

Mood and Modality Markers in the Zaghawa Language

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Abstract

This is a descriptive/analytic study that intends to describe the mood/modality markers used in the Wegi dialect, one of the major dialects of the Zaghawa language spoken in Sudan. It distinguishes between the declarative mood types: the affirmative mood, imperative, the interrogative and modality types: the subjunctive, the conditional, and the negative. To do so, a full description of the four verb classes found in this language will be provided as well as a brief description of the aspect system in which its morphological features play an important role in determining the mood/modality markers in the language. The qualitative data collection method was used to collect the primary data for this study: a mixture of structured interviews, and elicitation. The collected data was written in IPA orthography. The method used in analyzing the data of the study is a descriptive/analytic approach following the principles of the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010). The findings have revealed that some modality markers used in Wegi are not attested in the other varieties of the Zaghawa language.

Keywords: Zaghawa, Wegi, Mood, Modality, verb-classes

1. Introduction

It is essential to distinguish between the terms MOOD and MODALITY. "The term MOOD: is considered to describe the categories of declarative, imperative, and interrogative" (Kroeger 2005:163; Dixon 2010:95).

MODALITY: is concerned with "the status of the proposition that describes the event" (Palmer 2001:1). "It can roughly be said that it signals the speaker's attitude towards the proposition" (Givón 1995:112). "The speaker's attitude or the judgments he/she makes concerning the proposition are often described as either epistemic or deontic" (Givón 1995:112; Kroeger 2005:166; Palmer 2001:8).

"Epistemic modality: expresses the speaker's state of knowledge: truth, belief, possibility, and probability (i.e., the factual status of the proposition).

Deontic modality: on the other hand, expresses the speaker's judgment of conditioning factors on the agent in the proposition; obligation, permission, desirability, and ability.

Some linguists do not differentiate between the terms mood and modality" (Palmer 2001:4; Timberlake 2007:315-330).

Payne (1997:294-305) does not use the term mood but describes interrogative and imperative as "non-declarative speech acts."

Other linguists do not distinguish between epistemic and deontic modalities. Dixon (2012:26-28) describes modality in terms of seven central meanings; prediction, obligation, necessity, ability, activities, desire, and intension.

The current study is a descriptive/analytic study that intends to describe the mood/modality markers used in the Wegi dialect, one of the major dialects of the Zaghawa language spoken in Sudan. The study distinguishes between the following mood/modality types:

- Declarative Mood Types (section 3)

- Affirmative Mood (section 3.1)
- The Imperative (section 3.2)
- The Interrogative (section 3.3)
- Modality in Zaghawa (section 4)
- The Subjunctive (section 4.1)
- The Potential (section 4.1.1)
- The Volitive (section 4.1.2)
- The Conditional (section 4.2)
- Negation (section 4.3)
- Negation of Perfective/Imperfective Aspects (section 4.3.1)
- The Negative Imperative (section 4.3.2)

2. Background

2.1. Language Classification and Dialects

Zaghawa is a Nilo-Saharan, Saharan languages, also known as 'Beria', spoken in Western Sudan, specifically in the Darfur region. It is one of the biggest ethnic groups in Darfur and their language is considered one of the major languages in the area given the number of speakers. According to the Ethnologue the total population of Zaghawa in Sudan is 102,000 (1982 SIL). Osman (2006:347) mentioned that the total population of Zaghawa in Sudan is approximately 180,000. The language is also spoken in other countries like Chad and Libya. The Zaghawa people divide their language into four major dialects; Kube in the border between Chad and Sudan, Tuba sharing a land that traditionally belongs to the neighboring Tama people, Wegi is considered the largest of the four varieties remaining wholly in Sudan; and Dirong is exclusively located in Chad.

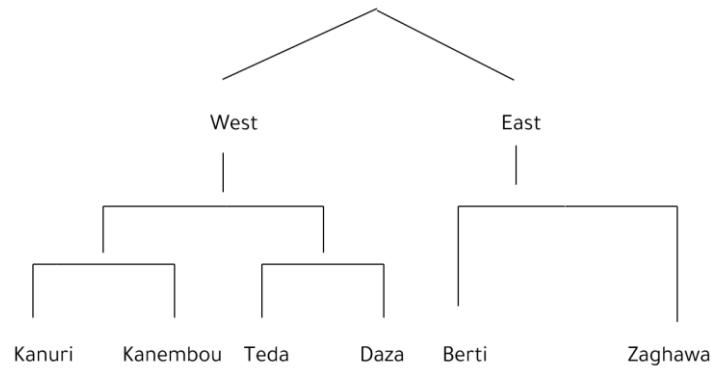


Figure 1. The Saharan language family (Cyffer 1981/82:161) Proto Saharan

2.2. Objectives

My aim is two folded:

1. Presenting the types of mood/ modalities in the Zaghawa language.
2. Providing an adequate grammatical description and analysis of the mood/ modality markers used in Zaghawa with special focus on the Wegi dialect.

2.3. Methodology

2.3.1 *Informants*

Although the Darfur region is the traditional region where many Zaghawa speakers are found, the political and security situation makes it difficult to travel to Darfur. Consequently, the fieldwork was carried out with native speakers of Zaghawa living in Khartoum. The primary data for this study was collected from fieldwork sessions held by the author in Khartoum during 2018-2019. Two main informants were involved:

- a. Esam Abdalla helped in providing preliminary data at the beginning of this work.

- b. A great deal of the data was collected from Elsadig Omda Elnur. Both are speakers of the Wegi dialect.

