

Some verb morphology features of Tadaksahak
or
Berber or Songhay, this is the question

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Abstract

Having been described as “*langue mixte*” (Lacroix 1971), this language presents features of Songhay and Berber languages. The observations discussed in this paper deal with the way voice changes are handled. In particular, it shows how the causative is formed. The causative morpheme *S(V)-* is of Berber origin and prefixed to the verb root as in Berber languages, whereas Songhay suffixes the causative morpheme that is of a very different form (*-andi*). But only verb roots that are also etymologically from Berber can take the morpheme in Tadaksahak. All roots that are cognates with Songhay are replaced with a Berber root with the same meaning, when causativized, changed to passive voice, or made reflexive or reciprocal.

An appendix to the paper lists examples of both intransitive and transitive verbs using suppletion of the root when changed to causative and passive voice.

1. Introduction

1.1. Classification

Pierre-Francis Lacroix was the first to mention Tadaksahak in literature, together with related languages. They were referred to as “mixed languages” (*‘langues mixtes’*), because of the evidence of strong influence from Songhay as well as from Tamasheq (Lacroix 1968).

In his extensive study of Songhay languages, Robert Nicolaï puts Tadaksahak in the group of Northern Songhay (Nicolaï 1981:25, “Songhay septentrional”; see figure 1). Together with Tihishit, Tadaksahak forms the “nomadic” subgroup.

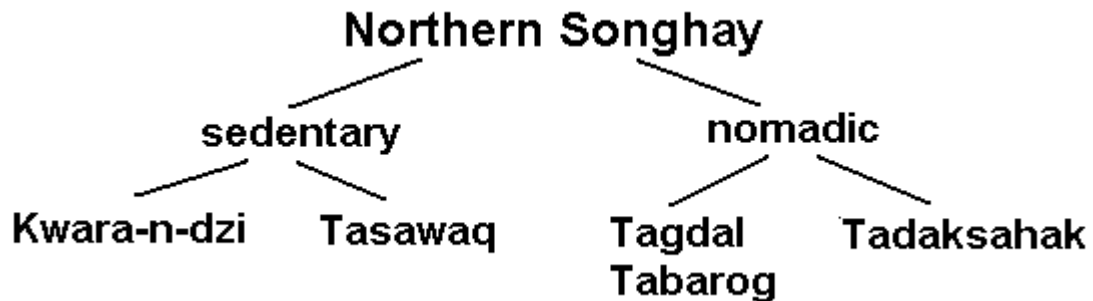


Figure 1. Northern Songhay subgrouping adapted from Nicolaï and Tilmatine.

As a part of the Songhay language group, Tadaksahak is placed in the Nilo-Saharan language family. Our observations among some of these Northern Songhay languages would indicate that Tadaksahak is the language most influenced by Tamasheq (and furthermore, on a phonemic and lexical level, by religious Arabic).

1.2. Phonemes

The examples presented here are given phonemically according to the interpretation documented in our description of the Tadaksahak phonology (Christiansen 2000, manuscript).

Vowels: i, e, a, o, u all contrasting in length.

Consonants:

labial	alveolar (pharyngalized)		palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
	t	ṭ	c	k	q	
b	d	ḍ	j	g		
f	s	ṣ	ʃ	x	ħ	h
	z	ẓ	ʒ	ɣ	ʕ	
m	n	ṅ		ŋ		
	r	ṛ				
	l	ḷ	y	w		

This corresponds with IPA with the exception of the following signs:

Pharyngalization is marked with a dot underneath the sign: /ṭ/, /ḍ/, ...

The alveo-palatal affricates are represented by one sign [tʃ] = /c/, [dʒ] = /j/.

The palatal approximant [j] is represented as /y/, the alveolar flap [ɾ] shows as /r/ and the uvular unvoiced [ħ] is represented as /h/

2. Verbal system in the three concerned languages

First we will give a short, by no means exhaustive overview of Songhay (speech variety of Gao) and Tamasheq (Tawellemet) to see how these two languages handle voice changes.

2.1. Songhay (Gao)

2.1.1. Conjugation

A series of auxiliaries are inflected for tense, aspect, and mode. Preceding the TAM marker is the pronoun or nominal holding the function of subject. All derivations are suffixed as the following formula shows.

