## 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).

| $\begin{array}{ll} \text { P: } & k  \tag{710}\\ & \text { In } \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}  & \text { nû: } \\ \text { anSg.O } & \text { now } \end{array}$ | jàngǎ-mb begin-F | à: = là, <br> Pass=it.is.not, | háyà well | bìsímillâ:y, by.God, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ínò-mbò <br> person-Pl | kábîl |  | káná, do.Imprt, |  |  |
| [[í | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ bà-mbò] | [í | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ ¢̀-bò $\left.]\right]$ | mà] |  |
| [ 1 1PlPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ father-Pl] | [1PlPoss | ${ }^{\text {L mother-PI] }}$ ] | in] |  |
| í | dìn-ô:, |  |  |  |  |
| 1 PISbj | find.Pfv-Pp | INonSbj.I | nSg.O, |  |  |
| [í | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ bà-mbò] | [í | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ ì-bò] | diné:-y, |  |
| [1PlPoss | father-Pl] | [1PIPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ mother-Pl] | find. | PISbj, |

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]
[dògò ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-gwǎ:n má] jǎ: b-ồ: kày,
[Dogon ${ }^{\text {L }}$-country in] yesterday remain.Pfv-PplSbj.O Top,
[mànê: $k w a ́-m=b \grave{\varepsilon}-y]$ [sòlé ná-m $=b \grave{\varepsilon}-y$ ] [meal.Pl eat-Pres=Past-1P1Sbj] [cream.of.millet drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj] [ह́mè: ná- $m=b \grave{\varepsilon}-y] \quad\left[\left[\left[i ́ 1 ~{ }^{\mathrm{L}}\right.\right.\right.$ ǹ-bò $] \quad\left[i ́ \quad{ }^{\mathrm{L}} b a ̀\right.$-mbò $\left.]\right]$ [milk drink-Pres=Past-1PlSbj] [[[1PlPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ mother-Pl] [1PlPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ father- Pl$]$ ] í kómándíyà- $m=b$-à:;]
1PlObj take.care.of-Pres=Past-3P1Sbj]
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 $b$-ô: from 'remain/be' verb §11.2.6.1; past imperfective $-m=b \varepsilon$ - §10.3.1.5]
[í bà-mbò] [nàwó: ínà:] jógò-m=b-à:,
[1PlPoss father-Pl] [cow.Pl goat.Pl] have-Stat=Past-3PlSbj,
[tò-mbó gì] dìmbí-yè-mbò,
[Recip-Pl Acc] follow-MP-and.then,
[tò-mbó mà] <pằ:m—> [nă:n nè] pă:m dùmí-y $=b \grave{\varepsilon}$,
[Recip-Pl with] $<\ldots>$ [well Adv] understanding get-MP=Past,
kày [íyó nù:], í òndú- $\varnothing$,
Topic [today now], this not.be-3Sg,
лă: [í ${ }^{\text {L }}$ bà-mbò $]$,
yesterday [1PlPoss $\quad{ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ father-Pl]
[[bé ${ }^{\text {L }}$ òndò:] gì] $[s \check{\varepsilon} \rightarrow n$ nè] kúmbí-y kóndí nè, [[3PlPoss ${ }^{\text {L child.Pl] Acc] [well Adv] hold-MP do.well then.SS, }}$

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]
(713) bă: [[mó ${ }^{\text {Lèndè̀: }] ~ g i ̀ ~ k u ́ m b o ̀-~} \varnothing$ me,
father [[3SgPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ child] Acc] hold.Stat-3SgSbj if,
èndê: [bă:-ǹ̀ gì] dímbà-m=bè- $\varnothing, \quad$ kà: [íyó nù:],
child [father-3SgPoss Acc] follow-Pres $=$ Past- 3 SgSbj , but [today now]
[èndê: ó ] [[bă: mó] gì] d mbà-ndí- $\varnothing$,
[child Def.AnSg] [[father Def.AnSg] Acc] follow-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
[[bă: ó ] là] [[èndê: mó] gì] dìmbà-ndí- $\varnothing$,
[[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 kúmbò §11.2.3; me 'if' §16.1.2; bă:-n̆ ‘his father’ §6.2.4; present negative inflection §10.1.4.4]

| $\begin{align*} & \text { kó } \\ & \text { InanSg. } \end{align*}$ | àggú = ý ló, |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | O which? | is Q , |  |
| [gwă: | ké] | nàm | j-è:, |
| [country | Def.InanSg.E | be.ruined | Perfect-Ppl.SbjFoc, |
| [ [gwă: | ké] |  | jăm-bò] |
| [[country | Def. | anSg.E] | be.ruined-and.then] |
| [mó | gìn-̂̀:], |  |  |
| [AnSg | say.Pfv-P | NonSbj.Ina | g.O] |

