# A Tasawaq (Northern Songhay, Niger) Text with Grammatical Notes

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## 1. Introduction[1]

Tasawaq is a Northern Songhay language spoken in the oasis In-Gall about 100 km west of Agadez in Niger (for more information, see Bernus & Bernus 1972; Sidibé 2002). The language is poorly documented,[2] and only little textual material is available to the scientific community. As far as I know, only two texts have been published in Tasawaq,[3] neither of them marking tone; in the first place a relatively long text of oral history edited by Pierre-Francis Lacroix in Bernus & Bernus (1972:107-114), in the second place a 20-line text in Rueck & Christiansen (2001).

In this article, I present a Tasawaq story with glossing and comments, recorded in Agadez in October 2003, told by Mrs. Ibrahim, born Nana Mariama Aweïssou, originary from In-Gall, but then living and working in Agadez. Mrs. Ibrahim speaks Tasawaq, Hausa and French; at the time of the recording her daily language was Hausa.

Since Lacroix (1971), Tasawaq is normally considered a mixed language of Songhay and Tuareg, a view that was elaborated by Robert Nicolaï (e.g. 1990), as well as by Alidou (1988) and Wolff & Alidou (2001); for more agnostic views, see Kossmann (2007); Souag (2012). In the text, non-Songhay etymologies have been identified in the glossing line by means of superscript $^{TU}$ (Tuareg), $^{HA}$ (Hausa), and $^{AR}$ (Arabic).

## 2. Notes on Phonological Processes and Transcription[4]

Mrs. Ibrahim's language has a number of features that differ from those described in Alidou (1988), Nicolaï (1979; 1979-1984; 1980) and Sidibé (2010a). While in some cases this may be due to analytical issues, at a number of points the differences clearly reflect dialectal variation within the language (Sidibé 2010a). Most salient among these is the existence of

[1] The field research on which this article is based was conducted in Agadez during the month of october 2003 in the framework of the NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) project 'Tuareg and the Central Sahelian Languages: A History of Language Contact'. I wish to warmly thank Mrs. Ibrahim, born Nana Mariama Aweïssou for her time and patience. I want to thank Lameen Souag and an anonymous reviewer for their pertinent remarks on different drafts of the article and Robert Nicolaï for the opportunity to listen to his Tasawaq recordings. The following abbreviations are used: ANP: Anaphoric; $^{AR}$: Arabic; DAT: Dative; DO: Direct Object; FOC: Focus; FUTI: Future I; FUTII: Future II; GEN: Genitive; $^{HA}$: Hausa; IMPF: Imperfective; IMPT: Imperative; IO: Indirect Object; ITV: Itive; MAN: Mood-Aspect-Negation; NEG: Negation; P: Plural; PL: Plural; PREP: preposition; PRX: Proximal; S: Singular; SBJ: Subjunctive; TOP: Topic; $^{TU}$: Tuareg; VNT: Ventive.

[2] Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult Lacroix (1980), which, as far I know, has only been distributed on microfilm.

[3] A large number of stories from In-Gall have been published in translation by Geneviève Calame-Griaule, among others Calame-Griaule 2002.

[4] The examples given in section 2 and 3 are based on the edited text and on elicitation with Mrs. Ibrahim, the same speaker that told the story.

pharyngealized consonants in Mrs. Ibrahim's speech, whereas the speakers underlying the other sources do not have it (Kossmann 2012).

The transcription follows the surface phonemics of the language, writing neutralizations and assimilations wherever they lead to differences on the phonemic level, but not writing them where they lead to allophonic variants. Some of the more important segmental phonemic and phonetic issues are the following:

(a) Short /e/ and /o/ are neutralized into /a/ when not in word- or phrase-final position. Lowering of /o/ may be accompanied by labialization of adjacent velar and uvular consonants (cf. Kossmann 2012). Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *báɣò* | 'to want' | *báɣà-k$^{w}$áy* | 'beloved' |
| *ízè* | 'child' | *ízà-ɣó* | 'this child' |
| *gàrsé* | 'thread' | *gàrsá m̀ mè* | 'the end of the thread (lit. mouth of the thread)' |

(b) Long vowels only occur in non-final open syllables. A number of morphological processes lead to the opening of a closed syllable, accompanied by lengthening (or, seen from a different angle, show the original long vowel), e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *á nàm* | 'he bit' | *á nààm-á* | 'he bit him' |
| *á dàk* | 'it hangs' | *á dèèk-á* | 'he hanged it' |
| *à dáq* | 'he took' | *à dóóq-à* | 'he took it' |

In connected speech, long vowels sometimes appear in unexpected positions. Some of these are the result of vowel coalescence (although this mostly leads to a short vowel), others involve CV stems. The exact conditions of such lengthenings are unclear.

(c) In closed syllables with a nasal coda, the nasal is obligatorily realized as nasalization of the vowel when followed by a fricative or a glide. In other contexts, there is variation between nasalization and the presence of a nasal stop, which is not entirely predictable. Because of this, nasalization (written by superscript <$^{n}$> following the vowel) and nasal consonants are transcribed differently. It is very well possible that a more elaborate study would show that the two are in fact free or idiolectally conditioned variants.

| | |
|---|---|
| *bâ$^{n}$ɣò* | 'head' |
| *ɣâ $^{n}$ wày* | 'my wife' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *àddín* | 'religion' | *àrbàɣɪ́$^{n}$* | 'forty' |
| *hín* | 'be strong' | *nɪ́$^{n}$* | 'to drink' |
| *mìsín* | 'what' | *zìrgɪ́$^{n}$* | 'be dirty' |
| *síddìrgìn* | 'to listen' | *àmàzárgɪ̀$^{n}$* | 'a dirty person' |
| *síggìrfìn* | 'to kneel' | *àsígɪ̀$^{n}$* | 'place where cattle is kept' |

(d) Velar stops are strongly palatalized in contact with a front vowel /i/, /e/, [æ]~[ɛ], the latter being non-pharyngealized realizations of /a/. The outcome of palatalization is either a palatalized consonant [k$^{j}$], [g$^{j}$], or, in the case of /g/, a plain palatal stop [ɟ]. As palatalization is entirely predictable, it will not be written here.

(e) There is a strong tendency to devoice vowels between voiceless consonants and in final syllables. This makes it often difficult to hear the vowel, and especially to establish its tone. Although clearly a phonetic feature, which may be an idiosyncrasy of Mrs. Ibrahim's speech, I write the devoicing in the transcription in order to indicate that in such situations both the tone and the vowel quality are uncertain. In some contexts, the tone of the devoiced segment can only be determined by its effects on downdrift.

(f) The role of consonantal length is not entirely clear. Some short grammatical morphemes are frequently geminated in intervocalic position (e.g. $^{H}$*ǹ* 'genitive'; *ní* 'Negative Perfective'). Vaccillating consonantal length also appears with some other morphemes, but without a clear conditioning (e.g. *qá* ~ *qqá* 'all'). I write consonantal length wherever I hear it.

Tasawaq tone has only received limited attention, and at many points my notations do not concur with existing descriptions, e.g. Nicolaï 1980, Alidou 1988, Sidibé 2010a. The tone system found in Mrs. Ibrahim's speech has the following properties:

(a) There are two tones, High and Low, and one contour tone, Falling. There is, phonetically, no rising tone, except sometimes in vowel coalescence. The language has downdrift.

(b) Falling tone only occurs on long vowels, and on closed syllables with a sonorant as their coda, e.g. *gáàsù* 'cheese'; *hâmnì* 'flour'; *sèèrây* 'friend'; *àlxâl* 'situation'. There is one case of a Falling tone on a closed syllable of a different type: *yâddà* 'still'. As a result of vowel coalescence, in connected speech, sometimes Falling tones appear on phonetically short vowels.

(c) In isolation, there are no polysyllabic words with an all-Low tone pattern (differently Nicolaï 1980:248-250). However, in a number of syntactic contexts, words do appear in an all-Low tone pattern. Such words have an initial Falling tone in isolation, or, when the syllable structure does not allow for a Falling tone, they have an initial High tone. As there are other words which keep their original tone pattern in the same syntactic contexts, I consider words with variation between all-Low and other patterns to be underlyingly all-Low.

The contexts where the all-Low pattern appears are the following:

-with nouns, when they are followed by an adjective, a numeral, the plural clitic $^{H}$*-yo*, or a postposition. The isolated form is used with the demonstrative element $^{L}$*-ɣo*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *dábdè* | 'piece of clothing' (< dâbdè) | *bâ$^{n}$ɣò* | 'head' |
| *dàbdè sídày* | 'red piece of clothing' | *bà$^{n}$ɣò kíṭṭá* | 'a little head' |
| *dàbdè hínká* | 'two pieces of clothing' | | |
| *dàbdá-yò* | 'clothes' | *bà$^{n}$ɣ$^{w}$á-yò* | 'heads' |
| *dábdà-ɣó* | 'this piece of clothing' | | |
| *dàbdè gá* | 'in the piece of clothing' | | |

-with nouns, when preceded by a possessor phrase, e.g.

*á-ǹ dàbdè* 'his piece of clothing' *á-m̀ bà$^{n}$ɣò* 'his head'

-with verbs when they are followed by a direct or indirect object, e.g. with *hâ$^{n}$g$^{w}$ày* 'think of' and *qáɣàm* (< *qâɣàm*) 'chew':

*ɣá b-hà$^{n}$g$^{w}$ày ààrù-sí*
1S IMPF-think man-DAT
'I am thinking of the man'

*á qàɣàm búúrù*
3S chew bread
'he chewed the bread'

(d) A number of elements take polar tone, i.e., their tone is the opposite of an adjacent tone. Polar tone is found on the following elements:

*Subject pronouns:
-Third person subject pronouns have a polar tone depending on the following element, e.g.

*á nàm-ɣáy* 'he bit me'
*à kár-ɣày* 'he hit me'

-The same is true for the marker of the plural imperative, *wa*, e.g.

*wá nàm* 'bite (pl.)!'
*wà kár* 'hit (pl.)!'

-There is variation between stable High tone and polar tone with 1S and 2S subject pronouns; this could be a difference between isolated forms (stable high tone) and clitic forms (polar tone), e.g.

*ɣày báɣò* 'I want'
*ɣáy záw-nà$^{n}$* 'I brought there'

*Oblique pronouns:

-Third person and 1S and 2S direct object pronouns have polar tone to the element preceding it, e.g.

*á gà$^{n}$gá-ɣày* 'she refused me'
*à bárà-ɣáy* 'it is at me'

*The dative postposition *-si* has polar tone to the element preceding it,[5] e.g.

*hùwáy-sì* 'to the milk'
*há$^{n}$sì-sí* 'to the dog'

[5] Due to the phonetic devoicing of vowels in final position and between voiceless consonants, it is often highly problematic to establish the tone of this suffix.

Other postpositions have a stable tone (e.g. *gá* 'in'), or the situation is unclear.

*The clitics $^{H}$*-yo* 'plural' and $^{L}$*-ɣo* 'demonstative', and probably some other clitics, have polar tone to the element preceding them, e.g.

*ízà-yó* 'the children'(< ízè-´yo)
*àssàbí-yò* 'the children' (< àssàbí-´yo)
*gáásù-ɣó* 'this gourd' (< gáású-`ɣo)
*lààbú-ɣò* 'this land' (< lààbú-`ɣo)

(e) A number of elements are preceded by a floating tone, which attaches to the preceding element. The most common cases of this are:

*The plural clitic -$^{H}$*yo*, e.g.