NP/pron TAM verb(-derivator)¹

2.1.2. Causative and other voice changing devices

Many Songhay verbs accept the suffix *-andi* which makes the causative of intransitive verbs (and a few transitives), and the factive of verbs of adjectival quality.²

- (1) ben 'finish' ben-andi 'cause to end'
 (2) too 'arrive' too-ndi 'deliver'

Example pairs (3./4.) and (5./6.) demonstrate noncausative and causative constructions with the same verb.

- (3) Salangawey ga mooru.
 toilet.PLDEF TAM be.distant
 'The toilets are distant.'

¹Abbreviations used

BEN	benefactive postposition	NP	noun phrase	REF	reflexive
CAU	causative	Q	question particle	TAM	tense/aspect marker
S					
DEF	definite	PASS	passive	TMP	temporal particle
GEN	genitive	PLDEF	plural definite	1/2/3s	1 st /2 nd /3 rd person singular
LOC	locative postposition	REC	reciprocal	1/2/3p	1 st /2 nd /3 rd person plural
N:	noun				

²Heath 1999:164.

- (4) Borey ma salangawey moor-*andi*
 person.PLDEF TAM toilet.PLDEFbe.distant-CAUS
 ‘The people (should) distance toilets. (cause toilets to be distant)’
- (5) Ay zumbu cijinoo ra.
 1s go.down night.DEF LOC
 ‘I got out (of a canoe) during the night.’
- (6) I na ay zumb-*andi* cijinoo ra.
 3p TAM 1s go.down-CAUS night.DEF LOC
 ‘They made me get out during the night.’

The indefinite singular noun “friend, mate” is the basis for a reciprocal construction.³

- (7) Borey ga *cere* kar.
 Person.PLDEF TAM friend hit
 ‘The people hit each other.’

Compound reflexives are formed with the word “head” without definite and plural suffixes.⁴

- (8) Faatuma nda Aysa ga (*ngi bon*) jumay
 name and name TAM (3p.GEN head) wash
 ‘Faatuma and Aysa wash themselves.’

2.2. Tamasheq

2.2.1. Conjugation

Conjugation in Tamasheq is rather complex. The one example of the “past completed aspect” serves as an illustration for the whole system. The root consonants for “to write” are ktb.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------------|
| (9) | əktabaḡ | ‘I wrote’ |
| | təktabad | ‘you (2s) wrote’ |
| | iktab | ‘he wrote’ |
| | təktab | ‘she wrote’ |
| | nəktab | ‘we wrote’ |
| | təktabam | ‘you (2p/m) wrote’ |
| | təktabmat | ‘you (2p/f) wrote’ |
| | əktaban | ‘they (3p/m) wrote’ |
| | əktabnat | ‘they (3p/f) wrote’ |

There is no simple formula for this kind of conjugation. The following is only an attempt.

pron.TAM-(derivator-)consonant.root-pron.TAM

2.2.2. Causative and other voice changing devices

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| (10) | causative: | sə-ktəb | ‘make write’ ⁵ |
| | passive: | təwə-ktəb | ‘be written’ |
| | reciprocal/reflexive: | nə-ktəb | ‘write to each other’ |

³Heath 1999:357.

⁴ibid.:351.

⁵Most of the Tamasheq data is from Prasse 1998.

2.3. Tadaksahak

2.3.1. Conjugation

Different from Songhay, Tadaksahak always has a subject clitic even if the noun phrase is also present. The TAM markers precede the verb stem and consist of a consonant with a possible vowel: C(V)-. All unbound verb roots begin with a consonant. The unit /clitic+TAM+verb.stem/ has in general only one stressed syllable.

(NP) pron.clitic-TAM -(derivator-)verb

2.3.2. Causative and other voice changing devices

In Tadaksahak the voice changing morphemes are prefixed to the verb root. This behaviour follows the pattern of Berber languages. Note also the similarity in shape of the different morphemes.

Table 1. Tadaksahak: Voice changing morphemes

Passive	Causative	Reciprocal/ Reflexive	+ verb root
t(e)- tuw(a)-	S(V)-	ne- me- nem-	

Remarks:

Passive: The use of the allomorphs is not predictable. However, all causative forms take *tuw(a)-*, and the “y-verbs” tend to take *t(e)-*.

Causative: The morpheme *S(V)-* copies any sibilant present in the verb root. If there is none, it is by default /s/.

Reciprocal/Reflexive: The distinction among these three prefixes is inconsistent and unpredictable, and it might even be labeled “middle” in some circumstances. Our corpus shows evidence of all three having the two (or three) meanings.

We distinguish two different verb classes when we consider voice changes. The first class we group in two because of the shape of the root.

