

Jamsay (Dogon, Mali) tape 2004\_03, track A, texts 2004\_03\_1 to \_15

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### **Jamsay 2004\_03\_01**

#### *Collective hunt*

*[this text appears as "Text 1" in the published Jamsay grammar, with full interlinear analysis and grammatical commentary, and is not repeated here]*

### **Jamsay 2004\_03\_02**

#### Lion

S: [[tàrá yǎ:] è gá: kân]<sup>1</sup> [[[kó bèrê:] dùŋ-yàrá gó:-yà] tánjà: mà ?] [tà:-ñùr<sup>n</sup>ó gó:-yà tánjà: dèy],<sup>2</sup> [kó nò] [yǎ:-jìn]=í: kò-rú kár<sup>n</sup>á-bè  
 A: [[tàrá yǎ:] bè kân], dùŋ-yàrá gó:-yà, áyá-tér-sà-y,<sup>3</sup> tà:-ñùr<sup>n</sup>ó gó:-yà [kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] áyá-tés-sà-y, ká:†, [má jirè] gò:-tè-lí, [[tàrá yǎ:] mǐ kân] [mí [má kú:<sup>n</sup> lè]] [tàrá yǎ: mǐ bà:-∅] mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>,<sup>4</sup> [tàrá yèré kân] [[tàrá yà:-lú-m] [[úró yó=wò-m]<sup>6</sup> gǎy-yè]] kàn-lí, ká: [[émé ùjùbáy kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrê:], [àná mǐ wò:-∅] lé,<sup>7</sup> [tàrá mǐ yá:] mà bèrê:, dùŋ-yàrá<sup>8</sup> gó:-yè má⇒↑, tà:-ñùr<sup>n</sup>ó gó:-yè, bè:-tè-lí [ká: [fì-tá: gó:-yè] ét-térè-m] [[[fì-tà: ná:] gó: kân ké] ét-térè-m], [kò ké] jǐ-jówò [kó bèr-lí-y],<sup>9</sup> [[má sùn-àýá] lè], [mòndò:ró mà là:m núŋò] lè, tàrá yǎ: bè gá: kân, dùŋ-yàrá gò:, dùŋ-yàrá gó: kân, dùŋ-yàrá gò:-∅ kú<sup>n</sup>⇒, [kò bówò-∅ jé]<sup>1</sup> [íné-n=í: yǎ: [kó kù:<sup>n</sup> gò:], [yǎ:

<sup>1</sup> ... gá: kân ‘after ...’, with a chained VP; Grammar §15.2.2.1, ex. (923.b).

<sup>2</sup> Both /... tánjà: dèy/ and /... tánjà dèy/, glossed ‘if it happens (or: has happened) that ...’, are high-frequency extensions of /... dèy/ ‘if ...’. Verb tánjà- means ‘become X, be transformed into X’ or ‘(event) happen’, among other things. tánjà can be taken as 3Sg unsuffixed Perfective, but tánjà: does not correspond to any regular inflectional category.

<sup>3</sup> /-téré-sà-/, i.e. Experiential Perfect plus Resultative. Here pronounced [tés:à].

<sup>4</sup> dǎy<sup>n</sup> in ‘since ...’ clause.

<sup>5</sup> Grammar §15.2.3.1, ex. (933.a).

<sup>6</sup> Grammar §11.2.2.2, ex. (671.a). úró is tonal locative of úró ‘house’ (§8.1.1).

<sup>7</sup> Grammar §11.2.2.2, ex. (669).

<sup>8</sup> For the passage beginning here see Grammar §10.1.2.5, exx. (561.a-b), and §11.2.6.1, ex. (698.b).

<sup>9</sup> Phonetic [bèlǐ]. For the preceding passage see Grammar §10.1.2.7, ex. (565.a).

[yǎ: [kó kù:<sup>n</sup> ènè gô:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [đi:<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á méy<sup>n</sup>], [tára<sup>n</sup>⇒y yèrè jé mèy<sup>n</sup>] [dùŋ-yàrá<sup>2</sup> témé mày<sup>n</sup>] [ènè kó dàyá tí gàrà kù<sup>n</sup>], [[wó yóŋkù] lè] ènè-r<sup>n</sup>-lí,  
 màlfâ:<sup>n</sup> yé dàrá jìnè tàŋà,<sup>3</sup> dè:rè kò-rú nèmne à:, [dùŋ-yàrá kù<sup>n</sup>] à:, pé: pé: [wó kù:<sup>n</sup>] sùgò, [jáma:<sup>n</sup>⇒y<sup>n</sup> bérè]⇒y tàŋà, [[wó.: kó.:]<sup>4</sup> tō:-n bè â:-Ø cêw] [inè<sup>5</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [néy<sup>n</sup> ké], yèrè mōr<sup>n</sup> wó bàrà-bà, yé kó cè:<sup>n</sup>-bá↑,  
 [dùŋ-yàrá kù<sup>n</sup>] dè:-bá↑, bé [àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm] yé pótte-m [inè bármè-m cêw], [bé nè]<sup>6</sup> dè:-bà, [cín dé: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [úrò jè:rè-bà],  
 tǎrà lè, yǎ:-n<sup>7</sup> déy, [[àr<sup>n</sup>-ni:ñé bé kùnò-gó-Ø] mà tǒg<sup>8</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró, màlfâ:<sup>n</sup> já:-bà⇒, sárú já:-bà⇒, béré já:-bà⇒, [mànà-bè-tâ:<sup>n</sup>-Ø<sup>9</sup> nám] yǎ:-bà⇒, héy! [cèm-[tà<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>]-[tà<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>]] nám]<sup>11</sup> yǎ:-bà⇒, < mōñú -- > kó⇒y [mōñù-cèm bè gâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>], kó já:-bà⇒,  
 [[cè:-[wò-y]-[wò-ý]<sup>12</sup> fú:] mà tǒgú] já:-bà⇒,  
 [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm mà mó:n] mà bèrê:, [èjù-ni:ñé mà mó:n] mà bèrê:, [[dùŋ-yàrá⇒y gò: má⇒, ò-tá:⇒y gò:] jé mèy<sup>n</sup>] [kó<sup>13</sup> dàyá tí yèrè-bá] sógò, [nùw<sup>n</sup>ó jò:] gá:rà nà:r<sup>n</sup>à, [dǎg-Ø<sup>14</sup> ké] dàyà-jé; gó:-yè dèy

### Jamsay 2004\_03\_03

Women incite men to hunt

S: tǎrà, [àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm [tǎrà yà:-lú-m] úrò bé:-m yó=kò] [bè yà:-lí déy] [yà:-yèrè-m [àná bérè] nú:<sup>n</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>↑], ínè-m bè â:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>,<sup>16</sup> [kó nò] yǎ:-jìn lè, kó ?  
 A: tàrà-[yá:-m], [tǎrà yǎ:-bà<sup>17</sup> jé mèy<sup>n</sup>] tùtù:lú kún-tù-bà tǎŋà: dèy, [[ñè-m yà:-yèrè-m] ñè-m bè gá-m kù<sup>n</sup>], [kó⇒y [[è wó⇒y] [pòn-sũŋ tùr]-lá-m]<sup>18</sup> mà<sup>19</sup> ñè-m]⇒í:  
 [[yà:-yèrè-m mà ná:] mà ná: ké], dómno yó=kò⇒, gùrú yó=kò⇒, tèŋú-m yó=kò⇒, tórò-m yó=kò⇒, émé pómúr<sup>n</sup>ú nám yó=kò⇒↓, [émé pómúr<sup>n</sup>ú nám] tǎrà bò:nó gá: kân, [àr<sup>n</sup>-ùm pómúr<sup>n</sup>ú] [úr<sup>n</sup>-ùm mà bèrê:] [[tǎrà yà:-gó:-m] bé:-yà<sup>1</sup> tǎŋà: dèy],

<sup>1</sup> Grammar §15.2.2.2, ex. (928.b).

<sup>2</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.1.16, ex. (907.a).

<sup>3</sup> Grammar §11.5.2, ex. (716.a). Existential yé is required with stative ‘have’ and ‘be (present)’ verbs in positive, unfocalized utterances. It also has other functions (Grammar §4.3.3).

<sup>4</sup> [X.: Y.:], with dying-quail final intonation (prolongation and slow pitch fall) on both X and Y is the basic ‘X and Y’ conjunction construction for NPs (including pronouns). Grammar §7.1.1.

<sup>5</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §4.3.3, ex. (193).

<sup>6</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.1.14, ex. (900.a).

<sup>7</sup> Lexical-toned pseudo-participle. Grammar §15.2.1.3, ex. (916.a).

<sup>8</sup> /tǒgú/. Grammar §3.5.4.2, ex. (68.a).

<sup>9</sup> Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (303.b).

<sup>10</sup> Compound including iterated verbal noun tá<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup> from tá:<sup>n</sup>- ‘shoot (arrow, gun)’.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. tá: ‘shoot’. Grammar §5.1.12, ex. (280.a) and §5.1.3, ex. (258.a).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. wǒ: ‘kill’. Grammar §5.1.3, ex. (258.b).

<sup>13</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §12.1.3, ex. (732.d).

<sup>14</sup> /dǎg-ú/ (verbal noun).

<sup>15</sup> Verb ‘leave, abandon’ with cognate verbal noun.

<sup>16</sup> Headless adverbial relative. Grammar §15.2.7, ex. (954).

<sup>17</sup> Transcribed without the -bà suffix in (931.a) in Grammar §15.2.2.2.

<sup>18</sup> Phonetic [tùl:ám]. From túrú ‘one’. Grammar §14.1.12, ex. (827.a).

<sup>19</sup> Relative clause functions as “possessor” of noun ‘women’, which denotes one of two referents mentioned (in pronominal form) in the conjoined head NP of the relative.

kò gùrú ñê-m<sup>2</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>, [gùr=í:<sup>3</sup> ñè gó:-m=í:]<sup>4</sup> yà:-yérè-m=í:, [dómno ñê-m kù<sup>n</sup>,  
yà:-yérè-m=í:], [tòrò-[ñê-m] kù<sup>n</sup>, yà:-yérè-m=í:] [[tèngè ñê-m kù<sup>n</sup>] yà:-yérè-m=í:],  
[[[é dè:] mà úr<sup>n</sup>-ùm] tàrà yá:-yè-bà] [è ké] [líló:ró=y é pǐliwè], [bé=y] [àná  
gâr-m]=í:<sup>5</sup> ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó [àná bérè] nú:-bà,  
[[[tô:-n mà mó:n] lè] kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[[ñê-m sì-só:<sup>n</sup>] mà mó:n] lè], ñê-m mà mó:n, [ǎ-n  
mà kù:<sup>n</sup>] yá:-yè-bà tánà: dèy, yá:gíné-sà⇒, yá:gè yé=sà tán, yá: [wó kù:<sup>n</sup>] súgó-bà,<sup>6</sup>  
[ú nò] tàrà-yéy cè: ú hádè-Ø, [sèllè-lú-w]=y<sup>7</sup> tànà dèy↑, sèllè-lú-w<sup>8</sup> [wǒ-r<sup>9</sup> gá-w],  
[bě-r gá-w] [ámà ù-rú yá:píné] gá-bà⇒, [ú dàyá tí]<sup>10</sup> gàrà-bà,  
sèllé-sà-w tánà: dèy nè, [cè: jè]<sup>11</sup> ù yà:-lí-Ø, ú nàná-bà, [[tàrà kù<sup>n</sup>] yà:-gó-w kâ:<sup>n</sup>]  
[[àná bérè ké] dègè-gó-w], ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó [èjú lé] gó:-w, ñê-m<sup>12</sup> [[ú.: [èné bé.:]] cí-céw] gá-bà,  
[ǎ-n [ñê-n lè] cí-céw] mà bé:<sup>13</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> né, à:-lí jín=kò [kó dógùrú ké], háyè [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>]  
sógòn=í:],<sup>14</sup> ñê-m àr<sup>n</sup>-úm nàná-nà<sup>15</sup> tàrà tí:-bà, sábu yá: kò yèy-yà dèy, tàrà-nòw<sup>n</sup>ó [cè:  
pòrbá]=y, sísíyó=y ú pǐliwè-lí tànà dèy, [nǐngè-dá:ngá bérè] [nòw<sup>n</sup>ò-nǐngé mà ñê-ý<sup>n</sup>] [[ñè  
kâ:<sup>n</sup>] lè] ér=kò, [[nǐngè-dá:ngá bérè]=y dèy] ñé:-w<sup>n</sup>↑,  
[[àr<sup>n</sup>-úm ñi:<sup>n</sup>] [èjú lé] yá: jè:rè:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup> nè]<sup>16</sup> jè:rè-gó-w] [[ñê-m kù<sup>n</sup>] [kó=y] áyá mèy<sup>n</sup>]  
yòwò-l-á kàrà-bà, [[líló:ró=y [ǎ-n lè] dènè-j-é] jé]=y<sup>17</sup>  
[[bé nè] [àná bérè] nù:-bà], [cín jín gá]<sup>18</sup> [cè: bè bírá:-rà]=y, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kâ:<sup>n</sup>

#### Jamsay 2004\_03\_04

Fights with an elephant, a lion, and a leopard

S: ñè-m [dùn-dàngá lè] jéyè-m, [sǒ: ù sá-m]<sup>19</sup> yó=kò

A: sánne, [mǐ léjù] [X tò:tá:], [[X mír<sup>n</sup>é-tâ:n]<sup>20</sup> gá-bà] [ñè gàmà-nám] wò-rú, gàmà-nám [X  
Y] wò-rú gá-bà, [pé:tàya bá:<sup>n</sup>]=y<sup>n</sup>,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For bé: ‘here’ see Grammar §11.2.6.1, ex. (698.a).

<sup>2</sup> In this passage, some of the ‘X-women’ compounds are of type [x̄ ñ], others of type [x̄ ñ]. Grammar §5.1.2 and §5.1.5.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the multiple Focus clitics in this passage, see Grammar §13.1.7, ex. (756).

<sup>4</sup> From /gó:-m/ ‘the ones who go out’.

<sup>5</sup> /gárù-m/. See Grammar, end of §3.5.3.3.

<sup>6</sup> For the preceding passage see Grammar §, ex. (557a).

<sup>7</sup> Focus clitic on inflected verb (clausal focus); Grammar §13.1.6, ex. (755).

<sup>8</sup> Phonetic [sèl:èlú:].

<sup>9</sup> /wò-rú/.

<sup>10</sup> Linker tí related to the Perfective suffix; Grammar §15.1.16, ex. (907.c).

<sup>11</sup> Purposive postposition jé, here low-toned in a PP relative. Grammar §14.6.1, ex. (864.b).

<sup>12</sup> For ñê-m ... gá-bà see Grammar §7.1.1.1, ex. (403).

<sup>13</sup> Noun ‘being (a situation), remaining’. For this passage see Grammar §8.5.1, ex. (478d).

<sup>14</sup> Grammar §17.6.6, ex. (1098.a).

<sup>15</sup> Verb-stem iteration with second occurrence low-toned. Grammar §11.6.2, ex. (722a).

<sup>16</sup> For this passage see Grammar §12.2.6.1, ex. (950.a).

<sup>17</sup> Purposive jé. Grammar §17.6.5, ex. (1096).

<sup>18</sup> Quotative ga\$. Grammar §17.1.5 (1013.a).

<sup>19</sup> Grammar §11.5.1, ex. (714); also §14.1.2, ex. (805.a).

<sup>20</sup> “voice-three” with {HL} tone overlaid on ‘three’, i.e. bahuvrihi compound ‘three-voiced’, Grammar §5.2.1.2, ex. (307.b). Here added as an epithet to a personal name.

<sup>21</sup> Grammar §5.1.12, ex. (279.a).

[ɛ̀né mà èjú] wò wàrà:-Ø jé<sup>1</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>, [[gòrò-ḍigé mà ði:<sup>n</sup> núḅò] lè] dùn-dàḅá yèré bé tèmè [èjú bérè], dà:yá kó nàná nà:-bà, [dùn-dàḅá kù<sup>n</sup>] yà-y yòwò-lí,<sup>2</sup>

yèyjê: nǐ: sí:<sup>n</sup> gá: kân, [kó kù:<sup>n</sup>] sùgò, [tá:<sup>n</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] wò:, tá:<sup>n</sup> wò:⇒↑, [[ɛ̀né mà màlfâ:<sup>n</sup>] dàrá] [dúw<sup>n</sup>ósán yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>], [zàndàrmèrǐ: lè] yǎ: tégè⇒, [wó yàḅá jè:rè-bá⇒] [[kò dùn-dàḅá] yàḅá-bà],

[[wò èjú] bérè] yèré wó tèmè, < wó⇒y kó-- > [kó⇒y wó tǎ:nò lé,<sup>3</sup> [[wó kù:<sup>n</sup>] kò-rú bère mèy<sup>n</sup>] gàrà, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] bé:-sà,

kó⇒y là: kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè, [[dùḅ-yàrà lè], bé:-sà], [dùw<sup>n</sup>ó bà:<sup>n</sup>], [béré lè] < dùn-dàḅá-- > dùḅ-yàrà láyá wǎ:-sà-n, [ḍǐrmé mà yàyrè núḅò] mà bère:, àsègè<sup>4</sup> ñùnù-ḅó kò gá: kân, kòw<sup>n</sup>ò-tó: [kó bère:] nú: bè gá: kân, [pé:jé<sup>5</sup> gǎnḅ] bè yàrà-Ø jé mèy<sup>n</sup>, kó bè lúgúró:-Ø jé, kó<sup>6</sup> mà ú:r<sup>n</sup>ò-Ø⇒, [ó:jó mà [bère òr]]⇒í:<sup>7</sup> jèrè tàḅá,

wó mà [[kó dàr<sup>n</sup>à-céné] mà kù:<sup>n</sup>] mà [béré kù<sup>n</sup>] mà súnú-ḅò,<sup>8</sup> láyá wò gá: kân, [ḍ:jò-béré [wò céjé mèy<sup>n</sup>] wò<sup>9</sup> jérè-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [bère òr]⇒í:, [[nùmó lè] kó wò kúmó jínè-Ø] [wó [ḍi:<sup>n</sup> wò á: jérè-Ø]] [[kó kǐ-kǒw] kórówó gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>], [[kó bère-í:<sup>n</sup>] bǎ: gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[jírè lé] yǎ: nùmò], [dùḅ-yàrà kù<sup>n</sup> nè] yé-ḍi:<sup>n</sup> kó cè:<sup>n</sup>-bà, ù:r<sup>n</sup>ò-lí làyá<sup>10</sup> tàḅá, [kó kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] áyá-sà-m,

kó làyá, kó tày-né, tà:-ñùr<sup>n</sup>ó, búmbâm, X [Y dérè], yó⇒wò jǐ:<sup>n</sup>↑,<sup>11</sup> dàná yǎ: wò gá: kân, tà:-ñùr<sup>n</sup>ó yè-lé<sup>12</sup> [bèrewé mà bère:] kó tèmè, [kó tà:<sup>n</sup>⇒↑] bàrmè, bàrmè⇒↑ [wó kù:<sup>n</sup>] jàwà, wó kò jáwà-Ø,<sup>13</sup> kó pòrò,

[inè [wó.: wó.:] yâ:-n kù<sup>n</sup>] lè,<sup>14</sup> [wò bò:nó wò kân] [[wó yéré]<sup>15</sup> wá], yèrè, [yèré wò gá: kân] [kó sár<sup>n</sup>ám⇒ póró wò gá: kân] [hâl [yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>]<sup>16</sup> è:<sup>n</sup>] [[[wó gùn-céné] lè] wòyá:-rà], [háye wó [[ɛ̀né lè] kó cé:<sup>n</sup>]<sup>17</sup> tí]] wá,

[inè [bé lèy] yâ:-n kù<sup>n</sup>] [dò-y lè:]<sup>18</sup> lé: wò gá: kân, [póró jíné-tóyò] [póró jíné-tóyò mèy<sup>n</sup>], hà:sín [núḅò jín⇒í: dèy] [yé ðè:<sup>n</sup>-Ø], [ɛ̀né mà nùmò túrù]<sup>19</sup> èné dáya-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>, [[[ɛ̀né mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>] lè] sǐr kùn-Ø] bǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>, [[kó béné] sówó] tùmno,<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grammar §15.2.2.2, ex. (928.c).

<sup>2</sup> ‘not accept’ = ‘refuse’, with Verbal Noun complement; Grammar §17.4.3, ex. (1054.a).

<sup>3</sup> Purposive clause with low-toned bare verb stem followed by lé. Grammar §17.6.1.1, ex. (1072).

<sup>4</sup> For the passage beginning here see Grammar §15.2.2.1, ex. (923.d).

<sup>5</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.2.2.2, ex. (928.a).

<sup>6</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.3.1, ex. (965). I have corrected the tone on pé:jé.

<sup>7</sup> /òrú/ ‘fresh; green (wood)’. If correctly transcribed, this is followed by Focus clitic ⇒í:.

<sup>8</sup> Clause with mà (usually Possessive) linking all constituents, and final verb with H(H...)L tone; see Grammar §15.3.1, ex. (965).

<sup>9</sup> Low-toned subject pronominal wò is (unusually) repeated here before both chained verbs.

<sup>10</sup> làyá ‘again, another time’; Grammar §19.3.2, ex. (1163.a).

<sup>11</sup> jǐ:<sup>n</sup>, high-frequency Past particle, following an inflected verb or other predicate. Grammar §10.3.1.

<sup>12</sup> Discourse-definite ‘there’. Grammar §4.4.3.1, cf. exx. (220) and (221).

<sup>13</sup> Headless adverbial relative, probably temporal; Grammar §15.2.7, ex. (955.a).

<sup>14</sup> Grammar §7.1.4, ex. (422).

