə- huunu húžen
 3PL SBJ NEG exit dwelling
 shouldn't leave (their) homes.'

4.145 **aaró aayó əwánžin,** meerá abáaya
 aaro aayó ə- wánžin meera a= baaya
 man DEF SUB.REL refuse now 2SG want
 'The man who refused now wants'

sa atəhár nda nin.
 sa a= tə- har nda nin
 SBDR 3SG FUT talk with 2SG.IND
 to talk to you.'

4.146 **yu aayó əbzáwkat káyyaatan**
 yu aayó ə- b- zaw -kat káyyaatan
 camel.female DEF SUB.REL IMP take VEN baggage
 'The camel that was carrying the package'

anətó áyrəm.
 a= nə- to áyrəm
 3SG NEG.PRF arrive town
 didn't arrive in town.'

4.147 amáskəl yás da atəwí
 amaskəl yas da a= tə- wi
 fool only 3SG FUT kill
 'Only a fool will kill'

héewi aayó əbná húuwa
 heewi aayó ə- b- na huuwa
 cow DEF SUB.REL IMP give milk
 the cow that gives milk

amwá árat ən háamu záyzi aayó.
 a= m- wa arat n haamu záyzi aayó
 3SG SBJ eat thing GEN meat day DEF
 in order to eat a little meat today.'

In Example 4.148 the construction *a-kullú aafó* provides the NP head in the relative clause and more or less translates as 'each one'. In Example 4.149 *a-kullú aayó* translates as 'every'.

4.148 **a-kullú aayó ayilkəm ása, agén.**

a=	kullu	aayo	ə-	əlkəm	a=	sa	a=	gen
3SG	all	DEF	SUB.REL	follow	3SG	DAT	3SG	lose

'Every single one (animal) that followed him (the goat) got lost.'

4.149 **a-kullú aafó əhinʒin ha fo,**

a=	kullu	aafo	ə-	hinʒin	ha fo
3SG	all	INDEF	SUB.REL	fix	something

'Each one who prepared something (i.e. a meal)

azáwkaat-a amanókal sa.

a=	zaw	kat	=a	amanokal	sa
3SG	bring	VEN	3SG.OBJ	chief	DAT

brought it to the chief.'

In Examples 4.150 and 4.151 the verb is followed by adpositional phrases.

4.150 **sa yaté yaguuná wáy fo əbhurrú**

sa	ya=	te	ya=	guuna	way	fo	ə-	b-	hurru
SBDR	1SG	arrive	1SG	see	woman	IDF	SUB.REL	IMP	search

'When I arrived, I saw a woman who was looking

yan káyyaatan kan.

ya=	n	kayyatan	kan
1SG	GEN	stuff	in

through my things.'

4.151 **ikəmmá jifajárootan aayoonén əbtəwər**

i=	kəmma	jifajárootan	aayoonen	ə-	b-	təwər
3SG	find	keys	DEF.PL	SUB.REL	IMP	placed

'They found the keys that had been left (lit. "placed")

moota ga.

moota	ga
car	on

on the car.'

In Example 4.152, the verb in the modifying clause begins with *ə-*, while the head is a first person singular independent pronoun.

4.152 **yaay da əzaabén táyər**

yaay da ə- zaaben táyər
1SG.IND EMPH SUB.REL share drinking.bowl
'I who share the drinking bowl with you,

nda nin, yətəhar ínsa

nda nin ya= tə- har ni= sa
with 2SG.IND 1SG FUT declare 2SG DAT
I will tell you

ha aayó nimdá.

ha aayo ni= m- da
thing DEF 2SG SBJ do
what you should do.'

In Examples 4.153 through 4.155, the the verb contains either a Future tense marker *tə-* or the Negation *nə-*. Therefore, it does not begin with *ə-*.

4.153 iirihúr **áylal aayó təzáwkat íiri Faaránsa.**

iiri= hur áylal aayo tə- zaw -kat iiri faaransa
3PL enter plane DEF FUT bring VEN 1PL.IND France
'We boarded the plane that would take us to France.'

4.154 tármát azín **azayályol aayó tətəwwəfta íiri.**

tarmat a= zin azayalyol aayo tə- tətəwwəfta iiri
quickly 3SG grab lamb DEF FUT be.eaten 1PL
'Quickly he snatched up the lamb that was going to feed us.'

4.155 meerá da nibhurrú **bóoren nəkóy?**

meera da ni= b- hurru booren nə- koy
now EMPH 2SG IMP search people NEG.PRF go
'Now you're looking for people who didn't go?'

In Examples 4.156 and 4.157, the verb does not begin with *ə-* because the root is either *báaya* 'love, want' or the Locative *báara*.

4.156 iirimáy daayó **bóora aayó kullú báaya sa.**

iiri= may daayo boora aayo kullu baaya sa
1PL have place person DEF all want DAT
'We have a place for every person that wants (one).'

- 4.157 asəwwəŋɣa **bóora kullú báara ne.**
 a= səwwəŋɣa boora kullu baara ne
 3SG cause.kill person all LOC there
 'He had everyone there killed.'

In Example 4.158, the idiomatic expression *meerá da aayóoda* means more or less 'right this instant'.

- 4.158 **ánzi-kullú aayoonén báara ne**
 anzi kullu aayoonen baara ne
 2PL all DEF.PL LOC there
 'Every single one of you that are there
 anzi-zumbú meerá da aayóoda!
 anzi= m- zumbu meera da aayooda
 2PL SBJ descend righ.this.instant
 should get down this instant!'

4.8.2 Object relative clauses

As with other relative clause constructions, when the Object is the relativised position the demonstrative or determiner follows the head noun, followed by the verb. However, the verb begins with a normal Subject clitic, rather than with -ə, and there is a gap in the Direct Object position of the relative clause. Examples 4.159 through 4.161 demonstrate.

- 4.159 **aaró aayó iiriqáyit** ar yáabu, ahuunú kásaw.
 aaro aayo iiri= qayit ar yaabu a= huunu kasaw
 man DEF 1PL chase till market 3SG exit prison
 'The man we chased into the market is out of jail.'

- 4.160 **izzén aayoonén nizáwkat** Kéita,
 izzen aayoonen ni= zaw -kat Keita
 children DEF.PL 2SG take VEN Keita
 'Those children you took to (the village of) Keita

meerá da ibáaya sa itáyéd húzen.
 meera da i= baaya sa i= tə- yed húzen
 now EMPH 3PL want SBDR 3PL FUT return home
 now want to go home.'

- 4.161 **tákkooba aayó nidáy bəssəba,**
 takkooba aayo ni= day bəssəba
 sword DEF 2SG sell yesterday
 'That sword you sold yesterday,

nin abóbaz amáay-a.
 ni= n abobaz a= may =a
 2SG GEN cousin 3SG have 3SG.OBJ
 'your cousin has it.'

Example 4.46 is repeated as an example of an Object relative clause.

4.46 ikəmmá **mus aayó nikar tárray kan.**
 i= kəmma mus aayo ni= kar tarray kan
 3PL find cat DEF 2SG hit road in
 'They found the cat you ran over (with your car) on the road.'

In Example 4.162 the head noun is replaced with the demonstrative *aayó*.

4.162 iirisúufa **aayó iiriwəzlət bi.**
 iiri= suufa aayo iiri= wəzlət bi
 1PL prefer DEF 1PL visit yesterday
 'We prefer the one (house) we saw yesterday.'

4.8.3 Adpositional relative clauses

The relativised Adpositional Phrase has the following structure:

Figure 4-3 Adpositional Phrase structure

NP	DEM / DET	Adpositional Phrase	Verb
N / NP	aayó / fo	sa / kan / nda	SBJ clitic + root

In general, the head, including the determiner or demonstrative *fo* or *aayó*, precedes the relativised AP. A brief pause follows, represented in the examples with a comma, then the adposition, followed by the verb, which in most cases begins with a normal Subject proclitic.

The Dative *sa* typically indicates the presence of an Indirect Object, most often with a BENEFACTOR or RECIPIENT role. Further, there is no pronominal reference to the head in the relative clause. Examples 4.163 through 4.166 demonstrate.

4.163 **bárar aayó, sa anʒibəfɣəl zun¹¹⁴ farkén,**
 barar aayo sa anʒi= b- əfɣəl zun farken
 child DEF DAT 2PL IMP work like donkeys
 'That child for whom you(pl) work like donkeys'

¹¹⁴ The word *zun* 'like' is most likely a code-switch from Tuareg and is possibly not a Tagdal word. I suspect the more common construction would have been *nda farkén* 'like donkeys'.

meerá abáaya sa atəgíʃ qáaran.

meera a= baaya sa a= tə- gíʃ qaran
now 3SG want SBDR 3SG FUT leave study
now wants to abandon (his) studies.'