What is it, (the reason why) the country (=world) [focus] has become ruined? The country has become ruined to this extent.
[àngú ‘which, what?' §13.2.2.7; subject focalization with $\{\mathrm{L}\}$-toned verb plus perfect §13.1.1.5; -mbò 'and then’ §15.1.3; mó gìn-ô: indicating extent §15.2.6]

| $[$ à:lé | yà:] | tégà-nd-è:, | wánà: | né:mà | òndú- $\varnothing$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\operatorname{rain(n)}$ | Foc] | fall-PresNeg-Ppl.SbjFoc, | truly | good.times | not.be-3SgSbj, | né:mà òndú- $\varnothing$ mé nù:, háwràl bà-m ló, good.times not.be-3SgSbj if now, agreement remain-Fut.3SgSbj Q , [gà:-gé: mà] pă:m dùmà-mb-ò: ló, [hunger-Char in] understanding get-Fut-2SgSbj Q , [áy jòg-â:] [îm mà] síye-ŋggò gò-m ló, [be.tired Perfect-PplSbj] [[mouth in] good-InanSg.O go.out-Fut.3SgSbj Q

(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 -gé: §4.2.2.2; îm </íbì/, possessed form of ìbí 'mouth']
kèlǎ-n=lá kǒy,
not.want-Nom=it.is.not Emph,

| erson | [ $\mathrm{mó}$ |  | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ child] | kélí-yà-ndí- $\varnothing$, not.want-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj, |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ndê: | là] | [nî:-n |  | gì] |  | dí- $\varnothing$, |
| hild | too] | [mot | 3 SgPoss | Acc] |  | -Pres |
|  | èndê: | nû:, | [nǐ:-ǹ |  | gì] | mà:má-m̀, |
| but | child | now | [mothe | SgPoss | Acc] | be.strong |

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.
[kèlǎ-n 'not wanting, hatred' §4.2.3.3; ň̌:-ǹ̀ 'mother' §6.2.4]

| [[èndè ${ }^{\text {L }}$ | kónjî | $\eta W \hat{\varepsilon}: m-\eta W \hat{\varepsilon}: m-\eta \omega \hat{\varepsilon}: m$ | mó] | gì] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [[child ${ }^{\text {L }}$ | newborn | weeping(adverbial) | Def.AnSg] | Acc] |

ó jò-ŋgà ké,
2 SgSbj have-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.E
dènàn ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ [ó mà] mó néndá-nd-è:
day $^{L} \quad[2 \mathrm{Sg} \quad \mathrm{Dat}] \quad$ AnSgSbj be.bad-Inch-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E
gìne- $\varnothing \quad m \varepsilon ́$,
say.Pfv-3SgSbj if,
tílày, [mó gì] dìmbì-yà-mb-ô:, certainty, $\quad[\mathrm{AnSg}$ Acc] follow-MP-Fut-2SgSbj,

When you-Sg have a crying young baby, the day when it becomes nasty with you (= cries a lot), you have no choice but to follow (=obey) it.
[jò-ŋgà 'having' §14.3.10; temporal relative with dèyàn 'the day when ...' §15.2.1]
[work(n) work(v)-Pres=Past-2SgSbj if]
[bìr : ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ kó] dògà-mb-ô:, [work(n) ${ }^{\text {L }}$ NearDist.InanSg.O] leave-Fut-2SgSbj, òbì-yò-mb-ô:, [mó gì] dìjòndò-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)
[kó near-distant demonstrative after \{L\}-toned noun §4.4.1; b-y‘sit’ §9.3.2]


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-ê: §13.1.1.3]
(720) R: èndê: ह̀lú-ì̀
child be.good-3SgSbj
R: A child is good.
[predicate adjective with $3 \mathrm{Sg}-\mathrm{m}$ §11.4.1]


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)

jă: [belí-yé nè]-,
yesterday [get.up-MP then.SS] —,
[go then.SS] [Najamba Acc] find then.SS,

Formerly, they got up and-, they went and found Najamba. In all of Najamba, where is it? It's at Dioni (village).
kên ín $n \varepsilon$, [bílá gìné $n \varepsilon$ ] [óbí-y $n \grave{\text { l }}$ ],
there.Def go then.SS, [exchange.Imprt say then.SS] [sit-MP then.SS] [yèpà:bé dîn] kán kír $n \varepsilon$, [thing.Pl all] make do.completely then.SS, sábárá gìyé nè, kên óbí-y ne, tall.grass kill then.SS, there.Def sit-MP then.SS, dǎmgí-y nè [jǒn mà] ín $n \varepsilon$, 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]
[yè ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ dîn] kánà- $m=b$ è- $y$, jènà ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-gìyâ: gìné nغ̀,
$\left[\operatorname{InanP1}{ }^{\mathrm{L}}\right.$ all] do-Pres=Past-1P1Sbj, rainy.season ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-dance(n) say then.SS,
 [yè ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ dîn] gǒm $n \varepsilon$, [ $\operatorname{InanP1}{ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ all] remove then.SS, gìyâ: [gíyò-mbò dène] [gíyò-mbò ne:], 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.
[yè ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ dîn with $\{\mathrm{L}\}$-toned form before dîn 'all' §6.6.1; my Kubewel assistant prefers dě:rù in this sense ('statuette') and restricts dè-dégè ( Pl dè-dégù:) to another sense, but several cognates of the latter such as Jamsay dì-dégè mean 'statuette'; progressive -mbò after A/O-stem of verb §10.1.3.5; dèné and né: are chaining forms of verbs, trailing off with an implied but unexpressed following inflected verb]


