

**Adpositions in Kwarandzyey:
mixed order, borrowing, and the emergence of comitative subject agreement**

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Like other Songhay languages, Kwarandzyey has both postpositions and prepositions; the two categories differ not only in position but also in whether they can take clausal complements. It is under heavy influence from Arabic, a strictly prepositional language, and has thus expanded its inventory of prepositions through lexical borrowing. The most striking development to affect the system is the development of obligatory agreement prefixes on the preposition *indza* "with"; this preposition is preceded by an agreement marker indicating the accompanier, and followed by a noun phrase referring to the accompanied. Synchronically, this phenomenon appears isolated: prefixed agreement markers in Kwarandzyey are otherwise limited to verbs, and several syntactic tests make it clear that *indza* is a preposition rather than a verb. However, comparison to other Songhay languages reveals the grammaticalisation pathway by which this construction must have emerged.