4.164 **bóora aayó, sa húggu ətəwwəkrəs,**

boora aayo sa huggu ə- təwwəkrəs
person DEF DAT building SUB.REL built
'The person for whom the house was built

ahún addúnya.

a= hun addunya
3SG exit world
died (lit. "left the world").'

4.165 **bóora aayó, sa nisákna móota,**

boora aayo ni= sákna móota
person DEF 2SG demonstrate car
'The person to whom you showed the car

asənnəfrən aafó əfáydan.

a= sənnəfrən aafə ə- faydan
3SG choose INDEF SUB.REL other
chose another one.'

4.166 **ʃibáraaren aayonén, sa iirikóy Báaku,**

ʃibaraaren aayoonen sa iiri= koy Baaku
girls DEF.PL DAT 1PL go Baaku
'Those girls for whom we went to the Baku (bus station),

iirimzáwkaat-i húʒen,

iiri= m- zaw -kat =i húʒen
1PL SBJ take VEN 3PL.OBJ home
so that we could take them home,

ikóy nda boorá fo.

i= koy nda boora fo
3PL go with person IDF
went with someone (else).'

In relative clauses with the Locative *kan* 'in', 'on' or 'at', the postposition follows the head, followed by the determiner *fo* or the demonstrative *aayó*. There is no pronominal reference to the head in the relative clause. In Examples 4.167 through

4.170, the head noun of the phrase is the Subject of the sentence. Therefore, the Adpositional Phrase occurs in the beginning of the sentence.

4.167 **daayo aayo, kan nituk ázzərəf**, man abáara?
 daayo aayo kan ni= tuk ázzərəf man a= baara
 place DEF in 2SG hide silver where 3SG LOC
 'Where is the place where you hid the silver?'

4.168 **húggū aayo, kan ibgoorá**,
 huggu aayo kan i= b- goora
 house DEF in 3PL IMP sit
 'That place where they are staying,

iirinófræg sa
 iiri= nə- əfræg sa
 1PL NEG.PRF able SBDR
 we can't

iirimkəmmá-a.
 iiri= m- kəmma =a
 1PL SBJ find 3SG.OBJ
 find it.'

4.169 **búuhu aayo, kan iiridá árrəz**, man abáara?
 buuhu aayo kan ni= da árrəz man a= baara
 sack DEF in 2SG place rice where 3SG be
 'Where is the sack where we put the rice?'

4.170 **takábar aayo, kan nidá saafaarén**,
 takabar aayo kan ni= da saafaaren
 bowl DEF in 2SG place medicine
 'That bowl in which you put the medicine,

abtəwwəwər tasálat kan.
 a= b- təwwəwər tasalat kan
 3SG IMP placed mat in
 was placed upon the mat.'

In Examples 4.171 through 4.173, the relativised Adpositional Phrase is in the Object position of the sentence.

4.171 **ɣatəkóy alhásan daayo**,
 ɣa= tə- koy Alhásan daayo
 1SG FUT go Alhásan place
 'I'm going to Alhásan's place,

kan yamáy ha fo.¹¹⁵

kan ya= may ha fo
 in 1SG have something
 who owes me money (lit. "in whom I have something").'

- 4.172 hažikán, iirité **gánda aayó Faaransa wani,**
 hažikan iiri= te ganda aayo Faaransa wani
 therefore 1PL arrive city DEF Paris POSS
 'So we arrived at the country of France,

kan iirinəgun waalá ha fo,

kan iiri= nə- gun waala ha fo
 in 1PL NEG.PRF see absolutely.nothing
 where we didn't see absolutely anything,

felás ʃiizí abdá.

felas ʃiizi a= b- da
 because night 3SG IMP do
 because it was night time.'

- 4.173 yamʃikəl **Táhoua,**
 ya= m- ʃikəl Tahoua
 1SG SBJ travel Tahoua
 'I am going to travel to Tahoua,

kan yan tabárar ayíqəl yáay.

kan ya= n tabarar a= əqəl yaay
 in 1SG GEN daughter 3SG wait 1SG.IND
 where my daughter is waiting for me.'

The construction *kan NP báara*, where the noun is in fact a nominalised verb, is a fixed expression which translates more or less along the lines of "really does X very well" or "is very X". Example 4.174 demonstrates.

- 4.174 **hánʃi, kan zúuru báara aʃi.**
 hanʃi kan zuuru baara a= ʃi
 dog in run be 3SG be
 'It was a dog who ran really fast (lit. "dog in which running was in him").'

Similarly, the idiomatic expression *kan ADJ báara* 'in whom is ADJ' is used to indicate that the noun possesses the qualities in the ADJ in great abundance, as Example 4.175 demonstrates.

¹¹⁵ 'Something' is a common euphemism for money in many *Nigérien* languages.

4.175 áhhaane **tabárar, kan hóssaayan báara!**

ahaane tabarar kan hossaayan baara
 FOC girl in beauty LOC
 'Here is a very beautiful girl!'

Unlike other adpositions in Tagdal, *nda* 'with' is a preposition, rather than a postposition. However, in relativised Adpositional Phrases, *nda* tends to have the same structure as its postpositional counterparts, including not allowing pronominal reference to the head in the relative clause. One main difference is that, like *sa*, *nda* tends to follow, rather than precede, the head. Examples 4.176 through 4.178 demonstrate.

4.176 **aaró aayó, nda nibhangá, abáydag afi.**

aaro aayo nda ni= b- hanga abaydag a= fi
 man DEF with 2SG IMP accompany thief 3SG be
 'That man with whom you hang out is a thief.'

4.177 **karfó aayó, nda atətówkərəd, afi.**

karfo aayo nda a= tə- təw- kərəd a= fi
 rope DEF with 3SG FUT PASS tie.down 3SG not.be
 'There is no rope with which to hobble it (an animal).'

4.178 **bóora aayó, nda iirimfikəl,**

boora aayo nda iiri= m- fikəl
 person DEF with 1PL SBJ travel
 'The person with whom we're supposed to travel

harwá anətéekat.

harwa a= nə- te -kat
 still 3SG NEG.PRF arrive VEN
 'still hasn't arrived.'

Example 4.179 the verb *təwwənya* 'killed' is the Passive suppletive form of the Songhay *wi* 'kill'.

4.179 **iirinəkəmmá bəndiga aayó, nda atəwwənya.**

iiri= nə- kəmma bəndiga aayo nda a= təwwənya
 1PL NEG.PRF find rifle DEF with 3SG killed
 'We did not find the rifle with which he was killed.'

As usual, the postposition *ga* 'on' follows the head, with a brief pause, between the relativised phrase and the rest of the sentence, as in Examples 4.180 and 4.181.

4.180 adá **ha fó, ga boorén əbwí!**

a= da ha fo ga booren ə- b- wi
 3SG do something on people SUB.REL IMP kill
 'He did something that people kill over!'

4.181 ánga absəqqərət **ha aayó,**

aŋga a= b- səqqərət ha aayo
 3SG.IND 3SG IMP scream that.thing
 'That one screams out that

ga aaró kullú amsəsəm.

ga aaro kullu a= m- səsəm
 on man all 3SG SBJ be.silent
 'which every man should remain silent about.'

4.8.4 Other

In most cases, relative clauses are indicated by the grammatical elements present within the sentence. However, Tagdal has various types of relative-type constructions where some of these elements are omitted. The first part of this section discusses relative clauses without the demonstrative *aayó* or determiner *fo*, followed by a discussion of relative clauses where *aayó* and *fo* function as the head – not a rare occurrence in itself, but uncommon enough to be included in this section. Finally the section ends with a discussion of relative constructions introduced with the subordinator *sa*.

The absence of a definite or indefinite marker in relative clauses is fairly common in Tagdal. Christiansen-Bolli (2010) analysed this phenomenon in Tagdal's sister language, Tadaksahak, as an indefinite NP head. Tagdal, however, marks the indefinite NP head with *fo*. In this manner, it looks much more like Tuareg (e.g. Kossmann, 2011: 113, 159), whose NPs and relative clauses have a set of pre-modifier pronouns to mark definite, indefinite or neutral, as well as gender. Relative clauses lacking a pre-modifier pronoun could have either a definite or an indefinite NP head, though these are more likely to be indefinite. In Tagdal, this is also the case – in Examples 4.182 through 4.185, the last two are definite, all others are indefinite.