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.
[bè- $\varnothing$ 'was (somewhere)' §10.3.1.1; gàndí '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 -mbò be- §10.3.1.6]
háyà [[yè̀ ${ }^{\mathrm{L}} \quad$ dî $\left.\rightarrow n\right]$ kòngò ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}\left[\begin{array}{ll}11 & \text { gì }] ~ d o ̀ g a ́-m-o ́: ~ k o ́] ~\end{array}\right.$
well [[InanP1 ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ all] thing ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ [1Pl Acc] leave-Caus.Pfv-PplSbj Def.InanSg.O] àngú $=$, kì: ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-gìnd $\grave{\varepsilon}^{\mathrm{L}}-\mathrm{gé}=$ lá, gondì ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}-\mathrm{gé}=$ lá, which? $=$ it.is, $\quad$ head $^{\mathrm{L}}-$ big $^{\mathrm{L}}-\mathrm{Abstr}=$ it.is.not, $\quad$ rich $^{\mathrm{L}}-\mathrm{Abstr}=$ it.is.not, [gà:gó yà:] [í mà] kàn j-è:, [hunger Foc] [1Pl 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). Hunger [focus] is what has done (this) among us.
[dògá-m causative $\S 9.2 .1<d o g \varepsilon ́ \varepsilon$ 'leave', in subject perfective participle form $\S$ 14.3.1; abstractive nominal -gé §4.2.2.2]
gà:gó àbádá tồ:n dìmbí-yá-l-Ø, hunger never Recip follow-MP-PfvNeg-3SgSbj,
háwràl dùmí-yà-í n - $\varnothing$, agreement get-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
[gà:ge: kòngò ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ kán- nè:ndá, [hungry thing ${ }^{\text {L }}$ do.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] be.bad

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.
[tô:n reciprocal for two persons $\S 18.3 .1$; perfective object relative clause §14.4.2.1]
kà: íyó [[gwǎ: [í $\quad$ gè] mà]
but today [[country [1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.E] Def.InanSg.E in] nàm-gó wè- $\varnothing$, difficult-Abstr come.Pfv-3SgSbj,
[nàm-gò ${ }^{\mathrm{L}} \quad W^{-}$kó]
[difficult.Abstr ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ come.Pfv-PplSbj.InanSg.O Def.InanSg.O] [[tò-mbó gì] í kelì-yغ̀ ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ jòg-à: kó]=, [[Recip-Pl Acc] 1P1Sbj not.want-MP ${ }^{\text {L }}$ Perfect-PplNonSbj Def.InanSg.O]=it.is,

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).
[sége mó dolèn] kèl-yè-n=lá, [much AnSg exceed-DS] not.want-DS=it.is.not, [b̌̌M dùmé dole-mbò=lá], àndá: = lá, [suddenly get exceed-and.then=it.is.not, other.InanSg.O=it.is.not,

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.
[nŏ: 'person' can be emended to plural nò-mbó; different-subject subordinating suffix -n after E-stem of verb §15.1.6.1; -mbò 'and then' with implied 'say/think' §15.1.3]
(730) [gwă: nàmà-ǹdè- $\varnothing$ me] <nò-mbó ->
[country difficult-Inch.Pfv-3SgSbj if] < ... >


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: ${ }^{\text {L }}$ kámà 'anyone, each person' §6.6.1; hây ${ }^{n}$ hó:ràm 'himself' is in Fulfulde; [ $[X$ bàndì] mà] 'behind X ' §8.2.6]
kà: [nǎ: í dìn- $\hat{\varepsilon}$ : é]
but [yesterday 1P1Sbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E]
[ó í là], jǎ: [[sò- gò]-gìbù ${ }^{\text {L }}$ kúndú],
[today too]. yesterday [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap ${ }^{\text {L }}$ one.InanSg.O],
í [yàwó: té:mdèrè] [[sò- gò]- ì L kúndú],
1P1 [woman.Pl hundred] [[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ 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]


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).
[sò- gó '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 $\S 10.5 .2$; conjugated 'it is' form of adjectival predicate ('impoverished') §11.4.2]


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 following both conjuncts §7.1.1; 'one mother' agreeing with plural subject §4.7.1.1]

| (734) | sǎy now | $\begin{aligned} & {[\mathrm{mí}} \\ & {[1 \mathrm{Sg}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & d \text { ĺ } \\ & \text { go.past } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { gwè--ı́n } \\ & \text { go.out.Pfv-1SgSbj } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & m \varepsilon \\ & \text { if } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { dîn] } \\ & \text { all] } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [P |  | nè- $\varnothing$ | $m \varepsilon]$ | yă-ndì- $\varnothing$ |  | $\rightarrow$ |
| [P |  | y.Pfv-3Sg | if] | see-FutNeg-3S |  | hether |
| [ P | wà- | $\rightarrow$ lá:rí- |  | d $1 \stackrel{\varepsilon}{-}$ - | wà], | . |
| [P | Quot | $t$ be.sh | fless-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 shiftless (good-for-nothing)? Eh.
[phrase-final ma $\rightarrow$ 'whether?' §7.2.2; wa quotative particle §17.1.2]
(735)
$\mathrm{R}: ~ j e ̌ n j a ̂ ~[[n o ̌: ~ d i ̌ n] ~ g i ̀] ~ t a ̀ g a ́ ~ i ̀ ~-l-\varnothing ~$
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]