2.3.2 Techniques of Data Collection

The qualitative data collection method was used to collect the primary data for this research: a mixture of structured interviews, and elicitation. The collected data was written in IPA orthography. Secondary data was collected from linguistic journals, conference papers, references, and previous studies in the area of verbal morphology. The presented data is from the Wegi dialect. The data for the Zaghawa language will be written in italics throughout the paper. Tones will only be marked when they have grammatical meaning (like distinguishing between singular and plural, or between affirmative and negative).

2.3.3 Method of Data Analysis

The method used in analyzing the data of the study is a descriptive/analytic method following the principles of the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010). A descriptive method normally describes the principles and processes of a language and suggests a systematic way of approaching the description of the language from the inside out. After grouping and organizing the data each feature was analyzed and described according to the universal linguistic terminology.

3. Declarative Mood Types

3.1. Affirmative Mood

Zaghawa can be described as an aspect-oriented language in common with many Nilo-Saharan languages (Stassen 1997:463). Zaghawa has a two-way contrast; it distinguishes between two types of aspect, perfective and imperfective; this section presents the markers for both types. The distinction is expressed by an affix, or by suppletive verbal roots (i.e., the root of the verb is different in the perfective and imperfective). Most often, the meaning behind this distinction was described as 'completed' versus 'not

completed' activity or event in the general linguistic literature (Bybee 1985). The expression of time and modality is based on the distinction of the two aspects; therefore, it is secondary compared to perfective/imperfective. The perfective aspect expresses an accomplished event or (action) which is translated in many languages as the past tense (i.e., in Zaghawa the markers of the past tense and perfective are fused in one form). Perfectivity indicates a completed action with a beginning, middle and end point. In general, the perfective aspect in Wegi is marked morphologically by the suffix *-i*, *-ɪ* (*-u*, *-ʊ* for 3PL) (\pm ATR) on verbs; this suffix indicates both perfectivity and the completion of an action especially when it is contrasted with an imperfective form. The affixes marking the perfective in Wegi are as follows:

In all the ¹verb classes of this language, the affirmative aspect is marked by the suffix *-ɪ* (\pm ATR) with the singular and *-ʊ* (\pm ATR) for the plural. This

¹ In most of the Saharan languages, three verbal classes have been distinguished depending on the position of the subject and object morphemes. Zaghawa has four verb classes that are conjugated differently:

- i. Class (A) verbs in Zaghawa belong to the semantically defined category of middle voice. Verbs of this class are inflected by means of subject morphemes; the subject does not play any active role in the action for many of the verbs. This class is characterized by Obj. morphemes prefixed to the 1st and 2nd and by Ø morpheme in the 3rd person. With the verbs of Class (A) it is only the subject morpheme of the 3rd person which functions like the subject, the topic being presented by an object morpheme (for more information see Aldawi 2016). The verbs are further divided into class (A/1) in which the morpheme *s(v)-* is absent in the imperfective aspect and class (A/2) which is characterized by the presence of the prefix *s(v)-* marking the imperfective aspect.
- ii. Class (B) verbs are characterized by subject suffixes for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, and object morphemes prefixed or not marked for the 3rd person. All the verbs of class (B) belong to the semantic category of active voice, they are combined with the subj. morpheme, and they usually have a monosyllabic or disyllabic verbal root. Class (B) verbs are divided as well into two subclasses; class (B/1) and (B/2) depending on whether object morphemes are prefixed to the root or not.
- iii. Class (C) verbs are mainly structured by a lexical morpheme plus the auxiliary *-ɪ*. The subject and object morphemes, instead of gathering around the lexical morpheme cluster around the auxiliary and aspect morphemes that follow in a successive manner. Therefore, we can say that class (C) verbs are nominalized verbs.
- iv. Class (D): This class of verbs has not been recognized in previous research of the Saharan languages; it was rather thought of as a group of verbs belonging to class (C). However, when comparing them carefully to class (C) verbs, we recognized that they behave differently. The

morpheme is suffixed with the finite verb not only in affirmative sentences but also in interrogative sentences, as will show further in this study.

Class (A):

The absence of the subject morpheme marking the 3rd person of the perfective appears in certain verbs of class (A) and class (B) and with the 3rd person of the verbs of class (C); the absence of the suffix morpheme -r or its allomorphs in the perfective is a lexical irregularity, which is not explained by a phonological rule: cf. example 2 below.

- (1) a. $\varepsilon\text{-}b\varepsilon\text{-}r\text{-}i$
01SG-forget-S3-PFV.AFF.SG
'I forgot'
b. $\emptyset\text{-}b\varepsilon\text{-}r\text{-}v$
03PL-forget-S3-PFV.AFF.PL
'They forgot'
- (2) $\emptyset\text{-}ett\varepsilon\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}i$
01SG-fall-S3-PFV.AFF.SG
'I fell'

Class (B):

The prefix *ki*- marking the perfective with the 3rd person for the verbs of class B/1: the *ki*- is a portmanteau morpheme with two functions; indicating simultaneously perfective and 3rd person: the prefix *ki*- has several allomorphs *ki*-, *ku*-, *ku*-, *k*-.