In at least some cases, the lack of the determiner *aayó* or *fo* in the NP, rather than indicating definite or indefinite, places emphasis upon certain qualities of the NP. For example, in 4.182, the NP subject *kayne* 'jackal' is being introduced to the discourse for the first time, so the question may or may not be applicable. Regardless, it lacks a determiner to indicate definite or indefinite. Instead, the focus of the sentence is on his qualities, specifically that of being clever – *fikərras əm bayyén*, literally 'knowledge of cleverness'.

4.182 meera, imúddaaran kullú,
 meera imuddaaran kullu
 now living.things (animals) all
 'Now, (of) all living things,

káyne abíis-i
 kayne a= bis =i
 jackal 3SG surpass 3PL.OBJ
 the jackal surpassed them

ḡikərras əm bayyén.
 ḡikərras m bay -en
 cleverness GEN know NOM
 in cleverness.'

In Example 4.183 some travellers had taken water from a well. Afterward, they placed the leather container used to draw water, represented in both clauses pronominally by =a, aside for others to use.

4.183 idá-a á-kan,
 i= da =a a= kan
 3PL place 3SG 3SG in
 'They put it in the place

bóora kullu əhurru sa-á.
 boora kullu ə- hurru sa =a
 person all SUB.REL search DAT 3SG
 for anyone who would look for it.'

In Examples 4.184 and 4.185, the NP is definite.

4.184 meerá da nibhurrú
 meera da ni= b- hurru
 now EMPH 2SG IMP search
 'Now you're looking for

bóoren nəkóy?
 booren nə- koy
 people NEG.PRF go
 the people who didn't go?'

4.185 iirikəmmá aarén əzay móota.
 iiri= kəmma aaren ə- zay moota
 1PL find men SUB.REL steal car
 'We found the men who stole the car.'

In some cases where the head noun of a relative clause is understood, it is possible to leave it out altogether. The result is usually a relative clause with either *aayó* or *aafó* acting as a pronominal head of the relative clause. Examples 4.186 through 4.189 demonstrate.

4.186 *γaguuná aayó nibhurrú.*

γa=	guuna	aayo	ni=	b-	hurru
1SG	see	DEF	2SG	IMP	search

'I saw the one that you are looking for.'

4.187 *aayoonén əbhangá nda-a,*

aayoonen	b-	hanga	nda	=a
DEF.PL	IMP	accompany	with	3SG.OBJ

'Those who hang out with him

imkí meerá da aayóoda!
 i= m- ki meeraada aayooda
 3PL SBJ stop right away
 should stop right now!'

4.188 *iirisənnəfrən aafó əfi.*

iiri=	sənnəfrən	aafó	ə-	fi
1PL	choose	one	SUB.REL	not.be

'We chose one who was not here.'

4.189 *aayó səbgúr eerán,*

aayo	sə-	b-	gur	eeran
DEF	NEG.IMP	IMP	scoop.up	water

'The one who is not scooping up water,

əŋga da asənnəfrən.
 əŋga da a- sə- ənnəfrən
 3SG.IND EMPH 3SG CAUS choose
 he is is the chosen (one).'

In Example 4.190, the Imperfective aspect *b-* places certain emphasis on the the verb being ongoing, rather than unfinished.

4.190 *γabhurrú aafó əyínnay.*

γa=	b-	hurru	aafó	ə-	ənnay
1SG	IMP	search	one	SUB.REL	new

'I'm in the midst of looking for a new one.'

Another way that Tagdal replaces a relative clause's NP head is by means of the expressions *a-kullú aayó* 'every' and *a-kullú aafó* 'each'. Here, Examples 4.148 and 4.149 from above are repeated.

4.148 **a-kullú aayó əyilkəm ása, agén.**

a=	kullu	aayo	ə-	əlkəm	a=	sa	a=	gen
3SG	all	DEF	SUB.REL	follow	3SG	DAT	3SG	lose

'Every single one that followed him got lost.'

4.149 **a-kullú aafó əhinʒin ha fo,**

a=	kullu	aafó	ə-	hinʒin	ha fo
3SG	all	INDEF	SUB.REL	fix	something

'Each one who prepared something

azáwkaat-a amanókal sa.

a=	zaw	kat	=a	amanokal	sa
3SG	bring	VEN	3SG.OBJ	chief	DAT

brought it to the chief.'

There is a rare alternative to the relative constructions treated above, which involves the subordinator *sa*. In this construction the verb always takes the regular Subject prefixes, even in Subject relatives.

4.191 **aháfī aaró aayó**

a=	hafī	aaro	aayo
3SG	look.intently	man	DEF

'He looked intently at

sa ʔnga amay húgu.

sa	ʔnga	a=	may	hugu
SBDR	3SG.IND	3SG	have	house

the man who owns the house.'

4.192 **amárya nda way fo sa abáy qáaran.**

a=	marya	nda	way	fo	sa	a=	bay	qaran
3SG	marry	with	woman	IDF	SBDR	3SG	know	study

'He married a woman who knew how to read.'

4.193 **aaró aayó sa am man Séydu,**

aaro	aayo	sa	a=	n	man	Seydu
man	DEF	SBDR	3SG	GEN	name	Seydu

'The man whose name is Seydu,

án̄ga fód̄a amə́n̄kat gíj̄é.
 aṅga fooda a= m- man -kat gíj̄e
 3SG.IND only.one 3SG SBJ be.near VEN window
 only he should approach the window.'

4.9 Commands, requests

How commands and requests are formulated in Tagdal depends on the how strong or polite the speaker wishes to make them, relative to the communication situation. Requests with a softer, more polite, less confrontational, tone are on one end of the scale, using a construction with the verb *báaya* 'want' followed by Noun Phrase, most often an independent pronoun, and the Locative marker *kan*. On the other end of the continuum, outright commands are usually made with a simple imperative verb. Between these two extremes, a simple clause with the verb containing the Subjunctive *m-* is the default for most commands and requests. Each of these is discussed below.

4.9.1 *báaya* NP *kan*

The most polite way to form a request in Tagdal is by means of the verb *báaya*, followed by a Noun Phrase or an independent pronoun and the Locative marker *kan*. This indicates both who is making the request and to whom. Usually the thing desired is formulated as a complement clause introduced by the subordinator *sa*.

4.194 **yabáaya án̄zi kan** sa an̄zimkóy
 ya= baaya an̄zi kan sa an̄zi= m- koy
 1SG want 2PL.IND in SBDR 2PL SBJ go
 'I would like you(pl) to go

folissaatan daayó, an̄zimhurrú áȳsa móota.
 folissaatan daayo an̄zi= m- hurru ya= sa moota
 police place 2PL SBJ search 1SG DAT car
 to the police station in order to get (my) car for me.'

4.195 **yabáaya nín kan**
 ya= baaya nin kan
 1SG want 2SG.IND in
 'I would like you

sa nimkóy yáay daayó¹¹⁶.
 sa ni= m- koy yaay daayo
 SBDR 2SG SBJ go 1SG.IND place
 to go to my place.'

¹¹⁶ in the construction *yáay daayo* 'my place', normal stress patterns are co-opted and stress shifts to the pronoun.

Examples 4.196 and 4.197 are descriptions of previous events.

4.196 **abəbáaya yaay kan**

a= b- baaya yaay kan
3SG IMP want 1SG.IND in
'He wanted me

sa yamkúd an álman.

sa ya= m- kud a= n alman
SBDR 1SG SBJ herd 3SG GEN flock
'to take his animals out to pasture.'

4.197 **iiribáaya ánga kan**

iiri= baaya ánga kan
1PL want 3SG.IND in
'We would like

sa atəxáddədət iirisa jisállaaatan.

sa a= tə- xaddədət iiri= sa jisallaatan
SBDR 3SG FUT roll 1PL DAT mats
'him to roll up the mats for us.'

4.9.2 With Subjunctive *m-*

A second type of construction for making requests or giving commands is by means of a Subjunctive marker on the Verb Word. This is the most neutral way of giving commands or making requests and is not considered either rude or excessively polite. Examples 4.198 through 4.200 demonstrate.

4.198 **nimsówər** ha aayó ahákət kan.

ni= m- səwər ha aayó akakət kan
2SG SBJ place thing DEF tent in
'You should put that in the tent.'

4.199 **anžimbáykat wúllen** yam báaraan kan.

anži= m- bay -kat wullen ya= n bararaan kan
2PL SBJ know VEN very 1SG GEN children in
'You should look well after my children.'

4.200 **bóora kullú**

boora fo kullu
person IDF all
'Each person should

amhiináakat an adáyas.

a=	m-	hiina	-kat	a=	n	adayas
3SG	SBJ	prepare	VEN	3SG	GEN	colostrum

prepare their colostrum.'

