4 Syntax

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

4.1 Noun phrases and adpositional phrases

4.1.1 Overview

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

All elements except the head are optional for a NP.

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

The maximal structure of a noun phrase is as follows:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>borá</td>
<td>a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bor-én</td>
<td>two persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiŋká</td>
<td>two persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-a-ráswoy-t</td>
<td>dirty dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒíibit-an</td>
<td>dirty dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayá-n</td>
<td>my sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feejí</td>
<td>my sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ʒámar óoda</td>
<td>this lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aɣo bíibi</td>
<td>the black (one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>í-sels(a)</td>
<td>clothes (made)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úuray wán-en</td>
<td>clothes (made)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL-clothing</td>
<td>of gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of-PL</td>
<td>of gold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.1.2 Possessor phrases

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

4.1.2.1 Genitive n

The most common possessor phrases are PPs consisting of a NP followed by the genitive postposition *n* (*en* if following a C) (glossed
The postposition assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant (see 2.4.1.1). The possessor PP precedes the head of the NP.

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

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

\[
(2) \quad [iⁿ\ baba\ n]\ t-a-yáʒam-t
\]

\( 3p-GEN\ father\ GEN\ F-SG\-court-F.SG\)

their father’s courtyard

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

\[
(3) \quad [[aɣⁿ\ amǝnóokal\ an]\ bundú\ n]\ míya
\]

\( 1s-GEN\ chief\ GEN\ stick\ GEN\ end\)

the end of the stick of my chief

The allomorphs of the possessive pronouns are discussed under 2.4.2.4.

### 4.1.2.2 Possessor \( wáni / wán-en \)

A possessor phrase formed with the postposition \( wáni, \) pl. \( wán-en \) follows the head NP it specifies. The postposition normally agrees in number with the head noun. Semantically an owner relationship is not its first function, most often it specifies the character of the head noun.
(4)  

a) *a-máagor [wáy wání]*  
SG-young.camel woman POSS  
a female young camel

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

c) *zayrí [altanín wání]*  
day Monday POSS  
a Monday (not a Tuesday)

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

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

(5)  
*t-a-néfus-t ayo ay-te-d(á) ándi se*[bekáw-yan wán-en]  
F-SG-deed-F.SG DET 1s-FUT-do 2p DAT  
the story I want to tell you (pl) is of/about spirits.

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

4.1.3 Noun phrases with demonstratives

Tadaksahak has six different demonstrative particles that can specify a noun. None of them agrees in number with the head noun and they all follow the noun, with the exception of *na*. The determiner *ayo* DET
and ayondo ~ endayo ~ annayo DET.PL are not part of this series of demonstratives since demonstratives can co-occur with this marker. All noun phrases with a demonstrative are definite, whether a DET marker is present or not. The function of the DET will be discussed in 4.1.4.

(6) Demonstratives with their basic meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)sén̄da</td>
<td>away from speaker or other ‘that’ deictic center</td>
<td>DEM.FAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óoda</td>
<td>near to the speaker or deictic center, including cataphoric</td>
<td>DEM.NEAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áyda</td>
<td>close to the addressee, in the proximity</td>
<td>DEM.PROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adí</td>
<td>anaphoric, active</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>ANA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>broader reference than óoda ‘this/that’</td>
<td>DEBR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na N</td>
<td>facing, opposite</td>
<td>‘this/that’</td>
<td>OPP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The term né ‘place’ can combine with all the demonstratives except sén̄da ‘that’ and na ‘opposite’.

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

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

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

(8) niₙₙ haam(ú) asénda
2s-GEN meat DEM.FAR
that your meat / your meat there

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

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

4.1.3.2 óoda ‘this’

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

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

b) ayá-n haw(u) óoda andáŋga...
1s-GEN cow DEM.NEAR when
this my cow, when...

c) a-ƙkun(a) ìŋgi Assáylal óoda be.
3s-find 3p.EMP loc.name DEM.NEAR LOC
he found them in Essaylal here (the closer of two possible places with that name).
d) ...hár jé i-múu-dar-an óoda kāamil
until only PL-ACT-animal-PL DEM.NEAR all
i-hun(u)-án sěnda ka.
3p-leave-ALL DEM.FAR LOC
... as soon as all these animals were dead there.

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

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

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

4.1.3.3 áyda ‘this’

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

(11) a) -iŋf(á)-a tābal áyda be.
CAUS-put.on.BND-3s table DEM.PROX on
put it on this table (close to you)!

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

On discourse level its use is anaphoric.
This bird (earlier topic in discourse) flew from her heart...

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

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

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

4.1.3.4 adí ‘anaphoric’

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

It can often be observed together with the neutral noun he ‘thing’ to refer to some past event.
(13) aywa t-a-néfts t a-bbén məffin dá
RESUME F-SG-story-F.SG 3s-be.finished but INT
aṭṭáalib a-kkás alwalí dəffər [h(e) adi]
student 3s-be seer after thing ANA
so, the story is finished, however, the student became a
seer after this (the deed told in the story).

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

4.1.3.5 o 'broad anaphoric'

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

(14) Q: c(i) agúd a-ttén?
what? time 3s-arrive
when did he arrive?

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

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

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

(15) a) t-áa-dwi t o i-zzoy
F-SG-afternoon-F.SG DEBR 3p-fight
This (past) afternoon they had a fight.

b) ...aya-m-húnu-kat ay-n aláahit
1s-SUBJ-leave-VEN 1s-GEN tablet
[t-áa-dwi t óoda]
F-SG-afternoon-F.SG DEM.NEAR
...I (may) finish my (koranic) lesson this (coming)
afternoon."
° easily combines with he ‘thing’ and then takes almost pronoun-like properties. This combination will be glossed as a single unit ho (thing.DEBR) ‘this’. A frequently found NP is ho sénda ‘this/that’. Consider the following example. A long explanation is summed up with this final sentence:

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

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

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

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

4.1.3.6 ná ‘opposite’

This determiner precedes the noun it marks. In combination with ayo DET, which functions as the head, ná is a frequently used demonstrative. Any object or person pointed at without being called by its name can be referred to by ná ayo ‘this (one)’
(17) \[ná \ aɣo\] a₌b-s-ǝ \[t-ée-laq-q\]
OPP DET 3S-IMPERF-CAUS-sharpen F-SG-knife-F.SG
\[ná \ ayondo\] i-f-katám-katam haamû
OPP DET.PL 3p-IMPERF-cut meat
this (one) sharpens a knife, those are cutting meat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(21) Forms of the determiner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DET</th>
<th>DET.PL</th>
<th>DET.PL</th>
<th>DET.PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aɣo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Talatayt</td>
<td>Meneka</td>
<td>Infukaraytan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayondo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endayó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ennayo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warγo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural forms may be aɣo fused with other particles known in the language, i.e. end(a)-ayó (with-DET) ‘those’ with the contracted form enn-ayó and aɣo-(ǝ)nd(a)-o (DET-with-DEBR) ‘that with those’ and a last variant that seems to contain a Tamashq particle /w-/ that is used in the same environment. Especially the first variant ayondo is also found with the additional morpheme no ‘there’ intervening ayonda-no ‘those there (= at question)’ where the last element (demonstrative) is dropped in favor of a semantically more locational element.

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

aɣo can be combined with all demonstratives.

In combination with the determiner an NP has a different status on sentence level. NPs with a head noun and a determiner are always topicalized or constitute an otherwise salient element of the sentence.
The determiner together with ná OPP may also function as a pronoun for (con)textually established entities without a noun present. Ayó is also found after NPs that are followed by a relative clause (see 4.5.1).

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

### 4.1.4.1 ayó + demonstratives

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

(22) (when he left his wife, she was washing dishes.)

a-yed-kat-a t-o-o-lás-t
3s-return-VEN-3s F-SG-repeat-F.SG
tuw-yén ayondo sénda i-na-hímay.
receptacle-PL DET.PL DEM.FAR 3p-NEG.PERF-wash

(when) he came back to her again, those dishes were not (finished) washing.

(23) for  ay(o) óoda áŋga a-dágag

fur DET DEM.NEAR 3s.EMP.SG-fear

a-sa-mmay ni-wáni a-dágag wáni!
3s-NEG.IMPERF-own 2s-of SG-fear of

this throw, there is no fear in it, (but) yours was of fear!

(= I was not afraid when I threw, but you were!)

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

(24) (do you understand this? [speaker addressing hearer])

zama aaru aɣó (a)yda a-ttén aŋda
after man DET DEM.PROX 3s-arrive with

t-a-kárđas-t óoda (h(e) adí za)
F-SG-letter-F.SG DEM.NEAR thing ANA LC

a-ŋn(á) áa-se n i.
3s-give 3s-DAT SEP 3p

after this man had arrived with this letter, (so this) he gave them (camels) to him.
(25) (a marabout’s wife, after having declared that it was not the food that had brought her to this (other) man but his person, gets the answer:)
kaláakala
no
he (a)yo (a)ði wiji hé ay-ta-háaši-an ayáy.
thing DET ANA is.not thing 1s:FUT-look-ALL 1s
no, this (that you want to live with me) is not something that I will consider.

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

(26) (Hare heard her...)
s(a) a-ccí he (a)yo (ó)
COMP 3s-say thing DET DEBR
s(a) innazag a-ccí bárr-en se
COMP hyena 3s-say child-PL DAT
‘anda-b-déeraw’ ayo (ó).
2p:IMPERF-share DET DEBR
…that she said this, that Hyena said this “You(pl) share” to the children.

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

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

(27) Arë-háw t-a-bákar-t [(tugúdu nná ayo) ka]
1p-attach F-SG-ewe-F.SG tree OPP DET LOC
We attached the sheep at that tree over there. (in front of the speaker at the moment of the report, pointed at)
4.1.4.2  \textit{ayo + wani/wan-en}

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{T-a-dáalat-t aɣo [áagar wáni]}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
& F-SG-be.green-F.SG & DET & tree.sp & POSS \\
\mbox{(the) green of the ‘aagar’-tree.}
\end{tabular}
\item \textit{Gänd(a) aɣo [Idéeleman wání]}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\mbox{earth DET loc.name POSS}
\mbox{the region of Indeliman}
\end{tabular}
\item \textit{Mán aɣo óoda [Áffud wání]}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\mbox{name DET DEM.NEAR loc.name POSS}
\mbox{this name (of) ‘Affud’ (=Ansongo)}
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}

In constructions with possessive markers, \textit{ayo} seems to be insensible to number as the following example shows (see also (c) below):

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{i-múṇas aɣo [Áyyar wání] i-b-zarɣáf.}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\mbox{PL-camel DET loc.name POSS 3p-IMPERF-be.spots}
\mbox{the camels of the Air have large spots.}
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}

4.1.4.3  \textit{ayo + n}

This combination is found in a type of compound like words e.g. ‘airplane’ and ‘feast’. Note that the constituent order is different from the regular genitival construction. Here the head precedes the modifier and \textit{ayo} seems to be insensible to number (c).

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{T-óo-ruf-t aɣo n i-ʒínn-an] ámbay}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\mbox{F-SG-car-F.SG DET GEN PL-sky-PL 3s-have}
\mbox{afr-an híŋká.}
\mbox{wing-PL two}
\mbox{The airplane (lit: car that of sky) has two wings.}
\end{tabular}
\item \textit{Zayrí aɣo n jinjiri]}
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\mbox{day DET GEN prayer}
\mbox{ kullú bor(á) a-dd(á) ée-zel.}
\mbox{each person 3s-put SG-dress.up}
\mbox{(On) the feast (lit: day that of prayer), everybody dresses up.}
\end{tabular}
\end{enumerate}
c) í-ngur-an aɣo n agíilal
   PL-braid.type-PL DET GEN rear
   neck braids (braided in a particular way)

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

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

Temporal expressions are also found with this construction.

(32) Ar-n alzímmǝt aɣo n bi...
    1p-GEN chat DET GEN yesterday
    Our chat (of) yesterday …

4.1.5 NP with numerals

4.1.5.1 Numerals 'one' to 'ten'

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

(33) a) ...aya-m-d(á) āndi s(e) [a-séstǝn fóo-da]
    1s-SUBJ-do 2p DAT SG-question one-INT
    … to ask you one question

b) [bor-én kaaráḍ] ø-b-gung(ú) [i-múñas hiŋká]
    person-PL three IMPERF-lead PL-camel two
    (here are) three persons leading two camels

c) i-mmáy [i-n nan-ën hiŋká]
    3p-have 3p-GEN mother-PL two
    They had their two mothers
All numerals from ‘two’ to ‘ten’ can function as the head of an NP.

(34)  \[\text{hiŋk(á)}\]  \(i\)-b-\(n\)-\(ábd\)ed
  \text{two}  \text{3p-IMPERF-RECI-talk,BND}
  \text{Two are talking with each other.}

Postpositions precede modifying numerals. An example is given below in (35).

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

(35)  \[\text{arw-én cind-én hiŋk(á)}\]  \(i\)-báara
  \text{man-PL IND-PL two 3p-be}
  \text{(there) were two certain men}

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

4.1.5.2  \textbf{Numerals from ‘ten’ to ‘ninety’}

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

(36)  \(a\)  \(\text{táafinda n zayri}\)
  \text{twenty GEN day}
  \text{twenty days}

  \(b\)  \(\text{táasay-t-e-mérw-in an borá}\)
  \text{nine-F-PL-ten-PL GEN person}
  \text{ninety people}

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

(37)  \(\text{záw-kat ayáy [táafinda n ji]}\)
  \text{take-VEN 1s 20 GEN butter}
  \text{Bring me butter for 100FCFA.}
4.1.5.3 **Numerals higher than 'hundred'**

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

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

b) s-ǝ˙ädbǝl-an miliyón-tan [zayr-én be kaarād]
CAUS-heap-ADJZR million-PL day-PL LOC three
heaping up millions (in money) in three days

4.1.5.4 **Ordinals**

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

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

(39) **Ordinals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phrase</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ayo yizzár-an</em></td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DET be.ahead-ADJZR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ayó (a)nda hiŋká</em></td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(40) a) \[aɣó (ǝ)nda hıŋká] aⁿǝ-yée-kat
    DET with two 3s-NEG.PERF-return-VEN
    the second did not return.

    b) ciímí \[aɣó (ǝ)nda kaaṛáḍ]...
    truth DET with three
    the third truth...

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

(41) alḥád \[ayⁿ táaʃinda\], wiji?
    Sunday 3s-GEN 20 is.not
    Sunday is the twentieth, isn’t it?

4.1.5.5 Multiplication and distributive clauses

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

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

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

(43) a) táaʃinda har maará
    twenty until ten
    ten times twenty

    b) jammúʃ har maará (ǝ)dn(ǝ) a-yyyy
    five until ten with SG-one
    eleven times five.
Distributive clauses reduplicate the numeral. ‘one’ appears first in a shortened form and then as the full count noun. The other numerals do not change shape when used in this paradigm.

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

   b) wa mǝ-ṭǝ-ṭǝ ǝnda hiŋká hiŋká.
      IMP RECI-DUP-line.up with two two
      Line (yourself.pl) up two by two!

4.1.5.5.1 One and the other

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

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

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

(46) ayo fáḍḍan a-cc(i) áy-n caráy se:...
      DET other 3s-say 3s-GEN friend DAT
      The other said to his friend:....

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

The text material preceding the following example informs the listener that the first son, the antagonist of the other sons, had received a limping horse. Then follows the clause:
4.1.6 NP's with other quantifying modifiers

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

Examples of kāamil 'all'

(48) a) \[i\-manóokal-an káamil\] iinkel i-múnsuw-an.
   PL-chief-PL all 3p-refuse PL-meal-PL
   All the chiefs refused to eat.

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

c) ba gádam ãa-be, [ândi káamil]
   IMP lay 3s-LOC 2p.EMP all
   Lay(pl) on him, you all!

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

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

Examples of kullú 'each'

(49) a) ún za [hé (a)yó óoda kullú]
   indeed LC thing DET DEM.NEAR each
   alfáqi óoda a-mmástan end(a)-á....
   teacher DEM.NEAR 3s-ask with-3s
   So indeed, all this the teacher was asking himself....

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

kullú is rarely found with plural entities and the second example above could be analyzed as an equational clause and then read 'they
(preventions) are each (something) …’ so insisting on each single action yet still including all of them.

A dialectal variant is hák ‘each’ (from Tamasheq) used in the southern region, as found in hák bora ‘each person’ or hák a-fio ‘each one’. It precedes the noun it modifies.

Another expression for ‘each/every’ is íttilla (from Tamasheq). Like hák this modifier precedes the noun it modifies. It is only used with singular nouns. When combined with countable time expressions like ‘day’ each single entity is evoked. In that context káamil and íttilla are synonyms: íttilla záyri = záyri káamil ‘every day’. Less countable time expressions like ‘moment’ convey ‘every moment = whenever’. When íttilla stands by itself a time referent is evoked ‘each time/whenever’.

‘person’-type words may be perceived as uncountable since the modification encodes ‘everybody’.

(50) a) [íttilla záyri] i-Ta-Tén sénda... each day 3p.FUT-arrive DEM.FAR
   Each/every day they would arrive there...

b) [íttill(a) ágg aádam] mánn(a) a-Ta-Dáar-a each son.of Adam lack.food 3s.FUT-harm.3s
   Everybody will suffer for lack of food.

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

Different from Mainstream Songhay, where /kul/ has the above functions as well as some others, Tadaksahak has different quantifiers, which all tend to have their specific function but sometimes overlap. kullú is mainly used with singular entities to evoke ‘each of X’ underlining the single unity of a set, where as káamil mostly modifies countable plural nouns and then denotes ‘all Xs’. This can be very generic as in bor-en káamil ‘all people = everybody’ where it is equivalent with íttilla bora ‘everybody’.
An expression for a non-specified ‘every one of a group’ is $káaka$. This form may be related to the postposition $ka$ LOC that can in some contexts be read as ‘from among’. A possible analysis is then $X$ $k(a)$ $áaₖa$ ‘from among $X$ he/she/it in (it) = whoever/whatever’. However, the term is invariable even when used with plural nouns (example d) below.

(51) a) $mǝʃʃín$ $[t-a-báyor-t$ $káaka]$, $ni₌ddá$
   but $F$-SG-fortune-$F$-SG whatever $2s$-make
   $gánda$ $ka$ $(e)n$-$sé$-$mmay$...
   land $LOC$ $2s$-NEG.$IMPERF$-have
   But whatever fortune you make in a country that is not yours...

b) $wala$ $[he$ $káak(a)]$ $ariel$...
   or thing whatever $3s$-do
   or whatever he did...

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

d) $[ary$-$en$ $káaka]$, $ni$-$b$-$nín$...
   water-$PL$ whatever $2s$-$IMPERF$-drink
   whatever water you drink...

