

Tagorese

Tagorese (native *yem̄ təyrah̄*, or *yem̄ ñjer*) is the language spoken in the former lands of the Tagorese Empire, which before its fall some three centuries ago comprised much of the land watered by the Ticina (*yer ñjem̄*) and Copper (*yer mbrər*) Rivers. It is widely understood as a language of trade and diplomacy however throughout much of eastern

Adeia. The language is distantly related to the Jangekan languages of the Zancen Mountains to the northeast.

Typologically speaking, Tagorese is characterised by SOV word order (subject to a verb-second constraint in main clauses), ergative alignment, largely left-branching syntax and a “sesquisyllabic” phonological structure. The language is highly analytic, with a very low morpheme per word ratio.



I. Phonology

I.I. Phoneme Inventory

Modern Tagorese is a heavily dialectalised language (indeed, it would perhaps be more apt to describe Tagorese as a *family* of languages, of variable mutual intelligibility), and as such the phonology described in this section should not be considered normative or universal. We have taken as the basis for our discussion the variety spoken in the Ticina Delta (*mwar ñjem a*), the heartland of the old Empire and still the most densely populated Tagorese-speaking region.

The consonantal inventory of this variety includes twenty-two phonemes, as shown in the table below in IPA transcription:

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Voiceless stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Prenasalised stop	^m b	ⁿ d	^ɲ ɟ	^ŋ g	
Fricative	f	s	ç	x	
Glide	w		j	ɥ	
Lateral		l			
Rhotic		ɹ			

The prenasalised stops are commonly realised as plain voiced stops in basilectal speech, a trait shared with the varieties spoken in the Middle Ticina.

The precise realisation of the palatal stops varies considerably across the Tagorese-speaking area. Only in the Ticina Delta are they reliably pronounced as pure palatal stops: in the Middle Ticina a palatal affricate is more likely, while in the West and the plain of the Copper River, dental affricates are the norm. To the north, however, the palatals are instead realised as retroflex, a speech habit much mocked by sophisticated Delta-dwellers.

As can be seen, the primary contrast in stop consonants is voiceless-voiced (prenasalised). However, in the Ci Hicraṃ region in the far north of the Tagorese *Sprachraum*, the primary contrast is aspirated-unaspirated, with the voiceless stops of

southern Tagorese corresponding to voiceless aspirates, and the prenasalised stops to plain lenis voiceless stops. The name of the region itself, Ci Hicraṃ [ci xi'caĩ] in Delta Tagorese, is realised [t^{hi} fiə't^hraŋ]. Indeed, the precise realisation of the prenasalised stops is one of the primary diaglosses differentiating between the dialects.

The vowel inventory of Delta Tagorese is rather complex. According to the analysis followed, the language can be stated to possess either as many as upwards of thirty-five distinct phonemic vowels (not including diphthongs), or as few as nine. In the interests of parsimony, we have adopted the latter analysis (in line with native grammarians), preferring to see the several contrasting vowel phonations as being allophonic effects of the syllable coda.

In this analysis, Tagorese possesses seven “full” vowels and two “reduced” vowels:

	Front	Centre	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
Close-Mid	e		o
Open-Mid	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Open		a	

The central vowels /i ə/ have a limited distribution, only occurring in “light” syllables (see below).

In addition, Tagorese distinguishes sixteen diphthongs, which can be grouped according to their off-glide:

	i-	e-	ɛ-	a-	ə-	o-	u-
-ɛ̤	iɛ̤			aɛ̤	əɛ̤	oɛ̤	uɛ̤
-ɔ̤	iɔ̤	eɔ̤	ɛɔ̤	aɔ̤			uɔ̤
-ə̤	iə̤	eə̤	ɛə̤		əə̤	oə̤	uə̤

1.2. Syllable structure

Tagorese distinguishes two kinds of syllable, which in the native tradition are referred to as *nem cua* ‘full syllable’ and *nem lao* ‘extended syllable’. As the unmarked form is the full syllable, and the extended syllable is derived from this, we shall examine the full syllable first.

Schematically, the full syllable can be considered to consist of an obligatory **onset**, an optional **medial**, an obligatory **nucleus** and an optional **final**.

- The **onset** can consist of any single consonant.
- The **medial** can be one of /l ɹ w j/. It cannot occur if the onset is one of /s ɹ l w j/. Note that /w/ only permits the medials /l ɹ/.
- The **nucleus** can consist of any monophthong (except the reduced vowels /ə ɪ/) or diphthong.
- The **finals** are realised not as distinct phonemes in Delta Tagorese, but rather they affect the phonation of the preceding nucleus. A final will not occur if the nucleus is a diphthong.

There are four possible finals in Delta Tagorese, which we will denote with the symbols |M R Q H|.

- The final |M| causes nasalisation of the preceding vowel. The close vowels /i u/ are realised as their lax counterparts [ĩ ũ], while the open vowel /a/ is realised as an open back unrounded vowel [ã].
- The final |R| causes r-colouring of the preceding vowel. Again, we see laxing at the peripheries of the vowel triangle, with /iR uR aR/ being realised as [r̥ ʊ̥ ɑ̥].
- The final |Q| causes creaky voice on the preceding vowel: /ləwɑQ/ is realised [ləwɑ̰].
- The final |H| causes breathy voice on the preceding vowel: /təwɑH/ is realised [təwɑ̰̤].

Outside the Ticina Delta, the realisation of the finals can vary considerably. For example, in the Middle and Upper Ticina, the finals remain distinct phonemes, rather than simply phonations of the nucleus, being pronounced [N ɹ ʔ h̥] respectively. By way of contrast, however, in the western prefecture of Ñjaḥ Mbər, the finals have evolved into a five-way tonal distinction: plain vowels have level tone, while the finals undergo “Cheshirisation” leaving high, low, rising, and falling tone respectively. Thus the name of the prefecture is realised [dʒâ b̂] locally.

The “extended syllable” (or *sesquisyllable*) is common in Tagorese, consisting as it does of a full syllable preceded by an unstressed “light” syllable consisting of a single

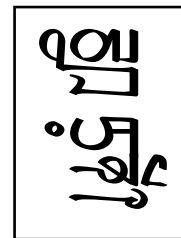
consonant followed by one of the reduced vowels /i ə/. However, a few allophonic processes are important to note: where the initial consonant of a light syllable is /w j/, it merges with the reduced vowel to produce a super-short vowel:

	j-	w-
-i	ʔĩ	ʔü
-ə	ʔě	ʔö

Thus /wi'çaN/ 'chest, coffer' is realised [ʔü'çã], /ji'nəH/ 'agriculture' as [ʔĩ'nə].