The *ki*- occurs with verbal roots that contain front or mid vowels and the *ku*- occurs when the verbal root contains back vowels,

major difference is that this class is characterized by the presence of an object morpheme preceding the auxiliary and the absence of subject morphemes that normally follow it with all persons (excluding the 3rd person). Accordingly, the order of these morphemes in a verb would be as follows: a lexical morpheme, an obligatory object morpheme, the auxiliary -i- beside an aspect morpheme that follows it successively.

the vowel in the prefix *k(v)-* harmonizes with the vowels in the root (i.e., \pm ATR) and the allomorph *k-* occurs when the verbal root begins with a vowel, consider the following examples:

- (3) a. *girj* *kija-r-i*
 money 3PFV-hide-S3-PFV.AFF.SG
 'He hid the money'
- b. *girj* *kija-r-u*
 money 3PFV-hide-S3-PFV.AFF.PL
 'They hid the money'

The suffix *-ε* marks the perfective and the 3rd person of the verbs of class (B/2). The *-ε* suffix is also considered a portmanteau morpheme marking 3rd person and the perfective as presented in example 4 below:

(4) **VERB ROOT-CAUS-3PFV-3SUBJ-PFV**

- ʃε-ɪ-ε-r-ɪ* 3SG (S)he feeds
sɔ-ɪ-ε-r-ɪ 3SG (S)he sews

Class (C):

- (5) a. *ka/ɪ-gi-/ɪ-Ø-/i*
 laugh-3PFV-AUX-S3-PFV.AFF.SG
 'He laughed'
- b. *ka/ɪ-gi-/ɪ-Ø-/u*
 laugh-3PFV-AUX-S3-PFV.AFF.PL
 'They laughed'

Class (D):

(6) ***dʊ-ɛ-ɡɪ-/ɪ-Ø-/ɪ***

tire-02SG-3PFV-AUX-S3-PFV.AFF.SG

'You were tired'

(7) *kɔɪ-ɛ-gɪ-/-Ø-o*

fear-02SG-3PFV-AUX-S3-PFV.AFF.PL

'You were afraid'

Imperfective aspect refers to the internal structure of a situation (Comrie 1976:24). Alternatively, it can express an event to come and results in the future. There is no morphologically marked distinction of present, future, and imperfective. The imperfective aspect is marked by the suffix *-ɛ* (±ATR) on verbs.

Class (A): the prefix *s(v)-* marks the 3rd person of the imperfective with class (A/2) verbs; the suffix *s(v)-* has the allomorph *s-* when the verbal root begins with a vowel. Regarding its position, it precedes the verb root and follows the object morpheme, e.g.:

(8) **OBJ-S(V)-ROOT-3SUBJ-IPFV**

ɛ-sɛ-be-r-ɛ 1SG 'I forget it'

Ø-s-ɛ//-Ø-ɛ 3SG '(S)he sits down'

Class (B) and (C) are marked for the imperfective as well by the by the suffix *-ɛ* (±ATR) as presented in examples 9 and 10.

Class (B):

(9) **VERB ROOT-SUBJ-IPFV**

tɔ-r-ɛ 3SG '(S)he tastes'

hɪ-g-ɛ 1SG 'I cover'

Class (C):

(10) **LM-AUX-SUBJ-IPFV**

sin-e-b-e 2PL 'You smell'

kuru-l-Ø-e 3PL 'They crawl'

The distinction between 2nd and 3rd persons singular and plural imperfective forms of class (D) (which are identical in terms of segmental structure) is expressed by a tonal morpheme; roughly, the 2nd singular is marked by a low tone and the plural by a high tone. For the 3rd person singular and plural imperfective forms, the singular is marked by a high tone and the plural by a low tone falling on the last syllable, see example 11.

Class (D):

(11) LM-OBJ-AUX-3SUBJ-IPFV			
<i>kɔɪ-k̥-ɪ-Ø-é</i>	2PL		'You are afraid'
<i>kadu-Ø-ɪ-Ø-é</i>	3PL		'They are happy'

3.2. The Imperative

"The imperative mood is a verb form used to issue direct commands and orders which are restricted to second person subject. Therefore, in many languages it only has two forms; one for the singular and one for the plural" (Bybee 1985:171).

In Zaghawa, imperatives are usually understood to refer to second person subjects. Accordingly, it is noticed in our data that in the four verbal classes the form of the imperative is characterized by the absence of the subject morpheme. Bybee (1985:173) claims that "zero-marking in the imperative is common among languages". In the verb classes (A) and (B), the singular is marked by a Ø morpheme, whereas the plural imperative is marked by the vowel -o/ -u (±ATR) suffixed to the verbal root and in some cases when the verbal root ends with a vowel it replaces it as in the verbs *k̥ge*, *k̥tte*, *k̥debe* presented in table 1 below:

Class (A):

Table 1. Class (A) verbs in the imperative

SG: 2OBJ-VERB ROOT	PL: 2OBJ-VERB ROOT-IMP	Gloss
<i>k̥-gε</i>	<i>k̥-g-u</i>	lie down

/-et- <i>te</i>	/-tɔg- <i>o</i>	fall
/-ow	/-edəb- <i>o</i>	enter
/-ɛ/	/-akk- <i>o</i>	sit down
/-aw/	/-aw- <i>ó</i>	learn

Class (B):

Likewise, the singular imperative of the verbal Class (B) is marked by a zero morpheme, the plural by the morpheme *-o*, *-u* (\pm ATR) which is suffixed to the verbal root. Only in cases where the verbal root ends in a vowel it replaces it as in [*teɪl*] below, see table 2:

Table 2. Class (B) verbs in the imperative

SG: VERB ROOT	PL: VERB ROOT-IMP	Gloss
<i>hir</i>	<i>hir-u</i>	run
<i>ostorr</i>	<i>ostorr-u</i>	fix
<i>la</i>	<i>la-o</i>	buy
<i>teɪl</i>	<i>teɪl-o</i>	put
<i>ja</i>	<i>ja-o</i>	hide

Class (C):

In the verbal class (C), it is convenient to distinguish between the non-derived and derived forms of the auxiliary *-i*. In the case of the non-derived auxiliary *-i* the singular takes the suffix *-ɔ*, *-o* with a low tone, the plural is marked by the suffix *-o*, *-u* \pm ATR with a high tone: e.g.