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

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

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

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

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

   b) alxër a-f-tēn
   peace 3s-IMPERF-arrive
   anda h(e) á-cceená h(e) á-cceená
   with thing 3s-be.small thing 3s-be.small
   Peace arrives little by little...

4.1.7 NPs with adjectives

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

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

   b) aarū bum-bun-án
    man  DUP-be.dead-ADJR
    (a) dead man
c) bi-yén giŋ-gimán-en
shade-PL DUP-be.good-ADJZR.PL
pleasant shades

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

e) ay-n miya sa-smad-án
3s-GEN beak CAUS-be.pointed-ADJZR
its pointed beak (of a bird)

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

g) diní baari ayo n-áfran-ën...
take horse DET RECI-be.chosen-ADJZR
take the best horse... (Lit: horse that is chosen...)

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

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

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

(54) aya-gguná surgó-(e)n kaařád giŋ-giman-ën
1s-see woman-PL three DUP-be.good-ADJZR.PL
I saw three beautiful women.

Adjectives preceded by ayo as the head can serve as NPs. An indefinite referent formed by an adjective is preceded by a-ffó ‘one’.

(55) a) ayo yaynáay-an a-na-gíman.
DET be.new-ADJZR 3s-NEG-PERF-be.good
the new (one) is not good.

b) a-ffó yaynáay-an a-dduwá
SG-one be.new-ADJZR 3s-be.better
a new (one) is better.
4.1.8 Postpositional Phrases

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

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

(56) a) [zayr)i áltanín wání] ka
day Monday of LOC
on a Monday

b) [i-yəm-an óoda] ka
PL-town-PL DEM.NEAR LOC
in these towns

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

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

e) [ii-zəŋ(a) adí] daw
PL-enemy ANA LOC
(arrived) at the enemy’s (place)

f) [surgóy káaka] daw
woman whatever LOC
at whatever woman’s place)

g) [iiic(ac) ayo sénda] se
youngster DET DEM.FAR DAT
to that young man
Other modifiers follow the postposition. This is the case of adjectives and quantifying modifiers. The verb ‘to look for’ in the following example has an obligatory DAT argument. The dative postposition se is placed before the adjective.

(57)  aɣa₌bb-ǝ ˙ä  mmaɣ aɣ₌n  almán se ʃi-ʃʃiy-án
     1s=IMPERF-search 1s=GEN herd DAT DUP-not.be-ADJZR
     I am looking for my lost herd.

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

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

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

Numerals modifying nouns behave the same way as adjectives. The same is true of kāamil ‘all’.

Examples:

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

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

4.1.9  NP Coordination

4.1.9.1  Conjoining anda ‘with, and’

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

(60) a)  á-:mmay haw-yén  anda(a)  i-mánas.
       3s=own cow-PL with PL-camels
       he owns cattle and camels.
b) surgó-(e)n and(a) arw-én anda bárr-en i-ttén

women-PL with man-PL with child-PL 3p-arrive

women, men and children arrived.

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

(61) mammaní i-báara anda fatíllan tónd-en

perfume 3p-exist with torch GEN stone-PL

and(a) id-aşşáabu-tan anda takúla-tan.

with PL-soap-PL with bread-PL

there are perfume, and torch batteries, and (pieces of) soap and (loaves of) bread.

4.1.9.2 Disjunctive meɣ, mádaɣ and wala ‘or’

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

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

(62) a) jí ʔ ak dílwil meɣ almán wáni?

butter QST oil or herd of butter, is it (vegetable) oil or of the animals?

b) ni-f-kuná [katíbi-tan jammúf] meɣ maará

2s=IMPERF-find coin-PL five or ten you earn five or ten coins.

In addition some speakers use máday, another disjunctive particle taken over from Tamasheq.
Yet another particle, *wala*, is sometimes used as a disjunctive device. This particle is originally from Arabic. In Tadakshaunik texts, *wala* is relatively infrequent as a disjunctive particle for noun phrases. It is more commonly used in phrases translatable as ‘(not) even’ or ‘without’.

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

### 4.2 Uses of MAN morphemes

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

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

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

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

(65) aɣa₌bb-ǝ ˙ä  gmǝm.
1s=IMPERF-chew
I (habitually) chew (tobacco).

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

(67) bora  fóod(a)  a-b-gung(ú)  i-múnas akkóz.
person one 3s=IMPERF-lead PL-camels four
(only) one person leads four camels (while we talk).

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

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

(69) a) aya-n  hincini  a-f-kooráy.
1s-GEN goat 3s=IMPERF-be.white
my goat is white.
b) a-zóoláɣ a-b-jayáɣ.
SG-male.goat 3s-IMPERF-have.small.white.spots
(the) male goat has small white spots.

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

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

(70)  U. a-ʃuur-a
pro.name 3s-throw-3s
ay-n kambéri a-ne-yáʕad áa-ka
3s-GEN spear 3s-NEG.PERF-go.straight 3s-loc
a-dd(á) áa-k(a) á-tríj ceen-án
3s-make 3s-LOC SG-wound be.small-ADJZR
U. threw it, his spear did not reach it (lion) straight, it made it a small wound.

(71)  ni-ʒáy bitígi ka.
2s-steal shop LOC
you have stolen from the shop.

4.2.2 Mood: Indicative vs. Subjunctive m-

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

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

The following sequence shows first a subjunctive encoding an order (bring) and then a purpose clause (may do).
(73) wiji hé farúur-an
is.not thing be.important
maʃʃín ni-m-záw ayäy t-aa-har-t en
but 2s-SUBJbring 1s F-SG-lion-F.SG GEN
huuwá aya-m-d(á)-an áa-k(a) alqurän
milk 1s-SUBJdo-ALL 3s-LOC Koran
ni-n aaru sé.
2s-GEN man DAT
(Marabout said:) this is not difficult but bring me the milk
of a lioness so that I may do a spell for your husband in it.

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

(74) sǝkǝ˙älǝf ní-nn aarú ni-mm-áhkam áa-ka!
caress 2s-GEN man 2s-SUBJ-reign 3s-LOC
caress your husband (and you will/may) reign over him!

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

(75) a) Massiinay a-mm-éraz ana
God 3s-SUBJ-reward 2s-DAT
may God reward you.

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

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

4.2.3 Future ta-

The future is used with events that follow the reference time. This is
often the moment of speaking, but sometimes displaced into the past
as in English expressed as ‘would’, ‘was going to’. An instance of this
is found in narratives, where habitual behavior is marked with FUT.
In answers to questions about events not yet realized, in a short or long time span, the future is normal.

(76) a) ay-te-kó téffak
1s-FUT-leave tomorrow
I will leave tomorrow.

b) a-te-yée-kat yáarat ka.
3s-FUT-return-VEN season.kind LOC
he will return in harvest season.

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

(77) ittil(a) alfajir a-te-sakkedi
each morning 3s-FUT-gather.food
Every morning she (mother Hyena) would gather food.

a-te-sakkedi har hé (a)yo a-te-kuná-kat
until thing DET 3s-FUT-find-VEN
She gathered food and what she found

a-te-zaw-kaat-a
3s-FUT-bring-VEN-3s
she brought it

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

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

(78) aya-bbáya s(a) ay-te-didá.
1s-want COMP 1s-FUT-walk
I want to go.

The following example shows the subordinate clause after the COMP sa with the FUT marker. As the whole sequence is part of a series of instructions the following clauses are in SUBJ mood.
hē (a)d-dūwā  sa
thing 3s-be.better COMP
(a)n-tā-hīmay ni-n kambá  
2s-FUT-wash 2s-GEN hand
ni-m-zārrəzəm ni-n miya,
2s-SUBJ-rinse 2s-GEN mouth
t-izzár-t ni-m-sant(á) a-múnsu.
before 2s-SUBJ-begin SG-meal
it is better that you wash your hand (and) rinse your
mouth before you begin to eat

The apodosis of many conditional clauses is marked with FUT.

a) ǝs-kábahar árat-an i-yyili alfājir
maybe-when herd-PL 3p-leave morning
a-ta-t-əlem.
3s-FUT-PASS-open
when the herds left in the morning, it (gate) was opened.

b) ǝs-kāhar ni-bb-əfrəd i-jib-an ə-yaatir
maybe-when 2s-IMPERF-broom PL-grain.kind-PL SG-riverbed
ka t-á-blaq-q a-ta-yirti-kat end(ə)-i.
LOC F-SG-dust-F.SG 3s-FUT-mix-VEN with-3p
when you sweep grains together in a riverbed, dust gets
mixed with them.

Positive perfective events are negated with the negative perfective.

a) a-na-kun(á) ay-n ə-zəraf.
3s-NEG.PERF-find 3s-GEN SG-silver
he didn’t find his money.

b) hawū a-bbān a-na-yikfer
cow 3s-be.soft 3s-NEG.PERF-be.wild
cows are docile, they are not wild.
All other negated events are marked with *sa*- **NEG.IMPERF**.

(82)  

a) *ay-sa-báay-a*  
\[1s\text{-NEG.IMPERF-know-3s}\]  
I don't know it.

b) *alfájir a-sa-kas zayrí n a-manóokal.*  
\[morning 3s\text{-NEG.IMPERF-be day GEN SG-king}\]  
morning is not a day's ruler.

c) *ar-se-dáy-kat a-mánana báar(a) ayy-én.*  
\[1p\text{-NEG.IMPERF-deal-VEN SG-fish be.in water-PL}\]  
we don't buy a pig in a poke (Lit: a fish that is in the water).

d) *a-yyár ar-se-ss-égmad.*  
\[SG-dry.plain 3s\text{-NEG.IMPERF-CAUS-sprout}\]  
a dry plain does not sprout (greenery).

The following negation is found in a purpose clause.

(83)  

*yírzam a-gádod sallánda*  
attach **SG-old.water.bag carefully**

*a-yy-r ay-n ayy-an i-sa-kós.*  
\[3s\text{-GEN rope-PL 3p\text{-NEG.IMPERF-cut}}\]  
attach the old rope carefully so as not to cut its ropes.

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

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

### 4.2.5 Imperatives

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

The positive imperative for a single addressee is the verb stem without any additional morpheme. In other cases, the imperative marker *ba ~ wa IMP* is used. This is the case in plural imperatives, where *ba ~ wa IMP* takes the place of the 2p clitic *anda*- . It is also the case in prohibitive and in third person injunctions, where the order
may be addressed to one or more persons. Note that it is impossible to use the marker *ba* ~ *wa* in positive singular imperatives.

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

(84)  

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

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

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

d) *wa n(á) iⁱ.s(e) iⁿ karáy*  
IMP give 3p-DAT 3p-GEN ball  
give them their ball! (plural addressee)

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

(85)  

a) *n(á) ayáy se n i niᵐ-zaw ayáy.*  
give 1s DAT SEP 3p 2s-SUBJ-marry 1s  
give them to me and marry me!
Following a few movement verbs like kóy 'leave', tunú 'get up', yéw 'come' and zurú 'run', a second imperative form is allowed when no other than imperative marking constituents intervene.

\[(86)\]

\[a)\] zurú yi\(ba(t)\)-kaat-a
run  snatch-VEN.-3s
run and snatch it (to here)!

\[b)\] ba tunú  ba nám-\(āny\)(a)anda bakáw-yan
IMP  get.up  IMP  RECI-kill  with  jinn-PL
get up (pl) and fight (pl) with the jinns!

Some verb roots only occur as imperatives:

\[(87)\] **Suppletive imperatives**

\begin{align*}
\text{imperative} & \quad \text{gloss} & \quad \text{inflected root} \\
yéw! & \quad \text{come!} & \quad \text{kóy-kat} \\
\text{ahûn!} & \quad \text{hold (it)!} & \quad \text{yîddar} \\
\text{\(\text{ānda!}\)} & \quad \text{pass (it)!} & \quad \text{yîci} \\
\text{\(\text{\(\text{āndén!}\)}\)} & \quad \text{pass (it)!} & \quad \text{yîci}
\end{align*}

The first imperative is from Tamasheq. The next form is connected to Songhay of Gão /hûû!/ 'here, take!' \(\text{\(\text{ānda}\)} / \text{\(\text{\(\text{āndén}\)}\) could be related with \(\text{\(\text{ānda}\) 'in the direction of}'. \(\text{\(\text{ānda}\)} is used in situations where the giver and taker are in close reach and need not move themselves to pass on the object in question. \(\text{\(\text{\(\text{āndén}\)}\) expects the addressee to get up to get the item.

\[4.2.5.1\] **Injunction**

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

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

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

b) jiikół áari!
travel 1p
let’s travel! (one person + speaker)

4.2.5.3 Prohibitive

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is normally expressed with the ba ~ wa IMP particle followed by an inflected verb with NEG.IMPERF sǝ-. This construction is used for all kinds of orders, including hortatives.
The particle \textit{ba} ~ \textit{wa} is used with singular and plural person marking on the inflected verb.

**Prohibitives**

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ba} (\texttt{a)n-sa-hurrú} \textit{sa}...
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP 2s-NEG.IMPERF-look.for COMP don't try to...}
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{b(a)} \textit{a-se-jiggid} \textit{sa}...
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP 3s-NEG.IMPERF-wait COMP s/he may/should not wait that....}
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{...w(a) ar-sa-dá(-a)} \textit{zaróoda}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP 1p-NEG.IMPERF-do(-3s) today (the kind of returning we did yesterday), don't let us do it today!}
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{w(a)} \textit{anda-sá-gor anda-f-c(i) ayáy man ay(o) óoda.}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{name DET DEM.NEAR you should not say this name to me!}
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{b(a)} \textit{aya-n t-a-ngud a-sa-yíli} \textit{húgu ka}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP 1s-GEN F-SG-girl 3s-NEG.IMPERF-leave house LOC that my girl not leave the house!}
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{w(a)} \textit{ágg áadam a-se-dóos-i}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP son.of Adam 3s-NEG.IMPERF-touch-3p that nobody touches them!}
\end{itemize}
\item \textit{ba} \textit{bárr-en i-sa-húuru-kat}
\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{IMP child-PL 3p-NEG.IMPERF-enter-VEN that the children not enter.}
\end{itemize}
\end{enumerate}

**4.3 Argument structure**

In the following sections verb types will be presented. We distinguish between ‘unmarked complement’ without any postposition, ‘dative complement’ with the dative marker \textit{se DAT}, and ‘adpositional complement’ with the postpositions \textit{ka, be, daw}, all with a locational meaning.
4.3.1 Intransitives

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

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

b)  
\[a\-mmá\-tækwi \ [néeda\ ka].\]
3s-move.on here LOC  
he moved on from here

c)  
\[a\-yyijíf \ [a\-yázar\ ka].\]
3s-swim SG-pond LOC  
he swam in the pond

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

b)  
\[a\-yyiní\-taga[gánda\ ka].\]
3s-lie.on.side ground LOC  
he lay on his side on the ground

c)  
\[arw\-én\ \ i\-b\-zayá.\]
man-PL 3p\-IMPERF-lay.on.back  
(the) men are lying on their backs

(94) a)  
\[aya\-bb\-églak.\]
1s\-IMPERF-be.hungry  
I am hungry

b)  
\[aya\-yyidáž.\]
1s-be.tired  
I am tired
(95) a) fád a-ƙkun(a) ayáy.
thirst 3s-find 1s
I am thirsty

b) t-i-ysas i-ƙkun(a) ayáy.
F-PL-shiver 3p-find 1s
I am shivering

(96) a) a-f-tijít.
3s-IMPERF-cough
he coughs

b) báarar a-f-tǐŋzít.
child 3s-IMPERF-sneeze
the/a child sneezes

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

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

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

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

4.3.2 Labile verbs

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

Labile verb of Songhay origin

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

(99) **Songhay cognates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>intransitive gloss</th>
<th>transitive gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kukú</td>
<td>to be long</td>
<td>to make long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>babó</td>
<td>to be many</td>
<td>to increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒén</td>
<td>to be old</td>
<td>to make old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceená</td>
<td>to be small</td>
<td>to make small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bán</td>
<td>to be soft</td>
<td>to soften</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fér</td>
<td>to be opened</td>
<td>to open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudú</td>
<td>to flow</td>
<td>to pour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinjín</td>
<td>to be repaired</td>
<td>to repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunkún</td>
<td>to be rolled up (mat)</td>
<td>to roll up (mat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100) **Tamasheq cognates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>intransitive gloss</th>
<th>transitive gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yídray</td>
<td>to be decorated with metal</td>
<td>to decorate with metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yíיfíd</td>
<td>to be out of use / destroyed</td>
<td>to destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yíyfel</td>
<td>to be locked</td>
<td>to lock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yílam</td>
<td>to be open</td>
<td>to open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yílkaḍ</td>
<td>to be braided</td>
<td>to braid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3 Transitive only (underived)

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

(101) Transitive only verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diní</td>
<td>to take sth.</td>
<td>S: din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kár</td>
<td>to hit sb/sth.</td>
<td>S: kar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôn</td>
<td>to swallow sth.</td>
<td>S: goon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dáró</td>
<td>to need sth.</td>
<td>T: dárár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déeraw</td>
<td>to have sth. in common</td>
<td>T: ødræw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèlem</td>
<td>to treat sb. wrongly / accuse unjustly</td>
<td>T: ødlam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>felás</td>
<td>to believe sth.</td>
<td>T: øflæs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóorat</td>
<td>to follow sb. (by his footprints)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darjéd</td>
<td>to chase after sth./sb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of movement and location verbs take a direct object to express the location, i.e., a semantically locational element that is not marked with the appropriate postposition *ka* 'to, in, from'. Examples:

(102) a) 3s-enter house

```
3s-húuru hugu.
s/he entered the house.
```

b) 3s-reach-3s

```
3s-ṭṭaaw-a
s/he reached it (town).
```

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kóy X</td>
<td>go to X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húuru X</td>
<td>enter X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunú X</td>
<td>depart from X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôt X</td>
<td>jump over X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taw X</td>
<td>reach X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hängá X</td>
<td>pass by/over X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yéd X</td>
<td>return to X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yímmen X</td>
<td>pass by X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yíffən X</td>
<td>climb X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yísken X</td>
<td>stretch up in X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tərter X</td>
<td>go along X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hál-ə́et X</td>
<td>climb X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Syntax

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

(104)  **Locational verbs with a direct object complement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Etymology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báara X</td>
<td>be in X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keedi X</td>
<td>be up on X</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yíŋgǝr X</td>
<td>be behind X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yígdǝl X</td>
<td>be under X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yízday X</td>
<td>live in X</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

### 4.3.3.1 Verbs taking a verbal noun complement

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

‘begin’ s-ǝntá

(105)  as-káhar  a-ss-ǝnt(á)  áa-ka  nín...
maybe-when  3s-CAUS-begin.BND 3s-LOC  drink.VN
when he (lion) began to drink from it...

‘enter into’ huurú is interpreted as ‘begin’ when followed by an abstract noun.
he began to work.

when he is at the point of hitting us....