*bâ$^{n}$ɣò* 'head' *bà$^{n}$ɣá-yò* 'heads' (< bà$^{n}$ɣò-´yo)

*The demonstrative element -$^{L}$*ɣo*, e.g.

*yóóbú* 'market' *yóóbù-ɣó* 'this market' (< yóóbú-`ɣo)

*The genitival postposition $^{H}$*ǹ* (often geminated in intervocalic position), e.g.

*ààrú ǹ bà$^{n}$ɣò* 'the head of the man' (< ààrù ´ǹ bâ$^{n}$ɣò)

Due to nasalization, and sometimes subsequent denasalization, the Low-toned MAN marker *m̀* is often mainly realized as a Low tone. Similarly, the genitival postposition often functions as if it were a floating Falling tone; in the latter case, however, nasalization is never undone.

(f) Due to vowel coalescence or to the attachment of a floating tone, sometimes an infelicitous tone pattern is generated. Infelicitous tone patterns are either Rising tones, or Falling tones on open syllables with short vowels, or Falling tones on closed syllables with a non-sonorant consonant in the coda. The following tone rule accounts for most (possibly all) cases:

→ R and infelicitous F are reduced to H when following a Low tone, and to L when following a High tone.

*bàrá-ɣò* 'this person' (< bàrô-ɣo < bàró-`ɣo)
*yóóbù-ɣó* 'this market' (< yóóbû-ɣo < yóóbú-`ɣo)
*ízà-yó* 'children' (< ízĕ-yo < ízè-´yo)
*ààrú-yò* 'men' (< ààrŭ-yo < ààrù-´yo)

## 3. Grammatical Notes

There is relatively little available on the grammar of Tasawaq. The most comprehensive overview is found in the unpublished MA Thesis of Alidou (1988), summarized in Wolff & Alidou (2001). The latter publication focusses on the relationship between elements with a Songhay etymology and elements with a Tuareg etymology, a focus shared with Kossmann

(2007). A number of more detailed questions have been treated in Sidibé 2010a, 2010b, Kossmann 2008; 2009; 2010a; 2010b; 2011. As my data are not always entirely identical to Alidou's, I think it is useful to provide some basic notions of Tasawaq morphology below. Genitival constructions, relativization and adjectives will not be treated, as they were already analyzed in Kossmann 2009, 2010a, and 2011, respectively.

### 3.1 Personal Pronouns

Tasawaq distinguishes between emphatic pronouns and clitic pronouns. Emphatic pronouns have their own tone, while many clitic pronouns have polar tone, i.e. they take the opposite tone of the adjacent element in the verbal complex. There is no difference between the two sets in the first and second person plural. The latter pronouns do not cause vowel lengthening in CVC verb stem, which suggests that they are not cliticized in any context.
In the Imperative, a special marker for the plural addressee is used.

| | Emphatic pronouns | Subject pronouns | Direct Object pronouns |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1S | *ɣáy, ɣá* | *ɣay, ɣa*[6] | *ɣay* |
| 2S | *ní* | *ni* | *ni* |
| 3S | *ńgà, íngà* | *a* | *a* |
| | | | |
| 1P | *írì* | *írì* | *írì* |
| 2P | *índì* | *índì* | *índì* |
| 3P | *ńgì, íngì* | *i* | *i* |
| | | | |
| 2S IMPT | | *Ø* | |
| 2P IMPT | | *wa* | |

For the first person subject pronouns, the allomorph *ɣay / ɣáy* is used when no overt MAN marker follows, while otherwise *ɣa / ɣá* is used. The clitic forms are also used in combination with postpositions. The allomorph *ɣa* (1S) is used with the postposition *si* 'to'.

### 3.2 Nouns

There is a major divide between nouns of Songhay and nouns of Tuareg origin. Nouns of Tuareg origin have lexical (and highly irregular) plurals, while nouns of Songhay extraction use a NP-final clitic -$^{H}$*yo* (polar *yo* preceded by a floating High tone). For details, see Sidibé 2010a; Kossmann 2007, Kossmann 2010b. Nouns of Tuareg origin denoting human beings allow for gender derivation, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *àbóóbàz* | 'male cousin' | *tàbóóbàz* | 'female cousin' |
| *àgéélìm* | 'male orphan' | *tàgéélìm* | 'female orphan' |
| *ááràb* | 'Arab man' | *tááràb* | 'Arab woman' |
| *àtééfì*$^{n}$ | 'Hausa man' | *tàtééfì*$^{n}$ | 'Hausa woman' |
| *àmíkṣà*$^{n}$ | 'male enemy' | *tàmíkṣà*$^{n}$ | 'female enemy'. |

This is found with only two nouns of non-Tuareg origin:

[6] Forms without tone marking have polar tone.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *zày-k$^{w}$áy* | 'male thief'[7] | *tàzáyk$^{w}$àt* | 'female thief' (< Songhay) |
| *ṃ́ááyì* | 'sorcerer' | *ṭàṃ́ááyàṭ* | 'sorceress' (< Hausa). |

Otherwise, natural gender is expressed by suppletion, or not expressed at all, e.g. *àlzíràỳ* 'male or female in-law'; *ízè* 'son, daughter'; *àssàbí* 'male or female child' (< Arabic); *áàrù* 'man' – *wây* 'woman'; *báynà* 'male slave' – *ṭààmú* 'female slave'. With Tuareg-based nouns, gender is also found differentiating fruits from their trees, and feminine gender generally expresses language names, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *àbóóṛàq* | 'fruit of the *tàbóóṛàq*' | *tàbóóṛàq* | 'tree, sp. (*Balanites aegyptiaca*?)' |
| *ágggàr* | 'fruit of the *tíggàr*' | *tíggàr* | 'tree sp. (*Acacia Nilotica*?)' |
| *àḳááfùṛ* | 'European man' | *tàḳááfùṛ* | 'European language, (also: European woman)' |
| *ásàwàɣ* | 'inhabitant of In-Gall' | *tásàwàq* | 'Tasawaq, (also: fem. inhabitant of In Gall)' |
| *ámɣùt* | 'Tuareg man' | *támɣùt* | 'Tuareg language, (also: Tuareg woman)' |

### 3.3 Verbs

Verb stems in principle do not change. There are, however, a few processes that apply when the verb is followed by a direct object clitic.

In the first place, a number of verbs of the structure CV̀nV́ have clipped forms (CV́n) when followed by a first or second singular direct or indirect object clitic, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *á gùná* | 'he saw' | *à gún-ɣày* | 'he saw me' |
| | | *à gún-nì* | 'he saw you' |
| *á zìní* | 'he caught' | *à zín-ɣày* | 'he caught me' |
| *á sìní* | 'he said' | *à sín ɣá-sì* | 'he said to me' |

In the second place, many verbs have vowel lengthening when followed by a third singular or plural direct object pronoun. Both these pronouns are vowel-initial; note however that the effect does not appear with the first and second person plural pronouns which also start in a vowel. The lengthening of the syllable sometimes shows underlying vowels obscured by the neutralization processes applying with short word-internal vowels. All CVC verbs have lengthening, e.g.

[7] The tone pattern in this form is unexpected, and may be a transcription error. In recordings made by Robert Nicolaï I have heard *zây-k$^{w}$ày*.

| verb | verb with 3S object pronoun | |
|---|---|---|
| *ḅáq* | *ḅááq-à* | ‘to break’ |
| *báy* | *bááy-à* | ‘to know’ |
| *dàr* | *dààr-á* | ‘to stretch out’ |
| *dáb* | *dééb-à* | ‘to close’ |
| *dàk* | *dèèk-á* | ‘to hang’ |
| *dáq* | *dóóq-à* | ‘to take’ |
| *dàs* | *dòòs-á* | ‘to touch’ |
| *dút* | *dúút-à* | ‘to pound’ |
| *fún* | *fúún-à* | ‘to pierce’ |
| *fík* | *fíík-à* | ‘to plant, to bury’ |
| *nɨ́ⁿ* | *níín-à* | ‘to drink’ |

Vowel lengthening is also found with some disyllabic verbs. These include pluractional derivations from CVC verbs, and verbs derived by means of the deictic element *-nàⁿ*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *ḅáqḅáq* | *ḅáqḅááq-à* | ‘to break into pieces’ |
| *qʷáṣqʷáṣ* | *qʷáṣqóós-à* | ‘to cut into pieces’ |
| *fík-nàⁿ* | *fík-nààn-á* | ‘to bury (over there)’ |

Vowel lengthening is also found with a small number of underived disyllabic verbs:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *báɣò* | *bááɣ-à* | ‘to want’ |
| *káwkáw* | *káwkááw-à* | ‘to skin’ |
| *qààráⁿ* | *qààráán-à* | ‘to read’ |
| *xàssárà* | *xàssáár-à* | ‘to destroy’ |

Note that with most underived disyllabic verbs, and with verbs derived by the suffix *-kàt(é)*, there is no vowel lengthening, e.g.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *záw-kàt* | *záw-kàt-á* | ‘to bring’ |
| *ḅàáráy* | *ḅàáráy-à* | ‘to change’ |
| *fáṛàṭ* | *fáṛàṭ-á* | ‘to sweep’ |
| *kítàb* | *kítàb-á* | ‘to write’ |
| *kúrkùr* | *kúrkùr-á* | ‘to burn, to roast’ |
| *làɣáb* | *làɣáb-à* | ‘to wet mud’ |
| *kùbáy* | *kùbáy-ì* | ‘to attach, to meet’ (3P DO) |

Mood, Aspect and Negation (MAN) are expressed by particles (some of which are grammaticalized verbs) that are put immediately before the verb stem:

| | positive | negative | positive future I | positive future II | negative future |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| perfective | *Ø-* | *ní-* | *Ø-kʷáy* | *Ø-tí-* | *sí-b-kʷáy-* |
| imperfective | *b-* | *sí-b-* | *b-kʷáy-* | *b-tí-* | *sí-b-kʷáy-* |
| subjunctive | *m̀-*, ` | *m̀-sí-*, `*-sí* | | | |

Alidou (1988:54) has <má> instead of *m̀*. This is probably a case of idiolectal or dialectal variation. Mrs. Ibrahim never has a full vowel with the subjunctive, and the tone is clearly Low. The element *k$^{w}$áy* comes from the verb *k$^{w}$áy* 'to go', while *tí* is no doubt related to *tê* (underlying form) 'to come'. In the negative future, the element *b* is often assimilated to the following *k*, i.e. *sí-k-k$^{w}$áy-*.

The main uses of the MANs are as follows:

Perfective: punctual events that took place in the past (for examples, see the text) and states, e.g.

*àžéémùr à Ø-n̩áṣ*
ewe 3S PRF-be.fat
'the ewe is fat'

*áàrù ní-mày tú$^{n}$fâ*
man NEG:PRF-have strength
'the man has no strength, i.e. the man is weak'.

Imperfective: habitual and progressive, e.g.

*ɣá b-ṣíṛìnkìṭ hààbú-yò*
1S IMPF-comb hair-PL
'I am combing my hair'

*ɣá b-sì ṭàkááfùṛ*
1S IMPF-speak European
'I speak French'.

In addition to this, some stative expressions use the Imperfective, e.g.

*à b-ṭáy*
3S IMPF-be.humid
'it is damp'

*à b-ṣílfìx-ɣáy*
3S IMPF-cause.pity-1S
'I pity him'.

The exact distribution of Perfective and Imperfective expressions of state is unknown.

Subjunctive: In main clauses, the subjunctive expresses a wish or an order. In subordinate clauses, it is used to express finality, e.g.