Table 3. Class (C) verbs in the imperative

SG: LM-AUX-IMP	PL: LM-AUX-IMP	Gloss
<i>laga-i-ɔ</i>	<i>laga-i-ó</i>	greet
<i>kəbə-i-ɔ</i>	<i>kəbə-i-ó</i>	listen
<i>sin-i-ɔ</i>	<i>sin-i-ó</i>	smell

<i>mis-l-ò</i>	<i>mis-l-ú</i>	to wipe oil
<i>tapp-l-ò</i>	<i>tapp-l-ú</i>	clap
<i>sigir-l-ò</i>	<i>sigir-l-ú</i>	rest
<i>tim-l-ò</i>	<i>tim-l-ú</i>	cut

The auxiliary verb is sometimes assimilated in verb stems that contain non-liquid consonants. When the auxiliary is geminated, it copies the features of the preceding consonant (i.e., regressive assimilation) of the stem, e.g.

<i>sin-l-ò</i>	→ <i>sin-n-ò</i>	smell
<i>miss-l-ò</i>	→ <i>mis-s-ò</i>	wipe with oil
<i>tim-l-ò</i>	→ <i>tim-m-ò</i>	cut

When the auxiliary is derived by the prefix *se-* of the causative, the singular is unmarked [Ø], and the plural is marked by the suffix *-lu*, e.g.

Table 4. The derived auxiliary of class (C) in the imperative

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>mu-se-i</i>	<i>mu-se-lu</i>	make close
<i>guru-se-i</i>	<i>guru-se-lu</i>	make remember
<i>gemni-se-i</i>	<i>gemni-se-lu</i>	make angry
<i>du-se-i</i>	<i>du-se-lu</i>	make tired

Class (D):

In the verbal class (D), for the non-derived auxiliary, the singular imperative is marked by the suffix *-ò*, *-o ± ATR*, and the plural is marked by the suffix *-u*, *-u ± ATR*:

Table 5. Class (D) verbs in the imperative

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>beti-l-ò</i>	<i>beti-l-u</i>	become big
<i>orga-l-o</i>	<i>orga-l-u</i>	be thirsty
<i>kɔi-l-ɔ</i>	<i>kɔi-l-u</i>	be afraid

For the derived form of the auxiliary in class (D) verbs, the singular imperative is unmarked, and the plural is marked by the suffix *-v*, *-u*±ATR, e.g.

able 6. The derived auxiliary of class (D) in the imperative

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>miɛ-ɛ-ʃi</i>	<i>miɛ-ɛ-ʃ-v</i>	become black
<i>iʃɛ-ɛ-ʃi</i>	<i>iʃɛ-ɛ-ʃ-v</i>	become hot

3.3. The Interrogative

Interrogative markers occur bound to the verb in many languages that have mood markers, and usually interrogative inflection occurs as a suffix on the verb. "The interrogative marker is the last marker on the verb" (Bybee1985:175). And since this is true for Zaghawa, there is no fusion or interaction with tense or aspect markers.

"In African languages, yes/no questions most commonly involve only a question marker or morpheme at the end or beginning of the sentence" (Watters 2000:203).

Total interrogation in Zaghawa (or the open question) requires an affirmative or negative answer. It is formed by means of the suffix *-a* which is added to the finite verb in final position, e.g.:

- (12) *gu* *ʃɛ-ɪ-a*
porridge eat-s2SG-Q
'Do you eat porridge?'
- (13) *man* *kɔb* *kora-e-ɪ-a*
dishes POSS:2SG wash-AUX-S2SG-Q
'Do you wash your dishes?'
- (14) *begɛɪ-ɛ-ɪ-a*
travel-AUX-s2SG-Q
'Do you travel?'
- (15) *na-go* *ʃɛ-ɪ-r-a*

	child-POSS:3SG		feed-CAUS-S3-Q
	'Did she feed her child?'		
(16)	<i>tir</i>	<i>egi</i>	<i>guruw-e-l-a</i>
	name	POSS:1SG	remember-AUX-S2SG-Q
	'Do you remember my name?'		

4. Modality in Zaghawa

4.1. The Subjunctive

4.1.1 *The Potential*

Bybee (1985:168) refers to such types of moods as agent-oriented modality because their clauses are restricted to animate agents with whom the conditions of 'ability' or potentiality and 'volition' may be associated. The potential expresses 'to be able to do something', i.e., ability, which is expressed by the verb '*taga*'- 'can', in the form of the converb^x followed by a finite verb.

Table 7. The verb *taga* conjugated to different persons

SG 1	<i>taga-g-ε</i>
2	<i>taga-l-ε</i>
3	<i>kita-r-é</i> / <i>kitáá</i>
PL 1	<i>taga-d-ε</i>
2	<i>taga-b-ε</i>
3	<i>kita-r-è</i> / <i>kitàà</i>

Since the potential is conjugated according to the perfective aspect the prefix *ki-* appears with the 3rd person singular and plural, moreover it is not necessary that there is accord between the subject of the converb^x in the form of '*taga*' and the finite verb cf. example 17:

(17)	<i>taga-g-ε</i>	<i>l-é</i>	<i>l-akku-r-ε</i>
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- (18) *taga-g-ε* can-S1SG-CVB^x COP^c:IPL O2PL-stay-s3-Q
 'Could I stay with you (PL)?'
- can-S1SG-CVB^x Ø-ε/-I
 'Could I sit down'

In the following examples there is accord/agreement between the subject of the converb^x in the form of '*taga*' and the finite verb:

- (19) *ki-ta-r-é* ε/ɪ 3PFV-can-S3-CVB^x meat 3PFV-eat-S3-PFV
 'He could eat meat'
- (20) *ki-ta-r-é* *gu* 3PFV-can-S3-CVB^x porridge 3PFV-cook-S3-PFV
 'She was able to cook porridge'
- (21) *ki-ta-r-é* *k-ɔt-Ø-I* 3PFV-can-S3-CVB^x 3PFV-run-S3-PFV
 'He could run'
- (22) *ki-ta-r-é* *tur* 3PFV-can-S3-CVB^x sheep *kɔn-a-r-I* slaughter-3PFV-S3-PFV
 'He could slaughter the sheep'
- (23) *ki-ta-r-é* *begər-gi-l-Ø-u* 3PFV-can-S3-CVB^x travel-3PFV-AUX-S3-PFV :PL
 'They could travel'

4.1.2 The Volitive¹

This section deals with the volitive, which is a subjunctive mood type made of converb^y. There are two types of converbs in Zaghawa; one based on the perfective, mainly expressing chronological sequence, the other is based on the imperfective mainly expressing purpose (Jakobi & Crass 2004). Jakobi & Crass' converb₁ corresponds to CVB^x in this study and their converb₂ corresponds to CVB^y.

A converb depends syntactically on another verb form but it is not its argument. It can be an adjunct, i.e., an adverbial, but can neither be the only predicate of a simple sentence, nor clausal argument. The converb in Zaghawa is a verbal form which depends on the finite verb and unlike the finite verb, converbs cannot occur in sentence-final position. They have very limited inflectional possibilities (i.e., they are morphologically reduced verb forms). Converbs are often only inflected for person and have no affix marking modality. Add to that, the distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect is often neutralized. All verbs that distinguish between the perfective and imperfective aspects have two types of converbs; converb^x referred to in our analysis as (CVB^x) and converb^y referred to as (CVB^y). Although (CVB^x) is formed with the perfective aspect and (CVB^y) with the imperfective aspect, they are similar morphologically because their forms are both marked by the suffix -e which replaces the suffixes -i (sg.) and -u (pl.) of the affirmative. Although the imperfective in the Wegi dialect also ends by the suffix -e, it can be distinguished from the converb^y by its position in a sentence.

The auxiliary -/functions as a verb of method² which is suffixed with another verb to form the converb^y both form the base of the volitive mood. The

¹ The volitive is a subjunctive-type mood which is used by languages without infinitival verb forms in reason and purpose clauses such as Kanuri a Saharan (Nilo-Saharan) language (Watters 2000).

²Verb of Method: fulfills the morphosyntactic function of a full verb. In other words, it occurs syntactically in the position of the verb, and it presents some of the inflectional information, such as subject morphemes, object morphemes and morphemes of aspect and mood, normally associated with full verbs.

auxiliary *-/* is conjugated to the imperfective aspect. The volitive expresses the intention to do something. In the form of the volitive the person is doubly marked both in the auxiliary *-/* and in the converb^y.

The volitive of class (A) and class (B) verbs is formed with the finite verb and the auxiliary in the form of the converb^y:

1) In class (A) verbs in which all the verbs are conjugated with the 3rd person morpheme *-r*, the converb^y always takes the form *-/-* with all persons:

- (24) *ε-ge-r-ε-/-ε*
 01SG-sleep-s3-CVB^y-AUX-IPFV
 'I want to sleep'

- (25) *ta-s-aw-r-ε-/-ε*
 01PL-IPFV-learn-s3-CVB^y-AUX-IPFV
 'We want to learn'

2) In class (B) verbs the converb^y is also suffixed to the finite verb and always takes the shape of the person marker (for more information, see Aldawi 2010:70) i.e., the person is doubly significant in the finite verb and the converb^y.

Table 8. The volitive of class (B) verbs

FINITE VERB-SUBJ-CVB ^y -SUBJ-IPFV	Gloss
<i>si-si-b-e-b-e</i>	'you want to collect'
<i>la-g-ε-g-ε</i>	'I want to buy'
<i>keɪ-r-é-r-é</i>	'he wants to give'

3) The volitive form for verbs of class (C) is formed with a lexical morpheme, the auxiliary in the form of the converb^y, and the auxiliary *-/* conjugated to the imperfective aspect:

Table 9. The volitive of class (C) verbs

FINITE VERB-SUBJ-CVB ^y -SUBJ-IPFV	Gloss
<i>ostor-ge-ge</i>	'I want to fix'
<i>kora-le-le</i>	'they want to wash'
<i>begeɪ-kɛ-kɛ</i>	'he wants to travel'

4) The volitive for verbs of class (D) is formed with the lexical morpheme, an object morpheme, the derived form of the auxiliary followed by the 3rd person subject morpheme -r, the form of converb^y, and the auxiliary -/ conjugated to the imperfective aspect:

Table 10. The volitive of class (D) verbs

LM-OBJ-AUX-3SUBJ-CVB ^y -AUX-IPFV	Gloss
<i>miɛ-te-ʃi-r-ɛ-/-ɛ</i>	'We want to become black'
<i>betɪ-ɛ-ʃi-r-ɛ-/-ɛ</i>	'I want to become big'
<i>agɪ-ɛ-ʃi-r-ɛ-/-ɛ</i>	'I want to be thirsty'

The following examples show the use of the volitive:

- (26) *a-s-aw-r-ɛ-ʃi-ŋ* *bɪɛ* *Ø-aʊ-r-ɪ*
 01SG-IPFV-IPFV-learn-s3-CVB^y-INDF-POST house 01SG-enter-s3-PFV
 'I wanted to study but I got married' (lit. I wanted to study but I entered the house of marriage)
- (27) *əɪ* *ɛ-ge-r-ɛ-ʃi-ŋ* *na* *ɛgɪ* *Ø-ɛɪ-r-ɪ*
 PP:1SG 01SG-sleep-s3-CVB^y-INDF- baby POSS:1SG 03-cry-s3-
 POST PFV
 'I wanted to sleep but my baby cried'