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

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

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

the cow is close to giving birth.

he learned to walk.

he learned to walk.
(111)  a-ddábat  ay-n  gôn
3s-be.able  3s-GEN  swallow.VN
he is able to swallow it.

'know' báy

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

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

'want, love' báaya

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

(113) a)  didá  aɣa-bbáaya.
walk.VN  1s-want
leaving [focus] is what I want.

b)  aɣ-sa-kúl  ay-n  m-ǝ  ʃʃaq-at
1s-NEG.IMPERF-want  3s-GEN  RECI-disturb.VN
I don't want to disturb him.

'look for, seek, want' hurrú

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

'regret' m-ǝgraz

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

'intend' yíɣǝl

The verb 'have the intention to (do)' yíɣǝl is always used when the action didn't materialize. An explanatory second clause is expected beginning with 'but'.
I intended to go to Menaka yesterday but rain kept me from leaving.

'hindern' gangá

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

'try' yírəm

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

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

'refuse' wánjin

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

(118) a) a-wwánjin ɲá
3s-refuse eat,VN
he refused to eat.

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

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

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

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

b) surgóy *a-sé-may-enda*
woman 3s.=NEG.IMPERF-have-with

*s(a) a-ta-d(á) ay*=n áaru sé hé yibrár-an.
COMP 3s.=FUT-do 3s.=GEN man DAT thing be.bad-ADJZR
a woman ought not to do anything bad to her husband.

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

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

‘do/be very much’ *s-înnihîl*

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

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

(120) a) *t-a-záyan-t s-înnihîl kukû*
F-SG-mast-F.SG CAUS-be.much be.long.VN
a very long mast (Lit: a mast that is very long)

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

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

d) *aya-s-s-înnihîl áa=se a-búbbugu*
1s.=CAUS-do.much 3s.=DAT SG-burn.off
I burned it (sheep head’s hair) off very well.
e) bárr-en anda-m-s-innihil t-á-nzi-t
child-PL 2p-SUBJ-CAUS-do.much F-SG-leave.early-F.SG
tenfak á-flayal se
tomorrow SG-work DAT
children, you should leave very early tomorrow morning for work.

f) álham a-ss-innihil ayáy húuru.
anger 3s-CAUS-be.much 1s enter.VN
I was very angry.

‘do/be very much’ hínjin

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

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

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

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

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

e) s(a) aya-hínjin báaya.
COMP 1s-do.much want.VN
that I want very much.
An alternative to this intensification is the adverb *húllǝn* 'much' that can be added to the verbal word.

### 4.3.4 Verbs with obligatory adpositional complement

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

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

(122)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  a-\text{b-fúgu} & \quad ay-n & \quad a-\text{kátab} & \quad \text{ka.} \\
  3s-\text{IMPERF-look.down} & \quad 3s-\text{GEN} & \quad \text{SG-writing} & \quad \text{LOC} \\
  \end{align*}
\]

he looks down on his writing.

Some verbs take a different meaning with an adpositional complement.

(123)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{Verbs with different interpretation} \\
  \text{verb} & \quad \text{gloss} & \quad \text{verb} + \text{LOC} & \quad \text{gloss} \\
  káy & \quad \text{to stop} & \quad káy X \text{ka} & \quad \text{to trample} \\
  & \quad \text{to withhold} \\
  fúl-ǝt & \quad \text{to reinforce} & \quad fúl-ǝt X \text{be} & \quad \text{to support X} \\
  & \quad \text{(well)} & \quad \text{(person)} \\
  \end{align*}
\]

### 4.3.5 Verbs with dative complement (se)

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

(124)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{Verbs with dative complement} \\
  \text{syntax} & \quad \text{gloss} \\
  yilkám \ X \text{se} & \quad \text{follow sb.} \\
  yîmmaɣ \ X \text{se} & \quad \text{search for sth.} \\
  góodāy \ X \text{se} & \quad \text{thank (God)} \\
  \end{align*}
\]
Some verbs can be used with and without a dative complement. This may considerably change their interpretation.

(125) Verb with different interpretation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>syntax</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yírez</td>
<td>be let down</td>
<td>yírez X se</td>
<td>(God) bless X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(126) a) a-hiffil áa-se hawru n bén

3s-CAUS-oblige 3s-DAT meal GEN finish.VN

she made him finish the meal.

b) a-ss-égmi áa-s(e) a-mámel

3s-CAUS-look.for.BND 3s-DAT SG-burning.coal

he sent him for a burning coal.

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

4.3.6 Verbs with instrumental-comitative complement (enda)

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

(127) Reciprocal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>syntax</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
As a complement of certain movement verbs, anda serves as a directional preposition and can then be translated with ‘in the direction of’. (See 3.2.7.8)

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

4.3.7 Verbs with two complements

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

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

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

(129) Verbs with two complements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>syntax</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ná</td>
<td>give</td>
<td>na X [Y se]</td>
<td>give X to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>záw</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>záw X [Y se]</td>
<td>take X to Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs with a causative often have two complements, one of which is marked by the dative, i.e., the human causee, the entity with an assumed will, e.g., a-b-sä-mmellat Fáti s(e) ay-n báarar. (3s-IMPERF-CAUS-kiss F. DAT 3s-GEN child) ‘He makes Fati kiss her baby.’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

  b)  a-b-s-áäl  ii.-se  gánda
       3s-IMPERF-CAUS-follow  3p-DAT  earth
       he puts a fine coat of earth on them.

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

  d)  a-b-s-áäl  ii.-se  n  a
       3s-IMPERF-CAUS-follow  3p-DAT  SEP  3s
       he puts it on them.
When humans are involved the location remains unmarked and the pronominalized human causee is marked with the dative. (see above).

(132) a) \text{a-ss-éwaŋ} \ bárr-en \ farká  
\[3\text{s-CAUS-mount.BND} \ \text{child-PL} \ \text{donkey}\]  
she made the children mount the donkey.

b) \text{a-ss-éwaŋ} \ ii-\text{se} \ farká  
\[3\text{s-CAUS-mount.BND} \ 3\text{p-DAT} \ \text{donkey}\]  
she made them mount the donkey.

c) \text{a-ss-éwaŋ-a} \ bárr-en  
\[3\text{s-CAUS-mount.BND} \ \text{child-PL}\]  
she made the children mount it.

d) \text{a-ss-éwaŋ} \ ii-\text{se} \ n \ a  
\[3\text{s-CAUS-mount.BND} \ 3\text{p-DAT} \ \text{SEP} \ 3\text{s}\]  
she made them mount it.

(133) Verbs with two unmarked nominal complements

- s-éwar \ to put on
- s-álel \ to put finely on
- s-éwaŋ \ to make mount
- f-ínak \ to make mount
- s-íci \ to make go past
- s-áraš \ to make ford
- s-áss-aged \ to make jump over
- s-ángger \ to put behind
- sá-nnahal \ to make reach straight

In contrast, the verb ‘make enter’ marks the location with the appropriate adposition \text{ka}. 
The verb ‘to prefer’ has no causative marker but behaves like the verbs described above when it occurs with nominal complements. Two nouns follow the verb to express preference of the one item over the other. The item immediately following the verb is the preferred one while the second unmarked noun encodes the less liked item.

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

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

4.3.9 Reflexive constructions

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

4.3.9.1 Reflexive constructions

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

(136) a) a-áw [ay-ŋ gá].
3s-attach 3s-GEN self
s/he attached her/himself.

b) i-áw [i-ŋ j-ən].
3p-attach 3p-GEN self-PL
they attached themselves.

c) aɣa-áw [aɣa-ŋ gá] [(a)nda karfú].
1s-attach 1s-GEN self with rope
I attached myself with a rope.

The reflexive noun phrase is attested with postpositions, particularly with $se$ DAT ‘for’
The reflexive construction is also found in genitive constructions. This is mainly used for underlining, rather than for an expression of reflexiveness.

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

b) i-kkun(á) i- / j-én an alístay/lal
3p-find 3p GEN self-PL GEN freedom
they got their own independence.

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

Some examples.

(139) a) surgóy and(a) ay- / n gá
woman with 3s GEN self
a-ðhúuru ñassunduq adí
3s-enter crate ANA
the woman herself entered in the crate.
b) ayá-n babá (ǝ)nd(a) ay-n gá
1s-GEN father with 3s-GEN self
a-se-yikt-a.
3s-NEG.IMPERF-remember.3s
my father himself does not remember it.
= not even my father remembers it.

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

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

e) ...ayá (ǝ)nd(a) aya-n gá aya-yyahór
1s.EMP with 1s-GEN self 1s-be.worth
1-a-fëngal-t.
F-SG-make.up-F.SG
...(but) really, I myself, I am worth (more than) makeup.

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

4.3.9.2 Reflexive verbs

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

(140) a) t-á-ngud a-himay tuw-yén.
F-SG-girl 3s-wash eating.bowl-PL
a/the girl washed the bowls.

b) t-a-ngud a-himay.
F-SG-girl 3s-wash
a/the girl washed herself.

Similar (but less commonly used in reflexive contexts) is ‘burn’.
202

(141) a)  
\[ \text{danjí a- kkurú-kuru ayáy.} \]
charcoal 3s-burn-DUP 1s
a/the charcoal burnt me.

b)  
\[ \text{aya- kkurú-kuru.} \]
3s-burn-DUP
I burnt myself.

4.3.10 Verbs with a Clausal Complement

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

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

Strategy I: Verbal noun complement

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

\[ V + \text{Verbal Noun} \]

For details see 4.3.3.1 above.

Strategy II: subordinate clause in subjunctive mood

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

\[ S + \text{co-referential } S_{Vcc} \]

The examples are in 4.3.10.1 below.
Strategy III: (in)direct object reference in subordinate clause with (im)perfective aspect

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

\[ V_{\text{DO}} + \text{DO.referential-S} V_{\text{cc}} \]

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

\[ S: \text{impersonal} V(\text{DO}) + (\text{DO.referential-}) S V_{\text{cc}} \]

The examples are in 4.3.10.2 below.

Strategy IV: with complementizer sa

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

\[ S V_{\text{COMP}} (\text{co-referential}) S V_{\text{cc}} \]

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

Find the examples in section 4.3.10.3

4.3.10.1 Complement clauses with subjunctive

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

(142) a) \[ diis-a a-m-kó \]

\[ \text{let-3s1 3s1-SBJ-leave} \]

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

(143) a) *a中心城市* *a中心城市* 
3s-say 3s-SUBJ-arrive  
he wanted to come. (Lit: he₁ said he₁ would arrive)

b) *a中心城市* *a中心城市* 
3s-say 3s-SUBJ-go.over F-SG-sheep-FSG GEN face  
*a中心城市* *a中心城市* 
3s-SUBJ-be.ahead 1p  
he wanted to go around in front of the sheep to be ahead of us.

c) *a中心城市* *a中心城市* 
3s-say 3s-NEG.IMPERF-move F-PL-old.camp LOC  
she didn’t want to move from the old campsite.  
or: she said she will not move...

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

(144) *a中心城市* *a中心城市* 
3s-say 3s-NEG.IMPERF-CAUS-CAUS-learn-3p  
he₁ thought he₂ would teach them₃.
This sentence can also be interpreted as indirect speech and thus be translated ‘he said he was teaching them’.

4.3.10.2 Complement clauses where PERF and IMPERF are allowed

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

‘hear sth.’ mó (hé se)

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

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

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

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

‘see’ guná

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

‘perceive’ yogá

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

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

The verb gár ‘find; come upon’ is found with the same construction.
(148) a) aɣa-ġa₌ggár almán a-f-keedi bangú.
    1s-find herd 3p-IMPERF-be.on well
    I found the herd at the well.

b) a-ġgár-i i-kkós iŋgi káamil.
    3s-find-3p 3p-cut 3p_EMP all
    He found them (ears) all cut.

c) i-šš-áwan i-n táyni
    3p-CAUS-share 3p_GEN date
    i-ṅgig-a ḋáalib a-báara.
    3p-find-3s uneven.number 3s-be
    They distributed their dates and found there was an uneven number.

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

(149) a) a-góṛ i-b-ḏik(j)a áŋga har...
    3s-must 3p-IMPERF-CAUS.eat 3s_EMP until
    they had to feed her until...

b) a-góṛ ni-b-dúwann-et end(a) ayáy.
    3s-must 2s-IMPERF-talk with 1s
    you must talk with me.

c) aya-n t-á-ṅgud a-sé-góṛ a-b-dút
    1s-GEN F-SG-girl 3s-NEG.IMPERF-must 3s-IMPERF-pound
    ana ni-wáni a-b-górá.
    2s-DAT 2s-of 3s-IMPERF-sit
    as for my girl she does not have to pound for you (while)
yours is sitting.
tágor ‘begin’ is marked with the same referent as the verb of the complement clause. The last example shows that a nominal constituent can precede the verb of the complement clause. This verb is always in the imperfective, e.g.

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

    b) ...an-tágor ni-bb-eerí
        2s-begin 2p-IMPERF-vomit
    ...you begin to vomit.

    c) igdá a-tágor a-múnsu a-b-diydi
        because 3s-begin SG-food 3s-IMPERF-get.into
    bor-én an i-fjan-an ka har...
        person-PL GEN PL-tooth-PL LOC until
    because the food begins to get into the teeth of the
    people until...

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

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

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

    c) a-sa-kó a-b-fún-a.
        3s1-NEG.IMPERF-can 3s1-IMPERF-pierce-3s2
        it₁ (tool) cannot pierce it₂ (stick).

    d) gánd(a) a-sa-kó ni-b-léem-a
        earth 3s-NEG.IMPERF-can 2s-IMPERF-twine-3s
        earth, it is not possible that you twine it (to a thread).
There are a number of verbs that always have a 3s pronoun clitic that is used in an impersonal way. Structurally they always have a complementizer *sa* and will be treated in the following section.

4.3.10.3  **Verbs with complementizer *sa***

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

The following verbs may take the complementizer *sa*.

‘see’ *guná*

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

(152)  

\[ \text{i-} \text{guná-} \text{kát } \text{sá } \text{t-á-zdak-} \text{k} \]  
\[ 3p= \text{see-VEN} \quad \text{COMP} \quad \text{F-SG-be.cle} \text{an-F.SG} \]  
\[ \text{ánga } \quad \text{saffari} \text{í}. \]  
\[ 3s. \text{EMP} \quad \text{medicine} \]  
\[ \text{they saw that cleanliness is medicine}. \]

‘hear sb.’ *mó (hê se)*

(153) a)  

\[ \text{arw-én } \text{ooda } \text{ámmas-kábahar } i-\text{mmó } \text{sa} \]  
\[ \text{man-PL } \text{DEM.NEAT} \quad \text{maybe-when } \text{3p=hear} \quad \text{COMP} \]  
\[ \text{t-á-bállén-t } \text{ni-b-hurrú } i-\text{te-wí nín}. \]  
\[ \text{F-SG-fight-F.SG} \quad \text{2s.IMPERF-look.for} \quad \text{3p-FUT-kill} \quad \text{2s} \]  
\[ \text{these men, when they hear that it is a fighting match you seek, they will kill you}. \]
The interpretation of the complement in the last example is ambiguous. It could also be read as ‘when she made…’ with the clause initial particle sa ‘when’.

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

‘want’ báaya

(154) a) aya-ðáya sa ay-te-d(a) ana t-a-náfuš-t.
   1s-want COMP 1s-FUT-do 2s.DAT F-SG-story-F.SG
   I want to tell you a story.

b) a-ðáya sa (a)n-te-n(a)a-s(e) a-ða-anib.
   3s-want COMP 2s-FUT-give 3s-DAT SG-pencil
   he wants you to give him a pencil.

c) aya-ðáya sa (a)n-se-kó
   3s-want COMP 2s-NEG.IMPERF-leave
   I would like you not to leave.

d) ay-se-kúl sa (a)n-se-kó
   1s-NEG.IMPERF-want COMP 2s-FUT-leave
   I don’t want you to leave (very impolite formula).

‘be necessary’ yilzam is a verb of light obligation, that takes a direct object. The direct object is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause.

(155) aséēhat a-yilzam borá t-o-o-láš-t
   health 3s-be.necessary person F-SG-do.again-F.SG
   (to stay in good) health it is also necessary for somebody
   that s/he cleans his/her body.

‘wish’ yasák

(156) aya-yyasák s(a) a-te-kas tangar-én
   1s-wish COMP 3s-FUT-be lie-PL
   I wish that it would (turn out to) be lies.
The following example illustrates a parallel use of a complement clause with *sa* and of a verbal noun complement.

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

'prefer' *yasáf*

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

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

(159) a) ǝndánga wiji sa (ǝ)n₌tǝ-káw aʃʃak
  if is.not COMP 2s-FUT-take.out doubt
  sa ni₌ss-ǝ ˙ä ɣrǝd   ni₌n  t-ǝ-kǝ   ˙ä ṛḍaw
  COMP 2s-CAUS-be.complete 2s-GEN F-PL-letter
  except when you are sure that you have assembled your papers

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

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

The last example has a non-verbal complement.

'lose hope' *kaw áṭṭama*
until they lost hope that bedding would arrive at their place.

'begin' s-ǝntá

(161) a) a-ss-ǝntá s(a) á-b-ŋa
she began to eat (first time or again after e.g. sickness).

b) a-ss-ǝntá s(a) a-ŋŋá
she began to eat.

'be at the point of' yabük

(162) gǝlǝk a-yyyyabük s(a) a-ta-wí-i
hunger was at the point of killing them.

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

(163) aya-b-hurrú s(a) aya-ka huurú.
I try to make fire on it (wooden stick).

'think’ ~ 'believe' yordá

(164) a) aywa aya-yyordá s(a) aya-n
RESUME 1s-think 1s-GEN
1s-imperf-look.for 3s-LOC fire
well, I think that this was my story.

b) aya-yyordá s(a) a-ta-tén zérooda
1s-think 3s-fut-arrive today
I believe/think he arrives today.

'ought to' may-ǝnda

(165) á-mmay-ǝnda s(a) a-ta-wi-á
s/he ought to kill it.
b)  
\(\text{ar-sá-may-anda \ s(a)}\)  
\(\text{1p-Neg.IMPERF-have-with COMP} \)

\(\text{ar-ta-din(i) ana a-sáafu.}\)  
\(\text{1p-FUT-take 2s.DAT SG-greet} \)

we ought not to respond to your greeting.

'have the means to' \(\text{kun-nda}\) (lit: ‘find with’)

(166) a)  
\(\text{aya-kkun-énda s(a) ay-te-kóy-kat nin.}\)  
\(\text{1s-find-with COMP 1s-FUT-go-VEN 2s} \)

I have the means (time) to come to you.

b)  
\(\text{ar-na-kun-énda}\)  
\(\text{1p-Neg.PERF-find-with} \)

\(\text{s(a) ar-ta-f-lju borá.}\)  
\(\text{COMP 1p-FUT-CAUS-drink.BND person} \)

we do not have the means to give a drink to somebody.