1.3. Orthography

The native orthography of Tagorese is an alphasyllabary called *nduo nu-ñgra?* 'the merchants' script' (or sometimes simply *nduo ñjer* 'the native script').



yem təyrah written in the *nduo nu-ñgra?*



nduo nu-ñgra?

Like the writing systems of western Adeia and northern Raschama, it ultimately derives from the logography derived by the Qîr living in the city-states of the Ouanteis watershed some five millenia ago. Like the Achaunese and the Eteolacaran peoples to the west, the ancestors of the Tagorese adopted the Qîrian script initially as a logography, only adding syllabic elements later. Eventually, the glyphs became more stylised and the logographic element became less and less frequent, until by the time of the Tagurin invasion and

the beginnings of the Cia dynasty around eight centuries ago the script had developed into a fully-fledged alphasyllabary, ideally suited to describing the sounds of Middle Tagorese.

After the fall of the Tagorese Empire three centuries ago, the standardising and conservative influence of the Imperial Chancery suddenly ended and the archaising and etymological orthography favoured by the bureaucrats was opened up to simplification and streamlining by those who used the script the most: the merchant classes. It is only within the past hundred or so years that a new "standard" has arisen based on these models.

In form, the *nduo nu-ñgra?* is a mixed alphasyllabary consisting of sixty-nine base characters (*yisom*), supplemented by seven diacritics (*ñicem*) denoting both medials and vowel qualities and four "half-characters" (*yisom ser*) denoting the finals. Typically, the script is written vertically, from top to bottom, going right-left across the page.

1.3.1. The base characters

The base characters each indicate a simple CV syllable, made up of an initial consonant followed by one of three inherent vowels /a e o/, which are subsequently modified by diacritics to indicate the six remaining vowels as well as any complex onset clusters. The full inventory of characters is given in the table below, with both IPA transcription and the romanisation used in this description:

Rom.	IPA	-a	-e	-o	Rom.	IPA	-a	-e	-o
p	p	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	h	x	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
t	t	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	w	w	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
c	c	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	y	j	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
k	k	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	y	ɥ	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
mb	^m b	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	r	ɹ	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
nd	ⁿ d	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	l	l	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
ñj	ⁿ j	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	m	m	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
ng	ⁿ g	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	n	n	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
f	f	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	ñ	ɲ	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
s	s	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	ñ	ɳ	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧
ç	ç	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧	a e o	ʔ-	𑒧	𑒧	𑒧

As can be seen, the script is ambiguous between *ñj*- and *ñ*- initials, presumably because the independent phoneme /ɲ/ only arose relatively recently.

1.3.2. The diacritics

To the base characters are added seven diacritics, three vowel diacritics (*ñicem tɛʔ*) and four consonant diacritics (*ñicem ñgluo*).

For reasons that remain obscure, the three vowel diacritics are referred to as *inem*, *mruo* and *cea*: that is, upper, middle and lower. They have the following effects:

	-a	-e	-o
upper		𑌒 pi	𑌓 pu
middle	𑌔 pa	𑌕 pe	
lower	𑌖 pa		𑌗 pi

Note that syllable-initial super-short [ʔi ʔü ʔë ʔö] are represented by orthographic *yi wə* (in our transcription we simply write **i u e o**.)

The consonant diacritics indicate medial consonants, and are found to the right of the base character:

	-l-	-r-	-w-	-y-
𑌘 pa	𑌙 pla	𑌚 pra	𑌛 pwa	𑌜 pya

1.3.3. The “half-characters”

Finally, there are four half-characters indicating the four finals:

	M	R	Q	H
𑌘 pa	𑌝 paṃ	𑌞 paṛ	𑌟 paʔ	𑌠 paḥ

The vocalic off-glides /ə ɔ ə/ are denoted by the characters indicating initial *ʔe ʔo ʔa*, respectively. For an extended example of the script, see the appendices to the present work.

2. Morphosyntax

Leaving aside derivational processes such as compounding and reduplication, Tagorese lacks inflection. In spite of this, however, constituent order is remarkably free. Grammatical relations between **lexical words** (*nem tio* ‘living words’) are mediated by means of a large set of postpositions, relationals, syntactic particles and pronominal elements known collectively as **particles** (*nem cəh* ‘empty words’). Particles can be conveniently divided into noun-phrase particles, verb-phrase particles and clause-level particles. In what follows, we will deal with constituents of the “nominal chain” first, then we shall examine the verb-phrase and the clause.

2.1. The nominal chain

The basic “template” of the nominal chain contains seven positions, centred around the noun itself. In schematic positional terms, this can be represented as follows:

-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4
preposition	determiner	NOUN	adjectives	possessive	number	postposition

2.1.1. The noun (position 0)

Compounds

The core of a noun phrase can either be a simple noun, such as *minoə* ‘woman’, *nisaḥ* ‘man’, *ṅro?* ‘peasant’, *cəyao* ‘vizier’, *krom* ‘rice wine’ etc.; or a compound noun, made up of two lexical stems.

Compound nouns can be either endocentric, whereby the “head” of the compound is one of its elements; exocentric, where the ‘head’ is absent; or copulative, where the compound word contains two heads.