4.9.3 With imperative

The strongest form for giving a command is the simple imperative verb. The imperative form does not take any proclitics, even for plural Subjects, or TAM markers, though it can be combined with a Negation in prohibitives. Since this form could be considered somewhat rude, it does not occur often.¹¹⁷ Examples 4.201 and 4.202 demonstrate.

4.201 **ətkəl-a!**

ətkəl	=a
take	3SG

'Take it!'

4.202 **nəsəṭəf** takábar kan!

nə-	s-	əṭəf	takabar	kan
NEG.PRF	CAUS	spit	cup	in

'Don't spit in the cup!'

In Example 4.203, the two orders given are coordinated.

4.203 **koy** a-daayó, **záwkat** áysa

koy	a=	daayo	zaw	-kat	ya=	sa
go	3SG	place	bring	VEN	1SG	DAT

'Go to his place and bring to me

an fələqqaawan!

a=	n	fələqqaawan
3SG	GEN	poor.people

his dependents!'

¹¹⁷ The question of how one makes a request of a person of lower rank comes up here. In general, I personally have rarely heard servants, or even children, spoken to with the imperative, unless there was anger or annoyance being conveyed, or in case of emergencies. However, this is a question that requires more study.

4.10 Questions

The discussion below will include yes/no questions (Section 4.10.1), tag questions (Section 4.10.2) and content questions (Section 4.10.3).

4.10.1 Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions do not have any special particles or syntax. Most often, a slight rising of intonation at the end of the sentence indicates that the sentence is a question, as in Examples 4.204 through 4.207.

4.204 *insəkúula húuwa?*
 ni= səkuula huuwa
 2SG not.want milk
 'You don't want (any) milk?'

4.205 *bəssəba atəkóy yáabu?*
 bəssəba a= tə- koy yaabu
 tomorrow 2PL FUT go market
 'Is he going to market tomorrow?'

4.206 *nin da nibáaya sa intədərrəg?*
 nin da ni= baaya sa ni= tə- dərrəg
 2SG.IND EMPH 2SG want SBDR 2SG FUT flee
 'Do you, too, want to run away?'

4.207 *ha zi, harám meeda əyiháalan?*
 ha zi haram meeda ə- əħal -an
 thing MED forbidden or SUB.REL clean ADJR
 'Is that forbidden or is it allowed?'

Another way of asking yes/no questions in Tagdal is by means of the interrogative particle *ənta* introducing the sentence. In at least certain contexts, it seems that starting a sentence with *ənta* makes the question stronger, as opposed to the simple yes/no questions above. Examples 4.208 and 4.209 demonstrate questions introduced with *ənta*.

4.208 *ənta nidá tayáysar aayó?*
 ənta ni= da tayáysar aayo
 INT 2SG do mess DEF
 'Did you make that mess?'

4.209 **ənta** niyíqəl nim ber?
 ənta ni= əqəl ni= n ber
 INT 2SG wait 2SG GEN older.sibling
 'Are you waiting for your older brother?'

Beginning a question with *ənta* can communicate doubt about a previous assertion. This is especially true if the question immediately follows the assertion. In Examples 4.210 through 4.212, sentences marked with "a" indicate the assertion and those with "b" indicate the question which follows, introduced with *ənta*.

4.210a alžummafa atəyədnan a-daayó.
 alžummafa a= tə- yed -nan a= n daayó
 Friday 3SG FUT return ALL 3SG GEN place
 'He is going back to his place on Friday.'

4.210b **ənta** atəyéð?
 ənta a= tə- yed
 INT 3SG FUT return
 'Is he really going back?' (possible alternative: 'Is he ever really going back?')

4.211a aaró ʒi abáy takáfar wúllen.
 aaro ʒi a= bay takafar wullen
 man MED 3SG know French very
 'That man knows French very well.'

4.211b **ənta** abáay-a?
 ənta a= bay =a
 INT 3SG know 3SG.OBJ
 'Does he really know it?'

4.212a ʒayʒi aayó bóora fo alhókum wáni amté,
 ʒayʒi aayó boora fo alhokum wani a= m- te
 day DEF person IDF state poss 3SG SBJ arrive
 'Today someone from the government should come

amyeeʒiikat iirin ázzərəf.
 a= m- yeeʒi -kat iiri= n azzərəf
 3sg SBJ return VEN 1PL GEN silver
 to return our money.'

4.212b **ənta** itəyeeʒiikaat-a?¹¹⁸
 ənta i= tə- yeéʒi -kat =a
 INT 3PL FUT return VEN 3SG
 'Are they really going to return it?'

In Example 4.213, the response containing *ənta* in sentence *b* is further intensified with the construction *ʒiimí da* 'truly'.

4.213a ʒayédma sa Alʒabbás abáaʒa Amina.
 ʒa= ədma sa Alʒabbas a= baʒa Amina
 1SG think SBDR alʒabbas 3SG want Amina
 'I think that Alabbas loves Amina.'

4.213b **ənta** abáaʒa-a ʒiimí da?
 ənta a= baʒa =a ʒiimí da
 INT 3SG want 3SG truth EMPH
 'Do you think that he really loves her?'

In Example 4.214, the presence of *ənta* adds an element of doubt, but also functions to make a question even stronger, adding an element of insult.

4.214 **ənta** nibáy ʒiimí?
 ənta ni= bay ʒiimi
 INT 2SG know truth
 'Do you even know (how to tell the) truth?'

4.10.2 Tag questions

In Tagdal, tag questions, where the positive answer is presupposed, are relatively uncommon and can be difficult to distinguish from content questions. Therefore, context is necessary to disambiguate. Usually tag questions are marked with *ákka* and intonation then rises at the end of the sentence, to indicate a question.

4.215 Xádər akóy **ákka**?
 Xádər a= koy akka
 Xádər 3SG go INT.TG
 'Xádər left, didn't he?'

¹¹⁸ In Examples 4.209 a,b, the Subject changes from the third person singular *a=* in the first sentence to the third person plural *i=* in the response. This most likely indicates that the Subject in sentence *b* has changed, from *bóora fo alhókum wáni* 'someone from the government' to the government itself.

4.216 móota amáy esáns **ákka**?
 moota a= may esans akka
 car 3SG have gasoline INT.TG
 'The car has gasoline doesn't it?'

4.10.3 Content questions

There are three main question particles, *may* 'who?', *məʃfi* 'what?' and *man* 'where?', as well as a few constructions based on these particles, which occur at the beginning of the sentence and take on a Subject function. When the interrogative element functions as the subject of the sentence, the verb will begin with the Subject Relative prefix *ə-*, rather than with a proclitic. At this point, content questions and relative clauses have similar syntax. Each of these particles, along with possible combinations derived from these, will be discussed below.

The interrogative particle *may* can occur by itself or can be combined with the Possessive marker *wáni*, in order to ask about ownership or kinship. Both are discussed below. Examples 4.217 and 4.218 demonstrate questions introduced with *may* 'who?'

4.217 **may** əʃi?
 may ə- ʃi
 who SUB.REL be
 'Who is it?'

4.218 **may** ədá tayaáysar aayó?
 may ə- da tayaaysar aayo
 who SUB.REL do mess DEF
 'Who made that mess?'

In Example 4.219 the question introduced with *may* is subordinate.

4.219 yaséstən ʔan íman kan
 ʔa= səstən ʔa= n iman kan
 1SG ask 1SG GEN soul in
 'I ask myself

may əyífræg ha aayó?
 may ə- əfræg ha aayo
 who SUB.REL power thing DEF
 'who is capable of doing that?'

The construction *may wáni*, a combination of *may* with the Possession marker *wáni*, or its plural, *may wánen*, functions to ask the question of ownership or kinship 'whose?', as in Examples 4.220 and 4.221.

4.220 **may wáni** ha aayó?
 may wani ha aayo
 who POSS thing DEF
 'Whose is that?'

4.221 **may wánen** álman fen?
 may wanen alman fen
 who POSS.PL flocks DIS
 'Whose animals are those?'

In Example 4.222, the Direct Object is placed in front and the predicate is the copular verb *fi*. The issue of the differences between the *may wáni* construction with or without the copula requires more study. It may be that fronting the Object requires the copula, or it could have something to do with Kinship. However, instances of this seem to be uncommon.

4.222 tabárar zi, **may wáni** afi?
 tabarar zi may wani a= fi
 girl MED who POSS 3SG be
 'That girl, whose (daughter) is she?'

Examples 4.223 and 4.224 are typical of how *məʃfi* 'what?' functions.

