Text

This is the first part of a recording made in Adia village in 2005. Speaker P is a middle-aged woman, speaker R is a man. P does most of the talking in this passage, with R as the attentive listener, occasionally intervening as at (720).

```
jàngǎ-mb-à:=là,
                                                                       bìsímìllâ:y,
(710) P: kó
                        nû:
                                                             háyà
            InanSg.O now
                               begin-Fut-Pass=it.is.not,
                                                                       by.God,
                                                             well
    ínò-mbò
                        kábîl
                                             káná.
                                             do.Imprt,
    person-Pl
                        excuse(n)
                                           ^{L}\dot{n}-b\dot{o}]]
                <sup>L</sup>bà-mbò]
    [[í
                              ſί
                                                            mà]
                Lfather-Pl]
                              [1PlPoss
                                           Lmother-Pl]]
   [[1PlPoss
                                                            in]
                  dìn-ô:,
    í
    1PlSbj
                  find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
                Lbà-mbò]
                                           L'n-bòl
                              ſί
                                                            dìnέ:-ỳ,
    ſί
                                           Lmother-Pl]
   [1PlPoss
                father-Pl]
                              [1PlPoss
                                                            find.Pfv-1PlSbj,
```

P: Is it (= recording) not being begun now? Well, in God's name. My people (= kinsmen), excuse me. What we found (= inherited) from our fathers and our mothers. We found (=were born among) our fathers and our mothers.

[bìsímìllâ:y Arabic invocation at the onset of a speech, trip, etc.; kábîl káná 'excuse me!' said by a woman when speaking to a group of men; future passive negative -mb-à: = là §10.5.2]

```
(711)
          [dɔ̀gɔ̀ <sup>L</sup>-gwǎ:n
                                      má] nă:
                                                             b-3:
                                                                                               kày,
          [Dogon<sup>L</sup>-country
                                     in]
                                             yesterday remain.Pfv-PplSbj.O
                                                                                               Top,
                    kw\acute{a}-m=b\grave{\varepsilon}-vl
     [mànê:
                                                       [sòlé
                                                                                   n\acute{a}-m = b\grave{\varepsilon}-v
                    eat-Pres=Past-1PlSbj]
                                                                                  drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj]
     [meal.Pl
                                                       [cream.of.millet
                                                                      L'n-bò]
                                                                                                       Lbà-mbò]]
                                                                                        ſί
     [έmè:
                 n\acute{a}-m = b\grave{\varepsilon}-v]
                                                     [[[í
                                                                      Lmother-Pl] [1PlPoss Lfather-Pl]]
     [milk
                 drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj] [[[1PlPoss
                       k \acute{o} m \acute{a} n d \acute{i} y \grave{a} - m = b - \grave{a};,]
     í
     1PlObi
                      take.care.of-Pres=Past-3PlSbj]
```

As for what there was formerly in Dogon country, we used to eat meals, we used to drink cream of millet, we used to drink milk, our mothers and our fathers used to take good care of us.

[participle b- δ : from 'remain/be' verb §11.2.6.1; past imperfective - $m = b\varepsilon$ - §10.3.1.5]

```
(712)
         ſί
                        bà-mbò1
                                       [nàwó:
                                                    ínà:]
                                                                  j\acute{o}g\grave{o}-m=b-\grave{a}:
          [1PlPoss
                       father-Pl]
                                       [cow.Pl
                                                   goat.Pl]
                                                                 have-Stat=Past-3PlSbj,
    [tò-mbó
                         gì]
                                          dìmbí-yè-mbò,
    [Recip-Pl
                                          follow-MP-and.then,
                         Acc]
                                            [nă:n nè]
    [tò-mbó
                    m\grave{a} < p \ddot{a}:m \rightarrow
                                                             pã:m
                                                                                  d\hat{u}m\hat{i}-y\varepsilon=b\hat{\varepsilon},
    [Recip-Pl
                    with] < ... >
                                            [well Adv] understanding get-MP=Past,
    kày
                    Γίγό
                                 nù:],
                                             í
                                                        \partial ndú-\emptyset,
    Topic
                    [today
                                now],
                                             this
                                                       not.be-3Sg,
                                                  Lbà-mbò],
    nă:
                             ſί
                                                  Lfather-Pl]
    yesterday
                             [1PlPoss
                  Lòndò:]
    Πbé
                                  gì]
                                            [s\check{\varepsilon} \rightarrow n\grave{\varepsilon}]
                                                               kúmbí-y
                                                                                kóndí
                                                                                               nὲ,
    [[3PlPoss <sup>L</sup>child.Pl]
                                 Acc]
                                            [well Adv]
                                                               hold-MP
                                                                                do.well
                                                                                               then.SS,
```

Our fathers had cows and goats, they (= family members) followed each other (= lived together), and understanding (=harmony) among each other was well gotten (= they got along well), as for (that). Nowadays, this does not exist. Formerly, our fathers watched carefully over their children in tranquility.

[reciprocal -mbó §18.3.1; -mbò 'and then' after E-stem of verb §15.1.3; Demonstrative í §4.4.2.1; nè same-subject subordinator §15.1.5]

```
Lèndè:]
                                                          kúmbò-Ø
(713) bă:
                   [[mó
                                                                                 m\varepsilon,
        father
                   [[3SgPoss
                                 <sup>L</sup>child]
                                              Acc]
                                                          hold.Stat-3SgSbj
                                                                                 if,
                                         dímb\grave{a}-m=b\grave{\varepsilon}-\emptyset,
    èndê:
              [bǎ:-n`
                                 gì]
                                                                         kà:
                                                                                 [íyó
                                                                                            nù:],
              [father-3SgPoss Acc] follow-Pres=Past-3SgSbj,
    child
                                                                         but
                                                                                 [today
                                                                                            now]
    [èndê:
                              [[bǎ:
                                        mó]
                                                      gì]
                                                              d mbà-ndi-\emptyset,
    [child
                Def.AnSg] [[father Def.AnSg] Acc]
                                                             follow-PresNeg-3SgSbj.
    [[bǎ:
                           là] [[èndê: mó]
                                                        gì]
                                                             dimbà-ndí-\emptyset,
    [[father Def.AnSg] too] [[child Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
```

If a father watched over his child, the child would follow (=obey) his father. But nowadays, the child doesn't follow the father, and the father doesn't follow the child.

[no special reflexive possessor form §18.1.2; stative $k\acute{u}mb\grave{o}$ §11.2.3; $m\epsilon$ 'if' §16.1.2; $b\check{a}:-\grave{n}$ 'his father' §6.2.4; present negative inflection §10.1.4.4]

```
(714) kó
                      a\eta g u = v
                                       ló.
                      which?=it.is
        InanSg.O
                                       Q,
                                             j-è:,
    [gwǎ:
                                 nàm
   [country
                Def.InanSg.E]
                                 be.ruined
                                             Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc,
   [[gwǎ:
                         ké]
                                                  _năm-bò]
   [[country
                         Def.InanSg.E]
                                                  be.ruined-and.then]
    Гто́
                    gìn-ô:],
                    say.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
   [AnSg
```

What is it, (the reason why) the country (=world) [focus] has become ruined? The country has become ruined to this extent.

[$\grave{a}ng\acute{u}$ 'which, what?' §13.2.2.7; subject focalization with {L}-toned verb plus perfect §13.1.1.5; - $mb\grave{o}$ 'and then' §15.1.3; $m\acute{o}$ $g\grave{i}n$ - \hat{o} : indicating extent §15.2.6]

```
[gwà: L-[nàmǐ-n]
                                  kó
                                                   là]
                                                            ló.
        [country<sup>L</sup>-[ruin-Nom]
                                  Def.InanSg.O
                                                   tool
                                                            which?=it.is
                                                                              Q,
    [à:lé
               yà:1
                        tégà-nd-è:,
                                                       wánà:
                                                                 nέ:mà
                                                                               \partial nd\hat{u}-\emptyset,
    [rain(n)
              Focl
                        fall-PresNeg-Ppl.SbjFoc,
                                                      truly
                                                                 good.times
                                                                               not.be-3SgSbj,
    nέ:mà
                  òndú-∅
                                   mέ
                                            nù:.
                                                     háwràl
                                                                    bà-m
                                                                                          ló.
                 not.be-3SgSbj
                                   if
                                            now,
                                                     agreement
                                                                    remain-Fut.3SgSbj Q,
    good.times
    [gà:-gέ:
                     mà]
                            pã:m
                                              dùmà-mb-ò:
                                                                  ló,
    [hunger-Char
                     in
                            understanding get-Fut-2SgSbj
                                                                  Q,
    [áy
               jòg-â:]
                                 [îm
                                            mà] síyε-ηgò
                                                                   gò-m
                                                                                         ló.
    [be.tired Perfect-PplSbj] [[mouth in] good-InanSg.O go.out-Fut.3SgSbj
        (As for) the ruining of the country, what is (the reason for) that? It's the fact that rain
    [focus] doesn't fall. Now the good times do not exist. Now if the good times do not exist,
    will there be agreement (=good relations)? Will you get agreement in (=from) a hungry
    person? A weary person, will something good come out of his mouth?
        [nàmǐ-n 'damage' §4.2.3.3; present negative focalization with -nj-è: §13.1.1.2;
    characteristic nominal suffix -g\(\xi\): \(\xi\) (1\(\hat{b}\)), possessed form of \(\hat{ibi}\) (mouth')
(716)
        k el - n = l a
                                         kŏy,
        not.want-Nom=it.is.not
                                         Emph,
                              Lèndè:]
                                           kéli-yà-ndi-\emptyset,
    nŏ:
                [mó
    person
                [3SgPoss
                             Lchild]
                                          not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
    [èndê:
               là]
                     ∫nî:-n
                                          gì]
                                                     k\acute{e}l\acute{i}-yà-nd\acute{i}-\emptyset,
               too] [mother-3SgPoss
                                                     not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
    [child
                                          Acc]
            èndê:
    kà:
                       nû:,
                                [nǐ:-nì
                                                    gì]
                                                               mà:má-m,
            child
                                [mother-3SgPoss Acc]
                                                               be.stronger-Fut.3SgSbj,
    but
                       now,
        It's not (from) hatred. A person (=adult) doesn't dislike his/her child, a child doesn't
    dislike its mother. But a child now, it will be more important than its mother.
        [k \stackrel{?}{e} l \stackrel{?}{a} - n 'not wanting, hatred' §4.2.3.3; n \stackrel{?}{i} : - n 'mother' §6.2.4]
       [[èndè<sup>L</sup> kóniê
(717)
                            ηwê:m-ηwê:m-ηwê:m
                                                         mó]
                                                                        gì]
        [[child<sup>L</sup> newborn weeping(adverbial)
                                                         Def.AnSg]
                                                                        Acc]
    ó
                  jò-ŋgà
                                            ké,
    2SgSbj
                  have-PplNonSbj
                                            Def.InanSg.E
    dèŋàn<sup>L</sup>
                  ſό
                             mà]
                                                          néndá-nd-è:
                                          тó
    day<sup>L</sup>
                                                         be.bad-Inch-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
                  [2Sg
                             Dat]
                                         AnSgSbj
    gìnε-Ø
                              mέ,
    say.Pfv-3SgSbj
                             if,
    tílày,
                  Гто́
                            gì]
                                      dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:,
    certainty,
                           Acc]
                                      follow-MP-Fut-2SgSbj,
                  [AnSg
        When you-Sg have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you
```

[jò-ŋgà 'having' §14.3.10; temporal relative with dèŋàn 'the day when ...' §15.2.1]

(= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (=obey) it.

```
(718)
       [bíró:
                         bìrà-m=b-\hat{a}:
                                                            m\epsilon[
        [work(n)
                         work(v)-Pres=Past-2SgSbj
                                                            if]
    ſbìr :<sup>L</sup>
                     kó]
                                              dògà-mb-ô:,
    [work(n)<sup>L</sup>
                     NearDist.InanSg.O]
                                             leave-Fut-2SgSbj,
    òbì-yò-mb-ô:,
                             Гто́
                                         gì]
                                                   dìnòndò-mb-ô:,
    sit-MP-Fut-2SgSbj,
                             [AnSg
                                         Acc]
                                                   console-Fut-2SgSbj,
        If you-Sg were working, you will leave (=give up) that work. You will sit (=stay
    home), you will console (=pacify) it (=baby)
        [k\phi near-distant demonstrative after {L}-toned noun §4.4.1; b-y 'sit' §9.3.2]
```

```
(719)
       [èndê:
                   yà:]
                                 kànè-\emptyset,
        [child
                   Foc]
                                 do.Pfv-3SgSbj,
    èndê:
                 [[kéndà:=y]]
                                   k \delta l = l \delta
                                                                m \varepsilon],
    child
                 [[heart=it.is
                                   Def.InanSg.O]=it.is.not
                                                               if],
    Гто́
                    ſpâ→
                                nèl jàr-ò:
                                                                   mέ,
                                                                           tíbá-m.
    [AnSg
              Acc] [violently Adv] knock.down.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                                  if,
                                                                           die-Fut.3SgSbj,
    [tìbe
              m \varepsilon
                     ſm
                                   go]
                                                              w−ô:
                                                                                     kŏy,
    [die.Pfv
              if
                      [AnSgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] AnSg
                                                             come.Pfv-PplNonSbj Emph,
                                 [àyǐ-n
               go]
                                              ſδ
                                                           g3]]
    [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] [fatigue
                                              [2SgPoss
                                                           Psm.InanSg.O]]
               nìmsà-mb-ê:,
                                           kóndé→
               regret-Fut-Ppl.SbjFoc,
                                           all.right
    2SgSbj
```

The child [focus] has done that. The child, if it weren't for (your) heart, you-Sg would knock (=throw) it down violently, it (=child) would die. If it has died, for its part, (the way) it has come; for your part, (in) your weariness, it's you [focus] who will be sorry. All right.

[perfective subject-focalization §13.1.1.1; possessive classifier g §6.2.2; future subject-focalization -mb- \hat{e} : §13.1.1.3]

```
(720) R: èndê: èlú-m
child be.good-3SgSbj
R: A child is good.
[predicate adjective with 3Sg -m §11.4.1]
```

```
P: èndê:
(721)
                         εlú-m̀
                                                       nè],
                                                                               < í kùlmà—>,
                                               [nǎ:n
                                                                 лă:,
                                                                              <...>,
             child
                         be.good-3SgSbj
                                              [very Adv], yesterday,
                  <sup>L</sup>kùlmà-mbò],
                                              kánà-m = b-à:,
                                    tó:rù
                                                                                   \partial nd\hat{u}-\emptyset,
                                                                         íyó
                  Lelder-Pl],
                                              do-Pres=Past-3PlSbj,
    [1PlPoss
                                    fetish
                                                                         today
                                                                                   not.be-3SgSbj,
                   k njé
                               kúlíyò-m = b-a:,
                                                                         \partial nd\hat{u}-\emptyset,
    лă:
                                                              íyó
                              brew-Pres=Past=3PlSbj,
    yesterday
                   beer
                                                             today
                                                                         not.be-3SgSbj,
```

P: A child is very good. Formerly, our elders, they used to do (=use) fetishes (=idols). Nowadays there are none. Formerly, they used to brew millet beer. Nowadays there is none.

["went and found Najamba," i.e. went to the ancestral Najamba village of Dioni to hold a large-scale animist ceremony before the farming season]

```
(722)
                             [bɛlí-yé
                                                  n\hat{\varepsilon}]—,
         nă:
         yesterday
                             [get.up-MP
                                                  then.SS]
    [ín
             n\varepsilon
                             [nàjàmbá
                                              gì]
                                                       dìnê:
                                                                   nè,
             then.SS]
                             [Najamba
                                                      find
                                                                   then.SS,
     [go
                                              Acc]
    [[nàjàmbá
                        dîn1
                                   mà]
                                              ànî:
                                                              ló,
                                                                       Γjŏn
                                                                                      m \grave{a} = \grave{y},
    [[Najamba
                        all]
                                   in]
                                              where?
                                                              Q,
                                                                       [Dioni
                                                                                      in]=it.is
```

Formerly, they got up and—, they went and found Najamba. In all of Najamba, where is it? It's at Dioni (village).

```
(723)
        kên
                                      [bílá
                                                         gìné
                                                                           ľóbí-v
                                                                                      nè].
                      íп
                           nε.
                                                                n\varepsilon
        there.Def
                      go
                           then.SS,
                                     [exchange.Imprt
                                                         say
                                                                then.SS] [sit-MP
                                                                                      then.SS]
    [yèpà:bé
                   dîn]
                           kán
                                      kír
                                                         nε,
    [thing.Pl
                   all]
                           make
                                      do.completely
                                                         then.SS,
    sábárá
                  gìyé
                           nè,
                                        kên
                                                       óbí-y
                                                                    nε,
    tall.grass
                  kill
                           then.SS,
                                        there.Def
                                                       sit-MP
                                                                    then.SS,
    dămgí-y
                    nὲ,
                               [jŏn
                                        mà]
                                                        nε,
                                                                     bàndûl-bây,
    debate-MP
                    then.SS, [Dioni
                                        in]
                                                 go
                                                        then.SS,
                                                                     sacred.meeting,
```

Going there (=to Dioni village), telling (others) to exchange (views), sitting and making all the things (= disputes) finish, killing (= cutting down) tall grass stems (to cover the sacred objects), sitting there, debating, going to Dioni, (and finally) having a sacred meeting.

[kên discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.4.1; jussive clause (quoted imperative) §17.1.4.1]

```
(724) /yè<sup>L</sup>
                                                             jènà<sup>L</sup>-gìyâ:
                        d\hat{n} kánà-m = b\hat{\epsilon}-y,
                                                                                                         nὲ,
          [InanPl<sup>L</sup>
                               do-Pres=Past-1PlSbj, rainy.season <sup>L</sup>-dance(n)
                                                                                                         then.SS,
                                                                                               say
     [kənjé-mbó,
                             kán
                                         nὲ],
                                                       dégù:
                                                                        gìné
                                                                                    nε,
     [beer-Pl,
                                         then.SS],
                                                                                    then.SS,
                             make
                                                       statuette
                                                                       say
     [yè<sup>L</sup>
                        dîn]
                                      gŏm
                                                        nε,
     [InanPl<sup>L</sup>
                                                        then.SS,
                        all]
                                      remove
     gìyâ:
                    [gíyò-mbò
                                                                [gíyò-mbò
                                             dène]
                                                                                        n\varepsilon:],
     dance(n)
                    [dance(v)-Prog
                                             spend.day]
                                                                [dance(v)-Prog
                                                                                        spend.night]
```

We used to do everything. Saying (let's do) the harvest (lit. "rainy season") dance, making lots of millet beer, saying (=on account of) the idols, taking everything out (from storage), (they would) spend the day dancing and spend the night dancing.

[$y\dot{e}^L$ $d\hat{i}n$ with {L}-toned form before $d\hat{i}n$ 'all' §6.6.1; my Kubewel assistant prefers $d\check{e}:r\grave{u}$ in this sense ('statuette') and restricts $d\dot{e}$ - $d\acute{e}g\grave{e}$ (Pl $d\grave{e}$ - $d\acute{e}g\grave{u}:$) to another sense, but several cognates of the latter such as Jamsay $d\grave{i}$ - $d\acute{e}g\grave{e}$ mean 'statuette'; progressive - $mb\grave{o}$ after A/O-stem of verb §10.1.3.5; $d\grave{e}n\acute{e}$ and $n\acute{e}$: are chaining forms of verbs, trailing off with an implied but unexpressed following inflected verb]

```
(725)
                 mà] né:mà
                                       bὲ-Ø.
                                                           nέ:mà
                                                                            kó
                                                                                                là.
        [í
         [1Pl in]
                        good.times be-3SgSbj,
                                                           good.times
                                                                            Def.InanSg.O
                                                                                               too,
                                                      <sup>L</sup>nùmà:]
                      <sup>L</sup>kùlmà-mbò
    [[[[í
                                         gàndí]
                                                                    mà]
                                                                              kà]
                                                                                        din \varepsilon:-\dot{y},
                      Lelder.Pl
                                                       Lhand]
    [[[[1PlPoss
                                         certain]
                                                                              Top]
                                                                                       find.Pfv-1PlSbj,
                                                                    in]
    ſί
                  là]
                             kánà-mbò
                                                  b\hat{\varepsilon}-\hat{y},
    [1P1
                  too]
                             do-Prog
                                                 be.Pfv-1PlSbj,
```

There used to be good times (=prosperity) among us. We found (=experienced) the good times in the hand(s) of certain of our elders. We too used to do it.

[$b\dot{e}$ - \varnothing 'was (somewhere)' §10.3.1.1; $g\dot{a}ndi$ 'certain (ones), some' §6.3.2, the context being that some elders held onto their animist ritual objects while others discarded or sold them under the influence of Islam; past progressive - $mb\dot{o}$ be- §10.3.1.6]

```
IIvè<sup>L</sup>
                                 dî→n] kòngò<sup>L</sup> [í
(726)
                                                                        dògá-m-ó:
                                                                                                      kó1
                   [[InanPl<sup>L</sup> all]
                                           thing<sup>L</sup>
          well
                                                     [1Pl Acc] leave-Caus.Pfv-PplSbj Def.InanSg.O]
                          ki: L-gindè L-gé = lá,
                                                                    gondi^{L}-g\acute{e}=l\acute{a},
     angú = .
                          head<sup>L</sup>-big<sup>L</sup>-Abstr=it.is.not,
                                                                  rich<sup>L</sup>-Abstr=it.is.not,
     which?=it.is,
     [gà:gó
                     yà:]
                                          mà]
                                                               j-è:,
     [hunger
                     Focl
                               [1P]
                                          in]
                                                     do
                                                                Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc,
```

Well, what was the thing that made us (=led us to) leave all that? It wasn't stubbornness. It wasn't wealth (=being too rich). <u>Hunger</u> [focus] is what has done (this) among us.

[$d \grave{o} g \acute{a} - m$ causative §9.2.1 < $d \gt{o} g \acute{e}$ 'leave', in subject perfective participle form §14.3.1; abstractive nominal $-g \acute{e}$ §4.2.2.2]

```
àbádá
                               tŏ:n
                                           dìmbí-yá-l-Ø,
(727)
        gà:gó
                   hunger
                               never
                                           Recip
                                                     follow-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
    háwràl
                          dù m i-y a-i n -\emptyset,
                          get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
    agreement
                    kòŋgò<sup>L</sup>
                                  kán-
    [gà:gε:
                                                                            nè:ndá,
                    thing<sup>L</sup>
                                  do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
                                                                           be.bad
    [hungry
```

Hunger (= hungry people) never followed each other. No agreement (=good relations) will be gotten (between them). (Any) thing that a hungry person has done is bad.