4.2. The Conditional

The conditional mood in the Weger dialect is marked by the proposition -/i behaving as an enclitic to the finite verb and the expression 'v' indicating condition at the head of a noun phrase, consider the following examples:

(28)	<i>o</i>	<i>ε-ge-Ø-I-ħ</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>k-al-g-ε</i>
	SUB	01SG-sleep-S3-PFV-SUB	fatigue	APPL-go-S1SG- IPFV

'If I sleep, I will rest' (lit. If I sleep fatigue will go away from me'

(29)	<i>o</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>egI</i>	<i>k-εt-Ø-I-ħ</i>
	SUB	father	POSS:1SG	APPL-come-S3-PFV- SUB

'If my father comes, we will be happy'

4.3. Negation

4.3.1. Negation of Perfective/Imperfective Aspects

Bybee (1985:176) claims that negation is not a member of the mood category according to her definition of mood, but it occurs as a verbal inflection in a number of languages.

"Sometimes the functional difference between the various negative operations has to do with negation of different aspect or different modes" (Payne 1997:282). This is the case with the Zaghawa language in which negative operations are associated with the negation of aspect and mood.

4.3.1.1 The Negative Imperfective

The form of the imperfective negative is structured with the suffix *-ɔ* (±ATR) which replaces the suffix *-i/-i*, *-u/-o* of the affirmative, this applies to all verb classes:

Class (A): the 1st SG, 1st PL, 2nd SG and 3rd SG are marked by the suffix *-ɔ*, *-o*, consider the following examples:

(30)	<i>ε-ʃεI-r-ɔ</i>
	01SG-cry-S3-NEG
	'I do not cry'

(31)	<i>k-debe-r-ɔ</i>
------	-------------------

o2SG-wear-s3-NEG

'You do not wear'

(32) *te-se-be-r-o*

o1PL-IPFV-forget-s3-NEG

'We do not forget'

Class (B): the 1st SG, 1st PL, 2nd SG and 3rd SG are marked by the suffix -o, consider the examples below:

(33) *to-g-o*

taste-S1SG-NEG

'I do not taste'

(34) *hi-r-o*

cover-S3SG-NEG

'She does not cover'

(35) *ostor-l-o*

fix-S2SG-NEG

'You do not fix'

(36) *keI-d-o*

give-S1PL-NEG

'We do not give'

Class (C): the 1st SG, 1st PL, 2nd SG and 3rd SG are marked by the suffix -o, representing them is the 1st PL in the examples below:

(37) *kɔI-ɛ-d-o*

fear-AUX-S1PL-NEG

'We are not afraid'

(38) *kɛbe-ɛ-l-o*

ear-AUX-S2PL-NEG

'You do not listen'

(39) *burrɛ-g-o*

- jump-AUX-S1SG-NEG
'I do not jump'
- (40) *tɔs-s-ɛ-r-ɔ*
wipe-AUX-S3SG-NEG
'She does not wipe the dust'

Class (D): the 1st SG, 1st PL, 2nd SG and 3rd SG are marked by the suffix -ɔ, -o in the examples below:

- (41) *kadu-le-l-∅-o*
LM-O2SG-AUX-S3-NEG
'You, do not be happy'
- (42) *bɛti-∅-l-∅-ɔ*
LM-O3SG-AUX-S3-NEG
'He does not become big'
- (43) *kɔi-te-l-∅-ɔ*
LM-O1PL-AUX-S3-NEG
'We do not become afraid'

The negative of the 2nd and the 3rd person plural of class (D) verbs in the imperfective is marked by the suffix -u/ -ɔ ±ATR, e.g.:

- (44) *du-k-∅-u*
LM-O2PL-AUX-S3-NEG
'You, do not be tired'

4.3.1.2. *The Negative Perfective*

"Negative particles outside the verbal word provide another common way to negate a sentence in African languages. These particles occur at the verb phrase level" (Watters 2000:207). "Multiple expressions of negation are common...involving an affix and a particle" (Payne1997:284). The perfective in Wegi is doubly marked for negation by the negative particle /la/ and the suffix -ɔ, this particle, which is assumed to be a borrowing from Arabic, completely changes the meaning. In a class (A), (B), (C) and (D) omitting the

[/a] from the 2nd person would result in a negative imperative as presented in the third column of table 11, e.g.:

Table 11. The negative perfective aspect

NEGATIVE PFV	Gloss	NEGATIVE IMPR	Gloss
/a /k-g-ɔ	you did not	/k-g-ɔ	'do not sleep'
	sleep		
/a /kɔɪ-k-gi-b	you were not	/kɔɪ-k-gi-ɔ	'do not be afraid'
	afraid		

With the 3rd PL in class (B), (C) and (D) as well as with the 2nd PL and 3rd PL. in class (A) verbs, the suffix -ɔ is replaced by the suffix -/u (it has the allomorph -u with some verbs), it acts like a portmanteau morpheme marking both 'negation' and 'plural' and it is not subject to vowel harmony, beside the negative particle /a. The main function of the suffix -/u is to mark plural, its secondary function is to mark the negative forms.