- (1) Roots being etymologically from Berber
 - (a) roots beginning with any consonant other than y-
 - (b) roots beginning with y-
- (2) Roots being etymologically from Songhay

2.3.3. Verb roots beginning with a consonant other than “y-”

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
kati ‘to stumble’	gertetef ‘to stumble’ negertetef ‘to stumble’ segertetef ‘to make stumble’	gertettəf ‘to stumble’ nəgərətəttəf ‘to stumble’

(11) Farka a-ø-gertetef darax a-ø-kaŋ.
donkey 3s-TAM-stumble almost 3s-TAM-fall
‘The donkey stumbled so that it almost fell.’

(12) Bora a-b-dida har tugudu a-ø-yinṭel a se a-ø-ne-gertetef.
person 3s-TAM-walk TMP tree 3s-TAM-hit.against 3s BEN 3s-TAM-REF-stumble
‘Somebody was walking when he hit against a tree stump and stumbled.’

- (13) Tondi a-ø-se-gertetef a.
stone 3s-TAM-CAUS-stumble 3s
'A stone made him stumble.'

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
korgay 'to sit behind'	lenkem 'to sit behind' selenkem 'to make sit behind'	länkäm 'to sit behind'

- (14) Aɣa-b-lenkem a se
1s-TAM-sit.behind 3s BEN
'I sit behind him.'
- (15) A-ø-se-lenkem ayn surgay
3s-TAM-CAUS-sit.behind 3s.GEN woman
'He made his wife sit behind (on a camel).'

2.3.4. Verb roots beginning with “y-”

We can observe that the initial consonant “y-” is dropped in favor of the consonant of the voice changing prefix.

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
denji 'to glue'	yidɣer 'to be glued' sedɣer 'to glue' medɣer 'to be glued together' semedɣer 'to glue together'	ədɣer 'to be glued to' sədɣer 'to glue' nəmədɣer 'to be glued together' sənnəmədɣer 'to glue together'

- (16) Toruft n cay a-ø-yidɣer.
car GEN foot 3s-TAM-be.glued
'The inner tube (of the car wheel) is glued.'
- (17) S-(y)edɣer aɣay ho ne!
CAUS-be.glued 1s thing.DET here
'Glue the thing here for me!'
- (18) Taɣmen i-ø-m-(y)edɣer.
sandals 3p-TAM-REC-be.glued
'The sandals are glued together.'
- (19) Se-m-(y)edɣer aɣay aɣan taɣmen, i-ø-kos.
CAUS-REC-be.glued 1s 1s.GEN sandals 3p-TAM-break
'Glue my sandals together (for me); they have fallen apart.'

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
cendi 'to pull'	yirkeb 'to pull' serkeb 'to make sb pull' nerkeb 'to pull (from) each other' nemerkeb 'to pull sth between sb'	ərkeb 'to pull'

- (20) Ak alman a- \emptyset -yirkeb?
Q herd 3s-TAM-pull
'Is the herd pulled (from the well)?'
- (21) A γ a-b-yirkeb bafi.
1s-TAM-pull waterbag
'I am pulling the waterbag.'
- (22) S-(y)erkeb alman bangu be!
CAUS-pull herd well LOC
'Pull the herd from the well!'
- (23) Alman a- \emptyset -tuwa-s-(y)erkeb.
herd 3s-TAM-PASS-CAUS-pull
'The herd has been pulled (from the well).'
- (24) I γ a γ an i-b-n-(y)erkeb alman.
brother.PL 3p-TAM-REF-pull herd
'Brothers pull (animals of) the herd from each other.'
- (25) I-f-tuwa-n-(y)erkeb.
3p-TAM-PASS-REF-pull
'They are being pulled (animals of the herd).'
- (26) Han \int en i- \emptyset -nem-(y)erkeb jifa.
dog.PL 3p-TAM-REC-pull carcass
'The dogs pulled on a carcass between them.'

2.3.5. Verb roots using suppletion when the voice is changed

This second verb class is comparatively small but consists of the most frequently used verbs in daily life. These roots are etymologically Songhay and do not allow the morphemes used by the above two subclasses. Suppletion is the strategy used: a root from Berber is replacing the base root. This replacement is always a bound root; it is not found in the language without a voice changing or other derivational affix.