[tö:n reciprocal for two persons §18.3.1; perfective object relative clause §14.4.2.1]

```
(728)
        kà:
               íyó
                        [[gwǎ:
                                     ſί
                                                                    ké]
                                                 gè]
                                                                                      mà]
        but
               today
                       [[country
                                     [1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.E] Def.InanSg.E
                                                                                      in]
                               wè-Ø,
    nàm-gó
    difficult-Abstr
                              come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
    [nàm-gò<sup>L</sup>
                                                               kó]
                            W-
    [difficult.Abstr<sup>L</sup>
                                                               Def.InanSg.O]
                            come.Pfv-PplSbj.InanSg.O
                                    kelì-yè<sup>L</sup>
                         í
                                                                            k\delta l = 1
    [[tò-mbó
                                                     jòg-à:
                                    not.want-MP<sup>L</sup> Perfect-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O]=it.is,
    [[Recip-Pl Acc] 1PlSbj
```

But nowadays hardship (=high cost of living) has come into our country. The hardship that has come, it's because of the fact that we dislike each other (=don't get along).

```
(729)
         [kó
                          là]
                                  [nŏ:
                                              ó]
                                                                ſί
                                                                          mà]
          [InanSg.O
                          too]
                                 [person
                                              Def.AnSg]
                                                                [1P]
                                                                          in]
    [ségε
                      тó
                                        dɔlè-n]
                                                            k \hat{\epsilon} l - y \hat{\epsilon} - n = l \hat{a},
    [much
                                        exceed-DS]
                                                            not.want-DS=it.is.not,
                      AnSg
     [bǐẁ
                     dùmέ
                               d > l \epsilon - m b \rangle = l \neq l \neq l
                                                                 àndá: = lá,
    [suddenly
                               exceed-and.then=it.is.not, other.InanSg.O=it.is.not,
                     get
```

That (=the fact that we don't get along) isn't from disliking the fact that people are too numerous (from overpopulation). It's not (from) gaining too much suddenly, nor anything else.

[$n\delta$: 'person' can be emended to plural $n\delta$ - $mb\delta$; different-subject subordinating suffix -n after E-stem of verb §15.1.6.1; - $mb\delta$ 'and then' with implied 'say/think' §15.1.3]

```
nàmà-ndè-Ø
                                                               < nò-mbó — >
(730) [gwă:
                                                      m\varepsilon
         [country
                      difficult-Inch.Pfv-3SgSbj if]
                                                               < ... >
    ſnò:L
                              á
                                          [hây<sup>n</sup>
                                                    hó:ràm]
                                                                  =i:
    [person<sup>L</sup>
                         any]
                                          [himself]
                                                                  =it.is,
                                           <sup>L</sup>kì:]
    [nŏ:
                   dìn]
                            [mó
                                                        dúndà-nj\hat{o}-\emptyset.
                                           Lhead]
    [person
                  all]
                           [3SgPoss
                                                        look.for-Pres-3SgSbj,
                         <sup>L</sup>kì:]
                                                d àdn-nj-ò:],
    Πó
                         Lhead]
    [[2SgPoss
                                                look.for-Pres-2SgSbj,
                   Lèndè:]
    Πó
                                    kèlì-yà-mb-
                                                                         sákò],
                   Lchild]
                                    not.want-MP-Fut-2SgSbj
    [[2SgPoss
                                                                        not.to.mention],
                         <sup>L</sup>bàndì]
    [[ké
                                           mà]
                         Lbehind]
    [[InanSg.E
                                           in]
    [[kò gò<sup>L</sup>
                  àndă:]
                                         ſί
                                                  mà]
                                                            bò- gà
                                                                           dîn]
                                                                                     òndú-∅,
    [[thing<sup>L</sup>
                  other.InanSg.O]
                                        [1P1
                                                  in]
                                                           be-PplSbj
                                                                           all]
                                                                                    not.be-3SgSbj
```

If the country has become hard (=full of hardship), every person will be selfish, everyone will look out for for himself. You-Sg are looking out (just) for yourself, not to mention that you will not love your child. After (=besides) that, there is nothing else that is among us.

[nò: kámà 'anyone, each person' §6.6.1; hây hó:ràm 'himself' is in Fulfulde; [[X bàndì] mà] 'behind X' §8.2.6]

```
(731)
                ſnă:
                              í
                                           dìn-ê:
                                                                                é]
         kà:
               [yesterday 1PlSbj
                                           find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
                                                                                Def.InanSg.E]
         but
    [ό í
                     пă:
                                  [[sò- gò]-gìbù<sup>L</sup>
                                                                      kúndú],
    [today
              too]. yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap<sup>L</sup>
                                                                      one.InanSg.O],
                                      [[s\grave{o}-g\grave{o}]-\grave{i}^{L}]
           ľvàwó:
                         té:mdèrè]
                                                                     kúndú],
          [woman.Pl hundred]
                                       [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap<sup>L</sup>
                                                                     one.InanSg.O]
    gìbí-yò-m = b\varepsilon-y,
    gird-MP-Pres=Past-1PlSbj,
```

But what we found (=experienced) formerly, now also (=by contrast), formerly a single wrap (woman's garment), one hundred of us women used to gird ourselves with (=wear) one (=the same) wrap.

[Numerals *kúndú* 'one' §4.7.1.1 and *té:mdèrè* 'hundred' §4.7.1.4; 1Pl *í* before is appositional, not a possessor]

```
Lniv mel
(732)
       í
                  ívó,
                              Πó
                                                <sup>L</sup>close.cousin]
        1Pl
                  today,
                              [[2SgPoss
    [[nǐ:
                 tome:]
                              [bǎ:
                                       t mε:]]
                                                    sò- gò]
                                                                        gì]
    [[mother
                 one.AnSg] [father one.AnSg] cloth-InanSg.O] Acc]
    [àbí
                                gìbì-y-ó:
                  n\varepsilon]
                                                            mέ,
                                                            if,
                                gird-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj
    [receive
                  then.SS]
    ó
             damaga-mb-a:=\dot{y},
                                          ó
                                                  giriy\varepsilon:=
                                                 impoverished=it.is.2SgSbj,
    2Sg
             denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is,
                                          2Sg
```

We nowadays, if you take (in your hands) a garment of (even) your a close cousin, (her mother and yours being) of the same mother and the same father, and you gird yourself (=wrap it around your body), you will be denigrated (= gossiped about), (saying) you are poor (impoverished).

[$s\hat{o}$ - $g\hat{o}$ 'cloth, garment' is here possessed by 'close cousin', while 'one mother one father' is a complex adjectival phrase modifying 'close cousin' though referring to the parentage of the respective parents; future passive §10.5.2; conjugated 'it is' form of adjectival predicate ('impoverished') §11.4.2]

```
kóndé→
                                                    bírà-nd-ô:,
(733)
                        nă: —,
         all.right
                        yesterday—,
                                         2SgSbj work(v)-PresNeg-2SgSbj,
    ó
                                                             damag \check{a}-mb-a:=\check{y},
                giriy \varepsilon :=
                                                   2SgSbj denigrate-Fut-Pass=it.is,
    2SgSbj
                impoverished=it.is.2SgSbj,
    ſḿ
               má→]
                           ſό
                                        má→1
                                                       [nǐ:
                                                                        t \partial m \partial := \dot{y}],
               and]
                                                                       one.AnPl=it.is.1Pl],
    [1Sg
                           [2Sg
                                        and]
                                                       [mother
```

All right, formerly—. (Or they'll say:) you don't work, you are poor. You will be denigrated. You and I, (we are of) one mother.

[conjunction with atonal $ma \rightarrow$ following both conjuncts §7.1.1; 'one mother' agreeing with plural subject §4.7.1.1]

```
(734)
        săη
                 [mí
                           d lέ
                                        gwè-m
                                                                          dîn]
                                                              m\varepsilon
        now
                 [1Sg
                                        go.out.Pfv-1SgSbj
                                                              if
                                                                         all]
                           go.past
    /P
            gìnè-Ø
                               m\varepsilon]
                                            yă-ndì-∅
                                                                     mâ→
    ſΡ
            say.Pfv-3SgSbj
                               if
                                            see-FutNeg-3SgSbj
                                                                     whether?
    P
          wà→
                   lá:rí-yε
                                      d lè-Ø
                                                             wà],
                                                                          ê:
   ſΡ
          Quot
                   be.shiftless-MP
                                     exceed.Pfv-3SgSbj
                                                             Quot],
                                                                         eh!
        Now if I go out, P will say (to my husband): won't he see, (namely that) R is very
```

[phrase-final $ma \rightarrow$ 'whether?' §7.2.2; wa quotative particle §17.1.2]

(735) R: jěnjâ [[nŏ: dǐn] gì] tàgá n -1-Ø
God [[person each] Acc] character give-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
R: God didn't give everyone the (same) character.
[accusative gì with recipient of 'give' §8.1.1]

shiftless (good-for-nothing)? Eh.

 $^{L}l\grave{a}:r-g\grave{e}]=l\acute{a}$ P: /P (736)kŏy, Lshiftless-Abstr]=it.is.not ſΡ Emph, $^{L}d\hat{o}mb\hat{a}:]=\hat{y},$ àybà-mbó-m kóndé→. ſό yà:] P Lowner]=it.is, [2Sg Foc] [P humiliate-Fut-LogoSbj all.right, là] dəlá [mí ſό g-ŏ: $m \epsilon l$ [1Sg too] [2Sg leave go.out.Pfv-2SgSbj if] [yǎ-nd-ò: *ló]*, [see-FutNeg-2SgSbj Q1

P: It's definitely not P's shiftlessness. It's <u>you-Sg</u> [focus] who are involved in humiliating P. All right, I too, if you-Sg have gone out, won't you see?

[dɔl variant of dɔlɛ 'leave' in verb chains; dòmbă: 'owner' after 1Sg verb §5.1.8 and cf. §18.2.3]

^Ltò-mbò (737)èbíyè kánà-nj-è:] [Y gà] [[mó dîn] nêne ^Lcomrade-Pl Prox.AnPl all] like.this [Y Top] [[3SgPoss do-Pres-3PlSbj] ^Ltò-mb $\int m$ ebíyè] kánà-nj-ε:, [[3SgPoss ^Lcomrade-Pl Prox.AnPl] prospering do-Pres-3PlSbj

As for Y, all these pals (agemates) of his do like this (to him). These pals of his have prospered.

[$\grave{\epsilon} b\acute{i}y\grave{\epsilon}$ animate plural proximate demonstrative pronoun §4.4.1; $p\grave{\epsilon} n\epsilon$ 'like this' §4.4.4.3]

```
j \hat{e} n j \hat{a}^{L} - \hat{n} d \vartheta := \hat{y},
                             [jěnjà
                                          mà]
                                                    bèlí-yà-njò-Ø,
     God<sup>L</sup>-give=it.is,
                             [God
                                         in]
                                                   get.up-MP-Pres-3SgSbj,
[[yè<sup>L</sup>
                 dîn]
                            gì]
                                                     d g- :,
[[InanPl<sup>L</sup>
                 all]
                            Acc]
                                       1PlSbj
                                                    leave.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[jěnjà
           gì]
                   í
                               lútà
                                             kán-
                                                                                   kó.
[God
           Acc] 1PlSbj
                              rejecting
                                             do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
                                                                                   Def.InanSg.O,
                                       <sup>L</sup>yàrù
jěnjà
                ľkó
                                                              kó]
                                       Lcredit(n)
God
                [InanSg.O.Poss
                                                              Def.InanSg.O]
ſί
               mà]
                                sójà-njò-∅,
[1P1
              in]
                               pay-Pres-3SgSbj,
```

It's God's giving. It arises in (=due to) God. The fact that we have left (=abandoned) all those (things), and (that) we have rejected God, God is repaying us for that debt

[factive clause with final $k\phi$ §17.3.2 (here takes scope over both 'leave' and 'reject' clauses; final clause lit. "God is repaying that debt among us"]

```
(739)
        [néndá-ndí
                            d 1-o:
                                                    m \varepsilon
        [be.bad
                            exceed.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                   if
                                                <sup>L</sup>sənj :]
    [[nɛ:mà
                   kó]
                                                            mà]
                                                                    wŏ-ndì],
    [[good.times Def.InanSg.O] [[2SgPoss
                                               Lvillage]
                                                            in]
                                                                   come.FutNeg-3SgSbj,
         órmà
                 jògò-nd-
                                                  órmà
                                                             dúmà-nd-ó:],
                                      m\varepsilon
                 have-Neg-2SgSbj if]
                                                             get-PresNeg-2SgSbj],
    [deference
                                             [deference
               yàmbá-l-ó:
    [nŏ:
                                        m\varepsilon
                                               Γó
                                                             yámbà-nd -yà],
               cover-PfvNeg-2SgSbj if]
                                               [2SgObj
                                                             cover-PresNeg-3PlSbj],
    [person
   jěnjà
                áybε
                                      kélà-Ø,
   God
                humiliation
                                      not.want-3SgSbj,
```

If you-Sg are excessively bad, prosperity will not come to your village. If you are are not deferential (to your elders), you won't get deference (from others). If you haven't covered (= been protective of) a person, they will not cover you. God doesn't like humiliation (of people).