Endocentric compounds are generally head-final, with the modifier preceding the head. Examples:

- *caṃ* ‘head’ + *mbar* ‘hair’ = *caṃ-mbar* ‘hair of the head’
- *cu* ‘body’ + *mbar* ‘hair’ = *cu-mbar* ‘body hair, pubic hair’
- *liyao* ‘lord’ + *sīwor* ‘slave’ = *liyao-sīwor* ‘valet, lord’s servant’

Titles are compounded with personal names along the same pattern:

- *Nəsaṃ* ‘personal name’ + *nəçea* ‘prefect’ = *Nəsaṃ-nəçea* ‘Prefect *Nəsaṃ*’

Exocentric compounds are frequently nominalised verb phrases, and so tend to follow the same pattern, with the logical patient preceding the head:

- *nduo* ‘writing, document’ + *car* ‘to write’ = *nduo-car* ‘scribe, bureaucrat’
- *nisaḥ* ‘man’ + *ṅgae* ‘to kill’ = *nisaḥ-ṅgae* ‘murderer’

Copulative compounds tend to express the totality of something:

- *aṃ* ‘sky’ + *ci* ‘earth’ = *aṃ-ci* ‘the world’
- *liṅao* ‘lord’ + *ṅro?* ‘peasant’ = *liṅao-ṅro?* ‘society’
- *ciṃoṃ* ‘cow’ + *siwor* ‘slave’ = *ciṃoṃ-siwor* ‘chattels’

In addition to the regular compounds listed above, there is also a category of what are technically compounds, but are made up of elements that have become so semantically bleached that they could reasonably be described as simple derivational prefixes. They are *nu-*, *naṃ-* and *neṃ-*.

The prefix *nu-* derives nouns denoting human beings from verb, noun or adjective heads:

- *nu-* + *crea* ‘garden’ = *nu-crea* ‘gardener’
- *nu-* + *mbaṃ* ‘junior’ = *nu-mbaṃ* ‘lieutenant, deputy’
- *nu-* + *kor* ‘inspect, look at’ = *nu-kor* ‘inspector’

The prefix *naṃ-* derives abstract nouns, which can then be used metonymically to refer to physical things

- *naṃ-* + *liṅao* ‘lord’ = *naṃ-liṅao* ‘lordship > estate’
- *naṃ-* + *nəçea* ‘prefect’ = *naṃ-nəçea* ‘prefect-ship > prefecture’
- *naṃ-* + *siwor* ‘slave’ = *naṃ-siwor* ‘slavery’
- *naṃ-* + *ṅglam* ‘skilful’ = *naṃ-ṅglam* ‘skill, talent’

Finally, the prefix *neṃ-* derives concrete nouns, frequently from verbs or adjectives:

- *neṃ-* + *rəṅao* ‘broad, wide’ = *neṃ-rəṅao* ‘breadth, width’
- *neṃ-* + *ṅglam* ‘skilful’ = *neṃ-ṅglam* ‘artifact, treasure’
- *neṃ-* + *ṅgae* ‘kill’ = *neṃ-ṅgae* ‘slaughter’

It is important to remember that the outcomes of all the compound types mentioned above have been lexicalised: the speakers of Tagorese do not necessarily see them as analysable. A *nisaḥ-ṅgae* is a murderer regardless of whether he kills a *nisaḥ* ‘man’ or a *miṅoe* ‘woman’. Similarly, a *liṅao-siwor* might not actually be a slave, nor even owned or

employed by a lord. For the looser kind of noun-noun or noun-adjective compound exemplified by place names such as *Ci Imber* or *Ci Kasaḥ*, see the section on adjectives below.

Reduplication and collectives

Often seen as a subspecies of compounding, reduplication is not uncommon in Tagorese. Generally, a reduplicated countable noun indicates a group comprising all instances of the referent: *liḡao* ‘lord’ > *liḡao-liḡao* ‘all the lords > the nobility’ or *ḡasaḡ* ‘craftsman’ > *ḡasaḡ-ḡasaḡ* ‘all the craftsmen > the bourgeoisie’. With non-count nouns, reduplication normally creates a noun indicating ‘a large amount of’, for example *se* ‘rice’ > *se-se* ‘an abundance of rice > riches, plenty’.

A number of nouns, particularly those denoting animals or livestock, have suppletive collective nouns, such as *ciḡomḡ* ‘cow’ > *ror* ‘cattle’; *leḡ* ‘bison’ > *liḡeḡ* ‘herd of bison’; *kor* ‘a single fish’ > *kəḡ* ‘fish, shoal of fish’. Exceptionally, we also have *lawar* ‘barbarian’ > *niḡeḡ* ‘horde of barbarians’.

Personal pronouns

In Tagorese, personal pronouns pattern in the same way as nouns. They are as follows:

	singular	plural
1st	ña	mɛr
2nd	ñja	məñjɛḡ
3rd human	ne	nɛḡ
3rd non-human	mbe	

Note the lack of number distinction in the non-human third person. Number, as a category is generally not marked on non-human referents accross Tagorese.

2.1.2. Adjectives (position I)

The line between adjectives and nouns in Tagorese is a blurred one, with nouns being able to stand in attributive relationship to other nouns with relative freedom. Compare: *ci ñreḡ* ‘fertile land’ and *ci ḡrua* ‘temple land’, where *ḡrua* ‘temple’ is not an adjective but a noun.

Frequently, noun-adjective phrases can become lexicalised. For example, during the period of the Tagorese Empire the aboriginal population was referred to as *caṃ ṅjea* ‘black heads’ while the elite Tagurin minority was referred to as *caṃ ho?* ‘red heads’, referring presumably to characteristic the hair colouring of each group.

Adjectives can be followed by adverbs which distinguish shades of meaning, such as *ma* ‘very’ or *re* ‘slightly’: e.g. *rəḡao luo ma* ‘the very ugly eunuch’ or *ṅgar pɛo re* ‘some slightly sour cheese’.

2.1.3. Possessives (position 2)

Possessive or genitive phrases are typically formed with the genitive particle *a*. The possessor itself can be a single noun, or an entire embedded noun phrase:

çiseo rəṅgar a

warehouse trader GEN

The trader’s warehouse.

As opposed to:

çiçao rəḡao luo ma yɛṃ a

courtyard eunuch ugly very PL GEN

The court of the very ugly eunuchs.

Indeed, possessive phrases can even occur within another possessive:

wor ndoṃ liḡao a a

dog son lord GEN GEN

The lord’s son’s dog.

However, such constructions are extremely rare. More common is the “anticipatory genitive”, whereby the embedded genitive expression is extracted and placed before the head noun, which is then followed by a possessive pronoun:

ndoṃ liḡao a wor nia

son lord gen dog 3SG.GEN

The lord’s son, his dog.

While in general personal pronouns pattern like regular nouns, the singular pronouns in possessive constructions have a distinct genitive form:

	singular	plural
1st	ñu	-
2nd	ñjua	-
3rd human	nia	-
3rd non-human		yεo

Thus we have *wor ñu* ‘my dog’, *ñjar yεo* ‘its gate’ but *pao mεr a* ‘our elder brother’.