Class (A):

Table 12. Negative of the 2nd person of class (A)

PART /OBJ:2SG-VERB ROOT- NEG:2SG	PART /OBJ:2PL-VERB ROOT-NEG: 2PL	Gloss
/a /k-g-ɔ	/a /k-ge-/u	did not lie
		down
/a /l-ɛt-ɔ	/a /b-tɔgɔ-/u	did not fall
/a /k-deb-ɔ	/a /k-debe-/u	did not wear
/a /l-aw-r-ɔ	/a /l-aw-r-/u	did not learn

Table 13. Negative of the 3rd person of class (A)

PART /OBJ:3SG-VERB ROOT- NEG:3SG	PART /OBJ:3PL-VERB ROOT- NEG:3PL	Gloss
/a /Ø-ber-ɔ	/a /Ø-ber-/u	did not forget

<i>la Ø-εl-ɔ</i>	<i>la Ø-okkor-u</i>	did not sit down
<i>la Ø-kett-ɔ</i>	<i>la Ø-tgʊ-lu</i>	did not fall

Class (B):

Table 14. Negative of the 3rd person of class (B)

PART/VERB ROOT-3SUBJ-NEG:3SG	PART/VERB ROOT-3SUBJ-NEG:3PL	Gloss
<i>la fɛɪə-r-ɔ</i>	<i>la fɛɪə-r-u</i>	did not feed
<i>la kɪ-fɛ-r-ɔ</i>	<i>la kɪ-fɛ-r-u</i>	did not eat
<i>la kʊ-gʊ-r-ɔ</i>	<i>la kʊ-gʊ-r-u</i>	did not call
<i>la kɪ-ga-r-ɔ</i>	<i>la kɪ-ga-r-u</i>	did not grind

Class (C):

Table 15. Negative of the 3rd person of class (C)

PART/LM-3PFV-AUX-3SUBJ-NEG:3SG	PART/LM-3PFV-AUX-3SUBJ-NEG:3PL	Gloss
<i>la tɪm-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la tɪm-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	did not cut
<i>la laga-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la laga-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	did not greet
<i>la sɪnn-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la sɪnn-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	did not smell
<i>la hɔɪ-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la hɔɪ-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	did not climb

Class (D):

Table 16. Negative of the 3rd person of class (D)

PART/LM-OBJ-3PFV-AUX-3SUBJ-NEG:3SG	PART/LM-OBJ-3PFV-AUX-3SUBJ-NEG:3PL	Gloss
<i>la agɪ-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la agɪ-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	not hungry
<i>la orga-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la orga-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	not thirsty
<i>la ɪjɛ-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-ɔ</i>	<i>la ɪjɛ-Ø-gɪ-l-Ø-u</i>	not hot

In the verbal class (B) and (C), the distinction between the perfective and the imperfective negative is that the imperfective only takes the suffix -o with the first and second person; the perfective is doubly marked, taking the suffix -o plus the negative particle /la/ preceding the verb, e.g.:

Class (B):

Table 17. Negative Perfective/ Imperfective of Class (B) with 1st Person

Negative Imperfective	Negative Perfective			Gloss
VERB ROOT-SUBJ:1SG-NEG:1SG	PART	VERB	ROOT-SUBJ:1SG-NEG:1SG	
<i>tɔ-g-o</i>		<i>/a tɔ-g-o</i>		not taste
<i>ku-g-o</i>		<i>/a ku-g-o</i>		not swallow
<i>gi-g-o</i>		<i>/a gi-g-o</i>		not open

Table 18. Negative Perfective/ Imperfective of Class (B) with 2nd Person

Negative Imperfective	Negative Perfective			Gloss
VERB ROOT-SUBJ:2PL-NEG:2PL	PART	VERB	ROOT-SUBJ:2PL-NEG:2PL	
<i>bər-b-o</i>		<i>/a bər-b-o</i>		not leave
<i>su-b-o</i>		<i>/a su-b-o</i>		not burn
<i>gu-b-o</i>		<i>/a gu-b-o</i>		not call

Class (C): with the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural the negative imperfective takes the negative suffix -o, in the perfective the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural are also doubly marked for negation by the particle /la/ preceding the verb plus the negative suffix -o, representing this group is the 2nd person singular and the 1st person plural.

Table 19. Negative perfective/ imperfective of class (C) with 2nd person

Negative Imperfective	Negative Perfective			Gloss
LM-AUX-SUBJ:2SG-NEG:2SG	PART	LM-AUX-SUBJ:2SG-NEG:2SG		
<i>bəgəɪ-ɛ-ɪ-o</i>		<i>/a bəgəɪ-ɛ-ɪ-o</i>		not travel

<i>burr-ə-lɔ̃</i>	<i>la burr-ə-lɔ̃</i>	not jump
<i>tapp-ə-lɔ̃</i>	<i>la tapp-ə-lɔ̃</i>	not clap

Table 20. Negative perfective/ imperfective of class (C) with 1st person plural

Negative Imperfective	Negative Perfective	Gloss
LM-AUX-SUBJ:1PL-NEG:1PL	PART LM-AUX-SUBJ:1PL-NEG:1PL	
<i>figiŋ-ε-d-ɔ</i>	<i>lafigiŋ-ε-d-ɔ</i>	not rest
<i>ɛrett-ε-d-ɔ</i>	<i>laɛrett-ε-d-ɔ</i>	not cross
<i>kuru-ε-d-ɔ</i>	<i>lakuru-ε-d-ɔ</i>	not crawl

In addition to the negative suffix *-ɔ*, which marks the verb, the negative particle */la/* as mentioned previously, precedes the verb and is obligatorily to all verbs in their negative form in the perfective; the following examples illustrate this feature:

- (45) *tir* *egi* *la* *Ø-ber-Ø-ɔ*
 name POSS:1SG PART (NEG) 3OBJ-forget-s3-NEG
 'She did not forget my name'

Total negation (or predicate negation) (cf. example 48-49) which deals with the entire sentence is not distinguishable from partial negation (or constituent negation) which relates to a particular constituent of the sentence i.e., a noun phrase (cf. examples 46-47):

- (46) *téi* *bi* *ki-ti-Ø-o*
waterpot water 3PFV-have-3SUBJ-NEG
'The water pot does not
have water.'

