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Some Features of Hortatory Texts
in Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec

INGA MCKENDRY

Introduction

The analysis presented here is based on the study of 10 texts given by three different speakers representing three of the sub-dialects of Mixtec of Southeastern Nochixtlán (SEN). I have chosen four texts as representative, and it is from those texts that I draw most of my examples.

The four texts are as follows:

"The Value of Being Independent" - this text was recorded and transcribed. It was subsequently edited to take out false starts and pause markers. The speaker, a lady in her late forties is exhorting another lady, in her sixties, to be independent from her married children while she is still able to work. There will come a time when she needs their help, and then she can ask for it. As the addressee is older than the speaker, more mitigated commands are used. This text will be referred to as "Independent."

"On Being Appointed Town President" - this text was written and edited. The speaker, a young man in his early twenties, pretends that he has been appointed town president. In the introductory narrative paragraphs he uses the respect pronouns. This changes to the "equality" pronouns when he takes on the role of town president. As behooves his position he can use direct commands, although there are some mitigated commands too. This text will be referred to as "President."

"How to Behave at School" - this text was also written by a young man. He is telling his younger sister how to behave at school and also as she walks to and from school each day. There are many blunt commands in this text - certainly no elements of mitigation here. This fits with the cultural pattern by which younger siblings learn from their older siblings. This text will be referred to as "School."

"Advice to a Daughter who is considering Marriage" - this text was taped, transcribed, and edited. It was given by the same lady who recorded "Independent". There are many differences between the command element in these two texts as the relative social rank of the speaker and addressee are different in each text. This text will be referred to as "Marriage."

These texts are representative of different mitigation strategies. Between them they illustrate most of the features of hortatory texts that I have directly found so far.

Interesting Features

The following is a preliminary description of some of features which I have noted in the texts which I have studied.

Use of Aspects of the Verbs

It is valuable to distinguish the backbone of a text from the supporting information. In hortatory discourse the backbone is the command element, the supporting material being the reason or motivation for the action, or the description of the problem.

These different facets of the text can be distinguished by the use of different verb forms.

In SEN the verbs which comprise the backbone of hortatory texts are usually in the unaffixed irrealis form of the verb. This form is also used for imperatives. Negative commands can also be used to form the background. The negative command for is the irrealis form prefixed by the negative imperative *afi*. As appeal is often made to the current situation, much of the supporting material is in the imperfective aspect. Performatives are also in the imperfective aspect. (In the appended text the commands are underlined in red.)

It should also be noted that when rhetorical questions function as the command element the verbs are often in the imperfective or perfective aspects. (RHQ are indicated in blue).

Example 1

Independence 007-009

te ja kuu ja ka'aⁿ da nuu ni ja ka-k'idado ni mediu ni
and this is what say 1h face 2h that IR-watch 2h money 2h

And this is why I am telling you that you should (irrealis) take care of your money.

"School" contains many negative imperatives.

Example 2

school 004

afi -kani no taka ñeru lu'lu no
NEG.IMP beat 2mfam plural friend small 2mfam

Don't hit your little friends.

Strategies for Prominence

Fronting

One of the strategies for prominence in SEN Mixtec is to front the focussed elements.

Different elements can be fronted:

In "Independence 010" the adverb is fronted

Example 3

chi va'a ka kuu ni
because good more feel 2h

...because you will feel BETTER...

Multiple elements may be fronted

Example 4

"marriage 18"

chi divi mee na vita" ni koo
because really FOC 2ffam today L will live

because you have your whole life ahead of you.

In this example the subject na 'you' is fronted which would be focus, but it also has the contrastive prefixed focus marker mee. The adverb vita" 'today' is also fronted, then just for extra prominence the focus marker divi 'really' is also there. Now I call that FOCUSSED.

Vocatives

Vocatives can be seen as another form of fronting for contrastive focus. In "President" different men or groups of men are addressed in turn. In "012" and "014" the phrase "and also you who are" followed by the job title is fronted, indicating that the president is directing his attention to a different addressee.