*á Ø-sìn(í) à-sí á m̀-sí-k$^{w}$áy*
3S PRF-say 3S-DAT 3S SBJ-NEG-go
'he told him not to go'

*ɣáy Ø-báɣò ᵐ̀-gùn-á*
1S PRF-want SBJ-see-3S
'I want to see him'.

Future I (< 'go') and II (< 'come') express the future. There is no obvious difference in use between the two, e.g.

*á Ø-sìní síbàx à Ø-kʷáy-gáw àssáɣàl*
*á Ø-sìní síbàx à Ø-tí-gáw àssáɣàl*
PRF-3S say tomorrow 3S PRF-FUTI/FUTII-work work
'he said, he would do the work tomorrow'.

The expressions have become fully grammaticalized. It is not possible to have a subject marker between *kʷáy-* or *tí-* and the main verb; moreover it is possible to combine the future marker *kʷáy* with the verb *kʷáy* 'to go', e.g. *ɣà b-kʷáy-kʷáy* 'I shall go'.

In addition to these grammaticalized verbs in MAN constructions, there is one other multi-verb constructions of a similar type, the intensive marker *ṭáⁿ* (= 'to be full'). The exact structure and meaning of this construction need more investigation (see Alidou 1988:51 for more examples). Example:

*àssàbí b-ṭáⁿ-sì bábò*
child IMPF-be.full-speak much
'this child really talks a lot'.

There are a number of verbal derivations in Tasawaq:

1. The productive directional derivations *kà ~ kàt~ kàté* 'towards the speaker' (Ventive) and *-nàⁿ* 'away from the speaker' (Itive), which historically derive from verbs (cf. Zarma *kàté* 'to bring'; *náŋ* 'abandon'), e.g.

*à kʷáy* 'he went'
*à kʷáy-kát* 'he went here' *à kʷáy-nàⁿ* 'he went away'

The derivational nature (rather than considering them clitics or adverbs) of the directional suffixes is shown by two arguments:

-directional suffixes precede object clitics. In the case of *-nàⁿ*, the suffix undergoes vowel lengthening when followed by a third person pronoun, just like verbs. Examples:

*à káw-kàt-á* 'she took it out'
*á màn-nààn-á* 'he approached it (over there)'

-directional suffixes can be part of the verbal base of an adjectival derivation, e.g.

*fúr* 'to throw' *fùùró* 'thrown'
*fúr-nàⁿ* 'to throw away' *fúrnàànàⁿ* 'thrown away'

When the directional suffixes are attached to a CV̀nV́ verb stem with a final *i* or *u*, the final stem vowel is clipped before the suffix., e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *hùnú* | 'to go out' | *hún-kàt* | 'to go out towards me' |
| *zìní* | 'to catch' | *zín-kàté* | 'to catch towards me' |

One verb shows irregular changes in stem shape:[8]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *té* | 'to arrive' | *tóó-kàt* | 'to arrive here' |
| | | *tóó-nà$^{n}$* ~ *téé-nà$^{n}$* | 'to arrive there' |

2. Pluractional derivation marked by full reduplication. The examples that were collected concern monosyllabic verbs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ḅáq* | 'to break' | *ḅáqḅáq* | 'to break into pieces' |
| *q$^{w}$áṣ* | 'to cut' | *q$^{w}$áṣq$^{w}$áṣ* | 'to cut into pieces, to tear up' |

3. The causative derivation *-ǹdá*.[9] This is the one valency-changing derivation in Tasawaq. In the variety spoken by Mrs Ibrahim, it is restricted to a lexically determined set of verbs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *dáy* | 'to pay' | *dáy-ìndá* | 'to sell' |
| *fàrɣá* | 'to be tired' | *fàrɣâ-ndá* | 'to tire s.o.' |
| *fáyfày* | 'to be divorced, to separate' | *fáyfày-ìndá* | 'to divorce s.o.' |
| *góódày* | 'to be healed' | *góódày-ìndá* | 'to heal s.o.' |
| *hík* | 'to marry s.o.' | *hík-ìndá* | 'to marry off' |
| *káání* | 'to sleep' | *káán-ìndá* | 'to put to sleep' |
| *kúngú* | 'to be satiated' | *kúngû-ndá* | 'to satiate' |
| *qààrá$^{n}$* | 'to study' | *qààrán-ìndá* | 'to teach' |

Many verbs do not allow for a derivation with *-ǹdá*, although they would conceptually be proper inputs for a causative derivation. Thus *góódày* 'to heal' and *fàrɣá* 'to be tired' allow for the causative derivation, but *dóórí* 'to be ill' does not. Different from our data, Alidou (1988:50) describes the causative derivation as regular and productive. She provides a number of examples, some of which were not accepted by Mrs. Ibrahim, such as <wándà> 'to make eat' and <nínəńdà> 'to make drink'.

Note that *-ǹdá* cannot be analyzed as the comitative/instrumental preposition *ǹdá* and the following object as the prepositional complement. This analysis is impossible, as *-ǹdá* and the Direct Object can be separated by other elements, which could not be the case if it were part of a prepositional phrase, cf.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (b) | *à dáy*$_{\text{VERB}}$*-ìndá*$_{\text{CAUSATIVE}}$ [*à-sí*]$_{\text{IO}}$ [*húgù*]$_{\text{DO}}$ | 'he sold the house to him' |
| (b') | ** *à dáy*$_{\text{VERB}}$ [*ìndá*]$_{\text{PREP}}$ [*à-sí*]$_{\text{IO}}$ [*húgù*]$_{\text{PREP}}$ | |
| (b'') | ** *à dáy*$_{\text{VERB}}$ [*à-sí*]$_{\text{IO}}$ [*ìndá*]$_{\text{PREP}}$ [*húgù*]$_{\text{PREP}}$ | |

[8] In recordings made by Robert Nicolaï also a variant *tó* appears. In my data, similar vowel variations are found in the nouns *sè* 'foot' – *sóò-yó* 'feet' and *hàà* 'thing' – *hòò-ɣó* 'this thing'.

[9] Nicolaï (1980) and Alidou (1988) have *-ìndà* and *-índà*, respectively, both with a final Low tone. I have great difficulties in determining the tone of the last syllable in this morpheme and may have misheard it.

Tuareg has a productive causative derivation, and there are some cases in Tasawaq where a Tuareg underived verb corresponds to a Tuareg causative verb, or where a Songhay underived verb corresponds to a Tuareg causative verb. Different from some other Northern Songhay languages (cf. Christiansen 2010), this takes place only sporadically, and such cases are best considered lexical causatives. Examples:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *dàqqáṛ* | 'to be glued' | (< Tuareg) | *ṣíḍḍìqqìṛ* | 'to glue' | (< Tuareg) |
| *nḭ̃ⁿ* | 'to drink' | (< Songhay) | *síssìw* | 'to give to drink' | (< Tuareg) |
| *tùn* | 'to wake up' | (< Songhay) | *sínkàr* | 'to wake up s.o.' | (< Tuareg) |

Otherwise, constructions with the verb *dáⁿ* 'to make' are used to express a causative relation, e.g.

*káánní à b-dáⁿ-ɣày ɣá b-ṭífà*
sleep 3S IMPF-make-1S 1S IMPF-yawn
'sleep makes me yawn, lit. sleep is making me I am yawning'

A certain number of verbs are labile in their syntax, i.e. they can both be employed as transitives and as intransitives, in which the element that is the direct object in the transitive construction functions as the subject in the intransitive construction, e.g.

*wáⁿhà à hìná*
food 3S cook
'the food is cooked'

*ɣá b-hìná wáⁿhà*
1S IMPF-cook food
'I am cooking the food'

*séélàx á yìwál*
knife 3S sharpen
'the knife has been sharpened'

*ɣáy yìwál séélàx*
1S sharpen knife
'I have sharpened the knife'

## 3.4 Verbal Nouns

There are a number of derivations that make nouns out of verbs. Some of these also apply to verbal and to nominal bases.

### *3.4.1 Action Nouns*

The most generally found derivation is the action noun. With verbs of Songhay origin, Mrs. Ibrahim's variety mostly has zero derivation. In one class of verbs the tone changes, while there are a few residual cases of suffixation. Verbs borrowed from Tuareg have Tuareg verbal nouns.

The majority of Tasawaq verbs have verbal nouns identical to the verb. Their nominal nature can only be shown by their syntactic behavior as the head of a noun phrase, e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ɣáy hàndìrì ɣá-ǹn ízè* | 'I dreamed of my son' (verb *hândìrì*) |
| *ɣá-ǹn hàndìrì* | 'my dream' (verbal noun *hândìrì*) |

Verbal nouns of Low-tone monosyllabic verbs change their tone to Falling. I have not been able to determine the tone of verbal nouns of Low-tone monosyllabic verbs which have syllabic shapes where Falling tone is excluded. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ḍà$^{n}$* | 'to sing' | *ḍâ$^{n}$* | 'song' |
| *ḍàw* | 'to send' | *ḍâw* | 'the fact of sending' |
| *gàw* | 'to help' | *gâw* | 'help' |

A small number of Songhay-based verbs (eight in my corpus) add a suffix to the verb in order to make the corresponding verbal noun. Sometimes this suffixation is accompanied by other changes. The suffixes are *-yó*,[10] *-ní* and *-à$^{n}$hà* (probably from ($^{H}$)*ǹ hà* 'the thing of'):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bá$^{n}$* | 'to finish' | *bá$^{n}$-yó* | 'end' |
| *búǹ* | 'to die' | *búú-yó* | 'death' |
| *ṭáy* | 'to be humid' | *ṭáy-yó* | 'humidity' |
| *máw* | 'to smell' | *màà-ní* | 'smell' |
| *yáy* | 'to be cold' | *yáy-ní* | 'cold' |
| *dáb* | 'to close' | *dáb-à$^{n}$hà* | 'stopper' |
| *hâmbìrì* | 'to fear' | *hámbír-â$^{n}$hà* | 'fear'[11] |
| *wá* | 'to eat' | *wá-$^{n}$hà* | 'food' (NB. *wá* 'the fact of eating') |

*3.4.2 Derivation of Abstract Nouns by Means of the Suffix* tèèré

Abstract nouns can be formed by attaching the suffix *tèèré* to a substantive, an adjective, or a verb stem, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ànááràg* | 'neigbor' | *ànááràg-tèèré* | 'neighborhood' |
| *sèèrây* | 'friend' | *sèèrây-tèèré* | 'friendship' |
| *táágí* | 'new' | *táágí-tèèré* | 'novelty' |
| *q$^{w}$àrnó* | 'hot' | *q$^{w}$àṛná-tèèré* | 'heat' |
| *wàṛɣá* | 'fat' | *wàṛɣá-tèèré* | 'fatness' |
| *sàwá* | 'to resemble' | *sàwá-tèèré* | 'resemblance' |
| *fùsús* | 'to be light' | *fùsús-tèèré* | 'lightness' |
| *ṇáṣ* | 'to be fat (animals)' | *ṇáṣ-tèèré* | 'fatness' |
| *yáy* | 'to be cold' | *yáy-tèèré* | 'the cold' |
| *làɣán* | 'to be bad' | *làɣán-tèèré* | 'badness' |

[10] According to Alidou (1988: 51) the nominalizing suffix *-yó* can be attached to all verbs in order to make a verbal noun. Mrs. Ibrahim accepted only very few verbal nouns with *-yó*.

[11] The tone pattern in this form is uncertain; possibly the suffix is -$^{H}$*à$^{n}$hà* rather than all-Low *-à$^{n}$hà*.