['not want' §17.2.1.1]

```
(740)
        íyó
                ſί
                       mà]
                              súgí
                                         jòg- :,
                                                                 \dot{a}yb\dot{\varepsilon} = \dot{y},
        today [1Pl in]
                              go.down Perfect-PplSbj,
                                                                humiliation=it.is
    [áybè
                       kó]
                                           ſί
                                                     gì]
                                                                  \hat{a}-ndí-\emptyset.
    [humiliation
                       Def.InanSg.O]
                                           [1Pl
                                                              benefit-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
                                                      Acc]
    jěnjà
                Γí
                         gì]
                                   sútùrà
                                                      kán- á
    God
                [1P1
                                   protection
                                                      do-Hort.3Sg,
                         Acc]
    jěnjà
                 [dây
                           n\varepsilon
                                      sútúrà-nd -Ø
                                                                    kŏy,
                 [freely
    God
                          Adv]
                                      protect-PresNeg-3SgSbj
                                                                    Emph,
    ľbò- gà
                        dân]
                                   bà-l-ó:
                                                                mε,
    [be-PplNonSbj
                        like]
                                   remain-PfvNeg-2SgSbj
                                                                if,
    wàllâ:y
                   ľbò- gà
                                         dân]
    by.God
                   [be-PplNonSbj
                                         like]
                                                    remain-Hort.PlAddr,
```

What has descended on us nowadays, it's humiliation. The humiliation does not benefit us. May God protect us! God definitely doesn't protect us for nothing. If you-Sg don't remain the way one is (=ought to be), by God, let's remain the way one is.

[3Sg hortative $-n\acute{a}$ in exhortations §10.4.4.1, 1Pl hortative $-\grave{y}$ 'let's ...!' §10.4.2.1]

```
Lèndè:]
(741)
        Πó
                                 gì]
                                             dìmbì-y-5:.
        [[2SgPoss <sup>L</sup>child]
                                 Acc]
                                             follow-MP-2SgSbj,
                 ^{L}v\hat{\varepsilon}:1
    Πό
                               gì]
                                         kùmbì-y-ŏ:,
                 Lwoman]
    [[2SgPoss
                               Acc]
                                         hold-MP-2SgSbj,
                                                    k mb -y-ná,
                yè:
                              là]
    [[2SgPoss Lwoman
                              too]
                                                    hold-MP-Hort.3Sg,
                                       2SgObj
```

(If) you have followed your child, (if) you have held (=watched out for) your wife, may your wife too hold you.

```
(742)
                    òndú-∅]
                                                      \partial ndú-\emptyset],
       [nǐ:
                                       [bă:
                    not.be-3SgSbj]
                                       [father
                                                     not.be-3SgSbj],
        mother
                Lnàgà]
                                               ^{L}b\grave{a}]=\grave{y},
    ſό
                                  ſό
                Lhusband]
                                               Lfather]=it.is,
    [2SgPoss
                                  [2SgPoss
                Lnàgà]
                             ſό
                                      gì]
                                              dúwà
                                                           kànè-∅
                                                                            mέ,
               Lhusband]
                             [2Sg
                                                           do.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
    [2SgPoss
                                      Acc]
                                              blessing
    àbá-m,
                                    gà]
                                                 nă:
                          ſί
    catch-Fut.3SgSbj,
                          [1P]
                                    Top]
                                                 yesterday
                 Lkùlmà-
                                                    má→]
                                            ſί
                                                                kène
                                                                              yὲ-y,
    ſί
                 Lelder.Pl
                                 and]
    [1PlPoss
                                            [1P1
                                                    and]
                                                                like.that
                                                                              see.Pfv-1PlSbj,
```

(If) there is no mother and there is no father, your husband is (the equivalent of) your father. If your husband has blessed you, it (= blessing) will take hold. As for us, formerly our elders and we saw (= experienced) like that.

[traditionally one seeks formal blessings from one's father]

```
[sò- gò]<sup>L</sup>-yàmbù<sup>L</sup>
                      <sup>L</sup>kùlmà-mbò, nă:
(743)
                                                                                           ὴgú,
                      Lelder.Pl,
                                        yesterday
                                                       [cloth-InanSg.O<sup>L</sup>]-covering<sup>L</sup>
         1PlPoss
                                                                                           Prox.InanSg.O,
                         yàmbà- gà<sup>L</sup>
    săŋ
             mí
                                             ŋ̀gú,
                                                                   пm
                                                                               kànè-Ø
                                                                                                     mέ.
                        cover-Pres.Ppl<sup>L</sup> Prox.InanSg.O,
             1SgObj
                                                                   night
                                                                               do.Pfv-3SgSbj
                                                                                                     if,
    now
    [[kó
                        gì]
                                yàmbí-lé
                                                 d-à:
                                                                        m\varepsilon
    [[InanSg.O
                               cover-Rev
                                                give.Pfv-3PlSbj
                                                                        if]
                        Acc]
    ΓΓkό
                          gì]
                                         yàmb -yà-
                                                          -\dot{y}],
                                         cover-MP-Fut-1PlSbj],
    [[InanSg.O
                          Accl
```

Our elders, formerly this covering (e.g. blanket), (like) this (blanket) that covers me now, when night would fall, when they had taken it off and given it (to us), we would put it over ourselves (=cover ourselves with it).

[present participle - ga with {L}-toned stem §14.3.3; reversive verb ('uncover') §9.1]

```
(744) [ègă:
                     bèlì-y-à:
                                                  m \varepsilon
        [morning
                     get.up-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
                                                  if]
    [bé
              [[kó
                            gì]
                                     b - y
                                               nè]
                                                           dándà:
                                                                      gŏ-mb-à],
                                               then.SS]
                                    gird-MP
              [[InanSg.O Acc]
                                                          outside
                                                                      go.out-Fut-3PlSbj],
```

When they had gotten up in the morning, they would wrap it around themselves, they would go outside.

```
Lèndè:
                         ſό
(745)
         íyó
                                                           mó],
                         [2SgPoss
                                          Lchild.
                                                           Def.AnSg],
          today
                                           mà]
                                                     jòyó-
                                                                =b-\dot{a}:=\dot{y},
     [swě:
                    gì]
                              [ké:sù
     [cloth.Pl
                              [trunk
                                                     be.full-Caus=Past-Pass=it.is,
                    Acc]
                                           in]
     [[swě:
                     yé]
                                     gì]
                                                   d\check{a}y = b - \grave{a} := \grave{y},
                     InanP1]
                                                   lay.out=Past-Pass=it.is,
    [[cloth.Pl
                                     Acc]
                                              [[òlè<sup>L</sup>-gèg lé]
                                                                      mà]
                                  gì]
                                                                                j\check{a}b = b - \grave{a} := \grave{y},
     [[swě:
                     yé]
     [[cloth.Pl
                     InanPl]
                                  Acc]
                                             [[house<sup>L</sup>-corner]
                                                                      in]
                                                                                hang=Past-Pass=it.is,
```

Nowadays, your child, the clothes have been filled (= stuffed) into a trunk, the (other) clothes have been laid out (on the ground), the (other) clothes have been plastered (=hung) on the corner (=outside wall) of the house.

```
[\dot{j}\dot{o}\dot{v}\dot{o}- 'make full' §9.4; past passive = b-\dot{a}: = \dot{v} §10.5.1]
```

```
(746)
                    ó
                                                 bò-Ø,
       gà:gó
                               gíyà-
        hunger
                    2SgObj
                               kill-Prog
                                                be-3SgSbj,
                 <sup>L</sup>nàgà
   Πó
                                mó]
                                                gì]
                                                          hàybă-nd-
                 Lhusband
                                                         watch.over-FutNeg-2SgSbj,
   [[2SgPoss
                                Def.AnSg]
                                                Acc]
        Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over (=take care of) your husband.
```

```
Lnàgà
(747)
                               mó]
                                           [dé án tòmo:]
                                                                   bèlì-vè
                                                                                          mέ,
        [2SgPoss Lhusband Def.AnSg] [day
                                                   one.InanSg.O] arise-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
    [[î gè<sup>L</sup>
               tă- gè]
                                 mà]
                                         [dándà:
                                                   mà]
                                                           gŏ-m,
    [water<sup>L</sup>
               plain-InanSg.E] with]
                                        [outside
                                                  in
                                                           go.out-Fut.3SgSbj,
```

Your husband, one day he will go outside with (= having drunk) plain water (i.e. without a solid breakfast).

[dé án tòmɔ:, variant of dé án tòmɛ̂:, no tone-dropping of noun before this numeral, §4.7.1.1]

```
(748) [[[î gè<sup>L</sup>]
                       tă- gè]
                                           mà]
        [[[water<sup>L</sup>
                       plain-InanSg.E]
                                           with]
    nò:L
                                          gw-é:
                  [dándà:
                                mà]
                                                                                       á→1
                                                                      тó
    person<sup>L</sup>
                 [outside
                                in]
                                          go.out-PplSbj.AnSg
                                                                     Def.AnSg
                                                                                     and]
                           [hàwrà-mb-ê:
    ſό
               má→]
    [2Sg
                           [get.along-Fut-2PlSbj
                                                     whether?]
```

'Will you and someone (=your husband) who has gone outside with plain water (be able to) get along?'

```
(749) háwràl
                              d\hat{u}m\hat{i}-y\hat{a}-nd\hat{i}-\emptyset,
                                                            kóndé→,
                              get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
                                                            all.right,
        understanding
                             <sup>L</sup>kèndà:
              mó]
                                       mó]
                                                           -ô:,
                                                       n
                             <sup>L</sup>heart
                                                      be.ruined.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
                                        Def.AnSg]
    [[man
              Def.AnSg]
                                                         įέ- ,
    Πνě:
                   mó]
                                  gì]
                                           тó
                   Def.AnSg]
                                                         man.marry-DS,
    [[woman
                                  Acc]
                                           AnSgSbj
                                             kəntà-njò-
    ſvě:
                mó]
                              \int m
                                     gì]
                                                           -Ø,
    [woman
                Def.AnSg] [AnSg Acc] esteem-Prog-Neg-3SgSbj,
    \int m
                  gà]
                                nè:ndá,
                  Top]
                                be.bad,
    [AnSg
```

There will be no mutual understanding (= good relations). All right, when a man's heart is ruined (= he is unhappy), if he has married a woman, the woman doesn't hold him in high regard. She is nasty.