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
dumbu 'to cut'	dumbu 'to cut; to slaughter' zegzem 'to have sth slaughtered' tegzem 'to be slaughtered'	igzəm 'he slaughtered'

- (27) A- \emptyset -dumbu feji.
3s-TAM-slaughter sheep
'He slaughtered a sheep.'
- (28) A- \emptyset -z-egzem feji.
3s-TAM-CAUS-slaughter sheep
'He had a sheep slaughtered.'
- (29) Feji a- \emptyset -t-egzem.
sheep 3s-TAM-PASS-slaughter
'The sheep is slaughtered.'

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
ɲaa 'to eat'	ɲa 'to eat' ʃikʃa 'to make eat, to feed' tekʃa 'to be eaten, to be edible'	ikʃa 'he ate'

- (30) A-b-ɲa ayn hawru.
3s-TAM-eat 3s.GEN meal
'He is eating his meal.'
- (31) A-b-ʃikʃa ayn barar.
3s-TAM-CAUS.eat 3s.GEN child
'She is feeding her child.'
- (32) Telagazan cinden i-f-tekʃa wala hina.
pumpkin.PL some 3p-TAM-PASS.eat without N:cook
'Some (kinds of) pumpkins are eaten without cooking.'

Songhay (Gao)	Tadaksahak	Tamasheq
wii 'to kill'	wi 'to kill' sasuwanya ⁶ 'to make kill' tuwanya 'to be killed' nemanya 'to beat each other' senemanya 'to cause to beat each other'	anɣu 'to kill, to beat' sənɣu 'to make kill' täwänɣu 'to be killed' nämänɣu 'to kill each other' sännämänɣu 'to cause to kill each other'

- (33) Intaynawt a-b-wi iɣidan.
jackal 3s-TAM-kill kid.PL
'The jackal kills kids.'
- (34) Amanokal a-ø-sasuwanya ayn azango.
chief 3s-TAM-CAUS.kill 3s.GEN enemy
'The chief had his enemy killed.'
- (35) Aɣid a-ø-tuwanya.
kid 3s-TAM-PASS.kill
'The kid was killed.'
- (36) Aɣay, aɣ-te-tuwanya maradoda!
1s.emph 1s-TAM-PASS.kill now
'I, I will be killed now!'
- (37) I-b-nemanya.
3p-TAM-REC.fight
'They are fighting each other.'
- (38) A-ø-se-nemanya ayn izelɣin.
3p-TAM-CAUS-REC.fight 3s.GEN billy.goats
'He made his billy goats fight each other.'

Verbal roots from Songhay also differ from verbs with Berber roots in the way they are nominalized. Berber roots are typically marked with a change in syllable pattern and vowels.

⁶While the causative morpheme can be identified as S(V)- in general, this example shows that double marking is also possible, a phenomena for which we have not yet found a satisfactory explanation.

(39)	yidkel	<i>'to pick up'</i>	adakal	<i>'hill (elevation)'</i>
	yibrar	<i>'be ugly'</i>	abrur	<i>'ugliness'</i>
	yifel	<i>'to flow (water)'</i>	efal	<i>'running water'</i>
	yıdaz	<i>'to be tired'</i>	uđuz	<i>'fatigue'</i>
	belel	<i>'to be rich'</i>	abelel	<i>'riches'</i>
	dewet	<i>'to be joyful'</i>	tadiwit	<i>'joy'</i>

However, the Songhay roots have zero morphological marking (see example (32)). All the verbs listed in the appendix in the first column can also be used as nouns.

(40)	dida	<i>'to walk / the walking'</i>
	cena	<i>'to be small / smallness / younger sibling'</i>
	kos	<i>'to break / to be broken / the breaking'</i>
	korra	<i>'to heat / to be hot / the heat'</i>

To summarize we can recall the facts: The causative morpheme used in Tadaksahak is of Berber origin and prefixed to the verb root as in Berber languages. The same is true for the morphemes of passive voice, reflexive, and reciprocal. Only verb roots that are also etymologically from Berber can take these morphemes in Tadaksahak. Yet many verbs used frequently in daily life are of Songhay origin and do not allow derivation. Such verbs are supplanted with a root of Berber origin when they get derived and are then taking the regular morphemes.

Tadaksahak has developed strategies in a unique way to deal with the two very different linguistic systems which influenced this language.

Appendix

The following Tadaksahak verbs take a different root when they are causativized. This list does not pretend to be exhaustive. Yet this class of verbs is closed, as new vocabulary is very unlikely to come through Songhay.