*3.4.3 Derivation of Agent Nouns with the Suffix* k$^{w}$ay

The suffix *-k$^{w}$ay* (polar tone) is used in order to derive agent nouns. The derivation expresses that the person involved is (habitually) closely related to, or defineable by the action or the object it is attached to. Examples:

| verb/noun | | derivation in *k$^{w}$ay* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *sì* | 'to speak' | *sìì-k$^{w}$áy* | 'somebody who knows how to talk' |
| *yílmàq* | 'to swim' | *àlámàx-k$^{w}$áy* | 'swimmer' |
| *nàm* | 'to bite' | *nàm-k$^{w}$áy* | 'biter' |
| *kùt* | 'to guard' | *kùt-k$^{w}$áy* | 'guardian, shepherd' |
| *gáání* | 'louse' | *gáání-k$^{w}$ày* | 'lousy person' |
| *kàṣó* | 'prison' | *kàṣá-k$^{w}$ày* | 'prisoner' |
| *húgù* | 'house' | *húgù-k$^{w}$áy* | 'house-owner' |
| *kàntí* | 'shop' | *kàntíí-k$^{w}$ày* | 'shop-owner' |
| *táskàr* | 'claw' | *táskàr-k$^{w}$áy* | 'scorpion' |

The basis of derivation is the verbal noun, as shown by forms such as *àlámàx-k$^{w}$áy*, which has the verbal noun *àlámàx* rather than the verb *yílmàq*.

The use of *-k$^{w}$ay* derived nouns is common with professions, e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *kùsú* | 'pot' | *kùsú-k$^{w}$ày* | 'potter' |
| *ṭàɣmú* | 'shoe' | *ṭàɣmú-k$^{w}$ày* | 'cobbler' |
| *ṭàṭáb* | 'to sew' | *ṭàṭáb-k$^{w}$ày* | 'tailor' |

In some cases, a borrowing denoting a profession has received the suffix *-k$^{w}$ay*, while the basic noun was not taken over: *téélà-k$^{w}$áy* 'tailor' (< Hausa *teelà*) ; *lìkítà-k$^{w}$áy* 'doctor' (< Hausa *likità*).

*3.4.4 Derivation of Nouns by Means of the Prefix* àmà-

A number of nouns are derived by means of the originally Tuareg prefix *àmà-*, with changes in the tonal and segmental structure of the stem. Nouns with the prefix *àmà-* denote persons with characteristics defined by the verbal stem.

*zìrgɨ$^{n}$* 'to be dirty' *àmàzárgɨ$^{n}$* 'dirty person'

While most nouns with *àmà-* have a Tuareg origin, derivation from a Songhay stem is attested in one case:

*q$^{w}$áq* 'to be dry' *àmàqáɣà$^{n}$* 'avaricious person'

Nouns with the prefix *àmà-* typically allow for feminine derivation, as is usually the case with Tuareg-based nouns referring to persons.

### 3.5 'be' Verbs

Tasawaq has three sets of verbs that can be translated as 'to be' in English: those expressing locality, those expressing attributes and identification, and those expressing existence. It is not clear to what extent these verbs can be combined with imperfective MAN morphemes.

| | positive | negative |
|---|---|---|
| locality | *bárà* (transitive verb) | *ssí* |
| existence | *sí* | *ssí* |
| attribute | *sí* | *ní-sí* |

The markers of locality, existence, and negative identity function like normal verbs, e.g.

*ɣày bárà húgù ǹn ámmàs* (locality)
1S be.in house GEN inside
'I am inside the house'

*héèrì à bárà-ɣáy* (locality)
hunger 3S be.in-1S
'I am hungry (lit. hunger is in me)'

*síbàx ɣá ssí hígìyó* (locality)
tomorrow 1S be.not.in home
'tomorrow I will not be home'

*à-ɣóó wày káyná-fó à sí, á-ǹ nàànà ssí* (existence)
3S-PRX woman small-one 3S be 3S-GEN mother be.not
'there was a girl whose mother was no more (had died)'

The positive form of the attributive 'be' verb has special syntax. Different from other verbs, it is placed after its predicate, and always preceded by a pronoun. Examples:

*(ɣáy) gàndàsárkí ɣày sí*
1S soldier 1S be
'I am a soldier'

*ɣá-ǹ vèèló hàà sídày à sí*
1S-GEN bicycle thing red 3S be
'my bicycle is red (lit. my bicycle is a red thing)'

In the negation, it is possible to have the negated attributive marker between the subject and the predicate and still the (positive) attributive marker in final position:

*ɣá-ǹn àárù à nní-sí gàndàsárkí à sí*
1S-GEN man 3S NEG:PRF-be soldier 3S be
'my husband is not a soldier'

| *à* | *nní-sí* | *hà* | *qqá* | *à* | *sí* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3S | NEG:PRF-be | thing | all | 3S | be |

'this all is not the case (lit. all this thing is not)'

Probably, the negative 'be'-verb *ssí* is historically a contraction of a negative marker *sí* and the positive 'be'-verb *sí*. In the actual language, *ssí* functions as a verb on its own, as shown by nominalizations such as *yàrdâ ⁿ ssí* 'doubt, lit. the not-being of belief'.

## 4. The Text with Annotations

The story was told in an elicitation-like context in Mrs Ibrahim's house, with only the story-teller and the researcher present. In spite of the lack of natural context, it was told with great confidence, and hardly contains any hesitations or false starts. The story is told in a very lively way and with great humor. A first transcription of the text was made with the help of Mrs. Ibrahim. The present transcription is based on careful re-listening of the recording on the basis of this first transcription.

The text presented here is a well-known story in the region, a version of which appears, for instance, in Jacques Pucheu's collection of Nigerien Hausa stories (Pucheu 1982:45ff.). There is a clear connection to Hausa stories in the name of one of the participants, the *bóóráy* tree. Mrs. Ibrahim explained that she knew this tree only from traditional stories. The name clearly reflects Hausa *ɓauree* 'fig tree' (Abraham $^{2}$1962:91, *'ficus gnaphalocarpa* and other varieties'), which appears in Pucheu's Hausa version of the same story in the same role.
Hausa influence in the story telling is also evident from the formulae opening and closing the story, which are both from the Hausa tradition.

In the transcription, // indicates a major break in intonation. Elements that I could not interpret are put between square brackets and glossed and translated as [???]; when I could not make a reasonable guess at the phonetic shape, it was transcribed [xxx]. Elements between normal brackets are either unexpected elisions, or elements whose presence is not certain.

| [1] | **gàátáⁿ** | **gàátánkṵ̀,** | [tàžíítìkùm] | **índì** | **`-m(á)w** | **á** | **àssàbí-yò** | // |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | gàátán$^{HA}$ | gàátánkṵ̀$^{HA}$ | [???] | 2P | SBJ-hear | o | child$^{AR}$-PL | |

'*Gàátán gàátánkù* [???] you should hear, o children!'

*gàátáⁿ gàátánkṵ̀.* This is the common Hausa opening formula *ga ta nan ga ta nan ku* 'here it comes, here it comes for you' (Ahmad 1997:18).

*tàžíítìkùm.* I have not been able to make out the meaning of this phrase. It resembles the well-known north-African opening formula *ḥažit-kum* ('I told you') fairly well.

| [2] | **à-ɣóó** | **wày** | **káyná-fó** | **à** | **sí,** | **á-ǹ** | **nàànà** | **ssí,** | // |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3S-PRX | woman | small-one | 3S | be | 3S-GEN | mother | not.be | |

'There was a girl, her mother had died,'

*wày káyná.* Lit. 'little woman'; this is the normal expression for 'girl'. The isolated form of 'woman' is *wây*.

*á-ǹ nàànà.* The isolated form of 'mother' is *náànà.*

[3] **á-m̀ bààbà hík-kà wày-fó.** //
3S-GEN father marry-VNT woman-one
'and her father had married a(n other) woman.'

[4] **ẓáàẓí** [hì], **hììgì-fó kʷáy-dáⁿ**,
day [???] wedding-one FUTI-do
'One day a wedding was going to take place,'

*ẓáàẓí.* Allegro variant of *záɣzí* 'day', which was the form given in elicitation.

[5] **sáy í sìⁿ wày káyná íngì-qáá-s(ì) í `-táẓàɣàᵐ.** //
just[HA] 3P say woman small 3P-all-DAT 3P SBJ-groom
'and they said to all girls that they should groom themselves.'

*sáy*. This discourse marker is borrowed from Hausa. The frequency of its use may be a feature of personal style.

*sìⁿ*. The verb *sìní* 'to say' is often clipped to *sìn* or *sín*. The exact conditioning of the choice of the tone in these clipped variants is not clear.

*wày káyná íngì-qáá-s(ì).* Doubling of the NP by an independent pronoun followed by *qá* is the regular way of expressing totality. The phrase clearly shows the NP-final position of the dative clitic.

*táẓàɣàᵐ*. This expresses all kinds of preparing oneself for a feast: putting on make-up, good clothes, bracelets and other jewelery. The verb and the identical noun 'grooming' look like a loan from Tuareg, but I have not been able to identify a source.

[6] **sáy í-ǹ nàànáˊyò sìn í-sì**
just[HA] 3P-GEN mother-PL say 3P-DAT
'And their mothers said to them'

*nàànáˊyò*. From *nàànà-ˊyo.*

[7] **sáy í `-kʷáy í `-záw-kàté bóóráy ǹn íẓẹ̀.** //
just[HA] 3P SBJ-go 3P SBJ-bring-VNT tree.sp[HA] GEN child
'that they should go and bring *bóóráy* fruit(s).'

*bóóráy*. The tree was only known to the speaker from stories. It represents Hausa *ɓauree* 'fig tree'.

*bóóráy ǹn íẓè*. The genitival postposition is geminated in between (semi)vowels. The expression 'child of (a tree)' indicates fruits. The 'child' expression is also used for nuts and kernels, e.g. *táynì nn íẓè* (< *táynì ˊǹ íẓè*) 'date kernel, lit. child of the date'.

[8] **íngì-qáá g(á) ì kʷáy bóóráy í ᵐ̀-káw ìnd-á,**
3P-all when 3P go tree.sp[HA] 3P SBJ-take.off with-3S
'When they all went to the *bóóráy*-tree in order to pick from it,'

*gá.* The element *gá* functions as a noun ('body'), as a postposition ('in') and as a subordinator ('when').

[9] **ì káw-kà bóóráy, s(á)y ì túúk-à.** //
3P take.off-VNT tree.sp$^{HA}$ just$^{HA}$ 3P hide-3S
'they picked *bóóráy* (fruits) and hid it.'

*ì túúk-à.* The form of the verb represents a vowel lengthening of *túk* 'to hide'.

[10] **í gìsá à-ɣó wày kíṭṭá ǹ nàànà ssíí,**
3P leave 3S-PRX woman small GEN mother not.be
'They left this girl that did not have a mother,'

*gìsá.* From *gìsí* with coalescence with the following vowel.

*ǹ nàànà ssíí.* Relative clause from a genitival complement (cf. Kossmann 2010a for details).

[11] **á-m̀ màn K$^{w}$àṇóónì,**
3S-name name Kornoni
'named Kornoni,'

[12] **(í) sı̀ná à-sí: "írì, (í)r(ì) wáá (í)rí-m̀ bóóráy, nií zà?"** //
(3P) say 3S-DAT 1P 1P eat 1P-GEN tree.sp$^{HA}$ 2P FOC
'and said: "We, we have eaten our *bóóráy*, what about you?"'

[13] **à sín: "báybò."** //
3S say no$^{TU}$
'She said: "No."'