- (47) *girj'* *ti-g-o*
money have-SUBJ:1SG-NEG
'I have no money'

- (48) *tl̥k hasaq a la tε-bI-Ø-ɔ*

	robber	yet	PART (NEG)	MID-catch-3SUBJ-NEG
	'The robber is not			
	caught yet'			
(49)	<i>kudʒa</i>	<i>mudrasa</i>	<i>ju-g-o</i>	
	today	school		go-SUBJ:1SG-NEG
	'Today I will not go to			
	school'			

4.3.2. The Negative Imperative

In verbs of class (A) and (D), the negative imperative is marked with the suffix *-o*, *-o ±ATR* to the singular, some verbs are unmarked, the plural being marked by the suffix *-lu* or its allomorph *-ru*, that already marks the negation of the 2nd and 3rd person plural of the perfective, e.g.:

Class (A):

Table 21. The negative imperative of class (A) verbs

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>keg-o</i>	<i>keg-e-lu</i>	do not rest
<i>keṭṭ-o</i>	<i>keṭṭ-e-lu</i>	do not fall
<i>lowr-o</i>	<i>lowr-e-lu</i>	do not enter
<i>keʃ</i>	<i>keʃ-e-lu</i>	do not sit down
<i>law</i>	<i>law-ru</i>	do not learn

Class (D):

Table 22. The negative imperative of class (D) verbs

SG	PL	Gloss
286	ADAB. Issue 48. January. 2023	

<i>betikgil-o</i>	<i>betikgil-o</i>	do not become big
<i>kɔɪkgil-o</i>	<i>kɔɪkgil-o</i>	do not be afraid

In verbs of class (B) and (C) the negative imperative is marked by the suffix -o, -o ±ATR the subject morphemes of the 2nd person singular and plural surface which were absent in the positive imperative.

Class (B):

Table 23. The negative imperative of class (B) verbs

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>ʃe-l-o</i>	<i>ʃe-b-o</i>	do not eat
<i>kir-l-o</i>	<i>kir-b-o</i>	do not close
<i>hir-l-o</i>	<i>hir-b-o</i>	do not run
<i>tebri-l-o</i>	<i>tebri-b-o</i>	do not take
<i>la-l-o</i>	<i>la-b-o</i>	do not buy

Class (C): the singular is marked by a low tone, the plural by a mid or high tone:

Table 24. The negative Imperative of class (C) verbs

SG	PL	Gloss
<i>miss-e-l-ò</i>	<i>miss-e-b-ò</i>	do not wipe with the oil
<i>tim-e-l-ò</i>	<i>tim-e-b-ò</i>	do not cut
<i>tapp-e-l-ò</i>	<i>tapp-e-b-ò</i>	do not clapp
<i>begeɪ-e-l-ò</i>	<i>begeɪ-e-b-ò</i>	do not travel
<i>sigir-e-l-ò</i>	<i>sigir-e-b-ò</i>	do not rest
<i>terr-e-l-ò</i>	<i>terr-e-b-ò</i>	do not push

The affirmative imperative of class (C) verbs is distinguished from the negative imperative by a tonal morpheme; the positive is marked by a low tone, the negative with a high or mid tone, e.g.:

AFF IMP

NEG IMP

lág à-í-ɔ

lág á-b-ɔ

'to greet'

5. Conclusion

The study concludes with the following:

The Zaghawa language has the following mood types: the affirmative, the imperative, and the interrogative beside the modality types: the subjunctive, the conditional, and the negative.

The affirmative mood is marked by the suffix -i for the singular and -o for the plural in the Wegi dialect and is replaced in the negative by the suffix -ɔ for the singular and -o for the plural.

For the imperative, in all the four verb classes the subject morpheme is absent:

(a) In class (A) & (B) the singular is marked by a Ø morpheme, whereas the plural is marked by the vowel -u/ -o suffixed to the verb root. If the verb root ends with a vowel, it replaces it.

(b) In the imperative of verb classes (C) & (D), a distinction is made between the derived and non-derived auxiliary. In the case of non-derived auxiliary, the singular takes the suffix -ɔ, -o whereas the plural is marked by the suffix -o, -u (±ATR) with a high tone. When the auxiliary is derived in class (C); the singular is unmarked, and the plural is marked by the suffix -lu. For class (D) verbs; the singular is unmarked, while the plural is marked by -o, -u (±ATR).

Total interrogation in Zaghawa is formed by means of the suffix -a attached to the finite verb in final position.

The Subjunctive in Zaghawa has two types: (a) The Potential; is expressed by the verb 'taga'- can, in the form of the converb type (x) followed by a finite verb. (b) The Volitive; is formed with the auxiliary verb -l suffixed with another verb to form the converb type (y).

The conditional modality in Zaghawa is marked by the enclitic -li attached to the verb and the expression [v] - 'If' at the head of the phrase indicating condition.

In the negative imperfective the suffix -ɔ, -o (±ATR) replaces the suffixes -i, -i, -v, -u of the affirmative in all the verb classes.

The negative perfective is preceded by the negative particle /la/ in the Wegi which is assumed to be a borrowing from the Arabic language. This feature is not attested in the Kube dialect.

The negative imperative in the Wegi is marked by the suffix -ɔ for the singular and -lu, -ru, -u for the plural for class (A) & (D). For class (B) and (C) the negative imperative is marked by the suffix -ɔ, -o for the singular and the plural. Unlike Wegi, the Kube dialect has the suffixes -go, -gu, -gɔ for the plural negative imperative.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
AFF	affirmative
ATR	advanced tongue root
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
IMP	imperative
IPA	international phonetic alphabets
IPFV	imperfective Aspect
LM	lexical morpheme
MID	middle voice
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
PART	particle
PFV	perfective aspect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
Q	question
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject

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