|  | [P | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ là:r-gè] $=$ | $=1 a ́$ |  | kǒy, |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [P | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ shiftless- | -Abstr]=it.is. |  | Emph, |  |  |
| [ó | yà:] | [P ày | aybà-mbó-m̀ |  | ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ dòmbà:] $=$ ỳ, |  | kóndé $\rightarrow$, |
| [2Sg | Foc] | [P hu | humiliate-Fut- | oSbj | ${ }^{\text {Lowner] }}$ =it.is, |  | all.right, |
| [mí | là] | [ó | dols | $g$-ǒ: |  | $m \varepsilon]$ |  |
| [15g | too] | [2Sg | g leave | go.out | .Pfv-2SgSbj | if] |  |
| [yă-nd |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| [see-Fu | Neg-2 |  | Q] |  |  |  |  |

P: It's definitely not P's shiftlessness. It's you-Sg [focus] who are involved in humiliating $P$. All right, I too, if you-Sg have gone out, won't you see?
[dol variant of d̀̀le 'leave' in verb chains; dòmbă: 'owner' after 1Sg verb §5.1.8 and cf. §18.2.3]

| [Y gà] [[mó | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ tò-mbò | èbíyè | dîn] nène | kánà-nj-è:] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Y Top] [[3SgPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ comrade-Pl | Prox.AnPl | all] like.this | do-Pres-3PlSbj] |
| $m \quad{ }^{\text {L }}$ tò-mb | Ebíy ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ] | $n$ : | kánà-n |  |
| [[3SgPoss ${ }^{\text {L }}$ comrade-Pl | Prox.AnPl] | prospering | do-Pres-3PIS |  |

As for Y , all these pals (agemates) of his do like this (to him). These pals of his have prospered.
[ह̀bíyè animate plural proximate demonstrative pronoun §4.4.1; nène 'like this' §4.4.4.3]


It's God's giving. It arises in (=due to) God. The fact that we have have left (=abandoned) all those (things), and (that) we have rejected God, God is repaying us for that debt.
[factive clause with final kó §17.3.2 (here takes scope over both 'leave' and 'reject' clauses; final clause lit. "God is repaying that debt among us"]


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]


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 -ná in exhortations §10.4.4.1, 1P1 hortative -y 'let’s ...!’ §10.4.2.1]

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

(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]


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 - gà with $\{\mathrm{L}\}$-toned stem §14.3.3; reversive verb ('uncover') §9.1]
 [AnPl [[InanSg.O Acc] gird-MP then.SS] outside go.out-Fut-3PISbj],