Strategies of Cohesion

Key words or phrases are repeated throughout the text, for discourse level cohesion.

Cohesion can also be at the level of the paragraph where a word will be repeated within a paragraph.

An example of this can be found in "Marriage". The theme of the paragraph formed by units 007 to 012 is men's attitudes to their wives. It is of note that it is only in this paragraph that the 3rd person masculine pronoun is used.

In "School" cohesion at the discourse level is gained by repeating the phrase 'you will be going to school' see units 002 and 012.

Simultaneous Aperture and Closure statements

Cohesion at the discourse level is also achieved by the repetition of statements such as 'that is what I say to your face'. These are best considered as closing one theme and indicating the beginning of a new theme.

Examples are "Independent 007 & 016"; "President 010, 020, 024" and "Marriage 013, 015, 020, (These are underlined in yellow.)

Example 5

President 010.

jian kuu ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu no
that is nominaliser 1 face 2mfam

That is what I am telling you.

Strategies of Mitigation

There seems to be a "scale of mitigation". The following sentences were elicited as ways to ask for a tortilla. The first is the most blunt, the approximate English glosses are given.

Example 6

Dita kuini da. I want a TORTILLA.

Kuini da iin dita. I want a tortilla.

Taxi ni iin dita. Give me a tortilla.

Ndaya'a ni iin dita. Pass me a tortilla.

Ndaya'a uun ni iin dita. Please pass me a tortilla.

Kanda'vi da nuu ni ja ndaya'a ni iin dita. Would you please pass me a tortilla. (Lit Beg I face your that pass you a tortilla.)

Kanda'vi da ni kuu nuu ni ja ndaya'a ni iin dita. Would you be so kind as to pass me a tortilla. (lit Beg I EMPHASIS face your that pass you one tortilla.)

Kanda'vi ni uun da nuu ni ja ndaya'a ni iin dita. Please, would you be so kind as to pass me a tortilla. (lit beg I please face you that pass you one tortilla.)

There are also other strategies for mitigating commands such as 'they say that we should' or 'let's'. In the first embedded discourse in the "President" text, the first person inclusive pronoun is used. This is due to the fact that the men being addressed are next in rank to the president.

Example 7

te dukaⁿ kandeke ta'aⁿ n^do ki'iⁿ
and thus take RECIPIENT lincl go.IR

..and then we will go..

Another example of this is in a sermon on the parable of the Good Samaritan, (text not included) where the speaker used 1st person inclusive. As he is a younger man it would seem more culturally appropriate to mitigate commands in such a way - it also indicates that he is including himself in the exhortation.

Example: 8

(God says) that we (inclusive) should all do as the Samaritan man did when he helped the sick man."

In the texts appended the most blunt commands are in the text giving advice to a younger sister on how to behave going to school.

In other cases the societal norms provide built in mitigation as the honorific pronouns are used when the person addressed is of a higher social rank. It seems that just by using these pronouns the commands are inherently more mitigated.

Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions seem to function in two distinct ways; one to make the addressee reflect on the situation; the other is to show that the speaker is irate. More study needs to be done with more texts to determine more exactly the role of RHQs.

Most RH questions in SEN are introduced by no 'if'. The use of no to indicate a RHQ is distinguished from its use as 'if' by the fact that in a RHQ there is no apodosis. There are cases when it is unclear as to whether we are dealing with a RHQ or a conditional sentence. The ways in which SEN forms RHQ are listed below.

There are three basic ways to form rhetorical questions:

1) by using a WH question word

Example 9

"Independence 002"

nak"enda ja fiatuu feni'ini va'a ni ja k"ee" ni ndiaa ja kumeeni ni
why that NEG think.R well 2h that buy.IR 2h all that lack 2h

"Why didn't you consider the issue carefully and buy all that you needed?"

2) by using the particle maa sentence final (maa may be used in other contexts - we still have to study this). The following example comes from a text where a child was sent to look after the animals and the one which was borrowed got away.