4.223 **məʃfi** nibáaya?
 məʃfi ni= baaya
 what 2SG want
 'What do you want?'

4.224 **məʃfi** anʒisónnəfrən?
 məʃfi anʒi= sɔnnəfrən
 what 2PL choose
 'What did you(pl) choose?'

In Examples 4.225 and 4.226, the Subjects of the main clauses take the Subject Relative *ə-*.

4.225 **məʃfi** əfi iridá?
 məʃfi ə- fi iiri= da
 məʃfi SUB.REL be 1PL do
 'What is it that we did?'

- 4.226 **məʃfi** ətəwwətəkəl?
 məʃfi ə- təw- ətkəl
 what SUB.REL PASS take
 'What was taken (i.e. stolen)?'

There are a number of additional constructions derived from *məʃfi* 'what?'. *məʃfi álwaq*¹¹⁹ 'when?' is a combination of *məʃfi* with the noun *álwaq* 'moment' or 'time'.

- 4.227 **məʃfi álwaq** intədə-a?
 məʃfi álwaq ni= tə- da =a
 what time 2SG FUT do 3SG.OBJ
 'When are you going to do it?'

- 4.228 **məʃfi álwaq** iiritéenan?
 məʃfi álwaq iiri= te -nan
 what time 1PL arrive ALL
 'When did we arrive?'

- 4.229 **məʃfi álwaq** abáaya sa yamkóykat?
 məʃfi álwaq a= baaya sa ya- m- koy -kat
 what time 3SG want SBDR 1SG SBJ go VEN
 'When does he want me to come?'

məʃfiggá 'why?' is a combination of the particle *məʃfi* and the postposition *ga* 'on'. When combined, stress shifts to the final syllable and the first consonant in *ga* is lengthened, as in Examples 4.230 through 4.232.

- 4.230 **məʃfiggá** nida ha aayó?
 məʃfigga ni= da ha aayo
 why 2SG do thing DEF
 'Why did you do that?'

- 4.231 **məʃfiggá** ikóy sa yagánnga isa-a?
 məʃfigga i= koy sa ya= gannga i= sa =a
 why 3PL go SBDR 1SG forbid 3PL DAT 3SG.OBJ
 'Why did they go when I forbade them to do it?'

- 4.232 **hazikán, məʃfiggá** amzáwnaan-a?
 hazikan məʃfigga a= m- zaw -nan =a
 therefore why 3SG SBJ take ALL 3SG.OBJ
 'So then, why does he need to transport it?'

¹¹⁹ In Tabarog, and possibly other varieties of Tagdal, this is pronounced as a single word *məʃfálaq*.

Questions using *man* 'where?'

man is another Interrogative particle, from which a number of other Interrogatives can be derived. When occurring by itself, it asks the question 'where?'. It also forms the base for *man ikət* 'how much?' and *man ha aayó nda* 'how?' Each of these will be discussed below. Examples 4.233 and 4.234 demonstrate how *man* 'where?' functions when occurring by itself.

4.233 **man** abáara?
 man a= baara
 where 3SG LOC
 'Where is it?'

4.234 **man** nisəwər-a?
 man ni= səwər =a
 where 2SG place 3SG.OBJ
 'Where did you put it down?' (meaning, 'Where did you leave it?')

man ikət 'how much?' is one derivation possible from the Interrogative particle *man*, as in Examples 4.235 and 4.236.

4.235 **man ikət** anʒidáynan?
 man ikət anʒi= day -nan
 how many 2PL deal ALL
 'How many did you buy?'

4.236 **man ikət** qáaran iyífræg?
 man ikət qaran i= əfræg
 how many read 3PL power
 'How many can read?'

In Example 4.237, the verb in the main clause has the Subject Relative marker *ə-*.

4.237 **man ikət** ətəwənnəfrən?
 man ikət ə- təw- ənnəfrən
 how many SUB.REL PASS choose
 'How many were chosen?'

The unusual construction *man ha aayó nda* 'how?' in the beginning of a sentence functions primarily to inquire about the means by which something was or is going to get done. It is a combination of the Manner construction *ha aayó nda* 'how' with the Interrogative particle *man*. Typically the Direct Object occurs before the predicate.

4.238 **man ha aayó nda** ha aayó niyífræg?
 man ha aayó nda ha aayó ni= əfræg
 how? thing DEF 2SG power
 'How could you do that?'

4.239 **man ha aayó nda** ha aayó ada?
 man ha aayó nda ha aayó a= da
 how? thing DEF 3SG do
 'How did this happen?'

4.240 **man ha aayó nda** hur nda húžen iyífræg?
 man ha aayó nda hur nda húžen i= əfræg
 how? enter toward buildings 3PL power
 'How were they able to get inside the compound?'

4.241 **man ha aayó nda** qáaran niyílməd?
 man ha aayó nda qaran ni= əlməd
 how? read 2SG learn
 'How did you learn to read?'

4.242 **man ha aayó nda** iiritəté?
 man ha aayó nda iiri= tə- te
 how? 1PL FUT arrive
 'How are we going to get there?'

***ma aafó* + NP 'which?'**

ma aafó 'which?' seems to be somewhat of an exception, in the sense that the it does not seem to be based on a base Interrogative connector.¹²⁰ Examples 4.243 and 4.244 demonstrate.

4.243 **ma aafó** iirin faarayyen kan intəgíʃ?
 ma aafó iiri= n faarayyen kan ni= tə- gíʃ
 which 1PL GEN friends in 2SG FUT leave
 'Which of our friends will you leave behind?'

4.244 **ma aafó** intəsəʔkəl?
 ma aafó ni= tə- sə- əʔkəl
 which 2SG FUT CAUS take
 'Which one will you grab?'

¹²⁰ Unless *ma* itself the base. This is certainly possible. However, it only occurs in this instance.

In Example 4.245, *ma aafó álwaq* 'at which time' seems to be similar to *məffĩ álwaq* 'when?', except that the speaker was choosing between a number of possible moments, while with *məffĩ álwaq* refers to some unspecified, unknown moment in time.

- 4.245 **ma aafó** álwaq até?
 ma aafó alwaq a= te
 which time 3SG arrive
 'At what time did he arrive?'

In Example 4.246 *ma aafó* is the Subject of the sentence. Therefore, the Subject Relative *ə-* is used.

- 4.246 **ma aafó** ətəwsəgla?
 ma aafó ə- təw- səgla
 which SUB.REL PASS cause.go
 'which one was sent?'

Content questions with adpositions

It is possible to combine other question particles with adpositions in order to form questions. Among these are *may* 'who?', *ma aafó* 'which?' and *məffĩ* 'what?'. Each of these will be discussed below.

The most common question particle in this construction is *may* 'who?', as in Examples 4.247 through 4.249. Stress will fall on the interrogative particle *may* and the adposition will not take stress at all.

- 4.247 **máy nda** intəkóy?
 may nda ni= tə- koy
 who with 2SG FUT go
 'Who are you going with?'
- 4.248 **máy sa** iirimdá ha aayó
 may sa iiri= m- da ha aayó
 who DAT 1PL SBJ do thing DEF
 'Whom should we do this for?'
- 4.249 **máy daw**¹²¹ nikóy?
 may daw ni= koy
 who at 2SG go
 'To whose place did you go?'

¹²¹ Example 4.249 was pronounced by an Abargan-Tagdal speaker, in which the Locative is pronounced *daw* 'place' instead of *daayó*, as elsewhere in Tagdal.

In Example 4.250, *may ha fo* 'have something' is a euphemism for being owed money.

- 4.250 **máy kan** yamáy ha fo?
 who kan ya= may ha fo
 who in 1SG have thing IDF
 'Who owes me money?' (lit. 'In whom do I have something?')

ma aafó 'which?' can also be combined with adpositions, as 4.251 through 4.255 demonstrate.

- 4.251 tabbárar **ma aafó ga**¹²² izóq?
 tabarar ma aafó ga i= zoq
 girl which on 3PL fight
 'Which girl did they fight over?'

- 4.252 ahákæt **ma aafó kan** abáara?
 ahakæt ma aafó kan a= baara
 tent which in 3SG LOC
 'Which tent is he in?'

- 4.253 tasálat **ma aafó ga** yamgoorá?
 tasalat ma aafó ga ya= m- goora
 mat which on 1SG SBJ sit
 'Which mat should I sit on?'

- 4.254 **ma aafó sa** nidáykaat-a?
 ma aafó sa ni= daykat =a
 which DAT 2SG buy 3SG
 'Which one did he buy it for?'

- 4.255 **ma aafó nda** izáykat ázzərəf?
 ma aafó nda i= zay -kat ázzərəf
 which with 3PL steal VEN money
 'With which (tool) did they steal the money?'