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

The intransitive verb \(\text{yahór}\) ‘need to (do)’ is used in an impersonal construction.

(167) a)  
\(\text{as-káhar ni-n karfú a-kkós}\)  
\(\text{maybe-when 2s-GEN rope 3s-cut} \)

\(\text{a-bb-ahór sa (a)n-te-s-ámm-arka-s-a}\)  
\(\text{3s-IMPERF-need COMP 2s-FUT-CAUS-RECI-tie-3s} \)

when your rope is broken you need to retie it together.

b)  
\(\text{a-bb-ahór sa borá kullú a-m-baý}\)  
\(\text{3s-IMPERF-need COMP person each 3s-SUBJ-know} \)

\(\text{s(a) ižy-en...}\)  
\(\text{COMP fly-PL} \)

it is necessary that everybody knows that flies...

The verb \(\text{yába}\) ‘lack’ is used in an impersonal construction. It is used in sentences which translate into English as ‘no more, no longer’
The verb *hiffil* ‘be obliged to’ is always used in an impersonal construction. The person who is obliged is either a direct object of the verb (a, b), or, implying an obligation which is less strong, an oblique object (c).

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

*Kúd* ‘if’ introduces a subordinate clause after certain verbs of intellectual activities, such as *báy* ‘to know’, *s-ésten* ‘to ask’ and *s-à-mm-àdràn* ‘to reflect on’. *Kud dà* ‘if (at all)’ rarely occurs in the same context.
b) a-se-báy jeddi kúd a-f-kó

3s-NEG.IMPERF-know-yet if 3s-IMPERF-leave

wal(a) a-b-gorá-kat.
or 3s-IMPERF-sit-VEN

he doesn't know yet if he'll leave or stay.

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

(171) i-má-dran-an i-kkun(á)-a

PL-RECI-turn.around-PL 3p-find-3s

iiizac(e) óoda wán-en

youth DEM of-PL

kud a-ta-yiddár-kat wal(a) a-ta-hang(á)

if 3s-FUT-live-VEN ou 3s-FUT-pass.over

anda he n kun(á) óoda.

with thing GEN find.VN DEM

she was worried about this boy, if he would live or pass away with this sickness.

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

(172) bora ámmas-kábahar ni-m-hurr(ú) áa-ka

person perhaps-when 2s-SUB-look.for 3s-LOC

t-a-rásway-t háaṣi kud (dá)

F-SG-clothing-F.SG look if (INT)

áng(a) end(a) ay-n gá

3s.EMP with 3s-GEN self
when you try to get a piece of clothing from somebody, look if he himself, the one (shirt) on his body, if he has a shirt (worth being called a shirt) or not before you beg (of him).

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

### 4.4 Copular clauses

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

#### 4.4.1 Equational clauses and ‘be’, ‘become’, ‘not be’

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

**Equational clause**

(173) a)  
\[ t-a\text{-}buyán\text{-}t \quad [\text{feejí } \text{zen-zen-án}] \]
F-SG-old.sheep-F.SG  
\[ \text{sheep be.old-DUP-ADJZR} \]
\[ '\text{tabuyant’ is an old sheep.} \]

\[ b) \quad [\text{aya-}n \quad \text{bér}] \quad \text{moʃí} \]
1s-GEn  
\[ \text{older.sibling teacher} \]
\[ \text{my older brother is a teacher.} \]
c) áari ʃammúʃ
1p.EMP five
we are/were five (people).

d) iŋgi i-boróji-tan
3p.EMP PL-ethnic.name-PL
they are/were Fulbe.

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

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

b) wiji t-á-ngud iiizace
is.not F-SG-girl boy
it’s not a girl, (it’s) a boy.

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

(175) a) igán ẗaamú aɣa-kkás?
QST slave 1s-become
am I a slave? / have I become a slave?

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

The last example is almost presentative in character. This use is often found with abstract entities like ‘a story’. Objects that are presented (‘Here is X’) use a different strategy (see below).
"kas" 'be/become' is a full verb and can occur with all MAN markers

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

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

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

d) t-a-baráŋɣaw-t ayó (a)ya da a-té-kas
F-SG-left.over-F.SG DET DEM.PROX 3s-FUT-become
t-á-gnaw-t....
F-SG-sickness.kind-F.SG
This same leftover will become sickness (kind)...

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

(177) Presentative surface shapes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>single item</th>
<th>several items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>né</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>náani</td>
<td>niina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>nóo-se</td>
<td>nil-se</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.4.2.1  né / náani / niina ‘... is/are here’

The following construction occurs only once in the corpus.

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

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

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

(179)  a)  [niⁿ   fatilla]  [n(a)-áa-ni]
        2s-GEN   torch   be-3S-LOC
        here (is) your torch.

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

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

The above examples could also be analyzed as containing the demonstrative na OPP that precedes the noun it accompanies, followed by a plural clitic -i. The final vowel is deleted and shows as n(a)-i ‘that(pl)’. This analysis is less attractive, though, because na
OPP is not attested followed by any other element than *ayö DET or a full noun.

4.4.2.2 nóose / níise ‘... is/are there’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) ni₌n  t-á-mgad-an  ingestion  n(óo)-ii-se,  
2s₌ GEN F-PL-girl-PL 3p.EMP there-3P-there  
your girls, they are (over) there.

A relationship to the KCH Songhay term /nono/ ‘it is’ (identificational copula) and KS /no/ ‘it is’ cannot entirely be excluded, even though they are syntactically different. *no could then be read as a ‘be’-copula followed by a singular (not audible) or a plural (ii) pronoun with the adverbial ‘there’ i.e. /be-3s-there/ and /be-3p-there/ respectively.
KS also has a particle /no/ which can at times be glossed as ‘there’ (Heath 1999b:86) with very low stress on a semantic ‘location’. This particle joins our initial approach of a not very specific locational expression that points in the distance.

4.4.3 Existential predications

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

(181) a) assakûr a-báara.
   sugar 3s-exist
   there is sugar.

   b) ary-ên i-báara.
   water-PL 3p-exist
   there is water.

A special case is illustrated in the example below.

(182) ..sa (ǝ)n-sǝ-káw ǝ ñuğemak ayo bé ni-báara
   COMP 2s-NEG.IMPERF-take manner DET on 2s-exist
   ...that you will not change the way you are (now)

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

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

(183) a) assakûr a-ʃí
   sugar 3s-not.be
   there is no sugar.
b) **ary-én**  
**i-ʃʃí**  
water-PL 3p-not.be  
there is no water.

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

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

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

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

(184)  
*iddá ammas-kábahar wǝrtilla alxér*  
because maybe-when there.is.not peace  
*wǝrtilla Küd, wǝrtilla habá*  
there.is.not pasture.VN there.is.not harvest.VN  
*wǝrtilla assōq en kóy*  
there.is.not market GEN leave.VN  
because, if there is no peace, (as consequence) there is no leading the animals to pasture, no harvesting, no going to the market.

### 4.4.4 Locational predications

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(186) a) *ding(á) á-báar(a) ayay*
   forgetfulness 3s-be.in 1s
   I am forgetful (Lit: forgetfulness is in me).

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

When the quality is attributed to a tall animal, like a camel, one can also use the verb *keedí* with the same meaning.
(187)  á-mṃes  ay(o)  óoda  a-xárram  a-f-keed(l)á
SG-camel  DET.DEM.NEAR  SG-disobedience  3s-IMPERF-be.on-3s
this camel, it is disobedient.

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

(188) a)  a-ʃji  néeda  da  sénda.
3s-not.be here  INT there.
it is neither here nor there.

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

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

(189)  á-zṛef  a-ʃ corrid  ayáy  ka.
SG-silver  3s-not.exist  1s LOC
I lost (some) money.

4.4.5 Possessive predication
The verb máy ‘have’ expresses ownership. The owned item is the
object of the clause.

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

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

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

(191) a)  cí  mmáay-a?
who  have-3s
who is he? (Lit: who owns him = to whom does he
belong?)
b) **i-dogiri-tan na-mmáy ayáy**  
PL-clan.name-PL FOC-have 1sO  
I belong to the Idogiritan. (Lit: It’s the I. who own me)

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

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

This same construction is used to identify the owner.

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

**A:** **ay-wáni**  
1s-of (it’s) mine.

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

(194) **á-mmáy táyta**  
3s-have wisdom  
he is intelligent.

**Summary**

In the table below ‘N’ stands for the entity about which further information (existence) is given. ‘L’ designates the place where a location name is expected to express a location.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Identity</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no marker</td>
<td><strong>wiji + N</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Existence</strong></td>
<td><strong>Existence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N + báara ‘be’</td>
<td>N + [fí / wártilla + N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báara + L ‘be in’</td>
<td>[fí + L]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keedi + L ‘be (high) on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeni + L ka ‘lie on’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive</strong></td>
<td><strong>Possessive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máy ‘have’</td>
<td><strong>NEG-may</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5 Relative Clauses

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

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

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

4.5.1 Restrictive relative clause

Mainstream Songhay has a single strategy using the invariable relative morpheme */kaa/* in Timbuktu (Heath 1999a: 186) or */kan* ~ kan ~ ka* in Gao (Heath 1999b: 241). Under certain circumstances a resumptive pronoun is found in relative clauses (Heath 1999b:244) and adpositional RCs may remain in situ with a corresponding pronoun. Heath analyzes Songhay RCs as consisting of a head NP connected with the REL */kaa* ~ *kan* to the embedded clause. In contrast to Songhay languages, Tamasheq is considered to have RCs with an internal head, a demonstrative, and differentiates between definite and indefinite RCs, while a resumptive pronoun does not normally occur (Heath 2005:624ff). In addition, subject relativization is marked on the verb by means of special inflection. Tadaksahak RCs show many features that can also be observed in Tamasheq: a) subject RCs have a different inflection from other relativized relations (object, oblique objects). b) there are no resumptive pronouns. When the head has been extracted from a
postpositional phrase, the bare (4.5.1.3, see below) postposition is put at the left edge of the relative clause.

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

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

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

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

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

The two analyses can be schematicized as follows:
Definite and indefinite RC: two analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head noun</td>
<td>ayọ [RC]</td>
<td>[RC]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head noun</td>
<td>ayọ [RC]</td>
<td>[RC]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- `nə-/ən-` demonstratives
- `DET` postpositions
- `sa`

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

4.5.1.1 Subject relatives

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

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

(197) a) `bor(á) ayọ [ŋtáw-kat néeda]` 
   person DET reach-VEN here
   the person who arrived here

   b) `i-múnas-kon ayondo [zzumbu ʕáali daw]` 
   PL-camel-owner.PL DET.PL go.down prop.name LOC
   the camel riders who dismounted at Rhali’s (place)
c) bor(á) ayo [f-keedi t-á-ylam-t]
   person DET IMPERF-be.up F-SG-riding.camel-F.SG
   the person who is riding the camel

d) a-ʒáazib [dá f-ikfi đổ]
   SG-phantom put CAUS-fear.VN
   a phantom that frightens

e) hé [b-s-ǝgd(á) ǝnda ni-n]
   thing IMPERF-CAUS-be.equal with 2s GEN
   á-ʃkar en ʒiibi
   SG-nail GEN dirt
   something that is the size of the dirt under your nail

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

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

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

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

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

f) [a-zúbara nn éeʃam]
   SG-warthog GEN fat
 [a-sa-huur(ů) ʃay-n t-i-nʒar kur-korr-i
   EXM-FUT-enter 3s GEN F-PL-nostril DUP-be.hot-ADJZR
   (except) hot warthog fat that enters his trunk

g) hawrú [na-ná-hina hüllan]
   meat EXM-NEG.PERF-cook much
   (he eats) meat that is not well cooked.

h) Iyyá [ciidaw en hé fó] [na-ná-farar]
   yes bird GEN thing IND EXM-NEG.PERF-be.important
   yes, a little bird that is not important.
4.5.1.2 Object relatives

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

(199) Structure of restrictive non-subject RC

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

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

Tadaksahak does not leave any pronominal trace in an object RC. This is the same behavior as observed in CHK (Heath 1999a:191) and Tamashqeq, but different from KS where a resumptive 3rd person pronoun is left in the place of the extracted noun (Heath 1999b:244).

In the examples below, the place where a direct object would appear if the clause had been a main clause is marked with Ø.

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

b) i-múnsuw-an ayondó
PL-meal-PL DET,PL
[aɣa-b-für-an ándi se Ø]
1s-IMPERF-throw-ALL 2p DAT
the food that I threw to you

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

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

e) t-a-néfus-t [(aɣá:n bab(a)
F-SG-deed-F.SG 1s-GEN father
ay(a) zéen-j) a₌ddá Ø].
DET be.old-ADJZR 3s-do
a courageous deed that my grandfather did...

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

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

(201) a) \( \text{ni-}n \ hincini \ ayo \ [\text{se} \ ni-\text{f-kös-}i] \)

\( \begin{array}{llll}
2s-\text{GEN} & \text{goat} & \text{DET} & \text{DAT} \end{array} \)

2s-IMPERF-cut-3p

your goat for which you cut them (branches)

b) \( a-\text{yyéd} \ i-n \ \ángu \ ayo \)

\( \begin{array}{llll}
3s-\text{return} & 3p-\text{GEN} & \text{place} & \text{DET} \end{array} \)

[k(a) i-yyízday].

LOC 3p-live

he returned to the(ir) place in which they live.

c) \( \text{záyri} \ ayo \ [ká \ ni-\text{ss-ábdad-}i \ ayá-n \ mo \ ka] \)

day DET LOC 2s-CAUS-stop.BND-3p 1s-GEN face LOC

day (on which) you bring them before me...

d) \( \text{agúd} \ ay(o) \ óoda \ [\text{ka} \ a-\text{bbáaya} \ s(a)] \)

moment DET DEM.NEAR LOC 3s-want COMP

a-ta-máttakwi]

3s-FUT-move.on

the (precise) moment (when) he wanted to move on…

e) \( \text{bídaw} \ ayo \ sénda \ [k(a)] \)

canister DET DEM.FAR LOC

ary-én i-\text{f-áwi-yan} \ i-\text{se}]

water-PL 3p-IMPERF-PASS-bring.BND-ALL 3p-DAT

(he brought) that canister in which water had been

brought to them

f) \( \text{áy-}n \ \text{bangú} \ ayo \ [b(e) \ a-\text{zzumbú}] \)

3s-GEN head DET LOC 3s-descend

her head on which it (bird) landed

g) \( a-\text{yázar} \ ayo \)

SG-pond DET

[daw \ \text{áy-}n \ ary-én \ i-\text{te-káy}] \)

LOC 3s-GEN water-PL 3p-FUT-stop

the pond at which (rain wash) water stops

h) \( \text{ée-dag} \ [\text{ka} \ t-\text{áa-har-t} \ a-\text{háy}] \)

SG-place LOC F-SG-lion-F.SG 3s-give.birth

(until she saw) a place where a lioness had given birth.
4.5.1.4 Prepositional relatives

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

(202) a) émmak ayó [(e)nda ay-ə-dá-a].
   manner DET with 1s-FUT-do-3s
   how I am going to do it. (Lit: manner with which...)

b) t-á-ṣṣuḍ ayo [(e)nda ni-kkóos-a]
   F-SG-ax DET with 1s-cut-3s
   the ax with which you cut it.

For possessor relativization see 4.5.4.2 below.

4.5.2 Relativization of generic terms

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

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

4.5.2.1 Existential expressions with relativization

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

(205) \[h(e) a₌ʃʃí] \[yáhal s(a) a-ta-mán-kaat₌a\]...

thing 3s-be.not dare COMP 3S-FUT-approach-VEN-3s

nobody dared to approach it.... (Lit: a thing is not that dared...)

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

(206) a) *aya-bbáy sa wártill(a) á-mṇas ayo*

1s-know COMP there.is.not SG-camel DET

[bb-azúurag t-ǝ-séeɣaɣ-an  ka].

IMPERF-be.free F-PL-season.kind-PL LOC

I know that there is no camel that is left free during hot season.

b) *wártilla* bor(á) ayo [(a)n-sǝ-bun]

there.is.not person DET EXM-NEG.IMPERF-die

Nobody is immortal.

c) *wártill(a) ayo [bbáaya s(a) ay-n*

there.is.not DET want COMP 3S-GEN

t-a-mü̂sêk-k a-ta-n(á) a-ffó se.]

F-SG-milking.animal-F.SG 3S-FUT-give SG-one DAT

there is no one who wants to give his livelihood to someone else.

The last example shows no head noun.

4.5.2.2 Relativization with *ho* ‘this thing’ and *né* ‘here’

The noun *ho* ‘this thing’ consists of the neutral noun *he* ‘thing’ and the determiner *o*, so it is a definite entity (4.1.3.5). However, *ayο* never
occurs following hó, any RC follows hó immediately unless a demonstrative (sé) is present. Likewise, né is never followed by ayo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5.3 Pronominal human referents

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

The following table lists the attested forms with nó(o-da)
(209)  **Human referent markers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ayay nóo-da</td>
<td>áari nóo-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nín nó(o-da)</td>
<td>ándí nó(o-da)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>áŋga nó(o-da)</td>
<td>íngi nó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Examples**

(210)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ayáy</th>
<th>nóo-da</th>
<th>[jáw ana]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s.EMP</td>
<td>there-INT</td>
<td>help 2s. DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aya-bbáya</td>
<td>ni.n</td>
<td>jáw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s.want</td>
<td>2s-GEN</td>
<td>help.VN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>I who helped you, I want your help in return.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nin</th>
<th>nó</th>
<th>[kár ayáy] an-ta-kó kássaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2s.EMP</td>
<td>there hit</td>
<td>1s.O 2s-FUT-go prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you who hit me will go to prison.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>áŋga</th>
<th>nó</th>
<th>[b-záy]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s.EMP</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>IMPERF-steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áŋga</td>
<td>záy</td>
<td>a-kkeedí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3s.EMP</td>
<td>steal.VN</td>
<td>3s-be.on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>he who steals, he is accused of stealing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1p.EMP</td>
<td>there-INT</td>
<td>IMPERF-work 1p-NEG.IMPERF-eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we who are working don't eat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ándí</th>
<th>nó</th>
<th>[b-ŋá] anda-sa-yíýał.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2p.EMP</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>IMPERF-eat 2p-NEG.IMPERF-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and) you who eat are not working.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>íngi</th>
<th>nó</th>
<th>[kun(á) á-ʃʃal]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3p.EMP</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>find SG-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>íngi</td>
<td>ne-ddéww-at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3p.EMP</td>
<td>FOC-be.glad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they who found work, it's them who are happy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the corpus another use (topicalization) of independent pronouns referring to human referents with *nóo-da* is found (see 4.7.1.2 ex (240)).