Example 10

Ja kuu ja ni-ka'an ni ja kundia'a na ti maa!
that is that PF-say 1 that watch.IR 2ffam 3a RHQ

Didn't I tell you to watch it!

3) by using no - this usually means 'if' but not in these contexts

Example 11

"Marriage 005"

te no ni-feni'ini va'a na
and if PF-think.R well 2ffam

Have you thought it out carefully?

Combinations of these elements occur. No 'if' is often combined with te 'and'. For example te no can be used at the beginning and maa at the end. It seems that the speaker is particularly irate in these cases.

An example occurred in natural speech. One lady who is older, had washed the floor put the floor cloth up beside the clean dishes. The other lady fussed at her. Note that there are three rhetorical questions in a row. This would appear to indicate that the speaker is irate.

Example 12

Na ja ta'an ni ja da ndadi kuu ni.

What is up with you that you are so awful?

Te no ore xexi ni te kine'e ni nchixe ni
te dakee ni xi ko'o ni maa.

When you eat, you don't take off your shoes
and put them in your plate, do you?

Te no nandia'a ni ja meka doo jan maa

Don't you see that the cloth is filthy?

There are other multi-morphemic particles, usually combinations of no 'if' which introduce RHQ.

Example 13

No-ña -di ja nika'vi no xi maa?
if-NEG-EMPH that PF-read 2ffam 3g RHQ

Surely you have read it? (implied is the answer yes.)

Right Branching and Left Branching

Most sentences and paragraphs are right branching. The only exception to date for this are "when" clauses and sometimes "if" clauses. At the paragraph level, for other than conditional or temporal paragraphs, the thesis is stated first and then developed.

Right branching:

Example 14

"Independence" 007- 008

te ja kuu ja ka'a" da nuu ni ja ka-k'idado ni mediu ni
and this is what say lh face 2h that IR.watch 2h money 2h

and this is why I am telling you that you should watch your money

"When" clauses can be preposed as in "Marriage" 012.

Example 15

te ore ja nayii n'do te ka'a" yi ja n'dadi kaa n'do
and when that grow.old lincl then say 3m that ugly be lincl

"..when we get old they then say that we are ugly."

"if" clauses can also be preposed

Example 16

"President 016"

te no a-tuu no ja kada no ji te kuna'a no
and if NEG-be 2mfam that do.IR 2mfam 3g then know.IR 2mfam

"If you are not here to do your work, you'll know about it"

There are occasions when the "if" clause is post-posed.

Example 17

"President 017"

chi ki'i" no i" no ve'e+kaa te no a -tuu no
because go.IR 2mfam PL 2mfam jail and if NEG -be 2mfam

because you will go to jail if you are not (here).

"Layered" Conjunctions

A common feature is to have paragraphs starting with two and occasionally three, conjunctions. The best analysis seems to be to consider these as "layered" conjunctions, that is, the first conjunction is functioning at the discourse, or paragraph level, the next at the next level down and so on down the hierarchy to clause level. Thus the conjunctions in these cases do not form a complex conjunction as they can be analyzed as functioning at different discourse levels.

Example 18

"Marriage 021"

Summary Statement	This is what I am saying to you		
Result	Thesis	so that you will look carefully	
	Reason	Condition	because if the day comes that you decide to marry
		Consequence	then no longer then be...

However there are cases of multi-morphemic conjunctions which seem best treated as units. One example would be "ja kuu ja" which literally means "this is what" but often functions with the logical sense of "therefore" or "for this reason"

Example 19

"Independence 016

ja kuu ja ka'a" da nuu ni
that is what say 1h face 2h

"This is what I am telling you..." or "For this reason I am telling you...."