Finally, *məffĩ* 'what?' can be combined with certain adpositions as well. It is likely that *məffiggá* 'why?' is one example, which occurs frequently enough to have become a separate construction. *Məffĩ* can be combined with others as well, as in Examples 4.256 and 4.257.

¹²² In Example 4.251, the Subject *tabbárar* 'girl' is placed in front for relative emphasis. In addition, it had not occurred in some time in the previous discourse and, therefore, needed to be reintroduced with a noun.

4.256 **məffī nda** intəhinziin-a?

məffī	nda	ni=	tə-	hinziin	=a
what	with	2SG	FUT	fix	3SG

'With what will you fix it?'

4.257 **məffī daayó** anziitəkúrkur?

məffī	daayó	anzi=	tə-	kurkur
what	place	2PL	FUT	burn

'What (person's) place will you(PL) burn?'

In Example 4.259, the normal stress pattern in *məffī* shifts to the adposition *kan*, which normally does not have any stress, leading to the form *məffīkán*. This is similar to what happens with *məffīgǵá* 'why?'. I have no explanation for this occurrence, since to my knowledge, *məffīkán* is not a fixed, regularly-occurring expression.

4.258 **məffīkán** iirimtúuk-a?

məffī	kan	iiri=	m-	tuk	=a
what	in	1PL	SBJ	hide	3SG

'What should we hide it in?'

4.11 Cohesion

This section will include discussions of cohesion, prominence and paragraph structure in Tagdal. Section 4.11.1 will discuss how connectors play a role in these three functions. Then, Section 4.11.2 will discuss various grammatical constructions that also play a role.

4.11.1 Particles, Connectors

The most common way of maintaining cohesion and increasing relative prominence in Tagdal is by means of connectors. Among the most common of these are *ha zi naláqqam* and *təzzár* 'after that' or 'then'; *áygas* 'but', 'before' or 'however'; *miffan* 'but'; *haziggá* 'because of that' and *hazikán* 'therefore'; and *ənguuzi* 'suddenly' or 'right then and there'.

ha zi n aláqqam / *ha aayó n aláqqam* 'after that'

The constructions *ha zi n aláqqam* and *ha aayó n aláqqam* 'after that' seem to be interchangeable. First, they signal the main clause in a complex sentence, especially

when combined with other clauses introduced by the subordinator *sa*. Second, they signal the end of a sequence of verbs, or the end of a section or paragraph. Third, when occurring in a stand-alone sentence with only one clause, the connection is to the preceding discourse and signals a brief peak in an episode. There seems to be a generational aspect to this connector. Older Tagdal speakers sometimes use *ha zi m bānda* or *ha aayó m bānda* instead. **bānda* 'behind', which does not seem to be a word in Tagdal otherwise, is the Zarma equivalent to the Tuareg *aláqqam* 'behind'.¹²³

In Example 4.259, *ha zi n aláqqam* here has two principal functions. First, it signals the end of a sequence of clauses and of the sentence. Second, it draws attention to the final verb *ki* 'stop' or 'stand'. In the context of the overall discourse, it indicates that the speaker and his co-travelers decided to stay, instead of continuing their journey.

4.259 *sa iirikóoy-a, iiritée-a,*
 sa iiri= koy =a iiri= te =a
 SBDR 1PL go 3SG.OBJ 1PL arrive 3SG.OBJ
 'When we went and arrived there

ha zi n aláqqam *iirikí á-kan.*
 ha zi nalaqqam iiri= ki a= kan
 after.that 1PL stop 3SG in
 then we stopped there.'

In Example 4.260 the comma represents a brief pause that occurs when *ha zi n aláqqam* introduces the sentence and, therefore, connects it to the previous discourse.

4.260 ***ha zi n aláqqam,*** *iirihúr áylal aayó*
 ha zi n alaqqam iiri= hur áylal aayó
 after.that 1PL enter vehicle DEF
 'After that, we boarded the plane

təzáwkat iiri Fáaransa.
 tə- zaw -kat iiri Faaransa
 FUT bring VEN 1PL France
 (that would) take us to France.'

Example 4.261 is from a story about a fight that broke out between some Tagdal speakers and some Fulani herdsmen over the right to use a well, during which a number of Fulanis were killed.

¹²³ In addition, in Zarma *bānda* also means 'buttocks'. Therefore, younger Tagdal speakers from majority Songhay speaking areas find the expression *ha zi m bānda* funny.

4.261 **ha aayó n aláqqam**, iiridá zirbí híŋka kásaw kan
 ha aayó n aláqqam iiri= da zirbí híŋka kasaw kan
 after.that 1PL do year two prison in
 'After that, we spent two years in prison'

boorén aayoonén n addólél ga!
 booren aayoonen n addólél ga
 people DEF.PL GEN responsibility on
 because of those people!'

Example 4.262 is about a naming ceremony seven days after the birth of a baby, after the man and his wife had lost a number of other children. The presence of *ha zi n aláqqam* serves to heighten the prominence of the events in the sentence.

4.262 **ha zi n aláqqam**, ada barar sa man Xádər.
 ha zi n aláqqam a= da barar sa man Xádər
 after.that 3SG place boy DAT name Xádər
 'After that, he gave the boy the name Xader.'

In Example 4.263, *ha zi n aláqqam* functions to bring the section of discourse to a close.

4.263 **ha zi n aláqqam**, sa aŋin áyša
 ha zi n aláqqam sa a= ŋin ya= sa
 after.that SBDR 3SG say 1SG.OBJ DAT
 'After that, when he told me I should go,

yamkóy, yaýéd ya-húngu.
 ya= m- koy ya= yed ya= n huggu
 1SG SBJ go 1SG return 1SG GEN dwelling
 I returned to my tent.'

***təzzár* 'then'**

At first glance, the connector *təzzár* 'then' is very similar to *ha zi n aláqqam* and *ha aayó n aláqqam* 'after that'.¹²⁴ Both indicate the presence of a main clause of a complex sentence, especially in cases where the first clause is introduced with the Subordinator *sa*. However, there are a number of key differences between *təzzár* 'then' and *ha zi n aláqqam* / *ha aayó n aláqqam* 'after that'. First, *təzzár* is primarily a temporal marker, while *ha zi n aláqqam* and *ha aayó n aláqqam* are primarily

¹²⁴ In fact, the two have enough overlapping functions that they are essentially interchangeable in short (i.e. one sentence to, say, two paragraph) discourses.

sequential markers. Second, *ha zi n aláqqam* / *ha aayó n aláqqam* tends to mark the end of a section or paragraph. *təzzár*, on the other hand, may occur at the end of a complex sentence in shorter discourses. But its normal function is to mark the beginning of a section or paragraph, especially at the peak episode of the discourse. Examples 4.264 through 4.266 show instances where *təzzár* introduces a main clause, following a clause(s) introduced with *sa*.

4.264 iirité húžen, **təzzár** iirifǝfta farkén.
 iiri= te húžen təzzar iiri= ǝfta farkén
 1PL arrive dwellings then 1PL feed donkeys
 'We arrived at the encampment, then we fed the donkeys.'

4.265 nimdá á-kan assúkər,
 ni= m- da a= kan assukər
 2SG SBJ place 3SG in sugar
 'You should put sugar in it,

nimzəzdər-a,
 ni= m- sə- əzdər =a
 2SG SBJ CAUS mix 3SG.OBJ
 you should mix it in,

təzzár niməqəl ar ǝikoffaawen imhur.
 təzzar ni= m- əqəl ar ǝikoffaawen i= m- hur
 then 2SG SBJ wait until foam 3PL SBJ enter
 then you should wait until it gets (lit. "until it should get") foamy.

4.266 sa ihínziin-a, **təzzár** aǝikəl akáy.
 sa i= hinziin =a təzzár aǝikəl a= kay
 SBDR 3PL fix 3SG.OBJ then trip 3SG continue
 'Then, after they fixed it, the trip continued.'

Likewise, in Example 4.267, someone was telling a friend directions to his house, near a mosque appropriately known as the "White Mosque" due to its white-coloured tiles.

4.267 nimdərən tárray aayó əyizzáaran wáni ga,
 ni= m- dərən tarray aayó ə- əzzar -an wani ga
 2SG SBJ turn road DEF SUB.REL first ADJR POSS on
 'You should turn onto the main road,

təzzár ǝa-húngu abáara
 təzzar ǝa= n huggu a= baara
 then 1SG GEN dwelling 3SG LOC
 then my house is

taməzɡədda qooráayan əm mó kan.
 taməzɡədda qooraay -an n mo kan
 mosque white ADJR GEN face in
 in front of the White Mosque.'