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

4.5.4 Non-restrictive relativization with *sa*

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

4.5.4.1 Subject and object

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

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

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

(212)  
Idéelemán día y ka s(a)
loc.name too LOC COMP
[a-yyagór t-ә-mә-zday],
3p-be.bigger F-PL-RECI-dwell
(they live) also in Indeliman, which is bigger than the (named) dwelling places.
In the following example, the relative clause introduced with *sa* has embedded another relative clause that modifies the quantifier ‘one’ from which it is separated by the negative existential -ʃi (see more examples in 4.5.2.1).

(213)  *a-mmáy ay-n izacēn-an kaarād*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-own</th>
<th>3s-GEN</th>
<th>young.man-PL</th>
<th>three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>sa</em></td>
<td><em>a-ʃʃí₌i</em></td>
<td><em>COMP SG-one 3s-be.not-3p</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>[b-déeraw a-ʃʃí₌i (ǝ)nda naná])</em></td>
<td>IMPERF-have.in.common SG-one with mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he had three sons, of whom there was not one who had the same mother. *(Lit: one was not that had in common the mother with another)*

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

(214) a)  *a-hāa.IsSuccess-an íizac(e) ayo*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3s-look-ALL</th>
<th>young.man</th>
<th>DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>s(a) [áŋga na-mmáy t-a-bákar-t…]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP 3s.EMPH</td>
<td>FOC-own F-SG-ewe-F.SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he looked towards the young man, that who owned the ewe...

b)  *a-ta-yidhal bor-ён andayο*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3s-FUT-help</th>
<th>person-PL</th>
<th>DET.PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>s(a) [íŋgi ne-b-húrr(u) alxér]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP 3p.EMP</td>
<td>FOC-IMPERF-take peace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he will help the people, those that seek peace.

The relativized constituent in the following example is an unmarked indirect object (see 4.3.8). The relative clause introduced with *sa* gives additional information about the woman who has already been identified earlier in the story. *(For the irregular behavior of *ná* OPP see 4.1.3.6)*:
(215) wáy ná ayo
woman OPP DET
sa [t-a-cídaw-t a-b-s-aṅn(á) arméni] COMP F-SG-bird-F.SG 3S=IMPERF-CAUS-show suffering
a-ccí...
3s-say
the other woman, to whom the small bird was showing suffering, said...

4.5.4.2 Possessor relativization

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

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

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

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

(217) baŋgú [s(a) ay-n miy(a) a-yibrårj]
well COMP 3S=GEN mouth 3S=be.bad
waf-én l-bb-éd áa-ka
dirt.kind-PL 3p=IMPERF-return 3S=LOC
a well that has a bad opening (without wall), dirt falls in it.

In the following example, the subject of the non restrictive RC (‘her house’) contains the possessive pronoun that correlates with the head noun. A restrictive RC follows the same head noun immediately.
The constituent that contains the possessive pronoun that correlates with the head noun may be fronted. When this happens, a resumptive pronoun appears in the relative clause in the normal position of the constituent. In the following example, ‘his eyes’ is fronted and immediately follows \textit{sa}. The resumptive pronoun clitic \textit{ii} occurs in its normal place, immediately preceding the postposition \textit{ka}.

\begin{verbatim}
(219) aya-ggun(a) a-žáazíb s(a)  
1s-see SG-phantom COMP 
[a-y-n mó-(e)n húur(u) a-b-d(á) ii-ka]  
3s-GEN eye-PL fire 3s-IMPERF-do 3p-LOC 
I saw a phantom, in whose eyes fire was burning.
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}
(220) aya-ggun(a) [a-žáazíb dá f-ikfíd] sa  
1s-see SG-phantom do CAUS-fear.VN COMP 
[huur(u) á-b-d(á) áy-n mó-(e)n ka]  
fire 3s-IMPERF-do 3s-GEN eye-PL LOC 
I saw a phantom that causes fear, which had fire in his eyes...
\end{verbatim}

In the following example the object of ‘you want’, present as a verbal noun, is relativized. The idiom \textit{da tafeust bora se} ‘to tell somebody a story’ (do story person DAT) can only be relativized in this way. The verb (to do) is nominalized and with the possessor refers to the story.
In the chapter on the MAN (Mood-Aspect-Negation) markers the basic negations on the verb were presented (4.2.4). This section is dedicated to complex negations that are formed with a MAN marker negation on the verb and an additional particle in the clause. There are no structural similarities that link them all to one particular class, it is more the semantic feature of ‘negation + X’ that groups them together. ‘never’ ‘not at all’ and ‘except’ are concepts found with this construction. ‘Nobody’ and ‘nothing’ can be traced to negative clauses that are now used in the nominal slot of the clause. Some of the particles need some other kind of negated form in the clause to be interpreted correctly.

4.6.1 *kalá* ... *ne-* ‘never’

The particle *kalá* ‘once’ together with the negation on the verb, results in the reading ‘not once’ with the free translation ‘never’.

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

(222) a) *kalá* ay-*ne-mó*  
    once 1s-NEG.IMPERF-hear  
    t-*a-sáwəl-t* en táatab se.  
    F-SG-whet-F.SG GEN sew.NV DAT  
    (since I live) ... I have never heard that one sews with a stone.

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

Without the negation it is frequently used in the introductory sentence to a folktale with a free translation ‘There was once...’
(223)  i₌ccí  kǝlá wáy  fó  n(e)  adí...
3p-say  once  woman  IND  place  ANA
there was once this woman... (lit: it is said once a certain
woman there ...)

The particle may be repeated in this position.

4.6.2  na- ... fow 'not at all'

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

(224) a)  ay-na-felás-a  fów!
1s-NEG.PERC-believe.3s  at.all
I don’t believe it at all!

b)  kǝlá bor-én  i-na-gun(á)  áy-ń  ci  fów!
once  person-PL  3p-NEG.PERC-see  3s-GEN  likeness  at.all
never ever have people seen its (Hare’s intelligence)
likeness.

4.6.3  NEG + har 'except'

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

(225) a)  a-na-yíkkal-kat  i-(e)nda  jé  har
3s-NEG.PERC-lift-VEN  3p-with  only  until
i-mazzur-an.
PL-horse.dropping-PL
he served them nothing but droppings.
b) a-yyába s(a) aya-b-guná har
3s-lack COMP 1s-IMPERF-see until
i-n hanį-én end(a) i-n t-ē-lank-an
3p-GEN ear-PL and 3p-GEN F-PL-tail-PL
I cannot see but their ears and their tails = I can only see their...

c) a-ŋ(a).assertj har ábbeen-i
3s-IMPERF-eat-3p until 3s-finish-3p
har a-fēdda d(a) asėnda.
until SG-one,only INT DEM,FAR
he (Jackal) was eating them (young warthogs) until he had finished them except for only that one.

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

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

(226) a) hímay an iîgat a-sé-mmay alfìb ká
wash.VN GEN excess 3s-NEG.IMPERF-have fault LOC
har sa (ǝ)n-te-hímay héw ká.
until COMP 2s-FUT-wash wind LOC
there is no danger in washing a lot except that you wash (yourself) in the wind.

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

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

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

A: kaláakala!
no
No!

Q: anda Gawgaw?
and loc.name
And Gao?
A: keláakala kelá ay-na-guná hár Mänaka. 
no once 1s-NEG.PERF-see until loc.name 
No, I never saw (anything else) but Menaka.

Q: Yamay? 
loc.name 
Niamey?

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

4.6.4  NEG + wala 'not even'

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

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

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

4.6.5  NEG- .... jeddi ~ ceddî 'not yet'

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

(229) a) a-ne-tén jeddi 
3s-NEG.PERF-arrive yet 
he hasn’t arrived yet.

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

c) báarar a-se-báy á-bbaṣ ceddí. 
child 3s-NEG.IMPERF-know SG-chew yet 
the child cannot yet chew.
4.6.6  **Negative constructions with ší and wörtilla**

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

### 4.6.6.1  h(e) a-ʃji / bor(a) a-ʃji ‘nothing/nobody’

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

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

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

However, when the part ‘nothing’ is emphasized a different construction is used. The negative existential copula ší together with hé ‘thing’ is fronted as a unit.

(231) a)  h(e) a-ʃji
thing 3s-not.be there is no thing = nothing

b)  [h(e) a-ʃji] a-cc(i) áa-se
thing 3s-not.be 3s-say 3s-DAT
she said nothing to him.

c)  [h(e) a-ʃji] b-ǝ˙äli-kat ii-ka har...
thing 3s-not.be IMPERF-GO.OUT-VEN 3p-LOC until
nothing sticks out of them except… [Lit: nothing there is that sticks out of them except…

The whole clause behaves like a noun that can be preposed to a clause (b) when functioning as a direct object, or be followed by a relative clause (c).

Parallel to the construction with hé ‘thing’ the noun borá ‘person’ can express ‘somebody’ or ‘nobody’.
(232) a)  aɣa₌gguná borá
3s-see person
I saw somebody.

b)  ay-ne-guná   borá
1s-NEG.PERF-see person
I didn’t see anybody. = I saw nobody.

When ‘nobody’ is the topic, it must be expressed with the existential copula ʃí. Any comment following ‘nobody’ is a relative clause modifying ‘person’.

(233) a)  bor(á)  a₌ʃʃi
person 3s=be.not
there is no person = nobody

b)  [bor(á)  a₌ʃʃí]  máy  i-múnas
person 3s=be.not own PL-camel
and-ánga  wij(i) l-dáksahak.
with-3s.EMP is.not PL-ethnic.name
nobody owns camels except the Idaksahak.
(Lit: a person does not exist who owns camels if it is not the Idaksahak).

c)  [bor(á)  a₌ʃʃí]   léelaw  and(a)₌á.
person 3s=be.not talk with-3s
nobody talks with him.

4.6.6.2  wǝ˙ärtilla ‘there is not’

This particle was introduced in 4.4.3. Here some special uses are examined. Together with  hé ‘thing’ and  borá ‘person’, the particle wǝ˙ärtilla conveys ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’, respectively. As with the ʃí copula, these are pragmatically strongly marked entities.

(234) a)  wǝ˙ärtilla  he b-máazal...
there.is.not thing IMPERF-be.sent
there is nothing that happens...

b)  wǝ˙ärtilla  borá  ne-mmáay-a  har
there.is.not person FOC-own-3s until
ándi nó bāara(-a?) yízday  áa-ka
2pO there exist(-3s?) live 3s-LOC
there is nobody [focus] who owns it (land) except you there who are (in it?), live in it.

wǝ˙ärtilla sometimes takes a complement clause.
The logical parallel to this construction with the negative copula ʃi, a-ʃʃi sa 'it is not that', does not seem to exist.

### 4.7 Information Structure

In this chapter the strategies for topicalization, focalization and interrogatives are described. In addition some particles are presented that have emphasizing or other discourse functions.

#### 4.7.1 Topicalization

There are two different strategies for topicalization on clause level. One is used for non-verbal constructions and the other for clauses with verbs.

##### 4.7.1.1 Equational constructions

The constituent that is topicalized in an equational construction is marked with the COMP sa when it is an independent (EMP) pronoun. When it is a noun it is followed by the corresponding (sg or pl) independent pronoun and the sa COMP marker.

The following examples show different contexts: a) plain equational clause, b) with a question particle, c) with additive, d) with additional information to the complement and e) with a plural referent. The bar / indicates that a pause in the flow of the utterance happens at that point.

(236) a) áŋga s(a) a-manóokal.
    3S.EMP COMP SG-ruler
    it was him who was the chief.

b) áa-har / ãk áŋga sa tárra nn izzay
    SG-lion QST 3S.EMP COMP bush GEN son
    the lion [topic], is it him who is the 'son of the bush'?
c) áŋga dáɣ / áŋga s(a) íizace
3s.EMP too 3s.EMP COMP youth
he too, he was also a young man (of good qualities).

d) áŋga s(a) ay-wáni t-a-báyor-t
3s.EMP COMP 3s-of F-SG-wealth-F.SG
hé yíyləl-an
thing be.eternal-ADJZR
(earth) it’s this its very own wealth, (it is) a thing that lasts.

e) Iđéleman / íŋgi s(a) ay-n gánda
loc.name 3p.EMP COMP 3s-GEN land
(other place names...) I., it’s them that are his land.

4.7.1.2 Nominal constituents

Constituents that are topicalized in clauses containing a verb have no special marker. They are preposed to the clause and set off with a short pause (marked as / ) before the clause itself is uttered.

When topicalized subjects are pronouns, they are preposed to the clause in the independent form.

(237) nín / ni-ddini-kat árə-n taamú.
2s.EMP 2s-take-VEN 1p-GEN slave
áari / ara-ssá-nnə-fran-kat arw-én.
1p.EMP 1p-CAUS-RECI-be.chosen-VEN man-PL
(as for) you, you took our slave, (but) we, we have chosen
(real) men.

When objects are fronted an in situ resumptive pronoun appears.

(238) a) báarar / bukáari n ságni a-f-keed(i)-á
child. turban.kind GEN indigo 3s-IMPERF-be.on-3si
the child, there is indigo of the turban on it.

b) ayá-n cay / t-aa-dás-t a-kkaar-á
1s-GEN leg F-SG-tire-F.SG 3s-hit-3si
my leg, it went to sleep. (Lit: fatigue hit it)

c) bor-én áyda / an-se-kó
person-PL DEM.PROX 2s-NEG.IMPERF-can
ni-b-ʒi-mmɔ(ɔ)نتشر
2s-IMPERF-CAUS-be.separated-3p
these people, you cannot separate them.
The topicalized constituent may be reinforced by an emphatic pronoun followed by the intensifier dá ‘precisely, exactly’ (239), nóo-da ‘there-precisely’ (240)a-c) or the shorter form nó ‘there’ (240)d) mostly with plural referents.

(239) a) i-s-úudar / íngi dá / h(e) a-ffí
PL-INSTR-livei 3p.EMP INT thing 2s-not.be
(a)n-ta-s-ásh(a)-i har t-á-zdak-k.
EXM-FUT-CAUS-be.strong-3pl until F-SG-be.clean-F.SG
food, as for it, there is nothing that makes it strong except cleanliness.

b) alikaf / ángga dá / a-báar(a) addéwél fó.
horse.saddle 3s.EMP INT 3s-be country one
As for the saddle, it was in another country.

c) t-ǝ-ŋmad-an / íngi dá / íngi kaarád
F-PL-girl-PLi 3p.EMP INT 3p.EMP three
As for the girls, they were three.

(240) a) ayáy nóo-da aya-bb-ogá huurú...
1s.EMP there-INT 1S-IMPERF-perceive fire
I here, I see a fire (in the distance)...

b) ayá-n nana nin nóo-da ni-n mó…
1s-GEN mother 2s.EMP there-INT 2s-GEN face
my mother, you there, your face …

c) s(a) ángga nóo-da a-dding(á)-an
COMP 3s.EMP there-INT 3s-forget-ALL
áy-n karańba bangu bé
3s-GEN trousers well LOC
(he remembered) that, he there, he (had) forgot(ten) his trousers at the well.

d) i-kúufar íngi nó i-ddá hó sé
PL-European 3p.EMP there 3p-make thing.DEBR DAT
aniyát
attention
Europeans, they there (as for them), they pay attention to this.
4.7.1.3 Verbal nouns

Verbs can be topicalized by preposing the corresponding verbal noun to the beginning of the clause and substituting the main verb with the light verb, *kás* ‘to be’ or *dá* ‘to do’.

(241) a) a-ṇágad /
SG-put.turban
a- kkás  Idáksahak  en  t-á-ggas-t.
3s-be  name  GEN  F-SG-guard-F.SG
putting on a turban is a custom of the Idaksahak.

b) a-sátak  ar-n  i-biyay  i-ddá
SG-be.dried.up  1p-GEN  PL-water.skin  3p-do
zárooda  a-ss-ârmay  áari.
today  3s-CAUS-have.fear  1p.O
our water skins are so empty today that this makes us
afraid. (*Lit*: the drying up our water skins do ...)

c) á-hoora  a-dd(a)  ii-se  har  a-îttaaw-i
SG-pursue  3s-do  3p-DAT  until  3s-reach-3p
baŋgu  bé.
well  LOC
he pursued them (by following their footprints) until he
reached them at the well.

In comparative constructions the quality is given as a verbal noun and
so constitutes the topic of the clause. Structurally this is the same as
the above clauses except for the use of ‘be more’ instead of the ‘be’
and ‘do’ verbs.

(242) ay-n  a-fâlcâqu  a-yyagór  ná  ayo  wáni
3s-GEN  SG-be.flat  3s-be.more  OPP  DET  of
this (receptacle) is flatter than that one (*Lit*: its flatness is
more than...)

4.7.2 Focalization

Under focalization we understand that one constituent of a clause is
highlighted and marked by syntactic means as the important
information in this clause.

Syntactic focalization in Tadaksahak is attested for NPs (including
adverbials), PPs and verbs.
The focalized constituent is fronted to the position immediately before the verbal word. There is no special marker for this constituent except for the subject. In addition to the left movement the constituent is uttered with a higher pitch than an undisplaced constituent.

\[(243)\]  
\[ay-sa-hurrû \quad taɣm-én\] 
1s-NEG.IMPERF-look.for sandal-PL  
\[i-salsa \quad aya-b-hurrû\] 
PL-clothe 1s-IMPERF-look.for  
I am not looking for sandals, it’s clothes I am looking for.

4.7.2.1 Subject focalization

When a subject is focalized a particle \(nǝ-\) FOC (focus) (\(ǝn-\) before CV-shaped MAN markers) replaces the regular subject clitic. While similar to the extraction marker in relative clauses (see 4.5.1), its syntactic behavior is not identical. The extraction marker only occurs in subject relative clauses that contain a verb form with a MAN marker of the shape CV-. The focus marker, on the other hand, also appears with unmarked perfectives (e.g. (244)b).