The possessive pronouns are used in combination with the noun *ni* ‘self’ to form reflexive pronouns:

liγao ye loḥ ni-ñia.

lord ERG wash self=3SG.GEN

The lord washes himself.

2.1.4. Number (position 3)

The particle *yεḡ* denotes plurality. It is restricted to use with humans (including supernatural human-like beings), and is facultative when context makes the plurality of the referent clear: as such it does not co-occur with quantifiers or numerals: *riñer yεḡ* ‘deities’; *ca-yεʔ minoe* ‘three women’, not **ca-yεʔ minoe yεḡ*.

2.1.5. Case postpositions (position 4)

The syntactic role of a noun in a sentence is denoted by one of seven case postpositions (of which we have already met genitive *a*). They are as follows:

- *ye* ergative
- *a* genitive
- *ra* dative-benefactive
- *nda* comitative
- *ta* instrumental-locative
- *yεʔ* allative
- *ñjeḡ* equative

In addition to these, some scholars posit a particle with zero surface instantiation denoting the absolutive.

The **ergative** particle *ye* marks the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause. Its use with the personal pronouns is subject to a rather intricate set of rules outlined in SECTION below.

The use of the **genitive** particle *a* has largely been covered above, but see also the section on prepositions below.

The **dative-benefactive** particle *ra* serves primarily to mark the indirect object or the beneficiary of an action. It also marks the secondary agent of causative constructions, and the patient of certain verbs primarily relating to speech or affection:

liyao ye nindua cəyao yeŋ ra.

lord ERG speak vizier PL DAT

The lord spoke *to the viziers*.

mbao ye ciyaŋ ndoŋ nia ra.

father ERG love son 3SG.GEN DAT

The father loves *his son*.

minoə ye soŋ rəŋgar ra ŋjeŋ

woman ERG pay trader DAT money

The woman pays *the trader* money.

rəyao ye ro? nəyar ra ndoŋ prəh.

eunuch ERG cause farmer DAT son sell.PERF

The eunuch made *the farmer* sell his son.

The **comitative** particle *nda* expresses “with” in the sense of being accompanied:

mbae ye ndu keo nda lar

dwarf ERG build friend COM house

The dwarf built the house *with his friend*.

It can also be used in the sense of ‘at the house of’, or ‘among’:

ŋraḥ nda ŋao pao

neighbour COM COP elder.brother

Elder brother is *at the neighbour’s*.

Additionally the comitative particle is used with the locative copula *ŋao* to indicate possession:

nəyar nda ñao ror

farmer COM COP cattle

The farmer owns the cattle.

The comitative also has a specialised temporal use meaning “ago”: *ñeo nda* ‘a night ago, last night’.

The **instrumental-locative** particle *ta*, which as its name indicates is used to indicate either the instrument by which an action is performed, or the location in which the action takes place:

ciçao ta çor mlah

courtyard INST piss boy

The boy pissed in the courtyard.

liçao ye saṃ-tər kiham ta siwor

lord ERG punish whip INST slave

The lord beat the slave with a whip.

mbae ye ndu sea ta lar

dwarf ERG build brick INST house

The dwarf built the house with bricks.

The **allative** particle *ye?* primarily indicates motion towards or into:

niçar ye? huo-car nu-ciñjea

fort ALL run messenger

The messenger ran to the fort.

With verbs of making or change of state, the allative marks the product or end result of the process:

riñer yeṃ ye ndeṃ luo ye? yeṃ-ra?

god PL ERG form human ALL clay

The gods formed clay into human beings.

It can also have the meaning ‘regarding’ or ‘as for’:

cəçao ye nindua liçao ra ninem ye?

vizier ERG speak lord DAT barbarians ALL

The vizier spoke to the lord about the barbarians.

Finally, the **equative** particle *ñjem* is principally used to form adverbial phrases indicating comparison:

wor *ñjem* ndom-ndam niçuo

dog EQU bark crazy.person

The crazy person barked *like a dog*.

Similarly, the particle can be used to form adverbs from adjectives:

lāo *ñjem* huo-car nu-ciñjea

quick EQU run messenger

The messenger ran *swiftly*.

2.1.6. Determiners, quantifiers and numerals (position -I)

In Tagorese, demonstratives *mbe* ‘this’ and *re* ‘that’, quantifiers like *niñem* ‘all’ and ordinal numerals cannot qualify nouns by themselves, but must be accompanied by a classifier (*nem cio* ‘counting word’), which always precedes the demonstrative, numeral etc. Classifiers are obligatory with both mass and count nouns.

Classifiers of shape or size:

- › **pa** long thin things, like reeds, brushes, ropes etc.
- › **cer** flat things, such as mats, sheets of paper, garments, animal hides
- › **ci** pointed things, including knives, weapons, teeth, horns, fingers, male genitalia
- › **fa** cylindrical things, logs, trees, beams etc.
- › **yeo** circular, spherical or ovoid things, including rocks, eggs, stars, planets etc.
- › **ngu** small, tangible objects

Classifiers of living things:

- › **mu** people, deities, supernatural beings
- › **cam** livestock, herd animals, people (insultingly)
- › **mam** other animals, particularly smaller ones

- › **xuo** insects, shellfish, amphibians, worms, demons
- › **wu** birds
- › **ku** fish, sea-creatures

Classifiers of physical features:

- › **ao** bodies of water
- › **fam** roads, canals, highways
- › **ha** buildings, structures, rooms in a building
- › **a?** open spaces, fields
- › **ñjar** hills, mountains, towers, tall buildings

Classifiers of man-made objects:

- › **nduo** documents, records, books
- › **ar** speech acts, words, songs, stories, noises
- › **kuo** tools, instruments, devices or machines
- › **ma** boats, vehicles, conveyances, containers

- **cətaḥ** units of time, symbols, marks, characters, letters
- **mɛʔ** objects, furniture. Also used as a generic classifier for inanimates, including abstracts.

Classifiers for food:

- **mbeo** fruit
- **nie** vegetable, crop

Measure words used with mass nouns:

- **piçam** large amount of dry foodstuffs or goods
- **ñiram** small amount of dry foodstuffs or goods
- **ngao** small amount of liquid
- **lətam** large amount of liquid
- **mba** share, portion, generic measure word

In addition to the classifiers and measure words listed above, actual units of measurement such as *ñjim* ‘8 g’ or *cio* ‘840 ml’ can be used instead.