<sup>15</sup> Embedded (quoted) Imperative. Grammar §17.1.7.1, ex. (1016.b)

<sup>16</sup> “until going” = ‘to the point that ...’; Grammar §15.2.8 (958).

<sup>17</sup> Embedded (quoted) Imperative. Grammar §17.1.7.1, ex. (1016.a).

<sup>18</sup> ‘be afraid (to)’ with Verbal Noun complement; Grammar §17.4.7, ex. (1059.a).

<sup>19</sup> HL-toned túrù ‘one’; see Grammar §4.7.1.1.

<sup>20</sup> ‘Begin’ with chained-verb complement; Grammar §17.5.1, ex. (1062.c).

< [dʒy<sup>n</sup> lè] nùmó- > [nùmò túrù] dàyá sírú wò b̂:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>, [wó nùmò túrù kù<sup>n</sup>] [[kó ká:] lè] dānà-ṅà, [[kó nò] wó céré] [[wó nò] sówó] [[kó nò] wó céré] [[wó nò] sówó]<sup>1</sup> [kó sówó jà:lè⇒↑, [wó céré kò<sup>2</sup> kân] [[kó ĉr-Ø<sup>3</sup> kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] wó jà:lè],  
[[wó.: kó.: fú:] m̂:-nó mèy<sup>n</sup>] [dé: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [búbâm jè:rè-bà], [kó kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] b̂:-sà

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#### Snakes

S: [[émé èjù-bómó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà b̂rê:] lù:rò ù jùgô:-Ø] mà tèg-ú

A: [[émé èjù-bómó] mà b̂rê:] lù:rò yó=kò-bà,<sup>4</sup> lù:rò m̂ñú-m̂ñú yó=kò⇒, [lì-lù:rò [cín b̂:]<sup>5</sup> èmè lè:-gò-Ø kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yó=kò, lì-lù:rò gá:rà m̂ñú,<sup>6</sup> [[émé ði:<sup>n</sup> núṅò] lè] gá:rà èm̂-n tóróyè ŝ:-Ø ké, [k̂i-kòjú ĉ: b̂:-sà-Ø<sup>7</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> ké] kò:-ró,

[[lù:rò k̂i-kòjú] lù:rò b̂è ĝ:-Ø túrú]<sup>8</sup> yó=kò,<sup>9</sup> lù:rò kù<sup>n</sup>, [iĵ-rù ĝr̂á] ŝ:-rá, ĝy<sup>n</sup>=kò, [nùmò-t̂ṅá l̂y] má⇒ [[nùmò-[l̂g-ú] túrú] ĵin] ĝr̂à-gò,

ŵl-gú=kò,<sup>10</sup> èĵi<sup>n</sup>⇒ ŵl-gú=kò, [[ði:<sup>n</sup> èné ùmò-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] lè]<sup>11</sup> [ĥal ĝamá] [kó námá-ŵ<sup>n</sup>] ŝ:-gò, [námá-tù-w t̂ṅà: dé nè]<sup>12</sup> ĉr̂é=kò, [kó ĉr-Ø kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] èĵi<sup>n</sup>⇒ tó:kè yé ŝà, kó=ŷ [lù:rò k̂i-kòj]≡í:,

[ŝa:-ŝa<sup>13</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [ĵòwó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] t̂r̂è-lá, ŵl-gú=kò èĵi<sup>n</sup>⇒, [[ñ̂i-ñ̂ùw<sup>n</sup>ò]-d̂y<sup>n</sup>]≡ŷ<sup>n</sup> d̂y⇒↑, ĉr̂é b̂r̂è-gò, ĥal [[èné mà ká: kâ:<sup>n</sup>] ĝòmó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [ñ̂i-ñ̂ùw<sup>n</sup>ó káy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è]<sup>14</sup> d̂y↑ [ĉr-Ø ĉr̂é-bà] [kár<sup>n</sup>á b̂r̂è-gò], néy<sup>n</sup> [ŷéré mèy<sup>n</sup>] [ò:g<sup>15</sup> káy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è] gá:jè-bà ĉw,<sup>16</sup> [ĉ: [kó b̂:] èmè l̂:-Ø<sup>17</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró,

<sup>1</sup> In this passage ĉr̂é ‘bite’ and sówó ‘stab’ remain high-toned; they are not in unsuffixed Perfective form.

<sup>2</sup> Emended, tape has /wò/.

<sup>3</sup> Verbal noun /ĉr-ú/ ‘biting’.

<sup>4</sup> 3PI subject -bà is occasionally added to Nonhuman =kò. Grammar §11.2.2.4, ex. (682.a).

<sup>5</sup> b̂: ‘be equal to’ in comparatives; Grammar §12.2.3, ex. (740.b).

<sup>6</sup> {HL} tone contour on modifying adjective in the scope of gá:rà ‘more’; Grammar §12.1.3. This is followed by a clause where gá:rà has scope over a VP, see Grammar §11.5.1, ex. (714.a) and §12.1.3, ex. (731.a)

<sup>7</sup> Participial b̂:-sà-Ø drops tones before kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘any’; Grammar §12.2.3, ex. (741.a).

<sup>8</sup> Uncommon position of numeral after participle.

<sup>9</sup> Assistant suggests rephrasing as [[lù:rò túrú] yó=kò] [... b̂è ĝ:-Ø] ‘there is one snake, (which) they call...’. In any event, túrú ‘one’ should directly follow lù:rò ‘snake’, forming lù:rò túrù (low-toned as relative-clause head NP).

<sup>10</sup> ŵl-gú ‘lazy one (Nonhuman)’, variant of ŵl-gú. Lit. ‘(one) having laziness.’ For Characteristic -gú see Grammar §4.2.1.

<sup>11</sup> Grammar §15.2.6.1, ex. (950.b). For stative ùmò- ‘be lying down’ see §11.2.4, exx. (605.a-d).

<sup>12</sup> dé nè ‘if now’. dé is always high-toned in this combination; compare atonal clause-final /dey/ ‘if’. Grammar §16.1.3.

<sup>13</sup> Resultative -sà in conditional antecedent; Grammar §10.1.2.4, ex. (557.b).

<sup>14</sup> Perfective of /kár<sup>n</sup>á/, here intransitive ‘be done, happen’.

<sup>15</sup> /ò:gú/ ‘sweat’, hence ‘hot weather’. Phonetically [ò:k] here before /k/.

<sup>16</sup> Grammar §16.5.

<sup>17</sup> Imperfective participle l̂:-Ø, here tone-dropped to l̂:-Ø before kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘any’. Grammar §12.2.3, ex. (741.b). Incorrectly transcribed l̂:-Ø §16.5, ex. (988).

lù:rò [kò-rú mǎñú]<sup>1</sup> yó=kò, lù:rò [kò-rú mǎñú] kǎ:-Ø<sup>2</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>, lù:rò-ùjùw<sup>n</sup>ó gá-bà,  
 lù:rò-ùjùw<sup>n</sup>ó kù<sup>n</sup>, lù:rò jèy-[jèy-Ø]=y,<sup>3</sup> [lù:rò kù<sup>n</sup>] jéy jèyé=kò táṅà: dèy, [[ú.: kó.:] tǎ:-n<sup>4</sup>  
 é: è gá: kǎn] [[ù-rú jèyé=kò lè]<sup>5</sup> bé:-yà fú:, íjé=kò, [téré=kò kǎ:<sup>n</sup>] jòwò-gó,  
 [cènè-jéy-bè-jèyê:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kǒ-r<sup>6</sup> témé-w<sup>n</sup>é=kò]<sup>7</sup> [[kó cénè] mǎñú=kò],  
 [èné mà kú:<sup>n</sup>] dé:=kò, hǎl [[nùmò-[lǎg-Ø] jín] mánà] ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó=kò, [èné mà kòró kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 pádá-yá=kò,<sup>8</sup> [[kó kòró kù<sup>n</sup>] pádá-yá-tí táṅà: dèy] [[kú:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] téy<sup>n</sup>-né=kò], yòrò-ní: sír<sup>n</sup>é  
 túmnó=kò,  
 [yá⇒ yérè⇒]<sup>9</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á=kò [néy<sup>n</sup> ké⇒], [èné mà dánúṅ-ú.:<sup>10</sup> fú:] nú:-y<sup>n</sup>è, [kó nò] [cín  
 kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>↑]<sup>11</sup> [èné mà jéy] jèyé=kò,  
 fi-lù:rò [sùn-àṅá lè kǎ:<sup>n</sup>] èmè lè:-Ø, yó=kò, kó=y [lù:rò kúkúr]=i:, [lù:rò kúkúrù] [[èné  
 mà kú:<sup>n</sup>] lè] [kó nò], [kǐ-kǒjú lè] gùrú⇒,<sup>12</sup> [lù:rò-ùjùw<sup>n</sup>ó kù<sup>n</sup>] dǎ:-gó, [lù:rò kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 déméré=kò⇒,<sup>13</sup> gùrú=kò⇒, é! [gùr-làṅá gùr=lá⇒],<sup>14</sup> [kó cèr-ú] èjí<sup>n</sup>⇒ mǎñú=kò, [[kó bǎ:]  
 lù:rò kò cér-tí<sup>15</sup> dèy↑] [lǒy sà:-rá] [[èné mà:nǎ:-Ø] kǎ:-ró],  
 [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà lù:rò nè] yó=kò, néy<sup>n</sup> [kò cêw], [[[émé ùjùbà y núnò] lè]=y dèy↑,  
 tùmò-kóm⇒ bèrèwé, [kó bèrè:] gá:rǎ jò:,<sup>16</sup> kǎ: [hǎl [[[émé àná] mà gùn-dùrò:]]<sup>17</sup> mà  
 sè:ṅè-bèrè núnò] bérè kǎ:<sup>n</sup>], témé-w<sup>n</sup>é=kò-bà,  
 [dǎ:yá [àná bérè] kò nú:-sà-Ø dèy↑] [yé<sup>18</sup> láyá wǒ:-rà-y⇒↑], [tín bè dé: jèr-sà-Ø]<sup>19</sup>  
 dèy] [kǐ-kǒjú kù<sup>n</sup> ké] [[kó bèrè:] yé gó:-rà⇒], [kò cêw], [[cín jín] èmǎ-n=kò] [mé:<sup>n</sup>  
 [lù:rò kúkúrù kù<sup>n</sup>] jò:=lá], jò:=lá,

<sup>1</sup> Adjective mǎñú ‘bad’ with Nonhuman dative complement (‘than it’). Grammar §11.2.2.2, ex. (669.d).

<sup>2</sup> Relative-clause participle based on =kò ‘(it) is (somewhere), exists’. Grammar §14.1.8.

<sup>3</sup> jèy-Ø from /jèy-ú/, verbal noun of jèyé- ‘fight’, with its own cognate nominal jéy, here in low-toned form as a compound initial. Here the compound verbal noun functions as an adjective.

<sup>4</sup> Reciprocal tǎ:-n, Grammar §18.3.1, ex. (1130.a).

<sup>5</sup> Purposive clause (‘intending to ...’) with lè after Imperfective; Grammar §17.6.1.2.

<sup>6</sup> /kò-rú/ ‘with it, in it’. Here phonetic [kǒt] before /t/.

<sup>7</sup> Passive -wǎ-. Also another occurrence below. Grammar §9.4.

<sup>8</sup> pádá-yá- ‘cause to be flat and wide’, cf. adverbial pátà⇒ ‘flat and wide’ and related forms. pádá-yá- should be added to (528.a), Grammar §9.2.

<sup>9</sup> Grammar §7.1.1.1, ex. (411).

<sup>10</sup> Dying-quail intonation (:.) before fú: ‘all’. For dánúṅ-ú, nominal related to verb dǎnàṅá- ‘prepare’ (but high-toned, so not a regular verbal noun), see Grammar §4.2.4.

<sup>11</sup> Grammar §11.1.7, ex. (645.b).

<sup>12</sup> Comparative with simple adjective as predicate, followed by a comparative with dǎ:- ‘reach, attain, arrive’; Grammar §12.2.4, ex. (742.b).

<sup>13</sup> déméré ‘stout’, with unnasalized /r/. From \*déméré, with \*b blocking Nasalization-Spreading.

<sup>14</sup> Both /r/ clusters in this phrase (cf. gùrú just before) are pronounced [l:]. For -làṅá ‘not particularly (Adj)’, see Grammar §12.2.2.

<sup>15</sup> Phonetic [cét:ǐ].

<sup>16</sup> Low-toned adjective in predicative function after gá:rǎ ‘more’; Grammar §12.1.3, compare ex. (728.a-b).

<sup>17</sup> Tonal locative of gùn-dùrò ‘rear, back part’.

<sup>18</sup> For this and the following occurrence of yé, see Grammar §4.3.3, exx. (195) and (196.a). The function of the particle is sometimes difficult to interpret.

<sup>19</sup> jè:r-é- ‘bring’, presuffixal jèr-; Grammar §11.1.1, ex. (617.b).. Here pronounced [dzěš] before /s/. For this conditional clause, see § , ex. (974.a).

[[íné-m ði:<sup>n</sup> gâ:-Ø] lè], [[kò círé=kð-Ø]<sup>2</sup> èt-tè-lú-m]<sup>3</sup> [kó [mánà kâ:<sup>n</sup> círé gàrá=kð] gá:-bà, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] [kò círé=kð-Ø] èt-tè-lú-m, [má sùn-àýá]=y, [[cín jín] cè: bè:-Ø]=y<sup>4</sup>

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#### Millet growth stages

S: [[émé<sup>5</sup> dõýð-m mà à-têm] lè] wárú,<sup>6</sup> jìr<sup>n</sup>è-wárú [yókkò lè] túmnó-bà

A: [jìr<sup>n</sup>é mà wárú], [émé dõýð-ùrò núñò] lè, [[íllè ñi-bár<sup>n</sup>à bã:⇒]=y] túmnó=kð [sábù [[lùgù-[bãr-Ø]<sup>7</sup> lè, bã:] jìr<sup>n</sup>è-bíré túmnó=kð], [lùgù bàrá [[èjú lé] jã:-jà:]<sup>8</sup> sáráwá-jè-bà dèy] [[tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>] túmnó-bà],

[tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] tó:-jè-bà táñà: dèy, [ði:<sup>n</sup> gámá] tó: wà:-ná bè sâ:-Ø<sup>9</sup> dèy cín⇒, àr<sup>n</sup>á yèrè mǐr<sup>n</sup>é=kð, àr<sup>n</sup>á mǐy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è<sup>10</sup> táñà: dèy, [[á⇒ [tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>]] tó:⇒-jè-w jì:<sup>n</sup>] [jó:⇒ tó:-jè-w jì:<sup>n</sup>]

[[àr<sup>n</sup>á nè] mǐy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è táñà: dèy], [kò ké] [á [tòy òrú kù<sup>n</sup>] [gámá=y<sup>n</sup> dèy] [ù-rú lóýó gàrà-gó] bé:⇒kð]<sup>11</sup> [[[àr<sup>n</sup>á túr<sup>12</sup>] lè] [á èjú] tó: dògó] bèrè-w], jìr<sup>n</sup>è kò-rú túmnó=kð

S: jìr<sup>n</sup>é kò-r<sup>13</sup> túmn-à: déy nè, jìr<sup>n</sup>é ñim yèy-yà dèy↑, tøy.:, wàrà-nám.: à-jǎy<sup>n</sup>.: yó=kð, [kò kù<sup>n</sup> bé<sup>14</sup> nè] [yð:-jìn=í: kò-rú kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà]

A: à-jǎy<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>, [ñi-bár<sup>n</sup>à bã:⇒] jã:<sup>n</sup>-bà, [à-jǎy<sup>n</sup> ké] [dògùrù ù gõn-sà<sup>15</sup> cêw] [pàrá sé:<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è<sup>16</sup> dèy], [[á à-jǎy<sup>n</sup>] túmnó-tù-w] táñá bèrè=kð, ù jã:<sup>n</sup>-n,<sup>17</sup> hâl yã:⇒ [néy<sup>n</sup> ké] [ù jã:<sup>n</sup>-Ø]<sup>18</sup> jó:-yè táñà: dèy, lùgù tégé-w,

<sup>1</sup> French *mais* ‘but’.

<sup>2</sup> Complement of ‘see’; círé=kð is the unsuffixed Imperfective ‘it flies’, but here the form is the homophonoun participle círé=kð-Ø (note the low-toned subject pronominal kð). Grammar §17.3.4.1, cf. exx. (1032.a-b).

<sup>3</sup> Experiential Perfect Negative of é:- ‘see’ (irregular). Grammar §10.1.2.5.

<sup>4</sup> Pronounced [béj]. Grammar §8.5.1, ex. (476.a).

<sup>5</sup> 1Pl pronoun. Here it could be parsed as possessor (of ‘Dogon people’ or ‘custom’), or as appositional to ‘Dogon people’.

<sup>6</sup> wárú ‘farming’. The core sense is ‘pull (daba, i.e. hoe) through earth toward oneself’, but it is used as a general term for ‘farming (growing millet etc.)’. Later in this text it refers specifically to ‘the first round of weeding’.

<sup>7</sup> /bàr-ú/, VbIN of bàrá ‘gather’. Here phonetic [bǎl] before /l/.

<sup>8</sup> Iteration of jã: ‘take (somewhere), convey’. Second occurrence is low-toned as medial verb in a chain; Grammar §11.6.2, ex. (876.a).

<sup>9</sup> sâ:-Ø<sup>9</sup> dèy at the end of a verb chain; Grammar §15.1.15, ex. (906.a).

<sup>10</sup> Perfective of mǐr<sup>n</sup>é ‘(rain) fall’.

<sup>11</sup> bé:⇒kð ‘it remains’, here ‘it may be (that ...)’ with factive complement; Grammar §8.5.5, ex. (501), and end of §17.3.2.

<sup>12</sup> /túrú/ ‘one’. Here, phonetic [túl] before /l/.

<sup>13</sup> /kò-rú/. Here, phonetic [kõt] before /t/.

<sup>14</sup> Plural bé following Definite kù<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Verb gòr<sup>n</sup>ó ‘be able’. Temporal adverbial relative; Grammar §15.2.4.1, ex. (936.b).

<sup>16</sup> pàrá sé:<sup>n</sup> (fixed combination of subject noun and verb) ‘be autumn (after the harvest)’. The noun denoting this season is pàrà-sé:<sup>n</sup> (variant pàrà-sé:r<sup>n</sup>é).

<sup>17</sup> Imperfective pseudo-participial clause. Grammar §15.2.1.1, ex. (911.a).

<sup>18</sup> Headless object relative ‘(what) you-Sg have dug’. Grammar §14.1.13, ex. (830.a).

[lùgù ù bàrá jâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] <sup>1</sup> [[[à-jày<sup>n</sup>]-ùr<sup>n</sup>ó.: fú:] lè] nùmò-jágù mà⇒↑ [nùmò-jágù lèy],  
jàyá-jàyà kúnò:, [néy<sup>n</sup> ké] [kó wákáfi dós:-yè tánà: dèy] [ñú: gà:r<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè  
kúnó-w<sup>n</sup>,

[ñú: gà:r<sup>n</sup>á-gà:r<sup>n</sup>à mèy<sup>n</sup>] [kúnó dògò-jè-w tánà: dèy] [kó nò] [[[tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>] mà ijé]<sup>2</sup>  
íj-â:] [àr<sup>n</sup>á mǎy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è dèy] [sábù [kò ké] tò:-j-é] [[tòyó=kò]=yè là: dèy], [tòy kù<sup>n</sup> ké] [à-jǎy<sup>n</sup>  
kù<sup>n</sup> ké] [cín=í: kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà],

[tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>] [dì:<sup>n</sup> bè tó:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [bíré mà bèrê:]=yè, [tò: únó dàyá-bà] [dì:<sup>n</sup> ù  
wǎr-térè<sup>3</sup> jí:<sup>n</sup> lè] [[á wò-túmó] mà kú:<sup>n</sup>]=yè<sup>5</sup> [tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>] tó: únó dàyá-w,<sup>6</sup>

[[tòy òrú] dī:<sup>n</sup> bè tó:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>], [kò ké] [kó dī:<sup>n</sup>-], bíré òrú-lá, [bíré bérè] tó:-w⇒,  
[bíré=yè là: kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [kí-kájára lè] [tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup>] tó:-w,

[kí-kájára tó: ù dò:-lí-Ø<sup>7</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè], òyó tóy-â: dèy, [[ñú: wàrá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] námá-w<sup>n</sup>] [kò  
kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] tóy=yè, [kò fú:] tòy-bò:]=yè, [[tòy mà tògú] jò:] cín=kò

S: [kò gǎy-yè dèy] [wár nè] [ním nè], [wóm.: wárú.:]=kò,<sup>8</sup> [kó nò] yò:-jìn kár<sup>n</sup>á=kò

A: [wár kù<sup>n</sup>], [bè gâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>],<sup>9</sup> kó=yè pò:⇒ró kǒy<sup>n</sup> [èjú bè kúnò:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>]=yè<sup>n</sup>, [tòy òrú kù<sup>n</sup>],  
wàrá-w⇒↑, [tòy mǎy<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] wàrá-w⇒↓, ñú: kù<sup>n</sup> tóy-â: dèy, [[[kò tòyó] bérè] ù wàrá-ñ  
dèy↑] [hâl yá: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[néy<sup>n</sup> ké] wàrá dògò-jè-w tánà: dèy], [[kò kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrê:], pílíwé<sup>10</sup>  
[òyó nè] tóyó=kò [[ù wàrá kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrê:],

[[wàkàfi gámá=yè<sup>n</sup> gá]<sup>11</sup> tánà: dèy] [wár<sup>12</sup> dògùrù ù gò:-Ø] [[òyó.: fú:] tóyó dògò-lí  
jí:<sup>n</sup>] táná=kò, [ù wàrá-ñ dèy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè]<sup>13</sup> [[ñú: kù<sup>n</sup>] tǎy<sup>n</sup>=kò] [kò kâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [òyó [kó bòrò:]  
wàjá=kò⇒], [ù wàrá-ñ dèy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [ñú: [òyò gámá] nùw<sup>n</sup>ò-lí kár<sup>n</sup>á<sup>14</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] wàjá=kò,

jír<sup>n</sup>é èjú=kò tánà: dèy, [òyò wàjá=kò-Ø<sup>15</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>], jàjàw<sup>n</sup>á wàrá-sà dèy, [òyò gùnn  
tòyò-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>], tóyó [kò bèrê:] nú:-sà dèy, [òyò kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [hâl [wàr-l-á<sup>16</sup> jín] bé:=kò],<sup>17</sup>

[kó jín=í: gá]<sup>18</sup> bé:-yà tánà: dèy, [kǒy<sup>n</sup> yàjá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [pílíwé lèy-né [kò bèrê:] nú:-w<sup>n</sup>],  
[kǒy<sup>n</sup> yàjá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [[lèy-né [kò bèrê:] nú:-w<sup>n</sup> dèy] [[kó=yè] wóm bè gâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>]=yè<sup>n</sup>,

[kó nò] wàrá-w [pò:ró dī:<sup>n</sup> [á kǒy<sup>n</sup>] dō:-Ø < kú<sup>n</sup> > jín.: fú:] [[émé ùjùbǎy kù<sup>n</sup>] lè ké]  
[wòmó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [kò dó:-w], [kó=yè tànà-lí dèy↑]<sup>1</sup> [ñú: bèrê-gó-w],

<sup>1</sup> Object relative with head NP. Grammar §14.1.13, ex. (830.b).