Subject pronouns that are focalized take the independent form of the pronoun. As with focalized nouns, in such cases the FOC particle is inserted before the verb. Examples of pronouns in focus are given in (244) and examples of nouns in focus are given in (245)

\[(244)\]  
\[aɣáy \quad na-b-d(á)-a \quad ay-n \quad t-i-ŋzar \quad ka.\] 
1s.EMP FOC-IMPERF-do-3s 3s-GEN F-PL-nostril LOC  
it’s me who puts it in his nostrils.  
\[b) \quad nín \quad na-yyyylmǝn-a.\] 
2s.EMP FOC-promise-3s  
it’s you who promised it.  
\[c) \quad áŋga \quad na-hun(ú) \quad adinit \quad jinjiná\] 
3s.EMP FOC-leave.from world first  
it’s him who died first.  
\[d) \quad áŋga \quad na-f-káw \quad haamú \quad biid-én \quad be\] 
3s.EMP FOC-IMPERF-take.from meat bone-PL LOC  
it’s him (dog) who takes meat from (on) the bones.  
\[e) \quad áŋga \quad na-dduwá.\] 
3s.EMP FOC-be.better  
it’s this (action) that is good/better.
(245) a) baarı n i-jkar-an na-șș-āŋker-kat
    horse GEN PL-nail-PL FOC-CAUS-get.up-VEN
    i-ð(ǝ)nda n á...
    3p-with SEP 3s it was the horse’s hooves that made it (storm) come up towards them.

b) har a-ffóo-da na-ggorá-kat ii-ka t-a-wíddi-t
    until SG-one-INT FOC-sit-VEN 3p-LOC F-SG-foal-F.SG except one that was left of them, a foal.

c) h(e) áyda na-yyįzl(ǝ)-i
    thing DEM.PROX FOC-occupy-3p it was this (an action) that occupied them

d) wij(i) i-múnsuw-an na-țszáw-kat ayáy
    is.not PL-food-PL FOC-take-VEN 1s it is not (the existence of [good]) food that took me here

The particle may be cognate with the Songhay focus marker /na/ (Timbuktu). In Mainstream Songhay, this particle is found marking non-subject elements (Timbuktu), or is optional with subjects (Gao).

4.7.2.2 Object focalization

When an object is focalized, it is extracted from its original place and put before the verbal word. There is no focus marker following the constituent and after the inflected verb no resumptive object clitic marks the place of the extracted NP.
4.7.2.3 **Focalization of adpositional complements**

Adpositional phrases are fronted as a whole. The independent series of pronouns is used in these constructions.

**Focus of dative complements**

(247) a) **ayáy / nín s(e) aɣa₌kkóy-kat.**

1s.EMP 2s.EMP DAT 1s.-leave-VEN

as for me [topic], it’s for you [focus] that I came here.

b) **wijí nín se aɣa-f-cí**

is.not 2s.EMP DAT 1s.-IMPERF-say

bor-én ayonda-nó yóṛu wán-en se

person-PL DET.PL-there old.VN of-PL DAT

it is not to you [focus] I speak, (but) to those people of old times.

Note the syntax of the last example and compare it with (245)d) above where the particle *wijí* is posing the non-existence of the focalized constituent.

**Focus of locative postpositions**

(248) a) **húgu k(a) a-j-f-ing(á)-a**

house LOC 3s.-CAUS-put.down-3s

it’s in the house [focus] that s/he put it down.

b) **áŋga k(a) a-ss-ákkalal har...**

3s.EMP LOC 3s.-CAUS-cry until

in it (moment) [focus] it (bird) cried until...

c) **ni₌n a-hácet b(e) a-żzumbú**

2s.-GEN SG-tent LOC 3s.-descend

it’s on your tent [focus] that it (bird) landed.
d) áŋga be komín-tan i-ddá
   3s.EMP LOC commune-PL 3p-make
because of that [focus] communes are made.

f) ándi daw ay-ta-zumbú
   2p LOC 1s-FUT-go.down
it’s at your place [focus] that I will stay.

Instrument focalization follows a different path. The expected fronting of a bare noun with preposition *enda bundú ‘with a stick’ is ungrammatical. Instead, a strategy similar to relative clause formation is used: the focused element is followed by the DET marker ayo and the preposition switches place and follows the noun and the DET marker. This is found both with focused definite and with focused indefinite nouns. When the focused item is an independent pronoun, DET is absent and enda follows the pronoun.

Focus of instrumental enda

(249) a) a-ná-ẓ-may ayó (a)nda bor-én i-f-táatāb
   SG-ACT-CAUS-sew DET with person-PL 3p-IMPERF-sew
it’s with a needle [focus] that people sew.

b) he (a)yo sénd(a) anda
   thing DET DEM.FAR with
   bor-én i-b-wí áa-har
   person-PL 3p-IMPERF-kill SG-lion
it’s with that thing (a spear) [focus] people used to kill a
lion.

c) éndal / áŋg(a) anda
   pricker 3s.EMP with
   bor-én i-bb-ǝʒwál almán.
   person-PL 3p-IMPERF-brand.mark herd
a pricker [topic], it’s with it [focus] that people brand the animals (of the herd).

4.7.2.4 Verb focalization

Verbs can be focalized when the need arises to insist that a different action than the one uttered is at the center of attention, e.g. A: “has she left?” B: “(No), she sleeps”. When stative verbs are focalized, this expresses an intensification of the state.

Syntactically the bare verb stem is preposed to the inflected verb. Since verbs with Songhay cognates take no morphology when
nominalized they do not indicate if the verbal noun or the verb stem is fronted. However, stems of Tamasheq origin clearly show that the verb stem itself, and not a nominal form, is pre-posed to the inflected verb. The verbal noun of the first example is á-ʃʃaɣal ‘work’ < yiʃɣǝl ‘to work’. From (c) onwards the examples are from texts. The translation line shows the verb in capitals in order to indicate the focused element in the translation.

(250) a) yíʃɣǝl aya-bb-ǝʃɣǝl
work 1s-IMPERF-work
I am WORKING.

b) t-á-ngud ná ayo dút a-b-dút
F-SG-girl OPP DET pound 3s-IMPERF-pound
that girl is POUNDING.

c) gun(á) i-gguná iizac(e) asénda n
see 3p-see youth DEM.FAR GEN
a-máɔɔgol...
sg-beauty
they SAW that young man’s beauty… (and stayed)

d) h(e) a-jji kun(á) áari ṃ-ŋa ar-ǝ-ŋa
thing 3s-not.be find 1p eat 1p-NEG.IMPERF-eat
we are not ill, (but) we do not EAT.

e) ak nín dáɣal ni-ddaryal?
QST 2s.EMP be.blind 2s-be.blind
as for you, are you totally blind?

f) t-ǝʃʃí  kun(á) áari ŋá ar-ǝ-ŋa
thing 3s-not.be find 1p eat 1p-NEG.IMPERF-eat
we are not ill, (but) we do not EAT.

g) báy  ḷam aɣ-sǝ-báy   ǝ Ɐmmǝk aɣó (ǝ)nda…
know EXCL 1s-NEG.IMPERF-know manner DET with
I really don’t know how…

The verb báy ‘know’ is also used with this structure to express the opposite of the expected ‘really know/know very well’. This particular expression must be an idiomatic use: báy aya-bbáy! ‘How can I know!’
4.7.2.5   Focalization of adverbial NPs

Like all the other constituents, adverbials are preposed to the verbal word when focalized. See examples below.

(251) a)   táffak  ar-ta-máqqas  néeda.
   tomorrow  1p=FUT-meet  here
   it’s tomorrow (that) we will meet here.

   b)   álmaz  a-tén
   dusk  3s=arrive
   it’s at dusk (that) he arrived.

4.7.3   Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives (yes/no questions) are either declarative clauses with interrogative intonation or an optional yes/no question particle is present.

For another type of yes/no question, a tag question particle is used, that implies that the polar interrogative is answered by a confirmation.

WH interrogatives (content questions) are formed on the basis of two question words that are combined with other elements to form the whole array of needed question words.

4.7.3.1   Yes/no interrogatives

A polar interrogative may simply be an indicative clause with interrogative intonation, i.e. a raising tone contour towards the end of the utterance.

(252) a)   nín  bákaw  méy  anğálos?
   2s jinn or angel
   are you a jinn or an angel?

   b)   i-bórèy-an  i-kkán endra  nín?
   PL-wild.date-PL  3p=be.sweet towards 2s
   do you like (to eat) wild dates?

Otherwise, one can use an interrogative particle that precedes the clause. Two forms are attested, both have cognates in Tamasheq. ál is used around Menaka and in the east while igán is found in texts from Talatayt.
(253) a) ák i-biyay i.ttén
QST PL-water.skin 3p-arrive
have the (donkeys with the) water skins arrived?

b) ák t-ée-laq-q na-ŋŋá nín
QST F-SG-knife-F.SG FOC-eat 2s
is it a knife that cut you?

c) igán ʈaamú aya-kkás
QST slave 1s-be
am I a slave?

4.7.3.2 Tag questions
This type of yes/no question presupposes that the statement with the
added tag is true and will be confirmed. The tag element is wiji
‘it is not’, which is added at the end of a statement with rising question
intonation.

(254) Muss(a) a-.ttén wiji?
M. 3s-arrive is.not
M. has arrived, isn’t it?

A very strong ‘tag’ is sometimes used to indicate the wish of the
speaker to evaluate the truth of a statement.

(255) ciimí wala tangar-én?
truth or lie-PL
is it true or false?

4.7.3.3 WH questions
There are only three basic question words that are used in
combination with different nouns and ‘be’ connectors to express the
usual expected array of information questions.

(256) WH-question words

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ci} & \quad \text{who/what} \\
\text{man (+ ná)} & \quad \text{‘where’ (< Songhay)} \\
\text{man + N} & \quad \text{‘which’ + noun (< Tamasheq)}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{ci} \quad \text{is found with a ‘be’-connector or a full verb as well as a temporal}
\text{noun. The locative question is formed with elements from Songhay,}
\text{while the second man is a loan from Tamasheq and is always}
\text{followed by a noun.}
4.7.3.3.1. ci ‘who?/what?’

This question word is the first element of the sentence unless it is preceded by a topicalized constituent. It can replace the subject clitic on a verb or must be followed by the ‘be’-connector *na*. *Na* is always followed by a (pro-)nominal element that may be a clitiziced 3s pronoun *-a* (or rarely *anga*, the independent pronoun), or the DET marker *ayo* to refer to a human referent or *ho* (thing, DEBR) to a non-human referent. Subject and object positions can be questioned depending on the validity of the verb in the cleft sentence. When other complements are questioned, the corresponding PP is fronted. Examples and discussion to the different types are below.

When *ci* replaces the subject clitic it asks for the identity of a person (257) and is a subject question.

(257) a) \[ cí mmáay₌a \]
\[ \text{what own-3s} \]
\[ \text{to whom does he belong? (Lit: who owns him?)} \]
\[ = \text{who is he?} \]

b) \[ cí bb-ǝdder₌a \]
\[ \text{what IMPERF-hold-3s} \]
\[ \text{who is married to her?} \]

c) \[ cí (e)b-zurú \]
\[ \text{what IMPERF-run} \]
\[ \text{who is running (close by)? [addressed to the person running who is not visible but heard]} \]

The following examples show uses with the ‘be’-connector *na*. This particle is not used elsewhere in the language. It is homophonous with the demonstrative that marks opposition (4.1.3.6). In this cleft construction, still asking for the subject position, a topic can be preposed to the question formula (258)b-c), and other discourse particles can intervene (259)(b). In the last examples (259)(e) a relative clause modifying the nominal element *didá* ‘walking’, changes the subject question to a ‘manner’ question.

(258) a) \[ cí n(á)-a \]
\[ \text{what be-3s} \]
\[ \text{what's wrong? (lit: what is it?)} \]

b) \[ aséeħat ci n(á)(-a)? \]
\[ \text{health what be(-3s?)} \]
\[ \text{health, what is it?} \]
c) aaru ayo sé ... cí n(á)-a
man DET DEM.FAR what be-3s
that man ... who is he?

(259) a) cí ná ay-n màn
what be 3s-GEN name
what is his name?

b) t-ée-far-t
F-SG-reward-F.SG
cí ná zá ní-n t-ée-far-t
what be LC 2s-GEN F-SG-reward-F.SG
reward, so what is your reward?

c) cí ná ay-n saffarí
what be 3s-GEN medicine
what is the remedy against it? (Lit: what is its medicine)

d) cí ná hé (a)ɣ(o) óoda?
what be thing DET DEM.NEAR
what is this (thing)?

e) cí ná didá aɣo a-ddábat?
what be walk.VN DET 3s-can
what (kind of) walking can it (tick) (do)?

cí ná with ayo as the pronominal element always asks for a human referent. This conglomerate ná ayo (OPP DET) ‘that one’ is widely used in other contexts (4.1.3.6) and is understood as having a human referent. Different grammatical roles are found with this construction: a) subject, b) direct object, and with the fronted anda COMV a comitative complement in c).

(260) a) cí ná ayo ss-əgmi-kat ana
what be OPP DET CAUS-send.BND-VEN 2s.DAT
ćiidaw ay(o) óoda?
bird DET DEM.NEAR
who sent you to get this bird?

b) cí ná ayo ni-gguná sənda ka
what be OPP DET 2s-see DEM.FAR LOC
whom did you see there?

c) cí ná ayo (e)nd(a) i-b-haŋá
what be OPP DET COMV 3s-IMPERF-accompany
who are they accompanying? (= with whom are they 'walking')
Another object question is built by adding hó to the question formula followed by a cleft sentence. This question form assumes a non-human referent.

(261) a) *cí ná hó ni-b-hurrú*  
what be thing.DEBR 2s-IMPERF-look.for  
what are you looking for (lit: what is the thing you are looking for)?

b) *cí ná hó d(a) áa-ka*  
what be thing.DEBR do 3s-LOC  
what is wrong with him? (lit: what is the thing that was put in him?)

Another question type adds a PP directly after the question formula to express 'from among'. Direct (a) and indirect object (b) can be questions this way. Again, hó refers to a non-human entity while aɣo stands for a human referent.

(262) a) *cí n(a) íi-ka hó ni-bbáaya*  
what be 3p-LOC thing.DEBR 2s-want  
which one of them do you want (lit: what is among them that you want)

b) *cí n(a) íi-k(a) aɣo se ni-nn(á) á-zrǝf*  
what be 3p-LOC DET DAT 2s-give SG-silver  
to which one of them did you give money?

There is one occurrence in the corpus where *cí* precedes the inflected verb immediately. This seems to be an abbreviated version of *cí ná hó* 'what'.

(263) c(i) ándǝ-yyasák baŋgú méy sa...  
what 2p-wish head or COMP  
what do you wish, the head or that...

4.7.3.3.2. *cí (ná hó)* be 'why?'

The 'why?' question is expressed as a subtype of the 'what?' question. In a literal sense it means 'on what', (that thing on) which may imply a more abstract meaning 'on what grounds' and then conveys 'why?'. The first example below illustrates the physical meaning ('on what place') and the next examples are 'why?' questions. A long form (b, c) and an abridged form (d) are used.
(264) a) cí ná hó be ar-te-f-injá...
what be thing.DEBR LOC 1p-FUT-CAUS-lay.down.BND...
on what will we lay down ... (our child)
b) cí ná hó be ni-b-zóy
what be thing.DEBR LOC 2s-IMPERF-fight
anda ni-n baba
with 2s-GEN father
why are you arguing with your father?
c) cí ná hó be
what be thing.DEBR LOC
hó sé a-ddá?
thing.DEBR DEM.FAR 3s-PERF-do
why is that done?
d) cí bé
what LOC
why?

A different construction is also found to express a similar meaning.
(265) cí ná áy-n addalíl
what be 3s-GEN reason
for what reason? (= why?)

4.7.3.3. c(i) agúd 'when?'

'When?' is made up of two elements, cí 'what' and agúd 'time'. agúd 'time' is also used by itself in the language in temporal adverbial clauses, e.g. agúd ayo k(a) a-yyúhu... (time DET LOC 3s-be.born) 'when/at the time when he was born....'). Note that both nominal and verbal constituents can follow the expression.

(266) a) c(i) agúd ay-n mán an dá
what time 3s-GEN name GEN do.NV
when is his/her name giving ceremony?
b) c(i) agúd a-ddidá
what time 3s-walk
when did he leave?

4.7.3.4. maana 'where (close by)('?)

Interrogative maana 'where' is used when asking for an item in the close vicinity of the speaker, in contrast to the second 'where?' question word (see below 4.7.3.3.5) which implies that the speaker
has no idea about the whereabouts of the item s/he is asking for. This question word is probably a fusion of the two parts *man* ‘where’ and *na*, the ‘be’-connector. This analysis is corroborated by the fact that only nouns and pronouns can follow it. When an object of a ditransitive verb is questioned, *ho* ‘this thing’ follows the frozen ‘be’-connector (see (267)c). The examples d) to f) show uses of this question word that go beyond the spatial meaning.

(267) a) \[maaná\ ní-n\ húgu\]  
where.close 2s-GEN tent  
where (around here) is your tent?

b) \[maaná\ nín\]  
where.close 2s  
where are you?

c) \[maaná\ hó\ aya-b-záw-kat\ ándi\ se\]  
where.close thing.DEBR 1s-IMPERF-take-VEN 2p DAT  
where is what I bring you (regularly)?)

d) \[maaná\ ní-n\ á-fřayal\ en\ t-á-nfa\]  
where.close 2s-GEN SG-work GEN F-SG-use  
what is the usefulness of your work?

e) \[ay(o)\ óoda\ za\ t-a-něfus-t\]  
DET DEM.NEAR LC F-SG-story-F.SG  
maan(á)\ áy-n\ almáʕna\  
where.close 3s-GEN meaning  
so this story, what is its meaning?

f) \[maan(á)\ áddabaara\]  
where.close decision  
what shall we do? (= where is the decision?)

4.7.3.3.5. *man ne* ‘where?’

This construction asks for a location unknown to the person and at a further distance than the question word described above. The formula is directly followed by an (NP with) inflected verb. This is valid for verbs with a semantically locational complement (see 4.3.3). Example (c) with the verb *báara* ‘be in’ shows an additional oblique complement that is marked with PP *ka*. *man ne* can be followed by a fronted LOC postposition to express a starting point (from where), an aim (to where) or other oblique locations that must be marked with
the postposition *ka* LOC. This particular use is illustrated in example (e) and (f). Also the preposition *anda* 'in the direction of' is found in this place with another type of movement verbs (g).

(268) a) \[ \text{mán n(e) i₌f-kó} \]
\[ \text{where place 3p₌IMPERF} \text{-leave} \]
where are they going?

b) \[ \text{mán ne ni₌n bor-én i.bb-ádzda} \]
\[ \text{where place 2s₌GEN person-PL 3s₌IMPERF} \text{-settle} \]
where do your parents live?

c) \[ \text{mán n(e)} i₌baara gánda ka} \]
\[ \text{where place 3p=} \text{be land} LOC \]
where are they in the country?

d) \[ \text{mán ne k(a) ikkeení} (Bámakoy ka} \]
\[ \text{where place LOC 3p=} \text{sleep loc.name LOC} \]
where (in B.) did they sleep?

e) \[ \text{mán ne k(a) aya-ttāŋga-ka-t-I} \]
\[ \text{where place LOC 1s=} \text{push-VEN-3p} \]
from where did I push them (camels) to here?

f) \[ \text{mán ne k(a) anda-b-=ná} \]
\[ \text{where place LOC 2p=} \text{IMPERF} \text{-put} \]
\[ \text{anda-n mó-(e)n} \]
\[ \text{2p=} \text{GEN eye-PL} \]
where do you(pl) put your(pl) eyes? (in what…)

g) \[ \text{mán ne (e)nda ni-bá-boy} \]
\[ \text{where place LOC 2s=} \text{IMPERF} \text{-move} \]
to(wards) where are you moving (camp)?