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

```
(745) íyó [ó \({ }^{\text {Lèndè: mój, }}\)
    today [2SgPoss \({ }^{\mathrm{L}}\) child Def.AnSg],
    [swě: gì] [ké:sù mà jòyó- \(=b-a ̀:=\grave{y}\),
    [cloth. Pl Acc] [trunk in] be.full-Caus=Past-Pass=it.is,
    [[swě: yé] gì] dǎy \(=b\)-à: \(=\bar{y}\),
    [[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] lay.out=Past-Pass=it.is,
    [ \([s w \varepsilon ̌: ~ y e ́] ~ g i ̀] ~[[o ̀ l e ̀ ̀ ~ ㄹ . g e ̀ g ~ l e ́] ~ m a ̀ ~] ~ j a ̆ b ~=b-a ̀: ~=~ \grave{y}\),
    [[cloth.Pl InanPl] Acc] [[house \({ }^{\text {L }}\)-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.
            [jòyó- 'make full' §9.4; past passive \(=b-a ̀:=\) ỳ §10.5.1]
    gà:gó ó gíyà- bò- $\varnothing$,

[[2SgPoss Lhusband Def.AnSg] Acc] watch.over-FutNeg-2SgSbj,
Hunger is killing you, (and) you don't watch over (=take care of) your husband.
[ó ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ nògò mó] [dé án tòmっ:] bèlì-yè mé,
[2SgPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ husband Def.AnSg] [day one.InanSg.O] arise-MP.Pfv-3SgSbj if, [ $\left[i 1 g e^{L}\right.$ tǎ- gè] mà] [dándà: mà] gǒ-m̀, [water ${ }^{\text {L }}$ 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 tòmっ:, variant of dé án tòmê:, no tone-dropping of noun before this numeral, §4.7.1.1]
[[[ì gè $\left.\left.{ }^{\mathrm{L}} \quad t a ̆-g e ̀\right] \quad m a ̀\right] ~$
[[[water ${ }^{\text {L }}$ plain-InanSg.E] with]
nò: ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ [dándà: mà] $g w$-é: mó á $\rightarrow$ ]
person ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ [outside in] go.out-PplSbj.AnSg Def.AnSg and]
$\left[\right.$ ó má $\rightarrow$ ] [hàwrà-mb-ê: $\quad \rightarrow^{\dagger}$ ],
[2Sg and] [get.along-Fut-2PlSbj whether?]
'Will you and someone (=your husband) who has gone outside with plain water (be able to) get along?'


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 $\S 14.2 .5$ and $\S 15.2 .4$, -njò- - progressive negative §10.1.4.5]
[àndí mó gìné-mbò]
[knowing AnSg be.bad say-and.then]
[ mdògo sì-y-ǒ:],
[ AnSg leave pour-MP-2SgSbj],
$<$ mó gì—> [mó $\rightarrow$ ] [[mó gì] dògo sì-y-ǒ:]
$<\ldots\rangle \quad[A n S g$ be.bad] [[AnSg Acc] leave pour-MP-2SgSbj]
[[yè: ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ yúgúl] j-ǒ: mé ]
[[woman crazy] man.marry.Pfv-2SgSbj if 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.
kó bòné bàrì-y-ǒ: kǒy,

InanSg misfortune add-MP-2SgSbj Emph,
$d b b$ dúkùr [ó mà $\quad$ gǒ-1- $\varnothing$,
never deep.sorrow [2SgPoss Dat] go.out-PfvNeg-3SgSbj, [nò: ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ mó gà] dúkùr bàrì-yغ̀- $\varnothing$, [person ${ }^{\text {L }}$ 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 $\{\mathrm{L}\}$-toned preceding noun §4.4.1]
(752)

| $k$ |  | $[[$ ké | sàrrì | ké] |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| but | God | $[[$ InanSg.E | misfortune | Def.InanSg.E] | in] |

$\left[\begin{array}{ll}i ́ l & g i ̀] \\ \text { àbí-ná, }\end{array}\right.$
[1Pl Acc] catch-Hort. 3 Sg , $j$ njà $\left[\begin{array}{lll}1 i ́ & \text { gì }] & \text { ìr-ô:] }] \quad\left[\begin{array}{ll}1 & \text { gì }\end{array}\right] \text { kán-ná, }\end{array}\right.$ God [[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 ìr-ô: §12.1.4]
(753)

| tínnà | kàné-y | $m \varepsilon ́ \Downarrow$, |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| effort | do.Pref-1P1Sbj | if, |

[[nǎ: [í $\quad{ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ kùlmà-mbò] $b-\hat{\varepsilon}: \quad$ é $]$
[[yesterday [1PlPoss Lelder-Pl] be-PplNonSbj.InanSg.E Def.InanSg.E] Acc] tewné-y mé,
head.for.Pfv-1P1Sbj if,
[jènjà òbèlé] ígò- jógò- $\varnothing, ~ w a ̀ l l a ̂: y-n i ́, ~$
[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 bé- 'remain']

| $[[o ́$ | $\left.{ }^{\mathrm{L}} b a ̀\right]$ | ò̀ $]$ | $j \grave{y} y-\Omega:$ | mé |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[[2 \mathrm{SgPoss}$ | ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ father $]$ | Acc $]$ | respect.Pfv- 2 SgSbj | if | all, | ó yàmb -rá-m̀,

God 2 SgObj cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj,
If you are deferential (= obedient) to your father, God will cover (= protect) you.
(755)
$\mathrm{R}:$ [ó ${ }^{\text {Lèndè:] ó jòyá-m̀ }}$ [2SgPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ child] 2 SgObj respect-Fut. 3 SgSbj
R: Your child will be deferential to you.

| $\text { P: } \quad\left[\begin{array}{c} {[\delta} \\ {[2 S} \end{array}\right.$ | $\mathrm{gSbj}^{\mathrm{L}}$ chil |  | [2SgPoss | ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ bà $]$ <br> ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ father] | $\begin{aligned} & g i] \\ & \text { Acc] } \end{aligned}$ | jว̀y-จ: <br> respect.Pfv-2SgSbj |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ ${ }^{\text {ó }}$ | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ èndè:] | ó |  | ¢́-m̀], |  |  |  |
| [[2SgPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ child] |  |  | ect-Fut. 3 | Sbj], |  |  |
| [[Ló | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ ] | gi] | јว̀у-o: |  | $m \varepsilon ́]$ |  |  |
| [[22SgPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ mother] | Acc] | respect.P | $\mathrm{v}-2 \mathrm{SgSbj}$ | if] |  |  |
| [ ${ }^{\text {có }}$ | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ èndè:] | ó | jò | í-m̀], |  |  |  |
| [[2SgPoss | ${ }^{\text {L }}$ child] |  |  | ect-Fut. 3 | Sbj], |  |  |

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.


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 bj̀ §6.2.2]

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(758)
    síyà, ó săy [[ó sà:rà:] gì] íyó í-
    well, 2 Sg now [[2SgPoss \({ }^{\text {L }}\) parent] Acc] today go-and.then
о́
dìn-ô:,
2SgSbj find.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O,
[ó \({ }^{\text {L }}\) sà:rà: mó] ó ór - ]
[2SgPoss \({ }^{\text {L }}\) parent Def.AnSg] 2 SgSbj insult-DD]
mí dìnê: mé nû:,
1 SgSbj find.Pfv if now,
[[[ó \({ }^{\text {L }}\) sà::à: mó] gì] [[tégélè: ké] mà]
[[[2SgPoss \({ }^{\text {L }}\) parent Def.AnSg] Acc] [[side.of.face Def.InanSg.E] in]
denjé-m mé] [há:ná-l- \(\varnothing \quad m \rightarrow\) ]
hit.Pfv-1SgSbj if] [be.possible-PfvNeg-3SgSbj 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?
[í- from stem inn 'go']
```