[14] **ì dáán-à à wá á-$^{n}$ wánè,**
3P do-3S 3S eat 3S-GEN belonging
'They made her eat hers,'

*ì dáán-à.* From *dáⁿ* 'to make' with vowel lengthening.

*ì dáán-à à wá.* This double predicate construction, in which the object of *dáⁿ* is the subject of the second verb is the productive expression of the causative.

[15] **gí ì té hígì-yǫ́ àlkúl bàrá à káw-kạ̀t á-$^{n}$ wánè.** //
when 3P arrive home-PL all$^{AR}$ person 3S take.off-VNT 3S-GEN belonging
'(and) when they came home each one produced hers.'

*gí.* Assimilated variant of *gá* 'when'.

*té.* The verb *te* 'to come' seems to be underlyingly Falling, a tone that sometimes surfaces when the final vowel is lengthened in discourse, e.g. *à téè bí* 'he has come yesterday'.

*hígì-yó.* This *plurale tantum* form is only used in an adverbial sense, meaning 'at home'. It is clearly connected to the noun *húgù* 'house'.

*bàrá.* Form with vowel lowering of *bàró.*

[16] **á sàbár-à á-ǹ nàànáɣ̀-sí,** // **ì ná à-sí dàbdá-yò,**
3S show-3S 3S-GEN mother-PL-DAT 3P give 3S-DAT cloth-PL
'And showed it to their mothers, and they gave them clothes,'

[17] **íngà, í gàngá à-sí sìn sáy á `-záw-kạ̀tḛ́.** //
3S 3P refuse 3S-DAT say just$^{HA}$ 3S SBJ-bring-VNT
'but as for her, they refused to (give clothes to) her and said she should bring (it).'

[18] **sáy à yáttè bóóráy ǹ tùgúzì dà,**
just$^{HA}$ 3S return tree.sp$^{HA}$ GEN tree to
'And she went back to that *bóóráy* tree,'

*dà ~ dáɣ̀ò.* While no doubt historically derived from *dá(ɣò)*, 'place', the element *dà* also functions as a postposition. I consider cases where *dà* is connected to the noun by means of the genitival marker $^{H}$*ǹ* as constructions involving the noun 'place'.

[19] **gá à té-nàn ǹdá tùgúzì à qʷáq.** //
when 3S arrive-ITV with tree 3S dry
'when she came there at the tree it was dry.'

[20] **sáy á sìní** // **bóóráy ǹ tùgúzì-sí:**
just$^{HA}$ 3S say tree.sp$^{HA}$ GEN tree-DAT
'And she said to the *bóóráy* tree:'

[21] **"ní dà dáɣà ɣày té."** //
2S TOP toward 1S arrive
'"I have come to you."'

*dà.* This is the topic marker *dà*, in this text especially frequent after personal pronouns. It is not entirely clear whether its tone is always Low, or rather polar.

[22] **ą́ sìníí:** // **"mìsín nì báɣà ɣá-ǹn ízè?** //
3S say why 2S want 1S-GEN child
'He said: "What do you want, my child?"'

*nì báɣà.* From *nì báɣò.* Note the polar tone on *nì.*

[23] **sáy á sìn á-sì:** //
just$^{HA}$ 3S say 3S-DAT
'And she said:

[24] **"ní-ǹn ízà-yó ɣày bá,** // **ɣá-ǹ nàànà sìní,**
2S-GEN child-PL 1S want 1S-GEN mother say
"I want your fruits, my mother said'

[25] **sáy ɣá `-záw-nààn-í gíná á `-náá-ɣày dàbdá-yò.** //
just$^{HA}$ 1S SBJ-bring-ITV-3P before 3S SBJ-give-1S cloth-PL
'that I should bring them before she would give me clothes.'

*dàbdá-yò*. From *dàbdè-ˊyo*; the form in isolation of the noun is *dábdè* (< *dâbdè*).

[26] **ɣá-ǹ sèèrááyą̀ⁿ ńgì-qí ì táẓàɣàm ì kʷáy ìⁿhį̀.”** //
1S-GEN friends 3P-all 3P groom 3P go away
‘My friends have all groomed and gone away.”’

*sèèrááyą̀ⁿ*. This is a plural of the originally Songhay word *sèèrây*. It is one of the few instances where a Tuareg plural formation is applied to an originally Songhay word (cf. Kossmann 2007, Sidibé 2010a).

*ńgì-qí*. From *íngì-qá* with vowel coalescence.

*ìⁿhį̀*. The exact meaning of the particle is unknown, but in the text it always occurs in contexts involving movement away from the speaker. In a number of cases in the text it is used in combination with a pronoun which denotes the person(s) going away.

[27] **á sìn á-sį̀: “tò, ɣáy dà márdà ní gùn ɣá-ǹn**
3S say 3S-DAT well[HA] 1S TOP now[TU] 2S see 1S-GEN

**ízà-yǫ́ ì qʷáq.** //
child-PL 3P dry
‘He said to her: “Well, as for me now, you see, my fruits are dry.’

*tò*. From Hausa *tô* ‘well’.

[28] **sáy nì kʷáy nì záw-kà ɣày-sí** //
just[HA] 2S go 2S bring-VNT 1S-DAT
‘You just go and bring me’

[29] [hà] **hááwí ǹ kàkká-ɣòò-yǫ́ ṭáàyǫ́.”** //
[???] cow GEN excrement-PRX-PL humid
‘fresh cow dung.”’

*kàkká-ɣòò-yǫ́ ṭáàyǫ́*. In elicitation, Mrs. Ibrahim would only accept the plural marker -[H]*yo* in NP-final position. This sentence goes against this, as did her interpretation of the sentence when transcribing the story, which was *kàkká-yà-ɣó ṭààyá-yò*. The form *ṭáàyǫ́* maybe represents a shortening of *ṭààyá-yò* (< *ṭààyó-ˊyo*), although the exact way this would lead to [ṭáàyǫ́] eludes me. One way to understand a double occurrence of -[H]*yo* is interpreting the sentence as a relative clause, i.e. ‘excrements that are humid’, as in the parallel line 47.

[30] **šííkèènáⁿ, à kʷáy-kà hááwí dà,**
ok[HA] 3S go-VNT cow toward
‘That’s it, she went to the cow,’

*šííkèènáⁿ*. Hausa *shii kèè nan* ‘OK, that’s it, that’s fine’ (Newman 2007:186).

[31] **hááwí íngà dà gá à té,** // **á-ǹ kàkká-yò ì qʷáq.**
cow 3S TOP when 3S arrive 3S-GEN excrement-PL 3P dry
‘when she came to the cow, her dung was dry.’

*hááwí íngà dà gá à té*. Note the topicalisation of the prepositional phrase at a position before the subordinator *gá*.

[32] **sáy á sìn: "hááwí, hááwí, ní dà dáɣa̰ ɣáy tḛ."** //
just[HA] 3S say cow cow 2S TOP toward 1S arrive
'And she said: "Cow, cow I have come to you."'

[33] **á sìn á-sḭ̀: "ɣá-n̄n ízè, mìsín nì bá?"** //
3S say 3S-DAT 1S-GEN child what 2S want
'He said: "What do you want, my child?"'

[34] **"ní-n̄ kàká ṭààyá-yòò ɣày báɣo̰, ɣá-n̄ nàànà fùmbá á sìn(í)**
2S-GEN excrement humid-PL 1S want 1S-GEN mother stinking 3S say
'"I want your fresh dung, my stepmother said'

*nàànà fùmbá* from *nàànà fùmbó* lit. 'stinking mother'. This is the common expression for 'stepmother' in Songhay, e.g. Zarma *nya fumbu* 'stepmother' (Bernard & White-Kaba 1994:108); Timbuktu *ñaa fumbo* (Heath 1998a:93), Tadaksahak *naná fumbú* (Christiansen 2010:312).

[35] **à sı̰-b-k$^{w}$áy-náá-ɣày dàbdá-yò, sáy ní** //
3S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-give-1S cloth-PL just[HA] 2S
'she will not give me clothes, except if you…'

*sáy ní*. One of the few false starts in the story telling.

[36] **sáy ɣáy záw-nà$^{n}$ bóóráy,**
just[HA] 1S bring-ITV tree.sp[HA]
'except if I bring *bóóráy*,'

[37] **bóóráy íngà dà sín, à sı́-k-k$^{w}$áy-náá-ɣày á-n̄n ízà-yo̰**
tree.sp[HA] 3S TOP say 3S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-give-1S 3S-GEN child-PL
'and the *bóóráy* said it will not give me its fruits'

[38] **sáy ɣáy záw-nạ̀n á-sı̰ kàkká-yo̰."** //
just[HA] 1S bring-there 3S-DAT excrement-PL
'except if I bring there dung."'

[39] **sáy hááwí sìnı́: "tó, ɣáy dà márdà héèrè à bárà** //
just[HA] cow say well[HA] 1S TOP now[TU] hunger 3S be.in
'And the cow said: "Well, as for me, I am hungry now,'

*ɣáy dà márdà héèrè à bárà*. Topicalization of the Direct Object *ɣay*. Without topicalization the expression is *héèrè à bárà-ɣáy*.

[40] **sáy ní m̄-k$^{w}$áy ní $^{m̄}$-záw-kà ɣáy-sì** // **súùbù dá,** //
just[HA] 2S SBJ-go 2S SBJ-bring-VNT 1S-DAT grass TOP
'so you should go and bring me grass,'

[41] **àm̩máá kúmá súùbù á-ɣ(ò) fìrízì, ǹdá nì̩-sí mì-zí** //
but[HA] also[HA] grass 3S-PRX green, if NEG:PRF-be this-ANP
'but for the green grass, if it is not like that,'

*àm̩m̩áá kúmá*. Hausa *àmmaa* 'but' and *kuma* 'also, likewise'.

*súùbù á-ɣ(ò) fìrízì*. Relative clause, lit. 'grass that is green'.

*nì̩-sí*. The Low tone on the marker of the Negative Perfective is unexpected.

[42] **ɣá sí̩-k-kʷáy-náá-nàⁿ kàká-yò̩."** //
1S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-give-ITV excrement-PL
'I will not give (you) the dung."'

[43] **šííkèènáⁿ, sáy à kʷáy-kàt,**
ok[HA] just[HA] 3S go-VNT
'Ok, she went,'

[44] **gá à té dà átàkà̩s ńgà-qáá súùbù à qʷáq.** //
when 3S arrive TOP plain[TU] 3S-all grass 3S dry
'and when she arrived, (in) the entire plain the grass was dry.'

[45] **á sìní: "átàkàs, átàkàs, níí dà dáɣà ɣáy tè."** //
3S say plain[TU] plain[TU] 2S TOP toward 1S arrive
'She said: "Plain, plain, I have come to you."'

*ɣáy tè*. The tone is unexpected, as normally underlying *tê* surfaces as *té*. A possible interpretation is that the subject pronoun *ɣáy* does not have polar tone here and that, according to regular tone rules, *ɣáy tê* is simplified to *ɣáy tè*.

[46] **átàkàs sìn á-sì̩: "ɣá-ǹn ízè, mì̩sín ní bà?"** //
plain[TU] say 3S-DAT 1S-GEN child what 2S want
'The plain said: "My child, what do you want?"'

*ní bà*. The low tone on *bà* is unexpected. Normally the short form of *báɣò* surfaces as *bá*. A possible interpretation is that *ní* does not have polar tone in this case, and that *bá* is underlyingly *bâ*, so that *ní bâ* would become *ní bà*. The phrase occurs several other times in the story and seems to vaccillate between *nì bá* and *ní bà*.