Another example of a "complex conjunction" is chi k'en'da 'in order that'

Example 20

"Independence 003"

chi+k'en'da duka" koo ji nuu ve'e ni
in.order.that thus be.IR 3g place house 2h

'in order that you will have it in your house'

embedded ja

ja functions as nominaliser' relativiser and complementiser. It can also introduce purpose clauses. In a SEN sentence it is possible to have a series of postposed clauses all introduced by ja. In some cases this "nest of ja " functions as a propositional unit.

Example 21

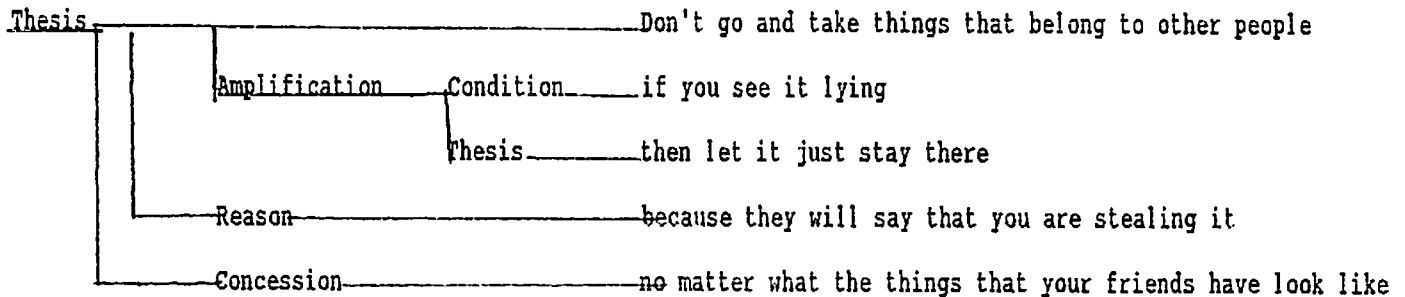
"president 006"

Let me talk to you who (ja) were remembered by the village	(relative)
that (ja) they gave you the job	(complement)
so.that (ja) we would look after all	(purpose)
that (ja) is in the village.	(nominaliser)

NONCONTIGUOUS RELATIONSHIPS

As a result of embedding, a clause may not be related to the immediate preceding clause but to some clause further back in the text. The intervening clauses may be the amplification of the thesis and the later clause relate directly to the thesis .

Example 22



Conclusion

From the above it can be seen that in SEN there is a wealth of strategies which can be used in hortatory texts. There certainly remains a lot more to study.

The Value of Being Independent

(INGA MCKENDRY)

Independence 001

na -ka'aⁿ da nuu ni
HOR-say lh face 2h

Let me talk to you.

Independence 002

chi nak^wen^{da} ja ñatuu ñeni'ini va'a ni ja k^weeⁿ ni n^diaa ta
because why that NEG.e think.R well 2h that buy.IR 2h all PL

ja kumeeni ni
that be.lacking 2h

Why didn't you consider the issue carefully and buy all that you need? **RHA**

Independence 003

chi+k^wen^{da} dukaⁿ koo ñi nuu ve'e ni
in.order.that thus will.be 3g place house 2h

Then you will have it in your house,

Independence 004

te ñatuu na ja ta'aⁿ ni ja tani+tani k^wa'aⁿ ni nuu n^deku
and NEG.e as that bother 2h that frequently go.C 2h where be

da'a ni ñekaⁿ ni
son 2h ask.for.R 2h

and you wouldn't have to bother to keep on going to your son's house to ask for (things.)

Independence 005

chi atuu dukaⁿ ñede mee da
because NEG thus do.R FOC lh

because I don't do,

Independence 006

chi ñeeⁿ da n^diaa ja k^wini da
because buy.R lh all nominalizer want lh

because I buy all that I want,

Independence 007

te ja kuu ja ka'aⁿ da nuu ni
and this be that say 1h face 2h

and this is why I am telling you,

Independence 008

ja ka-k^widado ni mediu ni
that IR-watch 2h money 2h

that you should spend your money carefully,

Independence 009

te k^weeⁿ ni n^diaa ta ja kumeeni ni
and buy.IR 2h all PL nominalizer be.lacking 2h

and buy all that you need,

Independence 010

chi va'a ka kuu ni te no na -kun^deku ni n^di n^diaa ja k^wini ni
because better more feel 2h and if DES-be 2h with all nominalizer want 2h

because you will feel better if you have all that you want (at your own house)