R: Definitely, it's you (the child of the parent) [focus] who have given (= initiated) the hitting.
[Focalization with pronominally unmarked perfective verb §13.1.1.1]
(760)

| $\begin{array}{ll} \mathrm{P}: \quad \begin{array}{l} o \\ \\ \\ 2 \mathrm{~S} \end{array} \end{array}$ | Sbj <br> hit | $d \stackrel{\text { er }}{ }$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ 5 | yè] | gi] | $h$ yb-l |  |
| [[2SgPoss | Psm.AnSg] | ] Acc] | watch.o | fvNe |
| [ó | [0 | yè] | $j \varepsilon$-mb |  |
| [2SgSbj | [2SgPoss | Psm.AnSg] | take-a | hen] |
| [ébán | $m$ ] tu | tùn-ó: | $m \varepsilon ์$ | nû:, |
| [market | in] p | put.Pfv-2SgSbj | if | now, |
| nò- | mó | tàră-ndí-yà |  |  | person-Pl 3 SgObj look.at-FutNeg-3PlSbj $\quad$ Q,

P: It's you [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; yغ̀ animate singular possessive classifier §6.2.2]
(761)

R: kèné bò- $\varnothing$
like.that be-3SgSbj
R : It is that way.
(762)


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; bô: 'be present, exist' §11.2.2.1]


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).
[jog-â: = $\grave{y}$ 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 kj̀ dirctly following possessor noun without an intervening pronominal §6.2.2]
k
but God [ $\left[n e ̀: n d a ̀{ }^{\mathrm{L}}\right.$-kàné [nè:ndà ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-kàné gì] kíyò- $\varnothing$, [[bad ${ }^{\text {L }}$-do.Agent [bad ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-do.Agent Acc] want.Stat-3SgSbj, júkkere = ̀ 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").


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 $r \varepsilon$ '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 kó after kìyò- gà ; à gú ‘which, what?' §13.2.2.7; ìm < îbí/ 'mouth'; bàbâ: 'father, daddy', alternative to bǎ: 'father']