4.7.3.3.6. man ict*et* ‘how much/many?’

The entire phrase *man ict*et*’ has been imported from Tamashq. The term *ict*et*’ quantity, measure* not only occurs in questions, but is also found in an ‘augmentative’ type construction with pejorative connotation (e.g. *ict an t-a-bāŋsw-t* measure GEN F-SG-old.donkey-SG.FI ‘what a clumsy person’). *man ict*et*’ is either used as a modifier to a noun (b), or independently (a, c). When used in a market situation, *man ict*et*’ ‘how much?’ is used to ask for the price and not for the quantity of the items on sale. This use is illustrated in a).
(269)  

\[ a) \text{ man } \textit{ icet } (\textit{ tamáati}) \]
which quantity (tomato)
how much does it (tomato) cost?

\[ b) \text{ man } \textit{ icet } \textit{ feej-án } \textit{ a-ddáy-an} \]
which quantity sheep-PL 3s-deal-ALL
how many sheep did he sell?

\[ c) \text{ man } \textit{ icet } \textit{ ay-n } \textit{ i-wútay} \]
which quantity 3s-GEN PL-year
how old is s/he? (Lit: how many (are) his/her years)

4.7.3.3.7. man \textit{ ámmak ayo } (\textit{ anda} ‘how?’

The first two elements of this construction are from Tamasheq. In
Tadaksahak \textit{ man } \textit{ ámmak} is obligatorily followed by the definite
marker and \textit{ anda} ‘with’. This is syntactically a relative clause with
\textit{ ámmak} as the modified head. Literally this means ‘where is the
manner with which...’ followed by a fully inflected verb.

(270)  

\[ a) \text{ man } \textit{ ámmak } \textit{ ayó } (\textit{ anda}) \]
which manner DET with
\[ \textit{ ar-ta-né-m-anya } \textit{ anda bakáw-yán?} \]
1p-FUT-RECI-RECI-kill,BND with jinn-PL
how are we going to fight the jinns?

\[ b) \text{ man } \textit{ ámmak } \textit{ ayó } (\textit{ anda}) \]
which manner DET with
\[ \textit{ ay-ta-dá } \textit{ h(e) áyda} \]
1s-FUT-do thing DEM,PROX
how will I do this?

4.7.4 Other particles

There are a number of particles that are used for emphasis and other
discourse functions.

4.7.4.1 \textit{ ya} exclamation / surprise

The particle \textit{ ya} expresses surprise or general emphasis. The particle
is normally set off with a pause from the following material and does
not need to be at the very beginning of a clause.
(271) a) ...ya a-yyéd áy.n naná
EXCL 3s-return 3s-GEN mother
(Jackal killed Hyena and) ...indeed, he returned to his mother (from where he came).
b) ya maan(a) áy.n surgóy
EXCL where.close 3s-GEN woman
really, where was his wife?
c) Aɣo ya hé gánda n cidáy ka?
DET EXCL thing earth GEN under.N LOC
this, (astonishment: does it really exist), is something under the earth?
d) ya gánda n caráy gánda n caráy!
EXCL ground GEN friend ground GEN friend
watch out! a snake! a snake!"
e) a-ddiis-a (ǝ)nd(a) áa-har
3s-let-3s with SG-lion
maʃʃín ya áa-har a-bbûn.
but EXCL SG-lion 3s-be.dead
he left him (alone) with the lion, but, fact is, the lion was dead.

4.7.4.2 za ‘so’ logical consequence

Another clause level particle is za labeled LC for ‘logical consequence’, often translatable as ‘so’. It occurs frequently in the nominal clause h(e) adí za (thing ANA LC) ‘so’ or shortened to [(h)adiz].

(272) a) Aya-n t-a-náfus-t za / as-kâhar
1s-GEN F-SG-story-F.SG LC maybe-when
aya-dd(á).á aná...
1s-do-3s 2s.DAT
So my story, if I tell it to you...
b) dǝffǝ za hó sé...
DEBR LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR
So after that...
c) ...a-ṭṭén anda t-a-kārḍas-t óoda
3p-arrive with F-SG-letter-F.SG DEM.NEAR
h(e) aḍi za a-nn(ā) āa-se n i.
thing ANA LC 3s-give 3s-DAT SEP 3p
...he arrived with this letter, so this, he gave them to him.

4.7.4.3 da ‘really, exactly’ intensification

In order to emphasize in a positive way, da INT can be cliticized to NPs, independent pronouns, verbs, the conjunction mǝʃʃín ‘but’ and the intensifier húllǝn ‘much’. It is frequent in topicalisation constructions (4.7.1.2.). Below are some examples.

(273) a) he [(a)yo-f-túwayr(a) anda Taláatayt] da thing DET-IMPERF-PAS-call.BND with loc.name DIC
kāamil...
all
really all that is called T. ...  

b) iŋgí kāamil d(a) ékn-an
3p.EMP all DIC twin-PL
izácen-an asénd(a) ijjā
youth-PL DEM.FAR seven
they were really all born at the same time (Lit: twins), these seven young men.

c) húllǝn d(a) ay-te-d(ā)-á ana.
much DIC 1S-FUT-do-3s 2s-DAT
I very much (like to) tell it (story) to you.

d) mǝʃʃín dá aṭṭáalib a-kkás alwalì
but DIC student 3s-become seer
daffér h(e) aḍi.
after thing ANA
but really, the student became a seer after this.

Songhay of Timbuktu has a phrase final particle /daa/ ‘exactly, precisely, exclusively, right (here)’ (Heath1999a:64) that conveys the same ‘intensifying’ semantics as this particle does in Tadaksahak. Also Tamashq has a particle /da/ to indicate ‘here, there, at the place in question’ (Prasse et al. 2003:69, also Sudlow 2001:333).
4.7.4.4  je ~ jen ‘only’

This particle is often found after the verbal word to emphasize the action described. It is less frequently found after NPs or the conjunction har ‘until’.

(274) a) iiizace a-haashi-a je
    youth 3s-look-3s only
    the young man simply looked at her.

b) arkassaway en he fo je
    mishap GEN thing IND only
    ten a-rezeg ood(a) engam no daw
    arrive SG-herd DEM.NEAR instant there LOC
    only a small mishap that arrives at the herd mentioned before

c) ...ho sen har je a-zary
    thing.DEBR DEM.FAR until only 3s-SUBJ-pass.after
    anda sa...
    with COMP
    ... that (action) until it simply follows that...

d) ...agar dida jen a-b-dá.
    bad walk.N only 3s-IMPERF-do
    (know that) his behavior was only bad.
    (lit: he only did bad walking)

In a subordinate clause je ‘only’ can be preceded by a temporal element har ‘until’ or sa ‘when’ and then encodes immediateness, ‘as soon as’.

(275) a) har je a-záyan a-ss-oýtā...
    until only SG-ray 3s-CAUS-upright.BND
    as soon as it was dawn...

b) sa je intáynawt a-gguná-kat áńga...
    when only jackal 3s-see-VEN 3s.EMP
    as soon as Jackal saw him coming...

4.7.4.5  day, harkid ‘in addition, too’

The particle day ‘too’ can follow a verbal word or a noun. It should not be confused with da INT, which has a different function and also a different origin. /day/ (Prasse et al. 2003:89) is found in Tamasheq with the same meaning as it has in Tadaksahak. Below is an example
where it appears next to a verb. The second example below is a special use (also found in Tamasheq), which seems to be idiolectal, to introduce either the next argument in the reasoning or give a conclusion to previous material.

\[(276)\] a) a-báara day t-ôrf-in an kô-(e)n

\[3s\text{-be} \ \ \text{too} \ \ \text{FE-car-PL} \ \ \text{GEN} \ \ \text{owner-PL}\]

there are also the car owners.

b) day adí ándi ay-n t-á-ggas-t

\[\text{too} \ \ \text{ANA} \ \ \text{2p.EMP} \ \ \text{3s-GEN} \ \ \text{F-SG-gard-F.SG}\]

\[a-f-keeni.\]

\[3s\text{-IMPERF-be.on}\]

also this, it’s on you that its (land) protection is. (= you are responsible for its protection)

Another particle that adds to already present material is *harkíd* ‘also’. It is only found adding NPs to an already known entity. It precedes the noun that is added. Syntactically it is often at the end of a clause but it can also precede the verb as shown in example (c) below.

\[(277)\] a) a-yyírṣǝk end(a) áy-n kamb-én

\[3s\text{-sweep} \ \ \text{with} \ \ \text{3s-GEN} \ \ \text{arm-PL}\]

\[harkid \ \ \text{ay-n} \ \ \text{c-en}.\]

\[\text{also} \ \ \text{3s-GEN} \ \ \text{leg-PL}\]

he made sweeping movements with his arms and also his legs.

b) a-yyéd áa-ka áŋga harkíd áy-n baari.

\[3s\text{-return} \ \ \text{3s-LOC} \ \ \text{3s-EMP} \ \ \text{also} \ \ \text{3s-GEN} \ \ \text{horse}\]

he fell into it (well), he and his horse.

c) ándi ay-n t-á-kma harkid ay-n

\[\text{2p.EMP} \ \ 3s\text{-GEN} \ \ \text{F-PL-evil} \ \ \text{also} \ \ \text{3s-GEN}\]

\[t-áňfa \ \ a-f-ťaw.\]

\[\text{F-useful} \ \ 3s\text{-IMPERF-reach}\]

it’s you (pl) that its (of the land) disaster and its usefulness reaches.

4.7.4.6 inʒin ‘like’

This particle can stand between two NPs or an NP and a verbal phrase.
Example (b) shows an idiomatic use for an absolute superlative. It has the same construction as the first example with 'something'. (c) also illustrates that clauses can follow inžín which is then better translated with 'as if'.
4.8 Complex Sentences

4.8.1 Clause coordination

4.8.1.1 Clausal ‘and’

There is no clausal ‘and’ conjunction. Main clauses are conjoined without explicit marker.

4.8.1.2 Clausal ‘or’ meɣ, máday, and wala

The same markers that are used for disjunction of noun phrases (4.1.9.2) are also found between clauses. meɣ and máday only encode ‘or’ and are therefore unambiguous. They are often found between larger text blocks including several clauses.

(279) n(e) áyda k(a) a-dd(á) áy-n maamála
place DEM.PROX LOC 3s-do 3s-GEN commerce

mey n(e) áyda k(a) a-kkúḍ áy-n almán
or place DEM.PROX LOC 3s-herd 3s-GEN herd

har á-dda t-a-báyor-t.
until 3s-do F-SG-wealth-F.SG
it’s here he was a merchant, or it’s here he kept his herd until he was wealthy.

(280) a-ʃíbuk(u) a-kkun(á)-a máday lúmmut a-kkun(á)-a
SG-diarrhea 3s-find-3s or measles 3s-find-3s
he has diarrhea or measles...

wala is also found between clauses.

(281) ǝ˙ämmes-kábahar ni- bbáaya ni-n caráy
maybe-when 2s-love 2s-GEN friend

wala ni- bbáaya ni-n céena
or 2s-love 2s-GEN younger.sibling

wala ni-n a-ʃáqaɣ...
or 2s-GEN SG-brother

if you care about your friend or you care about your younger relative or your brother....

All the examples above show parallel clauses. There are examples of larger chunks of text material between the ‘or’ particles in our corpus.
The following example with *mey* includes a large piece of text about ‘harming oneself by bad behavior’. After a concluding clause the speaker takes off again:

(282) *mey ni-b-fárrad huurú se a-húur(u)-a....*

or 2s-IMPERF-neglect fire DAT 3s-enter-3s
or you neglect the fire and it enters it (hay)....

4.8.2 Purpose and causal clauses

4.8.2.1 Purpose ‘in order to’ marked with subjunctive mood

A purpose clause is often only marked by the subjunctive mood without any other overt morpheme.

(283) a) *ay-ta-dáy-an aya-n t-óoruf-t*

1s-FUT-deal-ALL 1s-GEN F-car-F.SG

*aya-m-dáy-kat áa-k(a) almán.*

1s-SUBJ-deal-VEN 3s-LOC herd

I will sell my car in order to buy a herd (of animals).

b) *...i-ta-dá-kat daazí i-mm-éfrađ.i.*

3p-FUT-make-VEN broom.kind 3p-SUBJ-broom-3p

(when the seeds have fallen) they make a broom in order to sweep them (seeds) together.

At times the subjunctive mood is preceded by the conjunction *har* ‘until’ that can have a purpose component in its semantics. (cf. 4.8.4.5 example (305))

(284) a) *yidder ayay áa-har har aya-m-wí-a*

hold 1s.IO SG-lion until 1s-SUBJ-kill-3s

hold the lion for me in order that I kill it.

b) *aya-kkár nín har ni-n ée-mat a-m-dudú.*

1s-hit 2s until 2s-GEN SG-small.tear 3s-SUBJ-flow

I hit you to make you cry a bit.

4.8.2.2 Causal clauses

There are several ways to indicate cause. One possibility is the clause initial particle *iddá* ‘because’ with variants, and there are two postpositional constructions that mark cause and reason.

The clause-initial particle has two dialectal variants which are *igdá* ‘because’ in the Talatayt area and *iddá* or short *íd* in the rest of the
area. Sudlow (2001:331) lists the shape /id/ for a Tuareg dialect in northern Burkina Faso with the meaning ‘since, if, when’ and Heath (2005:674) gives examples with /ed/ meaning ‘because’.

iddá is followed and preceded by a full clause and there may also be complex sentences like conditionals (see an example in story 1 line 43). Find other examples below.

(285) a)  

\( \text{idá a-\text{ttágor a-munsu a-b-diýdi} } \)

because 3s-begin SG-meal 3s-IMPERF-penetrate

\( \text{bor-én en i-\text{fjan-an ká} } \)

person-PL GEN PL-tooth-PL LOC

(not rinsing your mouth after the meal destroys them (teeth)), because the food begins to penetrate in people’s teeth.

b)  

\( \text{áaru a-\text{bbáaya s(a) a-\text{te-yíydar ná ayo} } } \)

man 3s-want COMP 3s-FUT-betray OPP DET

\( \text{id(á) á-bben ay-n bárr-en } \)

because 3s-finish 3s-GEN child-PL

\( \text{a-\text{ŋŋ(á)-í} } \)

3s-eat-3p

he wanted to betray the other one because he had finished his children and eaten them.

c)  

\( \text{i-\text{ssá-\text{nn-elba\text{d}-a i-ddá ná ayo n} } } \)

3p-CAUS-RECI-be.added-3s because OPP DET GEN

\( \text{kud-én i-ddá ná ayo ka } \)

blood-PL 3p-do OPP DET LOC

they (health agents) contaminated him (patient) because the blood of one (patient) was put in another one.

The prepositional phrase hé bé ‘on (some)thing’ can be used to introduce a reason clause. This construction is similar to the interrogative ‘why?’ (4.7.3.3.2)

(286) a)  

\( \text{tanáfust ay(o) óoda á\text{ŋga néeda} } \)

F-SG-story-F.SG DET DEM.NEAR 3s.EMP here

\( \text{hé bé (a)-\text{ttén sa} } \)

thing LOC 3s-arrive COMP

\( \text{surgóy a-ssá-may-\text{anda s(a) a-\text{te-dá}... } } \)

woman 3s-NEG.IMPERF-have-with COMP 3s-FUT-do

this story, here is why it is such that a woman ought not to do...
b) wiji hé bé (a)-dd(a)-í
is.not thing LOC 3s-do-3p
har almítal ay(o) óoda ay-te-hár ándi se
until example DET DEM.NEAR 1s-FUT-tell 2p DAT
it (decentralization) is done for no [other] reason than the
example I am going to tell you... (lit: it is not on anything it
(government) makes them (decentralized places) until for
the example...)

Cause and reason can also be expressed by means of a
postpositional phrase with the postposition ka 'from'. The nominal
entity is normally he 'thing' but may be semantically more specific, as
in example (c) below.

(287) a) ni-m-jeeji(í)-á tugúdu ka hé ká
2s-SUBJ-hang-3s tree LOC thing LOC
hánji (a)-sá-táaw-a
dog 3s-NEG.IMPERF-reach-3s
you should hang it (eating bowl) in a tree, because a dog
cannot reach it.

b) en-te-máyitar hé ká ni-ddá
2s-FUT-lack.money thing LOC 2s-put
ta1la ka ni-n ajággar
good LOC 2s-GEN destiny
you will have (money) problems, because it's in goods
you put your destiny/trust.

c) a-ddá háamu tugúdu n bí ká
3s-put meat tree GEN shadow LOC
hambará n ná ká sa
fear GEN give.VN LOC COMP
korr(á) á-te-yiýdíid-a.
heat.N 3s-FUT-destroy-3s.
she put the meat in the shade of a tree because she was
afraid that the heat might ruin it.

4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 4.8.3 Conditionals

There exist a vast number of conditional markers in Tadaksahak.
Some can be traced to cognates in Songhay, while others have
cognates in Tamames. Some of them are dialectal variants of each
other, e.g. anda 'with' (in the meaning 'when/if') is not used in the
south, where kar 'when/if' is used. The clause with the conditional
marker can be marked with any Mood-Aspect-Negation marker except the SUBJ. There is no element that separates the condition (the ‘if-clause’) from the consequent (‘then...’). The main clause may be a question (289) or an imperative.

4.8.3.1 ǝnda ‘with’ and similar forms

Clauses with ǝnda normally state a general condition that causes the event (or state) described in the main clause to happen (or be true). The MAN marker of the main clause depends on the wider context, e.g. in an instructional text SUBJ is used ((288)c), for a condition to be considered ‘general knowledge’ IMPERF can be found (a). The subordinate ‘ǝnda’-clause is always in perfective aspect.

(288) a) ǝnd(a) ayá=n cáb a-ddígdíg
   with 1s=GEN leg 3s=be.broken
   a-bb-ašôr ayây.
   3s=IMPERF-hurt 1s
   when my leg is broken, it hurts (me).

b) ǝndlil a-:mmánña
   each with 3s=be.without.grass
   ándi h(e) ad(i) a-ːtə-dɑr
   2p thing ANA 3s=FUT-suffer
   ǝnda suub(ʊ) a-dd(a) áa-ka
   with straw 3s=put3s=LOC
   ándi h(e) ad(i) a-ːtə-yinfá
   2p chose ANA 3s=FUT-be.useful
   each time when it (land) is without grazing, it is you whom
   this makes suffer (and) when there is straw, it’s you to
   whom this is useful.

c) i-ccí t-oo-lás-t ǝnd(a) átřf a-ːhůuru
   3p=say F=SG-do.again-F.SG with wound 3s=enter
   borá a-m-mún áa-be gánda.
   person 3s=SUBJ-pour 3s=LOC earth
   it is also said when somebody has a wound he may pour
   earth on it.