Independence 011

chi da kuu ja atuu k^wa'aⁿ ni di kan^da'vi ni nuu da'a ni
because then be that NEG go.C 2h and ask.favour 2h face son 2h

because then you won't need to go and ask your son for things,

Independence 012

chi kuu ja kuu ni la'a ka Jetiuⁿ ni
because be that be.able 2h some more work.R 2h

because you are still able to work a little,

Independence 013

te na -jee n^duu ja ña -kuu ka ni ja katiuⁿ ni
and DES-arrive day that NEG-be.able more 2h that work.IR 2h

but the day will come when you can no longer work,

Independence 014

ñadaa kuu ni da'a ni ja k^weeⁿ yi ta ja kumeeni ni
then say.IR 2h son 2h that buy.IR 3m PL that be.lacking 2h

and then you can ask your son to buy the things you need,

Independence 015

te koo ʃi nuu ve'e ni
and will.be 3g place house 2h

and then you will have then at your house,

Independence 016

ja kuu ja ka'a" da nuu ni
this be nominalizer say 1h face 2h

this is what I am telling you,

Independence 017

chi ʃeni'ini da ja di mee ni atuu ʃeni'ini ni
because think.R 1h that FOC FOC 2h NEG think.R 2h

because I think that you just haven't thought (it through)

Independence 018

jada ka'a" ni ja k'a'a" ni ʃeka" ni ʃi nuu da'a ni
for.this.reason say 2h that go.C 2h ask.for.R 2h 3g face son 2h

and that is why you say that you go and ask for things from your son.

ON BEING APPOINTED TOWN PRESIDENT

Narrative Introduction

president 001

na -kada n^{do} k^wen^{da} ja ni-nani da ja kuu da to'o ñuu da
HOR-make.IR lincl pretend that PF-name lh that be lh president village lh

Let's pretend that I have been appointed town president.

NARRATIVE

president 002

te ore ja ni fee n^{duu} ja kivi da ja tatuni da
and when that PF arrive day that enter lh in.order.to command lh

INTRODUCTION

GIVING

When the day comes for me to take up command,

SITUATION

president 003

te kuu+tu'uⁿ da n^{diaa} ta tee kun^{deku} n^{di'i} da
and warn.IR lh all PL man be with lh

then I will advise all those men who will serve with me

president 004

ja nandje k^winu+k^wechi de iⁿ de tiñu ja ni-nani de
that.which how do.town.duty.IR 3m PL 3m village.service that PF-name 3m

how they will carry out the jobs to which they have been appointed.

president 005

te di'na ka kuña'a da tee ne'e+k^wen^{da} mediu n^{di'i}
and first more say.IR lh man be.responsible.for money with

te kuu secretario
masc.prefix be secretary

and first of all I will speak to the treasurer and the secretary.

Presidential Address

president 006

na -ka'aⁿ ni nuu so iⁿ no ja du'a ni-n^{aku'}ini ña'a ñuu
HOR-say 1 face 2mspfam PL 2mfam that thus PF-remember KO village

Embedded discourse

ja ni-ta'ji tiñu de ja koto+nuu n^{do} n^{diaa} ja io ñuu ndo
that PF-give work 3m that take.care.off lincl all NOM be village lincl

Let me talk to you who were remembered by the village and given the job of looking after all that belongs to our village.