<sup>2</sup> íjé ‘position’, cognate nominal for verb íjé ‘stand, stop’. Here, íjé is expanded by a “possessor” NP. Grammar §11.1.6.3, ex. (639).

<sup>3</sup> Experiential Perfect of wàrá. Pronounced [wǎt:érè].

<sup>4</sup> Past morpheme, usually clause-final and low-toned, but here <LH> toned before lè.

<sup>5</sup> Postposition kù:<sup>n</sup> ‘on top of’.

<sup>6</sup> dàyá ‘leave’ at end of verb chain; Grammar §15.1.8, ex. (884.a).

<sup>7</sup> Object relative clause. Grammar §14.3.1, ex. (852.b).

<sup>8</sup> Grammar §7.1.1.1, ex. (410.a).

<sup>9</sup> Slightly broken syntax. Can be repaired as: [wáru bè gâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>].

<sup>10</sup> pílíwé ‘do again’ in verb chain; Grammar §15.1.12, ex. (892.a).

<sup>11</sup> gá quotative; Grammar §17.1.5, ex. (1014.a).

<sup>12</sup> /wáru/, here phonetic [wád] before /d/. Temporal adverbial relative; Grammar §15.2.4.1, ex. (936.c).

<sup>13</sup> Imperfective pseudo-participial clause. Grammar §15.2.1.1, ex. (913).

<sup>14</sup> Semantically empty kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘do’ is needed here because mèy<sup>n</sup> cannot directly follow a negated verb. Grammar §15.1.14, cf. exx. (901),

<sup>15</sup> Relative-clause participle based on Imperfective verb with Nonhuman =kò. Grammar §14.1.9.

<sup>16</sup> Phonetic [wà:l:á].

<sup>17</sup> bé:=kò, Grammar §8.5.5, exx. (501-2).

<sup>18</sup> gá quotative; Grammar §17.1.5, ex. (1014.b).



wòmó ù dògò-jè dèy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè, [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> gàmá] pílíwé [ɔ̀yò tà̀y-né] gó:=kò⇒, [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> gàmá kù<sup>n</sup>] [ɔ̀yò tà̀y-né] gò:-gó,

[néy<sup>n</sup> ké] cín=í:, [á wárú] dògò=kò táńá=kò, cín=wò-y

S: [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] dòg-â: táńà: déy nè, [ńú: kù<sup>n</sup>] [ńím ké] [wár dòg-â:] [wòm dòg-â:], [ńím ké] [ńú:=y<sup>n</sup> wàjà], [ńú:<sup>2</sup> mà lórú.:] [kó ì:<sup>n</sup>-nà<sup>n</sup>ú.:], [kó èm tònú.:], [kó bò:-[dè-y.:], [[[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà kù:<sup>n</sup>] dáɣà⇒ èmè-n tégè]

A: [ńú: wàrà ù gá: kân], [á wár]<sup>3</sup> cé:n-â:, [á tòy-tòyó nè] èjú=kò, [jĩr<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>] cì-cé:nè<sup>4</sup> táńà dèy, [[[á èjú] káwá] mà ná:]<sup>5</sup> bèrè-gó-w, < dĩ:<sup>n</sup>- > [[dĩ:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] cé:né-sà dèy] jâ:<sup>n</sup>,<sup>6</sup>

bírè bírè-w⇒, [á bírè kù<sup>n</sup>] cé:n-â:, hé kó yàńà-w<sup>n</sup>á ér=kò,<sup>7</sup> [[[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà wákáti kú<sup>n</sup>] lè], [ùjùbǎy kù<sup>n</sup>] tòm=kò⇒↑, né:mín-â:↑, [cè: ù bírè-Ø] cé:n-â:⇒↑, [wákáti [kó gǎnè] kún-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [wákáti gùrù-lóyó=y<sup>8</sup> là:⇒↑, [à<sup>n</sup>á kù<sup>n</sup>] yé<sup>9</sup> mĩr<sup>n</sup>á:r<sup>n</sup>à táńà tán, [cè: yàńà-w<sup>n</sup>á ér=i:]<sup>10</sup> táńà bèrè=kò,

yĩlíwé=kò⇒, [[[èjù núńò] lè] yǎ:-sà-w mà] [[[èjù núńò] lè] yǎ:-sà-w mà], [íné-m yèré mǒy<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è-bà<sup>11</sup> tán] [mâ:n mà èjú] [mâ:n<sup>12</sup> mà èjú] [cín lè sǎy] yèré [kò ké] bé: dè:r<sup>n</sup>é=kò,

[kó dógú<sup>rú</sup> ké], [bírè gárá] kò:-rò, kà: èjù-yéy jó:=kò, sábu [èjù [yàńà lé]<sup>14</sup> bè yà'-gò-Ø] kò:-rò, cì-cé:nè, [[á èjú] yǎ-y<sup>15</sup> ké] yǎ:-w, cì-cé:nè-ńi,<sup>16</sup> [[á èjú] yà-y ké] yǎ:-w,

[kó wákáti kù<sup>n</sup>] lè, èj<sup>n</sup>⇒ [jĩr<sup>n</sup>é mà òrú] yàńà-w<sup>n</sup>á ér=kò, jĩr<sup>n</sup>é èj=i: táńà tán,

cì-cé:nè-ńi kâ:<sup>n</sup>, àmà-sòyó yé sà, sábu ò:g=i: ñèw<sup>n</sup>-á:r<sup>n</sup>à, [kó nò] cín=i:=kò

S: ńú: [ńím ké] [kó [i:<sup>n</sup> nà<sup>n</sup>ú-ú]]<sup>17</sup> dó:-yà dèy, í:<sup>n</sup> nǎn<sup>18</sup> tí mèy↑, [bò:.: [èm tònú-ú.:]], ńú: ír-â: bè gâ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>, [[[kó tègú] èmè-n tégè] [[cè: lè]<sup>19</sup> lá: kò túmnó=kò-Ø]

A: [cè: lè] kò túmnó=kò-Ø, [[[kà:-dùmnò]-[à-y]] lè] túmnó=kò gá-y, ńú: yèré mày<sup>n</sup>, cì-cè:rú kújó-jè gá-bà, cì-cè:rú kújó-jè dèy, tènè-tènè bè lúgò-ń<sup>1</sup> dèy, [ńím ké] [á ńú:] tènè kún-tĩ

<sup>1</sup> Phrase means ‘otherwise’ (‘else’); Grammar §16.1.1, ex. (973).

<sup>2</sup> For the passage beginning here see Grammar §7.1.1.1, ex. (408).

<sup>3</sup> /wárú/. For the passage beginning here see Grammar §10.1.2.7, ex. (565.b).

<sup>4</sup> Reduplicated Perfective. Grammar §10.1.2.7, ex. (565.b).

<sup>5</sup> An unusual emphatic construction with ná: taking a verb phrase ending in a bare verb stem as a kind of ‘‘possessor.’’ Grammar §5.1.13, ex. (288).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. jâ:<sup>n</sup>=kò ‘it’s fine, normal, proper’. Grammar §8.5.4.2.

<sup>7</sup> ‘nice to look at’. Grammar §6.3.3.5, ex. (366.a).

<sup>8</sup> Uncommon construction with -lóyó ‘very’ after an adjective stem. Grammar §5.2.4, ex. (310).

<sup>9</sup> Grammar §4.3.3, ex. (196.b).

<sup>10</sup> yàńà ‘see’ in ostensibly causative form yàńà-w<sup>n</sup>á as an expansion of the adjective érù ‘good’, i.e. ‘good to see’. Grammar §6.3.3.5.

<sup>11</sup> Verb mǎr<sup>n</sup>ó ‘get together, assemble’. Grammar §, ex. (982).

<sup>12</sup> Two occurrences of mâ:n ‘So-and-so’ with distinct referents; Grammar §4.1.4, ex. (175).

<sup>13</sup> kó plus tonal locative of dógú<sup>rú</sup> ‘time’; Grammar §8.1.2. For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §19.2.3, ex. (1157.a).

<sup>14</sup> Purposive clause with low-toned verb and high-toned lé. Grammar §17.6.1.1, ex. (1071.b)

<sup>15</sup> Verbal noun of ‘go’, here as cognate nominal. [à èjú] ‘your field’ is a complement of the verbal noun, or else (with a slightly different bracketing) a direct complement of the clause-final verb ‘go’.

<sup>16</sup> Low-toned -ńi as negation of reduplicated Perfective, see Grammar §10.1.3.3.

<sup>17</sup> nà<sup>n</sup>-ú verbal noun of nà<sup>n</sup>á ‘bear, give birth to’, here functioning as adjective. Similarly tònú-ú (variant tǎń-Ø) a few words later in this speech turn.

<sup>18</sup> nà<sup>n</sup>á ‘bear, give birth to’, with Perfective tí (in its linking form); Grammar §15.1.16.

<sup>19</sup> PP relative. Grammar, ex (863.a), §14.6.1.

[[mâ:n mà ñú: kâ:n] tɛ̀ɲé kún-ti] èmè gá-n<sup>2</sup> dɛ̀y↑, [[[tɛ̀ɲé kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [[néy ké] [[ñù:-kâ:]-[à-ý]] é:-sà-m] gá-ý,<sup>3</sup>

[ñù: pó:ró<sup>4</sup> í:n nár<sup>n</sup>à-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>, [èmè ké] kò-rú è:-mí-té:rè gá-ý, mè:<sup>5</sup> [[ñú: í:n nár<sup>n</sup>à-n jé]<sup>6</sup> ú:r<sup>n</sup>-â: dɛ̀y↑] [kà:-dùmnò á:-jè] lá: gá-bà, [[[ñù:-[kà:-dùmnò]]-[à-ý]] é:-sà-m] bè gá-n dɛ̀y↑] [kó kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:n] è:-mí-té:rè=ý [kó pó:ró kù<sup>n</sup>, [è:mí-té:rè kù<sup>n</sup>] [[cè: làyá]=ý là:⇒]

[é:-sà-m gá] [íné-m já: té:rè], [ú nò] [é:-sà-w dɛ̀y] [[íné-m lè] té:rè], [kó kù<sup>n</sup>]=ý<sup>n</sup> è:-mí-té:rè=ý, [è:-mí-té:rè è:-mí-té:rè] bè gá-n dɛ̀y, [kà:-dùmnò â:-∅] jò: táɲà: dɛ̀y, [néy<sup>n</sup> ké] làyá [è:-mí-té:rè lè] gó:-yè, [[è:-lí-n<sup>7</sup> kâ:n] kò:ró] táɲá=kò,

[[è:-mí-té:rè lè] gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑ kâ:n] [[ñù: nár<sup>n</sup>-ú] é:-sà-m] gá-bà, [[[mâ:n mà èjú] bérè] [ñù: nár<sup>n</sup>-ú] é:-sà-m] [[[mâ:n mà èjú] bérè] [ñù: nár<sup>n</sup>-ú] é:-sà-m] gá-bà, [ñù: nár<sup>n</sup>-ú] jò: táɲà: dɛ̀y, [è:-mí-té:rè lè] gó:-yè,

[kó kâ:n] [néy<sup>n</sup> ké], [ñù: èm-tɔɲ bé:⇒↑, é: túmnò-tù-m] gá-bà, [cín gá-n déy] [hâl yá: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] ñú: yèrè,<sup>8</sup> bò:-[dè-ý]:. è:-mí-té:rè:., [kó=ý] [kó fú:] cín yèrè mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, ñú: yèrè íré dògò=kò, nár<sup>n</sup>á=kò⇒↑,

cé:n-â: dɛ̀y↑, cǐ-cé:nè⇒ cǐ-cé:nè-lǐ⇒, jǐr<sup>n</sup>é cǐ-cé:nè⇒ cǐ-cé:nè-lǐ⇒ cêw, [ñù: sóy⇒ nàn-lí-∅]<sup>9</sup> ñw<sup>n</sup>ó dòg-â: ké, [àr<sup>n</sup>à-kújú lè] [kò ké] [[kó è-ý]<sup>10</sup> jò:-lá]

S: [nɪŋ ké] ñú: nár<sup>n</sup>á dògò-jè táɲà: dɛ̀y, ñú: ír-â: dɛ̀y, ññé=ý<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà [íjé nè] [èjú bérè]

A: [[[ñú: íré mèy<sup>n</sup>] íj-â:]: gá:-jè-bà dɛ̀y] [[èjú bérè] jèrǐ=ý<sup>11</sup> jèrè-bà]

S: [jǐr mà kù:n] dáýà⇒ èmǐ-n tégé

A: ñù:-dǔy<sup>n</sup> lá:<sup>12</sup> gǔ:n-bà, émé ùjùbáy ké, [[ùjùbày gámá]=ý<sup>n</sup> dɛ̀y]<sup>13</sup> [ñú: [kó ná: .: <sup>14</sup> fú:] sá: úno mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [jèrú jǐr<sup>15</sup> tí-sà-bà dɛ̀y], [[éné bé] ñù:-dǔy<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] gǔnn gǔ:n-bà,

[[émé ùjùbáy kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrè: té⇒<sup>16</sup> ké] [[émé là:m núɲò] mà bèrè: ké], ñù:-dǔy<sup>n</sup> lá: gǔ:-ý<sup>n</sup>, [ñú: yèrè mèy<sup>n</sup>] píní-r<sup>n</sup>-â:, èm tɔɲ-â: táɲà: dɛ̀y, [ñù: ñù:-dǔy<sup>n</sup>] bè gá:-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>, [kò ké] íré=kò⇒↑, [kó tǐgè-gó] yùwó=kò↓, [kó yúwú-wò lè].<sup>17</sup> [lá:-lá: ké] [ñǐ-m yá: gǔ:<sup>n</sup> jǐ:<sup>n</sup>],

<sup>1</sup> Imperfective pseudo-participial clause. Grammar §15.2.1.1, ex. (912.a).

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-participial clause, probably imperfective (but homophonous with perfective).

<sup>3</sup> Grammar, ex. (999.c).

<sup>4</sup> pó:ró ‘first’ here functions as an adverb, not a modifying adjective. The preceding noun has L-tone as relative-clause head, not because of pó:ró.

<sup>5</sup> French *mais*.

<sup>6</sup> Clause-final jé ‘while ...’ may follow an unsuffixed Perfective verb (Grammar §15.2.2.2). Here the suffix -n on the verb may be an unusual use of the pseudo-participial suffix.

<sup>7</sup> Singular relative-clause participle based on Perfective Negative è:-lí ‘has not seen’, here low-toned before kâ:n ‘each, any’.

<sup>8</sup> Speaker may have intended to say yèrè mèy<sup>n</sup>, and then restarted.

<sup>9</sup> Perfective Negative of nár<sup>n</sup>á ‘bear (offspring, fruit)’.

<sup>10</sup> ‘seeing it’. Grammar §17.4.1, ex. (1044.b).

<sup>11</sup> /jèrú/ ‘harvest’ (with Focus clitic), cognate nominal for verb jèrè ‘harvest (esp. millet, with knife)’. Could also be marked up as jèr-ú, i.e. as a verbal noun.

<sup>12</sup> lá: ‘first (adverb)’. Grammar §8.5.7.2, ex. (510.a).

<sup>13</sup> Grammar §6.3.2, ex. (349.a). Clitic =ý<sup>n</sup> is secondarily nasalized.

<sup>14</sup> ná: ‘(entire) plant’. Grammar §5.1.13, ex. (290).

<sup>15</sup> /jèrú/ again. Here pronounced [jǐt] before /t/. On Perfective linker tí-, see Grammar §15.1.16, ex. (908.a).

<sup>16</sup> té⇒ ‘precisely, specifically’. Grammar §8.5.3.3, ex. (489.a).

<sup>17</sup> ‘Before ...’ construction, Grammar §15.2.4.2, ex. (939.b).

íjé àr<sup>n</sup>-úm bé bàr-á:rà-bà, lá:lá: ñè<sup>n</sup>m=í: yá: gǎ:<sup>n</sup> jǐ:<sup>n</sup>⇒↑, íjé [[ñù:-dǎy<sup>n</sup>]-gǎ:<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 àr<sup>n</sup>-úm úr<sup>n</sup>-ùm tí:-sà-bà dèy, [[èné bé] nâ: bé] bàrà-wá-bà⇒↑,  
 [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm<sup>2</sup> [[èné bé] ñě-m] bàrá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑ kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [ñù:-dǎy<sup>n</sup> gǎ:<sup>n</sup>-bà] [kó gá:rá éjé=kǎ⇒] [kó  
 gá:rá jó:⇒ bèrè-wé=kǎ jé], bérè bèr-ú<sup>3</sup> bára jé=y,<sup>4</sup>  
 kó gǎ:<sup>n</sup> mǎ:-nó-jè-bà dèy, [kó sáyárá-sáyárá bè gǎ:<sup>n</sup>-n dèy]<sup>5</sup> [[ñù:-dǎy<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] dǎg-â:  
 dèy], [ñú: mà bèrê:] [ñù: ùñ]=í:<sup>6</sup> gǎy<sup>n</sup>-gǎy<sup>n</sup> [ñù: dèngè-bérè] bè gâ:-∅ yǎ=kǎ, [kó kù<sup>n</sup> nè]  
 [sáyárá gǎ:<sup>n</sup> túmnó-bà]  
 [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] [gǎ:<sup>n</sup>-jè-bà tángà: dèy], [néy<sup>n</sup> ké] ñù:-ná:=y<sup>n</sup> [èjú bérè] wájá tángà=kǎ, [ñù:-ná:  
 [èjú bérè] wájá-∅ kù<sup>n</sup>], jèrú kǎ-r<sup>7</sup> nú:-bà dèy, yá: dí:<sup>n</sup> sá:-bà, dà:rà-céné jín, [kó wàrá-bà]  
 [hǎl éjé=kǎ],  
 [lǎyǎ sà:-rá] kǎ bé:-yà<sup>8</sup> dèy, [[dí:<sup>n</sup> ñi:-díng-∅]=í:<sup>9</sup> dí:<sup>n</sup> lá:-∅]<sup>10</sup> lè, [èjú mà bèrê:] [èjú mà  
 cǐ-cénè], jèrú cín túmnó-bà, [[ñù: [kó dí:<sup>n</sup>] é:ng-í:=kǎ:-∅]<sup>11</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] céjé mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[kǎ dí:<sup>n</sup>] lè]  
 mǎ:-nó-jè-bà dèy, [wájá cêw] [[dí:<sup>n</sup> kǎ ê:ng]<sup>12</sup> lè] tǎngó-tǎngó únó-n<sup>13</sup> déy,  
 céjé [èjú kù<sup>n</sup>] dǎgǎ-jè-bà dèy, [[kǎ ñù:] [èjú bérè] úmò-∅.: fú:] bàrá [[dí:<sup>n</sup> bè sâ:-∅  
 kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] jèrè mǎ:-nó-bà, [[kǎ ñù:-pó:] mà bón] jùró gá-bà, [wájá kù<sup>n</sup>] ñù:-pó:=y⇒, [kó  
 kù<sup>n</sup>] jùró=y,  
 [[jùró kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] jèrè mǎ:-nó dǎngǎ-jè-bà<sup>14</sup> tángà: dèy, néy<sup>n</sup> ké, [sángá-w<sup>n</sup> dèy]  
 sǎngá-w<sup>n</sup>⇒, [dé:-w déy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [ñě-m lè] téngé-w,  
 [[dí:<sup>n</sup> èmè témè-∅] lè] lá:lá:, [ñě-m lè], [[mâ:n mà ñù:] dǎy=y wà] yǐlǐwé  
 [[nǎng-ñě-m]<sup>15</sup> lè] téngé-jè-bà dèy, ñě-m ñi:-sǐ:rú:<sup>16</sup> dáwá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, tájú yàngá-sà-bà dèy, èjú  
 yá:-bà, [inè kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [èné<sup>17</sup> mà dú:] [dí:<sup>n</sup> èné gǎr<sup>n</sup>∅-∅] jín kúnò:-∅, [dé:-dé: úró jèrè-bà]  
 [hǎl [jùró kù<sup>n</sup>] dǎgǎ=kǎ], [íjé, wǎtórò jó: gá kân], [[émé ùjùbǎy] mà bèrê:] [inè  
 [wǎtórò lè] dé:-rà-m] jò:,

<sup>1</sup> Imperfective of gǎ:<sup>n</sup> ‘remove’. The absence of a pronominal-subject suffix (despite plural subject) shows that the subject is focalized, although the (optional) Focus clitic is absent. The immediately following repetition does have the Focus clitic.