[headless adverbial relative $\S14.2.5$ and $\S15.2.4$, $-nj\grave{o}-$ progressive negative $\S10.1.4.5$]

```
(750) [àndí
                                             gìné-mbò]
                     mó
       [knowing
                     AnSg
                               be.bad
                                             say-and.then]
    [ m dògə
                  sì-y-š:],
   [AnSg
                  leave pour-MP-2SgSbj],
   < mó gì—>
                   [mó
                                                                  sì-y-š:]
                                   →] [[mó
                                                  gì]
                                                          dògə
   < ... >
                   [AnSg
                            be.bad]
                                       [[AnSg
                                                 Acc]
                                                         leave
                                                                  pour-MP-2SgSbj]
   [[yè:<sup>L</sup>
                              j-š:
                                                        mέ
                 yúgúl]
                                                        if
   [[woman
                 crazy]
                              man.marry.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                                   now],
```

Saying (= thinking) that she is nasty, you have discarded (= divorced) her. She is nasty, (and) you have discarded her, then if you have taken (= married) a crazy woman (as a new wife) now.

```
(751) kó
                    bànέ
                                    bàrì-y-5:
                                                      kŏy,
        InanSg
                    misfortune
                                    add-MP-2SgSbi
                                                      Emph,
    dbb
              dúkùr
                             Γó
                                           mà]
                                                      gŏ-l-Ø,
   never
              deep.sorrow
                             [2SgPoss
                                           Dat]
                                                      go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
   ľnò:L
                mó
                                 gà]
                                          dúkùr
                                                             bàrì-yè-∅,
   [person<sup>L</sup>
                NearDist.AnSg Top]
                                          deep.sorrow
                                                            add-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj,
        You have definitely added misfortune to that for yourself. The deep sorrow has never
   left you. That person (= man) has added to his deep sorros.
        [near-distant animate singular demonstrative mó with {L}-toned preceding noun
   §4.4.1]
(752)
       k
                      [[ké
                                    sàrrì
                                                  ké]
        but
              God
                      [[InanSg.E
                                    misfortune
                                                  Def.InanSg.E]
   ſί
                            àbí-ná,
               gì]
   [1Pl
               Accl
                            catch-Hort.3Sg,
   j njà [[í
                  gì]
                         ìr-ô:]
                                                     ſί
                                                            gì]
                                                                             kán-ná,
          [[1Pl Acc] be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O] [1Pl Acc] far(adv)
                                                                            do-Hort.3Sg,
        But, may God catch us (=keep us away) from that misfortune. May God keep us safe
   from what is bigger than us (= calamity).
        NOUN ké determiner sandwich §4.4.3; comparative ir-ô: §12.1.4]
(753) tínnà
                   kàné-y
                                        mέ∜,
        effort
                   do.Pref-1PlSbj
                                        if,
                            <sup>L</sup>kùlmà-mbò] b-\hat{\varepsilon}:
   [[nǎ:
   [[yesterday [1PlPoss
                           Lelder-Pl]
                                           be-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc]
    tewné-y
                              mέ,
   head.for.Pfv-1PlSbj
                              if,
              òbèlé]
                        ígò-
                                    jógò-Ø,
                                                      wàllâ:y-ní,
    [jènjà
   [God
              Chief
                        a.lot
                                    have-3SgSbj,
                                                     by.God,
        If we make our best effort, if we head for (there) where our elders were in the past,
   Almighty God has much.
        [nonsubject participle b-\varepsilon: from b\acute{\varepsilon}- 'remain']
(754) [[6
                    Lbà]
                              gì]
                                        jày-o:
                                                               mέ
        [[2SgPoss
                   <sup>L</sup>father] Acc]
                                        respect.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                              if
                                                                      all,
                ó
                            yàmb -rá-m,
                            cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj,
   God
                2SgObj
        If you are deferential (= obedient) to your father, God will cover (= protect) you.
                          Lèndè:]
(755)
       R: [ó
                                       ó
                                                    jòyá-m
                          Lchild]
            [2SgPoss
                                       2SgObj
                                                    respect-Fut.3SgSbj
```

R: Your child will be deferential to you.

```
<sup>L</sup>èndè:}—,
                                                    Lbà1
      P: /ó
(756)
                                    [[[ó
                                                               gì]
                                                                      jày-ə:
                                                                                            m \varepsilon
            [2SgSbj <sup>L</sup>child]—,
                                                    Lfather]
                                    [[[2SgPoss
                                                               Accl respect.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
                   Lèndè:]
                                              jòyá-m],
    Πó
                                  ó
                   Lchild]
    [[2SgPoss
                                 2SgObj
                                              respect-Fut.3SgSbj],
    [[[ó
                              gì]
                                        jày-ə:
                                                               mέ]
   [[[2SgPoss
                  Lmother]
                              Acc]
                                        respect.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                               if]
                   Lèndè:]
   Πó
                                  ó
                                              jòyá-m],
                   Lchild]
                                              respect-Fut.3SgSbj],
    [[2SgPoss
                                  2SgObj
```

P: Your child—. If you are deferential to your father, your child will be deferential to you. If you are deferential to your mother, your child will be deferential to you.

```
<sup>L</sup>bà
(757) [6]
                                                ſό
                                                                              m \rightarrow 1
                                                               ^{\rm L} father
                        Lmother
         [2SgPoss
                                     and]
                                                [2SgPoss
                                                                              and]
                   <sup>L</sup>sà:rà:-mbò]
                                                        b \hat{\partial} l = \hat{v}
     ſό
                                        [o
                                                                                gà]
                   Lparent-P1]
    [2SgPoss
                                        [2SgPoss
                                                        Psm.AnPl]=it.is
                                                                                Top]
     dàg-5:
                                  mέ
                                  if
    leave.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                all,
                      ^{L}y:]
                                       ó
     Γó
                                                       jòyá-m,
                     Lwoman]
    [2SgPoss
                                       2SgObj
                                                       respect-Fut.3SgSbj,
```

If you leave (= treat) your mother and your father as your own (true) parents, your wife will be deferential to you.

[sá:rà: 'parent' can denote one's mother or father or any of their younger same-sex siblings; animate plural possessive classifier bò §6.2.2]

```
(758)
        síyà,
                       săŋ
                                Πό
                                                                           í-
                ó
                                              sà:rà:]
                                                          gì]
                                                                  íyó
                                [[2SgPoss <sup>L</sup>parent]
        well,
                2Sg now
                                                          Acc] today
                                                                           go-and.then
    ó
                      dìn-ô:,
                      find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
    2SgSbj
                <sup>L</sup>sà:rà:
                            mó]
    ſό
                                         ó
                <sup>L</sup>parent
    [2SgPoss
                            Def.AnSg] 2SgSbj
                                                     insult-DD]
    mí
                 dìnê:
                                     m\epsilon
                                                  nû:,
                 find.Pfv
                                     if
    1SgSbj
                                                  now,
                  Lsà:rà:
    Πο
                             mó]
                                             gì]
                                                        [[tégélè:
                                                                        ké]
                                                                                          mà]
                  <sup>L</sup>parent
                             Def.AnSg]
                                                       [[side.of.face Def.InanSg.E] in]
    [[[2SgPoss
                                             Acc]
    denjé-m
                             [há:ná-l-Ø
                       mέ]
                                                               m \rightarrow 1
                             [be.possible-PfvNeg-3SgSbj
    hit.Pfv-1SgSbj
                      if
                                                               whether?]
```

When you now have gone nowadays and found (= met with) your parent, if I find now that you are insulting (= being disrespectful to) your parent, if (seeing this) I (= your friend) hit (= slap) your parent on the side of the face, is it impossible?

```
[i- from stem in 'go']
```

(759) R: wá:jibè, ó dènjé dè certainly, 2SgSbj hit give.Pfv

R: Definitely, it's <u>you</u> (the child of the parent) [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting.

[Focalization with pronominally unmarked perfective verb §13.1.1.1]

(760) P: 6 dènjé dè, 2SgSbj hit give.Pfv, [[0 yὲ] gì] $h \ yb - 1 - \emptyset$, [[2SgPoss Psm.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-PfvNeg-3SgSbj, ſό ſο vè] jέ-mbò] [2SgSbj [2SgPoss Psm.AnSg] take-and.then] [ébán tùn-ó: mέ nû:, m] [market in] put.Pfv-2SgSbj if now, nòmó tàră-ndí-và mà, look.at-FutNeg-3PlSbj person-Pl 3SgObj Q,

P: It's <u>you</u> [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting. He didn't protect yours (= your parent). If now you have taken yours (= your parent) and put him in the market, won't the people look at him?

[perfective with subject focalized §13.1.1.1; $y\hat{\epsilon}$ animate singular possessive classifier §6.2.2]

(761) R: kèné bò-∅ like.that be-3SgSbj R: It is that way.

P: *kóndé*→ yùgúlì-yò-mbò (762)nòball.right be.crazy-MP-Prog yesterday person-Pl Past-3PlSbj, yùgùlì-y-: *b*mέ, jó à-mbò be.crazy-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj if, treat-Prog Past-3PlSbj, pórò-mbò bὲ-Ø, Past-3SgSbj, escape-Prog ſnŏ: ^Lnùmà:] Lnùmà:1 *bô:-Ø* **** . bô:-Ø↗, ſ Lhand] be-3SgSbj, Lhand] be-3SgSbj, [person [God

P: All right, formerly, the people used to be going crazy. If they went crazy, they (= others) treated them, it (= craziness) would escape (=be over). There is the hand of a human, (and) there is the hand of God.

[i.e. some people are cured by human healing, others only by God; past progressive -mbò b - \$10.3.1.6; $b\hat{o}$: 'be present, exist' \$11.2.2.1]

```
(763)
               [
                      nùmà:]
                                             bò- gà
                                                            kó
                                    mà]
                                                                                 gà]
                      Lhand]
          [[God
                                    in]
                                             be-PplSbi
                                                            Def.InanSg.O
                                                                                 Top]
                      kán
                                    j \grave{o} g - \hat{a} := \grave{y},
                                    Perfect-PplSbj=it.is.
    God
                      do
                          <sup>L</sup>nùmà:]
    [[[[nŏ:
                                          mà]
                                                        gwé-mbò]
                          Lhand]
    [[[[person
                                          in]
                                                        go.out-and.then]
    bir \epsilon = b - \dot{a}:
                                          kó
                                                                  á→1
    work(v)=Past-Passive
                                          Def.InanSg.O
                                                                and]
      ěΓ
                kò
                                   kó
                                                               kúndú = lá,
    [God
                Psm.InanSg.O
                                   Def.InanSg.O and]
                                                               one.InanSg.O=it.is.not
```

As for what is in the hand of God, God has done (it). What has come out of the hand of a human and has been produced (by humans), and God's (work), are not the same (=are not comparable).