2.1.7. Prepositions (position -2)

In addition to the case postpositions covered above, Tagorese also possesses a set of prepositions, which combine with a noun and either the genitive, instrumental or allative in order to express fine distinctions of meaning. These prepositions are as follows:

preposition	+genitive	+instrumental	+allative
<i>nda</i>	next to	from next to	to next to
<i>yia</i>	in front of	from in front of	to in front of
<i>ñer</i>	behind, after	from behind	to behind
<i>mruo</i>	in the middle of, among	from the midst of	to the middle of
<i>sa</i>	inside	from inside	into
<i>wua</i>	before	-	-
<i>ñjah</i>	outside of	from outside of	to outside
<i>mbar</i>	on top of	from on top of	onto
<i>ndor</i>	below, under	from underneath	to below
<i>ndao</i>	surrounding	-	-
<i>ci</i>	in	from in	into
<i>woe</i>	against, facing	away from	towards, in the direction of

mīnoe ye ñətəḥ sa yrua ta ñgruo

woman ERG hear inside temple INST scream

The woman heard a scream *from inside the temple*.

ndor osao ta ñgor mbar eyao ye? miwa

from table INST jump on.top chair ALL cat

The cat jumped *from underneath the table onto the chair*.

Similar in construction are the prepositions *mbar* ‘because of, due to’ and *mu* ‘on behalf of’, both of which take a noun with a genitive construction:

sīwor ye həkriḥ mu nu-ñjoe a mlah

slave ERG beat on.behalf.of teacher GEN boy

The slave beat the pupil *on behalf of the teacher*.

kəlam am rao mbar sənar a

land COP empty because.of famine GEN

Because of famine, the land is deserted.

2.2. The verbal chain

Schematically, the verbal chain is somewhat more difficult to represent than the nominal chain. Given the verb-second constraint in main clauses, the verb upon which the entire sequence of particles pivots can occur at a distance from its underlying location. As such, in the description that follows, the reader should be aware that the surface instantiation of the verbal chain will only precisely follow this pattern in dependent clauses.

With that caveat in mind, the verbal chain can be represented as follows:

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
patient	mood and polarity	focus marker	VERB	tense	pronominal agent	complementiser

Rather than covering each “slot” in the verbal chain in numerical order, we shall instead skip around, as it were, covering topic in increasing order of complexity.

2.2.1. The verb and its patient (positions 0 and -3)

As a minimum, a verb phrase must be made up of the verb and its patient. There are no aivalent verbs in Tagorese, even verbs describing the weather contain a patient:

sīyur sɛɱ.

rain fall.PERF

It rained.

The canonical position for a verb's patient is immediately at the beginning of the verbal chain, following any adjuncts or non-patientive phrases.

2.2.2. Mood and polarity (position -2)

Tagorese distinguishes four moods: the indicative, the optative, the conditional and the hortative. Moods are marked by particles, which also mark polarity.

The **indicative** mood is unmarked in the affirmative, and simply denotes a statement of fact:

Rəlaɱ ye ciyaɱ lihər ra.

Rəlaɱ ERG love nun DAT.

Ralam loves the nun.

The negative of the indicative is indicated by the particle *nu*:

lihər ye ciyaɱ Rəlaɱ ra nu.

nun ERG love Rəlaɱ DAT NEG.IND

The nun does not love Ralam.

The **optative** particle *çɛ* indicates a desire or wish on the part of a speaker that something happen. As such, it is frequently used to express polite commands, or to give advice:

mihər çɛ!

enter OPT

Please, come in!

ohar ye ñihror-ndao ndyeo çɛ

potter ERG leave quarter OPT

The potter *should leave* town.

The negative of the optative is marked by the particle *naɱ*, and is often used to mark prohibitions:

silea nam!

cease NEG.OPT

Don't stop!

The **conditional** particle *ha* denotes that the action or state denoted by the verb is dependent on the action of another verb or clause: it is normally found in the apodosis of conditional statements:

liyao ye nanaṃ ngao-re kroṃ, ha siseo.

lord ERG drink MEAS=this rice.wine, COND die

If the lord drank this wine, he *would die*.

The negative of the conditional mood is marked by the particle *mbor*:

caṃ-re nu-tyer ye sasah laṅar, liyao myeṃ mbor

CLA=this musician ERG play harp, lord come NEG.COND

If this musician played the harp, the lord wouldn't come.

The **hortative** indicates intention on the part of the speaker to do something, or can express encouragement:

ña ye caṅea-ra liyao ya

1SG ERG kill lord HOR

I want to kill the lord.

mēr təcə? ya!

1PL become.intoxicated HOR

Let's get drunk!

The negative of the hortative mood is marked by the particle *nam*, which coincides with the negative of the optative:

mēr təcə? nam.

1PL become.intoxicated HOR.NEG

Let's not get drunk.

2.2.3. Tense (position 1)

Tagorese lacks markers for absolute tense. That is to say, the verb *caṅea-ra* can mean 'kills', 'has killed' or 'will kill'. However, it does express **relative** tense, with the particles *wu* denoting anteriority and *yer* denoting posteriority.

ɔr ca-ndu ña, mlah̩ ye iyuo ñjloṃ wu.

when arrive 1SG, boy ERG eat date ANT

When I arrived, the boy *had already eaten* the dates.

Mbeo-Ñgəme? ye ɣakar Ci Imber, ne ɣakar kələṃ yer.

Beugamis ERG conquer Ci Imber, 3SG conquer country POST.

Beugamis conquered Ci Imber, he *would go on to conquer* the whole country.

2.2.4. Focus and valence (position -I)

There are four particles which are used in the marking of valence, or the relationship of the agent to the verb. These are the inverse particle *wa*, the two antipassive particles *yi* and *mə*, and the applicative particle *məm*.