[47] **"súùbù, súùbù ɣáy báà, súùbù-ɣá ṭààyó.** //
grass grass 1S want grass-PRX humid
'"Grass, grass I want, fresh grass,'

*báà*. Allegro form of *báɣò*.

*súùbù-ɣá ṭààyó*. Relative clause. The sentence given by Mrs Ibrahim when transcribing the text has a slightly different relative construction *súùbù ɣáy báɣò à-ɣá ṭààyó*.

[48] **ɣá m̀-zááw-à hááwí-sì,**
1S SBJ-bring-3S cow-DAT
'I should bring it to the cow,'

[49] **á m̀-náá-ɣày // á-ⁿ kàká-yà-ɣó ṭààyá-yòò, //**
3S SBJ-give-1S 3S-GEN excrement-PL-PRX humid-PL
'and she will give me her fresh dung'

*á-ⁿ kàká-yà-ɣó ṭààyá-yòò.* Relative clause, lit. 'the excrements that are fresh'.

[50] **ɣá m̀-zááw-ì bóóráy-sı̀, á m̀-náá-ɣày á-m̀n ízà-yǫ́."** //
1S SBJ-bring-3P tree.sp[HA]-DAT 3S SBJ-give-1S 3S-GEN child-PL
'and I will bring it to the *bóóráy* tree so it will give me its fruits."'

[51] **á sìn: "tó // márdà ɣáy dà áárì ɣày bá,**
3S say well[HA] now[1U] 1S TOP water 1S want
'It said: "Well, now, I need water,'

[52] **ní gùn fát à bárà-ɣáy, ɣày qʷáq."** //
2S see thirst[TU] 3S be.in-1S 1S dry
'you see I am thirsty, I am dry."'

*gùn.* Shortened form of *gùná.*

[53] **šííkèèná[n], á sìn á-sı̀: // "sáy ní m̀-húr-kà áárì."** //
ok[HA] 3S say 3S-DAT just[HA] 2S SBJ-search-VNT water
'That's it, it said: "You should search for water."'

*húr-kà.* The verb *húr* means 'to enter'. In combination with the ventive suffix *kà(té)*, it has an additional meaning 'to search'.

*áárì.* This is the only Songhay-based plurale tantum noun that I have been able to identify, cf. *áárì-ɣó ɣá b-wááṣ-ì* 'this water, I boil it (lit. them)'. No doubt its inherent plurality is a calque on the Tuareg plurale tantum *aṃan* 'water'.

[54] **wày kíṭṭá Kʷàṛnóónò kʷáy // sáy à sí[n]:**
woman small Kornono go just[HA] 3S say
'The girl Kornono went and said:'

[55] **"ɣá-ⁿ kʷày, ɣá-ⁿ kʷày ní dà dáyò ɣáy tè."** //
1S-GEN master 1S-GEN master 2S TOP toward 1S arrive
'"My Lord, my Lord, I have come to you."'

[56] **á sìn á-sı̀: "ɣá-m̀n ízè, mìsín nì bá?"**
3S say 3S-DAT 1S-GEN child what 2S want
'He said: "My child, what do you want?"'

[57] **sìn á-sı̀: “áárì, áárì ɣày báɣò, áárì.”** //
(3S?) say 3S-DAT water water 1S want water
‘She said: “Water, water I want, water.”’

[58] “**ní m̀-dáⁿ mìsíⁿ?” á sìní** //
2S SBJ-do what 3S say
‘“What are you going to do?”, He said.’

*ní m̀-dáⁿ mìsíⁿ?* When transcribing, the following equivalent was given: *mìsín ní kʷáy-dán ǹdá áárì* ‘what will you do with the water’.

[59] **“átàkàs m̀-nín á m̀-kúmá ᵐ̀-náá-ɣày sùùbù fìrízì.”** //
plain[TU] SBJ-drink 3S SBJ-find SBJ-give-1S grass green
‘“The plain may drink in order to give me green grass .”’

*á m̀-kúmá ᵐ̀-náá-ɣày.* The presence of the second ᵐ̀ in this construction is not certain; the nasalization could also be due to the consonantal environment, while the Low tone is only audible (when present at all) by a very subtle downstep on *náá.* Mrs. Ibrahim translated *á m̀-kúmá* here as ‘so that’.

*sùùbù fìrízì.* The all-Low form of *súùbù* is used because it is followed by an adjective.

[60] **šííkèènáⁿ, sìrìngí kár, sìrìngí kár: // áárì. //**
ok[HA] rain beat rain beat water
‘That’s it, rain fell, rain fell: water.’

[61] **átàkàs nín áárì, // ááfa̰ò hún-kàt à-ɣá fìrízì,**
plain[TU] drink water *panicum.turgidum*[TU] go.out-VNT 3S-PRX green
‘The plain drank water, fresh *afaẓo*-grass came up,’

*ááfa̰ò hún-kàt à-ɣá fìrízì.* Relative clause, lit.: ‘afaẓo-grass came up that was green’.

[62] **à záw-kàt-á**[h] // **hááwí-sì.** //
3S bring-VNT-3S cow-DAT
‘she brought it to the cow.’

[63] **hááwí wá, à dán à-sı̰́ kàká-yò.**
cow eat 3S do 3S-DAT excrement-PL
‘The cow ate and gave her the dung.’

[64] **à kʷáy à zááw-à bóóráy-sì, bóóráy ná à-sı̰́ ízà-yǫ̰́.** //
3S go 3S bring-3S tree.sp[HA]-DAT tree.sp[HA] give 3S-DAT child-PL
‘She went and brought it to the *bóóráy* tree, and the *bóóráy* tree gave her its fruits.’

[65] **gá à té yâddà sáy // á-n̄ nàànà fùmbó sìn á-sı̰̀**
when 3S arrive still just[HA] 3S-GEN mother stinking say 3S-DAT
‘When she came back again, her stepmother said:’

[66] “**íngà sı̨́-k-kʷáy-náá-nì // dàbdá-yǫ̀.** //
3S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-give-2S cloth-PL
‘I will not give you the clothes.’

*íngà sı̨́-k-kʷáy-náá-nì*. Lit. ‘she will not give you clothes’; the construction is halfway direct and indirect speech.

[67] **sáy ǹdá nı̨́ m̀-kʷáy ní-ⁿhì mì-zí dà.”** //
just[HA] with 2S SBJ-go 2S-away this-ANP TOP
‘You just go there like that (*scil.* in your old clothes).’

[68] **wày káyná íngì-qá ì táẓàɣàm ì kʷáy háṛ ǹ dáɣǫ̀.** //
woman small 3P-all 3P groom 3P go playing GEN place
‘The girls had all groomed themselves and gone somewhere to play.’

*háṛ ǹ dáɣǫ̀*. Lit. ‘(to) the place of playing’.

[69] [laughs] **íngì-qá ì táẓàɣàᵐ ì kʷáy háṛ ìn dá.**
3P-all 3P groom 3P go playing GEN place
‘They had all groomed themselves and gone somewhere to play.’

[70] **sáy íngà-fóó dà, b-zídà zídà zídà ṭáṛṛày gá,**
just[HA] 3S-one TOP IMPF-walk walk walk road[TU] in
‘Only she alone walked and walked and walked on the road,’

[71] **sáy á gàr-kà̰ // á kùbáy ǹdá àfóó-yǫ̀,**
just[HA] 3S find-VNT 3S meet with one-PL
‘and she found, she met some people,’

*àfóó-yǫ̀*. Plural of *àfó* ‘one’.

[72] **sáy í sìn á-sı̀: “wày káyná // nì báɣò hááwí ǹ gí?”**
just[HA] 3P say 3S-DAT woman small 2S want cow GEN grease
‘and they said to her: “Girl, do you want cow’s grease?”’,

[73] **á sìn: “mìsín gá kʷáy-dán ǹdá hááwí ǹ gí,**
3S say what in FUTI-do with cow GEN grease
she said: “what shall (I) do with cow’s grease,’

[74] **ɣáy ɣà k-kʷáy gìngìrí ǹ dá.”** //
1S 1S IMPF-go feast GEN place
‘I, I am going to a feast.”’

[75] **í sìn á-sı̀: “tó, šííkèènáⁿ, írì, ír kʷáy írì-ⁿhı̨̀.”** //
3P say 3S-DAT well[HA] ok[HA] 1P 1P go 1P-away
‘They said: “That’s ok, we, we go away”’

[76] **à kʷáy, à kʷáy, à kʷáy ṭárṛày gá.**
3S go 3S go 3S go road[TU] in
'She went and went and went on the road'

[77] **sáy á gàr-kạ̀té wày-fó //**
just[HA] 3S find-VNT woman-one
'and found a woman,'

[78] **á-ⁿ sèè-fó bárà Mákkà, àffó bárà Màdíínà.**
3S-GEN foot-one be.in Mecca[AR] one be.in Medina[AR]
'who had one foot in Mecca and one in Medina.'

[79] **sáy á sìn á-sị̀: // "wày zòònó, // ɣá-ǹ kááká,**
just[HA] 3S say 3S-DAT woman old 1S-GEN grandmother
'She said: "Old lady, my grandmother,'

[80] **nị́ m̀-zákàt nị́-ⁿ sóò-yó, ɣá ᵐ̀-yóókạ̀y." //**
2S SBJ-pull 2S-GEN leg-PL 1S SBJ-pass[TU]
'pull together your legs so that I can pass."'

*sóò-yó.* Irregular plural of *sè.*

[81] **(á) sìná à-sí: "báybò. // ɣà sị́-k-kʷáy-zákàt ɣá-ⁿ sóò-yó //**
(3S) say 3S-DAT no[TU] 1S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-pull 1S-GEN leg-PL
'She said: "No. I will not pull together my legs,'

[82] **sáy ǹdá ní m̀-dáq ṭáⁿzì // ní ᵐ̀-fúr ɣá-ⁿ sè.**
just[HA] if 2S SBJ-take stone 2S SBJ-throw 1S-GEN leg
'except if you take the stone and throw it (on) my leg.'

[83] **méédạ̀, méédà ní ᵐ̀ // yáⁿ ɣá-ⁿ sẹ̀ hááwí ǹ gị́."** //
or[TU] or[TU] 2S SBJ smear.oil 1S-GEN leg cow GEN grease
'Or, or if you rub my leg with cow's grease."'

[84] **sáy à yạ́k-kàt á b-zùrú b-zùrú b-zùrú,** //
just[HA] 3S return-VNT 3S IMPF-run IMPF-run IMPF-run
'And she went back running running running,'

*yạ́k-kàt.* Assimilated form from *yát-kàt(é)* 'to go back (hither)'.

[85] **à tê à gár-kàté** [xxx] //
3S arrive 3S find-VNT [xxx]
'she came and found'

[86] **sááɣàt à-ɣóó-yò nạ́ à-sí // hááwí ǹ gí.**
boy 3S-PRX-PL give 3S-DAT cow GEN grease
'the boys that had given her the cow's grease.'

*sááɣàt à-ɣóó-yò nə́ à-sí.* Relative clause.

[87] **á sìn á-sə̀ "índì m̀-náá-ɣày hááwí ǹ gí."**
3S say 3S-DAT 2P SBJ-give-1S cow GEN grease
'She said to them: "You should give me cow's grease."'

[88] **í sìn á-sə̀: "ír sí-b-n-à áy márdà,**
3P say 3S-DAT 1P NEG-IMPF-give-3S ??? now[TU]
'They said: "We will not give it now,'

*ír sí-b-n-à.* Probably deriving from *ír sí-b-ná-à > ír sí-b-n-â > ír sí-b-n-à.*

[89] **gá ír náá nə̀-sə́ ní sìn ní sə́-b-kùlə́."** //
when 1P give 2S-DAT 2S say 2S NEG-IMPF-want
'when we gave (it) to you, you said you did not want (it).'"