[$j \circ g - \hat{a} := \hat{y}$ is the 'it is' form of a perfect participle, but it can be used predicatively §10.1.3.3; inanimate singular O-class possessive classifier $k \circ \hat{z}$ directly following possessor noun without an intervening pronominal §6.2.2]

```
[nè:ndà L-kàné
(764)
         k
                                                     gì]
                                                               kívò-Ø.
                             [bad<sup>L</sup>-do.Agent
         but
                  God
                                                     Acc]
                                                               want.Stat-3SgSbj,
    [[nè:ndà<sup>L</sup>-kàné
                            gì]
                                      тó
                                                    kìyò- gà]
                                                                                [à gú=
                                                                                                  ló],
    [[bad<sup>L</sup>-do.Agent
                            Acc]
                                      AnSgSbi
                                                   want.Stat-PplNonSbj]
                                                                               [which?=it.is
                                                                                                  Q],
    júkkere = \hat{y}
                           έ gú,
    fine=it.is
                           tomorrow,
```

But God likes (= tolerates) an evil-doer. The fact that He likes an evil-doer, what is (the reason for) it? It's punishment in the future ("tomorrow").

```
èrè L
(765) [lá:kàrà
                          mà]
                                                       gìndo:]
                                     [fine(n)L
                          in]
                                                       big.InanSg.O]
        [Hereafter
                       dímbà-∅,
    [mó
                gì]
                                               wá:jìbè,
                Acc] follow.Stat-3SgSbj,
    [AnSg
                                               certainly,
                                  Lim]
                <sup>L</sup>kùlmà-mbò]
                                               mà]
                                                                 ŋwε- ,
    [[1PlPoss Lelder-Pl]
                                  Lmouth]
                                               in]
                                                       like.this hear.Pfv-1PlSbj,
                                                                          <sup>L</sup>'n-bò
    < í bàbà:-
                                      Lbàbà:-mbò
                                                          →] [í
                           ſί
                                                             [1PlPoss <sup>L</sup>mother-Pl
    < ... >
                            [1PlPoss Lather-Pl
                                                       and]
                                                                                        and]
    dìnέ:-ỳ
                          kŏy,
    find.Pfv-1PlSbj
                          Emph,
```

In the Hereafter (= Afterworld), a great punishment follows (=will afflict) him. We certainly heard this in (= from) our elders' mouth(s). We definitely found (= experienced) our fathers and mothers.

[júkk rɛ 'fine (penalty)', by extension 'divine punishment'; agentive compound §5.1.4; 'want' §17.2.1.1; factive clause in nonsubject relative-clause form §17.3.2, can be emended by adding $k\acute{o}$ after $k\grave{i}y\grave{o}$ - $g\grave{a}$; \grave{a} $g\acute{u}$ 'which, what?' §13.2.2.7; $\grave{i}m < /ib\acute{i}/$ 'mouth'; $b\grave{a}b\^{a}$: 'father, daddy', alternative to $b\check{a}$: 'father']

```
Lbàbà:1
(766)
                            ó
                                              wá→.
       [1PlPoss Lather]
                            2Sg(vocative)
                                             Quot,
   [dôm
                mà]
                      Πό
                                                  ìr-ó:]
                                    Lmouth]
   [speech
                in]
                      [[2SgPoss
                                                  be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O]
    bô:-Ø
                      wà
                                kŏy,
   be-3SgSbj
                      Quot
                                Emph,
                                            L
   [kwέ- gò
                      mà]
                              Πó
                                                          ìr-ó:]
                                            Lmouth]
                                                          be.more-PplSbj.InanSg.O]
   [food-InanSg.O
                      in]
                              [[2SgPoss
    bô:-Ø
                    wà,
   be-3SgSbj
                    Ouot,
```

Our father said: hey you, in speech there is definitely something that is bigger than (what comes from) your mouth; in food there is something that is bigger than (what you put in) your mouth.

[quotative particle $wa \rightarrow$ after vocative, then wa after sentence proper §17.1.2]

```
kwé- gò
(767)
                          [[kéré
                                      m ]
                                             wá
                                                        ín
                                                                   nè]
       food-InanSg.O
                         [[the.bush in]
                                            Quot
                                                        go
                                                                   then.SS]
                                        Lim]
    dìnê:
                 mέ,
                          [[[ó
                                                     mà]
                                        Lmouth]
   get.Pfv
                if,
                         [[[2SgPoss
                                                     in]
   há:nέ
                                          kó]
                                                            kwὲ
                                                                       mέ,
                   jòg-à:
   be.possible
                   Perfect-PplNonSbj
                                          Def.InanSg.O]
                                                            eat.Pfv
                                                                       if,
                 Lim]
                             mà]
                                  há:ná-l-ó:]
                                                                           jê:-n]
   ΠΠό
                 Lmouth]
                                  be.possible-PfvNeg-PplSbj.InanSg.O]
   [[[[2SgPoss
                            in]
                                                                           take-DS]
               <sup>L</sup>sà:rà:
                          mó]
                                        gì]
                                                  ndír
   Πó
                                                                 wá,
   [[2SgPoss Lparent
                          Def.AnSg]
                                        Acc]
                                                 give.Imprt
                                                                Quot,
```

He (=our father) said: if you have gone out to the bush and gotten (some) food, having eaten what is possible (=what fits) in your mouth, you (should) bring that which is not possible (= does not fit) in your mouth and give it to your parent.

[quotative wa at the end of the quoted passage and also after an adverbial phrase near the beginning; $din\hat{\epsilon}$: and $kw\hat{\epsilon}$ would normally be 2Sg din-a: and k-: in this context; $dir\epsilon$ is a variant of $d\epsilon$ 'give']

```
<sup>L</sup>sà:rà:
(768)
         íyó
                      ſό
                                                        mó]
                                      <sup>L</sup>parent
         today
                      [2SgPoss
                                                        Def.AnSg]
    [[ólé
                   ké]
                                           mà]
                                                     kên
                                                                       bíyò-∅⊅,
    [[house
                   Def.InanSg.E]
                                           in]
                                                     there.Def
                                                                       lie.down.Stat-3SgSbj,
    ó
               Γkέrέ
                               m 1
                                            ó
    2Sg
               [outback
                               in]
                                            2SgSbj
                                                            go.out.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
    [[nàmà:<sup>L</sup>
                sì: L-gá:]
                                         [s
                                                       gò]
    [[meat<sup>L</sup>
                fat<sup>L</sup>-Char.InanSg.O]
                                         [2SgPoss
                                                       Psm.InanSg.O]
    kwέ→
                      dă:n
                                         kúb-ô:]
                                         eat.meat.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
    sizzling(adv)
                      roast
                               2SgSbi
                    Lsà:rà:]
    Πó
                                          dá-l-ó:],
                    Lparent]
    [[2SgPoss
                                        give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj]
               ^{L}v\varepsilon:
    Πó
                              tòme:]
                                                dá-l-ó:1
               <sup>L</sup>woman
                              one.AnSg]
    [[2Sg
                                               give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj]
                  <sup>L</sup>èndè:
    Γó
                               tòme:1
                                                     dá-l-ó:,
                 Lchild.
    [2SgPoss
                               one.AnSg]
                                                    give-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
```

Nowadays, your parent is lying down there in the house, (while) you have gone out to the bush, you have roasted (directly on a fire) your sizzling fatty meat and eaten it (out in the bush), without your having given (any) to your parent, and without your having given (any) to a single (= any) wife of yours or to a single your having given any to a single child of yours.

[$k\hat{e}n$ discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.4.1, perfective nonsubject relative §14.3.1; $s\hat{i}$:- $g\hat{e}$: $\sim s\hat{i}$:- $g\hat{a}$: characteristic - $g\hat{a}$: §4.2.2.1; $kw\hat{e} \rightarrow$ 'sizzling' onomatopoeic adverbial; $t\hat{o}m\hat{e}$: 'one' after negation = '(not even) a single one'; perfective negative clauses following a positive clause can be freely glossed "without having VPed"]

- (769) síyà, dúwàw bô:-∅, well, blessing be-3SgSbj, Well, is there a (parental) blessing here?
- (770) R: ondi-Onot.be-3SgSbj R: There is none.
- (771) P: yà:—, [ké dân dân] *bò*-*y* dîn, $m\varepsilon$ if InanSg.E like Foc—, [InanSg.E like] be-1PlSbj all, gwà:L ŋ̀gí] mà] nέ:mà bá-m *[[î* country^L Prox.InanSg.E] in] [[1PlPoss good.times remain-Fut.3SgSbj

P: Like that—, if we were (= behaved) like that (i.e. in the old way), prosperity would remain in this land of ours.

(772) R: $\not\in g\acute{u}$ $y\grave{a}r\acute{u}$ \noto $\check{a}-mb-\grave{a}:=\grave{y}$ tomorrow debt 2SgObj pay-Fut-Pass=it.is R: Tomorrow you will be repaid what you are owed. [future passive $-mb-\grave{a}:=\grave{y}$ §10.5.2]

```
(773) P: \(\xi\) g\(\overline{u}\)
                          [vàrú
                                       yé]—
                          [debt
                                      Def.InanPl]—
            tomorrow
        P: Tomorrow the debts (owed to you)—.
(774)
       R: síye- gò
                                k n
                                                     mέ.
            good-InanSg.O
                                do.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                     if,
   j njà
             Γó
                          kán-:
                                                              kó]
   God
             [2SgSbj
                          do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
                                                              Def.InanSg.O]
    ſό
                gì]
                          yóbà
                                        kán-ná,
   [2Sg
                Accl
                          repaying
                                        do-Hort.3Sg
                    <sup>L</sup>kèndà:]
    ſό
                                        è-Ø
                                                              mέ,
                    Lheart]
   [2SgPoss
                                     defecate.Pfv-3SgSbj
                                                              if,
   síye- gò
                                káná-l-ó:.
                                do-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
   good-InanSg.O
        R: If you have done good (deeds), may God repay you (for) what you have done. If
   you are angry (=evil), you have not done good (deeds).
        [lit. "if your heart has defecated" = 'if you are angry (=evil)']
(775)
       [dôm
                  [5
                             g\hat{j}
                                                         -y
                  [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O]
                                                   follow-MP.Imprt
        [to the other speaker:] (Please) continue your talk!
(776)
       P: háyà,
                                                                               díndì,
                    \int y
                                  gì
                                         yà:]
                                                 dìmbì-yé-y
                                                                       mέ
            well,
                    [Prox.InanPl Acc
                                         Foc]
                                                follow-MP-1PlSbj
                                                                       if
                                                                               all,
               nέ:mà
                                              mà]
                                                           sùgò-ndó-m,
   j njà
                                 ſί
   God
               good.times
                                 [1Pl
                                             Dat]
                                                           go.down-Caus-Fut.3SgSbj,
    k
                             gì]
                                           -y -li-y
                                                                   mέ
            [Prox.InanPl
                                     follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PlSbj
   but
                             Acc]
                                                                             all,
                                          ^{L} \hat{i}
                                                        dìmbí-lí-yà-
   [àyĭ-n
               kó]
                                 ſί
                                                                       -Ø.
                                           Lbehind]
                                 [1Pl
               Def.InanSg.O]
                                                        follow-Tr-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
   [fatigue
        P: If these (behaviors) [focus] are what we have followed, God will bring down
   (= provide) prosperity for us. But if we have not followed these (behaviors), suffering
   will not stop following us.
               -lí-ye 'stop following', reversive of dìmbí-ye 'follow']
(777)
                                  gà:gì-ye-,
                                  be.hungry-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj,
        be.weary.Pfv-1PlSbj,
   [[dôm
                  kó]
                                        òndú-∅]
                  Def.InanSg.O]
   [speech
                                        not.be-3SgSbj]
   [bìrà:<sup>L</sup>
                    síyè- gò]
                                           \partial nd\hat{u}-Ø],
   [work<sup>L</sup>
                    good-InanSg.O]
                                           not.be-3SgSbj],
    kà:
                                     ſί
             jěnjà
                                                 gì]
                                                              y mbí-r-ná,
                                     [1P]
             God
                       InanSg.E
                                                 Acc]
                                                              cover-Tr-Hort.3Sg,
   but
        We have suffered, we have been hungry. There is no talking (= discussing among
```

ourselves), there is no good work. But may God cover (= remove) that (situation) for us.

```
(778)
       [[mó
                                   dìmbì-yé-y
                    gì]
                                                               m \varepsilon
        [[AnSg
                    Acc]
                                   follow-MP.Pfv-1PlSbj
                                                               if]
    [[í
                gì]
                            vàmb -rá-m
                                                        kŏy],
    [1P1
                            cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj
                                                        Emph,
               Acc]
    [mó
              gì]
                             -yá-lì-y
                                                       m \epsilon 
                       follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PlSbj
                                                       if]
    [AnSg
              Acc]
    ſί
                gì]
                             yàmbí-r -ndí-\emptyset,
   [1Pl
                Accl
                             cover-Tr-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
```

If we follow Him (= God), He will definitely cover (= protect) us. If we don't follow Him, He will not cover us.