1. One argument verbs

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Tadaksahak</i>	<i>causative</i>	<i>other forms</i>	<i>Tamasheq cognate</i>	<i>gloss</i> ⁷
(1)	<i>be big</i>	ber	semɣer		imɣar	<i>to be big</i>
(2)	<i>be close</i>	man ⁸	zehez	nemehez 'be close to/ approach each other' anemihaz 'proximity'	ihaz	<i>to approach, be close</i>
(3)	<i>cry</i>	hew	selha		ilha	<i>he cried</i>
(4)	<i>be dry</i>	qoq	seɣer		iɣar	<i>to be dry</i>
(5)	<i>eat enough</i>	kungu	siwen	tewant 'having well eaten (n)'	yawan	<i>to eat enough</i>
(6)	<i>fall</i>	kaŋ	ʃeder		odda	<i>he fell</i>
(7)	<i>fly</i>	ʃot	seseged		əgəd	<i>to fly</i>
(8)	<i>get up</i>	tunu	sunkur		ənkər	<i>to get up</i>
(9)	<i>go down</i>	zumbu	zezebet		zābbāt	<i>to go down</i>
(10)	<i>leave</i>	koy	segla		āglu	<i>to leave</i>
(11)	<i>depart</i>	hunu	sefel		əfəl	<i>to depart</i>
(12)	<i>be placed</i> ⁹	keni	ʃinʃa		āŋsu	<i>to be placed</i>
(13)	<i>run</i>	zuru	zezel		azəl	<i>to run</i>
(14)	<i>sit</i>	gora	ʃaɣam	neɣima 'sit together'	ɣamu	<i>to sit</i>
(15)	<i>spend the day</i>	hoɣay	sekla		āklu	<i>to spend the day</i>
(16)	<i>stop</i>	kay	sebded		əbdəd	<i>to stop</i>
(17)	<i>suckle</i>	kamkam ¹⁰	senkes		əŋkəs	<i>to suckle</i>
(18)	<i>be upright</i>	kay	soɣta ¹¹		aseɣti	<i>he planted (tree)</i>
(19)	<i>walk</i>	dida	ziɣuwenket		zəwəŋkət	<i>to walk</i>

⁷Glosses in the infinitive are from Prasse 1998, using the forms from Tawəlləmmət, the Tamasheq dialect spoken east of the Tadaksahak area in the Azaway region, Niger. Third person singular forms are elicited by the authors.

⁸man with the directional **-kat** 'towards here' is used for transitive: **Amankat asarar**. 'He approached the mat.'

⁹keni also means 'to sleep' when the agent is human/animate. **Barar afkeni asarar ka**. 'The/A child sleeps on the mat.' To make sleep is the same word as 'to lay down/to place' **ʃinʃa**.

¹⁰kamkam 'suckle' being a repeated action has a duplicate verb root.

¹¹soɣta is used for items that need to be put upright; it is also used for intransitive: **Arazum asoɣta**. 'The cereal bag stood upright.'