*kùlá.* The verb is only used in negated sentences.

[90] **á sìn: "báybò, wà ẓáyḍàṛ** [xxx]**"** //
3S say no[TU] IMPT:P be.patient[TU] [xxx]
'She said: "No, have patience (with me)."'

[91] **sáy ì ná à-sə́.** //
just[HA] 3P give 3S-DAT
'And they gave (it) to her.'

[92] **gá à té sáy à yáⁿ wày zòòná-sə̀,**
when 3S arrive just[HA] 3S smear.oil woman old-DAT
'When she came she rubbed the old woman,'

[93] **sáy wày zòòná ǹ sóò-yó kírmə̀mì.** //
just[HA] woman old GEN leg-PL crouch[TU]
'and the legs of the old woman crouched together.'

[94] **à kúmmá ṭáṛṛày, à yóókày,** //
3S find road[TU] 3S pass[TU]
'She found a road, she passed,'

[95] **à kʷáy à kʷáy à kʷáy-kʷáy zààmá** // **à máṛ** //
3S go 3S go 3S FUTI-go then 3S be.far
'she went and went and went going and then - it was far - '

[96] **sáy wày zòònə́ á sìⁿ à-sə́: "kúmá héé wày kíṭṭá!"** //
just[HA] woman old 3S say 3S-DAT likewise[HA] hey woman small
'and the old woman said: "Hey, girl!"'.

[97] **sáy à yák-kàté.**
just[HA] 3S return-VNT
'And she came back.'

[98] **gá à té sáy wày zòòn(ó) á sɨ̀n á-sɨ̀** //
when 3S arrive just[HA] woman old 3S say 3S-DAT
'When she had come the old woman said,'

[99] [wàn, àhà], **wày zòònó káw-kàt hàyní ǹ tàdáqqàq,**
??? ??? woman old take.out-VNT millet GEN grain[TU]
'[???], the old woman took out a grain of millet'

*hàyní*. The isolated form is *hâynì*. The high tone on the second syllable is due to attachment of the floating high tone of the genitival adposition [H]*ǹ*.

[100] **á sìn á-sɨ̀: "ɣá-ǹ hàyní ʰ mìⁿ-zí né,**
3S say 3S-DAT 1S-GEN millet GEN thing-ANP here
'and said: "This thing of millet of mine,'

*mìⁿ-zí*. The exact meaning of this phrase is unknown; it seem to be different from *mì-zí* 'like that'.

*né*. The element *né* normally means 'here'. While transcribing, Mrs. Ibrahim paraphrased *ɣá ǹ hàynì né* as 'voici mon mil', with a Hausa-like interpretation of *ne*.

[101] **ní m̀-dút-[à] ɣɑ́-sɨ̀."** //
2S SBJ-pound-[3S] 1S-DAT
'you should pound it for me."'

[102] [yá] **à dáⁿ hàyní ǹ tàdáqqàq hâᵐbùrù kʊ́ⁿ** //
[???] 3S do millet GEN grain[TU] mortar in
'She put the grain of millet in the mortar.'

[103] **gá à kár dà sáy hâmbùrù ṭáⁿ.**
when 3S beat TOP just[HA] mortar be.full
'When she beat it the mortar became full.'

[104] **à síⁿfìk-kàt-á, à yístàb-á à hímày-ɑ́** //
3S take.out-VNT-3S 3S sift[TU]-3S 3S wash-3S
'She took it out, she sifted it, she washed it.'

[105] **à báṛàq-qàt-á à** [h] **dáⁿ áálìwà.**
3S grind-VNT-3S 3S make millet.drink[TU]
'She ground it and made *áálìwà*.'

*báṛàq-qàt* < *báṛàq-kàt(é)*.

*áálìwà* is a drink based on water or milk and millet.

[106] **zàmá à kʷáy à kʷáy à kʷáy,**
then 3S go 3S go 3S go
'Then she just went and went and went',

[107] **gá wày zòònó sìn á-sị̀: “kúmá héé, wày kíṭṭá!** //
when woman old say 3S-DAT likewise[HA] hey woman small

**áyàw”** //
come[TU]
‘when the old woman said: “Hey, girl! Come!”’

[108] **à yák-kátḛ̀** // **gá à té sáy** // **wày kíṭṭá** //
3S return-VNT when 3S arrive just[HA] woman small
‘She returned; when she came, the girl,’

[109] [zìní] **à káw-kàt** [á-ǹn] **á-ǹn éésàn** [á-ⁿ] **í-ⁿ zííbì**
[take] 3S take.off-VNT [3S-GEN] 3S-GEN tooth[TU] [3S-GEN] 3P-GEN filth
‘she took some filth of her tooth’

This sentence has a number of false starts and hesitations, untypical for most of the performance.

[110] **á sìn á-sì:**
3S say 3S-DAT
‘and said:’

[111] “**zìnḭ́, dáán-à** // **kîlwà kúⁿ ní m̀-zàànáˊ.”**
take do-3S gourd in 2S SBJ-churn
‘“Take, put it in the gourd and churn.”’

[112] **íngà wày kíṭṭá zàànáˊ zàànáˊ zàànáˊ, kîlwà ṭán ǹdá hùwáˊ.** //
3S woman small churn churn churn gourd be.full with milk
‘The girl churned and churned and churned and the gourd became full of milk.’

[113] **ì nín áálìwà, zààmá à kʷáy yâddáˊ.** //
3P drink millet.drink[TU] then 3S go still
‘They drank *áálìwà*, and then she went again.’

[114] **sáy gá à máṛ, yâddá gá wày zòònó yâddá sááw-à,**
just[HA] when 3S be.far still when woman old still call-3S
‘And when she had gone far, the old woman called her again,’

[115] **sìn á-sị̀: “áyàw** // **wây mán íǹ dáà nì b-kʷáy?”**
say 3S-DAT come[TU] woman what GEN place 2S IMPF-go
‘and said: “Come, woman where are you going?”’

[116] **á sìn á-sì:** // **“gíngírí-fó ǹ dá ɣà k-kʷáy-kʷáy,**
3S say 3S-DAT feast-one GEN place 1S IMPF-FUTI-go
‘She said: “I am going to a feast,’

[117] **ɣá-ǹ sèèrááyàn ńgì-qí ì háw dàbdè táágí-yòˊ,** //
1S-GEN friends 3P-all 3P wear cloth new-PL
‘all my friends wear new clothes.’

*ńgì-qí < ńgì-qá.*

[118] **ɣáy à-gá ɣá-ǹ nàànà ssí, ɣá-ǹ nàànà fùmbó gà$^{n}$gá-ɣày.”** //
1S 3S-on 1S-GEN mother not.be 1S-GEN mother stinking refuse-1S
‘I, because I don’t have a mother, my stepmother refused (to give some to) me.”’

*à-gá.* ‘on it’ used in the meaning ‘because’.

[119] **á sìn á-sḭ̀: “tó, à ní-sḭ́ hà-qqá à sí, ní m̀-té.”** //
3S say 3S-DAT well$^{HA}$ 3S NEG:PRF-be thing-all 3S be 2S SBJ-arrive
‘She said: “Well, that’s nothing, come.”’

*à ní-sí hà-qá à sí.* Emphatic construction: ‘it is not a thing (that) it is’.

[120] **wày zòònó góón-à, à káw-kàt-á**[h] **dàbdà táágí-yò.** //
woman old swallow-3S 3S take.off-VNT-3S cloth new-PL
‘The old woman swallowed her, she took her out (with) new clothes.’

*góón-à.* Lengthened form of *g$^{w}$áṇ* before a vowel-initial direct object clitic.

*dàbdà < dàbdè.*

[121] **à k$^{w}$áy à k$^{w}$áy à k$^{w}$áy yâddá wày zòònó yâddá sááw-à** //
3S go 3S go 3S go still woman old still call-3S
‘She went and went and went again and the old woman called her again.’

[122] **à yâddá tè** // **à yâddá góón-à** //
3S still arrive 3S still swallow-3S
‘She came again, she swallowed her again,’

[123] **à káw-kàt-á** // **ǹd(á) á-ǹn ìṛákkàànà$^{n}$.**
3S take.off-VNT-3S with 3S-GEN rags$^{TU}$
‘she took her out with her rags.’

[124] **à sìn á-sḭ̀: “tó márdà, gíngírì-ɣá ǹ dáà nì k$^{w}$áy,**
3S say 3S-DAT well$^{HA}$ now$^{TU}$ feast-PRX GEN place 2S go
‘She said: “Well now, at the place of this feast where you go,’

*gíngírì-ɣá < gíngírí `yo.*

*gíngírì-ɣá ǹ dáà nì k$^{w}$áy.* Relative clause without a relative marker (see Kossmann 2010a).

[125] **àssàbí nì-báy á-m̀ mà$^{n}$?”**
boy$^{AR}$ 2S-know 3S-GEN name
‘do you know the name of the boy?”’

[126] **á sìn á-sì: “báybò.”** //
3S say 3S-DAT no$^{TU}$
‘She said: “No.”’

[127] **tó á sìn á-sị̀: “ǹdá nì téé-nàn ní m̀-yát àláqqạ̀m.** //
well[HA] 3S say 3S-DAT with 2S arrive-ITV 2S SBJ-return behind[TU]
‘Well she said: “When you arrive there come last,’

[128] **ní m̀-gị̀sí ní-ǹ sèèrááyà[n] íngì-qá hár í m̀-yóókày.**
2S SBJ-leave 2S-GEN friends 3P-all until 3P SBJ-pass[TU]
‘let all your friends pass first (lit. you should leave all your friends until they may pass),’

[129] **àssàbí á-m̀ mà[n] Àskàndàríí nà Háwwà Àskàndàrí,**
boy[AR] 3S-GEN name Alexander[AR] of[HA] Eve[AR] Alexander[AR]
‘The boy’s name is Alexander son of Eve,’

*Àskàndàríí nà Háwwà Àskàndàrí, Àskàndàrí nà Háwà mày nábúúsà.* The entire phrase has a song-like intonation.

*Àskàndàríí nà Háwà.* Expression using the Hausa genitive linker; the use of a genitival construction for descent is well-known in Hausa, cf. Newman 2000:350.

[130] **Àskàndàrí nà Háwà mày nábúúsà.**
Alexander[AR] of[HA] Eve[AR] have[HA?] whistle
‘Alexander son of Eve with the whistle.’

*mày nàbúúsà.* The construction of this part of the name is rather Hausa than Tasawaq. In Hausa, an element *mày* is used to form modifier expressions with a noun (translatable, among others, as ‘the one having’) (Newman 2000:323ff.). Tasawaq, on the other hand, has a verb *mày* ‘to possess, to have’, e.g. *ɣáy mày húgù* ‘I own a house’ ; *gíírí màrgé ní-mày?* ‘how old are you (lit. how many years do you have)’. The similarity to the Hausa element is no doubt accidental: a verb *mày, mey* is well-attested in other Songhay languages, and is found well outside the area of Hausa influence (e.g. in Djenné, Heath 1998b:148). Notwithstanding, some *mày* constructions in Tasawaq may be calqued on Hausa, such as *áàrù mày gáábì* ‘a strong man (lit. a man having strength)’, cf. Hausa *mài ƙarfii* ‘strong (lit. having strength)’. In the expression *mày nábúúsà*, a Hausa(-like) construction seems to be found. As far as I can see, *nábúúsà* ‘whistle(s)’ does not occur in Hausa, which would make the full name a blend of Hausa and Tasawaq materials. The term *nábúúsà* was translated into French by Mrs. Ibrahim as ‘sifflet(s)’; her prompt translation suggests it is a current word in the language. There is, as far as I can see, no ready Songhay, Hausa or Tuareg etymology to it.