The **inverse particle** is one of the most complex. Tagorese exhibits a species of direct-inverse marking of the arguments of a transitive verb. Essentially, if the agent “outranks” or is equal to the patient on a specific saliency hierarchy, a direct construction is used: all the examples so far in this description have been of this type. However, if the patient outranks the agent on this hierarchy, an inverse construction is used, involving the particle *wa*. The saliency hierarchy in Tagorese is as follows:

1st person/2nd person > 3rd person human > 3rd person non-human

Thus, in clauses where both agent and patient are of the same rank, or if the agent is higher on the saliency hierarchy, we see the unmarked direct construction:

liyao ye ñer-ndu nəɣar

lord ERG kick farmer

The lord kicked the farmer.

nəɣar ye ñer-ndu wor

farmer ERG kick dog

The farmer kicked the dog.

However, if the patient outranks the agent on the saliency hierarchy, the inverse particle *wa* must be present:

wor ye ñjoh̩ nəɣar wa

dog ERG bite farmer INV

The dog bit the farmer.

The unmarked position for singular agent pronouns is following the verb, which can lead to complications:

ne ñjoh ña

3SG bite 1SG

I bit him.

ña ñjoh wa ne

1SG bite INV 3SG

He bit me.

wor ye ñjoh ña wa

dog ERG bite 1SG INV

The dog bit me.

The two **antipassive particles** are used when the patient of a transitive verb is not stated, promoting the agent to patient (and so changing the case marking from ergative to absolutive):

minoë ye iyuo oper.

woman ERG eat bread.

The woman ate the bread

minoë iyuo mə.

woman eat AP

The woman ate (something).

The distinction between *mə* and *yi* is one of volition: if the action is intentional *mə* is used, if involuntary then *yi* is preferred:

nisah ye rindroh ləlah

man ERG drop ball

The man dropped the ball.

nisah rindroh mə

man drop AP.VOL

The man dropped (something) on purpose.

nisah rindroh yi

man drop AP.INVOL

The man dropped (something) accidentally.

The same two particles can be used with intransitive verbs, to add the same shades of meaning:

mīnoe rəsɛʔ yi

woman cry AP.INVOL

The woman wept (involuntarily).

mīnoe rəsɛʔ mō

woman cry AP.VOL

The woman wept (and she was putting it on for effect).

The applicative particle, *mɛm*, is also a valency-changing particle although in this case it promotes an oblique argument to patient:

cəɣao ye cɛm-ŋji rəɣao yeʔ ciseo

vizier ERG send eunuch ALL letter

The vizier sent a letter to the eunuch.

cəɣao ye cɛm-ŋji rəɣao mɛm

vizier ERG send eunuch APL

The vizier sent (something) to the eunuch. *or* The vizier wrote to the eunuch.

2.2.5. Aspect (position o)

As discussed above, the primary distinction marked on verbs is not tense, but rather aspect. Tagorese distinguishes two aspects: the unmarked **aoristic** aspect and the marked **imperfective** aspect.

The **aoristic*** aspect describes an action as a simple whole, without any comment upon its internal temporal complexity. As such, as well as simple actions, it is also used for ongoing states:

sa ciɕao a ŋao ŋa.

in courtyard GEN COP 1SG.

I am in the courtyard.

The **imperfective** aspect, however, marks an ongoing, habitual or internally complex action, and is often contrasted with the **aoristic**:

* The name “aoristic” has been preferred for this aspect, as it does not behave in the same way as a typical perfective.

ər ɲgər liyao ye ɲa wa, sa ciçao a tɔʔ ɲələo ɲa

when summon lord ERG 1SG INV, in courtyard GEN AUX COP.IPFV 1SG.

When the lord summoned me, I was in the courtyard.

As the contrast *nao~nələo* shows, a few verbs have distinct aoristic and imperfective stems:

verb	meaning	aoristic	imperfective
ɲar	put, place	<i>ɲar</i>	<i>ɲarar</i>
nao	stative copula	<i>nao</i>	<i>nələo</i>
ceɲ	seek	<i>ceɲ</i>	<i>ciceɲ</i>
ɲjeɲ	go	<i>ɲjeɲ</i>	<i>cuo</i>
myeɲ	come	<i>myeɲ</i>	<i>miçuo</i>
ta	leave	<i>ta</i>	<i>ndar</i>
toɰ	possess, obtain	<i>toɰ</i>	<i>ndər</i>

The imperfective is formed by means of the auxiliary *tɔʔ*, which has a significant effect on the surface instantiation of the verbal chain. For example, if we take the sentence “then the lord would have already beaten me”, we have a surface instantiation as follows:

ɔa saɲ-tər liyao ye ɲa ha wa wu.

then beat lord ERG 1SG COND INV Ø ANT

Then the lord would have already beaten me.

Here we can see that slots -3, -2, -1 and 1 of the verb chain have all been filled, while the occupant of slot 0 (denoted by Ø in the gloss) has been moved to the second constituent in the clause. The “underlying” structure of the clause must be something like the following:

*liyao ye ɲa ha wa saɲ-tər wu.

lord ERG 1SG COND INV beat ANT

In the imperfect aspect, it is the auxiliary that takes the second constituent position, as follows:

ɔa tɔʔ liyao ye ɲa ha wa saɱ-tɔr wu.

then AUX lord ERG 1SG COND INV beat ANT

Then the lord would have already been beating me.

Which leaves the lexical verb *saɱ-tɔr* unable to move out of position 0 within the verb chain itself.

2.2.6. Pronominal agents (position 2)

The canonical position for singular pronominal agents is P2:

Tisuo hiñjlea ɲa.

Tisuo hate 1SG

I hate Tisuo.

2.2.7. The dependent marker (position 3)

The dependent marker *a* serves to turn an entire clause into a constituent of another verb, or enables it to modify a noun phrase. This can be little more than the verb and its patient itself:

minɔe ye lor ñjloɱ iyuo a

woman ERG want date eat DEP

The woman wants *to eat the dates*.

Or a relatively complex sentence:

lu ye rəyao yeʔ ndoɱ ndeɱ a nisah ñju ɲa

who ERG eunuch ALL son form DEP man know 1SG.

I know the man *who turned his son into a eunuch*.

It is noteworthy that if the dependent marker is present, the verb will remain in position 0 in the verb chain. If the verb is imperfective, then the auxiliary *tɔʔ* replaces the dependent marker:

lu ye minoe ñjua ñeʔ-ndu tɔʔ nisah ñju ɲa

who ERG woman 2SG.POS fuck.IPFV AUX man know 1SG

I know the man *who used to fuck your wife*.