[L-toned 1Pl perfective negative -lì-y §10.1.4.2]

```
Lkùlmà-
(779)
       ſί
                        -n],
                                 ſί
                                              Lelder-Pl],
       [1Pls
                     look-DS],
                                 [1PlPoss
    sògólè.
                                gìbì-y-:
                                                        wê:.
   yellow.dye,
                   woman.Pl
                               gird-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj
                                                        ugh!,
    ánà:,
                  yé
                                  nù i-ya-m=b-
   man.Pl,
                   InanPl
                                  wear.garment-MP-Pres=Past-3PlSbi,
```

As we watched (=in our memory), our elders, (garments of) yellow bogola dye (from *Anogeissus* tree), what women wore (around their bodies), ugh! (As for) men, they used to wear these (garments, too).

[tàrà-n different-subject form with A/O-stem of verb §15.1.6.1; 'ugh!' expresses the attitude of today's women to old-fashioned bogola clothing made with vegetable dyes; yellow dye for traditional bogola fabric is made froms leaves of the tree *Anogeissus leiocarpus*; 'gird' because women's wraps (outer garments) are wrapped and tied around the body]

```
(780) [tàgù<sup>L</sup>
                              kó:sù-mbò]⊅,
          [shoe<sup>L</sup>
                             leather.sandal-Pl],
     [bé
                                t\acute{a}g\acute{1}-y\grave{a}-mb-\grave{a}:=\grave{y}=b\grave{\varepsilon}-\varnothing,
                   gì]
                                wear.shoe-MP-Pres-Pass=it.is=Past-3SgSbj,
     [AnPl
                   Acc1
     nè: L-gùjú,
                                                                               ^{L}v\varepsilon:1
                                                      ù
                                                           [[ó
                          íyó
                                      [[ně:
                                                                                               gì]
     cow<sup>L</sup>-skin,
                                                  <sup>L</sup>skin] [[2SgPoss
                                                                               Lwoman]
                         today
                                      [[cow
                                                                                               Accl
     tàgì-r-o:
                                               m \epsilon
     wear.shoe-Tr.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                               if]
     Πó
                   gì]
                                bìlá-m
                                                                              →†],
     [[2Sg
                   Acc]
                                be.peaceful.for-Fut.3SgSbj
                                                                         Q1,
```

Leather sandals, they were worn, (of) cowhide. Nowadays, if you have your wife wear cowhide (shoes), will it be peaceful (=turn out well) for you?

[animate plural $b\acute{e}$ gi because 'shoes' is a grammatically animate noun; present passive §10.5.3, differing only in tones from future passive; note co-occurrence of regular compound 'cow-skin' and possessive-type compound 'cow's skin'; mediopassive t g- $y\acute{e}$ 'put shoes on (oneself)' vs. transitive $t\acute{a}g\acute{l}$ -re 'put shoes on (someone else)'; final question is rhetorical]

```
<sup>L</sup>gùjù
(781)
        kóndé→
                             ſně:
                                                          kó]
                                             ^{L}skin
                             [cow.Pl
                                                          Def.InanSg.O]
         all.right
    ſnŏ:
                     dîn
                                   là]
                                           kó
                                                             dúmà-ndí,
                                           InanSg.O
                                                             get-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
    [person
                     all
                                  too]
                                                       L
                                                           ù
     wàllâ:y
                    [[nŏ:
                                      ſně:
                                                                        tágà-Ø]
                                                       Lskin]
                                                                        wear.Stat-3SgSbj]
    by.God
                    [[person
                                      [cow.Pl
                                                               [kìnjàn <sup>L</sup>-ge:
                                             \partial g \partial n d\hat{e} := \hat{y}
                                                                                 tágà-Ø],
    V-:
                          mε
                                   díndì],
                                                               [life<sup>L</sup>-Char
                          if
                                             rich=it.is
                                                                                 wear.Stat-3SgSbj],
    see.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                  all],
```

All right, (formerly) not everyone could get cowhide. By God, if you saw someone wear cow's hide (shoes), he was rich, (it was as though) he was wearing a living one (= entire live cow).

[assistant says *tágà-n* is also possible instead of the first *tàgà*; final comment is a way of exaggerating the wealth of any person wearing leather sandals in the past]

- (782) R: já:tì, nă: kene yà: bε-Ø exactly, yesterday like.this Foc be-3SgSbj R: Exactly. Formerly like that [focus] is how it was.
- Ltàgì:] nû: (783) P: á m yěŋ kăŋgòy, Lshoe] now what? be.done, [plastic mánà = lá má, [yè gé m] dímbà-Ø plastic=it.is.not Q, [what? Dat] follow.Stat-3SgSbj P: Plastic shoes now, what good was it? Was it not plastic? What was it for? , roughly 'be done' in this specific phrase, is obscurely related to kán 'do, make'; the final clause is literally 'what did it follow?']
- (784) R: sòjó-m melt-Fut.3SgSbj R: It would melt.

```
^{L}bam = i:
(785)
         P: háyà
                         ľkó
                                           yà:]
                                                    [kìr-ge:
                                                                   Lshare]=it.is,
              well
                         [InanSg.O
                                           Foc]
                                                    [herder
                               Ltàgì:]
    \boldsymbol{k}
               ſně:
                                           tàgì-y-o:
                                                                               mε,
                               Lshoe]
               [cow.Pl
                                           wear.shoe-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                                               if,
    but
    nε:
                        t g -y-š:,
    cow.Pl
                        wear.shoe-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj,
    [nŏ:
                   dîn]
                            тó
                                               dúmà-
                                                         -Ø
                                                                          kŏy,
    [person
                  all]
                            AnSgObj
                                              get-PresNeg-3SgSbj
                                                                          Emph,
    \partial m \partial l \partial^{L} - b \varepsilon l \varepsilon =
                                               nò,
    patas.monkey<sup>L</sup>-getting=it.is
                                               no?,
    j njà
                                            Γí
                                                       mà]
                                                                   síyá-
                                                                             -m-ná,
                                            1P1
    God
              [behind
                            InanSg.E]
                                                       Dat]
                                                                   good-Inch-Fact-Hort.3Sg,
```

P: Well, <u>that</u> [focus] was a herder's share. But if you wore cow(-hide) shoes, (it was as though) you were wearing a (whole) cow. Definitely not everyone could get (=afford) it. It's what we call "patas monkey's getting," no? May God make our end (= destiny) good.

["patas monkey's chance" is said to be a Tommo So phrase, cf. Najamba <code>oméle</code> 'patas monkey', the point being (apparently) that it's difficult to pick high-hanging fruits left by the monkeys]

```
(786)
         kà:
                  nàmà-ndè-∅
                                                  ŏ
                                                            ſί
                                                                        mà],
                  difficult-Inch-3SgSbj
                                                Emph
                                                            [1P1
         but
                                                                        Dat],
                    kò gò<sup>L</sup>
                                             y \grave{a} - m = b - \grave{a}:
    [nǎ:
                                                                                             mà]
                    thingL
                                1PlSbj
                                             see-Pres=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O
    [yesterday
                                                                                             in]
                í
                                                                                     òndú-∅]
    [[íyó
                               yà- gà]
                                                   [hâl
    [[today
                1PlSbj
                               see-Ppl.Pres]
                                                   [until
                                                               one.InanSg.O]
                                                                                     not.be-3SgSbj]
                   [[[bònέ =
                                         m \epsilon
                                                   ì
    [kà:ná:
                                                                   mà],
                                                 Lbehind]
                                        if]
    [except
                   [[[trouble=it.is
                                                                   in],
                                         [sà:mà-n<sup>L</sup>
    [tìbà:L
                   kòlô:]
                                                        nè:ndá:]
                               mà,
                                                                       má,
    [death<sup>L</sup>
                                        [disease<sup>L</sup>
                                                        bad]
                   unripe]
                                                                       or,
                               or,
```

But it has certainly been difficult on us. In (=among) the thing(s) that we saw formerly, there is not even a single thing that we (still) see nowadays, other than in the aftermath of troubles: unripe (=premature) death or bad disease.

```
(787)
         sà:mǎ-n
                                             s\dot{a}:m\dot{\imath}-y\dot{\varepsilon}-\varnothing,
                        ſί
                                 là]
                       [1P1
         disease
                                 too]
                                             get.sick-MP-3SgSbj,
                 <sup>L</sup>kì:]
                             jàŋέ
                                           já-ì nd·ỳ,
                 Lhead]
    [1PlPoss
                             treat
                                           can-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [bèlí-ye
                         n\varepsilon]
                                       kúnjá,
                                                                  -š:,
                         then.SS]
                                       get.old.Imprt,
                                                              die.Pfv-2SgSbj,
    [get.up-MP
         Furthermore, when we catch a disease, we cannot treat ourselves (medically). (They
    say:) arise and get old! You are dead.
         ["our head" = reflexive object §18.1.1]
```

```
(788) [[nă:
                    jό à-mb-à: = b-ε:
                                                                 ké]
                                                                                   mà]
        [[yesterday treat-Fut-Pass=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
                                                                 Def.InanSg.E]
                                                                                   in]
    [íyó
                jó à-ndí-yà],
    [today
                treat-PresNeg-3PlSbj],
    [nŏ:
              tàmê:
                     mó]
                                         -kámà
                                                      éndà-Ø,
    [person
              one
                      Def.AnSg]
                                     thing<sup>L</sup>-any
                                                      not.know-3SgSbj,
    mó
             j \grave{o} \acute{e} = \grave{v}
                               wà,
                                        gwé
                                                      là-yε-Ø
                                                                                  má,
                                                    go.around-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj
    AnSg
             heal.Agent=it.is Quot,
                                        go.out
                                                                                  Q,
        In the place(s) where (people) used to be treated (by healers), now they don't treat
    (them). One person (=quack healer) doesn't know anything, (but) he claims to be a healer.
   Did he (=sick person) go out and walk around (i.e. in good health)?
        [jò é uncompounded agentive §4.2.3.5; jò é=\dot{y} wà is heard phonetically as
```

```
(789) [să:mà
                     gà] [j njà
                                   bô:-Ø
                                                 m \rightarrow 1
                                                            éndà-Ø.
       [sick.person Top] [God
                                   be-3SgSbj
                                                 whether?] not.know-3SgSbj,
           gì]
                 dìmbì-y -m,
                                         [mó
                                                  gì]
                                                         táppà
                                                                   kàná-m,
   [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgSbj, [AnSg
                                                  Acc]
                                                         hitting
                                                                   do-Fut.3SgSbj,
   kwă-m,
                        lày,
                                      tìbá-m,
   eat-Fut.3SgSbj,
                        Emph,
                                      die-Fut.3SgSbj,
```

[3\overline{a} \circ \text{w}:\alpha], i.e. with / / fusing as [\vdv.