<sup>2</sup> For the passage beginning here, which ends with purposive clauses (jé) see Grammar §17.6.2, ex. (1079).

<sup>3</sup> This would lend itself to compound form, with low-toned initial before the verbal noun (bérè-[bér-ú]), but on the tape I hear the first word as bérè with its lexical tone.

<sup>4</sup> Purposive jé after Imperative, contrast LH-toned bare stem bàrá ‘help’.

<sup>5</sup> Imperfective pseudo-participial clause (-n). Grammar §15.2.1.1, ex. (912.b).

<sup>6</sup> Adjective ùñú ‘thin, slender’.

<sup>7</sup> /kǎ-rú/, here pronounced [kǎn] before /n/.

<sup>8</sup> Grammar §11.2.6.1, ex. (698.c).

<sup>9</sup> ñi:-[díng-ú] ‘water-[sit-VblN]’ functions as adjective for dí:<sup>n</sup> ‘place’ (low-toned dí:<sup>n</sup>)

<sup>10</sup> Relative clause based on ‘it is not X’ construction; Grammar 14.1.12, cf. exx. (828). In the ‘it is not X’ construction it is usual for Negative là: to immediately follow the ‘it is’ clitic (here =í:). On the tape, lá: has high tone before lè.

<sup>11</sup> Relative clause based on a predicate adjective with Nonhuman =kǎ ‘it is’ (Grammar, §11.4.1). For participial kǎ:- see Grammar, §14.1.8. Adjective é:ng ‘near’ has augment -í: (Grammar §4.5.3).

<sup>12</sup> Relative clause with simple predicate adjective in {HL} tone; Grammar §14.1.14.

<sup>13</sup> Pseudo-participial clause with lexical stem form of verb; Grammar §15.2.1.3.

<sup>14</sup> dǎngǎ-jè- ‘finish (sth)’, causative of dǎgǎ- ‘be finished, end’. Grammar §9.2, ex. (528.d).

<sup>15</sup> Compound (‘neighborhood-women’) of tonal type (x̄ ñ); Grammar §5.1.5.

<sup>16</sup> Tonal locative of ñi:-sǐ:rú ‘early morning’. Grammar §8.1.1.

<sup>17</sup> Anaphoric pronoun èné in non-logophoric topic-indexing function; Grammar §18.2.2, ex. (1123.c).

ñě-m<sup>1</sup> yé dé:-rà-bà kòy,<sup>2</sup> [inè [wòtóro lè] dé:-rà-m] jò:, [đi:<sup>n</sup> [gá:rà ê:ŋ]<sup>3</sup> cêw], ñě-m  
dê:-Ø,<sup>4</sup> [đi:<sup>n</sup> wàgá⇒ cêw], [[wòtóro kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] dé:-tògò-bà, [kó nò] cín=í: kò-rú kán-tògò-y<sup>5</sup>

S: [jër<sup>6</sup> nè] jèrè-bà dèy, [kó nǐ:nè jèrú bè jèrê:-Ø],<sup>7</sup> [[yókò<sup>8</sup> bé⇒] [yókò bé⇒]]=y

A: nǐ:nè jèrú bè jèrê:-Ø, sǐr=í:⇒↑, pòrù-céwé=y⇒↑, bènè=y⇒↑, cè: nǔ: kúnó bè  
dàrà:-Ø⇒↑,<sup>9</sup> cè: [nǔ: kù<sup>n</sup>] bè céjê:-Ø↑, kò-r=í:, nǐ:nè-[bìrè-[bǐr-Ø]]=í: [kó [bé=y] [kó  
nǐ:nè, < kó > bìrè-[bǐr-Ø]]=í:, sǐrú⇒ pòrù-céwé, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] cè: cèj-[cèj-Ø]=í:, [céjé cè: bè  
kúnò:-Ø, bènè=y<sup>n</sup>],

cè: bàrà já: bè tóŋò:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>,<sup>10</sup> tájù mà⇒↑ sǐ-sèg=í:, [bàrà úró bè jè:rê:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [kó kâ:<sup>n</sup>  
[tájù.: sǐ-sèg]=í:<sup>11</sup>

S: [[úró yèy-ya táŋà: dé nè] [nǔ: [nǐŋ nè] yò:-jǐn=í: kò-rú kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà], úró yèy-ya táŋà: dèy

A: [nǔ: yèré mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[úró dó:-yè] gá:-jè-bà dèy] [mâ:n mà nǔ:-dè-y=y] gá:-jè-bà táŋà: dèy, é  
[inè [mâ:-ká: túrù-m]<sup>12</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>], àr<sup>n</sup>-úm mà [mò:n mà:-ká: túrù-m], [kó àr<sup>n</sup>-úm kù<sup>n</sup>]  
mǎn-sà-bà<sup>13</sup> dèy, [nǔ: kù<sup>n</sup>] gǎ:<sup>14</sup> kúnó-bà,

gǎ: ké, úró jè-bà dèy, [[íné-m mà đí:<sup>n</sup>] bènè=y, gǎ: jè-bà dèy, [nǔ: mà đí:<sup>n</sup>⇒], [nǔ:  
mà úró=y], [tùmó té:] kó mǎ:-sà-bà dèy, [kó.: ùjùbǎy.:] mà gǎn<sup>n</sup><sup>15</sup> kóm yó=kò,  
[tù-túmúr<sup>n</sup>ú đí:<sup>n</sup> ùró bènè-gó-Ø] jín, đí:<sup>n</sup> hâl kó mót:bé bè cé:nè:-Ø=y jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,

béré kù<sup>n</sup>⇒, [[tùmó kù<sup>n</sup>] mánà] béré té:-né mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [béré kù<sup>n</sup>] léjé mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [lègú lè],  
[lègú lè] pílíwé [gǎ: kù<sup>n</sup>] mǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑,

[mǎ: já: kò dó:-yè dèy] [kònòŋó kónóŋó [kó kù:<sup>n</sup>] ná:ná-bà] [kó nò] [àr<sup>n</sup>á mǐy<sup>n</sup>-sà<sup>16</sup>  
kâ:<sup>n</sup>] sòjò-y,<sup>17</sup> đí:<sup>n</sup> gá:rà kò ré:né kòy, [kò gǎ: kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bènè:] kó kúnó-bà

<sup>1</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §4.3.3 (197.a).

<sup>2</sup> Clause-final Emphatic particle kòy ‘indeed’. Grammar §19.5.2.

<sup>3</sup> gá:rà ‘more, most’ induces {HL} tone on adjective; Grammar §12.1.3.

<sup>4</sup> No 3PI subject agreement on this verb, suggesting that ‘women’ is focalized; Grammar §13.1.2.

<sup>5</sup> kán-, preinflectional form of kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘do, make; be done’.

<sup>6</sup> jèrú ‘harvest (noun)’, here pronounced [džɛ̃n] before /n/.

<sup>7</sup> Instrumental relative compound (‘oil for rubbing’ type); Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (298.a).

<sup>8</sup> Interrogative yókò ‘which?’, Grammar §13.2.2.7, ex. (791.a).

<sup>9</sup> Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (298.b).

<sup>10</sup> Three-verb chain in a definite instrumental relative clause with the Instrumental postposition omitted; Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (296.a). Followed in short order by another such relative with participle jè:rê:-Ø (with head noun cè: omitted but understood).

<sup>11</sup> ‘It is (X)’ clitic added to a conjoined NP.

<sup>12</sup> Bahuvrihi compound with {HL}-toned numeral (‘one-doored’). Functions as adjectival modifier of ‘people’, hence Human Pl -m. Grammar §5.2.1.2.

<sup>13</sup> Verb mǎr<sup>n</sup>ó.

<sup>14</sup> <LHL>-toned tonal locative of gǎ: ‘granary’. Grammar §8.1, ex. (436.d).

<sup>15</sup> Grammar §7.1.1.1, ex. (405).

<sup>16</sup> Verb mǐr<sup>n</sup>é ‘(rain) fall’.

<sup>17</sup> Imperative Negative verb (-y after low-toned stem), with third person subject. Functions as a negative purposive clause. Grammar §17.6.7, ex. (1100), cf. §10.4.1, §10.4.4.

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## Introduction of the plow

S: [sàrí:<sup>1</sup> [émé ùjùbǎy] yérè-Ø] [èmè ké] [pó:ró [[nùmó lè]<sup>2</sup> mà wárí]=y<sup>3</sup> jùgó-y], [sàrí:  
jè:rè-bà] [[gàsègé lè] kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>†] wàrà-wá-bà, [kó kù<sup>n</sup> nè] [kò yéré kân] [yó:-jìn=í:  
dòγǒ-m kó cèjè-bà]<sup>4</sup>

A: sàrí: dòγǒ-m mǎy<sup>n</sup>-mày<sup>n</sup>-mày<sup>n</sup>-mày<sup>n</sup>-mày<sup>n</sup><sup>5</sup> sàrí: cèjè-bà, [[kó<sup>6</sup> bíré] é: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [kò-rú  
yòwò-bá=yè là: dèy], kó dènè-l-á, sábu [kó dènè-l-á kù<sup>n</sup>]<sup>7</sup> gá: bère-m,  
[émé [ǎ-n gǎ-n]]<sup>8</sup> [sàrí: jè:rè gá: kân], [àsègè kó bè wàrà-wá:-Ø]<sup>9</sup> yé sà⇒↑, [sàrí: kù<sup>n</sup>]  
yé sà, [[[ǎr<sup>n</sup>-kújú péru] cè: dó:=kò] t̄:~n]<sup>10</sup> [[wò nùmó:]<sup>11</sup> ñné-sà] [wáru wàr-lí],<sup>12</sup>  
[d̄i:<sup>n</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á kó bè wàrá yǎ:-Ø] jùgò-j-é⇒↑, [[[nùmó<sup>13</sup> mà wò-túmó]=y<sup>n</sup> dèy] jùgó-w̄]  
[[tèjé-tèjé lè] kò], [sàrí: mà wò-túmó] tèjé sà:-rá, [[kó kù<sup>n</sup> mà è-y<sup>14</sup> nè] dènè-j-é tǎjǎ,  
óyó-ró kò-rú yòwò-l-á,  
túr-túru<sup>15</sup> ínè-m kó bã:-tóγò, túr-túru ínè-m kó bã:-tóγò, íjé, ñnè kó sà:-rá-n cêw, [[ènè  
mà pàná] sà:-rá-n jín] [bǎ:<sup>16</sup> mà d̄i:<sup>n</sup>] d̄ó:-yè, [kó bère] t̄g=í: là:⇒↑, [kó sù:r<sup>n</sup>ó] t̄g=í:  
là:⇒↑, [[kó èjú] mà gàrá] t̄g=í: là:⇒↑,  
íjé cín kár<sup>n</sup>á mǎy<sup>n</sup> kò,<sup>17</sup> kà: [hâl íjé kâ:<sup>n</sup>], [ínè gǎ-n] [[ènè<sup>18</sup> mà cénè] mà bèrè:], wár  
dàγá-tù-bá=yè là: dèy, [[[[ènè mà èjú] bère] kò wàrà=kò-Ø]<sup>19</sup> gàrá⇒ wò-rú èr-lá-m]<sup>20</sup> mà  
[ínè gàru-m]] túr-túru yó=kò, íjé kâ:<sup>n</sup>

<sup>1</sup> French *charrue*.

<sup>2</sup> PP ‘by hand’ as ‘possessor.’

<sup>3</sup> Noun /wáru/ ‘farming, farm work’.

<sup>4</sup> Stem cèjé- ‘encountered’. Mistranscribed with céjé- ‘cut’ in Grammar (503) and (548.c).

<sup>5</sup> Multiple iteration, with regular tones on first occurrence, all-low tones on iterations; Grammar §8.5.6, ex. (503). This tonal pattern is common with verbs; Grammar §11.6.2.

<sup>6</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §3.7.3.6, ex. (138.a).

<sup>7</sup> Quotative complement with Definite kù<sup>n</sup>, since the quoted material has already been expressed; Grammar §17.1.2, ex. (1000). Such a definite quotative complement may be identical in form to a factive complement (Grammar §17.3).

<sup>8</sup> /gǎ-n/ contracted Human Singular of gàrá ‘big; adult’. Cf. plural gàru-m later in this text. For the passage beginning here, see Grammar § , ex. (295.a).

<sup>9</sup> Instrumental relative. Grammar §5.1.15. Causative wàrà-wá- ‘(farmer) have (e.g. ox) do farming (here: pull plow)’.

<sup>10</sup> Phrase meaning ‘approximately’. Grammar §8.5.3.1, ex. (486).

<sup>11</sup> Tonal locative of nùmó ‘hand’. Grammar §8.1, ex. (436.c).

<sup>12</sup> Phonetic [wàl:í].

<sup>13</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §11.2.2.2, ex. (668).

<sup>14</sup> Verbal noun complement of ‘want’; Grammar §17.4.5, ex. (1056.d).

<sup>15</sup> Phonetic [tút:úru].

<sup>16</sup> bã: can mean ‘as much as’ or ‘since’. Here it functions as ‘possessor’ in [bǎ: mà d̄i:<sup>n</sup>] in the phrase translatable ‘he has reached the (extreme) point’.

<sup>17</sup> Unusual combination of Nonhuman ‘it is (somewhere)’ clitic with VP chaining particle mèy<sup>n</sup> ~ mǎy<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Anaphoric èné, coindexed with a preclausal topical NP; Grammar §18.2.2.

<sup>19</sup> Factive complement, in relative-clause form; Grammar §17.3.4.1.

<sup>20</sup> Phonetic [èl:ám]. This relative clause has ‘old men’ (plural) as head, as seen by Human Pl suffix -m. ‘Old men’ is omitted clause-internally, but appears as a ‘possessed’ noun following the relative



kó yògò dògò=kò, [[béré kù<sup>n</sup> lè] tàl-là<sup>2</sup> táṅá=kò, [bòró lé] [kó nò] < ñù:-cínù >  
 [[ñù:-í:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup> mà bèrê:] [bèrê lé]=y ñé:=kò, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] [sù-sùm]-bórù gá-bà,  
 kǐ-ká:⇒↑, yó=kò, [wàkàtí núnò]=y<sup>n</sup> < bé:-bà > [[wàkàtí kǐ-ká: [ñów<sup>n</sup>ò [nú: lè] téwé<sup>3</sup>  
 bèrê-gó-Ø] mà wákáti.:<sup>4</sup> fú:] kò:-ró, [nú: yèré íré mày<sup>n</sup>-á:] [[[nùkòy<sup>5</sup> ìjè]=y] dè:-lí déy],  
 [[kó tòyó tòyó-Ø]<sup>6</sup> lè] yàṅá<sup>7</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [yèré [tèṅé kún-tí]] yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, yàṅá yǎ: < mà >  
 [hâl yǎ: [í:<sup>n</sup> nàr<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>↑], [[í:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] ír-á:] bé gá:-wà lè,<sup>8</sup> kǐ-ká: [wàkàtí [kó bèrê:] èné<sup>9</sup>  
 nú:-sà-Ø fú:] [[ñów<sup>n</sup>ò téwé] bèrê=kò],  
 [[é àná] tò:r<sup>n</sup>ò] mà⇒↑ [[é ùjùbǎy] mà bèrê:] tò:r<sup>n</sup>ò tàṅà dèy] [cè: kò-rú bè kár<sup>n</sup>á:-Ø  
 jǐ:<sup>n</sup>↑], pò:ró [à-têm lè] [gòrú gòr-sà-bà<sup>10</sup> dèy], [bà:r<sup>n</sup>à-kúró bé⇒] tǐw<sup>n</sup>è-kúró pé:rè-sà-bà  
 dèy, [[gòrú kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] nàná kún-tù-bà dèy, [kǐ-kà:]-í:<sup>n</sup> [[èné mà dáṅá] lè kù<sup>n</sup>],<sup>11</sup> wàrá bǒ:-bà,  
 kó gámá jé,<sup>12</sup>  
 [dòg-Ø ké] dògò-gó kòy,<sup>13</sup> kà: [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kó gámá bèrê=kò, [àná mà mós:n]=í: tàṅà dèy,  
 lá:-lá: [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà jǐ:<sup>n</sup>, íjé↑, [kò.: fú:]<sup>14</sup> [pósòṅ lè] yǎ: wàjà:-Ø, [kò.: fú:] [cè: pòsòṅ  
 [kó bèrê:] kùn-ó-Ø]<sup>15</sup> kò:-ró táṅá:-Ø, [kò.: fú: nè] pú:d=í:,  
 [[bú:dù lè] sǎy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] kó bǐrè-bà, yèyǐjè:, kó=y jǐrè-sí:<sup>16</sup> [[dògùrù tòy ù tǎ:-Ø]<sup>17</sup> lè  
 bǎ:],<sup>18</sup> [pòsòṅ tòy bè tǎ:-Ø]<sup>19</sup> éwé-w↑, [nú: lè] gà:r<sup>n</sup>á-w<sup>n</sup>↑, kò-rú m̀: -nó tó:-w↓,

<sup>1</sup> Grammar §11.2.1.2, ex. (654.b).

<sup>2</sup> Unaffixed Perfective of Reversive *tál-lá-* in transitive sense ‘detach (something affixed or pasted)’. Grammar §9.1, ex. (525.d), with intransitive gloss.

<sup>3</sup> *téwé* ‘hit, tap’, here in the fixed phrase *ñów<sup>n</sup>ò téwé* ‘inflict damage’.

<sup>4</sup> Relative clause with *wákáti* ‘time’ as clause-internal head noun (low-toned), and again as “possessed” noun following the relative clause proper; Grammar §14.1.1, ex. (800.a).

<sup>5</sup> Presentative particle (‘here’s ...’). Grammar §4.4.5.

<sup>6</sup> Headless adverbial relative with perfective participle of verb *tòyó* ‘(plant) sprout’, preceded by noun *tòyó* ‘sprout(s)’. This transcription based on a recent re-study of the tape. Assistant originally suggested the nominal compound *tòy-tòyó*, as in Grammar §15.2.8, ex. (956.a).

<sup>7</sup> *yàṅá mèy<sup>n</sup> ...*, *hâl yǎ: ...*, see Grammar §15.2.8, ex. (958.a)..

<sup>8</sup> ‘Before ...’ construction; Grammar §15.2.4.2, ex. (939.c).

<sup>9</sup> Anaphoric pronoun coindexed to presentational topical NP; Grammar §18.2.2, ex. (1123.b).

<sup>10</sup> Phonetic [gòs:àbà]. Verb *gòró*, with cognate nominal *gòrú* as object.

<sup>11</sup> Unusual order, with Definite *kù<sup>n</sup>* following the postposition *lè*.

<sup>12</sup> Purposive *jé* with Imperative verb *gámá* (HH-toned); Grammar §17.6.2, ex. (1080.a). The negative counterpart is [kó gámá-y jé] ‘in order that it not be reduced’. Verb *gámá* appears with its lexical tones just below (to be distinguished from homophone *gámá* ‘some, certain [ones]’).

<sup>13</sup> /dòg-ú/ verbal noun with Topic particle *ké*, cognate to the following verb (stem *dògò-* ‘be finished, used up, eliminated’). Clause-final Emphatic *kòy*. Grammar , ex. (1174.b).

<sup>14</sup> *fú:* ‘all’ does often induces dying-quail final intonation on preceding nouns, but only occasionally (as here) on a preceding pronoun. Grammar §6.8.1.

<sup>15</sup> Relative-clause participle of *kùn-ó* ‘not be (put) in’, cf. positive *kùn*. Grammar §11.2.3.

<sup>16</sup> I am normalizing /j/ for /g/ in words like this, but both pronunciations occur. This word is transcribed with /g/ in Grammar §15.2.3.1, ex. (934).

<sup>17</sup> Since *tó:* ‘sow (seeds)’ is a high-toned Cv: verb, the Perfective and Imperfective participles are homophonous as *tǎ:-Ø*. In this context either reading is possible, but on the whole the Imperfective reading (‘are sowing’) seems better. In the following instrumental relative (‘poison for sowing seeds’), *tǎ:-Ø* is clearly Imperfective.

<sup>18</sup> ... *bǎ:* ‘since ...’ or ‘back when ...’; Grammar §15.2.3.2, ex. (934).

<sup>19</sup> Instrumental relative compound. Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (298.d).