[131] **kúmá ní m̀-sị́-háár-à sáy** // **hândà-ɣá àhí[n]zà wą̀nẹ̀.”** //
also[HA] 2S SBJ-NEG-tell-3S just[HA] demand-PRX three belonging
‘But don’t tell it until the third demand (= until he has asked the third time).”’

*háár-à.* From *hár* with lengthening before a vowel-initial clitic.

*àhí[n]zà wą̀nẹ̀.* The normal ordinal construction consists of the cardinal numeral followed by the genitival marker *wánè.* The element *à-* constructs an independent form of the numeral. When modifying a noun, the form is *hí[n]zà.* Alidou (1988:49) gives the same construction, but writes the genitival element *n* between the numeral and *wánè*, e.g. <à ɣó xámsà n wáné> ‘the fifth’. I do not hear nasalization on the final vowel of *àhí[n]zà.*

[132] [nìgálmàg] **sìn á-sı̀:** **“tó.”**
[???] say 3S-DAT well[HA]
‘[???] She said: “Ok.”’

[133] **šííkèèná$^{n}$, gá à té dà sáy wày káyná-yo̰ yóófa̰r:**
ok[HA] when 3S arrive TOP just[HA] woman small-PL start[TU]
‘That’s it, when she came, the girls started (to say):’

[134] “**wàlá írì-ɣó táẓàɣàm írı̀ ní-kṵ́má-kàt, írı̀ ní-báy**
even[HA] 1P-PRX groom 1P NEG:PRF-find-VNT 1P NEG:PRF-know

**á-m̀ mà$^{n}$,**
3S-GEN name
‘“Even we who groomed ourselves we have not found, we don’t know his name,’

[135] **mîm méérà ní // tàmàzárgì$^{n}$ wánè. //**
??? now[TU] 2S filthy.woman[TU] possessing
‘how should you, filthy one?’

*mîm méérà*. The interpretation is unclear. The whole string was translated by Mrs. Ibrahim as ‘à plus forte raison toi’.

[136] **wà zínkı̀s néé, báybò, báybò, fóò, fóò,**
IMPT:P move[TU] here no[TU] no[TU] yuck[TU] yuck[TU]
‘Move (from) here, no, no, yuck, yuck,’

[137] **nı̀ sı̀-k-k$^{w}$á(y)-gòòr(ó) írí-ǹ géérè kṵ$^{n}$!”** // **šííkèèná$^{n}$.** //
2S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-sit 1P-GEN half in ok[HA]
‘you should not sit in our part.” Ok.’

[138] **à k$^{w}$áy í$^{n}$hì$^{n}$ à yát, tásàgà** [kút] **á gòòró.** //
3S go away 3S return side[TU] [???] 3S sit
‘She went away, she returned and sat down at the side.’

[139] **ì bárà náw, ì bárà náw, ì bárà náw** //
3P be.in there 3P be.in there 3P be.in there
‘They stayed there, they stayed there, they stayed there,’

[140] **à-ɣó wày káyná yìzzáárà$^{n}$ yóókày.**
3S-PRX woman small preceding[TU] pass[TU]
‘the first girl passed.’

[141] **sáy á sìní: // “hár ɣá-m̀ mà$^{n}$, hár ɣá-m̀ mà$^{n}$,**
just[HA] 3S say tell 1S-GEN name tell 1S-GEN name
‘He said: “Say my name, say my name,’

The entire dialogue in l. 141-147 is sung.

[142] **wày kíṭṭá, hár ɣá-m̀ màⁿ.** //
woman small tell 1S-GEN name
'girl, say my name.'

[143] **ǹdá nì ní-báy ɣá-ǹ màⁿ, n(í) m̀-zínkìs, ǹdá àláqqàᵐ."** //
if 2S NEG:PRF-know 1S-GEN name 2S SBJ-move[TU] with behind[TU]
'If you don't know my name, go away to the last (place)."'

[144] **sìn á-sı̀: "ɣá nní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ, ɣá nní-báy**
say 3S-DAT 1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name 1S NEG:PRF-know

**ní-m̀ màⁿ,**
2S-GEN name
'She said: "I don't know your name, I don't know your name,'

[145] **ɣáw wánè, ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ.** //
1S possessing 1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN know
'my love, I don't know your name.'

[146] **ámmàà ǹdá ní m̀-zíⁿ-ɣày,** //
as.for[HA] if 2S SBJ-catch-1S
'But if you were to catch me'

*ziⁿ-ɣày* < *zìní-ɣày*. Mrs. Ibrahim explained that the phrase 'if you were to catch me' should be understood as 'il faut se mettre d'accord'.

[147] **ní m̀-kámbá-kạ̀tá nı́-ǹ báɣà-kʷáy."**
2S SBJ-hold-VNT 2S-GEN love-master
'then you would obtain me as your beloved."'

[148] **á sìn á-sı̀: "báybò** // **kʷáy ní-ⁿhìⁿ."** //
3S say 3S-DAT no[TU] go 2S-away
'He said: "No, go away."'

[149] **àffóó húr-kà mì-zí dà, mì-zí dà,**
one come.in-VNT this-ANP TOP this-ANP TOP
'The next one came in, like that, like that,'

[150] **sáy gá ì tóó-kàt Kʷàṇǫ́ǫ́nǫ̀ dá**[h]. //
just[HA] when 3P arrive-VNT Kornono at
'until they came to Kornono'

[151] **sáy, gá à té, sáy, á sìn á-sı̀:** //
just[HA] when 3S arrive just[HA] 3S say 3S-DAT
'When she came, he said:'

[152] **“hár ɣá-ǹ màⁿ, hár ɣá-ǹ màⁿ, wày kíṭṭá, hár ɣá-m̀ màⁿ.** //
tell 1S-GEN name tell 1S-GEN name woman small tell 1S-GEN name
‘“Say my name, say my name, girl, say my name.’

Line 152-155 are sung.

[153] **á sìn: “ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ, ɣáw wánè,**
3S say 1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name 1S possessing
‘She said: “I don’t know your name, my love,’

[154] **ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ.** //
1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name
‘I don’t know your name.’

[155] **ámmà ǹdá nì kʷáy-zíⁿ-ɣày,** // **nɨ́ mì-zí dà, ní m̀-zíⁿ-ɣày.”**
as.for[HA] if 2S FUTI-catch-1S 2S this-ANP TOP 2S SBJ-catch-1S
‘But if you were to catch me, just like that, you should catch me”’

[156] **á sìn á-sɨ̀: “ɣà sɨ́-b-kʷáy-zìn-ní mì-zí dà,** //
3S say 3S-DAT 1S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-take-2S this-ANP TOP
‘He said: “I will not take you like that,’

*zìn-ní* < *zìní-ni*.

[157] **sáy** [dáy] **ìndá nɨ̀-hár ɣá-sɨ̀ ɣá-m̀ màⁿ,**
just[HA] [???] if 2S-tell 1S-DAT 1S-GEN name
‘only if you tell me my name,’

[158] **ní m̀-zínkɨ̀s ní m̀-kʷáy nɨ̀ nɨ́-báy ɣá-m̀ màⁿ** [àyáⁿ wkù]**.”** //
2S SBJ-move[TU] 2S SBJ-go 2S NEG:PRF-know 1S-GEN name ??? ???
‘you should move away and go, you don’t know my name [???]”.’

[159] **à yâddá yát: “hár ɣá-m̀ màⁿ, hár ɣá-m̀ màⁿ.”**
3S still return tell 1S-GEN name tell 1S-GEN name
‘She came back again: “Say my name, say my name.”’

Line 159-163 are sung, but in a faster and less melodious manner than previously.

[160] **á sìn á-sɨ̀:** //
3S say 3S-DAT
‘She said:’

[161] **“ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ, ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ,**
1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name 1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name
‘“I don’t know your name, I don’t know your name,’

[162] **àssàbí, ɣá ní-báy ní-m̀ màⁿ,** //
boy[AR] 1S NEG:PRF-know 2S-GEN name
'boy, I don't know your name,'

[163] **àmmá ǹdá nì kʷáy-zíⁿ-ɣày nì nı̨́ m̀-zíⁿ-ɣày mì-zí dà."** //
as.for[HA] if 2S FUTI-catch-1S 2S 2S SBJ-catch-1S this-ANP TOP
'But if you were to catch me, you should catch me like that."'

[164] **á sìn: "báybò, ɣá sı̨́-k-kʷáy-zìn-ní."**
3S say no[1U] 1S NEG-IMPF-FUTI-take-2S
'He said: "No, I will not take you."'

[165] **sáy àhíⁿz̨ı̀ wánè sáy á sı̀n̨:** //
just[HA] three possessing just[HA] 3S say
'And the third time she said:'

[166] **Àskàndàríí nà Háwwà Àskàndàrí** //
Alexander[AR] of[HA] Eve[AR] Alexander[AR]
'Alexander son of Eve,'

The entire phrase 166-167 has a song-like intonation.

[167] **Àskàndàríí nà Háwwà mày nábúúsà.** //
Alexander[AR] of[HA] Eve[AR] have[HA?] whistle
'Alexander son of Eve with the whistle.'

[168] **sílílí-yò kùbáy kóʔı̀nı̨́** //
ululation-PL meet everywhere[HA]
'There was ululation everywhere,'

The phrase 168-169 is pronounced by the storyteller with evident delight.

*kóʔı̀ná.* Code-switch from Hausa *koo'ìnaa* 'everywhere'.

[169] **dáɣà-y(ó) íngì-qá sílílí-yò** // **dáɣà-y(ó) íngì-qá sílílí-yò.** //
place-PL 3P-all ululation-PL place 3P-all ululation-PL
'The whole place – ululation. The whole place – ululation!'

[170] **šííkèènáⁿ, wày káyná-yò̧** // **ǹdá g(á) à-ɣá sìⁿ:**
ok[HA] woman small-PL if when 3S-PRX say
'That's it, the girls, when one said:'

[171] **"ɣáy dà kʷáy-sí sálìgá."**
1S TOP FUTI-be cesspit[HA]
'I shall be her cesspit.'

[172] **sáy à-ɣá sìⁿ: "ɣáy dà kʷáy-sí** // **hímáy ǹ dá."** //
just[HA] 3S-PRX say 1S TOP FUTI-be washing GEN place
'another said: "I shall be her washing place."'

[173] **“ɣáy dà kʷáy-sí sâmbú.”**
1S TOP FUTI-be brazier
‘“And I shall be her brazier.”’

[174] **“ɣáy dà kʷáy-sí ṭààmʊ́.”**
1S TOP FUTI-be slave.girl
‘“And I shall be her slave girl.”’

[175] **íngì-qá ì yát.** //
3P-all 3P return
‘They all went back.’

[176] **méérà wày kíṭṭá súⁿfù, šííkèènáⁿ** // **íngà dà à hík.** //
now[TU] woman small be.at.ease[TU] ok[HA] 3S TOP 3S marry
‘Now the girl was at ease, that’s it, she married.’

[177] **kúrúnkʊ́s, kùrùnkʊ̀sʊ̀**
[final formula of the story][HA]

This is the Hausa closing formula *ƙurunƙus!* “it is off!” (Ahmad 1997:18).

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