In Example 4.268, *təzzár* indicates the beginning of a new paragraph or section in the discourse.

4.268 **təzzár** bárar aayó kan tárra kóy báara,
 təzzar barar aayó kan tarra koy baara
 then boy DEF in wilderness master LOC
 'Then the boy who had the evil spirit

akan á-kan.
 a= kan a= kan
 3SG fall 3SG in
 beat him up (lit. "fell upon him").'

In Examples 4.269 and 4.270 *təzzár* is connected to the preceding discourse, rather than to the complex sentence that follows. In each case, it signals the peak episode of the discourse.

4.269 **təzzár**, keení ahúur-a wúllen,
 təzzar keeni a= hur =a wullen
 then sleep 3SG enter 3SG.OBJ very
 'Then, she got very sleepy

tabárar akánkat gánda.
 tabarar a= kan -kat ganda
 girl 3SG fall VEN ground
 and the girl fell to the ground.'

4.270 **təzzár**, ámmaaka niyízraay-a nda bóora fo,
 təzzar ammaaka ni= əzray =a nda boora fo
 then if 2SG replace 3SG.OBJ with person IDF
 Then if you replace him with someone else,

intəmay ʃiməyútar əʃilláanan.
 ni= tə- may ʃiməyutar ə- ʃillan -an
 2SG FUT have difficulties SUB.REL same ADJR
 you will have the same problems.

In Examples 4.271 and 4.272, *təzzár* appears in different places of essentially the same sentence.¹²⁵ In 4.271, *təzzár* is connected to the previous discourse, in this case explaining the reasons and importance of placing the turban on his head if/when they saw a particular, very conservative, older man who did not approve of uncovered male heads in his encampment.

- 4.271 **təzzár**, ámmaaka iiriguuna-á,
 təzzar ammaaka iiri= guuna =a
 then if 1SG see 3SG
 'So then if we see him,
- nimdá nin tagəlmus.
 ni= m- da ni= n tagəlmus
 3SG SBJ place 2SG GEN turban
 you should put on your turban.'

On the other hand, in Example 4.272 *təzzár* introduces the main clause of the sentence, indicating exactly when the turban should be put on.

- 4.272 ámmaaka niguuna-á,
 ammaaka ni= guuna =a
 if 2SG see 3SG.OBJ
 'If you see him,
- təzzár** nimdá nin tagəlmus.
 təzzar ni= m- da ni= n tagəlmus
 then 3SG SBJ place 2SG GEN turban
 then you should put on your turban.'

áygas 'but, therefore, however'

The rarely used connector *áygas* seems to function primarily as a short-term focus marker, raising the relative prominence of the immediate context in which the clause or sentence appears, or perhaps of the relation between the sentence and the discourse.

In Example 4.273, *áygas* draws attention to the fact that the young men telling the story should not have been hunting in a certain area. Therefore, when an old man told them to leave, they left precipitously.

¹²⁵ The author specifically elicited Example 4.272 from Tagdal speakers, in order to see what difference it would make to place *təzzár* in different parts of the sentence.

4.273 ámyar aḵin íirisa sa iirimkóy,
 amyar a= ḵin iiri= sa sa iiri= m- koy
 old.man 3SG say 1PL DAT SBDP 1PL SBJ go
 'The old man told us that we should leave,

áygas iirikoy.
 aygas iiri= koy
 therefore 1PL go
 so we left.'

In Example 4.274 *áygas* seems to have some sort of adversative meaning. It relates a story about a rich man who had bought some sheep and goats for the annual *Tabaski* animal sacrifice. He had the goats slaughtered and their carcasses arranged in neat order outside the house, because these would be distributed among the poor. However, since he had something else in mind for the sheep carcasses, he organised them in a different location.¹²⁶ Since the sheep had not been mentioned in this particular discourse for several clauses, it was necessary to reintroduce them with a noun, *fiiḵén*, whereas the other ACTORS and PATIENTS in the sentence were referred to with pronominal clitics.

4.274 aséxt-i ar iháḵi ḵaaráyyen kan,
 a= s- əxta =i ar i= haḵi ḵaarayyen kan
 3SG CAUS arrange 3PL til 3PL look friend in
 'He had them arranged so that they were facing each other,

áygas fiiḵén, anəzaabéen-i.
 aygas fiiḵen a= nə- zaaben =i
 but sheep 3SG NEG.PRF share 3PL
 but the sheep, he did not arrange.'

Finally, in Example 4.275 *áygas* is associated with the previous discourse, about a group of raiders who attacked an encampment, thinking that there was money hidden there.

4.275 áygas, sa iirinəhár ísa ha,
 aygas sa iiri= nə- har i= sa ha
 however SBDP 1PL NEG.PRF declare 3PL DAT thing
 'But, when we didn't tell them anything,

¹²⁶ There may even perhaps be a certain measure of social censure or criticism in the sentence, since the story was related by a poor person and mutton is more highly regarded than goat meat.

alham ahuur-i wúllen.
 alham a= hur =i wullen
 anger 3PL enter 3PL.OBJ very
 they got very angry.'

***əŋguuzi* 'suddenly', 'right then and there'**

əŋguuzi 'right then and there' usually introduces main clauses and tends to occur toward the beginning of complex sentences. It functions to draw attention only to the section of discourse to which it is connected, rather than to the larger context. This is shown in Examples 4.276 and 4.277.

4.276 ***əŋguuzi*** agíʃ an ʃileqáwan¹²⁷,
 əŋguuzi a= gíʃ a= n ʃileqawan
 right.then.and.there 3SG leave 3SG GEN poor.people
 'Right then and there, he abandoned his family

akóy Nizírya.
 a= koy Nizírya
 3SG go Nigeria
 and went to Nigeria.'

4.277 ***əŋguuzi***, zirbí karád n aláqqam,
 əŋguuzi zirbi karad n alaqqam
 suddenly day three GEN behind
 'Suddenly, after three days,

iirikəmmá ha aayó iiribhurrú.
 iiri= kəmma ha aayó iiri= b hurru
 1PL find thing def 1PL IMP search
 we found what we were looking for.'

In Example 4.278, *əŋguuzi* co-occurs with the Emphatic marker *da*, making it a little stronger. The entire sentence is introduced with *təzzár*, which introduces the peak episode of the discourse.

4.278 *təzzár* ***əŋguuzi*** da tabárar atuunú,
 təzzár əŋguuzi da tabarar a= tuunu
 then right.then.and.there EMPH girl 3SG rise
 'Then, right then and there, the girl woke up,

¹²⁷ In many local cultures the term *tállaaqay* 'poor person' or its plural *ʃiləqqaawan* could be used to refer to the people one is responsible for taking care of.

agoorá, awá.
 a= goora a= wa
 3SG sit 3SG eat
 sat up and ate (something).'

In Example 4.279, in a rather unusual structure, *əŋguuzi* draws attention to the noun *amakaʃit* 'inheritor', rather than to a clause or sentence.

4.279 aaha, **əŋguuzi** amakaʃit! iirimziin-á,
 aaha əŋguuzi amakaʃit iiri= m- zin =a
 aha right.then.and.there inheritor 1PL SBJ grab 3SG
 Aha, right there is the inheritor! Let's kidnap him

iirimkəmma á-kan tənfa!
 iiri= m- kəmma a= kan tənfa
 1PL SBJ find 3SG in profit
 and make money off him!

***haziggá* 'because of that', *hazikán* 'therefore'**

Two further connectors, *haziggá* 'because of that' and *hazikán* 'therefore', which typically introduce sentences or simple clauses, function to indicate reason or Resultative types of relations, as well as to indicate the end of a section of discourse. *haziggá* is derived from the NP *ha zi* 'that thing', which would normally have stress on the determiner *zi*, combined with the postposition *ga*, which usually means 'on' or 'on top of', but also can mean 'because of'. In Tagdal the combination seems to make a single word; stress disappears altogether from the NP *ha zi* and shifts to the last syllable. Likewise, *hazikán* is derived from the same NP *ha zi*, plus the Locative postposition *kan*, making the combined construction meaning 'therefore'. Stress occurs on the last syllable of the expression, the postposition *kan*, which normally does not have any stress. The vowel in *zi* also elongates to *zii* before the CVC syllable in *kan*. In Example 4.280, *hazikán* occurs before an Adverbial Clause introduced with *ammaaka* 'if'.