[[kó tòyó kùn<sup>n</sup>] lè] < nĩnð-- > [[nĩ-nò:r<sup>n</sup>ó kùn<sup>n</sup>] lè] nèw<sup>n</sup>é yé sà⇒, [[[kò bòró] lè] sùm-pèg kùn-Ø<sup>1</sup> kùn<sup>n</sup>], [[sù-súm kùn<sup>n</sup>] lè] nèw<sup>n</sup>é yé sà,  
 [kó kùn<sup>n</sup>] gǎy-yè dèy, [kĩ-ká:]⇒y tò:r<sup>n</sup>ò tàṅà dèy, [[pàṅá nám] lè] tégè-bà, [[é wàrù-wará-m] háybé-m<sup>2</sup> kùn<sup>n</sup>] bè-rú, yǎ: bẽ-r<sup>3</sup> tégè-tù-bà táṅà: dèy, pòsòṅ jè:rè-bà,  
 [[àná mà pòrbá] bè pómpe:-Ø] yó=kò⇒, [ú [[á kú:<sup>n</sup>] lè] [éwé mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [[á èjú] lè] ù pómpe:-Ø] yó=kò,  
 [nĩṅ ké] [ú nò] cín=í: kò-rú kán-tóyð-bà,<sup>4</sup> kà: [yà:ṅàṅò: té⇒],<sup>5</sup> [kò.: [sù-sùm]-bòrù.:] mà lǒy,<sup>6</sup> è:-lí-y dôm<sup>7</sup>  
 S: [sà:j-í:<sup>n</sup>⇒y<sup>n</sup> dé nè] yò:j-ĩn=í. kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà  
 A: [sà:j-í:<sup>n</sup>⇒y<sup>n</sup> dèy<sup>8</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>], mòr<sup>n</sup>ó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑ pé:-bà, sà:j-í:<sup>n</sup>⇒y<sup>n</sup> táṅà: dèy, dà:yá [é àná]⇒y<sup>n</sup> ná:=kò táṅà: dèy, nĩ-nĩ:<sup>9</sup> nùm-â: dèy, ànà-[ǎ:-r<sup>n</sup>ù-m]<sup>10</sup> mǒn-sà-bà<sup>11</sup> dèy, bèn.: tù-tù:lú.:, màlfâ:<sup>n</sup>., cè: sǐnè-[sǐn-ú] bǎr-jè<sup>12</sup> èjú nú: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [[[àrgà núṅò] lè] kò]<sup>13</sup> mà:ná-jè-bà dèy, jĩnṅé-bà,  
 [[nĩ-nĩ:-[númú-ṅú]] lè] [[dògùrù ní]<sup>14</sup> kò já:jé=kò-Ø] lè] [kó jĩnṅé bè gâ:-Ø kân], ú:r<sup>n</sup>-â: táṅà: dèy, wà:yá⇒<sup>15</sup> yǎ: ná:=kò, wànà-ṅ-â:<sup>16</sup> nà: dèy, gàmá [é jâm] kò-rú bèrè-bè bé:=kò,<sup>17</sup> [[[kó jín] bè nàṅâ:-Ø] èt-térè-y,<sup>18</sup>  
 kó kâ:<sup>n</sup>, ànsá:rá<sup>19</sup> [[bé=y] é bàrà dèy], [é [pàṅá nám kùn<sup>n</sup>]⇒y<sup>n</sup> é bàrà dèy, pòsòṅ yó=kò⇒↑, pómpe-bà⇒<sup>20</sup> núw<sup>n</sup>ó=kò↓, [yé kán-tóyð-bà] [[kó kâ:<sup>n</sup>] áyá-sà-y] [kà: [jó: ké] è:-lí-y], [[émé mà [kó è-y]<sup>1</sup> ké] jò:-lá] [kà: áyá-sà-y]

<sup>1</sup> Perfective participle of defective stative verb kùn- ‘be in’, §11.2.3.

<sup>2</sup> Grammar §14.1.17, ex. (841.a).

<sup>3</sup> Phonetic [bèt] before /t/.

<sup>4</sup> Verb kár<sup>n</sup>á ‘do’.

<sup>5</sup> té⇒ ‘specifically, precisely’. Grammar §8.5.3.3.

<sup>6</sup> lǒy ‘medication, remedy’. Here ‘insecticide’. Incorrectly transcribed lǒy in Grammar (491.c), (598.a), (854).

<sup>7</sup> dôm ‘as of now’, in negative context ‘(not) yet’. Grammar §10.3.2.

<sup>8</sup> Transcribed déy in Grammar §16.1.3, ex. (977).

<sup>9</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §16.1.1, ex. (970.b).

<sup>10</sup> Compound. Incorrectly transcribed àná ǎ:-r<sup>n</sup>ù-m, Grammar §16.1.1 (970.b)

<sup>11</sup> Verb mòr<sup>n</sup>ó.

<sup>12</sup> Phonetic [bǎdʒè].

<sup>13</sup> Grammar §16.1.1, ex. (970.c).

<sup>14</sup> ní ‘here’. Grammar §4.4.4.1, ex. (226.a).

<sup>15</sup> Adverbial wà:yá⇒ ‘far (away)’, Grammar §8.5.2, ex. (483.c). I normalize the transcription with /y/ for this stem, but here the word was pronounced emphatically, and I heard phonetic [g]. Related verb wànà-ṅá- ‘take (sth) far away’ (§9.6, (539.g)), immediately follows.

<sup>16</sup> The regular chain construction is wànà-ṅá nà: dèy. ‘if it/they have gone far away and spent the night’. On the tape I hear [wànàṅâ:], i.e. (marked) Perfective wànà-ṅ-â:. Possibly two separate clauses. Homophonous unsuffixed Imperfective wànà-ṅâ:-Ø makes no sense in context.

<sup>17</sup> Both gàmá ‘some, certain ones’ (in context also: ‘sometimes’) and bé:=kò ‘it (may) be’ suggest the hedged modal value ‘maybe’ or ‘occasionally’. Grammar §8.5.5, ex. (502.a).

<sup>18</sup> ‘see’ with relative-clause like complement. èt-térè-y incorrectly transcribed with all low tones Grammar §17.3.4.1, ex. (1030.a).

<sup>19</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §13.1.2, ex. (746.e).

<sup>20</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §4.3.3, ex. (197.b).



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After the harvest

S: [nĩŋ ké] jĩr<sup>n</sup>é gǎy-yà<sup>2</sup> táŋà: dèy, [émé dòŋdò-úrò], wár jín cìgè bè kár<sup>n</sup>â:-Ø, [bĩrè làyá] bè kár<sup>n</sup>â:-Ø, [ǎ:-r<sup>n</sup>ù-m mà ànà-yéy.:] [nĩ-<sup>n</sup>m mà ànà-yéy.:], [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> kò kò:-Ø]<sup>3</sup> ẽmẽ-n tégé  
 A: *voilà*, [kó kâ:<sup>n</sup>] tégé bèrè-wé=kò<sup>4</sup> já:tì, [émé dòŋdò-úrò], émé [[jĩr<sup>n</sup>è-bĩrè]-bĩrè-m]=í: sǎy, émé ná:<sup>5</sup> [àsègè mǎŋ-Ø⇒] [jĩr<sup>n</sup>è-bĩrè], [émé òrú mà pàŋá ké] yí-dĩ:<sup>n</sup>=y<sup>n</sup>,  
 àsègè màŋá ù gá: kân, [àsègè è màŋà-Ø] yó=kò táŋà: dèy, jĩr<sup>n</sup>é dòg-â: dèy, [inè àsègè-dígé-m]<sup>6</sup> yó=kòŋ, àsègè-háybé-m yó=kòŋ, [àsègè-dígé-m.: àsègè-háybé-m.: nè] déy<sup>n</sup>⇒<sup>7</sup> [nĩm kâ:<sup>n</sup>], úró mà bèrè:  
 [àsègè dígè-n<sup>8</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] í-n=í:<sup>9</sup> dígè bèrè:, [yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>ŋ ké] yèrè bèrè:-Ø, [èjú lé] yǎ: lúgúró jè:rè bèrè:-Ø, [íjé mèy<sup>n</sup>ŋ] [kó nò:-w<sup>n</sup>ó gámá bèrè-gó] bé:=kò,<sup>10</sup> [[ní: dĩ:<sup>n</sup> kó bè nò:-w<sup>n</sup>ó-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] jé] [inè úró pílíwé-m] yó=kò, bĩrè-bĩrè yà:-l-á<sup>11</sup> kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>ŋ,  
 wó=y, [àsègè háybé-n]=í:, àsègè-jírí-n déy<sup>n</sup>, àsègè-háybé-n déy<sup>n</sup>, [jĩrè wò jèr-tì dèy] [cêw yèrè mâ⇒], yókkò=y yèr-ŋ<sup>12</sup> mâ⇒, nàr<sup>n</sup>á<sup>13</sup> dàyá-sà mâ⇒, nàr<sup>n</sup>á dàyá-lí mâ⇒, [núŋò ké] lór=í:, èjú dàyá yà:-wà-y,<sup>14</sup>  
 nò:-w<sup>n</sup>ó-n.:, já:jé-ñ ó:rè-ñ kù<sup>n</sup>, [wó kù<sup>n</sup>] yó=wò, cín cín [kò ké] [[[kó àrgá] lè] wò-y] [[àsègè mà àrgá] lè ké], [jĩr<sup>n</sup>è-bĩrè kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrè:, [jĩr<sup>n</sup>è-bĩrè kù<sup>n</sup>] dòg-â:⇒ŋ, [[jĩr<sup>n</sup>é mà nèw<sup>n</sup>é] dògò-lí-Ø] yó=kò,  
 kó=y⇒, [inè kájú wàrà-m<sup>15</sup> bé]=y, [kó yàŋá-sà<sup>1</sup> dèy] [tùŋ-nò: yàŋá-sà dèy] [[sòbòl lè] yǎ: dò:], yàŋá yǎ: gù-gùn bè témè-Ø, [núŋò cêw] [cè: bè wàrà:-Ø]=y,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Verbal noun with underlying subject and object pronominals in possessor form; Grammar §17.4.1, ex. (1048.b).

<sup>2</sup> Verb gàrá ‘pass, go past’.

<sup>3</sup> Grammar §12.2.6.1, ex. (951).

<sup>4</sup> Passive bèrè-wé- ‘be gotten’, here as passive of the underlying transitive bèrè in the special sense ‘can, be able to’ with chained verb, hence (with tégé ‘speak’) the phrasal sense ‘can be said’.

<sup>5</sup> ná: Grammar §5.1.13, ex. (287.a).

<sup>6</sup> Agentive compound with low-toned initial and high-toned participle. Grammar §5.1.9, ex. (270.b). Likewise the following àsègè-háybé-m. Another agentive compound type with different tones is exemplified just below.

<sup>7</sup> Adverbial ‘apart, separate, distinct’.

<sup>8</sup> Agentive compound with regular tones on initial, and {HL} toned participle. Grammar §5.1.7, ex. (268.a).

<sup>9</sup> /í-n/ ‘child’ plus ‘it is’ clitic.

<sup>10</sup> Combination of gámá (without modified noun) ‘sometimes’ and bé:=kò ‘it may be’. Grammar §8.5.5, ex. (502.b).

<sup>11</sup> bĩrè-bĩrè yǎ:- is a fixed phrase ‘go (to a city, usually in the south) to do (usually seasonal) work’. Here 3Pl Perfective Negative. The following kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup> ‘(it) having (been) done’ allows a switch-subject transition, which is not otherwise usual with clause-linking mèy<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Phonetic [jèl:í]. Verb yèrè- ‘come’ in presuffixal form /yèr-/.

<sup>13</sup> Sounds like [nǎn] on the tape, i.e. with /nàr<sup>n</sup>á/ irregularly apocopated before initial /d/ of a following chained verb. In the following phrase, nàr<sup>n</sup>á is not apocopated before /d/ of dàyá-lí. Reduction to nǎn- is regular only before suffix-initial consonants.

<sup>14</sup> Imperative Negative (with third person subject); Grammar §10.4.1, ex. (601.e), cf. §10.4.4.

<sup>15</sup> Another agentive compound with {HL} toned participle. Grammar §5.1.7, ex. (268.b).

[[inè gàmà-nám] [[kó èjú] béré] kúnó-bà] [hâl jó:=kò], [[ñú: kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bère:] kò gó:-yà tǎ̀nà: dèy<sup>3</sup> [[ñú: kù<sup>n</sup>] céjé-jè-bà↑] [kó cǐ-cè:rú kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] dòg-â:-Ø, kó sǎ̀nà-sà-bà dèy, kó háybé-bà,

[bère inè kò sà-m] yó=kò, [inè [kájú lè] [cè: jó:] béré-m] yó=kò, àr<sup>n</sup>à-kújú<sup>4</sup> cǐ-cé:nè tǎ̀nà dèy, kájú wǎr-sà-w<sup>5</sup> tǎ̀nà dèy, [kájú kù<sup>n</sup>] [[á [ñi-bàr<sup>n</sup>à]-bíré.: fú:⇒] mà òjù-ká:] mà ìjé<sup>6</sup> ù-rú íjé bère=kò, [jó:⇒ sǎ̀bù<sup>7</sup> bère-wé=kò], inè gàmà-nám kù<sup>n</sup>,

[inè gàmà-nám nè] [[đi:<sup>n</sup> kó bè kúnô:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] mà sà:-rá<sup>8</sup> bé dàyá kùnù-w<sup>n</sup>ò-gó<sup>9</sup> tǎ̀nà bère=kò, [àná gàmá [kájú jé],<sup>10</sup> [đi:<sup>n</sup> làyá] yà:-j-é], kájú.: tùn-nǒ:.: sòbǒl.:, jó:=y gó:=kò⇒↑, cè:rú bère=kò, [[[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] mà kú:<sup>n</sup>] dâ:<sup>n</sup>-m]<sup>11</sup> yó=kò,

[kó kù<sup>n</sup> fú:] dòg-â: dèy, < émé àná inè gàmà-nám-- >, [[émé ùjùbǎy] mà bère:] inè gàmà-nám, đí:<sup>n</sup> sǎ̀nà gò̀nǒ mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [[[nǐjé lè] cè: bè kúnô:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] mà òjù-ká:] lè, tó: jò:-nó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [[àná [ní: é:η-ùm]]<sup>12</sup> kó sǒrǒ mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [[kó sòr-ú] jé]<sup>13</sup> [[ě: tǎ:n] [ě: nǎy<sup>n</sup>] bǎ:]<sup>14</sup> bé: bè sâ:-Ø dèy↑, <sup>15</sup> nèw<sup>n</sup>é bè-rú nú:=kò⇒↑, [bé nè] àná yà:-j-é,<sup>16</sup>

[[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] nám<sup>17</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yó=wò-bà, [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] yǎ: kò gǎy-yè dèy, wàrà pàrà sé:<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>è-w<sup>n</sup>, [wàrà-[pàrà-sé:<sup>n</sup>] kù<sup>n</sup>] gǎy-yà dèy, [jǐr<sup>n</sup>é cǐ-cé:nè], ñi-ñów<sup>n</sup>ò<sup>18</sup> cêw, [[cè: bè kàr<sup>n</sup>â:-Ø] làyá]<sup>19</sup> sà:-rá-w tǎ̀nà dèy, [àná gàrà] nú: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, á ñi-bár<sup>n</sup>á kán-sà-w dèy, òjùgó:⇒, [á lǎmp-ò] béré,<sup>20</sup> [íné [kó jé] yǎ:-rà-m]<sup>1</sup> yó=kò,

<sup>1</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.2.8, ex. (957). However, I have re-transcribed the tones of òjù: and tǎ̀mè-Ø and have adjusted the translation accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> /wàrà:-Ø=ỳ/. Imperfective participle of wàrà.

<sup>3</sup> Conditional antecedent (dèy ‘if’) clause with low-toned preverbal subject pronominal (kò).

Grammar §16.1.2. For this example see also §6.1.2, ex. (314).

<sup>4</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §16.1.3, ex. (978.b).

<sup>5</sup> Phonetic [wǎs:àw].

<sup>6</sup> ìjé ‘standing, stopping’ is a cognative nominal for verb íjé ‘stand, stop’, which follows. Here the cognate nominal is possessed.

<sup>7</sup> sǎ̀bù ‘because’ is normally clause-initial; we can emend to [sǎ̀bù jó:⇒ ...]

<sup>8</sup> sà:-rá ‘not have’ is treated like a possessed noun with preceding mà, so one might translate as ‘the lack of ...’ or ‘the fact that ... do not have ...’. Grammar §15.3.2, ex. (967).

<sup>9</sup> Stem kúnù-w<sup>n</sup>ò ‘X make/let/have Y put Z (in)’, causative of kúnó ‘Y put Z (in)’. dàyá ‘leave, let’ here is translatable ‘allow’.

<sup>10</sup> Purposive-Causal postposition jé, here ‘because of, on account of’. Grammar §8.4, ex. (474.a).

Normally àná gàmá ‘some (other) villages’ has low-toned noun àná, as in the transcription of this passage in Grammar, ex. (474.a). On the tape, this word sounds like àná with lexical tones. One could imagine a construction with àná ‘a village’ followed by adverbial gàmá ‘sometimes, maybe’.

<sup>11</sup> (Human) Plural Perfective participle of stative dâ:<sup>n</sup>- ‘be sitting’. Grammar §11.2.4, ex. (691.a).

<sup>12</sup> ‘near water’ is an expanded adjective (with a complement); Grammar §6.3.3.4, cf. ex. (361.b). àná ‘village’ denotes the population, hence Human Plural -m on the adjective.

<sup>13</sup> Purposive jé. Grammar §8.4, ex. (473.a).

<sup>14</sup> bǎ: can mean ‘since’ (particle) or ‘be as much as’ (verb).

<sup>15</sup> ... sâ:-Ø dèy↑ (at end of verb chain); Grammar §15.1.15, ex. (906.b).

<sup>16</sup> àná yǎ:, literally ‘go (to) village’, is the common phrase for ‘travel (to another town)’.

<sup>17</sup> ‘owners of that’, i.e. ‘those who engage in that’. Grammar §5.1.12, ex. (280.b).

<sup>18</sup> cǐ-cé:nè and ñi-ñów<sup>n</sup>ò are parallel Cǐ- reduplicated Perfectives; Grammar §10.1.2.7.

<sup>19</sup> Adjective làyá ‘other’ forces tone-dropping on the relative-clause participle, which would otherwise be kàr<sup>n</sup>â:-Ø. Grammar §6.1.3, ex. (321.b).

<sup>20</sup> béré, imperative of bèré ‘get, obtain, win’.

[[mĩ t̂:-m] yǎ:-rà-bà] [[yǎ:-rà-m kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yó=kò], kó=ȳ [ǎ: bé]=ȳ<sup>2</sup> mà⇒↑ kó=ȳ [[yǎ:  
mèy<sup>n</sup>] [cě: bèr-lí] yèr-lí=wó-m̂<sup>3</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>]=ȳ<sup>n</sup>, wó=ȳ [[mĩ t̂:-m] yǎ:-yè-bà] yǎ:-m=i:<sup>4</sup> [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>]  
mà ínè-m kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yó=kò,  
jín [[kó t̂g]<sup>5</sup> kò:-ró kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [[bé lěy ké] kò:-ró

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#### Relations with Fulbe

S: [nĩŋ ké] púlò-m.: d̂ȳǎ-m.:, púlò-m [ém<sup>6</sup> m̂r<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂ ðĩŋ-Ø=i:-bà, [[[[bé.: d̂ȳǎ-m .:] mà gǎnh̄]  
mà bé:-gú]<sup>7</sup> mà kù:<sup>n</sup>] èm̂-n tégé

A: < [ém̂.: púlò-m.:] mà gǎnh̄-- > [[ém̂ d̂ȳǎ-m.: púlò-m.:] mà gǎnh̄] mà bé:-gú, [t̂:-m<sup>8</sup>  
mà ká:rê:] gòr<sup>n</sup>ò-gó-y⇒↑, < t̂:-m ém̂-- > [t̂:-m lè] t̂ará<sup>9</sup> lóȳó bèrè-gó-y↓, cín  
m̂r<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂=wò-y,<sup>10</sup>

sábù [ĩñé=ȳ<sup>n</sup> kó=ȳ mà d̂ȳ] [d̂ȳò-n wàr-wárá-n], wárú wárá wò gâ:-Ø kân, [wó ĵr<sup>n</sup>é  
cé:n-â:] gá:-jè-bà tánà: d̂ȳ, [ár<sup>n</sup>à yó⇒ ár<sup>n</sup>à]<sup>11</sup> ñú: bèrè-w d̂ȳ↑, [ñú: ké] wá:jíbi=ȳ<sup>12</sup> kó  
dòr<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂-w<sup>n</sup>, [d̂:né<sup>13</sup> ĵiné ĵá: àbádá⇒ kúdáy yó=kò] kár<sup>n</sup>á bèrè-gó, [ñú: ké] kó dòr<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂-w<sup>n</sup>,

kó d̂n-tù-w<sup>14</sup> d̂ȳ kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè, ŝñú kò-rú ŝñá-sà-w mà⇒↑, àsègé kò-rú màŋá-sà-w mà,  
àsègé=ȳ màŋá-w<sup>n</sup> tánà: d̂ȳ, nàŋá màŋá-w<sup>n</sup>, bèrú màŋá-w<sup>n</sup>, pé:jú màŋá-w<sup>n</sup>,

[[inè gàmà-nám] yé sà-bà⇒↑] [[inè kó ĵiré-m̂ kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] ĵinè-lá-bá],<sup>15</sup> [inè  
gàmà-nám] yé sà-bà⇒↑, < ìnè kó ĵiné-m̂ -- >, ìnè kó ĵiré-m̂ kù<sup>n</sup>, [[ènè bé úr<sup>n</sup>-ùm]=i: kó  
ĵirè:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] d̂enè-j-é,<sup>16</sup>

kó<sup>1</sup> ĵá: [[púlò-m lè] ó:-bà], [púlò-m jó:-m] yó=wò-bà,<sup>2</sup> [nàŋá [[ènè bé] ĵirè] kúnó  
mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [nàná ĵiné mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [nàŋà-úrò nám]=i:-bà]<sup>3</sup> [jó:⇒<sup>4</sup> nàŋá yé ĵinè-bà],

<sup>1</sup> Emended. Tape has [inè kó wò ĵá:-rà-m] (slightly irregular for ‘there are people who take that’).

<sup>2</sup> ǎ: bé, plural of ǎ: ‘who?’. Grammar §13.2.2.1.

<sup>3</sup> bèr-lí and yèr-lí- have /r/ pronounced as [l:]. These are Perfective Negative forms, the latter from yèré ‘come’. Grammar §11.1, ex. (617.a). For cliticized =wò ‘be’ (here, Human Plural participial =wó-m̂) after an inflectional suffix, see Grammar §11.2.2.3.

<sup>4</sup> Based on yǎ:-m̂ ‘I am going, I will go’ (1Sg subject, Imperfective). Not a participle.

<sup>5</sup> /t̂gú/.

<sup>6</sup> From /ém̂/, apocopated (unusually) before another /m/.