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\(\begin{array}{llll}\text { (766) } & {[i ́} & \left.{ }^{\text {L }} \text { bàbà: }\right] & \text { ó }\end{array} \quad\) wá \(\rightarrow\),
    [dôm mà] [[ó ior-ó:]
    [speech in] [[2SgPoss \({ }^{\text {L mouth }] ~ b e . m o r e-P p l S b j . I n a n S g . O] ~}\)
    bô:- wà kǒy,
    be-3SgSbj Quot Emph,
    [kwé- gò mà] [[ó in \(\quad\) L ór:]
    [food-InanSg.O in] [[2SgPoss \({ }^{\text {L mouth }] ~ b e . m o r e-P p l S b j . I n a n S g . O] ~}\)
    bô:- \(\varnothing\) wà,
    be-3SgSbj Quot,
```

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 $w a \rightarrow$ after vocative, then wa after sentence proper §17.1.2]


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; dìn $\hat{\varepsilon}$ : and $k w \varepsilon ̀$ would normally be $2 S g$ dìn- - : and $k$ - : in this context; díre is a variant of $d \varepsilon$ 'give']


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.
[kên discourse-definite 'there' §4.4.4.1, perfective nonsubject relative §14.3.1; sì:-gé: ~ sì:-gá: characteristic -gá: §4.2.2.1; kw $\rightarrow$ 'sizzling' onomatopoeic adverbial; tòmê: 'one' after negation = '(not even) a single one'; perfective negative clauses following a positive clause can be freely glossed "without having VPed"]

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { síyà, } & \text { dúwàw } & \text { bô:- } \varnothing,  \tag{769}\\
\text { well, } & \text { blessing } & \text { be-3SgSbj, }
\end{array}
$$

Well, is there a (parental) blessing here?
(770)

R : òndí- $\varnothing$
not.be- 3 SgSbj
R : There is none.


P: Like that-, if we were (= behaved) like that (i.e. in the old way), prosperity would remain in this land of ours.
(772)
$\begin{array}{lllc}\mathrm{R}: ~ \begin{array}{ll}\text { é gú } & \text { yàrú } \\ \text { tomorrow } & \text { debt }\end{array} & 2 \mathrm{SgObj} & \text { ǎ-mb-à: }=\grave{y} \\ & \text { pay-Fut-Pass=it.i }\end{array}$
R: Tomorrow you will be repaid what you are owed.
[future passive $-m b-a ̀:=y$ § 10.5 .2 ]


P: Tomorrow the debts (owed to you)-.


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)']
[dôm [0 gòj]
$-y$
[speech [2SgPoss Psm.InanSg.O] follow-MP.Imprt
[to the other speaker:] (Please) continue your talk!
 but [Prox.InanPl Acc] follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PlSbj if all,
 [fatigue Def.InanSg.O] [1Pl ${ }^{\text {L }}$ behind] follow-Tr-MP-PresNeg-3SgSbj,

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']
$\begin{array}{ll}\begin{array}{l}\text {-, } \\ \text { be.weary.Pfv-1PISbj, }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { gà̀-yz- },\end{array} \\ \text { be.hungry-MP.Pfv-1PISbj, }\end{array}$
[[dôm kó] òndú- $\varnothing$ ]
[speech Def.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj]
[bìrò: ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ síyè- gò] òndú- $\varnothing$ ],
[work ${ }^{\text {L }}$ good-InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj],
kà: jĕnjà $\quad[i ́ \quad$ gì $\quad$ y mbír-ná,
but God InanSg.E [1Pl Acc] cover-Tr-Hort.3Sg,

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.
[[mó gì] dìmbì-yé-y mé]
[[AnSg Acc] follow-MP.Pfv-1PISbj if]
$\left[\begin{array}{lll}{[i ́ l} & g i ̀ l\end{array}\right.$ yàmb-rá-m̀ kŏy],
[1P1 Acc] cover-Tr-Fut.3SgSbj Emph,
[mó gì] -yá-lì-y mé]
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { AnSg } & \text { Acc] follow-MP-PfvNeg-1PISbj if] }\end{array}\right.$
$\left[\begin{array}{ll}i ́ & \text { gì }\end{array}\right]$ yàmbí-r $-n d i ́-\varnothing$,
[1Pl Acc] 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]
[í -n], [í ${ }^{\text {L }}$ kùlmà-
[1Pls look-DS], [1PlPoss ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ elder-Pl],
sògólè, y gìbì-y-: wề;
yellow.dye, woman.Pl gird-MP.Pfv-3PlSbj ugh!,
ánà:, yé nù í-yà-m=b-
man. Pl , InanPl wear.garment-MP-Pres=Past-3PlSbj,
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 ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ kó:sù-mbò]ノ,
[shoe ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ leather.sandal-Pl],
[bé gì] tágí-yà-mb-à: $=\grave{y}=b \grave{\varepsilon}-\varnothing$,
[AnPl Acc] wear.shoe-MP-Pres-Pass=it.is=Past- 3 SgSbj ,

cow $^{\mathrm{L}}$-skin, today [[cow ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ skin] $\quad\left[\left[2 \mathrm{SgPoss}{ }^{\mathrm{L}}\right.\right.$ woman] Acc]
tàgì-r-o:
mé]
wear.shoe-Tr.Pfv-2SgSbj if]
[[ó gì] bìlá-m̀ $\rightarrow+$ ],
[[2Sg Acc] be.peaceful.for-Fut.3SgSbj Q],
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 bé gì because 'shoes' is a grammatically animate noun; present passive $\S 10.5 .3$, differing only in tones from future passive; note co-occurrence of regular compound 'cow-skin' and possessive-type compound 'cow's skin'; mediopassive $t g-y \varepsilon ́$ 'put shoes on (oneself)' vs. transitive tágí-re 'put shoes on (someone else)'; final question is rhetorical]

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(781)
    kóndé \(\rightarrow \quad\left[n \varepsilon ̌: \quad{ }^{\mathrm{L}}\right.\) gùjù kó]
    all.right [cow.Pl \({ }^{\text {Lskin }}\) Def.InanSg.O]
    [nǒ: dîn là] kó dúmà-ndí,
    [person all too] InanSg.O get-PresNeg-3SgSbj,
    wàllâ:y [[nǒ: [ň̌: \(\quad \mathrm{L}\) ù tágà- \(\varnothing]\)
    by.God [[person [cow.Pl \({ }^{\mathrm{L}}\) skin] wear.Stat-3SgSbj]
```



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    see.Pfv- 2 SgSbj if all], rich=it.is [life \({ }^{\mathrm{L}}\)-Char wear.Stat-3SgSbj],
    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]
R: já:tì, jă: kene yà: be- \(\varnothing\)
        exactly, yesterday like.this Foc be-3SgSbj
    R: Exactly. Formerly like that [focus] is how it was.
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \begin{tabular}{l}
á m \\
[plastic
\end{tabular} & \begin{tabular}{l}
\({ }^{\mathrm{L}}\) tàgì̀:] nû: \\
\({ }^{\text {L }}\) shoe] now
\end{tabular} & yěn what? & kăygòy, be.done, \\
\hline 1á & má, [yè gé & \(m]\) & dímbà- \(\varnothing\) \\
\hline astic=it.is.not & Q, [what? & Dat] & follow.Stat-3SgSbj \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
P: Plastic shoes now, what good was it? Was it not plastic? What was it for?
[lit. ăy , roughly 'be done' in this specific phrase, is obscurely related to kán 'do, make'; the final clause is literally 'what did it follow?']
R : sòjó-m̀̀
melt-Fut.3SgSbj
R : It would melt.
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$n \varepsilon: \quad \quad t g-y-\check{:}$ :,
cow.Pl wear.shoe-MP.Pfv-2SgSbj,
[nǒ: dîn] mó dúmà- $-\varnothing$ kǒy,
[person all] AnSgObj get-PresNeg-3SgSbj Emph,

patas.monkey ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$-getting=it.is no?,
$j$ njà d ké] [í mà] síyá- -m-ná, God [behind InanSg.E] 1Pl Dat] good-Inch-Fact-Hort.3Sg,