Note that when a clause modifies a noun or noun phrase, it typically precedes the noun, rather than occupying position 2 of the noun chain.

2.3. Clause structure

As remarked above, the “underlying” order of constituents in a Tagorese clause is EAV. This can be expanded somewhat and be schematically represented as follows:

E	X	A	V
agent	oblique arguments	patient	verbal chain

However, an overriding constraint in independent declarative clauses is that the verb (that is the verb itself, not the entire verbal chain) must occur immediately after the first constituent. As such, the underlying order in the table above only obtains in embedded clauses. The canonical unmarked constituent order of an unmarked declarative clause will instead be as follows:

E	v	X	A	V
agent	<i>verb</i>	oblique arguments	patient	remainder of verbal chain

In what follows, therefore, we have found it prudent to describe first the behaviour of independent clauses, and then dependent clauses.

2.3.1. Independent clauses

While the unmarked surface instantiation of an independent clause is most often as shown in the table above, a number of other factors can have an influence on the precise configuration of an independent clause.

2.3.1.1. Declarative clauses

The majority of examples given so far in this description have largely conformed to the pattern in the table above:

nihə? yem ye ɣəlar ci ɣrua a riñer yem

widow PL ERG pray in temple GEN deity PL

The widows prayed to the gods inside the temple.

A complication already noted is that the unmarked position for singular pronominal agents is **inside the verbal chain**, and so a surface instantiation of AVE or XVAE can obtain:

niçea ñjoh-kar ña

orphan kidnap 1SG

I kidnapped the orphan.

mu rəyao a ñjoh-kar niçea ña

behalf eunuch GEN kidnap orphan 1SG

I kidnapped the orphan on behalf of the eunuch.

Further deviations from this basic schema are generally pragmatically motivated, and will be covered in the section on contrast and topicalisation below.

2.3.1.2. Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have a distinctly marked constituent order, in which the verb occurs before any other constituents. As the agent of a transitive verb or the only argument of an intransitive verb is understood to be a second person interlocutor, it is freely dropped:

nənaṃ krom!

drink rice.wine

Drink the wine!

riṅgrəm!

sleep

Sleep!

iyo mə!

eat AP

Eat!

twər-ndu nu mə!

touch NEG.IND AP

Don't touch!

Such bare imperatives are considered by speakers of Tagorese to be too curt for speaking to anyone but slaves or animals. More common is an imperative construction with the optative particles:

nənaṃ krom çɛ!

drink rice.wine opt

Please, drink the wine!

twɛr-ndu nam mə!

touch NEG.OPT AP

Please don't touch!

This habit is so ingrained, that even insults and imprecations are generally couched in this “polite” form:

ñɛʔ-ndu rimɛm ɕɛ!

fuck daughter OPT

Fuck off!

2.3.1.3. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses in Tagorese occur in two forms: polar questions and non-polar questions.

Polar questions expect either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ as an answer. Prototypically, they are formed with the sentence-initial illocutionary particles *ao* and *nao*, which are affirmative and negative respectively:

ao prəḥ ciḥuo ɲu ñja?

INT sell shoe 1SG.GEN 2SG

Did you sell my shoes?

nao ciɣam ɲa re ñja?

INT love 1SG DAT 2SG

Don't you love me?

Tagorese is interesting in that the words *cisɛm* ‘yes’ and *niɕɛḥ* ‘no’ simply affirm agreement or disagreement with the statement:

ao prəḥ ciḥuo ɲu ñja?

INT sell shoe 1SG.GEN 2SG

Did you sell my shoes?

cisɛm.

Yes (I sold your shoes.)

niɕɛḥ

No (I didn't sell your shoes)

nao ciɣam ɲa re ñja?

INT love 1SG DAT 2SG

Don't you love me?

cisɛm.

No (I don't love you.)

niɕɛḥ.

Yes (I do love you)

Non-polar questions are those which involve a question word, such as *lɔa* ‘who’, *nɛm* *ao* ‘what’, *ɕɔa* ‘where’, *ndɔa* ‘when’, *ɣɛm* ‘how’, *naʔ* ‘why’. These question words are drawn from a heterogenous mix of parts of speech: the first three pattern like nominals, the

last patterns like an illocutionary particle and the remaining two act like adjuncts or oblique arguments. Tagorese, unlike English or Tailancon, is a “*wh- in situ* language”, and does not exhibit *wh*-movement:

l̥a ye ñgae liyao?

who ERG kill lord

Who killed the lord?

liyao ye ñgae l̥a?

lord ERG kill who

Whom did the lord kill?

nəyar ye ñgae nd̥a liyao?

farmer ERG kill when lord

When did the farmer kill the lord?

na? ñgae nəyar ye liyao?

why kill farmer ERG lord

Why did the farmer kill the lord?

2.3.1.4. Copular clauses

Tagorese possesses two copular verbs: *aṃ* and *ñao*. The subject of a copular verb is always found in the absolutive case.

The copula *ñao* primarily indicates existence or location:

l̥əwar ñao ñj̥ər ta

barbarian COP gate INST

The barbarian is at the gate.

When used to link a predicate adjective to a noun, it denotes a time-limited sense, rather than a permanent condition:

l̥əwar ñao liḥe?

barbarian COP angry

The barbarian is angry.

isuo ñao mblao

soup COP hot

The soup is hot.

As such, unlike *aṃ*, *ṅao* can be found in the imperfective aspect:

ləwar təʔ liʔeʔ ṅəlaʊ, ɔr ṅjoḥ-kar ndoṃ nia ṅa.

barbarian IMP angry COP.IMP, when kidnap son 3SG.GEN 1SG

The barbarian *was angry* when I kidnapped his son.

The copula *aṃ* is reserved for permanent situations, or to mark identification of something as part of a larger group. It is only ever found in the aoristic aspect:

ṅisaḥ aṃ ṅa.

man COP 1SG

I am a man.

ṃinoe aṃ yua.

woman COP unclean

The woman is ritually unclean.

The distinction between *ṃinoe aṃ yua* and *ṃinoe ṅao yua* is that in the first, the woman is a generally ritually unclean person (she is a prostitute, for example), while in the second she is simply unclean at the moment (because she is menstruating).