<sup>7</sup> bé:-gú ‘being, existence’, rare nominalizing suffix -gú (Grammar §4.2.2.2), here with bé: ‘remain, be’.

<sup>8</sup> Reciprocal t̂:-m (morphologically plural, originally ‘comrades’), specifies that a set of three or more entities is involved. For this and the following reciprocal clause, see Grammar §18.3, exx. (1131.a) and (1132).

<sup>9</sup> On a re-hearing I do not hear nè ‘now’ after t̂ará in this passage, so I correct the transcription in Grammar §18.3.1, ex. (1131.a).

<sup>10</sup> ‘Be’ clitic =wò after Imperfective verb stem /m̂r<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂/; Grammar §11.2.2.3, ex. (675). Nasalization-Spreading does not apply to the clitic /w/.

<sup>11</sup> For [X yó⇒ X], see Grammar §6.8.2, ex. (392.a).

<sup>12</sup> Grammar §17.3.6, ex. (1039.a).

<sup>13</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §17.3.2, ex. (1025.a).

<sup>14</sup> Verb dòr<sup>n</sup>ɔ̂ ‘sell’, as just above.

<sup>15</sup> Stative Negative -lá- with stative ĵinè ‘have, hold, keep’. Grammar §11.5.2.

<sup>16</sup> ‘want’ construction with distinct subject in subordinated clause; Grammar §17.4.5, ex. (1057.b).

[kò nàṅá kù<sup>n</sup>], [[émé<sup>5</sup> wàr-wára-m] mà nàṅá]=y<sup>n</sup>,<sup>6</sup> [nàṅá bè jérè-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [[émé wàr-wára-m] mà nàṅá]=y<sup>n</sup>, [kó púlò-m] jó:=y, [émé nàṅá] jínè-m,  
 [[nàṅá.:<sup>7</sup> fú:] [púlò-m cé]=y]] [[émé ùjùbǎy] lè] cín kò:r-ó, [[[púlò-m<sup>8</sup> nàṅá nàná jínè-Ø fú:] [wò cé]=y]<sup>9</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè cín] kò:r-ó, émé nàṅá⇒, [èné bé nàṅá], kó=y mò:n-ó nàná jínè-bà,<sup>10</sup>  
 ká:, wàr-wára-n, hâl jàndùrù ùr-jè<sup>11</sup> èjú ù yǎ:-Ø kâ:<sup>n</sup>, [[[[á èjú] bérè] dī:<sup>n12</sup> kò d-ó=kò] ù dènè-gó-Ø] y-ó=kò, [púlò-m kù<sup>n</sup> nè]-- èmè-n kù<sup>n</sup>--, [[[émé gòr-ó:<sup>13</sup> gó:] bèrè-j-é kù<sup>n</sup>] sógòn,<sup>14</sup> èmè-n tál-lá gò:<sup>15</sup> wàrà-ṅá<sup>16</sup> bèrè-j-é,  
 sábù↑, [bé êm] émé éwê:-Ø,<sup>17</sup> kó=y [bé ṅú:r<sup>n</sup>é:=y],<sup>18</sup> < éwé-jè-- ><sup>19</sup> éw<sup>n</sup>é-jè-bà dèy, jè:rè [àná bérè] kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, yǐliwé [[êm kù<sup>n</sup>] d-òr<sup>n</sup>ó-bà],  
 nàṅá yé sà-w kâ:<sup>n</sup>, [ú=y<sup>20</sup> kó jírè-n]=í: là: dèy, [kó êm] [ù cé]=y là:<sup>21</sup> [êm kù<sup>n</sup>] [bè cé]=y, èmè-n jè:rè kó=y<sup>22</sup> d-òr<sup>n</sup>ó-bà, [[émé ñú: kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] [émé ñè-m] kó tíllé-sà-bà dèy, kò-rú [[émé pír<sup>n</sup>é] lè] kúnó-bà⇒↑, [[émé ñǎ:] lè] kúnó-bà↓,  
 [bé nè] [ñù: bè tíllé:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>], [[kó kù<sup>n</sup>] jǎ: m-èy<sup>n</sup>↑] [kó=y [[èné bé] pàná] kúnó-bà⇒↑], [êm wájà-Ø<sup>1</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] kò-r=í:<sup>2</sup> [bé nè] kó ñé:-bà, [[émé.: bé.:] mà gǎnh] cín=wò-y

<sup>1</sup> Pronoun kó is logically the object both of jǎ:- ‘take (convey)’ and ó:- ‘give’. Grammar §15.1.5, ex. (876.b).

<sup>2</sup> Grammar §11.2.2.4, ex. (681).

<sup>3</sup> nám ‘owners of’, often in extended senses (Grammar §5.1.12). nàṅá-úr-ó is literally ‘cow-house’, but úró ‘house’ has the sense ‘herd’ in contexts like this.

<sup>4</sup> Grammar §11.5.2, ex. (716.b).

<sup>5</sup> émé can be parsed either as an independent pronoun, in apposition to the following noun (‘we farmers’), or as a possessor (‘our farmers’).

<sup>6</sup> Alternative possessive predication; Grammar §11.5.3, ex. (720).

<sup>7</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §17.3.2, ex. (1025.b).

<sup>8</sup> For this relative clause, see Grammar §14.3.1, ex. (852.c).

<sup>9</sup> [wò cé]=y ‘it’s his/hers, it belongs to him/her’. Grammar §11.5.3.

<sup>10</sup> jínè- unsuffixed Perfective, as usual for this stative verb; Grammar §11.5.2.

<sup>11</sup> Phonetic [ǔdʒè]. Verb ùró ‘go up; mount’. For this passage see Grammar §10.1.2.6, ex. (564.a), and §14.3.1, ex. (852.d).

<sup>12</sup> Head noun in lower clause of biclausal relative clause; Grammar §14.1.16, ex. (837.a).

<sup>13</sup> Tonal locative of gòr-ó ‘nape’. Grammar §8.1.1, ex. (436.c). For the passage beginning here see Grammar §17.6.6, ex. (1099), and §15.1.1, ex. (869.a).

<sup>14</sup> sógòn (variant sógò) with various senses, here apparently ‘a fortiori’ but elsewhere ‘on account of’ or ‘than’; Grammar §17.6.6.

<sup>15</sup> gó: ‘go away’ often follows a reversive verb (Grammar §9.1, end). Here gó: drops to low tone because it is medial in a verb chain; Grammar §15.1.1.

<sup>16</sup> wàrà-ṅá factitive (=causative) of wàyá ‘go far away’; Grammar §9.6, ex. (539.g).

<sup>17</sup> Focalized clause with 1PI pronoun as subject (expressed by an independent pronoun), and with no pronominal-subject suffix on the verb; Grammar §13.1.2.

<sup>18</sup> < /ṅú:r<sup>n</sup>é:/.

<sup>19</sup> The phonologically similar verbs éwé- ‘buy’ and éw<sup>n</sup>é- ‘milk (a cow)’ both occur in this passage. Even the speaker had to correct himself here.

<sup>20</sup> For this passage see Grammar §16.4, ex. (987.a).

<sup>21</sup> Negative form of possessive predication (‘... doesn’t belong to you’). Grammar §11.5.3, ex. (719.b). The initial kó ‘its’ (possessive) may really be kò ‘that (definite)’.

<sup>22</sup> Focalized object pronoun, preceding final verb in chain; Grammar §13.1.3, ex. (750.c).

S: [nĩŋ ké] [bé gàsègè] [[émé èjú] lè] nú:y<sup>n</sup>è táŋà: dèy, [púlò-n mà gàsègè] [[dòyò-n mà èjú] lè] nú:y<sup>n</sup>è táŋà: dèy, [kó nò] [kó òrú] yò:jĩn cíllé=kò

A: [púlò-n mà gàsègè] [[á èjú] mà bèrê:] nú: kân, [àsègè kù<sup>n</sup>] yá: kó tí-témè-w<sup>n3</sup> mà⇒↑, [[kó kó:] dùr<sup>o</sup> yá: mày<sup>n</sup>] < [wó èjú] bérè > [wó gòrò] < yá:- > yá:-yè-w táŋà: dèy, [háyé<sup>4</sup> mà:n [yá: [á àsègè] [má èjú] ñùnù-ŋó-sà]],

[má àsègè] [á èjú] ñùnù-ŋó-sà mà⇒]

[ð<sup>n</sup>hó<sup>n</sup>] [[kó kó:] nùkòy<sup>5</sup>] [[kó kó:]=yè<sup>6</sup> dùr<sup>o</sup> yèr-tóyò-m]<sup>7</sup> [[[má<sup>8</sup> èjú] bérè] gó: mày<sup>n</sup>] pó⇒ [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> [á gòrò] kò yèrè-Ø] nùkò=kò,<sup>9</sup> [dèné-w<sup>n</sup> dèy] [gàrà yà-m]<sup>10</sup>

[hà:sín,<sup>11</sup> yòwó-jè-m], [má àsègè]=yè [á èjú] ñùnù-ŋò tán, [cè: ù gá:-sà-Ø cêw] [ù-rú yòwó-jè-m], yòwó-bà, [wó á:jè-w tán] yòwó-Ø,

yòwó-jè dèy, [háyé [àná lé] yéré] [[[àná óyò-n]<sup>12</sup> lè] yá: tégè-yè] [[mí.: ú.:] [[àná óyò-n] lè] yá: tégè-yè] gá, [àná mà òyò-n] lè] yá:-bè, [yá:-yè-bè dèy] [àná [inè gàrú-m]<sup>13</sup> mà:rò-bà], [àná mà *conseiller*<sup>14</sup> bé kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yòwó-bà,

bè-rú yá: tégè-w, [[èjú kù<sup>n</sup>]<sup>15</sup> mà ñów<sup>n</sup>ò] [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> àsègè nú: há:dè-Ø] [cè: kò ñúnú-ŋò-Ø]<sup>16</sup> yá: yàŋá-bà, [ú nò] [yèré ñíŋé-w<sup>n</sup>⇒] [[púlò-n kù<sup>n</sup> nè] yèré ñíŋé:-Ø⇒] [[*conseiller* bè]<sup>17</sup> èjú yá:] [[sé:dè jé] yâ:-m]<sup>18</sup> [bé<sup>19</sup> nè] yèré ñíŋé-bà, yèré ñíŋé-â:-bà táŋà: dèy, [mâ:n hà:sín [á nàŋá kù<sup>n</sup>], [wó èjú] ñùnù-ŋó-sà, [kó nò] [ú [èjú bà:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>]],<sup>20</sup> [á tòjò] tégè,

<sup>1</sup> Can be analysed as a relative clause (Perfective participle with {HL} tone contour), or as a compound (è-m-wájà).

<sup>2</sup> Focalized instrumental PP (here with pronominal complement). Grammar §13.1.4, ex. (753).

<sup>3</sup> Reduplicated Perfective verb. Grammar §10.1.2.7, (565.d).

<sup>4</sup> For the clause beginning here, see Grammar §6.2.1, ex. (329).

<sup>5</sup> Presentative [X nùkòy] ‘here’s/there’s X!’.

<sup>6</sup> Grammar §10.1.2.10, ex. (573.b).

<sup>7</sup> Phonetic [jèt:óyò-m].

<sup>8</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §8.5.8.1, ex. (514).

<sup>9</sup> Variant of nùkòy=kò. Presentative (‘here’s ...’), Grammar §4.4.5, plus Nonhuman Singular ‘it is (somewhere)’ clitic.

<sup>10</sup> Hortative -m after low-toned verb. Grammar §10.4.3, ex. (602.a).

<sup>11</sup> hà:sín ‘indeed’; Grammar §19.2.5. There is another occurrence below (this text).

<sup>12</sup> Compound type with tone contours as for inalienable possession: possessor (on left) has its regular tones, possessed noun has {HL} overlay. Grammar §5.1.5.

<sup>13</sup> Grammar §, ex. (970.d).

<sup>14</sup> Approximate pronunciation [kònséyé:]. As an unassimilated French borrowing, it is pluralized by particle bé (Grammar §6.1.6) rather than by suffix -m.

<sup>15</sup> [èjú kù<sup>n</sup>] here pronounced [èk:ù<sup>n</sup>].

<sup>16</sup> Perfective participle. Grammar §14.3.1, ex. (852.e).

<sup>17</sup> Here Plural bé remains with the relative-clause head NP (which is entirely tone-dropped). Normally bé is post-participial; Grammar §14.1.16.

<sup>18</sup> Original transcription, Grammar §13.1.5, ex. (754), was ... yâ:-m [sé:dè=yè jè], with jè ‘he/she said’ in prospective or purposive sense, compare Grammar, §11.3.2, ex. (707). On re-listening to the tape, I hear ... yá: [[sé:dè jé] yâ:-m] ‘those who go ... and go for testimony’ (i.e. go in order to observe and report back), with Purposive-Causal postposition jé).

<sup>19</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §11.2.4, ex. (689.a).

<sup>20</sup> 2Sg pronoun ú in apposition to NP ‘the field owner’. Grammar §5.1.12, ex. (279.b).

[[hínnè mâ:n], [má tǝjǝ]=ỹ] [[[púlǝ-n kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] tégé-bà] [*conseiller* bé], [há:yè [èjú bâ:<sup>n</sup>] [[ènè<sup>1</sup> mà èjú] mà tǝjǝ] [hínnè má:n]=i: jè], [ámà.: [kó tírǝ-yá:-n.:] mǝ-n gámá] yó=kǝ, [yǝwǝ-lú-m kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] yó=kǝ, [[kó<sup>2</sup> bèrè:] cè: bé:-rà-là-∅ kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kǝ:-rǝ,

[jéy tǝŋ=kǝ-∅] yó=kǝ⇒↑, [jéy tǝŋ-gó] [[jǝm lè] yǝ: kǝ dǝgǝ=kǝ-∅]<sup>4</sup> yó=kǝ↓, [bé lèy.: fú:] [inè tèn sá-m]=i:-bà dèy, [tégé mèy<sup>n</sup>↑], [[[là:yá pǝntè-ỹ]<sup>5</sup> lè] tǝ:-n<sup>6</sup> bè yá:fè:-∅] yó=kǝ,

tǝjǝ-wó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [kó tǝjǝ kù<sup>n</sup>] [nǝ: kúnó] sǝrtǝ kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, yèrè tǝjǝ-m yó=kǝ, [tégé háwrè [[tǝjǝ kù<sup>n</sup>] tégé mèy<sup>n</sup>↑], [kó tǝjǝ kù<sup>n</sup>] mà dǝ:-wǝ lè,<sup>7</sup> jǝmá jǝmá-jè<sup>8</sup> jǝwǝ-m] yó=kǝ,

jǝwǝ<sup>9</sup> [hǝl [ǝr<sup>n</sup>ǝ-kùjù là:yá]=ỹ là: dèy] [wó è:-gǝ-w], yó=kǝ, dà:yá-lú-w<sup>10</sup> dèy kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè, [dǝi:<sup>n</sup> ènè jǝwǝ-sà.: fú:] [yèy-yà dèy] tǝjǝ:-∅,

kà: [[púlǝ-n [má èjú] nǝ:-w<sup>n</sup>é mày<sup>n</sup>] jǝw-ǝ: dèy, wó=ỹ lúgúró-tǝyǝ<sup>11</sup> yàrà-m], [dǝyǝ-m bèrè] jǝ:-lá, à:yá-tè-lú-m kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè, [kó kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [[cín jíí] cè: kǝ:-∅]=ỹ<sup>12</sup>

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#### Origin of Dianwely village

S: [nǝŋ kè] [émé jǝmsǝy<sup>13</sup> bé] yǝ:-jǝn kǝr<sup>n</sup>ǝ méy<sup>n</sup>, ní-dǝi:<sup>14</sup> yèrè dǝ: dǝŋè-bà, [ní-dǝi:<sup>n</sup> kè] èmǝ-n tǝrǝ-gǝnn<sup>1</sup> gá:-rà-bà, [émé jǝmsǝy bé]=ỹ yí-dǝi:<sup>n</sup> [ùjùbǝy kù:<sup>n</sup>] dà:<sup>n</sup>-y<sup>n</sup>,<sup>2</sup> yǝ:-jǝn kǝr<sup>n</sup>ǝ méy<sup>n</sup>, [jǝmsǝy pǝrǝ-m] ní-dǝi:<sup>n</sup> yèrè-bà

<sup>1</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §11.3.2, ex. (705.b).

<sup>2</sup> For this sentence see Grammar §10.1.3.4, ex. (587).

<sup>3</sup> Participle based on Negative -lá- added to a verb with Habitual (or Imperfective) suffix -ǝrà-. The -lá- drops tones before kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each, any’. Grammar §10.1.3.4, ex. (587); repeated in part as §14.1.18, ex. (843.b).

<sup>4</sup> This clause (with low-toned preparticipial subject pronominal kǝ) shows that yó=kǝ ‘it is’ (=‘there is’) in this passage takes the subtype of factive complement that has relative-clause form. Likewise [... bè yá:fè:-∅] yó=kǝ just below, on which see Grammar §17.3.2, ex. (1027).

<sup>5</sup> pǝnté, here in Negative Imperative (=Prohibitive) form—Grammar §10.4.1, ex. (601.d)—means ‘repeat (esp. a bad action)’. là:yá is adverbial: ‘another time, again’; Grammar §19.3.2.

<sup>6</sup> Reciprocal tǝ:-n (morphologically singular, originally ‘comrade’) specifies that just two individuals are involved. Grammar §18.3.1.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Before ...’ construction with intransitive verb (subject NP in possessor form); Grammar §15.2.4.2, ex. (939.d).

<sup>8</sup> jǝmá jǝmá- ‘betray (=commit) a betrayal’ (verb preceded by cognate nominal). For Recent Perfect -jè in a nonfinal chained verb, see Grammar §15.1.4.

<sup>9</sup> jǝwǝ ‘run, flee’ may be a false start here, though there is no prosodic indication of hesitation. For the following passage see Grammar §16.4, ex. (987.b).

<sup>10</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §16.3, ex. (986). I now hear the following dèy (before kâ:<sup>n</sup>) as low-toned.

<sup>11</sup> -tǝyǝ Imperfective suffix on a nonfinal chained verb; Grammar §15.1.4, ex. (873.c).

<sup>12</sup> Participial /kǝ:-∅/.

<sup>13</sup> jǝmsǝy ‘Jamsay’, an ethnonym derived from a greeting expression, has no morphological plural and is therefore pluralized by particle bé.

<sup>14</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §4.4.3.1, ex. (213.a). This text as a whole has several demonstrative adverbs beginning with or consisting of ní ‘here’ and yí ‘around here’ (or ‘there near you’). For the semantics, see Grammar §4.4.3.1.

A: [jàmsäy mà pó:ró-m] ði:<sup>3</sup> [kár<sup>n</sup>á mèy<sup>n</sup>] yí-ði:<sup>n</sup> yérè-Ø, [[[ùjùbày núṅò] lè] pá⇒<sup>4</sup> mà [émé yér-gú<sup>5</sup> ké], [[jòw<sup>n</sup>lè pëy<sup>n</sup>] gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>] [yí<sup>6</sup> yèrè-y], [jòw<sup>n</sup>lè pëy<sup>n</sup>] gó: mèy<sup>n</sup>, yérè-yèrè-yèrè-yèrè-yèrè,<sup>7</sup>  
 [yèrè mèy<sup>n</sup>] [hâl yá: mèy<sup>n</sup>], [[bà:r<sup>n</sup>á mà ði:<sup>n</sup> núṅò] lè] dò:-bà, [émé nám] [yì-lé<sup>8</sup> èné bé súgò:-Ø], sòm.: jéy.: [cè: kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [[cín lè] sùgò-bà],  
 [[àr<sup>n</sup>á lè],<sup>9</sup> yèré mèy<sup>n</sup>] [[hâl à:má] yèré bè gá: kân], [à:má nám]<sup>10</sup> [bè ké] ùjùbäy [[èné bè] cé]=y là: wà, [[núṅ<sup>11</sup> lè kâ:<sup>n</sup>] ði:<sup>n</sup> kó bè núṅò:-Ø] [bé yó=kò-bà] yé-ði:<sup>n</sup><sup>12</sup> [bè-rú ði: bè bè:-Ø], [dà:yà bè yérè-Ø]<sup>13</sup> [nìṅìr<sup>n</sup>è bè nâ:-Ø],<sup>14</sup> kó núṅ, [témér<sup>n</sup>é mà [núṅ pòrbá] mà bèrè:] yó=kùn [ijé kâ:<sup>n</sup>], ùjùbäy [[pèrgé nám] cé]=y wà, [[pèrgé nám] lè] yá: tégè-bà, [pèrgé nám.:] [émé jów<sup>n</sup>lè nám.:], èné bé.:, à:má nám.:, [[tùmò núṅò] mánà] ði:<sup>n</sup> émé bà:-gó wá, [tàyá<sup>15</sup> wóm] yì-lé yó=kò gâ↑,<sup>16</sup> [émé<sup>17</sup> jã: té:rè mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [émé yè-lé<sup>18</sup> bè:-m<sup>19</sup> wà] [kó=y [ànà pëy<sup>n</sup>]=y<sup>n</sup>], [émé ðiṅ-Ø pó:ró] [[ànà pëy<sup>n</sup>]=y<sup>n</sup> jè:rè-bà] [[[ði:<sup>n</sup> nùkòy]<sup>20</sup> lè] èmè-n tè:rè-bà] [yé-ði:<sup>n</sup> ðiṅé dè:r<sup>n</sup>è-y<sup>n</sup>], bé [[[èné bé] kú:<sup>n</sup>] lè], ði:<sup>n</sup><sup>21</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>, [íné-n lè] jàṅá mày<sup>n</sup>, émé jè:rè dè:nè-l-á,<sup>22</sup> [[[[má yé-rí-n] nùkòy] [ámà sàgú] [é sàgú]], [ìnè lè]<sup>23</sup> bè gá:-sà-n] kò:-ró, [jòw<sup>n</sup>lè ànà pëy<sup>n</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Grammar §10.1.2.11, ex. (575.d). In Grammar (213.a) tòrò-gǎnnè is emended to tóró, but this now seems incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Stative verb ðà:<sup>n</sup>- ‘be sitting, be settled’, cf. dynamic verb ðiṅé- ‘sit (down), settle’.