president 007

te ka'aⁿ ni nuu no ja kuna'a no
and say 1 face 2mfam that know.P 2mfam

I am letting you know,

president 008

chi na -jee iiⁿ tutu ja kana ña'a to'o Yodo
because DES-arrive one paper that call KO town.authority Nochixtlán

a ñunduva a n^de+ni+nikuu ja kana ña'a ji
or Oaxaca or wherever that call KO 3g

because a message will most likely arrive, telling us to come, from the authorities in
Nochixtlán or Oaxaca, or wherever, telling us to come,

president 009

te dukaⁿ kan^deka ta'aⁿ ndo ki'iⁿ
and thus take RECIP lincl go.IR

and then we will all go,

president 010

jiaⁿ kuu ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu no
that be nominalizer say 1 face 2mfam

This is what I am telling you

president 011

ja n^duu n^duu n^di ji no iⁿ no ja kun^deku ndo
that day day come.C 2mfam PL 2mfam in.order.to be lincl

so that you will come every day so that we will all be here.

president 012

te ta so'o iⁿ no ja kuu no di ja ne'e
and PL 2fam.ms.emph PL 2mfam that be 2mfam and that have

no iⁿ no n^dakaa ye'e ve'e tiñu va'a ni ore na -kaaⁿ no
2mfam PL 2mfam key door house work good EMPH hour DES-open 2mfam
REP

And you who are the "juez" and the "mayor" you who have the key to the municipio, you
should open up at a good hour,

president 013

chi io veta te ne'e io ja io
because be time and early be that be

because there are times when there are things that need to be done early.

president 014

te ta'aⁿ so'o iⁿ no ja kuu no ministro kuna'a no
and also 2fam.ms.emph PL 2mfam that be 2mfam *** know.P 2mfam

Embedded Disc
3

ja va kuveni no
that NEG be.absent 2mfam

and also you (plural) who are the "ministers", you should know that you are not allowed to be absent,

president 015

chi io veta te io tiñu ki'iⁿ no
because be time if be errand go.IR 2mfam

because there are times when there are errands for you to run,

president 016

teno a -tuu no ja kada no ji te kuna'a no
if NEG-be 2mfam in.order.to do.IR 2mfam 3g and know.P 2mfam

because if you are not here to do it, then you will know about it,

president 017

chi ki'iⁿ no iⁿ no ve'e kaa teno a -tuu no
because go.IR 2mfam PL 2mfam house metal if NEG-be 2mfam

because you (plural) will go to jail, if you are not here.

president 018

dukaⁿ ka'aⁿ ni nuu no n^diaa no ja nani n^deku n^do vitaⁿ
thus say 1 face 2mfam all 2mfam that while be lincl now

Embedded Disc
4

ja ni-tiiⁿ tiñu n^do
that PF-take work lincl

This is what I am saying to you while we are (all) here today to take up our jobs.

president 019
dukaⁿ ni kun^deku n^do n^duu n^duu
thus L be lincl day day

We will be here just like this every day,

president 020
jiaⁿ kuu ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu no iⁿ no
that be that say 1 face 2mfam PL 2mfam

this is what I say to you,

president 021
te va ta'u'u no iⁿ no
and NEG take.offense 2mfam PL 2mfam

don't take offense

president 022
chi ja va'a kuu ji k^wen^da mee no
because nominalizer good be 3g for FOC 2mfam

because it is for your own good

president 023
chi ke^jio va'a no k^wia no
because turn.out well 2mfam year 2mfam

so that the year will go well for you.

president 024
jiaⁿ kuu n^diaa ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu no
that be all that say 1 face 2mfam

This is all that I am saying to you,

president 025
te dukaⁿ kuna'a no
and thus know.P 2mfam

so now you are without excuse.