4.280 **hazikán**, ammaaka anziyáda,
 hazikan ammaaka anzi= yarda
 therefore if 2PL agree
 'Therefore, if you(pl) agree,

yaay yatəbáy aggá.
 yaay ya= tə- bay a= ga
 1SG.IND 1SG FUT know 3SG on
 I personally will be responsible for him.'

In Example 4.281 and 4.282, *haziggá* is connected to the previous discourse.

2.281 **haziggá**, iwázziiwəz táyrəm kullú kan.
 hazigga i= wəzziiwəs táyrəm kullu kan
 because.of.that 3PL spread.out village all in
 'Because of that, they spread out throughout the whole village.'

4.282 **haziggá**, ámmaaka anzikəmmá tazəbət,
 hazigga ammaaka anzi= kəmma tazəbət
 because.of.that if 2PL find ring
 'Because of that, if you(pl) find the ring,

anzimyeəzi áysa-a.
 anzi= m- yeezi ya= sa =a
 2PL SBJ return 1SG DAT 2SG.OBJ
 you should return it to me.'

In Example 4.283 *haziiKAN* is connected to a subordinate clause.

4.283 felás Maxmúddun adayná an tafəfarot,
 felas Maxmuddun a= dayna a= n tafəfarot
 because Maxmuddun 3SG forget 3SG GEN key
 'Because Maxmuddun forgot his key,

haziiKAN arrəzzəraz tasəxfəl.
 hajiikan a= ərrəzzəraz tasəxfəl
 therefore 3SG break.with.force lock
 therefore he broke the lock.'

4.11.2 Prominence, grammatical constructions

The increased prominence of the Possessor Phrase, as opposed to the Genitive Phrase, was already discussed in Section 4.1. This section discusses of a number of other grammatical constructions that also increase relative prominence. First, there is a discussion of how changing word order affects the meaning of the sentence, followed by a discussion of the use of independent pronouns. Finally, the section ends with a discussion of the Emphatic marker *da*.

Word order

Since Tagdal is a fairly strict SVO language, beginning the sentence or clause with elements other than the Subject results in increased prominence. Benítez-Torres (2009) and Benítez-Torres and Grant (2017) discuss briefly the construction where the Direct Object is placed in front of the sentence, in the context of the Passive Voice, since, in effect, both have similar functions – to reduce the importance of the AGENT by increasing the importance of the PATIENT or UNDERGOER. However, elements other than the Direct Object may be placed in front of the sentence as well. These include the Indirect Object and various Adpositional Phrases. Each is discussed in this section. Below, in the examples marked "a" the element in question is in its normal place in the sentence, whereas in the examples marked "b" the same element is placed in front of the sentence.

In Examples 4.284 and 4.285 the sentences begin with the Direct Object. This is the most common element to be fronted. The resulting construction is either poetic in function, or it is used in situations where the speaker wishes to draw attention to the Direct Object, at the expense of other elements of the sentence.

4.284a Ílyas awá **háamu**.

Ilyas	a=	wa	haamu
Illias	3SG	eat	meat

'Illias ate meat.'

4.284b **háamu** Ílyas awá.

haamu	Ilyas	a=	wa
meat	Illias	3SG	eat

'It is meat Illias ate.'

4.285a Xámmed abáaya Amína.

Xammed	a=	baaya	Amina
Xammed	3SG	love	Amina

'Xammed loves Amina.'

4.285b Amína Xámmed abáaya.

Amina	Xammed	a=	baaya
Amina	Xammed	3SG	love

'It is Amina that Xammed loves.'

Example 4.286 has the Indirect Object, indicated by the Dative marker *sa*, in front of the sentence.

4.286a *azəzlay i-kan*
 a= z- əzlay i= kan
 3SG CAUS differentiate 3PL in
 'He differentiated between them'

an amúzar sa.

a= n amuzar sa
 3SG GEN master DAT
 for his master's sake.'

4.286b **an amúzar sa**
 a= n amuzar sa
 3SG GEN master DAT
 'It was for his master's sake'

azəzlay i-kan.
 a= z- əzlay i= kan
 3SG CAUS differentiate 3PL in
 that he differentiated between them.'

In Example 4.287 an Adpositional Phrase with the postposition *ga* 'on' or 'because of' stands in front of the sentence.

4.287a *yanəfræg-a nin addələl ga!*
 ya= nə- əfræg =a ni= n addələl ga
 1SG NEG.PRF be.able 3SG 2SG GEN reason on
 'I can't do it because of you!'

4.287b **nin addələl ga, yanəfræg-a!**
 ni= n addələl ga ya= nə- əfræg =a
 2SG GEN reason on 1SG NEG.PRF be.able 3SG
 'It is because of you that I can't do it!'

Likewise, Example 4.288 gives a Postpositional Phrase with the locative *kan* in front of the sentence.

4.288a *abáara móota kan.*
 a= baara moota kan
 3SG LOC car in
 'It is in the car.'

4.288b **móota kan** abáara.
 moota kan a= baara
 car in 3SG LOC
 'It is in the car (and nowhere else).'

In Example 4.289, the accompaniment or instrumental preposition *nda* and its accompanying phrase are fronted.

4.289a afuunús ahákət **nda afáana**.
 a= fuunus ahákət nda afaana
 3SG light tent with match
 'He lit up the tent with a match.'

4.289b **nda afáana** afuunús ahákət.
 nda afaana a= fuunus ahákət
 with match 3SG light tent
 'It was with a match that he lit the tent.'

Independent Pronouns

Another means by which Tagdal increases the prominence is by means of independent pronouns, sometimes combined with the Emphatic marker *da*. Since the Subject is normally encoded within the verb by means of pronominal clitics, independent pronouns are not crucial to the communication of referential meaning. Instead, they function to communicate certain nuances, especially to increase the prominence of the NP that is referred to, as demonstrated in Examples 4.290 and 4.291.

4.290 **yaay**, yanəʃi abáydəg!
 yaay ya= nə- ʃi abaydəg
 1SG.IND 1SG NEG.PRF be thief
 'I am not (emphatic) a thief!'

4.291 **ingi da**, idá ha aayó!
 ingi da i= da ha aayo
 3PL.IND EMPH 3PL do thing DEF
 'They were the ones who did that.'

Emphatic particle *da*

When the Emphatic particle *da* follows a grammatical element, it immediately raises its prominence within the sentence, as in Example 4.292 and 4.293.

4.292 gazwál **da**, aǵi.
 gazwal da a= ǵi
 diesel EMPH 3SG not.be
 'There is absolutely no diesel.'

4.293 ha ʒi n aláqqam, takonéǵit amóttækwi
 ha ʒi n aláqqam takonéǵit a= móttækwi
 after.that hedge.hog 3SG move
 'After that, the hedgehog moved'

 ha aayó nda akúndar **da**.
 ha aayo nda akundar da
 just.as squirrel EMPH
 about just exactly like the squirrel.'

In Example 4.294, the Locative complement *ne* 'here' is raised in prominence.

4.294 igoorá ne **da**.
 i= goora ne da
 3SG sit here EMPH
 'They sat here (emphatic).'

In Example 4.295 *da* follows a construction with *fóoda* 'only one'.

4.295 aarén híŋka aayoonén ibáaya tabárar fóoda **da**.
 aaren híŋka aayoonen i= baaya tabarar fooda da
 men two DEF.PL 3PL want girl one EMPH
 'Those two men love the same young girl.'

In Examples 4.296 through 4.298, the *da* draws attention to the NPs it follows. When this occurs, it seems to be in conjunction with the determiners *aayó* and *ʒi*.¹²⁸ It is difficult to tell exactly what differences exist between raising the prominence of the NP with *da* and raising its prominence by placing it in front of the sentence, except to say that placing it in front seems to give it a stronger emphasis. However, this question requires more study.

4.296 kəbáy asənnəfrən aaró **aayóoda**.
 kəbay a= sənnəfrən aaro aayooda
 council 3SG choose man DEF.EMPH
 'This is the man whom the council chose.'

¹²⁸ I write these as one word because the presence of *da* causes the final vowels in *aayó* and *ʒi* to elongate. I have no explanation as to why, since *da* does not seem to have this effect on any other words in Tagdal.

4.297 awí an azáŋgu nda azəgəz **ziida**.

a= wi a= n azan̄gu nda azəgəz ziida
 3SG kill 3SG GEN enemy with knife MED.EMPH
 'He killed his enemy with that knife.'

4.298 ha zi n aláqqam iiriyoggá

ha zi n aláqqam iiri= yogga
 thing MED GEN behind 1PL notice
 'After that, we spied (from a distance)

moota aayooda iiribhurrú.

moota aayooda iiri= b- hurru
 car DEF.EMPH 1PL IMP search
 the exact car we were looking for.'