<sup>3</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §4.4.4.2, ex. (229).

<sup>4</sup> Emphatic pá⇒ ‘specifically’, Grammar §8.5.3.3, exx. (491). The following mà is a kind of loose possessive; see “superfluous mà” Grammar §15.3.1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Rare verbal-noun nominal with -gú (Grammar §4.2.2.2).

<sup>6</sup> For unsuffixed demonstrative yí see Grammar §4.4.4.2, cf. suffixed yí- in §4.4.3.1.

<sup>7</sup> For this narrative pattern of uninflected iterated verbs, with {HL} tone contour on the first occurrence following by all-low contour, see Grammar §11.6.3, ex. (723.b).

<sup>8</sup> Grammar §4.4.3.1, ex. (214.a).

<sup>9</sup> àr<sup>n</sup>á may mean ‘male’ (e.g. animal), or ‘fighting, warfare’. The PP [àr<sup>n</sup>á lè] often means ‘armed for fighting’.

<sup>10</sup> /X nám/ can mean ‘people (residents) of X’ where X is a village or region name. The corresponding singular is /X bánà/ or /X bà:<sup>n</sup>/. The X noun has its regular tones. Grammar §5.1.12.

<sup>11</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §15.2.5, ex. (948.c).

<sup>12</sup> Grammar §4.4.3.1, ex. (219.a).

<sup>13</sup> Adverbial relative clause. An implied postposition (‘in/on’) with ‘night’ is absent; Grammar §14.6.1, ex. (865).

<sup>14</sup> Grammar §15.2.4.1, ex. (936.c) (really 936.d).

<sup>15</sup> [tàyá wóm] ‘empty (=unoccupied) pond’. tàyá ‘pond’ is a mountaineer dialect word in Jamsay, cf. búró in “standard” Jamsay. For the passage beginning here see Grammar §4.4.3.1, ex. (220).

<sup>16</sup> I now this as Quotative gâ plus clause-final pitch rise. Grammar §17.1.5.

<sup>17</sup> 1Pl object pronoun. Logically the object of both jã:- ‘take, convey’ and té:rè- ‘show (to)’.

<sup>18</sup> yè-lé discourse-definite ‘there; in the aforementioned place’.

<sup>19</sup> Hortative -m̄. Grammar §10.4.3ex. (604). The absence of high tone on the suffix may be due to a preceding focalized constituent.

<sup>20</sup> Presentative nùkòy, Grammar §4.5.5.

<sup>21</sup> For this passage see Grammar §18.1.3.1, ex. (1113.b).

<sup>22</sup> Negation with wide scope including the preceding mày<sup>n</sup> (mèy<sup>n</sup>) clause. Grammar §15.1.13, ex. (896).

<sup>23</sup> Dative NP as head of relative; Grammar §14.6.1, ex. (863.c). /lè/ is not audible on the tape but was insisted on by the transcription assistant.

dá:<sup>n</sup>-tɔ̃ɔ̃<sup>1</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>, dàná-m, [émé àná núŋò] mà nám,<sup>2</sup> < [íjé ní] -- > [[dĩ:<sup>n</sup> ní<sup>3</sup> èmè dá:<sup>n</sup>-Ø] lè], [émé nám]<sup>4</sup> dàná yérè-m, dĩ:<sup>n</sup> è:-bà jé mèy<sup>n</sup>,<sup>5</sup> [bé nè] yéré dĩŋè-bà,

[bé kár<sup>n</sup>à] dĩŋé-tɔ̃ɔ̃ mèy<sup>n</sup>, [íné-n lè] újúrò tí dĩŋè-l-á,<sup>6</sup> [[íné-n lè] sàgú gá:<sup>7</sup> mèy<sup>n</sup>] dĩŋè-l-á, [[íné-n lè] jàŋá mèy<sup>n</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] dĩŋè-l-á, [[[èn<sup>8</sup> bé] bèn:éné] kóró tēr-Ø<sup>9</sup> téré mèy<sup>n</sup>] dĩŋè-bá=ỳ sáy,

[ùrò pór:ró<sup>10</sup> bè mà:-Ø] [[àná kàná] mà bèn:é:] yó=kùn, [[íjé kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [kò úró kù<sup>n</sup>] dôm wòr-lí]<sup>11</sup> [kò kù<sup>n</sup>] yó=kò, [[tògù pór:ró] tógó<sup>12</sup> [kò bèn:é:] bè nù:-Ø] [[kò tóg kù<sup>n</sup>] úró táná-ŋá mèy<sup>n</sup>] [nĩŋ yó=kò],

[íné-n lè] jàŋá dĩŋè-lí-y⇒↑, újúrò tí dĩŋè-lí-y⇒↑, cín yéré dĩŋè-y<sup>n</sup>, mais [émé.: [tórò-m kù<sup>n</sup>] mà gǎnn, émé yér-gú, bé tí-témè-y<sup>n</sup>,<sup>13</sup>

[[[ùjùbǎy kù<sup>n</sup>] lè] [bé kâ:<sup>n</sup> sùgò-n] dà:rà-j-é<sup>14</sup> jĩ:<sup>n</sup>, dĩ:<sup>n</sup><sup>15</sup> [ùjùbǎy kù<sup>n</sup>] kò:-Ø jĩ:<sup>n</sup>, bĩ-bògú-m yĩ-yàrà-bà,

[jámá:=ỳ<sup>n</sup> bá:<sup>n</sup>]=w<sup>n</sup> là-w<sup>16</sup> tán, [àr<sup>n</sup>à-nĩ:nĩé bá:<sup>n</sup>]=w<sup>n</sup> là-w tán, [ú túrú] [íné-m lèy] àná yǎ: < àná yérè-- > àná gó: yérè jín, [[íjé dĩ:<sup>n</sup> ní kò:-Ø ké] [pór:ró cín kò:-rò jĩ:<sup>n</sup>], [á: jǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [bèn-ná:<sup>17</sup> jín] dòr<sup>n</sup>ó-bà,

[[kò kù<sup>n</sup>] mà wákáfi] lè], [ùjùbǎy kù<sup>n</sup>] yé é:-rà-bà, [núŋò mà dǎy<sup>n</sup>] èmè cé=ỳ, [sĩ:rè-[tè:r-ú]<sup>18</sup> [tùmó mánà] bé: méy<sup>n</sup>]=ỳ<sup>n</sup> là: dèy, [dójù sùgò yĩliwé < òrú-- > bĩrè-bĩrè mày<sup>n</sup>] mà⇒ [tēr-Ø téré mèy<sup>n</sup>↑] [dĩ:<sup>n</sup> [èmè cé]=ỳ] [[émé.: bé] mà gǎnn] [[kò kù<sup>n</sup>] kò:-ró],

S: [[émé.: bé.:] mà gǎnn] [à-tém lè] [cĩgè émé mò:-nò-sà-Ø<sup>1</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] yó=kò mà⇒↑ kò:-ró

<sup>1</sup> Irregular use of stative dà:<sup>n</sup> ‘be sitting’ with an Imperfective suffix. The regular form dĩŋé-tɔ̃ɔ̃ with the dynamic (active) verb ‘sit’ appears just below. Grammar §11.2.4, ex. (693).

<sup>2</sup> Grammar §5.1.12, ex. (282).

<sup>3</sup> ní ‘here’ following relative-head ‘place’; Grammar §4.4.4.1, ex. (226.b), and §11.2.4, ex. (691.b).

<sup>4</sup> Apparently nám is not subject to tone-dropping in relative clauses.

<sup>5</sup> [... jé mèy<sup>n</sup>], lit. ‘saying ...’. For this passage, see Grammar §15.2.2.2, ex. (926.a).

<sup>6</sup> Again, wide-scope negation specifically including újúrò ‘ask’. For (Perfective) Linker tí here, see Grammar §15.1.16, ex. (907.d).

<sup>7</sup> Phonetic [sǎg:á:]. Grammar §3.5.4.2, ex. (68.b).

<sup>8</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §17.3.2, ex. (1028.a).

<sup>9</sup> Verbal noun (= tēr-ú). Phonetic [tět] before /t/.

<sup>10</sup> pór:ró here functions as an adverb ‘first(ly)’ (elsewhere it can be an adjective ‘first’), and therefore is not affected by tone-dropping on the relative-clause head (‘house’). Grammar §8.5.7.2, ex. (508); also §11.2.3 (686.c).

<sup>11</sup> Phonetic [wòl:í]. Verb wòrò ‘cave in; collapse’.

<sup>12</sup> From VP tógù tógó ‘build a shed’ (verb and cognate noun). For this passage see Grammar §4.4.2.1, ex. (207.b).

<sup>13</sup> Reduplicated Perfective; Grammar §10.1.2.7.

<sup>14</sup> dà:rà ‘dare’; the complement verb is low-toned and ends in -n suffix; Grammar §17.2, ex. (1021.a). Here followed by Past particle jĩ:<sup>n</sup> (§10.3.1).

<sup>15</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §10.1.2.7, ex. (565.e). yĩ-yàrà- is reduplicated Perfective.

<sup>16</sup> 2Sg conjugated form =w<sup>n</sup> là-w of ‘it is not’ clitic complex =ỳ là: ; Grammar §11.2.1.3, ex. (658). bà:<sup>n</sup> ‘owner (of X)’ (Grammar §5.1.12) is here combined with a focalized compound initial. jámâ: ‘crowd’.

<sup>17</sup> Phonetic [bèn:á:]. For this passage see Grammar §8.5.1, ex. (477.b).

<sup>18</sup> Verbal noun of verb-chain sĩ:ré tẻ:rẻ ‘point (and) show’. Second verb takes Verbal Noun form (tẻ:rẻ-ú), first verb is low-toned compound initial. Grammar §15.1.2, ex. (870.a).



A: [[ùjùbǎy lè] é tǐ-témè-y<sup>n</sup>] kù<sup>n</sup>≡y<sup>n</sup> là: dèy, < cè:-- > [émé tèmèr<sup>n</sup>è pòrbà kâ:<sup>n</sup>]<sup>2</sup> kò:-rò

S: kó=y là:, [émé tèmèr<sup>n</sup>è kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-rò

A: [émé tèmèr<sup>n</sup>è nújò kè] pòrbá=y, [[[émé.: bé.:] mà gǎnǎ] mà [cè: pòrbá]]≡y, [[èmè cé]≡y↑ [bè cé]≡y↓] mà [cè: túmnó], [kó cè: kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò:-rò, [[bè cé]≡y dèy⇒↑] [[bè cé]≡y], [[èmè cé]≡y dèy⇒↑] [[èmè cé]≡y]

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Blacksmith caste

S: [jémè-m mà nèw<sup>n</sup>é], [dòyǎ-m mà àná] bérè, [kó kù:<sup>n</sup>] èmǎ-n tégé

A: [jémè-m mà nèw<sup>n</sup>é] dòyǎ-úrò dògò-gó àbádá⇒, tí⇒<sup>3</sup> jémè-n némné-n=í:,  
 [tǐ-tírù]-[yá:-n]=í:, mèr<sup>n</sup>é, éndám, [[cè: ñòw<sup>n</sup>ó=kò] jé:rè-Ø]<sup>4</sup> mà cè:n-Ø,<sup>5</sup> tègú, [yà:jí:<sup>6</sup> mà òjù-ká:] mà ìjé, tǐ-tírù mà [íné-n lè] mà tǐ-y,<sup>7</sup>  
 òyǎ-[í-n] táŋ-á:-w<sup>n</sup> dèy,<sup>8</sup> òyǎ-n--, òyǎ-n [[ènè tǐ:-n] lè], èné mà némné-n mà tǐ-y,  
 [yúgò<sup>9</sup> cêw] [[jémè-n mà bírè] bérè] yó=kùn,  
 yǎ: kò gǎy-yà dèy, jémè-n mà nèw<sup>n</sup>é pá⇒,<sup>10</sup> dògò-gó àbádá, [í-n wó nǎn-tù-bà<sup>11</sup> dèy]  
 [wó bè nár<sup>n</sup>à-Ø]<sup>12</sup> dòyǎ-[í-n] [wó nǎn-tù-bà<sup>13</sup> dèy] [[wó bè nár<sup>n</sup>à-Ø] tí⇒<sup>14</sup> yàŋá mèy<sup>n</sup>↑]  
 [hál yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑]<sup>15</sup> [wó é:rú] dògò, [jémè-nèw<sup>n</sup>é] bérè] dògò-gó,  
 jémè-n [nèw<sup>n</sup>é lè] káwá bèrè-gó, páskà<sup>16</sup> lá:-lá:, sèrèwé=y=kò jǐ:<sup>n</sup>, [í-n nǎn-tù-bà dèy]  
 kòn-[cèj-ú]<sup>17</sup> [sèrèwé lè], [sèrèwé kù<sup>n</sup>] jémè-m=í: kó dùwò: jǐ:<sup>n</sup>,<sup>1</sup> tí⇒ í-n [[níŋír<sup>n</sup>è wó bè nár<sup>n</sup>à-Ø] níŋír<sup>n</sup>é]<sup>2</sup> [jémè-nèw<sup>n</sup>é é:-jè],

<sup>1</sup> Tone-dropped before ka<sup>^</sup>< ‘any’. Regular form mò:-nó-sà-Ø.

<sup>2</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each; any’ forces tone-dropping on the preceding core NP, but not on the possessor émé.

<sup>3</sup> Adverbial ‘first(ly)’. Here it has the discourse-pragmatic sense ‘in the first place, to begin with, for starters’, prefacing the first of several related topics. Grammar §19.3.1, ex. (1162.a). I now interpret the vowel lengthening as intonational rather than phonemic (tí⇒ versus earlier transcription tí:).

<sup>4</sup> Logically [cè: [cè: ñòw<sup>n</sup>ó=kò] jé:rè-Ø] ‘a thing that has brought a thing that is dysfunctional (=amiss)’. One or the other of the cè: ‘thing.L’ nouns is omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Verbal noun of cé:né ‘do well, make well, fix’.

<sup>6</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §17.4.1, ex. (1052).

<sup>7</sup> For the profusion of “Possessive” mà in passages like this, see Grammar §15.3.1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Grammar §11.2.6.2, ex. (701). Transcription corrected here from táŋá-w<sup>n</sup> (Imperfective) to táŋ-á:-w<sup>n</sup> (Perfective).

<sup>9</sup> yúgò dialectal variant of nújò ‘this, that’. Grammar §4.4.4.1, ex. (205).

<sup>10</sup> Emphatic particle. Grammar §, ex. (491.a)

<sup>11</sup> Verb nár<sup>n</sup>á. ‘X was born’ is expressed in Jamsay as ‘they bore X’ with impersonal ‘they’.

<sup>12</sup> Headless adverbial relative, here temporal in sense. A headed version with níŋír<sup>n</sup>é ‘day’ occurs a few clauses below.

<sup>13</sup> Verb nár<sup>n</sup>á ‘bear, give birth to’. For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §19.3.1, ex. (1162.b).

<sup>14</sup> Another instance of adverbial ‘first’, but in a different sense (‘starting when they have first borne him’).

<sup>15</sup> yàŋá mèy ... yǎ: mèy ... (‘from ... to ...’ with clausal complements). Grammar §19.3.1, ex. (1162.a).

<sup>16</sup> French *parce que*.

<sup>17</sup> Tone corrected from cèj-ú, Grammar §11.2.1.1, ex. (648.b).

[sèrèwé kù<sup>n</sup>] [yǎ:-jĩn≡í: kó dùwó-bà mà↑] déy nè,<sup>3</sup> lá:-lá:≡ȳ dèy, dǝyǝ-m í:r<sup>n</sup>é [[èné bé] dǝyǝ-m] [bé cé:nê: jĩ:<sup>n</sup>],<sup>4</sup>  
 kó≡ȳ sàɣàrá ǵǝ:<sup>n</sup>-sà-bà dèy, déwè yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, núw<sup>n</sup>ó kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [sàɣàrá kù<sup>n</sup>] yǝ:ró<sup>5</sup>  
 mèy<sup>n</sup>↑,<sup>6</sup> [sàɣàrá kù<sup>n</sup>] nóŋór<sup>n</sup>ó [í:r<sup>n</sup>é kò táŋá-sà dèy],  
 [[kò kù<sup>n</sup>] mà í:r<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>], kǝy<sup>n</sup> kó≡ȳ⇒, sêy<sup>n</sup> kó≡ȳ⇒, sǐrú kó≡ȳ⇒, [sèrèwé kù<sup>n</sup>]  
 kó≡ȳ⇒, sárú kó≡ȳ⇒, cèm-bǝy kó≡ȳ⇒, nùm-pèrú kó≡ȳ⇒, [kò.: fú:]<sup>7</sup> kò-r≡í:<sup>8</sup> ǵǝ:<sup>n</sup>-bà jĩ:<sup>n</sup>,  
 [kò fú: kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] jèmè-bírè≡ȳ,  
 àná yǎ: mèy<sup>n</sup>, àná dèwé-tù-bà gá:-tù-bà dèy, [í:r<sup>n</sup>é lè]≡ȳ, [[jémè-m mà nùmò-bírè]  
 lè]≡ȳ, [jémè-n nè] [yǎ:-jĩn [í:r<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>] bǐrê:-Ø má] jè-bà<sup>9</sup> dèy, jémè-n [wó [[èné mà kú:<sup>n</sup>]  
 lè]]<sup>10</sup> [í:r<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>] yǐ-yǝ:rǝ:-Ø,<sup>11</sup>  
 [ĩné lè]<sup>12</sup> yǝ:rǝ:-Ø mà↑ dèy↑, [èné mà dùwǝ-tógù] tógò:-Ø, dùwǝ-úrò cé:nê:-Ø, [èné  
 mà dènè] kárâ:-Ø, sèn.: ǝw.:, [kò cêw] [í:r<sup>n</sup>é lè]≡ȳ,  
 núw<sup>n</sup>ó kúnó mèy<sup>n</sup>, [[èné mà í:r<sup>n</sup>é] èné<sup>13</sup> dùwǝ:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] kúnó-jè dèy, [ǝw lè] kò  
 cémê:-Ø⇒, [dènè mánà] ná:nâ:-Ø⇒, [èné mà dǝ:mó] yàŋâ:-Ø⇒, pótó [cè: èné<sup>14</sup> dènè:-Ø  
 kù<sup>n</sup>] kó táŋá-ŋâ:-Ø,  
 [wó nò] jémè-n, [yí-dí:<sup>n</sup> bè-rú]<sup>15</sup> wó jèmè-bírè, ní-dí: dígè yǎ:≡kò, [í:r<sup>n</sup>é lè sǎy]<sup>1</sup> kò  
 bǐrê:-Ø, dǝyǝ-úrò [[jémè-n mà nǐ:né] mà bírè] àbádá dògò-gó

<sup>1</sup> Subject-focalization construction, with unsuffixed Imperfective verb dùwǝ: (which lacks a pronominal-subject suffix); Grammar §13.1.2.

<sup>2</sup> If transcribed correctly, this is a variant of the construction with a relative clause followed by Possessive mà and a copy of the head noun (Grammar §14.1.1), but without the mà. However, the phrase is spoken very fast and the high-toned níŋír<sup>n</sup>é is indistinct.

<sup>3</sup> dèy (nonfinal déy) ‘if’, here unusually following an interrogative, presumably in the sense ‘if (the question is) ...’.

<sup>4</sup> As given, bé ‘they’ resumes ‘their Dogon people’, and should be emended to bé≡ȳ with Focus clitic. The passage is somewhat garbled and could be rephrased as: dǝyǝ-m [[[èné bé] dǝyǝ-m]≡í: í:r<sup>n</sup>é cé:nê: jĩ:<sup>n</sup>] ‘Dogon people, it was (certain of) their (own) Dogon people [focus] who used to make iron’.

<sup>5</sup> yǝ:ró ‘cook or heat directly on a fire’.

<sup>6</sup> Last of several VPs chained together with (normally same-subject) mèy<sup>n</sup>. The following finite clause, however, has a different subject. See Grammar §15.1.4, discussion of ex. (905).

<sup>7</sup> Usually [kò fú:] ‘all that’. The dying-quail intonation (.:) before fú: ‘all’ is common with noun-head NP’s. It is attested but uncommon with pronominals, where it has emphatic function. Since kò is already low-toned, the intonational effect is prolongation rather than pitch change, and one might alternatively transcribe [kò⇒ fú:]. For this sentence see Grammar §10.3.1, ex. (592.c).

<sup>8</sup> /kò-rú/ ‘in it; with it’, here in context ‘from it’; followed by Focus clitic.

<sup>9</sup> jè- ‘say (Perfective)’. Grammar §11.3.2, ex. (705.c).

<sup>10</sup> ‘he with his head’ = ‘he (by) himself’, ‘he personally’. Grammar §18.1.3.1, ex. (1113.c).

<sup>11</sup> Reduplicated Imperfective. Grammar §10.1.2.9, ex. (571.a).

<sup>12</sup> ‘with what?’. Grammar §13.2.2.2, ex. (775.b).

<sup>13</sup> Anaphoric pronoun èné as subject of a non-subject relative clause that is co-indexed with the subject of the main clause. Grammar §18.2.2, ex. (1124.a). In the preceding NP /èné mà í:r<sup>n</sup>é/, èné is the usual reflexive possessor, coindexed to its clausemate subject.

<sup>14</sup> Another instance of èné as relative-clause subject. Grammar §18.2.2, ex. (1124.b).