P: Well, that [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 òmélè 'patas monkey', the point being (apparently) that it's difficult to pick high-hanging fruits left by the monkeys]
kà: nàmà-ndè- $\varnothing$ ǒ [í mà],
but difficult-Inch-3SgSbj Emph [1P1 Dat],
[nǎ: kò gò í ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ í̀ $m=b-$ ò: mà]
[yesterday thing ${ }^{\mathrm{L}} 1 \mathrm{PlSbj}$ see-Pres=Past-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O in]
[[íyó í yà- gà] [hâl òndú- $\varnothing]$
[[today 1PlSbj see-Ppl.Pres] [until one.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj]
[kà:ná: [[[bòné= mé] L ì mà],
[except [[[trouble=it.is if] ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ behind] in],
[tìbò: ${ }^{\text {L }}$ kòlô:] mà, [sà:mà-n ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ nè:ndá:] má,
[death ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ unripe] or, [disease ${ }^{\mathrm{L}}$ bad] 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.
 [get.up-MP then.SS] get.old.Imprt, die.Pfv-2SgSbj,

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]


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=ỳ wà is heard phonetically as [ 3 ò êw:à], i.e. with / / fusing as [ .
(789) [să:mà gà] [j njà bô:- $\varnothing \quad m \rightarrow]$ éndà- $\varnothing$,
[sick.person Top] [God be-3SgSbj whether?] not.know-3SgSbj,
[mó gì] dìmbì-y -m̀, [mó gì] táppà kàná-m̀, [AnSg Acc] follow-MP-Fut.3SgSbj, [AnSg Acc] hitting do-Fut. 3 SgSbj , kwă-m̀, lày, tìbá-m̀, eat-Fut.3SgSbj, Emph, die-Fut. 3 SgSbj ,

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.


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 Dembeli, (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]


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).
(792)
$\begin{array}{ll}{[[[1 ́} & { }^{\text {L dì:nà }]} \\ \text { [[[1PlPoss } & { }^{\mathrm{L}} \text { religion] }\end{array}$

| í | gòm-ô: | ${ }^{\circ} 7$ | mà] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 PISbj | take.out.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] | Def.InanSg.O] | in] |
| [nàtă ${ }^{\text {L }}$ | $y-\check{0}:]$ | òndú- $\varnothing$ | kǒy | [benefit ${ }^{\text {L }}$ 1PISbj see.Pfv-PplNonSbj.InanSg.O] not.be-3SgSbj Emph, (Since) we adopted our religion, there is no benefit that we have seen.



If I find that you have one hundred cows today, if I come (back) in a couple of days, the cow is (just) one.
$\mathrm{R}:$ ìgí $\quad j o ̀ g-a ̀:=\grave{y}$ finish Perfect-PplNonSbj=it.is
R: They have finished (= died off).

| P: | nă: yesterday | [[[sò-ngò ]-jibù <br> [[[cloth-InanSg.O]-wrap | $\begin{align*} & \text { kùndù }^{\mathrm{L}}  \tag{795}\\ & \text { one.InanSg.O] } \end{align*}$ | kó] <br> NearDist.InanSg.O] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [í | gì] | $n$ náfé $=b \varepsilon-\varnothing$ | $\check{\circ}$ | jă:- |
| [1P1 | 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, | 2 Sg | excuse(n) | do.Imprt, |

kó í wòndè jògà: kó,

Near.Inan.O 1Pl reject Perfect Def.InanSg.O,
[î kìyò-ŋgà dân] bà-mbó-m=ì:, kànà-mbó-m̀ $\nearrow$,
[1P1 want-Ppf.NonSbj like] remain-Fut-3Sg=it.is, bad do-Fut-1SgSbj
$[d-\eta g o ́=y ̀ j ~ g a ̀ ~ l a ̀] ~ k n-m b-\grave{m}$,
[short-InanSg.O=it.is Ppl too] do-Fut- 1 Sg Sbj,
[nèá $d=\quad$ mé là] kn mb -m̀,
[not.sweet=it.is if too] do-Fut- 1 Sg Sbj ,
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.'
[ $d$ - $\eta g o ́$ contracted from dèndú- gó 'short']


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.'


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).


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.

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(800) [hí:là m \(\rightarrow\) ] [pîl-pá:là \(\rightarrow\) ] [jàmìl -ngó má \(\rightarrow\) t ],
        [trick and] [swindling and] [theft-InanSg.O and]
    [ [í
        gò] = là:]
        jǎ-ỳ
    [[1PlPoss Psm.InanSg.O]=it.is.not.Ppl.NonSbj] take-Hort.PlAddr whether?,
    pàskà íyó [ yà:] [í gì \(\begin{array}{llll}\text { jòg-è:, }\end{array}\)
    because today [Near.InanSg.E Foc] [1P1 Acc] have-Foc.Sbj,
    [[í kìyò-ŋgà dân] bà- -ỳ kó] yà:-l-ò:,
[[2Pl want-Ppl,NonSbj] like] remain-Fut-1PISbj Def.InanSg.O] see-PfvNeg-2SgSbj,
    \(t\) í dògà-m-: kó]=
[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.
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