2. Two argument verbs

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Tadaksahak (imperative)</i>	<i>causative</i>	<i>passive</i>	<i>other forms</i>	<i>Tamasheq cognate</i>	<i>gloss</i>
(20)	<i>bring</i>	zaw	ʃiʃiwi	tewi	nemewi 'be contagious' senemewi 'contaminate'	awəy	<i>to bring</i>
(21)	<i>call somebody</i>	cew	seɣret	tuwaxra	anemexra 'namesake'	ǎɣru	<i>to call</i>
(22)	<i>climb/ride</i>	kedi	suwun	tewen	amawaŋ 'rider'	əwəŋ	<i>to ride (animal)</i>
(23)	<i>cut/slaughter</i>	dumbu	zegzem	tegzem		əgzəm	<i>to slaughter</i>
(24)	<i>do</i>	da	ʃiga	tega	nemega 'do to each other'	əgu	<i>to do</i>
(25)	<i>drink</i>	nin	ʃiʃu	tifju		ǎʃ(w)u	<i>to drink</i>
(26)	<i>eat</i>	ŋa	ʃikʃa	tekʃa	aʃakʃo 'food'	ikʃa	<i>he ate</i>
(27)	<i>fight (also verbally)</i>	zoɣ	sek(e)nes	teknes 'be shunned'		əkɲəs	<i>to dispute</i>
(28)	<i>gather (food)</i>	haba	sefred	tefred		əfred	<i>to gather (food)</i>
(29)	<i>give</i>	na	*sekfa ¹²	tekfa	nekfa 'give each other'	ǎkfu	<i>to give</i>
(30)	<i>enter in</i>	huru	zuguz			əggəz	<i>to enter in</i>
(31)	<i>hear</i>	mo	sesla	tuwesla	isalan 'news'	ǎslu	<i>to hear</i>
(32)	<i>hit</i>	kar	ʃuwut 'lead (animals)'	tewet	nemewut 'hit each other'	əwət	<i>to hit</i>
(33)	<i>jump over</i>	ʃot	seseged	tuwuged		əggəd	<i>to jump</i>
(34)	<i>kill</i>	wi	sasuwanɣa	tuwanɣa	nemanɣa 'hit each other' asamanɣo 'mortality'	anɣu	<i>to kill/hit</i>
(35)	<i>know</i>	bay	ʃiʃin	tuwusan	tusunt 'knowledge'	əssən	<i>to know (how to do)</i>
(36)	<i>lead pulling</i>	gungu	sisilwi		alaway 'caravan'	əlwəy	<i>to lead pulling</i>
(37)	<i>leave alone</i>	dis		tuwiya		ǎyyu	<i>to leave (alone)</i>
(38)	<i>look at</i>	hasi	suswud	tuswud	nemeswud 'look at each other'	əswəɖ	<i>to look</i>
(39)	<i>look for</i>	hurru	segmi	tegmi		əgməy	<i>to look for</i>
(40)	<i>love/want</i>	baɣa	ʃera	tuwera		iru	<i>to want/love</i>
(41)	<i>read/study</i>	qaran	sesexra ¹³	tuwaxra		ǎɣru	<i>to read/study</i>
(42)	<i>say</i>	ci	sesuwan	tuwena ¹⁴		ǎŋɲu	<i>to say</i>
(43)	<i>see</i>	guna	sekna 'show'	tuweni		ənəy	<i>to see</i>
(44)	<i>steal</i>	zay	ʃiʃukor	tukur		akər	<i>to steal</i>

¹²Unused form. Such an action does not happen in the culture; one would rather say 'he sent him something' **Ajuwan ase he**.

¹³Compare with "call". The Tamasheq root has both meanings: call/read.

¹⁴Normally used for general truths, like proverbs.

(45)	<i>swallow</i>	gon	zelmez	telmez	izelmaz 'tonsils'	əlməz	<i>to swallow</i>
(46)	<i>take</i>	dini	zubuz	tubuz 'arrested'		əbəz	<i>to take</i>
(47)	<i>take out</i>	kaw	ʃukuʃ	tukuʃ		əkəkəʃ	<i>to take out</i>
(48)	<i>tell</i>	har		temel ¹⁵		əməl	<i>to inform</i>

3. Two argument verbs also used in an intransitive form

	<i>gloss</i>	<i>Tadakahak (imperative)</i>	<i>causative</i>	<i>intransitive and passive</i>	<i>other forms</i>	<i>Tamasheq cognate</i>	<i>gloss</i>
(49)	<i>break (leg)</i>	digdig	zerza	digdig		ərzu	<i>to break</i>
(50)	<i>break (thing)</i>	baq	zerza ¹⁶	baq terza		ərzu	<i>to break</i>
(51)	<i>construct</i>	cen	sekres	cen	amakras 'baby'	əkɾəs	<i>to build/construct</i>
(52)	<i>cook</i>	hina	sesenja	hina	amasanja 'cook'	isaŋ	<i>he cooked</i>
(53)	<i>dig</i>	fas	zeɣez	fas teɣez		əɣəz	<i>to dig</i>
(54)	<i>dress</i>	dab	silsa	dab	iselsa 'clothes'	älsu	<i>to be dressed</i>
(55)	<i>fill</i>	ton	setker	ton		itkar	<i>he filled</i>
(56)	<i>pour</i>	dudu	sesenɣel	dudu		ənɣəl	<i>to pour</i>
(57)	<i>reach</i>	taʷ	suwud	taʷ tuwud 'catch up with'		awəɖ	<i>to reach</i>
(58)	<i>sew</i>	taʷab	zezmi	taʷab	nezmi 'sewn together' anazmay 'needle'	əzməy	<i>to sew</i>
(59)	<i>throw out</i>	mun	sesenɣel	mun tuwanɣel ¹⁷		ənɣəl	<i>to pour</i>
(60)	<i>tie up</i>	haw	suwaqan	haw tuwaqan		əɖqən	<i>to tie up</i>

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¹⁵Used for specifics when some news is announced.

¹⁶Compare with **digdig**.

¹⁷**mun** can be voluntarily or not, whereas **tuwanɣel** can only be voluntarily.

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