<sup>15</sup> Grammar §4.4.3.1, ex. (216). yí- ‘(around) here’ here has recent-discourse reference, and is contrasted in this passage with ní- ‘here’ (see just below). bè-rú is the Instrumental or Locative of Plural bé, hence literally “in/with here-Pl (=these just-mentioned areas).”

## Jamsay 2004\_03\_13

Blacksmith women

S: jèmè-[ñě-m] nè, [bé bíré] ñě=ỳ<sup>n</sup>

A: wálá: jèmè-[ñě-m] bé bíré, [jèmè-[ñě-m.:] [dòyò-[ñě-m.:] mà gǎn] [bé bíré] [bé kâ:<sup>n</sup> dógò-gó, [ñě]=ỳ<sup>n</sup> kó=ỳ mà ð dèy, yà:jí:, < ñě-n mà-- > [[ñě-n<sup>2</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> ú:r<sup>n</sup>ó [èné mà yà:jí:] mà ñjé íjê:-Ø mà òjù-ká:] yó=kò, [[mòr<sup>n</sup>ò-[bè-ý]<sup>3</sup> lè] [ǎ-n.: [wó<sup>4</sup> ñě-n.:] lígíjé-bà mà òjù-ká: kâ:<sup>n</sup>] yó=kò,

[jèmè-[ñě-n] tèn], má⇒ jèmè-[ñě-n] [[ìnè<sup>5</sup> lè] yǎ: tégú tégé wò bèrè-gò-n<sup>6</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup>] [[ñě-m kù<sup>n</sup>] mà bèrê:] [[kó nò] kò:-ró], [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm òm òm òm yǎ: bèrê:-Ø] jín, ñě-n [[[ñě-n<sup>7</sup> [èné tó:-n] lè] [[èné mà jèmè-[ñě-n]] bòr<sup>n</sup>ó mèy<sup>n</sup>]] [[nújò jín=í:] gà]<sup>8</sup> tí: bèrê:-Ø,

[ǎ-n lè kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] [èné mà jèmè-[ñě-n]] bòr<sup>n</sup>ó mèy<sup>n</sup>, tí: bèrê:-Ø, jèmè-[ñě-n] kù<sup>n</sup>, [wó nò] [[èné mà dòyò-[ñě-n]] mà [tí-tírù]-[yá:-n]=í=wò,<sup>9</sup> yǎ: kò gǎy-yà dèy, [[jèmè-[ñě-n] mà bíré] pá⇒]<sup>10</sup> [bé nè] dá:ηá mǎ:-bà, [dà:ηà bè mà:-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] [hâl yògò yèyjê: kâ:<sup>n</sup>], [[dà:ηà-nò: [ùrò mà bèrê:]<sup>11</sup> kùn-ó-Ø],<sup>12</sup> mà úró kò:-ró, [ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup>] kò-r=í: nǎ:-Ø,<sup>13</sup>

tómno=kò-Ø mǎ:-bà⇒, [ñǎ: bè sírê:-Ø] kò-rú<sup>14</sup> bé mǎ:-Ø⇒,<sup>1</sup> [[ní:<sup>2</sup> bè ìnê:-Ø] mà wè:ré] bé mǎ:-Ø⇒, [pè:rè jírè bè sùmò:-Ø] bé mǎ:-Ø⇒

<sup>1</sup> sa&y ‘only’, here ‘strictly, exclusively’. Grammar §19.4.1, ex. (1169.a).

<sup>2</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §17.3.3, ex. (1029).

<sup>3</sup> Verbal noun of a verb-verb chain (mòr<sup>n</sup>ó bé:-).

<sup>4</sup> In ‘a man<sub>x</sub> and his<sub>x</sub> woman’, there is no anaphoric marking of the coindexation. The form is the same as that for ‘a man<sub>x</sub> and his<sub>y</sub> woman’ with noncoindexed pronominals. Grammar §18.4.2

<sup>5</sup> Postpositional complement as low-toned head of relative. Postposition lè is already low-toned. Grammar §14.6.1, ex. (863.d).

<sup>6</sup> Human Singular participle of bèrè-gó ‘cannot’, low-toned due to following kâ:<sup>n</sup> ‘each’.

<sup>7</sup> This ñě-n is low-toned before ‘her (=other woman’s) friend’. This is the tonal pattern typical of pre-adjectival nouns, so ‘her friend’ here functions like an adjectival modifier.

<sup>8</sup> Quotative gà, see Grammar §17.1.5, ex. (1012). On re-hearing the tape I mark the tone as low.

<sup>9</sup> Human 3Sg clitic =wò is occasionally added to ‘it is’ clitic =ỳ (and allomorphs). [tí-tírù]-[yá:-n] ‘one who goes on missions’ is an agentive with object as (incorporated) compound initial. For this passage, see Grammar §11.2.1.2, ex. (676.a).

<sup>10</sup> Emphatic pá⇒. Grammar §, ex. (491.b). Here it can be glossed ‘primarily, mainly, essentially’.

<sup>11</sup> Relative clause with the complement of (complex) postposition bèrê: ‘in(side)’ as head NP. Both the head noun and the postposition drop tones; Grammar §14.6.2, ex. (866.a). The head noun úró is repeated as “possessed” noun after the relative clause proper; §14.1.1, ex. (800.b).

<sup>12</sup> Nonhuman relative-clause participial form (zero suffix) of kùn-ó ‘not be in’, irregular negative of kùn- ‘be in’; Grammar §11.2.3.

<sup>13</sup> In form, nǎ:-Ø ‘drinks’ has (zero) 3Sg subject. Assistant suggests emending to 3Pl nǎ:-bà ‘they drink’, since in this context /ìnè kâ:<sup>n</sup>/ clearly means ‘everyone’, not distributive ‘each person’.

<sup>14</sup> kò-rú ‘with/in it’ may be an independent adverb (‘along with that’ or just ‘then’). Or perhaps the passage is a somewhat mal-formed postpositional relative (‘what they cook meals with’), the regular form of which is [[cè: lè] ñǎ: bè sírê:-Ø] where lè ‘with/in’ is added to the head noun ‘thing’. 3Pl ‘they’ in ‘they cook’ is impersonal and invariant and cannot take anaphoric form; Grammar §5.1.15.

kò fú:, cè: [ní: lè] *utiliser* bè kár<sup>n</sup>á:-Ø,<sup>3</sup> [ní: lè] cè: bè bìrê:-Ø fú:, < mà⇒ -- bíré  
dà:ŋà-- > bìrè jèmè-[ñě-m] bìrê:-Ø jì:<sup>n</sup>,

íjé [ànsá:rá-n yèré gá:] kân, sàtállà<sup>4</sup> gà:-l-à dèy⇒↑, sô:<sup>5</sup> gà:-l-à dèy⇒↑, bármá gà:-l-à  
dèy⇒↑, mhm̩ [[cè: kó tímé-sà] lè] yá: dò:, [ànsá:rá jé:rè-Ø]=yè lè: dèy, [jèmè-[ñě-m] sáy]  
mà bíré]=yè jì:<sup>n</sup>,

wè:rè=yè↑, dá:ŋá=yè↑, pé:rè=yè↑, dà:ŋà-pógó=yè↑, sîrî-sè:rè=yè↑, hâl [àsègé bè  
nò:-w<sup>n</sup>â:-Ø], [núŋò cêw] [jèmè-[ñě-m] mà bíré]=yè, lá:-lá: cín=í:=kò<sup>6</sup> jì:<sup>n</sup>

S: dá:ŋá lè-- , [dá:ŋá nè] yô:-jîn kár<sup>n</sup>á kó mà:-bà, [[ĩñé.: ññé.:]<sup>7</sup> gô:<sup>n</sup>-sà-bà dèy] [cín dá:ŋá  
mà:-bà]

A: dá:ŋá [[cè: lè]<sup>8</sup> kó bè mà:-Ø], dá:ŋá [[lègú lè] kó mà:-bà], yá: [búró<sup>9</sup> yá:-sà-bà dèy], búró<sup>10</sup>  
[kó lègú] éjù-Ø,<sup>11</sup> [dá:ŋá mà: bèrè=kò-Ø]

[[búró lè], yá: mèy<sup>n</sup>↑], [kò lègú] gô:<sup>n</sup>-sà-bà dèy, [lègú kù<sup>n</sup>]<sup>12</sup> jè:rè mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, dós: ñŋé  
[[tùmó lè] kó pótó-sà-bà dèy], dá:ŋá cín kò-rú mà:-bà

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#### Spinning and weaving

S: dōyō-m póró [yô:-jîn kár<sup>n</sup>á], yírú kár<sup>n</sup>á-bà jì:<sup>n</sup>

A: dōyō-m [póró yírú ñi:<sup>n</sup> yírú bè kár<sup>n</sup>á:-Ø jì:<sup>n</sup>], dōyō-m yírú↑, [nǎ:m lè] túmnó-bà, nǎ:m tó:  
mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, kó wàrà-sà-bà dèy, [nǎ:m kù<sup>n</sup>] ír-â: dèy, kó pújúró mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [nǎ:m kù<sup>n</sup>] dōr<sup>n</sup>ó-bà,  
ññé éwé-m kù<sup>n</sup>, [ññé wàrà-m kù<sup>n</sup>] mà ññé-m.:<sup>13</sup> cêw, [nǎ:m kù<sup>n</sup>] gùjó-bà, [kó bèrè] [í:<sup>n</sup>  
kù<sup>n</sup>] gô:<sup>n</sup> dàyá-bà,

[ññé gàmà-nám]↑, lègè-tùmó yé jînè-bà, lèg-í:<sup>n</sup> jémè-m dùwô:-Ø, [kó nò] yé jînè-bà,  
[nǎ:m kù<sup>n</sup>] nòw<sup>n</sup>ó-bà, nòw<sup>n</sup>ó-tù-bà dèy, [nà:m-í:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] gó:=kò, [kò nà:m-í:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] déy<sup>n</sup>⇒<sup>14</sup>  
mó:bé-bà, [[èné bé] há:jè]=yè,

òhó<sup>n</sup>!, [kò nà:m-pír<sup>n</sup>é kù<sup>n</sup>], pílíwé<sup>15</sup> kó há:sé-bà, há:sé-sà-bà dèy, pílíwé kó mîr<sup>n</sup>é-bà,  
mîr<sup>n</sup>é bè gá: kân, [kò⇒<sup>1</sup> [bè mîr<sup>n</sup>è-Ø kù<sup>n</sup>] mà búró kù<sup>n</sup>] jó:-yà táŋà: dèy, [gòjú lèy]=kò,

<sup>1</sup> Subject focus. Subject is expressed by an independent pronoun before the verb, which has AN marking but no pronominal-subject suffix.

<sup>2</sup> For the passage beginning here, see Grammar §5.1.15, ex. (297).

<sup>3</sup> A French verb is borrowed in uninflected form and combined with kár<sup>n</sup>á- ‘do, make’. What is written *utiliser* here is a conflation of the set {*utiliser, utilisez, utilisé, utilisait*}.

<sup>4</sup> For the passage beginning here see Grammar §17.1.6, ex. (1015). gà:-l-à is low-toned (defocalized) from gà:-l-á ‘they didn’t say’.

<sup>5</sup> French *seau*.

<sup>6</sup> Cliticized Nonhuman ‘it is/exists’. Grammar §11.2.2.3, ex. (677).

<sup>7</sup> ‘what and what?’. Grammar §13.2.2.2, ex. (774.b).

<sup>8</sup> Another postpositional-complement head of relative clause. Grammar §14., ex. (863.e).

<sup>9</sup> búró ‘pond’, here in tonal locative form búró. Grammar §8.1.1.

<sup>10</sup> Possessor relative clause. Possessor noun is low-toned, the following possessed noun has a resumptive Nonhuman possessor pronoun (with no tone-dropping). Grammar §14.5, ex. (861).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. èjú ‘good’. éjù-Ø has the {HL} tone contour typical of perfective participles.

<sup>12</sup> Phonetic [lèk:ù<sup>n</sup>].

<sup>13</sup> Unusual dying-quail intonation before cêw ‘all’; this intonation is regular before the synonym fú: ‘all’.

<sup>14</sup> déy<sup>n</sup>⇒ ‘apart, separate’ (expressive adverbial). Grammar §8.5.8.2, ex. (516.c).

<sup>15</sup> For pílíwé ‘go back’ in the pragmatic sense ‘proceed to ...’, see Grammar §19.3.4, ex. (1167).

[kò gòjú túrú kù<sup>n</sup>], jè:jé gà-bà↑, [gòjú túrú kù<sup>n</sup>] pà:ndé gà-bà↓,  
 [[pà:ndé kù<sup>n</sup>] jò:-nó-jè-w] [[jè:jé kù<sup>n</sup>] jò:-nó-jè-w] táŋà: dèy, [bùrò-[tó:nó-m] lè], tégé  
 mèy<sup>n</sup>↑, [àr<sup>n</sup>-úm lè] yàŋá ó:-w̄,  
 [jè:jé kù<sup>n</sup>] tó:nó-bà, [tó:nó bè kân] [kòró jó:-yè táŋà: dèy], [sùrgò-n lè] dé: jà:<sup>2</sup> ó:-bà,  
 [sùrgò-n<sup>3</sup> nè] [[kĩ-kòrò]-ĩ:<sup>n</sup> cè: bè gâ:-Ø] yé jèrè,  
 [[[kòrò-ĩ:<sup>n</sup> kù<sup>n</sup>] lè], [pà:ndé kù<sup>n</sup>] só: kúnó-sà-bà dèy, [bùrò tē:<sup>n</sup>-Ø] cín nú:-bà, [[ènè  
 bé] búrò] tē:<sup>n</sup> gǒ:<sup>n</sup>-tù-bà dèy, bĩnr̄<sup>n</sup>-Ø=ĩ:<sup>4</sup>, [yírú kù<sup>n</sup>] céjé-céjé ájára bè sâ:-Ø dèy,<sup>5</sup>  
 àràkòrú.: pǎn.: yà:lèy.: [àràkòrú fú:] kò-r=ĩ: gó:=kò,  
 < nǎ:m cín-- >, cín dǒyò-m yír<sup>6</sup> bër-tóyò-bà<sup>7</sup>

### Jamsay 2004\_03\_15

#### Sege caste

S: ségé-m [émé dǒyò-úrò], [bé.: dǒyò-m.:] mà mǒr<sup>n</sup>ò-[bè-y]<sup>8</sup> lè, [kó nèw<sup>n</sup>é] ìñé=y<sup>n</sup>  
 A: ségé-m⇒, dǒyò-úrò [[[[dǒyò-m.: bé.:] mà gǎn̄n] mà bé:-gú] mà nèw<sup>n</sup>é], ségé-m  
 némné-m=ĩ:-bà, [dǒyò-m mà [fi-tirù]-[yá:-m]]=ĩ:-bà,<sup>9</sup> [dǒyò-m mà bè:rù-[já:-m]]=ĩ:-bà,  
 [[dǒyò-m]-[húyné-m]]=ĩ:-bà<sup>10</sup> [íjé nè],  
 [kó kù<sup>n</sup>] kó=y [bé nèw<sup>n</sup>é], páskò [íjé nè] [yǎ: kò gǎy-yè dèy], ségé-m  
 [bìrè-[bírè-m]]=ĩ:-bà, bà:ñá bé lówô:-Ø⇒, [màná: bé lówô:⇒] [bé àr<sup>n</sup>-úm kù<sup>n</sup>], [jáj̄ kâ:<sup>n</sup>  
 nè]<sup>11</sup> jàŋá-bà, bè-rú jâ:<sup>n</sup>=kò,<sup>12</sup>  
 bòn-[kũn-Ø] yàŋá-sà dèy, yè-kàná yàŋá-sà<sup>13</sup> dèy, [ñě-n tànù-ŋ-ú.:] bòn-[kũn-Ø.:]  
 cêw, ségé-n yé-đi:<sup>n</sup> [ijè pàŋá sâ:-Ø]<sup>14</sup> yé sà,

<sup>1</sup> Definite demonstrative kò here has scope over the entire NP headed by búrò ‘thread’. However, its prolongation suggests speaker hesitation.

<sup>2</sup> jǎ: ‘take, convey’, here low-toned as middle verb in chain. Grammar §15.1.1, ex. (869.b).

<sup>3</sup> For this sentence see Grammar §11.5.2, ex. (718.d).

<sup>4</sup> ‘It is’ clitic added to verbal noun bĩnr̄<sup>n</sup>-ú ‘rolling (up)’. One might have expected high-toned noun bínír<sup>n</sup>ú ‘roll (of fabric)’, but I hear the tones on the tape as low.

<sup>5</sup> sâ:-Ø dèy, see Grammar §15.1.15, ex. (906.c).

<sup>6</sup> /yírú/.

<sup>7</sup> Phonetic [bèt:óyòbà].

<sup>8</sup> Verbal noun of verb chain mǒr<sup>n</sup>ó bé: Grammar §15.1.2.

<sup>9</sup> First of several examples in this text of (plural) agentive compounds of the type with low-toned initial and high-toned verb stem. Grammar §5.1.9, ex. (270.d-e), (271.d).. Further examples of this construction follow.

<sup>10</sup> húyné ‘make happy’, cf. húyé ‘be happy’, húyâm ‘happiness’ (all from Fulfulde). Unusual agentive compound where the low-toned compound initial (representing the object) is a human noun with Pl -m.

<sup>11</sup> kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè ‘also now’ is phrasally bracketed with the cognate nominal jáj̄, but semantically it has scope over the full VP. Grammar §11.1.6.3, ex. (641).

<sup>12</sup> Adverb jâ:<sup>n</sup> (variant já:<sup>n</sup>) ‘normal, (socially) acceptable’.

<sup>13</sup> yàŋá-sà dèy, lit. “if it takes (picks up)” occurs twice in this passage. This formula normally follows initial and other nonfinal phrases in a sequence, which generally (but not here) end in a phrase with yǎ: ‘go’. Grammar §15.2.8, cf. ex. (957).

<sup>14</sup> Lit. “a position that has power.”

yǎ: kò gǎy-yà dèy, àná.: àná.:, ùjùbǎy.: ùjùbǎy.:,<sup>1</sup> [íné-m tî:-n yèré mèy<sup>n</sup>] céjé-bà [jéy=y táná kò gá: kân], ǎ-n, [[à<sup>n</sup>á lè] ìnè ínè-n dàmá-ñ], [ségé-m bérè]=y, có⇒ [mâ:n mà í-n], có⇒ [mâ:n mà í-n],

gǔ:-m.: ségè-m.:, [bé nè] nújò=y<sup>n</sup> [bé nèw<sup>n</sup>é]=y<sup>n</sup>, àná kòmó yǎ:-yè dèy, ó:ró=kò dèy, [gǔ:-n yǎ:-Ø] [ségé-n yǎ:-Ø], [à<sup>n</sup>-úm yèré] [à<sup>n</sup>á ùy-yè-bà<sup>2</sup> tán] [gǔ:-n yó=kùn] [ségé-m yó=kùn],

mòñú bé:-yà dèy, [èjú kó táná-ñá-m kù<sup>n</sup>] bé=y, èjú kán-tù-w dèy,<sup>3</sup> [[èjú kù<sup>n</sup>] bàrá tégè-m kù<sup>n</sup>] bé=y, [ìnè [ènè bé]<sup>4</sup> dígè-n cêw kù<sup>n</sup>] [gá:rá<sup>5</sup> ǎ-n] táná-ñá-m kù<sup>n</sup>, [[[à<sup>n</sup>á mà témér<sup>n</sup>é] jírè yǎ:], mà à<sup>n</sup>-úm]<sup>6</sup> dàmá jírè-[já:-m]], [bé nè] bé=y

S: bé nùmò-bíré nè

A: bé nùmò-bíré, bà:ñá-[lǒw-Ø]⇒,<sup>7</sup> màná: mà lǒw-Ø, [bé nùmò-bíré kâ:<sup>n</sup> nè] kó=y

S: [màná:.: bà:ñá:.:] [[[tǐw<sup>n</sup>è yókkò] lè] kó lówó-bà]

A: [màná:.: bà:ñá:.:] [tǐw<sup>n</sup>è kó bè lówó:-Ø]<sup>8</sup> jó:=y, mǐñ=í:, sé:ñé=y<sup>n</sup>, bí:<sup>n</sup>=y<sup>n</sup>, cèjé=y, wày<sup>n</sup>á=y<sup>n</sup>, [[nújò cêw] lè] lówó-bà, [[nújò cêw] lè] lówó-bà

<sup>1</sup> Here àná ‘village’ is conjoined to itself (without a postposition), then ùjùbǎy ‘country, land’ does the same. The contextual sense is ‘between one village (country) and another’ or ‘from one village (country) to another.’ Grammar §, ex. (414).

<sup>2</sup> Perfective of ùró ‘go up’.

<sup>3</sup> Grammar §6.1.2, ex. (313.d). kán-tù-w (stem kár<sup>n</sup>á) is pronounced [kántù:].

<sup>4</sup> [ènè bé] with Plural bé is an emendation (tape has èné). The Anaphoric pronoun is required when the subject of a non-subject relative clause is coindexed with that of the main clause; Grammar §18.2.2, ex. (1124.c).

<sup>5</sup> gá:rá ‘more’. Grammar §12.1.3, ex. (730).

<sup>6</sup> à<sup>n</sup>-úm ‘men’ is “possessed” by the preceding bracketed phrase, but the hesitation after jírè yǎ: ‘go forward’ suggests that the syntax needs to be reconstructed, for example by omitting jírè yǎ: (which anticipates the compound jírè-[já:-m]).

<sup>7</sup> lǒw-Ø Verbal Noun of lówó ‘carve’.

<sup>8</sup> Relativization on instrumental NP, but with the Instrumental postposition lè absent. The explicitly instrumental version would be [[tǐw<sup>n</sup>è lè] kó bè lówó:-Ø].