Most occurrences of ǝnda-clauses are preposed but it is possible to have the conditional follow the main clause.
(289) cí ná hó bé ar-tæ-fin(á)
what be thing.DEBR LOC 1pFUT-CAUS.lay.down
are-n bâarar end(a) á-yyuhu?
1p-GEN child when 3s-be.born
on what will we lay our child when it is born?

Semantically, the temporal aspect of *enda ‘when/if’* seems to be more important than the conditional component.

Songhay of Gao and Timbuktu use the particle *nda ‘if’* for several kinds of conditional clauses, such as hypothetical and counterfactual (Heath 1999:303ff; 1998:263ff). In Tadaksahak it is only found with generally known and accepted states.

In Tadaksahak, there exists a similar marker, which occurs in two forms, *ǝndáŋga* and *náŋga*. According to our informants, the first is used in slow speech, while the second belongs to fast speech. Our corpus shows that the short form is considerably more frequent in sentence initial position than the other variant.

*ǝndáŋga* is composed of the morphemes *ǝnda áŋga*, i.e. /with + 3s.EMP/ ‘with it’. Similar to the *ǝnda* clauses treated above, the *ǝndáŋga* clause states a condition, now not very general but more specific, that allows the event described in the main clause to happen. The subordinate clause with *ǝndáŋga* is not attested in the perfective aspect but imperfect and future are found.

(290) aya-n hâw(ú) óoda
1s-GEN cow DEM.NEAR
ǝndáŋga aarú a-tæ-há ay-tæ-dumb(ú)-a
if man 3s-FUT-give.birth 1s-FUT-cut.3s
ǝndáŋga wây ay-tæ-diis-a.
if woman 1s-FUT-let-3s
my cow here, if it gives birth to a male (calf), I will kill it, if (it is a) female, I will let it (live).

*ǝndáŋga* is often used together with the particle *wiji ‘(it) is not’* and then introduces the exceptional condition that could bring about the desired effect. Typically the verb of the main clause is put in the negation to underline the exception. In most cases this can be translated into English as ‘nothing but…’. When the exception is expressed by a noun, the noun follows *wiji* immediately. If it is a
clause, the complementizer *sa* is used before this clause. Example (b) below has the shortened form *nanga* with *wiji*.

**(291)**

*a)* ...*hé* *(a)*-sǝ-káaw-i ay-n kámba ka
thing 3s-NEG.IMPERF-take-3p 3s-GEN hand LOC
*andāngu* wiji i-ta-kārdas-t.
if is.not F-SG-letter-F.SG
(He told him that) nothing (could) take them from him except (Lit: if it is not) a letter (of authorization written by a marabout).

*b)* (If you leave it (land) to your children, it is not possible that it dies or gets lost [like animals]...)
...*nāngu* wiji *(s)*-a-te-dáy-an.
if is.not COMP 3P-FUT-deal-ALL
...except that they sell [and so get the money].

In the next example a pair of conditional markers shows two opposite possibilities.

**(292)** *(hey, young man, you (should) know that I suggest a price for an animal only once!)*
*nāngu* ni-b-diní ni-n á-zřaf dá
if 2s-IMPERF-take 2s-GEN SG-money DIC
*din(í)-á* nāngu an-sa-din(í)-a dá
take-3s if 2s-NEG.IMPERF-take-3s DIC
*sa* ni-m-hár ayáy aya-mm-ici...
COMP 2s-SUBJ-say 1s 1s-SUBJ-move.on
if you take the money, take it! If you don’t take it, (at least) tell me (so) that I may move on...

This condition marker was only found in spontaneous speech and not used when conditional clauses were translated. This seems to indicate that it needs to be embedded in a larger context while the marker *(əmm)*as-ká(ba)(ha)r (see below) is used when no context is given.

4.8.3.2 *(əmm)*as-ká(ba)(ha)r

This conditional marker contains two morphemes. *(əmm)*as which, according to our informants, is an abbreviated form of *hāmnaz* ~ *hāmmaz* ‘maybe’. The form *(əmm)*as is rare in the corpus and may be a dialectal variant. The short form *as* is widely used around Menaka and in the south. The second morpheme, *kábahar* ‘when’, seems to be linked etymologically with /har/ ‘until, when’. It appears in its full
form or as kahar or kar. Different MAN markers are found in the subordinate clause with as-kábahar.

(293) a) ǝs-kábahar  á-yaatir  a-qqóq
    maybe-when  SG-clay.ground  3s-be.dry
    a-ttágor  a-b-s-ǝssǝrr-ǝt.
    3s-begin  3s-IMPERF-CAUS-tear.apart
when ground with clay (on it) is dry, it gets torn apart.

b) ǝs-káhar Máaddid  a-b-s-ǝgdá  i-ʒînn-an
    maybe-when Milky.way  3s-IMPERF-CAUS-be.equal  PL-sky-PL
    ara-f-kuŋgú  huwå  ka.
    1p-IMPERF-be.full  milk  LOC
when the Milky Way is in the zenith, we can drink our fill of milk.

c) ǝs-kár  cinj-én  i-sê-kár
    maybe-when  rain-PL  3p-NEG.IMPERF-hit
    ittil(a) agg ǝdǝm  h(e)  ad(i)  a-te-dá,
    each  son.of Adam  thing  ANA  3s-FUT-suffer
when it does not rain, everybody will suffer.

d) ǝs-káhar  aya-ddá  şót  aɣo yizzár-an
    maybe-when 1s-do  jump.VN DET  be.ahead-ADJZR
    ni=m-ǝlbi  ni-n  t-á-kooba…
    2s-SUBJ-pull.out  2s-GEN  F-SG-sword
when I make the first jump, you pull out your sword…

e) ǝs-kâhar  ni-bbën  end(a)  a-múnsu
    maybe-when  2s-finish  with  SG-meal
    ni=m-himay  ni-n  kámb-en.
    2s-SUBJ-wash  2s-GEN  hand-PL
when you finish the meal, you wash your hands.

c') ǝs-kâhar  ni-ne-ʒ-ǝrrǝm  ni-n  miya,
    maybe-when  2s-NEG.PERF-CAUS-rinse  2s-GEN  mouth
    a-múnsu  ayo (á)ya  a-tá-gor(a)-an  ni-n
    SG-meal  DET  DEM.PROX  3s-FUT-sit-ALL  2s-GEN
    i-ʃʃan-an  ka…
    PL-tooth-PL  LOC
when you don't rinse your mouth, this same meal will stay in your teeth…
(294) a) ǝs-kábahar ǝrǝ-t-ǝn ǝyyili alfájir
       maybe-when herd-PL 3p-leave morning a-ta-t-ǝlem.
       3s-FUT-PASS-open

köhr i-húrur-kat álmez i-tá-yáhar-kaat-a
when 3s-enter-VEN evening 3p-FUT-cover-VEN-3s
i-m-hallat-kat t-a-ssáhar-t...
3p-SUBJ-mount-VENT F-SG-cover-F-VENT

When the herds left in the morning, it was opened. When
they entered in the evening, they covered it (cistern) so
that they could mount over the lid.

b) ǝs-kár ǝy-ǝ-yée-kat ni-wáni.
maybe-when 1s-NEG.PERF-return-VENT 2s-of
kár ǝy-a-yyée-kat ǝy-wáni.
when 1s-return-VENT 1s-of
if I don’t return, it (horse) is yours, if I return it is mine.

4.8.3.3 ǝndár

This marker posits a hypothetical condition. The subordinate clause is
in perfective with this marker.

(295) a) ǝndár aya-bbáy sa Táḥa aʃʃí n(e) áyađa
       if 1s-know COMP T. 3s-not.be place DEM.PROX
       aya-sa-köy-kat.
       1s-NEG.IMPERF-leave-VENT

if I had known that T. is not here, I wouldn’t have come.
b) igdá / ǝndár a-ɓbbáy hó báara
because if 3s-know thing.DEBR be.in
áa-se  alázar
3s-DAT other.world
a-se-d(á)  áa-se hé yibrár-an.
3s-NEG.IMPERF-do 3s-BEN thing be.bad-ADJZR
because if she knew what was for her in the other world
she would not do anything bad to him.

c) ciimi aɣo (ǝ)nda hinká (a-cc(i) áa-se)
truth DET with two 3s-say 3s-DAT
sa t-a-dáqq-t óoda ǝndár aɣa-ɓbbáy
COMP F-SG-road-F.SG DEM.NEAR if 1s-know
sa (ǝ)n-te-záw-k-a aɣ-ɓé-dá-k-a.
COMP 2s-FUT-take-VEN-F.SG 1s-NEG.IMPERF-make-VEN-3s
the second truth (she said to him) is that if I had known
that it is this road you were going to take, I would not have
taken it.

In Tamasheq, the same particle /ǝndár/ǝnnár/ marks a counterfactual
condition (Heath 2006:698).

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

(296)  íttill(a) ágg áadǝm mánn(a) a-te-ḍár
each son.of Adam without.grazing.VN 3s-FUT-harm
kud dáɣ a-se-mmay almán ǝndá ay-n gá.
if also 3s-NEG.IMPERF-own herd with 3s-GEN self
each person suffers from lack of grazing even if he does
not own animals himself.

This same conjunction /kud-dáɣ/ ‘even if’ (même si) is used in
Tamasheq with the same function but also for a variety of other uses.
Find further discussion of kud under 4.3.10.4.

4.8.4 Temporal subordination

4.8.4.1 sa ‘when...’
The simplest clause of temporal subordination is marked by the
element sa which translates as ‘when’. The subordinate clause is
always in the perfective. *sa* translated as ‘when’ could very well be the same element as the complementizer *sa* and the relativizer *sa*.

(297) a) *sa* Múss(a) a-.ttén  
when M. 3s-arrive  
*ara-bbén* *and(a)* a-múnsu.  
1p-finish with SG-meal  
when Mussa arrived we had finished the meal.

b) *s(a)* a-jf-injá  téysa  
when 3s-CAUS.put.down.BND animal  
t-á-har-t a-ddá h(e) óoda...  
F-SG-lion-F.SG 3s-do thing DEM.NEAR  
when she put the sheep/goat down the lioness did this...

c) *s(a)* arw-én ayondo sénda i-.ttén  
when man-PL DET.PL DEM.FAR 3p-arrive  
i-nn(á) áaru s(e) a-lákat  
3p-give man DET SG-twig  
when those men arrived, they gave the twig to the man.

d) *s(a)* i-ggun(á) á-mnás [da takúduŋkut] en  
when 3p-PERF-see SG-camel do cut.tail GEN  
a-dárez ayo n bér a-ccí...  
SG-trace DET GEN older.sibling 3s-say  
when they saw the trace of a camel with cut tail, the oldest said...

e) *s(a)* a-ggár-an t-áa-har-t wǝ̥́rtilla  
when 3s-find-ALL F-SG-lion-F.SG there.is.not  
when she found (it), the lioness was not there.

*sa* followed by *je* ‘only’ encodes immediateness, ‘as soon as’.

(298) *sa* jé intáynawt a-gguná-kat ánga...  
when only jackal 3s-see-VEN 3s.EMP  
as soon as Jackal saw him coming...

4.8.4.2 Temporal use of *dá* ‘intensifier’

Another way to express a temporal subordination is by means of the intensifier *dá* INT in conjunction with an anaphoric NP.

(299) *dá* hé (a)yd(a) a-ddá...  
INT thing DEM.PROX 3s-do  
when this was done....
4.8.4.3  Temporal clauses based on temporal nouns

Other strategies to achieve temporal subordination include temporal nouns that are set in a complete postpositional relative clause. The term agúd’ (point in) time’ is regularly found in such constructions.

(300)  agúd ayo k(a) arée-kkéed(i) ay-n bëena
        time DET LOC 1p-be.up 3s-GEN top
        aya-b-gun(á) ay-n i-mádd-an i-b-ze-lánnel-at.
        1s-IMPERF-see 3s-GEN PL-tear-PL 3p-IMPERF-CAUS-roll
when we were up on the top, I saw (that) his tears were rolling down.

Other time expressions can be found like assáʕat ‘time’.

(301)  assáʕat ayo ka ni₌n a-múnsu a₌kkeéní
        time DET LOC 2s-GEN SG-meal 3s-lay.down
        he (a)-ddúuwa sa...
        thing 3s-be.better COMP
when your meal is put down, it is better that...

4.8.4.4  t-izzár-t ‘before...’

t-izzár-t ‘before’ is a cognate of a similar element in Tamasheq derived from the verb yizzár ‘precede’. t-izzár-t is usually followed by a verb in SUBJ mood.

(302) a)  ...bor(á) a-b-himay áy-n kamba
        person 3s-IMPERF-wash 3s-GEN hand
        t-izzár-t a-m-huur(ú) a-múnsu
        F-precede-F SG 3s-SUBJ-enter SG-meal
        (it is better that) somebody washes his hand before he begins to eat.

b)  ...ay-té-d(a) áa-ka hé
        1s-FUT-do 3s-LOC thing
        t-izzár-t aya-m-ṭáw-an a-hándag ayo
        F-precede-F.AG. 1s-SUBJ-reach-ALL SG-place DET
        t-a-skán-in wán-i.
        F-PL-greeting-PL of-PL
        (it’s about them I want) to talk a bit before I reach the moment of the greetings.

The following example has the verb of the adverbial clause in the IMPERF aspect.
(303) ...kud á-mmay t-a-rásway-t wa(la) a-sá-mmay
if 3s-have F-SG-clothe-F.SG or 3s-NEG.IMPERF-have
F-precede-F.SG 2s-IMPERF-beg
(with you try to get a piece of clothing from somebody,
look if the one (shirt) that is on his body) if he has (proper)
clothes or not before you beg (of him).

4.8.4.5 har ‘until…’

‘until…’ clauses are expressed with the adverbial conjunction har
‘until/when’.

(304) a-b-húrru áy-n yiddǝr n(e) áyda
3s-IMPERF-look.for 3s-GEN hold.VN place DEM.PROX
ka har a-yyidáž
LOC until 3s-be.tired
he (Jackal) was trying to hold him (Hyena) there until he
was tired (= gave up).

Some occurrences indicate ‘purpose’ for the subordinate clause.

(305) i-fliikal har i-ddáy-kat hayní
3p-travel until 3p-deal-VEN millet
they traveled until (=in order to) they bought millet.

har ‘until’ is identical with the particle translatable as ‘except’ (see
4.6.3).

4.8.4.6 zamá ‘after…’

The conjunction zamá ‘after’ precedes a clause, while déffar ‘after’ is
followed by a non-verbal element.

(306) a) Zam(á) ara-ddáwann-at andi s(e) alxér k(a)
after 1p-speak 2p DAT peace.LOC
ayo gánda wani ar-ta-yée-kat alxér ayo...
DET earth of 1p-FUT-return-VEN peace.DET
after we spoke to you(pl) about the wellbeing of the earth
we will return to the wellbeing of (the body)
b) dáffer za hó sé zam(á) aya-ss-ilí-a
   after LC thing.DEBR DEM.FAR after 1s-CAUS-leave-3s
   a-cci marád-da a-m-ŋ(á) ayá
   3s-say now-INT 3s-SUBJ-eat 1s
so after that, after I (Monkey) had made him (Hyena)
leave it (the well), he now wanted to eat me.

zamá is found together with the conjunction ‘until’ in the following
example.

(307)  a-na-yéd-kat          har zam(á) aya-ttén áa-daw.
   3s-NEG.PERF-return-VEN until after 1s-arrive 3s-LOC
he didn’t return until after I arrived at his (place).

The conjunction zamá ‘after’ originally comes from Arabic. It is also
known in Tamasheq and no doubt has found its way to Tadaksahak
through that language.

4.8.4.7 Simple juxtaposition of a temporal clause

There are a number of temporal expressions that are syntactically
complete clauses. However, they do not stand alone but accompany
a main clause for which they set the temporal frame.

(308) a) záɣr(i) a-ddá t-á-myar-t a-ssót-kat.
   day 3s-do F-SG-old.person-F.SG 3s-jump-VEN
   (when) it was day, the old woman jumped.

   b) t-áa-dwi-t a-ddá a-húur(u)
   F-SG-afternoon-F.SG 3s-do 3s-enter
á-yalla
   SG-wall
in the afternoon he entered the yard.

The particle jeddi ~ ceddi ‘yet’ can be found preceding a verb in the
IMPERF aspect and is then read as ‘while’. The jeddi clause is usually
the second clause in this juxtaposition.

(309) a) ni-m-hímay-a jeddi(í) á-f-tay
   2s-SUBJ-wash-3s yet 3s-IMPERF-be.wet
you wash it (pot) while it is (yet) moist.
The following example has jeddi ‘yet’ preceding a verb in the NEG.PERF to express ‘before’.

(310) en-ə-yáhar-a əänd(a) ay-n t-a-ss-əhárt
2s-FUT-cover-3s with 3s-GEN F-SG-INST-cover-F.SG
jeddi əánd(a) əe-ne-əuur(ú)-á
yet earth 3s-NEG.PERF-enter-3s
cover it with its lid before earth has entered it.
(Lit: (when) earth has not yet entered it)

In the region around Menaka the form jeddi ‘yet’ is mostly used while ceddí is used in Talatayt area.

4.8.5 Spatial adverbial clauses

The spatial adverbial clause (where...) is by its syntactic shape a relative clause modifying ně ‘here/location’.

(311) ně k(a) áy-n t-ə-bǔuyar i.yyé-kat
here LOC 3s-GEN F-PL-camel 3p-return-VEN
gánda əka
earth LOC
there where his camels go round in the area...

A similar construction is found with other locational nouns. The two examples below illustrate an indefinite (a) and definite (b) noun modified.

(312) a) ar-te-hurr(ú) áa-se əŋgú k(a) a-yyídən
1p-FUT-look.for 3s-DAT place LOC 3s-graze
we look for a place for it (herd) where it (can) graze.

b) a-yyéd i-n əŋgú əyo
3s-return 3p-GEN place DET
k(a) i-yyízday
LOC 3p-live
he returned to the (their) place where they live.
With the word né ‘here’ the interpretation of the clauses is strictly spatial. However angú ‘place’, éé-dag ‘place’ and a-hándag ‘place’ can also be found with temporal meanings (see example (302)b)).

4.8.6 Manner adverbial clauses

A relative clause with instrumental preposition and the noun ámmak ‘manner, method’ serves as an adverbial clause.

(313) a) ámmak ayó (ǝ)nda ay-ta-d(á)-a
    manner DET with 1s=FUT-do-3s
    the manner (with which) I will do it.

b) ...ámmak ayó (ǝ)nda ni-ssoorá t-áa-har-t
    manner DET with 3s=milk F-SG-lion-F.SG
    (tell me) how you milked the lioness.