Embedded Disc
5

CLOSURE

HOW TO BEHAVE AT SCHOOL

school 001

du'a ni-jii ni k'a'a ni iiⁿ n^duu
thus PF-advise.R 1 cross.sex.sibling 1 one day

This is what I said to my sister one day.

school 002

ki'iⁿ no escuela
go.IR 2mfam school

You will be going to school,

SITUATION

school 003

ko koo ja yiñu'u no
but will.be that.which respect 2mfam

but there are things to which you have to pay attention.

school 004

a|i -kani no taka ñeru lu'lu no
NEG.IMP-beat 2mfam plural friend small 2mfam

THESES 1

Don't hit your little friends.

school 005

a|i -ki'iⁿ no tiiⁿ no iiⁿ n^datiuⁿ ayivi
NEG.IMP-go.IR 2mfam take 2mfam one thing person

THESES 2

Don't go and take things that belong to other people

school 006

no n^dia'a no katuu fi
if see.C 2mfam ^{get down} _{lying} 3g

(even) if you see it lying there,

school 007

na -katuu na'i fi
DES-be.lying.down still 3g

let it just stay there,

school 008

chi na -ka'aⁿ fi ja do du'u no n^datiuⁿ fi
because HOR-say 3g that thus? steal 2mfam thing 3g

because they will say that you are stealing it,

school 009

k^we nandze kaa ja ne'e ñeru no
although how be that carry friend 2mfam

no matter what (the things) that your friends have looks like.

school 010

ko afi -k^weku n^dee no fi
but NEG.IMP-laugh.IR at 2mfam 3g

THESIS 3

But don't laugh at them,

school 011

chi a -divi ja va'a kuu fi
because NEG-is nominalizer good be 3g

because that isn't nice.

school 012

ki'iⁿ no escuela no
go.IR 2mfam school 2mfam

You are going to school,

school 013

ko yife'nu kaka no
but well.behaved walk.IR 2mfam

THESIS 4

but behave yourself as you walk (along),

school 014

adi ja n^dek^wiiⁿtuu n^de no taka ichi fiaⁿ
is.not that loiter 2mfam plural road that

THESIS 4

don't loiter along the way,

school 015

ore ya'a n'duu ta'a'n no n'di'i ayivi ka'io'o no fi
when pass day RECIP 2mfam with people greet 2mfam 3g

THESIS

5

when you pass someone, greet them,

school 016

a'fi -kuu no ii^n ayivi atuu tachi fi
NEG.IMP-say.IR 2mfam one person NEG voice HB

THESIS

5

don't be a person that doesn't have a voice,

school 017

chi ka'a^n ayivi ja io fee'ini no
because say people that very disrespectful 2mfam

because people will say that you are disrespectful,

school 018

a'fi -kada no na fede dava ka lan'da
NEG.IMP-do.IR 2mfam as do.R some more child

don't do like the other children,

school 019

a -divi ja nadiko no ja ka'a^n ni
NEG-is that become.angry 2mfam that say 1

don't get angry because of what I am saying to you,

school 020

chi ja va'a mee no kuu fi
because nominalizer good FOC 2mfam be 3g

because it is for your own good,

school 021

duka^n kuna'a no
thus know.P 2mfam

Now you won't have any excuse,

school 022

fiaⁿ yu kuu iiⁿ uu yu nuu tu'uⁿ ka'aⁿ ni
that approx be one two approx kind word say 1

these are just a few words that I am saying to you

school 023

k'en^a ja kune'e no nava'a kaka no nuu
in.order.to that carry 2mfam how walk.IR 2mfam place

dak'a'a no
learn 2mfam

so that you will be careful how you behave when you go to school.

ADVICE TO A DAUGHTER WHO IS CONSIDERING MARRIAGE

marriage 001

Te ka'aⁿ ni ja kani'ini va'a na
and say 1 that think.IR well 2ffam

I am telling you to think carefully,

marriage 002

te no dukaⁿ feni'ini na
and if thus think.R 2ffam

Are you thinking like this,

RHQ

marriage 003

chi a -deni ja feni'ini na ja deja va'a ja ani tan'a'a na
because NEG-only that think.R 2ffam that only good that emphasis marry 2ffam

because you should not just think that marriage is going to be wonderful

marriage 004

feni'ini na.
think.R 2ffam

you are thinking.

marriage 005

Te no ni-feni'ini va'a na
and if PF-think.R good 2ffam

Have you thought it out carefully?