The sick person doesn't know whether (=that) God is there. He (=sick person) will follow him (=healer). He (=healer) will hit (=fleece) him, (he will) eat (him) up, totally. He (=sick person) will die.

```
(790)
        kóndé→
                      [iŏn
                                 mà],
                                          gô:
                                                  mà,
                                                           j ηà-mb-à
                                                                                  W,
         all.right
                      [Dioni
                                in],
                                          Go
                                                  in,
                                                           treat-Fut-3PlSbj
                                                                                  Quot,
    jènjà<sup>L</sup>-[nèmbìl-ŋg ]
                                         b - \emptyset
                                                                wà,
    God<sup>L</sup>-[pleading-InanSg.O]
                                         be.Past-3SgSbj
                                                                Quot,
    ſgô:
              mà]
                      ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
    [Go
              in]
                      go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [dìmbìrá
                      mà]
                              b\hat{\varepsilon}-\emptyset,
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
    [Lamordé
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [dìndăl
                      mà]
                              b -Ø,
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
    [Dindari
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [ǎ :à
                      mà]
                              b\hat{\varepsilon}-\emptyset,
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
    [Adia
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [gùndàpâl
                              b\varepsilon-\emptyset.
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
                      mà]
    [Gundapari
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [věl
                      mà]
                              b\varepsilon-\emptyset.
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
    [Ogoyeri
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [[dèmběl
                      mà]
                              b\varepsilon-Ø]
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ
    [[Dembeli
                      in]
                              be.Past-3SgSbj]
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [[tàbâ:
                      mà]
                              b\varepsilon-Ø]
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
                              be.Past-3SgSbj]
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbi,
    [[Tabako
                      in]
    [mùgî:
                      mà]
                                                       ínò-njò-ndí-ỳ,
                                                       go-Prog-Neg-1PlSbj,
    [Mougi
                      in]
```

All right, in Dioni (village), at Go, they would treat (the sick), it is said. There used to be praying to (animist) God. We aren't going to Go (any longer). It was (also) at Lamordé, (but) we aren't going (now). It was at Dindari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Adia, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Gundapari, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Ogoyeri, (but) we we aren't going. It was at Tabako, (but) we we aren't going. We we aren't going to Mougi.

[Go is a secret place with an underground spring]

```
(791)
                           í-
        nàjàmbá
                                      jólà
                                                  k \dot{a} l \dot{o} := \dot{y},
        Najamba
                           go-and
                                     Débéré
                                                  boundary=it.is,
                    kálí-ve
    kên
                                                  jò-Ø,
    there.Def
                    stop.at.boundary-MP
                                                  Perfect-3SgSbj,
                     dîn]
                                          dòg-ô:,
                               í
    [InanPl<sup>L</sup>
                     all]
                               1PlSbj
                                          leave.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
                 Ldì:nà]
                                    gòmè-,
    ſί
                 Lreligion]
    [1PlPoss
                                   take.out.Pfv-1PlSbj,
```

Najamba (country) went to (its) boundary at Débéré and stopped at its boundary there. When we left (=ceased practicing) all that, we took out (=adopted) our religion (=Islam).

```
Ldì:nà]
(792)
        [[[í
                             Lreligion]
        [[[1PlPoss
             gòm-ô:
                                                        ó]
                                                                            mà]
    1PlSbj
             take.out.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
                                                        Def.InanSg.O]
                                                                            in]
    [nàfà<sup>L</sup>
                           v-5:1
                                                              òndú-∅
                                                                                kŏy,
    [benefit<sup>L</sup>
                1PlSbi
                          see.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O]
                                                              not.be-3SgSbj Emph,
        (Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen.
(793) [íyó
                           té:mèndere]
                                                   jògò-n]
                                                                 dìnέ-m̀
                                                                                    mε,
        [today [cow.Pl hundred]
                                          2SgSbj have-DS]
                                                                find.Pfv-1SgSbj if,
                                                        m\varepsilon]
                                 come.Pfv-1SgSbj
    [day.after.tomorrow
                                                        if]
    [[nè:
                  mó]
                                   kúndé = ]
                                   one.AnSg=it.is]
    [[cow
                  Def.AnSg]
         If I find that you have one hundred cows today, if I come (back) in a couple of days,
    the cow is (just) one.
(794)
        R: igí
                         j \circ g - \dot{a} := \dot{y}
                         Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is
        R: They have finished (= died off).
                                                       kùndù]<sup>L</sup>
(795)
       P: <u>nă:</u>
                          [[[sò-ŋgò]-jìbù
                                                                          kó]
             yesterday
                         [[[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap
                                                       one.InanSg.O]<sup>L</sup>
                                                                          NearDist.InanSg.O]
                          náfé = b\varepsilon - \emptyset
                                                             ŏ
             gì]
                                                                          jă:—
    [1Pl
             Acc]
                          benefit.Pfv=Past-3SgSbj
                                                            Emph,
                                                                          since—
        P: Formerly, that single (woman's) wrap definitely served us well. Since—
        R(overlapping):
                             kó—,
                                              ó
                                                      kàbîl
                                                                   káná,
                             Near.Inan.O,
                                              2Sg
                                                     excuse(n)
                                                                  do.Imprt,
                      í
    kó
                                                                kó,
                                  wòndè
                                                 jògà:
    Near.Inan.O
                      1P1
                                  reject
                                                 Perfect
                                                               Def.InanSg.O,
    ſί
           kìyò-ŋgà
                                 dân]
                                          b\grave{a}-mb\acute{o}-m=\grave{i}:,
                                                                                kànà-mbó-m̀ ∕,
    [1Pl want-Ppf.NonSbj
                                          remain-Fut-3Sg=it.is,
                                 like]
                                                                                do-Fut-1SgSbj
                                                                    bad
    \int d - \eta g \delta = \dot{y}
                                                  k n - mb - m,
                                          là]
                                 gà
    [short-InanSg.O=it.is
                                 Ppl
                                          too]
                                                   do-Fut-1SgSbj,
    [nèá d=
                                                k n - mb - m,
                            mé
                                     là]
                           if
                                                do-Fut-1SgSbj,
    [not.sweet=it.is
                                    too]
        R(overlapping): That—. Excuse me (for interrupting). We have turned away from
    that (= old customs). It will remain like we want (it). I will do something bad, I will do
    something that is short too, even if it's not good I will do it too.'
        [d -ngó contracted from dèndú- gó 'short']
```

```
(797)
       nă:
                     [nè:nd:
                                  kó]
                                                     k n-
                                                                           mέ,
        yesterday
                     [bad
                                  Def.InanSg.O]
                                                     do.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                                           if,
   [po:
                    nè]
                            ó
                                       tè:rá-m
                                                         [tó:rù
                                                                   kó],
   [immediately
                    Adv]
                                       show-Fut.3Sg
                                                         [fetish
                                                                   Def.InanSg.O],
                            2SgObj
       ε-ηдὸ
                      kó]
                                        k n
                                                        mé
                                                                 là.
   [good-InanSg.O
                      Def.InanSg.O]
                                       do.Pfv-2Sg
                                                        if
                                                                 too,
    [pś:
                      nè]
                                          tè:rá-m,
                                                               áywà,
   [immediately
                      Adv]
                               2SgObj
                                          show-Fut.3Sg,
                                                               well,
    íyó,
           [[nŏ:
                     mà]
                            ὲlú-m̀
                                               \grave{e}nd\acute{a} = \emptyset
                                                                     dîn]
                                                                            k n - mb - m \nearrow,
   today, [[person
                     Dat]
                            be.sweet-3SgSbj be.not.sweet=3SgSbj all]
                                                                            do-Fut-1SgSbj,
   [[m
             mà]
                      εl-ηgò
                                           dân]
                                                     < ... >,
   [[1Sg
             Dat]
                      sweet-InanSg.O
                                          like]
                                                     remain-Fut-1SgSbj,
```

Formerly, if you-Sg did the bad thing, the fetish (= idol) would show you immediately. Likewise, if you did the good thing, it would show you immediately. Well, nowadays, whether it pleases or doesn't please someone, I will do (it). I will remain (= live) as I please.'

```
(798)
       [j njà
                   là]
                            [ánívá-òlò
                                            mà],
                                                     gŏ-m
                                                                     nε,
        [God
                   tool
                            [world
                                            in],
                                                     go.out-Caus
                                                                     DS,
    mâ:n
                        -kàné=,
                                                          ó
                                                 n\varepsilon
                                                                  tè:rá-ndì,
    so.and.so
                bad-do.Agent=it.is,
                                                          2Sg
                                                                  show-Fut,
    [[nè:ndá:
                 t mo:
                           kó]
                                                  k n
                                                                  m\varepsilon
   [[bad
                 one
                           Def.InanSg.O]
                                                  do-2SgSbj
                                                                  if]
                                                          sùgò-nd -m],
    [bàlǎw
                     [[gwǎ:
                                ké]
                                                mà]
                     [[land
                                Def.Inan.E]
                                                in]
                                                         go.down-Caus-Fut.3SgSbj,
    [catastropher
                 ó
    táwε
                           Πó
                                            hà:jε]
                                                          òndú],
                 2Sg
    perhaps
                           [[2SgPoss
                                            concern]
                                                          not.be-3SgSbj],
    kánà-
                      jógò-w,
                      have-2SgSbj,
    do-Prog
```

God too, in this (base) world, doesn't take out (a person) and show you at all that So-and-So is an evil-doer. (If) you have done a certain type of evil, He (= God) will bring down a catastrophe in the land, perhaps as for you, your concern doesn't exist. You're (still) doing it (= evil).

```
(799)
       лă:
                            t
                                    kó],
                                                        [kàn-
                                                                             mέ
                                                                                      dîn]
                                                        [do.Pfv-2SgSbj
                                                                             if
        yesterday
                       [[fetish
                                    Def.InanSg.O]
                                                                                      all]
                                                   t\grave{e}:r - m = b\grave{e}-\varnothing,
    \int p:
                         nè]
                                    ó
    [immediately
                         Adv]
                                    2SgObj
                                                  show-Pres=Past-3SgSbj,
                                                   [[sân
                                                                kó]
                                                                                             là],
    íyó
                sân
                              gìnè-ỳ,
                                                                                   gì
                                                               Def.InanSg.O]
    today
                prayer
                              say.Pfv-1PlSbj,
                                                    [[prayer
                                                                                   Acc
                                                                                             too],
                                                                 òndí-Ø,
               -ỳ,
                                       [kèndà-[ɛjě-n]]
    follow-PresNeg-1PlSbj,
                                       [liver-[clear-Nom]]
                                                                not.be-3SgSbj
```

Formerly, the fetish, if you did (something), it would show you immediately. Nowadays, we have said (it's) praying (= Islamic worship), (but) we don't follow (= are not consistent with) the praying either. There is no candor.

```
[pîl-pá:là
(800)
       [hí:là
                 m \rightarrow ]
                                               →]
                                                       [jàmìl -ŋgó
                                                                            má→†],
        [trick
                           [swindling
                                           and]
                                                       [theft-InanSg.O
                 and]
                                                                            and]
   [[í
                g\grave{\eth}] = l\grave{a}:]
                                                         jă-ỳ
                                                                               m \rightarrow
                Psm.InanSg.O]=it.is.not.Ppl.NonSbj]
                                                                               whether?,
   [[1PlPoss
                                                          take-Hort.PlAddr
   pàskà
               íyó
                                         yà:]
                                                [í
                                                         gì]
                                                                  jòg-è:,
   because
               today
                       [Near.InanSg.E
                                         Foc] [1Pl
                                                         Acc]
                                                                  have-Foc.Sbj,
                                                                         yà:-l-ò:,
   [[í
           kìyò-ŋgà
                              dân] bà-
                                            -ỳ
                                                         kó]
   [[2Pl want-Ppl,NonSbj] like] remain-Fut-1PlSbj Def.InanSg.O] see-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
                             dògà-m-:
                                                           kó]=
        t
                í
   [fetish
                1PlSbj
                             leave-Pres-NonSbjPppl]
                                                           Def.InanSg.O]=it.is
        Trickery, and swindling, and stealing, and shall-we-take-what-is-not-ours, because
   that [focus] is what has us nowadays. Have you not seen that we will remain (= live) as
```

we want? It is what made us leave the fetish.