2.3.2. Comparison

Comparison in Tagorese is rather complex, in so far as the fact that adjectives do not strictly speaking admit of comparative forms (beyond the equative construction, see section SECTION). Instead, the adjective is nominalised and a construction involving the specialised intransitive verb *ndrea* ‘to be excessive’ is used. Compare the following:

ṃbaṃ aṃ ṅjreṃ.

youth COP beautiful

The youth is pretty.

ṃaṃ-ṅjreṃ ṃbaṃ a ndrea.

beauty youth GEN be.excessive

The youth is prettier.

Note that the adjective has been nominalised with the prefix *ṃaṃ-* and been placed in a possessive construction with the noun it qualifies.

A standard of comparison is introduced with a phrase in the allative case:

rəɣao yeʔ ndrea naṃ-ñjreṃ mbaṃ a.

eunuch ALL be.excessive beauty youth GEN

The youth is prettier than the eunuch.

Where in other languages a comparative adjective would be used attributively, Tagorese makes use of a relative construction:

rəɣao ye ciɣaṃ mbaṃ naṃ-ñjreṃ nia ndrea a ra.

eunuch erg love youth beauty 3sg.gen be.excessive rel dat

The eunuch loves the prettier youth.

(lit. *The eunuch loves the youth who his beauty is excessive*)

2.3.3. Conjunctions

Tagorese rigorously distinguishes between three types of conjunction: co-ordinating conjunctions which join *clauses*, those which join *phrases* and finally subordinating conjunctions which join a dependent clause to an independent clause. These effect the word order of the sentence in different ways.

Co-ordinating conjunctions which join clauses are as follows:

- ɣo ‘and’
- ñi ‘but’
- yua ‘or’
- kia ‘however’
- ɣasi ‘and so’
- ombrea ‘so, therefore’

Additionally, conjunctions indicating sequence in time such as then, afterwards and before fall into this category. However, relativising conjunctions such as when as in ‘the time at which’ fall in the category of subordinating conjunctions.

These clause-level co-ordinating conjunctions always occur as the first element in the conjoined clause, with the verb occurring after it:

Those which join phrases are as follows:

- wə ‘and’
- loe ‘but rather’
- iye ‘or’
- owə ‘not’

These can be reduplicated to indicate the sense of ‘both... and’ etc:

Finally, subordinating conjunctions are as follows:

- *nəmbe?* ‘because’
- *siçwea* ‘although’
- *ñgwao* ‘in order to’
- *ñjeo* ‘unless, so that not, lest’

Subordinating conjunctions only occur at the beginning of an embedded clause. In the same class fall relative pronouns like ‘who’, ‘which’, ‘when’ etc.

2.3.4. Embedded clauses

The

kia hiñjlea wor sar həyor a ye rəwar, ɣo crue ci həyor ta rəwar mbe.

however hate dog all village GEN ERG jackal, and chase in village INST jackal 3.INAN.

However, all the dogs of the village hated jackals, and they chased him from the village.

ər təʔ wor ye rəwar crue, sa ɣəkuo nem-sirua ñjyem a yeʔ sem rəwar.

while IMP dog ERG jackal chase, in vat dye blue GEN ALL fall jackal.

While they were chasing him, the jackal fell into a vat of blue dye.

wor ye yie-ndu nu sa ɣəkuo yeʔ rəwar sem wu a,

dog ERG see NEG.IND in vat ALL jackal fall ANT REL,

The dogs did not see that the he had fallen into the vat,

ɣəsi crue nda ñjah cilah a yeʔ wor mə,

and_so chase next_to edge jungle GEN ALL dog AP,

and so they ran all the way to the margins of the wilderness,

ər təʔ wor ndom-ndam: wor ñao cəneo nəmbeʔ wor ye woe rəwar kiyoə a həyor wu nruo a.

while IMP dog bark: dog COP proud because dog ERG against jackal cunning GEN village ANT defend REL

barking because they were proud to have defended the village from the crafty jackal.

əa ñjem-ñji nu-toh yem yeʔ wor wu, sa ɣəkuo ta rəwar ñjem-par.

then return master PL ALL dog ANT, in vat INST jackal climb.

When the dogs had returned to their masters, the jackal climbed out of the vat.

rəwar ye yie-ndu ni-yəo, ɣo ɕar-ndu mbe. nem-sirua ye roʔ ñjyem yeʔ rəwar wa!

jackal ERG see self 3INAN, and wonder 3INAN. dye ERG cause blue ALL jackal INV

The jackal saw himself and was amazed: the dye had turned him blue!

rəwar ñjem-ñji cilah yeʔ ɣo rəwar ye par pirem, liyao cilah a.

jackal return wilderness ALL and jackal ERG meet tiger, lord wilderness GEN

He went back to the wilderness and encountered a tiger, lord of the wild.

Pirem-liyao nindua mə: “ñja am laa?”

tiger=lord say AP: “2SG COP who?”

Lord Tiger said: “Who are you?”

rəwar ñjyem nindua mə: “ña am Ne Ñjyem, səyam wə riñer cilah a.”

jackal blue say AP: “1SG COP God Blue, emperor and god wilderness GEN.”

The jackal said “I am the Azure God, emperor and god of the wilderness.”

γəsi ńgər pirem ye məmam yim cilah a, ńgwao Ne Ńjyem ñe?-ta a.

and_so summon tiger ERG animal other wilderness GEN, in_order_to God Blue worship REL

And so the tiger summoned the other animals of the wilderness, to worship the Azure God.

məmam ye Ńjruo rəwar ra nruo wə səyao ndrəh.

animal ERG offer jackal DAT shelter and food best

The animals offered the jackal shelter, and the best food.

məmam sar ye tə? kərah ta rəwar Ńjyem ñe?-ta.

animal ALL ERG IMPV offering INST jackal blue worship

All the animals were laying offerings before the blue jackal.

ñi myem Səndəh-hrua, γo myem məror.

but come Səndəh=month, and come monsoon.

But the month of Sandoh came, and with it came the rains.

γəsi loh siγur ye rəwar Ńjyem, γo am rəwar Ńjyem kəmah ho?

and_so wash rain ERG jackal blue, and COP jackal blue again jackal red

And the rains washed the blue jackal, and soon the blue jackal was again red.

məmam ye γiyor-ndu life?-life? rəwar niŃjem.

animal ERG tear.apart angry=angry jackal dishonest.

Enraged, the animals tore the lying jackal limb from limb.