RHQ

marriage 006

ja dukaⁿ na -koo
that thus HOR-be.IR

May it turn out like that.

marriage 007

te no nandje ka'aⁿ yi
and PP how say 3m

What does he say?

RHQ

marriage 008

te no ka'aⁿ yi ja divi valii kan^deka ña'a yi na
and if say 3m that really only take KO 3m 2ffam

RHQ

Does he say that you will be his only wife?

marriage 009

ñadivi ja yuteⁿ+ida te ka'aⁿ yi ja n^dadi kaa na
hopefully.it.won't.be that future and say 3m that ugly seem 2ffam

Hopefully it won't be that sometime in the future he will say that you are ugly

marriage 010

chi dukaⁿ feda ta yi iⁿ yi
because thus do.R PL 3m PL 3m

because that is what men do

marriage 011

ja ore ja k^wechi n^do ka'aⁿ yi ja vii kaa n^do
that when that young lincl say 3m that pretty seem lincl

when we are young they say that we are pretty

marriage 012

te ore ja nayii n^do te ka'aⁿ yi ja n^dadi kaa n^do
and when that grow.old lincl and say 3m that ugly seem lincl

and then when we get old they say that we are ugly.

marriage 013

ja kuu ja ka'aⁿ ni ja kun^dia'a va'a na
this be that say 1 that see.P carefully 2ffam

This is what I am saying so that you will look carefully,

marriage 014

chi vitaⁿ io ka n^duu ja dakani'ini na fi
because now be more day that consider 2ffam 3g

because there is still time for you to consider it (all)

marriage 015

te ja ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu na
and that already say 1 face 2ffam

and that is why I am talking to you

marriage 016

te va^{fi} n^dadiko na
and no get.angry 2ffam

and don't get angry

marriage 017

chi ka'aⁿ ni ja kuu ja va'a ja kuu mee na
because say 2h that.which be that good that be FOC 2ffam

because what I am saying to you is for YOUR good,

marriage 018

chi divi mee na vitaⁿ ni koo
because really FOC 2ffam today L will.live

because you still have your life ahead of you

marriage 019

te ña'a ndzu'u chi divi deja ni-yii ndju
and no I because really unfortunately PF-grow.old l.emph

but not me, because I am already old.

marriage 020

ja kuu ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu na k'en^da ja dukaⁿ kun^dia'a va'a na
this be that say 1 face 2ffam so.that that thus see.P carefully 2ffam

This is what I am saying to you so that you will look carefully

marriage 021

chi no na -jee n^duu ja kani'ini na ja divi tan^da'a na
because if HOR-arrive day that think.IR 2ffam that really marry 2ffam

because if the day comes when you really decide to get married,

marriage 022

te ani da kuu ja ña -kuu ka fi
and no.longer then be that NEG-be.able more 3g

and then that will be that,

marriage 023

te k^ve na -n^dakani'ini na ko ja ni-ya'a ja
and although HOR-reconsider 2ffam but already PF-pass that

and although you reconsider, the time has passed for that,

marriage 024

ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu na vitaⁿ
this say 1 face 2ffam ahora

this is what I am saying to you now

marriage 025

te n^diaa ja ka'aⁿ ni
and all that say 1

and this is all that I say to you,

marriage 026

va[i koo ja kani'ini na ja ja ka'aⁿ ni
no will.be that think.IR 2ffam that that.which say 1

don't think that I am saying this to you

marriage 027

chi de a -k^vini ni ja divi ja koo ja va'a na
because PP NEG-want 1 that really that will.be that.which good 2ffam

because I don't want you to be happy

marriage 028

ko ña'a chi divi n^dee'ini ña'a ni jada ka'aⁿ ni
but no because really love KO 1 thus say 1

because that is not the case, because I really do love you, that's why I am saying this to you

marriage 029

te n^diaa ja ka'aⁿ ni nuu na ore n^davii
and all that.which say 1 face 2ffam hour right.now

and this is all that I say to you right now.